



**More in
Common**

Playing it safe or missing the moment?

How the 2024 Labour
Coalition is shaping up

Labour Party Conference Fringe Event 2023

The British Seven Segments

Progressive Activists



...a group for whom politics is an important part of their identity and who seek to correct longstanding injustices

Civic Pragmatists



...a group that cares about others, at home or abroad. They wish for less conflict and more compromise

Disengaged Battlers



... a group that are just getting by. They blame the system for its unfairness, but not other people

Established Liberals



...a group that has done well and means well towards others, but also sees a lot of good in the status quo

Loyal Nationals



...a patriotic group, who worry that our way of life is threatened and also feel our society has become more unfair

Disengaged Traditionalists



...a group that values a well-ordered society and prides in hard work. They want strong leadership that keeps people in line

Backbone Conservatives



... a group who are proud of their country, optimistic about Britain's future outside of Europe, and who keenly follow the news

Labour's potential 2024 coalition...

**Progressive
Activists**



Progressives

**Civic
Pragmatists**



Soft Left

**Disengaged
Battlers**



Urban Poor

**Established
Liberals**



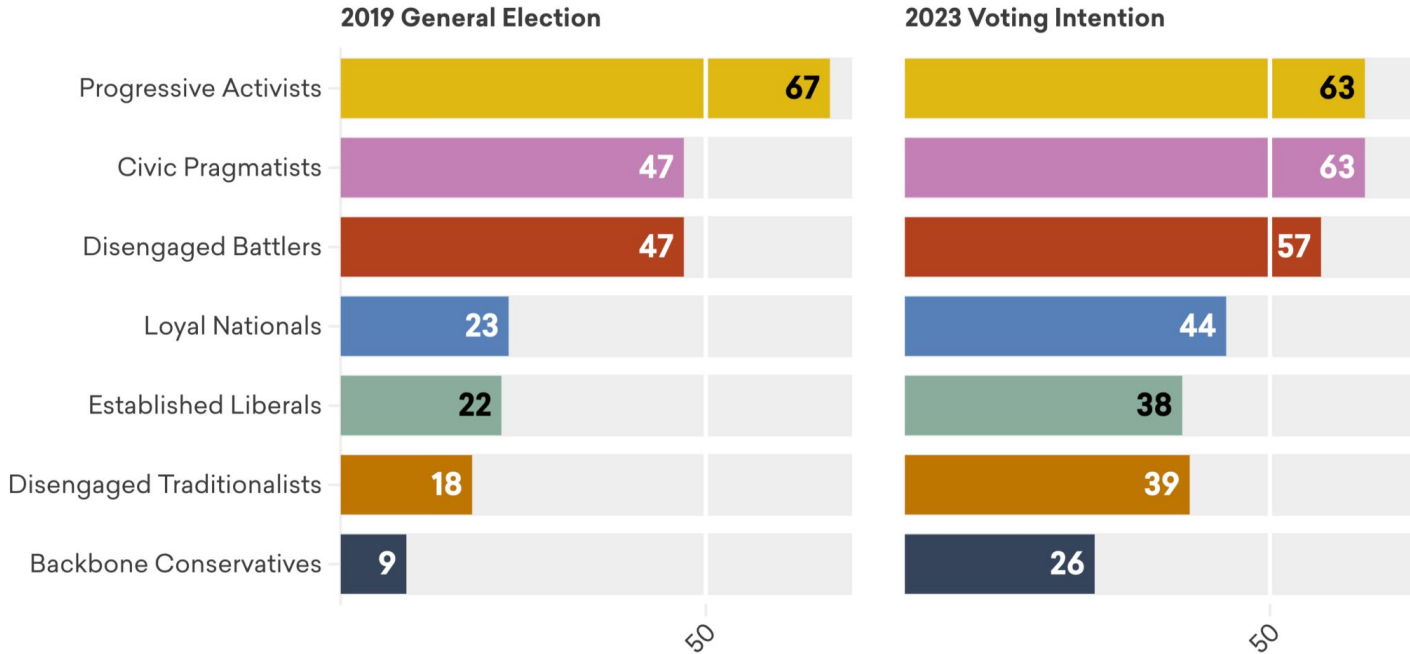
Blue Wall

**Loyal
Nationals**



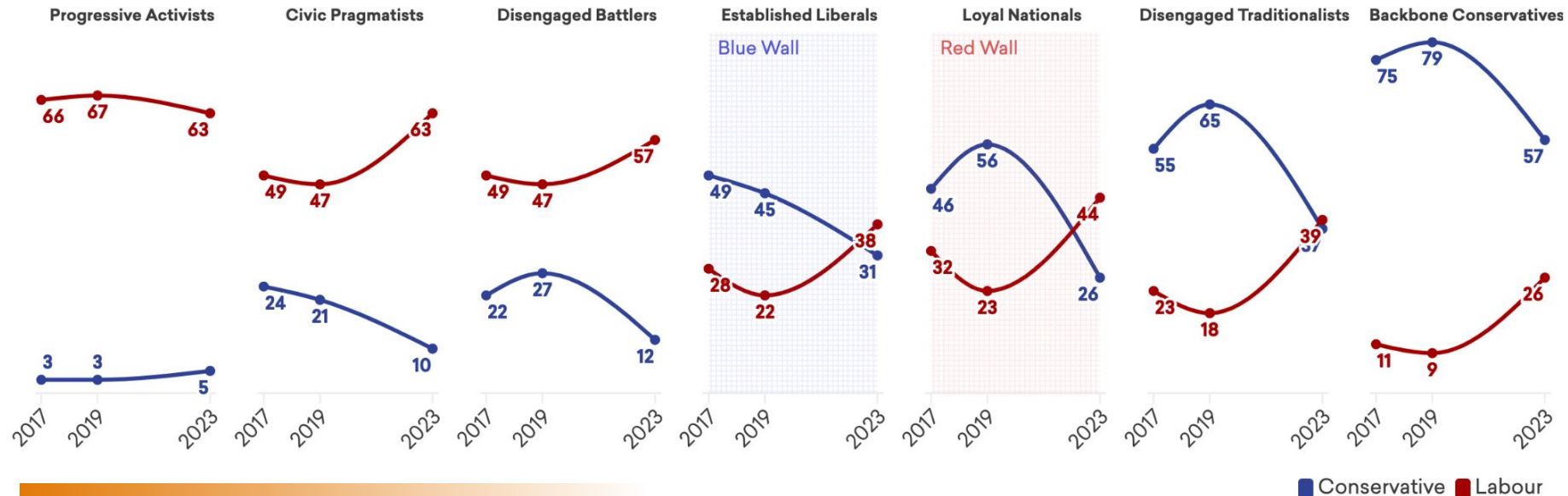
Red Wall

Labour's electoral coalition is getting broader



Labour's electoral coalition is getting broader

Changing voting intention – 2017 GE to Autumn 2023



Labour's 2019 coalition

Potential 2024 coalition

Where does Labour's potential coalition come from?

Progressive Activists

The only group to have shifted away from Labour since 2019, and the most likely segment to say that Corbyn did a better job as Labour Leader than Starmer. This group is somewhat dissatisfied with Labour's more centrist turn, but extremely dissatisfied with the government and therefore overwhelmingly likely to vote Labour.



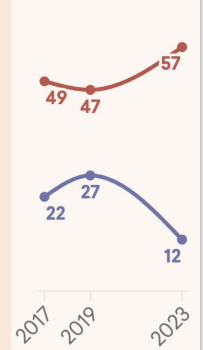
Civic Pragmatists

Dissatisfaction with radical / divisive politics and a strong desire for compromise drove Civic Pragmatists away from both major parties in 2019. In 2023, Civic Pragmatists are now *more* likely to support Labour than Labour's Progressive Activist base - their swing to Labour shows their satisfaction with the party's new direction.



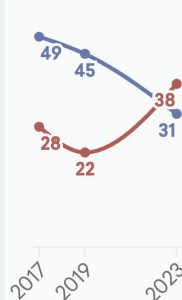
Disengaged Battlers

Traditionally a low turnout group, but their slight swing to Conservative in 2019 (mostly driven by Brexit) helped to secure Conservative victory. If they do vote, they will likely vote Labour in 2024. But they remain deeply pessimistic at the state of our country, and will need to be convinced that their votes could lead to meaningful change.



Established Liberals (Blue Wall)

Disliking Corbyn and Johnson, these voters swung away from both major parties in 2019. But where their support for the Conservatives has continued to fall, Established Liberals' support for Labour has grown. Increasingly disillusioned with the Conservatives, many Established Liberals will be choosing between the Liberal Democrats and Labour in 2024.



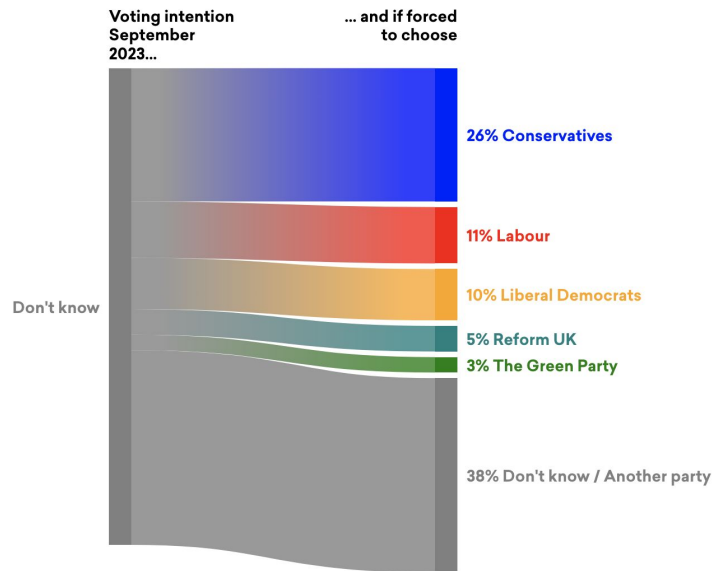
Loyal Nationals (Red Wall)

Driven by support for Boris Johnson and Brexit, these long-time Labour voters swung dramatically to Conservative in 2019. In 2023, this swing has (mostly) reversed back. Now, Labour enjoys an 18pt lead over the Conservatives with this group, and winning them over will mean success in the Red Wall.

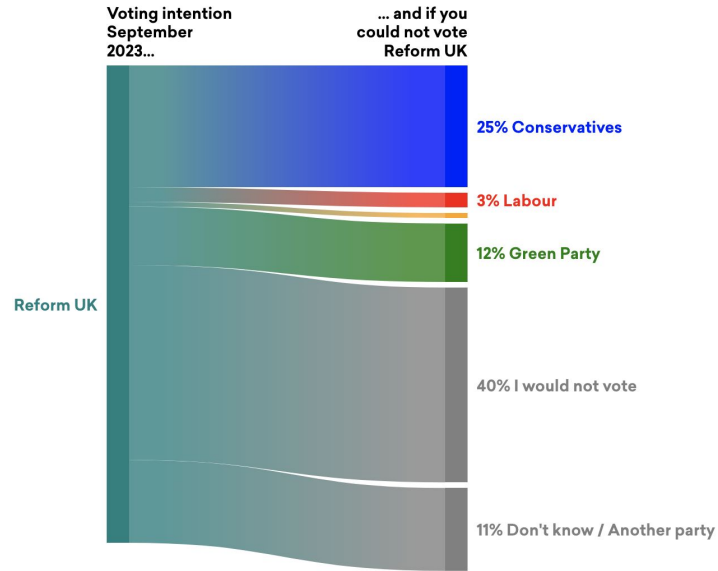


Two challenges for Labour from VI polling

Q1: Where will “Don’t know” voters go?



Q2: Where will Reform UK voters go?



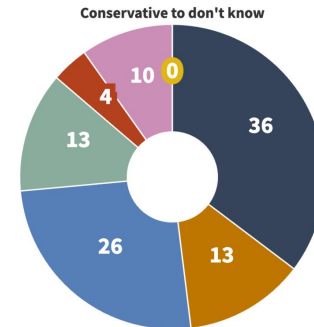
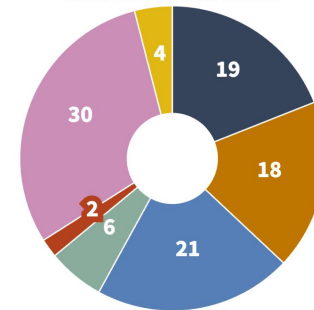
Answers: Much more likely that both of these groups (worth 20% of the UK public) vote Conservative than Labour.

Who is switching from Conservative?

Tory to Labour switchers are mostly drawn from the centre/left-leaning Civic Pragmatists. These were once a group the Tories were competitive with - many were dissatisfied with Corbyn but they are pleased with Starmer's leadership. They are now the segment most likely to vote for Labour.

Tory to undecided switchers are mostly drawn from more conservative groups. If these voters can be convinced to stick with the Tories in large numbers at the next General Election, it will significantly dampen Labour's prospects.

