

**More in  
Common**

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October 2022

# **From Workington Man to Waitrose Woman** *– What's next for the Conservative Electoral Coalition?*

**More in Common Fringe Event**  
**Conservative Party Conference 2022**



## 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

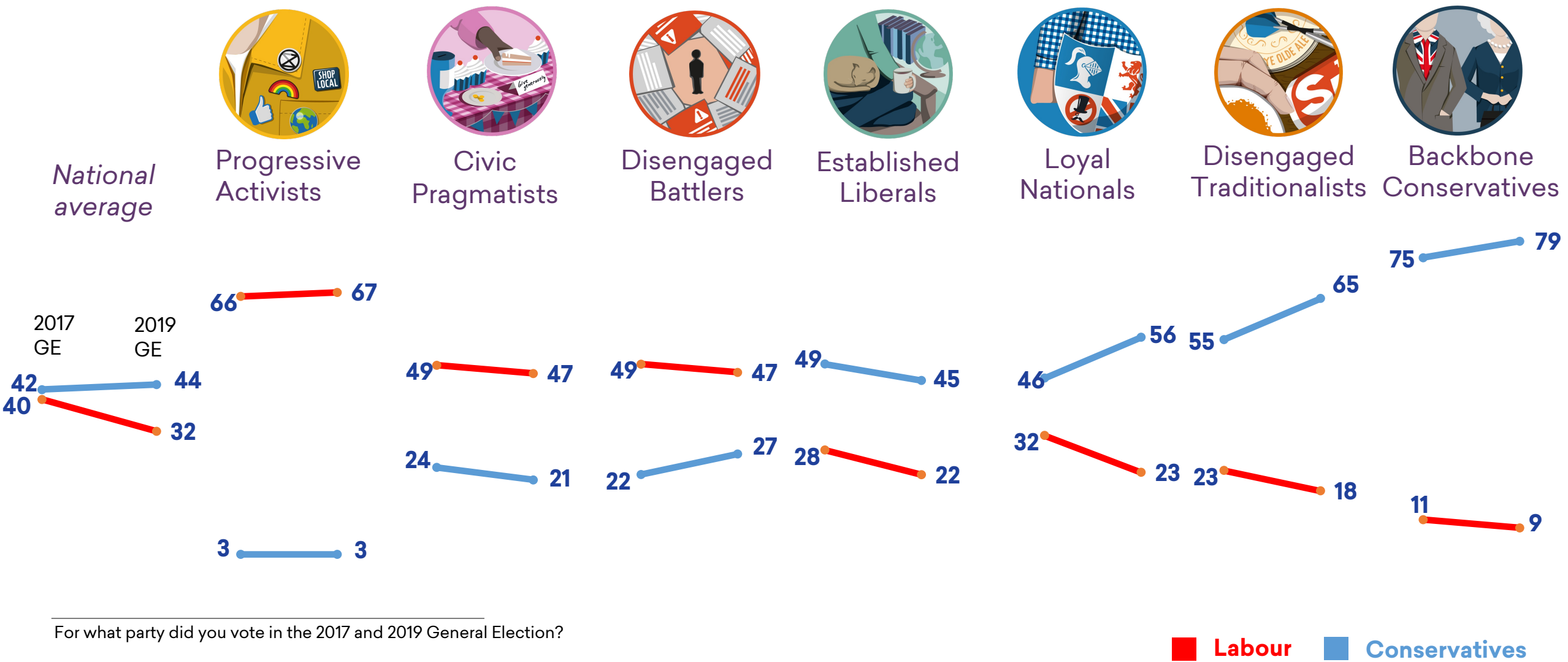
## Backbone Conservatives



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

# How things changed between 2017 and 2019?

How the segments changed their votes between the 2017 and 2019 General Elections, Labour and Conservative



