

# Understanding the rise of the far right: Survey results

Martin Boon  
ICM Research

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# Contents

<b>Tables.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Figures.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Abbreviations.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Executive summary.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Context and relevance of the research.....	1
1.2 Aims of the research.....	2
1.3 Methodology.....	2
1.4 Interpretation of the data.....	6
1.5 Report structure.....	6
<b>2. The far-right voter: profile, behaviour and nature.....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1 BNP voters and considerers: a profile.....	7
2.2 Why vote for the BNP?.....	9
2.3 Why not vote for the BNP?.....	10
2.4 Chapter summary.....	11
<b>3. Local issues.....</b>	<b>13</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	13
3.2 The most important issues facing people.....	16
3.3 Who has most responsibility for causing problems?.....	18
3.4 Attitudes to the local council.....	19
3.5 Chapter summary.....	21
<b>4. Inter-ethnic contact, racism and prejudice.....</b>	<b>22</b>
4.1 Contact with people who are not white British.....	22
4.2 Views about different ethnic groups.....	24
4.3 Equality and fairness.....	26
4.4 British values.....	29

4.5 Prejudice.....	32
4.6 Chapter summary.....	36
<b>5. Comment.....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>39</b>
Appendix 1: Predicted voting patterns.....	39
Appendix 2: Guide to statistical reliability.....	40
Appendix 3: Guide to socio-economic definitions.....	41
Appendix 4: Sample profile.....	42
Appendix 5: Marked-up questionnaire.....	43
<b>References.....</b>	<b>53</b>

## Tables

Table 1.1	Wards covered in quantitative research	4
Table 2.1	Geographical distribution of BNP voters, considerers and those who have never considered voting for the BNP	8
Table 2.2	Age comparisons between BNP voters and the overall sample	8
Table 2.3	Social grade comparisons between BNP voters and overall sample	9
Table 2.4	Stated reasons for supporting the BNP	10
Table 2.5	Leading reasons given by BNP considerers for not voting for the party	11
Table 3.1	Extent of agreement with statements about their community	15
Table 3.2	Most important issues facing people by area	16
Table 3.3	Most important issues facing people, by BNP voting	18
Table 3.4	Responsibility for causing problems	18
Table 3.5	Extent of agreement with statements about local council by type of BNP support	20
Table 4.1	Social and work-related contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds	22
Table 4.2	Social contact between people in the three areas	23
Table 4.3	Social contact by ward type	23
Table 4.4	Social contact by BNP support	24
Table 4.5	Proportion who agree that eastern European and black and Asian people ...	26
Table 4.6	Perceived fairness in the way people are treated in Britain today	27
Table 4.7	Actual experience of unfair treatment	28
Table 4.8	Ways in which people believe they have been unfairly treated	29
Table 4.9	Percentage who think British values have changed over their lifetime	30
Table 4.10	Who agrees that British values have changed over their lifetime?	30
Table 4.11	Reasons why people think British values have changed	31
Table 4.12	Discomfort levels if a close relative married someone from an ethnic minority group	32

Table 4.13	Discomfort levels if a close relative married someone from another minority group	33
Table 4.14	Discomfort with a close relative's marriage to different types of people, by BNP support	33
Table 4.15	Self-reported prejudice towards people from eastern Europe	34
Table 4.16	Self-reported prejudice towards people from black and Asian backgrounds	35
Table 4.17	Main reasons given for prejudice towards eastern European and black and Asian people	36

## **Figures**

Figure 3.1	Extent of agreement with statements about their local area	14
Figure 3.2	The most important issues facing people	17
Figure 3.3	Extent of agreement with statements about the local council	19
Figure 4.1	Attitudes towards eastern European and black and Asian people	25

## Abbreviations

The following terms and abbreviations are used throughout the report:

ABC1	Combination of socio-economic groups A, B and C1. See Appendix 3: Guide to socio-economic definitions for more details
C2DE	Combination of socio-economic groups C2 and DE. See Appendix 3: Guide to socio-economic definitions for more details
BNP	British National Party
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
BNP ward	Council ward with one or more BNP councillors
Hopeful BNP ward	Council ward where the BNP came close to electing a councillor in the 2008 local council elections
Non-BNP ward	Council ward where the BNP has made little headway or has not fielded a candidate
BNP voter	Respondent to this survey who has voted for the BNP at some time
BNP considerer	Respondent who has considered voting for the BNP but has not yet done so
Non-considerer	Respondent who has never considered voting for the BNP



## **Acknowledgements**

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## Executive summary

The aim of this survey was to examine the factors which underpin support for far-right political parties in England, particularly the British National Party (BNP).

ICM Research interviewed a total of 1,582 people, face to face, between 8 August and 6 September 2009. Interviews were split fairly equally between three locations, with 550 interviews completed in Stoke-on-Trent, 498 in Blackburn with Darwen and 534 in North West Leicestershire. Data has been weighted to be demographically representative of the population in the three areas.

### Far-right voters

- Across the three localities, just over one in 10 people in this sample (12 per cent) said they had previously voted for the BNP, with another 10 per cent saying they had considered but not voted for the party.
- Far-right voters are often portrayed in the media as being predominantly young men. While it is true that the BNP does generate support among men more than women, supporters were haphazardly distributed across different age bands. There were slightly more supporters within the 25-34 age band compared to their incidence within the sample as a whole, but the same can be said about the 55-64 age band. Far-right voters are thus found across the age spectrum.
- The profile of BNP voters and considerers on other demographic variables matches the findings of other surveys. Most supporters are found within the low-skilled C2DE socio-economic groups, have lower levels of educational attainment and rent their properties from the local council. There is an inter-correlation between these findings: BNP voters live in deprived areas and accordingly share the characteristics associated with those areas.
- Four in 10 BNP voters say that immigration is the primary reason why they have voted for the party.
- Some of those who have considered voting for the BNP but not done so cite its racist nature as the reason. This was the case in North West Leicestershire more than in the other two areas.

### Local issues

- The areas surveyed have pockets of real deprivation. However, they express a general optimism about their area: three in four respondents (78 per cent) agree that theirs is a good place in which to live.
- Yet problems do remain. Many feel that people from different parts of the community don't really mix, that the area is more rundown than it was, and that there are not many good things to do there.

- The cost of living is a key concern for people. Three in 10 cite it as their primary concern, and 50 per cent mention it among the top two or three issues. Concern about it is greater in Stoke and North West Leicestershire. More people refer to the cost of living as a key concern in wards with a BNP councillor.
- Immigration ranked seventh among the issues of greatest importance, and sixth among the two or three key issues. Among BNP voters, it ranked fourth and joint third respectively.
- Politicians and political parties are held primarily responsible for current problems, with local councils mentioned in respect of education, crime and access to healthcare.
- Views about local council performance are a key indicator of BNP support. Chief among them is whether or not someone thinks the local council is prepared to do something for 'someone like me'. BNP voters are particularly likely to disagree with this statement.

### **Inter-ethnic contact, racism and prejudice**

- Contact with eastern European and south Asian immigrants reduces the likelihood of voting for the BNP. However, social contact with those groups is not related to lower degrees of prejudice towards them.
- Attitudes towards eastern Europeans are more negative than towards black and Asian people. Around half of respondents in the three areas think that Eastern European immigrants take jobs from local workers and put a strain on the health service and local schools.
- Over half (56 per cent) of all respondents believe that some ethnic minorities in this country are treated more favourably than the white British community. However, only 8 per cent reported personal experiences of unfair treatment. These include people jumping the council housing queue, receiving automatic and extensive social security benefits, or being treated first or better in hospital.
- Three-quarters of all respondents (77 per cent) say that British values have changed over the course of their lifetime. Members of the more affluent ABC1 social groups are most likely to agree, as are people who are Christian or white. Showing 'no respect' is cited as the main example of this.
- Six per cent of the total sample say they don't mind being seen as prejudiced towards other groups, while a further 25 per cent say they sometimes feel prejudiced but try not to let it show. These percentages rise to around 25 per cent and 35 per cent among BNP voters, and 15 per cent and 40 per cent among BNP considerers.

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Context and relevance of the research

In June 2009, the British National Party (BNP) won two seats in the European Parliament – the first time that it has secured electoral representation outside local council chambers. In the European Parliament election, the BNP polled 879,310 votes in England, or 6.6 per cent of the total vote: vote shares in Wales and Scotland were 5.4 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively (BBC, 2009). In the Yorkshire and the Humber region, it achieved 9.8 per cent. In the North West, its leader Nick Griffin was elected on a base of 8.0 per cent. Elsewhere it polled well but failed to win a seat: in the East Midlands, it polled 8.7 per cent and in the West Midlands 8.6 per cent.

Coincident county council elections also took place in some areas on June 4. Again for the first time, the BNP won county council seats: one each in Lancashire, Leicestershire (in Coalville, one of the three areas selected for this research project) and Hertfordshire.

These successes built on previous progress. In the local authority elections in May 2008, the BNP increased its number of elected councillors by 10, to a total of 55 in England (having previously doubled its numbers in the 2006 council elections). The biggest gains in 2008 were in Amber Valley (two) and Stoke-on-Trent (three), where the new total of nine councillors gave Stoke-on-Trent city council the second largest BNP representation nationwide after Barking and Dagenham, which had 12. Thurrock, Three Rivers, Pendle and Calderdale also saw new BNP representatives in their council chambers that year.

This survey examines the reasons for the rise in support for far-right parties from the public's own perspective. Relatively little primary research has previously been conducted on this subject, but what is already known is that the concentration of electoral support for the BNP has been in selected geographical areas and among particular types of voter. A 2006 survey of support for the BNP (ICM, 2006) focused on Barking and Dagenham and Sandwell local authority areas, where the party broke through in the local council elections that year. The survey found BNP support to be higher:

- in areas with high numbers of ethnic minorities (ethnic minorities comprise 15 per cent of the population of Barking and Dagenham and 20 per cent in Sandwell, compared to eight per cent nationally)

- in areas of serious multiple deprivation (all wards surveyed across the two local authorities were in the top 30 per cent of deprived wards in England)
- among social classes C2 (34 per cent of BNP supporters as compared with 21 per cent of the population as a whole) and DE (42 per cent compared with 28 per cent of the population as a whole)
- among disaffected ex-Labour voters
- among those who thought that immigration was the most serious issue facing Britain at the time, and
- among people who supported a range of BNP policies rather than simple protest-based issue politics.

It would seem that the election of far-right representatives is an expression of a political dynamic that has already been established at a local level among specific types of voters.

## 1.2 Aims of the research

BNP progress in 2008 and 2009 has focused attention on the possible effect of a sustained far-right presence within specific communities. Given the perceived effect of far-right agendas on social cohesion issues, the Equality and Human Rights Commission wished to examine:

- the factors which underpin the rise of far-right political parties in England
- why those parties are successful in some places but not in others, and
- the implications of BNP tactics and electoral success for community cohesion.

It therefore commissioned a programme of qualitative and quantitative research, with this report focusing on the latter.

