

LABOUR'S

NEXT

A constituency guide

MAJORITY

By Marcus Roberts

Foreword by Sadiq Khan MP

FABIAN
SOCIETY

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Through a wide range of publications and events the society influences political and public thinking, but also provides a space for broad and open-minded debate, drawing on an unrivalled external network and its own expert research and analysis. Its programme offers a unique breadth, encompassing national conferences and expert seminars; periodicals, books, reports and digital communications; and commissioned and in-house research and comment.

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This guide is the product of two decades of campaigning and represents some of the hints and tips I've picked up along the way from countless politicians, organisers and volunteers. I've tried to pass on the best of their wisdom to you.

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Summary

Labour's Next Majority: The 40% strategy, published in 2013, set out Labour's pathway to victory in 2015 with Labour building a new coalition of Labour loyalists, Lib Dem converts, a few Conservative defectors and a chunk of returning non-voters.

This new report goes into more detail on how Labour party organisers and campaigners can work, constituency by constituency, to implement this strategy in practice.

Touching on media, canvassing, community campaigning and fundraising, as well as using a candidate's time most effectively, the report covers the following areas:

1. Working out your win number, establishing your goals for contacting potential voters and promises to vote Labour in your constituency, and calculating the amount of volunteer shifts required to achieve these goals.
2. The distinct roles of candidates, organisers, agents, community organisers and volunteers, and how to get the best out of each member of the campaign.
3. How to use a 'scale of gifts' to implement the most effective fundraising strategy.
4. How to get your campaign's messaging right, by correctly linking the question to which your campaign is the answer and the personal 'brand' of your candidate.
5. Bringing all the components of a campaign together to create a culture of 'respect, empower and include'.

FOREWORD

Sadiq Khan MP

In the hustle and bustle of an election campaign, often the hardest thing is being able to see the wood for the trees. There is never a shortage of tasks to be done - direct mails to deliver, doors to knock on, posters to put up - but the difference between victory and defeat often comes down to how well focused are your efforts. Even the biggest and best resourced campaign fails if resources are deployed in a scattergun approach.

The importance of this for Labour, in comparison to our opposition, cannot be overestimated. We should be under no illusion that the Tories will massively outspend us in 2015 - as they did in 2010. In order to cling to power, their hedge fund backers will throw the kitchen sink at us. And our ideas could struggle to get a fair hearing in the press. Our response should be to make the most out of every single penny and minute we spend on the campaign. We must ensure every leaflet, every volunteer minute and every bit of media time for our candidates has the maximum possible impact. And just as importantly, we must maximise the party's biggest strength - our volunteer army - members and supporters who vastly outnumber our opponents. If we are to win the general election in 2015, it will be because we win the ground campaign.

I was first introduced to the scientific approach to field organising in the aftermath of Barack Obama's 2008 election campaign. For a politician, there is nothing more heartening (or more likely to stave off "candidate-itis") than being able to numerically track progress towards set targets that you are confident will deliver victory on polling day. The approach outlined in this pamphlet was instrumental to me retaining my seat of Tooting in 2010, beating the national swing despite being a top Tory target seat and facing a tide of Ashcroft money. Since then, it is an approach I have championed in every election I have been involved in - from Ed Miliband's leadership campaign to the London local elections this May.

This pamphlet describes an approach to campaigning that is still relatively young in Britain. Every organiser I meet has stories of candidates who insist on 'going with their gut' over what the numbers say. But it is an approach that we now have overwhelming evidence works. We see it in seats that bucked the trend in 2010, like Birmingham Edgbaston, Oxford East and Bethnal Green & Bow and the fact that on average a professional organiser was worth a 3.5 per cent swing to Labour at the 2010 election, to the stunning victories in London boroughs like Redbridge, Croydon and Hammersmith and Fulham in May's local elections.

Labour's local election campaign in London in 2014 was the most professional field campaign in which I have ever been involved. We had more organisers on the ground than at the last general election, all working to individualised 'win numbers' for every ward we were targeting. The recruitment and deployment of volunteers across the capital was superb. We built on the community organising work of Arnie Graf and spent a huge amount

of energy building the capacity we needed to make more than one million contacts over the 2014 campaign. We followed the ideas in this pamphlet - and it worked. We had the best results in London since 1971, gaining 203 councillors and 5 new Labour councils.

This pamphlet is designed to be a step by step guide to running a scientifically targeted and organised campaign. Marcus Roberts has a track record of winning campaigns in Britain, with input from those at the cutting edge of developing and testing these techniques both here and abroad. From developing a win number, to structuring your campaign team, to fundraising, deploying volunteers and using policy and press - it's all tested and it all works.

The national political picture matters hugely, but never underestimate the importance of well organised, local campaigns for affecting the result of a constituency election. I sincerely hope this pamphlet is a useful guide for building yours.

Sadiq Khan MP is shadow London minister & justice secretary

1 INTRODUCTION

Candidates and organisers are inundated with demands to earn more votes and receive endless advice about how to get them. This guide, I'm afraid, is yet another one of those. It has however grown out of requests that the Fabian Society has received from candidates, organisers and activists in Labour-held seats, target seats and seats that have never seen a Labour MP. Its predecessor, 'The 40% strategy',ⁱ was a national strategic guide to the voter pools that could comprise a 40 per cent share of the national vote and thus in all likelihood, a majority for Ed Miliband. But the most common question from candidates and organisers was how to turn that national strategy into a local strategy. They wanted to know how to turn Ed Miliband's message of movement politics into action in their communities. This guide is an attempt to do so.

The job of any parliamentary campaign for 2015 is to achieve a win number - defined simply as the number of votes your opponent is expected to win, plus one. Every action the campaign makes should be dedicated to that task. Scoring more votes than your opponent should be the driving force behind your media, your print materials, your canvassing, your community campaigning and your fundraising. The use of that most precious resource, candidate time, must be overwhelmingly dedicated to this task too. And yet, in the stress, confusion and exhaustion of any election campaign this core proposition can all too easily be forgotten. This guide attempts to remedy that with clear and concise advice on how to gear your campaigning actions towards achieving your win number.

There are three core elements to this: your numbers, your volunteers and your voters. By exploring each in turn, offering concrete advice on actions you can take and suggesting where to go for more detailed help, this guide can help you win.

'The 40% strategy' was published in September 2013. It was a national strategy designed to help Labour win the general election, and advocated the pursuit of the following percentages for a Labour win:

27.5 points of Labour 2010 voters (down just two points from the last general election)

A 6.5 point conversion of ex-Liberal Democrats from the 2010 election

A five point addition of new and non-voters

A one point conversion of Conservative 2010 voters to Labour

On a national scale, this challenge looks daunting indeed. But when viewed in constituency terms it is eminently possible. Why? Because each point of national vote is roughly equivalent in the average target seat to four hundred votes. For example, a one point flip of Conservative to Labour voters translates to roughly 400 Conservative converts. A 6.5 point Lib Dem

to Labour conversion is about 2600 votes, while a five point new and non-voters boost is roughly a thousand first time voters plus about a thousand people who sat out the 2010 election.

In each constituency, your win number will vary, with some seats finding a win number at less than 40 per cent of the vote, and others at more. In each seat, campaigns will need to pursue different coalitions of voters to achieve their ends. As ever, the key is to establish your individual win number and a bespoke path to achieving it.

Once you've established all of your numbers, you can then work out how many volunteers will be needed, working how many shifts, in each ward, to achieve your desired targets. Parallel to this, you can then gear local press efforts and community campaigning actions towards the different areas or voter groups that are your priority. This guide helps you do that.

This approach differs from a general call to simply have more volunteers speaking to more voters across the whole constituency. In contrast, this strategy places a huge importance on targeting, and how it helps you achieve a variety of milestones to make your win number. It also helps you choose a type of community campaigns to suit your location. For example, in areas of high non-voter concentration or UKIP threat, you may choose to spend longer on the doorstep, whilst in high turnout, high Labour areas, you can move door-to-door more quickly.

Whilst this approach can sound quite mechanical, it is vital to keep in mind the underlying purpose of these efforts. The Labour party exists to bring change. We organise to bring that change about in our communities, our constituencies and our country. Sometimes we do that with the smallest of actions like a neighborhood litterpick and sometimes we do it at the grandest level by picking a prime minister. But the golden thread that runs through all of this is the relationship between organising and bringing about real change. And there are amazing Labour campaigners who excel at either turning out the vote or running community campaigns. This guide is an attempt to show how the two approaches can complement one and other. Properly understood, community campaigning grows volunteer numbers, wins back voters' trust and can even help persuade voters to turn out. But that kind of campaigning won't win if it isn't strongly tied to a 'get out the vote' strategy (GOTV) and thus the election of Labour's candidates.

Instead of just firing scatter gun by getting out as many volunteers to reach as many doors as possible and hoping for the best, work towards a set of win numbers and check your progress against them. This gives you greater control of the election, and offers insight into how far you've come and exactly how far you need to go to win. Please do enjoy the reading, give me feedback, and good luck!

2 THE NUMBERS

As mentioned above, your win number is very simply the number of votes you think your main opponent will get plus one. Working out your win number can feel a lot more like art than science. Or guess work rather than maths. After all, you're being asked to predict not only how many votes you think Labour can get a year in advance of the election, but also how many votes your chief rival will get. Obviously, this is why you need to build in a margin of error. The Labour party will be offering advice this summer on how to calculate your win number, but in the meantime the following tips might be helpful.

The best way to explain how to devise your win number is by example. Let's take Chatham and Aylesford. In 2010 the Conservative candidate received 20,230 votes and the Labour candidate received 14,161 votes, for a Conservative majority of 6,069. Thus a basic starting point is to presume the Labour win number is 20,231 (one more vote than the Conservative candidate received in 2010). From there, we also need to include margin of error, incumbency, the UKIP effect and churn.

