Humankind has now so changed the earth that it’s less made by ‘nature’ than human beings, a situation popularised by the late earth-scientist Paul Crutzen1 as a new geological-scale epoch: the ‘Anthropocene’.

This new era is defined by the changes we have made to our environment, which now pose huge new challenges such as eliminating climate-heating and restoring nature, but it has not changed human nature.

Renowned biologist E. O. Wilson captured this dilemma when he wrote in The Social Conquest of Earth:2

We have created a Star Wars civilization, with Stone Age emotions, medieval institutions, and godlike technology.

So if we are equipped with ‘Stone Age emotions’ and ‘medieval institutions’, is human leadership up to the task? There are many dimensions to leadership, but here we try to take a short excursion into one, taking a long view on leadership through the lens of human values.

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Values

Sir Robert Worcester founded the polling research company MORI and was an investigator for the World Values Survey. He described values like this:

Opinions are ripples on the surface of the public’s consciousness, shallow ad easily changed. Attitudes are the currents below the surface, deeper and stronger. Values are the deep tides of the public mood, slow to change but powerful.

So by ‘values’ we mean the sets of deep-seated attitudes and beliefs which determine our world view of deep truths: how things ‘really are’. Such values guide our most fundamental priorities, define what is ‘common sense’, and in turn influence our actions and frame our opinions in the shallower waters of day-to-day decisions, including all the important leadership issues.

Psychologists and social researchers have developed tools for detecting these powerful but subtle and largely unconscious motivational values, which operate at the level of every individual or group and, thus, nation.

Basic human nature may not have changed over time, but through painstaking measurement, survey and modelling we know that the proportions of these social motivating values (not to be confused with personality or philosophical values) have changed. In most countries, the values make-up of today’s populations are radically different from those of even a few generations ago, and this gives rise to new ‘social currents’, and sometimes to splits or clashes within societies, which are often called ‘culture wars’. Yet these are not ideas learnt or taught as cultural values so much as different priorities which then play out through human endeavours, such as politics, business or civil society. We bring different values to bear on problems and solutions at any scale, and solving the problems of the Anthropocene will be no exception.

One of us (Pat Dade) runs a research company called Cultural Dynamics (www.cultdyn.co.uk), which has been measuring these differences as ‘Maslow Groups’ and ‘Values Modes’ since the 1970s, and the other (Chris Rose) first came across Pat’s work while trying to understand the evolving challenges facing Greenpeace in achieving change back in the 1990s. Later, Chris wrote a book about it: What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers.³
As it illustrates three profoundly different values-sets, the Cultural Dynamics model can easily be used to identify the different expectations of leaders and ideas of ‘good leadership’ alive in societies today. Pat Dade and his co-modeller Les Higgins have also produced a management-leadership version of their population model, used by organisations. But before having a look at that, let’s wind back to the earliest forms of leadership, which of course are still with us today.

Fighting for land

It seems likely that the oldest style of leadership was first and foremost based on strength and force. There is an old joke about land-ownership in England in the form of a story, in which an aristocratic land-owner encounters a landless poacher. One version has it:

Lord: How dare you come on my land, sir?
Poacher: Your land! How do you make that out?
Lord: Because I inherited it from my father.
Poacher: And pray, how did he come by it?
Lord: it descended to him from his ancestors
Poacher: But tell me how they came by it?
Lord: why they fought for it and won it, of course.
Poacher (taking off his coat): Then I’ll fight you for it.

As E. O. Wilson pointed out, many of our institutions have their roots in medieval times, if not earlier. Land was the main gateway to resources, which we mostly derived straight from nature, and for millennia we fought for it, and other arrangements tended to flow from that. For example, land was gifted by tribal and then medieval and constitutional monarchs to keep them in power.