## 1.3 Methodology

The three areas chosen for this research were:

**Stoke-on-Trent:** considered a BNP heartland with nine BNP councillors on the local council. The local pottery-based economy has largely disintegrated and deprivation levels are high (DCLG, 2007). Three per cent of the population are of Asian origin, and less than 0.5 per cent are black (Stoke-on-Trent City Council, undated).

**North West Leicestershire:** a neighbouring local authority to the City of Leicester, which has one of the most diverse ethnic mixes in the UK. North West Leicestershire is an area that has suffered considerably from the decline in coal-mining industries.

Two councillors currently represent the BNP. Asian and black people together make up less than 0.5 per cent of the population (Leicestershire County Council, 2004).

**Blackburn with Darwen:** an area with a large population of south Asian origin (20 per cent), less than 1 per cent black people, and high levels of relative deprivation (DCLG, 2007; Local Futures, 2009). It does not currently have any BNP councillors, despite an election success and intensive campaigning in recent years.

Within each of the three chosen areas, a representative sample of the local population was generated. Each area was stratified by ward type, based on support for the BNP in recent elections. In order to ensure that sufficient numbers of previous BNP voters were included in the survey, we over-sampled in wards that had already elected a BNP representative (BNP wards), or else had come close to doing so in the 2008 local council elections (Hopeful BNP). Half of the wards selected were either BNP-held or considered Hopeful BNP. The other half were wards in which the BNP had made little previous headway, or had not stood a candidate.

Wards within each of the three areas were allocated as indicated on Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1 Wards covered in quantitative research**

	<b>Stoke-on-Trent</b>	<b>Blackburn with Darwen</b>	<b>NW Leicestershire</b>
<b>BNP wards</b>	Abbey Green Bentilee Meir Park		Hugglescote Whitwick
<b>Hopeful BNP</b>	Chell & Packmoor Fenton Longton North Longton South Northwood & Birches Tunstall Weston & Meir North	Higher Croft Mill Hill Sunnyhurst Earcroft North Turton Marsh House	Coalville Greenhill Ibstock & Heather Thringstone Valley
<b>Non-BNP wards</b>	Berryhill Blurton Burslem North Burslem South East Valley Hanley West Hartshill Norton & Bradeley Stoke & Trent Vale Trentham & Hanford	Audley Bastwell Beardwell Corporation Park Earcroft Ewood Fernhurst Little Harwood Livesey Marsh House Meadowhead Queens Park Roe Lee Shadsworth Shear Brow Sudell Wensley Fold Whitehall	Appleby Ashby Castle Ashby Holywell Ashby Ivanhoe Bardon Breedon Castle Donnington Kegworth Measham Moir Oakthorpe Ravenstone Snibston

In order to ensure that a reportable number of previous BNP voters were included in the survey, half of the wards selected were either BNP held, or considered Hopeful BNP. The other half were wards in which the BNP had made little previous headway, or had not stood a candidate. Within each ward, Output Areas (OAs) were selected at random. For each selected OA, interviewers were required to interview 12 residents in line with individual quota sheets that ensured that the demographic profile of the sample would match that of the OA population as a whole. If an interviewer failed to pick up the quota of people who had previously voted for the BNP via random selection methods, they were asked, where possible, to try and complete their quota with a maximum of two BNP voter interviews. Only a handful of interviews were generated in this way (16 of the 186 BNP voters who were interviewed), and the effect of these is partially mitigated by the weighting scheme explained below.

At analysis stage, the samples in each of the three areas were weighted to the overall population profile (gender, age and tenure), based on the 2001 Census, updated for age and gender by mid-year population estimates. Interviews were also weighted at ward level, to ensure that the population distribution in each sample area was representative of the whole local authority area. The weighting schemes thus had the effect of converting the data into a fully representative sample of the eligible population, in terms of both geographical distribution across the three areas and demographic profile. This implies down-weighting of areas where the BNP have established a presence – the over-sampling of BNP locations is taken into account by realigning the sample distribution with the population distribution by ward.

A total of 1,582 face-to-face interviews were conducted in respondents' homes, between 8 August and 6 September 2009. They were split fairly equally between the three locations, with 550 interviews completed in Stoke-on-Trent, 498 in Blackburn with Darwen and 534 in North West Leicestershire.

Demographic data were collected on:

- gender
- age
- housing tenure
- working status
- social and economic grade
- educational attainment
- religious affiliation
- ethnicity



The data has been analysed by demographic variables where base sizes are large enough to be robust.

#### 1.4 Interpretation of the data

It is important to remember that only a sample within three local authority areas has been interviewed, not the eligible population. Therefore, all results are subject to sampling tolerances, which means that not all differences are statistically significant. A guide to statistical reliability is provided in Appendix 2.

Where percentages do not total 100, this may be due to computer rounding or multiple answers. An asterisk (\*) denotes any value less than half a per cent but greater than zero.

#### 1.5 Report structure

The remainder of the report presents the main findings of the study, including demographic and attitudinal subgroup analysis. Chapters are as follows:

Chapter 2	<b>The far-right voter: profile, behaviour and nature</b> This chapter identifies the main characteristics that define far-right supporters.
Chapter 3	<b>Local issues</b> This chapter looks at the problems and concerns of people in the three local authority areas, and how they relate to the rise of far right views.
Chapter 4	<b>Inter-ethnic contact, racism and prejudice</b> Focuses on contact with and attitudes towards ethnic minorities, and the prejudices that people hold .
Chapter 5	<b>Comment</b>

## 2 The far-right voter: profile, behaviour and nature

### 2.1 BNP voters and considerers: a profile

Towards the end of the interviews, we asked whether people had ever voted for the BNP in any previous election (BNP voter), or else considered voting for them but had not actually done so (BNP considerer). The question was deliberately asked near the end of the interview, once we had gained respondents' confidence and put them into a frame of mind that encouraged honesty about their voting behaviour.

In total, 186 of our interviewees (12 per cent) said they had previously voted for the BNP, and a further 152 (10 per cent) said they had considered doing so. Three in four (1,162 or 73 per cent) said they had never considered voting for the party. Within the context of turnout and voting patterns at recent local council elections in the three areas, the numbers of BNP voters closely matched expectations. For example, in the most recent council election in each of the three areas (2007 in North West Leicestershire, and 2008 in Stoke-on-Trent and Blackburn with Darwen), the BNP received a 14.3 per cent share of the vote in Stoke (7,986 votes), 2.5 per cent in North West Leicestershire (2,665 votes) and 1 per cent in Blackburn with Darwen (396 votes). Combined, the vote share is 6 per cent of the votes cast – half the total of recalled BNP voting in the sample.

Crucially however, elections thereafter (and just before this survey took place) have served to considerably bolster the incidence of BNP voting. Coalville in North West Leicestershire elected a BNP councillor with over 1,000 votes in June 2009. In the European elections on the same day, the BNP secured a 17.6 per cent share in Stoke (8,706 votes), 14.5 per cent in North West Leicestershire and 9.2 per cent in Blackburn with Darwen. It is likely that many of the BNP voters that we spoke to had only very recently voted for the party. When we factor in these most recent results, the 12 per cent captured in the survey can be seen to be a reasonable approximation of ever having voted for the BNP.

Moreover, the distribution of BNP voters/considerers reflects reality. It is higher in Stoke (25 per cent) and North West Leicestershire (24 per cent) than in Blackburn (14 per cent), a finding linked, of course, to the less extensive history of BNP voting in the Lancashire local authority. Table 2.1 shows that the incidence of voting for the party is highest in wards where the BNP has one or more councillors (BNP ward), followed by those wards that they may be hopeful of winning. We are therefore confident that the geographical location of BNP voters within each of the samples matches electoral history.

**Table 2.1 Geographical distribution of BNP voters, considerers and those who have never considered voting for the BNP**

	Voted BNP (Base: 186)	Considered BNP (Base: 152)	Never considered BNP (Base: 1,162)
Overall	12%	10%	73%
Stoke	14%	11%	73%
Blackburn/Darwen	6%	8%	82%
NW Leicestershire	15%	9%	66%
BNP council ward	19%	10%	71%
BNP hopeful ward	14%	8%	73%
Non-BNP ward	10%	10%	74%

BNP voters are slightly more likely to be men (57 per cent) than women (43 per cent); a finding replicated by the considerers' profile (57 per cent men, 43 per cent women).

Age is always considered to be an important variable in determining the nature of support for political parties. However, there appears to be little of consequence in the BNP voter breakdown, with differences between them and the wider public haphazardly arranged in no formal pattern, although BNP voters are found in slightly greater numbers within the 25-34 and 55-64 age groups. Although Table 2.2 reveals that there is no age-based stereotypical BNP supporter, this may be a reflection of the small size of the BNP sample.

**Table 2.2 Age comparisons between BNP voters and the overall sample**

	BNP voters (Base: 186)	Age profile of the sample (Base: 1,582)
18-24	12%	11%
25-34	23%	19%
35-44	18%	19%
45-54	14%	17%
55-64	17%	14%
65+	16%	20%

BNP voters are less likely to own a property outright (26 per cent vs 32 per cent among other people) or have a mortgage (36 per cent vs 40 per cent), and more likely to rent from the local council (27 per cent vs 22 per cent). We should bear in mind that over-sampling took place in locations where BNP supporters are known to reside, and these areas disproportionately contain council-rented properties. As a consequence, finding more BNP supporters in council-rented properties could simply be a function of sampling procedure. BNP voters are disproportionately found among the skilled working classes (C2), unskilled working classes, or those dependent on state benefits (DE) (see Table 2.3).

**Table 2.3 Social grade comparisons between BNP voters and overall sample**

	BNP voters (Base: 186)	Full sample (Base: 1,582)
AB	5%	12%
C1	21%	27%
C2	28%	22%
DE	45%	38%

Educational attainment is low, with a statistically significant 40 per cent having no formal qualifications compared to the 29 per cent among both BNP considerers and non-considerers.

Although 62 per cent of BNP voters do consider themselves to belong to a Christian religion, this is slightly lower than the 66 per cent of BNP considerers and those who have never considered voting for the party (66 per cent). BNP voters are statistically more likely to have no religion than other people (31 per cent vs 27 per cent among considerers and 19 per cent among non-considerers).

BNP voting among ethnic minorities is not unheard of, but the survey only identified two people – a Pakistani and a black African - who said they had done so. Ninety-eight per cent of BNP voters were classified as white. (One BNP voter declined to state his/her ethnicity.)

## **2.2 Why vote for the BNP?**

Immigration is the main reason given by respondents to explain their support for the BNP. Four in 10 (40 per cent) BNP voters suggested it was the reason that best explained their behaviour.

**Table 2.4 Stated reasons for supporting the BNP**

	BNP voters (Base: 186)	BNP considerers (Base: 152)
BNP views on immigration	40%	19%
They look after British people	20%	14%
I agree with their policies	9%	13%
Sick of the other parties	10%	3%
Need to protect British jobs	8%	1%
They are concerned about local issues	6%	3%
Immigrants are treated better	5%	4%
The country needs a change	7%	1%
They say what people are thinking	4%	2%
They promise action	5%	*%
Don't know	1%	33%

*Note: multiple responses possible.*

### 2.3 Why not vote for the BNP?

There are many BNP considerers who have thought about voting for the BNP, but not yet done so. This raises the question about why they have not done so.

