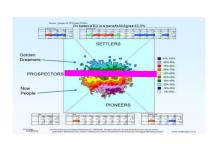
The Values Story of the Brexit Split (Part 1)

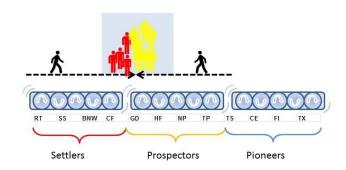
chris@campaignstrategy.co.uk

www.campaignstrategy.org

February 2017

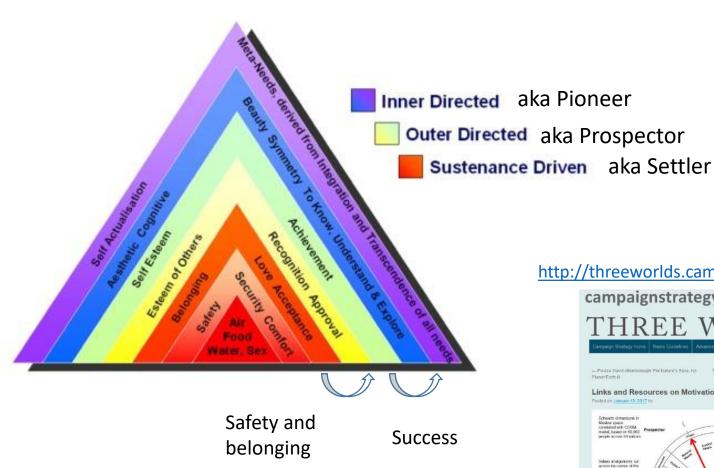






Values Model 101: Groups and Dynamics

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

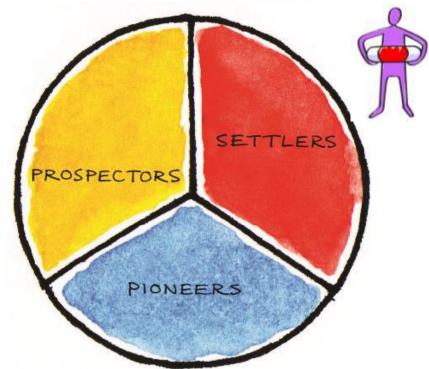
http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=1420



Drivers and behaviours – unmet needs



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



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)

"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, "Look after number one" defend our rights, Survival is success, accept discipine your lot, keep to the rules, don't rock the boat, just give me the facts, the old **Brave New World** ways are best **BELONGING** Roots Golden Dreamer **SAFETY ESTEEM OF OTHERS** Now Person Concerned "Be a better person to **SELF ESTEEM Ethical** make the world a better **ETHICAL** place" – do things for the **CLARITY Transcender** right reasons, rules to help **ETHICAL** people be better, justice, **COMPLEXITY** ethics, opinions

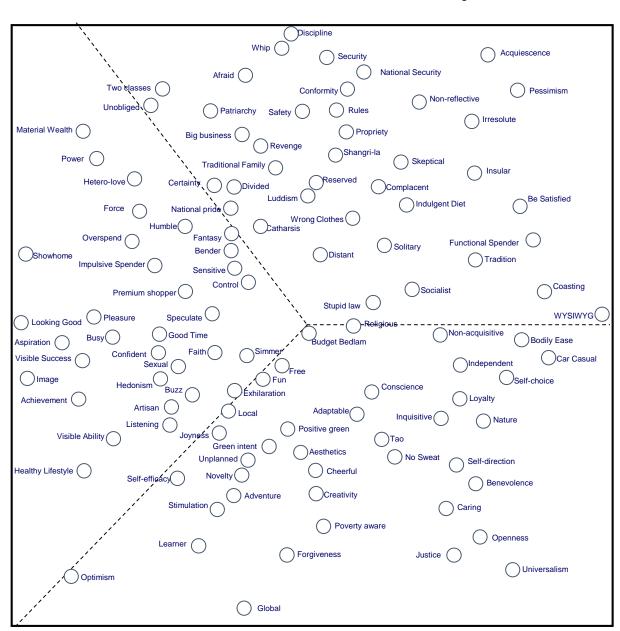
"Looking to see what I might find" – life is fun, try new things, intrigue, the unknown, complexity, possibility

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





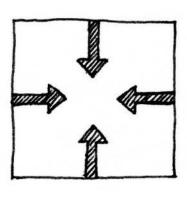
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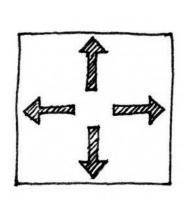
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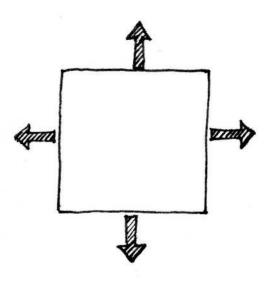
Settlers

Prospectors

Pioneers







Change?

No thanks, you lead

Maybe – if you can show me it works

Of course — and I have my own ideas

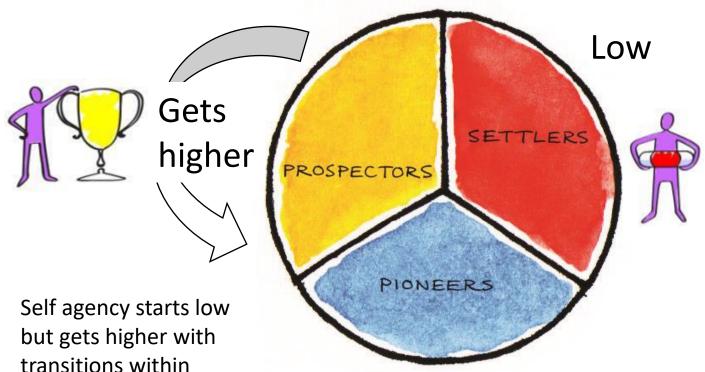
Questions?

I'd rather not hear them

What's the right answer?

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

Sense of Self-Agency



Prospectors. Seek to

proven ways to make

be 'independent'.

Want to adopt

world better.

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

High

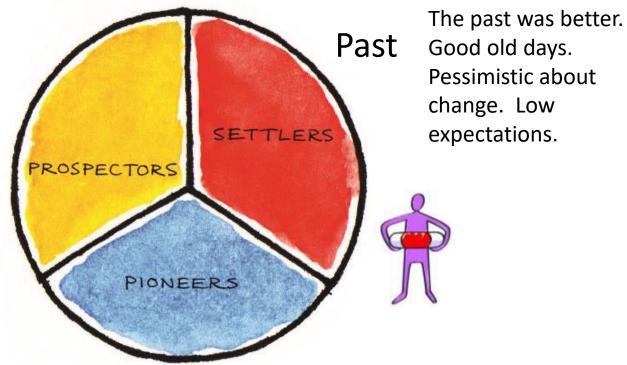


Yes I/we can change the world. We'll think of a solution. Seek interdependence.

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.

