Fractured Politics

A new framework for analysing political division in Britain, based on clans of values & identity

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**Foreword**

Left vs Right; Leave vs Remain; Open vs Closed and Labour vs Conservative. It is all too easy to see the divides in contemporary British politics and society as binary; two large camps which are hostile to each other with little common ground or interests. But these simple and binary divisions mask nuance and complexity which simmers beneath the surface, ultimately rendering these unidimensional accounts of our political divides impotent. Our political parties are in disarray as they struggle to make sense of divides among elected representatives, members and voters which do not sit neatly along party lines. While voting behaviour becomes increasingly volatile, voters try to match their preferences to the available options.

To explain and understand the divisions which permeate our politics, an approach that takes the dimensionality of people's preferences more seriously is urgently needed. The research in this report does just that.

The results cast a light on these divides using values and identities rather than demographics or voting patterns. It uncovers a series of 'clans' within British society, with distinct values and identity positions, but with overlapping concerns. The research reveals how these clans might interact with each other, where conflict is more likely between different groups, and which groups might form broader coalitions to achieve their desired outcomes.

Over the past year, Michael and his team have been exploring Britain's shifting allegiances. The values that make up politics in Britain today. Speaking to more than twenty-seven thousand voters (and non-voters), they have identified 10 'clans'- not just left and right, or open vs closed - but coherent communities of voters that are distinct and observable.

From the 'Global Green Community' through the 'Modern Working Life' and the 'Bastions of Tradition & the Individual', these clans allow for a deeper understanding of the drivers of our politics. The flows of voters who became disconnected first from the Liberal Democrats (in 2015) and then from UKIP (in 2017) to other parties (and non-voting) are not easily explained by simple distinctions. The 'clans' presented here offer a new and more powerful way of understanding these choices and their roots. While understanding the 'clans' also offers valuable insights into who might want what from Brexit and how this might affect future election (or referendum) outcomes.

**Paula Surridge**

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Executive Summary

Take a minute to evaluate the following statements:

“Should the railways be renationalised?”
“Should fox hunting be banned?”
“Should there be a cap on the number of migrants that can come to live in Britain each year?”
“Should we leave the European Union?”

How do people even start to answer these deep and complex questions?

While some of us may have a good understanding of many issues listed above, the reality is that most of us do not, and instead we will arrive at an answer based on underlying social and economic values that we identify with.

Everyone possesses a set of underlying values. These are our guiding principles that we rely on when making important decisions about society and the economy, not least how we vote at elections.

What’s more, these values-based assessments are almost always outside our conscious awareness, driven principally by subconscious cues. These cues act as a “quality guide” or “shorthand” when we make our choices. While we may think we are making ‘calculated’ and ‘rational’ decisions, instead we are often relying on our values to provide a foundation for our expressed views, opinions and votes.

It is the authors’ view that in 2018, social class has little influence on the way we vote and organise ourselves. Evidence presented in this paper suggests that the social and economic values with which we identify, are much more powerful drivers.

Class is dead. Long live values & identity clans

For much of British history social class has played an outsized role in our politics. However, the complexity of modern Britain has seen new patterns of voting emerge.

In an increasingly service-based economy, one with evolving work-spaces and hierarchies, we question whether social class is as useful as it once was in understanding our political decisions and voting behaviour.

After more than a year collecting and analysing interview results from over twenty-seven thousand adults living in Britain, this paper’s authors, present findings that challenge more traditional accounts of elections and referendums, particularly those that focus on class divides.

Using responses to 27 ‘golden questions’, we present 10 unique and distinct clans of shared values and identity that exist in Britain today, we call them the Values & Identity Clans (VICS).

In our report, we show how these clans better identify the divides that define modern-day society and our voting behaviour, allowing us to understand recent political events such as Brexit, the success of Cameron’s Conservatives and the rise of Jeremy Corbyn in more a refined way than social class alone.

Accompanying this report is a bespoke Values and Identity Clans Classification Tool that enables readers and members of the general public to find out which clan they belong to. The tool takes just 3-4 minutes to complete, and gives a breakdown of individual’s results. It can be accessed here.
A new way to understand elections and referendums

Through our analysis, we demonstrate that British politics no longer divides on simple class lines in 2018. Nor does it divide into simple conceptions of ‘left’ and ‘right’. Rather, the picture is more complex with our values cross-cutting on various social and economic dimensions.

Turning to the 2016 EU referendum and the last two General Elections, this report details how:

1. Values & Identity Clans (VICs) are highly predictive of voting behaviour, much more than class
2. Our Values & Identity Clans (VICs) model is able to powerfully capture the Leave and Remain divide in Britain
3. The 2017 election is shown to be a significantly polarising contest, with Labour and the Conservatives making their largest gains in clans where they performed best at the 2015 election, both parties ‘topping up’ voters where they were already strong
4. We do not find evidence of a so-called ‘Youthquake’ in electoral turnout, instead our analysis points to a ‘liberal tremor’, with more liberal-minded voters more likely to turnout in 2017
5. Both Labour and the Conservatives made ground in “swing” clans, but these gains were in separate groups of voters that differ on the social dimensions that they value
6. Our analysis shows that Labour made huge gains within one swing clan, Modern Working Life (MWL), who voted overwhelmingly for Cameron’s Conservatives in 2015
7. Our VICs model identifies the strategic failure of Farron’s Lib Dems in 2017, but analysis also shows that the Lib Dems were able to retain the support of one ‘core’ clan (Orange Bookers) that now proves vital to their electoral survival and revival
8. The coalition of clans that UKIP built ahead of the 2015 election collapsed in 2017, and our analysis shows that where they went in 2017 depended on their clan
What are values and where do they come from?

Values are an aspect of people's personality that drive their attitudes and behaviours. Psychologist Shalom Schwartz (1992) defines values as a set of guiding principles in the life of a person or a group. They are morals or beliefs that arise through influences like family, friendship, community, culture and even media consumption. We tend to share many values with our family and community because we imitate and learn from them. We shape and borrow values from our friends and colleagues through socialising and working together.

Organisations have mission-statements that describe their values to the public and prospective employees. These are often used as key criteria for selecting candidates so that they share the same values as the organisation to ensure its culture is maintained, or to inject new and important values so that the workplace culture may change.

In social psychology, values tend to influence choices because of people's confirmation-seeking desires. People are said to act in a way that confirms their most prominent expression of values in the broadest sense. For example, Caprara et al (2006) suggest that people vote for political parties who they feel will help further the values they prize most. But the same is true of the reverse; people are said to vote for policies that will hinder an opposition who they feel threatens their own core values.

Consequently, people's values are said to determine the overall importance that people assign to an issue or political act. What's more, these values-based assessments are almost always outside people's conscious awareness, driven principally by subconscious cues. Values will only tend to enter people's awareness when they come to an internal conflict with each other. When people recognise that one value is not entirely compatible with another, they will rank or prioritise them creating an internal hierarchy.

Values are also said to influence people's behaviour through their effect on attention and the interpretation of events. The behavioural psychology literature is well-established on the influence of cognitive biases, with people more likely to respond to concepts that are perceived to be simpler, that facilitate familiar ideas or support people's existing personal views.

For instance, in this context, subconscious biases encourage people to take more interest in aspects of social and political events that offer greater opportunities to achieve, or support, their underlying core values. The same could be said of the contrary, where people are more likely to take an interest in situations they feel may threaten the social/political expression of the values that they treasure.

For instance, consider the introduction of The Hunting Act (2004) which effectively banned the hunting of foxes with dogs in Great Britain.

Although most will not have had a direct stake in the issue, or indeed the political event, it is easy to see why there will have been many interested parties and how these parties might decide which side to back. Even when they might not be familiar with, or fully understand the particulars of the issue, people will use their values to guide their views and decisions on the issue.

For instance; someone who works in the hunting trade may perceive the introduction of a ban as a threat to their personal occupation and the profession in general, whilst another who spends their leisure time observing wildlife may see it as a welcome moral advancement for the treatment of animals.

A person who exhibits socially conservative values but has never actually taken part in a hunt may interpret the introduction as a major threat to their way of life, and to rural culture more generally; whereas people from more deprived urban areas may see the event as a chance to gain power and influence over a privileged group of people who need to be brought down a peg.

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This example is, of course, overly simplistic, but it is designed to illustrate how events engage people differently, and how their interpretation is in-part influenced by their values. Consequently, different lines of action are can be sought after, no matter how close individuals may be to the issue. You don't have to be the hunter or an animal rights activist to decide whose side you're on.

However, as academics Van Deth and Scarbrough, outline; these “conceptions of the desirable are not directly observable, but are evident in moral discourse and relevant to the formulation of attitudes”. In other words, values provide a backdrop, or foundation, to base more tangible expressions of people's attitudes and opinions, but they are not easy to observe and classify in the same way that demographic and socioeconomic groups are. They can be observed by analysing the way different people respond to social issues and public policy, but not their view on a single issue.

If we consider the current established psychology of survey response; Comprehension, Retrieval, Judgement and Response, the literature suggests that an expression of people's values may impact most at the retrieval a stage of this process; perhaps even at the judgement stage, with decision-making effectively underpinned by people's existing perspective.

Van Deth & Scarbrough imply that values can be seen as representing a set of guiding principles; our broadest motivations, influencing our general day-to-day attitudes and behaviours, including the way we vote. Consider figure 1 (below). As it illustrates, for Van Deth & Scarbrough; values are a sort of ‘quality guide' or 'shorthand' to help with decision-making.

![Figure 1 - An illustration of the 'Values Base' influence on an individual's decision-making](image)

Values Base

It is important not to conflate attitudes with values. Values are said to decide what we think are right or wrong; just or unjust; our desires and ideas of what should be; whereas attitudes are how we feel towards things, policies and other people. Attitudes are said to be less central to the definition of one's self, and they tend to relate to specific issues - they derive their importance from the underlying values structure that guides them.

Attitudes serve a 'value-expressive' function: they are a way for people to express values that they hold dear. For example; someone who values hard work and believes that decision-making at work should be transparent and ethical, may disapprove and even criticize their colleague who is lazy and uses unethical means to get their work complete. Their values-base is expressed through their attitude towards their colleague.

Similarly, their value of (in this case) transparency may translate into a policy preference for employee representation on company boards, or pay gap reporting, as well as an attitude of total disdain for those trying to impede these goals.

