

# **Blue Collar Tories?**

**In pursuit of the strivers**

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For more information please go to [www.lordashcrofthpolls.com](http://www.lordashcrofthpolls.com)

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# Introduction

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Most analysis of the electoral battleground is based on psephology – people’s previous or prospective voting behaviour. My Project Blueprint series, for example, looks at different types of voters and how to reconcile their various priorities in order to expand the Conservative vote share.

Here I have taken a different approach to building the Conservative voting coalition. Rather than starting from the question of how people voted in the past and how they would vote tomorrow, and then studying what we know about the most promising groups, I have looked from the other end of the telescope. Can we analyse the electorate in terms of their attitudes and outlook, to see if there are groups of people with distinct views of the world which cut across current political affiliation, economic status and other demographic factors? What can this new attitudinal battleground tell us about the prospects of a Conservative government being elected with an overall majority? Can we identify a group of non-Conservative voters – especially from traditionally Labour working class backgrounds – who should be more receptive than most to Conservative ideas?

This research is based on a poll of over 8,400 people. As well as questions about voting behaviour and views about parties and issues, we asked a large number of questions about people’s broader attitudes: about the role of government and personal responsibility, the extent of opportunity in Britain today, what determines whether someone is likely to succeed, satisfaction with life, and their prospects in a changing world, to name a few. By analysing the responses we were able to segment the population into five separate groups, each with distinctive sets of attitudes and, as it turned out, political affiliations. We then conducted focus groups with members of the segments whose political allegiances were the most fluid, holding deliberately discursive discussions to explore in more detail what lay behind their attitudes to politics and, ultimately, voting.

Just under one in three of the population could be described as “Optimistic Individualists”. They think hard work rather than social background determines whether someone will succeed, favour a limited role for the state, are suspicious of redistributive policies, and value strong leadership over empathy. This segment provides two thirds of current Conservative support.

“Downbeat Dependents”, meanwhile, leaned strongly to Labour in 2010 and now do so even more, following the collapse of previously substantial Liberal Democrat support in this segment. They believe their lives are worse than they were ten years ago and will be worse still in ten years’ time; that connections and family background, not hard work, determine success; and that the government is largely responsible for meeting people’s needs and should share wealth more equally through much higher taxes on the rich. One in seven of the population falls into this category.

A similar proportion are “Liberal Idealists”. They lean less strongly to a single party than the previous two segments but incline to Labour; they show little support for the Conservatives, though many are university-educated professionals. They embody the long-term loosening of the Tories’ grip on the white-collar classes. Though optimistic and personally successful, they feel that a person’s circumstances when young have as much influence as talent and ability on whether they will succeed. They are more likely than most to believe collective effort led by government, rather than individual endeavour, is responsible for many of the big improvements in life over the years, and want to see a more equal distribution of wealth. Liberal Idealists are also the only segment in which people are more likely to have a positive than a negative view of immigration.

The final two segments are of particular interest to the Tories. “Entitlement Anxiety” feel they have a raw deal from an unfair system which works against their interests and rewards the less needy or deserving. They often feel insecure and vulnerable, and that others who do not work have an easier time of it than they do, prompting them to ask themselves why they bother. They think their circumstances have declined and will continue to do so, and fear for their children’s prospects. They

are inclined to blame immigration for many of the things that affect them such as stagnant wages, a scarcity of jobs, and struggling public services. Labour support has grown strongly in this segment since the last election, following substantial swings from the Conservatives and, especially, the Lib Dems. Entitlement Anxiety accounts for 28% of the population, one third of Labour's poll share, and just over a tenth of the Tories'.

"Suspicious Strivers" make up 15% of the population. They have many of the attitudes that Conservatives might think ought to make them natural supporters. They tend to say that people expect too much from government, that the gap between rich and poor matters less than whether the poor are getting better off, that people who earn a great deal of money should not be penalised with very high taxes, and that it should be easier for firms to hire people and let them go when they need to, rather than that employees should be given more rights which might limit the number of new jobs. Yet Suspicious Strivers have been so called because they are not sure that their efforts will bring the rewards they should. They suspect that when it comes to getting on in life, hard work counts for less than connections, and that people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to succeed. They are sensitive to signals that their striving goes unrewarded, or even counts against them, when they miss out on help that they might have received if, as they see it, they worked less hard. They think they pay the most into the system for the least return. Perhaps as a result they are the least likely of the five segments to say they identify with a political party. Though the Conservatives won comfortably among Suspicious Strivers in 2010, Labour have now taken a clear lead. This is also the segment with the highest UKIP vote, perhaps another symptom of their dissatisfaction with mainstream politics.

In our discussion groups with people identified as Suspicious Strivers, Liberal Idealists or Entitlement Anxiety, practically everyone regarded themselves as part of the "squeezed middle", though most had never heard the term, and hardly anyone associated it with Ed Miliband or Labour. At either end of the squeezed middle were, to put it at its most pejorative (as people happily did), "scroungers" on the one hand and "fat cats" on the other. Those who lived on benefits as a matter of choice and made no serious attempt to improve their lot by working were indelibly associated with Labour, often even by those who voted for the party. Likewise, those who had so much that money need never cross their minds were inevitably linked to the Conservatives.

Within the squeezed middle itself, the picture was more nuanced. This category, including as it inevitably does the great majority of the population, has perhaps three components: those who struggle to make ends meet, those who are coping but with little to spare, and those who are more comfortable. In the abstract, people tended to associate Labour with people who struggled, and usually with the copers, and the Tories with the more comfortable. But this was not always the case in practice. In particular, those who said they were currently fairly comfortable were not much inclined to the Conservatives.

One reason for this was that people felt their situation was precarious. There were no rigid walls between being comfortable, coping or even struggling. Conservatives have always understood that one reason why tax cuts for higher earners do not cause outrage and have sometimes been widely popular is that people who are not yet in that category themselves hope that one day they will. For many "squeezed middle" voters, this also works in the other direction, perhaps particularly at this time. Many who are doing reasonably well fear that they are one redundancy, interest rate rise or tax credit rule change away from real difficulty. While the Tories would be there for them if they succeeded (and may indeed have a more realistic approach to the economy as a whole), they would not want to have to rely on a Conservative government if they found themselves struggling.

People's concerns went beyond the temporary consequences of recession and austerity – real though they are and untemporary though they feel. They had deeper anxieties, particularly about the longer term prospects for their children. People in their fifties or older regularly said they wouldn't want to be young today: many saw more pressure to go to university, to achieve a degree

which was worth less, at greater expense, in pursuit of jobs that did not seem to exist – all of which would confound what they thought of as the wildly unrealistic expectations of young people themselves. They contrasted this with their own experience when they were younger, of plentiful jobs which provided a stable base from which to work their way up.

All of this illuminates a number of truths. There is a widely held belief in the party that there exist millions of people who are Conservative in everything but their voting habits – whose values ought to make them Tory voters but for some reason does not. These people are often characterised as “the strivers”: people who work hard, want to get on in life, aspire to own their own home, and perhaps build their own business. They are symbolised in the Conservative psyche by the skilled manual workers – Mrs Thatcher’s C2s – who abandoned Labour in the 1980s to become “Blue Collar Tories” but have since gone back.

When thinking about “strivers”, Conservatives often envisage people with a ruggedly individualistic approach to life who want nothing more from the government than for it to get out of their way to let them flourish on their own. In fact what they want, as much as anything, is reassurance – that doing the right thing will be worth their while, and that if they needed help deserving cases would be given priority.

Part of Labour’s legacy, deplore it though we might, is that many more people came to count on the state to support their standard of living – including many whose values and inclinations might otherwise predispose them to vote Conservative. This perhaps helps explain why, while able to match a party to various caricatures such as a middle class professional (Conservatives), someone who wants to live on benefits (Labour), an immigrant who wants to work and contribute (Labour again, but less so), people in our research did not think any party really represented an ordinary person who wanted to get on in life: governments just saw them as a source of tax, and removed whatever support they did get as soon as they started to do better.