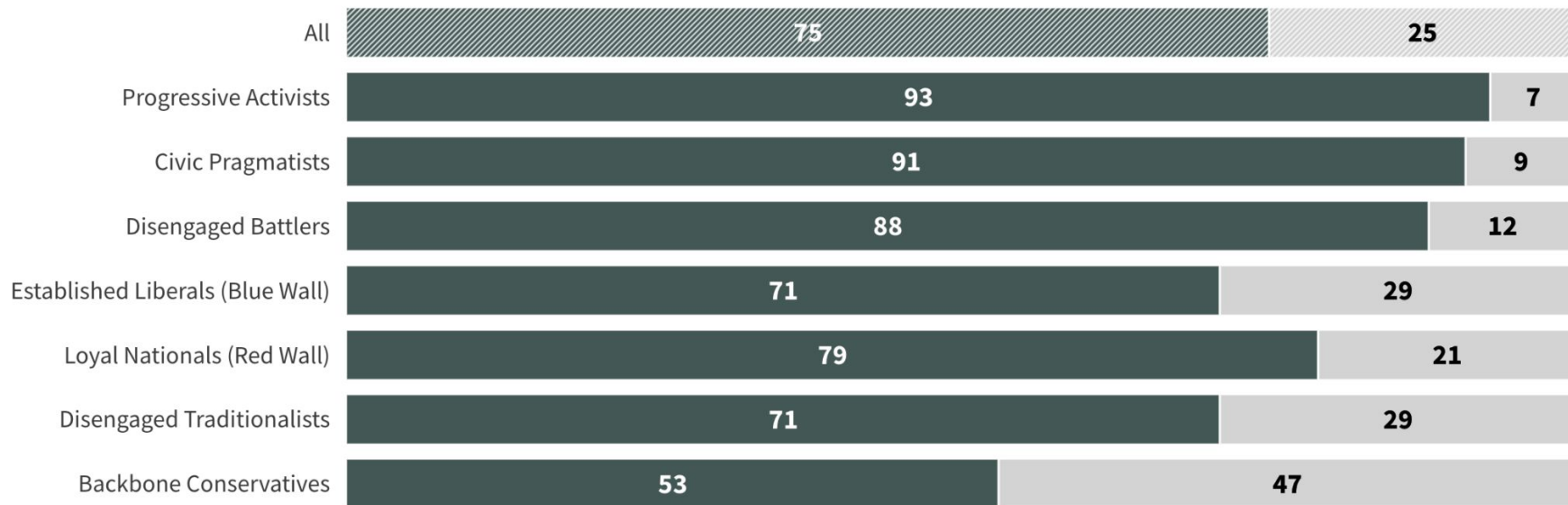
The Conservative switchers



The state of Britain in 2023: Opportunities for Labour

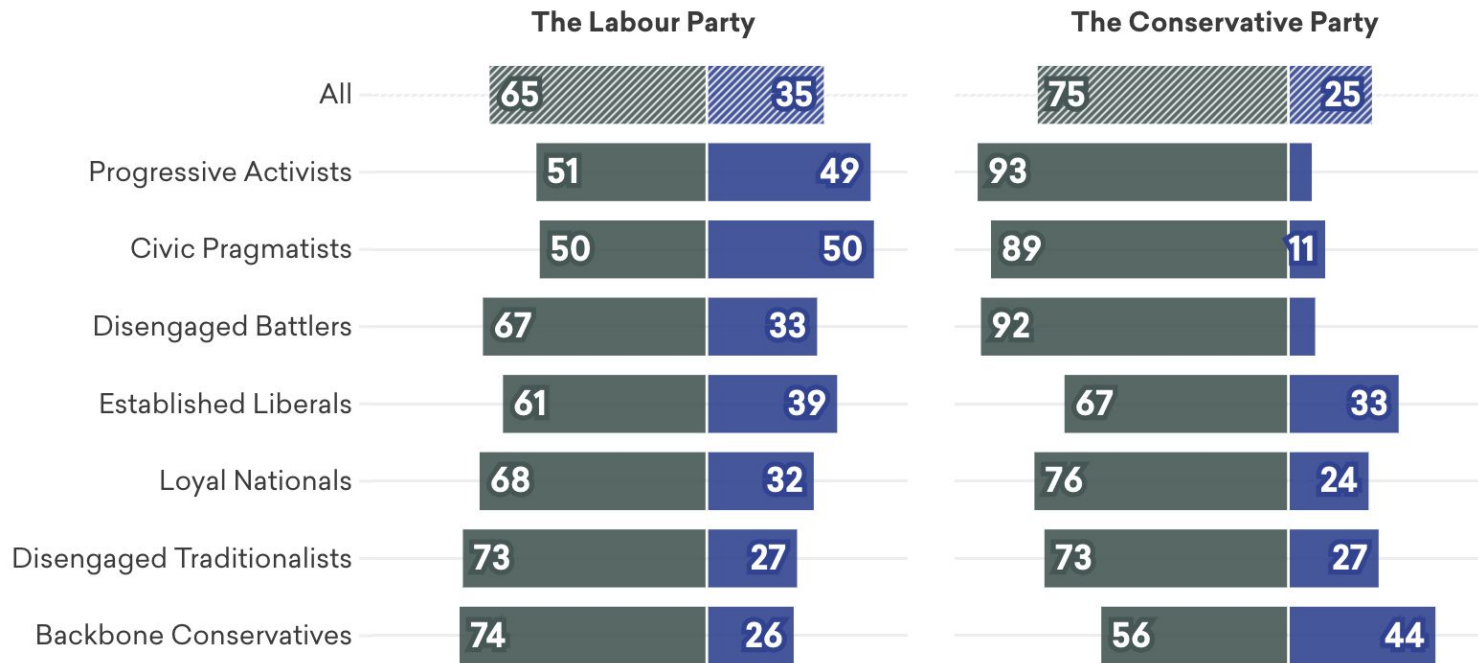
Strong demand for a change of government

Which comes closest to your view? ● The UK needs a change of government ● The UK does not need a change of government



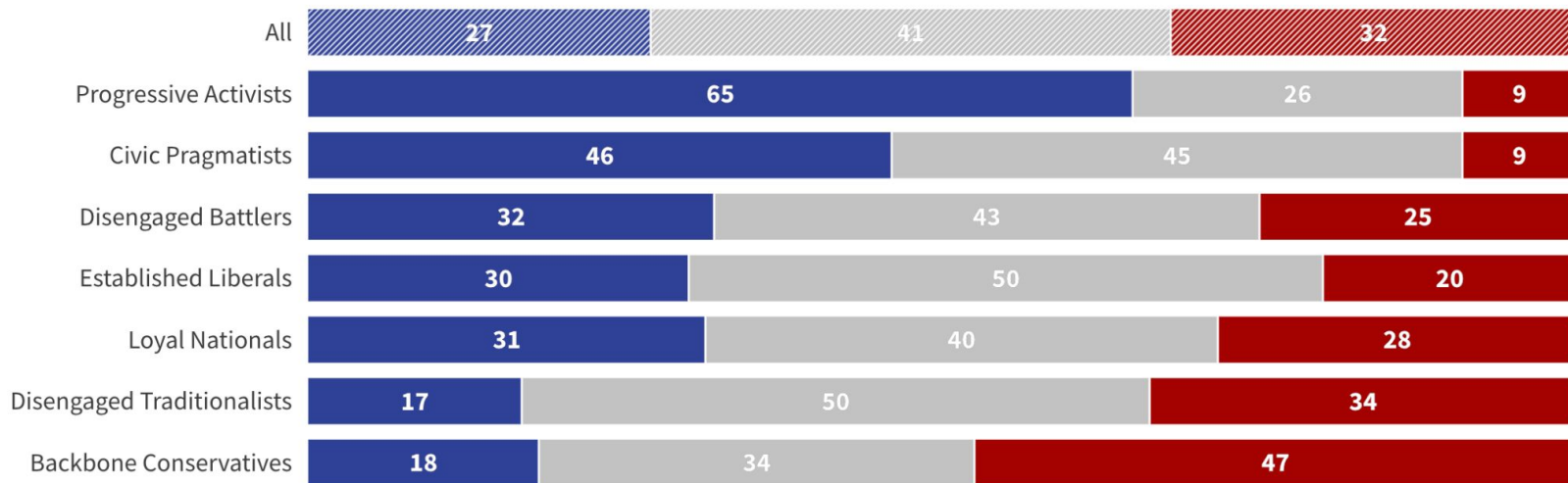
Britons don't trust the government to make changes - but don't necessarily trust Labour either

To what extent do you trust the following political parties? ● Don't trust ● Do trust



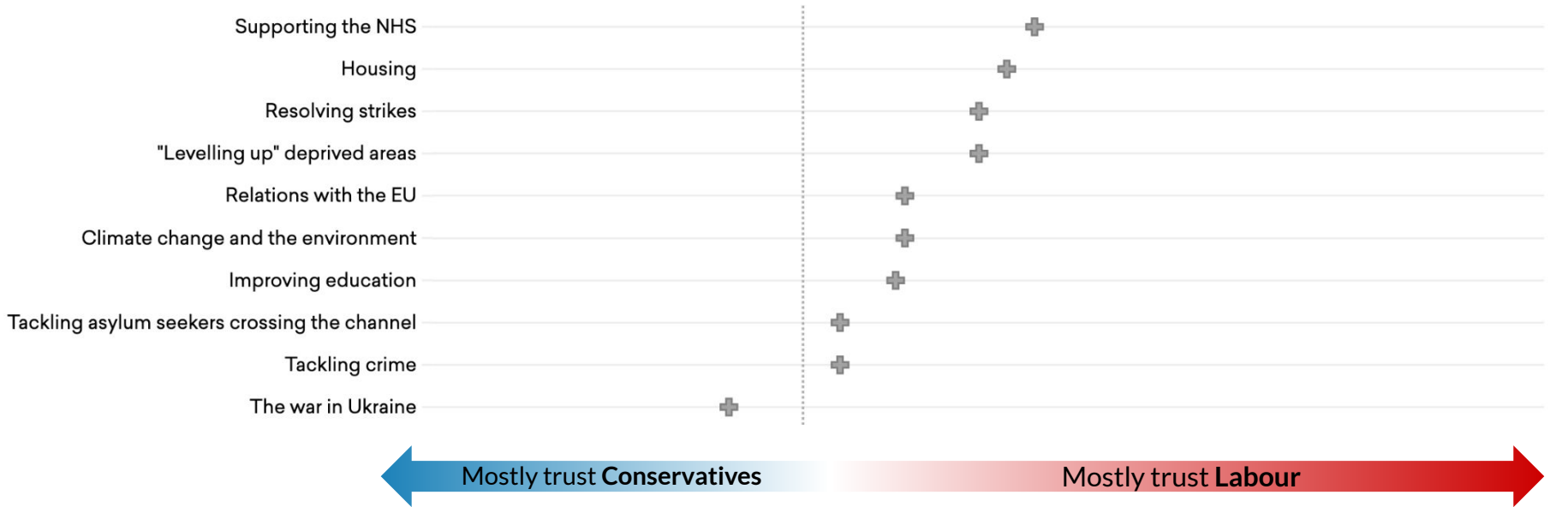
Is Labour winning by default?

Over the past 13 years, the Labour Party would have done a... ● Better job running the country
● No better or no worse a job running the country ● Worse job running the country



The public trust Labour more on almost all issues

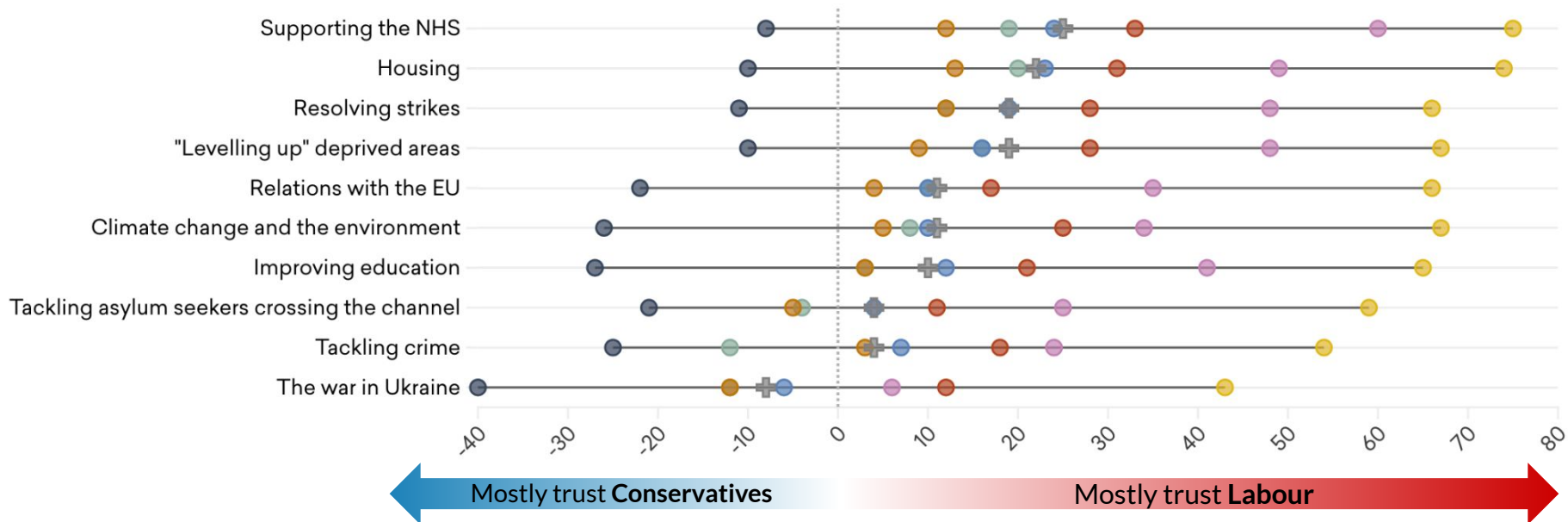
Which party do you trust the most on the issue of...



