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RESEARCH ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

Changing Our IDEAS: The Role of Social Change Beliefs in the Outcome of the UK 2024 General Election

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ABSTRACT

The 2024 UK general election heralded the first change of government for 14 years. Based on social identity theory, we tested the IDEAS model to predict why supporters of different oppositional parties rejected the party in power. Previous tests of the IDEAS model had focused on attitudinal support and intentions for specific causes such as separatism, whereas the present study addressed its capacity to explain behaviour—voting for change—regardless of the (liberal-conservative) orientation of the party that the voter supported. We predicted that the relationship between group identity, collective relative deprivation, collective efficacy and voting for change should be mediated by social change beliefs. Group identification and deprivation should also predict subjective well-being. Unlike social change beliefs, well-being should not mediate effects on voting. Using a preregistered survey of voters for the four main political parties prior to and following the election ($N = 593$), structural equation modelling supported most of the paths in the model. Social change beliefs mediated effects on voting intention as well as voting, whereas well-being did not. The findings extend the scope of the IDEAS model to show why diverse sets of groups may pursue a shared objective of social change and bring about social and political transformations.

1 | Introduction

Democratic national elections in 2024 involved the largest number of countries and populations in history. Elections are one of the clearest instances in which individual choices are manifestations of collective action with substantial shared outcomes for the collective—such as the balance of power between groups, regions, or a country as a whole. Some of these elections yielded unremarkable results; others produced significant shifts of power. Of the latter, the 2024 UK general election heralded the first change of government for 14 years. The present research tests the IDEAS (identity, deprivation, efficacy, action and subjective well-being) model of collective action (Abrams et al. 2020) in the context of the 2024 UK general election. It examines the roles of relative deprivation, group identification, collective efficacy and social change beliefs as predictors of voting intention, voting and subjective well-being.

Psychological research on collective action has largely focused on action to address inequalities between minority/disadvantaged and majority/advantaged groups and their allies (Agostini and van Zomeren 2021; Drury and Reicher 1999; Sidanius 1993; van Zomeren et al. 2008). It has tended to concentrate on forms of protest (such as signing petitions or participating in demonstrations) involving focal issues or injustices between specific groups but rarely on conventional, scheduled and widespread political actions such as voting. Moreover, there is relatively little work on collective mobilisation as a process directed towards general societal transformation that potentially involves all groups and members of a population (see Jost et al. 2017).

One clear context in which such mobilisation occurs is national elections, and therefore it is of considerable interest to understand how well psychological models of collective mobilisation may apply to voting. Indeed, the lack of connection

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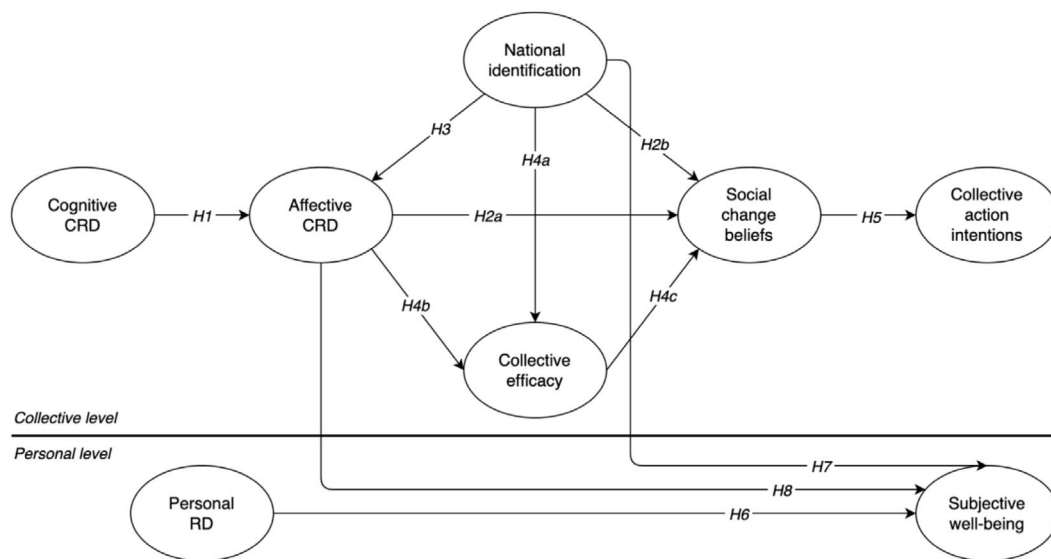


FIGURE 1 | The identity deprivation efficacy action and subjective well-being (IDEAS) model.

between theories of voting in regional or national elections (e.g., Achen and Bartels 2016; Campbell et al. 1960) and theories of collective action is quite remarkable given that national elections are among the rare opportunities for every adult in a country to express a preference for social continuity or social change and to alter the balance of power. Voting is often viewed as a matter of partisanship, but because people may vote in a variety of tactical or strategic ways and because the outcome affects a wide range of groups—and not just specific ingroups—A number of different voting choices may converge as a wider form of collective action to achieve (or resist) social change.

Here we aim to investigate voting behaviour through the theoretical lens of the IDEAS model of social change (Abrams et al. 2020), providing a novel extension of the model. The IDEAS model is based on social identity theory, relative deprivation and resource mobilisation theory (Abrams and Grant 2012; Grant et al. 2015; Grant and Smith 2021). It also extends some other models of collective mobilisation against unfair treatment (Becker and Tausch 2015; Stürmer and Simon 2004; van Zomeren et al. 2012), including the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA; van Zomeren et al. 2008).

1.1 | Relative Deprivation, Social Identity, Efficacy and Collective Action

Relative deprivation theory holds that perceptions of one's own deprivation may arise at two levels, one being interpersonal comparison between oneself and other individuals (personal relative deprivation; PRD), and the other being collective or intergroup comparison between one's own group and other groups (collective relative deprivation; CRD). Comparisons may also invoke one's personal or collective situation in the past (Albert 1977; De La Sablonnière et al. 2009; Grant et al. 2025; Smith et al. 2012).

Whereas PRD is expected to affect life satisfaction (Crosby 1976), CRD is assumed to implicate collective identity and behaviour,

specifically, social identity and collective action (Smith et al. 2012; Walker and Pettigrew 1984). CRD has been elaborated as involving the cognitive perception of intergroup inequality and the ensuing affective response including appraisals that the disadvantage to one's group is unfair or discriminatory and negative affect in the form of anger, frustration and resentment (Smith et al. 2012). These affective components should motivate collective action.

The role of feelings of injustice features in other theoretical frameworks, most notably the SIMCA (van Zomeren et al. 2012), which holds that people's identification with particular groups directly affects collective action on behalf of those groups and indirectly affects it via elevated feelings of injustice. Identification is also predicted to boost collective efficacy which then also mediates effects of group identification as well having its own direct effect. Elaborating on the SIMCA, Agostini and van Zomeren (2021) meta-analytically supported a 'dual chamber' model, which adds moral conviction as an antecedent of affective injustice and efficacy, but which also has its own direct effect on collective action. However, the SIMCA does not consider the reasoning processes that might link these perceptions and identities to action. Nor does it encompass the possibility that relative deprivation at the personal and collective levels may have combinatory effects at two different levels (collective and personal).

