

Supplementary Material

This supplementary material provides further information and analysis, as well as full results tables for the models discussed in the results section.

Contents:

1. Do gender gaps vary between ethnic groups statistically significantly?
2. How many voters support parties other than Labour or the Conservatives, and does this vary by gender?
3. Full regression tables for Figure 2

1. Do gender gaps vary between ethnic groups statistically significantly?

Table S1 reports the results of a logistic regression model of Labour/Conservative vote choice, where gender (1 = women) and ethnicity are interacted. These results are discussed in footnote 2 in the letter.

Table S1: Logistic regression models of Labour vote choice by gender interacted with ethnic group. Coefficients and standard errors are reported.

	Labour vote
Male (ref.)	
Female	0.165*** (0.0447)
White British (Ref.)	
Indian	0.744*** (0.155)
Pakistani	2.217*** (0.403)
Bangladeshi	1.880*** (0.351)
Black Caribbean	2.682*** (0.429)
Black African	2.313*** (0.351)
Female*Indian	0.0905 (0.232)
Female*Pakistani	1.062* (0.499)
Female*Bangladeshi	0.856† (0.507)
Female*Black Caribbean	-0.430 (0.524)
Female*Black African	0.318 (0.473)
Constant	-0.461*** (0.0335)
N	14160

2. How many voters support parties other than Labour or the Conservatives, and does this vary by gender?

We exclude voters for parties other than Labour or the Conservatives from our regression models in the paper, because very few ethnic minority voters supported these parties in 2019. Tables S2 and S3 provide further information about these proportions, including whether they vary by gender. We do not see clear evidence that voting for parties other than the Conservatives or Labour varies systematically by gender.

Table S2: Vote choice in 2019 election by ethnic group and gender. Data: Understanding Society

Vote choice	Indian	Indian	Pakistani	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Bangladeshi
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Conservative	39%	32%	14%	5%	19%	8%
Labour	51%	55%	81%	91%	79%	91%
Liberal Democrats	7%	9%	1%	1%	0%	1%
Greens	1%	3%	0%	2%	1%	0%
Other	2%	1%	4%	2%	1%	0%
N	205	185	129	148	60	85

Table S3: Vote choice in 2019 election by ethnic group and gender. Data: Understanding Society

Vote choice	Black Caribbean	Black Caribbean	Black African	Black African	White British	White British
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Conservative	9%	11%	13%	9%	45%	43%
Labour	81%	77%	81%	89%	29%	32%
Liberal Democrats	7%	8%	4%	0%	12%	12%
Greens	3%	3%	1%	2%	3%	4%
Other	0%	1%	1%	1%	11%	9%
N	35	117	66	121	8,188	9,927

3. Full regression tables for Figure 2 in the main letter

Figure 2 on page 11 of the main manuscript plots three sets of marginal effects of gender (1 = woman) from logistic regression models. Table S4 reports the regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) from the first regression models which do not include any control variables. The dependent variable is coded as 0 if the respondent voted Conservative, and 1 if they voted Labour. Other party voters or non-voters are excluded from the model.

Table S4: results from logistic regression models of Labour vote choice by gender within each ethnic group, no control variables

	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Black Caribbean	Black African	White British
Male (ref.)						
Female	0.255 (0.228)	1.226* (0.497)	1.020* (0.506)	-0.265 (0.523)	0.483 (0.472)	0.165*** (0.0447)
Constant	0.283 (0.151)	1.756*** (0.402)	1.419*** (0.350)	2.221*** (0.429)	1.852*** (0.350)	-0.461*** (0.0335)
N	731	651	381	258	277	11862

Figure 2 also plots the marginal effects from two further models which control for (i) socio-demographic characteristics, and (ii) political attitudes. Tables S5 and S6 report the underlying regression coefficients and standard errors (in parentheses) from these models. As above, the dependent variable is coded as 0 if the respondent voted Conservative, and 1 if they voted Labour. Other party voters or non-voters are excluded from the model. Table S5 reports regression results from the second model, controlling for socio-demographic characteristics, whilst Table S6 reports regression results from the second model, controlling for both socio-demographic characteristics and political attitudes.

Table S5: results from logistic regression models of Labour vote choice by gender within each ethnic group, controlling for socio-demographic characteristics