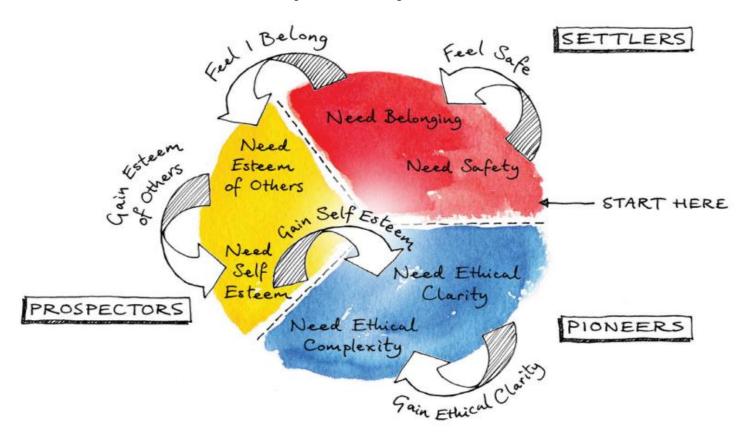


Present



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

People Dynamic

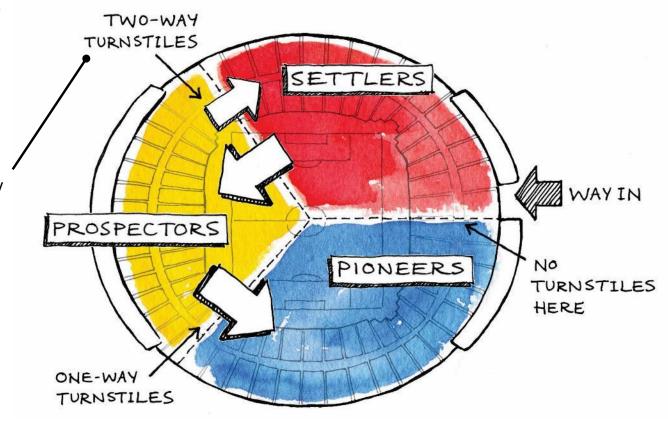


Meeting unmet needs turns Settlers into Prospectors, and Prospectors in Pioneers. Driven by life experiences.

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

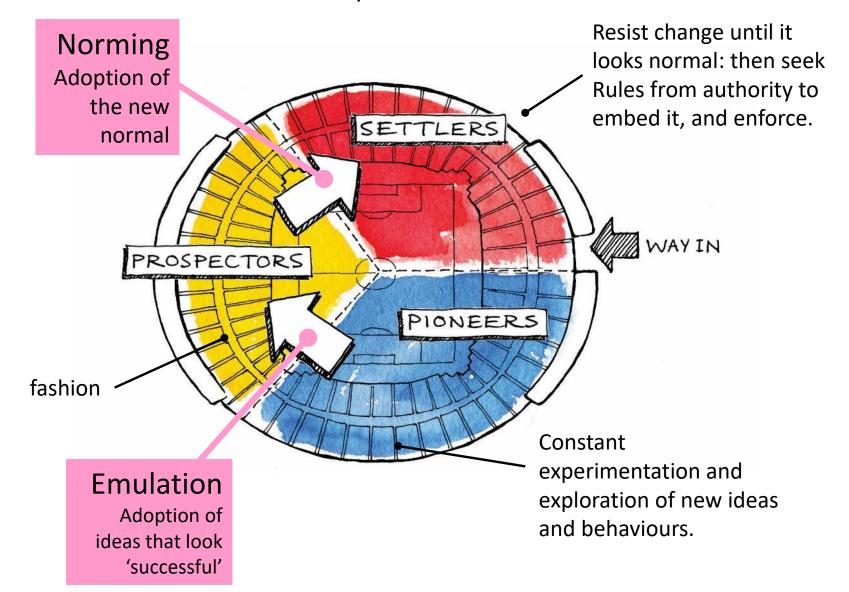
Like taking seats in a stadium, people move if they meet their needs. If conditions for gaining esteem deteriorate, Prospectors may 'slip back'.

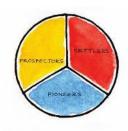


From <u>What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Settlers,</u> <u>Prospectors and Pioneers</u>

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

PIONEERS



Dr. Sophie Smith Engineer

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

> "The world needs more engineers, especially women"

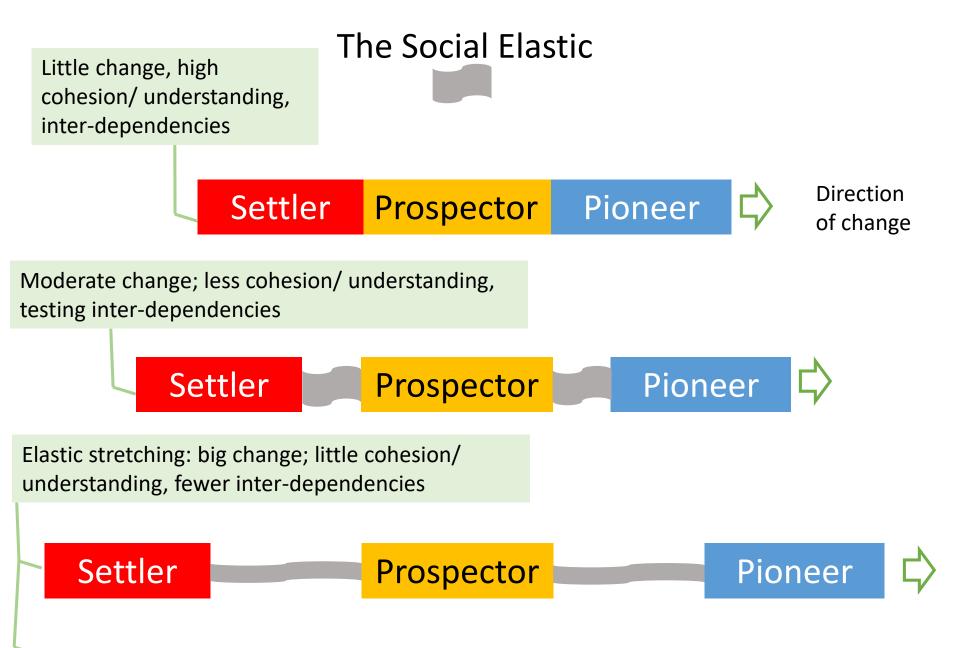
> > Acceptance of change rationalised in different ways

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

Same behaviour, different 'reasons'



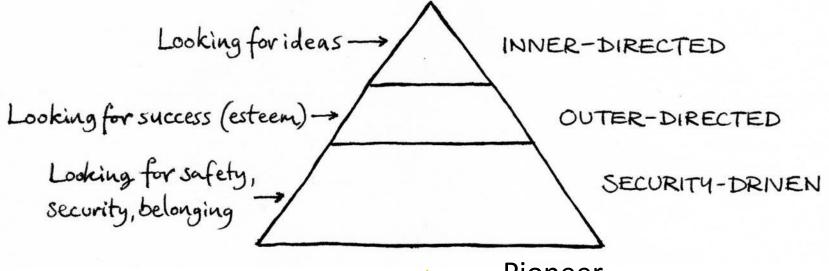
Why Sophies friends go to support the Team:
"My dad did and his before him: it's us" (Settler)
"It's a winning side and a great day out" (Prospector)
For the beauty of the game, win or lose (Pioneer)



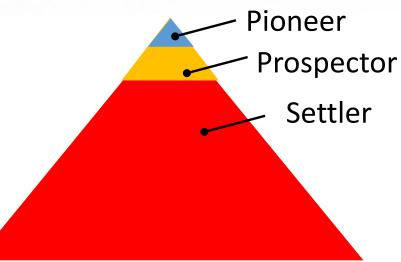
Eg social media causes living in comm's bubbles, lives separate due to greater mobility & more choice but fewer common experiences (bowling alone – or in values silos)

