

October 2020
**Britain's Choice:
Common Ground and
Division in 2020s Britain**

Chapter 2

Britain's Kaleidoscope



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The research undertaken for this report identifies seven segments of the British population, distinguished by differences in their underlying beliefs or attitudes. This is a different approach to conventional public opinion polls that divide people according to demographic categories such as age, gender, income, region, race or ethnicity, income, or that group people according to the political party they support. These categories are useful, but important insights can be missed when we only look at people through the lens of these categories. In a social media age when people are increasingly tribal – that is, they stick to like-minded groups – we need new ways to understand public attitudes.

This report shows one new way of doing this, based on asking 45 questions about people's core beliefs, sense of group belonging, and political behaviours. This approach allowed us to detect groups based on commonalities in aspects of their psychology, beliefs, and behaviour. When we look at how these groups, or segments, think about many of the most divisive issues of recent years, we can understand better some of the reasons for the divisions in Britain – and begin thinking about how we bring people back together.

Overall, the segmentation analysis identified seven distinct segments in the British population. Each is characterised by certain general traits and tendencies, as revealed in responses to a set of survey questions.

- **Progressive Activists:** politically-engaged, critical, opinionated, frustrated, cosmopolitan, environmentally-friendly.
- **Civic Pragmatists:** charitable, concerned, exhausted, community-minded, open to compromise, socially liberal.
- **Disengaged Battlers:** tolerant, surviving, insecure, disillusioned, disconnected, overlooked, socially liberal.
- **Established Liberals:** comfortable, privileged, cosmopolitan, trusting, confident, pro-market.
- **Loyal Nationals:** proud, patriotic, tribal, threatened, aggrieved, worried about inequality.
- **Disengaged Traditionalists:** self-reliant, ordered, patriotic, tough-minded, suspicious, disconnected.
- **Backbone Conservatives:** nostalgic, patriotic, proud, secure, confident, engaged.

The main characteristics for each population segment are explained below. The profile for each segment includes references to:

Priorities and visions for a better UK: This section highlights the priorities and visions for a better country that are distinctive to each segment. To provide the best insight into each segment, we have highlighted what is most distinctive. For example, while almost every group identifies healthcare as a priority, we have not included it because this does not tell us what is distinctive about each segment.

What differentiates each segment: This section draws from across the full survey, identifying key characteristics distinctive to that segment on a wide range of issues, including their feelings about the current state of the country, concerns in their daily lives, sense of national identity, views of social and political issues, and attitudes about the future.

Core beliefs: Drawing on the framework of social psychology that is explained in Chapter 3, this section highlights what is distinctive in the core beliefs of each segment.

Demographic differences: This section highlights where the demographics of a segment differed in a significant way from population averages – for example, some segments have a higher proportion of younger or older people, or more women than men.

Media consumption: across the entire British population, the BBC is the source of information that is used by the largest number of people. However, there are also important differences in the other sources of information people use. Media consumption behaviour is strongly linked to the core beliefs and psychology of individuals, and thus there are common patterns of readership or viewership among the segments.

For more detail, the Appendix contains the complete demographic information of all segments. This also includes more in-depth political party identity information.

Each segment also includes the profile of an individual who took part in an interview, with names changed to preserve their anonymity. Of course, the characteristics of those real-life individuals do not match all of the typical characteristics of the segments, as there is always variation within each segment and people are above all human, rather than being perfect models of data averages.

Progressive Activists



Highly-educated, urban, and most likely to be in work, Progressive Activists think globally and are motivated to fight against inequality and injustice.

‘It’s not really a meritocracy we live in. The people who have privilege to begin with are far more likely to end up in their dream career.’

Sally, 29, South East England



Priorities

Environment and climate change

Economy

Inequality

Core beliefs

▼ **Lowest** score on **loyalty**

▼ **Lowest** score for **authority**

▼ **Lowest** score on **purity**

Key words

politically-engaged

critical

opinionated

frustrated

cosmopolitan

environmentally-friendly

Vision for a better UK

Environmentally friendly

Compassionate

Tolerant

Preferred media sources

The Guardian

Channel 4

Twitter

podcasts

BBC Radio 4

local newspapers

Overview

Progressive Activists' sense of personal identity is connected to their strong political and social beliefs. They read online newspapers and blogs more than any other segment, but are much less likely to watch television news than others. They are especially vocal in debates on social media and are comfortable making their voices heard. On many issues, they hold stronger views than any other group.

Progressive Activists are more likely to identify with a political party than any other segment. Members of the group are most likely to support the Labour Party, but this segment also has the highest proportion that identifies with the Liberal Democrats, the Greens, and the Scottish National Party (SNP). Progressive Activists opposed Brexit more strongly than any other group, with 74 per cent voting to remain in the EU.

Progressive Activists are motivated by the pursuit of social justice. They are highly committed to gender and racial equality, embrace diversity, and strongly believe in the benefits of immigration. Progressive Activists favour government policies that intervene in markets to achieve better outcomes for society. Fully 99 per cent of them believe that inequality is a serious problem in the UK, compared to 73 per cent of the whole population.

While an above-average number of younger people and students are in this segment, it is worth noting that almost half of Progressive Activists are aged over 40. Where Progressive Activists are most under-represented is among over 65s, with around half as many in this age group as the average across the other segments. Progressive Activists believe there is an intergenerational conflict in the UK, with large numbers saying they believe that older generations are being selfish with their political choices.

There are more Progressive Activists earning a household income of above £50,000 than in any other group. This reflects their both their high education levels and the fact that more Progressive Activists are of working age, and in full-time or part-time work, than any other segment. Compared to the wider population, they are much more likely to live in London or Scotland. They are also far more likely to live in university towns and the major core cities.

Progressive Activists do not have a strong attachment to their British identity. They are critical of Britain's responsibility for historic injustices and the legacy of the British Empire. They think that a person's outcomes in life are determined more by the social structures in which they grow up than by their individual efforts. As a highly engaged group, they actively take part in politics to achieve their aims of a more liberal, open society.

Key concerns for this group are the impacts of climate change, austerity, and racism. They believe that the policy changes necessitated by climate change can create new jobs and benefit society. They also feel confident in their capacity to navigate technological change, although more than any segment, they feel that they spend too much time on their smartphones and other devices.

What differentiates Progressive Activists?

