

From Richard Branson to Nigel Farage – Marketing of Disruptor Brands

On various British Values Surveys from 2008 onwards, and to some extent in smaller national surveys, we have some insight into domestic right-wing parties – starting with the BNP and on to Ukip, then through the Brexit Party to the Reform company... errhm Reform Party. The relevance of the right-wing Party seems to be in lockstep with the Conservative Party and so is culturally positioned by the larger party.

We have just run the new British Values Survey in December of 2024 (BVS 2025). The following short document will look at two aspects of the political landscape – The Reform Party and people who self-identify as ‘right-wing’.

First a look at Nigel Farage.

Back in the 90s I was called in for a short project by Virgin to look at the likelihood of bringing the Virgin brand into finance – and if so, in what form. The result was to enter the market, but at a later date - but that is not the point of the story.

At the time, part of the Virgin strategy was to disrupt established markets – airlines, soft drinks and so on - through supplying commodity products that could be marketed under the Virgin brand, which had been established as youthful and cutting edge through its music business. The basic strategy was to target the Pioneers within any market they entered, no matter what the product.

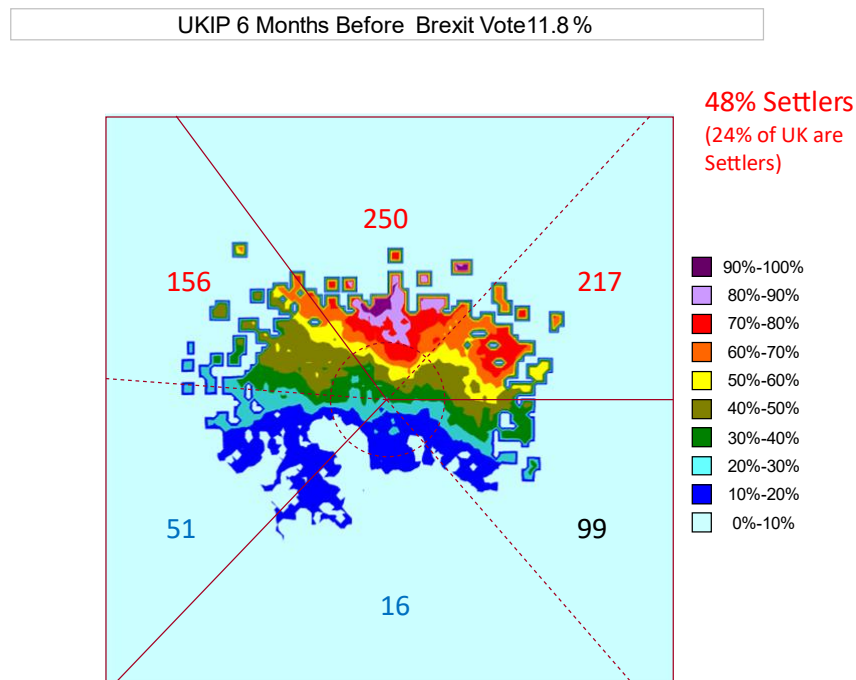
The Pioneers loved the Virgin image and would buy the brand wherever it popped up. Virgin used the CDSM questions and measured the brand across different market sectors, and it was always a disruptor brand in established markets in which a few competitors held market power.

The right-wing in this country is a disruptor to the established brands in politics. Nigel Farage is the disruptor brand; the ‘shadow’ of Richard Branson.

It is Farage who *is* the brand, not the rightwing. He is the disruptor. His brand is the same no matter what the issue/product is at stake.

UKIP existed because he fronted a commodity (right wing alienation from the mainstream of politics). Look at the profile of his core supporters six months before the Brexit Vote.

Note: This profile is generated by respondents saying that “in my heart I support...”. The question is looking for emotional connection not voting behaviour.

