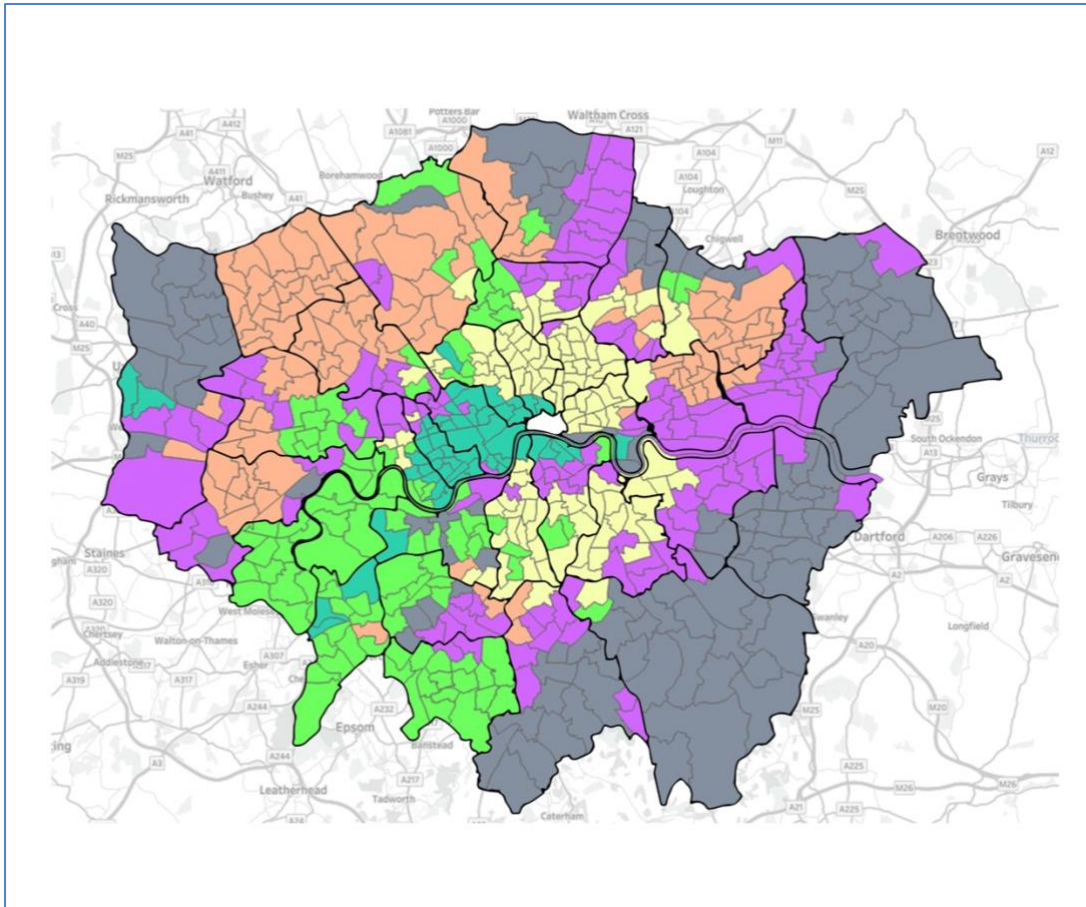


## Lord Ashcroft Polls



# CAPITAL PUNISHMENT?

The Conservative Party and the 2018  
London elections

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

March 2018



# Contents

---

Methodology	4
Capital punishment? Introduction by Lord Ashcroft	5
Key points	8
Whose authority? Councils, voters and parties	10
Local and national: What matters in the May elections	17
The battlegrounds: Where the May elections will be won and lost	29
Full poll results	32

# Methodology

---

3,059 adults in London were interviewed online between 1 and 8 February 2018. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in London.

Full data tables are available at [LordAshcroftPolls.com](http://LordAshcroftPolls.com)

Sixteen focus groups were held between 6 February and 1 March 2018 with voters from a range of backgrounds and voting histories in Wandsworth, Westminster, Richmond, Kingston, Redbridge, Barnet, Bromley and Kensington & Chelsea.