By studying historical evidence and contemporary societies in different stages of development, Professor Ron Inglehart, founder of the World Values Survey, has traced stages in social development which have enabled change in expression of human values. He identifies pre-industrial or agrarian societies, secular industrialised societies and post-industrial societies.
The primacy of land was of course typical of settled agrarian societies which regarded land as territory and then legal property. We may think of the Magna Carta as about individual freedoms but it was really more of a land-rights pact between a monarch and his barons. Settled farmers displaced nomadic graziers and before them hunter gatherers who presumably had also fought for territory. In the modern era, fisheries policy is often still conducted along similar lines because, at sea, territory is more contested, though actual physical violence is now unusual.

Property rights are still an animating force in political ideology: for example, among right-wing US economists who would place it above the rights of citizens.6

But industrialisation has dramatically reduced the proportion of people directly engaged in land management and made it valuable for other purposes such as commerce, manufacturing, markets and playing golf. Attempts by one nation to acquire the land of another through violence are now unusual.

Numerous studies suggest that the number of wars and deaths arising from violent conflict have declined over time.7 For instance, with its greater firepower and population, World War II (1939–1945) killed more people than the activities of Genghis Khan (1206–1927) but World War II killed only 2.6% of the global population, whereas Khan managed 11.1%.

For the average human, over time, the world has become a more peaceful place so far as conflict-related death goes. The toll exacted by disease and starvation has also declined, so life expectancy has increased.

Together with sanitation, education of girls and increased food security, per capita income and other factors measured by Swedish Professor of International Health, the late great Hans Rosling and his family,8 over the long-run, these socio-economic improvements have made the world a safer place.

Inglehart has tracked the shift in human values resulting from these inter-generational changes in human experience on two main axes of survival v. self-expression, and traditional v. secular-rational.

In their epic 2005 book Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence,9 Ron Inglehart and Christian Welzel describe how predominantly security-driven ‘traditional’ societies with magical and religious beliefs gave way to ‘materialist’ organised industrial societies with secular-rational beliefs, and then to ‘post-material’ societies with rising
'self-expression' values, catalysed by the growing opportunities for autonomy and self-choice. This sequence, he argues, ultimately creates the conditions for democracy, which only becomes possible when self-expression values become so widespread that they lead security forces to no longer support autocratic leaders.

So Inglehart’s work links change in individual human values to shifts in society, over generations and longer timescales. He first became well-known for the Silent Revolution published in 1977, explaining the values shift underlying the ‘counter-culture’ revolution in politics of the 1960s, archetypically remembered as starting in California.

Of course, it is not an entirely smooth process. In Cultural Evolution (2018) Inglehart argues that interests and individuals feeling threatened by such values change can mount a ‘counter-revolution’. (Manifest, for example, by the values most espoused in support of ‘Brexit’ and the election of Donald Trump – see below – a reaction against the ‘new normal’ arising from the earlier ‘silent revolution’.)

Tackling the problems of the Anthropocene is going to be a long-term project, and the urgency of the climate and nature emergency means there is every reason to do everything possible to avoid triggering a ‘counter-revolution’ which causes fatal delay.

Inglehart’s extraordinary body of work on inter-generational values shifts provides a historical perspective, but other tools for values analysis can also be useful tools in navigating, negotiating and managing change today. In particular, models which enable you to measure values at any scale from individual to a nation, and which also capture the distinct motivational group driven by the human needs for aspiration, success and esteem. One example is the ‘Values Modes’ or ‘Cultural Dynamics’ model.

The Cultural Dynamics model: ‘Values Modes’

With his co-modeller Les Higgins, Pat has applied values analysis to management and communication issues in organisations ranging from the US Marines, to British design companies and football clubs, marketing ice cream and pubs, the Australian military and numerous NGOs. Many examples applied to campaigning are at Chris’s website, including on the pivotal role of values in climate campaigns, and in the politics of
Brexit, and relating those to both the Cultural Dynamics model and work by Inglehart and others.

This values model is our primary lens. Other models are available but all are peering into the same well.

