

Before we begin:

A message from your pollster

Dr. Frank I Luntz

I came to the UK because of how difficult life has become in the US. The rise of populism has shredded the political fabric of the country. The rise of wokeism is undermining the principles of economic freedom and meritocracy. Faith in democracy itself is at an all-time low.

What follows is a microscopic examination of what your people want to see and hear in the years ahead. We stayed clear of fear and negativity: we have enough of that already. We specifically highlighted points of unity, though they are admittedly few.

These are **their** words, not mine. My sincere hope is that a better understanding of your people and their priorities will help your leaders design a better path to a better outcome.

If you only remember five words from this research, remember these. They work with everyone!

<u>Healthy.</u> A Healthy NHS. A Healthy Economy. Healthy Families. A healthier nation for everyone, everywhere.

Responsible. Responsible businesses /capitalism (if you must say that word). Responsible Gov't. Responsibility to one another. (appeals to the Left)

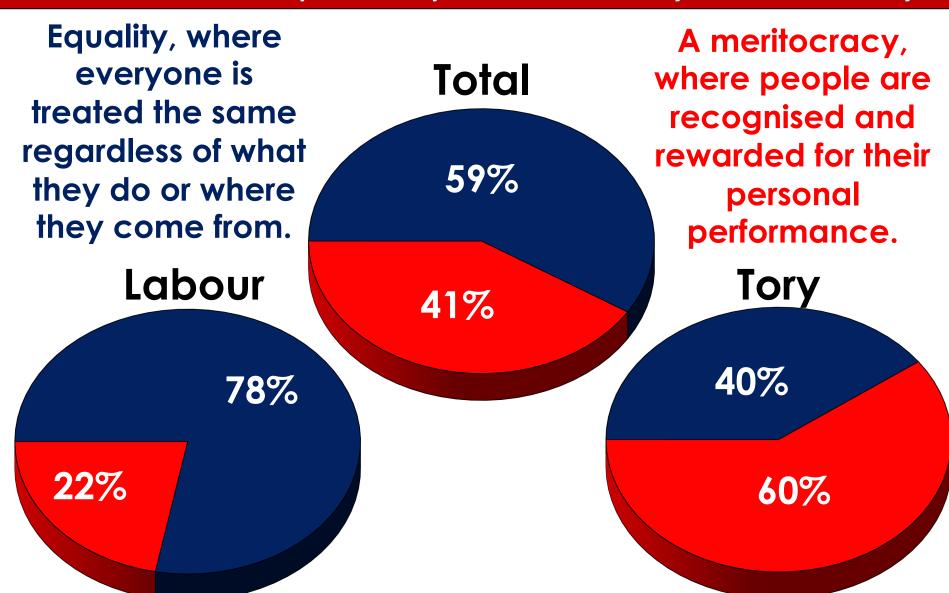
<u>A Plan.</u> Not an agenda. Not a Manifesto. Not a Promise. A **Detailed Plan of Action** for every challenge.

Honesty. "Genuine honesty" from our business and political leaders. Say what you mean and mean what you say.

Accountability. Fix your mistakes. Immediately. No exceptions. No excuses. Get it done.

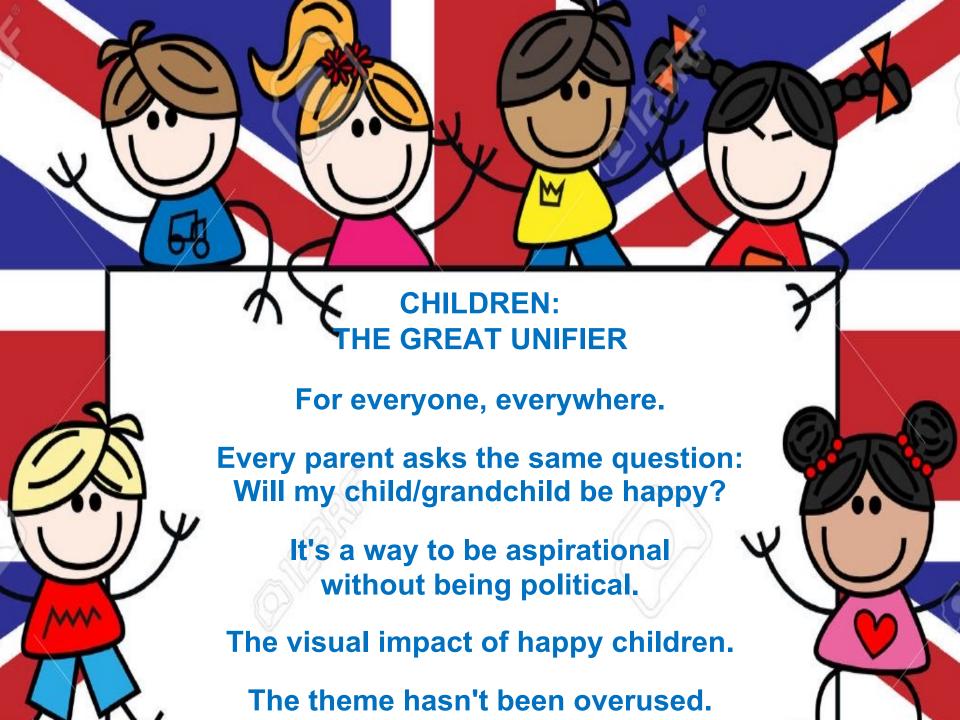
Equality beats Meritocracy

Which will have a more positive impact on our economy and on our society?



What ALL People Want in their Political Leaders







Overview (I): The Ties That Bind. The Divisions that Destroy

- There is more that unites the UK than divides it. But different people see the country differently -- and the divisions that exist are significant and serious. It will worsen if not given alternative unifying narratives.
- The gap between rich and poor is what bothers voters most much more than the divide between north and south, elites vs. ordinary people or even Leavers vs. Remainers.
- Less than half the country (43%) feels "invested" in the UK. Worse yet, only 27% feel the UK is invested in them. That is the single most alarming finding because it suggests rougher times ahead.

Two Parties Divided by Division

Which of the following do you believe is the GREATEST DIVIDE in Britain today? Choose three.

	III Billaili toddy: Choose thice.				
Total	Labour	Tory			
39%	54%	27%	Rich vs. poor		
26%	23%	31%	British born vs. immigrants		
25%	27%	21%	Elites vs. ordinary people		
25%	19%	32%	Hard-working taxpayers vs. benefit recipients		
23%	23%	27%	White vs. minority ethnic groups		
21%	21%	22%	London vs. elsewhere		
20%	<u>12%</u>	30%	Woke vs. non-woke		

The Divides that Matter Less

Which of the following do you believe is the GREATEST DIVIDE

	in Britain today? Choose three.				
Total	Labour	Tory			
19%	20%	15%	Leavers vs. remainers		
170/	150/	100/	North vs. south		

Britain's past vs. future

Employers vs. employees

Pro-union supporters vs. pro-independence

University graduates vs non-graduates

Young vs old

supporters

Men vs. women

Cities vs. elsewhere

13%

12%

18%

14%

6%

5%

6%

14%

13%

12%

11%

9%

6%

5%

15%

12%

7%

8%

8%

5%

4%

19%	20%	15%	Leavers vs. remainers
17%	15%	19%	North vs. south
15%	11%	16%	England vs. Scotland/Wales

Overview (II): The Political Divide Two Worlds Apart

- Both in the UK and the US, the two party system struggles to endure, not withstanding the challenges from the Left and the Right, most voters are in the sensible centre.
- There is remarkably few differences in values between Left and Right. The gaps (chasms) develop in terms of priorities and policies. Focus on values and you unite the country.
- There are notable exceptions. For Conservatives, immigration is still a hot-button issue (but to no one else). The root cause: loss of "our way of life" combined with a perceived loss of safety and security. Alternatively, Labour is focused on racial injustice, an issue that few Conservatives prioritize.

Exceptionalism? What Exceptionalism?

Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view...even if none are exactly right?

vieweven if none are exactly right?				
Total	Labour	Tory		
44%	36%	45%	Britain is no better and no worse than other countries. Many people thrive, but just as many are left behind. Our democracy works for some, but not everyone. Society is in definite need of reform, but not radical change.	
34%	27%	47%	Britain is an exceptional country. There's something truly special about our traditions, our society, our democracy and our economy that others from across the globe can learn from. Nowhere is perfect, but modern-day Britain is a success.	
22%	37%	7 %	Britain has failed its people. From income inequality to racial disparities, from its mistreatment of immigrants to government and societal corruption, we are an embarrassment. Sure, a few have benefited, but many	

more have suffered.

Different parties = different priorities

Which of the following are you most afraid of in Britain today? Choose the THREE that worry or concern you the most.

Total	Labour	Tory	
37 %	34%	44%	Our streets and neighbourhoods are getting less safe and more violent
35%	42%	22%	The widening gap between rich and poor
31%	20%	46%	Losing our culture, our traditions, our values, and respect for our way of life
31%	19%	47%	Too many immigrants coming to the UK
24%	24%	17%	The divisions and conflicts in society
21%	33%	11%	Racial injustice
20%	19%	17%	Our children won't have the opportunities they deserve

The Least of Their Worries, by Priority, are...

Which of the following are you most afraid of in Britain today? Choose the THREE that worry or concern you the most.

Total	Labour	Tory	
18%	27%	13%	Too much government control and influence
17%	17%	16%	Losing respect, influence and impact in the world
17%	12%	21%	The growing control of technology over our lives
16%	16%	15%	The inability to save enough money to have a better future
14%	12%	18%	Loss of personal privacy
11%	15%	6%	The elites not listening and telling me what to think
8%	9%	7 %	The loss of faith and religious participation

Overview (III): The Conservatives. A respect for tradition

- The priorities of Conservative voters are pretty clear: safe streets, secure borders, and support for "our way of life." These matter more than any economic concerns.
- Conservatives embrace the value and outcome of "hard work." Whatever specifically recognizes, respects, and rewards hard work will be supported.
- Even though the Conservatives embrace the past, they are also focused on the future and prioritize long-term planning over short-term gains.

Four Conservative Warnings

- 1) Protecting the poorest, weakest and most vulnerable isn't a slogan. It's what people want most from government, but this is not part of the Tory message.
- 2) Rising prices is the single greatest daily threat. If life becomes less affordable, your majority will become less stable.
- 3) "The income gap" is a genuine threat to Tory support. Even your own voters think it's out of control.
- 4) Tory voters still prioritize immigration control. No one else does.

Overview (IV): Labour. The Party of Woke?

- Labour is the party of "everyone, everywhere." They embrace appeals to universality in politics, economics and culture.
- Addressing "inequality" in all its forms is Labour's highest priority. The mention of the word guarantees a big response with income inequality at the top.
- Labour supporters are much more critical of Britain than their Conservative counterparts and it's not just because of the Tory government. In every possible measurement, a significant number of Labour supporters either believe Britain is failing or has failed.
 - Labour applauds British "identity." No one else does.

Four Labour Warnings

- 1) Raising taxes on "the rich" or on "corporations" won't go down well. People think they'll end up paying more.
- 2) Older people vote so much more than youth, yet Labour's priorities are the priorities of the young, not the old.
- 3) "Safe and secure" is not a top five Labour priority, but it's extremely high to everyone else.
- 4) Labour voters prioritize racial injustice. No one else does.

Overview (V): The Gender Gap What gender gap?

- When it comes to evaluating the UK in general, men and women think remarkably alike. They are equally optimistic (or pessimistic) though women prioritise their children's future quality of life more than men.
- The issue exception: crime. Women are much more concerned about public safety for themselves and their families, and about their children being bullied on the web.
 - On strictly economic issue, women are a bit less positive about conditions in the country and a bit more critical of the financial status quo.

Overview (VI): The Future A look ahead to what's next

- Less than half the population (44%) believe the next generation will have a better quality of life than they do. Intergenerational optimism is critical in the success of a society.
- Voters are already concerned that their incomes won't keep up with rising costs. "Inflation" is not the public-facing issue. It's "affordability" and "the daily cost of life" that you should be concerned about.
- "Safety and security" will continue to rise in importance. But remember: it should be about "public safety," (the aspiration) not "crime" (the definition of failure).
 - Their ultimate mission: happy children.

It's ALL about the Children. The Future.

Which of the following questions do you find yourself asking most often? Please choose your top three.

Total	
32%	Will my children be happy?
31%	Will Britain be a better country 20 years from now?
29%	Are things in Britain going to get better soon?
28%	Will British schools give young people the skills and
20/0	knowledge they truly need?
24%	Will my children have a better life than me?
23%	Will my children ever be able to afford to do the things
	they want?
20%	Will Britain matter in the world 20 years from now?
20%	Are things for me ever going to get better?

It's NOT about "Myself."

Which of the following questions do you find yourself asking most often? Please choose your top three.

Total

19%

12%

10%

Will I be happy?

18%	Do I have a purpose in life?
17%	Will I ever be able to afford to do what I want?
17 %	Will Britain provide the opportunities for others that it has provided for me?

Will anyone care about the challenges I face?

Will I ever reach my potential?

Happiness matters most

When you think of your children, what matters MOST to you? Please give your top answer and your second choice.

rieuse give yeur tep unstrei und yeur second eneree.
That they are happy
That they are kind and compassionate
That they have strong values
That they are well educated
That they will be fully prepared to be adults
That they can tell the difference between truth and lies
That they are smart and intelligent
That they are not afraid

Conservatives distrust Tech. Labour is most concerned about income

When you think about your own children and grandchildren and you people in Britain which concerns you the MOST? Choose three.				
Total	Labour	Tory	·	

F	people in Britain which concerns you the MOST? Choose three.				
Total	Labour	Tory			
34%	24%	411%	Young people are too addicted to technology and are missing out on life.		

people than they are now.

