

Ethnic Inequalities in London

Capital For All

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Trust for London

Tackling poverty and inequality

This report uses data from the 2001 and 2011 censuses, Office for National Statistics (Crown Copyright).

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research summarises ethnic inequalities as experienced across London as a whole, and within each of the capital's 32 boroughs. It measures inequality across four domains – education, employment, health and housing – and compares outcomes across time, namely between the 2001 and 2011 national censuses. Below we outline 11 key findings and make 6 recommendations; but first we explain the top-line results.

The headline finding is that ethnic inequalities are persistent and widespread, particularly in employment and housing. Ethnic minorities experience employment and housing disadvantage in every London borough, with housing inequalities being particularly notable. Ethnic inequalities will not disappear by themselves and central and local government need to act to reduce them, especially in London where nearly half the population is black and minority ethnic.

Below this headline finding the results are considerably more mixed, both in terms of outcomes for different ethnic groups, and across London's varied boroughs. Most notably, ethnic minorities now outperform White British people in education, a finding in line with GCSE results in London schools over the past decade. Similarly, the health outcomes are mixed but more so, with some groups doing better than White British people, and patterns being less clearly discernible across London's boroughs.

Many of the findings will be as expected: that in less wealthy areas ethnic minorities often do worse, for example in Lambeth, Haringey and Brent, where black and minority ethnic people still face educational inequalities compared to their White British peers. Similarly, the groups with the highest unemployment rates are Black Caribbean, Black African and Bangladeshi. Finally, the housing inequalities we have noted are proving to be of increasing public and political concern across the capital, though their impact on ethnic minority Londoners has been somewhat less studied and discussed.

In at least two ways, however, these results are surprising. First, that ethnic inequalities persist in London's labour market even while black and minority ethnic pupils have been outperforming their White British peers for almost a decade. We should expect these higher-performing often British-born ethnic minorities to do better in the job market

given their educational success. Second, if we are unsurprised that the same places and groups experience inequalities over many decades, why aren't we more surprised that the Labour, Coalition and Conservative governments have all similarly failed to allocate both sufficient focus and resources to tackle these longstanding inequalities?

However, the results are often more mixed and in some cases more surprising than might have been anticipated: for example, that Pakistani 16–24 year olds are among those least likely to have no qualifications, along with Indian and Chinese people; or that Black African people have better reported health than White British people.

Furthermore, some of the 'expected' results are not as obvious as they might appear on first inspection. For example, is Lambeth's higher relative ranking of ethnic inequalities in 2011 compared to 2001 due to ethnic minorities doing worse, or because better-off White British residents have moved in during this period? The issue of 'gentrification' or of local people being excluded from housing regeneration, new business opportunities or indeed new cafés, pubs or forms of leisure, is familiar north and south of the river, from Hackney and Haringey to Lambeth and Greenwich. Local planners and politicians need to do more to ensure the benefits of regeneration or gentrification flow to all of a borough's residents.

More generally, this report outlines ethnic *inequalities* in London, not ethnic disadvantage. While there remain significant concerns about the higher levels of child and in-work poverty among all ethnic minority groups, this report indicates why we should *also* care about inequalities. Where people with the same educational performance or living in the same borough experience such differing life-chances, this is not only unfair, but is creating greater social distance. Reducing the ethnic inequalities we outline in this report would not only improve the opportunities for London's ethnic minority residents, it would do much to improve social cohesion as well as ensure greater economic and cultural success for the city.

Notes

1. City of London and Westminster are combined owing to the small numbers in City of London data sets.

Key findings

- Ethnic inequalities are persistent and widespread in London, particularly in employment and housing.
- Between 2001 and 2011 education outcomes for ethnic minorities have improved relative to the White British population; this mirrors the trend in the rest of England but is more pronounced in London.
- Indian, Chinese and Pakistani 16–24 year olds were least likely to have no qualifications in 2011.
- In the boroughs where ethnic minorities have a substantial advantage over White British people, this isn't because ethnic minorities are doing well. Rather, these boroughs are some of the worst-performing boroughs in London for ethnic minorities as well, meaning that everyone is doing relatively poorly. The relative advantage for ethnic minorities is explained by White British people doing substantially worse in these boroughs.
- Ethnic minorities experience disadvantage in employment in every borough in London.
- In both 2001 and 2011 all groups had higher levels of unemployment than the White British population.
- Highest unemployment figures were found in the Black African, Black Caribbean and Bangladeshi groups.
- The greatest health inequalities were found in the Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Mixed groups. Chinese, White Other and Black African groups tend to have better health outcomes than White British people.
- All ethnic groups are more likely to live in overcrowded housing when compared to the White British population.
- All London boroughs exhibit high inequality in housing between ethnic minority populations and White British people. The percentage difference ranges from -9% to -24%.
- Around two in five Black African (40%) and Bangladeshi (36%) people live in overcrowded housing.

Recommendations

- The next Mayor should pledge that London's ethnic inequalities will be lower at the end of their term in 2020.
- Local authorities and the Greater London Authority must include measures to reduce ethnic inequalities in their employment and housing policies.
- Employers, government and other agencies all need to tackle the persistent gap between ethnic minorities' educational attainment and their labour market outcomes.
- Following the example of the 2012 London Olympics, regeneration programmes should reserve a proportion of their employment opportunities for local young people, with a black and minority ethnic target proportional to the local population.
- Housing affordability should be based on the actual incomes of local residents.
- Local authorities and the GLA should collect better data on ethnic minorities in their areas, and publish more of it in a digestible format.

1. INTRODUCTION

London is widely viewed as a pre-eminent global city, with unparalleled economic, political and cultural success. This success is linked to London's longstanding openness to international flows of goods, ideas, and indeed people. But as with all global cities, London still exhibits significant levels of poverty, and some of the widest inequalities in the developed world.

This report focuses on how these inequalities are patterned by ethnicity across London. Although London is indeed a relatively open and global city, this doesn't mean that black and minority ethnic people experience equal opportunities or outcomes. The headline finding of this report is that ethnic inequalities in London have remained persistent over the last decade and are particularly notable in employment and housing. With the White British population now only 46% of London's nearly 8 million residents, the findings in this report are a challenge to its 32 local authorities as well as to the London Mayor's office to reduce racial inequalities.

The evidence in this report is based on analysis of four indicators that measure the gap between White British and ethnic minority attainment: education, employment, housing and health. The only dataset allowing for adequate comparison of ethnic groups across all local authorities in England and Wales is the National Census which is carried out every 10 years. We have compared the Census findings of 2011 with those of 2001, indicating where these have improved or worsened for different ethnic groups in every London borough. In addition to this narrative report of the findings, we have produced a 'borough profile' for each of the 32 boroughs. Throughout this report we have used official census categories for different ethnic groups e.g. White British, Black African.

Because London has relatively large black and minority ethnic populations, we can further analyse differences between the various ethnic minority groups, and have summarised some relevant differences in this report. We have also produced nine 'community profiles' for different ethnic groups in London, in each case comparing their outcomes to those of the White British population.

In addition to being relevant for education, employment, health and housing policymaking, our findings relate to three currently prevalent policy agendas.

The first is inequality. By focusing on ethnicity we seek to highlight that the increased focus on inequality is incomplete if it doesn't also investigate – and seek to respond to – how inequalities are patterned according to race.

At the same time our focus on racial inequalities suggests that individual or area deprivation doesn't explain black and minority ethnic outcomes, nor why these outcomes affect how people get along at a local level. Taking the four indicators together we have created an overall 'Index of Multiple Ethnic Inequality' which is in many ways an adaptation of the better-known 'Index of Multiple Deprivation'. This latter index has examined a range of indicators since the 1970s to identify the most and least deprived areas in the UK, and was last updated in 2015 (and previously in 2011 and 2007).

One of the key findings of our wider analysis of all local authorities in England and Wales is that ethnic *inequalities* are present across the country, not only in the deprived urban areas but also in the better-off rural areas and suburbs. For this report on London, a key point is that we have reason to care about ethnic inequalities over and above the level of deprivation in an area. Where an area is deprived, but where white and non-white people are similarly disadvantaged, there may be greater social mixing or cohesion than in a better-off area where White British and ethnic minority people experience large inequalities in terms of income or housing.

A second relevant policy agenda is 'open data'. Runnymede has previously argued that this agenda has been too narrowly focused simply on producing data, but also on how government, including local authorities, spends money. For the open data to achieve the aims of transparency, accountability and citizen engagement, it must seek to present data in a digestible format, and also concern itself with outcomes data, including of course the outcomes for ethnic minorities. This report and its borough and community profiles seek to fulfil this role, while our wider 'Race Equality Scorecard' project takes this one step further by actively involving local people in understanding and responding to such data.

Third, and last, this report responds to the 'localism' policy agenda. As we show, ethnic inequalities vary significantly by ethnic group and by local authority, and indeed in respect of education, employment, housing and health. Some London boroughs have

seen greater improvement than others over the past decade, so based on this observation there may be opportunities for localism to respond better to racial inequalities.

Although this report is based on four indicators and the data are now nearly five years old, the overall trends are consistent with other data sources. London residents, as much as their elected officials, need to understand these data better if they are to better hold their democratic institutions to account. By producing this report we aim to

improve the general level of understanding on ethnic inequalities in London. More fundamentally, and perhaps optimistically, we seek to ensure that this understanding can and will be harnessed to social and political action for the reduction of ethnic inequalities over the next decade.

Notes

1. City of London and Westminster are combined owing to the small numbers in City of London data sets.

Table 1.1. Borough rankings by index of multiple inequality and indicators.

	Borough rankings				
	Index of Multiple Inequality	Education inequality	Employment inequality	Health inequality	Housing inequality
Lambeth	1	1	2	5	15
Haringey	2	2	4	2	7
Tower Hamlets	3	5	3	10	4
Brent	4	3	16	13	10
Hammersmith & Fulham	5	6	9	7	11
Wandsworth	6	4	12	9	17
Westminster & City	7	7	14	3	22
Enfield	8	8	8	11	18
Islington	9	11	7	4	23
Hackney	10	17	1	1	25
Camden	11	13	18	6	16
Ealing	12	19	20	8	9
Barnet	13	10	19	15	19
Southwark	14	16	5	24	5
Waltham Forest	15	22	15	16	2
Redbridge	16	25	11	17	12
Harrow	17	18	28	14	21
Kensington & Chelsea	18	14	24	12	28
Croydon	19	28	13	20	20
Hillingdon	20	27	22	18	14
Bromley	21	9	21	22	29
Lewisham	22	23	6	27	13
Hounslow	23	29	30	21	8
Merton	24	26	25	23	24
Bexley	25	24	17	26	27
Kingston	26	21	27	25	26
Richmond	27	12	29	19	32
Greenwich	28	30	10	30	6
Havering	29	20	23	29	31
Newham	30	31	26	31	1
Sutton	31	15	31	28	30
Barking & Dagenham	32	32	32	32	3

2. EDUCATION

Key findings

- Between 2001 and 2011 the number of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications from all ethnic groups reduced from 13.1% to 8.8% respectively.
- Between 2001 and 2011 education outcomes for ethnic minorities have improved relative to the White British population; this mirrors the trend in the rest of England but is more pronounced in London.
- Indian, Chinese and Pakistani 16–24 year olds were least likely to have no qualifications in 2011.
- White Other and Mixed were the only two groups that had a higher percentage of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications than White British people with no qualifications.
- The most substantial improvement was in the Bangladeshi community, with a reduction from 16% of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications to 7%.
- In education the only London boroughs in which there was substantial disadvantage for ethnic minorities were Lambeth, Haringey and Brent.
- The only two boroughs that saw an increase in educational disadvantage for minority communities were Lambeth and Brent. Although the outcomes for both White British and ethnic minority groups improved in both these boroughs, there was a sharper improvement for the White British group.
- In the boroughs where ethnic minorities have a substantial advantage over White British people, this isn't because ethnic minorities are doing well. Rather, these boroughs are some of the worst-performing boroughs in London for ethnic minorities too, meaning that everyone is doing relatively poorly. The relative advantage for ethnic minorities is explained by White British people doing a lot worse in these boroughs.

