



IPPR

REPORT

THE NEW ELECTORATE

WHY UNDERSTANDING VALUES IS THE KEY TO ELECTORAL SUCCESS



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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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ABOUT IPPR

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CONTENTS

Foreword: Nick Pearce and Graeme Cooke.....	2
Executive summary	3
Key findings	3
The structure of this paper.....	5
1. Current tools for analysing the electorate offer only a partial picture	8
1.1 The limitations of a class-based perspective	8
1.2 Alternative ways of understanding the electorate	9
1.3 The limitations of alternative ways to view the electorate	10
2. Values – a new analytical prism	11
2.1 Understanding values	11
2.2 The British Values Survey and the values prism.....	13
3. Understanding the electorate – a values perspective	19
3.1 How values have changed over time	19
3.2 Behind the headlines – five key dimensions of political debate.....	20
3.3 Dimension 1: Optimism and pessimism	20
3.4 Dimension 2: Aspiration and lack of aspiration	21
3.5 Dimension 3: Social conservatism and social liberalism.....	21
3.6 Dimension 4: Tradition and modernity.....	23
3.7 Dimension 5: Responsibility and fairness	24
3.8 Summary of the five key dimensions of political debate	26
4. Politics and values – where political parties get their support	27
4.1 Party affinity.....	27
4.2 Key highlights for each political party.....	28
4.3 Latest 2012 heat maps for the main political parties	29
4.4 Case study: the rise of Ukip	30
5. Politics and values – the battleground	32
5.1 Preferred government options	32
5.2 Loyalty, toxicity and swing voters	33
5.3 Labour’s electoral battlegrounds	36
6. Social norms, salience, framing, issue alliances, bridge-building and coalitions	39
6.1 Social norms	39
6.2 Salience	40
6.3 Framing.....	41
6.4 Issue alliances	43
6.5 Bridge-building	43
6.6 Coalition making.....	44
6.7 Blue or New?	44
7. Conclusion – the political battleground of values	46
References	48
Appendices	49

FOREWORD

NICK PEARCE AND GRAEME COOKE

With less than two years to go until the next election, it already feels like the long campaign is underway. It is often said that the daily diet of political ups and downs dished up by the media serves to obscure the bigger issues at play in our national life. In similar way, the seemingly incessant flow of opinion polls can make it hard to grasp the deeper trends and enduring truths that are shaping the contemporary British electorate. It is for this reason that we are pleased to publish this original analysis of voter's values, as the political parties gear up for 2015. This follows up our earlier report, *Still partying like it's 1995*, which explored the changing political sociology of Britain, published by IPPR in 2011.

Using a range of data and an established methodology, Nick Pecorelli argues in this paper that the power of social psychology and the role of emotion are seriously underplayed in traditional forms of psephology. By reaching beyond both temporal opinions and objective characteristics, his values framework offers a new perspective on what voters care about and what drives their political concerns. Perhaps most importantly, he shows how these motivations are dynamic and interconnected.

For us, a values framework does not mean that class or material interests drop away as major explanatory factors, either sociologically or politically. However, Pecorelli's schema does significantly advance our insight into a number of the central phenomena and crucial dilemmas of modern politics. Perhaps most importantly, it helps to bypass the tired, circular argument about whether it is the job of political parties to lead or follow public opinion. Democratic politics is far more complex and contingent than that, with many more possibilities than such a stale dichotomy suggests.

Beyond this, the values lens helps us to look through the short-term vicissitudes of politics to more fully understand where each of the parties is strong and weak, in a way that illuminates the real battlegrounds of the next election. Pecorelli explains why Ukip is tapping into a deep seam of cultural sentiment, not just anti-European and anti-immigrant sentiment. He also explores why Blue Labour arguments have given voice to a vital part of the British left's traditional election-winning coalition, as well as the difficulties Ed Miliband faces in holding that coalition together.

In contrast to many perspectives on voter trends, the analysis presented here is a reminder of the need for political movements to build alliances across a plural electorate if they are to win elections and govern the country. There is often a tendency to exaggerate hyper-diversity and an attendant need to stitch together patchwork quilts of fickle, floating voters. Instead, Pecorelli's perspective points to the importance of engaging with the deeply held concerns and sentiments of broad groups of the electorate and the need to develop messages and strategies which build common concern among them. Camping out in narrow sections of the electorate will not work for those seeking an electoral majority or aiming to govern in the national interest.

There will be no shortage of polling and advice for all the political parties between now and election day (and Nick Pecorelli's is his own, rather than IPPR's). Much of this will focus on the ebbs and flows of electoral politics. But we hope this paper helps to keep the deeper forces and bigger issues clearly in sight.

Nick Pearce and Graeme Cooke, IPPR

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Class, gender and age are insufficient prisms for understanding contemporary politics. Nor can the centre-ground of politics be understood simply as one point on the left-right continuum.

To truly understand voters, the most potent prism is *values*. This framework uses social psychology to show how voters see the world, how they feel about it at a visceral level.

This paper is based on historical data from the British Values Survey and four polls conducted during 2011 and 2012 covering over 9,000 people. It also incorporates analysis from over 200 focus groups conducted by The Campaign Company over the last four years.

Key findings

Through four decades of research the British Values Survey identifies three main values groups based on dominant psychological dispositions:

1. Settlers (socially conservative and focused on security and belonging)
2. Prospectors (aspirant, optimistic and desiring status and esteem)
3. Pioneers (focused on fairness, with generally more 'post-materialistic' goals).

These can then each be broken down into four subgroups (making a total of 12).

Using a values approach to analysing the electorate we can observe the following:

- The long-term trend in the electorate has been a decline in the number of Settlers. However, the number of Settlers began to grow again well before the 2008 recession; this continued until 2011, before receding somewhat in 2012, as some Settlers shifted back into the Prospectors camp, suggesting a hesitant return of optimism. The number of Pioneers grew rapidly in the 1970s and then more slowly before broadly plateauing over the last 15 years or so.
- In 2012, the British population divided up among the three groups as follows:
 - Pioneer: 38 per cent
 - Prospector: 32 per cent
 - Settler: 30 per cent
- In recent years the electoral centre-ground has not shifted dramatically; there are just fewer people on it. More voters are passionate about fairness, more think there are too many welfare scroungers and more are socially conservative. In 2008, 50 per cent of the population mapped to the centre of the 'values space', where the values are softer, and 50 per cent mapped to the outside of the values space, where values are louder; in subsequent surveys, 60 per cent mapped to the outside of the values space.
- While there are significant differences in the values of people living in different parts of the country, there is no simple north/south values divide.

Many factors influence voting, but values provide an important driver and help political parties to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their overall message. Values analysis should be used to understand voters at a profound level and to shape big picture narratives capable of resonating with voters, not for micro-targeting messages or for conducting the electoral ground war.

- During its time in office, Labour lost voters among all values groups, including the support of some Pioneers after the Iraq war, but overall it lost more Settlers (socially conservative voters) than any other voter group. Our December 2012 poll suggests renewed weakness among this values group.

- The Liberal Democrats have always drawn most of their support from Pioneers. In government they are losing the support of some of this group but hanging on to their socially liberal Prospectors.
- In the years preceding David Cameron's leadership the Tories did relatively well among Settlers but particularly badly among those with the strongest Pioneer values. He was partially successful in redressing this, but our latest polls show renewed weakness among those with the strongest Pioneer values.
- Mainstream political parties have become relatively astute at shaping messages that resonate with aspirant Prospectors, but in different ways each finds it more challenging to balance the concerns of Settlers and Pioneers. All three mainstream parties currently do better among Prospectors than you would expect given their overall level of support (they over-index among Prospectors).

What does the rise of Ukip tell us?

- Ukip supports are much more likely to hold Settler values than Pioneer or Prospector values.
- Settlers are more pessimistic about the future, nostalgic for a time 'when life was simpler and you knew that your neighbours shared your values', patriotic, and significantly more negative about immigration. They focus more on preserving our way of life and eschew modernity.
- Conventional analysis focuses on the shift of Conservative support to Ukip since the 2010 general election. However, values analysis shows that the Tories continue to over-index among Settlers (108), whereas Labour under-indexes (75). In 2000, Labour performed just as well among Settlers as among other values groups. Therefore, while it may be true that for the Tories Ukip poses a dilemma, for Labour the loss of Settler support represents a more profound challenge.
- Ukip's rise in support has been heavily concentrated among Settlers. While many voted Tory at the last election, many have also voted Labour at some point in the last 20 years or so.

Loyal voters, swing voters and late deciders

- Settlers are more likely to say they always vote for a political party, they are more inclined to tribal loyalty (poorer and urban settlers are most likely to be tribally loyal to Labour and rural and better off Settlers to the Conservatives).
- Those with strong Pioneer values are most likely to see politics as a choice between different progressive parties.
- Looking only the 'battleground voters' who say they sometimes vote for different parties we can see a clear pattern:
 - the main Labour versus Conservative battleground is among the most socially conservative voters (Settlers and socially conservative Prospectors)
 - the main Labour versus Liberal Democrat battleground is among strong Pioneers.
- Prospectors are more likely to decide late and to change their decision in the run-up to an election. They are more likely to want to back winners, and this means that momentum among other voters provides a platform for success among Prospectors.

Building coalitions and winning elections

- With fewer people on the centre-ground it is now harder for any political party to build a coalition that reaches out across the values groups.

- With a fairly even split across the main values groups, no political party can afford to ignore any values group. In the United States, where 50 per cent of the population are Pioneers and just 18 per cent are Settlers (2012 poll), Barack Obama could ignore the latter group. Labour cannot afford to ape Obama's strategy and make fairness and prosperity the only messages.
- Political parties normally build successful coalitions over time by giving each of the main values groups enough of what they really want. A recent example is provided by the SNP, which offered 'pride in nation' to Settlers, a more egalitarian agenda to Pioneers, and finally secured the support of many Prospectors with a combination of a prosperity message and momentum built on success among the other values groups.
- Analysis of values suggests that in the internal Labour party debate between 'New' and 'Blue' Labour, New Labour has more potential resonance with Prospectors and Blue Labour with Settlers.
- Many commentators focus on Labour's grasping for economic credibility but its main task is to win back Settlers. For this group, economic credibility is based on achieving value for money and economic understanding is normally framed in terms of household budgets. However, many Settlers are disbelieving of all political parties on the economy and more focused on culture and identity. Immigration is a crunch issue for this values group.
- One of the ways in which Labour can build a coalition of support is to think about how it can bridge the values divide on the most salient issues. An example of a 'values bridge' would be 'firm on immigration and firm on discrimination'. This positioning statement is designed to reassure Settlers (and socially conservative Prospectors) that Labour will put in place clear controls on immigration and enforce them and at the same time reassure Pioneers that a tougher approach to immigration will not mean that Labour tolerates racism, xenophobia or discrimination of any kind.
- Labour's best route to government is to rebuild a coalition of Settlers and Pioneers based on reassurance on social change for the Settler and fairness for the Pioneer, and then hone its prosperity offer in the year leading up to the election.

The structure of this paper

1. Current tools for analysing the electorate offer only a partial picture

This chapter explores the different conventional approaches to analysing the electorate, including the market research categories AB, C1, D2 and DE, demographic factors, ideological spectrums and geodemographic data. Each has different strengths and weakness but typically they are better at demonstrating *what* people think rather than *why* they think it. Or, in the case of geodemographics, better at identifying where likely voters might be, rather than the big picture messages that are likely to motivate them to turn out for a particular party. Class, in particular, has been the mainstay of political analysis since universal suffrage, but it cannot be used as a prism for understanding different world views within class or shared world views across class.

2. Values – a new analytical prism

This chapter gives a brief account of some of the body of international values research based on surveys going back to the 1970s, particularly the work of social psychologists Ronald Inglehart and Shalom Schwartz. Values are more deeply held than attitudes and opinions. They are psychological dispositions which reflect upbringing, background and influences, including wider sociological shifts.

It goes on to explain the values model based on the British Values Survey, which began in 1973. This framework segments the population into three main values groups and 12 subgroups. It also demonstrates how values correlate with socioeconomics, demographics and – by way of example – newspaper readership.

3. Understanding the electorate – a values perspective

This chapter looks at the long-term and more recent shifts in values among the British population. It goes on to demonstrate the potential for this kind of analysis by considering five core values dimensions:

1. Optimism and pessimism
2. Aspiration and lack of aspiration
3. Social conservatism and social liberalism
4. Tradition and modernity
5. Responsibility and fairness

Within these values dimensions the chapter explores the electorate's views on issues such as immigration, welfare, economic management and the distribution of power and resources.

4. Politics and values – where political parties get their support

This chapter looks at the recent history of support for political parties by values; the key findings of which are outlined earlier in this chapter.

5. Politics and values – the battleground

This chapter looks at the key battlegrounds for the next election. It shows how the battles between Labour and the Conservatives and Labour and the Liberal Democrats are over voters with very different values.

- Based two polls in 2011, 42 per cent of voters say they will never vote Conservative, compared to just 30 per cent who say they will never vote Labour.
- 11 per cent of voters say they sometimes vote Labour and sometimes vote Liberal Democrat.
 - The key battleground between Labour and the Liberal Democrats is among 'Confident Pioneers'.
- 7 per cent of voters say they sometimes vote Labour and sometimes vote Conservative.
 - The key battleground between Labour and the Conservatives is among 'Traditional' and 'Alienated Settlers' and 'Socially Conservative Prospectors'.
- The nature of our electoral system means potential Conservative–Labour switchers are more valuable to Labour than Lib–Dem–Labour switchers, and that for Labour to have a chance of securing a majority at the next election it has to appeal to both the most socially conservative voters – who care about identity, social order, responsibility and economic security, and who might otherwise be tempted to vote Conservative – and to the voters who care most about fairness, who might otherwise be tempted to return to the Liberal Democrats.

6. Social norms, salience, framing, issue alliances, bridge-building and coalitions

This chapter goes into more detail on voting behaviour by values groups. It shows how strong Pioneers see voting as a choice between different progressive parties, Settlers have a desire to be tribally local, and Prospectors combine pragmatism with a desire to back

winners. It explains how trends in society normally begin with the Pioneers values group and why Settlers are typically resistant to change. It goes on to look at the relationship between values and the salience of certain issues.

It then looks more closely at how the framing of issues alters how they are received by different values groups, highlighting the possibility of issue-based alliances that bring people together from different values groups. Finally, it looks at how to use values 'bridges' to cross the values divide and why it is necessary for political parties seeking to gain widespread support to offer each of the main values groups enough of what they really want.

For Labour, the route to victory lies in understanding the potential resonance of aspects of Blue Labour, particularly for Settlers, and of New Labour, particularly for Prospectors. But, above all, Labour must bridge the values divide with positioning statements that can garner widespread support from people with different values.

Appendices

These set out more information on the relationship between class and values, values by geography and the 12 values groups.

1. CURRENT TOOLS FOR ANALYSING THE ELECTORATE OFFER ONLY A PARTIAL PICTURE

1.1 The limitations of a class-based perspective

The focus on values in this paper is significant because it contrasts with the framework for thinking about the electorate which has dominated politics for generations. In 1967, leading psephologist Peter Pulzer concluded that ‘class is the basis of British party politics: all else is embellishment and detail’. Nearly half a century ago, when a clear majority of working-class voters backed Labour and middle-class voters overwhelmingly voted Conservative, that seemed a reasonable conclusion. Since then, however, party loyalty has fallen across the board and there has, in the jargon, been a ‘dealignment’ in class voting patterns (Cooke 2011). By 2010, the electorate had become much more middle class overall, and only little more than one-third of working-class voters backed the Labour party.¹

Despite these shifts, the occupational classification system – AB, C1, C2, DE – remains the cornerstone of political polling and analysis. However, sociologists have long since rejected these market research categories, which were developed before the second world war when no one worked in fast-food outlets or call centres and public sector employment barely existed. The Office for National Statistics has for some time used a measure of class derived from John Goldthorpe’s employment ‘aggregate approach’.² This aims to cater for the major changes in the occupational and industrial structure over the post-war period.

More recently the BBC commissioned Mike Savage and Fiona Divine to conduct the Great British Class Survey.³ This study – based on the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu – extended the analysis of class beyond occupation to economic, cultural and social capital, and therefore offers a more textured understanding of class.

Even with these better measures, most politicians and commentators continue to assume that class position drives voting behaviour, and that class groups think and act as distinct blocs. But across the western world this is far less the case than it once was. In the US, many of the poorest states vote heavily Republican (Frank 2005). In Britain, the relationship between class and voting has been breaking down for as long as pollsters have been using it as their main prism.

Table 1.1
The class voting gap since 1974 (Mori voting by general election)

	Oct '74	'79	'83	'87	'92	'97	'01	'05	'10
ABC1 vote: Cons. lead	+37	+35	+39	+36	+32	+5	+4	+6	+12
DE vote: Labour lead	+38	+15	+8	+18	+18	+35	+31	+23	+9
Class vote gap	75	50	47	52	50	40	35	29	21

Mori polling shows that at the October 1974 general election the class gap was 75 percentage points (the Conservative lead among ABC1 voters plus the Labour lead among DE voters). By the time of the 2010 general election the class gap had fallen to just 21 percentage points.

Social class is a real and enduring sociological feature of British society. It continues to structure the distribution of economic power and social disadvantage (Cooke 2011). And it is not inconsequential in understanding people’s political identity and voting behaviour. However, despite its increasingly weak explanatory power it remains the dominant framework for thinking about the electorate.

