



FOR THE MANY?

*Understanding and uniting
Labour's core supporters
Olivia Bailey and Lewis Baston*

ABOUT THIS REPORT

THE AIM OF this project was to take a detailed look at Labour's electoral coalition in England and Wales. We used two methods of analysis to reach our conclusions. First, we created seven groupings of parliamentary constituencies which reflected key components of Labour's support base. We then analysed historical results in each of these clusters of seats to draw conclusions about how Labour's support has changed. The Fabian Society then spent a 'day in the life' of six Labour voters, conducted throughout Autumn 2017. Each Labour voter was selected by the research agency Leftfield, and was paid for their time. Each was selected to reflect a key component of Labour's support, and each has voted Labour consistently over recent general elections. We have changed the names and identifying features of each interviewee.

The report focuses solely on Labour's supporters in England and

Wales, and all figures throughout this report relate only to England and Wales unless otherwise stated. To ensure that boundary changes didn't affect our analysis, we have also used 'notional' figures throughout the report. These are calculations (conducted for the last two sets of boundary changes in 1992/1997 and 2005/10 by Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher) which show what the election results would have been had they taken place using new constituency boundaries. We compared these notional figures to the 'real' figures where possible to guard against the possibility of spurious movements in electoral behaviour, and the effect of boundary changes is negligible.

Although this is a jointly authored paper, the main editorial work and the field research was undertaken by Olivia Bailey, and the historical and psephological analysis was led by Lewis Baston.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank those whose generous support in 2016 or 2017 made this work possible, including Simon Franks, Sonny Leong, John Mills, Labour Tomorrow and members of the Fabian Society's Facing the Future club.

We would also like to thank Fabian Society staff for their assistance with this report. We would like to thank Andrew Harrop in particular for his thoughts and edits, as well as Kate Murray and Rabyah Khan.

Finally, the Fabian Society would like to thank the six Labour voters who were interviewed for this report. We have ensured that they remain anonymous by changing their names and identifying details, but their stories are real and bring to life the challenge facing the Labour party.

CONTENTS

4	Introduction
6	Labour seats
8	David
11	Devon
14	George
16	Mary
19	Michael
21	Yasmin
23	For the many?
27	Appendix: Labour's seven tribes

**FABIAN
SOCIETY**

A Fabian Society report

General Secretary Andrew Harrop

Deputy General Secretary Olivia Bailey

Like all publications of the Fabian Society, this report represents not the collective views of the Society, but only the views of the individual writers. The responsibility of the Society is limited to approving its publications as worthy of consideration within the labour movement.

First published in August 2018.

Introduction and executive summary

A RETURN TO GOVERNMENT is clearly within the Labour party's grasp. Labour needs to gain 68 seats at the next election to win a majority of one, and there are 81 constituencies where the swing Labour requires is below five per cent. But Labour cannot simply ride the tide of the Conservatives' misfortunes, or the anger their policies are generating, and expect to be washed up at the door of Number 10. The party must convince some people who voted Conservative in 2017 to change sides. But perhaps its toughest task is to hold together the diverse coalition which backed Labour last year.

This report tells the story of six voters, each a representative of one of Labour's key electoral tribes. Together, they bring to life Labour's challenge. There is a growing hostility and tension at the heart of the party's base, fuelled by a growing divergence and inequality in their life experiences. And Labour's newest supporters are showing little sign of loyalty to Labour, leaving them at risk of departing for a different party as quickly as they came.

An electoral strategy that pits remain voters against leave voters, young against old, or 'the haves' versus 'the have nots' will fail. Hostility, in language or policy, will only tear apart Labour's delicate coalition. Instead, Labour politicians must offer the whole country a path through today's turbulence; speaking to the shared values of Labour's different tribes, rather than the differences between them. If Labour does this, it can arrest its decline in its traditional working-class heartlands while building on the progress in its more affluent and urban constituencies.

Labour seats

To explore the changing nature of Labour's support, we analysed seven clusters of parliamentary seats where Labour performs well. A detailed look at the election results in these seats reveals a striking picture of the changes in Labour's support over the

last 10 to 20 years. The party's position has been strengthening in cities, in seats with high concentrations of young people, and in places with growing numbers of black and minority ethnic (BAME) voters. In contrast, Labour's support in the most working-class seats has dropped noticeably. Although these seats are still considerably more Labour-leaning than average, they are no longer the places where the party secures its highest share of the vote.

- **Labour's position has been strengthening in hub cities**, in seats with high concentrations of young people and in places with growing numbers of BAME voters. In all these groups, the swing to Labour in the last twelve years has been significantly above the national trend. These are now the 'heartland' Labour seats.
- **Labour's support in the most working-class seats has dropped noticeably**, so that although these seats are still considerably more Labour-leaning than average, they are no longer the places where the party secures its highest share of the vote. This group of seats saw a swing to the Conservatives of 3.6 percentage points since 2005.
- **The 50 seats with the highest estimated proportion of remain voters** were becoming gradually more Labour-leaning long before the EU referendum. The 2017 election result was not a one-off Brexit bounce but the continuation of a trend.
- **The 50 seats with the highest proportion of professionals** (such as doctors, solicitors and university lecturers) are moving towards Labour, with a swing to Labour of 5.3 percentage points since 2005. Remarkably this group of seats is now more Labour-leaning than the national average. This is in contrast to the seats with the highest proportion of

managers (such as company directors and chief executives), which remain solid Conservative territory.

- **Labour has been ahead in hub cities outside of London since the second world war**, but in 2017 in England and Wales every single seat in these cities returned a Labour MP, the first time this sort of 'shut-out' has ever happened.¹
- **Labour's performance in what we have called 'middle London' has improved relative to the national result** in almost every election since 1964, with only occasional blips. However, the gap has widened massively in recent elections, with a tiny swing to the Conservatives in 2010 being followed by outsized pro-Labour swings in 2015 and 2017.

Table 1: Labour's dominance in middle London and hub cities

	2015	2017
Middle London	Labour won 22 of the 24 seats	Labour won 23 of the 24 seats
Hub cities	Labour won 36 of the 40 seats	Labour won all 40 of these seats

Labour voters

In order to understand why Labour's support has shifted in this way, and what risks this change might hold in the future, most of this report tells the stories of six Labour voters, who the Fabian Society interviewed over the course of six days in Autumn 2017. Their names and identifying features have been changed to protect their anonymity but they are all real people. Each in some way reflects one of the different Labour tribes captured by our clusters of constituencies.

- **David** is 35 and works as a lawyer in London. He is a pragmatic Labour supporter who doesn't vote Labour out of loyalty but is hostile to the Conservatives. He aims to be true to his values, find politicians who are in tune with his life, and prevent a Tory government. David was born in Ireland and Brexit is his biggest political concern. He says he'd vote for anyone who pledges to stop it.
- **Devon** is a 41-year-old black-cab driver from South London and is the son of black Caribbean immigrants. He has a strong emotional attachment to the Labour party, which was forged in his childhood and is connected to his experiences of racism and oppression.
- **George** is a 24-year-old student from Bristol. He wanted to convince us he makes rational political choices, but his politics are actually instinctive and emotional. He wants society to be fairer and more equal. Supporting the Labour party is one way he can help make that happen, but it is not the only party or cause he'd consider.
- **Mary** is a 78-year-old retiree who lives in rural Derbyshire. She is very detached from national politics and her concerns centre on the streets in her immediate surroundings. As her age has advanced, and as she's lost loved ones, her world has narrowed. She says she'll always vote Labour, but she no longer feels that the Labour party is in her corner.
- **Michael** is 63 and lives in Stoke on Trent. Earlier in life he worked in the potteries but he now works in social care and has done for many years. He's very reflective, and most of his observations are accompanied by a sense of decline. The *"values have gone down and respect has gone down"*, as has the area he lives in and his own health. He feels betrayed by the Labour party.
- **Yasmin** is a 54-year-old special needs teacher who lives in a prosperous suburb in Greater Manchester. Her support for the Labour party is linked to her emotional identification with her working-class family roots, and the sense of right and wrong that she

believes flows from that. Despite her economic transition to the middle class, she still sees Labour as on her side.

For the many

David, Devon, George, Mary, Michael and Yasmin are a microcosm of Labour's support base in England and Wales. Their stories underline the widening chasm between the different tribes of Labour voter, and provide evidence that political affiliations are becoming more transient. But their stories also reveal reasons for hope. Labour can hold its diverse electoral coalition together if it chooses to develop a better understanding of the emotional and cultural motivations of its supporters.

- **Different experiences and priorities have bred hostility and tension within Labour's base:** Some of Labour's support voted to leave the EU and some to remain. Some value community and tradition and some actively seek to change it. Some are confident and wealthy and some are afraid and insecure. These differences have led to active hostility between Labour voters. For example, Yasmin spoke of the 'average Joe and Joan Bloggs' ... who see asylum seekers coming over here, who don't see the bigger picture, who just see things very blinkered'.
- **Labour's newest champions are the least loyal to the party:** George and David, who represent many of Labour's newer voters, do not demonstrate any particular emotional connection to the Labour party itself but instead see the Labour party as just one way they can express their values and secure outcomes they desire. Mary and Michael, who represent Labour's traditional working-class supporters, give the impression that the only reason they are still voting Labour is because they have a deep emotional and cultural connection to the Labour party.
- **The most significant drivers of Labour support are emotional and cultural:** While all six voters were keen to express their support for Labour as a considered, rational decision, and were embarrassed when they could not recall

the names of party leaders or of recent policies, the most significant drivers of their decision to vote Labour were emotional and cultural. Even the most 'transactional' voter, David, said that his grandparents would 'turn in their grave' if he voted Conservative.

Six ways to strengthen and unite the Labour base

Labour's voters are diverse and divided. The only way Labour can maintain and build its electoral coalition is by speaking to the shared values of Labour's different tribes. If Labour does this, it can arrest its decline in its traditional working-class heartlands while building on progress in its more affluent and city constituencies. Every intervention should pass one of these six tests:

1. **Make it work for the whole country:** To hold together Labour's new coalition, all policies must bridge rather than exacerbate the growing divide between places and people who feel the benefit of change and those who don't. Labour must resist the politics of 'us' versus 'them', which will just aggravate the existing tensions between Labour's different tribes.
2. **Highlight the values Labour voters share:** While different types of Labour voter place different emphasis on different sets of values, all six Labour voters shared a firm commitment to fairness and compassion.
3. **Remind Labour voters of the common 'enemy':** Several of our voters felt more strongly anti-Conservative than pro-Labour. Even the most transactional voter, David, had a strong and innate dislike of the Conservative party.
4. **Be positive about the past:** Memories of Labour delivery help reinforce party identification, and talking about Labour achievements is more important in periods of opposition.
5. **Look outwards to the country not inwards to the party:** Labour voters don't notice or care about factional fights within the party.
6. **Demonstrate strong leadership:** Labour leaders were popular with our six voters when they were deemed to be likeable, decisive and authentic. **F**

Labour seats

If Labour is to win the next election, or any election after that, it must make sure it can maintain the support of its increasingly diverse coalition of voters. To get a better understanding of who these voters are, we divided Labour-leaning parliamentary constituencies in England and Wales into seven demographic and geographical categories. Each cluster was selected to illustrate the changing makeup of Labour's voting base. The seven clusters of constituencies are:

- Seats with the highest proportion of working class voters (63 seats)
- Seats which are increasing in ethnic diversity most rapidly (50 seats)
- Seats with the highest proportion of young adults aged 18 to 29 (50 seats)
- Seats with the highest proportion of people with professional occupations (50 seats)
- Seats with the highest estimated support for remain in the EU referendum (50 seats)²
- All the seats in nine hub cities outside London (40 seats)
- Seats in what we have termed 'middle London' – parts of the capital which have historically been neither very poor nor very rich, excluding the outer suburbs (24 seats)

A full list of the seats that fall within each category can be found in the appendix, and seats that appear in more than one category are also highlighted. The appendix also explains the criteria used to establish which seats fall into each category, and provides a detailed breakdown of the data discussed throughout this report.

Taken together, our analysis of these seven groups paints a striking picture of the changes in Labour's support over the last 10 to 20 years.

Figure one and table two show how, when compared to Labour's national performance, the party's position has been strengthening in cities, in seats with high concentrations of young people and in places with growing numbers of BAME voters. In 2005 all these groupings of seats had a higher than average Labour vote, but now they diverge hugely from the party's England and Wales vote share. Indeed, they are further away from the national average than the most working-class seats used to be in the early 2000s.

By contrast, Labour's support in these most working-class seats has dropped noticeably, so that although these seats are still considerably more Labour-leaning than average, they are no longer the places where the party secures the highest share of the vote. At the other end of the class spectrum, Labour has gained significantly in the seats with the highest numbers of professionals, leaving the party in the extraordinary posi-

tion where it now does better in these seats than in England and Wales as a whole.