The ‘Values Modes’ model is calibrated against the well-known international academic Basic Human Values model, developed by Shalom Schwartz of the Hebrew University, and the Pioneer–Settler axis in the ‘Values Mode’ model is essentially measuring much the same thing as the Security–Self-Expression axis in the World Values Survey (but the Prospectors are not visible as a distinct group in the Inglehart model).

The ‘Values Modes’ model divides the whole of any group or society into three large sectors called Maslow Groups (Settler, Prospector, Pioneer), and within those four smaller more coherent subgroups, the ‘Values Modes’ (you can take the survey yourself to find out which you fall into).

Although the researchers behind this did not set out with Maslow’s theories in mind, they discovered that, after identifying a vast number of ‘deep driver’ factors, the social groups this revealed looked more than anything else like Maslow’s needs-based, three-part division. His idea was that we start life ‘Security-Driven’ (or Sustenance-Driven), and if we fully meet the needs for security, safety and identity, become ‘Outer-Directed’ (esteem-driven), and then if we fully meet the needs for first esteem of others and then self-esteem, become ‘Inner-Directed’, with a less easily defined set of needs, including innovation, a holistic view of society, experimentation and individual ethics.

Cultural Dynamics terms these big groups Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers, summarised like this:

The Settler (Sustenance-Driven) needs are:

- Core physiological needs;
- Safety and security;
- Belonging.

Some typical Settler characteristics are:

- Family and home, and caring for them, tend to be at the centre;
- For those living alone, friends take the place of family;
- Tradition and family structure are important;
• Prefer things to be ‘normal’;
• Naturally conservative (with a small ‘c’);
• Security conscious – wary of crime, violence and terrorism;
• Supportive of tough punishment for criminals;
• Wary of change, especially for its own sake;
• More comfortable with regular and routine situations;
• Concerned about what the future holds.

The Settler Values Modes are (in sequence) known as Roots, Smooth Sailing, Brave New World, Certainty First.

The Prospector (Outer-Directed) needs are:

• Esteem of others;
• Self-esteem.

Some typical Prospector characteristics are:

• Success-oriented;
• Always want to ‘be the best’ at what they are doing;
• Welcome opportunities to show their abilities;
• Take great pleasure in recognition and reward;
• Look to maximise opportunities;
• Will take opportunities for advancement and professional networking;
• Trend and fashion conscious;
• Like new ideas and new ways;
• Generally optimistic about the future.

The Prospector Values Modes are (in sequence): known as Golden Dreamers, Happy Followers, Now People and Tomorrow People.

The Pioneer (Inner-Directed) needs are:

• Aesthetic cognitive;
• Self-actualisation.

Some typical Pioneer characteristics are:

• Trying to put things together and understand the big picture;
• Concerned about the environment, society, world poverty, etc.;
• Always looking for new questions and answers;
• Strong internal sense of what is right and what is wrong;
• Strong desire for fairness, justice and equality;
• Self-assured and sense of self-agency;
• Generally positive about change, if it seems worthwhile;
• Cautiously optimistic about the future.

The Pioneer Values Modes are (in sequence): Transitionals, Concerned Ethicals, Flexible Individualists and Transcenders.

**Leadership**

What is a leader? Someone who leads, followed by others. Why? Because directly or indirectly they provide for the needs of followers, or enable them to meet those needs. If all leaders and followers shared the same motivational values life would be simpler, but they often do not, and so have needs and priorities which can conflict. Understanding this can help resolve problems.

Given the drivers and orientations summarised above, it is obvious that the expectations of leadership vary between values groups.

Settlers want to follow a leader, who knows where they are going and commands authority and respect. The strength of the traditional ‘strong’ leader compensates for Settlers’ comparatively low sense of self-agency: the feeling that the world can change them, but they cannot change the world. The group leader decides where to go and what to do. Followers are rewarded for loyalty by belonging. Settlers are society’s bedrock and upkeep tradition, and this is true across all societies, although the form tradition takes of course varies from one society to another. Settlers are the most past-oriented group, in line with an unmet need for certainty and consequent distrust of change. This poses a challenge for any leader who needs to take society in a new direction.

