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CHARITABLE TRUST



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FEAR AND HOPE 2017

RACE, FAITH AND BELONGING IN TODAY'S ENGLAND

Rosie Carter and Nick Lowles

HOPE not hate exists to provide a positive antidote to the politics of hate. We combine first class research with community organising and grassroots actions to defeat hate groups and to build community resilience against extremism.

Hate is often the consequence of a loss of hope and an articulation of despair, but given an alternative, especially one that understands and addresses their anger, most people will choose HOPE over hate. Our job is to expose and undermine groups that preach hate, intolerance and division whilst uniting communities around what they have in common.

We aim to take a part in building a society that celebrates rather than scapegoats our differences.

To visit the *Fear and HOPE* website:
www.fearandhope.org.uk

To learn more about HOPE not hate:
<http://charity.hopenothate.org.uk/>



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INTRODUCTION

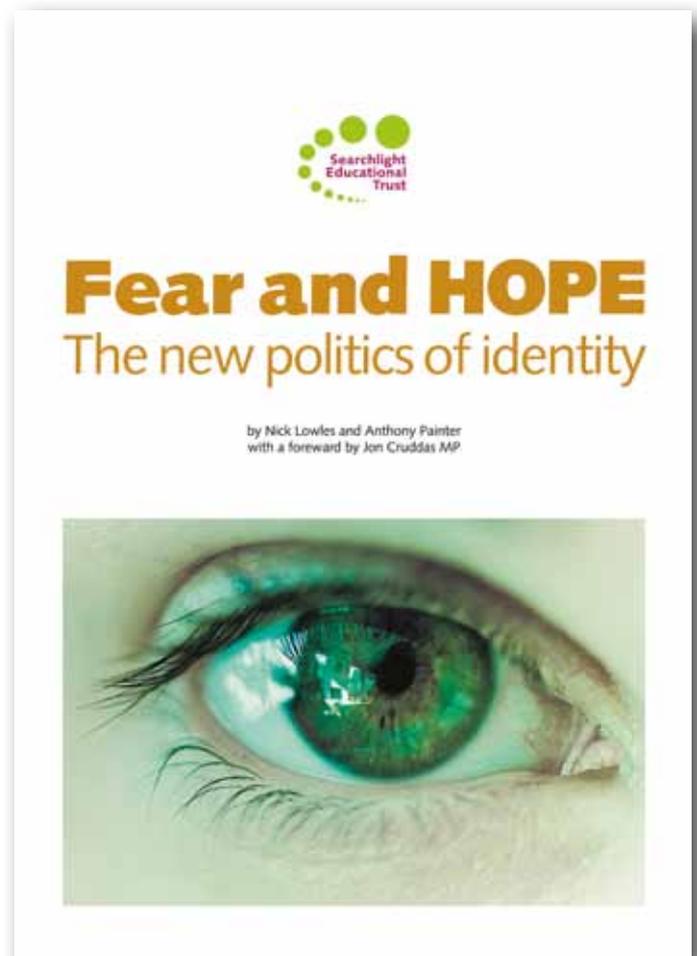
Welcome to *Fear and HOPE 2017*, the latest in our on-going analysis of English people towards race, faith, immigration and belonging. We commissioned this survey because we felt that Britain was at a juncture. A snap General Election was creating political uncertainty and upheaval. We wanted to know just how attitudes towards Muslims and extremism had altered as a result of the recent terrorist attacks. And, with Brexit talks finally beginning, we were keen to explore the expectations and fears of the English towards the issue that will dominate the country for the next few years and possibly beyond.

Our first report was in 2011, and British society was still deeply traumatised by the economic crash and the beginning of austerity. Our 2016 report reflected a country more at ease with itself – despite austerity, many people were feeling more economically secure and this reflected more relaxed attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism. Our third report, in July 2016, was conducted just after Britain voted to leave the European Union and reflected a complete change in attitudes. Those who had been most angry in our February 2016 report, and who voted most heavily to leave the EU, were now the most content. Those had had been content, and who voted most heavily to remain, were now the most angry and resentful. Brexit had polarised Britain.

Fear and HOPE 2017 finds this polarisation has continued and if anything deepened. An increasing number of people are more tolerant and open to immigration and multiculturalism, but a quarter of society remain firmly opposed and, their views are hardening.

Our latest survey is again comprehensive and detailed. Over 4,000 people were asked 140 questions and sub-questions, making it the most detailed report survey of its kind. Many of the questions were ones we had asked in our previous surveys so we have been able to chart how opinions have shifted over the last six and a half years.

But we have also asked new questions, more pertinent to current events. We have explored terrorism and integration in more detail because of the recent terrorist attacks, as a response to the Casey Review, published shortly before Christmas, and the recently announced Commission to Counter Extremism. We also were keen to find out if there were any wider implications of the Grenfell fire. And, perhaps most importantly, with Brexit set to



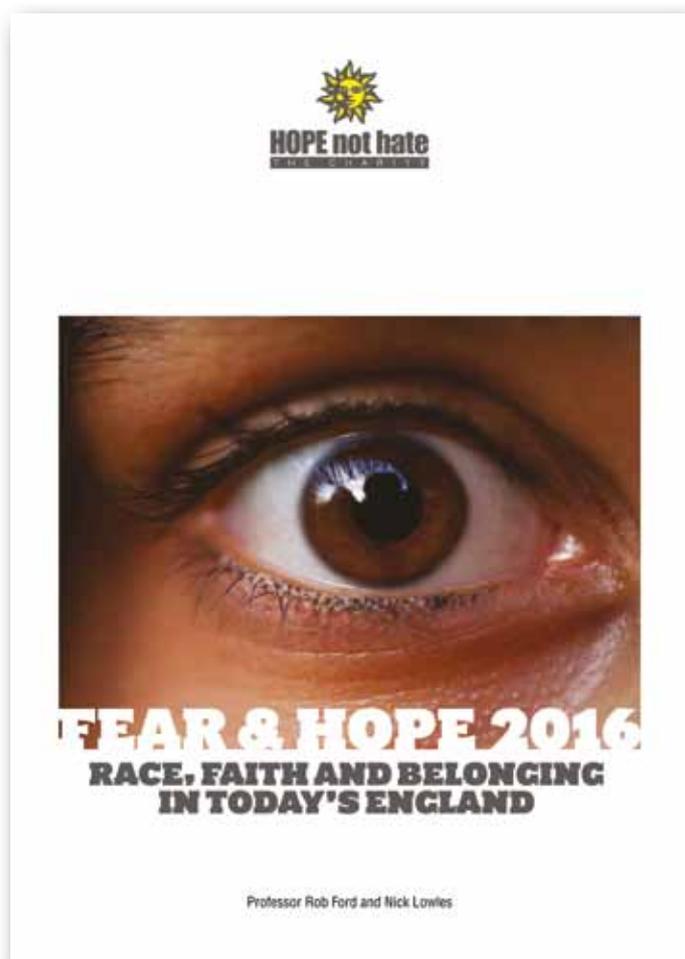
Fear and HOPE 2011

dominate politics in Britain for the next few years, we were keen to explore how confident people are that Britain will get a good deal and what, if any, compromise they were willing to accept to get there.

As with our previous *Fear and HOPE* surveys, we have divided the English into six tribes; two very positive towards immigration and two strongly opposed. The remaining two tribes are made up of one which is economically secure but culturally concerned about changes in society, and a second group which is more driven by economic insecurity.

People will rightly ask why we have just focused on England. When we did our first survey, in 2011, the crisis in society appeared to be focused on the English. Devolution had transferred considerable power to the Scottish Government and the Welsh Assembly and many Scots were increasingly agitating for a vote on full independence. As a result we were most interested in discovering whether there was a crisis of Englishness and whether English nationalism could emerge as a potent political movement.

While all this was quite valid, it did, however, create a benchmark which then was hard to change in future



Fear and HOPE 2016

surveys if we were going to compare results from previous polls. To overcome this, we do hope soon to conduct similar studies in both Wales and Scotland over the coming year.

In a new addition to our *Fear and HOPE* survey, we explore attitudinal questions giving us a far more comprehensive understanding of opinions in society. So, in addition to our usual analysis of identity politics and attitudes of economic security and insecurity, this edition of *Fear and HOPE* has looked further into the tribes and where they identify on an axis of economic and social liberalism.

Our respondents were asked for their views on a series of socioeconomic statements allowing us to map political outlook closest to each of the tribes, political parties and party leaders and understand the messaging that resonates with each.

This new tool will greatly enhance our ability to understand the issues explored by *Fear and HOPE* – immigration, integration, economic optimism, and attitudes towards others – none of which can be seen in isolation from a wider ideological perspective. Fundamentally, agreement on

statements about policy, social equality, rights, and freedoms give us a spectrum which overlays economic and social liberalism.

The combination of a new survey of opinions coupled with this new attitudinal layer will be crucial in directing our work over the next few years. It will help us with our national narrative, and where we can intervene most effectively in debates, but also at a very localised level so we can ensure that the correct messages go into each local community in which we are working.

Our *Fear and HOPE* surveys underpin much of what HOPE not hate has done over the last few years. This report is no exception. It gives us a snapshot of where the country is today and gives us a route map as how to best navigate the issues which we think will dominate the next few years.

NICK LOWLES

CEO, HOPE not hate

FEAR AND HOPE 2017: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

FEAR AND HOPE 2017 – KEY FINDINGS

1. England is an increasingly more tolerant and open society, with 39% of the English occupying the two most liberal identity tribes in society. However, 23% of the population remain bitterly opposed.
2. Attitudes towards immigration are softening, caused by changing demographics and the belief that Brexit will partly solve the ‘problem’. Over 90% of Britons believe immigration is essential, but economic need should determine the level of future immigration.
3. However, attitudes towards Muslims and Islam as a religion have worsened, with 52% saying that Islam poses a threat to the West and 42% saying that they are more suspicious of Muslims as a result of the recent terrorist attacks.
4. The majority of Britons welcomed the acts of unity after the recent terror attacks and want communities to come together. However, there is a significant minority whose views are hardening since these recent attacks.
5. There remains a cautious optimism about the economy, but expectations for future economic well-being are clearly split along Brexit divisions, with Remain voters fearful and Leave voters more optimistic.
6. Fewer people identify with being English than they did in 2011. Very few Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) identify themselves as English.
7. Only 6% of people are very confident that Theresa May will secure a good deal for Britain in the EU negotiations.
8. Brexit divides British society into two very distinct groups and there is little prospect that a deal can be secured without angering and further alienating one or both of the groups. There is also very little appetite for reversing the Referendum result.
9. Attitudes to the Grenfell Tower disaster has deeply divided the country. Londoners, Labour voters and BAME draw a wider lesson about Britain’s unequal society where the poor lose out, whilst those outside London, Conservatives and Nigel Farage supporters view it as an isolated unfortunate accident.
10. There is a real space for Nigel Farage to set up a new populist right political party, with 15% of people identifying with him as the leader closest to their own views.

TRIBES

- England in 2017 has moved towards a more tolerant and open outlook on society as those from the ‘middle ground’ groups have moved into the more liberal identity ‘tribes’, now 39% of the population. However, views on both sides of the identity politics spectrum have hardened since the referendum
- Confident multiculturals, the most liberal identity ‘tribe’ was the smallest group in 2011. It is now the largest, taking in 22% of the population
- The proportion of people identifying with the two hostile ‘tribes’ has remained stable since 2011, although there has been a shift between these groups indicating a softening of their views.
- The more liberal tribes have become more mixed since 2011 – now around a third are working in manual jobs and the service industry. The culturally concerned group has become more working class with the share of C2DEs increasing by 28% since 2011

POLITICAL LOYALTIES

- The conservatives have increased their share of votes from the two liberal tribes by 23% since 2011
- Over a third of Labour voters now come from the confident multicultural group
- The Lib Dems continue to field most of their support from the two liberal tribes
- UKIP’s base has remained relatively constant since 2011, still drawing almost two thirds of its supporter base from the hostile ‘tribes’. It has regained support from the immigrant ambivalent group since 2016
- Levels of trust in Theresa May are low across the ‘tribes’, with only 8% of BAME voters saying that she represents what they think

IDENTITY

- Nationality and the country you are born in are considered the most important aspects of identity
- 54% of people identify as British, 34% of people identify as English
- British citizenship, putting British ahead of other identities and being born in the UK are seen as the most important factors to be regarded as British

THE MOOD IN 2017

- A sense of cautious optimism following economic recovery has survived the referendum. 61% of people feel that things are better in their own lives now than ten years ago.
- The results of the EU referendum had a divisive impact on how people see the future. The liberal tribes – likely to vote remain – have become more fearful. The more hostile groups – likely to have voted leave – have become more optimistic
- Responses to Grenfell Tower were divided between London and outside of the capital. 58% of people in London thought that this was a sign of inequality. Elsewhere, 59% of people felt that the fire was not something to make a political statement from

BREXIT

- England is divided over outcomes of Brexit negotiations, and there is a lot of anger on both sides about what will happen to immigration and trade
- Confident multiculturals (61%) and mainstream liberals (43%) were more likely to have voted remain than leave in the EU referendum. Latent hostiles (66%) and active enmity (66%) were more likely to have voted to leave the EU
- 65% of confident multiculturals are concerned about the economic outcomes of a sharp reduction in immigration while 79% of active enmity believe this will benefit the country
- 62% of people have little or no confidence in May getting a good Brexit deal

IMMIGRATION

- England has become more positive about immigration. The majority of people (55%) now agree that immigration is good for the country, up by 15% since 2011
- Attitudes to immigration remain a key social divider. 94% of confident multiculturals believe that immigration has been good for the country while only 4% of the active enmity group would agree
- Economic concerns about immigration are most important for the hostile tribes. Liberals focus more on the positive effects of cultural diversity
- Since 2011, the differences in what concerns us about immigration has reduced. There is agreement across the social spectrum that immigration has added to pressures on public services

MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION

- The English population worry that British values are in decline. Most feel that British values gain strength from stability rather than adaptation
- People in England are not confident about the success of multiculturalism. The two liberal tribes distance themselves from the majority, firmly agreeing that multiculturalism in Britain has been positive.

- People are more likely to view their community as peaceful and friendly than 6 years ago, 76% now agree
- Although attitudes to community relations reproduce divides seen elsewhere, improving the environment around us is important to everyone in ensuring communities get along well. 36% think that good public services help us get along and 24% want to see good public spaces
- 36% of people agree that the government and local councils have a responsibility to support British people in learning more about other cultures to welcome new migrants into our communities

RELIGION

- Religious discrimination and islamophobia had reduced between 2011 and 2016, but much of this progress has been set back following the spate of recent terror attacks in the UK.
- While overall attitudes towards different groups in society have improved since 2011, Muslims continue to be regarded as uniquely different from the majority British public.
- 39% of people overemphasise the prevalence of Islam in British society, while just 13% estimate the correct 5%. Only 4% of Muslims accurately estimated the number of Muslims there were in Britain.
- The English are deeply divided over the association of Muslim communities in Britain with extremism. 84% of confident multiculturals reject this while 83% of active enmity agree that Muslims should be associated with terrorism and violence
- There is a sizable percentage of the population (52%) who agree that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation, although this has decreased since 2011
- There is an appetite across England for initiatives to improve community relations and for an increased understanding of Muslim practices in receiving communities.

EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM

- The recent attacks on Westminster, Manchester, Borough market and Finsbury Park have had a profound impact on the public. 42% of the English say that these attacks have increased their suspicion of Muslims in Britain.
- England is increasingly opposed to extreme responses and more willing to unite peacefully as a community in the face of hatred.
- 83% of the English population have been impressed with the way British people have come together in the face of recent terror attacks
- 62% of the public favour peaceful vigils to demonstrations calling for stronger action to be taken against extremism.
- Support for English nationalists has steadily decreased since 2011 and the vast majority of people (74%) reject the activities of both Islamic extremists and English nationalists

DEFINING THE 'TRIBES' OF BRITISH IDENTITY

CONFIDENT MULTICULTURALS

(22% in 2017, 22% in July 2016, 18% in February 2016, 8% in 2011)

Most likely to be graduates or post graduates, these people are predominantly professionals and managers. They are more prevalent in London and the South East, and among people who identify with Labour, Liberal Democrat and Green. Outgoing, social and happy with their lives, they are confident about their own, as well as their country's future, and think Britain has benefitted from immigration. 18-24 year olds make up the largest share of this group – 31% of this age group identify within the tribe.

The smallest group in 2011, confident multiculturals are now the largest segment. Making up 22% of the population. The group more than doubled in size between 2011 and February 2016 as economic recovery offered a greater sense of security and confidence, and saw further growth following the EU referendum, which has been maintained through to 2017. This group were most likely to vote remain (61%) and the expansion of this group may have come as a response to the referendum result. Many of those who were shocked by the referendum result will belong in this group, and many have hardened and reinforced their reviews as we have seen an increasingly polarised spectrum of identity politics.

MAINSTREAM LIBERALS

(17% in 2017, 16% in July 2016, 14% in February 2016, 16% in 2011)

These people are optimistic, self-motivated and for the most part educated to at least degree level. They see immigration as a net benefit to the country, and usually differ from Confident Multiculturals only in their level of enthusiasm about it. More likely to have voted remain in the referendum (43%), this group has remained roughly the same size since 2011.

IDENTITY AMBIVALENTS

(21% in 2017, 26% in July 2016, 20% in February 2016, 28% in 2011)

These people are less financially secure and less optimistic about the future. They are more likely to be working class, to live in social housing and to view immigration through the prism of its economic impact on their opportunities and the social impact on their communities. Muslims and other BME (Black Minority Ethnic) groups are more prevalent here as are the largest single segment of those who identify with Labour, and most identifying with the tribe are of working age, between 25-44. This tribe are more likely to have voted leave in the EU referendum (40%) but also host the greatest share of those who did not vote in the referendum (31%).

Since 2011 the proportion of those in the identity ambivalents tribe has decreased to around the same levels as in February 2016, as economic recovery after the 2008 crash have eased concerns held by this economically sensitive group. There was a spike in the proportion of people in this category directly after the EU referendum, which may be reflective of the focus on economic arguments tied to immigration throughout the referendum campaigns, although this change appears to have subsided over the last year.

CULTURALLY CONCERNED

(18% in 2017, 16% in July 2016, 24% in February 2016, 24% in 2011)

Generally older – 27% of the over 65s identify with this tribe. Many are (or have been) professionals and managers but the social class make up of this group has changed since 2011 to include a greater proportion from C2DE classes. They are more likely to view immigration as a cultural issue with concerns about the impact of immigration on national identity and about immigrants' willingness to integrate. This group forms the largest segment of those identifying with the Conservative Party and are most likely to have voted leave in the 2016 referendum (54%).

The culturally concerned group held a constant share of the population between 2011 and February 2016, but saw a decrease of 8% just after the referendum which has remained fairly constant over the last year.

LATENT HOSTILES

(17% in 2017, 13% in July 2016, 16% in February 2016, 10% in 2011)

More likely to be over 35, not university-educated, and more than likely working class. They view their own future with uncertainty and Britain's future with pessimism. For them, immigration has undermined British culture, public services and their own economic prospects. They would support political forces that stood-up for their identity and way of life, but are less confrontational than those in Active Enmity. This group were most likely to vote leave in the EU referendum, this tribe are more likely to be economically pessimistic and fear the impacts of immigration on British culture.

The latent hostile group has increased from 10% in 2011 to 17% in 2017, as the active enmity tribe has shrunk. This would indicate that there remains to be a persistent section of the population aligned with a hostile set of identity politics, however they have become less hard-line over time. This group are most likely to identify with UKIP and have increased political engagement in sync with the party's prominence.

ACTIVE ENMITY

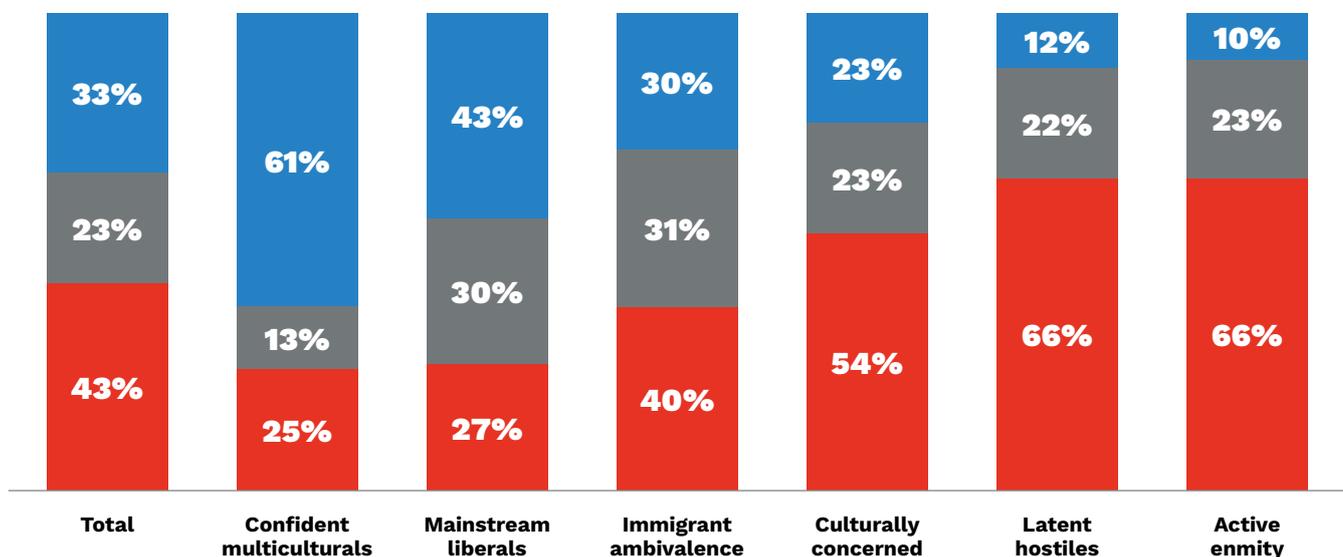
(5% in 2017, 7% in July 2016, 8% in February 2016, 13% in 2011)

Drawing more support from the unskilled and the unemployed, these people are the most disengaged from traditional political processes and the most hostile to immigrants and what they think immigration represents. This group were most likely to vote leave in the EU referendum, Opposed to all ethnicities or religions other than their own, many believe that violence is acceptable if it is a consequence of standing up for what is 'right'.

This group has declined sharply since 2011, now making up just 5% share of the population. This encouraging development indicates that even those with the deepest concerns about identity and immigration are now more likely to engage with the political system, and less likely to consider direct action or violence as a means to express their concerns.

How the tribes voted in the EU referendum

■ Voted to leave ■ Did not vote ■ Voted to remain



MAKEUP OF THE TRIBES: A MORE DIVIDED SOCIETY?

From 2011, there has been a steady proportional increase in the two liberal tribes who now make up 39% of the whole sample. Confident multiculturals, the smallest group in 2011 are now the largest segment making up 22% of the population while rates of mainstream liberals have remained constant over time. Younger people are most likely to affiliate with these tribes, and 56% of 18-24 year olds belong in the two liberal groups. But these ‘tribes’ also host 43% of 65+ year olds, an increase of 11% since February 2016.

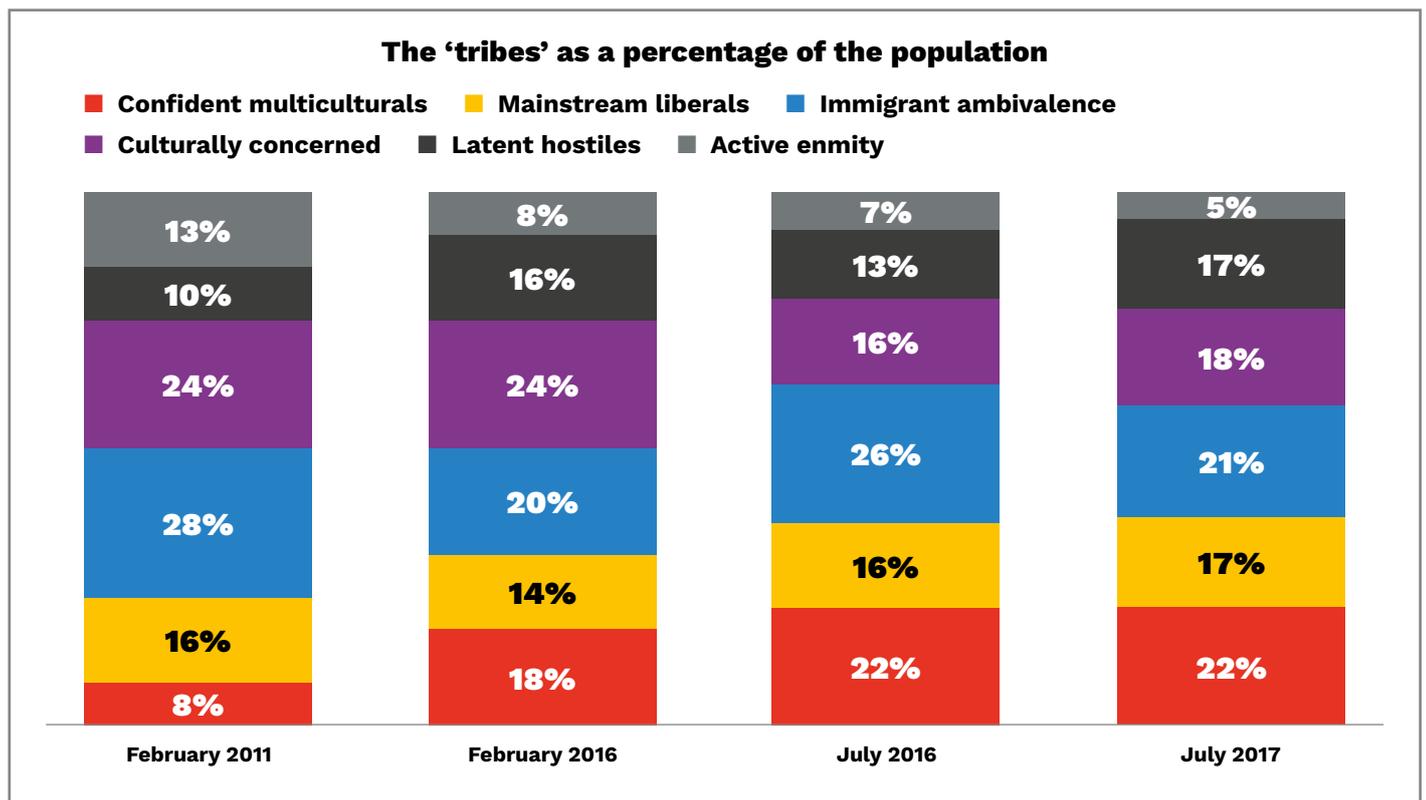
There has clearly been a surge in this group, and as this edition and our post-referendum 2016 *Fear and HOPE* have shown, these groups have hardened their own support for immigration and multiculturalism.

Our analysis of a similar pattern after the EU referendum attributed this pattern to better economic conditions as well as a rejection of the referendum result, as those with more liberal views became angry at the results, the rise in hate crime that followed and the impact of Jo Cox’s murder.

It seems this group, mostly remain voters, have continued to fly the flag of ‘not-in-my-name’.

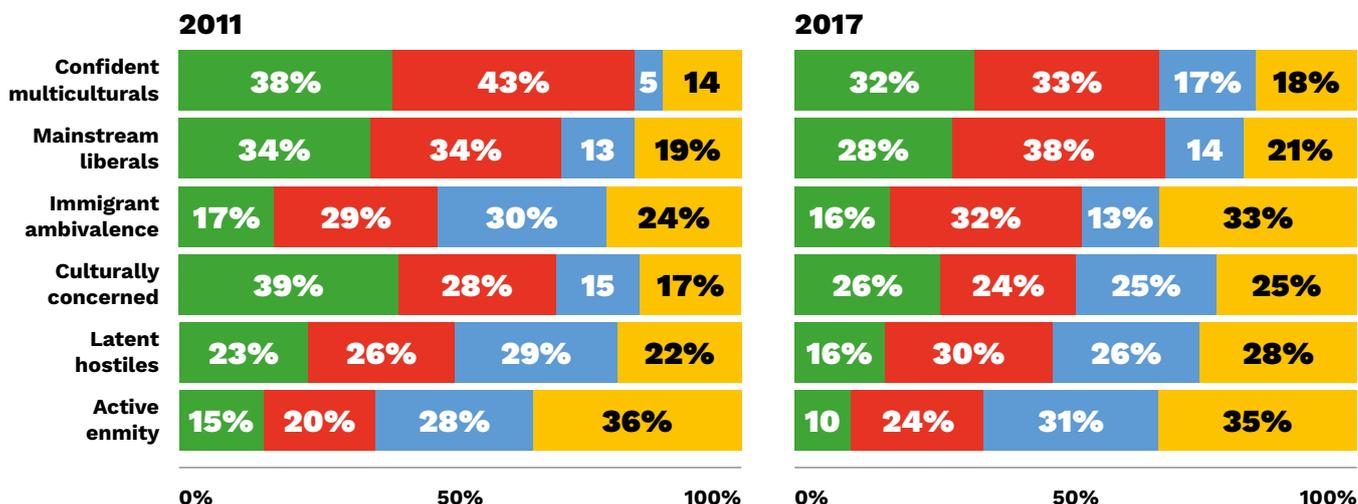
The groups described as “mainstream” in 2011, culturally concerned and identity ambivalents who made up 52% of the population in 2011 now make up just 39% of the population, the same proportion as the more liberal groups.

The more hostile groups also appear to be changing over time, although to a lesser extent. While the proportion of those in both hostile groups has remained about the same between 2011 (23%) and 2017 (22%), their views appear to be softening. The proportion of active enmity has more than halved since 2011 from 13% of the population to just 5%, while the proportion of those aligned with the latent hostiles tribe is now at its highest percentage since 2011 at 17%. But the consistency in proportions of hostile group over time indicates that there has been little shift from here towards the more liberal tribes. While those on centre ground are moving towards a more open and



Social grade makeup of the tribes

■ AB ■ C1 ■ C2 ■ DE



tolerant position, these people remain fixed on the other side of the spectrum.

These changes show a shift in public opinion towards the two tribes that are more positive towards immigration and multiculturalism, and feel more comfortable and optimistic about their own lives. It shows an encouraging trend over time and an overall picture of a Britain that is becoming more open and tolerant to others.

But while this would indicate that the country as a whole is becoming more confident and positive about the society we live in, we should be cautious about the effects of this in the long term.

Our *Fear and HOPE* research carried out directly after the EU referendum indicated that 63% of people across all the tribes felt that the UK is more divided as a result of the EU referendum. The changing makeup of the tribes in *Fear and HOPE 2017* indicates exactly that, as the ‘squeezed middle’ shrinks and the gulf between those with more extreme views – be they liberal or hostile – has expanded.

It was clear from our post-referendum poll that those who voted to leave the EU had become less angry and were pleased with the result. Those who wanted to see Britain leave the EU are less concerned about the impacts of Brexit on the economy, more confident about the outcomes of a deal and set on carrying through with Brexit regardless of the deal reached. Conversely, the more liberal tribes indicate frustrations at changes to free movement, are worried about the prospect of leaving the single market and most would be relieved if the UK reversed its decision to leave the EU. This report shows a similar pattern, as our section on Brexit reveals.

As our poll shows throughout, the overall picture shows positive trends as we move towards a more understanding and tolerant society, but we are looking at a more divided society in many aspects.

TRIBES BREAKDOWN BY SOCIAL CLASS

An analysis of the social class makeup of the tribes indicates some change in the tribes over the last 6 years.

