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Voter turnout in British South Asian Communities at the 2001 General Election

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Turnout at the 2001 General Election was at its lowest under the full democratic franchise. A recent Electoral Commission report argued that, whilst Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi electors are less likely to vote in General Elections, Indian electors are more likely than their white counterparts to turnout (Purdam et al, 2002). However, existing research that attempts to provide ethnic-specific estimates relies heavily on survey data or aggregate data. Such data are highly unreliable when measuring turnout, particularly amongst minority groups. More reliable data are needed to inform the intense policy debate around widening differences in participation, and to give us a better understanding of who participates in elections in Britain. This paper provides arguably the most accurate estimate of electoral turnout amongst Britain's South Asian communities that have been possible to date.
We are grateful for the support of the Joseph Roundtree Foundation who funded this research.

Voter Turnout in British South Asian Communities at the 2001 General Election

Introduction

Turnout at the 2001 General Election was at its lowest under the full democratic franchise. A recent Electoral Commission report argued that, whilst Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi electors are less likely to vote in General Elections, Indian electors are more likely than their white counterparts to turnout (Purdam et al, 2002). However, existing research that attempts to provide ethnic-specific estimates relies heavily on survey data or aggregate data. Such data are highly unreliable when measuring turnout, particularly amongst minority groups. More reliable data are needed to inform the intense policy debate around widening differences in participation, and to give us a better understanding of who participates in elections in Britain. This paper provides arguably the most accurate estimate of electoral turnout amongst Britain's South Asian communities that have been possible to date.

We use an innovative approach to estimate turnout, employing electoral rolls that are manually marked to indicate who has voted allowing us to make the first comprehensive and reliable nationally representative estimates of South Asian electoral participation in Britain. In this paper, we consider turnout as a percentage of registered voters, which understates total non-participation (see Todd and Eldridge, 1987; Smith 1993). Levels of registration will be considered in further research. This study represents the first large-scale, nationally representative systematic analysis of actual (rather than reported) turnout

amongst South Asian communities. Unlike previous research into ethnic minority participation, we will measure individual-level turnout using marked electoral registers without relying on turnout reported in sample surveys or ecological inference (Swaddle and Heath, 1989). We find that South Asian turnout at the 2001 General election in England and Wales was as high, if not slightly higher, than it was for other ethnic groups.

Variations in turnout

Whilst levels of participation in modern democracies continue to decline, participation is increasingly seen as a key aspect of the accountability of governments and of citizenship. Turnout at the 2001 General Election (59.4 per cent) was at its lowest since 1918. This marked a dramatic fall since 1997 (71.6 per cent) and follows a period during which there was an underlying downward trend since turnout peaked in 1950 (Denver and Hands, 1997; Heath and Taylor, 1999; Clarke et al, 2004).

Voter turnout in Britain is unevenly distributed, and varies between different social and demographic groups and between geographical areas (Swaddle and Heath, 1989; Johnston and Pattie, 1998). In particular ethnic minority groups are often identified as having lower levels of participation in the formal democratic process (Anwar, 1990; Ali and Percival, 1993; Saggar, 1998a). However, there are substantial differences in turnout and registration between different ethnic minority groups. For example, people of Indian heritage have been found to have comparable (and sometimes higher) rates of turnout than the white population. Recent research, based on the 1997 British Election Survey

(BES) which employed a 'Black and Minority Ethnic' (BME) booster sample found turnout rates of 82.4 per cent for Indians, 75.6 per cent for Pakistanis, 73.9 per cent for Bangladeshis, 68.7 per cent for Black Caribbeans, 64.4 per cent for Black Africans, and 78.7 per cent for white voters (Saggar, 1997). There was no similar booster sample in the 2001 BES, but a MORI survey (which massively overestimated turnout amongst all groups) showed Asian and white turnout rates to be considerably higher than those of black electors (Purdam et al, 2002).

At the area level, previous research also shows that constituency turnout is related to a number of social and political factors including the class composition, housing characteristics, age profile, and the electoral and tactical context (Denver and Hands, 1997; Johnston and Pattie, 1998). The ethnic profile was also found to be a significant factor, with larger minority populations negatively associated with turnout after controlling for other factors (Purdam et al, 2002). However, it is noted that this ecological relationship does not necessarily hold at the individual level. Although ethnic minorities live in areas of lower than average turnout, their own levels of participation may be higher than an ecological model might suggest. This is an example of the ecological fallacy (Robinson, 1950).

