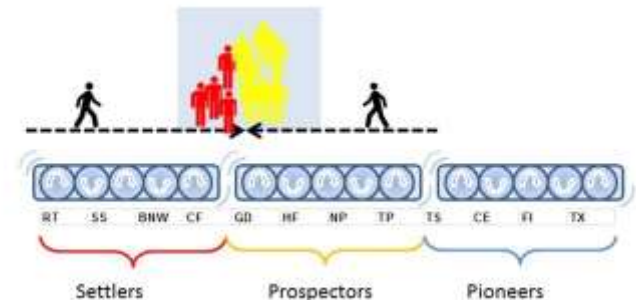
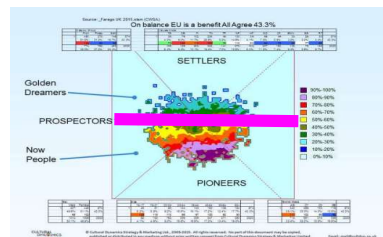


The Values Story of the Brexit Split (Part 1)

chris@campaignstrategy.co.uk

www.campaignstrategy.org

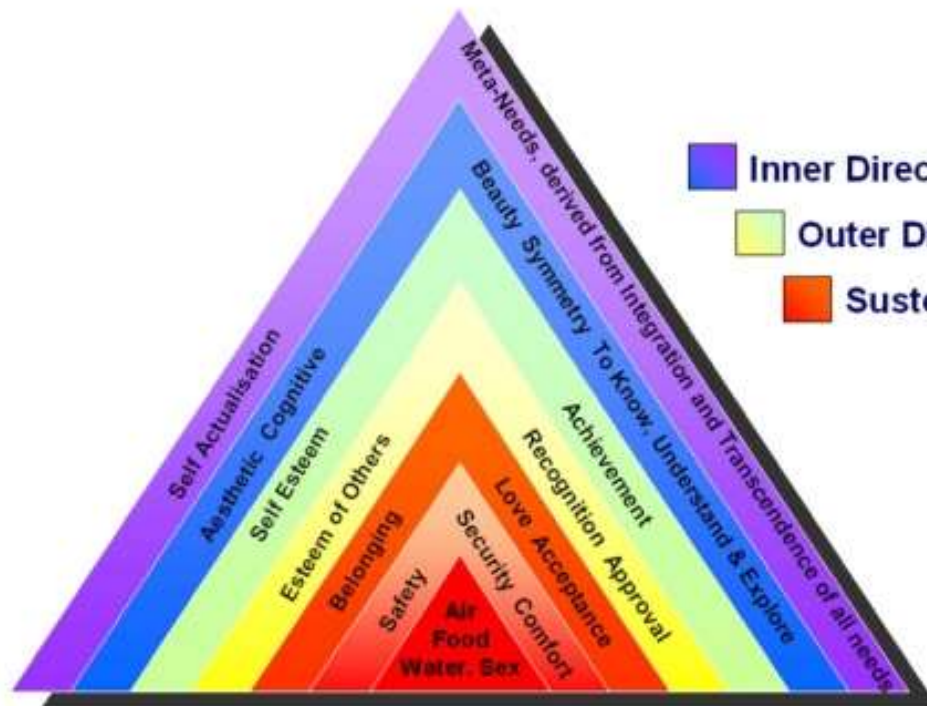
February 2017



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



Inner Directed aka Pioneer
 Outer Directed aka Prospector
 Sustenance Driven aka Settler

Safety and belonging

Success

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

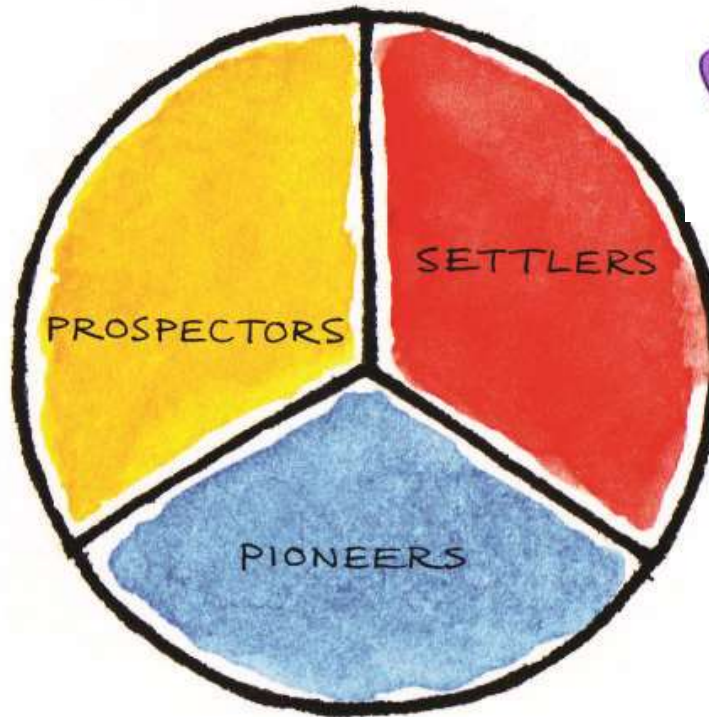
More info/ intro

<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.



Settlers - need for
security driven:
safety, security,
identity belonging.
Keep things small,
local, avoid risk



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

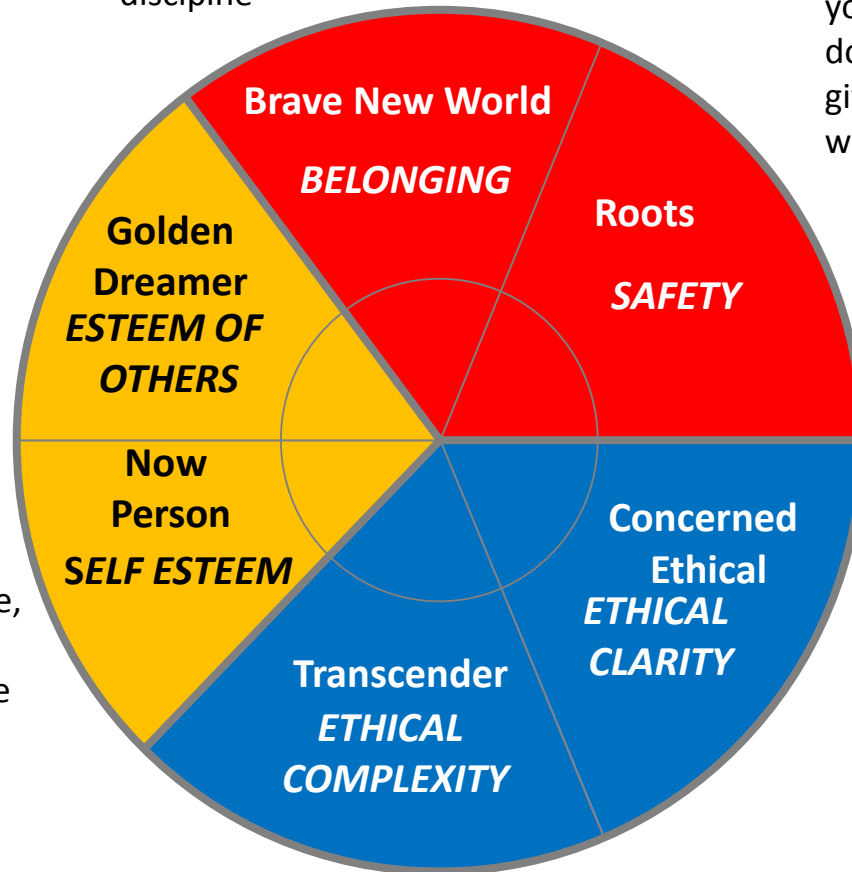
12 Values

Modes

(showing edge
Modes only)

“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



“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

“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

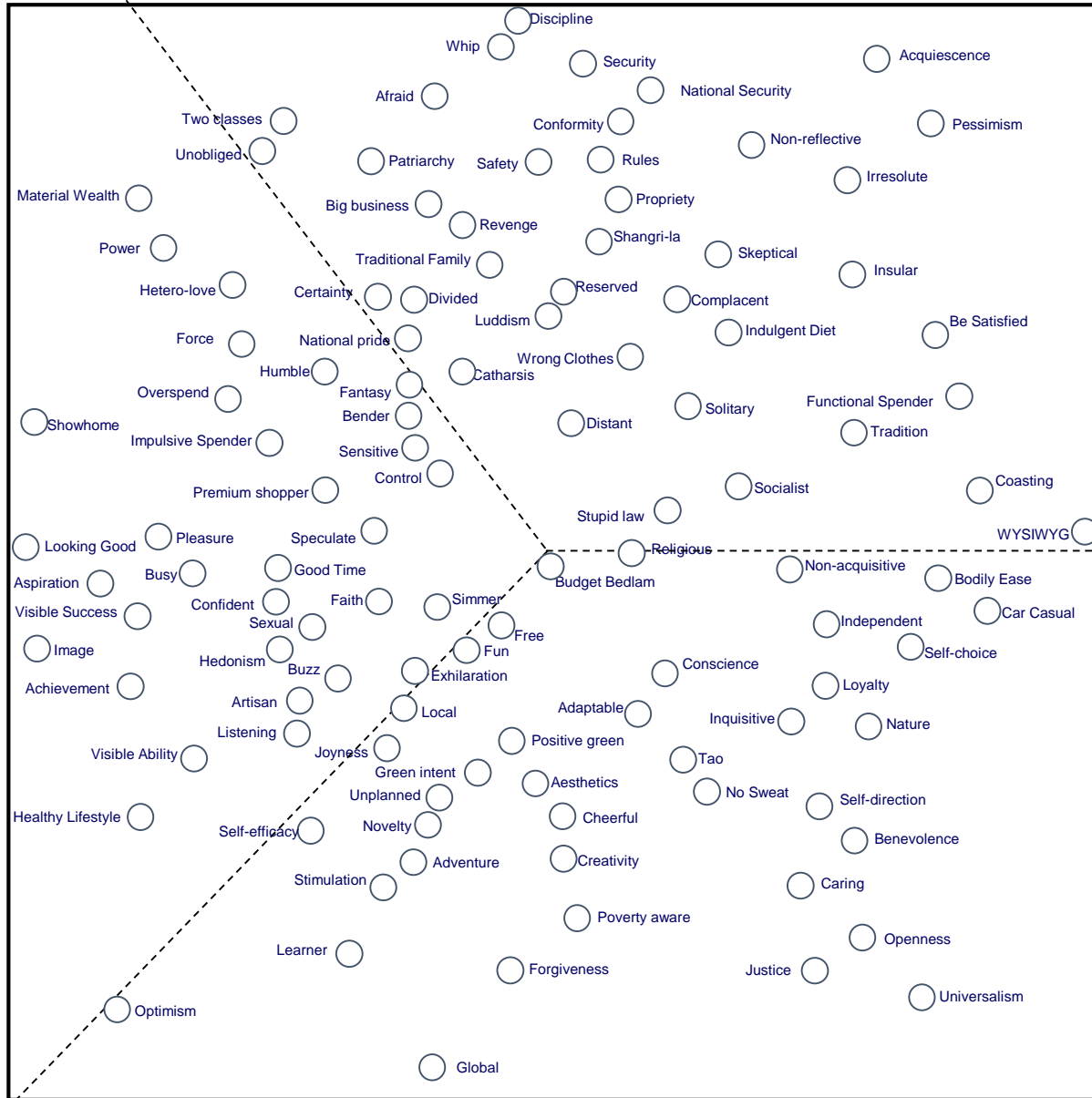
“Looking to see what I might find” – life is fun, try new things,
intrigue, the unknown, complexity, possibility

2016 CDSM Values Map

Makes
'groups' by
comparing
responses to
1000s of
attitude and
belief
questions

Prospector

Pragmatic
Individualistic



Settler

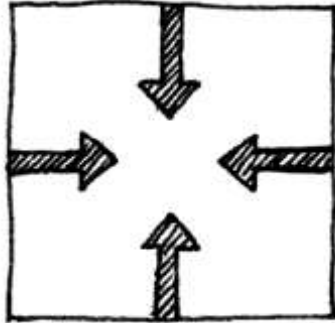
Group
Morality

Map shows
100
question
combination
'Attributes'
most
separating
the data

Personal
Ethics

Pioneer

Settlers



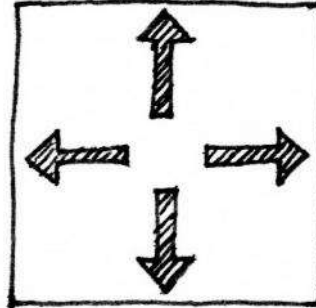
Change ?

*No thanks,
you lead*

Questions ?

*I'd rather not
hear them*

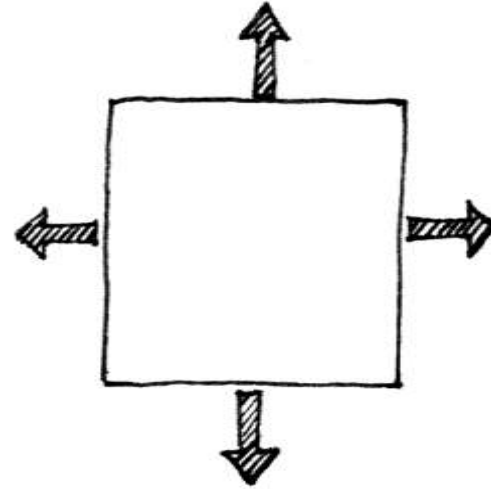
Prospectors



*Maybe – if you
can show me it
works*

*What's the
right answer ?*

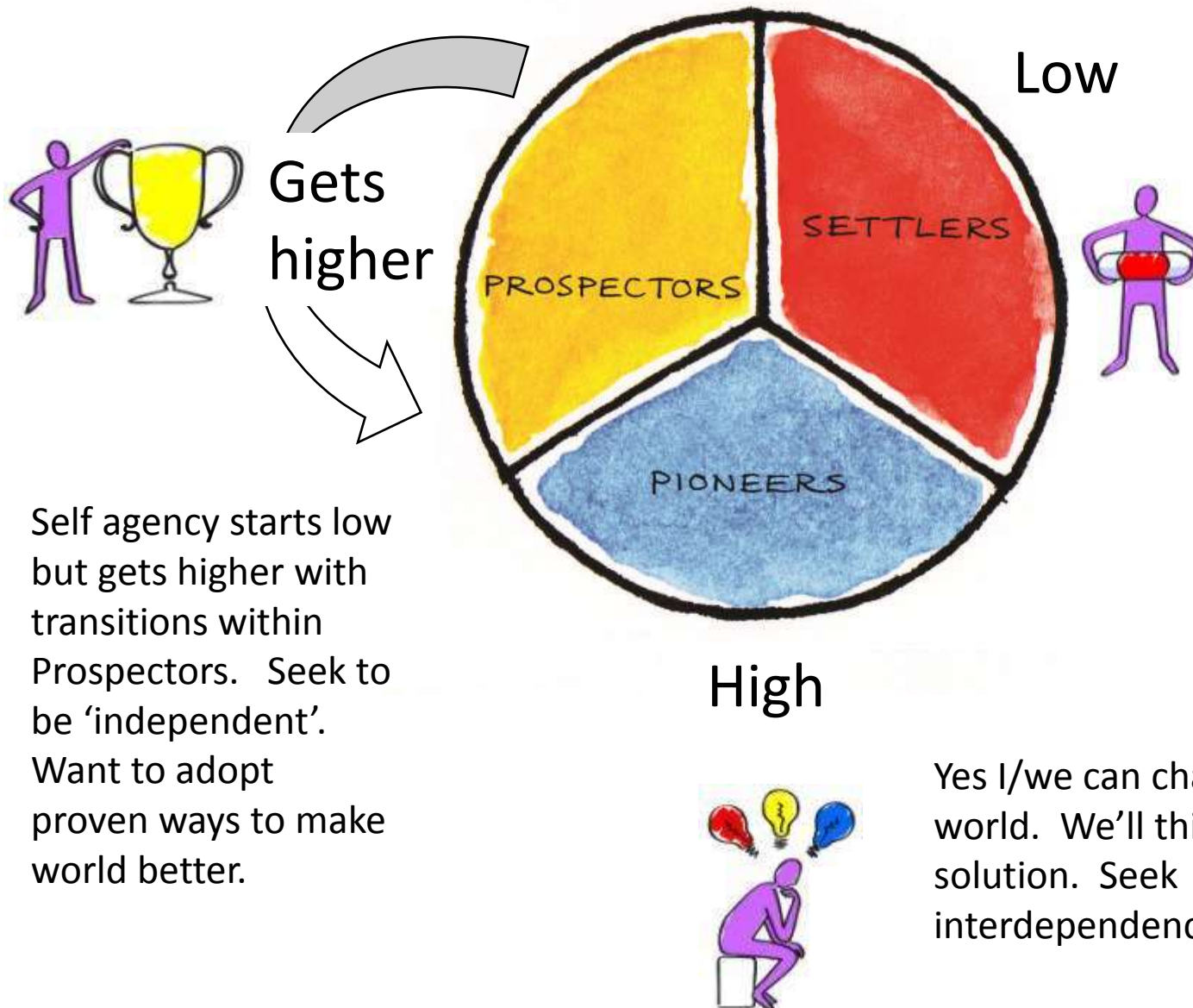
Pioneers



*Of course – and I
have my own ideas*

*But are you asking the
right ones (there are
no 'right answers')*

Sense of Self-Agency



Seek to follow strong, authoritative, trusted leaders, 'one of us'. Otherwise world changes me, I don't change the world. Dependent.

