

# Mind the values gap

The social and economic values of MPs,  
party members and voters

Tim Bale, Aron Cheung, Philip Cowley,  
Anand Menon and Alan Wager



The **UK** in a  
**Changing Europe**

# Foreword

That Brexit has impacted on our politics is hardly a profound insight. Nor is the notion that it has generated increased interest in the so-called ‘values’ division in our country. In this study, we aim to dig into these divisions in a little more detail. Using a host of data, including a survey of the Labour and Tory grassroots carried out just after the 2019 election and a survey of MPs carried out at the beginning of 2020, we take a deep dive into the often contrasting attitudes of members of parliament, party members and voters. I am sure that you, like me, will find the analysis fascinating.

I’d like to thank Tim Bale, Philip Cowley and Alan Wager, who carried out the analysis and wrote the report. Aron Cheung, as ever, brought the data to life with his wonderful graphics. John-Paul Salter checked and edited the text, while Navjyot Lehl coordinated the entire process.

I very much hope that you find what follows interesting and informative.

**Professor Anand Menon, Director, The UK in a Changing Europe**

Printed June 2020



**The UK in a Changing Europe is an impartial and independent organisation created to make the findings of academic research easily available to the widest possible audience.**

# Contents

<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Leaders, activists, members – and voters .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Economic values .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Social values.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Switchers, Remainers and Leavers .....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Lessons .....</b>	<b>14</b>

Hyperlinks to cited material can be found online at [www.ukandeu.ac.uk](http://www.ukandeu.ac.uk)

# Introduction

British politics has been transformed in the last decade, with the party system coming under increasing strain. Brexit triggered deep splits within the parties as well as between parties and their voters. Social values that tend to vary with age and education seem to matter more and more to an electorate for whom class and party loyalties matter less and less. These developments have in turn been partly driven by profound socio-economic and cultural changes.

So far at least, both of Britain's two major parties have survived, albeit somewhat bruised and battered, and with differing levels of success. Yet the parties' long-term survival requires their maintaining internal cohesion and creating electoral coalitions that can hang together. This depends not just on their leaders and their parliamentarians but also on their grassroots members – and there has been no lack of conflict between party leaderships and their wider membership in recent years.

Through their choice of leaders and their broader policy preferences, members of both the Labour and Conservative parties have had significant effects on the direction of British politics. Is there, however, a mismatch between what they want – particularly if they are activists rather than more passive members – and what those they choose to represent them in the Commons want? And to what extent do our two main parties, whether at Westminster or at the grassroots, want the same as their voters?

This report provides an insight into the underlying values of the Labour and Conservative parties and of those who vote for them and might vote for them. Using original representative surveys of MPs and party members along with the British Election Study, it provides a snapshot of the ideological convictions of both main parties from top to bottom: from the MPs, through the varying levels of party members, to their potential voters.

Surveys of these different groups (details of which are in Box 1) asked two sets of questions commonly used by social scientists to measure people's economic and social values. These questions are designed to tap into underlying, stable, long-term ideological attitudes rather than ephemeral, short-term policy preferences. The first five cover economic values, the second five measure what political scientists call liberal-authoritarian attitudes.

### BOX 1

#### Survey Questions: Economic Values

- Government should redistribute income from those who are better off to those who are less well off
- Big business takes advantage of ordinary people
- Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth
- There is one law for the rich and one for the poor
- Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance

#### Survey Questions: Social Values

- Young people don't have enough respect for traditional British values
- For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence
- Schools should teach children to obey authority
- Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards
- People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences

To measure the views of members of the House of Commons, Ipsos Mori conducted a representative survey of MPs (99 MPs, drawn from a pool of 134 interviews in January-February 2020). This is the latest in a series of MPs surveys conducted by The UK in a Changing Europe and the Mile End Institute since 2015.

To gauge the views of members and activists, we use data from polling conducted by YouGov for the ESRC-funded [Party Members Project](#) run out of Queen Mary University of London and Sussex University in the immediate aftermath of the 2019 general election. This fieldwork was undertaken in December 2019..

The values of voters – by which we mean a representative sample of British adults – were analysed using data from the British Election Study. These questions have been asked by the British Election Study Internet Panel since 2014. We used wave 17 (fieldwork November 2019) for the attitudinal questions, and questions from waves 6 (June 2016), 13 (June 2017) and 19 (December 2019) for voting in the 2016 referendum and 2017 and 2019 general elections respectively. The BES panel data allows the same respondents to be analysed across multiple waves.

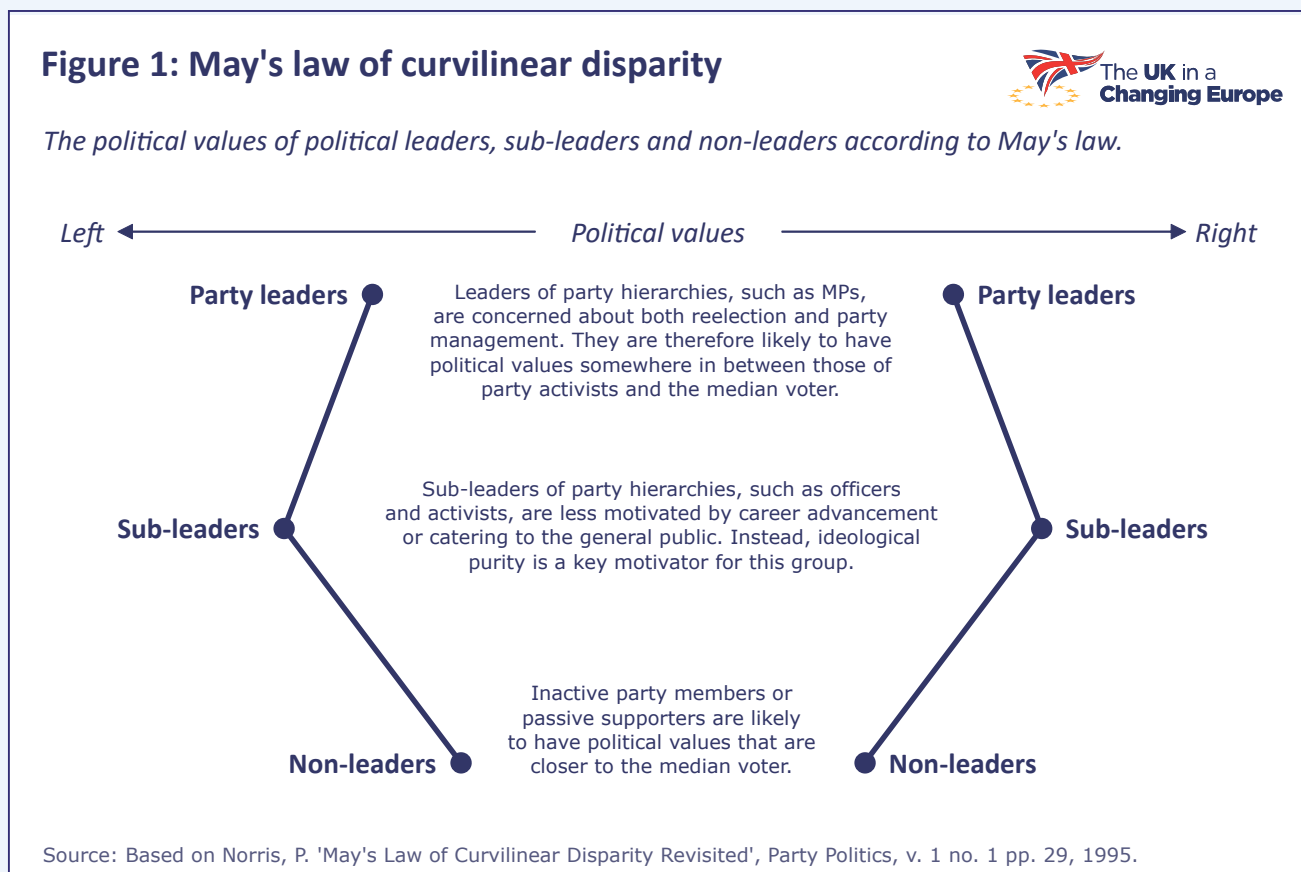
The responses to those surveys give us an insight into three crucial questions:

1. Are the two main parties broadly united or divided – from Parliament to the grassroots, down to the average party supporter – on attitudes to fundamental social and economic questions?
2. Are Conservative and Labour MPs more aligned to the ideology of voters than their members and activists?
3. Are party activists – those who deliver leaflets or canvass for parties – more 'radical' than the average party member?

