

**EQUALLY
OURS**



COMMUNICATING EQUALITY

STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH FOR EQUALLY OURS

JULY 2019



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Social and economic inequality has been widely recognised as playing a key role in significant societal shifts in the developed world, including the rise of populism and the far right. In these precarious times, it is critical that addressing inequality is not solely considered a topic on policy-makers' agendas, but a societal challenge in which the general public are engaged stakeholders – and an empowered electorate who hold the leaders and institutions to account in their delivery of policies to close the social and economic divides.

Equally Ours have commissioned ComRes to test messaging to change the narrative surrounding inequality from the dominant, pervasive tropes of individual responsibility, be it weak individuals or select individual malicious actors, to one that incorporates an awareness of societal institutions, their context and institutionalised privilege. As structural inequality is a complex and unfamiliar concept for the target audience, we have worked with Equally Ours to develop metaphors to most vividly communicate the complex ideas surrounding society and its institutions using a single, suitably accessible image. This research builds on Equally Ours' previous research, and has focused on the audience which presents the most potential to shift existing views: those who are supportive of the principles of equality and human rights but have conflicted feelings about how they might be applied¹. Additionally, it features a focus on attitudes towards equality among Londoners, and analysis to identify effective messages which shift views on structural inequality in the capital.

Inequality is widely recognised, and the conflicted public want government action. However, there is disagreement as to the causes of inequality.

- 70% of the conflicted public agree that there is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures, but there is scope to improve awareness of the causes and potential solutions to inequality in the UK.
- 73% of adults in the conflicted public agree that the government should do more to address inequality, compared to 7% who disagree.
- 50% of those who say they have a personal experience of inequality say 'the UK is becoming a less equal society' is at least close to their view, compared to 33% of those who have no experience of inequality who say the same.

This report reveals a tension between the perceived role of the individual and the perceived role of structural barriers to equality. While a majority of the conflicted public (70%) agree that 'there is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures', they are also divided on the relative influence of structures and institutions versus individual agency in inequality; a similar proportion of conflicted adults feel that 'in life, not everybody gets out what they put in' (45%), as those who believe that 'in life, you get out what you put in' (42%). One of the biggest conceptual barriers in raising awareness of the structural nature of inequality is the 'otherness' which was evident in the qualitative research. The conflicted public find it easier to view inequality as an issue which affects *others*, rather than recognising that the structural nature of inequality means that it affects everyone in some way.

The qualitative research also revealed that some participants in the conflicted segment perceive the UK to be moving towards equality in terms of sex, race and sexual orientation but not in terms of income. The conflicted public is somewhat divided over whether the UK is becoming more or less equal, with a

¹ Referred to in the report as the "conflicted public"

similar proportion saying that ‘the UK is becoming a more equal society’ (39%), and that ‘the UK is becoming a less equal society’ (42%). While the majority of the conflicted public agree that everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality (82%), with very few disagreeing (3%), a smaller majority felt that the government should do more to address inequality (73%), compared to 7% who disagree.

When communicating structural inequality, credibility and relevancy are key, and can positively affect less typically engaged audiences.

- There is a need for messages surrounding structural inequality to: acknowledge an element of personal agency to be credible, avoid rhetoric that feels too radical or unrealistic, and incorporate a sense of ‘togetherness’, community and shared values.
- Exposure to metaphors had an overall positive effect on the entire segment, but saw most significant attitudinal shifts among less typically engaged audiences.

The core objective of this research is to identify metaphors which use visual imagery to shift views on the structural nature of inequality. The qualitative discussions showed that this can be a complex idea for people to absorb, and the metaphors help to communicate the concept in a simple, effective way.

An iterative development approach was taken to develop the metaphors in the initial qualitative discussion phase of the research, following which five metaphors were taken forward for testing in the quantitative survey. The metaphors include a mix of relatable, everyday scenarios and more conceptual imagery. A Key Drivers Analysis (or KDA, using regression analysis) has been used to identify which drive the view that inequality is structural. Of the five metaphors, four perform well, with these being images which compare structural inequality to: “escalators” (p.25), “a narrow tunnel” (p.26), “the fabric of society” (p.27) and “a maze of streets” (p.28). Exposure to the metaphors tested saw most significant attitudinal shifts among less typically engaged audiences, in particular male and 35–54 year old respondents.

Voting record is a clear differentiator among the conflicted public and attitudes towards inequality.

- Party alignment is a determinant of how the conflicted public view the fundamental causes of inequality. Conservative voters² are more likely to view the UK’s inequality as a result of individual actions while Labour voters are more likely to see inequality as due to structural disadvantages and barriers.
- Labour voters are significantly more likely than Conservative voters to say that the government should do more to address inequality. Nonetheless, a majority of Conservative voters believe the government should do more and recognise the existence of structural inequality.
- Viewing the “escalators” metaphor as accurate is most likely to predict agreement that inequality is structural across Labour and Conservative voters.

Agreement with the structural nature of inequality is higher among Labour voters (77%) compared to Conservative voters (62%) or those who didn’t vote in 2017 (68%). Given the importance of voting behaviour (used as a proxy for party alignment) in determining views towards structural inequality, a separate KDA was run, producing models by voter record. This analysis demonstrates that the “escalators” metaphor is most effective in driving the view that inequality is structural, in line with the conflicted public overall, but that the “narrow tunnel” is most effective among those who didn’t vote in 2017.






² All voter records based on 2017 voting behaviour

Londoners share broad beliefs on structural inequality with the rest of the country, yet are more likely to oppose government intervention as a solution.

- Londoners are more likely to believe a person’s life chances are affected by societal structures than the rest of the country.
- Londoners prove a more challenging audience to persuade for government intervention to resolve structural inequality than the rest of the country, with higher rates of disagreement towards this than the rest of the country.

A KDA model was ran among Londoners, as a group of particular interest for this research project. The model among Londoners showed that the metaphors perform less well overall in driving the view that inequality is structural, with lived experience of inequality a more important driver of the view than the metaphors themselves, indicating that this audience are less responsive to the metaphors compared to the rest of the country. The “escalators” (p.25) metaphor was also much less effective among Londoners compared to the rest of Britain, with the “maze of streets”, “fabric of society” and “narrow tunnel” metaphors performing better.

Table summary: Rank order of metaphors effectiveness in driving view that inequality is structural³

| |  Escalators |  Narrow tunnel |  Fabric of society |  Maze of streets |  Well-built house |
|----------------------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| Conflicted public overall | 1 | 2= | 2= | 4 | 5 |
| Conservative voters | 1 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 |
| Labour voters | 1 | 5= | 3 | 2 | 5= |
| Non-voters | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Londoners | 5 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Rest of GB | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Exposure to the metaphors saw an increase in agreement that inequality is structural, that society should be fair, and that the government should address inequality across both existing ‘sympathetic’ audiences such as the younger and female conflicted public, and typically less engaged audiences such as Conservative voters.

However, when it comes to feeling a shared responsibility for addressing inequality, exposure to the metaphors is effective only among relatively engaged audiences, providing a reminder that audiences will need to be taken on a journey, first encouraging support for the idea of the structural nature of inequality and the importance of addressing it – and encouraging a shared ownership in doing so.

³ These are based on a net importance score for accuracy & persuasiveness from the KDA models.

INTRODUCTION

Equally Ours, and other organisations working to address inequality in the UK, recognise that in order to effectively engage the general public, it is important to understand what the public thinks and feels about social issues and frame clearly to them the nature of inequality in a way that engages their shared (intrinsic) values. Only this way can we encourage more meaningful collaboration in the solution. Widely held ideas of individual responsibility for inequality currently present a significant barrier to constructive engagement on the topic. Equally Ours and the sector therefore need to identify the most effective ways that the structural nature of inequality can be communicated to the general public.

Equally Ours are committed to building a society that is just and inclusive, using research, policy and communications to change public opinion and policy, and bring about social change. This research was conceived around the strategic communications (insight-led, value-based reframing) element of their work and builds on Equally Ours' earlier research on communicating about inequality to uncover:

- alternative narratives/messaging about inequality as a structural problem (as an alternative to an individual problem) that the conflicted audience can agree with;
- strategies to increase or strengthen the conflicted public's view that inequality is a structural issue, and;
- specific metaphors which effectively communicate the meaning and significance of structural inequality.

Equally Ours sought to apply their substantial knowledge on the UK's attitudes towards inequality, strategic communications, and equality and human rights. ComRes has been commissioned to identify ways to communicate the concept of structural inequality to an audience with limited levels of prior exposure to this concept. We have focused specifically on the 'conflicted' segment of the general public for this research, these being those who are supportive of human rights in theory but who express discomfort with how some of these rights are applied. Previous research commissioned by Equally Ours identified this persuadable audience, with the potential to garner support from a significant proportion if they are exposed to solution-based messages that engage intrinsic values, in order to encourage more progressive views on equality and human rights.

The research findings will be shared with Equally Ours' membership and wider networks, mainly third sector organisations working for equality for different groups in society, so that they can apply the findings to their communications with the public.

DEFINING STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

Structural inequality refers to the recognition that inequalities experienced by different people and groups in society are both created, and reinforced by, structures and institutions. These structures and institutions are wide-ranging and include government policies, the economy, the law and legal system, the education system, prejudice and stereotypes, and business hierarchies and practices.

Structural inequality challenges the belief that inequality is based solely on individual effort, actions or attitudes. The 'by the boot straps' mentality which is widely prevalent as discovered in this research, is both harmful for the cause of tackling structural inequality, and harmful to all the people condemned to struggle – no matter how hard they try – by a system that most can't beat. This often results in solutions that don't address underlying societal issues. In order to shift public perceptions about the causes of inequality and promote constructive dialogue for solution building, it is therefore important to communicate clearly with the public about the structural nature of inequality.

THE ‘CONFLICTED’ PUBLIC

This research focuses on those in the general public who have conflicted views towards human rights: this segment of the public are supportive of the principles of human rights, but tend to have varying levels of discomfort with the ways in which they are applied.

The conflicted public group were identified in research carried out by Equally Ours in 2015 to segment the British public into groups along a spectrum of their attitudes to human rights⁴. This work identified four groups: Supportive, Conflicted, Uninterested and Opposed, with 41% of the public falling into the Conflicted group. Similar research conducted across other related issues of rights and equality has identified similarly sized segments of the population. Further work by ComRes for the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in 2018 built on this segmentation to provide a more granular understanding of the ‘conflicted’ public⁵. This identified three subgroups within the conflicted segment: Conflicted Supporters, Individualist Sceptics and Cynical Challengers.

Despite this potential for sympathy with progressive aims, at the moment the conflicted public is disproportionately exposed to counter messages that emphasise the self-made approach and discredit the notion of structural inequality. As public attitudes towards human rights and equality are closely aligned, this research for Equally Ours has focused on this segment as the group among whom the most gains might be made in engaging the public about structural inequality and the potential for all to benefit from living in an equal society.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, five qualitative focus groups were conducted, two among the conflicted segment in Sutton Coldfield, two among the conflicted segment in London, and one among ‘advocates’ in London. These groups were used for understanding baseline attitudes towards structural inequality in the UK, as well as message co-development and testing. Following these groups, an online quantitative study was conducted with 2215 adults across Great Britain (including a boost of 578 adults within London), testing attitudes towards equality, both before and after message exposure. Key drivers analyses were then conducted to establish the messages and demographic qualities that were most effective drivers of the view that inequality is structural.

⁴ Equally Ours (2015), *A practical guide to communicating human rights*.

⁵ EHRC (2018), *Talking about human rights: how to identify and engage a range of audiences*.

<https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/talking-about-human-rights.pdf>

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EQUALITY

In order to convince the ‘conflicted segment’ of the British public about the importance of equality in today’s society, it is important to understand their current views and to build a picture of how those views might vary by different demographic groups.

KEY FINDINGS:

- The majority of the conflicted public recognise that inequality exists in the UK, but in many cases qualitative respondents found it easier to recognise the inequality in the experiences of others better than they could in themselves.
 - 70% of the conflicted public agree that there is inequality in the UK as a result of ‘the system’ and its structures. However, this was the lowest level of agreement for all statements tested.
 - 73% of adults in the conflicted segment agree that the government should do more to address inequality, compared to 7% who disagree.
 - There is a tension between the role of the individual and the role of structural barriers to equality. A similar proportion of conflicted adults feel that ‘in life, not everybody gets out what they put in’ (45%), as those who believe that ‘in life, you get out what you put in’ (42%).
 - The conflicted public generally have an optimistic view of the progress which has been made to address inequality.
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RECOGNITION OF INEQUALITY IN THE UK

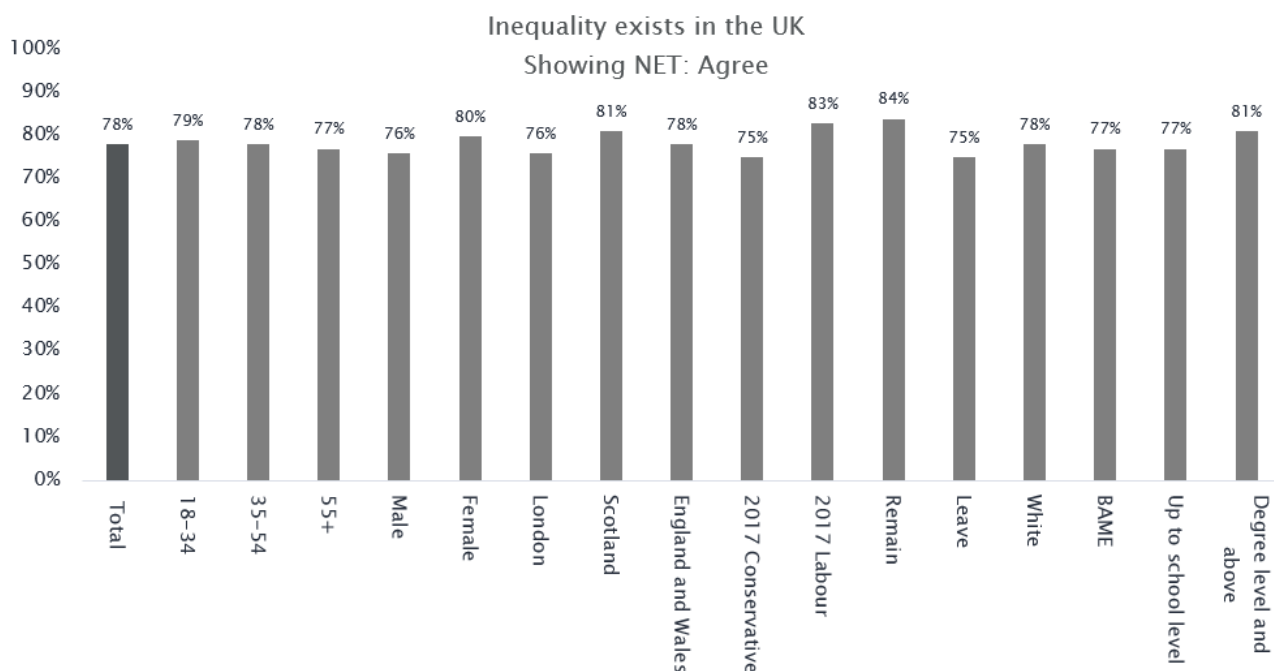
The majority of British adults in the conflicted segment agree that inequality exists in the UK (78%), with 19% saying they strongly agree. There is broad agreement by age, gender, ethnicity and region that inequality exists in the UK.