# The 2019 Conservative Voter Coalition

**Established  
Liberals**



Blue  
Wall  
voters

**Loyal  
Nationals**



Red  
Wall  
voters

**Disengaged  
Traditionalists**



Stay at  
home who  
came out to  
vote voters

**Backbone  
Conservatives**

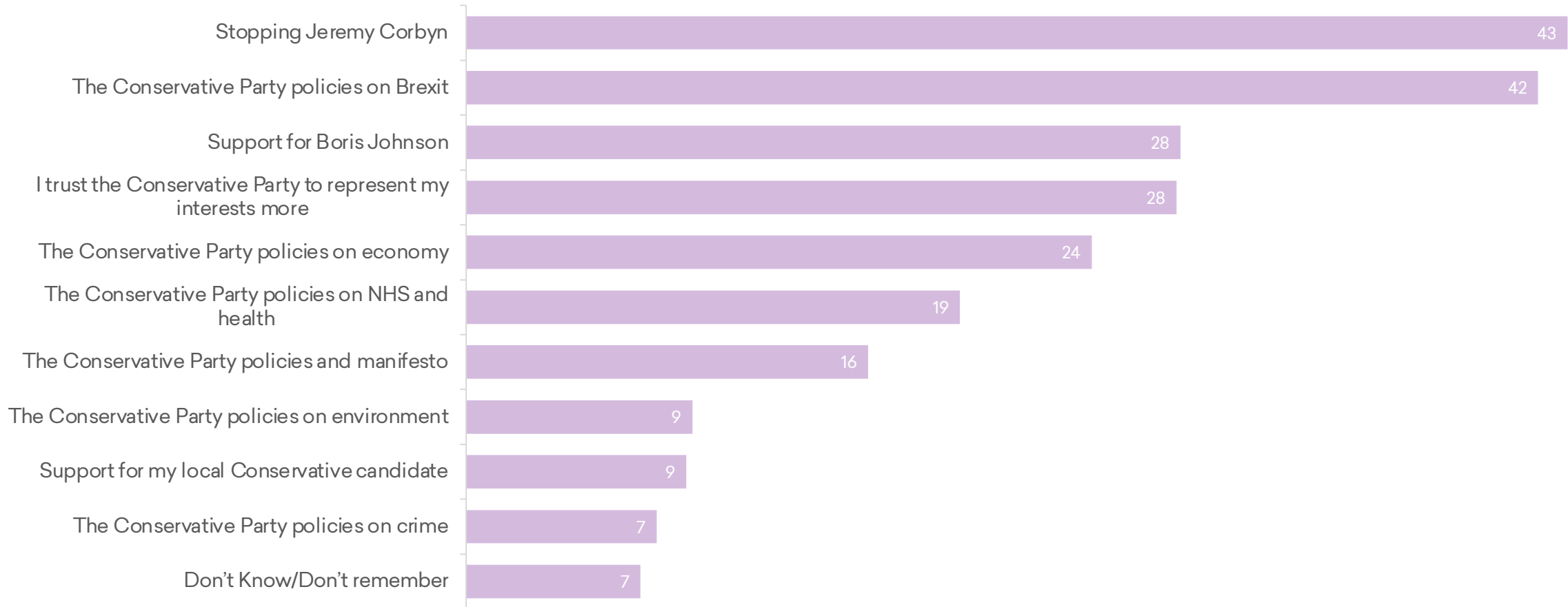


Traditional  
and ever  
loyal Tory  
voters

# Why Tory voters voted Tory in 2019?

Stopping Corbyn, getting Brexit done and the appeal of Boris Johnson best explain why Tories voted as they did in 2019

**Thinking back, what were the most important factors in your decision to vote for the Conservative Party in 2019? Select up to three**

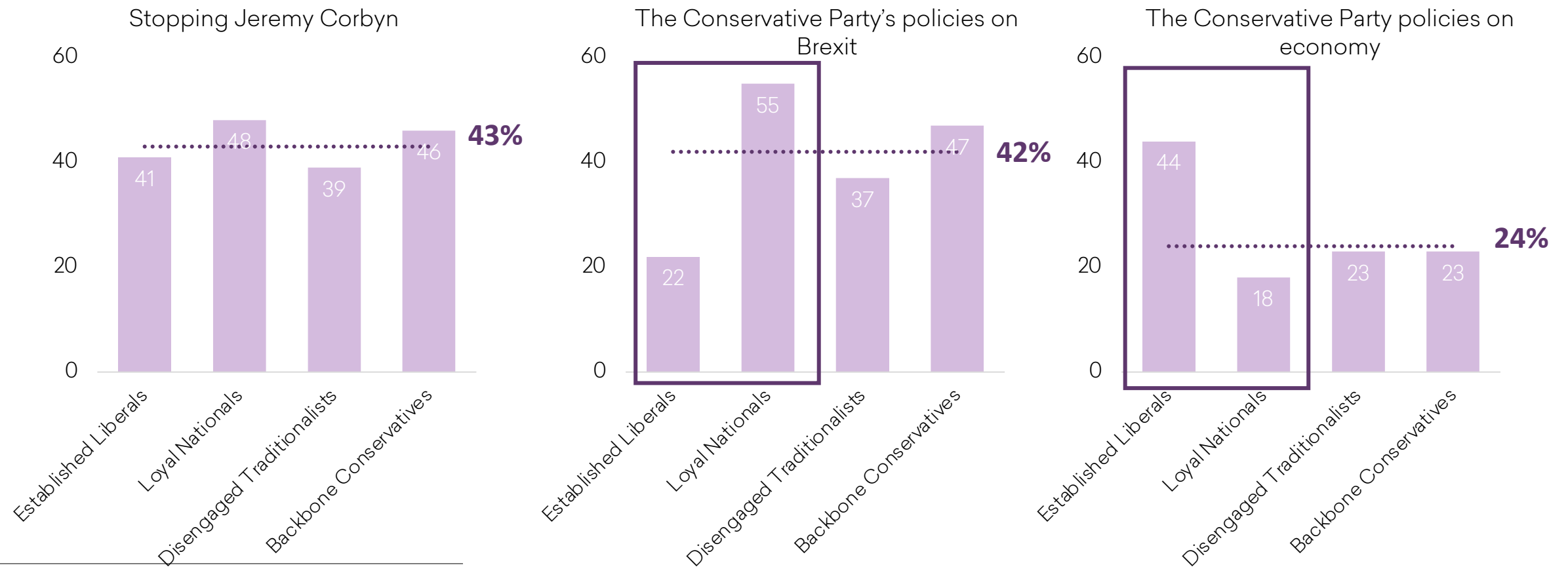


You said you voted for the Conservative Party in 2019. Thinking back, what were the most important factors in your decision to vote for the Conservative Party in 2019? Select up to three [July 2022]

# Why Tories voted Tory in 2019 – by segment

While the coalition was fairly united over stopping Jeremy Corbyn get into No. 10 – on Brexit and the economy, there was less consensus between segments