The challenge for Labour is to arrest its decline in its traditional heartlands while also building on its progress in more affluent constituencies. In order to get a better understanding of how to do this, the Fabian Society spent a 'day in the life' of six different Labour voters. Each of the people we spent time with has voted Labour consistently, and each represents one of the demographic and social groups that make up Labour's core support. Each participant was selected randomly through a national research agency, and asked to answer a series of questions to confirm they met our designated criteria. None of them are party members or political activists, and they were not told about the subject of the interview in advance. Their names and identifying features have been changed to protect their anonymity, but they are real people. **F**

Figure 1: The difference between Labour's vote share in seven groupings of constituencies and the party's vote share across England and Wales in the same year

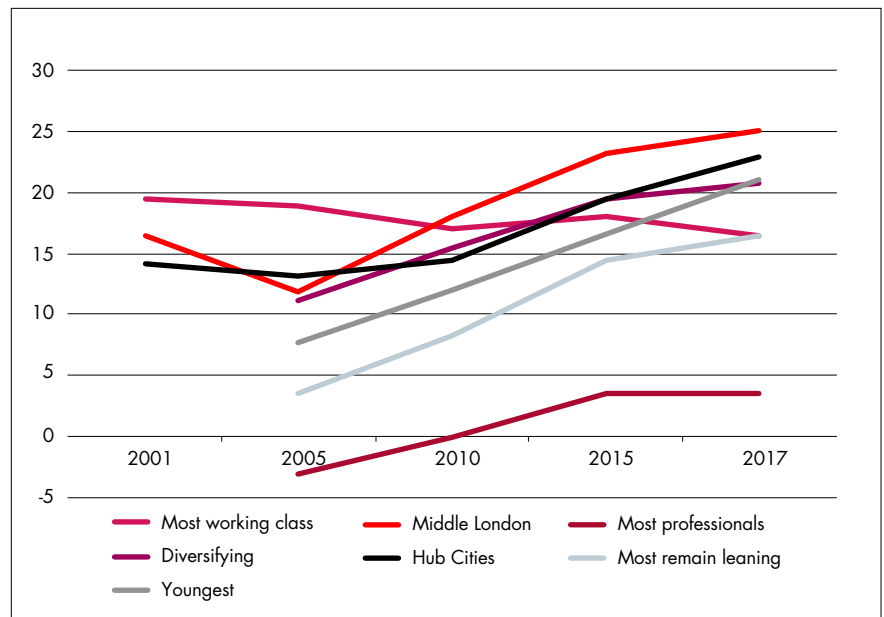


Table 2: Key data from each group of parliamentary seats

	Labour out-performance	Swing (2005–2017)	Seats Labour holds
The 63 most working class seats	Labour still outperforms its national share of the vote in these seats by some way, but this is the only group where there has been overall (modest) decline. Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share by 18.9 points in 2005, but this fell to 16.4 in 2017	Swing to the Conservatives of 3.6 percentage points. The average swing across England and Wales in the same period was 2.8 percentage points towards the Conservatives	Labour hold 57 of the 63 seats, down from 62 in 1997. The Conservatives hold the remaining 6
The 50 seats that are becoming more ethnically diverse fastest	Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share by 20.7 points in 2017, nearly 10 points higher than its outperformance in 2005	Swing to Labour of 7 percentage points	Labour won 44 of these seats in 2017. The 6 seats won by the Conservatives in 2017 are now all marginal
The 50 seats with the highest proportion of young adults	Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share by 21 points in 2017, up from 7.7 in 2005	Swing to Labour of 8.9 percentage points	Labour holds 48 of the 50 seats. The Conservatives lost all five of the seats they had held after the 2015 election
The 50 seats with the highest proportion of professionals	Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share by around 3 and a half points in both 2017 and 2015. In 2005, Labour performed 3 points less well in these seats than the England and Wales vote average	Swing to Labour of 5.3 percentage points	Labour first secured a majority of seats in 1997, and won 25 in 2017
The 50 seats with the highest support for remain	Labour outperformed its average vote share in England and Wales by 16.5 points in 2017. This was a 2.1 increase on outperformance in 2015, and an 8.2 point increase on 2010. Labour had an advantage of 3.5 points in these seats in 2005	Swing to Labour of 9.7 percentage points	Labour won 40 of the 50 seats in 2017, an advance of 4 since 2015 and 12 since 2010
40 seats in nine hub cities outside London	Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share by 22.9 points in 2017. This is an increase of 9.8 points from 2005	Swing to Labour of 5.6 percentage points	In 2017 in England and Wales every single seat in these cities returned a Labour MP, the first time this sort of ‘shut-out’ has ever happened
24 seats in ‘middle’ London	Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share by a big 25 points in 2017. This is a 7.3 point growth on its performance in 1997	Swing to Labour of 9.7 percentage points	Labour won 23 of the 24 seats in this group in 2017

David

David is 35 and works as a financial services lawyer in London



Image: dubassy / Shutterstock.com

I MET DAVID IN Canary wharf, a labyrinth of grey, glass and expensive shops. We found a quiet corner in a coffee chain, where I bought him a green tea, and he efficiently sped through the basics. Originally from Ireland, David works in financial service regulation as a lawyer but he's just applied for a new job in Berlin. He owns his own flat in south London, but rents a room out to a 27-year-old who, he complains, is 'always bringing girls home'. His childhood, he tells me, was 'comfortable enough'. His mother didn't work, and his father was a civil servant. He attended high-performing state schools away from his local area. His parents were very conscious of him receiving a 'proper education' and to make sure he went to university, and wanted him to be 'as good as, if not better' than their friends' children.

David met me straight from the gym, and it is when he starts talking about his passion for CrossFit, a high-intensity fitness group, that he comes to life. He goes to CrossFit sessions most days, and it is where most of his friends are. He feels that CrossFit gives him a sense of community, and that most of the people he knows there are 'just like' him.

It is clear that David is driven in both his personal and professional life, but he also has a clear moral code. It is 'important to be trustworthy, honest, faithful, to not screw people over... to treat others as you would expect to be treated yourself'. He also feels the desire to 'make a difference in a positive way'. He tells me his current job allows him to do that: "What I'm working on is not for the banks, it's for ensuring that people don't get screwed over." He also values personal freedom, perhaps a reaction against his parents' determination that he would not get himself into trouble. He tells me he thinks people should be able to 'do whatever they want really' and that it is important to 'be true to yourself'.

The cafe begins to empty out as we move on to memories of the 2017 election. He remembers when David Dimbleby declared that the Conservatives would be short of a majority, 'jumping up on my couch, and posting on Facebook immediately'. He knew how he was going to vote before

he arrived at the polling station: "There is a website that tells you... how you can vote to somehow reduce the Tory majority... it indicated to vote Labour, so I knew I was going to vote Labour." He also tells me he'd written to his local Labour MP to ask her to vote against article 50, and was pleased to get a reply from her saying she had: "I knew then that I was happy to reward her with the vote."

Any party that promised to stop Brexit would 'without a doubt' get his support. He's still hoping that Brexit doesn't actually happen and he thinks that people who voted to leave the EU are closed minded and intolerant.

Despite his very pragmatic approach to decision-making at the 2017 election, David tells me he has voted Labour in most elections since he's been in the UK. I ask him why: "They're more on the side of working people...they just seem more honest... they're just more... approachable". But he's cautious about Labour under Jeremy Corbyn. Although he tells me he has 'warmed up' to Corbyn more recently, he worries Labour is 'unrealistic... I don't think you can offer everything... without actually having the money in the bank to do it'. He also says he has no emotional loyalty to the Labour party. There is no family tradition of supporting Labour, and it is his principles that are more important than which party he votes for. He sees voting Labour as 'more transactional...I would prefer not to have a Tory government'.

In contrast to this, I'm struck by the strength of David's emotional reaction against the Conservative party. He tells me he 'can't relate' to any Tories, he doesn't

'even like the way they speak' and thinks they are 'alien' to what happens in normal lives. He has a 'strong dislike for them' and thinks that they are 'selfish and greedy'. This reaction seems to be tied up in part with his Irish identity and family background. The Conservative party has 'held the Irish state back' and he can't see himself ever voting Conservative because his grandparents would be 'stunned'.

I was also struck by the strength of David's reactions during discussion of the EU referendum. "I don't feel there's anyone really representing my view on leaving," he tells me. Any party that promised to stop Brexit would 'without a doubt' get his support. He's still hoping that Brexit doesn't actually happen and he thinks that people who voted to leave the EU are closed minded and intolerant.

It's clear David values policies and politicians that he can relate to. He worries about Labour policies that might have a detrimental effect on him. Labour's plans to raise taxes at the 2017 election have clearly stayed with him: "The higher taxes [policy] was ridiculous, I don't think £75,000 is an awful lot of money, living in London." And he looks for the qualities he values in himself in politicians. Labour is 'more in tune with who I am as a person' and 'more likeable'. The only time he felt he 'couldn't vote Labour was in 2015, when he 'couldn't warm to Ed Miliband, I just could not warm to his style.' When I ask him to describe what he thinks an average Labour voter is, it doesn't surprise me that he describes himself: "They are around my age, working, educated to degree standard, with a young family perhaps. Open-minded, curious, and intelligent."

David is a pragmatic Labour supporter. The pollsters would count him as a regular Labour voter, but he doesn't vote Labour out of loyalty. He aims to be true to his values, find politicians who are in tune with his life, and prevent a Tory government. As I wend my way back through the towering displays of wealth, I can't help but think how precarious his allegiance really is. ■

1: PROFESSIONALS

- **We analysed the 50 seats** in England and Wales with the highest proportion of people in households in professional occupational categories
- **Labour outperformed** its England and Wales vote share in these seats by around 3 and a half points in both 2017 and 2015
- **There has been a swing** to Labour of 5.3 percentage points in these seats since 2005
- **This success is in contrast** to seats with the highest proportion of people in managerial occupations, which have remained solidly Conservative

Traditionally constituencies with high concentrations of professional employees

(such as doctors, solicitors and university lecturers) and managerial employees (such as company directors and chief executives) have nearly all been Conservative, although Labour made brief forays into these seats in 1945, 1966 and 1997. The two occupational groups – the professional and the managerial classes – were initially grouped together by electoral analysts. They were relatively small sections of the electorate and their voting patterns did not differ all that much.

But as the two groups have grown they have also started to diverge so that since the 1990s there has been a clear distinction between the two. The constituencies with the highest proportions of managers and directors have remained overwhelmingly Conservative, while those with a strong professional presence have started to lean towards Labour and the Liberal Democrats. Labour now holds 25 of the

50 seats with the most professionals while it is still very weak in seats with the most people in managerial occupational groups.

The professional constituencies are for the most part not yet core Labour territory but the upward trend is obvious. The 2017 election was the first time Labour was the most successful party in these seats while failing to win a majority nationally (Labour first won the majority of this group of seats in 1997 in the context of its huge landslide victory) But in most of these seats the majorities tend to be small (the exception is London seats which also have BAME and young voters). Nonetheless this grouping of seats clearly offers growth potential for Labour, with seats such as Chipping Barnet, Rushcliffe, Wimbledon, Altrincham & Sale West and even Guildford potentially being winnable with an effective local campaign and a national swing.

2: REMAINERS

- **We used Chris Hanretty's EU referendum constituency estimates** to identify the 50 seats in England and Wales with the highest support for remain in the EU referendum.³
- **Hanretty's estimates were derived through a mixture of demographic modelling and reported referendum data** (which was mainly released by local authority not parliamentary constituency). Therefore this grouping may not perfectly correspond with the 50 most remain-leaning seats, although the inaccuracy is unlikely to be that great.
- **Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share** by 16.5 points

in these seats in 2017. This was a 2.1 increase on outperformance in 2015, and an 8.2 point increase on 2010

- **Labour won 40 of the 50 most remain inclined seats in 2017**, an advance of 4 since 2015 and 12 since 2010

The EU referendum result was a huge turning point for British politics, and has been discussed as a significant driver of Labour's strength in the 2017 general election. Many voters saw Labour as the party most able to deliver a 'soft' Brexit, and the British Election Study shows that the majority of people who voted remain in the referendum voted Labour at the last election. Labour took nearly two-thirds of 2015 Green votes, and about a quarter of Lib Dem votes. Labour also had a lead of more than

40 percentage points amongst voters who prioritised access to the single market over control of immigration.⁴

However our analysis suggests that Labour's Brexit bounce has been overhyped. The 50 seats in England and Wales with the estimated strongest support for Remain were moving towards Labour well before the referendum. Labour's 'over performance' in remain seats grew by six points between 2010 and 2015, and by just two points between 2015 and 2017. There is also significant overlap with the other tribes analysed in this report: only three of the 50 remain seats don't also appear in our categorisation of the youngest, most diversifying and city centre seats. This suggests that age, proximity to economic opportunities and diversity are a more important factor in Labour's support than views of Brexit in their own right.

Devon

Devon is a 41-year-old taxi driver from London



Image: Benjawan Sermkiettsakul / Shutterstock.com

DEVON PICKED ME up from Forest Hill train station in his black cab, and took me to his house. He's only just moved in, but manages to locate the Lemsip and honey. He has correctly identified that I'm in dire need.

Devon is relaxed, chatty and in good spirits. He tells me proudly about how this is his first home, and that he bought it to be nearer to his family. His mum lives round the corner, and he's got a 12 year-old son. He has been driving black cabs for six years, and it is clear he enjoys what he does, telling me he is a 'people person'. He's proud that he passed the knowledge, after studying for three and a half years.

The conversation turns to values, and the first thing that becomes clear is that Devon doesn't like extremes. He tells me

he believes 'in the yin and yang balance', explaining that he isn't 'totally liberal, or totally conservative'. He illustrates this viewpoint with practical examples, telling me that if someone hurt me 'for no reason' that he'd want that person to go to jail 'for ever'. If I paid the wrong fare on the train, however, he'd argue to just let me go.