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

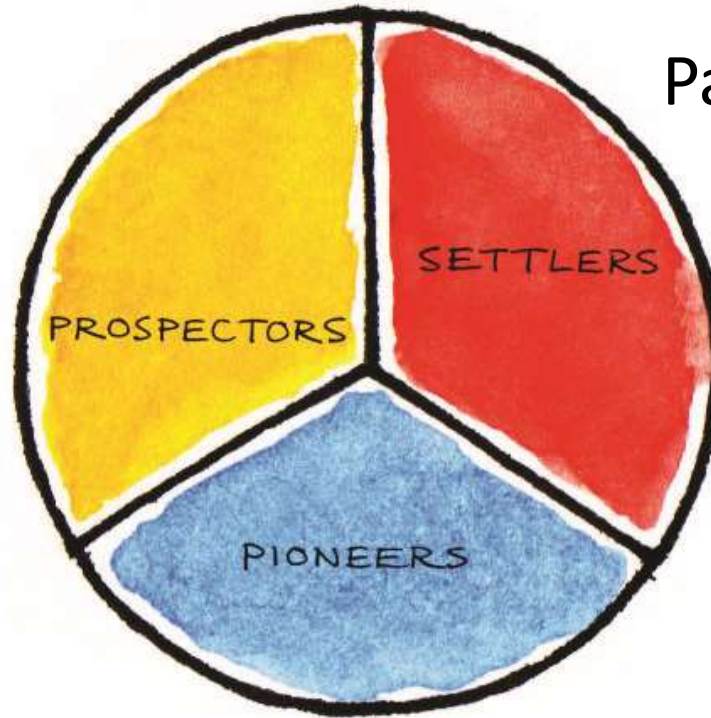
Yes I/we can change the world. We'll think of a solution. Seek interdependence.

Past, Present and Future



Future

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



Past

The past was better.
Good old days.
Pessimistic about change. Low expectations.

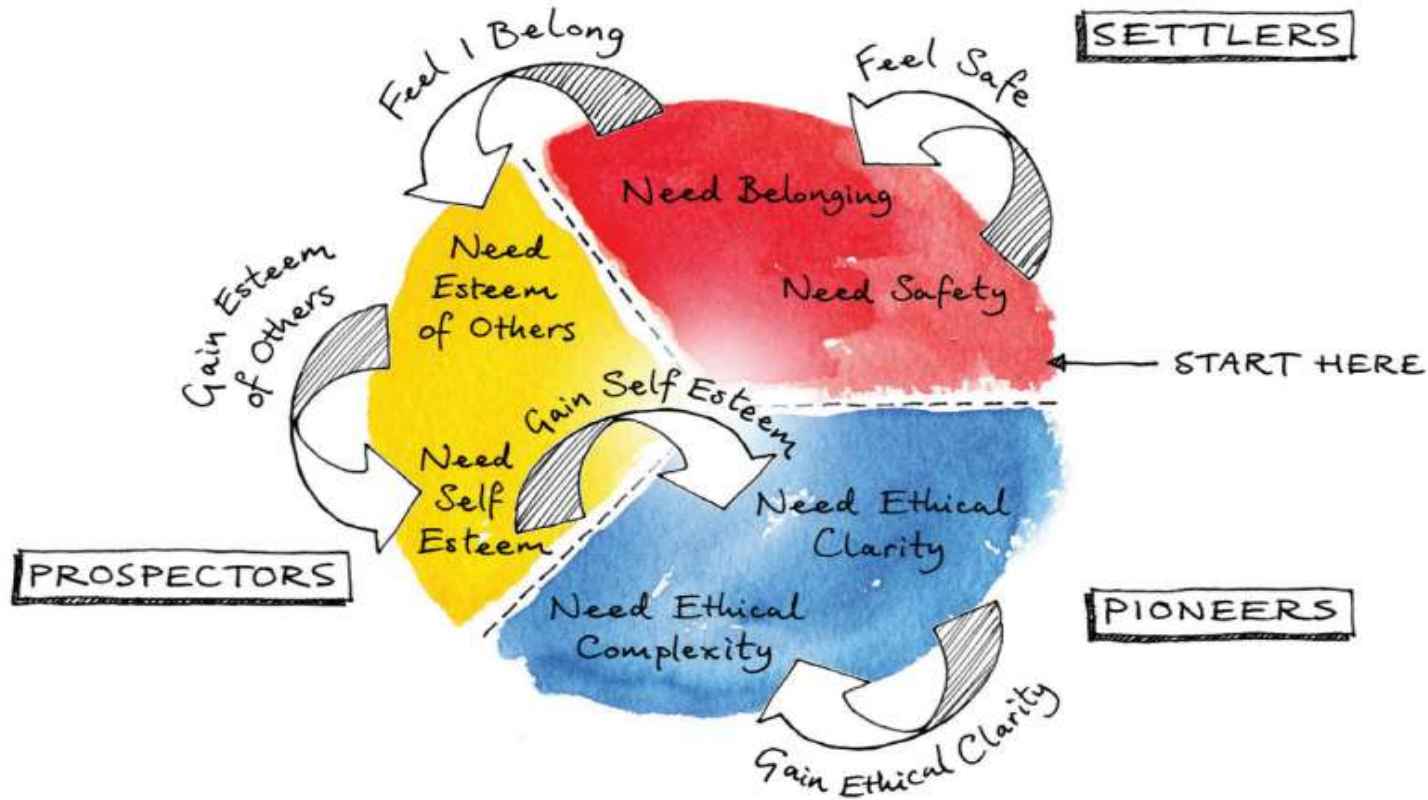


Present



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

People Dynamic

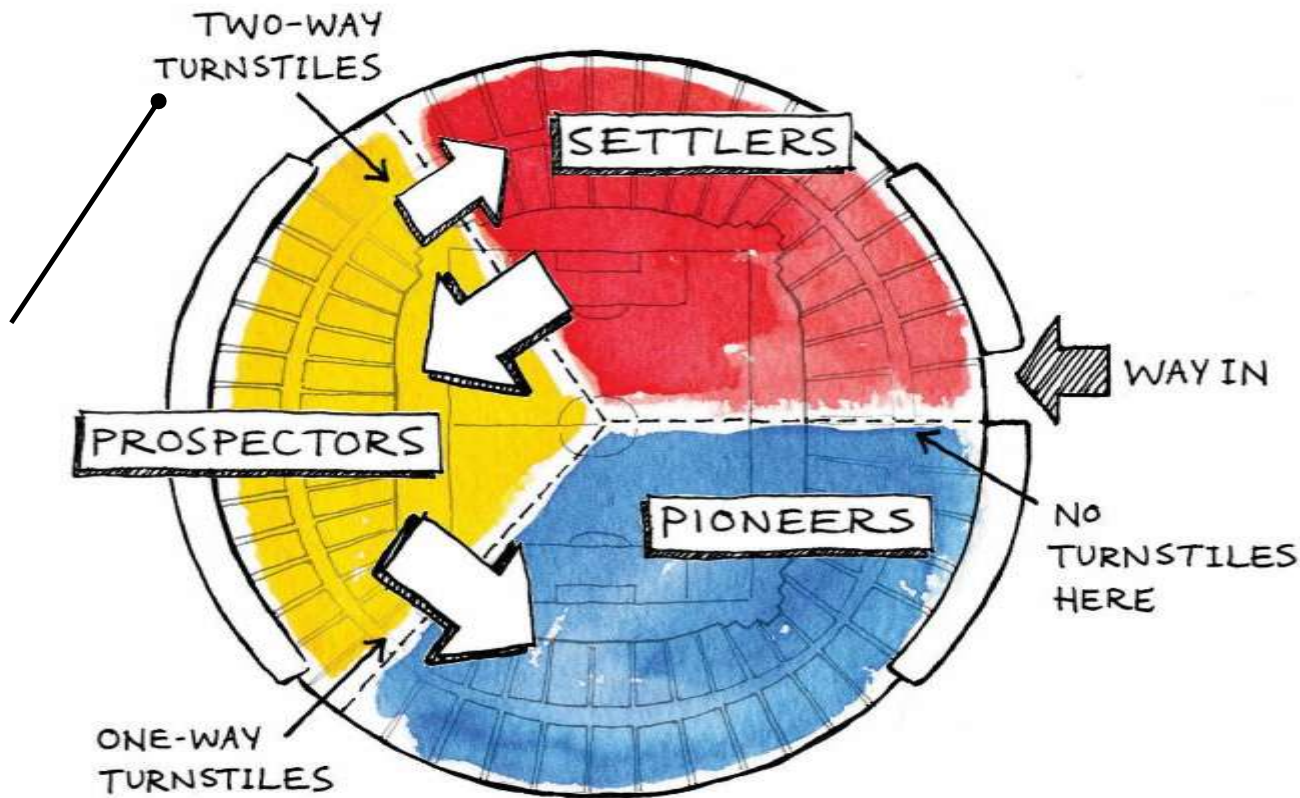


Meeting unmet needs turns Settlers into Prospectors, and Prospectors into Pioneers. Driven by life experiences.

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

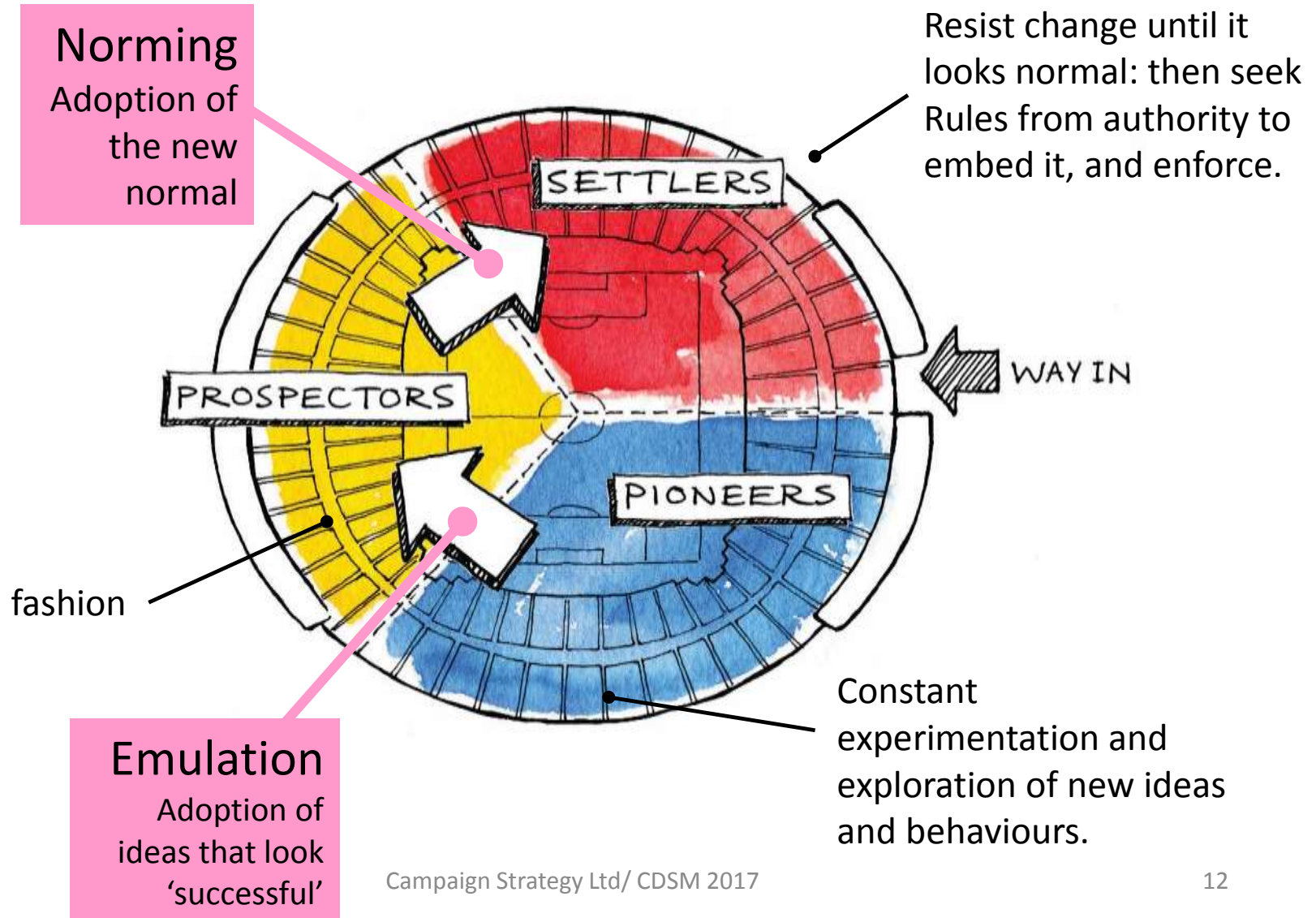
Like taking seats in a stadium, people move if they meet their needs. If conditions for gaining esteem deteriorate, Prospectors may 'slip back'.

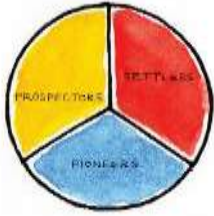



From [*What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers*](#)

Social Change Dynamic

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





Different in many ways so what holds them together ?
social elastic 

- 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



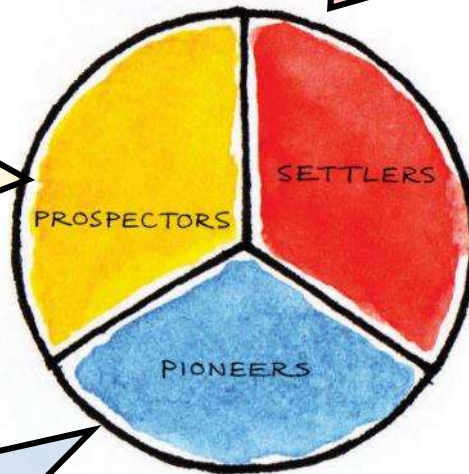
Dr. Sophie Smith
Engineer

"It wasn't ever a
woman's job of course
but she's first in our
family to go to
University"

Same behaviour,
different 'reasons'



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



"The world needs
more engineers,
especially women"

Acceptance of change
rationalised in different
ways

Why Sophie's 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 Social Elastic

Little change, high cohesion/ understanding, inter-dependencies

Settler

Prospector

Pioneer



Direction of change

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

Settler

Prospector

Pioneer



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

Settler

Prospector

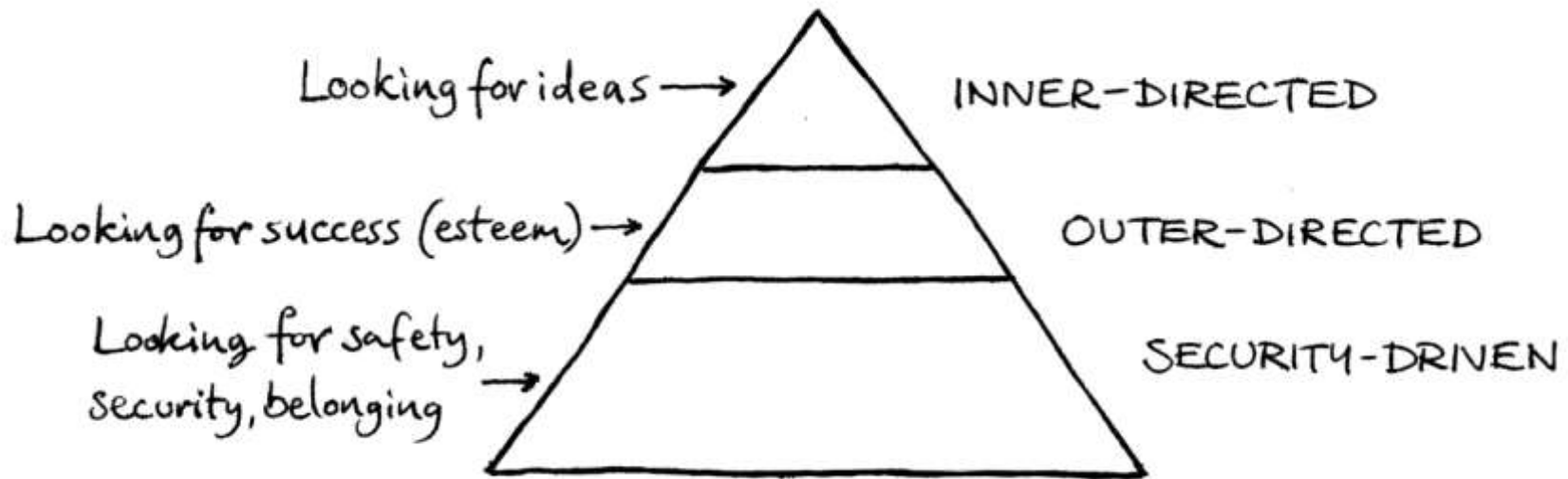
Pioneer



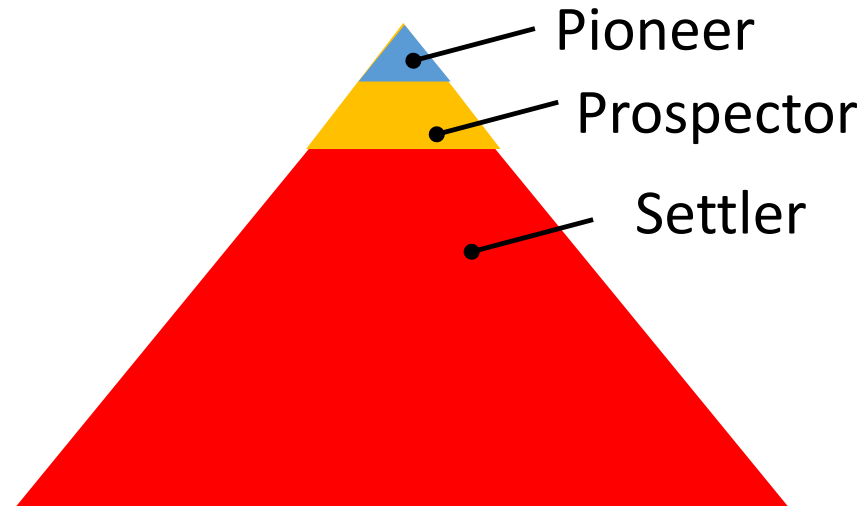
Eg social media causes living in comm's bubbles, lives separate due to greater mobility & more choice but fewer common experiences (bowling alone – or in values silos)