2.1. Background

During the last 10 years London schools have radically altered their educational outcomes. In 2003 only 39% of pupils achieved five good grades at GCSE (A*–C including English and Maths); by 2015 this had risen to 61.5%. The sharp improvement has been dubbed the 'London effect', with different factors offered to explain this progress. These include specific policy interventions such as London

Challenge and Teach First, an emphasis on the role of primary schools, and the demographic composition of London pupils relative to the rest of the country. Notably, Simon Burgess on the basis of his research on pupil level data argues that the London premium in pupil progress can be accounted for by the higher proportion of ethnic minority groups in London (Burgess, 2014). His research highlights how ethnic minority pupils in London score higher in GCSEs relative to their prior attainment compared to White British pupils.

This report doesn't use GCSE or A-level scores but rather measures the proportion of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications in White British and ethnic minority groups in each London borough. Among the four indicators in this report, education shows the least inequality. In fact, as with the GCSE results, ethnic minorities in London now have a slight advantage compared to White British people in terms of education, though there is a lot of variation by ethnic group and borough.

Between 2001 and 2011 there was a big change in population demographics. In 2001, 55% of 16–24 year olds in London were White British, compared to 43% in 2011.

2.2. Overall educational performance

In line with the overall improvement in GCSE outcomes in London, the number of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications also dropped between 2001 and 2011, from 13.1% to 8.8%. On average the percentage of ethnic minority 16–24 year olds with no qualifications was lower than for White British people in 2011, and this was also true in 2001. In 2001 the difference was +0.8%, a gap that increased to +1.3% by 2011. In London, both White British people and ethnic minority groups overall performed better than the England & Wales average in 2001 and 2011.

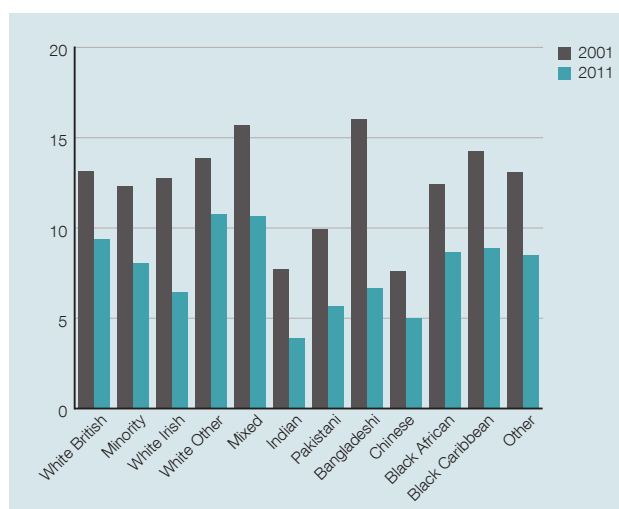
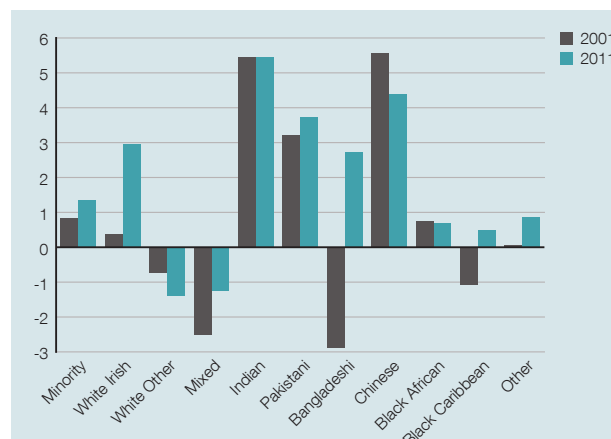
In Table 2.1 we indicate the eight best and eight worst boroughs in terms of ethnic inequalities in educational outcomes in London. These represent the top and bottom quartiles of the 32 London boroughs. These tables show that ethnic minorities generally do better than White British people across all of London's boroughs, but there are a few boroughs – Lambeth, Haringey and Brent – where ethnic minorities do worse, and that for many boroughs the gap is relatively small.

Table 2.1. 8 Best and 8 Worst London boroughs for ethnic inequalities in education (2011)

8 Best		8 Worst	
Barking & Dagenham	8.08	Lambeth	-4.09
Newham	6.40	Haringey	-2.46
Greenwich	6.08	Brent	-2.03
Hounslow	5.09	Wandsworth	-0.58
Croydon	3.02	Tower Hamlets	-0.52
Hillingdon	2.88	Westminster & City	-0.16
Merton	2.62	Hammersmith & Fulham	-0.12
Redbridge	2.40	Enfield	-0.04

2.3. Educational inequality by ethnic group

Although ethnic minorities overall have a slight advantage over White British people in the education measure there is substantial variation for different ethnic groups. Overall in 2011 Indian, Chinese and Pakistani 16–24 year olds had the best outcomes. All three of these groups had a net improvement in outcomes when compared to 2001, and they were also the best performing groups in 2001. The most substantial improvement was among Bangladeshi young people, falling from 16.0% of 16–24 year olds having no qualifications in 2001 to 6.7% in 2011. In 2011 White Other and Mixed young people were the only ones more likely to have no qualifications than White British young people. Both these groups did see a notable improvement between 2001 and 2011: the percentage of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications from the Mixed group fell by 5.0% and by 3.1% for the White Other group (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Percentage of 16–24 year olds with no qualifications by ethnic group (2001 & 2011)**Figure 2.2. Educational inequality: ethnic group comparison (2001 & 2011)**

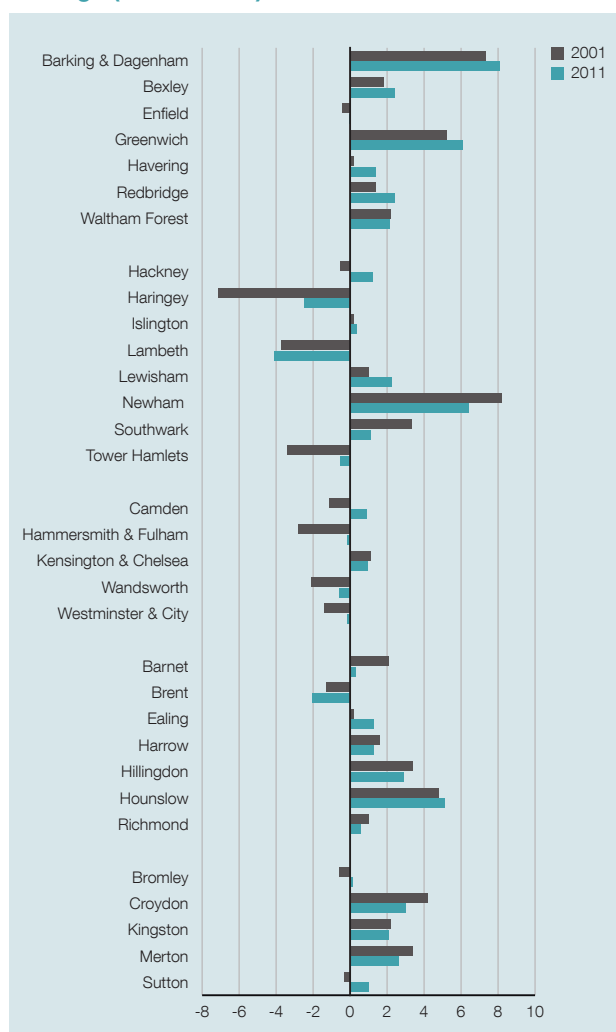
Another way to capture the changing performance is to measure the size of the gaps between White British and ethnic minority groups. This shows less change between the two censuses than Figure 2.1, mainly because both ethnic minority groups and White British people achieved a similar level of improvement in overall outcomes. However, Figure 2.2 does show that some groups saw considerable improvements in their relative position, particularly Bangladeshi people, but also Mixed and Black Caribbean people.

2.4. Ethnic inequalities in education by London borough

It is important to consider educational outcomes at a local level, in this case by London borough (see Figure 2.3). Educational inequality across London varies greatly for different ethnic groups. Aggregating the results for all minority groups together, a quarter of London boroughs have higher proportions of ethnic minorities with no qualifications compared to White British people. There was a 1.44 percentage points gap between the White British population and ethnic minorities, with ethnic minorities slightly *more* likely to have qualifications between the ages of 16–24. However, this is not the case for all ethnic groups within this broad minority category. White Other, Mixed and Black African are most likely to experience educational disadvantage compared with White British people in almost three-quarters of boroughs in 2011.

The most substantial inequality was seen in Lambeth, Haringey and Brent (see Figure 2.4). In these boroughs larger proportions of ethnic minorities had no qualifications relative to White British people. Although the outcomes for both White British and

Figure 2.3. Ethnic inequalities in education by London borough (2001 & 2011)



ethnic minority people improved in these boroughs, there was a sharper improvement for the White British group. For example in Lambeth, the percentage of White British people with no qualifications dropped from 10.4% in 2001 to 5.2% in 2011 (5.2 percentage points), while the percentage of ethnic minorities

changed from 14.1% to 9.3% in the same period (4.8 percentage points). Additionally, in Lambeth and Brent White British 16–24 year olds performed better than the White British London average in both 2001 and 2011, while the opposite is true of the ethnic minority population. The high inequality in these boroughs is as a result of this divergent change in performance over the past decade.