“I think I’ve, kind of, accepted it, I think there’s things that can change, but it [inequality] is part of life in the UK at the moment”

London respondent

Significant differences are observed based on political alignment as Labour voters are more likely to agree that inequality exists in the UK than Conservative voters (83% vs 75% respectively).⁶ Remain voters are also more likely to agree that inequality exists in the UK than Leave voters (84% vs 75% respectively).

⁶ Differences in current attitudes and in approaches to messaging on inequality by political alignment are discussed in further detail in the dedicated section later in this report.



Q. To what extent do you agree that inequality exists in the UK? Base: All respondents (n=2215)

The qualitative discussions were effective in illustrating the levels of discomfort in publicly discussing how inequality has affected people – tending towards minimising the issues or treating them as taboo (especially if the inequality was related to demographic factors such as gender or race, compared to financial circumstances). We saw the power of the ‘meritocracy’ or ‘self-made man’ narratives in practice, with people striving to show they were doing well and minimising the racism and other prejudices and barriers they faced.

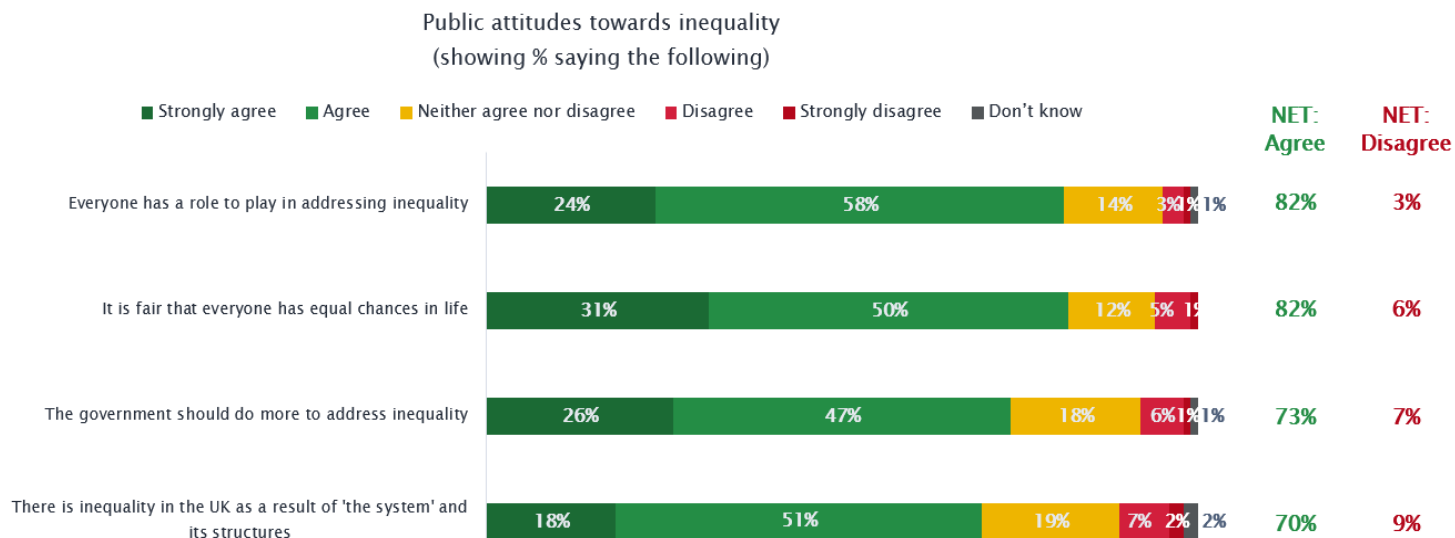
The ‘otherness’ of inequality was also strongly expressed by respondents who preferred to use impersonal examples of inequality, such as talking about experiences of someone from their local community or place of work. Using these impersonal examples had a good distancing effect in enabling respondents to provide examples without it reflecting on them personally or having to reveal too much information about their circumstances. In many cases respondents found it easier to recognise the inequality in the experiences of others better than they could in themselves or those who are close to them – revealing a cognitive bias towards seeing inequality as ‘other’.

“You think how people are nowadays and everyone is quite easy going with other races and things like that, even when you look at the numbers, there are, you know, 60% of whites or whatever, versus the rest who aren’t getting jobs who are from ethnic minorities and low income, stuff like that...It’s because it’s ingrained in society and it’s ingrained in the structures.”

Sutton Coldfield respondent

ATTITUDES TOWARDS INEQUALITY

The majority of adults in the conflicted segment agree that everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality (82%), with very few disagreeing (3%).



Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Base: All respondents (n=2215)

Agreement that there is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures is lowest compared to all other statements on inequality tested, with 70% agreeing with this statement. Evidently, there is scope to improve awareness of the causes and potential solutions to inequality in the UK. In terms of demographic differences, agreement is fairly consistent when it comes to gender and age. However, when comparing how the conflicted segment voted in 2017, differences become apparent; 77% of Labour voters agree with this, in comparison to 68% of non-voters, and 62% of Conservative voters. This differentiator is explored further later in this report.

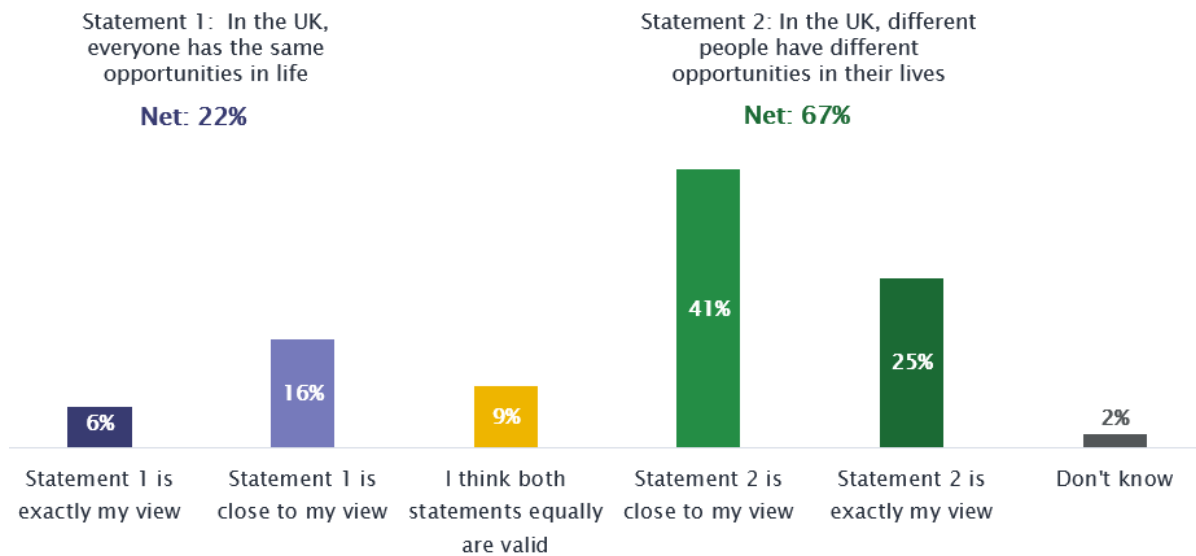
82% of adults agree with the statement 'it is fair that everyone has equal chances in life', with 31% saying they strongly agree. The only notable demographic difference is by age, with older respondents more likely to agree with the statement (86% of those aged 55+ agree, compared to 79% of 18–34 year olds).

While overall agreement that everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality is high (82%), older age groups are more likely to agree compared to younger (84% of 55–64 year olds agree compared to 77% of 18–24 year olds). There is also a gender and political divide in agreement, with more women than men agreeing (84% vs 80%), and 88% of Labour voters in agreement, compared to 79% of Conservative voters who agree.

73% of adults in the conflicted segment agree that the government should do more to address inequality, compared to 7% who disagree. A significant majority of 18–24 year olds agree that the government should do more to address inequality (80%), compared to just 66% of 65+ year olds. Those who have personally experienced inequality are more likely to agree that the government should do more to address inequality, compared to those who do not have a personal experience (83% vs 60% respectively). There was also a clear political split, as over 83% of Labour voters agree with this, in comparison to 78% of non-voters and 61% of Conservative voters. 75% of Remain voters agree with this statement, compared to 70% of Leave voters.

OPPORTUNITIES IN LIFE

The majority of conflicted adults say that ‘in the UK, different people have different opportunities in life’ (67%). This compares to only 22% who say that ‘in the UK, everyone has the same opportunities in life’. This presents a clear opportunity to use this accepted view as an entry point to wider conversations about the structural nature of inequality.



Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs. Base: All respondents (n=2215)

75% of adults who say they have had a personal experience of inequality say that ‘in the UK, different people have different opportunities in their lives’, compared with 58% of adults who have no personal experience of inequality.

In the qualitative research, we presented fictional case studies of people in different circumstances and asked respondents to consider whether certain individuals had better life chances and opportunities to live the lives they want to lead compared to others. Respondents immediately recognised the structural inequalities in the case studies, referring to different opportunities the characters had, and their likely successes in life based on both these opportunities and certain demographic attributes. The two most salient factors respondents considered would determine the characters’ futures were their financial circumstances (with opportunities for a good education closely related to this), and the presence of a support network who would encourage and enable them to create a happy, successful life – hence identifying structural factors but omitting it as a distinct label.

Both the qualitative and quantitative phases of research showed that a broad majority of the conflicted public recognise that people in the UK have different opportunities in life, often determined by background and demographic factors. However, respondents slipped between acknowledging the determinants of unequal opportunities and insisting that one’s future is still defined by individual effort. Respondents also often battle to articulate which they thought had greater influence in an individual’s likely future circumstances. The conflicted public recognise the inequality of opportunities available to those in the UK, but effective messaging may highlight the relative weight of context and demographic profile in determining one’s outcomes in life.

“YOU GET OUT WHAT YOU PUT IN”

In the qualitative discussions, a recurring theme was individual agency and what people do with the circumstances and opportunities they are given in life. Respondents express caution and a sense of discomfort in placing what they saw as too much emphasis on one’s circumstances or structural barriers to achieving what they want in life, with some suggesting that this was too defeatist an attitude. In line with hypothesised findings from the research, it is important to communicate with those in the conflicted segment about structural inequality to encourage a greater comfort level with recognising the challenges one has been presented with, without feeling that this is a weakness.

“I think if you want to do it, you will do it no matter what. You know? There’s plenty of opportunity to do it, so if you want to improve your education, and you can, do an online course, go to night school, what you do during the day, yes, you can still be a single parent, but there are still the facilities out there if you’re willing to work.”

Sutton Coldfield respondent

“If you’re willing to put the time in, and learn, and improve, then you’ll reap what you sow, but if you aren’t, then you’re never going to improve.”

Sutton Coldfield respondent

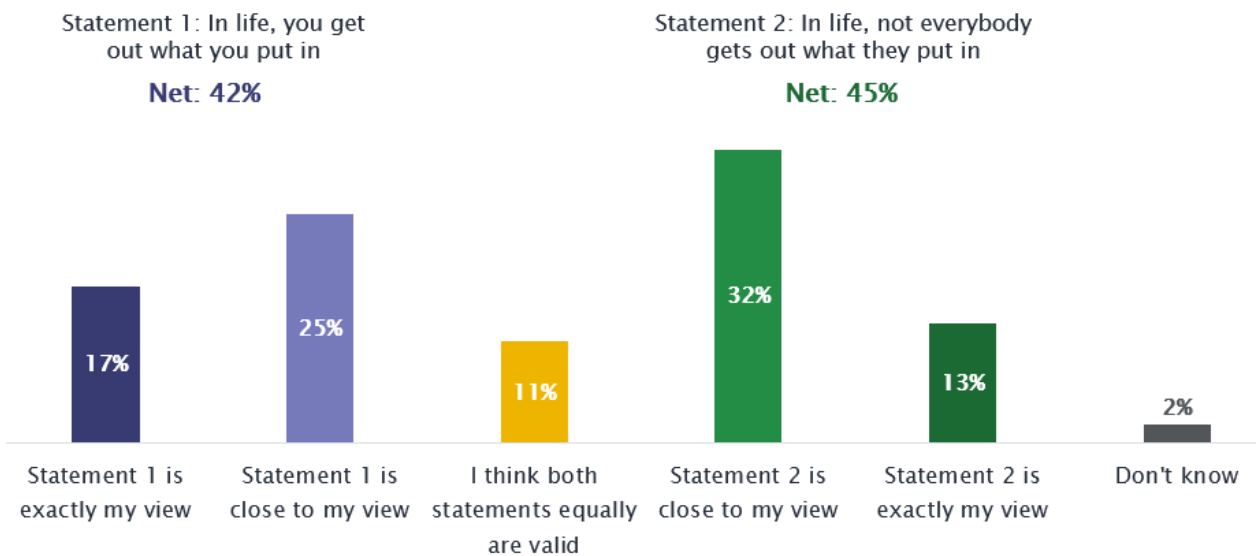
“I think it’s up to the individual themselves and what they want to achieve and what they want to get.”