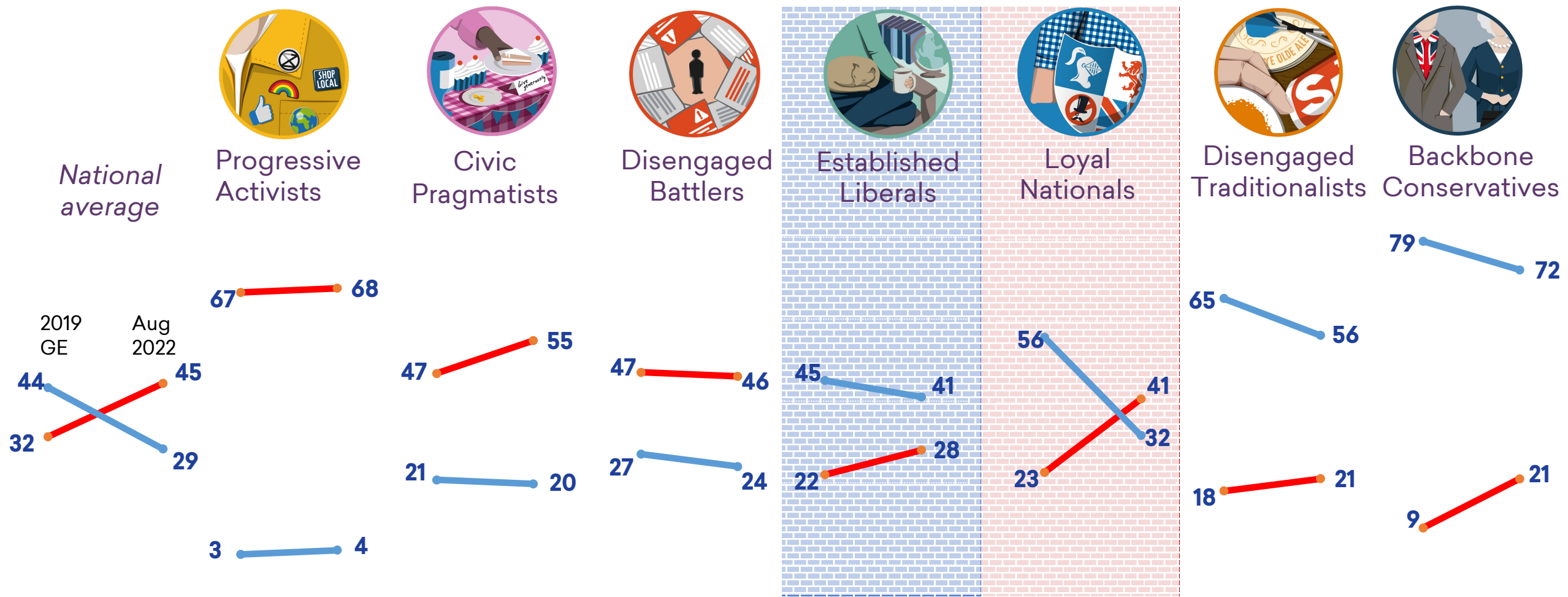
Thinking back, what were the most important factors in your decision to vote for the Conservative Party in 2019?  
Select up to three



Showing % agree with the statement. Source: More in Common, July 2022

# What's changed then – December 2019 v Summer 2022

Even before recent polling, the Conservative were losing support among all the segments that put them in Downing Street in 2019

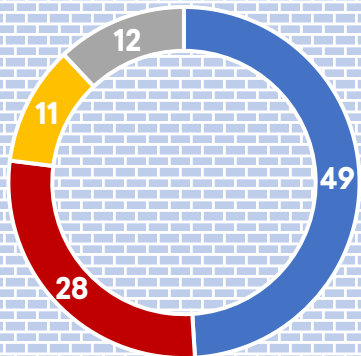


Only those who said they voted shown [February 2020]  
“And, if a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?” [‘Don’t knows’ and ‘Would not vote’ excluded] [August 2022]

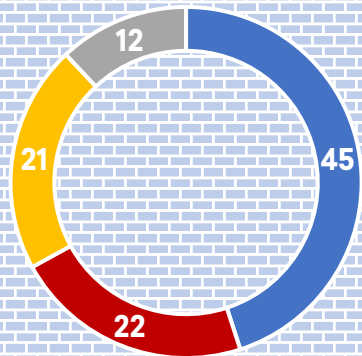


# What's changed since then – Blue Wall v Red Wall

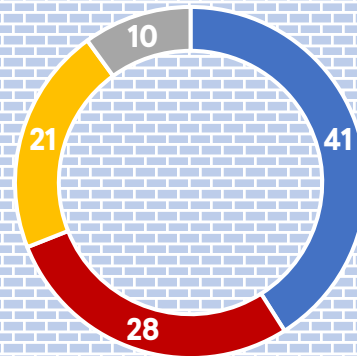
Established Liberal  
2017 GE



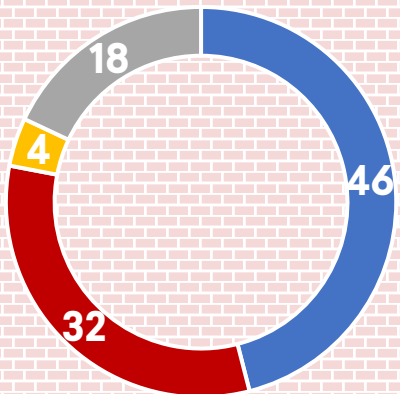
Established Liberal  
2019 GE



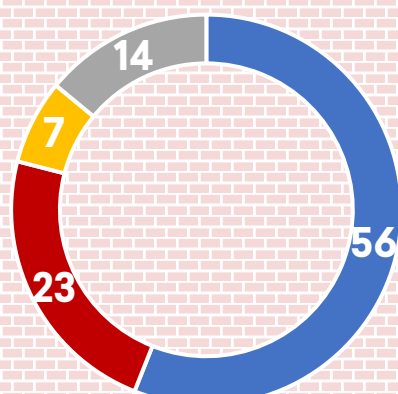
Established Liberal  
Aug 2022 voting intention



