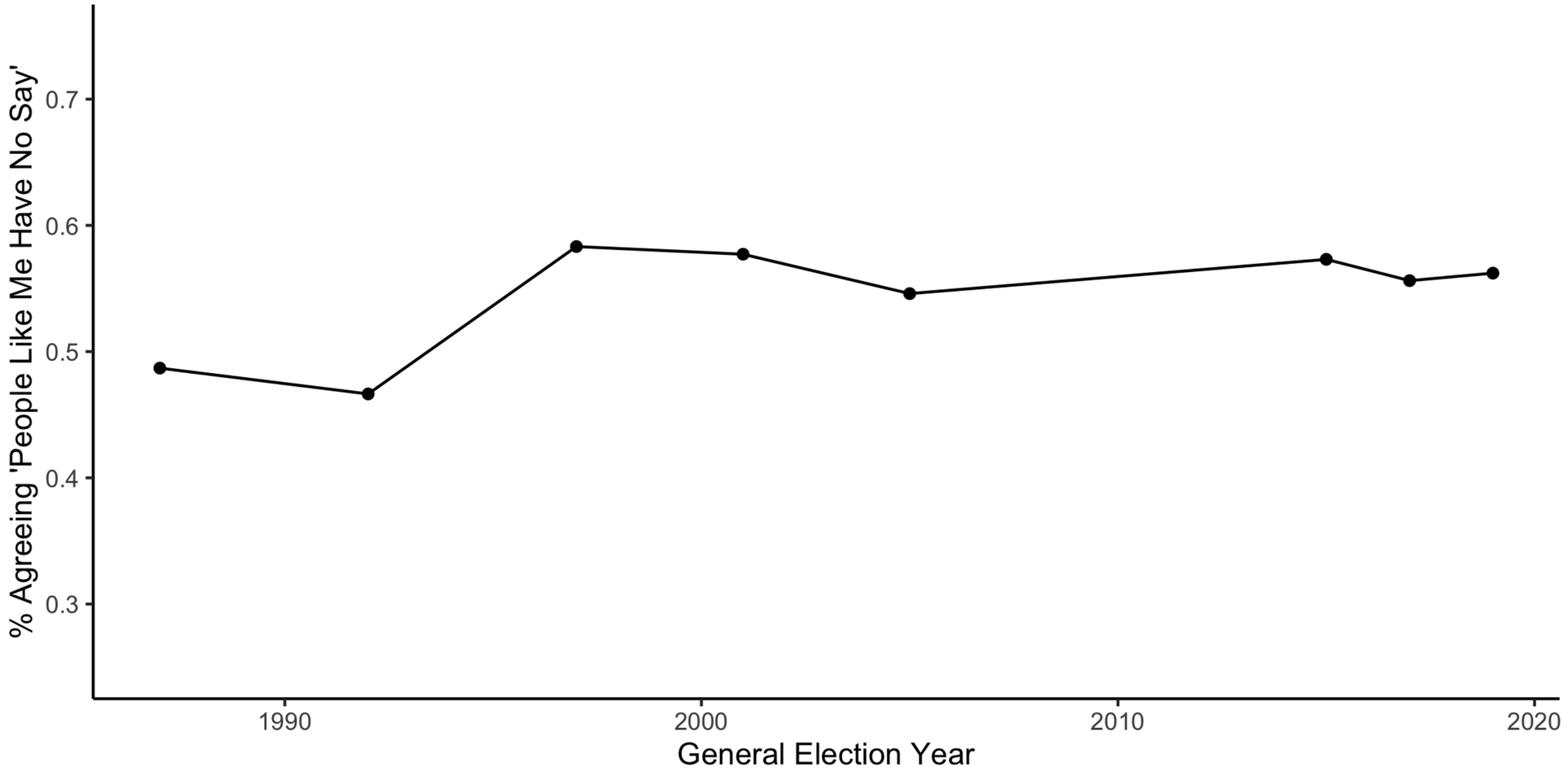
BRITAIN DIVIDED

UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY CONFERENCE

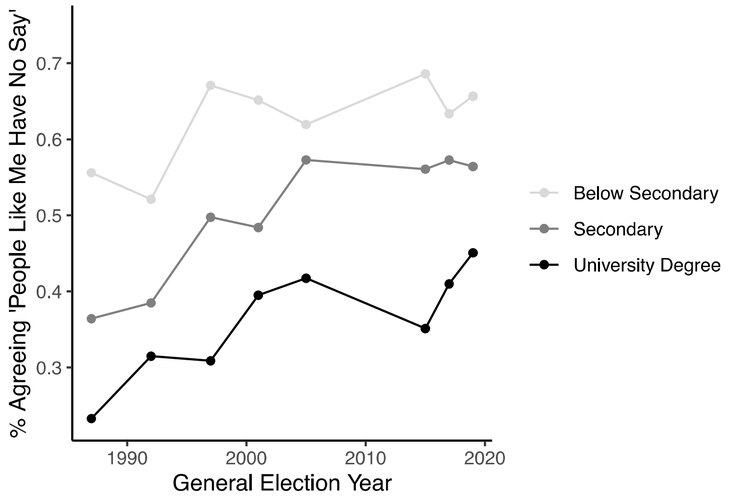
BEN ANSELL NUFFIELD COLLEGE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