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



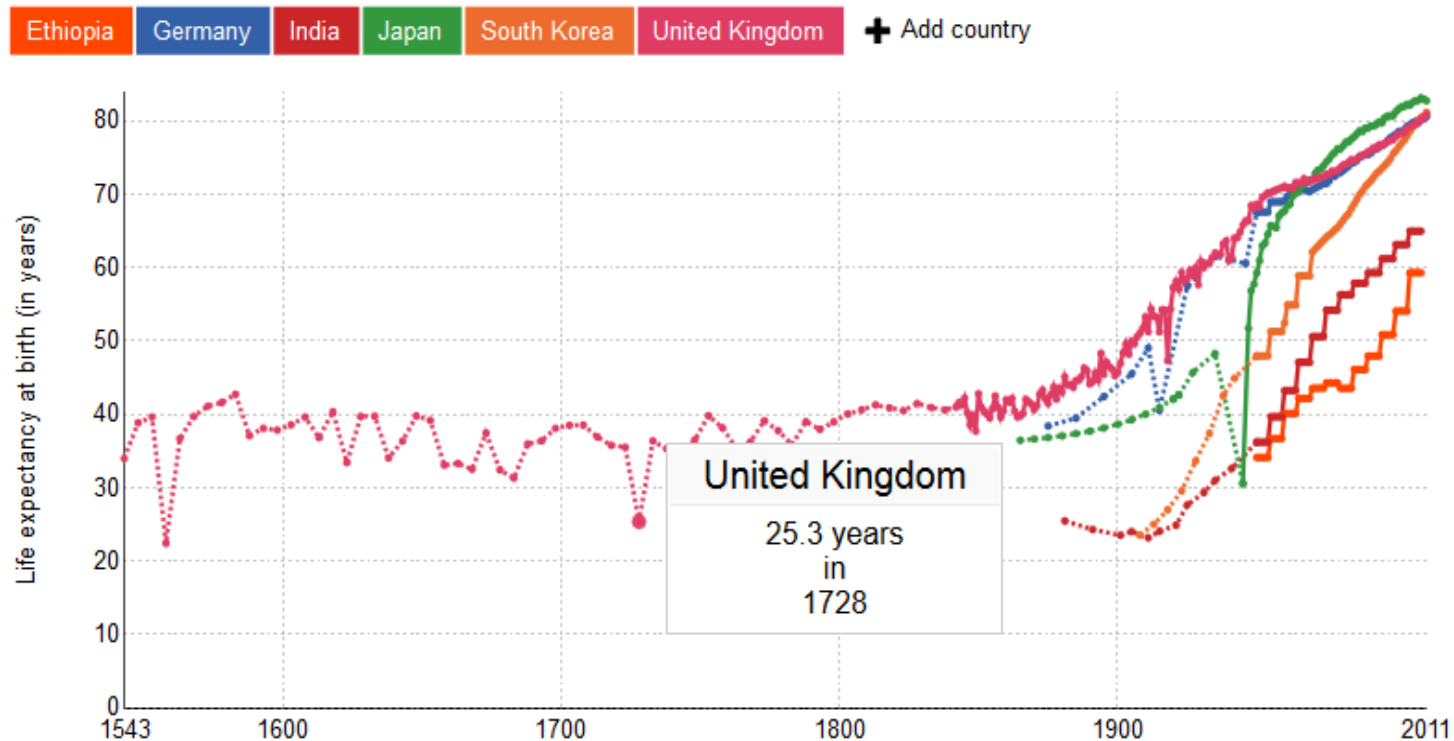
Life expectancy began
to rise significantly in
the Industrial
Revolution

It accelerated in the
C20th

Life expectancy, 1543 to 2011

Our World
in Data

Life expectancy at birth is the average number of years a child born would live if current mortality patterns were to stay the same.



Data source: Clio Infra (life expectancy, both genders)

OurWorldInData.org/life-expectancy/ • CC BY-SA

CHART

MAP

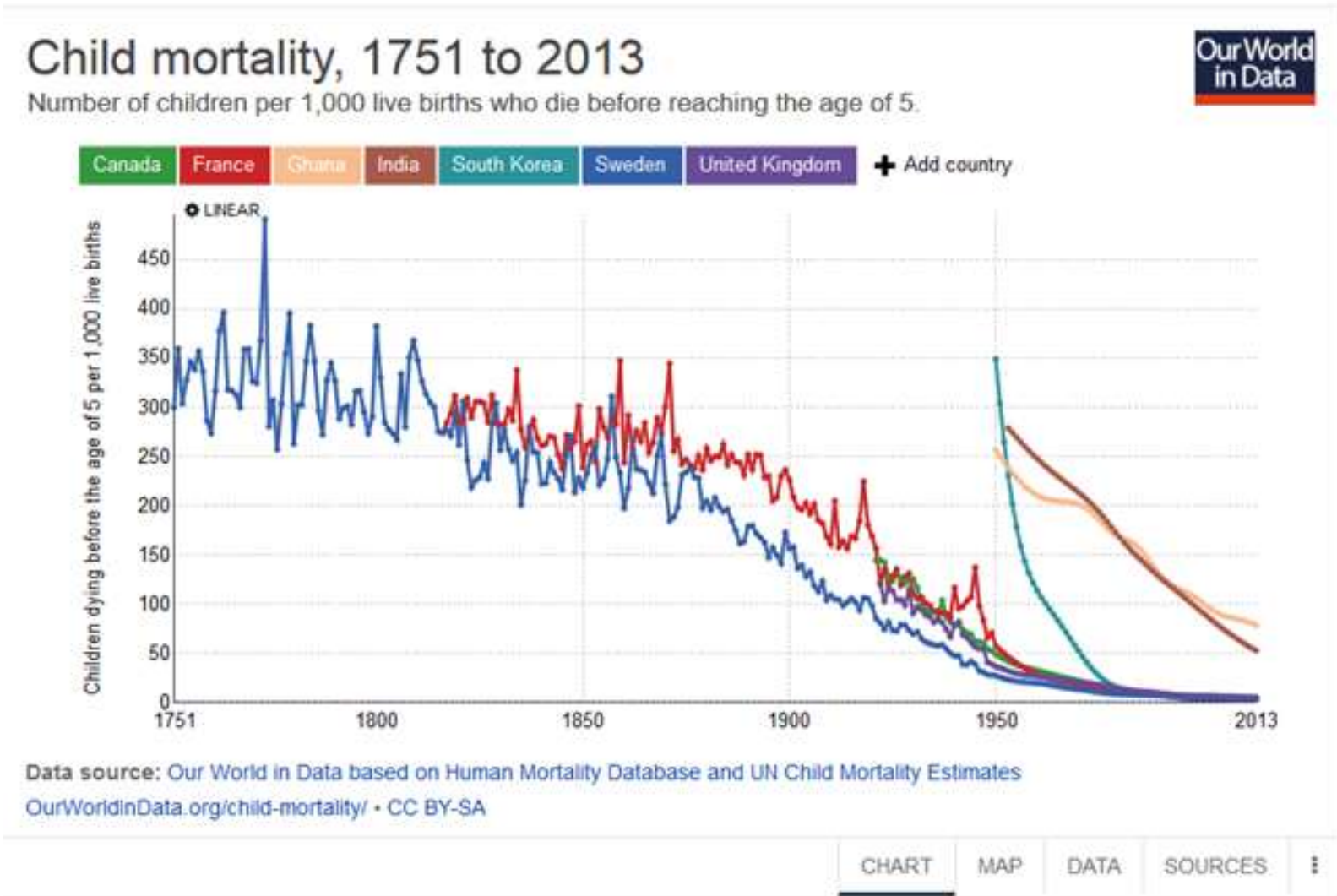
DATA

SOURCES

⋮

Child mortality
fell

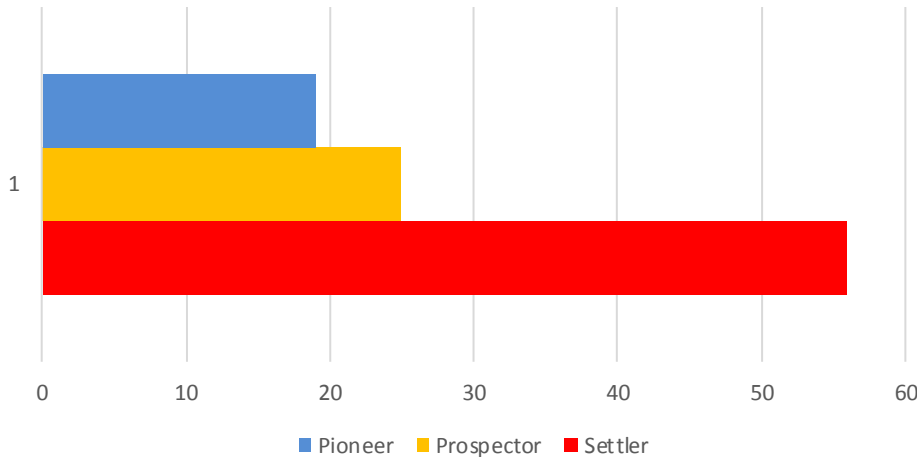
Drivers of both include: material productivity,
better living conditions, nutrition and
sanitation, law and order, security, energy use,
education (= development)



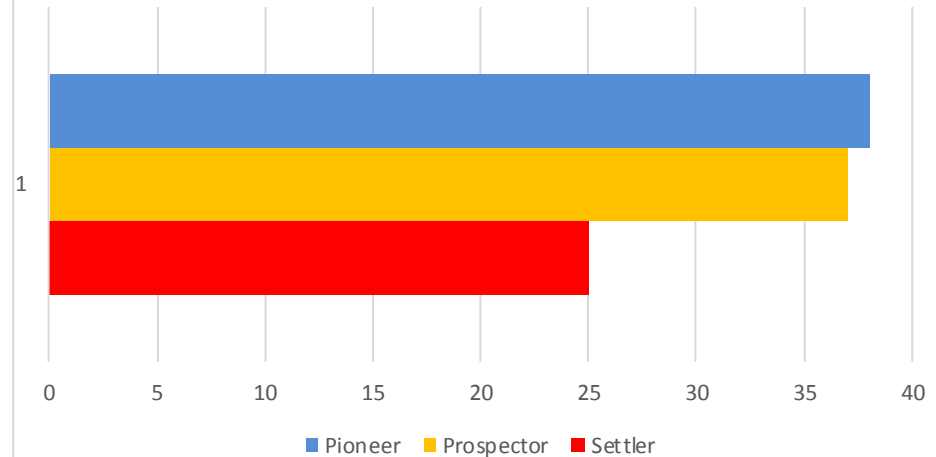
| 1973 | |
|-----------|----|
| Settler | 56 |
| Prospecto | 25 |
| Pioneer | 19 |

| 2016 | |
|-----------|----|
| Settler | 25 |
| Prospecto | 37 |
| Pioneer | 38 |

UK 1973



UK 2016



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

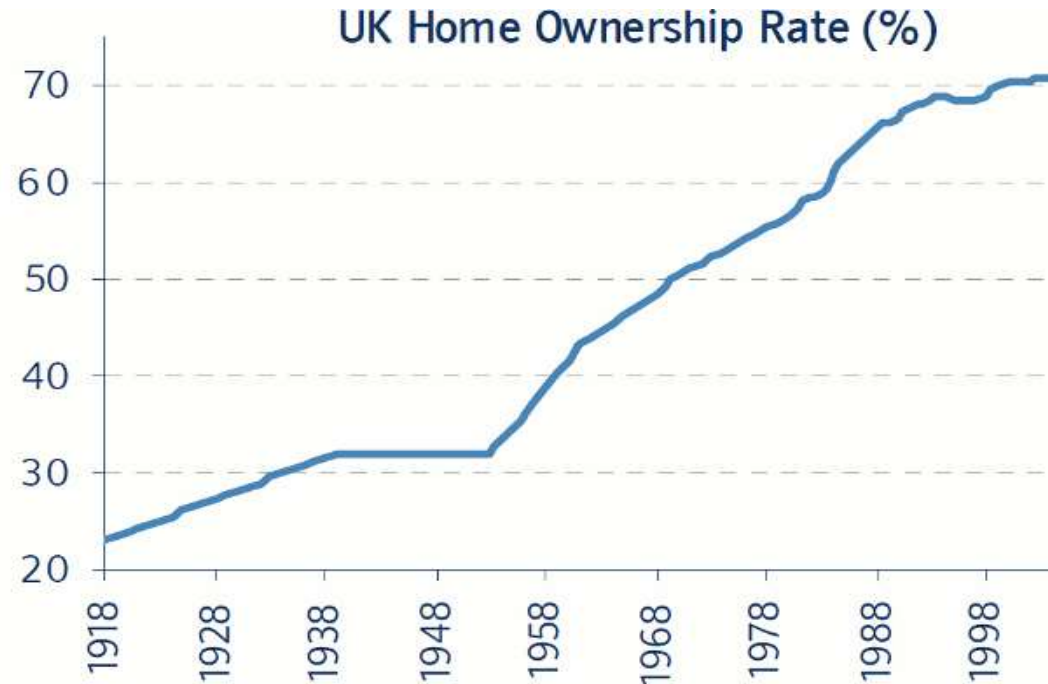
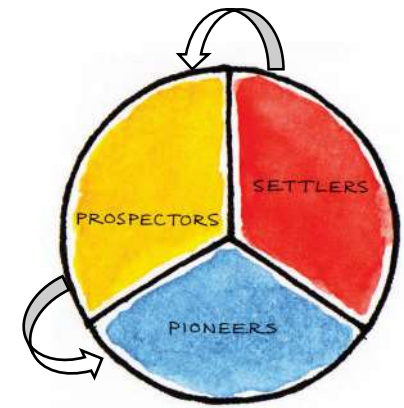
Good Times > Values change

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

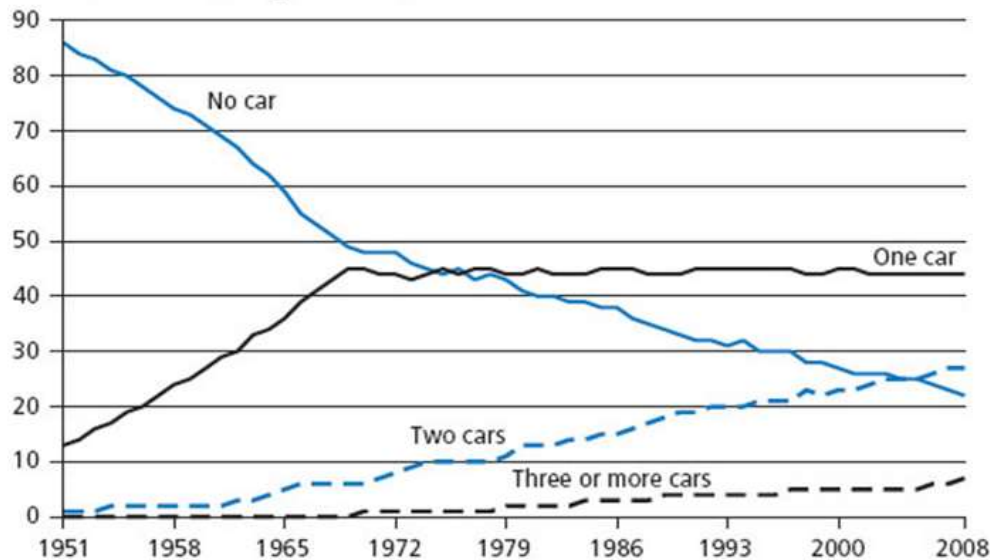
Material goods and home ownership became more widely attainable.

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

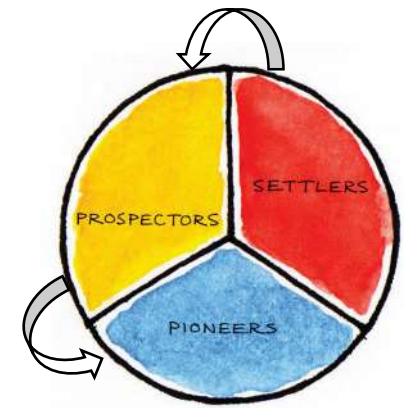
More
Settlers could
become
Prospectors



Car ownership in Britain

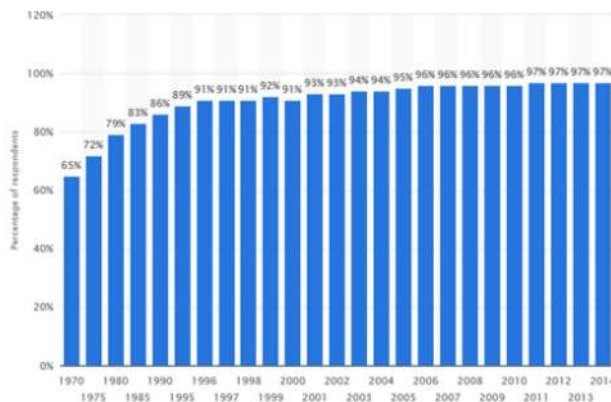


<http://worldlywise.pbworks.com/w/page/40190697/Unit%203%20-%20Introduction%20to%20tourism>



More people got cars,
increasing freedoms of
mobility

Percentage of households with washing machines in the United Kingdom (UK) from 1970 to 2014



ABOUT THIS STATISTIC

The statistic shows the percent of households in the United Kingdom that own a washing machine. In 1970, when this survey first started, 65 percent of households owned a washing machine. As of 2014, that number has increased to 97 percent of households owning a washing machine. The washing machine household penetration has increased every year in between 1970 and 2014, except for 1999-2000 when it fell by one percent.

SPECIAL FUNCTIONS

Download as ...

