

# Communicating *Freedom*:

## A Language Dictionary for the United Kingdom



*Explaining the priorities and principles of freedom to a population that has other priorities.*

Before we  
begin:

A message from  
your pollster

Dr. Frank I Luntz

Three years ago, following a health scare that I still live with every day, I decided to engage in and advocate for only those causes I most deeply believe in: **the protection of freedom and the passionate pursuit of the truth.**

Having watched the abandoning of truth and the decay of democracy in the US, and desperately needing to escape, I have made the UK my home for several months each year. This extensive public opinion poll of Great Britain is my way to say thank you for a country that gave me my education when I was in my 20s and a new home today.

Unfortunately, the results paint a complicated picture of freedom in general, how much of the population values other priorities more, and how Conservatives - and the public writ large - no longer see their party as advocates for freedom.

# What we Learned (I)

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- A clear values hierarchy exists. Freedom, fairness and security matter most, primarily from a personal perspective. Prosperity matters most from a national perspective, and opportunity matters LEAST from all perspectives.
- Freedom still matters to Conservatives, but *security* matters just as much.
- To the UK population, freedom is more important for themselves than for their country. So don't talk about freedom in national terms. Always make it personal.
- The ideological or theoretical underpinnings of freedom are much less important than the highly individualised "*it's my choice/life*" philosophy. Freedom for freedom's sake isn't as compelling in the UK as it is in the US.

# What we Learned (II)

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- Demographically, young people ages 18-29 care less about freedom, security, and prosperity. That's the reason why they don't vote Conservative -- they don't prioritize the values Conservative prioritise.
- Freedom still matters to Conservatives, but security matters just as much.
- Equality is by far the most politically polarising of the six key values we tested. If you're Labour, equality matters most. If you're Conservative, it doesn't matter at all.
- Opportunity is the lowest priority for people personally as well as for what they prioritise for their country. Politicians talk about it often, but voters aren't listening.

# What we Learned (III)

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- “*Freedom to live my life the way I want*” is the specific freedom that matters most to the most people. It’s precisely how you best personalise and humanise freedom.
- The value of “control” still resonates – particularly when described as “*control over your life.*” Conversely, in the US, the right to choose is the higher priority. (Note: US language often does not work in the UK!)
- “*Quality of life*” matters more than either “*standard of living*” or “*freedom*” by better than 2 to 1. If the parties are listening to the voters, the next election will **not** be philosophical, as it was under Thatcher, or economic, as it was under Blair. Rather, it will focus on how people live their daily lives.

# 21 Phrases to Promote Freedom in 2023

<b>Imagine</b>	<b>You earned it and deserve it</b>
<b>Real control over your life</b>	<b>The ability to fulfill your potential</b>
<b>Every person in every community</b>	<b>A healthy economy</b>
<b>The chance to succeed</b>	<b>Reduce waste, fraud, corruption</b>
<b>Live MY life the way I want</b>	<b>Cut the size and scope of gov't</b>
<b>Make your way on your own terms</b>	<b>Public safety and security</b>
<b>Fact-based</b>	<b>The right to choose</b>
<b>Living how you want, where you want</b>	<b>Freedom to &amp; freedom from</b>
<b>Being your true self</b>	<b>Responsible &amp; realistic</b>
<b>You decide what's best for you</b>	<b>We say yes to ...</b>

**You make the decisions that are right for you.**

# FREEDOM WORDS TO USE & LOSE (1)

<b>Words to USE</b>	<b>Words to LOSE</b>
<b>Freedom</b>	<b>Liberty</b>
<b>Freedom TO (Conservatives)</b>	<b>Freedom FROM (Labour)</b>
<b>Freedom to live my life the way I want</b>	<b>Freedom from gov't rules/regulations</b>
<b>Freedom of speech</b>	<b>Freedom of the press/ Intellectual/academic freedom</b>
<b>Freedom means financial security</b>	<b>Freedom means wealth &amp; success</b>
<b>Controlled/restricted freedom</b>	<b>Curbed/reduced freedom</b>

# FREEDOM WORDS TO USE & LOSE (2)

<b>Words to USE</b>	<b>Words to LOSE</b>
<b>Responsible &amp; realistic</b>	<b>Centrist/Moderate/Mainstream</b>
<b>Control over your life</b>	<b>Self-determination/Independence</b>
<b>You decide</b>	<b>You have the agency</b>
<b>The ability to fulfill your potential</b>	<b>The chance to take a risk/have a go</b>
<b>Britain's history</b>	<b>Britain's legacy</b>
<b>Plan of action</b>	<b>Agenda/Manifesto</b>



# FREEDOM WORDS TO USE & LOSE (3)

<b>Words to USE</b>	<b>Words to LOSE</b>
<b>The truth</b>	<b>Accurate/Accuracy</b>
<b>Protect against most risks</b>	<b>A safety net when needed</b>
<b>We deserve</b>	<b>We are entitled</b>
<b>Live life the way I want</b>	<b>The ability to get on with life Freedom to be who you are</b>
<b>Being your true self</b>	<b>Self-expression/self-identity</b>
<b>Respect</b>	<b>Dignity/Diversity</b>

# POLICY WORDS TO USE & LOSE (4)

## Words to USE

## Words to LOSE

**Recovery from COVID**

**Rebuilding from COVID**

**Too much gov't waste, fraud, corruption**

**Gov't is inefficient & ineffective**

**Giving schools/communities more freedom**

**Giving students more freedom**

**Quality of life**

**Standard of living**

**Gov't bureaucrats (negatively)**

**Civil servants (negatively)**

# Economic priorities for the UK

<b>Words to USE</b>	<b>Words to LOSE</b>
<b>Economic Opportunity</b>	<b>Opportunity Economy</b>
<b>Responsible Capitalism</b>	<b>Stakeholder Capitalism</b>
<b>Economic Freedom/ An Open Economy</b>	<b>Capitalism</b>
<b>A healthy economy</b>	<b>Economic Growth/ Strong economic foundation</b>
<b>Equal opportunity</b>	<b>Social justice</b>
<b>A chance to succeed</b>	<b>Social mobility</b>

# Words That Work

## The 60-second message for freedom

*Freedom isn't just a theory or an ideology.*

*It's real...it's tangible...and it should matter to everyone in the UK.*

*Freedom to think and speak is essential and must be protected.*

*But freedom, true freedom, is about being who you really are...  
and YOUR ability to make your own way on your own terms.*

*YOU, not your boss, or your MP, or your government,  
decide how best to fulfill your potential and live YOUR life  
the way YOU want – without anyone or anything controlling you  
or restricting you in any way.*

*And most importantly, freedom shouldn't be just another political  
promise. It should be a guarantee – and it must be available to  
every individual...in every community...in every corner  
of this great country.*

# UK Perceptions of Freedom



# Insight

When it comes to freedom, the British people can be divided into three unequal parts:

- Roughly 20% don't believe the UK is a free country and/or don't really care.
- Another 25% prioritise freedom in their lives over everything else – and they vote that way.
- And the 55% in the centre consider freedom to be important but not the #1 UK value.

# Equality is the most polarising principle

(Labour cares about it. Tories don't.)



*Tories rank security ahead of freedom!*

# Insight

When it comes to politics, policies, principles, or priorities, **context and perspective are everything**. That may sound obvious, but politicians get it wrong ALL the time.

For example, “*freedom*” is more important to more people personally than any of the key principles we tested (*freedom, security, prosperity, opportunity, equality, fairness*). However, freedom is tied for last when people are asked what matters most to the future success of the UK.

Conversely, prosperity matters to more people when the context is the future success of the UK ... and freedom is well behind. But prosperity is tied for last when people are asked what matters most for themselves, personally.



# Two Parties. Two very different principles.

*Which is the MOST important to you personally?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>23%</b>	<u>19%</u>	<u>28%</u>	Freedom
<b>23%</b>	<u>17%</u>	<u>30%</u>	Security
22%	<u>26%</u>	<u>16%</u>	Fairness
18%	<u>24%</u>	<u>11%</u>	Equality
7%	5%	10%	Prosperity
7%	9%	5%	Opportunity



*...and to the future and success of the UK?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>23%</b>	<u>17%</u>	<u>30%</u>	Prosperity
16%	15%	17%	Security
16%	18%	13%	Fairness
16%	14%	17%	Freedom
15%	<u>22%</u>	<u>7%</u>	Equality
15%	<u>15%</u>	<u>15%</u>	Opportunity



# “Equality” is the most polarising principle

Total	Labour	Tory	<i>Which is the LEAST important to you personally?</i>
<b>36%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>Prosperity</b>
<b>22%</b>	<b><u>16%</u></b>	<b><u>32%</u></b>	<b>Equality</b>
<b>20%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>Opportunity</b>
<b>9%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>Fairness</b>
<b>7%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>Security</b>
<b>5%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>Freedom</b>

Total	Labour	Tory	<i>....and to the future and success of the UK?</i>
<b>22%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>Prosperity</b>
<b>21%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>Opportunity</b>
<b>20%</b>	<b><u>14%</u></b>	<b><u>28%</u></b>	<b>Equality</b>
<b>16%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>Fairness</b>
<b>12%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>Freedom</b>
<b>9%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>Security</b>

# UK Key Value Priority Profiles

1. There are significant differences by party, age, education & income.
2. Freedom: Conservatives well above all else.
3. Security: More Tory than Labour; ages 18-29 don't care at all.
4. Fairness: Matters personally, not nationally. Labour above all else.
5. Equality: Polarised. Labour well above all else; Tories don't care at all.
6. Prosperity: Only matters in UK terms, not personally. 65+ care most.
7. Opportunity: The lowest priority for everyone except ages 18-29.

# “Freedom” by demographics

<i>To you personally</i>				<i>To you personally</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>28%</b>	Mid edu	<b>23%</b>	Total	<b>11%</b>	18-29	<b>5%</b>	Women
<b>27%</b>	Men	<b>23%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>10%</b>	£70K+	<b>5%</b>	<£20K
<b>27%</b>	Tory	<b>19%</b>	Labour	<b>8%</b>	30-49	<b>4%</b>	GCSE/less
<b>26%</b>	65+	<b>19%</b>	18-29	<b>8%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>4%</b>	Mid edu
<b>25%</b>	30-49	<b>19%</b>	Women	<b>7%</b>	Labour	<b>3%</b>	Tory
<b>25%</b>	£70K+	<b>18%</b>	50-64	<b>5%</b>	Total	<b>2%</b>	65+
<b>23%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>17%</b>	<£20K	<b>5%</b>	Men	<b>1%</b>	50-64
<i>To the future success of the UK</i>				<i>To the future success of the UK</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>25%</b>	£70K+	<b>16%</b>	65+	<b>16%</b>	£70K+	<b>12%</b>	Total
<b>18%</b>	Tory	<b>15%</b>	Women	<b>14%</b>	50-64	<b>12%</b>	Labour
<b>18%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>15%</b>	50-64	<b>13%</b>	Tory	<b>11%</b>	Men
<b>17%</b>	30-49	<b>15%</b>	<£20K	<b>13%</b>	Women	<b>11%</b>	65+
<b>17%</b>	Mid edu	<b>14%</b>	Labour	<b>13%</b>	30-49	<b>10%</b>	GCSE/less
<b>16%</b>	Total	<b>12%</b>	18-29	<b>13%</b>	Mid edu	<b>10%</b>	<£20K
<b>16%</b>	Men	<b>12%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>13%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>8%</b>	18-29

# “Security” by demographics

<i>To you personally</i>				<i>To you personally</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>31%</b>	Tory	<b>20%</b>	Mid edu	<b>12%</b>	<£20K	<b>6%</b>	GCSE/less
<b>30%</b>	£70K+	<b>20%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>11%</b>	18-29	<b>6%</b>	£70K+
<b>29%</b>	65+	<b>20%</b>	30-49	<b>9%</b>	Men	<b>5%</b>	Tory
<b>29%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>19%</b>	Men	<b>9%</b>	Mid edu	<b>5%</b>	Women
<b>26%</b>	50-64	<b>17%</b>	Labour	<b>8%</b>	Labour	<b>5%</b>	50-64
<b>26%</b>	Women	<b>17%</b>	18-29	<b>7%</b>	Total	<b>5%</b>	65+
<b>23%</b>	Total	<b>16%</b>	<£20K	<b>7%</b>	30-49	<b>5%</b>	Univ grad+
<i>To the future success of the UK</i>				<i>To the future success of the UK</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>19%</b>	30-49	<b>16%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>13%</b>	£70K+	<b>9%</b>	Women
<b>19%</b>	50-64	<b>16%</b>	£70K+	<b>12%</b>	Labour	<b>9%</b>	65+
<b>18%</b>	Women	<b>15%</b>	Labour	<b>12%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>9%</b>	Mid edu
<b>18%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>14%</b>	Mid edu	<b>11%</b>	18-29	<b>8%</b>	30-49
<b>17%</b>	Tory	<b>13%</b>	Men	<b>11%</b>	50-64	<b>7%</b>	<£20K
<b>17%</b>	<£20K	<b>12%</b>	65+	<b>9%</b>	Total	<b>6%</b>	GCSE/less
<b>16%</b>	Total	<b>8%</b>	18-29	<b>9%</b>	Men	<b>5%</b>	Tory

# “Equality” by demographics

<i>To you personally</i>				<i>To you personally</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>25%</b>	30-49	18%	Total	<b>33%</b>	GCSE/less	20%	18-29
24%	Labour	17%	GCSE/less	32%	Tory	20%	Mid edu
24%	Univ grad+	17%	50-64	29%	65+	18%	Women
22%	18-29	16%	Men	27%	Men	18%	30-49
22%	£70K+	14%	Mid edu	24%	<£20K	16%	Labour
21%	Women	11%	Tory	23%	50-64	16%	£70K+
20%	<£20K	8%	65+	22%	Total	15%	Univ grad+
<i>To the future success of the UK</i>				<i>To the future success of the UK</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>22%</b>	Labour	14%	GCSE/less	<b>33%</b>	65+	21%	Total
20%	18-29	14%	Univ grad+	30%	50-64	16%	Women
20%	30-49	13%	Women	29%	<£20K	15%	Labour
20%	<£20K	12%	50-64	28%	Tory	14%	30-49
18%	Mid edu	11%	£70K+	28%	GCSE/less	14%	£70K+
17%	Men	7%	Tory	26%	Men	12%	Univ grad+
15%	Total	7%	65+	22%	Mid edu	7%	18-29

# “Fairness” by demographics

<i>To you personally</i>				<i>To you personally</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>34%</b>	<£20K	<b>22%</b>	Mid edu	<b>14%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>7%</b>	Tory
<b>30%</b>	50-64	<b>21%</b>	Women	<b>14%</b>	£70K+	<b>6%</b>	Women
<b>29%</b>	65+	<b>19%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>13%</b>	18-29	<b>6%</b>	65+
<b>26%</b>	Labour	<b>16%</b>	Tory	<b>12%</b>	30-49	<b>6%</b>	GCSE/less
<b>24%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>15%</b>	30-49	<b>11%</b>	Men	<b>6%</b>	Mid edu
<b>22%</b>	Total	<b>13%</b>	18-29	<b>10%</b>	Labour	<b>5%</b>	50-64
<b>22%</b>	Men	<b>8%</b>	£70K+	<b>9%</b>	Total	<b>4%</b>	<£20K
<i>To the future success of the UK</i>				<i>To the future success of the UK</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>18%</b>	Labour	<b>16%</b>	Mid edu	<b>21%</b>	18-29	<b>15%</b>	Univ grad+
<b>18%</b>	Women	<b>15%</b>	30-49	<b>18%</b>	Women	<b>14%</b>	Labour
<b>18%</b>	18-29	<b>14%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>18%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>14%</b>	Men
<b>17%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>14%</b>	<£20K	<b>17%</b>	Tory	<b>14%</b>	Mid edu
<b>16%</b>	Total	<b>13%</b>	Tory	<b>17%</b>	30-49	<b>14%</b>	<£20K
<b>16%</b>	50-64	<b>13%</b>	Men	<b>16%</b>	Total	<b>11%</b>	£70K+
<b>16%</b>	65+	<b>11%</b>	£70K+	<b>16%</b>	50-64	<b>10%</b>	65+

