
LOOKING TOWARDS MAY 2018

ROBERT GORDON CLARK & PROF. TONY TRAVERS
LONDON COUNCILS SUMMIT
18 NOVEMBER 2017

Structure

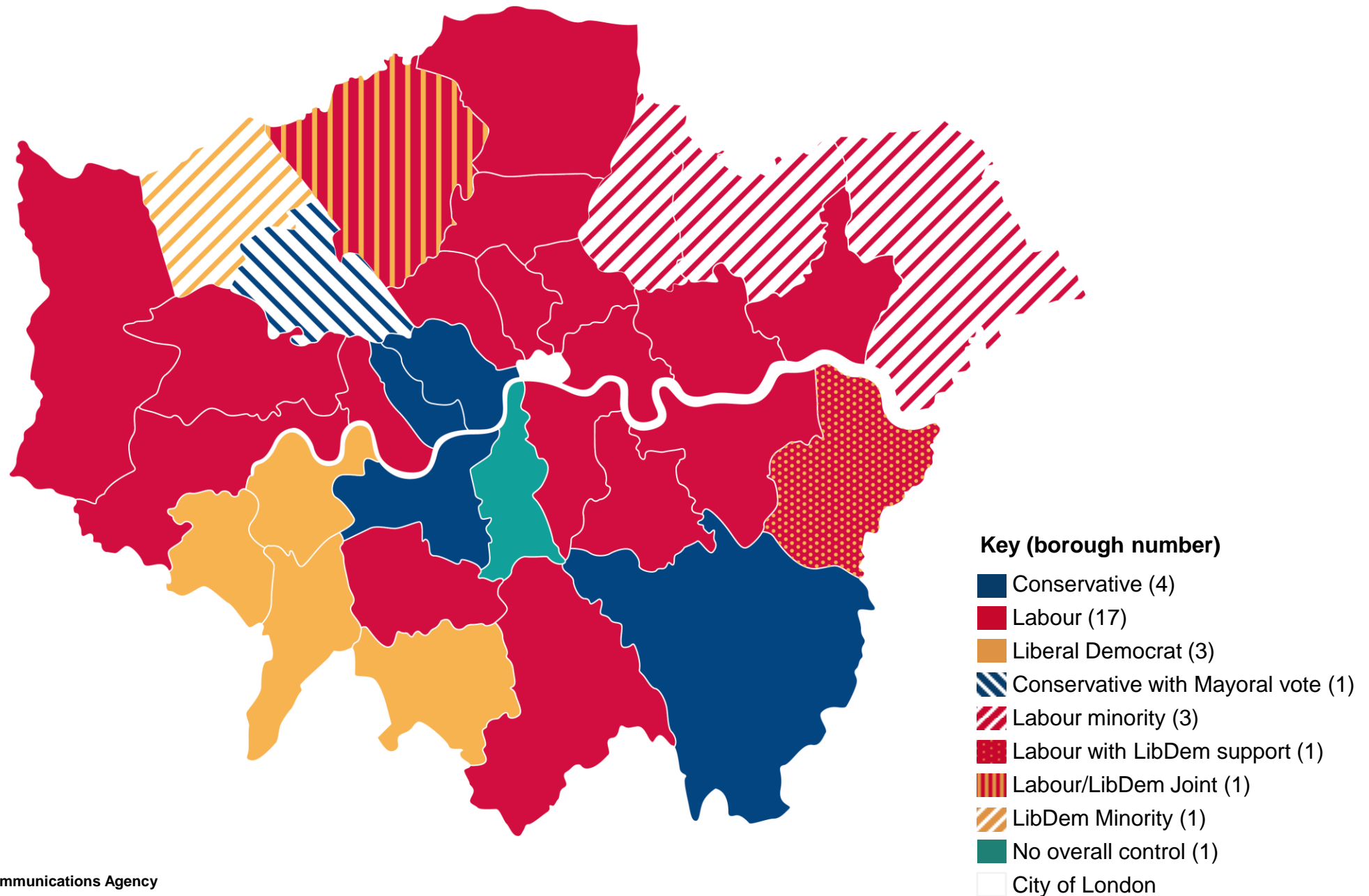
- 1. London's political landscape**
- 2. Some issues in play in the run-up to 2018**
- 3. Analysing some key boroughs:**
 - a. A Conservative borough which might go Labour?
 - b. A Liberal Democrat fight back?
 - c. A Labour borough which might go Conservative ?
 - d. What impact is Momentum having?
 - e. Unique politics
- 4. Summing up**
- 5. Q&A**



1. London's political landscape

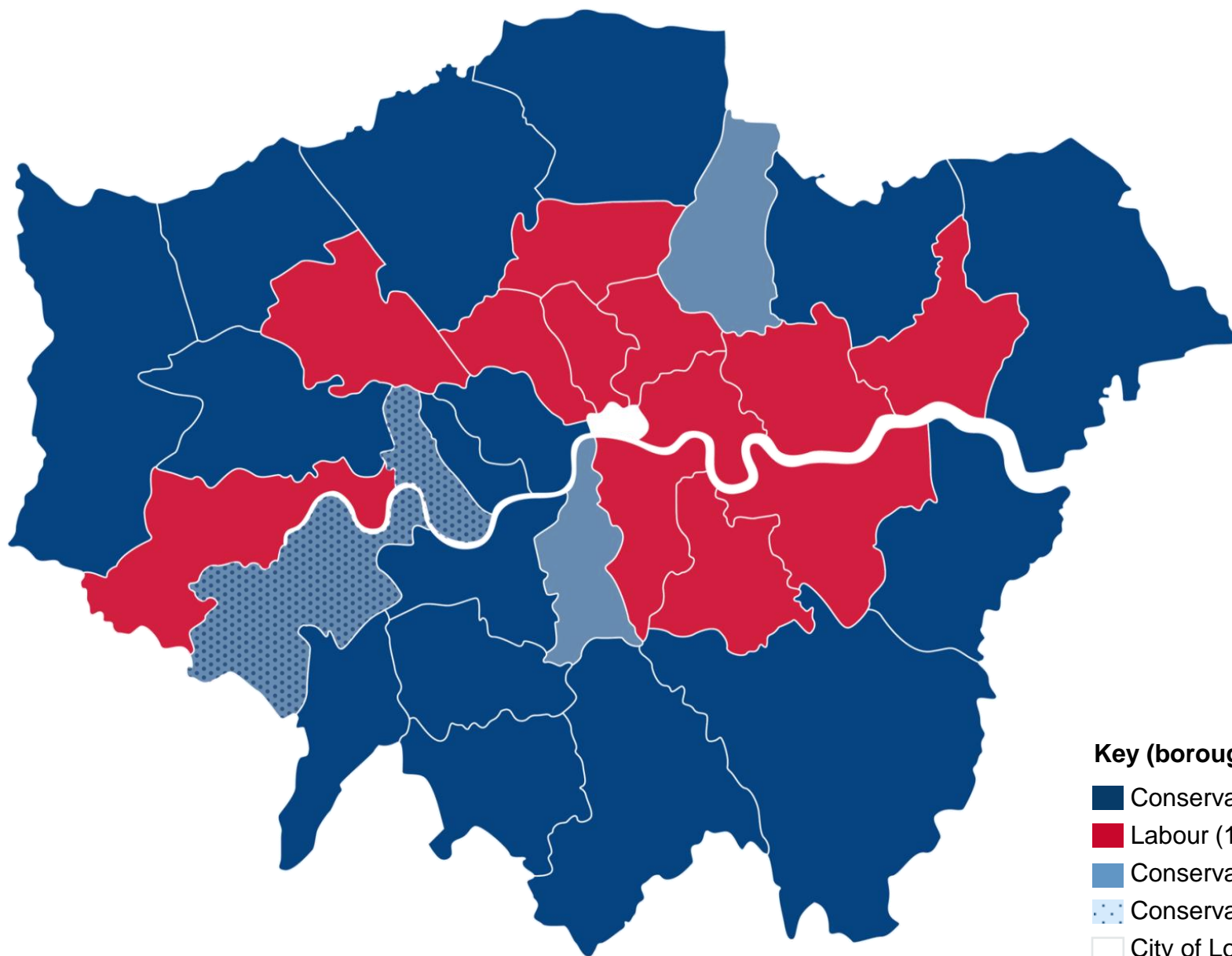


1. Have we been here before – when was this?



1994

1. ...and this?