Indeed, although low voter turnout at an aggregate level may be associated with concentrations of BME communities, evidence at the level of the individual voter points towards higher levels of turnout amongst sections of the ethnic minority population, notably Indian Asians. This has been shown using survey data at a national level and a

case study (Anwar, 1990; Saggar, 1998a; LeLohe, 1990). Furthermore, because turnout has a strong spatial dimension, we might expect South Asians to have lower levels of turnout as they live in areas characterised by low turnout. For example BME voters are relatively more likely to live in safe seats and in areas of economic deprivation (e.g. inner city areas). The geographical distribution of the ethnic minority population and the characteristics of those areas may have an impact on levels of turnout. However, until now we have not known the relative levels of turnout of BME and white voters within areas (i.e. whether low turnout out is characteristic of a specific community or a specific area).

Measurement issues

It was noted above that survey data on turnout within BME communities is inadequate. Firstly, in sample surveys there is usually an insufficient sample to look at ethnic differences, and secondly non-voting is widely under-reported. For example, a MORI survey taken shortly after the 2001 General Election showed turnout amongst white and Asian voters to exceed 80 per cent, compared to 70 per cent amongst whites, when in reality turnout in the election as a whole was only 59 per cent (see Figure 1).

'Figure 1 about here'

The 2001 British Election Survey used the marked electoral registers to validate turnout amongst respondents, and found large scale discrepancies between reported turnout (and

registration) and actual behaviour[1]. There are various reasons for survey unreliability including biased reporting of respondents and differential non-response to surveys (Kalton, 1983; Swaddle and Heath, 1989; Heath and Taylor, 1999). The recent Electoral Commission report concludes that 'there is a need to do more research on what people do rather than what they say they do' (Purdam et al, 2002).

One option is ecological analysis of electoral returns. However, as noted above, the main problem with ecological estimates of non-voting is that, whilst full population figures are reliable, estimates for ethnic minorities are based on potentially spurious inferences from aggregate to individual data. Figure 2 illustrates the significant negative relationship (correlation = -.445) between ethnicity and turnout at the area level. But does this ecological relationship hold at the individual level? Whilst ethnic minorities may live in areas where turnout is generally much lower than elsewhere, their own participation rates might be much higher. Using individual data from our sample, we are able to address this ecological fallacy in more depth later (see below). The primary aim of this paper is to provide a reliable estimate of turnout by South Asian electors. How this is achieved is described in the following section.

'Figure 2 about here'

Methods

At all general elections, the electoral registers are manually marked according to whether each registered voter actually voted[2]. This research uses marked registers from the 2001 general election, for a sample of ninety seven wards, based on a stratified random sample (see table 1). Using 1991 Census data, we stratified wards according to percentage South Asian[3]. Wards were sampled disproportionately in areas with a large Asian population. All electors were included in the selected wards, which were used as the primary sampling units (see table 1).

'Table 1 about here'

Because of the complex nature of the sample design, estimates of sampling variance should take into account the use of wards as primary sampling units, the stratification of wards and the use of weighting, including post-stratification weighting (see below). In the analyses reported below we provide sampling standard errors (calculated using Stata) which account for these design and weighting effects. These adjustments take into account the intra-area correlation in the dependent variable (voting).

Identification of South Asian Electors

Religious and linguistic origin was derived from electors' names using the 'Nam Pehchan' system, which uses a validated dictionary of names common in Britain, but originating from the Indian subcontinent and Sri Lanka (known as South Asian). The software identifies the likely origin of the name recorded in the register with a high level

of accuracy, also assigning the religion and language origin to those identified as South Asian. It is therefore possible to make distinctions between Muslim communities that are thought to have low rates of turnout, and Hindu and Sikh communities are thought to have rates similar to the white population.

Nam Pehchan identifies South Asian linguistic and religious origins of both surnames and forenames by matching against a stored list of names. The programme attempts to match the full name or the name stem (the first five characters of an individual's name) so that it can provide a list of South Asians including a language and religion origin for each person.