1 See Ipsos MORI, ‘How Britain voted in 2010’: www.ipsos-mori.com/Assets/Docs/Polls/Aggregate%20for%20web%20210510.pdf

2 For more information see ‘The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification’: www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/classifications/current-standard-classifications/soc2010/soc2010-volume-3-ns-sec--rebased-on-soc2010--user-manual/index.html

3 BBC Lab UK Experiment, March 2013

1.2 Alternative ways of understanding the electorate

Aware of the limitations of class, psephologists and political analysts have, in recent years, cast around for alternatives. Many of these offer valuable perspectives, but all suffer from their own significant weaknesses.

Demographics

As the explanatory power of class has receded, psephologists have looked to other observable characteristics to understand people's engagement with politics. Categories like age, gender and ethnicity provide useful segmentations of the electorate; helping to show which groups are growing or declining in size, and which are especially important politically (see for example Kelly 2011). However, being a member of a given demographic group does not determine someone's politics, not least because any individual is a member of multiple groups. Moreover, this approach struggles to account for within-group variation and between-group similarity. For example, there is often a big difference between the beliefs and attitudes of first-generation migrants and those of their children.

Attitudes

As the sheer amount of political polling has proliferated, we now know more than ever about the attitudes and options of the British population. The British Social Attitudes survey in particular provides a large stock of data on what people think about a range of issues (including detailed segmentations and trends).⁴ This can be incredibly useful for gauging the public's view on a given topic, but it offers a much more limited insight into the mood of the electorate as a whole. This is because attitudes data asks separate and static questions, rather than exploring the links between different issues or interrogating *why* people think or act in a certain way.

For example, attitudinal data reveals that almost everyone supports a health service free at the point of use. However, the fundamental beliefs which underpin that position are likely to vary considerably. What people think about GPs being in charge of budgets; whether large, modern hospitals are better than small local hospitals with a personal touch; whether we should bring back the matron; how relaxed people are about GPs getting large remuneration packages – all these issues relate to core beliefs extending beyond the NHS itself.

Geodemographics

In recent years, pollsters and market researchers have sought to achieve a more rooted and rounded understanding of the electorate by analysing people according to the place they live and their lifestyle. This is known as geodemographics and the most commonly used dataset is provided by Mosaic.⁵ While such systems provide rich data, their underlying premise is that similar people live in similar places and therefore that you can explain motivations by knowing what job people have and where they live. But this is not necessarily the case. The *reasons* that people end up living in a certain neighbourhood are highly likely to be different: a combination of financial, family, employment and lifestyle reasons. And even if those people subsequently live in similar ways to those around them, this is highly likely to reflect different underlying motivations. In short, birds of a feather don't always flock together. Moreover, while a geographic dimension is vital for parties' locked in a 'ground war', over-reliance on this perspective can lead to the kinds of micro-segmentation and micro-targeting which focuses on the latest 'Worcester women' while missing the big picture.

4 For more information on UK datasets, see: <http://esds.ac.uk/government/bsa/>

5 For more information see: www.experian.co.uk/business-strategies/mosaic-uk-2009.html

Ideological spectrums

Given the inability of these approaches to provide insights into the political orientation of the electorate as a whole, political analysts have looked to construct various ideological spectrums along which voters are distributed (see Painter and Moussavi 2010 for some examples). The most established of such spectrums is left–right, although this is not an uncontested distinction, followed by the authoritarian–libertarian axis. These distinctions can give a good sense of where the electorate, broadly speaking, stands on a given theme or value, and how these positions segment by different demographic groups.

However, this approach is not able to show how someone’s position on one particular axis might relate to their position on another. For example, an authoritarian–libertarian model will help to understand the electorate’s views on law and order, but a separate model would be needed to explore perspectives on tax and spending. This approach also tends to simplify what are invariably complex issues, such as the balance between the roles of the state and the market in the running of the economy. Viewing politics through the lens of ideological spectrums also tends to hardwire in division and fragmentation, squeezing out the potential for common interests and alliances to be recognised and forged.

1.3 The limitations of alternative ways to view the electorate

Each of these perspectives offers important and valuable insights into the character of the modern electorate. They can help us to understand what different groups of people think about various issues and questions. And they can describe what the electorate is like in objective terms. In this, they supplement a class-based analysis, but they share its two central limitations.

But none of the approaches exposes the overall underlying beliefs and motivations that shape people’s engagement with politics (although their ‘circumstances of life’, such as their gender, their class or where they live are likely to play a constitutive role in forging them). The consequence of these limitations is that the dominant view of the electorate in the minds of politicians and commentators is at once both partial and caricatured. In political circles, the strategic debate is invariably orientated around class, especially arguments about the relative importance of regaining ‘middle-class swing voters’ and ‘working-class core voters’. All the main parties are focused on appealing to ‘C1 and C2 voters’, widely seen as electorally decisive. However, it is far from clear what descriptive or analytical purchase these class labels now have.⁶ Then there are the regular calls for parties to ‘do better’ among certain voter groups: for example, women and those in the north for the Tories, or older people and those in the south for Labour. Again, beyond the self-evident and the superficial, the headline polling numbers say very little about what a strategy designed to achieve such ends might comprise.

All of these forms of political analysis – and the psephological perspectives they embody – contain more than a grain of truth. But by operating in a world seen as linear and static they expose problems but offer few solutions. By assuming class, demographic or geographic groups are homogenous they often miss their target. And by focusing on segmentation and distinctions they undermine political coherence and underplay the potential for building shared interests and alliances. Neither fully descriptive nor genuinely insightful, they leave politicians ill equipped to understand the electorate.

6 Graeme Cooke (2011) argues that in the mid-1990s such labels, while imperfect, spoke more accurately to the political task facing the centre-left in understanding how society was changing and the electoral groups vital to winning power. This is now no longer the case.

2. VALUES – A NEW ANALYTICAL PRISM

2.1 Understanding values

In recent years, analysts such as Drew Weston and George Lakoff have highlighted the importance of values and emotions in understanding politics (see Weston 2008, Lakoff 2009). But the study of values and their relationship with behaviours can be traced back to much earlier in the last century. Abraham Maslow made perhaps the first attempt by a psychologist to relate core beliefs to psychological and real needs. He first set out his views in the 1943 paper, 'A Theory of Human Motivation', which contained the 'hierarchy of needs'. However, Maslow worked by observation and qualitative insight and had limited data to back his theory.

Since then the field of understanding human values and motivations has blossomed. Milton Rokeach and Clare Graves are among those who developed values classification systems.

Some social psychologists have also gone on to develop huge data sets to help us understand values. In 1977 Ronald Inglehart published *The Silent Revolution*, which highlighted a major cultural shift in the US and other western countries. In it, Inglehart postulated that western societies were in the midst of an intergenerational shift in values, and coined the phrase 'post-materialist' to describe the new generation. He went on to develop the World Values Survey, which has provided a wealth of data showing the differences in values between countries from the 1970s to the present day. The diagram below shows the latest iteration of the World Values Survey cultural map, which plots the transitions from traditional values to secular-rational values on the Y-axis and from survival values to self-expression values on the X-axis.

Figure 2.1
The World Values Survey
cultural map, 2005–08



Source: Inglehart and Welzel 2010

The World Values Survey provides amazing data and insight, particularly for understanding the overall shifts in the values of countries and the differences in values between countries, but it is less useful for understanding the differences in values within a country. Two other social psychologists provide useful data and analytical prisms for understanding values differences within countries, groups or organisations – Shalom Schwartz and, more recently, Jonathan Haidt.

In his latest book, *The Righteous Mind*,⁷ Jonathan Haidt explains the different values palette of conservatives and liberals. He argues that conservatives have a broader values palette than liberals, encompassing loyalty, authority and sanctity, three of the six 'moral foundations' co-developed by Haidt.

For his part, Shalom Schwartz has studied values in over 60 countries, and his work is part of the European Values Survey. More importantly, his values model is incorporated into the British Values Survey, conducted by Cultural Dynamics Marketing and Strategy Ltd,⁸ on which the data in this paper is based.

According to Schwartz, 'values are the desirable goals we set for ourselves, which transcend specific situations and motivate our actions' (Schwartz 2006). They are often unconscious; they shape our emotions and are more fundamental than our attitudes and opinions. Values are deeply held and reflect upbringing, background and influences, including wider sociological changes and changes in economic fortunes.

Psychologists often argue that we all have core personality traits, similar to values, which are fundamental to how we see ourselves and the world: openness to experience; conscientiousness; extraversion; agreeableness; emotional stability.⁹

Through his research, Schwartz has identified 10 values that he considers fundamental to human nature. These help us to build up a vivid picture of people's values and to develop a way of understanding how holding a particular value affects the likelihood of holding (or not holding) others. The 10 fundamental values Schwartz identifies are:

1. **Self-direction:** independent thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring.
2. **Stimulation:** excitement, novelty and challenge in life.
3. **Hedonism:** pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.
4. **Achievement:** personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.
5. **Power:** social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources.
6. **Security:** safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self.
7. **Conformity:** restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms.
8. **Tradition:** respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self.
9. **Benevolence:** preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the 'in-group').
10. **Universalism:** understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature.

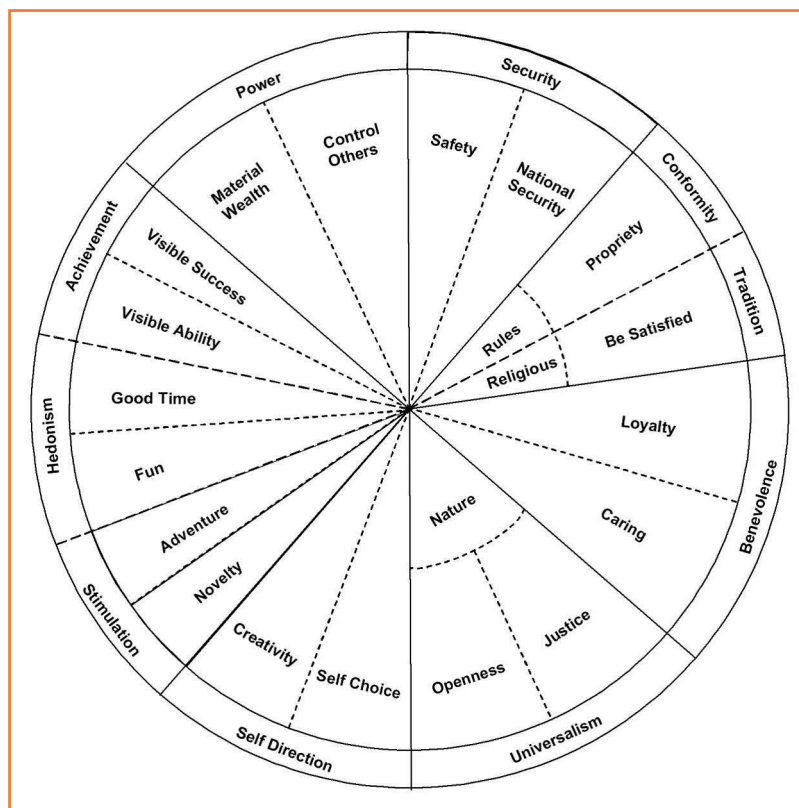
7 Haidt 2012; see also www.moralfoundations.org for more on the six moral foundations and to test your own 'moral foundations profile'.

8 For more information, see www.cultdyn.co.uk

9 For more information see the *American Psychological Association Dictionary* (2007).

To help understand how these values relate to one another in a given person, Schwartz developed a circular presentation of the values (see figure 2.2). This visual model enables us to see the relationships between different values. The circumference comprises Schwartz's 10 fundamental values; the values inside the wheel are the building blocks for those values. For example, 'safety' and 'national security' make up 'security'.

Figure 2.2
The Schwartz depiction of values, adapted by L Higgins



Note: This interpretation of Schwartz's work was developed by Les Higgins of Cultural Dynamics Marketing and Strategy Ltd. The 10 fundamental values arranged around the outside of the circle are identical to Schwartz's original, but are rotated to fit with Cultural Dynamics' segmentation, and Higgins developed the 21 'portrait' questions that support the 10 fundamental values.

Of course, human beings do not hold one value in isolation. The purpose of the circular placement is to show where values are (broadly speaking) aligned or antagonistic. For example, for the vast majority of people, the value 'universalism' – a belief in tolerance and equality – is antagonistic to the value 'power' – a desire to dominate and be in control. Therefore these values are shown on opposite sides of the wheel. On the other hand, proximate values on the wheel are complementary. For example, someone who is very 'self-directed' is also likely to seek out 'stimulation'. This framework provides a helpful starting point for thinking about the strength and pervasiveness of particular values and, more importantly, how values cluster (or not) with each other.

2.2 The British Values Survey and the values prism

In Britain, Pat Dade and Les Higgins of Cultural Dynamics Marketing and Strategy Ltd have conducted the British Values Survey since 1973. The survey includes questions on conventionally polled subjects, such as immigration, the economy, crime and the environment. But it also probes more abstract questions, like whether someone has

difficulty telling where reality ends and daydreams begin, whether it is important to have lots of possessions, or whether people care about what others think of them, and much more besides.¹⁰

Using multivariate analysis based on answers to the British Values Survey questions, we can identify people's dominant values disposition. From these we can segment the British population as a whole.

Based on four decades of research, Cultural Dynamics Ltd has identified three broad values dispositions, each comprising four subgroups – a total of 12 segments altogether. This establishes a 'prism' through which values can be understood and then mapped to class, age, gender and other factors related to an individual's circumstances. The annex of this pamphlet contains full information on all 12 values subgroups, and more detailed demographic and socioeconomic breakdowns for the three main groups. For the purposes of this paper, much of the analysis focuses on the six subgroups (two from each of the main groups) with the 'loudest', most distinctive values profiles.

Introducing the three main values groups

The three main values groups based on dominant motivations and beliefs are called **Pioneers, Prospectors** and **Settlers**.

Pioneers (currently 38 per cent of the population):

- Socially tolerant or liberal
- More positive about social change and diversity
- More post-materialist; want a fairer society
- Split between optimists and those who are concerned about the future of society
- Typically start trends in society
- No simple solutions to problems
- Lower fear of crime
- Looser knit and more diverse social networks
- Local connects to global

Prospectors (currently 32 per cent of the population):

- Aspirant and focused on economic maximisation
- Generally optimistic about the future
- Socially conservative or liberal
- Hierarchy, status and respect important
- More oriented to free-market solutions and relaxed about differences in wealth
- Not interested in causes
- More interested in trends and backing winners
- Being at the centre of things locally

Settlers (currently 30 per cent of the population):

- Socially conservative
- Anxious about economic security and value for money in a world of finite resources

¹⁰ Since 2005, the British Values Survey has incorporated the core questions from Schwartz's Values Survey, which are not specific to Britain but help to corroborate the patterns and segmentation of values.

- Desire to belong, therefore culture and identity important
- Safety and social order; routine and normal
- Bounded choice
- More pessimistic about the future and nostalgic for the past
- Local means local
- Tight-knit networks

Key demographic and socioeconomic (class) patterns by values

In tables 2.1 and 2.2 we can see that while there are clear values patterns based on age and class, people with similar values can be found in any socioeconomic group or age cohort. A Settler from a better-off background may have a very different lifestyle and behaviours to a working-class Settler – nonetheless, both find rapid social change uncomfortable and see the past through rose-tinted spectacles. Equally, a working-class Pioneer is just as likely to be concerned with injustice as a better-off Pioneer.

Table 2.1

Age profile of the main values groups, 2012 British Values Survey (%)

	15–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65+
Pioneers	41.0	37.2	34.6	40.7	41.0	34.6
Prospectors	45.3	39.7	35.5	28.5	23.7	22.5
Settlers	13.5	23.7	29.7	30.9	35.4	42.9

Table 2.2

Class profile of the main values groups, 2012 British Values Survey (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE
Pioneers	42.9	43.3	32.3	30.8
Prospectors	37.8	30.4	35.8	24.3
Settlers	19.2	26.1	31.8	44.7

A few key points about the distribution of values are worth highlighting.

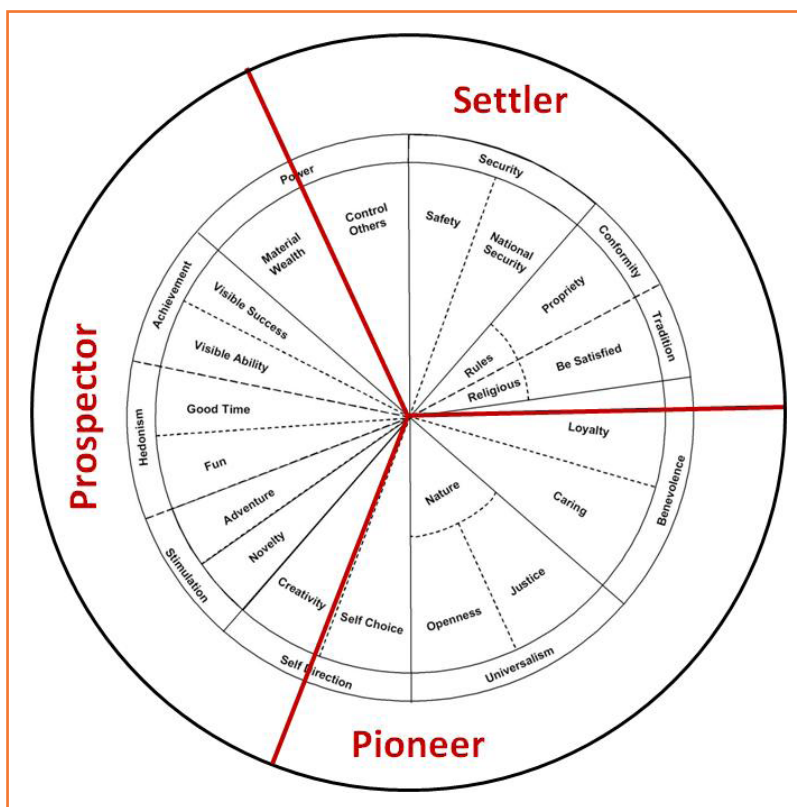
- Pioneers are most difficult to characterise by age.
- Prospectors are more likely to be younger, Settlers older.
- Settlers are most likely to hail from lower socioeconomic backgrounds; but still 19 per cent of ABs are Settlers.
- Pioneers and Prospectors are likely to be better-off (though among C2s there is a spike in the number of Prospectors).
- The strongest correlation with values is education: those educated to the highest level are most likely to be Confident Pioneers or Socially Liberal Prospectors (see below for more on these subgroups).
- There are relatively small differences between the overall values distributions of men and women, although men are slightly more likely to be Settlers than women. However, there are some specific differences – for example, men are more likely to pick up the Schwartz attribute ‘power’ and women the attribute ‘benevolence’.
- The black and minority ethnic community contains a noticeably high number of Prospectors.
- There is no simple clear-cut north/south values divide. However, there are some significant differences between regions (and even greater differences between local areas). Scotland has the highest proportion of Pioneers, followed by the South West; the North West has the highest proportion of Prospectors, and the East Midlands the highest proportion of Settlers.