The more liberal tribes have become more mixed, dominated in 2011 by those in the ABC1 social groups, the most-educated and wealthiest section of society, working in professional or managerial jobs. Around a third of confident multiculturalists and mainstream liberals now come from the C2DE classes working in manual jobs and the service industry. The two more hostile tribes and immigrant ambivalents continue to be made up of a majority in C2DE classes. These tribes see immigration and multiculturalism through a lens of economic concerns.

Interestingly, the social class makeup of the culturally concerned tribe has changed considerably over the last six years, with the share of C2DEs increasing by 28% between 2011 and 2017. This tribe, have tended to be traditional conservative voters; slightly older, more affluent voters with greater cultural concerns around immigration and integration. The changing makeup of this group indicates growing unease among working class people with an increasingly diverse society.

GENERATIONAL DIVIDES: 16-24 AND 65+ YEAR OLD VOTERS

Brexit has been seen by many commentators as a realisation of generational divides in Britain. The high share of leave voters among the 65+ age set and the strong remain vote among 18-24 year olds was seen to cause fury among millennials over the baby boomer vote for Brexit.

The 2017 election has also been seen through this generational divide, as the youth vote 'got it's own back' on Brexit. Young people were thought of as critical in the unexpected swing towards Labour as liberal young voters surged to the ballot box.

Our poll reflects much of this generational divide; 65% of 65+ voters chose to leave the EU, while the majority of 18-24 year olds voted to remain, just 14% opting for Brexit.

Looking at the share of tribes for each age group, 18-24s are most likely to fit within the two liberal tribes (56%), with a small share identifying as latent hostiles or active enmity (17%). Among the 65+s, the most populous group are the culturally concerned hosting 27% of this age group.

A staggering 54% of 18-24 year olds feel represented by Jeremy Corbyn compared to just 18% of over 65s, who are most likely to identify with Theresa May (42%). Farage picks up just 6% of 18-24 year olds but is seen to represent nearly a quarter of over 65s.

But looking at specific issues the generational divide appears more nuanced. Both age groups feel more optimistic than pessimistic about the future, the young showing only 5% more enthusiasm.

On immigration the young are more enthusiastic, but the majority of both generations feel that it has had a positive impact on the country, putting the over 65s ahead of middle-aged groups in their support for immigration. The over 65s are only 6% more likely to feel that different ethnic groups don't get on well than 18-24 year olds. However, the old do seem more stuck in their ways, as 63% of over 65s believe some people are too different to fit in – compared to just 23% of 18-24 year olds.

This older age set are more sceptical about multiculturalism than the average person, and show some resistance to learning about others – both factors 18-24 year olds have responded to positively. But in respect to their own local communities, both age sets are more likely to say

that immigration has changed their community for the better than the average person.

However, when it comes to specific groups the differences between generations and the cultural concerns of the over 65s become more apparent.

Islamophobia appears more apparent among the older generation, who are more likely to believe that Muslims create problems in the world and that Islam poses a threat to Western civilisation than the average person.

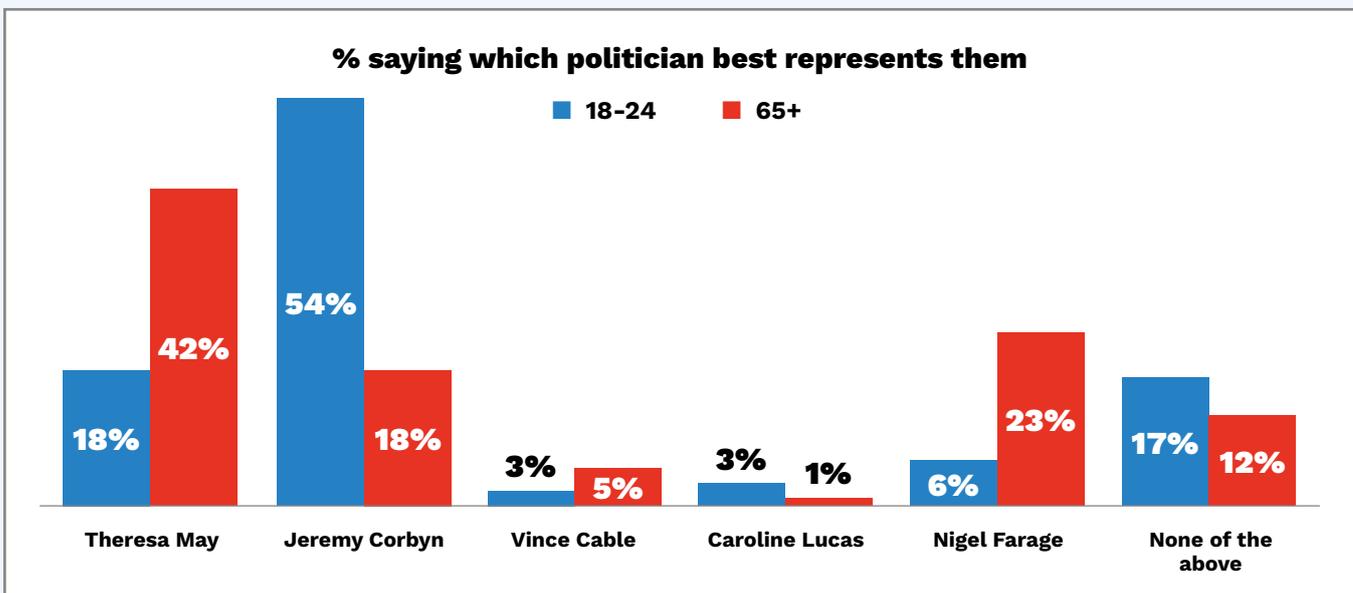
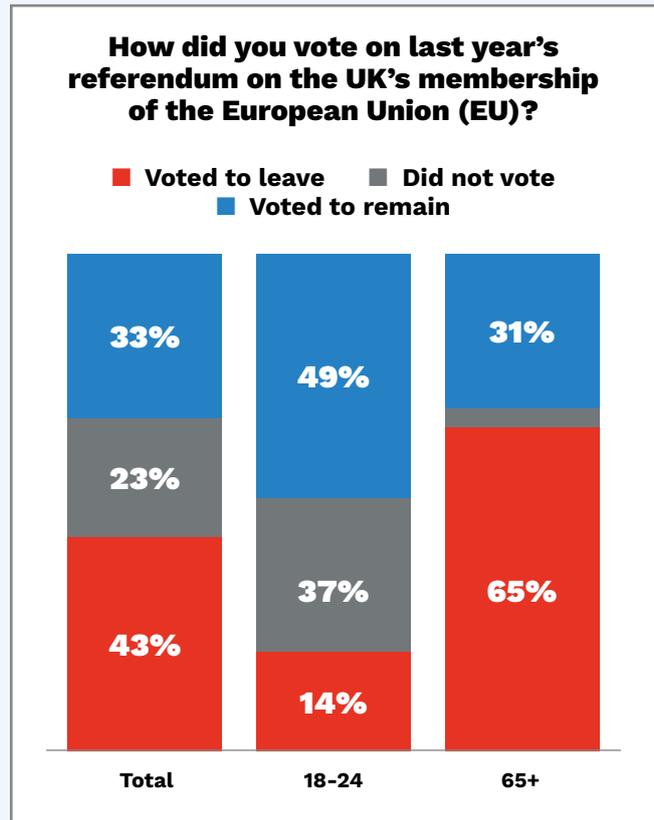
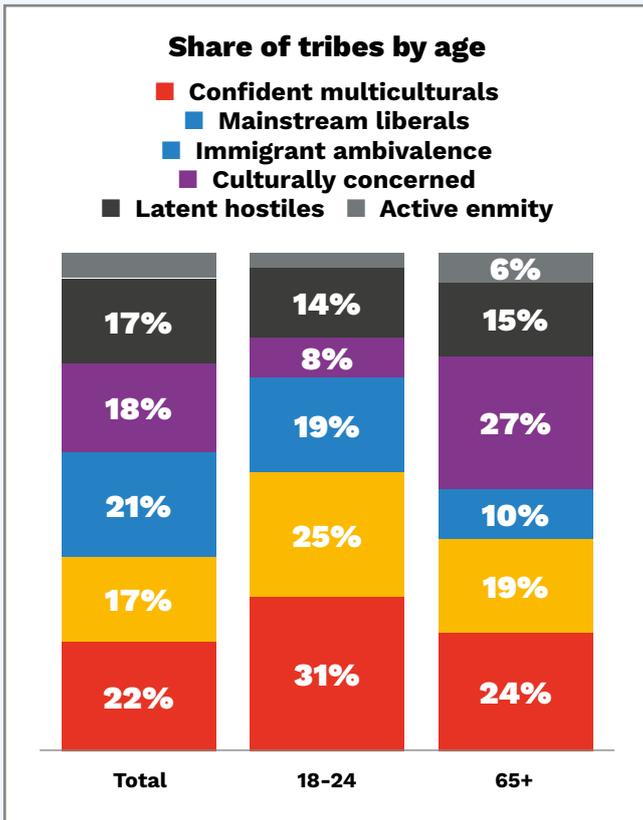
Conversely, 18-24 year olds are likely to feel strongly that Muslims face too much discrimination and reject notions that Islam poses a threat to the West.

These sentiments are shared in responses to extremism. While the differences between the generations are less stark between the general population and the over 65s than one might anticipate, this older age set are most likely to believe that terrorism is the “new normal” and to feel comfortable associating Muslims with violence and terrorism. 18-24 year olds are far more resistant to this rhetoric, and just 13% of this age group would consider associating Muslims with terrorism.

But it is not just cultural concerns that divide the generations. Looking forward, Brexit negotiations will struggle to meet the wishes of millennials alongside the grey vote.

On Brexit, the generational splits are clear. The over 65s are optimistic about Brexit, 77% believe we can thrive outside of the single market while only 28% of under 25s agree. Most older voters believe leaving the single market is a price to pay to end free movement, while most under 25s reject that possibility. The younger generation evidently fear the outcomes of Brexit for their futures, while the vast majority of over 65s would feel angered if the UK reversed it's decision to leave the EU.

There are a lot of similarities between the generations' outlooks on modern society, but Brexit is clearly a huge factor separating the young from the old which could widen the gap as negotiations begin.



IDENTITY AND POLITICAL LOYALTIES

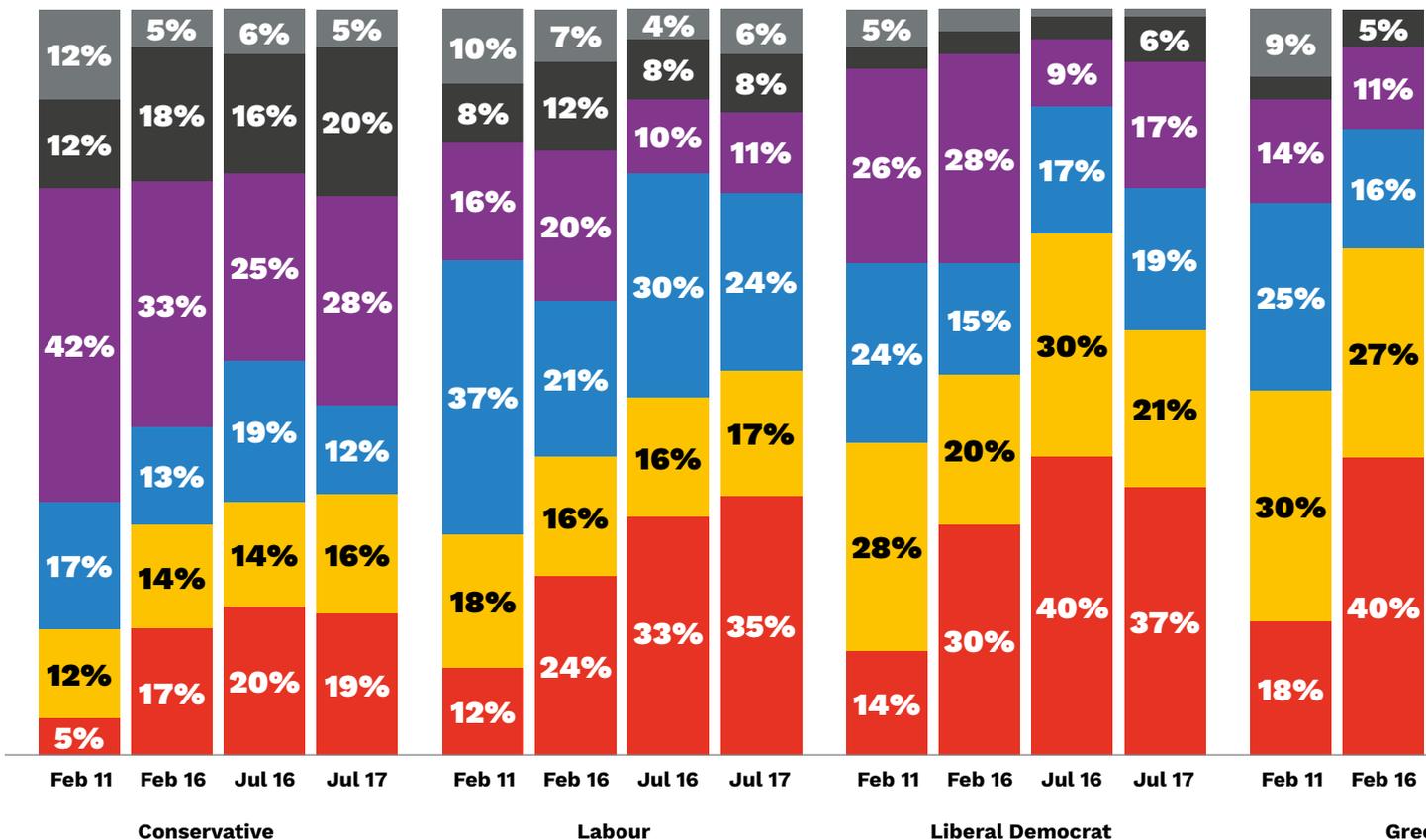
Since 2011, some patterns have remained constant in the way the tribes have voted, although there have been some clear changes in political loyalties since the vote to leave the EU.

CONSERVATIVES

The support base for the Conservatives has changed quite considerably since 2011. The party continue to source their ground support from the culturally concerned group, but this share has fallen over time, from 42% in 2011 to 28% in 2017. The party have also increased their share of votes from the two more liberal tribes by a huge 23% over the last 6 years. The party continue to draw votes from the two more hostile tribes, but it is clear that heading towards a hard Brexit a strong anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism stance may alienate a large proportion of its voters.

How the tribes voted

■ Confident multiculturals
 ■ Mainstream liberals
 ■ Immigrant ambivalence
 ■ Culturally concerned
 ■ Other

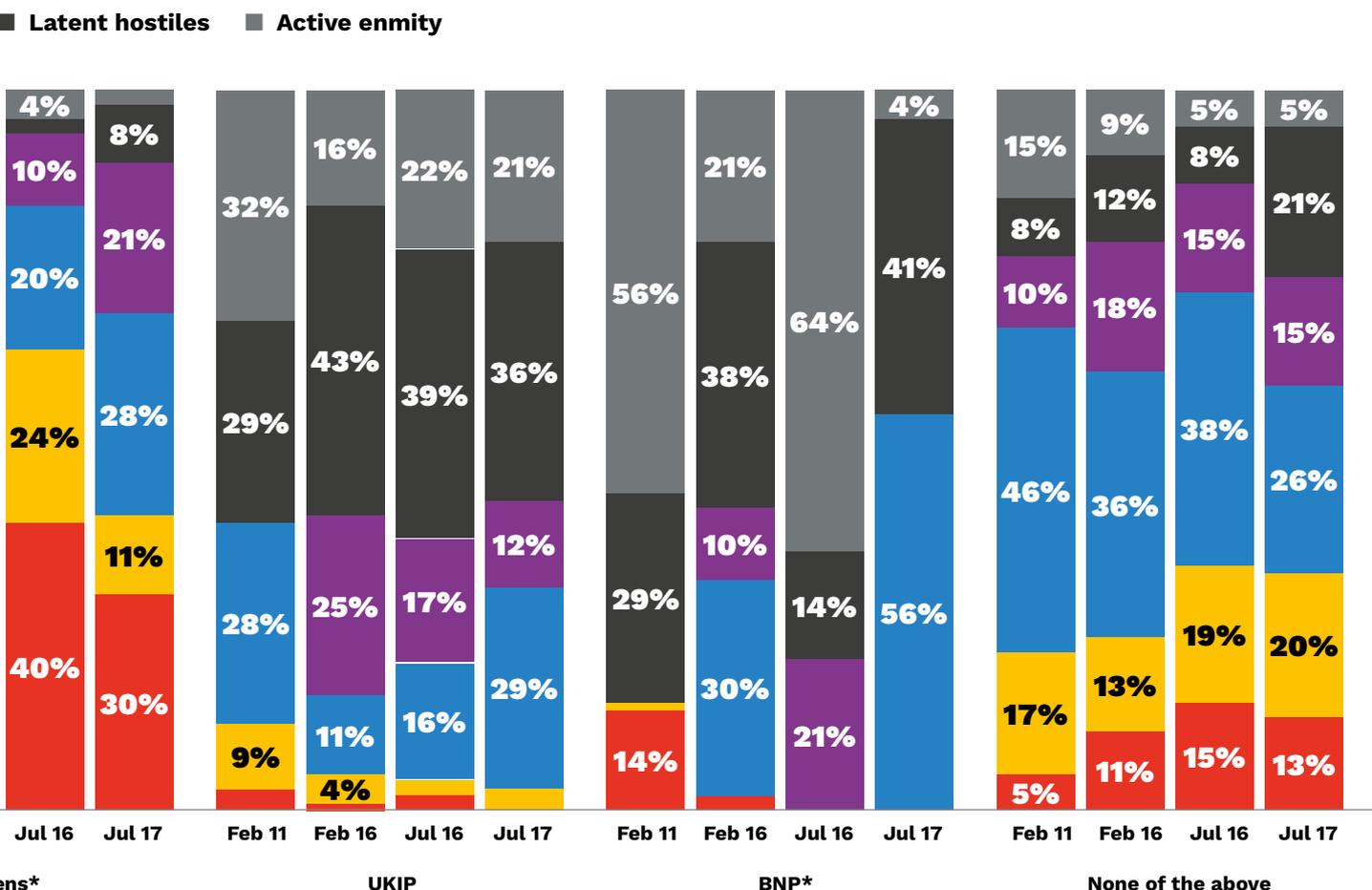


The culturally concerned group are the most likely to feel that Theresa May best represents them, although this is still just a third of the group. Levels of support for May are generally low across all tribes, and it is clear that an older, white section of society remain her key audience.

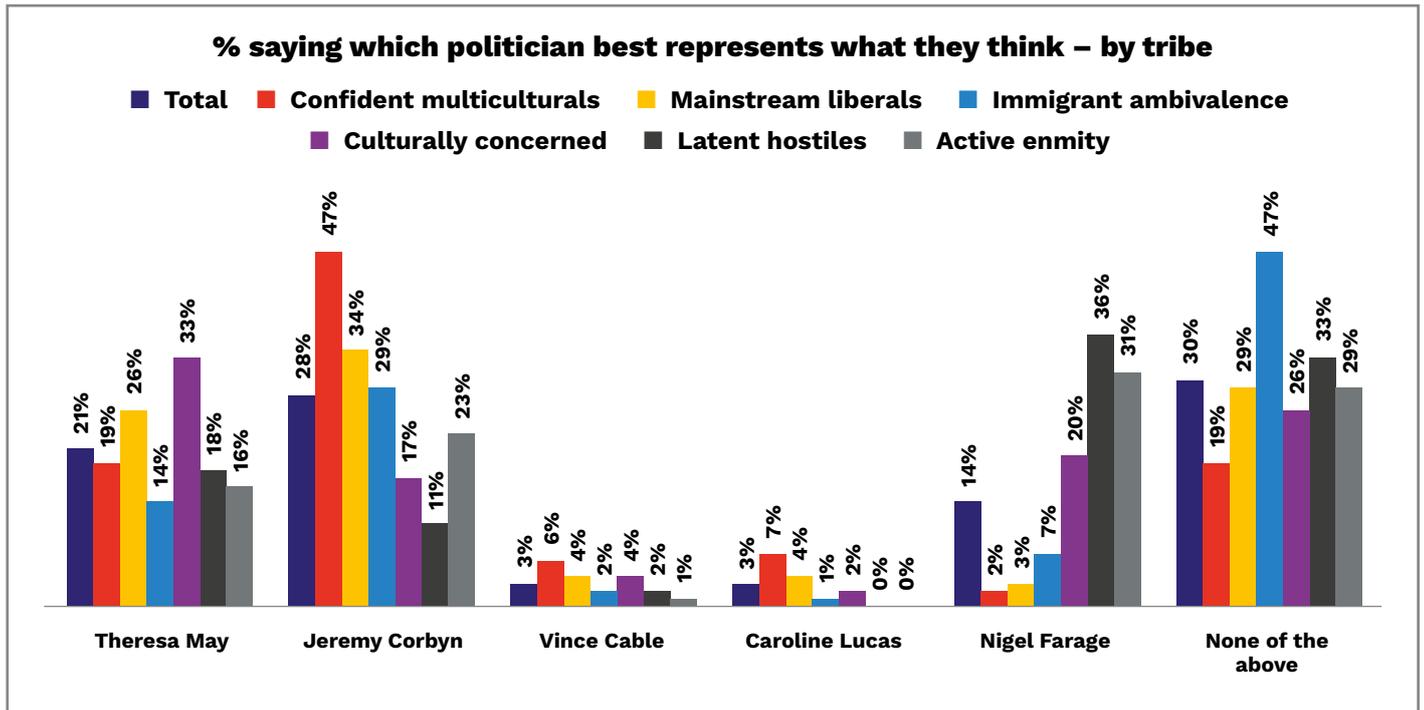
LABOUR

Labour's success at the most recent election was seen by many as a sign that the party had successfully started to move many of those who strayed towards UKIP in the 2010 and 2015 elections back to the 'worker's party', with a manifesto

launched by Corbyn to win back the working class vote. The party's stance on ending free movement as part of Brexit negotiations was seen as an area of compromise for many in order to win this change. But our poll suggests that this may not be the case. The proportion of labour voters belonging to the two more liberal tribes has expanded by 22%; from 30% in 2011, now dominated by a share of 52% of the liberal identity tribes with 35% of their support base coming from those in the tribe with the strongest support for immigration and multiculturalism. Immigrant ambivalents, who tend to be swing voters, predominantly working class and driven by economic concerns, have fallen away from Labour's support



IDENTITY AND POLITICAL LOYALTIES (CONTINUED)



base from 37% in 2011 to just 24% in 2017. The percentage of labour supporters from the two more hostile tribes and from the culturally concerned tribe has decreased steadily between 2011 and 2017.

When asked who best represents them, the popularity of Jeremy Corbyn with young people is stark, reaching 54% of this group. 52% of BAME voters also believe Corbyn best represents their views. He is clearly the most popular political figure among the liberal tribes, but also wins over twice as much support (29%) from immigrant ambivalents as Theresa May (14%). Interestingly, 23% of the active enmity group have also shown their trust in the leader, as 23% of this group feel he best represents them. Corbyn's approach in the most recent election has clearly had some appeal across the spectrum of identity politics.

It is clear that there is a receptive audience in the party for a more vocal pro-migration stance, but it faces challenges in winning votes back from those who do not share this liberal, cosmopolitan outlook, many of whom will come from traditional Labour heartlands. As this report highlights, the country is becoming increasingly divided, and Labour may struggle to balance their base of

support in the liberal tribes while winning back the confidence of those more concerned by immigration but who could be won over by economic aspects of Corbyn's approach.

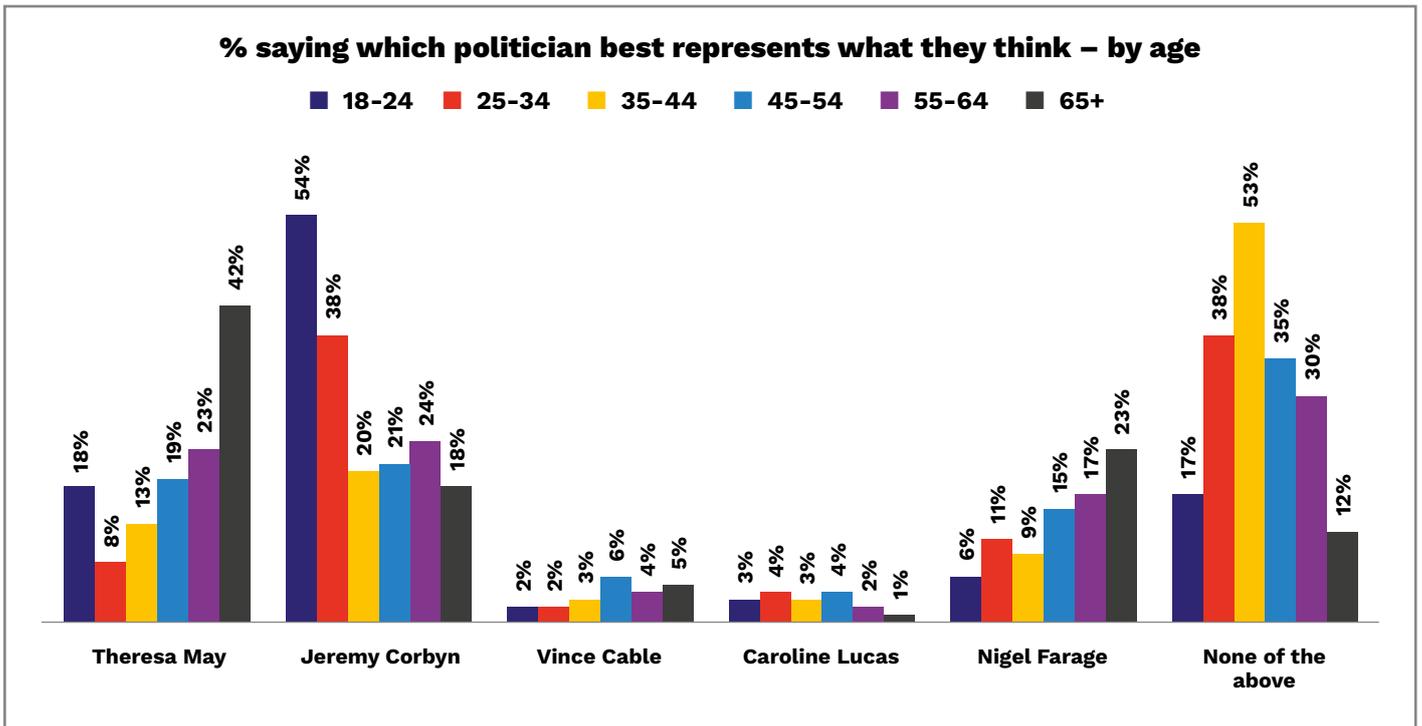
LIBERAL DEMOCRATS

The Lib Dems continue to field most of their support from the two liberal tribes, but despite their anti-Brexit, pro-migration campaign during the snap election, continue to attract voters from the ambivalent and culturally concerned tribes.

The party's downfall from 2010 clearly sets it some issues, which it is yet to fully recover from. Our poll tells us that across the board, people do not feel that Vince Cable best represents them. Corbyn has clearly moved some of the confident multiculturals and mainstream liberals away from this party, despite its stronger commitment to liberal and multicultural values.

UKIP

UKIP's base has remained relatively constant since 2011, still drawing almost two thirds of its supporter

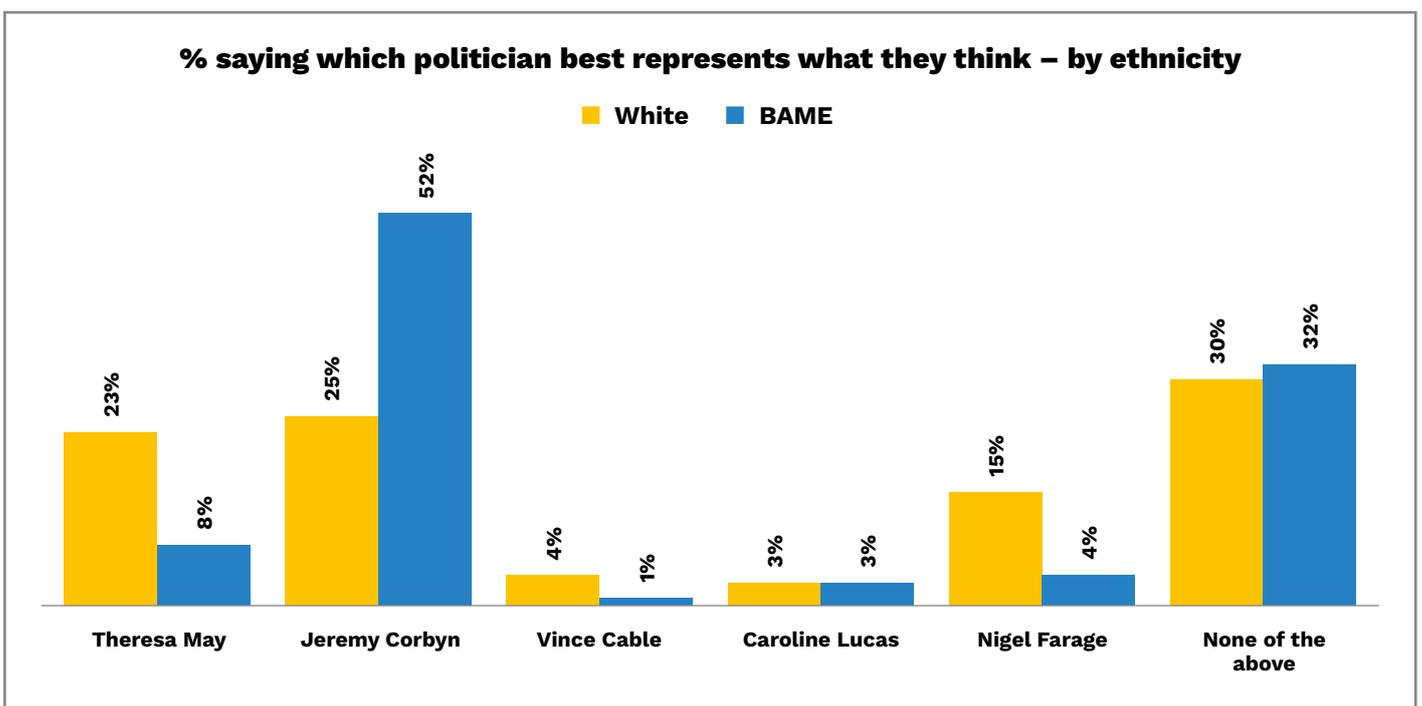


base from the latent hostile (36%) and active enmity tribes (21%) with a small percentage of the party's support coming from the culturally concerned group (12%). Although the rate of immigrant ambivalents supporting UKIP fell in both sets of polling we carried out in 2016, it appears to have been restored, with 29% of the party's base coming from this group.

Farage continues to be seen as representative by many in the more hostile groups, with 31% and 36% in the latent hostile and active enmity groups

respectively believing that he represents them. He is clearly more popular with older white voters than younger and BAME voters.

The decline of UKIP in the last election and political disenfranchisement and reduced support among the hostile tribes for the other main parties pose some concerns about where these tribes, whose rates have remained steady since 2011 will place their loyalties in the future.