Sutton Coldfield respondent

“If you really are willing to succeed and you have that determination and perseverance within yourself, then you can go as far as you want to.”

London respondent

This division in recognising the influence of structural inequality versus individual agency is also illustrated in the quantitative findings. A similar proportion of conflicted adults feel that ‘in life, not everybody gets out what they put in’ (45%), as those who believe that ‘in life, you get out what you put in’ (42%).

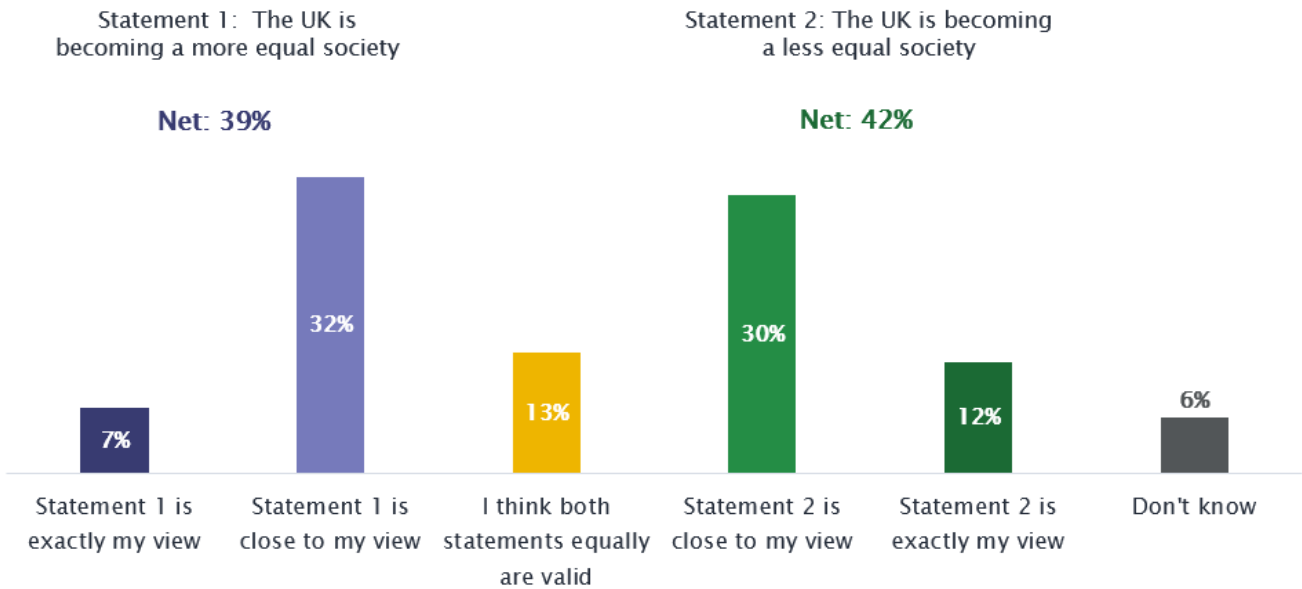


Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs. Base: All respondents (n=2215)

IS THE UK BECOMING A MORE EQUAL SOCIETY?

The conflicted public are fairly split in their views as to whether the UK is becoming more or less equal, with a similar proportion saying that ‘the UK is becoming a more equal society’ (39%), and that ‘the UK is becoming a less equal society’ (42%).

50% of those who say they have a personal experience of inequality say ‘the UK is becoming a less equal society’, compared to 33% who have no experience of inequality who say the same.



Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs. Base: All respondents (n=2215)

The conflicted public in the qualitative discussions recognised the existence of inequality in the UK. However, there was also an overwhelming sense that things are better than they once were, referring in particular to inequality related to demographic differences like gender and race.

“In the last ten years, it’s changed so much, the way that we look at men and women, and the fact that there’s so much more equality now than there was. I think that’s probably the same with race as well. Is that it was probably much more limiting, even a decade ago.”

London respondent

Respondents often associated inequality with the past, and with an older demographic, with some even suggesting that inequality would naturally be less prevalent as the generations change over time.

“I think that’s how things have changed, whereas perhaps, like late ‘60s, early ‘70s, that sort of era, people used to look at the colour of your skin, where you were from, that sort of thing. I just think that has changed dramatically.”

Sutton Coldfield respondent

While it is encouraging that the conflicted public generally have an optimistic view of the success of previous work which has been done to address inequality, there is an associated risk that the conflicted segment believe that enough has been done already. There is a need to convey that something can and should be done about the persistence of structural inequality.

USING METAPHORS TO COMMUNICATE STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY

Metaphors are, by their nature, highly visual and therefore effective at communicating both complex and large ideas, such as structural inequality. This approach is of particular significance when communicating to an ambivalent audience. A set of metaphors were developed over a course of deliberative, co-creation workshops, reflecting on feedback from our conversations with the conflicted public in internal evaluation meetings, before editing the metaphors and taking them back in to the next set of conversations with the conflicted public.

The final set of metaphors were then tested in a quantitative survey to identify which metaphors are most engaging and persuasive. Crucially, the quantitative research sought to determine which metaphor affinities are most likely to predict a shift in attitudes, towards an acknowledgment and appreciation for the role and nature of structural inequality in our society.

The text for the metaphors, as taken forward for testing in the quantitative survey, are provided below:



Society is like a house. **A well-built house**, well maintained, with sturdy foundations, makes for a **safe and comfortable home**. If it's badly built and constantly neglected, cracks start to show and the whole structure can fall apart. If we diagnose and repair the core problems of our house, instead of just papering over the cracks, everyone gets an equal chance to thrive and our society is stronger.



The way society is designed at the moment is **like someone built a narrow tunnel road through a mountain**. We are all driving different size cars so, while some of us can pass through no problem, some of us have to go a long and winding way round to get where we want to go. Many of us don't make it to our final destinations as a result. We should seek to widen the tunnel so that we all have the opportunity to get to where we want to, no matter our differences.



Society is like a **badly designed maze of streets** which we all have to navigate through. But not everyone has an equal chance to get to where they want to go – some people have a GPS, some just have a street map, while some have no map at all. Instead of trying to give everyone better maps, **we need to rethink the design of the streets**, so we all have a fair chance to get where we want to go.



Our lives are **woven together with those of our neighbours and communities**, but inequality is making the fabric of our society unravel. Instead of scrambling to mend each snag, we should identify why so many of us are struggling, mend our fabric, and strengthen the whole of society.



Living in an unequal society is like **some of us riding up escalators** to get to where we want to go, while **others of us often only have down escalators** in our path, and have to run up them. A few will make it, but most of us will be dragged down however hard we try. We need to make sure that we all have a fair chance to make it to where we want to get to.

By no means do we expect the metaphors tested to be used as final versions of messages in communications. Instead, the findings provide a clear steer on which metaphors have most potential to be effective and should therefore be incorporated in communications and campaign messages on (in)equality.

LEARNING FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE METAPHORS

The metaphors were developed through a series of iterative workshops, and throughout this process the following pitfalls in language and the construction of the metaphors were identified.

- **Flawed.** In our discussions with participants, it was observed that when even a minor detail within a message or metaphor was deemed either incorrect, inaccurate or unrealistic, the entire message was subsequently dismissed and the intended impact lost. Messages involving jackpots and binaries were particularly susceptible to this, and revised accordingly (as in the appendix).



E.g. a metaphor involving winning the lottery was tested but this was considered too binary and was felt to be negative as some would automatically be seen as losers. There was not enough nuance offered in this metaphor as some considered to be in the middle rather than explicitly being a winner or a loser at life.

Life is a lottery. Some people are issued winning tickets at birth, and others are issued tickets that don't pay out. It's what you are born into.



Society is like a **badly designed maze of streets** which we all have to navigate through. But not everyone has an equal chance to get to where they want to go – some people have a GPS, some just have a street map, while some have no map at all. Instead of trying to give everyone better maps, **we need to rethink the design of the streets**, so we all have a fair chance to get where we want to go.

"I don't feel like that's the majority of people at all. I think there's a lot in between. If you're, kind of, working hard and can change your situation a little bit, you can at least go somewhere. To say you've either won the lottery or you've got nothing, that's two ends of the spectrum, isn't it?"

Sutton Coldfield respondent

"I just feel like winners and losers, again, is something that should be avoided because, yes, binaries just aren't working."

Sutton Coldfield respondent

- **Confusing.** Difficulty in understanding, let alone visualising, some of the more complex messages throughout the qualitative focus groups was noted. Abstract concepts and elaborate imagery often meant the simpler messages that needed to be conveyed were lost. Messages involving bottlenecks and tailwinds failed to communicate effectively for this reason, and their greater meaning was lost.



E.g. We tested a metaphor involving a tailwind and headwind, however respondents found this difficult to understand and hard to picture. We therefore adapted this metaphor to involve an escalator, a much more relatable image. Some respondents did not want metaphors to be too wordy, while others wanted some of them explained rather than just left open for interpretation.

Equality is like a tailwind, it propels progress. Inequality is like a headwind, it impedes progress.

Living in an unequal society is like **some of us riding up escalators** to get to where we want to go, while **others of us often only have down escalators** in our path, and have to run up them. A few will make it, but most of us will be dragged down however hard we try. We need to make sure that we all have a fair chance to make it to where we want to get to.

"I just think it's really wordy, and I think you have to really think about the message, and I think you have to, like, read it a couple of times to actually understand what it means."

Sutton Coldfield respondent

"I think escalators is a really difficult word. I think it's-, I understand the concept but I think it's a really awkward thing to visualise. And I think the message is there but it's so complicated. We need to make sure we all have upwards escalators."

London respondent

- **Dogmatic.** Respondents reacted negatively towards messages that were seen to carry too extreme or partisan a message. Many respondents showed an innate fear of messaging that could be interpreted as 'radical', or even 'communist', and respondents placed an emphasis on the preservation of a meritocratic societal structure.



E.g. We tested a metaphor which involved changing the central heating system. However, in multiple groups respondents felt this was too dramatic and shied away from messages to do with overhauling the system or equal distribution due to political connotations.

Society is a system – like a central heating system – that no longer works. We need to assess where it is going wrong, diagnose the issue (inequality), and repair it accordingly – so we have fairer distribution.

Society is like a house. **A well-built house**, well maintained, with sturdy foundations, makes for a **safe and comfortable home**. If it's badly built and constantly neglected, cracks start to show and the whole structure can fall apart. If we diagnose and repair the core problems of our house, instead of just papering over the cracks, everyone gets an equal chance to thrive and our society is stronger.

"You're just never going to have everyone having exactly the same of everything, unless you're in, like, a completely communist society. So, it's about everyone have an equal go at it, isn't it?"

Sutton Coldfield respondent

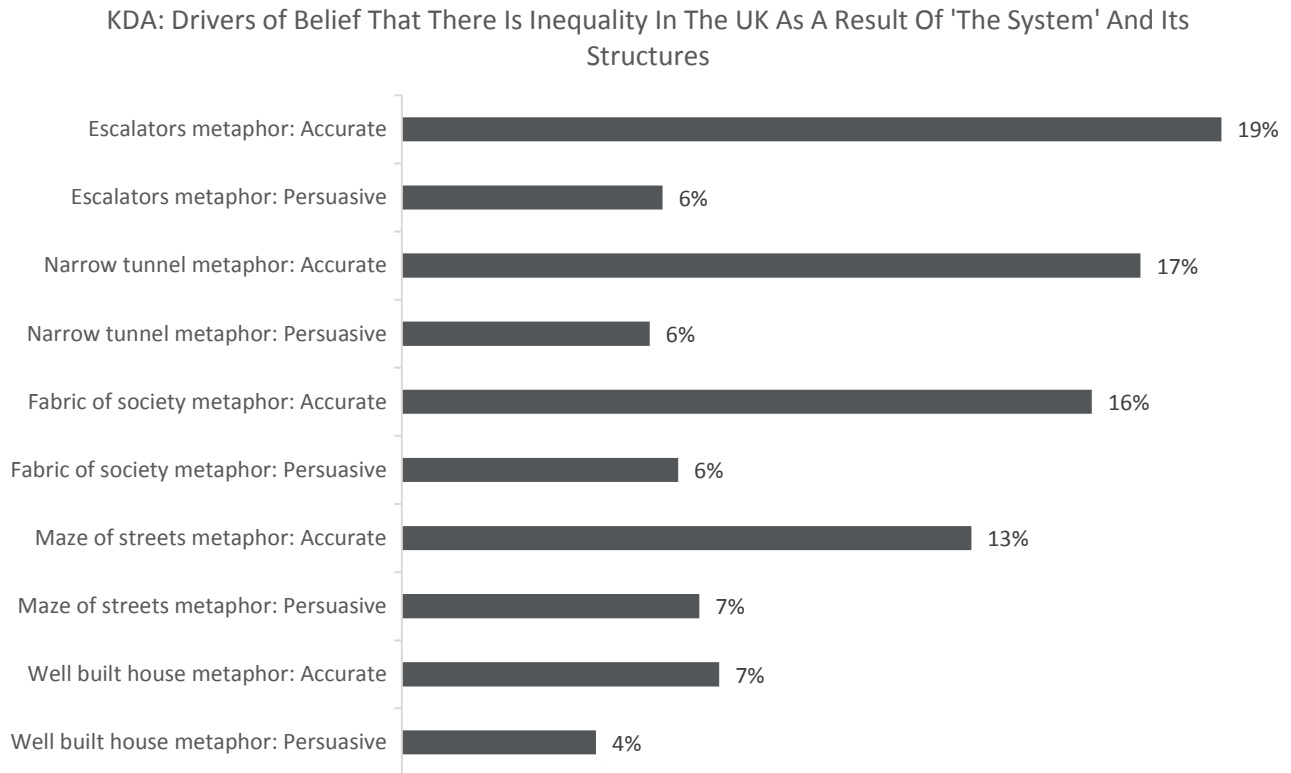
"I think it's too radical, in a funny sort of way. I know what we need to do is fairly radical. But that's taking the very fundamental basis of everything and just throwing it away."