27%

25%

24%

22%

21%

20%

20%

30%

21%

33%

21%

16%

23%

16%

28%

23%

16%

22%

29%

15%

24%

need.

deserve.

Young people want everything handed to them. They do

not understand that things must be earned.

education they need to live successful lives.

Environmental issues will be even worse for young

Young people aren't getting the skills, training and

Young people don't have the morals and values they

Young people don't have the pride in Britain that I have.

Young people won't have the opportunities they

Life will cost more for them, yet they will be paid less.

Less universal concerns about the future

When you think about your own children and arandchildren and young

people in Britain which concerns you the MOST? Choose three.				
Total	Labour	Tory		
19%	20%	16%	Young people will never have the security of owning their own home.	
16%	25%	11%	Young people won't have a better quality of life than we did.	
			Young people are more likely to be victims of crime than I	

16%	25%	11%	did.
16%	18%	15%	Young people are more likely to be victims of crime than I was.
			Voung noonlo do not know or care about their history or

			was.
16%	13%	18%	Young people do not know or care about their history or traditions.
15%	15%	18%	Young people are being indoctrinated with specific views of society rather than being exposed to different viewpoints.

			was.
16%	13%	18%	Young people do not know or care about their history or traditions.
15%	15%	18%	Young people are being indoctrinated with specific views of society rather than being exposed to different viewpoints.
15%	14%	17%	Too often they get into illegal drugs, alcohol and other bad behaviour.

other young people from other nations.

9%

10%

14%

Our young people are falling further and further behind

Insight

On the surface, Britain is hopeful. But while 64% have it better than their parents, **only 44%** say their children and the next generation will have it better than them.

The fact that less than half are optimistic about the future is problematic for both business and for politics. And when only 27% think their country is invested in them, there are problems ahead.

The present is better than the past ... but the future?

Thinking about your family and yourself, would you say your quality of life is... than your parents' quality of life when they were your age?

Total	Labour	Tory	
64%	57%	70%	Better (NET)
12%	15%	11%	Worse (NET)
24%	28%	19%	The same - no better and no worse

Thinking about your family and yourself, would you say your children's quality of life will be... than your quality of life when they were your age?

Total	Labour	Tory	
44%	43%	46%	Better (NET)
23%	26%	20%	Worse (NET)
33%	32%	34%	The same - no better and no worse

Insight

It's hard to determine whether alienation is an insight or a warning. Less than half your population (42%) feels "invested" in Britain, and only one-quarter (27%) feel Britain is invested in them. This is simple untenable. It will lead to Trump-like populism and the politics of revenge if not addressed.

We then asked which of seven specific examples best illustrated why the UK wasn't invested in them. The #1 answer by far: foreign aid. Apparently, Conservatives hate foreign aid even more than they hate paying too much tax. It certainly agitates them more. Later in the survey, Conservatives also complain that British jobs are being sent overseas.

So the "UK First" mentality that we saw in the US is already lurking.

Do YOU consider yourself invested in Britain's Future?

(yet another divide)

42% Invested

22% NOT Invested

- ✓ No meaningful difference by gender
- ✓ No meaningful difference by age
- ✓ No meaningful difference by 2019 party vote.
- ✓ No meaningful difference by Leave/Remain vote

There IS a big difference among segments

- City residents (53% Invested, 19% Not)
- Suburban residents (40% Invested, 19% Not)
- Town/Farm resident (38% Invested, 26% Not)
- High SES (55% invested, 13% Not)
- Low SES (Only 34% invested, 30% Not)

Is BRITAIN invested in YOUR future?

27% Invested

42% NOT Invested

- ✓ No meaningful difference by gender
- √ No meaningful difference by age
- ✓ No meaningful difference by 2019 party vote.
- ✓ No meaningful difference by Leave/Remain vote

Again, there IS a big difference based on where you live

- City residents (46% Invested, 35% Not)
- Suburban (24% Invested, 43% Not)
- Town/Farm (20% Invested, 45% Not)

Insight

In some ways, what follows are the most important slides in this deck. Almost without exception, the politicians, press and pundits I consulted on the Left told me "fairness" would be the #1 value in Britain, while those on the Right claimed "opportunity" would rank extremely high.

Both were wrong. Fairness matters a lot, but it's not #1.

"Trust and integrity" matters most to more people.

Anything that undermines "trust and integrity" will undermine the government. How do voters define "trust and integrity?"

In a word: HONESTY!

TRUST is everything. It means "say what you mean, mean what you say, and then PROVE it."

mount, mount what you out, and months to the
Which values that are essential in a society in a government in a
business and in life itself matter the MOST to you? Choose two.

Trust and integrity

Security and stability

Respect and dignity

Generosity and charity

Accountability and personal responsibility

Empowerment and personal control

British traditions

Opportunity

Equality

Freedom

Fairness

33%

16%

28%

23%

22%

22%

23%

15%

9%

4%

4%

32%

25%

25%

23%

22%

22%

16%

15%

9%

6%

5%

29%

40%

21%

23%

20%

25%

10%

13%

9%

6%

5%

Whi	ch value:	s that	are essential	in a society	. in a governmen	it in a
bu	siness	and in	n life itself me	atter the MOS	T to you? Choose	e two.
Total	Labour	Tory				

Insight

The NHS is a clear case of institutional pride and personal disappointment at the same time....

The NHS matters to people, it's a highly regarded entity – and it's the #1 aspect of life in Britain that is getting better ...AND ...getting worse depending on your perspective.

If you're soft on the NHS, voters will be soft on you. Get this right and you get to govern.

Notice how NO ONE says "none of these

ne	ed change." Everyone wants change.
	Which of the following is in most need of "real, significant
Total	and fundamental change?" Choose your top three.

43%

The healthcare system/NHS

Care for the elderly

32%

The welfare system and benefits

32% The legal/criminal justice system **27**%

The way we address climate **24%**

Morals and values **24%**

The economic system/the economy **22%**

The political system **21%**

> The education system/schools The tax system

20%

18% The media and journalism **12%**

10% **Transport system** None of these need real change 2%

Warning

The NHS is among the most sacred institutions in the UK – more so now than ever before. It is the embodiment of universality – that everyone, everywhere has a fair shot.

That doesn't mean it is beyond reproach. On the contrary, the public think the NHS is ripe for significant reform. Anything that helps it achieve its mission, nationally and individually, will be publicly embraced. For example, adding speed, simplicity and accountability will be welcomed.

But if those reforms are seen as undermining the institution in any way, they will be opposed by all the political parties. On this (and not much else), the UK is fully united.

Interesting how the NHS is getting better **AND** getting worse

Which of the following aspects of life here in Britain have gotten...

		the most over the last few years? Pick three.	
Better	Worse		
40%	1%	None of them	
22%	31%	The NHS	

14% Britain's overall quality of life 18% The quality of our air, drinking water and our green 14% 11% and open spaces

Equality, justice and fairness 16%

Divisions and divisiveness in society 16%

12% 12%

11% 18% The economy overall

Britain's reputation internationally

Maintaining British culture

10%

10%

10%

10%

18%

17%

19%

17%

Job security

Poverty

Crime is #1 in the getting worse category

Which of the following aspects of life here in Britain have gotten... the most over the last few years? Pick three.

Worse	
29%	Crime, public safety and security
15%	Schools and education
23%	The affordability and availability of housing
25%	The quality of government and the politicians
13%	Effectiveness of government spending
	29% 15% 23% 25%

Warning

Crime (or the more aspirational "public safety") just doesn't seem to matter to current Labour voters. It's low on their list of priorities — even though it matters to just about everyone else. It's hard to win a majority when your own people don't prioritize what the public clearly wants — a halt to the rising crime rate.

A picture is worth 10,000 words: The Role of Visuals in Communication



The #1 Visual to symbolize the UK

This is how Britain wants to see the UK



Total	48%
Labour	31%
Conservative	65%

The next BEST visuals







And the next BEST...









Okay visuals...





The WORST visuals





The WORST visuals







This is how Britain DOESN'T want to see the UK



Total	43%
Labour	33%
Conservative	51%

The next WORST visuals for the UK





And the next WORST...





Not as bad...







Not as bad...





Not as bad...









Britain Speaks: Economic Freedom, or Woke Economy



Warning

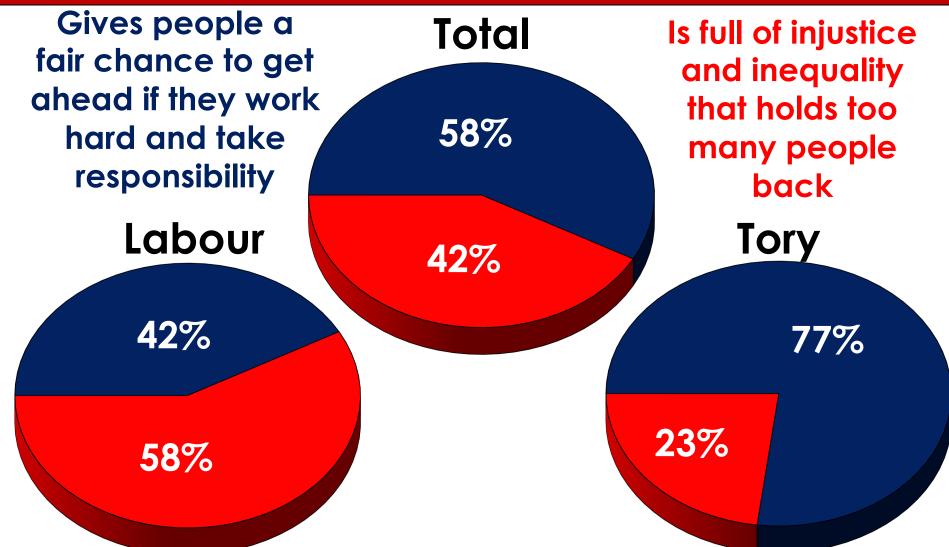
Why should you worry about woke? Because the opportunity vs. inequality divide is shockingly narrow.

Sure, by 2 to 1, the public thinks opportunities have increased over the past decade. But a significant 42% believe the UK is "full of injustice and inequality that hold people back," compared to 58% who believe the UK "gives people a fair chance to get ahead if they work hard and take responsibility."

It's not just that society is seen as unfair. It's the personal consequences of that perception. Woke flourishes if people see themselves as being "held back."

The parties view British society diametrically oppositely.

Thinking about how things are in the UK today, do you think British society...?



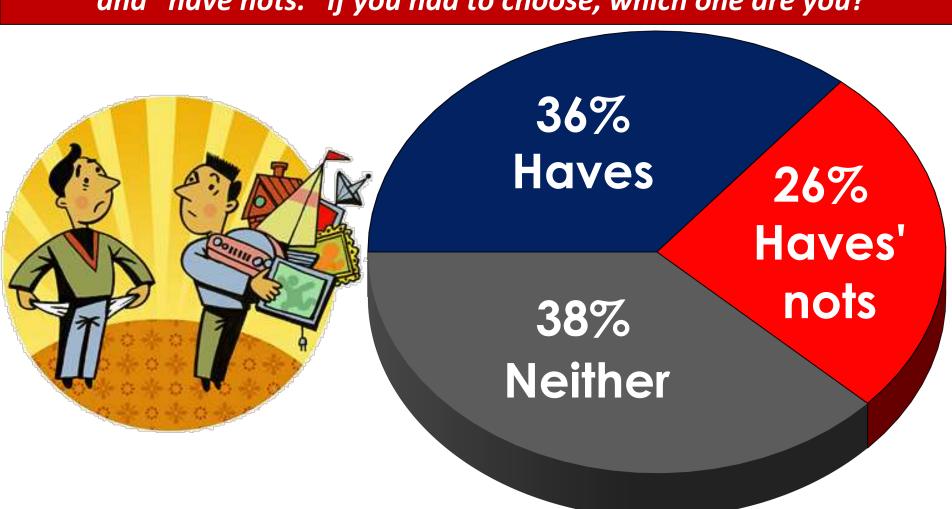
Less than half think "opportunities" are greater now than a decade ago

Thinking back over the last decade, do you think personal and economic opportunities for you and people like you have...?

Total	
<u>44%</u>	INCREASED (NET)
6%	Increased greatly
18%	Increased somewhat
20%	Increased, but only a little
33%	Neither increased nor decreased
8%	Decreased, but only a little
9%	Decreased somewhat
5%	Decreased greatly
23%	DECREASED (NET)

Are you a "have" or a "have not"?

You have probably heard the idea that Britain is divided into "haves" and "have nots." If you had to choose, which one are you?