Let's take churn first. Churn is the shift of voters between elections that occurs as some voters die, some move out of the constituency, and new voters move into the constituency or turn 18 before election day. Demographic churn rates for your constituency can be found for your constituency by consulting Contact Creator (and you should consider them at the ward level for even more accuracy).

The incumbency bonus is the estimated number of extra votes an MP gains during their time in parliament deriving from their constituency work, local media profile and campaigning efforts. Intuitively it makes sense that an MP can gain more votes with their elected profile than an opposition candidate who does not have a formal position in the constituency. Academic studies estimated the value of incumbency at the 2010 election to be between two and four percent.ⁱⁱ To estimate the value of your opponent's incumbency, simply compare and contrast the local media profile and campaigning activity of the incumbent candidate with that of your own candidacy. The closer you are to media parity, the greater your campaigning efforts (especially direct voter contact rather than leafleting) and the longer your candidate and campaign has been active, the more likely you are to keep the incumbency boost to two points or even less.

To help give you a guide about how much you can compensate for the incumbency factor, ask the following questions **in comparison to your main opponent**:

- How long has your candidate been campaigning?
- How frequently have they been campaigning?
- What kind of campaigning are you doing?

How many volunteers are routinely active?
How strong is your local press profile?
How popular/effective is the local council and who is in control?

Of course, if your local MP has made a fool of themselves, there is such a thing as negative incumbency. But if you believe that - despite differences in politics - your local MP is popular and effective, then it's best to assume three points of incumbency as a rule of thumb. Remember that each point is roughly equivalent to 400 votes.

Now we come to the UKIP effect. Let's be conservative in our estimate and presume that UKIP only double their support from 2010 to 2015 from 3.5 per cent to seven per cent nationally. Bearing in mind our 'one point equals 400 votes' rule, this is equivalent to a 1400 vote increase in the average battleground constituency. Polling analysisⁱⁱⁱ indicates that roughly 50 per cent of UKIP's growth comes from Labour and Conservative 2010 voters. The internal division of this, rounding up, is nearly 10 per cent from Labour and 40 per cent from Conservatives. So for every 1,000 votes that UKIP gains on average, one hundred will be from Labour 2010 voters, 400 from Conservative 2010 voters and 500 from other sources (LibDems, BNP, non-voters, and so on).

So what does this mean in practice? You have to start by finding your 2010 UKIP vote. In Chatham and Ayelsford, that was 1,314 votes, or three per cent. Adjusting this to seven per cent, means adding four points or 1600 votes. Eight hundred of these come from Labour and Conservative 2010 voters, on a 4:1 ratio. That means the Labour 2010 vote will likely decrease by 160 votes whilst the Conservative 2010 vote will likely decrease by 640 votes.

UKIP HEALTH AND SAFETY WARNING

Analysis of UKIP voter patterns indicates that UKIP have a higher than average effect against Labour in coastal constituencies and non-metropolitan seats and seats where a blue collar Labour vote is strong. If these conditions apply to your seat, you should be more pessimistic in your estimation of the Labour 2010 to UKIP defection rate.

Finally, we come to margin of error. After you have accounted for demographic churn, Conservative to Labour switchers, incumbency and the UKIP effect, you should add at least 500 and preferably 1,000 votes on top of your win number to take into account potential mistakes in your calculations. So let's work out the final win number for Chatham and Aylesford:

Conservative 2010 vote plus one (20,231)
Con 2010 to Lab 2015 conversion (-400)
Incumbency (+1200)
UKIP effect (-640)

Having established your own number, there are three paths open to you to achieving it in field terms. The first is the industrial strategy. In this model, you would seek to canvass a number of Labour promises of at least equal to, or greater than, the size of your win number, and then turn out these voters during the voting period. The second is the targeting model in which instead of blanket canvassing the constituency trawling for Labour voters, a combina-

tion of Mosaic (commercial consumer data software that can be used to target specific types of voters) and recent election results allows you to direct your resources at those voters most likely to be positively influenced by your campaign in turnout terms. Finally, there is the selective contact model, which is what the overwhelming number of CLPs are forced to use due to a lack of either volunteer numbers, money, data or time. In this model, there is a danger that the effort to achieve the win number is more ad hoc than planned, and the election can be lost.

There is little value in exploring options one and three in great detail. The industrial strategy probably involves too much money and volunteers for most seats, and the latter is what many CLPs feel they have no choice but to do because of a lack of volunteers and money. But when you send people out without a clear understanding of which voters they are pursuing for what reasons and to what effect, then you are campaigning in the dark. If we send six canvassers out on a Saturday morning without a strategy, we are just making ourselves feel good that we did 'something'. We waste their time when we don't optimise it. Thousands of volunteers already generously give their time and talents to Labour; the very least we can do is ensure their time is used to the best effect.

EXPERIMENT!

From mass emails to phone bank scripts and fundraising asks, 'test everything' should be your motto. An easy way of doing this is to organize your actions into two phases – a testing phase and an application phase.^{iv} In the testing phase, divide your email scripts or asks in half, and test one method with group A and another with group B. The variables could be as simple as a difference in subject header line, or as complicated as both the nature and content of the request. See which group performs better, and then apply that method to your wider contact pool for the application phase. This can be a great task for your more numbers-minded volunteers.

So let's explore option two, the targeting model, in detail. This model presumes that high turnout voters who are highly likely to vote Labour are low priority targets. High priority targets are low turnout, highly likely Labour voters plus high turnout likely persuadable voters of other parties. To establish this, consider your existing voter ID (drawn from Contact Creator reports) combined with past election results (both parliamentary and council) and bolstered by favourable Mosaic codes (see appendix 2.2 for more on likely favourable codes). This information should be considered first at the constituency level, and then broken down by each of your wards.

Depending on the quality and quantity of existing voter ID, it is advisable to value more highly data gathered from 2008 onwards (for example, after Labour's poll collapse following the financial crash). Of course CLPs with very little data - say less than 8,000 Labour promises remaining since then - may need to cast their net wider than that.

Next, when it comes to adding favourable Mosaic groups drawn from Contact Creator it is strongly advised to carry out sampling efforts in which phone bankers or canvassers verify the general level of accuracy of the Mosaic codes in question, making sure for instance, that voters in area that are supposedly Labour, actually are responding that way. This is because Mosaic data, whilst a good indicator of voting intention, is just that: an indicator not

a guarantee. People may be of a type that often votes Labour, but there may be local factors which have altered the probability of them actually voting Labour where you are. For example, there could be a particularly well dug-in opposition councillor in that ward or the last Labour MP took an unpopular decision which had a big impact with that group of voters. That's why it's good to use Mosaic as a guide but to check its accuracy through direct voter contact.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROMISES AND CONTACTS

A good rule of thumb is that your promise rate should be roughly 40 per cent of your contact rate. The higher it is than this, the more likely your promise data is unreliable (unless you truly think you're heading for a landslide!). Use this 40 per cent rule of thumb to work out your likely contact rate targets in line with your required promise goals on both a constituency and a ward level basis.

Wards

Once you have a target of Labour promises at the constituency level, you have to break it down by ward. First establish the gap between your current number of promises and your win number. Next, divide that number by the number of wards in your constituency. This will then give you the average number of promises per ward. Next you can divide up your wards into strong, weak and middle based on three variables. The size of the ward, your existing contact rate and your existing promise rate. There is the most room for growth above the average number of new promises you are hoping to obtain from each ward where you are dealing with a large ward, with a low contract rate and a high promise rate. Conversely small wards with high contact rates and low promise rates have little room for growth. Having categorised your wards on this basis, then adjust your targets of additional contacts and additional promises accordingly. Many organisers find this most helpful to deal with in round number of blocks of 500 voters. As such think of adding 500 promises to your weaker ward targets and 1500 to your stronger wards and 1,000 promises to your middle wards. Your stronger wards will balance out your weaker wards. This is in keeping with the campaigning axiom that you win by 'running up the score where you are strong, keeping it closer than expected where you're weak and edging the middle.'

For example, imagine a constituency in which you are 10,000 promises short of your target and there are 10 wards. On average you would need to add 1,000 promises per ward. But in reality you would likely group your even wards into strong, weak and middle. Your three strong wards are prioritised for extracting an additional 1500 promises each, whilst you only speak an additional promises per ward from your three weaker wards. Your four middle ranked wards are each expected to produce an additional 1,000 promises.

Volunteers

Having established your constituency and ward contact and promise goals, you need to work out the amount of volunteer shifts required to achieve these goals. First take the ward targets and presume that one volunteer can contact six voters per hour. That's 12 voters contacts over the course of a two

hour canvassing session. If we assume a 40 per cent promise rate, that should produce roughly four promises for every two hour session. Then divide your target promise number by four. That gives you the number of two hour volunteer shifts that are needed to deliver your target promise rate. For example, if you need 10,000 promises, dividing that by four means that you need 2,500 volunteer shifts to be completed to hit your target. Our contact rate rule of thumb is that this will translate to roughly 6250 contacts.

It is helpful to plan in terms of volunteer shifts rather than volunteer numbers on the simple grounds that in any CLP some volunteers will attend more sessions in any given month than others. When planning canvassing sessions, organisers are well advised to set session times at least two and a half hours to allow for travelling, briefing and debrief time whilst maintaining the integrity of the actual two hour shift. When you consider how volunteer promise and contact rate calculations are premised on the bedrock of an actual two hour session of work you can see why proper time tabling is so important. As usual, explaining the reason for this change and the rationale underpinning it will help volunteers adjust and see themselves as part of the bigger picture which helps motivation. This is why training matters so much: better organisation, less faffing, and more contacts.