# Leaders, activists, members – and voters

The structure of views within parties – and the question of which section of a party’s hierarchy is most in tune with voters – has been a contentious subject of political debate for the best part of a century.

Much of the academic discussion of the issue revolves around ‘May’s Law’ (see Figure 1) posited by John May in 1973. It is a theory praised for its elegance and simplicity, and for the fact it accords with much of the common wisdom on political parties. May’s ‘Special Law of Curvilinear Disparity’, to give it its full name, suggests those lowest and highest in a party’s hierarchy are the least likely to hold ‘extreme’ views. Those in the middle of parties – the party activists – are most likely to have views further away from the average voter.



In practical terms, this should mean that those at the apex of British politics – members of Parliament – will hold views that, in relative terms, are closest to those of the average voter. Winning votes after all is their job. If they are out of touch, then they run into trouble. This is one reason why many argue that MPs, against the current trend towards internal party democracy, should have a greater (indeed, perhaps, the final) say over the choice of leader. MPs are seen as more accountable, and therefore more responsive, to the views of the average man or woman in the street.

Activists, on the other hand, are said to be motivated by considerations other than catering to the perceived views of the general public and the advancement of their careers. As a result, the (rational choice) logic of May’s law is that the pursuit of the ideological purity is likely to be more important to activists.

Yet members of political parties vary in their activism. Some knocked on hundreds of doors and delivered thousands of leaflets for their party, even in the cold and dark of December last year. For others, their ‘activism’ goes no further than setting up and maintaining a direct debit payment. The assumption of May’s law – and, again, a lot of more general political discourse – is that these passive grassroots members are less radical than the activists, and more in line with the average voter.

# Economic values

To test if May’s law holds good, we start with the questions about fundamental economic values. For all the recent attention to social values as the dividing lines between the parties, debates over the role and scope of the state can hardly be said to have disappeared and may yet come more to the fore in the wake of the coronavirus crisis. And our data show that these questions do indeed produce significant divisions between and within the parties.

We break the data into six groups: at the top are MPs, followed by data on the attitude of councillors and candidates. There are then three separate categories of members, depending on how active they were in December’s election, from the most active who did six or more hours campaigning down to those who did nothing. Last – but not least – we give the score for those who voted for the party. In the middle of the final row in grey a dot indicates the position of the average (mean) voting-age adult.

Figure 2 shows a combined score from the five economic questions listed in Box 1. The scale ranges from -2 (on the left) to +2 (on the right). If every respondent in each category strongly agreed with each (left wing) statement, the group would be scored as -2 and plotted on the far left of the diagram. If all respondents disagreed with each statement they would be scored as +2 and placed on the far right. Figure 2 gives the average of the five questions. Figure 3 then gives equivalent scores but for each question.

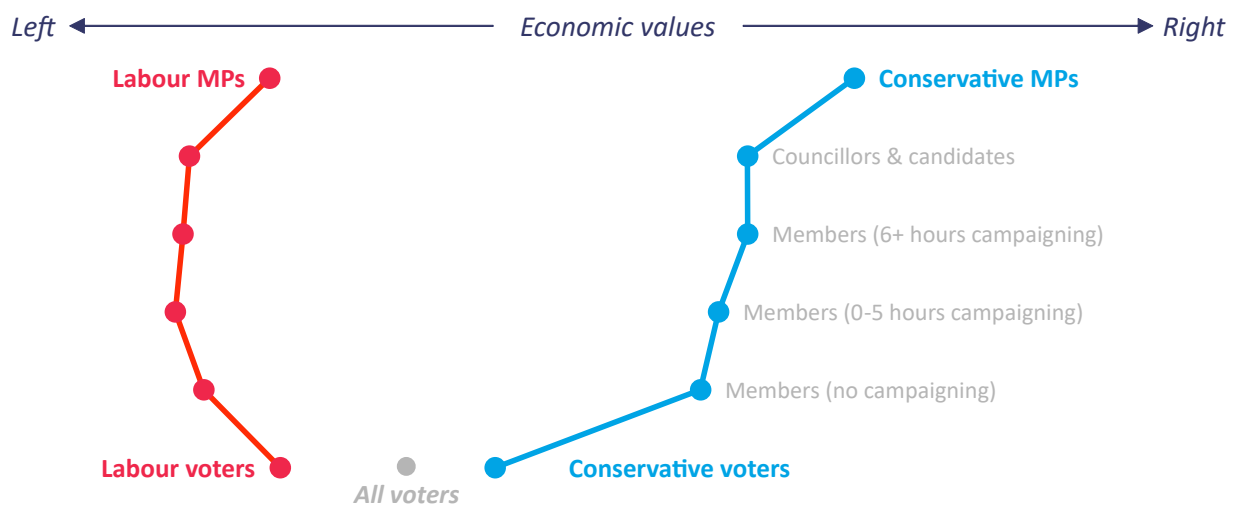
For social values, in Figure 4, if respondents gave liberal answers they were given a score of -2 and placed on the far left. If they gave authoritarian scores they were given a score of +2 and placed on the far right. And again, Figure 5 gives the score for each question.

‘Don’t knows’ were removed from the data. The data for each group and all questions are in the appendix at the end of the paper.

**Figure 2: Labour MPs and voters have similar economic values, but Conservative MPs and voters do not**



*Economic values of Conservative and Labour MPs, councillors and candidates, members, and voters, 2020.*



Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

## Mind the values gap

---

Figure 2 shows that Labour's members are indeed more radical on the economy than Labour MPs and Labour voters, thus conforming to May's Law. These differences are not massive though, and, contrary to expectations, there is almost no difference between the different types of members depending on their levels of activism.

Things are, however, very different when we consider the Conservative Party. Rather than being closer to the average voter, Conservative MPs sit to the right of party members, councillors and activists. And, in turn, the rest of the party (again with only a little difference between the various levels of activism) sits some distance to the right of its voters. The result of this sort of disjunction – what John May called 'leaders as extremists' – is that there is a clear gap between the views of Conservative voters and the Parliamentary Conservative Party.

There is then, an even bigger gap between Conservative MPs and the average voter. By contrast, Labour people's views on fundamental questions about the economy – and this is true of all levels of the party in the figure – are significantly more in tune with the instincts of both their voters and the general public than are those of the Conservative Party.

Figure 3 then breaks this graph down into its five constituent questions, giving equivalent data for MPs, the rest of the party (here grouped into one category, given there is relatively little difference between members according to how active they are) and the party's voters. The grey dot again indicates the average position of the public.

For the Conservatives, there is the same pattern on all five questions: MPs sit to the right of the rest of the party, which in turn is to the right of the voters. At times, the gap is huge – as with whether there is one law for the rich and another for the poor: fewer than a quarter (22%) of Conservative members, and just 5% of Conservative MPs, agree that 'there is one law for the rich and one for the poor', yet this is a view held by 73% of the public. Some 66% of the public agree that 'management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance' – a view held by a mere 5% of Conservative MPs.

In almost every case, the spread of views within the Conservative Party is greater than that for Labour. On only one of these five questions – regarding redistribution – is the Conservative family more united than Labour: fewer than a quarter (24%) of Conservative MPs say they agree that the role of government should be to redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off – not that far off the 17% of Conservative Party members who say the same.

Contrast this with Labour. When aggregated, as in Figure 2, Labour appeared to conform to May's Law, although Figure 3 shows that that is not true of every question that made up the overall scale. But for the most part the differences within Labour are not especially great on any of these five questions, and on four of the five questions they are closer to the average voter than Conservatives.

For example, on whether 'there is one law for the rich and one law for the poor' the 73% of the public who agree is near-identical to the 71% of Labour MPs that say the same, as do 92% of Labour members. The idea that big business takes advantage of ordinary people is the perception of 74% of the public, 83% of Labour MPs and 92% of Labour members. When asked, 66% of the public say that 'ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth'; this is a view held by all our representative survey of Labour MPs, and 95% of Labour members.

Strikingly, on four out of the five questions asked in the survey, those voters who backed the Conservative Party at the polls in 2019 have more in common with every section of the Labour Party than they do with Conservative members, activists and MPs.



