



How can Labour rebuild its electoral coalition?



Monday, 29 September



16:30 to 18:00



Sherwood Arena Room
Secure Zone, ACC



Jon Sopel
(Chair)

The News
Agents



**Luke
Tryl**

More in
Common



**Alistair
Strathern MP**

MP for
Hitchin



**Christabel
Cooper**

Labour
Together



**Anneliese
Dodds MP**

MP for
Oxford East



**Jonathan
Hinder MP**

MP for Pendle &
Clitheroe



**Richard
Burgon MP**

MP for Leeds
East



**How has Labour's
coalition changed since
the 2024 Election?**

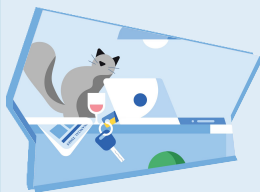
Progressive Activists



Incrementalist Left



Established Liberals



Sceptical Scrollers



Rooted Patriots



Traditional Conservatives



Dissenting Disruptors



...an outspoken group that is politically engaged and globally minded, championing social justice but feeling alienated from mainstream politics

...a group that leans left and trusts institutions, often stepping back from the news and avoiding politically fraught debates

... a prosperous group that is confident in institutions, values expertise, and believes the system broadly works

...a disengaged group that has lost trust in mainstream institutions and increasingly looks online for sources of truth

...a patriotic group that feels overlooked by elites and wants leaders with common sense to protect local identity

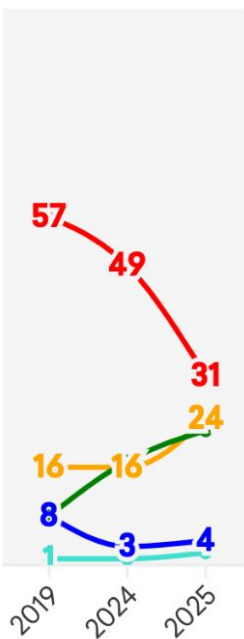
... a nostalgic group that respects tradition, authority and personal responsibility, while remaining sceptical of rapid change

... a frustrated group that craves radical change and backs strong leaders who promise to shake up a broken system

How would the seven segments vote?

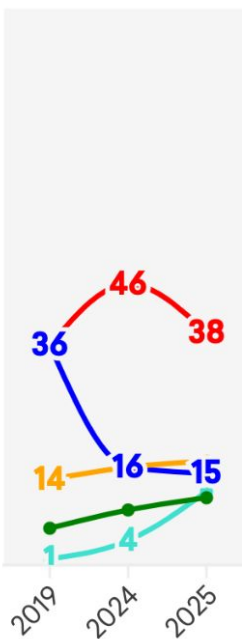
Progressive Activists

"Corbynites"



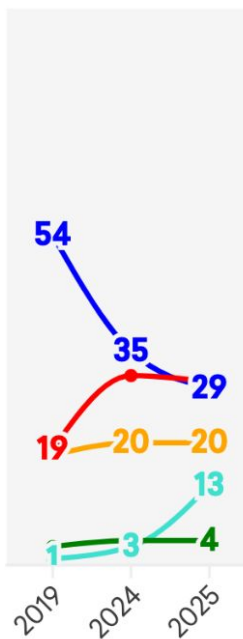
Incrementalist Left

"Social democrats"



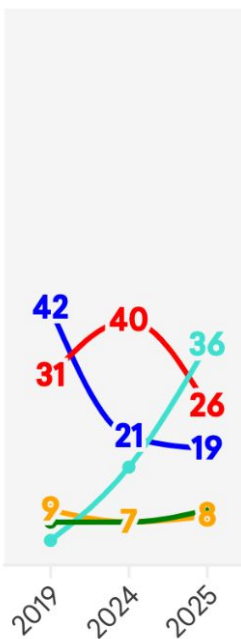
Established Liberals

"Blue Wall"



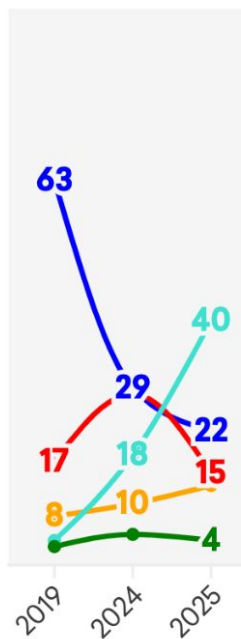
Sceptical Scrollers

"Online Disengaged"



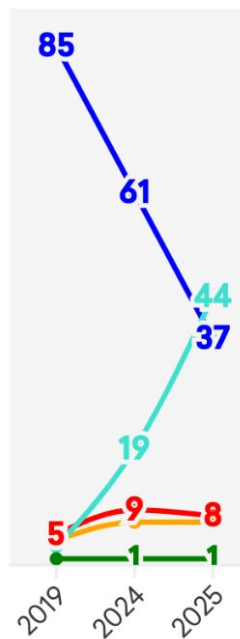
Rooted Patriots

"Red Wall"



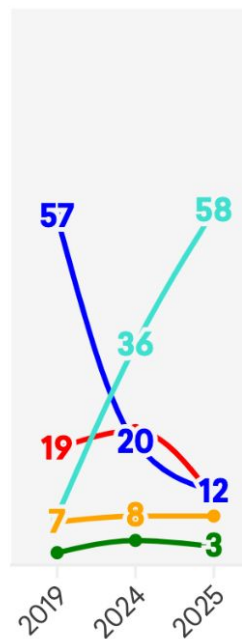
Traditional Conservatives

"Shire Tory"



Dissenting Disruptors

"Populist Right"



Labour's 2024 coalition

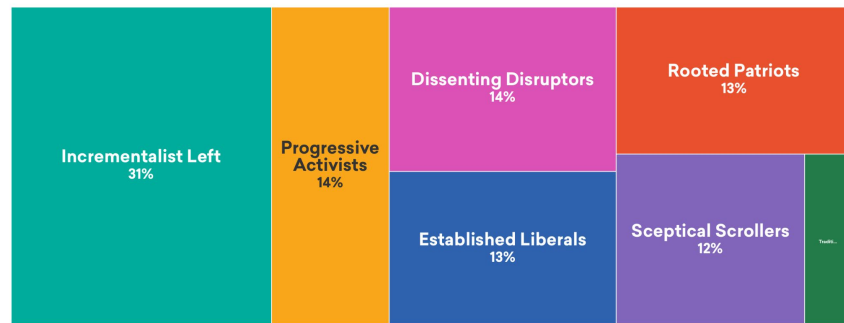
Labour's narrowing electoral coalition

Labour's 2024 landslide was helped by the **diversification of the party's base**- the party increased its support **among six segments** between 2019 and 2024, allowing it to win more constituencies in a wider array of places.

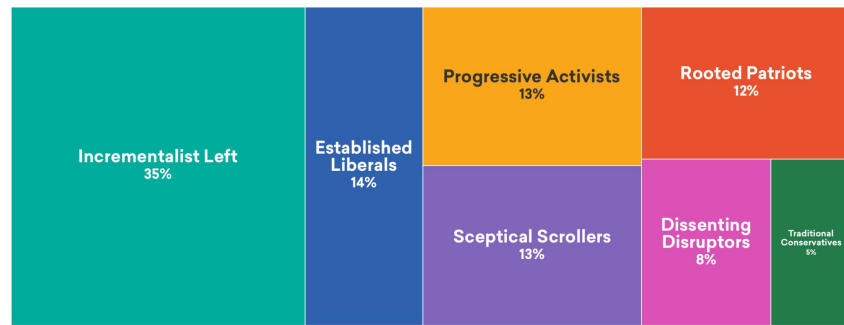
Yet **37 per cent** of those who voted Labour in 2024 now say they would not do so again, with the party losing votes across the political spectrum.

As a result, Labour's voter base has shrunk to its core. While the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals made up **45 per cent** of Labour's 2024 base, they make up around **49 per cent** of the party's current support.

Labour's 2024 voter base by segment



Labour's current voter base by segment



Where are Labour voters going?

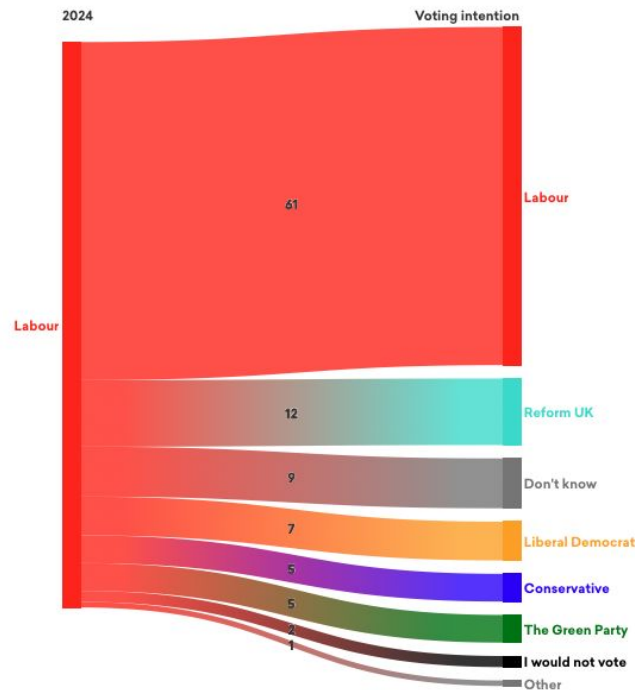
Labour is holding onto just three in five of its 2024 voters.

Of those who have flipped from Labour to another party, two in five now choose Reform. One in four supports the Lib Dems, while one in six has gone to the Greens or Conservatives, respectively.

From Labour's 2024 coalition, the Incrementalist Left are most likely to be sticking with Labour. Dissenting Disruptors and Traditional Conservatives are most likely to have switched to Reform UK. Rooted Patriots who have switched are evenly split between Reform, Lib Dem and undecided. Progressive Activists are more likely to have switched to the Greens.

If a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

2024 Labour voters

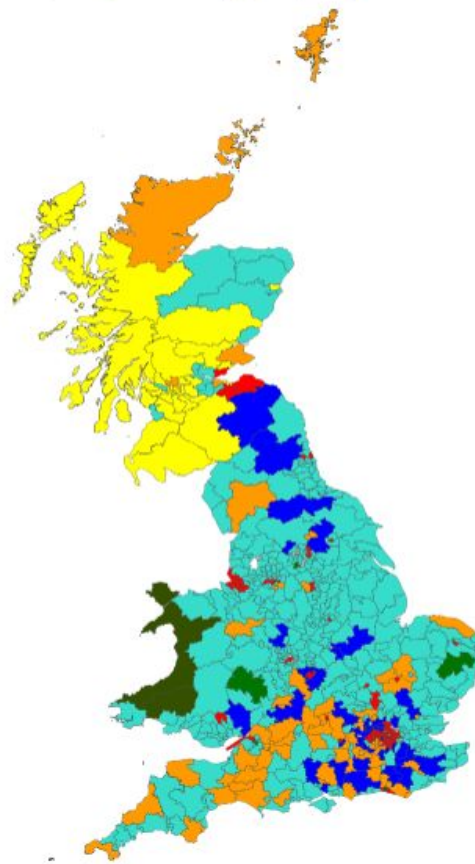


Current polling shows Reform on course to take power

More in Common's new MRP projects a Reform UK majority if a general election were held today. Labour is projected to hold onto just 90 of its seats - predominantly in urban centres like London, and university towns. Labour is projected to come second in 226 seats, of which 106 are marginal.

