The Values Story of the Brexit Split (Part 1)

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Values Model 101: Groups and Dynamics

Thanks to Pat Dade and Les Higgins of CDSM Cultural Dynamics Strategy and Marketing
www.cultdyn.co.uk for use of data and materials in this blog/presentation. Contact me (Chris Rose) at chris@campaignstrategy.co.uk
Maslow’s hierarchy of Needs – CDSM version www.cultdyn.co.uk - the unmet need is the **dominant** need

Meeting unmet needs turns Settlers into Prospectors, and Prospectors in Pioneers

More info/ intro http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=1420
Drivers and behaviours – unmet needs

Prospectors – outer directed: need for success, esteem of others then self esteem. Acquire and display symbols of success.

Pioneers – inner directed. Need to connect actions with values, explore ideas, experiment. Networking, interests, ethics, innovation.

Settlers - need for security driven: safety, security, identity belonging. Keep things small, local, avoid risk.
“It could be me!” - rewards, material wealth, visible success, recognize me, bling, lottery, ‘nice’, recommendations

“I want the world and want it now!” – live to shop, designer, adventure, experiences, the latest stuff, party, fabulous, give nothing up

“Big ideas, small steps” Take care of us, control, set rules, keep it small, defend our rights, discipline

“Look after number one” Survival is success, accept your lot, keep to the rules, don’t rock the boat, just give me the facts, the old ways are best

“Be a better person to make the world a better place” – do things for the right reasons, rules to help people be better, justice, ethics, opinions

“Looking to see what I might find” – life is fun, try new things, intrigue, the unknown, complexity, possibility
2016 CDSM Values Map

- Makes ‘groups’ by comparing responses to 1000s of attitude and belief questions.

**Prospector**
- Pragmatic
- Individualistic

**Settler**
- Group Morality

Map shows 100 question combination ‘Attributes’ most separating the data.

**Personal Ethics**
Settlers

No thanks, you lead

Prospectors

Maybe – if you can show me it works

Pioneers

Of course – and I have my own ideas

Change?

Questions?

I’d rather not hear them

What’s the right answer?

But are you asking the right ones (there are no ‘right answers’)

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Self agency starts low but gets higher with transitions within Prospectors. Seek to be ‘independent’. Want to adopt proven ways to make world better.

Low

High

Yes I/we can change the world. We’ll think of a solution. Seek interdependence.

Seek to follow strong, authoritative, trusted leaders, ‘one of us’. Otherwise world changes me, I don’t change the world. Dependent.
Past, Present and Future

The future will be good – it’s where I will succeed. Invested in optimism about mechanisms of success, eg tech. High expectations.

The present can be best. Seek optimisation and reform. ‘Realistic’ optimism.

The past was better. Good old days. Pessimistic about change. Low expectations.
Meeting unmet needs turns Settlers into Prospectors, and Prospectors in Pioneers. Driven by life experiences.

From *What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers*
People can move – overall from Settlers > Prospectors > Pioneers as they meet needs

Like taking seats in a stadium, people move if they meet their needs. If conditions for gaining esteem deteriorate, Prospectors may ‘slip back’.

From *What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers*
Social Change Dynamic

New ideas and behaviours move the opposite way – from Pioneers > Prospectors > Settlers

Norming
Adoption of the new normal

Emulation
Adoption of ideas that look ‘successful’

Resist change until it looks normal: then seek Rules from authority to embed it, and enforce.

Constant experimentation and exploration of new ideas and behaviours.
Different in many ways so what holds them together?

- Differences are significant but rarely absolute
- Many shared values eg ‘being a parent’
- Attributes nearer the centre of the map are more in common
- With free-choice groups tend to self-select by values activities, social networks, venues etc and so avoid conflict
- Social bonds of family, friendship and culture & interests
- Utility eg at work: Settlers perfect essential functions, Prospectors are the turbo-boosters, Pioneers the experimenters
- Common experiences and interdependencies eg reliance on public services, common bonds formed in national or community wide efforts, common understanding eg from media
- Human contact and expecting to see one another again and needing to get along
Getting Along examples

Dr. Sophie Smith
Engineer

“My sister will have great future and make really good money – get a house”

“It wasn’t ever a women’s job of course but she’s first in our family to go to University”