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1 See The Impact of Values (1998).
2 See Tourangeau (et al), The Psychology of Survey Response (2012); Chapter 1.2
In summary:

1. Values are beliefs that are linked to people's emotions
2. They reference people's goals which in-turn determine their behaviours
3. Values serve as decision-making shortcuts, or standards for evaluating actions, policies, people and events
4. They are hierarchical in nature and ordered by importance
5. The impact of values on everyday decisions tends to be subconscious
6. Any action or attitude is guided by the relative importance of multiple and competing values
Values: A Political History

The traditional view of British voting patterns has been that class was the principal divide and driver of people’s electoral behaviour. Having the first and one of the deepest industrial revolutions, as well as relatively few cross-cutting social cleavages, within England at least, led to Britain becoming notable for its intensity of voting patterns on class lines.

Broadly speaking, if you were working class, you voted Labour, and if you were middle or upper class you voted Conservative. While the true picture was always more complex, this broad explanation of voting patterns held significant merit for political analysis for decades.

Expanding wealth and education in the post-war years, eventually saw the emergence of new issues and values divides that cross-cut these large groups.

In his famous 1971 study, Ronald Inglehart pointed to the emergence of a new emerging values group – the post-materialists. Older generations, he found, emphasised material values, affecting economic and physical security. But as you moved from older to younger cohorts, post-materialist values emphasising autonomy and self-expression became increasingly widespread, and more salient. Amongst those aged 65 or older, Inglehart found that materialists were twelve times as numerous as post-materialists, whereas amongst those born after World War II (twenty-five or under in 1970) post-materialists were just in the majority.

When discussing age groups and values, it is always worth keeping in mind the differences between age effects (i.e. people becoming more socially conservative as they age); and cohort effects (i.e. people of a certain group holding different and distinct values because of a shared life experience(s) that they will take with them as they age).

The post-war period saw a new economic environment where for the first time industrialised Western economies no longer saw the majority of their populations growing-up under conditions of hunger and economic insecurity. Inglehart believed this led to a gradual shift in which new needs; such as belonging, esteem, intellectual and self-expression became more important.

This growth in post-materialist values can be seen in the rise of the ‘New Left’ in the 1960s and the increasing attention on civil and political rights, feminism, LGBT rights and environmentalism.

These values were also intertwined with new ways of doing politics – less focused on party and formal process, but using strategies focused on civil society instead, such as civil disobedience. These became defining issues and intertwined with left-of-centre politics to win new voters for centre-left parties particularly from the middle classes.

This transformation was such that social democratic parties adopted what was called the ‘Third Way’ approach. As the French political scientist Gerassimos Moschonas has shown, Third Way parties were both economically to the right of traditional social democracy but also more post-materialist.

The period running from the 1960s until now is often described as a period defined by enormous economic change, and the influence of this change should not be understated. But it is also a period defined by a values-shift. The popular and grossly over-simplified account is that the right won the economic battles of the last few decades, but the left won the social ones.

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7 See In the Name of Social Democracy (2001), especially chapter 13.
There may be some truth to this claim, but to say that either 'won' would be to give in to 'end of history' style thinking. We must be aware that society has and will continue to shift and evolve. The ideas and values of this society are not necessarily those of 50 years into the future as continuing economic, technological and cultural changes take their impact on the population at large. Also, the assumption of any 'victory' ignores the strong evidence presented over recent years to suggest that western society has deep political divides.

In their influential analysis of the rise of UKIP, Revolt on the Right Professors Ford and Goodwin describe a 'Left Behind' group of voters – principally older, white, poorer and disproportionately based in the East of England. Many of these voters, they argued, had not in fact voted in years, and had been 'left behind' by both economic and cultural changes. These voters were said to be uncomfortable with the pace of social change in their communities and formed the core of UKIP's vote.

In many ways then, these voters could be seen as the counter-reaction to an increasing postmaterialist hegemony. Ford and Goodwin, and indeed Inglehart and Pippa Norris, have also written on support for parties such as UKIP being a form of cultural backlash against a culturally liberal university-educated elite whose priorities and outlook have come to dominate the mainstream.

Similar analysis has been carried out by David Goodhart, though his analytical frame can be defined as the 'Somewheres and Anywheres'. The globally-minded 'Anywheres' are, in Goodhart's analysis a very small but elite group that dominate politics, while the 'Somewheres' hold a strong attachment to community and place, and represent a majority.

Similarly, when describing the causes of the UK's vote to exit the European Union, Eric Kauffman declared that 'it's NOT the economy, stupid', while demonstrating that support for the death penalty correlated better with support for Brexit than demographic factors.

In much of the academic literature, a group known as 'Authoritarian Populists', has often been singled out as likely candidates for Goodhart's 'Somewheres', or Ford and Goodwin's 'left behind'. It might be better, however, to think of this as a group of voters who prefer the idea of order to openness. For a period, this group of voters received sizeable attention, particularly as the 2015 General Election and 2016 referendum took hold.

Yet it is very easy to overstate the presence and influence of this, or any other group. The Remain and Leave voter blocs were very diverse, as any group that represents many millions of voters, would be. They themselves were coalitions of different groups with a shared goal or common set of interests.

The strong result for Labour in 2017 led to a growing interest in the opposite end of this spectrum. Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker have discussed the 'bifurcation' of England into two camps based on increasing inequalities between those in areas with sizeable numbers of highly educated, younger voters working in cosmopolitan industries turning towards Labour and cosmopolitan values.

Yet Labour also increased its support in areas with high numbers of the 'new working class' such as the precariat and the emergent service class who are employed in insecure and short-term jobs, living alongside professional occupations in economic hubs.

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8 See The End of History and the Last Man (1992) by Francis Fukuyama.
9 Published in 2013.
13 See both The Bifurcation of Politics: Two Englands (2016) and Tilting Towards the Cosmopolitan Axis? Political Change in England and the 2017 General Election (2017) both by Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker.
14 "Precariat" is defined as a social class of people suffering from precarity, which is a condition of Being without a strong sense of predictability or security, which can affect either material or the psychological welfare.
15 "Emergent Service Class" is defined as a group with reasonable household income, but relatively poor levels of financial/economic capital. They have a significant number of social contacts and high levels of cultural engagement, but not for 'high-brow' culture.
16 Ibid.
Though admirable in its attempt to look at our politics and society from a different angle, such analyses demonstrates the mistake of simply replacing one spectrum – left vs. right, with another; whether they be authoritarian vs. libertarian, open vs. closed or even localism vs. cosmopolitanism. Consequently, this research has sought to understand a deeper set of complexities about politics in today's Britain.

The analysis places voters into a series of 'clans' that describe the values that groups holds dear. The common values within each clan drive who and what those clan members vote for more fully than the old divides of class, 'open vs closed,' or indeed 'left vs right.' We feel that these clans are a more accurate tool for understanding the complex society that we live in.
Our Work

Clan (/klan/)
noun

→ A close-knit group of interrelated families
→ A large family
→ A group of people with a strong common interest

Over the last 12 months, our research has focused on identifying underlying, like-minded values groups. Based on survey responses from more than twenty-seven thousand adults living in Britain, our early analysis shows that 10 distinct ‘clans’ of people with values are emergent in the UK. Using responses to 27 ‘golden questions’ we are able to replicate these groups to a high degree of accuracy and consistency.

The resulting groups are able to identify the divides that define modern day social and voting behaviour in Britain in a more refined way than has been done so to-date. Identifying someone’s clanship allows us to better explain political shifts, like Brexit, but also how the Brexit outcome might motivate groups in different ways in the future. In the following chapters we go on to detail these social divides, and show how our Values & Identity Clans better describe Britain.

Using a latent-class analysis, 10 relatively stable and distinct groups (clans) have emerged. Each of these clans can be defined as more similar to one another, and less similar to other groups, in the way that they responded to 27 key statements.

These groups have been tested for their ‘durability’ in a variety of ways, including repeating the process several times on sub-samples of existing and newly-collected data. This means that we can be confident the groups are an accurate representation of the British public.

The clans are based solely on people’s responses to the statements, and although there are differences in the demographic makeup of each clan, they are a much stronger predictor of outcomes than traditional markers.

The chapters that follow go on to show how Values & Identity Clans are one of the most important predictors of Britain’s social divides, even when compared to classifications such as Class, Age, Education and in some cases, even support for political parties.

In doing so we will outline the complexity of modern Britain and hope to better explain recent political events.

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17 More on the methodology can be found in the appendix.
18 Latent-class analysis is a model-based segmentation approach, in which individuals are classified into mutually exclusive and exhaustive types, or latent classes, based on their pattern of answers on a set of categorical variables or questions.
Main Findings - An Overview of the Values & Identity Clans (VICs)

Below are short written summaries for each of the clans. These are designed to illustrate each of their defining features and give a little context about what differentiates them from others. Also, below table 1 shows standardized index scores from -100 through to +100 on all 11 key values dimensions. The scores are designed to represent the relative distance that each clan is from one another on these dimensions. A key is shown below table 1 to help readers understand what each score equates to approximately, and further detail about what the different scores are composed of is contained in the appendix.

Table 1 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores by VICs

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<th>CSS</th>
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<td>The Economy, Tax &amp; Workers Rights</td>
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<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>-91%</td>
<td>-53%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>-20%</td>
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Unweighted Base: Total (27120); TMM (1907); MWL (1935); OB (2167); GGC (2830); BTI (3186); NHS (2594); SAR (2435); CSS (3318); PPS (4438); APY (2510)
Clan Summaries

**BTI – Bastions of Tradition & the Individual**
Those in the Bastions of Tradition & the Individual clan combine support for a small state and low taxation, with ‘small c’ conservative views on social issues, immigration and family life. Members of the BTI clan are strong supporters of traditional British institutions such as the Royal Family and tend to celebrate Britain's colonial heritage.

**GGC - Global Green Community**
Global Green Community clan members combine an array of socialist views on the economy, with liberal and environmentalist stances on social issues. Their version of socialism has distinctly environmentalist overtones. GGC members have a strongly civic interpretation of Britishness, little interest in the nation-state and want governments to pursue an ethical and inclusive foreign policy.

**PPS – Proud & Patriotic State**
The Proud & Patriotic State clan tend to be in favour of redistribution of wealth and nationalisation of key industries, with a strong opposition to the emergence of multiculturalism and freedom of movement. PPS clan members could be characterised as patriotic people with socialist stances on the economy.

**OB – Orange Book**
Orange Bookers combine centre-right views on the economy with liberal views on society and immigration. The title refers to 'The Orange Book - Reclaiming Liberalism', penned by prominent Lib Dem politicians, and advocates liberal solutions to many social and economic issues. Orange Bookers are the most supportive clan members of free trade, free movement of people and multiculturalism.

