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# Shattered Britain

**Making sense of  
what Britons want  
in a country that  
feels broken**



**More in  
Common**

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## How to read this report

This report is not designed to be read in one sitting, except for by the most dedicated. Different chapters will be of more use to particular audiences and the most important information is cross referenced throughout the report.

[Chapter One](#) provides an overview of the most important forces that are shaping public attitudes on how Britons are feeling about themselves and the country in 2025 and what drives those perceptions of shattered Britain.

[Chapter Two](#) explores emerging fault lines among the British public. It looks at how Britons' attitudes to individual agency, multi-culturalism, freedom of speech, appetite for change and other factors are emerging as key dividing lines in the British public.

[Chapter Three](#) introduces each of the British Seven segments that emerge from our in-depth polling of the British public, and explores what motivates these segments, what makes them unique and the common ground and division between them.

[Chapter Four](#) uses the framework of the British Seven segments to understand diverging public attitudes to three key policy debates: the economy, climate change, immigration, along with changing media habits.

[Chapter Five](#) explores how the segments can help understand our fragmenting political environment in the UK, charting the rise of Reform UK, the drift from the Conservatives and Labour, as well as the choices on offer to our political parties. This chapter also previews forthcoming More in Common deep dives into Scottish and Welsh politics using the segment lens, ahead of next year's Holyrood and Senedd elections.

There is an overview of the key findings from all of these chapters in the [Executive Summary](#).

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## About More in Common

More in Common is a think tank and research agency working to bridge the gap between leaders and the public, helping leaders across the country understand those who feel ignored or overlooked by those in power. Our British Seven segmentation provides a unique lens for understanding what the public think and why. More in Common publishes ground-breaking reports on a range of issues from climate and refugees to culture wars, to crime. We are a full-service research agency offering polling and focus group research and are members of the British Polling Council.

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Though we hope they will find this analysis useful in their own work, their inclusion here should not be taken as endorsement or agreement with our findings and conclusions.

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## Foreword

From anaemic growth figures to viral social media clips of fare dodgers, the unpredictability of our closest international ally to our inability to complete a railway line, from riots and unrest to repeated changes of Prime Minister – the signs that Britain is on the wrong path are multitude, with many struggling to see how our country can get out of its current malaise.

Of course, it is possible to overstate Britain's problems and to overlook our strengths. Britain remains less polarised than many countries on the continent and across the Atlantic. Most Britons still believe the fundamentals of our democracy remain strong, complemented by high levels of trust in our neighbours and confidence in the power of our local communities.

But when the word that Britons are most likely to use to describe the country is 'broken' it would be panglossian and unhelpful to pretend that all is well. Seven in ten Britons say that the country is on the wrong track and many are starting to conclude that the problems with our country lie not in one party or political leader, but with the system itself. Many Britons increasingly say they are willing to 'roll the dice' on something new entirely and this has already resulted in an unprecedented level of political fragmentation. The Conservative Party is staving off electoral oblivion, the new Labour Government has plummeted to depths of unpopularity almost unprecedented for a new administration, Reform UK are in the ascendancy but face questions about their capability to govern, while the Liberal Democrats achieved a record electoral result but are struggling to break out of their southern heartlands.

More in Common's 2020 study into public opinion was named 'Britain's Choice'. It outlined the ways in which Britain could avoid being overwhelmed by forces of division and make a choice to build on the common ground that exists in our country. However, the reality of the past five years has denied Britons the opportunity to make that choice. In the context of a pandemic, wars in Ukraine and the Middle East, political scandals, and a cost of living crisis, many have simply been focused on trying to get by. The danger is that what appeared in 2020 to be a temporary aberration of tumult caused by the decision to leave the European Union is in fact the new normal.

Clearly that situation is untenable. But many of Britain's challenges are not unprecedented, and the country has faced similar crises before both of economic stagnation and public confidence. Perhaps the closest parallel to our current malaise lies in the 1970s – the era of oil price shocks, stagflation, industrial disputes, heatwaves and drought, strained race relations, the Troubles, and an IMF loan after which some even suggested the answer lay in a military coup. Yet Britain found a way out of that crisis and within a decade had regained its national confidence – and today, of those from that era many hold positive memories, notwithstanding the hard times. In hindsight, some of the subsequent changes of the 1980s, 1990s and early 2000s may have been misguided, and some are directly connected

to the challenges we face today. But there is no doubt that a country that in the 1970s appeared to be teetering on the edge of system failure found its way back from years of malaise.

What is different today? Wars, financial crises, terror threats and natural disasters are hard to navigate. But they are not unfamiliar challenges. Perhaps what is different is that, in previous times of national crisis, we could rely on a more widely shared understanding of reality. That made it easier for national debate and for leaders to make the case for change and the path forward. Today, the fragmentation of the media, entertainment and information landscape and our 'attention economy' makes it harder to bring people together around our shared challenges.

Accelerated by the pandemic, more Britons are expressing a desire to 'find their own' news. In some ways a greater plurality of information sources is liberating and more democratic, but it also makes it harder to chart a shared path forward and can lead to the promotion of outright mistruths. Some see the solution to the rise of disinformation in tackling algorithms and greater regulation of social media, but there has been far less focus on the demand side of disinformation. Many people are turning to non-establishment media channels – some fact-based, some not – because they have lost faith in the mainstream. Technical or regulatory fixes may nibble at the edges, but rebuilding a shared sense of reality requires us to rebuild trust. This requires a focus not just on legislation, policy or technology, but on community, the daily lives of Britons and their relationship with the world around them.

The aim of this research then is to help all of those who have an interest in finding a way out of our current era of malaise and want to help fix broken Britain- be they campaigners for Labour, the Conservatives, Liberal Democrats, Reform UK or the SNP, policy makers, civil society organisations, NGOs, community groups, faith leaders, headteachers, journalists, museum curators or academics – giving them the tools they need to navigate the contours of British public opinion.

More in Common's analysis over the past decade has shown that the divide between those who are highly engaged and those who are more tuned out, or even overlooked, ignored and invisible, is one of the most significant barriers to building a better Britain. When the public thinks that their voices and priorities are not being heard and acted on, they lose faith in political and civic leadership. This report is designed to supplement More in Common's existing work to try to tackle that – spotlighting what the public really think and why they think it.

More in Common does this in part by using traditional demographic analysis as well as metrics such as voting intention and approval ratings, which still help to explain much about Britain. However, this research is also grounded in social psychology that better enables us to understand people's upstream beliefs. The evidence from More in Common's previous work in the UK, and our experience working in contexts as diverse as the United States, Brazil, Poland and Spain, tells us that only by getting under the skin of

the public's upstream values can you have a proper understanding of what people think about big policy issues such as climate change, immigration or inequality.

Building on More in Common's 2020 study, this research incorporates well tested psychological frameworks such as Jonathan Haidt's moral foundations theory and Karen Stenner's work on authoritarianism, as well as more recent developments such as diverging information preferences, the need for chaos, risk appetite and the rise of conspiracy thinking.

At the heart of the study are the new British Seven segments. These segments reflect the seven tribes of British public opinion in 2025. They show that far from fitting neatly onto a left-right axis, different groups come together and diverge depending on the issue at hand. Some segments have a much higher belief in individual agency and others in the power of structural forces, some favour incremental change to improve Britain and others are more inclined to tear the system down. Some trust traditional news sources and others prefer independent reporting and online influencers, some believe that diversity strengthens our country and others that our identity is threatened by it. In this way, rather than sitting on a binary, the segments are best explained as reflecting something close to a kaleidoscope, where different tribes come together and cluster in different formations, forming different and brilliant patterns depending on the issue at hand.

Building a coalition for change in Britain is unlikely to succeed by narrowly pitting one group against another. Instead, understanding the different starting points of the segments - as well as reflecting on how their own perspectives fit into the pattern - can help leaders chart a path forward. This does not mean resorting to lowest common denominator politics that aims to please everyone, nor does it mean avoiding hard truths and the tough decisions that might be required to fix Britain and rebuild public trust. Instead, there is potential for a politics that both levels with the public and is more responsive to what they want. As previous More in Common and UCL Policy Lab research has found, this must start with a new politics of respect that realigns respect with contribution rather than who is part of the elite in-crowd.

Beyond that, for all of Britain's differences there are many areas of common ground. Few Britons remain wedded to an economic system where investment is concentrated in London and the South East. Support for Ukraine against the Russian invasion spans most of the public. Most Britons want to reduce levels of immigration, but few want the UK to become fortress Britain, and almost all place a premium on integration. Concern about climate change spans every segment of the population, even if people take different views about the route and pace of change to tackle it. Last year's riots rocked the country, but only a fraction of the country feel those rioters represented them, with Britons across the spectrum opposed to violence as a route to change.

More in Common will be using the findings presented here to help inform our joint project with UCL Policy Lab and Citizens UK, 'This Place Matters', to try and answer the question

of how we can best live together today. We hope that all those with a similar interest in tackling the UK's most pressing challenges find what follows useful as they design policies, programmes and interventions to get Britain back on track.

**Luke Tryl, Executive Director, More in Common UK**  
July 2025



# Executive Summary

## Introducing the segments

This report introduces More in Common's new segmentation of the British public. Based on extended research into Britons' core beliefs, their values and behaviours, this segmentation allows us to look upstream not just at what different groups think, but why they think it. Going beyond a simple left-right spectrum, it reflects deeper differences in how people relate to authority, change, community and the future, which help explain why traditional party loyalties have weakened and political volatility has increased. Segmentation is a particularly powerful way of detecting and understanding differences and commonality in people's values and in their broader orientation towards society and the big issues facing the country.

The analysis produces seven segments within the British population:

### **Progressive Activists** - 12 per cent of the population

A highly engaged and globally-minded group driven by concerns about social justice. Politically active, but feeling increasingly alienated from mainstream party politics, they prioritise issues such as climate change and international affairs. Occasionally outliers on social issues, they maintain a strongly held and sometimes uncompromising approach to their beliefs.

### **Incrementalist Left** - 21 per cent of the population

A civic-minded, community-oriented group holding views which are generally left-of-centre but with an aversion to the extreme; they prefer gradual reform over revolutionary change. They trust experts and institutions yet are largely tuned out of day-to-day politics and can be conflict-averse, stepping away from issues they see as particularly fraught or complex.

### **Established Liberals** - 9 per cent of the population

A prosperous, confident segment who believe the system broadly works as it is and who trust experts to deliver continued progress. They have a strong belief in individual agency which can make them less empathetic to those who are struggling. Institutionally trusting, they maintain faith in democratic processes and have a strong information-centric way of engaging with issues.

### **Sceptical Scrollers** - 10 per cent of the population

A digitally-native group whose unhappiness with the social contract means they have lost faith in traditional institutions and seek alternative sources of truth online. Often shaped by their experience of the Covid pandemic, they prefer individual influencers over mainstream media and are increasingly drawn to conspiratorial thinking.

### **Rooted Patriots** - 20 per cent of the population

A patriotic but politically untethered group which feels abandoned and overlooked by political elites and yearns for leaders with common sense, but does not want to overthrow



the system as a whole. They are particularly concerned about community decline and the pressures of migration. Interventionist on economics but conservative on social issues, they have shaped much of Britain's politics over the past decade.

### **Traditional Conservatives** - 8 per cent of the population

Respectful of authority and tradition, this group believes in individual responsibility and established norms that have served them well. Nostalgic for the past but optimistic about the future, they are deeply sceptical of many forces of change such as immigration or the path to net-zero.

### **Dissenting Disruptors** - 20 per cent of the population

Frustrated with their circumstances and with an appetite for radical solutions, this group craves dramatic change and strong leadership. Highly distrustful of institutions, opposed to multiculturalism and feeling disconnected from society, they are drawn to political movements that promise to overhaul the status quo and put people like them first.

## **Shattered Britain**

For many Britons, recent years have been imbued with a sense of unending crises and dissatisfaction with the status quo. Many do not feel that we have an economic or social model that works for ordinary people or a politics that delivers for them. Since 2020, when More in Common last undertook a major study into Britons' social psychology, the country has endured a pandemic, the fallout from the invasion in Ukraine and conflict in the Middle East, the rising cost of living, record NHS waiting lists, record levels of net migration and four Prime Ministers. The resulting public mood of anxiety and uncertainty is not surprising, nor is the feeling shared by many that their lives, their communities and the country are shattered.

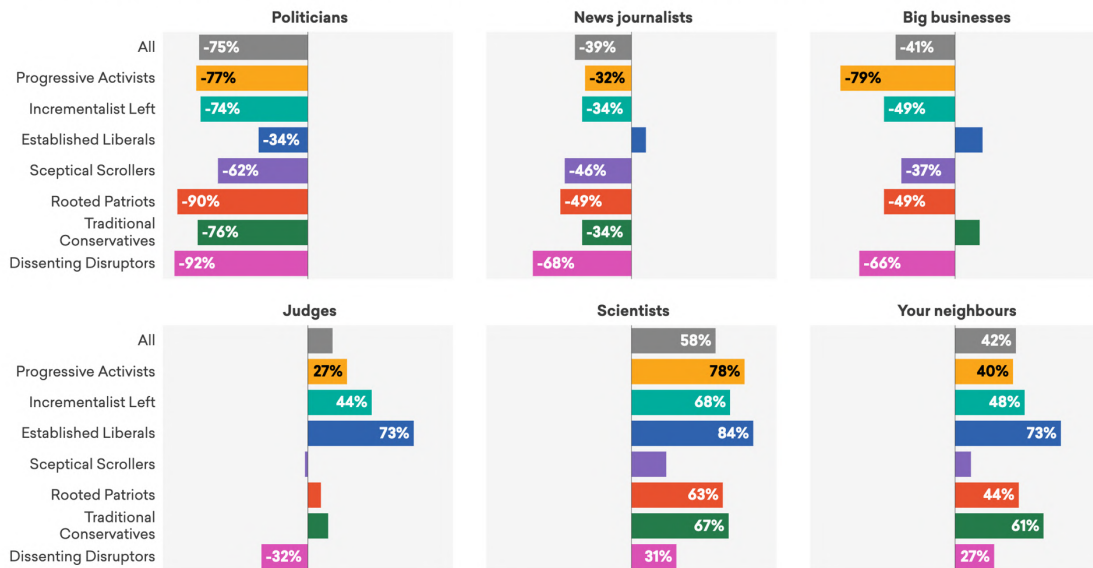
Tackling that sense of malaise requires understanding and addressing the four key drivers of Shattered Britain that emerge from More in Common's polling of 20,000 Britons and focus groups across the country. These four drivers are:

**A crisis of trust:** Faith in political institutions has collapsed, with 87 per cent of Britons across all parties having either not very much trust in politicians or none at all. This distrust extends beyond healthy scepticism to "deep-seated contempt" for a political class seen as self-serving and out of touch. However, distrust is not limited to politicians or political institutions, with many similarly distrustful of the judiciary, police, journalists and business. Closely tied to this crisis of trust is a lack of respect; many now believe that respect has become decoupled from contribution and that civic institutions do not respect people like them. The NHS remains the notable exception, maintaining a high level of trust, while scientists also broadly retain public confidence, unlike in some other countries.

## Britons' varying levels of trust

How much trust do you have in the following?

Showing net trust (% who said they trust 'A great deal' or 'Quite a lot' minus % who said 'Not very much' or 'Not at all')



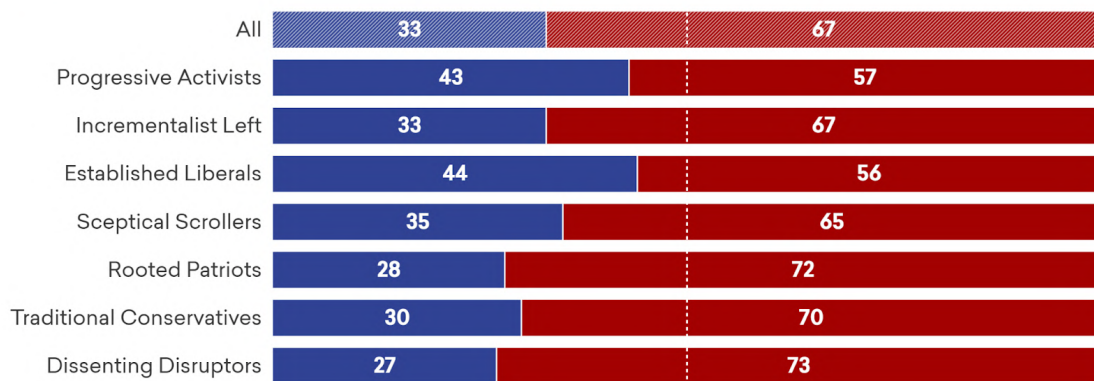
**Exhaustion and struggle:** Britons feel worn down by both political chaos and personal financial pressures. Despite being told since the 2008 financial crash that getting Britain back on track will require "tough choices", many have seen no improvement and seven in ten believe things are getting worse. The public feel that governments of all colours have failed to deliver change. The cost-of-living crisis has left people feeling they are "surviving not living", with 43 per cent citing money as their biggest source of stress and many cutting back on everyday social activities. Half of Britons now believe the cost of living crisis will never end.

**Rising threat perception:** Eight in ten Britons believe the world is becoming more dangerous, and most do not believe the government is able to keep the country safe or get the country a good deal on the world stage. Britons' concerns span escalating international conflicts, energy security, the unpredictability of the Trump Presidency, failure to control immigration, and perceptions of rising crime and lack of progress in tackling climate change. This sense of insecurity is particularly acute in areas affected by economic dislocation, contributing to support for parties such as Reform UK.

## Britons' feelings of change from the previous Government

Compared to our previous Conservative government, would you say that our new Labour government...

- Feels genuinely different
- Feels like more of the same

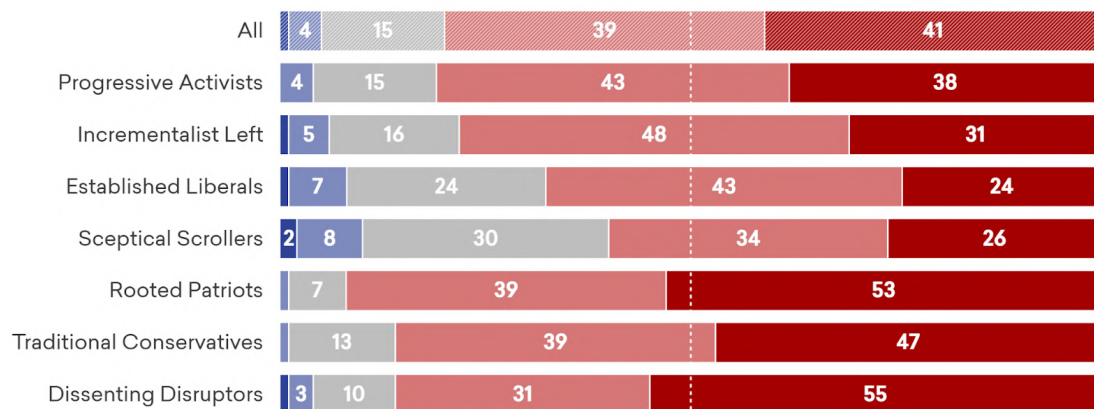


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## Britons' feelings of increasing danger in the world

Would you say that the world is getting:

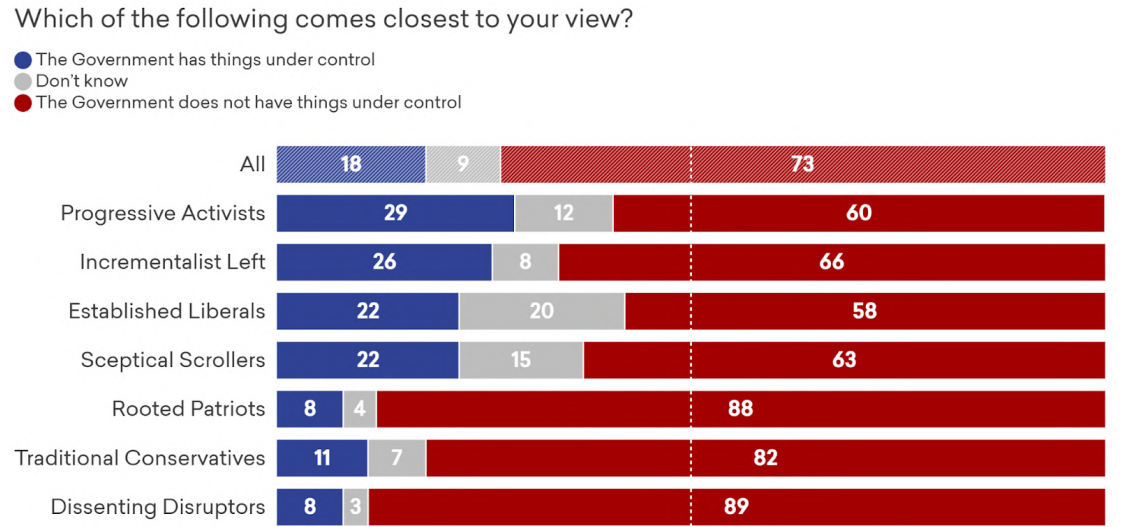
- Much safer
- A bit safer
- Neither safer nor more dangerous
- A bit more dangerous
- Much more dangerous



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**Loss of agency:** Among many Britons there is a feeling that they do not have control over their own lives and that they could be thrown off course by the next energy bill rise or interest rate hike. That feeling of lack of control extends to the Government - almost three in four believe it does not have things under control. Many tell us of their frustration that the Government is unable to deliver on everything from major infrastructure projects to border security, embodied by a failure to ‘stop the boats’. This powerlessness fuels the belief that Britain’s best days are behind it.

Feelings that the Government has things under control



The sense that Britain is broken, and that none of the traditional parties or institutions can fix it, is leading to more people to think that we need to roll the dice on something new. Having voted for change in a series of elections and a referendum since 2016, much of the public has begun to think the answer lies outside established norms and parties. The result is a political system more fragmented than at almost any other time in history.

Yet against this backdrop, the public themselves demonstrate a resilience in their day-to-day lives that suggests that Britain’s problems, while severe, are not unsolvable. The foundations of communities across the country remain strong and there is a desire to see the things that work well locally reflected at the national level. While many are concerned about the state of the country and anxious about the future, they believe their local communities have the answers to how to improve their area.

Nor have Britons turned entirely inward. From support for Ukraine to backing child vaccination programmes, most of the public want to see the UK do its bit to help those in need and act as a global leader to use its influence for good.

## Fault lines

Traditional political binaries along left-right or party lines no longer fully explain the country's divides or areas of convergence. Understanding politics and public attitudes in the UK today requires grasping the emerging fault lines that are replacing them.

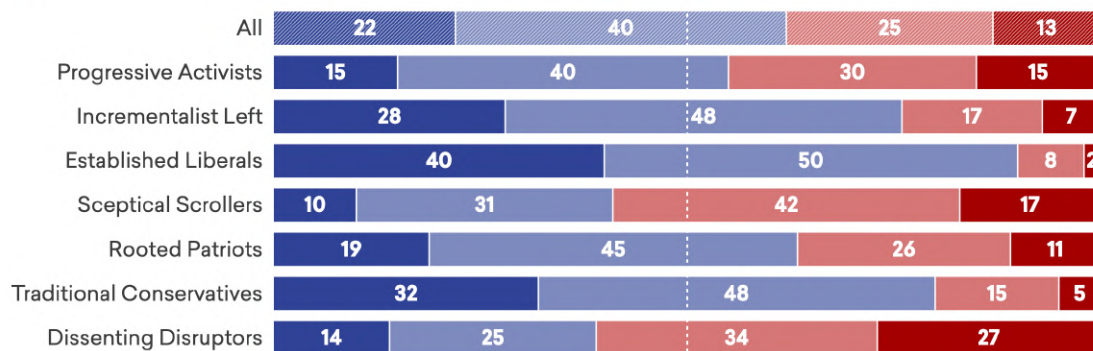
Underlying Britons' political opinions are differences in: how people approach change - incremental reform vs 'burn it all down', their tolerance for risk, perceived simplicity or complexity of Britain's solutions, their sense of social connection, belief in individual agency, susceptibility to conspiracy, and attitudes towards multiculturalism and free speech.

**Appetite for change and risk:** Britons divide on whether the solution to the country's problems is incremental reform or radical transformation. This is not a left-right fault line. Some segments on the traditional left and right are more in favour of 'burning down' existing institutions, while others want to protect and improve them. This desire for change sits alongside Britons' varying risk appetites - some show higher tolerance for political uncertainty, making them more willing to 'roll the dice', throwing out the old rule book and backing untested parties and solutions.

### Desire for radical institutional change by segment

Which comes closest to your view?

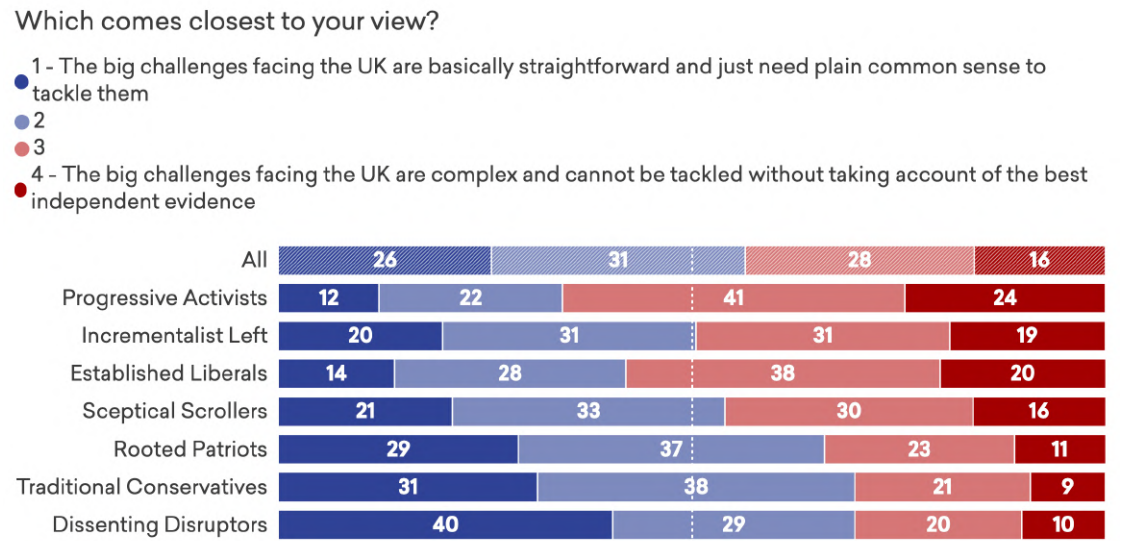
- 1 - Our political and social institutions are worth preserving and improving, not destroying.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking "just let them all burn."



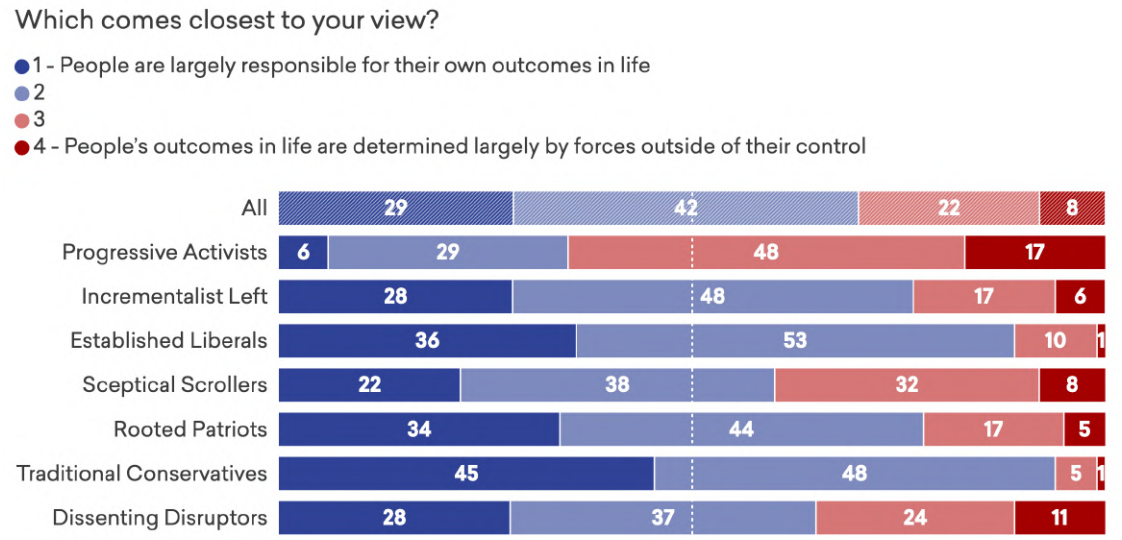


**Simple or complex solutions:** While Britons are broadly in agreement on the big issues facing the country. However, while some see issues such as the cost of living and immigration as problems with simple solutions, others see them as complex challenges requiring expert input. The extent to which Britons see the country's problems as easily solvable or more entrenched affects segments' patience with the pace of change. Among segments who think there are simple solutions, there are divides between those who think those solutions would be best enacted by a more direct form of people-led democracy and those who prefer decisions to be taken by elected representatives.

Perceptions of straightforward solutions by segment



Sense of personal agency by segment



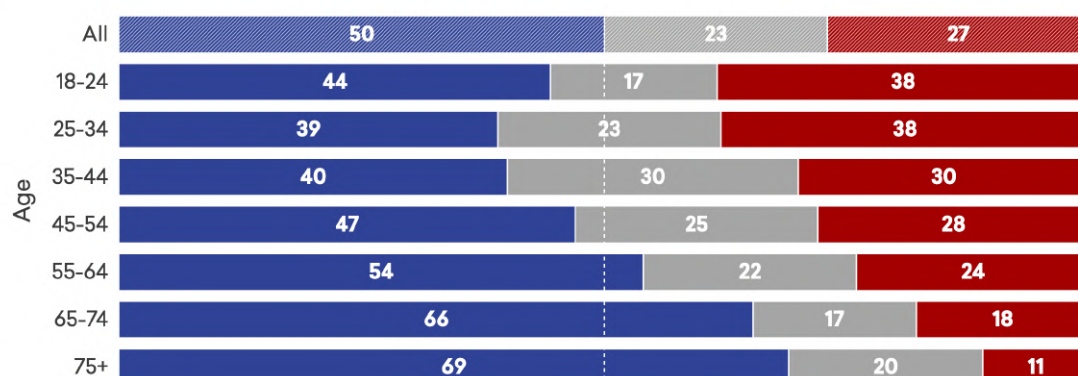
**Individual agency:** While Britons tend to believe that people are largely responsible for their own outcomes in life, some segments are more likely to think people's life chances are more shaped by structural factors outside of their control. One segment – Progressive Activists – stand apart from others in their overwhelming belief that those structural forces are much stronger than an individual's agency. Segments also vary in the extent to which they believe individuals genuinely have the power to change society at large through their actions, or have little influence on how society works. Groups with a higher belief in individual agency are less likely to support redistributive economic measures.

**Informational trust and engagement:** Trust in mainstream media varies across segments and is particularly low among younger Britons. Some segments prefer professionally produced mainstream media reports, others prefer independent journalists and firsthand accounts shared online. Different segments inhabit distinct information ecosystems. This has contributed to rising conspiracy thinking. Over one in three Britons believe the Covid pandemic was exaggerated to control people. Britons' fracturing media environments mean that we are increasingly divided according to what we believe to be true and false. Those segments that disengage from political news are more likely to vote for non-mainstream parties. Meanwhile the segments that post most on social media about politics are generally the most strident in their views.

### Trust in mainstream media organisations by age

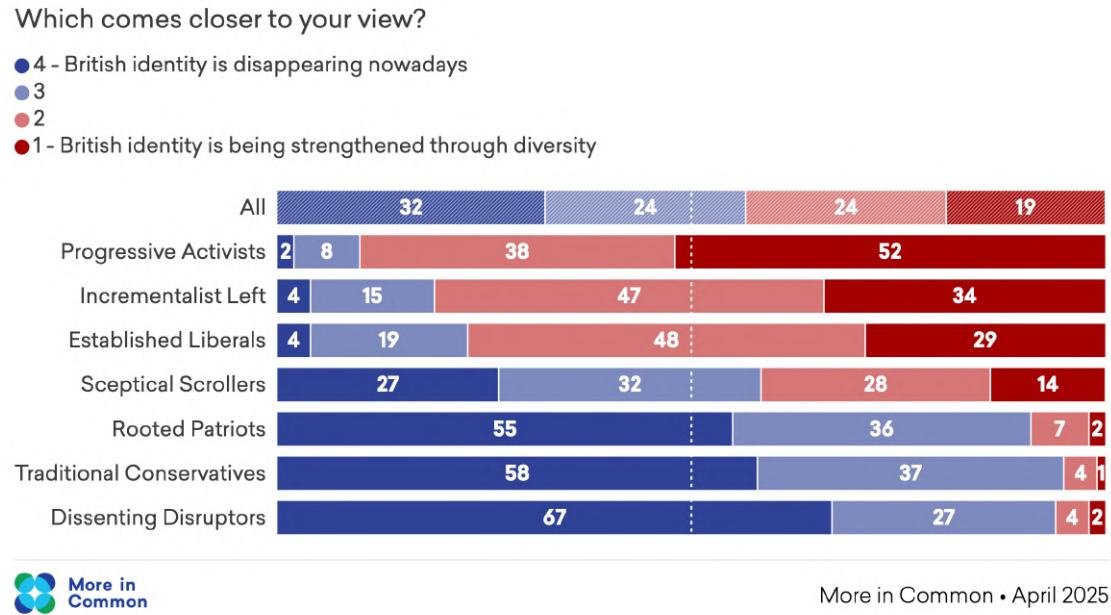
When reporting on an international conflict, what are you more likely to trust?

- The output of a large media organisation such as the BBC or The Times
- Don't know
- An independent journalist posting information directly on social media



**Multiculturalism and identity:** Britain is split on whether ethnic diversity strengthens or weakens British identity. People in the more locally rooted, nostalgic and socially conservative segments are deeply concerned that British identity is disappearing, with the reverse true for more mobile, globally-orientated liberal segments. There are also stark differences in the extent to which segments think British identity is something of which to be proud. Economic concerns fuel zero-sum thinking about government priorities, with many feeling resources for immigrants come at the expense of British citizens. The segments divide on whether our responsibility is to those closest to us or further afield. Having lost faith in our institutions to preserve tradition, some think it is up to individuals themselves to defend British culture.

The impact of multiculturalism on British identity by segment



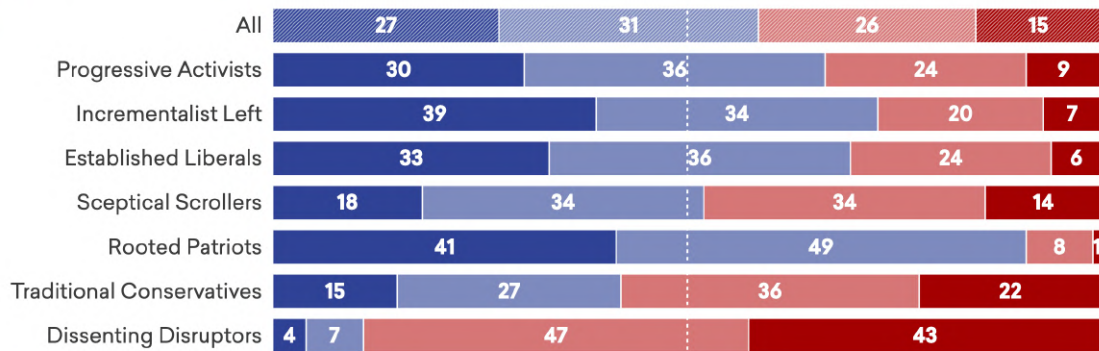
**Free speech:** Unlike American-style free speech absolutism, many Britons look for a balance between a desire to limit government interference in free speech and protecting people from hateful or dangerous speech. More socially liberal segments sit closer to the latter end of that spectrum, but so too do more social conservatives with a distaste for crass language. However others in socially conservative segments say they feel pressured to self-censor on topics like immigration, feeling that they are often "walking on eggshells" and not allowed to use language that was previously acceptable. Some segments think that political correctness helps ensure respect and inclusion in society, others attribute it to the rise of humourless "woke" culture and think that it is harmful.



## Attitudes to free speech by segment

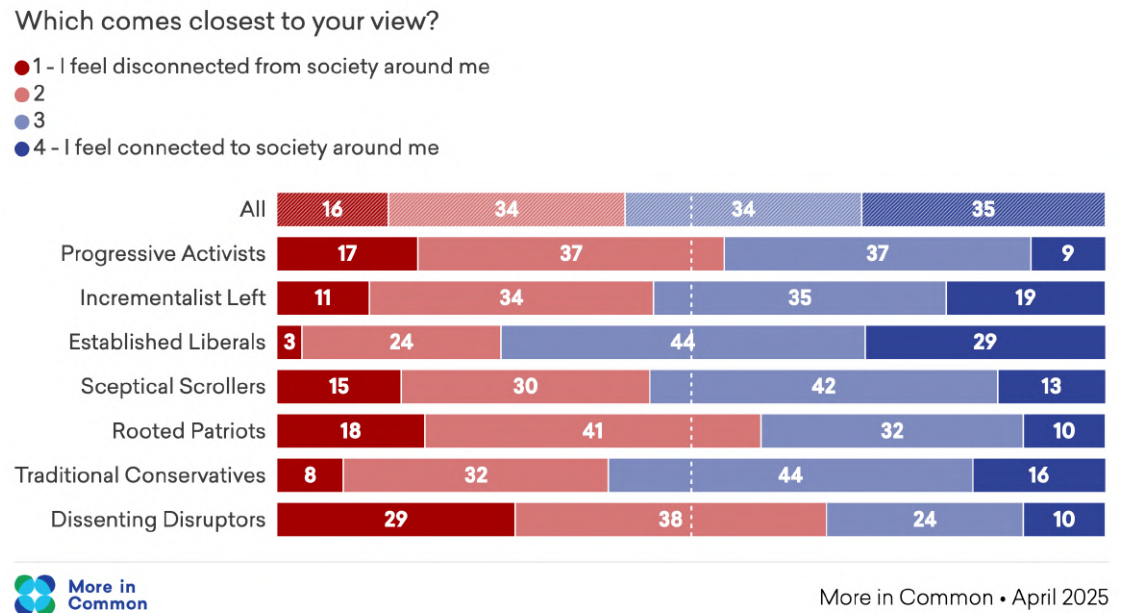
Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 - We need to protect people from dangerous and hateful speech.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - People should have the freedom to express their views, even if they are controversial or offensive.



**Social disconnection:** Despite trusting their immediate neighbours, for many this does not extend far beyond their doorsteps. Many Britons feel isolated from broader society. Some segments are far more likely to believe that most people can be trusted, but in others a majority think you cannot be too careful – social (dis)connection is a key driver of social (dis)trust. The legacy of the pandemic and in particular the rise of home working has further increased divides in social connection. Financial insecurity is a key predictor of social distrust, with the divide between rich and poor seen as Britain's biggest division, followed by the divide between immigrants and those born in the UK.

Feelings of connection by segment



**The importance of identity:** Despite the declining salience of Brexit as an issue, whether someone was a ‘Leaver’ or ‘Remainer’ has remained as an important identity divide – two in five members of the public say this is important to them. Party identity is important to just over a third of Britons (36 per cent) and particularly supporters of Reform UK (64 per cent). Sixty seven per cent say that being British is important to their identity, Progressive Activists stand out in being less likely to say this. Gender is the dimension people are most likely to say is important to their identity.

## The segments on the big issues

The ‘upstream’ attitudes and values of the different segments shape and explain how they approach the issues facing the country ‘downstream’.

### The economy

All segments are concerned about the cost-of-living crisis. But while less secure groups (Dissenting Disruptors, Rooted Patriots) feel the difference in their pockets and lifestyles, more affluent segments (Established Liberals, Traditional Conservatives) remain more insulated from hardship.

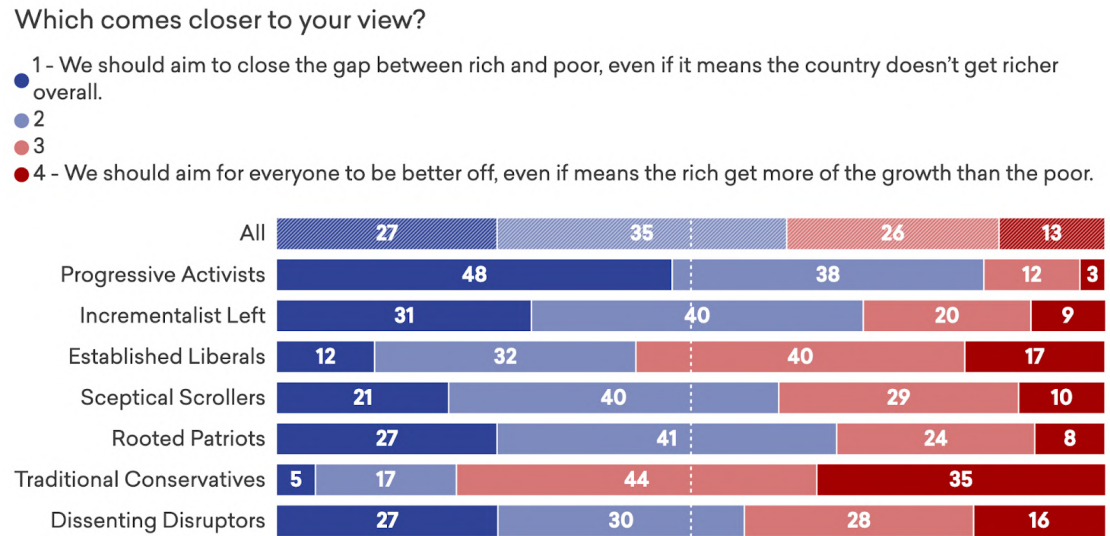
Tackling inequality is a shared economic concern across most segments. Every segment apart from Traditional Conservatives would rather narrow the gap between rich and poor even if it results in a smaller economy. The Dissenting Disruptors, Rooted Patriots and Progressive Activists are the most likely to believe that big businesses and rich people do not pay their fair share.

Majorities in almost all segments support the government introducing regulations on businesses to protect consumers from harm. Support for regulation is strongest among those who distrust business, but also a desire for firm regulation extends to more pro-business groups such as the Incrementalist Left.

Progressive Activists think the government should do more to support those on benefits. The Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots share concerns about policies affecting vulnerable people, but approach social security through the lens of contribution and worry about people ‘playing the system’. Traditional Conservatives and Established Liberals hold more welfare-sceptic views.

Across the segments, few remain wedded to an economic model which sees growth and wealth concentrated in London and the South East. A future reincarnation of the ‘levelling up’ agenda – that is ensuring opportunities, particularly for good work and jobs, are more evenly spread across the country – has strong appeal across segments.

Attitudes towards growth versus fairness by segment



Immigration

While a clear majority of the public want to see immigration reduced, there are differences in priorities between the segments. The segments broadly split into three camps on immigration.

**Immigration Sceptics (Traditional Conservatives, Dissenting Disruptors, Rooted Patriots):** These segments view Britain as "full" and think the country should put British people first. They want significant reductions in immigration levels, particularly illegal migration, and place greater expectations on immigrants to integrate. Dissenting Disruptors' concerns around immigration are more about preserving British cultural identity, whereas Rooted Patriots are more concerned about pressures on public services.

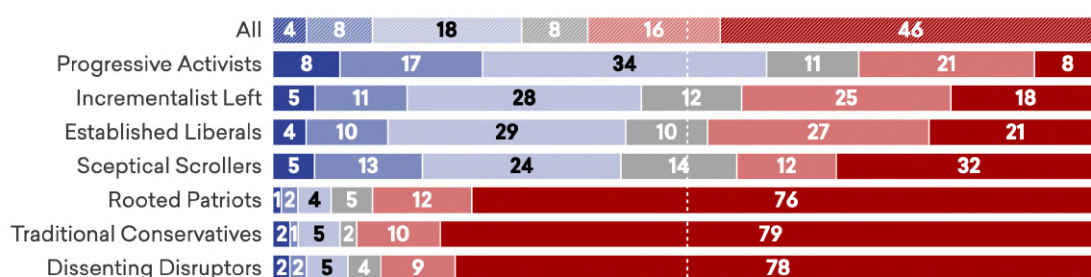
**Immigration Agnostics (Incrementalist Left, Sceptical Scrollers, Established Liberals):** Immigration is not the top concern for these groups but they support more controlled, selective systems that prioritise those who can contribute the most. They worry about cohesion and the pace of change. They are more split on whether net migration should decrease or be maintained as it is, but few want to see net migration increase.

**Immigration Enthusiasts (Progressive Activists):** Progressive Activists are the only segment where a majority want to maintain or increase immigration. They are more likely to attribute others' concerns about immigration to racism and scapegoating and think of migration in terms of its global impact and the needs of those entering the country rather than prioritising British citizens.

### Attitudes to immigration numbers by segment

Thinking about the number of immigrants the UK Government accepts into the country each year, which of the following comes closer to your view?

- Government should significantly increase the numbers
- Government should slightly increase the numbers
- Government should keep the number the same
- Don't know
- Government should slightly reduce the numbers
- Government should significantly reduce the numbers



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### Climate Change

While most Britons worry about climate change and tend to think the government is not doing enough on the issue, there is divergence on how to tackle it and the pace and scale of green transition.

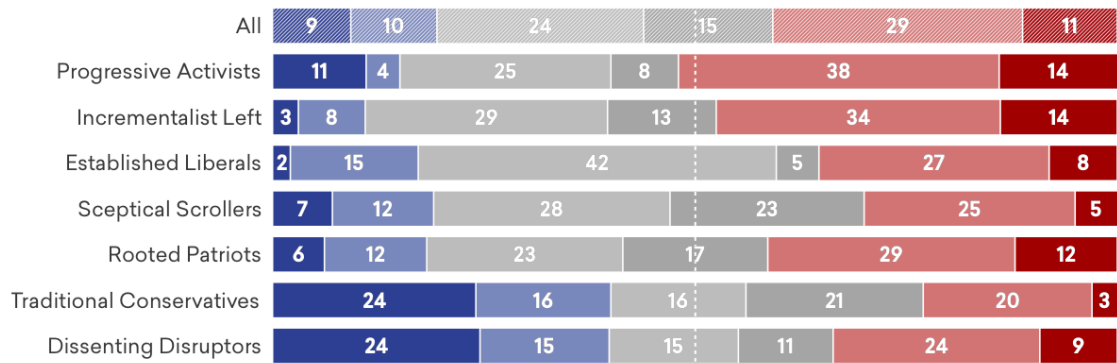
Support for net-zero varies across the segments: Progressive Activists, the Incrementalist Left, Established Liberals and Rooted Patriots support the 2050 target, while Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives are opposed to strict timelines because of their concerns about damaging the economy.

Though most of the segments remain hopeful that stronger climate policies will be good for Britain in the long run, very few are aware of the impact of Britain's climate policies to date. Every segment, except Established Liberals, think Britain's climate policies have not made a meaningful difference to reducing emissions (despite a 50 per cent fall compared to 1990 levels) and most do not think transition so far has been fair to people like them.

Attitudes to climate change by segment

Would you say that the current government is doing too much or too little on tackling climate change, or are they doing about the right amount?

- Doing far too much
- Doing too much
- Doing about the right amount
- Don't know
- Not doing enough
- Not doing nearly enough



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Media engagement

Two in three Britons follow the news, though just one in five say they follow it very closely. The segments most tuned into current affairs are the Progressive Activists, Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives. The segments who follow the news least are the Sceptical Scrollers and Rooted Patriots. Sceptical Scrollers see politics as someone else’s problem and do not feel they have time to keep up with it. Rooted Patriots, on the other hand, do not see the point of paying attention to politics because, in their view, politicians do not care about people like them and often are not up to the job anyway.

While the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals have high trust in news channels which are seen to promote impartiality, such as the BBC and Sky, fewer than half of Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors trust these institutions and believe they have an establishment bias. The Dissenting Disruptors in particular trust independent sources on social media over large media organisations. GB News has become popular among both Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives.

## Politics

Britain's political map is fundamentally changing as frustration with the status quo is leading to traditional two-party loyalties collapsing into a volatile multi-party system. The segments help to shed a light on British politics in 2025 in a way that traditional analyses alone cannot.

The segment analysis provides valuable insights into the key drivers of party politics in 2025 and beyond: Labour's broad but shallow 2024 victory and subsequent drop in popularity, the crisis facing the Conservative Party, Reform's gains and the Liberal Democrat's consolidation, along with the resurgence of the SNP in Scotland and growing strength of Plaid Cymru in Wales.

**Progressive Activists** are Labour's liberal-left base. Their support for the party peaked in the Corbyn years. Since then, they have been disillusioned by the perception that the Labour Party has turned right-ward and abandoned Corbyn's more populist platform. They are now almost as likely to vote Green as Labour and overwhelmingly back the SNP in Scotland.

The **Incrementalist Left** voted Labour in every election since 2010, although in 2019 many abstained and their vote was divided between Labour and the Conservatives as many were put off by Jeremy Corbyn or exhausted by Brexit debates. Labour's support has weakened among the Incrementalist Left, but they are more likely than other segments to want to give Labour more time.

**Established Liberals** have long aligned with the socially liberal wing of the Conservative Party or the Liberal Democrats, although in 2024 they were more likely to support the Labour Party than at any point since 2010. This is the only group where Labour have maintained their support since the election. Despite Reform's surge in other right-leaning segments, fewer than one in ten (eight per cent) of Established Liberals say they would back that party were an election held today.

**Sceptical Scrollers** are the least likely to vote of any of the segments. They tend not to align with any party. In 2024, almost half (46 per cent) of them did not vote, although they were more likely to vote Labour than any other party. In the year since, they have been increasingly attracted to Reform UK and are now more likely to support Reform than Labour.

The **Rooted Patriots** have long been one of the most important segments in British elections. They overwhelmingly supported Boris Johnson in 2019, delivering the Conservatives their historic victory. The collapse of this group's support for the Conservatives and shift towards Labour in 2024 enabled the Labour Party's landslide. At the next General Election, the extent to which this group supports Reform UK or not will determine Nigel Farage's party's success or failure.

Britain's **Traditional Conservatives** make up the base of the Conservative Party's supporters and were the only segment to decisively back the Conservative Party in 2024. They are now narrowly more likely to support Reform UK and the Conservatives in second - with a significant proportion of Traditional Conservatives now considering Reform more authentically conservative and the main party of the right. They reliably turn out to vote.

**Dissenting Disruptors** have emerged as Reform UK's engaged base. Traditionally they have tended not to vote in elections, although are motivated to vote when they spot an opportunity to change the system - such as in the Brexit Referendum of 2016. In 2024 they formed the core of Reform's support and that trend has strengthened since the General Election - Reform currently has a 46-point lead with this segment.

The outcome in recent UK elections has been determined by which party is able to build the broadest coalition across the segments rather than maximising support in just one or two. Looking ahead to the 2026 elections in Scotland and Wales, forthcoming local and mayoral elections and eventually the next general election, the political parties each have different routes forward, but navigating and bridging Britain's new fault lines remain a pre-requisite to success.



# **Chapter 1**

## **Shattered Britain: Four Key Drivers**

The last decade has been a tumultuous one for British politics and society. In ten years, Britons have lived through the Brexit referendum and the subsequent rows about how to leave the European Union; one Trump presidency and the start of another; the rise and fall of Corbynism; Party-Gate; the mini budget; a global pandemic; record levels of immigration; the invasion of Ukraine; conflict in the Middle East; a global cost of living crisis, riots and unrest - all of which have been compounded by rapid technological change and social media transforming the way we connect with one another. That is on top of six Prime Ministers, four general elections and all that has come in between.

The challenges facing Britain did not all begin in the past decade. Many cite the 2008 financial crisis as the moment when 'business as usual' broke down in Britain, while others go further back, citing the impact of deindustrialisation or the crises of the 1970s – the last time Britain experienced such a widespread sense of malaise. Some blame a lack of economic growth, others migration, and others the global threat of climate change. For some the central failing of policy was in not properly insulating the country from the downsides of globalisation - or even the deliberate abandonment of huge swathes of the country that were no longer seen as productive. For others, the reasons for Britain's struggles are cultural: the decline of respect, failures of integration or the self-interest of our political class.

Regardless of the precise moment or cause, it is undeniable that for many Britons recent years have been imbued with a sense of perma-crisis and dissatisfaction with the status quo. To many, Britain lacks an economic model that works for ordinary people, neighbourhoods that feel familiar as centres of community life or a politics that works as it should. The public mood of anxiety and uncertainty that emerges in almost every piece of opinion research is not surprising, nor is the fact that many people feel their lives, their communities and the country are shattered.

Tackling that sense of malaise means tackling the four key drivers of Shattered Britain that emerge from More in Common's polling of tens of thousands of Britons and focus groups across the country over the last five years. These four drivers are:

- A crisis of trust in politics and our institutions
- An exhaustion with both politics and the struggles of day-to-day life
- A rising sense of threat and insecurity
- Falling confidence in politicians' control or ordinary people's ability to control what happens in their own lives

### Figure 1 | Britain in a word

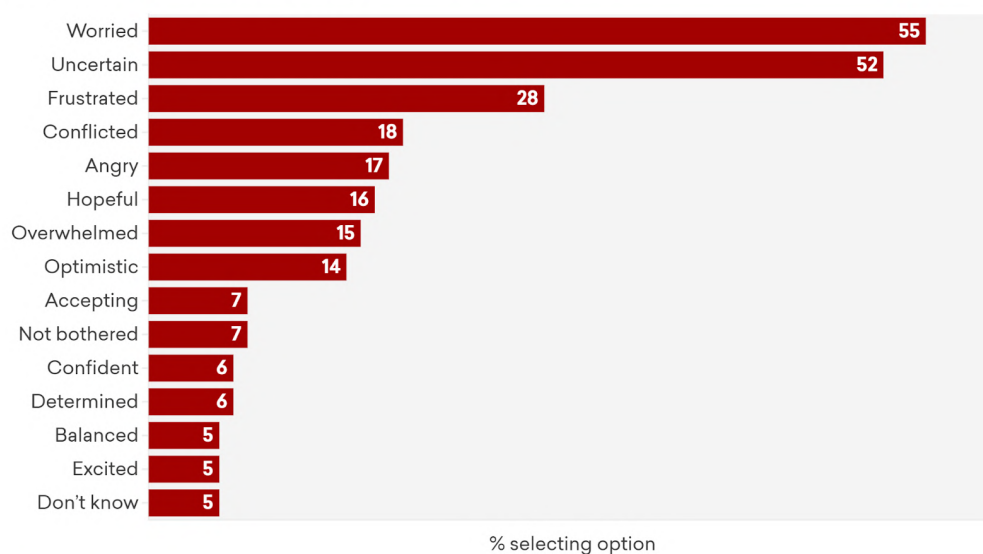
In one or two words, how would you describe the UK today?



Taken together, these drivers paint a stark portrait of a Britain that feels broken. At the same time, these insights also reveal the resilience of Britons and a determination that we can do better. Despite a myriad of challenges, there is, in people's everyday lives, a sense of hope and optimism. That optimism is underpinned not by people's faith in the machinery of the state but in the people and communities around them, and the belief that we can get Britain back on track.

### Figure 2 | How Britons feel about the next generation's future

When you think about the world that young people and future generations will live in, how do you feel? Select all that apply.



## Driver One: A crisis of trust in politics and national institutions

Britons across the political spectrum are united by a crisis of trust, faith and confidence in our political leadership. Nine in ten Britons (87 per cent) say that they have little to no faith in politicians. Supporters of every party are more likely to say they distrust than trust our elected representatives.

*All the politicians are short-term gain, thinking about their votes, not about the future of the country. And I get that because they're only there for a certain amount of time and they have got their self-interest. But in order to fix this country, I think it's got to be a long plan and I can't see how that will ever change in this current system.*

**Jonathan, Established Liberal, Chippenham**

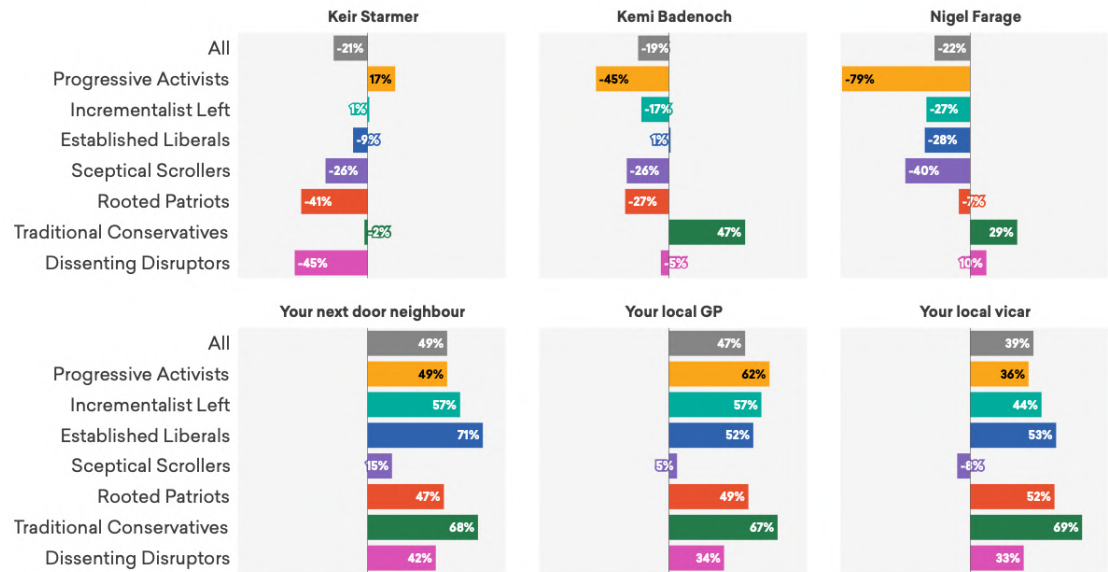
That distrust is not limited to politicians' ability to get the big calls right - it extends to the basic competence and motivation of our party leaders.

Revealingly, three in five Britons would not even trust Prime Minister Keir Starmer, Leader of the Opposition Kemi Badenoch, or Reform UK Leader Nigel Farage to watch their bag for them.

**Figure 3 | Britons tend not to trust any party leader to watch their bag**

For each of the following, would you trust them to watch your bag?

Showing net trust



But this is not just a problem of individual political leaders. Every major political institution – from Members of Parliament to Councillors to the House of Lords – is more likely to be distrusted than trusted by the public, with established political parties the most distrusted of all.

It is sometimes easy to dismiss political distrust as merely the usual level of cynicism the public should display towards their elected leaders in a healthy democracy. Others might argue that Britons' scepticism – directed at all parties rather than just one – is healthier than the partisan see-saw of trust seen in highly partisan countries such as the United States.

And yet, listen to almost any conversation with the public about their elected representatives and the institutions they oversee and it becomes clear that levels of distrust – or even outright disdain – extend far beyond healthy scepticism. Many Britons instead hold a deep-seated contempt for a political class perceived as self-serving, out of touch and incapable or unwilling to improve the lives of ordinary Britons.

*I just don't think anyone that is in politics has got any understanding of just the normal person on the street. I mean, it's been said many times, when they've asked politicians how much is a loaf of bread, how much is a pint of milk? And they answer because they've probably been prepped to answer and they've probably Googled it before they come on air or on the radio or whatever, but they haven't got a clue.*

***Isabelle, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley***

While distrust extends across Britain, some segments – particularly Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors – feel it even more acutely. It is no surprise that these are also two of the segments most likely to have moved away from traditional mainstream parties.

There is a direct link between this collapse in trust and the lack of respect people feel our national institutions show to them. [Research by More in Common and the UCL Policy Lab](#) has identified 'respect', or lack of it, as central to Britons' frustration with their country today. Too many feel that we have moved away from being a society where respect is aligned with contribution – or what you put in. Instead, to be respected many feel you have to live in a big city, have a degree or be wealthy. Simultaneously, Britons are more likely to trust institutions if they feel that those institutions respect people like them in return.

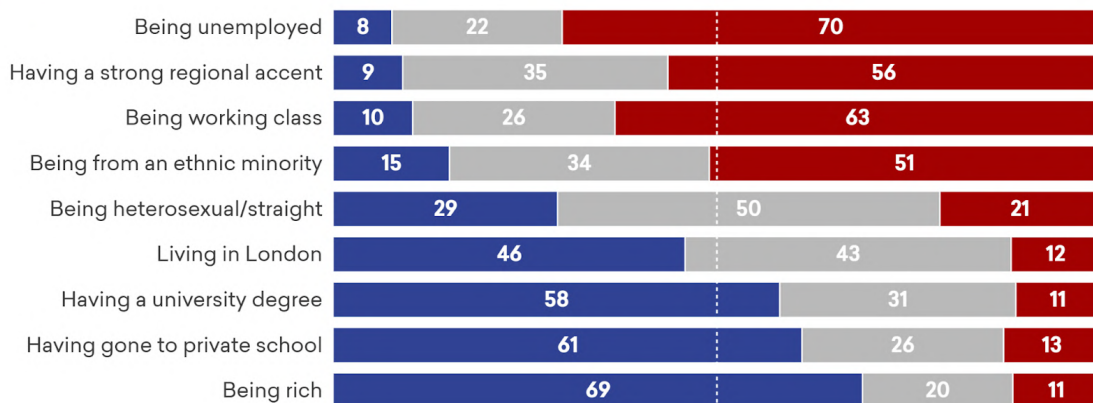
**Figure 4 | The attributes that Britons think make people less likely to be taken seriously by people in power**

For each of the following attributes please say whether you think it means it is likely that people in positions of power or authority take you more seriously, less seriously or makes no difference:

● More seriously

● Makes no difference

● Less seriously



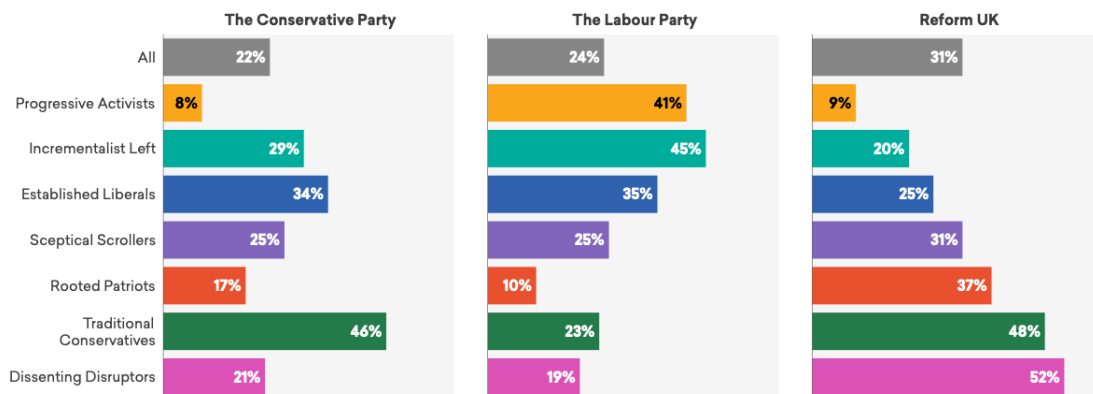
Those who live in parts of the country that have suffered the worst effects of deindustrialisation, where public places and high streets have been left to decline, and which have not seen the same investment in infrastructure as London and the South East, feel this lack of respect most profoundly. Fairly or not, the message many Britons in these places have heard from the political class is one of disrespect for them and their neighbourhoods and communities.

It is unsurprising then that Reform UK is making some of its biggest gains among segments who do not feel respected by the mainstream political parties - Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots. These segments are among the most likely to say the mainstream parties do not respect people like them and that Reform UK does. For the Dissenting Disruptors, Reform UK is the only political institution they trust more than they distrust.

**Figure 5 | Few Britons think that our major political parties respect people like them**

For the following list of organisations, please indicate to what extent you think they respect people like you.

Showing % who said they respect people like me



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High levels of distrust are directly linked to disengagement from electoral politics. When non-voters are asked why they do not vote, around four in ten cite their lack of trust in politics. Those with the lowest level of trust in political institutions are more likely than the public as a whole to say they will not vote at the next election.

*They always say these good intentions and what they always say they're going to do. They all say they're going to do these things and we're still in the same mess in the country with whoever actually leads the country, to be honest with you, we can't say, 'oh wow, we're in a great situation'. I think the country's in a real bad mess, to be honest with you.*

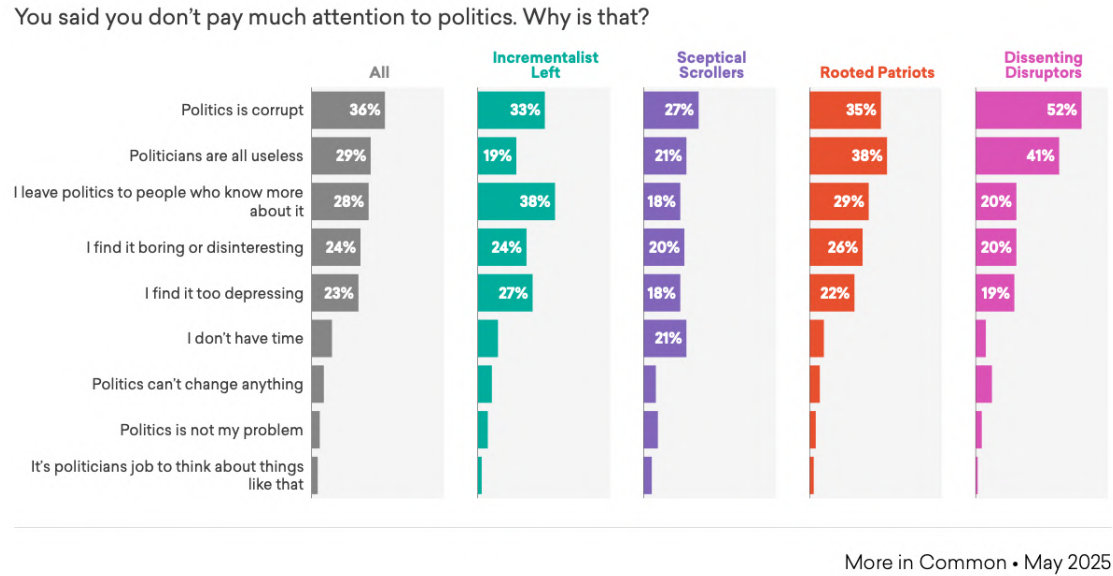
**Caroline, Rooted Patriot, Bury**

*I think I've been voting for a long time, probably like the late eighties, and I think I've just seen over and over again the same promises and nothing actually happens.*

**Rob, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley**

Despite its role in suppressing turnout at elections, lack of trust does not lead to total political disengagement. Almost half (46 per cent) of those who distrust politicians still pay close attention to political news. Similarly, even though they are among the most distrusting groups, 41 per cent of Rooted Patriots and nearly half of Dissenting Disruptors pay close attention to the news. By contrast, Sceptical Scrollers—who are generally less engaged overall—are less likely (36 per cent) to follow political developments.

Figure 6 | Reasons that disengaged groups pay less attention to politics



Beyond the risks of abstentionism and low engagement, political distrust also has an impact on the public's consent to follow the rules set by elected representatives. To take one example, more than four in ten Dissenting Defectors and Sceptical Scrollers now say they would not follow government instruction for a lockdown if there was another pandemic today. These groups also tend to be more likely to say the Covid pandemic was exaggerated by the government to control people.

*I think the average person who shows some interest in local politics and national politics has had a healthy cynicism and approaches things with caution. But I think since Covid and the way that the contracts and the procurement was all blatantly, blatantly just lads helping the other lads from the public school and it doesn't feel like that was just a Conservative thing. They say that it was, but it's not. And it is vulgar, it's vile. I can't believe that that can happen on that scale with government money, with taxpayer money. So yeah, that's where they've lost my trust.*

**Claire, Sceptical Scroller, Manchester**

*The prime one would be the pandemic and the vaccinations. I was in home care at that point and it was essentially, regardless of how I felt about taking the vaccine, I would take it, and I did have it because the people I was supporting were highly vulnerable. So I didn't need the government being like, 'you must have it, you should have it'. It was kind of like, well what's more important? Yes, we've no idea what the side effects could be, blah blah blah. You can go down that, but at the end of the day if you're telling me there's more of a chance that I'm going to help people and save people by having it... but then it's that herd mentality, is that the whole point? It's such a difficult discussion to have because there's no right or wrong. I don't think I'd be*



*swayed to necessarily take something, have something, do something just because a politician told me it was a good idea. I think especially the past five years or so, it's not on my radar.*

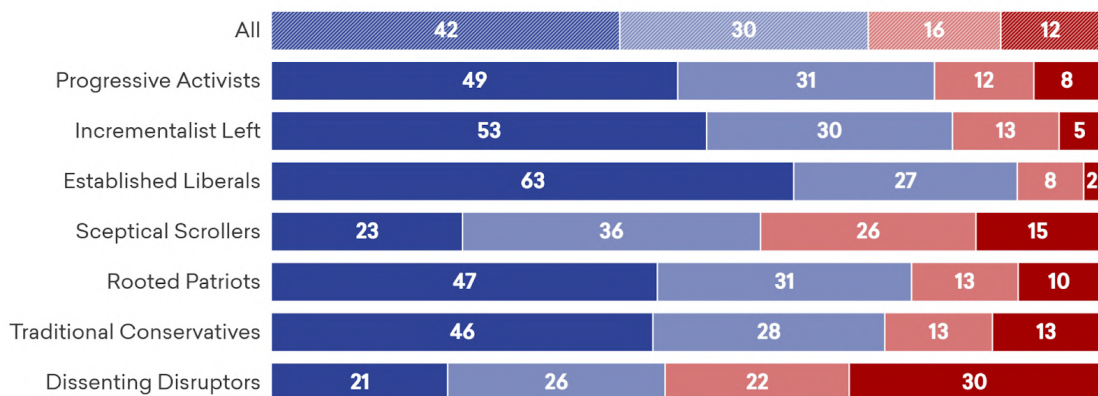
**Rose, Sceptical Scroller, Sheffield**

However, not all those who distrust politicians would refuse to follow government rules. Most Rooted Patriots, for instance, despite having low levels of trust in Westminster politics and politicians, say they would still follow a new lockdown order. This implies that distrust works in tandem with other forces, explored in the following chapters, to undermine citizen consent and attitudes towards democracy.

**Figure 7 | Which Britons would follow government rules to isolate in the event of another major pandemic?**

If there was another pandemic on the same scale as the Covid-19 pandemic, how likely would you be to follow government instructions to isolate?

● Very likely ● Somewhat likely ● Somewhat unlikely ● Very unlikely



Challenges of trust are not limited to politicians, they extend to our civic institutions. Here though there are differences – while scepticism of politicians is widespread, trust in civic institutions differs between segments.

Established Liberals, the Incrementalist Left and Progressive Activists express relatively high trust in judicial institutions and view them as fair referees of the rules. Dissenting Defectors, however, express deep scepticism about the judiciary. To many in this group, courts and judges are there to work for ‘elites’ and against the interests of ordinary people. In conversation, this segment cites examples of judicial rulings with political implications, particularly during the Brexit process, or on deportation cases, as examples that the judiciary is not on the side of ordinary people.

*I'd say they abide by it and when it suits them, for instance, Boris Johnson's proroguing of Parliament during all of the Brexit debates, but then when there's an issue like immigration, they can then say, 'oh well we don't have the autonomy within our law to solve that'.*

***Lucy, Dissenting Disruptor, Margate***

*I think the governments have to go to the high courts maybe to be allowed to do certain things. I'm going back, I don't know a lot about it, but I'm thinking about when they were talking about sending groups of immigrants to, I think, South Africa. I think they even spent millions of pounds. But I think the high court (...) sort of refused and said they weren't allowed to do it and I think they had to listen to 'em at the end of the day. So for that reason, yeah, I suppose the court, the law, does get in the way of them doing things that they'd like to do.*

***Gareth, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley***

The exception to this pattern of distrust in institutions is the National Health Service. A majority in every segment say that they trust the NHS. The NHS and doctors command the highest trust ratings of every institution, at 65 per cent and 68 per cent respectively. While few would trust the main party leaders even to look after their bag for them, nearly three quarters would trust their GP to do the same.

*I think the NHS, it needs to be preserved, but it seems to be going to be broken. And to me that's a really, really important part about being British.*

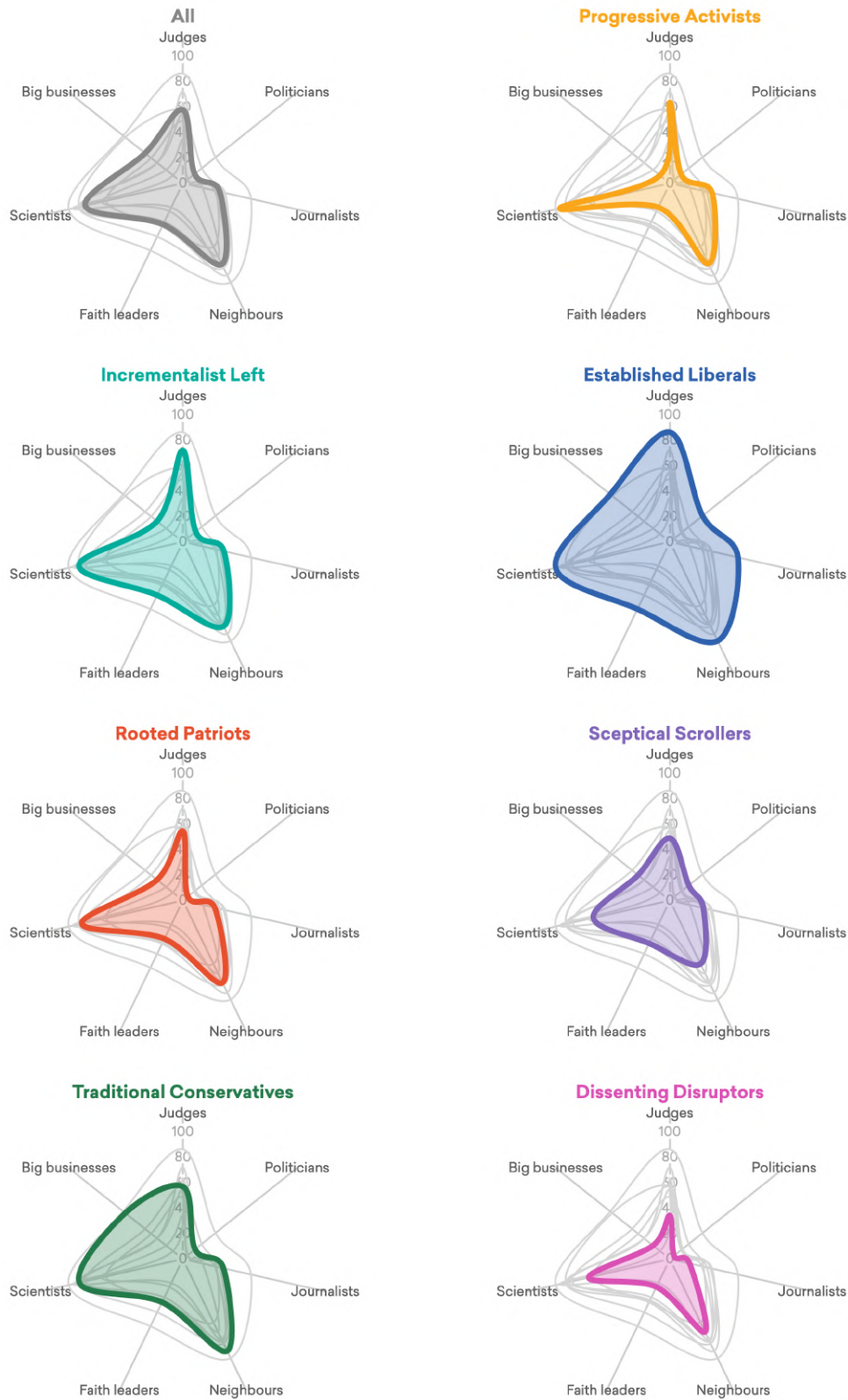
***Christine, Traditional Conservative, Cirencester***

Yet even in attitudes to the NHS there are variations in levels of trust. Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors are more distrusting of the NHS than other groups and are also more likely than most segments to say the NHS does not respect people 'like them'. While Rooted Patriots express higher levels of pride in the NHS, they are among the least likely to believe that people in the healthcare sector show them respect.

