

BLM: A VOICE FOR BLACK BRITONS?

BY DR RAKIB EHSAN



**CENTRE ON
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About the Author

Dr Rakib Ehsan is a research fellow who sits in the Henry Jackson Society's Centre on Social & Political Risk (CSPR).

He holds a BA in Politics & International Relations (First-Class Honours), MSc in Democracy, Politics and Governance (Pass with Distinction), and a PhD in Political Science, all obtained from Royal Holloway, University of London. His PhD thesis, which was comprehensively sponsored by the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC), investigated the impact of social integration on the public attitudes of British non-white ethnic minorities.

Since joining the Henry Jackson Society in March 2019, Dr Ehsan has authored a number of reports incorporating matters of social cohesion and national security, including *Muslim Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Great Britain* and *Weaponising COVID-19: Far-Right Anti-Semitism in the United Kingdom and United States*.

More recently, he edited HJS's *Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology*, which included contributors who are critical of the movement's impact on UK race relations and contemporary civil discourse. His research has been published by other British think-tanks such as Policy Exchange, Runnymede Trust, and Intergenerational Foundation, as well as the Canadian independent security think-tank, the Mackenzie Institute.

Currently a columnist at *Spiked* and a regular contributor for *The Telegraph*, he has also written for *The Independent*, *The Scotsman*, *The Jewish Chronicle*, *UnHerd*, and *CapX*. His comments have also featured in mainstream British newspapers such as *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*, as well as foreign platforms such as *Arab News* in Saudi Arabia and *The National* in the United Arab Emirates.

A regular guest on *TalkRadio*'s Independent Republic of Mike Graham, Dr Ehsan has also featured on *Sky News* and *BBC World News*. He has also made radio appearances for stations such as *LBC*, *BBC Radio London*, and *BBC Asian Network*.

Establishing himself as a prominent British authority on matters of racial identity and social integration, Dr Ehsan has consulted influential UK parliamentarians and policymakers on issues surrounding race relations and community cohesion.

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Contents

About the Author2

Acknowledgements2

About The Henry Jackson Society 4

About the Centre on Social & Political Risk (CSPR) 4

Executive Summary.....5

1. Introduction8

2. 2020: A Turning Point for Britain 11

 2.1: *BLM Origins and its Emergence in the UK*11

 2.2: *The Cultural Counter-Challenge to BLM and CRT*12

 2.3: *Studies on British Ethnic-Minority Attitudes*14

3. Report Data and Methodology 16

4. Data Analysis – Part 1: Race, Identity, and BLM..... 17

 4.1: *Perception of UK Race Relations and BLM* 17

 4.2: *National, Racial, Ethnic and Religious Identity*22

 4.3: *Intergroup Perceptions and Discriminatory Experiences*25

 4.4: *Relationship with Public Institutions and Systems*.....32

 4.5: *Public Attitudes Towards UK BLM Objectives and Forms of Civil Disobedience*35

 4.6: *Public Perception of Racism in Society and Police Conduct*37

5. Data Analysis – Part 2: Perception of Countries and Control of Global Industries..... 40

 5.1: *Perception of Countries*..... 40

 5.2: *Perception of Control over Global Sectors and Industries*.....42

6. Data Analysis – Part 3: Family Stability in Childhood and Current Life Satisfaction in the UK 45

 6.1: *Self-Reported Stability of Family Life During Childhood*45

 6.2: *Life Satisfaction in the UK*47

7. Discussion of Results 52

 7.1: *Representative Nature of Black Lives Matter* 52

 7.2: *Political Divides on UK Race Relations* 52

 7.3: *Relationship with Public Institutions* 52

 7.4: *Internal Challenges for Black British Communities*.....53

 7.5: *Effects of Social Integration* 53

 7.6: *The Myth of the ‘Black Community’* 53

 7.7: *The Family*..... 54

8. Policy Recommendations and Conclusion 55

About Us



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About The Henry Jackson Society

The Henry Jackson Society is a think-tank and policy-shaping force that fights for the principles and alliances which keep societies free, working across borders and party lines to combat extremism, advance democracy and real human rights, and make a stand in an increasingly uncertain world.



About The Centre on Social & Political Risk

The Centre on Social & Political Risk (CSPR) is a citizen-focused, international research centre, which seeks to identify, diagnose and propose solutions to threats to governance in liberal Western democracies. Its fundamental purpose is to underscore the potential harm that various forms of social, cultural and political insecurity, conflict and disengagement can pose to the long-term sustainability of our democracies.

Executive Summary

The Henry Jackson Society (HJS) commissioned a survey focusing on matters of race, identity, and community relations. Carried out by polling organisation ICM Unlimited from 6 to 18 January 2021, two separate polls were conducted: a nationally representative UK general-population poll of 1,000 respondents, along with a Black British booster sample of 558 respondents.

The main findings of the surveys are summarised below.

Regarding the unrepresentative nature of the Black Lives Matter UK political organisation in relation to Black British communities:

- Fewer than 1 in 5 Black British people – 18 per cent – support reducing investment for their own local police force. This drops even lower, to 11 per cent, for the wider general population.
- Only a quarter of the Black British population support replacing the British capitalist system with a socialist economy (25 per cent). This drops to 23 per cent for the wider general population.
- The vast majority of Black British people reject multiple forms of direct action – with only 16 per cent viewing the tearing down of statues as an acceptable form of political protest.
- A plurality of British people of **Black African** origin are of the view that race relations in the UK are in **good shape**.

The main findings on perceptions of UK race relations:

- In the wider general population, 24 per cent of people think UK race relations are in **bad shape**. This figure rises to 40 per cent for Black British people.
- There are clear party divides in the general population, with Conservative voters notably more likely than Labour voters to think that race relations in the UK are in **good shape** (53 per cent / 33 per cent).

Perceptions of UK society and police conduct:

- 29 per cent of the general population believe that the UK has a fundamentally racist society. This rises two-fold to 58 per cent for Black British people.
- The majority of Black British people – 52 per cent – disagree with the view that police brutality **is not** a problem in the UK. This drops to 22 per cent for the wider general population.

The main findings on personal identity:

- Over 6 in 10 people – in both the general-population and Black British samples – attach importance to their British national identity (64 per cent and 62 per cent respectively).
- However, Black British people are more likely to attach importance to their **ethnic and racial identity** (75 per cent and 73 per cent respectively).

The main findings on discrimination:

- Nearly 4 in 10 Black British people report experiencing racial discrimination in the past 12 months.
 - 57 per cent of Black British people are of the view that their local police force treats black people unfairly.
-

- In the wider general population, people are more likely to report being discriminated against on the grounds of their **social class** than their **ethnicity, religion, or sexual orientation**.

The main findings on the perceived influence of political activists:

- 42 per cent of the general population believe that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the BBC. This rises to 45 per cent for Black Britons.
- 29 per cent of the general population believe that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in schools and the police. In both cases, this rises to **50 per cent for Black Britons**.

When compared to the UK general population, **Black British people** are:

- More likely to report having an unstable family life during their childhood (14 per cent / **21 per cent**).
- Less likely to be satisfied with their life in the UK (42 per cent / **38 per cent**).

When compared to people of Black Caribbean origin, people of Black African origin are:

- More likely to think that race relations in the UK are in good shape.
- Less likely to agree with the view that the UK is a fundamentally racist society.
- More likely to attach importance to the religious element of their personal identity.
- Less likely to report having an unstable family life during their childhood.
- More likely to be satisfied with their current-day life in Britain.

Highlighting intra-racial community tensions:

- 6 per cent of Black British Africans have an unfavourable view of Black British Caribbeans.
- 16 per cent of Black British Caribbeans have an unfavourable view of Black British Africans.
- 8 per cent of Black British people report experiencing racial/ethnic discrimination at the hands of another black person.

Black British people who belong to predominantly Black friendship groups are more likely to:

- Believe that UK race relations are in bad shape.
- Have an unfavourable view of White British people.
- Believe Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories surrounding the control of the global banking system and global entertainment (and music) industry.

The report makes the following policy recommendations:

- The government should create a 'Family Tsar' to spearhead a review on the social benefits of stable family structures on young people's school attainment, emotional development, and mental well-being.
- The Department for Education should instruct Ofsted to base school ratings on stronger evaluations of how contestable theoretical frameworks – such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) – are being presented to pupils by their schoolteachers.
- The Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government should work more closely with local authorities to re-strengthen community cohesion plans. This should have a

particular focus on fostering bonds of social trust in materially deprived and racially diverse localities.

- The new independent review on ideological extremism, led by unaffiliated peer Lord Walney, should investigate the impact of far-left revolutionary activity on community relations and whether it poses a threat to British public security.
- More robust anti-discrimination rules should be introduced to tackle racial and ethnic 'penalties' in the UK labour market. This should include the state-led expansion of name-blind recruitment initiatives and the creation of a publicly accessible Labour Market Discrimination Register.
- Police forces should better engage with civic associations and community organisations in a multi-agency effort to create well-trusted neighbourhood policing plans which strengthen both public security and respect for authority.
- A UK Life Satisfaction Taskforce should be formed to explore the social, political, economic, and cultural root causes of life dissatisfaction in modern-day Britain.

1. Introduction

Following the police homicide of African-American George Floyd in the US state of Minnesota on 25 May 2020, a wave of civil unrest involving Black Lives Matter (BLM) activists gripped America's major cities – from those in the eastern state of California to the western state of New York. This civil unrest spiralled into mass looting, the destruction of family-owned businesses, and forms of political intimidation and violence.¹ With a CNN exit poll for the 2020 United States Presidential Election showing that racial equality was the second-highest voter concern (sandwiched between the economy and the coronavirus pandemic), it is clear that the US remains a bitterly divided and anxious nation over matters of race.²

But the death of George Floyd did not just act as the stimulus for heightened racial consciousness in the US. It also raised issues of racial inequality and institutional discrimination in other countries too – including the UK. Following their US counterparts across the pond, BLM protests spread across Britain – taking place in the home capitals of London, Edinburgh, and Cardiff. Held in other cities such as Birmingham,³ Bristol,⁴ Leeds,⁵ Manchester,⁶ and Liverpool,⁷ the BLM protests have been as far-reaching as the Isle of Wight on the English south coast to the remoteness of the Shetland Islands in Scotland.⁸ There is no denying that events in the US have had a notable impact on contemporary British civil discourse.

However, the UK's BLM protests have not been free of controversy by any stretch of the imagination. The fact that large-scale BLM congregations have taken place during the Covid-19 pandemic – which has disproportionately affected Black Britons – has been pointed out as a contradiction of sorts.

The wave of BLM demonstrations corresponded with certain behaviours that have been anything but peaceful acts of civil action. This included physical violence towards the police, with BLM protests coinciding with a 40 per cent rise in assaults on London's police officers during the first Covid-19 national lockdown.⁹ Statues were vandalised by BLM protestors in cities such as Bristol.¹⁰ During BLM demonstrations in London, the statue of Sir Winston

¹ Robbins, J.S., 'Rioting is beginning to turn people off to BLM and protests while Biden has no solution', *USA Today*, 31 August 2020, available at: <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2020/08/31/riots-violence-erupting-turning-many-away-blm-and-protests-column/5675343002/>, last visited: 9 December 2020.

² *CNN News* (2020), 'National Results: 2020 Exit Polls', available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/election/2020/exit-polls/president/national-results>, last visited: 9 December 2020.

³ Turton, A., 'Thousands gather for Black Lives Matter rally in Birmingham', *Express & Star*, 4 June 2020, available at: <https://www.expressandstar.com/news/local-hubs/birmingham/2020/06/04/black-lives-matter-protest-in-birmingham-city-centre-as-rally-in-wolverhampton-planned/>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

⁴ Cork, T., 'Black Lives Matter protest to return to Bristol city centre this weekend', *Bristol Live*, 14 August 2020, available at: <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/black-lives-matter-protest-return-4419846>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

⁵ 'Leeds Black Lives Matter protest calls for end to "systemic racism"', *BBC News*, 21 June 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leeds-53127688>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

⁶ Fitzgerald, T. and Dobson, C., 'RECAP: Black Lives Matter protest in Manchester', *Manchester Evening News*, 21 June 2020, available at: <https://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/live-black-lives-matter-protest-18461498>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

⁷ 'Black Lives Matter protests: March held in Liverpool', *BBC News*, 13 June 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-53033810>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

⁸ Booth, R., 'Black Lives Matter has increased racial tension, 55% say in UK poll', *The Guardian*, 27 November 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/27/black-lives-matter-has-increased-racial-tension-55-say-in-uk-poll>, last visited: 9 December 2020.

⁹ Francis, S., 'Met Police assaults: Attacks on officers up 40% during lockdown', *BBC News*, 19 August 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-53812587>, last visited: 9 December 2020.

¹⁰ 'Slave trader statue torn down in Bristol anti-racism protest', *BBC News*, 7 June 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-52954994>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

Churchill in Parliament Square was defaced.¹¹ In addition to this, a BLM activist attempted to burn the Union Flag at The Cenotaph.¹²

Under this aggressive re-racialisation of British society, anti-BLM forces have emerged in response to the rise of BLM political activism (in some cases also using forms of direct action). This included ‘far-right counter-rallies’ in London over a series of weekends in the summer of 2020, which saw both police officers and their horses assaulted by violent protestors.¹³ Anti-BLM ‘counter-protests’ also took place in other major cities such as Newcastle, where Northumbria Police formed a physical barrier between ‘rival’ demonstrators.¹⁴ A notable proportion of the anti-BLM counter-demonstrations which have been held around the UK involved British Army veteran groups protecting war memorials from public vandalism, following the defacing of Churchill’s statue in Parliament Square and the attempted burning of the Union Flag at the Cenotaph during London-based BLM demonstrations.

Some have argued that the wave of BLM demonstrations collectively represented a seismic social shift which has drawn attention to problems of “systemic racism” and “police brutality” in the UK.¹⁵ Indeed, it has been suggested that Britain has “failed to deal with systemic racism” and that while racism in the UK “may attract less global attention than in the US ... it is no less present”.¹⁶ This argument has gone as far as commentators suggesting that “systemic racism exists in the UK at every level of government and society”.¹⁷ With the BLM demonstrations taking place during the Covid-19 pandemic, a number of political interventions on the impact of the coronavirus have contained a decidedly racial dimension. The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on Britain’s ethnic minorities has been framed by Mayor of London Sadiq Khan as an “injustice”.¹⁸ In a Tweet including the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, former shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott referred to the Covid-19 outcomes for Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities as “a form of violence”.¹⁹

Despite generating support which has spanned various spheres of British life, ranging from politics to sport, the broader BLM social movement has also attracted fierce criticism from some quarters – demonstrating the polarised nature of the contemporary debate on race relations in Britain. This has gone as far as some advancing the view that BLM is a “radical neo-Marxist political movement” which is “fostering division, chaos, and destruction”.²⁰ The

¹¹ ‘Black Lives Matter protest: Why was Churchill’s statue defaced?’, *BBC News*, 8 June 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-england-london-52972531>, last visited: 9 December 2020.

¹² Perrin, B., ‘Brum teen who burned Union Jack at The Cenotaph during Black Lives Matter demo spared jail’, *Birmingham Mail*, 4 December 2020, available at: <https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/brum-teen-who-burned-union-19397539>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

¹³ Child, D., ‘Ten charged over anti-racism and far-right counter protests in London’, *The Evening Standard*, 20 June 2020, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/ten-people-charged-anti-racism-protests-far-right-counter-rallies-a4474941.html>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

¹⁴ ‘Newcastle Black Lives Matter protest heckled by counter-demonstrators’, *BBC News*, 13 June 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-tyne-53034023>, last visited: 10 December 2020.

¹⁵ Koram, K., ‘Systemic racism and police brutality are British problems too’, *The Guardian*, 4 June 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/jun/04/systemic-racism-police-brutality-british-problems-black-lives-matter>, last visited: 4 January 2021.

¹⁶ Smith-Spark, L., Elbagir, N. and Arvanitidis, B., ‘The greatest trick racism ever pulled was convincing England it doesn’t exist: How Britain failed to deal with systemic racism’, *CNN*, 22 June 2020, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/06/22/europe/black-britain-systemic-racism-cnn-poll-gbr-intl/index.html>, last visited: 4 January 2021.

¹⁷ Thoma-Stemmet, E., ‘Systemic racism exists in the UK at every level of UK government and society’, *Varsity*, 12 June 2020, available at: <https://www.Varsity.co.uk/opinion/19419>, last visited: 4 January 2021.

¹⁸ Khan, S., ‘More BAME people are dying from coronavirus. We have to know why’, *The Guardian*, 19 April 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/apr/19/bame-dying-coronavirus-sadiq-khan>, last visited: 4 January 2021.

¹⁹ Link to Tweet made by Diane Abbott (Labour MP for Hackney and Stoke Newington): <https://twitter.com/HackneyAbbott/status/1270046081804636161>. Tweeted on 8 June 2020. Last visited: 4 January 2021.

²⁰ Phillips, A., ‘Make no mistake – BLM is a radical neo-Marxist political movement’, *The Telegraph*, 12 June 2020, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/06/12/make-no-mistake-blm-radical-neo-marxist-political-movement/>, last visited: 4 January 2021.

BLM social movement has also been accused of normalising racially charged abuse towards non-white individuals who are critical of its core objectives and its support for direct action.²¹ Others have explored the degree to which the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist tendencies of the BLM social movement potentially spill into Anti-Semitic territory.²² A poll conducted at the end of 2020 showed that 55 per cent of the British public – including a plurality of ethnic-minority Britons – believed that BLM had increased racial tensions in the UK.²³

Based on extensive survey polling conducted by ICM Unlimited, this report represents one of the most systematic, in-depth investigations into British public attitudes on contemporary race relations and perceptions of the BLM social movement. An integral part of this research is gaining a deeper understanding of the representative nature of the BLM UK political organisation – exploring the degree to which its central objectives and support for direct action are supported (and opposed) by the Black British population. The report also explores matters of racial identity, perceptions of different social groups, and the degree of trust in state institutions such as the UK Parliament, the police, and the National Health Service (NHS) – especially in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. The research also delves into public attitudes towards forms of civil disobedience and political violence. While the report comprehensively explores socio-political behaviour and attitudes in the British general population, there is a particular focus on Britain's Black communities which are traditionally included under the acronym of 'BAME' (Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic) – a homogenising umbrella term which predominantly incorporates non-black minorities.

The report structure is as follows. Following this introductory section, a recap of 2020 is provided. This part of the report documents the emergence and growth of the BLM movement in the British context, along with race-based theoretical frameworks such as Critical Race Theory (CRT).²⁴ It also examines the organisational nature of the anti-BLM cultural counter-challenge, as well as the main 'takeaways' from existing British ethnic-minority polling studies. Section 3 provides a concise account of the data utilised and methodology adopted for this report. The polling for the report, conducted by ICM Unlimited, is based on a UK general-population survey alongside a booster sample of Black Britons.

This is followed by a comprehensive data analysis section, broken into three parts. Part 1 is compartmentalised into six subsections: perception of UK race relations and the social impact of BLM; personal forms of identity; perception of different social groups and discriminatory experiences; relationship with public institutions such as the UK Parliament; views on core UK BLM objectives and forms of civil disobedience; and broader perceptions of racism and police behaviour in the UK and US. Part 2 looks at attitudes towards ten selected countries (including the UK) and public beliefs about the control of global banking, politics, media, entertainment, and arms manufacturing. Part 3 examines self-reported levels of life satisfaction and the family background of UK-based respondents.

With Section 7 of the report discussing the results of the HJS-ICM polling, the report concludes with a comprehensive set of evidence-driven policy recommendations which are designed to strengthen social cohesion and institutional trust in the post-Brexit UK.

²¹ Ehsan, R. (ed.), 'Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology', *The Henry Jackson Society* (2020), available at: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/HJS-BLM-UK-Anthology-Report-web.pdf>, last visited: 6 January 2021.

²² Gold, T., 'How anti-Semitic is BLM?', *UnHerd*, 10 July 2020, available at: <https://unherd.com/2020/07/how-anti-semitic-is-blm/>, last visited: 4 January 2021.

²³ Booth, R., 'Black Lives Matter has increased racial tension, 55% say in UK poll', *The Guardian*, 27 November 2020.

²⁴ CRT is a theoretical framework in the social sciences developed out of epistemic philosophy, which uses conventional critical theory to examine society and culture in relation to categorisations of race, law, and power. Its origins can be found in the 1980s, as a reworking of critical legal studies through the prism of race (a process which took place in US-based law schools).

2. 2020: A Turning Point for Britain

2020 proved to be one of Britain's most testing years in the post-war period. As well as having to contend with the devastating effects of the Covid-19 pandemic, it also witnessed an intensification of cultural divides following the May 2020 police homicide of George Floyd in the US city of Minneapolis. This section documents two competing social trends – the emergence in Britain of the Black Lives Matter movement and race-based ideologies such as Critical Race Theory (CRT), and the cultural 'counter-challenge' led by leading government figures, media commentators, and policy-making institutions. The final subsection presents a concise overview of relevant ethnic-minority polling studies in the UK.

2.1: BLM Origins and its Emergence in the UK

BLM can be described as: “A decentralised international socio-political movement which mobilises social action against racially motivated violence and intimidation towards black people, as well as the dismantling of perceived forms of structural racism”.²⁵ Its origins can be traced to July 2013, following the acquittal of George Zimmerman over the lethal shooting of African-American teenager Trayvon Martin in Florida, US, in February 2012.²⁶ The social movement, co-founded in the US by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, typically advocates against police violence towards Black people as well as for various policy reforms considered to be related to “Black liberation”.²⁷ The growth and influence of the movement in US civil discourse has accelerated in the aftermath of the police homicide of George Floyd. However, against a backdrop of civil unrest in a host of American cities, polling suggests that public support for the movement in the US declined over the latter half of 2020 – especially among white Americans and the Hispanic-American population.²⁸

The UK 'branch' of the Black Lives Matter international movement (UK BLM) has been in existence for a number of years – well before the police homicide of George Floyd in May 2020. UK BLM opened its official Twitter account in July 2016, with its current self-description on the social media platform being: “a coalition of people from across the UK who believe deeply that #blacklivesmatter”.²⁹ The Twitter account provides a link to UK BLM's online page on 'Go Fund Me', an American for-profit crowdfunding platform that allows people and organisations to raise finances for a range of purposes.³⁰ According to its official funding page, UK BLM is dedicated to the dismantling of the market economy and committed to the defunding (and eventual abolition) of the police. It has expressed explicit support for direct action to achieve “black liberation”.³¹ The account has raised funds comfortably in excess of £1 million.

The UK branch, like other non-US BLM branches, has grown exponentially in terms of political attention, public interest, and media coverage amid the wave of demonstrations in the

²⁵ Ehsan, R. (ed.), 'Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology', *The Henry Jackson Society* (2020).

²⁶ 'George Zimmerman not guilty of Trayvon Martin murder', *BBC News*, 14 July 2013, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-23304198>, last visited: 13 January 2021.

²⁷ Roberts, F.L., 'How Black Lives Matter Changed the Way Americans Fight for Freedom', *American Civil Liberties Union*, 13 July 2018, available at: <https://www.aclu.org/blog/racial-justice/race-and-criminal-justice/how-black-lives-matter-changed-way-americans-fight>, last visited: 13 January 2021.

²⁸ Thomas, D. and Horowitz, J.M., 'Support for Black Lives Matter has decreased since June but remains strong among Black Americans', *Pew Research Center*, 16 September 2020, available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/09/16/support-for-black-lives-matter-has-decreased-since-june-but-remains-strong-among-black-americans/>, last visited: 13 January 2021.

²⁹ Official Twitter account of UK BLM: <https://twitter.com/ukblm>, last visited: 16 February 2021.

³⁰ Official Go Fund Me page of UK BLM: <https://www.gofundme.com/f/ukblm-fund>, last visited: 16 February 2021.

³¹ Ehsan, R. (ed.), 'Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology', *The Henry Jackson Society* (2020). See also: <https://www.gofundme.com/f/ukblm-fund>.

aftermath of George Floyd's death. A number of British parliamentarians – predominantly in the Labour Party – have expressed their support for the broader BLM social movement. This has included current Labour Party Leader Sir Keir Starmer and deputy leader Angela Rayner, who were together photographed 'taking a knee' as a gesture of solidarity with the BLM movement.³²

Alongside the broader rise of the BLM movement in the UK, a number of ideologically aligned 'educational' initiatives influenced by Critical Race Theory (CRT) have grown in prominence. The most high-profile of these campaigns refer to "decolonising" the school curriculum – which includes calls for a more "global" curriculum where a greater number of non-white, non-British historical figures are incorporated into teaching content.³³ The organisation 'The Black Curriculum' has also developed a stronger public profile. This social enterprise looks to "address the lack of Black British history in the UK curriculum" and is "committed to the teaching and support of Black history all year around".³⁴ These campaigns are not only hoping to make an impact in primary and secondary education, but also in the university sector. This has been recently demonstrated by the University of Leicester's plans to drop English language and medieval literature modules in favour of a "decolonised curriculum".³⁵ The UK BLM organisation, through its official Twitter account, has previously called for "the transformation of our education systems and decriminalisation of black students in the classroom".³⁶

In addition to making an impact in the UK's education sector, the influence of the Black Lives Matter movement has made headway in other spheres of life, commanding support from high-profile figures in academia, media, entertainment and sports. This has included Sky Sports promoting the BLM social movement during its coverage of a range of sporting events, including Premier League football fixtures and Test Match cricket involving England. However, this has not been without controversy and has produced a cultural counter-challenge to both the BLM social movement and other closely associated campaigns.

2.2: The Cultural Counter-Challenge to BLM and CRT

The emergence of the BLM social movement in the UK, along with closely linked campaigns such as 'The Black Curriculum', has generated a cultural push-back spanning a range of sectors in British society.

A watershed moment during 2020 was a House of Commons statement delivered by the Minister for Equalities, Nigerian-origin Conservative MP Kemi Badenoch. In the statement, the equalities minister proceeded to label the emergence of the BLM social movement as a divisive development for UK race relations. In addition to this, Badenoch took sharp aim at CRT, stating that teaching theoretical concepts such as "white privilege" in schools and presenting them as fact was a law-breaking dereliction of duty.³⁷ This was followed by a

³² Gregory, A., 'Black Lives Matter: Keir Starmer takes knee in solidarity with "all those opposing anti-black racism"', *The Independent*, 9 June 2020, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/black-lives-matter-keir-starmer-labour-take-knee-george-floyd-funeral-a9557166.html>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

³³ Okolosie, L., "'White guilt on its own won't fix racism": decolonising Britain's schools', *The Guardian*, 10 June 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jun/10/white-guilt-on-its-own-wont-fix-racism-decolonising-britains-schools>, last visited: 5 February 2021.

³⁴ 'The Black Curriculum', <https://theblackcurriculum.com/> last visited: 16 February 2021.

³⁵ Regan, V., 'Anger at University of Leicester's "decolonised curriculum" plans', *BBC News*, 5 February 2021, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-leicestershire-55860810>, last visited: 5 February 2021.

³⁶ Link to relevant Tweet from UK BLM's official Twitter account (tweeted on 21 September 2020): <https://twitter.com/ukblm/status/1308065339041869827>, last visited: 16 February 2021.

³⁷ Wood, V., 'Teachers presenting white privilege as fact are breaking the law, minister warns', *The Independent*, 21 October 2020, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/kemi-badenoch-black-history-month-white-privilege-black-lives-matter-b1189547.html>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

robust political intervention by fellow equalities minister Liz Truss who argued that discussions about inequality had all too often been dominated by “fashion” and not “facts”.³⁸ Promising on behalf of the Conservative Party government that equality policy would focus more on social class and regional disparities, Truss issued a warning that the discrimination debate should not be solely focused on race, religion, and sexual orientation.

Against a backdrop of BLM demonstrations, the ‘Don’t Divide Us’ campaign issued a statement published by *The Spectator* titled “Racial division is being sown in the name of anti-racism”.³⁹ The statement advanced the view that the police homicide of George Floyd was being exploited by political activists, public sector institutions, and private corporations to “promote an ideological agenda that threatens to undermine British race relations”. Expressing its support for “open-minded, fact-based investigation” into the root causes of social problems in British society, the statement was signed by individuals in various walks of life, including free-speech activist Inaya Folarin Iman, social policy researcher Mercy Muroki, and political commentator Esther Krakue. The list of signatories also included academics such as Professor Doug Stokes (Director of Centre for Advanced International Studies) and Dr Ashley Frawley (sociologist at Swansea University).