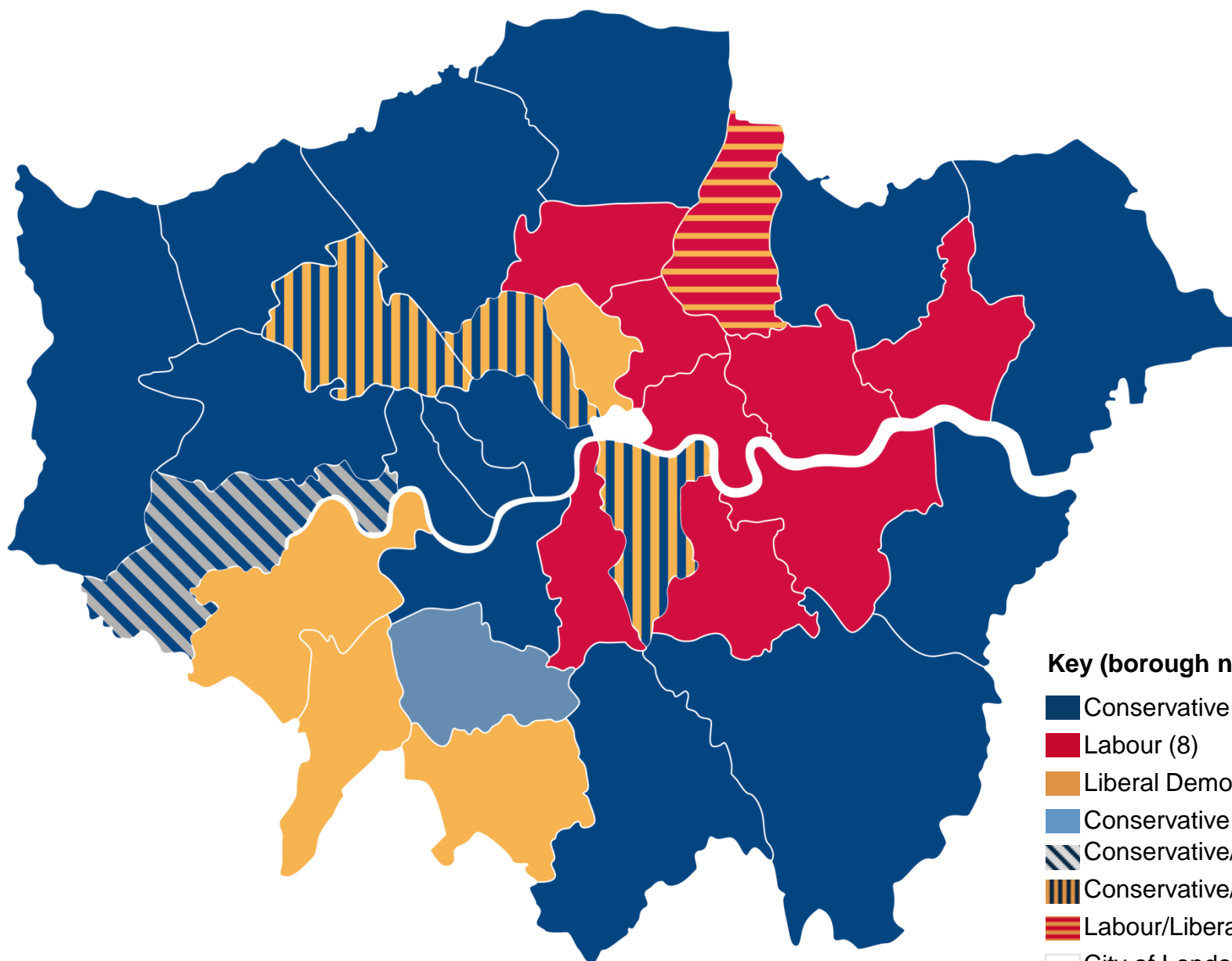


Key (borough number)

- Conservative (16)
- Labour (12)
- Conservative minority (2)
- Conservative with Mayoral vote (2)
- City of London

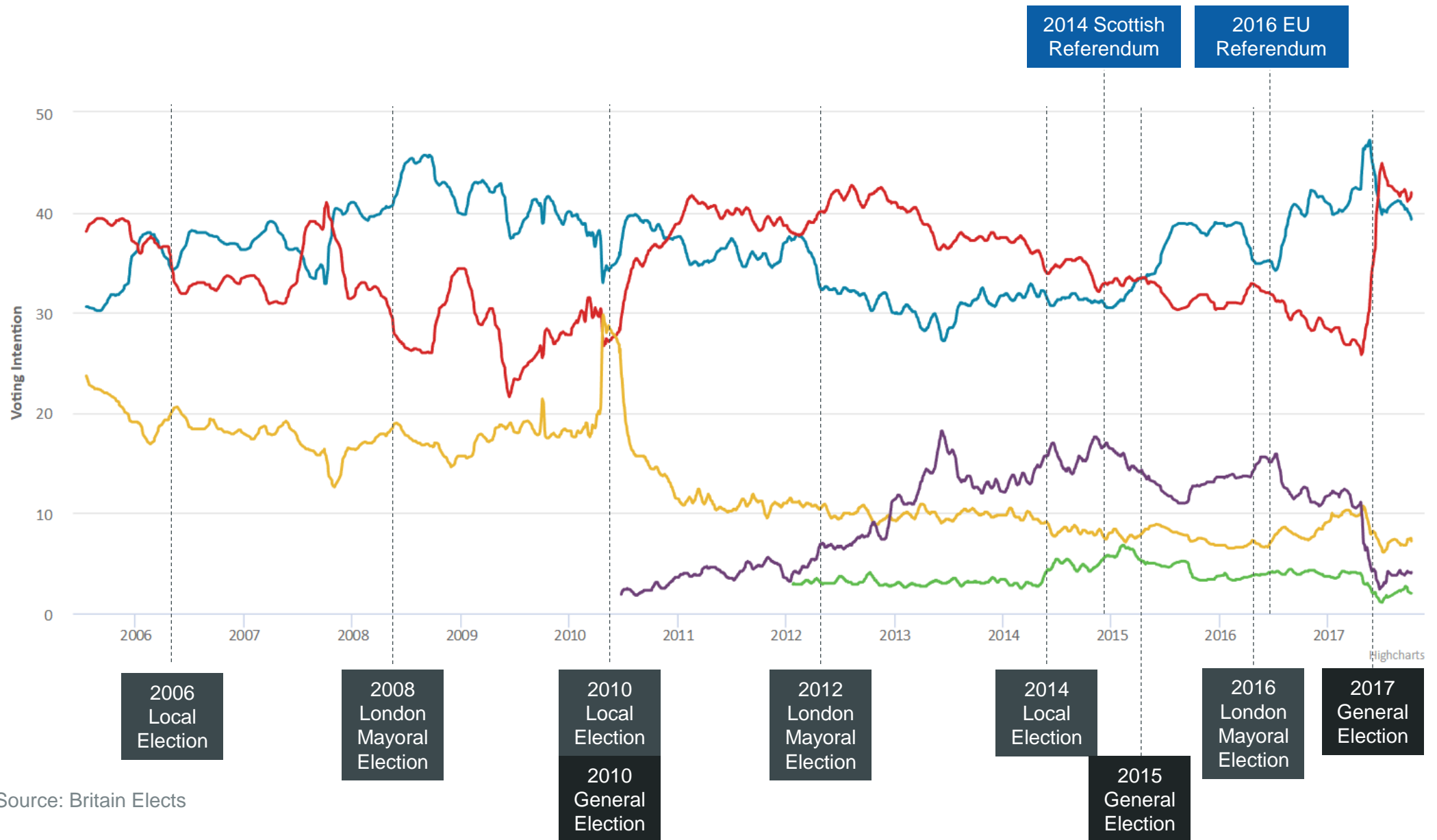
1982

1. ...and how about this?