Underlying Devon's moral code is the belief that you should 'treat people how you want to be treated'. Compassion is also an important. He tells me he feels 'a sense of concern... empathy... I'm a feelings person'. But Devon also believes in karma: "If you steal from me... my mind thinks... you will have a child and they will steal from you." Devon's belief in karma suggests a spiritual dimension, so I ask him whether he is religious. His

answer is powerful and deeply considered. He rejects organised religion because of its history of oppression, but is 'spiritual'. He tells me:

"When you see a picture of Jesus, he looks like a hippy... but in the Bible it says Jesus had skin of copper, like a one pence, and hair like wool, which is like my hair, but there's no pictures like that."

Devon remembers the 2017 election well, because he recalls getting annoyed at people in his cab sharing 'stuff that is blatantly not true' but that they thought was true. He knew that he was going to vote Labour a long, long time ago because he is attracted to the fairness at the core of Labour's mes-

sage: “If we just spread it around a bit equal, just a little bit, then everybody will be all right, and they will all prosper.”

I ask him to tell me a little more about why he is a Labour voter. His first response was focused on opposition to the Conservative party because of their record and history:

“There’s 20 per cent of me who is a traditional voter... I side with a certain party because I traditionally feel that party doesn’t hate me as much as the other party does... turkeys don’t vote for Christmas.”

But Devon is keen to express that the other 80 per cent of his decision-making is about policy and presentation, ‘what you say, how you are, and what you stand for’. Labour’s agenda fits with who he is as a person: “I feel [Labour’s] agenda suits me. I’m a progressive. I’m a liberal...for everybody... not just for big business.”

Devon is keen to stress that he’s a rational political actor, weighing up the pros and cons of different parties. But our conversation suggests that his politics is driven by his own experiences. Devon spent his childhood in a council house on a ‘very poor’ estate in Kilburn, where he tells me no one else would live except for ‘Irish people and Jamaican people’. The two communities were bonded together because of the

discrimination they faced, ‘the no Irish, no blacks, no dogs, those days’.

He tells me a story about his dad, who used to work for the NHS and the Greater London Council as an engineer. One day, when Devon was a young child, the police stopped his father on the street and searched him:

“Most black people will [support] Labour, because of how they grew up.” He tells me Labour is ‘for everyone... it doesn’t matter who you are’

“This was a working man, this isn’t a man that’s standing on the corner. They couldn’t see it, they could just see a black person... I can see a wino [and] a lady that’s working, and [both] might be white, but just because they’re white, they’re not the same person.”

This experience was deeply political for Devon. He tells me that, at the time, ‘the police felt like an arm of the Conservative

party... whereas people on the Labour side said this is wrong’. He also thinks that other black people have had their politics formed in a similar way: “Most black people will [support] Labour, because of how they grew up.” He tells me Labour is ‘for everyone... it doesn’t matter who you are’.

Devon is also very aware of the difference that Labour politicians made to his area as he was growing up. He tells me about a BMX track which the local MP helped to secure. Bradley Wiggins lived in his area, and Devon thinks his success is thanks to that track: “I’m sure he must have benefited from that track being there, you know, well, he’s a Sir now, he’s Olympic Gold. And, a lot of people don’t even correlate the two.”

Devon’s current experiences are also a big factor in his continued Labour identity. The afternoon is peppered with angry references to ‘big business’, and it is only when we start to talk about Uber that this makes more sense. After years spent learning the knowledge to work for himself, he feels that Uber is threatening what he has built. He’s also angry about government cuts because of his son’s health condition. He used to be able to get the special bread and milk that his son requires for his allergies on the NHS, but now he has been told he must pay for it

3: MIDDLE LONDON

- **We analysed the 24 seats** that are part of what we define as middle London
- **Labour outperformed** its England and Wales vote share by 25 points in 2017. This is a 7.3 point growth on its performance in 1997
- **There was a swing** to Labour of 9.7 percentage points in these seats since 2005
- **Labour won 23 of the 24 seats in this group in 2017**, with the Conservatives holding just one where they have highly concentrated support

Labour has developed a very strong base in London, bar the outer suburbs. Some of Labour’s earliest routes to parliament were in the poverty-stricken East End of London but before the second world war the party developed strong support across the city. Herbert Morrison led Labour to victory in the London County Council elections in 1934 and in 1945 he personally chose to contest suburban Lewisham East, a seat Labour had never before won.

The group of seats we call middle London consists of most of the area recognised as London in about 1920, other than the Docklands, East End area and a parallel group of seats in West and Central London that have generally been Conservative inclined and have their own historical pattern. Broadly,

this grouping is the metropolis without the concentrated extremes of wealth and poverty of the East and West Ends.

In these seats Labour’s performance has improved relative to its national average in almost every election since 1964, with only occasional blips such as the poor results at the election in 1987 and the anti-war vote in 2005. However, the gap has widened massively in recent elections, with a tiny swing to the Conservatives in 2010 being followed by outsized pro-Labour swings in 2015 and 2017. It is only because the Conservative vote is concentrated that they have even one seat. While it is possible that Labour’s enormous London advantage will flatten or dip after 2017, and votes could flow to the Greens and Lib Dems, this growing electorate is a solid part of Labour’s core support.

himself. Devon thinks this demonstrates that the Conservatives have the wrong priorities: “You cut all that, but you find money for Northern Ireland... this just reinforced for me again... these people just really don’t care about anybody.”

Devon is very proud of his identity and his background, and as part of that he’s also very proud of being a Londoner. For him, London has come to embody what he sees as good and progressive in this country:

“London, as a city, is not dominated by one thing... we’re gay, we’re straight, we’re

this, we’re that, we’re tall, we’re short, you can find one of everything in London and we live next door to each other.”

But Devon has identified that London begins to feel somehow separate, or different, from the rest of the country. The Brexit referendum and the 2017 election have underlined for him that London is ‘a country within a country’. He remembers watching reporters interviewing people in the North East on Election Day, and thinking how different their views were to the people he’d carried in his cab. This unset-

tles him, and he thinks that people outside of London have the wrong impression of how easy it is, telling me: “London is not paved with gold.”

Devon has a strong emotional attachment to the Labour party. He tells me that if he were to vote for the Tories, he would feel he was ‘betraying’ his parents and his principles. This attachment was forged in his childhood, and through his experiences of struggle and oppression. However determined he is to demonstrate his awareness of political news, he is in no doubt that the Labour party is in his corner. **F**

4: BAME VOTERS

- **We analysed the 50 constituencies** in England and Wales that have increased in their ethnic diversity the most between 2001 and 2011
- **Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share** in these seats by 20.7 points in 2017, nearly 10 points higher than its ‘outperformance’ in 2005
- **There has been a swing to Labour** in these seats of 7 percentage points since 2005
- **Labour won 44 of the 50 most diversifying seats in 2017.** The 6 seats won by the Conservatives in 2017 are now all marginal

Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) voters have been one of the most loyal elements of Labour’s core support for decades, thanks in large part to Labour’s active opposition to racism and support for key race relations legislation. Oxford sociologist Anthony Heath commented recently that: “Ethnic minorities tend to support Labour in much the way that the traditional working class used to support Labour back in the 1950s and 1960s, providing Labour with its safest seats.”⁵

Polling shows that Labour has consistently held a strong lead over

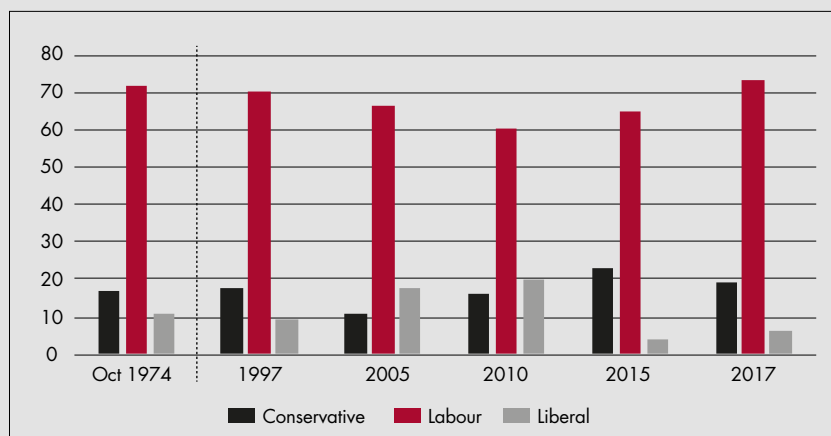
the Conservatives among non-white voters as a whole.⁶ Using the long Harris/IPSONS Mori series, we can look at voting patterns over the past four decades. The Conservatives gained ground in 2010 and 2015, but this seems to have fallen away in 2017. As a result, the large and relatively more middle-class BAME electorate of 2017 is pretty much as solidly Labour as the small, mostly working-class electorate of 1974.

BAME voters are a relatively small demographic group but they are growing fast and are concentrated in a number of seats where Labour has been traditionally strong. In order to explore the effect that their support has had on parliamentary seats, we analysed the 50 most diversifying

constituencies (ie the seats which saw the largest decline in the proportion of white British adults between 2001 and 2011). We find there has been a swing to Labour of 7 percentage points in these constituencies since 2005, even though the national trend has been in the other direction.

The 6 seats within this group won by the Conservative party in 2017 are now all marginal. Four of these, Harrow East, Hendon, Thurrock and Watford, were Labour in 2005 and had tiny Conservative majorities in 2017. It seems possible that Labour will win all this group of seats at the next election, in which case these demographic changes will have been fully reflected in election results.

Figure two: Black and Minority Ethnic Voting Patterns, 1974–2017⁷



George

George is 24 and a student at the University of Bristol



Image: Boxun Liu / Shutterstock.com

IMEET GEORGE AT his student flat in Montpelier, Bristol. He rents his room from a friend who bought the flat thanks to an inheritance. I am offered a cup of redbush tea with soya milk, and we start to talk across the large wooden table in his kitchen.

The first thing George tells me is how much he loves his degree. He's older than his peers, having had a false start on a drama course, but he's found his calling studying chemistry. His perfect day would be in the university labs, and he wants to be a lecturer one day. He holds this ambition because it would be "pretty cool to be able to talk about the thing that you love with people who are genuinely interested".

George grew up 10 minutes down the road from his flat, and only recently moved out from his parents' home. He is one of four children, and both of his parents worked in education. He attended local comprehensive schools, but didn't discover his 'academic side' until recently. He feels

guilty he didn't do better at school telling me that: "It feels so arrogant now because you think of more disadvantaged kids who didn't go to as good a school as me and it's a bit obnoxious, it's very obnoxious, not to take that opportunity."

After a happy hour spent immersed in his lab project, George rejoins me at a local bakery. Over the din of students recounting the adventures of the night before, we talk about the values that he lives his life by. Fairness and compassion were the dominant themes. He tells me he tries to give people the benefit of the doubt, not to lose his temper, and to put himself in the shoes of people less fortunate than him. He knows the names of his neighbours, but doesn't prioritise building relationships in his community. Growing up in Bristol helped shape him because he thinks it gave him a wider worldview and a positive approach to diversity: "If I had grown up in the countryside... I would have a narrower view than I do now."

Later, in another independent coffee shop, we talk about the 2017 election. George remembers walking to the polling station around the corner, and his dad coming round after the exit poll to discuss what the result meant. He tells me the candidate he voted for was Corbyn – the 'first politician, in my lifetime, to actually seem like a real person'. "I think people pick up on when someone is a genuinely nice person."

George decided 'years ago' that he was going to support the Labour party. The most important factor in this decision was the fact that both his parents are Labour. The values he was brought up to hold, equality and fairness, are, he says, 'intrinsicly linked' to his political decisions. But he was keen to stress his own agency in this decision, arguing that while people are influenced by their childhood when they reach adulthood they have to make a decision for themselves about whether to stick with their parents' views. "I've got to that age and I do still agree with them."

Despite his strong Labour identification, I'm struck by George's practical approach to politics. He's concerned by the 'Oh Jeremy Corbyn' song he's heard people sing because 'no politician should have their name chanted'. He doesn't describe himself as emotionally close to the Labour party, but says he's chosen them because they most closely match his values. He'd consider voting Green in the future if Labour 'moved away from' his values, and would vote tactically to stop the Conservative party. George has

a strong emotional response to the Conservative party. They are 'concerned with lining the pockets of richer people', 'selfish' and 'greedy'. He couldn't conceive of ever deciding to vote Conservative, and said his friends would disown him if he did.

We finish the day in a pub. George is uncomfortable as I ask him about any Labour policies he particularly admires. He wishes he knew more about Labour's policy offer, and says if he'd known I was going to ask him about it he would have 'done some

research'. He doesn't like the idea that people might think he's decided to vote Labour without knowing 'enough' about politics.

George is a scientist, determined to demonstrate that he's making rational choices. But I'm left with the strong sense that his politics are instinctive and emotional. He wants society to be fairer and more equal. Supporting the Labour party is one way he can help make that happen, but it is not the only party he'd consider. **F**

5: YOUNG VOTERS

- **We analysed the 50 seats** with the highest proportion of 18–29 year olds
- **Labour outperformed** its England and Wales vote share by 21 points in 2017, up from 7.7 in 2005
- **There has been a swing** to Labour of 9 percentage points in these seats since 2005
- **Labour holds 48 of these 50 seats.** The Conservatives lost all five of the seats they had held after the 2015 election

In all elections since 1964 Labour has done better than the Conservatives among voters aged 18 to 24 and 25

to 34. However, this advantage has usually been modest, ranging from around 5 to 15 percentage points, and with movements more or less tracking the party's national performance.