The education sector has seen the intensification of divides over the content of school curricula and style of teaching methods. A number of prominent educationalists have pushed back on calls for the “decolonisation” of education. Katharine Birbalsingh, founder and headmistress of the highly respected Michaela School in North London, has argued that the existing history curriculum already includes inspirational British and non-British Black icons – such as British-Jamaican businesswoman Mary Seacole and American civil rights activist Rosa Parks.⁴⁰ Education consultant Calvin Robinson has warned of the divisive influence of CRT in the education system, criticising the presentation of “white privilege” and “white fragility” as “unchallenged facts”.⁴¹ Mark Lehain, Director of Campaign for Common Sense and founding principal of the Bedford Free School, has criticised the teacher-on-pupil imposition of “niche authoritarian views ... under the guise of compassion and ‘anti-racism’”.⁴²

In the world of sports, the Premier League dropped the Black Lives Matter badge from shirts for the 2020–21 football season in favour of a patch reading “no room for racism”.⁴³ In Formula 1 (F1), British multi-world champion driver Sir Lewis Hamilton has established himself as a leading advocate of the BLM movement, wearing Black Lives Matter shirts and taking a knee. However, a number of other F1 drivers have opted not to take the knee alongside Hamilton and decided to wear alternative shirts with the text “End Racism”.⁴⁴ Following their series against the West Indies, the England cricket team decided that it would not take a knee as a gesture

³⁸ Parkinson, J., ‘Equality debate can’t be led by fashion, says minister Liz Truss’, *BBC News*, 17 December 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-55346920>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

³⁹ Fox, C., Doyle, A. and Iman, I.F., ‘Racial division is being sown in the name of anti-racism’, *The Spectator*, 30 June 2020, available at: <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/racial-division-is-being-sown-in-the-name-of-anti-racism-it-s-time-to-speak-out>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

⁴⁰ Ehsan, R. (ed.), ‘Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology’, *The Henry Jackson Society* (2020).

⁴¹ Robinson, C., ‘Beware Critical Race Theory – the divisive ideology infiltrating school history lessons’, *The Telegraph*, 1 October 2020, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/10/01/beware-critical-race-theory-divisive-ideology-infiltrating/>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

⁴² Lehain, M., ‘It’s time for schools to be politically impartial’, *The Spectator*, 21 October 2020, available at: <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/it-s-time-for-schools-to-be-politically-impartial>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

⁴³ MacInnes, P., ‘Premier League drops Black Lives Matter badge from shirts for own campaign’, *The Guardian*, 10 September 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2020/sep/10/premier-league-drop-black-lives-matter-badge-from-shirts-for-own-campaign>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

⁴⁴ ‘F1 2020: Each driver explains why they refused to kneel at Austria GP’, *News.com.au*, 10 July 2020, available at: <https://www.news.com.au/sport/motorsport/formula-one/f1-2020-each-driver-explains-why-they-refused-to-kneel-at-austria-gp/news-story/50f70a947ba8c266cdc1a017ee98a990>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

of solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement in the later fixtures against Australia and Pakistan. Reflecting the diversity of thought among Black cricketing figures of Caribbean heritage, the decision was criticised by Jamaican cricketing legend Sir Michael Holding, while Barbadian-origin England international Jofra Archer spoke of the England Cricket Board's anti-racism initiatives and responded that Holding's criticisms were "a bit harsh".⁴⁵

2.3: Studies on British Ethnic-Minority Attitudes

While the 'BAME' acronym continues to be used in the spheres of politics, policy, and academia, it is worth reaffirming the reality that the UK's non-white population is internally stratified and incredibly diverse in terms of race, ethnicity, and religion. This was the central takeaway point from the 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study survey (2010 EMBES). Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, the 2010 EMBES remains the largest and most systematic investigation into the social behaviour and political attitudes of British ethnic minorities to date.

One of the more interesting 'sub-stories' which emerged from the 2010 EMBES data was the differences in social behaviour and political attitudes between Black British people of Caribbean and African origin. When compared with their co-racial counterparts of Caribbean heritage, people of African origin were shown to be decidedly more 'in-group' in terms of marital choice and more likely to attach importance to their religious identity. In terms of political trust in the UK, people of Black African origin (when compared to Black Caribbeans) had stronger forms of trust in the UK Parliament and were also significantly more likely to express satisfaction with the British democratic system (controlling for a range of socio-demographic and social-integration factors).⁴⁶ Fitting in with these patterns relating to institutional distrust, the most recent Crime Survey for England and Wales found that 76 per cent of people of Black African origin had confidence in their local police force. This dropped to 56 per cent for people of Black Caribbean origin.⁴⁷

It is also important to consider integration effects for the broader Black British population. There is existing research which suggests that minority groups – especially their poorer-integrated elements – act as 'insular social hubs' where problematic attitudes tend to be more concentrated. This includes holding relatively negative perceptions of the social mainstream, expressing a more favourable view of autocratic regimes, and believing unfounded conspiracy theories. When compared to the general population, British Muslims are less likely to hold pro-Jewish views and more likely to believe Anti-Semitic conspiracy theories than the UK general population.⁴⁸ However, this is a deeper-rooted problem in lesser-integrated sections of the British Muslim population. Building on this research, in the interests of community cohesion, this report will adopt a research methodology which helps to explore whether predominantly (or exclusively) Black British social networks are associated with relatively negative attitudes towards 'outgroupers' and higher levels of conspiratorial beliefs.

⁴⁵ Lofthouse, A., 'Jofra Archer: England have not forgotten about Black Lives Matter', *BBC Sport*, 14 September 2020, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sport/cricket/54142377>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

⁴⁶ Ehsan, R. (2018), 'Discrimination, Social Relations, and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities' (Egham (Surrey): *Royal Holloway, University of London* (Department of Politics, International Relations and Philosophy)), available at: [https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/discrimination-social-relations-and-trust-civic-inclusion-of-british-ethnic-minorities\(d3f4ff04-94c5-43e6-8c69-52cad4bc226f\).html](https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/discrimination-social-relations-and-trust-civic-inclusion-of-british-ethnic-minorities(d3f4ff04-94c5-43e6-8c69-52cad4bc226f).html), last visited: 27 August 2020.

⁴⁷ *UK Government*, 'Confidence in the local police', 4 March 2020, available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/confidence-in-the-local-police/latest#by-ethnicity-over-time>, last visited: 5 February 2020.

⁴⁸ Ehsan, R., 'Muslim Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Great Britain', *The Henry Jackson Society* (2020), available at: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/HJS-British-Muslim-Anti-Semitism-Report-web-1.pdf>, last visited: 6 January 2021.

Amid the wave of BLM demonstrations and the growing dominance of race-related debates in contemporary civil discourse, a host of ethnic-minority surveys were carried out over the course of 2020 by various polling companies on behalf of a range of organisations. However, it ought to be acknowledged that ‘BAME’ and ‘ethnic-minority’ polls, reflecting the ethnic and racial composition of the UK’s broader non-white population, **predominantly consist of respondents of South Asian origin**. For example, a Savanta-ComRes racial issues poll conducted on behalf of CNN used an ethnic-minority booster sample in the region of 500 BAME respondents, but this contained only 105 Black British people.⁴⁹ To provide another example, a Number Cruncher Politics survey of 1,502 BAME respondents included a unweighted Black British subsample of 405 people.⁵⁰ Therefore, highly specialised contemporary studies which are reliant on robust and comprehensive Black British polling are a relatively scarce commodity in the field of UK political science.

⁴⁹ Greene, R.A., ‘Britain’s big race divide’, *CNN*, 22 June 2020, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2020/06/europe/britain-racism-cnn-poll-gbr-intl/>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

⁵⁰ Singh, M., ‘Stephen Lawrence: Has Britain Changed?’, *Number Cruncher Politics*, 20 July 2020, available at: <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/2020/07/stephen-lawrence-has-britain-changed/>, last visited: 27 January 2021.

3. Report Data and Methodology

In order to provide a comprehensive account of the social and cultural trends which have come to the fore in British political discourse, the Henry Jackson Society (HJS) took the decision to work with reputable polling organisation ICM Unlimited. Well-credentialed in terms of carrying out high-profile public opinion surveys on a range of topical social issues, including social integration and community cohesion, ICM's expertise in interviewing ethnic-minority groups means it was considered to be a suitable research partner. In recent times, ICM has deepened its specialism in this area of public-opinion polling, carrying out in-depth studies for the UK Home Office, Trades Union Congress (TUC), Runnymede Trust and Refugee Action - all of which had a substantial non-white sample either at its core or as a booster sample.

Two separate surveys were commissioned by HJS and conducted by ICM - a bespoke, nationally representative, British general-population poll of 1,000 respondents, along with a rigorously weighted Black British booster sample of **558 respondents**. Reflecting the ethnic demography of Britain's non-white population, recent 'BAME' polls have been based on predominantly Asian-origin samples - with Black British people representing a minority. Therefore, this study relies on a weighted sample size of Black British people which dwarfs those contained in broader, less-focused polls on ethnic-minority public attitudes. The larger sample is a major advantage, allowing for the confident identification of social, cultural, and political fault-lines within the Black British population, which has often been characterised as a single-voice, monolithic racial bloc.

Due to the physical restrictions in place during the Covid-19 pandemic, and guarding against forms of social desirability bias that may interfere with the credibility of telephone interviews, an online methodology was considered to be the most desirable approach for the polling conducted for this report. Following numerous quality-control procedures over the survey questionnaire, ICM Unlimited carried out the fieldwork between 6 and 18 January 2021. With online samples tending to be more middle-class and higher-educated in terms of demographic composition, the fieldwork design plan devised by ICM made special provisions to sufficiently incorporate respondents who fall in lower socio-economic grades.

Specific weights were applied to the Black British sample to ensure that the booster sample was demographically and socio-economically representative of the adult Black population in Britain. The weighting scheme for the Black British sample was separately devised to the weighting scheme used for the main general-population sample.

4. Data Analysis – Part 1: Race, Identity, and BLM

The report's data analysis section is divided into three parts. Part 1 is compartmentalised into six subsections: perception of UK race relations and the social impact of BLM; personal forms of identity; perception of different social groups and discriminatory experiences; relationship with public institutions such as the UK Parliament; views on core UK BLM objectives and forms of civil disobedience; and broader perceptions of racism and police behaviour in the UK and US. Part 2 looks at attitudes towards ten selected countries (including the UK) and public beliefs about the control of global banking, politics, media, entertainment, and arms manufacturing. Part 3 examines life satisfaction and family background of UK-based respondents.

4.1: Perception of UK Race Relations and BLM

Section 4.1 explores public perceptions of UK race relations and the social impact of the broader BLM movement. This includes data breakdowns based on vote choice in the June 2016 UK referendum on EU membership and the December 2019 UK General Election. Differences between two Black ethnic groups – people of African and Caribbean origin – are also explored in this context.

Figure 1: Perception of UK Race Relations (General Population)

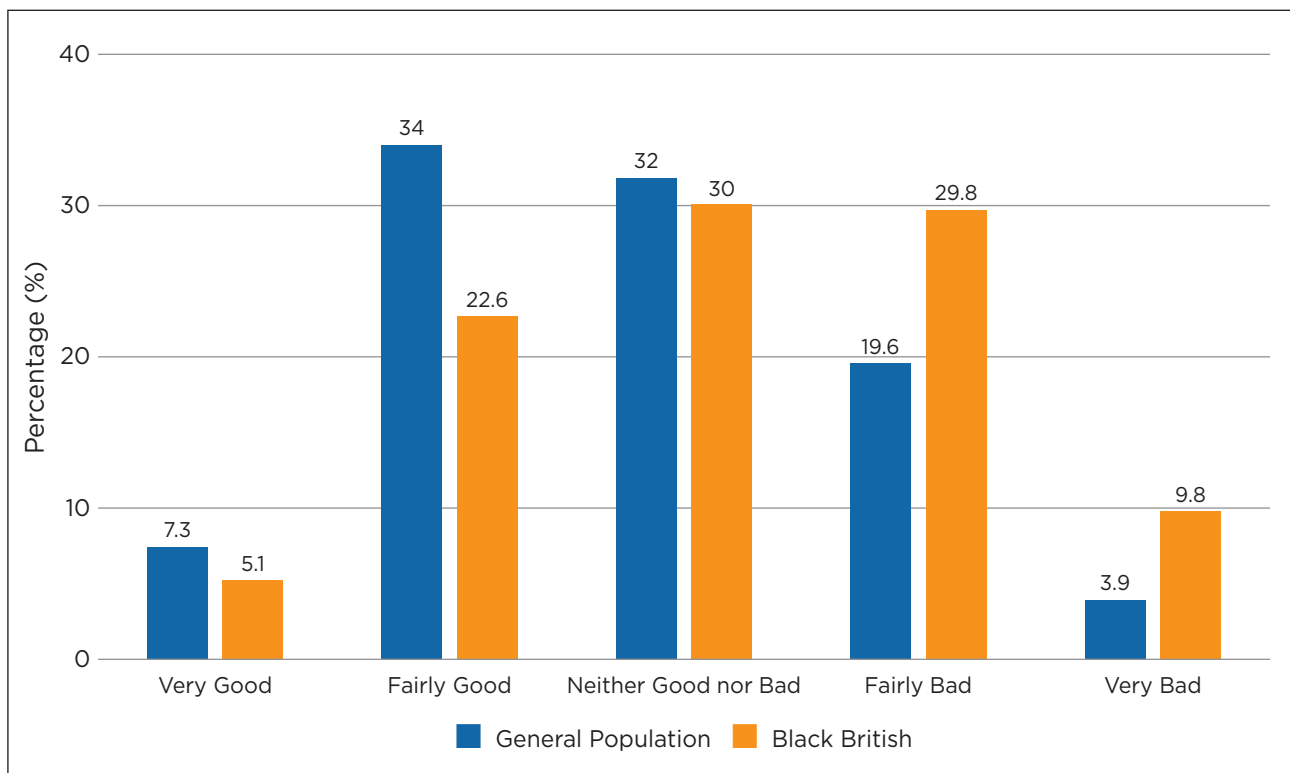
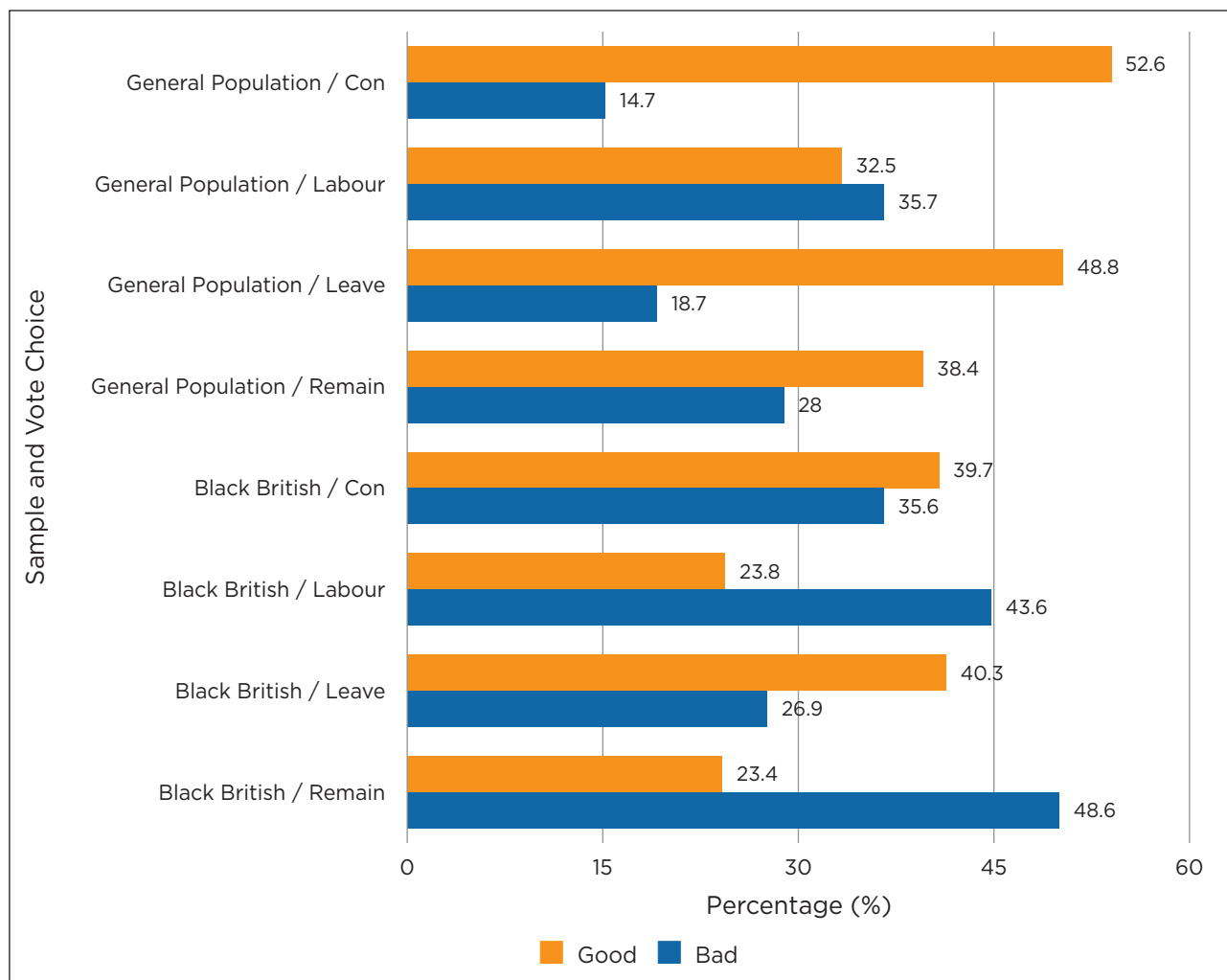


Figure 1 presents an overview of public perceptions of race relations in the UK.⁵¹ While 41.3 per cent of the general population think that the condition of race relations in the UK is either fairly or very good, the corresponding figure for Black British people is considerably lower at 27.7 per cent – a difference of 13.6 percentage points. For the general-population sample, 23.5 per cent are of the view that UK race relations are either fairly or very bad. This rises to nearly 4 in 10 – 39.6 per cent – for Black British people. Around 1 in 10 – 9.8 per cent – of Black British

⁵¹ Please note that figures shown throughout the report may not add up to 100, as responses such as “don’t know” and “prefer not to say” were included in the analysis, but not depicted in the figures.

Figure 2: Perception of UK Race Relations
(2019 General Election and 2016 EU referendum vote choice)



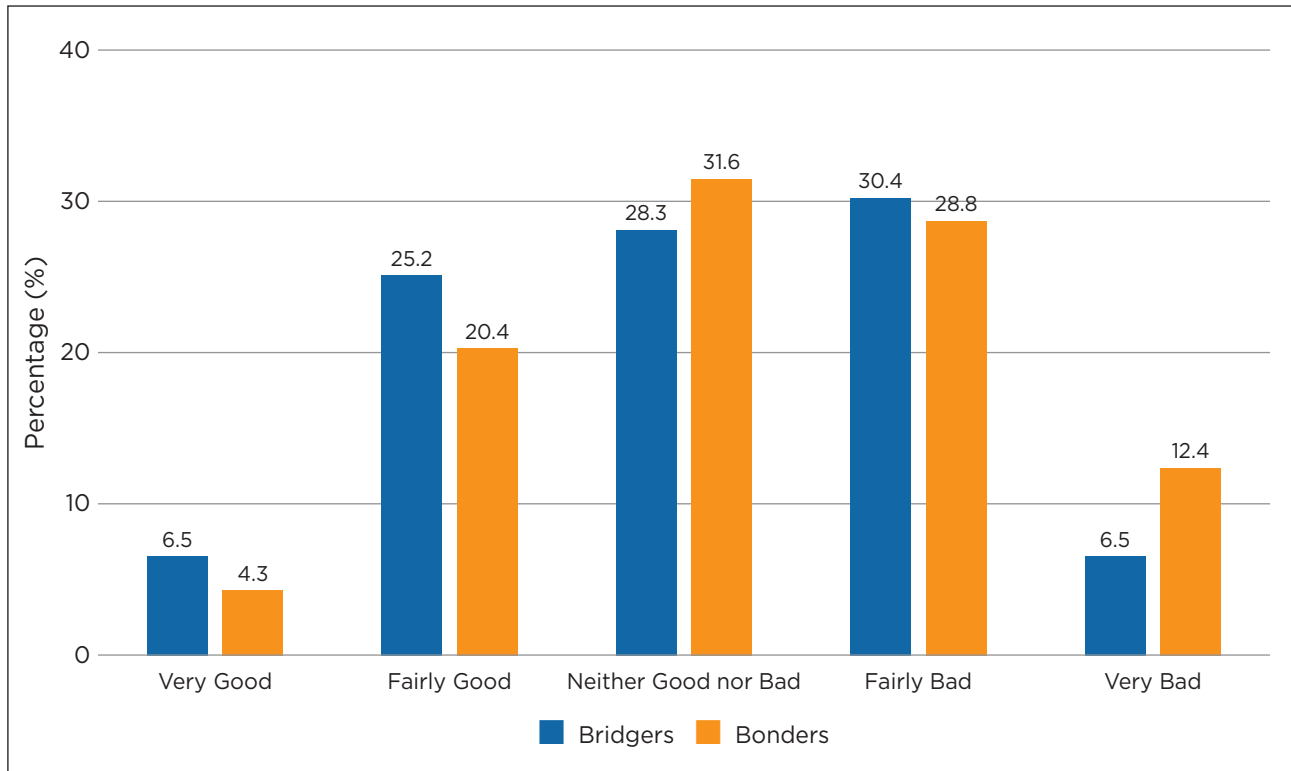
respondents believe that race relations in the UK are in very bad shape. Only 1 in 25 people - 3.9 per cent - in the general population follow suit.

Figure 2 presents an overview of public perceptions of race relations, broken down by vote choice in the June 2016 referendum on EU membership and the December 2019 UK General Election.

The majority of Conservative voters in the general population - 52.6 per cent - are of the view that race relations in the UK are in good shape, with 14.7 per cent believing that they are in bad condition (a good-bad net figure of +37.9 percentage points). Labour voters in the general population are more evenly split on the issue with 32.5 per cent believing that race relations are in good shape, set against 35.7 per cent who are of the view that they are in bad condition (a good-bad net figure of -3.2 percentage points). Leave voters in the general population have a notably more positive view of race relations in the UK when compared with Remain voters in the sample (good-bad net figures of +30.1 and +10.4 percentage points respectively).

In the Black British population sample, Conservative voters are split on the condition of UK race relations - with 39.7 per cent believing they are in good shape, and 35.6 per cent feeling that they are in bad shape (a good-bad net figure of only +4.1 percentage points). In the Black British Labour-voting sample, under 1 in 4 - 23.8 per cent - believe race relations in the UK are in good shape. Over 4 in 10 - 43.6 per cent - are of the view that the UK's race relations are

Figure 3: Perception of UK Race Relations in Black British Sample
(By Degree of Co-Racial Friendship group)



in bad condition (providing a good-bad net figure of -19.8 percentage points). Leave voters in the Black British population have a far more positive view of race relations in the UK when compared with co-racial Remain voters (good-bad net figures of +13.4 and -25.2 percentage points respectively).

Figure 3 presents an overview of Black British public perception of race relations, broken down by the co-racial nature of close friendship group. Two categories have been created – **'Bridgers'** (Black British people who report that either none or only a few of their close friends are Black) and **'Bonders'** (Black British people who report that at least half, most, or all of their close friends are also Black).

The figures show that 31.7 per cent of the better-integrated 'bridgers' believe that race relations are in good shape, set against 36.9 per cent who think they are in bad condition (a net figure of -5.2 percentage points). Conversely, 24.7 per cent of the lesser-integrated 'bonders' are of the view that the UK's race relations are in good shape, set against 41.2 per cent who think they are in bad condition (a net figure of -16.5 percentage points). While 6.5 per cent of 'bridgers' feel that race relations in the UK are in very bad shape, this rises to 12.4 per cent for 'bonders'.

Figure 4 presents an overview of Black British public perception of race relations, broken down by two ethnic categories – Black African and Black Caribbean.

The figures show that 34.9 per cent of Black African-origin respondents believe that UK race relations are in good shape, set against 32.8 per cent who think they are in bad condition (a net figure of +2.1 percentage points). Conversely, 21.7 per cent of Black Caribbean-origin respondents are of the view that the UK's race relations are in good shape, set against 45.2 per cent who think they are in bad condition (a net figure of -23.5 percentage points). While 6.9 per cent of Black African-origin respondents feel that race relations in the UK are in very bad shape, this rises to 12.7 per cent for respondents of Black Caribbean origin.

Figure 4: Perception of UK Race Relations (Black African and Black Caribbean ethnicities)