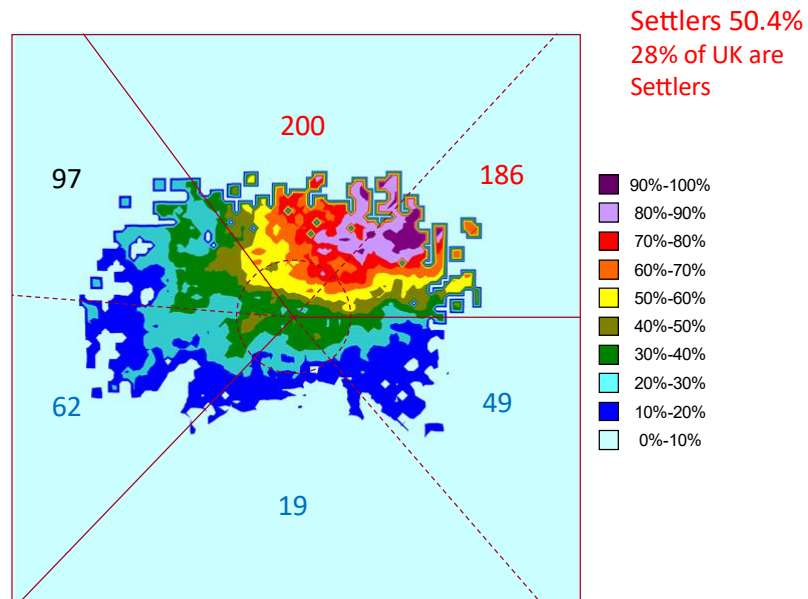


His brand attracted enough potential voters for political watchers to notice, comment, and ponder the effect the brand would have on the Brexit vote – the *raison d’etre* of the party. This analysis shows they were a small, niche Settler-rooted party and unlikely to have any mass effect on their own - but had the ability to disrupt the market positioning of any brand that had voters in the Settler area , which in this case was the Conservative Party.

The Tories had a bigger footprint across the general area - picking up more Prospectors among the Now People in the lower middle part of the map - so were more ‘mainstream’ and picking a wider range of voters come election day. But the Conservatives would try to defend the upper right flank, the Settlers, and by doing so become less mainstream and more reactionary – not a very smart strategy for a government in power.

That was then – what about now?

Reform Party 2025 13.2%



Pretty much the same!

The size of support is a bit higher – both among the Settlers and the population as a whole – that is likely driven by the increase in the number of Settlers in the population since Covid and the incompetence of the Tory reactionary rump that is the Conservative Party today.

Farage-led Parties – three over the last 10 years – are the same no matter the political environment. This looks more like a cult of personality than a serious political party in the established sense.

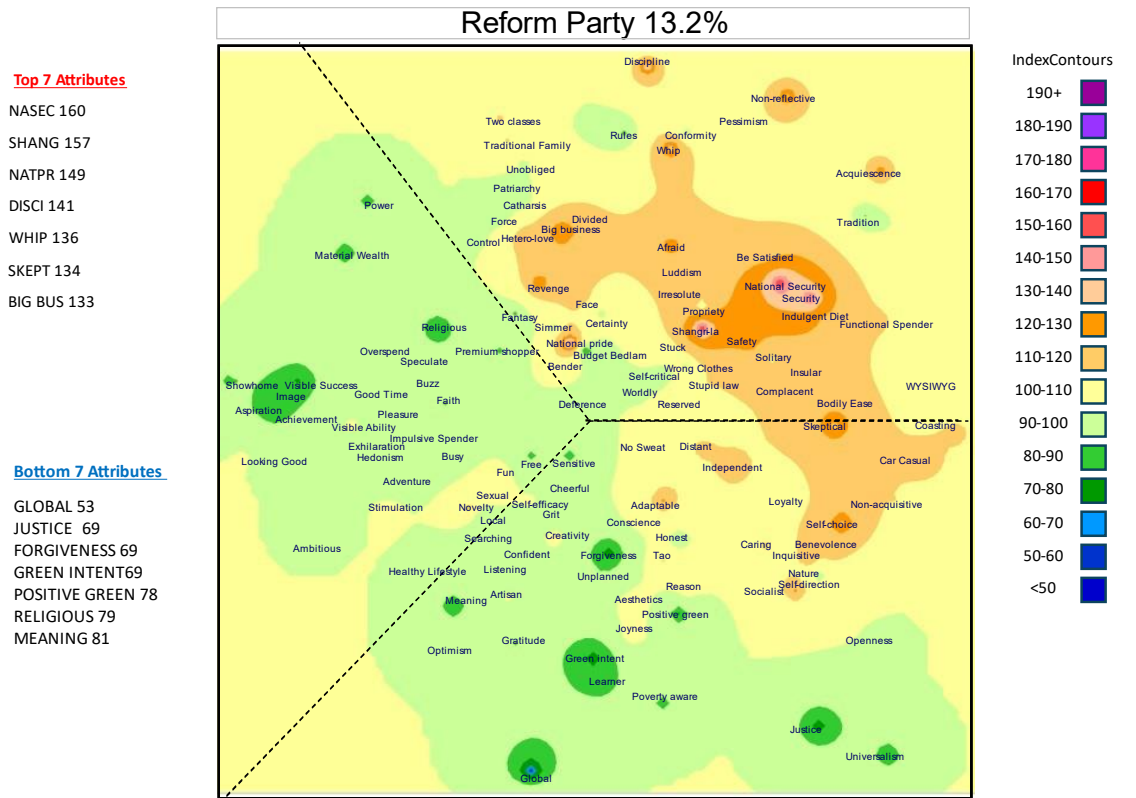
This has been noted by psephologists, but CDSM's analysis shows the human values patterns that are at the root of the personality cult – the next section makes this clearer than just these Maslow Group patterns.