	Seat count
Labour	90
Reform	373
Conservative	41
Lib Dem	69
SNP	34
Other	14
Green	6
PC	4

Winner: Reform UK Liberal Democrat Scottish National Party (SNP) Labour
Other The Green Party Plaid Cymru Conservative





Voters' verdict on Labour in government

The desire for change has grown

Britons increasingly think it's time for change

● It's time for change ● We need to stick with the plan

Which of the following comes closest to how you are feeling about the next General Election?

June 2024

73

27

Thinking about how the country is being run at the moment, which of the following comes closest to your view?

September 2025

77

23



Source: More in Common, September 2025

Just fifteen months after electing the Labour Government with a mandate for change, Britons are now more likely to believe that it's time for change than they were immediately before going to the polls.

Three quarters (77 per cent) believe "it's time for change", a rise of three points since Rishi Sunak was in power.

For most Britons, slow, incremental progress no longer feels tenable: 55 per cent of Britons believe that the country needs "fast, radical change", compared to a third (34 per cent) who want "smaller, more gradual change".

"So I just want somebody to almost just put a clean sheet on everything in some ways, and start to put faith back into people, not make us feel so demoralised.

We need some hope for the country, for the normal working class person that what we are doing is actually counting for something. All this work that we do day-in, day-out is actually going to work towards something that's going to benefit our kids - because they're the ones going to be left with it all with the mess if we don't sort it out."

Vanessa, PA, Stevenage

Labour have lagged behind expectations

Three in five Britons say Labour's time in government has been worse than they expected, and few believe that Labour has made things better in the country.

Left-leaning segments tend to believe that Labour's first year has been wasted: 52 per cent say Labour has not made a difference. Meanwhile, right-leaning segments overwhelmingly think it has made things worse.

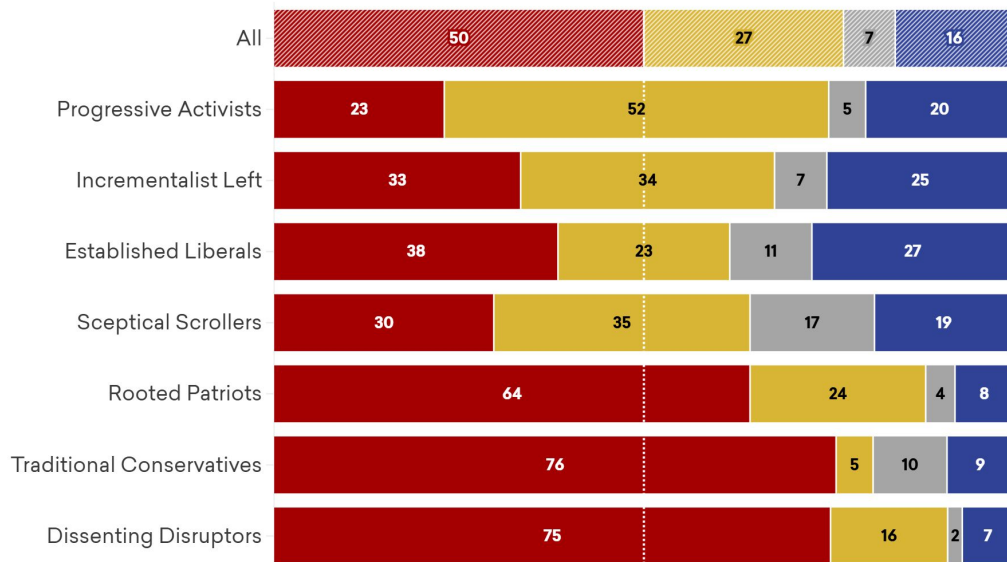
Even among those who voted for Labour in the 2024 General Election, only 39 per cent say the party has made things better, while 30 per cent say it's made no difference and a quarter (24 per cent) believe it's made things worse.

"It's just getting worse. We just are working harder for less. Paying more for less."
Vanessa, PA, Stevenage

Only 16 per cent of Britons believe that Labour has made the country better

Do you think that so far the Labour government has...

● Made things worse ● Not made a difference ● Don't know ● Made things better



Labour no longer feels like a vote for change

A key challenge for Labour is that, in the context of a country demanding change, the lack of tangible progress has convinced most Britons that the party represents 'more of the same'.

This has allowed Reform UK and other parties to tap into public frustration over a lack of government control; for many, it seems the Government is always on the back foot and responding to events, rather than leading on them.

Labour to Reform switchers are among the most likely group to believe Labour represents more of the same.

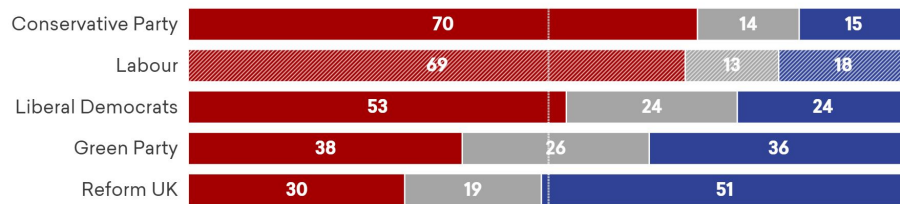
The Government is increasingly being defined by the 'politics of *can't*' which is leading more Britons to see it as not being in control of events - and boosting the appeal of Nigel Farage's 'politics of *can*'.

Seven in ten Britons believe Labour represents 'more of the same'

Thinking about the following political parties, would you say they represent change, or represent more of the same?

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

● They represent more of the same ● Don't Know ● They represent change



Source: More in Common • September 2025

"Well, I was hopeful that things would change. We were going to start getting more looked after, but I just think they've totally embarrassed themselves with taking away the pension credit and then bringing it back and things like that. I just don't think they've delivered on any of their promises, really."
Katie, bank staff, Stevenage

Labour as a vote for the status quo

As Labour is increasingly seen as the party of the status quo, its support base has shifted to reflect that, retracting across every segment except for Established Liberals - the most satisfied segment who tend to be happy with the status quo.

At the 2024 General Election, Reform voters stood out in how pessimistic they were about the future of the country; now, Labour's remaining supporters are outliers in their optimism.

Labour supporters are twice as likely as the average Briton to believe things are getting better, and 19 points more likely than average to believe that the country needs gradual, rather than radical, change.

Those who currently intend to vote Labour tend to be more financially stable, higher earners who report high levels of life satisfaction. They are more likely to be privately educated, and to be men.

Labour's vote share is highest among those most satisfied with their lives

Headline voting intention by life satisfaction

How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?



Source: More in Common, April 2025

"There isn't a cigarette paper between Labour and Tories. It's sort of like a continuation of policies is how it feels to me. And it was like we need something different to make the country work."
Ben, project manager, Yeovil

Some still think Labour needs more time

Labour's remaining support base is sticking with the party because it thinks the scale of the challenges facing the government need more time to be addressed.

When Labour's remaining voters are asked why they would still vote Labour, the top answer is that it needs more time to fix the problems they inherited (42 per cent).

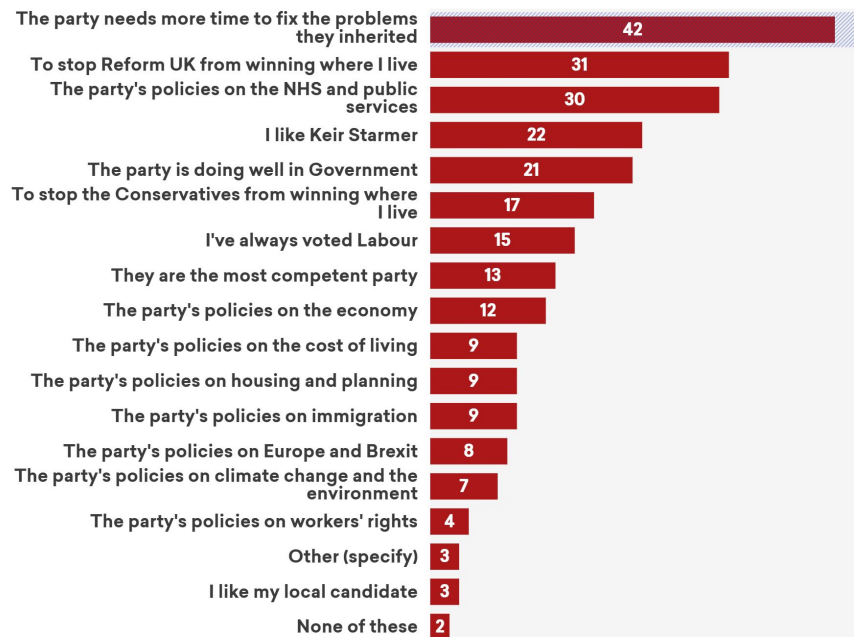
However, time may be running out: most (55 per cent) of those who have left the party think Labour has had enough time already. And among the public as a whole, 53 per cent think it should have delivered the change that it promised by now.

"I don't think they've been given enough time to actually implement anything or put out any of the fires that they have to put out. I think it would be a 10-year plus process to kind of heal the long-term damage that's been caused over time."

Piers, programmer, Worcester

Labour's remaining voters are motivated by a sense that the party needs more time to fix the problems they inherited

You said that you would vote for Labour if a General Election was held today. Why is that?
Select your top three reasons.