Appendix 1 provides a breakdown of values groups by gender and region.

The values map

One way to visualise the dispositions of the major values groups is by mapping them onto the Schwartz depiction, as shown in figure 2.3. This indicates the core values which are most characteristic of the three main values groups (divided by the red lines). It is important to note that these are not absolute distinctions and that most people, particularly those located towards the centre of the values space hold some values from outside of their dominant segment.

Figure 2.3
The Schwartz depiction of values, adapted by L Higgins 2009, with the main values groups overlaid



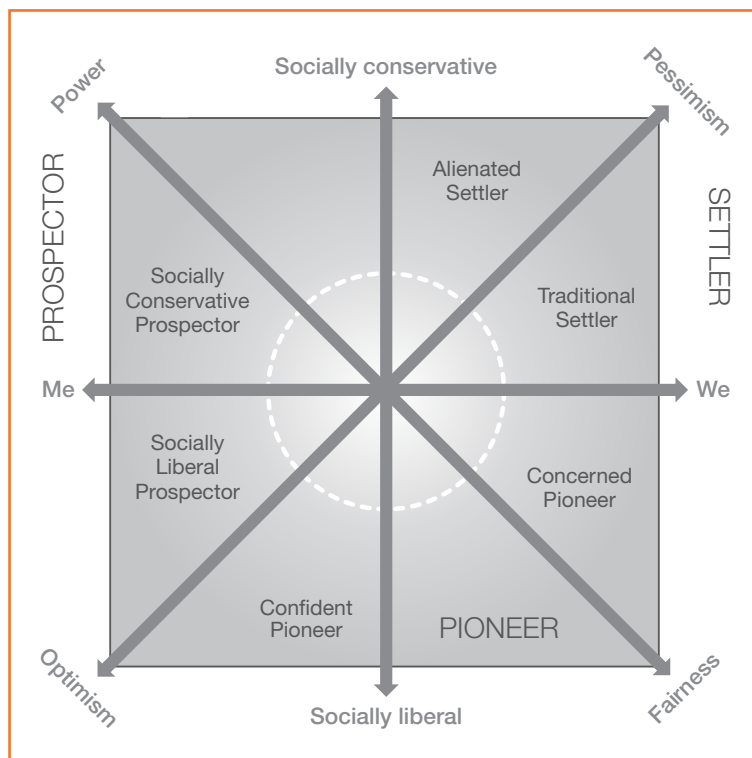
An alternative visualisation is provided by the values map, as shown in figure 2.4 (over). The orientation is the same as in the Schwartz depiction (Settlers towards the top-right, Prospectors on the left and Pioneers bottom-right), but here an individual is placed at a fixed point in the 'values space'.¹¹

This values space incorporates the 12 subgroups (four Pioneer, four Prospector and four Settler) and it introduces one of the main ways to understand the segmentation: the six outer groups – labelled here – identify people with 'louder', more distinctive values; the inner six – which are not labelled here¹² – relate to people whose dominant values are less pronounced.

¹¹ The placement in the values space is based on an algorithm developed after mining the data and based on the 10 questions that are the most powerful for segmentation purposes. Visit www.thecampaigncompany.co.uk to complete the short values survey.

¹² The 'inner six' values subgroups are Transitional and Flexible Individualist Pioneers, 'Tomorrow' and 'Happy Follower' Prospectors, 'Certainty First' and 'Smooth Sailing' Settlers.

Figure 2.4
The values map
(individuals who take the
values survey are placed
in a fixed point in the
values space)



A simple way of understanding the values map is as follows:

- The further towards the top an individual is placed in the space the more socially conservative they are; the further down the more socially liberal they are.
- The further to the left an individual is placed in the space the more focused on personal economic success they are ('me'); further to the right, individuals are more focused on community and society ('we').
- Those towards the bottom-left tend to be more optimistic; those towards the top-right tend to be more pessimistic.
- Those towards the bottom-right tend to be more focused on fairness (or at least on an all-encompassing, more rights-based version of fairness (Schwartz's 'universalism')); those towards the top-left tend to be more focused on 'power' (see figure 2.3).
- Those in the centre tend to have softer values than those towards the outside of the map. Their values are still distinctive but they are more subtle and don't dominate their perspective in the way they do for people who map to the outside of the values space.

A summary of the main characteristics of the 12 values subgroups is set out in appendix 2.

Once surveyed individuals are placed in a fixed point in the values space, we can then produce 'heat maps'. A heat map shows the likelihood of any individual agreeing with a given proposition, indicated by the colours on the map. Purple is used to indicate the greatest propensity to agree with the given proposition; light blue indicates the lowest. The maps are scaled such that the point of maximum agreement is set at 100 per cent. As a result, these heat maps are useful for showing differences rather than absolutes. By looking at a series of heat maps we can understand how issues are linked and build up a more complete picture of the beliefs of individuals and groups than conventional polling offers.

Case study: Values and newspaper readership

The question of newspaper readership provides a useful demonstration. Figure 2.5 shows that *Guardian* and *Independent* readers are far more likely to be outer Pioneers (socially liberal and focused on fairness). Figure 2.6 shows that *Daily Mail* and *Express* readers are more likely to be Settlers. Figure 2.7 shows that *Sun* and *Star* readers are most likely to be Socially Conservative Prospectors.

Figure 2.5 (left)
Heat map for *Guardian* and *Independent* readers

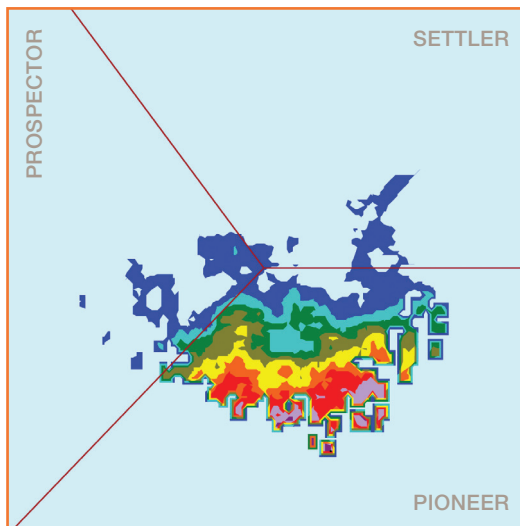


Figure 2.6 (right)
Heat map for *Daily Mail* and *Express* readers

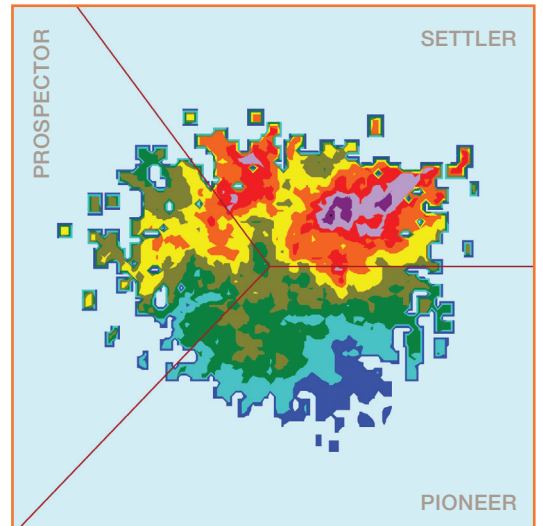
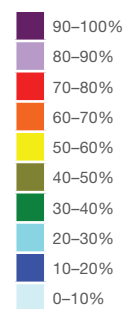
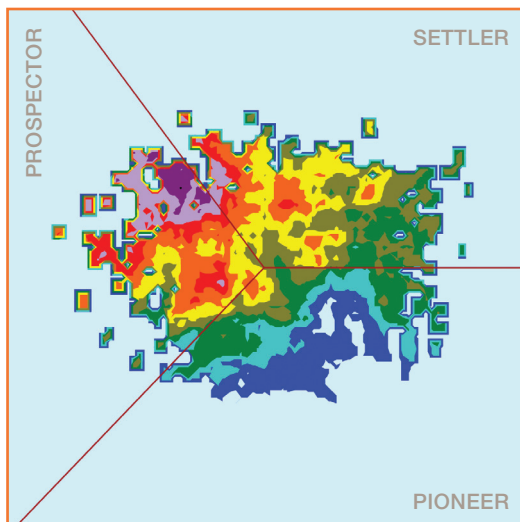


Figure 2.7
Heat map for *Sun* and *Star* readers



3. UNDERSTANDING THE ELECTORATE – A VALUES PERSPECTIVE

3.1 How values have changed over time

Values relate to people’s underlying goals and motivations, so almost by definition they tend not to fluctuate wildly over time. Instead, they are subject to gradual evolution during people’s lifetimes and according to shifts in their external context. Moreover, as each new generation grows up in a different world, the values they espouse typically differ from the preceding generation’s.

- Since 1973, when the first British Values Survey was conducted, the number of Pioneers has grown, but the steep rise in the 1970s has been followed by a levelling off over the last two decades.
- The number of Prospectors appears to have oscillated, largely in step with the economic cycle. The current recession saw a big squeeze in the number of Prospectors, but our 2012 survey suggests the squeeze may be starting to ease.
- In 1973 over half of the population were Settlers; by 2005 the number had fallen to just a quarter. Between 2005 and 2008 – for the first time since the British Values Survey began – and again between 2008 and 2011, the number of Settlers rose, but our 2012 survey suggests the number has peaked.

Table 3.1
Main values groups as a proportion of the population, 1973–2012 (%)

	1973	2000	2005	2008	2011	2012
Pioneers	19	36	38	41	37	38
Prospectors	25	30	38	28	24	32
Settlers	56	35	24	31	39	30

About half of the change between 2011 and 2012 is accounted for by a subtle but significant shift from the Alienated Settler group to the Socially Conservative Prospector group. This is typically the most fluid part of the values map, as both groups are still fundamentally socially conservative. However, Socially Conservative Prospectors are more focused on economic opportunity and so this shift hints at a hesitant return to optimism or perhaps a normalisation of austerity.

Perhaps the most profound shift in values has been that from the softer, more consensual centre to the louder, more distinctive outer areas of the values map. In the 2008 British Values Survey, close to half of the population mapped to the six central segments; in each of our two 2011 YouGov surveys and the 2012 British Values Survey, the split is within a couple of percentage points of a 40/60 split between inner and outer segments. This means that values have become less consensual – the ‘soft’ centre has shrunk – and this makes it harder for any political party to build coalitions of support.

Often, analysis using conventional polling seems to provide ‘conflicting’ findings: more people care passionately about fairness and inequality and more people take a harsher view on welfare and more people are angry about immigration levels. The values model shows how all these statements can hold true at the same time. Indeed, they are all true now, as values have diverged.

The long-term trend in the UK values has been similar to that in many other countries, having seen a large growth in the number of Pioneers. What is surprising is that the Settler has re-emerged after shrinking steadily since the first survey conducted in 1973. However, today’s Settler, while sharing the fundamental outlook of Settler of the 1950s and ’60s, appears to be more alienated and less tribally loyal than their predecessors.

3.2 Behind the headlines – five key dimensions of political debate

Demographic breakdowns provide a good picture of how the electorate looks when viewed through the values lens – and of the contrast with a traditional class-based perspective. However, this is a fairly static and descriptive picture, which provides few insights into political strategy (or what politicians and others should actually do).

To overcome that limitation it is useful to look at some of the fundamental dimensions of political debate through the values lens. Analysis of this kind helps to spot where there are good grounds for electoral alliances to be forged and, by contrast, where there are real sources of divergence to be addressed.

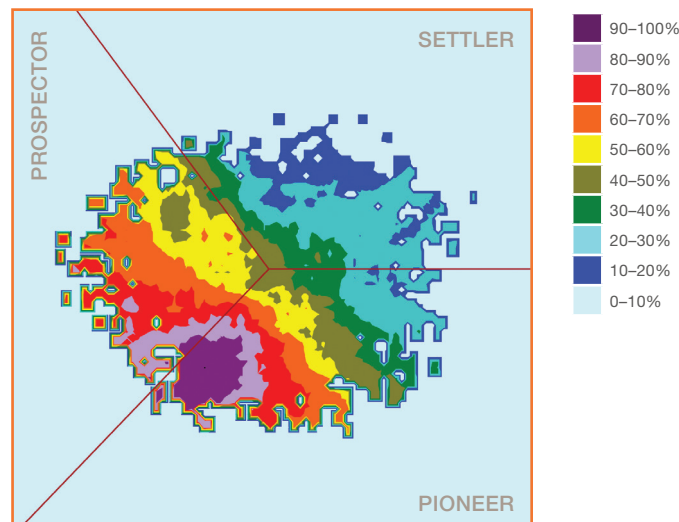
To demonstrate the potential for this kind of analysis, this paper considers five key dimensions of contemporary political debate:

1. Optimism and pessimism
2. Aspiration and lack of aspiration
3. Social conservatism and social liberalism
4. Tradition and modernity
5. Responsibility and fairness

3.3 Dimension 1: Optimism and pessimism

Politics is to a large extent about setting out a future direction for the country and persuading people to share in the possibilities of that vision. Therefore, a sense of people's underlying disposition in this area is highly significant. Figure 3.1 shows the heat map for 'optimism'.

Figure 3.1
Heat map for optimism
(‘Life has its ups and
downs but I believe
everything will turn out
fine. I feel good about
what the future holds for
me.’)



Optimists are concentrated among Prospectors and Confident Pioneers, although for Socially Conservative Prospectors this optimism is more hesitant.

Wider research in psychology indicates that pessimism correlates to a belief that the past was better than today (see Zimbardo and Boyd 2010). Generally, Settlers believe that Britain was once a better place and they mourn the passing of that previous and – as they perceive it – simpler age. This means they often look for solutions based on the familiar and the nostalgic: ‘Our kids used to be able to play in the streets together’, ‘Bring back

matron in the NHS’, ‘Learn by rote’, ‘Put real coppers on the streets again to patrol our neighbourhood.’

Prospectors are far more likely to believe that tomorrow can be better than today, or at least to want to believe this. Optimistic messages therefore resonate with this group, especially when they are built around economic optimism.

Pioneers, particularly Confident Pioneers, are more likely to see the relevance of the past in the quest to build a better future.

3.4 Dimension 2: Aspiration and lack of aspiration

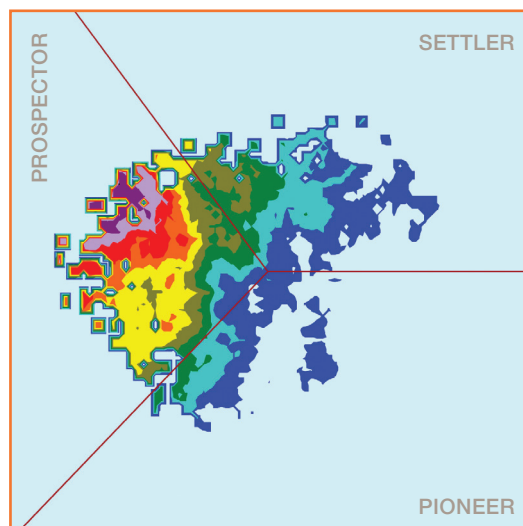
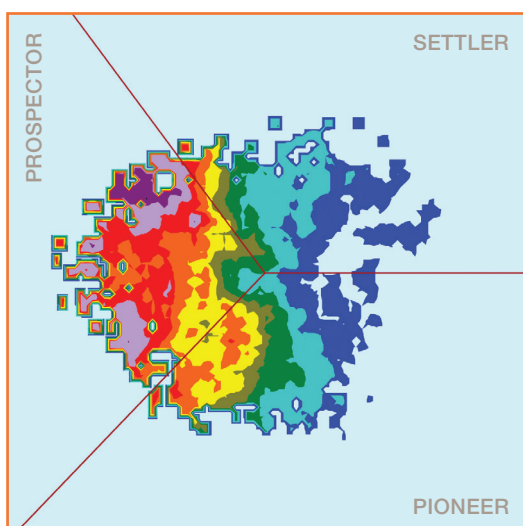
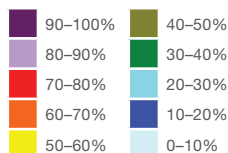
Politicians who are seen to be on the side of those who want to ‘get on in life’ have transformed the political fortunes of their parties. This was true of Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair.