**CSS – Common-Sense Solidarity**
Common-Sense Solidarity clan members are very strong supporters of renationalisation, trade unions and believe firmly in the redistribution of wealth via taxation. The CSS clan are fairly comfortable with immigration and have mixed views on a number of social issues such as welfare, human rights and parenting.

**NHS – Notting Hill Society**
The Notting Hill Society clan are the most pro-business of all clans. Mixing a modern form of conservatism on the environment and society, with traditional views on family life and British institutions, 'Notting Hill Society' is a reference to the Conservative party modernisation project under David Cameron and George Osborne.

**SAR – Strength, Agreeable & Respect**
Strength, Agreeable & Respect clan member tend to favour authority and discipline, leaning in favour of a 'just desserts' approach to crime and punishment. They have a preference for a strong and often uncompromising state, which extends to areas such as defence and Britain's place in the world. In most other areas of social and economic policy members tend to have mixed or middling views.

**MWL – Modern Working Life**
Modern Working Life clan members are strong believers of the value of hard work and social mobility, supporting the view that it is always possible to achieve your goals, so long as you work hard. On balance the MWL clanship believe individuals, not others, should be responsible for their own financial well-being, and tend to hold liberal views on the environment, LGBT rights and gender equality.
The Measured Middle clan tend to have middling social views, with high numbers opposed to open borders and multiculturalism. On social issues, they are fairly liberal, believing more needs to be done in order to achieve gender and LGBT equality, but are more conflicted on issues such as adolescents choosing their own gender identity. TMM are known for not having very strong political views.

APY – Apathy

Members of the Apathy Clan are generally disinterested and disengaged with politics, with very few strong views on many issues. They are unlikely to have given much thought to most economic, political and societal questions, either because they are simply not interested, or because they feel alienated by the current state of our politics.

Figure 2a - Comparison of Clan Standardised Values Dimension Scores (Spider Diagrams)
Comparing Clans

Figure 2b (below), shows standardized values dimension scores for two clans; Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI – coloured Dark Blue) and Global Green Community (GGC – coloured Bright Green). As you might expect, here we can see that the two clans are vary far apart on nearly all values dimensions. This means that these clans have values that are very likely to be incompatible and are likely conflict with one another on all of these dimensions.

**Figure 2b - Comparison of BTI and GGC Values Dimension Scores**

![Diagram showing the comparison of BTI and GGC values dimension scores.](image)

Unweighted Base: GGC (2830); BTI (3186)

Next, we compare BTI with the Proud & Patriotic State clan (PPS – coloured Purple). Figure 2c (below), shows that the two clans are aligned on a number of values dimensions, but on others; such as “The Economy, Tax & Workers Rights”, “Gender Sexuality & Choice” and “Environment, Sustainability & Animal Welfare”, they are not.

Unlike the comparison between BTI and GGC clans, which shows no areas for potential alignment in their values, when we compare the BTI and PPS clans we find that there are many areas of potential alignment. Particularly on “Immigration, Patriotism & Multiculturalism”, “Discipline & Respect”, “Crime & Punishment”, “International Affairs & Defence” and “Power, Representation & Conspiracy”. A key difference between BTI and PPS is the “Economy, Tax & Workers Rights” dimension.

**Figure 2c - Comparison of BTI and PPS Values Dimension Scores**

![Diagram showing the comparison of BTI and PPS values dimension scores.](image)

Unweighted Base: PPS (4438); BTI (3186)
The Distribution of Values & Identity Clans in Great Britain 2018

In terms of their size, the two largest clans, Proud & Patriotic State (15%) and Common-Sense Solidarity (12%) account for more than a quarter of the adult population, whereas The Measured Middle (7%) and Modern Working Life (7%), the two smallest clans, account for around half that proportion.

**Figure 3 - Distribution of VICs in Great Britain**

Distribution of Values & Identity Clans in Great Britain 2018

Unweighted Base: Total (27120); TMM (1907); MWL (1935); OB (2167); GGC (2830); BTI (3186); NHS (2594); SAR (2435); CSS (3318); PPS (4438); APY (2310)

**The Social Cleavage Clans**

Four clans have particularly distinct and cohesive sets of political views. As such, they might be considered more consistent ‘ideologically-speaking’, and have emerged from more traditional economic and social divides. These groups have clearer lines of demarcation, that help to easily identify which clans they tend to be allied with, and which they tend to war against over political events and emerging social issues.

The Global Green Community clanship (GGC) hold socially liberal and economically left-wing views that could be associated with the modern Green party in Britain, whereas the Bastions of Tradition and the Individual (BTI) hold economically right-wing and socially conservative positions that might be associated with Thatcherite conservatism. It is fair to say that these two clans are different from one another in terms of their values in almost every way, displaying the most extreme differences on most issues (see figure 2, above). Analysis of the views of these two clanships using a traditional left-right divide will work perfectly fine, but combined they only make up just over a fifth of the total adult population. If the vast majority of the population do not fit into the left-right analytical frame, then clearly it is too simplistic and we need to include additional parameters.

The next two social cleavage clans have what might be termed ‘cross-cutting’ social and economic values. For instance, the Proud and Patriotic State (PPS) clan have socially conservative views, but hold economically left-wing values dearly. This contrasts with Orange Bookers (OB) who are socially and culturally liberal, but economically lean free-market and pro-globalisation. For these two clans, analysis of clanship views by the traditional left-right divide is not helpful, and the difference could be better represented on a globalist versus nationalist spectrum. With Orange Bookers occupying the social and economic globalist perspective and Proud & Patriotic State occupying the social and economic nationalist perspective.
Interestingly, each clan occupies its own space in a social values versus economic values matrix, meaning that on any particular issue, the coalitions of vested interest will vary depending on whether there is an economic or social focus to a proposal. For example, it might well be the case that on the issue of whether to nationalise the railways, Global Green Community (GGC) and Proud & Patriotic State (PPS) share a common goal to take the railways back into public ownership; whereas Orange Bookers (OB) and Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI) do not. However, on the issue of immigration and freedom of movement, the same common interests do not apply, and the coalitions would likely switch to a pro-freedom of movement pairing of clans (i.e. GGC and OB), and an anti-immigration pairing of clans (i.e. PPS and BTI).

The Allied Clans

Next, we have two clans who make obvious and natural allies with opposing clans described above, but who differ in some important ways. The most notable in terms of its recent history is the Notting Hill Society (NHS) clan. This is the most pro-business group, but is significantly more liberal on social values than BTI clan members. This clan might be strongly associated with the Cameron/Osborne era of Conservative party, and with whose values they strongly identify. NHS would make good allies of both the BTI and OB clanship, but are likely to war against GGC and PPS.

On the other side of the traditional left/right spectrum, the Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS) clan hold traditionally left-wing views on the economy such as support for nationalisation, but are more moderate than the GGC group on social values such as immigration, and multiculturalism. Although, they may well have socially liberal views on other areas. CSS would make good allies of both the GGC and the PPS clanship, but are likely to war against BTI and NHS.

The Swing Clans

The six clans described so far have tended to fit fairly neatly across spectrums of identity, left-right, globalist-nationalist and authoritarian-liberal lines. However, the next three clans do not, and are not likely to have been clearly identified before. These are The Measured Middle; Modern Working Life; and Strength, Agreeable & Respect. This is in-part because these clans are more nuanced, and have less obvious, or pronounced values. In some conceptions they may well have been considered as in the political ‘centre-ground’ but as our analysis shows, the three ‘Swing Clans’ hold several distinguishing features.

The Modern Working Life (MWL) clanship tend to adopt left-of-centre economic values, and have broadly liberal social views, but they combine these positions with a strong belief in the value of hard work, social mobility and a tougher approach to welfare and state dependence.

The Measured Middle (TMM), as the name would suggest, is perhaps the least ideologically distinct of all the clans (with the exception of the Apathy clan), with middling views on many of the dimensions. However, members are quite strongly against the notion of open borders and multiculturalism, and are fairly patriotic.

Finally, the Strength, Agreeable and Respect clanship tend to have mixed and moderate views, but are best distinguished by their tendency to favour authority and discipline in various areas of public policy, including defence, human rights and the justice system.

It is worth noting that these three ‘swing clans’ are some of the least interested in politics when compared with the ‘Social Cleavage’ and ‘Allied’ clans, with the exception of the Apathy clanship (discussed below) and the Proud & Patriotic State clan members.
Figure 4 - Level of Interest in Politics by VICs

Unweighted Base: Total (27120); TMM (1907); MWL (1935); OB (2167); GGC (2830); BTI (3186); NHS (2594); SAR (2435); CSS (3318); PPS (4438); APY (2310)

The Apathy Clan

Our tenth and final group is perhaps the least interesting - and indeed - the least interested clan identified, at least in the context of political values. Members of the Apathy clan are the most uninterested and disengaged with politics, with very few strong views on issues. They are unlikely to have given much thought to most economic, political and societal questions, either because they are simply uninterested, or perhaps because they feel alienated by the current state of our politics.
A detailed look at each clan

**Bastions of Tradition & the Individual Clan (BTI)**

*Figure 5 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for the Bastions of Tradition & the Individual Clan*

Members of the Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI) clan combine strongly right-wing positions on the economy and taxation, with 'small c' conservative views on social issues, immigration and family life.

Suspicious of trade unions, members of the BTI clan favour a small state, low taxation and are open to the privatisation of public services, as well as backing lower levels of welfare spending.

However, whilst on the economy they support market freedoms, on social issues, like immigration and human rights, they value principles of control and restraint, strongly opposing freedom of movement and holding socially conservative attitudes towards women’s and LGBT rights. They have traditional views on parenting, placing a great deal of importance on instilling respect and discipline.

Members of the BTI clan are strong supporters of traditional British institutions such as the Royal Family and tend to celebrate Britain's colonial heritage.

**Quotes from the Clanship**

"On the morning after the referendum I was incredibly proud of my country. When we joined the European Community, we lost our independence and we needed to get it back. We need to take back control and regain our sovereignty."

"There are so many opportunities outside the European Union. That’s not to say that we should be pushing Europe to one side obviously, but there are certainly other avenues we should be pursuing, such as opportunities in the States, Brazil and India. It’s obviously a risk, but in the long run I am confident British businesses will thrive, and that can only be a good thing."
“Politically I am definitely to the right of centre and tend to agree with what you hear from the Conservative party. You might call me a Maggie Thatcherite. She was the Best Prime Minister this country has ever had. She did a good job and she stood up to a lot of people, including the unions who were trying to run the country into the ground.”