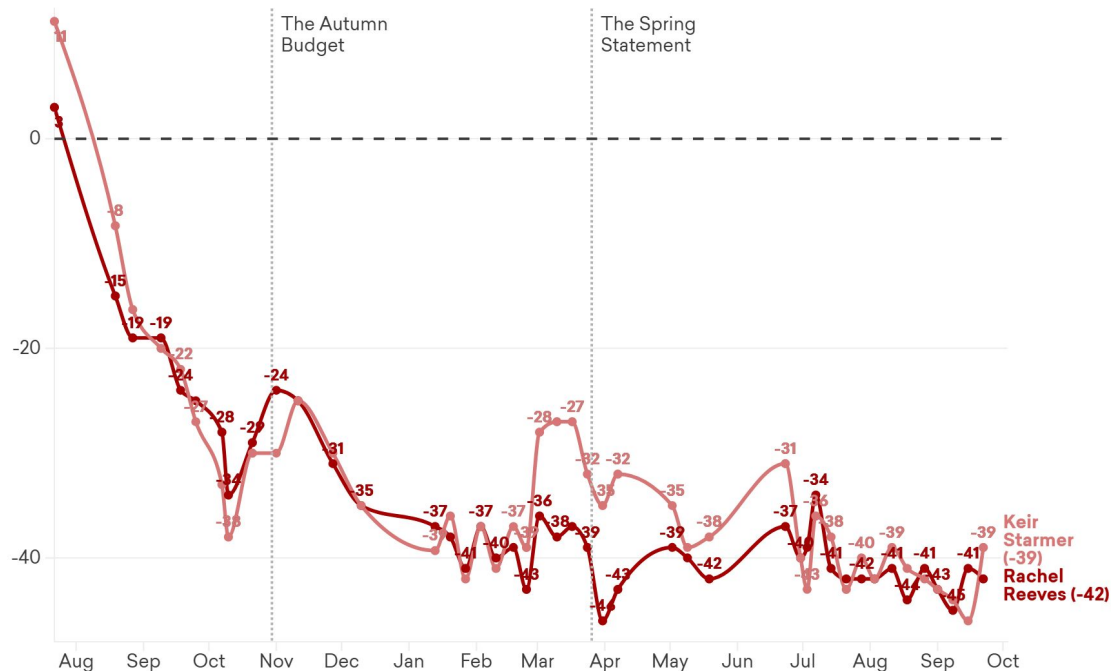
The Prime Minister's approval has sunk

The Prime Minister's net approval rating has dropped by 50 points since the General Election.

From a high of 11 points in July 2024, it has now fallen to -39, after falling lower to a trough of -46.

As of this week, the Prime Minister's approval rating is nearly 20 points lower than it was during Labour Conference last year.

Approval: Rachel Reeves and Keir Starmer Net approval rating



Stارmer's perceived indecisiveness cuts through with the public

Keir Starmer is personally carrying the bulk of public disapproval with particular questions over his leadership skills.

He has net negative approval when it comes to government management, uniting the party and showing that this Government is significantly different from the last one.

Labour's reversals clearly stick in people's minds: 17 per cent say Starmer's greatest weakness is struggling to make/stick to decisions, while 16 per cent say it is changing his mind too often.

In a word, how would you describe Keir Starmer?

May 2024

September 2025



"I think he bowed to pressure and I think he's just unravelling in that way that he's now starting to bow to pressure rather than to actually listen to his own initial... what's the word? His own morals and his own compass that he started leadership with. And I think that he's lost that."

Melissa, theatre manager, Stevenage

Across all policy areas, the Government's approval ratings are negative

Across the board, Britons disapprove of Labour's performance.

Labour is more likely to be seen as doing badly than as doing well across every policy area we asked about. The party is viewed as performing best on responding to global instability, but worst on cutting the cost of living, reducing energy bills, and reducing migration.

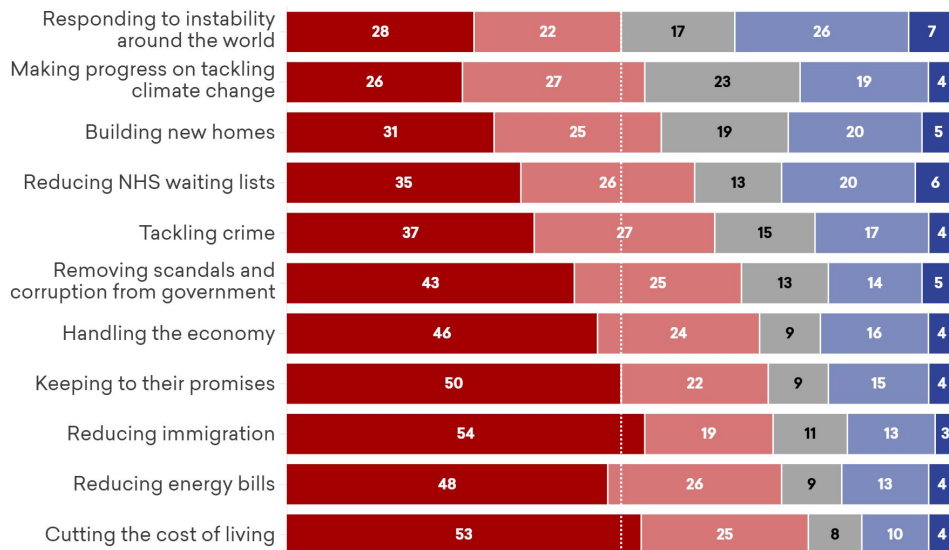
Even among Labour's core voter groups - the Incrementalist Left and Established Liberals - the tendency is to say Labour is doing badly in each area, with the one exception being responding to global instability.

"Everything he touches just seems to be a mess. All the promises he made to get in office, just nothing's happened has it? The NHS for me, it's where I work, it's a mess."
Sarah, dental nurse

Britons think the government is performing poorly on a range of measures

And on each of the following issues would you say that the Labour Government has performed well or badly?

● Very badly ● Quite badly ● Don't know ● Quite well ● Very well



International Starmer

One area on which the public is less negative is international affairs. Britons think the Prime Minister is doing a better job navigating global challenges facing the country and, for many voters, his handling of Trump and Ukraine rank among his finest moments to date.

“Responding to instability around the world” is the measure on which Britons judge the Government most favourably. The Prime Minister’s approval spiked after he embraced Zelenskyy following the Oval Office row. Additionally, voters across political lines believe that Donald Trump’s second state visit was a success for Britain.

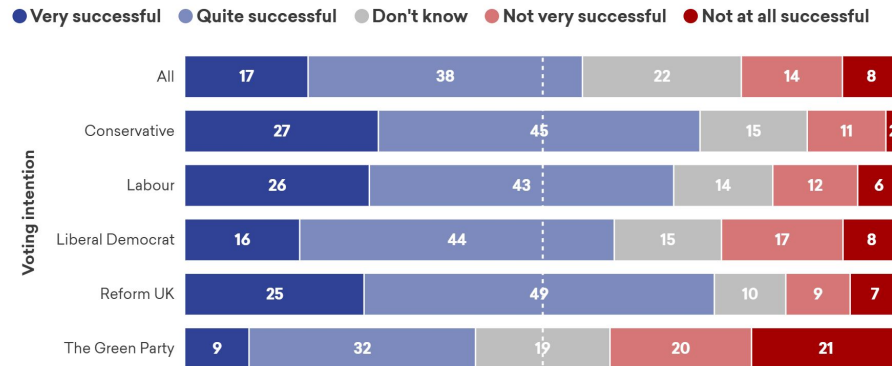
While international triumphs won’t compensate for unpopular decisions on the domestic front, they do help to highlight what voters see as Starmer’s strengths.

“I do think he played a blinder though with Trump in inviting him over for the recent Windsor thing. I think he absolutely, the timing of what he said, how he did it, and massaging that guy's ego, it was a master stroke and I actually think that's what he's really good at.”

Melissa, theatre manager, Stevenage

Most Britons think that Trump's state visit was successful - including nearly three quarters of Reform supporters

This week the UK government hosted Donald Trump for a second state visit. From the UK’s perspective you say the state visit was...



More in Common • September 2025

“I don't think there's anything they've done well domestically, but obviously the state visit was a big win, and some of the stuff around Ukraine.”

Matt, business owner, Taunton

Overshadowed by scandal and unpopular spending decisions

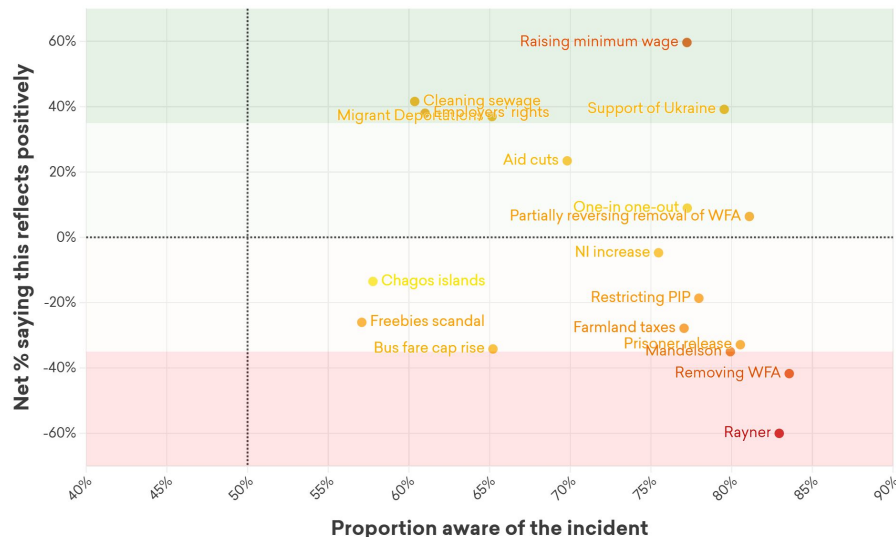
Labour's failures have cut through more than its achievements, with recent scandals overshadowing the most popular policies.

There are high levels of public awareness of the three most negative incidents: more than three quarters of Britons have heard of the Peter Mandelson scandal, Angela Rayner's resignation and proposed changes to the Winter Fuel Allowance.

Meanwhile, more popular policies - such as changes to workers' rights and dealing with sewage - are less widely known.

Rayner and Mandelson departures among the most politically damaging moments of the government

Lighter colours indicate greater ambivalence (more people expressing neither a negative nor positive view of the event)



Winter Fuel

The Government's decision to cut Winter Fuel Allowance was its most high profile and unpopular decision since the election - a majority heard a great deal about this, and a majority felt this reflected negatively on the Government.

This sentiment was highest among Rooted Patriots - the key 'Red Wall' bloc of Labour's 2024 coalition that has moved to Reform since the election. This group continues to speak negatively of changes to the Allowance even after the government's reversal. The sense is that the Government only u-turned because it 'couldn't get away with it'.

It has become the defining moment of the Government so far.

"Everyone was absolutely furious. Well whatever age you are, that was just disgusting I thought. (...)Someone like my mom who's worked all her life, paid into the country all their years to then get taken away. Probably her only benefit."