Legend: + All, ● Progressive Activists, ● Civic Pragmatists, ● Disengaged Battlers, ● Established Liberals, ● Loyal Nationals, ● Disengaged Traditionalists, ● Backbone Conservatives

Backbone Conservatives are the only segment who trust the Tories more than Labour

Which party do you trust the most on the issue of...

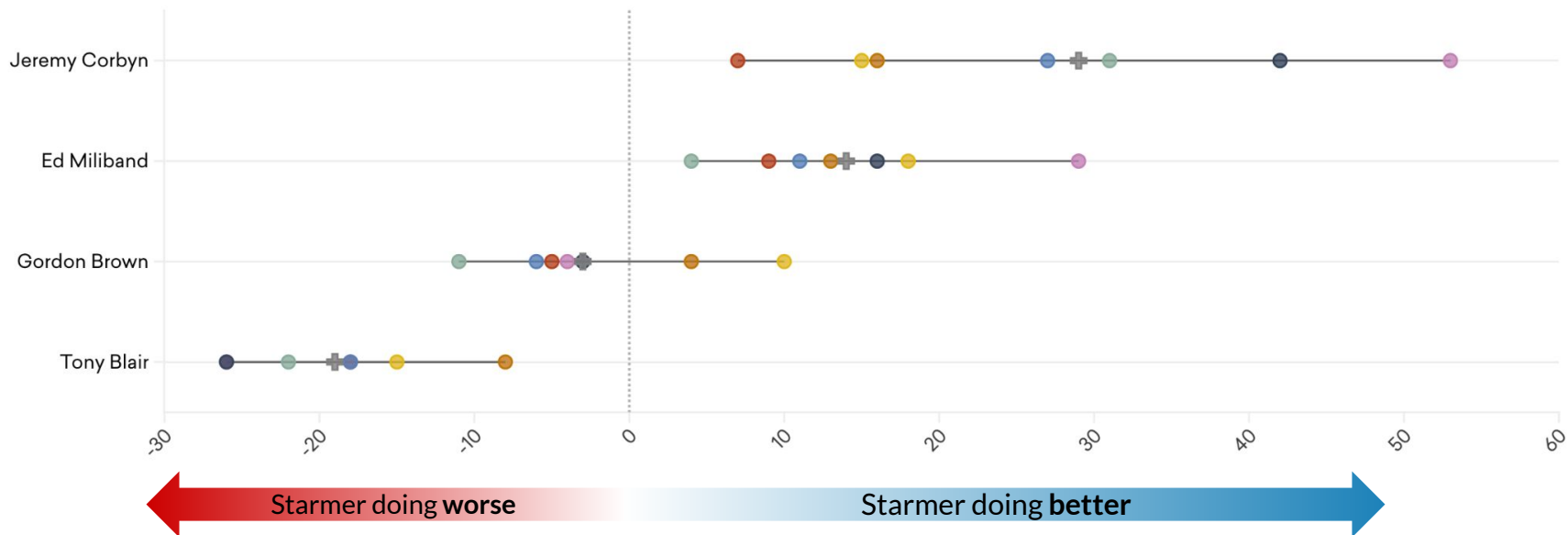


+ All
 ● Progressive Activists
 ● Civic Pragmatists
 ● Disengaged Battlers
 ● Established Liberals
 ● Loyal Nationals
 ● Disengaged Traditionalists
 ● Backbone Conservatives

Keir Starmer

Starmer significantly more popular than Corbyn or Miliband

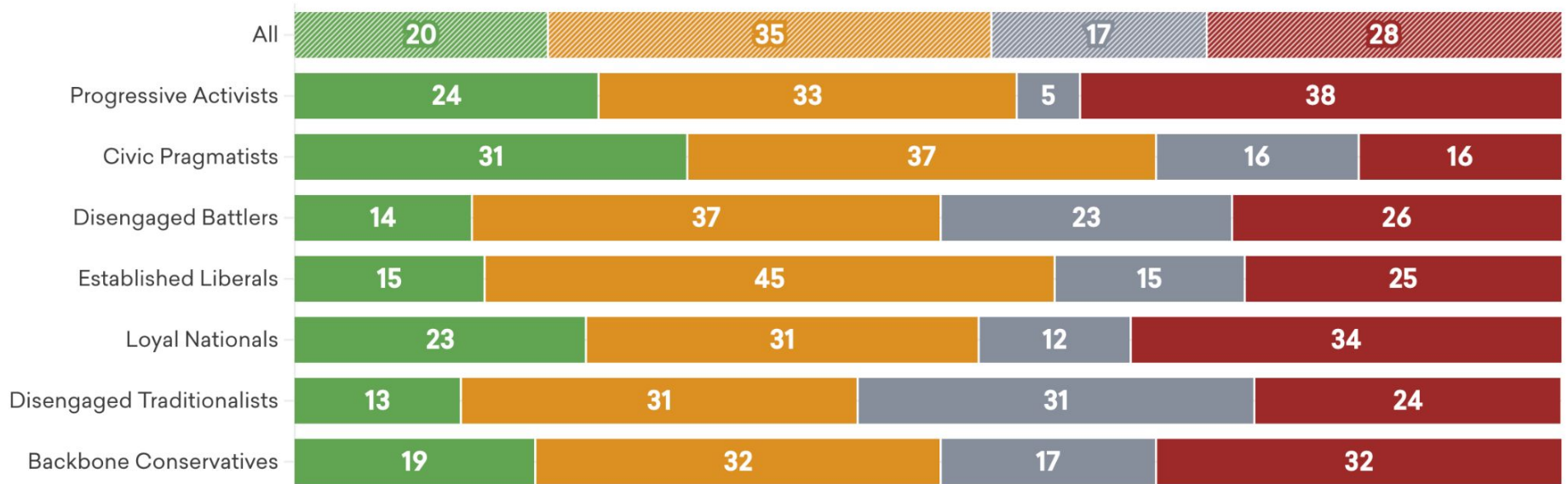
Based on how well he is performing as Labour leader, do you think that Keir Starmer is performing better or worse than the following previous Labour leaders?



⊕ All ● Progressive Activists ● Civic Pragmatists ● Disengaged Battlers ● Established Liberals ● Loyal Nationals ● Disengaged Traditionalists ● Backbone Conservatives

Starmer is mostly meeting the public's expectations

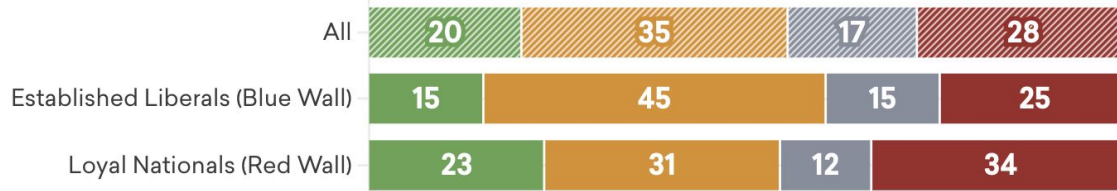
Since he became Labour Leader has Keir Starmer performed better, worse or about the same as you expected? ● Performed better
● Performed the same ● Don't know ● Performed worse



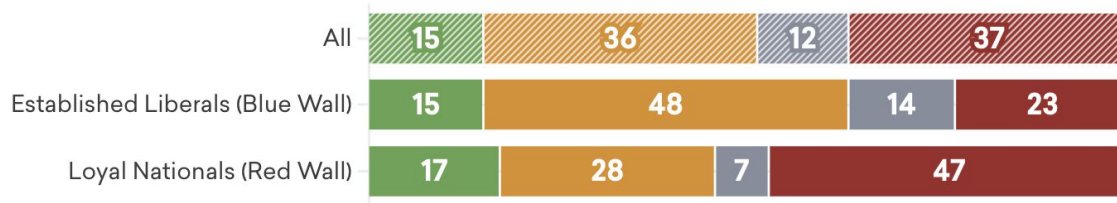
Civic Pragmatists are the only members of Labour's potential coalition who say that Starmer has done better than they expected as Labour Leader. Progressive Activists are the most negative about Starmer's performance.

Sunak's performance is rated more poorly

Since he became Labour Leader, has **Keir Starmer** done better or worse than you expected?



Since he became Prime Minister, has **Rishi Sunak** done better or worse than you expected?



● Performed better ● Performed the same ● Don't know ● Performed worse

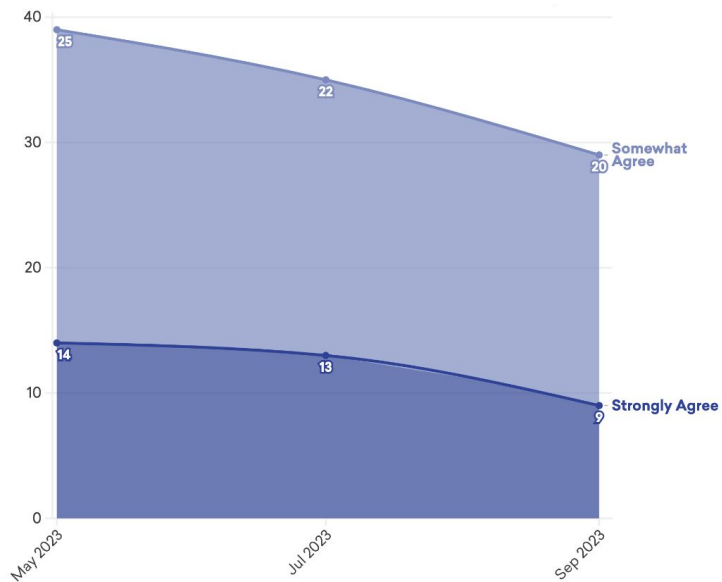
No group of voters strongly think that Sunak or Starmer has beaten expectations.

With **Blue Wall** voters, both Sunak and Starmer have mostly met their expectations, although they are slightly more positive about Rishi Sunak than they are with Keir Starmer.

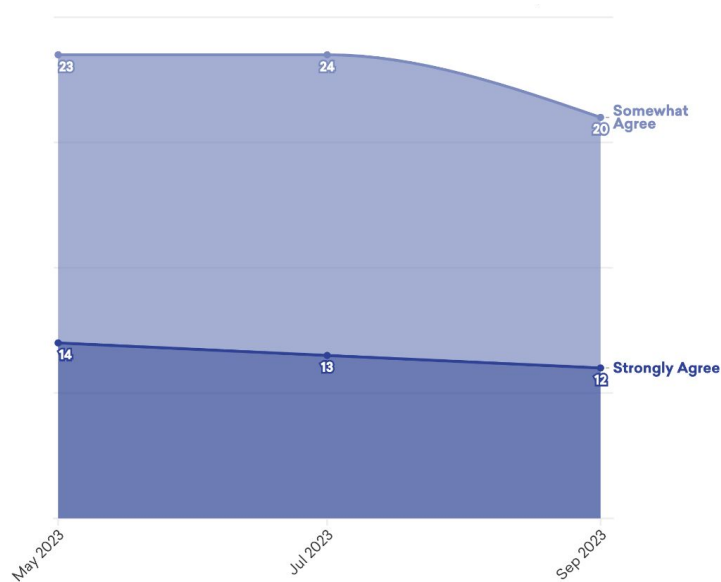
With **Red Wall** voters, Keir Starmer has mostly met expectations, but Rishi Sunak has underperformed considerably.