SOME ‘GOOD’ NEWS

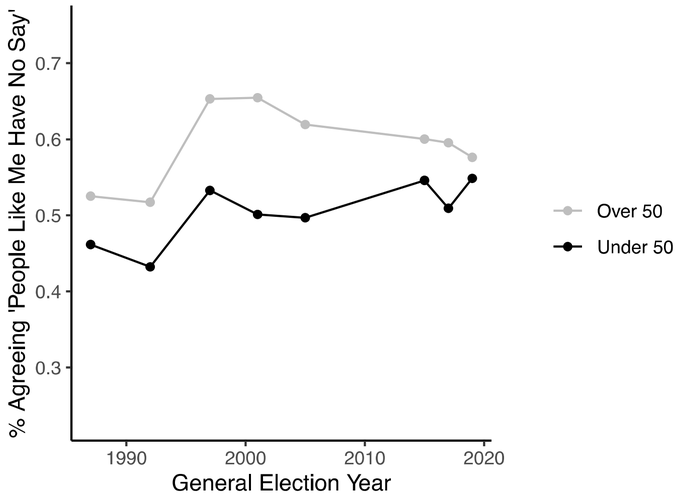


BUT…

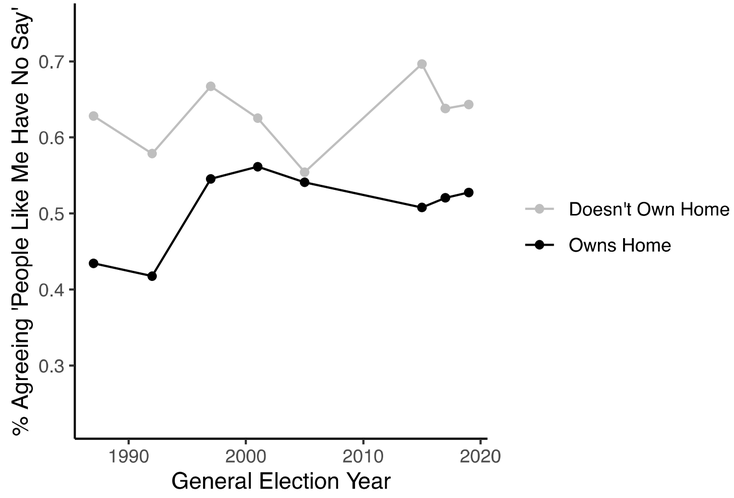
By education



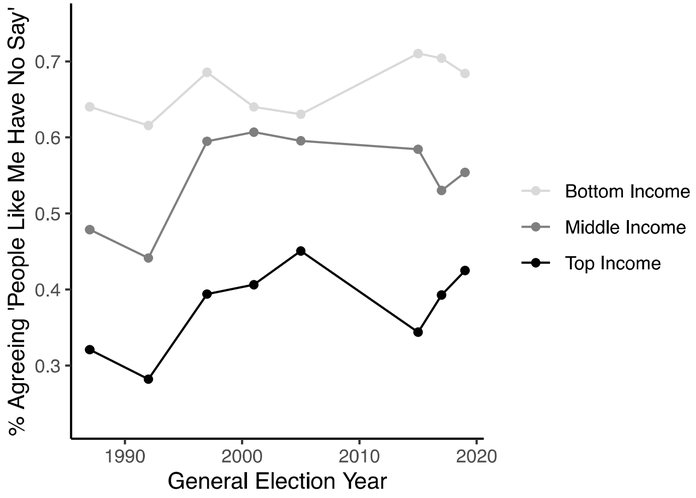
By age



By homeownership



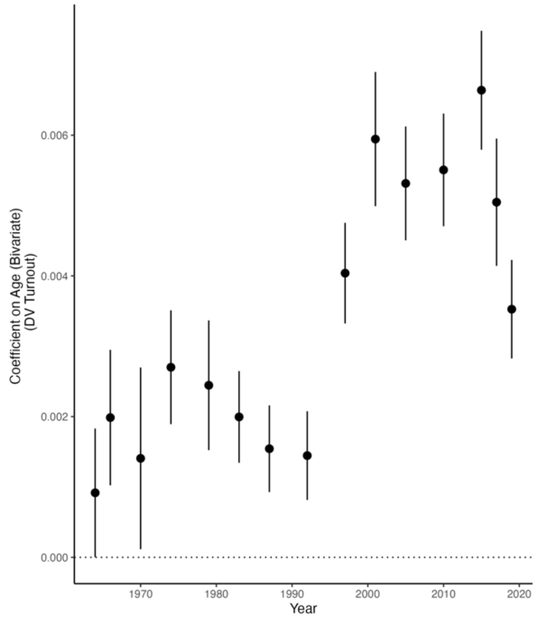
By income



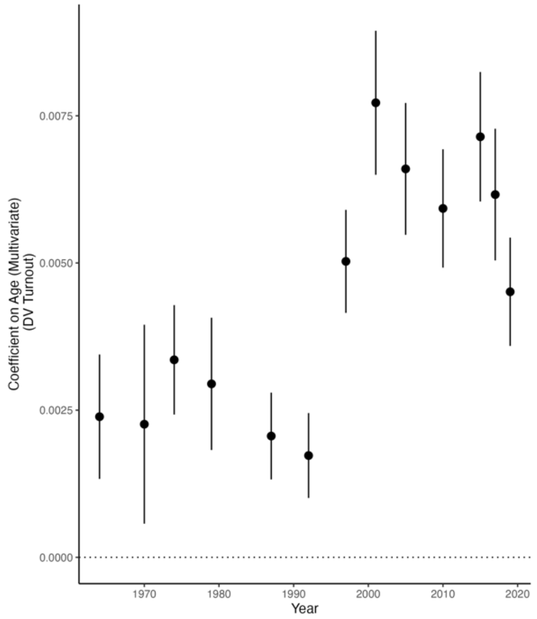
OUR AGE DIVIDE

TURNOUT

Bivariate approach

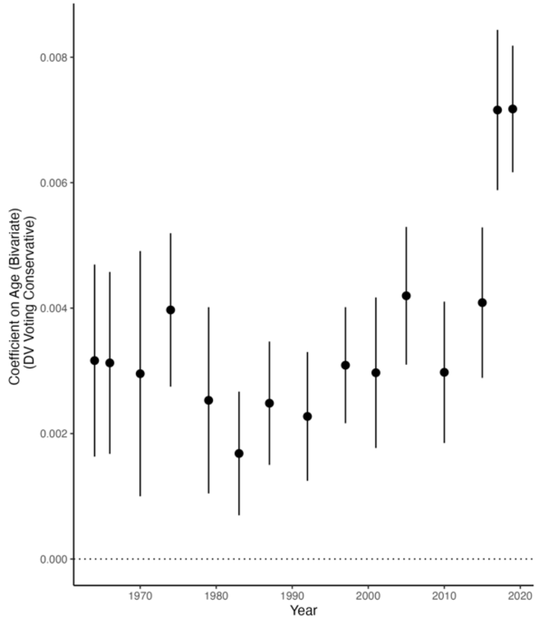


Multivariate approach

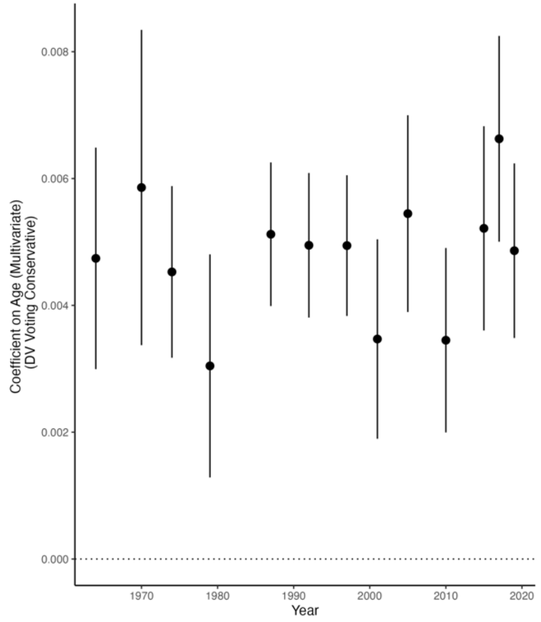


VOTING CONSERVATIVE

Bivariate approach



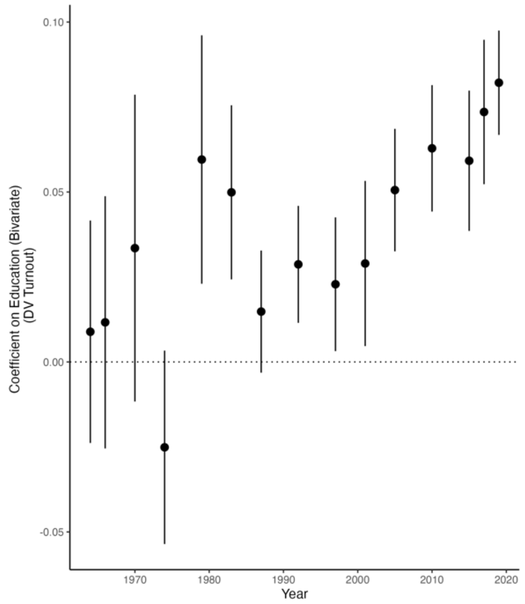
Multivariate approach