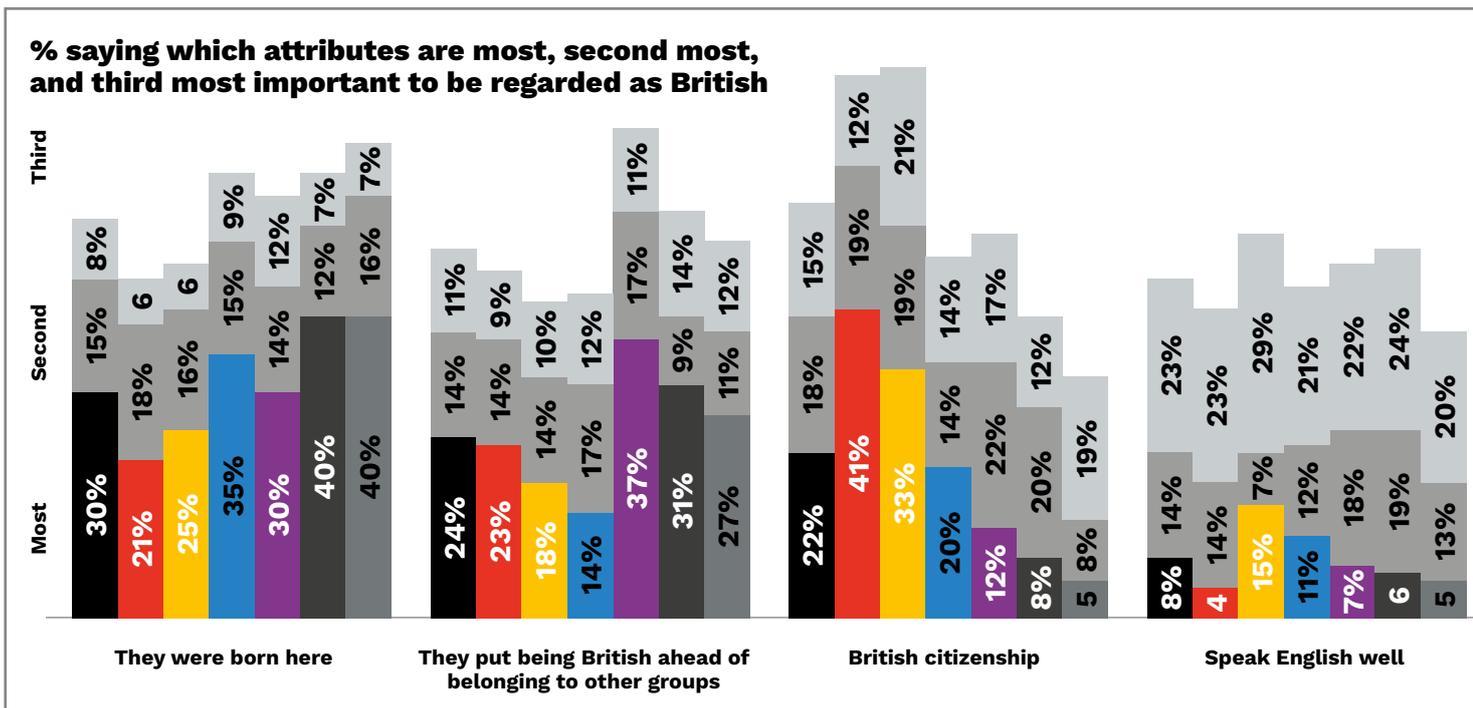


IDENTITY

How people identify themselves tends to be consistent across the tribes, and has seen little shift over time. Most people identify as British rather than English, and national identity remains to be the most important factor in people’s identity, followed by the country you were born in.

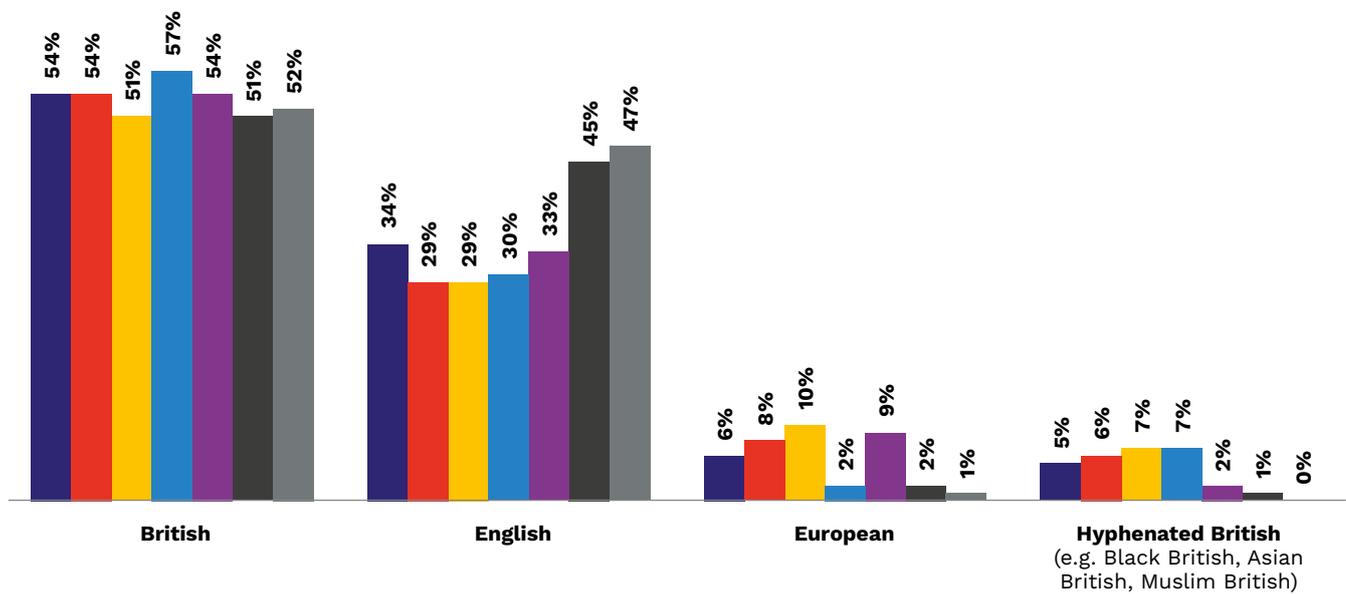
A third of all people believe their nationality is most important to their identity, while 28% agree that the country you were born in is the most important aspect of who they are. This is seen as far more important than religion, ethnicity, the country you live in, or any local identity with a city, town, village or local community. This sense of national belonging

is important in the ways people regard being British, as across tribes, British citizenship, putting British ahead of other identities and being born in the UK are selected as the most important factors to be regarded as British. The more hostile tribes are more likely to select factors such as “parent born here” or “celebrate British holidays” reflecting their anti-immigrant views. These patterns have not changed much since 2011.



% saying how they define themselves

■ Total
 ■ Confident multiculturals
 ■ Mainstream liberals
 ■ Immigrant ambivalence
■ Culturally concerned
 ■ Latent hostiles
 ■ Active enmity



■ Total
 ■ Confident multiculturals
 ■ Mainstream liberals
 ■ Immigrant ambivalence
■ Culturally concerned
 ■ Latent hostiles
 ■ Active enmity



THE MOOD IN 2017

A major divider between our identity ‘tribes’, the extent to which people are optimistic or pessimistic about their own and the country’s future saw a fairly dramatic shift from our first *Fear and HOPE* in 2011 and 5 years later in 2016. In 2011, the effects of the economic crisis and the onset of austerity cuts were clearly felt and more than half of respondents felt that things had worsened for them over the last ten years, while over 80% felt that things had worsened for Britain as a whole. By February 2016, 62% of people felt things were better in their own lives and 40% thought that things in Britain as a whole had improved. In 2017, the trends look set to have continued, as overall 37% of people feel that things are better for Britain as a whole and 61% of people feel that things are better in their own lives.

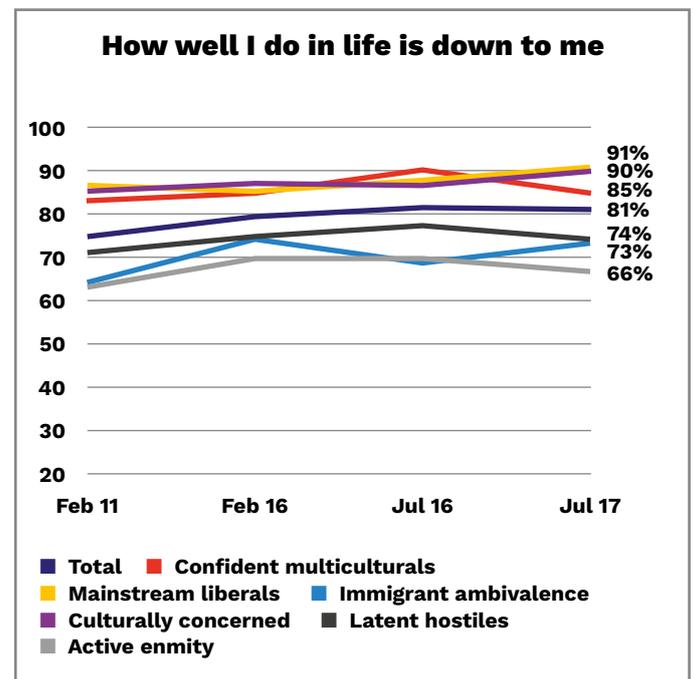
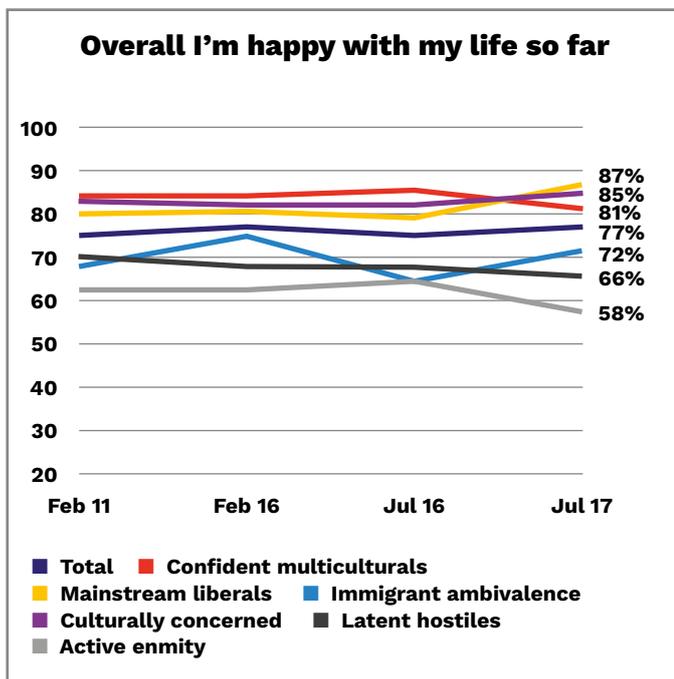
The tribes differ considerably in their outlooks. Confident multiculturals, mainstream liberals and culturally concerned groups are more likely to be comfortable with their own lives than the two more hostile tribes or immigrant ambivalents. They are also more likely to feel in control of their lives. These trends reflect some of the social and demographic differences between the tribes, as immigrant ambivalents are more likely to be in more

economically precarious situations, in social classes C2, D and E – trends that have not changed over the last 6 years.

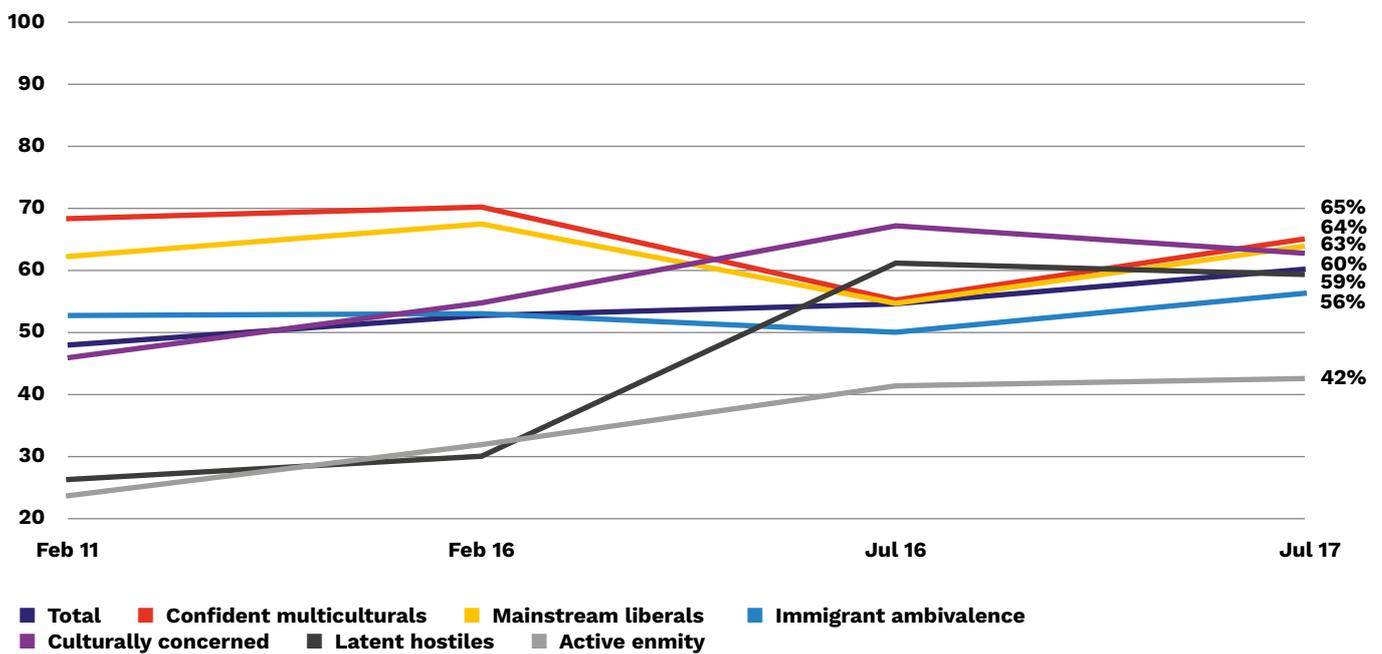
Fear and HOPE 2016 identified a shift towards cautious optimism across all tribes, as economic recovery restored a sense of greater security and contentment. From 2011, where only around a quarter of the hostile tribes felt optimistic about the future, in 2016 pessimism was more of a minority view and optimism increased across the board.

The results of the EU referendum had a clear impact on how people feel about the future, and show just how divisive the referendum result and Brexit process could be. Immediately after the EU referendum, it was clear that some felt change was in the air, while for others, the shock of the result felt like an earthquake that unsettled their outlook on life.

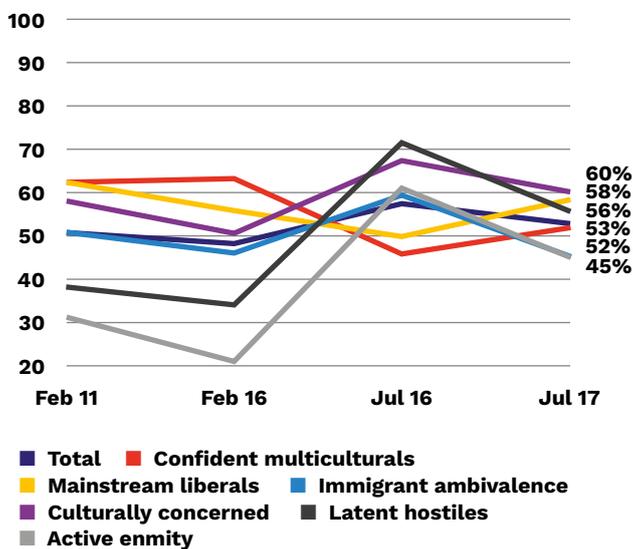
July 2016 saw a surge in economic optimism from the tribes with the most hostile views towards immigration and multiculturalism; latent hostiles, active enmity and culturally concerned groups. Most likely to have voted to leave the European Union, the result of the referendum was seen to offer a window for opportunity for many of these groups.



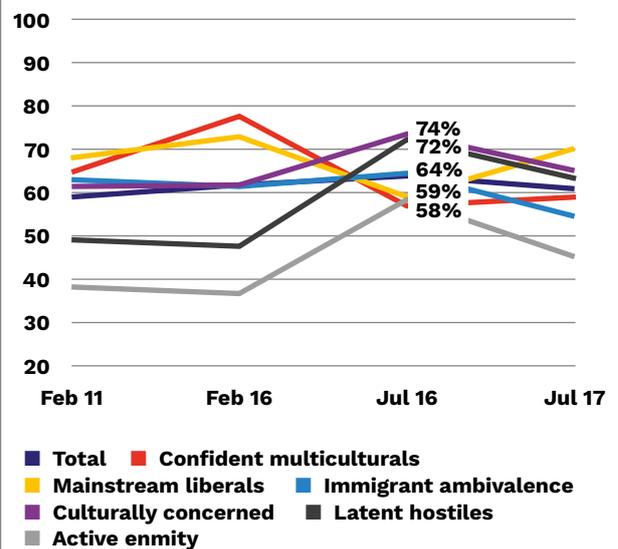
I am optimistic about the future



Things will be better in ten years time for Britain as a whole



Things will be better in ten years time for yourself and your family



THE MOOD IN 2017 (CONTINUED)

The messaging of the leave campaign around control is likely to have resonated with these groups, and it may have seemed that it was finally possible to take control and challenge some of the root factors for the long-standing pessimism of the two hostile groups. By 2017, the realities of the referendum result have levelled off this response, and these groups feel slightly less optimistic about the future.

The patterns of optimism for confident multiculturals and mainstream liberals reflect almost the opposite. The most optimistic in 2011 and becoming more so between 2011 and 2016, the initial shock that many in these groups felt as a result of the referendum result is clear. Confidence among these groups plummeted after the result. Overall optimism for confident multiculturals fell by 5% in 18 months, a trend which was echoed in respect to people's own selves and families as well as Britain from a whole.

In looking forward for the whole country, the two hostile and two liberal tribes have switched places.

Where, in 2011 confident multiculturals and mainstream liberals were the most optimistic about the future for Britain as a whole, in July 2016 these optimists had lost faith, and were taken over by the two hostile tribes. A similar pattern emerges in looking forward for yourself and your family.

However, as the shock has worn off a year on from the Brexit result, the liberal sections of society are recovering. The uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the result has been replaced with a reality of bureaucracy and long-winded negotiations which take some of the sting out of the initial shock. These tribes are slowly picking themselves up, but it is clear there are worries about the future for those who may feel at odds with the majority leave-voters and the situation the country at a whole is now facing.

Immigrant ambivalents have maintained a cautious level of optimism throughout this shift happening around them, although they are showing increasing concerns about their own futures. Their economic sensitivity could be triggered by some of the economic problems that lie ahead in the complex process of leaving the European Union.

CORBYN SUPPORTERS V 2015 UKIP VOTERS

Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party made very little inroads into the 2015 UKIP vote despite the collapse in support of the populist right party and its decision not to contest almost half the parliamentary seats in England.

Our *Fear and HOPE* survey has found that just 15% of people who voted UKIP in 2015 stayed with the party in 2017. Half (49%) defected to the Conservatives and 24% did not vote. Just 7% voted Labour.

Our findings explain the reason why very graphically. While many 2015 UKIP voters would have economically and socially benefited from a Corbyn-led Government, on political and cultural issues the two sets of supporters were miles apart.

On immigration, integration and Muslims, the 2015 UKIP voter is negative and hostile, whilst the Corbyn supporter is generally tolerant and welcoming.

But, as our attitudinal statements show, the Corbyn supporter has a very different outlook on the priorities of society. The Corbyn supporter focuses most on the poor state of the public of the public services and increasing Government intervention, while the 2015 UKIP voter resents money going to groups they believe are undeserving and wants a stronger state and harsher penalties for criminals.

As Labour considers the seats it will need to win to become the next Government, it will have to consider how it reaches out to former UKIP voters in many of its own heartlands who have a very different cultural and political outlook without alienating its new core metropolitan base.

It would seem an impossible circle to square, but one that it will need to do if it is to win a parliamentary majority again.

KEY ■ Jeremy Corbyn ■ 2015 UKIP

British values in decline



The arrival of immigrants has changed my community for the worse



The arrival of immigrants has changed my community for the better



All immigration into Britain should be stopped



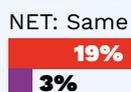
Allow all immigrants into Britain



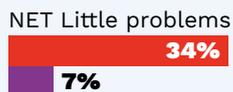
Do you think that it is the role of Government/councils to help British people learn more about other cultures in order to help new immigrants integrate into society?



What extent you think Muslims are similar to you in terms of habits, customs and values?



Do Muslims create problems in the UK (1-5)



Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation



The media is too negative to Muslims



Most Muslim immigrants have successfully integrated into wider British society



Following a terrorist incident, where do your immediate sympathies more naturally lie?

With people who come together to hold a vigil in the belief that it is important to show unity against extremism and terrorism



With people who organise a demonstration calling for stronger action to be taken against extremism and terrorism



Improving integration



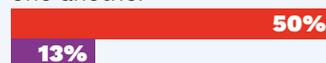
Banning religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa



Children going to schools where there is a mixture of children from different backgrounds



Community initiatives that work to bring people from different backgrounds together so they can get to know one another



Making all immigrants swear an Oath of allegiance embracing British values



Spending more on public services so they support new immigrants and existing communities alike



RESPONSES TO GRENFELL TOWER

We asked some further questions in the 2017 poll to better understand where each tribe sees the locus of economic control, to understand the extent to which different social groups saw the recent Grenfell tower fire as a result of austerity measures and economic inequality.

Overall, the public were divided in discerning the role of economic inequality as a causal factor in the disaster.; 57% of people felt that the fire was not something to make a big political statement from, while 43% felt that the fire was an indictment of Britain’s unequal society where the poor continually lose out.

Young people and BAME respondents were more likely to see Grenfell as a manifestation of wider inequality and the share of these views were considerably different inside and outside of London.

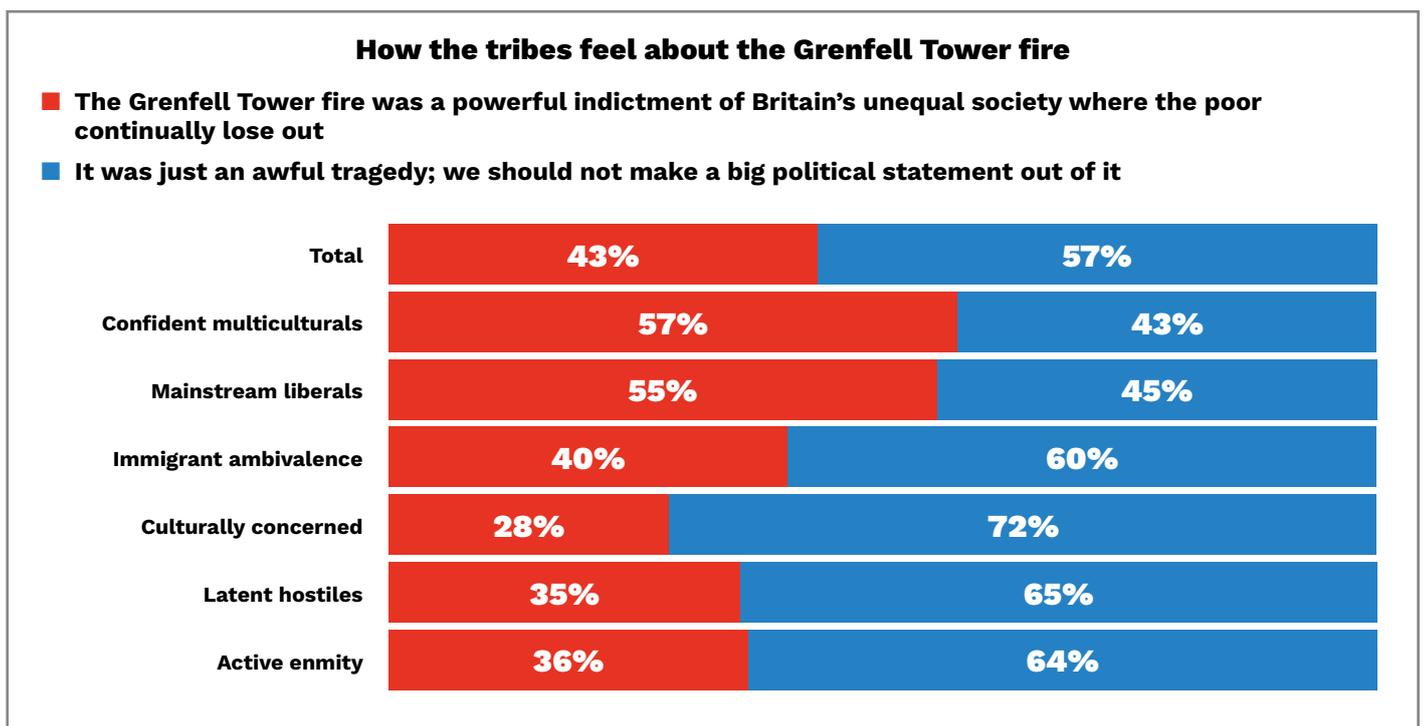
Within the city, 58% of people thought that this was a sign of inequality, while outside of London 59% of people felt that the fire was not something to make a political statement from. Obviously the proximity to the fire, exposure to the disaster in local media, as well as the direct challenges many Londoners face with housing have impacted

their views. But London and the South East also host a population with a larger share of those within the confident multicultural and mainstream liberal tribes than other areas of the country; 18% of respondents from London fit into the confident multicultural or mainstream liberal tribes, disproportionate the amount of Londoners making up all respondents (15%).

The liberal tribes are more likely to see a causal link between social inequality and the Grenfell fire than the other tribes, particularly the culturally concerned group who are more likely to hold an individualistic approach to prosperity.

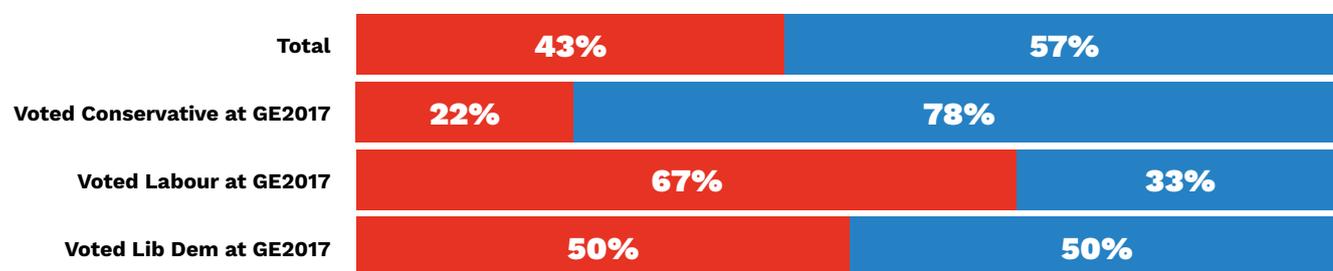
The reaction to Grenfell is also divided along political lines. Two-thirds of those who voted Labour in the recent General Election saw Grenfell as a symbol of wider social inequality, whilst over three-quarters of people who voted Conservative viewed it as a one-off tragedy.

The attitude of the 14% of the population that identified with Nigel Farage took a very similar view to that of the Conservative Party. Those who identified with Jeremy Corbyn unsurprisingly diametrically opposite view.



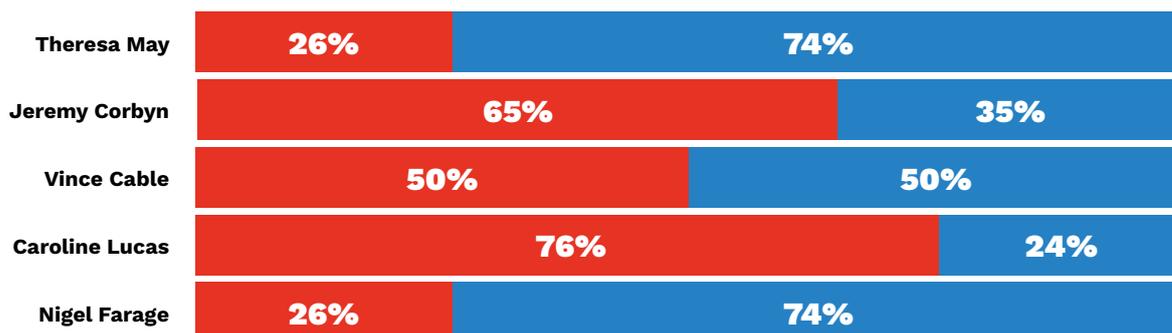
Grenfell Tower by GE2017 voting behaviour

- The Grenfell Tower fire was a powerful indictment of Britain’s unequal society where the poor continually lose out
- It was just an awful tragedy; we should not make a big political statement out of it



How the supporters of our political leaders saw the fire

- The Grenfell Tower fire was a powerful indictment of Britain’s unequal society where the poor continually lose out
- It was just an awful tragedy; we should not make a big political statement out of it



IMMIGRATION

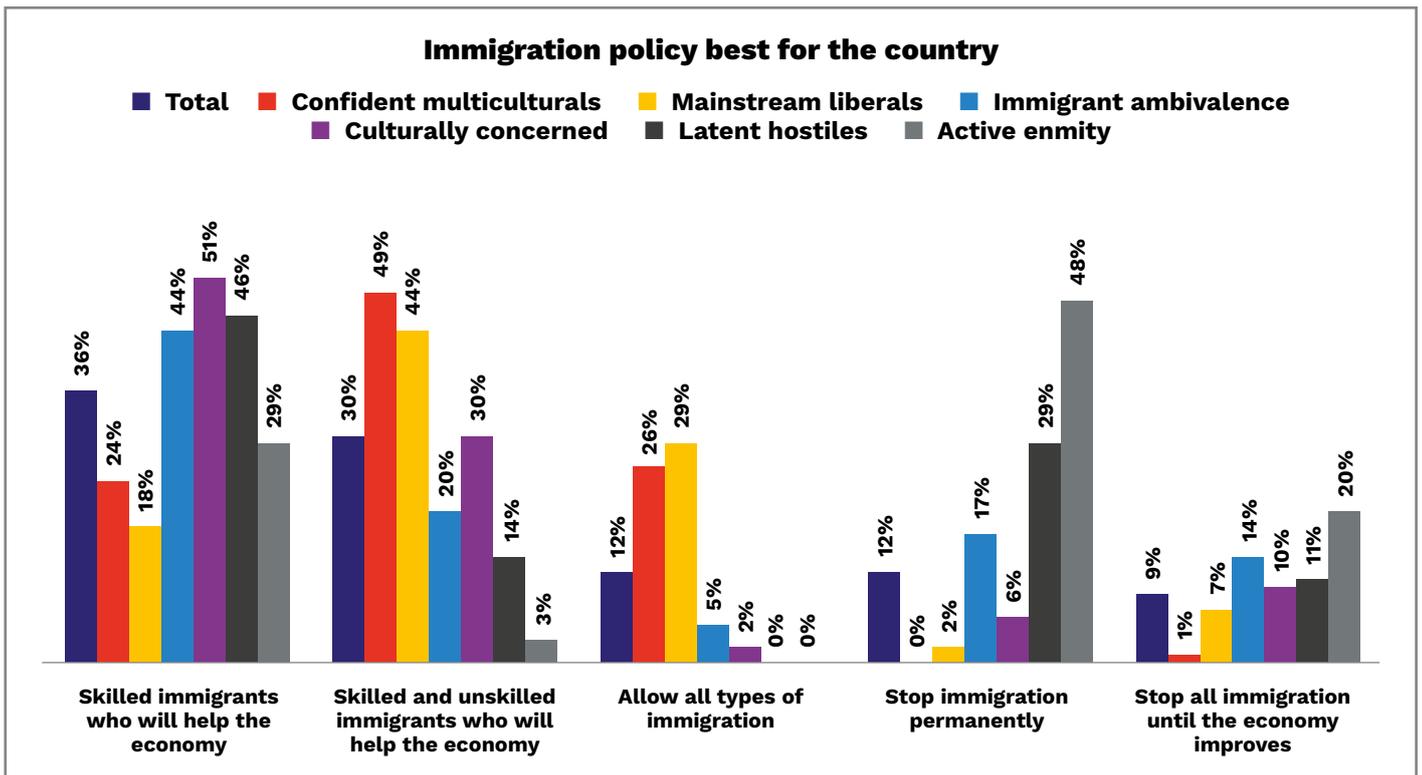
Over the last 6 years, attitudes to immigration have improved gradually, remaining a separating factor between the tribes. The divisions in the way each tribe sees immigration are stark – just 4% of the active enmity tribe believe immigration has been good for the country while 96% of the confident multicultural group agree with this statement. But between 2011 and February 2016, attitudes towards immigration became more liberal and positive with an overall of 50% believing immigration had been good for the country – up from 40% in 2011. This total now stands at 55% – the majority of people in Britain are now seeing immigration as having a more positive than negative effect on the country. The ‘anxious middle’ are increasingly likely to see the benefits of immigration but most believe that this is best managed through a system of selective openness. This has not changed dramatically over time, although there is a small increase in the amount of people favouring a more open system. In February 2016, 27% of people favoured a system

allowing skilled and unskilled migrants who will help the economy into the country, up to 30% in 2017 and the overall percentage of those favouring an open system to all types of migration has increased from 9% to 12% over the same period.