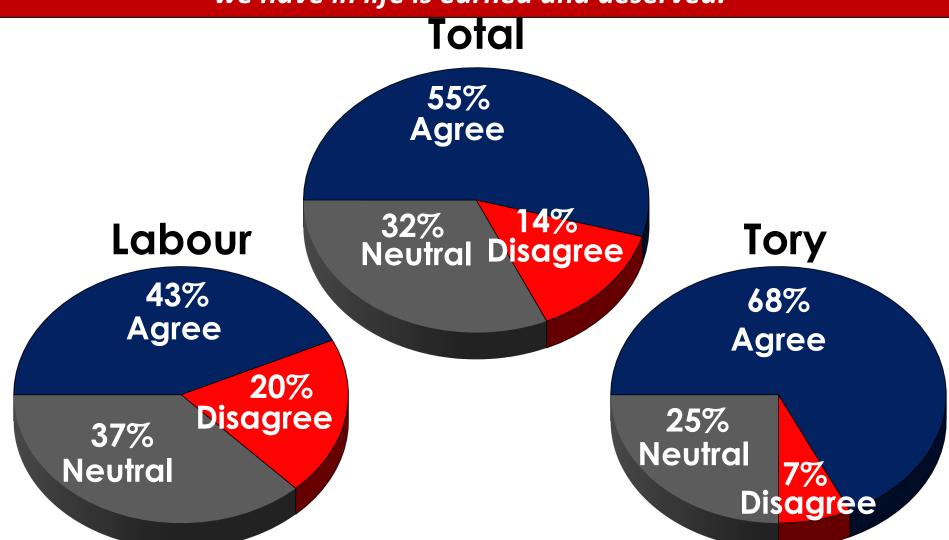
Insight

One of the most important and positive findings of this project is how so few people (only 14%) disagree with the statement "For the most part, the economic and financial success we have in life is earned and deserved."

Why does this result matter? The core component of both populism and wokeism is that the economic and political systems (and the people who run them) are stacked against you – no matter what you do. That dangerous perception already exists among more than a third of the population. (Note: The numbers don't tally to 100 because we left out the people who said "possibly.")

A MASSIVE difference by party about "earned success" in the UK

For the most part, the economic and financial success we have in life is earned and deserved.



More believe politics/economy are "stacked against people like you"

Is the **British political system** stacked against people like you?

Total	Labour	Tory	
38%	51%	26%	Probably (NET)
30%	17%	45%	Probably not (NET)
7%	6%	5%	Don't really know

Is the **British economy** stacked against people like you?

Total	Labour	Tory	
35%	46%	27%	Probably (NET)
32%	20%	44%	Probably not (NET)
6%	6%	4%	Don't really know

Insight

One out of four struggle to pay their weekly and monthly bills. Another quarter of the population occasionally have personal budget issues. Only half never have trouble at bill paying time. That's the impact of the income divide and why it matters to so many people.

Another division that matters is <u>how</u> people make their money – with their hands, their heart or their head. The Conservative and Labour worlds are quite different, which helps explain their political, policy and priority differences.

Unlike the Conservatives, Labour has a foot into every category, but at the same time a tremendous challenge balancing the needs of all three employment constituencies.

Conservatives work with their 'heads.' Labour works with their 'heart.'

If you had to choose, which best describes your job right now...

or your last job if you don't work right now?			
Total	Labour	Tory	
			I primarily work with my head. It's a thinking
13%	37%	5/1%	job. From management to marketing to

finance, I work with a computer and do a lot of thinking every day.

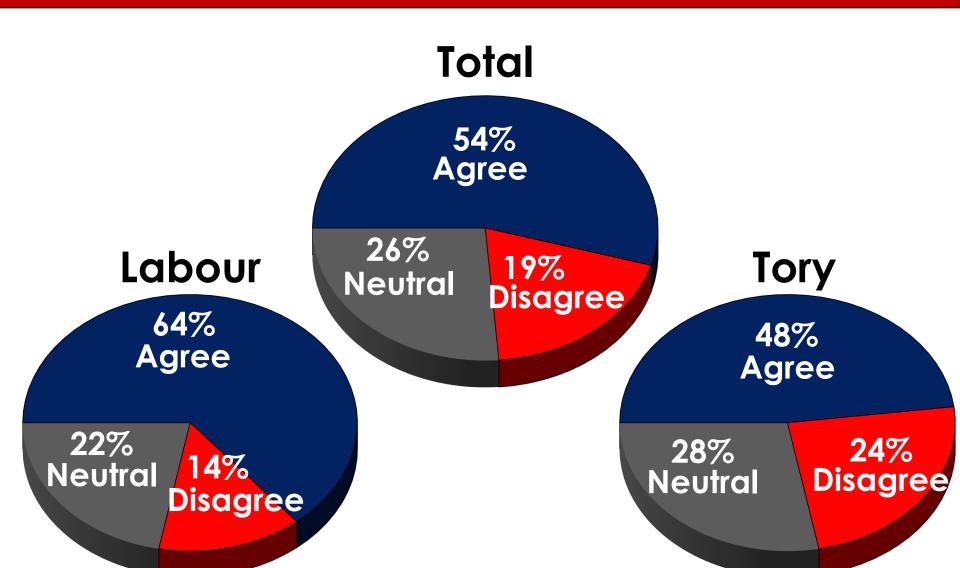
I primarily work with my heart. It's a job that requires feeling. From teaching to healthcare **27%** 34% 41% to customer service, there's an emotional

connection to what I do.

I primarily work with my hands. From fixing things to building things, my job requires 26% 23% 20% physical effort every day.

Growing concern over "costing more and getting less."

My income is <u>NOT</u> keeping up with rising costs.



Half the nation has frequent financial anxiety. Speak to it.

Do you live week to week, month to month, struggling to pay the bills and get by?



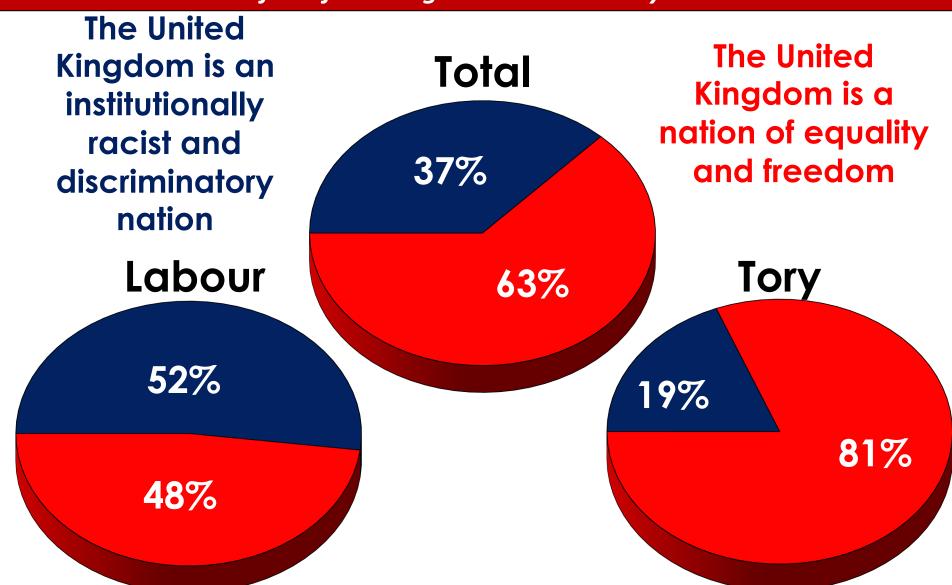
23% 27%
Often Occasionally

50% No

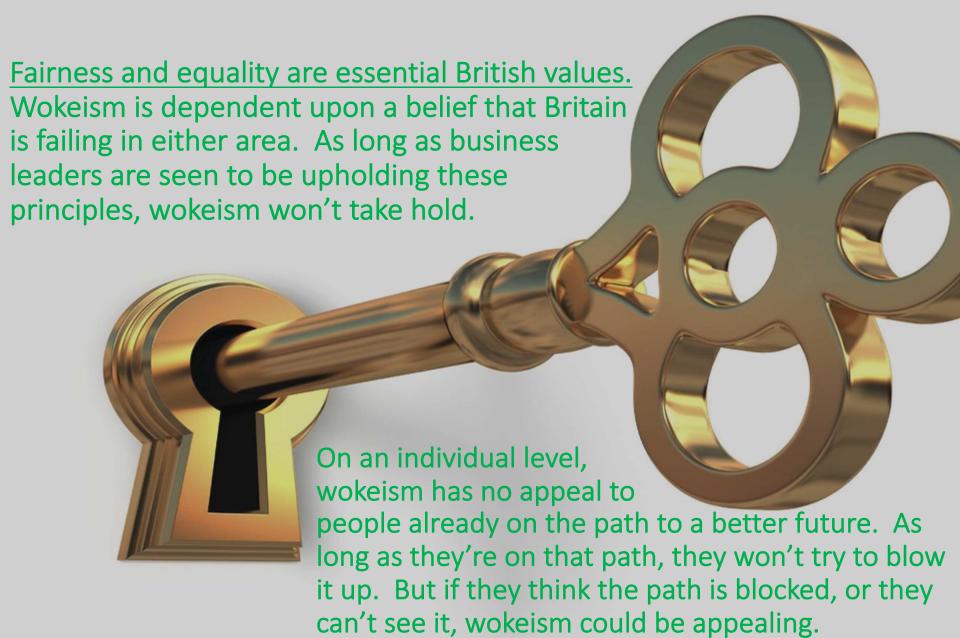


Is the UK fundamentally good or bad? The partisan split is HUGE!

Which of the following comes closest to your view?



The Key to Wokeism 2021



Insight

With each passing month, more people become aware of "woke" and "woke culture." But as of now (July 2021) roughly one-third of the country has no idea what it means or whether it exists.

Even more importantly, the woke identity is simply <u>NOT</u> popular or widespread. Only 5% identify themselves as "totally woke," while 4X as many (21%) are definitely <u>not</u> woke (8% of Labour, 35% of Conservatives).

Warning

The group most embracing of radical change and most hostile to society as it is now constituted ISN'T the young ... or the North ... or even Labour. Its Labour mums. On question after question, their responses are more extreme than any other segment of the population. They could be organized into a potent political force.

"Woke" as a term has not fully penetrated...

But it's coming.				
Ovei	Overall, how familiar are you with the term "woke culture?"			
Total				
<u>37%</u>	FAMILIAR (NET)			

- **Extremely familiar** 12%
- Very familiar 25%
- Somewhat familiar
- 25%
- Only a little familiar 13%
 - Not at all familiar 25%
 - **NOT FAMILIAR (NET)**

Even on the Left ... "woke" is still relative undefined

And overall, how "woke" would you say you are?

	Tory	Labour	Total	
/ERY (NET)	11%	25 %	<u>17%</u>	
Totally	4%	8%	5%	
Very	7%	17%	12%	
Somewhat	11%	<u>22%</u>	<u>17%</u>	
Only a little	10%	13%	12%	
nitely not at all	35%	8%	21%	
bsolutely no idea	33%	32%	33%	
TTLE (NET)	<u>45%</u>	<u>20%</u>	<u>33%</u>	

Only 15% of the UK is "proud to be woke!"

Which statement about "Woke culture"

comes closest to your view?

IOLai	Labour	iory	
30%	15%	43%	I reject and oppose Woke-ism strongly. It is just a new form of discrimination that shuts down alternate opinions and voices. It is not about true equality; it is about dividing us further.
27%	35%	20%	I believe in the objectives behind the word Woke, but the term is a problem, and I don't like some of what it represents. Woke principles are about correcting the historic injustices that fill our society - which is necessary. However, I believe the word Woke has been politicised.
15%	27%	7%	I am proud to be Woke, because it means I care about injustices like systemic racism, classism, sexism, and bias against the LGBTQIA+ community. To me, it's a compliment.
29%	23%	30%	I don't know what Woke means.

The Groups Most "Proud" to be Woke

Total	<u>15%</u>
Labour mums	36%
Labour/work hands	33%
Labour 18-39	32%
Ages 18-29	29%
Labour/work heart	28%
Labour women	28%
Labour city/suburb	28%

"Woke" is younger, urban, and most importantly ... Labour. Even though woke arose to challenge the economic hierarchy, it is much more political rather than economic.

But not all of Labour subscribe. Among Labour who work with their heads, only 21% are "proud" to be woke. Similarly, only 21% of the over 40 Labour vote is proudly woke, compared to 32% among younger Labourites.

It's significant that "wokeism" came in third among the list of 18 examples of "isms" that concerns the UK population. It may be a relatively new term, and people still don't know much about it, but it's already of greater concern than socialism, sexism or elitism.

Their "ism" of greatest concern is based on their party of preference.

Which of the following concerns or bothers you most? Choose three.

Total	Labour	Tory	
34%	42%	29%	Racism
27%	16%	35%	Religious fundamentalism
23%	11%	36%	Wokeism
18%	10%	24%	Cancel culture
17%	22%	14%	Sexism
15%	13%	16%	Ageism
14%	17%	10%	Elitism
14%	16%	13%	Homophobia
13%	8%	20%	Socialism

Despite what you might hear, none of these "isms" matter nearly as much.

Which of the following concerns or bothers you most? Choose three.

Total	Labour	Tory	
12%	16%	7 %	Nationalism
12%	10%	14%	Anti-Semitism
11%	16%	5%	Populism
10%	15%	6%	Capitalism
10%	9%	8%	Globalism
9%	15%	7%	Classism
9%	13%	7%	Islamophobia
7%	9%	7%	Transphobia
6%	8%	4%	Colonialism
9%	7 %	9%	None of these

Cancel Culture is even less well defined than woke. And compared to the U.S., far fewer people in the UK have "canceled" someone or been canceled because of expressing political thought. Most people in the UK aren't afraid of speaking up or speaking out.

As with woke, opinions about Cancel Culture divide on age and politics rather than on economic lines.

"Cancel Culture" isn't part of the British lexicon... yet

Overall, how familiar are you with the term "cancel culture?"

Total	
<u>34%</u>	FAMILIAR (NET)
12%	Extremely familiar
22%	Very familiar
<u>21%</u>	Somewhat familiar
11%	Only a little familiar
34%	Not at all familiar
<u>45%</u>	NOT FAMILIAR (NET)

Even among Labour, there is "cancel culture" hesitancy

Total Labour

Tory

And which statement about "cancel culture"

comes closest to your view?