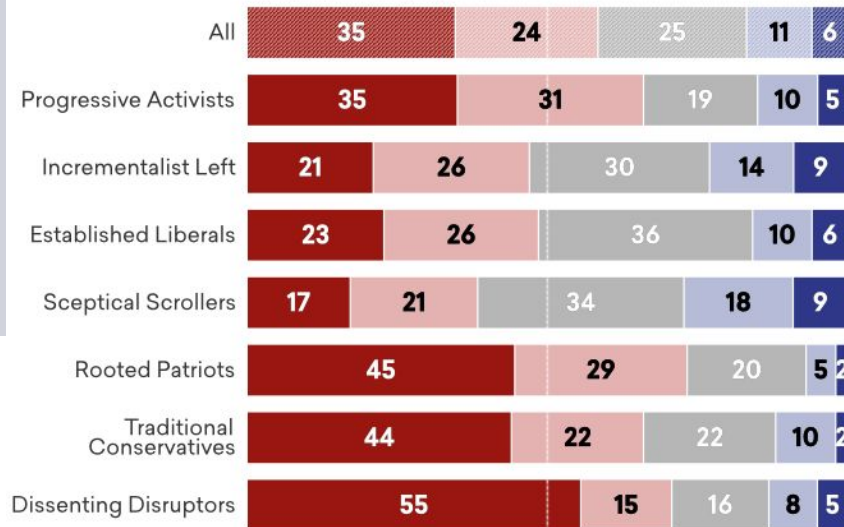
Vanessa, PA, Stevenage

Rooted Patriots are most likely to say winter fuel story reflects poorly on Labour

For the following list of actions, to what extent would you say they reflect positively or negatively on the government?

Removing the winter fuel allowance from some pensioners

- Reflects very negatively on them
- Reflects negatively on them
- Reflects neither positively or negatively on them
- Reflects positively on them
- Reflects very positively on them



Biggest failure?

Where Labour is seen to have gone wrong in government is less to do with the actions it has taken, and more to do with the changes it has failed to make **fast enough**. The public sees Labour's biggest failures as not stopping small boat crossings, not resolving the cost of living crisis and changes to Winter Fuel Allowance.

Those who shifted from Labour to parties on the right are united on small boats being a failure, but split on other failures - Rooted Patriots are more likely to be pushed by disability reforms, early prisoner releases, the cost of living and Winter Fuel Allowance changes.

Dissenting Disruptors are more likely to choose the grooming gang inquiry and handling of free speech and protest. The Progressive Activists are also more likely to see handling of free speech and protest as a failure, along with handling of Gaza and Mandelson's appointment.

In a word or two, what would you say has been Labour's biggest failure in government?

Winter Fuel Allowance

A word cloud visualization of survey responses. The words are arranged in a circular pattern. The most prominent words are 'Immigration' (in red, at the top), 'Winter Fuel Allowance' (in red, in the center), 'Benefits' (in red, below the center), 'Cost of living' (in red, at the bottom), 'Economy' (in red, on the left), and 'Pensions' (in red, on the right). Other smaller words include 'Payments', 'Caring', 'Waiting', 'Tax cuts', 'Policy', 'Mandelson', 'Gaza', 'Free speech', 'Protest', 'Disability reforms', 'Prisoner releases', 'Small boats', 'Labour', and 'Government'.

Lack of progress on key issues has driven voters away

Alongside a series of unpopular decisions, Labour's electoral woes have been fuelled by a perceived lack of progress on the cost of living and migration.

Asked why they have turned away from the party, 33 per cent of Labour switchers say '*they haven't reduced my cost of living*' while 30 per cent say '*they haven't done enough to control immigration*'. A further 23 per cent cite a lack of progress on the NHS.

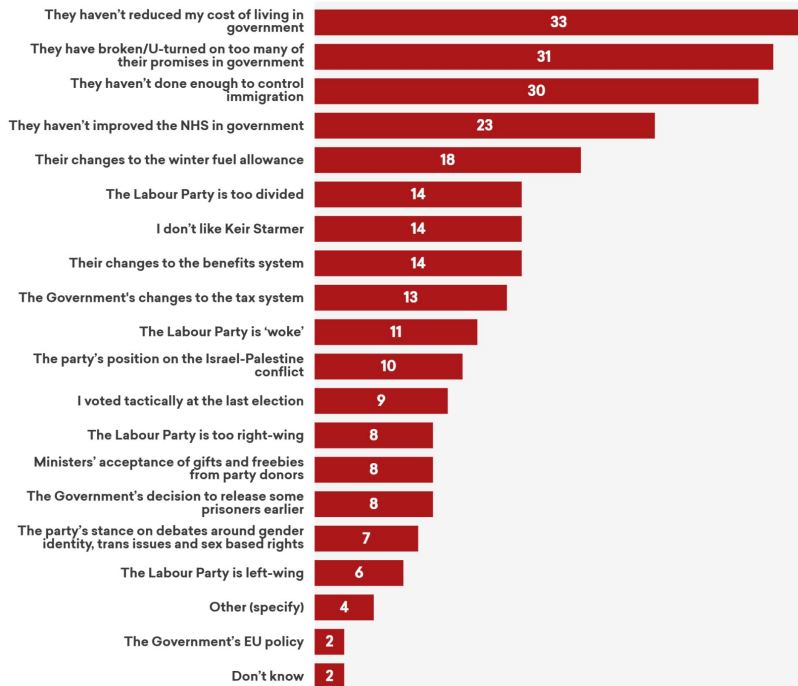
The cost of living, migration and the NHS are key issues across the political spectrum: only among Incrementalist Left and Progressive Activists do immigration and channel crossings not rank in their top three issues.

"I don't have anything good to say. I think he's made my life a little bit harder than what it needs to be"

Simone, receptionist, Stevenage

Why have voters turned away from Labour?

You said that you voted for Labour in the General Election last year, but would not do so if a General Election was held today. Why is that? Select your top three reasons:



A sense that the Government is looking after the wrong groups

For many, the proposed changes to the Winter Fuel Allowance reinforced the sense that Labour does not have its priorities straight, a view compounded by decisions on PIP, farmers' inheritance and employers' NIC.

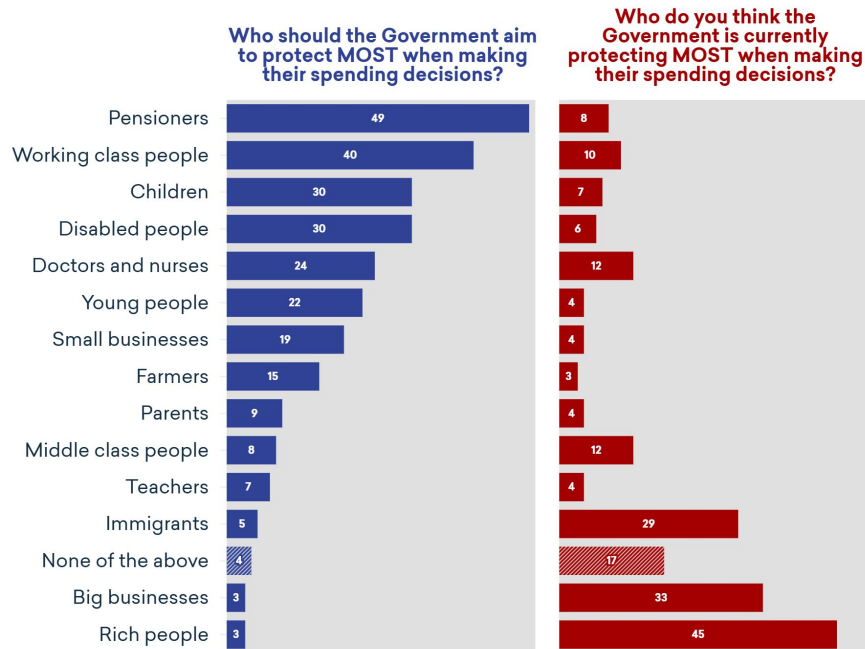
Unpopular spending choices feed a zero-sum view of the economy: that the Government is neglecting the vulnerable, yet still finds money for asylum hotels or universal credit. This fuels the idea that those who do their bit are the ones being punished.

This view is strongest among Rooted Patriots: 75 per cent say Labour is doing a bad job at protecting the vulnerable.

"It's just not fair. And then all we hear about is people getting money and we don't even know, I'm going back to the immigrants thing again, (...) they're getting all the money instead of the people that are paid into our country. It's just not on."
Vanessa, PA, Stevenage

People think the government is protecting the wrong groups in their spending decisions

(Select up to three)



Collapse in Wales

More in Common polling suggests the 2026 Senedd Election could see a historic defeat for Labour. June Senedd polling placed Labour third, behind Plaid Cymru and Reform UK. On these figures, Labour would lose its majority and Wales would see its first ever non-Labour First Minister.

The MRP suggests these losses could extend to Westminster in a future election. Labour currently holds 27 of Wales's 32 parliamentary constituencies, but under this model this would fall to just one (Blaenau Gwent).

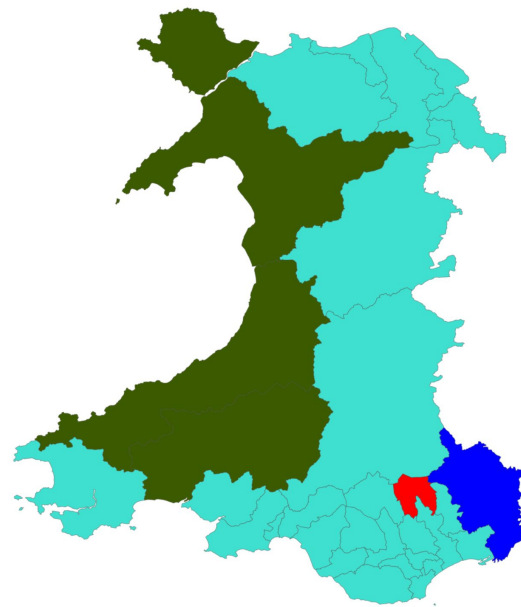
This shift is driven by a dramatic collapse in Labour's support in the Valleys. Most have voted Labour since its creation in the early 20th century, yet all but one are now projected to switch to Reform UK.

However, Labour's losses in Wales would also be driven by defections on their progressive flank: 47 per cent of Progressive Activists would vote for Plaid Cymru, and a further 11 per cent would vote Green.

In a UK General Election held tomorrow, Labour could win just one seat in Wales

More in Common's September MRP (UK Parliament Constituencies)

Winner: ● Reform UK ● Plaid Cymru ● Labour ● Conservative



Jeopardy in Scotland

More in Common's latest Holyrood polling shows the SNP 20 points ahead of Labour, although both parties lose votes as Reform UK makes its first breakthrough in Scotland.

In Westminster, Labour could fall from being Scotland's largest party to fourth place, winning fewer seats than the Liberal Democrats.