Those wanting to stop all immigration permanently are in the minority at just 12%, but rates have remained the same since February 2016, down from 18% in 2011.

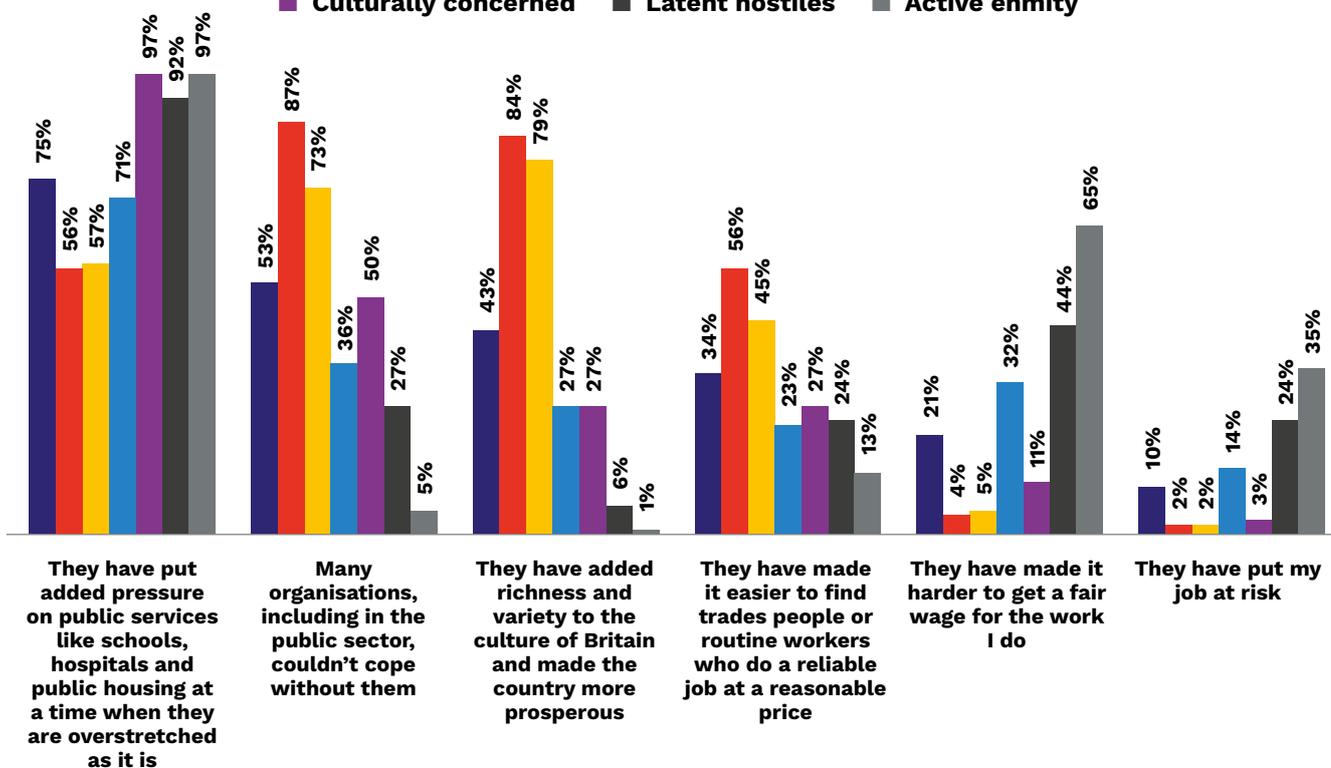
The impacts of immigration are seen differently by the tribes, and economic concerns are at the forefront of minds in the more hostile tribes, whereas confident multiculturals and mainstream liberals focus more on the positive effects of cultural diversity.

The social class divisions and economic inequities between the tribes are worth considering here. Public sector spending cuts over the last few years are most likely to have been felt by the C2, DE weighting of the culturally concerned, Latent Hostiles,



Statements about immigrants

■ Total ■ Confident multiculturals ■ Mainstream liberals ■ Immigrant ambivalence
 ■ Culturally concerned ■ Latent hostiles ■ Active enmity



and Active Enmity. 66% of active enmity, 54% of latent hostiles and 50% of the culturally concerned group are within these social strata which have been disproportionately hit by public expenditure cuts. These people are more likely to receive tax credits or other welfare assistance and use local and public services which have been hit by austerity measures and so these groups are most concerned about the pressures immigration may put on public services.

This has seen a shift since 2011, where the level of C2, D and Es in the immigrant ambivalent group has fallen from 54% to 47% in 2017. The makeup of the culturally concerned group has changed substantially from 32% C2, DE in 2011 to 50% in 2017. This has given the culturally concerned tribe a greater focus on the economic impacts of immigration.

The active enmity group and latent hostiles are among the most likely to be in precarious work or out of work but not retired. The proportion of the active enmity tribe looking after family and home is far greater than among any of the other tribes (14%, with an average of 4% among all tribes), are more likely to be long term sick or disabled (7% compared to an average among all tribes of 4%), unemployed (5% compared to 4% total average) or working part time (16% compared to a 14% average among all tribes). This may explain why 65% of this group feel that immigration has made it harder to get a fairer wage for the work I do, and why 35% feel that their job has been put at risk by immigration.

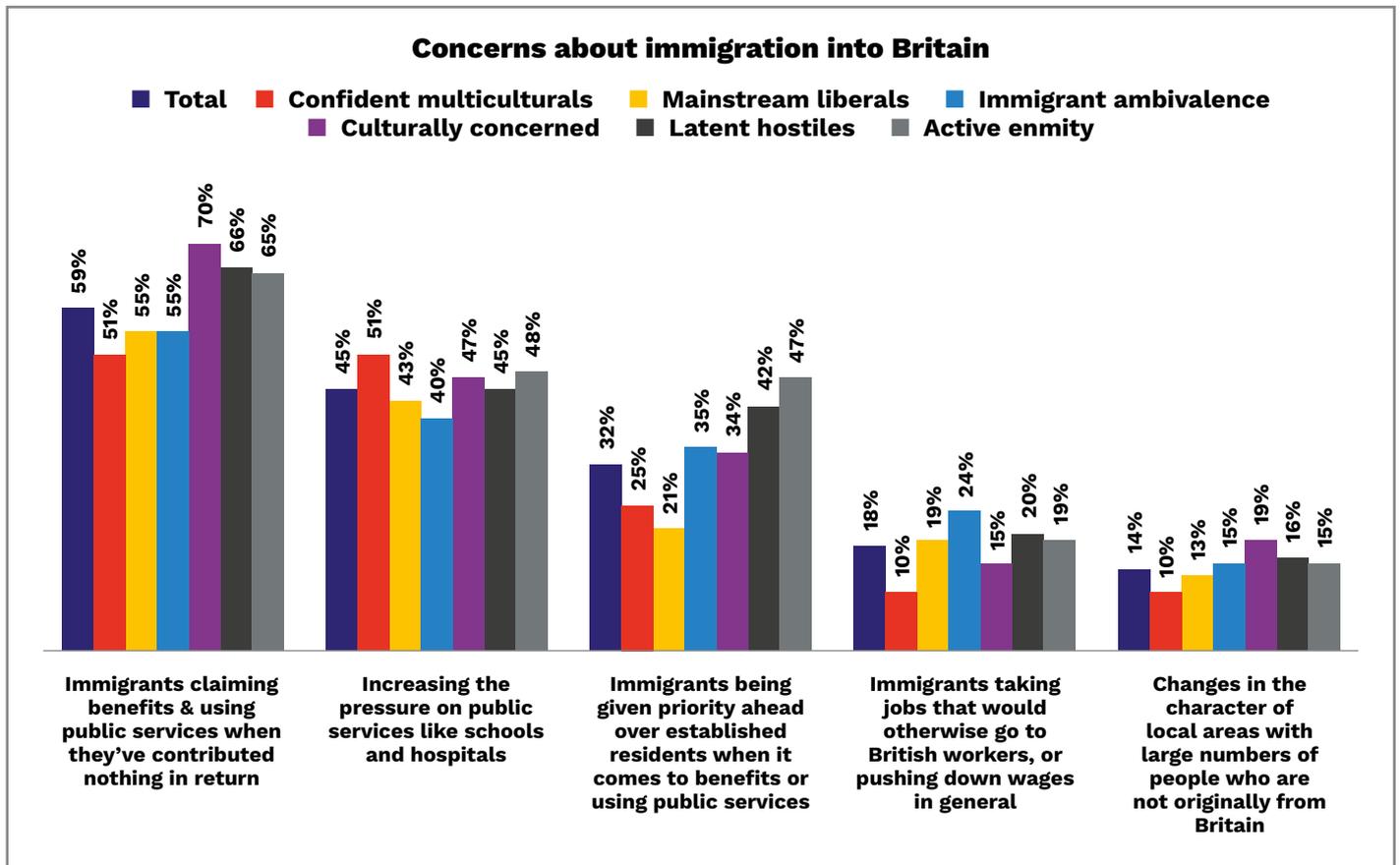
They are also less likely to agree that immigrants are more willing to do jobs that British people want

IMMIGRATION (CONTINUED)

to do than they were straight after the referendum. This could be a hardened view in response to negotiations, again an unwillingness to enter trade-offs on immigration.

Concerns about immigration are relatively similar across the different tribes, which has equalled out since February 2016, where the tribes held more divided perceptions. The proportion of the active enmity group most concerned by immigrants claiming benefits and using public services has decreased by 10% in 18 months, indicating a shift in the tribe. Total concerns about immigrants claiming benefits without contributing has increased by 1% to 59%; overall concerns about pressure on public services have fallen by 3% to 45%, worries about immigrants being prioritised have fallen by 3%, worries about wage changes and jobs have remained at the same level, as have concerns around changes to the character of local areas.

The levelling out of concerns among all tribes indicates room to address concerns about immigration in a way that wins consensus from all. Given the divided outlook of our tribes in many other aspects, this indicates space for positive consensus moving forward.



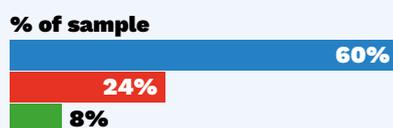
GRADUATES VS. NON-GRADUATES

Many commentators were quick to draw comparisons between those holding university degrees and non-graduates following the EU referendum, and graduates have long been seen to have distinctive attitudes from the wider public. The experience of going to university is considered a strong influencer on attitudinal outlook, fostering more liberal perspectives towards others, particularly around immigration. There is a consensus among experts that those with a degree are the least likely to feel immigration has a negative effect on Britain's economy or cultural life and the least likely to support a reduction in immigrant numbers.

Our poll reflects these patterns, and graduates are disproportionately concentrated in the two more liberal tribes, with very few identifying with the active enmity group. They are generally more optimistic and were much more likely to have voted to remain in the European Union, and to have voted at all, than those with a secondary school education (those with primary education or non-formal education have been omitted due to small size of their sample).

75% of those possessing a higher university degree believe that immigration has been good for the country compared to just 46% of people with secondary education. Graduates are more likely to be open to other cultures, the vast majority seeing diversity as an integral part of British society.

Interestingly, those with higher degrees seem to have responded with greater resilience to the most recent terror attacks than 'non-graduates' or those with a university degree. Only 23% of this highly educated group say that the attacks have increased their suspicion towards Muslims compared to 40% of degree holders or 44% of non-graduates.



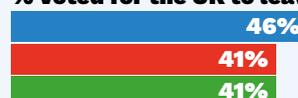
KEY

- Secondary school or equivalent
- University degree or equivalent
- Higher university degree (Doctorate, Masters)

% voted for the UK to remain in the EU



% voted for the UK to leave the EU



% I didn't vote in the EU referendum



Overall, I'm happy with my life so far



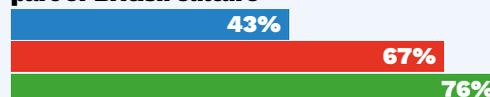
There's a place for every kind of person in this country



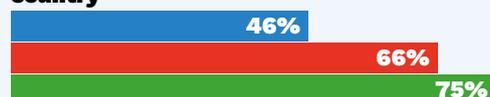
Some people are just too different to fit in



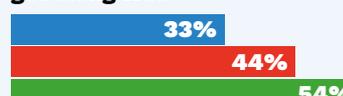
Having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures is part of British culture



On the whole, immigration has been a good thing for the country



In general the ethnic groups that make up this country get along well



NET agree: The recent terrorist attacks have increased my suspicion of Muslims in Britain



MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION

There are some clear cultural concerns about Britain as a whole that stretch across the spectrum of identity politics. Each of the identity ‘tribes’ hold concerns that British values are in decline, although these are stronger among the more hostile tribes.

The hostile tribes are more likely to hold immigration accountable for this decline, as they tend to see the strength of British values in stability, not cultural adaption. 62% of active enmity and 67% of latent hostiles agree that stability gives strength to British values.

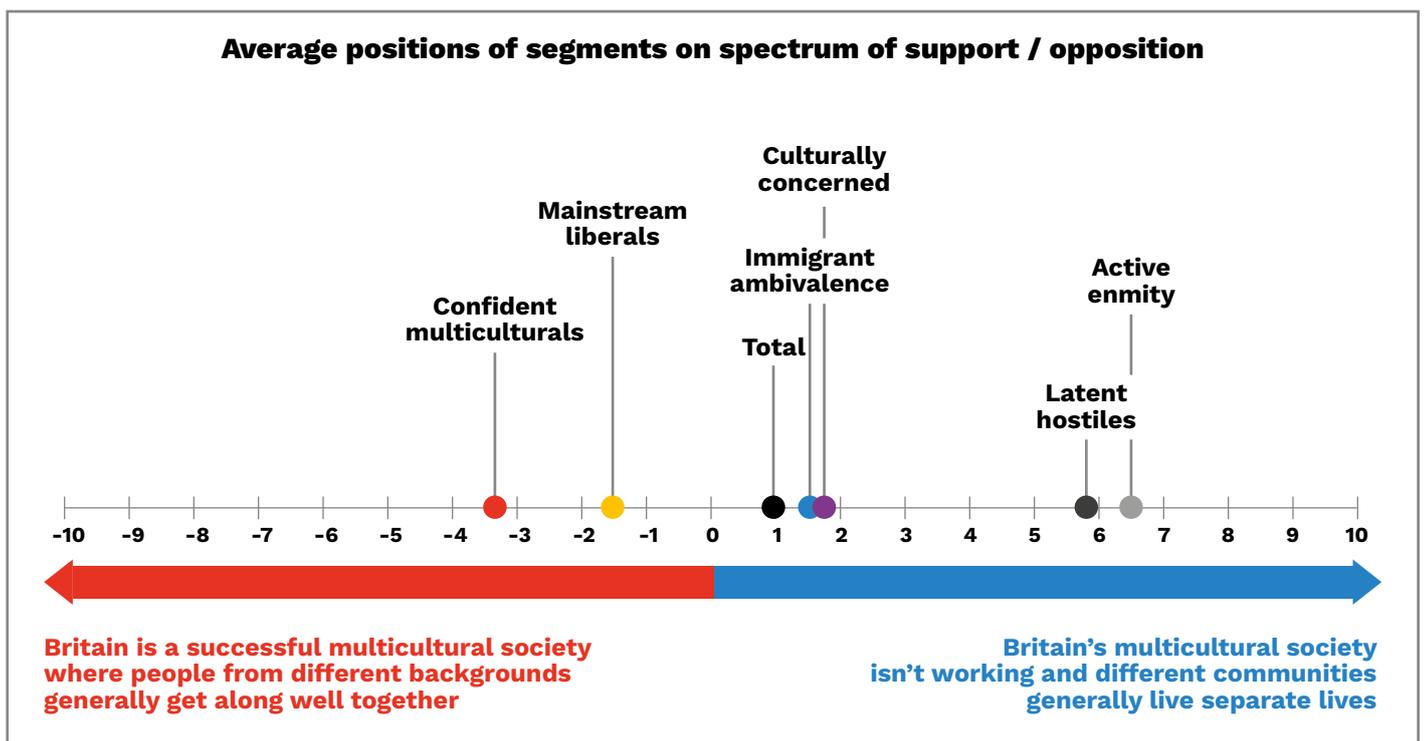
However their views on this are not extreme from the majority, as 46% of all respondents would agree with this statement. There has been a shift in thinking on this question among the mainstream liberal and culturally concerned tribes a year on from the EU referendum. These tribes are increasingly likely to see the importance of stability in British values.

The country is split across the spectrum of identity politics in their belief that Britain’s multicultural

society has been a success. The two liberal tribes distance themselves from the other groups on this, both firmly agreeing that multiculturalism in Britain has been positive. Unsurprisingly, the two hostile tribes sit on the other side of this scale leaving the mainstream middle, and the overall average, leaning toward a more negative view of multiculturalism.

Of course, multiculturalism is a vague term and our February 2016 report showed that the tribes define multiculturalism differently, with the more hostile tribes feeling that multiculturalism poses a threat to society.

But comparing attitudes to community relations from July 2016 and July 2017 shows an encouraging change in the way people see their local community. The total of people seeing their community as peaceful and friendly has increased from 69% to 76% in just 18 months, and even among the active enmity tribe, those feeling positive about where they live has increased from 46% to 60%.



Looking at ways to improve integration and community relations, the tribes generally select approaches which reinforce their overall outlook on identity. Active enmity and latent hostiles are likely to believe that low numbers of migrants leads to better community relations, unsurprising given that 91% of the active enmity tribe feel that new immigrants don't want to integrate and 83% of the same group feel that the arrival of immigrants has changed their local community for the worse. On the other side, 65% of confident multiculturalists believe that interaction between children of different ethnic groups and classes improves community relations.

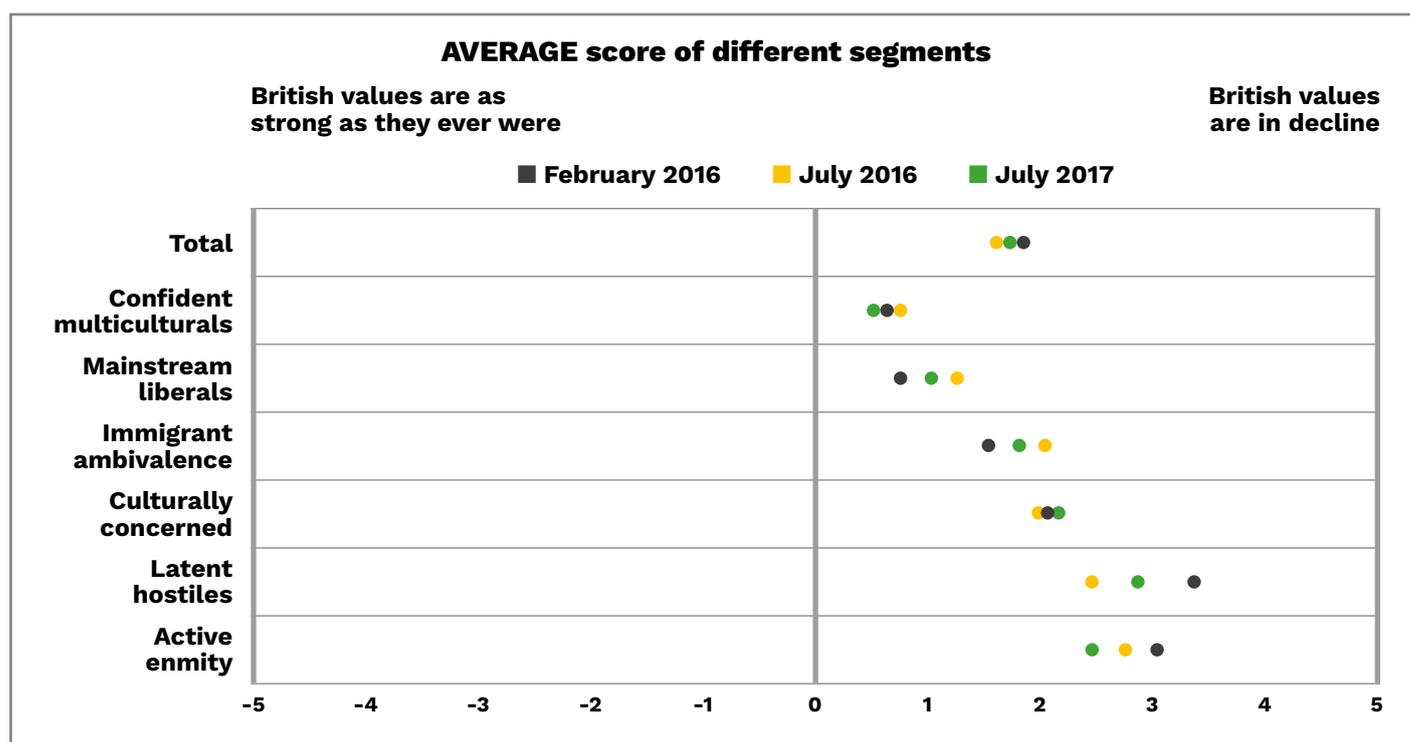
But there is also some consensus among the tribes about what works to improve community relations. Low crime rates are considered important by 42% of people, consistent across the tribes, and 29% of people feel that quality jobs for local people make communities flourish.

This is seen as more important by active enmity (44%)

who are more likely to be economically pessimistic and in precarious work positions themselves. Good public services are seen as important by 36% of all respondents, with agreement across all the tribes. Good public spaces are also considered important by 24% of all people.

49% of all people agree that everyone speaking English is an important factor in improving community relations, the most popular response overall – although this is seen as more important among those in the culturally concerned, latent hostile and active enmity groups who have greater cultural concerns about immigration, and may feel threatened by the changing sounds of an increasingly diverse population.

Despite reaching a consensus on many aspects of community relations, the tribes are divided over what integration means, and who should be responsible for ensuring good community relations. Overall, just 36% of people believe that the government and local



MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION (CONTINUED)

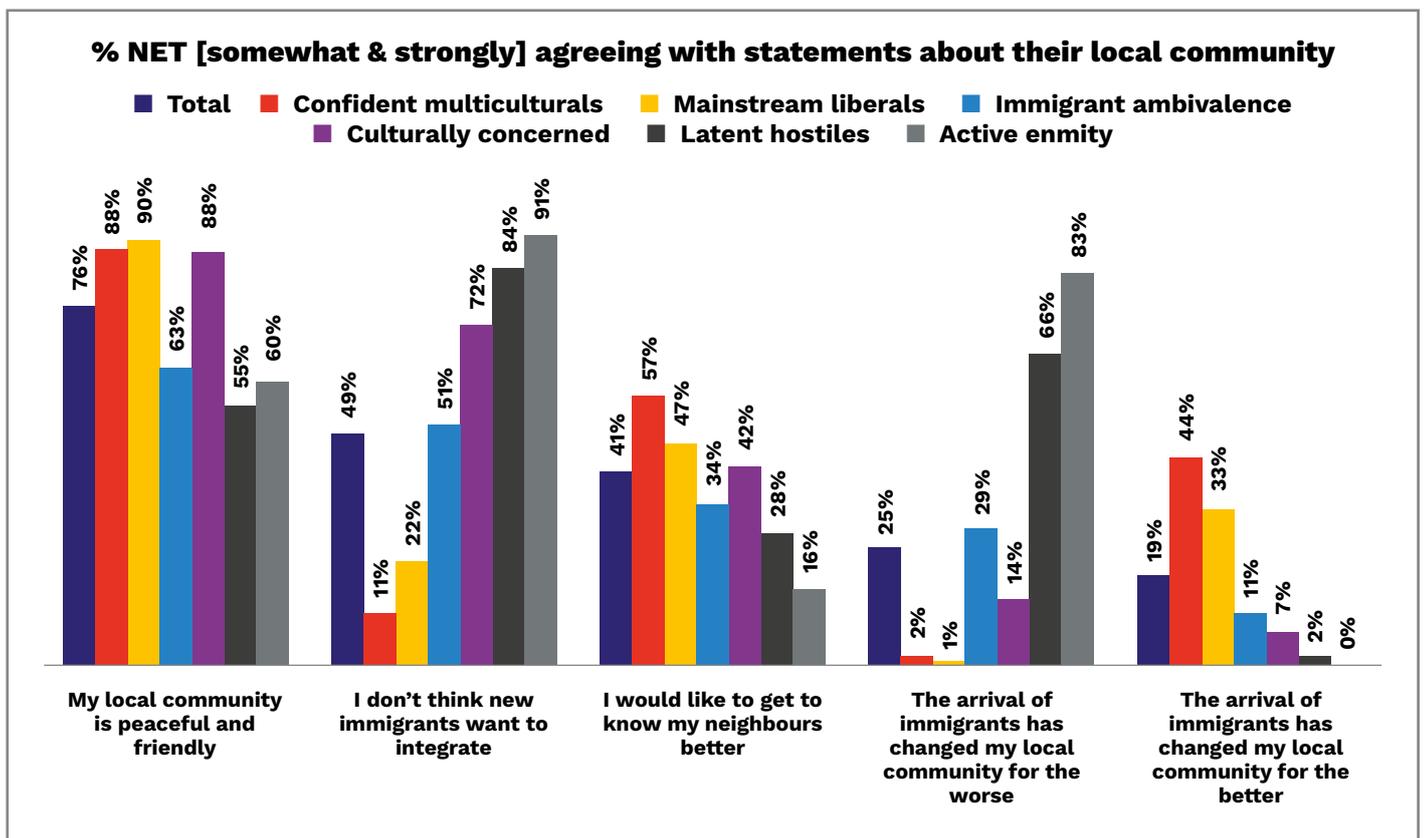
councils have a responsibility to support British people in learning more about other cultures to welcome new migrants into our communities, 43% of people opposing this approach to integration.

The support base for a government-led approach is weighted in the more liberal tribes – 62% of confident multiculturals agree while 72% of the active enmity tribe oppose this.

This reveals an unwillingness of some tribes to see integration as a responsibility of both receiving communities and migrants themselves. Among the culturally concerned, 55% do not feel that local people should be supported in learning more about other cultures, unsurprising given their individualistic approach to public spending and concerns about the demise of British culture. But this pattern could also be a reflection of the tribes’ broader economic attitudes and an overarching discontentment

with the government and local authorities. People identifying with the more hostile tribes are more likely to be economically pessimistic, which combined with their resentment of immigrants would explain an unwillingness to commit public spending towards welcoming newcomers.

Overall, the country is divided over integration and it is clear that this will be a key issue in the coming years. Even among the liberal tribes, confidence that integration is working in Britain is waning and discontent is loud among culturally concerned and hostile groups. More positively, there is some consensus across the spectrum of identity politics as to how integration could be improved. Improving the environment for everyone in the community, reducing pressures on public services and providing opportunities for people of different backgrounds to mix will all draw support across tribes.





BANNING THE BURQA?

46% of English people support the “banning of religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa” as a way of encouraging better integration.

While older people supported this position in greater numbers, a third of 18-24 year olds also backed this position.

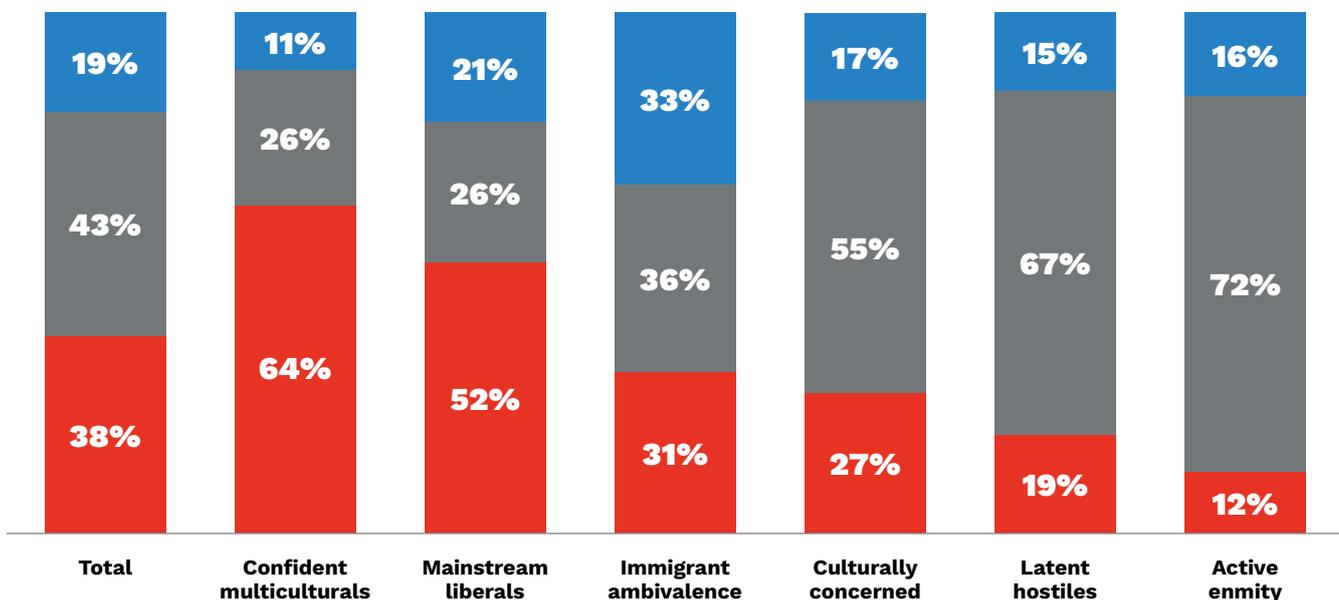
Unsurprisingly, the vast majority of Muslims rejected this, with only 15% backing it, and Jews, Hindus and Sikhs also overwhelmingly opposed the idea. Just over half, 55%, of Christians supporting the banning of religious clothing.

Muslims were far keener on children from going different backgrounds going to school together. Six out of ten Muslims supported this mixing at school as a way to improve integration, compared to a national average of 39%.

Three-quarters of Muslims thought it was important that new immigrants had compulsory English classes, again substantially higher than the national average.

Do you think that it is the role of Government/councils to help British people learn more about other cultures in order to help new immigrants integrate into society?

■ Yes ■ No ■ Don't know



THE ATTITUDES OF ENGLAND BAME POPULATION

England's minority communities are more positive about their current situation and more optimistic about the future than their white counterparts.

Almost half identify themselves as "British", but just 11% define themselves as "English". This compares to 40% of white people.

Religion (30%) and ethnicity (24%) are the two most important factors in determining their identity. White people, on the other hand, prioritise their nationality and the country in which they were born.