Although small sample sizes can only give us indications rather than definitive answers, BNP considerers recognise and are deterred by the racist image and nature of the party. The statement that 'they are racist' was given by 13 per cent why they did not vote for the BNP (an open-ended question). This particularly applies to BNP considerers in North West Leicestershire, a third of whom (32 per cent) gave this reason. Only 5 per cent of BNP considerers in Stoke and 4 per cent in Blackburn and Darwen did so. This outcome may be a statistical anomaly, or it might be linked to different perceptions of the BNP in Stoke and Blackburn.

**Table 2.5** Leading reasons given by BNP considerers for not voting for the party

	Overall (Base: 152)	Stoke (Base: 61)	Blackburn with Darwen (Base: 42)	NW Leicestershire (Base: 49)
They are racist	13%	5%	4%	32%
I didn't vote	10%	12%	14%	6%
Poor PR / news stories about them	9%	6%	10%	10%
A wasted vote	5%	1%	11%	4%
Too extreme	4%	5%	9%	-

*Percentages of BNP considerers giving these reasons. Other respondents mentioned a range of other reasons.*

## 2.4 Chapter summary

- Across the three localities, just over one in 10 people in this sample (12 per cent) said they had previously voted for the BNP, with another 10 per cent saying they had considered but not voted for the party.
- Far-right voters are often portrayed in the media as being predominantly young men. While it is true that the BNP does generate support among men more than women, supporters were haphazardly distributed across different age bands. There were slightly more supporters within the 25-34 age band compared to their incidence within the sample as a whole, but the same can be said about the 55-64 age band. Far-right voters are thus found across the age spectrum.
- The profile of BNP voters and considerers on other demographic variables matches the findings of other surveys. Most supporters are found within the low-skilled C2DE socio-economic groups, have lower levels of educational attainment and rent their properties from the local council. There is an inter-correlation between these findings: BNP voters live in deprived areas and accordingly share the characteristics associated with those areas.
- Four in 10 BNP voters say that immigration is the primary reason why they have voted for the party.

- Some of those who have considered voting for the BNP but not done so cite its racist nature as the reason. This was the case in North West Leicestershire more than in the other two areas.

## **3 Local issues**

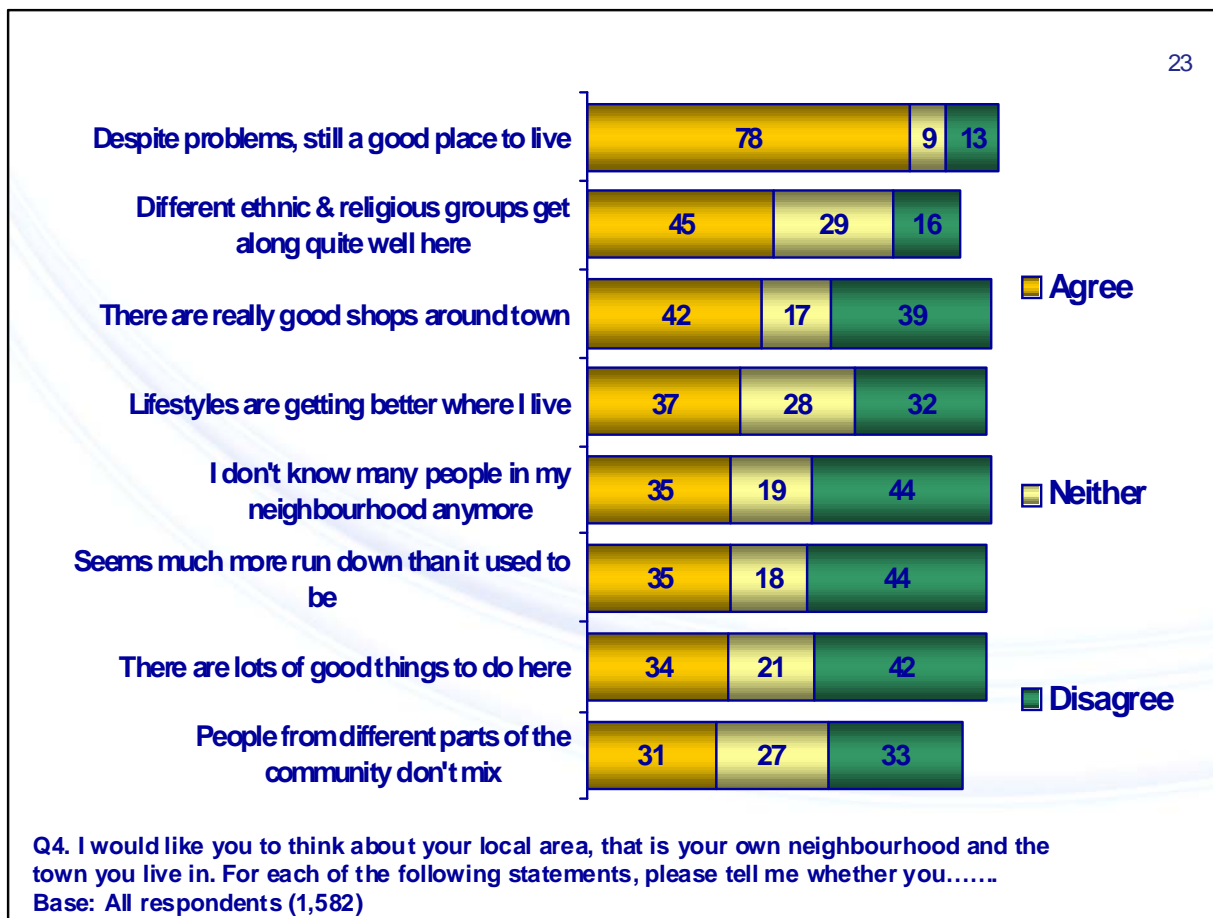
### **3.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide information on broader background issues in Stoke-on-Trent, Blackburn with Darwen and North West Leicestershire.

In 2007, Stoke-on-Trent was ranked the 20th most deprived local authority area out of 354 such areas. Blackburn with Darwen was ranked 27th most deprived, and North West Leicestershire 217th (DCLG, 2007). Although the latter is clearly considerably less deprived than the other two, pockets of relative deprivation still exist in the area, including Coalville, in which all six of its specified (Lower Layer Super) Output Areas fell within the top 20 per cent most deprived areas within Leicestershire (Leicestershire County Council, 2008). This level of deprivation was acknowledged within focus groups undertaken prior to this research (Boon, 2010), but ironically the most pertinent hard evidence to emerge from the quantitative survey is that optimism and positivity outweigh perceived problems. This is best illustrated by the fact that 78 per cent agree that their area 'despite its problems is still a good place to live'. This rises to 87 per cent in North West Leicestershire and 80% in Blackburn with Darwen, statistically significantly higher than the 66 per cent who agree in Stoke. People in BNP-held council wards are somewhat less likely to agree (66 per cent), however, than their counterparts in other areas (79 per cent in BNP hopeful wards and 72 per cent in non-BNP wards). This is the first indication that people living in BNP 'stronghold areas' are less optimistic and more critical about their area.



**Figure 3.1 Extent of agreement with statements about their local area**



Optimism within the wider population is also reflected in some of the other statements: more agree (45 per cent) than disagree (16 per cent) that ethnic and religious cohesion is apparent; and marginally more agree than disagree that shops are good around town (42 per cent vs 39 per cent), and that lifestyles are getting better (37 per cent vs 32 per cent). However, there are notable differences at sub-sample level: while shopping opportunities might be good in Stoke, there is serious concern about lifestyle deterioration for people living in and around the city. Moreover, pessimism about lifestyles appears to be concentrated in wards where the BNP has a councillor - only 23 per cent of people living within a ward with a BNP councillor agree that lifestyles are getting better compared to 40 per cent who agree with the statement in wards where the BNP have little or no presence.

**Table 3.1 Extent of agreement with statements about their community**

	Agree	Disagree
‘Different ethnic and religious groups get along quite well here’		
Stoke	47%	15%
Blackburn	43%	26%
NW Leicestershire	44%	9%
BNP council ward	46%	17%
BNP hopeful ward	41%	16%
Non-BNP ward	47%	16%
‘There are really good shops around town’		
Stoke	57%	23%
Blackburn	36%	45%
NW Leicestershire	34%	50%
BNP council ward	37%	38%
BNP hopeful ward	44%	41%
Non-BNP ward	42%	38%
‘People’s lifestyles are getting better where I live’		
Stoke	25%	41%
Blackburn	42%	28%
NW Leicestershire	43%	26%
BNP council ward	23%	40%
BNP hopeful ward	34%	35%
Non-BNP ward	40%	29%

*Base sizes: Stoke: 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, North West Leicestershire 534, BNP council ward 149, BNP hopeful ward 504, non-BNP ward 929.*

It would be wrong, however, to overstate the case for the positive. On only one statement (‘it’s still a good place to live’) does a majority agree. Answers to many other statements suggest mixed feelings – the public in these areas is split on whether or not people from different parts of the community mix with each other, whether or not there are lots of good things to do, or whether it seems more rundown than it was.

### 3.2 The most important issues facing people

The most important issue that people say they face is the cost of living, with three in 10 (31 per cent) citing it as the most important issue for them and half (50 per cent) mentioning it as one of their two or three most important. Residents in Stoke (36 per cent) and North West Leicestershire (33 per cent) were statistically significantly more likely than people in Blackburn with Darwen (22 per cent) to identify the cost of living as their primary concern.

