

# **April 2022**

# Lobby pre-local election briefing Luke Tryl, UK Director



### The British Seven – mapping the British Seven by their social psychology



### **Segments at the General Election**

How the segments changed their votes between the 2017 and 2019 General Elections, Labour and Conservative



Labour Conservatives

# Impact of partygate

How the segments changed their votes after party-gate revelations



If there were a general election held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? (November 2021 vs January 2022) \*Don't knows and 'would not vote' excluded, only Labour and Conservative shown

#### Labour Conservatives

# The British Seven's top issues at end of 2021



There were significant differences among the segments about top priorities at the end of 2021

Progressive Activists	Civic Pragmatists	Disengaged Battlers	Established Liberals	Loyal Nationals	Disengaged Traditionalists	DescriptionBackboneConservatives
Climate change	Climate change	Cost of living	Covid-19	Channel crossings	Cost of living	Channel crossings
70%	50%	44%	42%	47%	48%	47%
Supporting the NHS	Supporting the NHS	Covid-19	Supporting the NHS	Covid-19	Covid-19	Covid-19
51%	44%	40%	40%	44%	47%	45%
Gap between haves and have nots	Covid-19	Supporting the NHS	Climate change	Supporting the NHS	Channel crossings	Supporting the NHS
38%	40%	40%	38%	35%	39%	40%

In your opinion, which are the most IMPORTANT issues facing the country today? Select the top 3.



# 6 months of focus groups across the country

Stoke Bolton Bury South Rother Valley Heywood and Middleton Blyth Blackpool Plymouth Wakefield Leeds Blackpool South Dudley North Guildford Glasgow Manchester Bristol Brighton Tyneside, Witney Stroud North Shropshire West Brom East Long Eaton Woking



## Partygate – topline reactions across groups

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- Much angrier than comparable focus groups reaction to Barnard Castle
- The initial reaction in focus groups was more muted and turned angrier with the release of the Allegra video
- Salience of party gate has peaked and troughed over last several months as the most important issue of the week driven by the news cycle: the Allegra video and Wine Fridge/Eve of Prince Philip's funeral driving particular peaks.
- The Russian invasion of Ukraine drove the salience down the agenda in most of our groups
- Even post-invasion of Ukraine, when prompted the response across groups has been consistent anger has not dissipated, strong consensus that there is one rule for them, another for the rest of us.
- In a Tory and Labour voter group from Woking post-issuing of the fines for the PM and Chancellor most participants thought they should resign

### Immediate reaction to PM's and Chancellor fines



#### Watch video here

## Initial anger on partygate – December 2021

I just think he's a hypocrite. How can he come out with a statement telling people to work from home, knowing only 24 hours before, everyone knows they've had a party? It is just ridiculous.

- Gary, Loyal National , Bolton North East

One rule for them and another for us. We were all being locked down and they could do what they liked...I won't be doing it this Christmas. I might knock round 10 Downing Street and see if I can party with them.

- Tricia, Loyal National , Bolton North East

There was a few hairdressers up here who stayed open and they ended up getting a fine. I want them to claim them fines back now, because if Boris can party, what's the difference? I'd like to see people claim their fines back now.

- Alan, Loyal National , Bolton North East



### **Red Wall and Partygate – a story of two halves**

#### More left behind Red Wall seats More forgiving April 2022

#### More prosperous Red Wall seats Less forgiving March 2022

I think that Boris has done a really good job...As far as a birthday cake, for example, it was his birthday and they brought a birthday cake in and there's a whole team of people working there. When anybody off was at home, not working, they had to be working. And I think a lot of it is propaganda fror the media that have blown it out of proportion.

- Lorraine, Loyal National, Bury South

We stuck for the rules, we had funerals we couldn't go to, we didn't visit any family, although they needed our support and everything. And then when you when you hear things on the news, like he didn't just have one party, he had another party. It just makes you feel really angry towards the whole thing. And I said to my husband, I was like, I don't even know why we voted for him in the first place.

- Nanveet, Loyal National , West Brom East





## **Partygate – the damage done to brand Boris**

- Deep loyalty to Boris in autumn 2021 "Our Boris" "Got Brexit Done" "Vaccine" many appreciated the ٠ difficult hand he was dealt with the pandemic
- Between autumn and winter 2021 change to start justifying 2019 vote in non-Boris terms against Corbyn, get Brexit done
- What previously endeared people to Boris, now seen as liability "He just can't help himself"
- Concern at start of invasion of Ukraine that other world leaders wouldn't take him serious get a hair cut and do your tie properly – but pride in our response
- Is partygate the end for Boris? Clear from focus groups absence of an alternative makes Boris safer in No. 10 Many think he should resign, but won't.
- He also still gets benefit from having been seen to make right calls on end of lockdown.
- Polling and focus group suggest space/openness for a more populist alternative Reform not making headway because misjudged the public mood on lockdown, but does not mean there isn't space for them

### Is partygate the end of Boris?

#### He's a bit of a loose cannon for managing a war Sarah, Loyal National, West Brom East

#### Better having a bit of a numpty, better the devil you know Debbie, Loyal National, Bury South

### l'm not losing sleep at night about who's in charge

Debbie, Loyal National, Bury South

Ukraine have a comedian in charge, and he seems to be doing alright Ryan, Established Liberal, Witney I think a lot of it is propaganda from the media blown out of proportion Lorraine, Loyal National, Bury South It doesn't matter what Sue Gray says...he should just resign Lorraine, Loyal National, Bury South



### **Rishi Sunak**

Credited for strong performance on furlough

Criticised for not taking enough action on cost of living Energy bills loan falls flat with Loyal Nationals – why put people into debt?