“We obviously need skilled immigration. We have skilled doctors and skilled dentists and lots of other skilled people coming here from abroad. But why we are not training our own? There is also another side to immigration. You see many immigrants who have come over and are now begging on the streets. Without sounding harsh, I don’t see what they’ve brought to the country. They should have a job sorted before they arrive and they should have to sign up to our values and our way of life or we will lose what is best about Britain.”

“I’ve always voted Conservative and I’m unlikely to consider voting for another party. All Labour have ever done is get the country into more and more debt. With Corbyn in charge, goodness only knows what would happen. We’d be dealing with the IRA and the Communists.”

**Warring Clans**

Clans that members of Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI) will tend to disagree with most:

- Global Green Community (GGC)
- Common Sense Solidarity (CSS)
- Orange Bookers (OB)

**Figure 5b - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for BTI, GGC, OB & CSS**

**Coalition Clans**

Clans that members of Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI) will tend to agree with most:

- Notting Hill Society (NHS)
- Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)
- Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR)
Figure 5c - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for BTI, PPS, NHS & SAR

The Economy, Tax & Workers Rights
Welfare & State Dependence
Religion, Tradition & the Monarchy
Human Rights & Political Freedoms
Immigration, Patriotism & Multiculturalism
Environment, Sustainability & Animal Welfare
Discipline & Respect
International Affairs & Defence
Gender, Sexuality & Choice
Crime & Punishment
Power, Representation & Conspiracy

Unweighted Base: BTI (3186); NHS (2594); SAR (2435); PPS (4438)
The Global Green Community clan combines an array of socialist views on the economy, with liberal and environmentalist stances on all social issues. Members of the Global Green Community (GGC) clan have a strongly civic interpretation of Britishness, celebrating multiculturalism and the free movement of people. Members have little interest in the nation-state and are instead more concerned with pursuing what they would see as an ethical and inclusive foreign policy.

Members hold strongly ‘left-wing’ economic views, favouring a highly redistributive system of taxation and opposing any private involvement in public service provision. However, their version of socialism has distinctly environmentalist overtones, with members viewing capitalism with deep suspicion, both because of a perceived oppression of working people, but also due to concerns that economic growth is environmentally damaging.

Members overwhelmingly oppose the government having access to the private communications of citizens and are strongly opposed to the state attempting to place limits on social and political rights. Members of the Global Green Community clan are strong supporters of same sex couples being able to adopt children, adolescents being able to choose their own gender identity and believe that there is much more work to do in order to achieve gender equality.

Quotes from the Clanship

“I think that for a long time Corbyn didn’t get a fair hearing in the mainstream media. Most of the papers were up in arms about him not singing the national anthem properly. I couldn’t have cared either way. He has got principles, that’s the main thing.”

“The Government should be focussing on increasing our renewables capacity and improving the air quality but at the moment it feels like nothing is being done to address these problems. All they care about is growth, no matter how it is achieved. They don’t realise that we can’t just think about ourselves - we have wider global responsibilities.”
“I voted Remain at the referendum. Didn’t think twice about doing so. There are so many benefits to EU membership. The travel and the ability to work in other countries is very important to me. There is a good chance that I could end up working abroad, and it is vital that others in Europe are able to come to the UK and work. And when they get here, they need to be looked after.”

“I’m liberal, green and progressive. I care about the common good, which means caring for the disadvantaged in our society. I’m also passionate about the environment, an issue which I believe affects us all.”

“The environment, the health service are important to me, things like that. I live in London and the air quality is terrible”

Warring Clans

Clans that members of Global Green Community (GGC) will tend to disagree with most:

→ Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
→ Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)
→ Notting Hill Society (NHS)

Coalition Clans

Clans that members of Global Green Community (GGC) will tend to agree with most:

→ Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS)
→ Orange Book (OB)
**Proud & Patriotic State Clan (PPS)**

*Figure 7 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for the Proud & Patriotic State Clan*

Members of the Proud & Patriotic State (PPS) clan mix economic views that are in favour of redistribution and nationalisation of key industries, with a strong opposition to the emergence of multiculturalism and freedom of movement. They exude what could be characterised as traditional socialist stances, with a preference for patriotic symbolism.

As well as being one of the most likely to agree that the governments should take major industries, such as water and the railways, back into public ownership, members are deeply sceptical of the benefits of freedom of movement, viewing most immigrants as a burden on the welfare state and believing that multiculturalism is a threat to British values. Relative to other clans, members are much more likely to state that they would have more in common with someone who has the "same nationality but a different type of job".

Members tend to hold traditional views on crime and punishment, placing an importance on notions of respect and societal contribution in respect to both welfare and parenting. Members of the PPS clan are more likely than average to feel that they are excluded by a political 'establishment' that is unable to understand their problems; and many clan members feel that conspiracies are commonplace.

**Quotes from the Clanship**

“I’ve nothing against immigrants, but I feel that immigration is a key issue that needs to be dealt with. The NHS is on its knees at the moment. If more people come into the country, there will be fewer resources available for the people who are born and live here. That’s the most important thing to change after Brexit.”

“A lot of the people who are using the local doctors are actually foreign. You don’t pick when you are ill and you might have to wait weeks to be seen.”

“Crime in our area is getting worse and many of those who are committing these violent crimes are people who I don’t think should really be here. Although I would stress I don’t mind people coming here if we have a job in place for them.”
“Initially, when she started out as Prime Minister, I liked Theresa May and what she seemed to be standing for, but she seems weak now and I have started to doubt her a little bit. Mainly because of the pension stuff and when they said that they were going to take people’s estate and savings if they needed to pay for care. So, I’m not sure what to think anymore.”

“Nowadays I tend to agree more with the Conservative way of thinking, although I never thought this would be the way I would feel. Before 2015 I tended to agree more with Labour, but I don’t think Corbyn was any good. He seems quite dangerous to me.”

**Warring Clans**

Clans that members of Proud & Patriotic State (PPS) will tend to disagree most with:

→ Orange Bookers (OB)
→ Global Green Community (GGC)
→ Notting Hill Society (NHS)

**Coalition Clans**

Clans that members of Proud & Patriotic State (PPS) will tend to agree most with:

→ Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
→ Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR)
→ Modern Working Life (MWL)
Orange Booker Clan (OB)

Figure 8 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for the Orange Booker Clan

Orange Bookers (OB) combine what you might call ‘centre’ OR ‘centre-right’ views on the economy with liberal views on society and immigration. The title ‘Orange Bookers’ refers to ‘The Orange Book – Reclaiming Liberalism’. Penned by a number of prominent Liberal Democrat Politicians, it advocates liberal solutions to various social and economic issues. Members of this clan tend to hold values that are broadly in-line with this thesis.

Whilst Orange Bookers can be broadly supportive of the role of trade unions, and can be in favour of progressive taxation, very few members of this clan agree that major industries should be nationalised, and an overwhelming majority are relaxed about private sector involvement in the delivery of public services. Notably, of all the Values & Identity clans, Orange Bookers are the most supportive of free trade, free movement of people, as well as being positive about multiculturalism.

Orange Bookers have mixed views on the question of government access to the communications of private citizens, but tend to oppose the death penalty, torture, religious and racial profiling of criminal suspects; and the indefinite detention of suspected criminals without trial. Members are also environmentally conscious and have some of the most liberal attitudes towards drug regulation.

Quotes from the Clanship

“I tend to try and stay clear of ideologies. I’m probably somewhere in the middle. I’m fairly balanced and like to think I care about society. Freedom and opportunity – that is what Britain should be about.”

“Brexit is the key issue for our future and will dictate what will happen next. Yes, there are other things to worry about like the environment and what’s happening in society, but Brexit is my overriding concern.”

“Leaving the EU is such a shame. I had the opportunity to do things like study in the EU. I’m worried that these opportunities will no longer be available once we leave. I liked knowing that I was able to travel and work freely in Europe. If that’s something that changes then I will be bitterly disappointed.”
“With Brexit, we are so integrated into Europe, our livelihood depends on it. I’ve got friends in Italy and it seems strange to me that we are going to put up all these barriers. In any case, you don’t really often notice that the EU is even there, at least most of the time. And usually when you don’t notice something, that normally means things are working fine.”

“I didn’t really feel I had a proper choice at the election. The Lib Dems were a wasted vote. Theresa May seemed like a fairly safe pair of hands but was terrible in the end. And then there is Jeremy Corbyn, with his Islington brand of socialism and lack of ideological balance. What was I meant to do?”

**Warring Clans**

Orange Booker (OB) clan members will tend to disagree most with:

- Proud & Patriotic State (OB)
- Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
- Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR)

**Coalition Clans**

Orange Booker (OB) clan members will tend to agree most with:

- Global Green Community (GGC)
- Notting Hill Society (NHS)
- Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS)
- Modern Working Life (MWL)
**Common-Sense Solidarity Clan (CSS)**

*Figure 9 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for the Common-Sense Solidarity Clan*

Members of the Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS) clan are very strong supporters of the nationalisation of key industries, and they believe firmly in the redistribution of wealth via the tax system. They are also strong supporters of the role of trade unions. They are fairly comfortable with immigration and have mixed views on a number of social issues such as welfare, human rights and parenting.

A clear majority of the Common-Sense Solidarity clan oppose public services being run by the private sector, and the vast majority believe that ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation’s wealth.

On issues such as immigration clan members show solidarity with migrant workers, believing strongly that public services wouldn’t survive without migrant labour, and strongly disagreeing that immigrants are a burden on the welfare state.

This clan have mixed views on symbolic expressions of patriotism, as well as the monarchy and whether nuclear weapons keep Britain safe.

This clan tends to agree that good parents sometimes have to smack their children, and that it is important for children to be taught to accept discipline and respect.

**Quotes from the Clanship**

"Maggie Thatcher [was a driver for voting Labour] ...Labour has my point of view."

"It was the austerity plan. I felt like they were punishing people rather than incentivising people."

"I'd only vote for the Conservatives if they had someone who knew hardship and actually cared about people. All MPs and parties need to talk to the man on the street. They are so distant and it’s becoming them and us."

"I'd like to see things change over a period of time. We shouldn't rush things. We need to take the public companies back."
“Since I have relatives living abroad, things that are reciprocal between the nations such as health care and those living here working in our NHS etc protecting their rights [will be important to maintain]. But not those who come over and don’t work hard though.”