**Table 3.2 Most important issues facing people by area**

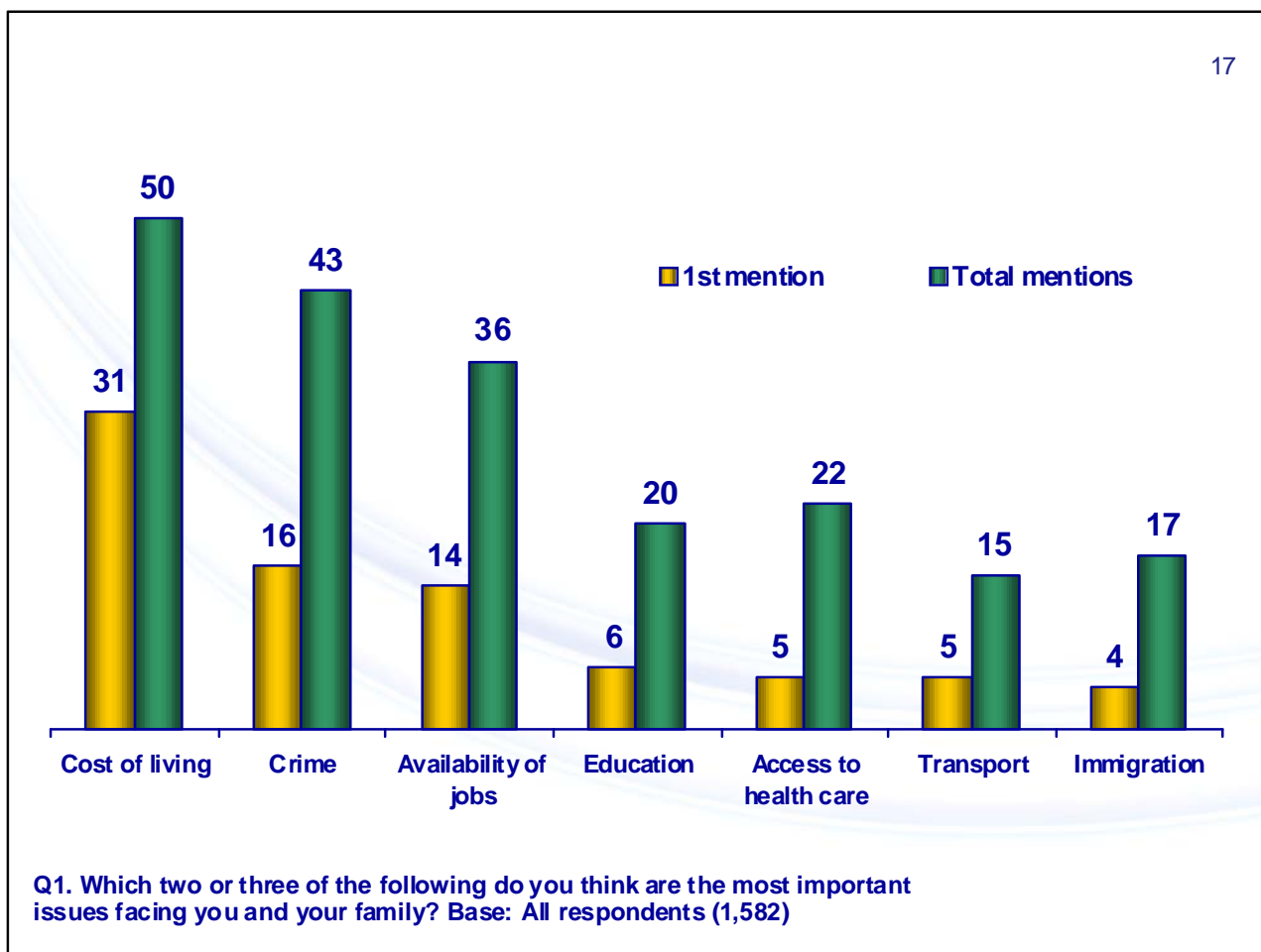
	Overall (Base: 1,582)	Stoke (Base: 550)	Blackburn with Darwen (Base: 498)	NW Leicestershire (Base: 534)
Cost of living	31%	36%	22%	33%
Crime	16%	18%	14%	17%
Job availability	14%	20%	13%	10%
Education	6%	4%	5%	8%
Access to healthcare	5%	5%	5%	6%
Transport	5%	2%	5%	6%
Immigration	4%	5%	3%	4%
Environment	3%	2%	2%	4%
Other	8%	3%	18%	4%
None	8%	3%	13%	7%

People living in BNP-held council wards were also statistically significantly more likely to cite the cost of living first (39 per cent) compared to those in BNP hopeful wards (28 per cent); 30 per cent of people in wards where the BNP had little or no presence also cited this, though this is not statistically significant. This may reflect a BNP wish to appeal to a 'core vote' in areas that have been hard hit by the recession. Many of the residents in BNP-held wards live in low-income households (57 per cent of those in BNP-held wards are from social grades D and E - see Appendix 3).

The next most important issue – crime – was mentioned as the most important issue by 16 per cent of respondents, around half the number who mentioned the cost of living. The availability of jobs was the third most frequently mentioned issue (14 per cent), with people in Stoke (20 per cent) again more concerned about this

than people in Blackburn with Darwen (13 per cent) or North West Leicestershire (10 per cent).

**Figure 3.2 The most important issues facing people**



Just four per cent of all respondents mentioned immigration as the most important issue for them - this was the seventh most important issue overall. A total of 17 per cent mentioned immigration in the top two or three issues that were most important for them, making it the sixth most important overall. Among people who previously voted BNP, immigration was only fourth on the list of single most important issues (13 per cent) or joint third among the top two or three (47 per cent).

**Table 3.3 Most important issues facing people, by BNP voting**

(Base: 186)	BNP voters First mention	BNP voters All mentions
Cost of living	35%	57%
Crime	18%	48%
Job availability	16%	47%
Immigration	13%	47%
Access to healthcare	5%	21%
Education	2%	14%
Transport	2%	9%
Environment	1%	7%

**3.3 Who has most responsibility for causing problems?**

Table 3.4 shows that respondents attributed most of the responsibility for the above issues to politicians and political parties. The local council was also mentioned in relation to education, crime and access to healthcare.

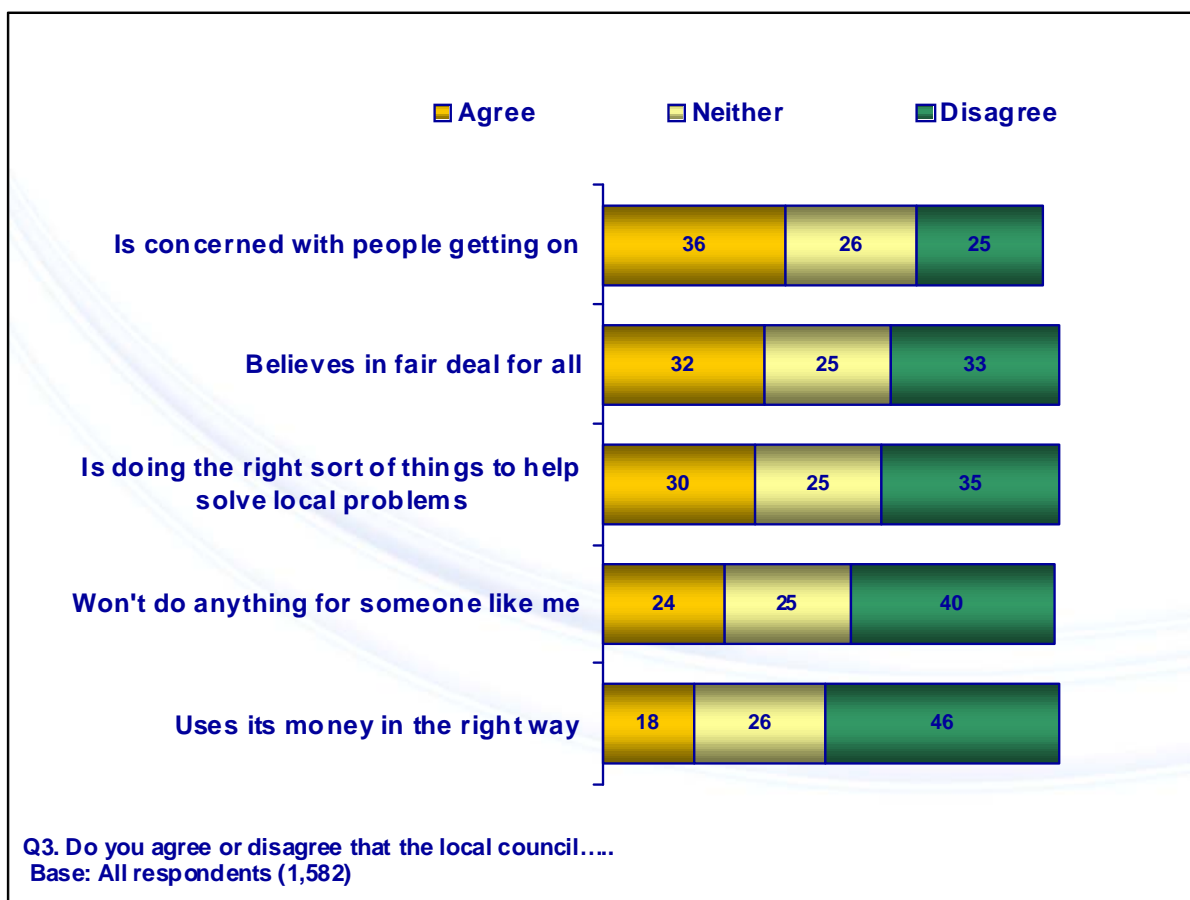
**Table 3.4 Responsibility for causing problems**

(Base: 1,582)	Cost of living	Crime	Jobs availability	Education	Access to health care
Politicians and political parties	76%	42%	67%	50%	56%
Local council	9%	27%	19%	39%	27%
People who live here	3%	18%	4%	2%	5%
Others	9%	11%	9%	6%	6%

### 3.4 Attitudes to the local council

Answers to a question on attitudes towards the local council correlated strongly with propensity to vote BNP, as shown in Figure 3.3 and Table 3.5. There is considerable disagreement (46 per cent) with the statement that councils use their money in the right way, rising to 50 per cent in Stoke and falling to 40 per cent in North West Leicestershire. However, 58 per cent of BNP voters and 60 per cent of BNP considers disagree with this, compared to 43 per cent among those who have never considered voting for the party: the difference is statistically significant.

**Figure 3.3 Extent of agreement with statements about the local council**



**Table 3.5 Extent of agreement with statements about local council by type of BNP support**

	Overall	BNP voters	BNP considerers	BNP non-considerers
‘Is doing the right sorts of things to help solve local problems’				
Agree	30%	16%	26%	33%
Neither	25%	26%	26%	24%
Disagree	35%	52%	44%	32%
‘Believes in making sure that all members of the community get a fair deal’				
Agree	32%	21%	24%	34%
Neither	25%	25%	23%	24%
Disagree	33%	48%	48%	31%
‘Is concerned about people from different ethnic backgrounds getting on together’				
Agree	36%	33%	31%	37%
Neither	26%	24%	27%	26%
Disagree	25%	36%	35%	23%
‘Won’t do anything for someone like me’				
Agree	24%	41%	27%	21%
Neither	25%	25%	30%	24%
Disagree	30%	29%	35%	43%
‘Uses its money in the right way’				
Agree	18%	13%	16%	19%
Neither	26%	23%	19%	27%
Disagree	46%	58%	60%	43%

*Bases: Overall 1,582, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, BNP non-considerers 1,162.*

Of even greater importance are views on whether local councils are thought to do anything for ‘someone like me’. This statement is a major factor that is strongly related to a propensity to vote BNP. Only one in four (24 per cent) of the overall sample agree that their council ‘won’t do anything for someone like me’, but this rises to 41 per cent among BNP voters, which is statistically significantly higher than the 27 per cent of BNP considerers who agree and the 21 per cent of people who have never considered voting for the party.

On the question of whether councils make sure that all members of the local community get a fair deal, the sample was split: as many agreed (32 per cent) as disagreed (33 per cent). Those who disagreed are disproportionately represented among BNP supporters, with 48 per cent of both BNP voters and considerers doing so, compared to a statistically significantly lower 31 per cent among non-considerers.