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- Most pessimistic about the direction the country is heading in, with only 2 per cent saying it is going in the right direction (v 29 per cent average)
 - Strongly believe that the system is rigged to serve the rich and influential (95 per cent v 67 per cent average)
 - Very engaged with the news. When asked about their media usage over the past 24 hours, 83 per cent report using social media, 54 per cent say they read a newspaper online or in print, and 17 per cent say they read a blog – in all cases more than any other segment
 - 55 per cent post political content on social media – more than four times as much as any other segment
 - Least confident that once we are through the worst of the Covid-19 crisis we will address the problems in society (68 per cent v 46 per cent average). Only 29 per cent feel confident that we will create a fairer society
 - Most likely to think that people they agree with politically need to stick to their beliefs and fight (35 per cent v 22 per cent average)
 - Least proud of being British of any segment (22 per cent v national average of 59 per cent) and most likely to say their national identity is not important to them (55 per cent v 24 per cent average)
 - Strongly believe that white people have advantages over ethnic minorities (93 per cent v 60 per cent average)
 - Strongly believe that immigration has had a positive impact on the UK (85 per cent v 43 per cent average)
 - More likely to be ‘extremely worried’ about climate change than any other group (72 per cent v 34 per cent average)
 - Tech-savvy, although 68 per cent say they spend too much time on their smartphone or other devices, compared to a national average of 54 per cent

Core beliefs

-
- Lowest score on authoritarianism
 - The strongest moral foundations for Progressive Activists are care and fairness. In contrast, they score the lowest of all segments on purity, loyalty, and authority
 - Second lowest perception of threat
 - Most likely to attribute outcomes in life to circumstances beyond an individual’s own control
 - Attach the lowest importance to their gender as part of their identity

Sally

Sally lives in Brighton, where she rents an apartment with a friend. She moved there after graduating university, attracted by the city's liberal reputation and diversity. Sally feels quite a strong connection to her new home, enjoying that there are many people who share her interests and outlook on life. She works in higher education and in her free time is involved in several community groups that campaign on local and environmental issues.

Graduating from university after the financial crisis of 2008, Sally experienced first-hand the difficulties of finding a fulfilling and well-paying job. It felt as though employers were looking for way too much experience and qualifications in return for a salary that is not enough to both cover living costs and enable a young person to save for the deposit on a house. She felt that she needed more than a bachelor's degree to get a good job, so when she was offered a scholarship to study for her master's she gladly took the opportunity.

Sally tries to keep informed about what is happening in politics and is particularly worried about climate change and austerity cuts to public services. She has read about how public spending cuts have affected poor communities more than others, and thinks we should be doing more to address inequality, both in the UK and internationally. A self-described socialist, she thinks that people born into wealthy families continue to have unfair advantages in our society, saying that 'it's not really a meritocracy we live in. People who have privilege to begin with are far more likely to end up in their chosen dream career.'

Activism is something that comes naturally to Sally. She is particularly committed to protecting the environment, and while she worries about pollution and endangered wildlife, she is also optimistic that humanity can solve these problems. Sally has more faith in people working together than relying on politicians. She says that she does not think that any of the politicians leading the country are trustworthy, feeling that politicians are privileged and out of touch.

While she says she values the openness and creativity of the UK, Sally says she does not feel particularly connected to the idea of English or British identity. Why should she be proud of a country that still refuses to apologise for having conquered and enslaved so much of the world during the age of empire? In fact, Sally says she feels closer to the idea of being European and was totally 'exasperated' by Brexit. Sally feels that the tone of political debate is too aggressive, and that the country feels divided and polarised. She thinks much of the blame for this lies with the Conservative government, and feels that they spread fake news while damaging Britain's international reputation. Even though it sometimes feels like the challenge is overwhelming, Sally is inspired by the idea that a fairer, greener, better world is possible.

Civic Pragmatists



Inclusive and tolerant, Civic Pragmatists seek to find areas of compromise and common ground with others.

‘We’re lucky to have a lot of the things that we have got. I think there’s a lot we take for granted, although there is a lot of inequality in society.’

Bea, 52, North West England



Priorities

Environment and climate change

Economy

Terrorism

Core beliefs

▼ **Low** score on **authoritarianism**

▲ **High** score on **care**

▲ **High** score on **fairness**

Key words

charitable

concerned

exhausted

community-minded

open to compromise

socially liberal

Vision for a better UK

Environmentally friendly

Compassionate

Tolerant

Preferred media sources

BBC

ITV

Channel 5

BBC Radio 4

Overview

Civic Pragmatists are well-informed about issues and often have clear opinions, but their social and political beliefs are generally not central to their sense of personal identity. Civic Pragmatists do not tend to see themselves as activists. While they have a lot of common ground with Progressive Activists, they hold their views less intensely and on some issues are more similar to other population segments. They value compromise with others, believe in working towards consensus, and support civic values and community. Civic Pragmatists are more likely to feel exhausted by the division in British politics than the wider population.

The psychology and worldview of Civic Pragmatists is distinguished by the strength of their commitment to the welfare of others. Almost all Civic Pragmatists regularly donate money to charity, compared to only one half of the wider population. They have an overriding belief in the value of democracy and champion an inclusive attitude towards British identity. They think Britain should have remained in the European Union. Almost half of the people in this segment identify themselves as supporters of the Labour Party, but more than one in five are Conservatives, and significant numbers also support the Liberal Democrats, Greens, and SNP.

Certain demographic characteristics stand out among Civic Pragmatists. They are the segment most evenly distributed by age across the population, with an almost exact match in every age cohort. Women in this segment outnumber men by a margin of almost two to one. They are slightly more likely to live in the West Midlands, North West England, and Scotland than the wider population. They also have the third highest educational attainment as a segment (after Progressive Activists and Established Liberals).

What differentiates Civic Pragmatists?

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- Most likely to believe that we are too focused on money and status as a society (91 per cent agree v 81 per cent average)
 - Slightly above average media consumption of all forms of information except blogs – when asked about what media they had consumed in the past day, 71 per cent report using social media, 57 per cent watching television news, 41 per cent reading an online or print newspaper, and 35 per cent listening to news or talk radio
 - Second most likely to feel exhausted by the division in British politics, just after Progressive Activists (73 per cent v 60 per cent average)
 - Strongly agree that living in a country that is governed democratically is important to them (93 per cent v 84 per cent average)
 - Strongly believe that the people they agree with politically need to be willing to listen to others and compromise (60 per cent v 50 per cent average)
 - Less likely to think that British identity is disappearing nowadays (44 per cent agree v 58 per cent average)
 - More likely to believe that immigration has had a positive impact on the UK (59 per cent v 43 per cent average)
 - Believe that white people have advantages over ethnic minorities (76 per cent agree v national average of 60 per cent)
 - Strongly believe that we are already feeling the effects of climate change (74 per cent v 59 per cent average)

- Much more likely (69 per cent v 49 per cent average) to strongly agree that issues like the pandemic or climate change are global in nature, and that countries are stronger working together to resolve such crises
- Most likely to be female (63 per cent v 51 per cent average)

Core beliefs

- Low score on authoritarianism
- The strongest moral foundations for Civic Pragmatists are care and fairness. In contrast, they score below average on purity, loyalty, and authority
- Higher perception of threat than average
- Strongly believe that men still have advantages over women in our society (72 per cent v 53 per cent average)

Jessica

Jessica is a retiree living in Bristol. She owns her own house and tries to keep active, although it is getting harder as she gets older and her mobility declines. To keep busy, she volunteers to help elderly people with day-to-day activities. When not doing that, she enjoys taking walks in the country and along the coast. She feels that the English countryside is one of best things about the country, saying that 'the almost bucolic vision of England does exist in some places'. Jessica also loves British humour, sarcasm, and wit. She describes herself as 'British first, English second' because she feels an attachment to the whole of the United Kingdom.