TARGETING TIPS

- After the 2014 European/local elections, check the marked register against your Labour promises to identify which voters didn't show, and prioritise them for more contact and postal vote registration.
- Resist the instinct to contact high turnout, high likely Labour voters and pursue instead high turnout, persuadable voters and low turnout high likely Labour voters.
- Always assign your most detail-focused data entry volunteers to the task of inputting the marked register to Contact Creator. This is one of the most important tools in aiding your targeting decisions.
- It may sound counterintuitive, but in a day's canvassing it may be better to cycle around the same streets twice rather than to go to new areas. That way, you're more likely to catch people when they're in, and you can build up a concentration of voters in a particular area that is richer and easier to turn out on election day.
- Once you reach the GOTV stage, treat every day from the opening of postal voting as election day itself. Use this early vote period to drive up turnout amongst your low turnout, high likely Labour voter pool. The party's MembersNet Postal Vote GOTV campaign planning webinar is particularly helpful on this <http://members.labour.org.uk/training-listings>

To ensure your voter contact efforts have the maximum chance of persuading and increasing turnout, aim to concentrate a variety of contacts in a short space of time rather than spreading them out over a long period of time. This is because GOTV studies have shown the value of concentrated voter contact over dispersed voter contact. In practice, this means a doorstep conversation, followed by a direct mail, followed by a leaflet all in a short space of time, even if this means that the voter in question then goes uncontacted for a long period of time.^{vi}

It's also important to use the forms of voter contact that maximise effectiveness. There is more than two decades of academic data on this. At the top of the tree is face to face contact between the candidate and the voter. This is followed by face to face contact between a neighbour and a voter, then face to face contact between a local volunteer and a voter. Each of these methods

can be expected to improve the likelihood of that voter voting for your party by at least two per cent and perhaps by as much as eight per cent. In contrast, phone calls are likely to only increase voter turnout by 1-2 per cent and the use of leaflets by less than one per cent.^v

Finally, it could be worth taking inspiration from George Osborne. His Tatton constituency enjoys 96 per cent turnout amongst registered postal voters. This is testament to the political machine Osborne has built. Use this example to build your own postal vote machine that guarantees your candidate victory even in advance of election day itself.

3 THE PEOPLE

Candidate

The candidate is the centre of gravity. Whilst organisers and agents may joke that the candidate is little more than the 'legal necessity', in reality, the candidate is the most effective tool we have in persuading voters, talking to the media and raising money. As such, the most precious commodity a campaign possesses is candidate time. The expenditure of this time should be considered with as great care and intent towards strategy as the campaign's actual financial budget.

The candidate has three functions. Strategic decision maker, moral arbiter and political athlete. Let us consider each in turn. Their role as strategic decision maker means that the very, very big decisions about the campaign must ultimately come down to the candidate's preference. These include the appointment of the campaign manager, the recruitment of the organiser and the message of the campaign. By ensuring clarity from the outset on these matters and by appointing people to the key roles of campaign manager and organiser who have the implicit trust of the candidate, the candidate's time can be freed from the implementation of the strategic decisions made at the outset of the campaign. This will minimise the need to waste candidate time in campaign operations whilst maximising candidate time on bigger goals. This role should consume no more than five per cent of the candidate's total time, most of which should be spent at the very beginning of the campaign so that big decisions are in place early on.

Some operational decisions in the campaign should remain the purview of the candidate. For example, the decision about the level of negativity towards an opponent, the lines of attack in printed materials and any similar decision that could have lasting reputational effects upon the candidate must involve the candidate. They must have final say on how far to push, push back or pull back. Campaigns are fraught with ethical decisions, from who to accept money from to how to best present the candidate's personal history to the electorate. The candidate must possess a strong moral compass to help guide them through these decisions in which right competes against right and wrong competes against wrong. This is what it means to be a moral arbiter. Again, this should take no more than five per cent of the candidate's time. Remember, though, that while candidates should have a major say in the organisation of their own seats, they need to bear in mind the aims of regional and national campaign too.

Being a political athlete is the mainstay of the candidate's job. At least 90 per cent of candidate time should be spent on the following tasks: stakeholder management (ensuring the buy-in of key people in the campaign, both within and without the formal structures – so not just the campaign committee and CLP officers, but trade union allies, community group leaders, local media editors and so on); fundraising (building relationships with donors, making

hard asks for money, headlining fundraising events and so on); direct voter contact (canvassing, phone banking, street stalls, personal correspondence to voters and so on); media coverage (weekly press releases, bilateral communication with journalists, letter writing to local papers, comments on local news events and radio call ins); community campaigning (cooperating with council candidates and community leaders to deliver local change such as fighting for the living wage, campaigning against payday lenders and so on). Some candidates find it helpful to review all of these functions at the end of the week to check what they have achieved and whether they are using their time effectively. For example, candidates should be spending more time on fundraising than on writing copy for leaflets.

Being a strong political athlete is not just a political task, but requires enormous physical and psychological strength as well. Like any athlete, muscles must be exercised, training must be continuous and the criticism of almost everyone they encounter is to be expected. On no one else's shoulders does so much of the campaign rest.

Some might question why so much responsibility in this model is given to the candidate. But campaign professionals must remember that as much as their political lives are shaped by the outcome of the candidate's election, the candidate's entire life is shaped by the result. Ultimately even the most expert of campaigners has to accept that it is the candidate's name on the ballot paper, not their own, and thus if the candidate truly wishes to make an appalling decision, it is their right to do so even in the face of strong respectful dissent. However, this doesn't mean that the candidate should be managing everything. Indeed, this model rests on the candidate making a small number of big decisions at the outset. And if the professionals appointed by the candidate are strongly counselling in one direction, the candidate would be well advised to take their advice. Even so, in those exceptional circumstances when an impasse on a matter of deep significance is reached, the candidate has the right to make the wrong decision, just as the campaign manager had the right to formally note their dissent. Professionalism in the campaign should mean that this shouldn't be considered the end of a relationship.

CANDIDATE-ITIS

'Candidate-itis' occurs when a candidate becomes so obsessed with the campaign that they start encroaching on responsibilities of the campaign group or becomes self-absorbed to the detriment of the strategic goals of the campaign. Sadly, sometimes even that sane, capable and kind person who won the selection can stop seeing the wood for the trees. It most commonly manifests itself in a fixation over the importance of an individual bureaucratic function (such as demanding a daily organiser update by Gantt chart), or a fixation upon a particular voter pool ("The entire election will come down to.... Single Dads with three male children!") or else a paranoia about a particular rumour or perceived media vendetta.

Often candidate-itis is caused by the pain candidates feel at the disconnect between what they thought their job as candidate was meant to be (making big speeches, appearing on Newsnight and drafting legislation) and the reality of candidacy (hours of doorknocking in the rain, a constant hunt for new donors and the absolute necessity of smiling at a volunteer no matter what mood you're in).

Organiser

If the candidate is 'front of house', the organiser leads at the back of the house. It is one of the most crucial roles and must be recruited at the very beginning of any campaign. Organisers are always asked to do too much: they are expected to manage the candidate, recruit and train volunteers, design and print materials, fix broken risograph machines, manage quarrelling CLP factions, be fluent in Contact Creator and much more besides. This job is clearly impossible, which is why the best organisers divide their responsibilities across a strong network of highly engaged, highly skilled volunteers. Some of the best organisers in the business are in fact those who are capable of creating a list of tasks ranging from the technical to the strategic on any given day of the campaign, putting a name next to each task and managing the delivery of those tasks. This is not to say that the organiser should not have technical competence across all of these areas – of course they must, because they must be capable of helping and training candidates and volunteers, plan the work and be able to check the work is done properly. If, for example, an organiser chooses to delegate the development of voter targeting strategy, they must themselves have a strong enough understanding to question the assumptions, interrogate the data and understand the response they hear back. They must be able to help their colleagues plan their work, check their work and add value in between. In short, organisers grow the capacity of the CLP by developing leaders and assisting everyone in almost every aspect of their work.

There are two key qualities that any organiser needs. Skill with people, and skill with numbers. Skill with people comes with the form of a combination of charm, cajole and ability to convince others to do the task required, be it an extra canvassing shift on a busy Saturday or the design of half a dozen different ward-specific leaflets to a tight deadline. Skill with numbers is needed to make the most of the volunteers. An organiser needs to understand how your win number drives all decision making in the campaign giving you metrics by which to judge progress. It could be voter contact numbers, fundraising goals or comparisons of favourable media coverage between your candidates' and your opponents. Of course most organisers tend to be more inclined towards skill with people at one end or with numbers at the other. The most important point is that organisers are willing to skill up and are as willing to accept training themselves as they are to recommend it to others.

An organiser can take comfort in by remembering one thing: they don't need to be the constituency's expert on the subject of people or numbers. They must simply have a strong understanding of the importance of both areas, a flexibility of working and an ease with collaborating with people who have more expertise.

Campaign manager

The campaign manager has responsibility for ensuring that the campaign's operations are in pursuit of its strategic goals, monitors progress towards those goals, practices limited line management responsibility over the organiser and helps relieve the candidate of some of the burdens of leadership. As such it is imperative that this person has both the trust of the candidate and also the respect of key stakeholders. They should conceive of their role as less that of an executive, and more as a coordinator of the activities and responsibilities of others. Whilst the organiser is charged with delivery, the campaign manager

is responsible for overseeing all the different elements of the campaign – from candidate to agent; organiser to message; and fundraising to voter contact.

Agent

The agent is the legal authority of the campaign, and is a position well suited to a details orientated, legally inclined, dot-the-i's-and-cross-the-t's personality. From their name on the imprint of every printed material to their election night vote counting responsibilities, they are where the buck stops. Even the candidate must answer to the agent on matters of campaign law, including fundraising. See the Labour party's official guidance for more information on this vital responsibility <http://members.labour.org.uk/elections>.