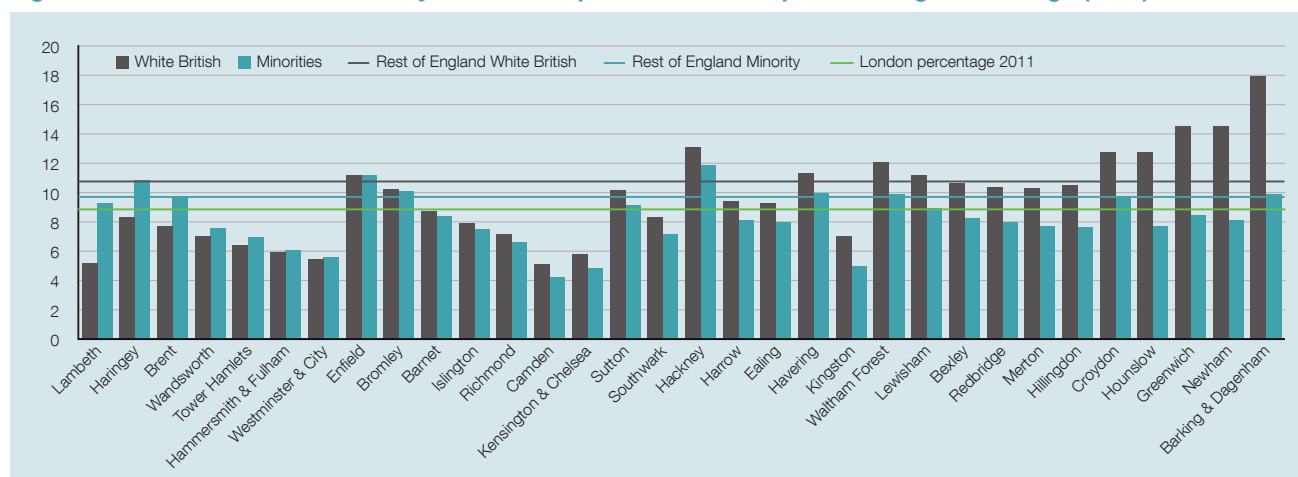
The boroughs in which ethnic minorities appear to have a large advantage over the White British population are all boroughs in which the White British population's performance is a lot worse than both the national and London averages (Figure 2.4). In these boroughs the percentage of ethnic minorities with no qualifications is more or less in line with the national average, but the data for the White British population is 3–8 percentage points above the national average.

Figure 2.5 shows how this gap in educational outcomes has changed between 2001 and 2011. Overall in London the gap between White British people and ethnic minorities increased by 0.62 percentage points, and this is greater than the rise in the rest of England and Wales. Inner London has little

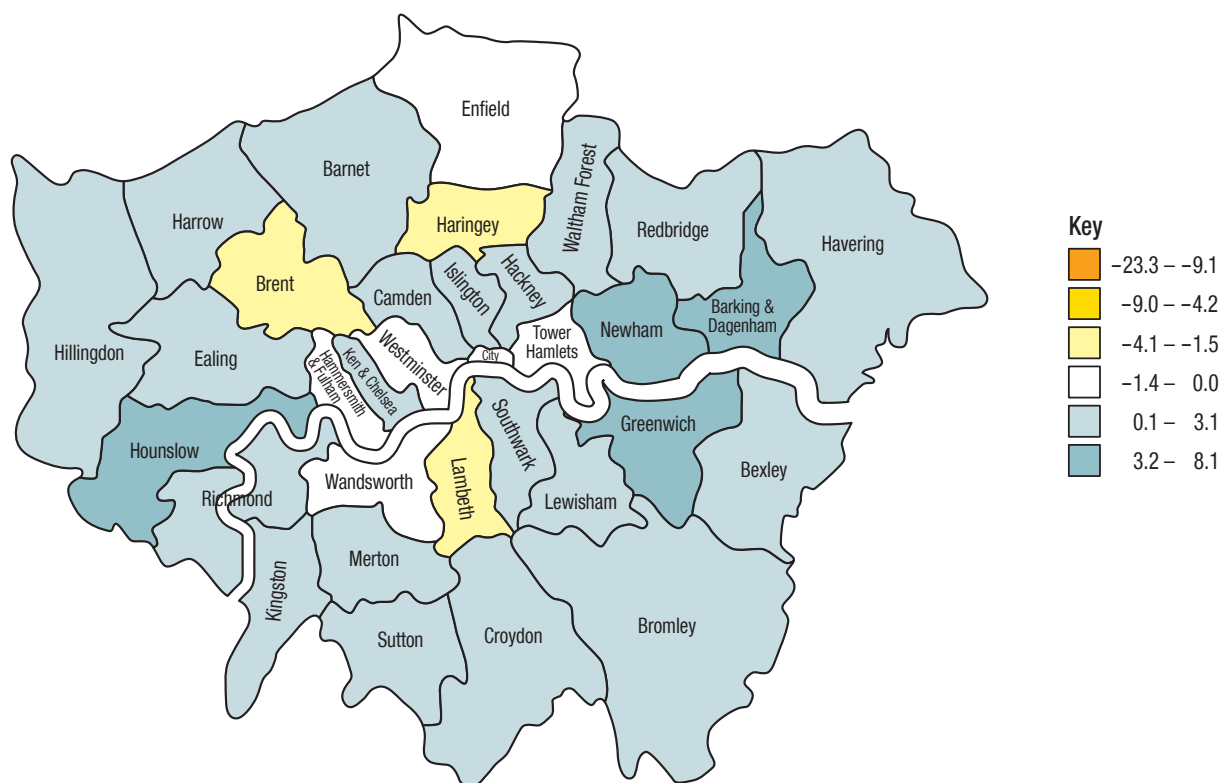
Figure 2.5. Ethnic inequalities in education, London and the rest of England (2001 & 2011)



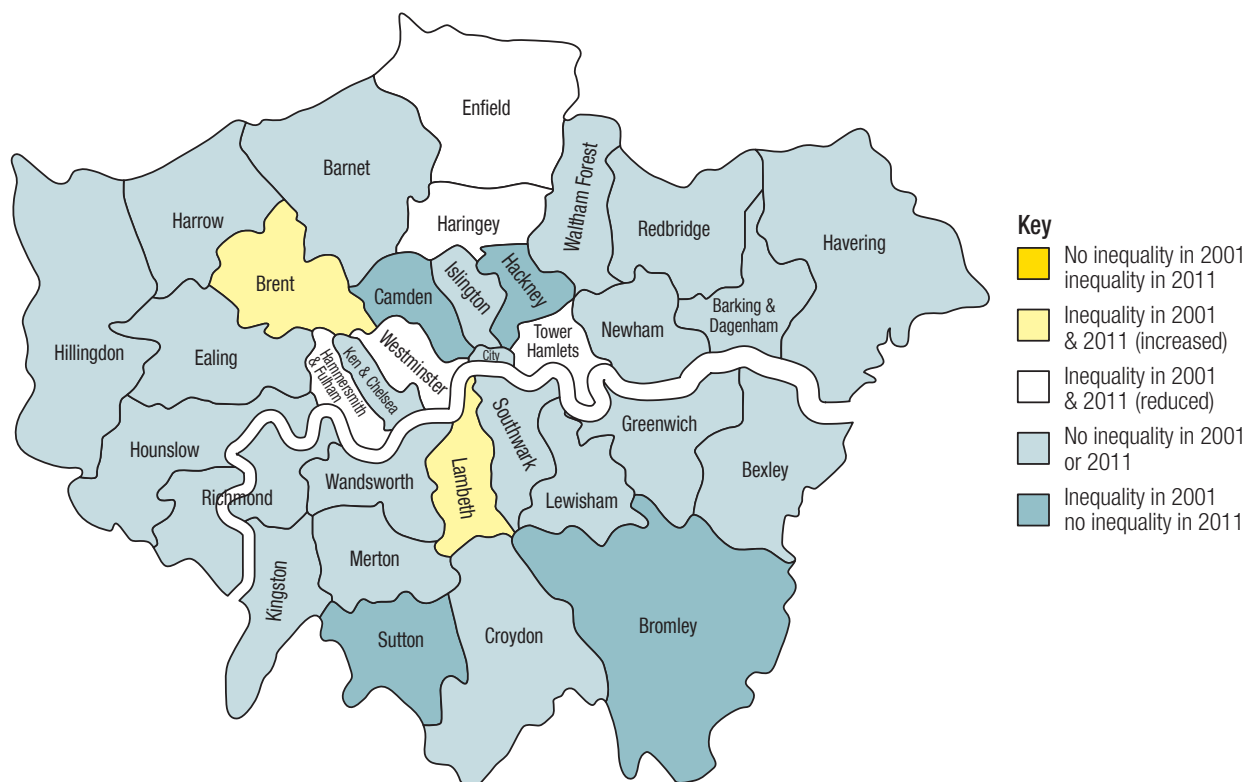
Figure 2.4. White British and Minority educational performance compared to England average (2011)



Map 2.1. Absolute educational inequalities (2011)



Map 2.2. Changes in educational ethnic inequality (2001–2011)



to no difference overall in outcomes between White British and ethnic minority 16–24 year olds. The disparities are more likely to occur in Outer London, where fewer 16–24 year old ethnic minorities have no qualifications. Inner West London in particular has very low inequality on this education indicator.

Map 2.2 highlights the changes in educational inequality between 2001 and 2011. For the majority of London boroughs inequality has been stable over 10 years. Only two boroughs in London had an increase in inequality: Lambeth and Brent. In seven boroughs there was reduced but persistent inequality between the two censuses.

2.5. Hidden inequalities

Focusing on within-borough inequality can hide poor outcomes in cases where both White British and ethnic minority groups are not performing well. For example, in Barking and Dagenham minority groups have the biggest advantage over White British people (+8.1%) thus being ranked the best borough in London for educational inequality. However, the percentage of 16–24 year old ethnic minorities with no qualifications in Barking and Dagenham was the seventh highest (9.9%) in London. This highlights

the way in which inequality is a relative measure and is dependent on the performance of a comparative group. In addition it draws attention to the inequality that exists in different areas of London, with the top and bottom eight boroughs overall highlighted in Table 2.2. In terms of relative measures, an area where everyone is doing badly is no better than an area where everyone is doing well, indicating why we should also look at the actual results for each group overall.

Table 2.2. Top 8 and Bottom 8 London boroughs for ethnic inequalities in overall education performance

Top 8		Bottom 8	
Hillingdon	4.57	Barking & Dagenham	13.86
Islington	5.11	Ealing	12.27
Kingston	5.64	Brent	11.44
Hounslow	5.99	Bexley	11.19
Waltham Forest	6.13	Bromley	11.09
Havering	6.80	Tower Hamlets	10.97
Southwark	7.01	Croydon	10.49
Kensington & Chelsea	7.27	Sutton	10.17

3. EMPLOYMENT

Key findings

- Ethnic minorities experience employment disadvantage in every London borough.
- Both the 2001 and the 2011 Census show that all groups had higher levels of unemployment than the White British population.
- The highest unemployment was in the Black African, Black Caribbean and Bangladeshi groups.
- Bangladeshi and White Other groups experienced the greatest fall in unemployment levels between 2001 and 2011.
- In most boroughs low levels of inequality correlate with low unemployment rates; Newham and Barking & Dagenham are the two exceptions.
- Overall, London has similar levels of employment inequality to the rest of England.