1.2 | The Identity-Deprivation-Efficacy-Action-Subjective Well-Being (IDEAS) Model

The IDEAS model (see Figure 1) has two distinctive propositions that differentiate it from other models of responses to relative deprivation. First, the model explicitly addresses the rationale, or belief system, that should be in place in order for relative deprivation, group identity and collective efficacy to motivate collective action. Specifically, it proposes that a key mediating variable and the proximal predictor of collective intentions and subsequent behaviour is the social change belief structure (sometimes referred to as 'social change ideology').

The model holds that cognitive CRD (perceived disadvantage) should predict judgements that the situation is unfair (perceived discrimination) along with associated feelings of anger and resentment (negative affect; Smith et al. 2012). These together constitute affective CRD. In common with other theories that draw on social identity theory, the model also holds that collective identity motivates concern for the group's outcomes. The combination of group identification and high levels of affective CRD provides a foundation for social change beliefs or what social identity theory refers to as a 'social change belief structure'. Social change beliefs reflect people's conclusion that they cannot overcome their disadvantaged situation by means of individual mobility (i.e., joining a different group) or by persuading the power holders to change their position, but only through a wholesale change in their group's status and power within society (see D. Abrams 2015; Abrams and Hogg 1988; Hogg and Abrams 1988; for further details of the theory; Tajfel and Turner 1979).

1.3 | Personal and Collective Routes to Subjective Well-Being

The second distinctive feature of the model is that it proposes that the personal and collective levels have distinct pathways to two different outcomes—collective action intentions at the collective level and subjective well-being at the personal level. Research on personal RD shows that it is associated with lowered subjective well-being (Crosby 1976). However, most research on collective RD has tended to ignore this outcome even though it seems unlikely that subjective well-being is so compartmentalised that it would only be affected by personal RD.

To address this lacuna, the IDEAS model considers impacts of both the personal and collective levels on subjective well-being. In line with prior research it hypothesises that PRD should have a direct, negative effect on well-being and happiness. It also proposes that CRD can affect subjective well-being, albeit in more complex and indirect ways. Identifying with a social group is itself a basis for well-being (see also the 'social cure' hypothesis; Haslam et al. 2018; Jetten et al. 2012). For this reason, CRD and group identification can potentially create *both* positive and negative routes to well-being. Specifically, a person may feel frustrated and dissatisfied about collective deprivation but also feel bolstered by their identification with the group, even though that identification might amplify feelings of CRD. Therefore, the IDEAS model holds that group identification may have a direct positive effect on subjective well-being at the same time CRD may create a negative affective spillover on well-being. This *affective crossover hypothesis* was previously tested and supported in the context of the Scottish Independence referendum (Abrams et al. 2020) but remains to be tested in other contexts.

The affective crossover to well-being might suggest that there should be a link between well-being and collective action intentions too. There is evidence that people vote to improve or protect their own well-being (Häusermann et al. 2023; Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier 2019). For example, Ward (2020) concluded from his analysis of four decades of voting across Europe that countries whose residents enjoyed better subjective well-being were

those in which incumbents tended to be re-elected. It might then be inferred that those with lower subjective well-being may be more likely to vote to remove an incumbent. In contrast, and more in line with social identity theory, the IDEAS model holds that, although subjective well-being can be affected by variables at the collective level (group identity and CRD), it remains an outcome which rests, psychologically, at the individual level and does not translate back to responses at the collective level (voting intention in the present case). Specifically, the *personal deprivation hypothesis* is that higher levels of PRD should predict lower subjective well-being, but should *not* predict social change beliefs or collective action intentions.

1.4 | Social Change Beliefs, Identification and Efficacy

The IDEAS model holds that a key function of social change beliefs is to serve as a proximal mediator for collective action intentions by synthesising considerations of identification, efficacy and relative deprivation into a subjectively coherent rationale. The conclusion that improvement for the collective can only be achieved by system level change should play a key role in motivating intentions to bring about that change.

General elections are therefore particularly relevant contexts in which to test and pose challenges to the model. A general election presents a situation in which people's motivation to achieve system change may supersede the specific interests of their preferred political party. This could mean that national, and not just party, identification may serve a common motivating force across those with a wide range of political views. National identity may then provide a unifying element contributing to the convergence of social change beliefs across people who affiliate with different parties (Transue 2007). Indeed, there is evidence that national identification plays a significant role in political choices (Huddy and Khatib 2007), and that national policy goals sometimes take priority over party loyalty (Orr et al. 2023).

In previous research (e.g., Abrams and Grant 2012), national (Scottish) identity was directly linked with party affiliation (Scottish National Party) and thus it was not possible to test whether national identification per se was the driver of social change beliefs. In the present research, this issue is disambiguated because national separatism was not a focus for voting, and we examined national identification across supporters of multiple parties. Thus, the present research was intended to provide greater clarity over the role of national (superordinate) identification in voting against an unpopular government.

A further important aspect of the IDEAS model is that it distinguishes social change beliefs from collective efficacy. Both should be related to collective action intentions but whereas social change beliefs address what is *necessary* for the group's situation to improve, collective efficacy concerns the perceived *achievability* of desired collective outcomes—the former focuses on need and the latter on capacity. Effects of collective efficacy have been inconsistent with predictions from the SIMCA in some past research, effects of collective efficacy were consistent with the SIMCA when it was measured preceding action (Abrams et al. 2020) but inconsistent with the SIMCA when it was measured

following the opportunity for action (Grant et al. 2017), where it was measured following the opportunity for action but not in other research where it preceded voting (Abrams et al. 2020). Abrams et al. (2020) suggested that the different effects could also be due to the particular focus of the measures. Specifically, higher *anticipated* efficacy (as measured in Abrams et al. 2020) may encourage more participation in collective action (because of higher expectations of success) whereas lower *current* efficacy (as measured in Grant et al. 2017) may stimulate stronger social change beliefs and therefore affect action intentions indirectly in that form.

1.5 | The 2024 UK General Election and Voting for Change

Lalot et al. (2023) observed that an important limitation of most tests of collective action models is their focus on movements associated with liberal or progressive activism, the elimination of specific intergroup inequalities, or the rights of specific minoritised groups (Sweetman et al. 2013; see also Osborne et al. 2019; Thomas and Osborne 2022). For example, the role of social change beliefs has previously been tested and supported in studies that focused on specific groups or issues, including the rise of Scottish nationalism and support for the Scottish National Party in Scotland (Abrams and Grant 2012; Abrams et al. 2020; Grant et al. 2017) and anti-lockdown intentions during the COVID-19 pandemic (Lalot et al. 2023). Therefore, it may not generalise to collective objectives shared by people with differing political orientations or to actions that are more generally intended to result in regime change (B. Abrams 2021; Choi and Kim 2019; Tarrow 2011), such as is the case with the recent overthrow of the Assad regime in Syria, anti-government protests in Iran or other contexts. Nor has collective action research attended much to situations in which multiple groups are involved in change, such as multi-party political systems, and those that follow proportional representation rather than first-past-the-post. In principle, the IDEAS model should apply well to these larger forms of convergence on social change, such as general elections, in which voters with different left-right ideological stances may nevertheless converge on a common goal to overturn the established government (see Uscinski et al. 2021).