We must seek the support of people like this. But in doing so we should be careful how we use the term “Conservative values”. For most people, working hard to get on in life and do your best for your family are not values that belong to the Conservatives. They are values that belong to them, and (nearly) everyone they know. It is up to the Conservative Party to show people that it understands people, and their aspirations and anxieties; claiming that people support us already if only they had the wit to realise the fact is a rather clumsy way of doing it. It is the difference between saying “we’re on your side” and saying “you’re on our side”.

At its best, this is what party modernisation is all about. Though it has got a bad name in some quarters because it sounds superficial and gimmicky (which of course it can be if not done right), modernisation means demonstrating that we share their values and priorities, instead of trying to persuade them that they should share ours, or that they already do. In this true sense, Margaret Thatcher was a moderniser too. The first line of her foreword to the 1979 Conservative Manifesto famously declared: “For me, the heart of politics is not political theory, it is people and how they want to live their lives.” Understanding people’s daily concerns and experiences is indispensable. Yet many people whose values and attitudes Tories would recognise as their own think this is exactly what the Conservatives cannot do.

The good news for the Tories is that the Labour Party of Ed Miliband and Ed Balls bears little resemblance to Tony Blair’s, shows no prospect of becoming the party of aspiration and takes an overall approach to the economy which would if anything make things worse, at least when it comes to the big picture. But David Cameron and George Osborne’s Tories will find it hard to be the party of people who struggle, or fear they may do so soon. For many anxious voters who think of themselves as strivers, “we’re all in this together” does not have the ring of truth. If President Obama is re-elected, some Tories will be tempted to say it shows an incumbent can win in tough times if he can discredit his opponent and argue he is clearing up someone else’s mess. But the more

important factor will have been his success in defining the middle class as widely as possible; when he says “we’re all in this together”, enough people believe him.

The Conservatives are naturally most comfortable talking to the Optimistic Individualists whose outlook and experience they share, and who naturally agree with them about most things. And we need even more of them to vote Tory than currently say they will. But the party’s losses since 2010 are concentrated among Entitlement Anxiety and Suspicious Strivers; this is the new attitudinal battleground, and these are the people we must better understand, and make ourselves understood by. Though many of them agree with much of what Conservatives claim to stand for, there is a reason many of them do not vote Tory. All too often, it is because although they can see the Conservatives are for people who have achieved material success, it is not clear that we are for people who do the right thing but have little to show for it; that is, people like them.

MAA  
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# Methodology

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## **Quantitative**

An poll of 8,224 adults was conducted online and by telephone between 24-30 July 2012. The sample includes an additional sample of 195 self-employed C2s. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in Britain.

Using Latent Class Analysis the sample was divided into five segments according to their responses.

Full data tables can be found at [lordashcroftpolls.com](http://lordashcroftpolls.com)

## **Qualitative**

4 focus groups of self-employed C2s and the partners of self-employed C2s were conducted in Birmingham and London on 24 and 25 July 2012.

12 focus groups comprising members of Entitlement Anxiety, Suspicious Strivers and Liberal Idealists segments were held in London, Birmingham, Corby, Reading, Leeds and Manchester between 4 and 13 September 2012. These were recruited using questions from the poll questionnaire identified by the Latent Class Analysis as being strong indicators of membership of the selected segments.

In both cases separate groups were held of men and women.

## Segment 1:

# Optimistic Individualists

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<b>Current voting intention</b>	<b>Con 53%, Lab 11%, Lib Dem 8%, UKIP 7%, Others 2%</b> (Won't vote/don't know 18%)
<b>2010 election</b>	<b>Con 56%, Lib Dem 13%, Lab 9%, UKIP 2%, Others 1%</b> (Didn't vote/don't know 17%)
<b>Demographics</b>	Tend to be aged 65+, in social group AB, married, identify themselves as Christian, and often own their homes outright. Constitute 29% of the population.

Optimistic Individualists have an upbeat view of life and believe that hard work and enterprise will be rewarded. They think things are better for themselves and their families than they were ten years ago, and will be better still in ten years' time.

They believe hard work and determination, natural talent and ability, and luck are the most important factors in determining whether someone will succeed in Britain today. They strongly agree with the proposition that "if you work hard, it is possible to be successful in Britain no matter what your background", and feel that "in Britain today, generally speaking, people tend to get what they deserve in life".

Optimistic Individualists favour a limited role for the state, believing that "people expect too much from the government", and that "people today are too ready to talk about their rights – people have a responsibility to provide for themselves and should not expect the government to do so for them". They think "it should be easier for firms to hire people and let them go when they need to". Asked which is more important, a strong competitive economy or well-funded public services, they strongly favour a strong economy.

They are also suspicious of redistributive policies, and think that "if some people earn a great deal of money through their own ability and hard work that is a good thing and they should be allowed to enjoy it". They feel "the gap between the richest and the poorest doesn't matter much as long as the poorest are getting better off".

Optimistic Individualists see the most important characteristics of a Prime Minister as doing "what he believes is best regardless of what is popular", being "strong and decisive", and "hard-headed and clear thinking". They are extremely positive about Margaret Thatcher's time in office.

This is the only segment in which people are most likely to say the Conservatives, rather than any other party, are "on the side of people like me" and "want to help ordinary people get on in life". They are more than twice as likely as any other segment to say the Conservative Party "shares my values". They are the only segment in which thinks the Tories are the party that best represents "someone like you", "the country as a whole", "an unemployed person who wants to work and is looking for a job", "a skilled manual worker" and "an immigrant who wants to work and contribute".

Optimistic Individualists are also twice as likely as any other segment to say that "cutting the deficit and the debt" is the most important issue facing the country.

Conservative support has become increasingly concentrated in this group. At the 2010 election, its members made up 58% of the party's vote share; that has now risen to 66%. They are the most likely to turn out and vote.

## Segment 2:

# Entitlement Anxiety

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<b>Current voting intention</b>	<b>Lab 37%, Con 9%, Lib Dem 6%, UKIP 7%, Others 11%</b> (Won't vote, don't know 19%)
<b>2010 election</b>	<b>Lab 28%, Lib Dem 18%, Con 17%, UKIP 3%, Others 5%</b> (Didn't vote/don't know 29%)
<b>Demographics</b>	Mostly female, tend to be aged 35-64, in social groups C2DE, renting from council of housing association, with secondary school as the highest level of education. Constitute 28% of the population.

Members of the Entitlement Anxiety segment tend to have a gloomy outlook on life. They feel they have a raw deal from an unfair system, which works against their interests and rewards others who they feel are less needy or deserving – notably immigrants, benefit claimants and the rich.

Though they say that hard work and determination, talent and ability, and luck are the most important determinants of success in Britain today, they believe at the same time that “in Britain today there seems to be little connection between what people get in life and what they deserve”. Focus group participants complained that the government seemed to have the wrong priorities, and that they felt as though they were in the front line when it came to cuts: *“The government gives so much money to the wrong causes a lot of the time, and people out there, particularly people who aren't well off, they just think, you know what, it's not even worth me going to work”; “It's oh no, what's coming off me now, what am I going to start losing money for this time? The unemployed are fine, the rich it doesn't really affect at all, but it's me that's being impacted.”*

Entitlement Anxiety think their circumstances have declined over the last decade and will do so again over the next. Not only do they often say they are disappointed with how their lives have turned out, they expect life to be worse for their children than it has been for them. They believe that “with the way the economy and society is changing, there will be more threats to my standard of living in future than there will be opportunities to improve it”. The decline of manufacturing is an important part of their pessimism: *“Forty years ago when I started work you could pack in on a Friday and start work on a Monday, and now if you pack in on a Friday you can maybe get a job in two years' time”; “We haven't got the industry we used to have so we can't provide the jobs we used to provide. You could get a good office job and you could easily get promoted if you did well. It's not like that any more. What is it now? Retail, telesales...”* More than three quarters describe themselves as working class, more than in any other segment.

Many in this group feel insecure and vulnerable. This is often because they themselves have experienced changes in their circumstances to the extent that they find themselves struggling when they had recently been comfortable. They often find it hard to keep up with the demands of their children; they sometimes perceive (and resent) that people who do not work seem to find it easier to provide small luxuries. They also worry that their children have acquired unrealistic expectations about the lifestyle they can expect.