40%	34%	48%	It's a bad thing. It enforces a "thought and speech police" that shuts down free speech, diverse opinions, and honest discussion. It can even ruin lives.
25%	33%	18%	It's a good thing. If you have said or done something that is obviously sexist, racist, or hurtful towards marginalised communities, you should face the consequences.
35%	34%	34%	I have absolutely no idea

"Cancel Culture is a Good Thing"

Total Agree	25%
Men 18-39	44%
Labour mums	44%
Ages 18-29	42%
Labour/work heart	40%
Living month to month	38%

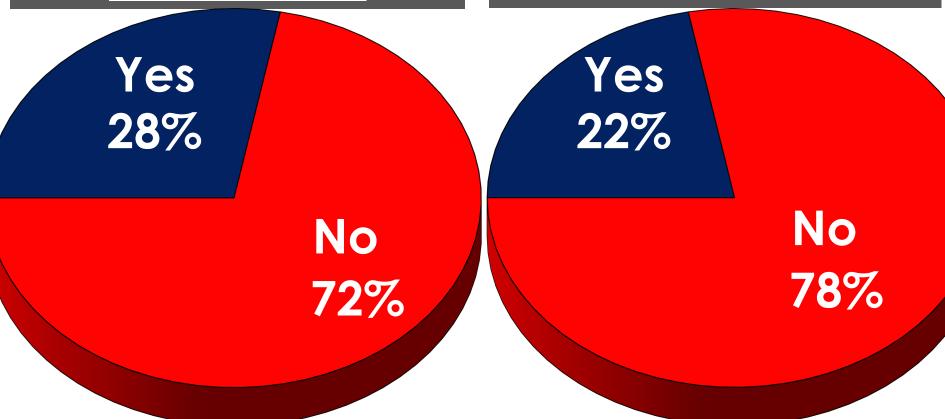
The overlap between "woke" and cancel culture is obvious — but it's not a perfect 1-to-1 mapping. If you're woke, you're Labour. That is not the case with cancel culture.

While party identification and cancel culture are still tight, age is also impactful, as well as family status and financial living standard.

28% have cancelled a personal relationship because of politics

Have you ever stopped talking to someone, whether in person or online, because of something political THEY said?

Has someone ever stopped talking to you, whether in person or online, because of something political YOU said?



The "Cancel Culture" chasm by AGE

Have <u>you ever stopped</u> talking to someone, whether in person or online, because of something political they said?

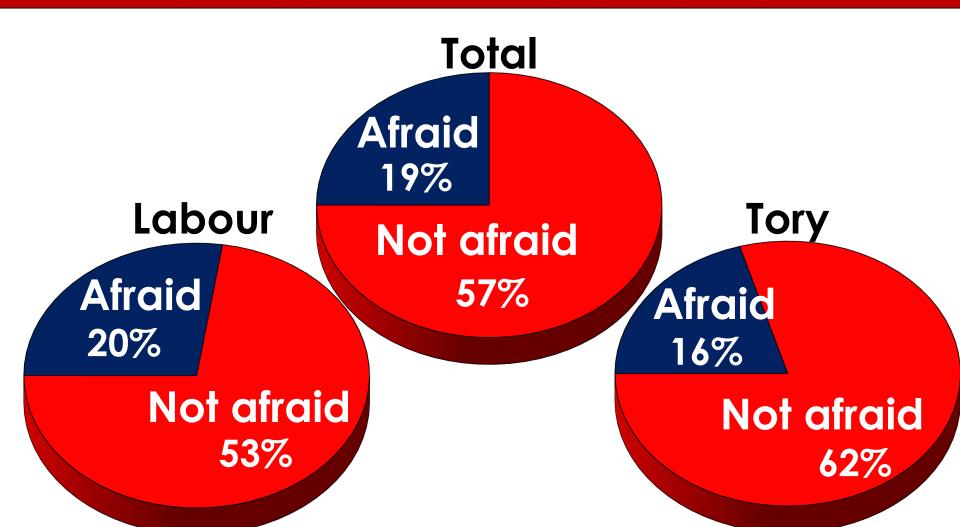
Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	
28%	53%	33%	18%	14%	Yes
72%	47%	67%	82%	86%	No

Has <u>someone ever stopped</u> talking to you, whether in person or online, because of something political YOU said?

Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
22%	36%	28%	13%	11%
78%	64%	72%	87%	89%

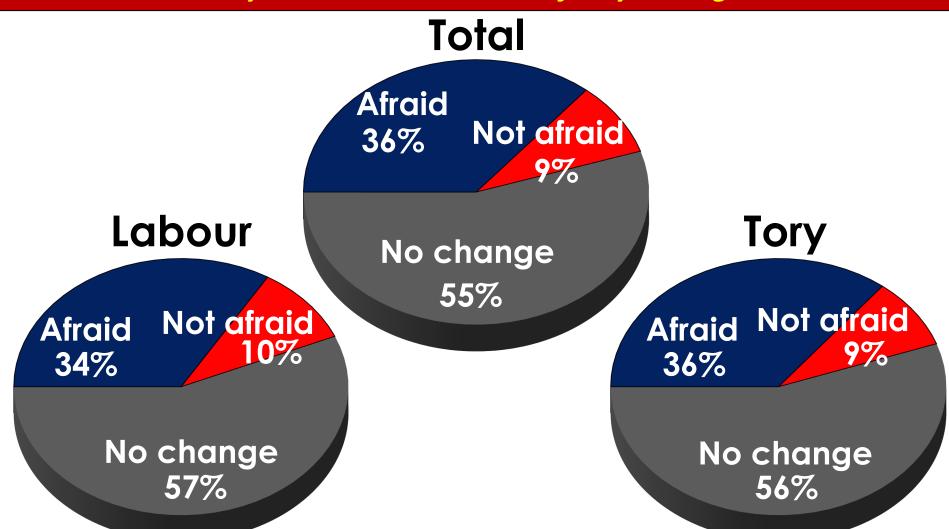
Only one in five is self-censoring

How afraid are you of expressing a political point of view publicly that you know is quite unpopular and that some people may disagree with?



But one-third are <u>more</u> afraid today about expressing unpopular views

Are you more or less afraid today about expressing an unpopular view than you would have been a few years ago?

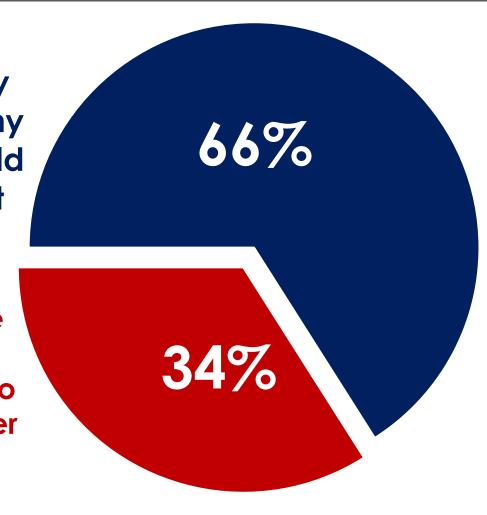


Hopeful sign: By 2-1, Britons want voices to be heard more than silenced.

Which of the following comes closest to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

We have gone too far with "cancel culture." In my daily life, I find myself censoring my own valid opinions. We should be able to disagree without fear of consequences.

"Cancel culture" is a loaded political term, but the purpose and results are good. People shouldn't be able to say and do whatever they want, if whatever they want to say and do is hurtful to others.



A majority of the UK believes in

	"white privilege."
	Which of the following comes closest t
T. 1. 1 1. 1 T	

			"white privilege."
			Which of the following comes closest
Total L	Labour	Tory	view, even if neither is exactly rigi

			willen of the johowing comes closest to your		
Total	Labour	Tory	view, even if neither is exactly right?		
			"White privilege" does exist, but it ignores the fact that		
41%	39%	/ 6	the white working class are, on many metrics, among		
71/0	33/0	70/0	the most deprived in society. Our focus should be on		

"White privilege" is itself a racist notion that says you are defined by the colour of your skin at birth rather 43% 38% 31% than by your actions throughout your life. It harms society because it divides us rather than unites us. "White privilege" exists, and must be addressed directly

the people who need help regardless of skin colour.

with specific education, training, and public policy. White people need to understand that their whole lives 12% 21% 31% have been easier because of the colour of their skin and therefore do their part to use their privilege to elevate minorities.

"White Privilege"

"White privilege" exists, and must be addressed directly with specific education, training, and public policy. White people need to understand that their whole

lives have been easier because of the colour of their skin and therefore do their part to use their privilege to elevate minorities."

Total agree	21%
Labour mums	44%
Ages 18-29	41%
Labour 18-39	40%
Labour/work heart	40%
Non-white	36%
Labour city/suburbs	35%
Labour women	34%

"Fairness is an essential value in addressing issues of race, gender and minorities.

There is one value that does even better: "mutual respect." It ranks among the most important values on both sides of the Atlantic. "Woke," "Cancel Culture" and "white privilege" divide. "Mutual respect" unites.

But don't just say it. Do it. Prove it.

The antidote to woke, cancel culture & white privilege:

Mutual Respect		
Thinking about issues of race, gender, and	minorities	in the

	Thinking about issues of race, gender, and minorities in the
Total	United Kingdom which of the following do we need most?
iotai	

Total	United Kingdom which	of the fo	llowing do we need most?
iotai		_	
35%	Mutual respect	17%	Fmnathy

Mutual respect 17% Empathy	al				
	%	Mutual respect	17%	Empathy	

17%

16%

13%

10%

9%

7%

5%

I don't think we need more of any of these. The UK is fine as is

Unity

Progress

Cooperation

Forgiveness

Empowerment

Reconciliation

Reparations

35%	Mutual respect	17%	Empathy
33%	Fairness	17%	Shared values

Open-mindedness

Understanding

Tolerance

Inclusion

Diversity

Listening

Acceptance

32%

28%

23%

22%

21%

20%

20%

8%



Before we begin:

Dr. Frank I Luntz

The greatest threat to capitalism isn't socialism or communism. It isn't even wokeism. It's from capitalists themselves.

It's not just the often erratic, inconsistent or misdirected communication from employers to employees (not workers). Too often, the business leadership in the UK appears to ignore their own workforce.

We're no better in the US. The largest organization of the largest companies proudly proclaims its commitment to "business" in its name, when it should be championing the millions of employees it represents.

If you want to save economic freedom in this country, you have to do better.

The business community in America is under attack. Despite dozens of companies writing 7-figure checks to BLM and other social movements, hostility towards Corporate America and their behavior is still high.

The UK is headed in the same direction. We gave people 18 different descriptions of how British economic leaders make them feel. Ten were negative attributes and eight were positive. The result: eight of the top ten choices were negative attributes, led by "disappointed" and "ignored."

We then asked a simple question about what the public thinks business and economic leaders in Britain care about most. The Top Four results were decidedly negative.

These perceptions are definitely fixable ... but it takes time and effort. But ignoring the perception of being ignored can have a devastating impact and lead to something much more serious.

Business Leaders "disappoint" the people they serve

	How do <u>business leaders</u> in Britain make you feel? Choose your top FOUR.			
Total	Choose	your to	prook.	
34%	Disappointed	13%	Satisfied	
34%	Ignored	12%	Listened to	
32%	Irrelevant	11%	Respected	
28%	Forgotten	11%	Valued	
21%	Fed up	10%	Appreciated	
20%	Left behind	9%	Understood	
18%	Betrayed	8%	Offended	
16%	Angry	8%	Recognised	
16%	Hopeful	7%	Victimised	
34% 32% 28% 21% 20% 18% 16%	Ignored Irrelevant Forgotten Fed up Left behind Betrayed Angry	12% 11% 11% 10% 9% 8% 8%	Listened to Respected Valued Appreciated Understood Offended Recognised	

13% None of these

"Profit" is increasingly a four-letter word.

Which words or phrases do you think of first when you think about British companies? Pick your top FOUR.

Total	
47%	Profit over people
44%	They put shareholders first, not ordinary people
43%	Excessive CEO/Executive compensation
34%	Avoids paying taxes
31%	Creates jobs
27%	Too big and monopolistic
26%	Creates opportunity
20%	Innovative

It is about creating jobs, opportunities & being the best for your people, NOT the "best in the world."

Which words or phrases do you think of first when you think about British companies? Pick your top FOUR.

Total	
19%	Supports the local economy
17%	Entrepreneurs/small business owners
15%	Provides a good salary to the workforce
15%	Socially responsible
14%	Addressing a need in society
14%	Defenders of an unfair system
13%	Discrimination and injustice
12%	Economic Freedom
8%	The best in the world

Businesses exist to make money, obviously. But in that passionate pursuit of profit, that's where things have gone wrong. The biggest complaints about business are all about money.

- 1) The two greatest corporate sins are to give a bonus to leadership without doing the same for the workforce ... AND ... not paying your fair share of taxes.
- 2) Nobody is complaining that you aren't speaking up about social issues. So DON'T

3 of the top 4 priorities involve the workforce

If I had only two minutes to talk to the people in business who run the British economy, I would most want to tell them...?

			,, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
Total	Labour	Tory	
32 %	37%	28%	Put your people ahead of your profits
30%	19%	39%	Stop sending good British jobs to foreign countries
26%	30%	23%	Stop spending money on lobbyists and lawyers to avoid rules and regulations
26%	24%	28%	Invest in and train your workforce
26%	24%	26%	Do more to solve climate change
22%	18%	22%	Say what you mean and mean what you say
22%	19%	25%	Focus on delivering a better future for all of us
20%	25%	18%	Talk less and truly listen to us, their employees and workers and ordinary people

Just 6% would tell business to "keep doing what you're doing."