The 2024 UK general election provided an opportunity to test this development of the model. After having held power for 14 years, the Conservative government had become decreasingly popular, and its leader, Rishi Sunak, decided to call a 'snap' general election, leaving other parties just over a month to wage their campaigns. The largest opposition party (Labour) used the single word 'Change' as its slogan, and other parties, including the Liberal Democrats (traditionally the second opposition party) and Reform UK (a reconstituted version of the UK Independence Party and the Brexit Party) also strongly argued that the incumbents were not fit to govern any longer. These parties had some strongly contrasting priorities. For example, Reform's priority was to reduce immigration and leave the European Convention on Human Rights whereas the Liberal Democrats' priority was to rejoin the European Union. Yet opponents positioned on both the left (Labour, Liberal Democrats) and right (Reform UK) of the Conservative party, shared the same motivation to depose the Conservative government.

This context posed interesting challenges for the IDEAS model, particularly concerning the role of national identification. As an example, both traditional Conservative voters and Reform supporters (most of whom would have supported Brexit) might be expected to identify strongly with Britain. However, only among Reform supporters should national identification predict the endorsement of social change beliefs. This divergence might weaken or change the overall relationship between national identification and social change beliefs and the indirect relationship between identification and voting intention.

Stated narratively, the model predicts that people who perceive greater collective deprivation (cognitive CRD) and whose national identification is stronger will experience higher levels of affective relative deprivation (anger, frustration and sense of discrimination). Higher levels of group identification and affective relative deprivation should also motivate a stronger sense of collective efficacy. People who experience higher levels of affective relative deprivation, identity and collective efficacy should hold stronger social change beliefs, which in turn should predict their intentions to vote for change, and then their actual vote. Those who perceive higher levels of PRD, and/or higher levels of affective collective deprivation should experience lower subjective well-being, although their national identification should help to bolster their well-being. Importantly, there should be no relation between people's social change beliefs and voting intentions on the one hand, and their subjective well-being on the other. This translates into the following set of operational preregistered hypotheses (in which the terms 'related to' and 'predicted by' refer to the expectation of significant coefficients showing the predicted associations; see also Figure 1):

Hypothesis 1. *Cognitive collective relative deprivation (Cog-CRD) is positively related to affective deprivation (Aff-CRD).¹*

Hypothesis 2. *Social change beliefs are positively predicted by Aff-CRD (H2a) and by stronger group identification (H2b).²*

Hypothesis 3. *Aff-CRD is positively predicted by group identification.*

Hypothesis 4. *Collective efficacy is positively predicted by both identification (H4a) and Aff-CRD (H4b) and in turn, collective efficacy positively predicts social change beliefs (H4c).*

Hypothesis 5. *Voting intentions (for change) are positively predicted by social change beliefs.*

Hypothesis 6. *Subjective well-being is negatively predicted by personal relative deprivation (PRD) but PRD does not predict the variables at the collective level.*

Hypothesis 7. *Subjective well-being is positively predicted by group identification.*

Hypothesis 8. *Subjective well-being is negatively predicted by Aff-CRD.*

Finally, though not preregistered, the assumption that intended voting would correspond to actual voting was also tested by measuring self-reported voting following the election.^{3,4}

TABLE 1 | Demographics of the full sample and breakdown by voting intentions.

Variable	Total	Conservative	Labour	Liberal democrats	Reform UK
Gender					
Men	44.2%	44.0%	40.1%	42.6%	52.0%
Women	55.0%	55.5%	58.3%	57.4%	47.2%
Nonbinary/Other	0.8%	0.5%	1.1%	0.0%	0.8%
Age: <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	47.79 (14.51)	52.89 (14.38)	42.19 (12.66)	43.06 (13.91)	51.21 (14.00)
<i>N</i>	593	182	187	101	123

This research was approved by the ethics committee of the School of Psychology, University of Kent #2026177697908710626, and all participants gave informed consent prior to their inclusion in the study. The study design, hypotheses, materials, sample size and rules for exclusion were preregistered: <https://aspredicted.org/jvb4-3v3z.pdf>. Data, materials, [Supporting Information](#), and code for analysis are available on the OSF: <https://osf.io/9h5mp>.

2 | Method

2.1 | Participants and Procedure

The crowdsourcing platform Prolific was used to pre-screen respondents who (i) were 18 years of age or older, (ii) were English and currently lived in England and (iii) were eligible to vote and intended to vote for one of the four leading parties in the upcoming 2024 general election of 4 July 2024. The screening was conducted on 28–29 June. At the time, polls suggested that Labour would gain about 40% of the vote, Conservatives 21%, Reform UK up to 18%, and Liberal Democrats around 14%. Balancing funding constraints and the need for statistical power required slight oversampling of respondents who indicated preferences for the latter three parties, aiming to recruit a total of approximately 600 participants distributed as follows: 180 Labour voters, 180 Conservative voters, 120 Reform UK voters and 120 Liberal Democrat voters. The screening phase collected the voting intentions of $N=1131$ participants, from which quota samples were drawn totalling 750 electors (oversampling by 25% in anticipation that not all those invited would complete the main survey).

Four days prior to the general election, participants were invited to respond to the online survey. Pre-election data collection was concluded at 11 pm the evening before the election. Of those, 612 started and 605 completed the questionnaire. None failed the two attention checks embedded in the survey (criteria for exclusion) but 12 indicated they would eventually vote for a different party, or not vote, and were excluded from the analysis, resulting in a final sample size of $N=593$. These were 182 who intended to vote Conservative, 187 Labour, 101 Liberal Democrats and 123 Reform UK (262 men, 326 women, 4 nonbinary or ‘other’ and 1 undisclosed; $M_{\text{age}}=47.49$, $SD=14.51$). Demographics are reported in Table 1.

The survey was introduced as an investigation of people’s views on the current situation in the United Kingdom and the

forthcoming election. Respondents first reported their voting intentions, then completed the measures pertaining to the IDEAS model. They also responded to other measures pertaining to different research questions (see preregistration for the full list) and indicated demographics. Finally, they were thanked and debriefed.

Respondents were recontacted 1 week after the election to complete a follow-up survey to establish whether their voting intentions were aligned with actual (self-reported) votes. The recontact rate was 93% (552 respondents).