# “Prosperity” by demographics

<i>To you personally</i>				<i>To you personally</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>10%</b>	Tory	<b>7%</b>	Women	<b>42%</b>	Women	<b>36%</b>	50-64
<b>10%</b>	18-29	<b>7%</b>	Mid edu	<b>41%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>36%</b>	<£20K
<b>10%</b>	£70K+	<b>7%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>39%</b>	Labour	<b>34%</b>	30-49
<b>8%</b>	Men	<b>6%</b>	30-49	<b>39%</b>	Mid edu	<b>33%</b>	Tory
<b>8%</b>	50-64	<b>6%</b>	65+	<b>38%</b>	18-29	<b>33%</b>	£70K+
<b>8%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>5%</b>	Labour	<b>38%</b>	65+	<b>30%</b>	Men
<b>7%</b>	Total	<b>4%</b>	<£20K	<b>36%</b>	Total	<b>28%</b>	GCSE/less
<i>To the future success of the UK</i>				<i>To the future success of the UK</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>35%</b>	65+	<b>23%</b>	Men	<b>36%</b>	18-29	<b>22%</b>	Total
<b>30%</b>	Tory	<b>23%</b>	Women	<b>30%</b>	<£20K	<b>21%</b>	Men
<b>30%</b>	50-64	<b>23%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>26%</b>	30-49	<b>20%</b>	£70K+
<b>29%</b>	GCSE/less	<b>18%</b>	Mid edu	<b>25%</b>	Labour	<b>18%</b>	Tory
<b>25%</b>	£70K+	<b>17%</b>	Labour	<b>25%</b>	Mid edu	<b>15%</b>	65+
<b>24%</b>	<£20K	<b>16%</b>	30-49	<b>25%</b>	Univ grad+	<b>15%</b>	GCSE/less
<b>23%</b>	Tory	<b>15%</b>	18-29	<b>23%</b>	Women	<b>12%</b>	50-64



# “Opportunity” by demographics

<i>To you personally</i>				<i>To you personally</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>19%</b>	18-29	6%	Women	<b>28%</b>	50-64	21%	Mid edu
9%	Labour	6%	£70K+	24%	Women	20%	Total
9%	Mid edu	5%	Tory	22%	GCSE/less	20%	Labour
8%	Men	5%	GCSE/less	22%	£70K+	20%	<£20K
8%	30-49	4%	<£20K	21%	Tory	18%	Univ grad+
7%	Total	3%	65+	21%	30-49	17%	Men
7%	Univ grad+	1%	50-64	21%	65+	8%	18-29
<i>To the future success of the UK</i>				<i>To the future success of the UK</i>			
<i>(Most important)</i>				<i>(Least important)</i>			
<b>28%</b>	18-29	15%	Univ grad+	<b>23%</b>	30-49	21%	<£20K
18%	Mid edu	14%	30-49	23%	Univ grad+	20%	Men
17%	Men	13%	Women	22%	Labour	19%	Tory
15%	Total	12%	£70K+	22%	65+	17%	18-29
15%	Labour	11%	GCSE/less	22%	GCSE/less	17%	50-64
15%	Tory	11%	<£20K	21%	Total	17%	Mid edu
15%	65+	8%	50-64	21%	Women	16%	£70K+

A cartoon illustration of four children at the top and two at the bottom, all smiling and waving. They are holding a large white rectangular sign in the center. The background is a red, white, and blue striped pattern. The children are drawn in a simple, friendly style with large heads and small bodies. The child on the top left has brown hair and a blue shirt with a tractor icon. The child next to them has blonde hair with a red flower and a pink shirt. The child next to that has dark hair and a yellow shirt with a crown icon. The child on the top right has black hair in pigtails with orange bows and a red shirt. The child on the bottom left has blonde hair and a red shirt with a zigzag pattern. The child on the bottom right has black hair in buns with red beads and a pink shirt with a red heart.

**A WARNING  
FROM THE NEXT GENERATION:**

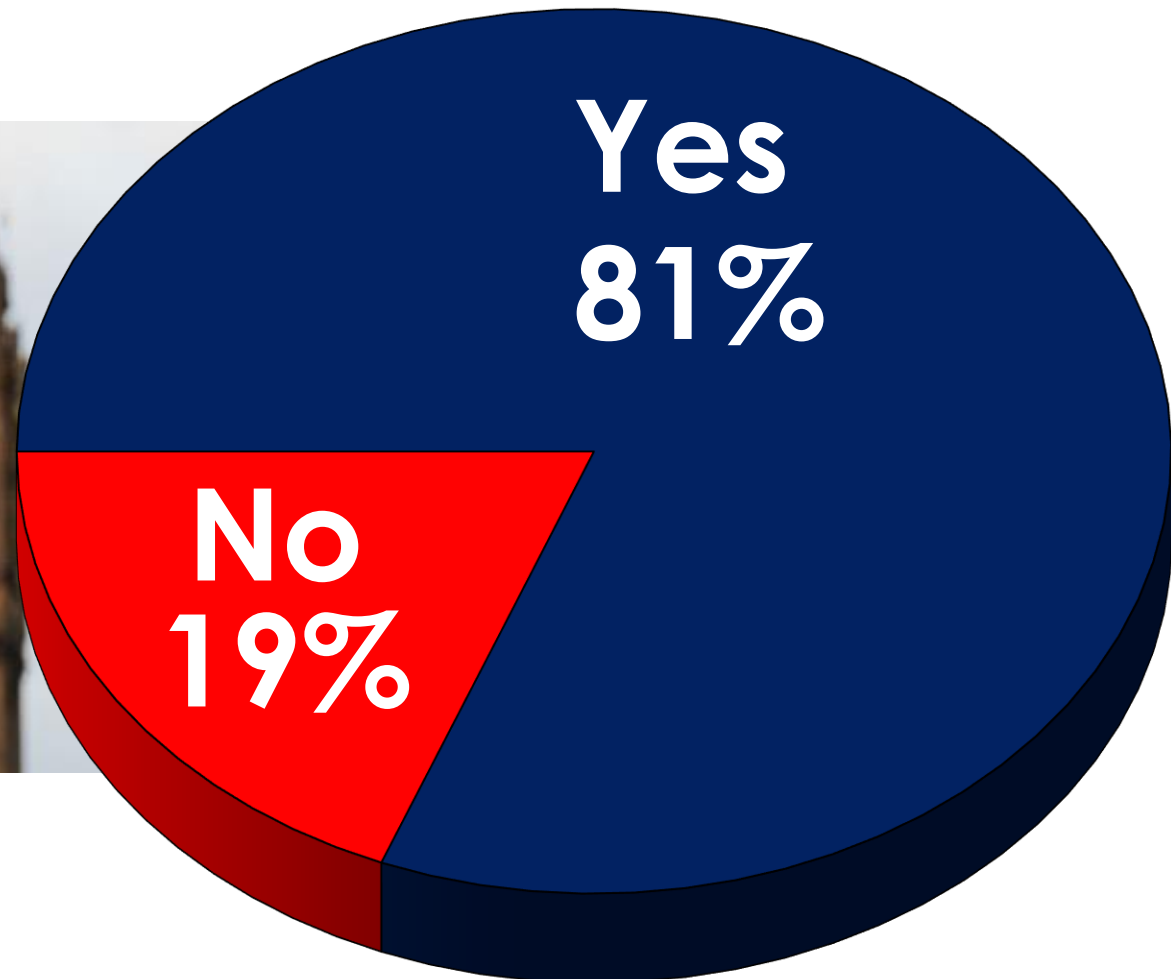
**It's not just that young people don't like the people who lead the Conservative Party...**

**They disagree with Conservative priorities, principles and values... starting with prioritising freedom.**

***So individualise the benefits of opportunity, link that to freedom ... and to the personal consequences to them of losing it.***

# Britons are united in the belief that the UK is a 'free country'

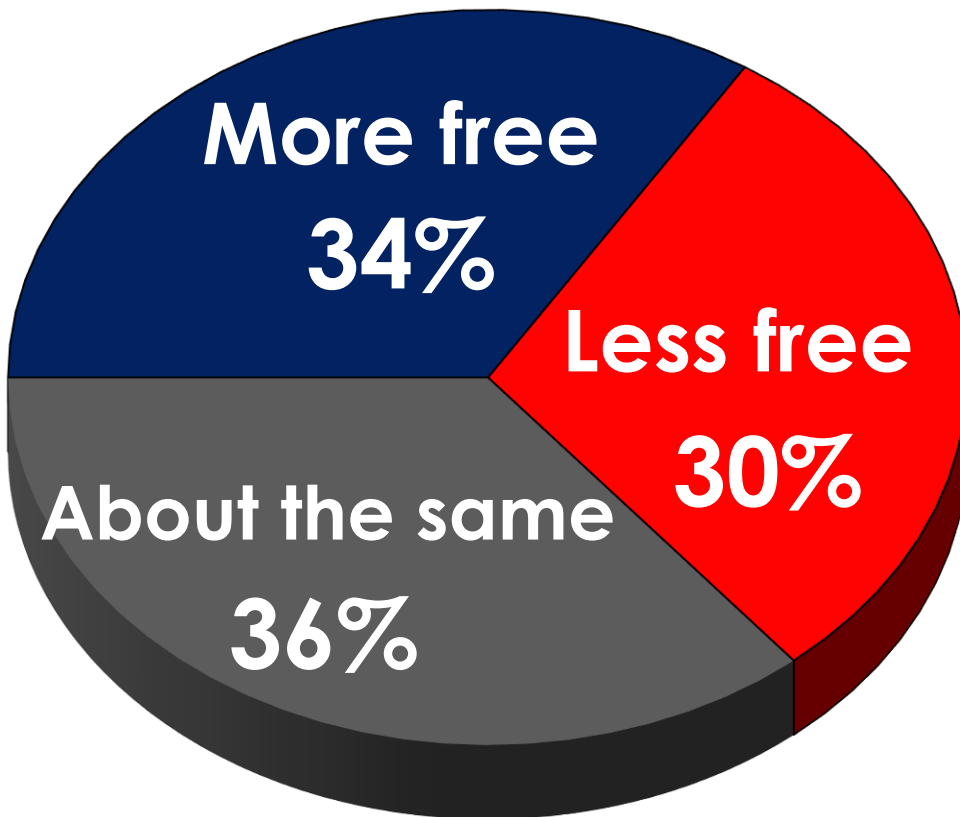
*Is the UK a free country?*



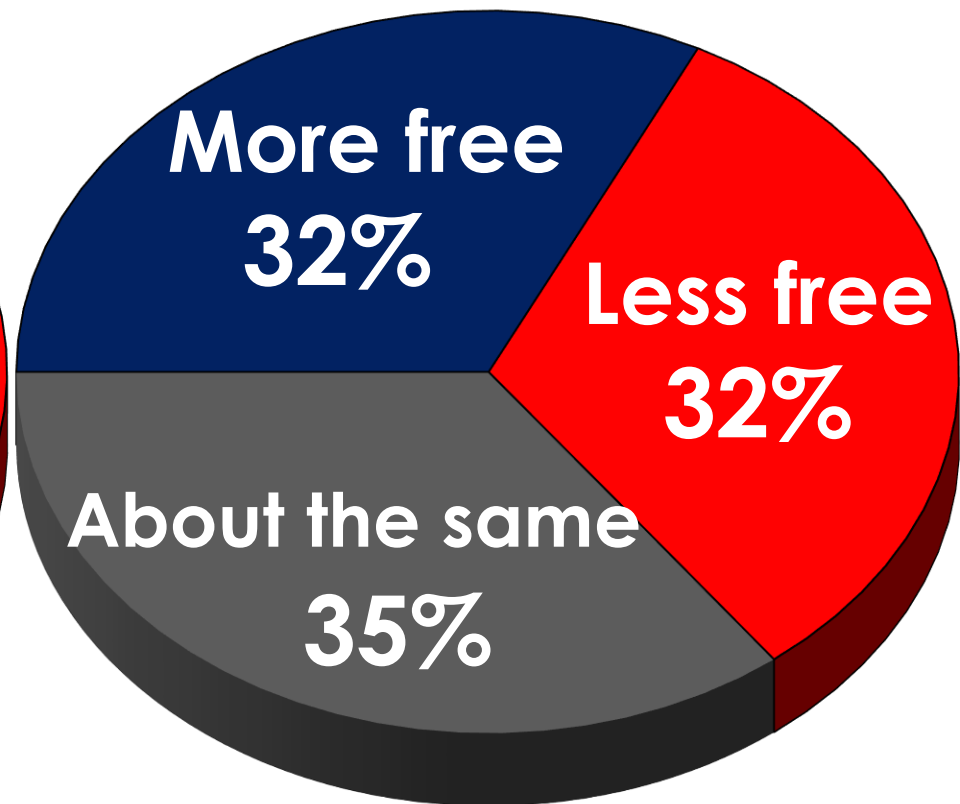
# But future UK prospects look uncertain

*Just one-third of the UK sees or expects to see greater freedom.*

**Do you personally feel more or less free today than you did ten years ago?**

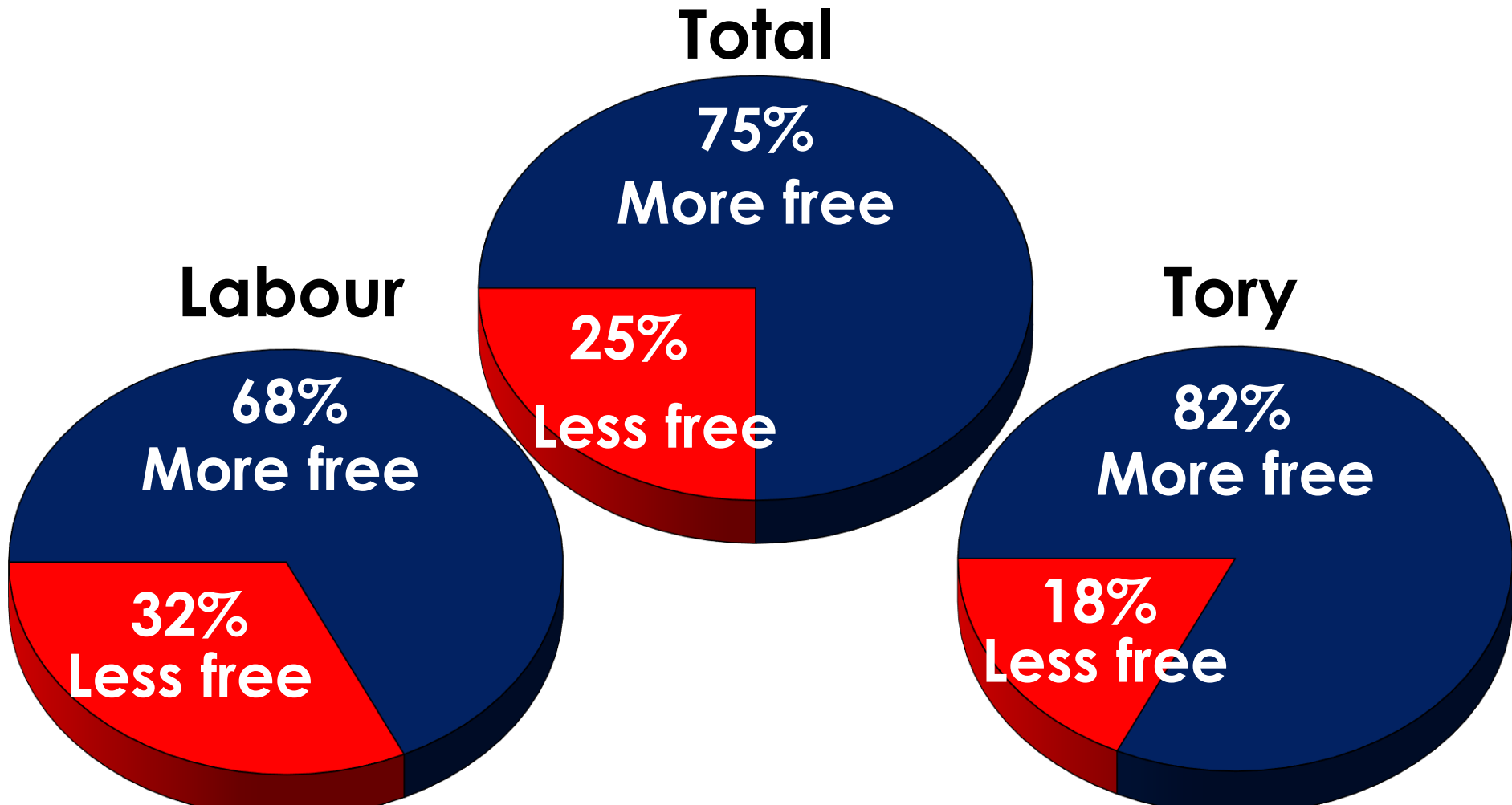


**Do you expect your children and the next generation to be ... than you are today?**



# Tories see themselves as 'freer' than Labour supporters

*Do you personally feel more free or less free than the average, ordinary British citizen?*