	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Black Caribbean	Black African	White British
Male (ref.)						
Female	-0.0984 (0.273)	1.848** (0.709)	1.590* (0.693)	0.0419 (0.556)	0.540 (0.502)	0.138** (0.0490)
Age	-0.0279* (0.0132)	0.0366 (0.0223)	-0.0706** (0.0227)	-0.0196 (0.0236)	0.00482 (0.0283)	-0.0301*** (0.00230)
Born in UK (ref.)						
Not born in UK	-0.771* (0.310)	-0.767 (0.621)	0.303 (0.855)	-0.140 (0.564)	-0.767 (0.862)	-0.385* (0.184)
Degree (ref.)						
School quals	0.883** (0.335)	1.995** (0.645)	0.0473 (0.618)	-0.264 (0.535)	0.790 (0.618)	-0.710*** (0.0532)
Other or no quals	0.973** (0.367)	-0.0243 (0.633)	0.582 (0.768)	0.668 (0.708)	-0.294 (0.729)	-0.587*** (0.0774)
Working (ref.)						
Unemployed	1.206* (0.532)	0.0163 (0.844)	0.497 (0.916)	(omitted)	-0.719 (0.879)	0.138 (0.172)
Family/home care	0.933 (0.606)	-0.621 (0.896)	-1.802* (0.911)	(omitted)	2.212 (1.368)	-0.0253 (0.151)
Other economic activity	1.178*** (0.333)	-0.478 (0.755)	0.623 (0.778)	-0.699 (0.563)	(omitted)	0.177** (0.0663)
Never married (ref.)						
Married/cohabiting	-0.0736 (0.508)	-0.971 (0.866)	0.426 (0.873)	-0.239 (0.715)	-1.142 (0.879)	-0.461*** (0.0815)
Divorced/widowed	0.418 (0.726)	-2.074* (1.002)	-0.937 (1.211)	-0.755 (0.800)	-1.818* (0.878)	-0.330** (0.105)
No children (ref.)						
1 child	0.348 (0.327)	-0.532 (0.557)	-0.174 (0.670)	-0.182 (0.803)	-0.394 (0.764)	-0.0317 (0.0851)
2 children	0.243 (0.417)	0.473 (0.750)	0.336 (0.663)	2.047 (1.278)	-1.208 (0.775)	0.138 (0.0896)
3 or more children	0.0417 (0.776)	1.607* (0.736)	0.155 (0.800)	(omitted)	-0.768 (0.907)	-0.356* (0.178)
Not in poverty (ref.)						
Household in poverty	0.422 (0.272)	-1.120* (0.557)	0.527 (0.684)	-0.490 (0.642)	0.875 (0.649)	0.0396 (0.0570)
Own home outright (ref.)						
Mortgage	0.444 (0.290)	-1.005 (0.601)	-1.081 (0.894)	-0.291 (0.621)	2.690* (1.064)	0.110 (0.0662)
Social renting	2.394* (0.776)	-0.0881 (0.736)	-1.616 (0.800)	0.395 (0.800)	3.315** (0.907)	0.761*** (0.178)

	(1.054)	(0.749)	(1.027)	(0.823)	(1.085)	(0.0927)
Private renting	-0.205	-1.994**	-3.472**	-0.0642	2.743*	0.408***
	(0.475)	(0.635)	(1.104)	(1.024)	(1.223)	(0.0953)
Live outside of London (ref.)						
London	-0.672**	-0.467	0.672	0.830	-0.415	0.126
	(0.256)	(0.423)	(0.624)	(0.622)	(0.528)	(0.109)
Constant	1.155*	2.886**	4.648***	3.245**	0.463	1.632***
	(0.558)	(0.932)	(1.113)	(1.146)	(1.589)	(0.130)
Observations	680	578	344	220	206	11510

Table 6: results from logistic regression models of vote choice by gender within each ethnic group, controlling for socio-demographic characteristics and political attitudes

	Indian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Black Caribbean	Black African	White British
Male (ref.)						
Female	0.0660	1.766*	1.771	0.126	0.731	-0.0323
	(0.310)	(0.874)	(1.002)	(0.735)	(0.889)	(0.0685)
Age	-0.0172	0.0763**	-0.0578	-0.0161	-0.0140	-0.0298***
	(0.0143)	(0.0250)	(0.0329)	(0.0289)	(0.0440)	(0.00327)
Born in UK (ref.)						
Not born in UK	-1.120***	-0.502	-1.001	-0.312	-0.449	0.0208
	(0.338)	(1.096)	(1.169)	(0.701)	(1.374)	(0.218)
Degree (ref.)						
School quals	1.349***	1.794*	0.361	-0.387	-0.398	-0.106
	(0.328)	(0.734)	(0.635)	(0.811)	(1.495)	(0.0727)
Other or no quals	1.022*	-0.206	1.191	1.199	-3.093	0.237*
	(0.401)	(1.259)	(1.271)	(1.117)	(2.055)	(0.107)
Working (ref.)						
Unemployed	1.117*	0.537	1.673	(omitted)	-0.696	0.0515
	(0.515)	(0.940)	(1.310)		(1.476)	(0.229)
Family/home care	1.062	-0.304	-1.261	(omitted)	(omitted)	0.00946
	(0.749)	(1.255)	(1.235)			(0.193)
Other economic activity	1.097**	-2.072*	1.199	-0.302	(omitted)	0.00918
	(0.372)	(1.015)	(1.097)	(0.719)		(0.0928)
Never married (ref.)						
Married/cohabiting	-0.0408	-3.916***	-0.00235	-0.189	-8.060	-0.305**
	(0.494)	(0.937)	(1.115)	(0.872)	(7.167)	(0.113)
Divorced/widowed	0.319	-3.709**	-2.048	-0.748	-10.41	-0.128
	(0.663)	(1.327)	(1.695)	(0.881)	(7.203)	(0.146)
No children (ref.)						
1 child	0.735	-0.451	1.022	-0.587	-1.178	0.0619
	(0.433)	(0.712)	(0.856)	(1.219)	(1.278)	(0.115)