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



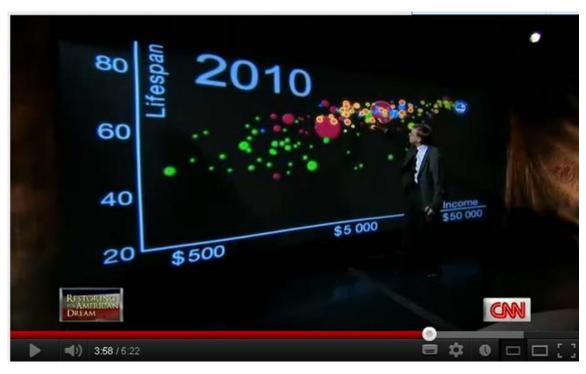
Factors keeping people as Settlers would have included

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

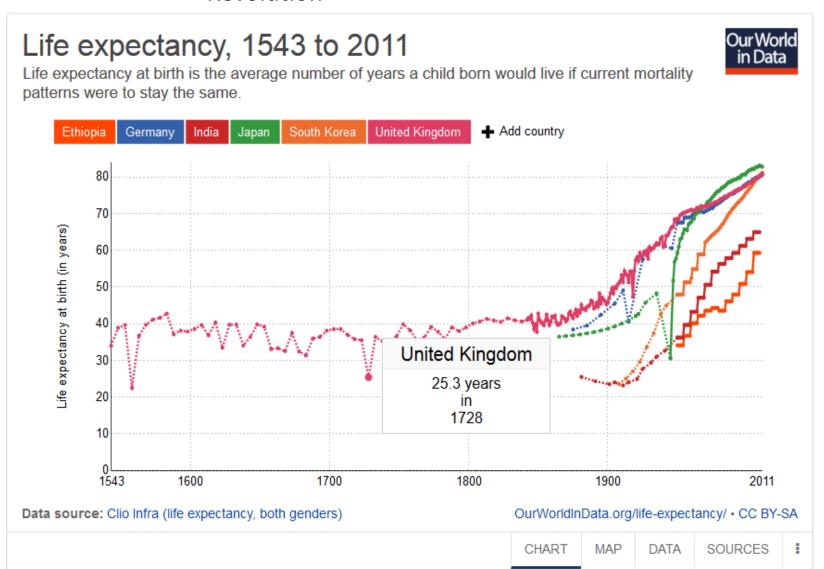
Indicators from the past include:

- Mortality rates and lifespan
- Infant mortality

Statistical studies of such factors by the late Hans Rosling of GapMinder and others

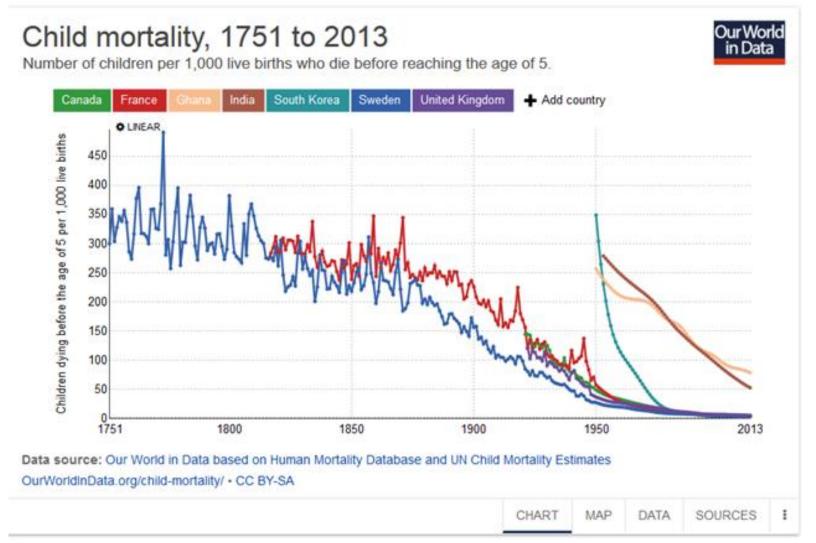


Life expectancy began to rise significantly in the Industrial Revolution It accelerated in the C20th



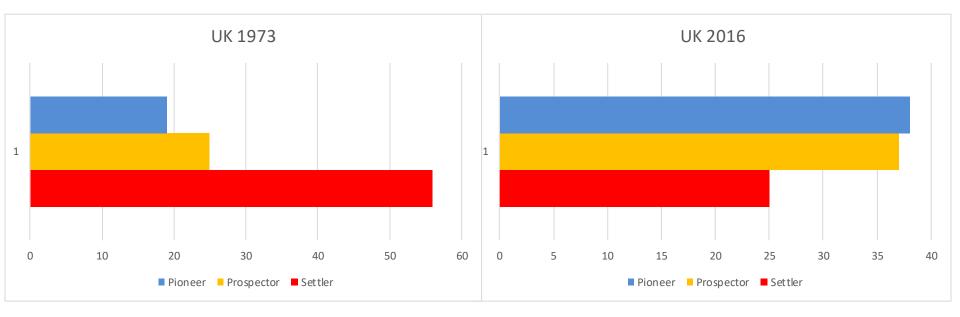
Child mortality fell

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

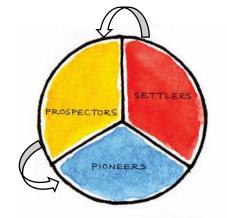


First CDSM type values UK survey in 1973 still found society was majority Settler but with many Pioneers and Prospectors

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

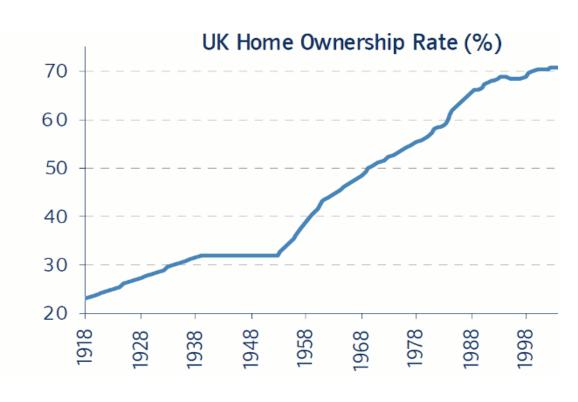
Post World War 2: UK introduced a free National Health Service, a Welfare State and expanded free universal education. Economy grew.



Material goods and home ownership became more widely attainable.