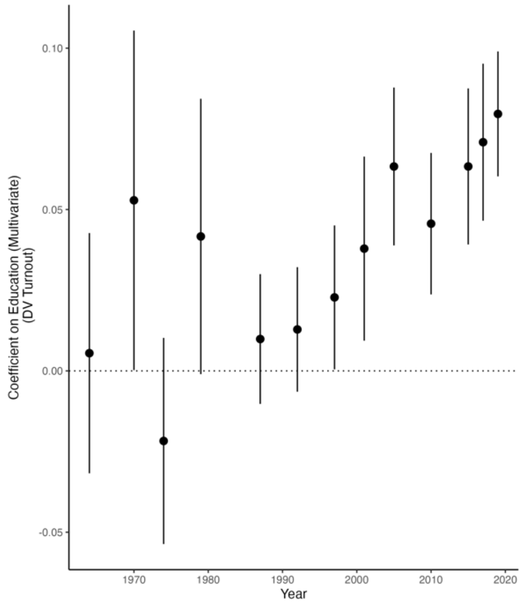
OUR EDUCATION DIVIDE

TURNOUT

Bivariate approach

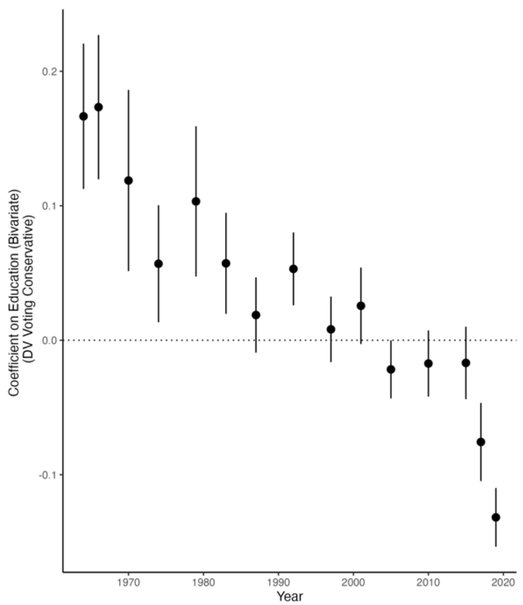


Multivariate approach

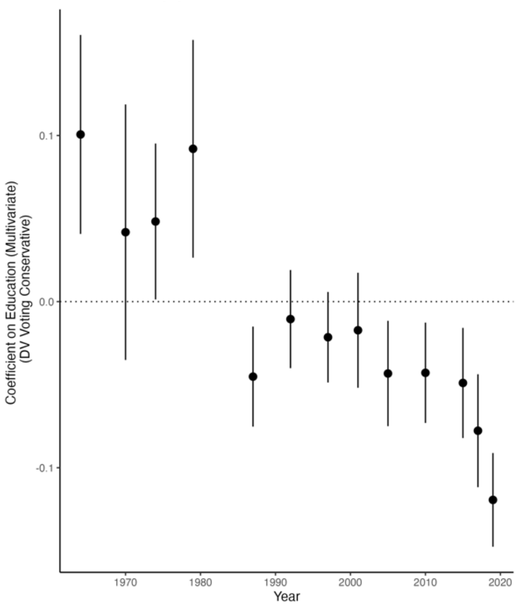


VOTING CONSERVATIVE

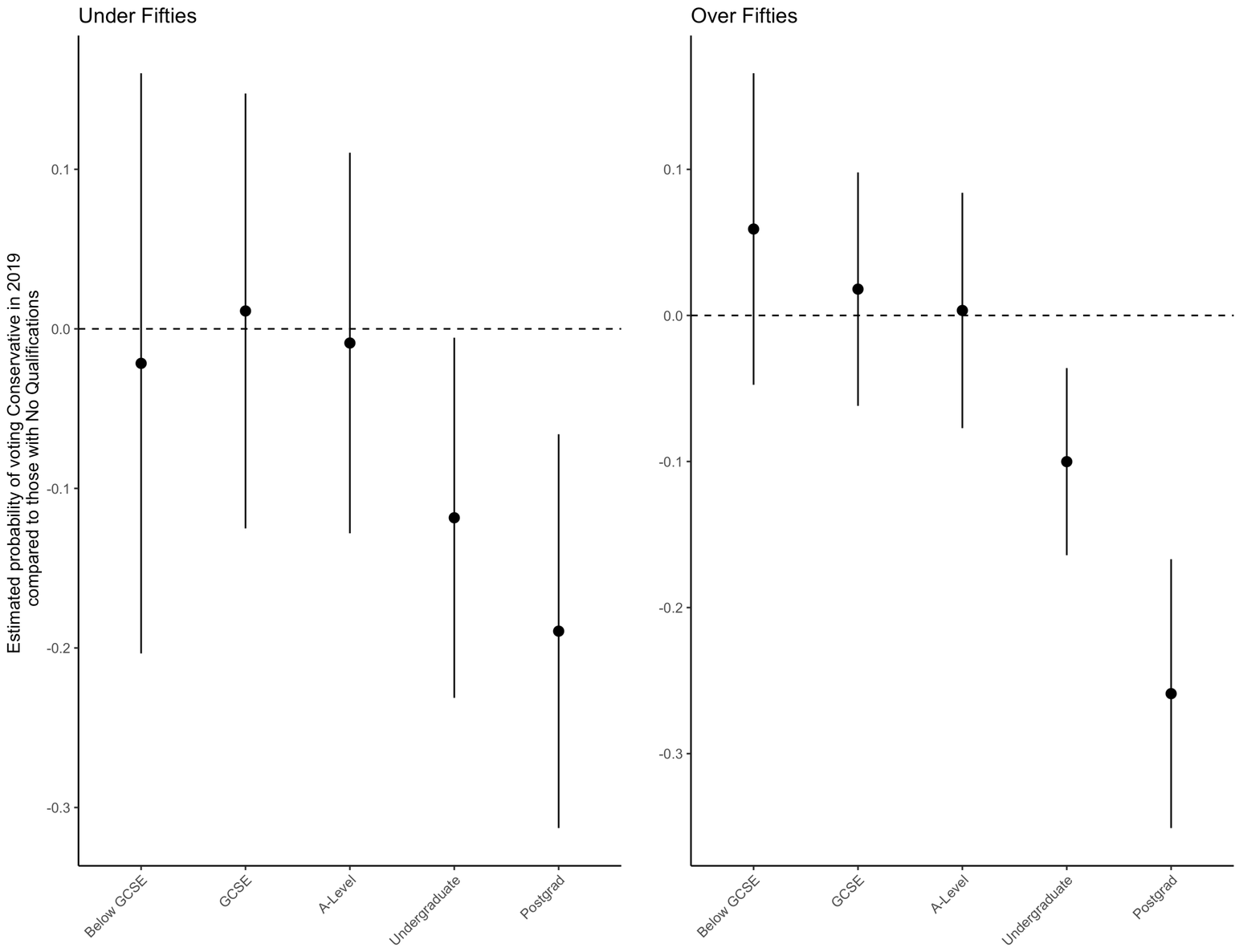
Bivariate approach



Multivariate approach

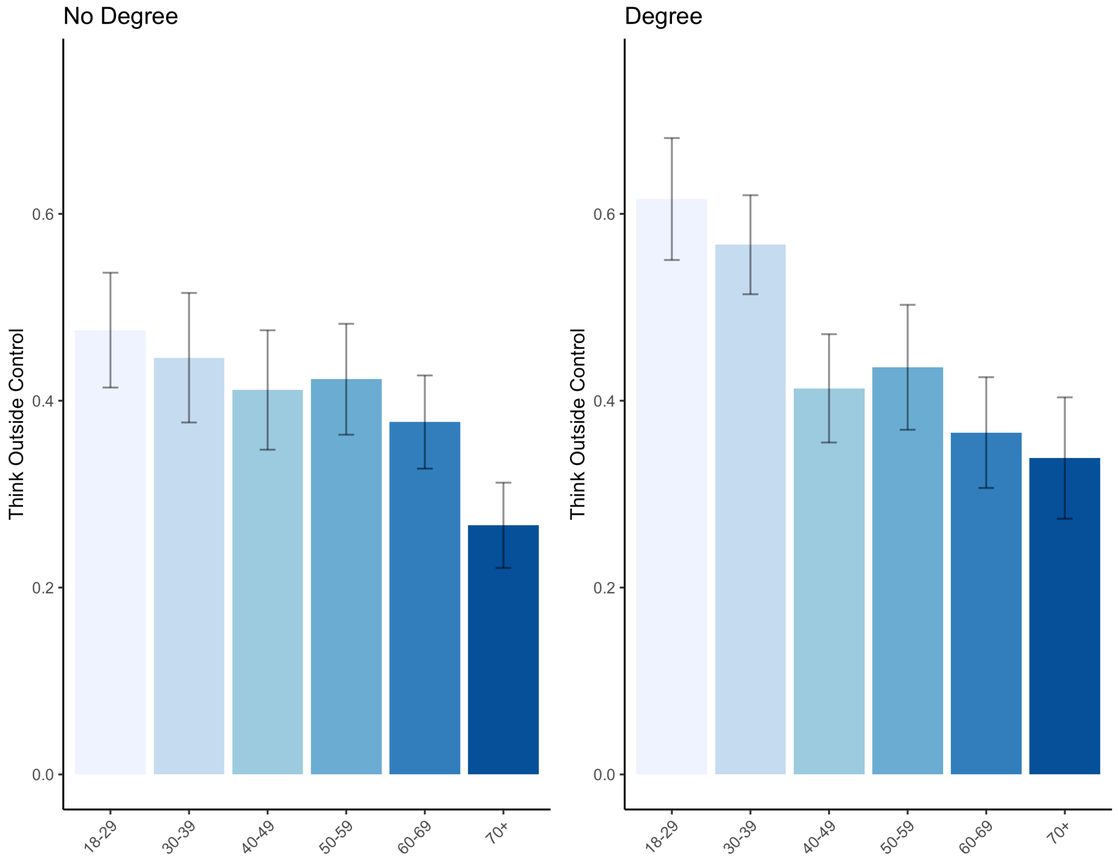


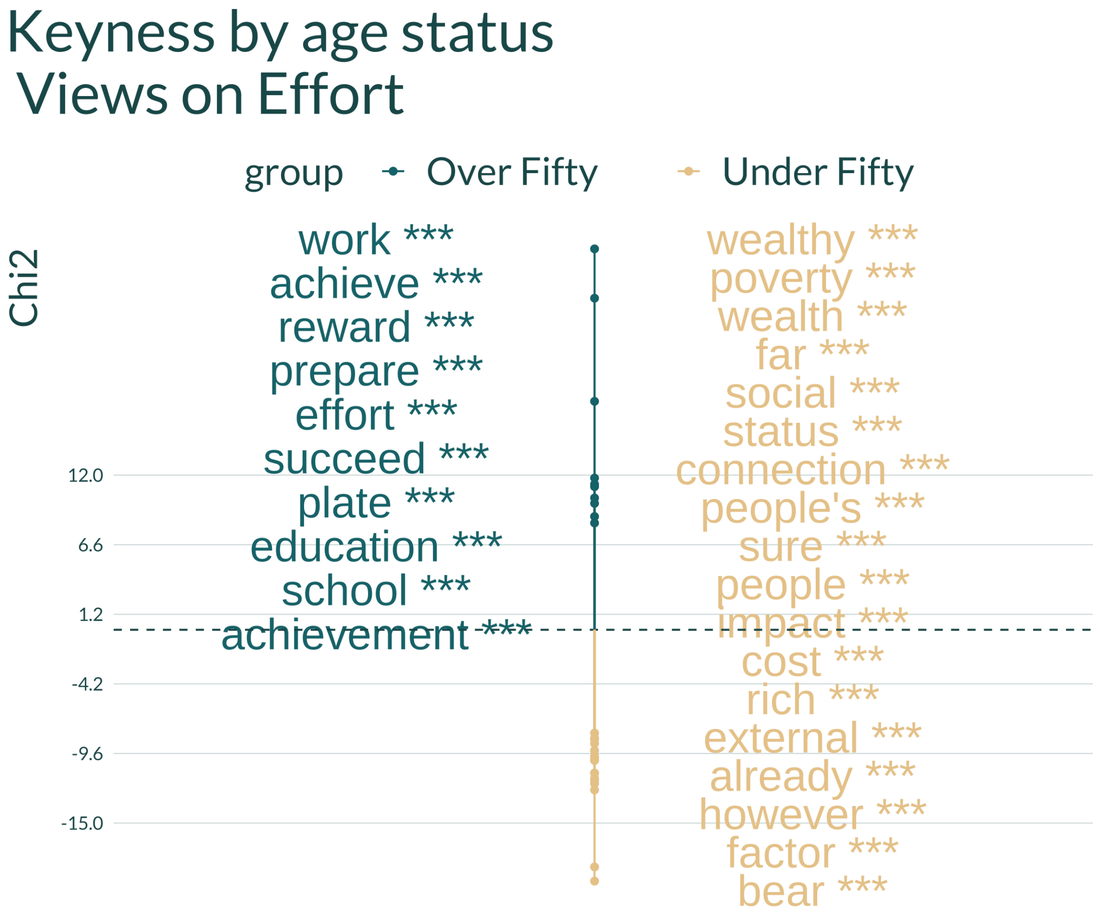
EDUCATION AND AGE IN GE2019



SPILLS INTO VIEWS ABOUT FAIRNESS

IS SUCCESS DUE TO FORCES OUTSIDE YOUR CONTROL?

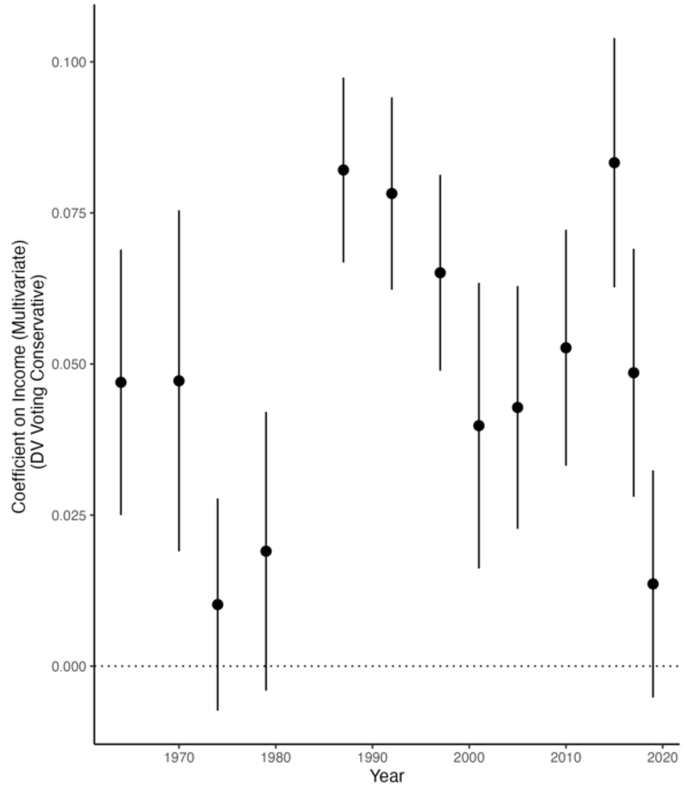




RIP OUR MONEY DIVIDES?