<u>If I had only two minutes</u> to talk to the people in business who run the British economy, I would most want to tell them...?

	British comonly, i would most want to ten mennin				
Total	Labour	Tory			
17%	18%	15%	You are paid way too much		
16%	17%	13%	Do more to help the customers and communities you serve		
16%	10%	19%	Stay out of politics and don't lecture me about issues		
14%	18%	14%	Pay your fair share of taxes		
13%	13%	15%	You need a kick up the arse		
12%	18%	11%	Hire and promote more women and minorities		
6%	9%	5%	Keep doing what you are doing - I like it		

They think all you care about is more money. Full stop.

What do you think the business and economic leaders in Britain care MOST about? Choose three.

	care MOST about? Choose three.
Total	
49%	Making a profit for their companies and shareholders
47%	Making as much money as possible for themselves
43%	Using loopholes to pay as little in taxes as possible
31%	Gaining power and influence in society
31%	Keeping their leadership position for as long as possible
27%	Influencing government rules and regulations to give
2/70	themselves an advantage
20%	Providing valuable products and services to consumers
14%	Looking after the well-being of their employees
14%	Addressing climate change
13%	Making the world a better place

Ending discrimination and racial inequality

11%

It is all about fair pay and fair taxes.

Which of the following <u>accusations against a company</u> would give you the <u>LEAST favourable</u> impression of it? Pick your top FOUR.		
Total		
44%	Pays its workers poorly even as top executives receive extravagant bonuses	

41%

32%

31%

30%

30%

Doesn't pay its fair share of taxes

Pollutes the environment with its products and/or production methods

Puts profit ahead of everything else **Knowingly manufactures faulty or hazardous products** Pays female employees less than their male counterparts for exactly the same work

Middle of the road priorities

thich of the following accusations against a company would give you

	the LEAST favourable impression of it? Pick your top FOUR.
Total	

Replaces British workers with foreign staff to cut costs 29%

Treats employees like cost centres rather than human beings

Ignores sexual misconduct and harassment in the workplace

Tries to get out of its obligations to retirees and pensioners

Doesn't protect the privacy of its customers **21%**

27%

24%

23%

What the public prioritises <u>LEAST</u>: They aren't asking you to talk about social issues.

Which of the following accusations against a company would give you the LEAST favourable impression of it? Pick your top FOUR.

;	the LEAST favourable impression of it? Pick your top FOUR.
Takal	

Funds a powerful special interest lobby to influence

- Sits on a large amount of cash rather than investing it back in communities and creating jobs
 - Misleads its shareholders about its financial performance
 - Remains silent on key social issues
- Doesn't invest enough in R&D

political decisions

14%

13%

The environment in general (and climate in particular) has reached universal acceptance as a core corporate responsibility. It's an even higher priority than economic inequality — and both sides of the political spectrum will applaud your efforts (a rare example of national unity).

There IS party agreement on Climate Change

Which of the following issues would you most want businesses in Britain to take more of a leadership role? Choose three.

Labour	Tory	
42%	45%	Climate change
28%	45%	Future of work
34%	28%	Economic inequality
18%	32%	Environment (other than climate)
32%	17%	Poverty
28%	15%	Homelessness
	42% 28% 34% 18% 32%	28% 45% 34% 28% 18% 32% 32% 17%

But the more "Woke" topics... not so much.

Which of the following issues would you most want businesses in Britain to take more of a leadership role? Choose three.

Total	Labour	Tory	
19%	12%	22%	Schools
19%	26%	12%	Racial inequality
17%	19%	16%	Gender bias/pay gap
17%	12%	19%	Regional disparities
16%	16%	16%	Immigration
15%	17%	14%	Global human rights
8%	11%	5%	LGBTQ rights
9%	7%	13%	None of these

It's about Wages for the Left, and

Do none of these. They hire the best workers regardless

Improve wages. They should increase the overall pay to

Remember the left-behind Briton. They should hire 5%

more individuals who come from regions of the country

that have been ignored or left behind historically.

Address discrimination. They should hire 5% more

individuals who come from communities that have

Philanthropy. Charity. They should donate 5% of their

of who they are or where they come from. They don't

donate so they can pay their workers more and keep

Workers for the Right
If all you knew were the following statistics, which of the fol
companies would you be most likely to use? Choose one. "T

Workers for the Right
If all you knew were the following statistics, which of the
companies would you be most likely to use? Choose one

their prices down.

workers by 5%.

30%

26%

16%

14%

13%

20%

30%

11%

20%

19%

36%

24%

21%

8%

11%

workers for the kight
If all you knew were the following statistics, which of the following
companies would you be most likely to use? Choose one. "They"
otal Labour Tory

faced historic discrimination.

profits to good charities.

Warning

You can't buy your way to a good corporate reputation. Branding campaigns telling people you're good don't work in the UK. You have to do the work if you want the respect.

But there is an answer. All of our work on both sides of the Atlantic suggests treating employees well is the surest way to demonstrate ESG & CSR. (Too many bad acronyms for good policy – spell it out!)

The UK and US differ sharply in preferred purpose and objective for corporations. The UK prioritises the customer, while the US prioritises employees. But both sides of the Atlantic fully embrace the mission of greater employee training as essential for the future.

Once again, "speaking out on important social issues" is at the bottom of the voter priority list. Just because the politicians, the press and the pundits talk about it doesn't mean the voters agree. They don't.

Only 9% of the population wants to hear your opinions on politics or policy.

EVERYONE is a customer. So speak to them first.

Which of following should be the primary purpose or objective of a 'corporation'? Choose two.

Total	
46%	To deliver quality and value to customers
31%	To provide a healthy economy for society
29%	To respect and invest in employees
25%	To generate long-term value for shareholders
21%	Efficient and effective operation
17%	To make money
17%	To support the communities in which they operate
13%	To promote diversity and inclusion

The best companies invest in preparing their workers fo the future.

Other than wages, what is the MOST important thing British businesses can do to be good corporate citizens? Choose two.

Total Labour

Tory

23%

16%

20%

based

31%	23%	37%	Develop and train its workforce for the jobs of the future
29%	32%	26%	Be environmentally sustainable in their business practices
27%	22%	28%	Invest in the communities where they are

Delivering innovations and products that

are safe and raise our quality of life

Again and again... speaking out on social issues is the lowest priority

	Other than wages, what is the MOST important thing British businesses can do to be good corporate citizens? Choose two.				
Total	Labour	Tory			
19%	9%	25%	Make a profit so they can continue to create jobs for British workers		
18%	26%	15%	To go above and beyond for their workforce, from family days to self-improvement opportunities		
17%	20%	18%	Instill mutual respect and appreciation between employees and employers		
17%	18%	14%	Ensure that women and minorities are well represented in their leadership		
12%	19%	11%	Donate some of their profits to charity		

18%	26%	15%	To go above and beyond for their workforce, from family days to self-improvement opportunities
17 %	20%	18%	Instill mutual respect and appreciation between employees and employers
17 %	18%	14%	Ensure that women and minorities are well represented in their leadership
12%	19%	11%	Donate some of their profits to charity
<u>9%</u>	<u>16%</u>	<u>5%</u>	Speak out on important social issues that matter in Britain today

It is ALL about TRUST

Which of the following should be the HIGHEST priority, value, or attribute for a company or business? Choose two.



Warning

When asked what should be the highest priority, value or attribute for a company or a business, "social responsibility" came in 8th out of nine. The only attribute that finished lower was "opportunity." There's an important warning here: language that works in politics does NOT necessarily work for business.

Which of the following is the HIGHEST priority for you personally when

deciding whether it's a good company or a bad company?

communities in which it operates.

Employee satisfaction. Whether employees feel fulfilled when

rewarded via competitive wages, paid leave, wellness, and other

Employee equality. Whether people from minority groups have

Employee education. Whether employees have advanced their

skills, talents, and capabilities through corporate training and

Employee purpose. Whether employees have valued and/or

participated in sustainability, community activities, and other

Employee empowerment. Whether employees are listened to

on important issues and involved in decision-making.

been able to overcome societal discrimination and advance

they contribute to the success of the company and the

Employee compensation. Whether employee hard work is

Labour

23%

23%

24%

10%

11%

10%

Tory

29%

30%

9%

14%

11%

8%

benefits.

professionally.

education opportunities.

volunteer initiatives.

Total

27%

26%

14%

12%

11%

10%

Satistaction + Compens	sation = Success

Satisfaction +	Compensat	tion = 3	Success

Satisfaction + Compensati	on = Success

Satisfaction + Compensation = Success

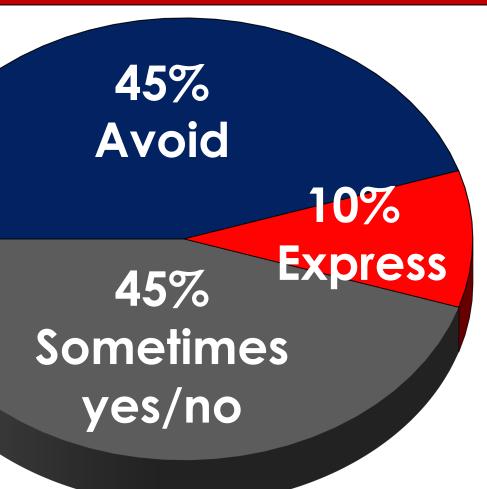
Satisfaction + Compensat	ion = S	Success

Satisfaction +	Compensat	ion = S	Success

Focus on Workers, not Woke

Is it better for businesses to avoid taking political positions ...OR...to clearly express their political or social views on controversial topics/issues?







The Business	Language of the UK
Imagine	(Mutual) Respect

Delivering quality and value

Financial security

A problem-solver

Our first responsibility

Building a better future

A healthy economy

Honesty/Integrity

Investors (not shareholders)

Fact-based

Inclusion

Cleaner, safer, healthier

Genuine accountability

A comfortable retirement

Equality/Equal opportunity

Responsible capitalism

Economic freedom

Valued, respected, appreciated

Employer/Employees

Fairness

8 Business Phrases for Every Community

- 1. Fair wages for our people, a fair cost for our services, all at a fair profit.
- 2. Providing financial security and peace of mind.
- 3. A cleaner, safer, healthier future for everyone, everywhere.
- 4. Being environmentally sustainable in everything we do,
- 5. The people, employees and communities we serve
- 6. Training employees for the jobs of the future.
- 7. Our success starts with our people. We do not succeed without them.
- 8. Creating, training and retaining good jobs and lifelong careers.

Say This...

Instead of This...

We will be guided by the principle of fairness (38%)

We will foster diversity and inclusion, dignity and respect (18%)

Large employers (41%)

Large corporations (12%)

Integrity/transparency (28%)

Social responsibility (18%)

Inclusion (65%)

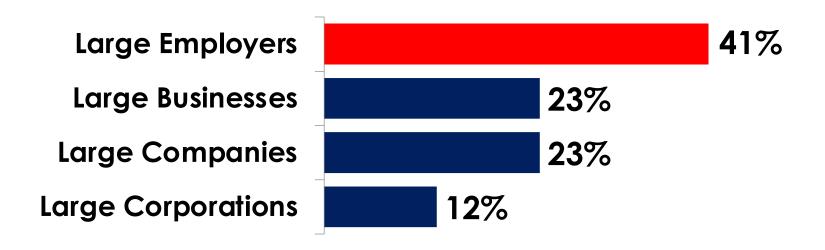
Diversity (35%)

Say This	Instead of This
Investor (43%)	Stakeholder (30%) / Shareholder (27%)
Employee (79%)	Worker (21%)
Valued (59%) / Respected (53%) /	Wanted (11%)
Comfortable (49%) Secure (46%)	Predictable (6%) Dependable (10%)
Worry-free (45%)	No surprises (12%)

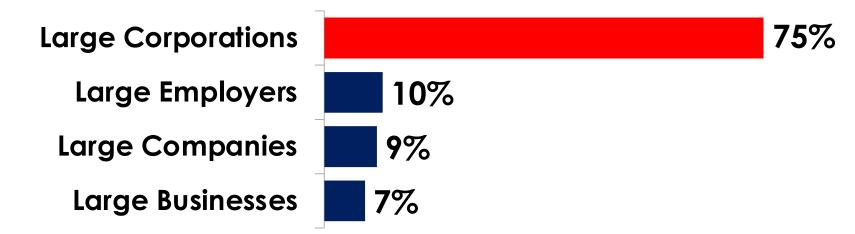
Words Matter. The right words MATTER A LOT.

You are an "employer" NOT a "corporation"

Which gives you the MOST positive reaction?



Which gives you the MOST negative reaction?



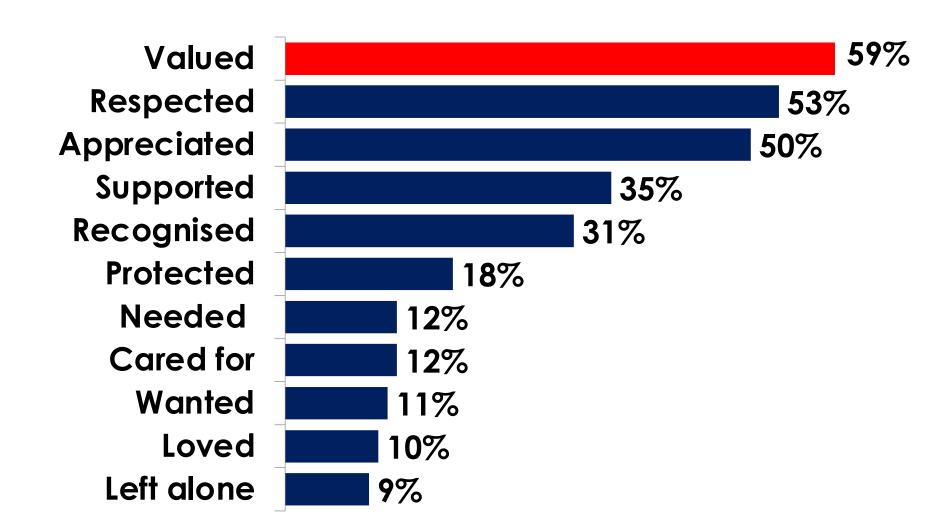
Rarely are language findings so clear. You now have three words to use and four to lose.