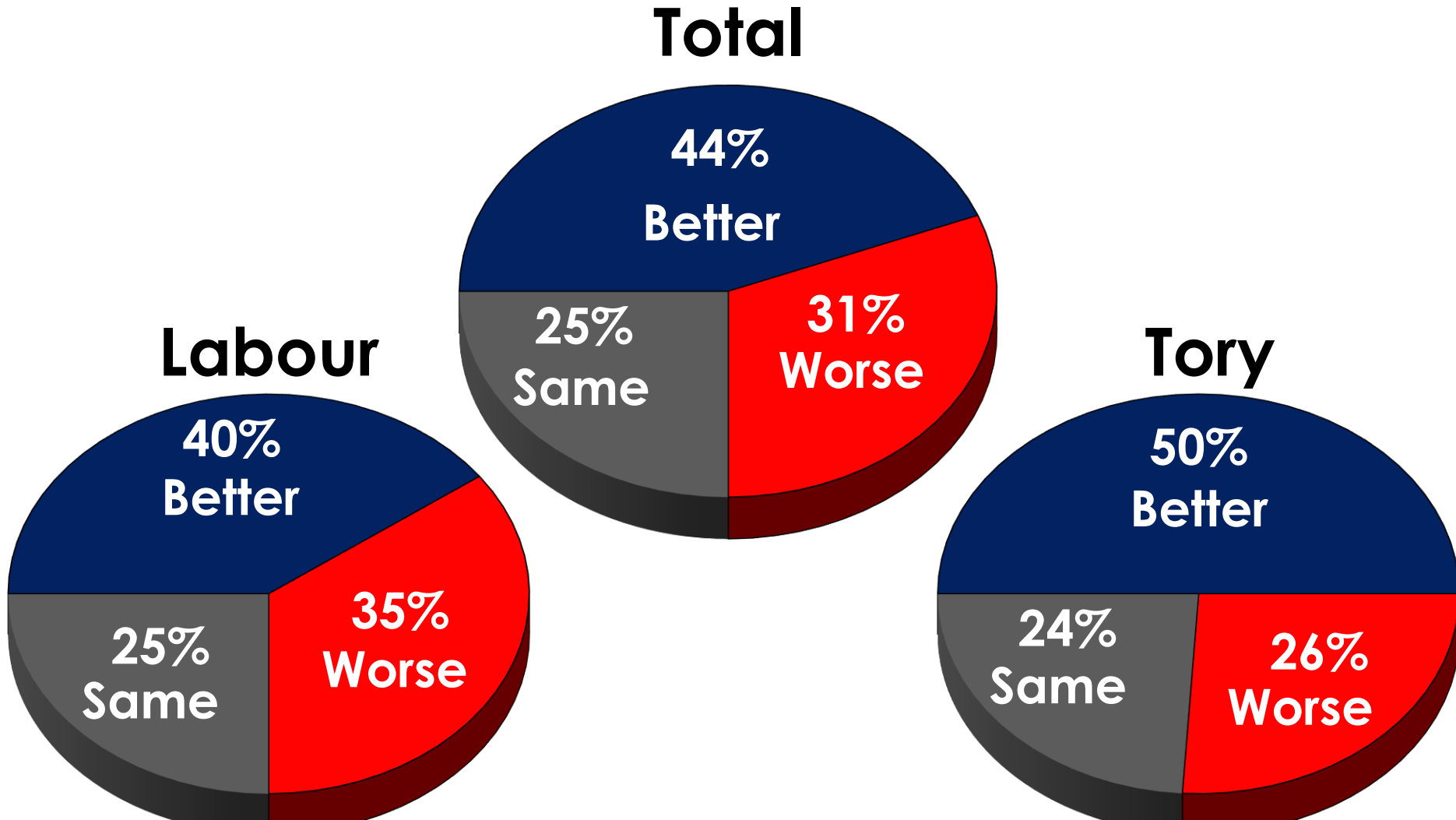
# Warning

**Just as there are specific financial indicators for economic success or failure, there are a set of essential perception questions that tell us our future, today. Perhaps the most important: *will your children be better off than you?***

**As long as a majority of the population thinks the future will be better than the present, the incumbent party wins. But when the optimists slip below 50%, expect political trouble ahead.**

# Tories are more optimistic about the future

*Looking towards the future, do you expect your children and the next generation to have a ... life than you do today?*



# Insight

One of the most significant comparisons between the UK and the US is in how much people prioritise freedom in their own lives. **In the US, they do immensely. And in the UK, they do too... but not as much.**

In the UK, just one-fifth (20%) believe issues of freedom matter more to them in their personal life than anything else. In the US, more than a third of the population prioritise freedom over all else.





# Freedom matters more in voting than in personal life

Total	<i>How important is freedom to you in your personal life?</i>
20%	Absolutely the most important
31%	Extremely important but not the most important
35%	Very important
12%	Somewhat important
2%	Only a little important
1%	Not important at all

Total	<i>And in your decision how to vote in UK elections?</i>
31%	Absolutely the most important
21%	Extremely important but not the most important
30%	Very important
15%	Somewhat important
2%	Only a little important
2%	Not important at all

# Crime is the greatest threat for the Tories. Politicians are the greatest threat for Labour

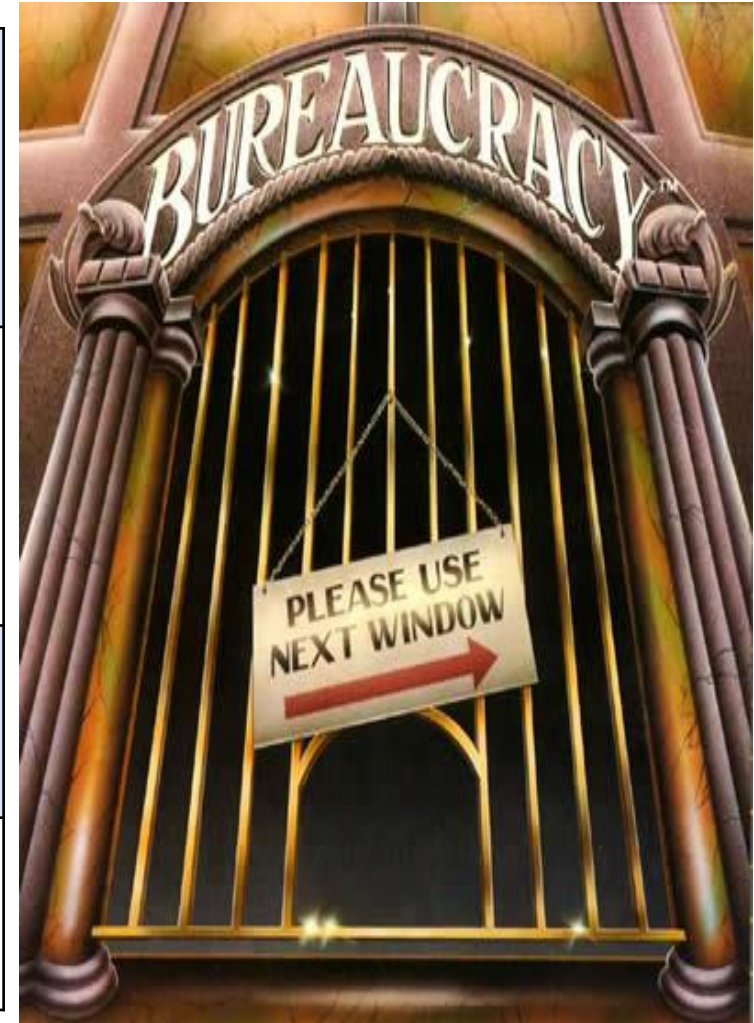
*Who do you think is a greater threat to your freedom? (top two combined)*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>42%</b>	<b><u>34%</u></b>	<b><u>53%</u></b>	<b>Criminals/anti-social behaviour</b>
<b>37%</b>	<b><u>47%</u></b>	<b><u>24%</u></b>	<b>Politicians</b>
<b>34%</b>	<b><u>38%</u></b>	<b><u>29%</u></b>	<b>Government bureaucrats</b>
<b>23%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>Big tech/social media companies</b>
<b>22%</b>	<b><u>12%</u></b>	<b><u>37%</u></b>	<b>Migrants</b>
<b>18%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>The UK's elites</b>
<b>14%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>The taxman</b>
<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>The business community</b>

# “Government bureaucrats” represent wasteful spending and no accountability

*Who do you have a more negative opinion of?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>38%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>Government bureaucrats</b>
<b>29%</b>	<b><u>37%</u></b>	<b><u>19%</u></b>	<b>Elected politicians</b>
<b>23%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>UK's elites</b>
<b>9%</b>	<b><u>3%</u></b>	<b><u>17%</u></b>	<b>Civil servants</b>



# Freedom & The Government



# **Warning**

**I start this chapter with a warning because it matters that much...**

**The next slide is probably the most politically damning and dangerous in this entire deck. It explicitly depicts a Conservative Party that no longer sees their own leaders as proponents for freedom.**

**If you want to understand the disappointment of Tory voters with the last 13 years, look no further.**

# WARNING: Freedom favors Labour!

*Which UK political party do you most associate with freedom?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>28%</b>	<b><u>47%</u></b>	<b><u>2%</u></b>	<b>Labour</b>
<b>20%</b>	<b><u>3%</u></b>	<b><u>42%</u></b>	<b>The Conservatives</b>
<b>15%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>Liberal Democrats</b>
<b>8%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>Reform Party</b>
<b>6%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>Green Party</b>
<b>4%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>SNP</b>
<b>2%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>Another political party</b>
<b>17%</b>	<b><u>13%</u></b>	<b><u>23%</u></b>	<b>None of them</b>



# Insight

Your politics determine your view of the Government and the ruling elite, not the other way around. Moreover, your political views aren't based on your class anymore (at least not exclusively). Your partisanship is now more impactful.



# Tories trusts ... Labour distrusts

*How much do you TRUST the economic, political and social institutions that run the UK, and the people who run them?*

Total	Labour	Tory
7%	6%	8%
23%	<u>16%</u>	<u>33%</u>
<u>25%</u>	21%	30%
23%	<u>28%</u>	<u>16%</u>
22%	<u>29%</u>	<u>13%</u>

Totally		
Mostly		
About half		
Only a little		
Not at all		



# Trust is seen through the lens of political power

*If you had to choose, which is more important?*

**I trust those in charge of the UK to do the right thing**

**Those in charge of the UK trust me to do the right thing**

**Total**

**54%**

**46%**

**Labour**

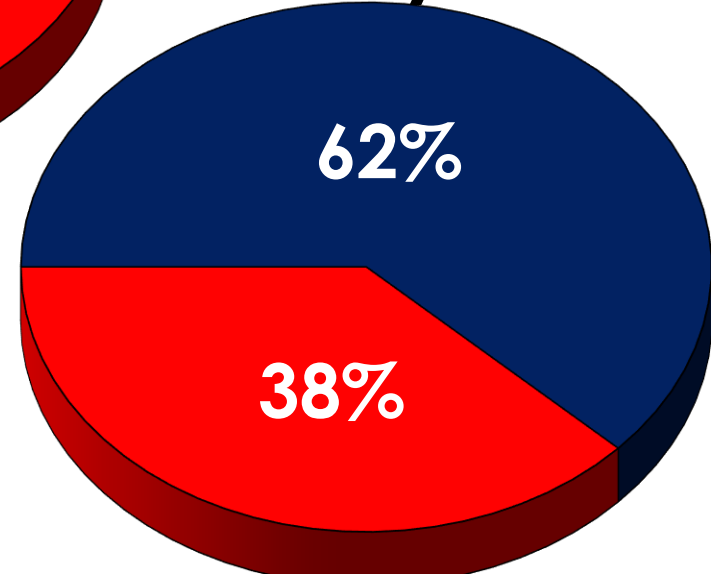
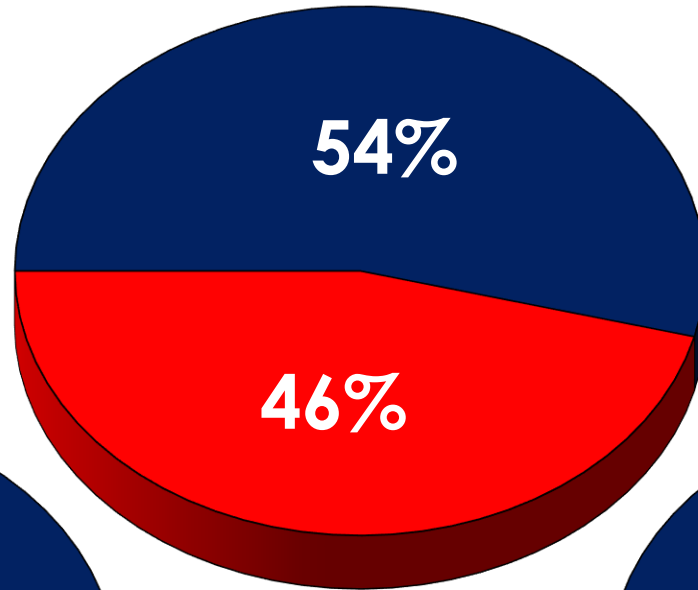
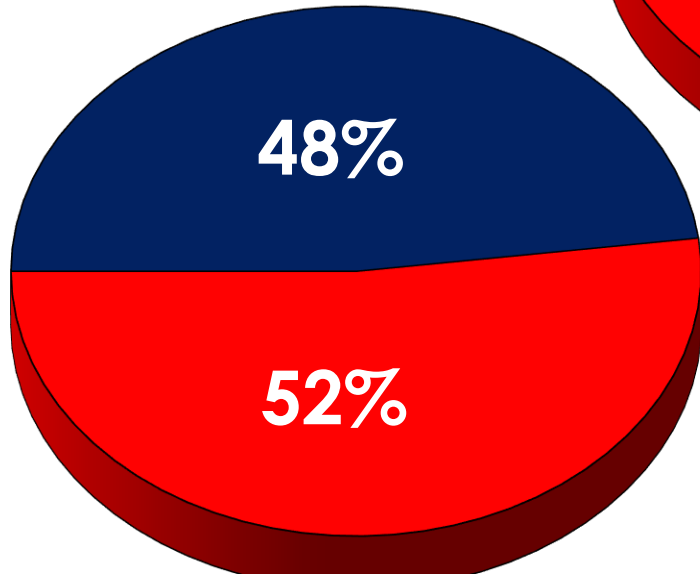
**48%**