**Warring Clans**

Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS) clan members will tend to disagree most with:

- Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
- Notting Hill Society (NHS)
- Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)

**Coalition Clans**

Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS) clan members will tend to agree most with:

- Global Green Community (GGC)
- Orange Bookers (OB)
- Modern Working Life (MWL)
- The Measured Middle (TMM)
Firm capitalists, the Notting Hill Society (NHS) clanship is the most pro-business of all clans. Mixing a modern form of conservatism on the environment and society, with traditional views on family and British institutions, the title 'Notting Hill Society' makes reference to the Conservative party modernisation project under David Cameron and George Osborne.

Wary of nationalisation and imposing high taxes on the wealthy, Notting Hill Society clan members are open to the privatised delivery of public services, and tend to view themselves as upwardly mobile with a strong work ethic.

Members of this clan are most likely to agree that losing a job can open up many other career opportunities. Unsurprisingly, members tend to support a laissez faire approach to welfare provision, believing that it is the individual, and not others, that should be responsible for one's personal wellbeing.

In contrast with other clans on the economic right, members of the Notting Hill Society clan tend to have relatively liberal stances on a number of key social issues. They are broadly comfortable with freedom of movement, and are fairly concerned about global warming. However, they remain advocates of respect and discipline in the context of parenting, and are generally supportive of traditional British institutions such as the Royal family.

Quotes from the Clanship

“For me it's all about the economy. If the economy thrives, and businesses are doing well, then we're all doing well. Government needs to just step out of the way sometimes and let innovative entrepreneurs do their thing.”

“It's a calamity of a good Conservative Prime Minister committing political suicide by being badly advised... [Unfortunately] we're rapidly heading toward a socialist regime.”

“At the moment, the most important issue for me is the NHS. I don't think immigration is particularly a problem because they do a lot of jobs that our folk wouldn't do.”
“I currently have a little import/export business set up with my brothers, and although we want to take on staff, the government make it too complicated and expensive. They don’t really understand business. If they made things simpler, and taxed us less, we’d employ more people.”

“Unlike what bothers most people, because of where I live. It isn’t things like crime and immigration because we don’t have crime and immigration. I’m ambivalent about most things in life. We have quite a comfortable life really.”

“Obviously at the moment Brexit is something that is important, and I am a bit uptight about people on benefits.”

Warring Clans

Notting Hill Society (NHS) clan members will tend to disagree most with:

→ Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS)
→ Global Green Community (GGC)
→ Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)

Coalition Clans

Notting Hill Society (NHS) clan members will tend to agree most with:

→ Orange Bookers (OB)
→ Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
→ Modern Working Life (MWL)
→ Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR)
Modern Working Life Clan (MWL)

Figure 11 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for the Modern Working Life Clan

It should be no surprise that the definitive feature of the Modern Working Life (MWL) clan is that its members tend to be strong believers in value of hard work and social mobility. The clanship strongly supports the notion that it is always possible to achieve one's career goals, so long as you work hard.

Their strong work ethic comes hand-in-hand with contributary approach to welfare, believing that the individual should be principally responsible for their own financial well-being, not others.

Members of the Modern Working Life clan tend to exhibit what could be described as left-of-centre economic views, and tend to have fairly liberal views on many social issues, such as the environment, LGBT rights and gender equality.

Whilst members have mixed views on whether immigrants should be free to move to Britain, a majority would disagree that multiculturalism threatens the British way of life, and are generally more positive about the impact of migration than most other clans. Thus, when immigration is raised as a concern, it tends only to be driven by more practical considerations such as planning and public services, and they don’t tend to feel threatened by cultural diversity.

On most other value dimensions, such as such as civil and political rights this clan tend to hold middling views.

Quotes from the Clanship

“2005 Labour I liked Blair. 2010 I voted UKIP, it sounded good at the time, nothing else did. In 2015 I voted Cameron.”

“Brexit wasn’t very important in me deciding who to vote for.”
“I’m hoping that it [the outcome of the 2017 General Election] will be a kick up the backside for the Government to do more for the British people. And encouraging people back to work rather than giving out thousands of pounds in dole money. I mean there are people on the dole that earn more money than I do and I’m at work. If someone is on the dole and there on the dole for a reason then yeah fine. But if you’ve been on the dole since they day you turned 16 then cum’ on, you’ve not even attempted to get a job.”

“I wouldn’t normally vote Conservative, it was a coin flip wasn’t it. I voted for May not the party.”

“Things have to change slightly to ensure that there are enough jobs for people here. There needs to be checks, but I’m happy for people to come here if they have the skills.”

**Warring Clans**

Modern Working Life (MWL) clan members will tend to disagree most with:

→ Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
→ Global Green Community (GGC)
→ Orange Book (OB)

**Coalition Clans**

Modern Working Life (MWL) clan members will tend to agree most with:

→ Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS)
→ Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)
→ Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR)
The Measured Middle Clan (TMM)

Figure 12 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for The Measured Middle Clan

The Measured Middle (TMM) is not as ideologically distinct as other clans. Members views are often fairly balanced, with nuanced differences across value dimensions. Politicians and journalists may, perhaps crudely, refer to such voters as occupying the ‘centre-ground’ of British politics.

On the economy, their views could be described as centre-left. Members tend to be on-balance positive about trade unions, opposing privatisation of services and broadly supportive of higher tax rates for high earners.

On social issues, members are fairly liberal, believing that more needs to be done in order to achieve gender and LGBT equality, but are more conflicted on issues such as adolescents choosing their gender identity.

On welfare, members tend to lean towards a contributory form of provision, and feel that the responsibility should lay mainly with the individual, but most are still of the view that the state provide a basic safety net. A notable area where The Measured Middle differs substantially from other clans are their views relating to immigration, with high numbers opposed to open borders and multiculturalism.

Quotes from the Clanship

“I'm not particularly into politics. I vote at most elections, but I don't pretend to know every detail, I just tend to look at what's on offer at the time and go with what is closest to my views.”

“Bringing up kids is hard work, but I’m not sure there's a right or wrong answer on smacking. Too hard to say really. I haven’t but I wouldn’t judge anyone if they did.”

“If I was going to live in another country I would expect to abide by their rules and customs.”

“Yes. I think it [The Royal Family] makes us stand out from the rest. I think it is important.”
“Yeah I tend to agree with that [that good parents sometimes smack their children]. Again, it has to be a balance. Part of the role of the parent is to teach your kids the right path, what is right and wrong.”

“Well, you are what you are. If someone comes to the UK, they are part of the country they came from. They don’t have to be ‘one of us’ in order to come here.”

“If they [immigrants] want to live here they should live by our rules basically.”

**Warring Clans**

The Measured Middle (TMM) clan members will tend to disagree most with:

- Global Green Community (GGC)
- Orange Booker (OB)
- Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)

**Coalition Clans**

The Measured Middle (TMM) clan members will tend to agree most with:

- Modern Working Life (MWL)
- Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)
- Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS)
**Strength, Agreeable & Respect Clan (SAR)**

*Figure 13 - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for the Strength, Agreeable & Respect Clan*

What best distinguishes Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR) clan members from others is their tendency to favour authority and discipline in various areas of public policy, including human rights, the justice system, defence and welfare. Otherwise, on a number of key social and economic issues, members tend to have mixed and moderate views.

Strength, Agreeable & Respect clan members tend to be relaxed about the state placing limits on citizens’ civil and political rights, if deemed necessary. For example, members are often in favour of the authorities actively profiling suspects on the basis of their ethnicity, indefinite detention of criminal suspects without trial, as well as being comfortable, relative to other clans, with the use of torture in certain circumstances.

Similarly, members are also more likely than the national average to favour strict measures in the context of the criminal justice system, supporting a ‘just desserts’ approach to crime and punishment. A clear majority of clan members are in favour using the death penalty for the most serious crimes. Members also tend to demand clear and definitive outcomes, with many agreeing with the notion that “some people are born good and others born evil”.

Strength, Agreeable & Respect clan members have a preference for a strong and often uncompromising state, which extends to areas such as defence and Britain’s place in the world. Members tend to support Britain retaining nuclear weapons, are positive about the UK’s ‘special relationship’ with the US; and are more open to western intervention, even if it may not be justified under international law.

**Quotes from the Clanship**

“I don’t tend to stick to one party - I tend to change my vote depending on who I feel will best run the country. In terms of society, education is important.”

“I’ve been told I’m quite opinionated at times. I try to look at both sides of the argument and not be too biased. I think I got that approach from my nursing days.”
“I think Tony Blair is right... The country is in such a mess now.”

“I thought the Conservatives were losing their way and I don’t like Labour’s strong left tendencies.”

“I don’t like the bureaucracy with the EU. Both the laws and [that] we have to pay them god-awful sums of money.”

**Warring Clans**

Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR) clan members will tend to disagree most with:

- Global Green Community (GGC)
- Orange Bookers (OB)

**Coalition Clans**

Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR) clan members will tend to agree most with:

- Modern Working Life (MWL)
- Proud & Patriotic State (PPS)
- Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI)
Generally speaking, members of the Apathy (APY) clan tend to be uninterested and not engaged with politics. The Apathy clanship hold very few strong views on many issues. This clan are unlikely to have given much thought to most economic, political and societal questions. This is either because they are simply not interested, or because they feel alienated by the current state of our politics.
Who makes up the Clans?

While demographics and values are not totally connected, it is of course the case that people are in-part a product of their circumstance and environment. This means that when we analyse the data, we do observe relationships between demographic groups by clan membership. For instance, as figure 15 (below) shows, the age profile of each clan varies substantially.

Unsurprisingly younger voters are more likely to be members of socially liberal clans such as the Global Green Community, Orange Booker and Modern Working Life. But they are also more likely to be a member of the disengaged Apathy clan. Older voters on the other hand, are more likely to be members of socially conservative ones such as the Proud & Patriotic State, Bastions of Tradition & the Individual and Notting Hill Society.

When we look at social class too (or social grade) the results show fairly large differences, with Notting Hill Society, Orange Bookers and Global Green Community all containing the largest shares of senior professionals (AB), and Proud & Patriotic State and Strength, Agreeable & Respect containing the smallest shares.
The results presented above, on age and occupational class tie into the importance of higher education as a driver of cultural liberalism. The data presented in figure 17 (below), shows that Proud & Patriotic State, Bastions of Tradition & the Individual and Strength, Agreeable & Respect are the least likely to have a degree, whereas a majority of the more open and globally oriented cans like Orange Bookers and Global Green Community, hold a degree or postgraduate qualification.