Interestingly, BAME people are 50% more insistent that new immigrants should speak English well than the white population. They are also more likely to see paying taxes and have British citizenship as important to improving integration than their white counterparts.

However, on many other issues, the views of England's BAME community differ little from the population at large. Twenty-two per cent of BAME respondents said that the arrival of new immigrants had made their community worse, just 3% less than white people. There is similarly little difference in their views on what future immigration policy should be or the economic impact of immigration on jobs.

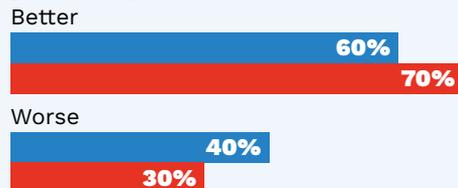
As expected, BAME voters backed Labour in far greater numbers than their white counterparts. However, what is particularly interesting is that more BAME voters backed Labour in 2017 (and consequently fewer voted Conservative) than in 2015. This reverses the trend of recent elections where a growing number of BAME voters backed the Conservatives. The BAME rejection of the Conservatives highlights the shift of the party to the right and its policy of supporting a hard Brexit and a sharp reduction in immigration.

On integration and tackling extremism and terrorism, BAME respondents generally chose the more liberal and community-focused options as opposed to the more authoritarian alternatives. Twice as many believed the Government should fund initiatives to bring communities together isolating extremists and building unity amongst people of different backgrounds.

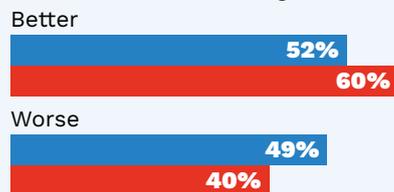
The one exception was on making learning English compulsory for all new immigrants, with 59% saying it was a priority compared to 54% for white respondents.



Do you think that, overall, things in ten years' time will be better or worse that they are now for yourself and your family?



Do you think that, overall, things in ten years' time will be better or worse that they are now for Britain as a whole



Which of these influences would say is most important to your identity?



Which of these things do you think is most important for someone to be regarded as British



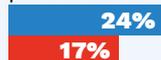
Their parents were born here



They have British citizenship



They put being British/English ahead of belonging to a particular ethnic or religious group



They celebrate British holidays and special occasions



They pay taxes



IMMIGRATION

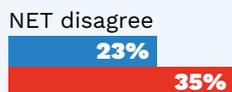
The arrival of immigrants has changed my local community for the worse



The arrival of immigrants has changed my local community for the better



I don't think new immigrants want to integrate



Which policies on immigration do you think is best for this country



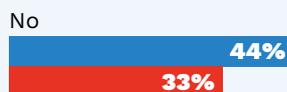
We should only allow in skilled and unskilled immigrants who will help the economy



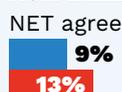
We should all all types of immigration



Do you think it is the role of Government/councils to help British people learn more about other cultures in order to help new immigrants integrate into society?



New immigrants have put my job at risk



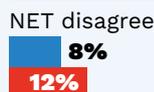
New immigrants have made it harder to get a fair wage for the work I do



New immigrants have made it easier to find trades people or routine workers who do a reliable job at a reasonable price

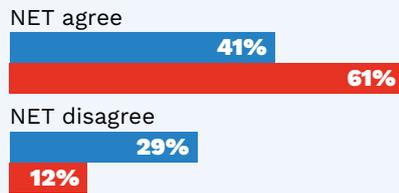


New immigrants have put pressure on public services and public housing at a time when they are overstretched

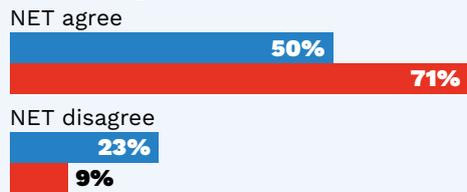


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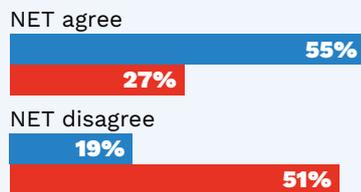
New immigrants have added richness and variety to the culture of Britain and made the country more prosperous



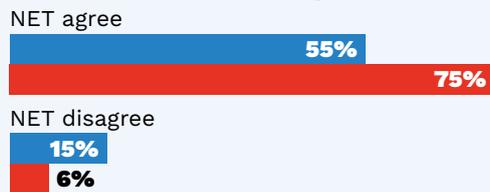
Many organisations, including in the public sector, couldn't cope without them



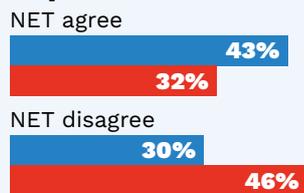
Islam is a serious threat to Western civilisation



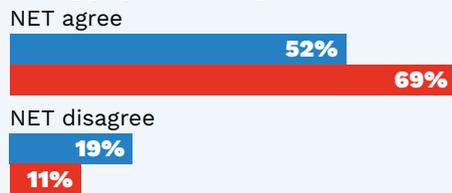
Discrimination is a serious problem for Muslim



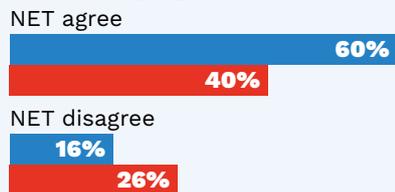
The recent terrorist attacks have increased my suspicion of Muslims in Britain



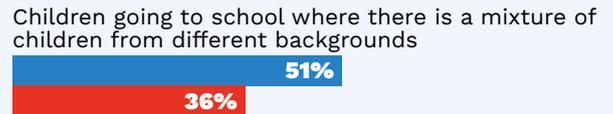
I have noticed the Muslim community leaders have strongly spoken out against the attacks



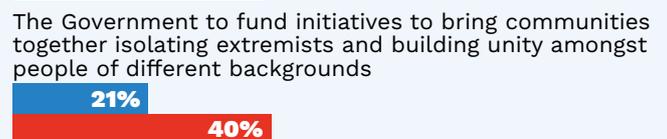
I would be willing to relax some of our human rights laws to help fight terrorism



Which of these policies would do most to help encourage better integration



Which of these policies would do most to help in the fight against extremism



THE ATTITUDES OF BRITISH MUSLIMS

British Muslims share many of the same anxieties and stresses as other groups in society, but on some issues they are vastly different.

British Muslims are slightly more optimistic about their own situation than society overall, with 67% believing that life had got better for themselves and their families in the last 10 years, compared to 61% generally. Again, slightly more Muslims thought life would get better for themselves and their families over the next 10 years than their fellow compatriots.

Faith is very important to British Muslims, with 63% describing it as the most important influence in determining their identity, compared to 9% in society overall and just 5% of white people.

There are very mixed attitudes towards immigration amongst British Muslims. A third believe that all immigration should be allowed into the country (compared to 12% overall) but 11% wanted to stop all immigration all together, which was almost identical to the national average.

Interestingly, only 4% of Muslims accurately guessed that just 5% of the population was Muslim, a far lower level than the 13% of society overall who guessed right. Almost half of Muslims (45%) said that they did not know the true figure, or guessed it at above the national average.

The Labour Party's support among Muslims remains high, with 52% of those questioned saying that they backed the party, compared to 26% nationally, and just 3% backed the Tories. This was a substantial change on 2015, when 19% said that they voted Conservative and just 33% voted Labour.

Four times as many Muslims said that they couldn't remember how they voted in June compared to the nation overall.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, British Muslims strongly believe that the Government should be doing more to support positive initiatives to promote integration, do more to tackle anti-Muslim hatred and isolate extremism by bringing communities together.

Three quarters of Muslims (74%) believed that speaking English should be compulsory for all new immigrants, which was substantially more than society at large. However, only 4% believed that newcomers should be made to swear an oath of allegiance embracing British values.

Muslims feel vulnerable to any Government policy which they believe could be used against their community or even themselves. Only 31% of Muslims would support the Government removing citizenship from anyone who goes abroad to fight for a terrorist group. Among society as a whole this figure is 67%. Only 43% of Muslims would be willing to relax some of their human rights laws to help fight terrorism and just 12% thought the Government should have more power to monitor emails and social media accounts.

Nearly all Muslims (96%) noticed that Muslim leaders had publicly condemned terrorism after the recent terrorist attacks, while just 57% (compared to 76% overall) thought that Muslim communities should do more to more to oppose Islamist extremism. Perhaps because of the public condemnation of recent attacks, this latter figure was down on 2016, when 66% of Muslims thought their community should do more.

There was a lot of sympathy towards the victims of the Grenfell disaster, with almost two-thirds of Muslims believing the Grenfell tower fire was a powerful indictment of Britain's unequal society where the poor continually lose out. Nationally, only 43% of English people agreed with this sentiment.

A quarter of Muslims felt more suspicious of their fellow Muslims after the recent terrorist attacks, though 71% disagreed.

While a majority of Muslims believed that anti-racist groups should also tackle other forms of extremism, including Islamist extremism, this figure was lower than for society generally.

RELIGION

Since 2011, our *Fear and HOPE* data has tracked a shift in public anxiety from race and racism to Islamophobia and religious discrimination. Muslims have become the focus of much of the public's concerns about diversity and cultural change, increasingly linked to extremist activity carried out by a small minority. Each of our polls has reflected this; in February 2016, 75% of people felt that religious abuse was increasing, an increase of 4% since 2011.

In 2017, Muslims continue to be regarded as uniquely different from the majority British public. Just 10% of the total public believe Muslims are similar to them, and even among the diversity celebrating confident multiculturals, just under a quarter feel Muslims are similar to them.

The degree to which people feel Muslims are similar to themselves has increased from February 2016, with the exception of the confident multicultural group, who again could be seen to harden their liberal views in the face of Brexit.

This is a worrying trend – while overall attitudes towards different groups in society have improved since 2011 and attitudes towards Muslims improved between 2011 and February 2016, over the last 18 months anxieties about Islam have returned to the same levels as in 2011.

The degree to which each tribe claims to have contact with different religious groups differs among tribes, whereby active enmity (35%) and latent hostiles (34%) are most likely to claim having daily contact with Muslims than the other tribes (confident multiculturals 29%, mainstream liberals 19%, immigrant ambivalence 24%, culturally concerned 24%).

But this difference does not necessarily reflect real or meaningful contact. The population as a whole are likely to overestimate the proportion of Muslims in Britain, 39% of people across tribes overemphasise the prevalence of Islam in British society, while just 13% estimate the correct 5%. The more hostile tribes are most likely to overestimate the proportion of the population who are Muslim. 23% of the active enmity tribe believe that 20% of the population in 2017 are now Muslim, far above the actual incidence.

In terms of meaningful contact, the more liberal tribes are more likely to say that they know people of different religions than the more hostile groups. 64% of confident multiculturals claim to know Muslims well, while just 44% of the active enmity group would claim this to be true.

Perceptions that Muslims create problems in the world had decreased from 52% to 36% between 2011 and 2016, but remains a common perception, increasing to 44% in 2017. Mistrust of Muslims has increased rapidly over the last 18 months, likely in response to the most recent extremist attacks on London and Manchester.

At the same time, the reasons behind this mistrust have remained constant over the last 18 months, and much of the public reject the stigmatisation of British Muslims. Most people (77% down from 76% in Feb 2016) still agree that it is wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists. 57% of people believe discrimination is a serious problem for Muslims in Britain, and 50% feel that most Muslims have integrated well into British society.

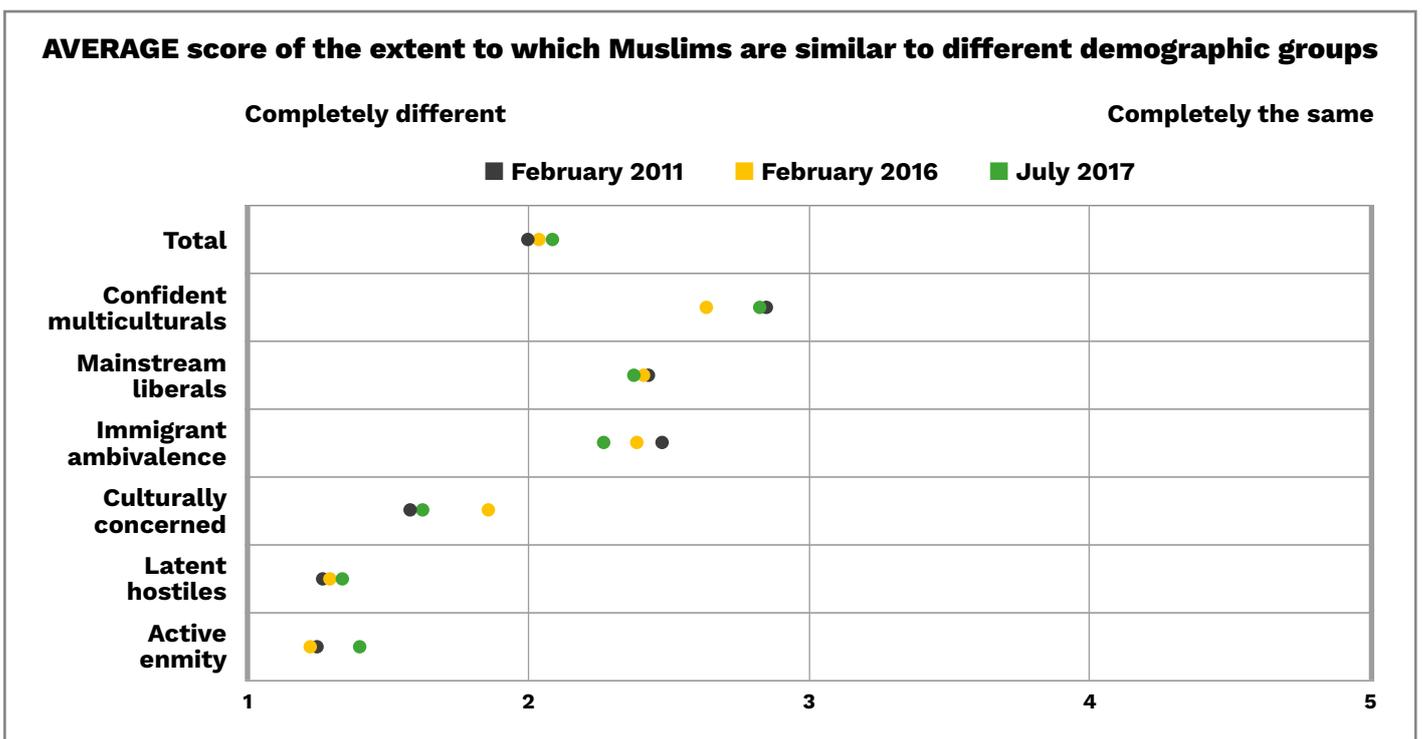
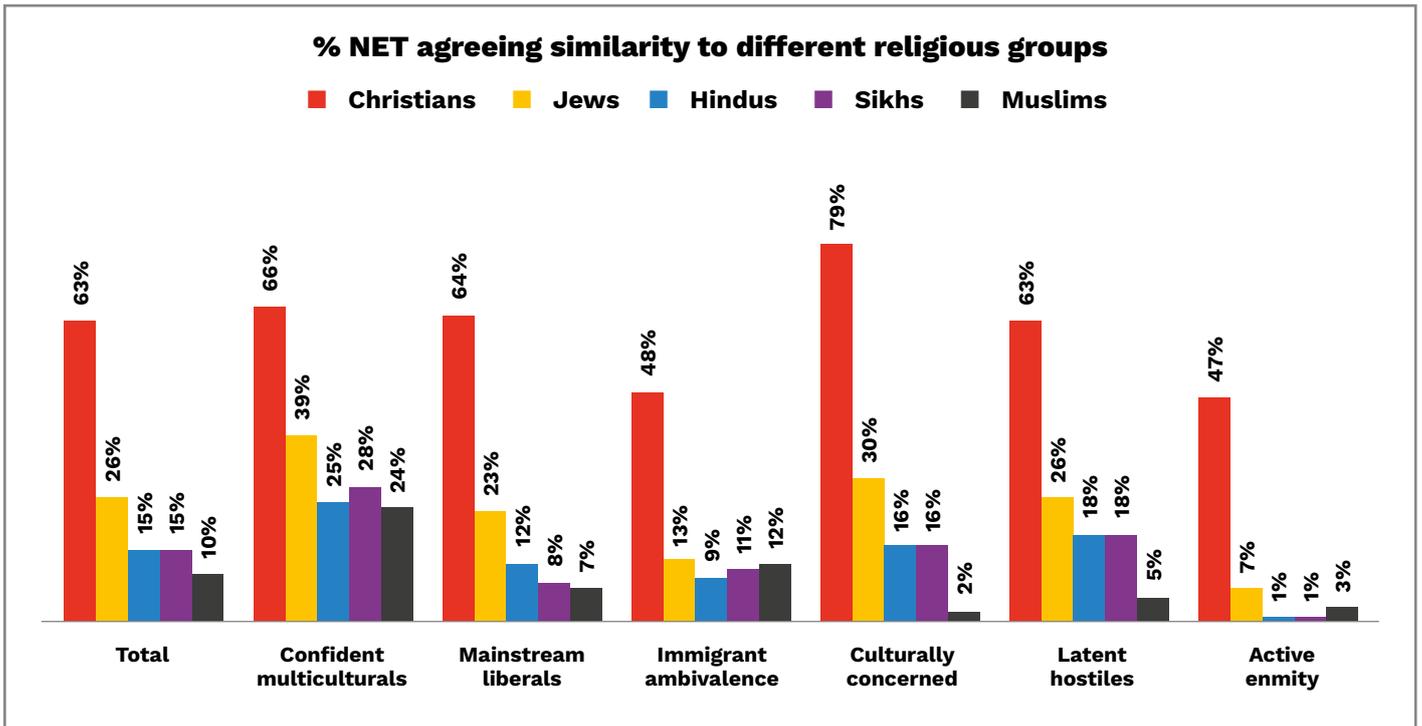
There is still a sizable percentage of the population (52%) who agree that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation, although the rate of those agreeing with this statement is decreasing. Most people (76%) agree that Muslim communities need to do more in response to the threat of Islamic extremism.

But the English are deeply divided over the association of Muslim communities in Britain with extremist activities. Confident multiculturals and mainstream liberals have strengthened their position on disassociating violence and terrorism from Islam, while across all other tribes a general fear of Islam seems to be increasing.

Overall, 57% of people disagree that Muslims in Britain should be associated with violence and terrorism but the rate of people agreeing that Islam is a dangerous religion that incites violence has increased since 2011, particularly among culturally concerned, latent hostile and active enmity tribes. These groups had shifted their position on Islam between 2011 and 2016 to a more understanding outlook that rejected an association of Islam with extremism. But this trend has been reversed in the wake of recent terror attacks, and 70% of the active enmity tribe now believe this to be true.

This hardening of views and polarisation in attitudes towards Muslims in Britain is worrying, in a climate where there is an increasing sense of resignation to terror attacks, which many believe are becoming a normal part of life in the UK.

There is a general consensus across the spectrum of identity politics that more could be done to improve the integration of Muslims in British society. Issues

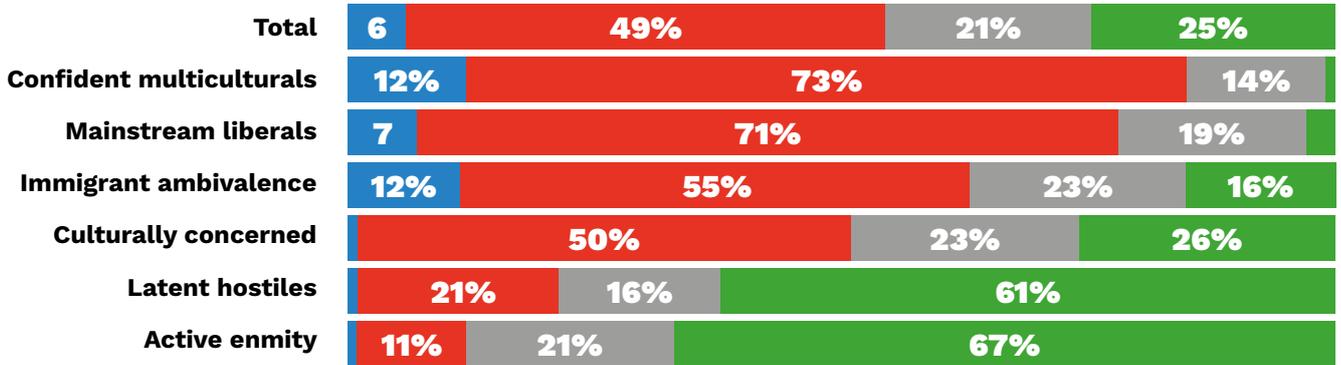


RELIGION (CONTINUED)

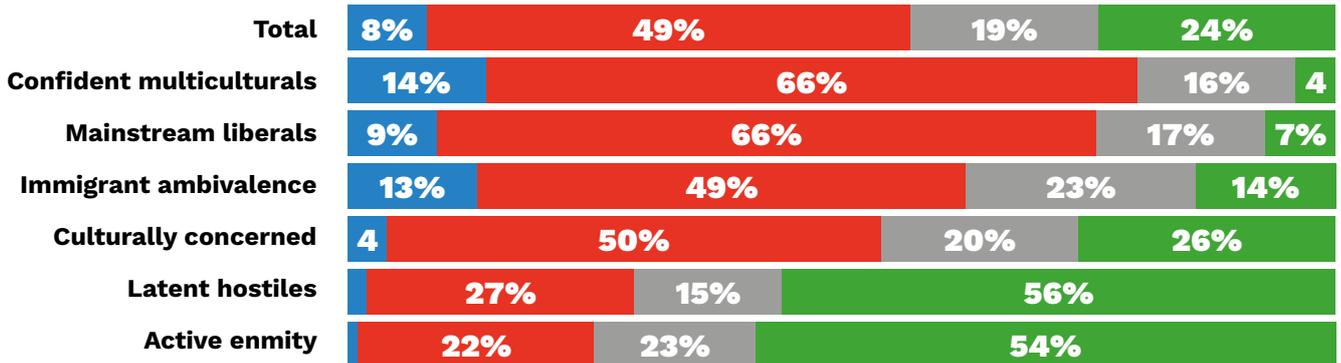
When you see or hear that Muslims are increasingly associated with violence and terrorism, what is your immediate reaction?

- Not true, got up by the media
- Not true, but unsurprising given actions of a few Muslim extremists
- True, unsurprising due to western actions in Muslim world and hostility at home
- True, Islam is a dangerous religion that incites violence

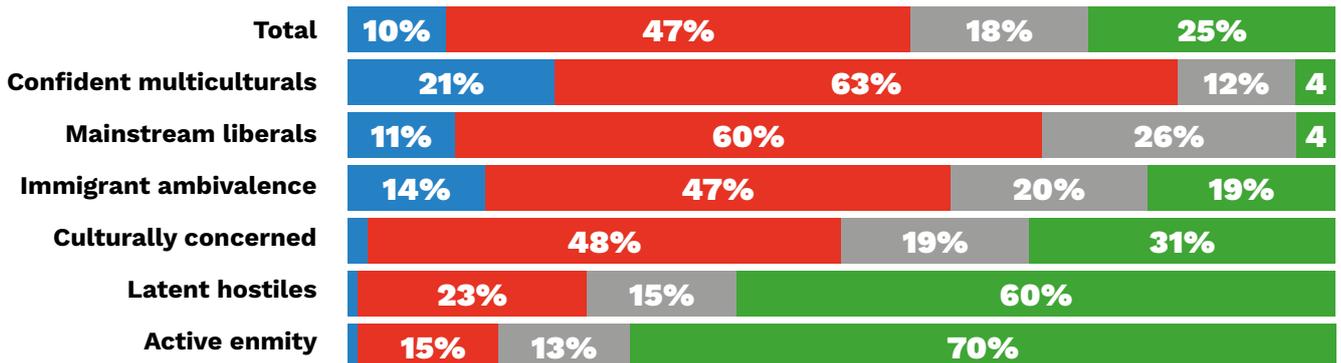
February 2011



February 2016



July 2017



related to Muslim integration were highlighted by the Casey Review released in December 2016, which was heavily criticised for its isolated focus on Muslims, ignoring other issues such as equality and racism.

While the public shares some concerns highlighted by Casey (79% want to see better measures to increase English language ability among Muslim migrants; 71% want to see closer monitoring of faith schools; and 66% believe Muslim integration would be improved through the promotion of British values within Muslim communities) there is also a widespread understanding that discrimination against Muslims inhibits integration. Although weighted in the more liberal tribes, 51% of the public would welcome a high profile campaign against anti-Muslim hatred while 51% of the public would like to see more positive coverage of Islam and Muslim communities in the media.

Overall, the picture of attitudes towards Muslims in Britain is worrying. The most recent spate of terror attacks in the UK has clearly impacted attitudes toward Muslims which divide the country. But there is clearly an appetite across the spectrum of identity politics for initiatives to improve community relations and for an increased understanding of Muslim practices in receiving communities.



Photo: UK Department for International Development

EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM

Britain has experienced a series of high profile attacks by extremists since our last poll, carried out by both English nationalists and Islamic extremists. The recent attacks on Westminster, Manchester, Borough Market and Finsbury Park took place in quick succession and have had a profound impact on the public. 42% of the English population have said that the recent terrorist attacks in Britain have increased their suspicion of Muslims in Britain – a fear more profound in the active enmity and latent hostile groups than in the liberal tribes. 84% of active enmity and 74% of latent hostiles agree that their suspicion has increased – compared to just 10% of confident multiculturals.

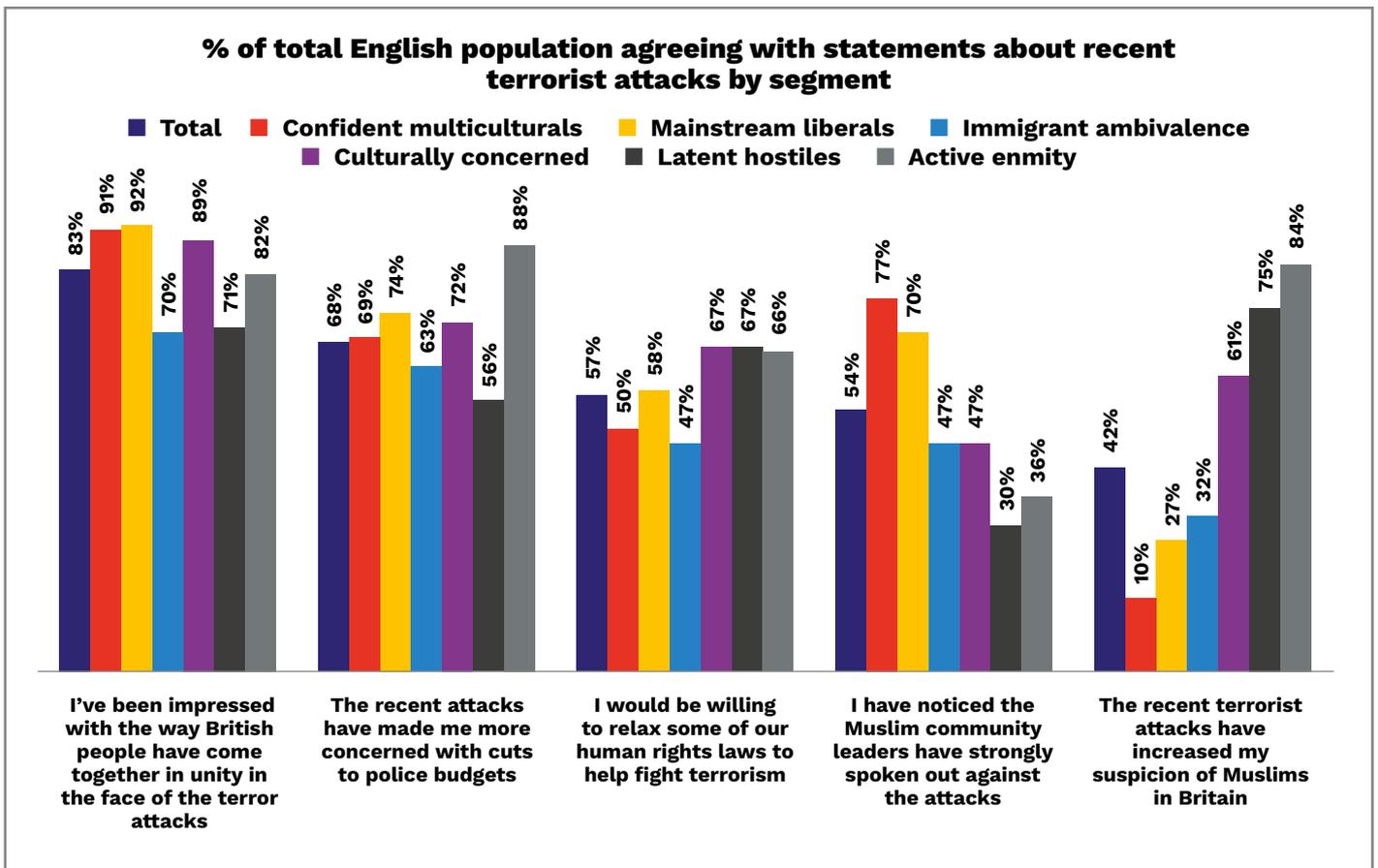
However, the overall picture of where the public stands on extremism and terrorism shows a country increasingly opposed to extreme responses and more

willing to unite peacefully as a community in the face of hatred.

Since 2011, support for English nationalists has steadily decreased. In 2011, 67% of the active enmity tribe and 57% of the latent hostiles group stated that their sympathies lay with English nationalist groups, a pattern which has fallen to 52% and 49% respectively in 2017.

The vast majority of people (74%) reject the activities of both Islamic extremists and English nationalists who are considered as bad as each other.

In response to a proposed new mosque, 13% fewer people would support a campaign to stop the mosque than in 2011, and 10% more would actively oppose a campaign to stop the mosque. This issue is less divisive than in 2011, and although large



majorities of the more hostile tribes would still support a campaign to stop the mosque, there is an emerging share of these tribes who would oppose a campaign to stop the mosque. 31% of the latent hostile tribe and 24% of the active enmity tribe would now oppose this.