The reliability of Nam Pehchan in identifying Asian names is thought to be high (Harding et al, 1999). Others have questioned this, suggesting substantial rates of misclassification (Cummins et al, 1999). However, a second version of the software (NP2) has been extended to cover non-Muslim populations more adequately and to include Singhalese and Tamil names. Names and their linguistic and religious affiliations have been checked by a panel of language specialists. Names can now be assigned to one or two discrete languages and religions giving NP2 greater flexibility of interpretation and improved precision. The main deficiencies of NP1 were that it focussed on the Urdu-speaking Muslim population that predominated in Bradford and was weak in its interpretation of Hindi and Gujerati names. NP2 has taken account of this, and is therefore thought to be the most reliable method for identifying Asian names (Nanchchal et al, 2001). However,

there remains the possibility of misclassification in ascribing language and religion in our analyses.

Other Data issues

Before estimating turnout a number of adjustments were made to the marked registers. First we excluded all those on the register who are not eligible to vote in Parliamentary elections. These include foreign nationals eligible to vote in local elections and young people who reach the age of eighteen during the life of the register but were still seventeen on 7 June 2001 (attainers). Electors who had applied for a postal vote are also excluded as we have no evidence as to whether these votes were cast. However we are able provide an indication of the ethnic and geographical origins of postal voters (see below). Proxy voters are included as their votes are marked off at the polling station in the normal way. We do not make any allowance for eligible adults who are not registered to vote (Todd and Eldridge, 1987; Smith 1993). However these will be the focus of further research using the same sample of wards.

Weighting

The sample contains wards from England and Wales and excludes postal voters (these are regarded as missing because at the individual level we do not know if the votes were cast). Postal voters are also removed from the national figures for England and Wales[4]. Weights are applied do reflect the stratification of the sample of wards (the design weight

'Gweight')[5]. Although we have a sample of over half a million voters, the sample is clustered in 97 wards and this will be reflected in the sampling errors. It is not surprising, therefore, that the total turnout estimated from our sample, at 56.6 per cent differs from the actual turnout rate for England and Wales in 2001 of 58.4 per cent[6]. This reflects the sampling variation due to the selection of wards.

We can adjust for this by applying a weighting factor so that the total number of voters and non-voters estimated from the sample equals the actual numbers of voters and non-voters in England and Wales (the design and vote weight 'vgweight')[7]. However, use of the correction factor assumes that the stratified sample of ninety seven wards was no more or less representative of the South Asian population (which it was designed to represent) than the overall population. It may or may not represent South Asians more accurately than the rest of the population. The key point is that we assume that the lower turnout rate in the sample has affected Asians and Non-Asians equally. For completeness we present estimates with and without this additional weighting factor.

Characteristics of the Sample

Tables 2 shows the religious origin of the entire sample including postal voters. The results show that South Asians comprise just over 17 per cent of the sample. Five categories are shown along with the total samples for South Asian and Non-Asian. These include Muslim, which makes up the largest proportion of the South Asian sample, Hindu and Sikh. A Common category (labelled as religion not determined) is used in cases

where more than one religion was associated with the name. More than 14 per cent of South Asian names in our sample were assigned to this category. Originally, Nam Pehchan assigned 25885 names to the Common category. To obtain the figure stated in Table 3, we imputed actual religion for common religion if people lived in the household where a clear majority of the household (address) had the same religion. The remaining 787 names were identified as Other South Asian (9) or Clashes (778). These were examined by a language expert and assigned a religion.

'Table 2 about here'

Nam Pehchan also classifies names according to language. However, the construction of language categories, specifically broad single categories such as Muslim and Hindu languages, could lead to confusion and hinder reliable comparisons with other data sources (e.g. 2001 Census). For these reasons, we focus on religious origin.

Given that we can distinguish the origin of South Asian names by religion, the marked registers are employed to ascertain the actual individual turnout of South Asians from our sample of wards in 2001. The findings by religious origin are presented in Table 3. Column (a) is the percentage voted by religion from our sample. It is weighted to the national level but the adjustment to the known national turnout is not applied. Column (b) is weighted to the national level and employs the weighting to adjust to the known national turnout. The differences in the estimated turnout rate between the different

religious groups are almost the same for the two sets of estimates. We will focus on the latter estimates. A number of key points can be made.