**52%**

**Tory**

**62%**

**38%**



# Even freedom itself is viewed through the prism of which party controls the gov't

*If you had to choose, does the UK government... ?*

## Total



## Labour

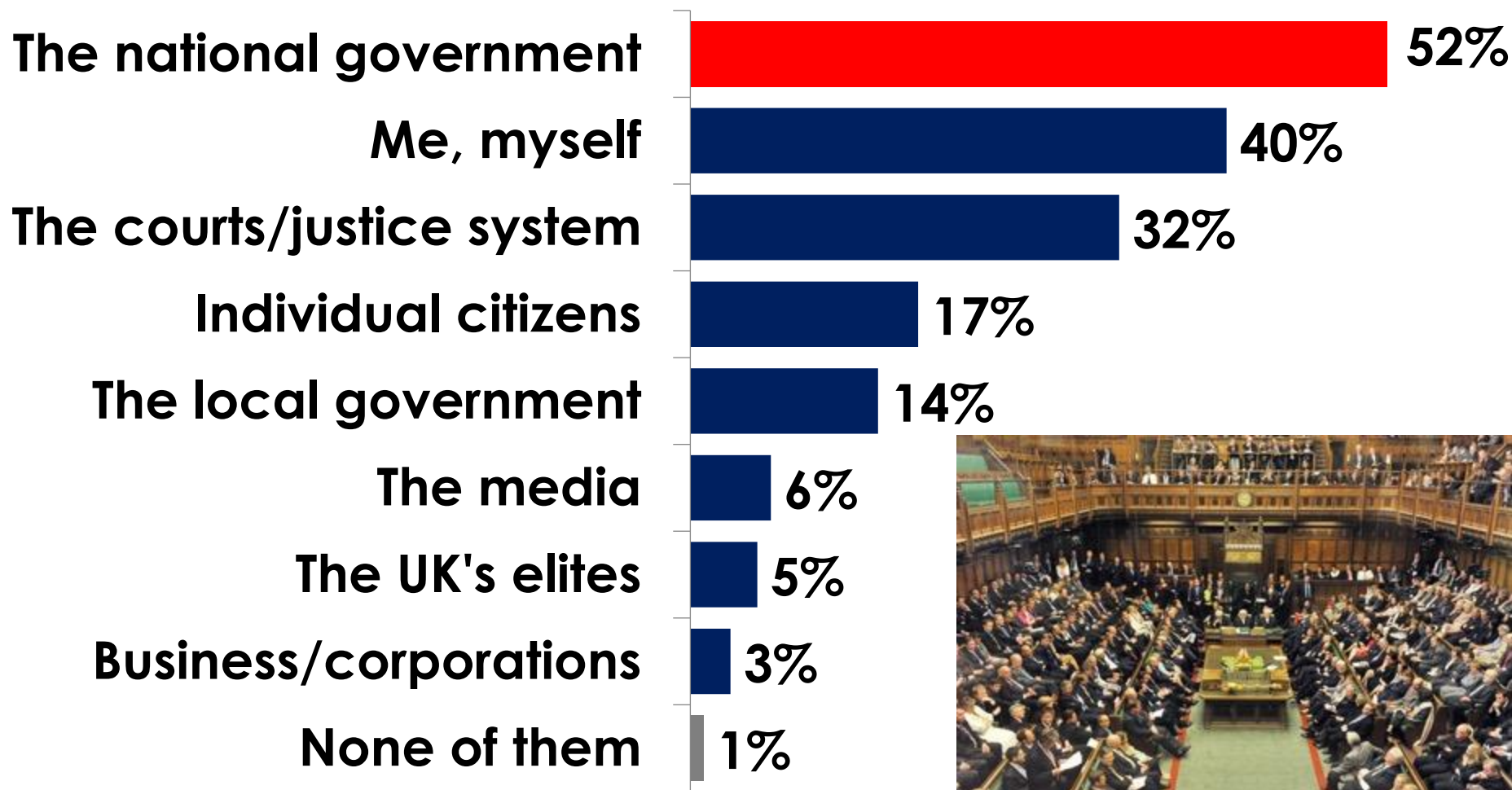


## Tory



# The national gov't should protect your freedom...but...

*If you had to choose, who should protect your freedoms? (top two)*



# ...people trust themselves more to protect their own freedoms.

*If you had to choose, who is more likely to actually protect your freedoms? (Combined)*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>49%</b>	<b><u>53%</u></b>	<b><u>43%</u></b>	<b>Me, myself</b>
<b>27%</b>	<b><u>20%</u></b>	<b><u>38%</u></b>	<b>The national government</b>
<b>25%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>The courts/justice system</b>
<b>25%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>Individual citizens</b>
<b>16%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>The local government</b>
<b>8%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>The media</b>
<b>5%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>The UK's elites</b>
<b>4%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>Business/corporations</b>
<b>5%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>None of them</b>

# Warning

The people clearly assert that the national Government should be responsible for protecting freedom in the UK. But...

Government is so unpopular, and its credibility so damaged that the public thinks, by a wide margin, that they themselves need to be responsible for protecting their freedom.

The numbers are striking: 52% believe the national government should be responsible for protecting their freedom, but only 27% believe they will actually do it.

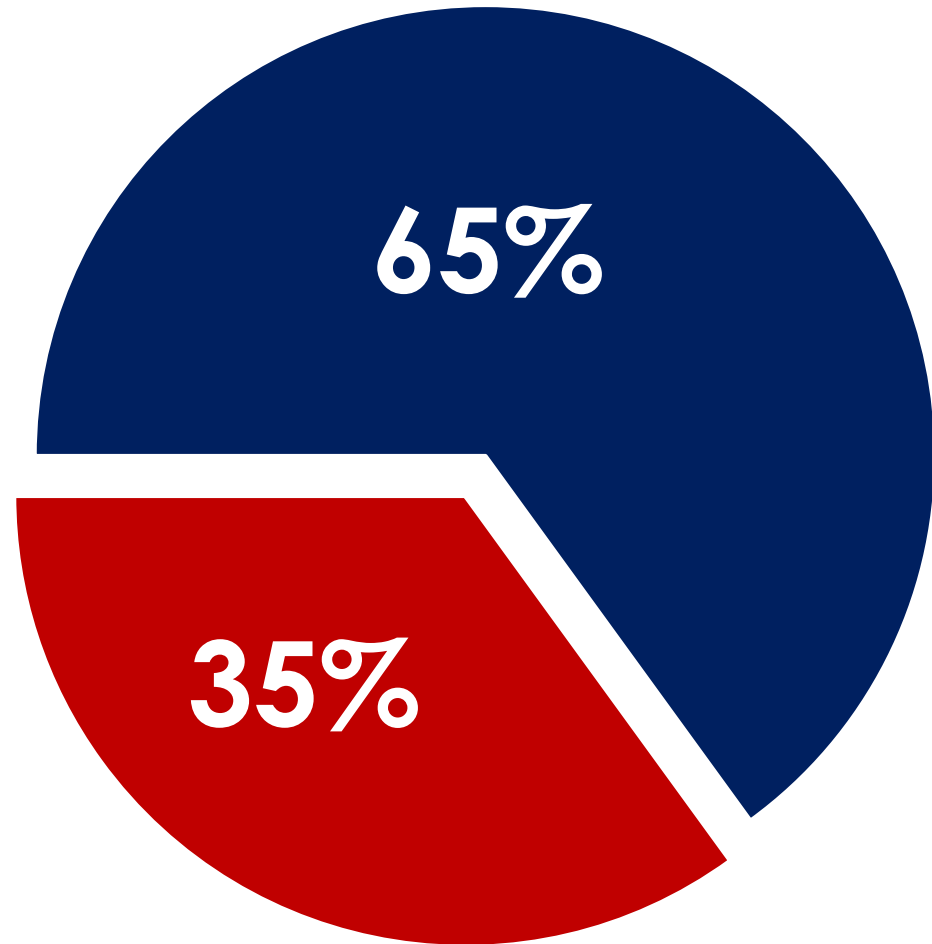
# The UK does NOT consider government to be a safety net

*What's the government's job ...?*

**To protect most people against most risks**



**A safety net to be there only when people need it the most**



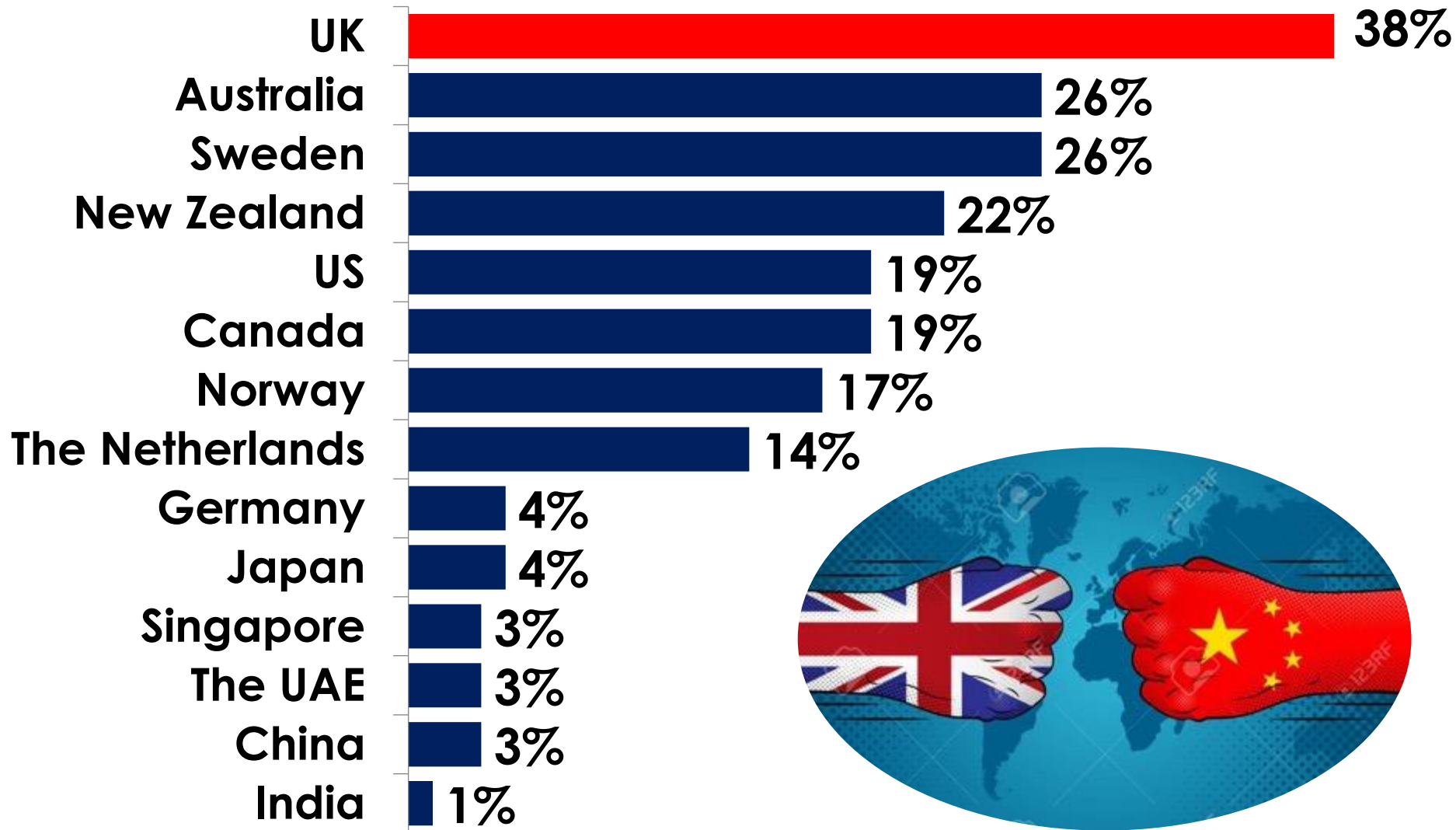
# Insight

That the UK sees itself as the freest country on the planet is not surprising. That the US only comes in 5<sup>th</sup> is graphic proof that the events of the past decade (from Donald Trump to George Floyd) have seriously tarnished America's image.

Even though it's been more than three decades since Thatcher served, and Tony Blair left office 15 years ago, they are celebrated as the greatest proponents of freedom in their respective parties.

# Britain sees itself as #1

*What is the freest country in the world? (Combined)*





# Thatcher and Blair most embody freedom

*Of the UK Prime Ministers over the last 40 years, which one do you most associate with freedom?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>22%</b>	<b><u>14%</u></b>	<b><u>34%</u></b>	<b>Margaret Thatcher</b>
<b>22%</b>	<b><u>33%</u></b>	<b><u>6%</u></b>	<b>Tony Blair</b>
<b>15%</b>	<b><u>9%</u></b>	<b><u>22%</u></b>	<b>Boris Johnson</b>
<b>11%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>Gordon Brown</b>
<b>10%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>David Cameron</b>
<b>8%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>Rishi Sunak</b>
<b>6%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>John Major</b>
<b>4%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>Theresa May</b>
<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>Liz Truss</b>



# Economic Freedom



# Insight

Capitalism beats Socialism by a solid but not spectacular 26% (40% choose Capitalism while only 14% choose Socialism) as the economic system more likely to make the UK more rich.

However, and this is important, the gap between Capitalism and Socialism regarding which system is more likely to make PEOPLE LIKE YOU rich is only 17% (35% choose Capitalism and 18% pick Socialism).

The good news: most people believe success is earned and deserved.

The bad news (and this is really bad): the millions of people in the UK (almost half the population) who either see no difference or can't tell the difference between Capitalism and Socialism.

# Capitalism is more compelling, but the intensity is driven by Tories



*Which economic system makes  
countries like the UK richer?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>40%</b>	<b><u>32%</u></b>	<b><u>52%</u></b>	Capitalism
<b>14%</b>	<b><u>18%</u></b>	<b><u>8%</u></b>	Socialism
<b>28%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>25%</b>	About equal
<b>18%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>16%</b>	I have no idea



*Which economic system makes  
people like you richer?*

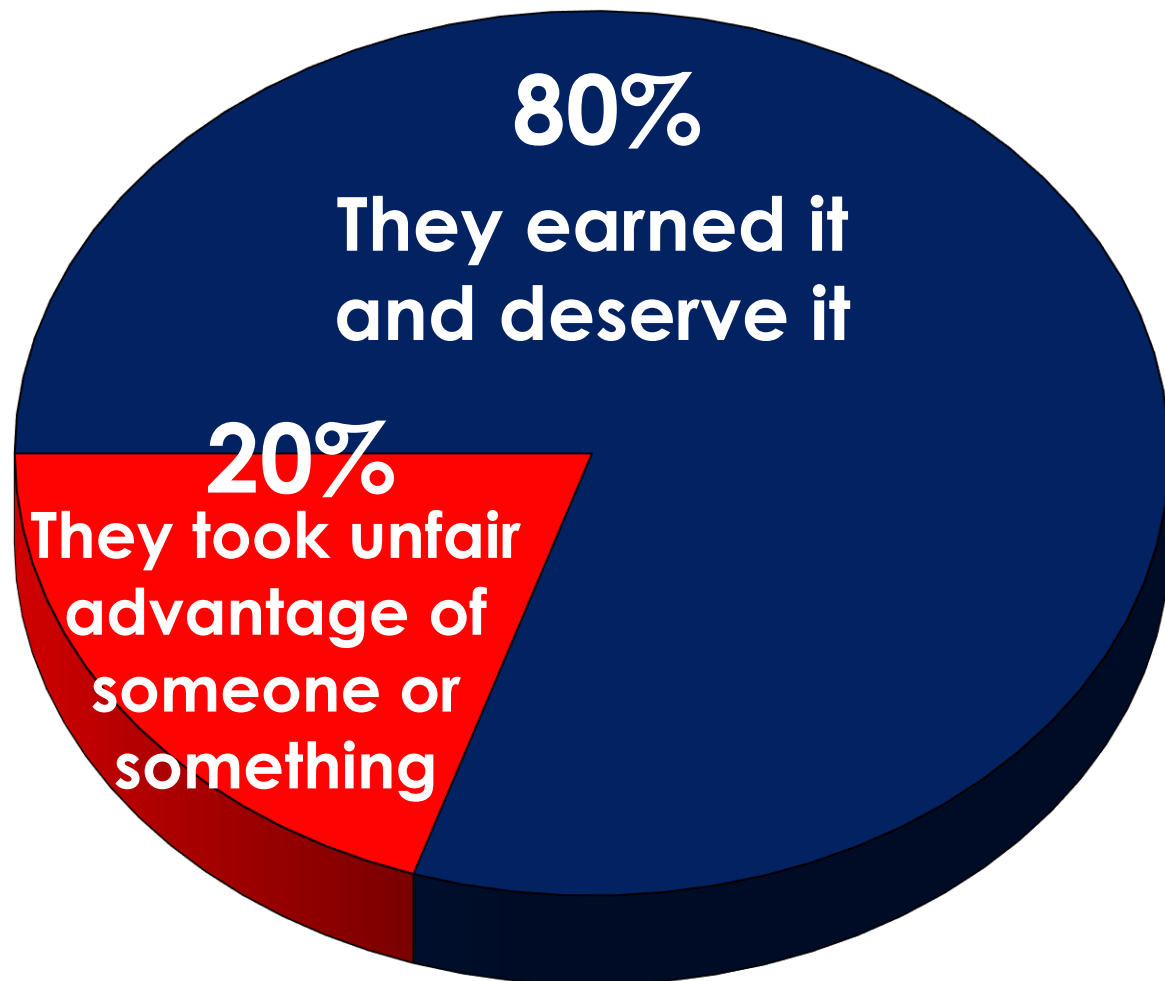
Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>35%</b>	<b><u>28%</u></b>	<b><u>44%</u></b>	Capitalism
<b>18%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>15%</b>	Socialism
<b>21%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>16%</b>	About equal
<b>25%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>24%</b>	I have no idea

# Warning

**When less than a majority (44%) of Conservatives think Capitalism is more likely than Socialism to make PEOPLE LIKE THEM rich, you have an intellectual and ideological crisis.**

# Most people believe success is earned, deserved, and justified

*When you see a successful person, do you FIRST think...*



# Issues, Policies & Gov't Programmes



# UK Government

# Insight

You're about to discover the difficult contradictions within the UK population – and why language is so important.