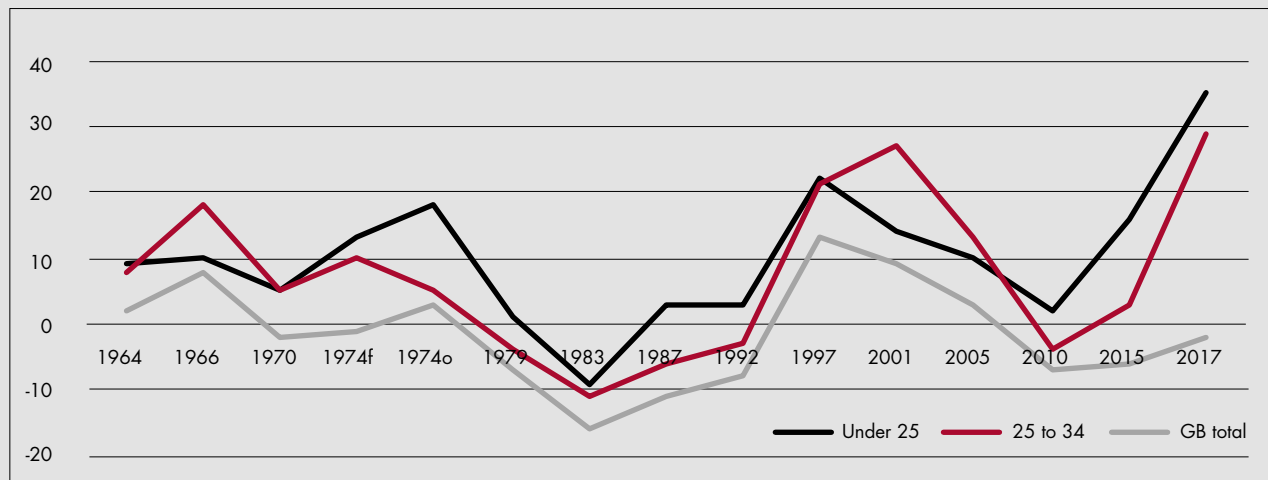
The 2017 election deviated massively from this, with young voters as a whole swinging strongly towards Labour and the gap between Labour and Conservative support opening up to 30 points according to IPSOS Mori.⁸ The British Election Study has disproved initial claims that youth turnout also grew. But figures suggest that Labour's lead amongst young people could have grown as much as 20 points between 2015 and 2017.⁹

To explore this trend at constituency level, we analysed the 50 seats in England and Wales with the highest proportions of young voters (18 to 29 year-olds) in the

2011 census. Unsurprisingly, these seats tend to be in university areas, plus districts of cheaper housing in cities that attract early career professionals in graduate jobs. These seats have recently been very strongly Labour.

Labour's vote share in these youth seats is high and rising, and Labour's over performance against its England and Wales vote share has grown by more than 13 points between 2005 and 2017. We also calculate a swing to Labour of 9 points between 2005 and 2017. Labour holds 48 of the 50 youngest seats, with the Liberal Democrats and the Greens holding the other two. The Conservatives lost all five of the seats they had held after the 2015 election. By contrast they won 12 seats in this group in the 1992 election.

Figure 3: Labour percentage lead among younger voters and overall, 1964–2017¹⁰ (IPSOS Mori)



Mary

Mary is a 78-year-old retiree who lives in a small town in Derbyshire



Image: septemberlegs / iStock

MARY LIVES IN a small town in Derbyshire. Her home is immaculate and full of photos of her four children, three grandchildren and five great-grandchildren. She makes a pot of tea in a bone china teapot, and proffers a tin of biscuits that she'd been out specially to buy. Her living room reminds me of my granny's old flat, and somehow it smells the same.

The first thing we talk about is loss. One of 15 children, Mary's father was killed in an accident at work when she was young. And Mary lost her husband nine years ago, suddenly, to cancer. He just 'walked in one day and he said I think I've got what my friend has got'. His death left her feeling as though 'half her body had gone' and she 'didn't go out for a year. I watched her address his empty chair for the rest of the day, with tears collecting in the corner of her eyes.

When I ask Mary about her values, she talks about her family. She has always tried to do her best for her children, and 'bring them up to be honest, and respect people'. She has 'never, ever, liked kids swearing'. In a family, Mary tells me, you are "always there for one another". Mary also values fairness and moderation: "I've got all I want, I'm not a greedy person, I just like to be able to pay my way, and I'm happy."

Mary has always voted Labour because she was brought up to believe that Labour were 'for the working-class people'. But she's clear that that sense of purpose seems to have eroded, telling me that over the past few years Labour hasn't 'been how they should be'. Even though Labour isn't currently in government, Mary seems to blame Labour for the changes that she has seen in her community:

"They're closing that many places down... they've even finished with the job centre up here... I'm not prejudiced, or anything like that, I love different cultures, and that. But, you can bet, every other shop up this street, it's takeaways, you know, there's nothing for the young ones... we used to have dance halls to go to, and cinemas and that."

Mary's concern about jobs and about immigration seem to go hand in hand. Her grandchildren, she tells me, have to achieve difficult qualifications in order to secure one of a vanishing number of jobs, whereas "people can come in to this country, and get a job with no qualifications". It was her worry about jobs that led her to vote to leave the European Union. "I thought I was doing the right thing... just hoping that jobs would get better."

It was her worry about jobs that led her to vote to leave the European Union. "I thought I was doing the right thing... just hoping that jobs would get better."

From the stories she tells me throughout the day, it strikes me that Mary feels quite insecure. The changes in her community have unsettled her, because she feels increasingly disconnected and alone. Her friend has recently been burgled, and she's worried about crime because she lives on her own. She doesn't watch the news because it upsets her. Confronted by mortality, she wants to believe in God but can't reconcile divinity with events she can't make sense of. She tells me about a five-year-old child from down the road who died suddenly from a brain tumour, and tells me that: "God wouldn't let things happen like that."

Mary isn't politically engaged. She is uncomfortable discussing the 2017 election and can't tell me anything about Labour's policy offer. But it is striking how much the hardship she has faced has shaped her politics. She recalls how her father's company left her mother destitute after he was killed at work, allocating just £20 a month to feed and clothe the whole family. "We did struggle", Mary tells me,

"and I think you appreciate things more, when you've struggled." The rest of the day is peppered with stories of the challenges her family has faced throughout her life. It is unfair, she tells me, that her daughter has to work until she is 67 before she gets a pension, especially after a lifetime of her husband 'abusing her terrible'. It's not fair that her granddaughter will have to reduce her hours at work because it will cost more than she's earning to put her son into nursery. Mary doesn't know what she would have done without the NHS, which has been there for her through some of her toughest times.

But injustice is not the only thing that has shaped her Labour identity. She started voting Labour before she'd experienced so much hardship because her 'mum and [her] brothers voted Labour.' And she also feels that Labour representatives are 'like' her: "Conservatives, they seem to speak down on the working-class, whereas the Labour, they're on your level... I think you feel more at ease speaking to a Labour councillor." Dennis Skinner, a local MP, is the target of praise. He's a local man, from a local family, who 'speaks his mind'.

Mary's political perspective is surprisingly local. When I ask her for Labour's main strengths and weaknesses, she tells me that the local Labour councillors live locally but aren't responsive enough: "The councillors up here, you know, they're not what they should be. They don't keep to their word at all." Her political concerns centre on the streets in her immediate surroundings; the shops she goes to and the trees that obstruct the pavement. As her age has advanced, and as she's lost loved ones, her world seems to have narrowed and the once insignificant has grown in importance.

When I ask Mary to describe an average Labour voter, she told me, simply: "I think I am honest and fair." She can't see herself changing her vote because she's 'done it for years and years'. But it is habit and history that motivate her to put the cross in the box. I leave with the distinct sense that she no longer feels the Labour party is on her side. **F**

6: WORKING CLASS VOTERS

- **We analysed the 63 most working class seats** in England and Wales
- **Labour still outperforms its England and Wales share of the vote in these seats by some way**, but this is the only group of constituencies we analysed where there has been an overall decline in Labour's lead, albeit modest. Labour outperformed its England and Wales share by 18.9 points in 2005, but this fell to 16.4 in 2017
- **Labour hold 57 of the 63 seats**, down from 62 in 1997. The Conservatives hold the remaining 6

National opinion polls and academic studies point to a downward trend in Labour's support among working-class voters. According to BES data, 2015 was the first year when Labour was less popular amongst working-class voters than among the population as a whole.¹¹ And Paula Sturridge's analysis of the 2017 general election shows that seats with the highest concentration of working-class voters had the largest swing towards the Tories (no doubt aided by the collapse in the Ukip vote). As figure four shows, across Great Britain Labour's advantage amongst among working class voters in the 1960s and 1970s was huge. It fell during the Thatcher and Blair years. By 2010, Labour's relative advantage amongst C2 voters disappeared entirely (growing to just six points in 2015 and disappearing again in 2017), and by 2017 the DE advantage had also closed to around 10 points. Over this time the percentage of the population who are working class in occupational terms has also fallen significantly.

Our seat-based analysis shows a similar pattern of decline (see appendix one). We examined the 63 seats in England and Wales where more than half of people aged 16 to 74 are in routine and manual occupational categories (ie are working class in economic terms). We see that Labour's vote in these seats

has fallen behind what it secures in seat groupings with high concentrations of the other types of core Labour voter.

But Labour's decline in those communities with the most working-class voters should not be overstated: the seat analysis shows that Labour's working-class support is more resilient than is sometimes assumed, especially in the context of Brexit. Across the 63 most working-class constituencies, Labour has been dominant over the last 45 years, with the Conservatives holding only one seat throughout (Boston in Lincolnshire). Labour still has an advantage in these seats of more than 16 points above the party's overall vote share for England and Wales.

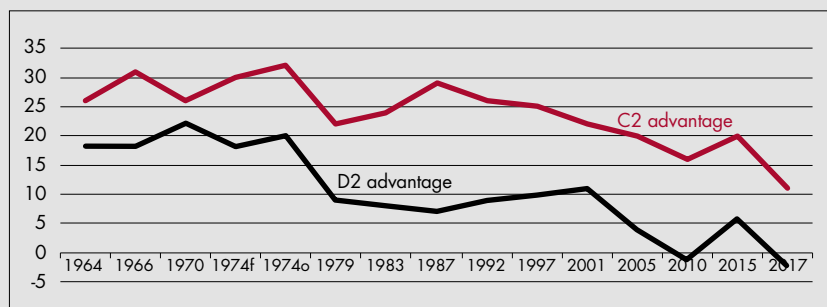
The Conservatives may have improved their performance in working-class seats in 2017, but they performed similarly well in the 1970s and 1980s and the seats soon swung back towards Labour. In 2017 the Conservatives won six seats but this is still behind their performance in 1983 with eight seats and 1959 with 10 seats.¹³ Labour's support recovered in the late 1970s and early 1980s suggesting that a similar recovery is possible again.

There are a number of potential explanations for Labour's resilience in these seats, including the impact of culture and community in individual seats. But we must also factor in that some in this category now have large black and minority ethnic populations, which could be propping up Labour's performance due to their strong support for Labour. If we remove

these seats from our analysis, Labour's vote share in 2017 would be cut by about a percentage point, and the Conservatives' raised accordingly. In the non-metropolitan working-class seats there was therefore a swing of about 2 points from Labour to Conservative between February 1974 and 2017, while the working-class seats as a whole have hardly swung at all.

Another explanation for Labour's resilience in these seats can be found if we start to unpack what we mean by 'working class'. Britain's shift to a service economy, alongside the high numbers of people completing higher education, has led some academics to argue that we need a new system of categorisation. Savage, Devine et al suggest seven new class categorisations that make a distinction between emergent service workers, who are employed in relatively low-paid jobs in areas like customer service or hospitality; the precariat, who work as cleaners, care workers or van drivers; and the traditional working class. Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker have used this schema to demonstrate that constituencies with a higher proportion of precariat and emergent service workers have not seen any decline in Labour support over the last ten years, in contrast to a decline in support over time from the traditional working class.¹⁴ Stoker and Jennings also demonstrate that Labour's vote share has risen slightly more in areas that have seen a fall in real pay over the last five years.¹⁵ **F**

Figure 4: Excess of Labour lead (%) among working class voters compared to Great Britain Labour lead, 1964–2017¹²



Michael

Michael is a 63-year-old social care worker from just outside Stoke-on-Trent



Image: JazzLove / Shutterstock.com

I MEET MICHAEL at his immaculate home, just outside Stoke-on-Trent. The walls are festooned with pictures of his dogs, and his two excitable Staffies soon greet me. One, Charlie, settles on my lap. Michael sits opposite me in his small conservatory, a mature man who still looks like a boy. His

hair flops around his neck, his faded tattoos cling to his arms, and his bright orange t-shirt reflects off his chin, reminding me of a child with a buttercup. His wife makes sure we are comfortable and brings us tea. His is served in a cup and saucer, mine in a mug.

Michael used to work in the potteries, where he worked his way up to a management position. When the company went into receivership in 1999, he tells me: "I had to tell my daughter-in-law she was redundant and then two hours later I was told that I was redundant." His wife, Donna,

lost her job too. After the pottery closed, Michael took a job in social care. It was all there was, and at the time it offered a steady wage. He has been working at a local care home ever since, and is due to retire in 14 months after nearly 20 years. He enjoys his work, but gets 'disillusioned' by the low pay, poor management and huge turnover of his colleagues. He speaks passionately about how social care is too important to be run as a business 'unless, 100 per cent, you can be confident that it's run for the benefit of the people we support'.