**Figure 17 - Level of Educational Qualification by VICs**

Unweighted Base: Total (27120); TMM (1907); MWL (1935); OB (2167); GGC (2830); BTI (3186); NHS (2594); SAR (2455); CSS (3318); PPS (4438); APY (2310)

Housing tenure is a complex social phenomenon which relates to several other demographics. Private renters are typically younger, university educated and in professional occupations, so the strong occurrence of Global Green Community, Orange Bookers and Modern Working Life clans should not be a surprise. Figure 18 (below) also shows that Proud & Patriotic State, The Measured Middle and Apathy clans are more likely than others, to live in social or council home tenants.

**Figure 18 - Tenure by VICs**

Unweighted Base: Total (27120); TMM (1907); MWL (1935); OB (2167); GGC (2830); BTI (3186); NHS (2594); SAR (2455); CSS (3318); PPS (4438); APY (2310)

But housing is also a form of wealth and capital - what Ben Ansell calls a permanent income. Ansell has demonstrated a link between home ownership (i.e. asset holding) and more right-of-centre views on welfare, which he links to the idea of housing as a safety net that makes homeowners less dependent upon the state more generally. See the Political Economy of Ownership: Housing Markets and the Welfare State (2014) available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/political-economy-of-ownership-housing-markets-and-the-welfare-state/F9F0C1F7146D3F35CA3856CD981E5567
surprising that the Notting Hill Society and Bastions of Tradition & the Individual clans are most likely to own their home. These clans also tend to hold more economically laissez-faire views.

After the 2011 census, the ONS classified residential areas into homogeneous groups based on their demographic structures, household compositions, housing types, socio-economic characteristics and employment patterns. Broadly speaking, these classifications are a quasi-cultural reflection of each area and their titles are designed to reflect each areas core defining attributes. These are; Rural Residents, Urbanites, Suburbanites, Multicultural Metropolitans, Cosmopolitans, Ethnicity Central, Constrained City Dwellers & Hard-Pressed Living.20

Figure 19 - ONS Output Area Classification (OAC) by VICs

Figure 19 (above) shows significant differences in the classification of areas lived in across the clans, with Proud & Patriotic State clan members most likely (35%) to live in areas classified as ‘Constrained City Dwellers’ or ‘Hard-Pressed Living’, compared with just 18% of Orange Bookers for instance.

Likewise, Global Green Community and Orange Bookers are the most likely (32% and 33% respectively) to live in areas classified as ‘Cosmopolitan’ or ‘Urbanites’.

Members of the Bastions of Tradition & the Individual and Notting Hill Society clans are more likely than other clans to live in areas classed as ‘Rural Residents’ (13%), and are most likely to live in those areas classed as ‘Suburbanites’ (29% and 25% respectively).

Official statistics suggest that approximately one in seven (14%) of the British population identifies as Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic (BAME). When we examine the ethnicity of our clans we find very large differences in the proportions identifying as BAME.

At 97%, the Bastions of Tradition & the Individual clan has an exceptionally white clanship, as does the Proud & Patriotic State clan at 95% white.

By contrast, well over a quarter of Orange Bookers (28%) identify as BAME, as do around a quarter (24%) of the Common-Sense Solidarity clan members.

20 For detailed pen portraits for each of the eight OAC supergroups please see the ONS report here: www.ons.gov.uk/file?uri=/methodology/geography/geographicalproducts/areaclassifications/2011areaclassifications/penportraitsandradialplots/penportraits.pdf
Finally, newspaper readership is often an important indicator of people's social and political views, and if we look at the proportion of each clan who say that the Guardian/Observer or the Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday is their most read newspaper (either in print or online) the results paint a striking picture.

The results in figure 21 (above) show that Global Green Community is the only clan where they are significantly more Guardian/Observer readers than those who say the Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday is their most read newspaper. This is by a factor of around ten to one.

This is at a contrast with the gradual rise in the proportion of clan members who read the Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday, with Bastions of Tradition & the Individual by far the most likely (34%) to say that the Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday is their go-to news source, and just 2% of BTI clan members selecting the Guardian/Observer as most read. A factor of more than fifteen to one.
How the Clans Vote

Commentators, academics and pollsters analyse our politics from many perspectives, but it is fair to say that often they will utilise the different backgrounds of voters as proxies for viewpoints, vested interests and ultimately, decisions at the ballot box. However, the authors of this paper feel that a better attempt to understand how people decide who and what to vote for, or indeed who or what to vote against, is to understand what social and economic policy perspectives that they value most.

Analysing our data, we find that clan groupings are highly predictive of past voting behaviour and are better at distinguishing both the prevalence and change in voting behaviour than standard demographic indicators, such as age, occupational class and education alone.

Although demographic characteristics are easily definable, their analytical capacity is limited, and it is these 'less visible' differences in people's values and identity that appear to be central to how voters decide, particularly in recent electoral contests.

The EU Referendum

Figure 22 (below), shows how people voted (if at all) at the EU referendum, and demonstrates the extent to which Values & Identity Clans (VICs) are able to capture the Leave and Remain divide in Britain, as well as the substantial differences in turnout.

Figure 22 - EU Referendum Participation & Vote by VICs

The results above show not only that the Bastions of Tradition & the Individual (BTI) clan was overwhelmingly in favour of voting to leave the EU, but also that the clanship was most likely to turnout at the referendum. Likewise, the Global Green Community (GGC) clan was overwhelmingly in favour of remaining in the EU, and one of the most likely to turn out also.

Unsurprisingly, the Apathy (APY) clan were least likely to vote (44% did not vote at the EU Referendum in 2016), but it is interesting also that the swing clans; The Measured Middle (TMM), Modern Working Life (MWL) and Strength, Agreeable & Respect (SAR) are also some of the least likely to have voted in the referendum.

Figure 23 (below) shows the balance of Leave and Remain voters excluding those who did not vote. The results are an indication of the balance of support in each clan.
GGCs and Orange Bookers (OBs) are shown to be, as a proportion of those who voted, the most likely to have voted Remain. But between the BTI and GGC clans we find a full spectrum of Remain-Leave, with almost seven in ten (69%) of Common-Sense Solidarity (CSS) voters choosing to remain, and three quarters (75%) TMM voters choosing to leave. As we might expect, Proud & Patriotic State (PPS) voters are overwhelmingly Leavers (83%), and intriguingly the Notting Hill Society (NHS) clan is evenly split and much more Remain-voting than other Conservative-voting clans (51%), as are MWL clan members (50% Remain).

**The 2017 & 2015 General Elections**

The utility of VICs extends also to General Elections. Figure 24 (below) shows recalled vote for the 2017 General Election and, as for EU Referendum voting behaviour, the results demonstrate how different social and economic priorities drive voting behaviour for Westminster elections.

Our results will also allow us to compare how members of each clan voted at the 2015 General Election, and the changes are described in more detail later in this chapter.

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21 See next chapter for more detail.
At the extremes, once again we find GGC and BTI. Just one in fifty GGC clan members (2%) voted for the Conservatives in 2017, whereas more than four in five (83%) voted for the Labour party. This is up 16 points since 2015 (see figure 25, below). For the BTI clan, just 8% said that they voted Labour in 2017, compared with 85% who voted for the Conservative party, also up 16 points on 2015 (see figure 25, below).

Figure 25 - 2015 General Election Vote by VICs (voters only)

After examining the 2017 and 2015 Westminster voting results by VICs, the first thing to note is that both Labour and the Conservatives improved their share of the vote within most of the clans, although we do observe small declines in some. Of course, this is unsurprising given that both main parties increased their overall share of the vote in 2017. Indeed, in 2017 Labour increased their share of the vote by more than they had done at any election since the second world war.

However, analysis by VICs shows that these shifts are not uniformly observed. Instead, Conservatives and Labour increase their share of the vote markedly within just a few clans, and perform worse, or even retreat within others.

It is interesting that in 2015 the clan most likely to vote Conservative was not BTI (69%), but instead NHS (71%), which some may argue is more in-keeping with the strategic leadership of the Conservative party at the time (i.e. Cameron's versus May's Conservatives) which was considered more liberal and economy-focused.

It is interesting also, not only that the OB clanship is the most likely to vote Liberal Democrat across both elections, but that this clan also sees the smallest decline in Lib Dem vote share among all the clans.

We believe two factors are important in helping us understand these shifts. The first is an observation that the electoral contest was to some degree a polarised one, and the second is an observed spike in turnout among the more socially liberal clans. We explore these assertions in more detail below.
A Polarised Electoral Contest: How Labour and the Conservatives failed to make useful advances and instead fell back on clans where they were already strong

Figure 26 below, charts the percentage-point change in the Labour and Conservative vote share within each of the clans between 2015 and 2017. The results paint a fascinating picture. The Conservatives increased their share of the vote in the, broadly Thatcherite BTI clan, by 16 percentage points, a group where they had already won more than two-thirds support (69%) in 2015. In 2017 also, Labour increased its share of the vote with the, broadly liberal socialist GGC clan, by the same proportion (16%). Some 67% of this clan voted Labour in 2015. The CSS clan also saw a sharp rise in Labour support in 2017 (13%), even though in 2015 a clear majority (56%) voted for Ed Miliband's Labour.

Interesting anomalies presented are changes in voting behaviour for the PPI, OB and MWL clans, where balances have changed substantially between the two elections. For instance, among the OB clanship, a clear plurality voted for Cameron’s Conservatives in 2015, but this balance changed in 2017 with most voters now backing the Labour party, albeit the clan remains quite split, with a significant proportion continuing to vote for the Liberal Democrats.

Likewise, in 2015 the PPS clan was broadly split between Labour (31%) and the Conservatives (35%), with almost one quarter (22%) of the clanship voting UKIP. However, in 2017 a majority of this clan voted Conservative (50%).

The largest change among all clans came from MWL clan members, and more detail is discussed separately in 'The Swing Clans’ sub-chapter (below).

Although there were interesting changes in party support for a few clans, it is fair to say that for both Labour and the Conservatives their largest gains were in clans where they performed best at the previous election.

The results presented in figure 26 (above) show that both parties ‘topped up’ voters in clans where they were already strong, consolidating large existing majorities, instead of making significant inroads with opposition allied clans, and swing clans, albeit with the exception of MWL. In other words, the evidence suggests that the 2017 election was a polarising contest.