Having been vegan for decades, Jessica has a keen interest in the environment. After thinking about it for many years, her conclusion is that 'everything humans do to make their lives more convenient is detrimental to the environment'. Even so, she is not judgmental about how other people live their lives. She does not think that we can solve the climate crisis by ourselves, because 'individuals are probably doing as much as they possibly can while living a life'. Jessica believes governments and the media need to put greater pressure on industry to reduce pollution, stop producing plastics, and develop sustainable alternatives. She is worried that environmental protection is too often undermined by economic considerations. She sees the issue of fracking for gas as an example of this, where ultimately 'money talks, and in the end, whoever's got the most money gets what they want'.

Jessica is very concerned about the current state of our country and often wonders if there is something fundamentally wrong with western societies. She feels that many people are struggling with their mental health as a result of our always-on, work-driven, consumerist culture. Being globally minded, Jessica thinks about how the things we buy affect the environment and other people. She says we only get cheap food, clothes, and technology in our country because we exploit the labour and resources of developing countries. She believes our lifestyles should not depend on the exploitation of other people, 'because too many people suffer as a result of it'.

According to Jessica, another big issue nowadays is that everybody is 'in their own little bubble, surrounded by people who think the same way'. Instead of talking with others who disagree, it just seems like most public debate has devolved into shouting matches, where the one who shouts loudest wins. She hopes we can find ways to talk more to people we disagree with and reach a fair compromise on issues, reminiscing fondly on her days as a polytechnic student where there were blistering arguments on political issues yet people remained friends. Jessica thinks that the pandemic has created a unique opportunity for people to re-evaluate their priorities and change attitudes towards the most vulnerable people in our society. She would also like to see more commitment to ensuring that key workers who have got the UK through the pandemic are paid a fair wage.

While she describes herself as a 'bit of a socialist', Jessica has mixed feelings towards the advancements in women's rights won by campaigners in her lifetime. When she was growing up, most women did not work. Instead, women in the home knew each other and were the backbone of their communities. Nowadays everybody is so busy working that they barely know their neighbours, and she feels that we have lost our sense of community. Jessica feels that life was also better for children before both parents were forced to work to survive. She has observed from her friends who are also growing older that many younger families are now so busy with work that they have little time to visit their ageing relatives.

Disengaged Battlers



Distrustful and disconnected from their communities, for Disengaged Battlers life can be a daily struggle – but they blame the system rather than other people.

‘I don’t generally feel very, very lucky. I’ve had a lot of financial issues and struggles, but obviously I’m grateful for what I have got.’

Kelly, 39, North West England



Priorities

Inequality
Immigration and refugees
Pensions

Core beliefs

- ▼ **Low** score on **loyalty**
- ▼ **Low** score on **authoritarianism**
- ▼ **Slightly lower** score on **authority** than average

Key words

tolerant
surviving
insecure
disillusioned
disconnected
overlooked
socially liberal

Vision for a better UK

Fair
Compassionate
Honest

Preferred media sources

Daily Mirror
The Metro
commercial radio
(large numbers say they have no interest in news)

Overview

More than any other segment, Disengaged Battlers are focused on the day-to-day struggle for survival. They resemble the group described in recent years as the urban ‘precarariat’: people who are working but financially insecure. As a result, they are more disengaged from social and political issues. They are the lowest consumers of almost every type of information, with television news and social media being their most important sources of information. Many have given up on the system and do not feel that they have any capacity to make things better.

Disengaged Battlers report very high financial insecurity, lower incomes, and a powerful sense of ‘just about managing’. Along with the Disengaged Traditionalists, they have the highest proportion (54 per cent) in the lower C2DE social grades, covering those in working class occupations as well as those who are out of work. They are more likely to live in London or Scotland than the wider population. Both Disengaged segments are more likely to live in post-industrial towns than average, but Disengaged Battlers are also far more likely to be found in the core cities.

The segment’s focus on survival is associated with feeling disconnected, not only from national issues but also from their local communities. They are often facing life’s highs and lows without anyone to support them, and many say that they feel lonely all or most of the time. They are the only group where more than half say that they felt mostly alone during the coronavirus lockdown in 2020. Without a well-functioning support network, Disengaged Battlers are more likely to feel disempowered, disillusioned, and hold negative attitudes towards the system.

While they have more liberal and tolerant social views, Disengaged Battlers pay less attention to politics and social issues than others. Although they are less likely to vote than any other segment, a majority are still voters. Around half support Labour, but many vote for the Conservatives and SNP; a smaller proportion votes for the Liberal Democrats and Greens. They are more likely than any other segment to feel no sense of attachment to any political party, but many still feel that they do not want to waste their vote, even if they are dissatisfied with the alternatives. Almost one in three question how important it is to live in a democracy and did not vote in either the 2019 General Election or the 2016 EU referendum. The group was more likely to vote to Remain in the EU, but only by a proportion of 37 per cent for Remain versus 29 per cent for Leave.

While they are pessimistic and less connected to their community, Disengaged Battlers generally do not blame other groups such as immigrants or other minorities for difficulties in their lives. They hold positive attitudes towards immigrants and are more likely than average to think that immigration has had a positive effect on the UK. Similarly, they embrace values of diversity, and are less likely than the wider population to say that the values of Muslims are so different that they will not be able to integrate into British society.

What differentiates Disengaged Battlers?

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- Disengaged Battlers have the highest feelings of disengagement and unhappiness across a range of measures. They are most likely to say they feel lonely (23 per cent v 13 per cent average) and anxious (35 per cent v 22 per cent average) most of the time
 - They are much less likely to be hopeful that once we're through the worst of the Covid-19 pandemic we will create a fairer society (30 per cent v 44 per cent average)
 - 29 per cent did not vote in the last election, the highest of any segment (the average across the population is 17 per cent). Those that did vote tended to support Labour, although a quarter voted for the Conservatives
 - More likely to think that politicians do not care about people like them (90 per cent v 83 per cent average)
 - They are almost twice as likely to have to often borrow money from their friends (20 per cent v 12 per cent average)
 - Least likely to say it is 'very important' that the UK remains united as a country (25 per cent v 34 per cent average)
 - Least likely to have volunteered in their local community in the past year (3 per cent v 17 per cent average)
 - 25 per cent feel that being British is not at all important to them (v 35 per cent average)
 - Less likely to agree that there is pressure to speak a certain way about subjects like immigration (31 per cent disagree v 23 per cent average)
 - More likely to believe that white people have advantages over ethnic minorities (64 per cent agree v 60 per cent average)
 - Most ethnically diverse population segment, with only 77 per cent being ethnically White British (v 84 per cent average)
 - They are concerned about environmental issues, but their concern is below the population average and they are less likely to trust climate scientists (44 per cent v 56 per cent average) or friends and family when discussing climate change (7 per cent v 16 per cent average)

Core beliefs

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- Slightly lower score on authoritarianism than average
 - Highest moral foundations for Disengaged Battlers are care and fairness. In contrast, they score lower on purity, loyalty, and authority
 - High sense of insecurity about their local area
 - Second highest belief that some people's circumstances are so challenging that no amount of work will allow them to find success

Sujita

Sujita is in her early 60s and lives in a town in Surrey. At the beginning of the Covid-19 outbreak she was made redundant from her job as a secretary, and does not see that there is any chance of getting a job soon. She has a daughter who has profound disabilities and lives in a residential home. Times are tough for her right now, but Sujita says she tries to stay positive and is 'hoping for better times'.