Scientists have also so far not succumbed to the crisis of trust in science that is seen in countries such as the United States. Nearly eight in ten Britons express trust in scientists including clear majorities in every single one of the British Seven segments - although Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors are more distrusting than the other segments.

Overall, and in spite of many divides in Britain, it is clear that falling trust has affected all groups of society and lowered the public's willingness to give politicians the benefit of the doubt as they navigate a more complicated world.

Figure 8 | The segments' trust in Britain's institutions



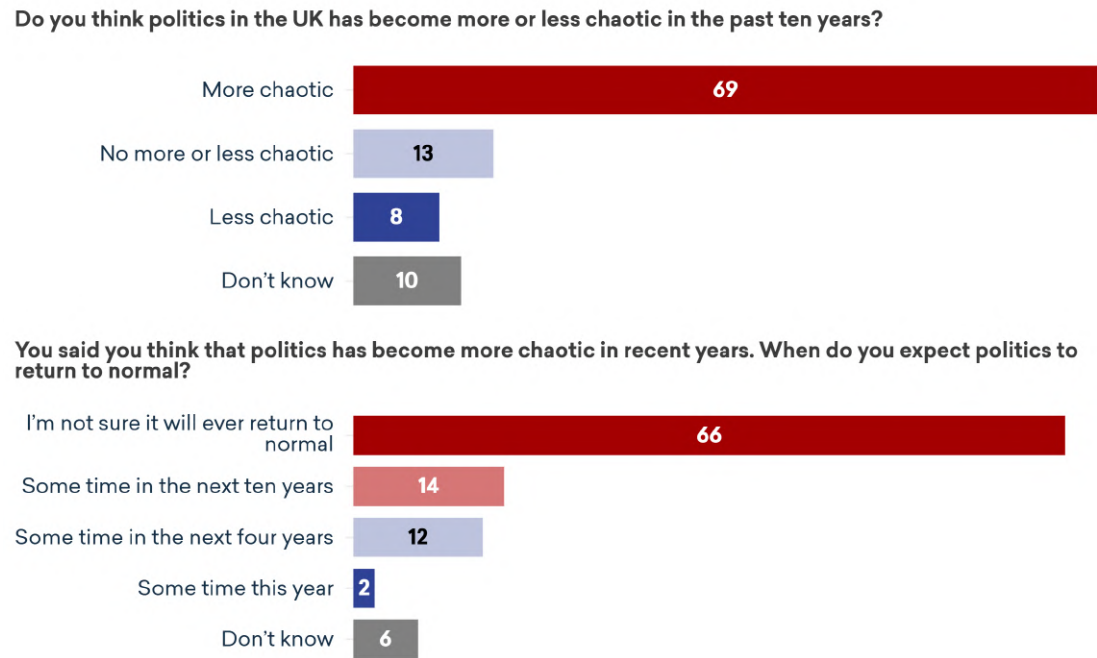
Source: More in Common, June 2025

## Driver Two: An exhaustion with politics and the struggles of day to day life

Given the undeniably chaotic nature of British politics in recent years, it is little wonder that three in five Britons (60 per cent) feel exhausted by division in politics. Since the financial crash, only one Prime Minister, David Cameron, has served what would traditionally be seen as a full term in office, with another, Liz Truss, lasting only 49 days .

Seven in ten (69 per cent) believe that politics has become more chaotic in recent years, of which two-thirds (66 per cent) say they are unsure if politics will ever go back to normal.

**Figure 9 | Most Britons think British politics has become more chaotic**



Yet for most, frustrations with British politics pales in comparison to how difficult their own lives have been, particularly since the financial crash. In one form or another, since 2008, the public has been told that the country must make ‘tough choices’ that will make their lives harder, in order to get the country back on track. Yet many feel that governments of all stripes have failed to deliver change or tangible improvements.

*I suppose for the start was the recession, the banking crisis. So 2008 when it started hitting the floor. People were losing their pensions, their money and it hasn't come back ... I think it was the banking crisis that started it. It was for me, and then it hasn't really recovered. There have been hits all the way.*

**Jonathan, Established Liberal, Chippenham**

Instead, across the issues that concern the public most – the cost of living, an NHS that is there when they need it, the state of schools, public finances, levels of inequality, rates of migration – many feel that far from improving, things are getting worse. Around seven in ten now regularly say that things in the UK are getting worse, with rarely more than one in ten who say things are getting better. The frustration that, despite the public’s sacrifices, things are continuing to get worse, is not just directed at one party or another – but rather it is feeding a wider sense that the system itself is broken.

*I am not really loyal to any party. I think, I mean I'm only 31, so I've only had so many elections, but I always feel like no matter who I voted for at that time, I just feel like nothing has changed and nothing has been fulfilled. I've tried a different party and it's just repeated itself again and again.*

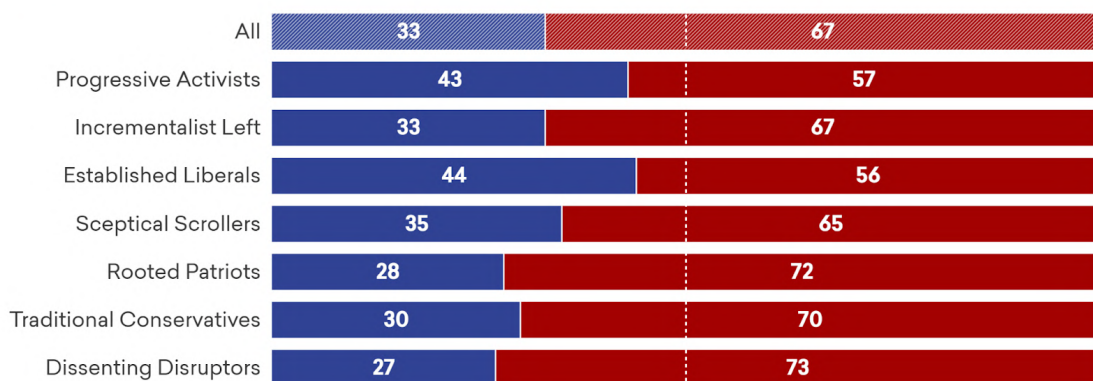
**Jonathan, Rooted Patriot, Wrexham**

There is no doubt that impatience for change is shaping perceptions of the Starmer Government’s performance. Despite campaigning on a manifesto of ‘Change’, two thirds (67 per cent) say this Government feels like ‘more of the same’ rather than genuinely different. Even among those groups which tend to be the most supportive of the Labour Party – such as the Incrementalist Left – there is a sense that the Government is running up against the same hurdles that dogged successive Conservative Governments over the previous fourteen years.

**Figure 10 | Few feel that the Labour Government is much different to the previous Conservative Government**

Compared to our previous Conservative government, would you say that our new Labour government...

● Feels genuinely different  
● Feels like more of the same



That feeling of exhaustion – that nothing is getting better and that life is too hard – is aggravated by the fact that, for many, the answers to fixing the country should be simple common sense solutions.

Over half the public say that the challenges facing the UK require straightforward action. Those who already have the lowest level of faith in politics and are the most politically disengaged are the most likely to feel this way. This means that the public attribute the inability of politicians to implement common sense solutions to ignorance, incompetence, and indifference, rather than forces outside of political control. This feeling has been compounded by politicians' reluctance to present the public with the trade offs involved in difficult decisions. In turn this only deepens the public's disillusionment and fatalism. More than one third of adults say that citizens' actions or choices have little to no influence on how society functions.

*I think our government's the worst ones actually. They don't respect the people that vote for them, and if they were to do that then it would be a lot better, but they don't. You try to get the best for everybody and the government just laugh at you.*

***Dianne, Rooted Patriot, Bridgwater***

By far the greatest driver of exhaustion is the effort many people are having to put in simply to survive and make ends meet. Asked about their biggest worries, financial concerns top the list for many. More than two in five Britons (43 per cent) say money is one their top three worries. One in five Britons say the biggest help to them right now would be the ability to pay off outstanding bills. Just under a quarter of Britons say they are struggling financially, with all but Established Liberals saying that their biggest sources of stress are money and finances.

*You pick up social media, you walk past a shop, you look at a magazine, you look at a newspaper, you turn on the TV, you have the radio on. There's no lightness to it. No one's talking about anything nice.*

***Leanne, Established Liberal, Beaconsfield***

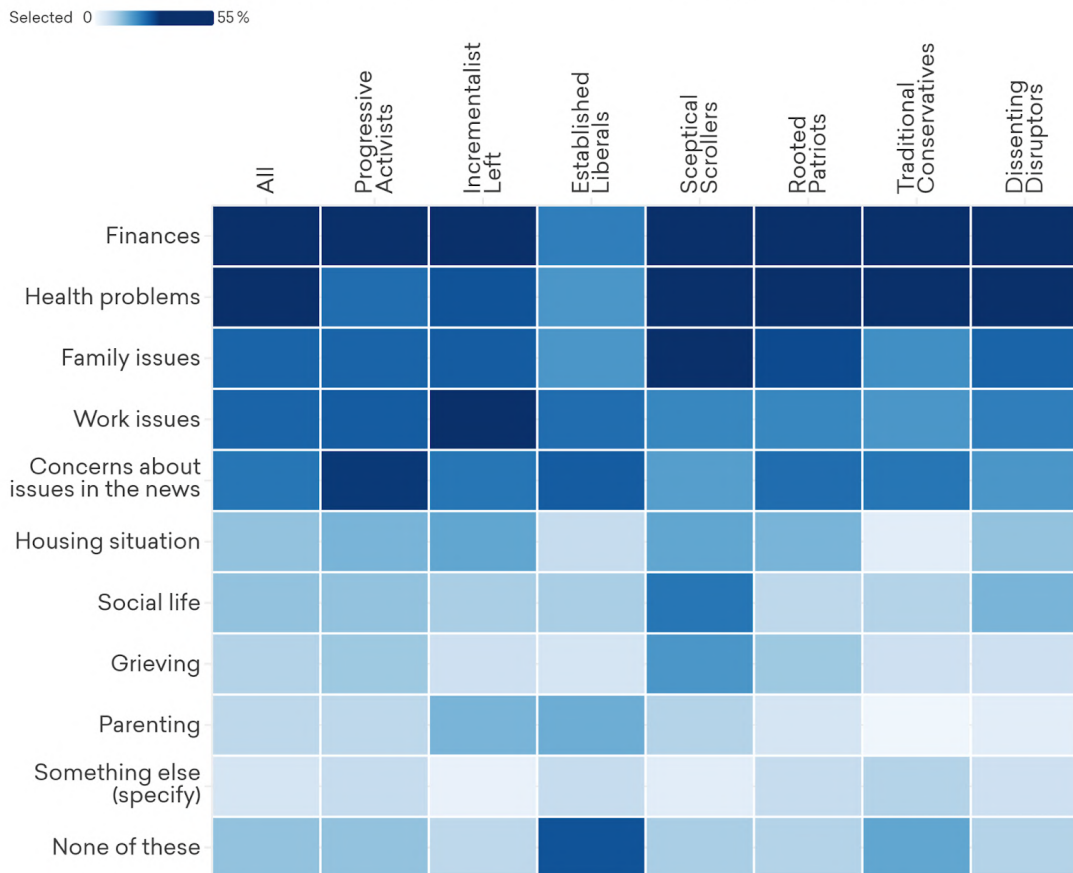
*Everything's gone up. It's quite a lot. You notice a difference, you notice everything going up, that transport and we're all sort of living on top of each other as well. And the rich are richer and the poor are poorer.*

***Maddie, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***



**Figure 11 | Daily stresses by segment**

What causes you the most stress in your life at the moment? Select up to three.



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While the more financially precarious segments are the most likely to say money causes them stress in life, it would be a mistake to assume that the impact of the cost of living crisis is limited just to those who are the poorest. In focus group conversations, it is clear that at every level, with the exception of the most secure, rising prices are affecting people's quality of life. Those who once thought themselves relatively comfortable are now having to make sacrifices to make ends meet.

*I've never found it so hard to get by in my day-to-day life and I don't work a shit job. Sorry for swearing, it's not amazing, but it's not terrible. But I can't live the same life I did even five years ago. It is changing and it's changing for the worse.*

**Tom, Dissenting Disruptor, Margate**

*The people who were on kind of normal standard wages just struggle to afford everything because rents are even higher than they were 10 years ago where I live and it's almost doubled now. I've seen all the development and the rents are just*

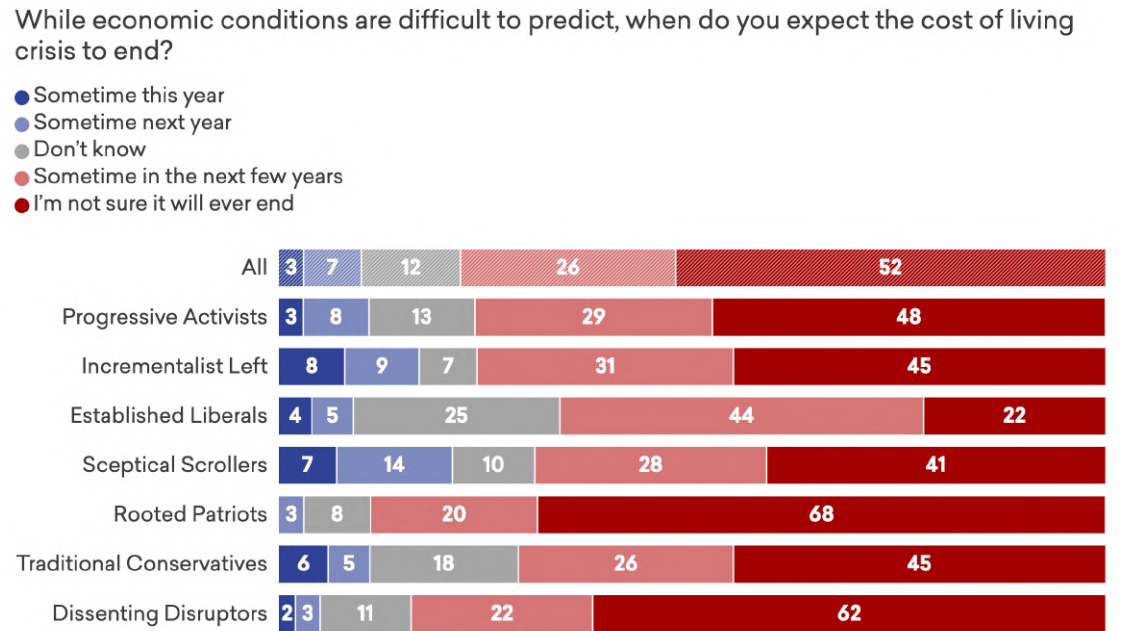
*rising and pay rises and uprising in line with all that. But I feel like the gap in the rich and the poor is getting wider because things are costing so much more for people who don't have lots of money or the people who do have lots of money.*

**Tom, Sceptical Scroller, Manchester**

For many, the rising cost of living and their financial struggles means more of what they earn has to go on the essentials. There is little money left for socialising or fun. Day trips with children, nights out with partners, or even the occasional take away are increasingly seen as unaffordable. In response to the cost of living crisis, 45 per cent say they have cut down on luxuries, while 43 per cent say they are going out less. In focus group conversations, Britons describe a feeling that they are ‘not living, just surviving’, ‘working to live or living to work’, and that ‘there’s never anything left over for the fun stuff in life’.

More forebodingly, many now feel that no matter their efforts, they will always struggle financially. The most economically vulnerable groups are also the most likely to believe they have little control over their life outcomes and half of Britons believe the cost of living crisis will never end.

**Figure 12 | Half of Britons now think the cost of living crisis will never end**





## Driver Three: Rising Threat Perception

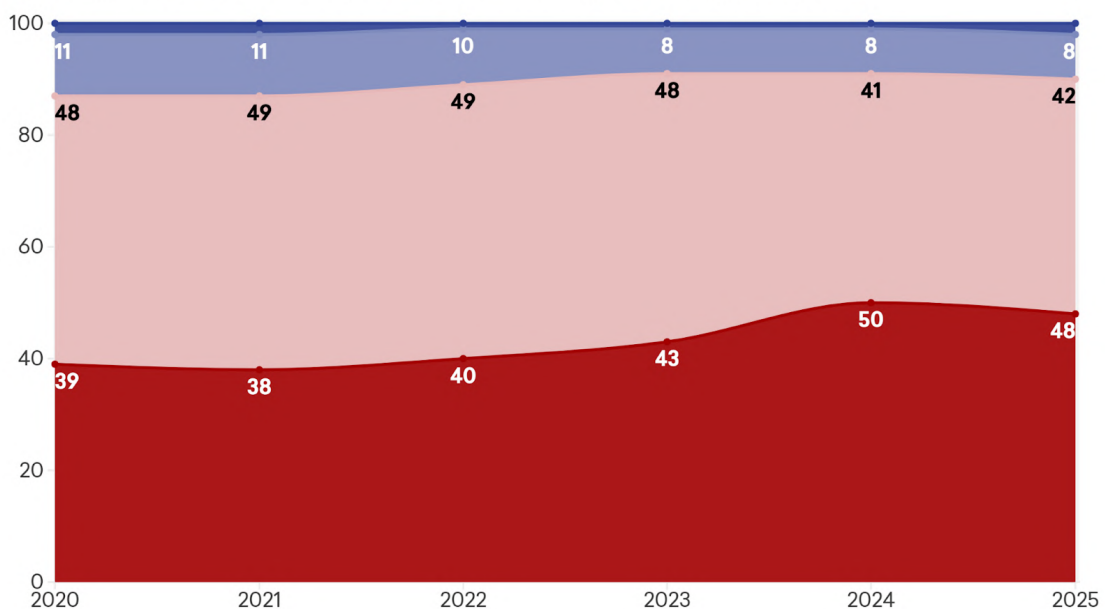
For many Britons, exhaustion with politics and the everyday struggles of life are compounded by a sense that their communities, the country and the world around them are becoming less safe. That threat perception has increased over the past five years, with the proportion of Britons who strongly agree the world is becoming a more dangerous place rising by around ten points since 2020.

**Figure 13 | Britons' threat perception over time**

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

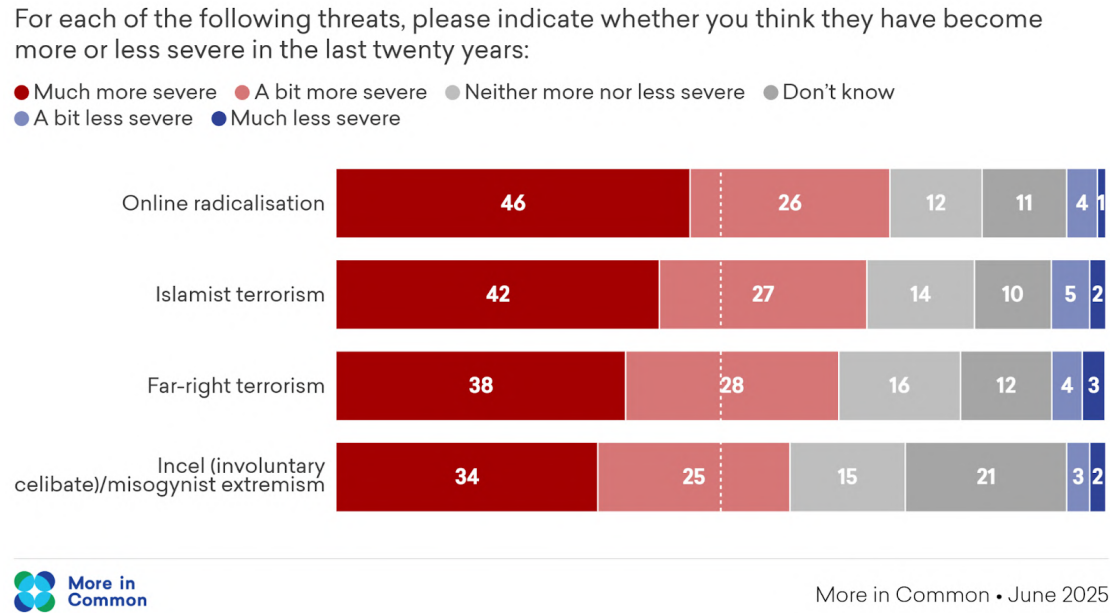
*"The world is becoming a more and more dangerous place"*

● Strongly agree ● Somewhat agree ● Somewhat disagree ● Strongly disagree



Overall, eight in ten Britons believe the world is becoming a more dangerous place. Significant majorities are concerned about the prospect of escalation in the Middle East, the threat of Putin's Russia, tensions with China, the risk of nuclear proliferation and both far-right and Islamist terror. For many, the unpredictability of the Trump presidency and the erosion of the old international order add to the rising sense of threat.

Figure 14 | Britons’ changing perceptions of threat



President Trump’s favourability has fallen significantly with Britons over the first six months of his second presidency – starting underwater at minus 43 in January and dropping to minus 54 by the start of June. While most Britons have never viewed Donald Trump positively, the most pronounced decline in positivity about the US President is among 2024 Reform UK voters, whose approval of President Trump fell from plus 31 at the start of the year to minus 11 in June 2025. These concerns about the Trump presidency and what it means for the security and stability of the UK run through conversations with the public.

*I'm frightened of Donald Trump. I don't know what's going to come out of his mouth next, and I just don't know what he's going to do next because he takes action on things and then retracts it. And the way he speaks, the way he holds himself is just shocking.*

**Annette, Rooted Patriot, Bury**

*I've never known someone in power to be so erratic. You'll wake up one morning and be like, boom, 50 per cent tariff, or you literally do not know what the hell he's going to do next. For me, as someone who is the leader of the free world, I do find that concerning because he could literally turn around the next day and just do God knows what?*

**Jonathan, Rooted Patriot, Wrexham**

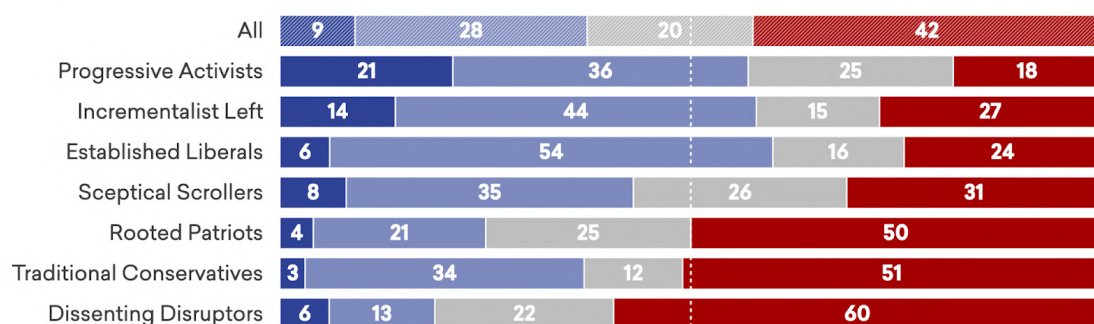
The lack of trust that people feel in the government extends to a concern that it is unable to keep Britons safe. Fewer than one in five Britons think the UK is ready to defend itself

should there be a war tomorrow. In focus group conversations, Britons explain that their confidence in Britain's domestic resilience has been weakened by the fact Putin's invasion of Ukraine had such a profound impact on energy prices, or the sight of empty shelves during the pandemic. What's more, far from trusting our leaders to get the UK a good deal on the world stage, a plurality of Britons think the UK gets taken advantage of by other countries – especially more socially conservative groups such as Rooted Patriots, Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors.

**Figure 15 | Britons tend to think we get taken advantage of on the world stage**

Thinking about the UK taking a stance on global issues, which of the following comes closer to your view?

- The UK takes advantage of other countries
- Both the UK and other countries get a fair deal
- Don't know
- Other countries take advantage of the UK



More in Common • May 2025

In the face of rising international threat and the perceived inability of the government to get a good deal for Britain, both isolationism and strong man leadership become more appealing.

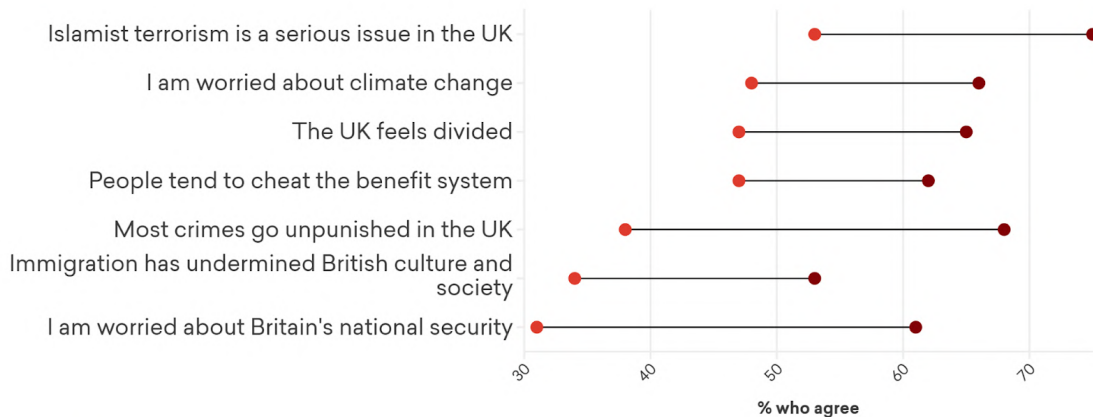
The sense of threat is most pronounced in areas which have felt most buffeted by the effects of globalisation and economic dislocation in recent years. A sense that Britain is less safe, and that the government is failing to respond, appears to be a key driving force in the turn away from mainstream parties in the UK. Areas where Reform UK are doing better often overlap with areas where threat perception is higher.

The consequences of heightened threat perception are not limited to electoral consequences, but shape how much of the public thinks about some of the key challenges facing the country. More in Common's research finds that those who have higher levels of threat perception are far more likely to believe immigration is too high, that the UK is divided and to want stronger action from the government on crime, climate change and national security.

**Figure 16 | People with higher threat perception have different views on a range of issues, from climate change to terrorism**

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- People who disagree that the world is becoming more dangerous
- People who agree that the world is becoming more dangerous



More in Common • October 2023 - January 2025

Nowhere does threat perception emerge more starkly than in the concern that the government cannot control the UK's borders. The segments' differing perspectives on immigration are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. But at a top level, three in five Britons want to see immigration levels either significantly or slightly reduced, but barely one in five have confidence the government will manage to do so. Progressive Activists are outliers with their low levels of concern about immigration.

*There's people that are coming here and they're coming from completely different cultures...So what do they do? They do what they did back home, which was rob people for stuff. I mean not everyone... So it is just a bomb waiting to explode and it kind of already has exploded, but it's just happening slowly. I don't know.*

**Tom, Dissenting Disruptor, Margate**

*I don't think that immigration's the problem with this country. I think everything's blamed on it. People that are scared of it. ...London is one of the most cosmopolitan cities if you look at the mix. However, we have the least problem with immigration, whereas other parts of the country that have very little immigration have a huge problem with immigration, although it's not necessarily their experience.*

**Natalie, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich**

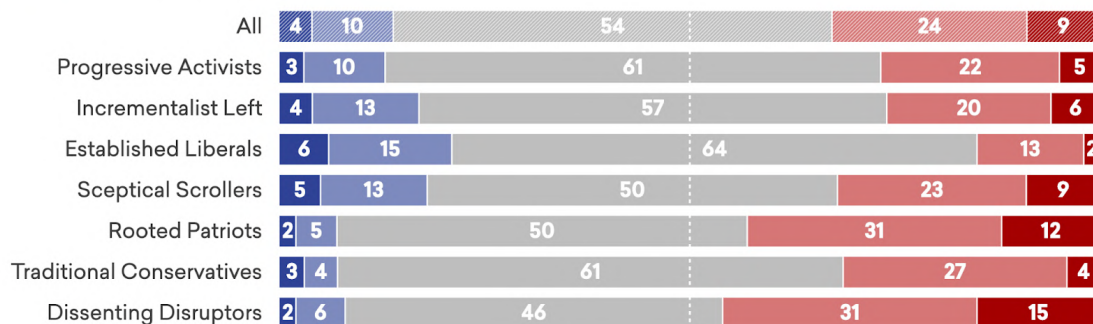
However, people's sense of threat does not just encompass events at the international and national level. For many, crime, and the lack of confidence in the police to deal with crime, is a major driver of threat perception.

While most think their local area is becoming neither safer nor more dangerous, a third are concerned their area is becoming more dangerous. Only 13 per cent of Britons think their local area is becoming safer. Perceptions of local safety are not evenly spread across the segments – almost half of Dissenting Disruptors (46 per cent) and a similar proportion of Rooted Patriots (42 per cent) think their local area is becoming a bit more or much more dangerous compared to 33 per cent of Britons overall.

**Figure 17 | Feelings of local safety by segment**

Would you say that the area you live is getting:

- Much safer
- A bit safer
- Neither safer nor more dangerous
- A bit more dangerous
- Much more dangerous



More in Common • April 2025

More broadly, over eight in ten Britons say that crime has gotten worse in Britain over the past decade, with 56 per cent saying the same about their local area. For many, their biggest concern is the sort of crime which is often labelled 'low level'. Two thirds of the public (63 per cent) think antisocial behaviour is not taken seriously enough by the police. In focus groups, frustration at having to deal with antisocial behaviour (44 per cent of Britons say they have witnessed instances of this), the rise of shoplifting (witnessed by 40 per cent), as well as a lack of police presence on the streets, emerge as top concerns.

*I think the police are underfunded. I mean if they had more funds, they could put more men on the beat and they could deal with things like shoplifting and minor crime that goes unattended now.*

**Barry, Rooted Patriot, Bury**

*I was going to say, I have had the luxury of living next door to a derelict building for the last four and a half years. It's got drug addicts in, it's got the fire, it's got the police coming and there's vandals, squatters, they throw things all over my garden and they*

*jump over my wall to get in there. They were hammering the songs down at half past one on Monday night. They don't give a sod.*

**Jenny, Rooted Patriot, Norfolk**

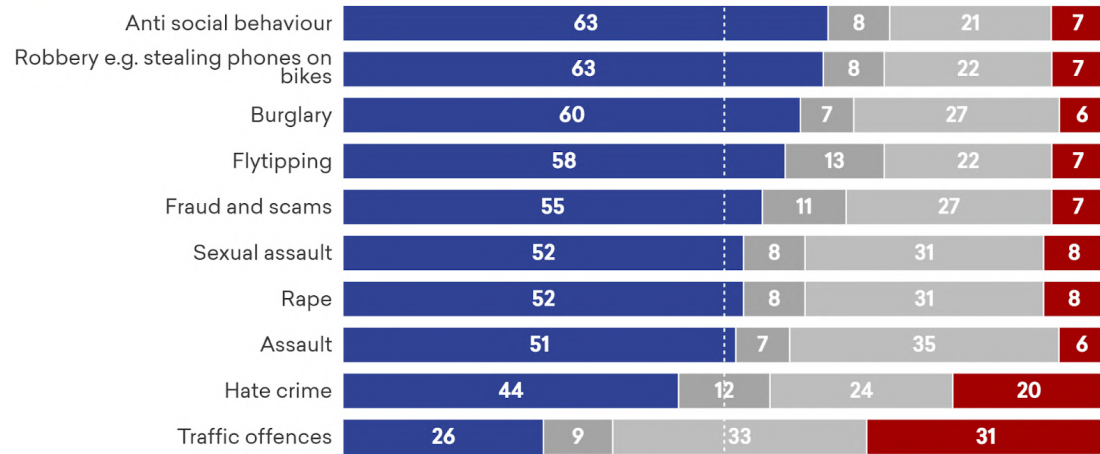
*I work customer services and I do Saturday nights and they all come in there absolutely stinking of drugs and just all getting their alcohol and there's just gangs of them and I mean there's a lot of places that the police know about, but they just don't seem to be able to control it. So there's no respect for the police at all, because they know that if they're called then they'll just take forever to come... they just don't seem to focus on the proper stuff.*

**Leslie, Rooted Patriot, Norfolk**

Figure 18 | Perceptions on which crimes are taken seriously enough

Do you believe police take the following types of crime too seriously, not seriously enough, or with the right level of seriousness?

- Not seriously enough
- Don't know
- With the right level of seriousness
- Too seriously





## Driver Four: A loss of agency

Underpinning trust, exhaustion and threat as drivers of public discontent is a lack of agency and the feeling that the government is not in control of the country. As with threat perception, lack of agency is experienced at both the individual, national and international level.

Britons worry about not knowing what price hikes might be round the corner, particularly given the volatility and unpredictability of food and energy price rises in recent years.

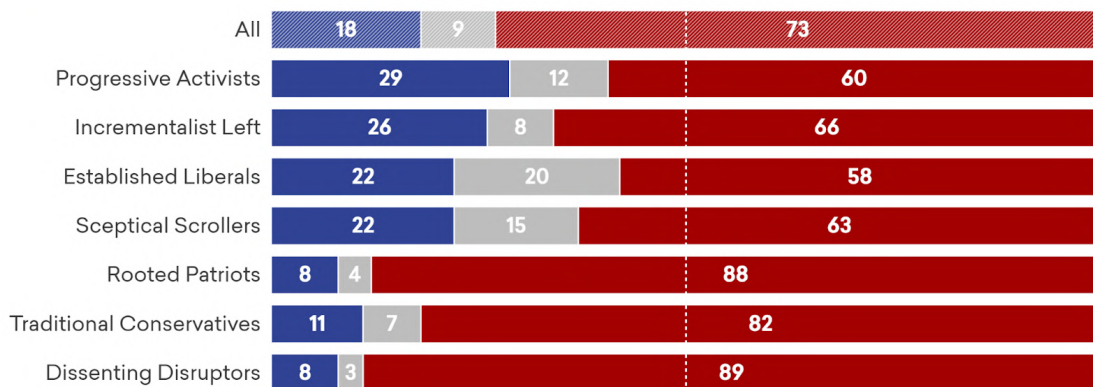
That sense of helplessness in the face of external forces extends to perceptions of the government too. Britons are frustrated with the government's seeming inability to deliver on its promises, whether that be building homes or controlling the border. They are similarly anxious about the government's lack of agency on the world stage, as well as Trump's unpredictability and escalating tensions in the Middle East.

The reason that 'Take Back Control' was such a powerful slogan to the 2016 Brexit Referendum was that it tapped into a strong desire that the government should have the power to deliver the things the British public elect it to do. Yet instead, seven in ten Britons say that the Government does not have things under control.

**Figure 19 | Few Britons think that the Government has things under control**

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

- The Government has things under control
- Don't know
- The Government does not have things under control



This concern about the government not having control is not simply an acknowledgement of more unpredictable or volatile times, but frustration with institutions' powerlessness to shape events or respond effectively to them. In focus group discussions, exasperation about the inability to fix Britain is widespread - whether it's the ability of the government to deliver on major infrastructure projects such as HS2, sort out NHS waiting lists, or control

migration. The perception that the government is powerless to respond to these basic expectations is driving disillusionment with British politics and confidence in its ability to deliver.

*Broken and strained. I feel like the UK is under a lot of stress, like the infrastructure, the facilities and all that I think is a lot of strain on all our fundamental services at the moment.*

***Jonathan, Rooted Patriot, Wrexham***

As discussed above, one of the most visible symbols of this lack of control is Britain's borders. But this extends beyond overall levels of migration - nearly eight in ten say they are concerned about asylum seekers crossing the channel. For many, repeated images of people arriving on UK shores reinforce the perception that Britain lacks control over its border, that people can bypass the legal system and that the rules are not being enforced. Concerns about security, fairness and cohesion lie at the heart of these views. While Britons want overall migration to fall, stopping channel crossings is seen as even more important. Three quarters (74 per cent) say tackling channel crossings should be the priority over reducing net legal net migration.

*It's really hard to take when you see how much other people are struggling and where people are having things cut and there's a hell of a lot of people in this country that are really, really struggling and to have it feels wrong to have people come in and jump the queue.*

***Suella, Incrementalist Left, St Albans***

That perceived lack of agency fuels a belief that Britain's best days are behind it, with three quarters of the public and every segment more likely than not to believe that is the case. While it's no surprise that those who feel anxious about their own lives and disconnected from the world around them are more likely to feel bleak about the nation's direction, what stands out is how widespread this sentiment of decline is.

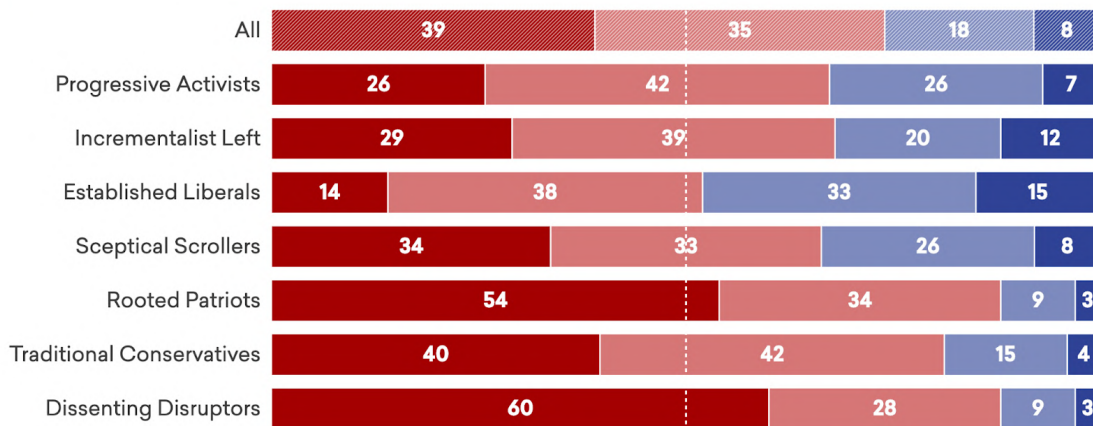
Even groups who are typically more optimistic and satisfied with their own lives, such as Traditional Conservatives, share levels of pessimism about our national future on par with more disillusioned groups such as Sceptical Scrollers.



**Figure 20 | Most Britons think the country's best years are behind us**

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

● 1 - Britain's best years are behind us ● 2 ● 3 ● 4 - Britain's best years are ahead of us



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This sense of instability is amplified by global events - especially the perceived unpredictability of the US President. In focus groups, people express anxiety about Donald Trump's impact on the UK, and a sense that the British Government is powerless to influence or contain him. The President's tariffs and volatile stance on Ukraine are seen by many as exposing Britain's diminished standing in the world and our lack of control over events that still shape our future.

*We forget sometimes that these days we're a very small fish in a very big pond.*

**Graham, Established Liberal, Beaconsfield**

While a quarter of Britons believe their children will enjoy a better quality of life than their parents', twice as many think the opposite. This outlook is most common among those who are the least satisfied with their own lives - those who feel financially insecure, socially disconnected and distrustful of the institutions and individuals around them.

Meanwhile, Established Liberals, who are consistently more trusting, financially comfortable, connected to society and satisfied in their lives, are the only segment where more feel positive than negative about their children's futures.

Figure 21 | Few think that Keir Starmer can do anything about our relationship with America

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

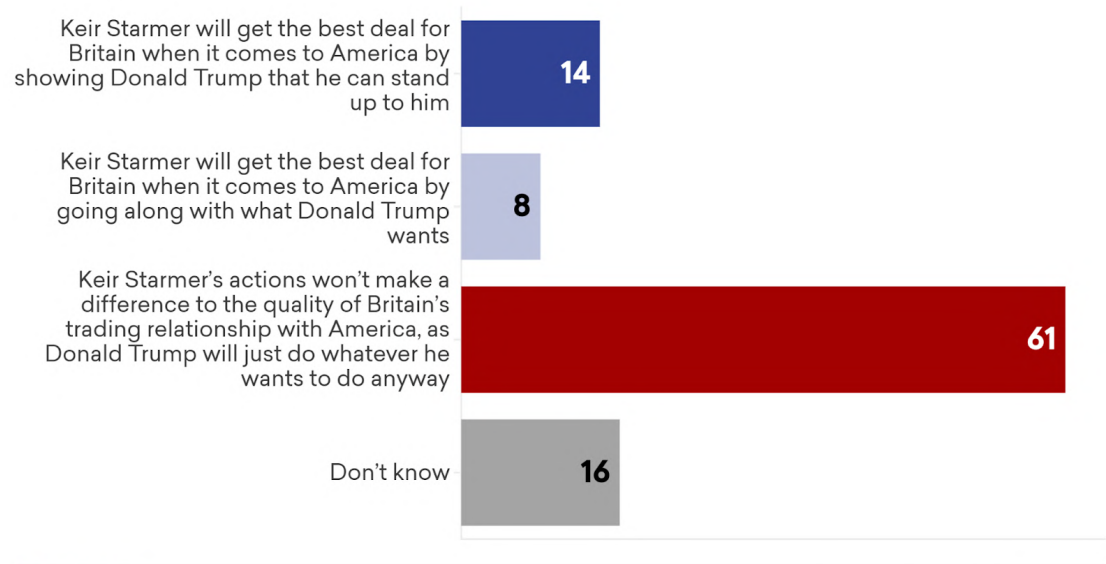
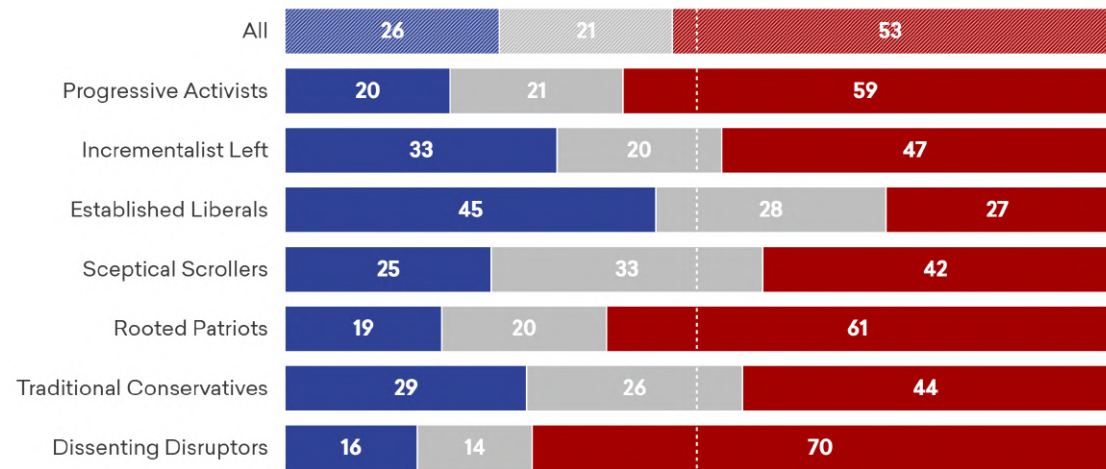


Figure 22 | Most Britons think their children's generation will have a worse life than their parents' generation

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

- My children's generation will have a better life than my parents' generation
- My children's generation will have about the same quality of life as my parents' generation
- My children's generation will have a worse life than my parents' generation



*I don't necessarily think that it's going to be better. I mean the cost of living has gone up. I do think probably some better quality of life, but then we've got everything going on right now in the world, climate change, all that stuff. So I think there's a lot of hardships that way. So I don't know. I don't know. If I'm honest, I don't think it is better or good, I don't think it heading in a good direction at the moment.*

***Carolyn, Sceptical Scroller, Sheffield***

*Mum and dad say they just used to play out all the time and it was safe and they could walk home and things like that. People don't let their children do that anymore. It's probably a bit more of a responsibility being parents now.*

***Shauna, Sceptical Scroller, Glasgow***

Lack of agency is directly connected to exhaustion and threat. The cost of living crisis in particular has removed many people's sense of control over the shape of their own lives - with many Britons now worried about the next bill, not able to have kids or retire at a time of their choosing, or to put down permanent roots with the stability that home ownership brings.

## Rolling the dice

Taken together the lack of trust and agency, heightened exhaustion and sense of threat mean the public are deeply dissatisfied with the status quo. To many, Britain feels literally and figuratively shattered. A system that they cannot trust, is not in control, is stuck in perma-chaos and cannot keep them safe is not a system that many Britons think is worth preserving.

The political implications of this are discussed in more detail in the following chapters, but the extent to which they have already shaped Britain's electoral landscape is already plain to see. A series of elections and referendums have delivered results which have transformed British politics, whether the vote for Brexit in 2016, the Jeremy Corbyn surge in 2017, Boris Johnson's realignment in 2019 or Keir Starmer's victory on a manifesto for change in 2024. Yet to date none of these votes for something new have led to changes that can fix a country that many think is broken.

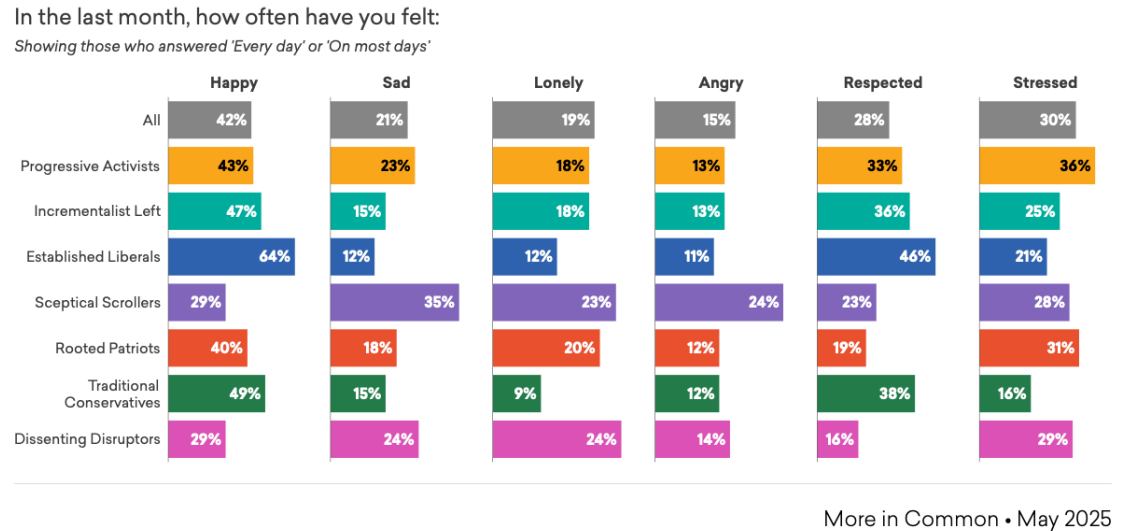
That in turn is driving a new sentiment, a growing feeling that, whatever the risks, it may be better to roll the dice on something new entirely - new political leaders, parties outside the political mainstream, even our approach to the system itself. The result is a political system far more fragmented than at almost any other time in history as Britons desperately seek out the best route for change.

Resilience in the face of challenge

Yet against this backdrop of unhappiness with the state of the country, frustration at the pressures of life in 2020s Britain and pessimism about Britain’s trajectory, people demonstrate a day-to-day resilience that suggests that Britain’s problems, while chronic, are not unsolvable, and that the foundations of communities across the country remain strong.

Two-fifths (42 per cent) of Britons say they have felt happy on most days or nearly every day in the last month, and large numbers say they have not or have rarely felt sad, lonely or angry. On the whole, people tend to feel more satisfied than not with most areas of their lives – from their jobs to their relationships. Even in focus groups, while many expressed concerns about the state of the country and anxiety about the future, they were more positive or upbeat about aspects of their own day-to-day lives.

Figure 23 | Emotional feelings by segment



Among all the segments, Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors stand out as those most likely to be experiencing the emotions of loneliness, sadness and anger, while they are the least likely to report feeling happy on a regular basis. Their dissatisfaction extends to both their work lives, financial situation and personal lives. This is not surprising – both groups often feel disconnected from the world around them, face financial instability and harbour deep frustration with the system.

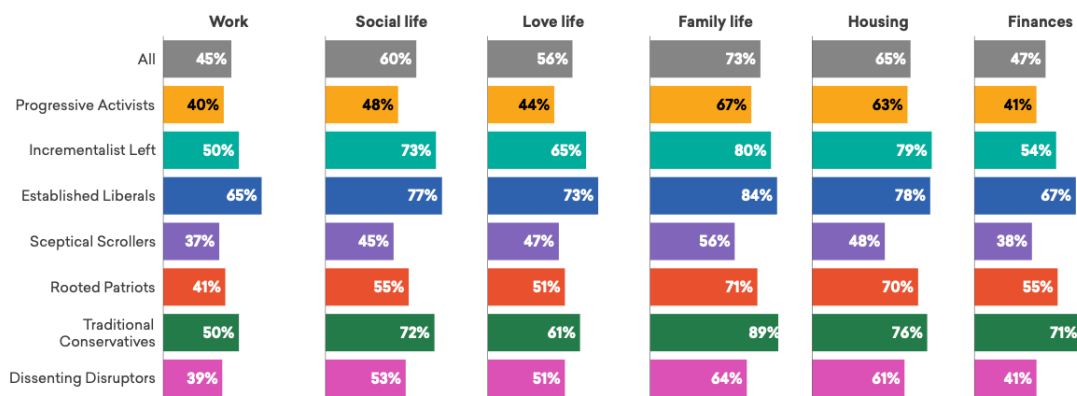
Yet even within these segments the picture is not entirely negative. Sceptical Scrollers are more likely to feel frustration at their individual situation but are more likely than Dissenting Disruptors to feel respected day-to-day by the people and institutions around them. Dissenting Disruptors are generally more fed-up than irate, believing institutions do not respect people like them, but feel the most contentment with their day-to-day lives – for example, their housing situation or family life.

Meanwhile, reflecting that they tend to feel more at ease with the world around them, more trusting of institutions and more optimistic about their circumstances, Established Liberals and the Incrementalist Left are generally the most content across all areas of life. Clear majorities of both segments express satisfaction with every aspect of their personal lives they are asked about.

**Figure 24 | Life satisfaction by segment**

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with each of the following aspects of your life?

*Showing those who answered 'Very' or 'Somewhat satisfied'*



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While Britons have felt little in the way of support from the government, they have been able to rely on those closest to them for support. Britons value community or connection and many have a high level of faith in their neighbours. More than seven in ten say they have some or a lot of trust in their neighbours and a majority would trust them to pick their children up from school, watch their bag or have a key to their home.

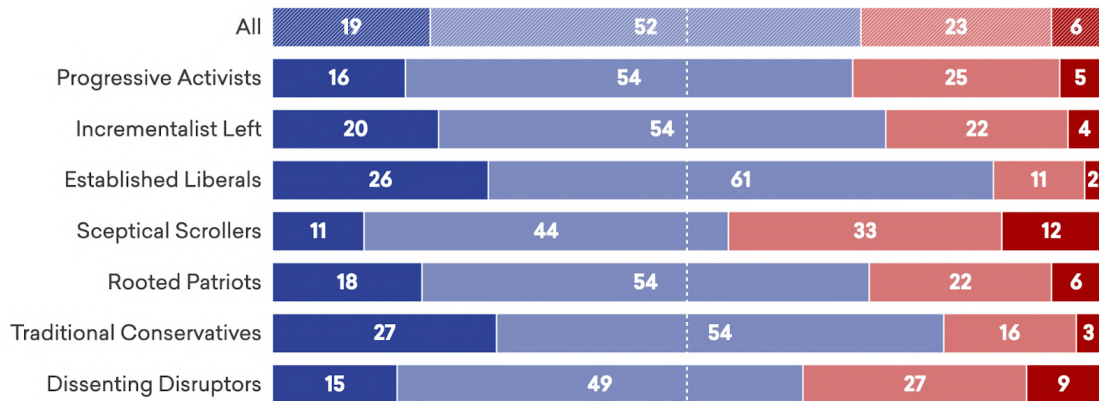
What's more, while the most common word Britons use to describe the country as a whole is 'broken', the most common word they use to describe their local area is 'good'. Many Britons have deep pride and feel 'at home' in their local area, settled where they are - over half live less than an hour away from where they grew up. Others describe the importance of relationships they have built in their local area, not just with neighbours, but those they have met through local community groups. Almost one in five Britons are part of a local sports club or team (19 per cent) or a volunteering group (18 per cent).

### Figure 25 | Trust in neighbours by segment

How much trust do you have in the following?

## Your neighbours

● A great deal   ● Quite a lot   ● Not very much   ● Not at all



### Figure 26 | How Britons feel about their local areas

In one or two words, how would you describe the area that you live in in 2024?





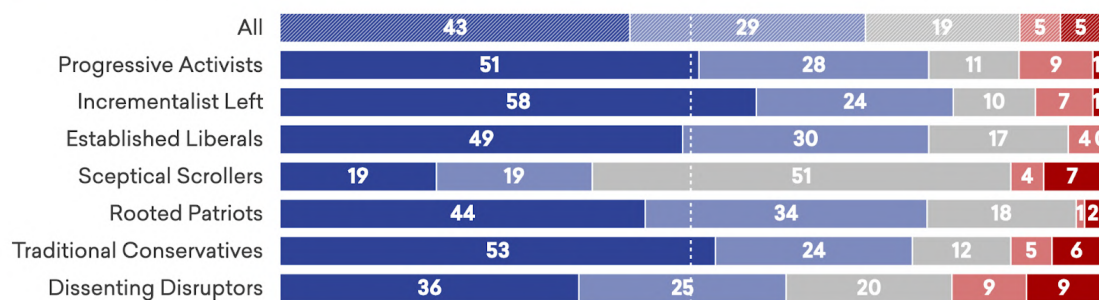
Mending ‘Broken Britain’ will surely involve building on these strengths from the bottom up. If faith in politics is low, faith in the ability and ideas of local people is not. Around eight in ten Britons believe that local communities (both individual residents and community groups) have ideas and skills that could make their areas better places to live in.

Nor should it be assumed that Britons have turned entirely inward. The war in Ukraine has put to rest to any myth that Brexit would see the country retreat to becoming ‘Little England’. Seven in ten Britons think it matters to the UK that Ukraine is able to defend its sovereignty and barely more than one in ten Britons would like to see the UK stop supporting Ukraine now.

**Figure 27 | Importance that Ukraine defeats Russia by segment**

Thinking about the war in Ukraine, how important is it for the UK that Ukraine defends its sovereignty against Russian aggression?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Neither important nor unimportant
- Not particularly important
- Not at all important



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What’s more, on a host of other issues from tackling climate change, to vaccinations for children in poorer nations, Britons want the UK to step up and play its role as one of the leaders on the world stage – even if other forms of aid spending may be unpopular.

The drivers of public discontent are significant and deeply rooted. The challenge for leaders, whether in politics, civil society or business, who want to find a way past them will lie in articulating and delivering a new vision for Britain that builds both on the public’s strong sense of community at the local level and the desire to do what is right at the international level.

Crafting that vision will require navigating the emerging fault lines that delineate how Britons come together and move apart. The old binary of right and left are no longer as relevant as they were. Bringing Britain together means understanding where the country sits on a different set of scales, set out in the next chapter.





# **Chapter 2**

## **Britain's Shifting Fault Lines**

In an era of increased democratic fragmentation and volatility, old certainties that once defined Britain's fault lines have crumbled and now provide an incomplete picture of Britain in 2025. Familiar divides - whether Labour or Conservative, Leave or Remain, old or young, or even left or right - are no longer adequate guides to understanding how Britons come together and diverge. Instead, a new map is required that considers not just traditional cleavages such as class and partisan belief but also values and life experience.

Using segmentation analysis of over 13,000 Britons and focus groups across the country, More in Common has identified seven shifting fault lines that help explain shattered Britain.

These fault lines illuminate political puzzles that traditional frameworks cannot. The difference between voters who now opt for Reform UK or the Conservative Party, for instance, is better understood through differing appetites for chaos or patience for incrementalism than just through the left-right spectrum or policy choices. Similarly, as information environments fragment, the influence of conspiracy thinking has become essential for understanding the depth and drivers of institutional distrust outlined in Chapter One. Likewise, the prominence of culture war issues in shaping political debates, and the rise of and pushback against what has been called 'woke' ideology means that debates around freedom of speech have taken on new forms.

These divisions matter because they determine not just how people vote, but how they see their neighbours, consume information and navigate daily life in modern Britain. They also affect how Britons approach the big challenges of the day, be it paying for an aging population or tackling climate change. Understanding today's Britain only through the lens of traditional politics or conventional values systems is now inadequate for helping policy makers, institutions, campaigners and community leaders navigate a changed landscape. Understanding these new fault lines is essential for explaining why the country feels so fractured - but also where opportunities for common ground exist.

This chapter introduces the new psychological and political divides which help to explain these dynamics. These are:

- [Appetite for change, risk and need for chaos](#)
- [Ease of fixing our problems \(sometimes referred to as insider/outsider positioning\)](#)
- [Belief in agency](#)
- [Conspiracy thinking](#)
- [Attitudes to multiculturalism](#)
- [Attitudes to free speech](#)
- [Interpersonal trust and connection](#)

These cleavages sit alongside the core values model introduced in More in Common's 2020 Britain's Choice segmentation study. Those are:

- Moral foundations theory

- Threat perception
- Authoritarian dynamic
- Group identity
- Left/right economic scales
- Engagement with civic life and democracy

## **Appetite for change - Incrementalism or burn it all down?**

Change was not only the slogan of Labour's successful 2024 General Election campaign but was at the centre of how people thought about that election. Despite securing a relatively low vote share, seven in ten people said the General Election gave Keir Starmer a mandate to radically change Britain, reflecting the breadth and depth of the public's desire for change. In fact, the 2024 election represented just one of a series of votes where the electorate had clearly expressed their demand for change – first in 2016 with the EU Referendum, then in the Corbyn surge of 2017, the 2019 election of Boris Johnson and its partial realignment of politics, and in 2024 when the electorate so clearly rejected the Conservatives.

*I've been voting for a long time, probably like the late eighties and I think I've just seen over and over again the same promises and nothing actually happens*

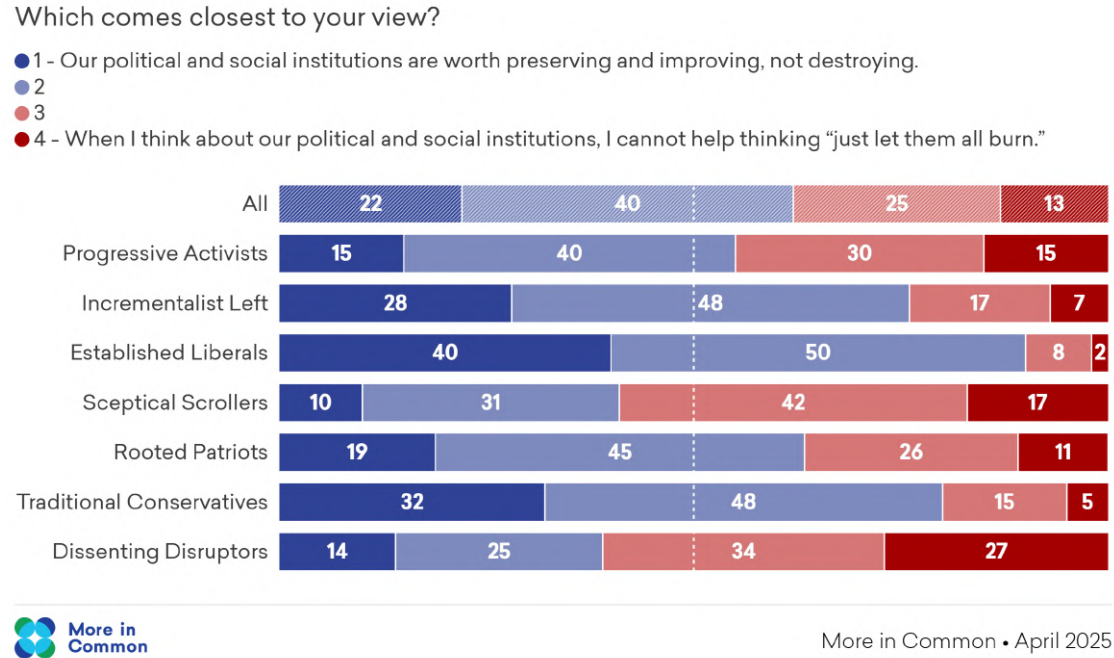
***Rob, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley***

*I am not really loyal to any party. I think, I mean I'm only 31, so I've only had so many elections, but I always feel like no matter who I voted for at that time, I just feel like nothing has changed and nothing has been fulfilled. I've tried a different party and it's just repeated itself again and again.*

***Jonathan, Rooted Patriot, Wrexham***

Britons are broadly united in their belief that the country needs change. However, there is less consensus on what the scale and pace of this change should be, nor whether it should amount to fixing and improving current systems or tearing them down to start from scratch.

Figure 28 | Desire for radical change by segment



This is not a left-right fault line. A desire to see institutions ‘burned down’ and start again sets apart the Dissenting Disruptors from other right-leaning segments. Most Traditional Conservatives (80 per cent) see our political and social institutions as worth preserving, not destroying. Dissenting Disruptors, however, are more likely to say we should ‘just let them all burn’. Their belief that only politics which significantly disrupts the status quo can fix Britain helps to explain this group’s higher than average approval for anti-establishment politicians such as Nigel Farage and Donald Trump.

On the other side of the political spectrum, the Incrementalist Left want to see institutions preserved and improved (76 per cent). However Progressive Activists, who otherwise tend to be aligned ideologically with the Incrementalist Left, are among the segments most likely to feel we should radically change current institutions (46 per cent), though a majority still favour improving them.

It is striking that, despite an ideological chasm between the type of society Progressive Activists and Dissenting Disruptors want to build, the desire to tear existing structures down and start again from scratch is high among both their segments. This shared anti-establishment sentiment emerges in other questions too, be it their shared support for higher taxes on big businesses, frustration with the government, or their greater likelihood of voting for parties that are not the Conservatives or Labour.

*Scrap the lot...I think it's outdated. As I said, I don't think they live in the real world. I mean when you look at the Houses of Parliament and they're all 'order, order'...it's all about trust as well. So, who do you trust to come in? Who do you trust to do this big change? Who do you trust to audit it? Who do you trust? Like everyone has said it's just in a state and it's worrying because you don't know how to put it right. I don't know who you'd swap them for, that's the worrying thing.*

***Isabelle, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley***

*[On radical change] It's got to be small. I mean because you change one thing and then it affects another type of people or community and everything else and there's just no good balance.*

***Sam, Incrementalist Left, St Albans***

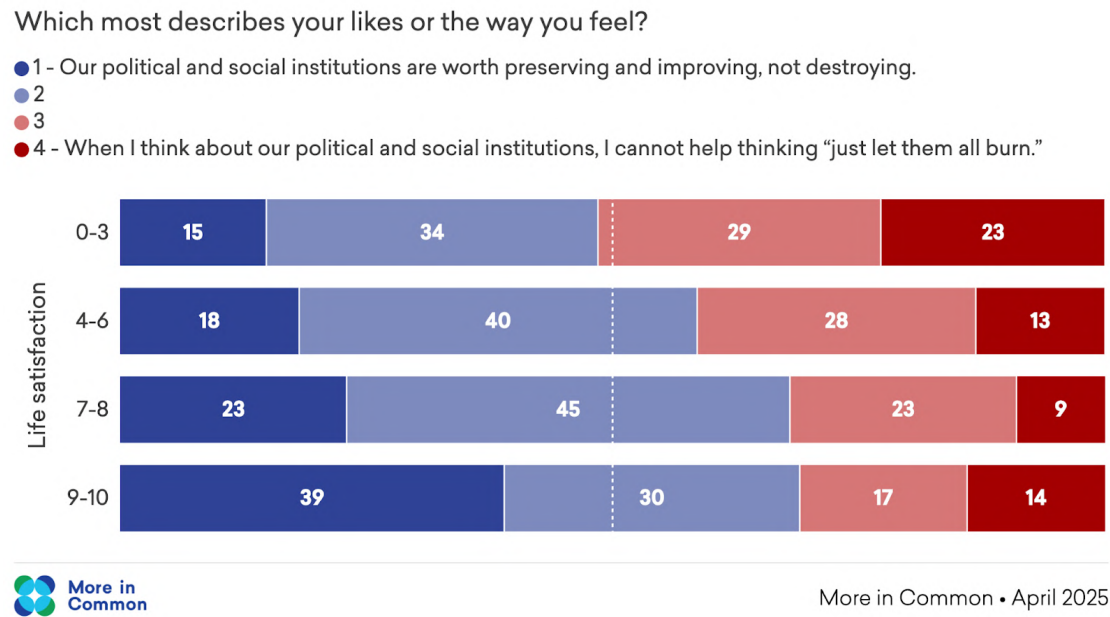
*They're [Just Stop Oil] the right thing at the end of the day because what they're trying to do is actually not try and reverse climate change, but at least try and make it a less drastic issue. And people think, oh, being delayed from work for 45 minutes, an hour, whatever is that major inconvenience. But at the end of the day, we do only have one planet. And in terms of what they're throwing, I think it's soup over paintings and whatnot, the paintings are protected anyway. It's more of a statement than anything.*

***Ebenezer, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

The question of the pace and scale of change that Britain needs also helps to understand Sceptical Scrollers' world view. In contrast to the Incrementalist Left, who often share the same aversion to traditional political engagement, this segment's disengagement should not be interpreted as contentment with the status quo. Instead, their withdrawal from political participation often reflects a belief that the current system is beyond repair.

Across these groups, the desire for systemic change is rooted in their personal experiences of being let down by the system rather than rigid ideological preferences. There is a clear relationship between personal life satisfaction and people's desire for disruption. Those who support tearing down existing institutions tend to be the same people who feel that people like them do not get fair chances in life.

Figure 29 | Desire for radical change by life satisfaction



## Tolerance for disruption: Rolling the dice

The desire for systemic change rather than incremental reform - sometimes referred to in the political science literature as 'need for chaos' - can help explain why some on the right might be more willing to support Reform UK rather than the Conservatives. However, there is another element at play that makes some members of the public more amenable to 'rolling the dice' on newer, less mainstream parties: their varying appetite for risk.

*I'd love [Nigel Farage] to have a go, have a shot, and if you deliver 20 per cent of everything that you say, then I think the country will be in a better place.*

**Johnny, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

*I think it needs to be quite radical. I think the NHS isn't fit for purpose...I think it needs to be overhauled by people who know business and can run large businesses. It doesn't need to be one person like Musk who's a billion trillionaire, whatever he is. It needs to be people who can, directors of normal companies who have run large corporations successfully.*

**Rob, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley**

As the world has become increasingly volatile, appetite for risk has become an important way of understanding how different groups respond to uncertainty. For example, some groups might be more willing to embrace high-risk, high-reward responses to issues like

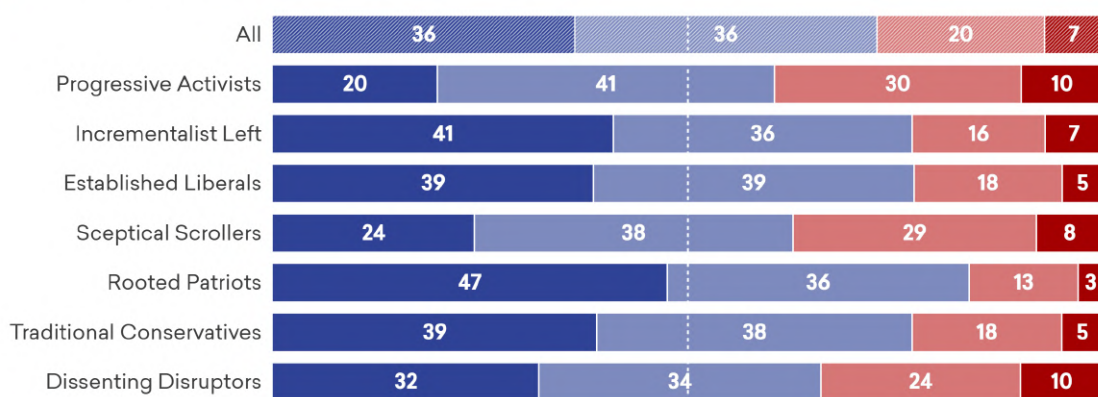
climate change, whereas others might favour a more cautious approach where every eventuality is prepared for.

Of the seven segments, Progressive Activists, Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors have a far higher tolerance for risk than other segments. This may in part reflect the younger age profile of some of these groups, or that they are the most economically insecure and feel they have the least to lose by betting on something new and untested. Either way, these three 'thrill seeking' segments are more likely to enjoy taking risks in their personal life, which extends into how they approach politics.

**Figure 30 | Risk tolerance by segment**

Which most describes your likes or the way you feel?

- 1 - A sensible person avoids activities that are dangerous.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - I sometimes like to do things that are a little frightening.



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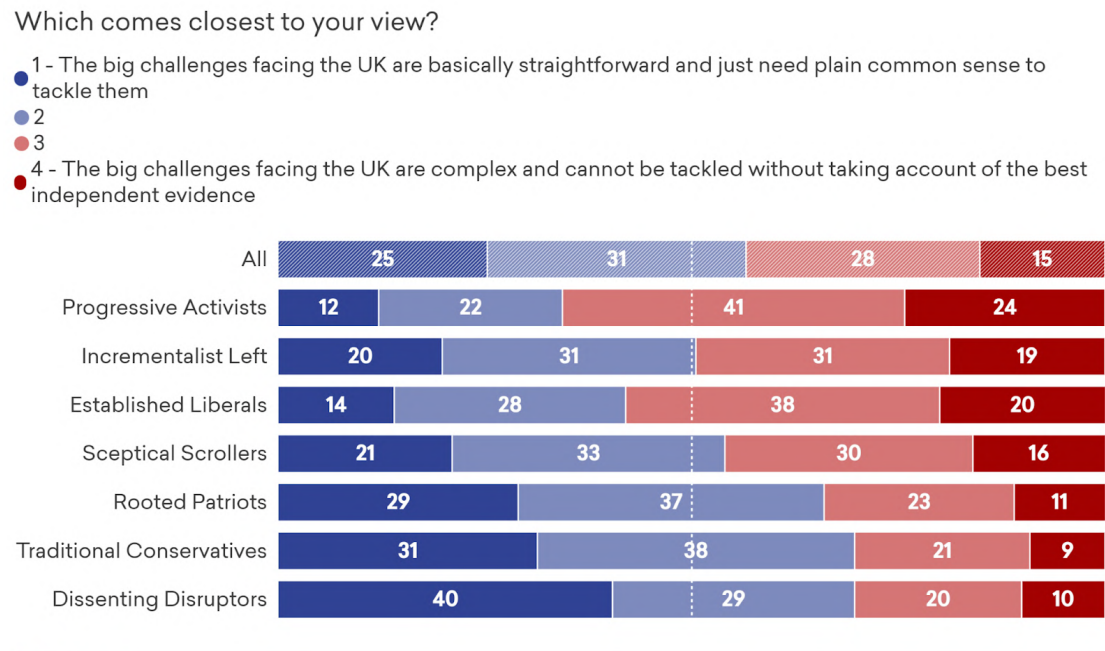
In contrast, the most economically secure segments (Established Liberals, the Incrementalist Left and Traditional Conservatives), alongside the segment with the highest threat perception (Rooted Patriots) are more likely to avoid risk. This makes them less willing to back radical or untested solutions to our country's problems, and less likely to roll the dice on new and unproven platforms or parties.

## How easy is it to fix Britain?

Britons broadly agree on the most important issues facing the country - the cost of living, the NHS and immigration. But while some see these as problems with simple solutions, others see them as complex challenges. Among other things, this divide affects how much patience the segments have for politicians and leaders of institutions to make things better and how likely they are to support those offering simpler solutions.

Three of the seven segments — Rooted Patriots, Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives — believe that there are common sense solutions to the public’s concerns that are being overly complicated, or deliberately ignored, by elites. These segments stand in contrast to Progressive Activists and Established Liberals, who are more likely to say that policy challenges are complex and require the input of expert knowledge.

**Figure 31 | Perceptions of whether Britain’s challenges are simple or complex**



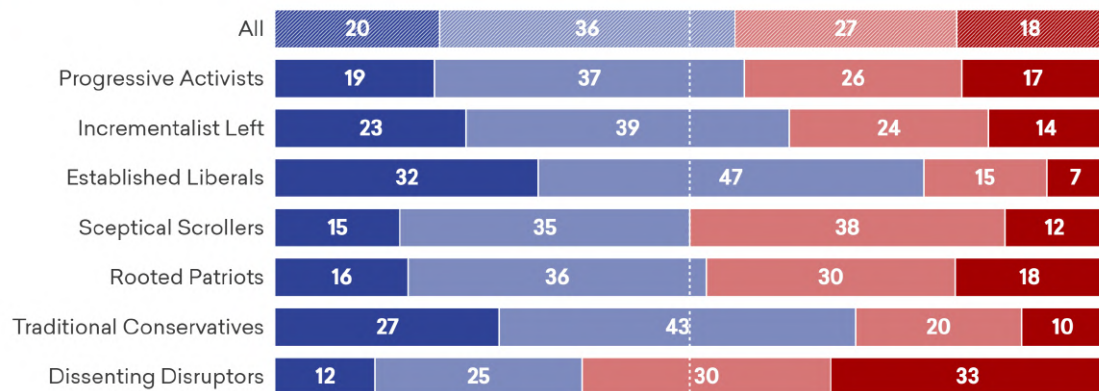
Even among those who think there are simple solutions to the country’s challenges, there are important differences in how they think those solutions should be implemented. Traditional Conservatives maintain a strong belief in democratic processes and think policy decisions should be made by elected representatives, even when they disagree with the decision. For the Dissenting Disruptors, however, a more direct form of democracy is the answer. Almost two-thirds of this group believe that people, not politicians, should decide policy directly – a key difference between the Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors on the right of the political spectrum is the strength of the latter’s populist beliefs. Perhaps most starkly, seven in ten Dissenting Disruptors believe Britain is not a genuine democracy, compared to just three in ten Traditional Conservatives and 15 per cent of Established Liberals.



Figure 32 | Views on democracy by segment

Which comes closest to your view?

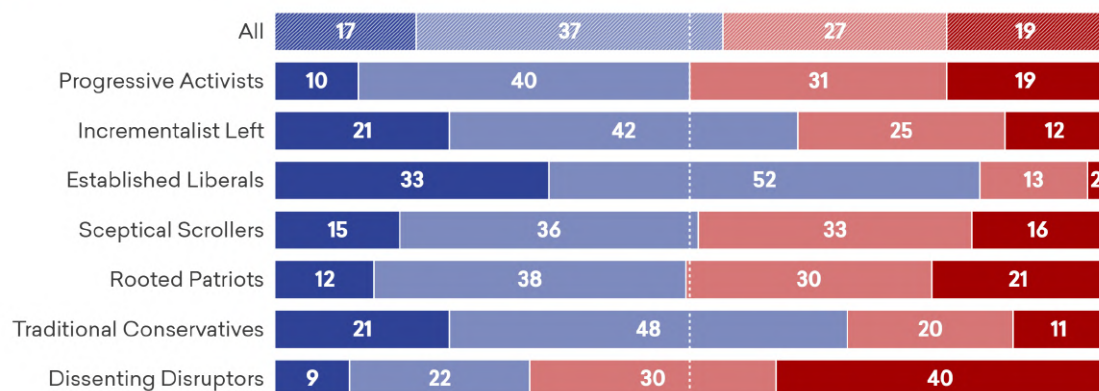
- 1 - Our most important policy decisions should be taken by elected representatives.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.