Graphic (PNG)

Excel (XLS)

PowerPoint (PPT)

PDF

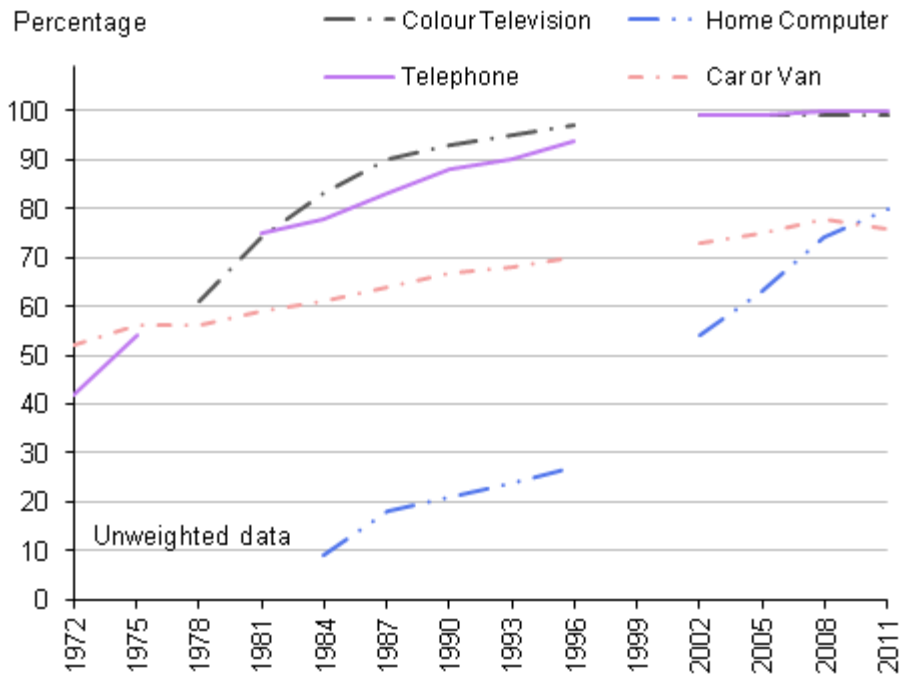
Options

Settings

Print

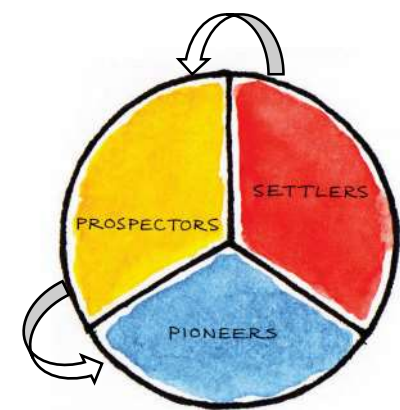
Research Alerts

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/289017/washing-machine-ownership-in-the-uk/>

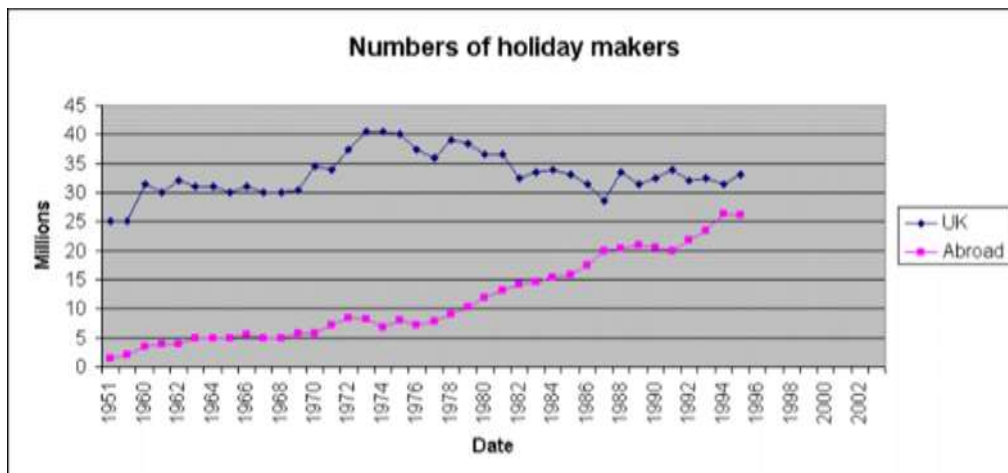


<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/ghs/general-lifestyle-survey/2011/rpt-40-years.html>

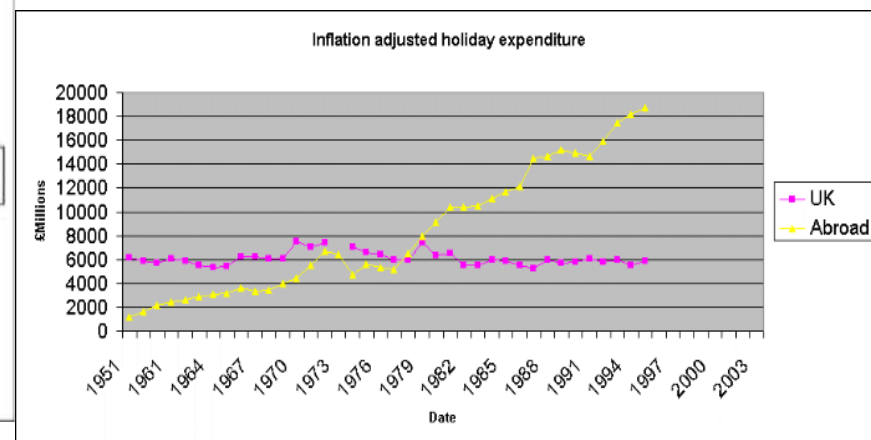
And colour tvs,
phones,
and computers



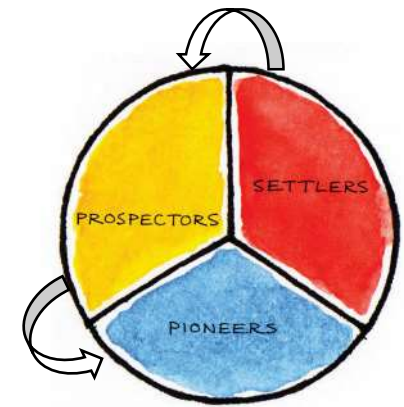
And started to take
foreign holidays and
spend more and more
money on leisure
experiences



http://www.seasidehistory.co.uk/seaside_statistics.html



More people transitioned to Prospectors and to Pioneers through new experiences and opportunities, eg leisure travel



PACK! ZIP! GO!



new Samsonite Travel Bags
first zippered luggage made with
Samsonite fabric...fused to latex!



1930s
Elite travel only

1950s
Mass travel

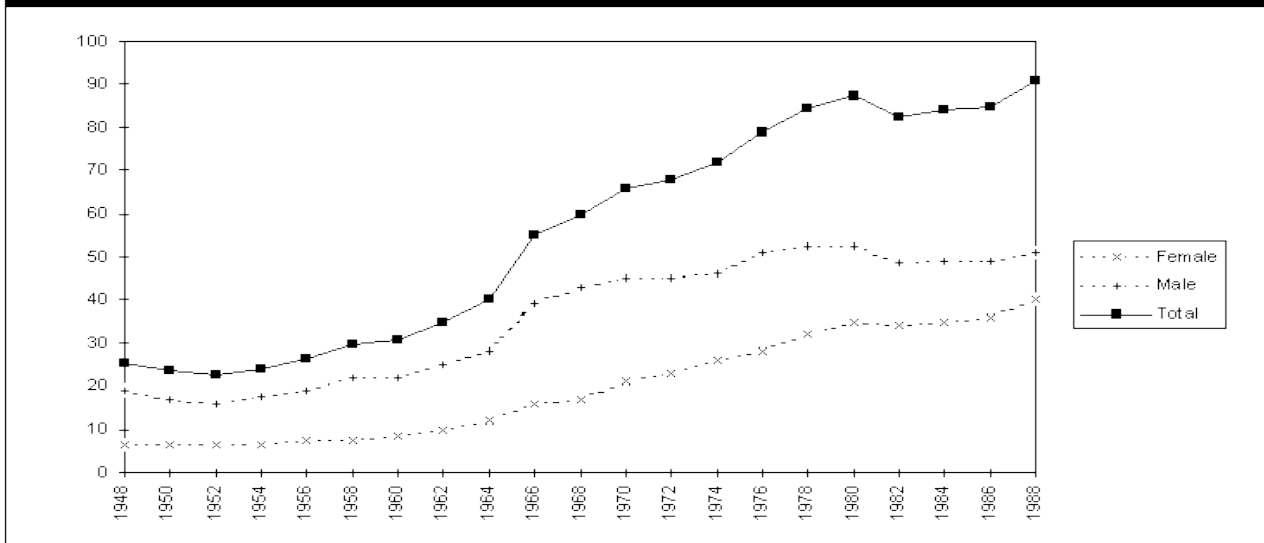
1960s
Jet Set >
Mass air travel

1970s
Back packing

<http://www.ultraswank.net/travel/luggage-ocean-liners-1960s-international-jet-set/>

Wider and further education grew.
Minimum school leaving age 12>14 in 1918,
15 in 1947, 16 in 1972. More went to university

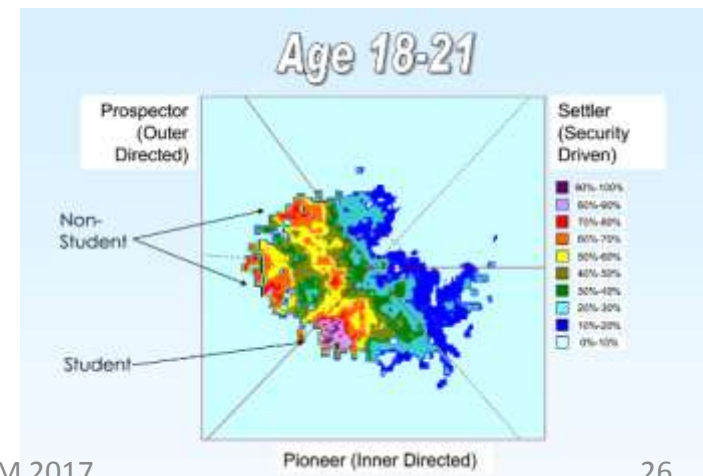
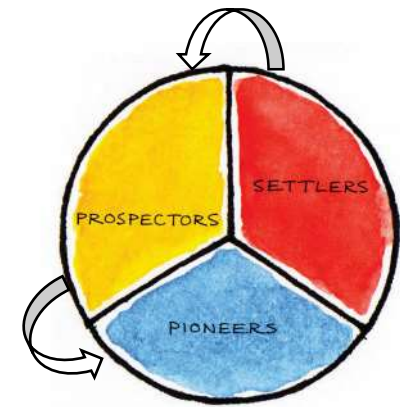
Figure 1 University entrants (in thousands) 1948 - 1988 ⁵



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

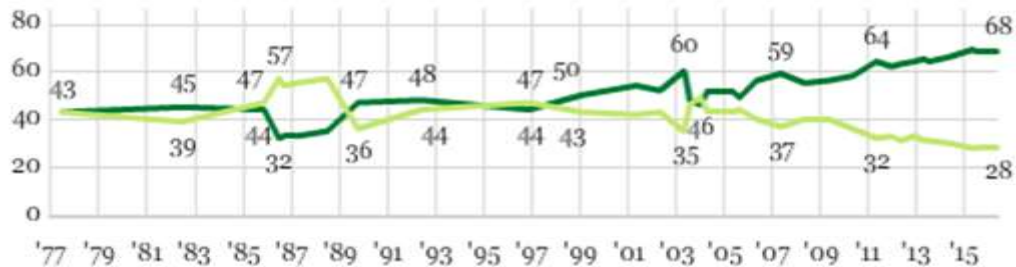
Even today (university) students are more likely to have become Pioneers

<http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=37>



Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

■ % Should be legal ■ % Should not be legal

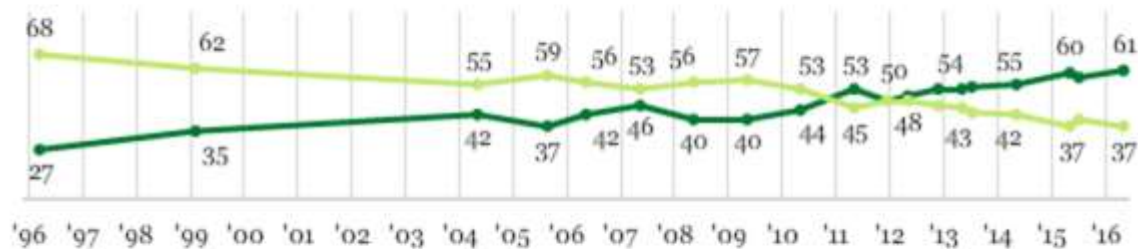


1977-2008 wording: Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

GALLUP®

Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?

■ % Should be valid ■ % Should not be valid

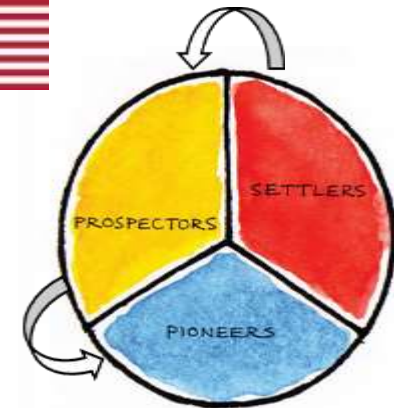


Note: Trend shown for polls in which same-sex marriage question followed questions on gay/lesbian rights and relations
1996-2005 wording: "Do you think marriages between homosexuals ..."

GALLUP®

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/1651/gay-lesbian-rights.aspx>

Pew



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 (Envionics). In 2012 it was 49% Pioneer (CDSM). Similar in UK.

Political Parties lost touch

1980s – 2000s Politics Decoupling From People



ROBERT HUFFSTUTTER

MADE IN CHINA



**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 ?"*

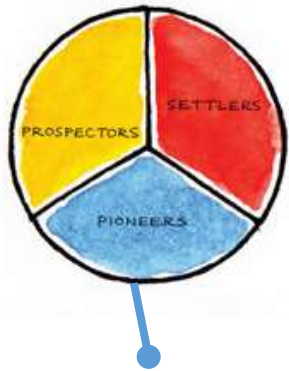
"Nobody I know is involved"

"Just stuff on TV"

"Who ? Not in my feed"

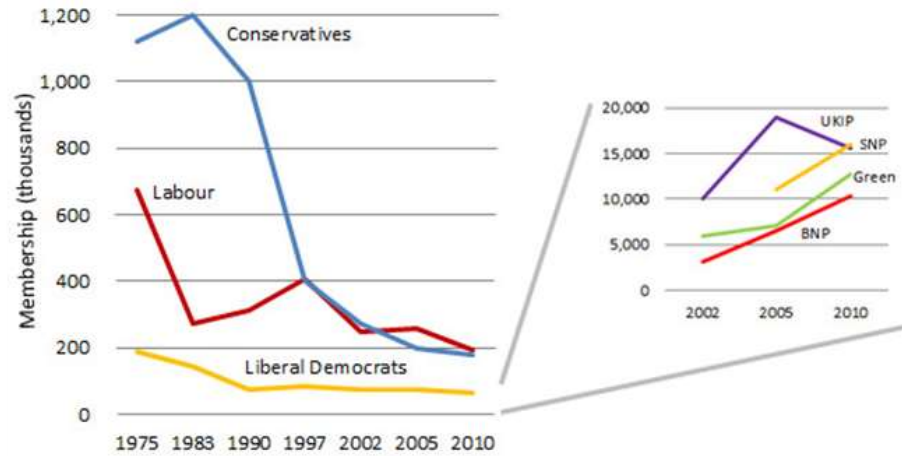
1980s – 2000s Politics Decoupling From People

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|  | Less government, more market forces | "But what do they actually do?" |
|  | Embrace globalisation | "We don't make stuff any more" |
|  | 'Third Way, virtuous circle' | "I can't tell the difference" |
|  | Professionalisation | "Don't see them round here" |
|  | Only Swing Votes count | "What about my issues?" |
|  | Hollowing out of parties | "Nobody's known is involved" |
|  | Media is everything | "Blah blah talking heads" |
|  | Social Media is everything | "He's not in my feed" |



Generations of Pioneers abandoned political parties as concerns marginalised. Participated in cause campaigns and 'single issues' politics

UK political party membership

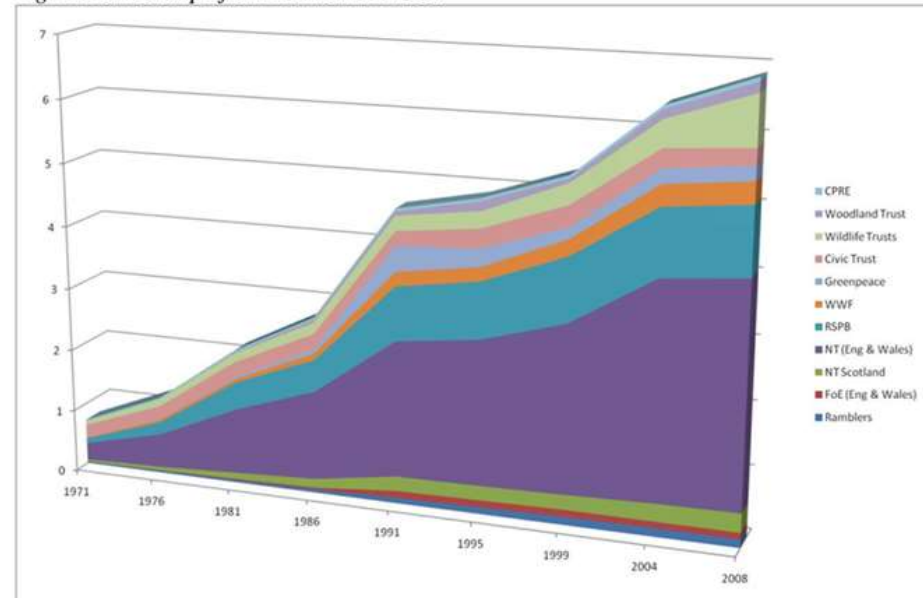


Source: House of Commons library, 2012

Consequences

NGOs

Fig.2: Membership of environmental NGOs

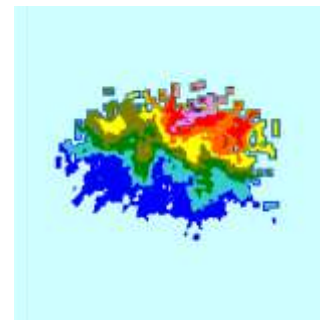
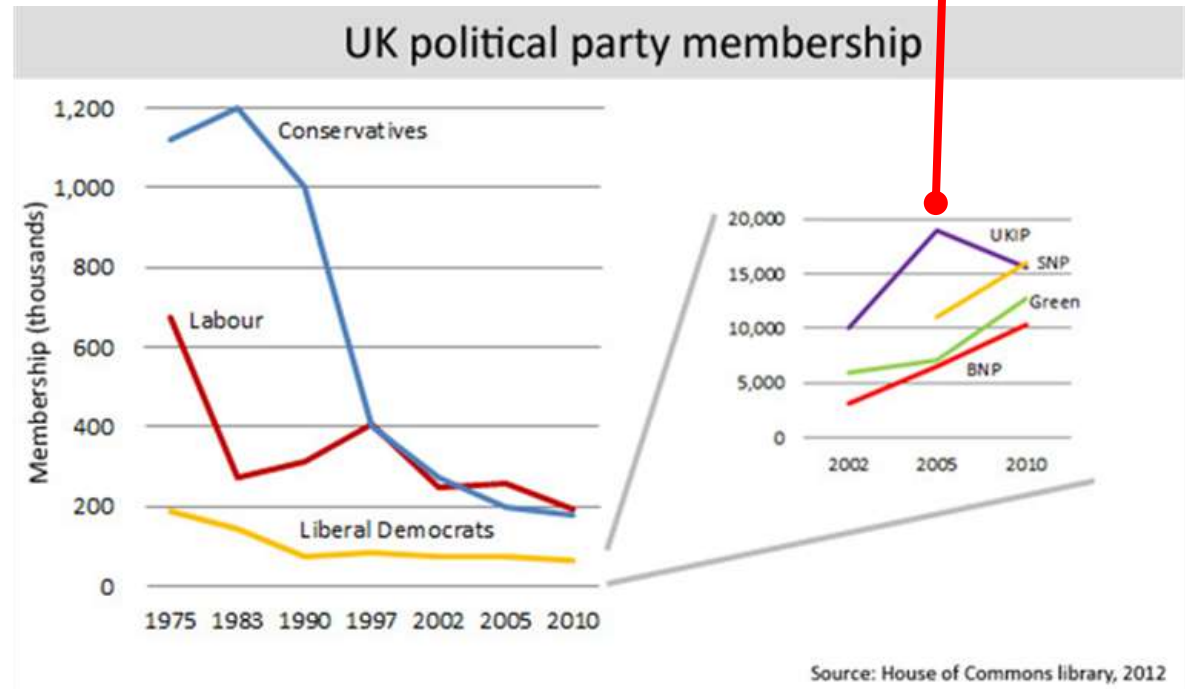


| | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|  | Less government, more market forces | "But what do they actually do?" |
|  | Embrace globalisation | "He doesn't make stuff any more" |
|  | 'Third Way, virtuous circle' | "I can't tell the difference" |
|  | Professionalisation | "Don't see them stand here" |
|  | Only Swing Votes count | "What about my issues?" |
|  | Hollowing out of parties | "Nobody's known is involved" |
|  | Media is everything | "Bleh bleh talking heads" |
|  | Social Media is everything | "He's not in my feed" |

Many Settlers abandoned traditional party allegiances as group identity and local contact eroded. Some turned to small parties with identity focus eg UKIP, SNP.