Asked how she feels about Britain today, Sujita says 'disappointed'. This is not the country to which she emigrated 42 years ago. When she arrived in the UK in the late 1970s, there was still a real sense of community. Neighbours would come over for tea and everybody in the area knew each other. Nowadays most people don't even know their neighbours. She feels that people keep their distance from each other and have become more selfish. Nevertheless, she has found her own sense of community in recent years, through being part of a community of carers in her area who support each other and share information and experiences. Although the coronavirus has made her life a lot harder, she also feels that it has revived community spirit in England. She began to do the shopping for her 90-year-old neighbour, and she also received notes under her door from people offering to help if she needed anything. She hopes that this renewed community spirit might be here to stay.

Sujita feels that the government has done a bad job managing Covid-19, with confusing messages from different people in the government and rules that did not make sense. She wishes they could provide clear guidance with 'no more misinformation and floundering'. She also worries about the Brexit process being as chaotic as Covid-19. She does not think the government prepared the country for Brexit. She especially worries about its impacts for staffing care homes and the NHS. Her daughter relies on the support of carers, many of whom come from Eastern Europe and have excellent skills. She is concerned about how the system will cope if they are forced to leave Britain or others like them stop coming, and she has already noticed people leaving the UK.

Living in Surrey, Sujita feels lucky to have so much countryside nearby, and finds English landscapes completely charming. Although she grew up in Sri Lanka, Sujita says she now feels more British than Sri Lankan. Her cultural background is Tamil and her religion is Hindu, 'but my country and the country I'm loyal to is Britain'. She notes that she even supports the English team in cricket matches. If someone like her lives here, pays their tax, and feels rooted here, 'why can't we all be British?' She finds it frustrating when people describe themselves as Welsh, or English, or English but from the north, and thinks we would be more united if we just all said that we are British. Sujita is proud of Britain's reputation for tolerance. Although she has heard other people's experience of racism in some parts of the country, she is not aware of having ever experienced racism in the UK. She thinks that 'we need to think of a better way of getting everybody together.'

One of the lessons from Covid-19 for Sujita is that 'it has shown us less cars, less planes, less transport is better for air quality and better for the environment'. While this could never last, she hopes that there are some lessons for taking better care of the environment. Sujita worries that recent announcements about allowing more housing to be built will eat into the green belt and is just another example of the government rewarding its donors but not protecting the environment.

Established Liberals



Established Liberals are prosperous and educated. They hold a socially progressive outlook, are pro-market in their economic views, and are globally-minded.

‘We are a very equal society and we are incredibly supportive of each other. I don’t think that is as true in other countries. I haven’t got any first-hand experience of being a different nationality, but I do think we have this amazing British spirit.’

Michael, 39, South West England



Priorities

Economy

Divisions in society

Housing

Core beliefs

▼ **Lowest** score on **care**

▼ **Low** score on **purity**

▼ **Low** score on **authoritarianism**

Key words

comfortable

privileged

cosmopolitan

trusting

confident

pro-market

Vision for a better UK

Tolerant

Environmentally friendly

Educated

Preferred media sources

BBC

The Times

Daily Telegraph

BBC Radio 4

podcasts

Overview

Educated, wealthy, and comfortable, Established Liberals feel at ease in their own skin – as well as the country they live in. Members of this group have a high trust in government, institutions, and those around them. They are almost twice as likely as any other group to feel that their voices are represented in politics. They are also more likely than any segment to believe that citizens, through their collective efforts, can change society. They hold moderate, centrist views and are particularly receptive towards compromising with others.

Often working in stable white-collar jobs, Established Liberals are particularly concentrated in London, the South East, South West, and East of England, favouring coastal areas a little more than the wider population (17 per cent versus 13 per cent on average). They are least likely of any population segment to say that the area they live in has been neglected and are also least likely to feel unsafe in their local area.

Established Liberals tend to hold socially liberal views and believe in open markets and less government regulation and intervention. Their views on economic issues differ from other socially liberal groups. They are more likely to believe that people are responsible for their own outcomes in life by working hard, that young people feel entitled to an easy life, and to feel that the public spending cuts of the 2010s were necessary. Just over half identify politically as Conservatives, with their values aligning with the ‘One Nation’ Conservative tradition. Around one third of people in this segment identify with either Labour or the Liberal Democrats.

Established Liberals have an internationalist outlook, believing that the UK should have remained in the European Union and feeling prouder of Britain’s positive influence in the world than any other segment. On issues such as immigration, they are closer to Progressive Activists than any segment, and are the only other segment where a majority believes that British identity is being strengthened through diversity. On other issues, however, their attitudes can be closest to the Backbone Conservatives, such as on the existence of public schools. In some ways the Established Liberals are a bridge between progressive and conservative groups, because on specific issues their values can clearly align with one or the other (while at other times they might be closer to the population average).

Established Liberals have higher social trust and positive views of society, perhaps reflecting their own sense of security. During the Covid-19 pandemic, for example, they were more likely than any other segment to believe that most people were following the rules and doing their bit to fight the virus. Although they feel represented and have high levels of trust in institutions and other people, Established Liberals still recognise that Britain has serious problems, including a high level of inequality. This perhaps reflects the fact that they are above average for all forms of media consumption except social media.

What differentiates Established Liberals?