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Which comes closest to your view?

- 1 - Britain's system of government is a genuine democracy
- 2
- 3
- 4 - Britain's system of government is not a genuine democracy

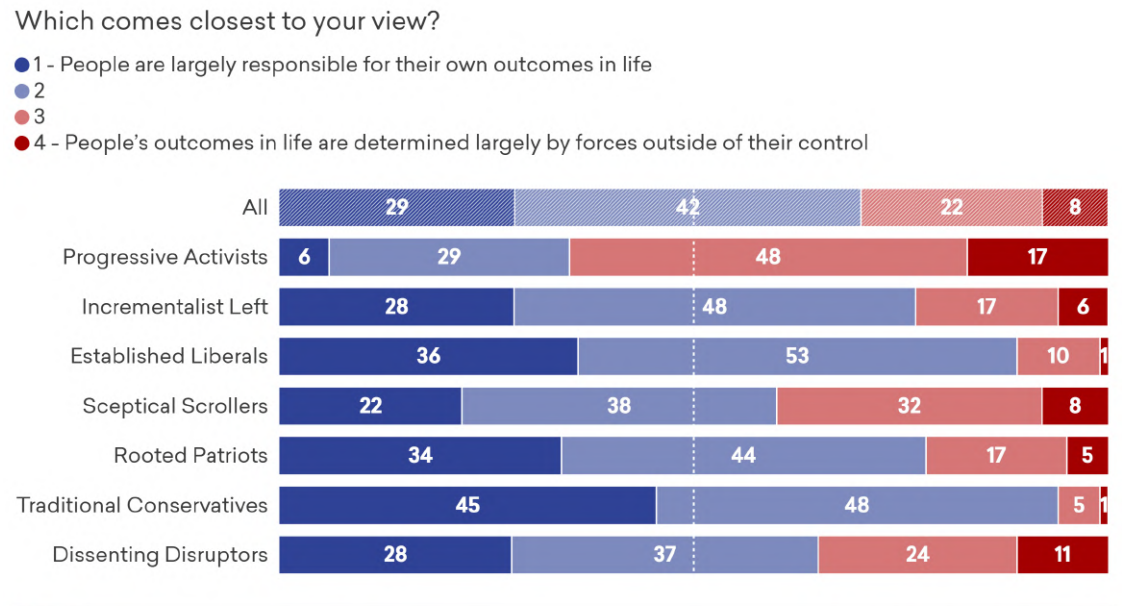


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Belief in individual agency

Upstream from and often determining political differences are attitudes to the question of individual agency - whether individuals can meaningfully shape their own life outcomes and circumstances. The public tends towards a strong belief in individual responsibility, but this is not held uniformly across segments. This fundamental difference in worldview has ripple effects which shape a range of political opinions downstream.

Figure 33 | Belief in personal agency by segment



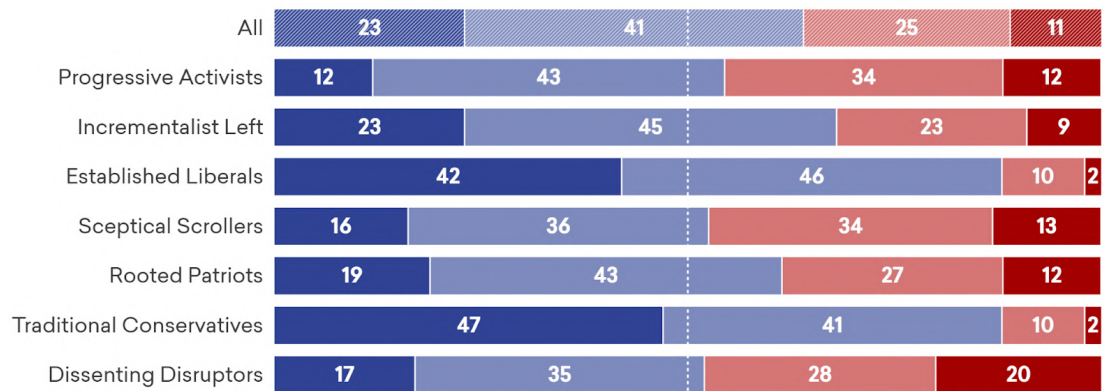
Progressive Activists are far more likely than other segments to say that life outcomes are determined by external forces rather than individual choices. Dissenting Disruptors are also less likely than average to ascribe outcomes to individuals' agency, though perhaps for different reasons. Where Progressive Activists tend to focus on systemic inequalities and marginalisation facing minority groups, the Dissenting Disruptors may point to the prioritisation of minority group interests above the majority and the economic hardships of left-behind communities.

Regardless of where and how they assign the blame, nearly half of both Progressive Activists and Dissenting Disruptors feel that people like them are not offered chances in today's society.

**Figure 34 | Perceived personal life chances by segment**

Which comes closest to your view?

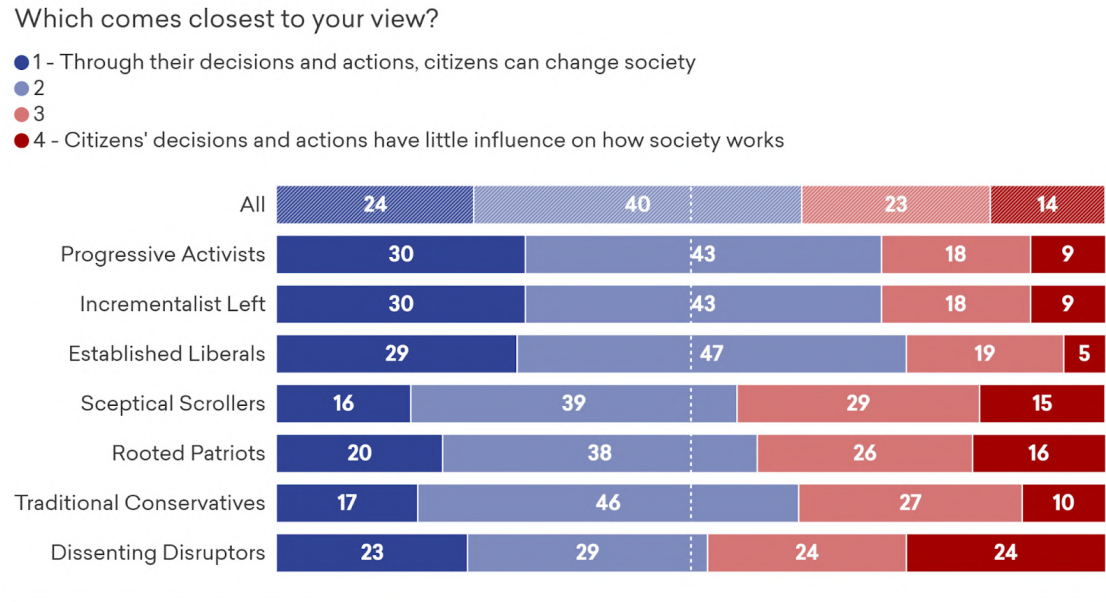
- 1 - People like me have the same opportunities in society as other people.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - In our society, people like me are not offered any chances.




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Although some segments share a belief that society is structured in a way that means some people have it harder than others, they disagree on whether ordinary people can do anything about it. While Progressive Activists' drive to improve society may be spurred on by a faith that citizens can make meaningful change, Dissenting Disruptors are less likely to believe ordinary people have the opportunity to influence society through conventional means.

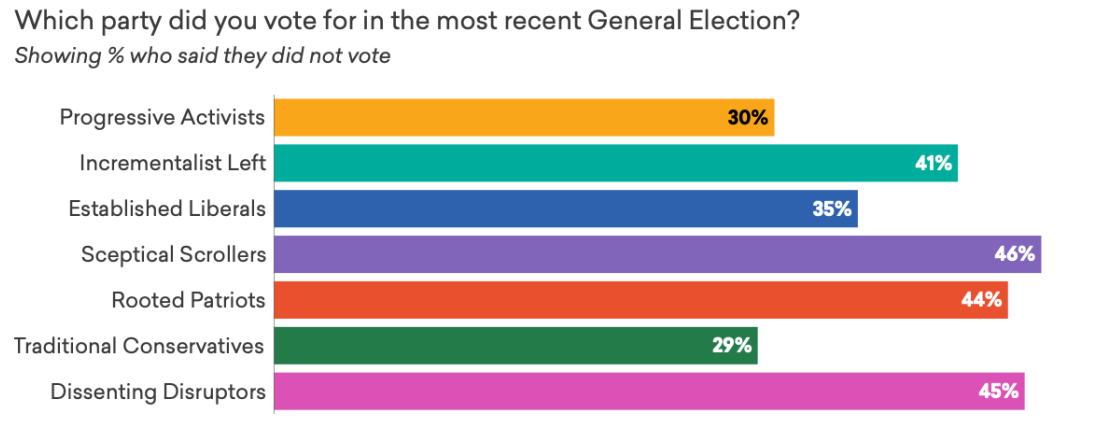
Figure 35 | Ability of citizens to shape society by segment



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This difference helps explain why, despite a shared scepticism around individuals' ability to improve their circumstances in the face of exogenous challenges, they engage differently in public life. Both Progressive Activists and Dissenting Disruptors post about politics online, but while Progressive Activists are one of the segments most likely to vote, 45 per cent of Dissenting Disruptors sat out the last General Election. Their political influence in the future could be greater than it has been in the past if their political engagement increases.

Figure 36 | Non-voting in the 2024 General Election by segment



Note: 40% of the electorate did not vote in 2024 • More in Common, April 2025

Groups which are more likely to believe in personal agency - such as Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives - are much less likely to support redistributive economic measures from the government, as they are more likely to believe that people can succeed on their own terms without government handouts.

## Fragmenting information environments and conspiracy thinking

Enabled by social media and the Covid pandemic, the trend towards fragmented media diets has accelerated in recent years. It is now impossible to understand divides in Britain and the worldview of different segments without understanding their degree of scepticism towards mainstream media and truths.

The UK's high vaccine take up during the Covid pandemic was driven by the country's relatively high levels of trust in our medical and healthcare institutions compared to other similar countries. However, in recent years this trust has started to crumble. In part, this is due to falling trust in the politicians in charge of the health service - particularly the sense that they were setting rules during Covid but not keeping to them themselves.

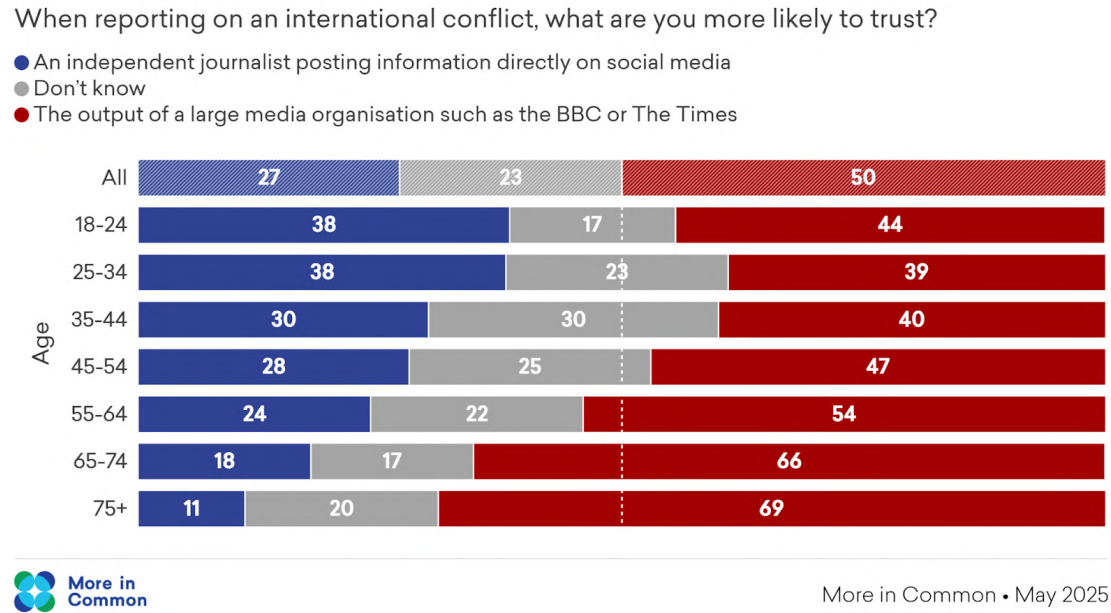
*I know there's lots of stuff that they do probably hide from us, but it's difficult to actually have the evidence concrete. But the Johnsons' Christmas party, I think it's a pretty obvious one.*

**Zoey, Sceptical Scroller, Glasgow**

However, the rise of social media has also given people new opportunities to find information more tailored to their tastes and aligned to their perspectives than is currently offered from mainstream news organisations.

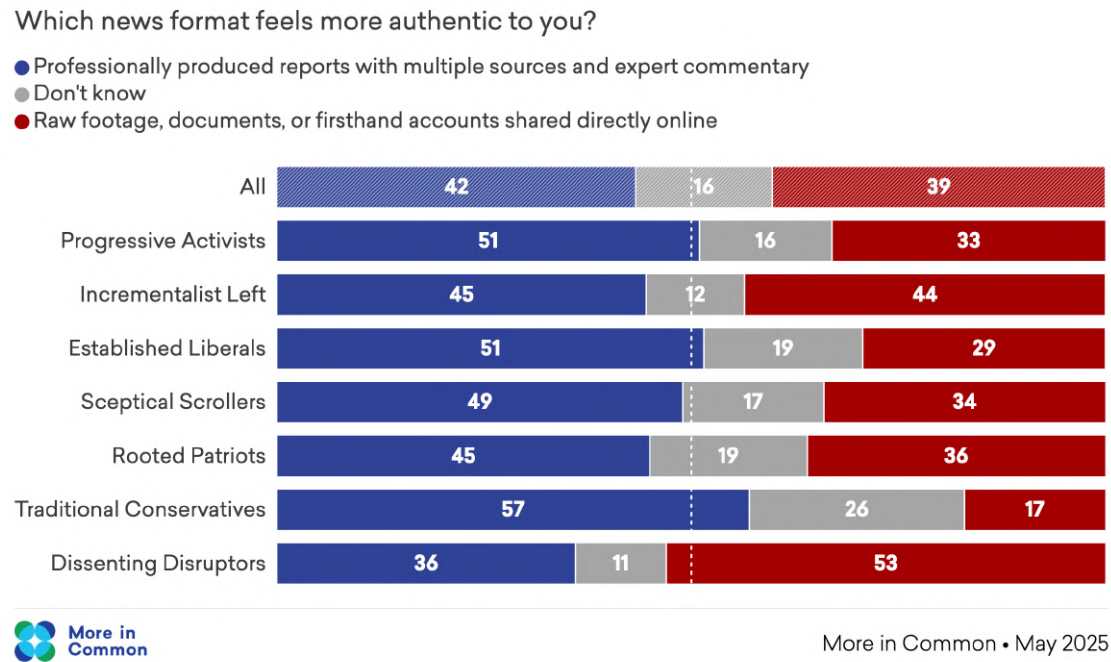
Asked which would be more trustworthy in times of an international conflict, older Britons are much more likely to say they would trust a large media organisation such as the BBC or the Times newspaper, whereas younger Britons are more likely to trust an independent journalist posting directly on social media. These views are more likely to be held by the youngest segments (Sceptical Scrollers, Progressive Activists and Incrementalist Left), but also by Dissenting Disruptors, who are particularly distrusting of mainstream media.

Figure 37 | Belief in mainstream media versus influencers by age



In part, this is driven by the diverging preferences of how Britons want their news. Younger Britons, including Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors, are much more likely to say that news feels more authentic if they can see raw unedited footage rather than professionally edited reports. For these groups, the professionalism and fact-checking of the BBC and other established media organisations makes them seem less authentic and trustworthy.

Figure 38 | News authenticity by segment





In focus groups conversations with those segments who are least trusting of mainstream media organisations, there is a strong emphasis on ‘finding my own truth’. This typically means gathering information from multiple sources and not taking any singular source as gospel. This can lead to exposure to a pluralism of views, but it can cause problems if people are seeking out information that only confirms their existing viewpoint rather than being exposed to new information with competing perspectives.

*I just think the news channels, especially the mainstream media, is very, very subjective ... I think there's not much objective reporting. That's why I think independent media is booming.*

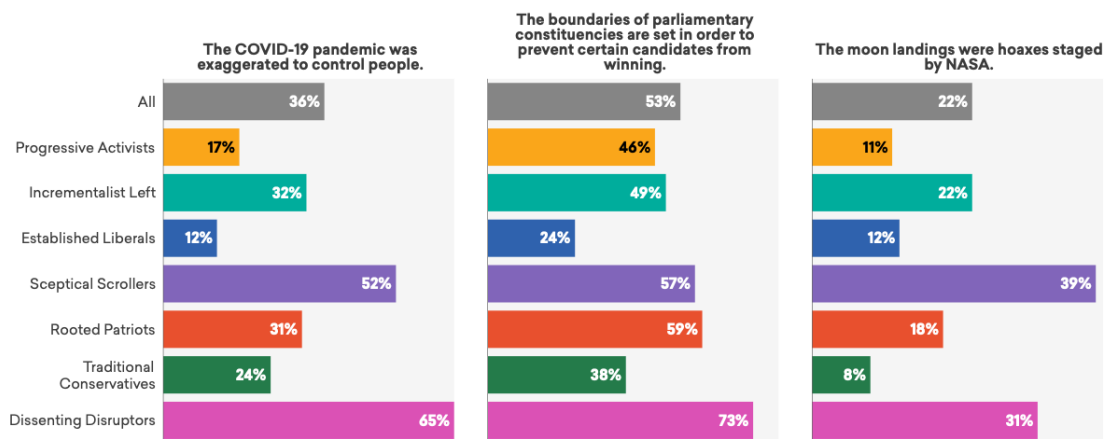
**Abdou, Sceptical Scroller, Leeds**

One consequence of this mix of declining trust and media fragmentation is a rise in conspiracy thinking. Thirteen per cent of the country now think it is definitely true that the Covid pandemic was exaggerated to control people, and a further 23 per cent think it is probably true. This is a question that divides the segments, with Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors most open to this idea along with other conspiracy theories, such as that the moon landings were staged by NASA.

**Figure 39 | Belief in conspiracies by segment**

Do you think the following is true or false?

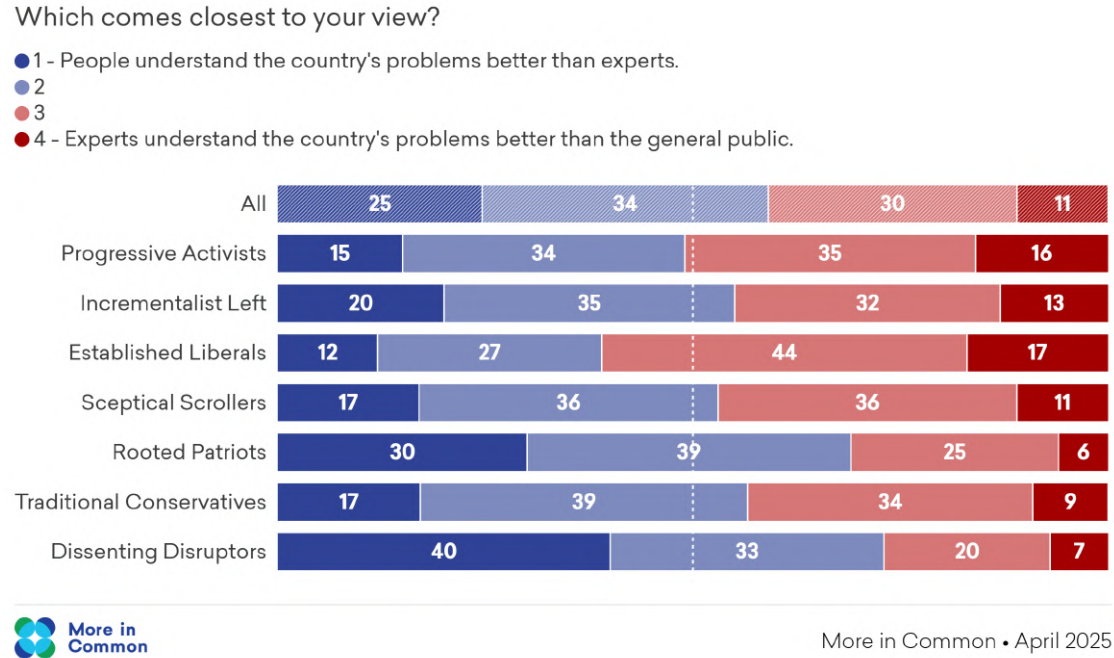
Showing % who said true



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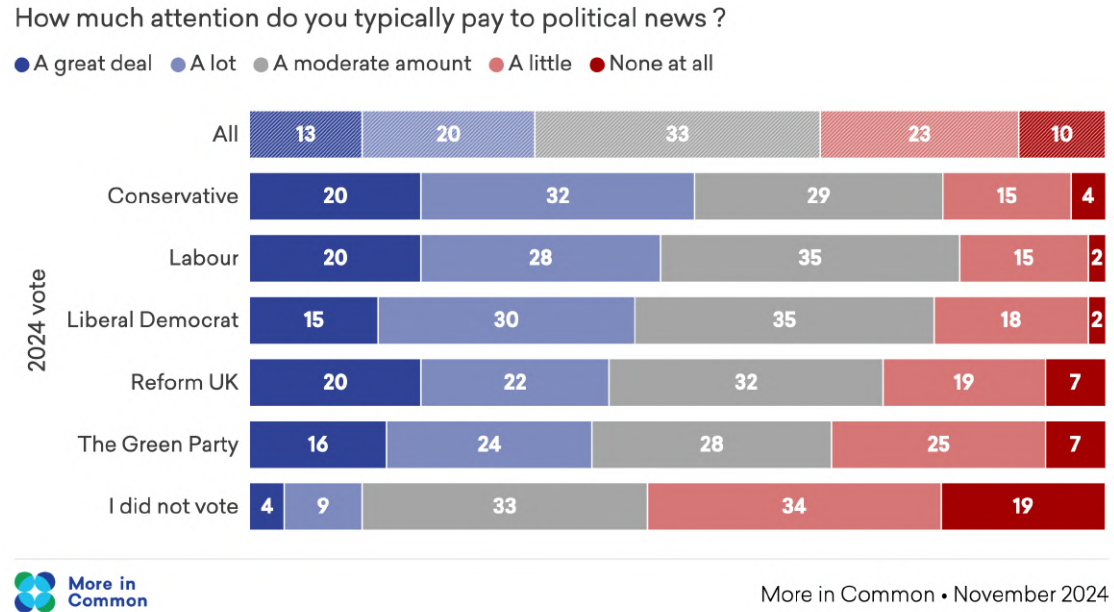
In contrast, Progressive Activists, Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives are less likely to believe any of these conspiracy theories - they are trusting of media institutions and established truths, as well as experts' perspectives.

Figure 40 | Trust in experts by segment



Alongside a fragmenting media landscape, one of the most important (and often the most overlooked) divides in British politics is how much attention people pay to the news. For example, in the 2024 General Election those who paid attention to the news were more likely to vote for traditional mainstream political parties.

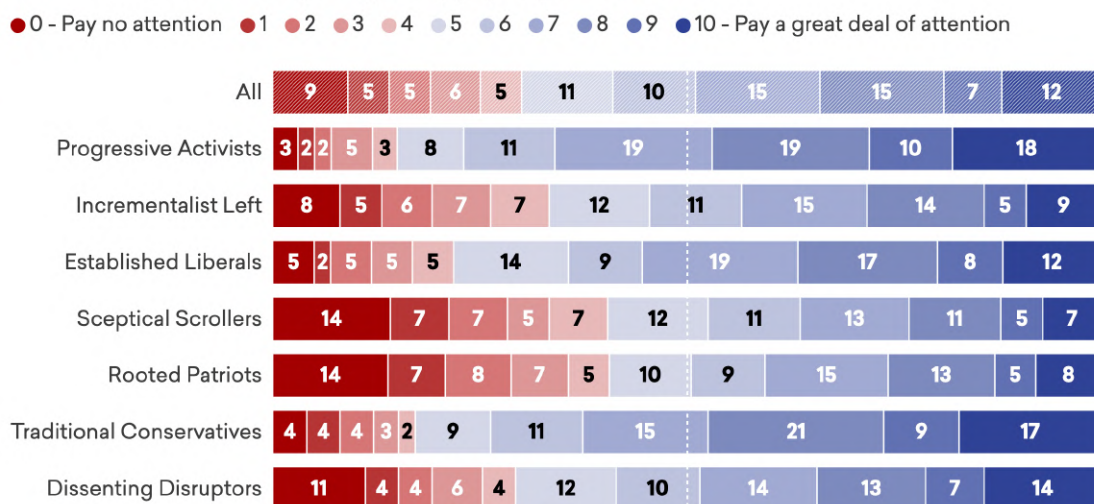
Figure 41 | Attention to political news by 2024 vote





The British Seven segments also help to illuminate how political engagement divides Britons. Sceptical Scrollers and Rooted Patriots are much more likely to say they do not pay attention to politics, whereas Established Liberals, Progressive Activists and Traditional Conservatives pay the most attention. This aligns with voting patterns beyond General Elections - these three segments are also the groups most likely to say they always vote in local elections.

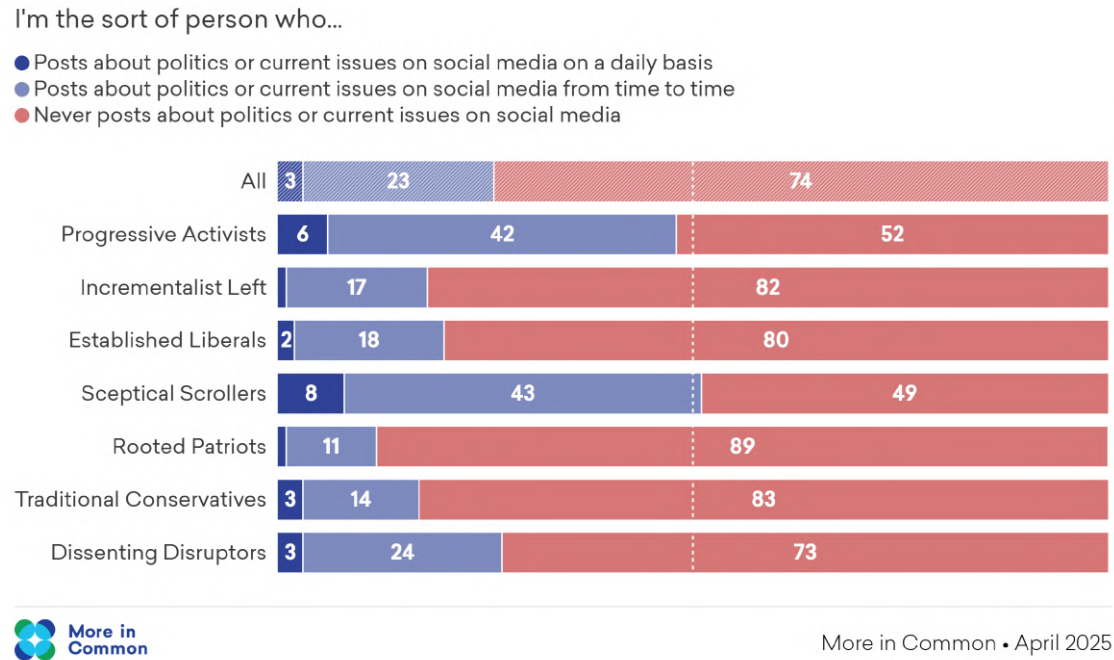
**Figure 42 | Political news engagement by segment**  
How much attention do you typically pay to political news?



The exhaustion that some groups feel towards politics does not always translate to withdrawal from political discourse. Many of those in groups which are generally more detached from traditional ways of engaging with democracy are instead more likely to get involved in politics in other ways.

This is particularly true of Sceptical Scrollers, who pay little attention to conventional political news, but absorb it daily as they consume social media. Sceptical Scrollers spend a lot of time watching YouTube and TikTok and listening to podcasts and are the most likely of any segment to post on social media about politics. While they opt out of conventional forms of political engagement, they are more likely than other segments to share their thoughts about politics online.

Figure 43 | Posting about politics online by segment



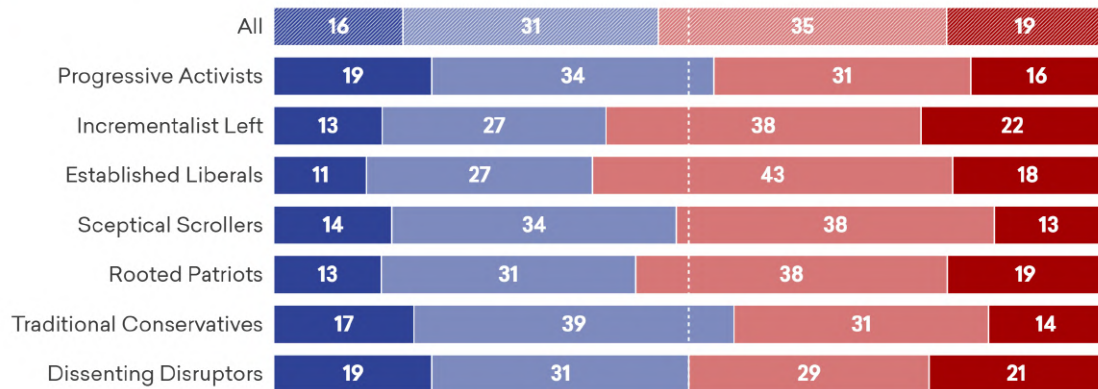
Against this backdrop, Britons’ differing world views are explained not just by ideological lean, but also through their engagement in politics and attitudes to compromise. While most Britons do not strongly identify with any political party (including two in five who cast ballots in 2024), many do still hold strong political opinions on which they are not willing to compromise.

Almost one in two Britons (46 per cent) would rather those they agree with stick to their beliefs and fight, than listen to others and compromise. While there are more unbending or compromise minded members of each of the segments, a majority of the most strongly political or ideological segments on the left and right - Traditional Conservatives and Progressive Activists- would prefer people to stick to their beliefs. In contrast, Established Liberals and the Incrementalist Left are the most likely to prioritise listening to others and compromise.

**Figure 44 | Desire for compromise by segment**

Which comes closest to your view?

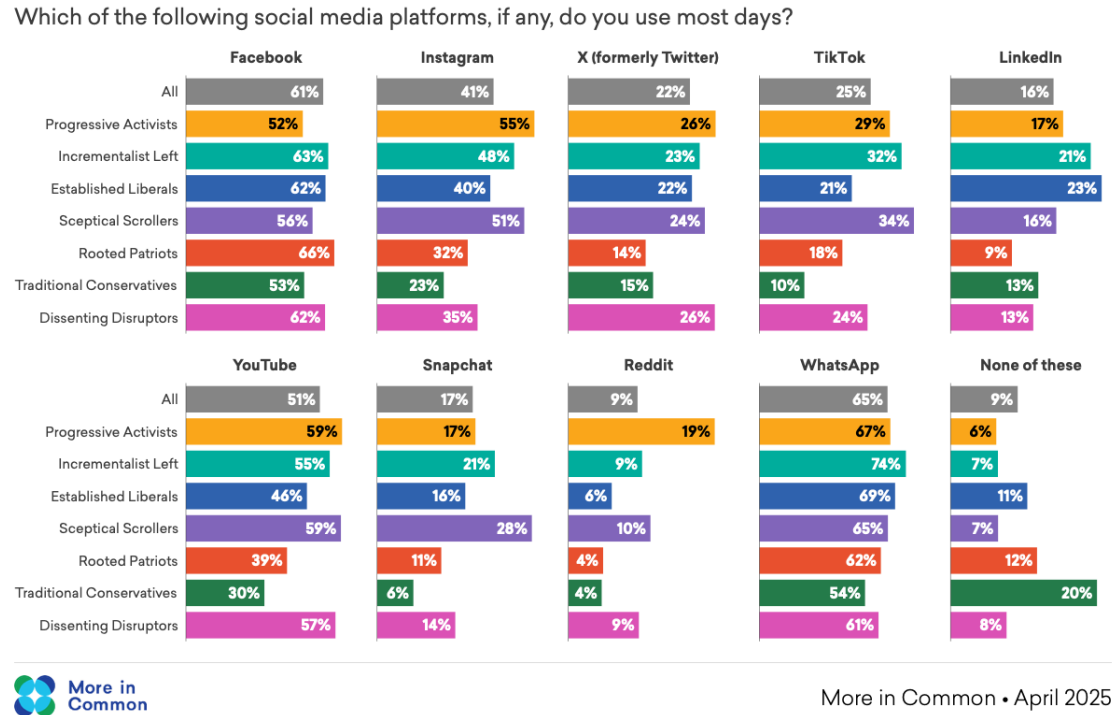
- 1 - People I agree with politically need to stick to their beliefs and fight.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - The people I agree with politically need to be willing to listen to others and compromise.



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The most strident voices are overrepresented in public discourse. Progressive Activists and Dissenting Disruptors are the most likely to use X (formerly Twitter), and when a politician opens their inbox, it is likely they have more messages from Progressive Activist constituents than any other segment. This can create a distorted picture of public opinion, where the voices most averse to compromise dominate the conversation.

Figure 45 | Social media use by segment



## Multicultural Britain

Another fault line that defines Britain in 2025 is the public's divergent attitudes to multiculturalism. Divisions around multiculturalism and immigration have long been a feature of British society and most recently manifested in violence during the riots and unrest in the summer of 2024 following the Southport murders. As rates of immigration have significantly increased in recent years, the salience of immigration as an issue has spiked. Any understanding of division in 2020s Britain ought to incorporate how the public diverges in their attitudes to multiculturalism, nativism and integration.

The prevalence of nativist beliefs helps to understand how Britons grapple with questions of identity and multiculturalism in the 2020s. To understand this divide in British public opinion, it is necessary to better conceptualise the difference between supporters of multicultural Britain and those who think it is not working or is causing active harm, while also exploring how culture, the economy and the state of public services shape those views.

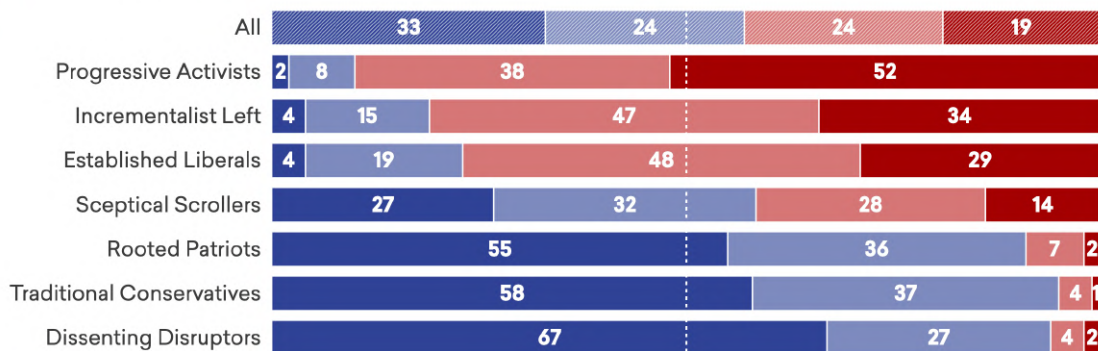
Almost three in five Britons (57 per cent) worry that British identity is disappearing, while just over two in five (43 per cent) think diversity strengthens British identity. A clear segment split emerges on this question - more nostalgic, locally rooted and socially conservative segments hold the former view and vanishingly few think British identity is strengthened through diversity. The reverse is true for more socially liberal segments -

among Progressive Activists, the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals, clear majorities believe diversity is strengthening British identity.

**Figure 46 | Impacts of multiculturalism on British identity by segment**

Which comes closer to your view?

- 4 - British identity is disappearing nowadays
- 3
- 2
- 1 - British identity is being strengthened through diversity



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*I think when I look back from when I was a kid, it feels like the country's lost its identity. We don't really know who we are anymore ... everyone feels that they have to caveat with saying 'I'm not racist', and we have to say that because I haven't got any freedom of speech anymore. I think the identity is gone.*

**Johnny, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

*Certain cultures come to this country, they want their laws, their regulations, and it doesn't work like that... if you can't even speak English, what are you doing here?*

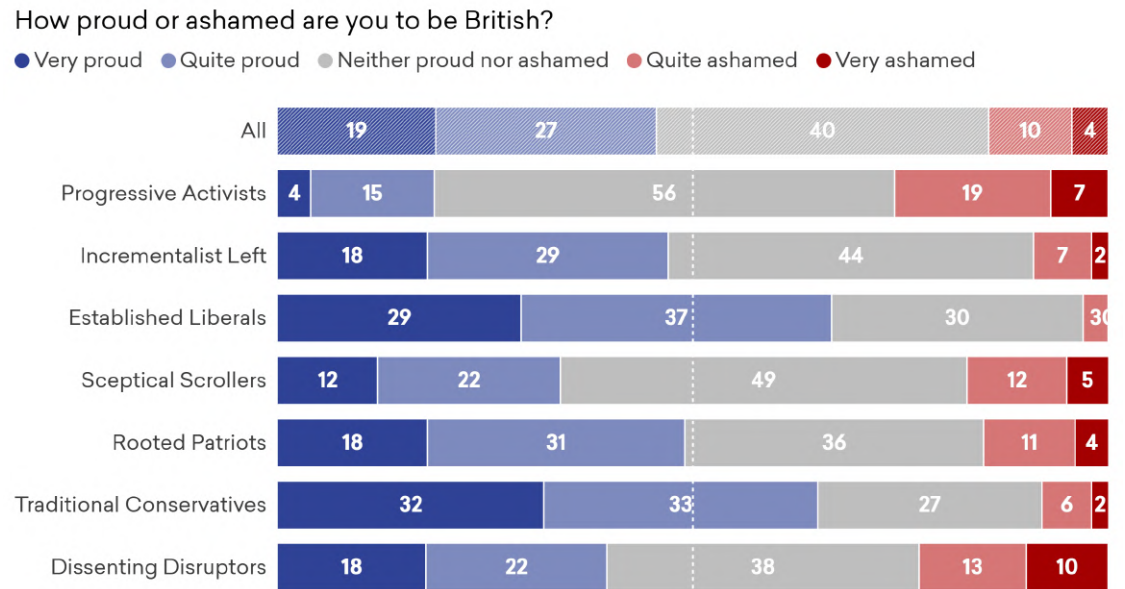
**Paul, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley**

More fundamental than the extent to which diversity and immigration are having a positive or negative effect on British identity is whether or not people see British identity as something to be proud of in the first place. Overall, 45 per cent of Britons say they are proud to be British, 40 per cent say they are neither proud nor ashamed, and 15 per cent ashamed. Established Liberals (66 per cent) and Traditional Conservatives (65 per cent) are the most likely to say they are proud to be British, while Progressive Activists (19 per cent) are the least likely to say they are.

While 40 per cent of Dissenting Disruptors say they are proud to be British, they join Progressive Activists in being the segment most likely to say they are ashamed to be British (23 per cent and 26 per cent respectively). Progressive Activists in conversation tend to be

more likely to say they are ashamed of Britain because of its history, while Dissenting Disruptors feel this way because they think Britain has lost what made it special in the past.

Figure 47 | British pride by segment



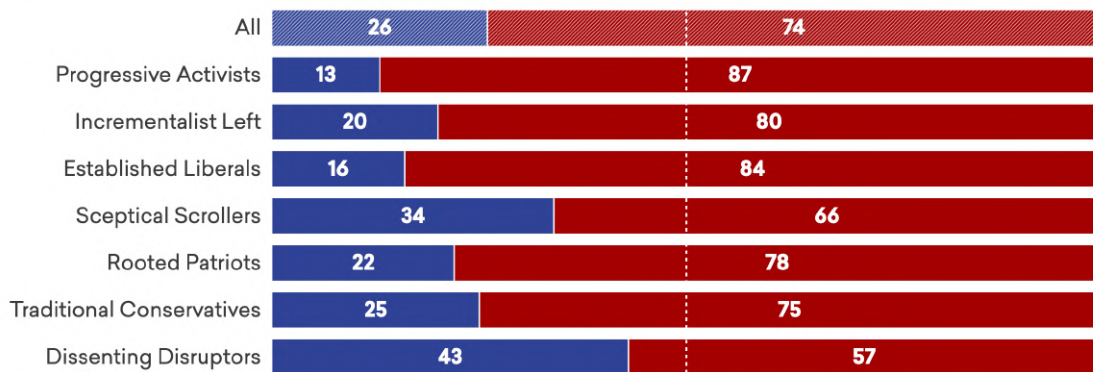
Across the segments, Britons are divided about the responsibility of individuals to defend British culture, with Dissenting Disruptors the most likely to strongly believe that it is up to ordinary people to defend British culture. While nearly three quarters of the country and a majority of the segments say that the 2024 rioters and protestors did not speak for people like them, a significant minority (43 per cent) of Dissenting Disruptors take the opposite view and say the rioters spoke for people like them - though some may think of counter-protests to the riots when answering this question.



**Figure 48 | Views on the 2024 riots by segment**

Last summer there were protests and riots across the UK, beginning in Southport following an attack at a children's dance class. Which comes closest to your view?

- People participating in these riots and protests speak for me
- People participating in these riots and protests do not speak for me



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Beyond concerns about culture, views about multiculturalism and identity are also shaped by economic concerns and the extent to which people believe that the government should prioritise the needs of British people ahead of the needs of those who are not British. In focus group conversations, many segments take a zero sum approach to debates about who the government should prioritise, assuming a focus on newcomers will detract from the government's ability to help existing British citizens. Spending cuts, such as the decision to restrict the Winter Fuel Allowance for pensioners or disability benefit cuts, have exacerbated zero sum thinking as the public perceive public spending debates in terms of how to divide an ever smaller pie.

*I thought, well I'll vote for a change. I'll vote Labour. I wish I hadn't done that because Keir Starmer, when he was in opposition, argued that he wouldn't be denying the winter fuel payment to pensioners because it would result in 3,000 deaths. Now as far as I'm concerned, the migrants are going to be warm in hotels, but pensioners aren't. So I think they'll have 4,000 pensioners' deaths this winter. And also they've put 11 billion for green initiatives, but they can't give [money to] the pensioners who have worked all the lives.*

**Sandra, Rooted Patriot, Bury**

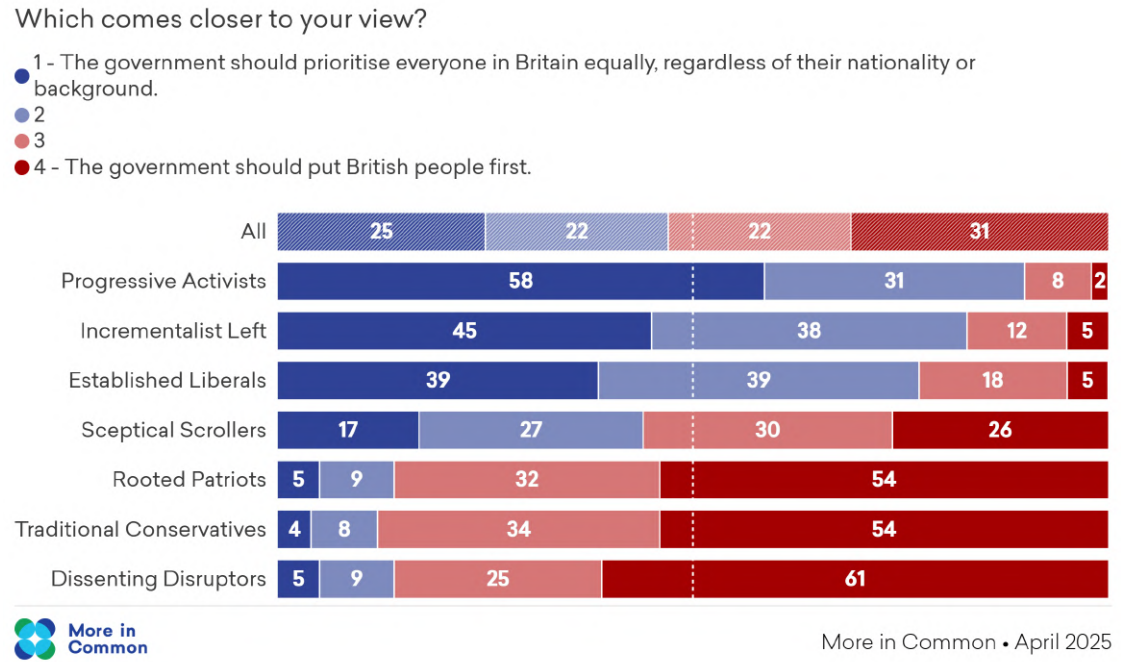
*All the millions of pounds we are paying for hotels to house these people. When we have people on the street that are born and bred in the UK.*

**Paul, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley**

*These people that are coming in are taking, I'm not being funny, but taking our (NHS) appointments. So we've got a backlog.*

***Caroline, Rooted Patriot, Bury***

Figure 49 | Putting British people first by segment

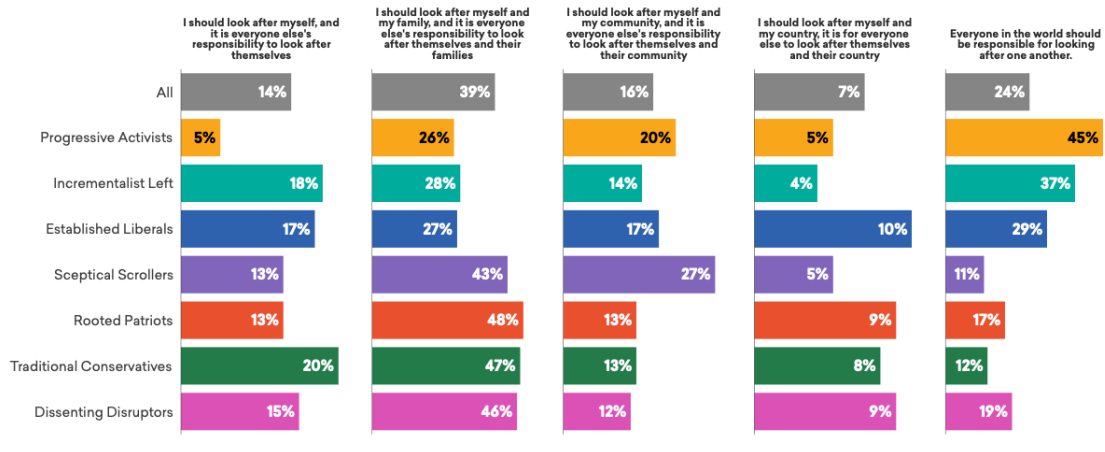


In the language popularised by David Goodhart (Goodhart 2017), some segments are “somewhere”, while others are “anywhere”. In particular, Rooted Patriots, Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors are more likely to say their main priorities lie with them, their families and their communities. The Progressive Activists stand out in seeing their responsibilities much more globally - 45 per cent say everyone in the world should be responsible for one another, rather than focusing on their communities. Where individuals place the locus of their moral responsibility then affects their attitudes to more downstream questions such as immigration, asylum and overseas aid.



**Figure 50 | Locations of personal responsibility by segment**

When it comes to your responsibility to others, what do you think best summarises your approach?



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## Free speech

In parallel to debates about identity and multiculturalism are Britons' diverging views on freedom of speech. Most Britons' approach to freedom of speech is not the same as American-style First Amendment fidelity. While most Britons do not want the government to be overly involved in regulating speech, they also tend not to have an ideological commitment to free speech absolutism, and are slightly more likely to say that we should prioritise protecting people from dangerous and hateful speech over giving everyone the right to express their views.

*I'm all for freedom of speech, but it comes down to respect. You don't call each other names and you don't do this and you don't do that. But to me it's respect. Political correctness is fine, but it's gone a bit too far I think.*

**Margaret, Traditional Conservative, Great Yarmouth**

This view is held more strongly by the socially liberal segments, who are more likely to feel a greater responsibility to marginalised minority groups who may be victims of hate speech. However, it is Rooted Patriots who are most likely to say that the priority should be protecting people from hate speech over protecting people's freedom to express their views. This is explained by this segment's distaste for language or behaviour that is gratuitously or needlessly offensive or breaks social norms. This same worldview leads to Rooted Patriots' high disapproval for Donald Trump - they are the most repulsed by language which they see as offensive or crass and are happy for the government to take a role to prevent it.

Figure 51 | Attitudes to free speech by segment

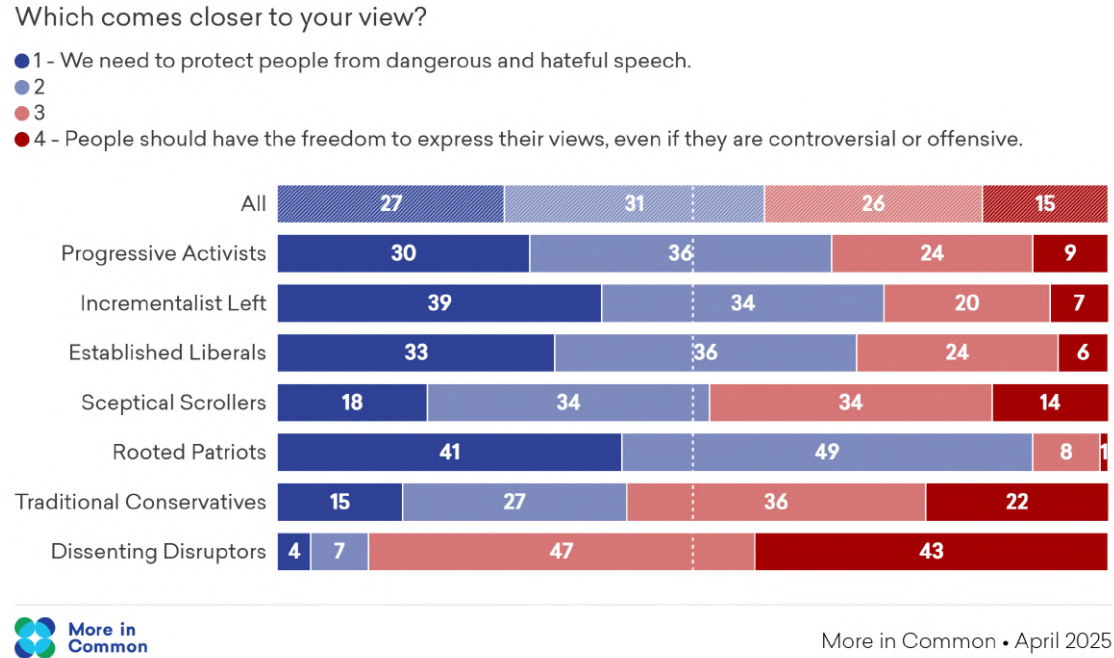
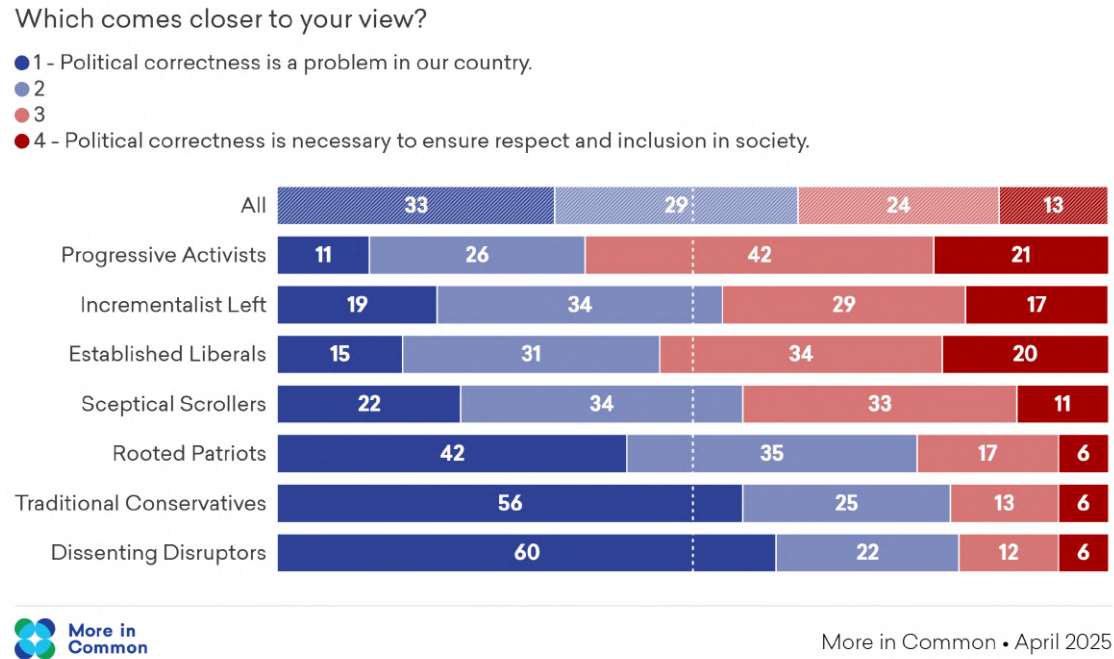


Figure 52 | Attitudes to political correctness by segment



The public are divided in other ways on free speech, particularly where it concerns issues that have been at the forefront of so-called ‘culture wars’ such as no-platforming, political correctness, or what have been labelled ‘woke’ values. Asked about political correctness, for example, Progressive Activists are the group most likely to say that political correctness

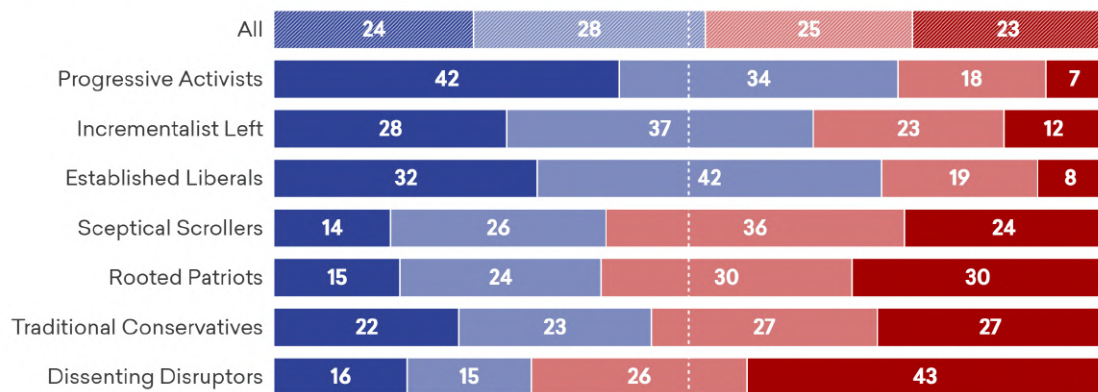
is necessary to ensure respect and inclusion in society. Established Liberals are the only other segment where a majority agree with this.

These diverging attitudes to free speech help explain many of Britain's greatest flashpoints in recent years, as debates have erupted on university campuses about which speakers should be at events, or as high-profile figures have been 'cancelled' for historic social media posts. However, the concern extends beyond the most high-profile cases, with majorities among four segments saying they personally feel pressured to speak a certain way about subjects like immigration – a view shared by just under half the public.

**Figure 53 | Freedom to speak about immigration by segment**

Which comes closest to your view?

- 1 - I feel free to speak about subjects like immigration and immigrants.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - I feel pressure to speak a certain way about subjects like immigration and immigrants.



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*You worry about what to say, even if it's not meant in a bad way. It's a word you used to use 10 years ago, you're not allowed to use that word anymore. We're treading on eggshells. So in a roundabout way you might as well not say anything at all.*

**Celia, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

*I worry about saying the wrong thing sometimes. I'm sort of like self-policing to make sure that I'm not saying the wrong thing because things that were acceptable a number of years ago are not anymore, and it's just a case of keeping up to date with what is okay and what isn't. Okay. So sometimes I just don't say anything because I'm not really sure if it's alright.*

**Annette, Rooted Patriot, Bury**

*I think people just need to get on with it and stop being so wet... People say things that I don't like, people make comments that I don't like and I'm sure we all do it and a lot of the time there is no malicious intent with the things that people are saying. There is a definite difference between somebody who is homophobic, somebody who is racist, that is targeting a group of people, which is absolutely, totally unacceptable...But it's now getting to the point where I think it's almost like the white British person is beginning to feel like the outcast almost.*

**Annette, Dissenting Disruptor, Margate**

*I was thinking it's like a spectrum and at the best end it's when you're standing up for other people as well, it's when you are defending basic values and principles about humans and human beings. And I hate to use the word rights, but then at the other end it's quite sanctimonious, quite idealistic, quite pompous.*

**Kate, Established Liberal, Chippenham**

## Disconnected Britain

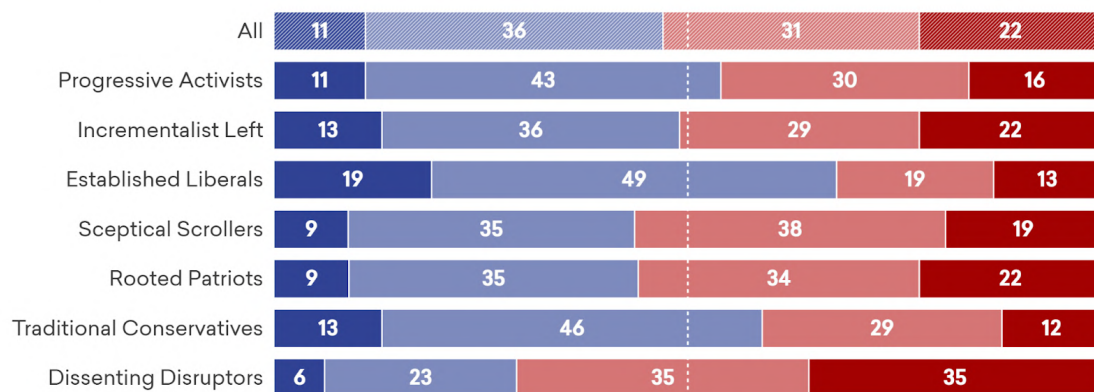
One of the most critical fault lines running through Britain in 2025 is not political or ideological, but social: the erosion of the bonds that once held communities together. While Britons remain trusting of their immediate social circles, for some this trust does not extend much further beyond their doorsteps, risking creating a society where some groups feel simultaneously connected to those closest to them yet isolated from the broader community around them.

This paradox helps define modern British social life. More than half of Britons (53 per cent) say you can never be too careful when it comes to other people, yet the same proportion trust their immediate neighbours. Over four in ten are more wary of their neighbours.

**Figure 54 | Interpersonal trust by segment**

Which comes closest to your view?

- 1 - Most people can be trusted
- 2
- 3
- 4 - You can't be too careful with most people



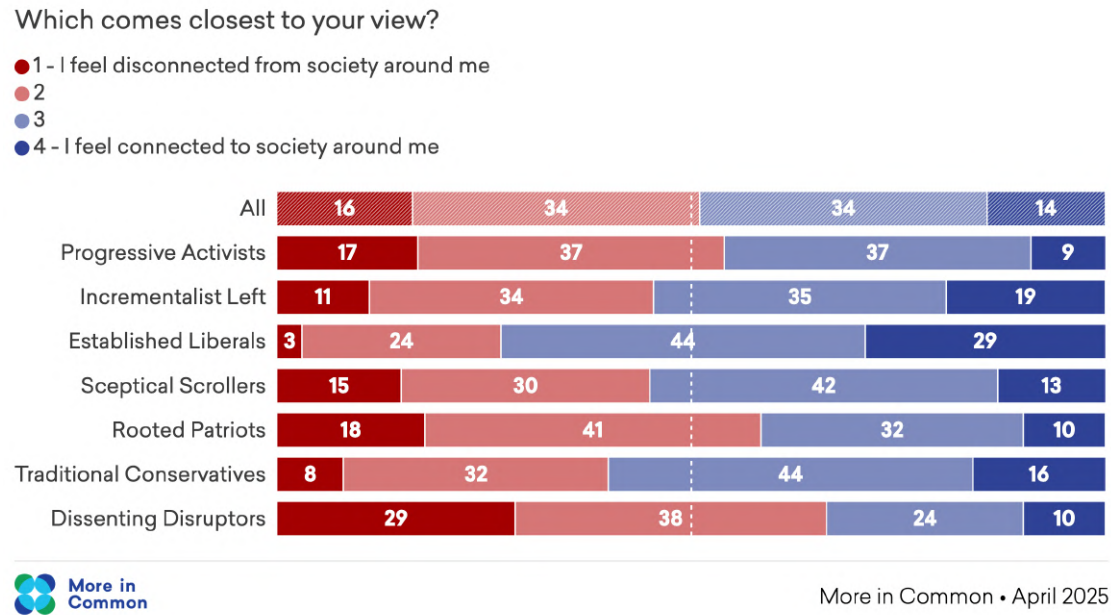
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*My community is quite close. We've got a crime watch thing, a safer neighbourhood community, so it's quite good. We feel quite empowered and supported by them out for each other. I mean there's a few estates dotted about, and I don't feel so safe, but I've learned to try and be open-minded. I think socially I'm very connected, and workwise definitely, but I think it's good to keep an open mind with people, and live amongst your community, who are not necessarily politically on the same journey or vibe as you (...) you're trying to avoid certain conversations, but you're accepting and you understand why they come to think the way they do.*

**Maddie, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich**

People's sense of social connection - or rather, a lack of it - is a key driver of this feeling of detachment. Those who feel disconnected from people around them are often more likely to be distrusting of others than those who do not feel as socially isolated. For example, Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors are particularly wary of other people and also express high levels of social disconnection.

Figure 55 | Connection to local community by segment



*I was just going to say societal splits, where we used to have a nice neighbourhood where you talk to your neighbours, but now in a lot of places people just keep their heads down, don't talk to each other, don't say hello, don't say good morning. And it causes factions. You have factions in communities that split off and don't work together to make the country what it was many years ago.*

**Gareth, Established Liberal, Beaconsfield**

The drivers of social disconnection vary by segment. Some express disappointment that the sense of unity sparked by the Covid pandemic was fleeting. Instead, the lasting legacy may be the more atomising shift to remote working and, among a younger generation, the number who have missed out on the opportunities to socialise available to previous generations. For many, the shift to home working has not just eroded the social benefits of a shared workplace but has contributed to a deeper sense of disconnection, with particular worries about isolation among the younger generation.

*Before Covid we all used to have lunch together, but since then we just sit in our cars and eat alone on our break.*

**Clive, Rooted Patriot, Dudley**

*When we had Covid and we all seemed to come together as a country, we all said at the same time,, ‘we will not go back to doing X, Y and Z. We'll all be nicer to each other because we love the feeling of unity and everybody getting on it’. Maybe for six months afterwards, people still had that same ethic of things and it soon gets forgotten. And I think that was really sad because although it was a dreadful time, I*



*do feel that as a country in most part people were nicer to each other and a little bit more gracious and grateful for what we have and what we haven't got.*

***Jeanette, Rooted Patriot, Norfolk***

*The teamwork has gone. When you were in an office, you worked as a team and when the pandemic came, we were all isolated and that lost a lot because you don't, even though there was Zoom meetings every day, it wasn't the same was it?*

***Susan, Traditional Conservative, Bridgwater***

For others, the activities and spaces that enable them to socialise and meet other people have either become increasingly scarce, or simply too expensive to access. The fact that the pandemic was followed by a cost of living crisis created a compounding dislocation effect: after months of isolation, small acts of socialisation have become unaffordable.

*I think it affects the fun things that you want to do, because your money's all going on your bills and all the boring stuff like food and gas and leccy and petrol so that, come to the end of it, you go, well what have we got money to do for ourselves now?*

***Amy, Rooted Patriot, Runcorn***

## Britain's divides

For the public, the divide between the comfortable and the struggling goes beyond social connection. In fact, many believe it lies at the heart of the problem. When asked about the biggest divides in Britain today the public are most likely to pick the divide between rich and poor.

While some are optimistic that hardship may see some communities come together and support one another, for others it explains why people are finding it increasingly difficult to access opportunities, live a happy life and also to socialise and connect with those from other walks of life.

*I think the gulf between rich and the poor is getting wider and wider, I think that's pushing the rich to almost tighten their circle and actually look after themselves a bit more. And I think it's also going the other way by making communities work together and to help each other out because there is such a divide.*

**Chris, Sceptical Scroller, Sheffield**

People's financial circumstances are key predictor of social trust, with the less well-off segments far more likely than affluent ones to distrust their neighbours and those around them.

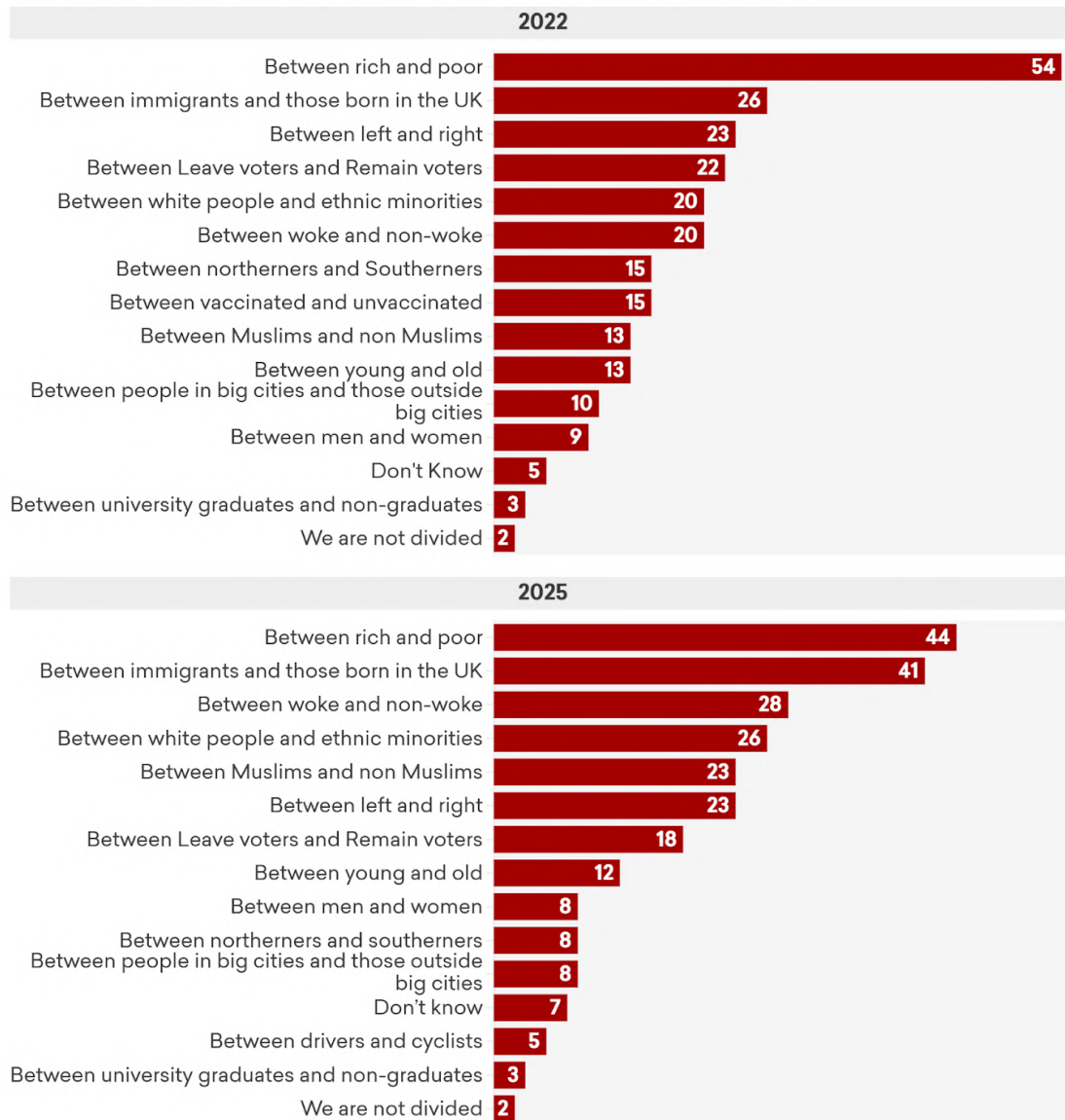
However, while divides between rich and poor remain the way in which most people think the country is divided, the number saying so has fallen since 2022. Meanwhile, more people now say that one of the UK's most important divides is that between immigrants and those born in the UK.

In part, this reflects the public's concern about higher levels of migration, which have reached record numbers in recent years. In focus group conversations, it is clear this has made the public wary about the ability to live alongside each other. Integration consistently emerges as a central theme in discussions about trust in others, even among those who tend to be more liberal on the subject of migration - two in five (41 per cent) believe that the divide between immigrants and those born in the UK is one of the biggest the country faces.



**Figure 56 | Changing perceptions of Britain's divides since 2025**

In what ways is our society most divided today? Select up to three.



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In focus groups, Britons will often talk about a lack of social integration between different ethnic and religious groups as a key social divide. In many parts of the country, while groups may live side-by-side, many within those communities feel that they do so very separately.

*The older generation [of immigrants] are here and they're not wanting to speak English, they're not wanting to integrate because they live in their community.*

**Stewart, Progressive Activist, Edinburgh**

This is especially common among those who have seen rapid social and demographic changes in their local area over a short period of time and do not think that integration nor maintaining existing local traditions has been prioritised. While the public is generally nuanced about the impacts of multiculturalism, appreciating both benefits and downsides, those who are more negative tend to cite language and value differences as barriers to building a cohesive society.

*I'm not talking about all immigrants, but just if I go back now to where I used to live, we, down our road, would be the only white people in our road, and I find that intimidating. I find it very, very intimidating just to feel like I'm not in Britain anymore.*

***Jeanette, Rooted Patriot, Norfolk***

## Moral foundations in Britain today

Research in social psychology led by Jonathan Haidt and others has proposed a set of 'moral foundations' that underpin people's judgments. These foundations help make sense of people's moral compasses and, as this research and [previous More in Common research](#) reveals, are correlated with a variety of attitudes in British public opinion.

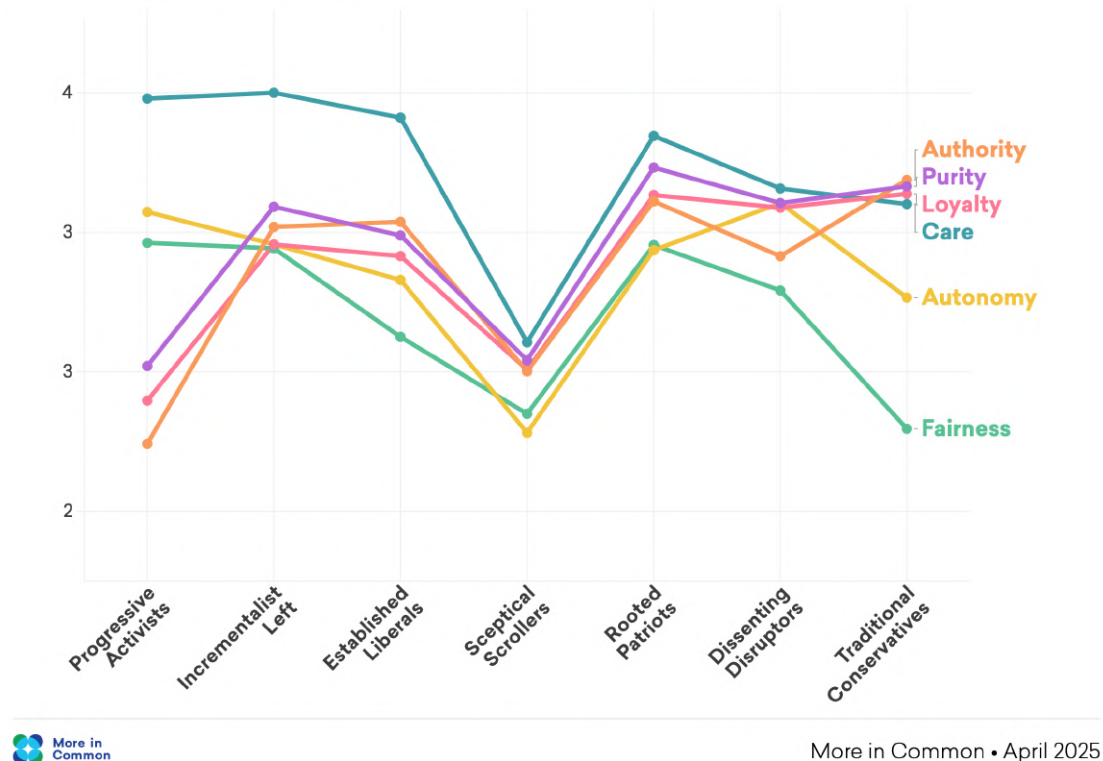
Overall, these findings underscore a key conclusion of this report: core beliefs shape Britons' different starting points and different visions for the UK as a society. People's values, as reflected in measures of moral foundations, are closely associated with their views on a wide range of issues, ranging from migration policy and climate change to appropriate sentences for those who disobey the law.

The moral foundations identified through the work of Jonathan Haidt and others are:

- Care/Harm: Protecting the vulnerable and helping those in need
- Fairness/Cheating: Relating to proportionality, equality, reciprocity, and rendering justice according to shared rules
- Authority/Subversion: Submitting to tradition and legitimate authority
- Purity/Disgust: Abhorrence for things that evoke disgust
- Loyalty/Betrayal: Standing with one's group, family, or nation
- Autonomy: Respect for people's autonomy and freedom of choice

An abridged version of the Moral Foundations Questionnaire was used in the previous Britain's Choice study and was further adapted for this new segmentation study.

Figure 57 | Moral foundations by segment



In More in Common's original British Seven segmentation in 2020, there was a clear divergence between the values of the Progressive Activists and other segments - particularly the lower importance Progressive Activists placed on the moral foundations of Loyalty, Authority and Purity.

In 2025, following some additional inputs to the segmentation model, while the moral foundations still provide valuable insights into the different starting points of the segments, the analysis for this report has identified other dynamics that are playing an important role in shaping Britons' worldviews and perspectives.

As with the 2020 segmentation, Progressive Activists still prioritise Care and Fairness far above Loyalty, Authority and Purity. The Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals are also more likely to prioritise Care, although the gap between that and other moral foundations is smaller than for Progressive Activists. Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors are more likely to prioritise the foundations equally, while Traditional Conservatives place a lower premium on Equality and Fairness, along with Established Liberals.

Sceptical Scrollers are the main outliers in having a lower prioritisation across all moral foundations. In focus group conversations, it was clear that their values do not define Sceptical Scrollers and many of their views are inchoate. Their defining characteristics are more focused on what is in front of them, being switched off by politicians and not having

a strong sense of political identity. They are a group who do not have a strong ideological identity.