Prospectors expect a leader to deliver success, be it national ‘greatness’ or personal success and advancement. Their world view sees life as a competition, personally, in business or between nations, and often a zero-sum game in which a gain for one is a loss for others. Competing is encouraged and winners are rewarded. The higher Prospector self-agency runs alongside optimism about the future as the place they will truly succeed.
Prospectors want leaders they can ‘invest in’ (and they tend to see politics in transactional terms rather than Settler loyalties) to enable their success as independent, no longer dependent, individuals. But, highly alert to the risk of failure, Prospectors want to see proof that change ‘works’ before embracing it: early adopters, not utter innovators.

Finally, Pioneers have the highest sense of self-agency, are not held back from change by a need to avoid failure or a desire to stay in the old certainties of the past, and are curious to innovate and explore complexity, even seemingly ‘insoluble’, wicked problems such as climate change. Their idea of leadership is through ideas and they worry about whether these are the right ideas, ethically, and including everyone. Whereas Settlers tend to prefer not to engage with big-picture change (but can be engaged with specifics, practical, small actions on big ideas), and Prospectors want change to offer proven opportunities to succeed, Pioneers love the big picture and are sceptical about there being any definitive single ‘right answer’. Pioneers embrace ambiguity and the open-ended. Their enthusiasm for change and complexity is not shared by the other groups and that can be the source of Pioneer leadership failures.

The unmet needs of each group work upon them like a psychological magnetic field only with three poles, subtle but exerting a constant draw in different directions, and each with its own emotional rationality. Any leader who needs to communicate to all three groups at once will have to show that any ‘project’ will bring safety and security, and that it will be successful and ethical (Figure 3.1).

Whereas Maslow conceived of a set of needs often shown as a pyramid-shaped hierarchy, plotting the statistical correlations and differences of all the data gathered from hundreds of surveys and studies of hundreds of thousands of individuals reveals a ‘map’ of values which most resembles a circle (simplified diagram above, map below) (Figure 3.2).

www.cultdyn.co.uk

The ‘map’ above shows the 100 most statistically significant ‘Attributes’ representing paired attitudinal statements (each explained on the Cultural Dynamics ‘Alphabet’). This is like looking down on a motivational ‘mind-map’ of a society. Each Attribute is located on a 1000 × 1000 statistical grid at the point of its maximum espousal (statement agreement).

Plotted individually, most of these measures have some support across the whole map but those nearer the edge have the strongest values differences.
Figure 3.1 Unmet needs driving behaviours in the three ‘Maslow Groups’.

Figure 3.2 Values Map from the British Values Survey (BVS, 2017).
So, for instance, ‘Budget Bedlam’ (about failure to control one’s expenditure) is close to population average and at the map centre: it’s not going to cause a values split. In contrast, Discipline, Whip (about punishment) and National Security are strong Settler Attributes, whereas Global (an outlook measure), Universalism and Forgiveness (of oneself and others) are very Pioneer, and Showhome, Looking Good and Aspiration are strongly Prospector.

This highly detailed map covers the same space of human values as Shalom Schwartz’s famous ‘wheel’ or ‘Circumplex’), here orientated in the same ‘Maslow Space’ as the BVS map (Figure 3.3).

Broken out as Values Modes, the model looks like this: Figure 3.4.

There are several dynamics within the CDSM model. The two most important are the transition or ‘conveyor’ of individuals from Settler, to Prospector and Pioneer (anti-clockwise around the map), and the ‘change

![Figure 3.3 Schwartz in Maslow Space.](image)
dynamic’ in the form of novel ideas or behaviours originating with Pioneers, and spreading, if they do, in the other direction, to Prospectors (by emulation) and then (by norming) to Settlers.