Campaign group

This should consist of the candidate, campaign manager, organiser, the agent and key volunteers. It would include someone who can act as the go-between for the parliamentary campaign and the party's formal structures. It should also include council campaign representation. This group should be the sovereign decision-making body of the parliamentary campaign and should meet at least fortnightly. The group's utility lies not just in coordination and strategy but in mediating conflicts between key players within a formal structure whose decisions are binding. All members must agree to these terms at the foundation of the group. Naturally, sub-groups should exist beyond this committee, but their decisions are ultimately subject to ratification, amendment or rejection by this group.

Volunteers

The Labour party has greatly benefited from volunteers leafleting and canvassing voters. But great campaigns take the time to explore the sheer breadth and depth of the talent of their activists and make use of them accordingly. From one-to-one interviews with new activists to online skill surveys of existing volunteers, the campaign can get the most out of its people whilst also providing a more fulfilling experience to the volunteers themselves. What's more, in terms of the crude self-interest felt by many organisers, ("just give me more people to doorknock"), volunteers who feel valued for more than just their time on the doorstep are more likely to then give more time for the doorstep. You have got to respect people's ability to do other things if you want them to dedicate more time to the campaign. Letting a volunteer do a different activity can feel like a cost in terms of voter contact time, but it can actually encourage them to participate more overall, increasing your contact rate overall.

Too often data entry volunteers are an afterthought. A task for those volunteers unwilling or unable to canvas or leaflet. But the reality is that the accurate and speedy translation of canvas returns is crucial to a good campaign. For example in 2010 in Birmingham Edgbaston organiser Caroline Badley credits the swift processing and accurate analysis of voter ID as key to helping identify those voters who were doubtful for Labour but supported Gisela Stuart personally. These voters were treated as a separate

voter segment to the rest of the “don’t knows”. Data entry volunteers should be valued accordingly and encouraged to feedback the patterns they detect in canvass returns to campaign decision makers.

Media group volunteers play two key roles. The first is monitoring all main local media channels, be they print, radio, TV or online. They should compare and contrast campaign and opponent coverage and reporting back on at least a weekly basis. The second is to form a response group, mostly in the letters pages of local newspapers but also to write in the comments section of websites and by calling in to radio talk shows. This role is often suited to retired members who have more time, but it's important to have a diverse group to respond a diverse range of issues. Finally it's important to have a leader of the group to ensure good coordination and to prevent confusion.

Candidate's kitchen cabinet

Most candidates begin their campaigns with a group of trusted friends and family who they want to involve in the campaign. These people have valuable insight into the core motivations of their candidate, their strengths and weaknesses, and can often deliver unpalatable truths to the candidate far more easily than staff and volunteers. However, the longer the campaign runs on, and the closer election day draws near, it is often the case that the candidate depends less on the kitchen cabinet and more on campaign professionals. But it is a mistake for the organiser and campaign manager to allow the kitchen cabinet to fade out. If a candidate is suffering from ‘candidate-itis’ (see page 10) and needs a holiday or is overly negative, then it's important to use the kitchen cabinet as the channel by which constructive criticism and suggestive course corrections can be offered. What's more, organisers and campaign managers can be assured that at the campaign's stressful moments in which the candidate is in conflict with the campaign professionals it is to this group that the candidate turns. Smart organisers and campaign managers manage this problem pre-emptively by maintaining good relations and a steady flow of information to the candidate's broader network of friends and family and organising quarterly or even monthly weekend meetings to this effect.

Candidate support

A volunteer or small number of volunteers should be recruited, trained and entrusted with specific functions to assist the candidate in using their time efficiently. These functions include diary management, handling administrative correspondence, handling casework, helping with visits, transport etc. For example, on visits to local employers or charities the candidate should be accompanied by a volunteer who can take photos, get coffee and generally support the candidate on location. The candidate would be well advised to also seek political advice and/or emotional support from a regular mentor, who may well be drawn from their kitchen cabinet or whose help is sought on a private basis.

4 THE MONEY

More often than not fundraising determines budget. But more successful campaigns do this the other way round with implications for the scale of their ambition that greatly increase their chances of success. Simply put, a campaign should develop three budget scenarios: an ambitious, middling and minimum, but it should organise its fundraising activities towards the first not the last. Great care should always be taken to ensure money is only ever taken from permissible donors and is properly declared (see <http://members.labour.org.uk/treasurers-and-donations> for more information on legal matters).

In budget terms, the priority should be first on a full time paid organiser dedicated to one constituency alone. Precious money donations should always be prioritised towards people over print materials in line with the evidence that demonstrates the superior efficacy of person-to-person contact over leaflets. Wherever possible, the supply of print materials should be secured on an in-kind, but obviously declared, basis from friendly trade unions.

After organiser and campaign hard costs have been covered (website, any rental costs, unavoidable print costs, technological costs, equipment, and so on) the campaign would be well advised to embrace tactics like hiring part time field organisers with responsibility for specific target wards or voter groups. The campaign could even hire voter ID phone bank operations from the Labour party's national contact centre or even private pollsters that make this service available.

To establish the breakdown of donations that will deliver these goals, a scale of gifts is useful. This is simply a fundraising chart that breaks down the number of donations required of what scale and the number of prospects that should be pursued in order to obtain them. Parliamentary campaigns often cost roughly £40,000 over the course of a year - covering organiser salary, some print costs and basic IT. See the sample breakdown, known in fundraising as a 'scale of gifts', below.

Scale of gifts

Gift size	Number of gifts required	Donor prospects needed (3:1 prospect:donor ratio)	Total
£10,000	1	3	£10,000
£5,000	2	6	£10,000
£2,500	4	12	£10,000
£1,000	5	15	£5,000
>£1,000	Many	Many	£5,000

The first step in achieving your fundraising goals is to go through the candidate's contact list in both address book and mobile phone, assigning a number next to each name that is the maximum amount possible that the candidate believes that person is capable of giving. Note that this number is not the maximum amount the candidate feels comfortable with asking for and that this process should not occur with the candidate unsupervised. Next, emails should be dispatched in the candidate's name requesting a mixture of phone calls and face to face meetings at which the candidate asks for the donation. The smaller amounts can be requested by email alone. This methodology can then be repeated with all the campaign's main stakeholders to grow the donor pool. Remember that the option always exists to request a monthly donation as a standing order instead of a one-off payment. This is often a useful means of securing a larger amount of money, albeit spread over a longer period of time.

Campaign fundraising events traditionally risk serving as potential black holes of organiser time, volunteer management and misuse of candidate contacts. To guard against this, the campaign committee should be clear that only events with the right balance of time to cash trade off are pursued. As a rule, campaign fundraising events should seek to raise at least £3,000 in clear profit in order to be worthwhile. This is not to say that smaller events will not occur or are not useful for the purposes of broader CLP morale, but these events should not be confused with the actual fundraising plan to deliver tens of thousands of pounds. Some candidates have found it can be more effective to organise a small dinner at several hundred pounds a head instead of a large event at a low cost. Equally, some campaigns have found that small-scale regular events (such as a monthly curry club) can be easy to organise and are a valuable source of reliable income.

GOOD PRACTICE FUNDRAISING

- 1) Expect face to face asks to enjoy a 50 per cent success rate, phone asks a one in three success and un-personalised written asks as little as one per cent.
- 2) Specify what the donation is for, remembering that donors are particularly keen to give towards organiser or digital costs, rather than basic leaflets.
- 3) When asking, use a hard number, not a range, and in your ask, end with the number, then wait in silence for as long as it takes to get an answer. For example; "...and that's why, Mr. Stark, I'd like you to make a generous donation the building of our website for £500 please."
- 4) Say thank you! Always follow-up with your donors through emails, texts and especially hand written notes. With larger donors be sure to give quarterly updates as to how their money is helping your campaign.
- 5) Remember that guest speakers at fundraising events shouldn't just be used for the event alone. Whether it's a high profile politician or a local celebrity be sure to get them to make local site visit and issue a press release in line with your messaging strategy.

Digital campaigning

In terms of your website, Facebook, Twitter and other digital tools, the amount of money raised is a less effective target than the number of donors. Aim to convert say 100 of your website visitors, Facebook friends, Twitter followers etc, into donors at any level to your campaign. Use the traditional public fundraising thermometer to track your progress towards the number of donors rather than the number of money raised, and later seek to cultivate and grow this pool with additional fundraising drives, usually on a one off basis asking for specific amounts as small as £3, £5, £10 or £20.^{vii}

5 THE MESSAGING

Effective messaging in a campaign fulfils three different requirements: the question to which your campaign is the answer; the brand of your candidate; and how the two link together. It is this linkage that is the essence of messaging.

Remember messaging should serve your win number. Elections aren't decided by who received the most positive press. Rather they are decided by which candidate got the most votes. As obvious as this may sound, you must bear this in mind, when planning your communications activities. Social media, press releases and local news coverage should all be geared towards turning out those voters that you need to win. In practice this means promoting to the press those activities that reinforce your brand, attract volunteers and funding and - finally - help secure your control of The Question that voters ask to which your candidate is the answer.

The veteran campaigner Kirsty McNeill describes the communication aspect of campaigns as essentially a struggle to control the question voters ask as they cast their ballot. Control of this question in terms that are favourable to your candidate should therefore secure you a greater measure of support than would otherwise be the case. For example, your opponent may be trying to frame the whole election around the question "Who is the most local candidate?" whilst your campaign wants voters to ask "Who is best placed to deliver the change the constituency needs?" This war for control of the question is fought through local media, doorstep conversations, community meetings and every other means by which the candidate and the campaign communicates with voters. Your progress in this struggle can be judged by both the tone and content of local press, as well as the balance and intensity of voter feedback at everything from town halls to phone bank survey work.

The second matter to be established is candidate brand. The first step towards this is identifying the type of candidacy, which is almost always one of the following five:

1. Local: Tells the voter the reason they should vote for the candidate is because the candidate shares their experience of living in their area and therefore shares their concerns. Example: Sarah Wollaston.