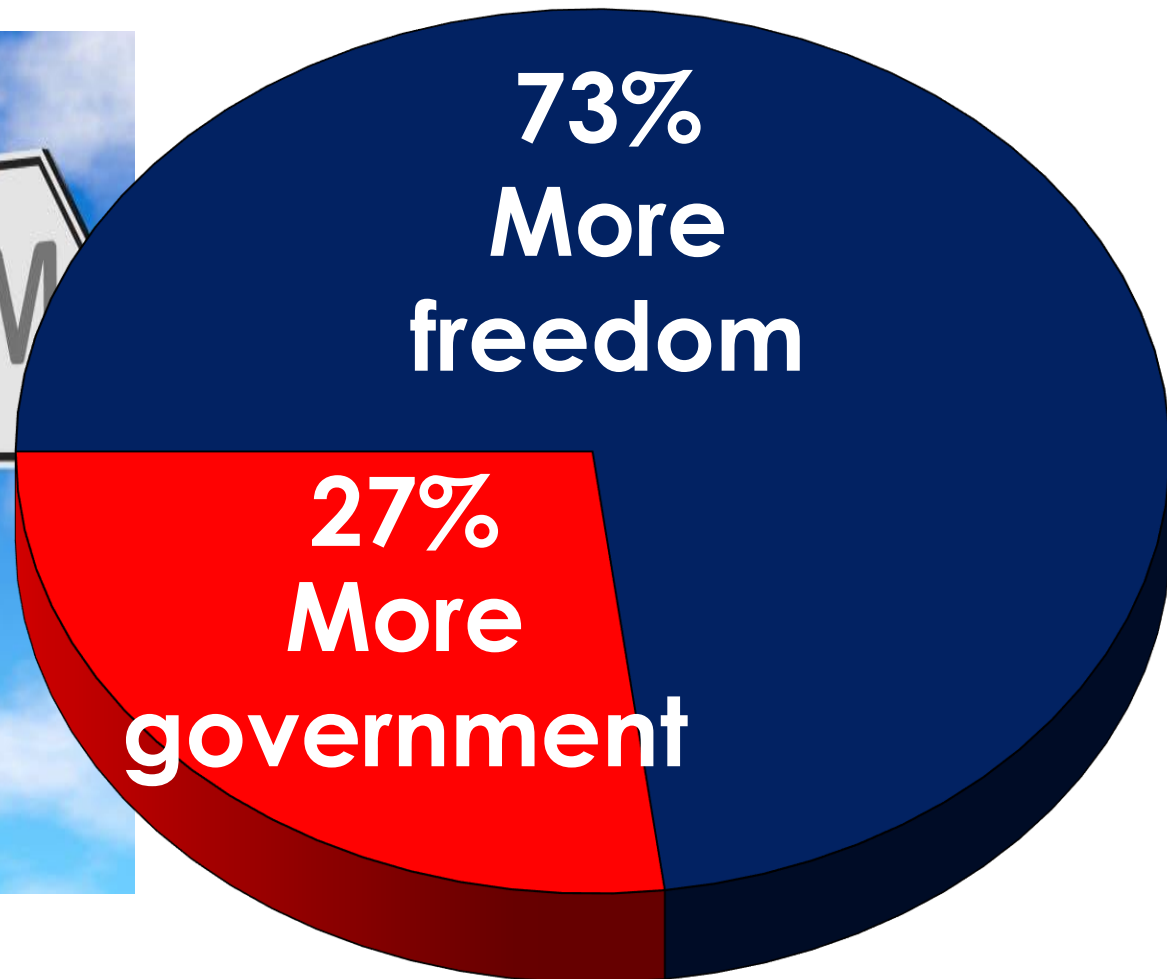
In general terms, the UK population overwhelmingly prioritises more freedom ahead of more government ... yet they see the government COVID restrictions favorably and see government regulations as protecting them rather than inhibiting them.

And when you get specific, such as the NHS, schools and public transport, they want the investment – and don't see it as government waste.



# More Freedom, Less Government

*If you had to choose, will ... more freedom ... or ... more government ... give you higher pay, more financial security, and a better life?*



# Insight

Attitudes towards “government regulation” differentiate and separate the UK and the US...

In America, “*regulation*” is directly connected to the bureaucracy and the bureaucrats who run it. That’s why calls to simplify and streamline government regulations and programmes are so popular across the political spectrum.

**In the UK, however, people think of the services they get rather than the programmes and who runs them.** That’s why it’s so difficult for Conservatives to fully address challenges in the NHS and in education. Calls to make the programmes run more efficiently and effectively are met with skepticism out of fear that services will be cut.

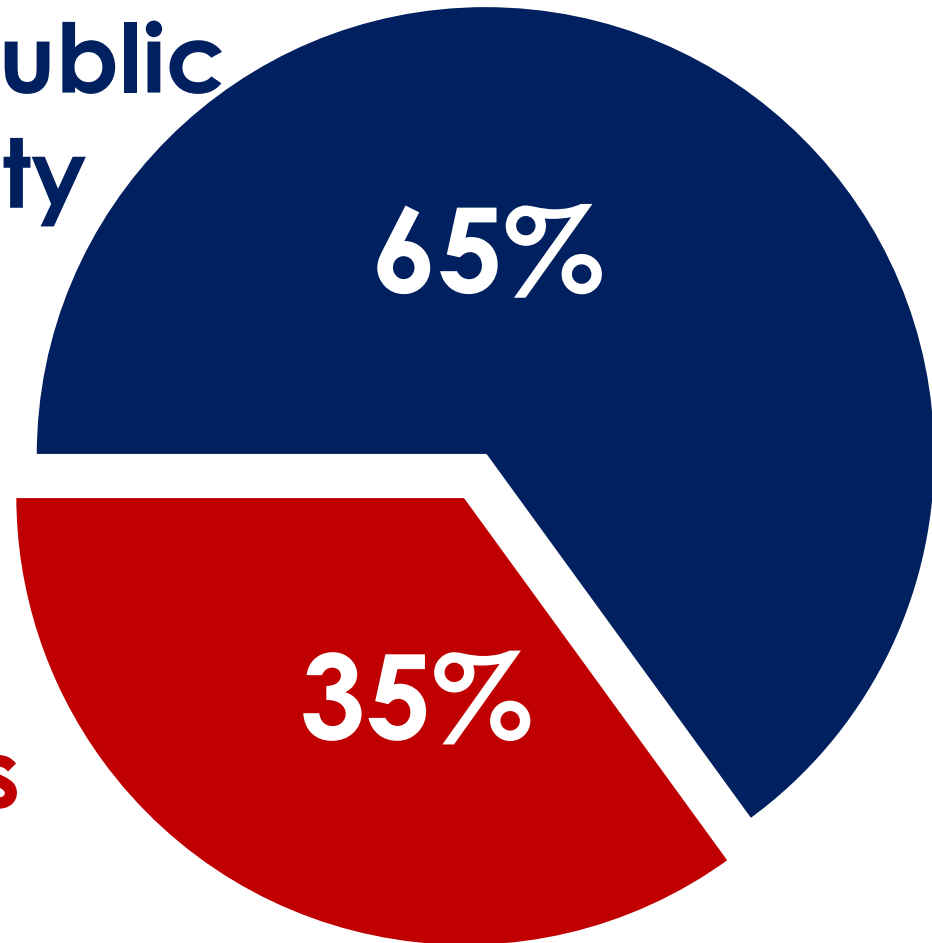
# *Regulation* is seen as a benefit, not a burden

*When you hear about "government regulation", do you first think...*

**Regulation means public  
safety and security**



**Regulation means  
limits and hassles**



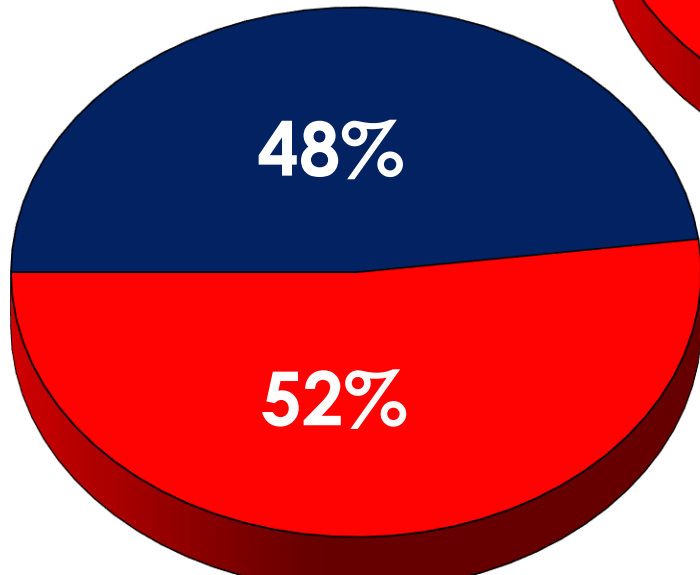
# Government spending is favourable to the party that controls the government...

*When you hear about "government spending", do you first think...*

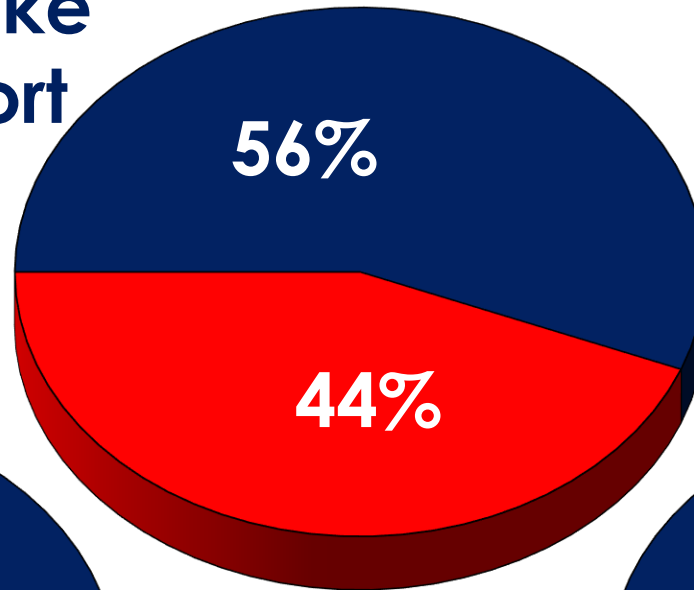
**Investment in public services like the NHS, transport and schools**

**Government wasting your money**

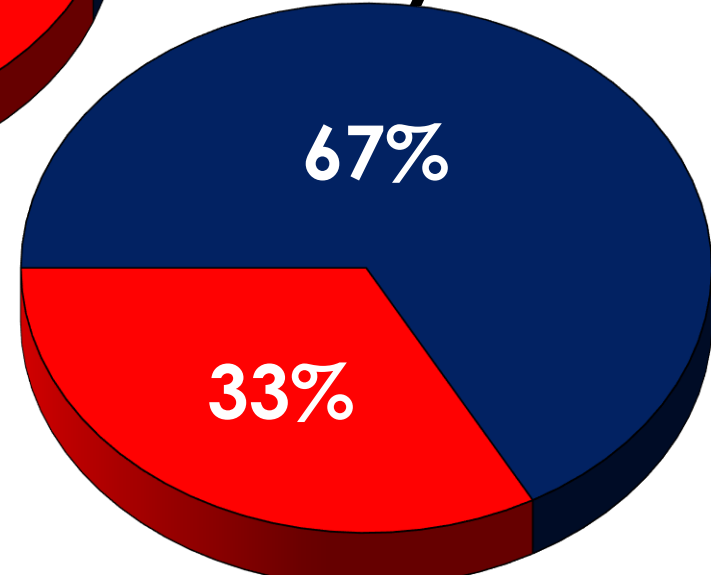
**Labour**



**Total**



**Tory**



# Warning

The results on the previous slide are CORRECT ...

Conservatives are much more likely to believe that “*government spending*” is an “investment,” while Labourites see it as “waste”.

The Chancellor/PM has been doing precisely what his constituency wants.



# Insight

Freedom means something entirely different in the UK than in the US...

To my shock, the UK public sees better “*public services*” as the #1 priority when thinking about “economic “freedom” in the UK. Unlike the US, the UK population really loves its government programmes ... when they work.

Even among Conservatives, “better public services” beats less regulation, more jobs, and more house building.

What doesn't matter to anyone: **making it easier to start a business and infrastructure building.** (You'd better alert the proponents of levelling up.)

# Labour sees economic freedom as better government, Tories as a better economy

*When you hear "economic freedom", which of the following do you want most? (Combined)*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>33%</b>	<b>36%</b>	28%	<b>Better public services</b>
<b>29%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>More prosperity</b>
<b>26%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>Lower tax</b>
<b>26%</b>	<b><u>22%</u></b>	<b><u>31%</u></b>	<b>More growth</b>
<b>23%</b>	<b><u>27%</u></b>	<b><u>17%</u></b>	<b>More job opportunities</b>
<b>19%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>Freer trade</b>
<b>15%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>Less regulation</b>
<b>13%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>More housebuilding</b>
<b>9%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>More infrastructure building</b>
<b>8%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>Making it easier to start a business</b>

# Individual freedom = housing for Tories & healthcare for Labour

*In which area does your freedom to make your own decisions matter the most to you?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>31%</b>	29%	<b>34%</b>	Housing and where you live
<b>27%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<u>20%</u>	Healthcare/NHS
18%	16%	22%	Retirement
13%	12%	14%	Education and schools
10%	10%	10%	Starting and running a business



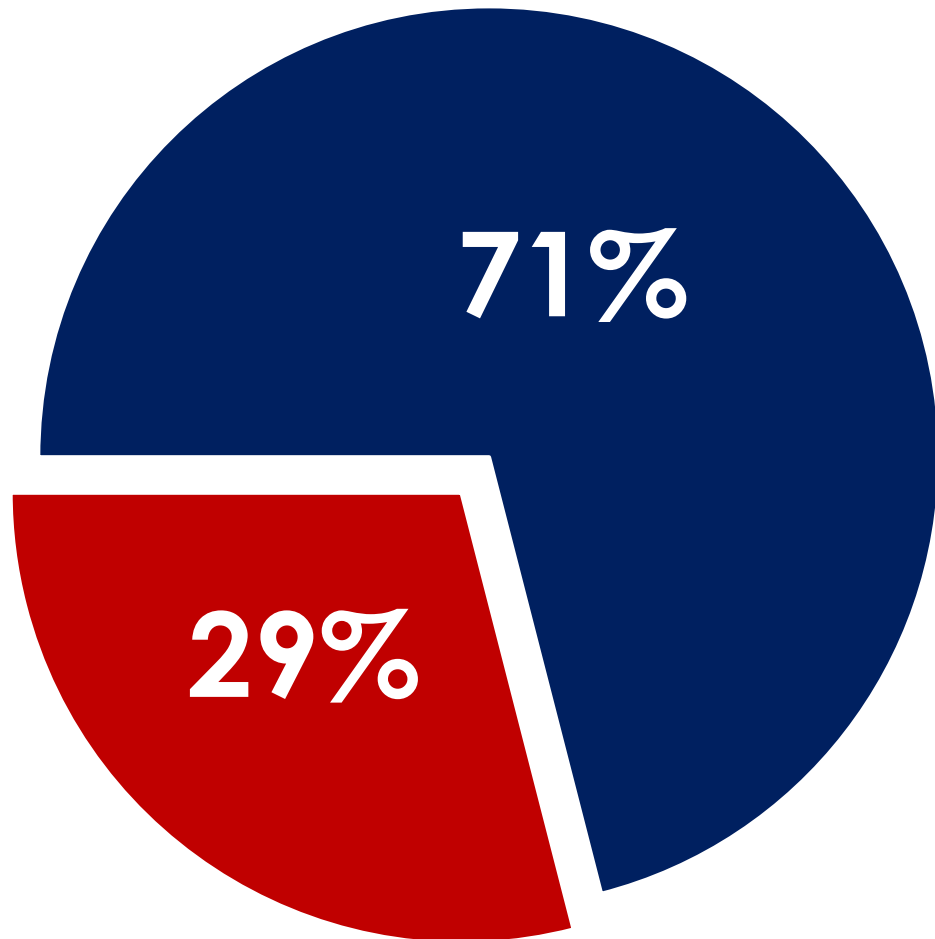


# Freedom is about the positive, not negative

*Which is more important in society?*

**Building homes so  
people have the  
freedom to live  
where they want**

**The freedom to  
prevent building in  
your neighborhood  
and community**



# Warning

Housing choices/where you live is the single highest priority for Conservatives in exercising their personal freedom ... above healthcare ... above education ... even above retirement.