Both these dynamics are susceptible to intervention but to affect the mass movement of individuals (the conveyor) requires change at the level of a whole society. That is difficult to shift quickly, even for an all-powerful government and beyond the means of campaigners or advocates. In contrast, the change dynamic does not require individuals to change their Values Mode or Maslow Group in order for change to spread across the map, like a Mexican Wave spreading around a football stadium. Understanding how to make this happen will be vital if ‘rapid transition’ to succeed in coming to terms with the climate emergency and other aspects of the near-term Anthropocene (Figure 3.5 and Figure 3.6).

The critical step in achieving the spread of a new change across society’s main values groups, rather than it staying stuck in the Pioneer area, is for
People can move – overall from Settlers > Prospectors > Pioneers

Figure 3.5 The potential movement of people as they transition from one group to another as a result of meeting needs through social experiences – using the population stadium metaphor (people get up and move seats). A slow process.

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

Figure 3.6 The change dynamic runs in the opposite direction, always starts with Pioneers if it is a novel behaviour/idea, and does not require people to ‘move seats’ – the behaviour spreads like a Mexican Wave. (From What Makes People Tick: The Three Hidden Worlds of Settlers, Prospectors and Pioneers).
it to appear ‘successful’ and thus attract emulation (often with adaptation) by the Prospectors. The two Values Modes essential to this bridge effect are the Transcender Pioneers and the Now People Prospectors. An example of the successful adoption of a new behaviour in the UK is the spread of solar PV technology (Figure 3.7).

The slower change in values groups in the UK from the 1970s to 2020s, caused by individual transitions, is shown below. The rise in the proportion of Settlers between 2005 and 2010 came after the financial crash of 2008 which temporarily slowed the ‘values conveyor’ transitioning Settlers to Prospectors (see slide 35)\(^{18}\) (Figure 3.8).

Here’s the ‘management styles’ (early version of Cultural Dynamics VOCS). Each of these VOCS Attributes is based on tested statements (Figure 3.9).

The range of statements tested to create the CDSM values model mean that it can often be used to identify connections between values and ‘issues’ we encounter in everyday life. For example, the idea that ‘if I want

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Figure 3.7 The adoption of solar PV from Pioneers to Prospector to Settler, 1990–2013, from the blog Brexit Values Story 2.2. [http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=2305](http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=2305)
something, it’s OK to fight for it’, discussed earlier, is close to agreement
with the Attribute ‘Force’, which lies in the upper-left part of the map in
the Prospector but Settler-like Values Mode ‘Golden Dreamer’ (Figure 3.10).

This is what agreement (measured on a six-point scale) looks like for the
‘Force’ Attribute on its own (Figure 3.11 and Figure 3.12).

Wider support for the idea does exist, but there isn’t much of it: agree-
ment is strongly centred in one part of the map. Just under 24% of the
population agreed or strongly agreed with this idea (60% of whom were
men, especially in the 18–34 age bracket).

These are the five Attributes most strongly correlated with ‘Force’
(Figure 3.13).

(i) Unobliged: I feel that people who meet with misfortune have brought
it on themselves. I see no reason why rich people should feel obliged
to help poor people.
(ii) Simmer: the thought of social disorder excites me. I would enjoy
being involved in a street riot.
Figure 3.9 The VOCS model management version of the CDSM model (subsequently developed with 10,000 respondents in five European countries). Some management examples are described in What Makes People Tick. http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=2536

Figure 3.10 The ‘Force’ Attribute tests agreement with the statement: ‘I believe it’s acceptable to use physical force to get something I really want. I think the important thing is to get what I want’.
CDSM’s Attribute description\textsuperscript{19} of Force notes:

This attitude can lead to great success in a range of business sectors. The threat of violence, from the most menial of levels to boardrooms, is enough for the majority of people to back off ideas that seem okay to
Using *Force*

Demographic Skews:
1) Over-indexed: Male, under 45, mid-market
2) Under-indexed: Female, over 65

*Force* espousers also espouse other Attributes. The top five most highly correlated Attributes of *Force* espousers are, in order of the strength of relationship:
1) Catharsis
2) Simmer
3) Patriarchy
4) Bender
5) Unobliged

In total those who espouse *Force* also over-index significantly on 33 other Attributes.