2. Change: These candidates tell the electorate that they are the ones most likely to deliver meaningful change in the community. Example: Barack Obama.

3. Experience: The candidate's track record makes them best placed to hold the responsibility of elected office. Example: Angela Merkel.

4. Fighter: The candidate is a champion who frames themselves as best placed to defend the voters' interests in the face of those that would do them harm. Example: Ken Livingstone.

5. Maverick: The candidate's reputation for independence and going their own way makes them the favourite of the constituency. But be careful; it's sometimes easier to declare yourself a maverick than to actually pull it off successfully. Example: Jon Cruddas.

In planning your campaign, the campaign group should discuss and decide the following questions:

- What is this campaign about?
- Who is leading it?
- Why do they care?
- Why should they win?

This should be formally laid out in a brand document that can then inform social media strategy, press, print materials and so on. Be sure to ensure consistency of message as well as maintaining the authentic voice of your candidate.

THE ROLE OF POLICY

Whilst you may not have a say in what national policies are, the campaign group should decide on which national policies they wish to emphasise for electoral advantage in your constituency. By listening to your voters' concerns, you can select whether to stress cost of living crisis, more affordable housing or childcare. As ever, take care to ensure your policy choice matches your candidate brand. For example, a Local candidate shouldn't use a national statistical target like Labour's commitment to build 200,000 houses nationally. On the other hand, a Fighter candidate can embrace Labour's energy price freeze to stand up to the energy giants, whilst a Change candidate can express breaking up the energy companies.

STORYTELLING

Mary Hough, editor of www.mybarackobama.com, says: "Don't be afraid to put members' voices at the heart of what you are trying to achieve. Look to the hard work and dedication that's going on in constituencies every day, and shine a light on it. Recruit new volunteers by telling the story of existing volunteers. Increase turnout at canvasses by telling the story of successful canvasses across the country. Raise money by telling the story of how that money will help build the party. Make the case for your policies by making the case for what they mean to ordinary people."^{viii}

Having established the question the campaign wants voters to ask come election day, and the brand of your candidate, the campaign must now bring these two together to win the messaging war. Bear in mind that your efforts will be in indirect or direct conflict with the efforts of all your opponents. As such, consistency and clarity in framing the question and building the brand is imperative. This should inform anything the voters hear or read from the campaign. It's essential to take great care, significant time and intense cross examination of your messaging strategy at the outset of the campaign as

changing approach later usually results in brand confusion and the waste of political energy, rendering all previous messaging efforts void. Once you have chosen your question and your brand, you have settled on the eponymous ditch that you are going to die in.

6

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

As important as the win number, the candidate, the strategy and the myriad of technical advice and tactical examples are, there is one thing more important to winning your campaign than all the rest. That is the culture of your campaign. For too many CLPs, culture is defined by meetings, bureaucracy, hierarchy and the jealous guarding of power. But as CLPs across the country are proving, this need not be the case. The alternative that your campaign should adopt, is of a culture of 'respect, empower and include'.^{ix}

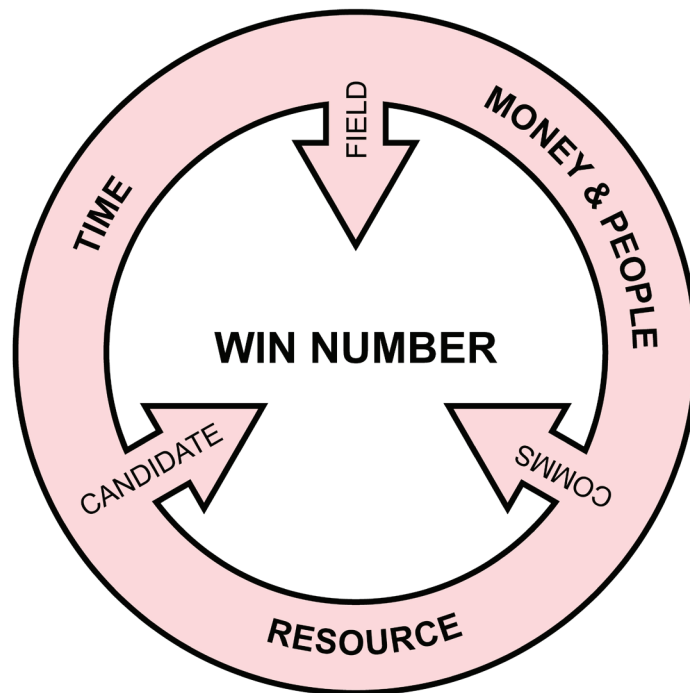
This concept, born of then President Barack Obama's campaigns, holds that candidates, staff and volunteers treat one another with the utmost of personal and professional respect, seek to empower colleagues down the food chain with responsibility for making as many decisions as possible and are included in decision making and information sharing to the greatest possible extent. This is a culture that is open and hopeful, one in which individual talents and relationships can thrive. This allows the campaign to perpetually grow as new leaders are developed in a culture they find welcoming personally and challenging professionally.

For that is why 'respect, empower and include' is the key to successfully organising the strategy of this paper. It is only by involving more people and entrusting them with more power, that the scale of voter contact, fundraising, media coverage, community outreach and so forth can be achieved. Closed systems and cultures such as those too long practiced by the New Labour fixation of command and control are incapable of the scale of operations this guide advocates.

With this as the backdrop we can now consider how the elements of strategy previously discussed can be brought together in broad forces aimed at securing victory (see figure one on the following page). The objective that must be reached for a campaign to win is the achievement of the win number. There are three broad forces that cover each of the points previously explored. These are candidate, field and communications. Candidate covers the use of candidate time as strategic decision maker, moral arbiter and political athlete. Field covers canvassing, phone banking, community campaigning and all key forms of interactive voter contact. Communications covers local press operations, social media, leaflets and direct mail as well as internal stakeholder management and the battle over strong, consistent messaging.

Each of these forces draws from a pool of resource that is the campaign's time, money and people. The easiest way to strengthen these forces and thus enhance your probability of reaching your win number is to grow the available resources. Whilst time may appear finite, it can in fact be grown in campaign terms by raising more money and recruiting more volunteers, allowing the campaign to grow its capacity and effectively earn more available time.

Figure 1. Bringing it all together



By prioritising the benefits of fundraising for personnel with an explicit mandate to grow volunteer capacity, the campaign can enhance its capacity for exponential growth. Lastly by considering capacity building as an internal marker of progress as important as the pursuit of the win number is an external number of progress, the recruitment, training and deployment of volunteers can in turn grow the campaign's field and communications capacities and enhance the efficacy of the candidate's actions.

Combine a culture of 'respect, empower and include' with a strategic approach that seeks to coordinate the forces of candidate, field and communications, in the context of an ever-growing resource pool of time, money and people, and your campaign will achieve more than you could ever imagine. Bring these things together, and you will win your seat.

If you need further advice, the Labour party offers an excellent programme of organiser and candidate training. Members of the campaign group and other key volunteers should attend as many of these sessions as possible.^x You should also make use of the webinar series that MembersNet makes available.^{xi} In addition, Labour affiliates like the Labour Women's Network, Young Fabians, Fabian Women's Network, TULO and individual unions provide great campaigning training and mentorship programmes.^{xii} Finally, the Labour activist Ian Warren's @election_data twitter feed is a superb source of voter analysis.^{xiii}

FIGHTING UKIP

The challenge UKIP poses to Labour is an excellent opportunity to consider the critical importance of bringing your different campaign tactics together to win:

- **Field:** Train volunteers to distinguish between UKIP voters who are ex-Labour and those who have Thatcherite leanings. This means emphasising the importance of listening rather than correcting and targeting voter pools that are blue collar, ex-Labour, non-voter, rather than progressive middle class Labour/ Lib-Dem 2010 voter.
- **Messaging:** Don't try to counter the actual lived experience of the UKIP-considerer with national stats and an "I-Know-Best" tone. Rather, listen to their concerns, particularly on vexed issues like immigration and welfare, and respond by talking about the big changes a Labour government can bring to solve the causes of their concerns like low wages, the need for new housing and stressed public services.
- **Challenging:** Having trained your volunteers, listened to potential UKIP voters' concerns and made the case for Labour, it's important to not let UKIP off the hook on what even Lord Ashcroft described as "their fantasy politics".^{xiv} UKIP stand for lower taxes and higher spending, unlimited bankers bonuses and NHS charges. Having taken the time to listen, you will have earned the right in the conversation to make your case.

TYPES AND PURPOSES OF COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS

Like any campaign, your community campaigning actions should be selected not just with a generic good in mind, but with an electoral purpose as well. Also bear in mind how they fit within your wider messaging. These campaigns often break down into two broad categories. Campaigns for voters, and campaigns for volunteers. The former include actions like anti-speeding, litter picks and other campaigns based on listening to the concerns of the community. The latter include actions like the living wage campaign, and opposition to payday lending or betting shops, which inspire Labour supporters to become activists. In plotting your community campaigns, choose your action according to your need.

7 CONCLUSION

As a candidate, organiser or activist reading this, with less than twelve months until the general election, you are heading into a storm. That storm is the result of national factors beyond your control: party leader ratings, economic statistics, the rise of UKIP, voter apathy and antipathy, minimal central party funding and just not enough damn people.

If Labour wins, it will be the first one term opposition in over forty years. Ed Miliband will likely have beaten Tony Blair's record in adding more points to Labour's score in a shorter period of time than even the New Labour leader. And this will have been achieved because of the power of movement politics expressed in the work of candidates, organisers and volunteers.

Because for those on the frontline, there are changes in your favour. The early recruitment of the organiser, early selection of the candidate, increasing understanding and acceptance that face to face contact is worth more than leaflets and a leadership that claims the mantel of movement politics.