Here we examine all responses to BVS questions through a statistically based visual instrument called a Contour Map which populates the values space with a range of 124 values and behavioural variables called Attributes.

Let's take another look at the data through the lens of this instrument.

information bubbles that act as reinforcement chambers for small world thinking. They have rejected religion and a sense of moral grounding in many instances – they react rather than reflect.

Once again, that was 2015 – what is like in 2025?



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Six of the Top 7 most over indexed Attributes are the same 10 years later. The only difference is that Revenge – in the TOP 7 in 2015 - is now ranked 10; and Big Business, now ranked 7, was ranked 10 in 2015.

- This is the profile of a strong brand when looking at business market dynamics.
- But in political terms, if the brand is a disruptor brand, this is more a sign of weakness. It is unable to transcend a niche positioning to become more politically relevant and is therefore dependent on other parties reacting to them, in this case still the Conservative Party – and to a lesser extent, the current Labour government.

In terms of under-indexed Attributes, the list feels more fatalistic, culturally and emotionally, than ten years ago.

They are still resistant to opening themselves to 'foreigners' and learning from other cultures. They do not see the need for interacting with people unlike themselves. Reinforcing their over-indexing on National Security is their under-indexing on two environmental Attributes, Green Intent and Positive Green.

These Attributes have been conflated in their values systems with 'the foreign enemy' [climate change, NOT caused by the UK] coming from outside their country; with an 'insider threat' from their cultural bogeymen – 'socialists'.

They do not use a moralistic basis within their values system – they perceive their reactions to these threats to be pragmatic and sensible ("We're an island, there is not enough room") usually followed by some vague and barely verifiable reference to 'wokeness' as a cause of cultural decline.

To be fair to them they do acknowledge that they don't have sustainable answers/responses to the problems they have identified. CDSM has added 12 new Attributes to the values space since 2015 and one of them provides a slightly different view of these supporters.

This is called 'Search for Meaning'. By highly under-indexing on this Attribute the Reform supporters reveal that they are NOT searching for their life's purpose. Many supporters will see this approach to life as unnecessary and 'woke'. They tend not to dwell on their motivations for their actions and accept that life is tough but the tough survive. They are more likely to think that simple answers are better than answers that involve nuance and qualifications – 'common sense' is better than 'experts' giving them complex answers.

One of the problems with all political Parties attempting to broaden their appeal to people outside their core supporters is that their answers to political issues does become more nuanced as their messaging attempts to attract new supporters while retaining their current supporters.

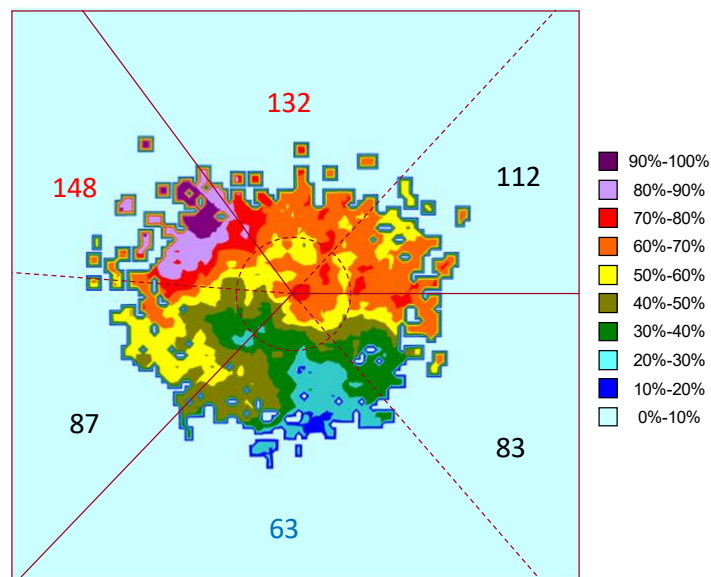
Reform needs to expand its appeal to the Prospectors if they want to move beyond a disruptor brand; and the way to do this is to appeal to other right-wing people

The reason for this is in another set of new data that shows self-identified right-wingers are rising in the UK - more potential recruits for Reform.

The drivers of this are multiple and complexly interrelated, so not a subject to be covered in depth here. Let the numbers speak for themselves, with a bit of added commentary to round things out.