First, South Asian turnout (58.9 per cent) was 0.5 percentage points higher than Non-Asians (58.4 per cent)[8]. The standard errors suggest there is no statistically significant difference between Asians and other electors. This probably represents the best estimate of South Asian electoral participation in Britain to date, and notably contrasts with survey estimates suggesting lower levels of turnout than their white counterparts (Anwar, 1990; Saggar, 1998a; LeLohe, 1990).

Second, South Asian turnout varied among religious groups. Hindus recorded the highest turnout in 2001, more than three percentage points higher than non-Asians (a statistically significant difference). A higher percentage of Sikhs (60.7%) also voted than Non-Asians[9], whilst Muslim turnout was almost identical to non-Asian turnout.

Each of the estimates can be compared with the total estimate of turnout by calculating the relevant 95 per cent confidence interval. We find that only the turnout estimate for Hindus is statistically significant from the total turnout, although the estimate for Sikhs is approaching statistical significance, with a p-value of 0.08.

These results appear to confirm recent survey findings that people of Indian heritage (predominantly Hindu and Sikh) have the highest level of turnout of all ethnic groups in Britain (Anwar, 1990; Saggar, 1998a; LeLohe, 1990). Yet, previous survey evidence

suggested that people of Muslim heritage were less likely to vote than Non-Asians. Our findings suggest otherwise; by religion, turnout was around 0.3 percentage points higher than (and not significantly different to) Non-Asians.

'Table 3 about here'

Apart from language and religion, Nam Pehchan also identified South Asian names by gender. Validated estimates of turnout from the 2001 BES survey suggest that men and women voted in equal proportions (68 per cent of women and 67 per cent of men; statistically insignificant difference). Yet there were apparently marked differences in reported turnout between ethnic minority men and women in 2001, with the latter far less likely to participate than their male counterparts (Norris et al, 2004). Our evidence contradicts this.

Table 4 records the percentage voted by religion and gender. Figures are provided for men, women and where gender was not determined by name. It is clear from looking at the sample sizes that the vast majority of those in the gender not determined category were women. The results contrast with the national picture and various survey estimates. Turnout among South Asian women (63.4) was more than five percentage points higher than men (57.9), a statistically significant difference. Sikh and Hindu women were the most likely to vote, although the turnout rate of Muslim women was only around 1.5 percentage points below these figures and significantly higher than Muslim men. The turnout rate for Hindu men was 5.2 percentage points above the overall South Asian rate

for males. By contrast, Muslim men were the least likely to vote of all South Asian groups categorised by religious origin. Unfortunately the data for Sikhs may be slightly misleading: given that many Sikh names are common for both men and women, it is not surprising that the vast majority of identified Sikh voters were placed in the 'gender not determined' category. Regarding the 'religion not determined' category, it seems likely from a preliminary analyses of results that it contains a disproportionate number of people of Indian heritage. Consequently, the same problem applies to these voters as those of Sikh origin with nearly 70 per cent being placed in the gender not determined column.

'Table 4 about here'

Geography of Turnout

In Figure 2 we illustrated the negative relationship between ethnicity and turnout at the constituency level. However, we questioned whether this ecological relationship held at the individual level. The results detailed now indicate that it does not. To illustrate how this ecological fallacy arises, our sample was divided into separate categories according to the percentage South Asian living in the ward at the 2001 census[10]. Four categories were chosen ranging from less than 5 per cent to wards where South Asians made up more than 20 per cent of the population.

Table 5 shows the percentage turnout by religion for these four categories. Quite clearly, overall South Asian turnout increases where the South Asian population is more concentrated. The reverse is true for Non-Asians. It seems that South Asians may live in areas of lower than average turnout, but this is precisely where they are most likely to vote.

Regarding the three main South Asian religious groups (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh) turnout tends to be higher where South Asian population is higher. The relationship across the different categories is less striking for those South Asian names where the religion was not determined, but turnout amongst this group is higher where the South Asian population is most concentrated. In wards where the South Asian population was more than 10 per cent, Hindu and Sikh turnout was in excess of eight percentage points above the overall rate. Those of Indian heritage have been the most educationally and economically successful over recent years and remain the people most likely to vote in general elections. Yet, just like other South Asian sub-groups, the results suggest that the role of the extended family and strong community networks may still play a vital role in mobilising Hindu and Sikh voters; turnout being significantly higher in wards where South Asians made up more than 20 per cent of the electorate than those wards where they are less then 10 per cent. The trend in turnout figures for Non-Asian is reversed, clearly illustrating why the ecological relationship is misleading.