While Sunak's shine has worn off, Starmer's has remained mostly stable

"Rishi Sunak is an asset to the Conservative Party"

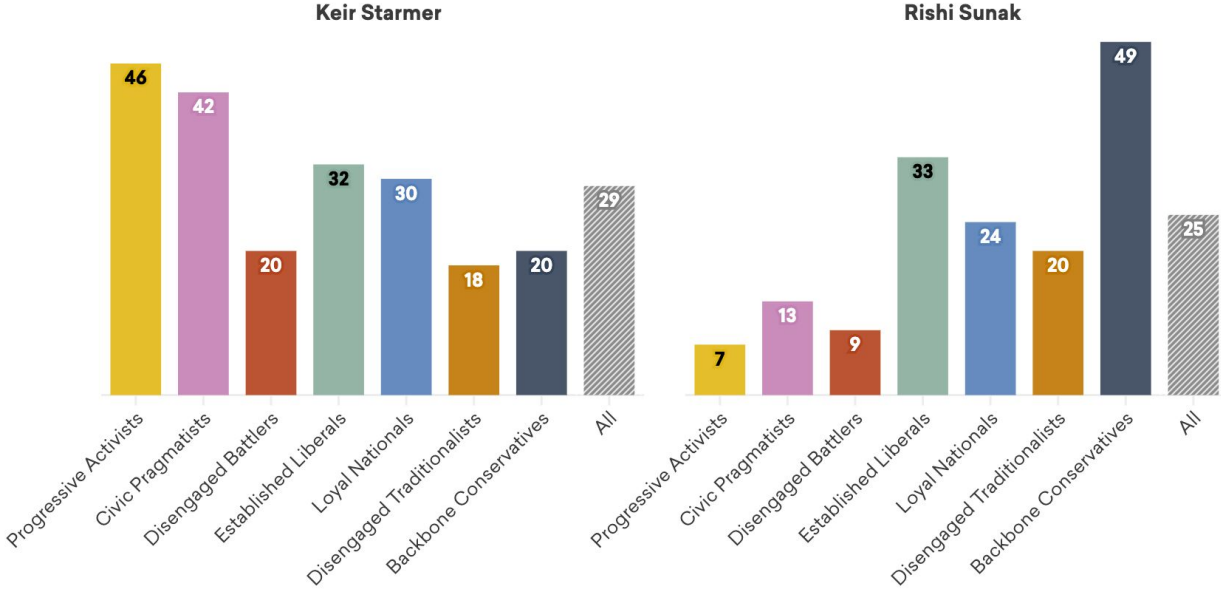


"Keir Starmer is an asset to the Labour Party"



Starmer is more trusted than Sunak

To what extent do you trust each of the following politicians? ["A great deal" or "Quite a lot"]



Manifesto



Raising minimum wage



Increasing NHS spending



Strengthening
employment rights



Extending the windfall
tax on oil and gas
companies



Spending more on efforts
to tackle climate change



Abolishing non-dom tax
breaks



Nationalising water and
energy



Ending tax breaks for
private schools



Scrapping university
tuition fees



Seeking closer
relations with the
EU



Ending new North
Sea oil and gas
licenses



Allowing more
home building on
the green belt



Ending support for
the war in Ukraine

Almost all of these policies make the public more likely to vote Labour

The only exceptions are building more on the green belt and ending support for Ukraine

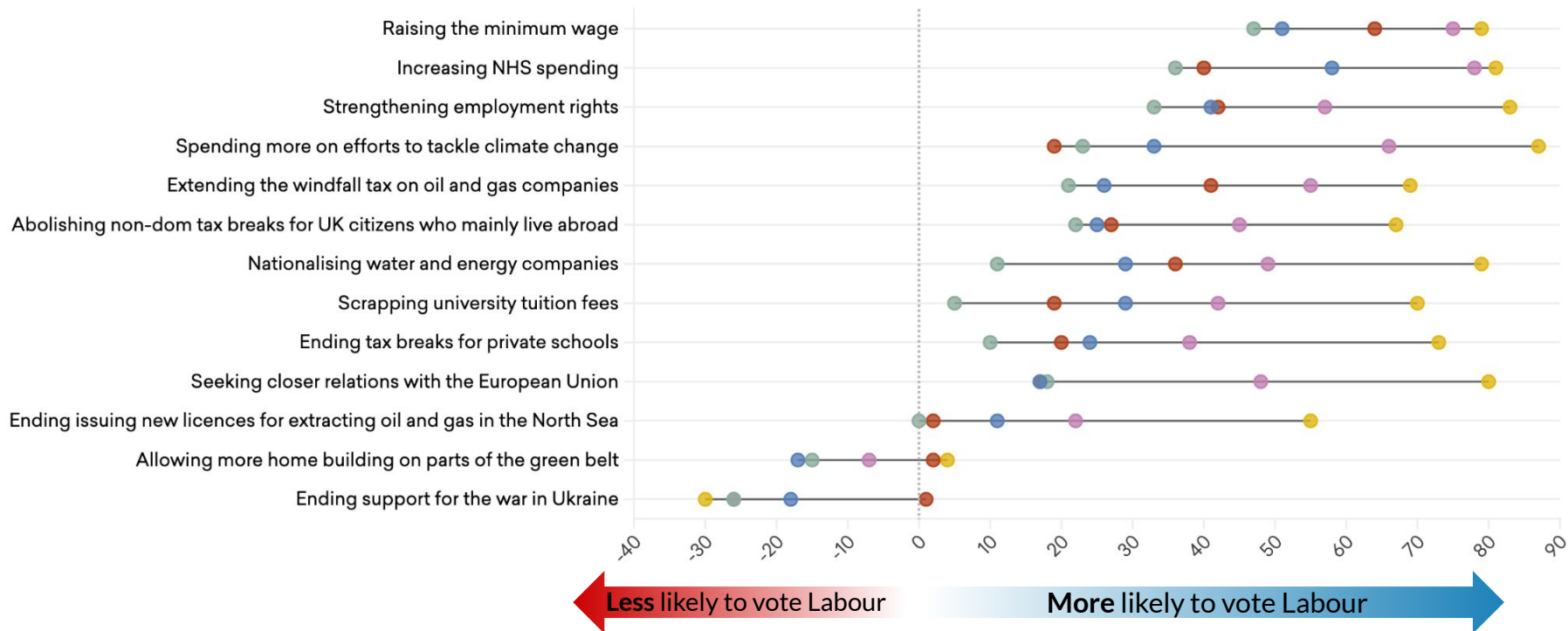
Would each of the following potential manifesto commitments make you more or less likely to vote for the Labour Party?



Support holds across Labour's coalition, but it is not uniform

For most policies, support is driven by **Progressive Activists** and **Civic Pragmatists**

Would each of the following potential manifesto commitments make you more or less likely to vote for the Labour Party?



Support holds across Labour's coalition, but it is not uniform

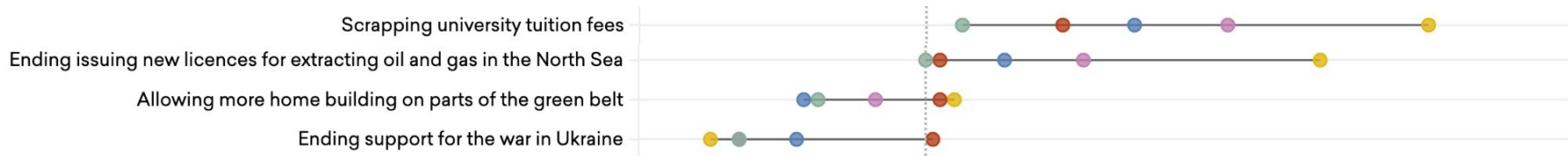
Policies with consistent, high support from all segments of the coalition



Policies where support is high, but split unevenly across the coalition - mostly driven by Progressive Activists

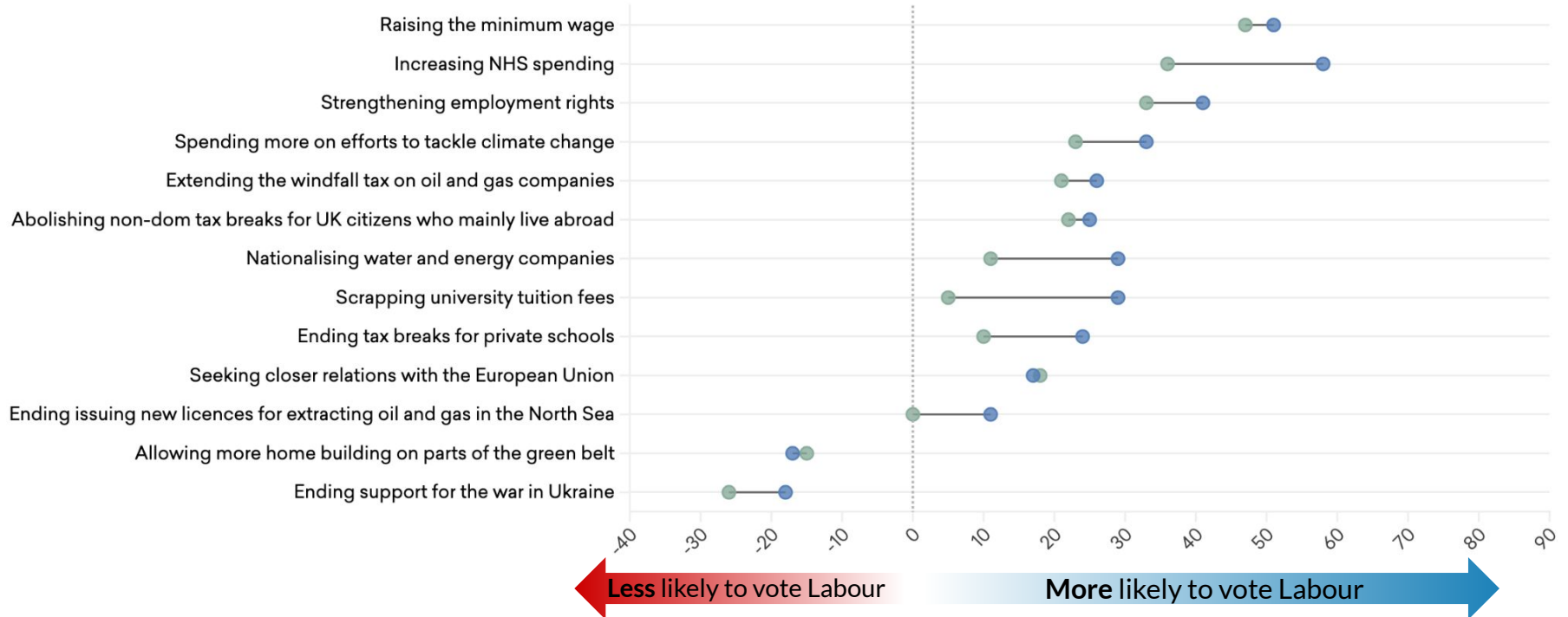


Policies that risk putting off some members of the coalition



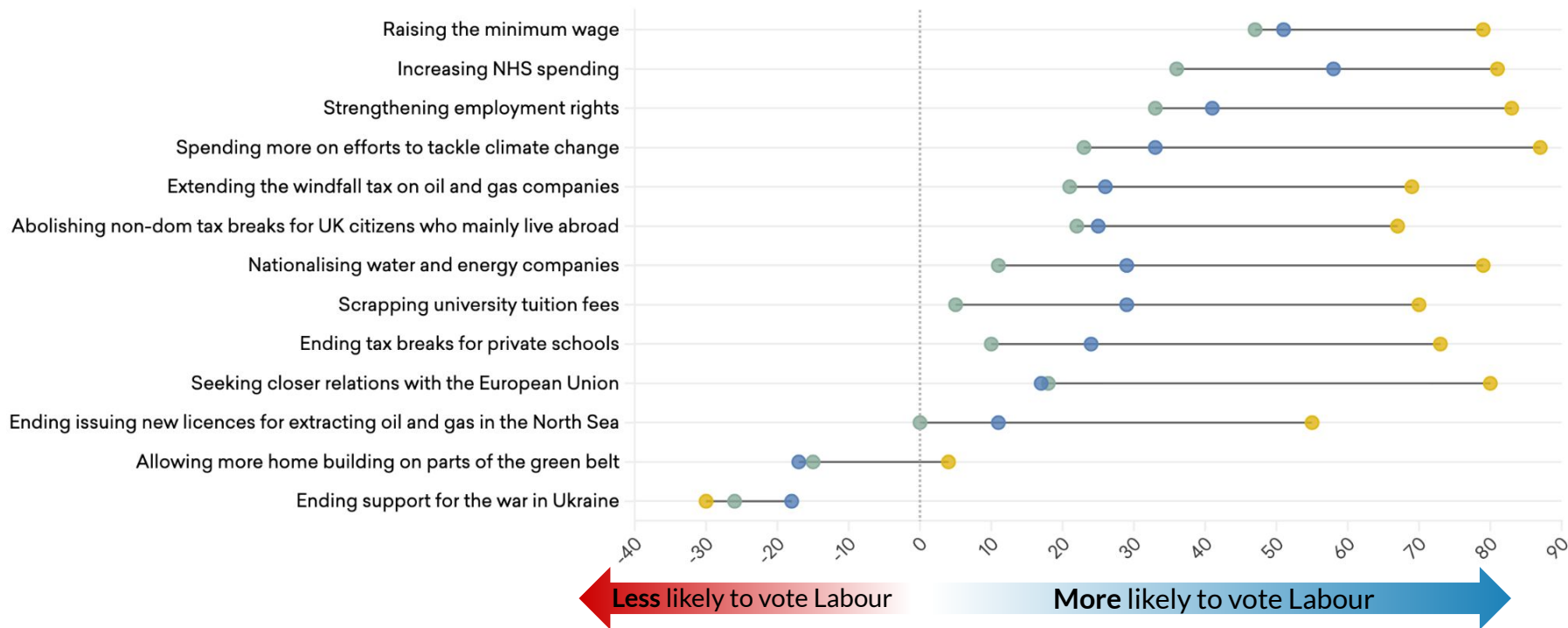
The Red Wall and Blue Wall agree on many issues

Established Liberal (Blue Wall) voters are not far from Loyal National (Red Wall) voters on support for many policies - such as raising the minimum wage or strengthening employment rights. There is more disagreement on tuition fees, NHS spending, and nationalising utility companies.