	Which should be the highest priority of a large corporation
Total	and its workforce?
65%	Inclusion
35%	Diversity
	All of these mean the same, but which of the following words do you have the MOST positive opinion of?
Total	ac you have the wood positive opinion of
43%	Investor
30%	Stakeholder
27%	Shareholder
Total	Which of the following is the most positive, favorable way to describe someone? Are you a(n)?

79% Employee21% Worker

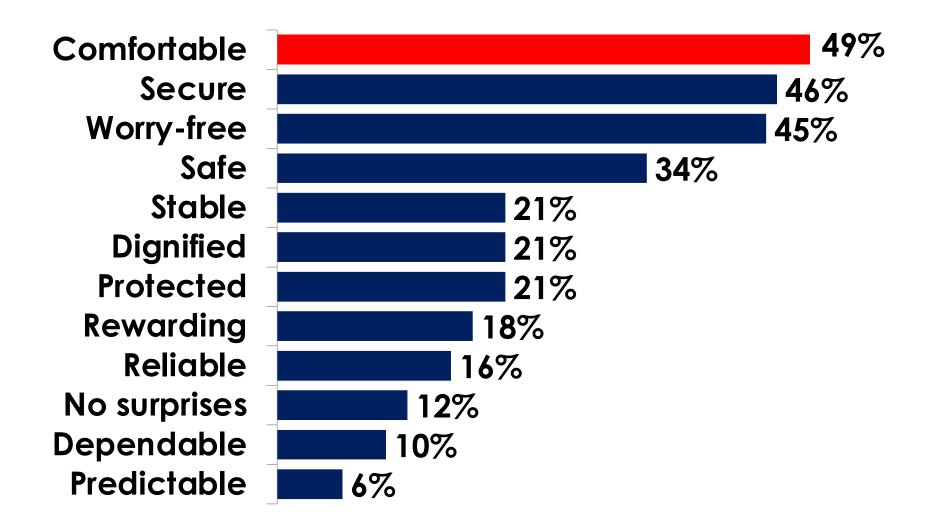
Value. Respect. Appreciation.

As an employee, which attribute would you MOST want to feel from the company you work for? Would you want to feel...? Choose three.

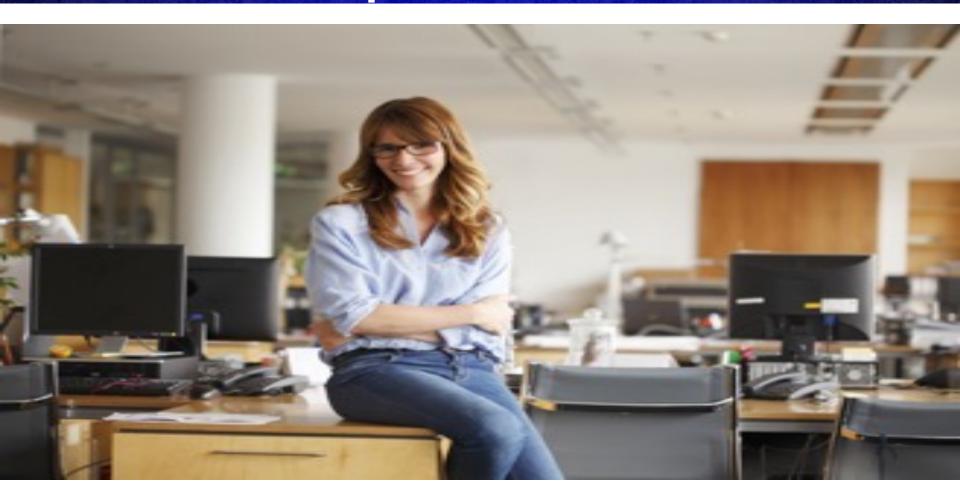


Retirement Words That Work

While some of these mean roughly the same, please pick the word or phrase that best describes the kind of retirement you want most?



A picture is worth 10,000 words: Visuals in Corporate Communication



The #1 CEO Visual

A Checklist for Corporate Visuals That Work

- 1. The best visuals are in the office rather than in the CEO office.
- 2. Dump the traditional headshot. More informal is better.
- 3. Don't be artsy. Be authentic.
- 4. Your CSR page needs a clear declarative statement that says it all.
- 5. Let them know your priorities & your ethics.
- 6. They know you support sustainability. Tell them much more.
- 7. One larger photo does better than two smaller photos.
- 8. Remember, voters don't like CEOs. They like humans.

This is how British people want to see YOU



Total	31%
Labour	36%
Conservative	28%

The next BEST visuals



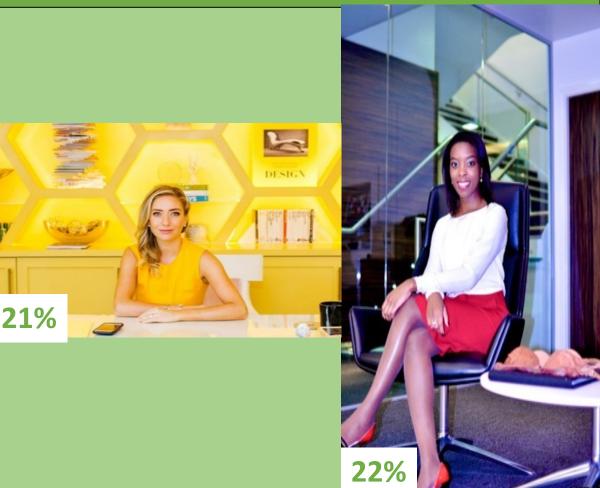




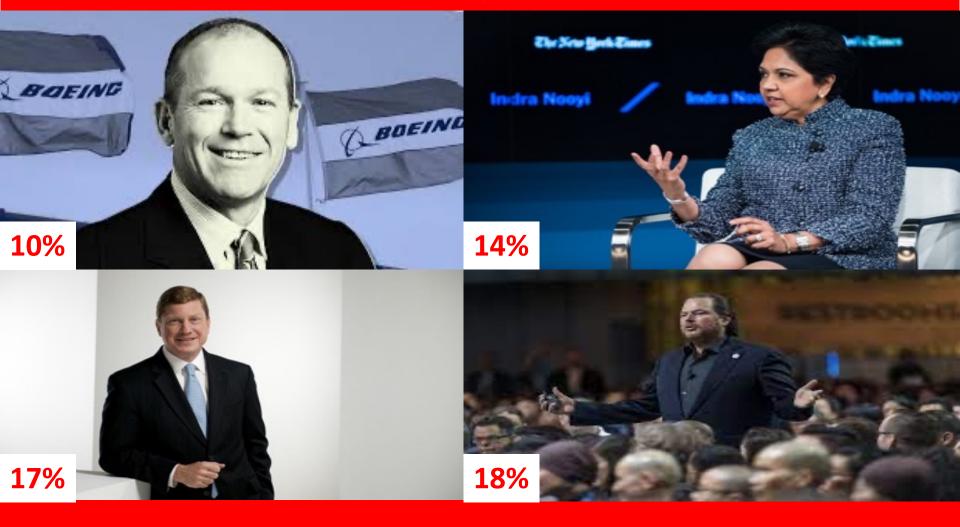


And the next BEST...

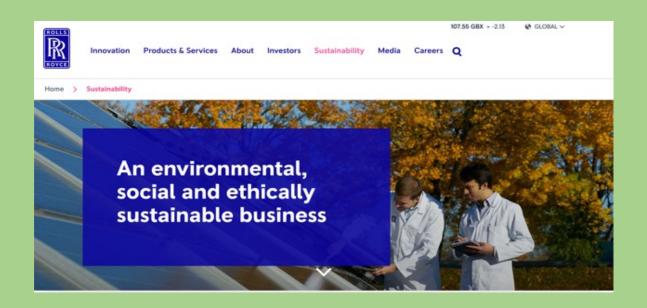




The WORST visuals

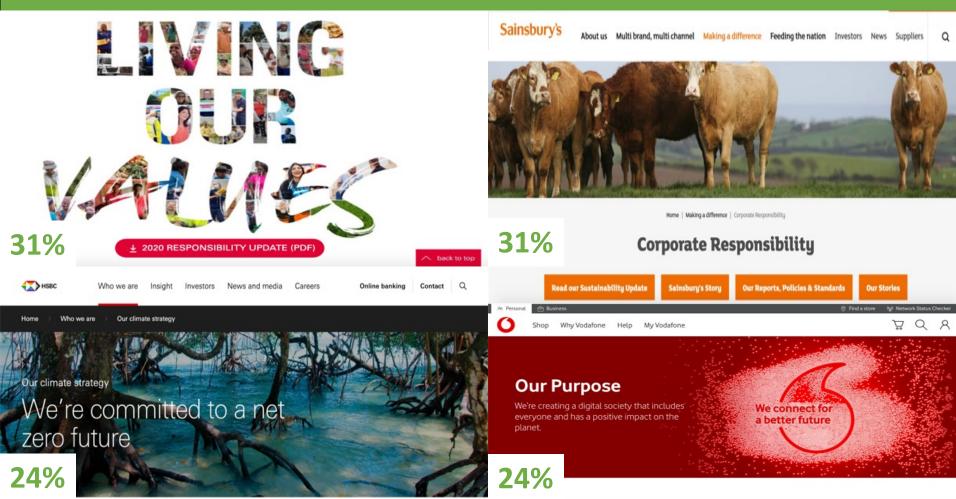


This is how British people want to see YOUR Website

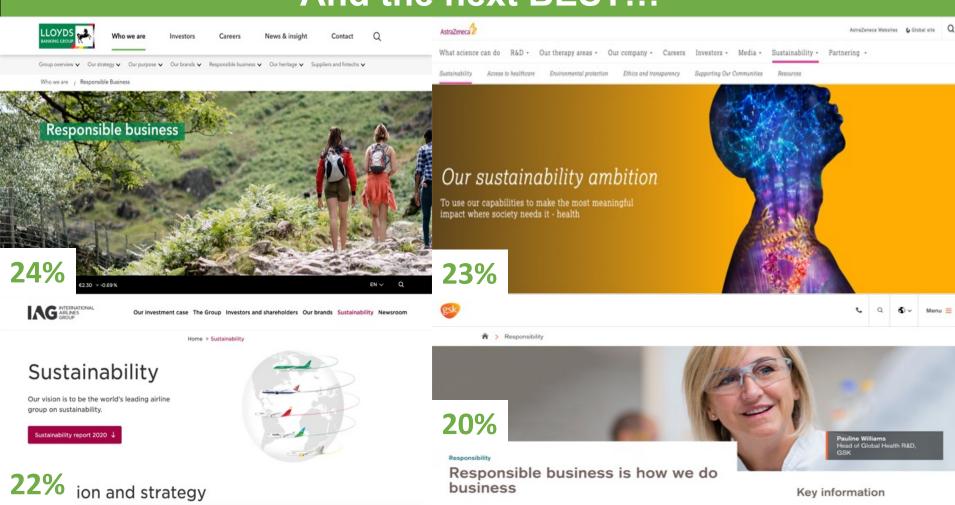


Total	33%
Labour	31%
Conservative	34%

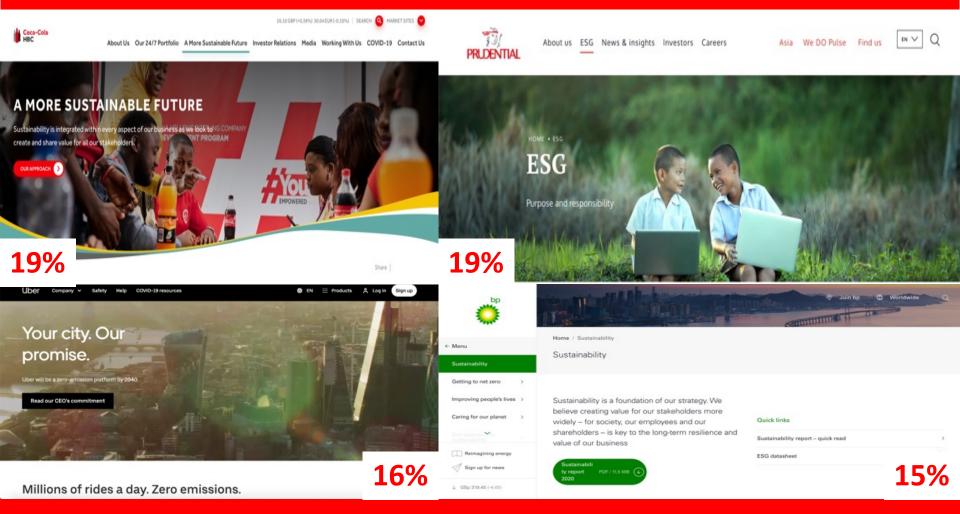
The next BEST visuals







The WORST visuals





Before we begin:

A personal message about UK politics

Dr. Frank I Luntz

Exactly half a century ago, esteemed British journalist Alistair Cook came to America to examine life and living in the US. While what he found was not always pretty, it was meant as a love-letter to a people and a country he deeply respected.