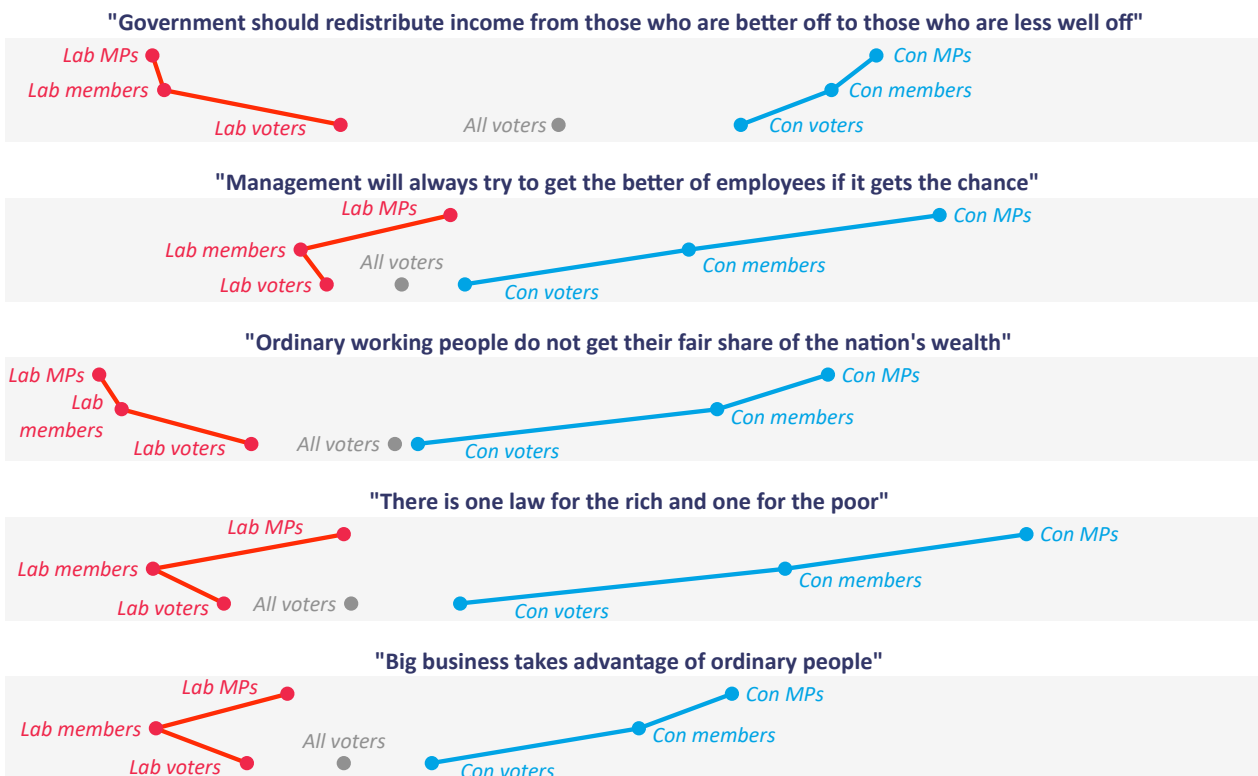
It is only on the principle of income redistribution where a large gap exists between the Labour Party and the country, with Labour members and MPs being more to the left – and this anyway is a question where there is a similar gap between the Conservatives and the country, this time on the right. The average British adult supports the principle of income redistribution, unlike the average Conservative Party member or MP – just (unsurprisingly) not with the same overwhelming enthusiasm as Labour Party people.

### Figure 3: Voters typically agree with Labour on economic injustice, but are more moderate about redistribution



Economic values of Conservative and Labour MPs, members and voters, 2020.

Left ← Economic values → Right  
(tend to agree) (tend to disagree)



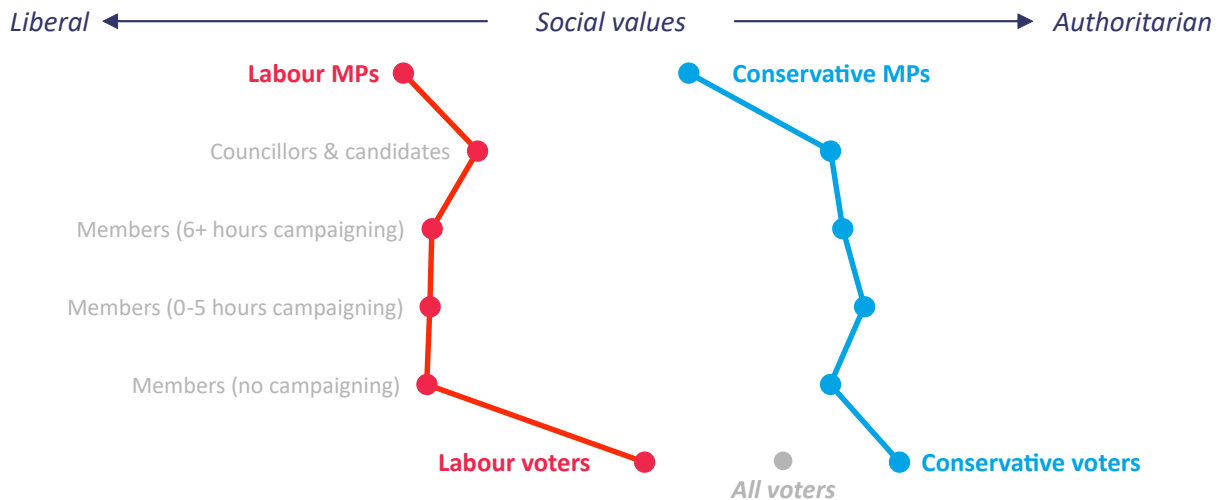
Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

# Social values

**Figure 4: For both Labour and the Conservatives, MPs and party members are more socially liberal than their voters**



*Social values of Conservative and Labour MPs, councillors and candidates, members, and voters, 2020.*



Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

When we turn to social rather than economic values, however, we see something completely different again. As Figure 4 shows, here both parties' MPs are to the left of their wider party, who are in turn to the left of their voters.

Despite the commonly-held perception that they are a bunch of irredeemable hangers and floggers, Conservative Party members are, in fact, more liberal on this liberal-authoritarian scale than the average Conservative voter, confounding any expectations based on May's Law. And Conservative MPs are more liberal than Conservative members. For Labour, there is the same pattern, but with a bigger gap between the voters and the party, and with a smaller gap between the MPs and the rest of the party.

The effect of this spread of views is that the average British adult is more socially conservative than the average Conservative MP. Indeed, on these issues Conservative MPs have views that more closely align with the average Labour voter in 2019 than they do with their own supporters.

For Labour, there is a serious disconnect between their voters and the party, and even more so between the party and the average voter. Labour MPs cannot claim, as per the expectations derived from May's Law, to hold social values that are more aligned with the average voter than those of grassroots members; rather, they are the single most liberal group examined here.