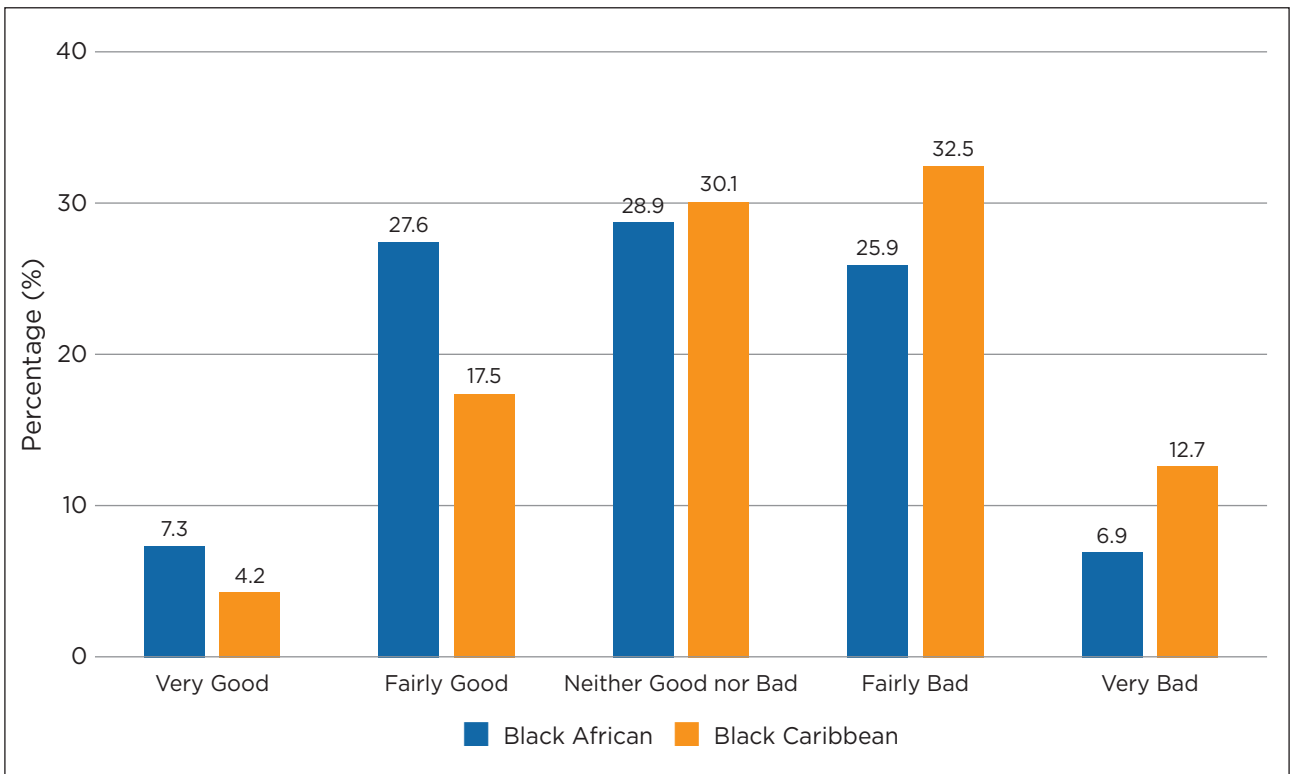


Figure 5: Perception of Impact of BLM movement on UK Race Relations

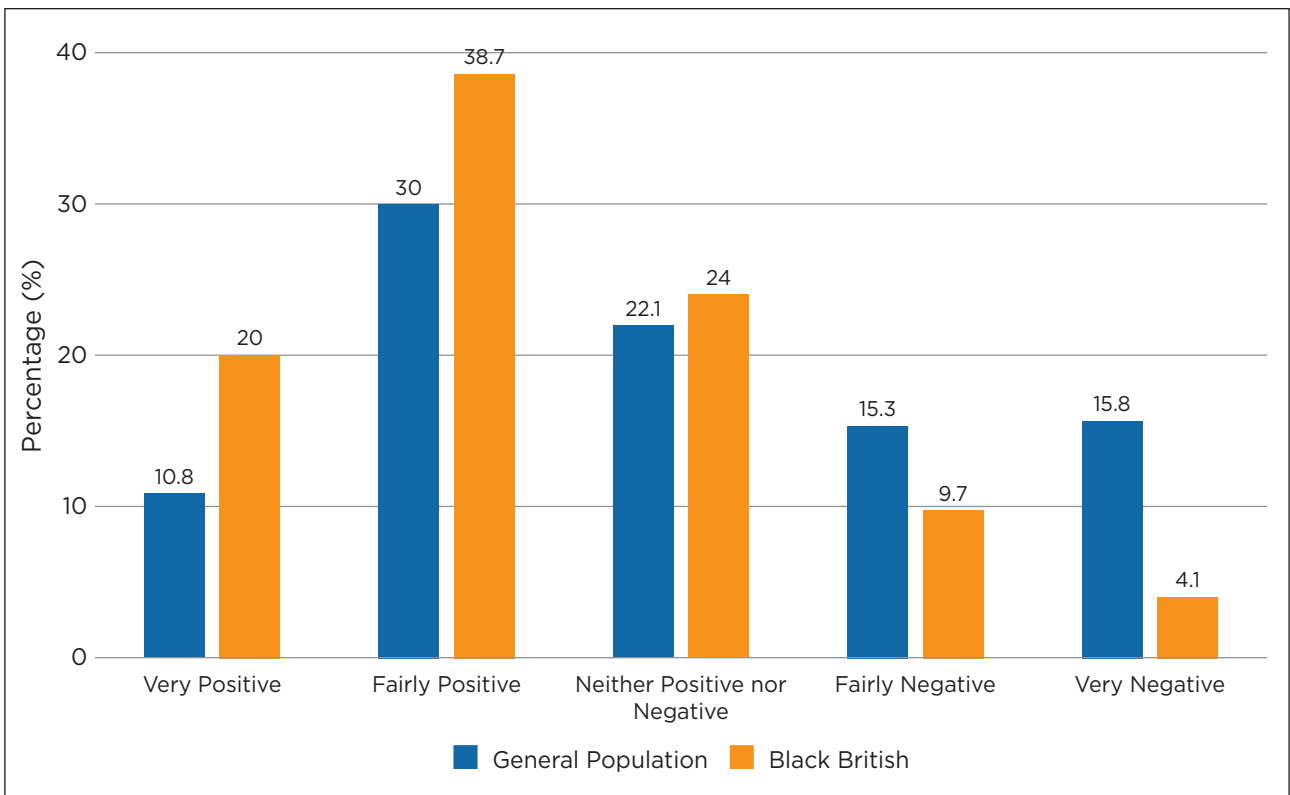
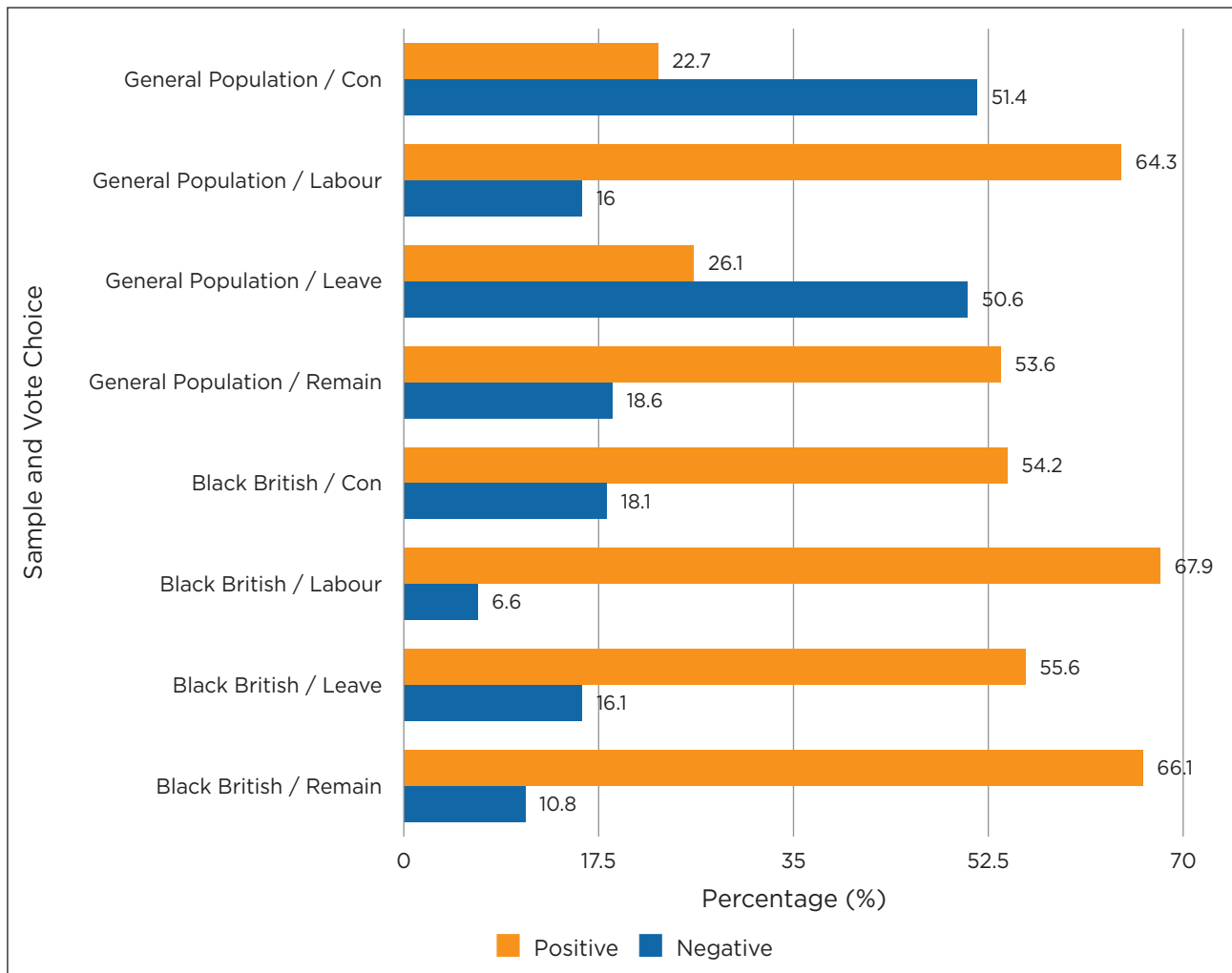


Figure 5 presents an overview of public attitudes – within both the general-population and Black British samples – towards the BLM movement’s perceived impact on UK race relations. The data shows that when compared with Black British people, the general population are notably more likely to believe that the BLM movement has had a negative impact on UK race

Figure 6: Perception of BLM movement's Impact on UK Race Relations
(2019 General Election and 2016 EU referendum vote choice)



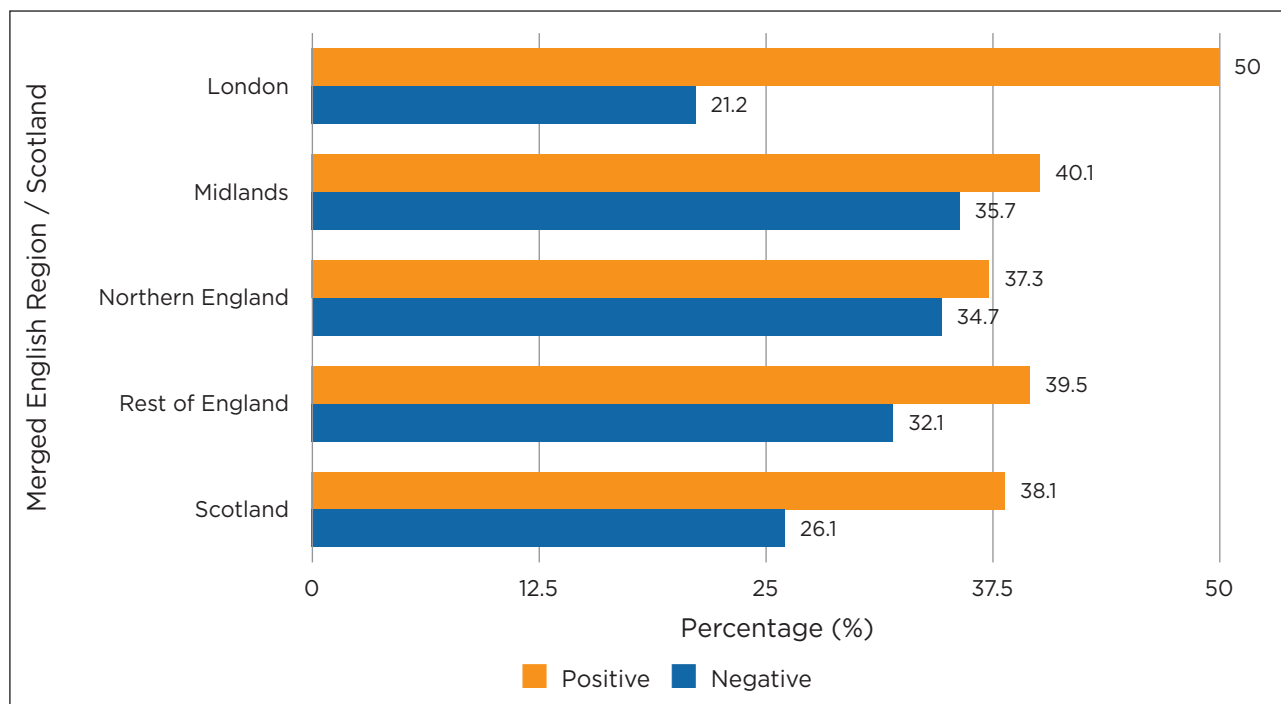
relations. As a total of 'fairly negative' and 'very negative' responses, 31.1 per cent of the general population are of that view – this drops to 13.8 per cent for Black British people. While nearly 6 in 10 Black British people (58.7 per cent) believe that the BLM movement has had a positive impact on UK race relations, this drops to 40.8 per cent for the broader general population.

Figure 6 presents an overview of public attitudes towards the BLM movement's perceived impact on race relations in the UK (within both the general and Black British population samples), broken down by vote choice in the 2016 UK referendum on EU membership and party vote choice in the 2019 UK General Election.

The subgroups most likely to be of the view that BLM has had a **negative effect** on UK race relations are Conservative and Leave voters in the broader general population, with a majority in each subgroup holding this view (51.4 per cent and 50.6 per cent respectively). While it is worth noting that such subgroups represent relatively small samples, a majority of Black British people who voted Leave in the 2016 referendum on EU membership believe that the BLM movement has had a **positive impact** on UK race relations (55.6 per cent). This is also the case for Black British people who voted for the Conservatives in the 2019 general election (54.2 per cent).

A comfortable majority of Labour voters in both the Black British and general-population samples believe that the BLM movement has had a positive impact on race relations in the UK (67.9 per cent and 64.3 per cent respectively). The majority of Remain voters in the broader

Figure 7: General Population Perception of BLM Movement’s Impact on UK Race Relations (Merged English Regions and Scotland)



general population are of the view that BLM has had a positive impact on UK race relations – 53.6 per cent. This rises to 66.1 per cent for Remain voters in the Black British sample. The highest net positive-negative figure can be found among Black British Labour voters (+61.3 percentage points). The lowest positive-negative figure can be found among Conservative voters in the general population (–28.7 percentage points).

Figure 7 presents an overview of the perceived impact of the BLM movement on UK race relations, broken down by merged English regions and Scotland. The region in the analysis with the most positive view of the BLM’s impact on race relations is London, with a net positive-negative figure of +28.8 percentage points. London is followed by Scotland, which has a net positive-negative figure of +12.0 percentage points.

The merged English regions trail London by a notable margin in terms of how positive they are about BLM’s impact on race relations. The Rest of England (South East, South West, and East of England), the Midlands (East and West Midlands) and Northern England (North East England, North West England, and Yorkshire and the Humber) have relatively slender net percentages in positive territory (+7.4, +4.4, and +2.6 percentage points respectively).

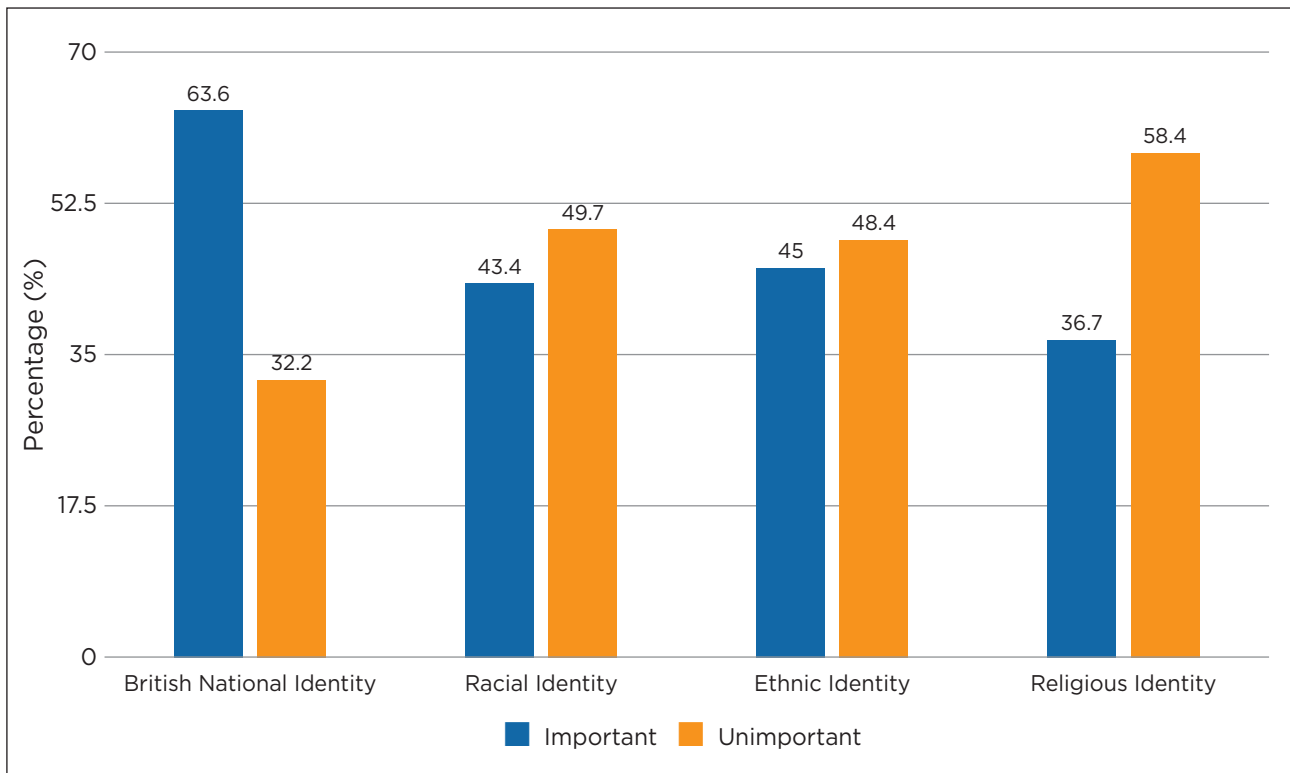
4.2: National, Racial, Ethnic and Religious Identity

Section 4.2 investigates the degree of importance the British public attaches to different aspects of their personal identity. Four forms of personal identity are included in this analysis: British national identity, racial identity, ethnic identity, and religious identity.⁵² This subsection also explores differences between British Black Africans and British Black Caribbeans in terms of attaching importance to their religious identity.

Figure 8 presents an overview of the extent to which the UK general population attaches importance to four aspects of their personal identity: British national identity, racial identity,

⁵² Racial identity (i.e. a social categorisation based on shared physical racial characteristics e.g. White, Black, and Asian). Ethnic identity (i.e. a social categorisation rooted in ancestral and cultural origin e.g. Irish, Somali, and Indian).

Figure 8: Importance of British National, Racial, Ethnic, and Religious Identity (General Population)



ethnic identity, and religious identity. In the analysis, the general population are most likely to attach importance to their British national identity (63.6 per cent), with 32.2 per cent stating that their British national identity is either not very or not at all important to them. This provides a net importance rating of +31.4 percentage points.

The other three forms of identity – racial, ethnic, and religious – all receive net importance ratings in negative territory (-6.3, -3.4, and -21.7 percentage points respectively). 36.7 per cent of the general population consider their religious identity to be important to them, while nearly 6 in 10 – 58.4 per cent – consider it to be unimportant.

Following on from the previous analysis, Figure 9 presents an overview of the extent to which Black British people attach importance to four aspects of their personal identity: British national identity, racial identity, ethnic identity, and religious identity.

In the analysis, Black British respondents are most likely to attach importance to their **ethnic identity** (75.0 per cent), with 21.3 per cent stating that their ethnic identity is either not very or not at all important to them. This provides a net importance rating of +53.7 percentage points. This is closely followed by **racial identity**. Nearly 3 in 4 – 72.6 per cent – of the Black British respondents attach importance to their racial identity, with 23.0 per cent considering this aspect of their identity to be unimportant (providing a net importance rating of +49.6 percentage points).

The general-population and Black British percentages relating to British national identity are similar. While 63.6 per cent of the general-population sample considered their British national identity to be important to them, the corresponding figure for the Black British sample is only marginally lower at 62.2 per cent. While 32.2 per cent of the general population consider this aspect of their identity to be unimportant, the corresponding figure for Black British people is 32.7 per cent.

Figure 9: Importance of British National, Racial, Ethnic, and Religious Identity (Black British Sample)

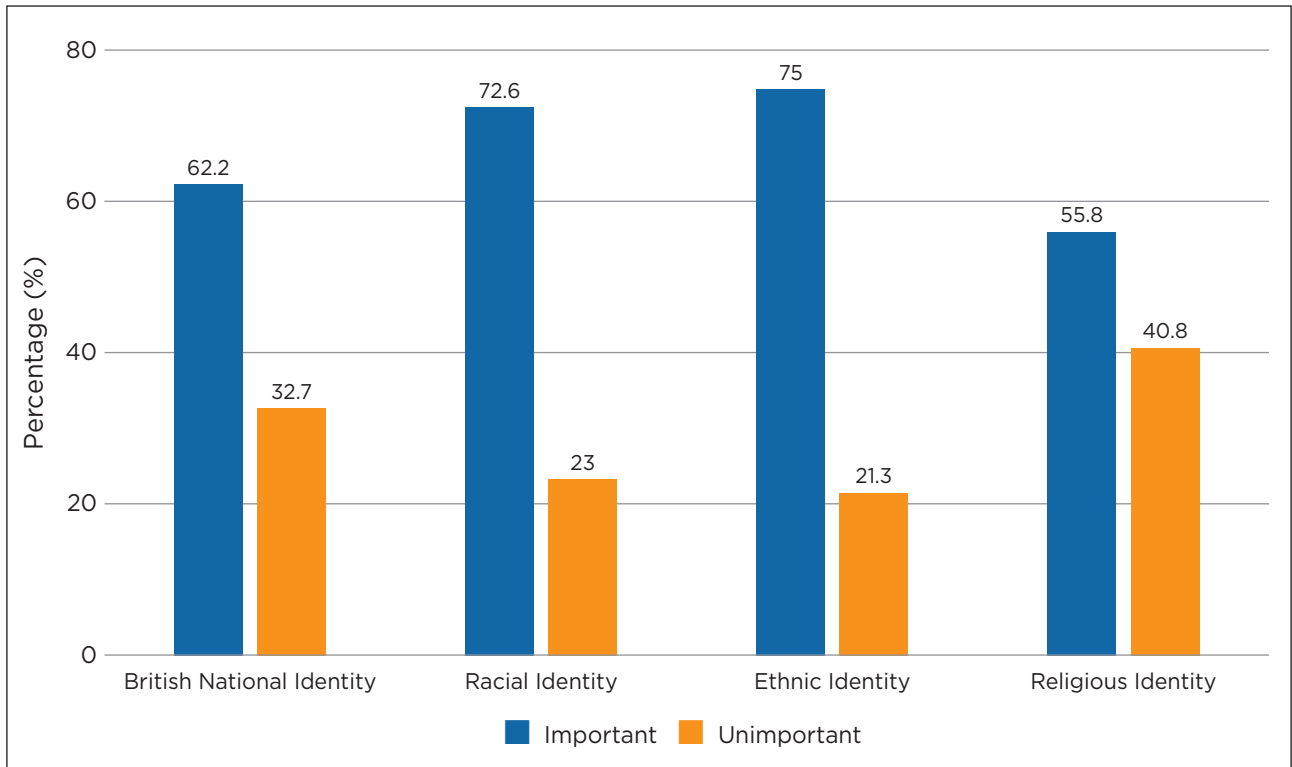
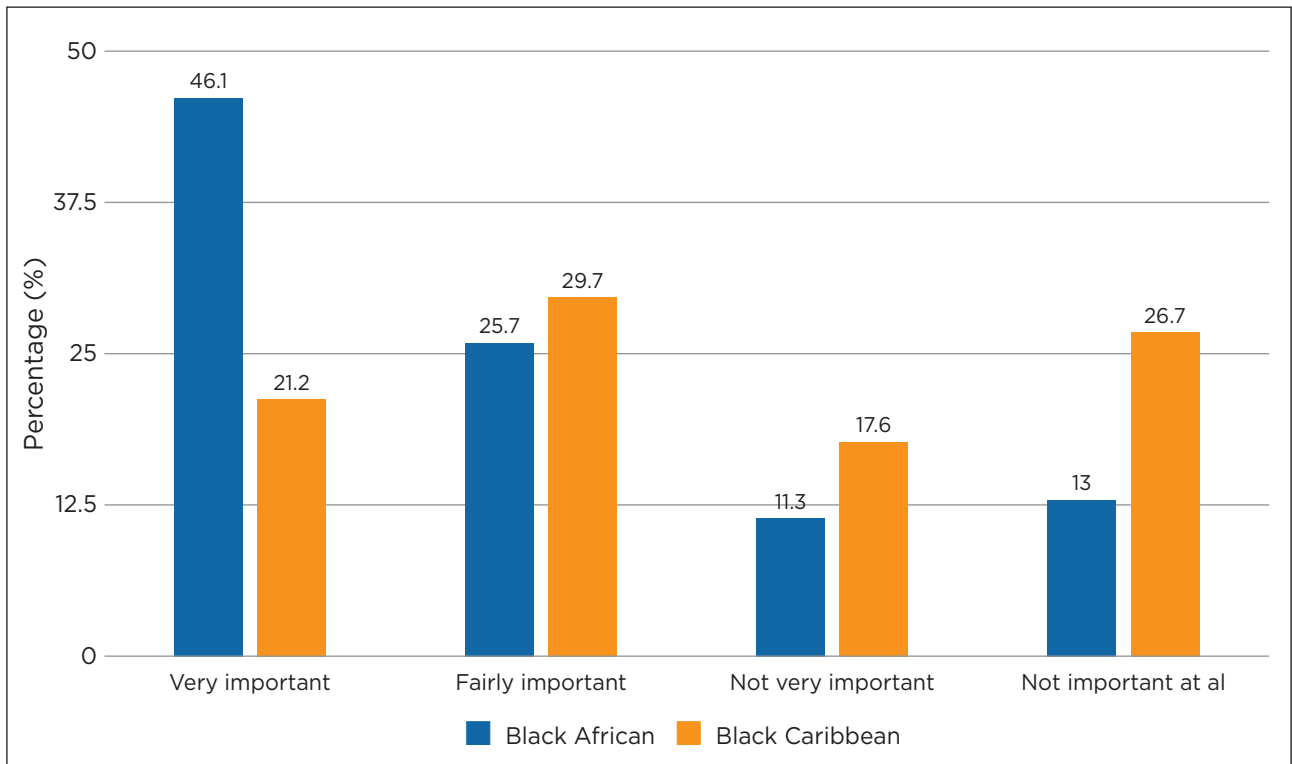


Figure 10: Importance of Religious Identity (Black African and Black Caribbean ethnicities)



There is a notable difference between the general-population and Black British sample in terms of attaching importance to their religious identity. A majority of Black British respondents – 55.8 per cent – consider their religious identity to be important, with 40.8 per cent stating that it is either not very or not at all important to them. This provides a net importance rating of

+15.0 percentage points (with the net importance rating in the general population being -21.7 percentage points).

Figure 10 presents an overview of the degree of importance attached to religious identity within two ethnic groups: people of Black African and Black Caribbean origin.

The analysis shows that people of Black African origin are notably more likely to attach importance to their religious identity than people of Black Caribbean origin. While 21.2 per cent of British people of Black Caribbean origin report that their religious identity is 'very important' to them, this rises to 46.1 per cent for British people of Black African origin – a difference of nearly 25 percentage points. Combining the figures for the 'very important' and 'fairly important' responses, 50.9 per cent of Black British Caribbeans attach importance to their religious identity – this increases to 71.8 per cent for Black British Africans.

Alternatively, 13.0 per cent of Black Britons of African origin state that their religious identity is not at all important to them – this rises to 26.7 per cent for Black Britons of Caribbean origin. Within the Black African ethnic category, 24.3 per cent say their religious identity is either not very important or not at all important to them. The corresponding figure for the Black Caribbean ethnic category is 44.3 per cent – a difference of 20 percentage points.

4.3: Intergroup Perceptions and Discriminatory Experiences

Section 4.3 of the report looks at general-population and Black British attitudes towards different ethnic and religious groups living in the UK. Investigating social integration effects, this section also assesses how less-integrated and better-integrated Black British people differ when it comes to their perceptions of the white British mainstream. It also examines the relationship between the Black African and Black Caribbean ethnic groups. This moves onto data on forms of reported discrimination and which social groups are held responsible for ethno-racial discrimination reported by Black British people.

Figure 11 presents an overview of general-population attitudes towards seven separate ethnic groupings: people of Black Caribbean, Black African, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Middle Eastern & North African (MENA), and Eastern European origin.

The majority of the general population have a favourable view of two of the seven groups – people of Indian and Black Caribbean origin (51.4 per cent and 50.8 per cent respectively). The two groups which receive the highest figures in terms of being viewed unfavourably by the general population are people of Pakistani and Eastern European origin (14.0 per cent and 13.2 per cent respectively).

The two groups with the highest net favourability ratings (favourable – unfavourable) are people of Black Caribbean origin (+44.1 percentage points), closely followed by people of Indian origin (+43.3 percentage points). Conversely, the two groups with the lowest net favourability ratings in the analysis are MENA- and Pakistani-origin people (+29.3 and +29.0 percentage points respectively).

Figure 12 presents an overview of Black British attitudes towards six separate ethnic groupings: people of White British, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Middle Eastern & North African, and Eastern European origin. The analysis shows that Black British people have the most favourable view of the White British ethnic group. Nearly 6 in 10 – 58.9 per cent – of Black British respondents have a favourable view of White British people. With 7.9 per cent having an unfavourable view, this provides a net favourability rating of +51.0 percentage points. The only other ethnic group which receives a favourable view of the majority of Black British respondents are people of Indian origin (52.5 per cent).