Why Sophies friends go to support the Team:
“My dad did and his before him: it’s us” (Settler)
“It’s a winning side and a great day out” (Prospector)

For the beauty of the game, win or lose (Pioneer)

“The world needs more engineers, especially women”

Acceptance of change rationalised in different ways

Same behaviour, different ‘reasons’
The Social Elastic

Settler  Prospector  Pioneer

Direction of change

Little change, high cohesion/understanding, inter-dependencies

Moderate change; less cohesion/understanding, testing inter-dependencies

Elastic stretching: big change; little cohesion/understanding, fewer inter-dependencies

Eg social media causes living in comm’s bubbles, lives separate due to greater mobility & more choice but fewer common experiences (bowling alone – or in values silos)
Change over time
Maslow – society = people with different dominant needs

Maslow drew his needs groups in a pyramid. For most of human history values surveys, they had existed, would probably have been nearly all red - Settler
Factors keeping people as Settlers would have included

- Chronic insecurity: war, strife, disorder
- High dangers of death and disease

Indicators from the past include:

- Mortality rates and lifespan
- Infant mortality

Statistical studies of such factors by the late Hans Rosling of GapMinder and others
Life expectancy began to rise significantly in the Industrial Revolution. It accelerated in the 20th century.
Child mortality fell

Drivers of both include: material productivity, better living conditions, nutrition and sanitation, law and order, security, energy use, education (= development)
First CDSM type values UK survey in 1973 still found society was majority Settler but with many Pioneers and Prospectors

By 2016 Pioneers were the largest group and Settlers the smallest – a lot had changed and the ‘pyramid’ would be top-heavy
Good Times > Values change

Post World War 2: UK introduced a free National Health Service, a Welfare State and expanded free universal education. Economy grew.

Material goods and home ownership became more widely attainable.

Feelings of security & opportunities to acquire and display the symbols of success (Prospector need) increased.

More Settlers could become Prospectors
More people got cars, increasing freedoms of mobility

And washing machines, increasing free time to do other things
And colour tvs, phones, and computers

And started to take foreign holidays and spend more and more money on leisure experiences
More people transitioned to Prospects and to Pioneers through new experiences and opportunities, eg leisure travel.

1930s
Elite travel only

1950s
Mass travel

1960s
Jet Set > Mass air travel

1970s
Back packing


Even today, university students are more likely to have become Pioneers.

http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/000000350.htm

http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=37
More Pioneers led to the creation and acceptance of new attitudes. Eg ‘unconventional’ sexual orientation in the US. Gay relations and gay marriage. Pioneers are first to accept this, followed by Prospectors, then Settlers.

In 2004 the US was 49% Prospector (Environics). In 2012 it was 49% Pioneer (CDSM). Similar in UK.
Political Parties lost touch
1980s – 2000s Politics Decoupling From People

- Less government, more market forces
- Embrace globalisation
- Third Way, ‘centre wins’
- Professionalisation
- Only Swing Votes count
- Hollowing out of parties
- Media is everything
- Social Media is everything

“But what do they actually do?”
“I don’t know who is in control. We don’t make our own stuff any more”
“I can’t tell the difference between them”
“Don’t see them round here: it’s all focus groups & spin”
“What about my issues: why bother voting?”
“Nobody I know is involved”
“Just stuff on TV”
“Who? Not in my feed”
Generations of Pioneers abandoned political parties as concerns marginalised. Participated in cause campaigns and ‘single issues’ politics.
Many Settlers abandoned traditional party allegiances as group identity and local contact eroded. Some turned to small parties with identity focus eg UKIP, SNP.

Consequences

UKIP heartland 2014
Many Prospectors lost interest in politics and went shopping. And into business.
Consequences

Turnout at most elections fell from 1945 to the 2000s.

Trust in politicians also gradually declined.
2000s: recession causes values change to miss a beat
The values conveyor works like this. In ‘good times’ more people gradually end up to the right.

Life experiences

Settlers
Needs for Safety, Security, Identity, belonging

Prospectors
Needs for Esteem from others, Self esteem

Pioneers
Post esteem needs
1973 - 2005 CDSM surveys (sample below) showed a progressive decline in the number of Settlers and increase in Prospectors/ Pioneers. Then in 2008 and 2010 (2010 shown below) **Settler numbers increased.** The ‘values conveyor’ had stalled and for some, gone into **reverse.** Now working very slowly in the UK.