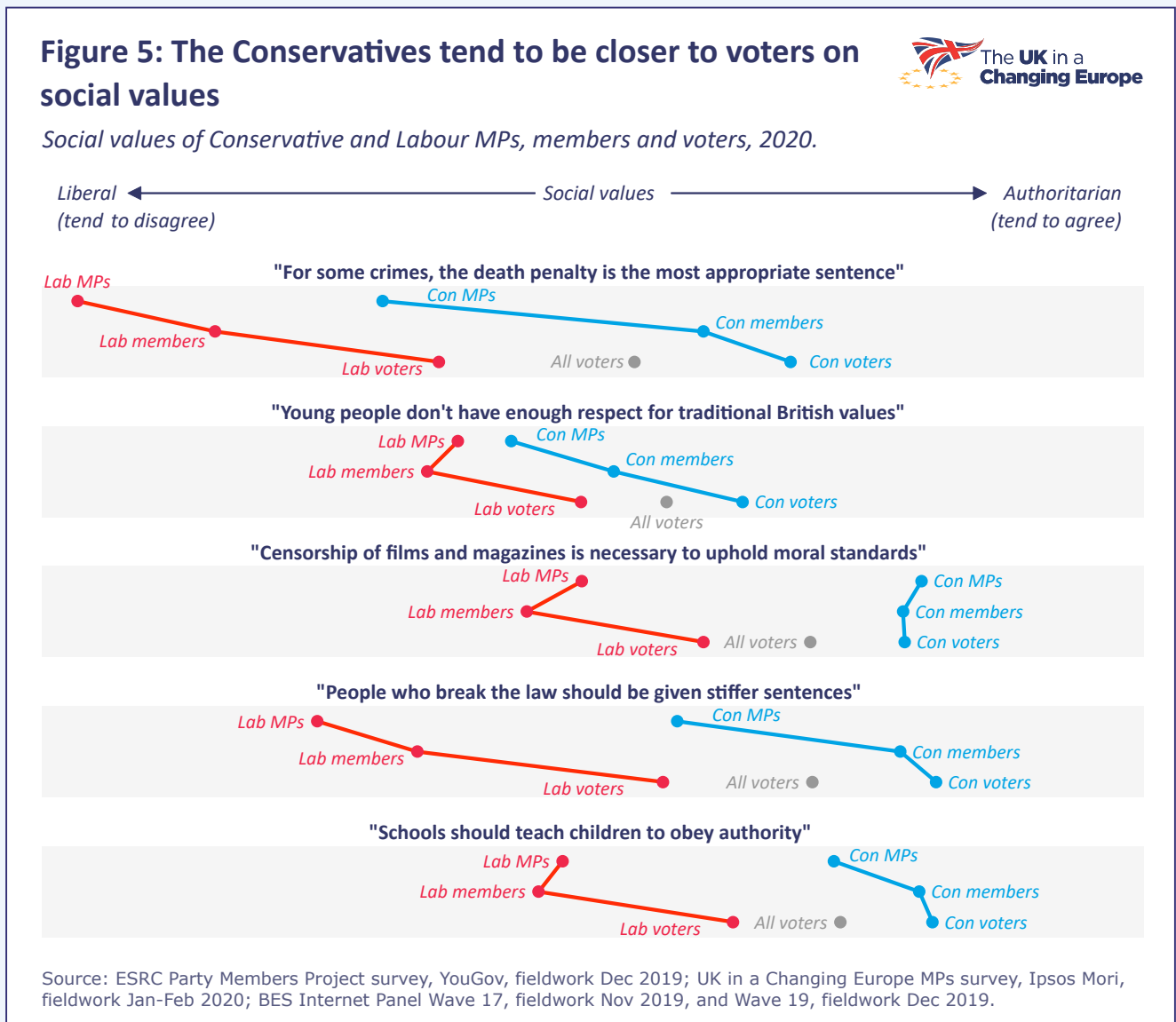
Figure 5 again breaks this data down into its five constituent questions, and while there is some variation between the five graphs, there is relatively little that looks like anything May's Law predicts. There are three cases where Labour MPs are closer to the Labour voter than the Labour membership, although in all three cases the MPs are still a fair distance away from their voters, and the effect of these in the aggregate scale is anyway dwarfed by two questions where the MPs are the most liberal group. The argument for tougher sentences is accepted by only 24% of Labour MPs and 25% of members, but it is backed by over half (53%)

of those who voted Labour in 2019 and 70% of the public-at-large. Support for the death penalty sits at 31% among Labour voters but just 11% of members and a grand total of 0% of the Parliamentary Labour Party surveyed.

On the Conservative side, we see a similar pattern, but one that brings Conservative MPs closer to, or even to the left of, the centre ground.

There are two areas where Conservative MPs hold significantly more liberal views than the average member of the public: these are the death penalty (which 21% of Conservative MPs support, compared to 50% of the public) and the idea that young people do not have respect for traditional values (44% of Conservative MPs agreeing, and 63% of the public and 46% of Labour voters). On law and order, 70% of the public think that those who break the law should get tougher sentences – very close to the 66% of Conservative MPs who feel the same way.

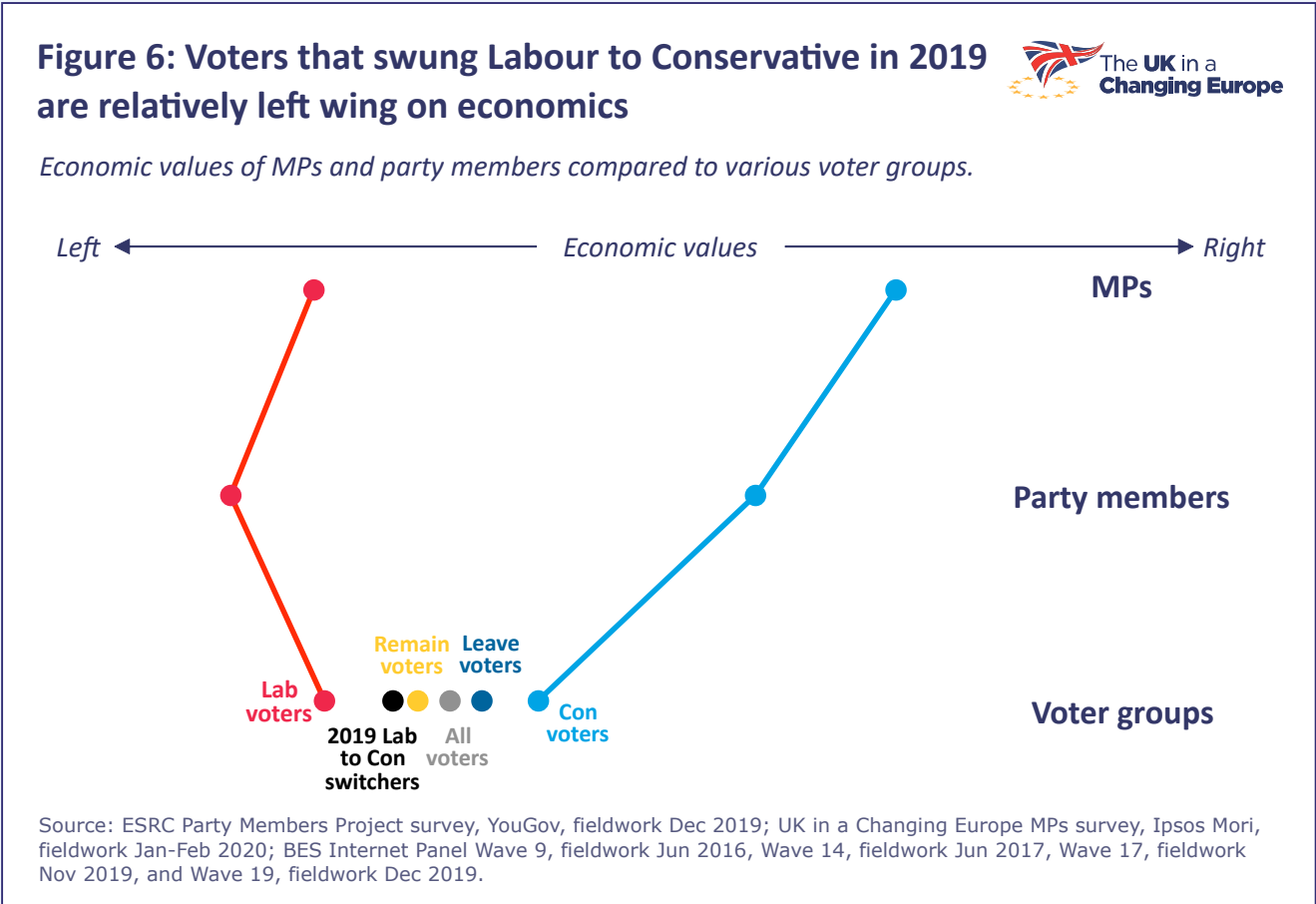
What we see, therefore, is a Conservative Party broadly in tune with the electorate on social values, with a parliamentary party that could act as a break against some of the more popular (and populist) tendencies within the Conservative Party as a whole.



# Switchers, Remainers and Leavers

Understanding what these value divides mean for the fortunes of the parties, and understanding what happened in December 2019, requires us to drill down a bit further into the views of the voters that were key to the election’s outcome. This involves forming a picture of where key sections of voters sit on these questions: these include those who switched from backing Labour in 2017 to the Conservatives in 2019, and the difference between Leavers and Remainders over Brexit.