The reason why this is a warning is because it's not just about choosing a home. For a third of the Conservatives, it's also about preventing other people from building a home.



# Insight

It is evident why the UK and EU are ahead of America when it comes to regulating tech companies – the #1 reason why limiting freedom would be tolerated is to moderate online content for mis- and disinformation.

We know how much of a serious impact what people post and share online can affect children, as well as what is seen as the “truth” in the public sphere.

Calls for regulating what appears on these platforms will only increase as they become more intertwined in our daily lives.

# Limiting freedom in pursuit of “the truth” is the most acceptable restriction

*Which freedoms and privacies is it most acceptable to limit or restrict? (Combined)*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>30%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>Limit misinformation/disinformation by regulating what the press can write or people can say online</b>
<b>27%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>Limit the threat of terrorism by allowing the government to read emails and other personal communication</b>
<b>21%</b>	<b><u>15%</u></b>	<b><u>29%</u></b>	<b>Limit public disruption by limiting protests</b>

# Limiting speech or where people can live is NOT acceptable to anyone

*Which freedoms and privacies is it most acceptable to limit or restrict? (Combined)*

Total	Labour	Tory	
17%	20%	13%	Limit healthcare mistakes by sharing your healthcare data
16%	19%	12%	Limit the impact of climate change by limiting your consumer choices
16%	18%	14%	Limit income inequality by raising taxes
8%	8%	8%	Limit free speech to avoid offence
8%	8%	9%	Limit where people can live by limiting housebuilding
25%	27%	23%	None of these should be limited or restricted for any reason

# Warning

**Note that 25% of the population sees no reason to limit any element of freedom or free expression in any way.  
The biggest political difference:**

- 29% of Conservatives would limit protests, compared to just 15% of Labourites.**



# Freedom of education for the community, not just for individuals

*Which should be the highest priority for freedom in education?*

**Giving schools the freedom to tailor education to the needs of the community**



**Parents having the freedom to determine what their children are taught**



**Students having the freedom to say and think what they want**



# Warning

**Britain views education through the impact on the whole community BEFORE the individual student (41% to 24%). This is an important differentiator from the US, which takes the opposite stance.**

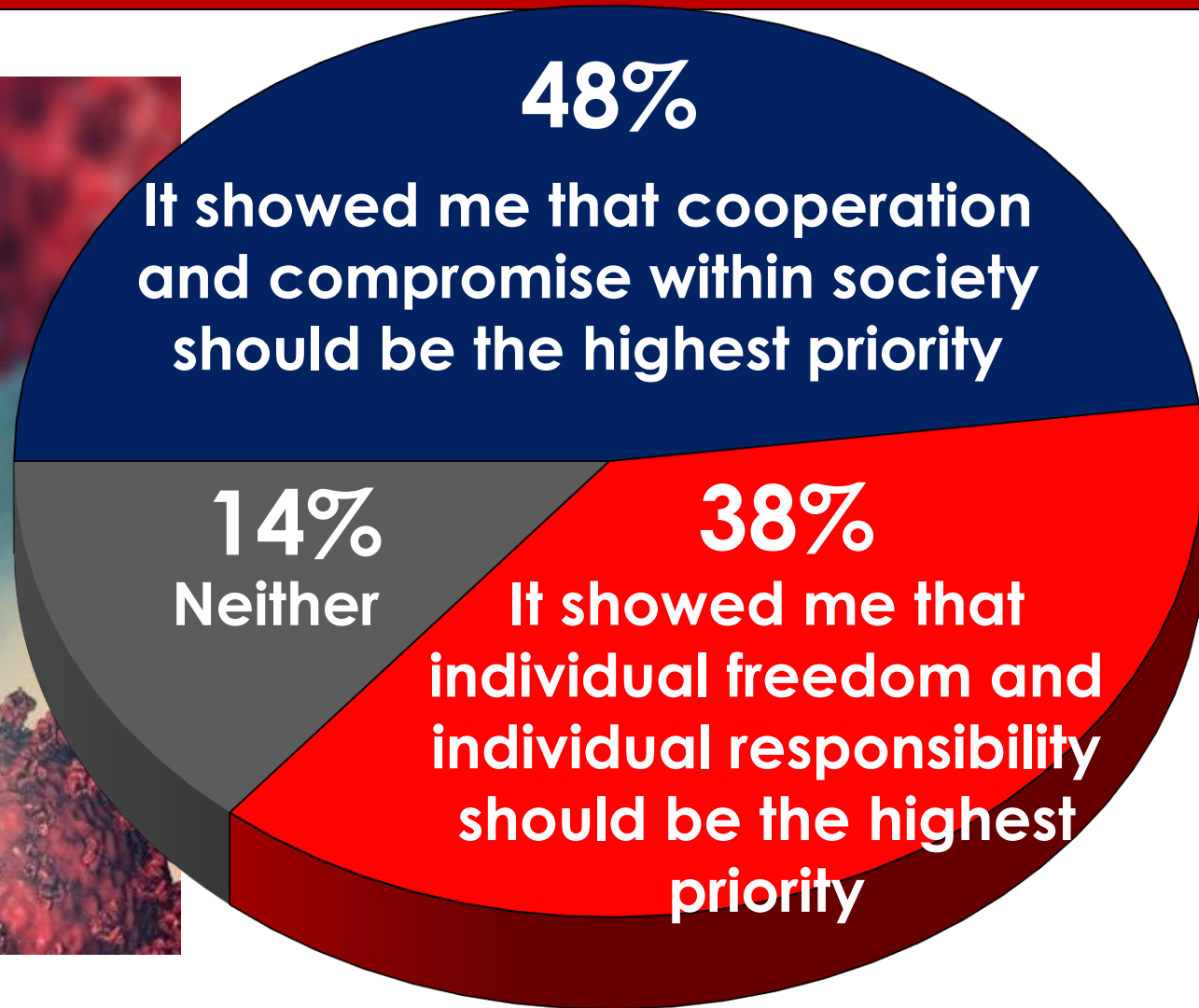
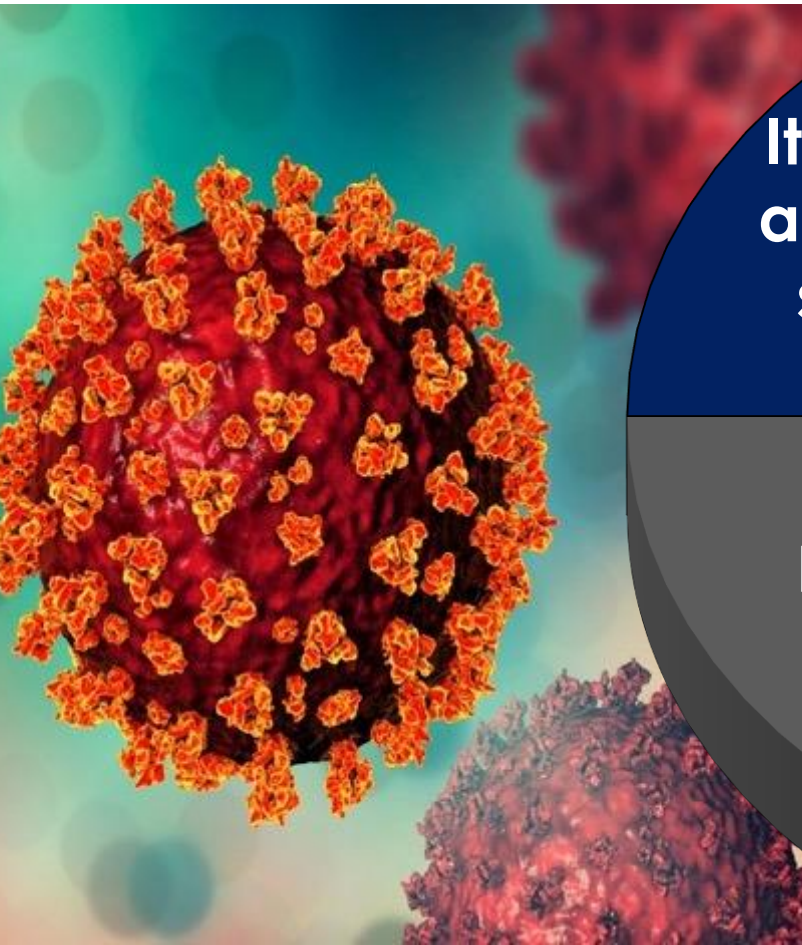
**Personalising, individualising and tailoring education is a powerful motivator, but it needs to be framed in terms of the net positive impact it has on the community.**





# COVID promoted community more than individuality

*What was the impact of COVID on your view of freedom?*



# The Priorities of Freedom



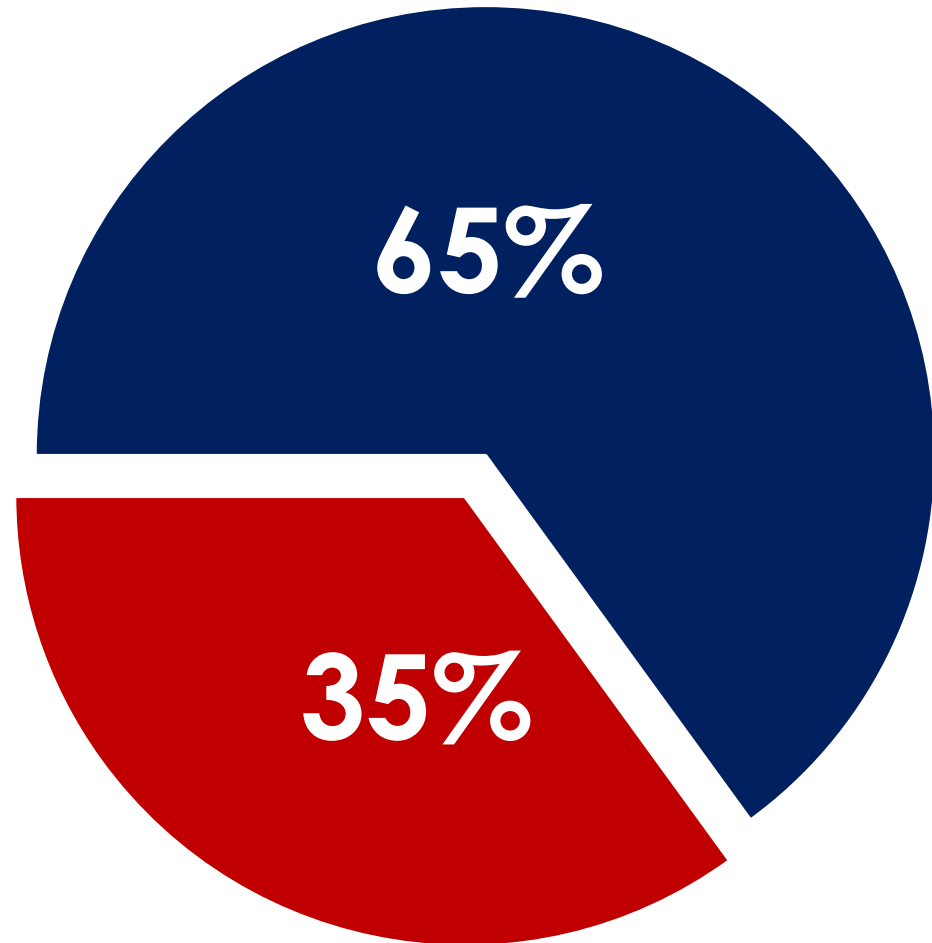
# Britons can hold freedom in their hands

*When someone talks about "freedom", do you see it more as...*

**Something real  
and tangible**



**Intellectual and  
ideological**



# Insight

Humanise, personalise and individualise freedom!

The best way to communicate *freedom* is to focus on a person's personal life and living it the way they want. It's NOT about a theory, ideology or intellectual argument. It's about making life better. That's why "*quality of life*" and "*control of your life*" dramatically outpoll "*freedom.*"

Similarly, "liberty" and "self-determination" do badly because they are ideological rather than day-to-day practical.

Finally, Conservatives prioritise "*freedom from*" while Labour is equally keen on "*freedom to...*" For Conservatives, freedom is for protecting you against something bad. (Note: in America, conservatives prefer the opposite (i.e. freedom to...) definition.

# Quality of life matters most, personal freedom matters least

*And overall, which is more important to you, personally?*

**Your quality of life**



**55%**

**Your standard of living**



**26%**

**Your personal freedom**

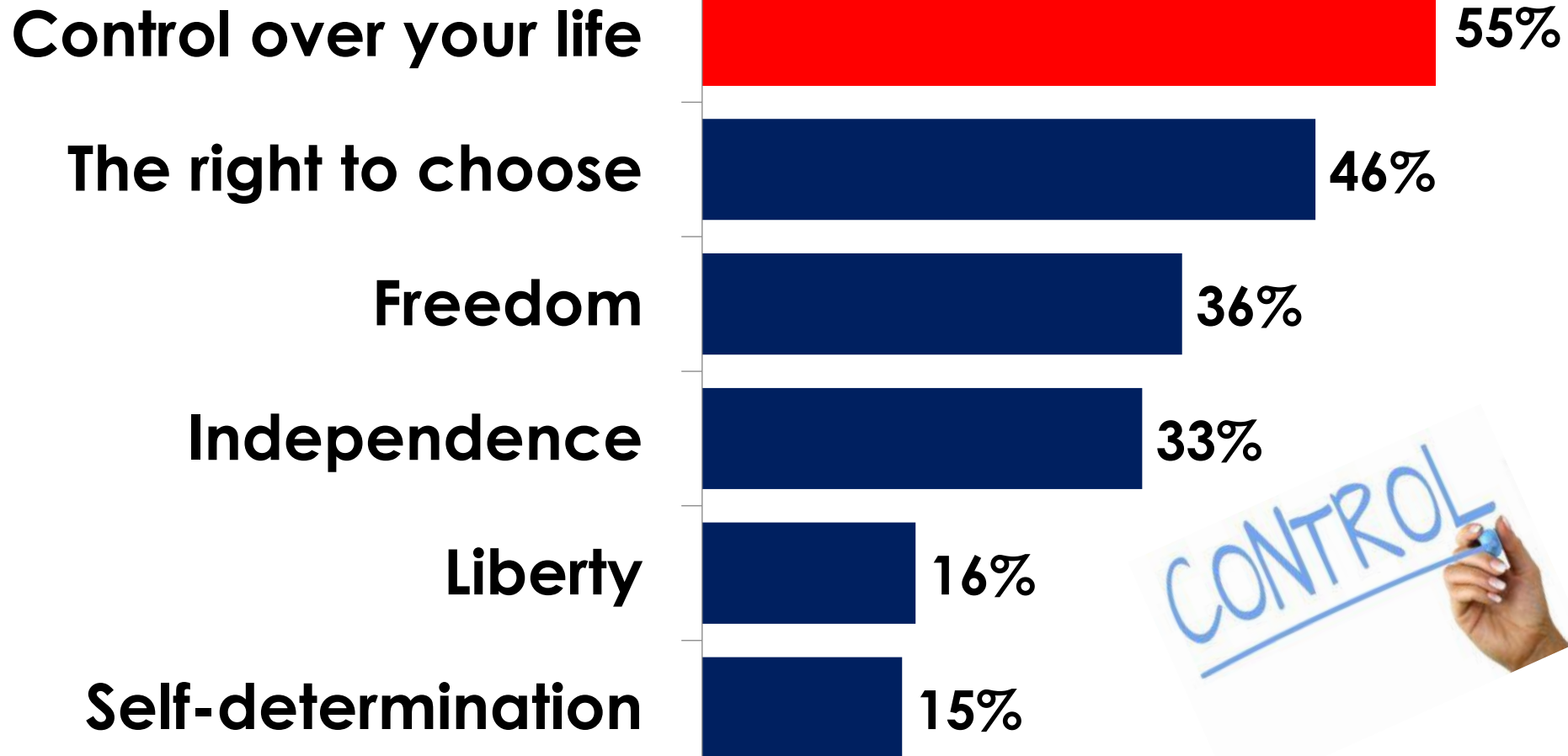


**18%**



# “Control” is the definitive word to use

*Which two of the following principles and priorities matter most to you? (Combined)*