Against this backdrop, this guide has sought to empower constituency level campaigns with the knowledge and good practice that can lead to the creation of a winning formula locally, regardless of national circumstance.

In so doing, this guide rejects the false choices of voter ID verses community organising, even as it embraces a clear preference for conversation over leaflets. As such, this is a personal argument about the kind of campaign that could win your seat in 2015. But I freely accept that there are other models with different approaches that may be more suitable for your situation.

I have argued that the combination of bigger ambitions and increased professionalism will help you win. Equally, the combination of a 'respect, empower, include' culture and a powerful strategy of candidate, field and communications will help you win.

Granted the national political factors may be challenging, but the opportunity of the kind of movement politics espoused by Ed Miliband and Arnie Graf for candidates, organisers and activists, to take charge of their own campaigns is without doubt a great opportunity to see new leaders grow, new ideas tested and our ambitions as a party raised.

In 'The 40% strategy' I argued that the voters we pursue shape the government we get. This guide is a reflection of that strong belief that the way we campaign will shape the government we elect. It is your task now to make this a reality. I wish you the very best of luck.

ENDNOTES

- i www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/LaboursNextMajority_web.pdf
- ii www1.politicalbetting.com/index.php/archives/2013/01/05/the-first-time-incumbency-bonus-could-make-the-tory-task-of-hanging-on-a-bit-easier/
- iii www1.politicalbetting.com/index.php/archives/2014/04/02/ukip-is-making-a-strategic-mistake-putting-most-of-the-focus-on-lab-voters-for-the-may-euros/
- iv Collins, Dom, 'Question, Test, Innovate', *Forward: The Change Labour Still Needs* p.20.
- v www.govt.v.research.yale.edu. Whilst these numbers are primarily US-based it should be noted that the UK-based random control experiment data gathered so far indicates that if anything the positives and negatives are actually more pronounced on this side of the Atlantic. These findings from Dr. Florian Foos of Nuffield College, Oxford are due to be published later in 2014.
- vi www.analystinstitute.org
- vii For more on online fundraising see McGregor, Matthew, 'The Democratising Force of Fundraising', *The Change We Need*, p.75 www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/TheChangeWeNeed.pdf
- viii Hough, Mary, 'Storytelling', *Forward: The Change Labour Still Needs*, p.20 www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Forward_The-Change-Labour-Still-Needs_-WEB.pdf
- ix Christiansen, Karin and Roberts, Marcus, 'Respect, Empower, Include: lessons from the new model army,' *The Change We Need*, p.41 <http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/TheChangeWeNeed.pdf>
- x <http://members.labour.org.uk/training-listings>
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- xii <http://www.lwn.org.uk/> , <http://www.youngfabians.org.uk>, <http://fabianwomen.org.uk>, <http://www.unionstogether.org.uk/pages/local>
- xiii <http://election-data.blogspot.co.uk>
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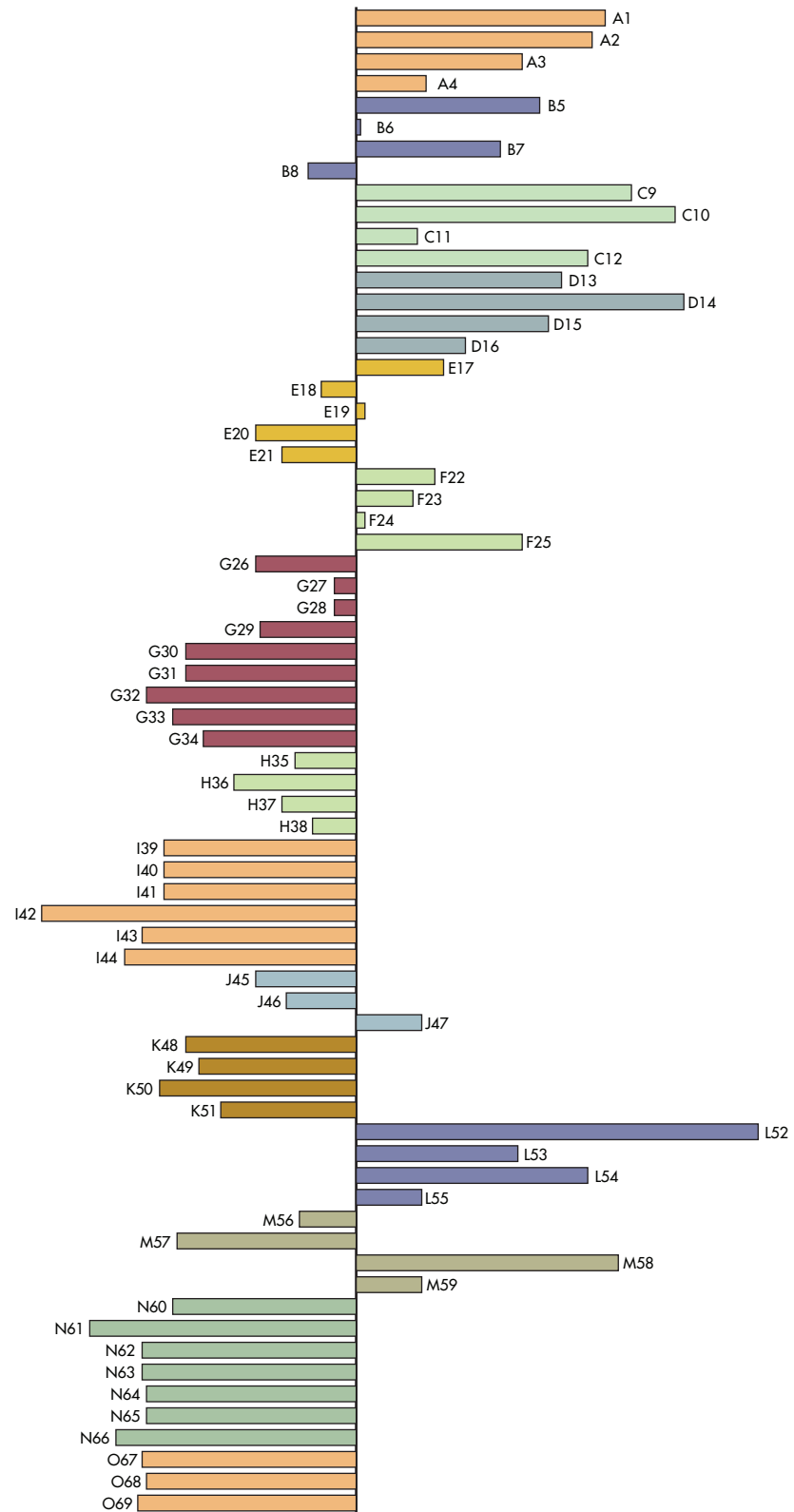
APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Mosaic codes

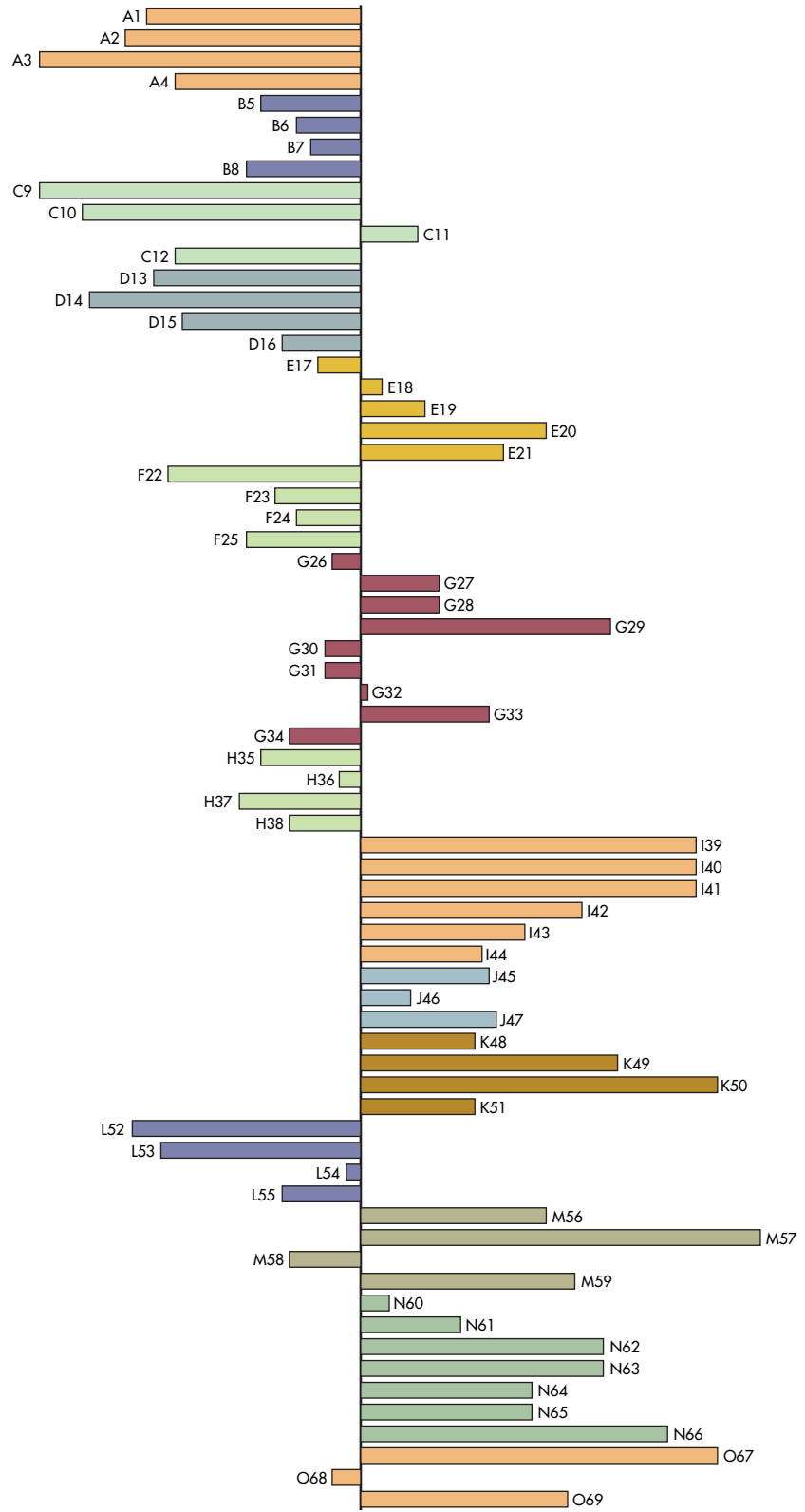
A1	Rural families with high incomes, often from city jobs
A2	Retirees electing to settle in environmentally attractive localities
A3	Remote communities with poor access to public and commercial services
A4	Villagers with few well paid alternatives to agricultural employment
B5	Better off empty nesters in low density estates on town fringes
B6	Self-employed trades people living in smaller communities
B7	Empty nester owner occupiers making little use of public services
B8	Mixed communities with many single people in the centres of small towns
C9	Successful older business leaders living in sought-after suburbs
C10	Wealthy families in substantial houses with little community involvement
C11	Creative professionals seeking involvement in local communities
C12	Residents in smart city centre flats who make little use of public services
D13	Higher income older champions of village communities
D14	Older people living in large houses in mature suburbs
D15	Well off commuters living in spacious houses in semi-rural settings
D16	Higher income families concerned with education and careers
E17	Comfortably off suburban families weakly tied to their local community
E18	Industrial workers living comfortably in owner occupied semis
E19	Self-reliant older families in suburban semis in industrial towns
E20	Upwardly mobile South Asian families living in inter war suburbs
E21	Middle aged families living in less fashionable inter war suburban semis
F22	Busy executives in town houses in dormitory settlements
F23	Early middle aged parents likely to be involved in their children's education
F24	Young parents new to their neighbourhood, keen to put down roots
F25	Personnel reliant on the Ministry of Defence for public services
G26	Well educated singles living in purpose built flats
G27	City dwellers owning houses in older neighbourhoods