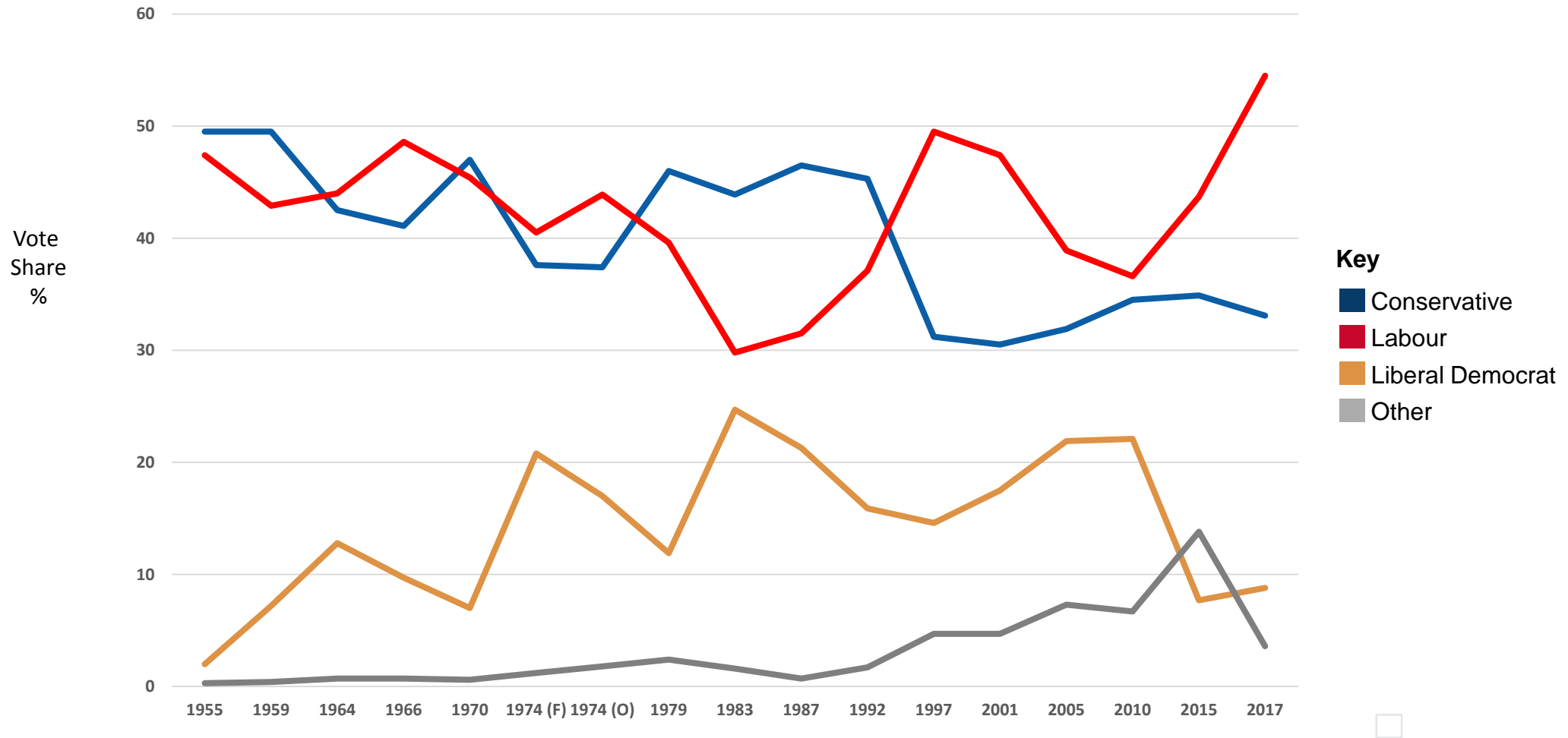
2006

1. British voting intention – July 2005-October 2017



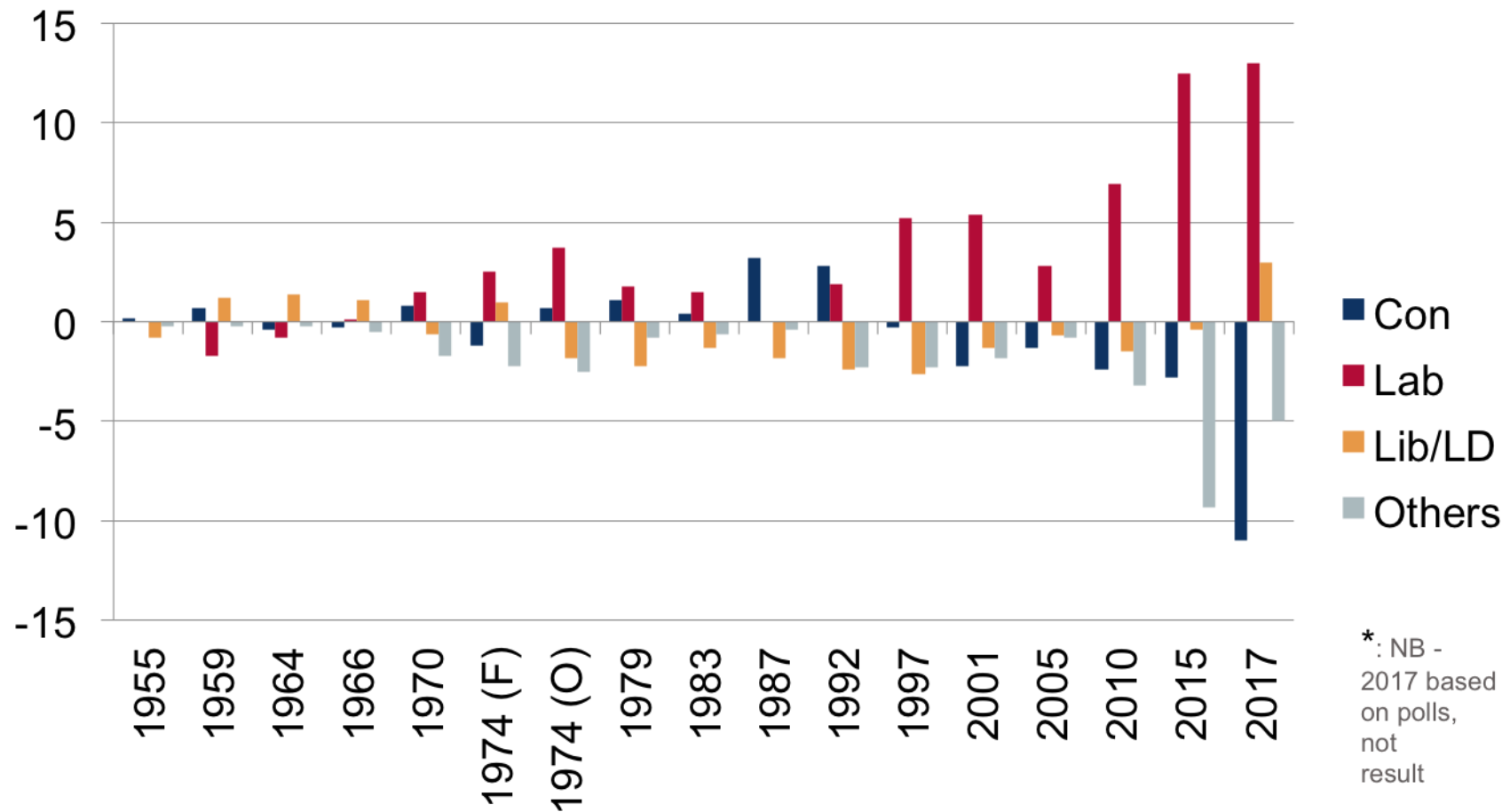
Source: Britain Elects

1. London vote share 1955-2017 – General Elections



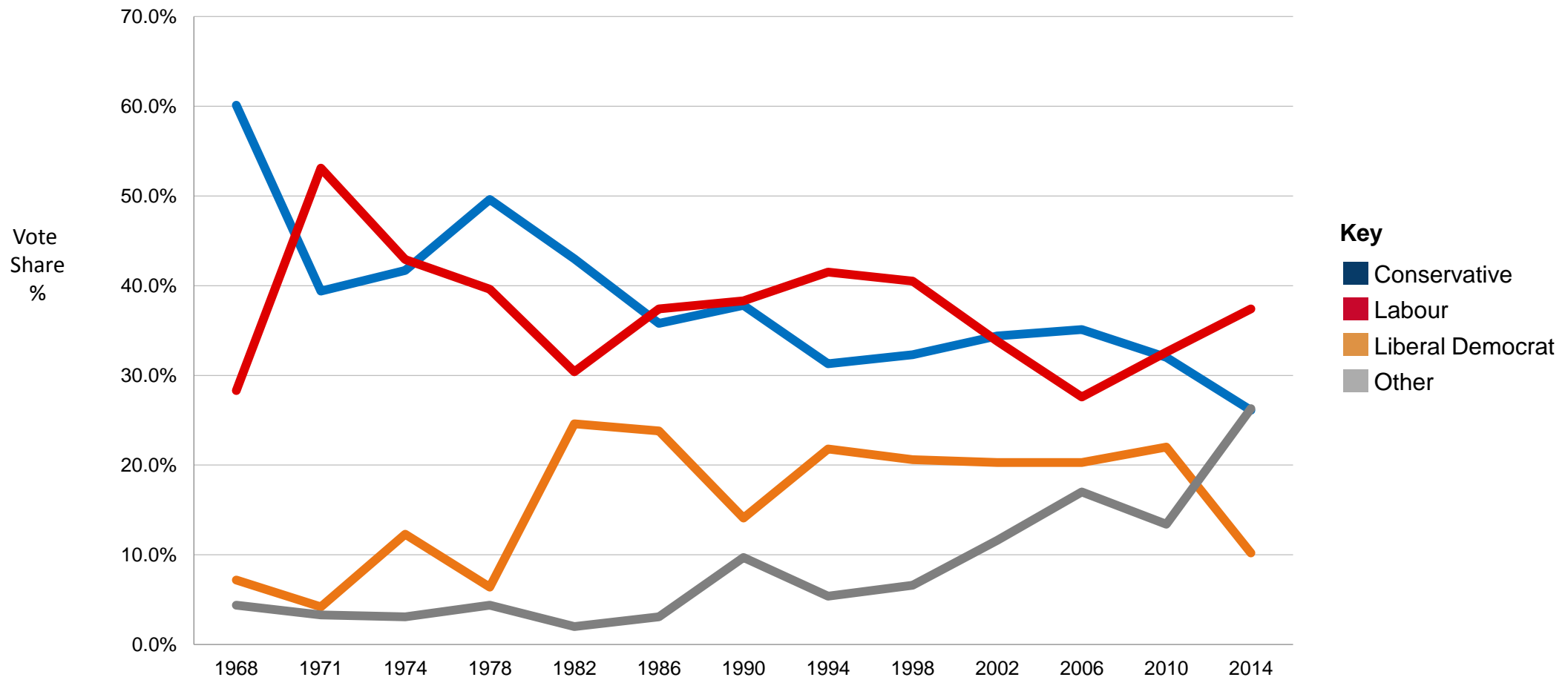
Source: Tony Travers, LSE

1. Difference between London vote share and GB vote share, 1955-2017* – General Elections



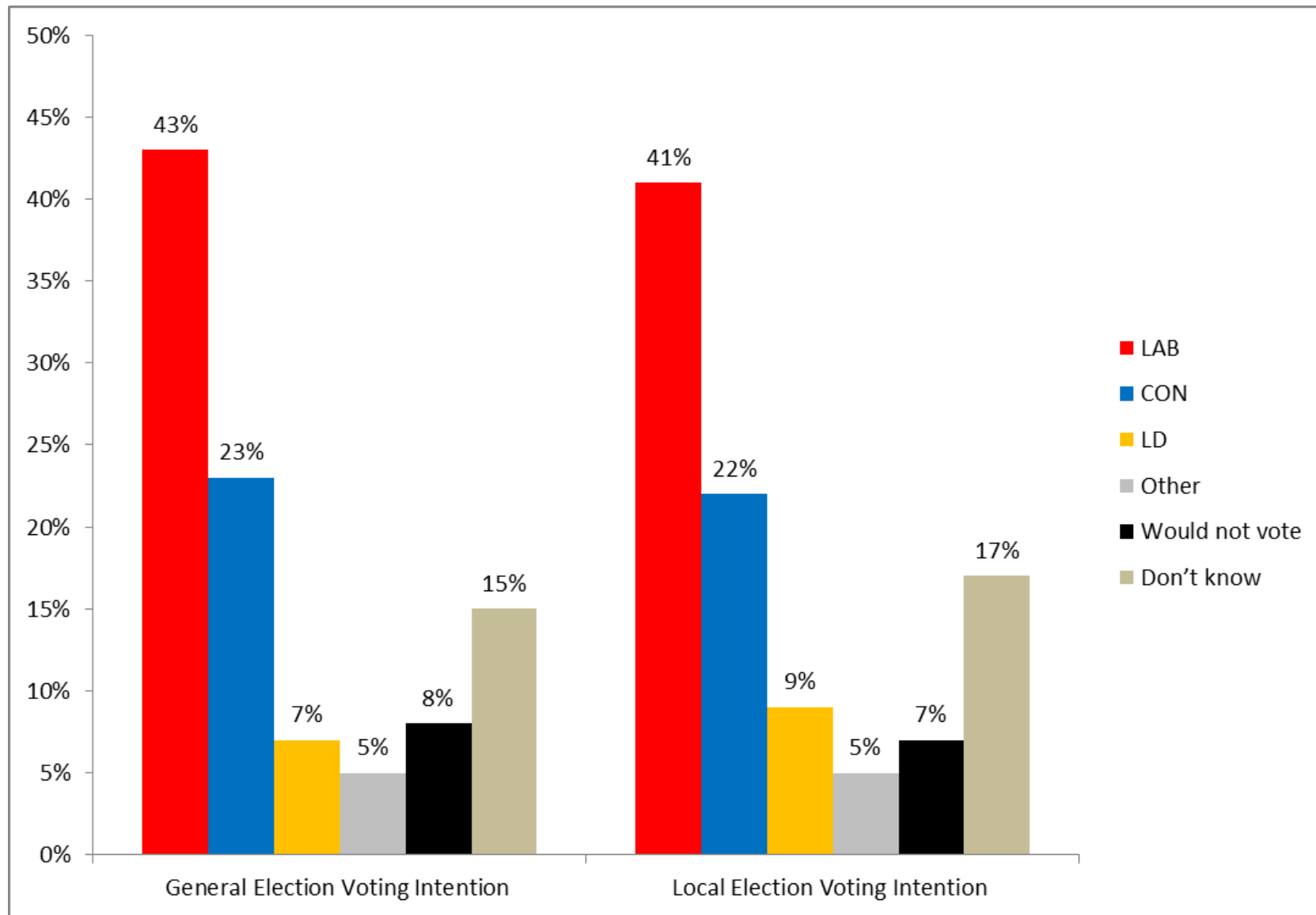
Source: Tony Travers, LSE

1. London vote share 1968-2014 – Borough Elections



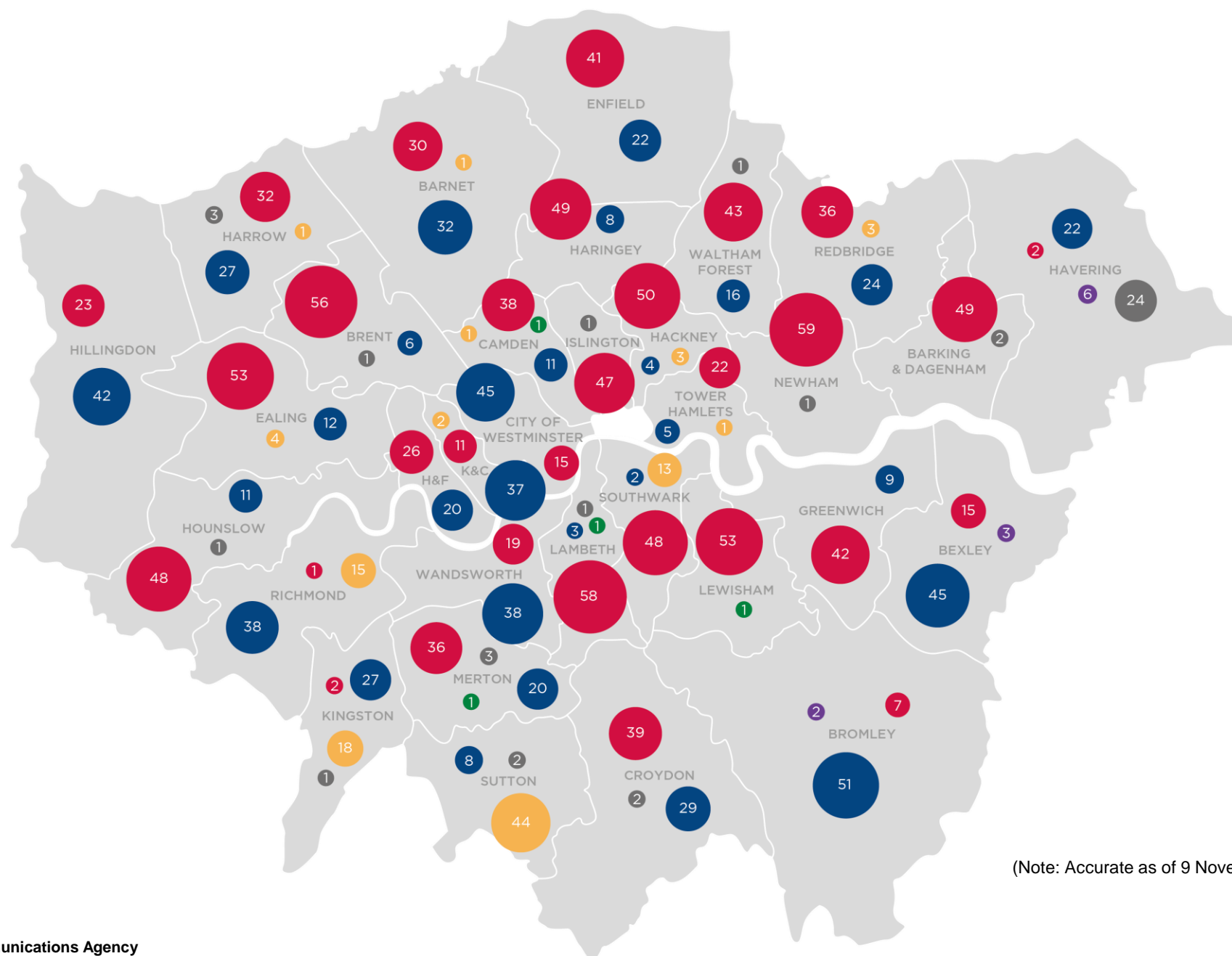
Source: GLA London Borough Council Elections 2014

1. London Voting Intention – October 2017



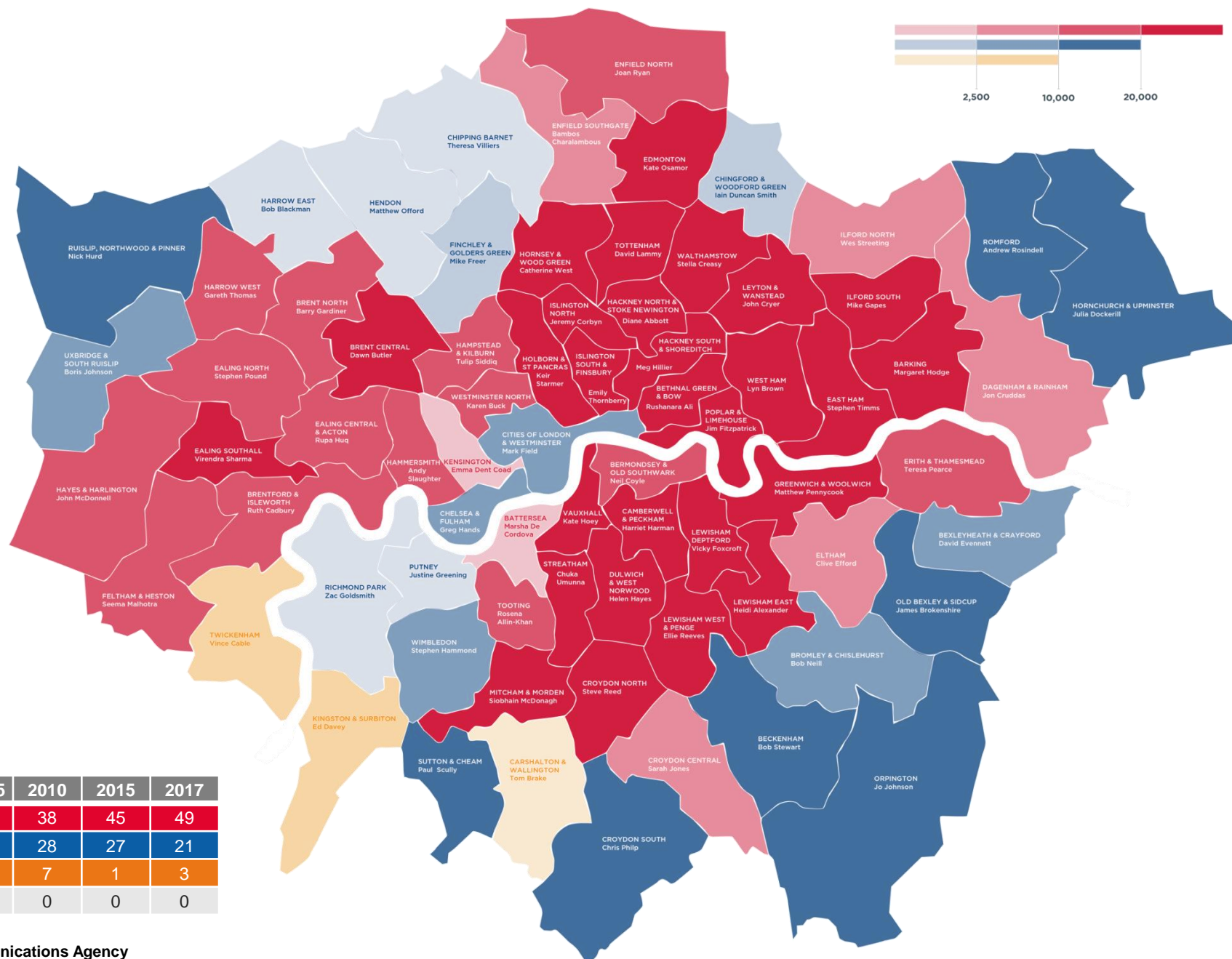
Source: Data from Queen Mary / YouGov poll, released October 2017 (1044 London Adult respondents; survey carried out 25 - 29 September 2017)

1. Cllr numbers per borough – updated November 2017



(Note: Accurate as of 9 November 2017)

1. London MPs – 9 June 2017



	2005	2010	2015	2017
Labour	44	38	45	49
Cons	21	28	27	21
Lib Dem	8	7	1	3
Respect	1	0	0	0

1. Looking to London Borough Elections – May 2018

2006



Labour.....7

Conservative.....13

Lib Dem.....3

NOC.....9

2010



Labour.....17

Conservative.....11

Lib Dem.....2

NOC.....2

2014/Where we are now



Labour.....20(+3)

Conservative.....9(-2)

Lib Dem.....1(-1)

NOC.....2(0)



2. Some issues in play in the run-up to 2018



2. Demographic and population change

London is...

...young

- Median age 34.8 - **only 11.6% of London-wide population is aged 65+**

...diverse

- BAME population projected to **increase** from **3.7m** in 2016 to **4.9m** in 2041 (**+33%**).
- By 2041, **47%** of London's population will be BAME.

...growing

- Annual population growth rate (1.3%) is **more than twice** than in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Northern England.

...European

- Between **1-1.2m EU nationals** live in London (11.8% of London population in 2015).