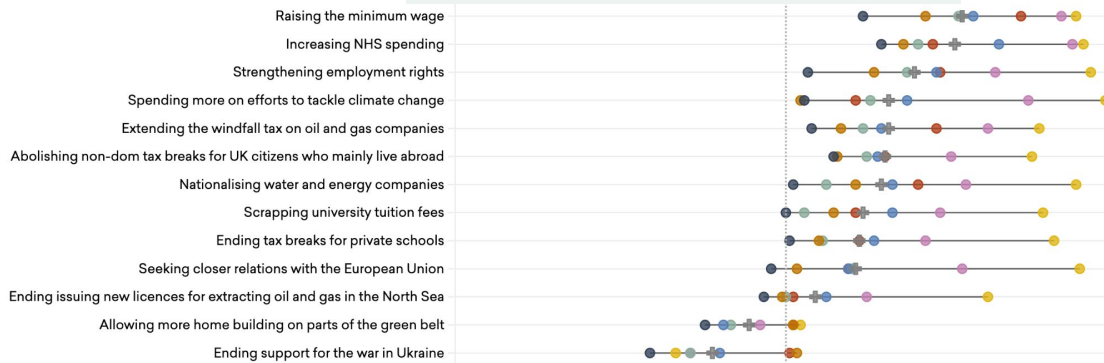
Real division in Labour's coalition comes from its progressive wing

Progressive Activists are an important part of any Labour coalition, but these voters remain far away from the swing segments that Labour needs to win over at the next election.

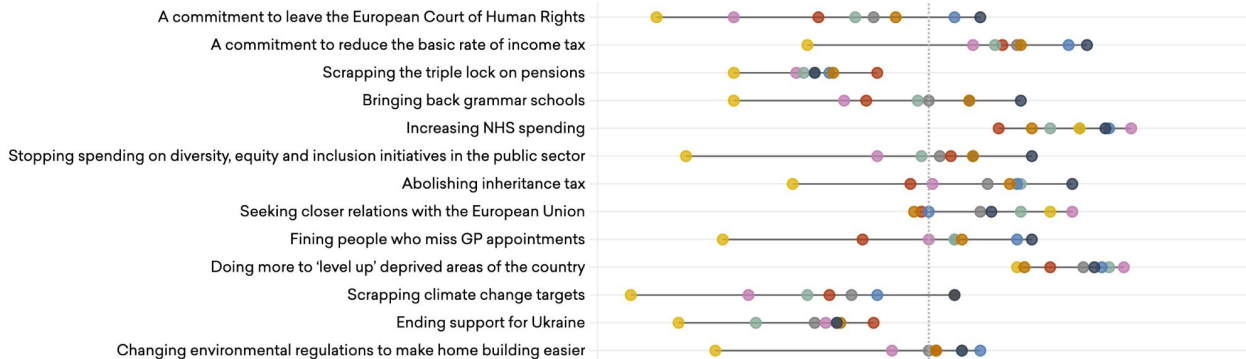


Hypothetical Labour policies are much less polarising than hypothetical Conservative policies

Hypothetical Labour policies



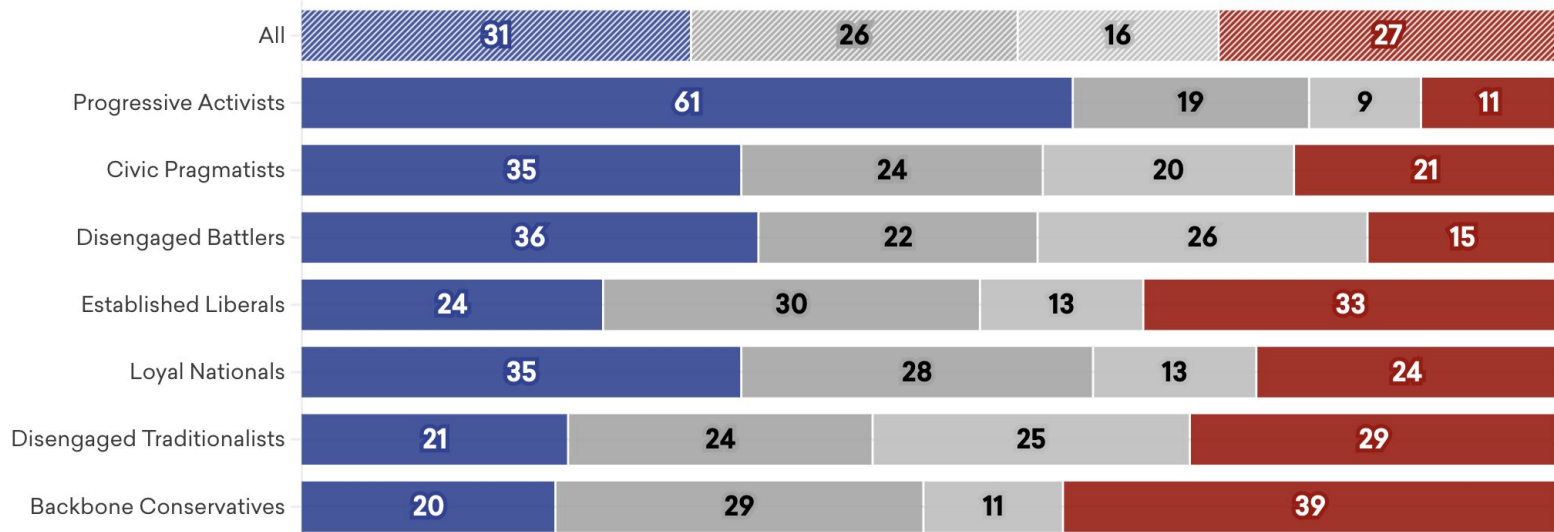
Hypothetical Conservative policies



Wealth tax - mixed views with lots of “don’t knows”

A wealth tax is a tax levied on the net worth of everything a person owns and their savings, rather than a person's income. In general do you think that wealth taxes are a good or bad idea as a way to raise money?

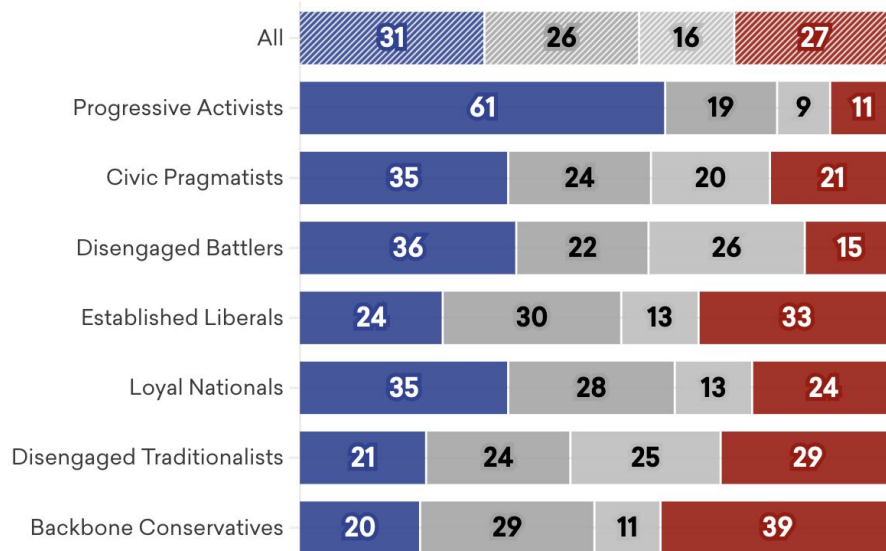
● Good idea ● Neither a good nor a bad idea ● Don't Know ● Bad idea



Wealth tax - mixed views with lots of “don’t knows”

A wealth tax is a tax levied on the net worth of everything a person owns and their savings, rather than a person's income. In general do you think that wealth taxes are a good or bad idea as a way to raise money?

- Good idea ● Neither a good nor a bad idea ● Don't Know ● Bad idea



A plurality of Britons have no strong opinion on wealth taxes in the abstract.

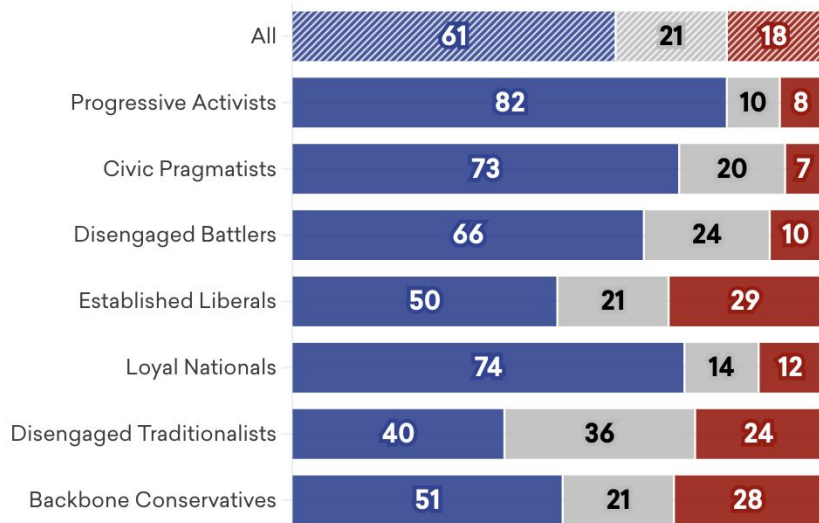
Progressive Activists are most strong in their support for a wealth tax, but Civic Pragmatists, Disengaged Battlers, and Loyal Nationals (Red Wall) also all tend to think that wealth taxes are a good idea.

The only members of Labour's potential coalition who oppose the idea of a wealth tax are Established Liberals (Blue Wall) - although large numbers of them have no opinion.

Most support a wealth tax above £10m, and Labour's coalition see it as a fairer way to raise money

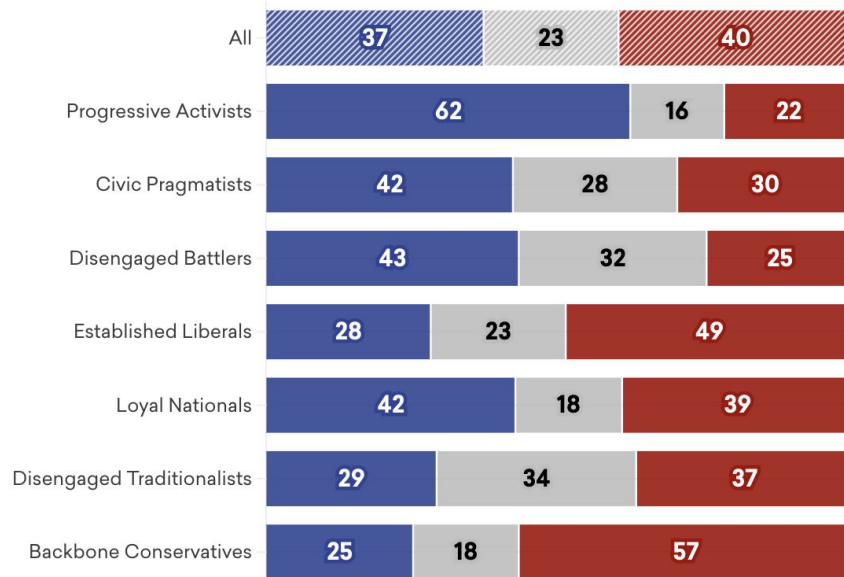
Would you support or oppose the idea of introducing a wealth tax on those whose total wealth (including property, other assets and savings) comes to more than £10 million?

● Support ● Don't know ● Oppose



Do you think it is fairer to tax people's income (what they earn) or wealth (what they own in property, savings and other assets)?

● It is fairer to tax wealth ● Don't know ● It is fairer to tax income

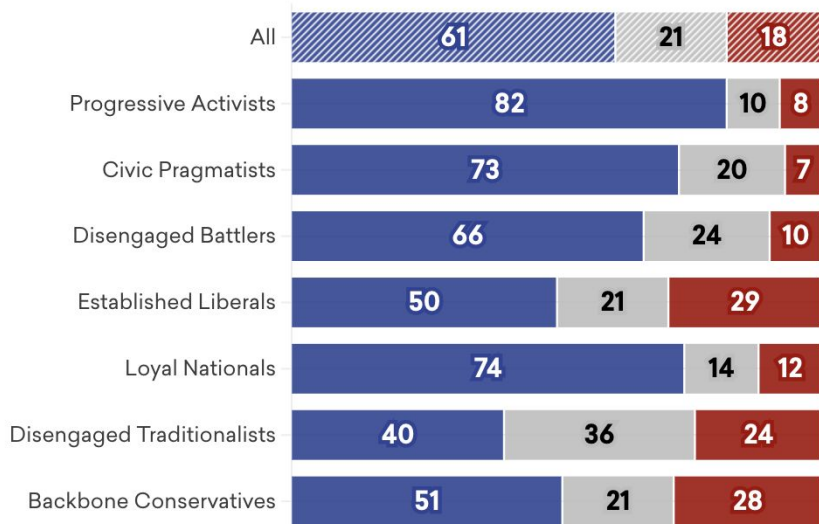


Support is strongest from Progressive Activists and Loyal Nationals (Red Wall) - but Established Liberals (Blue Wall) voters are least convinced by wealth tax policies.

Labour's coalition supports a wealth tax above £10m

Would you support or oppose the idea of introducing a wealth tax on those whose total wealth (including property, other assets and savings) comes to more than £10 million?

● Support ● Don't know ● Oppose



When a specific number is put on a wealth tax, support rises.