Michael's memory of recent years has been scarred by ill health. He has rheumatoid arthritis, COPD, osteoarthritis and has had a hip replacement. His illness has had a serious impact on his mental health, he tells me, because he went from being able to walk 10 miles a day to not being able to get down the front step. He tells me that he would drag himself out of the house with his wife: "I would go with her, sit on a bench like Billy no-mates, looking over an area that used to be opencast mining, now it's a country park... I'd just be sitting there."

This sense of loss and nostalgia was a recurrent theme throughout our day together. I'm shown the ashes of the dogs they've loved and lost, and I'm regaled with stories of childhood and a sadness that things are no longer the way they were. Michael's memories of the 2017 election continue this theme. He remembers election day because he saw people he hadn't seen for years and tells me that the polling station used to be his old school. Voting made him 'remember all the good times' and he thinks of the Labour party like he thinks of his school. While you don't like every teacher, it's all 'about teamwork'. Michael also remembers feeling excited about voting because 'somebody is going to listen to what I do... that cross, somebody is going to listen to it'.

Michael voted Labour in 2017, and to leave the EU in 2016. He did so for similar reasons: to stand up for 'the English working man' and because he believes that with 'teamwork' the country can prosper. His own experiences come through, telling me that he believes 'in the English product' and that "if the Conservatives are in year after

year, we wouldn't have a National Health Service." He didn't see Labour as opposed to Brexit before the referendum, telling me that what he gathered was 'that the Labour party was more for exit than what the Conservative party were'.

He considered voting
Ukip recently, but
couldn't bring himself
to do it: "I just look up
at my dad and I can't
go away from Labour."

The most powerful reason Michael votes Labour is his background and family. He tells me he votes Labour because 'my parents voted Labour, but if you work for your living, you are Labour'. But it is clear his connection with the Labour party has eroded over his lifetime. He tells me he doesn't think Labour is 'trying hard enough' and no longer cares about working-class voters because they have gathered enough support elsewhere: "I feel as the Labour party is like 'we're all right Jack, sod you lot'." He quite likes Donald Trump and Nigel Farage because they listen to working-class people: "I just want the Labour party to back me up... a little bit more." He considered voting Ukip recently, but couldn't bring himself to do it: "I just look up at my dad and I can't go away from Labour."

A significant factor behind Michael's loss of trust is what he describes as Labour's unwillingness to talk about immigration. He tells me that he thinks immigration has 'gone too far' and believes that: "The Labour party are frightened because there are so many people of a different culture that they would be frightened that they wouldn't vote for Labour." Michael also worries about changes in his local area. His family all live less than a mile away, and he drives me past their houses on the way back to the station. He tells me he is 'waiting for Labour to do more for this area, all the jobs are about

care, retail, logistics, order-picking and all things like that. We've got a good working-class background of Labour people, but it's getting less recognised, because it's being forgotten about.'

Michael is also motivated by the performance of political leaders, telling me that he likes 'characters'. He tells me, sheepishly, that in the 1980s he voted for Margaret Thatcher because she was 'very clever' in dealing with the miners' strike, and was 'also up for agreeing to people that they could buy their own houses'. He tells me he'd like to see a Labour leader as 'fiery' as she was, and he's concerned that Jeremy Corbyn doesn't meet that standard: "His policies and everything are right, but he doesn't come over as a really popular figurehead."

Michael tells me that his identity as a Labour supporter and the principles he tries to live by go 'hand in hand'. He tells me he aims to 'just get on with life and do my best', to be selfless because 'people are just too selfish these days' and to be caring. Michael also tells me he places a high importance on respect, and feeling embedded in a community. When he worked in the pottery industry, he tells me his department would always 'have a works do' and he misses the camaraderie. In his current job 'the staff changeover is really horrendous' and he feels he can't build the same bonds with his colleagues. He mentions immigration again, telling me he 'is not racist' but feels as though it has 'broken up' what he sees as the tradition of community in his area.

Michael is very reflective, telling me that 'as you get older you start reminding yourself what life is about'. But I can't help but feel as though most of Michael's observations are accompanied by a sense of decline. The 'values have gone down and respect has gone down', alongside the area he lives in, the economic opportunities he sees for his family, and his health. Part of that is psychological, but it is also political. Michael feels betrayed by the Labour party which has, as far as he is concerned, not had his back. "I don't know the statistics" he tells me "but I think that the statistics are that there's a lot of people just still voting Labour, like me, because their parents did, but I think that will be less." **F**

Yasmin

Yasmin is 54 and works as a special educational needs teacher in Manchester



Image: andrewmedina / iStock

A LARGE POSTER OF Iggy Pop confronts me as I enter Yasmin's home in an upmarket suburb of Manchester. She used to be a punk and music has been a lifelong passion. She named her first born after David Bowie, and tells me about how she once climbed the fence to get into Glastonbury. She used to want to be a fashion designer, but turned to a career in education as the financial demands of parenthood hit home.

Her career has been punctuated by insecurity. She has a permanent job now, as a special needs teacher at a local school, but has lost numerous jobs due to cuts in local authority funding. She's taught in prison, run a

youth centre and run singing classes in a care home. Redundancy nearly led to her house being repossessed, and this has left a deep scar: "As a single, home-owning parent who is out there doing what you are supposed to do... buy a house, look after your children, go to work... to find yourself where it could be taken away from you is awful, it's absolutely soul destroying, it's frightening."

Yasmin describes a happy childhood, with Chopper bikes, the Bay City Rollers and a 'nice three-bedroomed, brand new, semi-detached house'. Family has clearly remained important to Yasmin. Her mother lived next door until she passed away sud-

denly. She makes packed lunches for her 30-year-old son to take to his job at a local garage. She bursts with pride as she tells me about how her 13-year-old wants to become a singer. Our day is dotted with different family members calling her to ask for lifts or to ask advice, and I'm amazed she finds time to hold down her job. She's clearly the glue that holds her family together.

The conversation turns to values. She tells me the most important thing to have is respect, and worries that her son has been starting to swear. She values honesty and integrity, and places importance on being compassionate and 'treating people as you'd

want to be treated yourself'. She also has a strong sense of fairness: "I hate injustice... I'm all for fighting for the underdog." Her local community is important to her, but is something 'that you take for granted up North'.

I join Yasmin on a trip to Aldi. On the drive there we talk about the 2017 election. She remembers the queue outside the polling station when she went to vote after work, and remembers feeling thrilled when the result became clear. She's always voted Labour, apart from a brief dalliance with the Green party, and had a Labour poster up in the porch in the 2017 election. She was briefly a Labour member in 1997, and is considering joining again now. She watched Jeremy Corbyn's recent party conference speech online and wrote a status on Facebook that it was 'uplifting'.

Yasmin tells me she votes Labour because her background is working-class and Labour has 'working-class values'. She's conscious that she may not be seen as working-class now, 'working in a job that isn't seen as working-class' and 'living in an area that isn't seen as working-class.' But that is where her roots are, she says. She values Labour policies and

tells me: "Education, health... it's everything I stand for as a person." She feels her values developed hand in hand with her Labour identity and feels a strong loyalty to the party: "I just never would dream of not voting Labour."

After a quick nip around Aldi, where Yasmin stocks up on some basics, we settle in a trendy café with a large pot of strong tea. It becomes clear that Yasmin's Labour identity is rooted in her experiences. Her career in education has confirmed her political instincts. She's angry with the Conservatives for recent education policy, and tells me that her school has 'never got a full cupboard of stationery' because 'the budget has run out'. Her experience as a single mum has also reinforced her support for Labour. "As a working woman, you need every bit of help you can get," She tells me. Working tax credits and free nursery provision helped Yasmin get through difficult times.

Yasmin also places importance on the personality of politicians, and she seems to look for emotional cues that relate to her own life. One of the first things she tells me she likes about Jeremy Corbyn is that he went to Glastonbury to talk to young

people, the site of her fondest memories of youth. When she resigned her membership of the Labour party during the Blair years it was because Labour were portraying themselves as 'champagne socialists'. She felt that Blair's 'holiday to Tuscany every year' and friendships with celebrities were a betrayal of Labour's, and her, working-class values. She sees the Conservative party through a similar prism. Theresa May, isn't 'approachable' and lacks 'character'. She would go as far as saying she 'pretty much despises' the Conservatives.

Yasmin is busy, bubbly, and full of contradiction. By most objective standards, she isn't working-class. She had a relatively privileged childhood, she owns her own home, and she works in a skilled profession. She told me she loves to go to posh restaurants when she visits her sister and one of her favourite things to do is to drink pink champagne. But her support for the Labour party is tied up in a deeply emotional identification with being working-class, and the sense of right and wrong that she believes flows from that. Despite her economic transition into the middle class, she still sees Labour as on her side. **F**

7: HUB CITIES

- **We analysed 40 seats** in nine hub cities outside of London
- **Labour outperformed its England and Wales vote share** in these seats by 22.9 points in 2017. This is an increase of 9.8 points from 2005
- **There has been a swing** to Labour of 5.6 percentage points in these seats since 2005
- **In 2017 every single seat** in these cities returned a Labour MP, the first time this sort of 'shut-out' has ever happened

Labour has been ahead in cities outside of London since the Second World War. While the Conservatives narrowed the gap significantly in 1959, Labour's gains in the mid-1960s were never entirely

reversed. But in 2017 in England and Wales every single seat in these cities returned a Labour MP, the first time this sort of 'shut-out' has ever happened. A similar pattern can be observed when looking at share of the vote.

The collapse of the Conservatives in the big cities is of historic importance; in the past figures such as Chamberlain of Birmingham, Salvidge of Liverpool and Bellwin of Leeds had their own local political muscle, and their own non-London perspectives. The Conservatives aspire to recreate such non-London fiefdoms with politicians like Andy Street in the West Midlands, but so far their progress has been limited.

While control of powerful local councils and an exclusive voice in Westminster for the big metropolitan areas is an advantage, there are also dangers for Labour. First, by definition these cities cannot provide any more electoral

gains for Labour. And second, Labour dominance of hub cities can lead to resentment in nearby towns and smaller cities, since smaller communities within or close to conurbations are sometimes more resentful of their nearest gilded metropolis than they are of London. For example, these dynamics may partially explain the hostility to regional devolution in South and West Yorkshire.

There also seems to be a difference between cities that have developed as service centres for a region and those that are essentially agglomerations of smaller towns that have fused together over time. While Labour's position in the hub cities has steadily improved, and the smaller regional capitals like Nottingham and Leicester have followed, this has not happened in the agglomerations. For example, Labour has declined steadily in the Potteries, while Medway has gone from marginal to safe Conservative territory.

For the many?

DAVID, DEVON, GEORGE, Mary, Michael and Yasmin are a microcosm of Labour's support base in England and Wales. Their stories reveal the widening chasm between the experiences of Labour voters, and also indicate that political affiliations seem to be becoming more transient. But their stories also reveal reason for hope. Labour can hold its diverse electoral coalition together if it chooses to develop a better understanding of the emotional and cultural drivers of its supporters.

Tension and difference

The first thing that the six days spent with David, Devon, George, Mary, Michael and Yasmin reveal is just how different their experiences and priorities are from each other. Like the electorate in general, some voted to leave and some to remain in the European Union. Some value community and tradition and some actively seek to change it. They are confident and wealthy and afraid and insecure.

They are also actively hostile to each other. Yasmin spoke of the 'average Joe and Joan Bloggs' who see asylum seekers coming over here, who don't see the bigger picture, who just see things very blinkered'. George told me that Leave voters were 'lied to and led' and he was disparaging about any concerns about immigration and the loss of community assets: "Having that as a reason to vote leave is rubbish... they are in a changing community... that's just what happens over the passage of time." David explained that 'people who have an open mind or are more tolerant would have voted remain,' while leave voters are 'less inclined to have those opinions'.

All six voters feel that the people who disagree with them are threatening their way of life. Mary and Michael worry about immigration changing their community, and Devon worries about prejudice and discrimination from people outside of London who have less progressive views. For people like David and George, the test of their support for Labour is that it is relentlessly liberal and open minded. But for people like

Michael, it is whether the party is willing to conserve community and industry.

Transience and shifting loyalty

The interviews also underline the shifting nature of loyalty to the Labour party. George and David, who represent many of Labour's newer voters, do not demonstrate any particular emotional connection to the Labour party itself but instead see the Labour party as just one way they can express their values and secure the outcomes they desire. Mary and Michael, who represent Labour's traditional working-class supporters, give the impression that the only reason they are still voting Labour is because they have a deep emotional and cultural connection to the Labour party, the party of the working class. Yasmin and Devon combine the two approaches. They have a cultural and emotional link to the Labour party, because their families were Labour and they were taught that Labour was on their side. But they also have a pragmatic support for the Labour party, rooted in their experiences and belief that the Labour party has acted in their interests.

Their attitudes reflect both declining class-based political loyalties and weaker affiliations to political parties, two phenomena which are well recognised in academic research and electoral analysis. While academics describe the 1950s and 1960s as the era of 'alignment', where most voters tended to identify with a class and then with the political party identified with that class, from the 1970s we have witnessed a process of 'dealignment'.¹⁶ This coincides with a big fall in Labour's support amongst working class voters, discussed in box six in more detail.