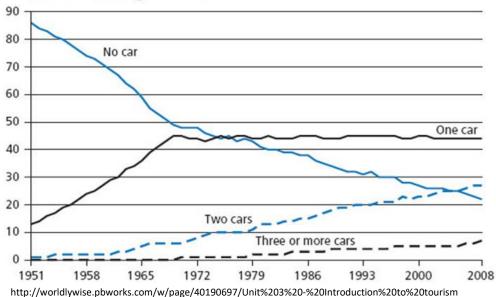
Feelings of security & opportunities to acquire and display the symbols of success (Prospector need) increased

More
Settlers could become
Prospectors

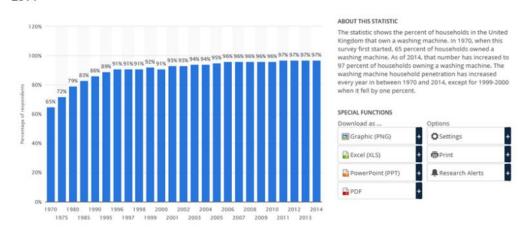


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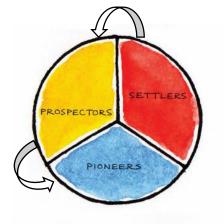
Car ownership in Britain



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

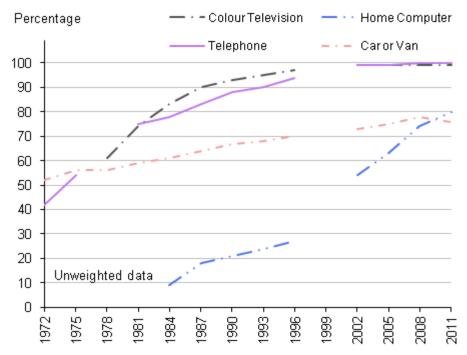


https://www.statista.com/statistics/289017/washing-machine-ownership-in-the-uk/

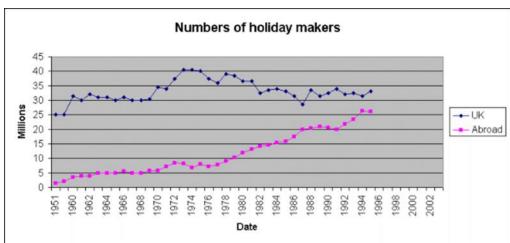


More people got cars, increasing freedoms of mobility

And washing machines, increasing free time to do other things

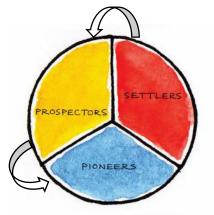


http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/ghs/general-lifestyle-survey/2011/rpt-40-years.html

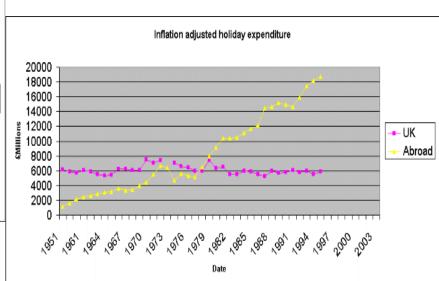


http://www.seasidehistory.co.uk/seaside statistics.html

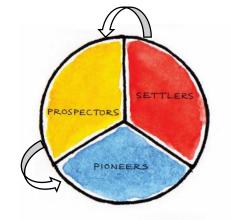
And colour tvs, phones, and computers



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



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







1930s Elite travel only







1960s
Jet Set >
Mass air travel



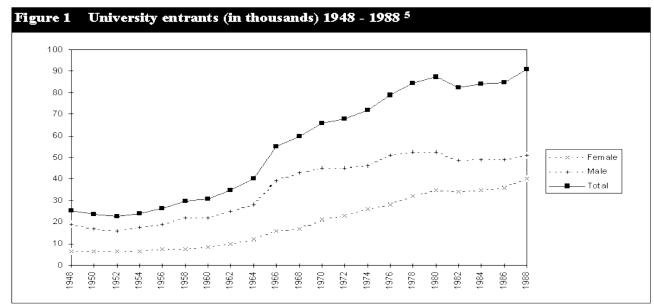
1970s Back packing

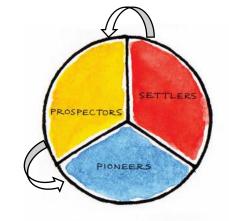


Wider and further education grew.

Minimum school leaving age 12>14 in 1918,

15 in 1947, 16 in 1972. More went to university

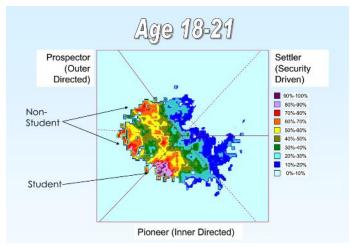




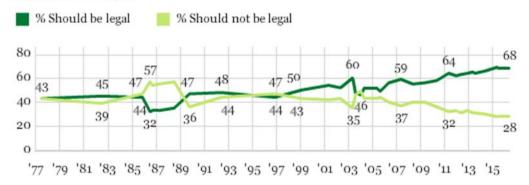
http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/000000350.htm

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

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



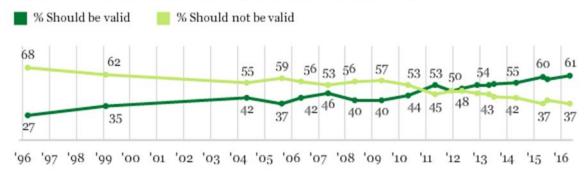
Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?



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?

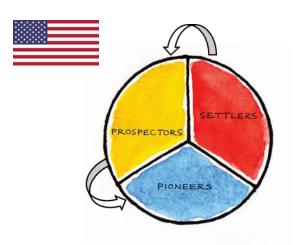


Note: Trend shown for polls in which same-sex marriage question followed questions on gay/lesbian rights and relations

1996-2005 wording: "Do you think marriages between homosexuals ... "

GALLUP'

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



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



Social Media is

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"

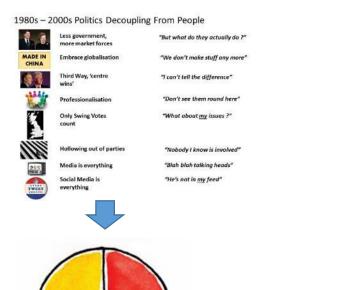
"Don't see them round here: it's all <u>focus groups</u> & spin"

"What about <u>my</u> issues: why bother voting?"

"Nobody I know is involved"

"Just stuff on TV"

"Who? Not in my feed"

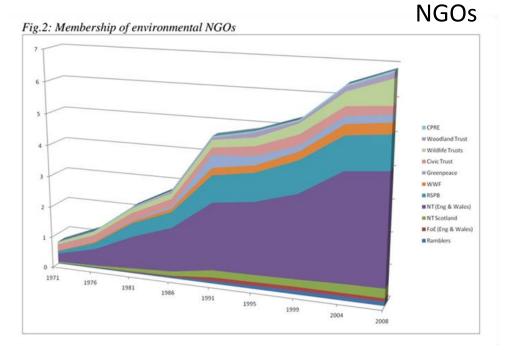


UK political party membership Conservatives 1,000 Membership (thousands) 20,000 UKIP 800 15,000 Labour 10,000 600 BNP 2005 2010 200 Liberal Democrats 1975 1983 1990 1997 2002 2005 2010 Source: House of Commons library, 2012

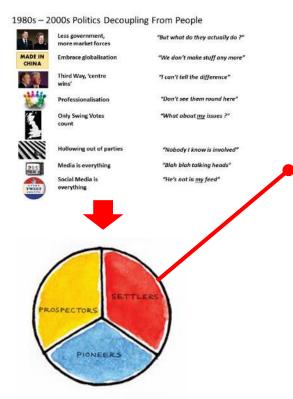
Consequences

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

PIONEERS

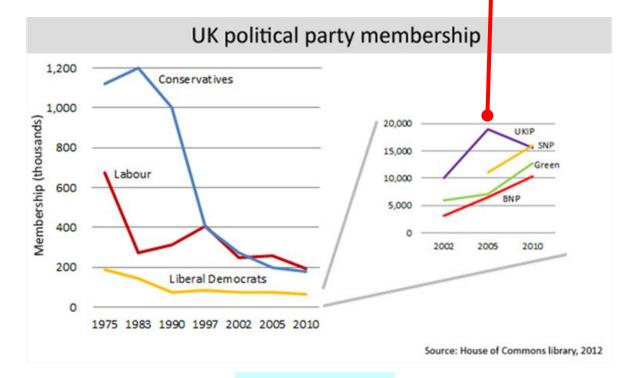


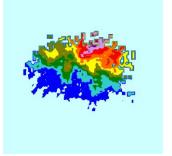
http://www.ngo.bham.ac.uk/civic%20participation.pdf



Consequences

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





UKIP heartland 2014

1980s - 2000s Politics Decoupling From People

Less government, "But what do they actually do ?"