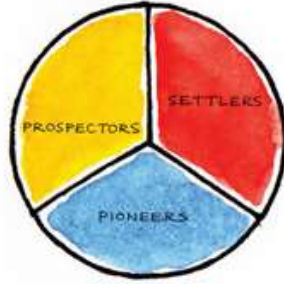
Consequences



UKIP heartland
2014

1980s – 2000s Politics Decoupling From People

| | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|  | Less government, more market forces | "But what do they actually do?" |
|  | Embrace globalisation | "We don't make stuff any more" |
|  | 'Third Way', 'centrist', 'witty' | "I can't tell the difference" |
|  | Professionalisation | "Don't see them stand here" |
|  | Only Swing Votes count | "What about my issues?" |
|  | Hollowing out of parties | "Nobody I know is involved" |
|  | Media is everything | "Blah blah talking heads" |
|  | Social Media is everything | "He's not in my feed" |

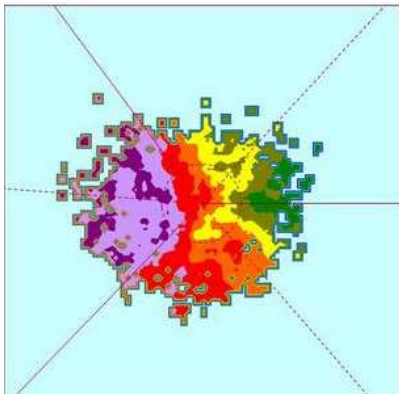


Consequences

Many Prospectors lost interest in politics and went shopping. And into business.



[How to run an effective meeting](#) by PRONguyen Hung Vu, on Flickr. This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic License](#).



Working UK
population

Consequences

Economic and Social Research Council



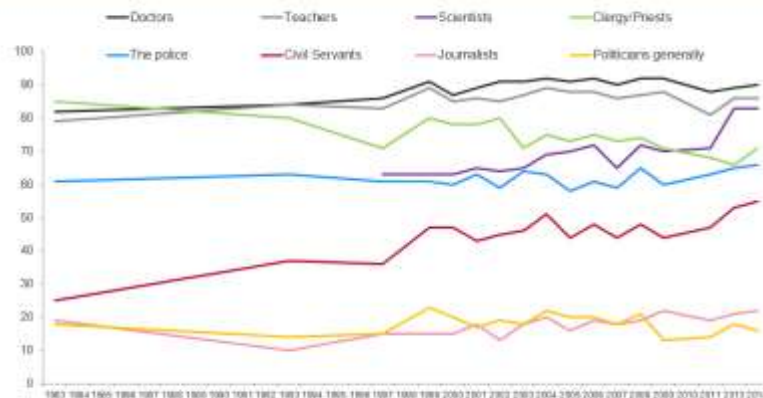
Percentage of electorate
Voter Turnout 1945 - 2005



Source: UK Election Statistics (2006) House of Commons library



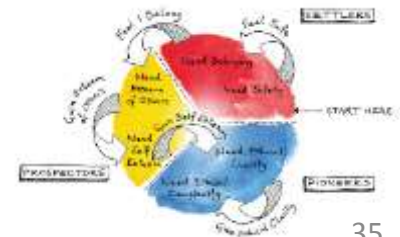
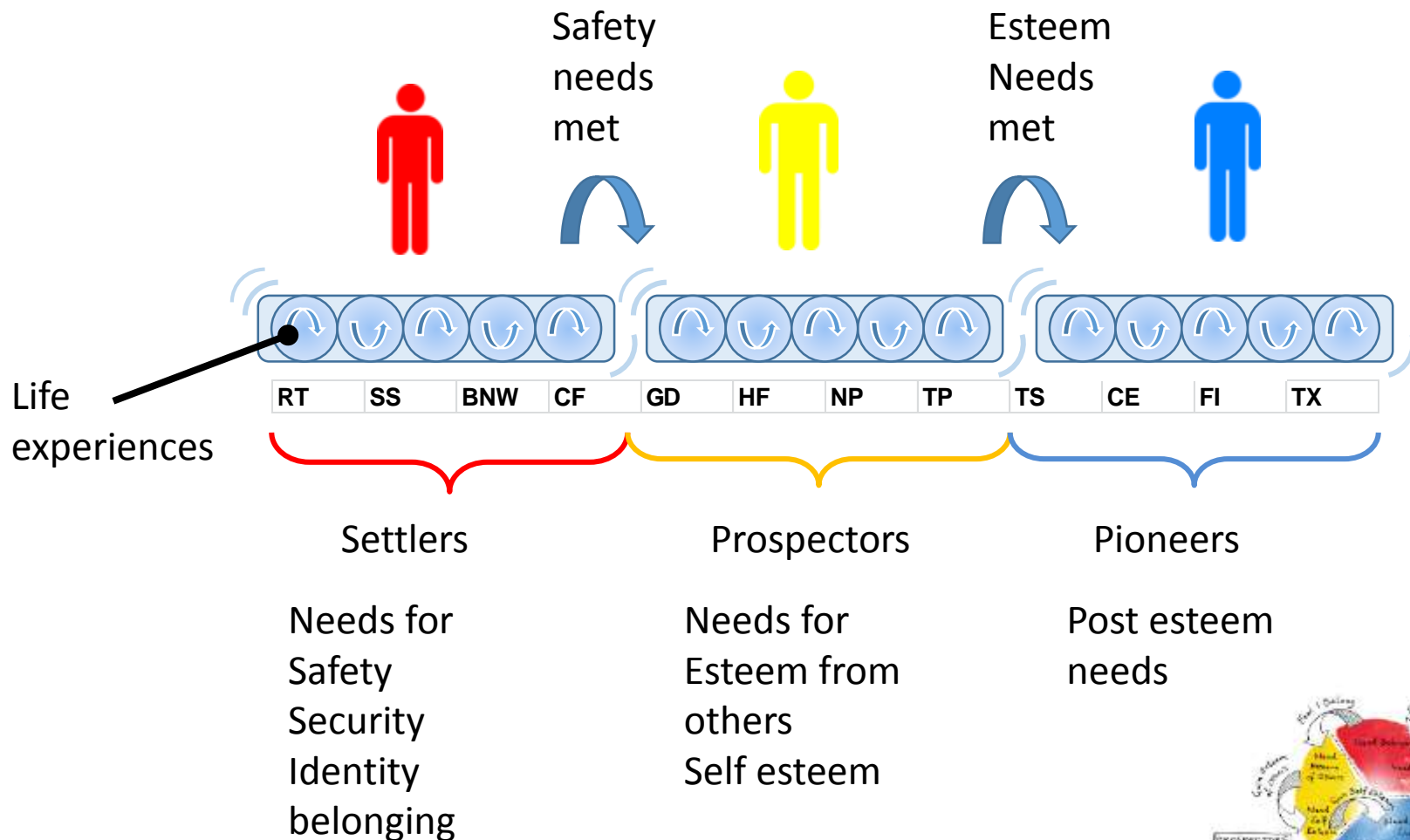
...would you generally trust them to tell the truth, or not?



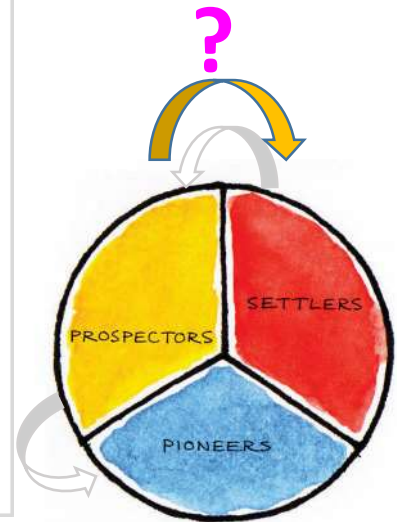
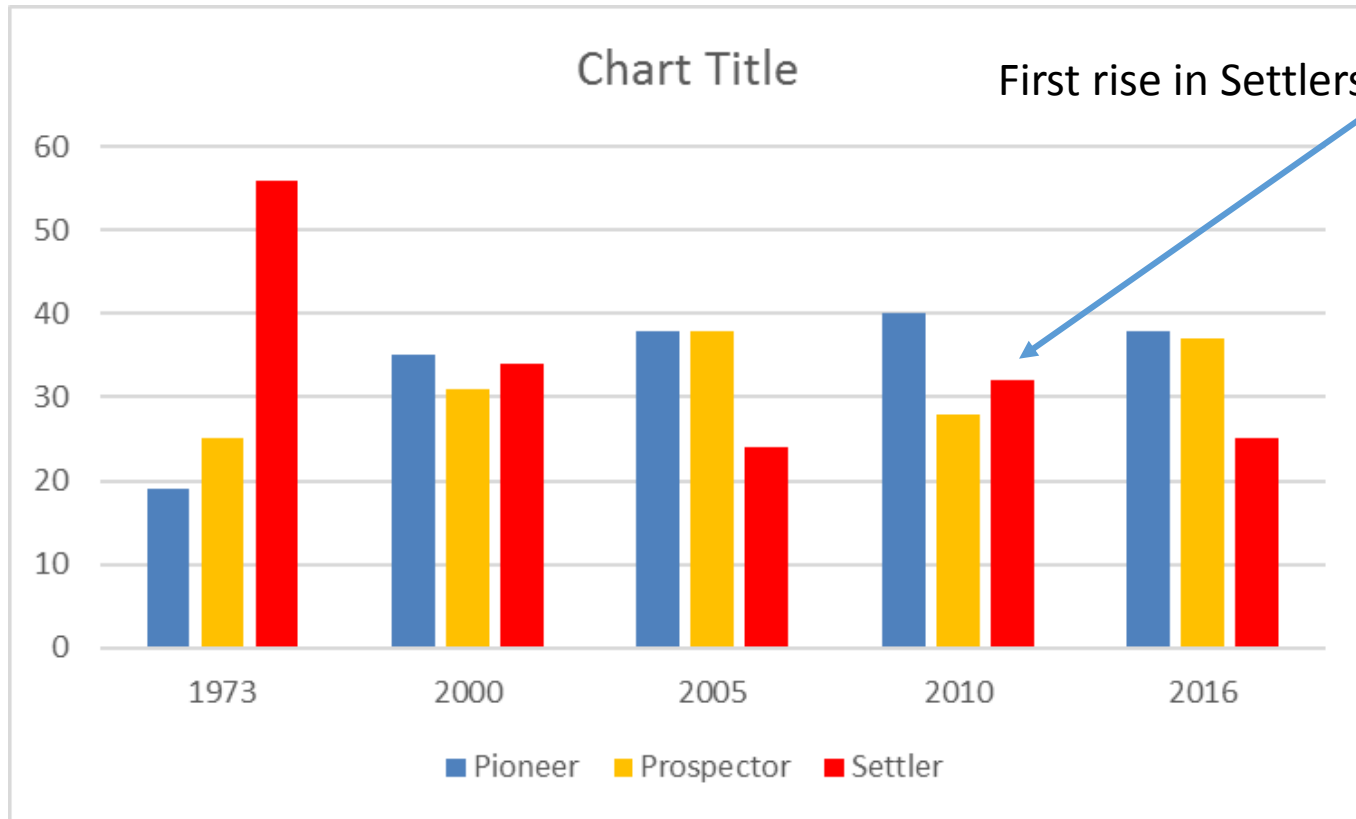
Trust in politicians also gradually declined.

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.



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.



| | 1973 | 2000 | 2005 | 2010 | 2016 |
|-----------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Pioneer | 19 | 35 | 38 | 40 | 38 |
| Prospecto | 25 | 31 | 38 | 28 | 37 |
| Settler | 56 | 34 | 24 | 32 | 25 |

This coincided with economic recession

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

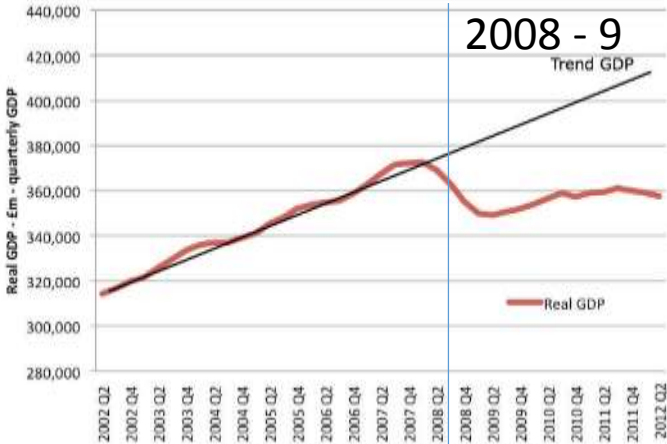


Northern Rock 2007



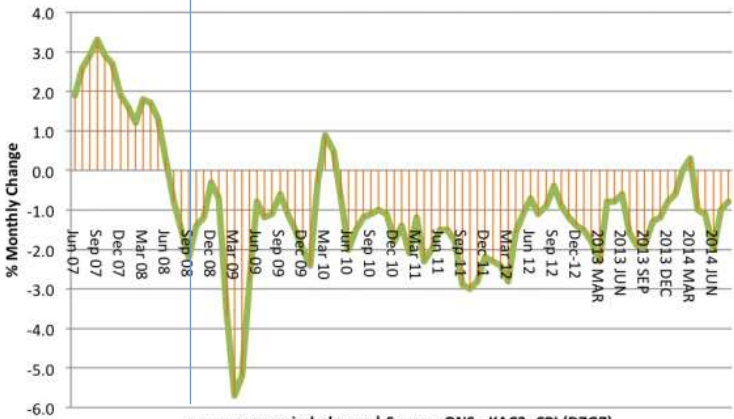
People queuing outside a branch in [Golders Green](#), London, on 14 September 2007, to withdraw their savings due to fallout from the subprime crisis (photo [Alex Gunningham](#) from London, Perfidious Albion (UK plc))

Real GDP Crash and Great Recession



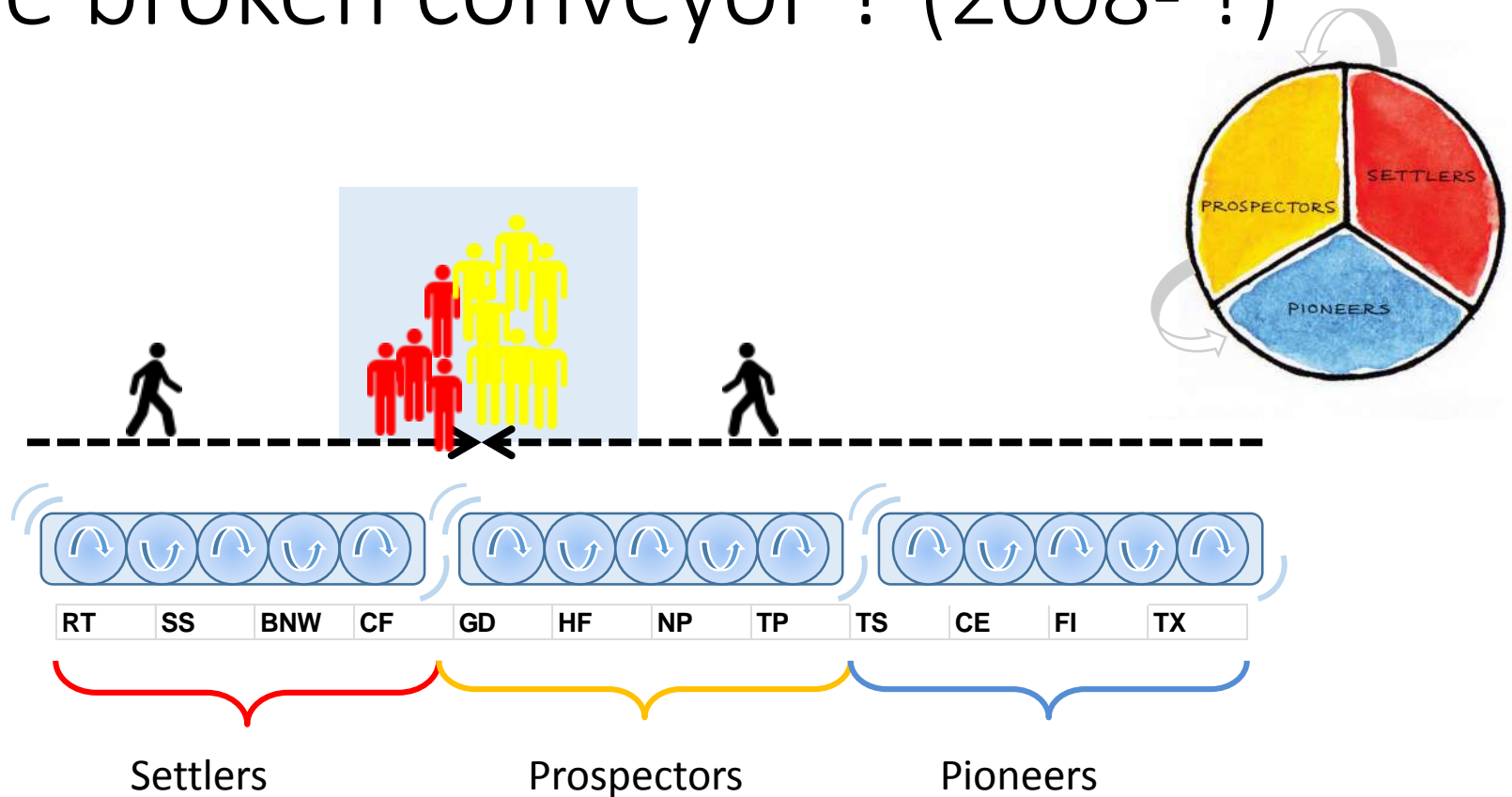
www.economicshelp.org | Source:ONS- IHYQ