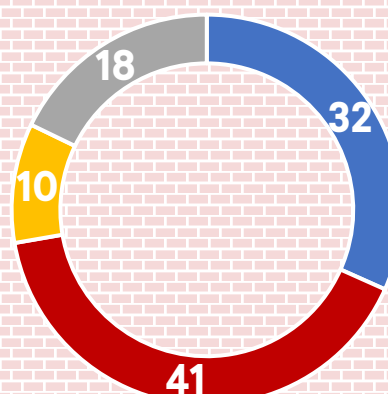
Loyal National  
2017 GE



Loyal National  
2019 GE



Loyal National  
Aug 2022 voting intention



Con Lab Lib Dem Other Con Lab Lib Dem Other Con Lab Lib Dem Other

**World is becoming safer**

**Identify as middle class**

**Less likely to feel effects of cost of living**

**Conservative support waning over recent years**

**World is becoming more dangerous**

**Identify as working class**

**Feeling effects of cost of living**

**Conservative support growing over recent years**





# Testing a mock populist manifesto

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**Leave the ECHR to make  
Rwanda policy work**

**Fight political correctness  
and cancel culture in  
universities**

**Longer prison sentences  
for criminals – end to  
automatic early release**

**Scrap DEI roles in police  
and NHS**

**Pause plan for Net Zero  
until cost of living crisis  
was over**

**Reduce foreign aid**

**Scrap the BBC License  
fee**

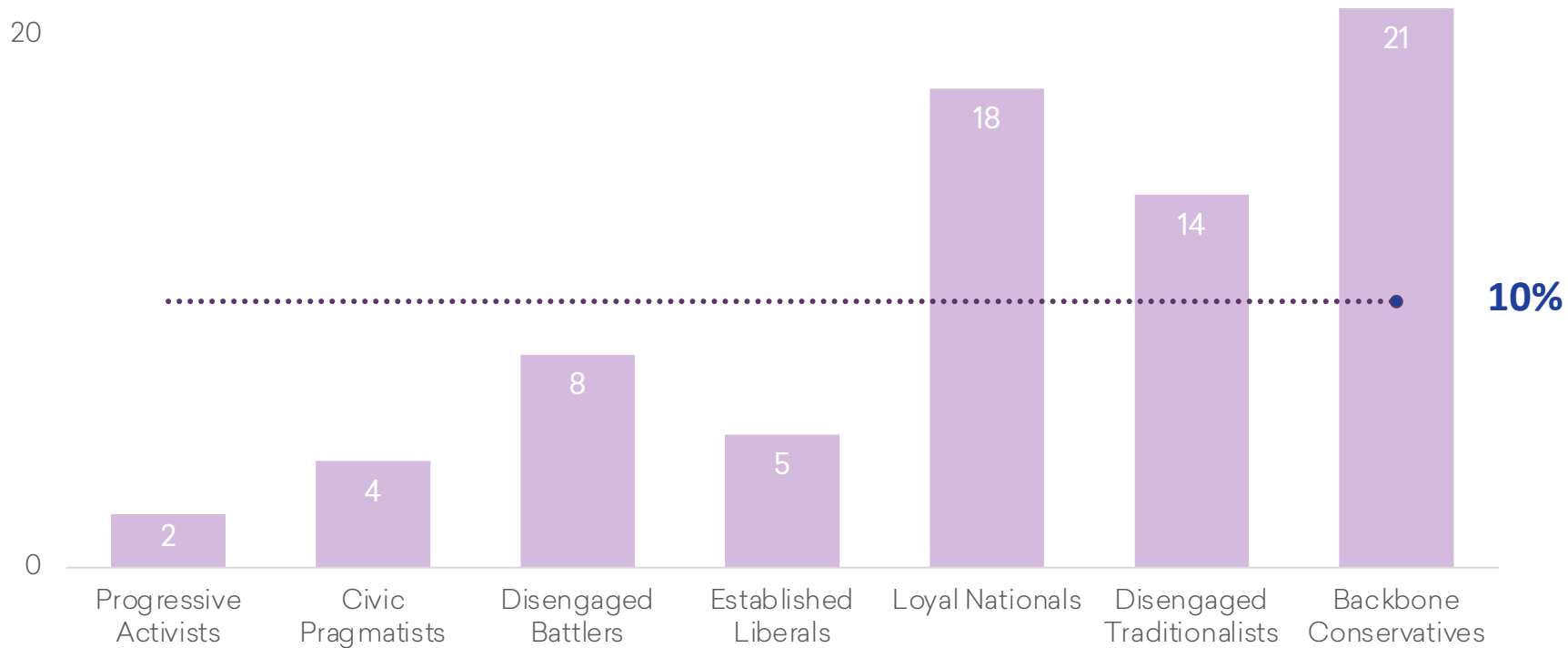
**Allow only people born  
women to participate in  
women's only sport**