MADE IN CHINA

Third Way, 'centre"

"Can't tell the difference"

wins'

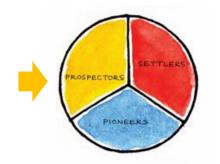
ofessionalisation "Don't see them round here"

Only Swing Votes "What about my issues?" count

Illowing out of parties "Nobody I know is involved"

dia is everything "Blah blah talking heads"

ocial Media is "He's not in my feed"



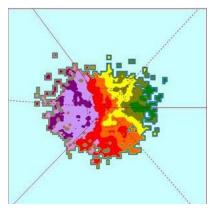
Consequences

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





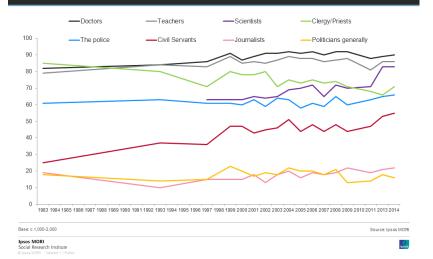
<u>How to run an effective meeting</u> by PRONguyen Hung Vu, on Flickr. This work is licensed under a <u>Creative Commons Attribution 2.0 Generic License</u>.



Working UK population

Percentage of electorate Voter Turn out 1945 - 2005 s5 s0 1945 1950 1951 1955 1959 1964 1966 1970 1974 (2) 1974 (2) 1979 1983 1987 1992 1997 2001 2005 Source: UK Election Statistics (2005) House of Commons library

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



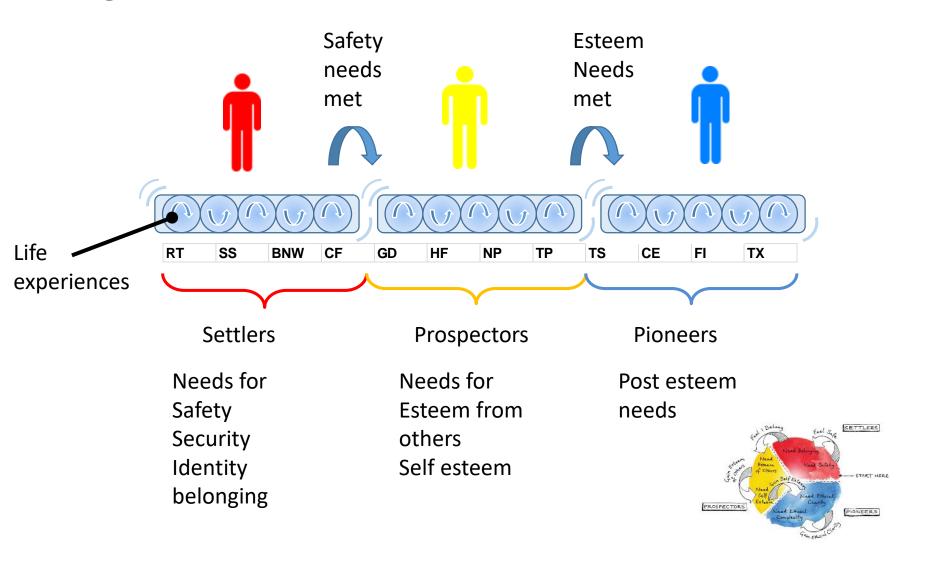
Consequences

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

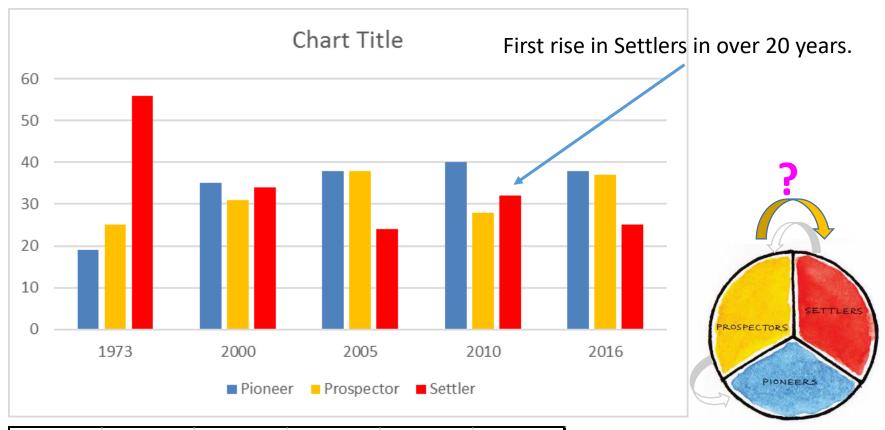
Trust in politicians also gradually declined.

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.



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

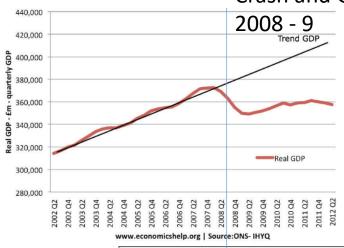
2008 jump in % Settlers and fall in Prospectors first measured here



Real GDP Crash and Great Recession

Northern Rock 2007

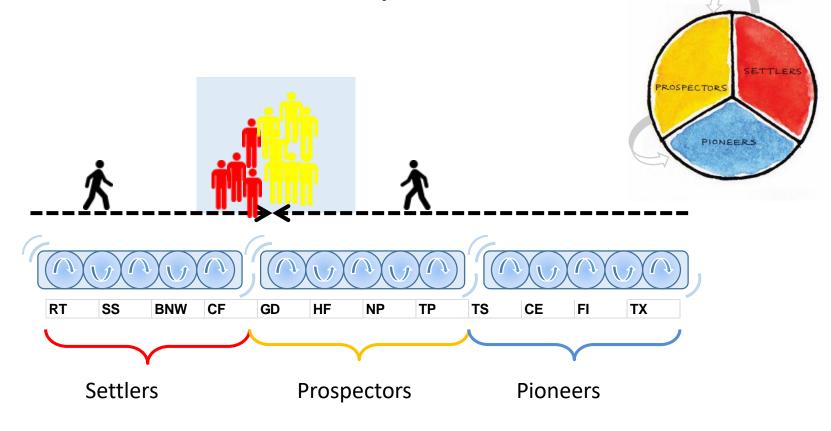




People queuing outside a branch in <u>Golders Green</u>, London, on 14 September 2007, to withdraw their savings due to fallout from the subprime crisis (photo <u>Alex Gunningham</u> from London, Perfidious Albion (UK plc))