They feel strongly (and more so than any other segment) that “immigration has changed the character of Britain for the worse and has put added pressure on schools, hospitals and public housing at a time when these are overstretched as it is”. They are also the segment most likely to name immigration as the most important issue facing the country.

They do not feel that government takes account of their needs, or those of people like them. They believe that “people are entitled to expect more from government”, “it is mainly the government’s responsibility to ensure that everyone has a decent pension in their retirement”, and “people have a right to things like decent housing, healthcare, education and enough to live on, and the government should make sure everyone has them”. Accordingly, the Entitlement Anxiety segment feels the most important characteristic of a Prime Minister is that he “truly listens to the people”.

Asked which parties have which positive attributes, they tend towards Labour but are likely to say “none of them” in most cases. They name Labour as the best party in all policy areas except “reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut benefit dependency”, on which they put the Conservatives ahead by 10 points (compared to 30 points among the sample as a whole). They say they would prefer Ed Miliband to David Cameron as Prime Minister.

Since the 2010 election Labour have more than doubled their 11-point lead among this segment, thanks to big swings from the Conservatives and, especially, the Lib Dems. Entitlement Anxiety now accounts for one third of Labour support, and 11% of the Tories’.

### Segment 3:

## Suspicious Strivers

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<b>Current voting intention</b>	<b>Lab 25%, Con 20%, Lib Dem 8%, UKIP 12%, Others 6%</b> (Won't vote/don't know 29%)
<b>2010 election</b>	<b>Con 29%, Lab 19%, Lib Dem 18%, UKIP 3%, Others 3%</b> (Didn't vote/don't know 27%)
<b>Demographics</b>	Disproportionately male, concentrated in the C2 social group. Constitute 15% of the population.

This segment has many of the rugged attitudes generally associated with striving. At the same time, they are not sure that their endeavour, and that of people like them, will bring the rewards it should. Suspicious Strivers think a competitive economy is more important than well-funded public services. They agree strongly that “the gap between the rich and poor doesn’t matter much as long as the poor are getting better off” and that “people expect too much from government”. Accordingly, they think “the person who benefits most from a university education is the student who receives it, so students should pay the biggest share of the cost of university education over their lifetime”, and that “it should be easier for firms to hire people and let them go when they need to”, rather than that employees should be given more rights.

Suspicious Strivers believe that “if some people earn a great deal of money through their own ability and hard work that is a good thing and they should be allowed to enjoy it”, rather than that wealth should be shared out more equally through higher taxes on the rich.

At the same time, when it comes to getting on in life, they think a person’s own hard work and determination count for less than his connections through family and friends, family circumstances when young, his parents income and the kind of school he went to (which they select as the most important factor more than any other segment). They also tend to agree that “in Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a chance to be successful no matter how hard they work”. While it is no longer the case that certain opportunities or professions are closed to people from most backgrounds, some will not have the horizons to take advantage of their talents: “If you’re not born into opportunity in the first place, it’s very difficult to see where the opportunities lie”; “We’re fortunate in being people who can look beyond the end of their street and ask what’s out there. A lot of the people I deal with have never been outside their borough”. They often argue that young people who put themselves through the right aspirational hoops, such as working hard at school and going to university, increasingly find that the supposed rewards – such as good jobs and the ability to buy a house – are harder to come by than they were for previous generations.

They are divided over whether their lives are better or worse than they were ten years ago, and over whether they will be better in ten years’ time. Suspicious Strivers are particularly sensitive to signals that their effort goes unrewarded, or even counts against them: “My 16 year-old daughter has gone to school and seen the government give kids in her class a free computer. She asked why we didn’t get one, and it’s because we both work hard and pay all our bills. It seems the wrong thing to do these days”; “What makes me cross is that you work hard to make things better for your family, and then get penalised, because then when it comes to getting any help with anything, for the children for school or whatever, you don’t get a thing. We wouldn’t have qualified for the Education Maintenance Allowance, but I couldn’t afford to give my children £40 a week. It would have been a real strain on my family to do that”; “There are a lot of families who have worked very hard to get

*where they are, and just because they have worked hard to get a nice house or a nice car or whatever, why should they be penalised, like taking their Child Benefit away?"*

People in this segment often argue that the government's apparent willingness to provide for people who seem not to want to provide for themselves diminishes the relative rewards of hard work and thereby erodes aspiration, particular among younger people who come into contact with them: *"When I was a child, if I hadn't got the aspirations then I wouldn't be able to have nice things. Now, the gap between success and where they'll sit by doing nothing isn't as big as it was"; "At the moment we've got such a tiered society, where you're got people who work really hard and get no respect for that really, because everything is ploughed into people who don't work and won't work"; "You'll always have an element of the population with drive and initiative, entrepreneurs. But for me there is a growing majority of people who are having that taken out of them because it's too easy, and because there are other people who work against the system"; "I know the shame of being on benefit would mean I would take any job. Now we've got a standard where you can actually say with a straight face, 'I'm not doing that, I'd rather stay on benefits'."*

Suspicious Strivers feel very much part of the "squeezed middle" (though most had not heard the term): *"I would never go as low as benefits and my aspirations are that I have passed the graduate entry level jobs, but I'm not at £150,000. So I am in the middle. I don't get benefits, I don't get any help from anybody, but I am penalised because I do it all on my own". The squeezed middle is "those in the middle that are the majority that potentially make the most payments but get the least back."* This contributes to their view that no party is particularly on the side of people who want to get on in life. Such a person *"will just have to do it himself. He won't get any help from anyone else. They're just trying to work out how to get tax off you"*.

Suspicious Strivers are generally positive about Mrs Thatcher's time as Prime Minister but do not have a strong political affiliation. They are the least likely of any of the segments to say they identify with a political party; when asked which party has particular positive attributes they usually answer "none of them". They are more likely than average to think immigration and welfare reform are among the most important issues facing Britain.

There has been a substantial swing to Labour from both the Conservatives and the Lib Dems in this segment, which the Tories won comfortably at the 2010 election. They also have an unusually high tendency to say they will vote UKIP. Nevertheless, they give a higher than average lead to David Cameron as being the best Prime Minister.

## Segment 4:

# Liberal Idealists

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<b>Current voting intention</b>	<b>Lab 43%, Con 14%, Lib Dem 11%, UKIP 1%, Others 8%</b> (Won't vote/don't know 21%)
<b>2010 election</b>	<b>Lab 30%, Lib Dem 23%, Con 15%, UKIP 1%, Others 4%</b> (Didn't vote/don't know 27%)
<b>Demographics</b>	University educated, ABC1, disproportionately London-based Constitute 14% of the population

Liberal Idealists tend to be optimistic about their prospects. They are the most likely of any segment both to think their own circumstances are better than they were ten years ago, and that they will be better still in ten years' time; they also feel that "the way society is changing will bring more opportunities for me to improve my standard of living than threats to it".

However, they think that in general, a person's family circumstances when young are as important as natural talent and ability in determining whether he or she will succeed in Britain today. As one focus group participant put it, *"I would say things have changed because of the internet – there's more opportunity for individuals to progress if they've got talent... But there is a tier of society that is unattainable, a tier of job and a tier of aspiration that is unattainable."* Despite being university-educated professionals, nearly half of Liberal Idealists describe themselves as working class.

Liberal Idealists value well-funded public services over a competitive economy, and are more likely than most to believe that "most of the big improvements in life over the years are the result of collective efforts, often led by governments". They think "the gap between rich and poor should not be allowed to get too wide, even if that means holding back the richest", "the government should do more to ensure that wealth in Britain is shared out more equally by imposing much higher taxes on those with the highest incomes". They consider that "there should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall".

This is the only segment in which people are more likely to think immigration has enhanced the culture and prosperity of Britain rather than changed the country's character for the worse and put extra pressure on public services. They are more likely than the Optimistic Individualists, Welfare Anxiety and Suspicious Strivers to name the NHS and schools among the most important issues facing Britain. They give Labour a bigger than average lead on all policy areas and prefer Ed Miliband to David Cameron as prime Minister.