**Charge foreign nationals  
to use the NHS**

# Support for every single policy in this mock populist manifesto

There is significant minority support among several segments that make up the Conservative 2019 coalition for all the populist policies tested in the mock manifesto

**% Likely to support the party which proposed every single populist policy tested**



Imagine at the next election a political party included the following policies in its manifesto How likely do you think you would be to vote for that party? Source: More in Common, August 2022

# Meet the Disillusioned Defectors

**Sub-group of the Loyal Nationals  
segment**

**Around 1 in 5 Loyal Nationals  
support all policies in mock  
populist manifesto**

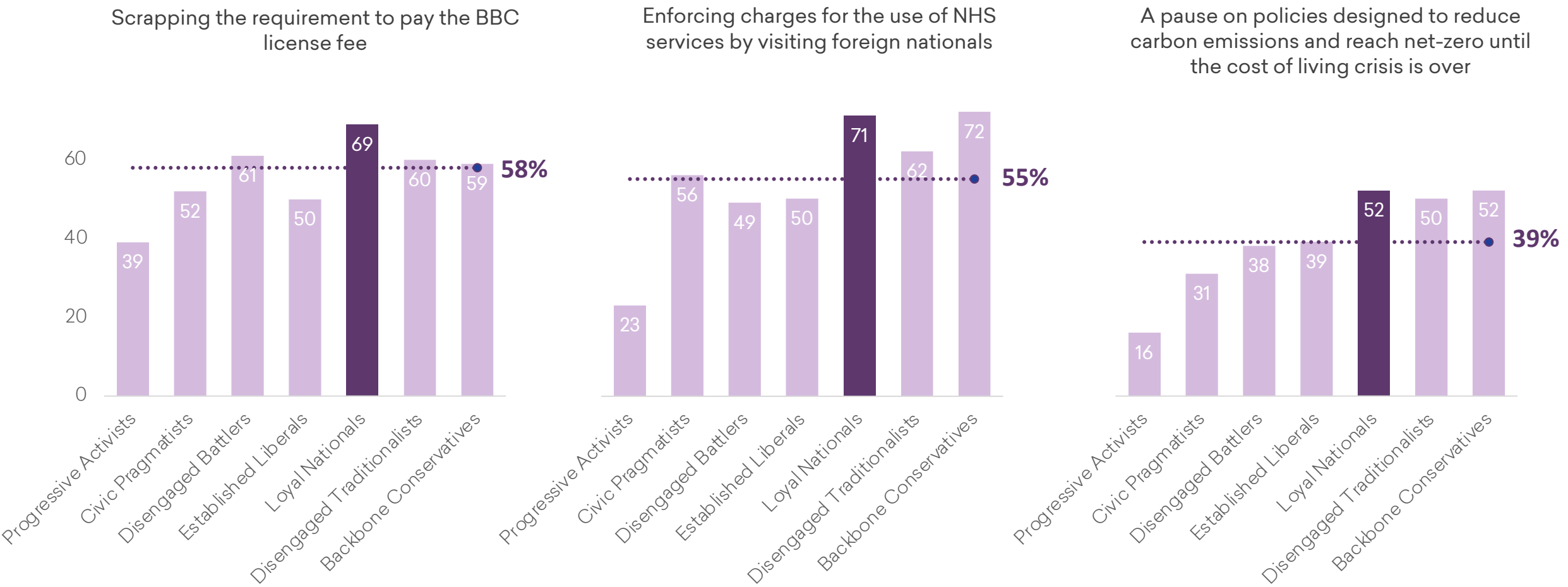
**Unanchored at the minute – swung  
from Labour to Tories in 2019, not  
yet convinced by Labour**

**Looking for a party which is ‘on  
their side’**

# High Loyal National support for populist policies

The Loyal Nationals – a good proxy of ‘Red Wall’ voters and the biggest swing segment – are consistently the segment most likely to say that the police don’t take crime seriously enough, across almost all options

Imagine at the next election a political party included the following policies in its manifesto.  
How likely do you think you would be to vote for that party?





## Why haven't populist right done better?

**Big-tent approach of Tories in 2019 - little space for populists to flourish**

**Parties of populist right misjudged public attitudes on Covid restrictions**

**No charismatic figurehead post-Farage**

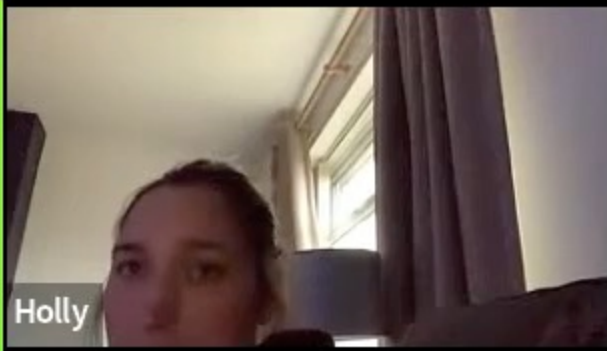
## What would drive a populist resurgence in the UK?