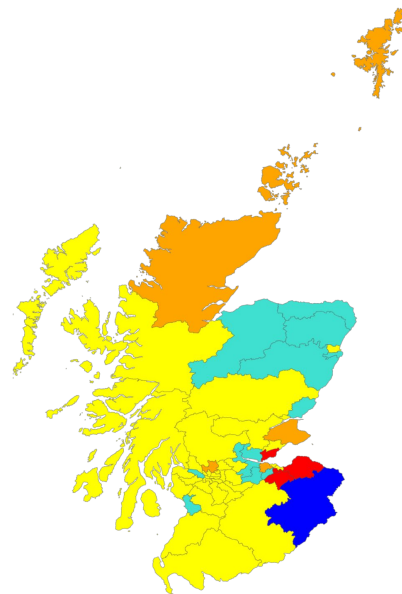
Labour's 2024 gains were fuelled by anti-SNP sentiment, but Keir Starmer now holds a -32 approval rating in Scotland. In a Hamilton, Larkhall and Stonehouse focus group before the by-election, voters said Labour's first year left them disappointed, seeing little difference from the Conservatives.

"I certainly don't want the Tories back, but I don't think there's much difference between them. I can't really see how Labour are a party of the people that they claim to be. I don't really think they've got a true identity and I think they're quite weak when it comes to what they used to stand for and what people think of labour and what they're there to achieve."

Liam, accountant, Stonehouse

Labour's gains in Scotland could be reversed
More in Common's September MRP (UK Parliament Constituencies)

Winner: ● Liberal Democrat ● Scottish National Party (SNP) ● Reform UK ● Labour ● Conservative





Rebuilding a voter coalition

Voters think Labour can fix things - but only if it changes approach

30 per cent say that Labour needs more time to fix the problems it inherited, including **over half of 2024 Labour voters**. Many of those who Labour won over at the last election are prepared to grant the Government a longer grace period to fix things - but only if it changes direction.

45 per cent say Labour can fix things as long as it changes its approach.

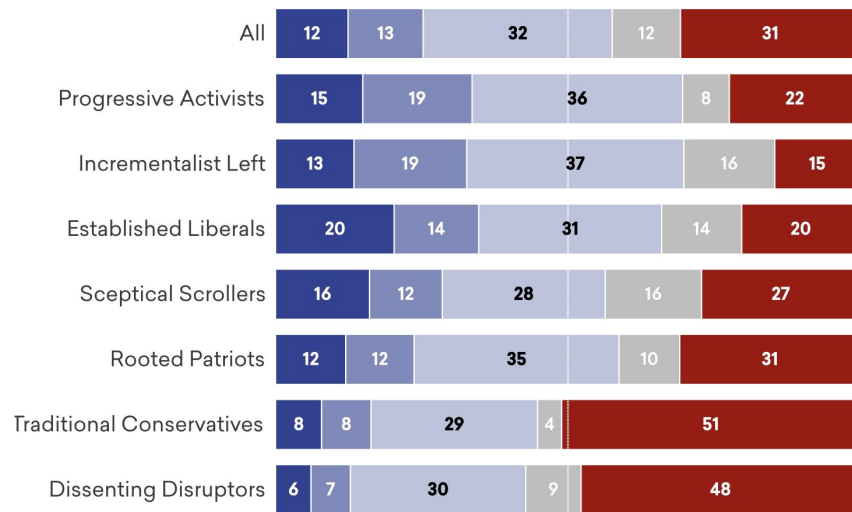
This includes **more than four in ten Rooted Patriots and Established Liberals**, groups with which Labour has to rebuild a relationship if it wants any chance of holding its 2024 coalition together.

However, only **12 per cent** think the Government can fix things with its current plans and only a further **13 per cent** think a slight change of plans will work. If Labour is to achieve a 'reset', it needs to be a radical one.

Most segments say Labour can fix things- so long as it changes strategy

Thinking about the Labour government fixing the country, which of the following comes closest to your view...

- They can fix things by seeing through their current plans
- They can fix things with a slight change of approach
- They can fix things with a significant change of approach
- Don't know
- They can't fix things





**How can Labour win back
the voters it has lost to
the right?**

A 'claw back from Reform' strategy

A strategy which saw Labour win back voters who have switched to Reform since the last election would need to be highly effective to result in electoral rewards. If Labour were able to win back half of those who have switched to Reform, and alienate none of their existing voters in doing so, this would result in a projected 26 additional seats - and leave Reform with a majority.

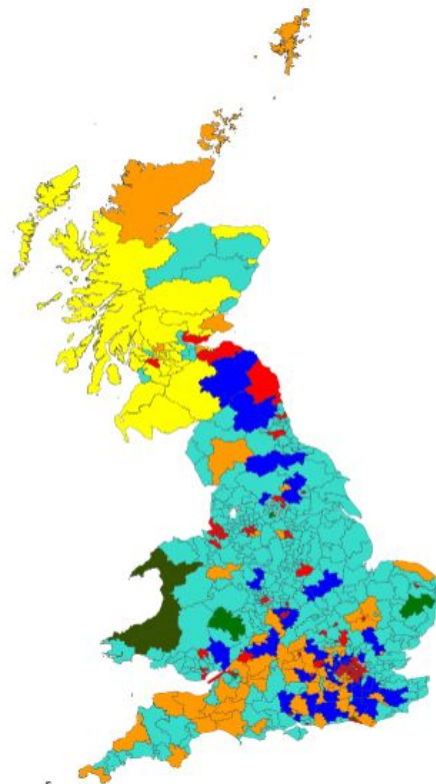
Scenario:

- Half of Labour to Reform switchers return to Labour
- No left-wing voters are turned off by policy or messaging

Result:

	<u>Seat count</u>	<u>Change vs MRP</u>
Labour	116	+26
Reform	345	-28
Conservative	41	+1
Lib Dem	70	+1
SNP	34	-
Other	14	-
Green	6	-
PC	4	-

Winner: Reform UK Liberal Democrat Scottish National Party (SNP) Labour
Other The Green Party Plaid Cymru Conservative



Immigration is key to winning back Labour ‘switchers’

When it comes to perceptions of the Government’s performance, reducing channel crossings and demonstrating competence on net migration will be inescapable necessities if it is to rebuild public trust.

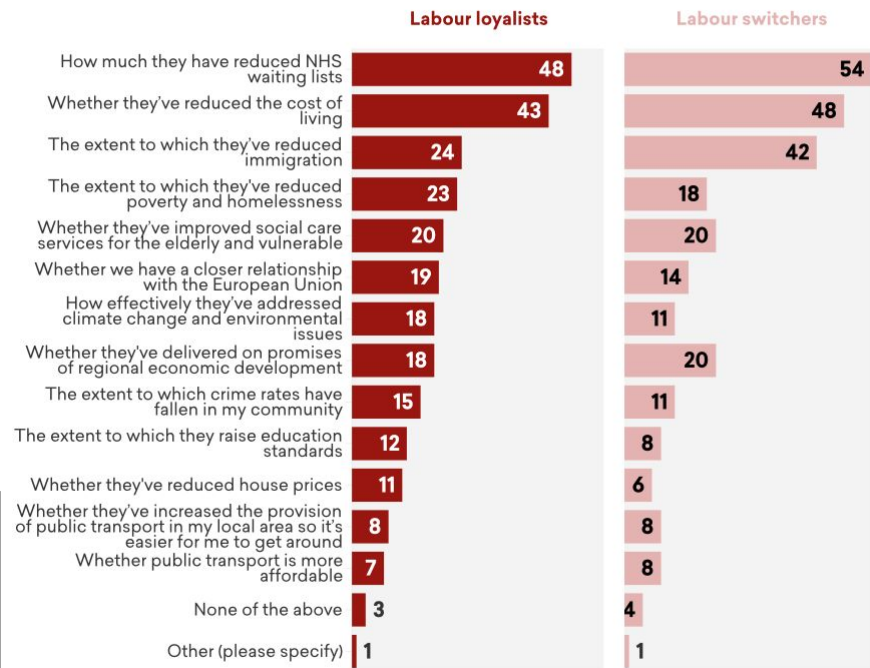
Labour loyalists - those who backed the party in 2024 and still would - and the ‘switchers’ who supported Labour in 2024 but have since drifted away are notably more likely to judge Labour on its handling of immigration.

Because the issue that sticks for most people at the moment, and has all these tendrils to other areas, is about immigration. Because as some people have said tonight, they're going about their lives and being vulnerable and working 40 hours and they're seeing other people taking advantage of it and it just sort of sits and simmers”

Melissa, theatre manager, Stevenage

Immigration is a key test for Labour switchers along with NHS and cost of living

Which of the following do you think will be most important for judging whether the Labour government has improved the country?



Labour-Reform 'switchers' tend to favour a more active state than other Reform supporters

Labour-Reform defectors share with Reform's 2024 voters an affinity for Nigel Farage, concerns about migration and a feeling that the country is going in 'the wrong direction', yet they differ on key policy issues.

These voters are further left economically, more strongly in favour of redistribution and tackling inequality, and less sceptical about welfare.

They also tend to be more strongly in favour of action on climate, and are more likely to want the government to move quickly to meet the 2050 net zero target.

Reform's new voters- particularly those who have moved from Labour- tend to be more socially liberal and economically left-wing than its base

(net agreement with each statement)

● 2024 Reform voters ● Reform's new supporters ● Con-Ref switchers ● Lab-Ref switchers



Labour-Reform defectors tend to be less critical of the Government than Reform's base

While those who voted Reform in 2024 tend to be very critical of Labour, **Labour-Reform switchers tend to be less negative and more open to voting Labour again in the future: 40 per cent of this group rule out voting Labour again, compared to three quarters of all Reform voters.**

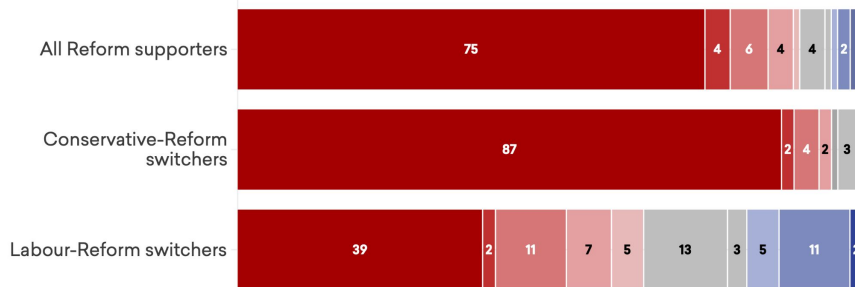
While Reform's loyalists and switchers from the Conservatives disapprove of the Labour Government because of its migration policy, **Labour switchers are more concerned with failures to protect the vulnerable, and a perception that Labour is for the rich and well-off.**

Doing more to show the Government is serious about closing the inequality gap, and protecting the elderly, disabled people and young families could help win back this group's support.