London respondent

IDENTIFYING MOTIVATING METAPHORS

'Key Drivers Analysis' (KDA) has been used to identify which metaphors drive agreement with the view that there is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures.^[1]

The final model, illustrated below, shows the extent to which viewing the metaphors as accurate and persuasive drive the belief that inequality is structural. The relative importance of each variable is indicated by the percentage, with the higher the number, the greater the impact on support for the idea that inequality is structural.



The model demonstrates the degree of importance of the perceived accuracy of the metaphor, far more so than consciously considering the metaphor to be persuasive (even if it is subconsciously convincing). The importance of the metaphor's accuracy was reflected in the qualitative discussions, with respondents rejecting metaphors which felt forced, false or overly simplistic.

Of the five metaphors tested, four metaphors perform reasonably well in driving support for the view that inequality is structural. These are, in order of influence, the "escalators", "narrow tunnel", "fabric of society" and "maze of streets" metaphors, and show promise for development into effective messages. However, the "well-built house" metaphor has markedly less influence, and might be dropped from future development of these metaphors into final messages.

^[1] Please see the technical appendix for more details on the key drivers analysis, including a table with the significance and relative importance scores for each dependent variable in the model, at a total and segment level, plus the R2 for each model.

RESPONSE TO THE INDIVIDUAL METAPHORS

Response to the five individual metaphors are discussed in further detail below, with the qualitative development discussions providing insight into the aspects of each metaphor which are motivating to the conflicted public.

‘ESCALATORS’ METAPHOR

The KDA analysis has shown that the “escalators” metaphor is the most effective driver of the view that inequality is structural. In the qualitative discussions, the sheer effort that would be required to run up a down escalator was felt to effectively capture the experience of an individual overcoming disadvantages due to inequality. It was also considered to be an impactful and memorable image. One point for consideration when the metaphor is developed into a message is to ensure that this potentially complex image is communicated as simply as possible to ensure it can have maximum impact.

‘NARROW TUNNELS’ METAPHOR

In qualitative discussions, the conflicted public responded positively to the tunnel metaphor in that it reflected the desire for equal opportunity rather than equal outcome (a point that was important to respondents, both in how the metaphor was phrased and more generally when discussing inequality). However, one aspect of the metaphor to be treated cautiously in future development is to avoid a suggestion of a sudden opening up of access; any language which indicated drastic changes (such as removing a tunnel or raising a bridge) was met with resistance and nervousness, and tended to prompt a conversation about not being able to give access to everyone and about limited resources.

‘FABRIC OF SOCIETY’ METAPHOR

The conflicted public responded well to the aspirational tone and clarity of this metaphor in the qualitative discussions. The image was also received positively for its sense of togetherness, and people’s lives being intertwined. However, some expressed mild scepticism towards this idea, saying that many communities are not connected to the extent that the metaphor suggests, and that it was unrealistic and unrepresentative of the communities of society as they saw it. In the application of this metaphor in future messaging, it will be important to talk about the aspirational vision of the metaphor while maintaining a grounded tone.

‘MAZE OF STREETS’ METAPHOR

This message provokes a mixed reception in qualitative discussions. The imagery was praised as simple and relatable; everyone can understand the various advantages and disadvantages that features like GPS or maps offer, but the solution outlined within the message had to be altered in order to avoid notions of radicalism. ‘Rethink the design of the streets’ originally read as ‘rebuild the streets’, which was seen as too radical, unattainable and potentially undesirable. This confirmed previous findings in the development process of tempered language and avoiding unrealistic imagery that cause the audience to dismiss any notion of change or reform.

‘WELL-BUILT HOUSE’ METAPHOR

This metaphor was praised in the qualitative discussions for its relatable imagery and emphasis on social maintenance. However, in comparison to the other metaphors it is more detached – it has a less aspirational tone, and doesn’t communicate the impact of inequality on individuals which may explain why it does not *drive* the view that inequality is structural in the Key Drivers Analysis.

METAPHORS' IMPACT ON VIEWS

In the quantitative phase of research, respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with a battery of four statements, both before and then again after being exposed to the metaphors. This enables identification of specific views which the metaphors are likely to shift.

KEY FINDINGS:

- Exposure to the metaphors produced a significant increase in agreement among the conflicted public for three of the belief statements: that inequality in the UK is as a result of 'the systems' and structures, that it is fair that everyone has equal chances in life, and that the government should do more to address inequality.
 - However, exposure to the metaphors did not result in a significant increase in agreement that everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality.
 - Exposure to the metaphors also prompted a significant increase in agreement to the belief statements among certain sociodemographic groups of interest.⁷ In some cases, these are among groups which are already naturally more receptive to the metaphors (as evidenced by the KDA). However, it is encouraging to note that significant shifts are also observed among those groups who are naturally less engaged with the topic of inequality.
-

Exposure to the metaphors increased agreement among the conflicted public for the statements regarding the existence and structural nature of inequality, and also saw some of the most significant increases in agreement among those audiences who are less engaged on the topic of inequality – such as Conservative voters and men.

A significant increase in agreement that the government should do more to address inequality was also observed among the conflicted public (from 73% to 76%), although this increase is not seen among less engaged audiences.

The least impact is seen in levels of agreement that we have a shared responsibility to address inequality, with shifts only observed among those aged 35–54 and those who voted Remain in the EU referendum.

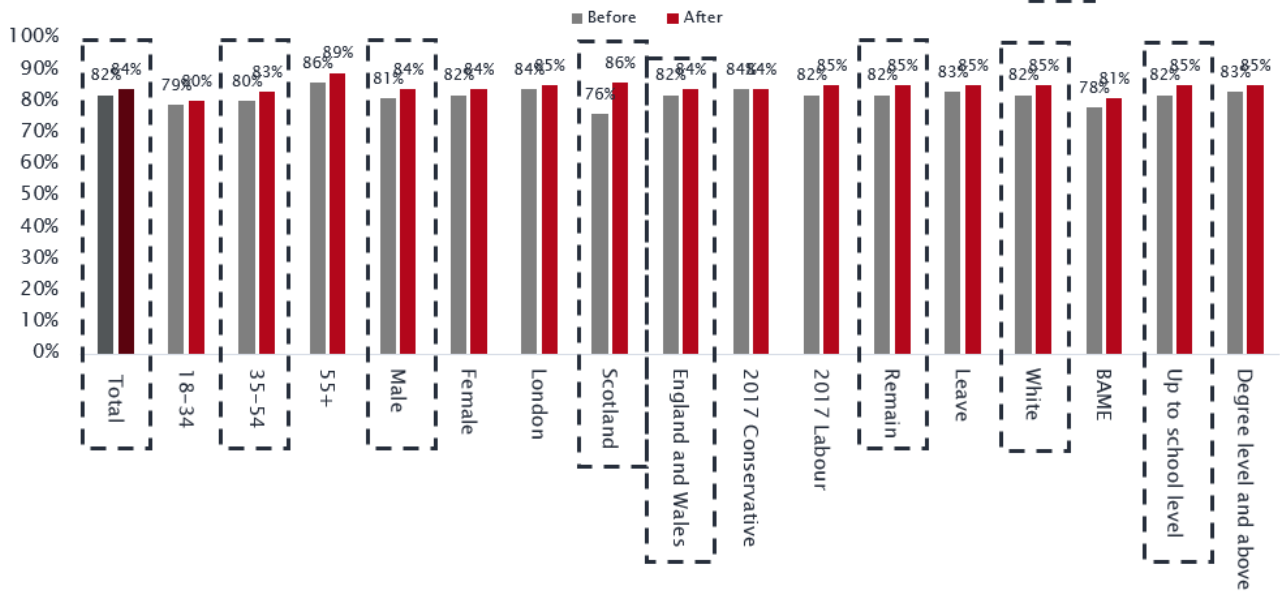
An increase in agreement that 'it is fair that everyone has equal chances in life' was observed among the conflicted public after exposure to the metaphors (82% agreed before vs 84% agreed after). Increases in agreement were also seen among those aged 35–54 (80% before vs 83% after), males (81% before vs 84% after), those living in Scotland (76% before vs 86% after), those living in England and Wales (82% before vs 84% after), those who voted Remain (82% before vs 85% after), white (82% before vs 85% after) and educated up to school level (82% before vs 85% agreed after).

⁷ Note that significant increases in agreement with the statements are easier to identify where the sample size for the subgroup is larger. As such, for subgroups with a smaller sample size (for example, those living in Scotland or BAME), some increases in agreement may look large, but may not necessarily be large enough to be a significant difference. As with the rest of the report, only significant differences are reported on in this section.

It is fair that everyone has equal chances in life

Showing % who agree (NET)

Showing significant differences



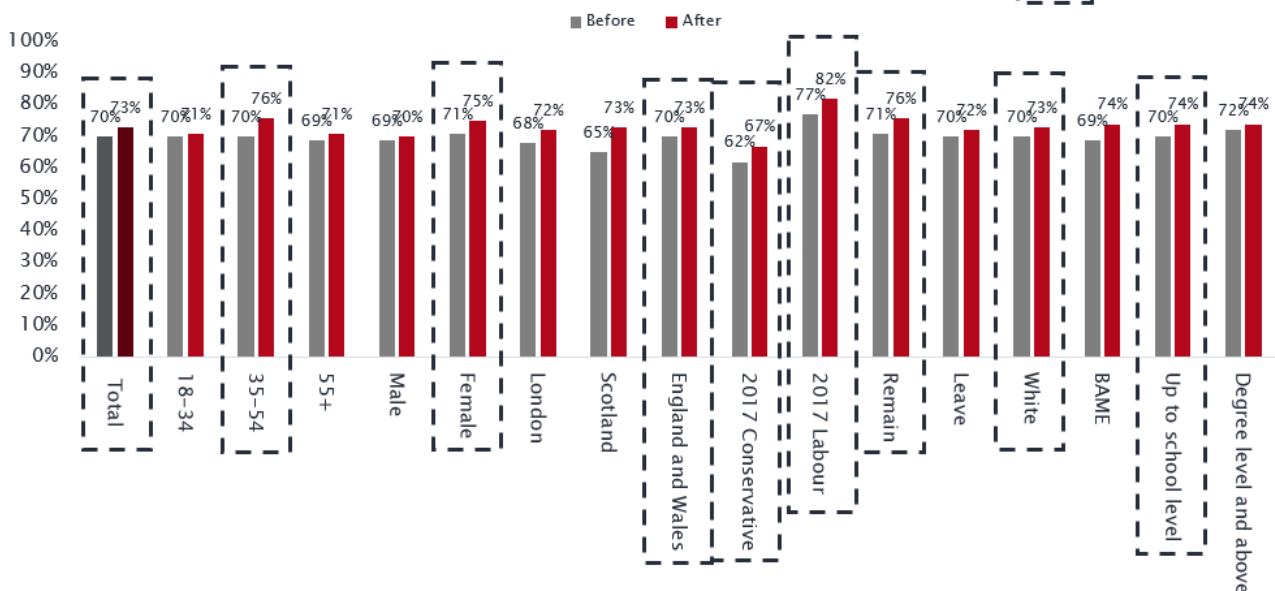
Q. It is fair that everyone has equal chances in life. Having read these messages about inequality, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Showing NET: Agree, Base: All respondents (n=2215)

Having been exposed to the metaphors, the conflicted public show an increase in agreement that inequality in the UK is a result of 'the system' and its structures (70% before vs 73% after). Agreement also increased among specific subgroups of interest, namely Conservative voters (62% before vs 67% after) and Labour voters (77% before vs 82% after). Remain voters also showed an increase in agreement (71% before vs 76% after). An increase in agreement was also seen among those aged 35-54, females, those living in England and Wales, white respondents, and those with up to school level education.