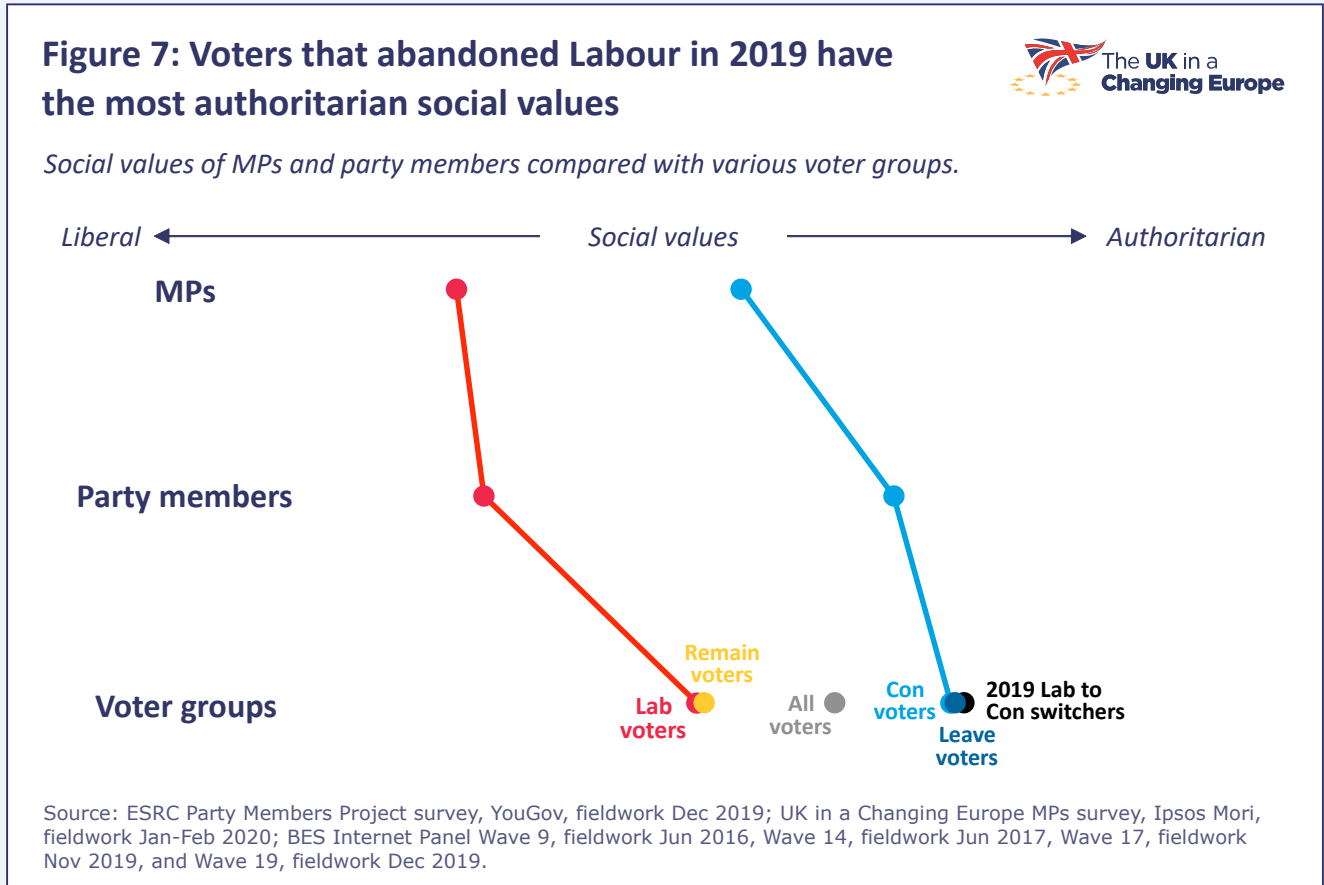
Figure 6 shows the spread of economic views within the two parties, set against these different types of voters. The average voter who made the journey from Labour in 2017 to Conservative in 2019 is represented by the black dot. He or she is more left wing on economic issues than the average member of the public, and noticeably to the left of the average individual who voted Conservative in 2019. This is true of every question on the economy. Yet when it comes to social values (in Figure 7) these switchers are significantly more authoritarian – or socially conservative, if you prefer – than even your average Conservative voter.



It is worth dwelling on the scale of the differences. On economic values, these 2019 Labour-to-Conservative switchers are a considerable distance away from the views of the party they have now backed. A full 81% think that big business takes advantage of ordinary people, compared to 34% of Conservative members and 18% of MPs. Some 84% think there is one law for the rich, another for the poor, compared to 22% of Conservative members and just 5% of Conservative MPs. Similarly, a mere 5% of Conservative MPs think management will take advantage of workers, compared to 78% of those who switched parties.

On social values, they are also some distance away from the values of their new party – they sit to the right of Conservative members, even more so Conservative MPs – but they are even further away from the Labour Party they abandoned. Some 17% of Labour members and 9% of Labour MPs think that ‘young

people don't have enough respect for traditional British values'; this view was held by 88% of Labour-to-Conservative switchers in 2019. The idea that schools should teach children to obey authority is also supported by 81% of this group, against just 29% of members and 41% of Labour MPs. Stiffer sentences are supported by 85% of these voters, significantly more than the public as a whole (70%), Labour voters (53%), Labour members (25%) or Labour MPs (24%).



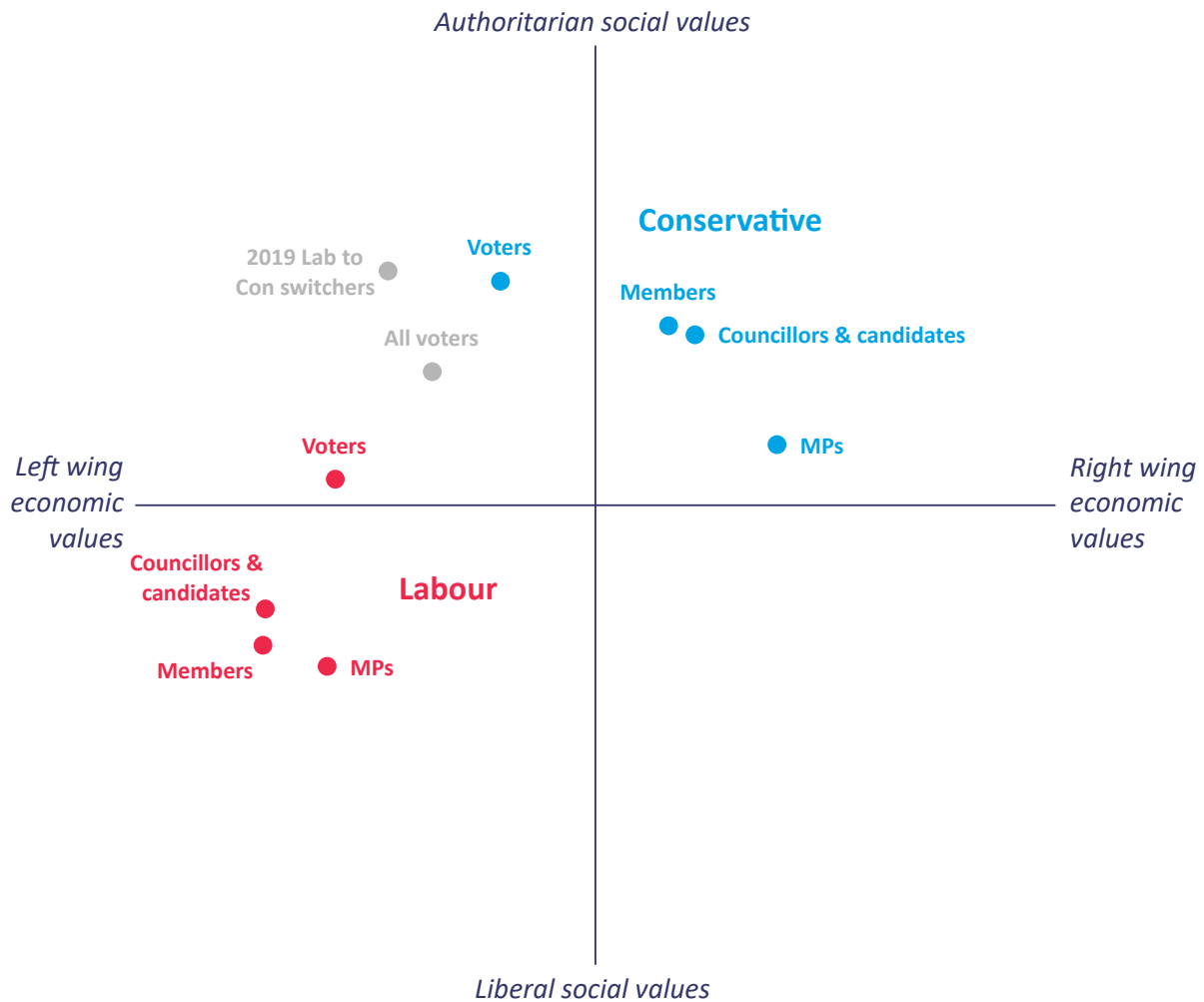
There is plenty of previous research suggesting that people's values – particularly their social values – are strongly associated with their views on Brexit: crudely put, Remainers tend to be socially liberal, Leavers more socially conservative. This is clear from the two graphs, where the average position of Leave voters is shown in dark blue while the mean for Remainers is in yellow. On economic issues (Figure 6), the average position held by Remainers and Leavers is distinct from the average position of the parties' supporters, whereas on social issues (Figure 7) the dots for Remainers and Leavers are barely distinguishable from those for Labour and Conservatives Voters respectively. When it comes to social identity questions, then, as well as their actual positions on Europe, Labour is in effect the Remainers' party and the Conservatives are the party for Leavers.