Compared to other Reform supporters, Labour defectors are far less likely to rule out voting for Labour

While there is a way to go until the next General Election, please use the following scale to indicate how likely you are to vote for each of the following parties, where zero means you would never vote for that party, and 10 means you would definitely vote for that party.

● 0 - I definitely will not vote for this party ● 1 ● 2 ● 3 ● 4 ● 5 ● Don't know ● 6 ● 7 ● 8 ● 9
● 10 - I will definitely vote for this party



More in Common • April 2025

"I just want almost a clean sheet on everything in some ways and someone to start to put faith back into people, not make us feel so demoralised. We need some hope for the country, for the normal working class person that what we are doing is actually counting for something." Vanessa, PA, Stevenage

Labour could reclaim the support of Rooted Patriots

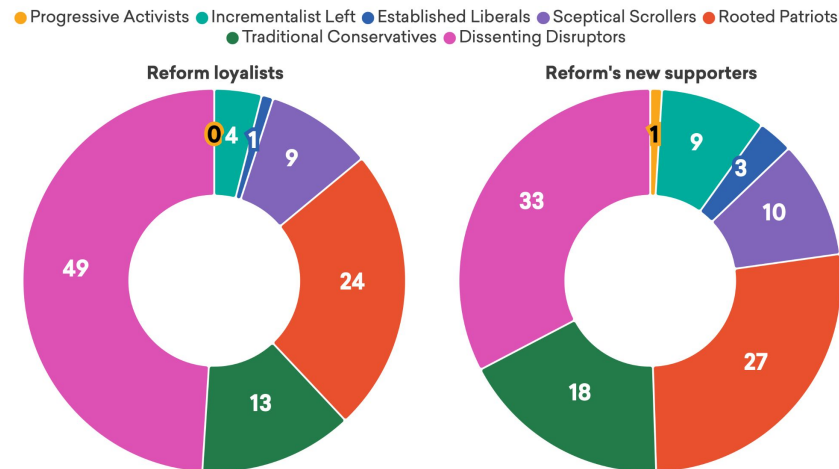
While a large portion of Reform's base are **Dissenting Disruptors**, a group who would be very difficult to win back given their high approval of Nigel Farage, low approval of Keir Starmer, and high levels of concern about migration, **many Labour-Reform switchers tend to be Rooted Patriots (32%)**.

Rooted Patriots, who helped Labour regain Red Wall seats in 2024, share with Dissenting Disruptors social conservatism, feelings of neglect, and scepticism about diversity and the pace of social change, yet they **differ from them in key ways**. They value stability, gradual change, and competent delivery, especially on issues like the NHS, cost of living and social care. They are also particularly averse to offensive speech and culture wars.

Labour **could regain this group's confidence** with tangible improvements on NHS waiting times, or investment in public services.

Reform's new supporters are less likely to be Dissenting Disruptors and are more likely to be Rooted Patriots or Incrementalist Left

Segment breakdown of Reform UK supporters



"The NHS is where I work, it's mess [...] they've lost a lot of funding for the children's hospital, there's lots of cuts to management so no jobs are really safe. So yeah, it's a mess."
Sarah, Dental Nurse, Pontefract, Rooted Patriot

How should Labour fight Reform?

Attacking Reform and Nigel Farage for 'talking down' Britain doesn't work- **many people agree with his diagnosis that the country is broken.**

46 per cent believe that Farage is being realistic about the issues Britain faces, including **55 per cent of Rooted Patriots** - a crucial segment for Labour.

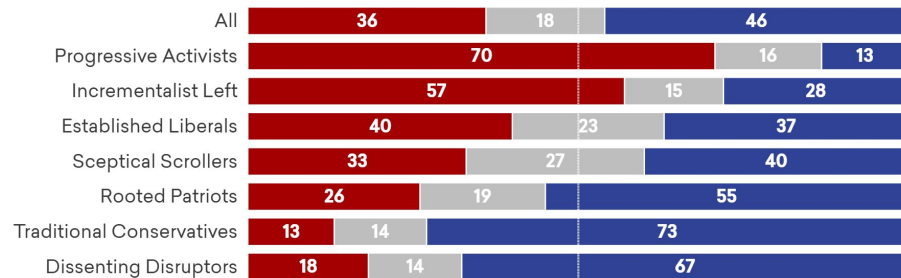
The challenge for Labour in trying to argue that Britain isn't broken is two-fold. Firstly, Labour itself spent the run up to the last election arguing that the Tories had broken the country; saying now that the country is not broken implies either that Labour have fixed it (something the public doesn't believe) or that they weren't telling the truth.

The second challenge is that it appears pollyannaish or, worse still, out of touch when people are really struggling.

Britons tend to think Nigel Farage is being realistic about the state of the country

Which comes closer to your view?

- Nigel Farage is too negative about the state of the country and is talking down Britain.
- Don't Know
- Nigel Farage is being realistic about the problem Britain faces and the need to take action to fix them.



Source: More in Common • September 2025

"The way we're living now, it's ridiculous. I'm getting up at my age still at half past four in the morning, going to work. (...) I don't live now. I just survive. (...) So I think this is just not life anymore. So I think we do need a change."

Vicky, Supermarket Assistant

Stealing Reform's clothes

Two in five Britons (40 per cent, including 45 per cent of those who have moved away from Labour since 2024) believe that Labour should copy Reform's policies in areas like crime and migration, while 35 per cent say it should not.

There is clearly an appetite for the more radical approach of Reform in these key policy areas, if not for the specific policies themselves. Yet the challenge is that Labour will never be able to 'out-bid' Reform without alienating its own base on issues like crime and migration.

The best path for Labour would be to show it can get a grip of these issues in a way that stays true to Labour values.

Two in five Britons think Labour should adopt more of Reform's language and policies - although most of Labour's remaining voters disagree

Which comes closer to your view?

- Labour should adopt more of Reform's policies and language in areas like crime and migration
- Don't know
- Labour should not adopt more of Reform's policies and language in areas like crime and migration



How should Labour fight Reform?

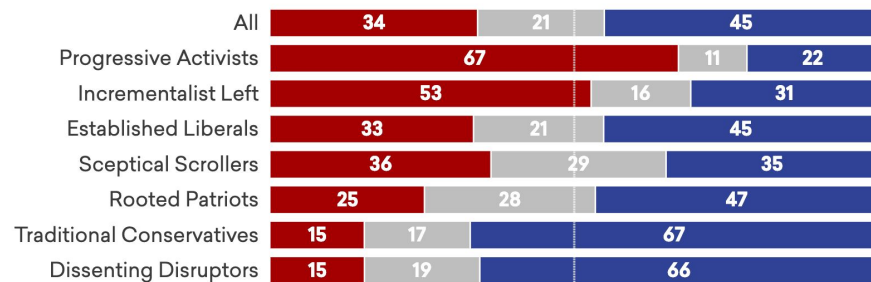
Labour needs to tread carefully when challenging Reform's policies. 45 per cent of the public believe Labour should be more cautious about branding Reform or its supporters as racist or bigoted. Of the segments, only Progressive Activists and the Incrementalist Left want the Government to take a stronger stance in "calling out" Reform. Direct attacks risk Labour repeating the mistake made by Hillary Clinton and her 'deplorables' gaffe.

62 per cent say the party should prioritise advancing its own programme in government rather than using up energy criticising Reform. Spending too much time attacking Farage could risk the Government looking out-of-touch with the priorities of the public.

All but the most liberal segments believe Labour should be careful to avoid framing Reform supporters as racist or bigoted

Which comes closer to your view?

- Labour should more aggressively call out racism and bigotry in Reform or among its supporters
- Don't know
- Labour needs to be more careful about not labelling Reform or people who support it as bigots or racists



"I dunno if anyone's seen a press conference today, we're four years away from an election and Starmer has come out and had this done this press conference for no reason, just attacking Reform. He's obviously rattled, isn't he? So [Farage] is doing a good job, I think."

- Bal, Traditional Conservative, Fareham and Waterlooville



**How can Labour win back
the voters it has lost to
the left?**

Labour switchers on the left are likely Progressive Activists

Progressive Activists have swung 14 points away from **Labour** since the last election - in particular to the Liberal Democrats and the SNP. Around **26 per cent** of Progressive Activists say they would vote Liberal Democrat while **18 per cent** would back the Greens.

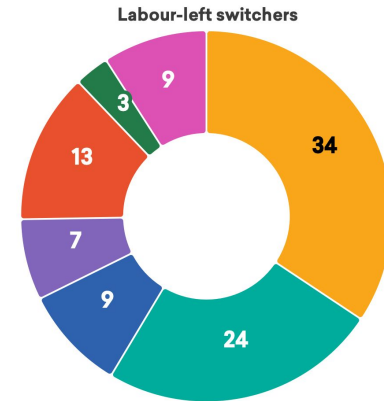
This group are far more socially and economically left-leaning than the average voter, and while they formed a key part of Labour's base under Corbyn, many have drifted away as they perceive the party shifting to the right: **40 per cent of Progressive Activists believe Labour has been more right-wing in government than they expected.**

Their shift has been driven in large part by dissatisfaction with the Government's stance on Gaza and its approach to welfare reform.

Progressive Activists make up a third of those who have left Labour to support other left-wing parties

Segment breakdown of those who voted Labour in 2024 but would now vote Liberal Democrat, Green, SNP, Plaid or for an independent party/candidate

● Progressive Activists ● Incrementalist Left ● Established Liberals ● Sceptical Scrollers
● Rooted Patriots ● Traditional Conservatives ● Dissenting Disruptors



More in Common

Source: More in Common • September 2025

"I think huge changes, really better foreign policy. I don't think they've been doing much in terms of the wars that are going on. And there's also lots of wars in Africa at the moment, like Sudan, but absolutely nothing."

-Agatha, Lecturer, Stoke Newington, Progressive Activist

Left-switchers want the Government to focus on poverty, climate and public ownership

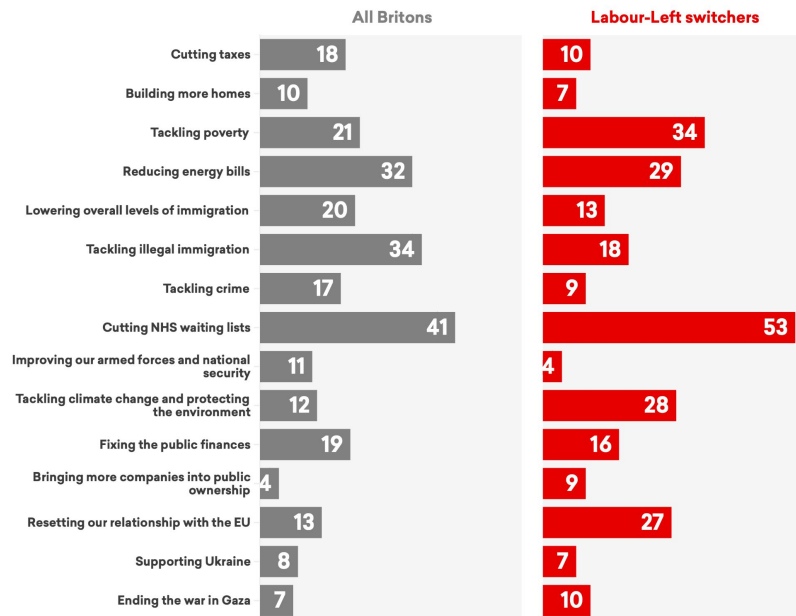
Voters who backed Labour in 2024 but have since moved to other left-leaning parties hold different priorities for the Government over the next four years when compared with the average voter.