The heat map for ‘aspiration’ (see figure 3.2) shows that it is core to the mindset of Prospectors. A combination of status, respect and economic advancement – driven by a desire for esteem – is very important to this group. They are extrinsically motivated, whereas Pioneer’s motivations are more intrinsic. Settlers are also less extrinsically motivated but are more focused on culture, identity and other non-economic narratives connected to belonging.

For example, the desire to acquire wealth can be seen as a subset of Prospector values, as shown in figure 3.3.

Figure 3.2 (left)
Heat map for aspiration
(‘To me, achieving a better position in life is worth a lot of effort. At work, titles and grades are important to show how well I’m doing compared to others.’)

Figure 3.3 (right)
Heat map for material wealth
(‘It is important to be rich. I want to have lots of money and expensive things.’)



Note: In the original survey (Schwartz): ‘It is important for him to be rich. He wants to have lots of money and expensive things.’

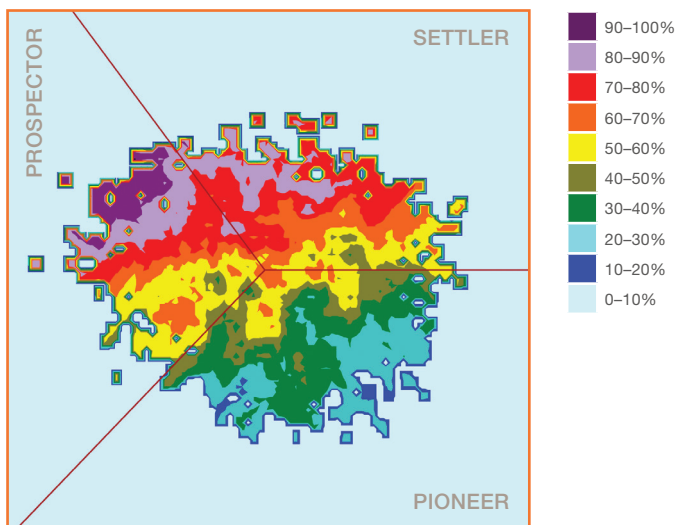
3.5 Dimension 3: Social conservatism and social liberalism

This axis is probably the most potent divider of opinion – the divide between social liberals and social conservatives cuts across party political divides, as well as traditional conceptions of left and right.¹³

¹³ This is similar but distinct from the distinction between liberals and communitarians, or liberalism and authoritarianism.

One way to understand social conservatism is to look at who likes change and who prefers certainty and predictability.

Figure 3.4
Heat map for predictability ('I like things to be certain and predictable.')



Another is to look at where people position themselves on the spectrum between free expression and social order, which is included in the British Values Survey.

Figure 3.5 (left)
Heat map for free expression ('It is important that society is free and open so individuals can express themselves.')

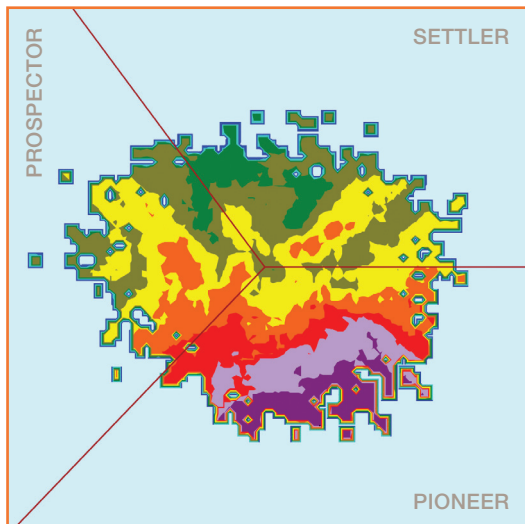
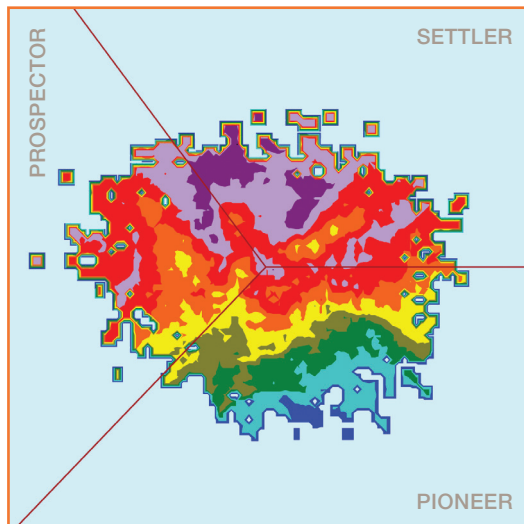


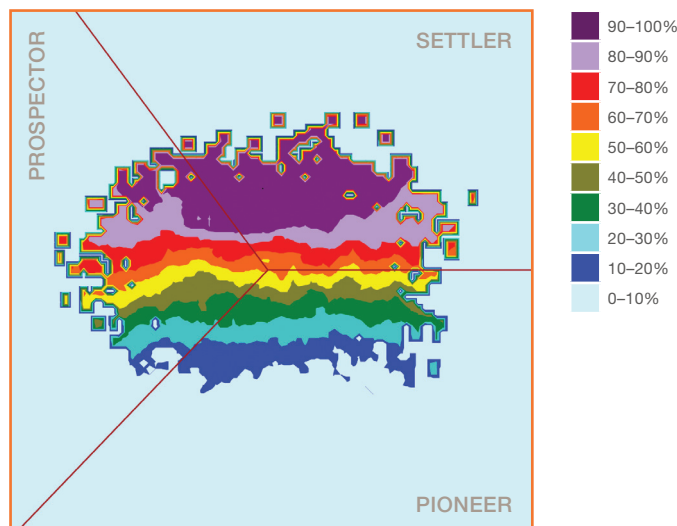
Figure 3.6 (right)
Heat map for social order ('It is important that society is ordered and regulated to protect the individual.')



Settlers and Socially Conservative Prospectors place more emphasis on society being ordered and regulated to protect the individual; outer Pioneers prioritise openness and freedom. Many of the questions on crime from the British Values Survey show that both Settlers and Socially Conservative Prospectors also want a punitive criminal justice system.

We can understand the real differences between the values groups on this dimension by looking at an issue that profoundly divides the values groups: immigration. In our two 2011 YouGov polls, over 60 per cent of the public agreed that 'there are too many foreigners in my country'; in our latest 2012 British Values Survey, just over 56 per cent agreed. Figure 3.7 (over) shows how this view is distributed by values group, with Settlers and Socially Conservative Prospectors most likely to agree.

Figure 3.7
Heat map for attitudes to immigration
(‘There are too many foreigners in my country.’)



Detailed focus-group research by the Campaign Company on this question reveals that there is a range of underlying emotions that drive beliefs about immigration. Table 3.2 sets out how these sentiments vary according to values group.

Table 3.2
Views on immigration by values group

Settler	Socially Conservative Prospector	Socially Liberal Prospectors	Outer Pioneer
In a world of finite resources more immigrants means less for me – and I already get a raw deal.	They are taking our jobs.	Where would we be without immigrants to do all the jobs that other people don't want to do?	Where would we be without immigrants to do all the jobs that other people don't want to do?
No one cares about us – everything is for the immigrants. We are discriminated against in our own country.	They are putting downward pressure on wages.	By getting the right people to do a job the economy will perform better.	When there are so many problems in the world it is our obligation, and the economy will perform better.
They are changing the character of the area and they don't respect our values. I don't feel I belong anymore.	They are bringing the area down.	They make the area more dynamic and vibrant.	They make life more interesting.
Immigrants are spongers who are milking the system and get priority in housing, health, benefits and other things over us.	They are spongers, milking the benefit system.	Immigration doesn't really impact on me.	Overall, they are enriching our culture. We have always had lots of immigration and it is important we don't discriminate against people.

Note: Inner Pioneers (those who map in the centre) pick up some Settler sentiments on immigration, hence the focus on outer Pioneers in this table.

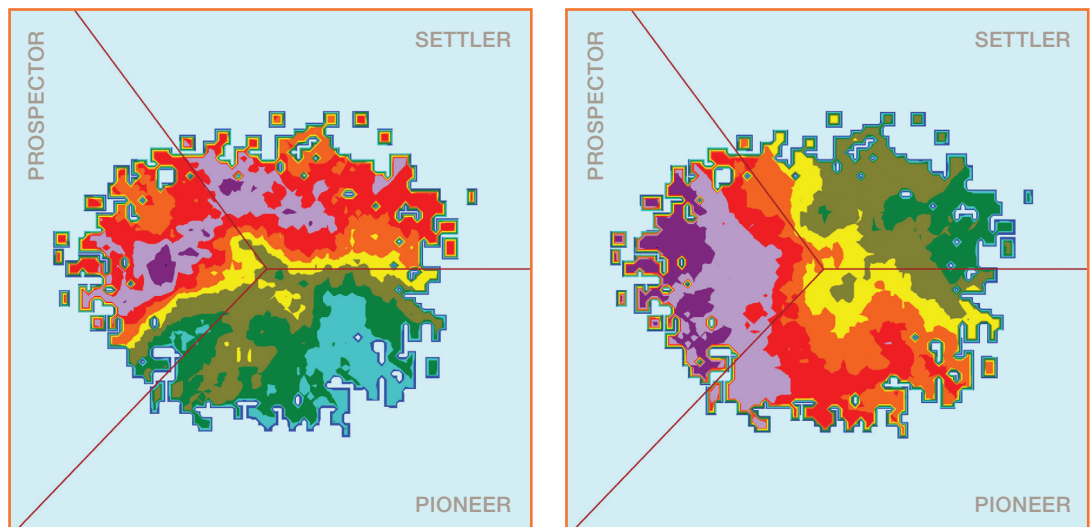
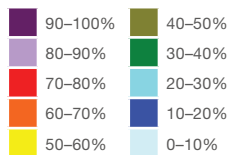
3.6 Dimension 4: Tradition and modernity

The conflict between modernity and tradition is an important factor in political debate. Settlers and Prospectors (though Socially Liberal Prospectors less so) are far more focused on social traditions and ‘pride in nation’ than Pioneers, as can be seen in the figure 3.8. For Settlers, tradition often combines with beliefs in conformity, which leads to a view that there is ‘a right way and a wrong way’ to do things, with no shades of grey in-between. By contrast, some outer Pioneers see the world as essentially borderless, and so specifically British traditions are perceived to be of little importance or consequence.

Modernity in economic terms is, on the other hand, a Prospector attribute, and to a lesser extent a Pioneer one, as can be seen in figure 3.9. Socially Conservative Prospectors combine support for economic modernity with social conservatism,¹⁴ whereas Settlers tend to eschew both economic and social modernity.

Figure 3.8 (left)
Heat map for national pride
(‘It is important to me to take pride in British history and traditions. I am proud to be British.’)

Figure 3.9 (right)
Heat map for attitudes to science and technology
(‘I am excited by new ideas in science and technology.’)



Note: In the original survey: ‘People who are excited by new ideas in science and technology.’

3.7 Dimension 5: Responsibility and fairness

All the major political parties have recently tried to associate themselves with the notion of ‘something-for-something’. This goes to the heart of fundamental issues about what we owe to each other as fellow citizens – and on what basis. The central distinctions are between those who think assistance should be granted to people by virtue of their being citizens (either equally or with more for those most in need) and those who believe that entitlement to support should reflect some measure of desert or contribution. This issue comes to life in debates about access to social housing and the balance between universalism, means testing and contribution in the welfare system.

Figure 3.10 (over) shows the distribution of those people who espouse the attribute ‘universalism’.¹⁵ This includes the notion that ‘it is important that every person in the world is treated equally’ and can be seen as an all-encompassing notion of fairness.

Universalism is associated with outer Pioneers; it is clearly rejected by Prospectors, particularly by Socially Conservative Prospectors, and also by Alienated Settlers. Where outer Pioneers have a more forgiving view of human nature and tend to believe that the fate of the individual is determined not just by their own actions but by those of society as whole, Socially Conservative Prospectors are more likely to hold a tougher view of human nature, and emphasise that the fate of an individual is in their own hands, as shown in figure 3.11 (over).

¹⁴ For a further explanation of different values perceptions on the economy see Pecorelli 2012.

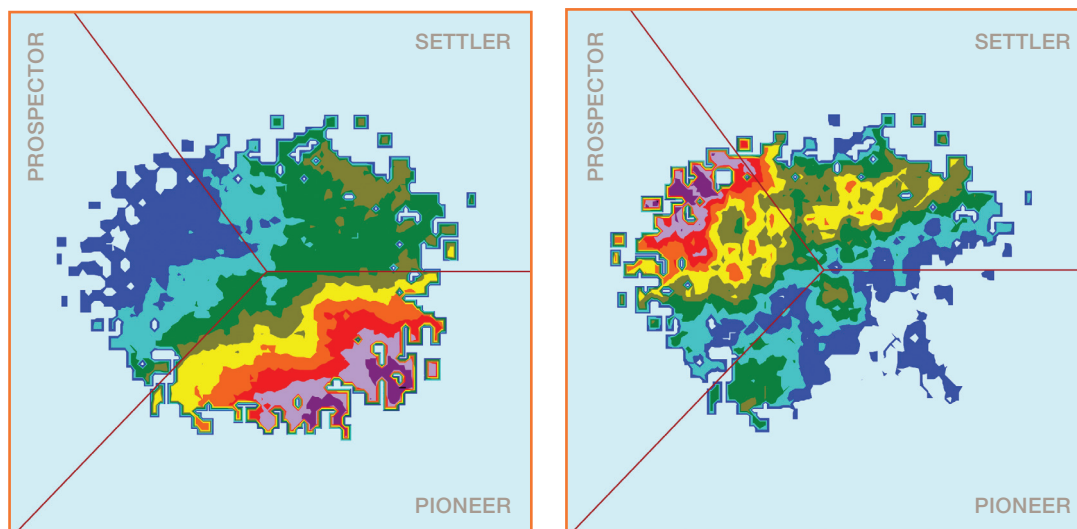
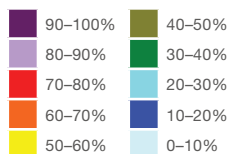
¹⁵ An attribute is made up of four questions.

Figure 3.10 (left)

Heat map for universalism (Composite of four statements including 'It is important that every person in the world is treated equally.')

Figure 3.11 (right)

Heat map for 'unobliged' ('I feel that people who meet with misfortune have brought it on themselves. I see no reason why rich people should feel obliged to help poor people.')



Note: In the original survey (Schwartz): 'He thinks it is important that every person in the world is treated equally.'

From this and other analysis we can get a fuller idea of how the different values groups perceive fairness and responsibility, as set out in table 3.3.

Table 3.3

Views on responsibility and fairness by values group

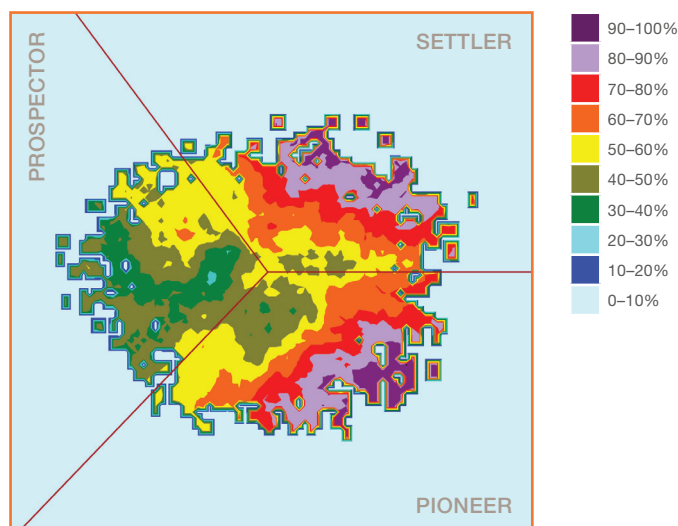
Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
Outer Pioneers hold a rights-based view of fairness, linked globally and to the environment, but building on the Settler view that we should look after the weak and vulnerable in times of need. Their emphasis is on being ethical and thinking things through.	Prospectors hold a narrower conception of fairness based on helping people access opportunities, particularly those for whom through no fault of their own this is more difficult (such as the physically disabled). For Socially Conservative Prospectors, responsibility (focused on work ethic) has more resonance than fairness.	Settlers hold the view that we should provide security and protect the weak. We should look after people in times of need but they also place an emphasis on personal responsibility, normally framed as moral codes to live by.
Outer Pioneers are committed to redistribution, internationalism and an enabling state.	There is weaker belief that inequality is a problem and much less support for state intervention, with a residue of support for more interventionist policies among Socially Conservative Prospectors.	There are high levels of support for redistribution among outer Settlers, normally combined with a paternalistic view of the state.
Inner Pioneers are much less likely to see the relevance of state intervention.		

Views on fairness can also be understood in terms of beliefs about the distribution of power and wealth, as shown in figure 3.12 (over). The highest concentration of support for redistribution is among outer Pioneers and outer Prospectors. The answers to this question also correlate strongly with overall views about government. Many Settlers see government's role as paternalistic, whereas outer Pioneers are more likely to see it as enabling and internationalist.

By contrast, Prospectors, particularly the Socially Liberal kind, are much more likely to eschew collective solutions. They are more for market reform and believe that 'what works is what's best'. Note that Prospectors and Pioneers who map in the consensual centre are also less likely to support collectivist solutions.

Figure 3.12

Heat map for 'socialism' ('I believe there is too much power in the hands of too few people. I think there should be a more even distribution of wealth.')