### 3.5 Chapter summary

- The areas surveyed have pockets of real deprivation. However, they express a general optimism about their area: three in four respondents (78 per cent) agree that theirs is a good place in which to live.
- Yet problems do remain. Many feel that people from different parts of the community don't really mix, that the area is more rundown than it was, and that there are not many good things to do there.
- The cost of living is a key concern for people. Three in 10 cite it as their primary concern, and 50 per cent mention it among the top two or three issues. Concern about it is greater in Stoke and North West Leicestershire. More people refer to the cost of living as a key concern in wards with a BNP councillor.
- Immigration ranked seventh among the issues of greatest importance, and sixth among the two or three key issues. Among BNP voters, it ranked fourth and joint third respectively.
- Politicians and political parties are held primarily responsible for current problems, with local councils mentioned in respect of education, crime and access to healthcare.
- Views about local council performance are a key indicator of BNP support. Chief among them is whether or not someone thinks the local council is prepared to do something for 'someone like me'. BNP voters are particularly likely to disagree with this statement.



## 4 Inter-ethnic contact, racism and prejudice

### 4.1 Contact with people who are not white British

Between a third and half of the people surveyed have some form of contact with someone from an ethnic minority background. Table 4.1 demonstrates that contact with people from south Asia is highest (49 per cent), while one in three (35 per cent) has some contact with eastern European people. Contact through work is slightly more likely than social contact.

**Table 4.1 Social and work-related contact with people from different ethnic backgrounds**

Base: All non-eastern European white people (1,445)	Any contact	Social contact	Work contact
South Asian	49%	32%	34%
Black African or Caribbean	42%	26%	29%
Mixed race	35%	22%	25%
Eastern European	35%	17%	27%

Social contact with people of south Asian origin is higher in Blackburn (44 per cent), where the south Asian population is itself higher compared to elsewhere (35 per cent in Stoke and 20 per cent in North West Leicestershire). Social contact with eastern Europeans is highest in Stoke (22 per cent) and Blackburn (18 per cent), and statistically significantly lower in North West Leicestershire (12 per cent).

**Table 4.2 Social contact between people in the three areas**

Base: All non-eastern European white people (1,445)	Social contact in Stoke with... (Base: 507)	Social contact in Blackburn with Darwen with.... (Base: 427)	Social contact in NW Leicestershire with..... (Base: 511)
South Asian	35%	44%	20%
Black African or Caribbean	39%	22%	18%
Mixed race	29%	21%	16%
Eastern European	22%	18%	12%

Interestingly, there is little difference in the level of social contact with people of eastern European, Black African/Caribbean or mixed race origin when the data are disaggregated by BNP presence in wards. However, Table 4.3 shows that social contact with south Asian people is lower in BNP-held council wards (26 per cent) than in BNP hopeful wards (31 per cent) and in wards where the BNP have little prospect of winning (33 per cent).

**Table 4.3 Social contact by ward type**

Base: All non-eastern European white people (1,445)	BNP council ward (Base: 147)	BNP hopeful ward (Base: 615)	Non BNP ward (Base: 683)
South Asian	26%	31%	33%
Black African or Caribbean	33%	27%	25%
Mixed race	26%	22%	21%
Eastern European	19%	16%	18%

Similarly, BNP voters are significantly less likely to have social contact with Asian people, as compared with BNP considerers and non-considerers. Only one in five (20 per cent) say they have regular social contact, compared with 36 per cent among BNP considerers and 34 per cent among non-considerers.

**Table 4.4 Social contact by BNP support**

Base: All non-eastern European white people (1,445)	BNP voter (Base: 182)	BNP considerer (Base: 139)	Non considerer (Base: 1,045)
South Asian	20%	36%	34%
Black African or Caribbean	25%	35%	26%
Mixed race	20%	27%	22%
Eastern European	15%	27%	17%

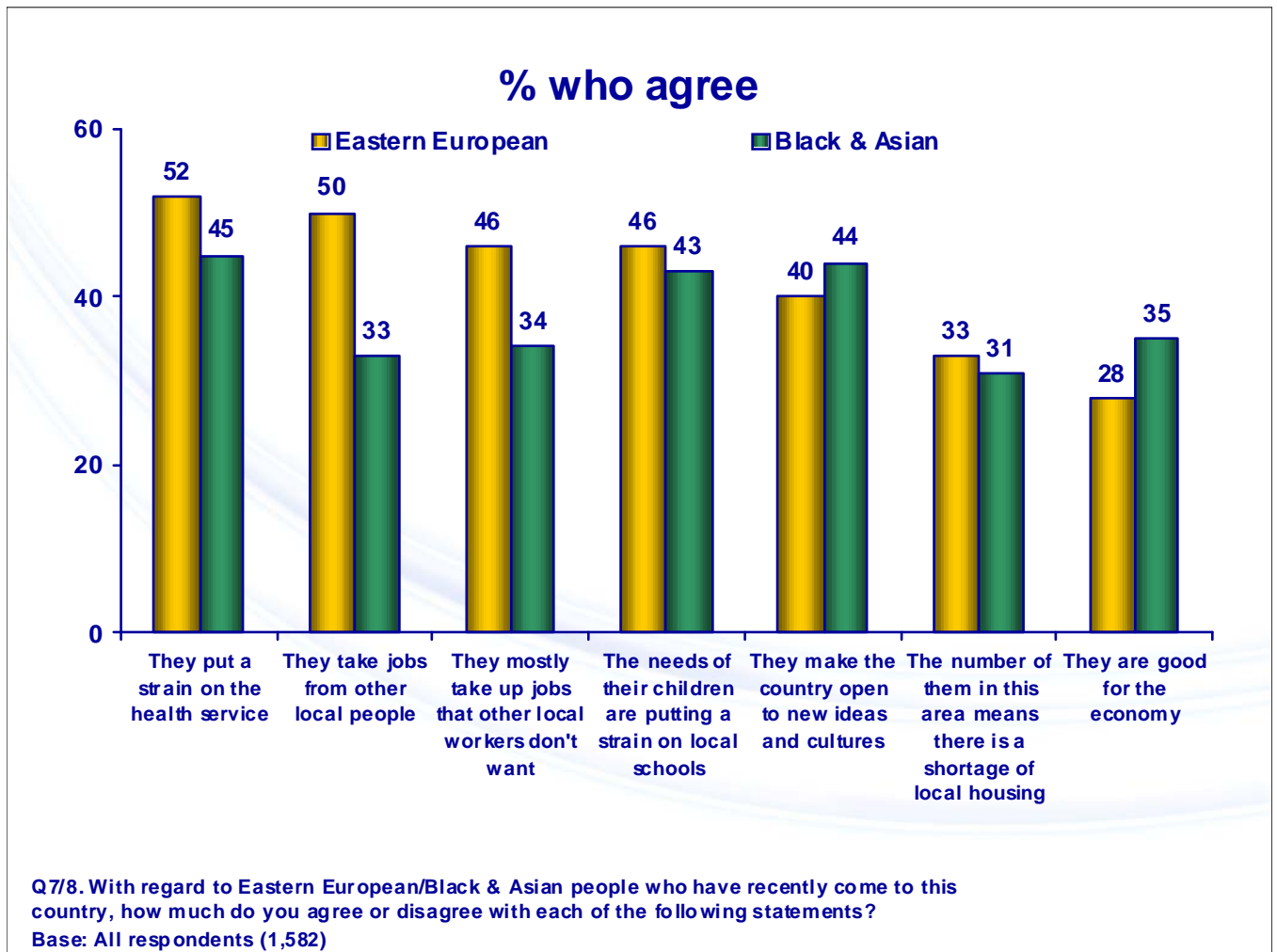
BNP voters also have a statistically significant lower level of social contact with eastern European people: only 15 per cent of BNP voters have such contact, compared to 27 per cent of considerers and 17 per cent of non-considerers.

#### 4.2 Views about different ethnic groups

Respondents were asked to comment on seven statements on social and economic aspects of immigration.

Figure 4.1 shows the proportion who agree with each statement, which was asked separately about both eastern European immigrants and black and Asian people. Attitudes towards eastern Europeans are more negative than towards black and Asian people. There could be a number of reasons for this. Eastern Europeans are seen to be more of a clear and present economic threat – a 17 percentage-point gap exists on the statement ‘they take jobs from other local people’ (50 per cent vs 33 per cent agreement). As Table 4.5 shows, 55 per cent of people in both Stoke and Blackburn with Darwen agree with this statement in respect of eastern Europeans, compared with 42 per cent in North West Leicestershire. Women (49 per cent) and men (52 per cent) agree in equal measure (data not shown). Although agreement rises slightly with age, even among the youngest cohort (aged 18-34), the level is 47 per cent. ABC1s appear to be considerably more tolerant than C2DEs, but 41 per cent of them still agree on this point.

**Figure 4.1 Attitudes towards eastern European and black and Asian people**



**Table 4.5 Proportion who agree that eastern European and black and Asian people ...**

	Stoke	Blackburn	North West Leicestershire		BNP voters	BNP considerers	Non- considerers
‘are good for the economy’							
East Europeans	24%	29%	31%		13%	23%	30%
Black and Asian	32%	37%	37%		21%	27%	39%
‘take jobs away from other local people’							
East Europeans	55%	55%	42%		75%	69%	45%
Black and Asian	37%	34%	27%		57%	51%	27%
‘mostly take up jobs that other local workers don’t want’							
East Europeans	45%	44%	49%		32%	43%	49%
Black and Asian	33%	38%	32%		23%	48%	35%
‘[the number of them] in this area means that there is a shortage of local housing’							
East Europeans	42%	30%	26%		45%	32%	32%
Black and Asian	37%	32%	25%		53%	50%	26%
‘make the country open to new ideas and cultures’							
East Europeans	43%	40%	37%		28%	40%	42%
Black and Asian	48%	44%	40%		36%	41%	47%
‘put a strain on the Health Service’							
East Europeans	55%	49%	52%		73%	69%	48%
Black and Asian	46%	44%	46%		68%	61%	40%
‘[the needs of their children] are putting a strain on local schools’							
East Europeans	50%	43%	46%		70%	56%	42%
Black and Asian	41%	44%	43%		65%	56%	38%

*Base sizes: Stoke 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, North West Leicestershire 534, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, Non considerers 1,162.*

Table 4.5 also shows that BNP voters hold the most negative views about eastern Europeans and black and Asian people. The statement that is endorsed by the greatest number of BNP voters is that eastern Europeans ‘take jobs from other local people’. Three-quarters (75 per cent) of BNP voters agree with the statement, with only slightly fewer (69 per cent) of considerers doing so. There is a statistically significant fall to 45 per cent who agree among non-considerers.

### 4.3 Equality and fairness

Overall, only one in three (32 per cent) people believe that all are treated fairly in Britain today, with 56 per cent believing that some ethnic minorities are treated better than white British people. The latter proportion rises to over two-thirds in Stoke

(68 per cent), significantly higher than Blackburn with Darwen (58 per cent) and North West Leicestershire (42 per cent).

There is a strong correlation between perceived unfairness and support for the BNP. Among BNP voters, 85 per cent believe that ethnic minorities are treated better, compared to 73 per cent of considerers and 50 per cent of non-considerers.