**Figure 26 - Change in Conservative & Labour vote share 2015-2017 by VICs (voters only)**
The Swing Clans

Although Labour and the Conservatives made some gains with the less pronounced Swing clans, readers should note that these were in separate swing groups. Gains across these clans were not uniform and although on balance Conservatives made stronger gains among TMM and Labour made more gains than the Tories with SAR; it is the exceptional swing among MWL clan members that stands out.

The MWL clan underwent the largest change in party support of all clans at the 2017 General Election. The Tories share of the vote saw their largest drop (-4%) among MWL clan members, and Labour made their largest gain with MWL clan members (+17%). This combined effect led to a 21-percentage point net change from the Conservatives to Labour. This astonishing shift saw a clan with almost a majority of its members (48%) voting for Cameron's Conservative party in 2015, then, just two years later, change to an on-balance Labour-supporting clan under Corbyn's leadership (45% Lab / 44% Con).

What might explain the difference between the Swing Clans?

While the Swing clans voters tend to hold less pronounced views than the Social Cleavage clans, there are key differences in the 'shape' of the values and identity profile between the swing clans. These are outlined in earlier chapters, but Figure 26a (below) illustrates these differences.

MWL, which swung heavily towards Labour in 2017, is a clan whose voters tend to have slightly more liberal views on issues such as immigration, gender & sexuality, and family life, when compared with TMM (Grey). However, MWL clan members tend to favour reduced spending on welfare and have a slightly tougher approach to Crime & Punishment than TMM.

Figure 26a - Standardised Values Dimension Scores for SAR, MWL & TMM

It is therefore unsurprising that most MWL voters were attracted to Cameron's 'modern' brand of conservatism, which combined more progressive social issues with a strong vein of entrepreneurship, rewarding 'hard work' and firm commitments to reduce spending on welfare.

However, post-Cameron and post-Brexit, it is clear that Labour could be seen as the more liberal, and rhetorically at least, the more Remain-leaning party. As such, MWL clan members would likely find a Corbyn-led Labour party a more appealing alternative in 2017 than an immigration-focused and Theresa May-led Conservative party.

By contrast, voters from The Measured Middle clan are less likely to favour an individualist approach to social welfare, but have more socially conservative positions on issues such as immigration and national...
identity; what's more, a considerable majority (75%) voted to leave the EU in 2016. Unsurprising then, that a Theresa May-led Conservative party, which unlike Cameron & Osborne, is more comfortable with state intervention in the economy, and taking tougher-line on Brexit and immigration, was able to make notable gains (+11%) among this group.

**Figure 27** - Change in Liberal Democrat & UKIP vote share 2015-2017 by VICS (voters only)

The Liberal Democrats

Liberal Democrat performance at the 2017 General Election can be looked at in two ways. On the one hand, the Lib Dem story is one of moderate decline across the board. In each of the clans, the Lib Dems saw a fall in vote share of around two to five percentage points. Moreover, their strategy to champion themselves as the authentic pro-Remain party at Westminster, failed to make inroads within clans that we might have expected to respond to such a focus. Particularly in the more socially liberal clans, such as GGC, CSS and MWL, where relatively strong Lib Dem vote shares fell to the single digits.

However, a more positive spin could be that the Lib Dem vote has largely held up at an election where both the main parties substantially increased their overall share of the vote. Indeed, unlike the Greens and UKIP, who effectively collapsed, the Liberal Democrats have largely held onto their “core” clan (Orange Bookers), securing some 17% of their vote, which was down just 3 percentage points on 2015.

The UK Independence Party (UKIP)

In 2015 UKIP won nearly four million votes, around 13% of the national share. This was a substantial increase on 2010. UKIP’s success at the 2015 General Election can be explained by the gains that the party made in just three of our clans; PPS, BTI and TMM.

In 2015 UKIP won the support of 14% of TMM voters, just a little behind BTI clan members, of whom 17% voted UKIP. However, the clan with the highest support for the party was PPS, with more than a fifth (22%) backing Farage’s UKIP at the time.

As a result, despite these clans having substantially different views on the economy and many other social issues, UKIP were able to build a sizeable coalition of voters, uniting them around a central plank of issues concerning immigration and multiculturalism.

However, at a post-Brexit 2017 General Election, the base that UKIP had built up ahead of the 2015 election, collapsed. All three pillars of the UKIP vote saw double-digit percentage point drops, and it was the Conservatives who stood to benefit, with their vote share increasing most among TMM, BTI and PPS clans in 2017 (see figure 26, above).
The Green Party

As figure 24 and figure 25 (above) show, Corbyn’s consolidation among the GGC clan members was at great expense to the Green party. Unlike the Liberal Democrats who held-up in their numbers within their core clan (OB), the Greens lost out in theirs, dropping 6 percentage points within the GGC clan, equating to around two thirds of their total support in this clan. They also dropped by 3 points with Common Sense Solidarity voters.

It is clear that Labour’s electoral pitch paid dividends, and with hindsight, foregoing an electoral pact with the Green party was the right call given the demolition of Green party support even among their ‘core’ values-base.
A 'Liberal-Tremor': Changes in turnout between 2015 and 2017

At 68.7%, the turnout at the 2017 General Election was the highest seen since 1997 (71.3%). This was up 2.3% since 2015 (66.4%). Labour's better than expected showing prompted speculation that the performance was the result of a so-called 'Youthquake'; a spike in turnout among young people (usually defined as those under the age of 25), who would typically vote in lower numbers at General Elections, but in 2017 were inspired by Jeremy Corbyn's 'fresh' and 'radical' policy agenda.

However, while the 'Youthquake' hypothesis has been much touted in the media, recent academic analysis suggests there is little evidence to support this. Despite aggregate-level constituency analysis showing higher turnout in densely populated areas, with higher proportions of young people living in these constituencies, the British Election Study (BES) team provide compelling evidence to suggest that more was at play. Yes, more young people turned out, but so too did older voters.

Perhaps the aggregate-level constituency analysis was pointing to a more nuanced change in turnout, driven not simply by demographic shifts, but instead by differential increases in participation among voters with different value predispositions.

Analysis of changes in turnout by VICs supports this idea. Perhaps there was no 'Youthquake', but instead a 'Liberal Tremor'?

![Figure 28 - Change in Turnout 2015-2017 by VICs](image)

Unweighted Base: Total (17428); TMM (1067); MWL (1174); OB (1397); GGC (1981); BTI (2254); NHS (1940); SAR (1533); CSS (2230); PPS (2603); APY (1249)

The data presented in figure 28 (above) shows that members of more socially liberal clans were more likely to increase their participation than clan members from socially conservative and nationalistic clans. There is a significant increase in turnout among GGC and CSS clans, by around 8 points and 4 points respectively. Well above the 2.3% average uplift between the two elections. Interestingly turnout is actually shown to fall among BTI and PPS clan members, by around 2 points and 1 point respectively.

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22 For more information about claims of a 'Youthquake' see Peter Kellner's piece for Prospect magazine here: https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/blogs/peter-kellner/the-british-election-study-claims-there-was-no-youthquake-last-june-its-wrong
AND see Clarke, Goodwin & Whiteley for The New Statesman magazine here: www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2018/02/yes-there-was-youthquake-2017-snap-election-and-it-mattered
23 For more information about the Myth of the 2017 'Youthquake' see the British Election Study analysis here: www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-myth-of-the-2017-youthquake-election/#.W75_92hKhPY
24 Given that responses for the 2015 General Election were collected between two and three years afterwards, these findings should be treated with some caution.
To differing degrees, members of the GGC, CSS and MWL clans tend to have liberal views on various social issues, suggesting that particular strands of liberal-minded voters were more motivated to vote at the 2017 General Election than they had been two years earlier. This is particularly the case for the GGC clanship who tend to hold strong and consistently left-wing liberal views. Although CSS and MWL clan members tend to have less pronounced views than GGC, they are also liberally-inclined, particularly on issues such as sexuality and the environment. It is also worth noting that GGC and CSS clans voted overwhelmingly to remain at the EU Referendum in 2016.

By contrast, we see reductions in reported turnout among those clan members who were more likely to vote Conservative in 2017. BTI, PPS and NHS all report small decreases in electoral participation.

These results suggest that Labour may well have benefited from changing turnout dynamics, not necessarily because of young people alone, but also among those with more liberal social views.

We describe the change as a ‘tremor’, and not a ‘quake’, because despite the increase in the participation among ‘liberal-orientated’ clan members, GGC only accounts for around 10% of the adult population in Britain. As a result, the impact of any surge within one or two clans will have a limited effect on results nationwide.

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25 Although we do observe a sharp increase in reported participation from 2015-2017 (17%) among young people (18-24) most of this difference will be due to the ineligibility of more than a quarter (29%) of this age cohort at the 2015 General Election. The reported increase in turnout is just 2.3% among 25-34s.
Why class is a poor analytical tool and Values & Identity Clans are more relevant in 2018

First, we compare the distribution of voting behaviour by class and clans. Figures 29 & 30 (below) show Conservative party leads over Labour by clan (clans are in colours) and socio-economic grade (SEG - yellow), for the respective 2015 and 2017 General Elections. At both elections Values & Identity Clans (VICs) are shown to be much more powerful predictors of voting behaviour than occupational class, particularly for the social cleavage and allied clans.

**Figure 29** - Conservative Lead Over Labour at 2015 General Election by VICs and SEG (Voters Only)

Comparing the two charts (figures 29 and 30) shows that differences between the 2015 and 2017 General Election tended to take place along lines of social values, rather than class, with Conservative leads changing substantially across clans, but minimally across class groups.

At the extremes also, we find major leads for Labour and the Conservatives, particularly for the social cleavage and allied clans, whereas differences across class levels are much less pronounced. Just social grade group “A” (i.e. Higher managerial, higher administrative & professional occupations) and “D” (i.e. Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers) show significant respective Conservative and Labour leads, though to a much smaller degree than VICs.

**Figure 30** - Conservative Lead Over Labour at 2017 General Election by VICs and SEG (Voters Only)
Next, we compare EU Referendum voting distributions by clan and class also. At the EU Referendum, clans are shown to have a greater association with voting behaviour. Figure 31 (below) also shows that, although there were differences along class lines, these differences were moderate compared with our VICs model. Clans are a more powerful tool for analysing the way people voted at the referendum in 2016, with new coalitions of voters, different from the last two General Elections, coming together to vote Leave (BTI, PPS, TMM) or Remain (GGC, OB, CSS).