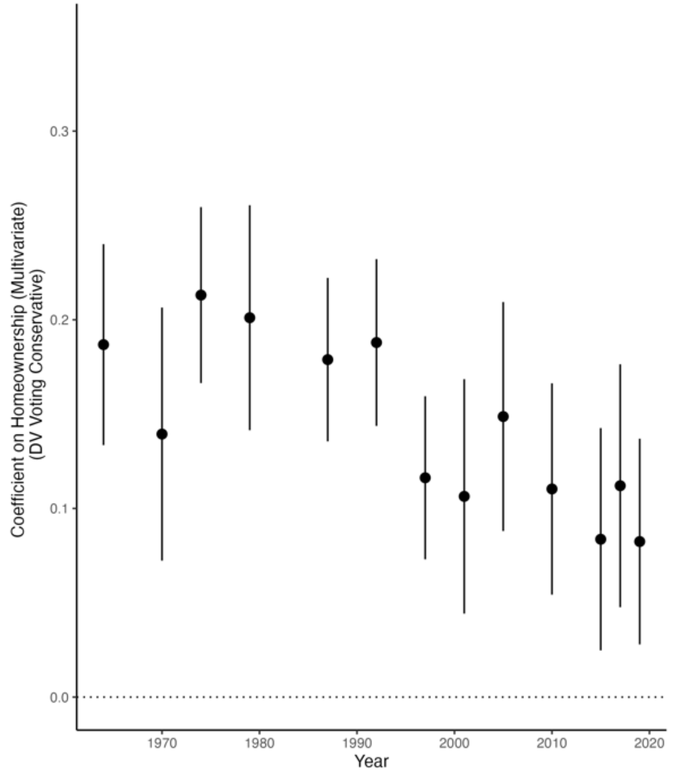
INCOME & VOTING CONSERVATIVE

Multivariate approach



HOMEOWNERSHIP & VOTING CONSERVATIVE

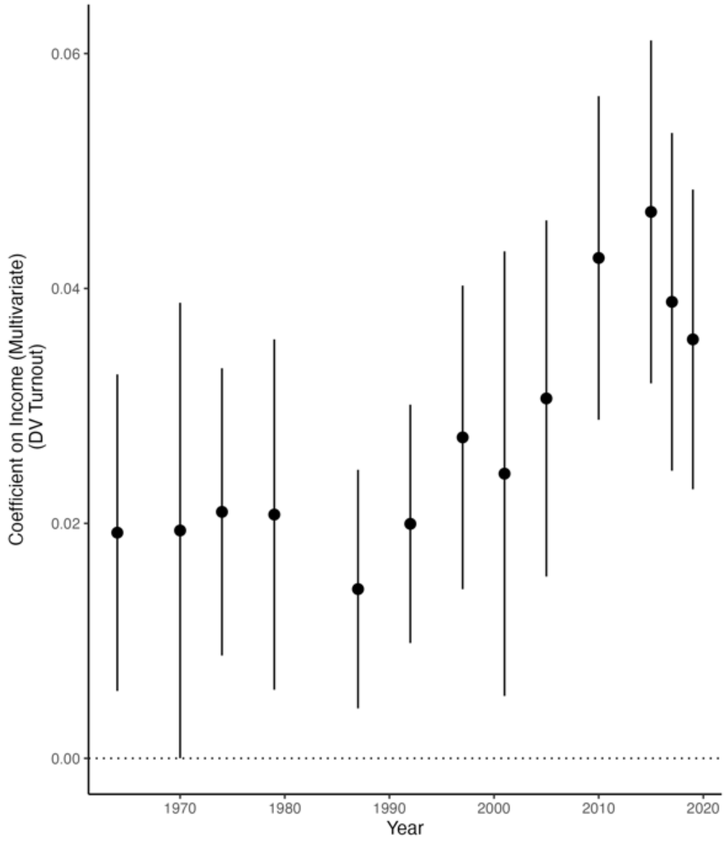
Multivariate approach



MAYBE NOT…

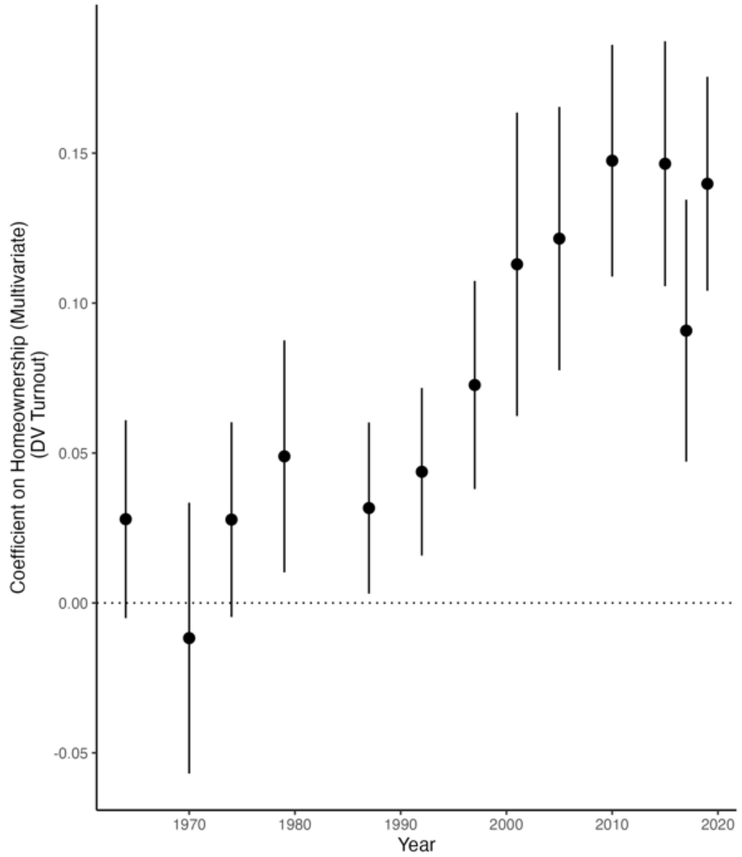
INCOME & TURNOUT

Multivariate approach



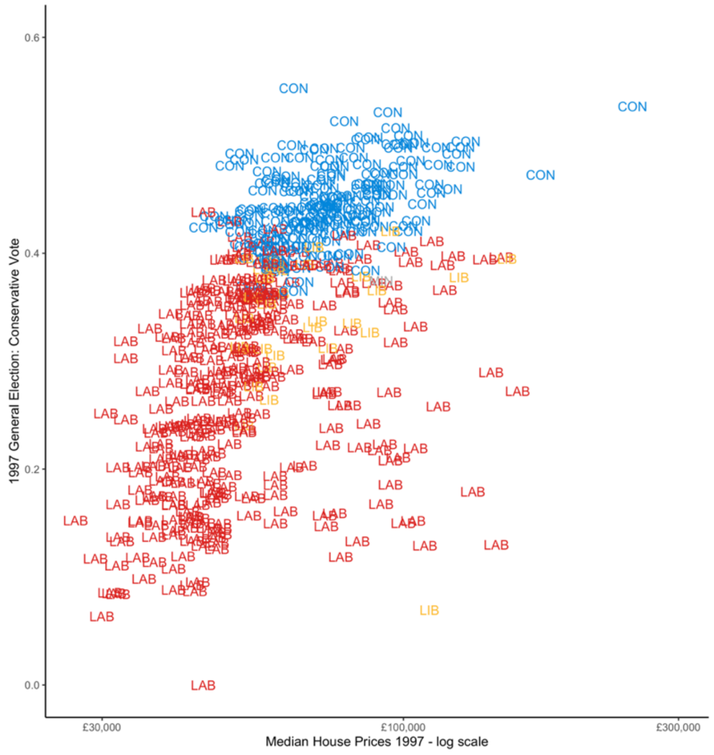
HOME OWNERSHIP & TURNOUT

Multivariate approach

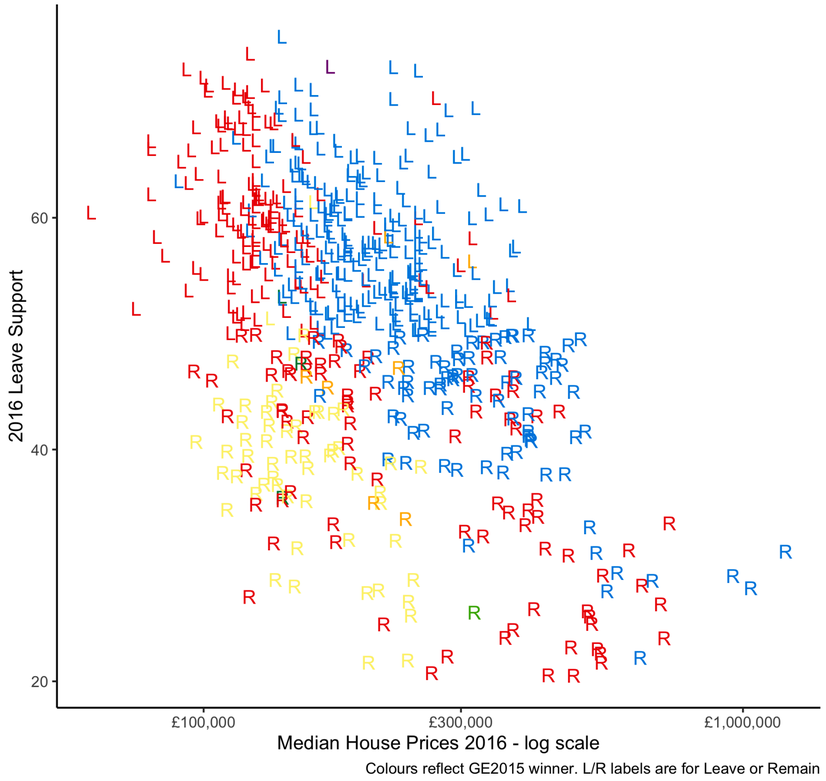


HOUSE PRICES AND VOTING

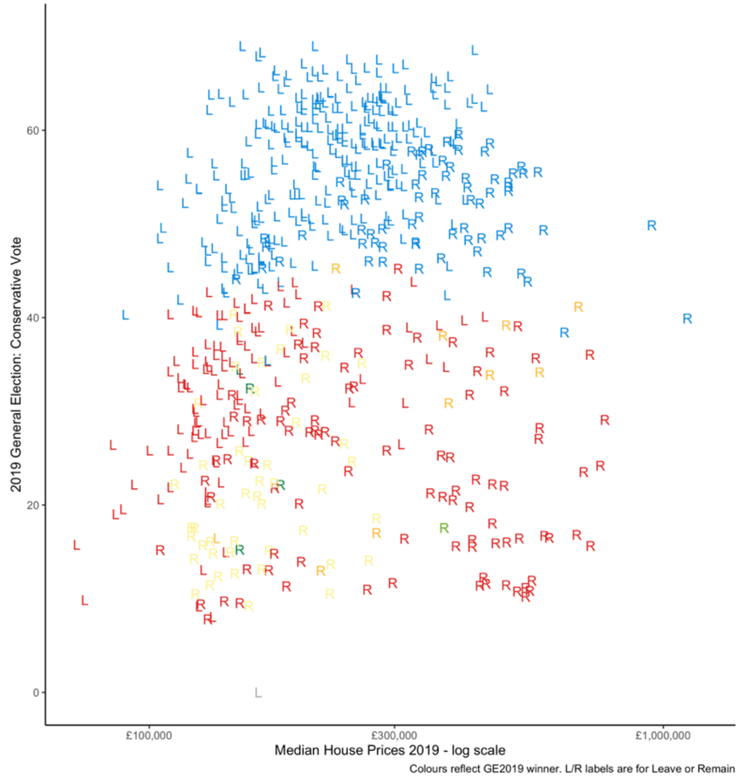
1997 GENERAL ELECTION