G28	Singles and sharers occupying converted Victorian houses
G29	Young professional families settling in better quality older terraces
G30	Diverse communities of well-educated singles living in smart, small flats
G31	Owners in smart purpose built flats in prestige locations, many newly built
G32	Students and other transient singles in multi-let houses
G33	Transient singles, poorly supported by family and neighbours
G34	Students involved in college and university communities
H35	Childless new owner occupiers in cramped new homes
H36	Young singles and sharers renting small purpose built flats
H37	Young owners and rented developments of mixed tenure
H38	People living in brand new residential developments
I39	Young owners and private renters in inner city terraces
I40	Multi-ethnic communities in newer suburbs away from the inner city
I41	Renters of older terraces in ethnically diverse communities
I42	South Asian communities experiencing social deprivation
I43	Older town centres terraces with transient, single populations
I44	Low income families occupying poor quality older terraces
J45	Low income communities reliant on low skill industrial jobs
J46	Residents in blue collar communities revitalised by commuters
J47	Comfortably off industrial workers owning their own homes
K48	Middle aged couples and families in right-to-buy homes
K49	Low income older couples long established in former council estates
K50	Older families in low value housing in traditional industrial areas
K51	Often indebted families living in low rise estates
L52	Communities of wealthy older people living in large seaside houses
L53	Residents in retirement, second home and tourist communities
L54	Retired people of modest means commonly living in seaside bungalows
L55	Capable older people leasing / owning flats in purpose built blocks
M56	Older people living on social housing estates with limited budgets
M57	Old people in flats subsisting on welfare payments
M58	Less mobile older people requiring a degree of care
M59	People living in social accommodation designed for older people
N60	Tenants in social housing flats on estates at risk of serious social problems
N61	Childless tenants in social housing flats with modest social needs
N62	Young renters in flats with a cosmopolitan mix
N63	Multicultural tenants renting flats in areas of social housing
N64	Diverse home sharers renting small flats in densely populated areas
N65	Young singles in multi-ethnic communities, many in high rise flats
N66	Childless, low income tenants in high rise flats
O67	Older tenants on low rise social housing estates where jobs are scarce
O68	Families with varied structures living on low rise social housing estates
O69	Vulnerable young parents needing substantial state support

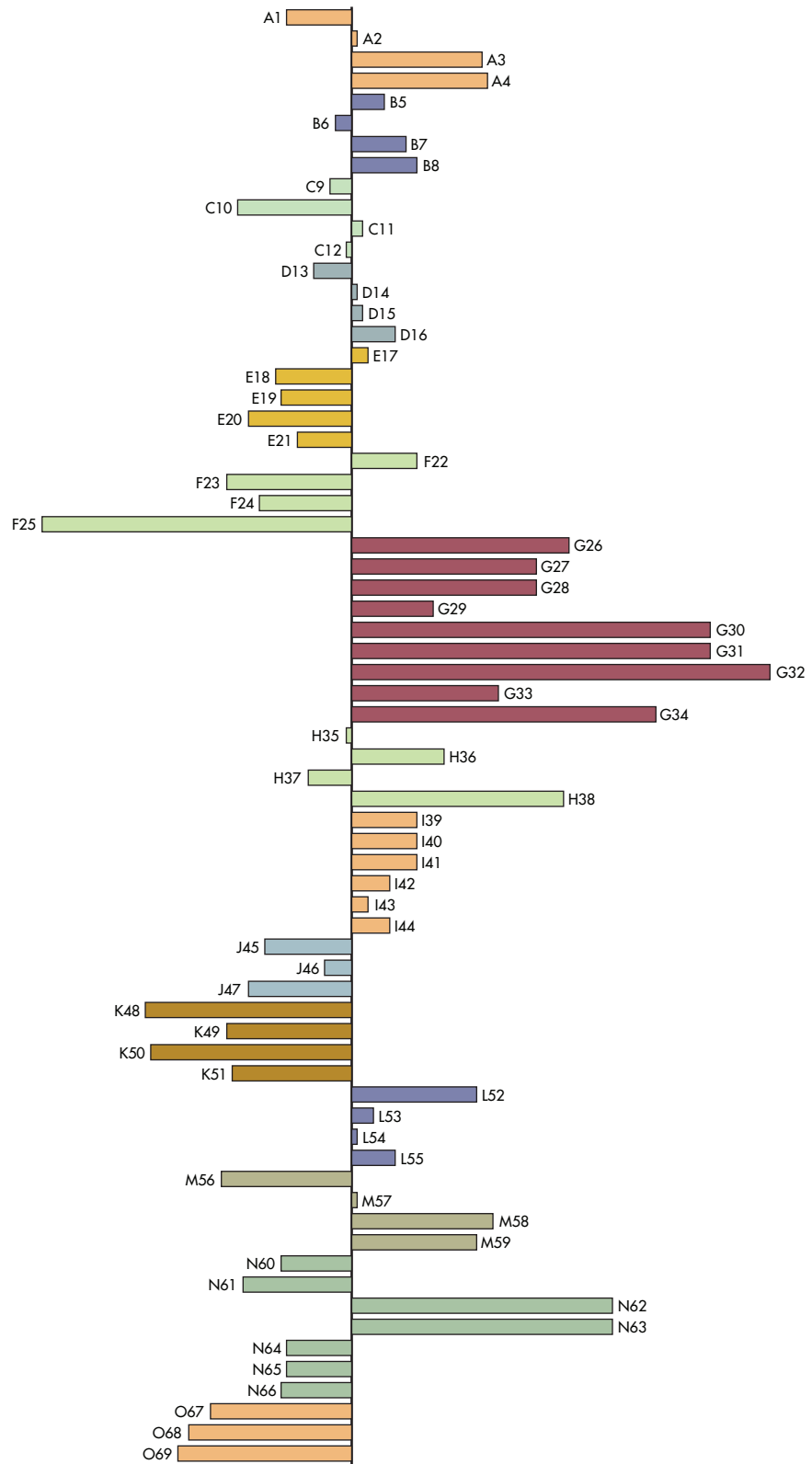
Appendix 2.1: Likelihood of identifying with Conservatives