'Table 5 about here'

Are Ecological Analyses flawed?

Following from above, if South Asians live in low turnout areas, ecological analyses would suggest that South Asian turnout is lower than it actually is. However, the individual level evidence suggests this is an example of ecological fallacy. Although there are methods of ecological analysis that ameliorate this, the only reliable way to demonstrate this is by referring to the individual level data as we have done here (King, 1997). Table 5 provides evidence that this might arise because the geography of turnout of South Asian electors is the mirror image of that of other electors. We can now look at that claim in slightly more detail.

'Figure 3 about here'

Earlier we looked at the constituency level relationship using constituency results and (1991) census data (Figure 2). We can now look at the results from our sample aggregated to ward (see Figure 3). The correlation (-.001) is much weaker at the ward level because the ecological fallacy is ameliorated by adopting a smaller geographical unit. However, we know from our individual analyses that South Asian turnout is the same or higher than non-Asian turnout. Furthermore as Table 6 showed, South Asian turnout in the sample is actually higher in wards where South Asian population is higher, yet non-Asian turnout is much lower. In Figure 4, we disaggregate turnout by Asian/Non-Asian and re-look at this ward level relationship.

'Figure 4 about here'

Figure 4 illustrates how the relationship between percentage South Asian electors and percentage turnout is positive for South Asian electors and negative for all other electors. This illustrates a classic ecological fallacy. For instance, wards such as University (Bradford), Charnwood (Leicester East), Whitefield (Pendle), Coldhurst (Oldham West and Royton), Limehouse (Poplar and Canning Town) contained 20 per cent or more South Asians and achieved South Asian turnout rates in excess of ten percentage points above Non-Asian turnout. Yet, as Figure 4 shows, of the thirty-eight sampled wards with a South Asian population of less than 2 per cent, only twelve recorded higher South-Asian turnout rates than Non-Asians. By contrast, only Headstone North (Harrow West), Costons (Ealing North) and Riverside (Cardiff West) of the forty sampled wards with a South Asian population of more than 10 per cent, had a higher percentage of Non-Asians voting than South Asian. These findings may make it difficult to rely on ecological results of BME voter turnout in the future.

Conclusion

This paper provides the largest and most systematic nationally representative estimate of electoral turnout (free of response bias) amongst British South Asian communities ever undertaken. Three important conclusions emerge from this unique study of South Asian voting which challenge orthodox perceptions.

First, South Asian turnout was higher than Non Asian in 2001. Even though South Asians tend to live in areas where there is lower than average turnout, it seems that they are more likely to participate in greater numbers than Non Asians. The figure of 58.9% represents the most accurate estimate of turnout among South Asian voters ever achieved.

Second, there is a number of interesting sub group differences among the South Asian electorate. Generally, those South Asians of Indian heritage (Hindu and Sikh) have higher rates of participation than Muslims. Hindus were found to be the most active electors, while turnout was more than five percentage points higher among South Asian women than men, contradicting previous work based on survey data. Muslim women are more likely than Non-Asian women to vote.

Third, ecological analyses stressed the negative relationship between ethnicity and turnout. However, it was demonstrated that the ecological relationship does not hold at the individual level: Using individual level data, we reaffirmed this ecological fallacy by illustrating that South Asian turnout is highest where there are more South Asians in the electorate, which is where turnout for the rest of the population is lower. The strength of community networks; extended families and effective mobilisation are possible explanations for this pattern.

Despite these interesting initial findings, it must be remembered that these turnout rates are likely to over-state participation in 2001. As mentioned earlier, these figures do not

take account of those voters who were not registered. Recent estimates suggest that the actual figure may be as high as 15%. Indeed, there is evidence that registration rates for certain South Asian groups are much lower than for the white population (Purdam et al, 2002; Saggar, 1998b). This will be the subject of future research. Nevertheless, given the problems of urban turnout in 2001, we can already report that in urban areas at least it was the South Asians that were more engaged in the voting process and were boosting turnout rates in those areas.