We have also seen a wider partisan dealignment. In the 1960s and 1970s the vast majority of people were willing to identify themselves as labour or conservative, but by 2010 just 62 per cent would do the same.¹⁷ There is also evidence that over the same period people have become more likely to switch their vote during the short campaign.¹⁸

Labour's strong performance at the 2017 election is worth analysing within this con-

text. One of the defining features of the result was the number of people who changed their mind in the weeks and days before the election. Before the short campaign, the British Election Study found the Conservatives with a 41 per cent to 27 per cent lead over Labour. But by the last three days of the campaign the two parties were neck and neck. One in five voters switched their vote during the campaign, and Labour won the backing of more than half of this group.¹⁹

All six of our voters are long-standing Labour supporters but not all of their support feels terribly secure. Moreover, today's political fluidity means that Labour may have received as many votes in 2017 from people who did not vote for the party in 2015, as from people who did.²⁰ This startling fact suggests that Labour's strength is built on unstable foundations. Labour is attracting more and more voters like David and George, but their loyalty is the hardest to win and retain.

Emotion and culture

As class and partisan dealignment has gathered pace, academics have spent more time discussing what is known as the 'rational choice' model of voter choice, which argues that voters weigh up the pros and cons of various political options before they make a decision. Party choice, for Stanford political scientist Morris Fiorina, is a 'running tally of positive and negative evaluations of a party.'²¹

It is here, in the cut and thrust of day-to-day political performance, that most media analysts spend their time. We endlessly debate the performance of political parties, the popularity of their policies and the impact of their campaigns. But spending time with our six voters reveals that these factors play a much less significant role than their airtime justifies.

While all six voters were keen to express their support for Labour as a considered, rational decision, and were embarrassed when they could not recall the names of party leaders or of recent policies, the most significant drivers of their decision to vote

Labour were emotional and cultural. Even the most 'transactional' voter, David, said that his grandparents would 'turn in their grave' if he voted Conservative.

Drew Weston argues in *The Political Brain* that politicians too often target the 'dispassionate mind'. He points to an American political advert used in 2000 by the Republican National Committee for George W Bush against Al Gore. Towards the end of the advert, the word 'rats' appeared in large letters across the screen as part of the word bureaucrats, which had been split across two frames. To test the impact of this, Weston subliminally flashed the word 'rats' in front of one group and the word 'star' in front of another before asking each group to rate the qualities of a political candidate. The group exposed to the word 'rats' gave significantly more negative ratings of the candidate.²²

In his new book 'What's Your Bias?' Lee De-Wit builds on this, arguing that conservatives and liberals' brains respond differently to different emotional stimuli. He points to a 2012 study which showed a group of conservatives and liberals negative images, such as a fight and an open wound with a maggot, and positive images,

including a happy child and a fluffy rabbit. All of the images triggered an involuntary physiological reaction, but the conservative-minded voters reacted more strongly to the negative images and the liberal-minded voters reacted more strongly to the positive images.²³ Voters' emotional reactions, such as Mary's increased anxiety about bad things happening, play a role in shaping their political beliefs.

In every interview it was also clear that voters look for emotional and personal cues in Labour's presentation and messaging. Devon told me that Labour's campaign was 'honest' and 'young' and Yasmin saw memories of her own youth reflected in Jeremy Corbyn's rapturous reception at Glastonbury. When David described an average Labour voter, he described himself: "Working, educated to degree standard... open-minded, curious, and intelligent."

Studies have shown that the very act of voting leads to heightened emotions, demonstrated so vividly by Michael's recollections of childhood and teamwork when he thought of polling day. Voting makes people feel proud, rooted in their community and responsible for the direction of the country. It also prompts strong reactions. A recent

survey has shown that nearly a third of people felt ready to cry upon hearing the EU referendum result, and more than half of voters said they felt anger towards people who had voted differently.²⁴

It is also clear that values play an important role in the party political affiliations of the six voters. Jonathan Haidt, in a 2009 study, demonstrated that an individual's reliance on different values can predict whether they are politically liberal or conservative. Using moral foundations theory, Haidt demonstrates that political liberals are more likely to prioritise care and fairness, whereas political conservatives prioritise a wider range of values (including loyalty, authority and sanctity).²⁵ As figure nine shows, this is borne out by the six interviews, with all of them prioritising fairness and compassion.

But there are also clear areas where the voters differ, with Yasmin, Michael and Mary all placing a higher importance on respect and community. The values modes analysis, developed by Pat Dade and Les Higgins, which categorises voters according to the priority they place on different values, is useful here. George and David fit neatly in to the pioneers category, containing

Table 3: The six Labour voters' values and their relationship with the Labour party

(Note: The use of square brackets indicates where we have paraphrased the words of the interviewee, or extrapolated their views from other comments.)

	David, 35, Lawyer	Devon, 41, Taxi driver	George, 24, student	Mary, 78, Retired	Michael, 63, Social care worker	Yasmin, 54, teacher
Their personal values...	Honesty, Fairness, Making a difference, Being true to yourself	Fairness, Compassion, Yin and Yang, balance	Fairness, Compassion	[Family, Authority, Respect, Fairness, Moderation]	Trying your best, Being selfless, Caring for each other, Respect, Community	Respecting authority, Fairness, Compassion
Sees the Labour party as...	Fair, For equality, Unrealistic, Likeable, Inexperienced	Young, Progressive, Exciting	Fair, Empathetic	For the working man, Honest and fair	Morals, Standards, Fairness, Equality	[Approachable, Relating to people]
Sees Labour values as...	For everyone, Fair	For all, Fearless, Honest	Fairness, Equality	[For the working man, Honest and fair]	Fairness, For the working man and woman	Honesty, Integrity, Compassion, Reliability

people who are socially liberal and tend to value openness, self-fulfilment and self-determination. Whereas Michael and Mary fit into the settlers category, which tends to be older, socially conservative, and concerned with security. Like Michael and Mary, the settlers are often worried about the future, and concerned with local political issues which affect them and their family.

In addition to these emotional drivers and the role of values, the six interviews also revealed the important role of culture and shared experience. Perhaps the most powerful example of this is the story Devon told about his father being stopped and searched while he stood and watched. Devon's experiences of racism are seared on his mind, and he draws a clear link between those experiences and the Labour party's willingness to defend his rights.

All of the voters told similar stories of the difference Labour made, or the damage the Conservative party did. For example, David could never imagine voting Conservative because of the party's historic attitude to the Irish state and Mary spoke powerfully about what the NHS has done for her family. Instead of being ashamed of its history and record, there is a clear advantage for the Labour party in promoting and being proud of its past achievements.

The interviews also underline that class is still a powerful driver of people's Labour identification, despite the dealignment we have witnessed in recent decades. Yasmin, for example, was clear that her political affiliation to the Labour party was rooted in her working-class identity, despite her economic transition to the middle class.

This persistence of working class identity, despite economic change, is a well-known phenomenon that is clear from survey data. The British Social Attitudes survey shows that despite a fall over the last three decades in people classified as working class in occupational terms, the number of people defining themselves as working-class has remained consistent. It is also surprisingly high, with 6 in 10 people saying they are working-class.²⁶

Six ways to strengthen and unite the Labour base

Labour's voters are diverse and divided. Holding them together is Labour's toughest challenge. Any electoral strategy that pits remain voters against leave voters,

young against old, or 'the haves' versus 'the have nots' will fail. Hostility, in language or policy, will only tear apart Labour's delicate coalition. Instead, Labour politicians must offer the whole country a path through today's turbulence; speaking to the shared values of Labour's different tribes, rather than the differences. If Labour does this, it can arrest its decline in its traditional working-class heartlands while building on progress in its more affluent and city constituencies.

1. Make it work for the whole country

Labour's core support is growing in places, and among people, connected to economic growth. This is in contrast to Labour's traditional working-class heartlands, often in 'left behind' parts of the country, where Labour can no longer expect its strongest support.

Labour must resist the politics of 'us' versus 'them', which will just aggravate the existing tensions between Labour's different tribes. As the opportunities and prospects of different parts of the country diverge even further, Labour must design a policy agenda that bridges rather than widens the growing divide. This means placing a much stronger emphasis on investment in jobs and growth in economically struggling parts of the country, and it means ensuring that all policy announcements have cross cutting appeal. Sure Start, for example, is as important and electorally attractive in Stoke as it is in Stoke Newington. But other flagship and expensive policies, like the abolition of tuition fees, arguably don't meet that test.

2. Highlight the values Labour voters share

While different types of Labour voter place different emphasis on different sets of values, all six Labour voters shared a firm commitment to two key ideas: fairness and compassion. This is reinforced by the academic literature, which argues that liberal voters are more likely to prioritise these two values than conservative-minded voters. These values are as powerful to George and David as they are to Michael and Mary, and every Labour intervention should be framed with this in mind. Labour's 'for the many' strapline at the last election is a good example of these values expressed in practice.

3. Remind Labour voters who the opponent is

A striking feature of all six interviewees was that they all shared a strong and innate dislike of the Conservative party. They don't 'like the way [Tories] speak', think they are 'alien' to normal lives and 'selfish and greedy'. An attack on the Tories on its own will never win an election, but reminding Labour voters who they are voting against is a unifying and rallying tool.

4. Be positive about the past

Memories of Labour delivery help reinforce party identification. Devon remembered how Labour transformed the area he grew up in, and both Mary and Michael discussed how they've relied on the NHS and only trust Labour with its maintenance. Devon and David recalled how Labour stood alongside Irish and black people. Talking about Labour achievements is even more important in periods of opposition, because this is the only thing voters have to compare against the competence of the governing party.

An unfortunate consequence of Labour's internal battles is that the party has become its own biggest critic. Under both Ed Miliband and Jeremy Corbyn the party failed to adequately defend and extol Labour's decisions and achievements. By being prouder of its record, Labour can remind its supporters how a Labour government changed their lives and convince them that it could do so again.

5. Look outwards to the country not inwards to the party

For insiders, Labour politics feels very difficult at the moment. Factional differences are fought aggressively all over the internet and in local party meetings. It feels like there is a political gulf between the left and right of the party. But David, Devon, George, Mary, Michael and Yasmin seemed barely to notice or care about Labour's internecine warfare.

Yasmin loves Jeremy Corbyn so much so that she watched his 2017 party conference speech on Facebook. But she couldn't explain the political difference between Corbyn and one of her local MPs Lucy Powell. No one discussed what policies distinguished Tony Blair and the current Labour team, and there was very little engagement with the nuance of policy detail. Labour's 2017

manifesto was popular with everyone, but it was only the most transactional voter, David, who remembered and wanted to discuss specific policy pledges.

It is understandable that Labour activists and politicians spend so much time absorbed in factional fights within the Labour party. Control of the party is crucial to the direction of the country. But all sides could do with remembering that Labour voters on the whole don't notice what we are arguing about, and don't think it is important.

6. Demonstrate strong leadership

Leadership was not the most important factor for David, Devon, George, Mary,

Michael and Yasmin, but it does matter. Jeremy Corbyn was popular amongst all of them because they perceived him to be authentic and strong in face of onslaughts from the media and his own party. George told me Corbyn was the 'first politician, in [his] lifetime, to actually seem like a real person'. Even the biggest sceptic, David, told me he seemed authentic, and that he liked that he had confounded his critics. Words like 'nice' and 'genuine' were a regular feature.

The leadership qualities of previous Labour leaders were also highlighted. Ed Miliband made very little impact, and people struggled to recall his contributions. But Tony Blair was seen as a strong

leader who only lost his way when he, in the words of Yasmin, found 'champagne socialism' and was 'on holiday to Tuscany every year'. For most of the voters, it was the perception of Blair's personality that mattered more than the policy decisions he had taken in office.

Labour members may see a big difference between Tony Blair and Jeremy Corbyn, but Labour voters don't necessarily. Both have been an electoral asset to the Labour party because they were seen as likeable, decisive and authentic. Michael had even found himself supporting Margaret Thatcher in the past for similar reasons. Labour must never forget that the message carrier is just as important as the message. **F**

Appendix: Labour's seven tribes

HUB CITIES

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

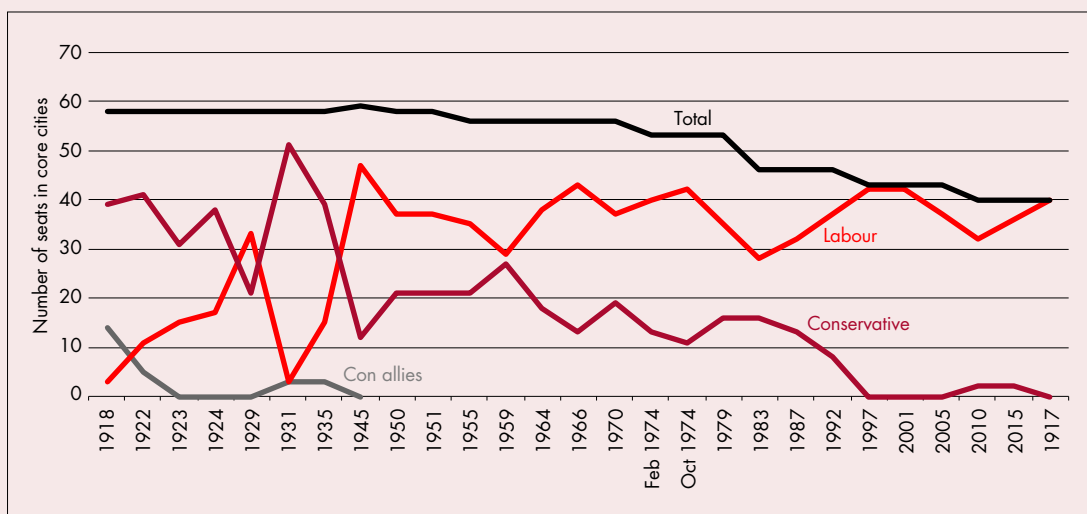
This group contains Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle Upon Tyne, and Sheffield. Includes some seats with cross-boundary elements such as Blackley & Broughton, Manchester Gorton pre 1983, but not Stretford, Salford, Gateshead or Sutton Coldfield.