UK real wages



www.economicshelp.org | Source: ONS - KAC3- CPI (D7G7) 37

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"

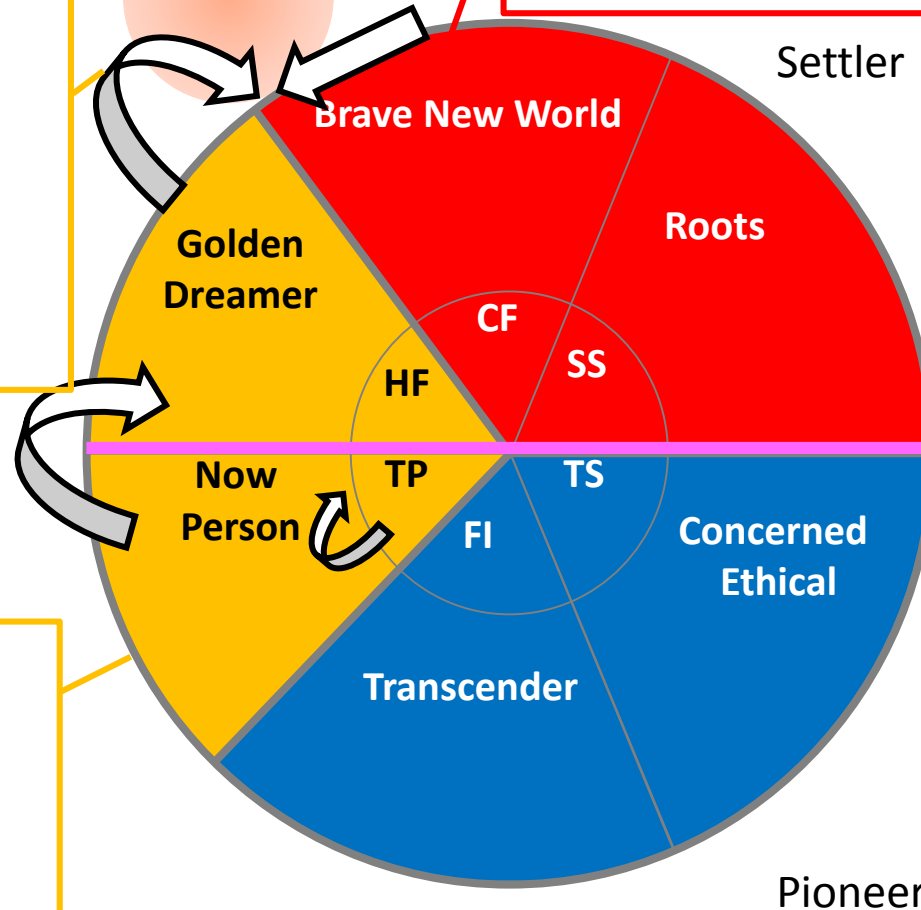
Most probable cause: declining real expectations, worsening social outcomes

Values Modes Consequences

Combustible mixture: angry, puzzled, disappointed

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

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

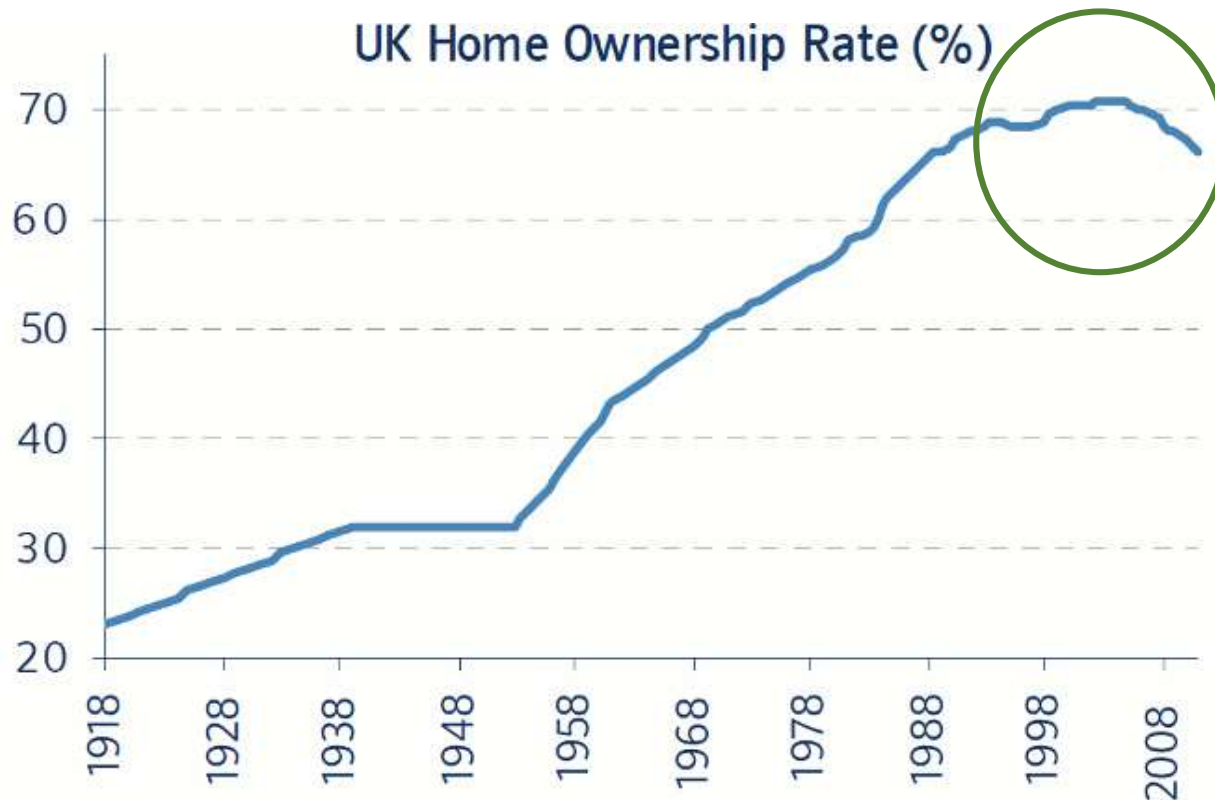


Reinforced natural pessimism

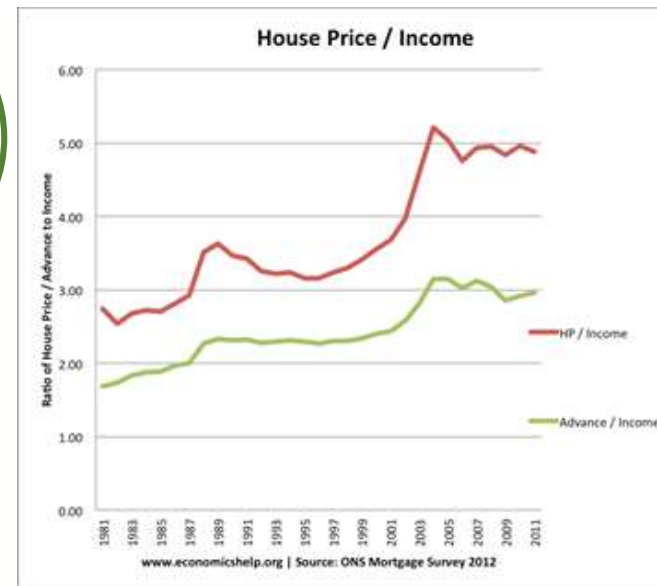
Primed society for division ?

Remained more optimistic

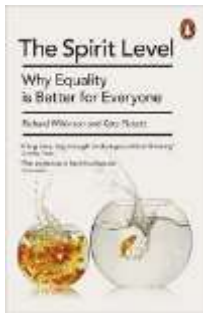
The effects of recession were complex, for example in the UK pensioners were protected by government policies while younger people were not but it shook confidence. Home ownership rates went into decline as homes became increasingly unaffordable to the young: the sort of signal that families notice in everyday life.



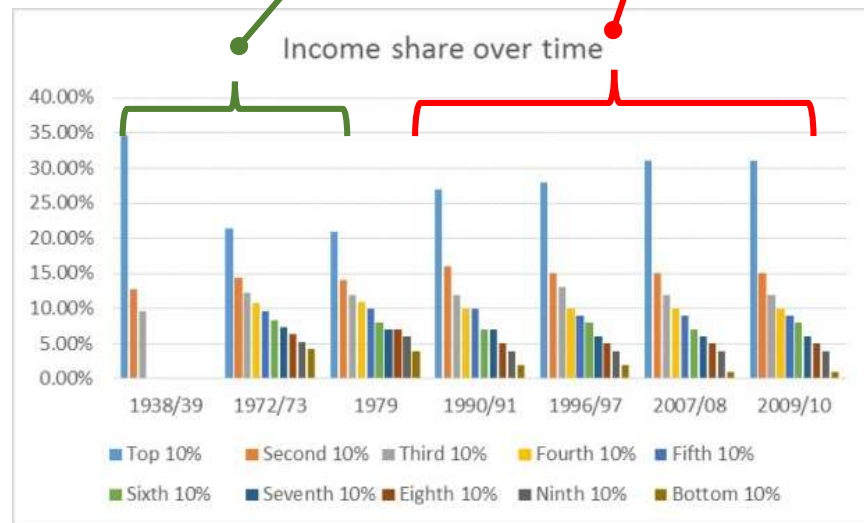
<http://citywire.co.uk/money/chart-of-the-day-the-uk-a-nation-of-homeowners-it-appears-not/a571075>



Felt like 'Good Times' were over.
Loss of optimism

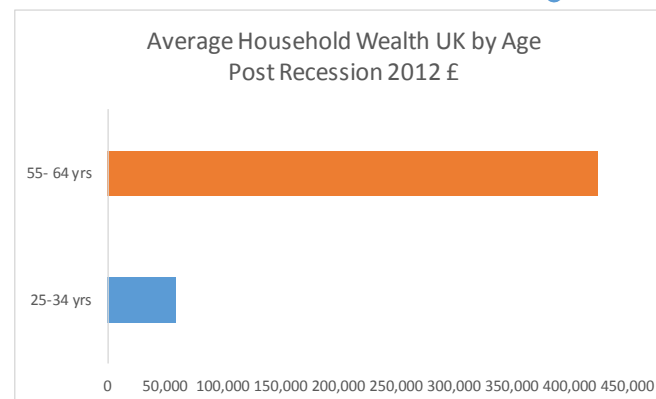


In 2009 analysis showed income inequality had significantly reduced in the UK from the 1940s to 1979 but then began to increase again



Poorer than parents

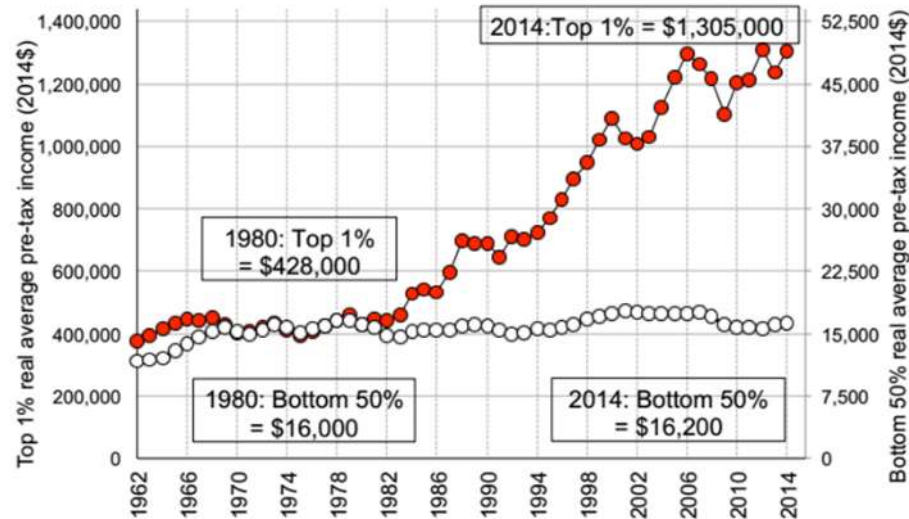
“By 2010 to 2012, the median total wealth for households aged 55 to 64 [had] grown to £425,000, but had fallen to £60,000 for those aged 25-34.”



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.



Real average pre-tax income of bottom 50% and top 1% adults



Source: Appendix Tables II-B7 and II-B10

In the US [Chetty et al found](#) in 2016 that real absolute inequality had increased since 1940.

Death of a dream? Absolute mobility rates over time



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

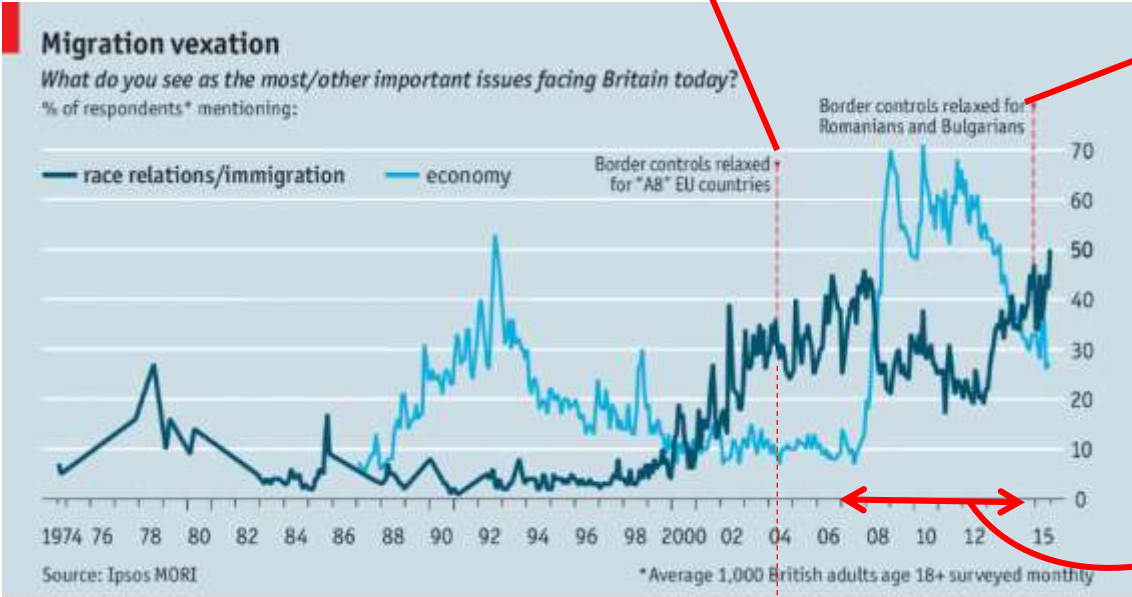


[Richard Pope](#) - [The division bell](#)

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union | |
| Vote only once by putting a cross <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice | |
| Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union? | |
| Remain a member of the European Union | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Leave the European Union | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2004 8 new States join EU incl Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia

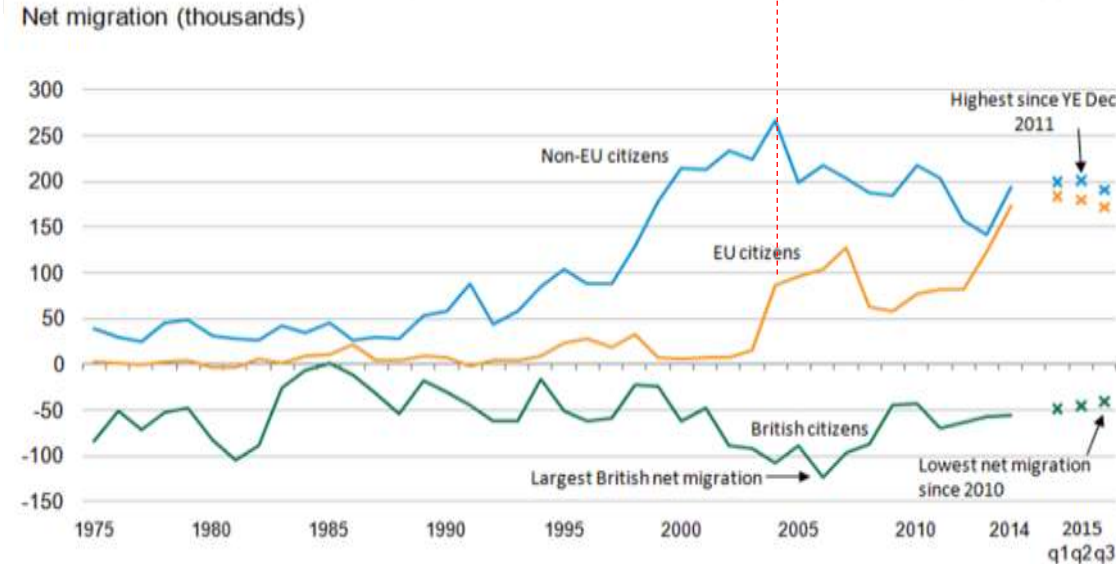
2014 controls on EU immigration from Romania and Bulgaria also lifted