3.1. Background

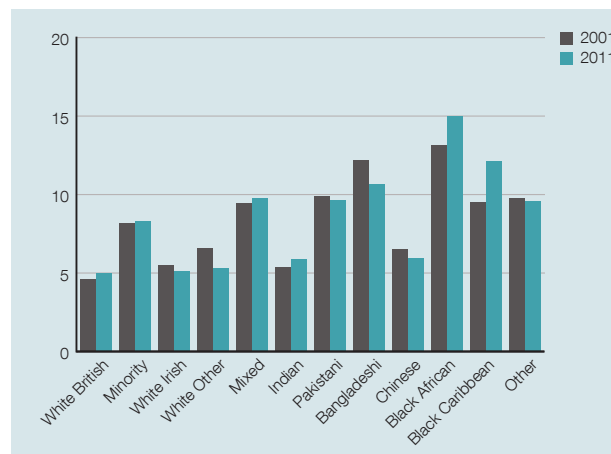
Ethnic minority groups in England and Wales have a history of higher rates of unemployment than the White British population. While the education data presented in this report has highlighted that ethnic minorities are more likely to have qualifications when compared to White British people, this educational advantage does not translate into better labour market outcomes. In all London boroughs ethnic minorities experience an employment disadvantage, and this persistent employment inequality indicates wider structural barriers to ethnic minority employment. Research carried out by the Department for Work and Pensions has highlighted how those with African or Asian-sounding names needed to send out twice as many CVs before even getting a job interview, despite having the exact same qualifications as other applicants (Hill et al., 2009).

For this report, local ethnic inequalities in employment are measured as the difference between the proportion of those aged 25 and over, from White British and ethnic minority groups, who are unemployed in a particular district.

3.2. Employment inequality by ethnic group

In London, contrasting with the data on education, every ethnic minority group experiences employment

Figure 3.1. Unemployment rates by ethnicity (2001 & 2011)



disadvantage compared to White British people. White Irish, White Other, Indian and Chinese people had similar levels of unemployment to White British people. All other groups had much higher levels of unemployment. The highest rates of unemployment were for Black African, Black Caribbean and Bangladeshi people.

Between 2001 and 2011 overall levels of unemployment increased slightly. For most ethnic minorities there was a change of +/-1%. The most substantial increases in unemployment were for Black Caribbeans (9.5% to 12.6%) and Black Africans (13.2% to 15.1%). The Bangladeshi and White Other groups had the greatest fall in unemployment rates (12.2% to 10.7%; and 6.6% to 5.3%, respectively).

3.3. Ethnic inequality in employment by London borough

As with education, ethnic inequalities in employment vary by London borough. Hackney, Lambeth and Tower Hamlets had the highest levels of employment inequality (-7.4%, -6.2% and -5.6%, respectively). The inequality in these boroughs is substantially higher than the averages for both London (-3.3%) and England and Wales (-3.4%). For both Hackney and Lambeth the levels of inequality persisted between 2001 and 2011 with little or no change between the two census dates.

Figure 3.2 demonstrates that all boroughs show worse outcomes for ethnic minorities; also that the gaps between the 2001 and 2011 figures overall and the relative position of most boroughs hasn't changed very much during that period. There are some notable

Figure 3.2. Ethnic inequality in employment, by London borough (2001 & 2011)

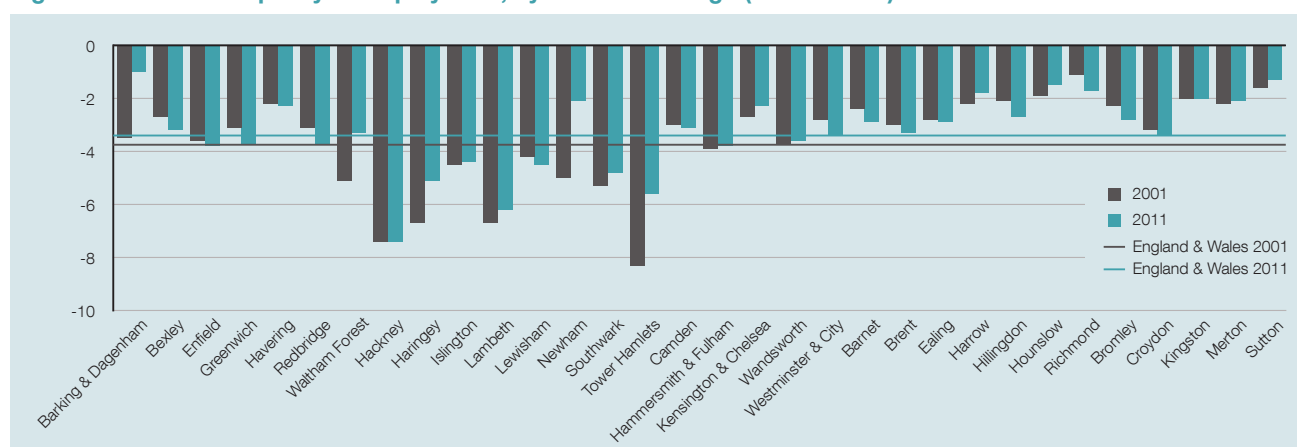


Table 3.1. 8 Best and 8 Worst London boroughs for ethnic inequalities in employment (2011)

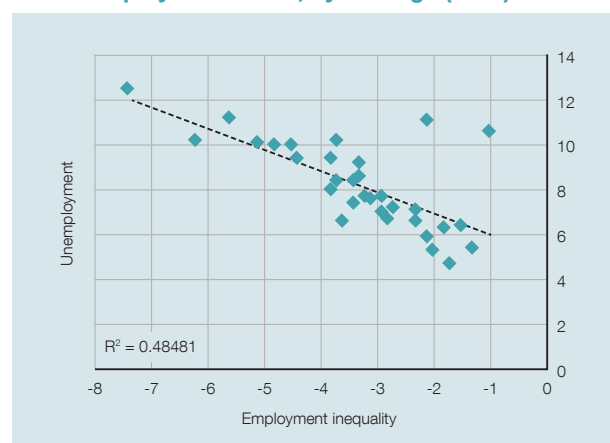
8 Best		8 Worst	
Barking & Dagenham	-1.0	Hackney	-7.4
Sutton	-1.3	Lambeth	-6.2
Hounslow	-1.5	Tower Hamlets	-5.6
Richmond	-1.7	Haringey	-5.1
Harrow	-1.8	Southwark	-4.8
Kingston	-2.0	Lewisham	-4.5
Newham	-2.1	Islington	-4.4
Merton	-2.1	Enfield	-3.8

exceptions: Tower Hamlets saw an overall reduction of inequality in employment by 2.7%, and is no longer the borough with the greatest employment inequality for ethnic minorities. In 2011 Barking & Dagenham, Sutton and Hounslow had the three lowest levels of employment inequality (-1%, -1.3% and -1.5%, respectively), with Barking & Dagenham's relative ranking much improved compared to 2001. Table 3.1 shows the 8 best and worst performing boroughs for employment inequalities.

In most boroughs low inequality correlates with low unemployment rates, as the scatter graph in Figure 3.3 highlights. This means that when inequality is lower, unemployment also tends to be lower. There are two outliers to this trend: Barking & Dagenham and Newham.

Although Barking & Dagenham has the lowest employment inequality the actual levels of unemployment for minority groups are fairly high at 10.7%. However, because White British people also have high levels of unemployment at 9.7%, ethnic inequalities – or the gap between White British and ethnic minority people – are low (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.3. Correlation between employment inequality and unemployment levels, by borough (2011)

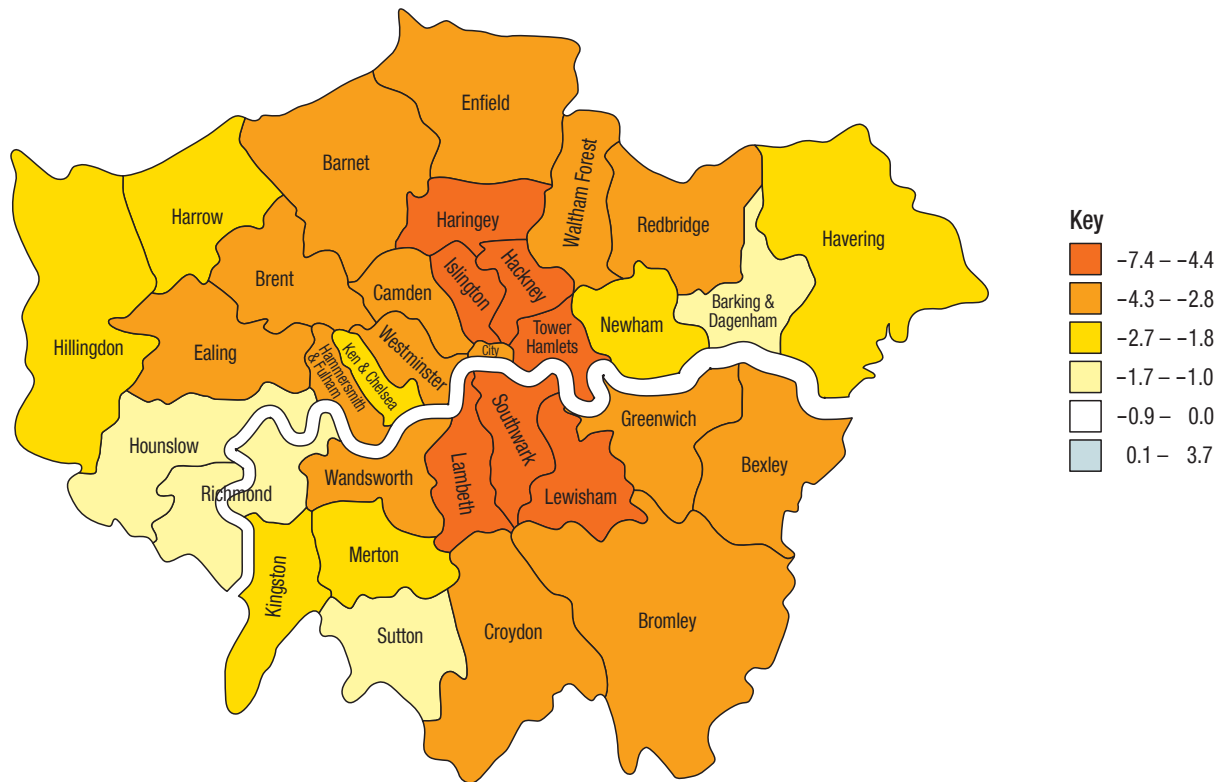


Employment inequality in London for ethnic minorities as a whole was in line with levels in England and Wales. Among Inner London boroughs, however, there is greater employment inequality. In particular the boroughs in inner east and inner south London had very high levels of employment inequality. Boroughs in outer south had the lowest levels of employment inequality between White British people and ethnic minorities (Map 3.1).