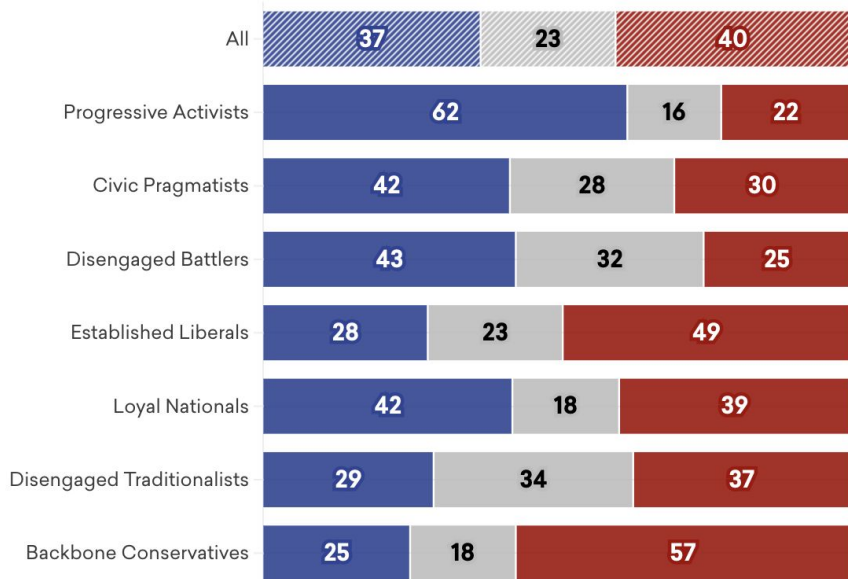
Across all segments of Labour's coalition, people are far more likely to support than oppose a wealth tax on wealth above £10 million - and this is a policy that unites Labour's Progressive Activists and Red Wall voters.

Blue Wall (Established Liberal) voters are the least likely to support this tax, but are still far more likely to support than oppose it.

And most of Labour's coalition see wealth taxes as a fairer way to raise money

Do you think it is fairer to tax people's income (what they earn) or wealth (what they own in property, savings and other assets)?

● It is fairer to tax wealth ● Don't know ● It is fairer to tax income



While many don't know, 4/5 segments in Labour's coalition see wealth taxes as fairer than income taxes.

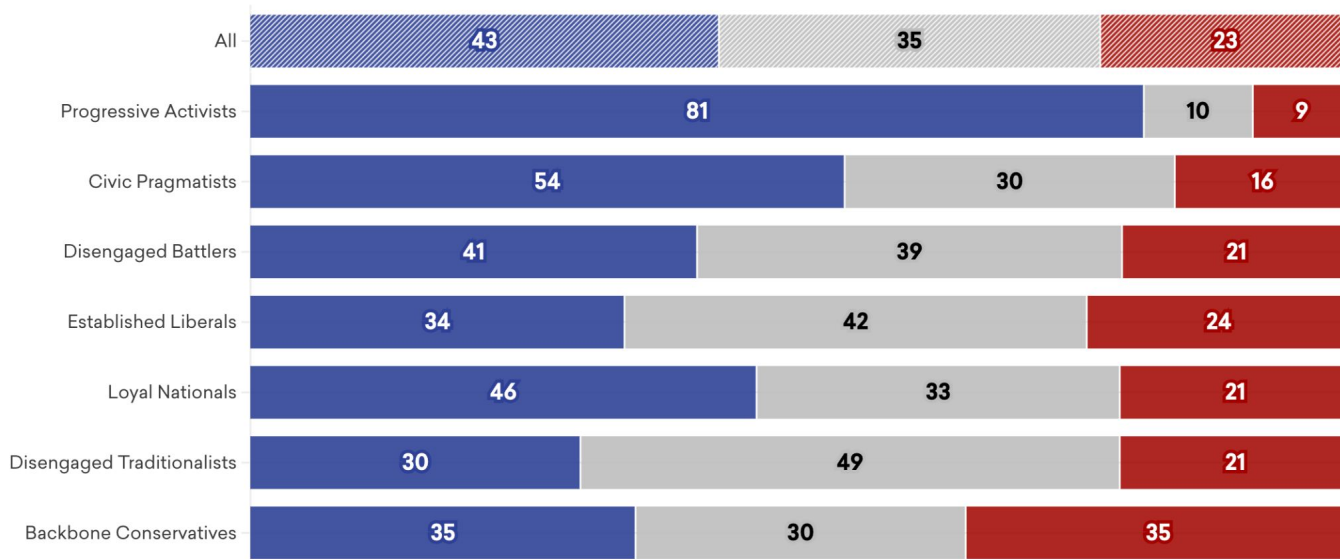
The only exception is Established Liberal (Blue Wall) voters, who believe relatively strongly that taxes on income are fairer.

The large numbers of "don't knows" - particularly from Civic Pragmatists and Disengaged Battlers - suggest that any wealth tax needs to be communicated clearly and implemented effectively, as there are many people whose mind could change on this matter.

Taxing private schools - solid support across segments

Thinking about a Labour promise to end tax breaks for private schools, would it...

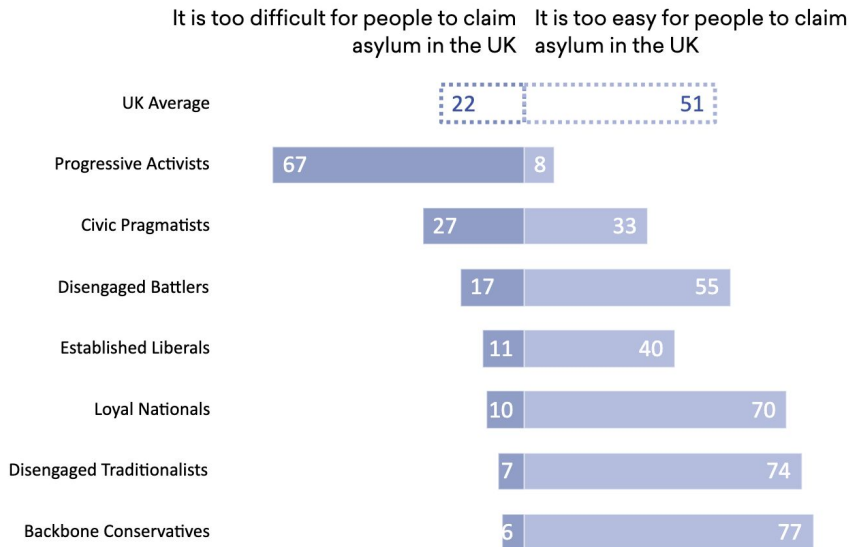
● Make me more likely to vote for the Labour Party ● Don't know ● Make me less likely to vote for the Labour Party



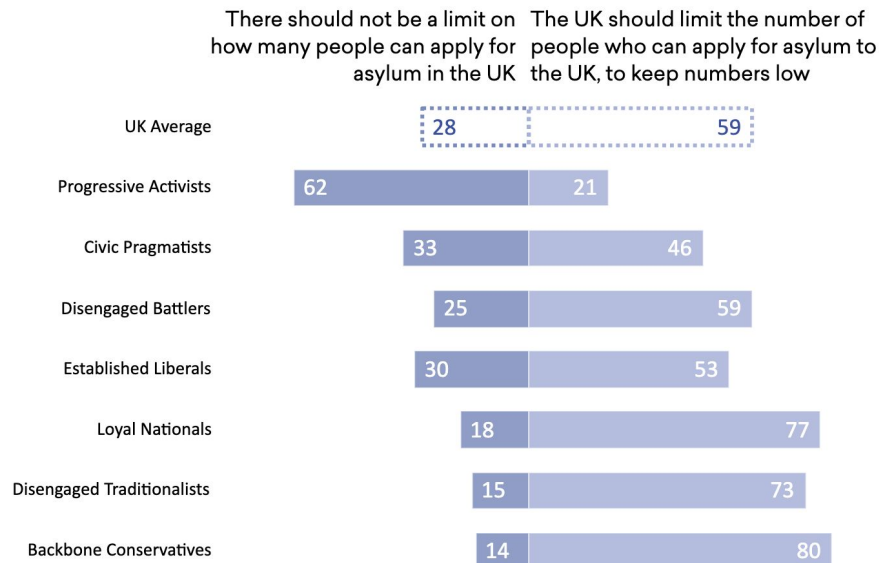
There is no real opposition to ending tax breaks for private schools within Labour's coalition. The weakest support comes from Established Liberals (Blue Wall voters), but even they are broadly positive of this policy.

Britons' starting points on migration

Britons think it is **too easy** for people to claim asylum in the UK...



... and **support a cap** on the number of people who can claim asylum

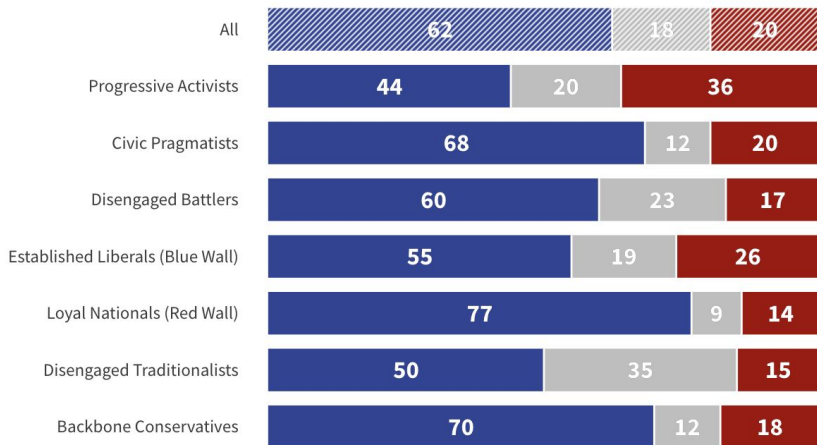


Labour's migration policy

Britons support treating people smugglers on a par with terrorists...

The Labour leader Keir Starmer has suggested that people-smuggling gangs who organise small boat crossings across the channel should be treated on a par with terrorists. Do you think...

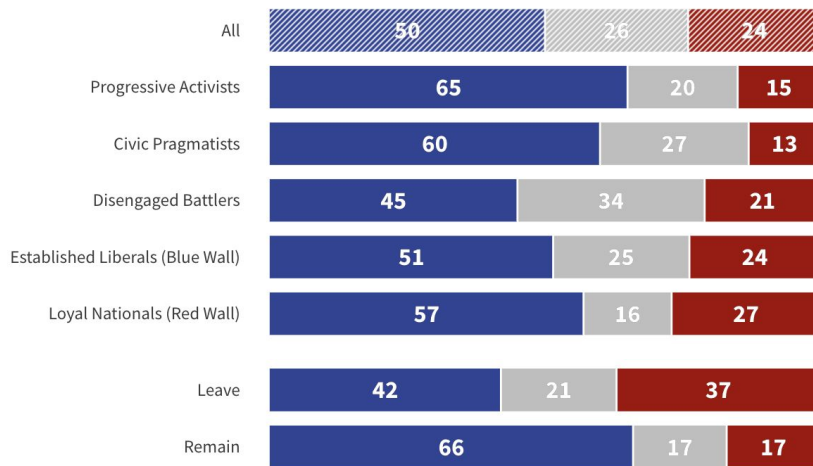
- It is right to treat people-smuggling gangs on a par with terrorists
- Don't know
- It is not right to treat people-smuggling gangs on a par with terrorists



... and are comfortable with EU cooperation on illegal migration

The Labour leader Keir Starmer has proposed greater cooperation with the European Union on the issue of illegal migration. Under the deal the UK would accept a quota of migrants in exchange for being able to send those who arrive illegally back to Europe. Do you think this is a...

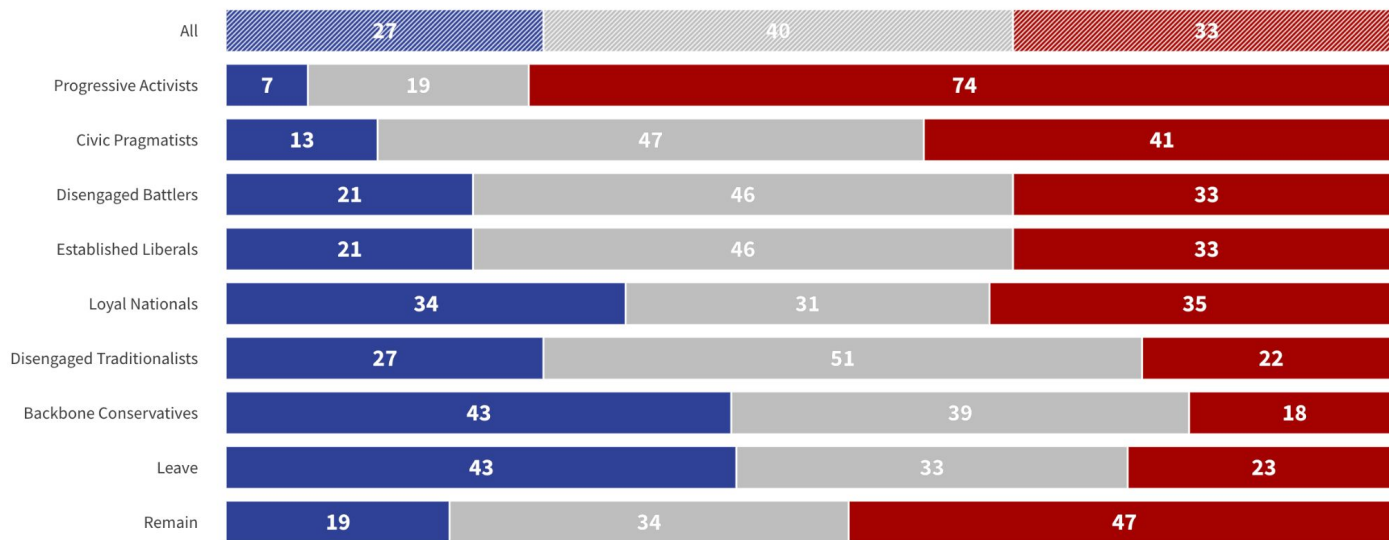
- Good idea
- Don't know
- Bad idea



Most voters don't trust Tory attack lines on Labour's migration plan

The Conservatives have suggested that Labour's plan to have a returns agreement with the European Union on migration will result in the UK having to take 100,00 migrants from Europe a year. The Labour Party have described these figures as nonsense. Who are you more likely to believe?