KEY DATA:

Table 4: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in hub cities

	Con			Lab			Lib	Others
	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	SEATS
1974 Feb	13	35.1	-4.3	40	47.7	+9.5	0	0
1974 Oct	11	32.3	-5.7	42	50.7	+10.1	0	0
1979	16	38.8	-7.5	35	48.2	+10.8	1	1
1983	16	34.7	-10.4	28	41.2	+13.6	2	0
1987	13	31.7	-13.6	32	46.1	+15.7	1	0
1992	8	30.9	-13.6	37	51	+16.2	1	0
1997	0	20.8	-12.1	42	58.7	+14.5	1	0
2001	0	20	-14.4	42	56.1	+14.2	1	0
2005	0	18.7	-16.2	37	49	+13.1	6	0
2010	2	21	-17.8	32	42.9	+14.4	6	0
2015	2	20	-20.2	36	51.3	+19.4	2	0
2017	0	23.7	-23.2	40	65.2	+22.9	0	0

Figure 5: Seats held by political parties in hub city constituencies (England & Wales) since 1918²⁷



CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING:

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Birkenhead	Merseyside	Working class
Birmingham Edgbaston	West Midlands	Professional
Birmingham Erdington	West Midlands	Working class
Birmingham Hall Green	West Midlands	
Birmingham Hodge Hill	West Midlands	Working class, diversifying
Birmingham Ladywood	West Midlands	Young
Birmingham Northfield	West Midlands	
Birmingham Perry Barr	West Midlands	
Birmingham Selly Oak	West Midlands	Young
Birmingham Yardley	West Midlands	Diversifying
Blackley & Broughton	Greater Manchester	Working class, diversifying
Bristol East	Avon	
Bristol North West	Avon	
Bristol South	Avon	
Bristol West	Avon	Young, professional
Cardiff Central	South Wales Central	Young
Cardiff North	South Wales Central	Professional

Cardiff South & Penarth	South Wales Central	
Cardiff West	South Wales Central	
Garston & Halewood	Merseyside	
Leeds Central	West Yorkshire	Young, diversifying
Leeds East	West Yorkshire	Working class
Leeds North East	West Yorkshire	Professional
Leeds North West	West Yorkshire	Young
Leeds West	West Yorkshire	
Liverpool Riverside	Merseyside	Young
Liverpool Walton	Merseyside	Working class
Liverpool Wavertree	Merseyside	
Liverpool West Derby	Merseyside	
Manchester Central	Greater Manchester	Young, diversifying
Manchester Gorton	Greater Manchester	Young, diversifying
Manchester Withington	Greater Manchester	Young, professional
Newcastle upon Tyne Central	Tyne & Wear	Young, diversifying
Newcastle upon Tyne East	Tyne & Wear	Young, professional
Newcastle upon Tyne North	Tyne & Wear	
Sheffield Brightside & Hillsborough	South Yorkshire	Working class
Sheffield Central	South Yorkshire	Young, professional
Sheffield Hallam	South Yorkshire	Professional
Sheffield Heeley	South Yorkshire	
Sheffield South East	South Yorkshire	

MIDDLE LONDON

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

This grouping of constituencies consists of most of the area recognised as London in about 1920, other than the Dockland, East End area and a parallel group of seats in West and Central London that have generally been Conservative inclined and have their own historical pattern. It covers the remainder of the London County Council area plus the close-in boroughs of Willesden, Leyton, Hornsey, Tottenham, Edmonton, Leyton, Walthamstow and East Ham, all of which were 'London' in all but administrative terms long before they became part of Greater London in 1964. Broadly, this is the metropolis without the concentrated extremes of wealth and poverty of the East and West Ends.

KEY DATA:

Table 5: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in Middle London

	Con			Lab			Lib	Others
	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	SEATS
1974 Feb	3	31.5	-7.9	29	48.8	+10.6	0	0
1974 Oct	3	30	-8	29	53.5	+12.9	0	0
1979	5	38.7	-7.6	27	49.3	+11.9	0	0
1983	9	35	-10.1	17	41.9	+14.3	1	0
1987	11	36.7	-8.6	14	42.4	+12	2	0
1992	4	35.4	-9.1	23	49.8	+15	0	0
1997	0	22.5	-10.4	25	61.9	+17.7	0	0
2001	0	20.5	-13.9	25	58.3	+16.4	0	0
2005	1	21.5	-13.4	22	47.7	+11.8	2	0
2010	2	23.4	-15.4	20	46.5	+18	2	0
2015	2	24.3	-15.9	22	55	+23.1	0	0
2017	1	21.8	-25.1	23	67.3	+25	0	0

CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Battersea	Inner London	Young, professional
Brent Central	Outer London	
Camberwell & Peckham	Inner London	
Dulwich & West Norwood	Inner London	Professional
East Ham	Inner London	Young, diversifying
Edmonton	Outer London	Diversifying
Eltham	Outer London	
Greenwich & Woolwich	Outer London	Diversifying
Hackney North & Stoke Newington	Inner London	Young, professional
Hampstead & Kilburn	Inner London	Professional
Holborn & St Pancras	Inner London	Young, professional
Hornsey & Wood Green	Inner London	Professional
Islington North	Inner London	Professional
Islington South & Finsbury	Inner London	Young, professional
Lewisham Deptford	Inner London	
Lewisham East	Inner London	Diversifying
Lewisham West & Penge	Inner London	Diversifying
Leyton & Wanstead	Outer London	Diversifying

Putney	Inner London	Professional
Streatham	Inner London	
Tooting	Inner London	Professional
Tottenham	Inner London	
Vauxhall	Inner London	Young
Walthamstow	Outer London	Diversifying

DIVERSIFYING

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

The 2001 and 2011 censuses can be used to measure ethnic change in parliamentary constituencies in England and Wales. This category comprises the 50 seats where the change has been largest (falls of over 14 per cent in the white British population between 2001 and 2011).

KEY DATA:

Table 6: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in the most diversifying constituencies

	Conservative			Labour		
	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.
2005	6	27	-7.9	43	47.1	+11.2
2010	12	29.3	-9.5	36	43.9	+15.4
2015	9	28	-12.2	41	51.3	+19.4
2017	6	28.9	-18	44	63	+20.7

CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING:

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Barking	Outer London	
Birmingham Hodge Hill	West Midlands	Working class, hub city
Birmingham Yardley	West Midlands	Working class, hub city
Blackley & Broughton	Greater Manchester	Working class, hub city
Bradford East	West Yorkshire	Working class
Bradford West	West Yorkshire	Young
Brentford & Isleworth	Outer London	
Chingford & Woodford Green	Outer London	
Croydon Central	Outer London	
Croydon North	Outer London	
Dagenham & Rainham	Outer London	
Ealing North	Outer London	
East Ham	Inner London	Young, middle London

Edmonton	Outer London	Middle London
Enfield North	Outer London	
Enfield Southgate	Outer London	
Erith & Thamesmead	Outer London	
Feltham & Heston	Outer London	
Greenwich & Woolwich	Outer London	Middle London
Harrow East	Outer London	
Harrow West	Outer London	
Hayes & Harlington	Outer London	
Hendon	Outer London	
Ilford North	Outer London	
Ilford South	Outer London	
Leeds Central	West Yorkshire	Young, hub city
Leicester East	Leicestershire	Working class
Leicester West	Leicestershire	Working class
Lewisham East	Inner London	Middle London
Lewisham West & Penge	Inner London	Middle London
Leyton & Wanstead	Outer London	Middle London
Luton North	Bedfordshire	
Luton South	Bedfordshire	Young
Manchester Central	Greater Manchester	Young, hub city
Manchester Gorton	Greater Manchester	Young, hub city
Mitcham & Morden	Outer London	
Newcastle upon Tyne Central	Tyne & Wear	Young, hub city
Nottingham East	Nottinghamshire	Young
Nottingham South	Nottinghamshire	Young
Oxford East	Oxfordshire	Young, professional
Peterborough	Cambridgeshire	Working class
Poplar & Limehouse	Inner London	Young, professional
Slough	Berkshire	
Thurrock	Essex	
Uxbridge & Ruislip South	Outer London	
Walthamstow	Outer London	Middle London
Warley	West Midlands	Working class
Watford	Hertfordshire	
West Bromwich East	West Midlands	Working class
West Ham	Inner London	Young

PROFESSIONAL

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

The seats with the most people in households which contain people working in professional occupations, according to the 2011 census.

KEY DATA:

Table 7: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in the most professional constituencies

	Con			Lab			Lib	Others
	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	SEATS
1974 Feb	33	–	–	13	–	–	0	1
1974 Oct	31	–	–	14	–	–	0	2
1979	34	–	–	12	–	–	0	1
1983	36	–	–	9	–	–	2	1
1987	32	–	–	14	–	–	1	1
1992	27	–	–	18	–	–	2	1
1997	10	–	–	30	–	–	7	1
2001	9	–	–	30	–	–	8	1
2005	14	32.5	-2.4	21	32.9	-3	12	1
2010	21	36.1	-2.7	17	28.5	0	9	2
2015	22	37.9	-2.3	21	35.4	+3.5	1	5
2017	16	34.9	-12	25	45.9	+3.6	4	4

Table 8: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in the most managerial constituencies

	Con	Lab	Lib	Others
	SEATS	SEATS	SEATS	SEATS
1974 Feb	39	3	0	0
1974 Oct	39	3	0	0
1979	41	1	0	0
1983	42	1	0	0
1987	43	0	0	0
1992	42	1	0	0
1997	36	7	2	1
2001	37	7	2	0
2005	40	4	2	0

2010	45	2	1	1
2015	46	2	0	1
2017	43	4	1	1

CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING:

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Altrincham & Sale West	Greater Manchester	
Bath	Avon	Young
Battersea	Inner London	Young, middle London
Bermondsey & Old Southwark	Inner London	Young
Birmingham Edgbaston	West Midlands	Hub city
Brighton Pavilion	East Sussex	Young
Bristol West	Avon	Young, hub city
Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	Young
Cambridgeshire North East	Cambridgeshire	
Cardiff North	South Wales Central	Hub city
Chelsea & Fulham	Inner London	
Chipping Barnet	Outer London	
Cities of London & Westminster	Inner London	
Dulwich & West Norwood	Inner London	Middle London
Ealing Central & Acton	Outer London	
Finchley & Golders Green	Outer London	
Guildford	Surrey	
Hackney North & Stoke Newington	Inner London	Young, middle London
Hammersmith	Inner London	Young
Hampstead & Kilburn	Inner London	Middle London
Hitchin & Harpenden	Hertfordshire	
Holborn & St Pancras	Inner London	Young, middle London
Hornsey & Wood Green	Inner London	Middle London
Islington North	Inner London	Middle London
Islington South & Finsbury	Inner London	Young, middle London
Leeds North East	West Yorkshire	Hub city
Manchester Withington	Greater Manchester	Young, hub city
Oxford East	Oxfordshire	Young, diversifying
Oxford West & Abingdon	Oxfordshire	
Poplar & Limehouse	Inner London	Young, diversifying
Putney	Inner London	Middle London
Reading East	Berkshire	

Richmond Park	Outer London	
Ruislip, Northwood & Pinner	Outer London	
Rushcliffe	Nottinghamshire	
St Albans	Hertfordshire	
Sheffield Central	South Yorkshire	Young, hub city
Sheffield Hallam	South Yorkshire	Hub city
Tooting	Inner London	Middle London
Twickenham	Outer London	
Westminster North	Inner London	
Wimbledon	Outer London	
Winchester	Hampshire	
Wokingham	Berkshire	

YOUNG

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

The 50 seats in England and Wales with the highest proportions of young voters (18–29) in the 2011 census.