Messages which underline the importance of hard work, responsibility and contribution appeal most to Socially Conservative Prospectors.

3.8 Summary of the five key dimensions of political debate

Table 3.4 summarises the five key dimensions and shows where – based on the main values groups – public opinion converges or diverges.

Table 3.4

A summary of the five key dimensions by values group

	Pioneers	Prospectors	Settlers
1. Optimism–pessimism	A mixture of strong optimism and an anxiety about the future among Concerned Pioneers.	Optimistic but more tentatively among Socially Conservative Prospectors.	Pessimistic, and in some cases alienated. Typically connected to a view that the past was better.
2. Aspiration–lack of aspiration	Less materialistic and more focused on society, particularly outer Pioneers.	Aspirant and more likely to be materialistic.	Typically not aspirant but concerned about financial security and non-materialistic.
3. Socially conservative–liberal	Inner Pioneers are socially tolerant but outer Pioneers are typically socially liberal.	Can be socially conservative or liberal.	Defined by their social conservatism; often focused on cultural narratives.
4. Tradition–modernity	Most likely to believe that tradition should be a bridge to modernity, but tradition is less important.	Socially Liberal Prospectors are focused on all forms of modernity whereas socially conservative ones combine economic modernity with social tradition.	Tradition very important and modernity is typically seen as alien. Identity fuses with tradition and pessimism to focus tradition on 'the way we have always done things around here'.
5. Fairness–responsibility	Much less focused on responsibility than the other segments. Among outer Pioneers there is a passionate belief in achieving fairness, with a far more universal rights-based hue. Among outer Pioneers' support for redistribution is high.	Socially Conservative Prospectors are very focused on responsibility; fairness is about providing opportunity and helping those who have a 'genuine' disadvantage. Overall, Prospectors are less concerned about inequality.	Focused on responsibility and moral codes; concepts of fairness are based around security for all and looking after the weak. Outer Settlers strongly support redistribution.

4. POLITICS AND VALUES – WHERE POLITICAL PARTIES GET THEIR SUPPORT

Clearly many factors impact on voting behaviour, including the image of a party and its leader, voting habit and social norms, but by understanding values politicians can develop a better appreciation for how voters really see things. This chapter explores the purchase this perspective has on politics, by considering the distribution of party support by values.

In our various polls we explored three key aspects:

- Party affinity by values
- Preferred government by values
- Voter loyalty (based on whether someone would always or sometimes or never consider voting for each of the main political parties).

Most opinion polls ask people about their current voting intention, if there was a general election tomorrow. Such questions provide a good snapshot of the political weather, but are less useful for understanding voters' underlying attachments to parties. Therefore, in our polls, we asked people: 'At heart, which political party do you identify with most strongly?' While people's responses are inevitably affected by the current political situation, this question is a better guide to gut-level political attachments – or 'affinity'.

Chapter 5 looks at the preferred government and voter loyalty questions. In particular, it focuses on voters who say they sometimes vote Labour and sometimes vote Liberal Democrat and those who say they sometimes vote Labour and sometimes vote Tory, in an attempt to understand in values terms the people who are most likely to switch their votes. These 'up for grabs' voters are likely to be the real battleground at the next election. First, however, this chapter reviews the recent history of support for political parties as viewed through the values lens.

4.1 Party affinity

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 set out first in statistical form and then in narrative form what has happened to support for the main political parties since 2000 using values analysis. The statistical table shows overall affinity and, on an indexed basis, the support from Pioneers, Prospectors and Settlers. During this time, of course, there have also been shifts in the overall values profile of the population (as set out in chapter 3) and it is important to understand these changes as well in order to get the full picture.

Table 4.1
Statistics – party affinity,
2000–2012

	2000		2005		2008		2010		2011		2012		Nov '12**	
	Voting*	Index	Affinity	Index	Affinity	Index	Affinity	Index	Affinity	Index	Affinity	Index	Affinity	Index
Labour	40.3%		28.7%		19.7%		22.4%		33.1%		29.3%		29.8%	
Pioneer		99		95		108		104		101		97		108
Prospector		100		106		94		117		93		115		112
Settler		101		96		95		80		102		87		75
Conservative	23.4%		19.9%		27.6%		26.2%		28.2%		24.4%		22.8%	
Pioneer		82		70		87		81		96		83		85
Prospector		107		110		109		104		115		108		109
Settler		113		128		109		113		96		113		109
Lib-Dem	13.1%		13.4%		9.7%		9.9%		9.4%		7.9%		7.8%	
Pioneer		137		151		145		156		149		138		123
Prospector		68		77		79		75		92		101		104
Settler		90		64		59		74		62		51		64

* In 2000 the British Values Survey asked a voting question rather than an affinity question.

** This poll was commissioned by the LGA Labour Group.

Note: An indexed result of 100 is equivalent to the support expected from a values group based on support being even across all values groups. An indexed result of less than 100 indicates underperformance in a values group; a result of more than 100 indicates more success in attracting voters from that group.

	2000*	2005	2008	2010	2011	2012
Labour	Very even and high levels of support across the values segments	Large loss of support; by far the most significant losses occur among Concerned Pioneers	Loses many Settlers and even more Prospectors; only area of strength is now Confident Pioneers	Regains some Prospectors, particularly Socially Liberal ones; now more evenly matched with the Conservatives among Prospectors; further losses among Settlers	Support much more even across all segments, with gains across the map; area of greatest strength is still Confident Pioneers	Renewed weakness among Settlers; balance now similar to 2010
Conservative	Weak affinity among Pioneers; only area of relative strength is Settlers	Even greater skew in support, with Pioneers indexing at 70 and Settlers at 128	Strength increases among soft Pioneers	Still not reaching most outer Pioneers, and some ebb of support among soft Pioneers	Further gains among soft Pioneers; some erosion of support among Settlers; Prospectors largely holding up	Significant loss of Pioneers, moving the back to a pre-Cameron position; Prospectors and Settlers are still relative strengths
Lib-Dem	Strong affinity among Pioneers but weak among Prospectors	Even greater skew towards Pioneers as some shift from Labour; also some loss of Settlers	A dip in overall affinity but indexed pattern holds steady	Balance of support remains similar to 2008	Balance of support shifts towards Prospectors, though not Socially Conservative ones	More noticeable loss of Concerned Pioneers, and support is now skewed towards Confident Pioneers; now over-indexing with Prospectors for the first time

Table 4.2
Commentary – party
affinity, 2000–2012

4.2 Key highlights for each political party

In 2000 **Labour's** support was both at a very high level and evenly spread across the values groups.¹⁶ Between 2000 and 2005 Labour lost significant support, especially among Concerned Pioneers: on an indexed basis, this group moved from 96 in 2000 to just 44 in 2005. This is very likely to have been a consequence of the Iraq war: Concerned Pioneers focus on ethical clarity and seek to avoid conflict. They simply felt that both that Labour's decision was wrong and that its decision-making processes lacked integrity. Between 2005 and 2008, Labour continued to lose overall support, and this loss was greatest among Prospectors. From 2008 to 2010 Labour recovered support among Prospectors but continued to lose large numbers of Settlers: Alienated Settlers went from being Labour's second strongest segment in 2005 to its weakest by 2010.¹⁷

Our polls in 2011 indicated that many Settlers were willing to give Labour the benefit of the doubt but there are now clear signs of renewed weakness among Settlers. This is partly accounted for by the rise of Ukip (see section 4.4). Labour currently over-indexes with Prospectors and performs best with Confident Pioneers. While Labour's absolute level of support is now higher than in 2010, the values balance of its support looks similar.

16 Note that in 2000 the question asked was a straightforward voter ID question and not the affinity question used since.

17 This finding is corroborated by Geoffrey Evans and Kat Chzhen, in their excellent paper for *Political Studies*, who conclude: 'At the same time, there has been a remarkable growth in immigration which has been associated with a rise in public concern, a perception that the government was handling the issue particularly badly, and a belief that the Conservatives would probably have done a far better job. Under these conditions we should not be surprised, at least with the benefit of hindsight, that the economy was 'the dog that didn't bark' and that the government's handling of immigration should prove a source of electoral punishment' (Evans and Chzhen 2013).

Since 2000 the **Liberal Democrats** have always attracted high levels of support from Pioneers. But since the election they have lost many of their Concerned Pioneer supporters, to the degree that Prospectors are forming an increasingly important part of their dwindling base. In 2012, for the first time, the Liberal Democrats over-indexed with Prospectors.

Before David Cameron became leader of the **Conservative** party they over-indexed with Settlers and under-indexed with Pioneers. The Cameron effect was – at least initially - to improve the Conservatives’ standing with Pioneers (although in the 2010 poll, which was taken in the run-up to the election, there are indications that he lost many during that crucial phase). In 2011 it looked like he was continuing to make progress but in 2012 this has gone into sharp reverse. The Tories also over-index with Prospectors. The balance of their support now looks similar to that indicated by our 2008 poll.

4.3 Latest 2012 heat maps for the main political parties¹⁸

Figure 4.1 (left)
Heat map for Labour
(2012 affinity 29.8%)

Figure 4.2 (right)
Heat map for the
Conservatives (2012
affinity 22.8%)

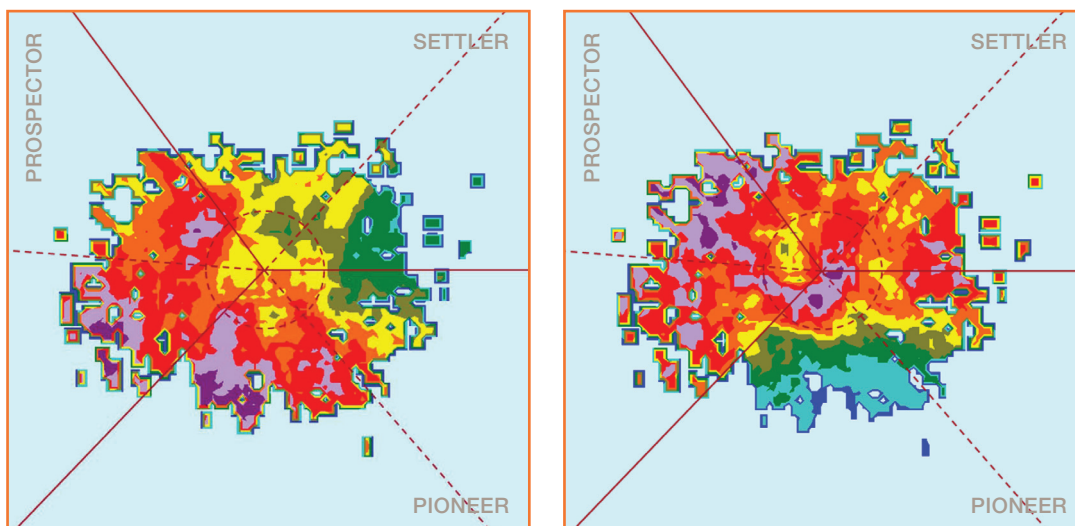
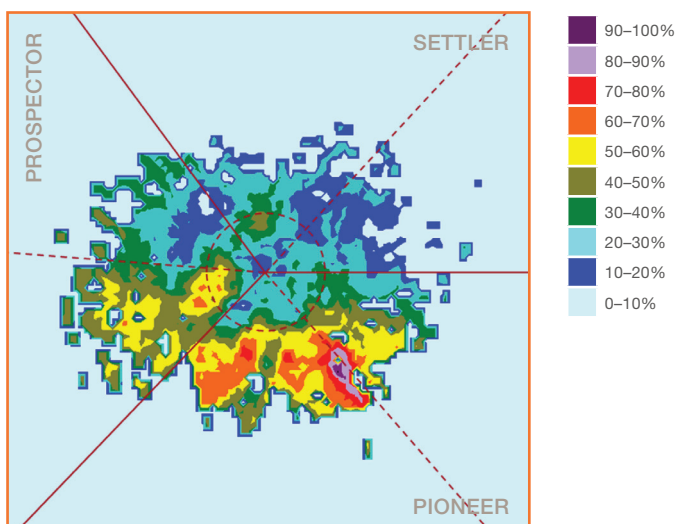


Figure 4.3
Heat map for the Liberal
Democrats (2012 affinity
7.8%)



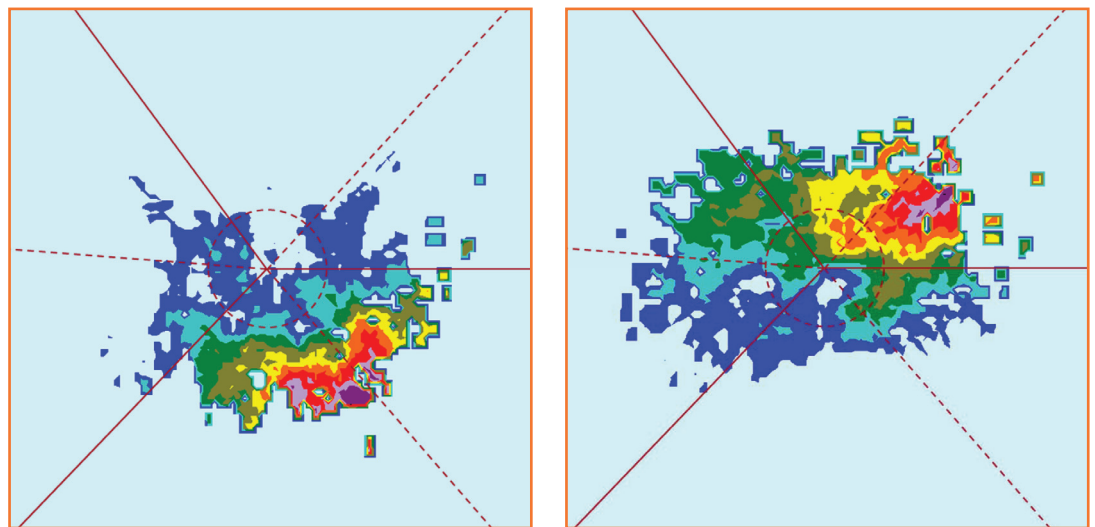
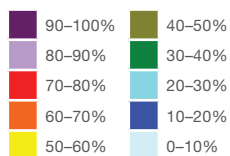
¹⁸ Taken from a poll of 2000 UK residents commissioned by the LGA Labour group, conducted in November 2012.

For the smaller parties, our November 2012 poll results draw the following pictures.

- The **Green** party draws the majority of its support from outer Pioneers (index: Pioneer 182, Prospector 63, Settler 38).
- **Ukip** has a strong Settler base: three and a half times as many Settlers as Pioneers support Ukip (index: Pioneers 53, Prospectors 83, Settlers 184).

Figure 4.4 (left)
Heat map for the Green party (2012 affinity 3.2%)

Figure 4.5 (right)
Heat map for Ukip (2012 affinity 7.7%)



4.4 Case study: the rise of Ukip

The success of Ukip in recent by-elections and local elections provides an interesting case study. Conventional wisdom says that the rise of Ukip is a product of Conservative party weakness. There is no doubt that Ukip is taking more votes from current Conservative supporters (see Curtice 2013), but this is by no means the full picture.

Values polling and other analysis tell a more nuanced story about shifts in the electorate.

- In government Labour lost 5 million voters, but it lost more support among Settlers than among any other values group, particularly towards the end of its time in office.
- As the recession kicked in (and probably before) more people started to feel anxious – there was a noticeable squeeze on the number of Prospectors and a corresponding increase in the number of Settlers.
- More recently the number of Settlers has fallen back, however the Settlers that remain generally have ‘louder’ values (that is, they map to the outside of the values space).
- Much of the shift towards Settlers and Labour’s weakness among Settlers can be attributed to a combination of anxiety about the economy and high immigration levels in the period up to 2010.
- Today Labour’s clear weakness in the values map is, as it was in 2010, among Settlers (index: 75 in November 2012).
- In particular, Labour is polling poorly among Traditional Settlers: among this group it lies in third place behind both the Conservatives and Ukip.

So, while the Tories may have a Ukip problem, Labour has a Settler problem. Labour has many tribally loyal Settlers but winning back those Settlers who have already left will be hard work. Many of these ‘lost’ Settlers still consider the Tories to be a toxic brand, but

the threat to Labour is that enough of this group will back the Conservative party – some coming back from Ukip, some voting Conservative when they had once voted Labour.

As wider polling by YouGov and Lord Ashcroft shows, Ukip supporters are not all ‘toffs’ but are more likely to be from socioeconomic groups C2DE than ABC.¹⁹ Labour Settlers, once the bedrock of its support, are gradually being dislodged from their tribal loyalties. Even if Labour takes the view that in the 2015 general election the rise of Ukip will hurt the Conservatives more than it does its own fortunes, it cannot afford to be half-hearted in its response to the long-term erosion of its Settler base.

¹⁹ For example, two recent YouGov polls (fieldwork 29/30 September and 30 September/1 October) showed Ukip’s ABC vote share at 10 per cent and 11 per cent and its C2DE share at 16 per cent and 13 per cent respectively.

5. POLITICS AND VALUES – THE BATTLEGROUND

5.1 Preferred government options

The advent of coalition government has significantly shifted the context for electoral politics. In particular, it has increased the focus on the potential alliances between the different parties. To explore this issue, in one of our 2011 YouGov polls we asked people to choose the type of government they would prefer: majority Conservative, majority Labour, or a coalition of one of these with the Liberal Democrats.²⁰

Table 5.1
Preferred government (%)
(‘If you had to choose, which of the following options would be best for Britain?’)