That is the purpose of my study of your political condition — to share the mistakes of my own country as I learn more about yours. It is a post-pandemic examination of what works, what doesn't, and a plea for more constructive political discourse. It is my expression of respect for my years at Oxford and how that changed my perspective — and my life.

I see myself as a reverse Paul Revere, roaming the streets of London warning people of what's coming from the U.S. if your political leaders fail you. Yes, the US got it wrong. Let's hope the UK gets it right.

The Key to Populism 2021



Insight

We gave voters 18 different descriptions of how British political leaders make them feel. Ten were negative attributes and eight were positive. The result: nine of the top ten choices were negative attributes, led by "disappointed."

Disappointment in a party can lead to a change election. But a loss of confidence in all the nation's political leaders leads to something more serious.

Every day, MPs should seek to prove to their constituents that they put the people they represent ahead of the politics that others engage in. And if you're a Conservative MP, put everything British first.

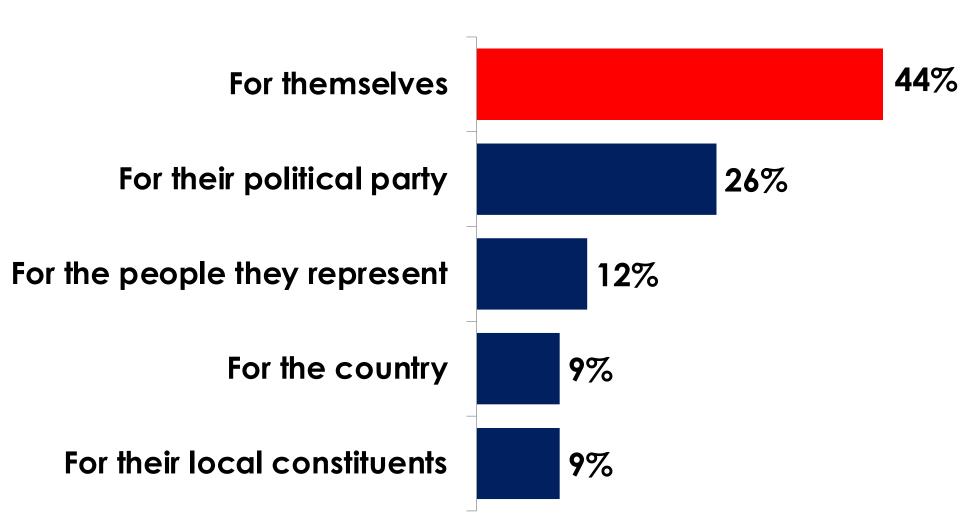
Notice that all the TOP responses are negative (Red).

	How do political leaders in Britain make you feel?				
Total	Choose your top FOUR.				
43%	Disappointed	11%	Satisfied		
37 %	Ignored	11%	Valued		
31%	Irrelevant	10%	Offended		
31%	Fed up	9%	Listened to		
29%	Betrayed	9%	Victimised		
28%	Forgotten	8%	Respected		
24%	Left behind	7%	Recognised		
20%	Angry	7%	Understood		
15%	Hopeful	6%	Appreciated		

15% None of these

Perceived <u>Self-Interest</u> in Politicians is Public Enemy #1across all parties

Which is more accurate? A majority of MPs in government are ...



Your mantra: "People before politics"

10	OI III	arma.	i C Op		ioie p		Co	•	
			_	_	_	_			
		If I h	ad only	two mi	inutes to	o talk	to	ту Л	
.abour	Tory	would r	nost wo	int to te	ell them	to?	C h	oose	
260/	200/	6	•	C + I	•				

			If I had only two minutes to talk to my MP, I
otal	Labour	Tory	would most want to tell them to? Choose three
9%	26%	29%	Put the needs of the people ahead of politics

and British people first

we elected you to do

Fight for ordinary people

people like me

24%

24%

23%

23%

23%

20%

14%

26%

23%

29%

22%

34%

24%

25%

17%

18%

abour	Tory	would most want to tell them to? Choose three
26%	29%	Put the needs of the people ahead of politics
14%	30%	Stop wasteful spending and fight for, protect

and respect hardworking taxpayers

Put Britain, British businesses, British values

Talk less and listen more to average, everyday

Pull your head out of your arse and do the job

Focus on delivering a better future for all of us

140 3011 3	don. They warm action, not
	platitudes.
	If I had only two minutes to talk to my MF
abour Torv	would most want to tell them to? Choose t

Do what you believe is right, not what will get you re-

Promote equality and social justice to end racism and

Cooperate and compromise with others to get things

Stay out of my life and let me live the way I want

Bring accountability and personal responsibility to

Say what you mean and mean what you say

Bring about meaningful, measurable change

Show empathy, sympathy and kindness

			platitudes.
			If I had only two minutes to talk to my M
Total	Labour	Tory	would most want to tell them to? Choose

Keep your campaign promises

Stand up for your principles

15%

16%

23%

15%

13%

20%

11%

13%

14%

7%

18%

18%

17%

15%

14%

13%

11%

11%

10%

7%

20%

17%

14%

16%

14%

11%

10%

9%

5%

7%

done

elected.

government

discrimination

MO 2011 2	iuii. Illey	wani aci	iion, noi
	platit	udes.	
	If I had only	y two minutes to	talk to my M

No soft stuff.	They want action, not
	olatitudes.
If I	had only two minutes to talk to my M

No soft stuff. They want action, not
platitudes.
If I had only two minutes to talk to my M

MP's please note: COST OF LIVING. It encompasses <u>every</u> aspect of daily life ... politicians are blamed ... and you know it's going to get worse

politicians are blamed and you know it's going to get worse.				
	What aspect of the ordinary person's daily struggles do you think			
Total	politicians and business leaders understand LEAST well?			
35%	The rising <u>cost of living</u> , from food to energy to housing.			
28%	Living week to week, choosing which bill to pay first.			
28%	That people cannot afford to buy a home and/or the stress of keeping up on mortgage or rent payments			
26%	The erosion of values in society			
20%	The fact that many jobs pay less than they used to			

Our worries about being able to retire with enough savings to cope

20%

The other "daily struggles" of life

	What aspect of the ordinary person's daily struggles do you think politicians and business leaders understand LEAST well?
Total	
19%	How hard it is to find a good job and a stable, secure career
18%	Our schools not providing our children the skills and education
	they need to succeed
17 %	The amount of taxes people have to pay
16%	Our worries about providing enough opportunities and a better
	future for our children
16%	Everyday feels like a struggle to keep up
15%	The cost of looking after your parents
13%	The cost of raising and taking care of children
11%	Keeping up with technology and the speed of global change
10%	Never having enough time
10%	The feeling of failure at work where nothing we do is good
	enough

Warning

We gave the public 16 different situations and concerns and asked them to indicate which the politicians and businesspeople least understand. #1, #2 and #3 are about affordability.

The cost of life may not be a big issue now, but it's coming. Already more than half (54%) say their income isn't keeping up with costs – and that number is going to climb as prices climb. Prepare for the line: "It costs more, but you get less."

When so many people are struggling just to pay their bills and pay their taxes, any sign of extravagance from either the political or business world will generate a harsh response. Rather than the perception of being ignored, you should be going out of your way to show empathy.

Nobody thinks the protests of the past year have had a negative impact on British democracy. In fact, only 11% consider them a major threat to democracy.

If you want to engage in a "War on Woke," make it meaningful, not symbolic. Woke is about making a statement. Instead, you should seek to make a difference.

It's the Politicians & Pounds (££'s) Not the Protests

Which has a more negative impact on our electoral system and democracy? Pick your top two.

Total	Labour	Tory	
35%	38%	32%	Quality of politicians
34%	39%	26%	Money in politics
28%	23%	35%	Social media
27%	28%	29%	The news media
24%	22%	28%	Public apathy
23%	24%	19%	Divisions in society
19%	19%	17%	Lobbyists and pressure groups
11%	7%	14%	Organised protest movements

The response to "the single most important objective of the government" should serve as a wake-up call for everyone in Westminster. Protecting the poorest, weakest and most vulnerable is #1, yet when do you hear that from Conservatives?

Letting people keep more of their hard-earned income is #2, but you wouldn't know that from Labour.

43%

28%

22%

22%

24%

9%

30%

23%

The deep divide

betv	weei	n Left and Right Worldviews.
		Which of the following should be the single m
Labour	Tory	important objective of the government?

or dominating the economy

Protecting the poorest, weakest, and most

Letting people keep more of their hard-earned

Helping small businesses survive, thrive and grow

Preventing a few big corporations from controlling

Moving people from government dependency to

Redistributing wealth so that everyone has a

Providing a safety net so that no one faces

Helping people to retire with peace of mind

10st

	De
Total	Labo

40%

27%

25%

25%

25%

23%

23%

21%

26% **32%**

29%

26%

34%

15%

18%

32%

vulnerable

independence

financial ruin

income

chance

The less important "objectives"

			Which of the following should be the single most
Total	Labour	Tory	important objective of the government?
19%	18%	18%	Making sure everyone who wants a job has a job

Giving people more choices and more **17% 17%** control over their lives

Investing/improving sectors that allow 11% 23% **17%**

Reducing the day-to-day hassles and

Britain to compete and win in global markets **13%** 18% **15%**

13%

10%

worries of life Facilitating a better work-life balance **15% 10%** Helping people live the lifestyle they want **15%** 6%

Two attributes tower over the rest: "Safe and secure" and a "strong, stable, prosperous economy." The two attributes dwarf just about everything else. The perfect approach (even if it didn't work for your former PM) is to combine them: "Safe and secure, strong and stable."

For Labour, their top two priorities are the environment and human rights – which helps explain why they are losing.

For the Conservatives, "respect for values and traditions" matters as well – hence the strong appeal of the culture wars that divide the country.

People are worried. Safety and Security matter MORE than fairness.

Which FOUR of the following attributes do you care about the most when you think of what you want for Britain now and in the future?

Total Labour Tory

38%

30%

23%

43%	29%	53%	Safe and secure
43%	36%	52 %	A strong, stable, prosperous economy
34%	40%	32%	Environmentally-conscious/committed to a clean, healthy world
34%	27%	44%	Respect for values and traditions

A fairer society

Middle of the Road Priorities

Which FOUR of the following attributes do you care about the most when you think of what you want for Britain now and in the future?

Total	Labour	Tory	
29%	29%	25%	Tolerant/Respectful/Open-minded
28%	38%	22%	Protects human rights and respects human dignity
28%	24%	30%	Our children having a better life than we do
25%	27%	25%	A modern, forward-looking, innovative country
24%	30%	19%	Promotes diversity, inclusion, and social justice
24%	28%	19%	People have a voice and genuine impact on

their government

Bottom of the List Priorities

Which FOUR of the following attributes do you care about the most when you think of what you want for Britain now and in the future?

Total	Labour	Tory	
17%	19%	16%	An accurate, factual media and press
17 %	11%	20%	Plays a positive, impactful, leadership role across the globe
13%	12%	11%	Charitable/Compassionate/Caring

Religious/spiritual

8%

10%

12%

Warning

A public crime committed against a public figure could become the Next Big Thing in the UK. There is emerging consensus that "our streets and neighbourhoods are getting less safe and more violent."

A public criminal event would turn concerns and perceptions into reality.

There is widespread criticism about making "equality" and "diversity" the highest priority for business.

But when it comes to the <u>government</u> and its interaction with the economy, there is a different set of rules. What people want from the leaders of the <u>government</u> and the economy is different from what they want from their employer.

ii s society (Labout) vs. salety (Tory)
h sats of attributes or values hest represents what acvernr

Whi	Which sets of attributes or values best represents what government,				
bu	siness, a	ind the	people who run this country should encourage?		
Гotal	Labour	Tory			

bu	business, and the people who run this country should encourage?			
Total	Labour	Tory		
33%	41%	25%	Equality, diversity, justice and fairness	

Total	Labour	Tory	
33%	41%	25%	Equality, diversity, justice and fairness
			Public safety, personal security, safe

Iotal	Labour	Tory	
33%	41%	25 %	Equality, diversity, justice and fairness
31%	28%	37 %	Public safety, personal security, safe

- neighborhoods Respect for work, respect for family, 33% **29% 29%**
- respect for community
- **26%** 30% 22%
- Opportunity, possibilities, the chance for a better life

say, and does what they say

Reliability, stability, predictability

Says what they mean, means what they **26%** 33% 19%

Security, peace of mind

22%

20%

21%

15%

21%

25%

Nobody cares about process. They want <u>RESULTS</u>.

Which sets of attributes or values best represents what government, business, and the people who run this country should encourage?

Total	Labour	Tory	
19%	25%	13%	Empathy, compassion, caring, a big heart
19%	17%	23%	Civility, decency, dignity
14%	15%	15%	Merit, performance, recognition and reward
13%	15%	11%	Innovation, entrepreneurialism, technology
13%	19%	8%	Impactful results, meaningful change, measurable progress
13%	18%	7%	Cooperation and compromise

Patience, moderation, balance

Knowledge, information, facts and wisdom

10%

7%

8%

10%

11%

10%

Support for investment in the NHS and in schools is even <u>MORE</u> important to the public than an economy that raises the standard of living for "everybody."

Unlike the US, the UK institution in charge of health matters even more than the objective of that institution.

Labour wants a healthy economy for a healthy NHS. Tories want a healthy economy for a healthy UK.

What should be the main goal of Britain's economic policies?
Choose two. Making the UK...?