Liberal Idealists have a negative view of Mrs Thatcher's time in office and tend to associate Labour or the Lib Dems with particular positive attributes. For them, the most desirable characteristics for a Prime Minister are to be "caring and compassionate" and "respected and intelligent".

This segment accounts for one fifth of Labour's support, and less than a tenth of the Tories'.

## Segment 5:

# Downbeat Dependants

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<b>Current voting intention</b>	<b>Lab 56%, Lib Dem 6%, Con 2%, UKIP 6%, Others 16%</b> (Won't vote/don't know 18%)
<b>2010 election</b>	<b>Lab 38%, Lib Dem 25%, Con 6%, UKIP 3%, Others 8%</b> (Didn't vote/don't know 22%)
<b>Demographics</b>	Social group DE, renting from council or housing association Constitute 14% of the population

Downbeat Dependants have a pessimistic view of their prospects and look to government to meet their needs.

Overwhelmingly, people in this segment think their circumstances are worse than they were ten years ago and will be worse again in ten years' time. When it comes to succeeding in Britain today they believe connections, family background, parents' income and the kind of school attended are the most important factors; they are the least likely of all segments to select hard work and determination. They believe strongly that "in Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work".

They think "people have a right to things like decent housing, healthcare, education and enough to live on, and the government should make sure everyone has them". They value well-funded public services over a strong, competitive economy, and think "there should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall". They are the most likely to name the NHS and "ensuring people are treated fairly" among the most important issues facing Britain.

The Downbeat Dependant segment believes "the government should do more to ensure that wealth in Britain is shared out more equally by imposing much higher taxes on those with the highest incomes"; similarly that "the gap between the rich and poor should not be allowed to get too wide, even if that means holding back the richest". They have an extremely negative view of Mrs Thatcher's time as Prime Minister.

This segment strongly identifies with Labour. A majority say the Labour Party is "on the side of people like me" (compared to just 2% who say it of the Conservatives), and they are more likely than other segments to associate Labour with other positive attributes. They say Labour are the best party on all policy issues by a huge margin.

The Downbeat Dependants segment constitutes a quarter of Labour's vote (and just 2% of Conservative support). The segment has seen a huge swing from the Lib Dems to Labour since the 2010 election.



## Self-employed C2s: the original Blue Collar Tories?

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In the 2010 general election, the Conservatives beat Labour by 10 points (41% to 31%) among self-employed C2s. Since then, there has been a 6-point swing to Labour, who led by 37% to 35% among the group in our poll. This is lower than the 8.5% swing among voters as a whole: while the decline in the Conservative share was just as great as for voters generally, the increase in support for Labour was rather smaller.

This pattern was evident elsewhere in the research. In general, self-employed C2s were slightly more positive about the Conservative Party than the general population (and than C2s as a whole). They were, in most cases, marginally more likely to associate the Tories with positive attributes, and to trust the Conservatives over Labour on economic issues. They also preferred David Cameron to Ed Miliband by 18 points, more than twice the margin among voters as a whole. They were much more likely to have a positive view of Margaret Thatcher's time as Prime Minister.

However, the differences between the attitudes of self-employed C2s and the general population were much bigger when it came to their more negative view of Labour – most notably on being “on the side of people like me” and whether the party “wants to help ordinary people get on in life” (though in both cases they thought the statement more likely to be true of Labour than the Tories). While their ratings of David Cameron's qualities were similar to that of voters in general, the scores they awarded to Ed Miliband were notably lower. They often grudgingly accepted the government's case for cutting the deficit, and were suspicious of Labour's approach: *“The Labour version, which is to try and spend your way out of it, is much more of a gamble and much more dangerous.”*

Self-employed C2s were more likely than the population as a whole to name controlling immigration as one of the three most important issues facing the country, putting it second overall to getting the economy growing and creating jobs. They were also more likely than average to prioritise cutting taxes, dealing with crime, and scrapping unnecessary rules and regulations.

Like voters in general, self-employed C2s were quite evenly divided between those who thought things would be better overall in ten years' time and those who thought they would be worse, both for the country as a whole and for them and their families. However, self-employed C2s were considerably more likely than the population as a whole to say things were worse than they were ten years ago, especially for them and their families.

In focus groups, participants would often say that although they had a reasonable amount of business, they would often be pricing jobs at the same level as twenty years ago, owing to a combination of big contractors and agencies squeezing costs, and competition from migrant labour: *“They're coming in as skilled trades, aren't they? You can't compete with someone who's sharing three or four to a room and paying cheap rent. We've got to pay a mortgage and bring up families... They'll work hard but the thing is they're bringing down the price of everything”*. Where they could once effectively name their price, tradesmen increasingly faced resistance from customers: *“We no longer do call out charges, we have to go out and do free estimates and free call-out charges, whereas that used to be the main bulk of our business. We used to bang £45 on just for a call-out”*; *“My husband is an electrician, and he goes to somebody and they want him to do a load of stuff, and he'll say ‘that will be £60’, and they say ‘sixty quid?’ And it's taken him an hour to get there, and it will be an hour to get back, and two hours work, and they don't want to pay. It's barter. So from one week to the next, you don't know.”*

At the same time, their own business costs were rising, banks were less accommodating, and higher prices made for a declining standard of living. Some said their families had also suffered from changes to tax credits.

Like the general population, self-employed C2s thought the most important factors when it comes to determining whether someone is likely to succeed in life were hard work and determination, and natural talent and ability – though by slightly less than average. They were marginally more likely to mention external factors, particularly the area where a person grew up. Even so, they agreed by 24 points that “if you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Britain no matter what your background”, compared to 10 points among the population as a whole, against the proposition that “people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work”.

This group were significantly more likely than average to say a strong, competitive economy was, if they had to choose, more important than well funded public services. Nearly two thirds agreed that “it should be easier for firms to hire people and let them go when they need to”, compared to just over half of respondents generally, rather than that “there should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created”. By a 12-point margin, self-employed C2s thought that “if some people earn a great deal of money through their own ability and hard work, that is a good thing and they should be allowed to enjoy it”, while the population as a whole preferred the alternative, “the government should do more to ensure that wealth in Britain is shared out more equally by imposing much higher taxes on those with the highest incomes”.

Self-employed C2s were 1 point less likely to say they identified with the Conservatives than the population as a whole, they were 6 points less likely to say they identified with Labour. Only a quarter (26%) said they thought the Tories were the party that best represented self-employed people – though this represented a 9-point lead over Labour – while more than half (51%) said no party represented them. Though they were used to politicians talking about the idea of supporting people who worked hard and wanted to get on in life, and usually associated the sentiment with the Conservatives, they did not usually think that anything much lay behind it: *“Any politician who would not say that, that would be surprising. I can’t imagine anybody getting up and saying ‘I do not support people who work hard to support themselves’.”* There was also a feeling that talk of people doing well whatever their background could sound inauthentic from politicians they assumed had had life rather easy, or achieved their own success from a head start – even if their sentiment was genuine: *“Thinking of someone who comes from a wealthy family, you can talk about it, but has he ever really experienced it himself? So he says you’ve just got to have the oomph to just do it. He had the youth and the money maybe to do it, or the backing of his parents”; “I don’t regard the Tories as having come from anywhere where they need to pull their trousers as high as certain people have had to. Other people have had to make more effort.”*

# Full poll results

<b>S.E. C2s:</b>	Self-employed C2s
<b>Op Ind:</b>	Optimistic Individualists (Segment 1: 29% of population)
<b>Ent Anx:</b>	Entitlement Anxiety (Segment 2: 28% of population)
<b>Sus Striv:</b>	Suspicious Strivers (Segment 3: 15% of population)
<b>Lib Id:</b>	Liberal Idealists (Segment 4: 14% of population)
<b>Dow Dep:</b>	Downbeat Dependents (Segment 5: 14% of population)

**1. If there were to be a general election tomorrow, which party do you think you would vote for?**  
*[Excludes don't know/won't vote. Changes since 2010 general election in brackets]*

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
<b>Conservative</b>	<b>31% [-6]</b>	35% [-6]	65% [-3]	13% [-11]	29% [-11]	18% [-3]	2% [-5]
<b>Labour</b>	<b>41% [+11]</b>	37% [+6]	13% [-2]	54% [+16]	34% [+8]	56% [+16]	71% [+23]
<b>Lib Dem</b>	<b>9% [-15]</b>	9% [-5]	9% [-7]	8% [-17]	11% [-14]	14% [-18]	6% [-26]
<b>UKIP</b>	<b>9% [+6]</b>	10% [+6]	9% [+7]	11% [+9]	17% [+13]	2% [+1]	7% [+3]
<b>Other</b>	<b>10% [+4]</b>	9% [+4]	3% [+1]	14% [+6]	9% [+2]	10% [+3]	14% [+4]

- This represents an 8.5% swing from Conservative to Labour among the population as a whole, and a 6% swing among self-employed C2s.