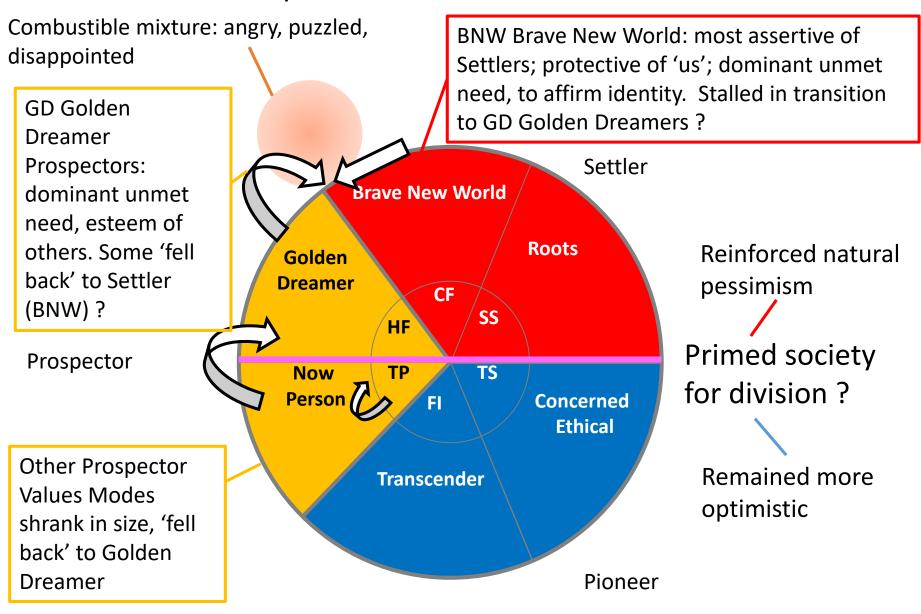
The broken conveyor? (2008-?)



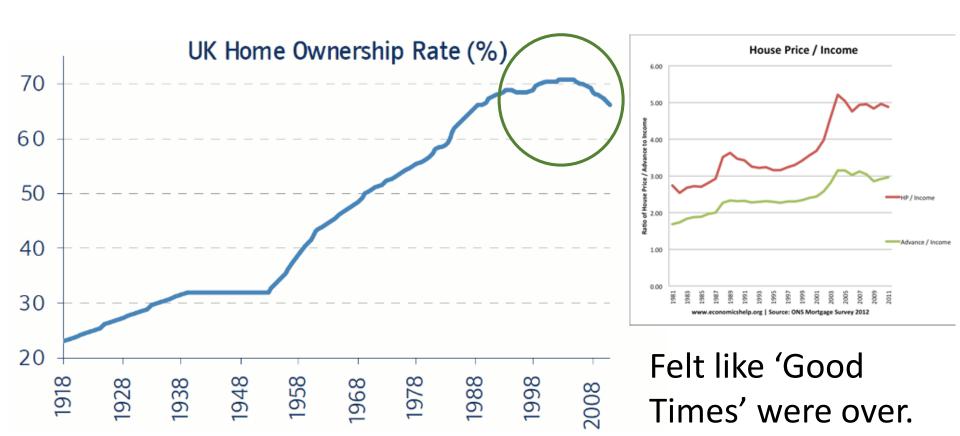
Some Prospectors have 'slipped back', leading to an accumulation of GDs and BNWs. This means GDs are now a combustible mixture of anxious optimists ("it really could be me!") and angry, disappointed and puzzled triers – "someone stole my dream – someone is to blame"

Most probable cause: declining real expectations, worsening social outcomes

Values Modes Consequences



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

Loss of optimism

The Spirit Level Why Equality is Better for Everyone

> 40.00% 35.00%

30.00% 25.00% 20.00%

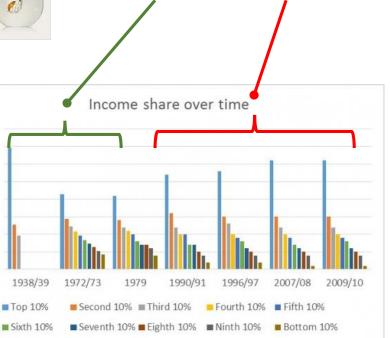
15.00% 10.00%

> 5.00% 0.00%

> > 1938/39

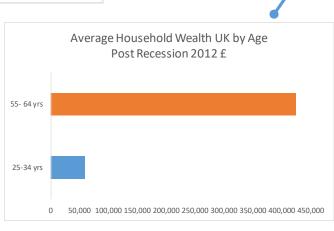
■Top 10%

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



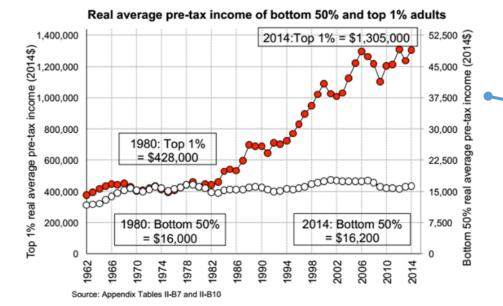
Poorer than parents

"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."

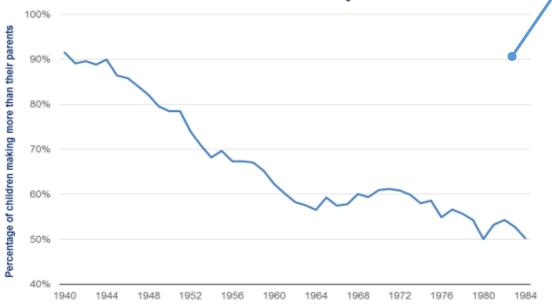




In 2015 LSE (et al) analysis showed post recession (2006-12) 55-64 had got richer while those in their 20s were on average 15% poorer, with rapidly falling real wages, despite being better educated than previous generations.



Death of a dream? Absolute mobility rates over time





US: <u>Chetty et al found</u> in 2016 that real absolute inequality took off after 70s-80s: Thatcher-Reaganism

Fewer and fewer children were earning more than their parents. The 'dream' of each generation becoming better off was fading. (Falling income mobility).

Richer people were cushioned by rising investment values eg shares and house prices but those reliant on wage income were more vulnerable.

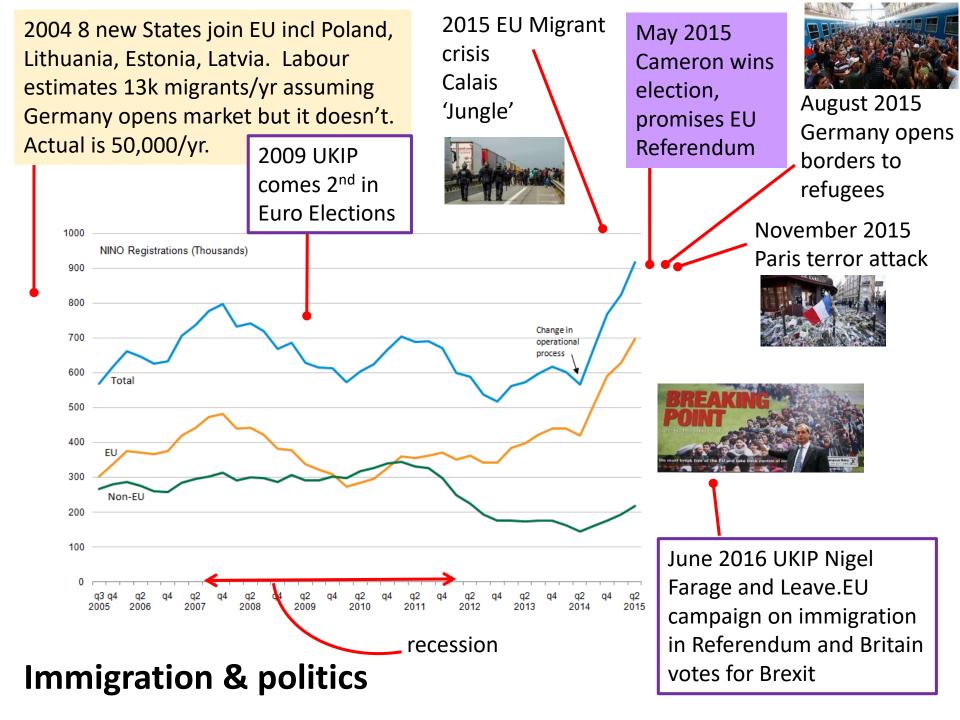
Brexit (and Trump) rang the Division Bell