2.2 | Materials

Measures were adapted from Grant et al. (2017) and Abrams et al. (2020) to focus on the context of the general election. Items and scaling are shown in Table 2. The following multi-item measures were included as follows: Cognitive CRD (four items); Affective CRD comprising a perceived discrimination measure (five items) and a negative collective emotions measure (3 items); current collective efficacy (four items); national identification (three items); social change beliefs (five items); and subjective well-being (two items, see Diener 1994; Swift et al. 2014). Single-item measures were used for voting intention and PRD.

The ingroup of reference was always the national group; for example, the CRD measures asked about standard of living for British people in the United Kingdom (cognitive) and feelings about the current political situation in the United Kingdom (affective), while collective efficacy pertained to British people. The discrimination measure was also adapted to reflect feelings that the current government’s actions negatively impact ordinary people (see also Lalot et al. 2023).

2.3 | Analysis Strategy

Structural equation modelling was used to assess the adequacy of the theoretical model. Analyses were conducted in R with the *lavaan* package (Rosseel 2012) and used case-wise (or ‘full information’) maximum likelihood estimation, including the measurement model (i.e., definition of the latent variables) and the structural model. We first tested for measurement invariance across groups of voters to ensure they could reliably be aggregated (Labour, Liberal Democrats and Reform UK) and

TABLE 2 | Constructs and measures.

Construct	Scaling	Items
Personal relative deprivation (PRD) ^a	Much less (1)–Much more (5)	Comparing your own standard of living and how much money you have with that of most other English people who are your age, do you think you have...
Cognitive collective relative deprivation (Cog-CRD) ^a	Much worse (1)–Much better (7)	Compared with just after the 2019 general election: Standard of living for British people in the UK is now... Job opportunities are... Wages are... Quality of public services (such as health and education) is...
Affective CRD—Perceived discrimination component	Strongly disagree (1)–Strongly agree (7)	Overall, the current government's actions have improved people's wellbeing (R) The current government prioritises the needs of wealthy individuals over the rest of the population The current government does not care about the struggles of ordinary people Many people's lives have improved due to the government's actions (R) The government's policies discriminate against people in situations like mine by favouring other groups
Affective CRD—Negative affect component	Not at all (1)–Extremely (7)	How do you feel about the current political situation in the UK?—Angry Frustrated Resentful
National identity	Not at all (1)–Extremely (7)	I feel British. I am proud to be British. Being British is important to me.
Collective efficacy	Strongly disagree (1)–Strongly agree (7)	Together, British people can shape the future of the country. British people are the ones in control of Britain's future as a country. People in Britain can work together to have control of its future. In the end, the will of the people will prevail.
Social change beliefs	Strongly disagree (1)–Strongly agree (7)	The UK will only get the recognition, power and success it deserves only if there is a change of government. Only by a change of government can the party I support have any influence over the UK's future. To do well, the next UK government will have to break away from the current policies and set its own new objectives.

(Continues)

TABLE 2 | (Continued)

Construct	Scaling	Items
Subjective well-being	Very dissatisfied (1)– Very satisfied (5)	The UK will have a stronger voice if there is a change of government following the general election
		The state of the UK cannot improve unless there is a change of government following the general election
		All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays?
Voting intentions	List of 9 parties, plus options for 'other' and 'I will not vote for any party'	Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are?
		As you know, the next UK General Election is planned for July 4th, 2024. We realise that you might still be pondering how to vote. But if you'd have to make a decision now, which political party do you intend to vote for in the general election?

^aPersonal relative deprivation and cognitive collective relative deprivation are reverse coded for analyses so that a higher score indicates greater perceived deprivation.

compared (Conservative) in the SEM analysis. To assess the model fit, a '2-index presentation strategy' was adopted in order to minimise both Type I and Type II errors (Hu and Bentler 1999). The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger and Lind 1980) and standardised root mean residual (SRMR; Bentler 1995) were assessed along with the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; Bentler 1990) and chi-square. Typically, $CFI \geq 0.95$, $RMSEA \leq 0.07$ and $SRMR \leq 0.08$ indicate a good fit (MacCallum et al. 1996; Steiger 2007). Following recommendations (Yzerbyt et al. 2018), a bootstrap resampling method was applied to examine the magnitude of indirect effects (percentile bootstrap confidence intervals).

Where possible, constructs were operationalised as latent variables in SEM. For ease of interpretation, alpha reliability coefficients are reported for composite scores derived by averaging the items in each scale. Composite scores were used to report the correlations among variables in Table 3.

3 | Results

3.1 | Measurement Model

The fit of the measurement model was assessed initially to determine whether the theoretically specified constructs are empirically distinct. The analysis included the seven multi-item constructs plus the higher-order construct of Aff-CRD (consisting of negative collective emotions and perceived discrimination). This model revealed a good fit, $\chi^2(df = 283, N = 593) = 973$, $p < 0.001$, $\chi^2/df = 3.44$, $CFI = 0.942$, $RMSEA = 0.064$, 90% [0.060, 0.069], $SRMR = 0.044$. All items loaded on their expected latent factor, $\beta_s > 0.691$. Inspection of modification indices revealed that fit was further increased by the addition of one covariance between two Cog-CRD items ($MI = 131$)⁵

3.2 | Measurement Invariance

Measurement invariance across the four groups of voters (i.e., Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrats and Reform UK) was assessed before continuing with the regression model. This involved sequentially testing for configural, metric and scalar invariance, adding gradual constraints on factor loadings and item intercepts (Putnick and Bornstein 2016; Vandenberg and Lance 2000). Analyses supported full metric invariance and partial scalar invariance (specifically, the intercepts of three items had to be released to achieve invariance). Details of the analysis are reported in Supporting Information 4.

3.3 | Regression Model

The full SEM model included both the measurement and regression model (Figure 2). Paths were determined based on the pre-registered hypotheses. This model revealed a good fit to the data, $\chi^2(df = 335, N = 593) = 1040$, $p < 0.001$, $\chi^2/df = 3.10$, $CFI = 0.944$, $RMSEA = 0.060$, 90% [0.055, 0.064], $SRMR = 0.051$. The regression paths are reported in Table 4 and the measurement model in Supporting Information 5.

With only three exceptions, the analysis supported the 13 pre-registered predictions. First, cognitive perceptions of relative deprivation (Cog-CRD) related to stronger affective reactions (Aff-CRD—anger, frustration, and sense of discrimination; Hypothesis 1), $\beta = 0.66$, $p < 0.001$. However, national group identification was associated with decreased rather than increased Aff-CRD, contradicting Hypothesis 3, $\beta = -0.19$, $p < 0.001$.

National identification positively affected collective efficacy (H4a), $\beta = 0.21$, $p < 0.001$. Aff-CRD, however, did not (contradicting H4b), $\beta = 0.06$, $p = 0.24$. Together, Aff-CRD (H2a), $\beta = 0.82$, $p < 0.001$ and efficacy (H4c), $\beta = 0.25$, $p < 0.001$, predicted social

TABLE 3 | Descriptive statistics and correlations between all variables.