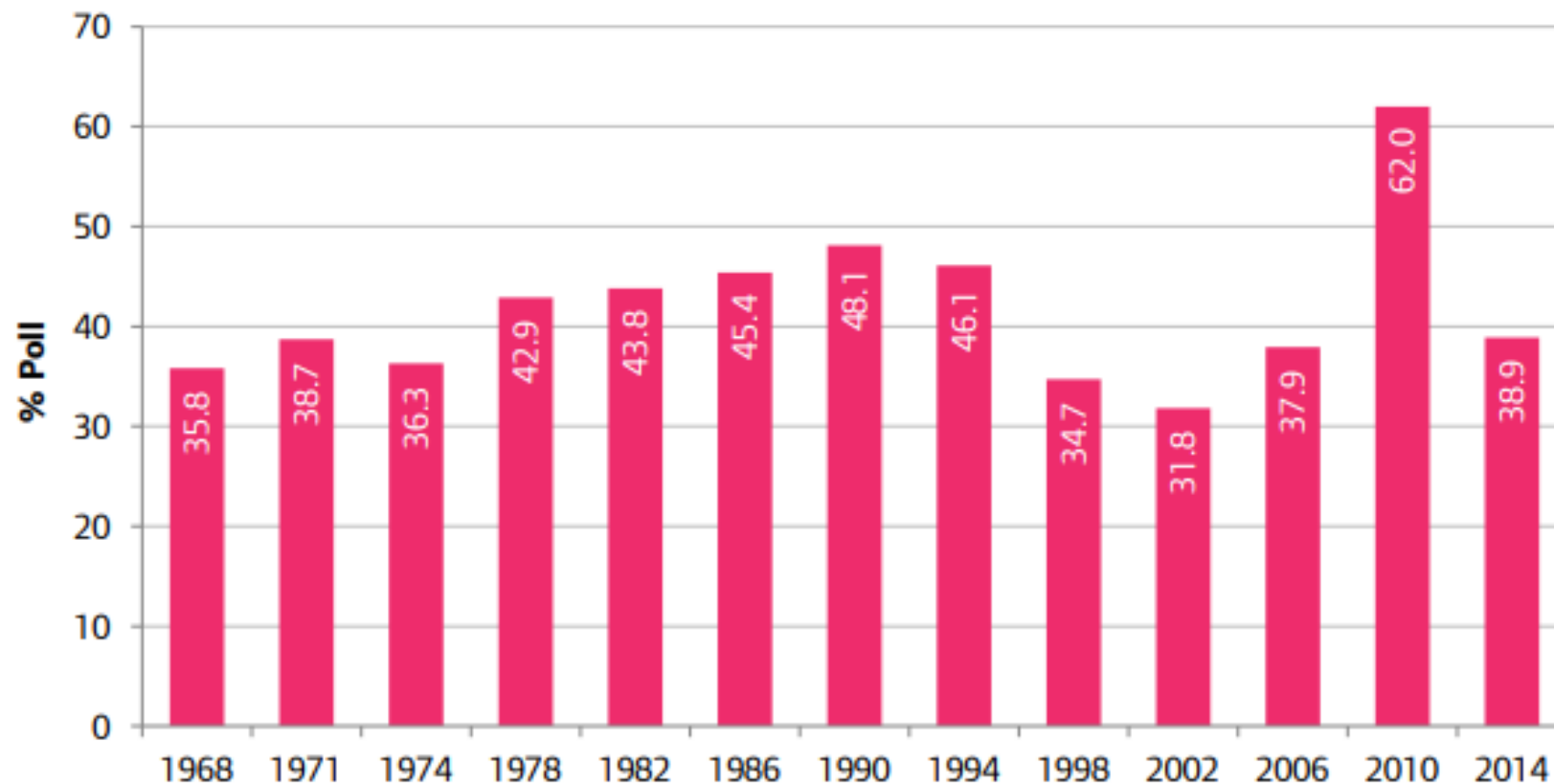
Sources:

NAO Statistical bulletin: Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland: mid-2016 (Jun 2017)

GLA Intelligence: 2015 Round Ethnic Group Population Projections (Nov 2016)

London Communications Agency

2. London borough elections turnout



Highest turnout 2014 (Borough)

Tower Hamlets	47.2 %
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Lowest turnout 2014 (Borough)

RBKC	30.3 %
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Source: GLA
London
Borough
Council
Elections 2014

Highest turnout 2014 (Ward)

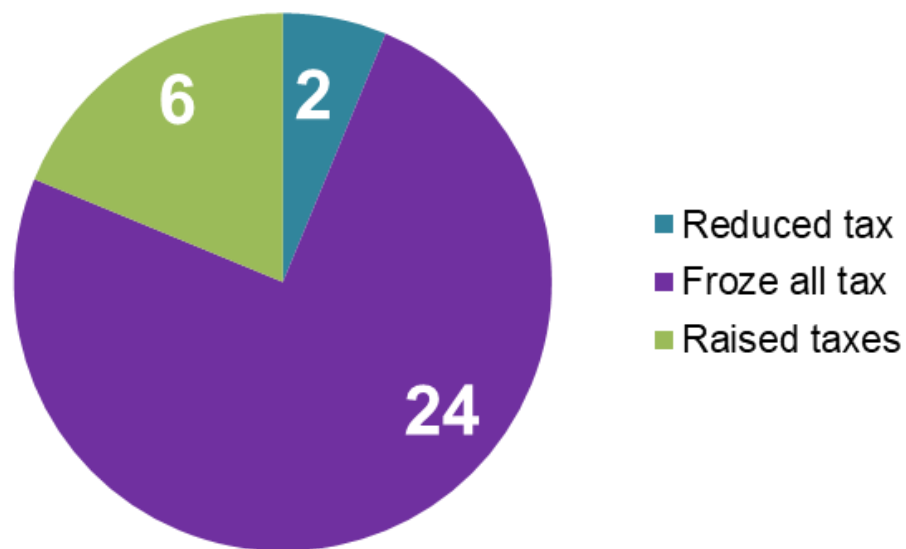
St. Dunstan's (Tower Hamlets)	55.8 %
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Lowest turnout 2014 (Ward)

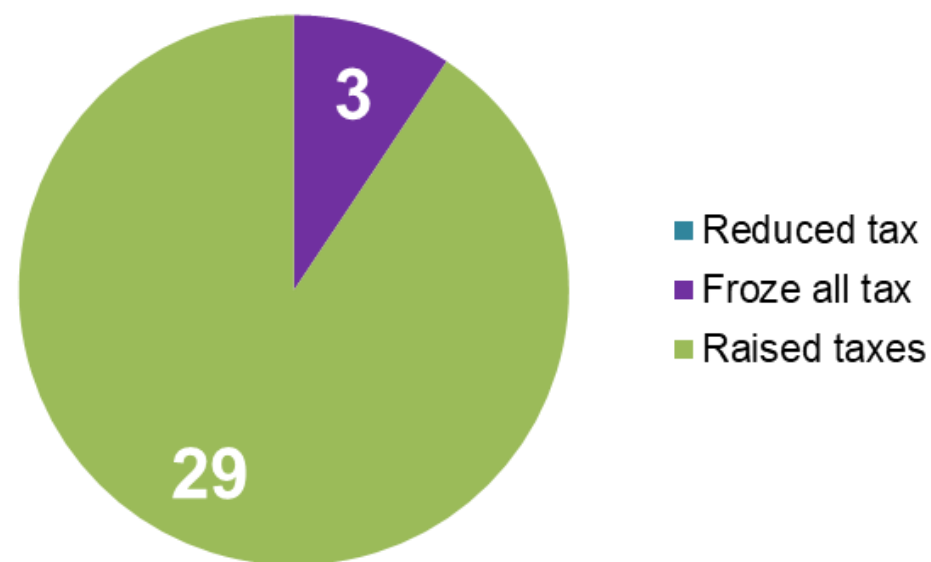
Brompton and Hans Town (RBKC)	24.2 %
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2. Council tax and precept comparison in 32 boroughs

2013/14 (no Precept)



2017/18 (including Precept)



Sources: London Councils 2013-14 Council Tax Monitor, 2017-18 Council Tax Monitor



3. Analysing key boroughs



3. Our broad assumptions

- Labour vote share and membership has been expanding
- Conservatives facing a London identity crisis
- Liberal Democrats battered but soldiering on
- Greens in danger of being squeezed
- UKIP fast evaporating
- Independent candidates an elusive but definite danger

3. Our approach – methodology

To examine the plausibility of borough control changing in three key case studies, we have applied the following “vulnerability test”

We have:

- Used 2014 local election data and results as our baseline.
- Calculated minimum swing* needed for (a) one and (b) all seats in key ‘marginal’ wards to switch party.**
- Calculated critical swing needed across borough, for challenger to take control of council.
- Used swing towards challenger seen during 2017 GE as a benchmark of plausibility.