## What matters to people's identity?

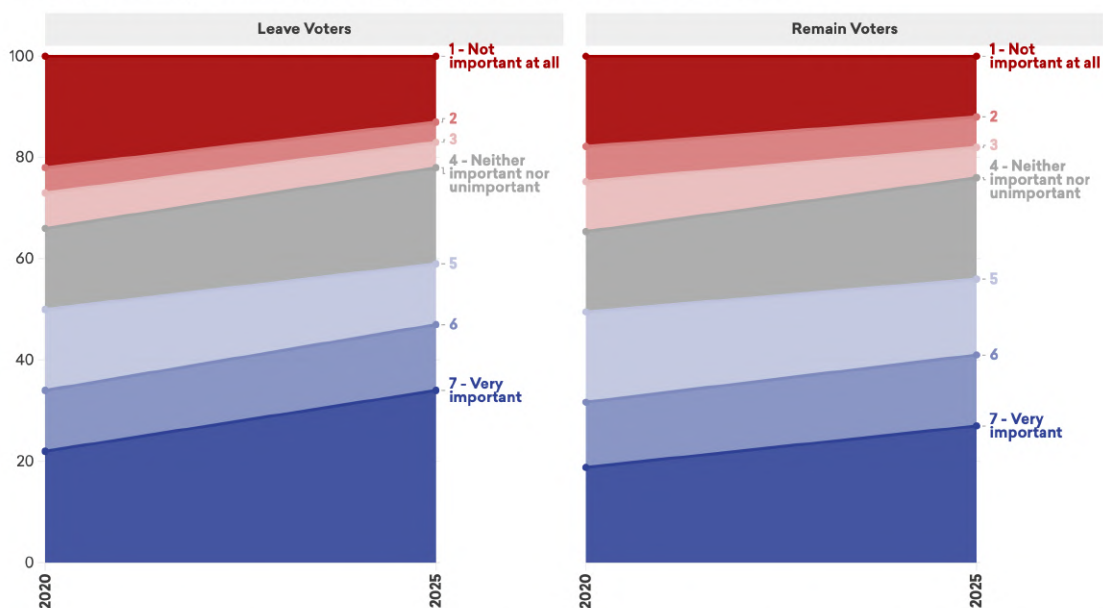
Brexit identity has remained an important dividing line in British politics. In 2020, half of Leavers and Remainers said how they voted on Brexit was important to their identity. Today the same is true - Leave voters (59 per cent) and Remain voters (57 per cent) are almost equally likely to say their Brexit vote is important to their identity.

*It's kind of like the white elephant in the room, isn't it? Brexit - they never talk about in the government about the fact that that is one of the main things that's damaging our economy. It's just never, it's almost as if they can't say it because they're all supposed to be Brexiteers. So then it's just not mentioned when we all know the damage had done.*

**Denise, Established Liberal, Beaconsfield**

**Figure 58 | Changing Brexit identities over time**

How important to your identity is the way that you voted in the EU referendum?



More in Common • How important to you is the following part of your identity? [Being a Remain supporter / Being a Leave supporter]

Just over half of Britons say that how they vote is an important part of their identity. This is highest among Reform supporters (64 per cent). Among three segments - the Sceptical Scrollers, Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors - two in five have no party affiliation at all. The segment with the strongest partisan attachment is the Traditional Conservatives - 61 per cent have a strong sense of party identity. Progressive Activists, though highly

politically engaged, are the segment least likely to consider their voting habits an important part of their identity, emphasising the lack of enthusiasm among many progressives for their options in the current political landscape.

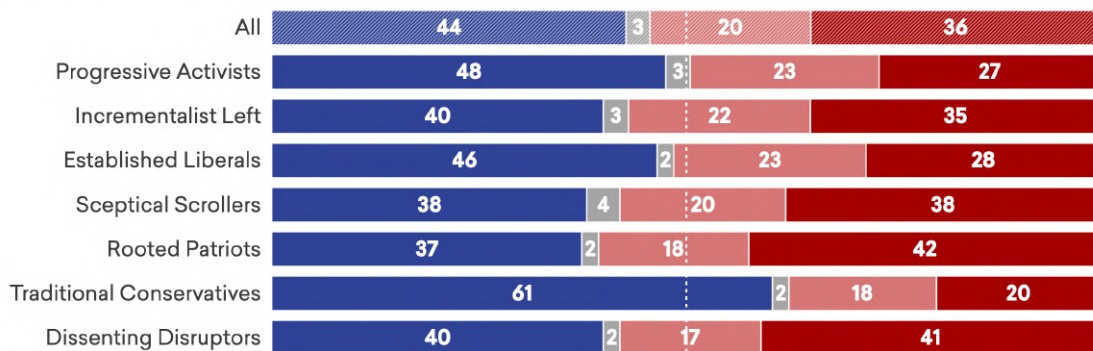
*Are there any MPs that are sort of challenging that gap in wealth or whatever, but I don't think there's any MPs or any parties that have basically said they will do that. All of the sort of political parties have got, they've all got the Greens maybe or Reform are considered the most radical, but I don't think in either of them it's in their basic ideology to actually challenge the extreme differences or I don't think there is a party at all out there that says we will challenge this.*

**Joe, Sceptical Scroller, Manchester**

**Figure 59 | Partisan identities by segment**

Do you consider yourself a strong [party] supporter or a not very strong [party] supporter?

- Strong
- Don't know
- Weak
- Not a supporter of any party



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Progressive Activists, along with the Sceptical Scrollers, are outliers on identity more broadly. They are the only segments that tend not to see Britishness as an important part of their identity, and they say the same about their ethnicity. Both of these matter most to the identity of the Traditional Conservatives.

For the Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors, who are the most working class-identifying segments, class forms a more important part of their identity than for other segments.

*I think inherently, I think British people are good people... we've always been a very good country in being able to laugh and we've always had a good culture of just take the mick.*

*Johnny, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan*

**Figure 60 | Strength of identities by segment**

How important to you are each of the following parts of your identity?

% selecting important

	All	Progressive Activists	Incrementalist Left	Established Liberals	Sceptical Scrollers	Rooted Patriots	Traditional Conservatives	Dissenting Disruptors
Gender	75	65	80	79	58	79	85	77
Being British	67	30	72	70	43	81	85	73
Ethnicity	64	36	67	66	44	74	81	71
Brexit vote	58	57	60	61	45	58	61	59
Class	57	41	55	54	43	64	60	63
Voting intention	53	36	54	55	52	54	64	57



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Of all dimensions of identity explored, gender was the one people saw as most important. Every segment apart from Rooted Patriots ranked gender as the most important part of their identity - for Rooted Patriots, gender was second to 'Being British'. Women (83 per cent) are more likely than men (67 per cent) to say that gender is important to their identity.

## Conclusion

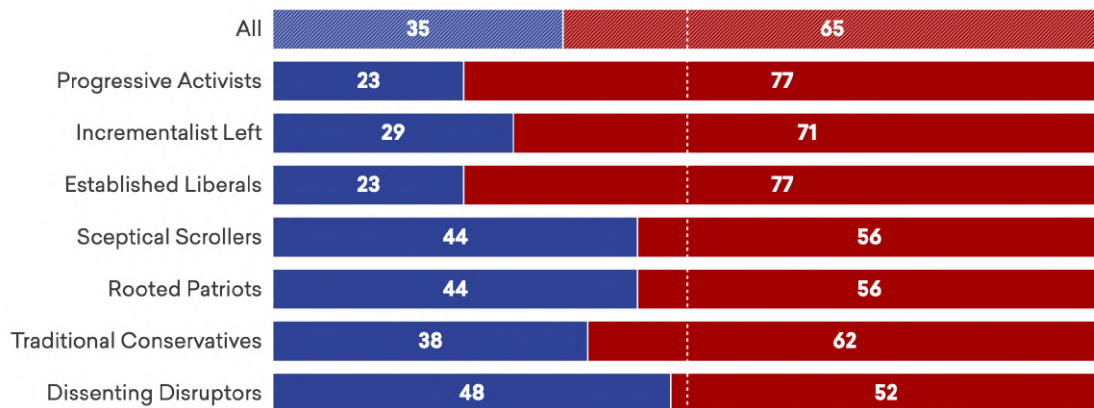
There is little doubt that many Britons feel the country is fractured. The challenges facing the country are significant, and public concern about division is too. However, our trust in each other, as opposed to government and institutions, remains resilient. Few Britons think the situation is irreparable or that continued decline and division is inevitable. Two thirds of the public (65 per cent) think that the differences between individuals are not so deep that they cannot be bridged and that what we hold in common, particularly at the local level, provides the basis to get the country back on track.



**Figure 61 | Feelings of division by segment**

Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

- The differences between Britons are too big for us to come together
- The differences between Britons are not so big that we cannot come together



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Charting a path forward requires understanding how different segments of our society view the roots of Britain's challenges. Across More in Common's research, the public does not ascribe a single cause or factor to the problems facing the country and does not see a single solution to turn things around either. Dealing more effectively with the cost of living, immigration, social media regulation, town centre decline and the long-term effect of the Covid pandemic on our ability to socialise, will help strengthen confidence in our future and bridge the gaps emerging between Britons in communities across the country.

Younger generations are more hopeful and less convinced that the country is irreversibly divided. This optimism is reinforced by the trust people still have in those closest to them and a genuine desire to connect with others. However, those segments which feel most socially isolated are also the most pessimistic about Britain's ability to overcome its divisions.

As part of the [This Place Matters project](#), More in Common is working with the UCL Policy Lab and Citizens UK to understand how trust and local connection can be rebuilt and community cohesion strengthened in communities across the country.

These new fault lines, along with traditional axes of left and right, can help us to better understand how to build a coalition to fix Britain both at the national level, and by amplifying the good work that already happens on the ground..

The next chapter introduces the British Seven Segments and how they can provide a guide for navigating British attitudes and opinion in the 2020s.

# **Chapter 3**

## **The British Seven Segments**



Traditionally public attitudes have been understood and analysed through the lens of demographic cleavages and party-political allegiance. These continue to provide important and valuable insight, but they do not provide a complete picture of how Britons divide and come together. More specifically, they are weaker in capturing many of the driving forces that are changing society, which are often (though not always) only loosely related to factors such as gender, age, race and party attachment.

The British Seven Segments are designed to provide a complementary lens, suited to an age where these traditional loyalties no longer hold the same explanatory power. Based on a comprehensive analysis of Britons' core beliefs, their values and their behaviours, the segments allow us to look upstream not just at what different groups think, but why they think it.

This approach allowed us to identify Britain's distinct tribes based on overlapping patterns in their psychology, worldviews and engagement with politics and wider society. Understanding how these factors shape how the seven segments think about the big issues facing the country – from immigration and climate change to institutional trust and national identity – provides for a richer understanding of the contours of public opinion in Britain and how it can be navigated.

The analysis produces seven distinct segments within the British population that overlap and diverge across a range of different dimensions:

**Progressive Activists** - 12 per cent of the population

A highly engaged and globally-minded group driven by concerns about social justice. Politically active, but feeling increasingly alienated from mainstream party politics, they prioritise issues such as climate change and international affairs. Occasionally outliers on social issues, they maintain a strongly held and sometimes uncompromising approach to their beliefs.

**Incrementalist Left** - 21 per cent of the population

A civic-minded, community-oriented group holding views which are generally left-of-centre but with an aversion to the extreme; they prefer gradual reform over revolutionary change. They trust experts and institutions yet are largely tuned out of day-to-day politics and can be conflict-averse, stepping away from issues they see as particularly fraught or complex.

**Established Liberals** - 9 per cent of the population

A prosperous, confident segment who believe the system broadly works as it is and who trust experts to deliver continued progress. They have a strong belief in individual agency which can make them less empathetic to those who are struggling. Institutionally trusting, they maintain faith in democratic processes and have a strong information-centric way of engaging with issues.

**Sceptical Scrollers** - 10 per cent of the population

A digitally-native group whose unhappiness with the social contract means they have lost faith in traditional institutions and seek alternative sources of truth online. Often shaped by their experience of the Covid pandemic, they prefer individual influencers over mainstream media and are increasingly drawn to conspiratorial thinking.

**Rooted Patriots** - 20 per cent of the population

A patriotic but politically untethered group which feels abandoned and overlooked by political elites and yearns for leaders with common sense, but does not want to overthrow the system as a whole. They are particularly concerned about community decline and the pressures of migration. Interventionist on economics but conservative on social issues, they have shaped much of Britain's politics over the past decade.

**Traditional Conservatives** - 8 per cent of the population

Respectful of authority and tradition, this group believes in individual responsibility and established norms that have served them well. Nostalgic for the past but optimistic about the future, they are deeply sceptical of many forces of change such as immigration or the path to net-zero.

**Dissenting Disruptors** - 20 per cent of the population

Frustrated with their circumstances and with an appetite for radical solutions, this group craves dramatic change and strong leadership. Highly distrustful of institutions, opposed to multiculturalism and feeling disconnected from society, they are drawn to political movements that promise to overhaul the status quo and put people like them first.

## Understanding the Segmentation

Each segment profile in this report includes several key elements:

**Priorities and concerns:** The distinctive issues that motivate each group, highlighting what sets them apart rather than concerns shared across all segments.

**Core characteristics:** Drawing from psychological frameworks and survey responses, this section identifies the fundamental beliefs, values and worldviews that define each segment's approach to politics and society.

**Attitudes to change and compromise:** How each segment approaches political disagreement, institutional reform and the pace of social change - crucial factors in understanding Britain's current political fragmentation.

**Media consumption patterns:** The information sources each segment trusts and uses, reflecting their broader attitudes toward expertise, institutions and alternative viewpoints.

**Demographic composition:** Where segments differ significantly from population averages in terms of age, education, location, religion, ethnicity and economic circumstances.

**Indicative profiles:** Pen portraits of individuals who embody the characteristics of each segment, illustrating how these abstract categories relate to day to day life.

The segmentation reveals that a simple left to right scale does little to capture the landscape of British public opinion. Instead, the segments reflect differences and convergences in how people relate to authority, change, community and the future. They can also help explain why traditional party loyalties have weakened and political volatility has increased.



# Progressive Activists

12 per cent of the population

A highly engaged and progressive group, uncompromising on the issues they care about and striving for global social justice.

*"I got called woke the other day because I read the Guardian. Like, what does that even mean!?"*

*Abby, Hackney*

*"I just think in our society... it's one of the ways that we can affect changes by who we vote for or by corresponding with our MP... Personally I think it's important to keep up to date with what's going on."*

*Hannah, East Dulwich*



## Key words

Idealistic, radical, uncompromising, political, woke.

## What they worry about

Global issues such as the war in Gaza or climate change, inequality in Britain, the power of billionaires, the rise of Reform UK, the rise of Donald Trump, Brexit, affordable housing, racial justice.

## Where you might find them

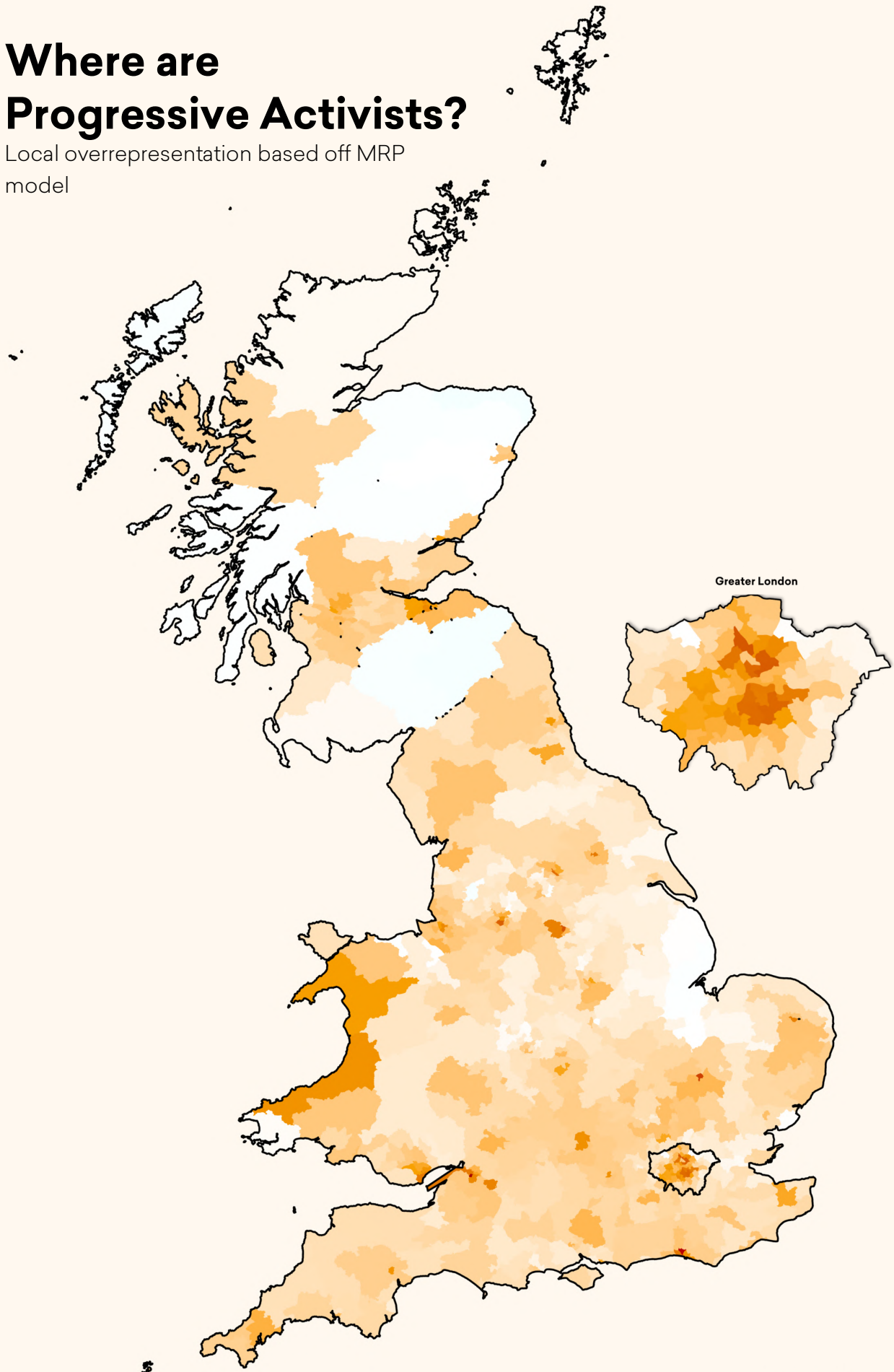
In university campuses and cities; in Labour and Green Party meetings; on Bluesky; in flatshares or living with their parents; in third sector workplaces; in constituencies such as Hackney South and Shoreditch, Edinburgh South and Bristol Central.

## How they get their news

High engagement with the news: from notifications from multiple news apps (likely The Guardian and the BBC), independent digital news outlets such as Novara, directly from political commentators on social media such as Owen Jones, from podcasts such as *The News Agents* or *Pod Save the UK*.

# Where are Progressive Activists?

Local overrepresentation based off MRP  
model



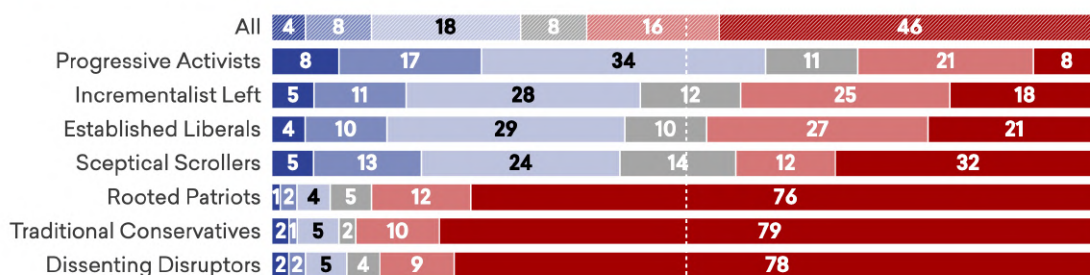
Progressive Activists are politically engaged and motivated by the pursuit of social justice. They have traditionally left-wing economic views and want the government to play a greater role in redistributing wealth. They are also by far the most likely to hold what other segments might call ‘woke’ perspectives on social issues.

Progressive Activists are often ideological outliers, particularly in their views on social and cultural issues. For example, they are the only segment where the majority say that levels of migration should either be increased or kept the same.

**Figure 62 | Attitudes to immigration by segment**

Thinking about the number of immigrants the UK Government accepts into the country each year, which of the following comes closer to your view?

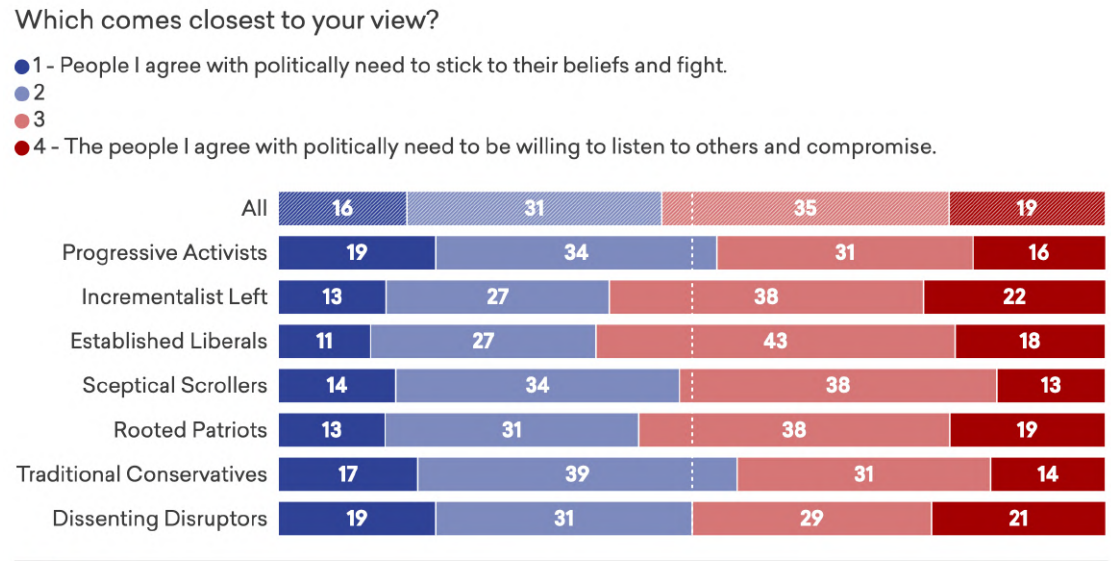
- Government should significantly increase the numbers
- Government should slightly increase the numbers
- Government should keep the number the same
- Don't know
- Government should slightly reduce the numbers
- Government should significantly reduce the numbers



Coupled with outlier views, Progressive Activists express less willingness to compromise on political views than other segments. Along with Traditional Conservatives, they are the segment most likely to say that people they agree with need to stick to their beliefs and fight, rather than listen to others and compromise.



Figure 63 | Attitudes to compromise by segment



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Alongside this heightened resistance to compromise, Progressive Activists’ attitudes to debate is shaped by distinct views on free speech. While all segments value the principle of freedom of expression, Progressive Activists are more likely to prioritise protection from hate speech and harmful language – especially for marginalised groups. They are one of few segments where a majority believe that limiting speech to prevent harm is more important than protecting speech at all costs.

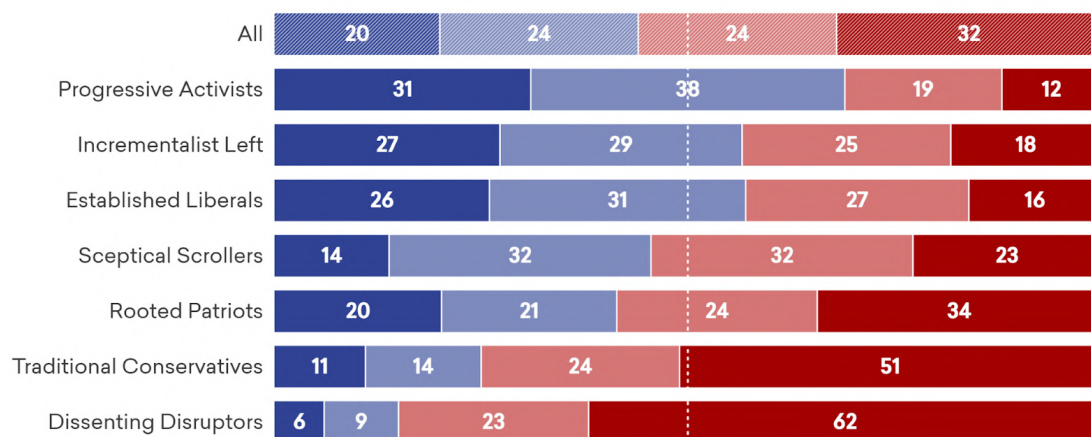
*People should have the right to use any language, but then also any consequence of using that language, they shouldn't be able to throw their hands up and say, well that's anti-free speech. No, you have the right to say it. If the consequence is you lose your job or someone assaults you, or I don't know, maybe you get kicked out of your family, those are consequences that you have to deal with. But your free speech is still intact.*

***Ebenezer, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

**Figure 64 | Attitudes to personal offence by segment**

Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 - People are right to be more sensitive and aware of offensive language and actions.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - People are too easily offended nowadays.



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Progressive Activists are much less zero-sum in their thinking about minority rights compared to other groups. On issues such as diversity and inclusion, Progressive Activists are the group least likely to say that increasing opportunities for minority groups makes things less fair for others. They are also much less likely to place an emphasis on individual responsibility and agency compared to other segments and are much more likely to argue that circumstance and societal structures determine people's outcomes in life.

Turning to their moral foundations, Progressive Activists place less emphasis on Authority and Purity than other segments - and so tend to have less respect for social hierarchies and rules, and are less interested in upholding established social norms.

While they are outliers on some issues, Progressive Activists are not alien from the rest of the country. They share many of the same instincts on social issues, even if not to the same degree, with the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberal segments. Likewise, their approach to political disagreement and compromise in many cases is similar to the Dissenting Disruptors (even if those two segments end up on polar opposites on social issues such as immigration) and share their assessment that the system is rigged. While they are far apart from Traditional Conservatives on many issues, they share with this segment high levels of trust in experts, the value of liberty and convictions on a host of issues ranging from the need to protect nature or to stand up for Ukraine.

In addition to their unique worldviews, Progressive Activists are also the most politically engaged segment. Two thirds of them rank their political engagement at seven or more out of ten, compared to 49 per cent of the country as a whole.

Progressive Activists tend to read and watch a lot of news. While they are less likely to read print newspapers or watch broadcast television news, they are much more likely than the rest of the country to get their news through YouTube, podcasts, news websites, and social media. For those Progressive Activists who do not pay attention to the news, they are more likely to say this is due to exhaustion compared to other segments whose disengagement is driven by a lack of confidence in politics and politicians.

*I just think in our society... it's one of the ways that we can affect changes by who we vote for or by corresponding with our MP... Personally I think it's important to keep up to date with what's going on.*

***Hannah, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

Progressive Activists are also the only segment significantly more likely than not to say they enjoy talking about politics, or debating politics with their friends. This makes them among the most frequent posters of political content on social media.

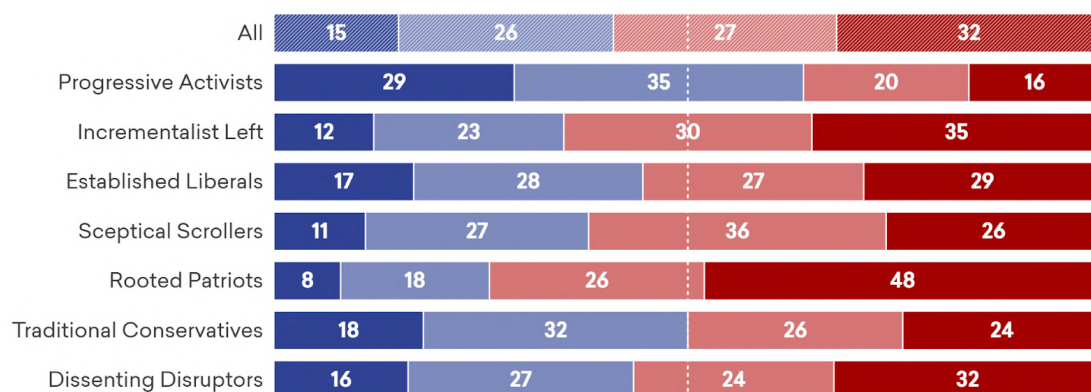
*Sometimes it can be negative even though it's informative because I've been told that I'm spreading negativity... Some people just, I think they don't want to hear it... So I try to limit what I post even though I feel quite strongly about stuff like Palestine and stuff.*

***Maddie, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

**Figure 65 | The segments which enjoy talking about politics**

I'm the sort of person who...

- 1 - Quite likes debating political issues with my friends.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - Prefers to avoid talking about politics.



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Progressive Activists are more globally oriented in their outlook and concerns than any other segment. For example, they have shown sustained interest and activism around the war in Gaza and are more likely than other segments to list the war in Ukraine among their top priorities. Climate change is also a core concern and one that many Progressive Activists see not just as an environmental issue but a moral and generational one.

*What [climate protestors] are trying to do is actually try and make climate change a less drastic issue... And people think, oh, being delayed from work for 45 minutes, an hour, whatever is that major inconvenience. But at the end of the day we do only have one planet.*

***Ebenezer, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

These values feed into a distinctive and often critical view of Britain's past and present on the world stage. Progressive Activists are the least likely of any segment to say they are proud to be British. Many express a deep discomfort with traditional symbols of national pride and they are the most likely to say they feel ashamed of Britain's colonial history and involvement in empire. Where other segments tend to say that Britain is taken advantage of on the world stage, Progressive Activists are unique in being more likely to think that Britain takes advantage of other countries.

Trust in politicians is low among Progressive Activists, but their distrust does not extend to all civic institutions. Unlike more populist or disengaged groups, their cynicism tends to be

directed towards elected representatives and mainstream party politics, not at the institutional framework of democracy itself. They retain relatively high levels of trust in institutions such as the judiciary and public service broadcasters. They are also the segment most likely to place faith in experts and specialist knowledge – along with the Established Liberals, Progressive Activists are the most likely to say that experts understand complex issues better than the general public.

Demographically, this group is younger and more likely than others to be university educated. Progressive Activists are the segment which is most similar to the population as a whole in its ethnic make up; around 15 per cent non-white, making it less ethnically diverse than other segments which skew younger and more urban. This segment is also much more secular than others, with just under 70 per cent saying they have no religion. They are half as likely as the wider population to identify as Christian.

Many of them are in fairly well paid graduate jobs, but they are among the least likely to own their own home and the most likely to be in student debt. This means Progressive Activists tend to be a high-income but lower-wealth segment. Over a quarter of Progressive Activists rent privately – the highest of any segment – and they are also the most likely to be living with flatmates. They are among the most likely to say they are struggling financially and among the least satisfied with their financial situation.

In 2019, this group overwhelmingly voted for Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party and were inspired by his platform. However, they have swung away from the Labour Party in years since – partly as they perceive the party has moved to the right. They now make up almost half (47 per cent) of Green Party supporters, despite representing just 12 per cent of the country.

## Sam

Sam lives in Cardiff where he works at the university, sharing a house with other junior academics. Sam's idealism often clashes with the compromises of daily life; he abandoned vegetarianism after years of trying, frustrated that individual lifestyle changes feel meaningless against the scale of global problems that keep him awake at night. And while he tries to keep his flying down, this year he has had to fly twice - to an academic conference and for a personal holiday. Lately, the war in Gaza has consumed much of his emotional energy. He finds himself scrolling through footage and testimonials that leave him feeling both helpless and outraged that Britain is not doing more.

Sam voted Labour in the last election with hope that felt misplaced within weeks, watching Starmer's Government make decisions that felt like betrayals of things he thought they stood for. Now he channels his disillusionment into sharing content on social media and attending local Extinction Rebellion meetings, finding more authentic politics in grassroots movements than in Westminster.

Sam oscillates between moments of genuine optimism—when he sees students organising or communities coming together—and periods of despair about whether any of it makes a difference in a world that seems to be burning while politicians offer platitudes.

Sam starts each morning reading his Guardian notifications, and then listens to yesterday's *The News Agents* or *Pod Save America* during his cycle to work, and finds himself deep in Bluesky threads late into the evening. He has had to delete news apps twice this year when the constant stream of crises left him unable to sleep, only to reinstall them days later, feeling a responsibility to keep himself informed.

Sam's conversations with his housemates often stretch into the night, ranging from university politics to climate tipping points to the latest government betrayal. While he enjoys these exchanges with like-minded people, he sometimes envies friends who can watch Netflix without feeling guilty about switching off from the world's problems. He has also lost some friends from home over disagreements about politics. His parents worry about his intensity, suggesting he is "too invested" in politics, advice that strikes him as emblematic of the generational divide that allows injustice to persist unchallenged.





# Incrementalist Left

*21 per cent of the population.*

A satisfied group rooted in their community, who hold left-of-centre values but do not like talking about politics and who avoid divisive issues. They want to see change in the world, but do not want that to come at the expense of what is good already, and they are happy to compromise in order to get there.

*"I like Keir Starmer. I think he is a good man amongst a lot of politicians who are not and I think he genuinely cares about all people in society"*  
Tamara, Chester

*"We're quite active in the local community, both giving back from a business point of view but also doing things, helping out at groups and things where my son goes to."*  
Becky Chester



## Key words

Liberal, compromising, conflict-averse, cautious, satisfied, community-oriented, trusting.

## What they worry about

Rising inequality in society, polarisation and division in Britain, the rise of Reform UK, global instability and uncertainty around conflict and the rise of populist leaders, the future of the NHS.

## Where you might find them

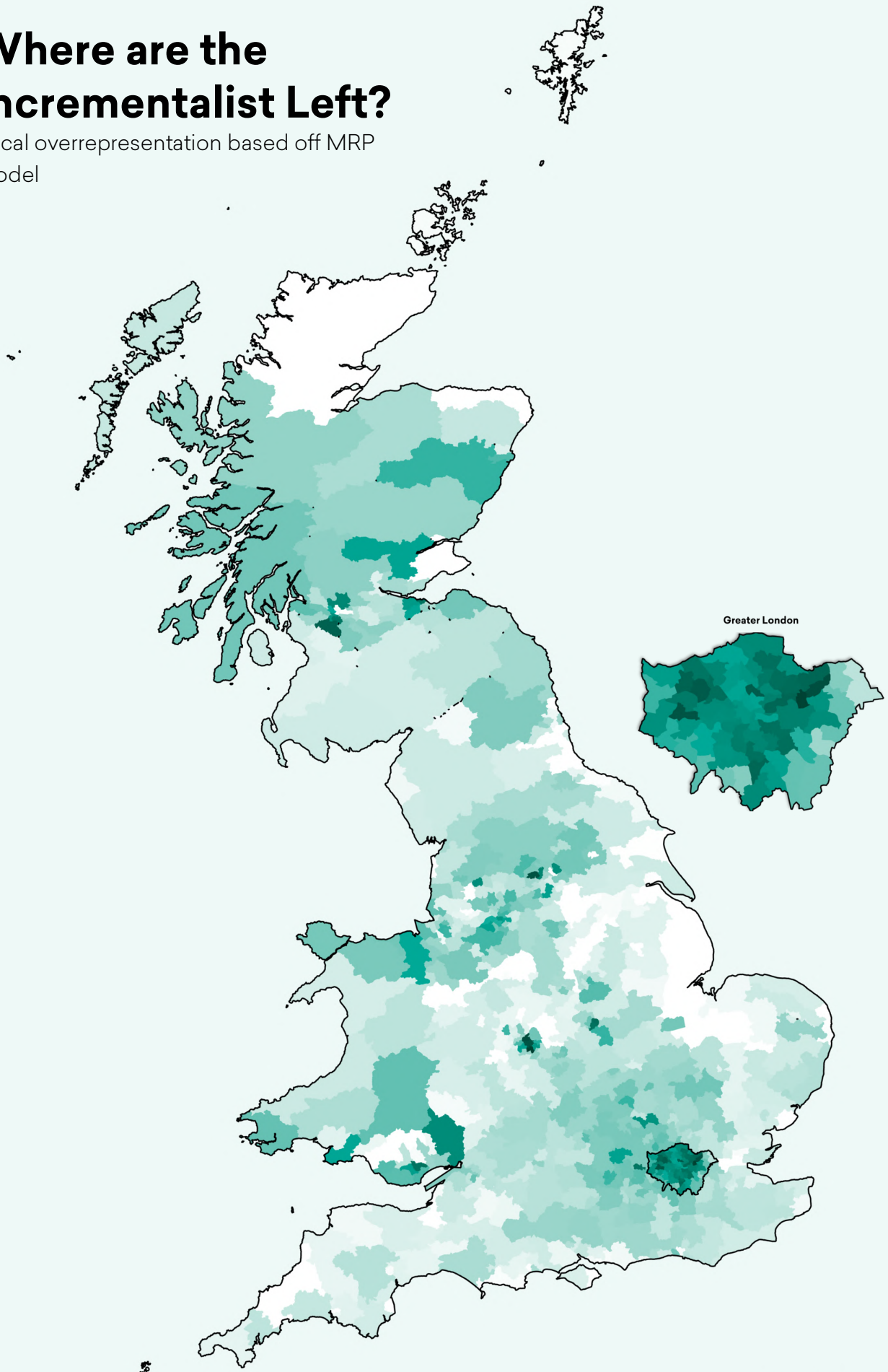
Working in public sector jobs such as in schools and hospitals; volunteering in their community; at a play park with their young children; in cities and commuter towns; in constituencies such as Reading Central, Milton Keynes Central, Edinburgh North and Leith, Hove and Portslade and Coventry East.

## How they get their news

They tend not to seek out news constantly, but want to be at least somewhat informed about the world. They might turn on BBC news over dinner, or listen to a podcast such as *Newscast* on their commute, but prefer non current affairs podcasts such as *The Rest is History*. They also come across plenty of news information organically on social media, although many of them try to block it out.

# Where are the Incrementalist Left?

Local overrepresentation based off MRP model



The Incrementalist Left is a softly progressive segment - they hold left-of-centre values but are broadly content with the way things are and see no urgency for radical change. A more university-educated group living in cities such as London and commuter towns, they are satisfied with their lives and feel quite optimistic about a future benefiting from economic growth and new technologies. This segment is more community-oriented than national or global - they volunteer, trust their neighbours and feel connected to society around them.

*I've got close neighbours, I do a lot for charity, for an autism charity, but there's always certain things that they're doing in St. Albans to raise money and yeah, I think it's a good place, good place to live and everyone works together.*

***Abbie, Incrementalist Left, St Albans***

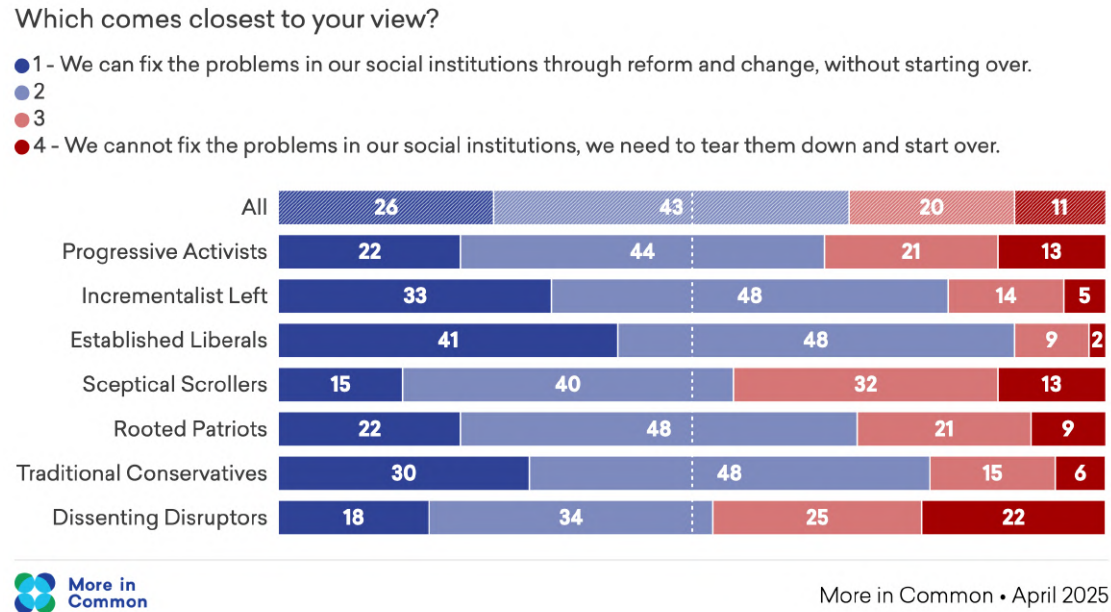
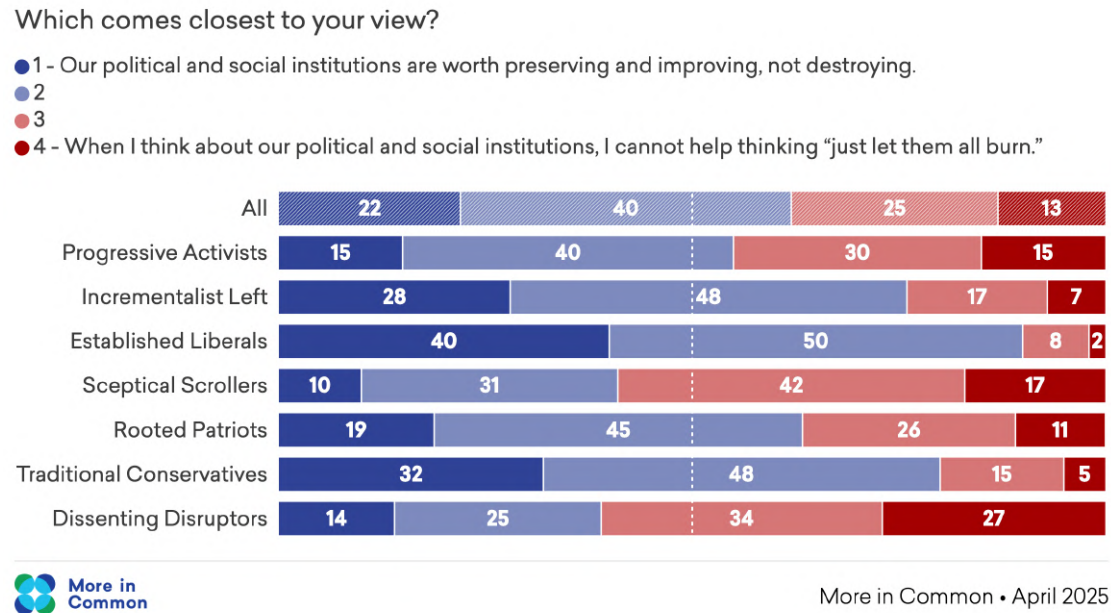
*I'm a governor in a local school. I do things, we're quite active in the local community, both giving back from a business point of view but also doing things, helping out at groups and things where my son goes to.*

***Becky, Incrementalist Left, Chester***

The Incrementalist Left are distinct from Progressive Activists in their approach to change. While both segments share similar concerns about the direction of the country, and are passionate about issues such as climate change or inequality in society, the Incrementalist Left see less of a need to tear our institutions down and start over, and are much more likely to favour solutions centred on reform rather than revolution.

They worry most about the cost of living, jobs, the NHS, housing and climate change. But rather than demanding radical systemic change, they believe that we should preserve and improve our existing institutions. Along with Established Liberals, this group places great value on expertise and trusts qualified professionals (from scientists to judges and the police) to handle relevant challenges. They see our policy challenges as complex and trust experts to deliver positive change.

Figure 67 | Desire to drastically change our institutions by segment



Demographically, the Incrementalist Left are slightly older and more financially secure than Progressive Activists and are more likely than other segments to have young children. They are twice as likely as Progressive Activists to be religious. They are the most ethnically diverse segment, with almost a quarter identifying as non-white. This group also has the highest proportion of people identifying as Muslim of any segment (9 per cent).

Their satisfaction with the status quo gives them a more relaxed approach to politics – they support progressive change not from personal urgency but from their moral perspective on right and wrong. Unlike their more ideological counterparts, they approach politics as observers rather than passionate participants. They do not enjoy talking about politics, preferring to leave it to people who know more about it, or finding it depressing.

That aversion to conflict and combative politics can occasionally mean that the Incrementalist Left deliberately avoids engaging in issues that they see as too negative, fraught or complex. If other segments might label Progressive Activists as ‘woke’, they might criticise the Incrementalist Left for having their head in the sand.

*[My social media feed] isn't anything to do with the news. Not really. I get a few people reposting things that are going on in the world, but I kind of try not to look into them. I end up going down that spiral of negativity.*

**Frankie, Incrementalist Left, St Albans**

In fact, in many ways they are relatively disengaged from politics. While they are likely to vote whenever an election comes around, in the years between they would much rather switch off from politics. The Incrementalist Left’s approach to political disagreement reflects their generally optimistic and cooperative outlook. They diverge from the Progressive Activists in strongly valuing compromise, believing that most political problems can be solved through good-faith discussion between sensible people. They dislike leaders who they perceive as extreme such as Donald Trump, Jeremy Corbyn and Nigel Farage.

But their political disengagement should not be confused with civic disengagement. They care deeply about their local community and their role within it – they are more likely than average to volunteer in their community and the segment most likely to donate to their place of worship.

*So I've got neighbours around, so what we do is charity funding, sometimes fundraising and all of that. Occasionally, I wouldn't say it's often or something we do regularly and on Sundays we do have get togethers around the garden.*

**Julian, Incrementalist Left, Chester**

*I'm proud of my local area. It's got its negative aspects of it, but it's a nice, okay place to live.*

***Becky, Incrementalist Left, Chester***

The Incrementalist Left tend to think multiculturalism benefits British identity. They believe in the importance of traditions, but do not think that traditions need to be thoughtlessly maintained if they are causing harm. As with Progressive Activists, protecting people from harmful speech takes priority for them over the principle of free speech. However, the Incrementalist Left are more likely than Progressive Activists to see political correctness as a problem.

## Sarah

Sarah teaches at a comprehensive school in Reading, where she has spent the last fifteen years watching her workload grow while resources shrink. The endless paperwork, larger class sizes, and constant pressure to hit targets leave her drained by Friday afternoons. But she does not always see this as a system failure - just the reality of a demanding job she still loves.

That said, when Labour won the election, Sarah felt some relief that her school might finally receive the investment she believes it deserves and the children need.

What worries Sarah more than government policy is what her students encounter online. She tries to weave discussions about climate change and global citizenship into her lessons, but increasingly finds herself competing with the latest conspiracy theories or extreme content that they have absorbed from social media.

Sarah volunteers at a local food bank and feels deeply connected to her community, preferring to focus her energy on tangible help rather than political arguments. Sometimes Sarah's most progressive friends or colleagues get frustrated with her that she will not join them in taking a stand alongside them against injustice - whether in school or on global issues such as the conflict in the Middle East. She trusts that experts and institutions will eventually sort out the big problems - she sees her job as to prepare students to think critically and treat each other with kindness in an increasingly complicated world.

Sarah will catch the BBC at six o'clock some days, but deliberately avoids scrolling through social media for updates that she knows will only leave her feeling helpless about problems beyond her control. When friends share articles about education cuts or climate disasters she clicks the link, but she would not share that kind of thing on her account.

Sarah's approach to the challenges facing education reflects her broader worldview: problems are real and serious, but they are best solved through steady improvement rather than dramatic upheaval.

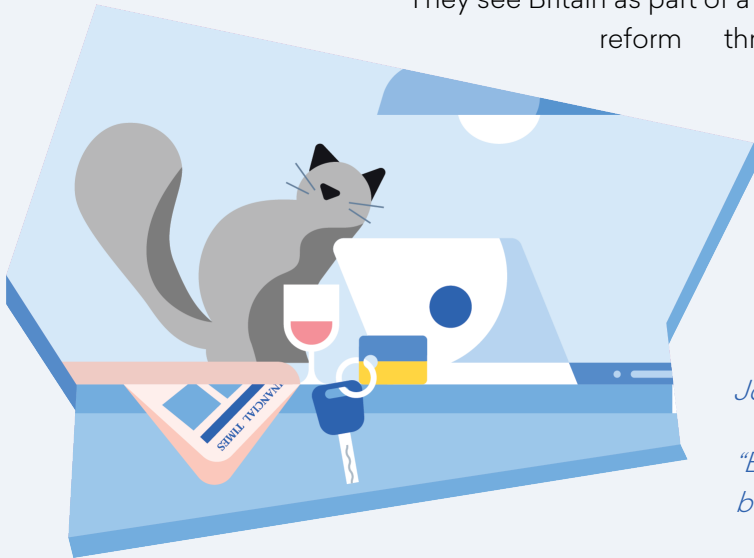




# Established Liberals

9 per cent of the population

A secure and internationally-minded group who trust expertise and institutions. They see Britain as part of a liberal global system and believe in reform through established democratic processes.



*"All the politicians are short-term gain thinking about their votes, not about the future of the country...but in order to fix this country, I think it's got to be a long plan."*

*Jonathan, Chippenham*

*"Barack Obama, we all know he is the bee's knees." – Denise, Beaconsfield*

## Key words

Secure, internationally-minded, institutional, trusting, optimistic, liberal, compromising, meritocratic, comfortable.

## What they worry about

Global instability and threats to liberal democracy, climate change, Brexit's long-term consequences, rise of populism and political extremism, economic inequality, the difficulty of doing business in the UK and Britain's global competitiveness.

## Where you might find them

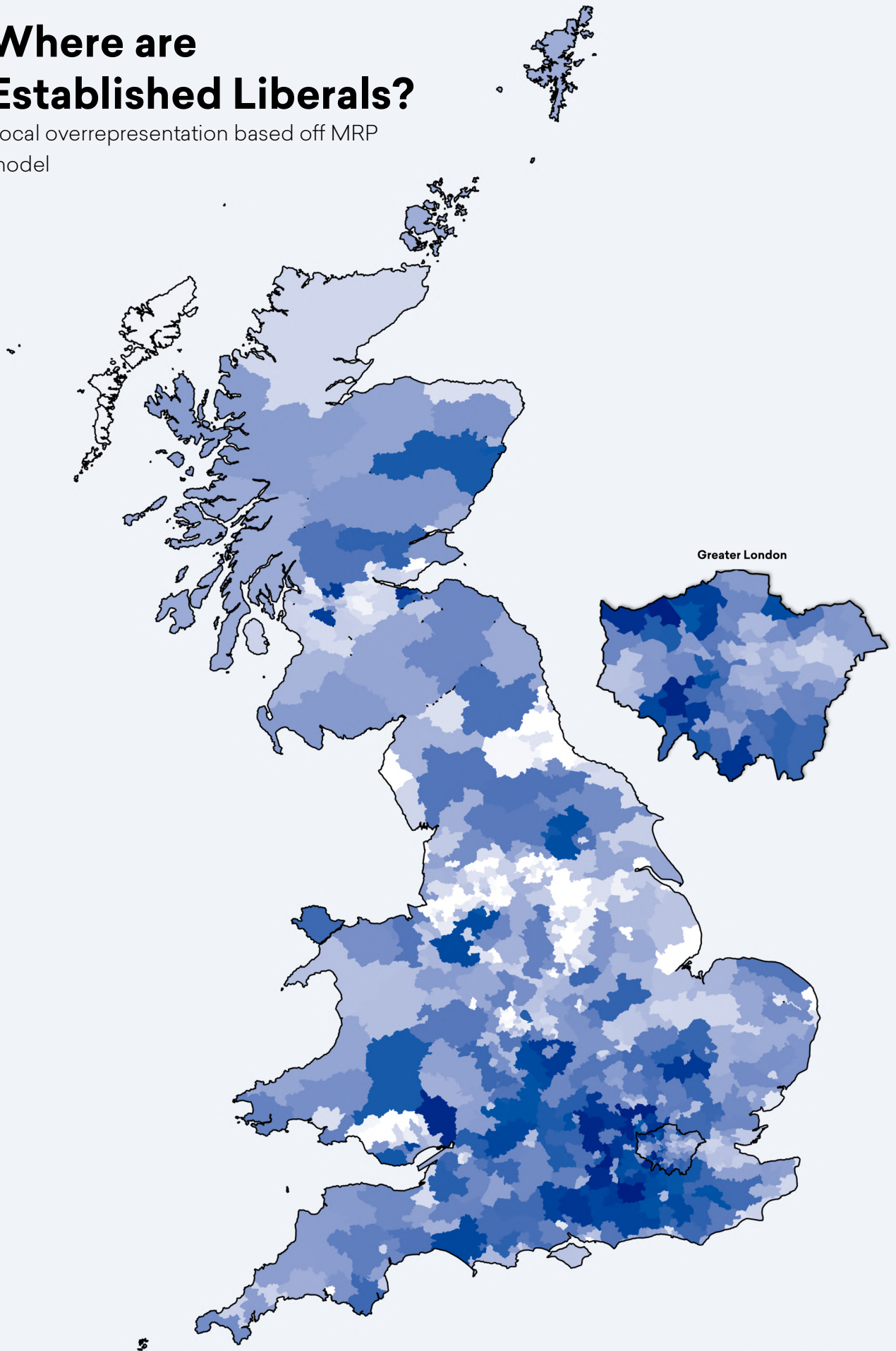
In affluent suburbs and commuter towns; working professional jobs with hybrid arrangements; attending cultural events such as literary festivals or the theatre; in constituencies such as Winchester, St Albans and Twickenham.

## How they get their news

Conventional broadsheets and magazines, BBC, the Financial Times, and other mainstream outlets, political podcasts such as *Political Currency*, longer-form analysis from trusted journalists and commentators such as Nick Robinson. They dislike news information that comes across as too partisan or too tabloid-y.

# Where are Established Liberals?

Local overrepresentation based off MRP  
model



The worldview of Established Liberals is shaped primarily by their sense of security and optimism. This group went to university, have done well for themselves since and live comfortably. They work hybrid between the office and the home that they tend to own outright. They drive a car, work out at the gym and go to the theatre. They donate to charities and their place of worship and volunteer in their community. More so than any other segment, they feel happy and respected.

All this contributes to Established Liberals' satisfaction with their lives - from work to their family and social life. As such, they may look at the country's problems through rose tinted glasses compared to other groups. Unlike the majority of the country, who express anxiety about the country's direction, Established Liberals tend to maintain a more positive outlook, displaying the lowest levels of perceived threat and greatest optimism. They see their generation slotting into place within an ongoing history of society improving - expecting their children to have a better life than their parents and their grandchildren after them.

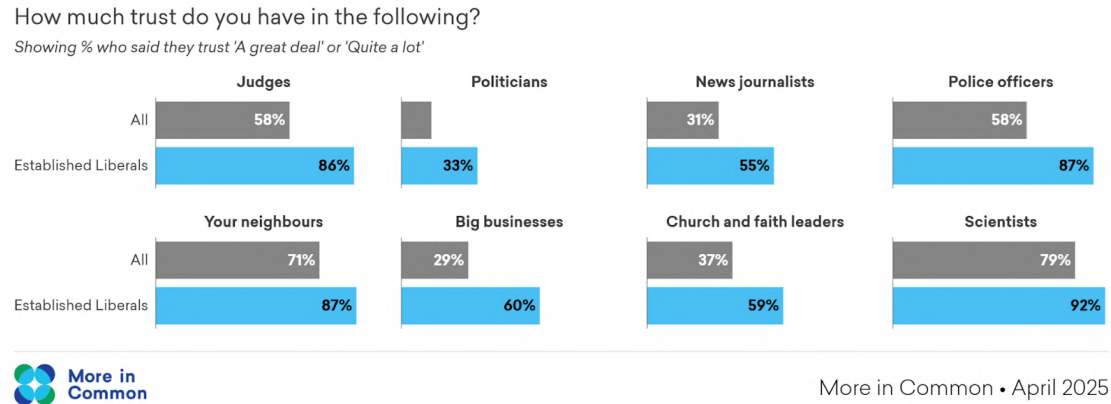
Demographically, Established Liberals are one of the more diverse segments, with 19 per cent identifying as non-white. This group has the highest proportion of Hindu respondents of any segment, and is the second-least secular segment overall.

Established Liberals are firmly rooted in the status quo. They perceive the system as working fairly - driven by a strong belief in personal agency and the importance of hard work. Established Liberals tend to believe their own work ethic, rather than luck or circumstance, has handed them the success they enjoy today. Because of that strong belief in individual agency, combined with their own relative sense of security, some in other segments may accuse the Established Liberals of lacking empathy with those who are struggling or who are less fortunate than themselves.

Established Liberals are generally not zero sum in their thinking about the economy. They hold a strong belief that economic growth will improve most people's quality of life and that people can attain wealth without making someone else worse off. As such this group is optimistic about new technologies - seeing innovation as a key driver of progress.

Established Liberals trust specialists and expert knowledge. They view the country's challenges as complex and requiring informed, rather than simple common-sense, solutions. This deference to experts leads them to value institutions that have stood the test of time and to be sceptical of calls to overhaul them. As such, they place high trust in our institutions and want to see them optimised rather than overhauled.

Figure 66 | Established Liberals’ trust in our institutions



Established Liberals believe politicians should work within existing democratic structures and favour cross-party collaboration. They see compromise as important for progress. Established Liberals believe politics should be cordial and that healthy debate needs to have some limits to protect people from harmful speech.

Established Liberals are among those most likely to vote for the established main parties. This group might be thought to resemble the voters who identified most strongly with David Cameron as he sought to modernise the Conservative Party’s image.

Beyond elections, Established Liberals remain highly engaged in politics. Four in five follow government and current affairs, though you would be unlikely to see them post about it on social media. Their institutional trust and faith in expertise extends to the media. They are far more likely to trust mainstream established outlets over independent sources, and have high levels of trust in the BBC. This group also seeks out longer-form analysis in broadsheets like the Times and Financial Times. This tendency toward information seeking can moderate their political opinions - they like to consider the evidence and hear a range of thoughtful perspectives before coming in strongly behind one side of a debate.

Established Liberals have an internationally oriented mindset and view the United Kingdom as part of a liberal global order. They are proud to be British - more so than any other segment - but this does not lend itself to nativism or isolationism. Instead, they see Britain’s multiculturalism as an asset and do not believe the British born should get special treatment over those who immigrate to the UK. This is perhaps most true when it comes to their attitudes towards Europe. Among economically liberal segments, they are the group most likely to have voted to remain in the European Union, and along with the Incrementalist Left and Progressive Activists, they are the most likely group to say they would vote again to join the EU. Similarly, among traditionally Conservative voting segments, it is the Established Liberals who are most likely to consider it important that Britain remains in the European Court of Human Rights.

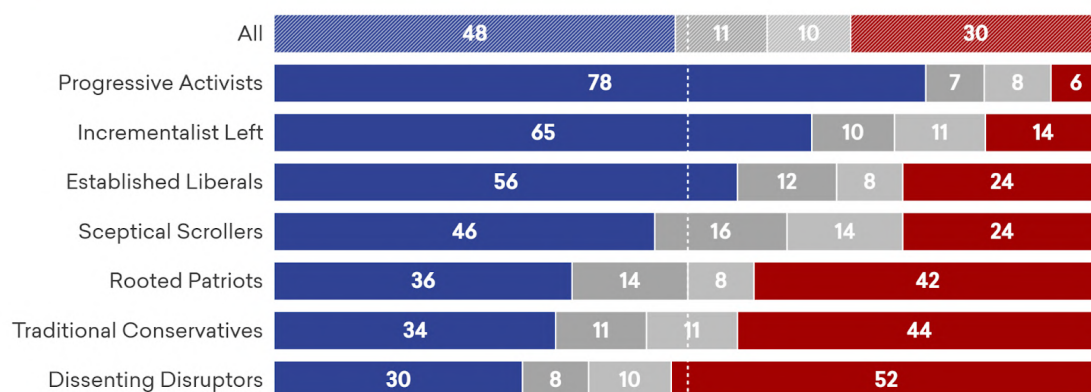
*We're probably an island fighting a lone battle in a world market. Personally I voted Remain, I don't mind saying, but what I'm trying to say is it changed the direction and pulled the country apart and I don't think really that we've recovered from that.*

**Andrew, Established Liberal, Chippenham**

**Figure 67 | EU Referendum vote by segment**

If the 2016 Brexit referendum was held today, how would you vote?

- Remain
- Would not vote
- Don't know
- Leave



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Established Liberals' internationalism extends elsewhere. Most notably, they are among the strongest supporters of Ukraine. While support for Ukraine does not significantly divide the British Seven segments, this group is much more likely to spontaneously raise the issue as a matter of national pride.

*[It makes me proud of Britain that] people opened their homes to Ukrainian families. People were giving spare rooms out doing sponsored things, weren't they? It was communities coming together with other communities for Ukraine. So that was a big thing.*

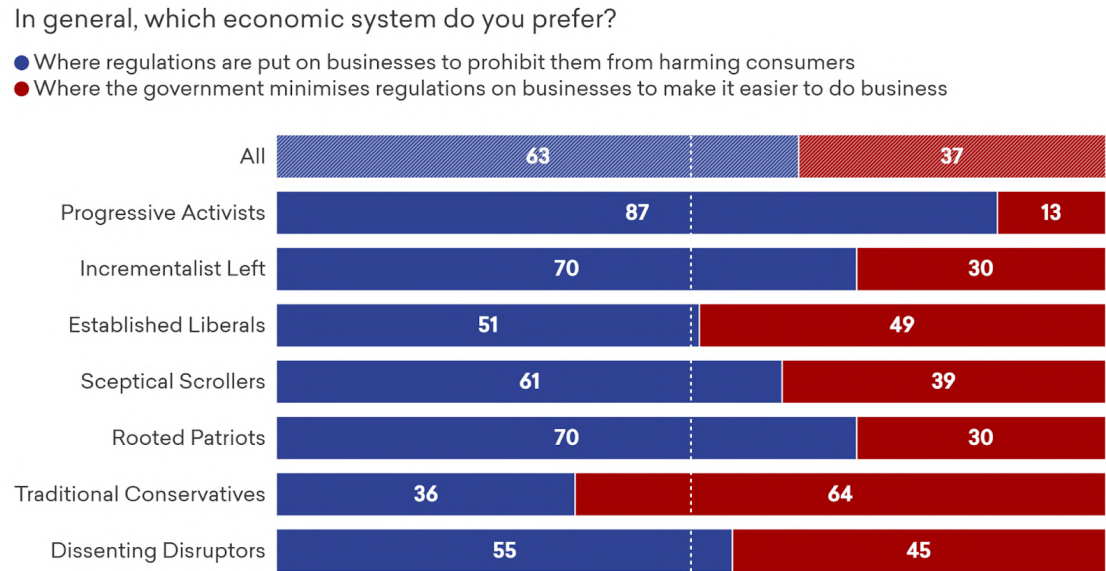
**Leanne, Established Liberal, Beaconsfield**

On many social and cultural issues, Established Liberals take a similar approach to the Incrementalist Left: one that is tolerant of change and broadly permissive of people who want to live their lives as they desire. Where they differ from this group, however, is on economic issues. Established Liberals are the most likely to say that the ultra-wealthy are

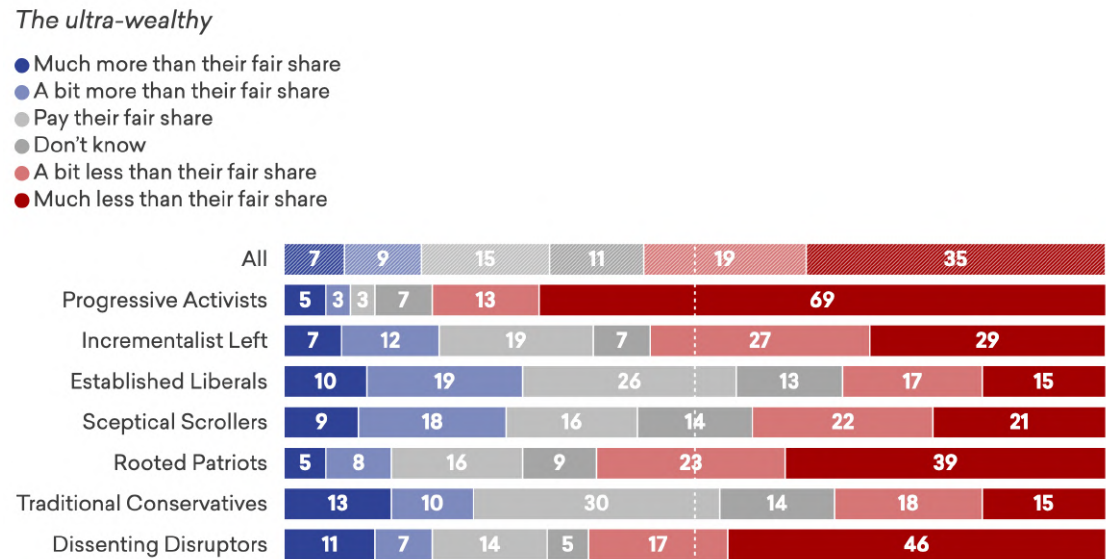


paying their fair share in taxes and are more sceptical than the Incrementalist Left on government regulation of business.

Figure 68 | The segments' economic starting points



For each of the following groups, please indicate whether or not they pay their fair share in taxes?





## Simon

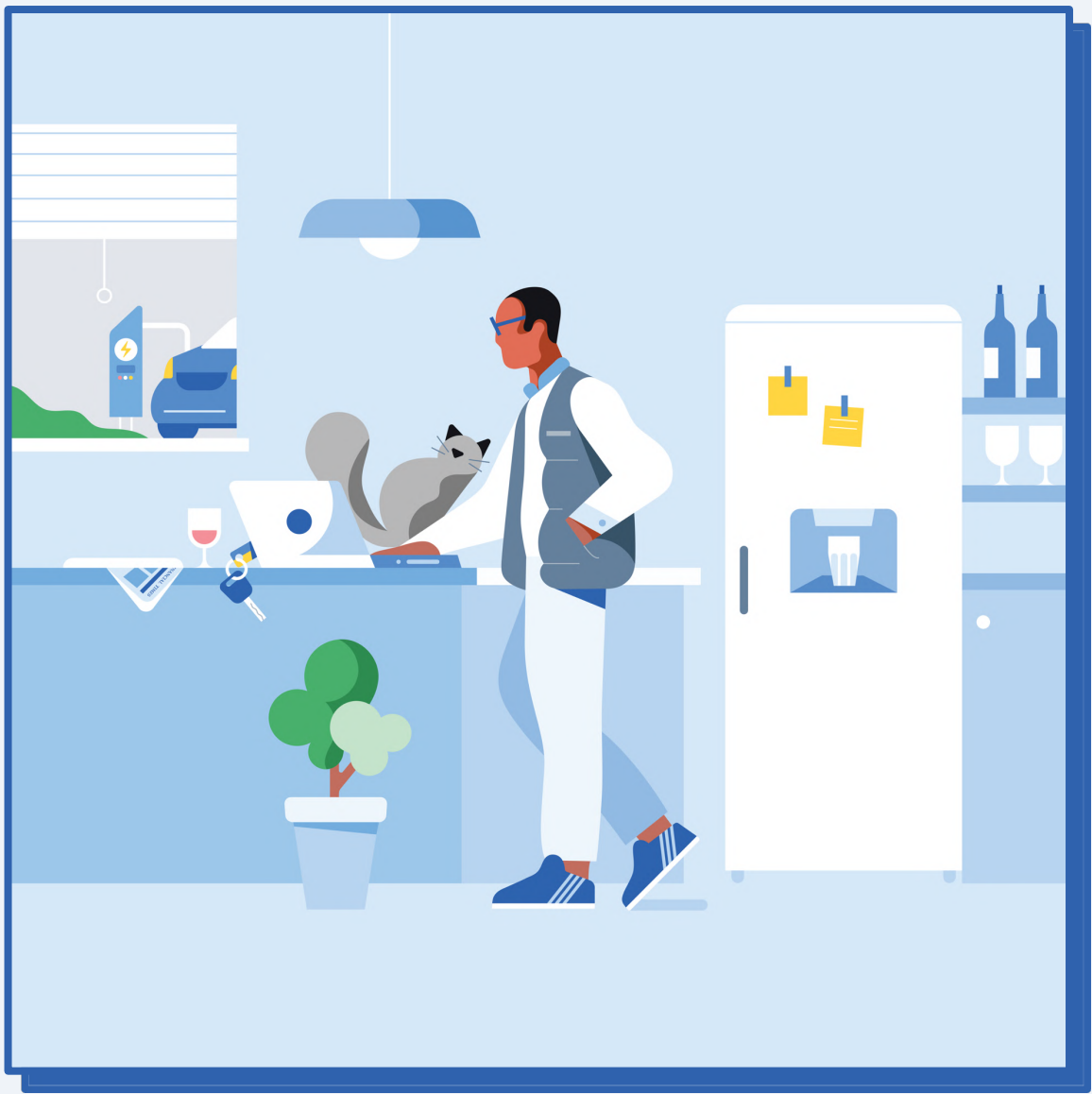
Simon lives in Godalming in a house he and his wife bought ten years ago and works as an actuary for a firm in the City. While he could work from home most days, he enjoys the rhythm of commuting into London - listening to the *Political Currency* podcast or catching up on The Times app during his train journey. When he does work from home, he has developed a ritual of pouring a glass of wine as he wraps up emails in the evening, a small pleasure that marks the transition from professional to personal time.

Simon feels genuinely fortunate about how his life has turned out - the security of homeownership, interesting work that pays well. His success feels both earned and slightly precarious to him—he knows he has worked hard, but he is also aware that timing and circumstance played their part. This awareness makes him sympathetic to calls for public spending on education and healthcare, though he is sceptical of proposals that seem to punish success or dismantle systems that have served him well.

Simon is confident that Britain, despite its current challenges, remains a fundamentally decent place where hard work and good judgment are rewarded. Still, he is increasingly troubled by signs that the social fabric might be fraying. The rise of Reform UK baffles him and he is worried that none of the parties he has voted for before seem to know how to stop that. He also notices more graffiti on his tube carriage these days and people brazenly jumping barriers without paying fares. He sees himself as open-minded on social issues, but when his children come back from university it sometimes feels like they are talking a different language, and he struggles to keep up with all the new terminology they are using to describe prejudices in society.

Simon subscribes to both The Times and Financial Times, often reading the paper over his Saturday morning flat white. Simon deliberately avoids getting drawn into social media debates, viewing Twitter arguments as the opposite of the good debate. When colleagues forward him articles from less established outlets, he finds himself automatically checking whether the same story appears in mainstream sources before taking it seriously.

Simon's pride in Britain is tied to his sense of the country as a stabilising force in an increasingly chaotic world - he was genuinely moved when neighbours offered spare rooms to Ukrainian refugees, seeing it as evidence of British decency in action. Yet he's troubled by the polarisation he sees creeping into public discourse, feeling that both the far-left and far-right threaten the moderate consensus that has underpinned his comfortable life. He believes most problems can be solved through careful policy-making and goodwill, though he's beginning to wonder whether that optimism might be naive in an age of social media and populist politics.



# Sceptical Scrollers

10 per cent of the country

A digitally-native group who have lost faith in institutions, do not pay attention to mainstream politicians and seek alternative sources of truth for themselves.



*"Post-Covid I am much more critical about what I read - now I want to do my own research because I don't trust the government or doctors on everything"*

*Talia, Leeds*

*"Most of the things I would read on is online and I think Twitter or X is perfect for it because when you go to the comment section you get a different perspective from everybody and I think you tend to find people who have better answers and more truth"*

*James, Glasgow*

*"I used to vote, but I just don't have any faith in any parties at this point"*

*Carolyn, Glasgow*

## Key words

Online, disengaged, disillusioned, open-minded, non-ideological, untrusting, curious.

## What they worry about

The gap between rich and poor, the job market, corruption of politicians, bias in the media, crime, mental health.

## Where you might find them

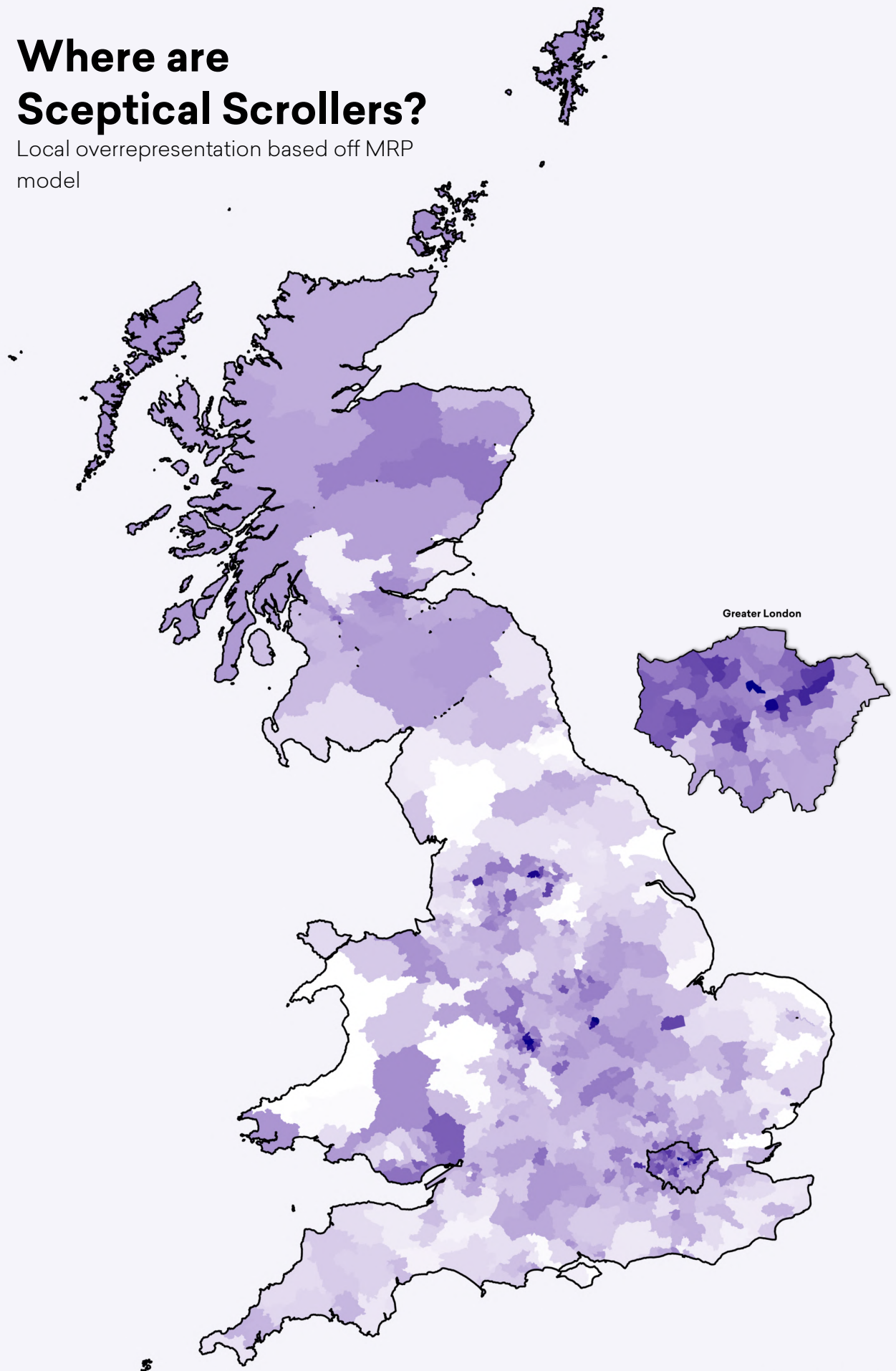
On Discord, Snapchat, TikTok and Reddit; living at home with their parents or in rented accommodation; working multiple jobs; in urban city centres; in constituencies such as Birmingham Perry Barr, Glasgow South, Luton North, Swindon North.

## How they get their news

While many do not actively seek out political news, it often comes to them - either while browsing social media or referenced as part of discussion shows they might watch on YouTube for entertainment. They are much less likely to trust information from large media institutions, and more likely to believe information they see from social media users posting directly.

# Where are Sceptical Scrollers?

Local overrepresentation based off MRP  
model



No event in the 21st century has shaped perceptions of the role of government and the power of the state than the Covid pandemic and the measures put in place to tackle it. The Sceptical Scrollers are a group for whom the pandemic has played a formative role in their outlook, relationship with politics and trust. This segment's sense that politicians, poorly qualified to handle a global crisis, were making it up as they went along has a profound effect on their world view. They also appear to be influenced by social media algorithms that elevate fringe ideas and negative content.