# Britons see “*freedom*” and “*right*” exactly the same

*And which matters more to you ... that you have ...*

The freedom to decide what's best for you

**Total**

The right to decide what's best for you

**Labour**

49%

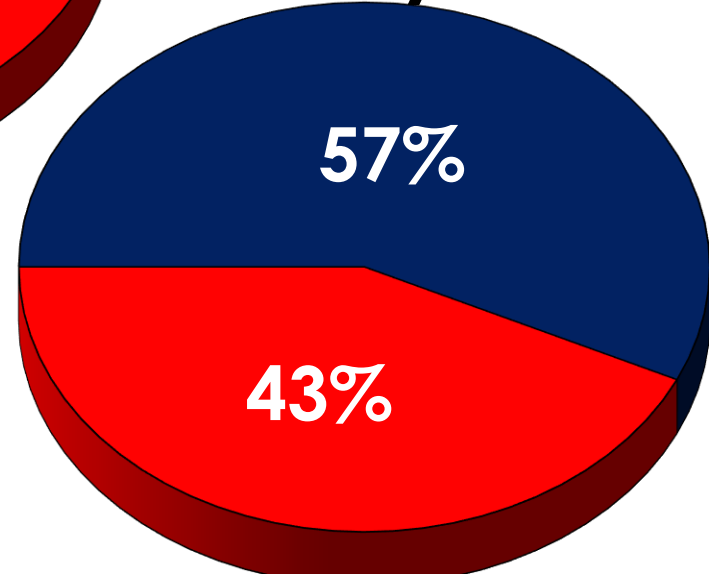
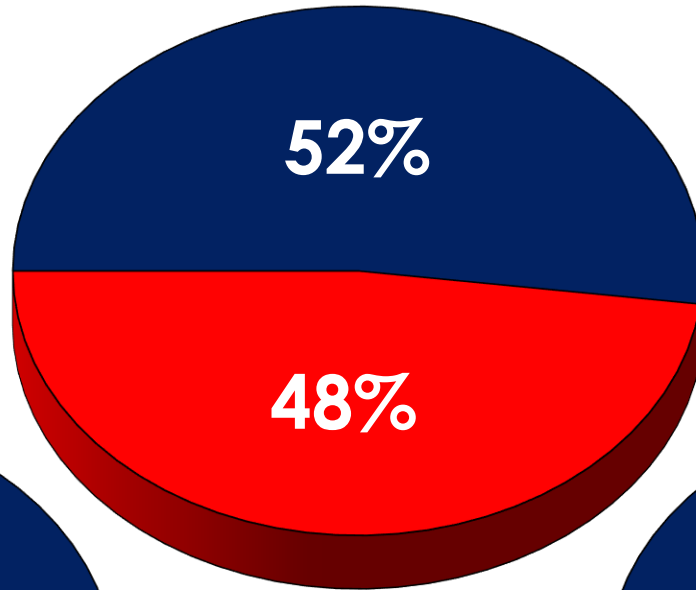
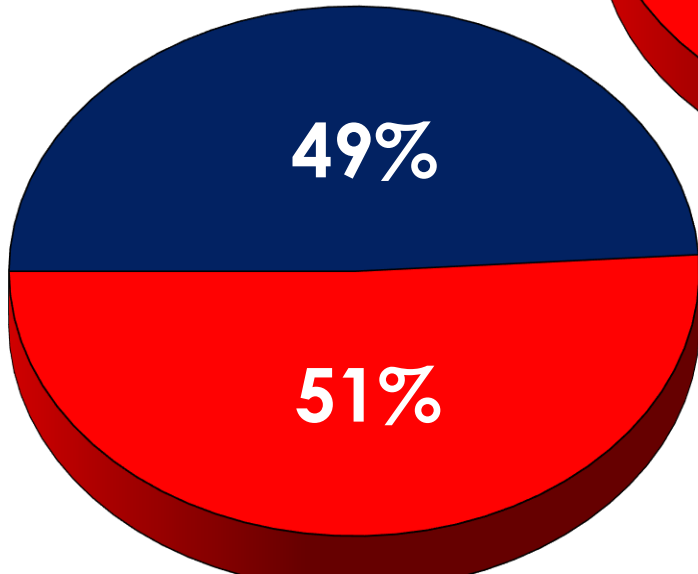
48%

**Tory**

57%

51%

43%



# “Freedom from” for Tories, “Freedom to” equally for Labour

*And which principle is more important to you?*

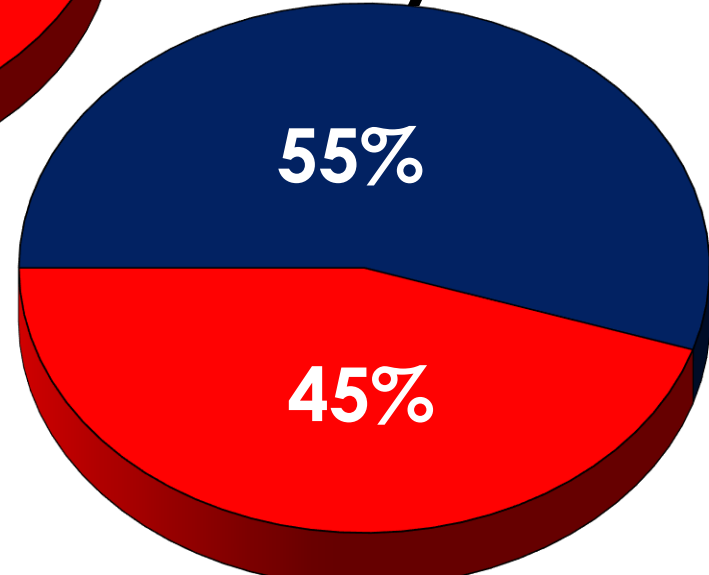
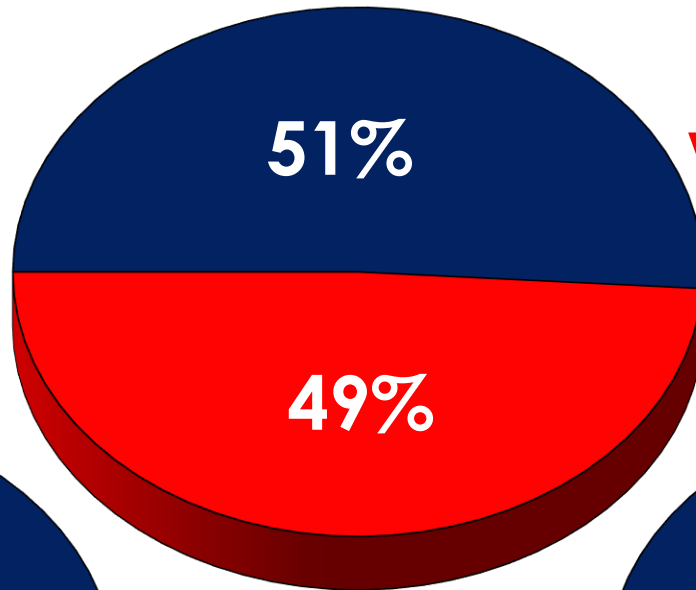
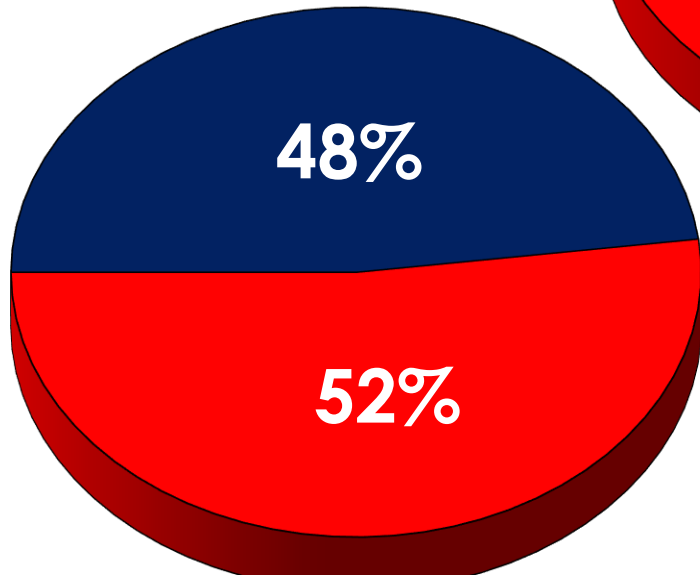
**Freedom from  
fear and  
insecurity**

**Total**

**Freedom to  
say and do  
what you want**

**Labour**

**Tory**





# Warning

The results on the next slide are **CORRECT** ...

The British public does see regulation as protecting them from bad things happening. But at the same time, they also see “all the rules, regulations and bureaucracy imposed by the government” undermining their freedom.

Once again, context matters. “*Regulations*” alone are okay because they provide a safety net. But “*rules, regulations, bureaucrats and bureaucracy*” is bad because it limits personal choices and puts up unnecessary barriers.

# Government and economics are equal in their impact on restricting freedom

*Which of the following do you agree with the most ...  
my personal freedom is most restricted by:*

Total

32%

**All the rules, regulations and bureaucracy imposed by the government**

30%

**My income and my savings**

23%

**Political correctness enforced by the media**

15%

**The social norms and expectations of my friends, family, community and society**

# The Language of Freedom





kupburisloca

**The UK is more deferential to government and prioritises freedom far less than its US cousins.  
The language of freedom in the US is more ideological and less personal than the UK.**

# Talk about the freedom to live, not to “eff off”

*If you had to choose, which freedom is most important to you? (Combined)*

Total	
<b>42%</b>	<b>The freedom to live my life the way I choose</b>
<b>39%</b>	<b>Freedom of speech</b>
<b>30%</b>	<b>Freedom from fear</b>
<b>29%</b>	<b>Freedom from financial hardship</b>
<b>22%</b>	<b>Economic freedom</b>
<b>20%</b>	<b>Freedom from discrimination</b>
<b>19%</b>	<b>Freedom to raise your family your way</b>
<b>19%</b>	<b>Freedom to get on in life</b>
<b>14%</b>	<b>Freedom from surveillance</b>
<b>14%</b>	<b>Religious freedom</b>
<b>13%</b>	<b>Freedom to protest</b>
<b>11%</b>	<b>Freedom of the press</b>
<b>10%</b>	<b>Freedom from government rules and regulations</b>
<b>10%</b>	<b>Intellectual and academic freedom</b>
<b>8%</b>	<b>Freedom to say "eff off"</b>

# Freedom is “control” and “opportunity”

*Which of the following is the best definition of freedom? (Combined)*

Total	
37%	Freedom means control. You make the decisions that are right for you.
36%	Freedom means opportunity. Individuals and families have the ability to make their own way on their own terms.
29%	Freedom means removing the obstacles and barriers to living your life the way you want.
25%	Freedom means financial security. It means you don't have to worry about paying your bills.
22%	Freedom means dignity. More freedom means more respect for the individual.
17%	Freedom means personal responsibility. Government does less (and taxes less) so that you can do more.
9%	Freedom means wealth and success for more people.
1%	Freedom has no meaning to me at all.

# The most powerful words against freedom: *Control and Restrict*

*What would anger or bother you more ... if freedom were... (Combined)*

Total	Labour	Tory	
<b>40%</b>	38%	<b>43%</b>	<b>Controlled</b>
36%	<b><u>40%</u></b>	<b><u>32%</u></b>	<b>Restricted</b>
31%	33%	28%	<b>Prevented</b>
28%	29%	26%	<b>Repressed</b>
18%	<b><u>14%</u></b>	<b><u>22%</u></b>	<b>Regulated</b>
17%	16%	19%	<b>Limited</b>
11%	12%	9%	<b>Reduced</b>
10%	8%	13%	<b>Curbed</b>
9%	9%	8%	<b>Inhibited</b>



# Britons want to *“live life the way they want”*

*Which is the best way to describe  
what you want most when it comes to freedom?*

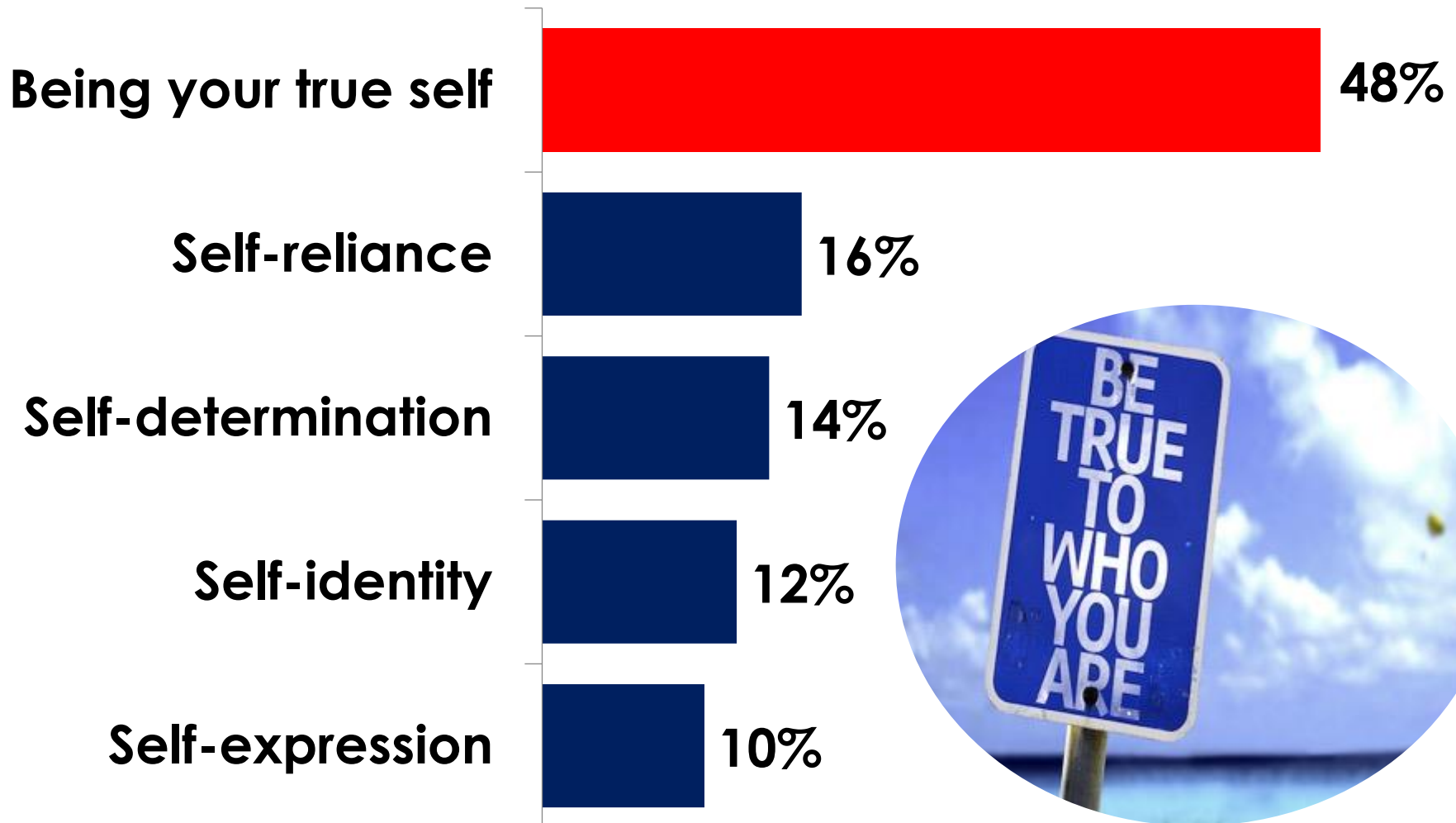
Total

43%	<b>Freedom to live my life the way I want</b>
26%	<b>Freedom to go about your daily life</b>
20%	<b>Freedom to be who you are</b>
11%	<b>Freedom to get on in life</b>