BREXIT



2019 GENERAL ELECTION



OUR DEMOGRAPHIC DIVIDES

IN TERMS OF VOTING:

1. AGE HAS BECOME MORE IMPORTANT
2. EDUCATION HAS FLIPPED!
3. INCOME, HOME OWNERSHIP, & LOCAL WEALTH MATTER LESS

IN TERMS OF TURNOUT:

1. ALL THE DEMOGRAPHICS MATTER EVEN MORE!

BUT…

ATTITUDES

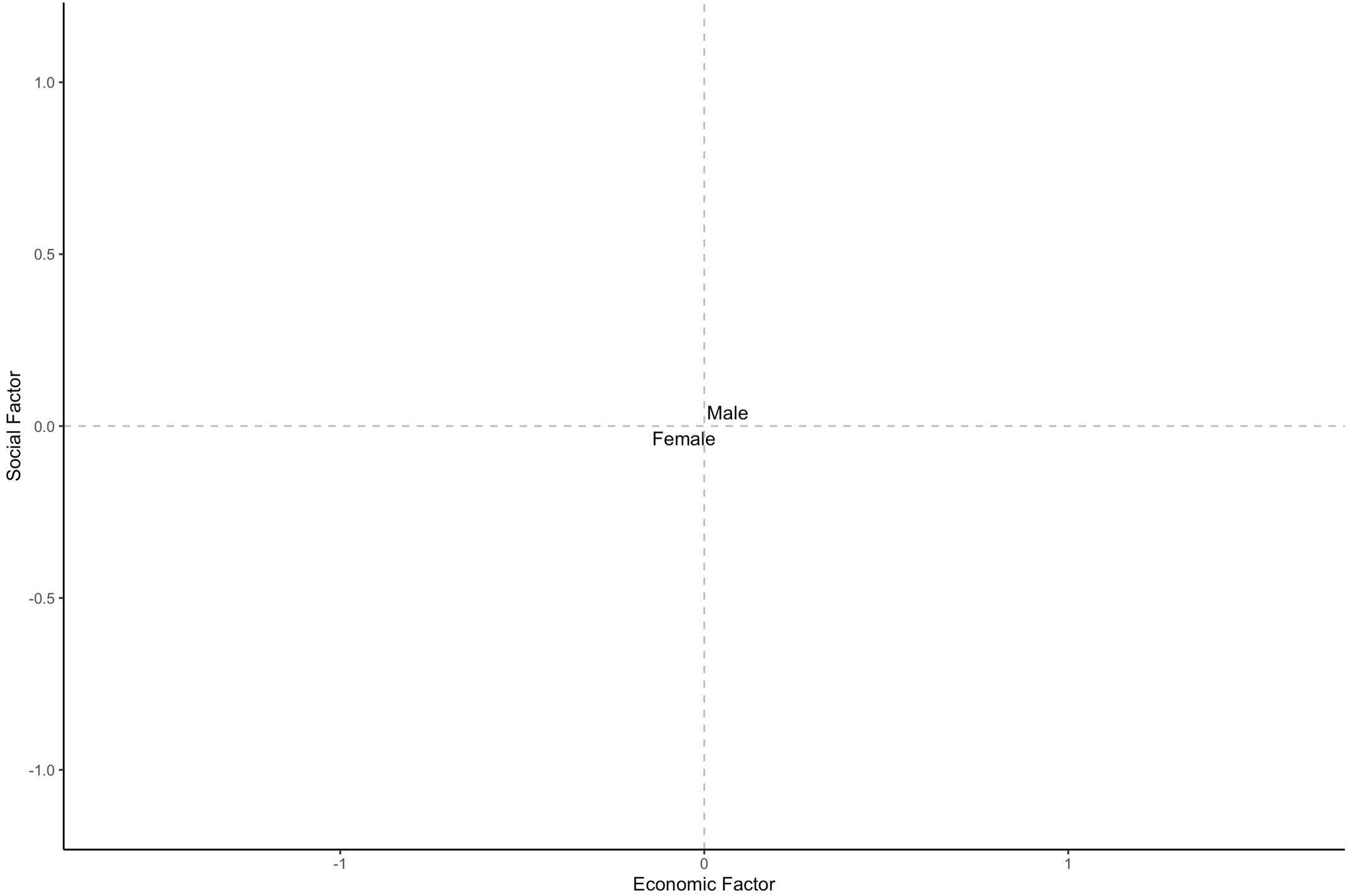
In 2021 and 2022 I ran surveys of UK population with YouGov.

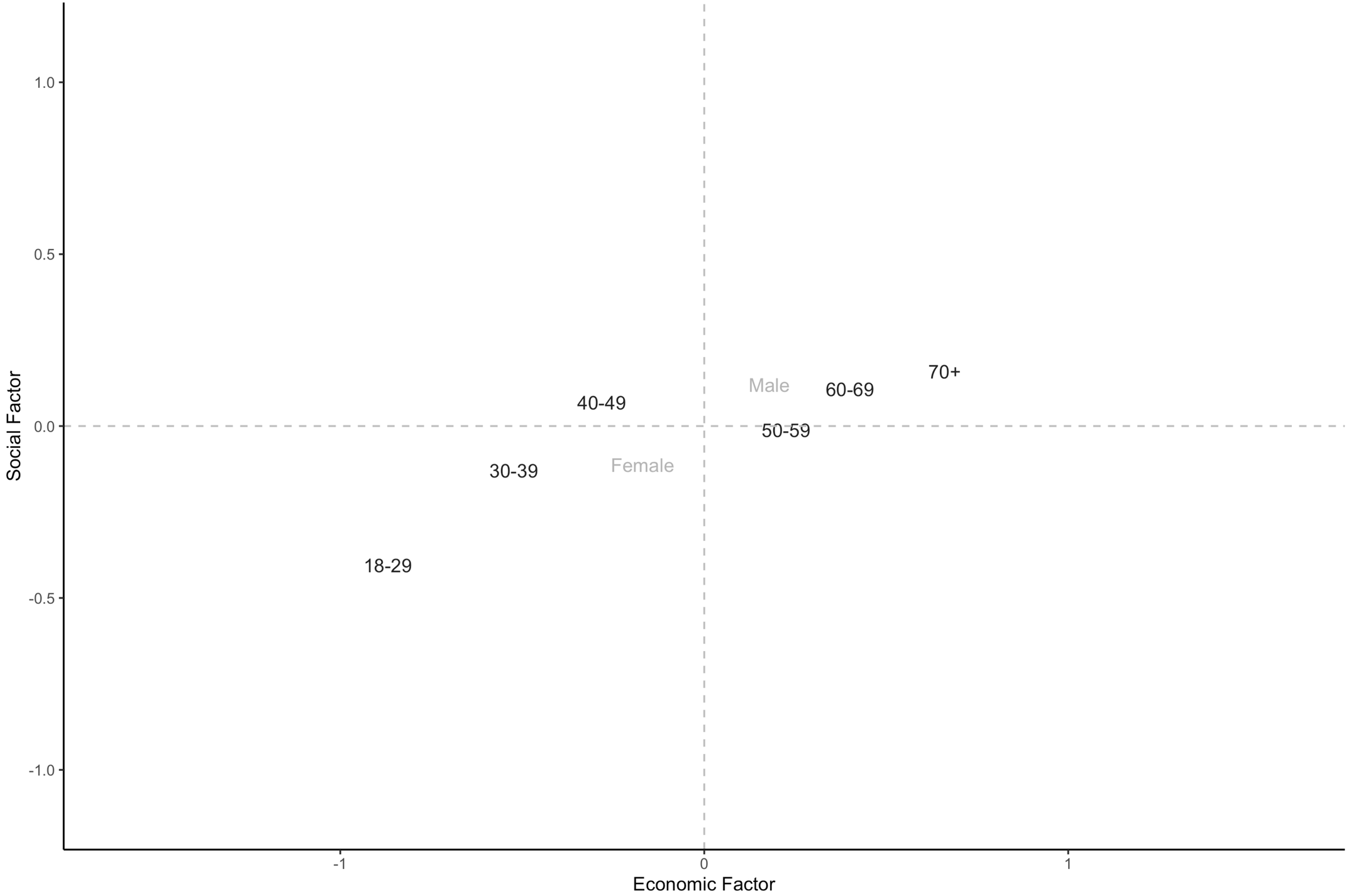
I asked a series of classic ‘Understanding Society’ questions on SOCIAL and ECONOMIC dimensions.