Sceptical Scrollers feel alienated from many of the political institutions that have traditionally formed the bedrock of British democracy. They take little at face value, even from sources of expertise, are sceptical of political edicts and have turned to alternative information sources.

*So an example of that is maybe certain things that they would suggest are really good for you in terms of diet, for example, I think are very outdated and actually there's a lot more information out there from other sources. So that then makes me question a little bit about how much to follow some of the other advice that comes out and the whole medical model of things. So the medical model or the social model of things. So you don't necessarily need to fix things with say drugs or science.*

***Caroline, Sceptical Scroller, Glasgow***

Pandemic scandals, from Party-Gate and other breaches of lockdown rules, or question marks over procurement procedures, have furthered this group's already deep disillusionment with politics and the integrity of politicians. Sceptical Scrollers think that Britain today is broken, but they do not trust anyone to fix it.

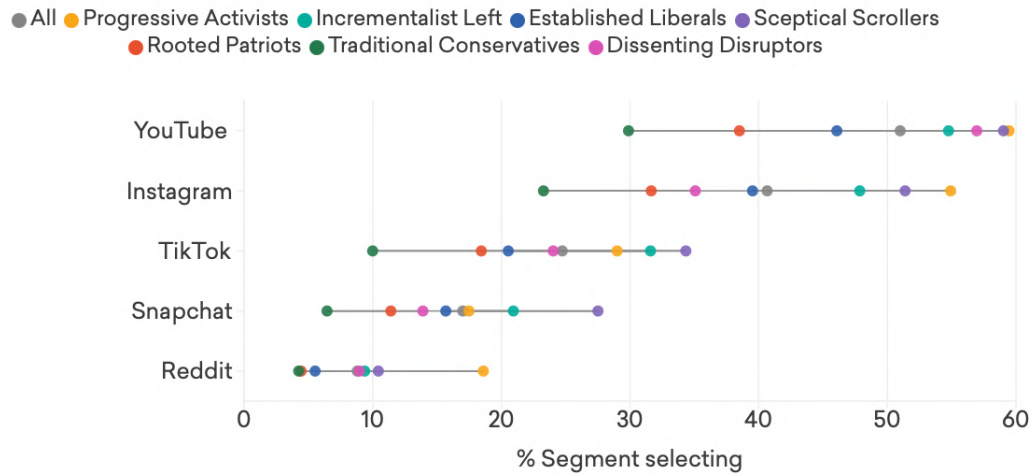
*I think since Covid and the way that the contracts and the procurement was all blatantly, blatantly just the lads helping the other lads from the public school - and it doesn't feel like that was just a Conservative thing.*

***Claire, Sceptical Scroller, Manchester***

Sceptical Scrollers are younger than any of the other segments and therefore digitally native. They spend a lot of their time on social media, and are more likely to use Snapchat and TikTok than any of the other segments. This segment is also more likely to play video games than any of the other six.

**Figure 69 | Social media use by segment**

Which of the following social media platforms, if any, do you use most days?



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*Every night I struggle with doom scrolling and listening to podcasts, YouTube videos, everything, just because it's procrastination and I know that it is. But ironically, I spend time looking at ways to improve my life and self-care and just positive things, but take no action. So I'm watching everyone else do well and take action and I'm spending so much time watching it and taking no action on my own life. So come away feeling even worse about my own situation.*

***Vicky, Sceptical Scroller, Glasgow***

This group is one of the most ethnically diverse, with 22 per cent identifying as non-white. This segment has the highest proportion of Asian Britons of all seven (16 per cent), as well as the highest proportion of Sikhs and second highest number of Hindus.

Sceptical Scrollers' lack of trust spans from politicians to mainstream media and many would sooner trust independent sources over established outlets. As they spend so much of their time online, they find themselves more trusting of individuals rather than institutions as sources of impartial information. Sceptical Scrollers also see information as more authentic when it is raw, unedited, when it appears from an individual on their social media feed rather than a news outlet such as the BBC.

Lacking trust in mainstream institutions, many Sceptical Scrollers have taken the job of editorialising the truth into their own hands. In focus groups, it is common to hear Sceptical Scrollers talk about 'doing my own research' or 'finding my own truth', rendering Sceptical Scrollers both very aware of a range of global issues, but also occasionally misinformed. Most of this segment now say it is probable that the Covid pandemic was exaggerated to

control people. Two in five believe it is probable that the moon landings were staged. Other segments might describe Sceptical Scrollers as open to conspiratorial thinking.

*Most of the things I would just read on is online and I think Twitter or X is perfect for it because when you go to the comment section you get a different perspective from everybody and I think you tend to find people who have better answers and more truth and the comments and you can find independent reporters come in with their resource and it helps kind of back what they're saying and challenges what the mainstream media is saying and it kind of opens your mind so you're not getting, again, false media.*

**James, Sceptical Scroller, Glasgow**

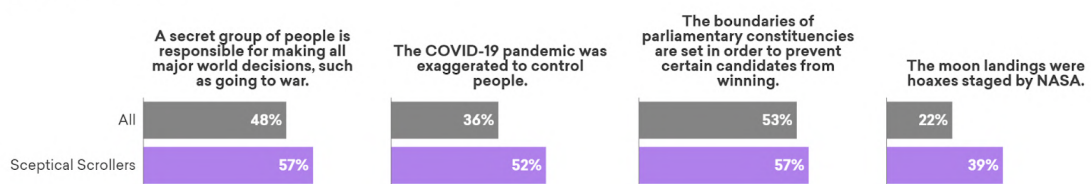
*I think it goes back years and years. I think the main issue that not just our country's got, is that it's people are greedy and the rich want to be richer. And the ease now with social media and the media to make the little man hate the little man rather than the bigger picture is far too easy now and it's looking pretty bleak.*

**Rose, Sceptical Scroller, Sheffield**

**Figure 70 | Sceptical Scrollers' beliefs in conspiracy theories**

Do you think the following is true or false?

Showing % who said true

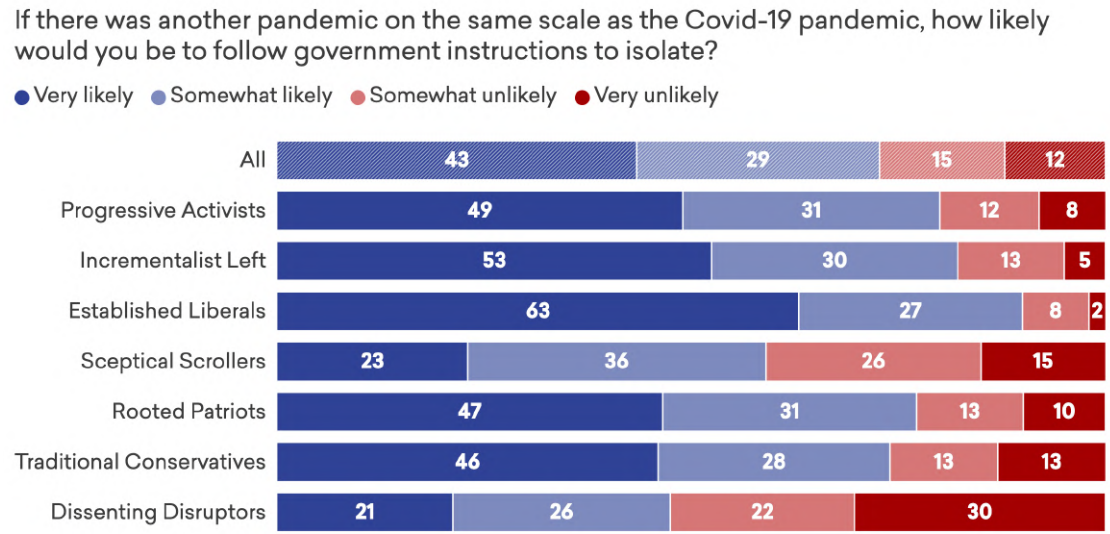


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These beliefs and lack of trust have real-world consequences for how Sceptical Scrollers treat government instructions. For example, alongside Dissenting Disruptors they are the group most likely to say, at least in this moment, they would not follow government advice to isolate if there were another pandemic on the same scale as Covid.



Figure 71 | Likelihood to isolate in case of another major pandemic by segment



Sceptical Scrollers’ distrust extends to lack of faith in other institutions such as the judicial system and faith leaders. Forty five per cent of this segment go so far as to say they do not trust their neighbours.

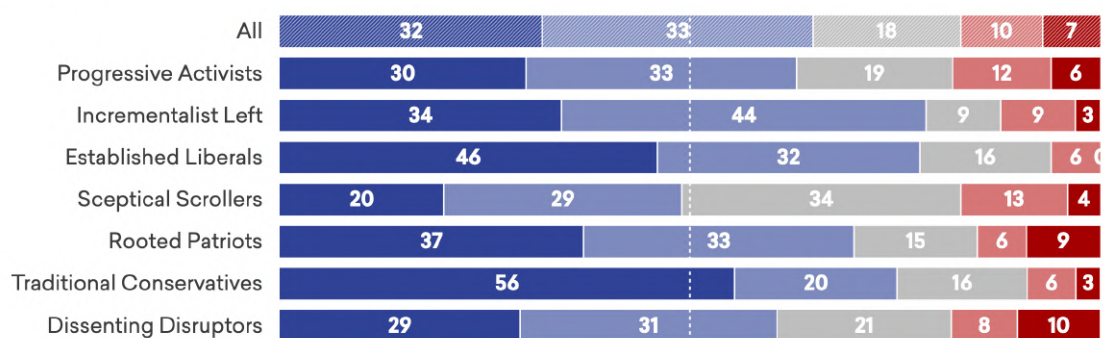
Sceptical Scrollers’ living conditions do not give them much faith in the status quo. This is the most urban segment and many of them live in rented accommodation with flatmates, or at home with their parents. Many in this segment feel that they were promised that hard work would lead to homeownership, and instead they must live in shared flats well into their twenties and thirties which feels like a betrayal of the social contract. Sceptical Scrollers are generally dissatisfied with their housing situation but are financially struggling and find it difficult to find anything better. For some Sceptical Scrollers, financial struggles run even deeper - they are the group most likely to have used a food bank in the last year.

**Figure 72 | Satisfaction with housing by segment**

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with each of the following aspects of your life?

*Housing*

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied



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The economic hardship or difficulties that many Sceptical Scrollers experience fuels their perception that conventional politics has failed them. They also do not expect that future economic growth will improve their lives either. This contributes to a belief that only dramatic systemic change and a rethinking of the fundamentals will improve their prospects, but they are doubtful about what that might look like and not optimistic that it is likely to happen.

*I don't think necessarily that it's going to be better. I mean the cost of living has gone up ... I think there's a lot of hardships coming that way. So, I don't know. I don't know. If I'm honest, I don't think it is better or good, I don't think it's heading in a good direction at the moment.*

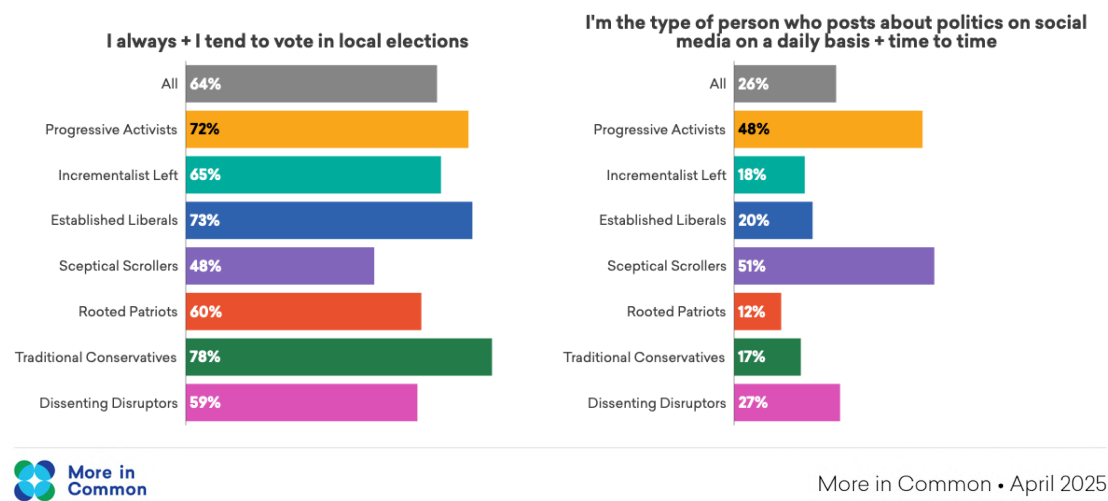
**Carolyn, Sceptical Scroller, Glasgow**

Sceptical Scrollers' disengagement from traditional political participation such as voting reflects not apathy but alienation. They feel a profound lack of autonomy and do not believe that citizens have a real say over how society is run. Many in this group have no memory of our institutions ever working properly – making their scepticism less like nostalgia for a Britain lost and closer to nihilism. Sceptical Scrollers do not see electoral politics as able to bring about the change to improve their lives.

As such, Sceptical Scrollers are the segment least likely to vote in both general elections and local elections. But they are not switched off from politics altogether – they read about

what is going on in the world constantly on social media and despite being the least likely to vote, they are also the most likely to post on social media about politics.

**Figure 73 | Sceptical Scrollers are the segment least likely to vote, and most likely to post online about politics**



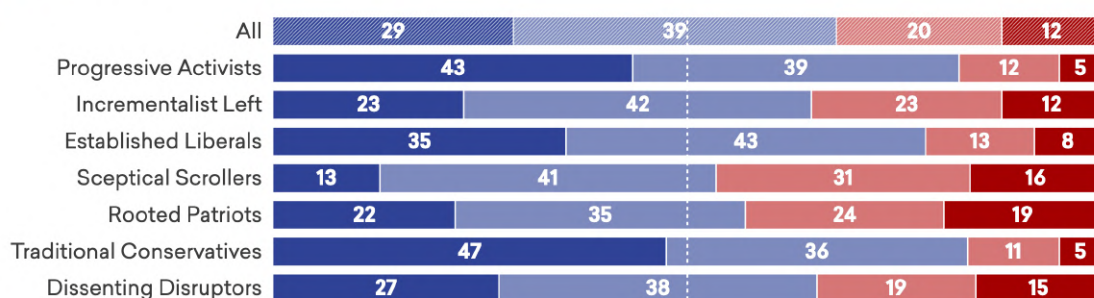
Sceptical Scrollers' attitude to change is a radical one. They have a high appetite for chaos and disruption and believe dramatic changes are necessary if systemic problems are to be addressed. Sceptical Scrollers believe that people who share their values should stick to their principles rather than seeking compromise. This unwillingness to compromise, combined with their high comfort with disruption, makes them natural allies of segments with a greater belief in the need for disruption.

Sceptical Scrollers are much less ideologically defined than other segments with the same belief in the need for change and have a less clear sense of the direction of change they would like to see the country take. Sceptical Scrollers are also the group most likely to say they struggle to keep up with and understand what is going on in government.

**Figure 74 | The extent to which people understand current affairs by segment**

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and current affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and current affairs...

- Most of the time
- Some of the time
- Only now and then
- Hardly at all



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Away from politics, Sceptical Scrollers are more satisfied with their personal lives than other disillusioned groups - they have a low level of perceived threat and feel connected to society around them. They do not see politics as important to their own identity. For now, their frustration with the system is expressed in the Instagram posts they share, or comments they may leave on YouTube videos. But most of the time they will not think about it and do not often think about how politics connects to their day-to-day lives - finding it easier and more enjoyable to switch off from politics altogether and scroll on to the next topic that appears on their feeds.

The coming years will play a key role in how (if at all) Sceptical Scrollers' outlook and world view eventually crystallises.



## Nial

Nial graduated from university eighteen months ago with a decent degree but ended up back in his childhood bedroom, working shifts at a garden centre while trying to figure out what comes next. Most evenings he plays FIFA online with his university friends—it's basically the only time they all talk now that they are scattered across the country.

When everyone logs off, Nial usually ends up on YouTube - tonight he started off with a Jonny Harris documentary about the War in Ukraine, then switched to a MrBeast competition video, before putting on a debate by Destiny, following up with Ordinary Things' latest video essay about what goes on in Davos, then ... before long he can't remember how he ended up watching what he has ended up on. Nial trusts many of these YouTubers more than politicians these days—at least the creators seem genuine when they are talking to their cameras.

He always means to go to bed early but often finds himself clicking on just one more video, waking up tired with his phone dead beside him. Nial knows he is stuck in a bit of a rut but is not sure how to get out of it—everything feels temporary right now, from his job, to living at home, which makes it hard to plan anything properly. His friends seem to be figuring things out faster than he is and, while he is not panicking yet, he is starting to wonder when his real life is supposed to begin.

Nial's relationship with news feels fundamentally different from his parents' generation - he gets most of his information through YouTube and TikTok rather than traditional outlets, often finding himself more informed about global events than local politics. When his colleague mentions something she saw on BBC News, he'll usually have already seen three different takes on it from YouTubers he follows, each offering perspectives that feel more honest than whatever sanitised version the mainstream media presented. He has developed his own system for cross-referencing information, checking multiple sources and reading comment sections where he often finds the most interesting insights, though he knows his parents would call this "going down rabbit holes."

The disconnect between what he was promised about post-university life and his current reality has left Nial questioning most of the conventional wisdom he grew up with. He was told that a degree would lead to a good job, that hard work pays off, that the system basically functions - but eighteen months of rejected job applications and temporary work have made him wonder if these were just stories told to keep people under control.

Nial's social media feeds have become his primary window into the world, a constant stream of content that ranges from genuinely informative to completely absurd. He is aware that algorithms are probably manipulating what he sees, but he trusts his ability to think critically about what he encounters - even if that sometimes leads him down paths his university lecturers would have discouraged. The line between entertainment and information has blurred completely in his media consumption.





# Rooted Patriots

20 per cent of the population

A patriotic but politically untethered group who feel abandoned by elites and yearn for leaders with common sense. They feel overlooked by politicians, and are deeply connected to their local communities, many of which feel left behind.

*"I think we're lucky to be living in a country that is really, really good. Yeah, you could say it's getting worse or going downhill, but I'd still say it's probably one of the best countries in the world. We've got stuff like the NHS that yes, there's long waiting lists, but if there is a medical emergency you can get seen to pretty quickly still".*  
Charlie, Wrexham

*"We're a generation where we've all worked, we've all been brought up respectfully and society has gone downhill in my view for lots of reasons. Whether it is money, whether it is immigrants, whether it is expectations, it's very hard to actually think. I can't think of something that has improved."*  
Susan, Bridgwater



## Key words

Patriotic, nostalgic, cautious, overlooked, cautious, family-focused, disillusioned, common-sense, pessimistic.

## What they worry about

Immigration levels and pressure on public services, the cost of living, politicians being out of touch, the decline of British culture and values, crime and antisocial behaviour, the NHS.

## Where you might find them

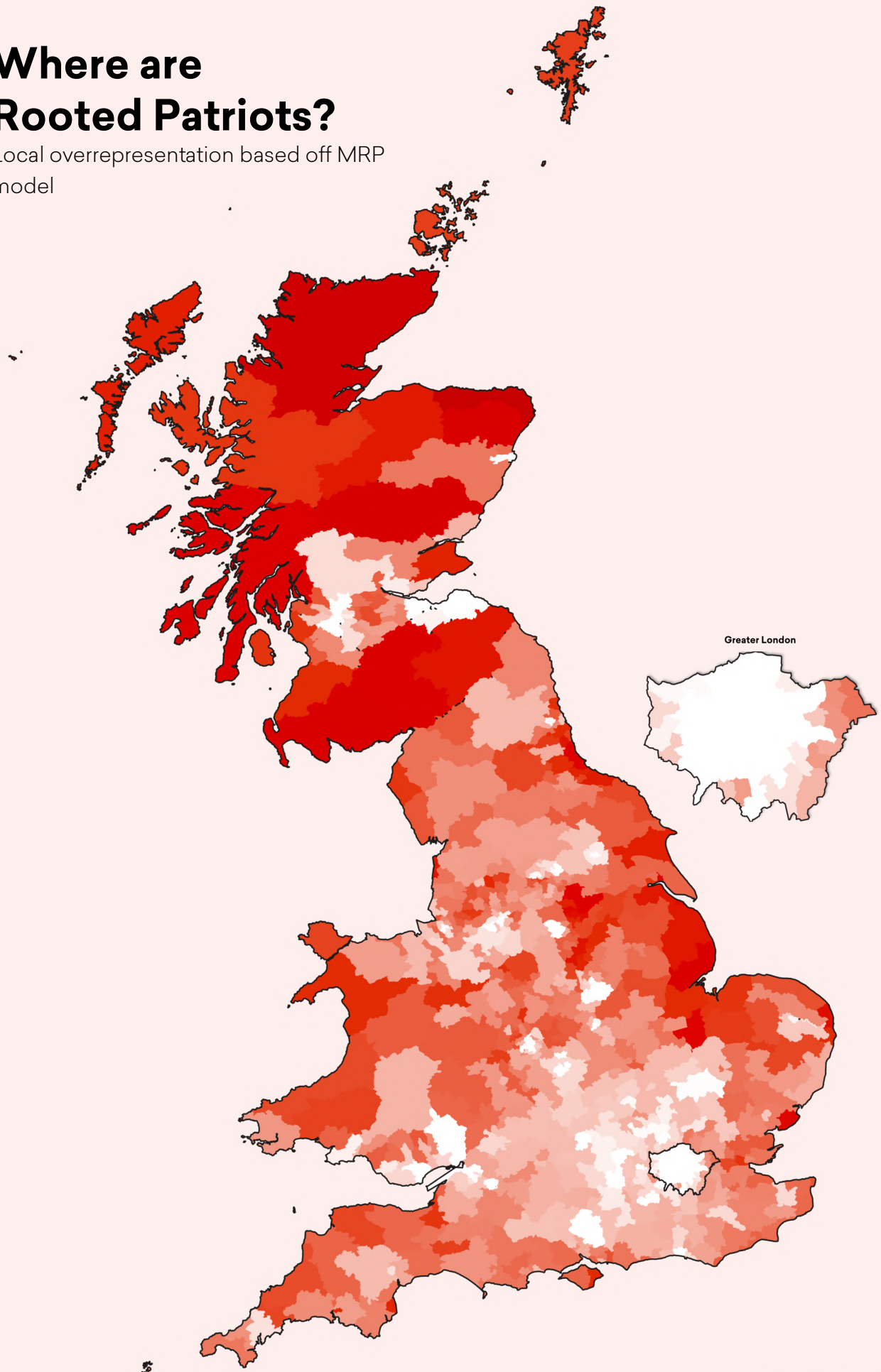
In villages and rural areas; living with their spouse in homes they own, ; working in practical jobs, retired or caring for grandchildren; often in post-industrial, 'Red Wall', or coastal towns; in constituencies such as Scarborough and Whitby, Merthyr Tydfil, Redcar, Hartlepool, North West Norfolk.

## How they get their news

Facebook community groups and local news, BBC television news and local radio, occasional glances at newspaper headlines.

# Where are Rooted Patriots?

Local overrepresentation based off MRP  
model



Rooted Patriots are a group who feel their families and communities have been overlooked and abandoned by the political establishment. They are proud to be British but believe the country's best years are behind us. Rooted Patriots' sense of loss shapes much of their political outlook. Unlike the Dissenting Disruptors, they are not attracted by the promise of radical institutional upheaval. Rooted Patriots remain cautious about rolling the dice on unknown political outsiders, but rather yearn for leaders who will prioritise the British people and exercise what they see as basic common sense.

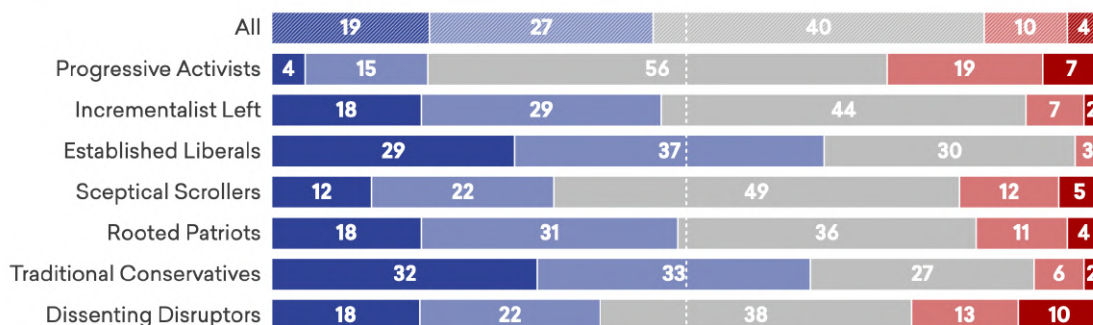
*I love watching the guards and I love, I just love it. I do. I think it's really nice. It makes me feel like, yeah, I'm proud of our country. That's what makes me proud of our country when you look at them.*

**Mel, Rooted Patriot, Bridgwater**

**Figure 75 | British pride by segment**

How proud or ashamed are you to be British?

- Very proud
- Quite proud
- Neither proud nor ashamed
- Quite ashamed
- Very ashamed



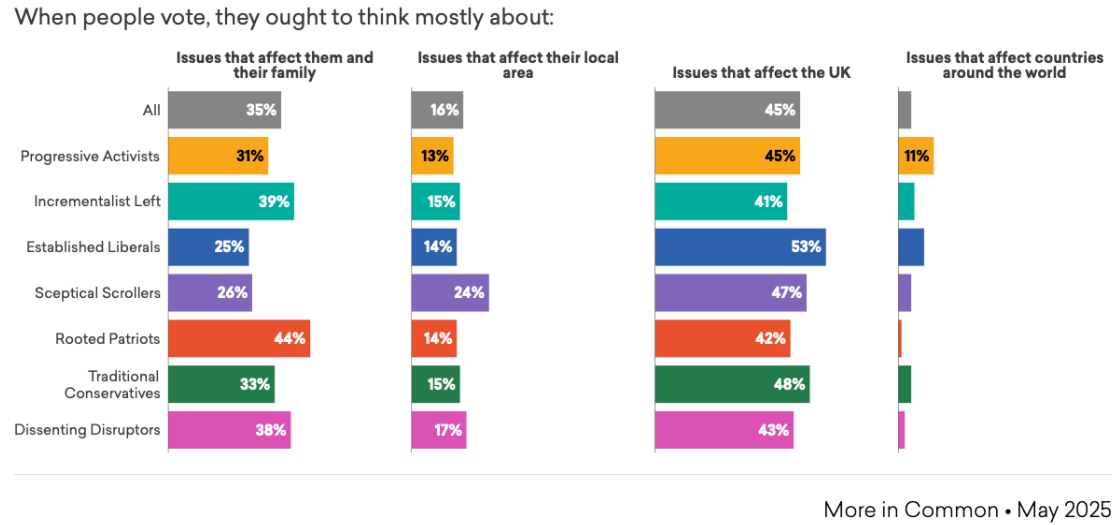
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*I think our government's the worst ones actually. They don't respect the people that vote for them, and if they were to do that then it would be a lot better, but they don't. You try to get the best for everybody and the government just laugh at you.*

**Diane, Rooted Patriot**

Compared to other segments, Rooted Patriots' concerns lie close to home - in their community and in their family. They are by some margin the group most likely to say that people should decide their vote based on the issues that affect them and their family and that it is important that economic growth is more evenly distributed across the country even if this means lower growth overall.

Figure 76 | Local or global responsibility by segment



Immigration is a major concern for Rooted Patriots, but the nature and expression of that concern is distinct from other migration-sceptic segments. Rooted Patriots’ concerns are more likely to be centred around the economy and public services than other segments who focus more on cultural concerns with immigration. Rooted Patriots have a strong preference for putting British people first in policy making, which draws on the premium they place on the moral foundation for Loyalty. Being part of an in-group matters to Rooted Patriots and they think their responsibility extends to those in-groups – be it their family, community or British citizens as a whole. While deeply worried about immigration levels, they are also concerned about racism.

*All this money is going on the immigrants and I am compassionate about them. I do feel sorry for them. I'm not a horrible person, but I really feel like we need to look after our own people.*

**Mel, Rooted Patriot, Bridgwater**

On economic issues, Rooted Patriots are more interventionist and left-leaning, often aligning with Progressive Activists, supporting redistribution of wealth and greater government intervention in the economy. In part this is driven by their frustration towards economic elites they believe have rigged the system in their favour, but also , their strong sense of fairness and conviction that hard working people ought to be given more respect from the government for their contributions to society.

On social and cultural matters, however, they are much more conservative – they are much more likely than average to believe it is important to maintain British culture. They are more likely than any other group to say young people do not have enough respect for traditional values. They also take a tough approach to law and criminal justice issues. They are, by far, the segment most likely to think that some people who break the law should be given tougher sentences and to think that the death sentence is appropriate for some crimes.

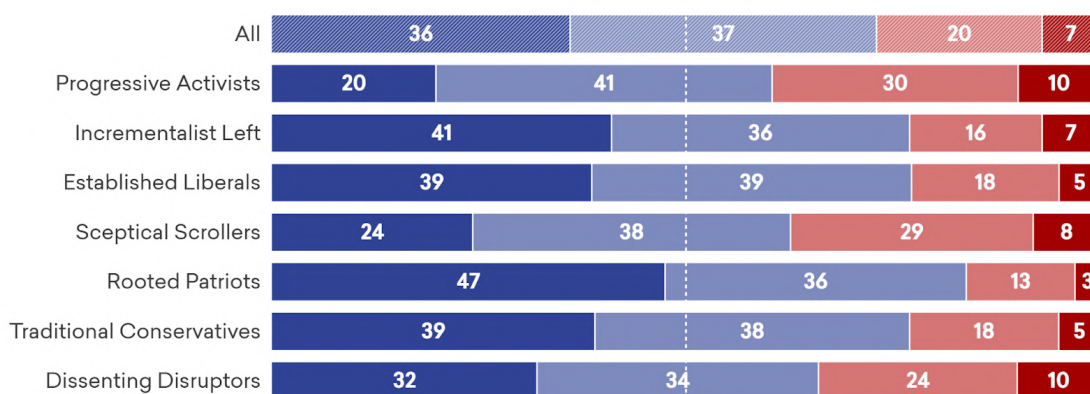
Other segments may sometimes see Rooted Patriots of having a victimhood mentality or a perception of precarity that does not match a relatively more secure financial status.

While many of their concerns are similar to the Dissenting Disruptors, they differ in a few key ways. Notably, they have a low risk appetite and prefer stability over dramatic change. Their caution informs the decisions they make at the ballot box. They also place a lower priority on free speech protections than other socially conservative segments and instead want the government to actively prevent hate speech.

**Figure 77 | Risk tolerance by segment**

Which most describes your likes or the way you feel?

- 1 - A sensible person avoids activities that are dangerous.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - I sometimes like to do things that are a little frightening.



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Rooted Patriots are among the least likely to follow political news on a daily basis and generally pay limited attention to politics. Asked why, they are most likely to say this is because all politicians are useless, but they are also the segment most likely to say they often find politics too confusing and complicated to follow.

*We're a generation where we've all worked, we've all been brought up respectfully and society has gone downhill in my view for lots of reasons. Whether it is money, whether it's immigrants, whether it's expectations, it's very hard to actually think. I can't think of something that has improved.*

**Susan, Rooted Patriot, Bridgwater**

*So they always get in and say they are going to do this, they're going to do that. And you never trust them at all because I think they all talk a load of rubbish. Whoever gets in, I think they all talk a load of rubbish. They always promise, especially when they're*

*elected. They say they're going to do this for the country, they're going to do that for the country. And never trust any of them because it never comes off.*

***Caroline, Rooted Patriot, Bury***

Unlike Progressive Activists and Dissenting Disruptors, who are more likely to enjoy talking about politics, this segment actively avoids political discussions, dislikes starting arguments, and are among the most likely to say they do not like talking about politics.

Rooted Patriots' distrust extends to experts and specialists, whom they believe ignore or sometimes actively stand in the way of what the public want. They believe that many of Britain's problems could be solved if leaders simply applied more common sense rather than listening to ever more expert advice. Furthermore, they strongly believe that politicians today are out of touch with ordinary people's concerns and are much more likely than the other segments to think that politicians do not listen to people like them. Rooted Patriots would like to see leaders who sound like their neighbours, or people like them, rather than management consultants or technocrats.

Rooted Patriots are now politically untethered but also play an outsized role in our politics. This group overwhelmingly voted Conservative in 2019, many for the first time, helping to power many of Boris Johnson's victories in the so-called 'Red Wall' of England's former industrial heartlands. In 2024 Rooted Patriots backed Labour narrowly - many were clear in their conviction the country needed change from the Conservatives, but they remained worried about whether Labour had truly moved on from Jeremy Corbyn and were uncertain about Reform UK.

However they have quickly soured on the new government, feeling let down in particular by decisions around the Winter Fuel Allowance, and since the election have shifted towards Reform. This is less out of ideological conviction and more out of a desperation to "roll the dice" on something new. Rooted Patriots are the segment most likely to say they do not support any political party, though when pressed they currently gravitate towards Reform or the Conservatives. This all makes them one of the most politically fluid segments in British politics.

*I always feel like no matter who I voted for at that time, I just feel like nothing has changed and nothing has been fulfilled. I've tried a different party and it's just repeated itself again and again.*

***Jonathan, Rooted Patriot, Wrexham***

While they do not follow news closely, they are far more likely than other segments to use Facebook for information, where many of them might enjoy engaging with local community groups. They also disproportionately consume television news and radio. Crucially, unlike populist segments, they still place more trust in established outlets such

as the BBC than in independent social media voices, suggesting a residual faith in traditional institutions even amid their broader disillusionment.

Demographically, this group skews more female than any other segment. A majority of Rooted Patriots identify as white (94 per cent), and this group is second only to Traditional Conservatives in the number that identify as Christian (53 per cent). They are the least likely to be university educated and the second most likely to live within a 30 minute drive of where they grew up. They disproportionately live in villages, rural areas and in coastal communities, though the majority are in suburbs or towns. Rooted Patriots tend to live with their spouse and are more likely to have older children who have now left home.





## Sally

Sally lives in Whitby where she has worked as a cleaner for most of her adult life, though at 64 she has cut back to part-time and spends two days a week looking after her grandchildren while their parents work. She had hoped to be fully retired by now, but with bills rising faster than her pension prospects, she cannot afford to stop completely – even fish and chips from the town chippy, once a weekly treat, has become something she has to think twice about.

Sally takes real pride in keeping the holiday cottages she cleans spotless for the tourists, but it stings that she can barely afford to live in the town she has called home her whole life while people holiday there. She feels that politicians have forgotten about people like her who have worked hard for so long and just want basic respect and security in return. She voted Labour last year – for the first time since 1997 – hoping they would finally put working people first, but when they scrapped the Winter Fuel Allowance she felt like yet another politician's promise had been broken.

She catches up on news through Facebook while having her morning cup of tea, preferring the local community groups to complicated political debates that just leave her feeling more frustrated. Sally's relationship with social media reflects her broader approach to information – she trusts her neighbours' experiences more than expert analysis and finds the local Facebook groups more useful than national news sources that seem to speak a different language entirely.

Sally is frustrated that Whitby's high street is gradually filling up with gift shops and cafes aimed at tourists rather than locals like her. She is not against visitors coming to enjoy the town she loves, but it frustrates her that their needs seem to take priority over those of people who've lived here all their lives.

The political conversations Sally overhears at work or in the supermarket often echo her own disillusionment – friends who voted Conservative for decades feeling abandoned, others who tried Labour feel equally let down. She finds herself drawn to Reform UK not because she agrees with everything they say, but because they seem to be the only party acknowledging that ordinary people like her feel forgotten. She thinks that politicians these days seem more interested in impressing university graduates and foreign leaders than listening to people who just want common-sense solutions to everyday problems.

She is proud of Britain's history and traditions, but worried that the country her grandchildren inherit will bear little resemblance to the one that shaped her values of hard work, fairness, and looking after your own community first. She worries that the country has lost its way, and that in modern Britain hard work no longer guarantees security.



# Traditional Conservatives

8 per cent of the population

A group who respect authority and tradition. They are nostalgic for the past, and believe in individual responsibility and established systems that have served them well. They maintain optimism that Britain's institutions can be reformed rather than revolutionised.



*"I definitely feel that we are in a very bad place at the moment, but if you look at the rest of the world, I think the world's in a bloody bad place at the moment as well."*

*Chris, Cirencester*

*"I just think that there is a very big lack of respect in the country for authorities mainly. Children have no respect for their elders these days... I was brought up with respect for my elders, but I'm afraid to say that's gone completely now".*

*Margaret, Great Yarmouth*

*"I would say I was proud of the way we, as a country, not necessarily a government, but immediately stepped in to help the Ukrainian families and supported them. I felt that that was Britain at its best"*

*Susan, Great Yarmouth*

## Key words

Comfortable, traditional, institutional, optimistic, meritocratic, stable, individualist, risk-averse, conservative.

## What they worry about

Declining respect for authority and tradition, social disorder and antisocial behaviour, economic instability, threats to British institutions, breakdown of family values.

## Where you might find them

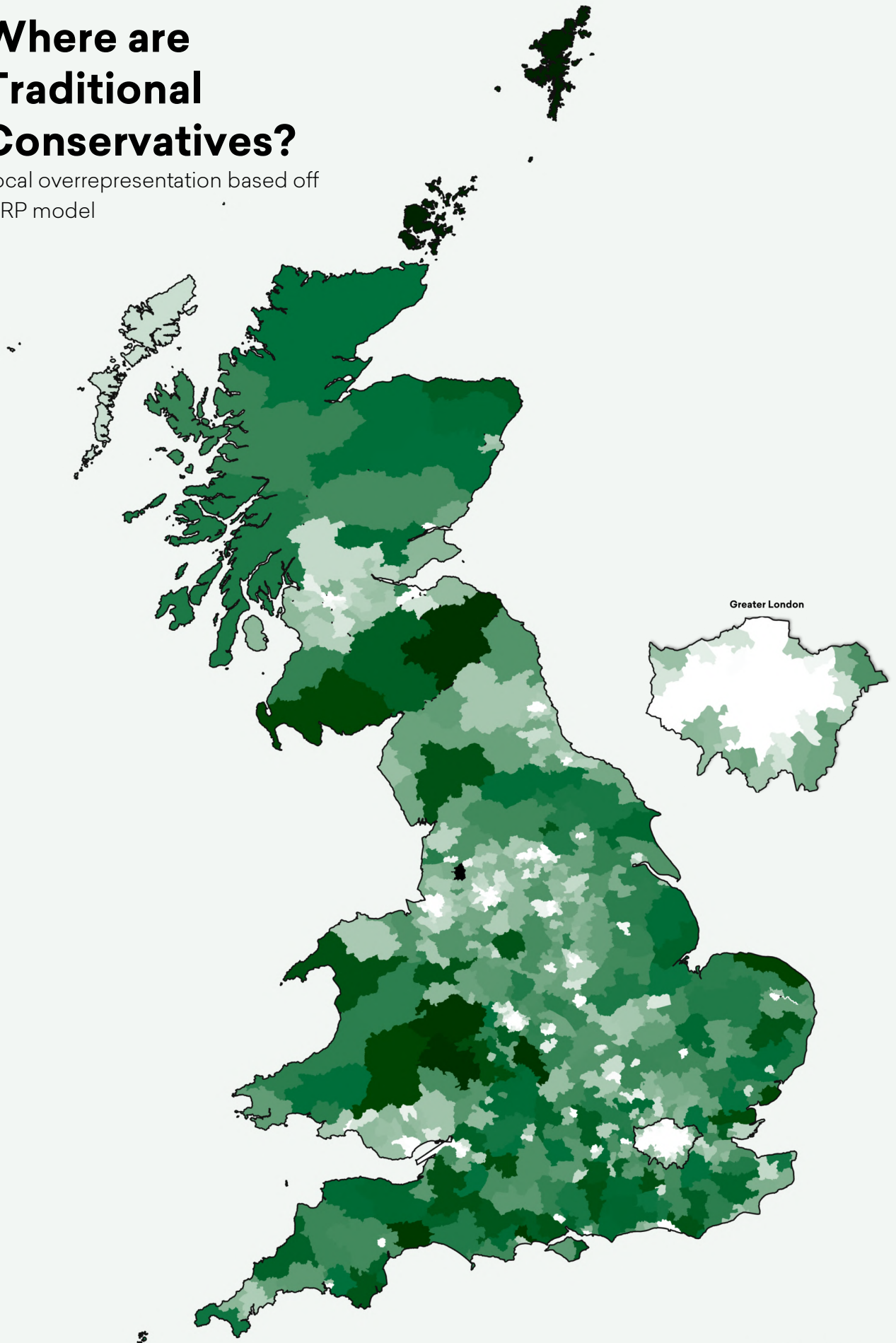
In rural areas and market towns; in detached houses they own outright; attending church or community events; reading broadsheet newspapers; in constituencies such as Hexham, Stratford-on-Avon, and Richmond and Northallerton.

## How they get their news

The Times, Telegraph, and Financial Times; BBC Radio 4 and television news; 6pm BBC News. They seek out expert opinion and trust established media outlets over social media voices. They are unlikely to believe any information their grandchildren might tell them they learned on social media.

# Where are Traditional Conservatives?

Local overrepresentation based off  
MRP model



In many ways, the Traditional Conservative segment captures what many will think of as a typical 'Shire Tory': Nostalgic for the past, with strong respect for authority and tradition, typically owning their own home and living in rural areas. This group is older than other segments, wealthier, the most White, the most Christian, and most likely to vote Conservative.

*I just think that there is a very big lack of respect in the country for authorities mainly. Children have no respect for their elders these days. And I'm really disgusted with that... I was brought up with respect for my elders, but I'm afraid to say that's gone completely now*

**Margaret, Traditional Conservative, Great Yarmouth**

Unlike other segments who are nostalgic for the past, they are not despairing about the future and have a great faith in Britain's ability to ride out the storm. Unlike other segments who see decline as the default, Traditional Conservatives treat it as temporary - a rough patch that proper leadership and traditional British values can fix.

While Traditional Conservatives tend to think that Britain's best years are behind us, they also believe that their children's generation will live better lives than they have and, alongside Established Liberals, Traditional Conservatives are most likely to say they feel like they have a strong sense of purpose in life. They are relatively fixed politically and have been among the least likely to change their vote between elections.

Traditional Conservatives feel broadly respected by Britain's institutions and, in return are more likely to trust those institutions. That makes them more trusting of the BBC than average, even if they might occasionally complain about a perceived left wing bias. They are more likely to trust elected representatives to make decisions for the majority of people. They express fewer populist sentiments, are more likely to think Britain is a genuine democracy and are less attracted to the idea of a strong-man leader, particularly when compared to the Dissenting Disruptors with whom they share some social values.

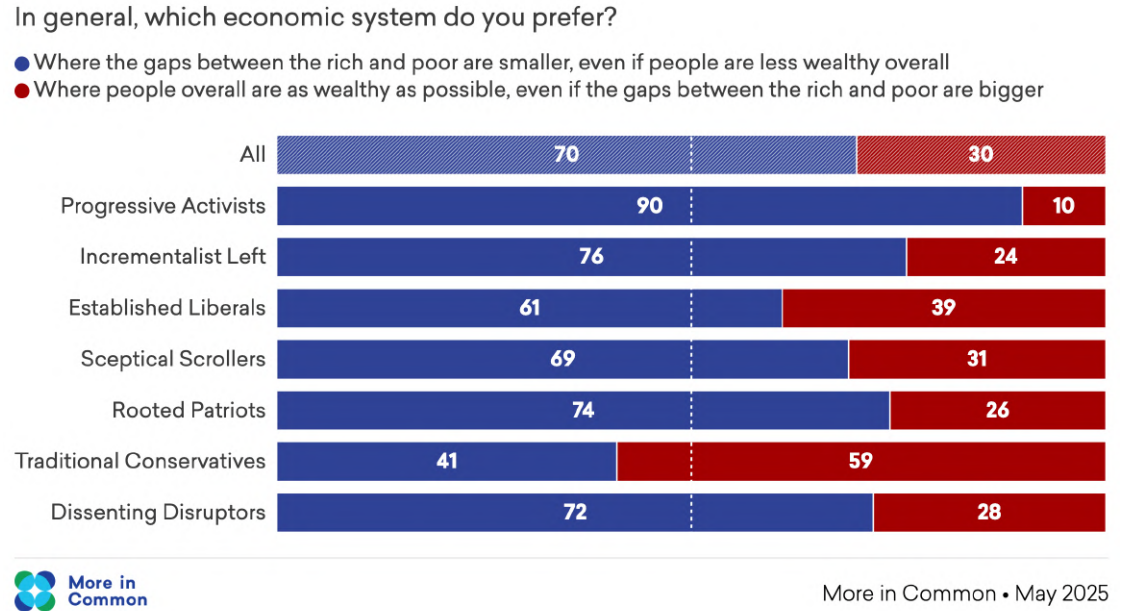
*I definitely feel that we are in a very bad place at the moment, but if you look at the rest of the world, I think the world's in a bloody bad place at the moment as well.*

**Chris, Traditional Conservative, Cirencester**

Traditional Conservatives are believers in individual responsibility. They believe in a society where everyone does their bit and think that if people work hard enough (and in some cases, if the government gets out of their way), then they will be able to succeed. Their views on the economy are shaped by their win-win thinking - including a strong belief that we need to grow the economy for everyone before we start thinking about how to distribute its benefits more fairly. In fact, they are the only segment to say they prefer an

economy where people overall are as wealthy as possible, even if the gaps between the rich and poor are bigger.

Figure 78 | Attitudes to economic equality by segment



The Purity moral foundation is particularly important to Traditional Conservatives: along with Rooted Patriots, they are the most likely to say that it bothers them when people think that nothing is sacred in this world. Similarly, they have among the strongest respect for authority as a segment, and are the most likely to believe that it is more important that children are well behaved than creative. This worldview means other segments may sometimes see Traditional Conservatives as rigid or atavistic, and occasionally even uncaring or cruel.

Along with Dissenting Disruptors, Traditional Conservatives are particularly migration sceptic - in large part because of the social change it brings. Almost all (nine in ten) Traditional Conservatives say that immigration has undermined rather than enriched British identity and similar numbers believe that multiculturalism threatens our national identity. Ninety five per cent believe that British identity is disappearing nowadays.

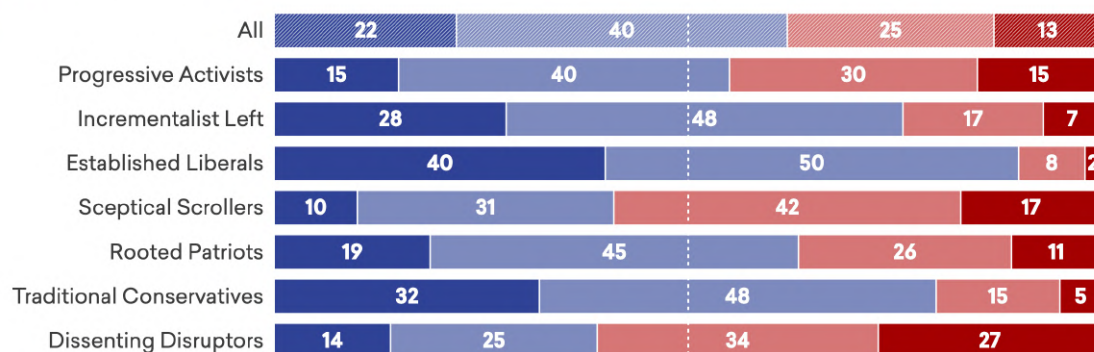
While Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors have similar moral foundations on traits such as Authority and Purity and issues such as immigration, they are distinguished most clearly in their attitudes to change, risk, and chaos. Dissenting Disruptors have much higher comfort with risk, and in some cases express a greater need for chaos, Traditional Conservatives in contrast want social and political change to be navigated more cautiously.



**Figure 79 | Desire for radical institutional change by segment**

Which comes closest to your view?

- 1 - Our political and social institutions are worth preserving and improving, not destroying.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking "just let them all burn."



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For example, Traditional Conservatives are among the most likely of the segments to say political and social institutions are worth preserving and that problems can be fixed through reform and change rather than starting over. This puts them in stark contrast with Dissenting Disruptors who are much more likely to say our institutions are not worth preserving and that we ought to tear them down and start over. In practice, this made Traditional Conservatives more hesitant about voting for Reform UK in the 2024 General Election and they remained the last bastion for the Conservative Party in that election.



## Elizabeth

Elizabeth lives in a cottage in the Cotswolds that she and her late husband bought twenty years ago, surrounded by gardens that she tends with the same care she once brought to raising her children.

At 72, she maintains routines that have served her well – prayers at the village church where she arranges flowers, afternoon walks through lanes she has known since childhood and evening news on BBC One while she works on her latest knitting project for her grandchildren. Elizabeth takes genuine satisfaction in these patterns, viewing them not as limitations but as the foundations of a well-ordered life that has weathered decades of social upheaval largely intact.

Elizabeth's concerns about the direction of the country are tempered by her fundamental belief that Britain has weathered worse storms and emerged stronger. When she sees news about rising crime or social unrest, she feels genuinely troubled but not despairing – these problems seem to her like symptoms of abandoning tried-and-tested values rather than evidence of inevitable and irreversible decline.

She voted Conservative again in the last election despite her frustrations with the party's recent chaos and more than anything else its inability to control immigration, believing that proper leadership and a return to traditional principles can restore the country's equilibrium without needing to tear down institutions that have served Britain well for centuries.

When her grandchildren visit and challenge her views on issues like gender identity or climate change, she listens politely but remains convinced that some eternal truths about human nature and social order should not be discarded simply because they have become unfashionable.

Elizabeth owns her home outright, has a comfortable pension and believes that individual responsibility and hard work remain the surest paths to prosperity. When she hears about young people struggling to buy homes she sympathises, but also wonders whether they have made the necessary sacrifices or shown the patience that her generation displayed.

Elizabeth's neighbours still help each other, the parish council makes things run well and many local traditions add to the sense of community in her area. Elizabeth thinks that Britain may feel less broken if people in big towns and cities would learn a bit more about the rural way of life.

When political debates become too heated or complex, Elizabeth tends to retreat back to the certainties of her faith and community, confident that the institutions she has relied upon throughout her life – the Church, the Monarchy, Parliament – will ultimately preserve what matters most in Britain today, whatever the storm.



# Dissenting Disruptors

*20 per cent of the population*

A frustrated group who feel like they have been repeatedly overlooked by our elites on issues such as immigration. They want to tear down the establishment and start fresh, believing ordinary people understand solutions better than experts or politicians.

*"I think to sort the country out, we need politicians with a backbone and a pair of balls."  
Tony, Wolverhampton*

*"Now I've seen my tax rise and rise and rise, but I don't see it spent on anything decent. The roads are knackered, the town centres are knackered, the buildings are knackered, the people have had enough."  
Damien, Wigan*

*"I think when I look back from when I was a kid, it feels like the country's lost its identity. We don't really know who we are anymore... Everyone feels that they have to caveat with saying I'm not racist."  
Johnny, Wigan*



## Key words

Frustrated, outsider, anti-establishment, disillusioned, worried, populist, distrusting, determined.

## What they worry about

Immigration and cultural change, economic decline and lack of opportunities, political correctness silencing ordinary people, crime and social disorder, loss of British identity, crime.

## Where you might find them

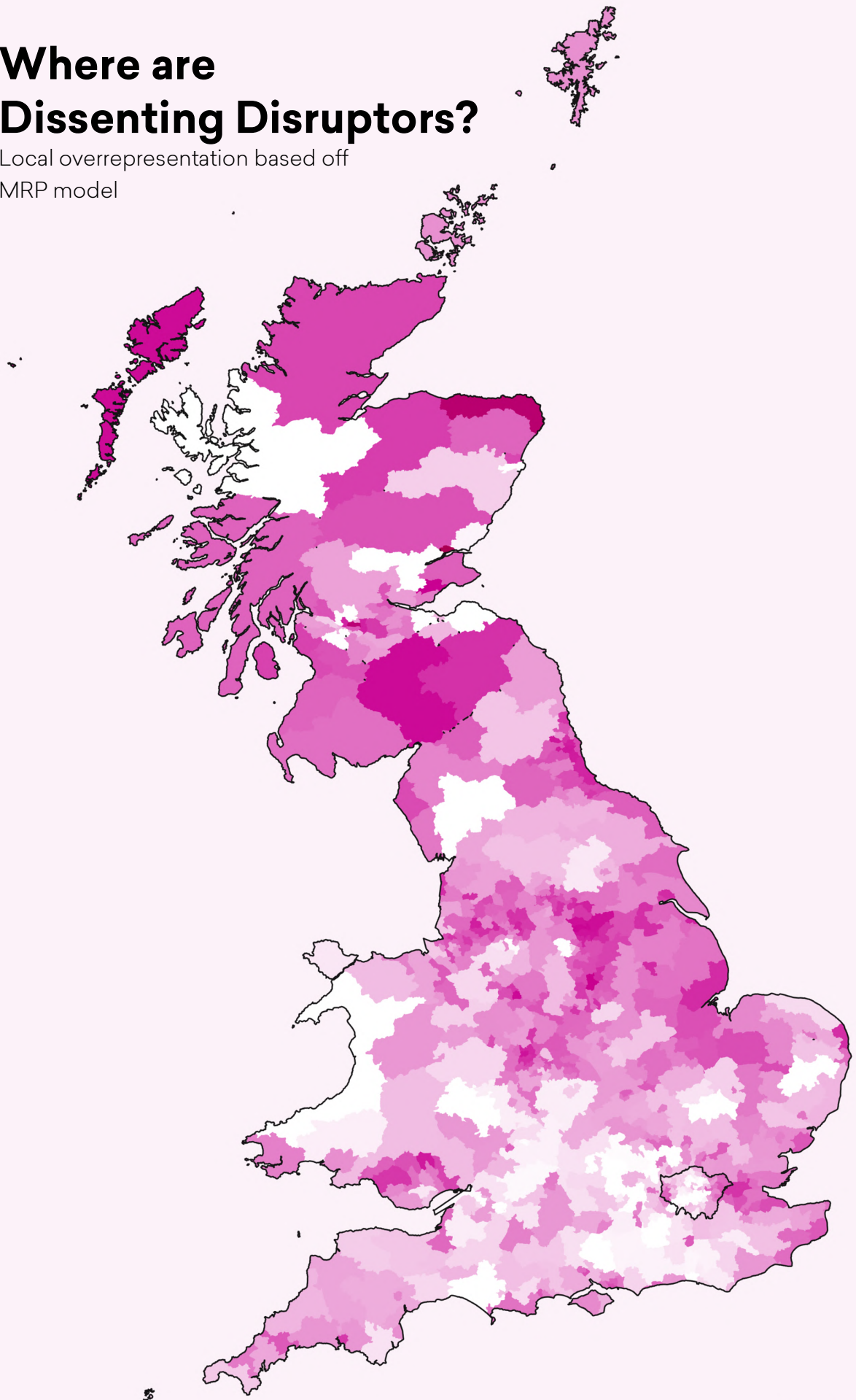
In post-industrial towns; in social housing or struggling with housing costs; working in manual or service jobs; in constituencies such as Blackpool South, Clacton, Ashfield, Dudley, Wolverhampton South East.

## How they get their news

Older members of this group might tune into GB News, whereas the younger members are more likely to use social media and internet platforms such as YouTube, where they might hear directly from politicians such as Nigel Farage. Many avoid mainstream news entirely, seeing it as biased against people like them.

# Where are Dissenting Disruptors?

Local overrepresentation based off  
MRP model



Dissenting Disruptors are deeply dissatisfied with the state of Britain today. They feel they lack purpose and that they are disconnected from society around them. This segment is the most likely to feel lonely, and the least likely to feel respected.

Most live in a town near where they grew up and did not go to university. Their economic prospects make them feel they are getting a raw deal. Ninety two per cent of this group is White, and over half (52 per cent) say they have no religion. They are the second most secular segment.

The changing demographic picture around them deepens their sense that the country is not working in their interests - they are the segment most likely to say they feel like a stranger or an outcast in Britain. They are the segment most likely to strongly believe that the system is rigged and, along with Progressive Activists, the most likely to believe that both big businesses and the ultra-wealthy do not pay their fair share and that there is one law for the rich and one for the poor. This sense informs much of Dissenting Disruptors' attitudes towards decision makers they see as 'elites'.

This segment supports greater protections for working people, but they are not in favour of radical redistribution - they believe in hard work and feel that the reward should be being able to keep more of your money.

*The money that I used to get taxed were a certain amount. Now I've seen it rise and rise and rise, but I don't see it getting spent on anything decent, like the roads are knackered, the town centres are knackered, the buildings are knackered, the people have had enough.*

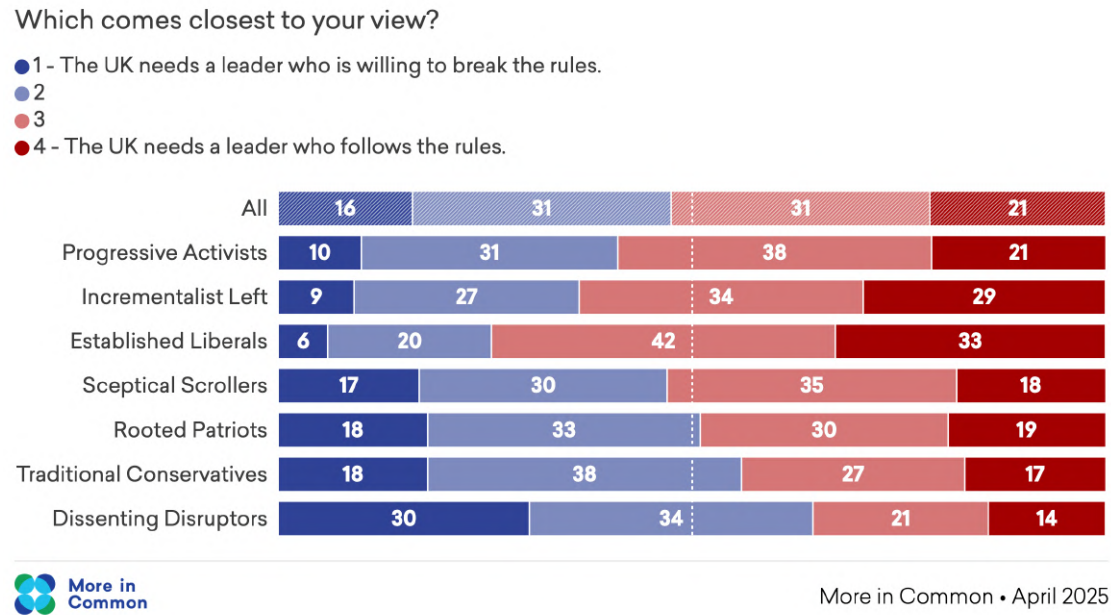
***Damien, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan***

Dissenting Disruptors are frustrated with the establishment and crave something new. They do not believe that politics as usual can, or is even designed to, improve the country. To Dissenting Disruptors it's still the 'same old parties, same old promises'.

Promises of incremental change to improve existing institutions do not satisfy this group. Instead, many would like someone to tear it all down and start from scratch. What the Dissenting Disruptors want is a strong leader, who stands up for ordinary people and does not back down. As with Progressive Activists, they have an aversion to compromise in politics and think it is selling out - Dissenting Disruptors would rather have a leader who sticks to their guns.



Figure 80 | Desire for a strongman leader by segment



*I think to sort the country out, we need politicians with a backbone and a pair of balls.*

**Tony, Dissenting Disruptor, Wolverhampton**

Many Dissenting Disruptors are disillusioned by how democracy functions. They do not think citizens can influence society the way it is set up today and feel people who agree with them are being silenced by ‘political correctness’. In most elections they simply sit it out – feeling unable to make a change. However, when they do see an opportunity to change the country, Dissenting Disruptors are likely to seize it – many of them voted in the 2016 EU Referendum for example, and again in the 2019 General Election.

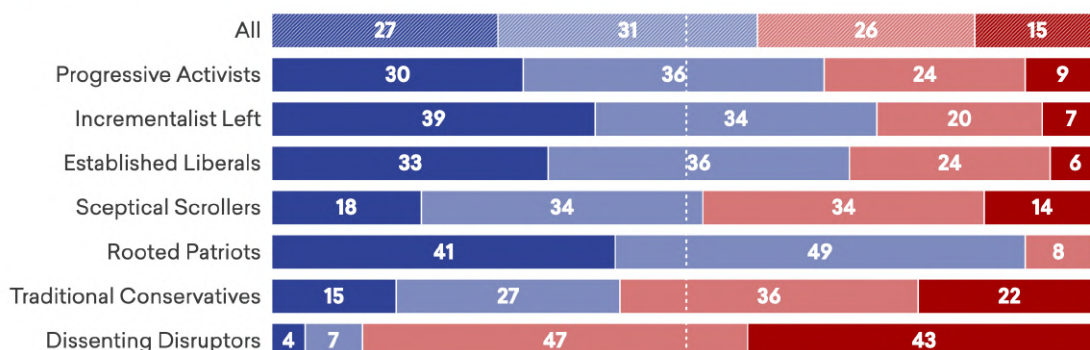
Dissenting Disruptors think it is up to ordinary people to defend British culture, including through more direct action. They are outliers in how many – 43 per cent – who say those participating in the riots which began in Southport in Summer 2024 were speaking for them. They are among the most likely to believe that increasing opportunities for minority groups will make things less rather than more fair and the most likely to strongly agree that multiculturalism threatens our national identity.

Other segments may perceive the Dissenting Disruptors as prejudiced and offensive in the way they express their views. However, Dissenting Disruptors have distinct views on free speech, which they feel is under threat in Britain today. They are easily the segment most likely to say that free speech needs to be protected, even if that means offending others, and they are also the group most likely to say they feel that they are silenced from speaking up on issues that they care about.

Figure 81 | Attitudes to free speech by segment

Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 - We need to protect people from dangerous and hateful speech.
- 2
- 3
- 4 - People should have the freedom to express their views, even if they are controversial or offensive.



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Populist ideas resonate with this segment. Dissenting Disruptors believe it should be people, not politicians, who make the big decisions. In their worldview, the problems facing the country have simple common-sense solutions - understood better by ordinary people than by so-called experts.

*Sack the lot, put someone else in for half the price and they'll do the job ten times better. It's a dictatorship for a living, not dissimilar to Russia if you like.*

***Paul, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley***

Within this group a minority are very highly engaged and embrace the more radical 'online right'. They speak out about political issues on social media, engaging with content from Donald Trump in the US and more fringe voices in Britain, such as Tommy Robinson. The rest of this segment is more disengaged. Many do not see the point in voting as, in their view, all politicians are corrupt and useless anyway.

Their disillusionment does not just extend to politics - the Dissenting Disruptors have the lowest institutional trust of any segment. Dissenting Disruptors believe you cannot trust what you hear in the news or mainstream media - they prefer to get their news from YouTube, GB News or switch off altogether. Their low trust in journalists and the people around them makes some of them susceptible to conspiracies. They think election gerrymandering and dishonest corporations are par for the course.

*[Politicians] haven't got to worry about stuff like this because they can live in their posh little houses and they don't see this side of life. It's all affecting people in lower*

*income areas, do you know what I mean? Haven't got to worry about this, so it's all right for them taking the police off the streets and doing this, that and the other.*

***Tony, Dissenting Disruptor, Wolverhampton***

## Alex

Alex comes home from another long day driving deliveries around Middlesbrough and opens a bottle of cider in his small back garden as the sun sets behind the terraced houses.

At 48, he is tired of greeting customers that do not speak English when they answer the door - it happens more and more these days, and he cannot help thinking his dad never had to deal with this when he worked in the now shrunken steel industry. Alex misses the idea of Britain actually making things instead of just shuffling Amazon packages around, wondering how a country that once built ships and cars ended up employing people like him to deliver other countries' products to people who've just arrived.

During his shifts, Alex has talk radio on constantly - he does not like the BBC, which he thinks is biased, but finds the phone-ins refreshing, where ordinary people actually say what they think without worrying about offending anyone.

He is particularly drawn to Nigel Farage's common-sense take on things, feeling like finally someone understands that working people are getting a raw deal while politicians live in their bubbles. Alex does not bother voting most of the time because it never changes anything, but when he thinks about the future, he yearns for someone to sweep away the whole rotten system and start afresh - though he is not holding his breath that it will ever happen.

Alex gets most of his information about what's really going on in the country by scrolling through Facebook groups and YouTube channels that share videos the mainstream media will not show. He is particularly drawn to content that exposes what he sees as the establishment's lies - whether it's about immigration statistics, government spending, or the real reasons behind decisions that seem designed to benefit the elite. When his sister criticises him for sharing posts she calls "conspiracy theories," Alex gets frustrated because he knows she is just repeating what the BBC told her to think, while he is actually doing his own research and seeing the bigger picture.

The changes Alex has witnessed in Middlesbrough over the past decade have reinforced his sense that the country is being transformed without anyone asking ordinary British people what they want. Lots of barber shops have opened in his local high street, the pub he grew up visiting with his parents has closed down and half the houses on his street are occupied by people who seem to have no connection to the community he grew up in.

Alex does not consider himself racist - he has got nothing personal against immigrants - but he cannot understand why politicians prioritise newcomers over families like his who've been here for generations and are struggling to get by. Alex is drawn to strong leaders in politics who are not afraid to speak uncomfortable truths, even if it means breaking a few eggs along the way.



## Convergence and divergence

The British Seven segments do not divide neatly across traditional political lines. Instead, they come together and diverge in different clusters depending on the issue at hand or place in question. In different spaces across the country, some segments are more likely to be represented than others - in universities Progressive Activists and the Incrementalist Left are more likely to be over-represented, while Dissenting Disruptors are most likely to be on a local Facebook group. This section outlines how these segments come together in different formations depending on the issue at hand, whether views towards institutions, attitudes towards information and free speech, or perspectives about globalisation and the economy.

### Attitudes towards institutions

Each segment has different attitudes towards institutions. The most institutionalist segments are Established Liberals, the Incrementalist Left and Backbone Conservatives. These segments have the greatest trust in our institutions, believing they broadly work in the common interest. They feel we should preserve and improve, rather than tear down, our political and social institutions. These three segments are the least likely to be financially struggling and they share a sense of purpose and connection to society around them. They are the most likely to say they feel satisfied with their lives - and as the status quo works for them, they do not want to see it disrupted.

People's trust in institutions is influenced by their perceptions of whether that institution respects people like them. Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots are the most likely to say that politicians do not care about people like them and are distrusting of establishment institutions. Yet Rooted Patriots do not want to see the rulebook ripped up - this group tends to be older and more risk averse and so want to see change delivered with care.

The Dissenting Disruptors, Sceptical Scrollers and Progressive Activists want radical change, even if it means burning it all down to start from scratch. The Progressive Activists have relatively high institutional trust, but that is overridden by their urgent desire for progress which tips the scales in favour of disruptive change. For the Dissenting Disruptors, their anti-establishment attitude combines with a feeling that politicians do not care about people like them making them receptive to populist politics.

Figure 82 | Typical locations for each of the segments

Which segments would you find...





Figure 83 | Trust in institutions and sense of respect by segment

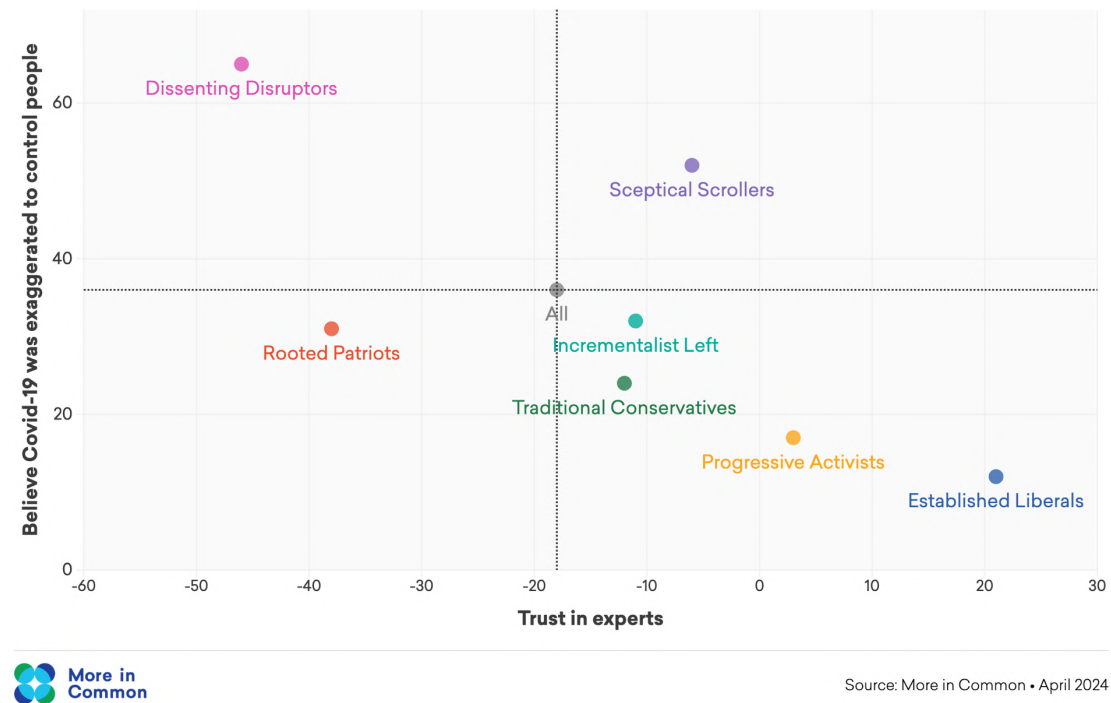


## Attitudes towards information

The segments have different approaches to information. The institutionalist Established Liberals place the highest premium on expertise. They strongly prefer to get their news from large and trusted media outlets over independent sources. The Progressive Activists also place great value on experts, but their trust in mainstream media is weaker - three in ten would trust an independent voice reporting about an international conflict on social media over the output of a large media organisation.

For two segments this distrust in the media goes further. The Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors take little at face value, particularly when it comes from a large media organisation. More than three quarters (77 per cent) of Dissenting Disruptors say most of the time you cannot trust what you hear in the news. These groups are much more likely to want to find their own truth by doing their own research on the internet to understand the world.

Figure 84 | Trust in experts and conspiratorial thinking by segment



Diverging attitudes on free speech

As well as how the segments receive information, they diverge on how they think views should be expressed. In focus groups, Britons often express a frustration that you cannot say anything nowadays and worry about saying the wrong thing. The three socially conservative segments - the Traditional Conservatives, Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots - share a belief that political correctness has become a problem in the UK. Yet while the Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives think that free speech should take priority over avoiding potential harm or offense, the Rooted Patriots place more emphasis on protecting people from harmful speech.

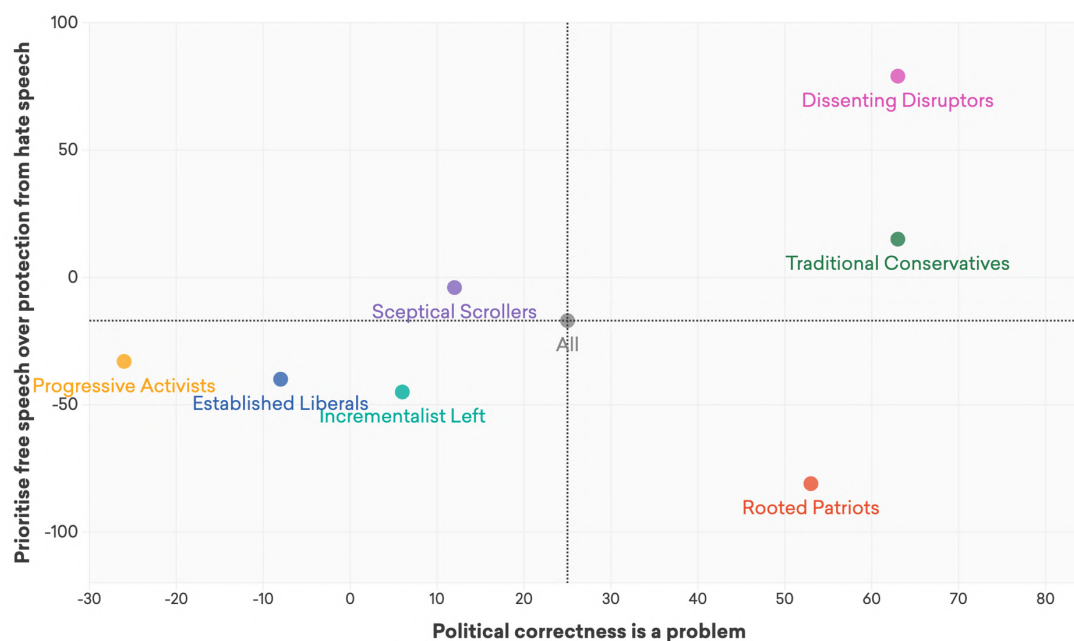
*My husband, he did 30 years in the Air Force, so of course he's got that banter and he's on groups and stuff and they're always doing the banter and he got banned for just saying something really, really minimal. So he's got a three week ban or something and you think, how do we change our attitude like that as well, because my daughter's terrible, she pulls me up all the time, but 'oh you can't say that', and I'm thinking, crikey, they've got to respect our views as well.*

**Leslie, Rooted Patriot, Norfolk**

The socially liberal segments meanwhile do not see political correctness as a problem. A majority within each of these segments see it as a good thing that people today are more sensitive to causing offense. These groups also prioritise protecting people from

dangerous or hateful speech over freedom of expression. Along with the Rooted Patriots, they support no-platforming – seeing some viewpoints as too harmful to be included in democratic debate.

**Figure 85 | Attitudes to free speech and political correctness by segment**



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## Globalism and growth

A frame with significant downstream effects on the segments' politics, particularly around immigration and foreign policy, is how they think about globalism and growth.

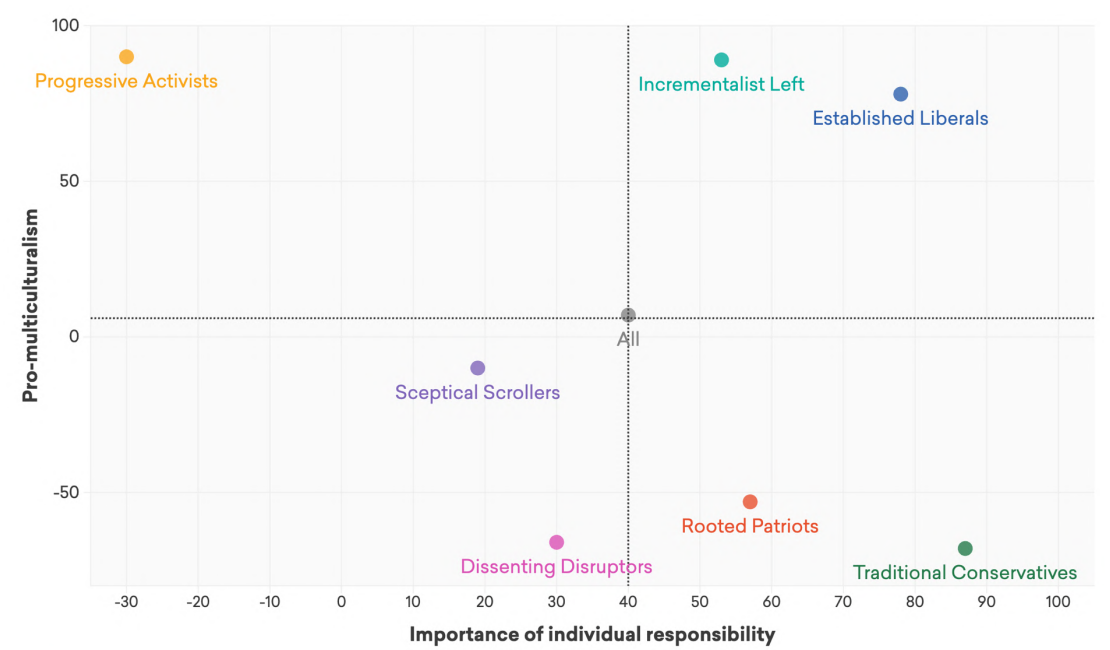
The most cosmopolitan segments are the Progressive Activists, Established Liberals and Incrementalist Left. Most (55 per cent) of Londoners fall into these segments – an overrepresentation compared to the public at large. These segments are globally minded, and proud of Britain's multiculturalism.