**Swing is defined as the relative shift in vote share between two parties*

***NB: Depending on the ward, “all seats” can be anywhere between 1-3*

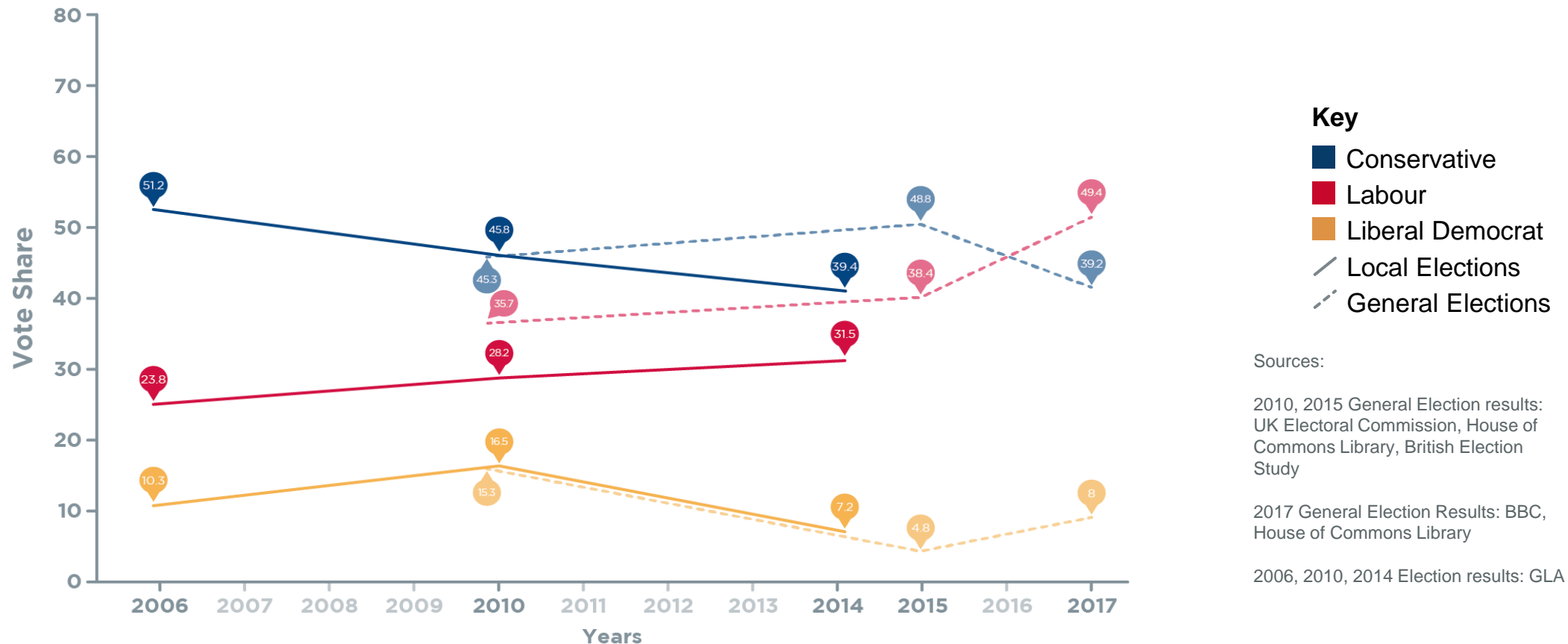


3a. A Conservative borough which might go Labour?



3a. Wandsworth – vote share 2006-2017

If Labour voter base turns out anywhere near as it did at 2017 general election, then possible Wandsworth might change from Conservative to Labour control



Sources:

2010, 2015 General Election results:
UK Electoral Commission, House of
Commons Library, British Election
Study

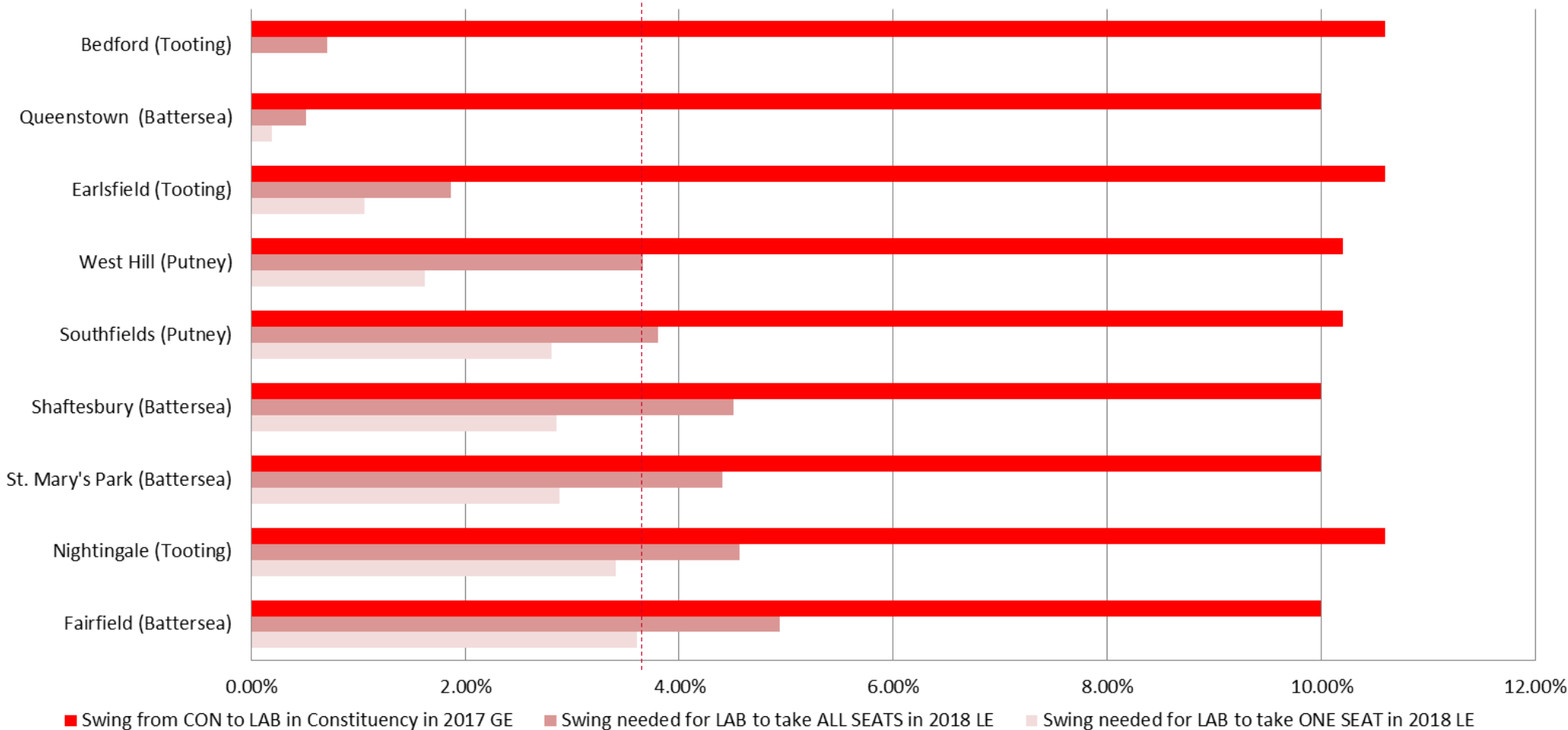
2017 General Election Results: BBC,
House of Commons Library

2006, 2010, 2014 Election results: GLA

3a. Wandsworth – Vulnerability Test

A swing of 3.66% or more could secure LAB 13 more seats across 9 Wards

Total seats in Council	60
CON seats (2014)	41
LAB seats (2014)	19
Seats needed to control Council	31
Seats LAB needs to take from CON gain control of Council	12



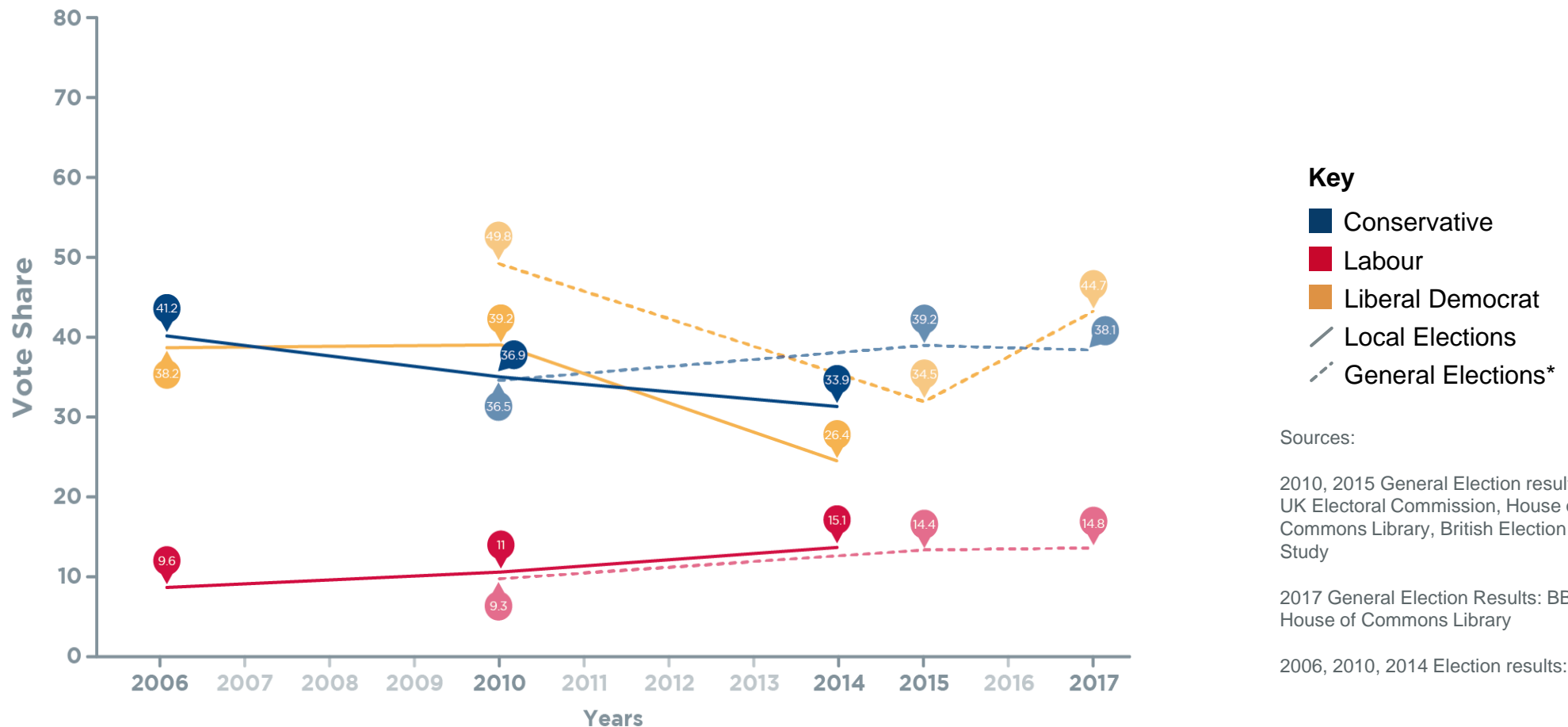


3b. A Liberal Democrat fight back?