Total Labour

Tory

		•	
35 %	40%	28%	An economy that allows us to invest in and protect our public services like the NHS and schools
27%	36%	19%	An economy that raises the standard of living for everybody
24%	13%	31%	An economy that ensures the long-term growth and health of the country
23%	23%	24%	An economy that benefits Britons now and for generations to come
21%	19%	23%	A place where hard work is rewarded and creates secure futures
1			

Lesser economic priorities

What should be the main goal of Britain's economic policies? Choose two. Making the UK...?

			Choose two. Making the UK?
Total	Labour	Tory	
17%	22%	13%	An economy that prioritises the environment and sustainability
13%	13%	17%	The strongest, most stable economy in Europe
11%	11%	13%	A prosperous economy that will serve as a blueprint for the UK and across the world
10%	6%	13%	Being the best place in Europe to start, grow, and run a business
8%	5%	11%	An innovative economy that leads, embraces and develops technological advancements

A global powerhouse economy

5%

5%

7%

5%

5%

4%

The richest major economy in the world

Britain Speaks: MPs need to listen



Your story on one slide

Always Remember

Responsible, realistic, respectful, results

Not Status Quo/ Better!

Respectful to those we serve

For Ordinary People

A Detailed Plan of Action

Responsible

Realistic & Honest

A Fair Approach

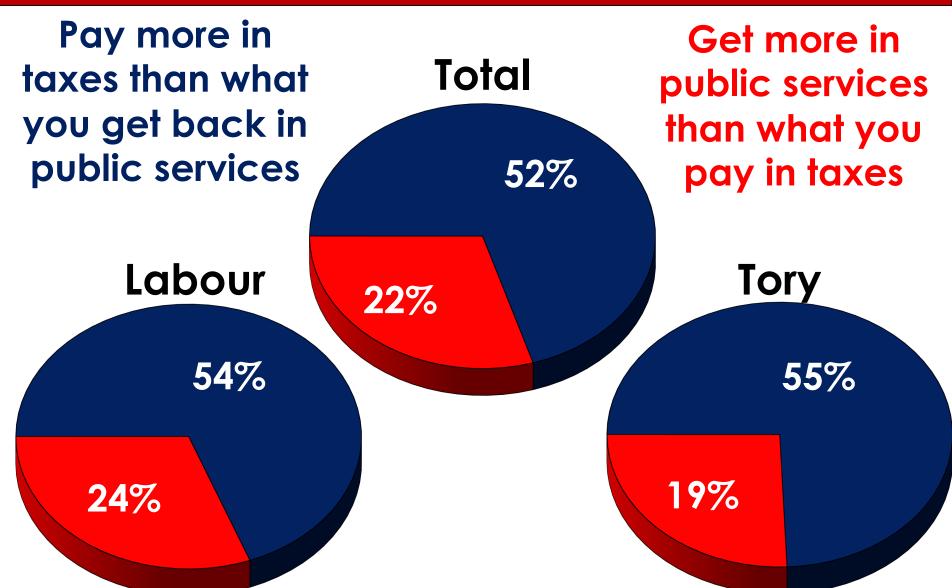
The Conservative government needs to do a much better job explaining the value of what it does and the positive impact on ordinary people.

Even though you're spending at record levels, by more than 2 to 1, both Conservative and Labour voters think they're paying more in taxes than what they get back in services.

Worse yet, you've got a serious communication problem when so few (8%) think "people like me" benefit most from government spending. Labour thinks it goes to "the wealthy" and Conservatives blame "benefit claimants," but BOTH agree that the ordinary individual is being ignored.

"I pay for more than I get" is a cross-party issue.





Two parties. Two opposite "villains."

What group in Britain benefits the MOST from government spending?

Pick your top four.

	Pick your top four.					
Total	Labour	Tory				
48%	61%	36%	The wealthy			
42 %	25%	58%	Benefit claimants			
41%	54%	33%	Big businesses			
40%	47%	32 %	Politicians			
37 %	22%	54%	Immigrants and asylum seekers			
28%	32%	24%	People from London			
25%	19%	29%	Foreigners overseas			
20%	21%	18%	Pressure groups and lobbyists			

The people with whom they identify... they don't identify as "villains."

What group in Britain benefits the MOST from government spending?

Pick your top four.

			Pick your top jour.
Total	Labour	Tory	
19%	24%	13%	The middle class
18%	14%	23%	Families
17%	12%	20%	The poor
12%	12%	10%	Hardworking taxpayers
11%	11%	10%	The working class
10%	8%	11%	Trade unions
10%	12%	9%	Small businesses
8%	11%	8%	People like me
8%	7%	6%	Young people/the next generation

People who live outside London

7%

9%

6%

Populism tends to be defined as being against something or someone. It is therefore hopeful that more people want government to say yes rather than saying no.

Even more striking is that <u>both</u> Labour and the Conservatives are on the side of yes. In American referendums, the opposite is true. The "no" side has the advantage because it represents the safer option.

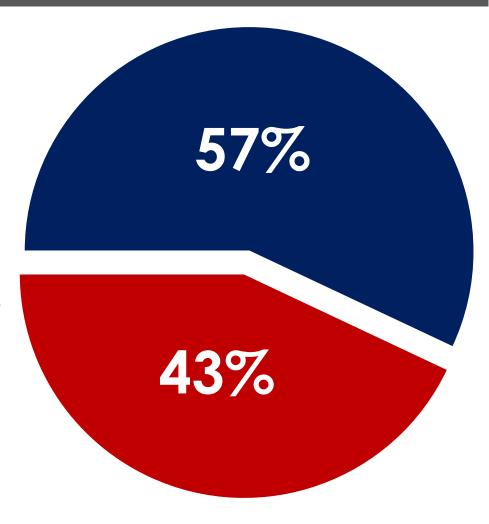
And yet a significant percentage of voters (over 40%) are still voting *against* rather than voting *for*. In the US, the voter negativity reached its peak in the 2016 election ... and we all know the consequences of that election.

In the last two elections, 43% voted out of "worry and fear." A narrow majority (57%) voted out of hope and optimism

And thinking honestly about how you voted in the last two national elections, did you vote more based on...?

Hope and optimism that the party and people I support will make things better if win and take power.

Worry and fear that the party and people I oppose will make things worse if they win and take power.



Both Parties have Internal Conflict: The Party of Yesterday, or Today?

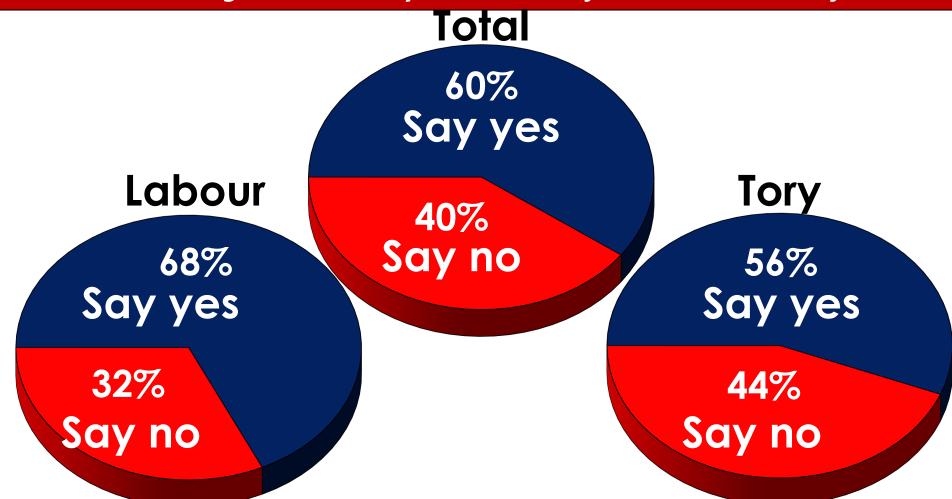
Regardless of how you used to vote or how you vote now, if you had to choose, which do you prefer?

Total	Labour	Tory	
25%	12%	41%	The Conservative Party of today
25 %	11%	40%	The Conservative Party of Margaret Thatcher
16%	16%	14%/	The Conservative Party of David Cameron
35%	62 %	5%	I strongly oppose all of them

	Labour		
31%	33%	30%	The Labour Party of Tony Blair
17 %	28%	10%	The Labour Party of today
14%	31%/	4%	The Labour Party of Jeremy Corbyn
37 %	8%	56%	I hate all of them

A Rare Example of Cross-Party Agreement: They want YES, not No from their government. Again, different from the US.

Think of every decision the government needs to make. In general, would you like to see the government say "YES" more often or "NO" more often?



A look at the demographics of Team GB



Age Differences MATTER a lot Gender? Not so much.

The UK does not have the gender gap of the US. Women do lean towards Labour, but much of it disappears after about age 40. Labour women are much more concerned about ending gender stereotypes, while Conservative women are more concerned about women's health issues.

We decided to test the theory that Conservatives could do better if they ran more women. Generically, Tories have a 4-point advantage in better representing women. But put a Conservative woman on the ticket and they jump to a 20-point advantage.

The real demographic differences are all about age. It's not a generation gap. It's a generation chasm.

The impact of female MPs is significant (and measurable)

Regardless of how you usually vote, if you had to choose, which person is more likely to understand and address the country?

Laboui	тогу	
9%	91%	The Conservative MP
91%	9%	The Labour MP
Labour	Tory	
27%	86%	A female Conservative MP
73%	14%	A female Labour MP
	9% 91% Labour 27%	9% 91% 91% 9% Labour Tory 27% 86%

British youth values heart over head

If yo	If you had to choose, which best describes your job right now or your last job if you don't work right now. Even if it's not a direct match, please pick one of the three.							
Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+				
49%	25%	44%	57 %	64%	I primarily work with my head. It's a thinking job. From management to marketing to finance, I work with a computer and do a lot of thinking every day.			
30%	43%	32%	25%	24%	I primarily work with my heart. It's a job that requires feeling. From teaching to healthcare to customer service, there's an emotional connection to what I do.			
			4.004	4.00/				

12% | I primarily work with my hands. From fixing 21% 32% 23% 18% things to building things, my job requires physical effort every day.

Whether you believe the UK is inherently good or bad depends on your age.

Which of the following comes closest to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	
63%	43%	63%	67%		The United Kingdom is a nation of equality and freedom
37 %	57%	37%	33%	/ X ~/~	The United Kingdom is an institutionall racist and discriminatory



The backlash to "cancel culture" has started

Which of the following comes closest to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	
66%	61%	59%	<u>73%</u>	<u>74%</u>	We have gone too far with "cancel culture." In my daily life, I find myself censoring my own valid opinions. We should be able to disagree without fear of consequences.
34%	39%	41%	27%	26%	"Cancel culture" is a loaded political term, but the purpose and results are good. People shouldn't be able to say and do whatever they want, if whatever they want to say and do is hurtful to others

Lots of people have lots of problems with social media. Mums are deeply concerned about what it is doing to their children. But one concern rises above all others: "fake news."

Whether it's misinformation or the inability to tell fact from fiction, the (lack of) credibility is the #1 social media impact.

The impact of Social Media on politics

If you had to choose, what is the most negative effect social media has had on our democratic system?

	nas naa on our democratic system?
	1
Total	
38%	Misinformation/fake news
27 %	Allows bullying and personal abuse
24%	People don't know what to believe/can't tell fact from fiction
21%	Allows and encourages hate speech/extremism
17%	Too much negativity
15 %	Too much sensationalism/exaggeration/clickbait
13%	Taking things out of context to create an online mob
12 %	Promotes political bias
11%	Monopolises our time/takes away from more important things
11%	in life
10%	It promotes/encourages "cult of personalities" rather than
	nolicies

The things that do NOT worry them about social media.

If you had to choose, what is the most negative effect social media has had on our democratic system?

Total	
8%	Echo chambers/people getting only one point of view
7 %	Allows foreign interference in elections and creates division
7%	Allows censorship of ideas/content
6%	Partisanship/polarisation/division
7 %	None of these

A final word straight from the people

"When I look at the <u>corporate</u> <u>leaders</u> and how they treat us, I just think 'fuck them all.'"

"When I look at the <u>politicians</u> and how they treat us, I just think 'fuck them all.'"

Agree 50%

Neutral
27%

Disagree 23%

Agree 61%

Neutral 18% Disagree 20% If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue, Or walk with Kings—nor lose the common touch, If neither fees nor soving friends can hurt you, If all men count with you, but none too much: If you can fill the unforgiving minute With sixty seconds worth of distance run, Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it, And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son!

Rudyard Kipling, 1895

What We Did

- Three nationwide surveys, 4,500 interviews, more than 200 questions, and two focus groups.
- More than two dozen pollsters, politicians, business leaders and journalists were consulted during questionnaire development.
- A proper representative sample demographically, geographically and politically.
- A comprehensive understanding of public priorities and the "Words that Work" for politics and economics.

The last word from your pollster:

Dr. Frank I Luntz

President Reagan, in his farewell address to the country, described America as a "shining city on a hill." That shine is gone. Not just globally, but across the US as well. The participants in that great human experiment called democracy have broken it, and whether it can be repaired remains unknown. Time will tell.

The threats to economic freedom in the UK, and to democracy itself, are less severe but no less significant. While this document is filled with the words and ideas to defend and champion *your* way of life, it's the policies that will determine *your* fate.

If your intent is to share the blessings of freedom with every citizen in every community, then they will share their support with you. And if you embrace your great history, then history will embrace you. Like the US, your destiny is not yet determined.

It's up to you.

it's not what you say

it's what people hear

Dr. Frank I Luntz