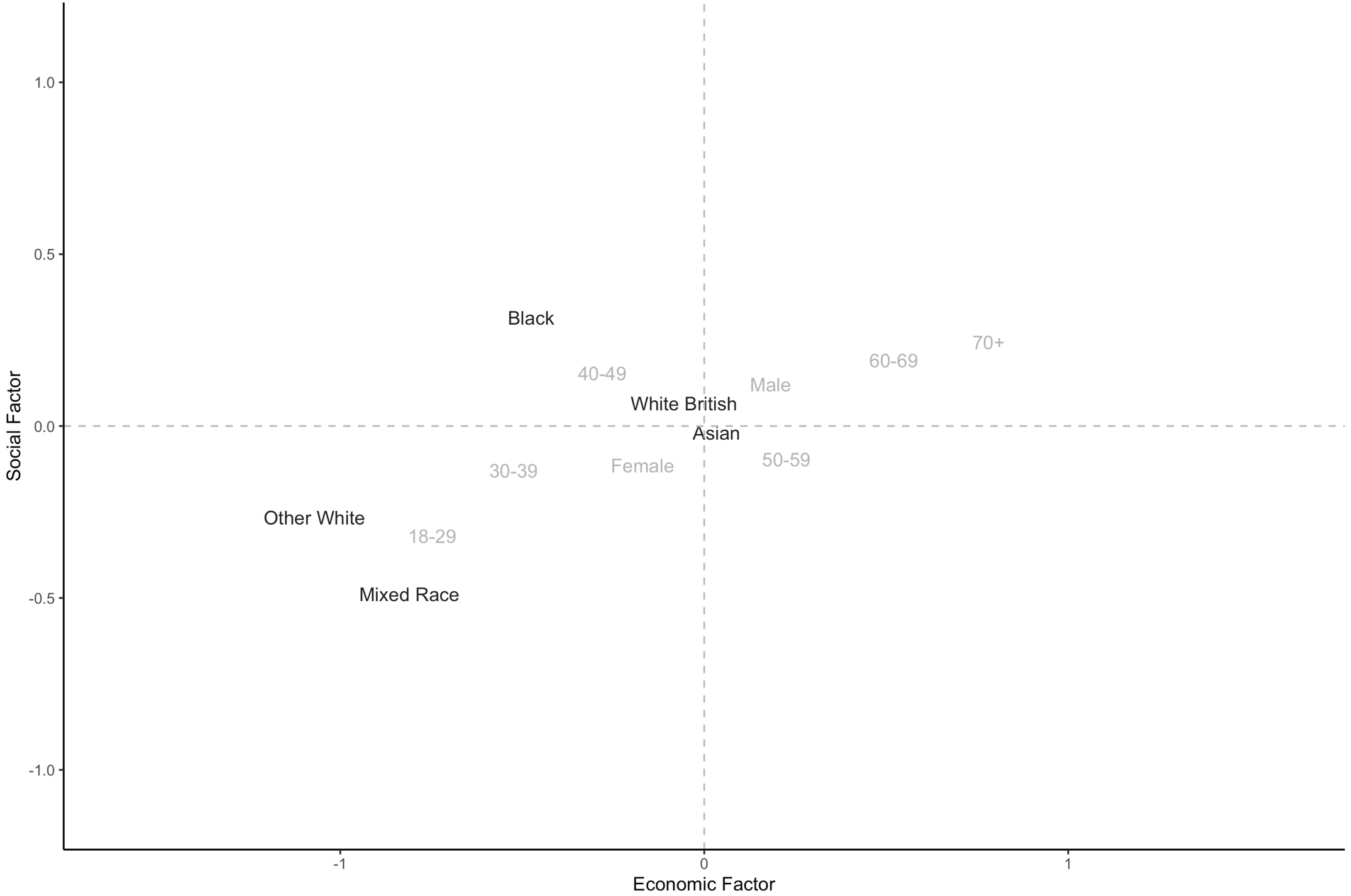
Use PCA to combine them into two dimensions.

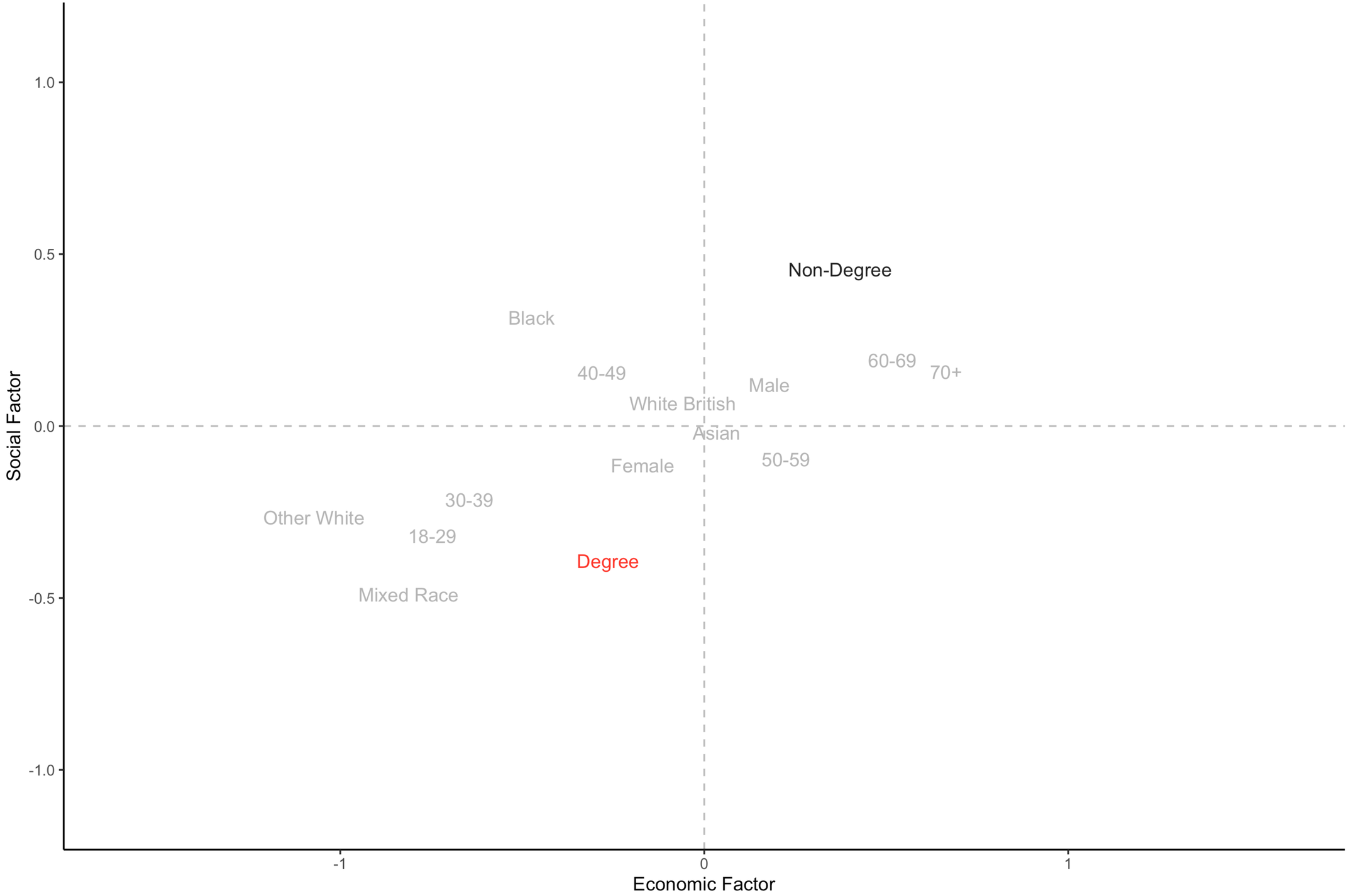
Is there really a people being betrayed by a ‘new elite’?

Survey Item	COV
Differences in Income Too Large	0.24
Differences in Wealth Too Large	0.25
Differences in House Prices Too Large	0.25
Working People get Fair Share	0.25
One Law for the Rich	0.27
Children Respect for Elders	0.32
People not Politicians	0.33
Respect for British values	0.34
Govt Should Redistribute Income	0.36
Govt Should Redistribute Wealth	0.39
Politics Too Complicated	0.42
Build New Houses	0.44
People Like Me Have No Say	0.48
Officials Care About People Like Me	0.49
Death Penalty	0.52


1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
Social Factor
Male
Female
-1
0
1
Economic Factor