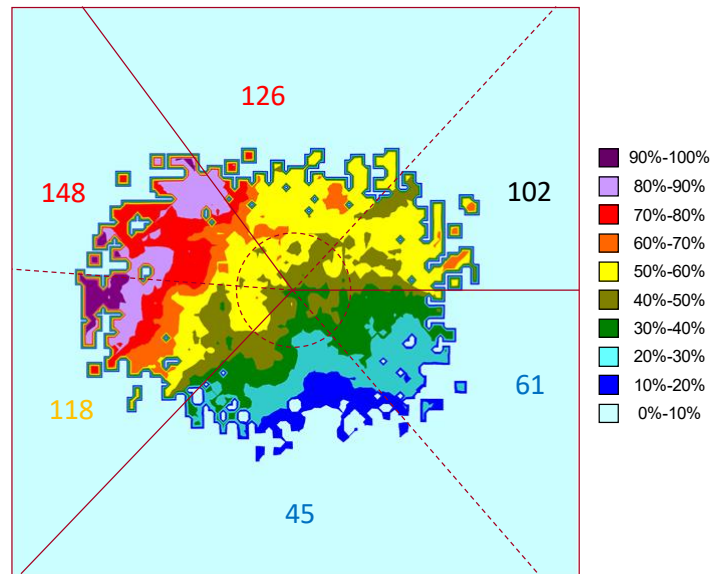
Let's go back to self-identified right wingers just prior to the EU Referendum.

In my heart I am Right Wing 24.1%



This shows the Reform brand is under performing in taking their share of people who say “In my heart I am right wing’ – specifically they had not broken through to the Golden Dreamer Prospectors. This was the area largely identifying with and voting for the Conservative Party in the previous General Election and supporting the Boris Johnson leadership. They were almost 1 in 4 of the British adult population.

In my heart I am right wing – All 31.8%



The core of rightwing support is still in the Golden Dreamer Prospector area with the main support still among the Brave New World Settlers. As we saw earlier, Reform is only getting half of that area of the map. The worrying trend – to those concerned with an open and liberal democracy - is the over-indexing among the Now People Prospectors who are largely under 45 and more likely to still be searching for their meaning in life. As right wingers they may be exploring the appeal of the Reform values set to the exclusion of more culturally caring values of the Pioneers.

The last map here shows the Top and Bottom 7 Attributes in the values space which highlights the core Attributes from 10 years ago – a sign that though the right is growing and some of its profile is changing it is still basically a nationalistic and harshly meritocratic orientation towards life.

need to take care of the environment. Global awareness is the opposite of 'Make Britain Great Again' and is the eighth lowest index among the 124 Attributes.

Finally:

The right-wing party – The Reform Party – could gain more traction if:

- The Conservative Party continues to flounder in looking for its core values as defined by the Settler area of the map. This is an area where the disruptor brand can succeed in reducing Conservative support.

If the Tories want to remain a nationally relevant party, they need to shore up their appeal among right-wing Prospectors – which were once part of the natural appeal. That support eroded, and was picked up by Labour, in the last election.

- The Labour Party continues to downplay socialist culturally liberal values and attempt to mollify Settler values and voters with public statements in support of 'stabilizing the ship', rules and targets (to provide certainty), doing things properly – all necessary for good governance by the way – but something the disruptor brand can promise as well as part of their core proposition: not a place the Labour brand should chose to fight a cultural and media war. As Sun Tzu tells us, "Never fight a battle on the opponents battlefield."

Labour should be promulgating a more inspiring and aspirational 'WAR' on Tory and Reform values. They could be saying more strongly, "Yes, times are tough, we're in a values war and the only way forward is to have goals that look unattainable - but through steadfast principles we can turn this around for a much better tomorrow".

This is done by promulgating and activating values that Reform and the current Conservative party cannot promise and hold onto their own supporters.

These are defined by the Bottom 7 of the Right-Wing Map:

Justice	Poverty Aware	Socialist	Caring
Nature	Openness	Loyal	

Using these few factors to drive policy development, implementation and measurement; while being tracked and coordinated with communications and messaging, Labour can define the battlefield, halt some of the waning

support among those who voted for them in the last general election, and establish clear divisions between the right wing and their own core propositions.

Summary:

The Reform Party is the latest in a series of disruptor brands in the British political landscape. The common thread between them is Nigel Farage who personifies a set of values that disrupts the status quo of political orthodoxy as represented by the Conservative and Labour Parties. Over a 10-year period from 2015 to 2025 the appeal of the party he fronts, at the time, has changed little in terms of mass appeal; and is still a Settler driven brand. But the potential for the disruption effect has increased in the same period as the number of people who declare themselves to be rightwing has increased from just under one in four to close to one in three with - the biggest increase coming among the Now People who tend to be under 45 years old. For Labour or Conservative to choose to fight Reform on their Rightwing values - a Values war - is to fight a war on the enemies' battleground and should be resisted. Conservative and Labour can create totally different battlegrounds in the struggle for a dominant narrative.