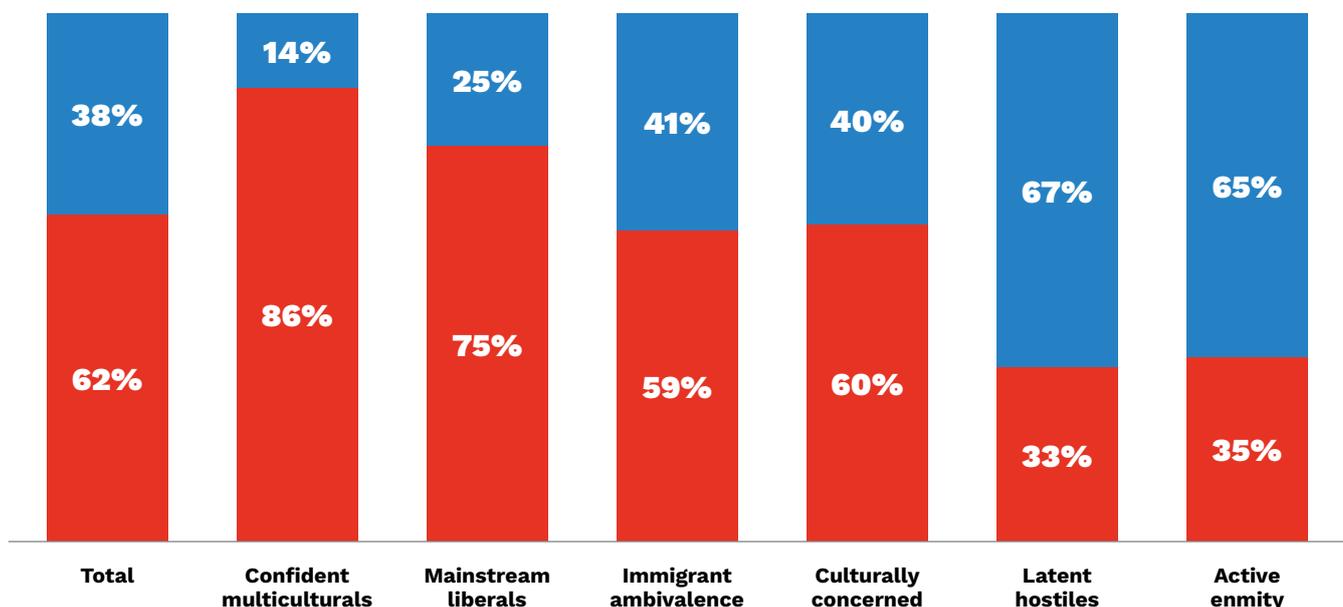
However, were the campaign to become violent, the share of those willing to maintain support has increased among the more hostile tribes. Worryingly, the share of the culturally concerned group willing to support a violent campaign has increased from 9% to 22%. This growing intensity in feeling among this group who would stick to a violent campaign highlights the shifting nature of the tribe itself. The strengthening of cultural concerns among this group twinned with its changing demographics indicate rapidly increasing cultural unrest among

those previously more concerned by economic impacts of immigration.

In response to the recent terror attacks, there are some evident fears about security and the ability of the country to respond to future attacks, but also a positive sense of unity shared among the tribes. 83% of the English population have been impressed with the way British people have come together in the face of recent terror attacks, something appreciated by large majorities of all social identity groups. While the more liberal groups are more likely to have noticed than the hostile groups, across all tribes 54% of people have noticed Muslim community leaders speaking out against the attacks and 62% of the public favour peaceful vigils in unity to demonstrations calling for stronger action to be taken against extremism.

Where sympathies lie after a terrorist attack

- People who come together to hold a vigil in the belief that it is important to show unity against extremism and terrorism
- People who organise a demonstration calling for stronger action to be taken against extremism and terrorism



EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM (CONTINUED)

Among active enmity and latent hostiles, an appetite for street action against extremism and terrorism is clear, despite the decline of street based anti-Muslim groups such as the English Defence League and Britain First – 66% of the hostile groups would support a demonstration against terrorism over a peaceful vigil to show unity.

68% of people across the tribes are concerned about cuts to police budgets triggered by the attacks, and many favour relaxing human rights laws in order to combat terrorism (57%). England is clearly in a state of anxiety after the attacks, but there is a strong sense of togetherness.

The public also meet common ground on tackling extremism. Although the culturally concerned tribe more strongly favour a criminal justice approach to extremists than other groups, a majority of all identity ‘tribes’ and 67% overall favour removing British citizenship from anyone who goes abroad to

fight. Around half of all tribes want to see greater police action taken against all those who incite religious or ethnic hatred, and 47% of the English want to see social media companies taking greater action to remove extremist content from their sites.

It seems that the recent terror attacks have not generated a surge in support for English nationalist movements, but instead the country has experienced an increased sense of togetherness and unity. At the same time, the hostile tribes have retained much of their anger and frustration at extremism, much of which is attributed to the wider Muslim population.

Shared fears can bring us together, but anxieties fuelled by the recent attacks are pronounced across the spectrum of identity politics and there is more to be done to distil the response of those still willing to turn to violence or take to the streets in the face of hatred.

A PLAGUE ON BOTH THEIR HOUSES

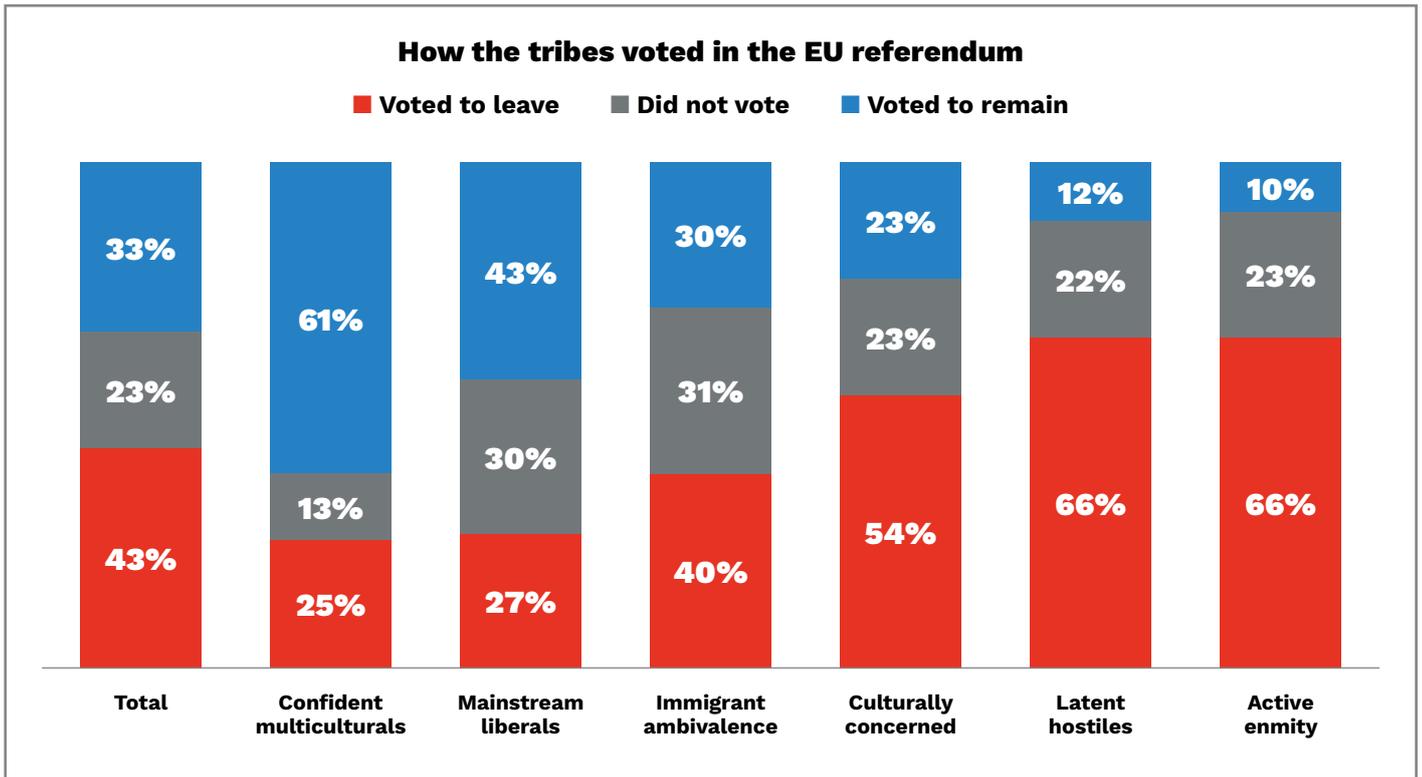
The English overwhelmingly believe that all extremisms must be confronted equally. When asked if an anti-racist organisation should also oppose other forms of extremism, including Islamist extremism, or just stick to opposing anti-black and Asian racism, 91% of respondents said that they should oppose all extremism.

The figure was even higher among ‘confident multiculturalists’ and black people – with both groups supporting opposing all forms of extremism by 97%.

There were some groups that were less supportive of the branching out by an anti-racist group. Only 54% of Muslims backed the idea, with 46% opposing. Interestingly, only 84% of the Active Emnity group supported the branching out, significantly less than the average overall.



BREXIT



Individuals in the culturally concerned, latent hostile and active enmity tribes were all more likely to vote leave than remain in the EU referendum.

Just after the referendum, we asked a series of questions about how people voted in the referendum and why. Immigration was of varying levels of importance as a voting factor across tribes. When leave voters were asked the most important factors in their voting decision, 58% of the active enmity group and 44% of the latent hostile group felt that regaining control over borders and immigration was the most important factor. The majority of all other groups were more concerned by sovereignty in decision-making, benefits for trade and the economy and lack of choice in EU expansion as the main reasons for voting leave. For remain voters across all tribes, economic risks and access to the single market were seen as more important factors in their voting decisions than cultural attachment or social isolation.

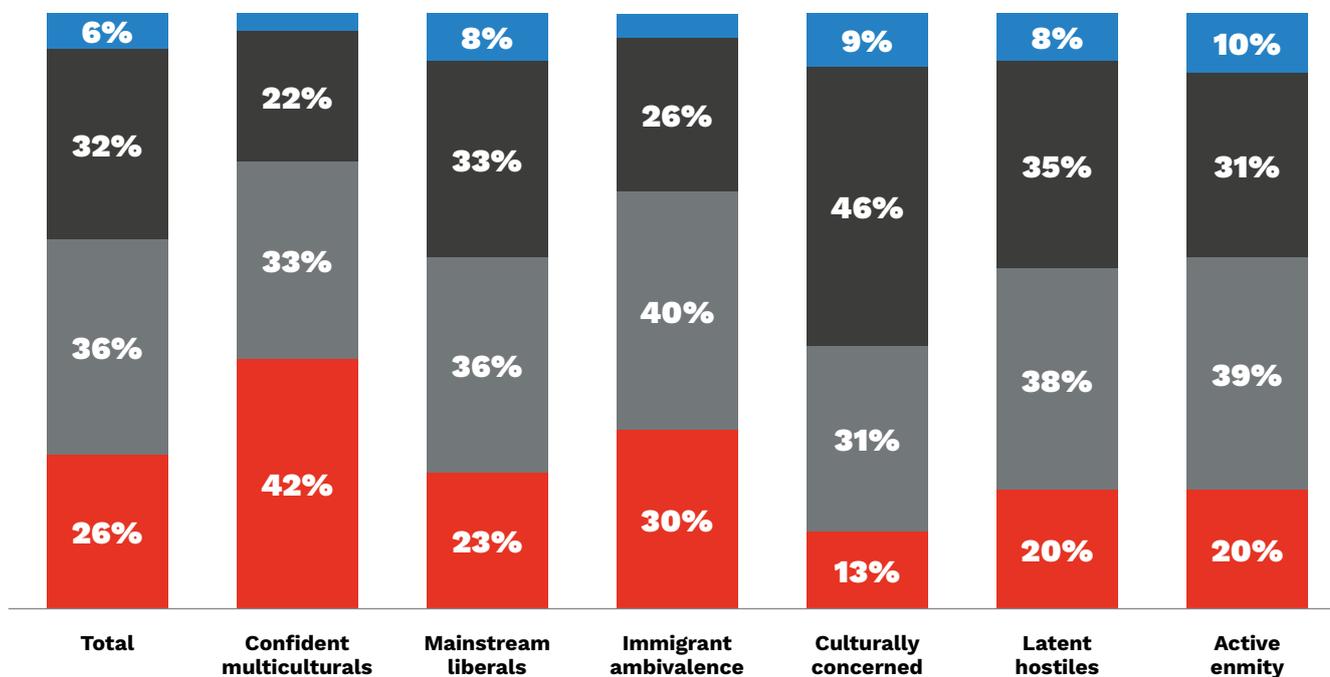
57% of the culturally concerned, 76% of latent hostiles and 87% of the active enmity group thought leaving the single market was a price worth paying to stop unlimited EU migration into Britain. Only 17%, 7% and 5% of these three groups thought that the economic consequences of leaving the single market would be so dire that they would support continuing free movement in return for staying inside it.

Now the decision has been made to leave the European Union, concerns about free movement still outweigh desires to stay in the single market. The hostile tribes have declared a more confident stance on this than the two more liberal tribes, perhaps as these groups are coming to terms with the realities of mainstream public and political outlook and more willing to play into the trade-offs at hand, whereas these have been key concerns for the more hostile tribes since we first explored these issues in 2011.

At the same time, there is an optimism across all groups that Britain's economy would be able

Confidence in Theresa May securing a good deal for Britain

■ No confidence at all ■ Not much confidence
■ A fair amount of confidence ■ A great deal of confidence



to succeed outside of the single market. Again, those with more hostile views have offered a more optimistic outlook than the more liberal tribes, who, many who – still bruised by the result – have inherited an economic pessimism looking forward.

In looking to political leadership over Brexit, the picture is relatively consistent across tribes; people don't hold much faith in Theresa May to secure a good deal for Britain. Overall, 62% of people have little or no confidence in May getting a good deal, and even in the culturally concerned group who make up much of the Conservatives' electorate, 44% don't hold much confidence in her ability to win over the negotiations.

As our post-referendum *Fear and HOPE* highlighted, what a 'good deal' might mean to these tribes is very different. Trade and the economy were more important to the more liberal tribes and to immigrant ambivalents, while immigration was a key voting factor for active enmity and latent hostiles.

The hostile tribes are unlikely to see any potential negative economic consequences to arise from a sharp reduction in immigration, which most see as a benefit (79% of the active enmity tribe and 65% of the latent hostile group). The polarisation in outlook here is stark, where 65% of confident multiculturals believe the economy will suffer if immigration is reduced rapidly.

BREXIT (CONTINUED)

Theresa May will have to play to a diverse audience throughout the Brexit process, and the lack of confidence in her leadership is understandable – it will be impossible to please all of these groups at the same time.

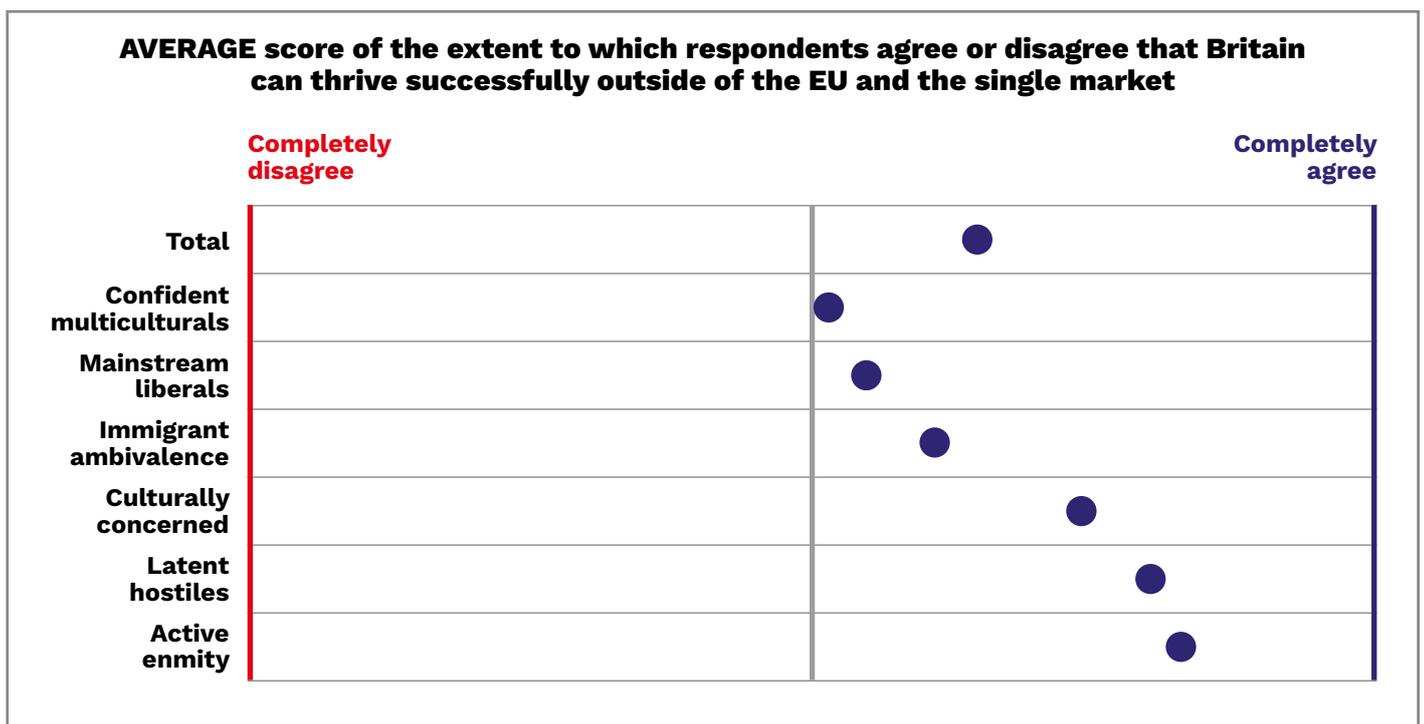
But the outcomes of this balancing act could leave us more divided than ever. When asked about a number of different political situations, responses show the more liberal tribes at odds with active enmity and latent hostile groups.

51% of confident multiculturals would be enraged by a deal in which Britain withdrew from the single market in order to limit immigration while the exact same proportion of latent hostiles would be angered were the UK to remain in the single market but retain free movement.

77% of latent hostiles and 70% of the active enmity group would feel anger if Britain were to repeal the result of the referendum and remain in the EU, while this would relieve around the same proportion of confident multiculturals (63%).

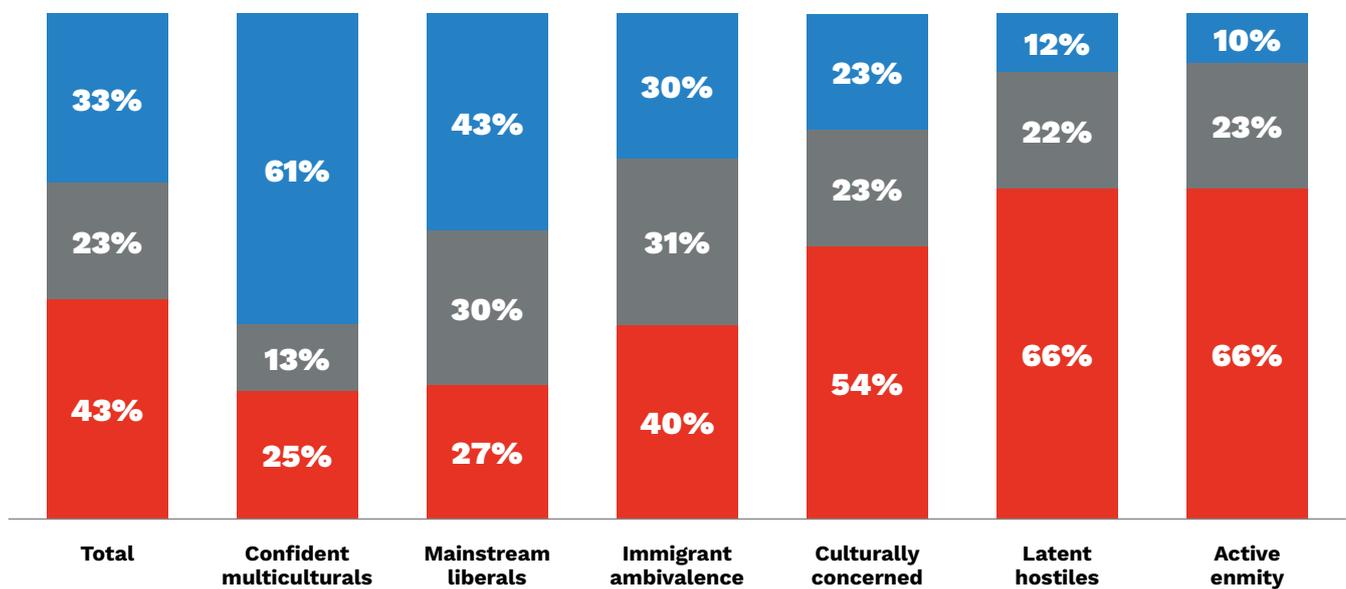
The two more liberal tribes are evidently concerned about a future outside of the European Union, and 70% of confident multiculturals and 57% of mainstream liberals would be angered if the process were to go ahead without a deal with the EU. This is something the other tribes are more indifferent about. 55% of immigrant ambivalents would be unfazed by leaving the EU without asserting a deal and 35% would be indifferent about remaining in the EU.

The uncertainty about what Brexit will mean for the country has created a sense of unease and frustration among those most likely to have voted remain, whose views are looking increasingly separated from the popular majority.



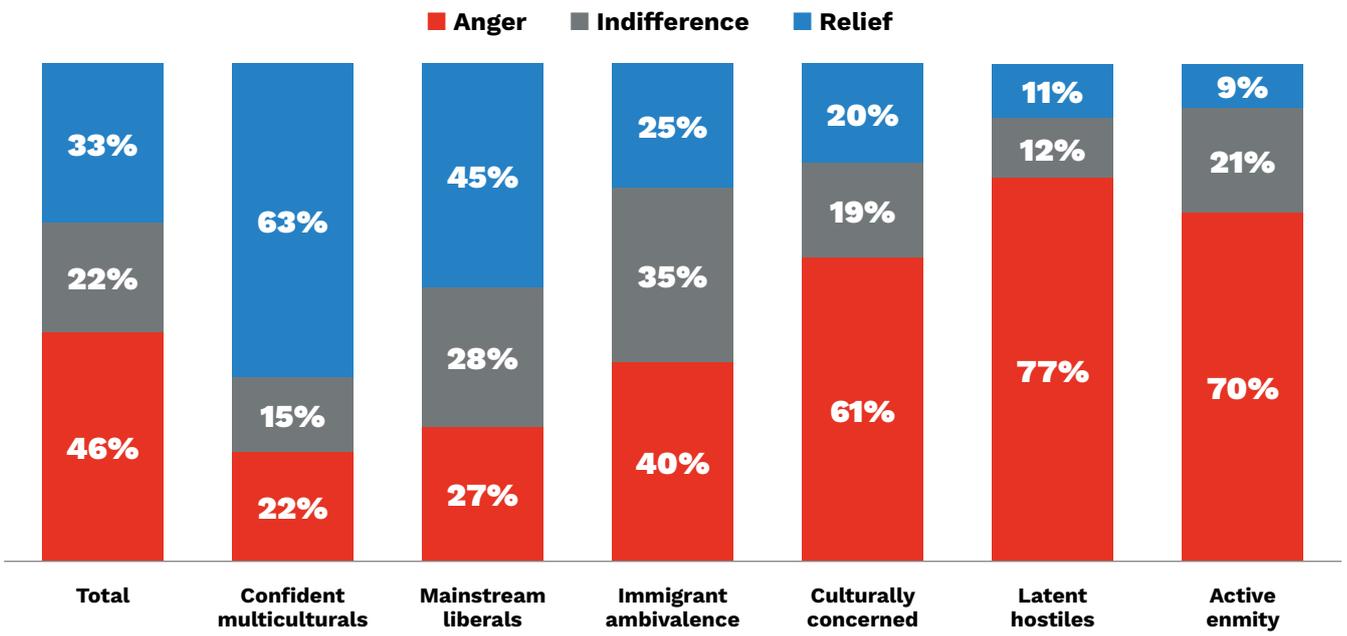
% saying that if there is sharp reduction in immigration the economy will benefit or suffer

■ It will suffer ■ It will make no difference ■ It will benefit

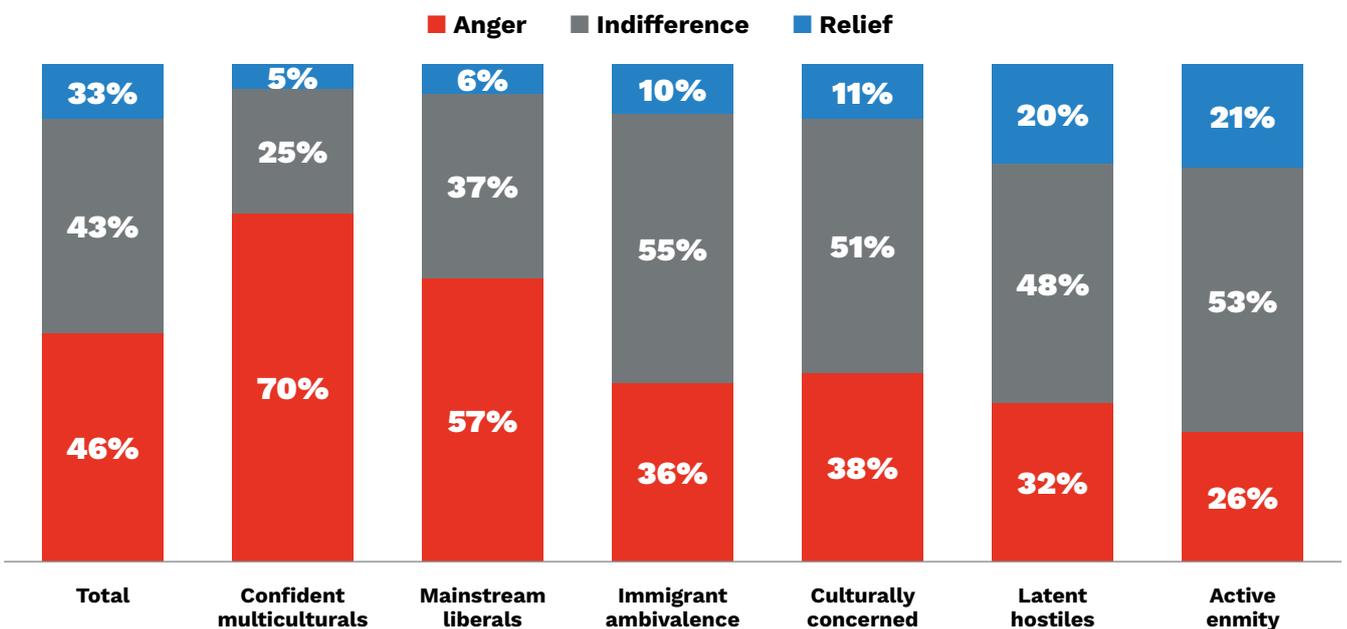


BREXIT (CONTINUED)

**Would you feel anger, relief or indifference if...
Britain reversed its decision and decided to remain in the EU**



**Would you feel anger, relief or indifference if...
Britain left the European Union without a deal with the EU**



LONDON IS OPEN

KEY ■ London ■ non-London

The recent campaign launched by Mayor Sadiq Khan featured posters across the capital claiming “London is Open”. Our poll would indicate that this is the case, as a disproportionate percentage of the two liberal tribes are concentrated in London. Almost 20% of both confident multiculturalists and mainstream liberals live in the city.

London is more diverse than the rest of the UK, according to the 2011 census, 45% of the city’s population is White British, a further 15% are from other white groups and the next largest ethnic groups are Indian and Black African each making up around 7% of the population.

London is a city of migration, and hosts the greatest number of migrants (The Migration Observatory cite 3.2 million foreign-born people in 2015) among all regions. The diversity of the city welcomes newcomers, and Londoners are 17% more likely than those elsewhere to believe there is a place for everyone in Britain.

Our poll estimates that people in London see this as a positive thing – they are 15% more likely to see immigration as a good thing for the country as those outside of London and are far more likely to think that cultural diversity benefits British culture – 71% of Londoners agree with this compared to just 51% of people outside the capital.

London has seen a number of tragic events this summer, following the attacks on Westminster, Borough Market and Finsbury Park. But this has highlighted the resilience of Londoners to hate.

31% of people in London said that the recent terror attacks had increased their suspicion towards Muslims, compared to 41% of people outside of the city. 64% of Londoners had noticed Muslim community leaders speaking out about the attacks compared to 52% of non-Londoners.

I am optimistic about the future



There’s a place for everyone in this country



Having a wide variety of cultures is part of British Culture



On the whole, immigration has been a good thing for the country



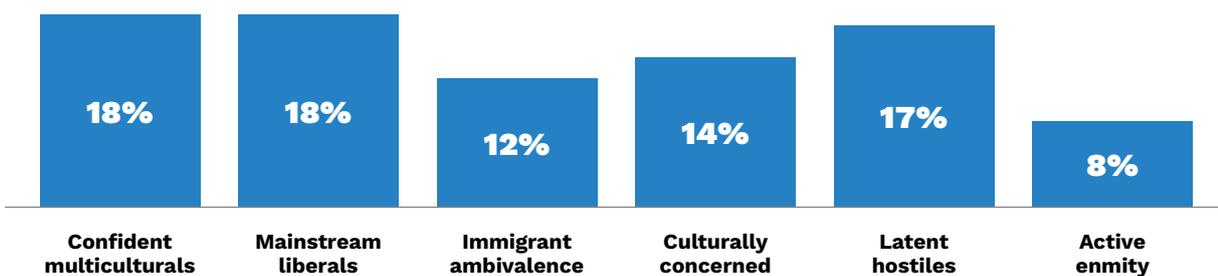
The most recent terror attacks have increased my suspicions towards Muslims



I have noticed Muslim community leaders have strongly spoken out about the attacks



Share of the Tribes: London



FEAR AND HOPE: AN ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIBERALISM

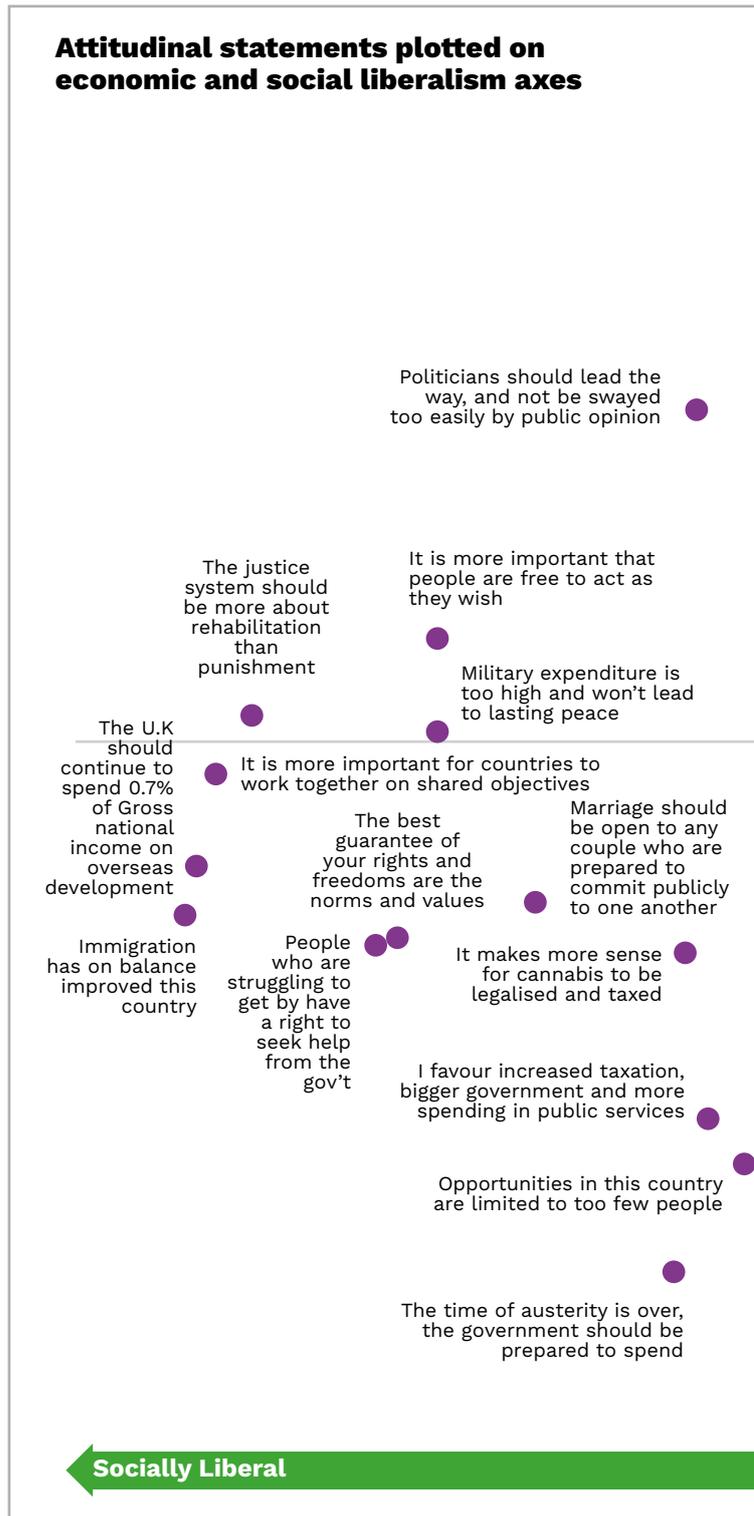
Our *Fear and HOPE* research has highlighted the importance of values and attitudes in determining the way people see the world around them, in terms of what they think about our changing society and in the way they vote.