**Figure 3.13** The ‘Catharsis’ Attribute means: I believe that violence is just a part of life. I think that, when you can’t take it anymore and feel like you’re about to explode, a little violent behaviour can relieve the tension.
them but are opposed vehemently by Force espousers. Bullying is a minor offshoot of this values-set.

The low empathy aspect of Force can lead to overt violence in localities where there are pre-existing situations of civil unrest. People who were previously law-abiding but are high on the Force Attribute, would be easily tempted by the disorder and chaos of the occasion to release some of the simmering tension brought on by the nature of their everyday life.

You can imagine that this may have played some part in the storming of the US Capitol following the speech by Donald Trump, and parts of the Gilets Jaunes protests in France.

It should be noted that although Golden Dreamers are twice as likely as the population average to agree with the Force idea, most do not, and although more Prospectors than Settlers or Pioneers agree with it, an even smaller proportion do than among the Golden Dreamers.

There are several strategies which leaders or managers might use to avoid an attitude like ‘Force’ becoming a problem in the transitions needed in the Anthropocene (such as to a zero-carbon society).

One option is to simply outlaw behaviours and enforce the rules. This only works if there is wide and deep popular support for the laws concerned. Another option is to disincentivise use of force by giving greater esteem to those who avoid it. The big Golden Dreamer driver is to acquire the esteem of others, especially those in recognised positions of power and authority (which is why Donald Trump was a potent messenger). Golden Dreamers have just left the rule-abiding conformity and discipline of Settler World and are seeking the shortest routes to success. Above all, they do not want to be ‘losers’, so to channel their energy constructively, they need opportunities to win and gain self-esteem by doing ‘the right thing’.

These options can work together, especially if the majority of other Golden Dreamers – ‘people like us’ in other respects (the heuristics of social proof and similarity) – are already avoiding this behaviour in favour of something else (see below).

The ‘Force’ attitude may never completely go away but well-designed change processes can avoid things reaching an entrenched and polarised position which can boil over into conflict. Brexit (in which Golden Dreamer voters were actually split more or less 50:50 and Settlers strongly
skewed as pro-Leave and Pioneers leant pro-Remain) is an object lesson of what should be avoided if society is to succeed in achieving the wholesale restructuring necessary to become nature-friendly and zero-carbon.

The lesson of Brexit and political correctness

As CDSM surveys showed and Chris Rose detailed in a series of blogs\(^2\) in 2017 and 2019, Brexit activated a latent political split along a values fault line, which ran more or less horizontally across the Values Map. This was an Inglehart ‘counter-revolution’ in action, and a long time in the making (explained in a 60- slide presentation).\(^2\) Here is a grossly simplified explanation (Figure 3.14).

![Values skews of Remain/Leave vote 2016 UK (top)](image1)

![Below: ‘On balance the EU is a benefit’ – all who agree (from 5pt scale) Dec 2015](image2)

Figure 3.14 Top: the values split between Pioneer + Now Person and Golden Dreamer + Settler in the Brexit vote. Below – attitudes to the EU, prior to the vote. On this basis we anticipated (21 March 2016) that the Referendum of 23 June could give UKIP and the anti-Europeans in the UK, the opportunity sought by AfD in Germany. The values split seen in the UK also occurred in Germany, France and Italy (but not Spain) – it just wasn’t activated there. http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=979 blog: the Brexit Values Battle
Many indications suggest that after WW2 the UK, like many other ‘developed’ societies, saw a gradual increase in the number of Prospectors and then Pioneers, speeding up in the 1960s, as socio-economic conditions and opportunities (such as travel and education) increased. By 1973 they formed a significant but growing minority. 56% of the UK population was still traditionally minded Settlers.