# Lessons

**Figure 8: Voters are more aligned with Labour on economic values and with the Conservatives on social values**



*Economic and social values of Conservative and Labour MPs, councillors and candidates, members, and voters, 2020.*



Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork Dec 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork Jan-Feb 2020; BES Internet Panel Wave 14, fieldwork Jun 2017, Wave 17, fieldwork Nov 2019, and Wave 19, fieldwork Dec 2019.

To the extent that May's Law once explained British political parties, if indeed it ever did, it clearly does not do so any longer. Almost nothing discussed above fits the expectations of 'curvilinear disparity'. In only a small minority of cases do either of the two parties behave in a curvilinear fashion; indeed, of the ten separate questions posed, there is not a single one where the responses from members and supporters of both parties display a curvilinear pattern.

Similarly, despite the fact that it is so often claimed, there is little evidence that the more active members of the political parties are more extreme than the less active. On individual questions, it is occasionally true, but even then the differences are not huge, and there is nothing systematic about it.

Perhaps more significantly, the discussion above shows the serious problems both parties have with the electorate, albeit not on the same issues. Figure 8 plots the positions of voters, members, and MPs of each

of the two parties on a graph showing both the social and economic values simultaneously. Labour across the organisation, whether a member, whether you have run for office for Labour, or whether you are a Labour MP – can be found in the bottom left quarter. The Conservatives – again, at every level – sit in the top right quarter. The voters sit in a different quarter altogether – the top left. Labour is relatively close to its voters on economic issues but is way out of kilter on social issues. For the Conservatives, the opposite is the case.

One of the curiosities of recent British elections is that, for all the pressure that the party system has been under, the combined vote share of the two major parties was noticeably up on preceding decades: in 2017, the two main parties took 82.4% of the UK vote, the largest since 1970; even the dip in 2019 to 75.7% would have otherwise been the largest since 1992. Ideally, however, those voting for a party would broadly share its basic values; its representatives would in turn share the values of the party membership. As this paper has shown, neither major British party can currently claim this. Whatever short term successes there may have been, based on the data presented here the suspicion must be that the foundations on which the parties' electoral coalitions currently sit are distinctly weak.

Values, of course, aren't everything. Voters will back a party that may be less in tune with their views, if they see the party as more competent. Perceptions of leaders remain crucial. Party loyalty may be in decline, but it hasn't altogether disappeared. And, it's still, to some extent, 'the economy, stupid' – indeed, it may all the more so in the wake of the economic damage done by Covid-19, which struck after our surveys were completed.

But values matter and will play a part in politics, after Brexit and after the pandemic. The fact that Conservative MPs so strongly reject widespread perceptions of structural unfairness – far more strongly than grassroots Conservative Party members and activists – hints at the challenge the Johnson government will face if the shock of Covid-19 triggers public demand for economic redistribution and reform. The Conservative Party won in 2010 and 2015 by insisting on the need for austerity and cuts that chimed with the views of MPs, activists and members on the role of the state, and made sense to a lot of voters. If, however, a sense that 'there is one law for the rich and one for the poor', and that ordinary people who have done nothing wrong are being let down by the government, begins to take hold, then the gap between Conservative Party people and voters as a whole could prove deeply problematic for the Johnson government.

On the other side of the fence, Labour's struggles over Brexit between 2016 and 2019 were arguably symptomatic of a disconnect on a wider set of social values between its MPs, activists and members, on the one hand, and many of its potential voters, on the other.

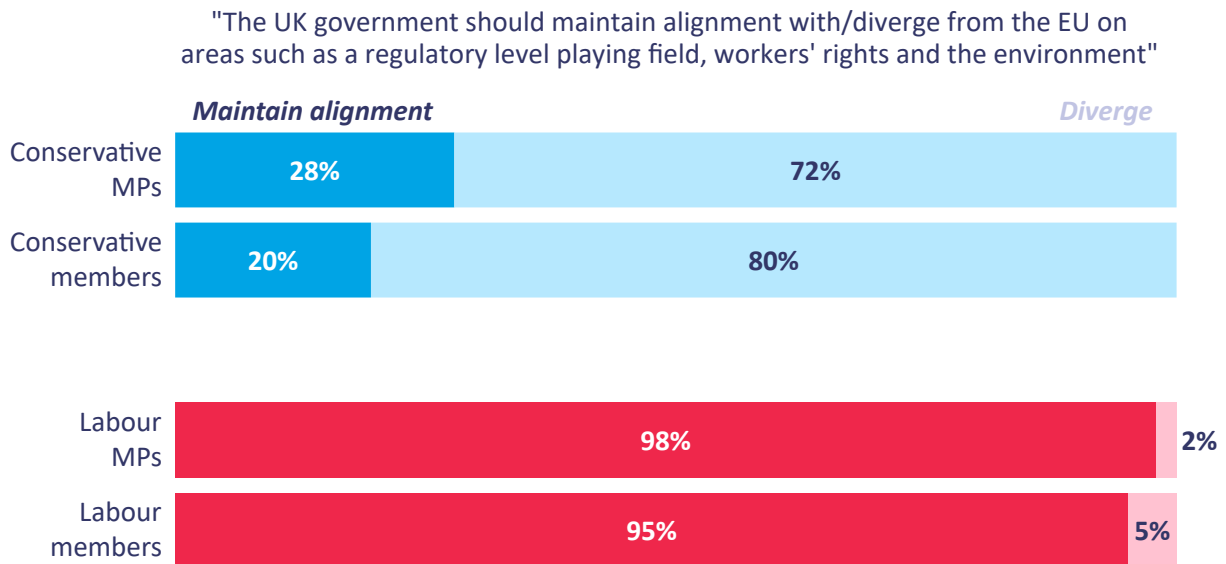
Those Labour voters who abandoned the party – in the top left of Figure 8 here – broadly agreed with it on fundamental economic values but were miles away from it on matters which, for them, at least at that election, may turn out to have counted most. Labour have to think very hard about how to close the social values gap, or how to make that gap not count as much as it seems to have done in December 2019.

One thing that might help Labour, despite everything, is Brexit. In our surveys, we also gave party members and MPs a choice between two different types of Brexit: broad alignment with the EU on rules and regulations, or a more distant relationship (see Figure 9). Unsurprisingly, both Conservative MPs and members are in favour of greater divergence, with Labour MPs and members overwhelmingly in favour of broad alignment.

**Figure 9: Labour is united on Brexit, with the Conservatives more divided**



*MPs and party members' preferred Brexit policy, 2020.*



Source: ESRC Party Members Project survey, YouGov, fieldwork December 2019; UK in a Changing Europe MPs survey, Ipsos Mori, fieldwork January-February 2020.

There is however a significant minority of both Conservative MPs (28%) and members (20%) who support a Brexit that maintains a regulatory level playing field, and shared rules on workers’ rights and the environment. In the last Parliament, it could be argued that Brexit was more disruptive and divisive for the Labour Party. Now, it is clear a significant minority of the Conservative Party must (at least privately) be unhappy with the broad negotiating objectives of Boris Johnson’s government. Whether that will see internal opposition mount to leaving the EU without a trade agreement as the deadline for the end of transition on 31 December 2020 looms closer remains to be seen.

Not only is the Labour Party more united – and united from top to bottom – than the Conservative Party on the kind of Brexit it wants to see, it also has some reason to hope that, now Brexit is done (or nearly done), the Conservative Party will find it more difficult to employ the issue as the cutting edge of an attack based on social values. Besides, if the hit to the UK from Covid-19 and Brexit is anything like as big as most experts are forecasting, then economic values and questions of competence may well assume far more importance for voters than some kind of ‘culture war’. But if they don’t, if any downturn can be persuasively blamed on Covid-19 and social values therefore remain at the forefront of debate, then only one party – the Conservative Party – benefits. Keir Starmer, take note.