**Figure 31 - Leave Lead Over Remain at 2016 EU Referendum by VICs and SEG (Voters Only)**

![Leave lead over Remain at EU Ref 2016 by Clan (VICs) and Class (SEG)](chart)

Analysis of voting behaviour by class also hides a great deal of underlying movement that is critical to understand how new voting blocs are formed. At every election there is always a great deal of ‘churn’ of voters. For the Liberal Democrats, many voters left the party at the 2017 election and almost as many new ones replaced them. But where 2015 Lib Dem voters went can tell us a good deal about how well Tim Farron’s election strategy performed with different voters.

For instance, figure 32 (below), shows a similar distribution of 2017 voting patterns across all grades of social class, but there is substantial variation in voting behaviour across the clans, with more socially conservative clans (BTI and PPS) switching to the Conservatives, socially liberal clans (GGC and CSS) switching mainly to Labour, and the more progressive economic liberals (OB and NHS) most likely to stay with the Lib Dems.

**Figure 32 - How 2015 Lib Dem Voters Voted in 2017 by VICs & SEG (Voters Only)**

![Where the LibDems went in 2017 by Clan (VICs) and Class (SEG)](chart)
The collapse of UKIP is also an interesting opportunity to see where that vast majority of almost four million voters went since their height at the 2015 General Election. Of those who voted again in 2017, a majority (57%) voted Conservative.

As figure 33 (below) shows, when we look at how 2015 UKIP voters switched, at all levels of social grade (SEG) this balance changes minimally. But when we examine the results by clans, as for the analysis of Lib Dem switchers, UKIP voters switched their vote more along clan lines. For instance, an overwhelming majority of BTI, NHS and TMM clan members who voted UKIP in 2015 switched to May's Conservatives in 2017 (between 63% and 72%), whereas MWL clan members were more than twice as likely to switch to Corbyn's Labour. The results even show that a majority of CSS 2015 UKIP voters (51%) switched to Labour in 2017. PPS clan members were most likely to vote UKIP again in 2017, but only a quarter continued to do.

Figure 33 - How 2015 UKIP Voters Voted in 2017 by VICs & SEG (Voters Only)

Finally, if we look within individual grades of social class, the results show that voting patterns at the 2017 General Election were still shaped principally by clan membership. For example, figure 34 (below) shows that among “higher & intermediate managerial, administrative or professional occupations”, a majority (50%) voted Conservative in 2017. However, GGC clan members who worked in these professions were by far most likely to vote for the Labour party. This was by a factor of more than twenty to one, an astonishing margin especially when we remind ourselves that these are the some of the most senior and highest paid professionals in the country. Similarly, the vast majority (62%) of CSS clan members working in these roles voted Labour.

Although only 9% of higher & intermediate managerial, administrative or professional occupations voted Lib Dem in 2017, they were twice as likely to vote Lib Dem (18%) if a member of the OB clan.
Results for those working in "supervisory or clerical and junior managerial, administrative or professional occupations" (see figure 35, below) show the exact same pattern, with clan membership a strong determinant of 2017 voting behaviour within this occupational group. For instance, although C1s were broadly split between Labour (47%) and the Conservatives (41%) in 2017, a majority of PPS clan members working in these occupations voted Tory (54%), and most OBs voted Labour (48%).

The results for "skilled manual workers" shown in figure 36 (below), paint a similar picture to that already described in this chapter, with clear discrimination between clans with workers at this occupational level.
Figure 36 - How Skilled Manual Workers (SEG C2s) Voted in 2017 by VICs (Voters Only)

Figure 37 (below) shows 2017 General Election voting behaviour by clan for "semi-skilled, unskilled manual and casual workers or those who depend on the welfare state for their income". The results are striking, as they suggest that, even among a group who have for many years been strongly associated with habitually voting for the Labour party, overwhelming majorities voted Conservative in 2017 among BTI, NHS and SAR clans, with more clan members on-balance voting for May's Tories among PPS, TMM and APY clans.

Figure 37 - How Semi-skilled and Unskilled Manual Workers; Casual or Lowest grade workers, Pensioners, and others who depend on the welfare state for their income (SEG DEs) Voted in 2017 by VICs (Voters Only)

Unweighted Base: Total (2671); TMM (222); MWL (128); OB (137); GGC (192); BTI (262); NHS (227); SAR (365); CSS (361); PPS (558); APY (219)
Conclusions & Further Research

This report presents evidence to suggest that the value positions and identities that people hold, across multiple social and economic dimensions, shape how they vote. It is clear that shifts in voting behaviour between 2015 and 2017 ran principally along lines of social divides, in a refocusing of British political debate away from the economy.

In 2018 British politics no longer divides simply across lines of social class, nor even left versus right, nor globalist versus nationalist, or even liberal versus authoritarian. Modern politics is more complex, with many dimensions often cross-cutting.

Brexit revealed these social divides and fired the starting pistol for a realignment of the coalition of values clans that currently make up our ‘broad-church’ political parties.

Brexit is often presented as a defining change in the voting patterns of British voters, but in reality, the divide of the 2016 referendum is a divide which has been growing for decades. This divide was reflected in the Liberal Democrat vote prior to 2015, drawn primarily from well-educated but nonetheless ‘left-wing’ voters and in the UKIP vote in 2015, which had strong support for traditional left-wing policies such as nationalisation while also being strongly anti-immigration.

Old divisions continue to have an impact, but new ones have arisen and evolved. The result is greater complexity in our allegiances, driven by what social and economic policies we value. This is why simple demographics are no longer enough to accurately describe and understand our voting behaviour.

The importance of values and identity is likely to remain central to our understanding of British politics. It is clear that higher education, globalisation, the changing nature of our workplaces and social networks all have a role to play, many of which have been touched on in this report.

Our majoritarian electoral system ensures that these clans of voters, with shared values, remain hidden, and are forced to enter a big political tent with other clans in order to achieve some form of representation. These coalitions can change, as they did between 2015 and 2017. At the heart of these grand Labour and Conservative coalitions is a tension between competing priorities of their voters, meaning that both parties are both internally and externally conflicted.

Under a more proportional method of electing our representatives, perhaps these clans would become independently represented, leading to additional political parties, with different policy proposals for voters to choose from. With increased electoral choice comes a better opportunity to vote for parties that satisfactorily reflect what voters' value most, but that is for another study.

Readers should note that in this first attempt to understand how values drive our political decision-making, we acknowledge that there will be weaknesses in the approach. We have taken to classify our clans. However, the authors of this report intend to continue our research, not only tracking what Britons value most, but also to update and refine our model.

At the time of publishing this report the team are investigating additional values parameters in areas such as; nostalgia (i.e. a sentimental longing or wistful affection for a period in the past), risk-aversion (i.e. a measure of voters’ general risk appetite) and valance (i.e. the importance of leadership and party competence). These concepts, along with others will be explored further in future updates of our model.
Appendix

The results in this report are based on survey responses from 27,120 people aged 18+ living in Great Britain between July 2017 and June 2018.

Detail on the 11 dimensions used can be found in Table 2 (below), with a full breakdown of questions in the appendix.

**Table 2 - Detail on Values Dimensions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Likert Attitudinal Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Economy, Tax &amp; Workers Rights</td>
<td>Values relating to questions about the degree of redistribution and state intervention in the economy</td>
<td>“Tax rates for high earners should be minimised to keep the UK competitive”&lt;br&gt;“To increase efficiency, more services should be run by private companies”&lt;br&gt;“The government should take major industries, such as water and the railways, back into public ownership”&lt;br&gt;“Trade unions are essential when it comes to protecting workers’ rights”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration, Patriotism &amp; Multiculturalism</td>
<td>Values concerning support and opposition to immigration, questions of nationhood and interpretations and attachments to Britishness and culture</td>
<td>“Multiculturalism threatens the British way of life”&lt;br&gt;“Immigrants should be free to move to Britain and work”&lt;br&gt;“Public services in the UK wouldn’t survive without migrant labour”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion, Tradition &amp; the Monarchy</td>
<td>Values that capture perceptions towards traditional ‘British institutions’ including the church and royal family and related questions of morality</td>
<td>“All morals are grounded in religious teachings”&lt;br&gt;“I am a strong supporter of the continued reign of the Royal Family”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Affairs &amp; Defence</td>
<td>Values that relate to moral questions about foreign intervention and Britain’s role in the world</td>
<td>“Military action that defies international law is sometimes justified”&lt;br&gt;“Developed nations such as the UK have a moral obligation to provide foreign aid to developing nations”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Human Rights & Personal Freedoms | Values closely associated to the libertarian authoritarian divide, including attitudes towards civil and political liberties | "The government should not have access to the data and communications of private citizens"  
"There should be no limits on free speech, even if this enables people to voice offensive views"  
"Torture can be justified in some circumstances" |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Environment, Sustainability & Animal Welfare | Values concerning the perceived salience of the environment and man-made climate change | "Economic growth should always be prioritised over the environment"  
"The threat from man-made global climate change is real and could have a devastating impact" |
| Gender, Sexuality & Choice | Values that capture the social liberal and social conservative divide on issues concerning the social rights and freedoms | "Gay couples should be allowed to adopt children"  
"There is much more work to do before there is true equality between men and women"  
"It is acceptable for adolescent children to make their own decisions about their gender identity" |
| Crime & Punishment | Values relating to crime, including moral questions about redemption, rehabilitation and extent to which people are to responsible for their actions | "The death penalty should be an option for the most serious crimes" |
| Welfare & State Dependence | Values that capture the preferences of individualistic or collectivist approaches to welfare provision | "When someone is unemployed, it is usually because they have been let down by society, rather than through fault of their own"  
"People, not the state, should be solely responsible for saving for their own retirement"  
"These days, too many people like to depend on government handouts"  
"Immigrants are a burden on the welfare state" |
| Discipline & Respect | Values concerning the importance of rules, particularly in the context of parenting | "The most important thing for children to learn is to accept discipline"  
"Good parents sometimes have to smack their children" |
| Power, Political Representation & Conspiracy | Values relating to democracy, ideas of an 'establishment' and trust in conventional explanations | "I'm convinced there is a conspiracy behind many things in the world" |
**Table 3 - National Readership Survey (NRS) Social Grade Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Social class</th>
<th>Chief income earner's occupation</th>
<th>% 2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Upper middle class</td>
<td>Higher managerial, administrative or professional</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Intermediate managerial, administrative or professional</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Lower middle class</td>
<td>Supervisory or clerical and junior managerial, administrative or professional</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Skilled working class</td>
<td>Skilled manual workers</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Working class</td>
<td>Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Non-working</td>
<td>Casual or lowest grade workers, pensioners, and others who depend on the welfare state for their income</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>