3b. Kingston - vote share 2006-17

If the Lib Dems can repeat 2010 performance, buoyed by the 2017 general election results, then they could take back the council



Sources:

2010, 2015 General Election results:
UK Electoral Commission, House of
Commons Library, British Election
Study

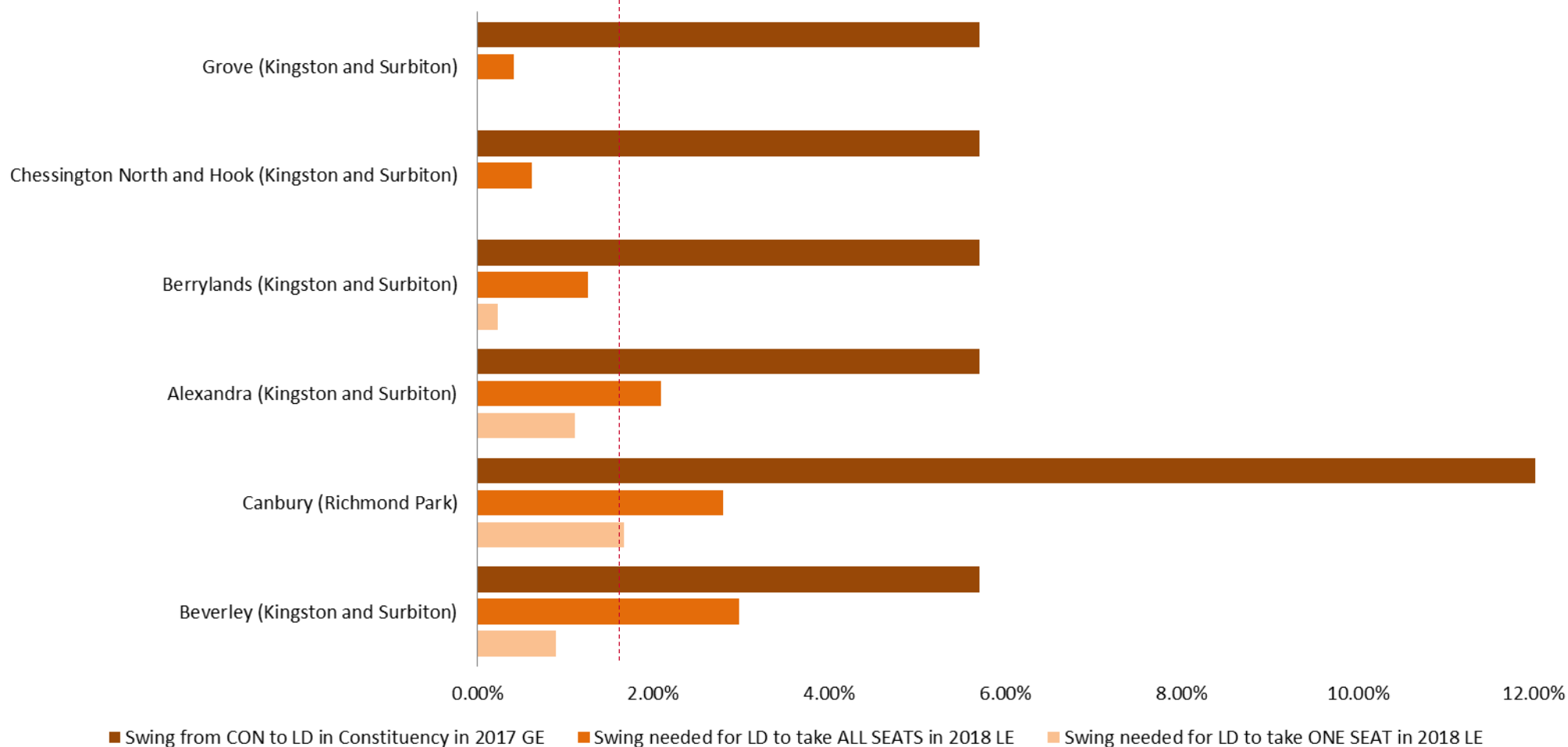
2017 General Election Results: BBC,
House of Commons Library

2006, 2010, 2014 Election results: GLA

3b. Kingston: Vulnerability Test

A swing of 1.66% or more could secure LD 7 more seats across 6 Wards

Total seats in Council	48
CON seats (2014)	28
LD seats (2014)	18
LAB seats (2014)	2
Seats needed to control Council	25
Seats LD needs to take from CON gain control of Council	7