This group places less emphasis on cutting taxes, tackling crime, strengthening the armed forces, or addressing immigration.

Instead, they are more likely to say the Government should focus on reducing poverty, bringing companies into public ownership, cutting NHS waiting times, resetting the UK's relationship with the EU, and addressing climate change over the remainder of its term.

Labour-Left switchers are more likely think the government should focus on cutting NHS waiting lists, tackling immigration and tackling climate

In your view, what should the Labour Government focus on over the next four years? Select up to three.

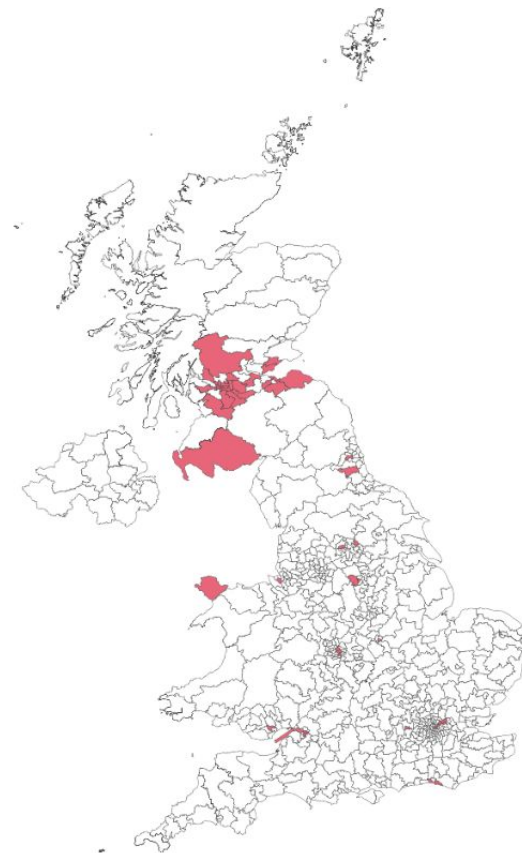


Where could Labour feel a hit from the left?

Shedding votes to left-wing parties is particularly relevant for Labour in Scotland.

In England, the threat from the left can be found in Green strongholds such as Bristol and Sussex and urban areas which have seen independent success, such as Birmingham and London. In some Red Wall constituencies, splitting the left vote could hand victory to Reform.

There are 51 seats where Labour is projected to come first or second by a margin of 20% or less, and where another left wing party is projected to take at least 20% of the vote.



A 'mobilise progressives' strategy

A strategy which saw Labour chase its most progressive voters may not have a significant impact on the electoral arithmetic. If a change of tack pushed away its right flank, this would erode gains from bringing back switchers and mobilising non-voters.

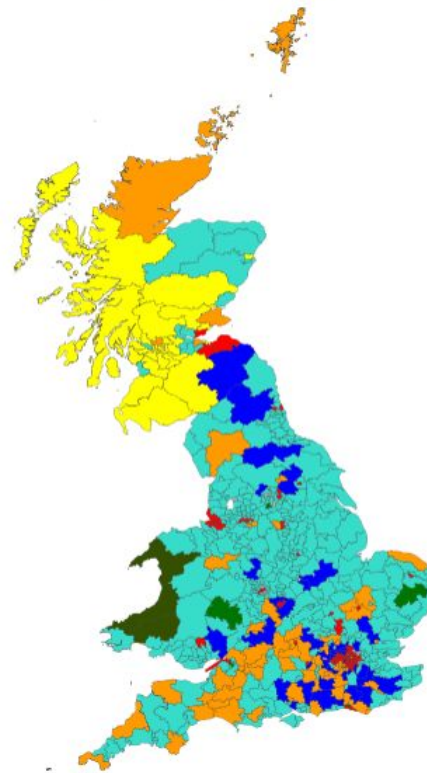
Scenario:

- Reinstating left flank: Switchers to Greens, Independents, SNP and Plaid return to Labour
- Mobilising non voters: Turnout increases by 5% who vote for Labour
- Turning off the right flank: 8% of Labour voters go to the Conservatives and 7% vote Reform.

Result:

	<u>Seat count</u>	<u>Change vs MRP</u>
Labour	124	+24
Reform	365	-8
Conservative	41	-
Liberal Democrat	68	-2
SNP	22	-12
Other	5	-9
Green	4	-2
Plaid Cymru	2	-2

Winner: Reform UK Liberal Democrat Scottish National Party (SNP) Labour
Other The Green Party Plaid Cymru Conservative



Could 'Your Party' be a problem for Labour?

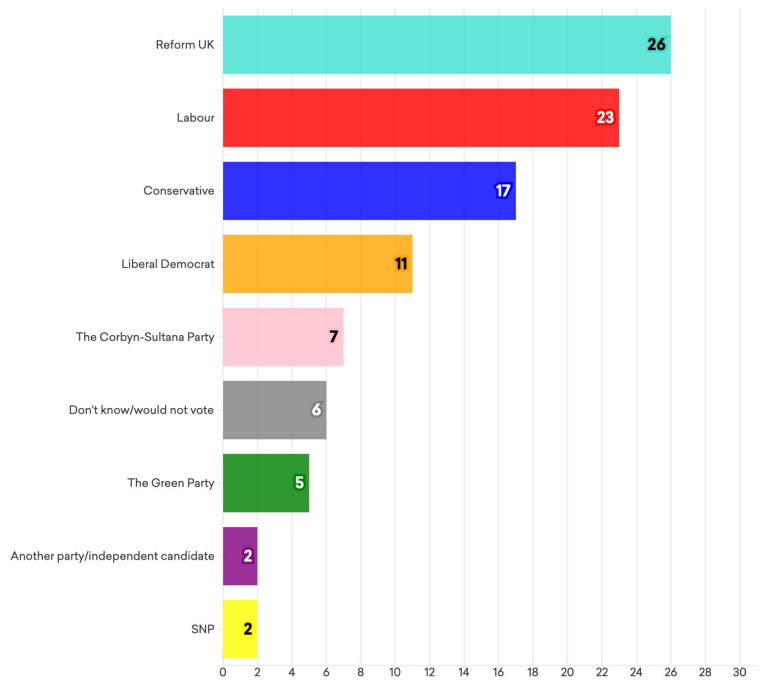
The rise of a new left-wing party could be another challenge for Labour: **around 7% of voters (and 9% of Labour's 2024 supporters) say they would back 'Your Party'.**

Nearly half (47%) of its potential voters are Progressive Activists, indicating strong appeal to the most left-wing voters seeking an alternative to Labour. In the event the party stood candidates, its support seems to mostly come from undecided voters and backers of independents.

Further vote fragmentation on Labour's left could either weaken it - by opening the door to the right - or help it, if the Liberal Democrats, Greens and 'Your Party' divide the left vote in cities, while Labour holds onto its support among moderates.

Voting Intention with a Corbyn-Sultana Party

Imagine if, by the next general election, the new party formed by Jeremy Corbyn and Zarah Sultana is standing candidates across the country. If a general election were called, which party would you vote for?



A Labour-Reform showdown pulls some defectors home

When faced with the prospect of Nigel Farage becoming Prime Minister, a significant share of voters who have shifted from Labour to other parties on the left would be willing to return.

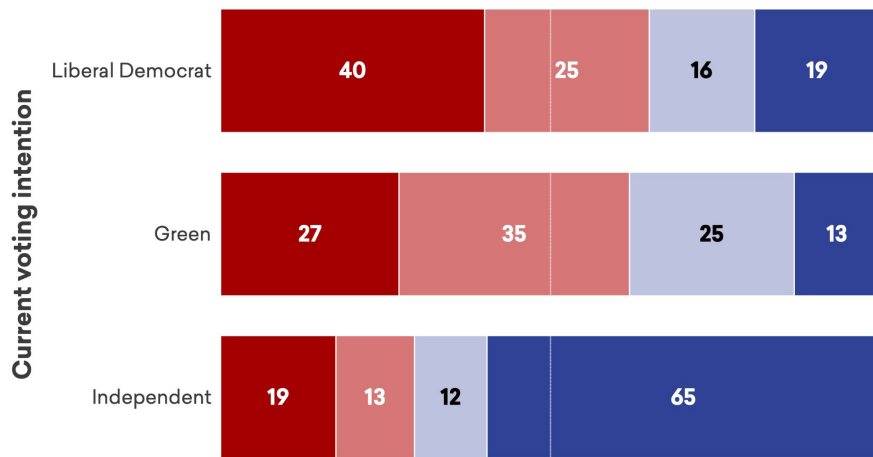
While 65% of those supporting independents would *not* vote Labour in such a circumstance, **two-thirds (65%) of those currently intending to vote Liberal Democrat and 62% of current Green supporters would do so to keep Reform UK out.**

However in order to activate this strategy, Labour will have to burnish its progressive credentials **focusing on the issues that matter most to this group**, such as the NHS, poverty and climate, **and draw a clear distinction between itself and Reform**, ensuring voters see a fundamental difference between the two parties.

Most Liberal Democrat and Green supporters would vote Labour to keep Reform UK out of power

You said you would vote for another party / independent candidate in a General Election. If in your constituency, it was likely to be a very close race between Labour and Reform UK, would you consider voting for Labour?

- I would definitely vote Labour to stop Reform UK
- I would probably vote Labour to stop Reform UK
- I would probably not vote Labour to stop Reform UK
- I would definitely not vote Labour to stop Reform UK



A 'tactical voter' strategy

If Labour were able to convince left-aligned voters to tactically vote Labour in seats where it looks to come second to Reform or the Conservatives, this could be electorally beneficial.