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- Strongest sense of security of any segment, with 40 per cent disagreeing that the world is becoming a more dangerous place (v 13 per cent average)
 - Feel safe in their local area, with 82 per cent of the group disagreeing that their area is becoming more dangerous (v 56 per cent average)
 - More likely to have volunteered in their local community in the past year than any other segment (31 per cent v 17 per cent average)
 - Less anxious about the impact of technological change and automation than any other segment (27 per cent v 38 per cent average)
 - More likely to feel that they have a say in politics than any other segment (43 per cent v 24 per cent average)
 - Most likely to believe that the differences between people in the UK are not so big that we cannot come together (80 per cent, compared to an average of 61 per cent)
 - Most likely to think that people who agree with them politically need to be more willing to compromise (62 per cent v 50 per cent average)
 - Less likely to say they feel ‘very proud’ of being British (20 per cent v 27 per cent average)
 - Established Liberals feel comfortable talking about their views on race and racism; they are least likely to strongly disagree when asked if they feel comfortable expressing their views (4 per cent v 10 per cent average)
 - More likely to think that immigration has had a positive impact on their area (60 per cent v 43 per cent average)
 - Most likely to think that ordinary people are responsible for causing the most damage to the environment (41 per cent v 30 per cent average)
 - Less likely to feel their area has been neglected than any other segment – 58 per cent disagree that their area has been neglected for a long time, compared to 41 per cent of the wider population

Core beliefs

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- Second lowest score on authoritarianism
 - Established Liberals have a low score for the value of purity
 - Members of this segment generally score close to average for loyalty and authority
 - Lowest sense of insecurity about their local area
 - Attach the lowest importance to supporting a political party

Michael

Michael is an architect in a design studio. He is in early middle age, married, lives in Bath, and commutes by car to work in Bristol. He is proud of what he has achieved and feels content with his lot in life. He has a sense of fulfilment in having established a strong foundation for his family – a good home with plenty of space in the garden for his children to play, and the financial means to enjoy regular holidays abroad. When he thinks about his local area, Michael feels it is a good place to live. He does not see as many social issues as there are in other places. Even when travelling abroad he feels safe, trusting that the majority of people will reciprocate his live-and-let-live attitude.

Michael is conscious of the difficulties in modern politics but feels more or less satisfied with how the UK is run. He thinks it is good that a wide range of views are represented in political debates, and although some of his friends and family say they are unhappy with the government, he feels that politicians are driven to benefit society and are trying hard in difficult circumstances. When he thinks about life in the UK, Michael says it is great to live here, particularly when it comes to finding work, skills training, and education. However, he has some concerns that with Britain now out of the European Union, it may be more difficult to work abroad. This frustrates him, because he thinks everybody should have the right to travel freely and work in other countries. He is also worried by the rise in racism he has seen since the Brexit referendum, particularly online, and the way that people like himself who voted to Remain in the EU are depicted in the media.

While Michael says that he is comfortable, he feels some level of dissatisfaction with the state of the country, sometimes asking himself ‘what is going on?’ This is particularly the case when he thinks about the pandemic, with confused messaging and poor management of different aspects of the crisis. Yet he does not think that blame for this lies entirely with the government, also noting that some people did not follow the rules as much as others. Michael is also interested in the issue of the environment. He believes our modern lifestyle is damaging the environment and that ‘we choose too much, mass produce things we don’t need.’ He feels that ordinary people can make the biggest difference by changing their habits, and perhaps returning to the reuse and repair culture of older generations. To that end, he tries to live sustainably where he can. He has begun growing vegetables in his garden and hopes to grow more food for his family in the future.

All in all, Michael believes that we should think less in terms of political parties or ideologies and recognise that we are all human beings: ‘everyone’s a parent, a brother, a sister, a daughter, a son – if you realise that, then really we are the same.’ In fact, people are generally honest, and we can mostly trust others. While he is happy to live in the UK, he does not feel especially attached to being British, seeing it being more about where he was born than anything else. Having travelled, he has seen that every country has something unique to offer, and thinks that instead of border walls we should be building bridges between different nations.

Loyal Nationals



Loyal Nationals perceive the world to be a dangerous place. They think the UK needs a strong leader who is prepared to break the rules in order to defeat the threats our society faces.

‘The likes of myself don't matter anymore. I don't fit in. It seems we are giving in more and more to people that are outside of this country or don't want to integrate.’

George, 62, West Midlands



Priorities

Immigration
Ageing population
Preserving cultural heritage

Core beliefs

- ▲ Highest score on authoritarianism
- ▲ Highest score on authority
- ▲ Highest score on care

Key words

proud
patriotic
tribal
threatened
aggrieved
worried about inequality

Vision for a better UK

Hard-working
Honest
Patriotic

Preferred media sources

Daily Mail
ITV
The Sun
Facebook
local newspapers

Overview

Loyal Nationals value the sense of security and belonging that comes from being part of a nation with a strong identity and shared values. They feel proud of their country and patriotic about its history and past achievements. They also feel anxious about threats to Britain, in the face of which they believe we need to come together and pursue our national self-interest.

Just as belonging to a group – in particular to their nation – is important to Loyal Nationals, so too they imagine that other people will be similar to them, and have a strong attachment to the groups to which they belong. For that reason, they are more anxious about Britain's increasing diversity. They feel that having different group loyalties (for example, someone having a different background in terms of race, culture, or religion) will undermine their loyalty to Britain, and that having large numbers of people with different group loyalties will undermine the country's sense of cohesion.

This tendency to see other people through the lens of their group attachments contributes to feelings of being besieged or under threat from outsiders. Loyal Nationals have a sense of loss and anxiety about the future, even after Britain's departure from the EU, which most Loyal Nationals supported.

Loyal Nationals carry a deep strain of frustration at having their views and values excluded by decision-makers in London. They have the lowest levels of educational attainment of any segment, and they feel disrespected by educated elites. They are particularly concentrated in Yorkshire, North East England, and Wales, and often feel that the needs of their local community have been neglected for a long time. Members of the group are more likely to live in post-war new towns and in medium-sized towns than average, being correspondingly less likely to live in core cities. Only Disengaged Battlers have lower feelings of living in a community that cares for each other than Loyal Nationals do. Members of this segment also report low levels of trust in others, feeling that you cannot be too careful in dealing with people.

On many issues relating to national identity, Loyal Nationals hold stronger views than any other group. They are more likely than any other segment to have supported Brexit so that Britain could gain control of immigration policy. They believe that immigration leads to a more divided nation, and see diversity as a threat to national identity. Far more than any other group, they say that they sometimes feel like a stranger in their own country. Three-quarters of Loyal Nationals worry about becoming a minority in the UK. Psychologically, the group is marked by feelings of suspicion and frustration, and they feel that others' interests are often put ahead of theirs. Loyal Nationals believe that it is a dog-eat-dog world we live in, and that Britain is often naïve in its dealing with other countries. Many Loyal Nationals think that the country needs a strong leader who is prepared to break the rules to fix what is wrong.

Politically, Loyal Nationals are slightly more likely to participate in elections than British people on average. However, they can often find it hard to follow politics. Between 2017 and 2019, their vote for the Conservatives shot up from 46 per cent to 56 per cent, and their vote for Labour fell by a similar amount. Many are the 'Red Wall' voters that delivered Boris Johnson's landslide Conservative victory in 2019. However, on economic issues Loyal Nationals favour interventionist, big-government policies, aligning more with the three segments most likely to support Labour. For example, they are the second most likely (after Progressive Activists) to strongly agree that government financial support during the Covid-19 pandemic should not be given to companies that are based offshore in tax havens.