There is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures

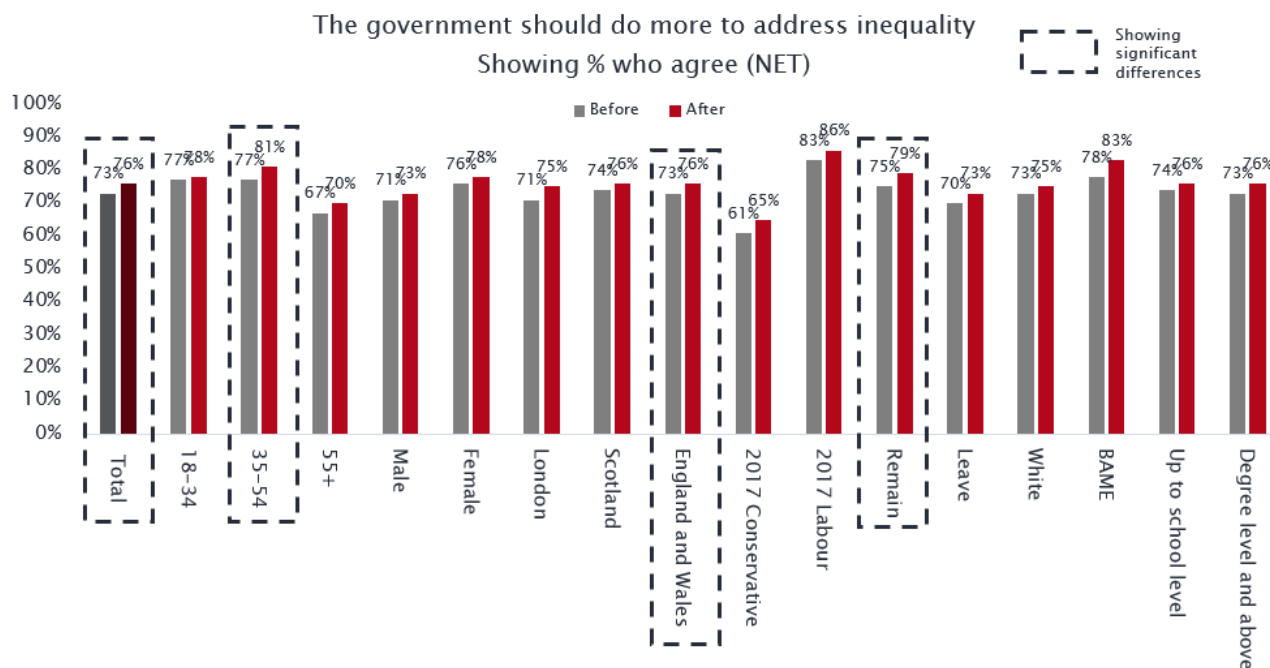
Showing % who agree (NET)

Showing significant differences



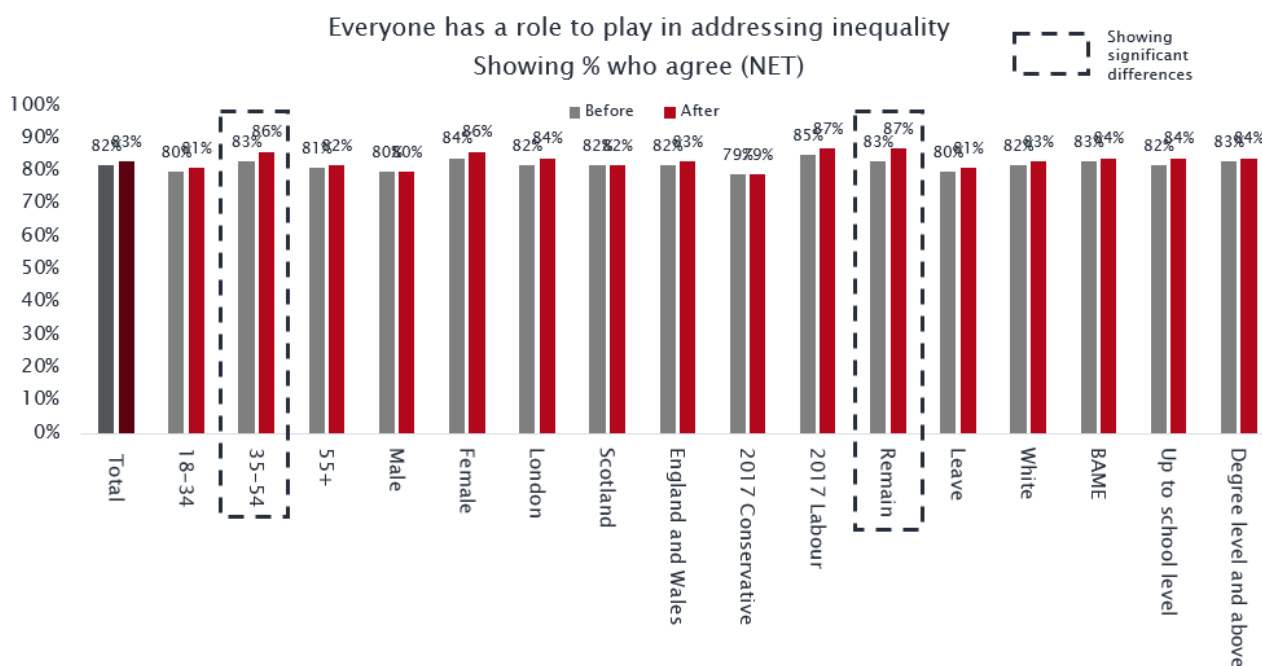
Q. There is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures. Having read these messages about inequality, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Showing NET: Agree, Base: All respondents (n=2215)

Following exposure to the metaphors, agreement that the government should do more to address inequality (73% before vs 76% after) increased. Exposure to the metaphors increased agreement with this view among those aged 35–54 (77% before vs 81% after), those who live in England and Wales (73% before vs 76% after), and those who voted to Remain in the EU Referendum (75% before vs 79% after).



Q. The government should do more to address inequality. Having read these messages about inequality, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Showing NET: Agree, Base: All respondents (n=2215)

The least movement was observed in levels of agreement with the statement that everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality. Those aged 35–54 registered higher levels of agreement with the statement having been exposed to the metaphors (83% before vs 86% after), and Remain voters (83% before vs 87% after). An emerging hypothesis from these results might be that only those who are already relatively more engaged with the topic of inequality may be encouraged to feel a shared ownership in addressing inequality following exposure to the metaphors.



Q. Everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality. Having read these messages about inequality, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Showing NET: Agree, Base: All respondents (n=2215)

ENGAGING ACROSS PARTY LINES

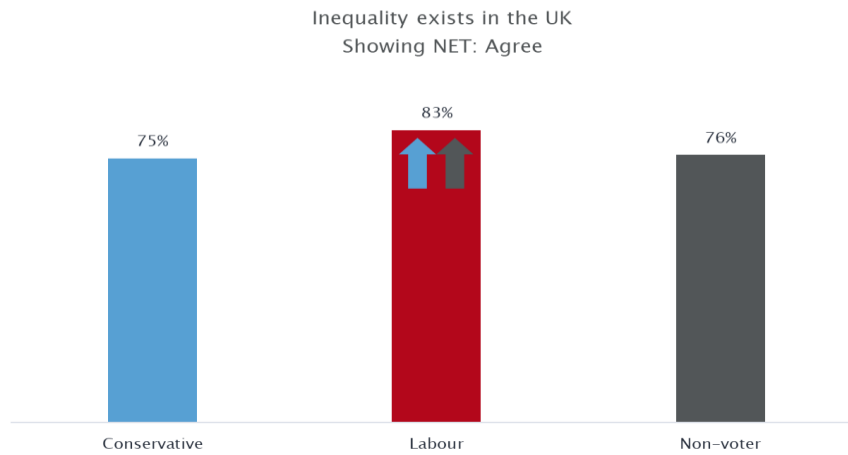
In order to communicate effectively to the ‘conflicted segment’ of the British public about the importance and existence of structural inequality in today’s society, it is important to understand the views of different political party supporters that together form the segment, as well as how effective the metaphors are in shifting views among these groups. These lessons can be used to inform communications with different groups and to tailor strategies with those whose views might vary by different voting records.

KEY FINDINGS:

- Party alignment is a determinant of how many of the conflicted public view the fundamental causes of inequality. Conservative voters are more likely to view the UK’s inequality as a result of individual actions while Labour voters are more likely to see inequality as having stemmed from structural disadvantages and barriers that some people face.
 - Labour voters (83%) are significantly more likely than both Conservative voters (75%) and non-voters (76%) to agree that inequality exists in the UK.
 - Just 34% of Conservative voters agree that they have personally experienced inequality, in contrast to 52% of Labour voters who agree that they have.
 - Conservative voters are significantly more likely than Labour voters to believe that ‘you get out what you put in’ (55% vs 35% respectively) and that the ‘UK is becoming a more equal society’ (49% vs 37% respectively).
 - In contrast, Labour voters are significantly more likely than Conservative voters to say that the government should do more to address inequality (83% vs 61% respectively), and that there is inequality caused by the ‘system’ and its structures (77% vs 62% respectively). Nonetheless a majority of Conservative voters in the segment believe the government should do more and recognise the existence of structural inequality.
 - While level of agreement varies by party alignment, this does indicate that across major voter groups there is appetite for greater state intervention across the board (only 13% of Conservative voters disagree that the government should do more to address inequality).
 - The “escalators” metaphor is most effective in driving agreement that inequality is structural amongst both Labour and Conservative voters. The “narrow tunnel” and “fabric of society” metaphors are also effective among Conservative voters, while the “maze of streets” metaphor is more effective among Labour voters.
-

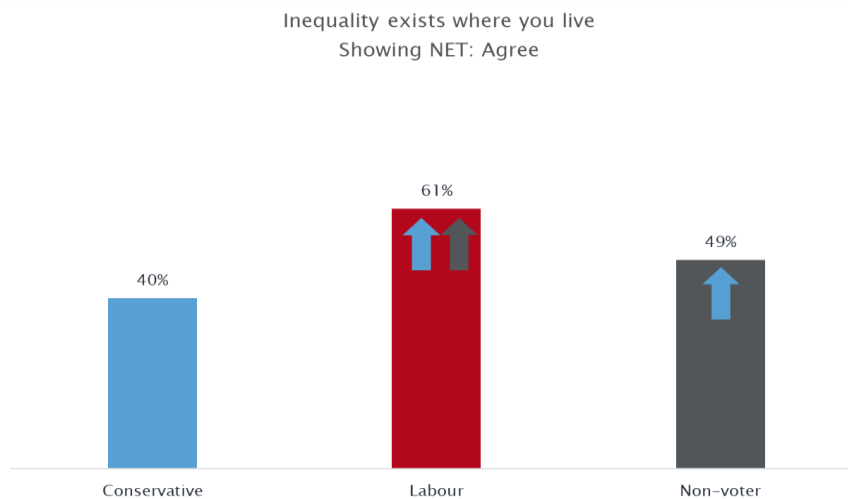
VIEWS ON INEQUALITY IN THE UK BY PARTY ALIGNMENT

There are significant differences in agreement on whether inequality exists in the UK based on political voting record. 2017 Labour voters are more likely to agree that inequality exists in the UK than 2017 Conservative voters (83% vs 75% respectively). Additionally, they are more likely to agree that inequality exists in the UK than non-voters in 2017 (76%).



Q. To what extent do you agree that inequality exists in the UK? Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765), 2017 non-voters (n=351)⁸

While 61% of Labour voters agree that inequality exists where they live, only 49% of non-voters and 40% of Conservative voters say the same.

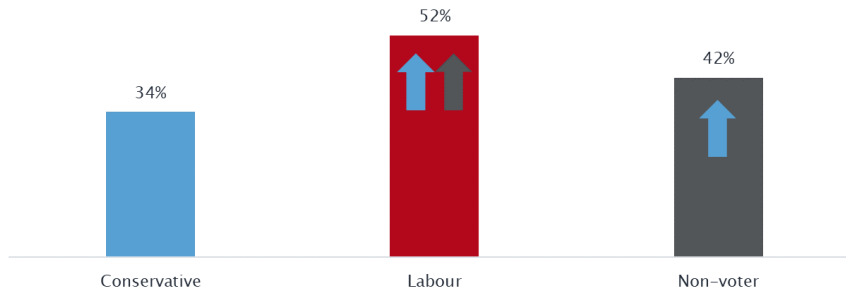


Q. To what extent do you agree that inequality exists in the UK? Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765). 2017 non-voters (n=351)

These divergent views may be at least partly related to the different reported life experiences across party alignment. Over 52% of Labour voters report having personally experienced inequality in their lives, in comparison to just 42% of non-voters, and just 34% of Conservative voters.

⁸ Within this section, significant differences between different audiences in charts are indicated by colour-coded arrows embedded within bars

Personal experience of inequality
Showing NET: Agree

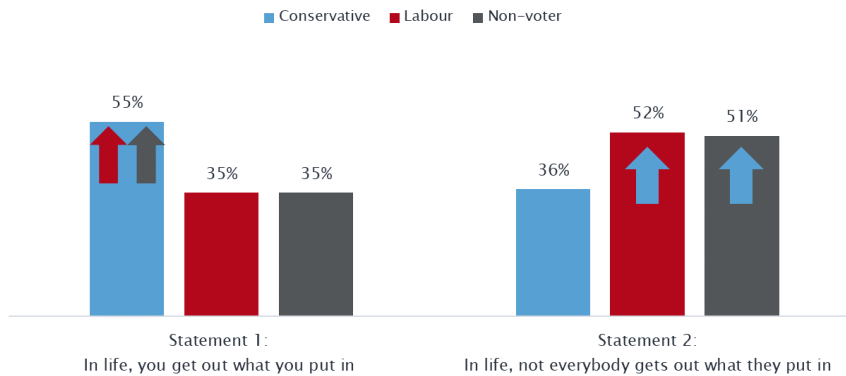


Q. To what extent do you agree that you have ever, now or in the past, personally experienced inequality? Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607). 2017 Labour voters (n=765). 2017 non-voters (n=351)

“YOU GET OUT WHAT YOU PUT IN”

The conflicted public express majority agreement that ‘in life, not everybody gets out what they put in’; 32% say this is close to their view, while just 25% say that the opposite (that in life, everybody gets out what they put in) is close to their view. However, significant differences are observed by voting record, with Conservative voters significantly more likely than both Labour voters and non-voters to say that ‘in life, you get out what you put in’.

Statements reflecting beliefs
Showing NET for each statement



Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs. Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765), 2017 non-voters (n=351)

55% of Conservative voters say that the statement, “in life, you get out what you put in”, is close to their beliefs, with just 35% of Labour voters and non-voters saying the same (35% for both).

Party alignment also is a determinant of how many of the conflicted public view the fundamental causes of inequality. Conservative voters are more likely to view the UK’s inequality as a result of individual actions, poor decisions, and even a symptom of moral decline. In contrast, Labour voters are more likely to reflect that inequality stems from structural disadvantages and barriers that some people face, although they deem this to be improving when viewed in an historical context.

“A lot of the problems of inequality stem from the deliberate abandonment of traditional, well proven, good values & activities & it seems this, unfortunately, is the direction that things seem to be going now – for the worse!!”