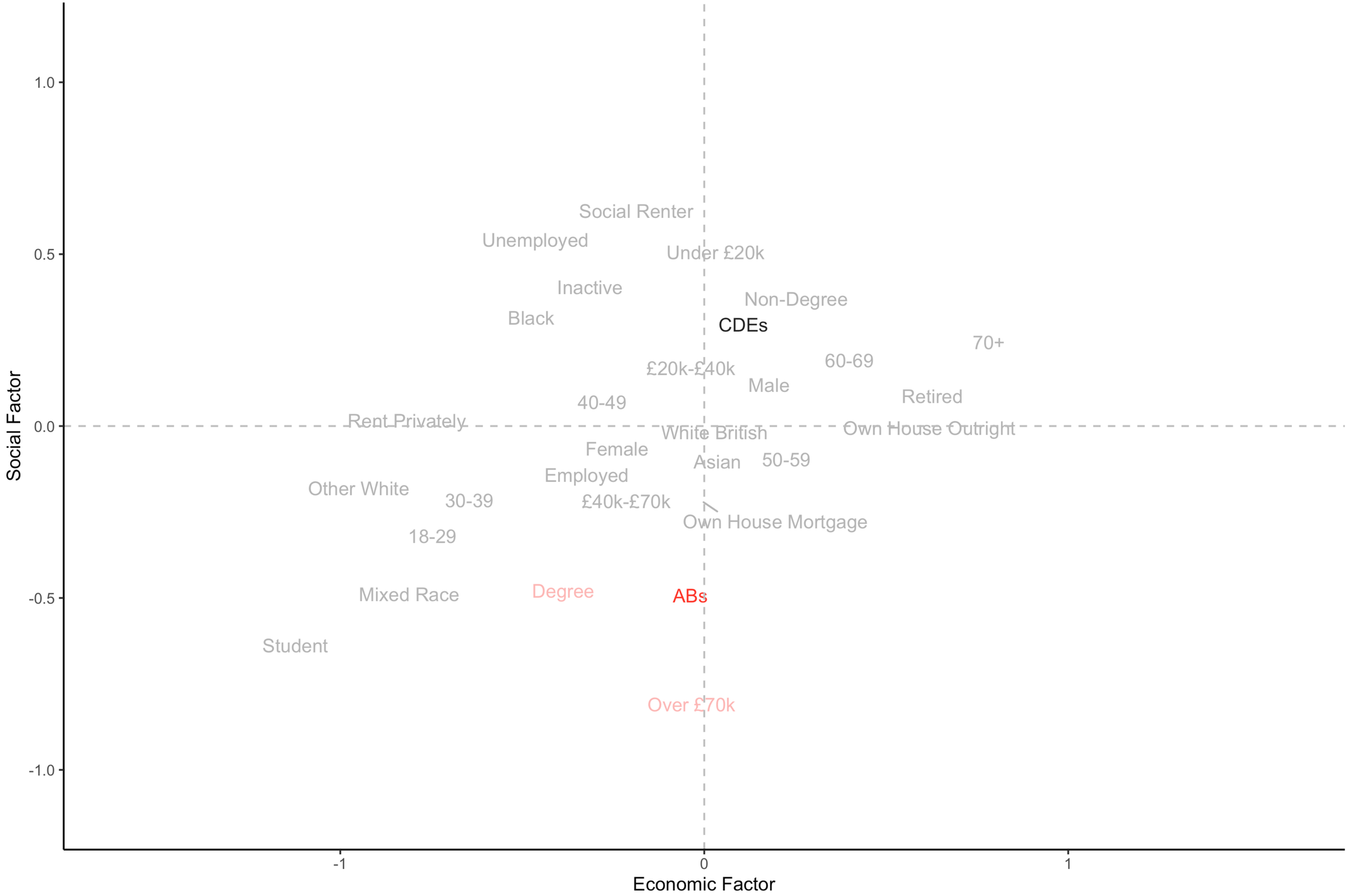

1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
Social Factor
-1
0
1
Economic Factor
70+
Male
60-69
40-49
50-59
30-39
Female
18-29

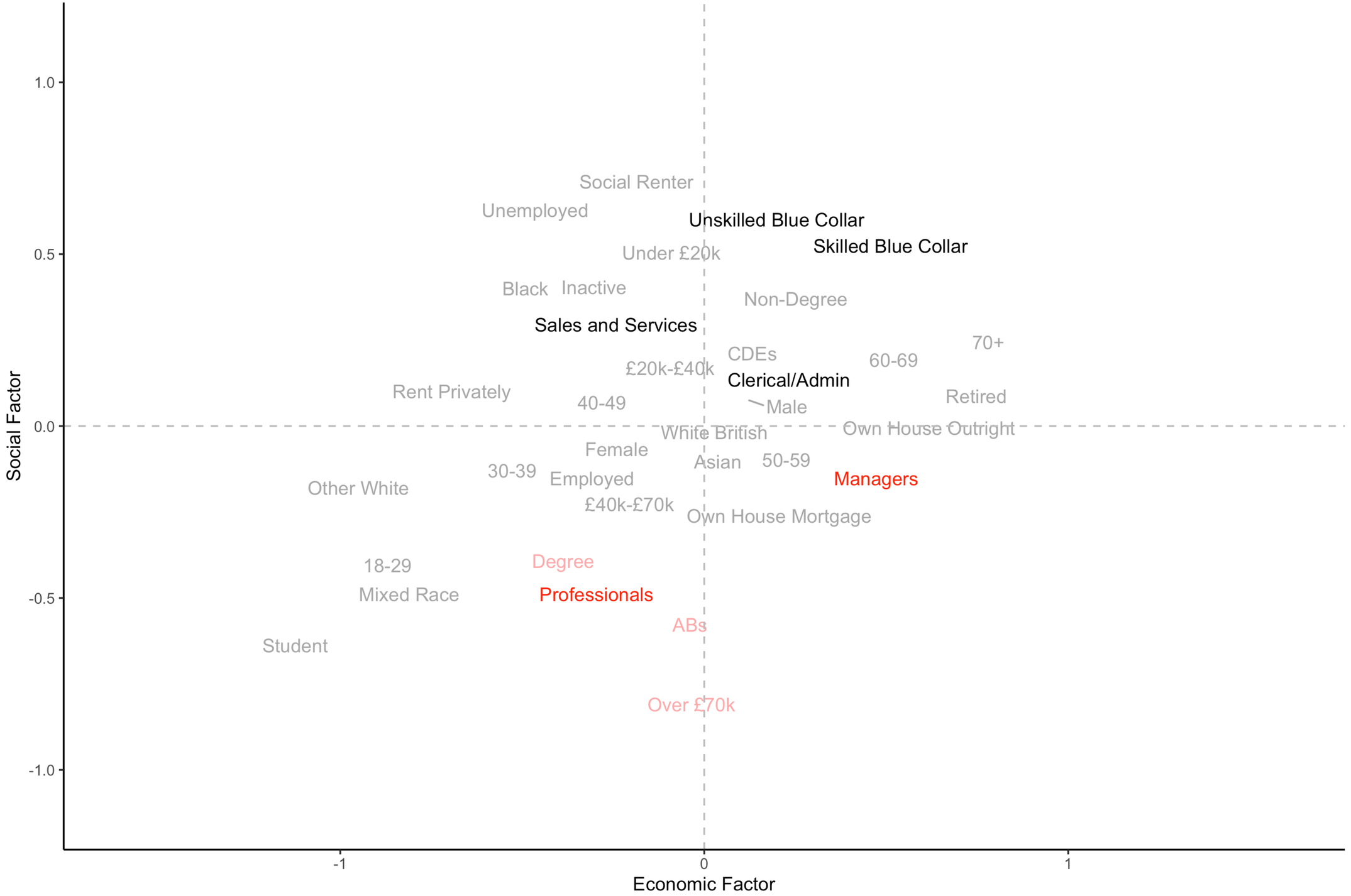

1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
Social Factor
-1
0
1
Economic Factor
Black
70+
60-69
40-49
Male
White British
Asian
50-59
30-39
Female
Other White
18-29
Mixed Race

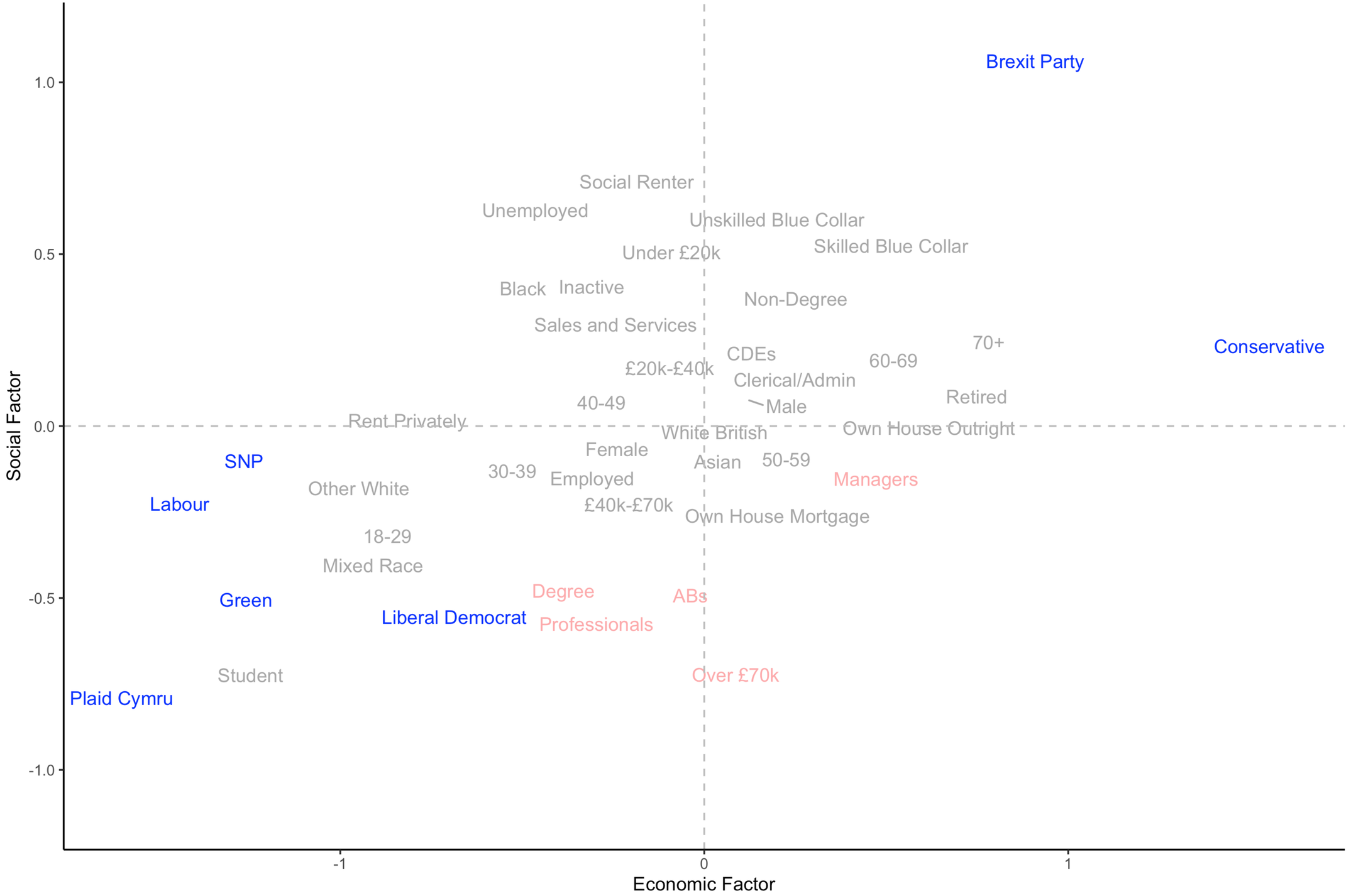

1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
Social Factor
-1
0
1
Economic Factor
Non-Degree
Black
60-69
70+
40-49
Male
White British
Asian
50-59
Female
30-39
Other White
18-29
Degree
Mixed Race