Figure 11: Perception of Ethnic Groups (General Population)

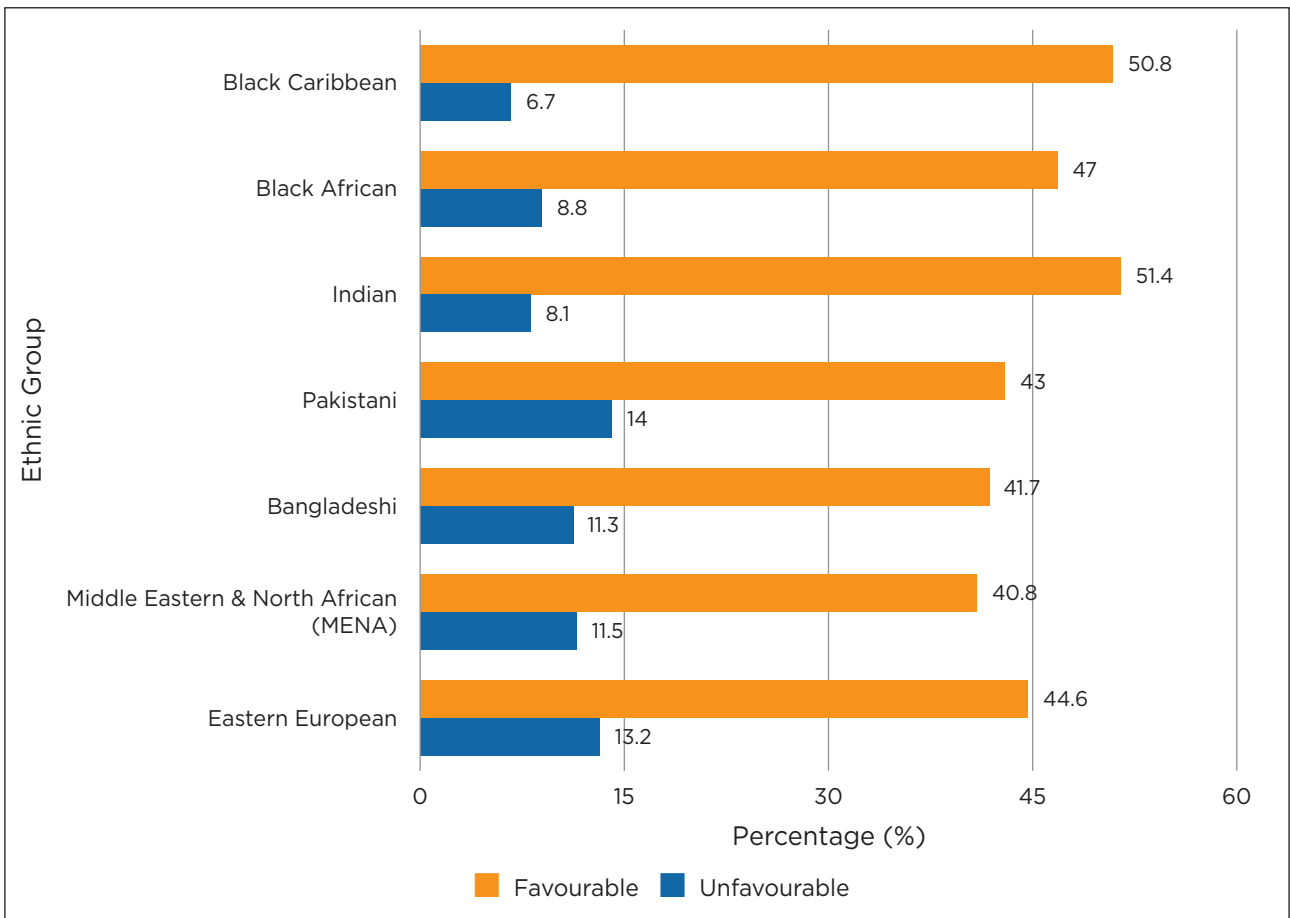


Figure 12: Perception of Ethnic Groups (Black British Sample)

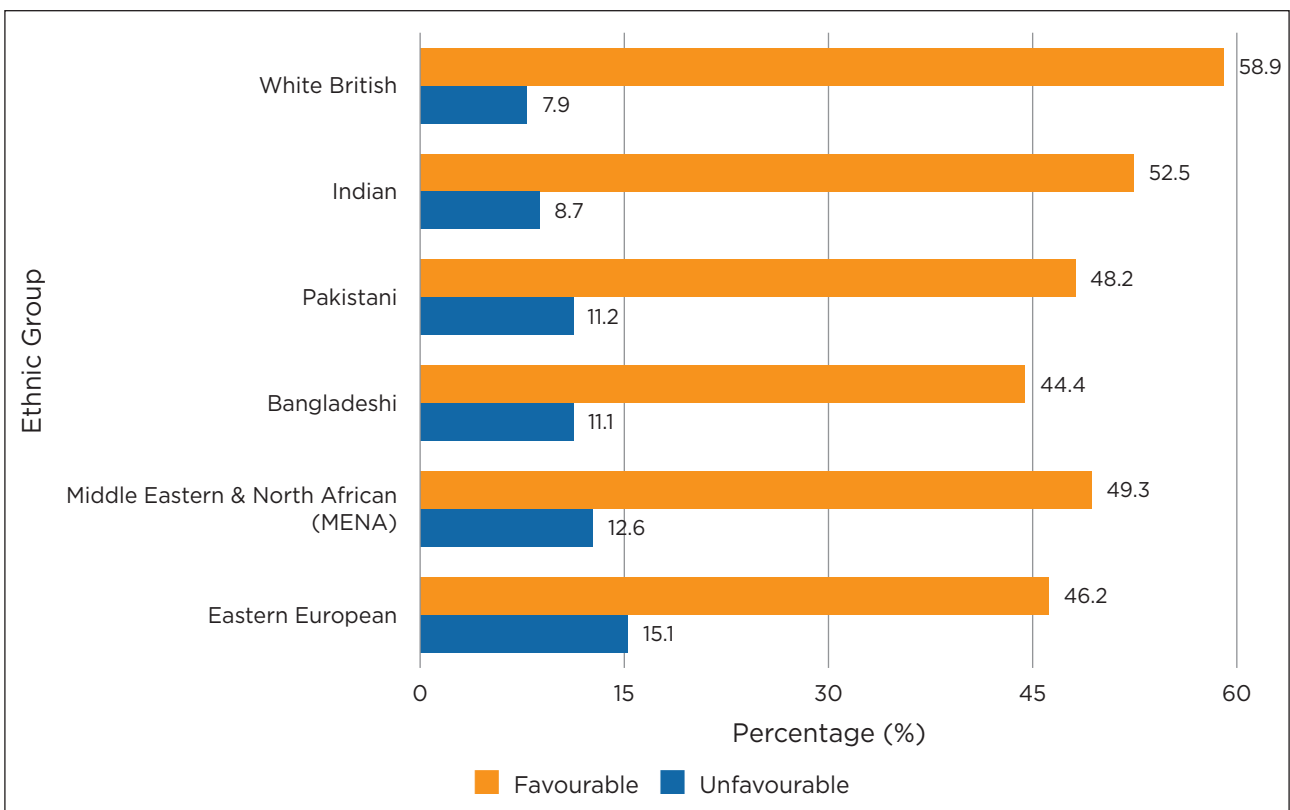
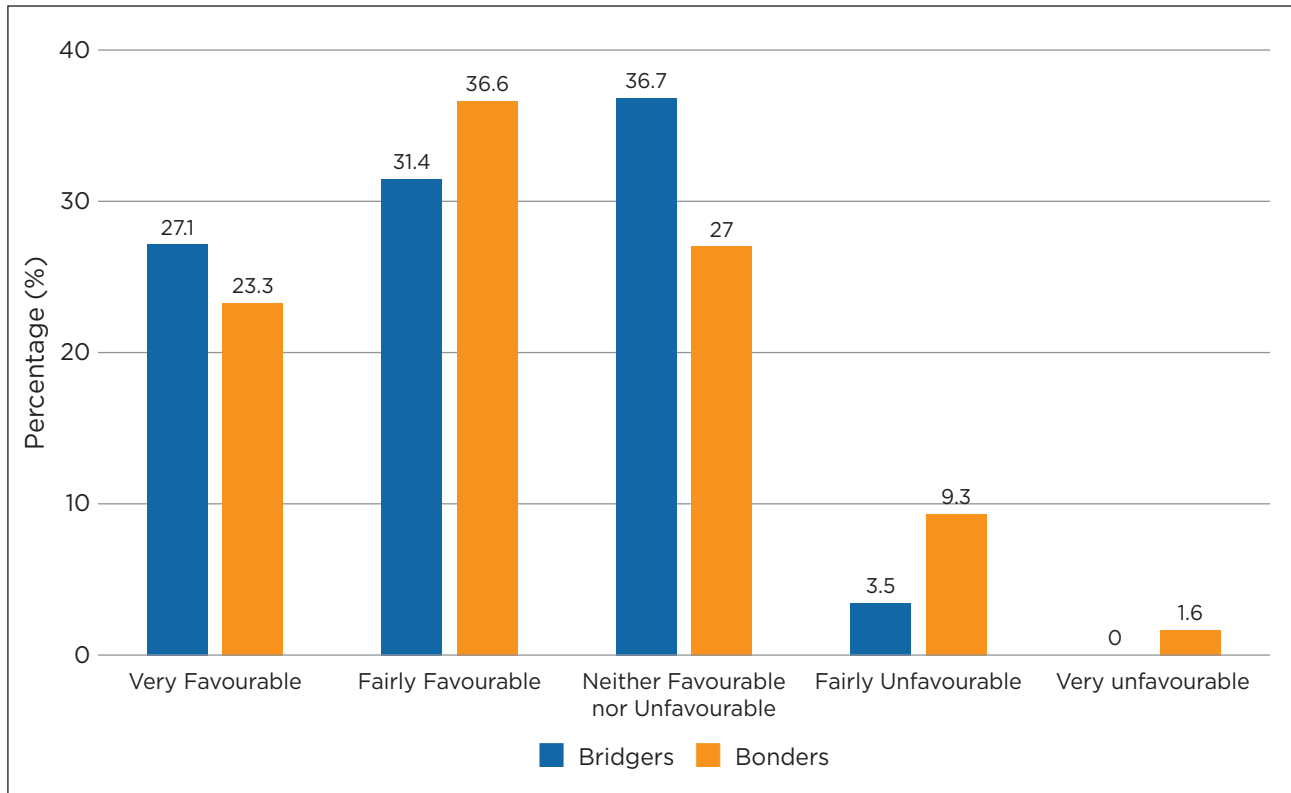


Figure 13: Perception of White British People and Co-Racial Degree of Friendship Group (Black British Sample)



The two groups which receive the highest figures in terms of being viewed unfavourably by the Black British respondents are people of MENA and Eastern European origin (12.6 per cent and 15.1 per cent respectively). While Pakistani-origin people received the lowest net favourability rating for the general-population sample, the Eastern European ethnic grouping receives the lowest net favourability rating among Black British respondents (+31.1 percentage points).

Figure 13 presents an overview of Black British public perception of white British people, broken down by the co-racial nature of close friendship group. Two categories have been created – ‘Bridgers’ (Black British people who report that either none or only a few of their close friends are also Black) and ‘Bonders’ (Black British people who report that at least half, most, or all of their close friends are also Black).

The analysis shows that better-integrated Black British ‘bridgers’ are more likely to have a very favourable view of White British people when compared with lesser-integrated Black British ‘bonders’ (27.1 per cent compared with 23.3 per cent). Black British ‘bonders’ are notably more likely to have an unfavourable view of White British people (10.9 per cent) than Black British ‘bridgers’ (3.5 per cent).

The net favourability rating for Black British ‘bonders’ is +49.0 percentage points – comparatively lower than the corresponding net favourability rating for Black British ‘bridgers’ (+55.0 percentage points).

Figure 14 presents results for the perception of Black **Caribbean-origin** people among Black people of **African origin**.

Over 3 in 10 people – 30.3 per cent – of Black African origin have a very favourable view of Black Caribbean-origin people. The overall figure for Black African-origin people having a favourable view of Black Caribbean-origin people is 67.5 per cent. A total of 5.6 per cent of

Figure 14: Perception of Black Caribbean People (Black African Sample)

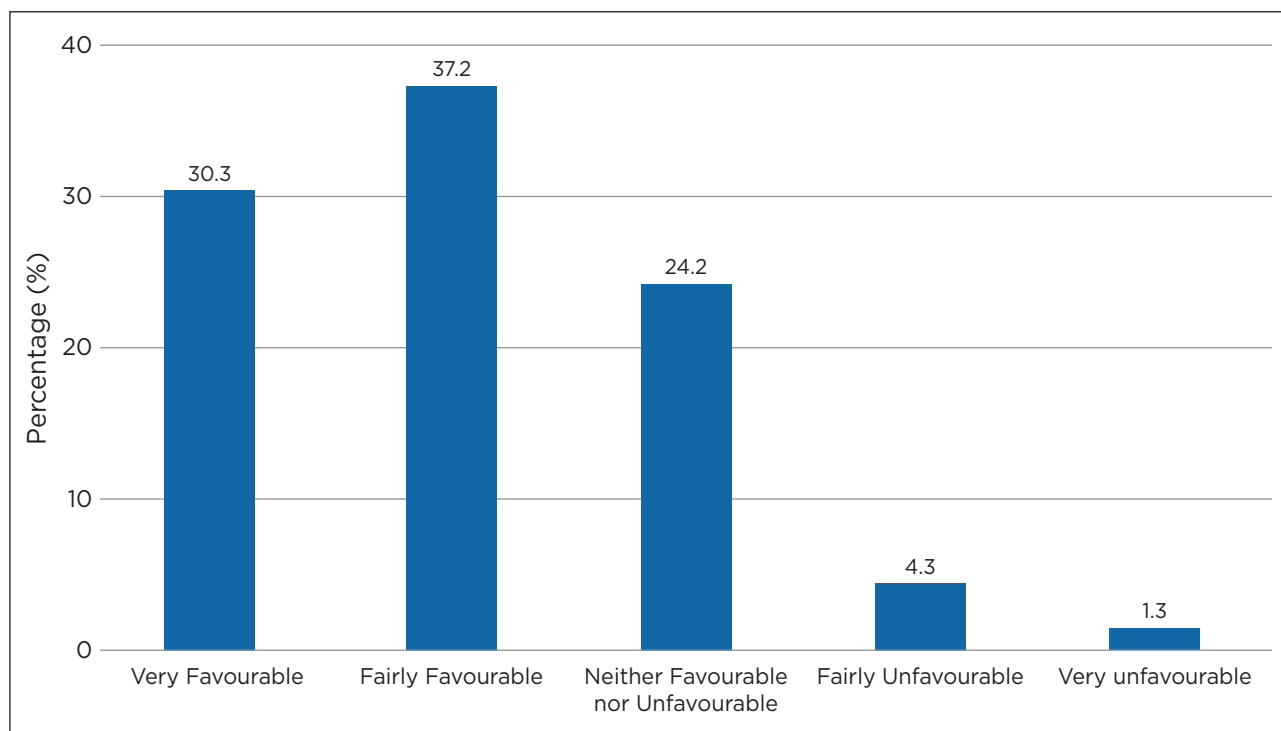
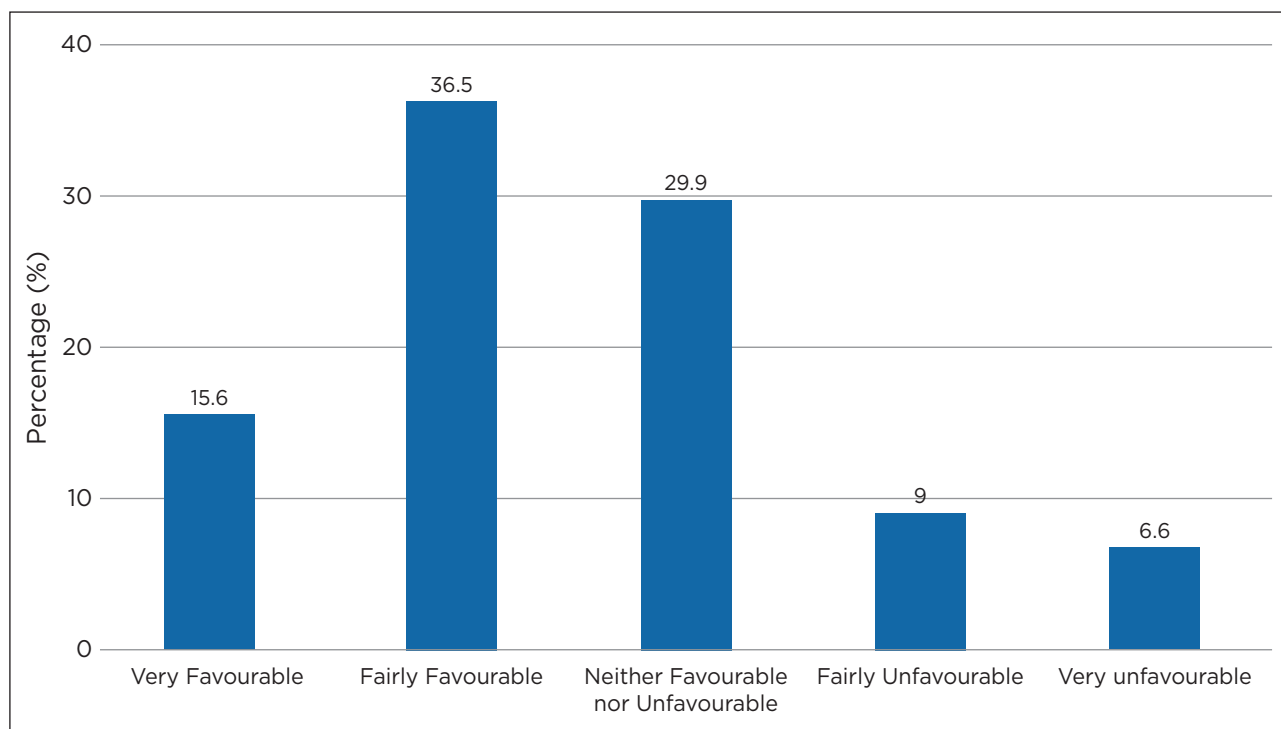
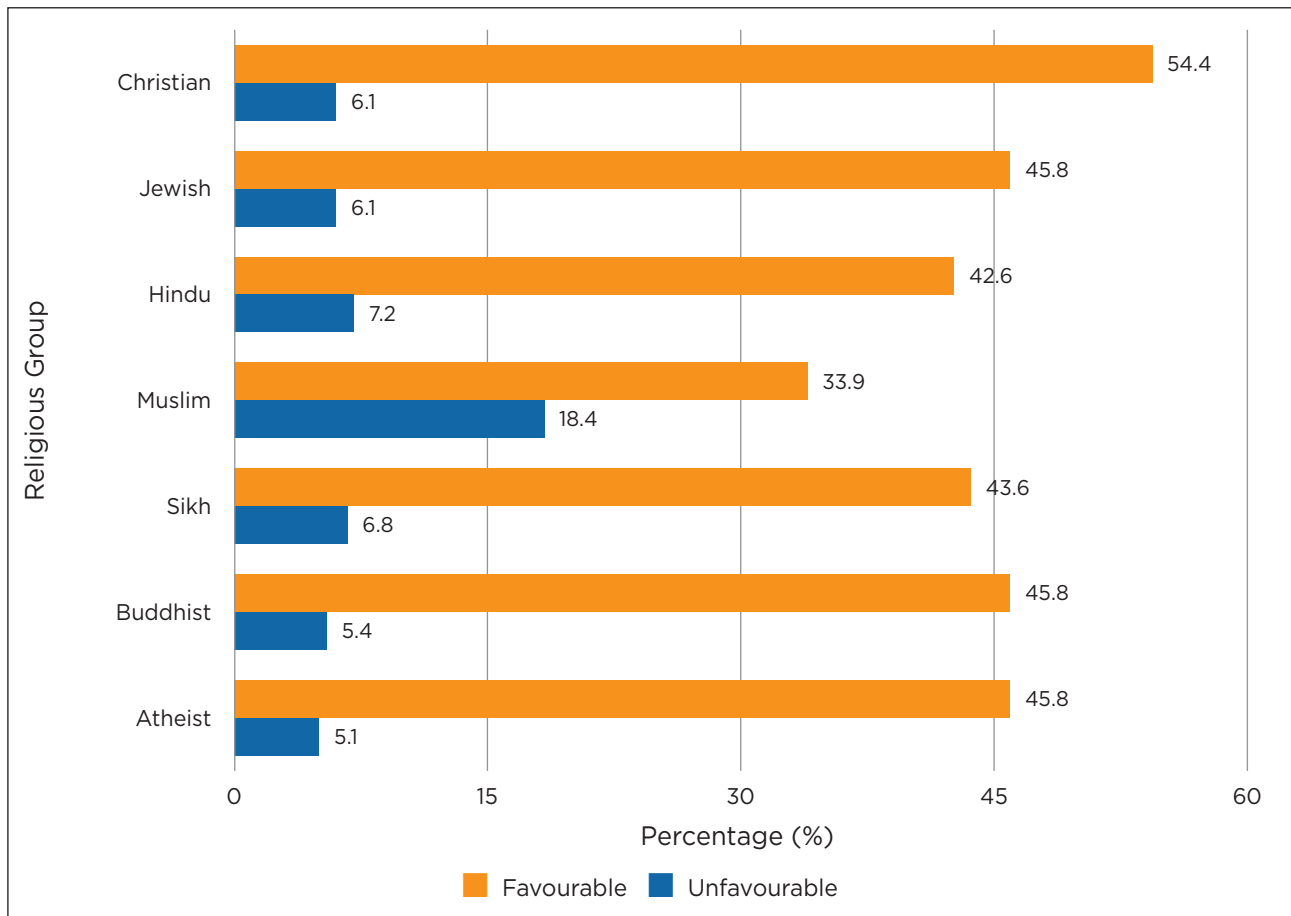


Figure 15: Perception of Black African People (Black Caribbean Sample)



Black African-origin people have an unfavourable view of the Black Caribbean ethnic group (including 1.3 per cent who have a very unfavourable view).

Figure 15 presents results for the perception of Black **Caribbean-origin** people among Black people of **African origin**. While 30.3 per cent of Black African-origin people have a very favourable view of Black Caribbean-origin people, only 15.6 per cent of Black Caribbean-origin people have a very favourable view of Black African-origin people. The overall figure for Black

Figure 16: Perception of Faith Groups (General Population)

Caribbean-origin people having a favourable view of Black African-origin people is 52.1 per cent. A total of 15.6 per cent of Black Caribbean-origin people have an unfavourable view of the Black African ethnic group (including 6.6 per cent who have a very unfavourable view).

Figure 16 presents an overview of general-population public attitudes towards seven separate faith groups: Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Atheists.

The analysis shows that the UK general population has the most favourable view of Christians (net favourability rating of +48.3 percentage points). The group with the second-highest net favourability rating are Atheists (+40.7 percentage points).

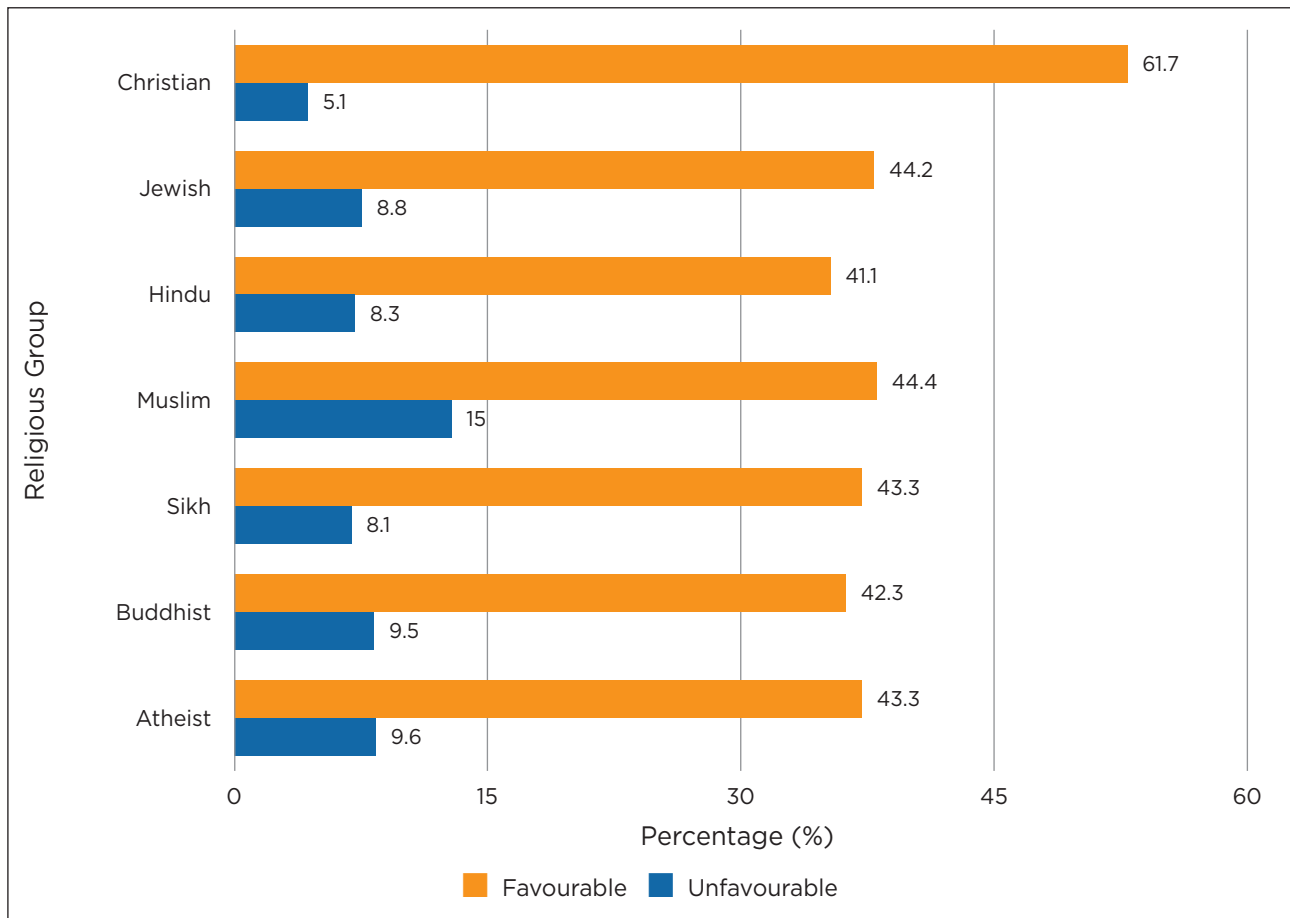
The non-Christian faith group with the highest net favourability rating are Buddhists (+40.4 percentage points), followed by Jews (+39.7 percentage points), Sikhs (36.8 percentage points), and Hindus (+35.4 percentage points).

The religious group which is viewed most unfavourably by the UK general population are Muslims. While 33.9 per cent of the general population have a favourable view of Muslims, nearly 1 in 5 – 18.4 per cent – have an unfavourable view. This provides a net favourability rating of only +15.5 percentage points.

Following on from the previous analysis, Figure 17 presents an overview of Black British attitudes towards seven separate faith groups: Christians, Jews, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Atheists.

The analysis shows that the Black British sample has the most favourable view of Christians (net favourability rating of +56.6 percentage points). The non-Christian religious group with

Figure 17: Perception of Faith Groups (Black British Sample)



the highest net favourability rating are Jews (+35.4 percentage points), followed by Sikhs (+35.2 percentage points), Buddhists (+32.8 percentage points) and Hindus (+32.8 percentage points).

Atheists are viewed notably less favourably among the Black British respondents when compared with the general population (net favourability rating of +33.7 percentage points). Jews, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Atheists are all viewed less favourably by Black British people when compared with the perceptions of these faith groups in the broader UK general population.

While viewed more favourably among Black British people than by the broader general-population sample, the religious group which is viewed most unfavourably by Black British respondents are Muslims (net favourability rating of +29.4 percentage points).

Figure 18 presents an overview of reported forms of discrimination within the general-population and Black British samples. Respondents were asked to select which forms of discrimination they felt they had experienced in the last 12 months. Nine different forms of reported discrimination are included in the analysis: age, gender, disability, religion, race, ethnicity, political views, social class, and sexual orientation.

The notable difference is in regard to levels of reported racial discrimination. While 6.2 per cent of the general population reported experiencing racial discrimination in the last 12 months, the corresponding figure for the Black British sample is nearly 4 in 10 – 38.9 per cent. While 4.2 per cent of the general-population sample reported that they had experienced discrimination on the grounds of their ethnic background, this rises to 17.8 per cent for the Black British sample.