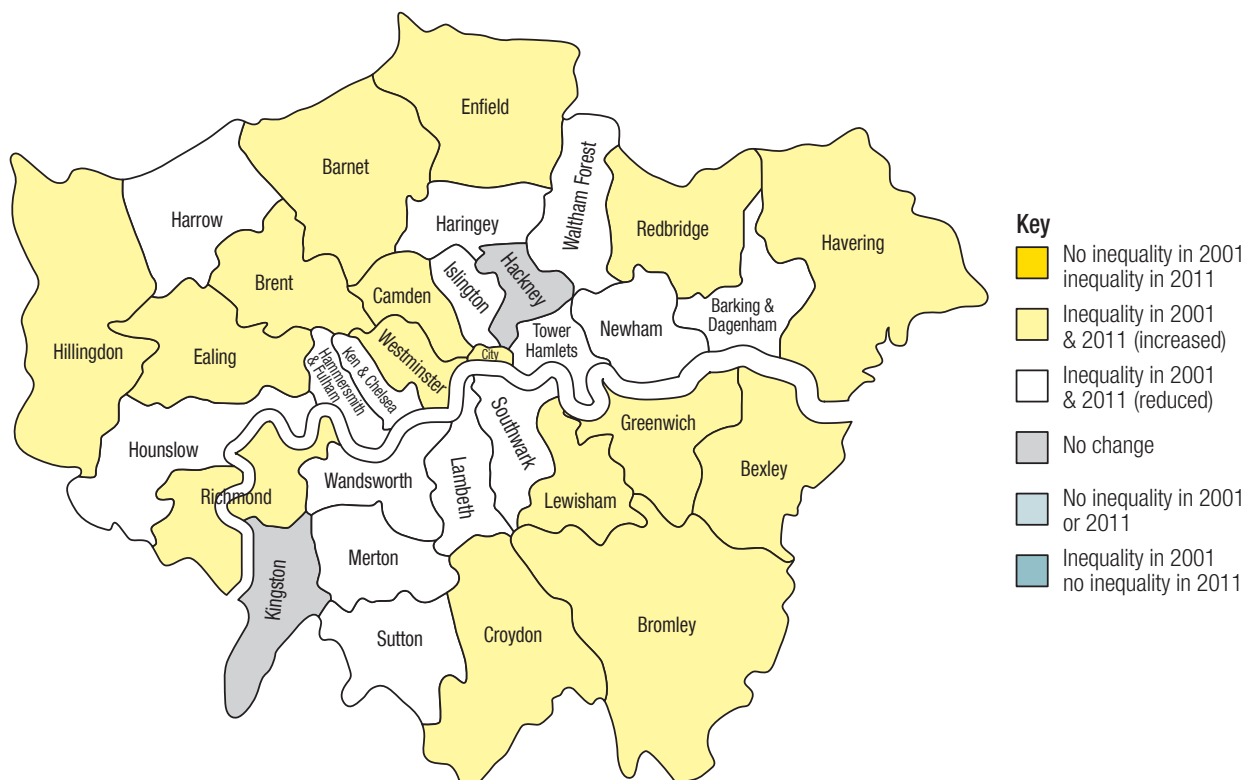
Figure 3.4. Ethnic inequalities in employment, for London and the rest of England (2001 & 2011)



Map 3.1. Absolute employment inequalities (2011)



Map 3.2. Changes in employment: ethnic inequality (2001–2011)



Map 3.1 highlights how employment inequality is present across all of London, but is particularly concentrated in inner east and inner south London.

Between 2001 and 2011 just under half (46%) of London boroughs reduced their levels of employment inequality, while the same percentage of boroughs had an increase in inequality, and the remaining 8% had no change. All boroughs in 2001 and 2011 had income inequality for ethnic minority groups (see Map 3.2).

In the boroughs with increased inequality the increase was small – less than 1% for all 15 boroughs. The same is true for most of the boroughs that had a reduction in inequality, although five boroughs had a substantial reduction in inequality (ranging from

2.9% to 1.6%). These boroughs are Newham, Tower Hamlets, Barking & Dagenham, Haringey and Waltham Forest.

3.4. Summary of ethnic inequalities in employment

Ethnic inequalities in employment persist in every London borough. Although some groups are now approaching White British employment outcomes, most ethnic minorities continue to experience a greater risk of unemployment even though their educational qualifications have improved. These findings fit with previous research and indicate why ethnic inequalities in the labour market should be a key national and local policy priority.

4. HEALTH

Key findings

- Between the 2001 and 2011 Census all communities experienced a small reduction in their rate of Limiting Long Term Illness (LLTI).
- About half of the various ethnic minority groups had an advantage over the White British population, and the other half were disadvantaged.
- The greatest health inequalities were found in the Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Mixed groups. Chinese, White Other and Black African groups tend to have better health outcomes than White British people.
- In London, overall health inequality is slightly lower than in the rest of England.
- Ethnic minorities in approximately one-third of London boroughs experience health inequality. Ethnic minorities in Hackney, Haringey and Westminster & City have the greatest health inequality.
- Ethnic minorities living in east London, for example Barking & Dagenham and Newham, are most likely to have lower LLTI than the White British population.

4.1. Background

The picture of health inequality in London is the most varied of the four indicators considered in this report, both in terms of outcomes for different communities and for different boroughs.

Local ethnic inequality in health is measured as the difference between the proportion of the population with an LLTI (age standardised) in White British and

Figure 4.1. Changes in health inequalities by ethnic group (2001 & 2011)



ethnic minority groups in a particular district. The data has been extracted from the 2011 Census, where residents were asked to assess whether their day-to-day activities were either 'Limited a lot' or 'Limited a little' because of a health problem or disability which has lasted, or is expected to last, at least 12 months.

4.2. Health inequalities by ethnic group

Health inequality in London varies for different ethnic groups. Some groups have an advantage over White British people and others experience a disadvantage. The Chinese community had the largest advantage over White British people, followed by White Other and Other groups. The Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Mixed groups had the greatest disadvantage when compared to White British people (Figure 4.1).

Between 2001 and 2011 levels of LLTI reduced for all groups, except those in the Other category. The biggest improvements in health were for the Indian, White Other and Chinese groups (falls of 2.45%, 2.42% and 1.84%, respectively). In general, the groups that had better outcomes in 2001 were still the groups with better outcomes in 2011, with the changes in their health gaps remaining relatively small over time (Figure 4.2).

4.3. Health inequalities by London borough

In 2001, health outcomes for White British people and ethnic minorities in one-third of London boroughs were within one percentage point of each other. The other

Figure 4.2. Limiting long term illness (LLTI) by ethnic group (2001 & 2011)

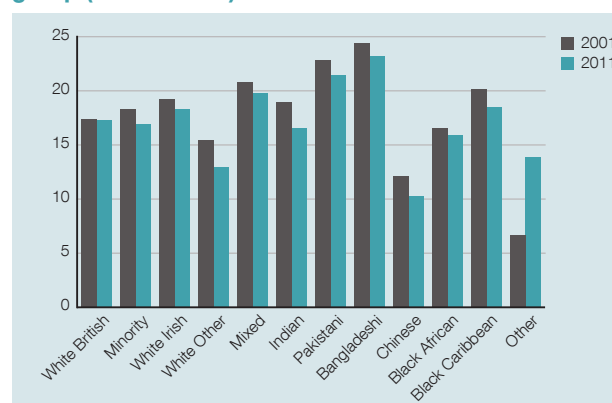
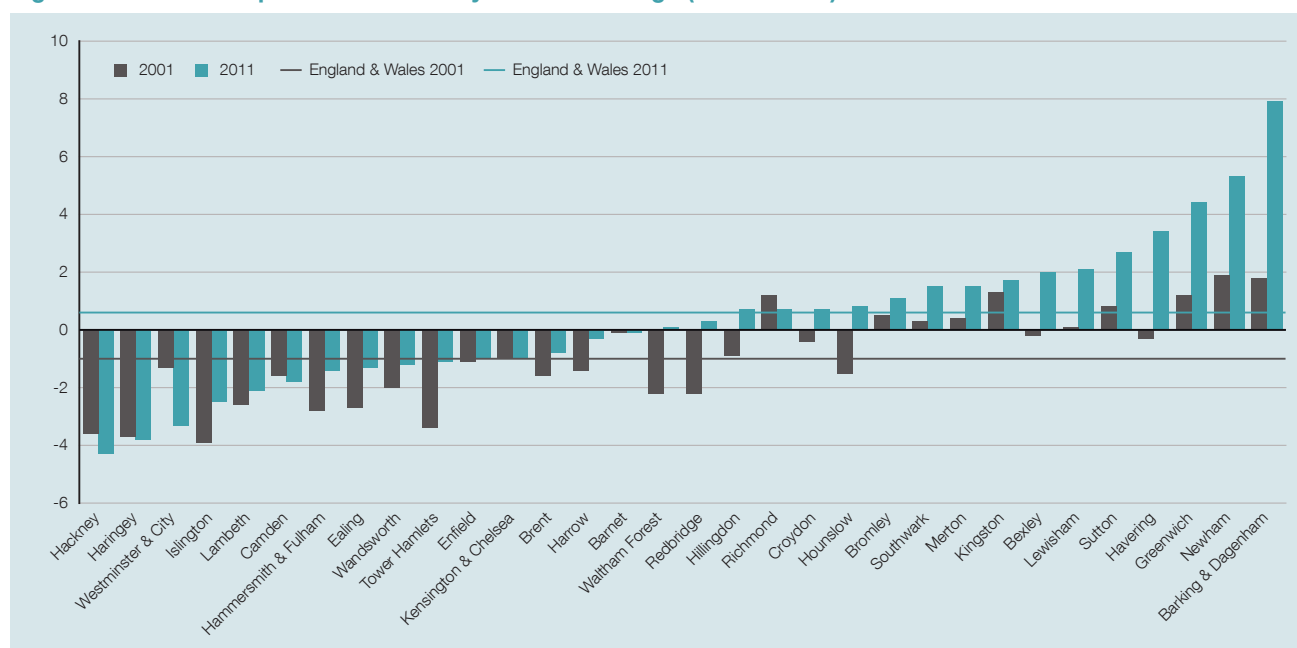


Figure 4.3. Ethnic inequalities in health by London borough (2001 & 2011)

two-thirds of London boroughs were split between White British people or ethnic minorities having a health advantage.

Figure 4.3 shows that Hackney, Haringey and Westminster & City had the highest levels of health inequality (-4.3%, -3.8% and -3.2%, respectively). In the first of these two the inequality was persistent between 2001 and 2011 with little change between the two censuses. However, in Westminster there was a sharp increase in inequality from -1.3% to -3.2% between 2001 and 2011.

Ethnic minorities in Barking & Dagenham, Newham and Greenwich had the largest health advantage over the White British population. Although this was true in 2001, by 2011 the gap had increased. Another way to think about this finding was that in 2001 there

was no borough in which ethnic minorities had an advantage over 2%, while in 2011 ethnic minorities in seven boroughs exceeded this figure.

In 2001 the level of health inequality in London was in line with the rest of England and Wales. By 2011 ethnic minorities went from having a slight health disadvantage to a slight advantage in both London and the rest of England and Wales. Minority communities in England and Wales as a whole have a slightly larger health advantage than those in London (Figure 4.4).