**2. Here are some things that people have said about the main political parties. Please can you say whether, on balance, you think the statement is true of the Conservative Party / the Labour Party / the Liberal Democrats?**

	Conservatives		Labour		Lib Dems	
	ALL	S.E. C2s	ALL	S.E. C2s	ALL	S.E. C2s
On the side of people like me	24%	26%	37%	30%	24%	24%
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	28%	27%	53%	45%	38%	35%
Wiling to take tough decisions for the long term	57%	54%	29%	26%	24%	27%
Shares my values	27%	28%	35%	29%	22%	21%
Competent and capable	29%	31%	27%	21%	13%	15%
Will do what they say	22%	20%	22%	19%	12%	13%
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	17%	18%	32%	28%	22%	22%
Heart is in the right place	30%	30%	43%	38%	39%	37%
Stands for fairness	24%	25%	40%	34%	34%	34%
Stands for equal opportunity for all	23%	27%	44%	41%	35%	37%

	CONSERVATIVES					
	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
On the side of people like me	24%	55%	8%	20%	19%	2%
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	28%	59%	12%	24%	23%	3%
Wiling to take tough decisions for the long term	57%	79%	46%	54%	55%	37%
Shares my values	27%	61%	10%	26%	19%	3%
Competent and capable	29%	57%	15%	26%	28%	6%
Will do what they say	22%	43%	10%	19%	23%	8%
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	17%	38%	6%	13%	15%	2%
Heart is in the right place	30%	60%	16%	27%	24%	4%
Stands for fairness	24%	52%	10%	20%	18%	2%
Stands for equal opportunity for all	23%	49%	11%	19%	19%	3%

	LABOUR					
	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
On the side of people like me	37%	17%	44%	29%	51%	59%
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	53%	44%	53%	44%	65%	68%
Wiling to take tough decisions for the long term	29%	14%	34%	24%	40%	43%
Shares my values	35%	14%	41%	25%	49%	59%
Competent and capable	27%	13%	31%	20%	40%	39%
Will do what they say	22%	12%	25%	17%	34%	34%
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	32%	17%	37%	25%	41%	50%
Heart is in the right place	43%	29%	45%	36%	55%	61%
Stands for fairness	40%	24%	43%	33%	53%	61%
Stands for equal opportunity for all	44%	32%	45%	36%	58%	62%

	LIBERAL DEMOCRATS					
	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
On the side of people like me	24%	29%	17%	21%	34%	19%
Wants to help ordinary people get on in life	38%	51%	27%	34%	45%	30%
Wiling to take tough decisions for the long term	24%	26%	21%	23%	30%	20%
Shares my values	22%	25%	16%	20%	30%	19%
Competent and capable	13%	18%	9%	14%	19%	6%
Will do what they say	12%	18%	8%	12%	15%	6%
Represents the whole country, not just some types of people	22%	27%	16%	20%	28%	19%
Heart is in the right place	39%	49%	29%	38%	46%	32%
Stands for fairness	34%	45%	24%	32%	41%	29%
Stands for equal opportunity for all	35%	46%	25%	31%	42%	31%

**3. Which of the following issues facing the country at the moment do you think is the most important / the second most important / the next most important?**

*[% naming the issue in top three]*

	<b>ALL</b>	<b>S.E. C2s</b>
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	<b>76% [1]</b>	72% [1]
Cutting the deficit and the debt	<b>42% [2]</b>	36% [3]
Controlling immigration	<b>39% [3]</b>	45% [2]
Reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut benefit dependency	<b>34% [4]</b>	34% [4]
Improving the NHS	<b>23% [5]</b>	19% [5=]
Ensuring people are treated fairly	<b>20% [6]</b>	19% [5=]
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	<b>15% [7]</b>	12% [10]
Cutting taxes	<b>13% [8]</b>	19% [5=]
Dealing with crime	<b>12% [9]</b>	17% [8=]
Scrapping unnecessary rules and regulations	<b>11% [10]</b>	17% [8=]
Improving schools	<b>8% [11]</b>	7% [11]
Protecting the environment	<b>6% [12]</b>	5% [12]

	<b>ALL</b>	<b>Opt Ind</b>	<b>Ent Anx</b>	<b>Sus Striv</b>	<b>Lib Id</b>	<b>Dow Dep</b>
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	<b>76%</b>	77%	77%	72%	75%	79%
Cutting the deficit and the debt	<b>42%</b>	58%	34%	42%	43%	28%
Controlling immigration	<b>39%</b>	38%	49%	46%	25%	31%
Reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut benefit dependency	<b>34%</b>	49%	32%	38%	26%	15%
Improving the NHS	<b>23%</b>	13%	24%	18%	34%	37%
Ensuring people are treated fairly	<b>20%</b>	8%	22%	14%	25%	39%
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	<b>15%</b>	21%	14%	16%	10%	10%
Cutting taxes	<b>13%</b>	7%	17%	15%	15%	14%
Dealing with crime	<b>12%</b>	7%	14%	12%	15%	13%
Scrapping unnecessary rules and regulations	<b>11%</b>	12%	9%	14%	8%	11%
Improving schools	<b>8%</b>	5%	5%	7%	13%	13%
Protecting the environment	<b>6%</b>	4%	4%	4%	10%	11%

4. Which party do you think would have the best approach to each of the following issues?

	ALL			S.E. C2s		
	Con	Lab	LD	Con	Lab	LD
Getting the economy growing and creating jobs	41%	47%	13%	44%	42%	14%
Cutting the deficit and the debt	54%	34%	12%	55%	32%	13%
Controlling immigration	53%	32%	15%	51%	29%	20%
Reforming welfare to stop scroungers and cut benefit dependency	59%	29%	12%	58%	28%	14%
Improving the NHS	29%	53%	18%	28%	50%	22%
Ensuring people are treated fairly	26%	47%	28%	24%	41%	35%
Defending Britain's interests in Europe	52%	35%	13%	49%	34%	17%
Cutting taxes	35%	47%	18%	39%	43%	18%
Dealing with crime	49%	39%	12%	45%	37%	17%
Scrapping unnecessary rules and regulations	40%	36%	24%	41%	31%	28%
Improving schools	33%	47%	20%	34%	43%	23%
Protecting the environment	24%	33%	43%	17%	31%	51%

5. Which of the following do you think would make the best Prime Minister?

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
David Cameron	47%	52%	80%	32%	52%	37%	11%
Ed Miliband	39%	34%	12%	51%	31%	46%	74%
Nick Clegg	14%	14%	8%	17%	17%	18%	15%
DC margin	+ 8%	+ 18%	+68%	-19%	+21%	-7%	-63%

6. Do you think that, overall, things in Britain are better or worse than they were ten years ago for yourself and your family / for Britain as a whole?

<i>Better now – Worse now</i>	ALL	S.E. C2s	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
For myself and my family	-46%	-62%	-6%	-92%	-56%	+4%	-80%
For Britain as a whole	-72%	-76%	-52%	-94%	-78%	-42%	-90%

7. Do you think that, overall, things in ten years' time will be better or worse than they are now for yourself and your family / for Britain as a whole?