## The social and economic values of MPs, party members and voters

Further methodological detail on the Ipsos Mori MPs survey can be found [here](#).

Further details on the ESRC Party Members Project can be found [here](#).

The British Election Study data can be accessed [here](#).

'Don't know' responses were removed from the data to create scores from respondents to create a likert scale for each set of respondents across each question set.

Some figures will not add up to 100% due to rounding.

	Labour members (1365)	Labour Councillors represented or nominated (159)	Labour Members: Time Spent Campaigning - 0 hrs (541)	Labour Members: Time Spent Campaigning 5 hours or less (298)	Labour Members: Time Spent Campaigning 6 hours or more. (455)	Labour MPs (39)	Labour Voters 2019 GB (6131)	All Voters 2019 GB (23315)	Labour 2017 to Conservative 2019 switchers (443)
<b>Government should redistribute income from those who are better off to those who are less well off</b>	<b>-1.493</b>	<b>-1.497</b>	<b>-1.419</b>	<b>-1.537</b>	<b>-1.529</b>	<b>-1.530</b>	<b>-0.913</b>	<b>-0.238</b>	<b>-0.376</b>
Strongly disagree	2%	2%	1%	2%	3%	0%	2%	9%	4%
Disagree	2%	1%	3%	2%	2%	0%	6%	19%	15%
neither agree nor disagree	5%	4%	7%	4%	5%	10%	18%	26%	35%
Agree	26%	30%	33%	24%	22%	27%	44%	31%	33%
Strongly agree	64%	62%	57%	68%	69%	63%	28%	15%	14%
<b>Big business takes advantage of ordinary people</b>	<b>-1.519</b>	<b>-1.414</b>	<b>-1.478</b>	<b>-1.578</b>	<b>-1.495</b>	<b>-1.100</b>	<b>-1.239</b>	<b>-0.922</b>	<b>-1.084</b>
Strongly disagree	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	0%	1%	1%	1%
Disagree	1%	3%	2%	0%	2%	4%	3%	7%	5%
neither agree nor disagree	5%	5%	6%	4%	5%	13%	9%	18%	12%
Agree	27%	33%	31%	26%	26%	52%	46%	47%	51%
Strongly agree	65%	57%	61%	68%	65%	31%	41%	27%	30%
<b>Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth</b>	<b>-1.628</b>	<b>-1.586</b>	<b>-1.556</b>	<b>-1.672</b>	<b>-1.648</b>	<b>-1.700</b>	<b>-1.222</b>	<b>-0.759</b>	<b>-0.958</b>
Strongly disagree	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%	0%	1%	2%	1%
Disagree	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	3%	10%	3%
neither agree nor disagree	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%	0%	9%	23%	19%
Agree	23%	25%	31%	16%	19%	30%	48%	43%	52%
Strongly agree	72%	70%	64%	78%	76%	70%	39%	23%	25%
<b>There is one law for the rich and one for the poor</b>	<b>-1.528</b>	<b>-1.529</b>	<b>-1.500</b>	<b>-1.553</b>	<b>-1.500</b>	<b>-0.920</b>	<b>-1.307</b>	<b>-0.898</b>	<b>-1.174</b>
Strongly disagree	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Disagree	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	8%	3%	9%	4%
neither agree nor disagree	5%	7%	5%	5%	5%	19%	8%	16%	13%
Agree	27%	27%	31%	24%	27%	38%	41%	42%	45%
Strongly agree	65%	64%	62%	68%	65%	33%	47%	31%	39%
<b>Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance</b>	<b>-1.058</b>	<b>-1.145</b>	<b>-0.978</b>	<b>-1.066</b>	<b>-1.106</b>	<b>-0.580</b>	<b>-0.966</b>	<b>-0.728</b>	<b>-0.988</b>
Strongly disagree	2%	1%	2%	3%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%
Disagree	7%	4%	9%	5%	6%	9%	7%	11%	6%
neither agree nor disagree	16%	14%	17%	15%	14%	25%	16%	21%	16%
Agree	36%	41%	35%	37%	36%	59%	46%	44%	49%
Strongly agree	40%	40%	38%	40%	42%	6%	30%	21%	29%
<b>Young people don't have enough respect for traditional British values</b>	<b>-0.637</b>	<b>-0.386</b>	<b>-0.562</b>	<b>-0.657</b>	<b>-0.735</b>	<b>-1.000</b>	<b>0.241</b>	<b>0.779</b>	<b>1.326</b>
Strongly disagree	28%	24%	23%	30%	33%	35%	9%	4%	0%
Disagree	31%	26%	34%	28%	30%	39%	20%	10%	3%
neither agree nor disagree	24%	26%	26%	26%	20%	19%	25%	18%	9%
Agree	11%	13%	11%	11%	11%	9%	29%	35%	40%
Strongly agree	6%	11%	6%	5%	6%	0%	17%	28%	48%
<b>For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence</b>	<b>-1.371</b>	<b>-1.247</b>	<b>-1.449</b>	<b>-1.357</b>	<b>-1.272</b>	<b>-1.870</b>	<b>-0.574</b>	<b>0.128</b>	<b>0.714</b>
Strongly disagree	70%	72%	71%	68%	69%	90%	42%	25%	12%
Disagree	14%	9%	15%	15%	12%	7%	17%	14%	9%
neither agree nor disagree	6%	3%	6%	7%	4%	3%	11%	12%	13%
Agree	6%	7%	4%	5%	8%	0%	16%	24%	27%
Strongly agree	5%	10%	4%	5%	7%	0%	14%	26%	38%
<b>Schools should teach children to obey authority</b>	<b>-0.24</b>	<b>-0.151</b>	<b>-0.184</b>	<b>-0.298</b>	<b>-0.272</b>	<b>-0.040</b>	<b>0.401</b>	<b>0.778</b>	<b>1.087</b>
Strongly disagree	16%	17%	13%	20%	18%	16%	6%	3%	1%
Disagree	27%	24%	25%	25%	28%	15%	15%	9%	6%
neither agree nor disagree	29%	27%	34%	27%	25%	28%	26%	20%	12%
Agree	22%	21%	23%	21%	21%	39%	37%	43%	46%
Strongly agree	7%	11%	5%	7%	8%	2%	15%	25%	35%
<b>Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards</b>	<b>-0.601</b>	<b>-0.371</b>	<b>-0.715</b>	<b>-0.568</b>	<b>-0.501</b>	<b>-0.490</b>	<b>-0.043</b>	<b>0.263</b>	<b>0.726</b>
Strongly disagree	28%	21%	31%	25%	26%	32%	14%	9%	5%
Disagree	32%	33%	32%	32%	33%	26%	24%	18%	9%
neither agree nor disagree	18%	16%	20%	20%	15%	4%	24%	23%	18%
Agree	17%	21%	15%	18%	18%	35%	30%	37%	47%
Strongly agree	5%	8%	3%	4%	8%	3%	8%	13%	22%
<b>People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences</b>	<b>-0.197</b>	<b>-0.101</b>	<b>-0.203</b>	<b>-0.178</b>	<b>-0.245</b>	<b>-0.110</b>	<b>0.509</b>	<b>0.884</b>	<b>1.277</b>
Strongly disagree	12%	14%	10%	12%	16%	9%	4%	2%	1%
Disagree	28%	23%	30%	26%	29%	17%	14%	7%	2%
neither agree nor disagree	35%	33%	38%	37%	29%	51%	29%	21%	13%
Agree	17%	18%	16%	17%	17%	24%	33%	39%	39%
Strongly agree	8%	11%	6%	8%	9%	0%	20%	31%	46%
<b>Economic Vales Index</b>	<b>-1.4452</b>	<b>-1.4342</b>	<b>-1.3862</b>	<b>-1.4812</b>	<b>-1.4556</b>	<b>-1.166</b>	<b>-1.129</b>	<b>-0.709</b>	<b>-0.916</b>
<b>Social Values Index</b>	<b>-0.6092</b>	<b>-0.4512</b>	<b>-0.6226</b>	<b>-0.6116</b>	<b>-0.605</b>	<b>-0.702</b>	<b>0.107</b>	<b>0.566</b>	<b>1.026</b>

Social values: -2 liberal +2 authoritarian Economic values: -2 left wing +2 right wing

## Mind the values gap

Further methodological detail on the Ipsos Mori MPs survey can be found [here](#).