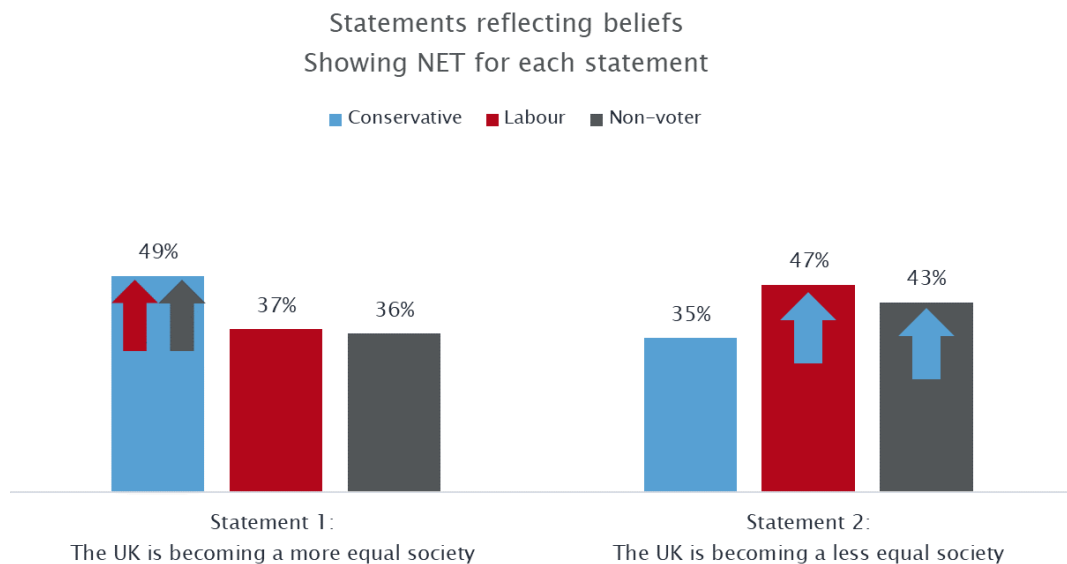
Conservative Voter in 2017 (quantitative respondent)

“I think there is a lot of inequality and unfair judgement, and unequal chances given in life.”

Labour Voter in 2017 (quantitative respondent)

IS THE UK BECOMING A MORE EQUAL SOCIETY?

While the conflicted segment of the British population is relatively evenly split over whether the UK is becoming a more or less equal society (39% feel that the UK becoming a more equal society; 42% feel that the UK is becoming a less equal society), a polarised picture emerges when analysing by party alignment.



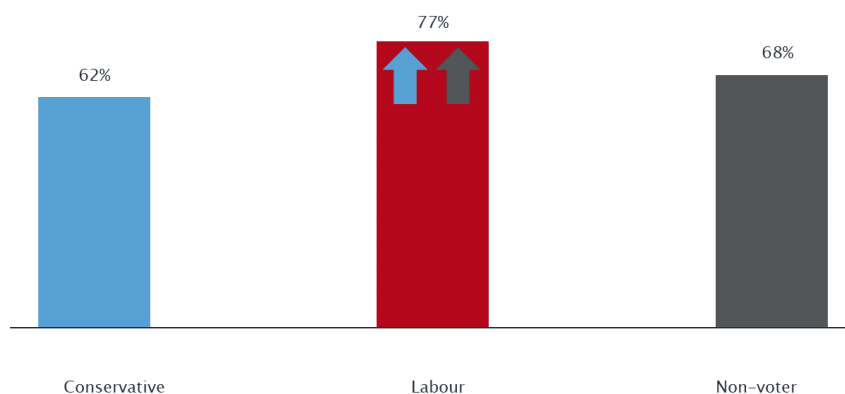
Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs. Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765), 2017 non-voters (n=351)

Voters for the Conservatives and for Labour have opposing views on the question of the UK becoming more or less equal a society. 49% of Conservative voters feel that the UK is becoming a more equal society is closer to their view, whereas 47% of Labour voters (47%) feel the opposite.

INEQUALITY IS STRUCTURAL

Across party alignment, there is majority agreement that there is inequality in the UK as a result of ‘the system’ and its structures. Amongst Conservative voters, 62% agree – and 12% disagree – with this statement. However, the level of agreement with the responsibility of government for inequality is highest among Labour voters (77%).

There is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures
Showing NET: Agree



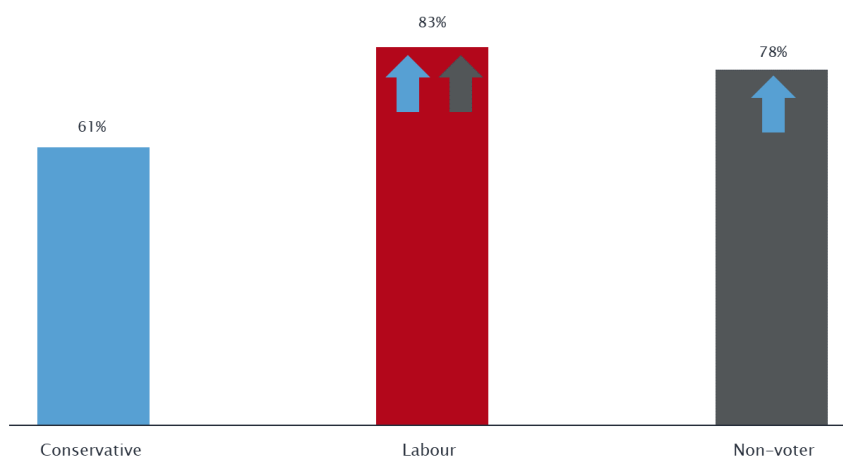
Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765), 2017 non-voters (n=351)

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

There are significant differences between Labour and Conservative voters on the role of government and the extent of its responsibility and intervention in addressing inequality in the UK.

More Labour and non-voters agree that the government should do more to address inequality than Conservative voters, while 61% of Conservative voters agree with the statement, 83% of Labour voters say they agree. While level of agreement varies by party alignment, this does indicate that across major voter groups there is appetite for greater state intervention across the board (only 13% of 2017 Conservative voters disagree).

The government should do more to address inequality
Showing NET: Agree



Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765), 2017 non-voters (n=351)

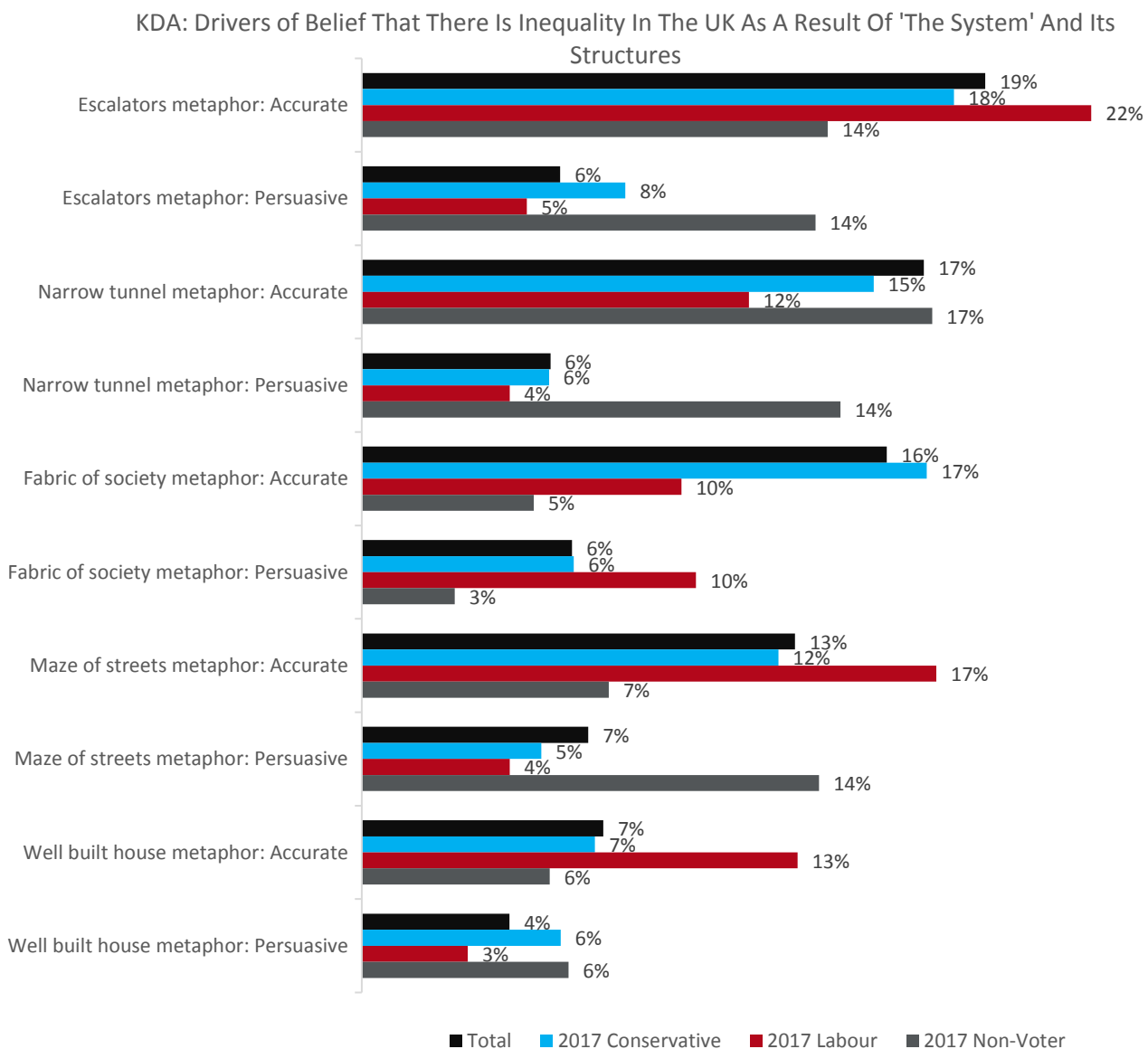
IDENTIFYING MOTIVATING METAPHORS

'Key Drivers Analysis' (KDA) has again been used to identify which metaphors drive agreement with the view that inequality is structural among those with different political views.

The final model, illustrated below, indicates the relative impact the metaphors have in driving agreement with the view that inequality is structural. As with the KDA model above, the relative importance of each variable is indicated by the percentage.

The escalators metaphor is the greatest driver overall of the view that inequality is structural. However, differences by party alignment are evident in the performance of the other metaphors: Conservative voters are more receptive to the narrow tunnel, fabric of society, and maze of streets metaphors, while the maze of streets metaphor is effective amongst Labour voters. The narrow tunnel and the escalators metaphors are effective drivers amongst non-voters.

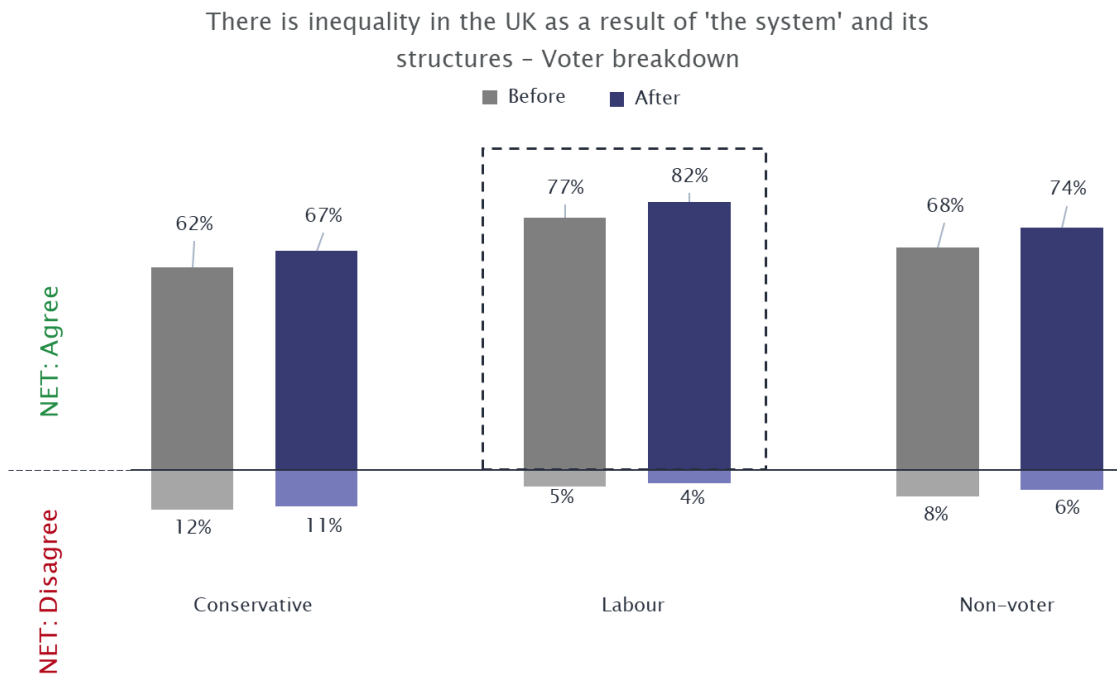
Viewing the metaphors as accurate has greater importance in the models overall and among Conservative and Labour voters. However, viewing the metaphors as persuasive has a far greater importance in the models among non-voters.



METAPHORS' IMPACT ON VIEWS

In the quantitative phase of research, respondents were shown the same set of statements before and after being shown the metaphors, in order to identify how effective the metaphors are in influencing respondent views.

While significant increases in agreement are not observed for three of the four statements following exposure to the metaphors⁹, a significant increase is seen among Labour voters in agreement that inequality is the result of 'the system' and its structures. While the KDA has demonstrated which metaphors drive agreement with this view, exposure to the metaphors only produces a significant increase in agreement among Labour voters.



Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Base: 2017 Conservative voters (n=607), 2017 Labour voters (n=765), 2017 non-voters (n=351)

⁹ Three other metaphors are: "The government should do more to address inequality", "Everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality", "It is fair that everyone has equal chances in life."

ENGAGING CONFLICTED LONDONERS

London is a location of particular interest for this project, and our research indicates that it is valuable to understand the capital as a population group within the ‘conflicted segment’ as distinct from the rest of the UK.