**Economic insecurity – DDs want to see hardworking people rewarded**

**Undelivered promises – levelling up, crime and immigration**

**Broken trust – let down by partygate**





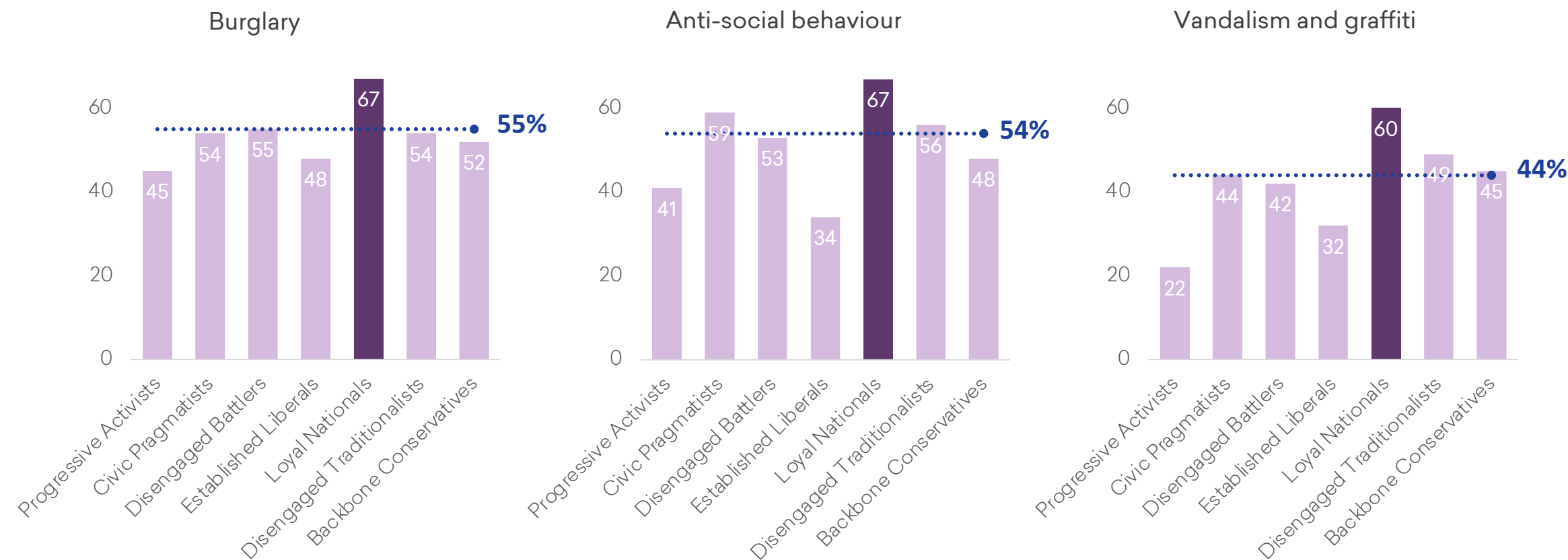
zoom

Figure 11.0

# Red Wall voters and crime

The Loyal Nationals – a good proxy of ‘Red Wall’ voters and the biggest swing segment – are consistently the segment most likely to say that the police don’t take crime seriously enough, across almost all options

Do you believe police take the following types of crime too seriously, not seriously enough, or with the right level of seriousness? [not seriously enough]

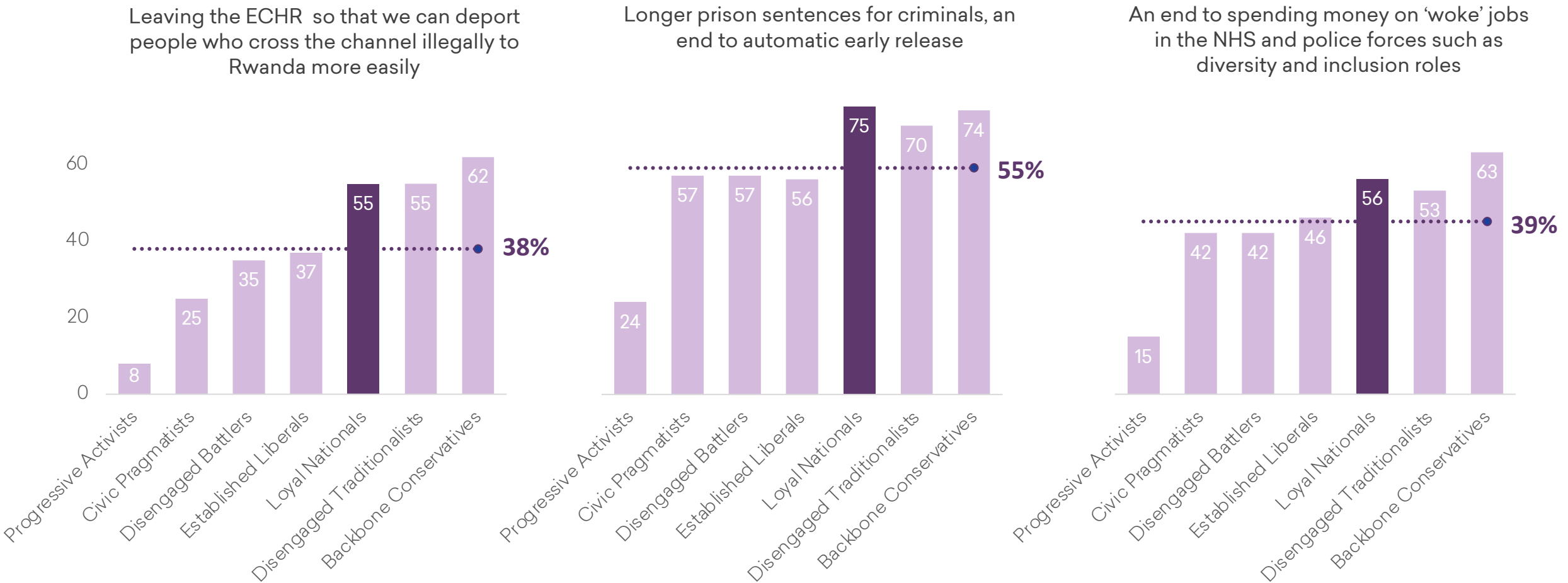


Do you believe police take the following types of crime too seriously, not seriously enough, or with the right level of seriousness? [July 2022]