2 children	1.119*	0.835	1.203	2.726	-1.652	0.163
	(0.498)	(1.050)	(0.995)	(2.071)	(1.281)	(0.122)
3 or more children	0.560	3.361*	2.908*	(omitted)	-1.818	-0.472*
	(0.681)	(1.598)	(1.439)		(1.396)	(0.233)
Not in poverty (ref.)						
Household in poverty	-0.129	-0.327	0.474	-0.422	2.809*	0.220**
	(0.344)	(0.560)	(0.701)	(0.736)	(1.421)	(0.0774)
Own home outright (ref.)						
Mortgage	0.182	-0.331	-3.095*	0.225	0.698	0.121
	(0.302)	(0.827)	(1.485)	(0.996)	(1.512)	(0.0873)
Social renting	1.594	0.862	-3.807**	0.937	3.790	0.638***
	(0.834)	(1.351)	(1.276)	(1.194)	(2.236)	(0.119)
Private renting	-0.795	-1.541	-6.138**	-0.0158	2.007	0.199
	(0.645)	(0.887)	(2.039)	(1.159)	(1.591)	(0.134)
Live outside of London (ref.)						
London	-0.675*	-0.702	-0.0307	0.500	-0.631	-0.0792
	(0.290)	(0.612)	(1.131)	(0.855)	(0.749)	(0.149)
Economic values						
Ordinary people share in the nations wealth	-0.135	0.0962	-1.364***	0.230	1.330*	0.292***
	(0.151)	(0.328)	(0.411)	(0.220)	(0.567)	(0.0414)
One law for rich and one for poor	-0.165	0.337	0.435	0.0811	-0.187	-0.393***
	(0.183)	(0.465)	(0.573)	(0.294)	(0.500)	(0.0436)
Private enterprise solves economic probs	0.731***	0.636*	2.068***	0.389	1.148*	0.702***
	(0.214)	(0.262)	(0.588)	(0.403)	(0.573)	(0.0451)
Public services ought to be state owned	-0.323	-0.237	0.919	-0.0651	-0.479	-0.296***
	(0.196)	(0.322)	(0.566)	(0.267)	(0.441)	(0.0377)
Government has responsibility to provide jobs	-0.252	-0.448	0.382	-0.246	-0.407	-0.202***
	(0.161)	(0.311)	(0.552)	(0.306)	(0.581)	(0.0378)
Strong trade unions protect employees	-0.104	-0.819*	-1.390	-0.815	-0.453	-0.564***
Liberal-authoritarian values						
	(0.214)	(0.376)	(0.816)	(0.570)	(1.011)	(0.0426)
Young people don't respect British values	0.290	0.0740	-0.147	0.0616	0.305	0.252***
	(0.195)	(0.309)	(0.470)	(0.268)	(0.575)	(0.0425)
Censorship is necessary to uphold moral standards	0.117	0.193	1.172*	0.393	-0.563	0.0655
	(0.182)	(0.299)	(0.538)	(0.364)	(0.488)	(0.0381)
Allow public meetings to protest against government	-0.343	0.289	-0.967	-0.650	0.413	-0.231***
	(0.196)	(0.379)	(0.855)	(0.363)	(0.579)	(0.0490)

More tolerant of unconventional lives	-0.137 (0.192)	-0.330 (0.329)	-1.158 (0.600)	-0.0847 (0.419)	-0.611 (0.615)	-0.272*** (0.0511)
Death penalty appropriate some crimes	0.0735 (0.151)	-0.313 (0.315)	-0.431 (0.421)	-0.110 (0.218)	0.234 (0.416)	0.242*** (0.0332)
Lawbreakers should get stiffer sentences	0.0186 (0.196)	0.435 (0.458)	0.826 (1.078)	0.822 (0.519)	0.442 (0.566)	0.322*** (0.0483)
Immigrants are good for Britain's economy	0.0611 (0.156)	-0.0653 (0.289)	-0.890** (0.313)	0.187 (0.385)	-0.775 (0.444)	-0.189*** (0.0274)
Britain's culture is harmed by immigrants	-0.0474 (0.144)	0.0453 (0.278)	0.813** (0.278)	-0.111 (0.325)	0.829* (0.415)	0.180*** (0.0255)
Should Leave the EU	0.264* (0.125)	-0.503* (0.207)	-0.294 (0.322)	-0.399 (0.218)	0.326 (0.348)	-0.352*** (0.0399)
Constant	1.003 (0.864)	3.313** (1.265)	5.006* (2.068)	3.244 (1.906)	4.883 (5.192)	0.850*** (0.204)
Observations	577	471	279	192	146	10861