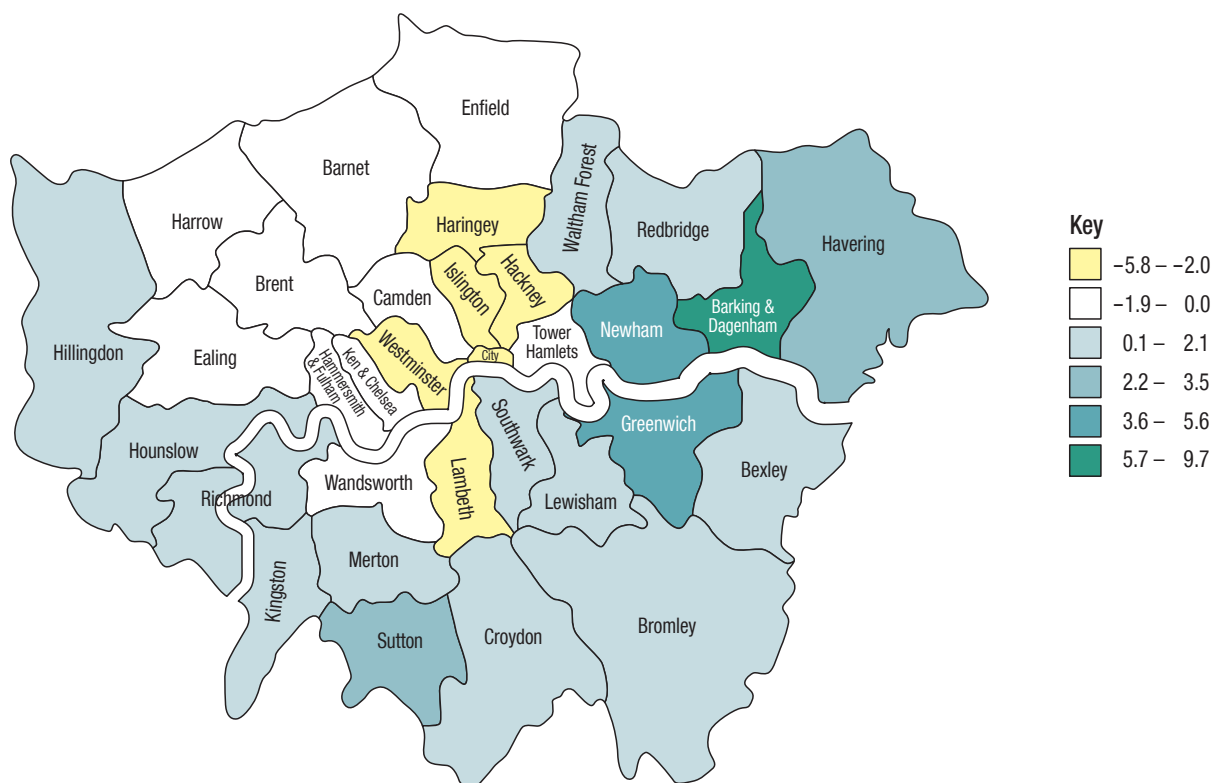
Health outcomes for ethnic minority groups are substantially better in Outer London compared to Inner London. In 2001 both Inner and Outer London boroughs had a health disadvantage, but by 2011 ethnic minorities in Outer London were showing a health advantage over White British people.

Table 4.1. 8 Best and 8 Worst London boroughs for ethnic inequalities in health (2011)

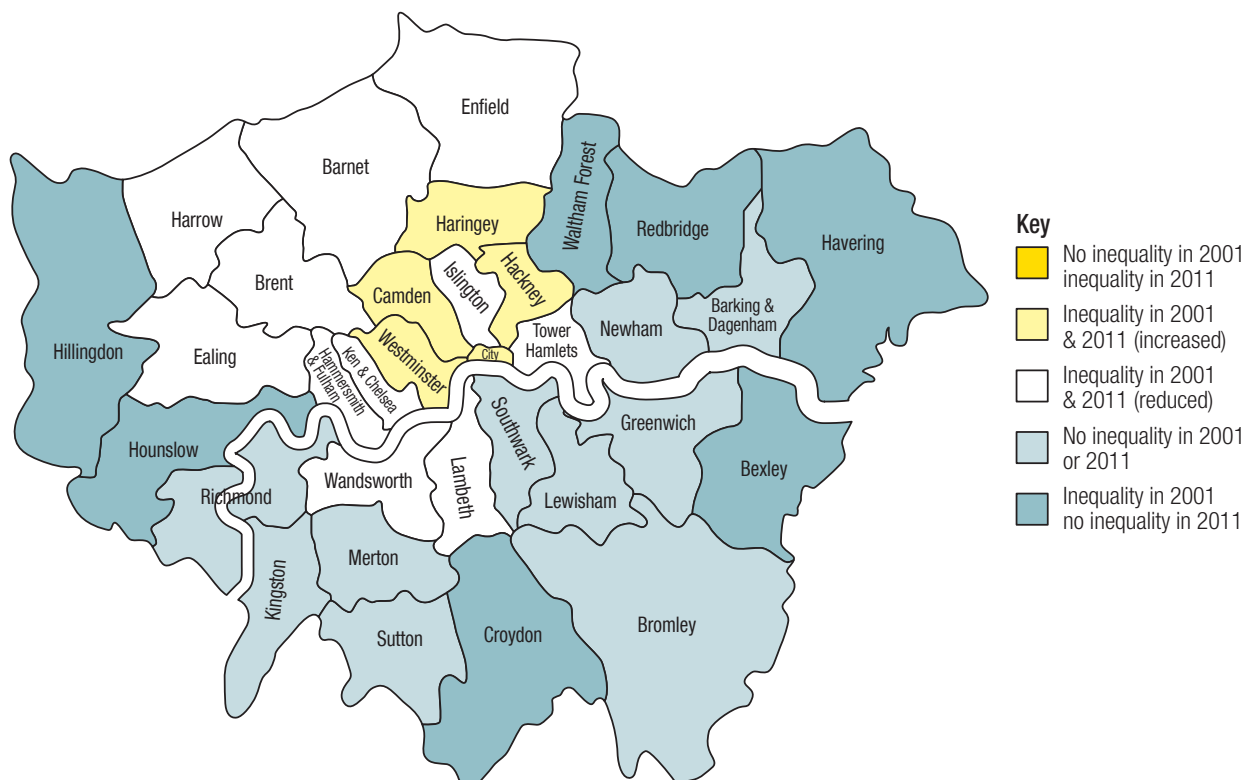
8 Best		8 Worst	
Barking & Dagenham	7.9	Hackney	-4.3
Newham	5.3	Haringey	-3.8
Greenwich	4.4	Westminster & City	-3.2
Havering	3.4	Islington	-2.5
Sutton	2.7	Lambeth	-2.1
Lewisham	2.1	Camden	-1.8
Bexley	2.0	Hammersmith & Fulham	-1.4
Kingston	1.7	Ealing	-1.3

Figure 4.4. London health inequalities compared to England & Wales (2001 & 2011)

Map 4.1. Absolute health inequalities (2011)



Map 4.2. Changes in health: ethnic inequality (2001–2011)



Map 4.1 highlights the spread of inequality across different London boroughs. The highest levels of health inequality are clustered around boroughs in inner east and inner south.

There appears to be a correlation between ethnic minority population size and the percentage reporting a limiting long term illness (Figure 4.5). Ethnic minorities living in boroughs with a higher black and minority ethnic population are more likely to have a LLTI.

Between 2001 and 2011 the trend in health inequality was broadly positive. Only four boroughs saw an increase in health inequality: Hackney, Haringey, Camden and Westminster & City. The remaining boroughs had a reduction in health inequality or sustained no inequality. Overall the picture of health inequality in London is varied, both in terms of the experiences of different communities and different boroughs.

Figure 4.5. Ethnic minority population size compared to population percentage reporting an LLTI



5. HOUSING

Key findings

- All ethnic groups are more likely to live in overcrowded housing when compared to the White British population.
- All boroughs in London have substantial inequality in housing between ethnic minority populations and the White British. The difference ranges from -9% to -24%.
- Around two in five Black African (40%) and Bangladeshi (36%) people live in overcrowded housing.
- The White Irish group had the lowest levels of housing inequality (-1.0%), followed by Black Caribbean (-8.1%) and Indian (-8.6%) people.
- Overall there is slightly less housing inequality in London than the rest of England and Wales. In 2011 the net inequality was -15% in London compared to -17% in England and Wales.
- Between 2001 and 2011 the only groups that saw substantial changes in overcrowding were White Other (+6.6%), Bangladeshi (-4.5%) and Black African (-3.0%).
- The most substantial increases in housing inequality took place in Barking & Dagenham, Waltham Forest and Hillingdon.
- Only two boroughs have a less than 10 percentage-point housing inequality: Havering and Richmond.
- Although boroughs in Outer London tend to have lower levels of housing inequality, between 2001 and 2011 most Inner London boroughs saw a reduction in housing inequality, while Outer London boroughs registered an increase.

5.1. Background

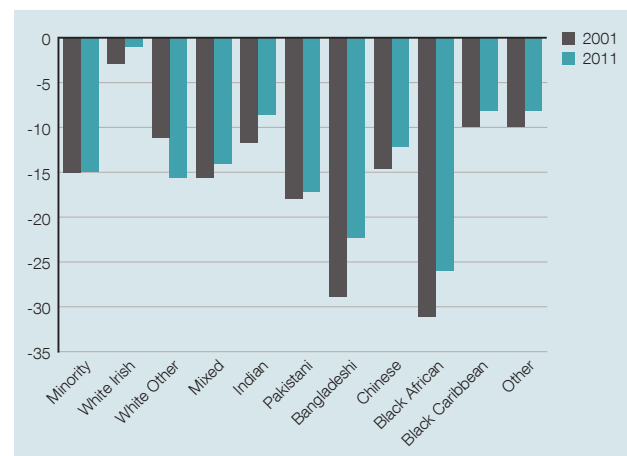
It is widely agreed that there is substantial housing need in London and that London's low-income families are the worst affected. However, the focus on low-income families can hide the disproportionate impact of the unmet housing need on ethnic minority groups. Twice as many ethnic minorities live in overcrowded housing compared to White British people. This increases to almost three times as many when we look at individual minority groups such as Black African or Bangladeshi.

For this report local ethnic inequalities in housing are measured as the difference between the proportion of households in overcrowded accommodation for White British and ethnic minority groups in a district. Overcrowding is one of the many tangible impacts of what is often termed London's 'housing crisis' and can have a serious impact on health, family relationships and education (Shelter, 2005).

5.2. Housing inequality by ethnic group

All ethnic minority groups in London experience housing inequality. For most groups this inequality is severe and persistent. Between White British people and ethnic minorities as a whole, in both 2001 and 2011, there was a difference of 15 percentage points (Figure 5.1).