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<td>56</td>
<td>34</td>
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First rise in Settlers in over 20 years.
People queuing outside a branch in Golders Green, London, on 14 September 2007, to withdraw their savings due to fallout from the subprime crisis (photo Alex Gunningham from London, Perfidious Albion (UK plc))

This coincided with economic recession

2008 jump in %
Settlers and fall in Prospectors first measured here

Northern Rock 2007

Crash and Great Recession 2008 - 9

Settlers and fall in Prospectors first measured here

This coincided with economic recession

Campaign Strategy Ltd/ CDSM 2017
The broken conveyor? (2008-?)

Some Prospectors have ‘slipped back’, leading to an accumulation of GDs and BNWs. This means GDs are now a combustible mixture of anxious optimists (“it really could be me!”) and angry, disappointed and puzzled triers – “someone stole my dream – someone is to blame”

Most probable cause: declining real expectations, worsening social outcomes
Values Modes Consequences

Combustible mixture: angry, puzzled, disappointed

BNW Brave New World: most assertive of Settlers; protective of ‘us’; dominant unmet need, to affirm identity. Stalled in transition to GD Golden Dreamers?

GD Golden Dreamer
Prospectors: dominant unmet need, esteem of others. Some ‘fell back’ to Settler (BNW)?

Reinforced natural pessimism
Primed society for division?
Remained more optimistic

Other Prospector Values Modes shrunk in size, ‘fell back’ to Golden Dreamer
The effects of recession were complex, for example in the UK pensioners were protected by government policies while younger people were not but it shook confidence. Home ownership rates went into decline as homes became increasingly unaffordable to the young: the sort of signal that families notice in everyday life.

Felt like ‘Good Times’ were over. Loss of optimism
In 2009 analysis showed income inequality had significantly reduced in the UK from the 1940s to 1979 but then began to increase again.

“By 2010 to 2012, the median total wealth for households aged 55 to 64 [had] grown to £425,000, but had fallen to £60,000 for those aged 25-34.”

In 2015 LSE (et al) analysis showed post recession (2006-12) 55-64 had got richer while those in their 20s were on average 15% poorer, with rapidly falling real wages, despite being better educated than previous generations.
In the US Chetty et al found in 2016 that real absolute inequality had increased since 1940.

Fewer and fewer children were earning more than their parents. The ‘dream’ of each generation becoming better off was fading.

Richer people were cushioned by rising investment values eg shares and house prices but those reliant on wage income were more vulnerable.
Brexit (and Trump) rang the Division Bell
2004 8 new States join EU incl Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia

2014 controls on EU immigration from Romania and Bulgaria also lifted

Immigration + Recession + EU Migrant Crisis

recession

Boat arrivals
Italy Greece
peak Oct 2015

2004 8 new States join EU incl Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia. Labour estimates 13k migrants/yr assuming Germany opens market but it doesn’t. Actual is 50,000/yr.

2009 UKIP comes 2nd in Euro Elections

2015 EU Migrant crisis Calais ‘Jungle’

May 2015 Cameron wins election, promises EU Referendum

August 2015 Germany opens borders to refugees

November 2015 Paris terror attack

June 2016 UKIP Nigel Farage and Leave.EU campaign on immigration in Referendum and Britain votes for Brexit
Leave campaigns target Settlers, GDs

FUD factors combine
- Immigration + Recession + EU Migrant Crisis
- Terrorism
- Promises of security

Vote for the past

Strong activation of pre-existing Settler/GD fears and desires

Simple binary clear choice raising turnout

Values split on Brexit

Values priming by stalled Conveyor: angry and frightened BNW, GDs are ignited ~ loud values

- Anti-EU anti-corporatist Pioneers – TTIP and Left wing
- Libertarian anti-EU right-wing Pioneer free-traders + Fustodians

Some Pioneers and Now People voted Brexit or did not vote
Values Split on Europe (Dec 15 survey) NPs + Pioneers agree EU overall a benefit, Settlers and GDs not.