What differentiates Loyal Nationals?

-
- Most likely to say their nationality is important to them (78 v 62 per cent average)
 - 62 per cent sometimes feel like a stranger in their own country – compared to an average of 43 per cent, and far more than any other segment
 - More anxious about technological change and automation than any other segment (48 per cent v 38 per cent average)
 - More likely than any other segment to identify as working class (65 per cent v 50 per cent average)
 - More likely than any other segment to say that their class identity is important to them (49 per cent v 40 per cent average)
 - Most likely to say that Covid-19 has made them reassess their priorities in life (41 per cent v 31 per cent average)
 - Strongest sense of insecurity of any segment, with almost all agreeing that the world is becoming a more dangerous place (and twice as many strongly agreeing than the national average)
 - Most likely to think the UK needs a strong leader willing to break the rules (72 per cent v 59 per cent average)
 - Most likely to say that the UK government should continue to play a bigger role in our lives after the coronavirus pandemic is over (43 per cent v 34 per cent average)
 - Highest agreement that we should have stronger rules to protect the environment, as long as they apply equally to everyone (63 per cent v 48 per cent average)
 - Most likely to strongly feel there is a pressure to speak a certain way about immigration (52 per cent v 28 per cent average)
 - Strongest anti-immigration views of any segment. Loyal Nationals are least likely to say that immigration has had a positive impact (19 per cent v 43 per cent average)
 - Most likely to think Islamist terrorism is a serious problem (95 per cent v 83 per cent average), but also think that anti-Semitism (68 per cent v 61 per cent average) is a problem

Core beliefs

-
- Second highest score on the value of loyalty (after Backbone Conservatives)
 - Highest scores on authoritarianism and authority
 - Highest score on the value of care for any segment
 - Strongest pride in their nationality, ethnicity, class, and gender
 - Highest sense sense of insecurity about the world

George

George has recently retired after a career in the NHS due to ill health. In his younger years, he served as a soldier in the British Army. He lives in Coventry – in his own words, ‘in the West Midlands, unfortunately.’ He does not like the area that he lives in, as he feels that it has been in decline during recent years. He also often feels alone because he does not know anybody in his area and his nearest family lives up North. His favourite places to visit in the UK are the Yorkshire Moors and Dales, because you can go there to relax in the countryside by yourself and leave the world behind.

Even though it’s politically incorrect to say it, George believes that the UK has been letting in too many immigrants who do not want to integrate. He thinks the local sense of community has been undermined by the number of immigrants who have moved into Coventry. In particular, he thinks there is a problem with Muslims – not only carrying out terror attacks, but also becoming dominant in the places they live and wanting to implement Sharia law. On this point, he is quick to add that he has Sikh and Hindu friends who agree with him that Muslims do not integrate into British society as easily as others.

When asked to sum up life in the UK today, he answers ‘it’s sh*t... the likes of myself don’t count anymore.’ The 2016 referendum on Britain’s membership of the European Union made George engage more with political and social issues: ‘to me, that referendum was important. It’s the first time in my life I ever thought my vote counted for something.’ Up until 2019, George had voted Labour all his life. He switched his vote because of the party’s support for a second EU referendum, which he calls a betrayal. He is very critical of Sir Keir Starmer, the new Labour leader, as the person behind that policy. George blames the EU for the decline of British heavy industry and the collapse of the UK’s fishing industry.

George believes we need to more strictly enforce our laws: ‘rules may be for breaking, but laws are not.’ He is proud to be English and is angry that other people make him feel he should be ashamed for being a straight white man. He has had a difficult life and rejects the idea that he is privileged. Instead, he thinks it is those who take from our benefits system without paying in who are the truly privileged ones. He is proud of the NHS but thinks it should only be available to British citizens who have paid their National Insurance contributions. Over the past few years, he has been having treatment on the NHS for several health conditions. He is thankful the health service exists.

George says the media is dividing people in Britain and feels he is insulted for his beliefs, saying ‘I’m supposedly a bigot, I’m a misogynist... I’m just sick of labels.’ He is frustrated by the pro-EU ‘crackpots’ and ‘champagne socialists’ who disagree with him, and who are constantly ‘virtue-signalling’ to others on issues of immigration and diversity. Looking to the future, George has a warning for politicians. He says that the anger behind the referendum is coming back and that the elites of all parties need to start listening to ordinary people.

Disengaged Traditionalists



Disengaged Traditionalists see the value of self-reliance and a strong work ethic. They are pessimistic about the places they live in, but are optimistic about the UK's future.

'I'm a great believer of don't help someone else until you've helped yourself.'

Jake, 47, South East England



Priorities

Economy

Crime

Taxes

Core beliefs

▲ **High** score for **loyalty**

▲ **High** score on **authoritarianism**

▼ **Low** score on **fairness**

Key words

self-reliant

ordered

patriotic

tough-minded

suspicious

disconnected

Vision for a better UK

Hard-working

Polite

Patriotic

Preferred media sources

The Sun

Daily Express

(large numbers say they have no interest in news)

Overview

Disengaged Traditionalists believe in a well-ordered society and put a strong priority on issues of crime and justice. They tend to be very mindful of others' behaviour. When they think about social and political debates, they often consider issues through a lens of suspicion towards others' behaviour and observance of British social rules. They often have viewpoints on issues, but tend to pay limited attention to current debates and are second only to Disengaged Battlers in not identifying with any particular political party. Large numbers of this group did not vote in the 2019 election, but those who did vote favoured the Conservatives to Labour by a ratio of almost four to one.

Disengaged Traditionalists value a feeling of self-reliance and take pride in a hard day's work. The emphasis that they place on personal responsibility translates into feeling less concerned about inequality than most others, with only half saying that they are concerned about it, compared to nearly three-quarters of the wider population. They are also least likely to believe that modern Britain places too much emphasis on money and status (although a large majority still agree with this concern). Disengaged Traditionalists have the coldest feelings towards those on benefits of any population segment. They are strongly opposed to what they perceive to be a culture of hand-outs in Britain.

Disengaged Traditionalists feel a strong sense of pride in Britain's history and armed forces, but they are below average on measures of social trust and feeling that they are part of a community. While they have many similarities with the Loyal Nationals, they tend to see society through the lens of individuals rather than groups. Disengaged Traditionalists are in line with the average for the rest of the country in believing that they have a say in politics. However, they are more likely to harbour racist views, with one-third believing that some races or ethnic groups are born less intelligent than others.

On demographic measures, Disengaged Traditionalists are likely to live in an urban area, be in full-time work, and be employed in a manual occupation. They tend to have lower education levels and lower earnings than the general population. Of all segments, Disengaged Traditionalists comprise the highest percentage of men, with an above-average concentration in the English Midlands. Alongside the Disengaged Battlers, they are more likely to live in post-industrial towns than average. Members of this segment have the most negative attitudes towards metropolitan elites living in London and the South East.