Acknowledgements

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Endnotes

[1] BES 2001 turnout (weighted) was 71 per cent, 12 per cent below the actual turnout figure. Around 6 per cent was due to differential non-response bias while the other 6 per cent was due to misreporting.

[2]These are returned to the Department of Constitutional Affairs and retained for one year as a public record.

[3]Unfortunately, 2001 Census data was not available at the time.

[4]Total Electorate (39227923) – Number of Postal Votes Issued (1758000) = 37469923. Total Number of Votes Cast (23243308) – Postal Votes Cast (1370884) = 21872424. 37469923 - 21872424 = 15597499 (Non Votes).

[5]Gweight = no of ward in strata population/no of wards in strata sample. Regarding strata 0, we assume that the population, which by definition is Non-Asian, behaves as the Non-Asian population in Strata 1. Strata 0 is therefore included in both our sample turnout and the national figure for England and Wales.

[6]To work out the target population: 21872424/37469923 = 58.4 per cent. This is the 2001 turnout in England & Wales excluding postal voters.

[7]Vgweight – The figures are grossed up from weighted by strata sample ward n/strata population ward n. The non-vote weight 15597499 (England and Wales)/23677659 (Our sample) = 0.6587 (Correction Factor). The voted weight 21872424 (England and Wales) /30832946 (Our sample) = 0.7094 (Correction Factor). Vgweight is therefore grossed up to the actual population and adjusted for actual turnout. For Strata 1: gweight (strata ward n/sample ward n). If vote = 0 vgweight = gweight*0.6587. If vote = 1 vgweight = gweight*0.7094.

[8]The total percentage turnout and Non Asian turnout are similar – if we went more than one decimal place you will find that the total is a little higher.

[9]This is approaching significance at 95% confidence level (P value =.08) and significant at 90% confidence level.

[10] Information obtained from 2001 Census data.

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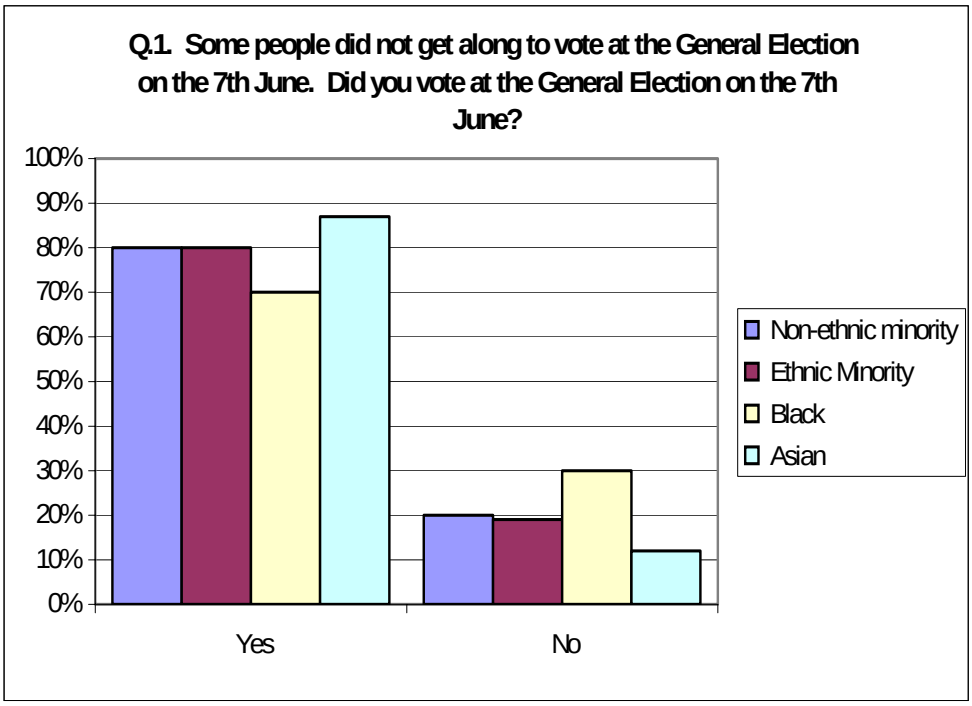
South Asian Turnout at the 2001 General Election

Tables and Figures

Figure 1 Reported Turnout by Ethnic Group, 2001



Source: Purdam et al, 2001

Figure 2 Nature of Aggregate Relationship at Constituency Level (England & Wales), Plotting 2001 General election Turnout against Ethnicity (2001 Census Data); Correlation Coefficient (-.445)