<i>Will be better – will be worse</i>	ALL	S.E. C2s	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
For myself and my family	+2%	+4%	+58%	-46%	-14%	+58%	-52%
For Britain as a whole	0%	+2%	+56%	-44%	-14%	+48%	-54%

8. What is your overall feeling about the period when Margaret Thatcher was Prime Minister, back in the 1980s?

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Very positive	18%	25%	37%	9%	23%	9%	2%
Quite positive	27%	33%	38%	25%	34%	21%	6%
<i>POSITIVE</i>	<b>45%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>9%</b>
Quite negative	14%	10%	9%	16%	13%	20%	15%
Very negative	27%	24%	5%	32%	15%	36%	67%
<i>NEGATIVE</i>	<b>41%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>83%</b>
Don't know	14%	8%	11%	18%	15%	15%	9%

9. Would you describe yourself as working class, middle class or upper class?

	"Working class"	"Middle class"	"Upper class"
ALL	58%	41%	1%
S.E. C2s	73%	25%	2%
AB	34%	64%	2%
C1	55%	44%	1%
C2	73%	26%	1%
DE	75%	24%	1%
Con voters	42%	56%	1%
Lab voters	66%	33%	1%
Lib Dem voters	43%	55%	2%
Opt Ind	39%	59%	1%
Ent Anx	77%	23%	0%
Sus Striv	62%	37%	1%
Lib Id	45%	52%	3%
Dow Dep	65%	35%	0%

10. Below are some characteristics that people have said are important for a Prime Minister to have. Which do you think is the most important / the second most important / the next most important?  
[% naming in top three]

<i>Importance in a Prime Minister</i>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>S.E. C2s</b>	<b>Con voters</b>	<b>Lab voters</b>	<b>LD voters</b>
Truly listens to the people	<b>54%</b>	55%	39%	<u>61%</u>	47%
Does what he believes is best for Britain regardless of what is popular	<b>47%</b>	43%	<u>72%</u>	30%	<u>49%</u>
Strong and decisive	<b>44%</b>	47%	62%	37%	38%
Fair-minded and flexible	<b>34%</b>	34%	27%	41%	36%
Respected and intelligent	<b>30%</b>	25%	28%	32%	34%
Has wide experience outside politics	<b>28%</b>	31%	20%	28%	31%
Hard-headed and clear-thinking	<b>24%</b>	19%	34%	17%	27%
Caring and compassionate	<b>17%</b>	16%	8%	24%	17%
Came from an ordinary background	<b>17%</b>	22%	4%	24%	14%
Charismatic and engaging	<b>5%</b>	5%	5%	6%	5%

<i>Importance in a Prime Minister</i>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>Opt Ind</b>	<b>Ent Anx</b>	<b>Sus Striv</b>	<b>Lib Id</b>	<b>Dow Dep</b>
Truly listens to the people	<b>54%</b>	37%	71%	49%	53%	62%
Does what he believes is best for Britain regardless of what is popular	<b>47%</b>	69%	38%	47%	40%	25%
Strong and decisive	<b>44%</b>	58%	41%	46%	41%	24%
Fair-minded and flexible	<b>34%</b>	27%	35%	29%	36%	47%
Respected and intelligent	<b>30%</b>	31%	25%	29%	36%	33%
Has wide experience outside politics	<b>28%</b>	24%	25%	35%	27%	36%
Hard-headed and clear-thinking	<b>24%</b>	35%	18%	24%	25%	12%
Caring and compassionate	<b>17%</b>	9%	21%	14%	21%	28%
Came from an ordinary background	<b>17%</b>	5%	24%	20%	14%	31%
Charismatic and engaging	<b>5%</b>	5%	3%	7%	7%	2%



11. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means “not true at all” and 10 means “completely true”, how true do you think each of those characteristics is of David Cameron?  
[Mean score out of 10]

<i>True of David Cameron</i>	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Does what he believes is right for Britain regardless of what is popular	<b>5.41</b>	5.32	7.76	4.40	6.11
Strong and decisive	<b>4.86</b>	4.84	7.06	3.85	5.63
Hard-headed and clear-thinking	<b>4.75</b>	4.71	6.95	3.74	5.52
Respected and intelligent	<b>4.66</b>	4.69	7.08	3.43	5.44
Charismatic and engaging	<b>4.38</b>	4.49	6.68	3.18	5.16
Fair-minded and flexible	<b>4.11</b>	4.15	6.71	2.70	4.85
Caring and compassionate	<b>3.84</b>	3.89	6.29	2.48	4.52
Truly listens to the people	<b>3.62</b>	3.60	6.31	2.24	4.32
Has wide experience outside politics	<b>3.11</b>	3.38	4.70	2.36	3.56
Came from an ordinary background	<b>2.17</b>	2.43	3.35	1.53	2.49

<i>True of Ed Miliband</i>	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Truly listens to the people	<b>4.69</b>	4.33	3.57	6.63	4.48
Fair-minded and flexible	<b>4.65</b>	4.26	3.51	6.52	4.51
Caring and compassionate	<b>4.65</b>	4.25	3.73	6.34	4.67
Does what he believes is best for Britain regardless of what is popular	<b>4.48</b>	4.20	3.26	6.28	4.45
Respected and intelligent	<b>4.41</b>	4.07	3.29	6.18	4.37
Hard-headed and clear-thinking	<b>4.28</b>	3.96	3.24	5.93	4.25
Strong and decisive	<b>4.16</b>	3.85	3.03	5.89	4.03
Came from an ordinary background	<b>4.06</b>	3.91	3.42	5.37	4.06
Has wide experience outside politics	<b>3.62</b>	3.39	2.75	5.02	3.54
Charismatic and engaging	<b>2.71</b>	3.30	2.48	5.32	3.49

<i>True of Nick Clegg</i>	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Caring and compassionate	<b>4.25</b>	4.29	4.95	3.78	6.49
Fair-minded and flexible	<b>4.20</b>	4.22	4.86	3.73	6.66
Does what he believes is best for Britain regardless of what is popular	<b>4.12</b>	4.14	4.70	3.64	6.45
Truly listens to the people	<b>3.94</b>	4.00	4.73	3.37	6.45
Respected and intelligent	<b>3.88</b>	4.02	4.47	3.43	6.15
Charismatic and engaging	<b>3.87</b>	3.92	4.43	3.46	6.02
Hard-headed and clear-thinking	<b>3.63</b>	3.59	4.08	3.29	5.86
Strong and decisive	<b>3.37</b>	3.31	3.81	2.92	5.60
Has wide experience outside politics	<b>3.27</b>	3.38	3.57	3.09	4.91
Came from an ordinary background	<b>3.21</b>	3.49	3.60	2.91	4.75

12. Below are some things that people have said are important when it comes to determining whether someone is likely to succeed in life in Britain today. Which of them do you think are important in determining whether someone will succeed?

[% naming in top three]

	ALL	S.E. C2S	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Their own hard work and determination	75%	72%	86%	67%	76%
Their natural talent and ability	60%	53%	72%	54%	63%
The connections they had through family and friends	43%	43%	35%	46%	43%
The kind of school they went to	33%	33%	31%	35%	32%
Their family circumstances when they were young	30%	30%	31%	32%	29%
Luck	22%	23%	22%	20%	23%
Their parents' income	21%	23%	12%	27%	19%
The area where they grew up	16%	22%	12%	20%	14%

	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Their own hard work and determination	75%	96%	96%	37%	83%	23%
Their natural talent and ability	60%	84%	80%	17%	72%	10%
The connections they had through family and friends	43%	29%	32%	69%	29%	76%
The kind of school they went to	33%	27%	18%	54%	26%	59%
Their family circumstances when they were young	30%	29%	23%	32%	38%	36%
Luck	22%	22%	27%	21%	21%	13%
Their parents' income	21%	3%	8%	51%	13%	59%
The area where they grew up	16%	9%	16%	20%	18%	25%

13. Do you identify with a political party – that is, do you think of one party as consistently representing people like you and feel an affinity towards that party beyond the question of how you vote?