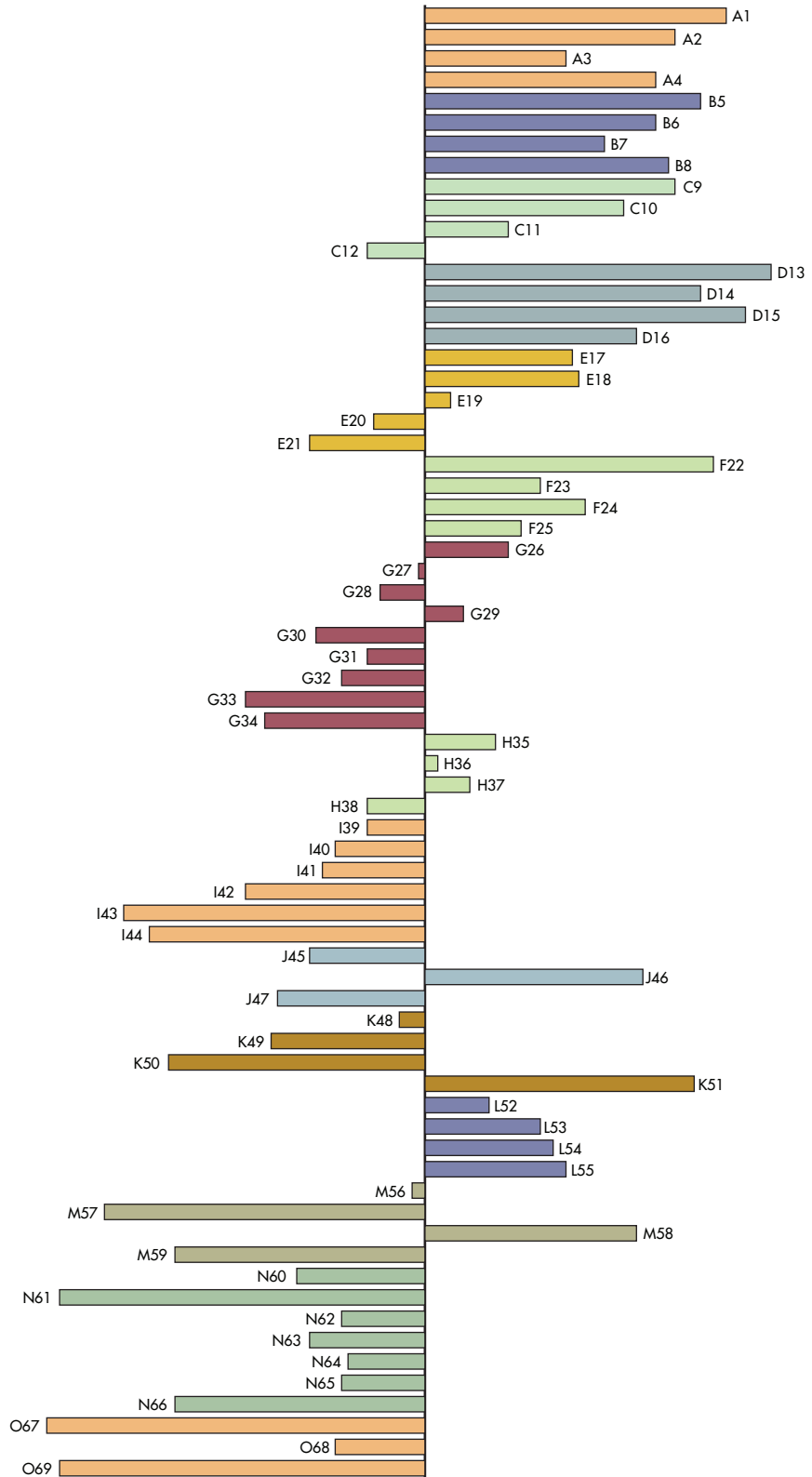
Appendix 2.2: Likelihood of identifying with Labour



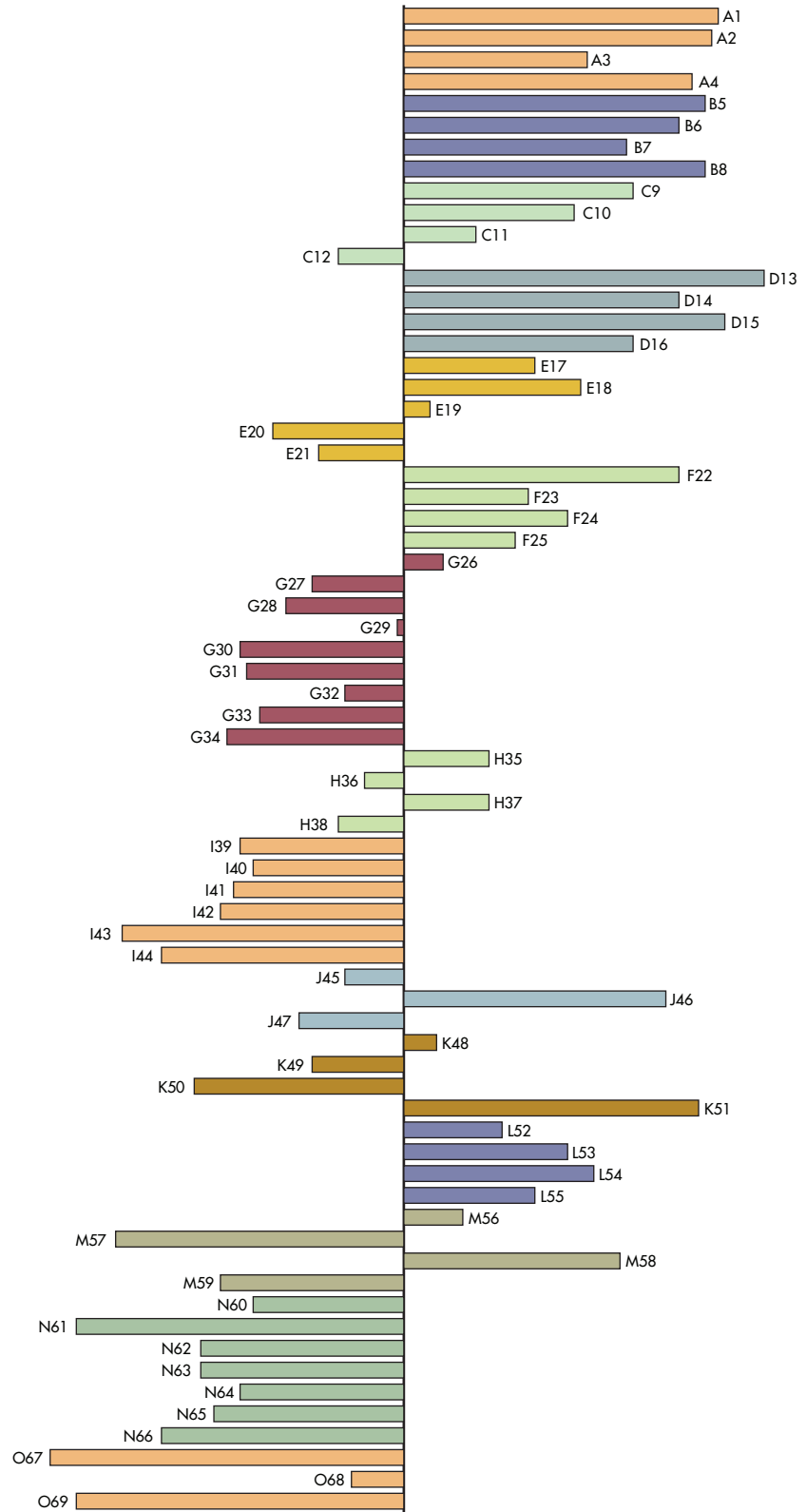
Appendix 2.3: Likelihood of identifying with Liberal Democrats



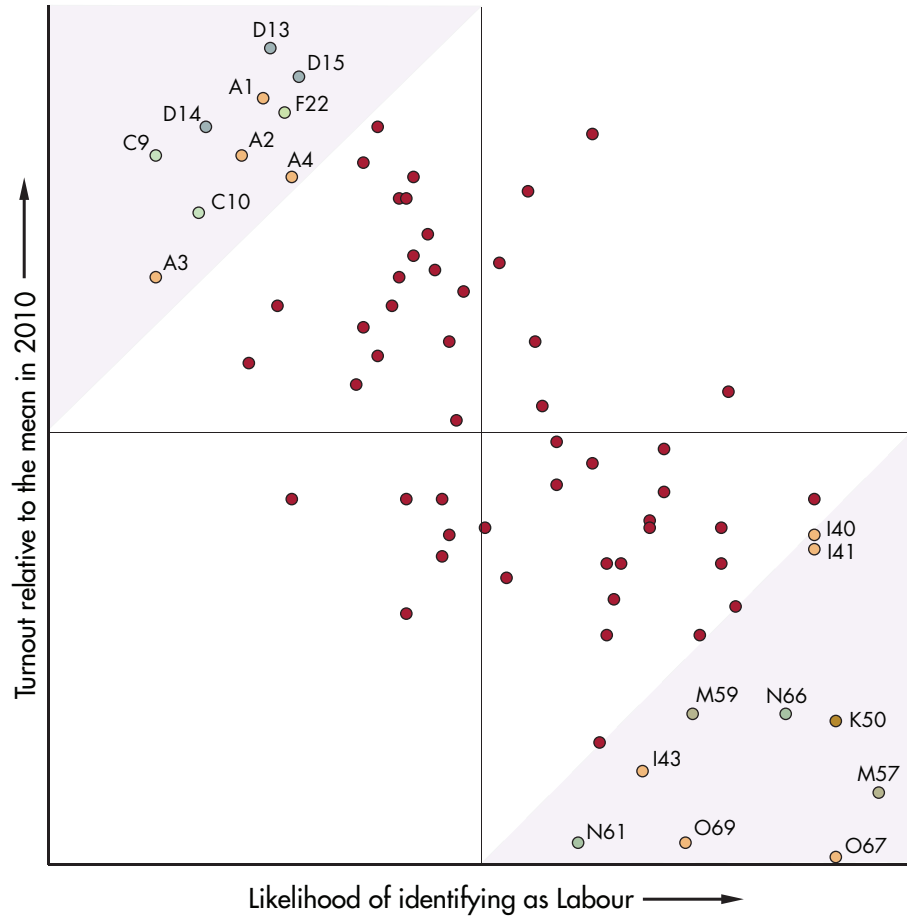
Appendix 3.1: Turnout relative to mean in 2010 election



Appendix 3.2: Turnout relative to mean in 2005 election



Appendix 4: 2010 turnout against Labour likelihood



LABOUR'S NEXT MAJORITY |

A CONSTITUENCY GUIDE

By Marcus Roberts

Labour's Next Majority: The 40% strategy, published in 2013, set out Labour's pathway to victory in 2015 with Labour building a new coalition of Labour loyalists, Lib Dem converts, a few Conservative defectors and a chunk of returning non-voters.

This new report goes into more detail on how Labour party organisers and campaigners can work, constituency by constituency, to implement this strategy in practice.

Touching on media, canvassing, community campaigning and fundraising, as well as using a candidate's time most effectively, the report is a point-by-point manual for winning parliamentary elections.