Further details on the ESRC Party Members Project can be found [here](#).

The British Election Study data can be accessed [here](#).

'Don't know' responses were removed from the data to create scores from respondents to create a Likert scale for each set of respondents across each question set.

Some figures will not add up to 100% due to rounding.

	Conservative members (1279)	Conservative Councillors represented or nominated (181)	Conservative Members: Time Spent Campaigning - 0 hrs (737)	Conservative Members: Time Spent Campaigning 5 hours or less (218)	Conservative Members: Time Spent Campaigning 6 hours or more. (297)	Conservative MPs (49)	Conservative Voters 2019 (9219)	All Voters 2019 GB (23315)	Labour 2017 to Conservative 2019 switchers (443)
<b>Government should redistribute income from those who are better off to those who are less well off</b>	<b>0.634</b>	<b>0.618</b>	<b>0.639</b>	<b>0.639</b>	<b>0.629</b>	<b>0.777</b>	<b>-0.348</b>	<b>-0.238</b>	<b>-0.376</b>
Strongly disagree	24%	23%	23%	25%	24%	42%	17%	9%	4%
Disagree	36%	38%	36%	34%	36%	21%	30%	19%	15%
neither agree nor disagree	24%	21%	24%	26%	22%	12%	30%	26%	35%
Agree	14%	14%	15%	10%	14%	21%	19%	31%	33%
Strongly agree	3%	4%	2%	5%	4%	3%	5%	15%	14%
<b>Big business takes advantage of ordinary people</b>	<b>0.020</b>	<b>0.190</b>	<b>-0.063</b>	<b>0.068</b>	<b>0.229</b>	<b>0.316</b>	<b>-0.643</b>	<b>-0.922</b>	<b>-1.084</b>
Strongly disagree	9%	11%	8%	9%	12%	7%	2%	1%	1%
Disagree	28%	33%	26%	30%	32%	39%	11%	7%	5%
neither agree nor disagree	29%	27%	30%	29%	27%	36%	25%	18%	12%
Agree	25%	23%	27%	24%	23%	15%	46%	47%	51%
Strongly agree	9%	6%	10%	9%	6%	3%	16%	27%	30%
<b>Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth</b>	<b>0.270</b>	<b>0.387</b>	<b>0.243</b>	<b>0.267</b>	<b>0.355</b>	<b>0.622</b>	<b>-0.354</b>	<b>-0.759</b>	<b>-0.958</b>
Strongly disagree	10%	11%	9%	10%	13%	14%	3%	2%	1%
Disagree	35%	41%	34%	35%	37%	51%	17%	10%	3%
neither agree nor disagree	32%	30%	34%	33%	26%	12%	34%	23%	19%
Agree	17%	14%	18%	14%	18%	21%	37%	43%	52%
Strongly agree	5%	4%	5%	7%	5%	2%	11%	23%	25%
<b>There is one law for the rich and one for the poor</b>	<b>0.486</b>	<b>0.636</b>	<b>0.426</b>	<b>0.504</b>	<b>0.636</b>	<b>1.255</b>	<b>-0.547</b>	<b>-0.898</b>	<b>-1.174</b>
Strongly disagree	22%	29%	20%	20%	29%	49%	4%	2%	1%
Disagree	34%	30%	34%	38%	32%	33%	15%	9%	4%
neither agree nor disagree	22%	22%	23%	22%	19%	14%	23%	16%	13%
Agree	15%	11%	17%	14%	13%	5%	40%	42%	45%
Strongly agree	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	0%	18%	31%	39%
<b>Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance</b>	<b>0.179</b>	<b>0.331</b>	<b>0.130</b>	<b>0.199</b>	<b>0.315</b>	<b>0.979</b>	<b>-0.531</b>	<b>-0.728</b>	<b>-0.988</b>
Strongly disagree	12%	16%	12%	11%	16%	22%	2%	2%	1%
Disagree	30%	31%	29%	34%	31%	60%	15%	11%	6%
neither agree nor disagree	28%	30%	28%	28%	26%	12%	25%	21%	16%
Agree	23%	19%	24%	18%	21%	3%	43%	45%	49%
Strongly agree	7%	5%	8%	9%	5%	2%	15%	21%	29%
<b>Young people don't have enough respect for traditional British values</b>	<b>1.116</b>	<b>0.996</b>	<b>1.115</b>	<b>1.162</b>	<b>1.074</b>	<b>0.306</b>	<b>1.236</b>	<b>0.779</b>	<b>1.326</b>
Strongly disagree	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	4%	0%
Disagree	6%	7%	6%	5%	6%	19%	3%	10%	3%
neither agree nor disagree	15%	16%	15%	13%	16%	34%	12%	18%	9%
Agree	37%	39%	36%	41%	37%	32%	43%	35%	40%
Strongly agree	41%	36%	42%	41%	40%	12%	42%	28%	48%
<b>For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence</b>	<b>0.401</b>	<b>0.385</b>	<b>0.306</b>	<b>0.558</b>	<b>0.461</b>	<b>-0.763</b>	<b>0.703</b>	<b>0.128</b>	<b>0.714</b>
Strongly disagree	17%	17%	19%	14%	15%	48%	10%	25%	12%
Disagree	15%	15%	16%	11%	15%	16%	11%	14%	9%
neither agree nor disagree	12%	11%	10%	17%	12%	14%	13%	12%	13%
Agree	24%	27%	25%	21%	24%	7%	31%	24%	27%
Strongly agree	33%	30%	30%	37%	34%	14%	35%	26%	38%
<b>Schools should teach children to obey authority</b>	<b>1.126</b>	<b>1.116</b>	<b>1.110</b>	<b>1.158</b>	<b>1.134</b>	<b>1.193</b>	<b>1.127</b>	<b>0.778</b>	<b>1.087</b>
Strongly disagree	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	3%	1%
Disagree	5%	3%	5%	4%	4%	-	3%	9%	6%
neither agree nor disagree	13%	13%	13%	13%	15%	8%	13%	20%	12%
Agree	43%	48%	43%	44%	43%	56%	48%	43%	46%
Strongly agree	38%	35%	38%	39%	38%	34%	35%	25%	35%
<b>Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards</b>	<b>0.076</b>	<b>0.094</b>	<b>0.004</b>	<b>0.215</b>	<b>0.063</b>	<b>-0.296</b>	<b>0.545</b>	<b>0.263</b>	<b>0.726</b>
Strongly disagree	12%	12%	13%	8%	14%	19%	5%	9%	5%
Disagree	22%	21%	24%	22%	19%	27%	13%	18%	9%
neither agree nor disagree	23%	24%	22%	24%	24%	4%	22%	23%	18%
Agree	32%	32%	31%	32%	34%	36%	45%	37%	47%
Strongly agree	11%	11%	10%	14%	9%	1%	16%	13%	22%
<b>People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences</b>	<b>1.185</b>	<b>1.117</b>	<b>1.171</b>	<b>1.188</b>	<b>1.183</b>	<b>0.875</b>	<b>1.230</b>	<b>0.884</b>	<b>1.277</b>
Strongly disagree	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	-	0%	2%	1%
Disagree	3%	2%	4%	2%	2%	3%	2%	7%	2%
neither agree nor disagree	17%	17%	17%	18%	17%	31%	13%	21%	13%
Agree	36%	41%	36%	34%	37%	41%	43%	39%	39%
Strongly agree	44%	39%	43%	45%	43%	25%	41%	31%	46%
<b>Economic Values Index</b>	<b>0.3178</b>	<b>0.4324</b>	<b>0.275</b>	<b>0.3354</b>	<b>0.4328</b>	<b>0.790</b>	<b>-0.485</b>	<b>-0.709</b>	<b>-0.916</b>
<b>Social Values Index</b>	<b>0.781</b>	<b>0.7416</b>	<b>0.7412</b>	<b>0.8562</b>	<b>0.783</b>	<b>0.263</b>	<b>0.968</b>	<b>0.566</b>	<b>1.026</b>

Social values: -2 liberal +2 authoritarian Economic values: -2 left wing +2 right wing



The UK in a Changing Europe promotes rigorous, high-quality and independent research into the complex and ever changing relationship between the UK and the EU. It is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council and based at King's College London.

020 7848 2630 | [ukandeu@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:ukandeu@kcl.ac.uk) | [www.UKandEU.ac.uk](http://www.UKandEU.ac.uk) |  [@UKandEU](https://twitter.com/UKandEU)