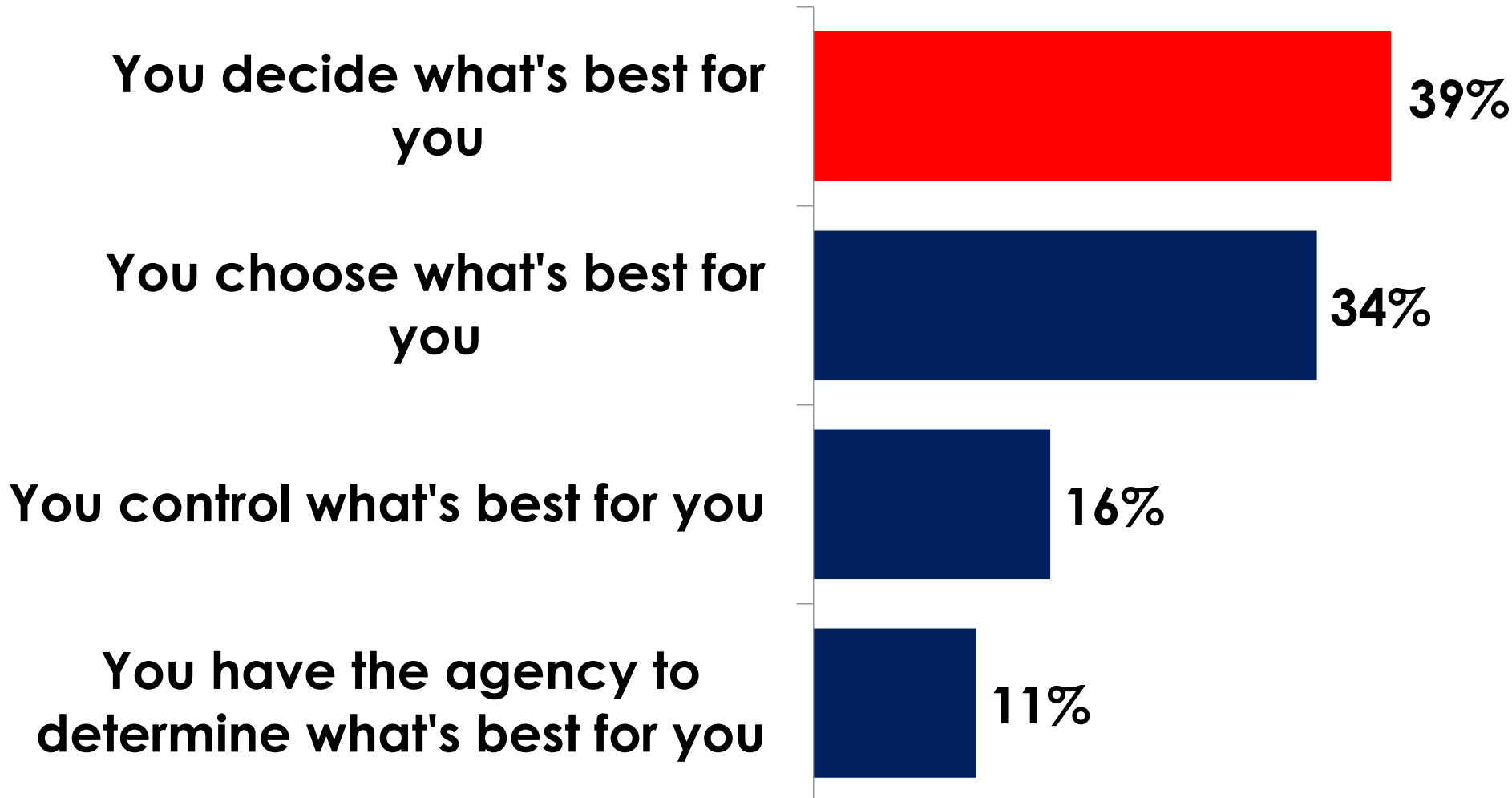
# “True self” communicates that you are authentic and genuine

*If you had to choose, which is more important to you...*



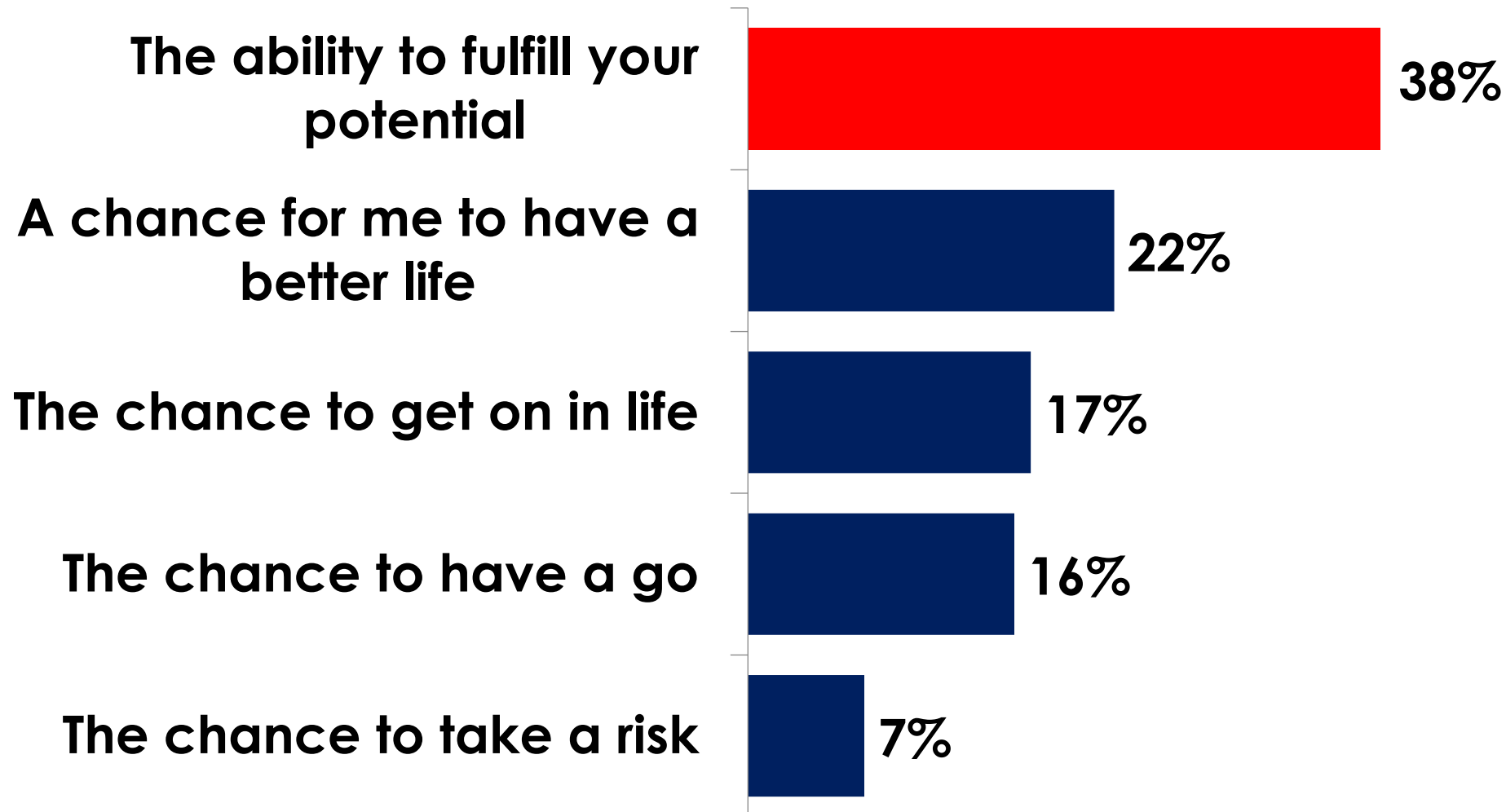
# When you “decide” you are making an active choice about what you want

*Which matters more to you ...?*



# Opportunity speaks to how you can fulfill (and surpass) your potential

*What is the best definition of "opportunity"?*



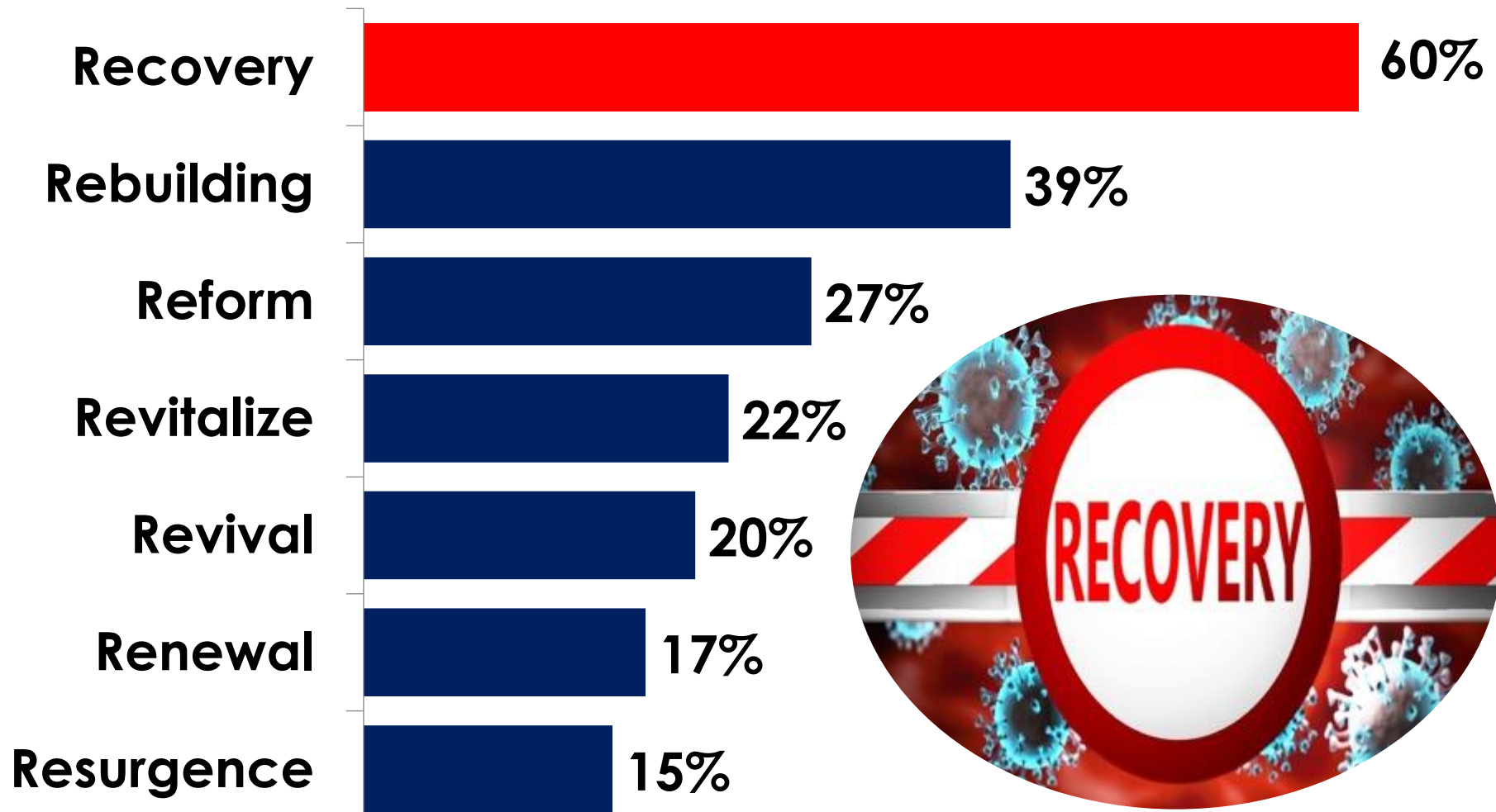


**Tips to Rebuilding  
Trust in Recovery**

Boris was wrong.  
*It's not rebuilding. It's recovery.*

# You're in a *recovery* not a *resurgence*

*When it comes to the UK economy right now, post-COVID, which should be a higher priority?*



# Insight

When arguing for tax cuts, **be pro-taxpayer rather than anti-government.**

Being pro-taxpayer has just about no downside, but complaining about government spending could be seen as hostile to the NHS, to schools, to transport, to the things the British public support.

Yes, people in the UK hate government waste almost as much as the US, but there is an important distinction. The UK is much more likely to support the programmes that their government funds, and so they are much less hostile to the investments made by that government.

# Focus on waste, not freedom!

*Which of the following is the best reason to support a smaller government that spends less?*

**Total**

**43%**

**There is too much government waste, fraud, and corruption right now. Cut the size and scope of government and you reduce the waste, fraud and corruption.**

**20%**

**Government is too often incompetent. The more government tries to do, the more it gets wrong. A smaller government that spends less is more effective.**

**13%**

**A smaller government that spends less means people have more freedom to invest in themselves and decide what matters most to them.**

**12%**

**Individuals and families will spend their money more efficiently and carefully than government can, so the government should let them.**

**12%**

**None of these are good reasons. Government should not be smaller or spend less.**

# Tax cuts are about hardworking taxpayers keeping the money they earn

*Which of the following is the best reason to support tax cuts?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
24%	25%	22%	People should be free to keep more of their money and spend it however they want. They earned it. They should keep it.
19%	22%	16%	With prices so high for so many things, this will make day-to-day life more affordable for more people.
18%	17%	18%	Lower taxes leads to more investment and a stronger, healthier economy.



# Don't justify tax cuts by pitting people against the government

*Which of the following is the best reason to support tax cuts?*

Total	Labour	Tory	
16%	<u>11%</u>	<u>22%</u>	<b>There is too much government waste. Tax cuts will force the government to spend less and be more efficient.</b>
10%	11%	8%	<b>People will spend their money more efficiently and effectively than government can, so the government should let them.</b>
14%	14%	13%	<b>None of these are good reasons. There should be no tax cuts now.</b>

# A picture is worth 10,000 words: Visualising Freedom



*The #1 Visual to symbolise freedom in the UK*

# A Checklist for Visuals That Work

1. Un-staged photos with children often work best.
2. Graphics work for denying freedom, not promoting it.
3. The most powerful visuals cannot be described in words.
4. Sunrise/sunset visuals work better than mid-day.
5. Do something. “Thinking” is not doing something.
6. When talking freedom, focus on speech above all else.
7. One larger photo does better than two smaller photos.
8. Remember, voters don't like politicians. They like humans.

# The BEST way to visualise freedom in the UK



<b>Total</b>	<b>55%</b>
Labour	56%
Conservative	54%

# The next BEST visuals for freedom



47%



35%



34%

## And the next BEST visuals for freedom...



26%



25%

# Okay visuals for freedom...



# The WORST visuals for freedom





# This is how Britain sees the restriction, limitation, or elimination of freedom.



Total	46%
Labour	44%
Conservative	49%

# The next BEST depictions against freedom



43%



42%

# And the next BEST visuals against freedom...



35%



33%

# Not as bad ways to show restrictions on freedom...



24%



22%



20%

# The least effective ways to show restrictions on freedom...



# What We Did

- A nationwide survey of 1,500 registered voters, 66 questions, conducted online June 5-7, 2023.
- Two dozen pollsters, politicians, think tank experts and journalists were consulted during questionnaire development.
- A proper representative sample demographically, geographically and politically.
- A comprehensive understanding of personal definitions, public priorities and the **“Words that Work”** for communicating freedom.



**it's not** what you **say**

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**it's** what people **hear**

Dr. Frank I Luntz  
@FrankLuntz