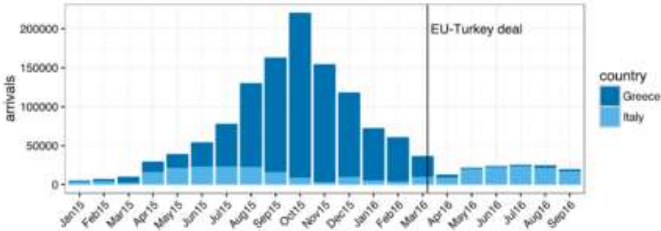
**Immigration +
Recession
+ EU Migrant
Crisis**

Economist.com

<http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21661667-immigration-has->



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

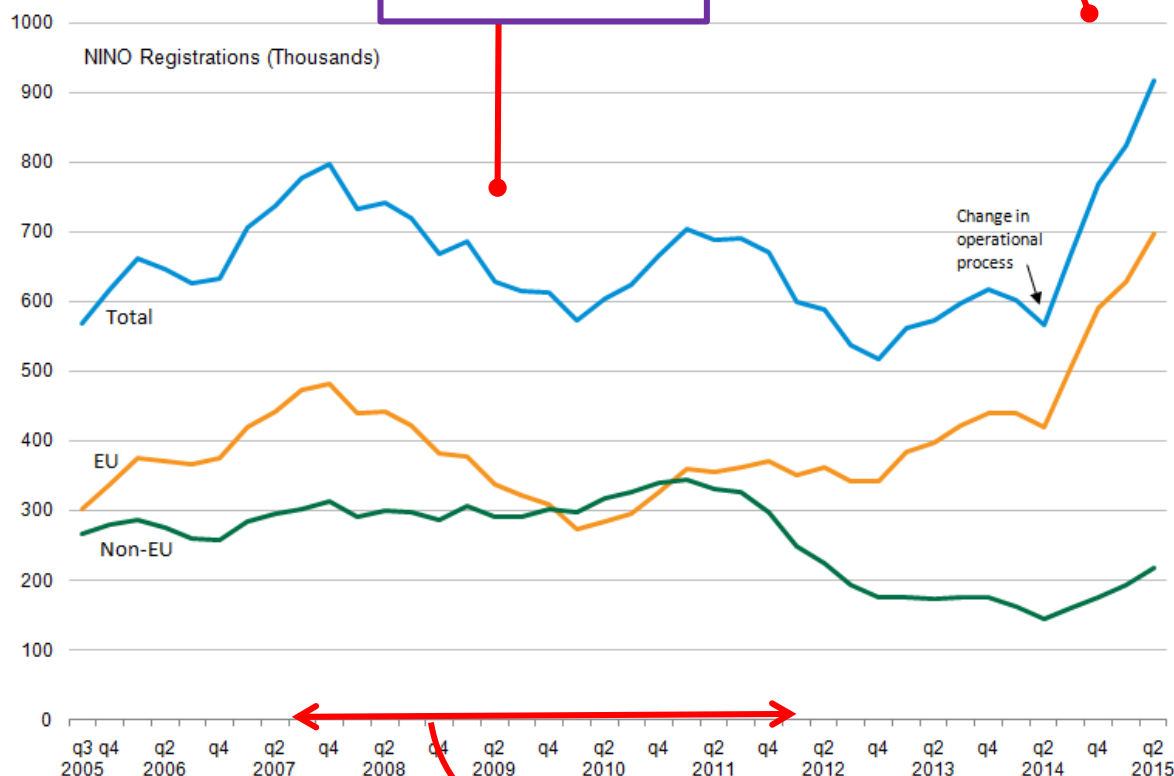


August 2015 Germany opens borders to refugees

November 2015 Paris terror attack



June 2016 UKIP Nigel Farage and Leave.EU campaign on immigration in Referendum and Britain votes for Brexit



recession

Immigration & politics

Leave campaigns target Settlers, GDs



FUD factors combine

**Immigration +
Recession
+ EU Migrant
Crisis**

Terrorism



Promises of security



Vote for the past



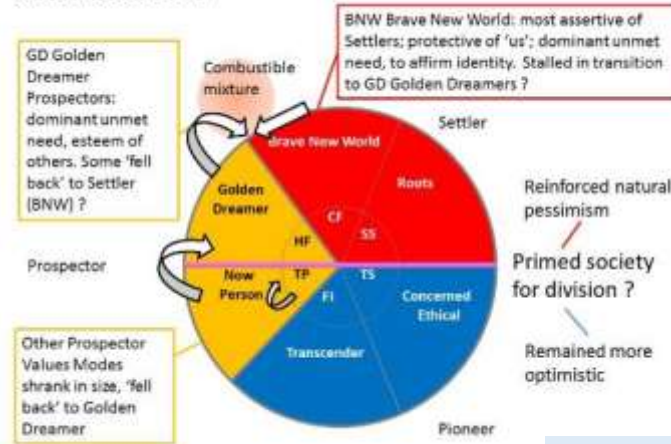
Strong activation of pre-existing Settler/GD fears and desires

X

Simple binary clear choice raising turnout

| | |
|---|--|
| Parliament will be the best way to ensure the security of the European Union. | |
| You only need to put a tick <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice. | You only need to put a tick <input type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice. |
| Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union? | |
| Remain a member of the European Union <input type="checkbox"/> | Leave the European Union <input type="checkbox"/> |

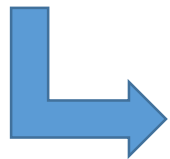
Values Modes Detail



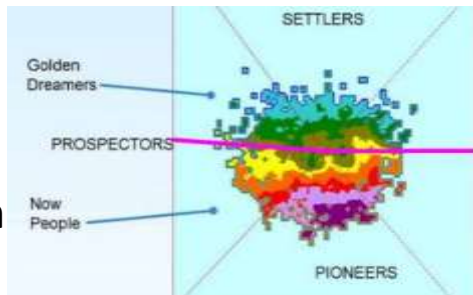
Values priming by stalled Conveyor: angry and frightened BNW, GDs are ignited ~ loud values

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

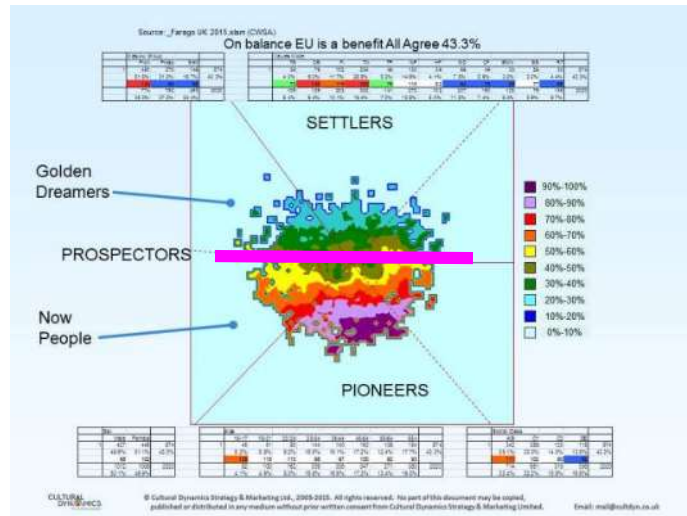
Some Pioneers and Now People voted Brexit or did not vote



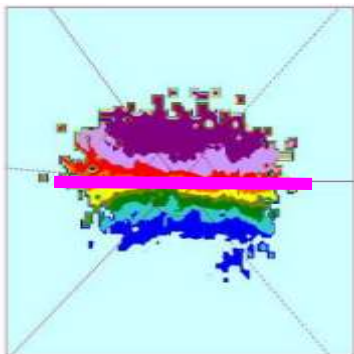
Values split on Brexit



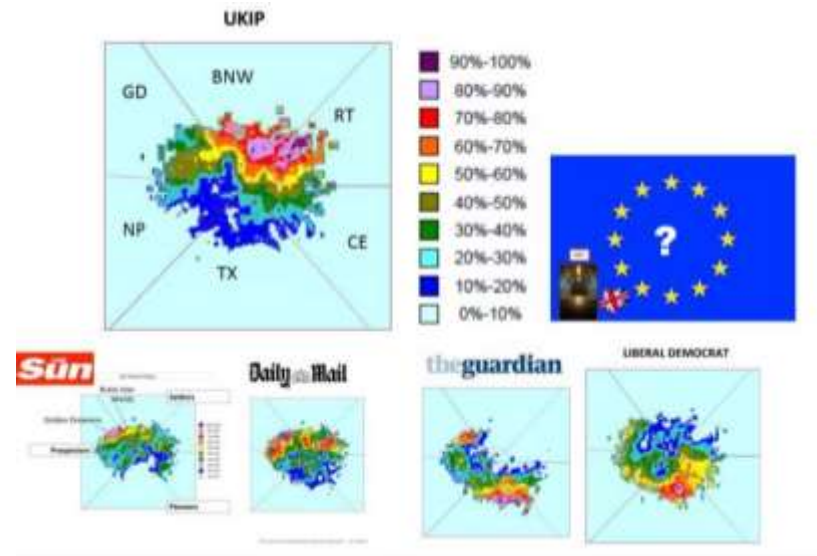
Values Split on Europe ([Dec 15 survey](#)) NPs + Pioneers agree EU overall a benefit, Settlers and GDs not.



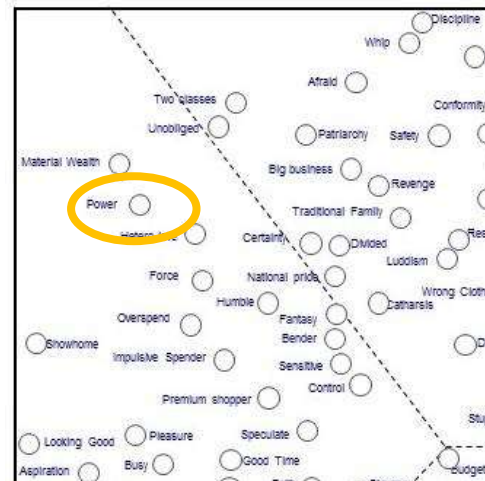
+ Same values split on immigration. Agree: 'Too many foreigners in my country' (long standing result)



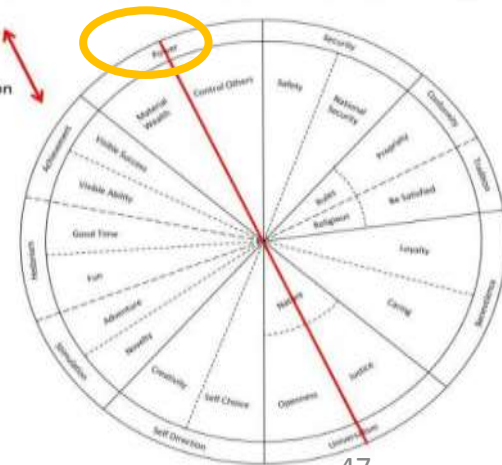
Values differences among political parties and media, reflected in Referendum campaign



“Take Control”: Power – Golden Dreamer hotbutton

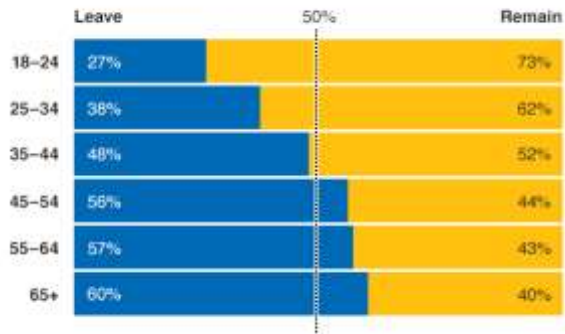


Power versus Universalism (a key antagonism)



Age and Brexit

How different age groups voted

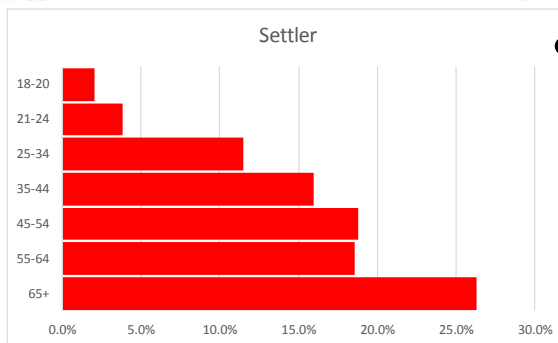


There is no CDSM post-Referendum values voting or turnout survey but the pre-Referendum pro/anti EU values surveys and the age voting patterns found by Ashcroft, plus values-age data suggests that high values activation of Settlers played a role in 'Brexit'*

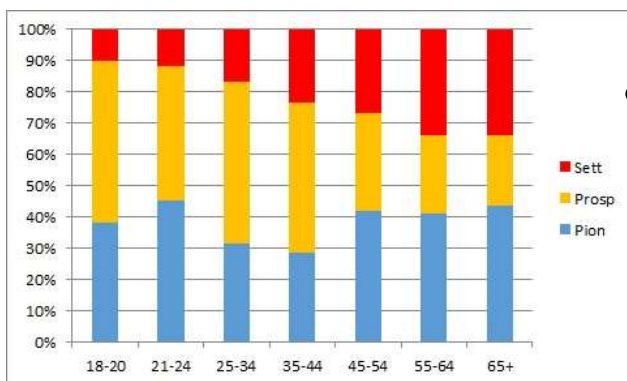
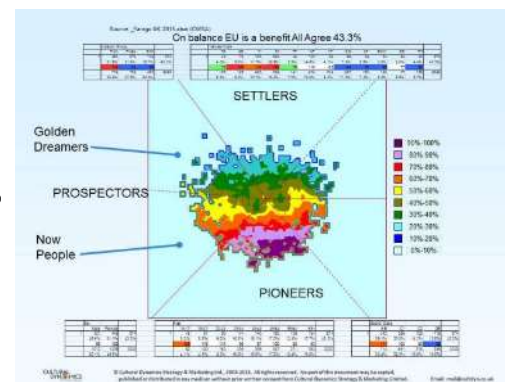
Ashcroft reported that older people voted more to Leave

Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls

BBC

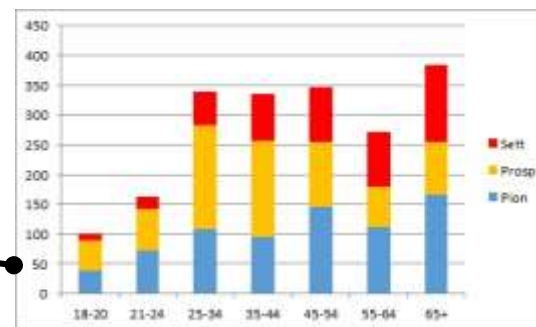


Settlers skew to older and are far less Pro-EU



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

UK older population age groups are bigger than under 35s



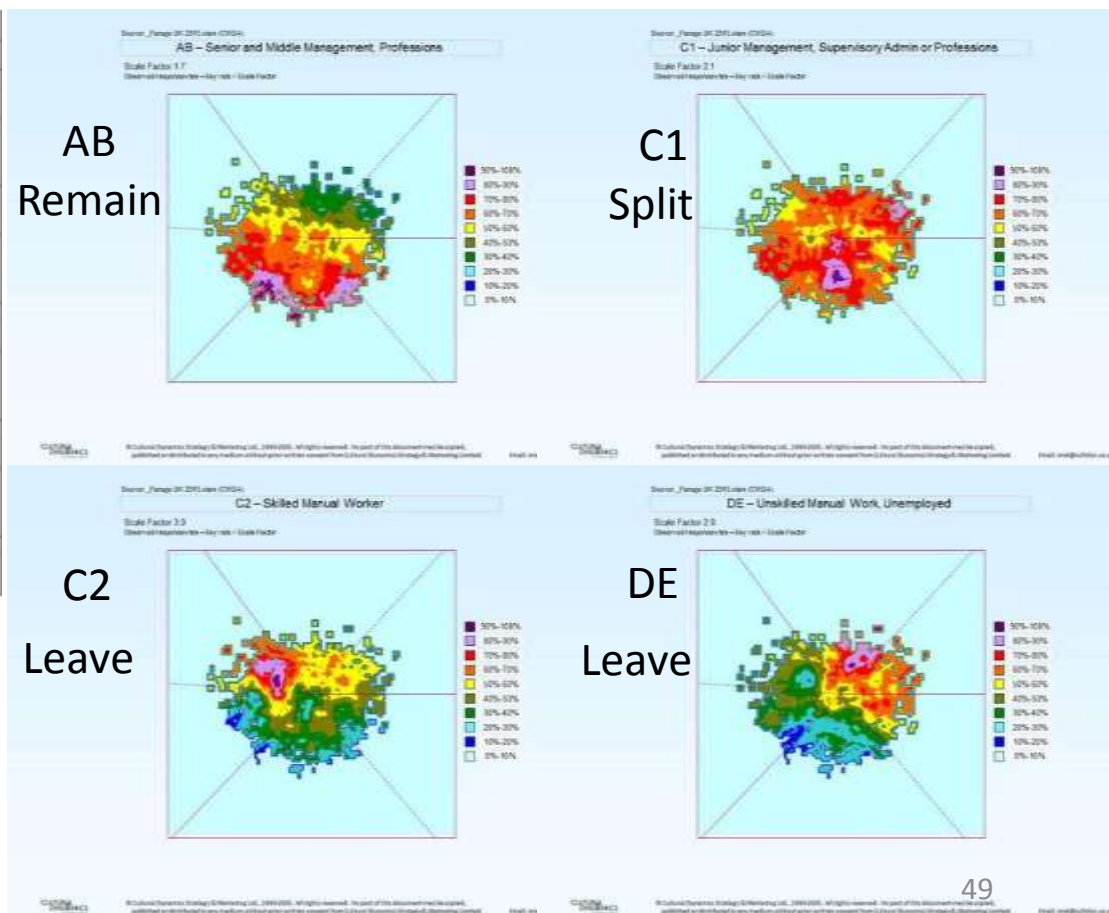
*values data base representative of UK population; Ashcroft data base representative of GE15 voting population

“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

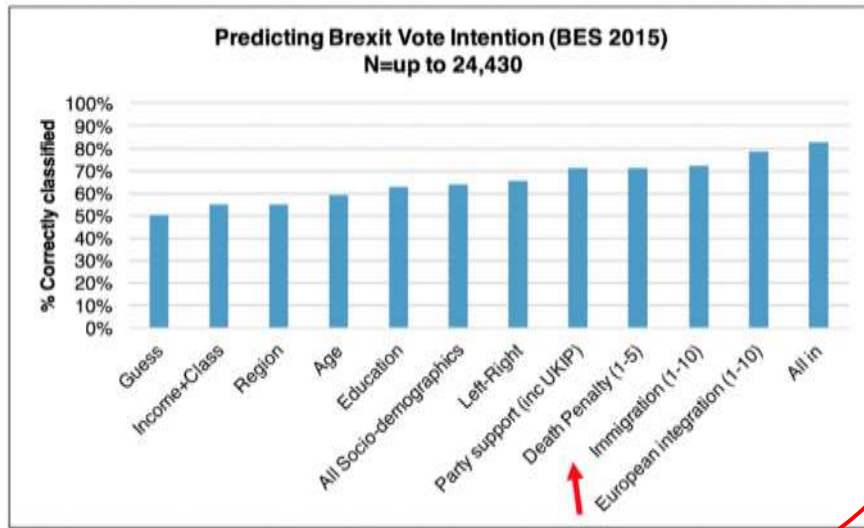
Voting in the Referendum analysed by £ class broadly matches pro/anti EU values differences

| Social Class | MG | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|--|
| Sum of CWSA | Pion | Prosp | Sett | Grand Total | |
| SocialClass | | | | | |
| AB | 319 41.2% 44.6% 116 | 272 36.1% 38.1% 102 | 124 25.0% 17.3% 71 | 714 35.4% | |
| C1 | 257 33.1% 39.4% 103 | 235 31.2% 36.1% 97 | 159 32.3% 24.5% 100 | 651 32.2% | |
| C2 | 88 11.4% 27.6% 72 | 139 18.5% 43.6% 117 | 92 18.6% 28.8% 118 | 319 15.8% | |
| DE | 111 14.3% 33.1% 86 | 106 14.1% 31.6% 85 | 119 24.0% 35.3% 145 | 336 16.6% | |
| Grand Total | 774 38.3% | 752 37.2% | 493 24.4% | 2020 | |

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%).