Figure 18: Forms of Reported Discrimination

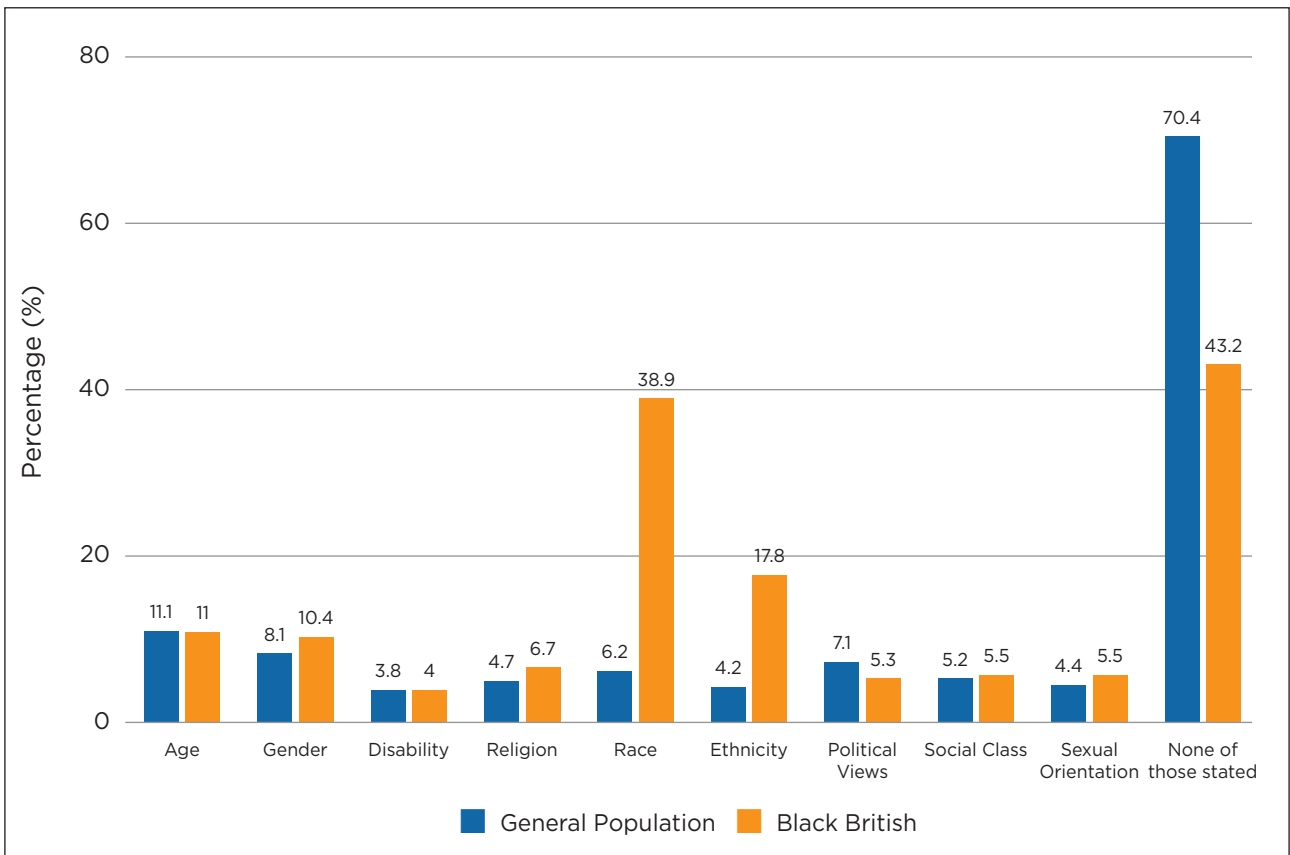
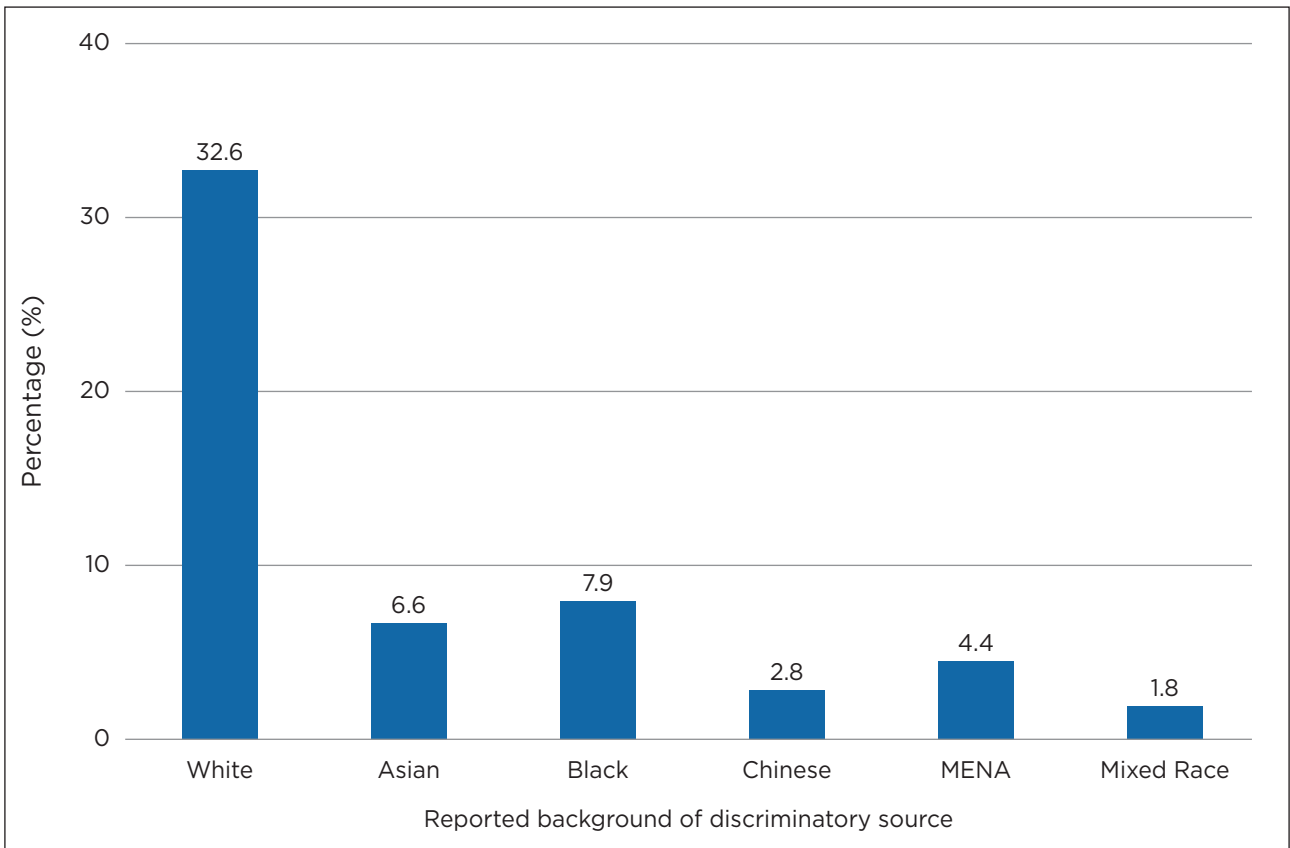


Figure 19: Level of Reported Racial and Ethnic Discrimination and Background of Source (Black British Sample)



For the general population, social class is reported more commonly as a form of experienced discrimination (5.2 per cent) than ethnicity (4.2 per cent), sexual orientation (4.4 per cent), and religion (4.7 per cent). Seven in ten people – 70.4 per cent – of the general population report that they did not experience discrimination on any of the nine grounds over the past 12 months. The corresponding figure for the Black British sample is notably lower at 43.2 per cent.

Figure 19 presents an overview of reported levels of ethno-racial discrimination (perceived experiences of discrimination on the grounds of race and/or ethnicity) within the Black British sample.

The analysis shows that 32.6 per cent of the Black British respondents report being discriminated against by white people on ethno-racial grounds. Nearly 8 per cent – 7.9 per cent – of Black British respondents report experiencing ethno-racial discrimination coming from another Black person. Black British people also report being discriminated against on the grounds of their racial and/or ethnic background by people of Asian (6.6 per cent), Middle Eastern/North African (4.4 per cent), and Chinese (2.8 per cent) heritage. 1.8 per cent of Black British respondents report experiencing ethno-racial discrimination at the hands of those who are of a mixed-race background.

4.4: Relationship with Public Institutions and Systems

Section 4.4 explores the relationship between British citizens and state institutions such as the UK Parliament and the NHS. This has a particular focus on how fairly Black British people feel

Figure 20: Perceived Fairness of Public Institutions (whether one’s own racial group is treated fairly)

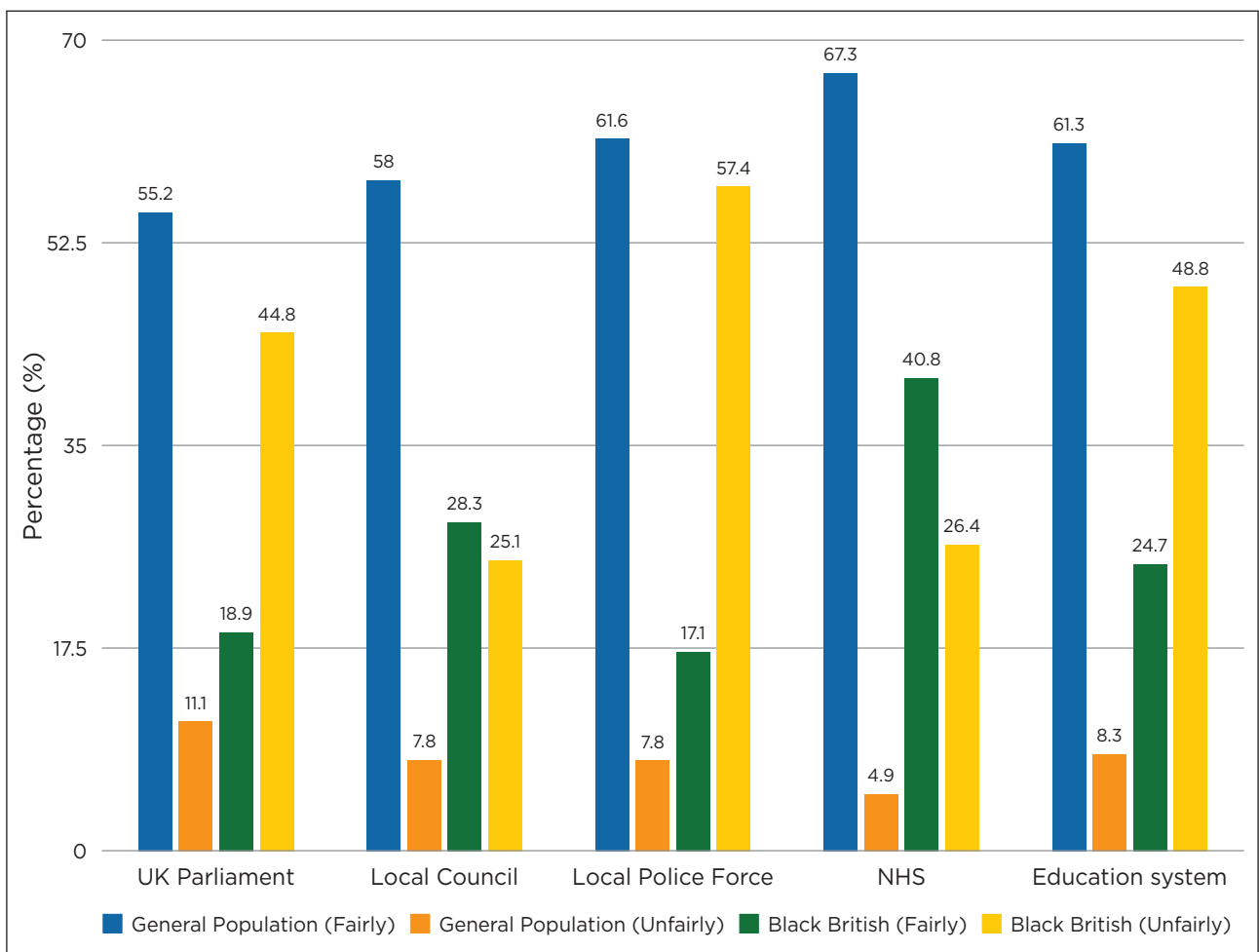
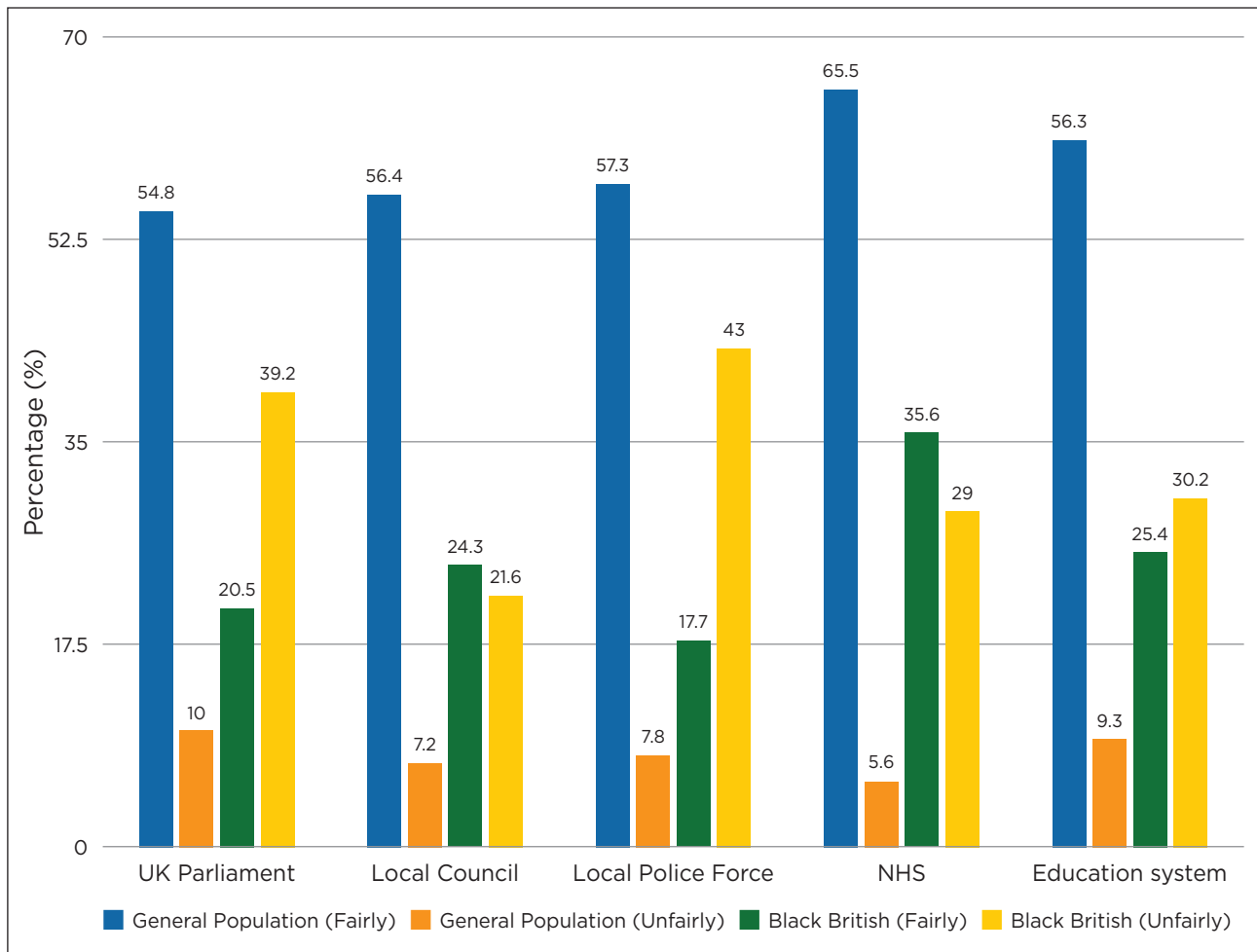


Figure 21: Perceived Racial Fairness of Public Institutions (Management of the Covid-19 Pandemic)



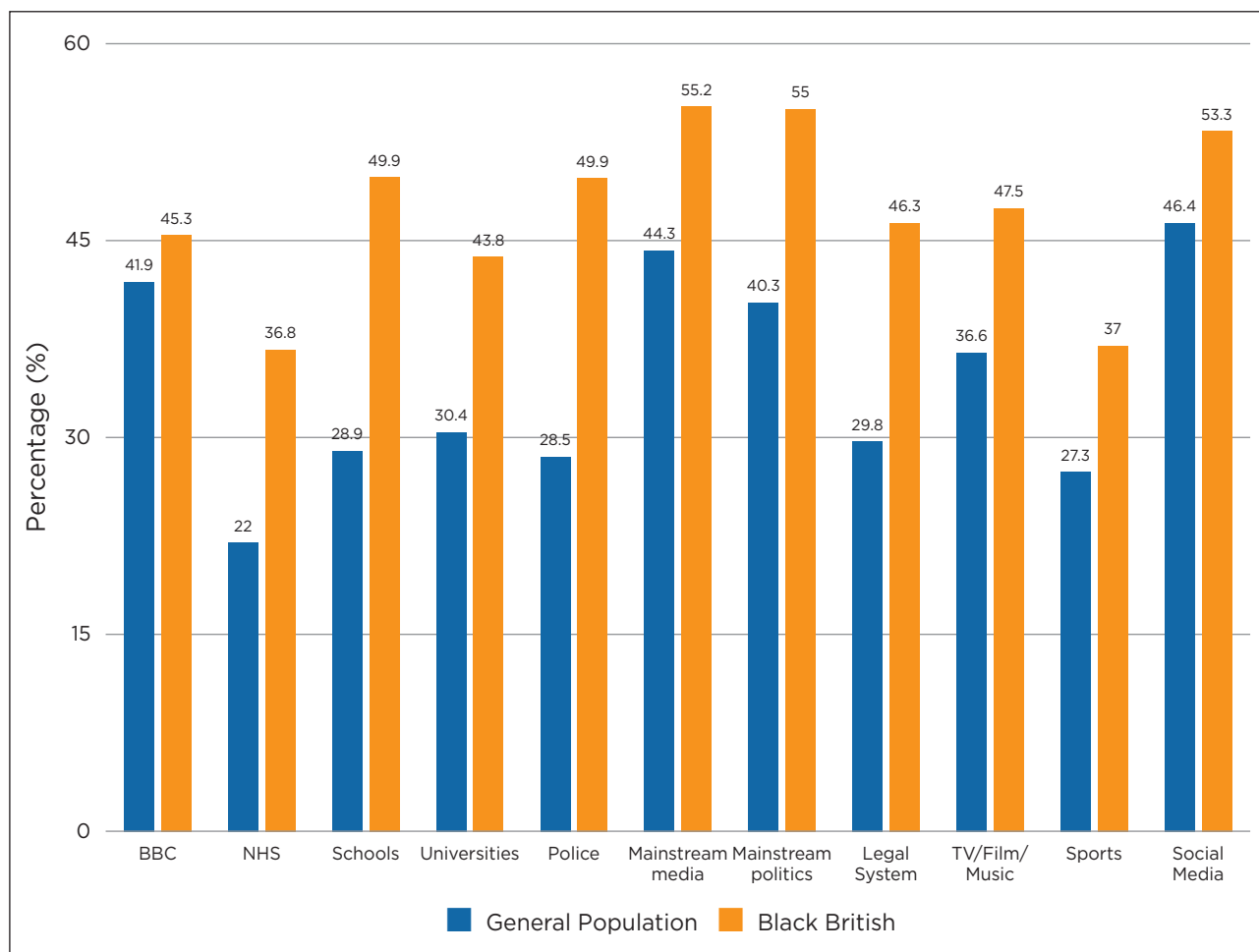
their racial group has been treated during the Covid-19 pandemic. The subsection moves onto data which shows the degree to which Black British people, and the wider general population, feel political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in institutions such as the BBC, the NHS, schools, and universities.

Figure 20 presents an overview of public perceptions of the racial fairness of the following institutions and systems: the UK Parliament, local council, local police force, the NHS, and the education system. Respondents were asked how fairly (or unfairly) they feel their own ethno-racial group is treated by the various institutions and systems stated.

The findings show that there is a clear divergence between the wider UK general population and the Black British sample. The majority of the general population believe that their own ethno-racial group is fairly treated by the UK Parliament, the NHS, and the education system, along with their local council and police force. Nearly 6 in 10 Black British people – 57.4 per cent – are of the view that their local police force treats Black people unfairly. Nearly half – 48.8 per cent – believe that Black people are treated unfairly by the education system. Over 1 in 4 – 26.4 per cent – think that Black people are treated unfairly by the NHS.

Figure 21 presents an overview of public perceptions of the racial fairness of the same institutions and systems in respect of their **management of the Covid-19 pandemic**. Respondents were asked how fairly (or unfairly) they feel their own ethno-racial group has been treated by the various institutions and systems stated, over the course of the pandemic.

Figure 22: Agree that Political Activists have a Disproportionately High Level of Influence



The findings show that there is once again a clear divergence between the wider UK general population and Black British people. The majority of the general population believe that their own ethno-racial group has been treated fairly by the UK Parliament, the NHS, and the education system, along with their local council and police force during their management of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Only 1 in 5 Black British people - 20.5 per cent - believe that the UK Parliament has treated Black people fairly during its management of the Covid-19 pandemic. This drops even lower, to 17.7 per cent, when it comes to their perception of how their local police force has managed the pandemic. While 35.6 per cent of Black British respondents believe the NHS has treated Black people fairly under its management of the Covid-19 pandemic, nearly 3 in 10 - 29.0 per cent - consider the NHS's Covid-19 management to be unfair towards Black people.

Figure 22 presents the degree to which people agree that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the following: the BBC, the NHS, schools, universities, the police, mainstream media, mainstream politics, the legal system, the television/film/music industry, sports, and social media. Figures are shown for both the general-population and Black British samples.

The analysis shows that Black British people are more likely to think that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence - with this being the case for every sphere. Half of the Black British respondents agree that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in schools and the police (the general-population figures are 28.9 per cent and 28.5 per cent respectively). While 30.4 per cent of the general population believe that political

activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in universities, this increases to 43.8 per cent for Black Britons.

Over 4 in 10 people in the UK general population believe that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the BBC (41.9 per cent) – with this rising to 45.3 per cent for Black Britons. While fewer than 1 in 4 people in the general population believe that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the NHS (22.0 per cent), this rises to 36.8 per cent for Black British respondents.

There are especially high figures to report for the item on mainstream media. In the UK general population, 44.3 per cent of people agree that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the mainstream media. This rises to a comfortable majority – 55.2 per cent – for Black Britons. While 46.4 per cent of the general population are of the view that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in social media, this rises to 53.3 per cent for Black British people.

4.5: Public Attitudes Towards UK BLM Objectives and Forms of Civil Disobedience

Section 4.5 of the report explores the degree of public support for some of the main claims and objectives of the UK BLM political organisation. This includes measuring public support for (and opposition to) replacing the capitalist system with a socialist economy, reducing investment in local police forces, and paying reparations for the descendants of those who were directly impacted by British colonial activities. Respondents were also asked whether they felt the UK, and the US, were fundamentally racist societies with a police brutality problem. This subsection of the report also examines the degree to which the British public consider various forms of civil disobedience (and political violence) to be acceptable forms of political protest. Forms of civil disobedience include tearing down statues, damaging business property, and burning the Union Flag.

Figure 23 presents an overview of public support for three policy proposals associated with the Black Lives Matter movement: replacing the British capitalist system with a socialist economy, reducing investment in local police forces, and paying reparations to the descendants of those who were directly impacted by British colonialism. Figures are provided for both the general population and British Black samples.

The analysis shows that around 1 in 4 people in both the general-population and Black British samples would like to see the replacement of British market capitalism with a socialist system (22.6 per cent and 25.2 per cent respectively). However, the level of stated opposition to this is higher in the general population when compared with the Black British sample (37.1 per cent / 22.9 per cent).

The majority of people in both the UK general population and the Black British samples are opposed to a reduction in investment for their local police forces. However, this is notably higher in the general population when compared with the Black British sample (67.3 per cent and 50.4 per cent respectively) – a difference of 16.9 percentage points. Black British people are more likely to support reduced investment in their own local police force when compared to the general population (18.0 per cent and 10.5 per cent respectively).

In this analysis, the most glaring difference between the UK general population and Black British people is over the issue of reparations. While 3 in 10 people in the general population support the payment of reparations to UK-based people whose ancestors were directly impacted by British colonial activities, this rises to 6 in 10 people for the Black British sample (61.4 per cent). 1 in 8 Black British respondents (12.6 per cent) oppose the idea of paying reparations in this context – this increases to over 3 in 10 people – 31.6 per cent – for the general population.

Figure 23: Public Attitudes Towards Economic System, Investment in Police, and Reparations

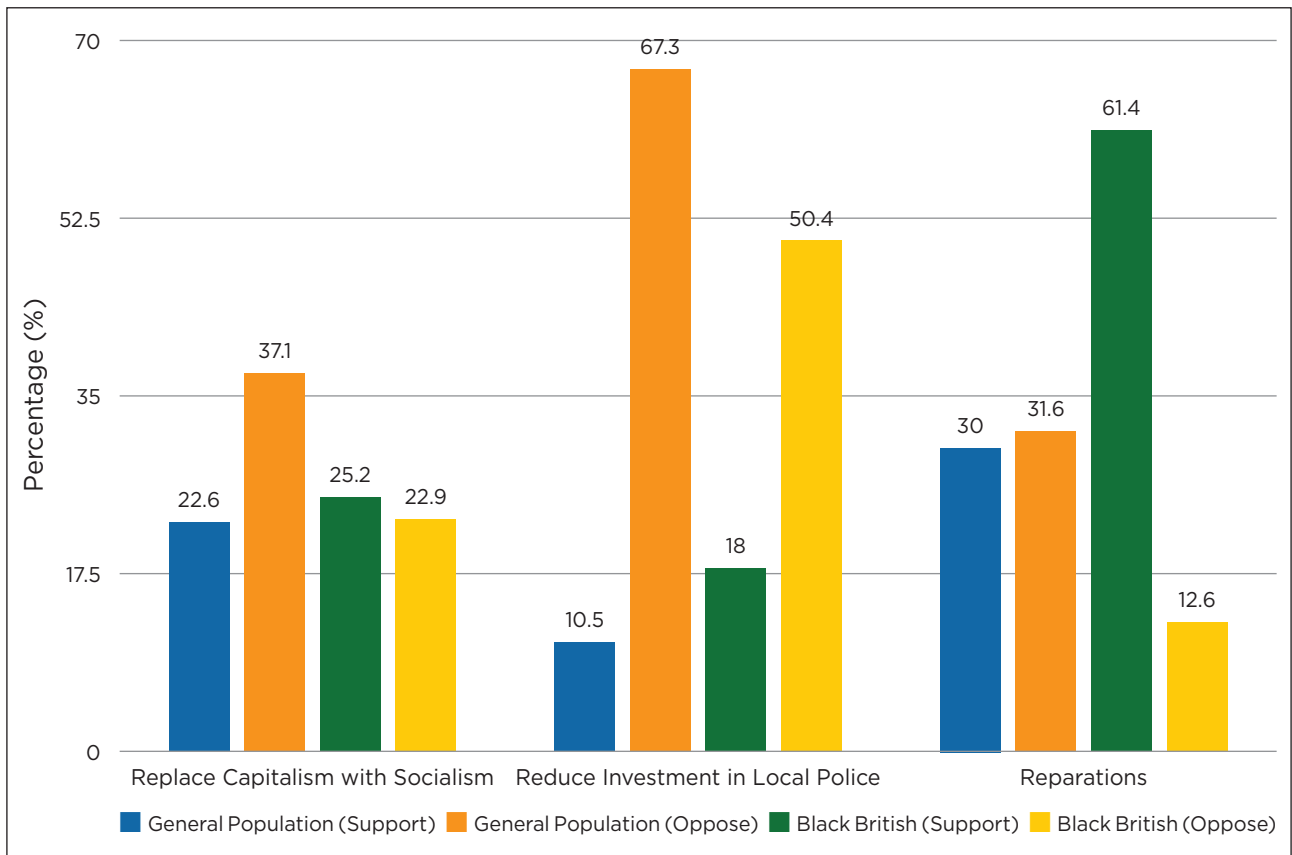


Figure 24: Forms of Civil Disobedience and Violence Viewed as Acceptable Forms of Political Protest

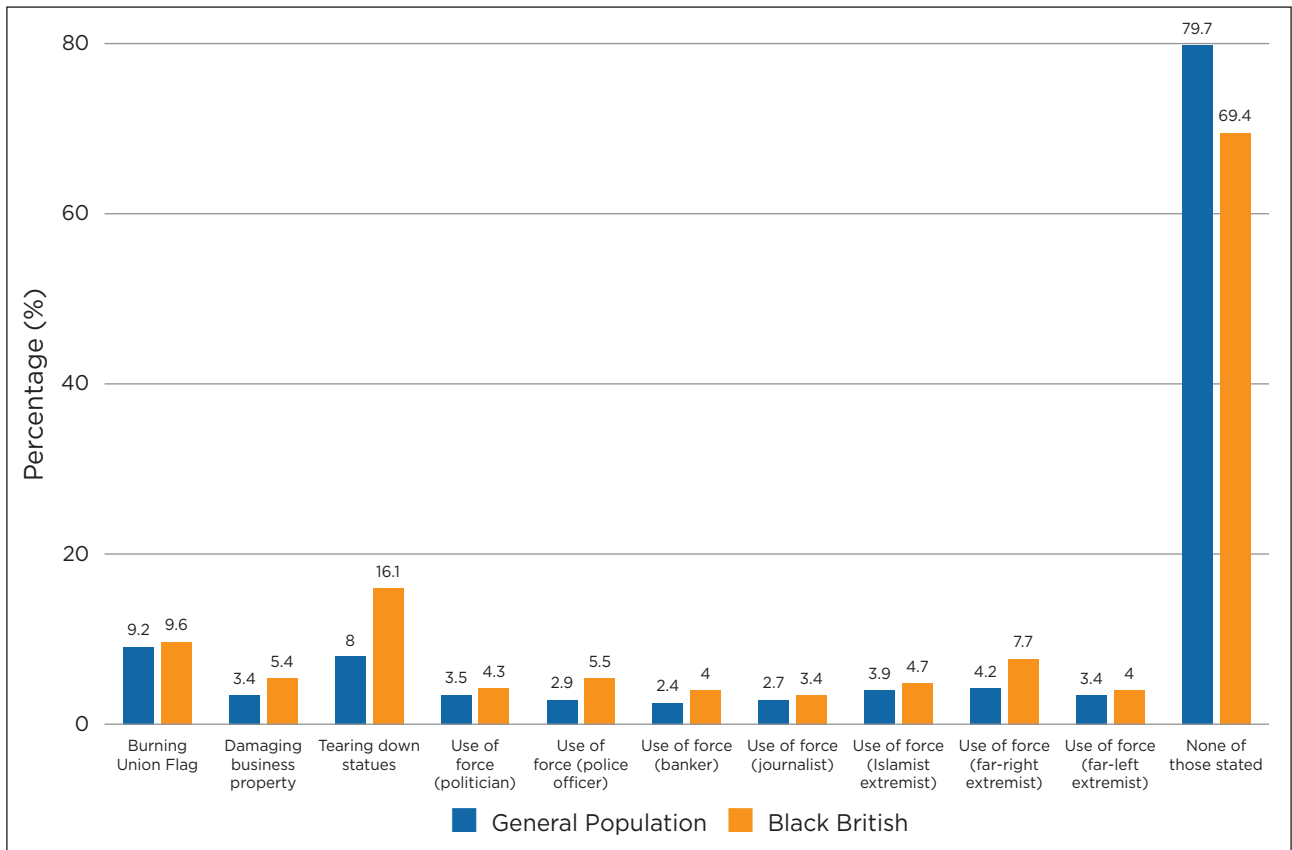


Figure 24 presents an overview of the levels to which various forms of civil disobedience and violence are considered to be acceptable forms of political protest (within the general-population sample and the Black British sample). A total of ten forms of civil disobedience / physical violence are included in the analysis: burning the Union Flag, damaging business property, tearing down statues, and the use of force against the following seven groups: politicians, police officers, bankers, journalists, Islamist extremists, far-right extremists, and far-left extremists.

The majority of people in the analysis do not consider any of the ten items to be acceptable forms of political protest. This is the case for 8 in 10 respondents in the general-population sample (79.7 per cent) and 7 in 10 respondents in the Black British sample (69.4 per cent).