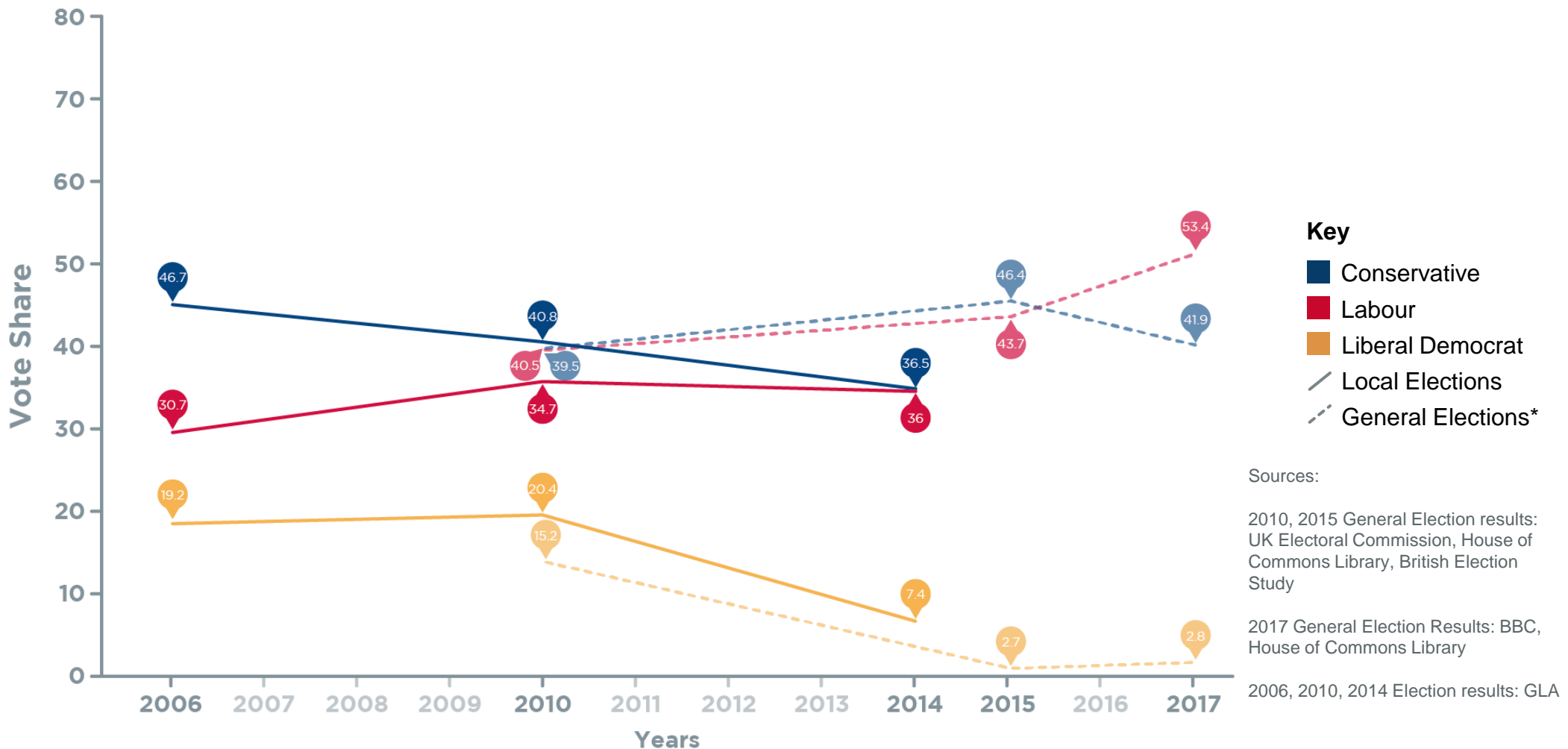


**3c. A Labour borough which might go
Conservative?**



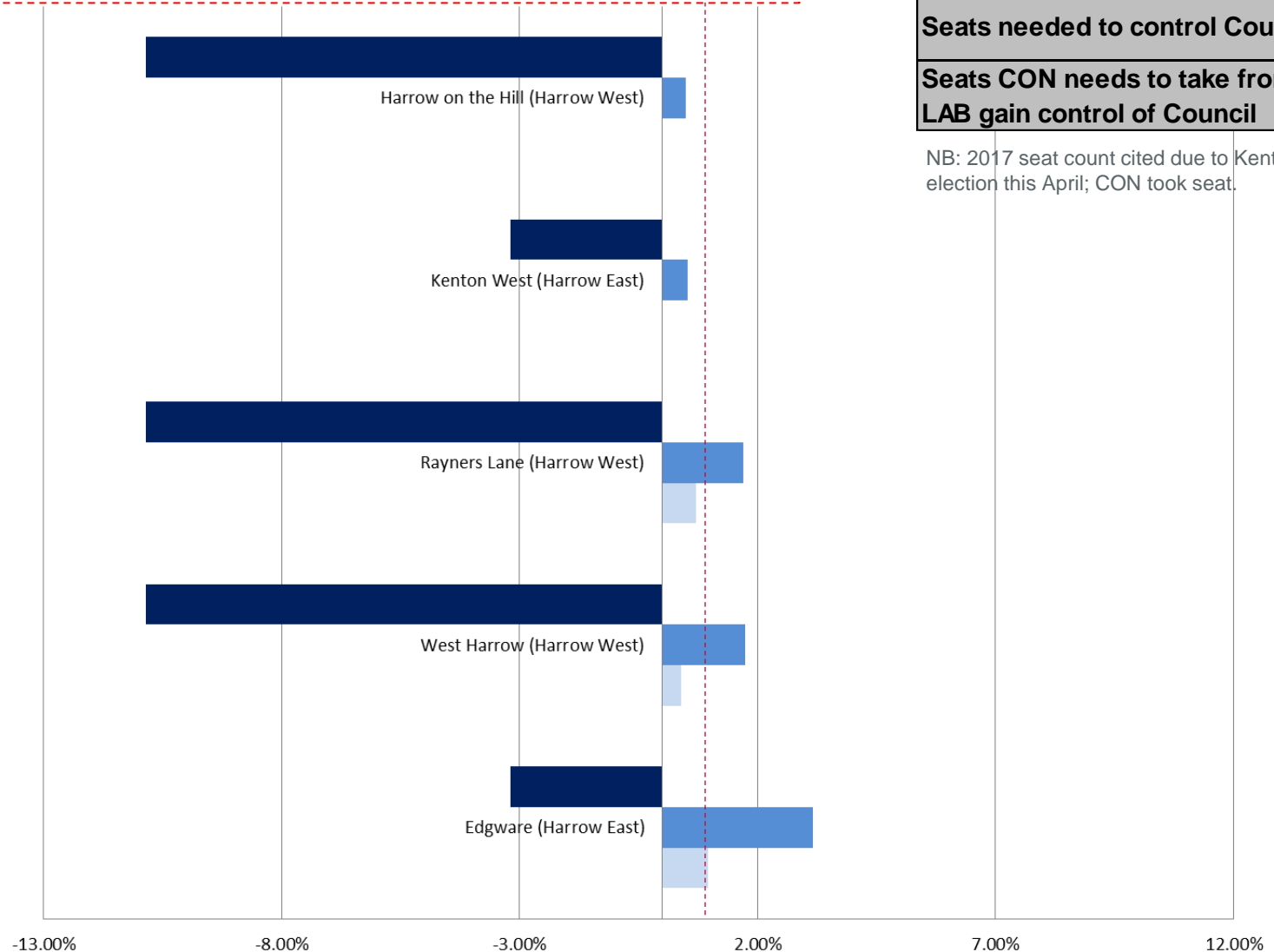
3c. Harrow – vote share 2006-2017

If narrowing between Labour and Conservative vote share continues locally, and Labour vote share is similar to 2017 general election, Labour likely to hold borough



3c. Harrow – Vulnerability Test

A swing of 0.95% or more could secure CON 5 more seats across 5 Wards



Total seats in Council	63
LAB seats (2017)	33
CON seats (2017)	27
IND seats (2017)	2
LD seats (2017)	1
Seats needed to control Council	32
Seats CON needs to take from LAB gain control of Council	5

NB: 2017 seat count cited due to Kenton East by-election this April; CON took seat.

■ Swing from LAB to CON in Constituency in 2017 GE ■ Swing needed for CON to take ALL SEATS in 2018 LE ■ Swing needed for CON to take ONE SEAT in 2018 LE



3d. What impact might Momentum have in 2018?



3d. What impact is Momentum having?

- There is a bigger Momentum presence in some boroughs than others
- Quite a few boroughs are seeing local CLP challenges
- We can envisage one or two boroughs' Labour slate in May 2018 being significantly different to that of 2014
- However, it is possible (if perhaps unlikely) that Momentum supporters will control a borough Cabinet.

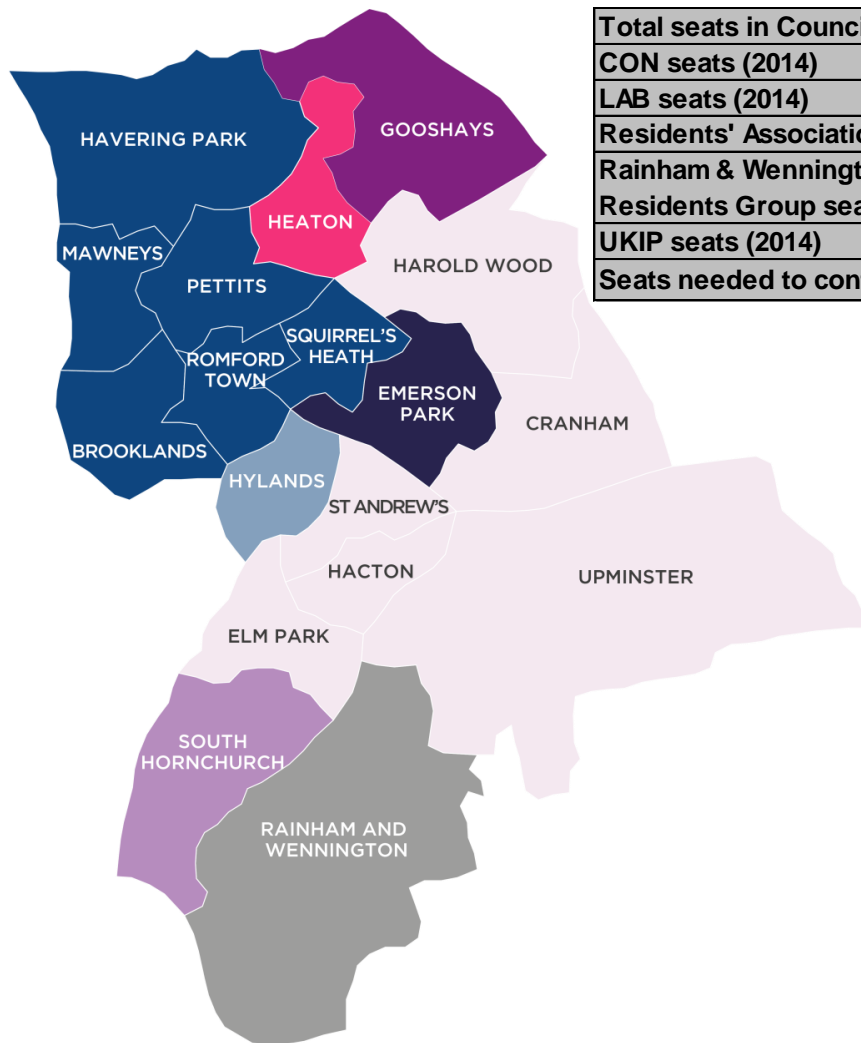


3e. Unique Politics



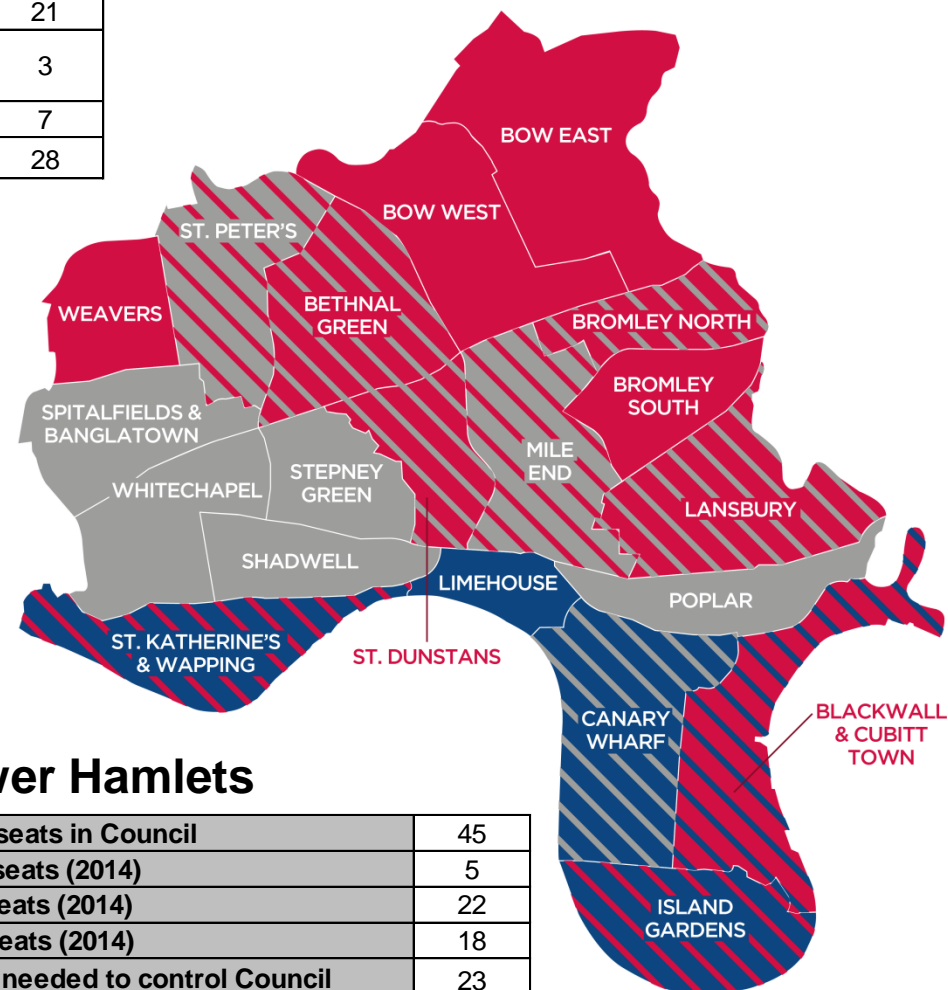
3e. Havering and Tower Hamlets

Havering



Total seats in Council	54
CON seats (2014)	22
LAB seats (2014)	1
Residents' Association seats (2014)	21
Rainham & Wennington Independent Residents Group seats (2014)	3
UKIP seats (2014)	7
Seats needed to control Council	28

Tower Hamlets



Total seats in Council	45
CON seats (2014)	5
LAB seats (2014)	22
THF seats (2014)	18
Seats needed to control Council	23



4. Summing up



4. Summing up

- Local elections also taking in other major cities so....
- Major test for Conservatives and Theresa May (in London and nationally)
 - One of the Big Three Conservative boroughs in Central London could change hands
- Labour will be disappointed if they don't win any more boroughs
- Lib Dems will be pleased to hold Sutton and delighted if they win another borough
- Turnout could be over 40% (?)
- Will be fascinating to see how many boroughs raise Council Tax pre-election
- But path of national politics can yet radically change, affecting election results
- ...expect the unexpected!

Thank You