The Progressive Activists and Incrementalist Left are the most likely to say that everyone in the world should be responsible for looking after one another, rather than looking out for themselves or their community first.

Meanwhile, the globalism of the Established Liberals and Incrementalist Left is linked to their liberal minded approach to global trade. They also believe in individual responsibility for our life outcomes more than others. Unlike the Progressive Activists, they tend to believe economic growth will broadly benefit people's lives. The other pro-growth segments are the Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives. Together these four

segments believe anyone can do well in life if they work hard. They are unlikely to have much sympathy for people who blame all their problems on the system around them.

Figure 86 | Attitudes to multiculturalism and individual agency by segment



These segments reveal that British public opinion is not easily mapped onto a single political spectrum. Alliances shift depending on the issue and people who disagree sharply in one area may find common ground in another. Understanding this complexity is essential for anyone seeking to engage with the public meaningfully.



# **Chapter 4**

## **The Segments in Practice**

This chapter explores three areas to help illuminate how the British Seven Segments can explain Britons' starting points on some of the key public policy debates in Britain today: the economy, immigration and climate change. It also explores divides in Britons' media consumption and how that shapes their world view.

What emerges from this analysis is not a simple left-right divide on issues of policy, but a more complex pattern of overlapping and diverging policy preferences. Just as the segments overlap and diverge on values, segments that disagree fundamentally on some issues find common ground on others. Groups that often share a liberal or conservative outlook can split dramatically over implementation and priorities, for example. These patterns help explain why traditional party loyalties have weakened and why political coalitions have become harder to maintain.

Perhaps most importantly, this analysis reveals that Britain's divisions on the big questions of our day are not merely about differences in policy preference – they reflect deeper differences in how people understand fairness, change, authority and community. These psychological and moral foundations shape not only what people think about specific issues, but how they process new information, who they trust and what they consider possible or desirable for the country's future.

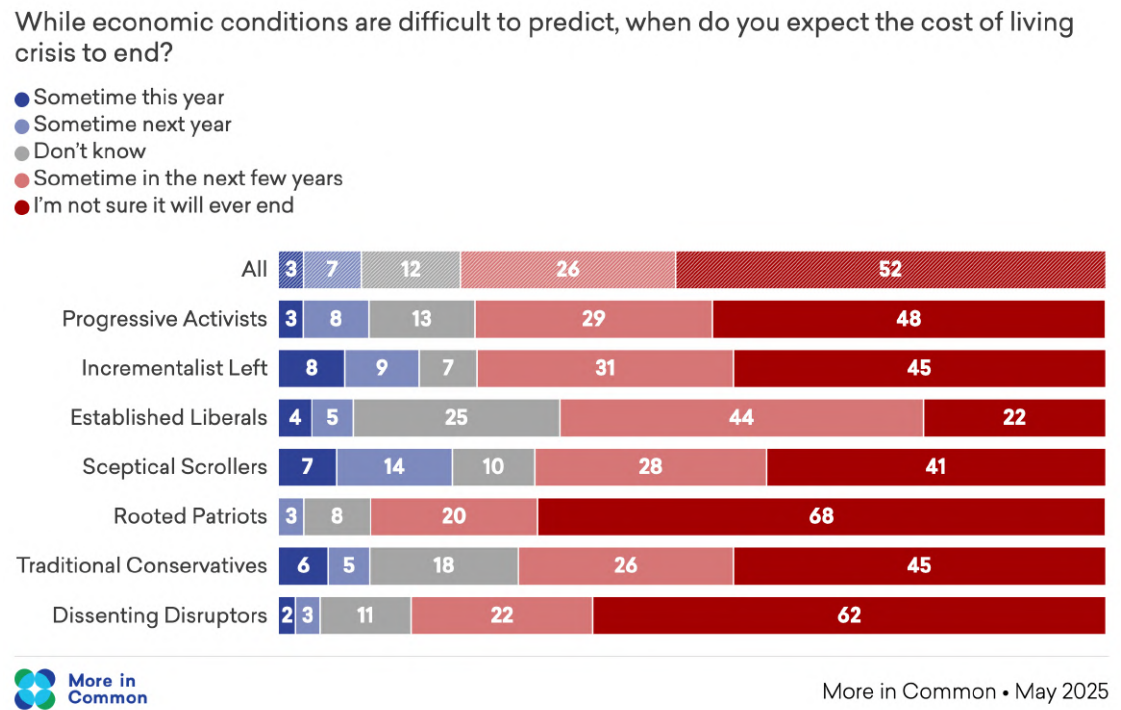


Economy

Cost of living

The segments are united in their concern about the cost-of-living crisis. This is a top priority for every group. In all but one segment, more than half say the cost of living is one of the most important issues facing the country. A majority of each segment is unsure if the crisis will end or think it could be some years until it does. Many have cut back on luxuries and socialising in response as they have had to tighten their budgets in recent years.

Figure 87 | Perceptions of when the cost of living crisis will end



Generally standard of living, which I guess stems a lot from housing at the core because wages aren't going up generally. Obviously there's always going to be some people who are exceptions to the rule, but for the masses wages aren't going up in proportion to how much rent and housing is going up. So everything every month is getting tighter for most people.

**Lara, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich**

*I'm 72 now and I haven't been given any money to help me with my fuel and this winter I didn't sit in my lounge, I sat in bed with the electric blanket on and an iPad and managed to keep warm that way with great big covers on. I mean it's not good is it when you're older that you can't afford to pay for your gas and electricity?*

***Susan, Rooted Patriot, Bridgwater***

However, some groups are more optimistic than others about an end to the crisis. Those groups who feel the most financially insecure and are most likely to see money as a source of stress are the most convinced that the cost-of-living crisis will continue indefinitely. These segments are also the most likely to have cut back on luxuries and socialising, and 'shop around' for the best deal on their groceries because many feel they can only just cover the essentials. Dissenting Disruptors are particularly likely to have had to make lifestyle changes in order to respond to the crisis - they are the most likely to have fallen behind with bills, or borrowed money from family or friends.

Meanwhile, even though the more financially comfortable segments still believe it could be at least a few years until the cost-of-living crisis subsides, these groups are less likely to have had to change their lives in response. Established Liberals, one of the most affluent groups, are the least likely to say they are cutting down on non-essentials. Almost one in five (18 per cent) Established Liberals say they have not had to take any action to counteract the cost of living in recent months and just under a quarter of Traditional Conservatives (23 per cent) say the same.

*The way we're living now, it's ridiculous. I'm getting up at my age still at half past four in the morning, going to work. I've got a mortgage and stuff on my own, but I don't live now. I just survive. That's how I feel. And I think, I know it sounds awful, but people are coming in where I work and they don't work and they're better off than me. So I think this is just not life anymore. So I think we do need a change.*

***Vicky, Dissenting Disruptor, Runcorn***

*We normally use a hot tub all over summer, where we just haven't even bothered getting it out and using it. That's saved just like loads of money. But, again, we've just cut that out of our lifestyle.*

***Steven, Established Liberal, Reading***

*The cost of living is all around us. We're having to pay out more and we're not seeing any benefit. And yet all these illegal immigrants are coming in and they're getting everything: jumping a queue for houses, getting benefits, they're getting Xboxes, driving lessons, this, that and the other, and we don't get anything. But we're the ones who are paying for that.*

***Ray, Traditional Conservative, Great Yarmouth***

## Inequality and redistribution

Progressive Activists tend to be outliers on the left and are more radical than the general population in their preference for redistribution, tackling inequality and greater state regulation of businesses. They are the wariest of all of the segments of big business. While the Incrementalist Left tends to agree with Progressive Activists on these issues, they tend to be more moderate in both the intensity by which they hold those beliefs and the policy solutions they think could deal with them.

*I would definitely on the whole agree about it being unequal and becoming much more unequal. I feel very lucky that I was born in London and so far have managed to stay, but most of my peer group have now had to move out of London because it's just not sustainable anymore. So it's sort of like I know that I was born with a lot of luck on my side just for the fact of being born in a thriving city, but now it's come at a cost where I'm losing friends and family who can't be here anymore.*

***Lara, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

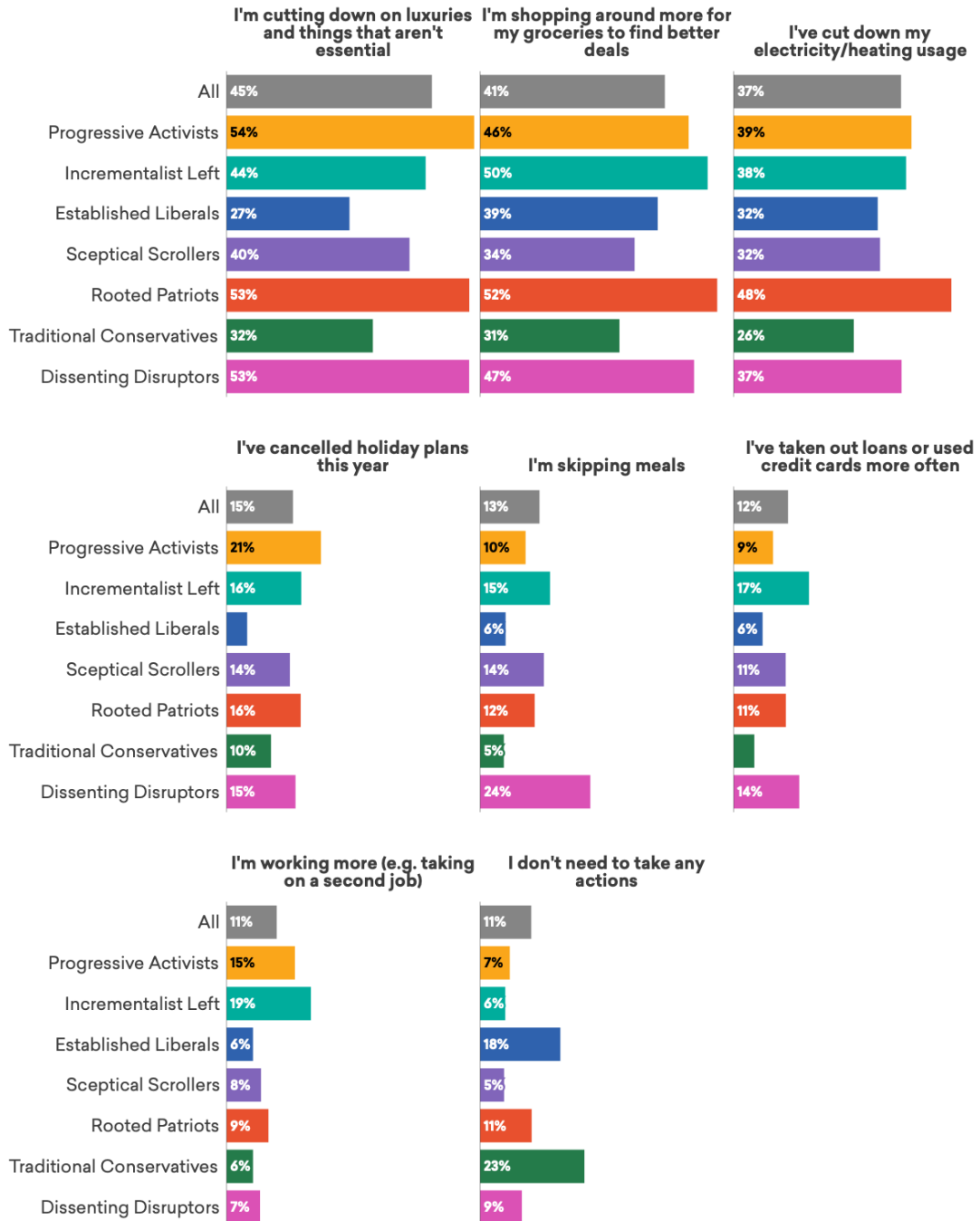
*Seeing how everything is going, cost of living and just generally just getting by, you just notice that a lot of people go to the food banks, even people who are working full-time, people who are employed, it's just really getting worse...so I'm probably a bit pessimistic as well...the cost of living and the worries of that.*

***Julian, Incrementalist Left, Chester***

Sceptical Scrollers' more moderate economic preferences may be a result of their disengagement from the traditional political axis. They generally tend to lean left-of-centre on questions of redistribution, tax and wealth, but to a much lesser extent than the Incrementalist Left or Progressive Activists.

**Figure 88 | Actions on the cost of living by segment**

Which, if any, of the following actions have you taken in recent months? Select any which apply.



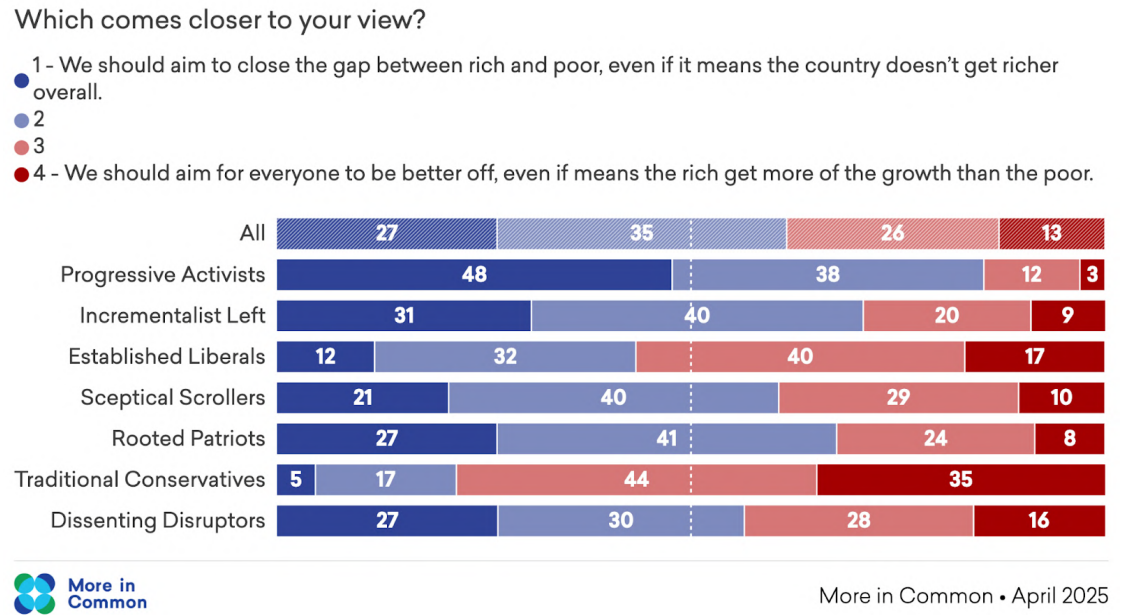
Meanwhile, the economic views of Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots flip depending on the question at hand. While both groups tend to be relatively sceptical of business and wealth, and in favour of protections for working people, they are more split on questions of redistribution – feeling that people who work hard should be rewarded by being allowed to keep more of their money.

*I think back in the day people were better supported, especially local businesses, now they're willing just to shut you down just to get in the next thing.*

**Stuart, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

Farthest to the right on the economy are the Traditional Conservatives. This group tends not to think it is the government's role to redistribute income, preferring a small-state approach that is generally more pro-business and pro-wealth. Established Liberals also lean right on these questions and are among the least likely to favour redistribution to take a sceptical attitude to business or management, though to a lesser degree than Traditional Conservatives.

Figure 89 | Attitudes to economic inequality by segment



Tax and spend

At a time when the public finances are under particular strain, the public is divided on how and at what level public services should be funded.

The segments which are left leaning in their economic views are more open to increased taxes to fund public services, but Progressive Activists are the only group where higher

taxes command a clear majority of support. Yet even among Progressive Activists, few say that taxation is their preferred way of funding public services.

Support for increasing taxes to fund public services is low among those segments which tend to feel the most financially insecure. These groups are also more likely to see themselves and working people as already paying more than their fair share as is.

*I just think it's really unfair, Scottish taxes anyway. Why do we have different taxes from down south? If you are kind of in the middle of the road, like earnings, you're getting penalised with your taxes, a good chunk of your wages is going to taxes.*

***Karen, Dissenting, Disruptor, Larkhall***

Borrowing is unpopular across all segments. Instead, the most popular approach to funding public services is to cut back waste, with some expressing support for a 'DOGE'-style scheme to cut inefficiencies. This is the preferred approach of at least half of every segment, but support is particularly strong among those groups who are happier to see the system radically reformed and an instinctive preference for cutting back the size of the state.

*I think the NHS isn't fit for purpose, although I have had good experiences, but that is because they've sent me to private treatment. I think it needs to be overhauled by people who know business and can run large businesses. It doesn't need to be one person like Musk who's a billion trillionaire, whatever he is. It needs to be people who are directors of normal companies who have run large corporations successfully.*

***Rob, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley***

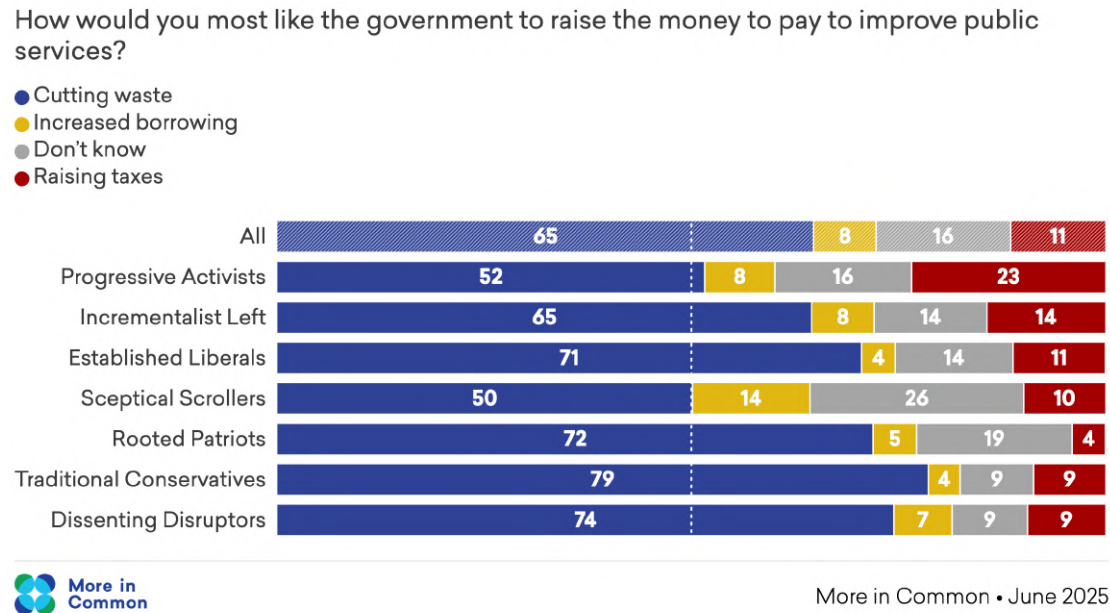
*Every government's piled huge amounts of money into the NHS and it's never worked. It's not about money, it's about management. The amount of money it absorbs is absolutely huge. It's mismanagement, absolute mismanagement.*

***Adrian, Traditional Conservative, Bisley***

*If the government are trying to squeeze all this money out of us to pay for all these immigrants or whatever they're spending the money on, it's just crippling us. It's like with us, I'm a joiner, so basically the money that I used to get taxed were a certain amount now I've seen it rise and rise and rise, but I don't see it getting spent on anything decent like the roads and are knackered.*

***Damien, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan***

Figure 90 | Attitudes to cutting waste by segment



Business and regulation

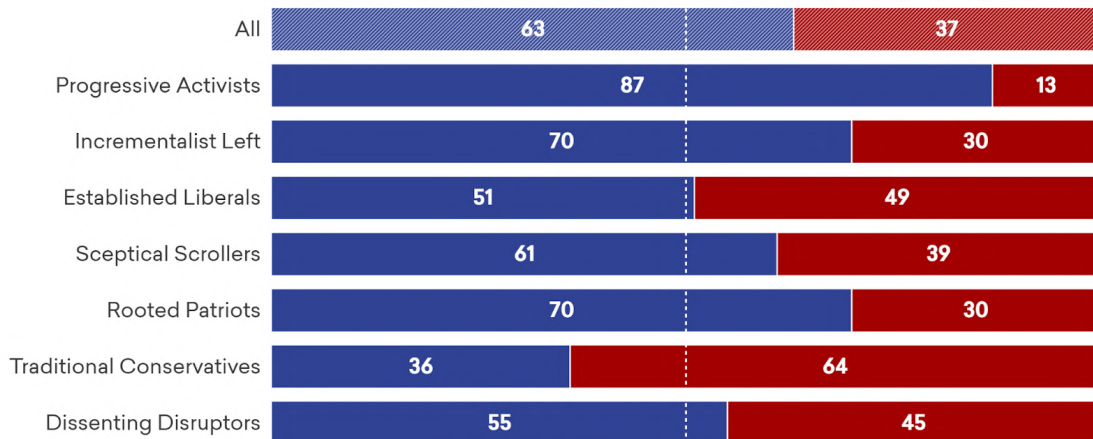
Majorities in almost all segments support the government imposing rules and regulations on businesses to protect consumers from harm, with Traditional Conservatives the only exception (64 per cent against regulation to 36 per cent for it). Support for regulation is strongest among those segments who are typically most distrustful of big business. But support is also strong among more pro-business groups - such as the Incrementalist Left, while the Established Liberals are more evenly divided.



**Figure 91 | Attitudes to regulation by segment**

In general, which economic system do you prefer?

- Where regulations are put on businesses to prohibit them from harming consumers
- Where the government minimises regulations on businesses to make it easier to do business



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*All I see is bigger businesses just getting more and more money to just making profit for the very few number of people and lots and lots of people suffering and just money going to the one or two shareholders, et cetera of the big businesses. And that's why they don't really care what prices they charge because they know we haven't really got any choice but to pay it.*

***Denise, Established Liberal, Beaconsfield***

*The cost of living from a business point of view, we find it really difficult because obviously you've got to put prices up so that we can keep people's wages in line with that, but at the same time customers haven't necessarily got the money to then spend. So you are in this kind of catch 22 situation and it has a bigger impact than you think at times. That is something that I think everybody thinks about a lot.*

***Becky, Incrementalist Left, Chester***

The segments which most distrust business often take the same view towards the ultra-wealthy, with majorities of Dissenting Disruptors, Rooted Patriots and Progressive Activists feeling that the rich do not pay their fair share. This reflects a broader attitude among these groups—that the rich and powerful play by a different set of rules to ordinary people.

Yeah, obviously there's well-known examples, Starbucks and stuff like that where they will get away with not paying the amount of tax that they should be paying. So yeah, definitely they need to obviously make sure that these big corporations are paying the right amount of tax and they're not sort of going through loopholes and stuff to avoid paying the right amount.

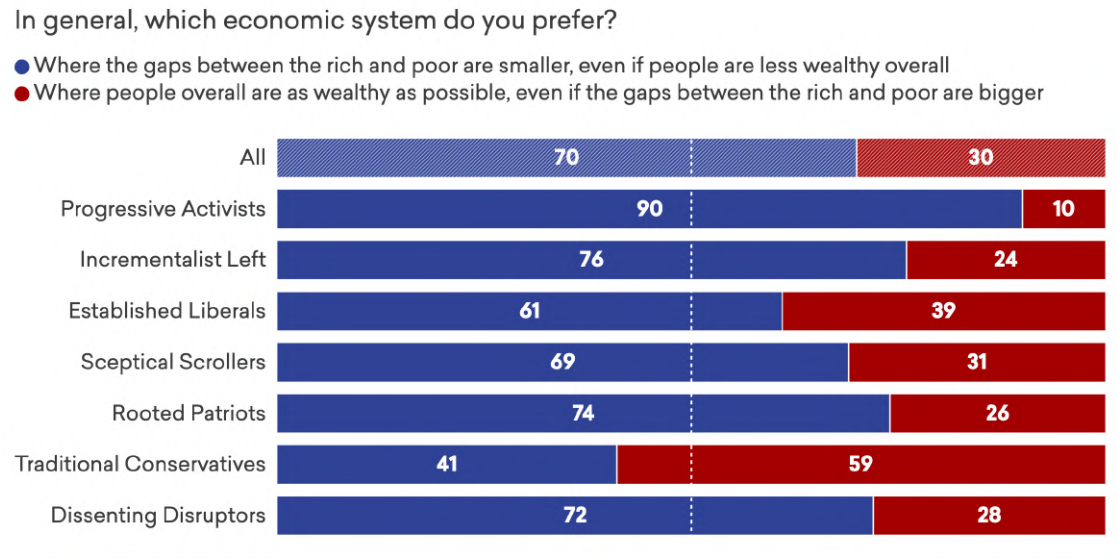
**Christian, Progressive Activist, Hackney**

I definitely do think it's rigged because obviously the wealthier people, they don't have the struggles like say us do. When you see on telly they're all living lavish luxury lifestyles and then people like myself struggle day to day to get the bare necessities, whether the cost of everything going up, the prices of everything, it's just extortion.

**Devon, Sceptical Scroller, Manchester**

Dissenting Disruptors, the Incrementalist Left, Progressive Activists and Rooted Patriots most prioritise narrowing the gap between rich and poor – even if it means people are less wealthy overall. In fact tackling inequality is a shared economic concern across most segments, with all but Traditional Conservatives favouring a smaller gap between rich and poor over maximising economic growth.

Figure 92 | Attitudes to growth versus equality



Cynicism toward the wealthy extends to perceptions of who benefits most from the government's economic plans. Across the board, Britons believe government policies most favour the wealthy, while every segment feels that the current Government's

economic policies will do more harm than good for them and their families—a view held especially strongly by those who feel most disillusioned and ignored by government.

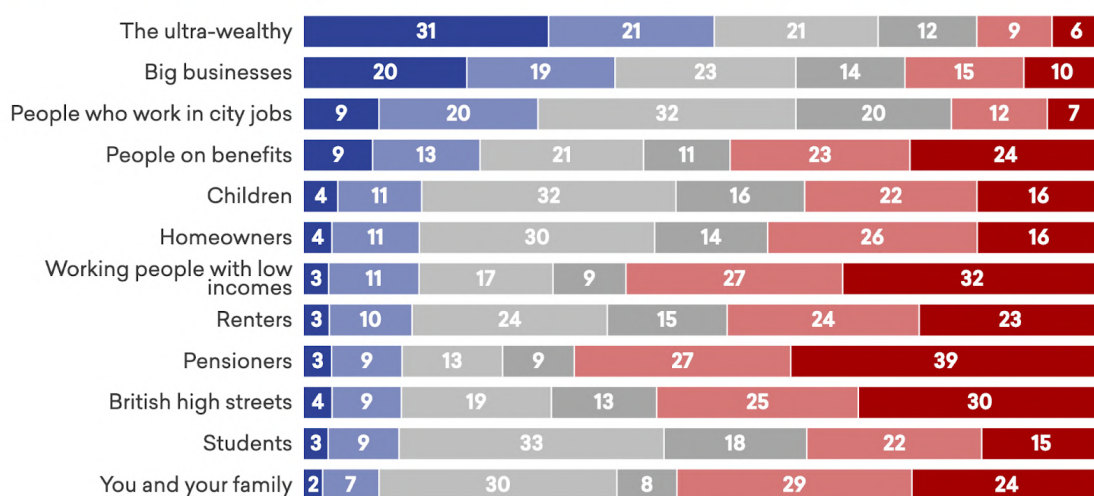
*I think the gulf between rich and poor is getting wider and wider. I think that's pushing the rich to almost tighten their circle and actually look after themselves a bit more. And I think it's also going the other way by making communities work together and to help each other out because there is such a divide. We think we have to look after ourselves. I mean from the work I do, we work with a lot of different communities in different areas and one of the main things coming out of that is almost a sense of tribalism because they don't feel like they're getting support from those who are more often be that from government or anywhere else. So yeah, I think it is starting to definitely push the two parties further and further apart.*

**Chris, Sceptical Scroller, Leeds**

**Figure 93 | Winners and losers from the government's current economic plans**

Would you say that the government's current economic plans benefit or harm the following?

● Benefit a lot ● Benefit a bit ● Neither harm nor benefit ● Don't know ● Harm a bit ● Harm a lot



## Welfare

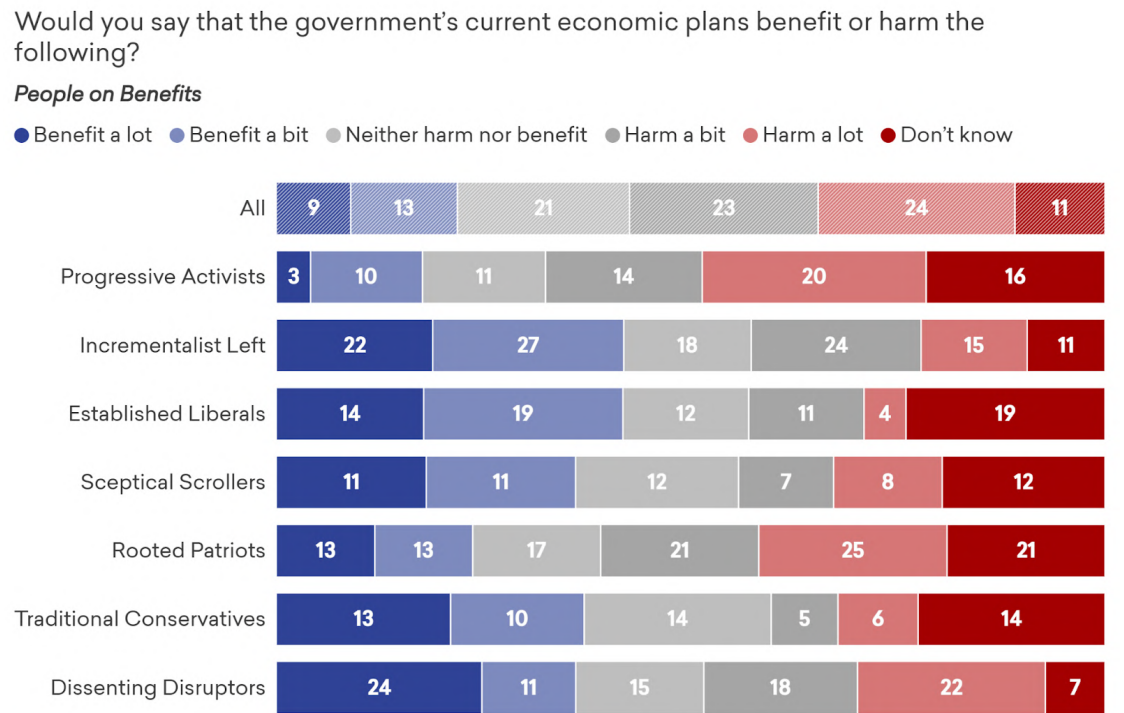
No segment is significantly more likely than average to be in receipt of benefits from the government such as Universal Credit or Personal Independence Payments (PIP). Just over one in five respondents (21 per cent) in our research said they received Universal Credit or Personal Independence Payment. Those groups with the highest proportion of claimants are Dissenting Disruptors, Sceptical Scrollers and Rooted Patriots.

These segments are also among the most likely to say that the Government’s current economic plans harm those on benefits, possibly reflecting their personal experiences or those of people they know who rely on benefits such as PIP. Progressive Activists share these concerns, and they are the group most likely to believe that government policies harm people receiving benefits. In focus group discussions, Progressive Activists are often the most vocal in expressing concern about how policy changes – such as cuts or stricter thresholds – affect vulnerable people.

*We can manage to find money for wars and defence, and I appreciate defence is important, but we're taking away from the more vulnerable in society at a time that's really hard for people.*

**Stewart, Progressive Activist, Edinburgh**

Figure 94 | Perception of people on benefits by segment



An important distinction between these groups, however, is that Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots are more likely than Progressive Activists to draw a clear line between those who deserve benefits and those they think do not. While Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots show sympathy toward those who need government support, they are also much more likely to voice concern about people ‘playing the system’. For these groups, contribution is a key factor in determining who should be eligible for benefits and at what

level, while Progressive Activists tend to believe that government support should be provided regardless.

*It's like going back 20 years ago, the majority of people would go out and earn a living and that's the way that we were brought up. Now there's so many - younger ones, older ones as well -that obviously getting the benefits and they know what they're entitled to and they're not. Half of the people that I know getting it are capable of working and I just think it's too easy to claim the benefits. That is obviously then putting a lot of strain on everyone else that's working.*

***Dawn, Rooted Patriot, Bury***

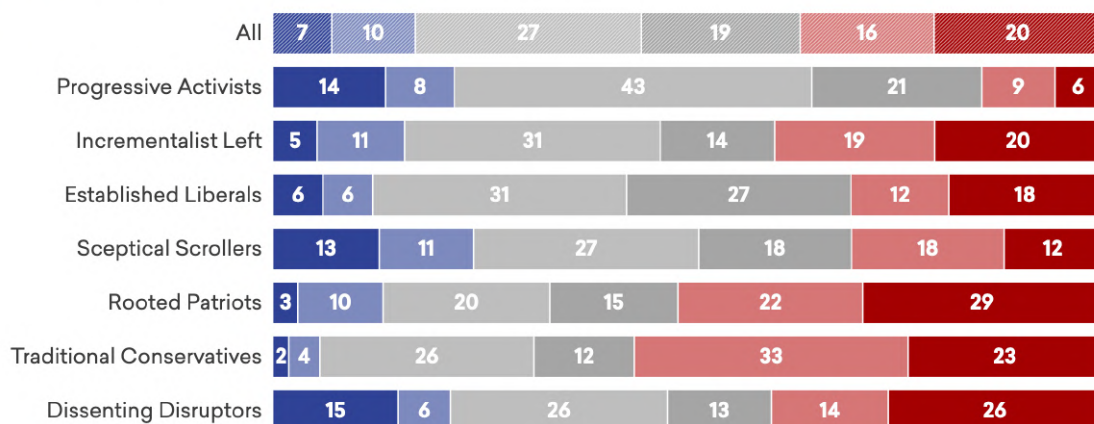
This is reflected in the extent to which the segments believe that people on benefits pay their fair share in taxes. Progressive Activists stand out as the only segment where a greater proportion believe benefit recipients pay more than their fair share, rather than less. Other groups—especially Rooted Patriots—are generally more sceptical. Among this group, there is a perception that as a result of people ‘playing the system’, the government fails to support those who genuinely need help.

**Figure 95 | Perception of the contribution of people on benefits by segment**

For each of the following groups, please indicate whether or not they pay their fair share in taxes?

*People on Benefits*

● Much more than their fair share ● A bit more than their fair share ● Pay their fair share ● Don't know  
● A bit less than their fair share ● Much less than their fair share



Traditional Conservatives and Established Liberals tend to hold more welfare-sceptical views, consistent with their broader fiscally conservative economic outlook. Established Liberals are slightly more likely to believe that the Government's current economic plans

will benefit people on welfare and both groups are the least likely to think that welfare recipients are hurt by the Government's policies overall.

Traditional Conservatives, in particular, are the most likely of all groups to believe that people on benefits do not pay their fair share of taxes. In focus groups, members of this segment often express scepticism about the legitimacy of many benefit claims, arguing that the ease of accessing welfare contributes to government waste.

*Priorities have really changed from when I was younger. If you were seeking benefits, you genuinely were buying food, heating your house, it was money that you really needed. Now the wastefulness that I see in the world just sickens me... When I see toys discarded in front gardens, it just really, really infuriates me.*

*Kaylee, Traditional Conservative, Tetbury*

## Segment profiles – the economy

**Progressive Activists** - Strongly in favour of redistribution and taxes on wealth and deeply distrustful of the ultra-wealthy and big business.

**Incrementalist Left** - Lean left economically and support redistribution and regulation, less ideological or radical on economic issues than Progressive Activists.

**Rooted Patriots** - Deep scepticism of big business and the wealthy, generally in favour of higher spending on public services, with the proviso that this does not come from working people's pockets.

**Sceptical Scrollers** - Show some support for redistribution and tackling inequality, but less entrenched beliefs than other groups.

**Dissenting Disruptors** - In favour of taxes for the wealthy and protections for workers, but sceptical the government will redistribute income fairly.

**Established Liberals** - Generally, business friendly and economically conservative, but supportive of consumer protections, regulation and some action to tackle inequality.

**Traditional Conservatives** - Firmly on the economic right, favouring a small state, low taxes and low government waste and support for business and wealth creation.



## Immigration

Immigration is a top concern for the British public. Four in ten rank it as among the top three important issues facing the country - second only to the cost of living. While this issue is much more salient for some segments than others, there is relatively strong public consensus in favour of lower net-migration. When asked about overall levels of migration, more than three in five (63 per cent) say numbers should be reduced. More in Common will be publishing a more detailed stand-alone report on immigration attitudes in late 2025 looking at how Britons approach different dimensions of immigration policy.

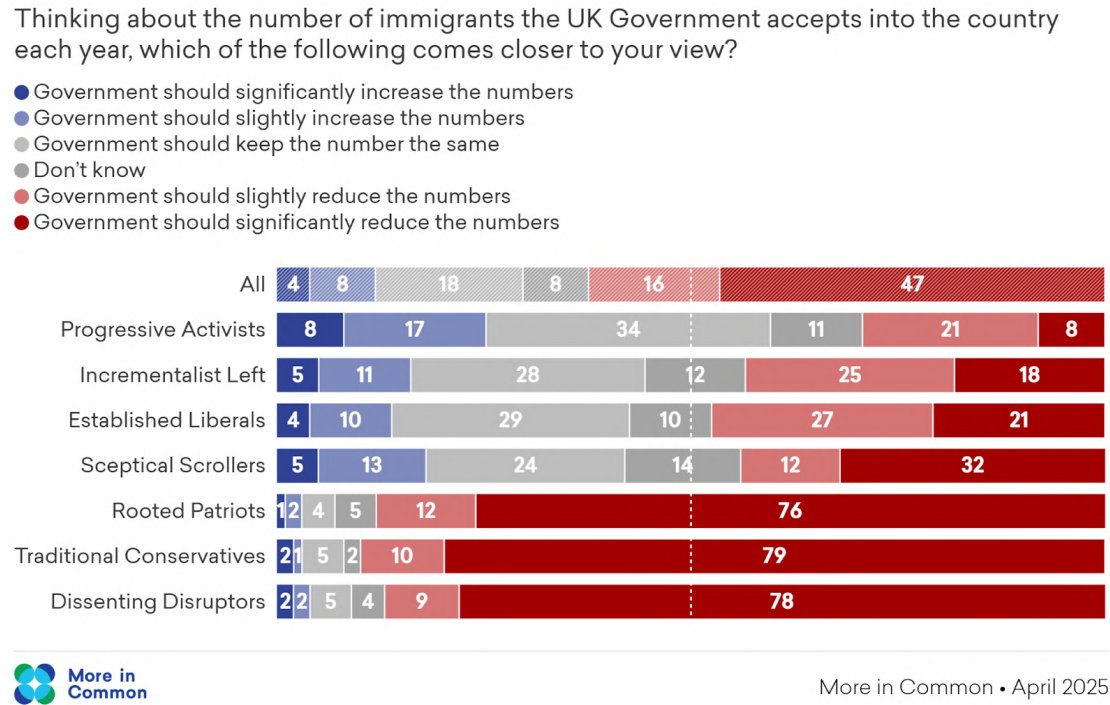
Most Britons (62 per cent) believe current immigration policies bring more costs than benefits to the UK. While most want to reduce overall numbers, the public is particularly concerned about illegal migration. The public strongly believe stopping illegal immigration on small boats (74 per cent) should take priority over reducing net migration (14 per cent). In focus group conversations, people point to channel crossings as a clear illustration of a system that is out of control, unfair and dangerous. Perhaps more than anything else, failure to meet promises to control immigration reinforces Britons' broader sense that the government lacks the agency to address the problems that affect us.

*I think if you apply to come into this country legally and you will work and be a benefit to this country, then I welcome you with open arms. What I don't like is coming over on a boat and jumping the queue on everything.*

***Ray, Traditional Conservative, Great Yarmouth***



Figure 96 | Attitudes towards the levels of immigration by segment



The British Seven Segments broadly split into three groupings on questions of immigration and integration.

First, the immigration sceptics - Rooted Patriots, Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives. Three in five Britons want to see net migration reduced, and for these three segments in particular, issues of migration and asylum are highly salient. These groups believe Britain is “full” and, at a time when resources feel scarce and services stretched, they think the government needs to put British people first. Many in this group also feel they cannot express legitimate concerns around immigration publicly without fear of being branded racist. They are relieved to hear immigration-sceptic voices ‘telling it like it is’.

*All the millions of pounds are paying for hotels to house these people. When we have people on the street that are born and bred in the UK.*

**Paul, Dissenting Disruptor, Dudley**

*They're trying to take away the gas and electricity extra payments for the elderly, for people that have lived in the country and paid taxes their whole life. Well they'll give 41 grand a year for someone who's just come over on a boat.*

**Stuart, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

For many in this group, attitudes towards immigration policies are influenced by cultural concerns. Almost nine in ten (88 per cent) immigration sceptics worry increasing ethnic and religious diversity has undermined British culture and have concerns about British identity being replaced. For the one quarter (26 per cent) of immigration sceptics who believe some races are born more intelligent than others, anti-immigration sentiment may be exacerbated by racism. However, even most immigration sceptics do not believe that Britain should shut the door on immigration entirely, but instead a far greater degree of control is needed over who comes in and that numbers should be significantly lower.

For those who do come, the migration-sceptic segments place a high premium on contribution. They expect newcomers to assimilate to British culture. To them this means following British laws, speaking English, getting a job and contributing to community life.

However there are also concerns about integration. Around half the public think that those from Muslim backgrounds have values too different to the rest of the country to make effective integration either possible or likely. In focus group conversations, this group sometimes share concerns about potential import of laws and customs that do not align with British values and a frustration that there is not a greater expectation of cultural conformity.

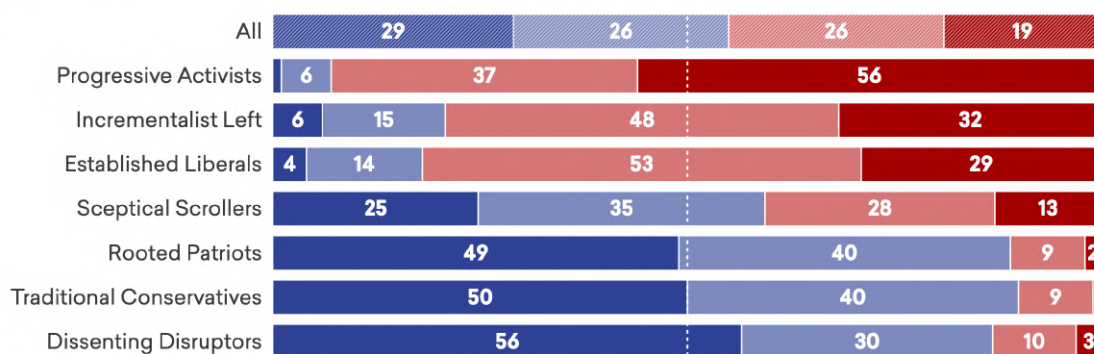
*At the end of the day, this is our country, you're a guest in our country, so absorb what we do, our culture and don't try and change us.*

***Damien, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan***

**Figure 97 | Attitudes towards the impact of multiculturalism on British identity**

Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 - Immigration has undermined British culture and society
- 2
- 3
- 4 - Immigration has enriched British culture and society



Second are the immigration agnostics who represent 40 per cent of the population. These three groups - the Incrementalist Left, Sceptical Scrollers and Established Liberals - do not see immigration as a top concern facing the country, nor are they active enthusiasts for more immigration. They are divided over whether levels of immigration should be decreased or should be maintained or increased.

In general, these segments see immigration as having some benefits, but many think that public services are struggling to cope with levels of immigration. They also worry that some people who come to the UK take advantage of its healthcare and social security system. Immigration agnostics would prefer a system that offers more of a say over who comes into the country. Some of this group feels pressure to discuss immigration in the "right" way and would rather avoid the topic entirely.

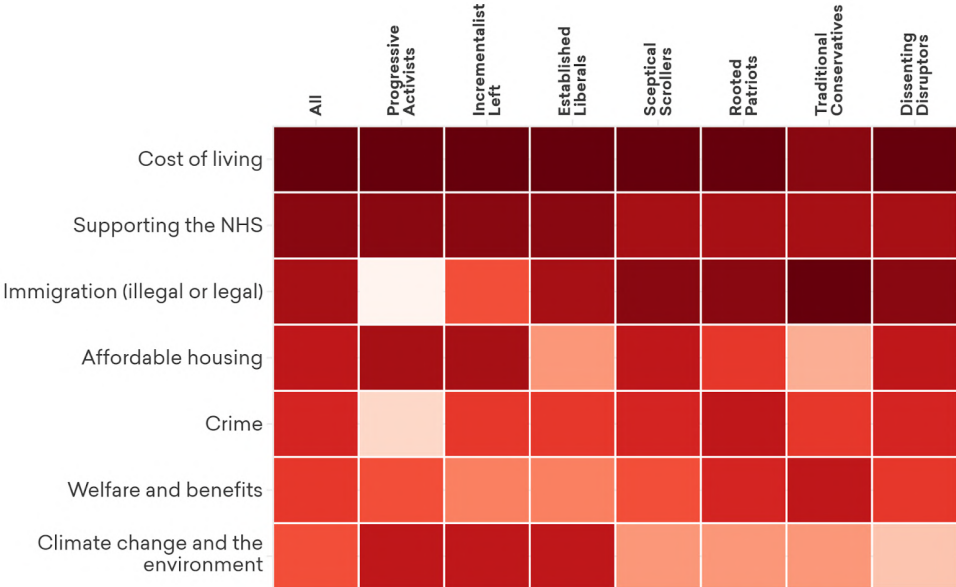
*I think we're absolutely shooting ourselves in the foot by limiting migration for international students. I think that is a soft power that's about actually being global players and they would be our ambassadors going out. And I just think it's absolute madness to sort of lump them in with bigger concerns about the welfare state and benefits and health systems because they're not particularly a drain on those systems. They're actually contributors.*

**Kate, Established Liberal, Chippenham**

Figure 98 | Biggest issues by segment

In your opinion, which are the most IMPORTANT issues facing the country today? Please select up to three

1st  14th most selected issue



The third segment group is the immigration enthusiasts, with just one segment - Progressive Activists. Only among this segment does a majority want to maintain or even increase current levels of immigration. Just six per cent of Progressive Activists rank levels of immigration or asylum seekers crossing the Channel among the top issues facing the country, compared to 40 per cent of the whole British public.

This segment has a more globally-oriented mindset than other groups - they tend to feel embarrassed by the history of the British empire and do not think British people should get any preferential treatment in this country. In their view, those who criticise immigration are often motivated by racism. They believe this is the reason refugees from Ukraine were welcomed, while non-white refugees from other countries are treated differently. They believe concerns about immigration are often driven by the media, which they consider guilty of scapegoating immigrants for wider problems with the country.

*[On immigration] I don't think that's the problem with this country. I think everything's blamed on it.*

***Natalie, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich***

*I don't think it should be that difficult for people to ... work and to pay taxes and to contribute to society and the richness of society. And I can't see why immigration - legal immigration - would ever be an issue.*

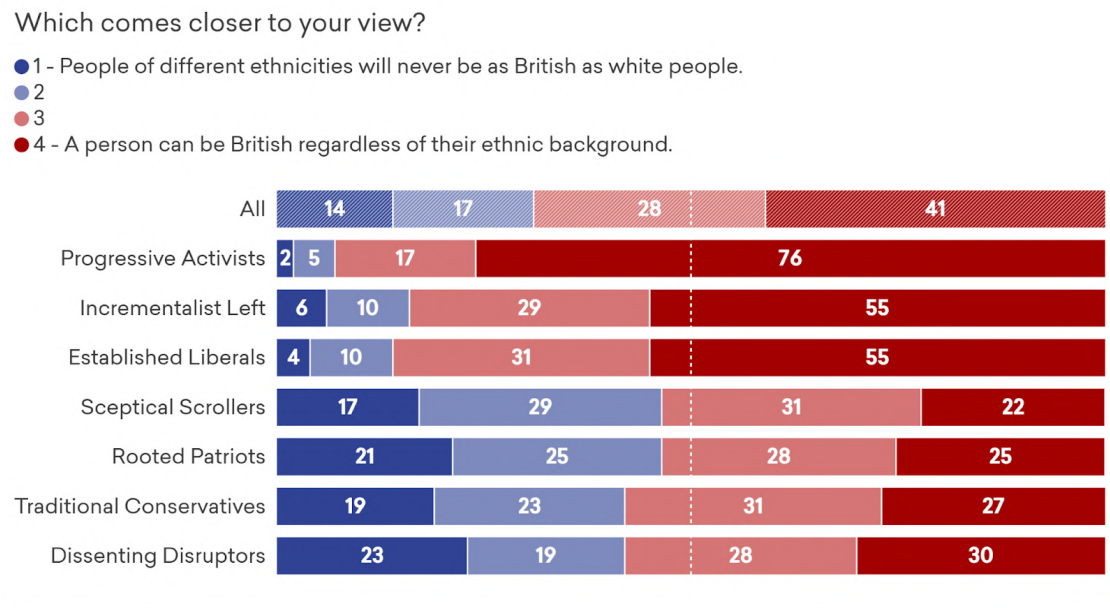
***Tamara, Progressive Activist, Hackney***

*I think the majority of people that come here and work here, and they work hard and they pay their taxes, and I think immigrants are being made to look at as if they are a problem and I just really don't think that they are.*

***Katy, Progressive Activist, Edinburgh***

Across these three broad groupings, there are elements of common ground. Most Britons think that qualified immigrants who contribute to the British economy and assimilate into British society should be welcomed. Clear majorities support Britain doing its bit to support refugees from conflicts such as the war in Ukraine. All segments support tying citizenship to language aptitude and tests of culture. Across the board, Britons speak well of those who have made Britain their home and socially integrated - with a majority of every segment saying people from any ethnic background can be British.

Figure 99 | Attitudes to race and British identity by segment



## Segment Profiles - immigration

### *Immigration Sceptics*

**Traditional Conservatives** - Consider immigration the UK's most pressing issue. They believe the immigration system is out of control and rewards rule-breakers. They want to drastically cut immigration numbers, particularly illegal immigration and view multiculturalism as a threat to British identity.

**Dissenting Disruptors** - Shaped by twin concerns about immigration and cost of living, they view Britain as "full" and want dramatic reductions in immigration levels. They feel silenced when they try to speak out about immigration's negative impacts and believe increasing diversity has undermined British culture. They are particularly likely to express strong concerns about multiculturalism and Islam.

**Rooted Patriots** - Concerned about the link between immigration and overstretched public services, they want British people to come first during times of scarce resources. They welcome contributors such as NHS workers who "pay their own way" but oppose those who do not work. Sceptical of multiculturalism's impact on British identity, they are most concerned about illegal immigration and what it means for the safety of their families.

### *Immigration Agnostics*

**Incrementalist Left** - Think multiculturalism has benefits and are proud of Britain's history of welcoming refugees. Some are immigrants themselves. They view community responses to Ukrainian refugees as "Britain at its best". This group is split evenly on whether levels of immigration should decrease or be at least maintained, but do not see immigration as the top national concern.

**Sceptical Scrollers** - Hold views on immigration lightly, with many born abroad. They're split roughly evenly on whether levels of immigration should decrease or be maintained, seeing it as one problem among many facing the country. They feel pressure to discuss immigration in the "right" way and would rather avoid the topic entirely. However, they are also the most likely to hold racist beliefs that some races are more intelligent than others.

**Established Liberals** - Not particularly concerned by immigration but want a more selective, controlled system that prioritizes the right skills and those in genuine need - international students and qualified professionals rather than "unemployed men and their families." They support refugees and think multiculturalism benefits Britain, but want a stronger points-based system to prevent people coming over to take advantage of perks like free healthcare.

### ***Immigration Enthusiasts***

**Progressive Activists** - Stand out as the most pro-immigration segment, embarrassed by Britain's imperial history and proud of the multiculturalism they see as enriching modern Britain. They think globally rather than prioritising British people and believe concern about immigration is often motivated by racism. Only six per cent see immigration as a top national issue and they are the only segment where a majority want to maintain or increase current immigration levels.



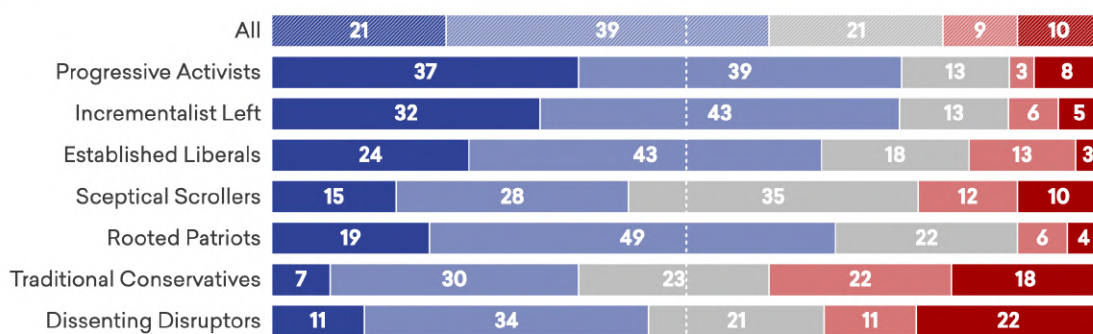
## Climate Change

The British public care about protecting the environment and a majority are worried about climate change. However, there is growing divergence between segments on how to deal with the challenges of tackling climate change and environmental protection as the realities of societal transformation as the implementation of the green transition come into view.

**Figure 100 | Climate worries by segment**

How worried are you about climate change?

- Very worried
- Somewhat worried
- Neither worried nor unworried
- Somewhat unworried
- Very unworried



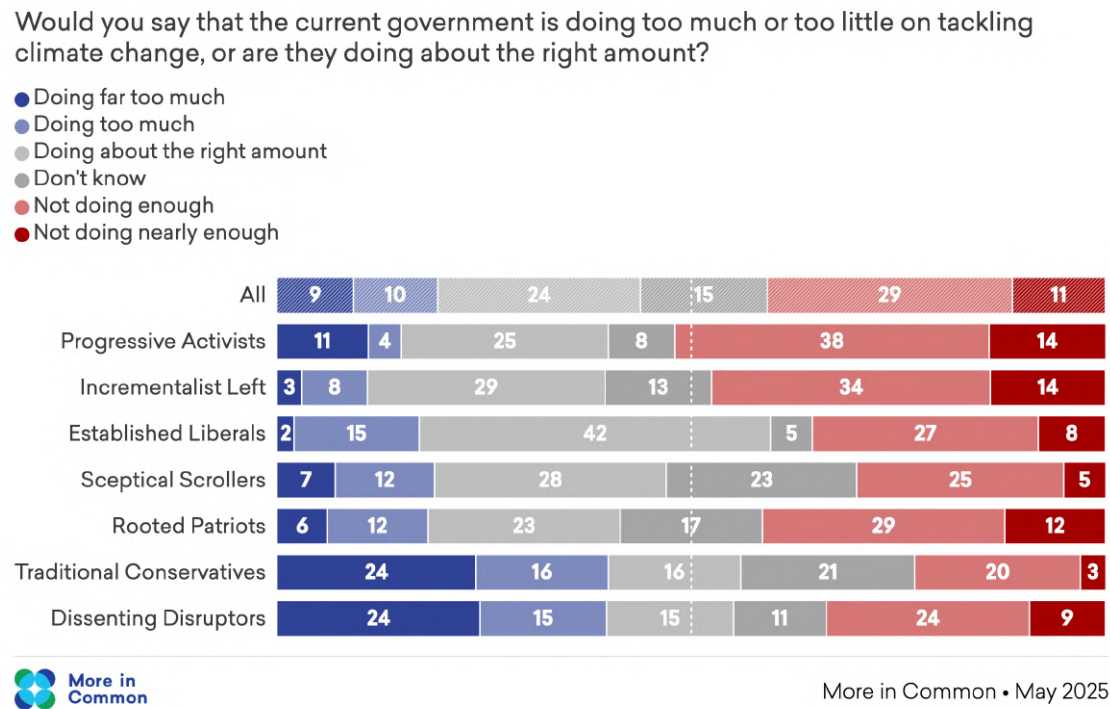
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In four out of seven segments, a majority are concerned about climate change, and in a further two a plurality are. The driver for those worries differ between segments: Progressive Activists are more likely to be concerned about climate change because of how it might affect economic justice and global inequality, whereas Rooted Patriots have a particularly high threat perception which makes them more animated by the threat of climate impacts such as floods or droughts closer to home.

For some of the segments, however, concern about climate change does not necessarily translate into universal support for the government's plans to tackle climate change.

At a top level, a majority of Britons currently say that the government either is not doing enough on climate change, or is doing the right amount. In contrast, Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives are more likely to say that the government is doing too much than to say it is not doing enough.

Figure 101 | Satisfaction with government action on climate change by segment

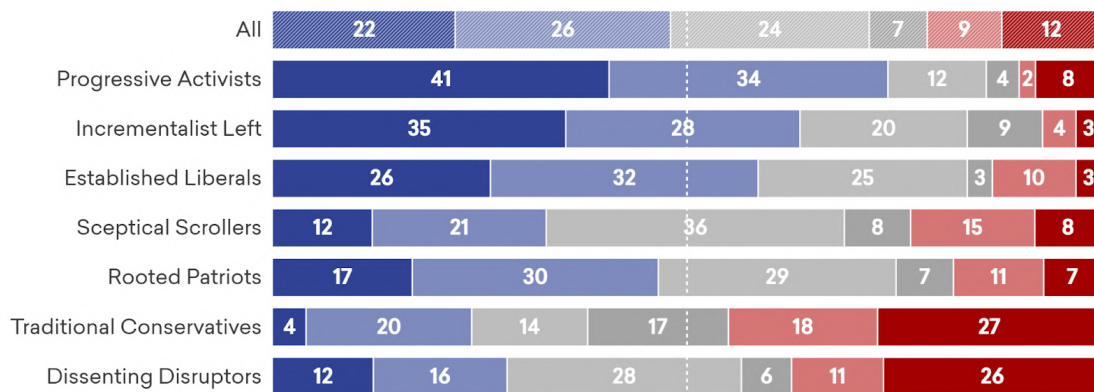


The divide in public attitudes to the net zero target is much more stark. Progressive Activists, the Incrementalist Left, Established Liberals and Rooted Patriots all express support for the target. However, Sceptical Scrollers are divided and Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives are much more likely to oppose the net-zero target than support it.

**Figure 102 | Attitudes to net zero by segment**

To what extent do support or oppose the UK's target of becoming Net Zero by 2050?

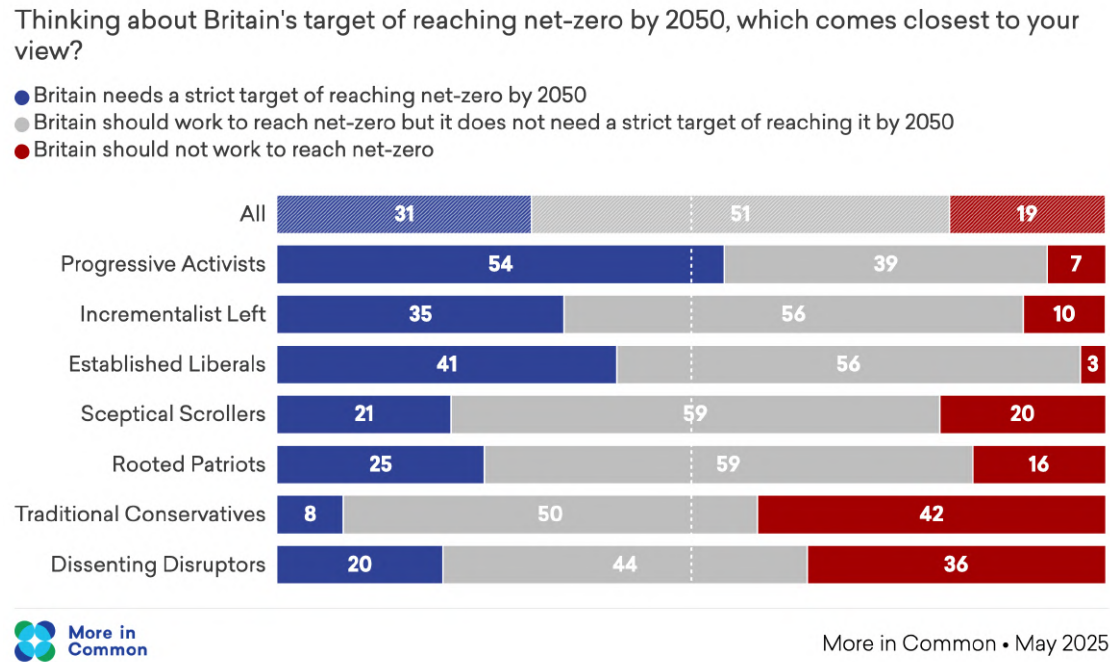
- Strongly support
- Slightly support
- Neither support nor oppose
- Don't know
- Slightly oppose
- Strongly oppose



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However, even for those segments that oppose the 2050 target, it is not that they reject the idea of net zero outright, but instead believe that setting a strict target to reach it is unnecessary and potentially economically damaging for the country and unaffordable for the public. Across the segments, a majority support Britain working towards reaching net zero, but support for a strict target varies dramatically by segment.

Figure 103 | Attitudes to the net zero target by segment

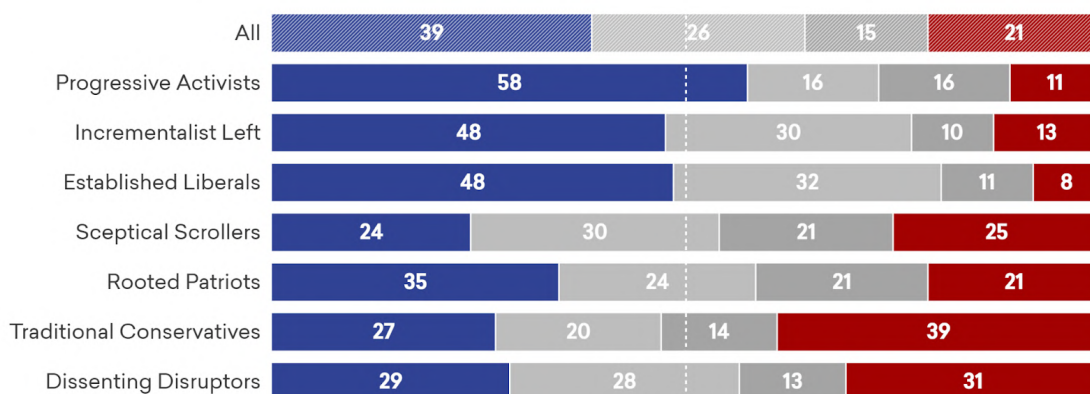


Part of the reason that climate action is popular in the UK is that renewable energy is, for many, ‘winning the argument’ on cost of living. Britons are twice as likely to think their bills would be cheaper if more of our energy came from renewables than if it came from fossil fuels. The three segments who do not hold this view (Sceptical Scrollers, Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors) are also the segments least supportive of climate action overall.

**Figure 104 | The perceived impact of renewable energy on energy bills**

Do you think that your energy bills would be lower if...

- More of our energy came from renewable power like wind and solar
- It would make no difference
- Don't know
- More of our energy came from fossil fuels like oil and gas



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Policies aimed at increasing investment in renewable power are among Britain's least divisive energy policies. All seven segments also oppose a policy that would make it harder to build new solar and wind farms. But there remains more support for scrapping net zero altogether or making it easier to open new oil fields in the North Sea among Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors.

While support for climate action in the UK remains high - particularly investing in renewable power - climate polarisation has increased in recent years. Part of the challenge is that while most of the segments still remain hopeful that stronger climate policies will be good for Britain in the long-run, very few have a positive story to tell about the impact of Britain's climate policies to date. With the exception of Established Liberals - the most optimistic and comfortable segment - every segment (including Progressive Activists) think that Britain's climate policies so far have not made a meaningful difference to reducing emissions (despite a 50 per cent reduction since 1990), have not made the country or their local areas better-off and have not been fair to people like them.

Figure 105 | Attitudes to net zero by segment

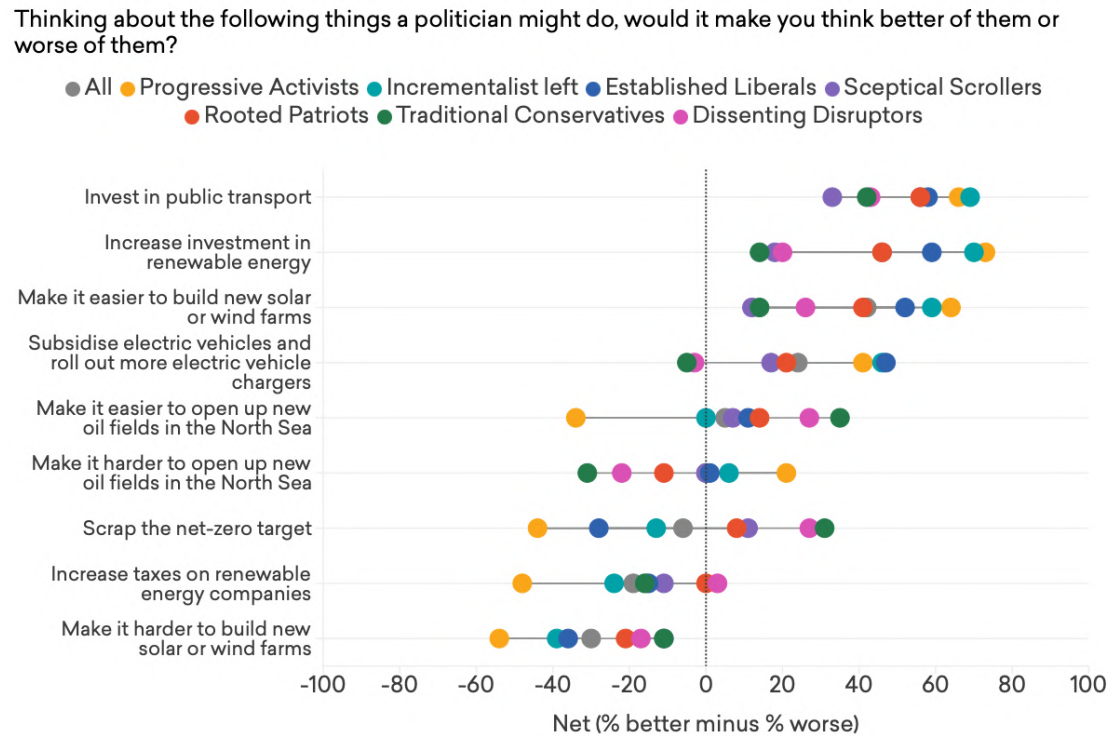
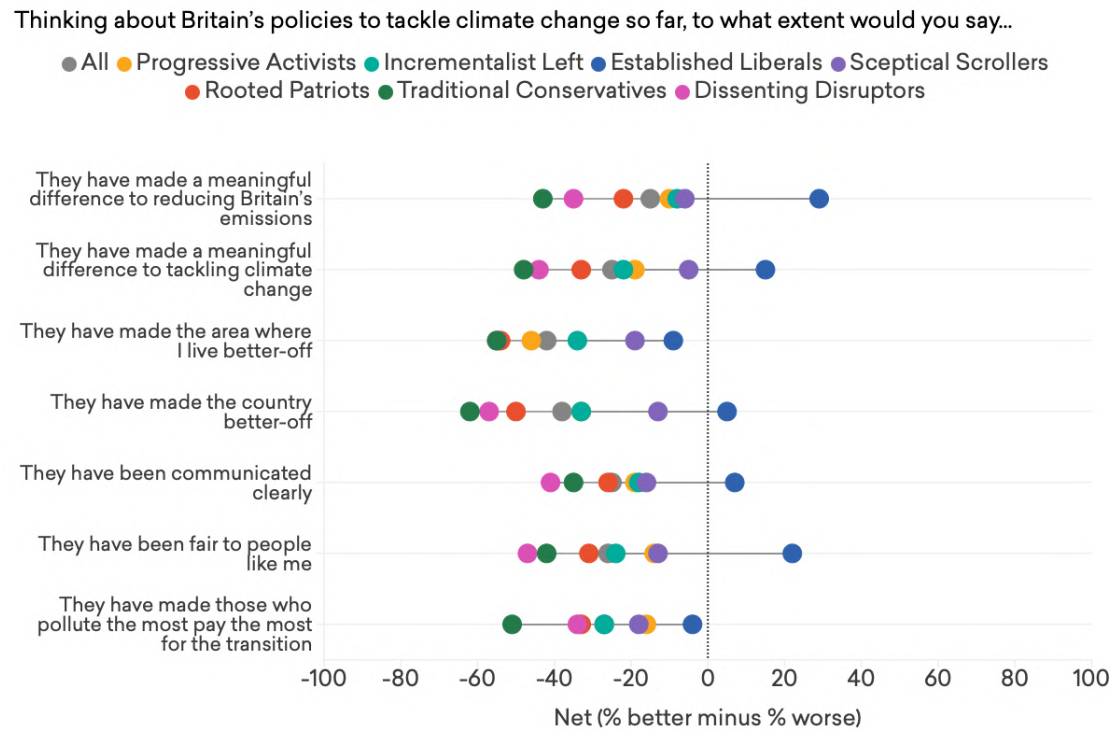


Figure 106 | Attitudes to climate policies so far





## Segment profiles – climate, energy and the environment

**Progressive Activists** - The most committed to ambitious climate action, and think the government's current actions do not go far enough. They think globally and are most concerned about the impact of climate change on poorer people around the world. Their strong views on climate change, coupled with their resistance to compromise and attitudes to protest, mean that sometimes they support climate actions that go far beyond what would be considered acceptable by the wider public.

**Incrementalist Left** - Support the government's climate plans - and may have voted for Labour at the last election in part because of their promises on GB Energy or clean power by 2030. They want Britain to be a world leader on climate action and would be worried if the government started abandoning some of their climate commitments. However, they are less wedded to a hard target than other pro-net-zero segments.

**Established Liberals** - Optimistic and comfortable, this group are among the most open to societal changes necessary to meet the net zero target. While climate change might not top the list of their concerns, this segment remains excited by the opportunities for green technology that tackling climate change will bring, such as electric vehicles or heat-pumps. At the same time, their sense of optimism can make them less likely to see the need for radical and immediate climate action.

**Rooted Patriots** - This group thinks that climate action to date has not benefited their local area or been fair to people like them. They have very high threat perception and are deeply disturbed by the prospect of increased natural disasters around the world, particularly droughts, flooding and fires in the UK. This makes them among the most worried about climate change and among the most supportive of many climate policies. However, this group wants to be convinced the transition will be done fairly and not off the back of those who are already struggling.

**Sceptical Scrollers** - Some of this group hold more conspiratorial or denialist views on climate change, but for the majority their main concern is lowering energy bills - they will support any policy that achieves that goal. Their comfort with rapid change and need for chaos makes them more likely to support more radical actions, whether that is ramping up renewable energy or scrapping it altogether.

**Dissenting Disruptors** - Sceptical of net zero targets, government climate policies and even sometimes climate change itself. But this group are particularly concerned about burdening ordinary people with higher costs while benefiting wealthy interests. While many do worry about climate change, their concerns are around its immediate economic impacts rather than long-term environmental goals.



**Traditional Conservatives** - This group dislikes radical change and is hesitant to support government spending on climate initiatives, preferring market-based solutions. Their opposition to net-zero stems from concerns about economic disruption, government overreach and the pace of change.

*In the coming months we will be releasing much more information alongside Climate Outreach about the different segments' attitudes to climate change and the environment.*

## Media habits

In an increasingly atomised media landscape, understanding the volume and source of each segments' news consumption helps to explain their worldview and approach to specific policy questions. Two in three Britons follow the news, though just one in five say they follow it very closely. The segments most plugged into current affairs are the Progressive Activists, Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives.

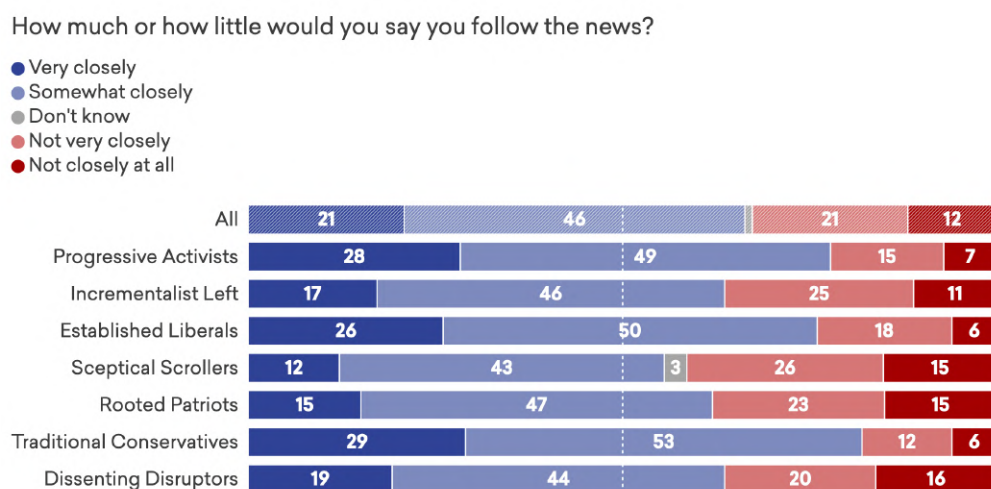
For one segment, the Progressive Activists, politics is not just an interest but part of their identity. They are the only segment who enjoy talking about politics with their friends, with ideological alignment often a criteria for inclusion in their social circle. While some in the Incrementalist Left follow current affairs, many prefer to leave it to people who know more about it, feeling that politics is often too complicated to understand what's going on. Others find it too depressing.

*I guess I was brought up with the news being on every night the news would be on. So that's just kind of what I've been used to...I think it's important personally to keep up to date with what's going on.*

**Hannah, Progressive Activist, East Dulwich**

Among the third of the public who do not follow the news, two segments are overrepresented - Sceptical Scrollers and Rooted Patriots. Sceptical Scrollers see politics as someone else's problem and do not feel they have time to keep up with it. Rooted Patriots on the other hand do not see the point of paying attention to politics because politicians do not care about them and often are not up to the job anyway.