Social Renter
Unemployed
Inactive
Black
Non-Degree
70+
60-69
40-49
Male
Retired
White British
Rent Privately
Own House Outright
Female
Asian
50-59
30-39
Employed
Other White
Own House Mortgage
18-29
Mixed Race
Degree
Student
1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
-1
0
1
Social Factor
Economic Factor


Social Renter
Unemployed
Inactive
Under £20k
Non-Degree
Black
70+
60-69
£20k-£40k
Male
Retired
40-49
Rent Privately
White British
Own House Outright
Female
Asian
50-59
Employed
30-39
£40k-£70k
Other White
Own House Mortgage
18-29
Mixed Race
Degree
Student
Over £70k
1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
-1
0
1
Social Factor
Economic Factor


Social Renter
Unemployed
Under £20k
Inactive
Non-Degree
Black
CDEs
70+
60-69
£20k-£40k
Male
Retired
40-49
Rent Privately
White British
Own House Outright
Female
Asian
50-59
Employed
Other White
30-39
£40k-£70k
Own House Mortgage
18-29
Mixed Race
Degree
ABs
Student
Over £70k
1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
-1
0
1
Social Factor
Economic Factor


Social Factor
Economic Factor
1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
-1
0
1
Social Renter
Unemployed
Unskilled Blue Collar
Skilled Blue Collar
Under £20k
Black
Inactive
Non-Degree
Sales and Services
70+
CDEs
60-69
£20k-£40k
Clerical/Admin
Rent Privately
40-49
Male
Retired
White British
Own House Outright
Female
Asian
50-59
30-39
Employed
Managers
Other White
£40k-£70k
Own House Mortgage
18-29
Degree
Mixed Race
Professionals
ABs
Student
Over £70k


Brexit Party
Social Renter
Unemployed
Unskilled Blue Collar
Skilled Blue Collar
Under £20k
Black
Inactive
Non-Degree
Sales and Services
70+
Conservative
CDEs
60-69
£20k-£40k
Clerical/Admin
Retired
40-49
Male
Rent Privately
Own House Outright
White British
Female
SNP
Asian
50-59
30-39
Employed
Managers
Other White
Labour
£40k-£70k
Own House Mortgage
18-29
Mixed Race
Degree
ABs
Green
Liberal Democrat
Professionals
Student
Over £70k
Plaid Cymru
1.0
0.5
0.0
-0.5
-1.0
-1
0
1
Social Factor
Economic Factor

KEY MESSAGE

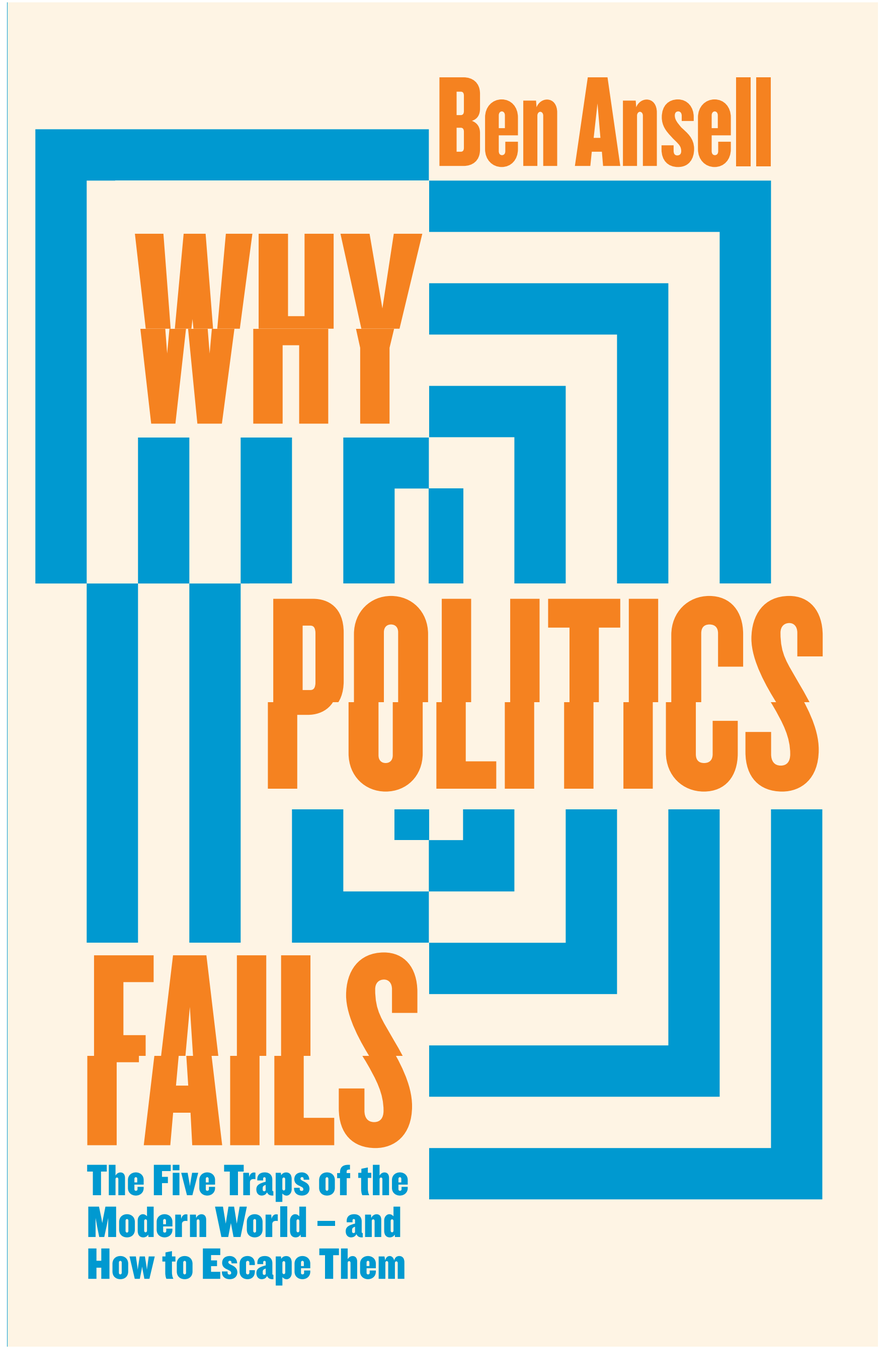
On attitudes, what divides us is our partisan attachments

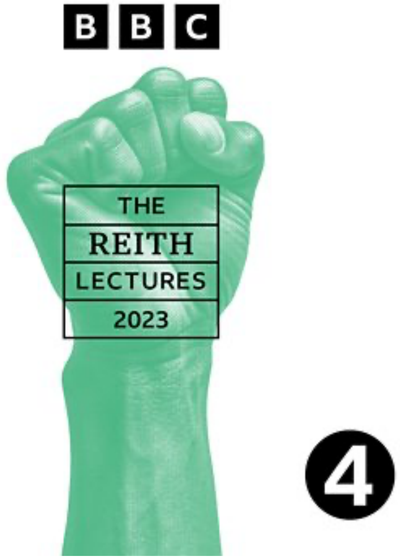
Makes sense. Parties are about converting our differences of opinion into differences of policy.

They are ‘chaos cages’, aligning our views.

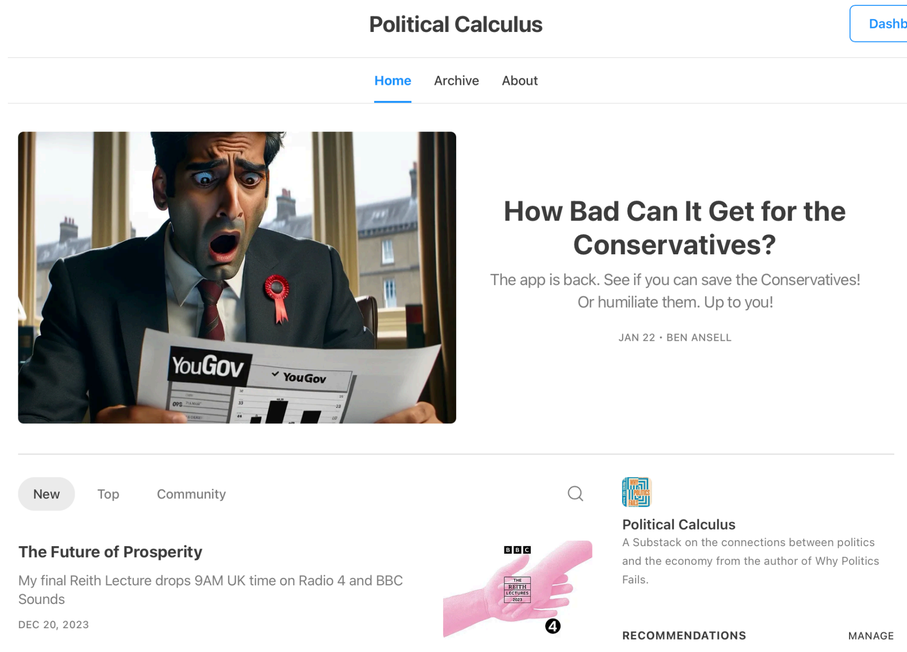
But… no evidence that it is demographic differences, associated with a ‘new elites’ that are tearing Britain apart.

Our political system is more than capable enough of doing that!


Ben Ansell
WHY POLITICS FAILS
The Five Traps of the Modern World – and How to Escape Them


BBC
THE REITH LECTURES 2023
4


BBC
THE REITH LECTURES 2023
4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RECOMMENDATIONS
MANAGE