What differentiates Disengaged Traditionalists?

-
- 59 per cent men (v 49 per cent average)
 - Coldest attitudes of any group towards people who are on benefits (average of 33 v 42 national average, where 0 is cold and 100 is warm)
 - At 70 per cent, least likely to think that we are too focused on money and status as a society (v 81 per cent average)
 - Much less likely to say that we should always strive to tackle inequality in our society (44 per cent v 65 per cent average)
 - More likely to think that British identity is disappearing nowadays (76 per cent v 58 per cent average)
 - Less likely to think that immigration has had a positive impact on the UK (22 per cent v 43 per cent average)
 - More suspicious of Muslims – they are the least likely to agree that most Muslims do not support terrorism (80 per cent v 90 per cent average)
 - Less likely to feel that we should act on climate change (12 per cent v 6 per cent average) and more likely to feel that climate change is mainly a concern for rich, white, middle class (24 per cent v 15 per cent average)
 - More likely to strongly feel that these days people are too sensitive about things to do with race (48 per cent v 33 per cent average)
 - Most likely to hold racist attitudes such as ‘some races are born less intelligent than others’ (35 per cent v 17 per cent on average)

Core beliefs

-
- High score on authoritarianism
 - Highest sense of insecurity about their local area
 - Highest pride in their ethnicity
 - Second highest score for believing they owe their position to hard work and effort rather than luck and circumstance

Jake

Jake is a 47-year old software tester living in Maidstone. His role means that he often works long hours, but he does not think this is something to complain about. Hard work is part of life if you want to get ahead, and Jake believes people should always try to stand on their own two feet and make their own success in life instead of relying on others. Jake takes pride in keeping himself in shape and has a routine of going to the gym every day, usually before he arrives at work.

After his divorce, Jake was short of money and moved back to living with his parents but found that difficult in his 40s, so he now lives alone. Things have not been easy with his ex-wife, which made it harder for him to see his children who live in North East England with their mother. His long regular drives up and down the country and long commutes have made him more frustrated about the state of the roads, which seem to be constantly under repair and struggling to cope since so many people have moved into the area in recent years.

Jake has lived in the North as well as the South East, and he prefers northern people because they are more friendly and relaxed. He thinks his local area is becoming a worse place to live and is becoming hard to recognise compared to what it was like when he was growing up. Not only is it more unsafe but it is not as well maintained. He thinks that immigration is to blame for this decline, because it has made the community feel divided, with areas that no longer feel English. He wonders whether we should start calling immigrants in those areas the 'ethnic majorities' rather than 'ethnic minorities'. Jake feels it is a double standard that it is frowned upon for English people to be proud of their ethnicity, when other groups are encouraged to be proud of their backgrounds and identities. But Jake is also critical of people with racist attitudes towards others, which makes society more divided.

One aspect of living in his area that Jake enjoys is the opportunity to visit the countryside and go for walks. He thinks more should be done to protect the English countryside. He gets frustrated when he sees plastic rubbish when he's walking through the countryside, and he also worries about the amount of plastics in the ocean. However, while he feels that climate change is happening – 'when I was younger the seasons were more like seasons' - he does not think we need to worry about it, as the planet has always gone through change. While humans might be speeding some of those changes up, Jake says he finds all the reporting about the environment boring.

Jake is proud of being English and thinks that English people are friendly and outgoing towards others, but he worries that others often take advantage of us as a result. He thinks it is good that the UK has a benefits system, but that sometimes there are people who abuse the system and 'they should get banged up, to be honest'. He wonders why we are more interested in looking after others than looking after ourselves – 'we seem to send – if the figures are right – loads of money abroad to loads of other countries and we've got issues in our own country that need that money to help and get sorted out. And I'm a great believer of don't help someone else until you've helped yourself and you're all okay.' On the other hand, Jake is also critical of English people's lack of respect for other countries around the world when they travel overseas: 'certainly in my early years I have done the whole Ibiza, Majorca, Spain type-thing, and you see that some people go abroad and just don't care. They just treat it as if it's their own country, or their own home'.

Jake thinks it is a good thing that Britain can now make its own laws, having left the European Union. He is hopeful that this will make Britain a more united country. But he thinks that people don't respect the law enough nowadays. The justice system has become 'a bit of a joke' because too many people can break the law and get away with a slap on the wrists – in fact the system is basically 'set up to let criminals get off'. He would like to see much stricter punishments for crime and a policy of making an example of the worst offenders to send a message to the rest of society.

Backbone Conservatives



Nostalgic, patriotic, and confident, Backbone Conservatives look to the UK's future after Brexit with optimism. They are proud of Britain's history, traditions, and armed forces.

'I'm proud of the fact I'm British. I would always hang my British flags out if I could.'

Michelle, 78, Yorkshire and the Humber



Priorities

Brexit
Defence and security
Pensions

Core beliefs

▲ **High** score on **authoritarianism**
▲ **High** score on **purity**
▲ **High** score on **authority**

Key words

nostalgic
patriotic
proud
secure
confident
engaged

Vision for a better UK

Hard-working
Honest
Patriotic

Preferred media sources

BBC
ITV
Sky News
Daily Mail
Daily Telegraph
Daily Express

Overview

In many ways, Backbone Conservatives live up to the image of the comfortable and paternalistic Home Counties Tory of times gone by. Proud to be British and confident of their place in the world, members of this group are particularly concentrated in rural areas in the East Midlands, South East, and South West of England. Data shows that they are far more likely to live in villages and small towns than average, and are least likely of any segment to live in core cities. With this strong connection to where they live, Backbone Conservatives feel that they have a voice in their community. They are most likely to believe that if they wished to do so, they could find ways to improve the area in which they live.

This segment is both older and wealthier than the general population. Characterised by an overwhelming support for the Conservative Party and strongly favouring leaving the EU, the worldview of a Backbone Conservative is shaped by tradition and nostalgia. They are the proudest of Britain's history, cultural heritage, and monarchy of any group. They are also the segment with the lowest Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) population. They are the only group where a majority think that the country is going in the right direction.

On some issues, Backbone Conservatives are out of step with the wider public. For instance, they are least likely to believe that racism is a serious problem and have the most negative views on the impact of immigration. Backbone Conservatives are least likely to think that inequality is a serious problem. They are also largely supportive of public spending cuts, sceptical of the need for radical action on the climate, and doubt the existence of a North-South divide in the UK.

Backbone Conservatives follow the news actively, with a preference for traditional news sources (they are below average only on social media engagement and reading blogs). Two-thirds tune in to television news every day, almost half read a print or online newspaper, and more than one-third tune in to radio news – in each case, they are very high on media engagement compared to other segments. They are least likely to say that they spend too much time on their smartphone or other devices, and most likely to feel that the negatives of social media outweigh the benefits.

What differentiates Backbone Conservatives?