**Figure 107 | News attention by segment**

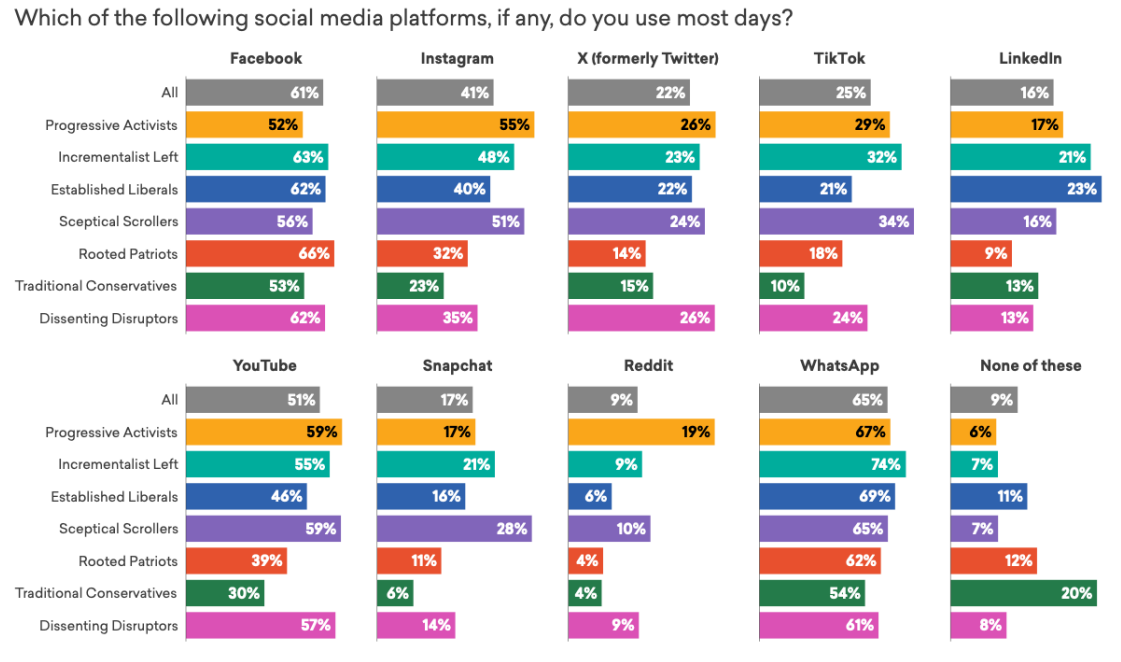


The media landscape

The form of media Britons consume tends to vary by age. Television remains the dominant medium, with eight in ten (80 per cent) of every segment watching TV most days. Traditional Conservatives and Rooted Patriots (the oldest segments) are most likely to sit down in front of the television, while Progressive Activists are the least likely.

Social media use is also high across all but the oldest segments, with four in five of Progressive Activists, the Incrementalist Left and Sceptical Scrollers using social media most days - particularly Instagram and TikTok. Sceptical Scrollers are the most likely to post on Snapchat, while the Incrementalist Left enjoy Pinterest. The Progressive Activists, along with the Dissenting Disruptors, are more often found on X (Twitter).

Figure 108 | Social media use by segment



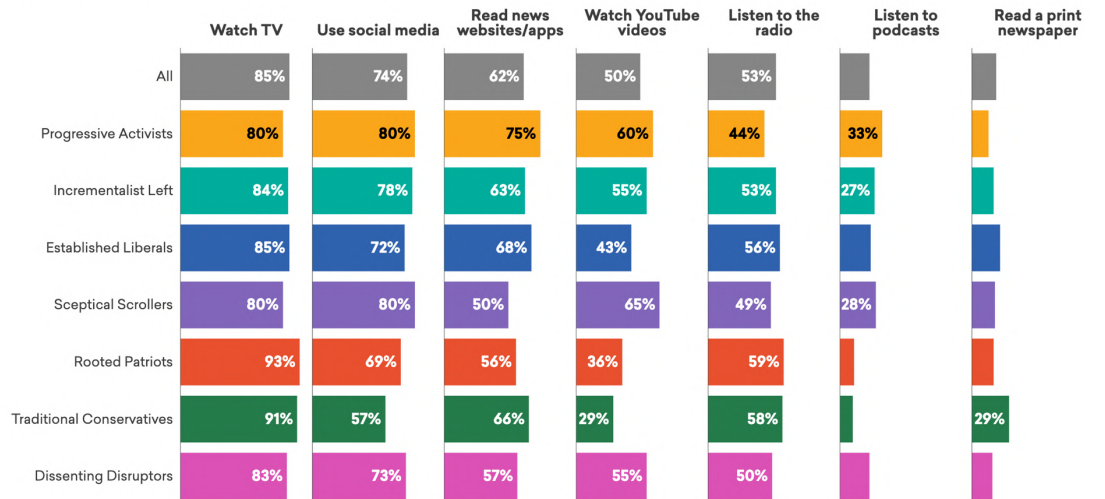
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Podcast listeners tend to fall into the Incrementalist Left or Progressive Activist segments. These segments also watch YouTube videos, along with the Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors. Sceptical Scrollers are the most likely to play video games.

Traditional Conservatives have more conventional media habits. Most listen to the radio most days, as do many Rooted Patriots. Many Traditional Conservatives also read a print newspaper, along with Established Liberals, though most of the latter get their news from media websites or apps.

**Figure 109 | Forms of media engagement by segment**

Which of the following, if any, do you do most days?



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## Media outlets

When they tune into the news on their platform of choice, the segments hear very different voices. Progressive Activists are three times as likely as the general public to get their news from the Guardian and also follow the BBC, Channel 4 or the Independent. The Incrementalist Left are most likely to watch the BBC for news, though some also watch Sky and read the Guardian. The BBC is also most popular with Established Liberals, when they are not reading broadsheets like the Times or Financial Times. Rooted Patriots on the other hand favour ITV, or local news outlets, which are also popular with Traditional Conservatives. Traditional Conservatives get their national news from the Daily Mail or GB News, much like the Dissenting Disruptors. While Sceptical Scrollers tend not to engage with traditional news outlets, they sometimes pick up freesheets like the Metro.

The segment breakdown of the viewerships of the main news broadcasters is as follows:

**BBC News'** viewership broadly reflects the segment breakdown of the country at large. However Dissenting Disruptors are under-represented in their viewership as are Sceptical Scrollers, with the Incrementalist Left being over-represented.

**GB News** have a significant over-representation of Dissenting Disruptors watching their news. Half of GB News viewers are Dissenting Disruptors.

**Channel 4 News** has a significant over-representation of Progressive Activists tuning in and significantly fewer Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives.

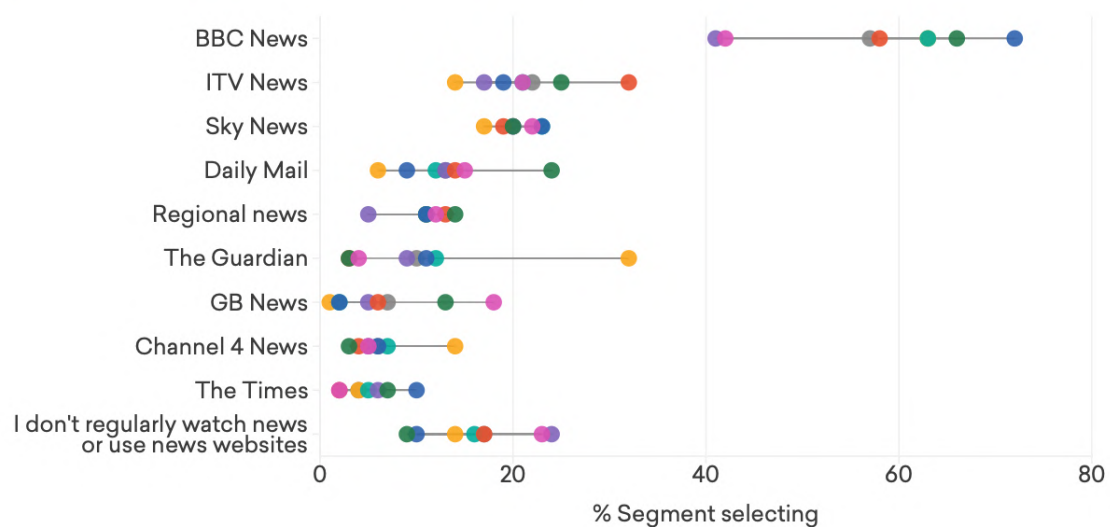
**ITV News** is most watched by Rooted Patriots, and Traditional Conservatives. Progressive Activists and Sceptical Scrollers are underrepresented in the ITV viewership.

**Sky News** is most watched by the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals, while Progressive Activists are least likely to tune into Sky.

**Figure 110 | News audiences by segment**

Which news channels or websites do you use most frequently?

● All ● Progressive Activists ● Incrementalist Left ● Established Liberals ● Sceptical Scrollers  
● Rooted Patriots ● Traditional Conservatives ● Dissenting Disruptors



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## Trust in mainstream versus independent media

Variations in outlet consumption can, in part, be explained by the extent to which the segments trust traditional media outlets. While the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals have high trust in news channels which are seen to promote impartiality such as the BBC and Sky, fewer than half of Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors trust these institutions. This is driven by a sense that these outlets are not impartial but instead have an establishment bias.

This distrust extends to all mainstream media, not just those whose perceived ideological lean they disapprove of - with a majority within five of the seven segments believing you cannot usually trust what you see or hear in the news. Dissenting Disruptors are the only segment more likely to trust news about an international conflict from an independent observer on social media more than the output of a large media organisation.

*I think it's good, you need to read a few different kinds of publications to get a view because you've got some newspapers that are biased to Labour and some that are*

*biased to Conservative. I saw the BBC is meant to be impartial, but you can get some stuff going around on there. So I think you just need to read around more articles, different channels, certainly different programmes on the telly to get a more balanced view.*

***Simon, Sceptical Scroller, Manchester***

*I definitely agree with the BBC covering stuff up because that's now been proven. The government - they probably are lying to us. What they're lying to us about though we don't know until the truth comes out.*

***Jane, Dissenting Disruptor, Wolverhampton***

## Segment profiles – media consumption

**Progressive Activists** - Follow the news closely out of interest and duty through traditional, new and social media. They actively seek out news from sources including the Guardian, BBC and podcasts such as The News Agents or The Rest is Politics.

**Incrementalist Left** - Keep up with news through mainstream sources but switch off when it gets depressing. They place high trust in established outlets such as the BBC and Sky News.

**Established Liberals** - Closely follow current affairs through mainstream sources, especially the BBC and broadsheets such as the Times and Telegraph.

**Sceptical Scrollers** - Largely disengaged from news, preferring entertainment content and viewing most media outlets as having manipulative agendas, but some following of YouTube personalities and TikTok/Instagram influencers.

**Rooted Patriots** - Do not follow news closely and generally distrust mainstream media, preferring local outlets when they do engage. This segment has low trust in traditional media institutions, feeling that you generally cannot trust what you see or hear in the news.

**Dissenting Disruptors** - Distrustful of the media, they prefer independent sources on social media and new outlets such as GB News.

**Traditional Conservatives** - Follow news closely through traditional channels such as print newspapers and radio, preferring right-leaning channels.

# **Chapter 5**

**How the segments help  
explain 2025 politics**



The Seven Segments provide an important lens for viewing the dynamics of British Politics in 2025. Because the segmentation model does not use partisan lean or voting history as inputs, the framework provides a richer way to explore and understand voting patterns in the UK, as different values groups have become untethered from mainstream parties and politics has re-aligned around new ones.

Britain's political map is being redrawn as traditional voter coalitions fragment, newer parties surge and established ones struggle to rely on traditional loyalties among a public increasingly disillusioned with the mainstream. In 2024, Labour's victory was broad but shallow, delivering a landslide majority with barely more than a third of the vote. Labour won or tied with four out of seven segments, but did not receive more than half the vote in any. In contrast, the Conservative Party lost more than half of their support among both Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors, who had overwhelmingly backed Boris Johnson in 2019.

What is now emerging is a more profound fragmentation in British politics, away from a two-party system where voters could be placed on a scale between Labour and the Conservatives, towards a new multiparty structure where voters drift freely between any combination of five parties (and six in Scotland and Wales). The segments help to tell that story.

Starting with **Progressive Activists** - This group is Labour's liberal-left base and their support for the party peaked in the Corbyn years of 2017 and 2019. Since then, they have been disillusioned by the perception that the Labour Party has turned right-ward and abandoned Corbyn's more populist platform. They are increasingly attracted to the Greens. This trend has continued in the year since the election, with this group now almost as likely to vote Green as Labour. In Scotland, Progressive Activists' dissatisfaction with Labour is even clearer. In 2024, they backed the SNP more than any other segment, with 45 per cent of Progressive Activist voters in Scotland supporting the SNP and just 27 per cent supporting Labour.

The **Incrementalist Left** contains many of the group who could best be described as soft Labour supporters, although in 2019 their vote was divided as many of them - put off by Jeremy Corbyn's style of leadership or exhausted by Brexit debates - voted for Boris Johnson's Conservatives, or did not vote at all. This made 2019 the only election since 2010 where Labour did not win outright with this group. Since the General Election, Labour's support has dropped by 11 points among the Incrementalist Left. Despite this, Labour still holds a clear lead among this segment and in focus groups they explain they are more willing to give the Government time to deliver the change they have promised and are less attracted to the promises being made by other parties that they could do better.

**Established Liberals** have long aligned with the socially liberal wing of the Conservative Party or the Liberal Democrats, although in 2024 they were more likely to support the Labour Party than at any point in recent times. This is the only group where Labour have

maintained their support since the election. The Liberal Democrats polled more strongly in 2024 with this segment than with any others, and while the Conservatives still narrowly led among Established Liberals, a combination of tactical voting by those that backed Labour and the Liberal Democrats exacerbated their seat losses. Often living in 'Blue Wall' constituencies, this group will determine the extent to which the Conservatives are able to win back any of the 60 seats the Liberal Democrats won from them in 2024. This group is also very unlikely to support Reform UK. Despite Reform's national surge, just eight per cent of Established Liberals say they would back that party were an election held today.

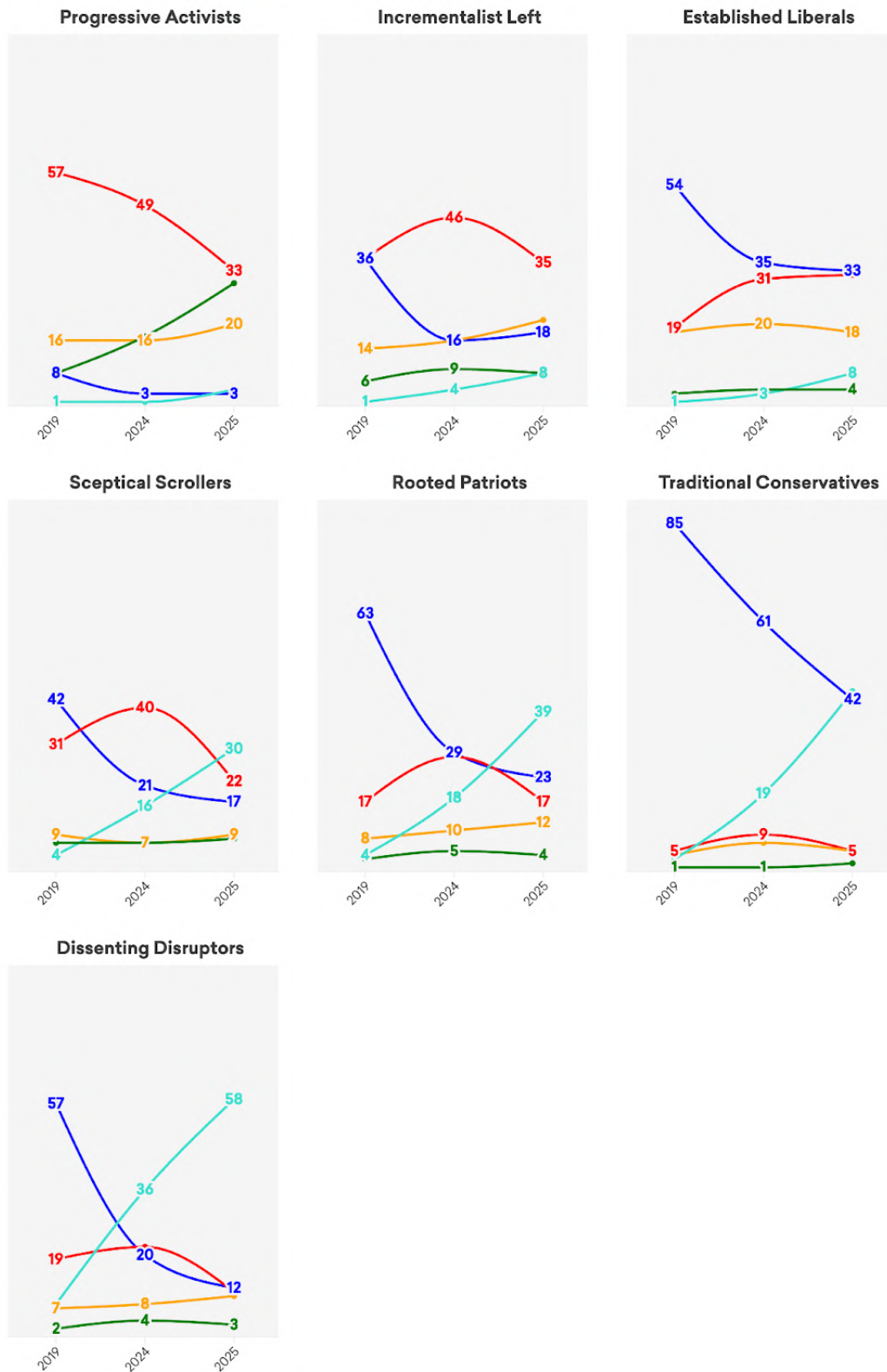
**Sceptical Scrollers** are the least likely to vote of any of the segments. Most do not align themselves with any political party, although those that do feel closer to a party tend to align with Labour, or the SNP in Scotland. In 2024, almost half (46 per cent) of them did not vote, although those who did were more likely to vote Labour than any other party. In the year since the election they have been increasingly attracted to Reform UK and are now more likely to support Reform than Labour.

The **Rooted Patriots** have long been one of the most important segments in British elections. They overwhelmingly supported Boris Johnson in 2019, delivering the Conservatives their historic victory particularly in former industrial areas that formed the so-called 'Red Wall'. The collapse of this group's support for the Conservatives and shift towards Labour in 2024 enabled the Labour Party's landslide. At the next General Election, the extent to which this group supports Reform UK will play an outsized role in whether the party's leader will get the keys to Number 10. That this group is now so untethered from mainstream party loyalties, represents a fifth of the country, and lives in some of the most marginal constituencies, means they look set to continue to shape the composition of the next Parliament.

Britain's **Traditional Conservatives** make up the base of the Conservative Party's supporters and were the only segment to decisively back the Conservative Party in 2024. Beneath the surface, however, this group has grown increasingly disillusioned with the party and they are now narrowly more likely to support Reform UK with the Conservatives in second place. A significant proportion of Traditional Conservatives now consider Reform more authentically conservative and the main party of the right. Importantly, Traditional Conservatives can be relied on more than other segments to vote at elections; although they are a relatively small segment, their turnout is much higher.

Finally, the **Dissenting Disruptors** have emerged as Reform UK's engaged base. Traditionally they tend not to vote in elections, although are motivated to vote when they spot an opportunity to change the system - such as in the Brexit Referendum of 2016 and backing Boris Johnson to get Brexit done in 2019. In 2024, they formed the core of Reform's support and that trend has continued since the General Election - Reform now has a 46 point lead with this segment. This segment are among the least likely to say they would ever vote for the Conservatives or the Labour Party.

● Conservative ● Labour ● Liberal Democrat ● Reform UK / Brexit Party ● Green

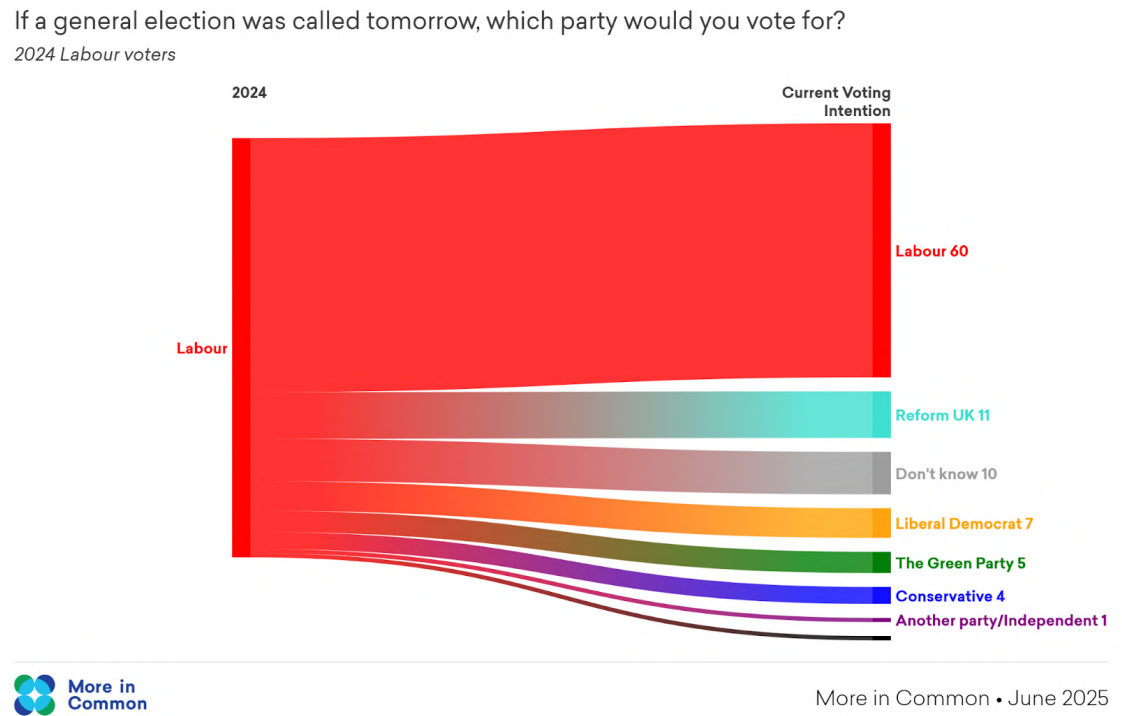


Labour

A year from the General Election, just three in five of those who voted for the Labour Party last year say they would do so again.

Much like the fragmentation of Boris Johnson’s 2019 Conservative voter coalition, Labour have lost votes across the spectrum to parties of the left and right and those who now would not vote at all.

Figure 111 | Labour’s vote flows since 2024

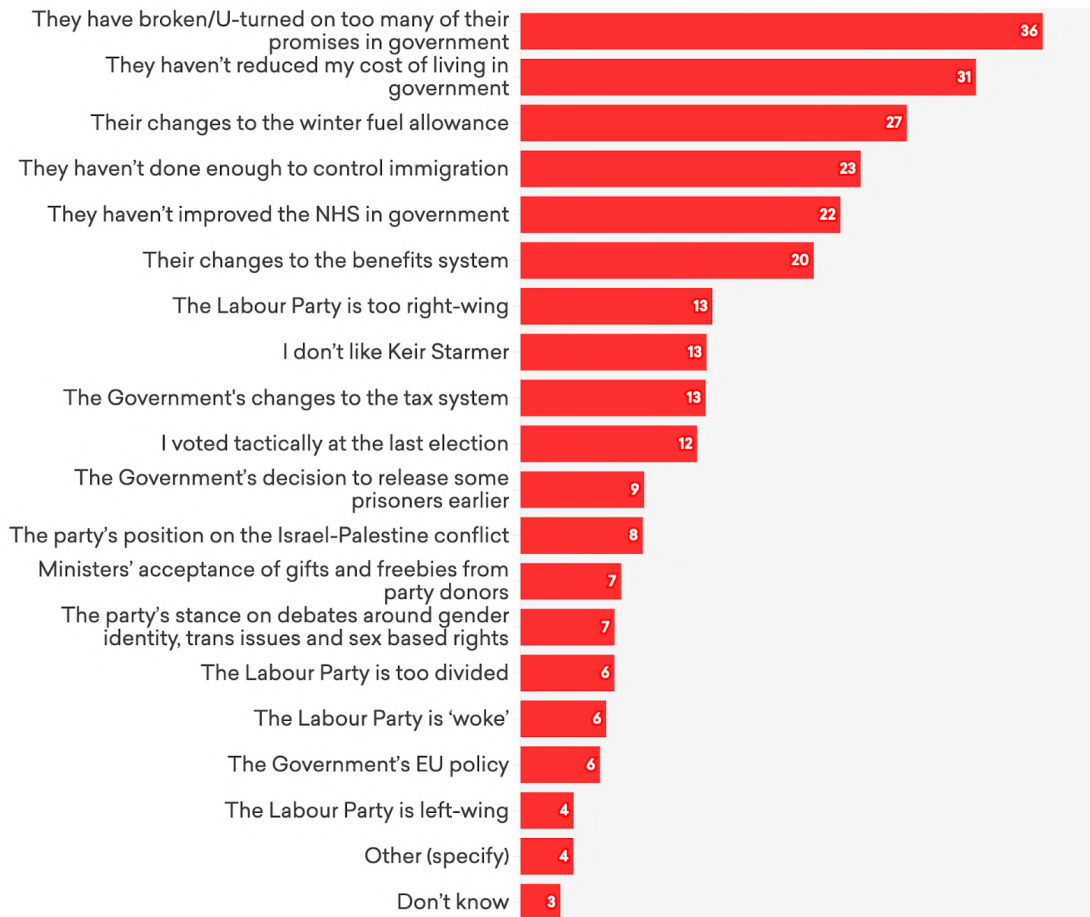


The main reason voters give for turning away from Labour is broken promises and u-turns on previous commitments. Beyond that, there are some differences between the switchers.

The 11 per cent who have switched from Labour to Reform are more likely to say they have switched because the Government has failed to get immigration under control. The 12 percent who have switched to the Liberal Democrats or Green Party cite failure to reduce the cost of living and a perception that Labour is too right-wing. Changes to the benefits system and to the winter fuel allowance stand out as policies that have led Labour’s progressive flank to rethink their allegiance.

**Figure 112 | Reasons for voters leaving Labour**

You said that you voted for Labour in the General Election last year, but would not do so if a General Election was held today. Why is that? Select your top three reasons.

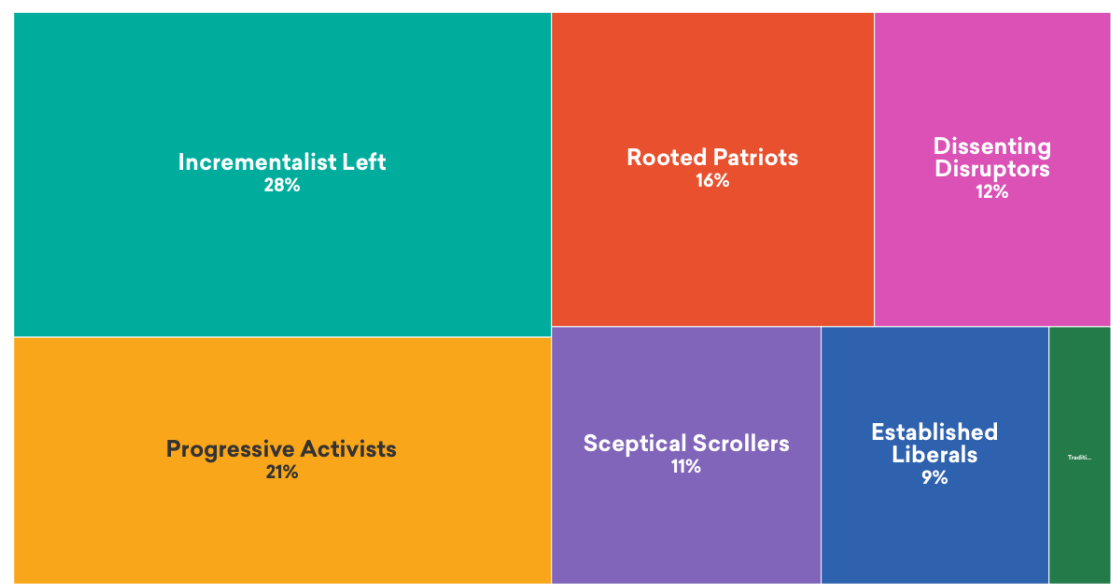


*I suppose from past experience you get promised this, that and the other. I mean especially from this existing Labour Government, it's just the opposite to what we were promised about taxes going up and stopping the boats and nothing seems to have changed. I know it's only early days, but the signs aren't very good and they just don't seem to carry through on what they promised during the pre-election.*

**Barry, Incrementalist Left, Bury**

The Labour Party's 2024 landslide was aided significantly by the diversification of their voter base. The party increased its support among six of the seven segments between the 2019 and 2024 general elections. This meant that, despite an increase in vote share of just two per cent, their ability to spread this across a wider array of types of voter meant that they could win more parliamentary seats in more places.

**Figure 113 | The composition of Labour’s 2024 voters**  
Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?  
*Segment of 2024 Labour voters*



Since then, Labour’s voter base has shrunk back to its core. In 2024, 37 per cent of Labour’s voters came from the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals segments. Now those two segments make up 51 per cent of Labour’s voter base.

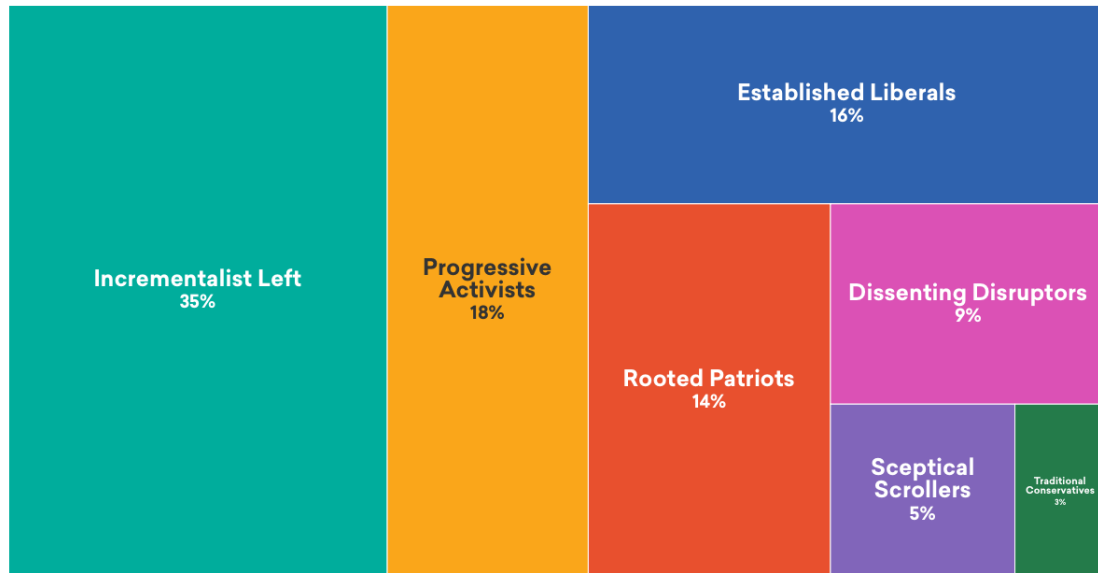
**Figure 114 | Labour in a word**



**Figure 115 | The composition of those who would currently vote Labour**

If a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

*Segment of those who would currently vote for the Labour Party*



Looking ahead to the next general election, there are a number of places that Labour could look to start to build back some of their voter base.

Looking leftwards, the Labour Party could win back some of the 940,000 Progressive Activist voters who have left the party since the General Election. This group is disappointed with Labour's rhetoric and policies since entering government, particularly on welfare payments, tax and spend and Gaza. However, only 23 per cent of Progressive Activists completely rule out voting Labour and, for many, Labour would be a natural home even if at the moment they do not feel able to support the party.

*We can manage to find money for wars and defence and I appreciate defence is important, but I think we're taking away from the more vulnerable in society at a time that's really hard for people.*

***Stuart, Progressive Activist, Edinburgh***

Re-engaging Progressive Activist voters would not necessarily require abandoning policies that appeal to majorities of other segments such as migration control. The Government would please both groups if they met their promises on fixing NHS waiting lists and took a more interventionist stance in the economy - as well as continuing to champion the green transition which is popular across the groups Labour needs to win. While Labour's falling vote with Progressive Activists is important, the 2019 election shows doing very well with this group can come at the expense of appealing to other segments more evenly distributed around the country. Policies that bridge the segment divide are likely to be more electorally fruitful.



The Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals segments are increasingly important to the Government's fortunes. Currently, Labour is performing better in these segments than any other and to some degree they now reflect Labour's new base. Along with Progressive Activists, these groups are the most likely to worry about the rise of Reform UK, and in a close race between Labour and Reform, many would be motivated to vote tactically to stop Reform from winning.

*I think [Starmer] is probably a really good manager and he's really good at discipline behind the scenes and he's really good at that. But he's not inspirational and he's not good at messaging. And I think even the really tough decisions, even the flip-flopping, if he was a better orator, a better inspirational leader, I think you'd at least go, okay, I don't like this decision, but I can see where he's going. That courage of conviction just isn't there. And I think that's the challenge that they've got.*

***Kate, Established Liberal, Chippenham***

However, these segments alone will not be enough. While the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals are generally more willing to give Labour more time to deliver on the change they have promised, by the time of the next general election, they might not be as patient. The Government will need to show that they can deliver - in particular on restoring public services and improving government finances if they want to reassure these two groups that a second term Labour Government would be a better prospect than opting for the Liberal Democrats or Conservatives. Fundamentally, these segments will judge the Government on their record of delivery more than ideological positioning, and they are only willing to give the Government the benefit of the doubt if they start to see tangible changes in their day-to-day lives.

Labour will find it difficult to maintain their parliamentary majority without winning back some of the Rooted Patriots who have left the party for Reform UK since the General Election. Speaking to this group in focus groups, it is clear that many of them are angry at Labour's performance in their first year in government, particularly on their handling of Winter Fuel payments and perceived inability to control immigration. For many Rooted Patriots, however, the issue is deeper - they think Labour is out of touch and unable to understand the concerns of ordinary people, and failures on Winter Fuel payments and immigration are symptoms of that.

*I think our government's the worst ones actually. They don't respect the people that vote for them. And if they were to do that then it would be a lot better. But they don't, you try to get the best for everybody and the government just laugh at you.*

***Diane, Rooted Patriot, Bridgwater***

*I suppose from past experience you get promised this, that and the other. I mean especially from this existing Labour Government, it's just the opposite to what we*

*were promised about taxes going up and stopping the boats and nothing seems to have changed. I know it's only early days, but the signs aren't very good and they just don't seem to carry through on what they promised during the pre-election.*

***Barry, Rooted Patriot, Bury***

This is a group that are conservative minded, and many worried about whether Labour had truly changed from the Corbyn years in 2024. They are generally risk averse and cautious about voting for a new party, but if they continue to see their living standards deteriorate further and politicians failing to understand their concerns this group could well roll the dice and play a key role in securing a Reform victory in 2029.

Importantly, appealing to Rooted Patriots does not necessarily have to clash with the priorities of other more left-leaning segments of Labour's voter coalition. Labour's workers' rights package and minimum wage increases were popular with both Rooted Patriots, Progressive Activists and the Incrementalist Left. Even on immigration, every segment including Progressive Activists would like greater control of our borders, although Labour will have to navigate divisions about what that might look like in practice.

Labour are unlikely to find success among Dissenting Disruptors currently planning to vote for Reform UK. This group are much more hard line in their views and, importantly, are much more directly opposed to the Labour Party. They are genuinely excited by the prospect of a Prime Minister Nigel Farage (whereas Rooted Patriots are more likely to just think he would be less bad than the other options), and are more likely than Rooted Patriots to rule out voting Labour at the next election. While they might never vote Labour, if they are comfortable enough that they do not see a second Labour term as a catastrophic threat to the country, many of them will return to their habit of sitting out the election.

A strategy that pursues Dissenting Disruptors could deter Labour's progressive flank. Dissenting Disruptors' concerns about immigration are much more cultural compared to Rooted Patriots', whose concerns focus on the economy and impact on public services. As such, chasing after this group of Reform voters is likely to have diminishing returns, whereas there is more low-hanging fruit for Labour among Rooted Patriots currently planning to vote Reform.

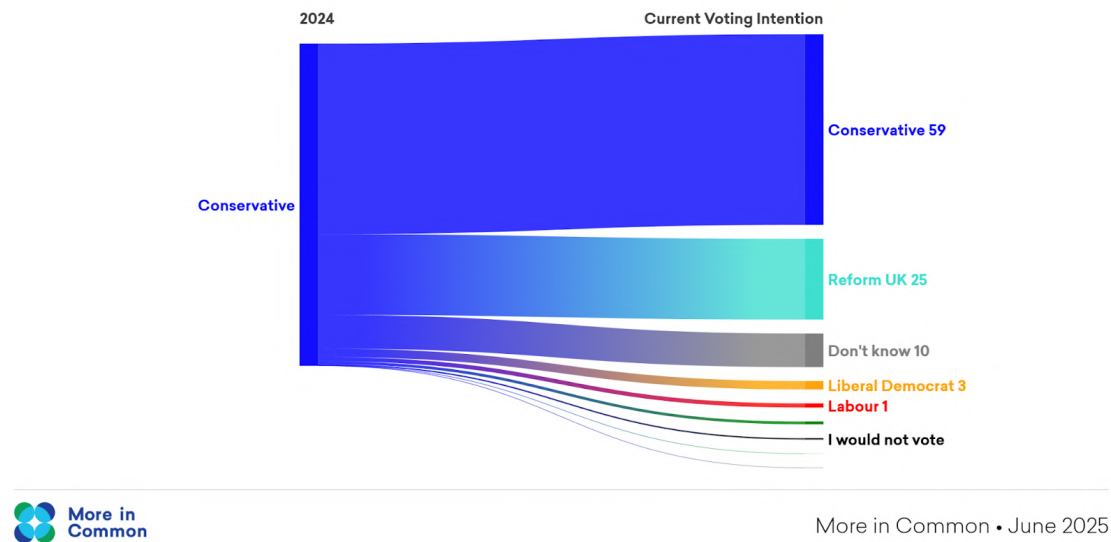
## The Conservatives

The Conservatives’ electoral coalition was at its broadest in recent times in 2019, when Boris Johnson led the party to a victory that included gains in Labour heartlands. That coalition contracted sharply in 2024 - leaving the party with only its most loyal voter base. The Conservatives lost their 2019 voters in roughly equal shares to Reform UK, Labour and the Liberal Democrats, and to abstention. Since the election the Conservatives have continued to bleed voters, albeit at a lower rate - one in four of their 2024 voters would now vote Reform. An additional 12 per cent of the 2019 Coalition have switched to parties of the political left.

**Figure 116 | The flow of votes from the Conservatives since 2024**

If a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

2024 Conservative voters

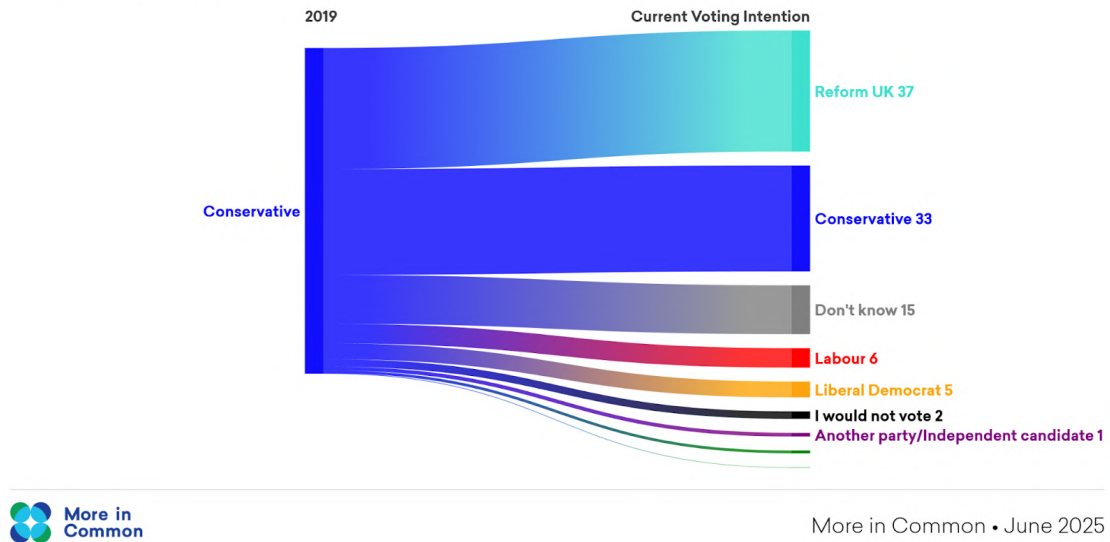


Boris Johnson’s 2019 victory was so broad that he won five of the seven segments and tied in a sixth. However, in 2024 the Conservatives only won decisively among Traditional Conservatives, and just maintained a lead among Established Liberals, a stark and historic contraction.

**Figure 117 | The flow of votes from the Conservatives since 2019**

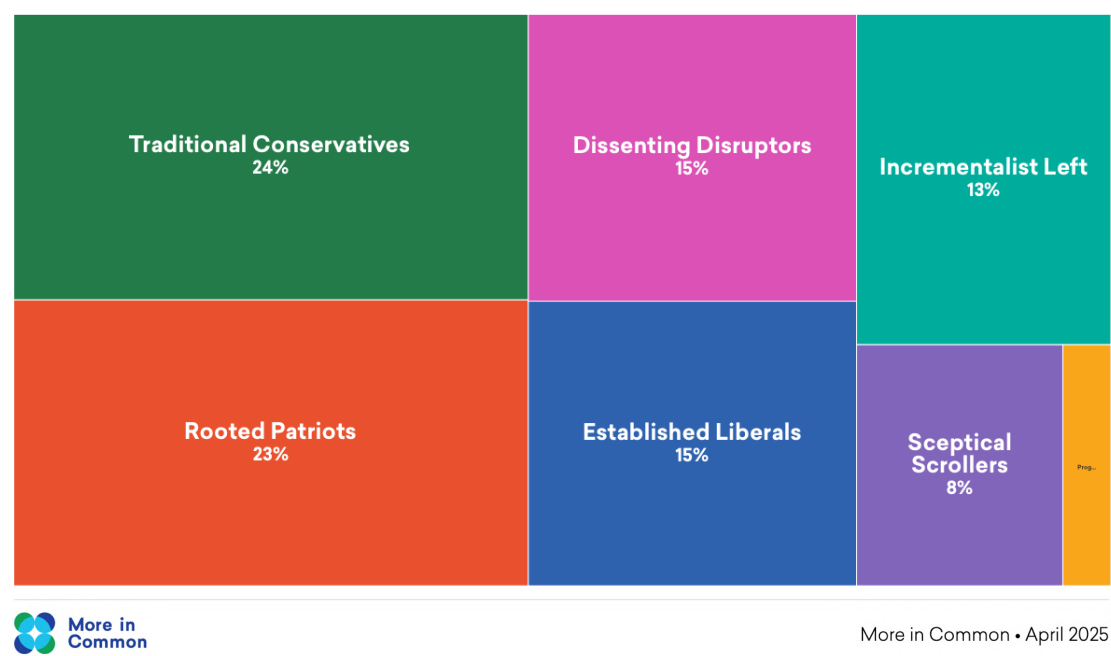
If a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

2019 Conservative voters



Since that election, support for the Conservatives has fallen most sharply in segments where it had previously been strongest. The backbone of the Conservative Party's support since 2010 has been Traditional Conservatives. Over half of this group voted for the Conservatives at every election since 2010, with 85 per cent of Traditional Conservative voters backing Boris Johnson. Yet in the 2024 election, two in five chose another party - most often Reform UK. The erosion of Conservative support among the party's most loyal segment has continued since the election, with Reform now narrowly leading among this group.

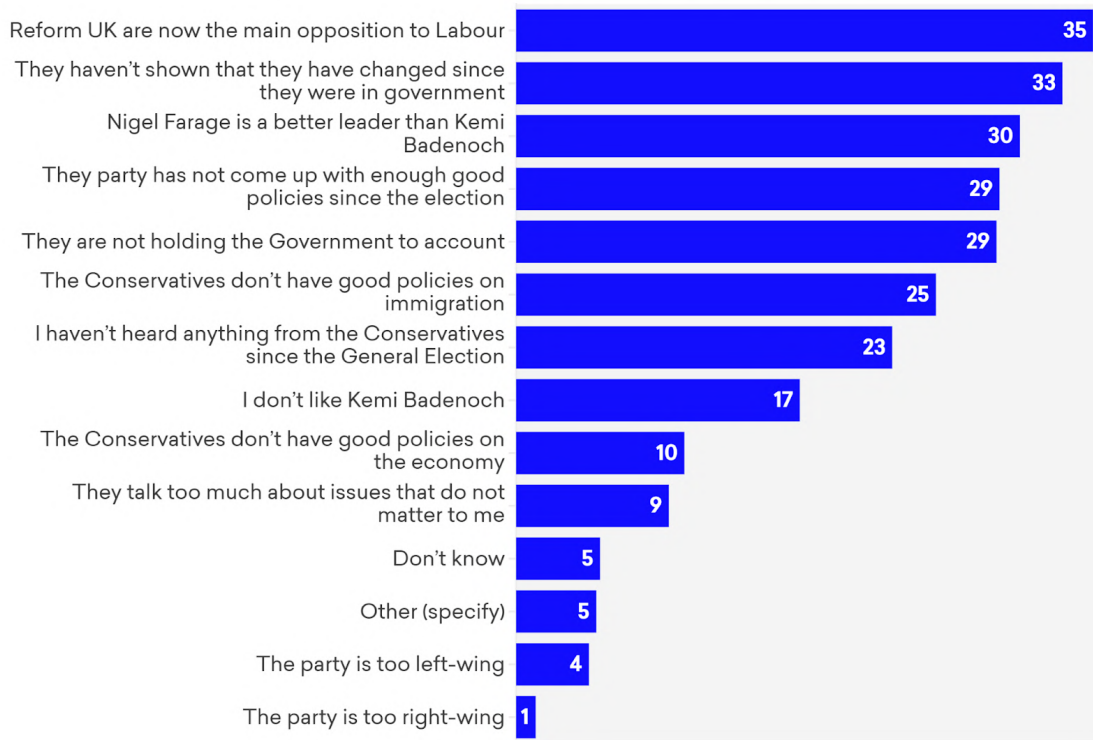
**Figure 118 | The Conservatives' 2024 voters**  
Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?  
*Segment of 2024 Conservative voters*



The main reason given by 2024 Conservatives who have switched to Reform is that Farage’s party has replaced the Tories in being seen as the main opposition to Labour. A clear challenge for the Conservatives is maintaining relevance in a two-fronted battle with Reform and Labour. Forty seven per cent say they have not heard much from the Conservatives since the election, and one in four Conservative switchers say they have moved away from the party because of this.

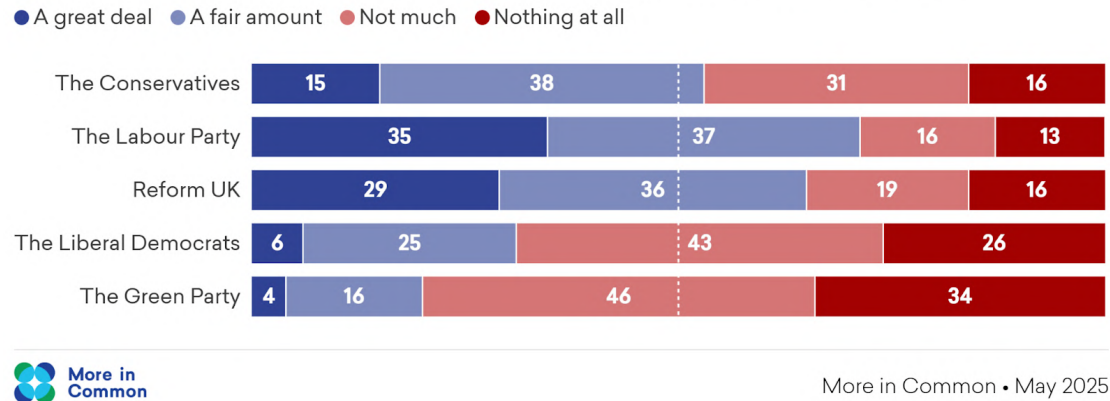
**Figure 119 | Reasons for leaving the Conservative Party**

You said that you voted for the Conservative Party in 2024, but would not do so if there was an election today. Why is that? Select your top three reasons.



Similarly, part of the challenge for the Conservatives is that they just have not been visible in the year since the election. In a two-party system it makes sense for a party to enter opposition and stay quiet while they reflect and develop new policies. However, in a multi-party system Reform UK have been able to capitalise on the Conservatives move into opposition. The public is much more likely to say they have heard from Reform UK in the last year than the Conservatives over the past year.

**Figure 120 | Visibility of the major parties in the last year**  
How much have you heard from each of the following parties over the last year?



A further challenge for the Conservatives is taking the time to rediscover and renew their policy platform, such that they are able to be more visible in the public eye, while also not ceding air time to Reform UK.

**Figure 121 | Perceptions of the Conservative Party**  
In a word or two, how would you describe the Conservative Party at the moment?



The Conservatives experienced their greatest drop in support among Rooted Patriots between 2019 and 2024. Sixty three per cent of this group voted Conservative in 2019. Yet just 29 per cent of Rooted Patriots voters chose the Conservatives in 2024, with many turning to Labour or to Reform UK.

*I've seen [Kemi] interviewed on things and I just find her disconnected from the public and not really, really grounded...she doesn't look like a leader. She doesn't act*



*like a leader. I think the Conservatives are really on the back foot. I think Reform are coming up and something was said the other day that there's only two parties now and that's Reform and Labour, which is incredible. But I mean obviously I know the Conservatives are still there.*

**Annette, Rooted Patriot, Bury**

A further retraction of Conservative support was among the Dissenting Disruptors. While 57 per cent of voters in this group backed the Conservatives in 2019, in 2024 this slumped to 20 per cent. In focus group conversations with these voters, immigration is routinely used as the reason many of them turned their backs on the Conservatives along with the Party Gate scandal.

*Then there was all this with immigrants letting in a bunch of immigrants and not expelling the illegal immigrants. I don't know, it doesn't make sense to me. Boris said, oh I'll fix it. And then he has the biggest spike in immigration out of anybody and it's slowed down a little since Boris, but not really noticeably.*

**Chris, Dissenting Disruptor, Wolverhampton**

*When you add it all together and we're giving away money, inviting people in, getting overcrowded, people getting frustrated, we're letting criminals in without checking them and it's just getting us down, down, down, down, down.*

**Stuart, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

*I mean, look at Boris and the wine and the suitcase from the co-op and I can never get that image out of my head...But all of it, all of those golden handshakes for his mates. Lady this, Lord that who got the PPE jobs or the contracts and all of this and it all went wrong... I think it was handled very badly and yet it broke us more. It did. I mean, forget, excuse the pun, financially broke us, but yeah, we are more broken from that.*

**Ayda, Dissenting Disruptor, Broadstairs**

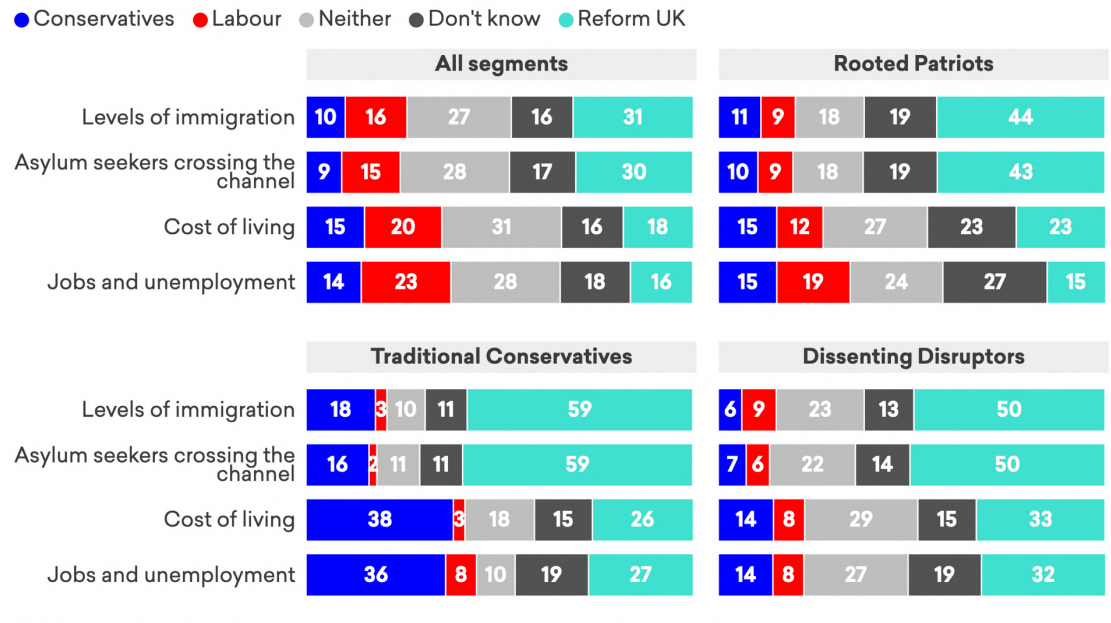
While Labour managed to win over some Rooted Patriots who voted Conservative in 2019 (13 per cent), the Conservatives lost an equal number of these votes to Reform UK between 2019 and 2024 (17 per cent). Fourteen per cent of Traditional Conservatives who voted Conservative in 2019 went to Reform, as did over a third of 2019 Conservatives in the Dissenting Disruptor segment. This swing from the Conservatives to Reform has only continued since the election.

The Conservatives will need to rebuild trust among their socially conservative flank if they are to rebuild their base at the next General Election. Their challenge will be to focus their

attention on those segments (particularly Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives) who are less hostile to the Conservative Party and more willing to vote for them again. The risk to the Party may lie in confusing all the voters they have lost to the right with the Dissenting Disruptors, who are the least likely to come back. Groups such as Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives are more likely to be attracted to more restrained policies such as wanting to see our institutions reformed and improved rather than burned down entirely.

The Conservatives could also win back votes across the Rooted Patriots, Traditional Conservatives, Established Liberals and Dissenting Disruptor segments by playing to their strengths. Currently, Conservative voters are much more likely to be supporting the party because of its policies on the economy than their policies on immigration - almost the mirror inverse of Reform UK support. While it is important that the Conservatives regain credibility on immigration, they are unlikely to be able to outflank Reform UK on it in the short term. Focusing on their economic platform, along with immigration, would help them win over the voters for whom the rising cost of living, stagnating economy and prospect of tax rises are a problem.

**Figure 122 | Trust in the parties on immigration and the economy among Conservative/Reform swing segments**  
Which of the following parties do you trust most on each of the following issues?



At the same time, the party is leaking votes to the left. A majority of Established Liberals voted Conservative in 2019, dropping to 35 per cent in 2024. These voters swung to Labour who increased their vote share by 12 points with this group. Established Liberals are also

among the most likely to have voted tactically for parties on the left, such as the Liberal Democrats, where they are competitive.

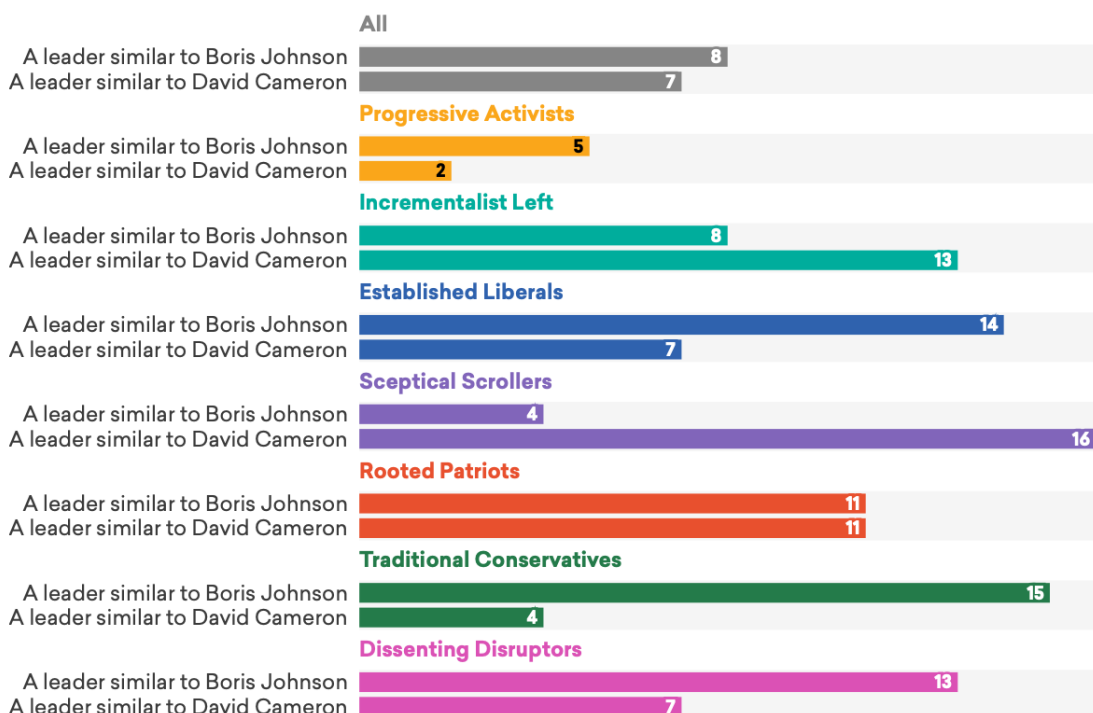
Conservative failures on the economy hurt them across the board, but particularly with Established Liberals. The Conservatives have not lost as much support with this segment as it has with others since the election, but they are far from making up lost ground with a segment that was once solidly blue. Traditional Conservatives' and Established Liberals' expectations can be bridged on economic issues – they are more economically right-leaning than other segments and a platform of fiscal conservatism is likely to appeal to them.

The eventual direction that Kemi Badenoch sets out will influence which voters the party can attract. Using previous leaders as a proxy for ideological direction, if David Cameron were the current leader, the party's support among Incrementalist Left and Sceptical Scrollers would increase significantly. Yet if Boris Johnson were the leader, gains would come from the Dissenting Disruptors and the Conservative base segments of the Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives.

**Figure 123 | The impact of hypothetical Conservative leaders on the party's vote share with each of the segments**

If the Conservative Party had a leader similar to [David Cameron/Boris Johnson], how would you vote in General Election held today?

*Change from current raw voting intention*

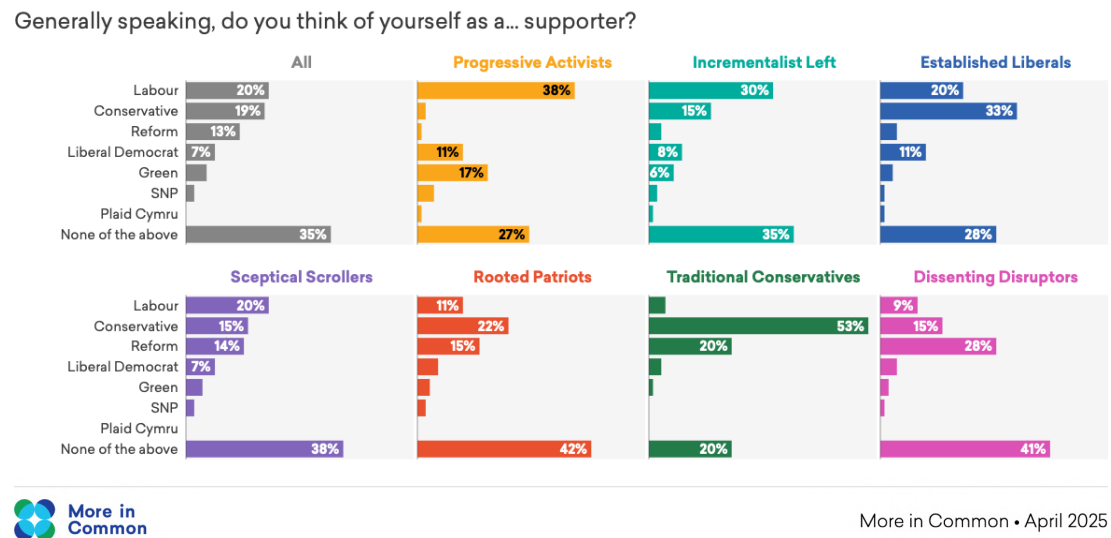


More in Common • May 2025

Commentariat predictions of Conservative extinction are not shared by the public, with most expecting the party to survive beyond the next general election. In fact, the public are almost six times more likely to say that the Conservative Party will exist (58 per cent) than it will not (10 per cent).

Conservative supporters also appear to have stronger loyalty among their (albeit currently smaller) base than the Labour Party. Using the lens of the segments, Traditional Conservatives and Established Liberals are more likely to say that they are Conservative supporters than any other political party.

Figure 124 | Partisan identity by segment



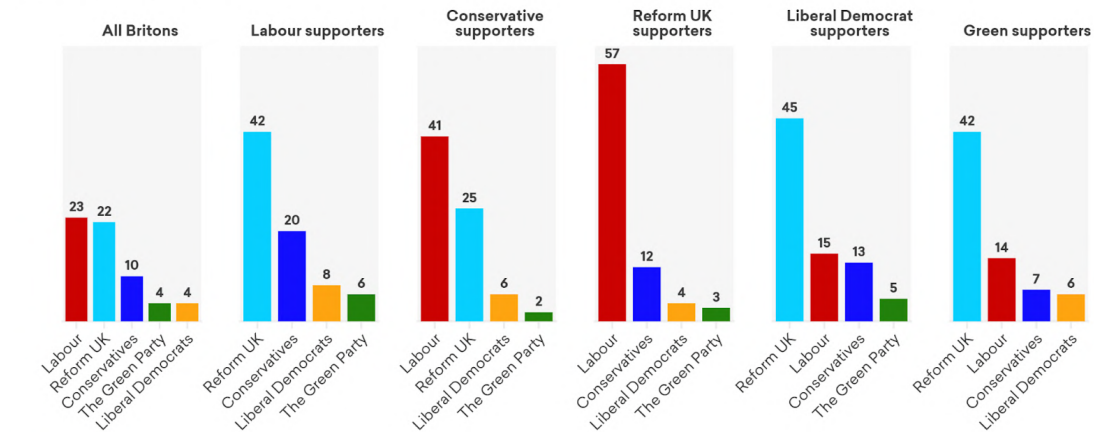
Rooted Patriots are the most likely to say they do not see themselves as a supporter of any party, although the Conservatives continue to be ahead of Reform on party self-identification among this group. Providing Rooted Patriots with a reason to vote Conservative is key to realising any prospect of Conservative recovery ahead of the next general election - in focus group conversations this segment is particularly attracted to policies such as Levelling Up, which they see as correcting the fact their communities have been historically overlooked or neglected.

Across the country, there is also currently less anti-Conservative hostility than there is hostility to the Labour Party or Reform UK. Asked how they would vote if they could vote against a party, just a tenth would use that vote against the Conservatives. This low concern about the Conservatives relative to some voters' fears about Labour and Reform suggests that a small number of current Reform and Labour voters could be open to tactically voting for the Conservatives at the next election to stop another party in their constituency.

**Figure 125 | The parties that voters would vote against**

If you could vote against one party in a General Election, who would you vote for?

*By current voting intention*



More in Common • June 2025

The path back for the Conservatives is perhaps more difficult for them than at any other time in the party's history. However, by playing to their strengths, focusing on presenting themselves as a party of economic stability and with a confident socially conservative position on immigration and other cultural issues, there are routes to win back many of the voters who have been disappointed by the party in recent years.

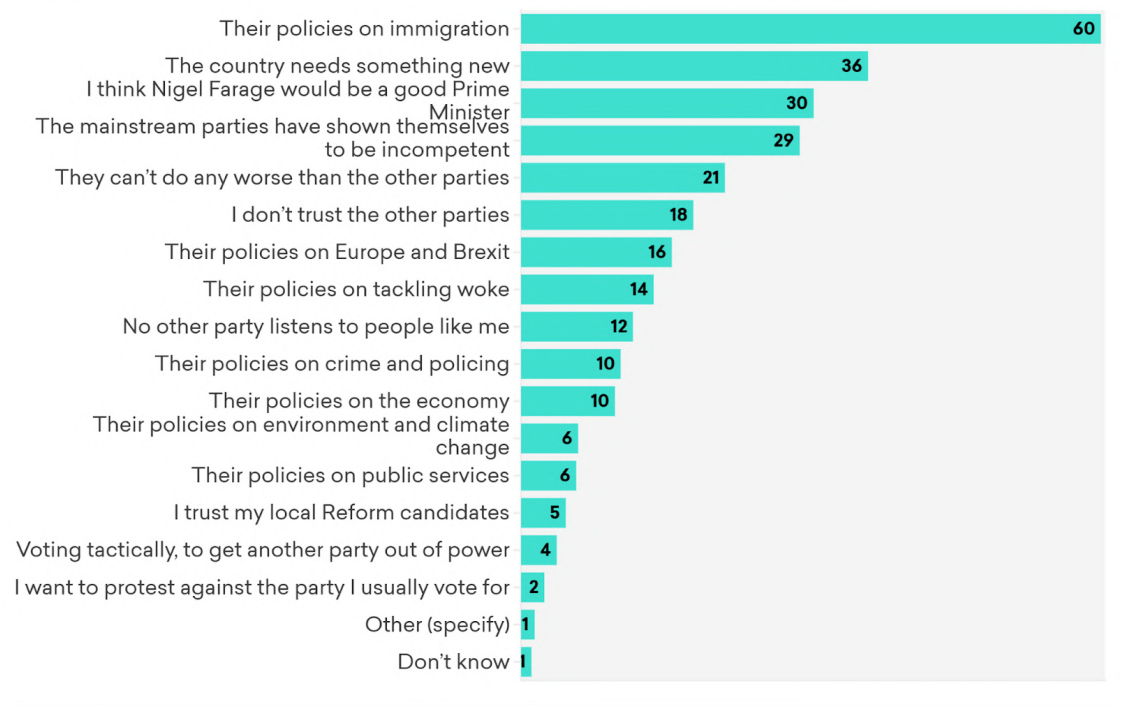
Reform UK

Since the election, support for Reform UK has nearly doubled, and they have since shown that they can translate this performance into electoral success. This, combined with the party topping the polls in the 2025 Local Elections - winning 40 per cent of seats up for election - shows Reform has real momentum.

Immigration is the main pull factor to Reform UK - three in five Reform supporters give this as their main driver for voting Reform. Beyond this, voters say they are backing Reform because of a desire for change and disillusionment with the mainstream parties.

Figure 126 | Reasons that people would vote Reform UK

You said that you would vote for Reform if an election was held today. Why is that? Select your top three reasons.



The failure of other parties to meet the public’s expectations has clearly boosted Reform - 55 per cent of their voters say they are backing the party because they think that the other parties are incompetent, untrustworthy or that Reform cannot be worse.

Reform’s success is also built on the coattails of Nigel Farage’s popularity. Three in ten of Reform’s likely voters say they would vote Reform because Farage would be a good Prime Minister. Farage enjoys much higher approval among Reform voters than Keir Starmer, Kemi Badenoch or Ed Davey command with their own party supporters.

An obstacle for Reform’s continued ascent may be their lack of governing experience - lack of experience is the most commonly given barrier to voting Reform.

**Figure 127 | Perceptions of Nigel Farage among Reform Party supporters**  
In a word or two, how would you describe Nigel Farage?



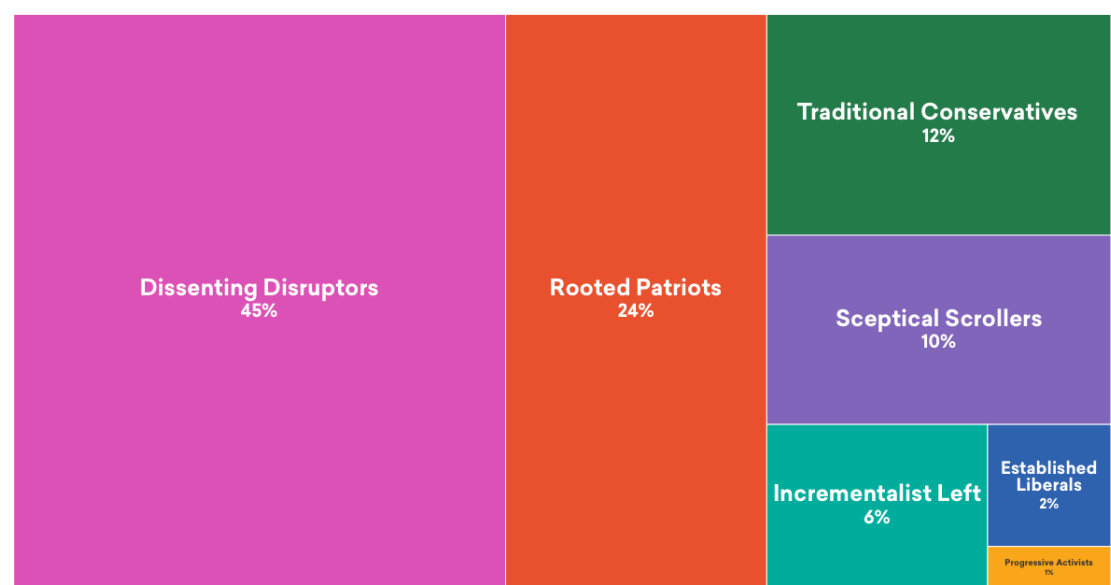
Reform UK’s breakthrough in the 2024 election—surpassing UKIP’s 2014 vote share and securing Nigel Farage his first parliamentary seat—was driven in large part by one key group: Dissenting Disruptors. Given their disillusionment with mainstream politics, deep distrust of national institutions and better to “burn it down” mindset, the appeal of an outsider party offering a fresh political alternative was strong.



Figure 128 | The makeup of Reform’s 2024 voter base

Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?

Segment of 2024 Reform UK voters



More in Common • April 2025

Thirty six per cent of the Dissenting Disruptor segment who voted opted for Reform at the 2024 election. Some of this group have been Farage loyalists since 2015; of those Dissenting Disruptors who voted for Reform in 2024, a quarter voted for UKIP in 2015, and 22 per cent for the Brexit Party in 2019. However, Reform was also successful at wooing over those Dissenting Disruptors who had voted for Boris Johnson in 2019 - over 60 per cent of this Tory defector group among Dissenting Disruptors voted for Farage and his party in July 2024.

Support for Reform among the Dissenting Disruptors segment has only strengthened in the year since the election. Fifty eight per cent now say they would vote for Reform UK at the next election, an 18 point increase since the last general election. Nigel Farage’s Party has capitalised on a feeling of discontent with mainstream parties and politics among this group; 42 per cent of Dissenting Disruptors explain they would choose Reform because the country needs new leadership (more than any other segment), while 31 per cent explain their support on the basis of the incompetence of mainstream parties.

*He says what he thinks, which I really, really like...over the last 20, 25 years, it's just been a bit of a shambles. So you'd naturally look at the next one and go, you're going to be the same. But [Farage] does say a lot more that resonates with me these days than anybody else does. And it feels like I'd love him to have a go, have a shot. And if you deliver 20 per cent of everything that you say, then I think the country will be in a better place. But you've got to start with the basics and work from there.*

**Johnny, Dissenting Disruptor, Wigan**

Rooted Patriots will, as for Labour and the Conservatives, be key to Reform's future success. Reform was able to win the support of some Rooted Patriots who had voted Conservative in 2019 but were disillusioned with the party, yet did not feel comfortable voting for Labour at the 2024 election. Eighteen per cent of Rooted Patriots voted for Reform in 2024, two thirds of whom voted Conservative in 2019. The party has increased its support among Rooted Patriots in the year since the election by 21 points. However Reform faces barriers growing their support among this group, which tends to be among the most concerned about climate change, disapproves of Donald Trump, and is cautious about radical change.

*I like the fact that he was saying he will tackle immigration and deal with other issues... I think the country probably would be in a better place with him.*

***Dawn, Rooted Patriot, Bury***

*I'm frightened of Donald Trump. I don't know what's going to come out of his mouth next, and I just don't know what he's going to do next because he takes action on things and then retracts it. And the way he speaks, the way he holds himself is just shocking. It's not like the way I think a president should behave.*

***Annette, Rooted Patriot, Bury***

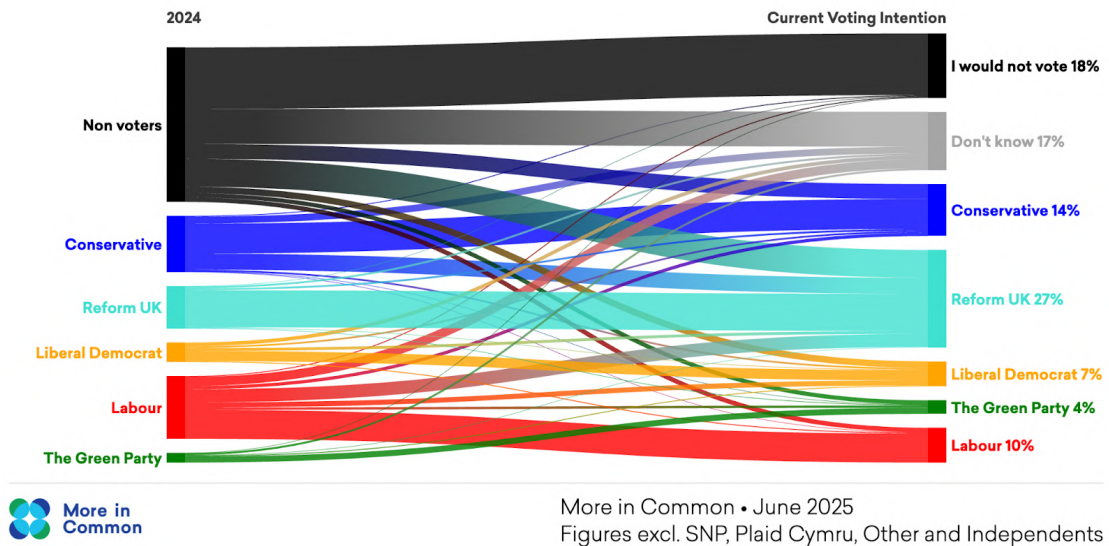
*You'll wake up one morning and be like, boom, 50 per cent tariff, or you literally do not know what the hell [Trump] is going to do next. For me, as someone who is the leader of the free world, I do find that concerning because he could literally turn around the next day and just, God knows what? I just find him very erratic. There's no thought behind what he does.*

***Jonathan, Rooted Patriot, Wrexham***

**Figure 129 | Voter flows since 2025**

If a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

*Rooted Patriots*



Though Traditional Conservatives make up a smaller portion of Reform's 2024 voter base, they are critical to the party's future success. Reform's ability to attract not only those who 'lent' their support to the Conservatives in 2019 but long-time loyalists as well has enabled it to consolidate more of the right wing vote. The party's ability to appeal to Traditional Conservatives has only grown since the general election; while 19 per cent of Traditional Conservative voters supported Reform in July 2024, 42 per cent now say they would vote for the party - as many as would vote Conservative. This highlights Reform's success in extending its appeal beyond the groups traditionally drawn to populist rhetoric and right-wing policies, to those disillusioned with mainstream conservatism. However, Traditional Conservatives are among the most likely of any segments to back Ukraine and to value the UK's historic institutions- Reform's position on both issues could limit their support among this group.

For Reform UK to expand its voter base, they have a few key challenges. Their strong support from Dissenting Disruptors is essential, but if they play too much into the revolutionary instincts of these hardcore supporters, they will put off the more cautious Traditional Conservatives and Rooted Patriots who do not necessarily want to see a reworking of the whole system. In this way, the challenge faced by Reform is not dissimilar to that faced by the Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn - positive momentum in the polls, driven by a group who risk pushing the party in ways that are less palatable to a mainstream audience. In focus group discussions, while Reform voters do not expect detailed policy platforms at this stage, they are looking for reassurance on how Reform will go about doing politics and whether they will be able to bring an end to the sense of chaos that has dominated British politics in recent years.