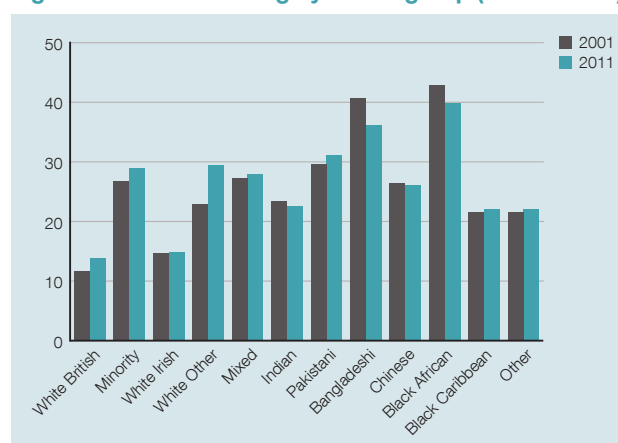
Figure 5.1. Housing inequality by ethnic group (2001 & 2011)



Black Africans, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis have the highest levels of overcrowding and thus housing inequality in London, where around two in five Black African (40%) and Bangladeshi (36%) residents live in overcrowded housing. However, the Black African and Bangladeshi residents also experienced the biggest fall in overcrowding levels, an improvement of +3.0% and +4.5% respectively.

Between 2001 and 2011 half of the communities saw little or no change (+/- 1%) in overcrowding (Figure 5.2). The White Other group had the largest increase in overcrowding, a rise of 6.6%. The White Irish group had the lowest levels of housing inequality (-1%), followed by Black Caribbean and Indian groups (-8.1% and -8.6%, respectively).

Figure 5.2. Overcrowding by ethnic group (2001 & 2011)



5.3. Housing inequality by London borough

Housing inequality exists in all London boroughs. In 2011, Newham, Waltham Forest and Barking & Dagenham had the highest levels of housing inequality. Compare this to 2001, when the three worst-performing boroughs were Tower Hamlets, Newham and Southwark (Figure 5.3). The changes in rank between the two censuses highlight the dynamic nature of housing conditions in London. For example, in Tower Hamlets inequality was reduced by 19 percentage points, explained by a sharp rise in overcrowding for the White British residents.

In 2011, most London boroughs (78%) had lower levels of housing inequality than the England & Wales average. In 2001, the percentage of boroughs with lower levels of housing inequality than the England & Wales average was 62%, thereby indicating that housing inequality in London is reducing relative to the rest of England and Wales.

The boroughs with the lowest levels of housing inequality are Richmond, Havering and Sutton

Table 5.1. 8 Best and 8 Worst London boroughs for ethnic inequalities in housing (2011)

8 Best		8 Worst	
Richmond	-8.7	Newham	-23.7
Havering	-9.9	Waltham Forest	-22.0
Sutton	-10.1	Barking & Dagenham	-19.1
Bromley	-10.1	Tower Hamlets	-19.1
Kensington & Chelsea	-11.3	Southwark	-18.9
Bexley	-11.7	Greenwich	-17.8
Kingston	-12.3	Haringey	-17.3
Hackney	-12.8	Hounslow	-16.8

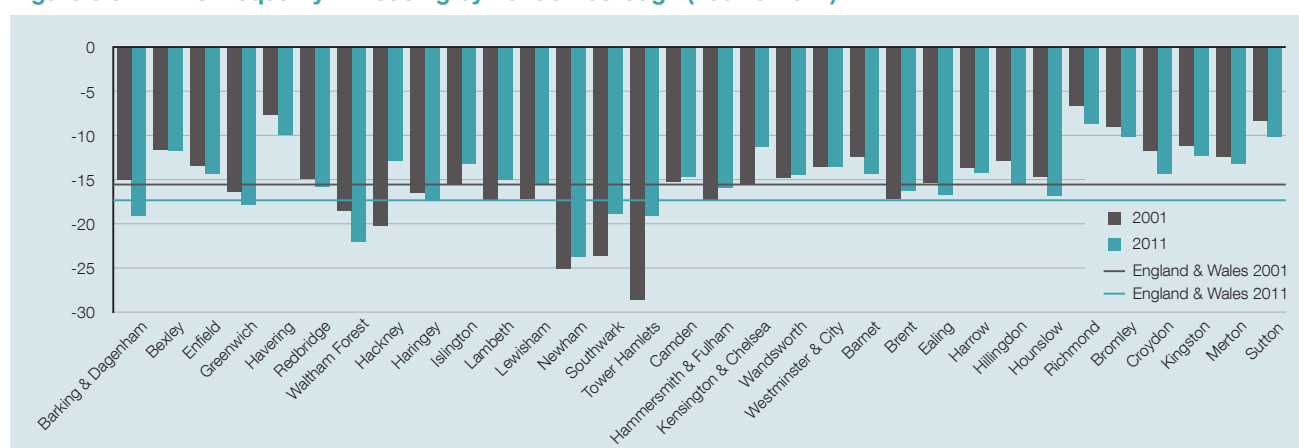
(Figure 5.3). These boroughs still have a difference of almost 10 percentage points, but in comparison to other parts of London appear to be doing better.

There is slightly less housing inequality in London compared to the rest of England and Wales, approximately a 2 percentage point difference. Overall, housing inequality in London was persistent and sustained between 2001 and 2011. In England and Wales, however, there was an increase in housing inequality (Figure 5.4).

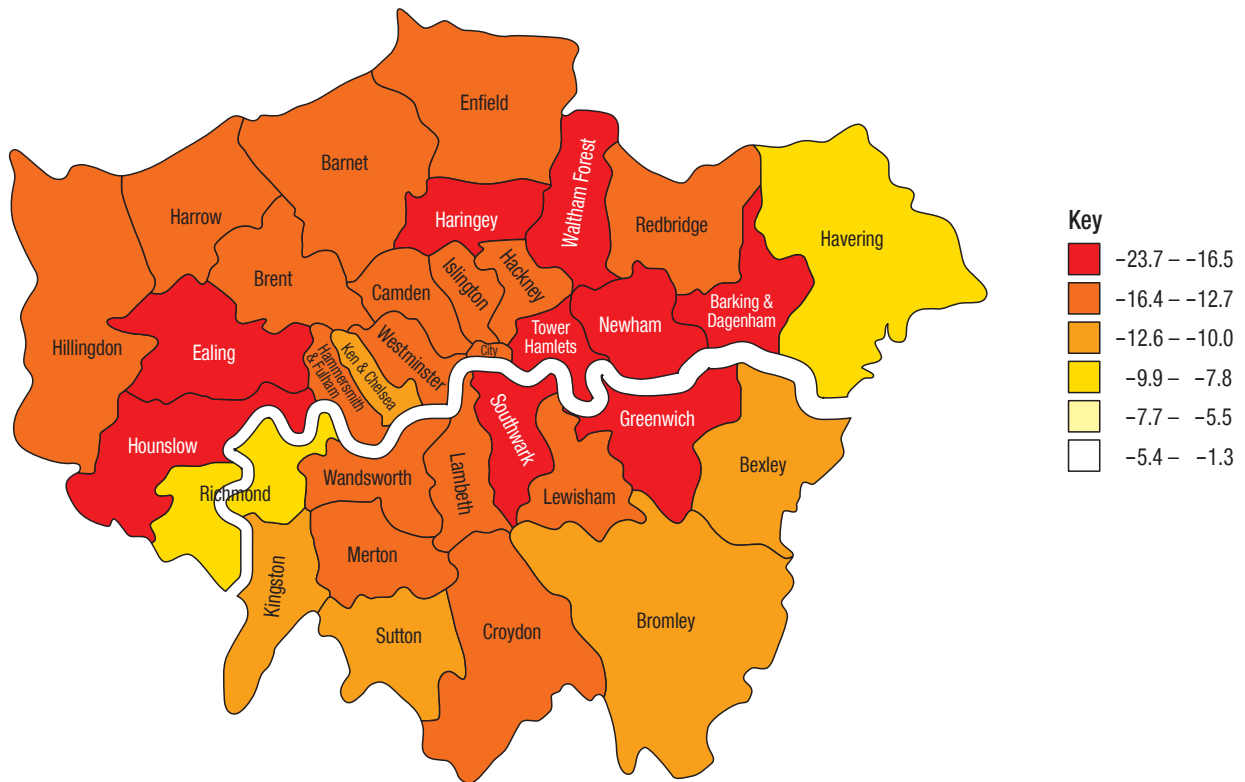
Figure 5.4. Housing inequality in London compared to England & Wales



Figure 5.3. Ethnic inequality in housing by London borough (2001 & 2011)



Map 5.1. Absolute housing inequalities (2011)



Map 5.2. Changes in housing: ethnic inequality (2001–2011)



In 2001, housing inequality for Outer London was substantially lower (6 percentage points) than for Inner London. By 2011 the gap had reduced to 1.5 percentage points, leading to similar levels of housing inequality in Inner and Outer London. This resulted from a reduction in Inner London housing inequality and an increase in Outer London housing inequality.

As highlighted by Map 5.1 housing inequality is fairly evenly spread across London. The highest concentration of housing inequality is within the inner east and inner south London boroughs. The lowest levels of housing inequality fall within outer south London boroughs. There are only two boroughs that have a less than 10 percentage point housing inequality – Havering and Richmond.

Map 5.2 shows that in two-thirds of London boroughs, housing inequality increased between 2001 and 2011. This highlights a worrying trend given that in 2001 housing inequality was already very high.

There appears to be a correlation between black and minority ethnic population density and levels of housing inequality (see Figure 5.5). From this we can deduce that ethnic minorities who live in boroughs with high black and minority ethnic population density will be more likely to be living in overcrowded housing.

Figure 5.5. Correlation between minority population size and housing inequality by borough (2011)



5.4. Summary of ethnic inequalities in housing

Ethnic inequalities in housing are persistent and extensive in every London borough and for every ethnic minority group. The most substantial housing inequality is experienced by Black African and Bangladeshi residents, who are three times as likely to live in overcrowded housing as White British people. These findings highlight the way in which the current housing crisis disproportionately affects black and minority ethnic groups. Local authorities and the Greater London Authority must accept the urgent necessity to include measures to reduce ethnic inequalities in their housing policies.

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Data source:

Office for National Statistics, 2011 Census: Aggregate data (England and Wales) [computer file]. UK Data Service Census Support. Downloaded from: <http://infuse.ukdataservice.ac.uk>. This information is licensed under the terms of the Open Government Licence [<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/2>].

Office for National Statistics, 2001 Census: Aggregate data (England and Wales) [computer file]. UK Data Service Census Support. Downloaded from: <http://casweb.ukdataservice.ac.uk> / <http://infuse.ukdataservice.ac.uk> (delete as appropriate). This information is licensed under the terms of the Open Government Licence [<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/2>].