# Support for a populist manifesto

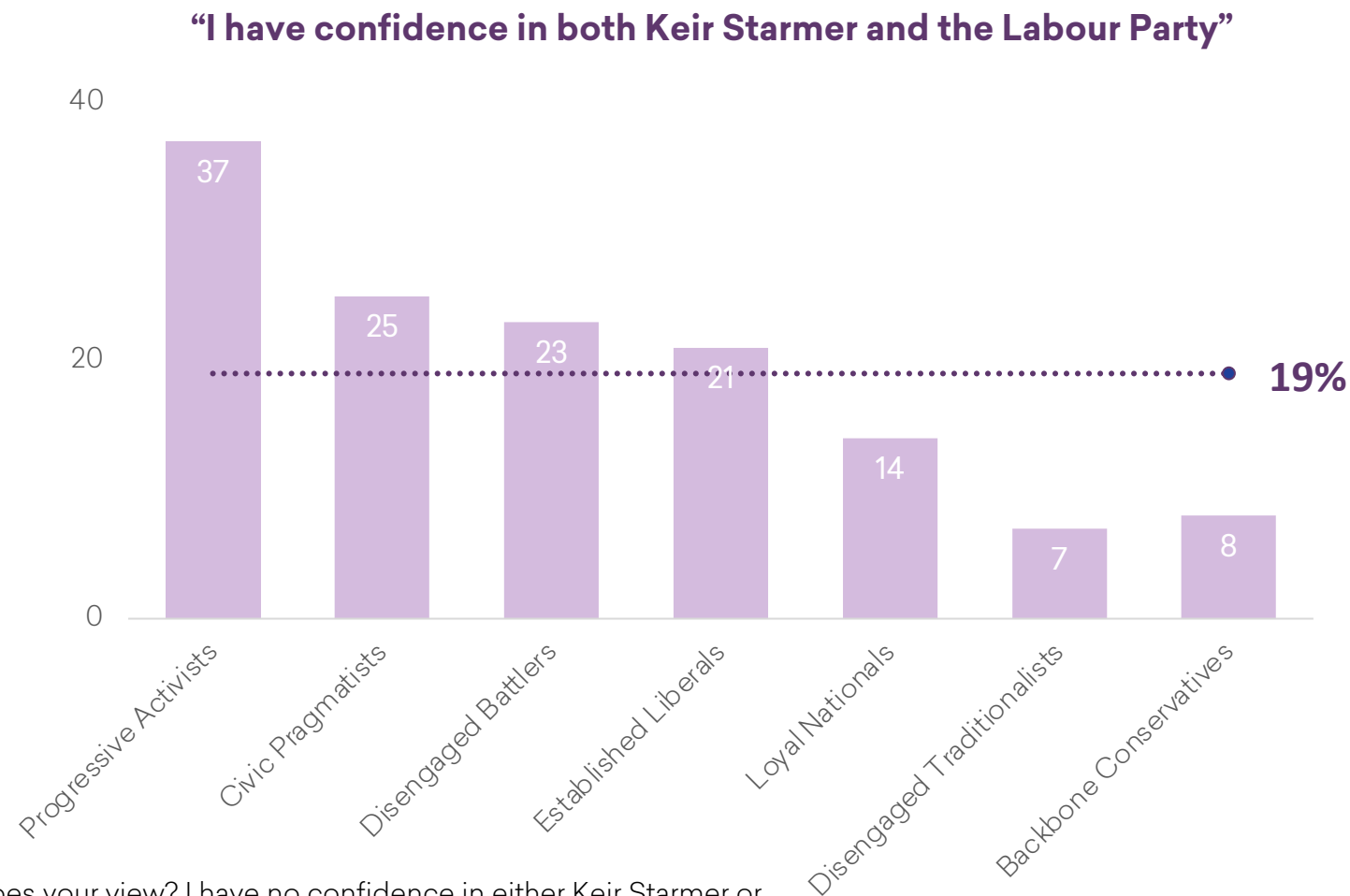
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Imagine at the next election a political party included the following policies in its manifesto How likely do you think you would be to vote for that party?