	Majority Conservative	Majority Labour	Conservative–Lib-Dem coalition	Labour–Lib-Dem coalition	Don’t know
Total	31	31	7	12	19
<i>By values group</i>					
Pioneer	27	31	7	16	18
Prospector	32	34	9	8	17
Settler	34	30	6	10	20

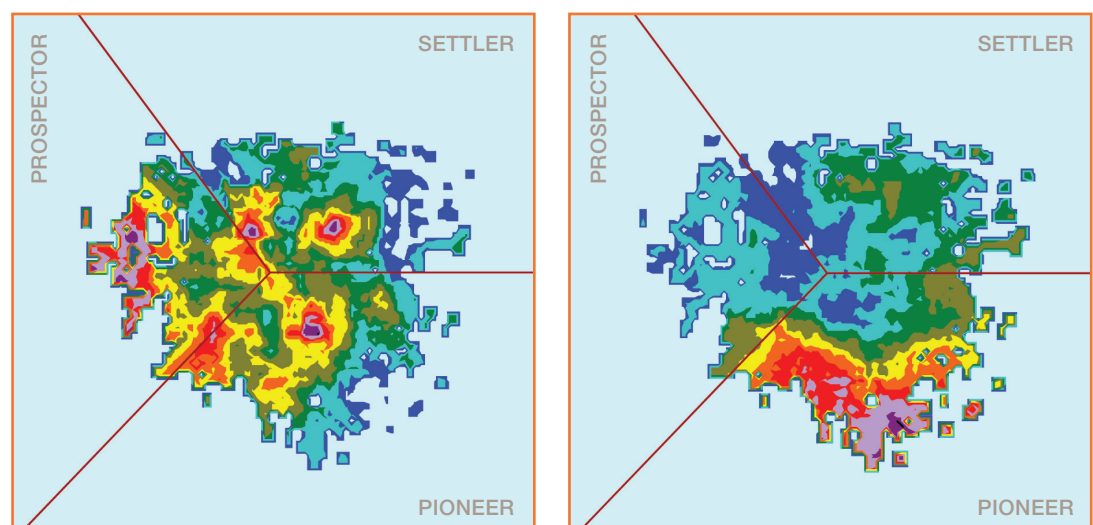
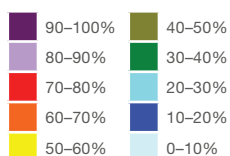
Pioneers back a majority Labour government most strongly, but more importantly they are significantly more likely than the average voter to prefer a Labour–Lib-Dem coalition. This coalition support is particularly concentrated among Confident Pioneers, many of whom see politics as a choice between different progressive parties. Pioneers are least supportive of a majority Conservative government.

Prospectors also marginally prefer a Labour government, but provide low levels of support for a Labour–Lib-Dem coalition. The most popular option among Settlers is a majority Conservative government, and this group is the least attracted to a Labour–Lib-Dem coalition.

Although there are only small proportions overall who back a coalition as their preferred form of government, it is instructive to compare the values distribution of the people in these two camps. Figure 5.1 depicts those preferring a Conservative–Lib-Dem coalition; figure 5.2 shows those preferring a Labour–Lib-Dem alliance.

Figure 5.1 (left)
Heat map: Preferred government is Conservative–Lib-Dem coalition

Figure 5.2 (right)
Heat map: Preferred government is Labour–Lib-Dem coalition



²⁰ Note that more recent YouGov polls have produced very similar headline findings. For example, from the field work conducted 16–17 July 2013, the overall preferences were Conservative majority 31%, Labour majority 29%, Tory–Lib-Dem coalition 7%, Labour–Lib-Dem coalition 12%.

The first map underlines how little backing a Conservative–Lib-Dem coalition receives from those with the most pronounced Pioneer and Settler values. Strongest backing comes from Prospectors. It may be that some Pioneers are put off by the involvement of the Conservative party and Settlers by the presence of the Liberal Democrats.

By contrast, a Labour–Lib-Dem coalition receives strong support among outer Pioneers, particularly Confident Pioneers. In fact, half of all those backing a Labour–Lib-Dem coalition are Pioneers. However, this type of government gets very weak backing from Settlers and especially Prospectors.

5.2 Loyalty, toxicity and swing voters

To understand where the values prism really has purchase on politics, it is necessary to relate voters' basic values disposition to the *strength* of support for political parties. This makes it possible to see which values groups are most important for the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats to attract between now and the next general election.

To explore this issue, we asked people their likelihood of support for the three parties: do they always vote for them, do they sometimes vote for them, would they consider voting for them, or would they never vote for them? The results shed light on the key tasks facing each of the parties and the lay of the political battleground.

People who always vote for a party can be considered its loyal supporters.²¹ While their support is important, it is not likely to be decisive. Similarly, those who would never vote for a party can be considered out of reach. The critical voting groups are those who say they have sometimes voted for a given party because they have demonstrated by habit a level of loyalty (or disloyalty) that makes them 'up for grabs'. Similarly, those who would consider voting for a party are potential voters worth fighting for, although they are less likely to be won over by a given party than those who have sometimes voted for that party in the past.

The following sections analyse the strength of support for each of the two main parties, identifies the share of the electorate they have the potential to reach, and sets out the values of those up-for-grabs voters.

²¹ See appendix 3 for an analysis of loyal voters by values group and socioeconomic group.

Conservatives

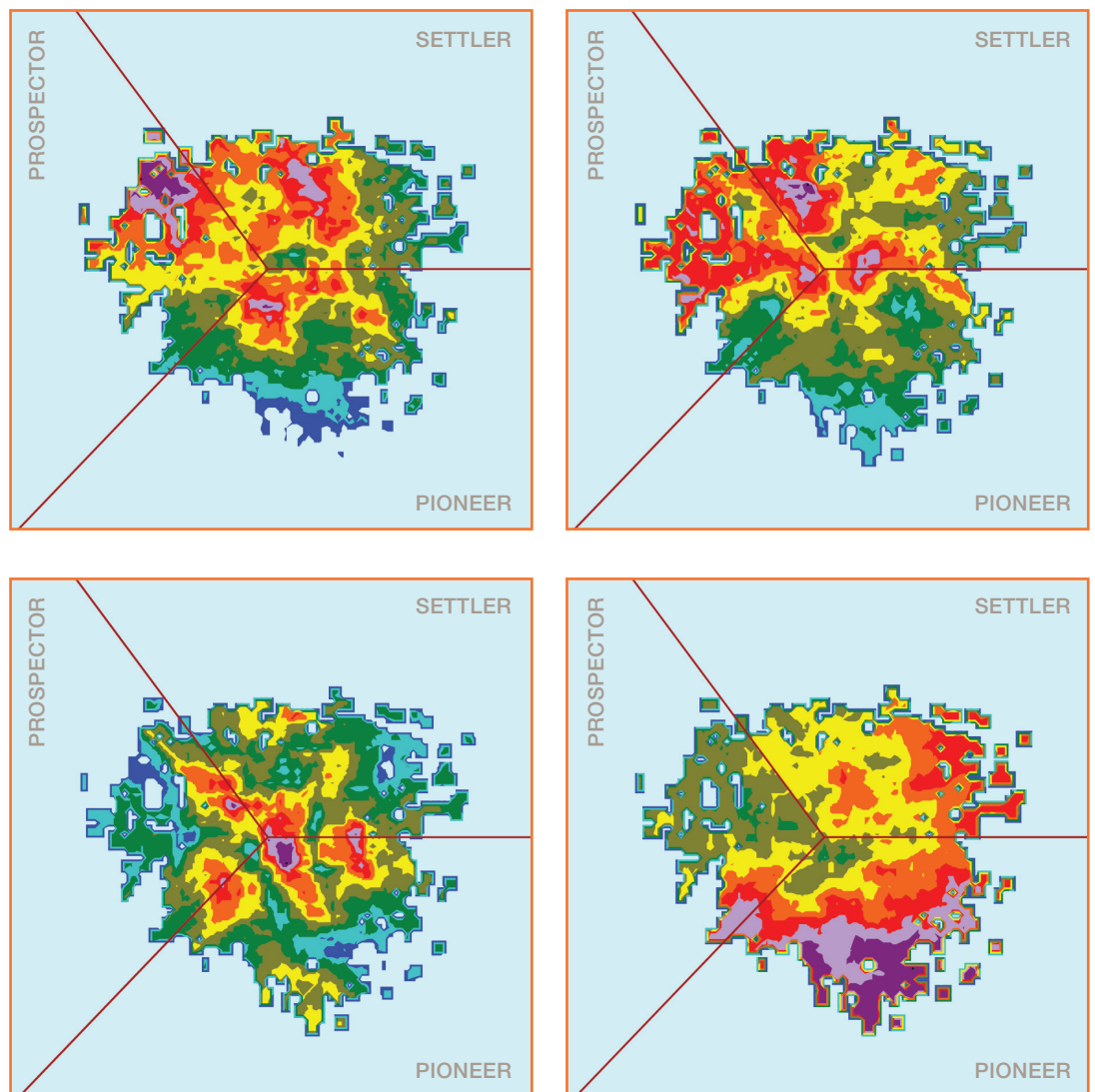
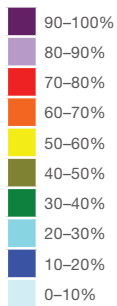
Table 5.2
Loyalty to the Conservatives (%)
(*Which of the following most closely describes your view of the Conservative party?*)

	Total	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
Always vote for	19	17	20	19
Sometimes vote for	20	17	24	21
Would consider voting for	13	14	12	12
Would never vote for	42	46	35	42
Don't know	6	5	9	5

From this we can immediately see that the Conservatives are a toxic brand to many, with 42 per cent saying they would never vote Tory. Nearly half of Pioneers (46 per cent) say they would never vote Tory, as do almost as many Settlers. This is most true of outer Pioneers.

The highest concentration of those who say they sometimes vote Conservative is among Socially Conservative Prospectors and Alienated Settlers.

Figure 5.3
Heat maps for loyalty to the Conservatives
Top left: Always
Top right: Sometimes
Lower left: Would consider
Lower right: Would never



Labour

Table 5.3

Loyalty to Labour (%)
('Which of the following most closely describes your view of the Labour party?')

	Total	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
Always vote for	24	24	23	26
Sometimes vote for	23	23	26	22
Would consider voting for	17	21	16	13
Would never vote for	30	27	28	35
Don't know	5	5	8	4

Labour's potential reach is significantly wider than the Conservatives', with just 30 per cent of those surveyed saying they would never vote Labour. Labour's greatest loyalty is among DE voters but for out-of-reach voters the class differences are relatively small (this point is covered in more detail in the next chapter). The Settler is the most likely to say they would never vote Labour.

Figure 5.4

Heat maps for loyalty to Labour

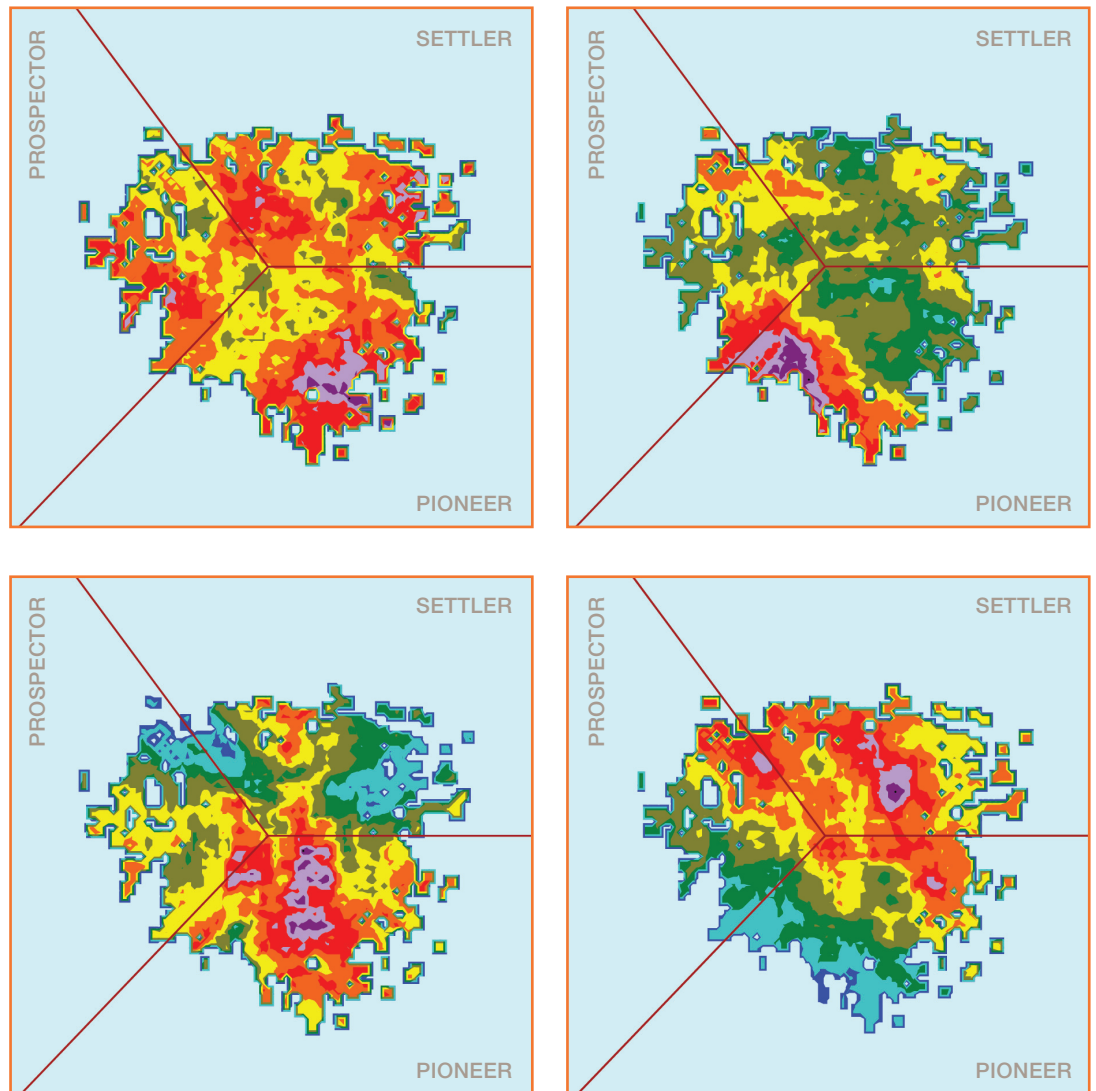
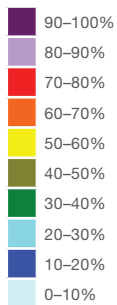
Top left: Always

Top right: Sometimes

Lower left: Would consider

Lower right: Would never

Lower right: Would never



5.3 Labour's electoral battlegrounds

Labour's battleground with the Liberal Democrats

To establish Labour's battleground with the Liberal Democrats we mined our 2011 polling data to identify the voter – based on values – who says that they sometimes vote Labour and sometimes vote Lib-Dem. Voters who say they sometimes vote for both parties have established a habit as a switcher, and this habit is concrete evidence that they might switch again.

For this analysis we used the 12 values subgroups, in order to achieve greater granularity. Among Labour–Lib-Dem switchers, one values subgroup stands out: Confident Pioneers. The Confident Pioneer remains the Liberal Democrats' and Labour's biggest single support base among the groups. This group is also the most likely to back a Labour–Lib-Dem coalition, providing further evidence of their affinity to both parties. Labour's battleground with the Liberal Democrats is clearly among Pioneers.

Table 5.4
Party loyalty: Sometimes vote Labour, sometimes vote Lib-Dem (%)

Values subgroups (outer values groups are highlighted)		
Pioneer	Transitional	6.8
	Concerned	10.0
	Flexible Individualist	3.6
Prospector	Confident	22.8
	Tomorrow	7.4
	Socially Liberal	6.4
Settler	Happy Follower	3.5
	Socially Conservative	8.2
	Certainty First	5.5
Settler	Alienated	10.1
	Smooth Sailing	4.9
	Traditional	10.9

Labour's battleground with the Conservatives

To establish Labour's battleground with the Conservatives we repeated the exercise with Labour–Tory switchers. We looked at where a voter says that they sometimes vote Labour and sometimes vote Conservative.

Here the map looks very different. Three segments stand out: Traditional Settlers, Alienated Settlers and Socially Conservative Prospectors. These three segments represent the three most socially conservative subgroups in the model. This means Labour's battle with the Conservatives is likely to be about attracting the votes of small 'c' conservatives.