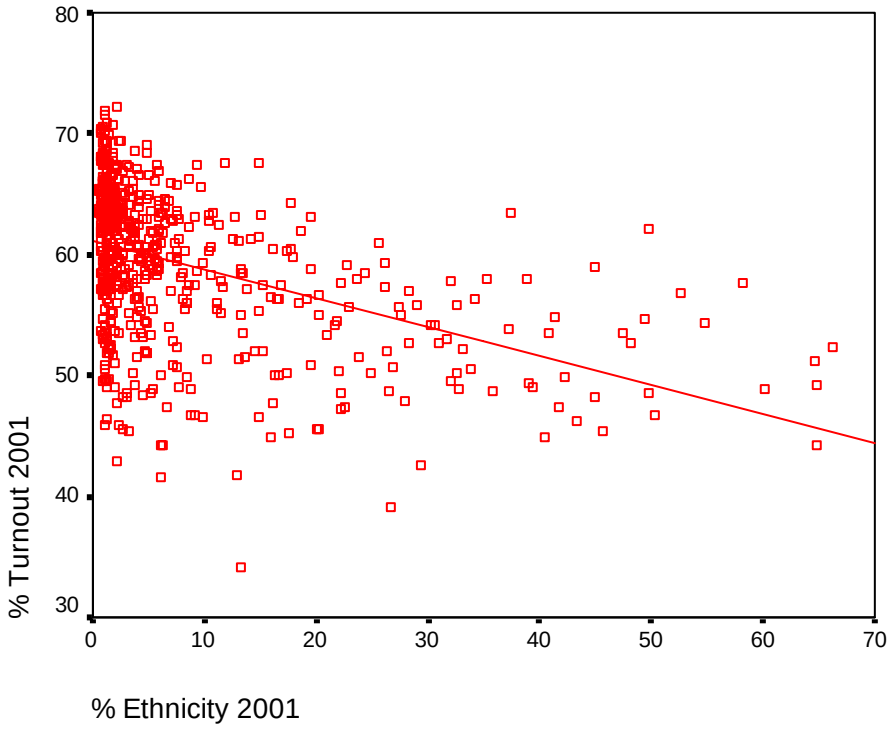


Table 1 **Stratified Random Sample**

	% South Asian Pop.	No of Wards	Sample	Total Pop.	South Asian Pop.	No of Sampled Electors	No of Sampled S.Asian Electors
Strata 0	0%	2057	0	N\A	0	0	0
Group A	>0% - <0.5%	5134	18	140,030	314	98856	1009
Group B	0.5% - <2%	1972	20	125,955	1,495	87996	2079
Group C	2% - <10%	1025	19	158,849	6,721	114266	7585
Group D	10% - <20%	201	20	187,869	27,669	130164	25112
Group E	20% +	163	20	225,984	85,372	154335	65040
Total		10552	97	838,687	121,571	585617	100825

Note. All registered electors in the sampled wards are included, though this will be somewhat less than the total pop (column 3), which includes all persons of all ages. The original sample was 100 wards, but due to data problems three wards were excluded.

Table 2. Religious Origin of Sample

Religion	Unweighted Sample n
Hindu	17057
Muslim	54693
Sikh	14469
Religion Not Determined	14606
All South Asian	100825
Non Asians	484792
Total	585617

Table 3. Percentage Voted by Religious Group, Weighted by (a) Design Weight (Weighted to Population: Gweight and (b) Design and Vote Weight (Vgweight)

Religion	(a) % Voted	(b) % Voted Corrected for National Turnout (standard error)
Hindu	59.9	61.7 (1.48)
Muslim	56.9	58.7 (1.18)
Sikh	58.9	60.7 (1.29)
Religion Not Determined	55.0	56.8 (1.34)
All South Asian	57.1	58.9 (0.77)
Non Asians	56.5	58.4 (0.28)
Total	56.6	58.4 (0.00)

[2] Standard errors are included in brackets. The total turnout is determined by the adjustment to the known turnout therefore it has no sampling errors.