+ Same values split on immigration. Agree: ‘Too many foreigners in my country’ (long standing result)

Values differences among political parties and media, reflected in Referendum campaign

“Take Control”: Power – Golden Dreamer hotbutton
Age and Brexit

How different age groups voted

There is no CDSM post-Referendum values voting or turnout survey but the pre-Referendum pro/anti EU values surveys and the age voting patterns found by Ashcroft, plus values-age data suggests that high values activation of Settlers played a role in ‘Brexit’*

Ashcroft reported that older people voted more to Leave

Settlers skew to older and are far less Pro-EU

The highest proportions of Settlers are in the older UK population age groups

UK older population age groups are bigger than under 35s

*values data base representative of UK population; Ashcroft data base representative of GE15 voting population

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“The AB social group (broadly speaking, professionals and managers) were the only social group among whom a majority voted to remain (57%). C1s divided fairly evenly; nearly two thirds of C2DEs (64%) voted to leave the EU”. - Ashcroft survey

Above: UK pop. Values and class. AB are 16% over index (pop av. = 100). C1 shows no significant values skew. C2 skews to Prospector/Settler, DE to Settler (by 45%).

Voting in the Referendum analysed by £ class broadly matches pro/anti EU values differences
Values a *stronger* indicator than class (£)

![Graph showing Predicting Brexit Vote Intention](image)

Source: *It’s NOT the economy, stupid: Brexit as a story of personal values.*

“Brexit voters, like Trump supporters, are motivated by identity, not economics. Age, education, national identity and ethnicity are more important than income or occupation. But to get to the nub of the Leave-Remain divide, we need to go even deeper, to the level of attitudes and personality”

Prof Eric Kaufmann, Birkbeck College London

Highlighted ‘death penalty’ which did not feature in campaigning. But Attributes such as ‘Discipline’ and ‘Whip’ are centred in the Settlers

“I believe that strict discipline is in a child’s best interests. I think that criminals should face severe sentences to deter them from offending again”

I believe that sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment. I think that such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse

71% of those most in favour of the death penalty said they would vote Leave but only 20 percent of those most opposed to capital punishment.
Settler values response triggered by rate of cultural challenge from immigration.

Immigration #1 concern for White Leave voters.

**Rate** of ethnic change positively correlated with Brexit vote. (Standardised for actual level of ethnic minorities in ward).

Sources Kaufmann: *Trump and Brexit: why it’s again NOT the economy, stupid* & The indicators that show who voted for Trump and Brexit.
Events and Leave campaign triggered and played on feelings of being overwhelmed (immigration), loss of control (Europe decides) + threats (eg terrorism)

Without a critical level of threat to norms and feeling loss of control, attitudes such as “too many foreigners in my country” remain latent: potential Authoritarians remain (reluctantly) tolerant ... but this time

It’s as though some people have a button on their foreheads, and when the button is pushed, they suddenly become intensely focused on defending their in-group, kicking out foreigners and non-conformists, and stamping out dissent within the group. At those times they are more attracted to strongmen and the use of force”.  

Jonathan Haidt  2016

Meanwhile Remain mostly talked about generic economic benefits of EU
Plus, Settler + Golden Dreamer values activated by perceived internal threat: ‘Political Correctness’

Greenberg found rejection of ‘Political Correctness’ was the 2nd most powerful of 138 indicators of voting for Trump.

When Pioneer-originated new behaviours and attitudes spread by emulation and norming, change is gradually accepted and becomes normal. Eg (UK) health and safety, smoking rules, drink driving.

Here Pioneers and some Prospectors have adopted the change. But if Pioneers try to get ahead of the wave and demand that others adopt the change it may generate rejection.

Ethical projection

Most often happens when the overtly ethical wing of the Pioneers, (Concerned Ethicals) convert their own ethical judgements into non-legal rules of ‘Political Correctness’.
Settler + Golden Dreamer values activated by perceived internal threat: ‘Political Correctness’

In the EU Referendum Ashcroft found four ‘isms’ which so far, are more accepted by Pioneers (and Now People) than Settlers (and Golden Dreamers). Leave voters tended to see them as a ‘force for ill’. Brexit was an opportunity to reject ‘political correctness’. For example:

Rejectors of ‘Patriarchy: For me, a man’s place is at work and a woman’s place is in the home. I believe men are naturally superior to women’. 
‘Remain’ missed the Now People

“the Remain campaign would do well to try and attract more active support from the Prospectors and in particular, the Now People [the leading edge Prospectors].