Reform's three key core segments are in agreement on many issues – for example, that the party should keep Farage as their leader and that Reform's immigration policies broadly get the balance right.

**Figure 130 | Reform's current policies supported by their voter base**

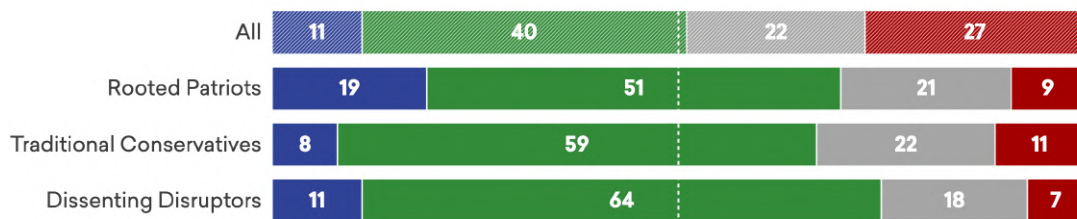
Do you think Reform UK would be more likely to win the next election if they...

● Kept Nigel Farage as their leader ● Don't know ● Removed Nigel Farage as their leader



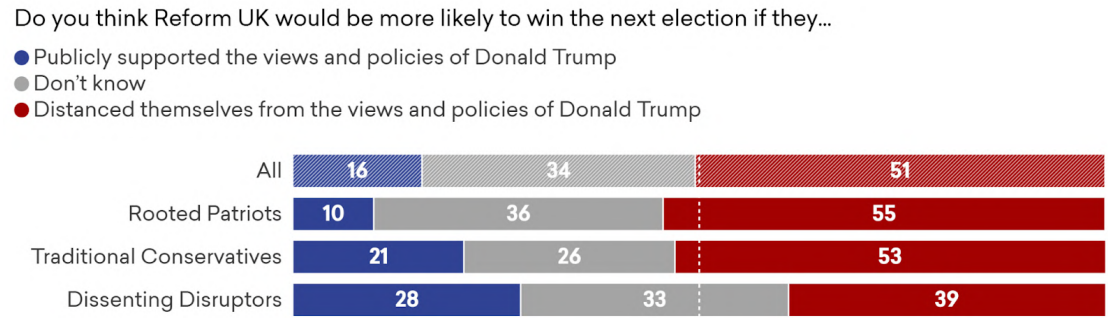
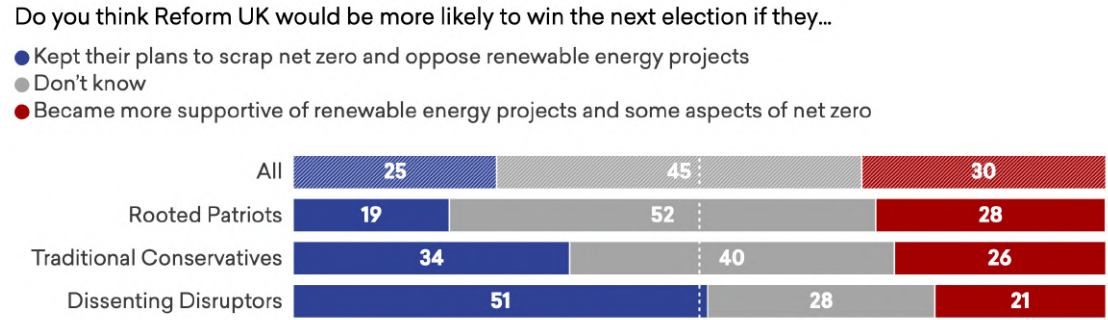
Do you think Reform UK's policies on immigration are...

● Too weak ● About right ● Don't know ● Too strict



However there is divergence on other issues. Dissenting Disruptors are significantly more likely to say that Reform should keep its plan to scrap net zero, and to maintain a relationship with Donald Trump, than Traditional Conservatives or Rooted Patriots. Being overly influenced by the more radical platform of Dissenting Disruptors, who are also among the most vocal online Reform supporters, could limit their gains elsewhere.

Figure 131 | Reform policies where their potential supporters are split



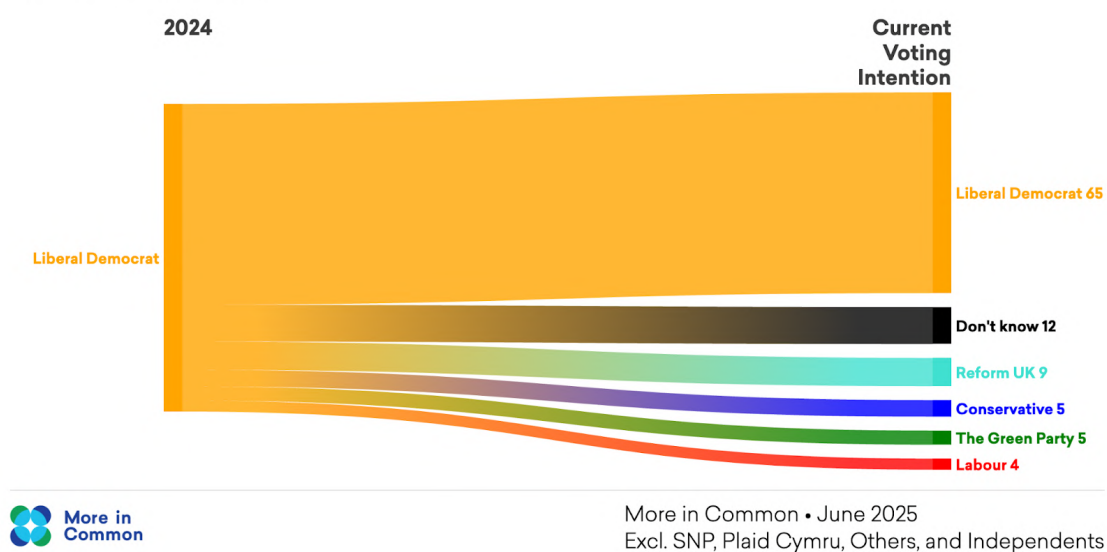
## Liberal Democrats

While the Liberal Democrats overall vote share has tended to be stable since the election, there have been inflows and outflows of support. Overall, two thirds of 2024 Liberal Democrats would vote the same way in an election tomorrow.

**Figure 132 | Voter flows from the Liberal Democrats since 2024**

If a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

2024 Liberal Democrat voters



A defining feature of Liberal Democrats' voter base is pro-European attitudes. Remain voters are more than twice as likely to vote for the Liberal Democrats than Leave voters. This is reflected in the segments among which the Liberal Democrats perform best – Established Liberals, Progressive Activists and the Incrementalist Left, who were each much more likely to have voted to remain in the European Union. Those three segments jointly account for 61 per cent of the Liberal Democrats' 2024 coalition, 19 per cent more than the share of the population these segments represent. Their supporters also see them as competent, and support their policies on public services and the economy.

Figure 133 | Segment makeup of The Liberal Democrats’ 2024 voters

Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?

Segment of 2024 Liberal Democrat voters



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There may be an opportunity for the Liberal Democrats to make further gains with the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals. Currently, the Liberal Democrats take 21 and 18 per cent of the vote with these segments respectively.

The barrier to voting Liberal Democrat that people in these groups list highest is that the party has not set out a clear alternative to Labour’s policies, suggesting a more ambitious policy platform could expand support within these segments. For Progressive Activists, outreach is not the only challenge - for many in this segment, it is the Liberal Democrats’ stint in coalition with the Conservatives that remains the major barrier to voting for the party.



In a word or two how would describe the Liberal Democrats at the moment?



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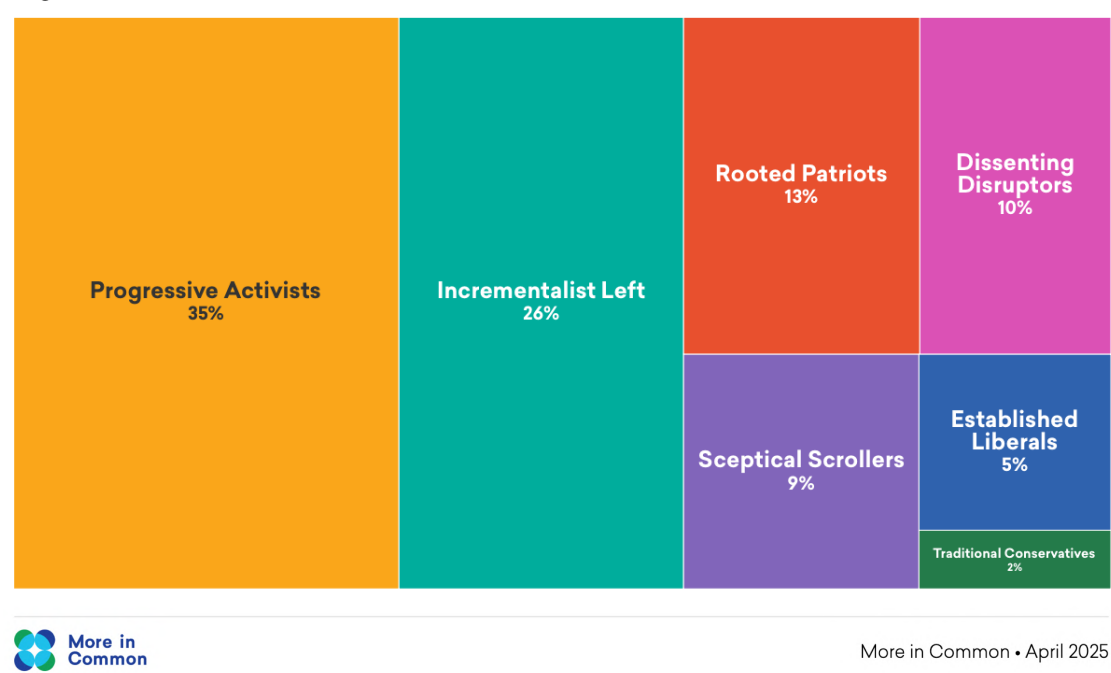
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## The Green Party

Half of the Green Party’s current supporters have moved to the party since the election – two in five of whom voted Labour. At the same time, they have managed to retain more of their 2024 voters than some of the main parties. Their 2024 coalition was dominated by Progressive Activists and the Incrementalist Left who, between them, accounted for 61 per cent of their 2024 voters.

**Figure 135 | The composition of 2024 Green Party voters**  
Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?  
*Segment of 2024 Green voters*

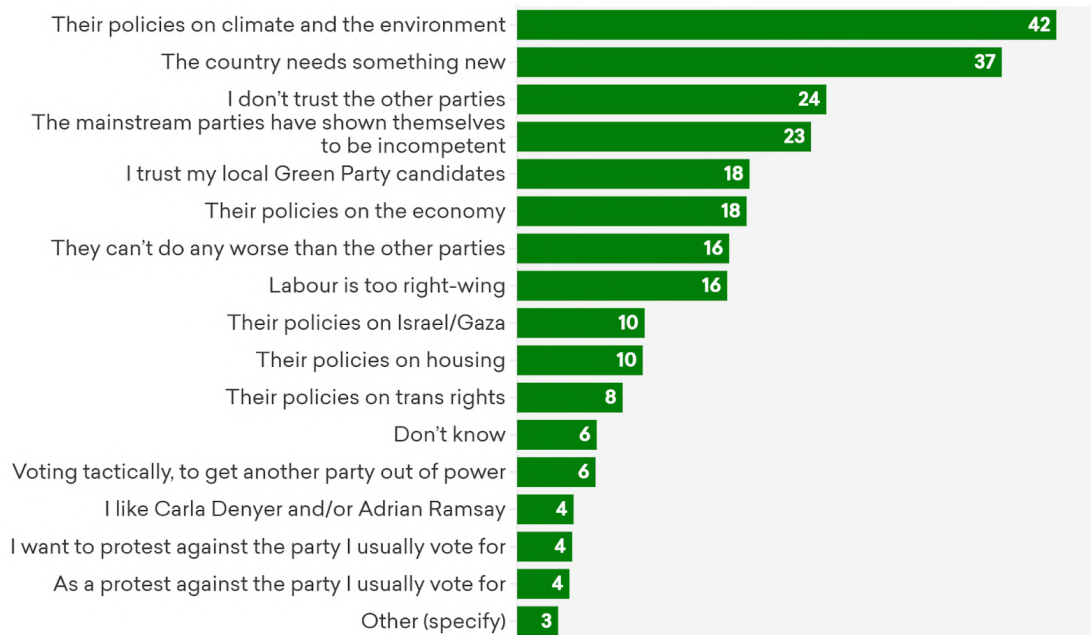


Green voters skew young – their vote share among under 25s is 33 per cent, more than triple their vote share in any other age group. They are the most ideologically concentrated segment – 47 per cent of would-be Green voters fall into the Progressive Activist segment, compared to 12 per cent of the public. This group also holds the most opportunity for this party; 22 per cent of Progressive Activists intend to vote Green at the next election, but four in ten put their likelihood of voting for the party at six out of ten or higher, suggesting there is more scope to win over this segment.

Environmental policies are the main draw for the Green’s voters. But the Greens, like Reform, benefit from the public’s disillusionment with established parties. Two in five Green likely voters attribute their support to a desire for something new, while one in four say it’s about not trusting the other parties.

**Figure 136 | Reasons for voting Green**

You said that you would vote for the Green Party if an election were held today - why is that? Select your top three reasons.



Comparing those questions on why Green voters voted at the last election with attitudes now, the salience of policies on Israel/Gaza seems to have waned as a driver for the Green vote, while the feeling 'the country needs something new' has risen.

As More in Common and UCL Policy Lab's analysis in *Change Pending* after the 2024 election found, the Greens face a clear challenge holding their parliamentary coalition together between their urban Brighton and Bristol seats and their Conservative-Green switches in Herefordshire and Waveney Valley. This is exacerbated by the fact that Green supporters are significantly more likely to be from the Progressive Activist segment (three times their national representation) than any other segment. The only comparable segment is Reform UK's over-representation among the Dissenting Disruptors segment. Two in five Reform supporters are Dissenting Disruptors - however this is only twice the national average given the larger size of the Dissenting Disruptors segment.

## Scotland

The last decade has seen remarkable political shifts in Scotland.

Since 2011 when the SNP formed a majority government, the party has dominated Scottish politics, Labour's representation in Scotland squandered as a result. In 2024 Labour was able to recover many of their historic Scottish seats from the SNP, as voters prioritised penalising perceived incumbents over ideological divisions on independence. Much of this goodwill has since been lost, however. By mid-2025, Keir Starmer now had a minus 32 approval rating in Scotland, down from a positive six approval rating immediately after the General Election.

Scottish voters' dissatisfaction with the new Government are similar to the rest of the country - stemming from high profile scandals as well as decisions on the Winter Fuel Allowance, for example. They also have an increased sense that Scotland is taken for granted by the Labour Government, heightened by decisions such as employing the first head of Great British Energy to work from Manchester rather than Aberdeen. Meanwhile, the Scottish Conservatives are similarly underwater, with many of their traditional voters now supporting Reform UK.

*I think they've got off that terrible start. Everything they promised, they've never followed through. They says when you put our taxes up, they've done that. They says we would keep the economy stable. That's not happened. I've just renewed my mortgage. And it's the same as what it was during Covid. The cost hasn't went down. They said they were going to cut waiting times to the NHS. They've actually just got bigger and bigger since they were, I don't think that they've followed through any of the promises at all.*

***Karen, Dissenting Disruptor, Larkhall***

*The U-turn they've done [on Winter Fuel] is definitely to save face, because it was so unpopular. Although, I mean personally I think that the Winter Fuel payment probably should be means tested, but I think there's so many bigger issues going on at the moment. But yeah, I don't think Labour have got off to a good start. They seem to be very weak in their positioning on a lot of things. They've reneged on a lot of their promises and just not impressed at all.*

***Ernestine, Rooted Patriot, Hamilton***

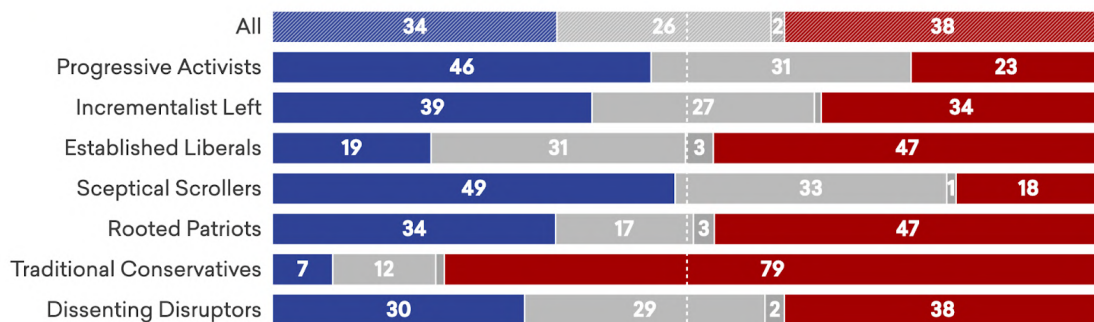
The SNP have retained more voters since the election than any other party. Like Reform UK, they are beneficiaries of the UK Government's unpopularity - one in ten (9 per cent) of their likely voters chose Labour in 2024.

In Scotland, views on independence still shape political divides, even if voters are now more likely to choose a party based on perceived competence rather than their stance on the union. Progressive Activists and Sceptical Scrollers make up Scotland's most pro-independence segments, whereas Traditional Conservatives, Established Liberals and Rooted Patriots are much more supportive of the Union, in line with their wider attitudes to trusting established institutions.

**Figure 137 | EU Referendum vote by segment**

How did you vote in the 2014 referendum on Scottish independence, if you were able to vote?

- FOR Scottish independence
- I did not vote
- Don't know
- AGAINST Scottish independence



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The SNP's voter base consists almost entirely of Scottish independence supporters. Just seven per cent of those who voted against Scottish Independence would vote SNP, compared to 57 per cent of pro-independence voters. Yet they do not have a monopoly on Independence voters - two in five would vote for other parties. Nor is independence the only pull factor - in fact just one in five who support the SNP attribute this entirely to their views on independence, while for 34 per cent say that other issues matter more.

The SNP vote is relatively ideologically concentrated. Thirty per cent of the SNP's likely voters are Progressive Activists, twice the proportion in Scotland as a whole. The Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives are underrepresented, forming a combined 15 percent of the SNP's coalition compared to 31 per cent of the Scottish public.

*I've always been an SNP and a Labour voter and I've always voted, but I'm kind of running out of options now, and I kind think a change is needed and it makes me think, 'are Reform that change?'. Because who else am I going to vote for? All the big parties have shown us they're all as weak as each other and aren't going to be behind us and be for the people.*

**Liam, Dissenting Disruptor, Stonehouse**

Figure 138 | SNP voter coalition 2024

Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?  
*Segment of 2024 SNP voters*



The over-representation of Dissenting Disruptors in the Scottish population compared to the UK as a whole presents opportunities for Reform UK's growth there ahead of the Scottish Parliament election next year. This appears to have been presaged by Reform's strong recent council by-election performances in the Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse parliamentary by-election.

**Figure 139 | Segment composition of Scotland**

In what region of the UK do you live?

*Scotland*



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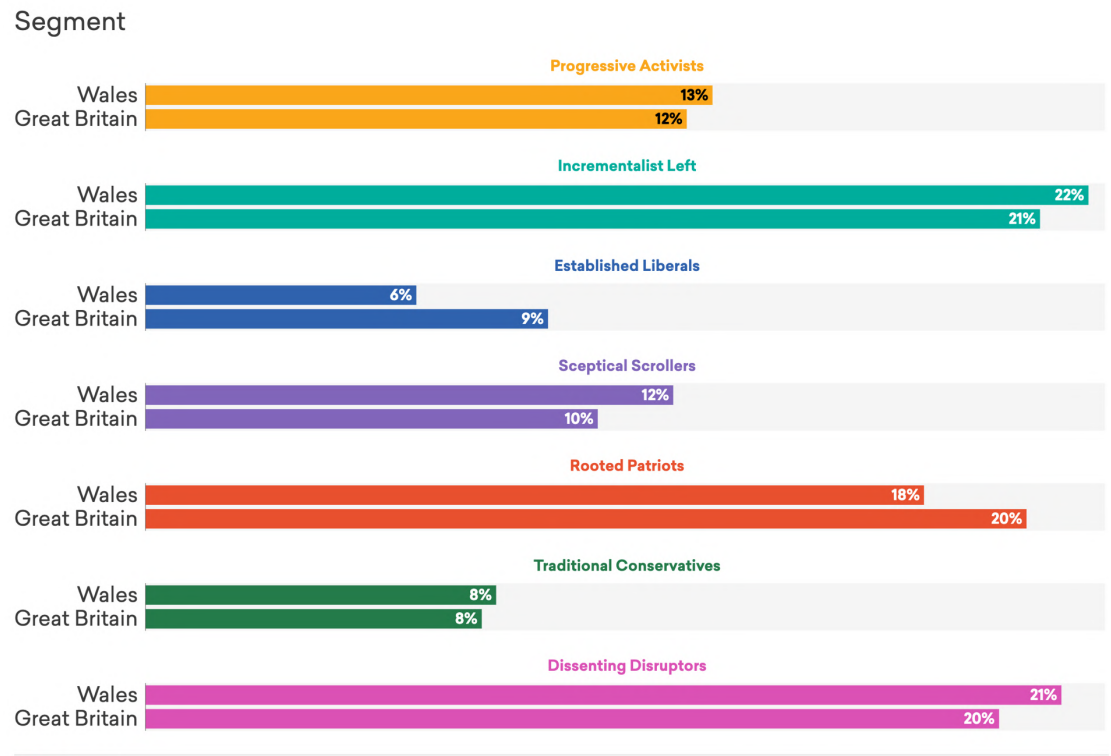
By tapping into this large pool of Dissenting Disruptors, and by capitalising on dissatisfaction among those voters who feel that both Labour and the SNP have let Scotland down, Reform UK has the potential to be a powerful electoral force in the Holyrood election in 2026. More in Common will be producing a Scottish supplement to this report in the run up to that election.



Wales

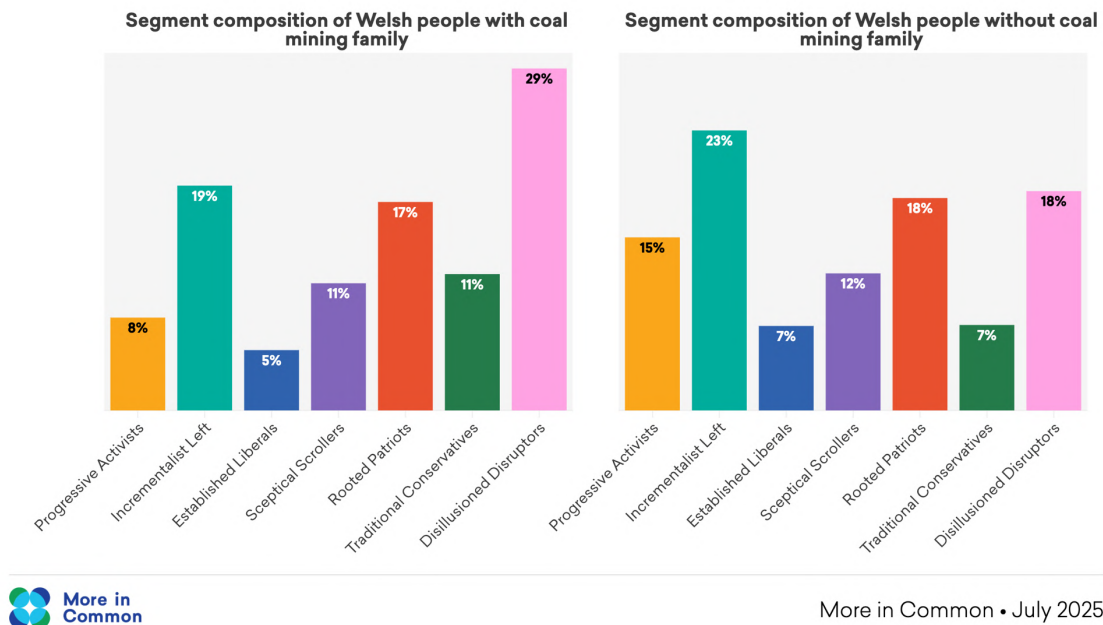
The segment breakdown of Wales roughly matches that of the UK as a whole, albeit with slightly fewer Established Liberals and Rooted Patriots, and slightly more Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors.

Figure 140 | Segment composition of Wales



That said, there are some distinct divides, with Wales’ industrial and mining heritage playing a prominent role in shaping people’s worldviews and values. People whose family have worked in the coal industry, for example, are 11 percentage points more likely to be Dissenting Disruptors than people without those family connections to mining. Similarly, those without connections to the coal industry are more likely to be members of the Progressive Activist and Incrementalist Left segments. Dissenting Disruptors are also almost twice as likely as the national average to say that Wales’ mining heritage makes them proud to be Welsh.

Figure 141 | Segment composition of Welsh people with and without coal mining family



In focus groups in the Valleys, the rationale for Welsh Dissenting Disruptors' desire to tear down the established system becomes clear. Many of them have witnessed their areas lose not only their main employers, but also their sense of community and identity. Many of this group feel that Welsh Labour have had enough chances but failed to deliver on their concerns.

*The miners had a football club. They had a social club. They had a community, now there is nothing.*

**Mike, Dissenting Disruptor, Merthyr Tydfil**

*A friend of mine was working in the steelworks in Port Talbot. 2,200 jobs. What have we got left? We used to ship our coal and steel all over the world.*

**Gething, Rooted Patriot, Merthyr Tydfil**

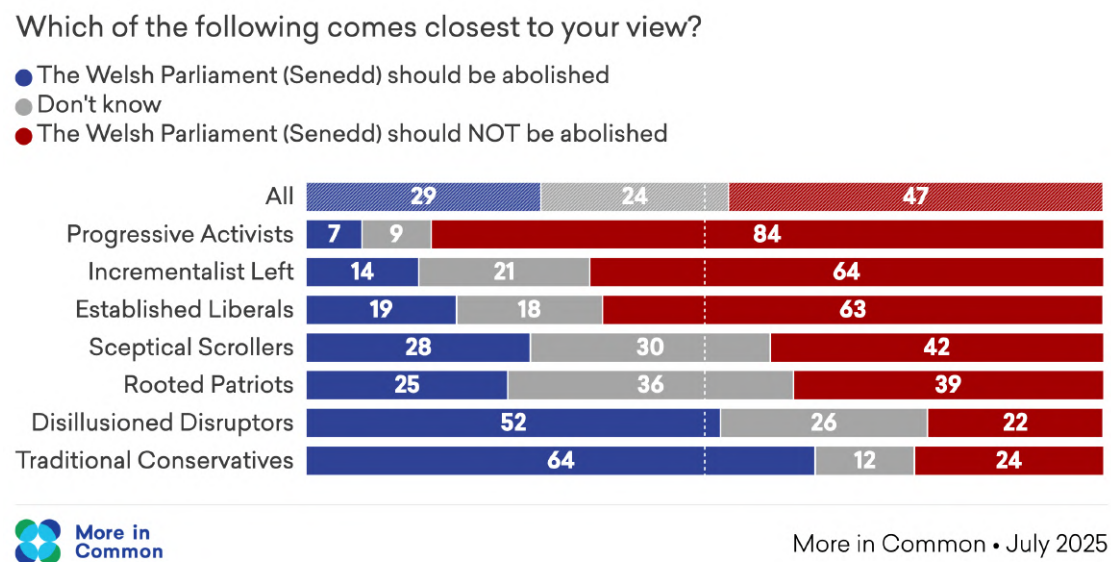
*The pits closed, then the town closed. Everything just started closing down. It's like a set of dominos - everything is a ghost town.*

**Julia, Dissenting Disruptor, Merthyr Tydfil**

Dissenting Disruptors' desire to tear down established institutions and start again is evident in their attitudes towards the Senedd. The majority of them think the Senedd should be abolished and only 22 per cent disagree with abolition. Traditional Conservatives share this

opinion, although this is due more to their respect for established institutions in Westminster rather than a distrust of politicians altogether.

Figure 142 | Support and opposition in Wales for abolishing the Senedd



Looking ahead to the 2026 Senedd election, many of the fault lines exposed in the segmentation model are likely to have significant consequences for Wales, as voting intention as many of those fault lines are more predictive of voting behaviour in Wales than they are in the UK as a whole.

More in Common’s Senedd polling suggests that were an election held today there would be a tight race between Plaid Cymru and Reform UK, with Labour falling into third place (exacerbated by the change in the Welsh voting system). This would be a historic result, marking an end to Labour’s uninterrupted control of the Welsh Government since its formation.

While the margins of error in Wales are larger as sample sizes are smaller, there are some striking and significant differences between the segments. Forty seven of Progressive Activists say they would vote for Plaid Cymru and a further 11 per cent would vote for the Green Party. In contrast, the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals are much more likely to vote for the Labour Party in next year’s elections than any other segment - in fact they are roughly twice as likely to say they would vote Labour than the nation as a whole.

Reform UK is performing particularly well with Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors in Wales. Combined, these two segments make up 58 per cent of Reform’s voters. That said, Reform’s lead with Rooted Patriots is smaller than it is in the UK as a whole. If Reform wants to solidify their support at next year’s election, this group is most likely to hold the key to that success. In contrast, Labour’s hopes of recovery in Wales lie in

recouping some of their Progressive Activist and Rooted Patriot voters who backed Labour in 2024 but are now far less likely to do the same.

As we approach the Senedd Election in 2026, More in Common will release more polling and analysis of the Welsh segments.

Non Voters

Just half of the British public voted in the last General Election. Some were so disillusioned that it was the first time they chose not to vote in a General Election. For around seven in ten of those who did not vote, their non voting is habitual.

The main reason people give for not voting is a lack of trust in all of the parties, along with a sense politicians are all as bad as each other. For others, abstention is less motivated by discontent they are simply not interested in politics, or have not clued up on it.

Figure 143 | 2024 Non-voters' attitudes to politics  
In a word or two, how do you feel when you think about politics in the UK at the moment?



The segments least likely to vote are Rooted Patriots, Sceptical Scrollers and the Dissenting Disruptors. Sceptical Scrollers tend to be habitual non-voters, saying they do not vote because politics does not interest them, or because they do not know enough about it. Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors, on the other hand, are consciously abstaining. These segments are more likely to feel that all politicians are as bad as each other and cannot be trusted with their vote. For the Dissenting Disruptors, abstaining from voting is part of a wider picture of disillusionment with democracy. Sixty three per cent of this group feel that people rather than elected representatives should make the important policy decisions.

**Figure 144 | Non-voting by segment**

Which party did you vote for in the most recent General Election?

*Showing % who said they did not vote*

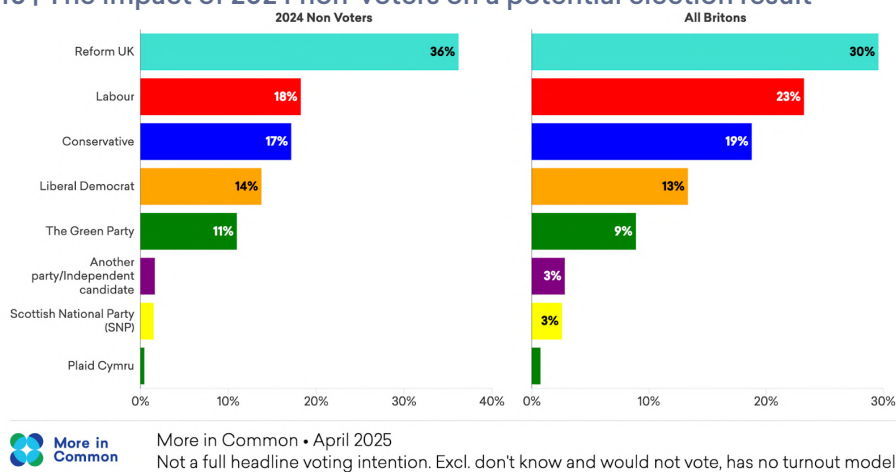


Note: 40% of the electorate did not vote in 2024 • More in Common, April 2025

With low turnout at the last General Election, the composition of the electorate is likely to shift between 2024 and the next time Britons choose their government. Turnout among the Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors segments decreased by 10 per cent between the 2019 and 2024 general elections. These segments comprise two in five Britons and, if these groups were mobilised to vote at the same level again they could have an outsized impact on election outcomes. This could provide the biggest boost for Reform UK - among non-voters who would choose a party today, Reform has a twenty point lead. Zara Sultana also has a positive approval rating among Sceptical Scrollers – many of whom have engaged with her output on social media. It is possible that a new left wing party could make inroads with this group of habitual non-voters too.

But turnout also matters for the Conservatives. Many first-time non-voters in 2024 were former Conservative supporters; but one in three of those who now intend to vote Conservative say they do not feel enthusiastic about it. A similar issue of abstentions could also affect Labour - only 29 per cent of their likely voters feel very enthusiastic about voting for them, compared to 38 percent of Reform's likely voters.

Figure 145 | The impact of 2024 non-voters on a potential election result





# Conclusion

The past few years have shown that trying to predict the future is, for the most part, a fool's errand. One thing however is certain: a status-quo in which so many Britons are unhappy with the reality and trajectory of their country cannot hold.

There are then two likely paths for the future. The first sees leaders and established institutions demonstrate they can address the causes of Britons' discontent, repair public services, make life feel more affordable, prove that the UK can control its borders and make progress in the battle against climate change. Our political system can rebuild citizen trust and consent by demonstrating that it genuinely respects the contributions of ordinary Britons. But if that fails, Britons will decide that the system is fundamentally unfit for purpose and roll the dice on something else entirely. Notwithstanding the cautionary tale from other jurisdictions that have rolled the dice is that what emerges is often no better at tackling national malaise than what came before.

Whatever the path forward, fixing Britain must start with meeting the public where they are and understanding how to navigate the fault lines of Britain. Solutions to fixing Britain which only animate a minority, impose one group's values on another, or worse, which pit different groups against one another, are unlikely to succeed in the long term.

Finding a route forward is made harder by the fact that, as this research shows, Britons do not only have different outlooks, they increasingly inhabit entirely separate information ecosystems. This fragmentation means that established media does not have the reach it once did, and civic leaders must work even harder in this information environment to reach different groups.

The pattern of more Britons turning away from the mainstream and embracing conspiracy theories is becoming more entrenched. It is easy to chastise those who believe things which are incontrovertibly false, but having not been told the truth on things ranging from Downing Street parties to the handling of grooming gangs, it is hard to blame those who choose instead to seek out truth on their own. For some, the solution to conspiracy thinking or misinformation lies in greater regulation or fact checking. But the only sure-fire way to restore trust in the mainstream is for politicians, the media and other actors to prove people can actually trust what they say.

The path to repairing Britain will rely on harnessing the fundamental strengths this report highlights, in particular, our belief in one another, aversion to conflict for conflict's sake and the power of the community. The desire to get Britain back on track spans the Seven Segments and recent months have seen a renewed energy from different areas of civil society and different wings of politics to try and tackle our decline.

More in Common is not a policy shop, but we strongly believe that policy makers can craft solutions that truly command citizen consent only if they understand the public's starting points, values and worldviews. Too much of the current malaise has arisen because people feel that politics is something that has been done to them and their communities, rather

than taking into account their concerns. This has resulted in a gap between highly engaged elites and those who often feel invisible, overlooked and treated with contempt.

We hope that this report is a contribution to the debate and subsequent action on how to fix a Britain in which public confidence has been shattered. Our own work with our partners on This Place Matters will mark the next part of More in Common's contribution as we seek to support leaders in all parts of society to repair, rebuild and restore confidence in our shared future.

## Methodology

### Quantitative research

Polling in this report was conducted by More in Common, a member of the British Polling Council.

Polls are weighted and allocated to be representative of the adult population of Great Britain.

Most of the analysis used in this report, including the segmentation analysis, draws on polling conducted on the following dates:

- 14th March - 7th April 2025, N= 13,464

The report also draws on polling conducted at the following dates:

- 28th May - 2nd June 2025, N= 4,156
- 27th June - 30th June, N= 2,030
- 19<sup>th</sup> June – 2nd July, N = 883 (Wales only)
- 23rd June - 30th June, N= 4,756 (latest national voting intention)s

Data tables for this research can be found at <https://www.moreincommon.org.uk/our-work/polling-tables/>

### Segmentation

The segmentation technique used was k-means cluster analysis following principal component analysis, with subsequent gradient boosting classification. Input variables included:

- Economic left-right scale
- Authoritarian-libertarian scale
- Moral foundations: Care, Loyalty, Authority, Autonomy, Equality, Purity (Haidt 2012)
- Political and civic engagement
- Institutional trust
- Individual responsibility
- Conspiracy susceptibility (based on Generic Conspiracist Beliefs Scale) (Brotherton, French and Pickering 2013)
- Populist leaning (based on Akkerman populism scale) (Akkerman, Mudde and Zaslove 2014)
- Perception of simplicity or complexity (based on Tony Blair Institute 'insider/outsider' scale) (Tony Blair Institute for Global Change 2025)
- Need for chaos (Petersen, Mathias and Arceneaux 2023)

- Importance of compromise
- Attitudes towards free speech
- Attitudes towards multiculturalism and nativism
- Authoritarian disposition through parenting styles (Stenner 2005)

## Qualitative research

This report draws on focus groups conducted over the last year, including a series of new focus groups conducted with each of the new Seven Segments. Most cases these were held virtually on Zoom, but some were conducted in person.

Focus groups were conducted in the following constituencies:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| • Hackney (Progressive Activists)             | • Dudley (Dissenting Disruptors)             |
| • Edinburgh (Progressive Activists)           | • Thanet (Dissenting Disruptors)             |
| • East Dulwich (Progressive Activists)        | • Makerfield (Dissenting Disruptors)         |
| • St Albans (Incrementalist Left)             | • Wolverhampton (Dissenting Disruptors)      |
| • Chester (Incrementalist Left)               | • Beaconsfield (Established Liberals)        |
| • Reading (Incrementalist Left)               | • Chippenham (Established Liberals)          |
| • Wrexham (Rooted Patriots)                   | • Great Yarmouth (Traditional Conservatives) |
| • Bury North and Bridgwater (Rooted Patriots) | • Cotswolds (Traditional Conservatives)      |
| • Norfolk (Rooted Patriots)                   |  |
| • Sheffield (Sceptical Scrollers)             |  |
| • Manchester (Sceptical Scrollers)            |  |
| • Leeds (Sceptical Scrollers)                 |  |
| • Glasgow (Sceptical Scrollers)               |  |

## Note on Northern Ireland

More in Common has conducted quantitative and qualitative research in Northern Ireland over the past two years including during the 2024 General Election campaign. Given the nature of unionist and nationalist cleavages in Northern Ireland and the unique dynamics of community relations. More in Common made the decision that a UK-wide national segmentation would not fully explain the dynamics of public attitudes in Northern Ireland. More in Common is currently scoping options for a full segmentation of the public in Northern Ireland.

## Comparing the demographics of the British Seven segments

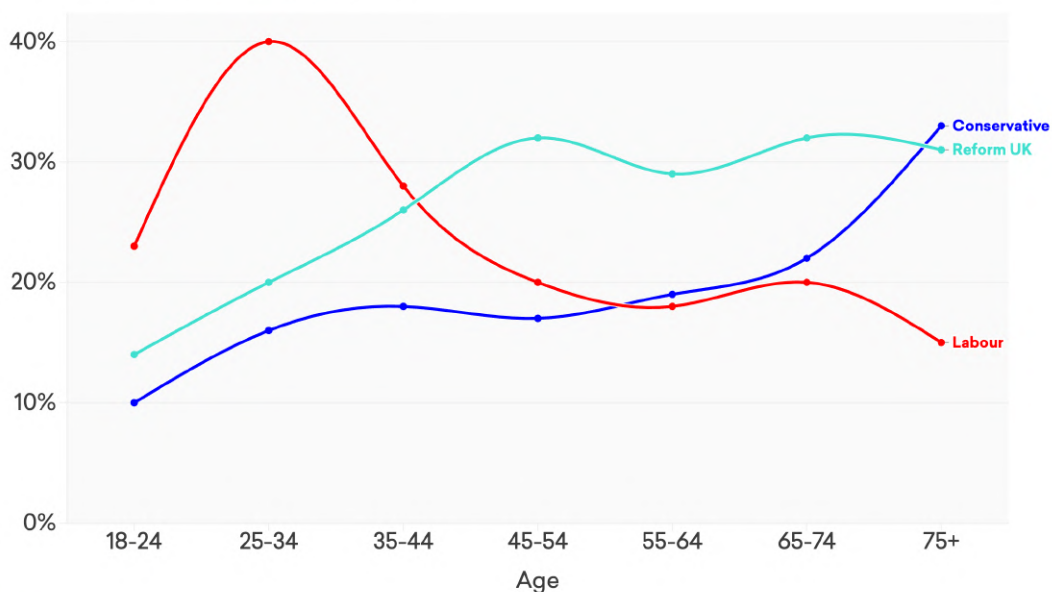
The British Seven segmentation does not incorporate demographic traits as inputs. Instead, it groups the public according to their attitudes and values. Nonetheless demographic patterns do emerge in the outputs from that segmentation. As party affiliations have weakened, the segments can help provide a more nuanced account of how Britain's values are distributed across demographic divides.

### By age

Age remains a key divide in British politics. The Labour Party continues to gain the most support among the youngest voters, and the reverse is true of Conservative voters who are concentrated among the over 65s. Support for Reform UK, on the other hand, is more flat across age groups, but peaks in late middle age.

**Figure 146 | Vote share by age**

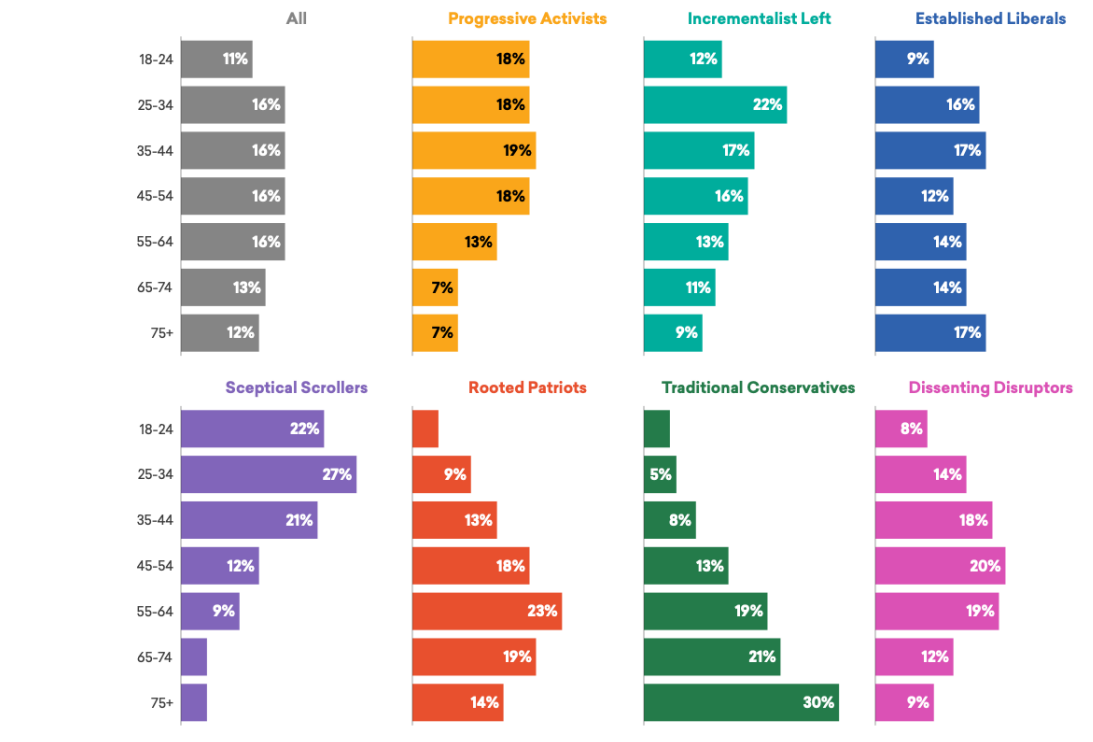
*Vote share (current voting intention)*



Though each segment spans all age groups, the youngest segment on average are the Sceptical Scrollers, of whom almost half (46 per cent) are younger than 35. Progressive Activists also lean younger, while the median member of the Incrementalist Left is approaching their mid 40s. In contrast, Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives are

the oldest segments with 30 per cent of Traditional Conservatives are aged over 75. Meanwhile Established Liberals have a much flatter age profile, and Dissenting Disruptors are most common around age 50.

**Figure 147 | The Seven Segments' age profiles**



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## By education

Education is increasingly a key factor in explaining political divides. This is particularly true for the rise of Reform UK – fewer than one in five Reform voters are degree-educated. Labour, on the other hand, has a 15 point lead with those who have completed a university degree.

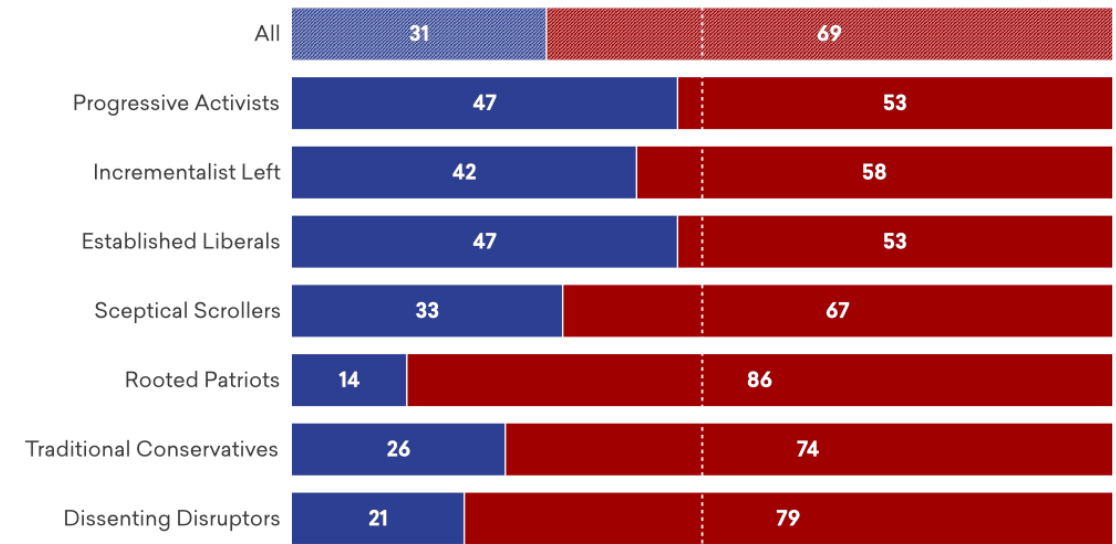
The socially liberal segments – Progressive Activists, the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals – are disproportionately likely to have a degree, and many have multiple degrees. Conversely, Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors have spent less time in formal education and are also more likely to feel that those without degrees are left behind in today's society.



Figure 148 | University education by segment

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

● University-educated ● Not university-educated



By financial security

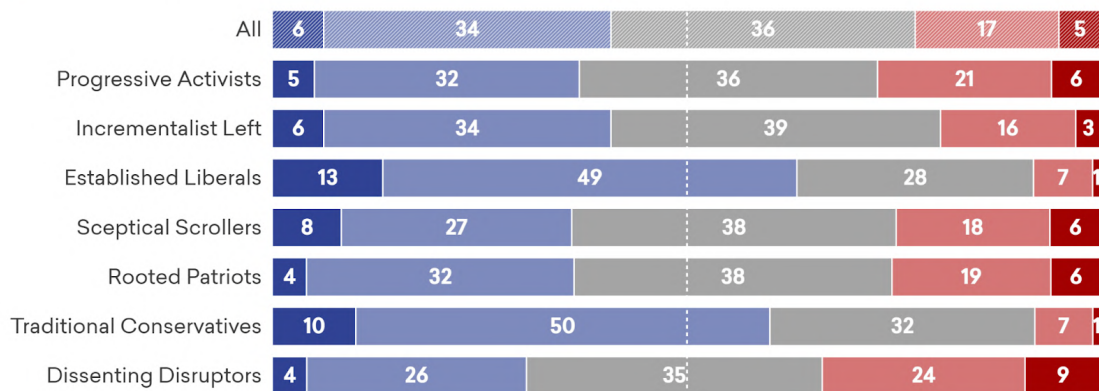
There are also patterns in levels of financial comfort between the segments. Established Liberals are the most comfortable segment, followed by Traditional Conservatives. The Incrementalist Left are also much more likely to say they are comfortable financially than struggling, whereas the remaining three segments are more likely to say they are struggling.

Part of this is driven by home ownership. Rooted Patriots, Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives are much more likely to own their own home than other segments. Dissenting Disruptors are more likely to be renting from the council, and Progressive Activists and Incrementalist Left are more likely to be privately renting.

**Figure 149 | Financial security by segment**

How well off would you say you feel?

- I am very comfortable financially
- I am relatively comfortable financially
- I do not have money for luxuries but can normally comfortably cover the essentials
- I can only just afford my costs and often struggle to make ends meet
- I cannot afford my costs and often have to go without essentials like food and heating



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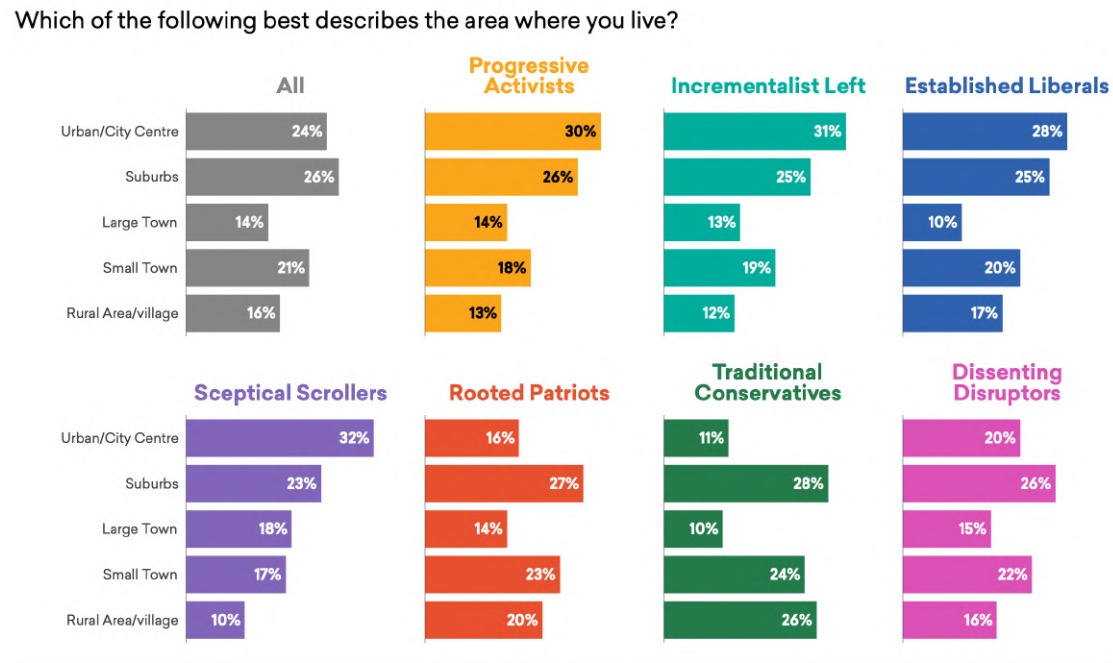
Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives have the highest personal annual income, whereas Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors' annual income is notably lower than the other segments. Progressive Activists are also the most indebted segment, mostly because a fifth of them are in student debt. In contrast, Dissenting Disruptors are the group most likely to be in credit card debt (30 per cent of them), or to owe money to buy-now-pay-later services such as Klarna (12 per cent)

Variations in financial circumstance affect how each of the segments interact with the state. Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots are more likely to be on benefits than the other segments, while the more urban segments are more likely to have interacted with the police, and Sceptical Scrollers are more likely to have used a food bank.

## By where we live

The segments are not evenly distributed across the country. Progressive Activists, the Incrementalist Left and Sceptical Scrollers are much more likely to live in city centres, whereas more Rooted Patriots live in suburbs or towns and Traditional Conservatives in villages.

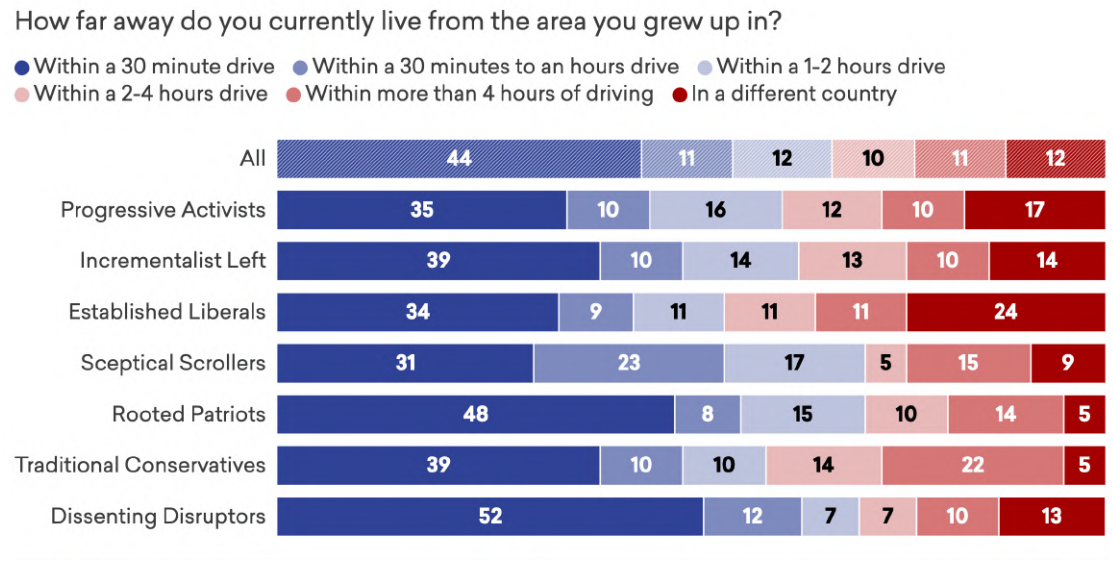
Figure 150 | Urban/Rural breakdown of the segments



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Dissenting Disruptors and Rooted Patriots are significantly more likely than any other segment to live close to where they grew up, making them the most ‘Somewhere’ of any of the segments. Established Liberals on the other hand are the most likely to live in a different country entirely.

Figure 151 | Distance from hometown of each of the segments



## By religion

The 2024 General Election showed that religion is an important dividing line in British politics, with a number of pro-Gaza Independent candidates performing particularly well in conventionally safe Labour seats where there is a large Muslim population, and the Conservatives outperforming national trends in some areas with larger Hindu populations.

The values lens of the segments can help explain why some of those patterns have emerged. Established Liberals, for example, are more likely to be Hindu than any other segment. At the same time, Britain's Muslim population is disproportionately drawn from the Sceptical Scrollers and Incrementalist Left segments. The Incrementalist Left are more likely than any other segment to say religion is important in their life.

Compared to the rest of the country, Traditional Conservatives and Rooted Patriots are more likely to be Christian, whereas Progressive Activists and Dissenting Disruptors are the only two segments where the majority say they have no religion.

**Figure 152 | The religious profile of the Seven Segments**

What is your religion?

Religion	All	Progressive Activists	Incrementalist Left	Established Liberals	Sceptical Scrollers	Rooted Patriots	Traditional Conservatives	Dissenting Disruptors
No religion	45%	67%	34%	33%	46%	41%	37%	51%
Christian	44%	21%	48%	51%	36%	53%	59%	42%
Buddhist	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%
Hindu	2%	1%	2%	4%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Jewish	1%	0%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	0%
Muslim	4%	4%	9%	3%	8%	1%	1%	2%
Sikh	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Other	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%



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## By ethnicity

As with religion, some ethnic groups are over and under represented in particular segments. The three most socially conservative segments - Rooted Patriots, Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors, are by some way the most white of the seven segments. In contrast, the Incrementalist Left and Sceptical Scrollers are more ethnically diverse, with the former containing more Asian and Black people and the latter containing more Asian people.

Figure 153 | The ethnicities of the British Seven Segments

Which of the following best describes your race or ethnicity?

Ethnicity	All	Progressive Activists	Incrementalist Left	Established Liberals	Sceptical Scrollers	Rooted Patriots	Traditional Conservatives	Dissenting Disruptors
White (British/Irish/Oth	85%	84%	73%	80%	75%	94%	96%	92%
Asian/Asian British	8%	8%	14%	12%	16%	3%	2%	4%
Black/Black British	3%	2%	7%	6%	4%	1%	1%	1%
Mixed descent (e.g. White & Asian, White & Black)	2%	3%	2%	1%	2%	1%	0%	1%
Other	2%	2%	3%	1%	3%	1%	1%	1%

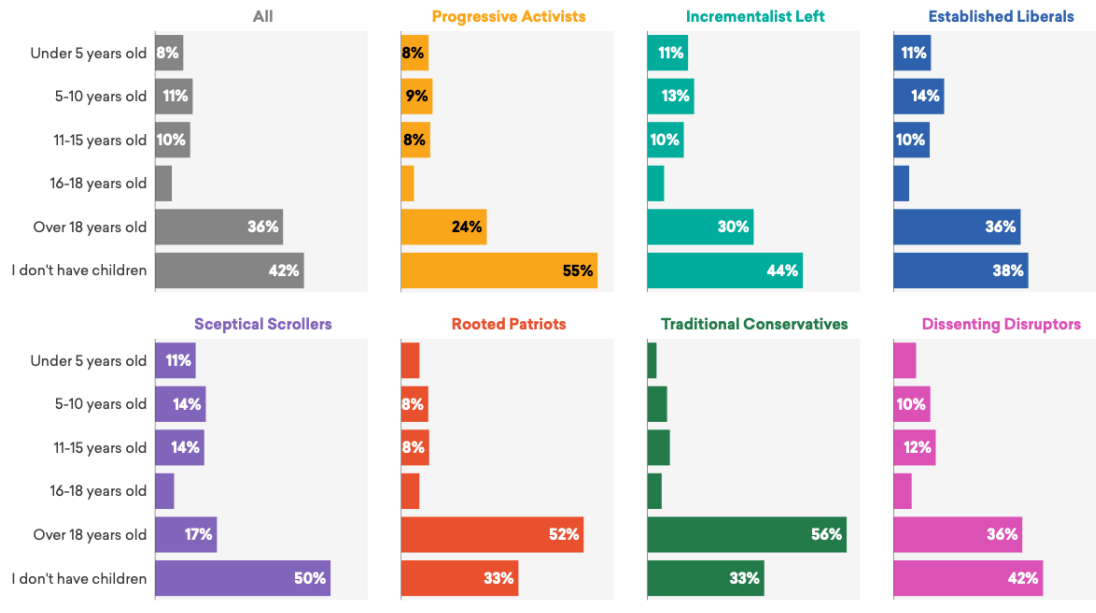
By relationships, family, and lifestage

People’s values change over the course of their lives and and often reflect their living situation and family structure - this is reflected in the segment groupings in which people belong too.

The Incrementalist Left, Established Liberals and Sceptical Scrollers are all the most likely segments to be living with young children at home, whereas the Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives are much more likely to have older adult children and grandchildren.

**Figure 154 | The British Seven Segments by parental status**

Do you have any children? And if so, how old are they? Select all that apply.

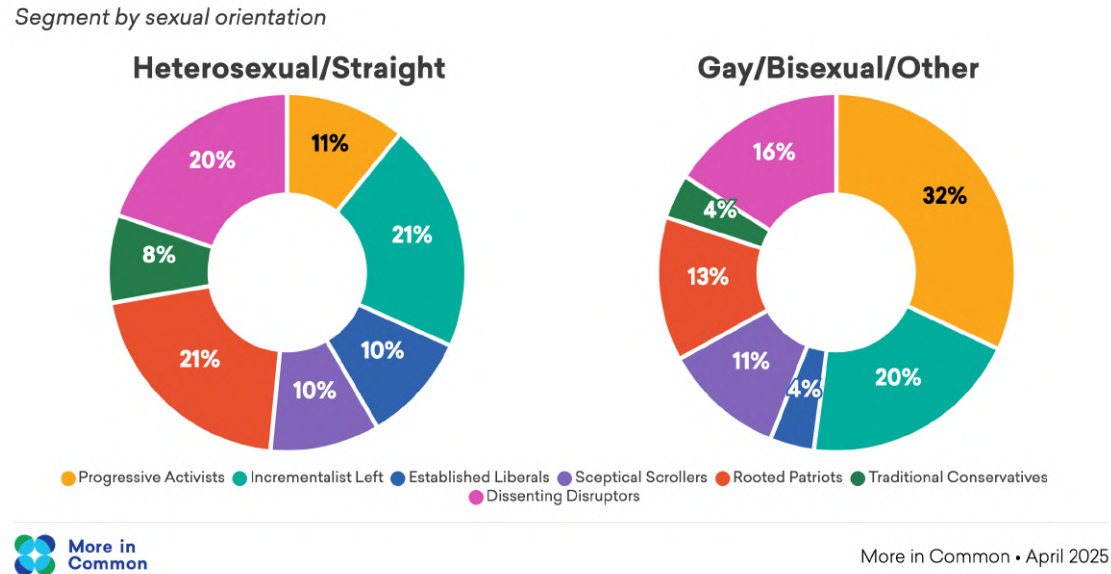


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As a result, many Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives are ‘empty nesters’, living as a married couple with children who have since left home. In contrast, Progressive Activists and Sceptical Scrollers are more likely to be living at home with their parents and Progressive Activists are also more likely to be living with flatmates in a house share.

Progressive Activists are also much less likely to be heterosexual - one third (32 per cent) of all gay and bisexual Britons are Progressive Activists, despite Progressive Activists making up only 12 per cent of the country. This trend still holds even when controlling for age.

Figure 155 | The segment breakdown of different sexuality groups



By membership organisation and partisan identities

For some of the segments, we can learn more about their lives by the organisations they choose to be part of. Likely motivated by their strong belief in conservation and heritage (alongside the fact that they tend to have more free time and live in more rural areas), it is no surprise that Traditional Conservatives are more likely than average to be members of the National Trust, along with Established Liberals.

Meanwhile Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives are more likely than average to be members of The Royal British Legion.

Many conservation organisations have membership spanning both Progressive Activists and Traditional Conservatives - the RSPB being a notable example. However, Progressive Activists stand out as additionally being the group most likely to be members of a trade union than any other segment.

Across the country, about a fifth (21 per cent) of adults say they are part of one of these membership organisations, however those participation rates are not evenly distributed. Both Sceptical Scrollers and Dissenting Disruptors - in many ways the most socially isolated segments - are the most likely to say they are not part of any of these organisations.



**Figure 156 | The proportion of each segment in different membership organisations**

Are you a member of the following organisations?

Membership Organisation	All	Progressive Activists	Incrementalist Left	Established Liberals	Sceptical Scrollers	Rooted Patriots	Traditional Conservatives	Dissenting Disruptors
RSPB (Royal Society for the Protection of Birds)	3%	4%	2%	4%	2%	3%	5%	2%
Royal British Legion	2%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	3%	2%
English Heritage	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	6%	2%
Wildlife Trusts/Woodland Trust	4%	5%	3%	5%	3%	3%	4%	3%
Trade union	5%	8%	5%	4%	4%	4%	3%	4%
National Trust	10%	11%	11%	16%	7%	9%	16%	7%



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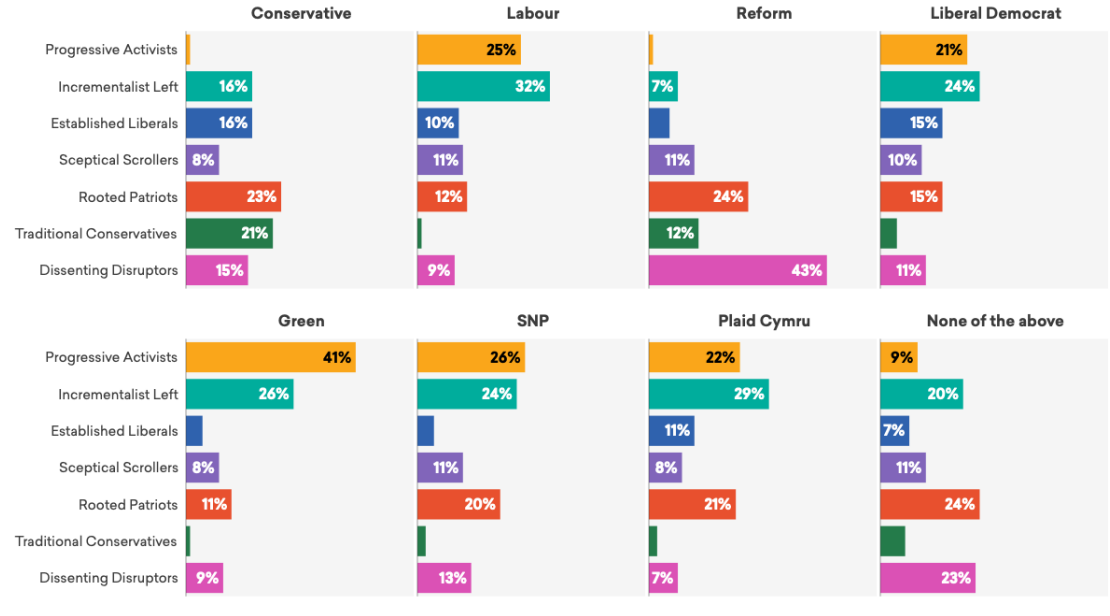
Some of the segments define themselves more by the political parties they align themselves with, even though partisanship has been declining slightly in recent years in the UK, and most segments are fragmented across multiple parties. For example, Progressive Activists are more likely to describe themselves as a Labour or Green supporter compared to the rest of the country. In Scotland many of them see themselves as SNP supporters instead. In contrast, Established Liberals are more likely than the country as a whole to say they support the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, whereas Rooted Patriots and Traditional Conservatives are split between Reform UK and the Conservatives.

Feelings of closeness to the political parties are also not uniformly distributed. Sceptical Scrollers, Rooted Patriots and Dissenting Disruptors are all more likely than the country as a whole to say they do not associate with any party. Progressive Activists, Established Liberals and Traditional Conservatives, on the other hand, are more likely to say they associate with a political party than to say they do not associate with any at all.

In addition, supporters of Reform UK are much more likely to say that their support is very strong, whereas supporters of the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in particular are unique in how many of them describe that support as weak.

Figure 157 | Partisan affiliations of each of the segments

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a... supporter?



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## By gender

While each segment has a roughly balanced gender split - women are overrepresented within the Incrementalist Left and Rooted Patriot segments, while men are overrepresented among the Traditional Conservatives and Dissenting Disruptors.

**Figure 158 | The gender of the British Seven Segments**

What is your gender?

Gender	All	Progressive Activists	Incrementalist Left	Established Liberals	Sceptical Scrollers	Rooted Patriots	Traditional Conservatives	Dissenting Disruptors
Male	48%	47%	45%	49%	51%	41%	55%	55%
Female	52%	53%	55%	51%	49%	59%	45%	45%



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## By migrant status

People in the socially conservative segments (Dissenting Disruptors, Traditional Conservatives, Rooted Patriots) are more likely than the general public to have been born in the UK. The Incrementalist Left and Sceptical Scrollers contain the highest proportions of immigrants.

**Figure 159 | The migrant status of the British Seven Segments**

Were you born in the UK?

	All	Progressive Activists	Incrementalist Left	Established Liberals	Sceptical Scrollers	Rooted Patriots	Traditional Conservatives	Dissenting Disruptors
Yes	86%	83%	79%	82%	77%	94%	95%	91%
No	14%	18%	21%	18%	23%	6%	5%	9%



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## How the segments have changed since 2020

Many of More in Common's partners will be familiar with the British Seven segments launched in the 2020 [Britain's Choice report](#), and used throughout our work over the last five years. This summary explores how those segments relate to the new segments.

We will be sharing a fuller transition document and hosting a training sessions to answer questions, as well as launching an updated Britain Talks Climate toolkit using these segments in partnership with Climate Outreach.

### Why have the segments changed?

The Britain's Choice segmentation helped capture and explain the political dynamics of the last parliamentary cycle. The past five years of British politics, including shocks from Covid to the cost-of-living crisis, to wars in Ukraine and Gaza, have seen new fault lines emerge. This has resulted in a heightened sense of threat perception, changes in levels of political engagement, growing feelings of pessimism about the country and increasingly low trust in our political leaders. At the same time our information eco-system has fragmented as have the ways we socialise and work from the rise of working from home to the growth of AI.

In order to best capture the evolving dynamics of public opinion and politics, the new segmentation explored an expanded set of inputs than in 2020 – for example now including attitudes towards radical change and conspiracy thinking.

While some of the new segments look similar to previous iterations, others are quite different, drawing from several of the previous groups. The addition of new inputs in this resegmentation means that some of the defining features of groups in the 2020 segmentation are less so in the revised segmentation.

#### *How have the Progressive Activists changed?*

This segment has changed the least, and we have not changed the name as a result. They tend to be more ideologically cohesive and internally aligned than other segments. The new Progressive Activists are a slightly bigger than in the previous segmentation, taking in some of the socially liberal members of former segments (Civic Pragmatists, Disengaged Battlers and Established Liberals).

#### *How have Established Liberals changed?*

The Established Liberals are similar to those in the previous segmentation, and we have also retained this group's name. They are comfortable, information-led, and care about issues such as the climate and the war in Ukraine. The main difference is that the new Established Liberals are less economically centrist than they were in the previous segmentation – though still socially liberal, they are more economically right-wing. The new

Established Liberals segment narrowly voted Conservative in 2024, unlike the previous iteration, whom Labour carried with a 13 point lead.

#### *How do the Backbone Conservatives differ from the Traditional Conservatives?*

The new Traditional Conservatives segment is the right leaning core of the old Backbone Conservative segment - they are a smaller segment and reflect the heart of British conservatism. Backbone Conservatives who are less economically or socially right leaning have fallen into the new Established Liberal segment (more socially liberal while economically right), Rooted Patriots (more economically left while socially conservative) or the Incrementalist Left (high on the Purity moral foundation, but more left-wing economically).

#### *Who are the new Incrementalist Left?*

The Incrementalist Left are a large segment, drawing from a mix of old segments. The previous 'soft left' segment (Civic Pragmatists) fall into this group more than any other, along with the more economically left leaning Established Liberals of the 2020 segmentation. As there are more inputs in the new model, those who may have been assigned to the Loyal National or Backbone Conservative segment in the previous segmentation based on their core values, but who have positive views on multiculturalism and a preference for gradual rather than radical change, are also taken into this segment.

#### *Who are the new Sceptical Scrollers?*

The Sceptical Scrollers are most similar to the Disengaged Battlers in the original Britain's Choice segmentation. They tend to be young, urban and disengaged from politics because they are focussed on other things. But this group is defined more than anything else by their attitude towards information, which for many was shaped by the pandemic: they shun mainstream media sources for online, independent voices that they deem to be more authentic. They are less cohesive in terms of their core values than other groups and many of their political views are inchoate. As a result they draw from many of the former segments.

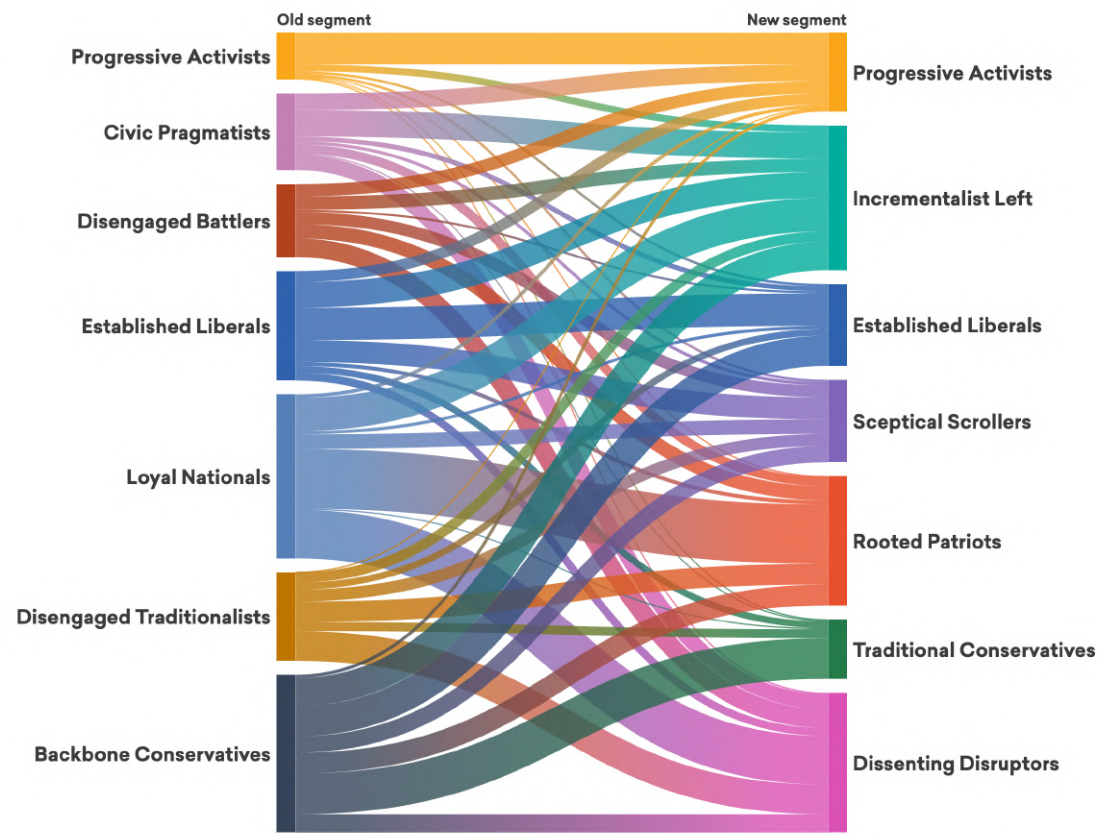
#### *Who are the new Rooted Patriots?*

The Rooted Patriots are most similar to the former Loyal Nationals segment sharing a similar high degree of patriotism, sense of insecurity and traditional values. This group looks most like the 'hero voter' or 'Red Wall' archetypes that have played an outsized role in the outcome of recent elections. They are older than the former Loyal Nationals and are similar to the 'Whitby Woman' voter that More in Common identified during the 2024 General Election campaign. Crucially, this group wants to preserve institutions rather than ripping up the rulebook and they prioritise protecting people from harm over free speech- this separates them from the Dissenting Disruptors with whom they were grouped together as Loyal Nationals in the former segmentation. The Rooted Patriots group also pulls in some of the less fiscally conservative Backbone Conservatives and Disengaged Traditionalists, who share their social conservatism.

*Who are the new Dissenting Disruptors?*

The Dissenting Disruptors look the least like any former segment. They are defined by their desire for disruptive change and anti-system beliefs - new inputs that were not included in the original Britain's Choice segmentation - as well as their attitudes towards multiculturalism. They therefore pull in the more populist elements of the former Loyal National group, as well the most anti-system members of the disengaged former segments (from both the economic left and right).

**Figure 160 | How the segments have changed since 2020**



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