Appendices: Data tables

Appendix Table 1. Local ethnic inequalities in education (2001 & 2011)

	2001			2011		
	WB	BME	Diff	WB	BME	Diff
Barking & Dagenham	21.5	14.2	7.3	17.9	9.9	8.1
Bexley	15.0	13.2	1.8	10.7	8.3	2.4
Enfield	14.8	15.2	-0.4	11.2	11.2	0.0
Greenwich	19.1	13.9	5.2	14.5	8.4	6.1
Havering	14.8	14.6	0.2	11.3	9.9	1.4
Redbridge	12.0	10.6	1.4	10.4	8.0	2.4
Waltham Forest	16.6	14.4	2.2	12.0	9.9	2.2
Hackney	18.9	19.4	-0.5	13.1	11.9	1.2
Haringey	10.5	17.6	-7.1	8.3	10.8	-2.5
Islington	13.8	13.6	0.2	7.9	7.5	0.4
Lambeth	10.4	14.1	-3.7	5.2	9.3	-4.1
Lewisham	15.4	14.4	1.0	11.2	8.9	2.3
Newham	22.9	14.7	8.2	14.5	8.1	6.4
Southwark	14.2	10.9	3.3	8.3	7.2	1.1
Tower Hamlets	13.1	16.5	-3.4	6.4	6.9	-0.5
Camden	9.1	10.2	-1.1	5.1	4.2	0.9
Hammersmith & Fulham	9.4	12.2	-2.8	5.9	6.0	-0.1
Kensington & Chelsea	9.2	8.1	1.1	5.8	4.8	1.0
Wandsworth	8.6	10.7	-2.1	7.0	7.6	-0.6
Westminster & City	7.1	8.5	-1.4	5.4	5.7	-0.2
Barnet	11.5	9.4	2.1	8.7	8.4	0.3
Brent	10.9	12.2	-1.3	7.7	9.7	-2.0
Ealing	11.9	11.7	0.2	9.2	8.0	1.3
Harrow	11.7	10.1	1.6	9.4	8.1	1.3
Hillingdon	14.6	11.2	3.4	10.5	7.6	2.9
Hounslow	15.9	11.1	4.8	12.8	7.7	5.1
Richmond	10.0	9.0	1.0	7.2	6.6	0.6
Bromley	13.0	13.6	-0.6	10.2	10.1	0.1
Croydon	17.0	12.8	4.2	12.7	9.7	3.0
Kingston	9.8	7.6	2.2	7.0	4.9	2.1
Merton	13.5	10.1	3.4	10.3	7.7	2.6
Sutton	14.2	14.5	-0.3	10.1	9.1	1.0

Appendix Table 2. Local ethnic inequalities in employment (2001 & 2011)

	2001			2011		
	WB	BME	Diff	WB	BME	Diff
Barking & Dagenham	5.5	9.0	-3.5	9.7	10.7	-1.0
Bexley	3.3	6.0	-2.7	4.6	7.8	-3.2
Enfield	4.4	8.0	-3.6	5.7	9.5	-3.8
Greenwich	6.6	9.7	-3.1	6.6	10.3	-3.7
Havering	3.1	5.3	-2.2	4.9	7.2	-2.3
Redbridge	3.7	6.8	-3.1	4.8	8.5	-3.7
Waltham Forest	4.6	9.7	-5.1	6.0	9.3	-3.3
Hackney	6.9	14.3	-7.4	5.2	12.6	-7.4
Haringey	5.2	11.9	-6.7	5.1	10.2	-5.1
Islington	6.8	11.3	-4.5	5.1	9.5	-4.4
Lambeth	5.2	11.9	-6.7	4.1	10.3	-6.2
Lewisham	5.8	10.0	-4.2	5.6	10.1	-4.5
Newham	7.4	12.4	-5.0	9.1	11.2	-2.1
Southwark	6.5	11.8	-5.3	5.3	10.1	-4.8
Tower Hamlets	6.9	15.2	-8.3	5.7	11.3	-5.6
Camden	6.0	9.0	-3.0	4.6	7.7	-3.1
Hammersmith & Fulham	5.3	9.2	-3.9	4.3	8.1	-3.8
Kensington & Chelsea	5.4	8.1	-2.7	4.4	6.7	-2.3
Wandsworth	3.7	7.4	-3.7	3.1	6.7	-3.6
Westminster & City	5.0	7.8	-2.8	4.1	7.5	-3.4
Barnet	3.7	6.1	-2.4	4.2	7.1	-2.9
Brent	5.1	8.1	-3.0	5.4	8.7	-3.3
Ealing	3.9	6.7	-2.8	4.9	7.8	-2.9
Harrow	2.9	5.1	-2.2	4.6	6.4	-1.8
Hillingdon	2.8	4.9	-2.1	4.6	7.3	-2.7
Hounslow	3.3	5.2	-1.9	5.0	6.5	-1.5
Richmond	3.1	4.2	-1.1	3.1	4.8	-1.7
Bromley	3.1	5.4	-2.3	4.0	6.8	-2.8
Croydon	3.8	7.0	-3.2	5.1	8.5	-3.4
Kingston	2.8	4.8	-2.0	3.4	5.4	-2.0
Merton	3.3	5.5	-2.2	3.9	6.0	-2.1
Sutton	2.8	4.4	-1.6	4.2	5.5	-1.3

Appendix Table 3. Local ethnic inequalities in health (2001 & 2011)

	2001			2011		
	WB	BME	Diff	WB	BME	Diff
Barking & Dagenham	21.7	19.9	1.8	23.3	15.4	7.9
Bexley	15.7	15.9	-0.2	16.5	14.5	2.0
Enfield	17.1	18.2	-1.1	17.3	18.3	-1.0
Greenwich	19.8	18.6	1.2	20.5	16.1	4.4
Havering	16.4	16.7	-0.3	16.8	13.4	3.4
Redbridge	16.8	19.0	-2.2	17.5	17.2	0.3
Waltham Forest	18.6	20.8	-2.2	18.6	18.5	0.1
Hackney	21.8	25.4	-3.6	18.7	23.0	-4.3
Haringey	17.7	21.4	-3.7	16.4	20.2	-3.8
Islington	20.6	24.5	-3.9	19.9	22.4	-2.5
Lambeth	17.6	20.2	-2.6	16.7	18.8	-2.1
Lewisham	18.8	18.7	0.1	19.5	17.4	2.1
Newham	24.3	22.4	1.9	24.9	19.6	5.3
Southwark	19.6	19.3	0.3	19.5	18.0	1.5
Tower Hamlets	21.9	25.3	-3.4	20.8	21.9	-1.1
Camden	18.4	20.0	-1.6	17.0	18.8	-1.8
Hammersmith & Fulham	16.8	19.6	-2.8	16.0	17.4	-1.4
Kensington & Chelsea	14.5	15.5	-1.0	13.7	14.7	-1.0
Wandsworth	15.9	17.9	-2.0	14.5	15.7	-1.2
Westminster & City	15.8	17.1	-1.3	15.0	18.3	-3.3
Barnet	15.4	15.5	-0.1	15.5	15.6	-0.1
Brent	17.4	19.0	-1.6	17.4	18.2	-0.8
Ealing	16.3	19.0	-2.7	16.5	17.8	-1.3
Harrow	15.0	16.4	-1.4	15.6	15.9	-0.3
Hillingdon	15.9	16.8	-0.9	16.5	15.8	0.7
Hounslow	16.9	18.4	-1.5	17.4	16.6	0.8
Richmond	13.1	11.9	1.2	12.4	11.7	0.7
Bromley	14.7	14.2	0.5	14.8	13.7	1.1
Croydon	16.1	16.5	-0.4	17.1	16.4	0.7
Kingston	14.2	12.9	1.3	14.4	12.7	1.7
Merton	15.4	15.0	0.4	15.5	14.0	1.5
Sutton	15.6	14.8	0.8	15.7	13.0	2.7

Appendix Table 4. Local ethnic inequalities in housing (2001 & 2011)

	2001			2011		
	WB	BME	Diff	WB	BME	Diff
Barking & Dagenham	9.9	24.9	-15.0	12.1	31.2	-19.1
Bexley	5.0	16.6	-11.6	5.9	17.6	-11.7
Enfield	8.5	21.9	-13.4	10.5	24.8	-14.3
Greenwich	9.8	26.2	-16.4	12.1	29.9	-17.8
Havering	5.1	12.7	-7.6	6.0	15.9	-9.9
Redbridge	6.4	21.3	-14.9	8.2	24.0	-15.8
Waltham Forest	9.1	27.6	-18.5	11.0	33.0	-22.0
Hackney	17.5	37.7	-20.2	24.4	37.2	-12.8
Haringey	13.9	30.4	-16.5	18.2	35.5	-17.3
Islington	18.8	34.3	-15.5	22.7	35.9	-13.2
Lambeth	14.0	31.3	-17.3	17.9	32.9	-15.0
Lewisham	10.9	28.0	-17.1	14.0	29.6	-15.6
Newham	12.2	37.3	-25.1	17.1	40.8	-23.7
Southwark	15.3	38.9	-23.6	18.6	37.5	-18.9
Tower Hamlets	16.8	45.4	-28.6	23.5	42.6	-19.1
Camden	23.6	38.8	-15.2	25.1	39.7	-14.6
Hammersmith & Fulham	18.7	36.0	-17.3	19.4	35.3	-15.9
Kensington & Chelsea	22.6	38.2	-15.6	20.6	31.9	-11.3
Wandsworth	11.8	26.6	-14.8	14.1	28.5	-14.4
Westminster & City	23.6	37.1	-13.5	22.8	36.3	-13.5
Barnet	8.6	21.0	-12.4	10.8	25.1	-14.3
Brent	12.8	29.9	-17.1	17.1	33.3	-16.2
Ealing	11.8	27.1	-15.3	13.1	29.8	-16.7
Harrow	6.1	19.7	-13.6	7.7	21.9	-14.2
Hillingdon	8.1	21.0	-12.9	9.7	25.2	-15.5
Hounslow	10.7	25.4	-14.7	12.7	29.5	-16.8
Richmond	7.1	13.7	-6.6	7.8	16.5	-8.7
Bromley	5.3	14.3	-9.0	6.0	16.1	-10.1
Croydon	7.6	19.3	-11.7	9.7	24.0	-14.3
Kingston	8.3	19.5	-11.2	9.0	21.3	-12.3
Merton	8.5	20.9	-12.4	10.0	23.2	-13.2
Sutton	7.3	15.6	-8.3	8.1	18.2	-10.1

About the Authors

Dr Omar Khan is Runnymede's Director. Omar sits on the Department for Work and Pensions' Ethnic Minority Employment Stakeholder Group, is a Governor at the University of East London and a 2012 Clore Social Leadership Fellow.

Omar's other advisory positions include chair of Olmec, chair of the Ethnicity Strand Advisory Group to Understanding Society, chair of the advisory group of the Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity at the University of Manchester, Commissioner on the Financial Inclusion Commission, a member of the 2014 REF assessment, and the UK representative (2009–2013) on the European Commission's Socio-economic network of experts. Omar completed his DPhil from the University of Oxford

Farah Elahi is a Research and Policy Analyst at Runnymede. Her recent work has focused on ethnic inequalities in London across a range of different indicators.

Farah's previous research has focused on education, marginalisation and discrimination in the UK. For her MA thesis Farah explored the theoretical frameworks underpinning education provision in multicultural Britain, with a focus on experiences of BME communities in mainstream schools.

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