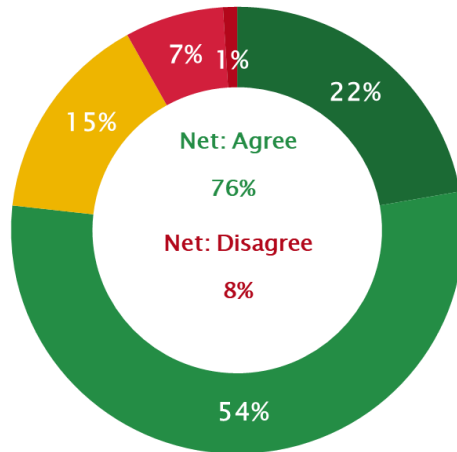
KEY FINDINGS:

- The majority of Londoners in the conflicted segment group agree that inequality does exist in the UK (76%) with only 8% saying they disagree.
 - This is in line with wider UK adults in the conflicted segment group, of whom 78% agree and 6% disagree.
- 21% of inner Londoners in the conflicted segment disagree that inequality exists where they live, in comparison to just 13% of outer Londoners.
- Outer Londoners (49%) are significantly more likely than inner Londoners (38%) to say that in life, not everybody gets out what they put in.
- Londoners in the conflicted segment group are significantly more likely to disagree that the government should do more to address inequality (10% vs 4% Scotland and 8% England and Wales), and that there is inequality in the UK as a result of ‘the system and its structures’ (12% vs 9% England and Wales), than the rest of the country.
- Londoners in the conflicted segment group are more likely to believe a person’s life chances are affected by societal structures (21% vs 17% England and Wales) than the rest of the country.
- Within London, the metaphors did not have a significant impact on the conflicted public when considering whether the government should do more to address inequality, everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality, and whether inequality in the UK is a result of ‘the system’ and structures. However, there was a significant shift among inner Londoners agreeing that it is fair that everyone has equal chances in life.

INEQUALITY IN THE UK

The majority of Londoners in the conflicted segment agree that inequality exists in the UK (76%), with 22% saying they strongly agree.

Opinions on whether inequality exists in the UK
(showing % saying the following)



■ Strongly agree ■ Agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Disagree ■ Strongly disagree

Q. To what extent do you agree that inequality exists in the UK? Base: Londoners (n=578)

Despite the majority of Londoners agreeing that inequality exists in the UK (76%), only 49% agree that inequality exists where they live, with 16% saying they disagree – exactly in line with Great Britain as a whole. Notably, inner Londoners are significantly more likely to disagree that inequality exists where they live, with one in five disagreeing (21%), compared to just 13% of outer Londoners.

Inequality exists where you live

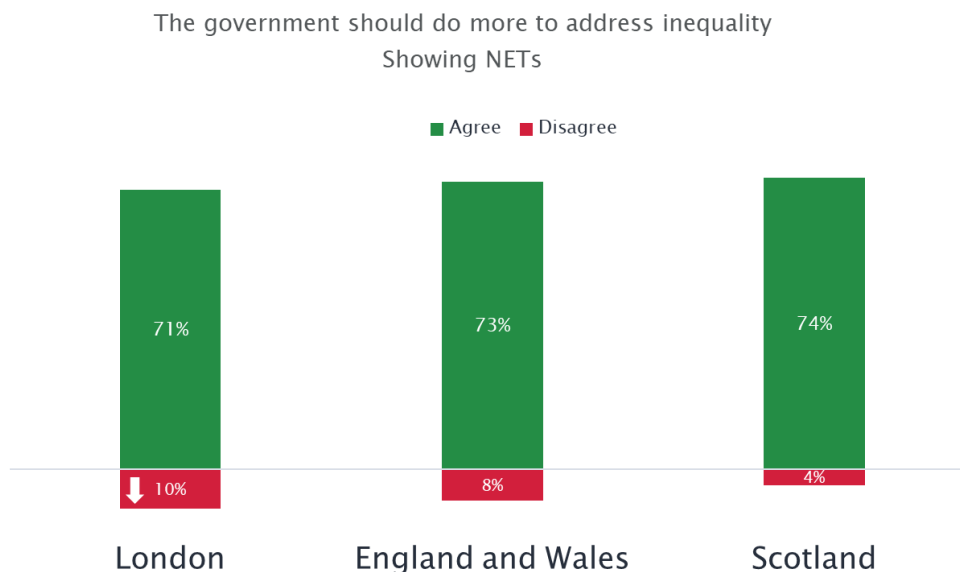


Q. To what extent do you agree that inequality exists where you live? Base: Londoners (n=578); Inner London (n=189), Outer London (n=384)

ATTITUDES TOWARDS INEQUALITY

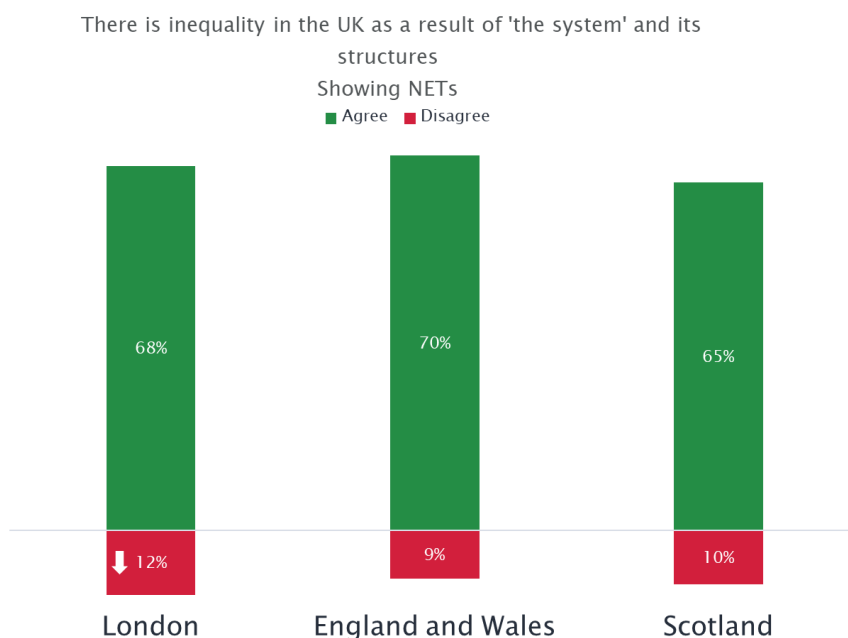
The majority of Londoners in the conflicted segment agree that everyone has a role to play in addressing inequality (82%), with very few disagreeing (5%). In fact, Londoners showed similar attitudes towards inequality as the rest of the British public on almost all statements tested. However, notably, Londoners held significantly different views when it came to government responsibility for inequality.

Londoners were significantly more likely than the rest of the UK to disagree that the government should be doing more to address inequality, with 10% expressing this opinion in comparison to just 8% in England and Wales overall and 4% in Scotland. However, levels of agreement remain high (71%) and in line with both England and Wales (73%) and Scotland (74%).



Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Base: Londoners (n=578); England and Wales (n=2087), Scotland (n=128)¹⁰

In addition, Londoners are significantly more like to disagree that there is inequality in the UK as a result of 'the system' and its structures, with 12% expressing this opinion in comparison to just 9% in England and Wales overall and 10% in Scotland. However, levels of agreement remain high (68%) and in line with both England and Wales (70%) and Scotland (65%).



Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Base: Londoners (n=578); England and Wales (n=2087), Scotland (n=128)

¹⁰ Within this section, significant differences between different audiences in charts are indicated by either generic or colour-coded arrows embedded within bars

While agreement is in line with the national picture, these statistically significant spikes in disagreement indicate that London disproportionately contains a segment of the public that is opposed to state responsibility and intervention on the topic of inequality.

“If a person has the drive to succeed they will – however most people want the maximum return for the minimum of effort.”

Londoner (quantitative respondent)

“YOU GET OUT WHAT YOU PUT IN”

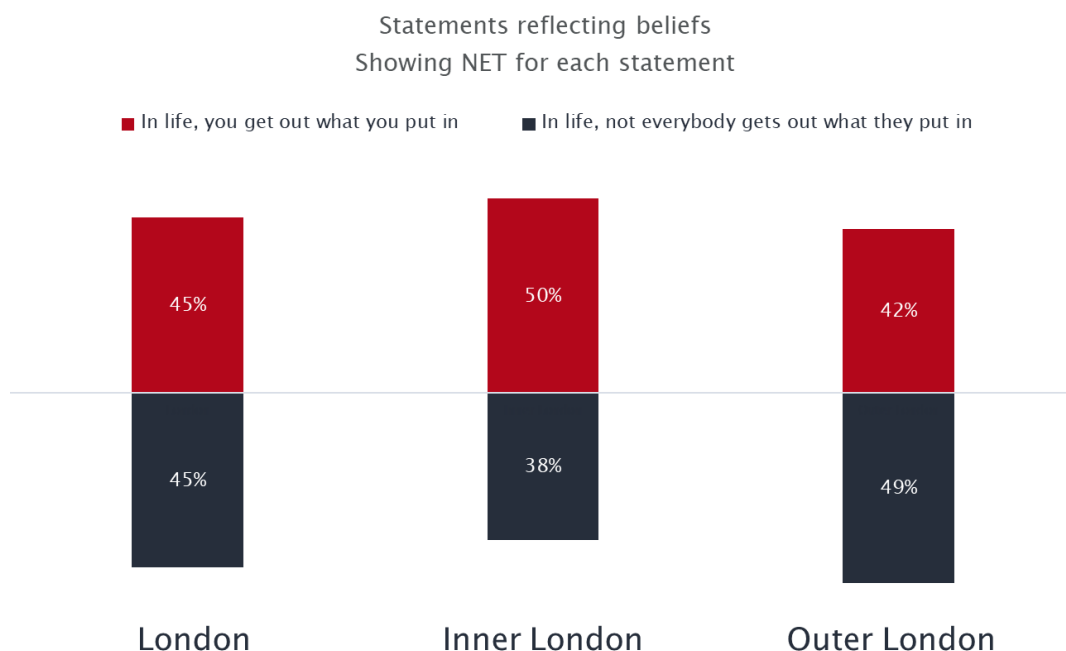
In comparison to focus groups held in the Midlands, respondents in the London qualitative discussions expressed a heightened belief in individual agency, rather than on barriers within society and its structures as a whole. However, this was contradicted at other points in the London discussions, where when confronted with a range of (fictional) case studies, respondents showed greater consideration of societal structures and the unequal influences they hold on life outcomes. This is to be expected given that this segment is conflicted on these issues, but Londoners remain unique for their pronounced initial defence of individual agency.

“If you really are willing to succeed and you have that determination and perseverance within yourself, then you can go as far as you want to.”

London respondent

In addition, findings from the quantitative research, reveal a perfect split in opinion on individual agency in life. Overall, 45% of the conflicted public in London indicated that they believe you get out what you put into life, and 45% indicated that they believe the opposite.

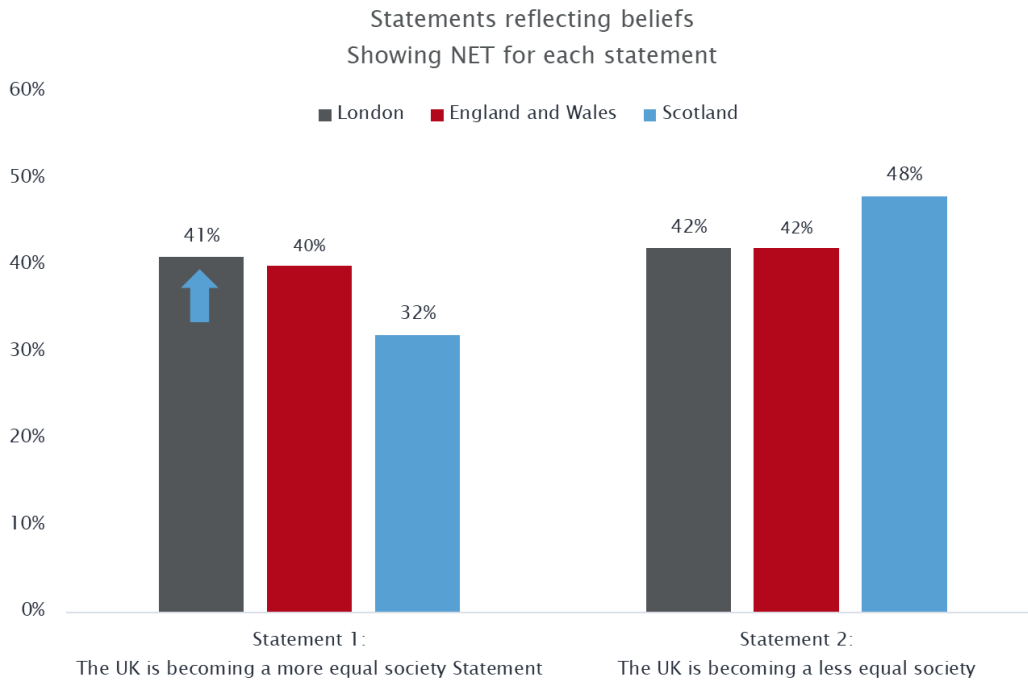
Of particular interest is the significant difference between inner and outer London. 49% of outer Londoners express that ‘in life, not everybody gets out what they put in’. This is true for just 38% of inner Londoners.



Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs. Base: Londoners (n=578); Inner London (n=189), Outer London (n=384)

IS THE UK BECOMING A MORE EQUAL SOCIETY?

Like the rest of the country more widely, Londoners are divided on whether the UK is becoming more or less equal. However, this is notably different to Scotland which is more likely to believe that the UK is becoming less equal.