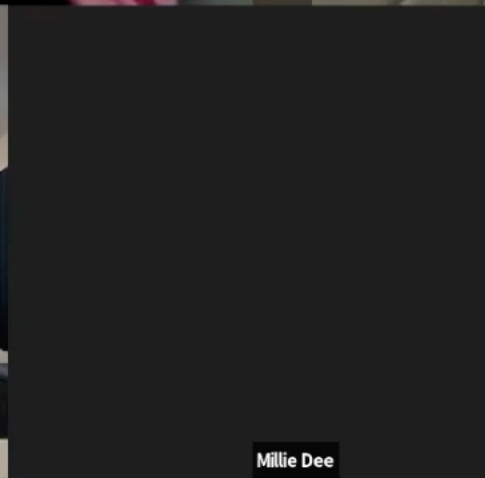
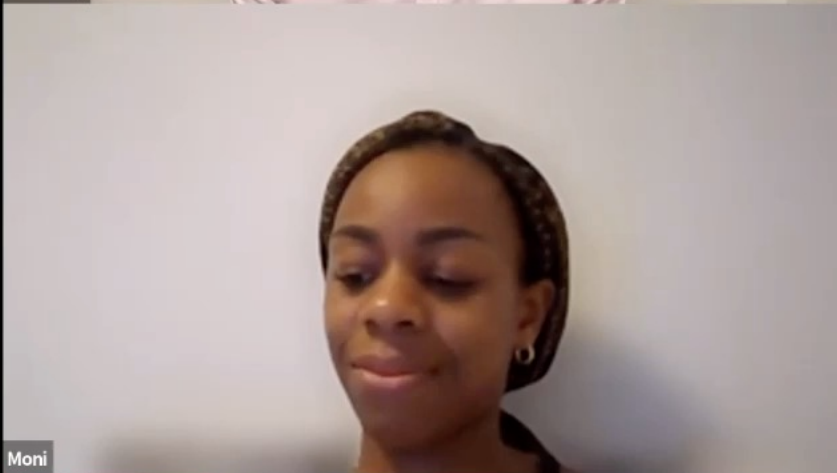


# Work remains for Labour to build trust with voters

Among the key Loyal National group, their levels of confidence in Keir Starmer and the Labour Party remain below average



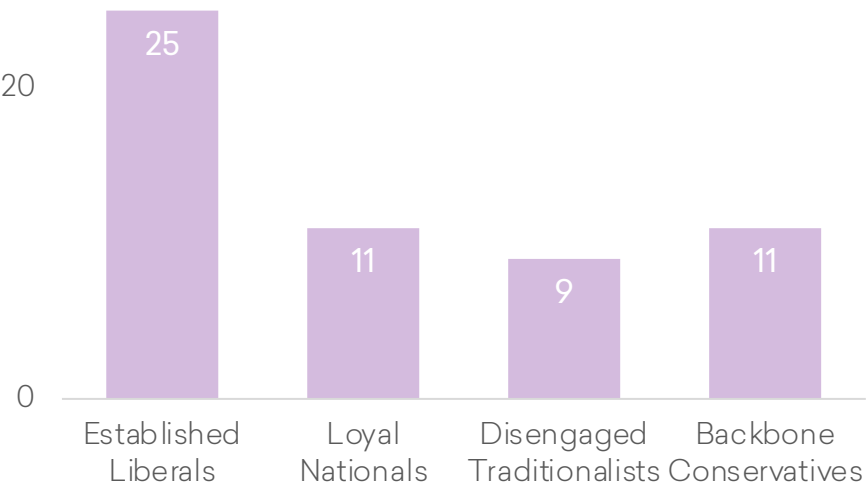
Which statement best describes your view? I have no confidence in either Keir Starmer or the Labour Party, I have confidence in the Labour Party but not Keir Starmer, I have confidence in Keir Starmer and not the Labour Party, I have confidence in both Keir Starmer and the Labour Party, Don't know. Source: More in Common, July 2022



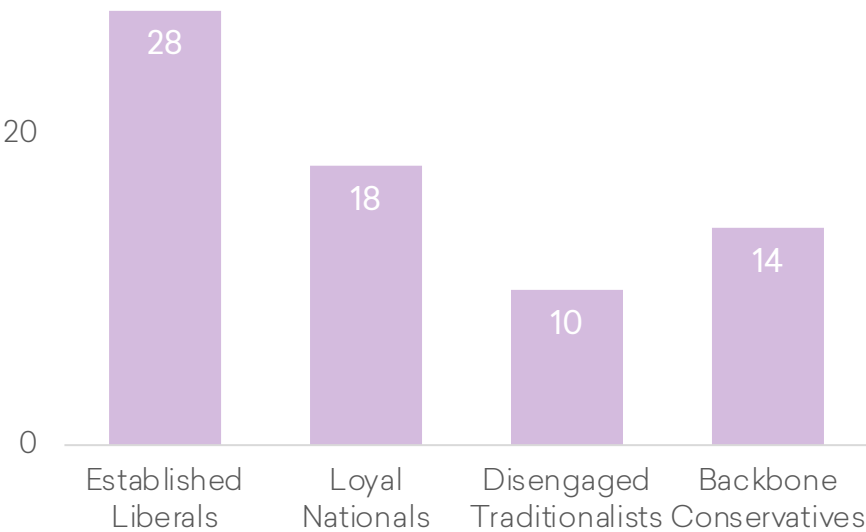
# Risk of adopting populist policies

While adopting populist policies may plug the gap left by the Disillusioned Defectors, the Tories will lose votes at their other blue wall flank.

Less likely to vote for party: includes  
reduce foreign aid in manifesto



Less likely to vote for party: includes  
pause on net-zero policies in manifesto









# **Winning the Disillusioned Defectors back?**

- **Convince voters that there is a way out of the cost-of-living crisis**
- **Show you are still serious about levelling up**
- **Get serious about 'low level' crime**
- **Serious and credible plan for tackling illegal immigration**



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