Yet by 2016, as the EU Referendum approached, the Settlers were in a small minority of just 25% and the largest group (38%) were the change-attuned politically ‘progressive’ Pioneers. The values worlds had turned upside down. Settlers, who had tolerated but not generally welcomed change, were right when they said they no longer felt they recognised ‘their country’ (Figure 3.15).

The UK joined the EU (then the EEC, European Economic Community) in 1973. Britain was in decline and losing the last residues of its Empire. Environmentalism and feminism were novelties and Political Correctness almost unheard of. Then Reagan—Thatcher economics brought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Settler</th>
<th>Prospector</th>
<th>Pioneer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Figure 3.15 Inversion of the so-called ‘Maslow Pyramid’ in the UK, 1973–2019: Pioneers (Inner-Directeds) are now the largest group and Settlers (Security Driven) the smallest.
privatisation. Gradually, share- and asset-owners became relatively richer and wage earners poorer. A new consensus politics emerged around globalisation and smaller government. By the time of the 2016 Referendum, these and other ‘isms’ were mainstreamed, and rejection of them was found by Conservative pollster Lord Ashcroft to be a powerful predictor of voting Leave. In the US, the second strongest predictor of voting Trump was rejection of ‘PC’. Eric Kaufmann of Kings College found that identity, not economics, drove the Brexit vote and that in the UK support for the death penalty, linked to the CDSM Attribute ‘Whip’ (very Settler) was strongly associated with voting Leave, although the death penalty was not an issue in the campaign.

Slogans like ‘Take Back Control’ rather than ‘Take Back The Money’ were dog whistles to Settlers yearning to regain the past. Both left and right parties were split over Brexit. Much of the post-Brexit analysis focused on the idea that towns and cities which voted Brexit were economically left behind, which was true but the energising political force was values not economics.

Some lessons of Brexit for the future

If you were on the Leave side, the UK EU Referendum was an example of getting a values pitch right. If you were on the Remain side, it’s an example of getting it wrong.

By default, most ‘progressive’ efforts are led or designed by Pioneers. Numerous surveys find that cause organisations are over-stuffed with Pioneers, especially Transcenders and sometimes Concerned Ethicals. The ways in which self-agency differences and (often unwitting) Pioneer framing combine to sieve out participation by other values groups are detailed in the 2018 blog How Change Campaigns Get Populated By The Usual Suspects.23

The 2019 blog Brexit Warning24 drew three main conclusions from Brexit for future change efforts, and in particular those led by Pioneers.

1. The change model: for change to have sufficient legitimacy to last, it must respect values diversity. [This means] that it must be endorsed through adoption in all the main values groups of society (Pioneer, Prospector and Settler), on their own terms. Values bombing (e.g. PC-ness) does not do this.
2. Progressives should design and invest in campaigns to engage people unlike themselves and avoid the default mobilisation of their fundraising base as the way to win campaigns.

3. Politicians, governments and campaigners must work actively to maintain the ‘social elastic’ of common experiences, inter-dependencies and behaviours with cross-values appeal to prevent society dividing into disconnected values silos, not just online but in real life.

By ‘values bombing’ we mean the projection of values-framed asks or demands projected ahead of the ‘natural’ wave of change caused by the change dynamic of innovation and experiment > success signal > emulation > norming (Figure 3.16).

In practical terms this means that ‘advocacy’ by Pioneers aimed at ‘changing the minds’ of Prospectors or Settlers by argument or coercion, is likely to backfire. Political Correctness has a long and complicated history, is almost a generic term for this approach (see the reckoning discussed in

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**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.