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Conservative	22%	21%	79%	1%	6%
Labour	29%	23%	1%	79%	22%
Lib Dem	8%	5%	2%	2%	33%
UKIP	4%	5%	1%	0%	3%
Other	5%	4%	0%	1%	5%
None	30%	41%	17%	15%	31%

	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Conservative	22%	53%	9%	18%	14%	2%
Labour	29%	10%	36%	21%	41%	49%
Lib Dem	8%	8%	6%	9%	12%	7%
UKIP	4%	4%	5%	7%	1%	4%
Other	5%	2%	8%	6%	7%	11%
None	30%	23%	36%	38%	25%	28%

14. If you had to choose, which is most important – having a strong, competitive economy or having well-funded public services?

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Strong, competitive economy	65%	76%	87%	53%	67%
Well-funded public services	35%	24%	13%	47%	33%

	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Strong, competitive economy	65%	89%	60%	76%	52%	31%
Well-funded public services	35%	11%	40%	24%	48%	69%

15. Below are some pairs of statements. Please say which statement in each pair you most agree with, even if you don't completely agree with it. In each case, please say whether you strongly agree with the statement or tend to agree with it.

[Figures in brackets show 'strongly/tend to' breakdown]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Britain no matter what your background	55% [22/33]	62% [35/27]	77% [35/41]	41% [15/27]	59% [22/37]
In Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	45% [19/26]	38% [19/19]	23% [6/17]	59% [27/31]	41% [12/29]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
If you work hard, it is possible to be very successful in Britain no matter what your background	90% [46/44]	51% [15/35]	43% [13/30]	52% [15/37]	8% [1/7]
In Britain today, people from some backgrounds will never have a real chance to be successful no matter how hard they work	10% [2/8]	49% [18/31]	57% [21/36]	48% [15/33]	92% [55/36]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Britain is becoming too much like America	81% [33/48]	78% [32/46]	78% [26/51]	83% [35/48]	83% [30/53]
Britain should be more like America	19% [5/14]	22% [8/14]	22% [5/17]	17% [5/13]	17% [5/13]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Britain is becoming too much like America	81% [26/54]	82% [34/48]	77% [31/45]	76% [26/50]	88% [50/38]
Britain should be more like America	19% [4/16]	18% [4/14]	23% [6/17]	24% [8/16]	12% [4/8]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Government should do its best always to protect people from themselves	40% [8/32]	36% [8/28]	36% [7/30]	47% [10/37]	39% [3/32]
Government should leave people to make their own choices, even if these are unhealthy, foolish or risky	60% [19/41]	64% [28/36]	64% [21/42]	53% [16/37]	61% [15/46]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Government should do its best always to protect people from themselves	36% [7/29]	44% [9/35]	37% [8/29]	45% [9/36]	38% [7/32]
Government should leave people to make their own choices, even if these are unhealthy, foolish or risky	64% [21/43]	56% [16/40]	63% [24/39]	55% [14/41]	62% [21/41]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
We need leaders who listen to the people and do what they want	53% [23/30]	51% [28/23]	26% [10/16]	67% [30/38]	46% [16/30]
We need leaders who will stick to what they believe is right, even if it is unpopular	47% [17/30]	49% [22/28]	74% [33/40]	33% [9/24]	54% [18/37]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
We need leaders who listen to the people and do what they want	28% [10/19]	75% [37/37]	51% [22/29]	45% [14/30]	74% [34/39]
We need leaders who will stick to what they believe is right, even if it is unpopular	72% [31/41]	25% [6/19]	49% [17/32]	55% [21/35]	26% [5/21]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
The gap between the richest and the poorest doesn't matter much as long as the poorest are getting better off	46% [14/33]	52% [21/31]	67% [22/45]	34% [10/25]	41% [11/30]
The gap between rich and poor should not be allowed to get too wide, even if that means holding back the richest	54% [28/26]	48% [27/22]	33% [13/20]	66% [38/27]	59% [29/30]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
The gap between the richest and the poorest doesn't matter much as long as the poorest are getting better off	75% [26/49]	40% [10/30]	61% [19/41]	21% [4/17]	12% [3/10]
The gap between rich and poor should not be allowed to get too wide, even if that means holding back the richest	25% [6/19]	60% [30/31]	39% [16/23]	79% [45/33]	88% [64/24]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
My children's life will be better than mine	52% [13/39]	53% [21/31]	62% [18/45]	49% [13/36]	58% [14/44]
My children's life will be worse than mine	48% [14/34]	47% [18/29]	38% [8/30]	51% [15/36]	42% [10/32]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
My children's life will be better than mine	70% [21/49]	41% [8/32]	51% [14/36]	63% [16/47]	32% [4/27]
My children's life will be worse than mine	30% [5/25]	59% [19/40]	49% [14/35]	37% [7/30]	68% [26/42]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
It should be easier for firms to hire people and let them go when they need to	53% [15/38]	64% [27/37]	73% [27/46]	38% [8/30]	55% [13/42]
There should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall	47% [14/33]	36% [15/20]	27% [6/20]	62% [21/40]	45% [10/35]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
It should be easier for firms to hire people and let them go when they need to	83% [32/51]	44% [9/35]	66% [21/45]	30% [4/26]	24% [3/21]
There should be more protection for employees even if that costs firms more and fewer jobs are created overall	17% [2/15]	56% [15/40]	34% [8/26]	70% [23/46]	76% [31/46]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
People expect too much from the government	41% [15/27]	45% [21/24]	64% [28/37]	27% [7/20]	49% [15/35]
People are entitled to expect more from the government	59% [25/34]	55% [27/28]	36% [12/24]	73% [33/40]	51% [17/34]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
People expect too much from the government	74% [33/41]	21% [4/17]	51% [20/31]	31% [6/25]	14% [1/13]
People are entitled to expect more from the government	26% [6/20]	79% [36/42]	49% [19/30]	69% [26/43]	86% [44/41]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
If some people earn a great deal of money through their own ability and hard work, that is a good thing and they should be allowed to enjoy it	48% [19/29]	56% [30/26]	69% [33/36]	33% [10/22]	42% [13/29]
The government should do more to ensure that wealth in Britain is shared out more equally by imposing much higher taxes on those with the highest incomes	52% [25/28]	44% [23/21]	31% [11/21]	67% [36/31]	58% [22/36]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
If some people earn a great deal of money through their own ability and hard work, that is a good thing and they should be allowed to enjoy it	78% [38/40]	43% [15/28]	60% [22/38]	23% [5/19]	8% [1/7]
The government should do more to ensure that wealth in Britain is shared out more equally by imposing much higher taxes on those with the highest incomes	22% [4/17]	57% [26/30]	40% [14/26]	77% [36/41]	92% [61/31]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
It is mainly the government's responsibility to ensure that everyone has a decent pension in their retirement	49% [18/32]	52% [26/26]	33% [10/23]	58% [22/36]	44% [13/31]
It is mainly the responsibility of people themselves to make sure they will be provided for when they retire	51% [15/36]	48% [20/28]	67% [25/42]	42% [10/32]	56% [16/40]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
It is mainly the government's responsibility to ensure that everyone has a decent pension in their retirement	26% [7/19]	64% [25/39]	45% [16/28]	46% [14/32]	75% [30/45]
It is mainly the responsibility of people themselves to make sure they will be provided for when they retire	74% [26/48]	36% [7/29]	55% [17/38]	54% [17/36]	25% [4/21]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
The person who benefits most from a university education is the student who receives it, so students should pay the biggest share of the cost of university education over their lifetime	42% [13/29]	46% [21/24]	59% [19/40]	32% [8/23]	41% [12/30]
Everyone should have the chance of a free education, so the government should pay the costs of university from taxes	58% [25/33]	54% [28/26]	41% [13/28]	68% [34/35]	59% [23/36]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
The person who benefits most from a university education is the student who receives it, so students should pay the biggest share of the cost of university education over their lifetime	64% [22/41]	36% [10/26]	55% [20/35]	23% [3/20]	20% [4/16]
Everyone should have the chance of a free education, so the government should pay the costs of university from taxes	36% [10/27]	64% [27/37]	45% [17/28]	77% [39/38]	80% [46/34]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
With the way the economy and society is changing, there will be more threats to my standard of living in future than there will be opportunities to improve it	79% [32/47]	77% [37/40]	69% [19/50]	82% [37/45]	74% [23/52]
The way society and the economy is changing will bring more opportunities for me to improve my standard of living than threats to it	21% [4/17]	23% [6/17]	31% [5/26]	18% [4/14]	26% [4/22]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
With the way the economy and society is changing, there will be more threats to my standard of living in future than there will be opportunities to improve it	67% [15/53]	94% [47/47]	83% [34/49]	52% [7/45]	94% [57/37]
The way society and the economy is changing will bring more opportunities for me to improve my standard of living than threats to it	33% [5/28]	6% [1/5]	17% [2/16]	48% [12/36]	6% [2/4]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
People have a right to things like decent housing, healthcare, education and enough to live on, and the government should make sure everyone has them	49% [21/28]	47% [20/27]	24% [8/17]	67% [31/36]	48% [18/30]
People are too ready to talk about their rights – people have a responsibility to provide for themselves and should not expect the government to do so for them	51% [21/30]	53% [23/30]	76% 37/38]	33% [9/24]	52% [18/34]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
People have a right to things like decent housing, healthcare, education and enough to live on, and the government should make sure everyone has them	24% [7/16]	60% [28/33]	43% [15/28]	56% [20/36]	78% [44/35]
People are too ready to talk about their rights – people have a responsibility to provide for themselves and should not expect the government to do so for them	76% [37/40]	40% [12/27]	57% [24/33]	44% [15/29]	22% [7/15]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
In Britain today, generally speaking, people tend to get what they deserve in life	29% [6/24]	32% [11/21]	47% [10/36]	21% [3/17]	33% [6/27]
In Britain today there seems to be little connection between what people get and what they deserve	71% [27/44]	68% [33/35]	53% [15/38]	79% [33/46]	67% 21/46]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
In Britain today, generally speaking, people tend to get what they deserve in life	56% [12/44]	14% [2/12]	28% [7/21]	30% [3/26]	5% [1/4]
In Britain today there seems to be little connection between what people get and what they deserve	44% [9/34]	86% [35/51]	72% [26/45]	70% [21/49]	95% [54/41]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Most of the big improvements in life over the years come from the efforts, achievements, discoveries or inventions of individuals	79% [28/51]	82% [38/43]	82% [31/51]	73% [25/48]	75% [24/51]
Most of the big improvements in life over the years are the result of collective efforts, often led by governments	21% [4/17]	18% [4/14]	18% [4/14]	27% [6/21]	25% [7/18]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Most of the big improvements in life over the years come from the efforts, achievements, discoveries or inventions of individuals	87% [34/53]	87% [31/56]	82% [31/51]	54% [15/39]	68% [21/47]
Most of the big improvements in life over the years are the result of collective efforts, often led by governments	13% [2/11]	13% [2/11]	18% [3/14]	46% [13/33]	32% [8/24]