- Most optimistic segment – only segment with a majority thinking that the country is going in the right direction (55 per cent v 29 per cent average)
- Most likely to say that the pandemic has revealed the best of human nature, namely our capacity to be caring and compassionate (66 per cent v 55 per cent average)
- The only segment where a majority think that there is no North-South divide, feeling instead that people in the regions are able to make their voices heard equally (55 per cent v 35 per cent average)
- Have the most pride in being British of any segment (78 per cent v 59 per cent) and high proportion saying that their national identity is important to them (76 per cent v 62 per cent average)

- Traditional and nostalgic – have a stronger sense of pride than any other segment in the country’s history (32 per cent v 21 per cent average), cultural heritage (26 per cent v 20 per cent average), and the monarchy (28 per cent v 14 per cent average)
- Most likely to identify as English (80 per cent v 72 per cent average) and to be ethnically White British (93 per cent v 84 per cent)
- Most likely to think that most immigrants do not make efforts to integrate into British society (56 per cent v 38 per cent average)
- Least likely to consider racism a serious problem (62 per cent v 77 per cent average)
- Most likely to believe that cuts to public spending were necessary (75 per cent v 50 per cent average)
- Highest score for agreeing that when the Covid-19 crisis is over, we should immediately stop borrowing and focus on repaying the national debt (41 per cent v 29 per cent average)
- Most likely to say that responding to climate change requires gradual change (47 per cent v 32 per cent average)

Core beliefs

-
- High score on authoritarianism
 - Joint highest score on value of authority
 - Most likely to believe women are at an advantage over men in our society

Michelle

Michelle is in her late 70s but still leads an active life, splitting her time between her home in Harrogate and a second home in Portugal. Her husband served in the Royal Navy, a job which meant that they were stationed in different parts of the world as their family was growing up. Since those days they have enjoyed their retirement years together, having time to do the things that they most enjoy. She is outgoing, enjoys parties, and feels that life is busy with daily activities such as her art classes, even though she finds it hard to account for how quickly time passes. She loves the fact that her family once described her as ‘the oldest granny on the fairground roundabout’. The highlight of her day during the Covid-19 pandemic was joining Gareth Malone’s Great British Home Chorus every afternoon, which brought thousands of people across Britain together to sing their favourite tunes and connect with each other.

Although Michelle spends much of her time abroad in her second home, she has a deep sense of pride in being British and thinks Britain is a special country, with exceptional achievements, heritage, and culture: ‘I’m proud of the fact I’m British. I would always hang my British flags out if I could.’ She finds it deeply moving to watch traditional British ceremonies on TV, such as Trooping the Colour or the Remembrance service at the Cenotaph, which honour the Queen and the memory of the many members of Britain’s armed forces who have sacrificed themselves for our country. She feels tired of hearing that we need to be sorry about the British Empire. For her, the imperial days are in the past, and there was both good and bad in the history of the empire.

Michelle sometimes feels embarrassed by the behaviour of other British people abroad – ‘when you see all these hen parties and men going on golfing trips on the planes, some of them are so rude and badly behaved. It makes you think then, I feel, very ashamed to be British.’ She worries that young people today are too entitled to an easy life and do not respect their elders. She is also concerned about drug taking and crime in her part of England, but takes comfort from the fact that there is good security and surveillance in the complex where she lives.

Michelle feels connected to her community, especially as a governor of a girls’ school and as a member of a golf club near her second home in Portugal. Many of her friends have now passed away, and she misses them but feels fortunate to still have her own health. Although nowadays Michelle spends much of her time abroad in the company of other expats, she still worries about Britain becoming a more divided country as a result of immigration. She thinks that society has become more divided because of the scale of immigration into Britain in recent years. More needs to be done to ensure that immigrants integrate into British society and speak English. She sometimes fears that a day will come when traditional British people like her will become a minority back home.

Michelle thinks it is naïve to trust others too much, and even says that she does not trust her own husband fully, because ‘men have a habit of suddenly coming out with secrets because they think it’s interesting!’ She does not trust what she hears from the media – she blames them for criticising the government too much and making people get worked up about leaving the EU. She also doubts that climate change is anything more than a natural fluctuation in the environment.

Michelle is excited about Britain’s global ambitions, believing that Britain can now return to the world stage and play the prominent leadership role it deserves. Although she is unsure about whether leaving the European Union was the right thing to do, she now wishes that society would unite behind the government. A loyal member of the Conservative Party, she thinks Boris Johnson is doing a great job in difficult circumstances. According to Michelle, the UK needs a strong ruler: ‘if you have a leader who is absolutely strict, you might not like them, but it’s much better than being soft with everybody.’ She does not think that the government should be compromising with opposition parties in Parliament.

Test how well you understand the segments!

To help check how well you have understood the segments, test yourself on the following 25 questions:

1. Which segment is the most optimistic about Britain's future?
2. In which segment are you most likely to find someone earning more than £50,000 per year?
3. Which segment is the most trusting of other people?
4. Which group says it is most exhausted by division in politics?
5. Which segment most strongly believes that UK needs a leader who is prepared to break the rules?
6. Who are most likely to feel lonely and anxious?
7. Who are most likely to feel happy?
8. Which segment feels most strongly that the world is becoming a more and more dangerous place?
9. Which segment is most likely to agree that men and women each have different roles to play in society?
10. Which segment has the greatest pride in the UK's history of welcoming refugees and asylum seekers?
11. Which segment is proudest of the UK's economy?
12. Which segment has the highest proportion of women?
13. In which segment do the largest number of people feel like a stranger in their own country?
14. In which segment are people most likely to feel that the differences between people in the UK are too big for us to work together any more?
15. In which segment are people most likely to feel that our society focuses too much on money and status?
16. Which segment has the highest proportion of people who are White British?
17. In which segment do the most people identify as working class?
18. Which segment has the highest proportion of people in full-time work?
19. Which segment has the highest proportion of people in part-time work?
20. Which segment feels the most pride in being British?
21. Which segment feels the most pride in being English?
22. Which segment is most likely to want their ideal UK to be environmentally friendly?
23. Which segment is the most likely to say that their gender an important part of their identity?
24. Which segment is least likely to feel that their views on Brexit are important to their personal identity?
25. Which segment is the least likely to have a religious affiliation?

Check your answers!

1. Backbone Conservatives
2. Progressive Activists
3. Established Liberals
4. Progressive Activists
5. Loyal Nationals
6. Disengaged Battlers
7. Backbone Conservatives
8. Loyal Nationals
9. Disengaged Traditionalists
10. Established Liberals
11. Disengaged Traditionalists
12. Civic Pragmatists
13. Loyal Nationals
14. Disengaged Battlers
15. Civic Pragmatists
16. Backbone Conservatives
17. Loyal Nationals
18. Progressive Activists
19. Civic Pragmatists
20. Backbone Conservatives
21. Loyal Nationals
22. Progressive Activists
23. Loyal Nationals
24. Established Liberals
25. Progressive Activists