Albeit at small margins, Black British respondents are more likely to consider each item to be an acceptable form of political protest when compared with the UK general population. When compared with the general-population sample, Black British respondents are notably more likely to consider tearing down statues (8.0 per cent / 16.1 per cent) and use of force against a far-right extremist (4.2 per cent / 7.7 per cent) to be acceptable forms of political protest.

While 2.9 per cent of the general population view use of force against a police officer as an acceptable form of political protest, this rises to 5.5 per cent for Black British respondents. This figure of 5.5 per cent is higher than the percentage of Black British people who consider the use of force against a member of a far-left group, and an Islamist group, to be acceptable forms of political protest (4.0 per cent and 4.7 per cent respectively).

4.6: Public Perception of Racism in Society and Police Conduct

Section 4.6 explores public perceptions towards the UK and the US. Respondents were asked whether they felt the UK and the US are fundamentally racist societies with a police brutality problem. Figures are provided for both the UK general-population and Black British samples.

Figure 25 presents an overview of the degree to which the general-population and the Black British sample agree (and disagree) with the view that the UK and US have “fundamentally racist” societies.

Under 3 in 10 respondents in the general-population sample – 29.2 per cent – agree with the view that the UK has a fundamentally racist society. For the general population, people are more likely to disagree than agree with this view (36.8 per cent). The patterns sharply differ for the Black British sample. A comfortable majority of Black British respondents – 57.7 per cent – agree with the view that the UK has a fundamentally racist society, with under 1 in 5 – 17.9 per cent – disagreeing with this.

There is a far stronger degree of overlap between the general-population and Black British sample when it comes to perceptions of American society. The analysis shows that 64.2 per cent of the UK general population agree with the view that the US has a fundamentally racist society, with 1 in 10 – 10.5 per cent – disagreeing. Nearly 8 in 10 Black British respondents – 77.8 per cent – agree with the view that American society is fundamentally racist in nature, with 8.5 per cent in disagreement.

Figure 26 presents results on the degree to which Black British people agree (or disagree) with the view that the UK has a “fundamentally racist” society – broken down by people of Black African and Black Caribbean origin.

The analysis shows that when compared with people of Black African origin, Black Caribbean-origin people are notably more likely to agree with the view that the UK has a fundamentally racist society (50.9 per cent / 66.5 per cent). Over 1 in 5 people of Black Caribbean origin – 21.0 per cent – strongly agree with this view.

Figure 25: Public Attitudes on Racism in UK and US Society

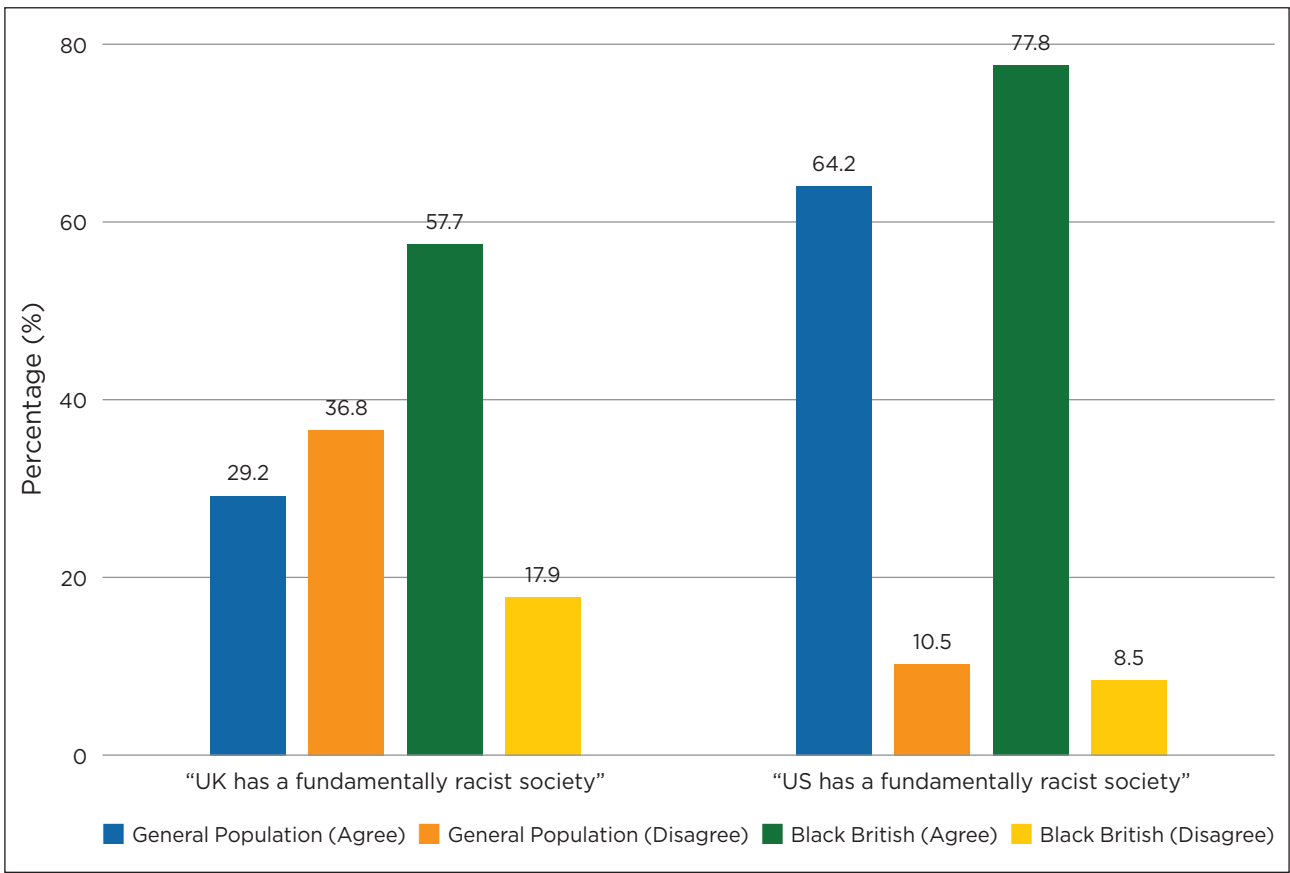


Figure 26: "UK is a fundamentally racist society" (Black African and Black Caribbean ethnicities)

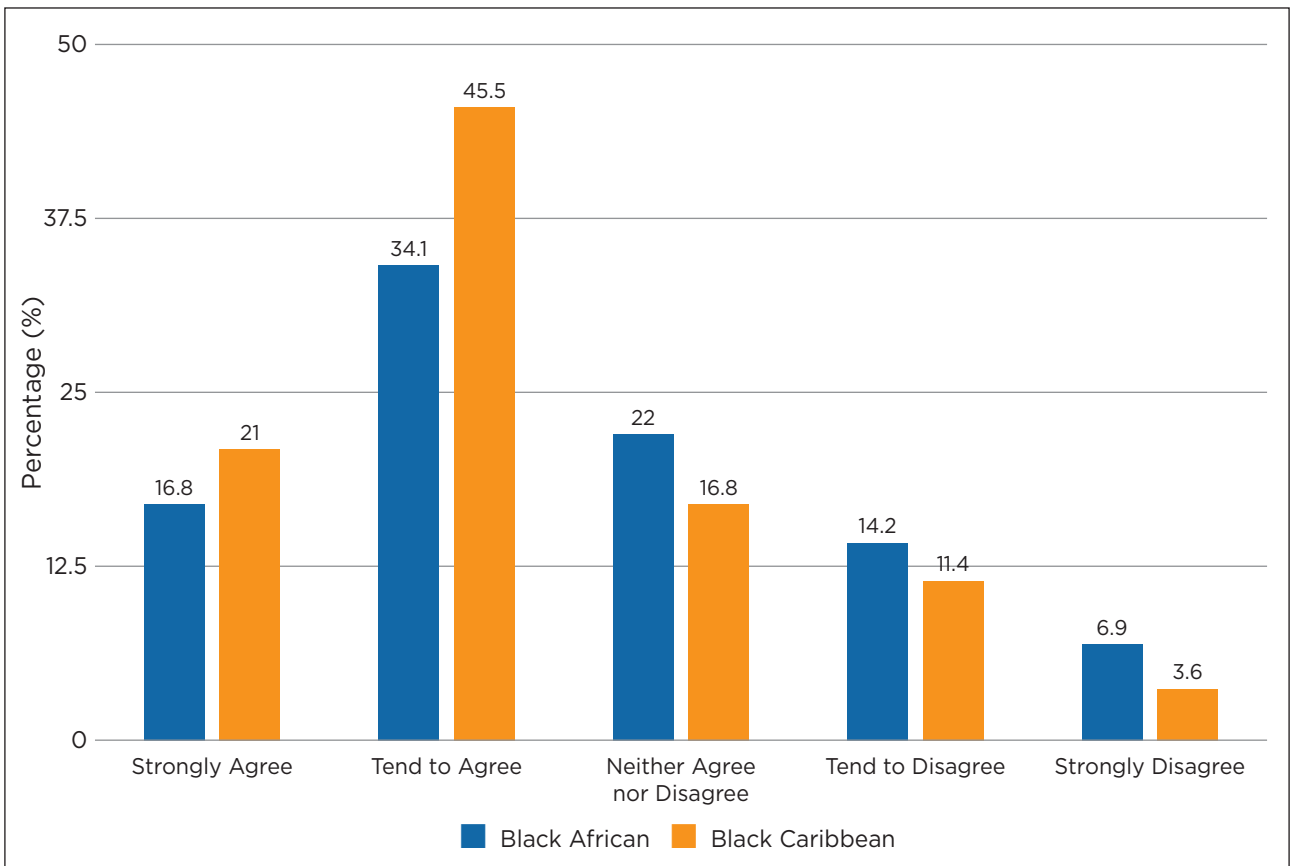
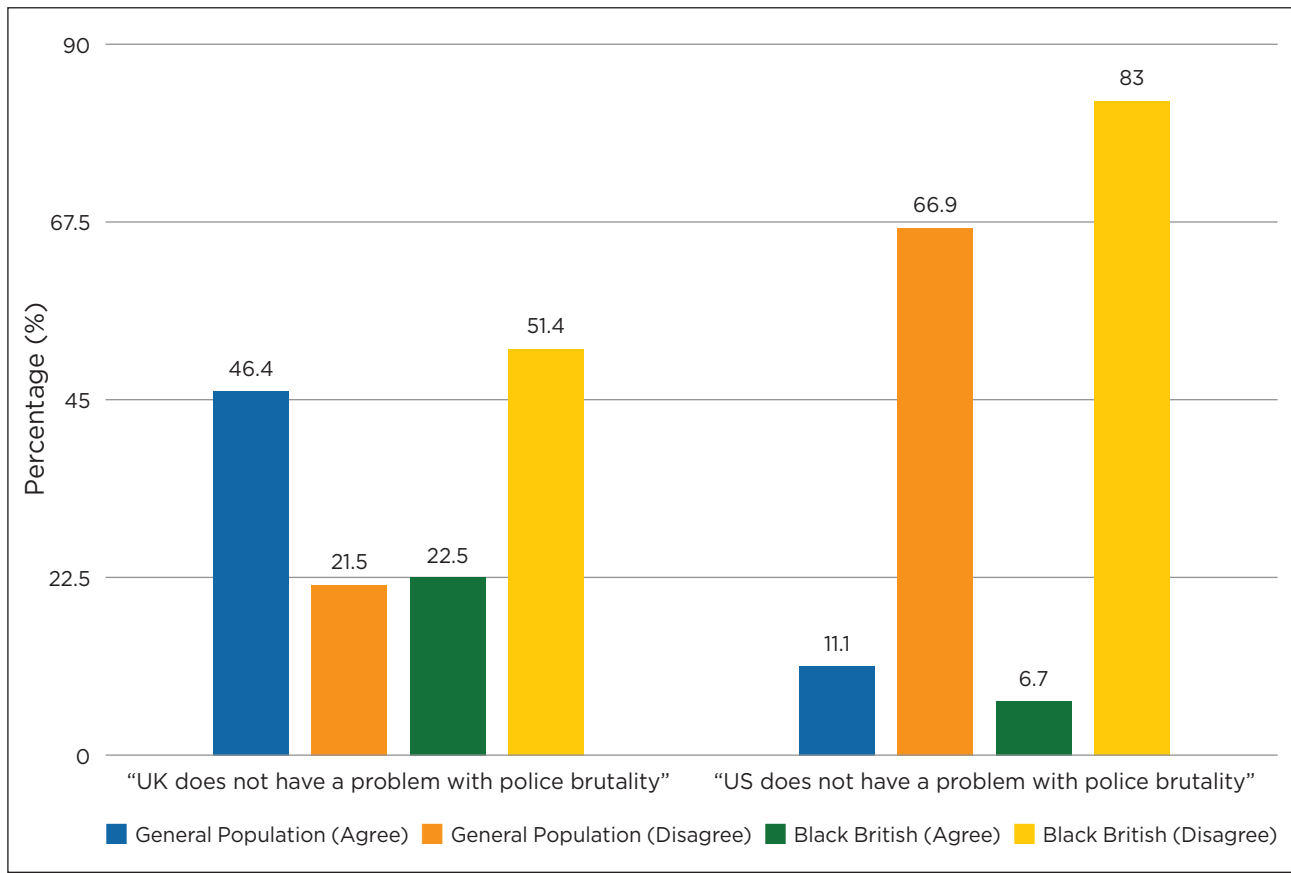


Figure 27: Public Attitudes on Police Behaviour in the UK and US

In terms of being in disagreement, over 1 in 5 Black African-origin people disagree with the view that the UK has a fundamentally racist society (21.1 per cent). This drops to 15.0 per cent for people of Black Caribbean origin.

Figure 27 presents an overview of the degree to which the general-population and the Black British sample agree (and disagree) with the view that the UK and US **do not** have a problem with police brutality.

The analysis shows that 46.4 per cent of the respondents in the general-population sample agree with the view that the UK does not have a problem with police brutality, with over 1 in 5 people – 21.5 per cent – disagreeing. Similar to the previous analysis on whether or not the UK is a fundamentally racist society, the pattern sharply differs for the Black British sample. A majority of Black British respondents – 51.4 per cent – disagree with the view that the UK does not have a problem with police brutality. Under 1 in 4 – 22.5 per cent – Black British respondents agree with the view that the UK does not have a problem with police brutality.

Similar to when respondents were asked whether or not the US has a fundamentally racist society, there is a far stronger degree of overlap between the general-population and Black British sample when it comes to perceptions of police conduct in the US. The analysis shows that 66.9 per cent of the UK general population **disagree with the view** that the US **does not** have a problem with police brutality, with around 1 in 10 – 11.1 per cent – agreeing with the statement. Over 8 in 10 Black British respondents – 83 per cent – disagree with the view that the US does not have a problem with police brutality, with 6.7 per cent in agreement with the statement.

5. Data Analysis – Part 2: Perception of Countries and Control of Global Industries

Moving on from Section 4 of the report, Section 5 represents the second main part of the report’s data analysis. This section explores public attitudes towards a number of countries and perceptions on global control of spheres such as banking and entertainment. This has a particular focus on the degree to which the UK public – including Black Britons – feel Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of global control.

5.1: Perception of Countries

Section 5.1 of the report examines how favourably (and unfavourably) Black British people and the wider UK general population view ten separate countries: the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, China, Russia, Jamaica, Nigeria, Israel, and Palestine.

Figure 28 presents an overview of how favourably the UK general population view a set of ten countries: the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, China, Russia, Jamaica, Nigeria, Israel, and Palestine.

In the analysis, the country most favourably viewed by the UK general population is Canada – 64.3 per cent of the general population have a favourable view of Canada, with only 3.0 per cent having an unfavourable view (providing a net favourability rating of +61.3 percentage points). Canada is followed by Australia, with around 6 in 10 – 59.3 per cent – having a favourable view of the country, and 5.5 per cent having an unfavourable view (providing a

Figure 28: Perception of Selected Countries (UK General Population)

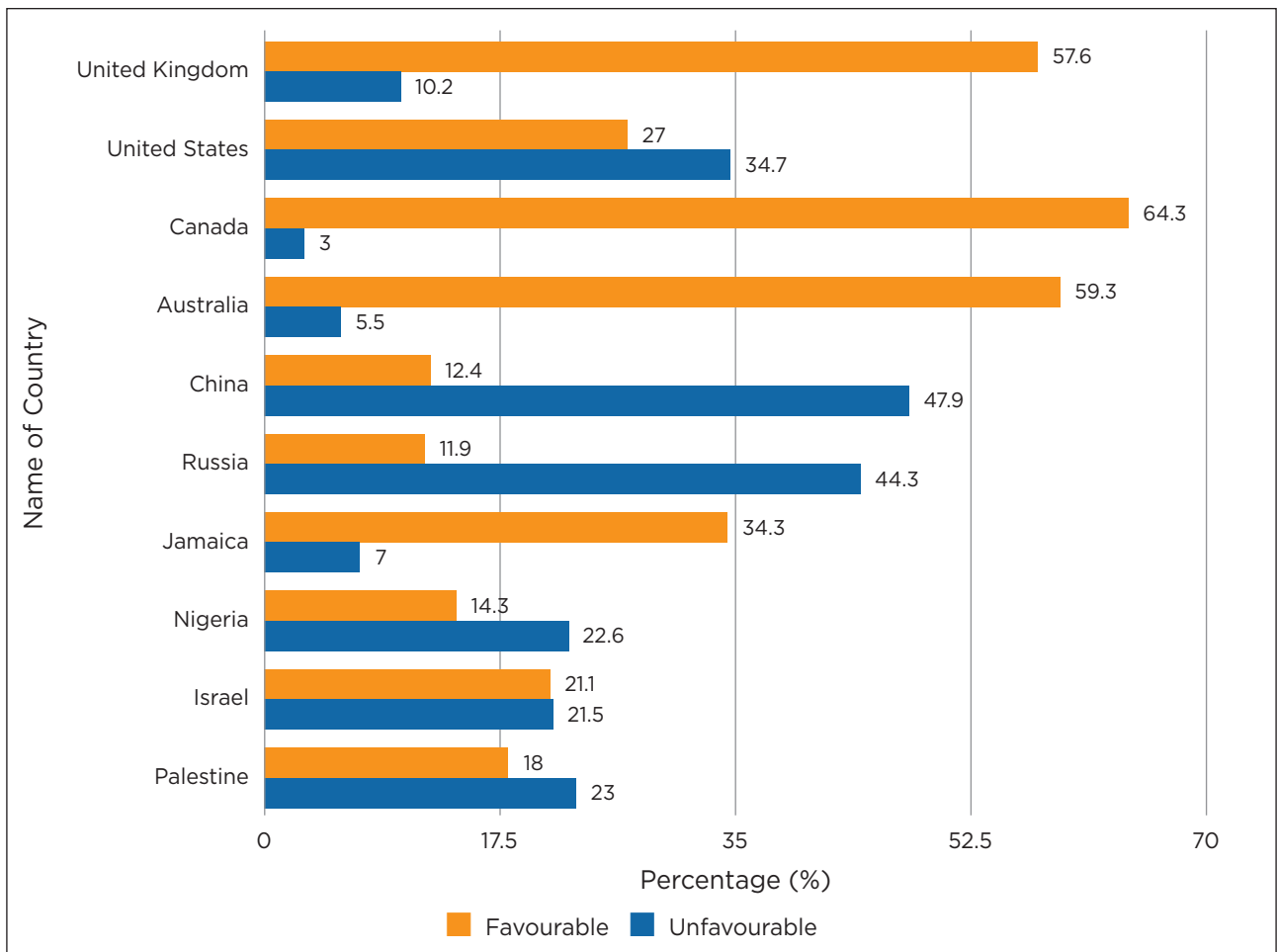
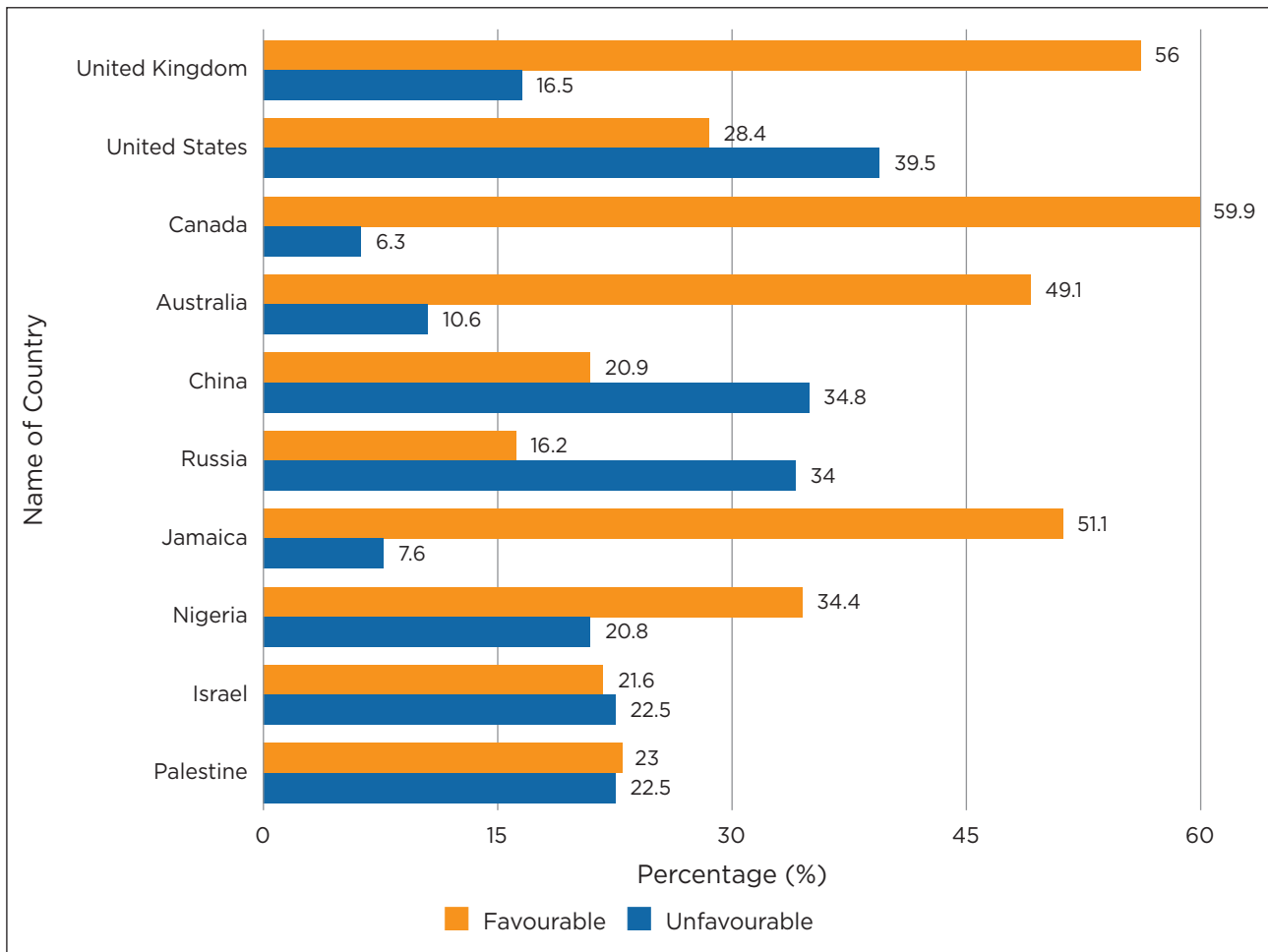


Figure 29: Perception of Selected Countries (Black British Sample)



net favourability rating of +53.8 percentage points). The UK general population view both Canada and Australia more favourably than the UK (which has a net favourability rating of +47.4 percentage points). With 34.3 per cent having a favourable view of Jamaica, and 7.0 per cent holding an unfavourable view, the Caribbean country receives a net favourability rating of +27.3 percentage points.

Only 27.0 per cent of the UK general population have a favourable view of the US, with 34.7 per cent holding an unfavourable view – providing a net favourability rating of -7.7 percentage points. A similar net favourability rating is provided by the UK general population for Nigeria (-8.3 percentage points). While 11.9 per cent of the UK general population have a favourable view of Russia, 44.3 per cent have an unfavourable view – providing a net favourability rating of -32.4 percentage points. The country which receives the lowest net favourability rating in the analysis is China. With 12.4 per cent of the UK general population having a favourable view of China against 47.9 per cent having an unfavourable view, it receives a net favourability rating of -35.5 percentage points.

Both Israel and Palestine receive net favourability ratings in negative territory, with the former being viewed more favourably than the latter (-0.4 and -5.0 percentage points respectively).

Figure 29 presents an overview of how favourably the Black British sample view the same set of ten countries: the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, China, Russia, Jamaica, Nigeria, Israel, and Palestine. In the analysis for Black British respondents, the country viewed most favourably is Canada. 6 in 10 – 59.9 per cent – of the Black British population have a favourable view of Canada, with 6.3 per cent having an unfavourable view (providing a net favourability rating of

+53.6 percentage points). The majority of Black British respondents have a favourable view of Jamaica (51.1 per cent), with 7.6 per cent holding an unfavourable view (providing a net favourability rating of +43.5 percentage points).

The UK general population gave the UK a net favourability rating of +47.4 percentage points. For the Black British sample, 56.0 per cent have a favourable view of the UK, and 16.5 per cent hold an unfavourable view, giving the UK a considerably lower net favourability rating of +39.5 percentage points. This means that both Canada and Jamaica receive a higher net favourability rating than the UK among Black British respondents.

While 28.4 per cent of the Black British sample have a favourable view of the US, nearly 4 in 10 (39.5 per cent) hold an unfavourable view – providing a net favourability rating of -11.1 percentage points. 34.4 per cent of the Black British respondents hold a favourable view of Nigeria, with over 1 in 5 – 20.8 per cent – having an unfavourable view of the West African country.

20.9 per cent of the Black British sample have a favourable view of China, with 34.8 per cent having an unfavourable view – providing a net favourability rating of -13.9 percentage points. The country which receives the lowest net favourability rating is Russia. With 16.2 per cent of the Black British population having a favourable view of Russia, against 34.0 per cent having an unfavourable view, it receives a net favourability rating of -17.8 percentage points.

For the Black British sample, Palestine receives a net favourability rating in positive territory (+0.5 percentage points), with Israel receiving a negative net favourability rating (-0.9 percentage points).

5.2: Perception of Control over Global Sectors and Industries

Section 5.2 of the report explores the degree to which Black British people, and the wider UK general population, believe that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of influence over the following: global banking system, global political leadership, global media, global entertainment and music industry, and the arms/weapons industry. This subsection explores how social integration shapes such perceptions in the Black British context.

Figure 30 presents the results of respondents being asked whether they felt Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the five following global spheres: banking, politics, media, entertainment (and music), and arms/weapons production. Figures are provided for both the general-population and Black British samples.

The analysis shows that across all five global spheres, Black British people are more likely to be of the view that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control. The largest difference exists over the control of global banking. While 11.2 per cent of the UK general population believe Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global banking system, this rises to more than 1 in 5 – 21.3 per cent – for Black British respondents.

The next highest percentages – for both the UK general-population and the Black British sample – are associated with the global entertainment and music industry. 6.8 per cent of the UK general population are of the view that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global entertainment and music industry. This rises to 15.7 per cent for Black British respondents.