Table 5.5
Party loyalty: Sometimes vote Labour, sometimes vote Conservative (%)

Values subgroups (outer values groups are highlighted)		
Pioneer	Transitional	6.5
	Concerned	6.7
	Flexible Individualist	5.2
Prospector	Confident	8.1
	Tomorrow	5.7
	Socially Liberal	4.7
Settler	Happy Follower	5.3
	Socially Conservative	13.0
	Certainty First	5.7
Settler	Alienated	19.3
	Smooth Sailing	7.8
	Traditional	12.0

Labour's overall battleground

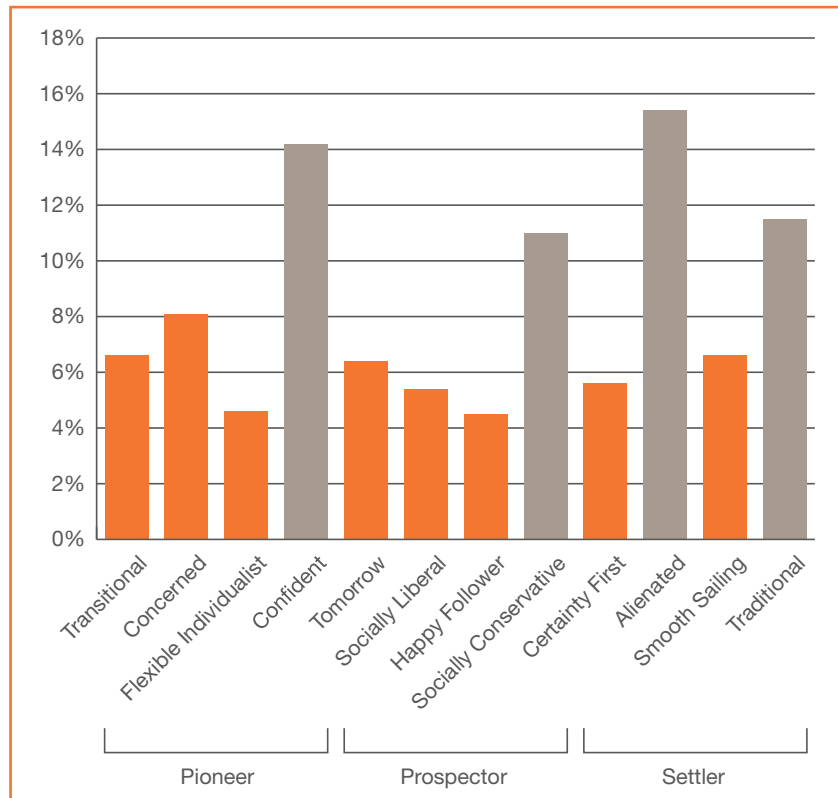
To define the overall battleground for Labour we combined the two results above. To make this more accurate, we doubled the weight of the Labour-Tory switchers. The rationale is that in a vital Labour-Conservative marginal seat a Lib-Dem-to-Labour switcher adds a vote to Labour whereas a Tory-to-Labour switcher adds a vote to Labour *and* subtracts one from the Tories – they are worth twice as much.

By this model, we can see that the same four subgroups are still the ones that matter, but the dominance of the Confident Pioneer is less clear-cut.

Table 5.6
Labour's battleground (%)

Values subgroups (outer values groups are highlighted)		
Pioneer	Transitional	6.6
	Concerned	8.1
	Flexible Individualist	4.6
	Confident	14.2
Prospector	Tomorrow	6.4
	Socially Liberal	5.4
	Happy Follower	4.5
	Socially Conservative	11.0
Settler	Certainty First	5.6
	Alienated	15.4
	Smooth Sailing	6.6
	Traditional	11.5

Figure 5.5
The battleground – the voters Labour needs to attract to win



Before concluding that these are the battleground areas, it is worth addressing what might change over time. Most obviously, values might shift. This data was taken from our 2011 poll; already in our 2012 data we can see some shift from Settler to Prospector. The Socially Conservative Prospector has become slightly more important; the Alienated and Traditional Settler slightly less so. Historically the Socially Conservative Prospector has been the most significant battleground segment; if the economy genuinely improves and a feel-good factor returns then we might expect this to be the dominant battleground of the next election as well.

However, as things stand, the four values subgroups identified in 2011 remain the most important. Even if the balance between these four has shifted, the overall conclusion appears robust.

6. SOCIAL NORMS, SALIENCE, FRAMING, ISSUE ALLIANCES, BRIDGE-BUILDING AND COALITIONS

6.1 Social norms

In chapter 1 we explored some of the other approaches to understanding the electorate. Each of these has something to add to the jigsaw. The values prism has clear advantages over other forms of polling when it comes to understanding core beliefs and the motivations which underpin voter behaviour. But it is also important to be clear about its limitations and the other influences on voting patterns.

In particular, the values prism is not applicable to ‘get out the vote’ operations. The best guide to whether someone will vote for a party is whether they have done so before. There is also strong evidence that once someone has demonstrated their allegiance to a political party by voting for it they are more likely to support its policies, even if a policy is not aligned with their values. This is evidenced by polling which places a party name against a policy in one question and then removes it in a subsequent question, thus showing the gap in support between the two.²²

In their paper on obesity, Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler (2007) found that ‘when a [person] became obese, his or her friends were 57 per cent more likely to become obese, too’. Even if its magnitude is open to debate, the same effect clearly exists in voting patterns.

In fact, social norms are fundamental to understanding voter behaviour and here class – certainly if understood in terms of social capital and networks rather than simply occupation – must have an important bearing. Put simply, if your peers all vote one way then you are likely to be influenced by them.

For a variety of historical reasons – based around the origins and identity of the Labour party and the toxicity of the Conservative party – the social norm in the north is to vote Labour, whereas in the south it is to vote Tory, even though overall values differences (and for that matter attitudinal differences) between north and south are relatively small.

But we can also relate social norms to different values groups.

If we were able to conduct diffusion analysis of social trends then there is every indication from the values data amassed since 1973 that trends are typically started within the Pioneers values group and later adopted by Prospectors. Settlers often resist change and in some cases actively rebel against them. An example of this would be environmentalism (in this context taken to mean a belief that global warming is real and requires action), which started as a movement among Pioneers and is now more broadly accepted by Prospectors (certainly Socially Liberal ones) but is still resisted by large parts of the Settler group.

It is important to underline the core difference between analysing a psychological disposition and the attitudes which sit on the surface of that disposition. A socially conservative voter prefers the familiar and the certain, and feels dislocated by rapid change or being forced to share their environment with those whose social norms are widely different from their own. This does not mean that socially conservative voters’ attitudes are set in stone. The boundaries of what is considered the norm change over time.

An example is the generational shift in attitudes towards homosexuality. Today, for younger generations – including those who are socially conservative – being gay means one small difference, loving someone of the same sex rather than the opposite sex. For socially conservative voters who grew up in the 1940s and ’50s the perceived differences

22 See for example YouGov polling into partisanship in the UK and the US: <http://yougov.co.uk/news/2013/04/18/tribalism-high-uk/>.

are typically far greater: a gay person lives by a different set of social mores than a heterosexual person. How this change in attitudes was achieved is worth a book in itself but certainly most Pioneers – being concerned with injustice – supported the cause of gay rights; Socially Liberal Prospectors also held a more relaxed attitude to different sexual orientation; finally – after years of seeing high-profile gay people in the media talking about their lives – the differences diminished in the mind of many socially conservative voters (although even among younger voters this is still the group most likely to be negative about homosexuality).

Finally, a critical point when seeking to understand the behaviour of voters is that Prospectors are more susceptible to social norms. Core to their psyche is a desire to be fashionable and on the right side of an argument. They are the most likely to be swing voters, to decide late or change their view based on a combination of economic pragmatism and a desire to be on the winning side. By contrast, Pioneers, particularly outer Pioneers, want to reach their own conclusions and Settlers are more likely to be tribal in their voting.

6.2 Saliency

A commonly held view is that Margaret Thatcher changed the values of the British electorate. A more accurate interpretation of her initial victory and time in office might be that she was attuned to the zeitgeist, that rather than transforming Britain into a Prospector nation, her policies and rhetoric gave permission for certain behaviours – the acquisitiveness of the boom years in the late 1980s – by signalling that Prospectors were in the driving seat.

This is not to suggest that politicians do not influence values but that they are bit players. Values shifts take time and depend fundamentally on economic factors and wider sociological changes.²³ Therefore, politicians who want to understand voter behaviour should seek to understand what determines the saliency of certain issues for different values groups, and how to respond without the erroneous belief that they can move mountains.

The saliency of an issue fluctuates based on the confluence of events and the psychological predisposition of individuals or groups. Immigration, for example, became more salient when immigration levels rose. but voters with certain values are highly unlikely to become seriously concerned about high levels of immigration (most Pioneers and Socially Liberal Prospectors see immigration as a good thing).

Moreover, the values prism enables us to understand that the saliency of immigration is not based on a linear equation between immigration levels and a static electorate. In this case, the economic recession shifted more voters into a state of greater anxiety about belonging (more voters became Settlers), which provided much of the impetus for the recent rise in the saliency of immigration.

But the values prism also provides richer insight into why social policy outcomes and the public perception of those outcomes can be so poorly aligned. A case in point is the mismatch between crime statistics and fear of crime. Since 1995, overall crime has been on a clear downward trend, roughly halving over this time, but fear of crime has remained stubbornly high.

²³ For an alternative view on the relationship between values and behaviours, see Crompton 2010.

Professor Stephen Farrall, currently head of criminology at Sheffield University, offers a plausible explanation:

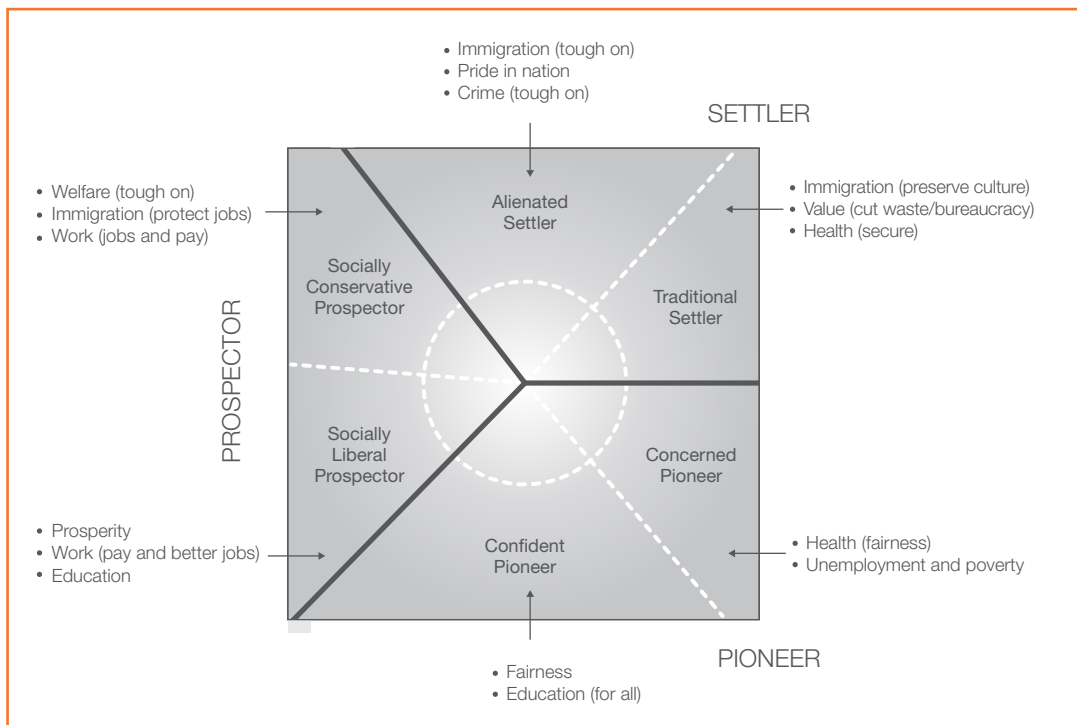
‘At the root of fear of crime may be public unease about the health of local neighbourhood order, as well as broader anxieties about the pace and direction of social change exemplified by concerns about social decline, community fragmentation, and moral authority.’

Farrall et al 2009

Indeed, the Pioneer is characterised by low levels of fear of crime; Settlers and Socially Conservative Prospectors are characterised by a much greater fear of crime. Settler narratives often revolve around the idea that social change provokes deterioration in social order: ‘parents don’t teach right from wrong any more’, ‘they (migrants) don’t respect our ways’, ‘they (authority) don’t even clean the memorial properly anymore’. In fact, for the Socially Conservative Prospector fear of crime is laced with a belief not so much that social mores are not respected but that they as individuals are not respected.

We can use the values space to illustrate some of the most salient issues, placing them at their centre of gravity, as in figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1
Salient issues on the values map



6.3 Framing

As well as helping to explain why some issues are felt so viscerally by many voters, the values prism can be used to gain a better appreciation of how to frame an idea or an argument – or for that matter why certain frames fail.

For example, the Settler’s belief that the past was better means policy ideas that borrow from the past or can be framed in historical terms are likely to be well received – such as

‘bring back the stamp’, ‘make things that last like we used to’, ‘jam jar accounts’. Moral codes, based on the way things have always been done, clear rules that everyone has to abide by, and personal and local messages are vital to getting the framing right for Settlers.

Many Conservative branding exercises during William Hague and Michael Howard’s tenures were focused squarely on the Settler: ‘the British way’, ‘time for common sense’ and ‘are you thinking what we’re thinking?’

For Prospectors, the future provides better framing, coupled with ‘being the best’, promoting prosperity, and pragmatism. Much of New Labour’s lexicon was pitched at the Prospector, such as ‘forward, not back’ and ‘what works is what’s best’.

Pioneers are more likely to see complexity and nuance in an argument and to care about ethics. They typically see the past as a bridge to the future, and care about provenance, transparency and integrity. Of course, for outer Pioneers fairness remains fundamental. Labour’s 2010 manifesto – ‘A future fair for all’ – planted its flag firmly in the Confident Pioneer’s ground.

The following table shows some of the concepts which underpin framing as the different values groups see things.

Table 6.1
Framing by values group

Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
Leadership with integrity	Results-oriented leadership	Strong leadership
We	Me	Us and them
Let me discuss with you	Take down the barriers to success	Tell me the rules
Complex and global but linked to local	New ideas	Simple and local
Ethical (thought-through)	What works	Moral (the rules as they are or were)
Society	Improve the area I live in	My street
Transparency and fairness	Choice	Safety and nostalgia
People who care	People who like me	People like me

We can also explore the framing of a particular issue using the values prism.

Take education. If asked, few people wouldn’t say that they want higher standards in our education system, but how they think this can be achieved and which standards they are focusing on varies greatly.

- For Pioneers, it is about learning to be creative, finding out what each child is good at, learning to listen to other’s points of view, and learning to be a better team player and a better human being. In fact, quite simply, learning has intrinsic value and does not need to lead to a specific goal.
- For the Prospector, the aim of education is to get the best possible job and this means recognising the forces of global competition – how much better the Chinese or other nations are becoming at teaching their children – embracing the latest technology, and demanding more of teachers and pupils.
- For the Settler, the emphasis is typically on teaching right from wrong, discipline, training people to perform roles, deploying teaching methods like learning by rote, and stressing our heritage by teaching people about British history.

Education secretary Michael Gove’s messaging currently focuses explicitly on Settlers and Prospectors, portraying the Pioneer view as that of the ‘woolly’ liberal teaching establishment.

We can also see why some frames don't pass muster with certain values groups. A case in point was the 'big society'. There are more profound reasons for its quiet death than poor framing, but the big society completely failed to resonate with Settlers. A poll in Liverpool, conducted by the Campaign Company, found that, of those who had heard of the big society, Pioneers were marginally in favour of the concept, Prospectors split 3:2 against, and Settlers split 4:1 against. Settlers are often harder to reach, and their more fatalistic world view makes it more challenging to sell such a concept to them. But had the terminology been based around neighbourly acts, rather than the more distant concept of 'society', it would have stood a greater chance of garnering support among Settlers.

6.4 Issue alliances

An example of an issue alliance can be seen in parts of the localism agenda. Settlers crave a time when they knew and trusted the local tradesman, butcher and baker. Pioneers care about the provenance of products and so seek the same outcome – more local producers of local products – even if their underlying motive is distinct. Both care passionately about community, the Settler because it makes them feel secure and the Pioneer because it affirms that 'there is such a thing as society'.

Of course, most issues do not split neatly by values groups, and certainly not into thirds. International aid, for example, is the passion of only a minority of Pioneers. Knitting together the support of all three values groups is often challenging. In the case of local producers, the Prospector is more focused on the transactional benefits of capitalism than the relational nature of community. However, Prospectors are merely unmotivated by the agenda rather than alienated by it. While this makes it easy territory for a political party, the relatively low salience of local production means it is more likely to be a political appetiser than the main course.

6.5 Bridge-building

When values groups profoundly disagree on what they want, bridges have to be built. Politicians have to find what can unify them, while continuing to recognise that the values fault-line neither disappears nor remains static.

Perhaps the most potent exemplar of bridge-building in recent political history is New Labour's 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime'. This pithy exposition of Labour's stance on law and order offered socially conservative voters the tough policies on crime they craved but reaffirmed a commitment to tackling injustice that the Pioneers could latch onto. Each values group heard the bit they cared most about. In this sense, rather than creating an issue alliance the slogan provided a bridge that connected two parts of a coalition.

Today – with an electorate that is less consensual – the task of bridge-building is harder than in the late 1990s but even more important.

An example of a new values bridge would be: 'firm on immigration and firm on discrimination'. There is no getting away from it: Settlers are anxious about immigration. Ed Miliband has started to address the issue but have Settlers heard what he has to say? The Settler has to be reassured that Labour is not instinctively in favour of high levels of immigration. At the same time, what Pioneers really fear is not limits on immigration but that people who support such a policy are actually racist or xenophobic.

6.6 Coalition making

Putting together a voter coalition is not the same as an issue alliance – it is far more important. Much more than seeking to create an alliance on one issue, a political party seeks to offer enough of what really matters to a particular values group, which normally entails focusing on different issues for different values groups.

Building coalitions of support normally takes time, but most successful political parties achieve this by giving all of the main values groups enough of what they most want based on current salience (the confluence of events and values). Typically there is an obvious progression as a party builds outwards from one values group to the next.

The success of the SNP is an example here. It began with a ‘pride in nation’ message, which attracted Settlers, and then nurtured support among Pioneers with an overtly egalitarian offer (in Scotland, Pioneers account for over half the electorate and therefore form by far the most important part of any electoral equation), and finally lured the Prospectors, both with a prosperity message and by being seen to have momentum.