#	Variable	Descriptive		Pearson's correlations							
		M (SD)	α	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	10
1	PRD	3.06 (1.02)	—	0.18***	0.25***	0.14***	−0.04	−0.03	0.19***	−0.42***	0.17***
2	Cog-CRD	5.34 (1.16)	0.86		0.66***	0.48***	−0.30***	−0.04	0.46***	−0.30***	0.45***
3	Aff-CRD–discrimination	5.06 (1.40)	0.90			0.62***	−0.38***	−0.05	0.75***	−0.33***	0.69***
4	Aff-CRD–negative affect	4.68 (1.54)	0.83				−0.24***	−0.13**	0.46***	−0.28***	0.45***
5	National ID	5.09 (1.56)	0.91					0.17***	−0.23***	0.27***	−0.27***
7	Coll. Efficacy	4.65 (1.26)	0.89						0.21***	0.11**	0.04
8	SCB	4.82 (1.66)	0.94							−0.19***	0.75***
9	Well-being	3.43 (0.92)	$r=0.82$								−0.22***
10	Voting intentions	69.3%	—								

Note: PRD and well-being are measured on a 5-point scale. Cog-CRD, discrimination, negative affect, national and local identity, collective efficacy and social change beliefs are measured on 7-point scales. Voting intentions are coded to reflect vote for change: 0 = Conservative, 1 = any other party.

Abbreviations: Aff-CRD, affective collective relative deprivation; Cog-CRD, cognitive collective relative deprivation (reverse-coded for analysis); ID, identity; PRD, personal relative deprivation (reverse-coded for analysis); SCB, social change beliefs.

* $p < 0.05$.

** $p < 0.01$.

*** $p < 0.001$.

change beliefs. The direct effect of national identification, however, was not significant (H2b), $\beta = 0.02$, $p = 0.46$. Confirming the key hypothesis from the model, social change beliefs strongly predicted intentions to vote for change (Hypothesis 5), $\beta = 0.78$, $p < 0.001$.

At the personal level, perceptions of PRD were related to lower subjective well-being (Hypothesis 6), $\beta = -0.40$, $p < 0.001$. Affective CRD was also related to lower subjective well-being (Hypothesis 8), $\beta = -0.16$, $p < 0.001$. National identification had an additional positive bearing on well-being (Hypothesis 7), $\beta = 0.21$, $p < 0.001$.

The model and preregistration also specified two paths that should *not* be significant and hence not included in the SEM model. Follow up analyses checked that the addition of these paths would not improve the model. First, PRD should have no direct effect on social change beliefs (Hypothesis 6). As expected, the link was not significant, $\beta = 0.004$, $p = 0.88$. Second, there should be *no* significant relation between voting intention and subjective well-being, which was also confirmed, $\beta = -0.05$, $p = 0.25$.

Finally, the indirect effects of identification on social change beliefs were examined. Although the direct (residual) effect of national identification on social change beliefs was not significant, it had significant indirect effects on social change beliefs through Aff-CRD and collective efficacy (i.e., the bootstrapped 95% confidence intervals for the indirect effect did not include zero). The indirect effect through (increased) collective efficacy was positive, $b = 0.066$, $SE = 0.017$, 95% CI [0.033, 0.100], while the indirect effect through (decreased) affective collective deprivation was negative, $b = -0.201$, $SE = 0.041$, 95% CI [−0.282, −0.120]. As a result of these different paths, the total effect of national identification on social change beliefs was negative, $b = -0.108$, $SE = 0.052$, 95% CI [−0.209, −0.006], $\beta = -0.083$.

Overall, the statistical model supports the hypotheses from the IDEAS model, yielding ten confirmatory and three nonconfirmatory findings. Eight out of the 11 formally hypothesised paths were significant and in the expected direction, one was significant but counter to prediction and two were nonsignificant. Moreover, two paths that were expected not to be significant were indeed nonsignificant.

3.4 | Voting Intentions and (Self-Reported) Vote

Thirteen participants (2.4%) did not vote for any party. Of the remaining 539, 92% (498) reported voting for the same party they had stated as their intended choice in the pre-election survey. Details of those who changed their vote are reported in Supporting Information 6.

4 | Discussion

The IDEAS model holds that, among people who feel collectively deprived, adoption of social change beliefs is a proximal determinant of action to change the status quo. Distinctively

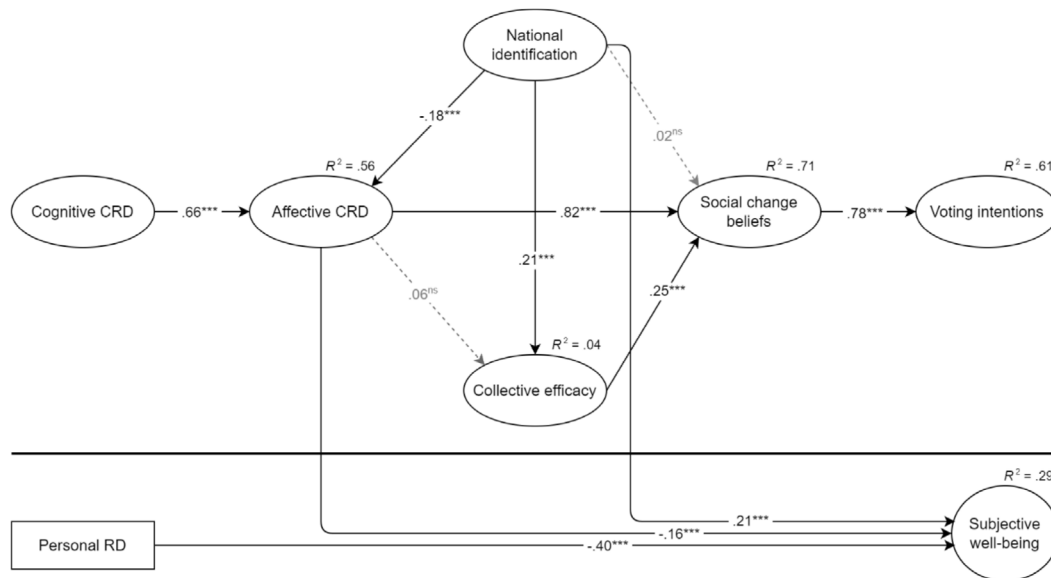


FIGURE 2 | Structural equation model testing the IDEAS model on voting intentions. CRD = collective relative deprivation. RD = relative deprivation. Voting intentions are coded: 0 = vote for Conservative, 1 = vote for change (Labour, Liberal Democrats or Reform UK). Affective CRD is itself composed of the two latent constructs of negative collective emotions and perceived discrimination (see measurement model in [Supporting Information 5](#)). The numbers reported are standardised loadings. Each construct was entered as a latent factor. Dotted lines represent nonsignificant regression paths. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

from other models of collective action, the IDEAS model holds that social change beliefs should mediate effects of social identity, relative deprivation and efficacy (Abrams et al. 2020). Previous tests of this model evaluated the role of social change beliefs in the context of separatist nationalism (Abrams and Grant 2012; Abrams et al. 2020; Grant et al. 2017) and compliance with governmental rules (Lalot et al. 2023). The present research extended the model to address voting in national elections and political change. It tested the contention that a variety of different group memberships could potentially underpin appetite for social change and that a relevant superordinate identity would be one that could span a diverse set of groups.