	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
I am pretty happy with the way my life has turned out so far	66% [22/44]	62% [18/44]	78% [30/48]	62% [19/43]	70% [24/46]
I am generally disappointed with the way my life has turned out so far	34% [13/22]	38% [17/21]	22% [7/15]	38% [15/23]	30% [11/20]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
I am pretty happy with the way my life has turned out so far	84% [37/48]	56% [14/42]	61% [16/45]	70% [26/45]	48% [11/38]
I am generally disappointed with the way my life has turned out so far	16% [4/12]	44% [17/27]	39% [14/26]	30% [10/20]	52% [23/28]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
It's not enough to pay your taxes and expect the government to deliver important services in return – if we can become more involved in delivering those services as individuals or communities, we should	31% [7/24]	26% [7/18]	47% [11/36]	24% [5/18]	35% [5/30]
We pay taxes to the government so it will deliver important services to us, not to be told by the government that we need to get involved in delivering some of those same services we have already paid for	69% [31/38]	74% [34/40]	53% [17/36]	76% [39/38]	65% [23/42]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
It's not enough to pay your taxes and expect the government to deliver important services in return – if we can become more involved in delivering those services as individuals or communities, we should	50% [12/38]	22% [3/18]	32% [7/25]	28% [5/23]	14% [3/11]
We pay taxes to the government so it will deliver important services to us, not to be told by the government that we need to get involved in delivering some of those same services we have already paid for	50% [15/36]	78% [38/40]	68% [28/40]	72% [29/43]	86% [52/34]

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
Immigration has added richness and variety to the culture of Britain and has made the country more prosperous overall	30% [11/20]	26% [10/16]	21% [6/15]	40% [16/24]	43% [15/28]
Immigration has changed the character of Britain for the worse and has put added pressure on schools, hospitals and public housing at a time when these are overstretched as it is	70% [45/25]	74% [55/20]	79% [49/31]	60% [37/23]	57% [28/29]

	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
Immigration has added richness and variety to the culture of Britain and has made the country more prosperous overall	29% [9/20]	17% [4/13]	24% [7/17]	52% [22/30]	42% [18/24]
Immigration has changed the character of Britain for the worse and has put added pressure on schools, hospitals and public housing at a time when these are overstretched as it is	71% [42/29]	83% [57/26]	76% [53/23]	48% [23/25]	58% [38/19]

**16. What kind of plan, if any, do you currently have for your retirement?**

	ALL	S.E. C2s	Con voters	Lab voters	LD voters
I have a pension fund with my employer to which I do not contribute	5%	4%	5%	5%	5%
I have a pension fund with my employer to which I make contributions	21%	7%	22%	25%	20%
I am making contributions into a private pension or other savings and investments	14%	40%	17%	13%	14%
I am not currently able to make any contributions to a pension plan or similar investments	39%	50%	24%	42%	38%
I am already retired	25%	2%	37%	19%	27%

	ALL	Opt Ind	Ent Anx	Sus Striv	Lib Id	Dow Dep
I have a pension fund with my employer to which I do not contribute	5%	4%	5%	4%	6%	4%
I have a pension fund with my employer to which I make contributions	21%	21%	19%	23%	26%	20%
I am making contributions into a private pension or other savings and investments	14%	18%	11%	14%	17%	9%
I am not currently able to make any contributions to a pension plan or similar investments	39%	25%	49%	41%	39%	47%
I am already retired	25%	36%	19%	21%	18%	24%

**17. Which party do you think best represents the interests of each of the following – the Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats or none of them?**

	Con	Lab	Lib Dems	None
A middle class professional	56%	14%	10%	19%
Someone who has started their own business	36%	33%	10%	31%
People who would rather live on benefits than work	7%	48%	7%	38%
An ambitious person who wants to be successful	45%	18%	8%	28%
Trade unions	5%	73%	3%	19%
Big companies	68%	10%	3%	18%
Someone like you	24%	30%	10%	36%
The country as a whole	26%	29%	8%	37%
An unemployed person who wants to work and is looking for a job	21%	38%	9%	32%
A retired person with a comfortable pension	40%	19%	7%	34%
A retired person who struggles on a very small pension	13%	40%	9%	38%
Self-employed people	32%	22%	8%	38%
Low-paid public sector workers	9%	55%	7%	30%
Low-paid private sector workers	14%	44%	8%	34%
A skilled manual worker	18%	46%	7%	29%
An immigrant who wants to work and contribute	22%	37%	13%	28%
An immigrant who wants to take advantage of the benefit system	13%	44%	8%	34%

- 47% of Labour voters say middle class professionals are best represented by the Conservatives; 32% by Labour.
- 31% of Labour voters say Labour best represent people who would rather live on benefits than work (though 52% say no party represents them).
- 27% of Labour voters say an ambitious person who wants to be successful is best represented by the Conservatives.
- 69% of Labour voters and 71% of Lib Dem voters say big companies are best represented by the Conservatives.
- 51% of self-employed C2s said none of the parties best represents self-employed people; 26% named the Conservatives, 17% Labour and 5% the Liberal Democrats.
- 48% of Conservative voters say Labour best represent low-paid public sector workers.
- Lib Dem voters were more likely to say Labour best represents skilled manual workers (37%) than that the Lib Dems do (33%).
- 32% of Labour voters thought Labour best represented immigrants who wanted to take advantage of the benefit system, more than thought this of other parties (though 41% said no party represented them).