**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’.

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Figure 3.16 From Brexit Values Story 2.1. At http://threeworlds.campaignstrategy.org/?p=1462 and www.slideshare.net/tochrissrose/values-story-to-brexit-split-rev
Political Correctness, Brexit, Trump and Campaigns). Many early climate campaigns which were more about values-projection than matching solution-behaviours to values groups, not only failed but also probably slowed the uptake of solutions.

Engaging with people-unlike-us is now a common mantra among would-be change makers, spurred by many studies showing the exacerbating effects of social media and other aspects of contemporary lifestyles. A values lens reveals these differences at a deeper level than opinion, political affinity or demographics. Unfortunately for many NGOs, their reliance on a funding base which is maximally just like them, poses internal challenges to achieving this. Foundations or governments however which have a remit to think of the whole society, should find it easier to take a wider approach.

Perhaps the least addressed of these challenges is the need to rebuild social connections and cohesion across values groups. For the UK the Brexit experience pulled back the curtain and revealed how stretched the social elastic had become. Many Pioneers living in Pioneer bubbles were simply incredulous and shocked at the result. Here in conceptual terms, are some illustrations taken from the analysis for Brexit Story Part 1 (Figure 3.17, Figure 3.18 and Figure 3.19).

- 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, Prospects 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

Figure 3.17 Above: some ways in which social elastic is maintained.
A UK example of the importance of change rates is immigration. Academic studies on immigration as a trigger to 'authoritarianism' (Karen Stenner, Eric Kaufmann, Jonathon Haidt) found that it was the experienced rate of change, rather than the absolute level of immigration, which provoked a reaction. Settlers are disproportionately likely to perceive such threats to their identity. This is exacerbated by policies and social effects which, by accident or design, concentrate such change in the very communities that are most Settler. An English example is the de facto practice of resettling refugees in poorer communities where accommodation is cheapest.

The increasingly separate lives lived online and in physical space played a role in Pioneers not even perceiving the existence of the divides that were opened over Brexit. After the EU Referendum two corporate executives asked one of us if the 'Bubble Print' of social media should be the 'new CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility] frontier for companies like Google and Facebook'. Part of the answer must be ‘yes’.

Figure 3.18 Above: some of the sorts of rationalisations for behaviours and accepting change that we come across in qualitative work with values groups.
An interesting question is what impact the experience of the Covid pandemic will have. It generated more or less unavoidable common experiences, both good and bad. As in previous periods of acute existential threat, we all prioritised survival needs and experience suggests that Pioneers will revert to a Pioneer world view, and Prospectors to a Prospector world view, with their own priorities, if and when it’s ‘over’.

By definition the Anthropocene implies that Nature is no longer under self-management. To whatever extent this is true, it requires more systems thinking from human beings. At CDSM, Pat Dade and Les Higgins are updating their organisational management values tool to take account of ‘infinite game’ thinking, first developed by Professor James P. Carse in his 1986 treatise Finite and Infinite Games: A Vision of Life as Play and Possibility. An obituary said of his ideas:

The finite lens, is oriented around winning, achieving success and completion, and thus ultimately, the player is bound by past accomplishments. The other, with an infinite view of life, looks towards
possibility, renewal and ... enrichment. To play for the sake of keeping the game going, rather than playing to win.

Keeping nature and the planet going, rather than playing to win, is the challenge that now faces leaders of groups, organisations and nations. Values are one of the tools we can use to understand ourselves and get the things done that we know we need to do.

Notes

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14 www.cultdyn.co.uk/Process/indexAdagioGeneral.php.
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   .net/tochrisrose/values-story-to-brexit-split-rev.
30 www.amazon.co.uk/Finite-Infinite-Games-James-Carse/dp/1476731713.
31 See also Simon Sinek, who has developed this concept in terms of busi-
   ness in his 2019 book, The Infinite Game. https://simonsinek.com/the-infi-
   nite-game.

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