**Table 4.6 Perceived fairness in the way people are treated in Britain today**

	All people treated equally	Some ethnic minorities are treated better than white British people
Overall	32%	56%
Stoke	23%	68%
Blackburn with Darwen	27%	58%
NW Leicestershire	46%	42%
BNP voters	12%	85%
BNP considerers	17%	73%
Non-considerers	26%	50%
White people	29%	60%
People from non-white ethnic minorities	59%	22%

*Bases: Overall 1,582, Stoke 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, NW Leicestershire 534, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, non-considerers 1,162, white people 1,411, people from non-white ethnic minorities 140.*

However, only 8 per cent of respondents say they have personal experience of unfairness in the provision of local services. Self-reported experience of unfair treatment is highest in Blackburn with Darwen. BNP considerers (22 per cent) are statistically more likely than both BNP voters (11 per cent) and non-considerers (7 per cent) to say they have experienced unfair treatment.

**Table 4.7 Actual experience of unfair treatment**

	Yes – experienced some	No – not experienced any
Overall	8%	89%
Stoke	8%	89%
Blackburn with Darwen	13%	85%
NW Leicestershire	5%	93%
BNP voters	11%	86%
BNP considerers	22%	73%
Non-considerers	7%	91%
White people	9%	88%
People from non-white ethnic minorities	6%	94%

*Bases: Overall 1,582, Stoke: 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, NW Leicestershire 534, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, non-considerers 1162, white people 1411, people from non-white ethnic minorities 140.*

Numerous examples of unfair treatment are cited: jumping the council housing queue (mentioned by 16 per cent); receiving automatic and extensive social security benefit (9 per cent), and being treated first (8 per cent) or better (8 per cent) in hospital. Other reasons largely relate to the provision of public rather than private services or resources, and include: disability badge applications (6 per cent), employment decisions (6 per cent), employment rights including days off (5 per cent), parking and traffic calming measures (5 per cent), grants and loans (5 per cent), adult education services (5 per cent) and access to local schools (4 per cent).

**Table 4.8 Ways in which people believe they have been unfairly treated**

Base: all who think they've been unfairly treated (133)	Overall (Base: 133)	Stoke (Base: 42)	Blackburn with Darwen (Base: 64)	North West Leicestershire (Base: 27)
Council housing queue-jumping	16%	20%	16%	12%
Benefits/social security	9%	3%	9%	19%
Others treated first in hospital	8%	6%	4%	21%
Disability/blue badge	6%	3%	9%	5%
Jobs/employment	6%	8%	2%	11%
Employment rights	5%	6%	7%	-
Parking/traffic calming	5%	5%	7%	-
Grants/loans	5%	3%	6%	4%
Education/adult education	5%	4%	6%	3%
Could not get in local schools	4%	5%	6%	-
Worse police treatment	4%	-	7%	3%
Ethnic job quotas	3%	5%	4%	-
Pensions	3%	7%	2%	-

It may be that some of these 'observations' of directly experienced unfairness relate more to perception than reality: for instance, after failing in a job application.

#### 4.4 British values

One of the key findings in the earlier qualitative research among potential and actual BNP voters was the desire to protect the British/English 'way of life': family, church, culture and history, and local values (Boon, 2010). In this survey, respondents were asked whether they felt that British values had changed during their lifetime, 77 per cent said that they had (Table 4.9) A statistically significantly higher 80 per cent of residents in Blackburn with Darwen (compared to 73 per cent in North West



Leicestershire) said that British values had changed. In addition, a statistically significant 88 per cent of BNP voters believe this is the case, compared to 77 per cent of considerers and 76 per cent of non-considerers.

**Table 4.9 Percentage who think British values have changed over their lifetime**

	Yes	No
Overall	77%	15%
Stoke	78%	15%
Blackburn with Darwen	80%	12%
NW Leicestershire	73%	16%
BNP voters	88%	6%
BNP considerers	77%	16%
Non-considerers	76%	16%

*Base sizes: Overall 1,582, Stoke: 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, North West Leicestershire 534, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, non-considerers 1,162.*

Table 4.10 shows that social class is an important variable, with the most affluent ABC1 groups significantly more likely to agree than DEs. Religious affiliation and ethnicity are also important, especially for Christian and white people.

**Table 4.10 Who agrees that British values have changed over their lifetime?**

	% who agree
ABC1	81%
C2	79%
DE	72%
Christian	80%
Muslim	57%
Other religion	74%
White	80%
Non-white	52%

*Base sizes: ABC1 599, C2 352, DE 612, Christian 1052, Muslim 106, other religion 60, white 1,411, non-white 140.*

The following question asked in what way those values had changed. The reasons were many. The most common answer - from just 15 per cent - was 'no respect', though the precise meaning of this is likely to vary. Less than one in 10 (7 per cent) said that 'communities are not close any more' or that 'immigrants are favoured' (7 per cent). Other reasons included: 'people are selfish'; there is 'no respect from children' (5 per cent); 'too many immigrants' (5 per cent), and 'no family values' any more (5 per cent).

**Table 4.11 Reasons why people think British values have changed**

Base: all who think British values have changed (1,219)	Overall	Stoke (Base: 428)	Blackburn with Darwen (Base: 401)	North West Leicestershire (Base: 390)
No respect	15%	16%	13%	16%
Communities are not close	7%	6%	9%	8%
Immigrants are favoured	7%	7%	7%	7%
People are selfish	6%	7%	5%	6%
No respect from children	5%	3%	6%	7%
Too many immigrants	5%	7%	4%	5%
No family values	5%	3%	7%	6%
People are uncaring	5%	5%	5%	5%
No values (unspecified)	5%	3%	5%	5%
No Britishness any more	4%	4%	4%	5%
No respect for elderly	4%	2%	5%	5%
People materialistic	4%	2%	5%	4%

#### 4.5 Prejudice

The survey asked two questions about prejudice: how they would potentially react to a close relative marrying someone from different minority groups; and, more directly, whether they ever feel prejudiced. Responses to the former are shown in Tables 4.12 and 4.13.

**Table 4.12 Discomfort levels if a close relative married someone from an ethnic minority group**

Base: All non-eastern European white people (1,445)	Overall (Base: 1,445)	Stoke (Base: 507)	Blackburn with Darwen (Base: 427)	North West Leicestershire (Base: 511)
Asian origin	32%	39%	32%	25%
Migrant from eastern Europe	25%	34%	19%	21%
African or Caribbean origin	25%	33%	19%	21%

More than a quarter of respondents show some degree of discomfort with the prospect of inter-racial marriage, with 32 per cent being uncomfortable with a close relative's marriage to someone of Asian origin (39 per cent in Stoke). However, marriage to a gay, lesbian or bisexual (LGB) person would cause discomfort to slightly more (33 per cent).

**Table 4.13 Discomfort levels if a close relative married someone from another minority group**

Base: all respondents:1,582	Overall (Base: 1,582)	Stoke (Base: 550)	Blackburn with Darwen (Base: 498)	North West Leicestershire (Base: 534)
Gay, lesbian or bisexual	33%	36%	36%	27%
Someone with mental health problems	29%	38%	27%	21%
Someone with a learning disability	18%	17%	19%	17%
Someone with a physical disability	14%	27%	7%	6%

Among BNP voters, the largest proportion (65 per cent) expressed discomfort at marriage with an Asian person (Table 4.14). Only slightly smaller proportions held similar views about people from eastern Europe (58 per cent) or LGB groups (57 per cent).

**Table 4.14 Discomfort with a close relative's marriage to different types of people, by BNP support**

	BNP Voter (Base: 186)	BNP considerer (Base: 152)	Non-considerer (Base: 1,162)
Migrant from eastern Europe	58%	34%	21%
African or Caribbean origin	55%	40%	21%
Asian origin	65%	47%	22%
Gay, lesbian or bisexual	57%	28%	30%
Someone with a physical disability	30%	11%	12%
Someone with mental health problems	48%	32%	26%
Someone with a learning disability	32%	16%	16%

In case the data revolves around the same few people showing discomfort towards each of the groups, we calculated the proportion that would have discomfort on at least one of the potential marriage groups. Over half of all respondents (51 per cent) showed discomfort towards at least one group, with 8 per cent uncomfortable towards all of them. Once again, we find that such discomfort is highest in Stoke, with respondents revealing their discomfort towards an average of 2.4 of the groups. This compares to a statistically significantly lower average of 1.6 among people in Blackburn with Darwen and 1.3 in North West Leicestershire.

The results of questions on self-reported prejudice towards recent eastern European migrants are shown on Table 4.15. Overall, a relatively small number (6 per cent) admit to overt prejudice, while a quarter (25 per cent) say they sometimes feel prejudiced but try not to let it show. The figures are identical when asked about eastern European people, and black and Asian people. Most (62 per cent or 63 per cent respectively) deny ever feeling any form of prejudice towards either group.

**Table 4.15 Self-reported prejudice towards people from eastern Europe**

	I don't mind if I come across as prejudiced	I sometimes feel prejudiced	I never feel prejudiced
Overall	6%	25%	62%
Stoke	4%	26%	64%
Blackburn with Darwen	6%	27%	60%
NW Leicestershire	7%	23%	64%
BNP council held ward	4%	20%	72%
BNP hopeful ward	4%	28%	58%
Non-BNP ward	7%	24%	63%
BNP voters	24%	35%	32%
BNP considerers	13%	42%	37%
Non-considerers	2%	22%	69%

*Base sizes: Overall 1,582, Stoke 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, North West Leicestershire 534, BNP council ward 149, BNP hopeful ward 504, non-BNP ward 929, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, non-considerers 1,162.*

**Table 4.16 Self-reported prejudice towards people from black and Asian backgrounds**

	I don't mind if I come across as prejudiced	I sometimes feel prejudiced	I never feel prejudiced
Overall	6%	25%	63%
Stoke	5%	25%	65%
Blackburn with Darwen	6%	30%	57%
NW Leicestershire	6%	19%	68%
BNP council held ward	3%	17%	74%
BNP hopeful ward	4%	26%	61%
Non-BNP ward	7%	25%	63%
BNP voters	25%	34%	35%
BNP considerers	16%	39%	37%
Non-considerers	2%	22%	70%

*Base sizes: Overall 1,582, Stoke 550, Blackburn with Darwen 498, North West Leicestershire 534, BNP council ward 149, BNP hopeful ward 504, non-BNP ward 929, BNP voters 186, BNP considerers 152, non-considerers 1,162.*

More men (34 per cent) than women (29 per cent) say they are prejudiced towards eastern European people. Age is not a factor at all, with an even spread of prejudice across the age bands. Those in skilled manual occupations (C2) are statistically significantly more likely to admit to prejudice (39 per cent) than those in ABC1 (28 per cent) or DE (30 per cent) groups.

A follow-up question asked people to explain why they felt prejudiced. The most common answer related to the availability of employment: 14 per cent mentioned 'more jobs for these people/fewer jobs for British people'. Table 4.17 sets out the range of other answers.