● Conservative Party ● Don't know ● Labour Party



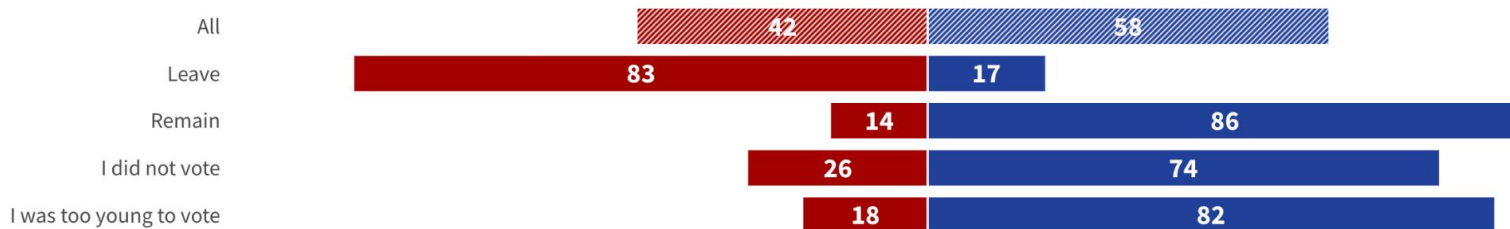
Voters are more likely to say they trust the Labour Party than the Conservative party on the impacts of Labour's policy. But Red Wall voters and Brexit voters are more likely to believe Tory attack lines.

Wedges and risks

No major appetite to revisit Brexit

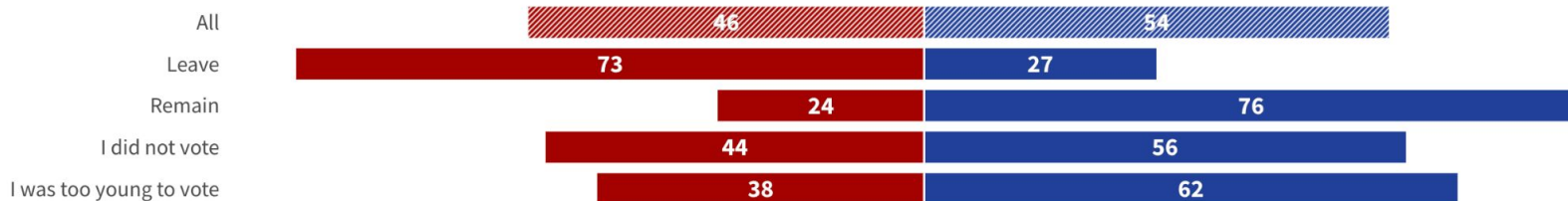
Rejoin would win if an election was held today

If a new referendum was held today on Britain rejoining the European Union, how would you vote? ● Stay out of the European Union ● Rejoin the European Union



But the public are exhausted by Brexit and are split on whether we should revisit it

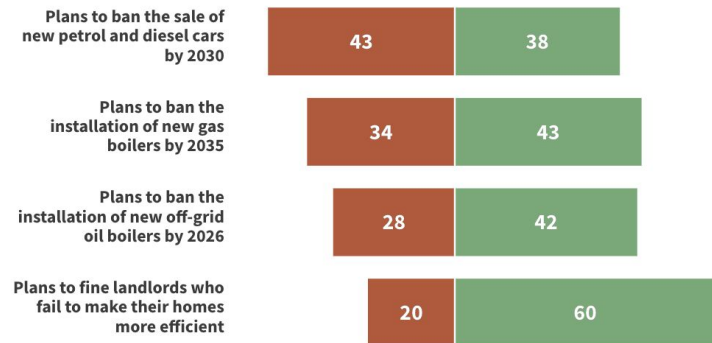
Should we revisit the issue of Brexit, or should we move on? ● It isn't worth revisiting the issue of Brexit, the government should get on with other issues ● We should revisit the issue of Brexit, to negotiate a closer relationship with the European Union



Could climate become a wedge issue?

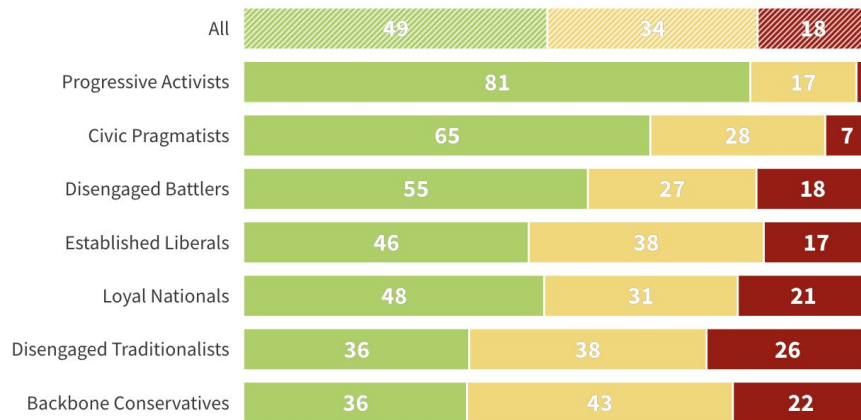
Britons generally don't support the government slowing down its net zero plans

For each of the following policies that the UK currently has to reduce its climate impact, do you think the government should **slow down its plans** or **stick to the current plan**?



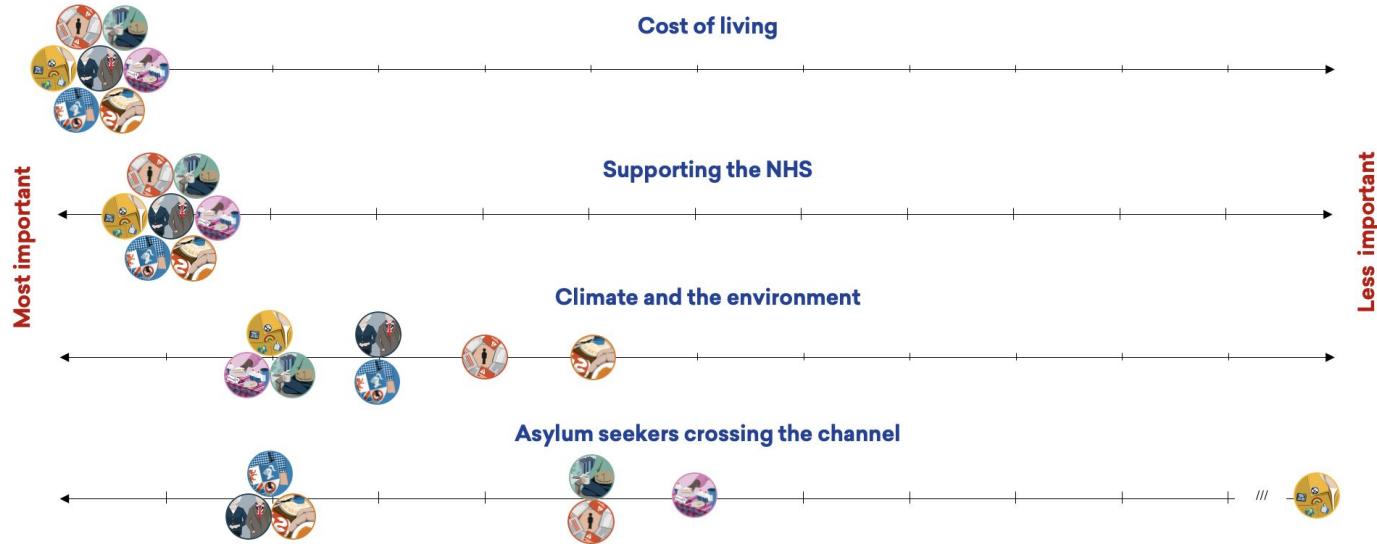
Very few want the government to be doing less on climate change

Would you like to see the government... ● Do more to reach Net Zero ● Do the same amount to reach Net Zero ● Do less to reach Net Zero



Could climate become a wedge issue?

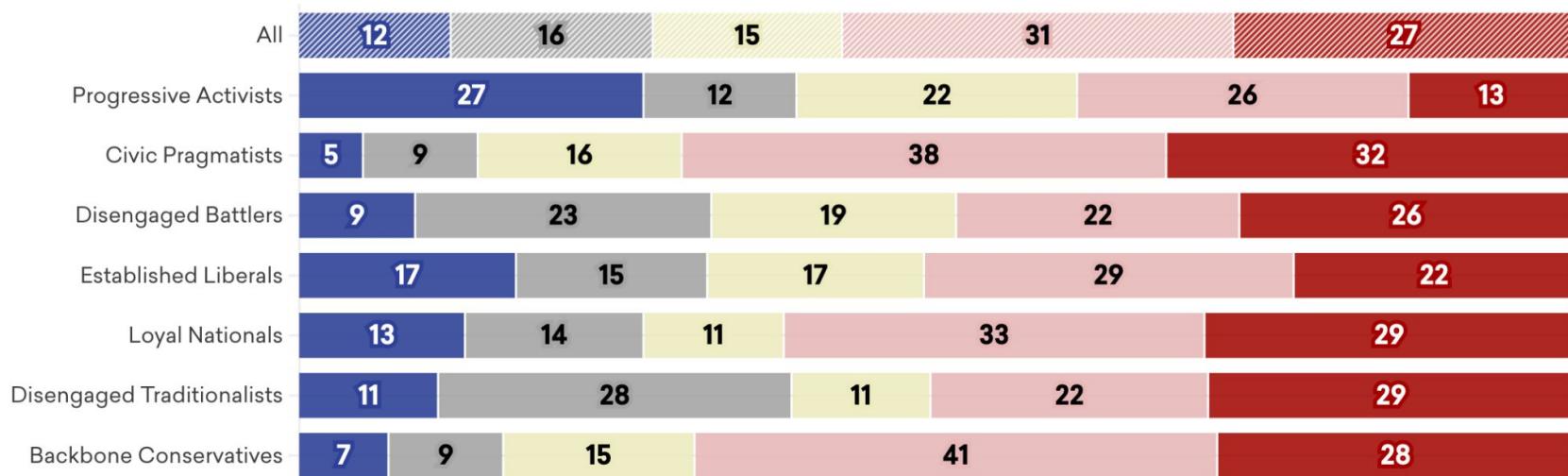
... but the cost of living is one of the few issues that are **MORE** salient than climate change. This could make some voters susceptible to attack lines that net zero policies will hurt them financially.



60% of Britons think inheritance tax should be scrapped or reduced

Which of the following do you most agree with?

- The tax-free threshold should be lowered so that more people pay inheritance tax
- Don't know
- The threshold at which inheritance tax is paid should be kept the same
- The tax-free threshold should be raised, so that fewer people pay inheritance tax
- Inheritance tax should be abolished entirely



Meet Labour's potential coalition

Progressive Activists




Socially liberal: Progressive Activists are deeply attuned to injustices in society, and more passionate about social issues than any other segment. They are more likely to see a need for radical reforms in our institutions to overcome these inequalities than any other segment.


Reluctantly pro-Labour: While many Progressive Activists are dissatisfied with the centrist-turn the Labour Party has taken, they are unlikely to switch in any dramatic way to another party. They care deeply about getting the Tories out of government, and will vote pragmatically to make this happen.


Very online: Progressive Activists make up the majority of people who say they share political content on social media, and are six times as likely than the rest of the population to do so. This makes them the loudest part of Labour's electoral coalition.

Unique: Progressive Activists' views are often far from the rest of the public. For example, they are the only segment who say they enjoy talking about politics and the only segment who say they feel bad when they see a British flag flying. Similar patterns are found across dozens of poll questions.