Richard Pope - The division bell

	m on the United Kingdom's ip of the European Union
Vote only o your choice	nce by putting a cross 🗶 in the box next to
	United Kingdom remain a member of the Inion or leave the European Union?
Remain	a member of the European Union
	Leave the European Union

2014 controls on EU immigration from 2004 8 new States join EU incl Poland, Romania and Bulgaria also lifted Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia Migration vexation What do you see as the most/other important issues facing Britain today? Border controls relaxed for % of respondents* mentioning: **Immigration +** Romanians and Bulgarians 70 Border controls relaxed - race relations/immigration economy for "A8" EU countries Recession 60 + EU Migrant **Crisis** 20 10 recession 86 88 90 92 *Average 1,000 British adults age 18+ surveyed monthly Source: Ipsos MORI **Boat arrivals** Economist.com http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21661667-immigration-has-**Italy Greece** Net migration (thousands) peak Oct 2015 300 Highest since YE Dec 250 Non-EU citizens 200 100000 150 **EU citizens** 100 -50 British citizens -100 Lowest net migration Largest British net migration since 2010 -1501975 1985 1995 2000 2005 2015 q1q2q3



Leave campaigns target Settlers, GDs



Vote Leave

combine
Immigration +
Recession
+ EU Migrant
Crisis

FUD factors

Terrorism



Promises of security



Vote for the past

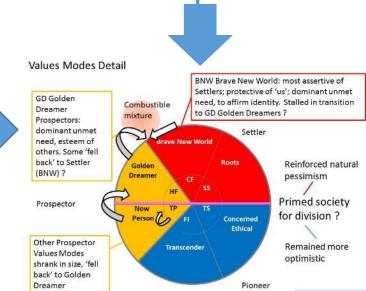


Strong
activation of
pre-existing
Settler/GD fears
and desires

X

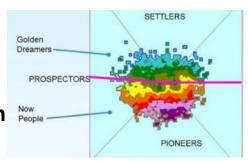
Simple binary clear choice raising turnout





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



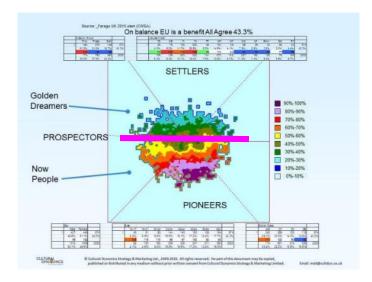


Anti-EU anti-corporatist PioneersTTIP and Left wing

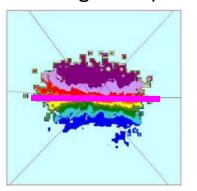
Libertarian anti-EU right-wing Pioneer free-traders + Fustodians

Some Pioneers and Now People voted Brexit or did not vote

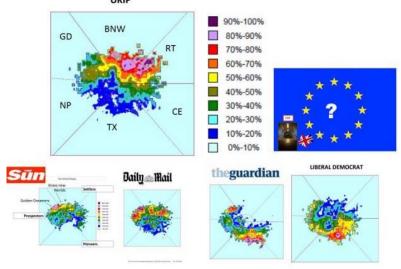
Values Split on Europe (Dec 15 survey) NPs + Pioneers agree EU overall a benefit, Settlers and GDs not.



+ 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 UKIP



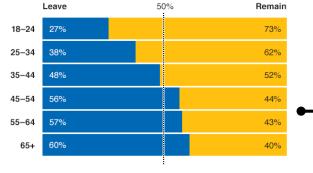
Power versus Univeralism (a key antagoni

"Take Control": Power – Golden

Dreamer hotbutton polarisation Afraid (Material Wealth

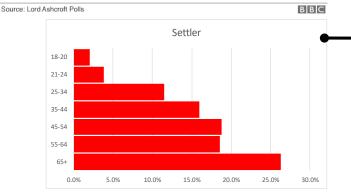
Age and Brexit

How different age groups voted



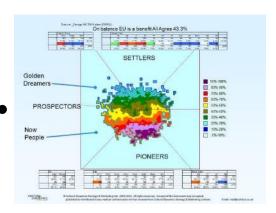
There is no CDSM post-Referendum values voting or turnout survey but the pre-Referendum pro/anti EU values surveys and the age voting patterns found by Ashcroft, plus values-age data suggests that high values activation of Settlers played a role in 'Brexit'*

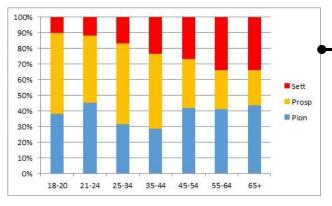
Ashcroft reported that older people voted more to Leave



Settlers skew to older and are far less

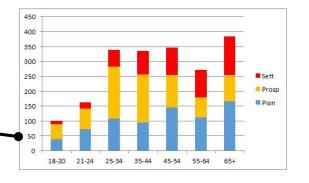
Pro-EU





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

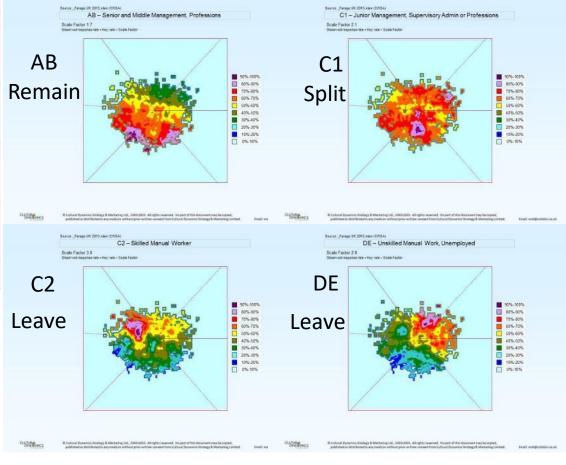
"The AB social group (broadly speaking, professionals and managers) were the only social group among whom a majority voted to remain (57%). C1s divided fairly evenly; nearly two thirds of C2DEs (64%) voted to leave the EU". - Ashcroft survey

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

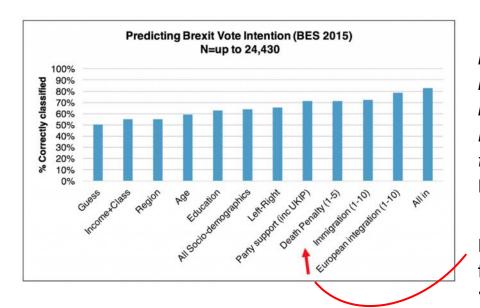
Social Class

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

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 (£)