Table 4. Percentage Voted by Religion and Gender (Design and Vote Weight - Vgweight)

Religion	Gender Not Determined (SE)	Female (SE)	Male (SE)	Total (SE)	N (SE)
Hindu	59.5 (1.53)	65.4 (2.64)	63.1 (1.88)	61.7 (1.48)	103367
Muslim	59.6 (1.33)	64.1 (1.56)	56.7 (1.19)	58.7 (1.18)	342807
Sikh	60.6 (1.57)	65.9 (3.53)	60.6 (1.54)	60.7 (1.29)	74533
Religion Not Determined	56.4 (1.31)	55.6 (2.95)	58.1 (2.37)	56.8 (1.34)	143267
All South Asian	58.5 (0.78)	63.4 (1.16)	57.9 (0.86)	58.4 (0.28)	663974
n	264030	102504	297440	-	663974

Table 5.

Percentage Turnout (Weighted) by Religion and % South Asian in Sample Wards

(Design and Vote Weight Vgweight)

Religion	**0-4.9%** (SE)	**5-9.9%** (SE)	**10-19.9%** (SE)	**>20%** (SE)	**Total** (SE)
Hindu	55.0	57.9	60.2	66.8	61.7
	(3.55)	(2.45)	(5.51)	(1.46)	(1.48)
Muslim	57.2	54.3	59.9	61.5	58.7
	(2.27)	(2.41)	(3.25)	(1.75)	(1.18)
Sikh	49.5	56.2	64.7	64.9	60.7
	(5.56)	(2.39)	(1.33)	(1.24)	(1.29)
Religion Not Determined	55.0	54.6	53.0	62.9	56.8
	(2.18)	(2.64)	(3.22)	(1.02)	(1.34)
All South Asian	55.7	55.2	59.9	63.2	58.9
	(1.51)	(1.70)	(2.33)	(0.99)	
Non Asians	58.7	56.3	53.1	52.4	58.4
	(0.32)	(0.26)	(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.28)
Total	58.7	56.2	54.1	56.3	58.4

Figure 3

Nature of Aggregate Relationship at Ward level (from Sample 97 Wards; % Turnout by % South Asian)

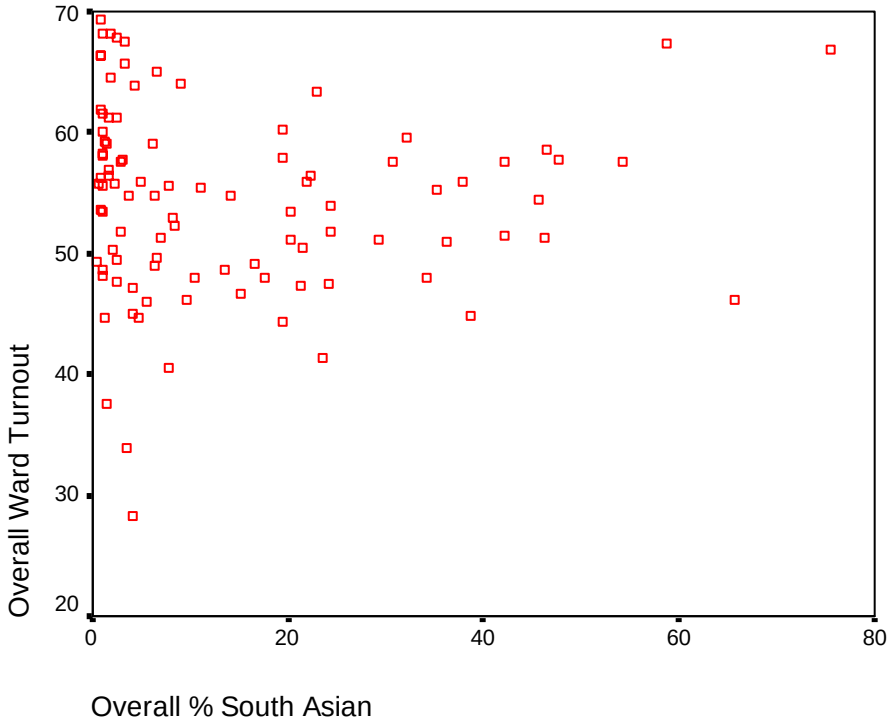


Figure 4. Comparing % Turnout of South Asians with % Turnout of Non Asians against Overall % South Asian at Ward Level (from Sample of 97 Wards)