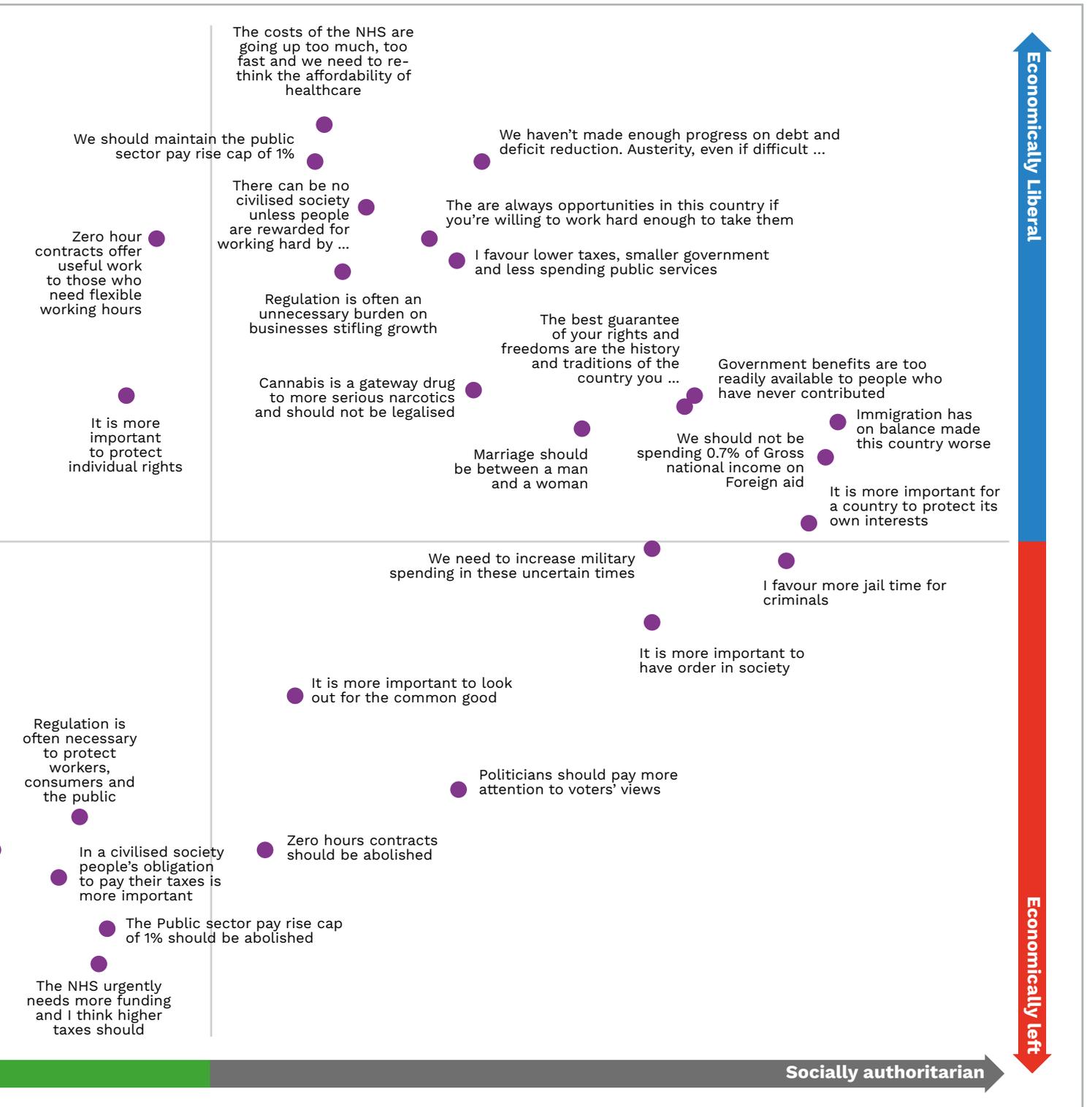
In addition to our analysis of identity politics, this edition of *Fear and HOPE* has looked further into the tribes and where they identify on an axis of economic and social liberalism. A further set of questions based on a series of socioeconomic statements allows us to map political outlook closest to each of the tribes and understand the messaging that resonates with each. This tool offers us a deeper understanding of the issues explored by *Fear and HOPE* – immigration, integration, economic optimism, and attitudes towards others – none of which can be seen as isolated from a wider ideological perspective.

Agreement on statements on policy, social equality, rights, and freedoms give us a spectrum which overlays economic and social liberalism.

People who are economically left and socially liberal sit in the bottom left hand section of the chart. These people are most likely to agree with the legalisation of cannabis, gay marriage, support greater funding for public services and are pro-immigration. In the top right hand corner, sit people who are economically liberal and socially authoritarian. These people are most likely to support austerity measures, lower taxation, hold strong beliefs in a working culture, hold more socially conservative views and oppose immigration.

Attitudinal statements plotted on economic and social liberalism axes





FEAR AND HOPE: AN ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIBERALISM (CONTINUED)

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIBERALISM OF THE IDENTITY 'TRIBES'

Each plot on the charts represents an individual, mapping the 4,015 people polled for this report on the liberalism axis.

Mapping the English population as a whole, the majority of people cluster around the centre of the chart indicating that most people do not hold extreme views on the statements put forward to them. The spread of distribution on this chart highlights the diversity of outlooks within the English population, which can be better understood by looking at the distribution of each tribe.

CONFIDENT MULTICULTURALS

Confident multiculturalists are – unsurprisingly – clustered around the bottom left hand corner. Those affiliating with this tribe are most likely to see the positive impacts of immigration, oppose austerity measures and support the rights of minority groups. In general, this tribe are the most economically left and socially liberal group, though the spread of values is more diverse than the mainstream liberal group indicating a wider range of economic values. Most of this tribe share this ideological space with Labour and the Lib Dems.

MAINSTREAM LIBERALS

More economically liberal than the confident multiculturalist tribe, mainstream liberals are also concentrated on the socially liberal side of the chart although to a less extreme degree. This group are most likely to hold a more individualistic, libertarian outlook. The closest political party to mainstream liberal values in the 2017 election is the Green party.

IMMIGRANT AMBIVALENT

The immigrant ambivalent tribe have been seen as the 'frontline' in our previous *Fear and HOPE* report. Most likely to be disenfranchised swing voters who, if mobilised, could make the greatest difference in political outcomes. Plotted on the liberalism axis, the tribe are distributed around the centre reflecting their ambivalence on key social and economic issues. But interestingly, very few share the economically left outlook of the two more liberal tribes and the tribe show a marked shift from mainstream liberals towards social authoritarianism. The tribe are the most politically 'neutral', but this analysis would indicate that the centre is leaning towards the right. Ideologically positioned between the Conservative party in 2015 and the Greens in 2017, at present there is no political group matching their economically liberal outlook with their moderate social attitudes.

CULTURALLY CONCERNED

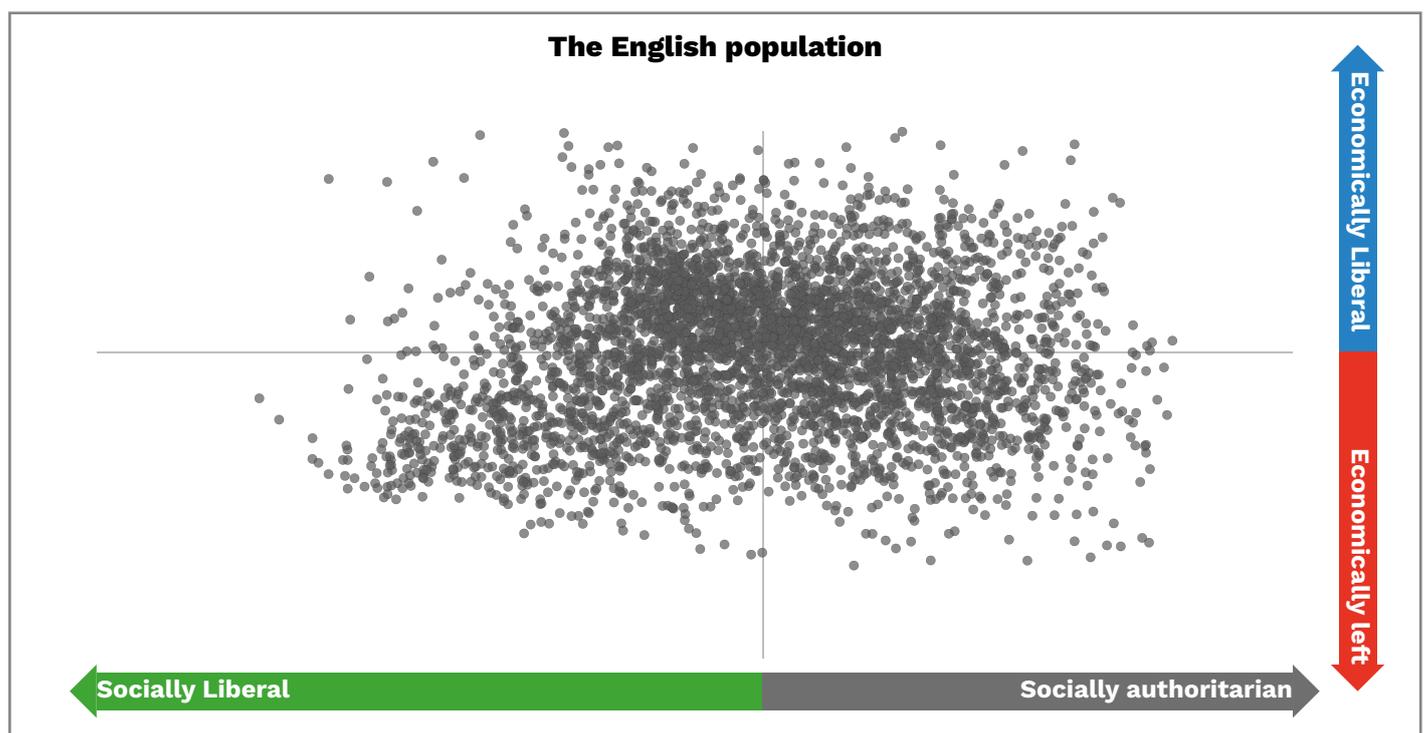
As the name would suggest, the culturally concerned tribe are far more socially authoritarian than the immigrant ambivalent tribe, and though there is a broad distribution of their economic attitudes, the tribe tend to be more economically liberal. This tribe are likely to support lower taxation and reduced public spending, oppose equal marriage for all, and see significant importance of history and tradition. The group are positioned between UKIP in 2017 and the Conservative party, but are not closely aligned to either.

LATENT HOSTILE

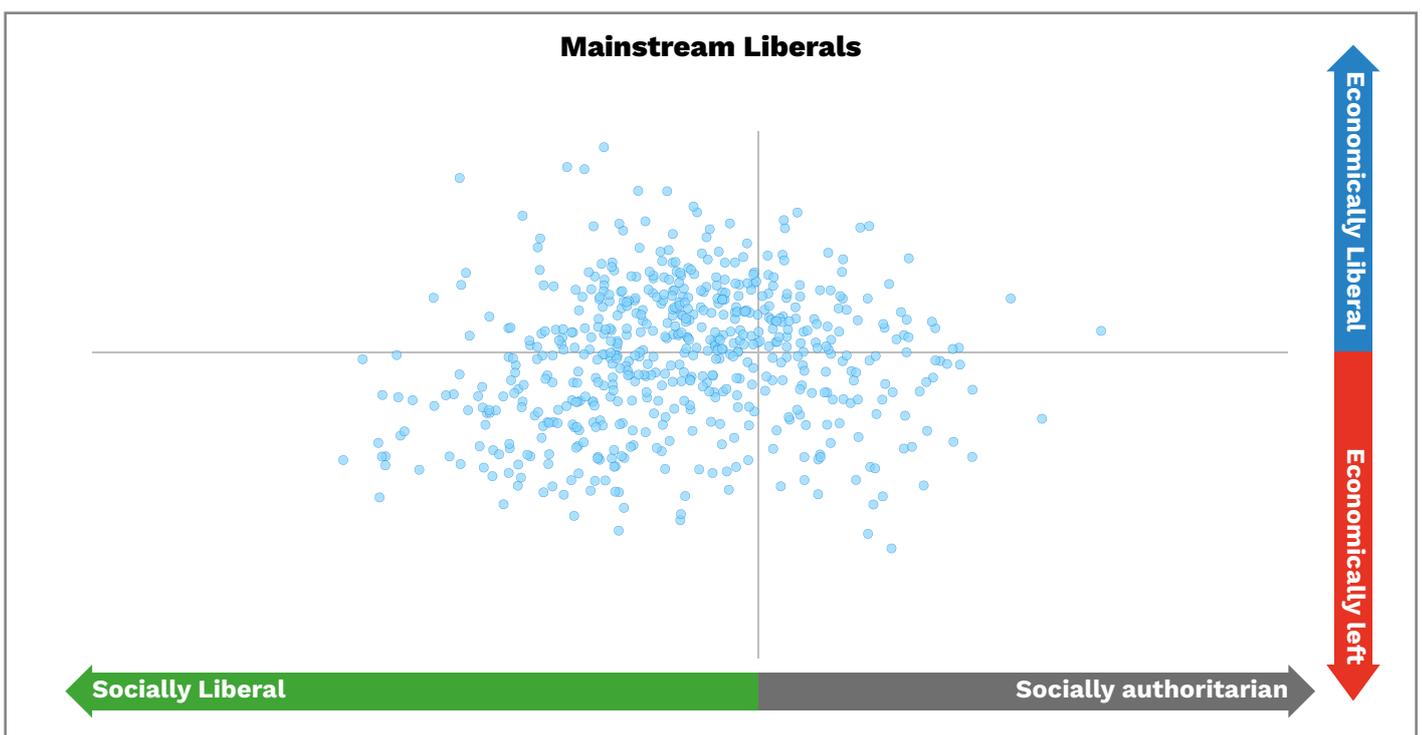
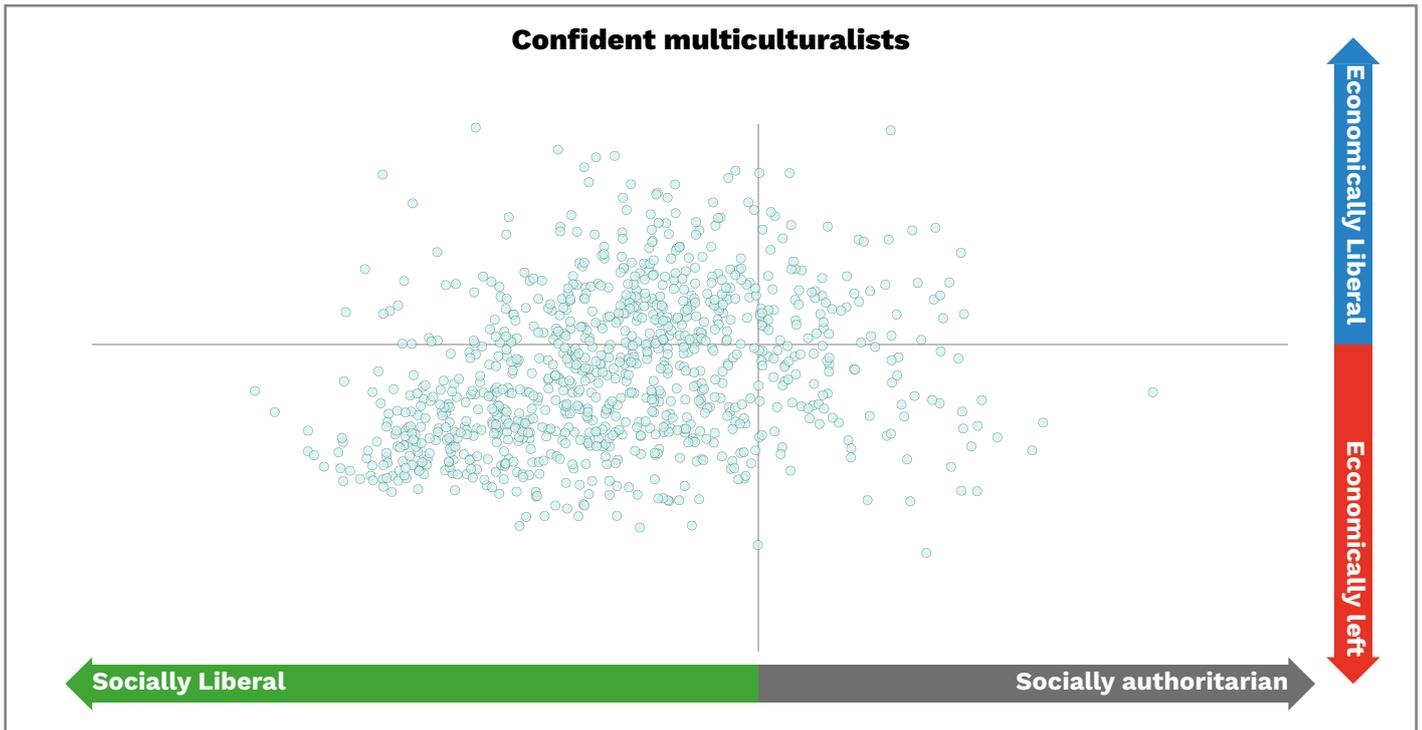
The latent hostile group reflect a similar distribution to the culturally concerned tribe, though have more severely socially authoritarian views and are more likely to be economically liberal than any of the other groups. This tribe are among the most typical 'Leave' voters and are most ideologically aligned to UKIP and Nigel Farage.

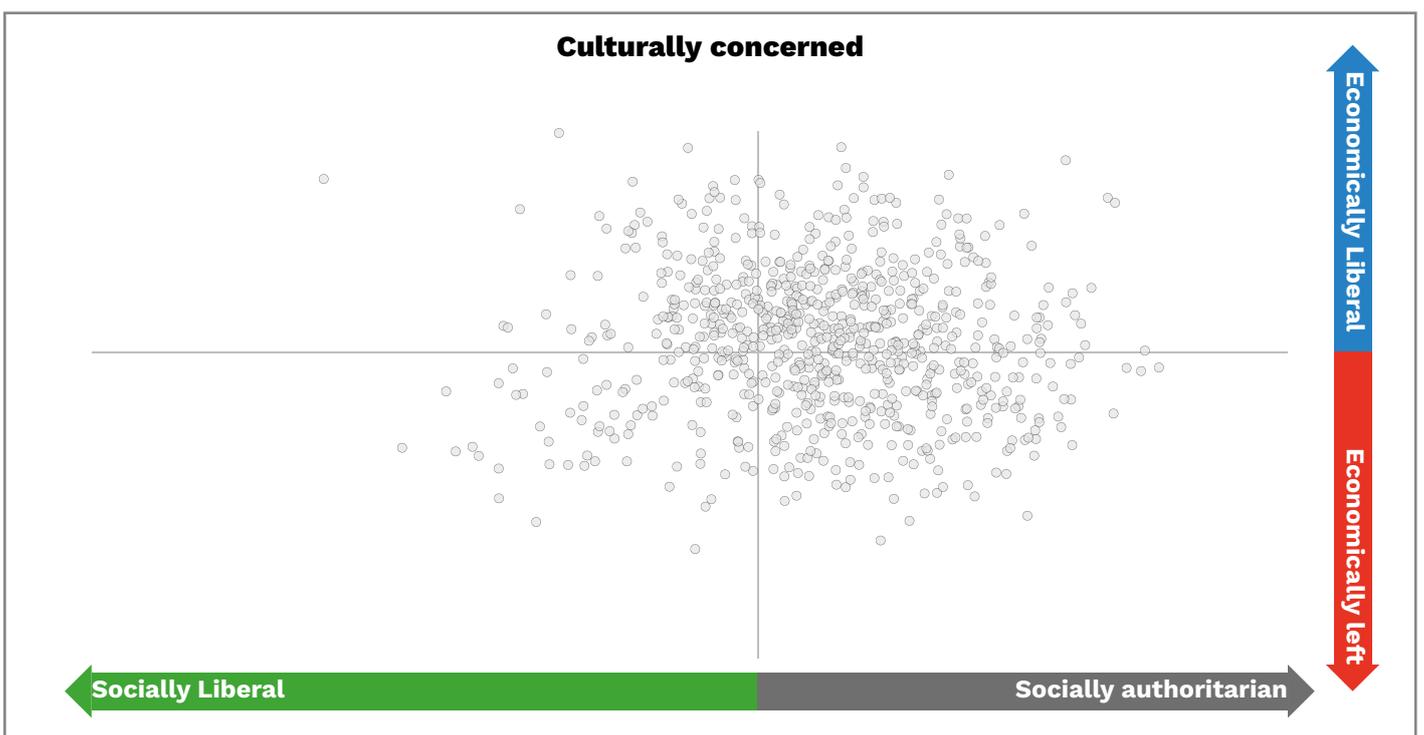
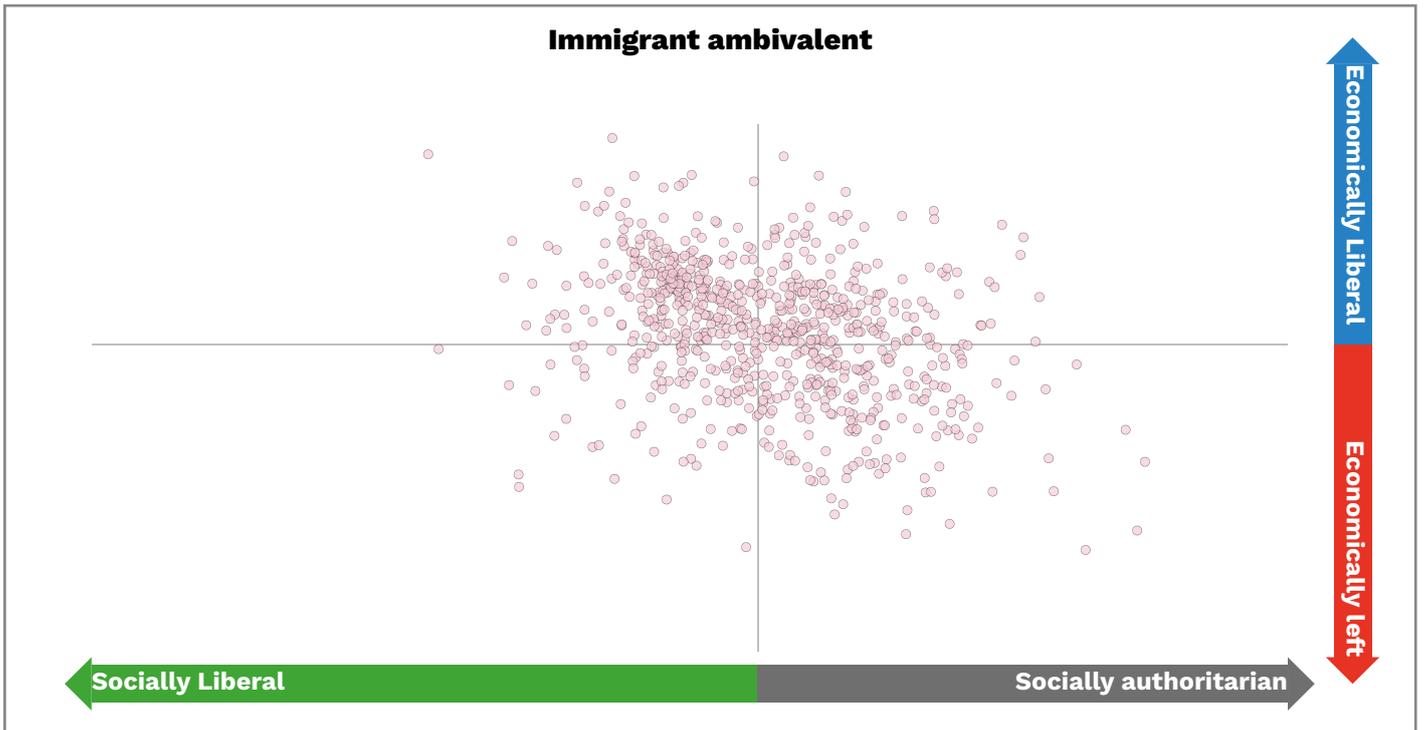
ACTIVE ENMITY

As expected, the active enmity tribe hold the most extreme views of all the tribes, concentrated to the far right of the social spectrum and on the border of economic liberalism – aligned with mainstream liberals on economic terms. UKIP in 2015 held an ideologically similar position to this tribe who share their social authoritarianism with Nigel Farage.

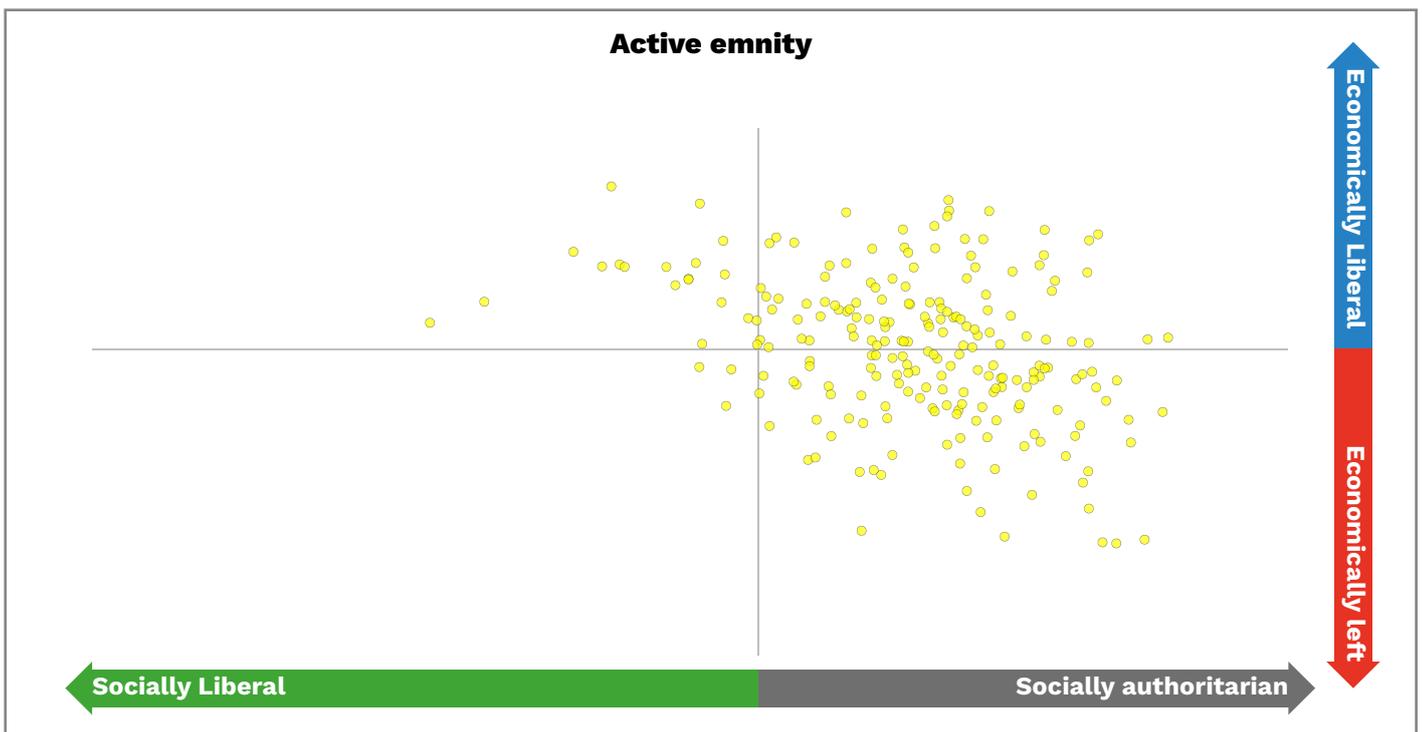
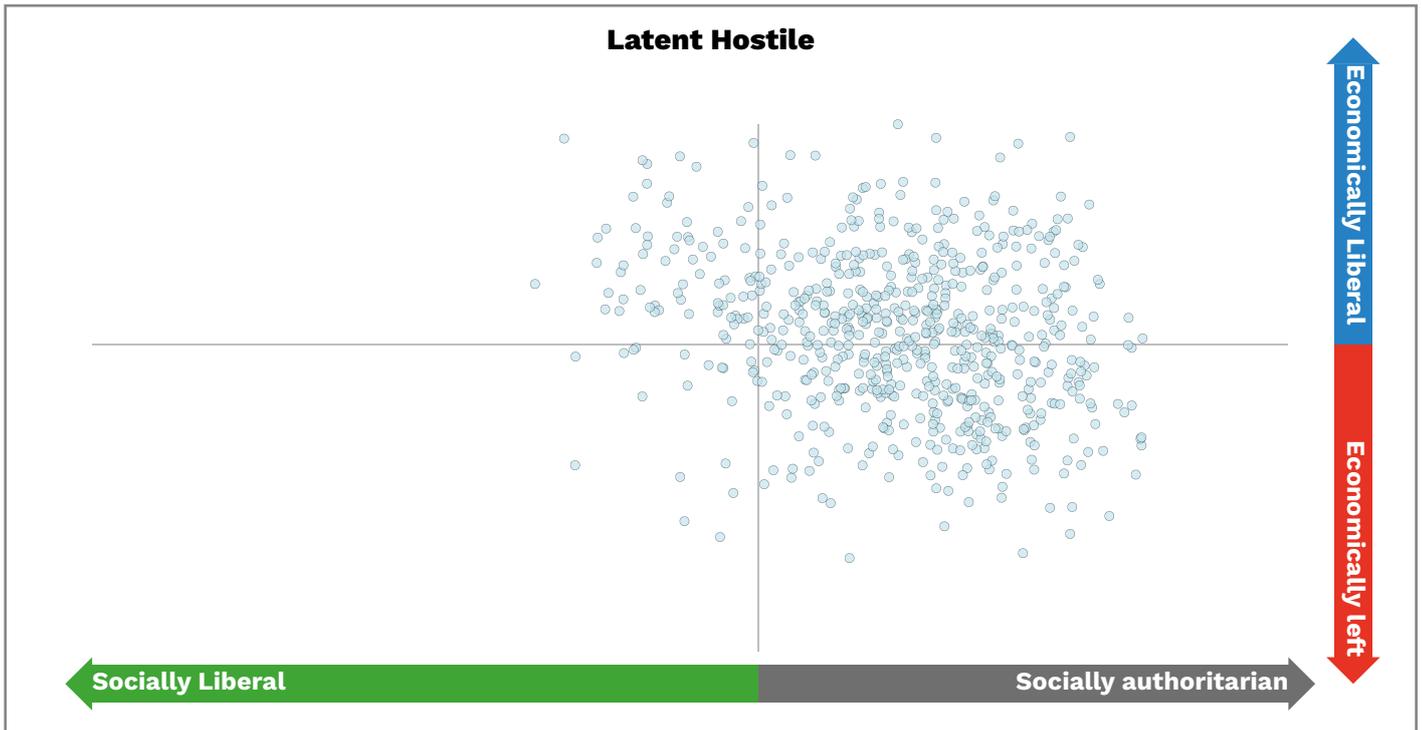


FEAR AND HOPE: AN ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIBERALISM (CONTINUED)





FEAR AND HOPE: AN ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIBERALISM (CONTINUED)



TRIBES ON THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM

Mapping the main political parties and their leaders alongside the tribes on the axes of liberalism shows a stark contrast between the groups. The economically liberal, socially authoritarian space hosts Farage and UKIP and the Conservative party and Theresa May while the Greens, Labour and the Lib Dems occupy a more socially liberal, economically left section of the chart.