Values a *stronger* indicator than class (£)



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

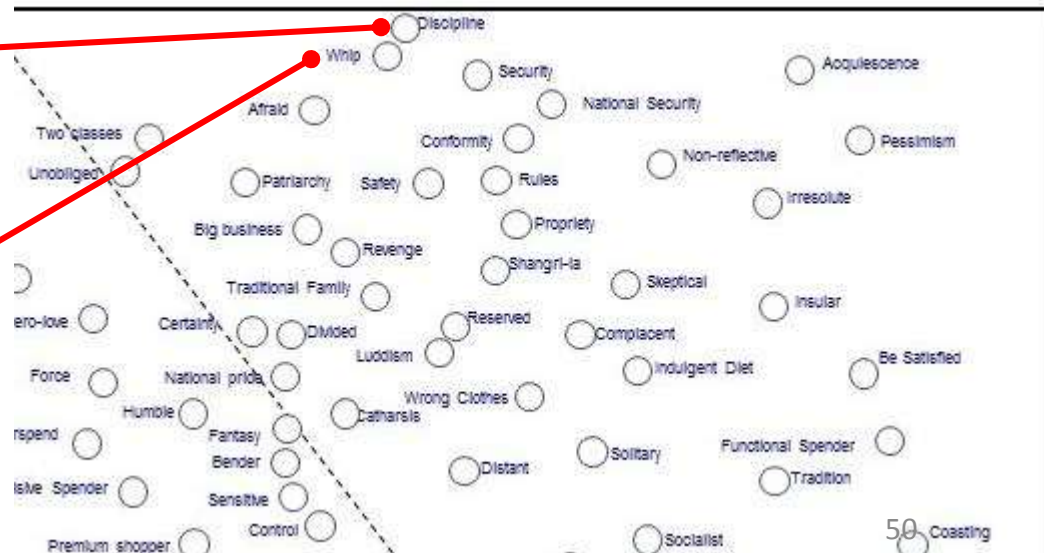


Highlighted ‘death penalty’ which did not feature in campaigning. But Attributes such as ‘**Discipline**’ and ‘**Whip**’ are centred in the Settlers

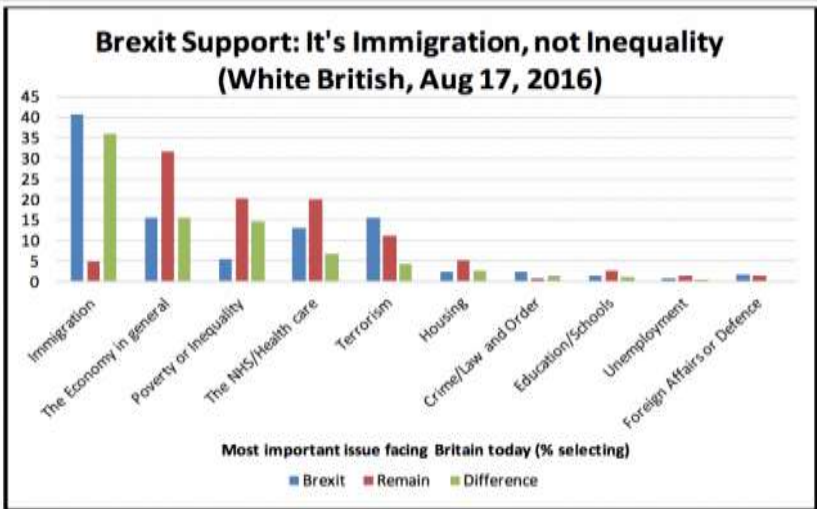
*“I believe that strict **discipline** is in a child’s best interests. I think that criminals should face severe sentences to deter them from offending again”*

*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***

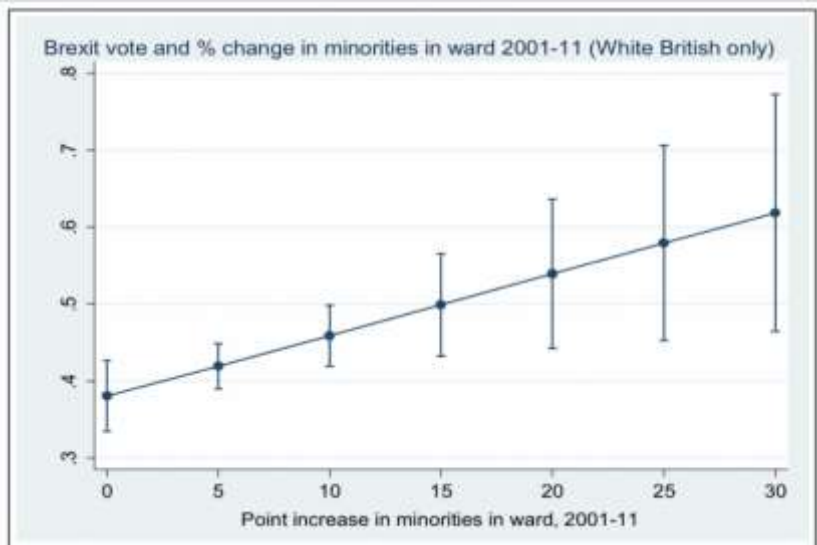
71% of those most in favour of the death penalty said they would vote Leave but only 20 percent of those most opposed to capital punishment.



Settler values response triggered by rate of cultural challenge from immigration

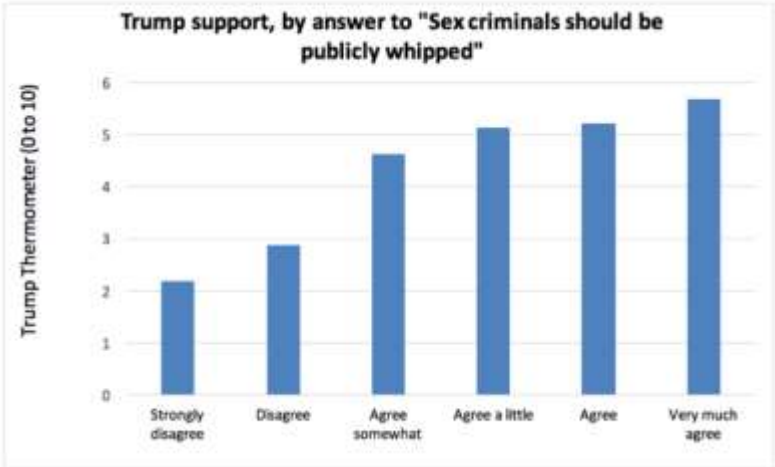


Immigration #1 concern for White Leave voters.

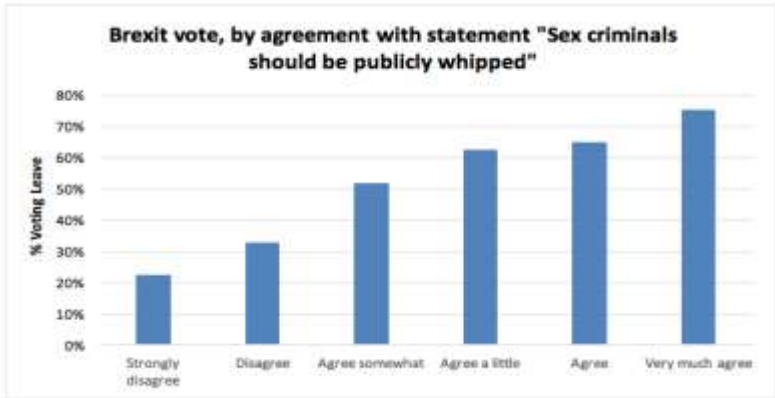


Rate of ethnic change positively correlated with Brexit vote. (Standardised for actual level of ethnic minorities in ward).

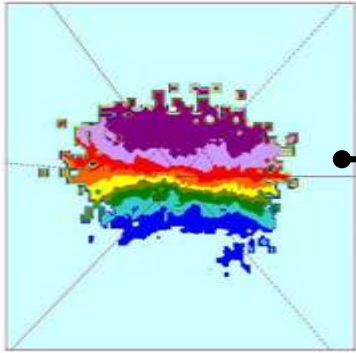
Sources Kaufmann: [Trump and Brexit: why it's again NOT the economy, stupid](#) & [The indicators that show who voted for Trump and Brexit](#)



Approvers of Trump & Brexit voters agree: “whip”



Settler + Golden Dreamer values activated by perceived external threat, led to Authoritarian response



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



Reuters

Events and Leave campaign triggered and played on feelings of being overwhelmed (immigration), loss of control (Europe decides) + threats (eg terrorism)




“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

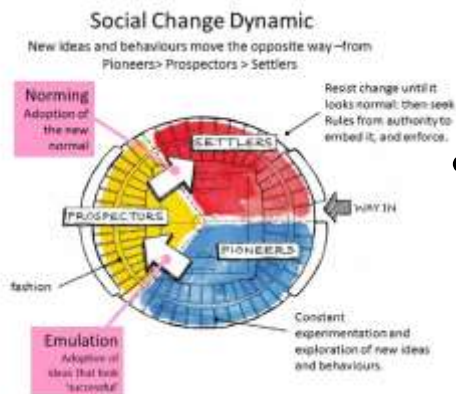


Meanwhile Remain mostly talked about generic economic benefits of EU

[Research](#) by Karen Stenner
[explained by J Haidt](#) Stern School of Business

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. 

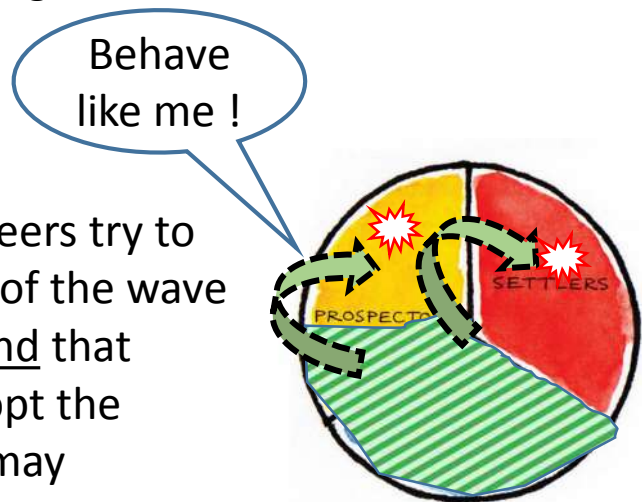


When Pioneer-originated new behaviours and attitudes spread by emulation and norming, change is gradually accepted and becomes normal. Eg (UK) health and safety, smoking rules, drink driving.



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.

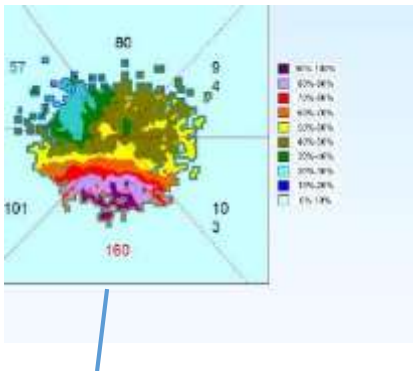


Ethical projection

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'

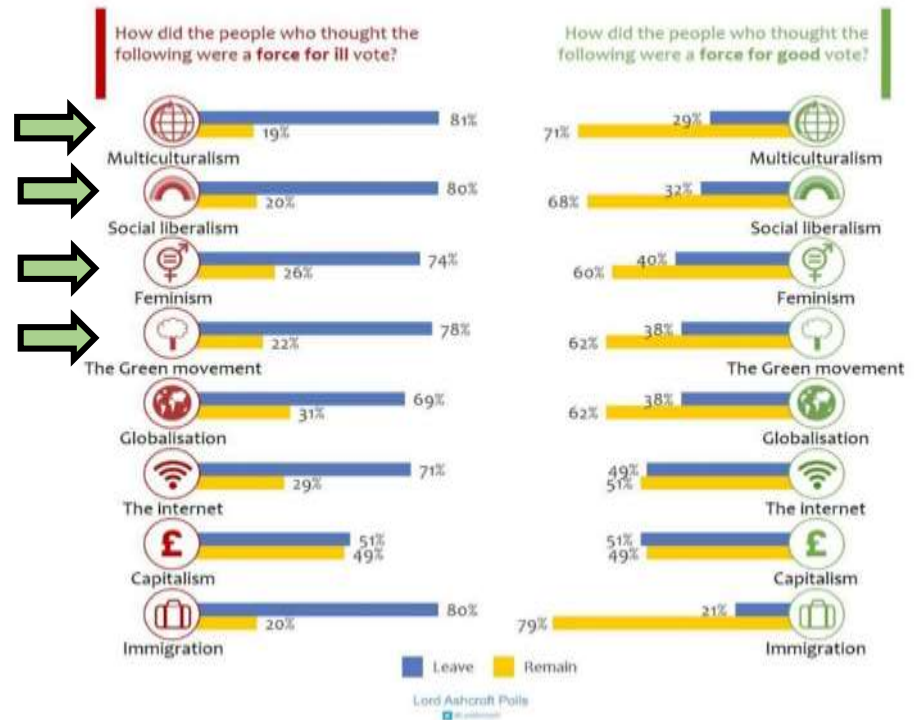
In the EU Referendum Ashcroft found four 'isms' which so far, are more accepted by Pioneers (and Now People) than Settlers (and Golden Dreamers). Leave voters tended to see them as a 'force for ill'. Brexit was an opportunity to reject 'political correctness'. For example:



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.*



Do you think of each of the following as being a force for good, a force for ill, or a mixed-blessing?



'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”.

<http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=1099> June 13 2016

‘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.

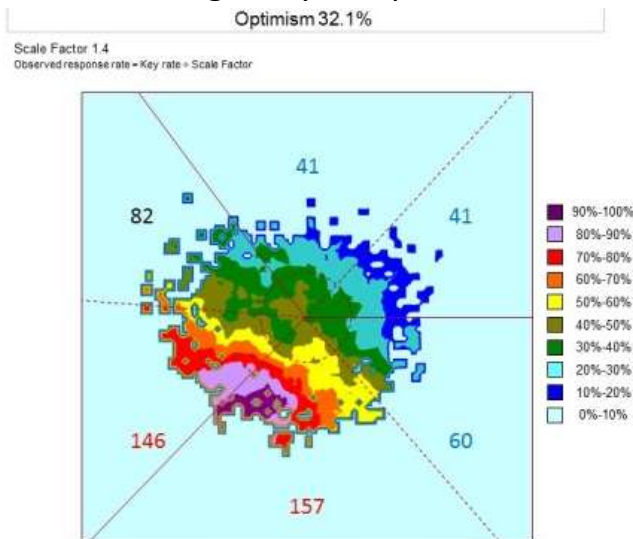
March 21 2016 <http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=979>

How Remainers could have won but didn't

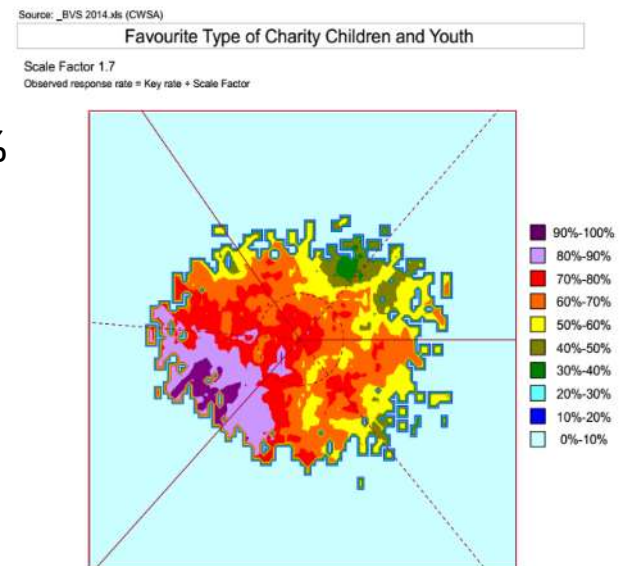
If (which they didn't exactly) people had all voted as Pioneer + Now People* for Remain v. Golden Dreamer* + Settler for Leave (with proportionate turnout), Remain would have won by 58.8% Remain to 41.2% Leave.

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.



41%



Skewed Prospector, 35-44,
female

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