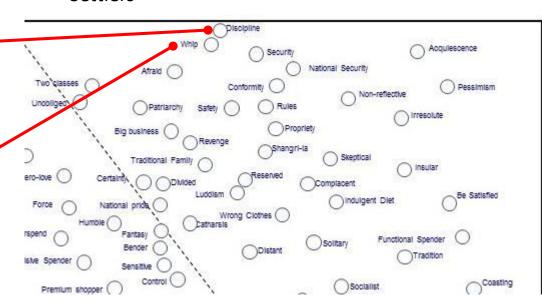
"I believe that strict **discipline** is in a child's best interests. I think that criminals should face severe sentences to deter them from offending again"

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

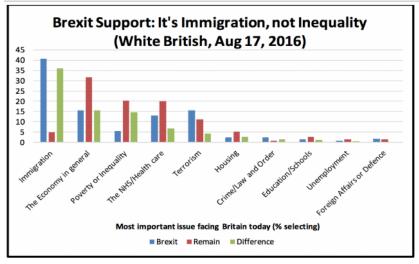
71% of those most in favour of the death penalty said they would vote Leave but only 20 percent of those most opposed to capital punishment. Source: It's NOT the economy, stupid: Brexit as a story of personal values.

"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

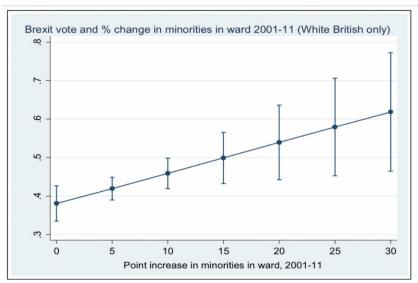
Highlighted 'death penalty' which did not feature in campaigning. But Attributes such as 'Discipline' and 'Whip' are centred in the Settlers



Settler values response triggered by rate of cultural challenge from immigration



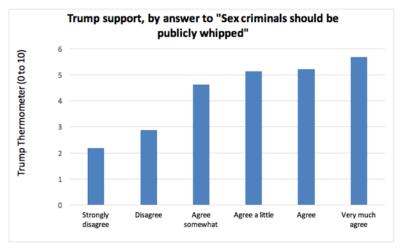
Immigration #1 concern for White Leave voters.



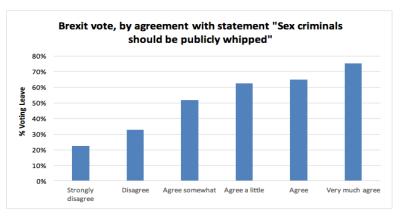
Rate of ethnic change positively correlated with Brexit vote. (Standardised for actual level of ethnic minorities in ward).

Sources Kaufmann: <u>Trump and Brexit: why it's again NOT the economy, stupid</u> & <u>The indicators that show who voted for Trump and Brexit</u>

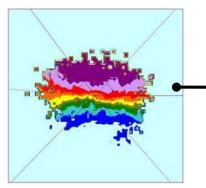




Approvers of Trump & Brexit voters agree: "whip"



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

Research by Karen
Stenner
explained by J
Haidt Stern School of
Business



Reuters

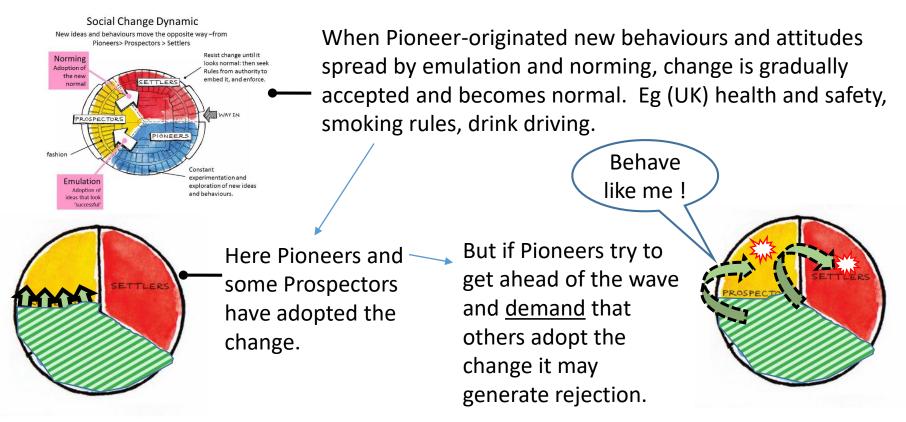
Events and Leave campaign triggered and played on feelings of being overwhelmed (immigration), loss of control (Europe decides) + threats (eg terrorism)

Meanwhile Remain mostly talked about generic economic benefits of EU

"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

Plus, Settler + Golden Dreamer values activated by perceived internal threat: 'Political Correctness'

<u>Greenberg found</u> rejection of 'Political Correctness' was the 2nd most powerful of 138 indicators of voting for Trump.

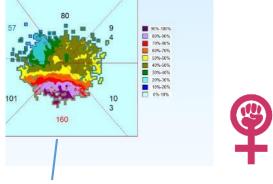


Ethical projection

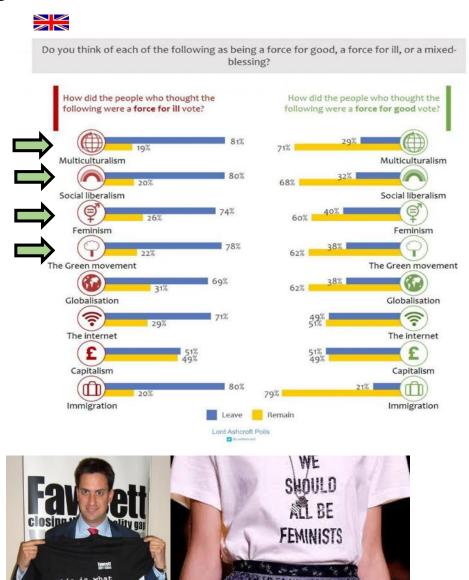
Most often happens when the overtly ethical wing of the Pioneers, (Concerned Ethicals) convert their own ethical judgements into non-legal rules of 'Political Correctness'.

Settler + Golden Dreamer values activated by perceived <u>internal</u> 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' ...

<u>Some</u> did of course, <u>and Trump</u>... 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

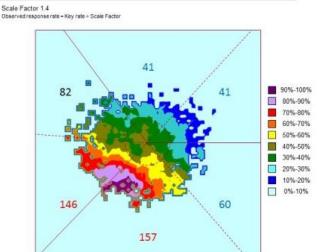
How Remainers almost won but didn't

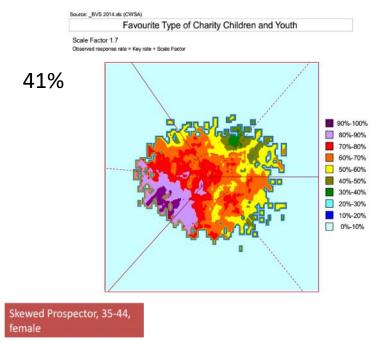
If (which they didn't exactly) people had all voted as Pioneer + Now People* for Remain v. Golden Dreamer* + Settler for Leave (with proportionate turnout), Remain would have won by 58.8% Remain to 41.2% Leave.

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







^{*}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) attracting 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 <u>optimism</u>, <u>modernity</u> 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 <u>big-data psychographics</u>: 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