Figure 31 presents the results of respondents being asked whether they felt Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global banking system and the entertainment (and music) industry. Results for three different samples are shown: the main

Figure 30: Perception of Disproportionately High Level of Jewish Control

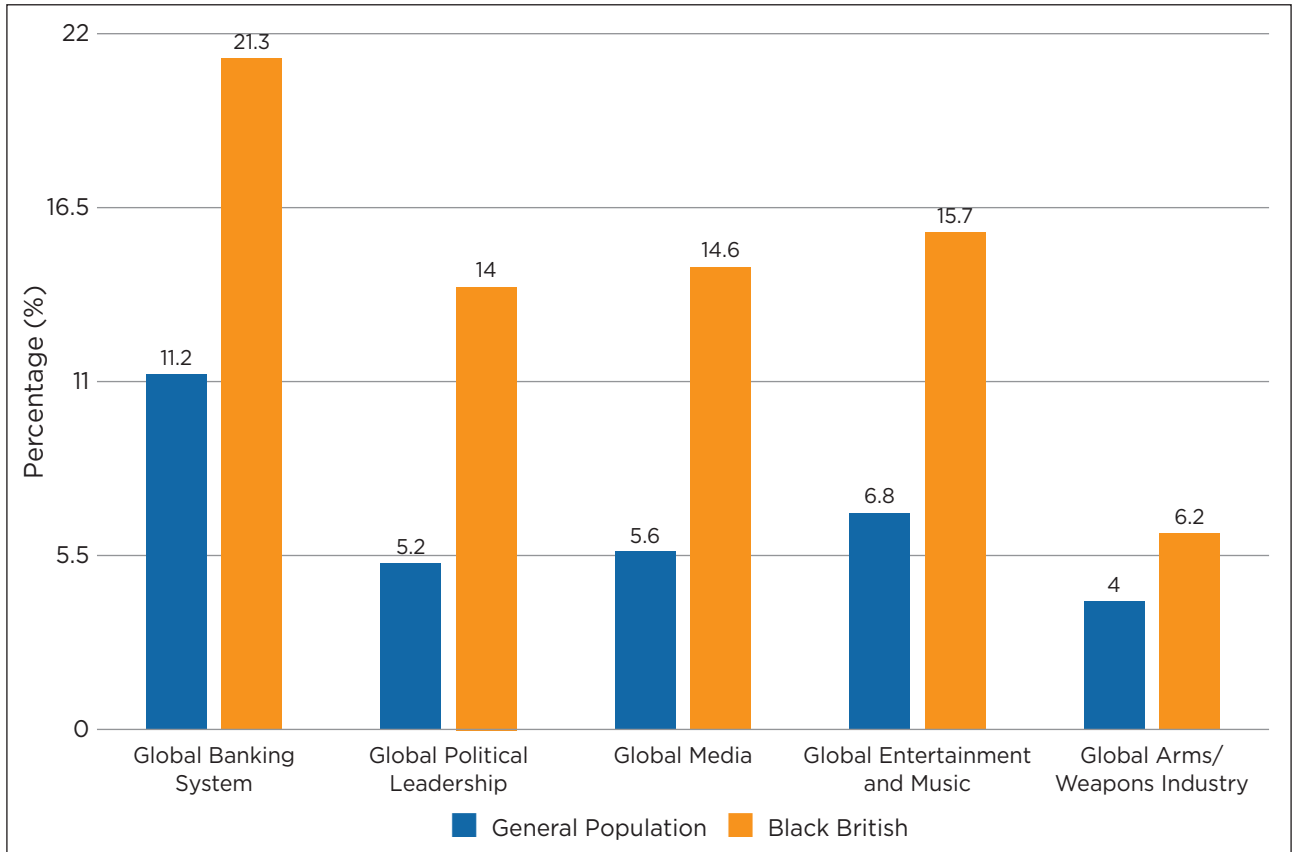
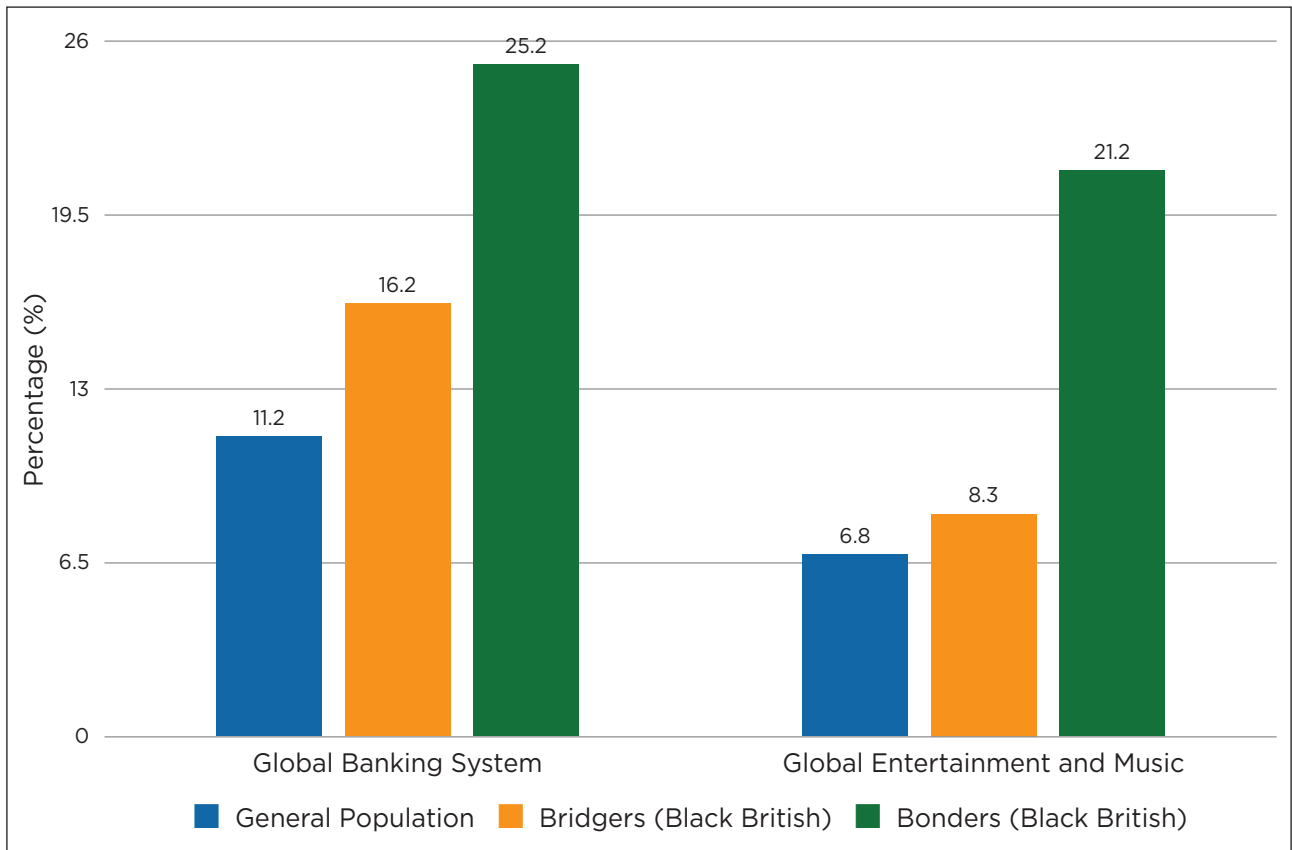


Figure 31: Perception of Disproportionately High Level of Jewish Control (Global Banking and Entertainment)



UK general-population sample; Black British 'bridgers' who report that only a few or none of their close friends are also Black; and Black British 'bonders' who report that at least half or more of their close friends are also Black.

Black British people – both 'bridgers' and 'bonders' – are more likely to think that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global spheres of banking and entertainment. However, the results suggest that there is a social integration effect. When compared to their co-racial 'bridgers', less-integrated Black British 'bonders' are more likely to think that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global banking system (16.2 per cent / 25.2 per cent) and global entertainment and music industry (8.3 per cent / 21.2 per cent).

6. Data Analysis – Part 3: Family Stability in Childhood and Current Life Satisfaction in the UK

Moving on from Section 5 of the report, Section 6 – which represents the third part of the data analysis – examines the stability of childhood family life and current-day life satisfaction in the UK. This explores differences both between, and within, the Black British population and the wider UK general population. This section of the report concludes with the ordinal logistic regression model predicting for life satisfaction in the UK general population.

6.1: Self-Reported Stability of Family Life During Childhood

Section 6.1 examines self-reported stability of family life in the UK – for Black British people as well as the wider UK general population. This includes an exploration of the differences in childhood family life stability between Black British Africans, Black British Caribbeans, and mixed-race British people of black-white parentage.

Figure 32 presents an overview of how respondents rated the stability of their family life during childhood. Percentages are provided for both the general-population and Black British samples.

The majority of respondents in both samples reported having a stable family life during their childhood. However, people in the general population are notably more likely to report having a very stable family in their childhood when compared with Black British respondents (45.5 per cent / 32.9 per cent). Combining the ‘very stable’ and ‘fairly stable’ responses, 76.7 per cent of the general population report having a stable family life as a child; this drops to 68.9 per cent for the Black British sample.

Figure 32: Stability of Family Life During Childhood

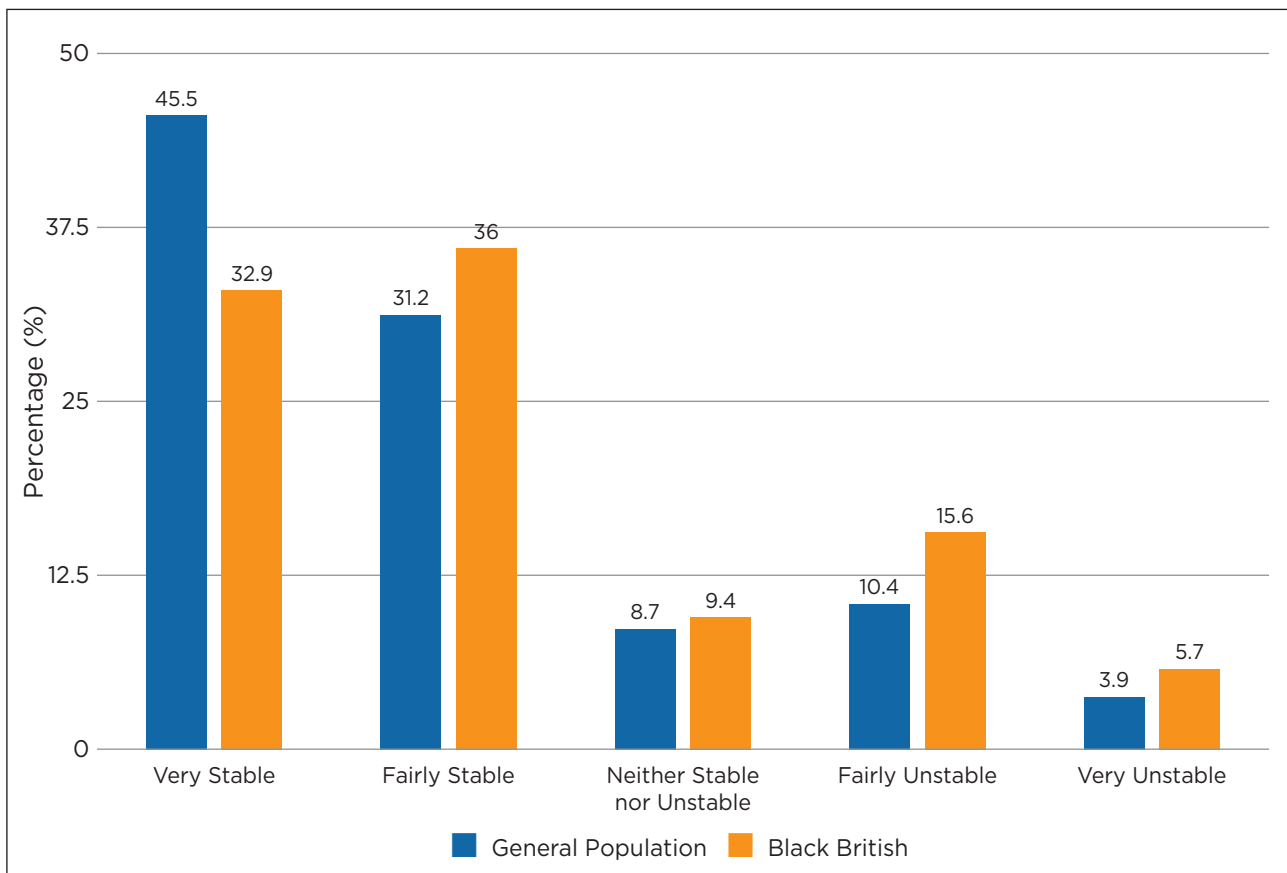
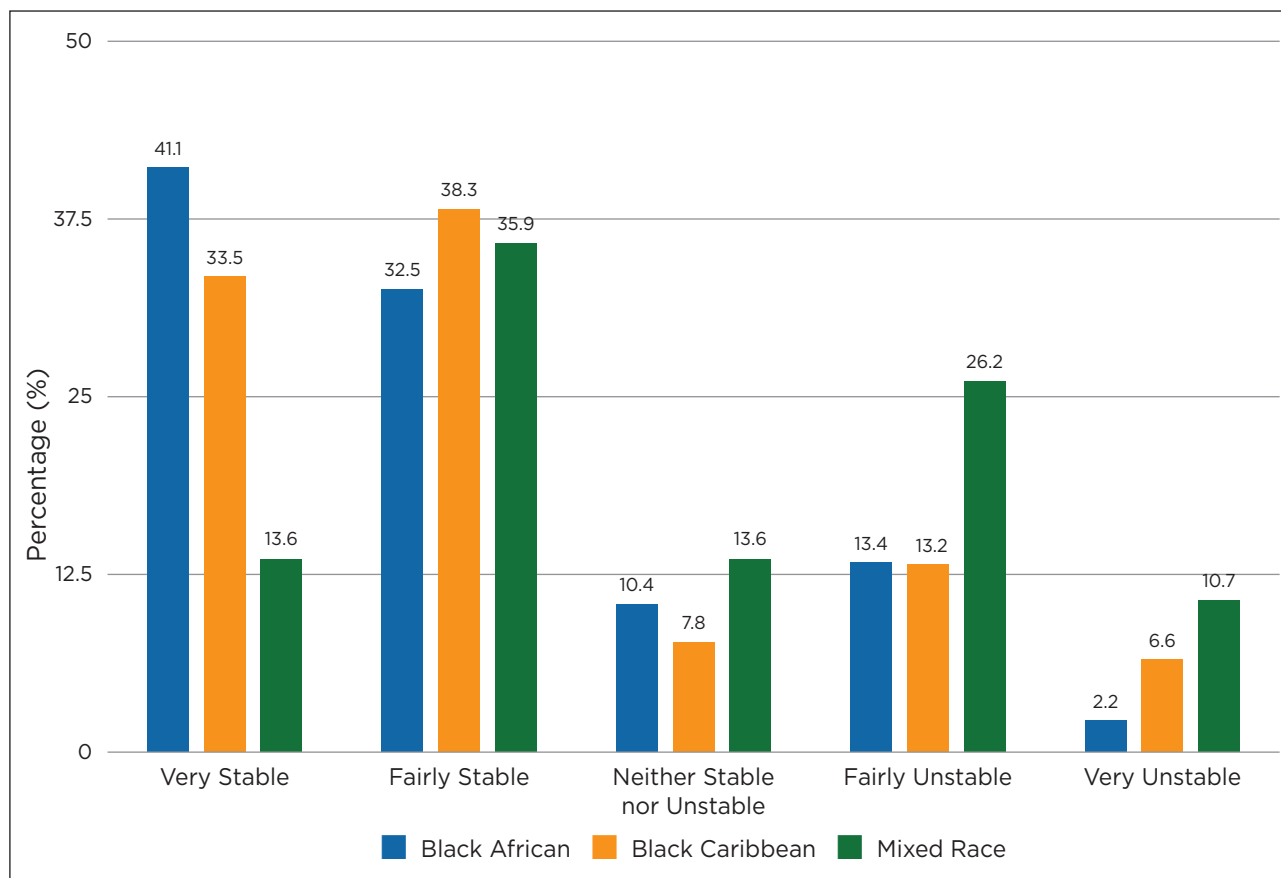


Figure 33: Stability of Family Life During Childhood (Black African, Black Caribbean, and Mixed Black-White ethnicities)



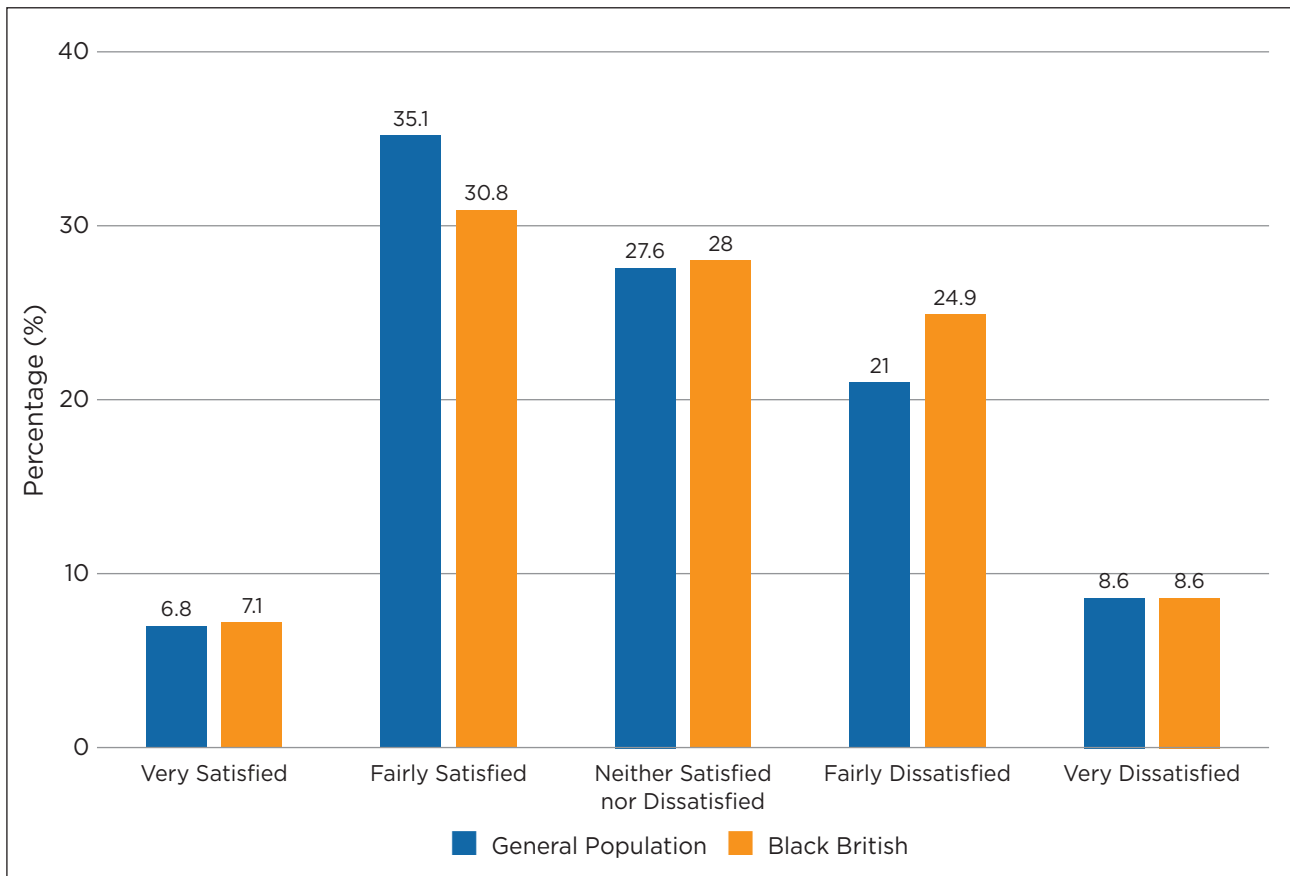
Black British respondents are also notably more likely to report having an unstable family life during their childhood when compared to the UK general population. While 14.3 per cent of the general population are of the view that they had an unstable family life as a child, this rises to over 1 in 5 – 21.3 per cent – for Black British respondents.

The overall net percentage rating for childhood family life stability (total stable – total unstable) for the general population is +62.4 percentage points. The corresponding figure for the Black British sample is notably lower at +47.6 percentage points.

Figure 33 presents results for self-reported (in)stability of family life during childhood, broken down by three different ethnic categories: Black people of African origin; Black people of Caribbean origin; and mixed-race people of black-white parentage.

The analysis shows that people of Black African origin are the most likely to report having a stable family life, with over 4 in 10 Black African-origin people reporting that their family life during their childhood was ‘very stable’ (41.1 per cent). This drops to 33.5 per cent for people of Black Caribbean origin, and further down to 13.6 per cent for mixed-race people of black-white parentage. While over 7 in 10 Black African- and Black Caribbean-origin respondents report having a stable family life during their childhood (73.6 per cent and 71.8 per cent respectively), this drops to fewer than 1 in 2 for mixed-race people of black-white parentage (49.5 per cent).

The figure above also shows that 15.6 per cent of Black African-origin people report having an unstable family life during their childhood. This increases to 19.8 per cent for people of Black Caribbean origin, and rises notably further for mixed-race people of black-white parentage: 36.9 per cent. Focusing on the most negative response category, 2.2 per cent of Black African-origin people report having a ‘very unstable’ family life during their childhood. This rises to 6.6

Figure 34: Satisfaction with Life in the UK

per cent for people of Black Caribbean origin. Over 1 in 10 mixed-race people of black-white parentage report that their childhood family life was very unstable (10.7 per cent).

6.2: Life Satisfaction in the UK

Section 6.2 – the final subsection of the report’s data analysis – explores levels of current-day life satisfaction in the UK. This explores broader differences in reported life satisfaction between Black British people and the wider UK general population, and variations within the Black British population based on place of birth, age, education, and ethnicity. The subsection concludes with an ordinal logistic regression, predicting for life satisfaction in the UK general population.

Figure 34 presents an overview of how satisfied people are with their life in the UK. Percentages are shown for both the general-population and Black British samples.

41.9 per cent of the general population are satisfied with their life in the UK (with 6.8 per cent being ‘very satisfied’ and 35.1 per cent being ‘fairly satisfied’). This drops slightly to 37.9 per cent for the Black British sample (with 7.1 per cent being ‘very satisfied’ and 30.8 per cent being ‘fairly satisfied’).

While the differences are not wide, Black British people are more likely to report being dissatisfied with their current-day life in Britain. Approximately 3 in 10 people – 29.6 per cent – in the general population are dissatisfied with their life in the UK (with 21.0 per cent being ‘fairly dissatisfied’ and 8.6 per cent being ‘very dissatisfied’). The analysis shows that 1 in 4 Black British respondents – 24.9 per cent – report that they are ‘fairly dissatisfied’ with life in the UK, with a further 8.6 per cent being ‘very dissatisfied’. This means 1 in 3 Black British people – 33.5 per cent – express being dissatisfied with life in the UK.

Figure 35: Life Satisfaction in the UK (Black British - Birthplace, Education, Ethnicity, and Age)

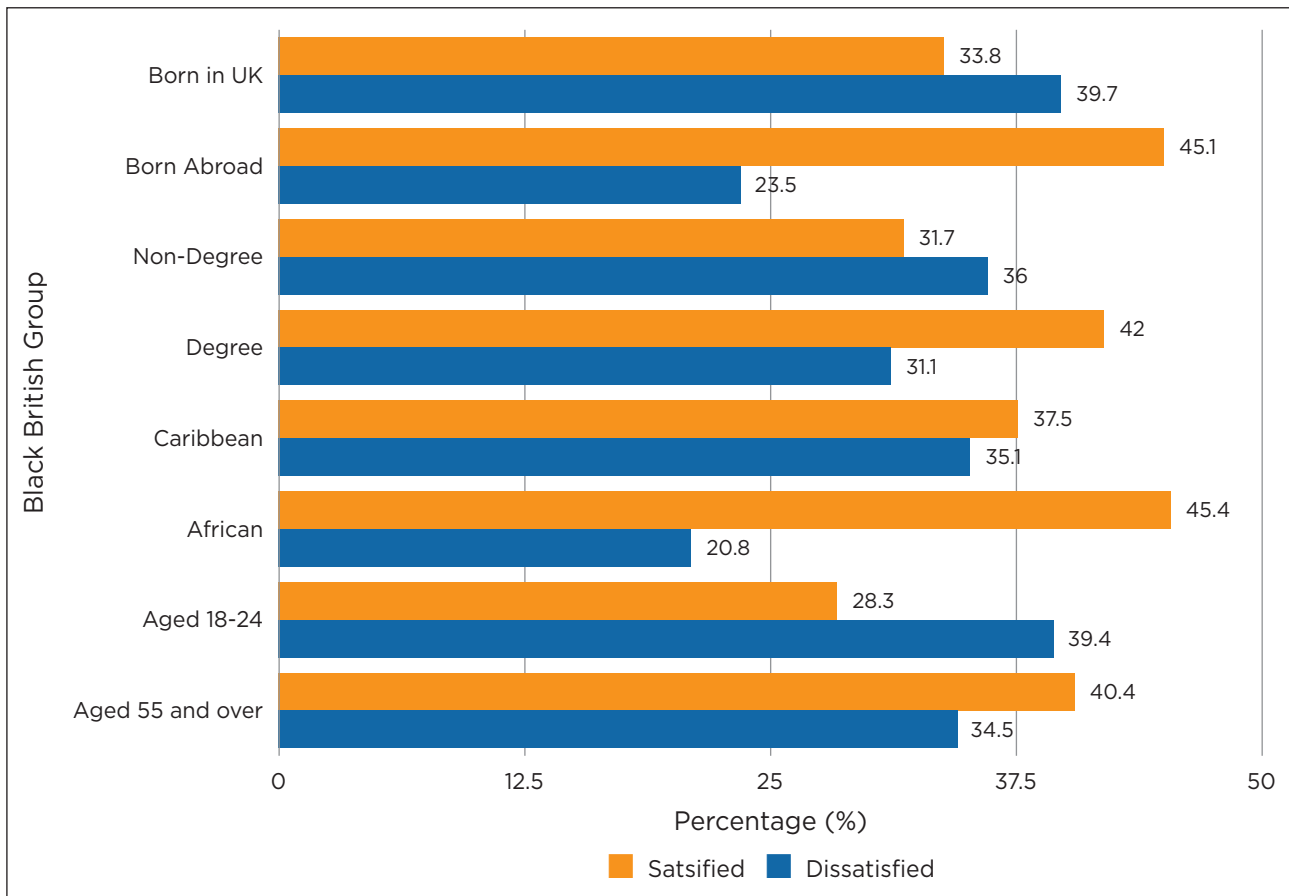


Figure 35 presents results on levels of life satisfaction among Black British respondents broken down by birthplace (born in the UK / born abroad), education (non-degree-educated / degree-educated), ethnicity (Black African / Black Caribbean), and age group (aged 18-24 years / aged 55 and over).

The analysis shows that Black British people born outside of the UK are more likely to be satisfied with life in the UK than co-racial respondents born in the UK (45.1 per cent / 33.8 per cent). Conversely, nearly 4 in 10 UK-born Black British people – 39.7 per cent – are dissatisfied with their life in the UK, with 23.5 per cent of non-UK-born Black British people following suit. The net satisfaction rating (satisfied - dissatisfied) for UK-born Black British respondents is in negative territory: -5.9 percentage points. For Black British people born outside of the UK, it is comfortably in positive territory: +21.6 percentage points.

Black British people who are degree-educated (Level 4 qualification and above) are more likely to be satisfied with life in the UK than co-racial respondents who are not degree-educated (Level 3 qualification and below): 42.0 per cent compared with 31.7 per cent. Alternatively, 36.0 per cent of non-degree-educated Black British people are dissatisfied with their life in the UK, with the corresponding figure for degree-educated people being 31.1 per cent. The net satisfaction rating for non-degree-educated Black British respondents is in negative territory: -4.3 percentage points. For Black British people with a degree, it is in positive territory: +10.9 percentage points.

There are notable ethnic differences. British people of Black African origin are more likely to be satisfied with life in the UK than Black Caribbean-origin respondents (45.4 per cent compared with 37.5 per cent). On the flip side, 35.1 per cent of Black Caribbean-origin people

Table 1: Ordinal Logistic Regression Model (Life Satisfaction – UK General Population)

Model 1: Life Satisfaction (UK General Population)	Log Odds (B)	Std. Error (S.E.)	95% CI (Lower)	95% CI (Upper)
2019 UK General Election Vote:				
Conservative Party (ref)				
Labour Party	-1.046***	.175	-1.389	-.702
Liberal Democrats	-.346	.211	-.759	.068
Other Party	-.781***	.242	-1.255	-.308
DNV-PNTS-CR	-.506	.179	-.856	-.155
Gender: Male (ref)				
Female	-.108	.125	-.353	-.137
Ethnicity: White (ref)				
Non-white	.593***	.211	.180	1.007
Age Group: 18–24 years (ref)				
25–34	-.058	.264	-.575	.460
35–44	-.161	.266	-.684	.360
45–54	-.365	.268	-.891	.160
55 and over	-.324	.250	-.813	.166
Education: Level 3 and below (ref)				
Level 4 and above	-.026	.135	-.289	.237
Still in full-time education	-.450	.553	-1.534	.637
DK-PNTS	-.770	.469	-1.689	.149
Social Class: ABC1 (ref)				
C2DE	-.175	.128	-.427	.076
Self-reported stability of family life in childhood: Stable (ref)				
Neither stable nor unstable	-.553***	.196	-.936	-.169
Unstable	-.937***	.180	-1.289	-.584
Region: London (ref)				
South and East of England	.581***	.216	.157	1.004
Midlands	.620**	.244	.141	1.098
Northern England	.265	.215	-.156	.686
Scotland	.557	.299	-.029	1.142
Wales	.351	.319	-.275	.977
Northern Ireland	.755	.507	-.239	1.749
Discrimination:				
Does not report discrimination (ref)				
Reports discrimination	-.159	.180	-.512	.195
Birthplace: Born in UK (ref)				
Born outside of UK	-.035	.203	-.432	.362
/cut1	-3.132	.351	-3.821	-2.444
/cut2	-1.528	.333	-2.180	-.874
/cut3	-.255	.329	-.899	.389
/cut4	2.164	.344	1.490	2.838

are dissatisfied with their life in the UK, with the corresponding figure for Black African-origin people dropping to 20.8 per cent. The net life satisfaction rating for Black Caribbean-origin respondents is slightly in positive territory: +2.4 percentage points. For Black British people of African origin, it is comfortably in positive territory: +24.6 percentage points.