Biggest Issues *(after cost of living and NHS)*


 Climate change

 Affordable housing

 Brexit


Most popular manifesto policies


 Spending more tackling climate change

 Strengthening employment rights

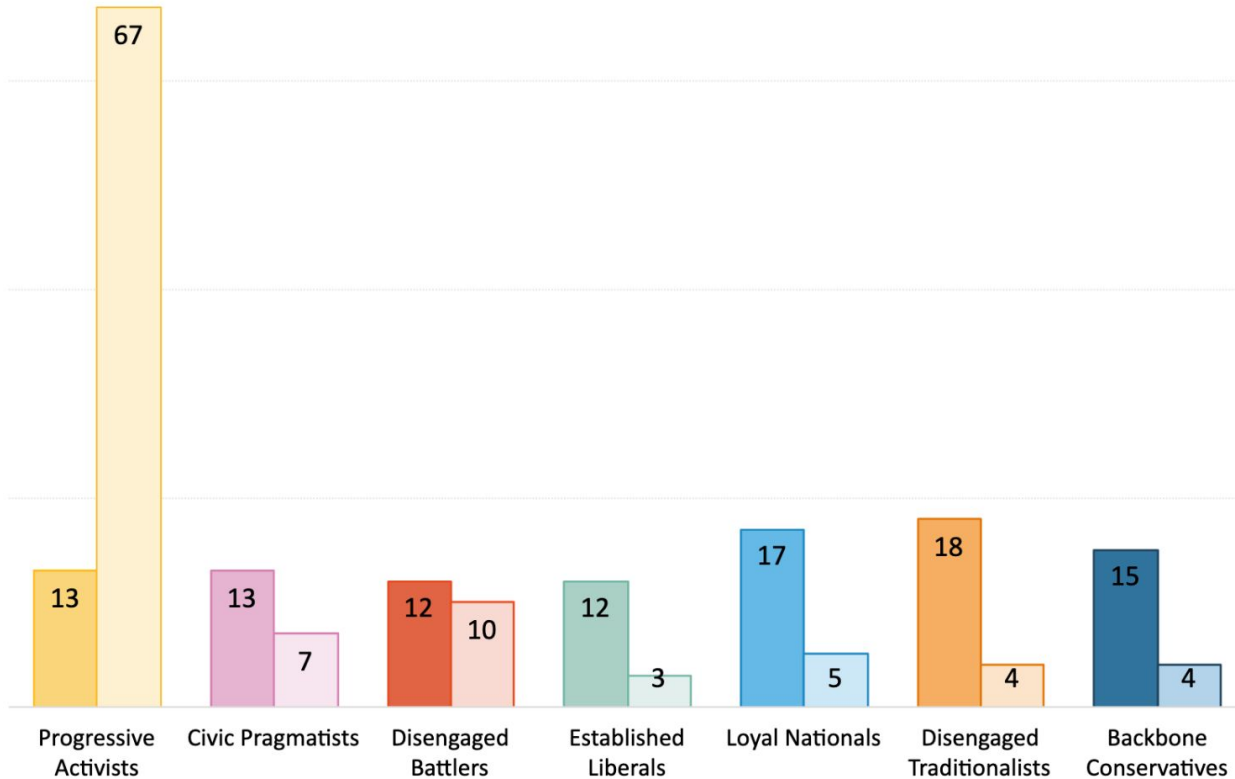
 Increasing NHS spending

Least popular manifesto policies

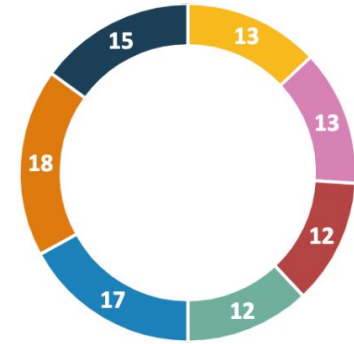
 Ending support for the war in Ukraine

 More home building on the green belt

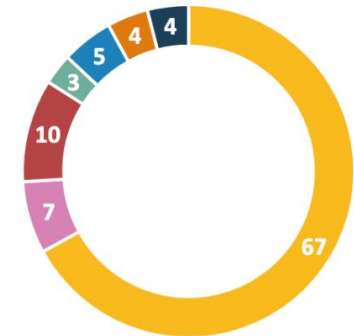
Labour Party members are mostly Progressive Activists...



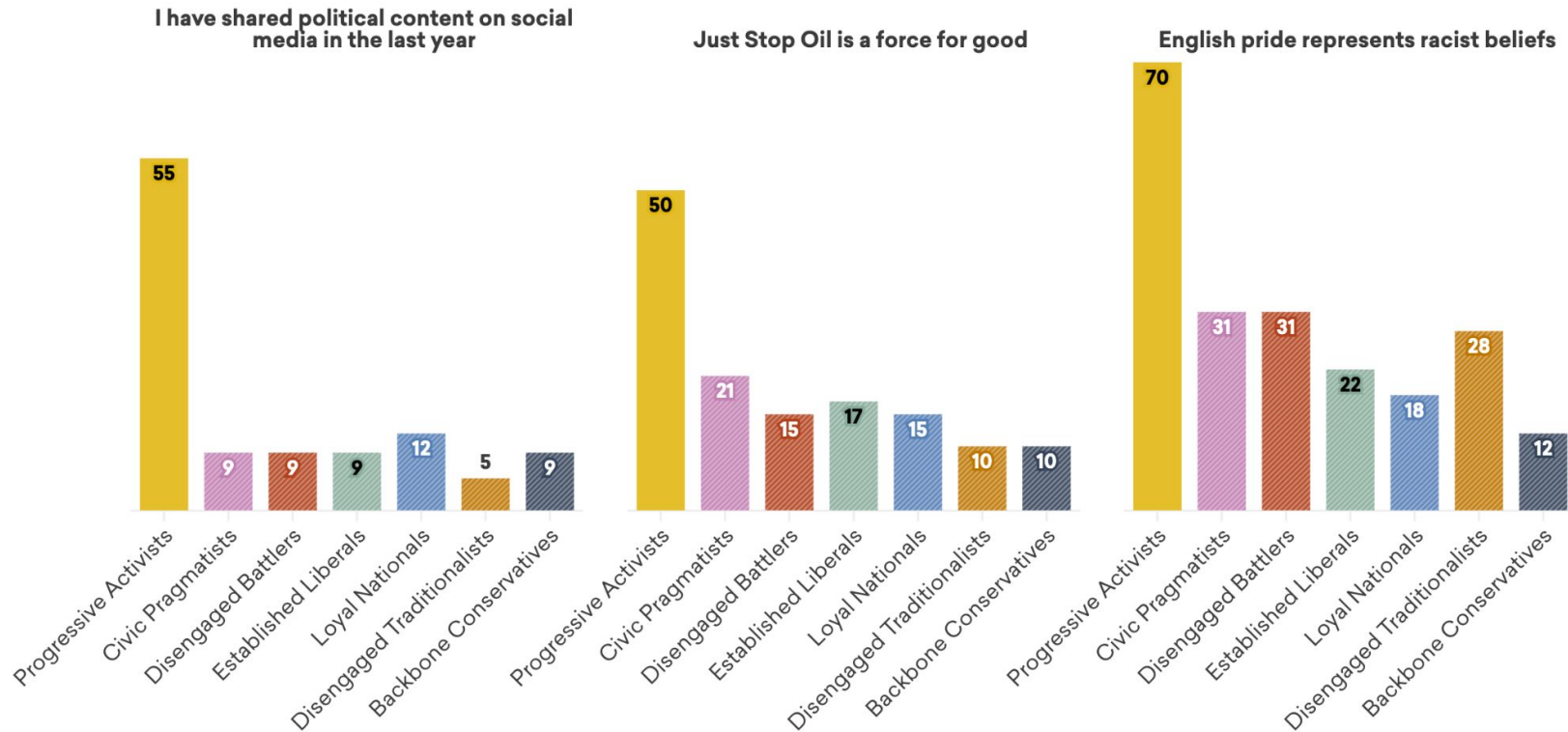
General population



Labour Party members



... but Progressive Activists are out of sync with public opinion on a variety of issues



Civic Pragmatists (“Soft Left”)



Electorally important: Civic Pragmatists are now more likely to say they will vote Labour than any other segment - despite being put off by Corbyn in 2019. This predicted swing to Labour is likely to be a large part of any Labour success in 2024.


Balancers: Civic Pragmatists are resistant to conflict, and put off by the culture wars tactics of the Conservative party. They want politicians who show leadership and compassion on divisive issues, rather than attempting to stoke division further.


Community-minded: Civic Pragmatists are more likely to express their values through volunteering in the community rather than protesting - and are supportive of government efforts to empower community voices or celebrate “unsung heroes”.

Progressive, not idealists: Civic Pragmatists want progressive policies on climate change and migration. But they are much more willing to compromise and find consensus-driven ways through these issues, and admire any leader who can navigate these challenges whilst bringing the country with them.

Biggest Issues *(after cost of living and NHS)*


 Climate change

 Affordable housing

 Mental health


Most popular manifesto policies

 Increasing NHS spending

 Raising minimum wage

 Spending more tackling climate change

Least popular manifesto policies

 Ending support for the war in Ukraine

 More home building on the green belt

Disengaged Battlers (“Urban Poor”)






Disillusioned: Disengaged Battlers are unconvinced that the government could fix some of their biggest problems - and are the least likely to vote at the next election as a result.

Mental health: Disengaged Battlers care about mental health more than any other segment. In focus groups, they often say that the cost of living crisis has made this worse.




Struggling: Disengaged Battlers are the most economically insecure members of Labour’s potential electoral coalition - and the most affected by the cost of living crisis. They are also more likely to work precarious or unstable jobs. Given this, Disengaged Battlers are unlikely to pay much attention to anything other than the party’s economic offering at the next election.

Disengaged: This group pay little attention to the news. While big national stories (such as partygate) cut through, Disengaged Battlers are more likely to judge the performance of the government through the world they see around them than through what they see in a news headline. Those that do vote are very likely to vote Labour - but many of them won’t vote at all.




Biggest Issues *(after cost of living and NHS)*

-  Affordable housing
-  Mental health
-  Climate change

Most popular manifesto policies

-  Raising minimum wage
-  Increasing NHS spending
-  Extending the windfall tax on oil and gas companies

Least popular manifesto policies

-  Ending support for the war in Ukraine
-  More home building on the green belt
-  Ending new North Sea oil and gas licenses

Established Liberals (Blue Wall)






Migration balancers: Established Liberals generally want to 'stop the boats', but are proud of Britain's history of welcoming refugees, the Homes for Ukraine scheme, and a fight about the ECHR would turn them off.

Climate supporters: Tackling climate change is consistently a top three issue for Established Liberals. It is much more important for this group than the small boats. They want the Government to be taking climate change much more seriously, but are also excited by the role that companies can play in supporting the green transition.




Culturally liberal: This group are turned off by culture wars and proud of the social changes. Likely to see same-sex marriage and support for refugees as one of the major achievements of the 13 years of Conservative government. If the Conservatives pursue "culture war" style tactics at the next election, many more of them will switch to Labour or the Liberal Democrats - or not vote at all.

Frustrated with disorderly politics: Established Liberals are embarrassed by what has happened to Britain's global reputation after years of chaos. They want a leader who represents a return to stability for British politics, who can rebuild global relationships after Brexit.




Biggest Issues *(after cost of living and NHS)*

-  Affordable housing
-  Climate change
-  Jobs and unemployment

Most popular manifesto policies

-  Raising minimum wage
-  Increasing NHS spending
-  Strengthening employment rights

Least popular manifesto policies

-  Ending support for the war in Ukraine
-  More home building on the green belt
-  Ending new North Sea oil and gas licenses

Loyal Nationals (Red Wall)



Immigration and small boats: Channel crossings are a top three issue for this group, shaped by their high levels of threat perception. They want Labour to show that they will be tough on securing our borders - but they are mostly sick of endless promises and want to be presented with policies that will work. While they mostly voted for Brexit, they are open to working with the EU on this issue.




Disillusioned: After years of political chaos and broken promises, Loyal Nationals are sceptical that a Labour government would be any different. They need convincing that Labour has a plan to run Britain differently.

Socially conservative: Loyal Nationals are the most socially conservative members of Labour's potential coalition. But while Loyal Nationals are sceptical towards what they might call "woke" issues - they mostly see these debates as a distraction and want politicians to focus more on economic issues with what they see as more tangible impacts - like the NHS.




Economically leftist: Loyal Nationals back a bigger state, supporting nationalising key industries and higher taxes or bans on harmful business practices.

Back climate action: This group's high threat perception, fears about climate impacts and attraction to the promise of green jobs and investments makes them among the most supportive of action to tackle climate change.



Biggest Issues *(after cost of living and NHS)*

-  Asylum seekers crossing the channel
-  Climate change
-  Crime

Most popular manifesto policies

-  Raising minimum wage
-  Increasing NHS spending
-  Strengthening employment rights

Least popular manifesto policies

-  Ending support for the war in Ukraine
-  More home building on the green belt

Labour's kaleidoscope



Playing it safe or missing the moment?

How the 2024 Labour coalition is shaping up

MONDAY 9TH OCTOBER

16.30-18.00

CROWNE PLAZA HOTEL
PRINCES SUITE 3



More in
Common



MARTHA GILL

Observer/Evening Standard
(Chair)



PETER KYLE MP

MP for Hove and Shadow Secretary
of State for Science, Innovation and
Technology



RICHARD BURGON MP

MP for Leeds East



PAUL SWEENEY MSP

MSP for Glasgow



CLAIRE AINSLEY

Progressive Policy Institute



ANNA MCSHANE

The New Britain Project



TOM BALDWIN

Author and Journalist



LUKE TRYL

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