4.1 | IDEAS in the 2024 General Election

Efforts by different groups to attain a superordinate objective may be key to enabling societal change, such as when both men and women may support (or oppose) women's rights for abortion, or when different organisations seek the same outcomes but for differing reasons or, as seen recently in Syria in the winter of 2024, when groups with very different cultural, ethnic, and religious orientations converged with a common aim to overthrow a regime (Uscinski et al. 2021).

In the 2024 UK general election, supporters of political parties that were in competition or ideological opposition were nonetheless simultaneously seeking change. Specifically, on the left/liberal end of the political spectrum, the Labour and Liberal parties were both arguing for a more socially progressive change, whereas the Reform UK party, on the right, was arguing for more restrictive and populist changes vis-à-vis the policies of the incumbent Conservative party. All three of these opposition parties were also fighting hard to win seats

for members of parliament, which meant competing with one another at the local constituency level. The IDEAS model expected voting preferences for these very different opposition parties would be predicted by shared national identification, CRD and collective efficacy. Crucially, regardless of party preferences, the same social change beliefs were expected to mediate the relationship between these variables and voting intention and behaviour.

The hypothesis that social change beliefs would predict voting for *change* (support for any of the three opposition parties) as opposed to voting for the status quo (i.e., the presiding, Conservative and party) was tested using a sample of English voters surveyed shortly before the 2024 general election. The data provided very clear support for the proposition that social change beliefs would predict voting for a party other than Conservative. In turn, social change beliefs were predicted by affective CRD and by collective efficacy, as well as indirectly (though not directly) by national identification.

4.2 | A Complex Effect of National Identification

One pathway was counter to prediction, namely that between national identification and affective deprivation, which also led to a negative indirect effect of identification on social change beliefs. In retrospect, this is not necessarily surprising. Lalot et al. (2023) noted the potentially paradoxical impact of national identification on opposition to government restrictions during the COVID-19 pandemic—higher identification could suppress disloyalty to the national government at the same time as motivating change to create better outcomes for the country. National identification indirectly predicted *lower* social change beliefs via less negative emotions but also higher social change beliefs via stronger collective efficacy.

TABLE 4 | Regression paths in the structural equation model.

Regression path	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>	β
Affective CRD ~					
Cognitive CRD	0.893	0.064	13.96	<0.001	0.659
National ID	-0.214	0.043	-4.99	<0.001	-0.18
Collective efficacy ~					
Affective CRD	0.044	0.038	1.18	0.24	0.058
National ID	0.180	0.043	4.16	<0.001	0.208
Social change beliefs ~					
Affective CRD	0.937	0.048	19.36	<0.001	0.823
Collective efficacy	0.369	0.044	8.42	<0.001	0.246
National ID (direct residual)	0.030	0.041	0.74	0.46	0.023
Indirect via Aff-CRD	-0.201	0.041	—	[-0.282, -0.120]	-0.155
Indirect via Coll. Eff.	0.063	0.016	—	[0.031, 0.095]	0.048
Total effect	-0.108	0.052	—	[-0.209, -0.006]	-0.083
Voting intentions ~					
Social change beliefs	0.227	0.009	24.65	<0.001	0.782
Subjective wellbeing ~					
Personal RD	-0.378	0.036	-10.64	<0.001	-0.400
Affective CRD	-0.113	0.031	-3.69	<0.001	-0.164
National ID	0.168	0.034	4.98	<0.001	0.214
Covariances					
Cognitive CRD ~~ National ID	-0.438	0.063	-6.91	<0.001	-0.347
Cognitive CRD ~~ Personal RD	0.224	0.047	4.74	<0.001	0.214
National ID ~~ Personal RD	-0.057	0.053	-1.06	0.29	-0.046
Subjective wellbeing ~~ Voting intentions	-0.012	0.011	-1.15	0.25	-0.052

Note: Fully left justified constructs (~) are endogenous variables. For the indirect effects, the 95% percentile bootstrap confidence intervals are reported rather than the *p*-value. ~ represent regression paths (with the construct listed on the left being the dependent variable). ~~ indicate covariances.

These findings are echoed by the present research, and also in Grant et al. (2015). Therefore, these contrasting effects of identification are likely to be systematic rather than attributable to measurement or to unmeasured external variables. Although prior research has established the importance of national identification for political action (Huddy and Khatib 2007), it is not clear that it would always be a uniting force, as proposed by Transue (2007), but rather something that would motivate different choices among different people. Comparable conclusions emerge from political science research on qualifications to the nature of affective polarisation (Eck and Paulis 2025; Häusermann et al. 2023). Future research should explore how people resolve this identity dilemma, perhaps by differentiating the implications of national identification for loyalty to the government from loyalty to the central values of the country (see Schatz et al. 1999; Sekerdej and Roccas 2016).

An alternative approach to understanding the role of group identities would have been to focus on party identification.

Party identification was measured in the present research but hypotheses about its role were not preregistered because at that time, it seemed likely that many voters would have recently changed or be about to change their party identification in deciding how to vote. Analyses in the [Supporting Information 2](#) show relationships that are consistent with the IDEAS model, including a significant positive relationship between party identification and social change beliefs among those who intended to vote for the opposition parties but not among those who voted Conservative.

4.3 | Personal Versus Collective Relative Deprivation

The IDEAS model relates both to social psychological and economic models of collective action by specifying distinctive pathways and outcomes from PRD to personal well-being and CRD to social change beliefs and on to voting intentions. As

preregistered, PRD distinctively predicted lower subjective well-being and both PRD and subjective well-being were unrelated to social change beliefs (when accounting for the effect of CRD). Furthermore, as predicted, CRD and social identity were related both to social change beliefs and subjective well-being. These findings accord with the model's specification that affective CRD is likely to depress subjective well-being while social identification should bolster it (Haslam et al. 2021, 2018).

Interestingly, the correlational evidence showed that those who reported lower well-being were more likely to vote for the incumbent, in contrast to past evidence that it is those with higher well-being who do so (Ward 2020). Given that the predicted pathways to well-being were significant and in the expected directions, the present evidence remains consistent with the view that, although lower subjective well-being may be a key outcome of inequality, it is not a dominant direct driver of vote choice.

4.4 | Affective Relative Deprivation and Collective Efficacy

The IDEAS model predicts that affective relative deprivation should relate positively to collective efficacy. The rationale for this (Grant et al. 2015, 2017) is that those who see themselves as disadvantaged may conclude that collective action would effectively resolve the situation. However, this pathway was not significant in the present research, as was also true both in Abrams et al. (2020) study, which measured current efficacy, and in Lalot et al. (2023) study, which, like the present study, measured anticipated efficacy. Therefore, it is questionable whether this hypothesised path should be retained in future tests of the model, or whether particular caveats may be required, such as that it might apply only to members of disadvantaged groups.