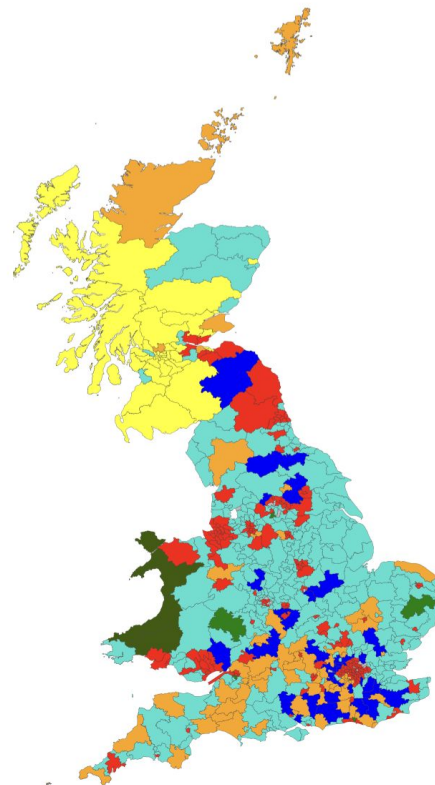
Scenario:

- In seats where Labour come second to Reform or the Conservatives, $\frac{2}{3}$ of Lib Dems, Green, SNP and Plaid voters vote Labour to stop Reform and $\frac{1}{4}$ of Independent voters would tactically vote Labour.

Result:

	<u>Seat count</u>	<u>Change vs MRP</u>
Labour	196	+106
Reform	275	-98
Conservative	33	-8
Liberal Democrat	69	-
SNP	34	-
Other	14	-
Green Party	6	-
Plaid Cymru	4	-

Winner: Reform UK Liberal Democrat Scottish National Party (SNP) Labour
Other The Green Party Plaid Cymru Conservative



A 'progressive alliance' strategy

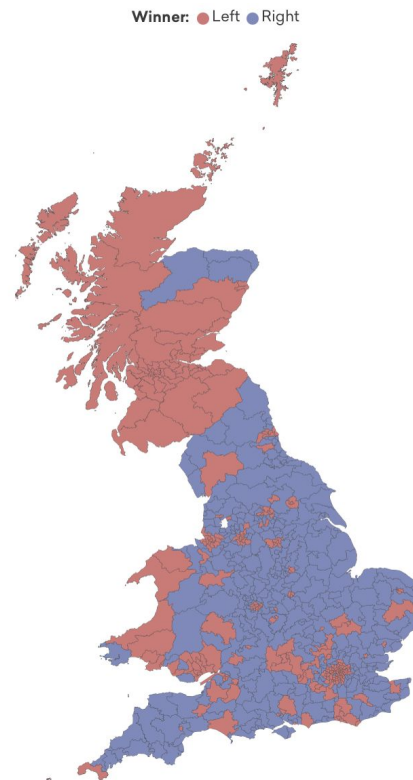
Based on the latest MRP projection, a progressive alliance would win a minority of seats against a merged Reform-Conservative party. This suggests forming such an alliance would only be an election winner if no similar pact followed on the right.

Scenario:

- Labour, Liberal Democrat, Green, SNP, Plaid and Independent votes all go to a progressive alliance
- Conservative and Reform votes go to a united right bloc

Result:

	<u>Seat count</u>
Left wing bloc	274
Right wing bloc	357



What difference would a new leader make?

51% of voters say someone else in Labour would be a better choice for Prime Minister than Keir Starmer. 2024 Labour voters, however, are slightly less certain- **45% of this group say Starmer is the best choice, while 40% would prefer an alternative.**

When asked who would be the better Prime Minister of Keir Starmer or Andy Burnham, **the public narrowly chooses Burnham by 27% to 20%.** Those who have moved away from Labour since 2024 **are ten points more likely to opt for Burnham than Labour's loyalists.**

Burnham has a lead over Starmer in almost every segment, **from Progressive Activists (37% to 25%) to Rooted Patriots (23% to 14%).** Even the Incrementalist Left- **Starmer's base segment-** are almost evenly tied on which of the two would make the best Prime Minister.

Almost every segment thinks Andy Burnham would make a better PM than Keir Starmer

Who do you think would make a better Prime Minister?



Changing leader would not be enough to rebuild Labour's support

However, the challenges for Labour go beyond leadership: its difficulties are rooted in deeper, structural issues. 36% say a Burnham-led Labour would be 'more of the same', while only 27% believe it would be genuinely different.

Nearly half of respondents—including 42% of those who have switched away from Labour—say replacing Starmer would make no difference to how they view the Government.

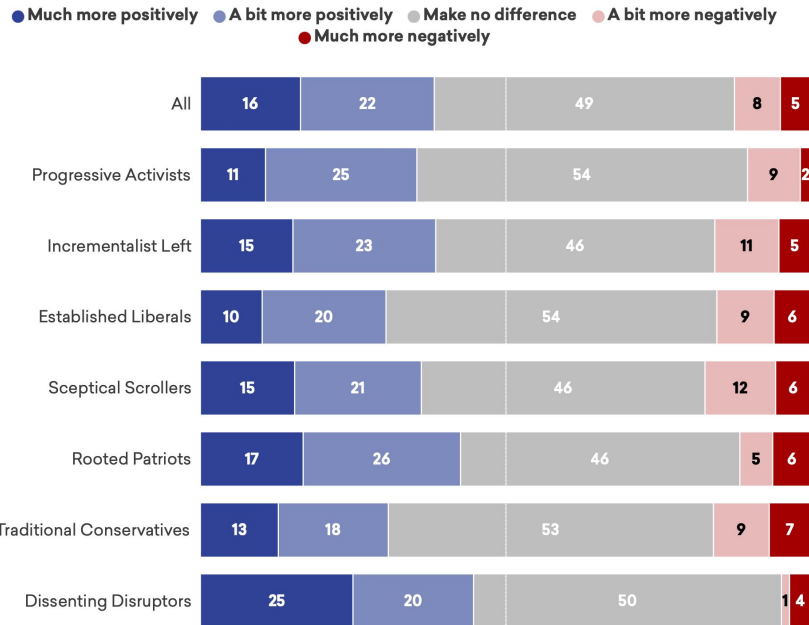
"I don't think the buck stops with him. I don't think he's in control of all the decisions, thereby just putting a different face on it, there's still the same problems within the party, there's still the same attitudes."

-Melissa, theatre manager, Stevenage

More than four in ten of each segment says that a new leader would make no difference to how they think of the government

How, if at all, would the following affect your view of the Labour government?

If Keir Starmer was replaced as Labour leader



The three key tests to unite Labour's coalition

There are three major measures on which Britons will judge Labour's time in government:

1. Reducing the cost of living
2. Demonstrating competence on migration
3. Improving the NHS

Delivery in these three areas will be essential for winning back Labour's diverse coalition.

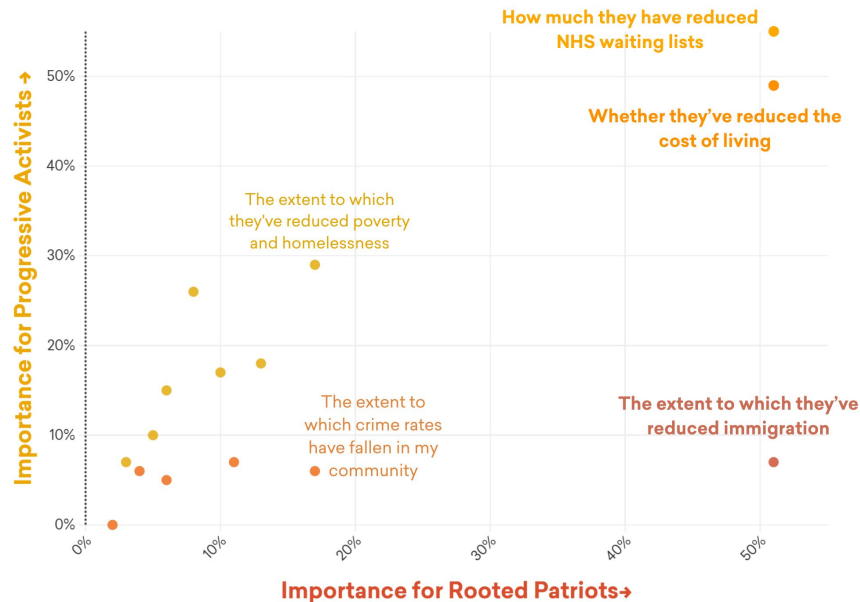
While migration lacks salience among Labour's left flank, it is one of the top priorities for Rooted Patriots (51 per cent say they will judge Labour on how much it reduces immigration).

Meanwhile the NHS and cost of living are issues that unite Labour's support base - ranking in the top three issues for every segment that voted for Labour in 2024.

The cost of living and NHS unite Rooted Patriots and Progressive Activists

Which of the following do you think will be most important for judging whether the Labour government has improved?

(Proportion of Progressive Activists and Rooted Patriots selecting each priority)





How can Labour rebuild its electoral coalition?



Monday, 29 September



16:30 to 18:00



Sherwood Arena Room
Secure Zone, ACC



Jon Sopel
(Chair)

The News
Agents



**Luke
Tryl**

More in
Common



**Alistair
Strathern MP**

MP for
Hitchin



**Christabel
Cooper**

Labour
Together



**Anneliese
Dodds MP**

MP for
Oxford East



**Jonathan
Hinder MP**

MP for Pendle &
Clitheroe



**Richard
Burgon MP**

MP for Leeds
East

More in Common at Labour Party Conference 2025

All events take place in the Sherwood Arena Room, ACC, unless indicated otherwise



Monday 29 September

Women and girls versus big tech? Ending online violence against women and girls

6:30PM-7:30PM

With Sophie Stowers, Jess Phillips MP, Joani Reid MP, Natalie Fleet MP, Catherine Fookes MP, Andrea Simon and Emma Pickering

Come Together: A celebration of what connects us

7:30PM onwards
RIBA North

More in Common, UCL Policy Lab and Citizen UK's Labour conference reception with guest speaker Ed Miliband MP, the Secretary of State for Energy and Net Zero

More in Common at Labour Party Conference 2025

All events take place in the Sherwood Arena Room, ACC, unless indicated otherwise



Tuesday 30 September

What the public thinks: What's next for UK aid?

9AM-10AM

With Luke Tryl, Baroness Chapman, Dr Jeevun Sandher MP, Moazzam Malik and David Hudson

The heat is on: powering up Britain's home energy transition

10AM-11AM

With Charlie Cooper, Luke Tryl, Martin McCluskey MP (invited), Tom Iowe, Jane Dawson and Richard Hauxwell-Baldwin

Nova Scotia

Things can only get hotter: Is ambition on climate and nature a route for electoral success?

**12:15PM-
1:15PM**

With Fiona Harvey, Luke Tryl, Toby Perkins MP, Luke Murphy MP and Angela Francis

What do we think of the speech? Expert analysis of the Prime Minister's speech to party conference

5:30PM-6:30PM

With Luke Tryl, Marc Stears, Josie Rourke, Tom Baldwin and Rachel Sylvester