Similarly, David Cameron set out to build outwards from the Tories’ Settler base by ‘detoxifying’ the Tory brand and capturing Pioneers with messages on the environment, development and aid, and the big society. He was partially successful in this (certainly in the context of modern Conservative history) but as the election approached too many Prospectors switched back to Labour for his party to secure a majority.

6.7 Blue or New?

The values prism can be used to help navigate a contemporary debate within the Labour party: New Labour verses Blue Labour. This debate is usually articulated as a choice between two different paths but the values prism provides a more nuanced perspective.

Blue Labour identifies with the Settler and reminds Labour that, for many voters, the ‘narrative of loss’ is profound. For this bloc of socially conservative voters, modernity and change provoke anxiety. They feel things are done to them by ‘the establishment’, and that they have no control over their local environment. Blue Labour speaks to these concerns and recognises that the social sphere is every bit as important as the economic one. For Settlers, the next election will not be about which party can deliver a better life but which can preserve our way of life.

Blue Labour proffers a more localised and personalised view of the role of the state, a message that if framed correctly will appeal to Settlers who feel alienated by distant bureaucracies, and one that offers Labour access to a message based on value for money. Values polling for the LGA Labour group finds that Settlers are the most likely to blame Labour for cuts in public spending.²⁴

Similarly, IPPR has begun to explore the concept of the ‘relational state’ (see Muir and Cooke 2012), which leans on Blue Labour-style thinking.

Above all, Blue Labour recognises the simple fact that in a world where change is the only constant – and immigration is the most visible manifestation of that change – Settlers need to be reassured.

24 In our poll commissioned by the LGA Labour Group, which asked who was most to blame for local cuts and gave six options 18.4% chose the last Labour government, but Settlers were most likely to agree that Labour was to blame (Pioneer index 72, Prospector index 110, Settler index 125).

But Blue Labour has its limitations. While nostalgia is part of the recipe for Settlers, economic nostalgia leaves the Prospector cold. For these voters, New Labour's messages about reform, investing in the future, and prosperity and jobs are essential. The sentiments underpinning New Labour's early messaging, such as 'a hand up, not a hand out' and 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime' are as relevant today as they were in 1997, if not more so. These bridge-building messages are vital for successful campaigning.

The values prism also helps us see that messages about fairness motivate many Pioneers and, for that matter, Settlers too. However, for Pioneers they are more salient than for Settlers. Equally, if the Labour party was to offer Pioneers everything they seek, including a more liberal programme on immigration and civil rights, the implications for Settler voters would be obvious. In this sense, the values prism exposes dilemmas more clearly than conventional polling because it shows how groups in society see a cluster of issues rather than how individual issues split by demographics or socioeconomic 'class'.

While the electorate has shifted in ways that make it more difficult to build bridges across the values divide, political parties that want to secure a majority can only do so with enough strength in all parts of the values map, something that New Labour intuitively understood.

7. CONCLUSION – THE POLITICAL BATTLEGROUND OF VALUES

The power of the values prism is that it sheds light both on which voters really matter and what really matters to those voters. It also exposes dilemmas more explicitly than conventional polling and offers a clearer guide for framing issues and messages.

For both Labour and the Conservatives, the challenge is that the consensual centre, which represented 50 per cent of the electorate until 2008, has shrunk to around 40 per cent, making it harder for them to hold together coalitions of supporters. In the US, Barack Obama can win elections by doing well among Pioneers and holding his own among Prospectors because, after recent growth, Pioneers account for 50 per cent of the population, compared to Settlers who make up just 18 per cent. But in a nation with three values groups that make up close to a third of the population each, Labour cannot afford to pursue an Obama-style strategy. It has to address its values weaknesses.

The Settler used to provide Labour's core support. There are twice as many DE as AB Settlers. So while the media narrative concentrates on the Tories' Ukip dilemma, Labour has a more profound challenge – recapturing the hearts and minds of Settlers. It used to compete for the votes of people who are now lost to Ukip, the Tories or 'none of the above'. Ukip gets more support from C2DE voters than ABC1 voters. It is drawing voters who share Labour's belief that 'there is too much power in too few hands', based on visceral anxieties about social change.

Labour also needs to be mindful of the psychology of the Prospector. Currently, all three major political parties are competitive among Prospectors. Professional mainstream parties have become attuned to the needs of this aspirant and pragmatic voter. But Prospectors are the most likely to change their minds based on how they perceive the credibility of a party's economic offer. Which party do they believe will benefit them most? Which do they fear will make them worse off? They tend to pay attention more in the short campaign period leading up to an election.

In the run-up to the 2010 general election, many Prospectors switched back to Labour amid concern they would be worse off under a Conservative government. In the run-up to the general election in 2015 (or before), Labour must guard against the possibility that some Prospectors will now switch back to the Tories.

At the next election, Labour is likely to attract the support of many Pioneers who voted Liberal Democrat at the last election but then recoiled at the very idea of the party going into coalition with the 'party of unfairness'.

Today the salient issues and Labour's weakness in the values map are different than in the past, so the recipe has to be different too. Nevertheless, the principles underpinning success are the same. Political parties do not achieve success by trying to change voters' values (they cannot push water uphill) or necessarily by building alliances on specific issues. Instead, they succeed by offering each of the main values groups enough of what they really want.

David Cameron's modernisation strategy was partially successful in building outwards to reach the Pioneers. Tony Blair also built outwards from Labour's base, particularly towards more aspirant Prospectors. One Nation Labour must now, based on the salience of contemporary issues, bridge the values gap. This principally means building outwards towards the Settler, but also guarding against the possibility of the Prospector – particularly the Socially Conservative Prospector – swinging towards the Tories.

In order to win next time around Labour must work particularly hard at earning the trust of the Settler, although it cannot do so by jumping with both feet into 'Settler territory'. To do so would result in a catastrophic loss of trust. Instead it must build bridges from Pioneers to Settlers and Socially Conservative Prospectors. Settlers and Pioneers share certain core beliefs about fairness, but Settlers have to be reassured on social change before their bond with Labour can be rekindled.

One Nation Labour has put in place many of the building blocks for success, but it must now take the next step. This is not so much a need for further detailed policy but rather a need to fill the gap between broad themes and detailed policy with clear statements of intent which bridge the values divide.

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APPENDIX 1

VALUES BY GENDER AND REGION

Table A1
Values by gender (index
100 = equal split)

	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
Men	98	95	108
Women	102	105	92

Women are more likely than men to be Pioneers or Prospectors, and men more likely to be Settlers. Among the Traditional Settler, men index 123 and women 78. Women are also more likely to espouse Schwartz values like 'universalism' and 'benevolence', and men 'power' and 'visible success'.

Table A2
Values by region, 2012
(index 100 = UK split)

	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
North East	113	88	98
Yorkshire and the Humber	86	108	109
North West	86	117	97
East Midlands	82	94	133
West Midlands	87	105	110
East Anglia	100	94	108
South East	100	105	93
South West	120	94	80
London	108	104	84
Wales	89	98	118
Scotland	132	75	90
UK	100	100	100

APPENDIX 2

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 12 VALUES SUBGROUPS

Pioneer (Inner Directed)			
No obvious age profile but typically better-off • Socially tolerant or liberal • More positive about diversity • More post-materialist and want a fairer society • Typically start trends in society • There aren't simple solutions • Lower fear of crime • Looser knit and more diverse social networks • Local connects to global			
<i>Inner</i>	<i>Outer</i>	<i>Inner</i>	<i>Outer</i>
Transitionals	Concerned	Flexible Individualists	Confident
<p>Socially tolerant</p> <p>More focused on tradition and conformity than other Pioneers</p> <p>Tried and tested ways can be evolved rather than jettisoned</p> <p>Pragmatic and less big-picture than other Pioneers but still care about fairness</p>	<p>Socially tolerant or liberal</p> <p>Deep concern or even anger about lack of fairness in the world but lower self-efficacy than Confident Pioneers means they do not always act on this</p> <p>See things holistically</p> <p>Want to be better people</p> <p>Motives matter as much as outcomes</p>	<p>Socially tolerant</p> <p>Much more open to market solutions than other Pioneers</p> <p>Self-sufficient and adaptive</p> <p>Reflective</p>	<p>Socially tolerant or liberal</p> <p>Can be seen as über Pioneers</p> <p>High self-efficacy</p> <p>Openness to new ideas</p> <p>Provenance matters</p> <p>The most diverse group</p> <p>The activist base for many campaigning organisations – they want to change the world</p> <p>More likely to engage and ask the big questions</p> <p>See state as an enabler</p>
Prospector (Outer Directed)			
Typically younger and overall more likely to be better-off • Focused on economic maximisation • Generally optimistic about the future • Socially conservative or liberal • Status and respect • Competitive • More oriented to free-market solutions and relaxed about differences in wealth • Hierarchy • Not interested in causes • Being at the centre of things locally			
<i>Inner</i>	<i>Outer</i>	<i>Inner</i>	<i>Outer</i>
Tomorrow People	Socially Liberal	Happy Follower	Socially Conservative
<p>Socially tolerant</p> <p>Typically enjoying life now and optimistic about tomorrow</p> <p>Socially tolerant</p> <p>Adaptive</p> <p>Seek new experiences</p>	<p>Socially tolerant or liberal</p> <p>Want to be at the centre of things</p> <p>Seek the esteem of others</p> <p>Busy</p> <p>Want the latest technology</p> <p>Self-efficacious</p> <p>Aim to adopt healthy lifestyles</p> <p>Seek new experiences</p>	<p>Socially conservative</p> <p>Trying to work out what is 'on trend'</p> <p>Follow where other Prospectors lead</p>	<p>Socially conservative</p> <p>Loyal to class or culture</p> <p>Can be vocal when the community is angry</p> <p>Want respect</p> <p>See things in terms of hierarchy</p> <p>Dream of a better tomorrow and often believe they can get there quickly</p>

Settler (Sustenance Driven)			
Demographically older and more likely to be from lower socioeconomic backgrounds • Anxious about economic security • Socially conservative • Desire to belong • Safety and social order • Routine and normal • Bounded choice • More pessimistic about the future and nostalgic for the past • Fatalistic • Local means local • Tight-knit networks			
<i>Inner</i>	<i>Outer</i>	<i>Inner</i>	<i>Outer</i>
Certainty First	Alienated	Smooth Sailing	Traditional
Cautious Less fatalistic than other Settlers Neatness and convention Perform your duty or role	Negative about the political system letting them down Traditional family roles More authoritarian and disciplinarian Things used to be better Us and them	Be satisfied with what you have Insular Self-contained Tradition	Desire for authority figures Maintaining culture important Making ends meet Us and them The state should look after you Non-reflective

APPENDIX 3

VALUES, PARTY LOYALTY AND CLASS REVISITED

To gain deeper insight into the relationship between values, political support and class we analysed our 2011 'loyal voters' – those who said they always vote for a particular party. We looked at the percentage of loyal voters each party achieved in a given values group in each class.

One thing stands out from the data immediately: the clearest correlation by class is among Settlers. Labour attracts more than twice as many DE Settlers as AB Settlers; for the Conservatives it is the polar opposite. The Settler is much more likely to be 'tribal' and to see the world in 'us and them' terms. Indeed, from everything we know about the change in values within the Settler group (the ascent of a slightly more alienated and less traditional Settler) it is likely that these correlations would have been even more pronounced a few decades ago.

And here we can begin to see a plausible explanation for the breakdown in the correlation between class and voting. In the first British Values Survey, held in 1973, 56 per cent of the population classified as Settlers; it is probable that in the 1950s and '60s this figure would have been higher. The tribal loyalty of the Settler would have accounted for a very large class voting gap between the parties (see table 1.1).

Among Prospectors there is still a correlation by class but it is much less pronounced. Of course, if the Prospector is focused on voting for a party they believe will act in their economic interests – and Labour is seen as acting more in the interests of those from lower-income groups while the Tories are seen as acting in the interests of the better-off – then we would still expect to see a correlation. We also observe some class identification among Socially Conservative Prospectors. The exact economic appeal of each party will have an impact on the vote of this more pragmatic value group. A party that suggests it will increase taxes for all would be likely to alienate this voter, irrespective of class. Today, all mainstream parties are very conscious of the aspirant voter.

What about Pioneers? Here there is also some correlation with class, although it is certainly not neat. The Conservatives perform particularly badly with DE Pioneers. Perhaps a combination of their stances on fairness, immigration and law and order, combined with the social norm in working class areas, make it difficult for the Tories to get any traction with this group.

However, Liberal Democrat support – and for that matter Green support – underlines the more post-materialist views of Pioneers. Not only do they garner far more support from Pioneers than other values groups but this support is noticeably skewed towards better-off Pioneers, yet both parties advocate redistribution.

Soft Pioneers tend to be less post-materialist than strong Pioneers and the Tories do particularly well among AB Flexible Individualists. No voter is an island, but Pioneers are less likely to vote out of tribal loyalty or to be driven by economic concerns. Many – particularly strong Pioneers – seek a political party who they believe has the best chance of delivering the 'good society'.

Labour loyal voters by class and values

38.9 per cent of DE Settlers always vote Labour, against 18.4 per cent of AB Settlers. There is also a correlation by class and among Prospectors but these are less pronounced. Among Pioneers there is also some class correlation, but this is the least clear cut.

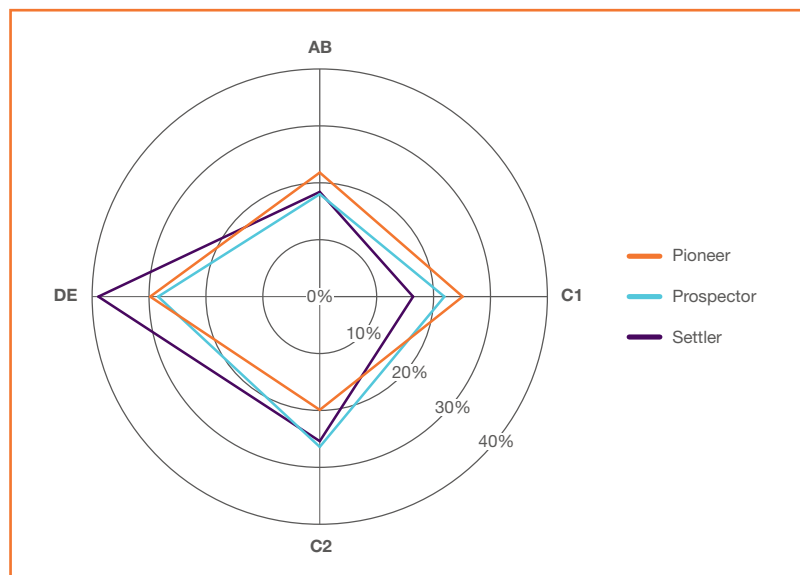
Table A3

Loyal Labour voters by class and values group (%)

	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
AB	21.8	18.0	18.4
C1	25.1	21.9	16.4
C2	19.9	26.4	25.4
DE	29.8	28.4	38.9

Figure A1

Loyal Labour voters by class and values group (%)



Loyal Conservative voters by class and values

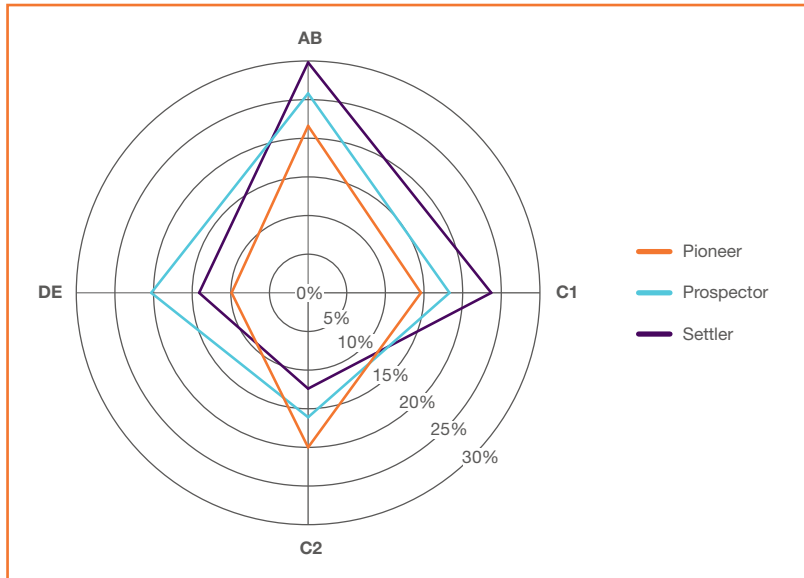
The Conservatives do much better among AB Settlers than DE Settlers. Their Prospector support has some class correlation too. Tory Pioneer support is relatively strong among ABs and C2s but particularly weak among DEs.

Table A4

Loyal Conservative voters by class and values group (%)

	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
AB	21.6	25.8	29.8
C1	14.6	18.3	23.7
C2	20.0	16.1	12.4
DE	9.9	20.3	14.1

Figure A2
Loyal Conservative voters by class and values group (%)



Loyal Liberal Democrat voters by class and values

Not only do Liberal Democrats do much better among Pioneers but their Pioneer support is skewed towards better-off voters. They do very poorly among Settlers and their loyal Prospector support is weak among C2s but much stronger among DEs.

Table A5
Loyal Lib-Dem voters by class and values group (%)

	Pioneer	Prospector	Settler
AB	8.7	6.6	3.9
C1	9.1	4.3	2.9
C2	7.0	1.7	1.8
DE	5.0	9.3	2.4

Figure A3
Loyal Lib-Dem voters by class and values group (%)