4.5 | Other Models of Collective Action

The dual chamber and SIMCA models draw on social identity theory to predict collective action. These models emphasise direct and indirect routes to action from group identification and collective efficacy (as well as moral convictions). The IDEAS model offers a substantial elaboration by specifying that the adoption of social change beliefs should be a proximal precursor of action intentions, and that these beliefs are likely to mediate much of the impact of other antecedents, including relative deprivation, social identity and collective efficacy. Future research should also explore whether these beliefs also mediate between moral convictions and action intentions.

In this regard the present research offers some important new insights. One of these is that social identities can provide different routes to the two outcomes (collective action and personal subjective well-being). National identification had only indirect effects on social change beliefs, but both a direct and indirect positive effect (through collective efficacy) on subjective well-being. These, combined with the direct link between PRD and lower well-being, illustrate how relative deprivation at both levels has a bearing on individual level well-being that is separate from the effects on social change beliefs. It is also notable that political identification with any of the opposition parties

was directly related to social change beliefs (see [Supporting Information 2](#)).

This evidence supports the contention in the IDEAS model that collective RD has implications for both personal and collective outcomes and that these are distinct from the effects of personal RD. Whereas social change beliefs and collective action are predicted solely by the group-level variables (collective RD, collective efficacy and identity), subjective well-being is predicted by variables involving both individual and collective identities.

4.6 | Strengths and Limitations

A strength of the present research is that instead of predicting the amount of collective action or the strength of collective action intentions, it sought to predict the substantive meaning of action. All participants were politically engaged, and so the question facing them was not whether to vote, but rather how. The evidence progresses the IDEAS model by demonstrating that it can successfully differentiate choices made by those seeking contrasting collective goals. Much collective action research focuses on group memberships that involve a specific set of activists or minoritised groups. This research instead considered how the active electorate as a whole might bring about change, widening the generalisability of evidence beyond that of specific political groups or organisations.

The sample was purposive rather than nationally representative. However, its voting profile was suitably representative of the electorate. Specifically, the quotas for supporters of each party matched opinion poll data immediately prior to the election (which also accurately predicted the proportions of individuals that would support each party in the actual election). Respondents were also asked how they had voted in the previous (2019) general election and the differences between the 2019 and 2024 voting profiles closely matched that of the population electorate (i.e., their prior voting would have yielded the Conservative Party victory at the previous election), indicating that the sample reflected the political transitions of the electorate as a whole. Had resources and time permitted it would have been desirable to capture a fully nationally representative sample, although this would also have included over 400 non-voters in order to match the statistical power achieved in the current study.

We are aware that although the model specifies a set of causal pathways, the present analysis cannot establish causality and is designed only to determine the plausibility of the hypothesised pathways and the absence of alternative pathways. Nonetheless it is a prospective study in which the final outcome (voting) is most certainly dependent on, and not causally prior to, the other variables. Moreover, experimental manipulations of voting preferences to test the causal relationships would not be ethical or legal in the context of national elections in the United Kingdom. Deliberate manipulation of voting during an election is defined by the Electoral Commission as 'campaign marketing' for which consent would have to have been gained and which would have to be indicated explicitly to recipients. This would also breach the researchers' political neutrality and eligibility for research

funding. Therefore we rely on the strong theoretical framework and the timing of the study (in the 2 weeks prior to voting) to assess how well the model captures the expected associations among the variables.

Finally, the present study illuminates a very unambiguous instance of collective action by assessing intentions in a situation in which a single act (voting) was the only possible option that would be both necessary and potentially sufficient to bring about change. Indeed, it resulted in the first change of party in power in the United Kingdom for 14 years, accompanied by substantial proportionate gains in the number of seats held by all three opposition parties. Not only did the study confirm the key role of social change beliefs, it also demonstrated a strong correspondence between these, voting intentions and subsequent voting behaviour. Although it might be 'obvious' that social change beliefs lead to action, it is not inevitable what the specific action would be. Other factors could intervene, and there could be counteracting beliefs (see Fatke and Freitag 2013; Uluğ et al. 2025). The SIMCA and other models do not identify variables that could explain the means through which relative deprivation, group identification and collective efficacy lead to action intentions. Tajfel and Turner (1979) theorised that the development of a social change belief system should be a key mechanism. Therefore, tests of this part of the IDEAS model fill this critical gap, illuminating *why* relative deprivation, social identity and collective efficacy might become a basis for action.

In tandem with these strengths, the present research has some limitations. The data were necessarily mostly cross-sectional, reflecting a tradeoff between capturing the moment and a more optimal research design. Although causality of the hypothesised pathways cannot be confirmed, their consistency with the model and explicit preregistration of the hypotheses as well as congruent tests of the SIMCA do clearly support the plausibility of these causal links. In the SEM analyses, the absence of any significant modification indices that would contradict the model also provides reassurance that the model is not underspecified.

The 2024 general election was announced at very short notice, leaving no practical scope to establish a baseline for prior voting behaviour other than respondents' self-reports. Specifically, voting opportunities for different political parties in the United Kingdom arise not only in general elections but also in local elections. These are held in different years in different constituencies around the country and therefore it was not feasible to ensure that all respondents' most recent vote would have had the same time distance from the general election. However, it is evident that voting intention was not simply based on habit or consistency bias because many local candidates and, more particularly, the leadership of all parties had changed since the previous general election (several times in some cases). Moreover, the predictive validity of the voting intention measure provides reassurance that voting intention was the appropriate dependent variable in the present research (see Supporting Information 6).

A further limitation is that electoral turnout was low (60%) and data were not collected from individuals with no interest in politics or no intention to vote. Reasons for nonvoting were not focal for the present research and it is not possible to know

their reasons for inaction. However, previous tests supporting the IDEAS model had already examined voting for separatist parties versus not (i.e., other parties or not at all).

Given that the IDEAS model has more parameters than companion models of collective action such as SIMCA, it faces a more challenging threshold for fitting the data adequately, particularly over repeated tests and different contexts. Confidence in the model is strengthened by confirmation of the large majority of predicted pathways and its overall good fit to the data. However, for parsimony, there may be a case for reducing the number of parameters. An avenue for simplification and future research may be signalled by the nonsignificant path from affective CRD to collective efficacy, which could be dropped.⁶ Alternatively, that pathway may be moderated by other factors such as the type of protest or whether it is by minority group members or by multiple groups. Further, if personal RD is included in future tests of the model, it may be valuable to use a multi-item rather than the single item measure used in this and earlier research.