The best of a bad/mediocre bunch in terms of Boris alternatives/successor

More serious than Boris

Finance man – not a leader

Seems serious and has 'head screwed on' Doubts about his willingness to take tough decisions

Clips come across as polished and professional



### In their own words...Rishi Sunak



<u>Watch</u> video here



**Liz Truss** 

Largely unknown in the groups until Ukraine

Some impressed by her Ukraine response Belief that she would make difficult wartime decisions

Poor response on clips -'robotic' and 'boring' Seen as a potential strong leader

Considered to be ambitious

Liz Truss is okay, she might make the next Prime Minister. She might be okay. I don't know a lot about her, she's come up through the ranks, she looks quite strong.

- Sue, Established Liberal, Woking

I think she could quitely become PM because there doesn't seem to be any dirt attached to her at the moment

- Vanessa, Established Liberal, Woking



### **Bolton North-East – Focus Group reactions**



- "She has aspirations to be leader of the Tory party"
- "Looks like she means business"
- "Unusual mode of travel"
- "I love tanks"
- "Styling herself as the iron lady"
- "Just something to fill the newspaper"
- "Is she a sportswoman? Is she Boris' spokeswoman?"



### **Keir Starmer**





### In their own words...Keir Starmer



General thoughts on Starmer Watch video here **The Savile Accusation** 

Watch video here





# **Cost of living**

- Cost of living began featuring in focus groups at the end of last summer around the removal of the £20 uplift to UC
- Loyal Nationals Live Group in Rother Valley Chancellor's budget was 6/10 in October
- By March, same group of voters clear that government isn't doing enough to support people with rising cost of living and energy bills
- Unconvinced by Chancellor's discount and loan on energy bills worried about 'putting people into debt'
- Acceptance that war in Ukraine will make things worse and expect the government to step in
- Group struggling most is Disengaged Battler group, group who thinks they are struggling the most is the Loyal Nationals group
- People increasingly making the link between crime and cost of living. Concern about rising crime across groups and inability/unwillingness of police to tackle low level crime.

# **Cost of living fears**



Two thirds of Britons expect the cost of living to become more difficult for them to manage over the next year

Will the cost of living become more difficult/easier to manage for you personally over next year?



Do you think the cost of living will become more difficult or easier to manage over the next year for you personally? \*Don't knows not displayed\* (Source: More in Common, November 2021)

# In their own words...cost of living

When we had Covid restrictions, one of the first thing you were allowed to do was be in bubbles with nannies, cooks and cleaning ladies. I don't know how many other people have got staff in their house, but if that is how you live, you're going to assume everybody else lives lives like that...most of us don't have staff

- Hillary, Loyal National, Wakefield

At the moment, people are already freaking out about the fuel prices, but it's only going to get worse. At the moment, nurses can't get into the hospitals to do their job, because they can't afford fuel in their cars.

– Georgina, Civic Pragmatist, Witney

My partner's a detective and he's catching more and more people everything trying to get away with stealing - probably partly to live. A couple of time, they've come up with such a story that he's ended up buying them a sandwich and a drink because he feels sorry for them.

- Carly, Civic Pragmatist, Woking

To some people that 20 quid is the difference. It's like, could be half a food shop...20 quid to some people is a fortune. 20 quid to someone else is a round of drinks.

- Trica, Loyal National, Bolton North East





### Ukraine

- People are proud of many parts of the British response to the war in Ukraine apart from the response on refugees
- There are deeply held fears of Putin every focus groups has mentioned him as 'the new Hitler'
- Many approach this refugee crisis differently to others and are more welcoming in this case because the refugees are more likely to be women and children and expect their stay in Britain to be shorter
- Most are prepared to make some sort of sacrifice economically to make sanctions work but worry about where to draw the line
- While many have been consuming more media than usual, some are growing suspicious that they are 'being fed a certain line' from the media

### In their own words...Ukraine



They're people just like us – young children have been persecuted, forced from their homes, no fault of their own...we've got to be helping them surely, you can't just turn your back on people like that.

- Raj, Loyal National, West Brom

To be honest with you, I don't trust social media and I don't trust the news - because I think most of it is propoganda...when they're giving every last piece of information out - it can't be the truth, if it is leaked to us, then it is leaked to the Russians as well.

- Lorraine, Loyal National, Bury South

I've had to stop watching it, because it's not that ignorance is bliss. It's just it's too overwhelming to even watch on the TV, let alone have to comprehend living. I can't imagine what they're going through

- Lucy, Civic Pragmatist, Witney

I think we've given them all the help that they need with flying in the weapons and we can be proud of that. But I don't think that we really know what the right way of going about this is – we don't want to have a knock on effect on us, and that's why I believe they haven't gone in with the troops

- Mel, Disengaged Battler, Long Eaton



# Levelling up and the next 2024 election

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- For half of Britons, levelling up is a top issue for deciding their vote at the next election 7 in 10 for Loyal Nationals who switched Tory in 2019
- Focus is not on devolution deals, success metrics or big infrastructure projects but on everyday priorities: anti-social behaviour, more investment in parks, support for high streets
- The public want local people making decisions on levelling up but they are not interested in the mechanics of devolution
- More than half think it will take more than five years to successful level up (raise living standards, improve public services, restore pride)
- There is a danger that a policy discussion obsessed with metrics misses what is important to people and the kinds of improvements they want to see

#### 2024: The Levelling up election

Delivering on levelling up will be a key battleground in next general election

#### Importance of levelling up at next general election

80 % Important



When it comes to the next general election, how important or unimportant, will the Government's ability to deliver on its promise to "level up" the country be to your decision on what party you vote for at the next General election? Very important, Important, neither important nor unimportant, unimportant, very unimportant. Don't know. Source: More in Common, November 2021