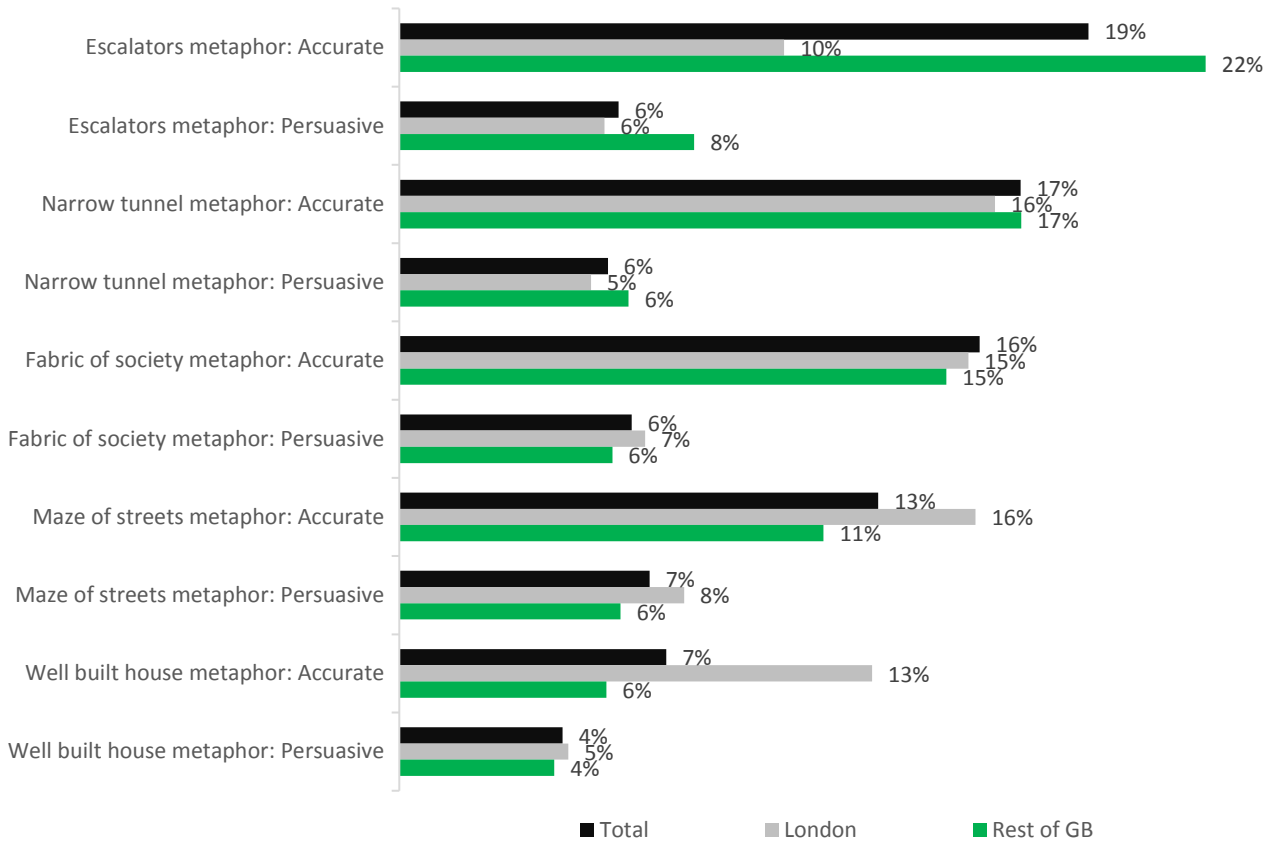


*Q. Please read the following paired statements, and indicate which of the following is closer to your beliefs.
Base: Londoners (n=578); England and Wales (n=2087), Scotland (n=128)*

IDENTIFYING MOTIVATING METAPHORS

The Key Drivers Analysis (KDA) has been conducted among Londoners and non-Londoners to identify which metaphors drive agreement that inequality is structural. The metaphors are a notably weaker driver of the view that inequality is structural among Londoners compared with the rest of GB, indicating that this audience may be more challenging to influence. The “escalators” metaphor, while the most effective driver among most conflicted public audiences, performs less well among Londoners, while the “narrow tunnel”, “fabric of society”, and “maze of streets” metaphors are more effective.

KDA: Drivers of Belief That There Is Inequality In The UK As A Result Of 'The System' And Its Structures



METAPHORS' IMPACT ON VIEWS

As described above, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement to four sets of statements before and after exposure to the tested metaphors in order to identify how effective they were in shifting views on inequality. While not dramatically so, the scores given to the metaphors suggest that London presents a slightly more challenging audience to win over. Following exposure to the metaphors, there was limited impact on Londoners' attitudes towards equality. However, there was a marked upwards shift in the number of inner Londoners that agreed it is fair that everyone has equal chances in life after they had considered the metaphors.



Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Base: Londoners (n=578); Inner London (n=189), Outer London (n=384)

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY

QUALITATIVE DISCUSSION GROUPS

An iterative programme of mini discussion groups was conducted to delve into the viewpoints of the ‘conflicted’ audience. The messages and metaphors which resonated best with these audiences were then developed for the quantitative stage of the project to support new communications approaches on how to best engage these segments and the general public as a whole. An additional discussion group was held with advocates/people with lived experience of inequality to understand how their views aligned and diverged with those of the conflicted segment, and to ensure our developing metaphors were accurate and inclusive.

ComRes adopted an iterative co-creation approach to the discussion groups in which we developed the messages in partnership with the ‘moveable middle’ target audience. Each discussion was followed by a download and development meeting in order to refine and develop the messages tested in light of the participants’ responses in order to feed into the next stage of analysis.

90 minute discussions were conducted, four with the conflicted segment and one with the advocate group. Sutton Coldfield was selected as a mid-range in terms of affluence and urbanisation to avoid attitudinal bias typically seen in locations which are significantly more or less affluent or urbanised than the national average. Equally Ours’ focus for this project is also heavily rooted within London, so the three remaining groups took place in London.

4 to 5 participants were present at each group. Group numbers were limited to enable a detailed discussion of the topics (as opposed to a larger group which is useful for an efficient coverage of many views at a more superficial level), prioritising depth over breadth.

| Location | Segments interviewed in location |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Sutton Coldfield Group One | Conflicted segment |
| Sutton Coldfield Group Two | Conflicted segment |
| London Group One | Advocates |
| London Group Two | Conflicted segment |
| London Group Three | Conflicted segment |

The mini discussion groups focused on four main sections:

- 1. Relating equality to everyday life:** Examples of fictional individuals’ lives were discussed and whether they would be likely to be living the life they want to lead when they are 40. Participants discussed what they understood by protected characteristics or aspects of their background which acted as barriers to what they wanted to achieve in life. Groups also discussed the extent

to which these individuals' lives will be determined by their own efforts. Participants were asked to consider whether they feel these barriers to equality are changing or have changed over the course of their lifetime and whether someone's characteristics have become more or less important.

2. **Causes of inequality:** General discussion over whether inequality exists in Britain and why some people live more comfortably than others. Participants were asked to note down the most obvious signs of inequality they see in their daily lives, testing whether participants acknowledge individual or structural causes of inequality. Groups were given a definition of 'structural inequality' and asked which of the causes they noted are down to individual choices and which might be structural. Society as a whole was discussed and whether inequality was inevitable or if a more equal society might alleviate the effects.
3. **Metaphors and messages:** Participants were asked to consider images or metaphors that first came to mind when discussing structural inequality. Pre-prepared metaphors were then presented and respondents were asked to identify what they liked/disliked and the effect these messages had on them.
4. **Measuring effectiveness:** Participants were asked to order the messages and make improvements where they saw the metaphors were lacking. Inequality was re-presented to participants and they were asked to reconsider what words or terms first came to mind in order to track changes from the beginning of the sessions and the effect the metaphors/messages may have had.

| First draft of message tested in qualitative groups | Final message tested in quantitative study |
|---|---|
| Life is a lottery. Some people are issued winning tickets at birth, and others are issued tickets that don't pay out. It's what you are born into. | Society is like a badly designed maze of streets which we all have to navigate through. But not everyone has an equal chance to get to where they want to go – some people have a GPS, some just have a street map, while some have no map at all. Instead of trying to give everyone better maps, we need to rethink the design of the streets , so we all have a fair chance to get where we want to go. |
| Society is a system – like a central heating system – that no longer works. We need to assess where it is going wrong, diagnose the issue (inequality), and repair it accordingly – so we have fairer distribution. | Society is like a house. A well-built house , well maintained, with sturdy foundations, makes for a safe and comfortable home . If it's badly built and constantly neglected, cracks start to show and the whole structure can fall apart. If we diagnose and repair the core problems of our house, instead of just papering over the cracks, everyone gets an equal chance to thrive and our society is stronger. |
| Equality is like a tailwind, it propels progress. Inequality is like a headwind, it impedes progress. | Living in an unequal society is like some of us riding up escalators to get to where we want to go, while others of us often only have down escalators in our path, and have to run up them. A few will make it, but most of us will be dragged down however hard we try. We need to make sure |

| | |
|--|---|
| | that we all have a fair chance to make it to where we want to get to. |
| Inequality is like a bottleneck standing in the way of disadvantaged groups. We put lots of effort into pushing a small number of people through the bottleneck – but instead we should just widen the bottleneck. | The way society is designed at the moment is like someone built a narrow tunnel road through a mountain . We are all driving different size cars so, while some of us can pass through no problem, some of us have to go a long and winding way round to get where we want to go. Many of us don't make it our final destinations as a result. We should seek to widen the tunnel so that we all have the opportunity to get to where we want to, no matter our differences. |
| Equality strengthens the fabric of society. Our lives are woven together with those of our neighbours and communities. To strengthen the fabric of our society, we must make sure everyone can thrive. | Our lives are woven together with those of our neighbours and communities , but inequality is making the fabric of our society unravel. Instead of scrambling to mend each snag, we should identify why so many of us are struggling, mend our fabric, and strengthen the whole of society. |

QUANTITATIVE SURVEY & KEY DRIVERS ANALYSIS

ComRes surveyed 2,215 adult members of the conflicted segment of the British population between 1st – 10th March 2019. Weights have been applied to the data to both ensure that it is representative of the British population based on age, gender, and also to allow for a boost on London's population for more granular regional insight.

| | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|-----|
| GENDER | Male | 49% |
| | Female | 51% |
| AGE | 18–24 | 11% |
| | 25–34 | 17% |
| | 35–44 | 16% |
| | 45–54 | 18% |
| | 55–64 | 15% |
| | 65+ | 23% |
| REGION | Scotland | 8% |
| | North East | 4% |
| | North West | 10% |
| | Yorkshire and the Humber | 7% |
| | West Midlands | 8% |
| | East Midlands | 6% |
| | Wales | 4% |
| | East | 8% |
| | London | 25% |
| | South East | 12% |
| South West | 7% | |

When interpreting the figures in this report, please note that only statistically significant differences (at the 95% level) are reported and that the effect of weighting is taken into account when significance tests are conducted. Differences are highlighted in the full data tables and calculated as the differences between the subgroup in question and the other subgroups identified – subgroup differences highlighted in the analytical report are therefore always relative to other directly relevant subgroups (e.g. men vs women). Where differences between subgroups and the total sample have been given for any question, this is based on a statistical significance test for the subgroup relative to the total including the subgroup.

A multiple regression analysis has been conducted to model what drives people to consider that there is inequality in the UK as a result of ‘the system’ and its structures. A key benefit from this type of analysis is that it takes into account the effect of multiple factors, rather than simply looking at the relationship of variables in isolation of other characteristics. A model was developed to identify the metaphors which explain how strongly one agrees that there is inequality in the UK as a result of ‘the system’ and its structures.

The colour gradient from red to green represents the relative strength of the driver in comparison to the others listed, within that specific sub-group.

| | TOTAL | | 2017 Labour | | 2017 Conservative | | 2017 Non-Voter | | London | | Rest of GB | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| | Correlation | Relative Importance | Correlation | Relative Importance | Correlation | Relative Importance | Correlation | Relative Importance | Correlation | Relative Importance | Correlation | Relative Importance |
| Model fit | - | 0.181 | - | 0.141 | - | 0.311 | - | 0.234 | - | 0.205 | - | 0.184 |
| “Maze of Streets”: Accuracy | 0.301 | 0.028 | 0.254 | 0.057 | 0.436 | 0.065 | 0.273 | -0.034 | 0.325 | 0.054 | 0.314 | 0.023 |
| “Maze of Streets”: Persuasiveness | 0.252 | 0.012 | 0.168 | -0.020 | 0.343 | -0.032 | 0.291 | 0.086 | 0.275 | 0.001 | 0.259 | 0.010 |
| “Well-Built House”: Accuracy | 0.257 | 0.006 | 0.236 | 0.036 | 0.364 | -0.020 | 0.249 | 0.015 | 0.287 | 0.056 | 0.251 | -0.011 |
| “Well-Built House”: Persuasiveness | 0.232 | 0.023 | 0.152 | -0.003 | 0.337 | 0.063 | 0.243 | 0.035 | 0.220 | 0.011 | 0.227 | 0.025 |
| “Escalators”: Accuracy | 0.328 | 0.066 | 0.266 | 0.073 | 0.473 | 0.071 | 0.285 | 0.113 | 0.286 | 0.039 | 0.364 | 0.072 |
| “Escalators”: Persuasiveness | 0.256 | -0.026 | 0.147 | -0.043 | 0.386 | 0.010 | 0.120 | -0.140 | 0.174 | -0.062 | 0.284 | -0.007 |
| “Narrow Tunnel”: Accuracy | 0.334 | 0.062 | 0.224 | 0.049 | 0.455 | 0.086 | 0.355 | 0.031 | 0.315 | 0.081 | 0.344 | 0.059 |
| “Narrow Tunnel”: Persuasiveness | 0.239 | -0.031 | 0.129 | -0.047 | 0.332 | -0.061 | 0.323 | 0.063 | 0.204 | -0.052 | 0.264 | -0.019 |
| “Fabric of Society”: Accuracy | 0.323 | 0.050 | 0.234 | -0.011 | 0.462 | 0.088 | 0.249 | 0.003 | 0.327 | 0.042 | 0.331 | 0.053 |
| “Fabric of Society”: Persuasiveness | 0.247 | -0.001 | 0.210 | 0.057 | 0.368 | -0.019 | 0.177 | -0.026 | 0.257 | 0.012 | 0.260 | -0.011 |
| Age | -0.015 | 0.003 | 0.072 | 0.005 | -0.055 | 0.002 | 0.006 | 0.002 | -0.064 | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.003 |
| Experienced Inequality | 0.209 | 0.114 | 0.166 | 0.090 | 0.230 | 0.087 | 0.253 | 0.126 | 0.274 | 0.182 | 0.192 | 0.086 |

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