**Table 4.17 Main reasons given for prejudice towards eastern European and black and Asian people**

Base: all with prejudice (541)	% overall	% of those who had social contact with those groups
More jobs for these people/fewer for British people	14%	13%
They are treated better/we are second-class citizens	12%	13%
Too many of them	10%	7%
They get more benefits	9%	12%
They don't mix	7%	10%
They treat us badly/rude/arrogant	7%	7%
They get it all/everything	6%	6%
Don't learn English	5%	5%
They haven't paid into the system	4%	2%
They are taking over/control	4%	2%
Other reasons	38%	35%

Having some form of social contact with people from non-white backgrounds does little to mitigate prejudice, and there are no statistically significant variations in response compared to the overall sample. Reasons given to explain self-reported prejudice toward eastern Europeans and black and Asian people largely conform to the answers shown in Table 4.17 above. For example, among those who say they have had some social contact with anyone from non-white communities, 13 per cent say it is because there are more jobs for these people, and because they are treated better than white British. Slightly fewer (7 per cent) say it is because there are 'too many' of them.

#### 4.6 Chapter summary

- Contact with eastern European and south Asian immigrants reduces the likelihood of voting for the BNP. However, social contact with those groups is not related to lower degrees of prejudice towards them.

- Attitudes towards eastern Europeans are more negative than towards black and Asian people. Around half of respondents in the three areas think that eastern European immigrants take jobs from local workers and put a strain on the health service and local schools.
- Over half (56 per cent) of all respondents believe that some ethnic minorities in this country are treated more favourably than the white British community. However, only 8 per cent reported personal experiences of unfair treatment. These include people jumping the council housing queue, receiving automatic and extensive social security benefits, or being treated first or better in hospital.
- Three-quarters of all respondents (77 per cent) say that British values have changed over the course of their lifetime. Members of the more affluent ABC1 social groups are most likely to agree, as are people who are Christian or white. Showing 'no respect' is cited as the main example of this.
- Six per cent of the total sample say they don't mind being seen as prejudiced towards other groups, while a further 25 per cent say they sometimes feel prejudiced but try not to let it show. These percentages rise to around 25 per cent and 35 per cent among BNP voters, and 15 per cent and 40 per cent among BNP considerers (varying slightly in respect of eastern European and black or Asian people).



## 5 Comment

This survey sets out the views of people in three discrete localities in England, each with particular sets of characteristics. The findings cannot therefore be transposed directly to other places.

The survey highlights a link between a lack of confidence in the local council and support for the far right. The implications for local authorities relate to the availability of council services and clarity about the reasons for decisions in respect of particular ethnic or geographical communities. At the same time, respondents to the survey felt that the blame for many of the concerns that affect individual people lies with politicians and political parties.

A low degree of social contact with eastern Europeans and other ethnic minorities is associated with being a BNP voter. BNP voters also have high levels of prejudice towards those groups. BNP considerers, for their part, have similar levels of social contact with members of south Asian communities as do non-considerers, and much higher levels of contact with eastern Europeans. The findings nonetheless show that social contact does not correlate with lower levels of prejudice. Much may depend on the nature of that contact, whether it is cursory or close, positive or negative.

BNP considerers share many of the characteristics of BNP voters. They have not yet, though, decided to vote for the party. Some are deterred by the BNP's racism; others refer to it being a wasted vote, poor public relations or news stories. Voting strategy, media coverage and knowing about the BNP's racism may indicate ways of reducing the numbers of votes cast for the BNP.

## Appendix 1: Predicted voting patterns

As noted earlier, the focus of this research was on the factors that underpin the rise of far-right political parties, why they are successful in some places but not in others, and the implications of their tactics and electoral success for community cohesion. The questionnaire accordingly identified people who had previously voted for the BNP and those who had considered voting for the party. In addition, it asked for views about different political parties, whether respondents might vote for them, and the likelihood of voting in future elections.

The findings from these last questions are subject to several caveats. Predicting the likelihood of turning out to vote in the future depends on assumptions about actual voting behaviour. Even if these are based on previous voting patterns, there is potentially a large margin of error. One approach to estimating turnout is to select respondents who say that, on a 10-point scale, their likelihood to vote is between 7 and 10, though even this may overstate actual turnout.

In addition, people's views about political parties may fluctuate over time, depending on a range of factors. Unlike most election prediction polling, this survey took place after the 2009 European Parliament and local elections, and far from any future election. However, those who answer between 5 and 7 on a 7-point scale of liking a party are considered as potential supporters, though this does not imply any certainty that they will vote for that party. Nor does this differentiate between parties to which respondents may have given a score in this range: they could consider voting for more than one party.

Not least, the survey was carried out in just three localities in England, each with very individual characteristics: there is no basis for assuming that similar predictions would apply elsewhere.

Based on the likelihood of voting and the party preference responses in this survey, the BNP might increase its percentage of the vote across the three areas from 12 per cent to 18 per cent: that is, an increase of 50 per cent. These figures do not predict what will necessarily happen, but are based on the factors that have led some people to vote for the BNP and may contribute to others' voting decisions.

## Appendix 2: Guide to statistical reliability

The respondents to the Equality and Human Rights Commission Far Right Survey are only samples of the total population of people living in Stoke-on-Trent, North West Leicestershire and Blackburn with Darwen, so we cannot be certain that the figures obtained are exactly those we would have if everybody in these areas had been interviewed (the 'true' values). We can, however, predict the variation between the sample results and the true values from a knowledge of the size of the samples on which the results are based and the number of times that a particular answer is given. The confidence with which we can make this prediction is usually chosen to be 95 per cent – that is, the chances are 95 in 100 that the true value will fall within a specified range. The table below illustrates the predicted ranges for different sample sizes and percentage results at the '95 per cent confidence interval'.

Size of sample on which survey result is based	Approximate sampling tolerances applicable to percentages at or near these levels		
	Statistical reliability		
	10%/90%	30%/70%	50%/50%
50 interviews	8.4	12.8	14.0
100 interviews	5.9	9.0	9.8
300 interviews	3.4	5.2	5.7
500 interviews	2.6	4.0	4.4
1,000 interviews	1.8	2.8	3.1
1,582 interviews	1.5	2.3*	2.5

\* For example, with a sample of 1,582 where 30 per cent give a particular answer, the chances are 19 in 20 that the true value (which would have been obtained if the whole population had been interviewed) will fall within the range of plus or minus two percentage points ( $\pm 2.3\%$ ) from the sample result.

### Appendix 3: Guide to socio-economic definitions

The grades detailed below are the social class definitions as used by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, and are standard on all surveys carried out by ICM Research.

<b>Socio-economic grades</b>		
	<b>Social class</b>	<b>Occupation of chief income earner</b>
A	Upper Middle Class	Professionals such as doctors, surgeons, solicitors or dentists; chartered people like architects; fully qualified people with a large degree of responsibility such as senior editors, senior civil servants, town clerks, senior business executives and managers, and high-ranking grades of the Services.
B	Middle Class	People with very responsible jobs such as university lecturers, hospital matrons, heads of local government departments, middle management in business, qualified scientists, bank managers, police inspectors and upper grades of the Services.
C1	Lower Middle Class	All others doing non-manual jobs: nurses, technicians, pharmacists, salesmen, publicans, people in clerical positions, police sergeants/constables and middle ranks of the Services.
C2	Skilled Working Class	Skilled manual workers/craftsmen who have served apprenticeships, foremen, manual workers with special qualifications such as long-distance lorry drivers, security officers and lower grades of Services.
D	Working Class	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, including labourers and mates of occupations in the C2 grade and people serving apprenticeships, machine minders, farm labourers, bus and railway conductors, laboratory assistants, postmen, door-to-door and van salesmen.
E	Those at the lowest levels of subsistence	Those on lowest levels of subsistence including pensioners, casual workers, and others with minimum levels of income.

## Appendix 4: Sample profile

		Number of people Unweighted	Unweighted %	Weighted %
<b>Total:</b>		1,582	100	100
<b>Gender</b>				
	Men	697	44	48
	Women	885	56	52
<b>Age</b>				
	18-34	421	27	30
	35-54	549	35	34
	55+	612	39	34
<b>Working status</b>				
	Full time	578	37	41
	Part time	215	14	14
	Unemployed	204	13	12
	Retired	432	27	23
	Other	152	10	10
<b>Social grade</b>				
	ABC1	555	35	38
	C2	348	22	22
	DE	664	42	39
<b>Educational attainment</b>				
	Secondary level (O or A level)	648	42	42
	First degree	132	8	
	Higher degree	54	2	
	Other	166	10	
	No formal qualifications	549	35	
<b>Religion</b>				
	Christian	1,076	68	66
	Muslim	73	5	7
	Other	60	4	3
	None	364	23	23
<b>Ethnicity</b>				
	White	1,445	91	89
	Non-white	104	6	9
<b>Local authority area</b>				
	Blackburn with Darwen	498	31	31
	Stoke-on-Trent	550	35	35
	North West Leicestershire	534	34	34
<b>Ward type</b>				
	BNP council ward	152	10	9
	BNP hopeful ward	646	41	32
	Non-BNP ward	784	50	59

## Appendix 5: Marked-up questionnaire

- Where results do not sum to 100 per cent, this may be due to multiple responses, computer rounding or the exclusion of don't knows/not stated.
- Results are based on all respondents (1,582) unless otherwise stated.
- An asterisk (\*) represents a value of less than one half or one per cent, but not zero.
- Where base sizes are very small data is given in numbers (N) rather than percentages (%).

⇒ ASK ALL. SHOW CARD Q1

Q1 Which two or three of these local issues do you think are the most important facing you and your family? CODE UP TO THREE MENTIONS – ONE PER COLUMN IN ORDER OF MENTION

	1 <sup>st</sup> MENTION	2 <sup>nd</sup> MENTION	3 <sup>rd</sup> MENTION
Cost of living	31%	12%	8%
The availability of jobs	14%	14%	7%
The availability of housing	1%	3%	4%
Crime	16%	16%	11%
Immigration	4%	7%	6%
Education	6%	8%	6%
Environment	3%	6%	6%
Transport	5%	5%	5%
Access to health care	5%	6%	10%
Something else (specify)	6%	3%	2%
None / no more	8%	17%	29%
Don't know	1%	2%	6%

Q2 Thinking generally about....(1<sup>st</sup> mention at Q1)....., who do you think should take most responsibility for causing the problem? READ OUT. CODE ONE

The local council	24%
Politicians and political parties	51%
Community groups looking after themselves	1%
The people who live here	6%
Someone else (specify)	7%
.....	
Don't know	11%

⇒ SHOW CARD Q3

Q3 Do you agree or disagree that the local council .....Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or disagree strongly? READ OUT. CODE ONE FOR EACH STATEMENT

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = agree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = disagree
- 5 = strongly disagree

Is doing the right sorts of things to help solve local problems	4% 26% 25% 22% 13% DK = 10%
Believes in making sure that all members of the community get a fair deal	5% 27% 25% 21% 12% DK = 10%
Is concerned about people from different backgrounds getting on together	5% 30% 26% 17% 8% DK = 12%
Won't do anything for someone like me	7% 17% 25% 30% 10% DK = 10%
Uses its money in the right way	2% 16% 26% 26% 19% DK = 10%

⇒ SHOW CARD Q4

Q4 I would like you to think about your local area, that is your own neighbourhood and the town you live in. For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you ....