... In short the Remain campaign has been somewhat dull and lacking in any sort of fun, positivity, or convincing optimism. Now People are hugely influential but seek success and having a good time. Any brief to engage them with the rather passive idea of ‘remain’ (which sounds a lot like stay where you are, not a very Now Person idea) has to be about having a better time being in Europe, than if we go out.

you need to talk to them about life outside work. Earning money is after all about being able to play hard too ... Farrage plays the Settler even if he isn’t one, and does so convincingly. The Remain camp has had no such Now Person spokesperson walking the walk.

The Now People want to wind time forwards – ‘Remain’ despite its name, needs to show that’s what being in the EU will be all about. Modernity and opportunity and a better chance of success, at work and play. Taking the Eurostar to Paris rather than the A12 to Clacton.

The Remain camp leadership has made no noticeable attempt to communicate anything about what makes it enjoyable to be in Europe, to remind people why they like it ... or to equip their followers with arguments and evidence about what is good about the EU in personal, family and human experience terms rather than macro-economics.

... Huge areas of governance in which the EU plays a crucial role – of which environment is but one – have been simply left off the agenda of Remain. It could be a crucial piece of mis-targeting”.

‘Nobody saw it coming’ ...

Some did of course, and Trump ... but we did see the values-votes split coming, eg:

Broadly speaking, Pioneers and some (Now People) Prospectors will lean towards ‘Remain’ (stay in the EU) and the instinctive support for ‘Leave’ comes from the Settlers and ‘Golden Dreamer’ Prospectors, motivated mainly by a yearning to recover an old national identity.

13 June 2016 http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=1035

AfD’s vote overlaps with wider German concern about ‘too many foreigners’ ... AfD is well placed to become the voice of these disenfranchised, alienated, angry and frightened people who may not have voted in the past but now feel that there is a party which understands them ... In Britain this opportunity may come on June 23rd if the ‘remain campaign’ does not get its act together.

... Support for the EU is almost the mirror image of those who most support UKIP and feel there are too many foreigners in the country. The Now People (...) are significantly more pro European than the Golden Dreamers (...), showing why this is the key battleground that will probably determine whether Britain votes in or out.

March 21 2016 http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=979
How Remainers could have won but didn’t

If (which they didn’t exactly) people had all voted as Pioneer + Now People* for Remain v. Golden Dreamer* + Settler for Leave (with proportionate turnout), Remain would have won by 58.8% Remain to 41.2% Leave.

As with Leave, people voted Remain for various reasons but the strongest were intuitive, values–driven. These included Optimism (a better future is possible), Universalism, and green issues (eg myself), education/learning ... others ... where the EU had helped drive change in the UK.

Remain failed to positively activate these values. Here’s one example: optimism, the Attribute most associated with support for Children and Youth Charities (2nd most popular charity type in the UK). This could have swung many Prospectors to Remain.

*plus their ‘inside’ ‘pale shadows’ Tomorrow People and Happy Followers respectively
So why did it happen *this* time?
Why in 2016 and not before?

1. Settlers and Golden Dreamers were primed for ‘authoritarian’ response by rate and degree of cultural change, recession (mood), and political correctness.
2. Immigration posed perceived threat to cultural norms and power.
3. ‘Leave’ dog whistles and events activated this response.
4. Referendum format allowed highly simplified debate (compared to General Elections) elevating Settler + GD participation.
5. Leave (and Trump) tactics gamed the media (controversialism, alt-truth, fake news) to set agenda.
6. Remain (split, complacent etc) failed to activate positive counterweight values eg optimism, modernity and surrendered possible centre ground eg future of families, patriotism, nature.
7. Leave.EU built energetic ground campaign, Remain did not.
8. Labour was half-hearted in support of Remain.
9. Leave.EU and Trump used big-data psychographics: opponents did not.
10. Major UK parties’ reflex was to see immigration as a no-go area potentially encouraging racism; ‘Bad Boys of Brexit’ (Leave.EU) had no such qualms and campaigned well.
Now What?

In Part 2:

• What Pioneers need to do, to avoid repeating their mistakes
• How society can rebuild the ‘social elastic’ and avoid a deeper descent into values ‘bubbles’ and ‘silos’
• What it means for campaigns
• What it means for politics, polling and market research