In terms of age, Black British people aged 55 years and over are notably more likely to be satisfied with life in the UK when compared with co-racial respondents aged 18–24 years (40.4 per cent compared with 23.8 per cent). Black British respondents in the 18–24 age cohort are more likely to report being dissatisfied with their life compared to co-racial respondents aged 55 and over (39.4 per cent compared with 34.5 per cent). The net satisfaction rating for Black British respondents aged 18–24 is in negative territory: -11.1 percentage points. For Black British people aged 55 and over, it is in positive territory: +5.9 percentage points.

Model 1 is an ordinal logistic regression model which predicts for life satisfaction in the UK general population.⁵³ The dependent variable for life satisfaction is coded as: 1 = very dissatisfied; 2 = fairly dissatisfied; 3 = neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4 = fairly satisfied; 5 = very satisfied. A total of 10 independent variables are included in the model: 2019 General Election vote choice, gender, ethnicity, age, education, social class, stability of family life during childhood, region, self-reported discrimination, and birthplace.⁵⁴

For Model 1, there are **no significant** gender, education, class, age, discrimination, and birthplace effects to report. There are significant effects to report for vote choice in the 2019 UK General Election, ethnicity, region, and self-reported stability of family life during childhood.

Controlling for all other variables in Model 1, Labour Party voters are significantly less likely to report being currently satisfied with life than Conservative Party voters ($b = -1.046$). This is also the case for people who fall in the 'Other Party' category ($b = -.781$). Both of these findings are statistically significant at the 1% confidence level. In regard to ethnicity, non-white people are **significantly more likely** to report being satisfied with life than white people ($b = .593$).⁵⁵ This finding is also statistically significant at the 1% confidence level. For region, people in the South and East of England ($b = .581$) and Midlands ($b = .620$) categories are significantly more likely to report life satisfaction than Londoners. These findings are statistically significant at the 1% and 5% confidence levels respectively.

When controlling for all other variables in the model, people who stated that their family life was unstable during their childhood were **significantly less likely** to report being currently satisfied with life than those who stated that their childhood family life was stable ($b = -.937$). This finding is statistically significant at the 1% confidence level.

Derived from the results presented in Model 1, Figure 36 presents the predicted probabilities for reporting life satisfaction based on the self-reported stability of family life during childhood. The five trend-lines represent each of the five responses contained in the life satisfaction dependent variable: 'very dissatisfied', 'fairly dissatisfied', 'neither satisfied nor dissatisfied',

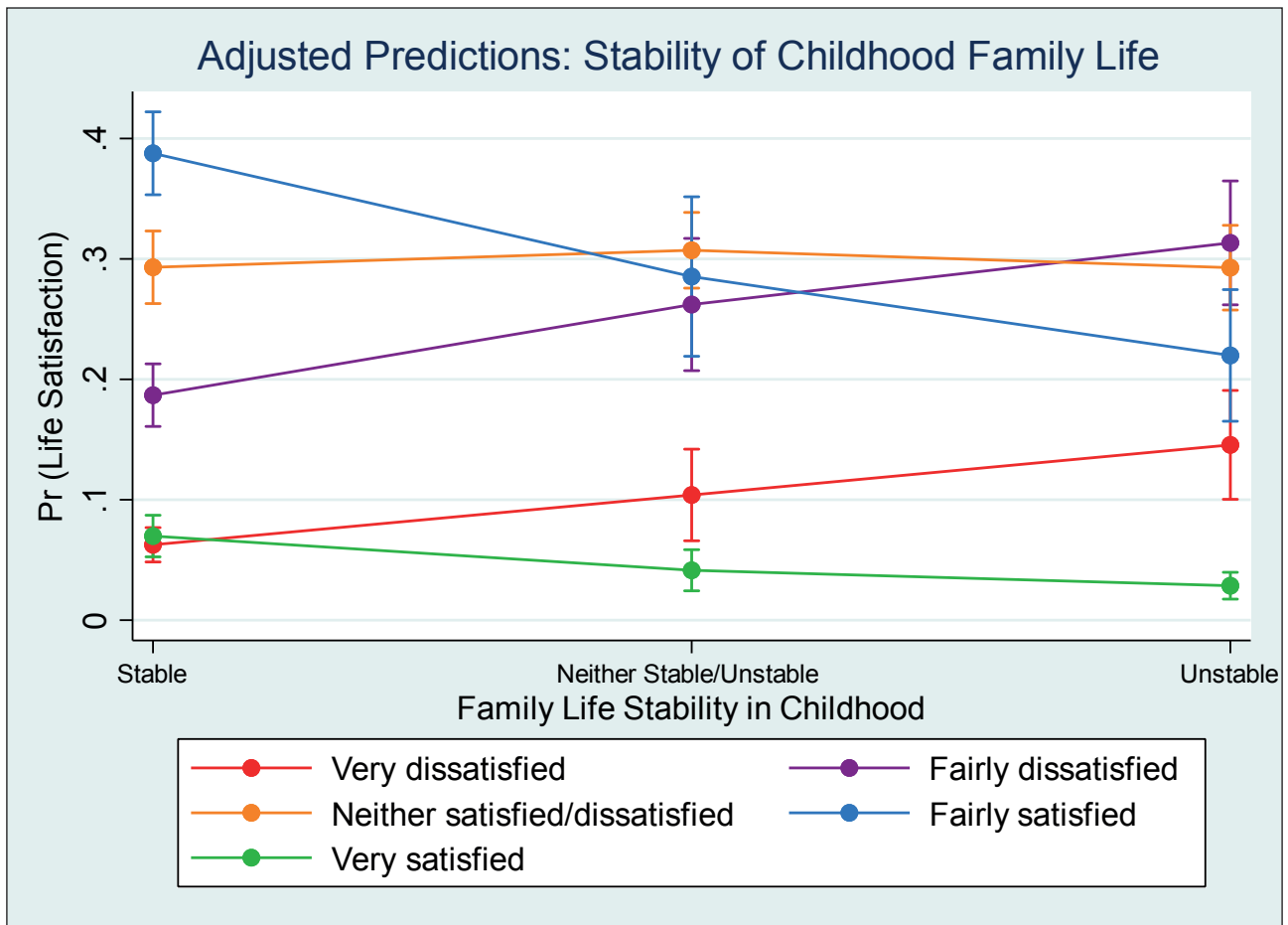
⁵³ **Model 1 Notes:** N = 985. Chi-square: 109.16. -2LL: 1370.3079. Pseudo R-Squared: 0.0409. ** $p < 0.05$. *** $p < 0.01$.

⁵⁴ **2019 UK General Election vote choice:** 'Other Party' category includes respondents who voted for the following in the 2019 UK General Election: Brexit Party, Green Party, Scottish National Party (SNP), Plaid Cymru, and others. The 'DNL-PNTS-CR' category includes respondents who did not vote, prefer not to say how they voted, or cannot remember how they voted.

Education: Level 4 and above are respondents who are at least degree-educated and no longer in full-time education. Level 3 and below are respondents who are not degree-educated and not in full-time education. **Region:** South and East England = South East, South West, and Eastern England; Midlands = West and East Midlands; Northern England = North West, North East, and Yorkshire and the Humber). **Reports Discrimination:** People who report discrimination on any of the following grounds: age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, social class, disability, sexual orientation, and political views (during the 12 months before being surveyed).

⁵⁵ Please note that the majority of the non-white sample is of **Asian origin** (including people of Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Chinese origin).

Figure 36: Predicted Probabilities: Self-Reported Stability of Family Life During Childhood (Current-Day Life Satisfaction)



‘fairly satisfied’, and ‘very satisfied’. There are three categorical responses for self-reported stability of childhood family life: stable, neither stable nor unstable, and unstable.

Figure 36 shows that the predicted probabilities for reporting being fairly dissatisfied (purple) and very dissatisfied (red) with one’s current life are on an upward trajectory as the trend-lines travel from ‘stable’ to ‘unstable’ family life during childhood. The opposite is the case for the ‘fairly satisfied’ (blue) and ‘very satisfied’ (green) predicted probabilities. Controlling for all other variables in Model 1 (2019 General Election vote choice, age, gender, education, social class, ethnicity, region, reported discrimination, and birthplace) an **unstable family life during childhood** is significantly associated with a **lower likelihood of reporting current-day life satisfaction**.

7. Discussion of Results

The data analysis sections of the report cover vast ground, exploring socio-political attitudes and social experiences within the UK general population (with a particular focus on Black British people). This has included public attitudes towards the Black Lives Matter social movement and its UK political branch, perception of different ethnic and racial groups, and the grounds on which people report discriminatory experiences. A part of this analysis was devoted to exploring intra-racial tensions between Black British Africans and Black British Caribbeans. There has also been an exploration of state-citizen relations during the Covid-19 pandemic, examining attitudes towards public institutions such as the UK Parliament and the NHS. Investigating the impact of family dynamics in earlier stages of life, the report also examined the relationship between the stability of childhood family life and present-day life satisfaction.

7.1: Representative Nature of Black Lives Matter

The results of the HJS-ICM polling strongly suggest that the core objectives and political methods of the UK Black Lives Matter organisation (and the broader BLM social movement) are far from being inclusive and well supported. While avid supporters of the broader BLM social movement have portrayed the UK as a fundamentally racist society which has a police brutality problem, these views are not mainstream and are held by only a minority of people in the general population. Only 1 in 10 people in the UK general population support reduced investment in their own local police force – with this also being a minority view in Black British communities. The aggressively anti-capitalist tendencies of the Black Lives Matter movement are clearly not shared by much of the British public, with only 1 in 4 Black British people supporting the replacement of the market economy with a socialist system. With a number of the BLM demonstrations last summer descending into various forms of public disorder, the vast majority of the UK general population – including Black Britons – categorically reject the view that tearing down statues, burning the Union Flag, and damaging business property are acceptable forms of political protest. It is also worth noting that a plurality of Black British people of African descent believe that UK race relations are in good shape.

7.2: Political Divides on UK Race Relations

The results from the HJS-ICM polling, however, show that the Black British population is fundamentally at odds with the wider UK population on a range of matters associated with race, identity, and discrimination – including the current state of UK race relations and the social impact of the BLM movement. Along with the existence of sharp party divides on perceptions of race relations and the BLM movement, the results also paint the picture of a UK which has left the European Union, but remains a country where Brexit fault-lines continue to persist on cultural matters. Those who voted Leave in the June 2016 UK referendum on EU membership and for the Conservative Party in the December 2019 UK ‘Brexit’ General Election are notably more positive about the condition of race relations in the UK but also notably more negative about the impact of the BLM movement on social cohesion. Comparatively, pro-Remain voters and those who voted for Jeremy Corbyn’s Labour Party back in December 2019 have a more positive view of BLM’s effect on race relations but are ultimately more concerned over the quality of such relations.

7.3: Relationship with Public Institutions

The HJS-ICM polling provides a number of findings that will be especially disturbing for those who wish to create a more socially cohesive, democratically stable British society. The fact that around 3 in 10 Black British people believe their own racial group has been unfairly treated

by the NHS's management of the Covid-19 crisis can undermine public health responses – such as the uptake of newly created vaccines in the middle of a pandemic. This is further propounded by the fact that 37 per cent of Black British people believe political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the NHS (notably higher than the figure of 22 per cent for the wider general population). And while the majority of Black British people are opposed to reduced investment in their own local police forces, nearly 6 in 10 are of the view that their own local police force is guilty of unfair treatment towards black people. In addition to this, while only 29 per cent of the wider general population believe that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in police forces, this rises to 50 per cent for Black British people. There is much room for improvement in building stronger state-citizen relations, with 4 in 10 Black British people believing that their broader racial group has been unfairly treated under the UK Parliament's response to the Covid-19 pandemic.

7.4: Internal Challenges for Black British Communities

While Black British people report alarming rates of racial discrimination and perceived institutional racism, there is also the unfortunate reality that a number of internal socio-cultural issues need to be resolved in the interests of social cohesion and community relations. Indeed, 8 per cent of Black British people report experiencing ethno-racial discrimination at the hands of another Black person. While 14 per cent of the UK general population report having an unstable family life during their childhood, this figure rises to over 1 in 5 – 21 per cent – for the Black British population. While the vast majority of UK adults reject various forms of civil disobedience and ideologically motivated violence, Black British people are marginally more likely to view such acts as acceptable forms of political protest. In addition to this, when compared with the general population, Black British people are more likely to believe that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global banking system, political leadership, media sector, entertainment industry, and arms/weapons production. There are key discussions to have over family instability, lack of respect for authority, intra-racial animosity, and Anti-Semitic conspiratorial beliefs within Black British communities.

7.5: Effects of Social Integration

Building on existing research which is supportive of the core implications of 'contact theory', there are findings which suggest that social integration (or separation) can play a role in shaping social and political attitudes in Black British communities. When compared with Black British 'bridgers' (individuals who report that only a few or none of their friends are Black), Black British 'bonders' who are less-integrated through their close friends (namely individuals who report that about half, most, or all of their friends are Black) are less positive over UK race relations, more likely to have an unfavourable view of the white British mainstream, and more likely to believe that Jewish people have a disproportionately high level of control over the global banking system and entertainment industry. Following on from this report's findings and the HJS-SavantaComRes study on British Muslim attitudes, public authorities interested in strengthening social cohesion and political stability must be wary of the risks associated with forms of social separation and distance from mainstream democratic society – especially for ethno-racial minorities which are heavily represented in lower socio-economic groups.

7.6: The Myth of the 'Black Community'

While political organisations such as UK BLM have used homogenising terms such as 'Black diaspora', the findings in this report show that the notion of there being a 'Black community' in Britain is nothing but a fictitious social construct, a myth which continues to be peddled for political purposes. Much like the phrase 'South Asian community', which masks important socio-economic and socio-political differences between British people of Indian, Pakistani,

and Bangladeshi origin, the term 'Black community' conceals notable differences between British people of Black African and Black Caribbean heritage. As far back as the 2010 EMBES, there have been noteworthy differences to report between people of Black African and Black Caribbean origin – and the January 2021 HJS-ICM polling further demonstrates the undeniable reality that these two co-racial groups are not the same by any stretch of the imagination. Highlighting notable intra-racial community tensions, 16 per cent of Black British Caribbeans have an unfavourable view of Black British Africans. When compared to their co-racial counterparts of Caribbean origin, people of Black African origin are notably more likely to have a positive view on race relations in the UK and less likely to think that the UK is a fundamentally racist society. Black British Africans, when compared with Black British Caribbeans, are more likely to attach importance to their religious identity, to be satisfied with life in contemporary Britain, and to say that they had a stable family life during their childhood.

7.7: The Family

The findings from the report crucially highlight the importance of a social unit which does not feature much at all in pro-BLM narratives – the family. Again, disparities exist between different ethnic groups in the broader Black British population, with people of Black African origin notably less likely to report having an unstable family life during their childhood than those of Black Caribbean origin. The figures for mixed-race people of black-white parentage are particularly alarming, with over 1 in 10 reporting that their childhood family life was very unstable (the corresponding figure for Black African-origin people is just 2 per cent). The importance of a stable family unit in British society cannot be underestimated; nor should it be overlooked by policymakers. When controlling for a range of socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, education, ethnicity, and social class, a stable family life during childhood is significantly associated with current-day life satisfaction. A stable family unit remains the finest form of social security – providing a sense of rootedness and the vital foundations for personal development and long-term life satisfaction.

8. Policy Recommendations and Conclusion

In light of the findings of the January 2021 HJS-ICM polling, this report makes the following policy recommendations:

- **Family:** The significance of the family unit and the social value of marriage should not be overlooked when examining socio-economic disparities. Dysfunctional household dynamics, including the ‘fatherlessness epidemic’, have seen Britain fast become a “world leader” in terms of family breakdown.⁵⁶ Robust academic research has shown that family structure has a greater impact on the presence of externalising behaviours – linked to cognitive development, physical and mental health, school attainment, criminal justice involvement, and social and emotional development – than education or poverty.⁵⁷ It is certainly worth acknowledging that when compared to a peer with married parents, a child of cohabitating parents is more than twice as likely to have experienced their parents separating.⁵⁸ While 6 per cent of children aged 5–10 years with married parents had a mental health disorder, this rises to 12 per cent for same-aged children with cohabitating parents.⁵⁹ The appointment of a ‘Family Tsar’ to direct a new government review inviting researchers, policymakers and social practitioners to deliver evidence on the relationship between family structures and young people’s personal well-being and development is strongly recommended. This should be held with a view to developing a comprehensive package of policy measures to support communities at higher risk of family breakdown.
- **Employment:** The unfortunate reality of the matter is that British policymakers have placed long-standing faith in supposedly “self-correcting” market mechanisms.⁶⁰ A wealth of CV-based field studies identify clear racial and ethnic inequalities in the interview invitation process (despite circulated resumé being identical in terms of skills, qualifications, and work experience).⁶¹ A 2019 study by the Centre for Social Investigation at Nuffield College, University of Oxford, found that work applications from more “visible and culturally distant” minorities – such as applicants of Black African origin – were heavily penalised.⁶² A UK-wide expansion of existing ‘name-blind’ recruitment initiatives, spanning the public, private, and third sectors, would reduce ‘pre-entry’ labour market discrimination and move the labour market in a decidedly meritocratic direction.

⁵⁶ ‘Why Family Matters: A comprehensive analysis of the consequences of family breakdown’, *The Centre for Social Justice*, March 2019, available at: <https://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/core/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/CSJJ6900-Family-Report-190405-WEB.pdf>, last visited: 5 October 2020.

⁵⁷ Worringer, S., ‘Family Structure Still Matters’, *The Centre for Social Justice*, August 2020, available at: <https://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/core/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/CSJJ8372-Family-structure-Report-200807.pdf>, last visited: 5 October 2020.

⁵⁸ Worringer, S., ‘Sophie Worringer: Marriage still matters – and most for the poorest’, *ConservativeHome*, 16 August 2020, available at: <https://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2020/08/sophia-worringer-marriage-still-matters-and-most-for-the-poorest.html>, last visited: 15 November 2020.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Ehsan, R. (2018), ‘Discrimination, Social Relations, and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities’ (Egham (Surrey): *Royal Holloway, University of London* (Department of Politics & International Relations)).

⁶¹ Jowell, R. and Prescott-Clarke, P., ‘Racial Discrimination and White-collar Workers in Britain’, *Race & Class*, 11 (1970): pp. 397–417. See also: Brown, C. and Gay, P., *Racial Discrimination: 17 Years After the Act* (London: Policy Studies Institute, 1985); Wood, M., Hales, J., Purdon, S., Sejersen, T. and Hayllar, O., ‘A test for racial discrimination in recruitment practice in British cities’, *Department for Work and Pensions* (2009), available at: <http://www.natcen.ac.uk/media/20541/test-for-racial-discrimination.pdf>, last visited: 9 October 2020.

⁶² Heath, A. and Di Stasio, V., ‘Are employers in Britain discriminating against ethnic minorities?’, *Centre for Social Investigation: Nuffield College, University of Oxford* (January 2019), available at: http://csi.nuff.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Are-employers-in-Britain-discriminating-against-ethnic-minorities_final.pdf, last visited: 9 October 2020.

- **Labour Market Relations:** Alongside the proposed expansion of ‘name-blind’ recruitment procedures, a database listing all UK-based employers who have lost racial and religious discrimination cases should be created and kept up to date by the UK Government. This could include the ‘naming and shaming’ of specific individuals who were directly implicated in discriminatory practices, along with higher-level management responsible for the internal handling of any such grievances which eventually became racial / religious discrimination cases in the courts / tribunals and where the ruling was in favour of the complainant.⁶³ This would essentially represent a publicly accessible Labour Market Discrimination Register, creating incentives for public, private, and third sector employers to effectively resolve legitimate internal grievances rooted in racial and religious discrimination. It is worth noting that previous research has shown that even after controlling for a range of individual-level and neighbourhood-level factors, non-white people who are more ‘socially integrated’ through their workplace are both more likely to report racial discrimination and less likely to be satisfied with British democracy.⁶⁴
- **Protected Characteristics:** The Equalities and Human Rights Commission currently lists the protected characteristics – over which it is illegal to discriminate – as age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation. Considering the socio-economically stratified nature of Britain’s market-oriented society, there is a glaring omission from this list: social class. This is further demonstrated by the findings in this report, which show that people in the UK general population are more likely to report discrimination based on social class than other forms of discrimination associated with ethnic background, religious beliefs, and sexual orientation. Therefore, the current string of protected characteristics is not fit-for-purpose when setting equality policy in the UK. In line with its newly announced Equality Data Programme, which is committed to gathering information on social mobility and regional inequality, the UK Government – through statute – should add social class to the existing list of protected characteristics.
- **Policing:** There are police-related findings in this report which are a cause for concern from a community-policing perspective. Nearly 3 in 5 Black Britons believe that their local police force treats their racial group unfairly. In addition to this, the majority of Black Britons disagree with the view that the UK does not have a problem with police brutality. Irrespective of the technicalities associated with police practices surrounding stop-and-search, the state–citizen relationship between the police and Black Britons continues to be strained. This is reflected by the grim reality that over 5 per cent of Black Britons view the use of force against a police officer as an acceptable form of political protest. The long-lasting legacy of cases such as the police-custody death of former British paratrooper Christopher Alder and the London Metropolitan Police’s investigation into the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence continues to be problematic on this front. The UK Home Office should instruct police forces to better engage with civic associations and community organisations in a multi-agency effort to create well-trusted neighbourhood policing plans which strengthen both public security and respect for authority. This is especially relevant for not only the Met, but other police forces which cover notable inner-city Black British populations (such as Greater Manchester, West Midlands, West Yorkshire, and Avon & Somerset).
- **Far-Left Activity:** The findings of this report show that the vast majority of the British public – including Black Britons – categorically reject the view that various types of civil

⁶³ Ehsan, R. (2018), ‘Discrimination, Social Relations, and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities’ (Egham (Surrey): Royal Holloway, University of London (Department of Politics & International Relations)).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

disobedience and violence can be considered as acceptable forms of political protest. This includes forms of vandalism such as the tearing down of statues and damaging private business property, along with the politically motivated use of force against members of extremist groups. In light of the UK BLM political organisation's public support for radical direct action, the recently announced review ordered by Prime Minister Boris Johnson – which will investigate hard-left efforts to take control of social movements such as BLM and Extinction Rebellion – is a welcome development.⁶⁵ Far-left revolutionary activity within racial-identity and climate-change organisations has the potential to disrupt community relations and undermine social causes which command considerable public support – such as racial fairness and environmental protection. Part of this new review, which will be led by unaffiliated peer Lord Walney, should also examine how vulnerable anti-capitalist organisations may also be falling under the ideological influences of Anti-Semitic political extremism.

- **Health:** The Covid-19 pandemic has exposed weaknesses in the state–citizen relationship with the NHS. Findings in this report reveal that nearly 3 in 10 Black British people believe that their own racial group has been unfairly treated during the NHS's management of the Covid-19 crisis. This is far from being ideal for the UK Government in terms of making headway with its public health programmes, such as the administration of Covid-19 vaccines. Recent studies have shown that vaccine-uptake hesitancy is particularly high among Black British people – being notably higher than among British people of Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi origin.⁶⁶ Central government must work closely with grassroots health advocates, local medical professionals, and well-trusted community organisations to strengthen public trust in the vaccine roll-out scheme – especially among Black British groups which exhibit higher levels of 'vaccination scepticism'. This should also include the creation of more robust counter-disinformation structures – both real-life and online – which are designed to neutralise the public health threat of unfounded anti-vaccination conspiracy theories.⁶⁷
- **Education:** There are public concerns over the impact of political activists in the education sector – 3 in 10 people in the general population are of the view that political activists have a disproportionately high level of influence in the UK's schools, with this rising to 50 per cent for Black British people. According to polling carried out on behalf of the Campaign for Common Sense, only 20 per cent of people agreed that schools should encourage pupils to get involved with political movements such as BLM and Extinction Rebellion.⁶⁸ It has long been a legal requirement for schools to be non-partisan and to cover social matters in a balanced fashion. This requirement to be politically impartial is clearly stated in Part 2 (5)(d) of the 2014 Education (Independent School Standards) Regulations Act.⁶⁹ To ensure the robust enforcement of laws on political impartiality in schools, the UK Government should instruct Ofsted to strengthen its

⁶⁵ Fisher, L., 'Exclusive: Far-Left influence on Black Lives Matter and Extinction Rebellion to be probed', *The Telegraph*, 7 February 2021, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2021/02/07/exclusive-far-left-influence-black-lives-matter-extinctionrebellion/>, last visited: 8 February 2021.

⁶⁶ Geddes, L., 'Covid vaccine: 72% of black people unlikely to have jab, UK survey finds', *The Guardian*, 16 January 2021, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/16/covid-vaccine-black-people-unlikely-covid-jab-uk>, last visited 28 January 2021.

⁶⁷ Ehsan, R., 'We need to talk about the disturbing influence of anti-vaxx propaganda on ethnic minorities', *The Telegraph*, 18 January 2021, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/01/18/need-talk-disturbing-influence-anti-vaxx-propaganda-ethnic-minorities/>, last visited: 28 January 2021.

⁶⁸ Lehain, M., 'It's time for schools to be politically impartial', *The Spectator*, 21 October 2020.

⁶⁹ 'The Education (Independent School Standards) Regulations 2014', available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/2014/3283/schedule?view=extent>, last visited: 8 February 2021.

focus on the teaching of political ideas and theories, in its broader evaluation of school standards and rating system. The Department for Education should also ensure that Postgraduate Certificate in Education courses which provide qualified-teacher status, better incorporate the development of teaching skills which focus on the balanced presentation of political theories (and promote the avoidance of presenting theoretical concepts as incontestable facts).

- **Social Cohesion:** The fostering of positive intergroup relations should be at the heart of the UK Government's post-Covid domestic policy vision. The Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government should work closely with local authorities to re-strengthen community cohesion plans. This should have a particular focus on building bonds of social trust in materially deprived and racially diverse localities. Multi-racial community initiatives – whether they are based on public health awareness, skills development, arts promotion, or environmental sustainability – provide an opportunity for positive intergroup contact and mutually beneficial knowledge exchange. It is also important to acknowledge that 'ethnic-enclave mini-economies' tend to be characterised by relatively low wages and limited opportunities for upward mobility.⁷⁰ Local community projects which provide opportunities for 'ethnic-enclave' business owners to interact with mainstream entrepreneurs and financial experts can help to facilitate meaningful knowledge transfers, positive social cohesion outcomes, and socio-economic progress within lesser-integrated and relatively disadvantaged ethnic groups. Cultivating intergroup bonds of social trust and mutual respect will be integral to developing a socially resilient and economically dynamic post-Covid British society.
- **Life Satisfaction:** This report highlights figures which are admittedly concerning from a societal well-being perspective, with only 4 in 10 people in the UK reporting life satisfaction. An integral part of the UK Government's post-Brexit project should be strengthening collective well-being and improving life satisfaction in the UK. There are long-term social benefits to investing considerable time and energy in exploring how life satisfaction can be bolstered. Existing research suggests that lower levels of life satisfaction among adolescents contributes towards risk-taking and physically aggressive forms of behaviour.⁷¹ Advanced quantitative studies have also shown that self-reported forms of life dissatisfaction are associated with heightened suicide risk.⁷² With the Covid-19 pandemic feeding into considerable forms of distress, the creation of a new Life Satisfaction Taskforce exploring the social, political, economic, and cultural root causes of life dissatisfaction in modern-day Britain is strongly recommended.

The UK is very much at a crossroads. Recently leaving the European Union and with many lessons emerging from the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, there is an opportunity for national renewal and regeneration. Indeed, Brexit and the Covid-19 pandemic can be viewed as catalysts for meaningful social, cultural, and economic reform.

While the UK remains one of the most successful examples of a post-war multi-racial democracy, there is much work to be done in terms of creating a more responsive and decentralised politico-economic settlement rooted in communitarianism and equality of opportunity. There is also a need to address forms of inequality which may be viewed as 'unfashionable' through

⁷⁰ Ehsan, R. (2018), 'Discrimination, Social Relations, and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities' (Egham (Surrey): Royal Holloway, University of London (Department of Politics & International Relations)).

⁷¹ MacDonald, J., Piquero, A., Valois, R. and Zullig, K., 'The Relationship Between Life Satisfaction, Risk-Taking Behaviours, and Youth Violence', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 20(11) (2005): pp. 1495-1518.

⁷² Koivumaa-Honkanen, H., Honkanen, R., Viinamaki, H., Heikkila, K., Kaprio, J. and Koskenvuo, M., 'Life Satisfaction and Suicide: A 20-Year Follow-Up Study', *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 158 (2001): pp. 433-439.

the prism of cultural modernity. This includes acknowledging the depressing reality that the UK is an established international hotspot when it comes to family breakdown, and remains a society where class-based barriers to social mobility continue to persist.

While it has not reached the divisive cultural polarisation which now sadly characterises American politics, the UK does not have the luxury of being able to be complacent on matters of race and equality. British civil society must find a way to rise above the notable political-party and Brexit divides which very much exist over race relations and the social impact of the Black Lives Matter movement. Those who are understandably critical over the excesses of pro-BLM political activism and the opportunistic peddling of divisive theoretical concepts such as 'white privilege' also have a responsibility to provide an uplifting and inclusive plan for creating a more socially cohesive and democratically satisfied UK.



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