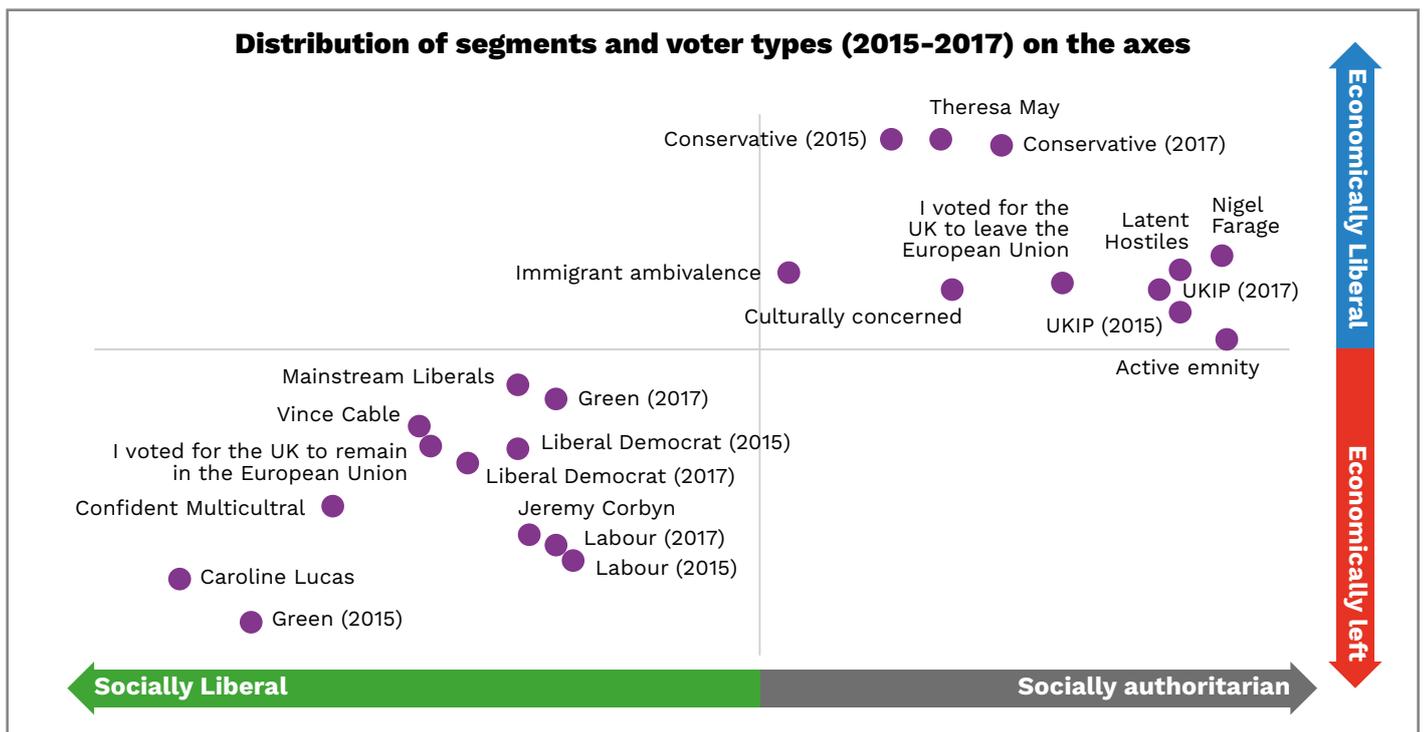
Looking at the mean positioning of each tribe, it is clear that the political classes do not represent the majority of the population, and that the political outlook of the nation is skewed to the right.

On the scale of social liberalism, the Liberal democrats represent the most confident party, however they do not match the confidence of the most liberal tribe – nor the typical remain voter. The hardening of social liberalism among the two liberal tribes over the last 6 years has set them apart from political parties on the traditional left, although Labour and the Lib Dems have moved towards an increasingly socially liberal position since the 2015 election.

But more starkly, the chart indicates a gulf between the political parties and voters – particularly the traditional left. The immigrant ambivalent tribe, who in 2011 were identified as a target group for Labour – the ‘squeezed middle’, swing voters, and the tribe most at risk for shifting to the right – sit distanced from Corbyn’s Labour Party.

Labour’s 2017 election campaign has been seen by many as a success in regaining the disenfranchised working class vote, principally votes from the immigrant ambivalence tribe. But an analysis of the tribes ideological position sets it apart from the party. Although the ambivalent tribe is sensitive to economic conditions and likely to feel the impacts of declining living standards and public sector cuts most acutely, Corbyn’s socialist manifesto fails to chime with their wider outlook.

The immigrant ambivalent group now sit ideologically close to the culturally concerned tribe. This group are economically liberal with traditional values, generally conservative voters who are themselves detached from the extreme economic liberalism favoured by the tory party.



The conservative party and UKIP have moved closer together on this axes since the 2015 election, the conservatives becoming more socially authoritarian under Theresa May. These parties are more likely to represent the attitudes of both hostile tribes, the culturally concerned groups, as well as the ‘squeezed middle’ than Labour, the Lib Dems or the greens.

Overall, looking at the tribes on a political spectrum offers a worrying picture for the left. While on the whole this report has highlighted a shift towards a more tolerant and open society, attitudes among the English population lean towards social authoritarianism and economic liberalism. The hardened views of the two liberal tribes offer a strong support base for socially liberal, economically left politics. However, pleasing these groups risks alienating those on centre ground who are at risk of moving into the latent hostile or active enmity tribes.

The immigrant ambivalent group will continue to be a key target for those across the political spectrum. But following the vote to leave the EU, the hardening of identity politics and polarisation of views towards issues like immigration -which our polling indicates – predicts a political climate which could alienate this ‘swing’ group. Brexit looks set to create challenging economic conditions to which the financially sensitive immigrant ambivalent tribe could respond by lurching further to the right.

Key attitudinal views of Corbyn supporters and 2015 UKIP voters

Corbyn supporters	2015 UKIP voters
Opportunities in this country are limited to too few people	We should not be spending 0.7% of gross national income on Foreign Aid
In a civilised society people’s obligations to pay their taxes is more important	It is important for a country to protect its own interests
The time for austerity is over	Immigration has on balance made this country worse
The NHS urgently needs more funding	Government benefits are too readily available to people who have never contributed
Public sector pay cap at 1% should be lifted	The best guarantee of your rights and freedoms are the history and traditions of the country
Regulations is often necessary to protect workers, consumers and the public	I favour more jail time for criminals

THE NIGEL FARAGE SUPPORTER

KEY ■ Total ■ Farage supporter

The *Fear and HOPE* survey found that 14% of English people identified most with Nigel Farage as the politician with the views closest to theirs.

This is a remarkable figure, given that he is not currently a political leader and UKIP polled so poorly in the 2017 General Election.

It should act as a warning of potential support for the new party that Farage and Arron Banks plan to set up in the autumn.

Over the next few pages we profile the Farage supporter and contrast their views with society more generally.



67%
of Farage supporters are over 45 years old



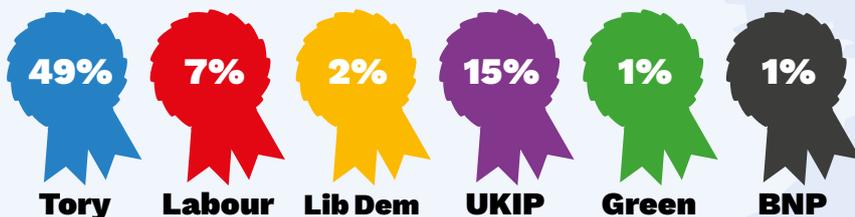
53%
of Farage supporters are Christian and 45% have no religion. No other religion registers at 1%



74% are non-graduates educated up to, high school, 6th form / college, GCSE's, ALevels, BTEC, NVQ levels 1 to 3, etc.

A fifth of Farage supporters are to be found in the South East of England, but only 7% are in London

How Farage supporters voted in the 2017 General Election



and **24%** did not vote

IMMIGRATION

The arrival of immigrants has changed my local community for the worse



The arrival of immigrants has changed my local community for the better



I don't think new immigrants want to integrate



New immigrants



Grenfell tower



Muslims in Britain



MUSLIM INTEGRATION INTO BRITISH SOCIETY

Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation



Discrimination is a serious problem for Muslims in Britain



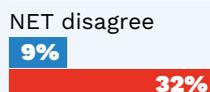
The media is too negative towards Muslims



Most Muslims have successfully integrated into wider British society



It is wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists



The recent terrorist attacks have increased my suspicion of Muslims in Britain



I have noticed that muslim community leaders have spoken out against the attacks



VIOLENT EXTREMISM

When you see or hear reports of violence between English nationalist extremists on the one hand and Muslim extremists on the other, where would your sympathies lie?

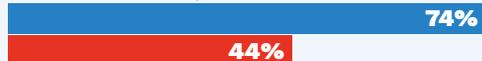
With the English nationalists who are standing up for their country



With the Muslims who are standing up for their faith



With neither, they are both as bad as each other

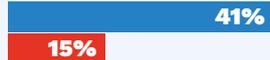


If there was a proposal to build a new mosque near where you live and some local residents began a campaign to stop it, do you think you would:

Support the campaign to stop the mosque



Neither support or oppose



Oppose the campaign to stop the mosque



And regardless of whether you would support or oppose the building of the mosque or the campaign to stop it, if either side became violent or threatened violence, would this make you reconsider your view?

Yes, I think violence from either side is unacceptable



No, while I oppose violence, the issues are so serious that you have to be prepared to support one side or the other



TERRORISM

Following a terrorist attack, where would your sympathies more naturally lie?

With people who have come together to hold a vigil in the belief that it is important to show unity against extremism and terrorism



With people who organise a demonstration calling for stronger action to be taken against extremism and terrorism



MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION

Britain's multicultural society isn't working and different communities generally live separate lives

NET agree



Do you think it is the role of Government/councils to help British people to learn more about other cultures in order to help new immigrants integrate into society?

Yes



No



Which of these policies would do most to help encourage better integration

Compulsory English for all new immigrants



Controlling and limiting immigration



Banning religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa



Children going to school where there is a mixture of children from different backgrounds



Community initiatives that work to bring people from different backgrounds together so they can get to know one another



Making all immigrants swear an Oath of allegiance embracing British values



Spending more on public services so they support new immigrants and existing communities alike



None of the above



THE EUROPEAN UNION

How did you vote in last year's EU referendum

I voted to Remain in the EU



3%

I voted to Leave



I did not vote



8%

What do you think is likely to happen to your personal economic circumstance?

Better

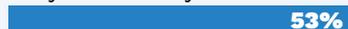


Worse



7%

They will broadly be the same



What do you think is likely to happen to the country's economic circumstance?

Better



Worse



17%

They will broadly be the same



22%

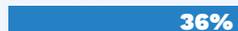
What will happen to the British economy if there is a sharp reduction in immigration?

It will suffer



0%

It will benefit



It will make no difference



26%

Leaving the single market is a price worth paying to stop unlimited EU migration into Britain

NET agree



NET disagree



3%

Britain can thrive successfully outside the EU and the single market

NET agree



NET disagree



2%

Now that the UK has started the process of leaving the European Union, which of the following reactions would you be most likely to have if...

Britain withdrew from the Single Market and Customs Union in order to end the free movement of EU citizens to and from the UK

Relief



Anger



7%

Indifference



22%

Britain compromised on ending free movement of EU citizens to and from the UK in return for staying in the Customs Union and having some access to the Single Market

Relief



12%

Anger



Indifference



28%

CONCLUSION: TURBULENT TIMES AHEAD

There is much to be optimistic about in our latest *Fear and HOPE* report. England is an increasingly tolerant country where immigration and multiculturalism are generally accepted, if not without problems.

Our 2017 survey shows that the proportion of the population in our two most liberal groups – which both have very liberal outlooks – has grown from 22% in 2011 to 39% today.

What is even more of a relief is that there is no sign that the recent terrorist attacks have fundamentally changed the outlook of society. The majority of people remain resolute that it is wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists, over 80% of people were encouraged by the way the British came together after the attacks, and an overwhelming majority recognised that Muslim community leaders spoke out against the extremists.

More people now (55%) think that immigration has been good for Britain, up from 40% in 2011, and there

has even been an uptick in optimism since last year’s EU referendum as pessimism felt by many Remain voters has softened slightly.

However, amid the positives, there are real reasons for concern.

The majority of the English believe multiculturalism is not working and that too many people are living separate lives. And by a margin of two to one, the English think that new immigrants do not want to integrate.

Fewer people think that “variety is important to culture” and “ethnic groups get on well” than in our February 2016 survey.

People are beginning to feel the pinch in their pocket, with a majority of every tribe reporting that they have less disposable income now compared to a year ago. This, combined with a clear rejection by an increasing number of voters to austerity, is making for a disgruntled population which, given further stresses, could turn angry.

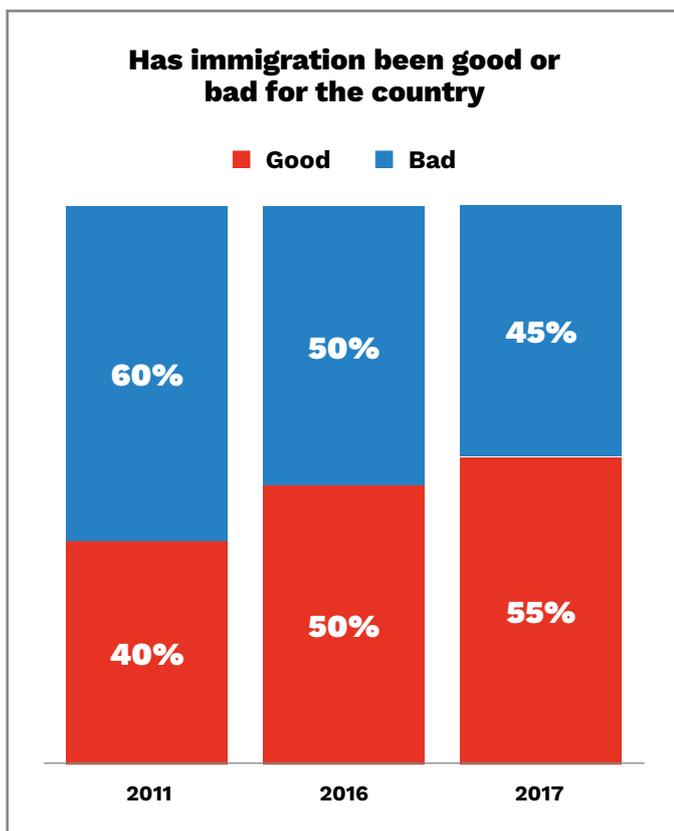
What our survey does show is a growing polarisation in society. While more and more people are joining our more liberal groups, a quarter of the population remain entrenched in our two tribes that are most hostile to immigration and multiculturalism. And while their views on immigration have moderated slightly, perhaps due to the belief that coming out of the EU will see immigration drop, the views of Latent Hostiles and Active Enmity’s to Islam and Muslims is worsening.

A quarter of English people believe that Islam is a dangerous religion that incites violence and this rises to six out of ten of Latent Hostiles and seven out of ten of Active Enmity’s. This is up from 56% and 54% respectively from our February 2016 survey.

In this they are joined by a growing number of people in our Culturally Concerned tribe.

In our February 2016 survey we noted how many in this tribe were moving to more liberal positions on immigration, giving optimism that a more pragmatic and centrist consensus on the issue could be achieved. While the Culturally Concerned remain led by the economic needs of the country when it comes to immigration, many have moved to more hardline positions on Islam and Muslims.

While 80% of the Culturally Concerned believe it is wrong to blame an entire religion for the actions of a few extremists, 90% believe that the Muslim



community should do more in response to the threat of Islamic extremism (14% higher than the average) and 74% think that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilization.

Just over 60% of this group said that the recent terrorist attacks had increased their suspicion of Muslims in Britain.

When it came to the level of discrimination British Muslims face and whether they had integrated into wider British society, the Culturally Concerned are much closer to the Latent Hostiles and Active Enmity groups than the more liberal groups.

With the three groups added together, combined with a significant minority of the more liberal tribes, there is a sizeable chunk of public opinion who are suspicious or even hostile to Muslims and that will be significant in directing public policy going forward, especially if there are further terrorist attacks.

As with our previous polls, the majority of English people prefer stronger law and order and authoritarian solutions to more community-focused alternatives.

Asked which initiatives would best encourage the integration of Muslims into British society, 79% choose the need to ensure that all Muslims spoke English and 71% wanted closer monitoring of faith schools, in Muslim faith schools. Only 51% thought a high profile campaign against anti-Muslim hatred would improve integration and the same proportion of people thought a more positive coverage of Islam and Muslim communities was crucial.

When it came to fighting extremism, two thirds of people cited removing British citizenship from anyone who went abroad to fight for a terrorist group as one of the policies that would be effective. Conversely, just a quarter of people listed Government funded initiatives that brought communities together and so isolating extremists and building unity.

NEW COMMISSION

These attitudes should all be good news for the Government, which is focused on strengthening laws in order to challenge extremism and terrorism.

Late last year the long awaited Casey Review on the state of integration in Britain was published and it was grim reading. Britain, Louise Casey believed, was a deeply divided country and many communities lived parallel lives.



The Government announced the inclusion of the Commission for Countering Extremism in the Queen's Speech with a tweet showing a heavily armed police officer. How this narrative fits with promoting British values remains to be seen.

The Government response was initially lukewarm and it was unclear as to how much of the report's recommendations were going to be adopted. While Communities Minister Sajid Javid immediately took up one of the Casey recommendations by asserting that all publicly elected officials, civil servants and council staff should swear an oath of allegiance to British values, decisions to implement the other recommendations were put on hold whilst his department came up with a policy.

However, in the Conservative Party election Manifesto a Commission for Countering Extremism was announced to drive through the central thrust of the Casey Review, which placed assimilation over integration.

We were told that the Commission would be established as a statutory body, legally compelled to identify extremism in communities where it threatened to undermine British values and would advise the Government on how best to assert British values.

According to the manifesto, its role would be to encourage people and employers to recognise and challenge extremism, and make it as publicly unacceptable as racism had become.

CONCLUSION: TURBULENT TIMES AHEAD (CONTINUED)

Speaking the day after the Manchester terrorist attack, Theresa May said: “Extremism, especially Islamist extremism, strips some people of the freedoms they should enjoy, undermines the cohesion of our society, and can fuel violence. And it can be especially bad for women.”

She added: “There is clearly a role for government in tackling extremism where it involves behaviour that is or ought to be criminal. But there is also a role for government to help people and build up organisations in society to promote and defend Britain’s pluralistic values, and stand up to the extremists who want to undermine our values and impose their twisted beliefs onto the rest of us. That is what this plan is all about.”

The Commission, under this remit, is deeply troubling. By conflating asserting British values over religiously and culturally conservative values with challenging extremism and terrorism it is mixing two quite different issues. By focusing almost exclusively on the dangers of Islam it risks alienating the Muslim community whilst simultaneously reinforcing the

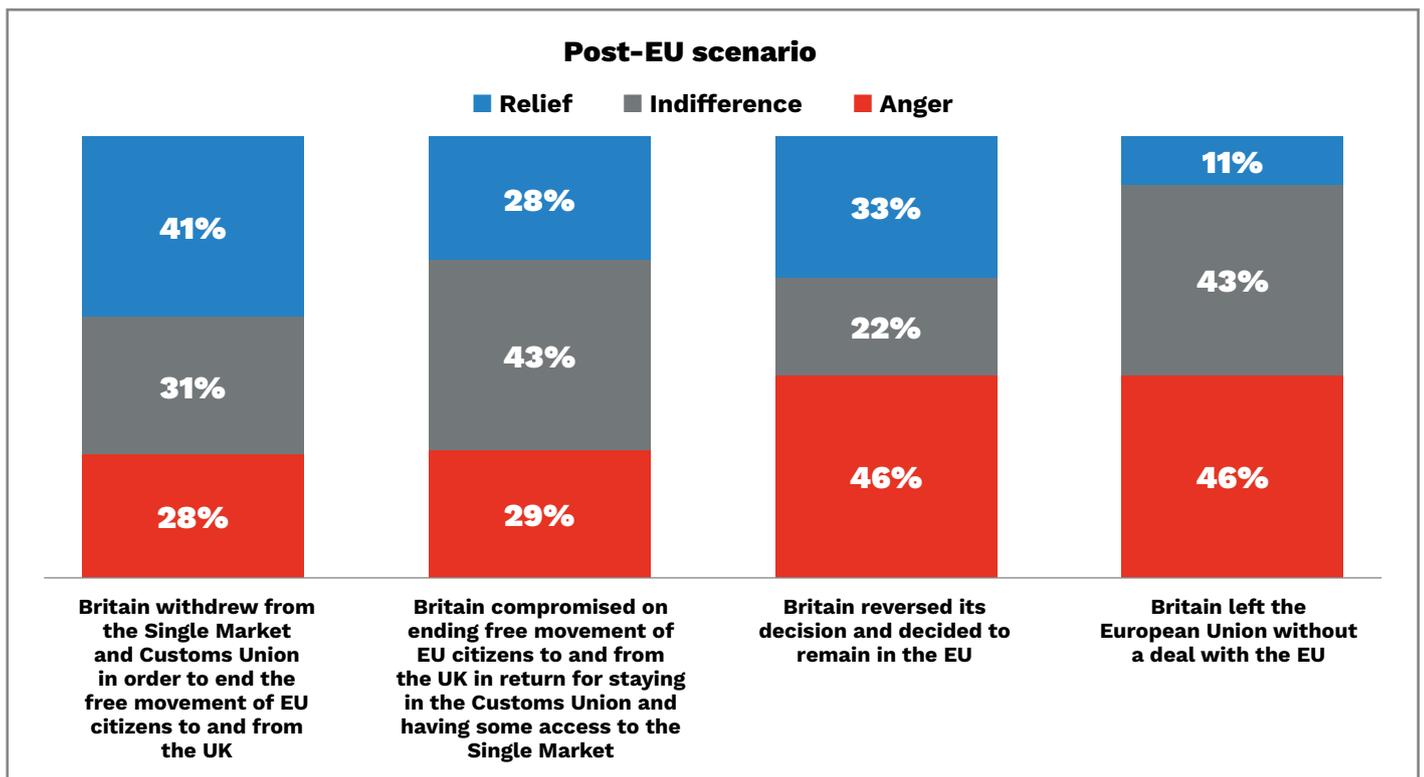
widely held public view that Islam is incompatible with Western values and a threat.

The whole concept of assimilation over integration, whereby settled communities are encouraged to understand and adapt to people from different backgrounds, is a fundamental shift in the Government’s approach to cohesion. Rather than celebrating diversity and our multicultural society, the Government appears to be advocating a move towards a more French model, where there is a strict set of French values to which everyone has to conform to.

Quite apart from not really properly articulating what British values are and how they chosen, the Casey Report viewed second and even third generation minorities as “immigrants”, and so somehow different from British people.

Of course, values are fluid and sometimes contradictory.

As our *Fear and HOPE 2017* poll clearly shows, there is no clear consensus to what values are considered important and there is a wide variety of opinion to



what are the important ingredients for Britishness. Only 7% of respondents cite speaking English well – a cornerstone of the Casey Review, while a quarter state being born here and a fifth cite citizenship.

Almost a third of people state that putting being British ahead of one's own ethnic or religious identity as the most important factor in being British, but this is sharply at odds with most BAME respondents, for which religion and ethnicity is very important to their identity.

While the Government's new approach to assimilation over integration will please 43% of the population who do not believe the Government and councils should help British people learn more about other cultures in order to help new immigrants integrate into society, a significant minority (38%) believe the authorities should. And, crucially, this latter group includes the majority of BAME communities, the very groups who the Government believe need to assimilate more.

SQUARING THE CIRCLE

The *Fear and HOPE* survey dramatically highlights the challenges and problems facing Jeremy Corbyn and the Labour Party.

Labour's support is becoming more liberal, educated and tolerant. In 2011, 30% of those supporting Labour came from our two most liberal tribes. Today, this figure has risen to 52%.

And as Labour's support is drawn from more liberal sections of society, so this influences its policies and outlook, pushing the party to even more liberal positions.

However, this naturally comes into conflict with the views of its more socially conservative working class supporters and – fundamentally now that Labour has a chance of winning the next election – voters in the seats it needs to win to form a majority.

How Labour can keep this quite disparate coalition together in the future is difficult to see. On many of the big cultural and political questions of the day – immigration, integration, terrorism and Brexit – Labour has few clear or coherent policies. As it moves from a party of opposition to a potential Government, then it will have to start making difficult decisions, any one of which is likely to alienate one wing of the party.

BREXIT

Politics over the next few years will be dominated by Britain's decision to leave the European Union. As our survey shows, the country is as divided as ever and there appears little room for compromise or a solution that will please everyone. Indeed, it is more likely that the eventual outcome will disappoint virtually everyone, though one side more than the other.

Only 6% of people have a great deal of confidence that Theresa May will secure a good deal for Britain. Only 17% of the population expect their own personal economic circumstances will improve as a result of Britain's decision to leave the EU, whilst only 25% expect the country's economic position to improve.

Even amongst the tribes that voted strongest to leave the EU, the Latent Hostiles and Active enmity, the majority are pessimistic about May securing a good deal.

What is most startling about our survey is that there is so little room for common ground and so it would appear that whatever deal the Government secures, a significant proportion of the population will feel angry.

Given a number of scenarios for leaving the EU, the English are evenly divided. Almost the exact number of people displayed relief as anger when it was suggested that Britain withdrew from the Single Market and Customs Union in order to end the free movement of EU citizens to and from the UK and Britain compromised on ending free movement of EU citizens to and from the UK in return for staying in the Customs Union and having some access to the single market.

The only scenario which had a clear majority one way or another was if Britain left the EU without a deal. Only 11% of people displayed relief at that scenario, whilst 46% reacted with anger.

Despite the clear polarisation within society over leaving the EU, there is little to cheer strong Remainers. There is little appetite for a second referendum and no indication that the result would be any different if there was a second vote.

The vast majority of Britons believe the UK can thrive outside of the EU and the Single Market and only Confident multiculturalists and Mainstream liberals thought Britain would be more isolated and less powerful on the world stage.

CONCLUSION: TURBULENT TIMES AHEAD (CONTINUED)

The overwhelming majority of people did not believe that leaving the EU would lead to the breakup of the United Kingdom.

What is clear is that a year on from the referendum, the Remainers have still not made an effective and persuasive case for the economic perils of leaving the EU that resonates with the British public. Unless they can create a new narrative quickly, it would seem that the Remainers will have to wait for the impact of Brexit to actually be felt before hoping to win over the soft Brexit vote – and by which time it would be too late to do anything about it.

RIGHT WING DISCONTENT

Our 2016 post-EU referendum poll showed how the most strident Brexit supporters were suddenly the most relaxed and optimistic in society, a stark reversal from our previous *Fear and HOPE* reports where economic pessimism and insecurity drove their fear of the other. A year on, much of this optimism has gone. Partly there is the realisation that leaving the EU might not bring the immediate benefits they thought last summer, but there is also a quite clear sense of apprehension that their victory is going to be stolen from them.

The vast majority of Brexit voters do not think that Theresa May will secure a good deal and their attitudes to any sort of compromise over access to the Single Market or Customs Union is one of anger.

While support for UKIP collapsed in the recent General Election, from 14% in 2015 to 1.8% in 2017, our survey shows that this was not the result of any ideological conversion but rather people lending their votes to the Conservatives as the Brexit party but without any real enthusiasm. Moreover, our survey found that a greater number of people who voted UKIP in 2015 simply did not vote in 2017 than originally presumed.

Our survey shows that the views of those who voted UKIP in 2015 have not moderated and, given either the opportunity or the reason, will support a right wing alternative to the Conservatives if one is offered. In this, they might be joined by a number of traditional Tory voters who feel that their natural party might compromise too much over Brexit.

The right wing leader in waiting is clearly Nigel Farage, the former UKIP leader who strategically sat out of the recent general election knowing that the

party's support would collapse and this, ultimately, would quicken its demise.

Farage had never been able to control the UKIP executive even when he was leader and so he, and those around him like Arron Banks, had long believed that a new party was needed.

Our poll shows that Farage would be a popular choice, with 14% of English people identifying with him as the political leader with views closest to their own. And this is before any betrayal of Brexit is really felt.

TURBULENT TIMES

We commissioned this *Fear and HOPE* report in the immediate aftermath of a general election and four terrorist attacks in three months, and as Brexit talks finally got underway. It seemed a useful juncture at which to measure opinion.

But as with our previous reports, this survey also gives a warning about where the country is going and a pathway along which we can navigate and intervene. As Britain unravels itself from the European Union our poll shows that we are a country that is deeply polarised and uncertain of its future. While attitudes to immigration have continued to moderate, albeit perhaps temporarily, the fear of Muslims and hostility to Islam is hardening amongst many.

While faith, integration and terrorism will all pose important challenges over the next few years, it is Brexit that will really shape the future of this country. Any economic downturn is likely to increase economic insecurity and so increase fear and hostility of the other. Any compromise over the eventual deal is likely to only increase resentment and the feeling of betrayal from those who voted for Brexit. One thing for sure though, it will be a turbulent few years.

METHODOLOGY

- Populus interviewed 4,015 adults aged 18+ in England between 30th June 2017 and 4th July 2017. Quotas were set and weights applied so that the sample was representative of the overall adult English population not just by age, gender, SEG and region, but also a range of other attributes including EU referendum vote, health status, working status, tenure, marital status, ethnicity, car ownership, and engagement in politics
- The sample was segmented using the same variables as in 2011, February 2016 and July 2016. These relate to attitudes and exposure to race, multiculturalism, immigration and religious minorities
- Where relevant, this report refers to results from previous waves of *Fear and HOPE* polling. The base sizes for all waves are as follows:
 - 2011: Total (5,054); Confident Multiculturals (410); Mainstream Liberals (827); Immigrant Ambivalence (1,414); Culturally Concerned (1,235); Latent Hostiles (513); Active Enmity (656)
 - 2016 (February): Total (4,015); Confident Multiculturals (702); Mainstream Liberals (566); Immigrant Ambivalence (771); Culturally Concerned (937); Latent Hostiles (712); Active Enmity (327)
 - 2016 (July): Total (4,032); Confident Multiculturals (860); Mainstream Liberals (606); Immigrant Ambivalence (937); Culturally Concerned (747); Latent Hostiles (595); Active Enmity (287)
 - 2017: Total (4,015); Confident Multiculturals (969); Mainstream Liberals (594); Immigrant Ambivalence (772); Culturally Concerned (793); Latent Hostiles (663); Active Enmity (224)
- Where results do not sum to 100, this is due to rounding or the inclusion of multi-select answer options
- Populus is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by its rules. For more information please see www.populus.co.uk


 The logo for Populus, featuring a stylized question mark icon followed by the word "Populus" in a bold, sans-serif font.

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