KEY DATA:

Table 9: Seats won, vote share, and percentage advantage over party's E&W vote share in the youngest constituencies

	Conservative			Labour			Lib Dem	Green
	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	SEATS
1987	20	–	–	29	–	–	1	
1992	12	–	–	36	–	–	2	
1997	1	–	–	46	–	–	3	
2001	1	–	–	46	–	–	3	
2005	3	20.8	-14.1	38	43.6	+7.7	8	
2010	4	22.9	-15.9	36	40.5	+12	9	1
2015	5	22.3	-17.9	43	48.5	+16.6	1	1
2017	0	22.7	-24.2	48	63.3	+21	1	1

CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING:

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Bath	Avon	Professional
Battersea	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Bermondsey & Old Southwark	Inner London	Professional
Bethnal Green & Bow	Inner London	
Birmingham Ladywood	West Midlands	Hub city
Birmingham Selly Oak	West Midlands	Hub city
Bradford West	West Yorkshire	Diversifying
Brighton Pavilion	East Sussex	Professional
Bristol West	Avon	Hub city, professional
Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	Professional
Canterbury	Kent	
Cardiff Central	South Wales Central	Hub city
Coventry South	West Midlands	
East Ham	Inner London	Middle London, diversifying
Exeter	Devon	
Hackney North & Stoke Newington	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Hackney South & Shoreditch	Inner London	
Hammersmith	Inner London	Professional
Holborn & St Pancras	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Hull North	Humberside	
Islington South & Finsbury	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Leeds Central	West Yorkshire	Hub city, diversifying
Leeds North West	West Yorkshire	Hub city
Leicester South	Leicestershire	
Liverpool Riverside	Merseyside	Hub city
Luton South	Bedfordshire	Diversifying
Manchester Central	Greater Manchester	Hub city, diversifying
Manchester Gorton	Greater Manchester	Hub city, diversifying
Manchester Withington	Greater Manchester	Hub city, professional
Newcastle upon Tyne Central	Tyne & Wear	Hub city, diversifying
Newcastle upon Tyne East	Tyne & Wear	Hub city
Norwich South	Norfolk	
Nottingham East	Nottinghamshire	Diversifying
Nottingham South	Nottinghamshire	Diversifying
Oxford East	Oxfordshire	Diversifying, professional
Plymouth Sutton & Devonport	Devon	
Poplar & Limehouse	Inner London	Diversifying, professional

Portsmouth South	Hampshire	
Preston	Lancashire	
Sheffield Central	South Yorkshire	Hub city, professional
Southampton Test	Hampshire	
Swansea West	South Wales West	
Vauxhall	Inner London	Middle London
West Ham	Inner London	Diversifying
York Central	North Yorkshire	

WORKING CLASS

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

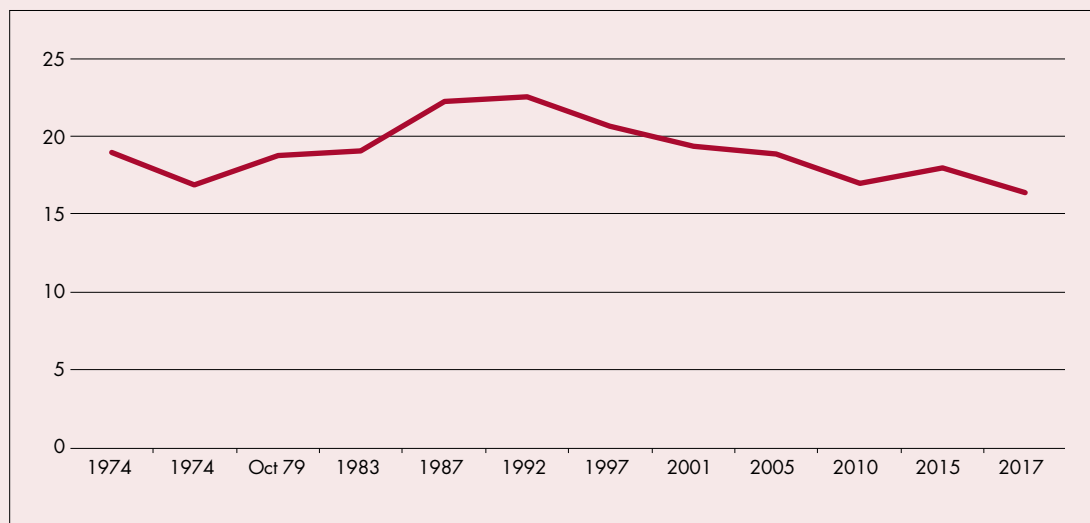
This group consists of the 63 seats in England and Wales where more than 50 per cent of the population aged 16–74 appears in census categories for semi routine, routine, long term unemployed, never worked and lower supervisory and technical occupations.

KEY DATA:

Table 10: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in the 63 most working class seats

	Conservative			Labour			Lib Dem	Other
	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	SEATS
1974 February	3	30.5	-8.9	60	57.2	+19		
1974 October	2	25.8	-12.2	61	57.5	+16.9		
1979	5	33	-13.3	58	56.2	+18.8		
1983	8	30.5	-14.6	54	46.7	+19.1	1	
1987	5	30	-15.3	57	52.6	+22.2	1	
1992	3	29.4	-15.1	60	57.3	+22.5		
1997	1	18.7	-14.2	62	64.8	+20.6		
2001	1	20.4	-14	62	61.2	+19.4		
2005	2	19	-15.9	59	54.8	+18.9	1	1
2010	3	23	-15.8	57	45.5	+17	3	
2015	4	21.5	-18.7	59	49.9	+18		
2017	6	30.6	-16.3	57	58.7	+16.4		

Figure 6: The difference between Labour's vote share in the 63 most working-class seats in England and Wales and the party's vote share across England and Wales in the same year



CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING:

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Aberavon	South Wales West	
Ashfield	Nottinghamshire	
Barnsley Central	South Yorkshire	
Barnsley East	South Yorkshire	
Birkenhead	Merseyside	Hub city
Birmingham Erdington	West Midlands	Hub city
Birmingham Hodge Hill	West Midlands	Hub city, diversifying
Birmingham Yardley	West Midlands	Hub city, diversifying
Bishop Auckland	Durham	
Blackburn	Lancashire	
Blackley & Broughton	Greater Manchester	Hub city, diversifying
Blaenau Gwent	South Wales East	
Bolsover	Derbyshire	
Boston & Skegness	Lincolnshire	
Bradford East	West Yorkshire	Diversifying
Coventry North East	West Midlands	
Cynon Valley	South Wales Central	
Derby South	Derbyshire	
Doncaster Central	South Yorkshire	
Doncaster North	South Yorkshire	
Easington	Durham	

Great Grimsby	Humberside	
Great Yarmouth	Norfolk	
Hartlepool	Cleveland	
Hemsworth	West Yorkshire	
Hull East	Humberside	
Hull West & Hessle	Humberside	
Islwyn	South Wales East	
Knowsley	Merseyside	
Leeds East	West Yorkshire	Hub city
Leicester East	Leicestershire	Diversifying
Leicester West	Leicestershire	Diversifying
Liverpool Walton	Merseyside	Hub city
Mansfield	Nottinghamshire	
Merthyr Tydfil & Rhymney	South Wales East	
Middlesbrough	Cleveland	
Neath	South Wales West	
Normanton, Pontefract & Castleford	West Yorkshire	
Ogmore	South Wales West	
Oldham West & Royton	Greater Manchester	
Peterborough	Cambridgeshire	Diversifying
Plymouth Moor View	Devon	
Redcar	Cleveland	
Rhondda	South Wales Central	
Rotherham	South Yorkshire	
Scunthorpe	Humberside	
Sheffield Brightside & Hillsborough	South Yorkshire	Hub city
South Shields	Tyne & Wear	
Stockton North	Cleveland	
Stoke-on-Trent Central	Staffordshire	
Stoke-on-Trent North	Staffordshire	
Stoke-on-Trent South	Staffordshire	
Swansea East	South Wales West	
Torfaen	South Wales East	
Walsall North	West Midlands	
Walsall South	West Midlands	
Warley	West Midlands	Diversifying
Washington & Sunderland West	Tyne & Wear	
Wentworth & Dearne	South Yorkshire	

West Bromwich East	West Midlands	Diversifying
West Bromwich West	West Midlands	
Wolverhampton North East	West Midlands	
Wolverhampton South East	West Midlands	

REMAIN

HOW WE CREATED THIS GROUPING:

This grouping contains the 50 seats in England and Wales with the strongest support for Remain in the EU referendum, based on Chris Hanretty's estimates.

KEY DATA

Table 11: Seats, vote share and % advantage/disadvantage over party's E&W vote share in the 50 most remain supporting seats

	Con		Lab			Lib Dem		UKIP	Green
	SEATS	% SHARE	SEATS	% SHARE	% ADV.	SEATS	% SHARE	SHARE	SHARE
2005	6	23.8	32	39.4	3.5	11	28.8	1.2	4.6
2010	10	26.3	28	36.8	8.3	10	29.4	1.4	2.9
2015	10	26.8	36	46.3	14.4	2	12.0	5.0	8.4
2017	6	23.7	40	58.8	16.5	2	12.4	0.6	3.5

CONSTITUENCIES IN THIS GROUPING:

Constituency	County	Other tribes this seat features in
Arfon	North Wales	
Bath	Avon	Young, professional
Battersea	Inner London	Young, middle London, Professional
Bermondsey & Old Southwark	Inner London	Young, professional
Bethnal Green & Bow	Inner London	Young
Birmingham Hall Green	West Midlands	Hub city
Birmingham Ladywood	West Midlands	Young, hub city
Brighton Pavilion	East Sussex	Young, professional
Bristol West	Avon	Young, hub city, professional
Camberwell & Peckham	Inner London	Middle London
Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	Young, professional
Cardiff Central	South Wales Central	Young, hub city

Chelsea & Fulham	Inner London	Professional
Cities of London & Westminster	Inner London	Professional
Dulwich & West Norwood	Inner London	Middle London, Professional
Ealing Central & Acton	Outer London	Professional
Finchley & Golders Green	Outer London	Professional
Greenwich & Woolwich	Outer London	Middle London, diversifying
Hackney North & Stoke Newington	Inner London	Young, middle London, professional
Hackney South & Shoreditch	Inner London	Young
Hammersmith	Inner London	Young, professional
Hampstead & Kilburn	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Holborn & St Pancras	Inner London	Young, middle London, professional
Hornsey & Wood Green	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Hove	East Sussex	
Islington North	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Islington South & Finsbury	Inner London	Young, Middle London, professional
Kensington	Inner London	
Leeds North West	West Yorkshire	Young, hub city
Lewisham Deptford	Inner London	Middle London
Lewisham East	Inner London	Middle London, diversifying
Lewisham West & Penge	Inner London	Middle London, diversifying
Leyton & Wanstead	Outer London	Middle London, diversifying
Liverpool Riverside	Merseyside	Young, hub city
Liverpool Wavertree	Merseyside	Hub city
Manchester Withington	Greater Manchester	Young, hub city, professional
Oxford East	Oxfordshire	Young, diversifying, professional
Poplar & Limehouse	Inner London	Young, diversifying, professional
Putney	Inner London	Middle London, professional, managerial
Richmond Park	Outer London	Professional, managerial
Sheffield Central	South Yorkshire	Young, hub city, professional
Sheffield Hallam	South Yorkshire	Hub city, professional
Streatham	Inner London	Middle London
Tooting	Inner London	Middle London, professional
Tottenham	Inner London	Middle London
Twickenham	Outer London	Professional, managerial
Vauxhall	Inner London	Young, middle London
Walthamstow	Outer London	Middle London, diversifying
Westminster North	Inner London	Professional, managerial
Wimbledon	Outer London	Professional, managerial

ENDNOTES

1. The 'hub cities' category includes Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Sheffield. It includes some seats with cross-boundary elements e.g. Blackley & Broughton, Manchester Gorton pre 1983, but not Stretford, Salford, Gateshead or Sutton Coldfield
2. Seats were allocated to this category based on Chris Hanretty's estimates, which can be read in full here – <https://medium.com/@chrishanretty/the-eu-referendum-how-did-westminster-constituencies-vote-283c85cd20e1>. Because Hanretty's estimates were derived through a mixture of demographic factors and 'real' data, inferences about this wider category of remain seats should be treated with additional caution.
3. See endnote 2
4. www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-brexitelection-the-2017-general-election-in-ten-charts/#.W1Cn2su0WM8
5. 'Ethnic Minority Voters at the Ballot Box', chapter in Omar Khan and Kjartan Sveinsson *Race and Elections* (Runnymede Trust, 2015)
6. Ipsos Mori series (See www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/how-britain-voted-october-1974) and David Butler and Dennis Kavanagh *The British General Election of October 1974* (Macmillan, 1975) p278
7. Ipsos Mori series (See www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/how-britain-voted-october-1974) and David Butler and Dennis Kavanagh *The British General Election of October 1974* (Macmillan, 1975) p278
8. NOP/ Harris/ MORI series as cited in successive Butler election studies 1964–87, IPSOS-MORI archive 1992–2017
9. www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jan/29/youthquake-why-age-did-matter-for-corbyn-in-2017
10. NOP/ Harris/ MORI series as cited in successive Butler election studies 1964–87, IPSOS-MORI archive 1992–2017
11. Tilting towards the cosmopolitan axis? Political change in England and the 2017 General Election; Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker; *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 88, No. 3, July–September 2017
12. NOP/Harris/MORI series as cited in successive Butler election studies 1964–87, IPSOS-MORI archive 1992–2017
13. The appendix to this report contains full tables
14. Tilting towards the cosmopolitan axis? Political change in England and the 2017 General Election; Will Jennings and Gerry Stoker; *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 88, No. 3, July–September 2017
15. *ibid*
16. *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 3rd edition, David Denver, Christopher Carman, Robert Johns (2012)
17. *ibid*
18. *ibid*
19. www.britishelectionstudy.com/bes-impact/the-brexitelection-the-2017-general-election-in-ten-charts/#.W1Cn2su0WM8
20. www.progressionline.org.uk/2017/07/13/the-next-mountain
21. Fiorina, M, *Retrospective voting in American elections* (1981) and *Elections and Voters in Britain*, 3rd edition, David Denver, Christopher Carman, Robert Johns (2012)
22. *The Political Brain*, Drew Weston (2008)
23. *What's Your Bias?* Lee De-Wit (2017)
24. *Understanding the emotional act of voting*, Bruter and Harrison (2017)
25. 'Liberals and Conservatives Rely on Different Sets of Moral Foundations', Jesse Graham, Jonathan Haidt, and Brian A. Nosek, University of Virginia (2009)
26. www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-30/social-class/introduction.aspx