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = agree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = disagree
- 5 = strongly disagree

Despite its problems, it is still a good place to live	30% 47% 9% 7% 5% DK = 1%
People's lifestyles are getting better where I live	7% 29% 28% 22% 9% DK = 4%
It seems much more run down than it used to be	13% 22% 18% 27% 17% DK=4%
Different ethnic and religious groups get along quite well here	11% 33% 29% 12% 4% DK=10%
There are lots of good things to do here	7% 28% 21% 28% 14% DK=2%
I don't really know many people in my neighbourhood anymore	10% 25% 19% 31% 13% DK=2%
There are really good shops around town	15% 28% 17% 27% 12% DK=2%
People from different parts of the community don't mix around here	5% 26% 27% 20% 12% DK=8%

⇒ SHOW CARD Q5/6

Q5 Do any have any regular social contact with people from the following backgrounds? READ OUT. MULTICODE OK UNLESS 'NONE' coded

White	93%
Black African or Caribbean	27%
South Asian (Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi)	37%
Eastern European	19%
Mixed race	24%
Other (write in)	*%
No – none	3%
Don't know	1%

⇒ SHOW CARD Q5/6

Q6 In relation to the people who you have regular contact with at work, do any of these come from the following backgrounds? CODE ONCE IF 'DO NOT WORK' OR 'NO'. MULTICODE OK IF 'YES'

DO NOT WORK	34%
NO	10%
White	55%
Black African or Caribbean	52%
South Asian (Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi)	29%
Eastern European	35%
Mixed race	27%
Other (write in)	24%
Don't know	*%

⇒ ASK ALL. SHOW CARD Q7/8



Q7 With regard to Eastern European people who have recently come to this country, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Do you....

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = agree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = disagree
- 5 = strongly disagree

They are good for the economy	7% 20% 20% 25% 17% DK=10%
They take jobs away from other local people	21% 29% 15% 17% 9% DK=9%
They mostly take up jobs that local workers don't want	15% 31% 20% 17% 7% DK= 9%
The number of them in this area means that there is a shortage of local housing	14% 19% 21% 20% 8% DK=19%
They make the country open to new ideas and cultures	10% 30% 23% 18% 8% DK=12%
They put a strain on the Health Service	24% 29% 17% 14% 6% DK=11%
The needs of their children are putting a strain on local schools	21% 25% 18% 16% 7% DK=13%

⇒ ASK ALL SHOW CARD Q7/8

Q8 And with regard to Asian or Black people who already live in this country, how much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Do you....?

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = agree
- 3 = Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 = disagree
- 5 = strongly disagree

They are good for the economy	8% 27% 27% 16% 12% DK=11%
They take jobs away from other local people	11% 22% 21% 27% 9% DK=10%
They mostly take up jobs that other local workers don't want	9% 25% 25% 24% 7% DK=10%
The number of them in this area means that there is a shortage of local housing	13% 18% 22% 24% 8% DK=15%
They make the country open to new ideas and cultures	13% 31% 23% 15% 6% DK=11%
They put a strain on the Health Service	20% 25% 21% 16% 7% DK=10%
The needs of their children are putting a strain on local schools	19% 23% 21% 17% 8% DK=11%

Q9 Thinking about how people are treated in Britain today, which of the following statements do you agree with...READ OUT. CODE ONE

All people are treated equally	32%
Some ethnic minorities are treated better than white British people	56%
Don't know	12%

Q10 In your opinion, have you ever been treated unfairly, compared to other ethnic or religious groups, when it comes to the provision of local services such as schools, healthcare or council services?

Yes	8%
No	89%
Don't know	3%

⇒ IF YES:

Q11 How were you treated unfairly? WRITE IN FULLY

(53-54)

Council house queue jumping = 16%  
 Benefits/social security = 9%  
 Hospitals/others treated first = 8%  
 Others treated better in hospital = 8%  
 Disability = 6%  
 Jobs/employment = 6%  
 Asian areas get parking/traffic calming = 5%  
 Grants/loans = 5%  
 Education = 5%  
 Others = many

⇒ ASK ALL

Q12 Over the course of your lifetime, do you think that British values have changed?

Yes	77%
No	15%
Don't know	8%

⇒ IF YES:

Q13 What is different now? WRITE IN FULLY

(56-57)

No respect = 15%  
 Communities are not close = 7%  
 Immigrants are favoured = 7%  
 People are selfish = 6%  
 No respect from children = 5%  
 Too many immigrants/ethnics = 5%  
 No family values = 5%  
 People are uncaring = 5%  
 No values = 5%  
 Others = many

⇒ ASK ALL. SHOW CARD Q14

Q14 How comfortable or uncomfortable would you be if a close relative of yours married one of the following? Would you feel....

- 1 = Very comfortable
- 2 = Quite comfortable
- 3 = Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- 4 = Quite uncomfortable
- 5 = Very uncomfortable

A migrant worker from Eastern Europe	15% 24% 22% 12% 15% DK=13%
A person of African or Caribbean origin	15% 25% 22% 12% 14% DK=12%
A person of Asian origin	17% 22% 20% 15% 15% DK=12%
Someone who is gay, lesbian or bisexual	14% 20% 22% 12% 21% DK=12%
Someone with a physical disability	19% 29% 26% 5% 9% DK=12%
Someone with mental health problems	11% 20% 27% 16% 13% DK=13%
Someone with a learning disability	15% 26% 29% 8% 10% DK=13%

Q15 Thinking about people who've recently come here from Eastern Europe, which of the following comes closest to how you feel? READ OUT. CODE ONE

I don't mind if I come across as prejudiced	6%
I sometimes feel prejudiced but I try not to let it show	25%
I never feel prejudiced against them	62%
Don't know	4%
Refuse	3%

Q16 And thinking of Black and Asian people, which of the following comes closest to how you feel? READ OUT. CODE ONE

I don't mind if I come across as prejudiced	6%
I sometimes feel prejudiced but I try not to let it show	25%
I never feel prejudiced against them	62%
Don't know	4%
Refuse	3%

⇒ IF 1 OR 2 AT Q15 or Q16

Q17 Thinking back, what are main reasons that make you feel prejudiced toward Eastern Europeans or Black or Asian people? Please mention anything you like.

WRITE IN FULLY (67-68)

More jobs for these people = 14%	They get it all = 7%
They are treated better = 12%	They don't speak English = 5%
Too many of them = 10%	They haven't paid into the system = 4%
They get more benefits = 9%	They are taking over = 4%
They don't mix/integrate = 7%	Others = many
They treat us badly/rude/arrogant = 7%	

⇒ ASK ALL

Q18 I would like you to think about different types of election. For each one, please tell me how likely it is that you would actually vote if it were being held tomorrow. Please use a 10-point scale, where 10 means you would be absolutely certain to vote, and 1 means you would be certain not to vote? You can, of course, give me any number in between. CODE ONCE FOR EACH ELECTION/COLUMN.

	General Election	Local council election	(69-71) European Parliament election
10 – certain to vote	48%	43%	34%
9	6%	5%	4%
8	7%	7%	4%
7	4%	4%	3%
6	3%	3%	4%
5	6%	7%	7%
4	2%	2%	2%
3	2%	3%	3%
2	2%	3%	6%
1 – certain not to vote	18%	20%	29%
DK	3%	3%	4%

⇒ SHOW CARD Q19/20

Q19 I would like you to think about the political parties, and for you to tell me, in turn, how much you like or dislike them AT PRESENT. For each one please use a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 means 'dislike a lot' and 7 means 'like a lot'. You can of course give me any mark in between. ROTATE.CODE ONCE FOR EACH PARTY.

Q20 And might you vote for .....at some point in the future, or could you never vote for them? MARK AN X FOR EACH PARTY IN THE GRID AS APPROPRIATE

	Q19 AT PRESENT				Q20 IN FUTURE			
	DISLIKE A LOT	NEUTRAL		LIKE A LOT		I might vote for them	I could never vote for them	
Conservative	19% 10%	7% 36% 9%	6% 9%	----	→	57%	36%	
Labour	23% 10%	8% 30% 7%	7% 10%	----	→	55%	38%	
Liberal Democrats	22% 10%	11% 41% 7%	4% 2%	----	→	47%	45%	
UKIP	33% 12%	11% 32% 4%	2% 2%	----	→	35%	56%	
British National Party	49% 9%	5% 18% 4%	5% 7%	-	---	→	30%	64%
Independent candidates	30% 9%	9% 39% 5%	3% 1%	-	---	→	41%	51%
(DARWEN) For Darwen	8% 9%	9% 46% 11%	10% 3%	-	---	→	64%	20%

⇒ SHOW CARD Q21

Q21 When it comes to choosing the party you're going to vote for, which of the following influence you the most? CODE MAX THREE.

Television news and current affairs	61%
National newspapers	31%
Local newspapers	11%
National radio	7%
Local radio	4%
Internet websites including news, blogs and forums	7%
Local authority newsletters	6%
Politicians or political party literature and campaigns	19%
Family	14%
Friends	10%
Neighbours	1%
Other (please specify)	8%
.....	
Don't know	12%

Q22 Can I just check, have you ever voted or considered voting for the BNP?  
CODE ONE

Voted BNP	12%
Considered voting BNP but never done so	10%
No - never considered voting BNP	73%
Don't know	5%

⇒ IF 1 or 2 AT Q22

Q23 What would you say were the main reasons that you voted or considered voting for the BNP on the most recent occasion? WRITE IN

(16-17)

Views on immigration = 30%  
For British people = 17%  
I agree with their policies = 11%  
Sick of other parties = 7%  
Protecting British jobs = 5%  
Concerned about local issues = 5%  
Immigrants are treated better = 5%  
Country needs a change = 4%  
Reflecting the mood = 3%  
Promise action/sort things out = 3%  
Others = many

⇒ IF CODE 2 at Q22(CONSIDERED VOTING BNP but not done so)  
Q24 But why did you decide not to vote BNP?

(18-19)

They are racist = 13%  
Didn't vote = 10%  
Poor PR/news stories about them = 9%  
A wasted vote = 5%  
Too extreme = 4%  
No time to vote = 4%  
No candidate standing = 4%  
I changed my mind = 3%  
Don't know enough about them = 3%  
Don't agree with their policies = 3%  
Not old enough to vote = 3%  
Others = many

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This report sets out the findings of a survey in three localities in England, designed to examine the factors that underpin support for far right political parties, particularly the British National Party (BNP), and the impact of such support on good relations within communities.

**WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON THIS TOPIC:**

- Support for far right parties in England has increased in recent years.
- Such support is highest in areas with high unemployment and low incomes, but is rising elsewhere.
- The BNP has increasingly sought to expand its support base and gain legitimacy by addressing issues of concern at a local level.

**WHAT THIS REPORT ADDS:**

- This report provides a range of data about people's everyday lives, views about other groups in the community, and voting behaviour. It distinguishes between the views of BNP voters, those who have considered voting for the BNP but not done so, and others.
- The report includes findings on:
  - attitudes towards different ethnic groups and contact between them
  - views about the performance of local councils, and
  - the reasons why some people have voted for the BNP and why others have decided not to.