We also note the high correlation between affective relative deprivation and social change beliefs. This path was also strong in prior research (e.g., Abrams et al. 2020; Lalot et al. 2023). In the present case it may also have been strengthened owing to the imminence of the opportunity for action, and that both sets of measures include reference to 'the government'. We are reassured that the two constructs are distinct in terms of face and construct validity, as well as from the excellent fit of the measurement model.

It is also possible that the model omits an important additional variable. No obvious candidates emerge from the correlational data or research literature. Exploratory analyses confirmed that one possible candidate variable, moral conviction, had no bearing on relationships among the variables and did not explain significant additional variance in voting intentions (see Supporting Information 3). Moreover, when gender and age were added as control variables, only gender had a direct effect on vote ($p=0.045$, women more likely to vote for change), and these additions did not reduce the fit of the model or significance of the pathways.

5 | Implications and Conclusions

The present research extended the IDEAS model to address how political change is mobilised during national elections. It highlights that a party in power may be defeated not because of the electorate's attraction to a single alternative manifesto but by people's conclusion that, for whatever reasons, an improvement in their situation is only possible by a change of government. The model assumes that relative deprivation, social identity and collective efficacy are important elements that become synthesised through social change beliefs. Although there might be additional variables that also contribute, the evidence supports the prediction that it is social change beliefs that most proximally motivate action to achieve change. Further longitudinal designs, qualitative and perhaps experimental investigations may now help to test particular causal paths in more detail (see e.g., Zubielevitch et al. 2020).

The model is relevant to changing levels of extremism and political populism, and forms of system rejection (see Jost et al. 2018; Travaglino et al. 2017). It also intersects interestingly with other approaches that focus on perceptions of systems as a whole, such as system justification theory (Jost et al. 2017). Indeed, the linkage between system justification and social change beliefs is likely to be a useful direction for research because some evidence suggests that system sanctioned framing on climate awareness can enhance, as well as inhibit support for pro-environmental policies (Mason et al. 2024).

UK National survey data a year after the election also indicate that people's appetite for change continues to span partisan divides (Tryl et al. 2025), further underlining the value of models that address mobilisation of social change beliefs and not just specific partisan preferences. The scope of the model can readily be expanded to address not just national but global or wider cultural identities that might motivate concern for climate change, health threats, or inequalities more generally. The interesting question then becomes whether all three variables (identification, relative deprivation, collective efficacy) necessarily or sufficiently contribute to the development of social change beliefs, or whether the weight of each varies depending on the nature of the challenge and group(s) affected. Moreover, it may be that anticipated deprivation and fear of loss may be influential and not just current intergroup or historical comparisons. Finally, while the present research found no role for moral conviction, it is easy to conceive that for some issues where social change is advocated, moral conviction could be an important element of the framing and reasoning that people use to act for change. These are all fruitful avenues for future research.

As the impact of social media and the rapid spread of information and influence become more powerful globally, it becomes even more vital to understand how and why people come to adopt social change beliefs. Evidence for the IDEAS model suggests that this belief system is a vehicle through which both progressive and humanitarian as well as populist and extremist forces may have an impact on society. Social identification can bolster well-being at the same time as underpinning a clear sense that structural change is a necessary precondition for improved collective circumstances. This combination seems to be a powerful recipe for mobilising social action.

Author Contributions

Dominic Abrams: conceptualisation, methodology, investigation, formal analysis, resources, writing – original draft, project administration. **Fanny Lalot:** conceptualisation, methodology, investigation, formal analysis, data curation, writing – original draft, visualisation. **Peter R. Grant:** conceptualisation, writing – review and editing.

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Ethics Statement

University of Kent School of Psychology Ethics #202417195779639224.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

The study was preregistered: <https://aspredicted.org/jvb4-3v3z.pdf>. Data, materials and code for analysis are publicly available on the OSF: <https://osf.io/9h5mp>.

Endnotes

¹ This is a premise from relative deprivation theory (Smith et al. 2012). The preregistration stated separate hypotheses for the two components of Aff-CRD, negative emotions (H1a) and perceived discrimination (H1b). As the two sub-hypotheses are identical and derive from the latent construct of Aff-CRD this single construct was adopted to simply the model and maximise analysis power.

² We also measured party identification (three items) and expected those who identified with Labour, Liberal or Reform parties but not the Conservative party would hold stronger social change beliefs. However, this was not a preregistered hypothesis as the primary focus of the study was to test the role of national identification.

³ Agostini and van Zomeren (2021) contention that moral conviction should predict collective action is not encompassed by the IDEAS model, and hence not part of the model to be formally tested in the present study, but the principle that social change ideology is the most proximal predictor of collective action would imply that any effects of moral conviction would also be mediated by social change ideology, and this possibility is also examined in the present study. The measure of moral conviction (three items) is described in more detail in [Supporting Information 3](#).

⁴ Three items also measured local identity for which exploratory analyses are reported in the [Supporting Information](#) (Supporting Information 1), but it was not straightforward to make predictions about the relationship between local identification and social change beliefs. These were considered only in exploratory analyses, discussed and presented in [Supporting Information 2](#).

⁵ Model fit with modification: $\chi^2(df=282, N=593)=849, p<0.001, \chi^2/df=3.01, CFI=0.952, RMSEA=0.058, 90\% [0.054, 0.063], SRMR=0.045$.

⁶ Exploratory comparison of the fit of a simpler model that excluded this link showed that the fit was comparable to that of the overall model, suggesting the link may be unnecessary, $\Delta\chi^2(\Delta df=1)=1.40, p=0.24$.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section. **Supporting Information: 1** The effect of local (Non-politicised) identity. **Table S1:1:** Correlations between local identity and the other constructs of the IDEAS model. **Table S1:2:** Regression paths in the Structural Equation Model including local identity. **Supporting Information: 2:** The effect of politicised (party) identification. **Table S2:1:** One-way ANOVAs testing differences in party identification and social change beliefs between the four groups of voters. **Table S2:2:** Number of participants who had changed or not changed their party affiliation between the 2019 (self-reported vote) and 2024 (intentions) General Elections. **Table S2:3:** Mean scores of party identification and social change beliefs among voters of the Conservative party versus other parties, distinguishing those who had changed versus not changed their vote from 2019. **Table S2:4:** Correlations between party identification and other variables from the IDEAS model, for (a) all participants, (b) Conservative voters and (c) other voters. **Supporting Information: 3:** Moral convictions and voting for change. **Table S3:1:** Hierarchical analysis (logistic regression models) testing the effect of moral convictions and other variables from the IDEAS model on intentions to vote for change. **Table S3:2:** Correlations between moral convictions and other variables from the IDEAS model. **Supporting Information: 4:** Measurement invariance. **Table S4:1:** Test of measurement invariance between the four groups of voters (conservative, labour, liberal democrats, and reform UK). **Supporting Information: 5:** Complete output of the structural equation modelling analyses. **Table S5:1:** Measurement model. **Table S5:2:** Explained variance. **Supporting Information: 6:** Voting intentions and (self-reported) vote. **Table S6:1:** Intended versus actual vote (self-reported) in the 2024 general election.