# Capital punishment?

## Introduction by Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC

---

The local government elections on 3 May 2018 will be the first big test of voters' opinion since they deprived the Conservatives of their majority in parliament last June. Among the most closely watched results from the authorities across Britain will be those from the 32 London boroughs.

Ten of these are currently under Conservative control, including the party's two local government flagships: Westminster, run by the Tories since its creation in 1965, and Wandsworth, in Tory hands since 1978, even though, during the Blair years, all three of the borough's MPs were Labour.

The backdrop to the London elections is not propitious for the Conservatives. In 2017 they lost six of their 27 London seats, four to Labour and two to the Liberal Democrats. Though the party's national vote share rose by 5.5 points to 42.4%, in London it actually fell, while Labour's grew by 10.8%, rising in 71 of the capital's 73 constituencies. Brexit, the issue that inevitably dominates the government's agenda, was opposed by nearly six out of ten London voters at the 2016 referendum. And while the Tories remain neck and neck with Labour nationally, recent polls have put Labour well ahead in the capital, and in a much stronger position than was the case when these councils were last contested in 2014.

This research – including a 3,000-sample poll and focus groups in eight boroughs over the last month – has explored in detail how London voters see things, both locally and nationally, as the May elections approach.

We found the national picture looked pretty grim to Londoners, including many of those who voted Conservative at the general election. Just a quarter – including only six in ten of those who voted Tory last June, and only just over half of Conservatives who voted to remain in the EU – said they approved of the government's record to date. Tories gave Theresa May a mean performance score of just 60 out of 100; Londoners as a whole gave her 35, compared to 47 for Jeremy Corbyn and 53 for London Mayor Sadiq Khan, who topped the table. Some respected the Prime Minister's stoicism in getting on with an extremely difficult job to which she was perhaps not ideally suited. But she tended to arouse sympathy rather than anything more positive, being charged with completing an immensely complex and important negotiation with no majority and a hopelessly divided party ("I'm surprised she hasn't had a nervous breakdown," one of our participants observed).

And those were the charitable views. To others, including many who had switched away from the Conservatives last year, she seemed incapable of leading and to lack any kind of empathy for people who were struggling: "She makes Margaret Thatcher look like Mother Theresa," as one lady put it.

But how much will these things matter in what are, after all, elections to the local council rather than parliament? When we asked Londoners where they were on a scale between thinking the elections were "entirely about local issues and choosing people who would do a good job on the council", and "a chance to show what we think about the parties and leaders and the overall direction of the country," they put themselves very close to the middle.

Conservatives will be encouraged by this. After all, whatever else is going on in the world, surely when it comes to local government Londoners associate the Tories with good services and low Council Tax, and that will be enough to keep the Conservative boroughs blue in May?

We found that this link is much less strong than the Tories might hope. Even in Conservative authorities, only a third of all voters and just over half of 2017 Tory voters associate the party with better services; a similar proportion of voters overall and fewer than half of Conservatives associate the party with lower Council Tax. Fewer than one in five of all residents and only one in three 2017 Tories think of the party as offering both.

People living in Conservative authorities were slightly more likely than those in Labour areas to say their council was well run, and to think it was better-run than most councils in London. But fewer than half of voters, and only around half of Conservative voters in Conservative authorities, thought it made much difference which party ran the council when it came to the quality of its services or the amount it charged for them in Council Tax.

In our Westminster focus groups, people were well aware that Band D Council Tax in the borough was the lowest in the country. But they were at least as inclined to put this down to the gold seam of usurious parking charges and traffic fines as they were to credit any supposed Tory genius for financial management. By the same token, if a council happens to be good at its job of dealing with bins and potholes, what has that really got to do with party politics?

For many in Westminster and Wandsworth, including some previous Conservative voters, there had been a price to pay for years of very low Council Tax. Since weariness with austerity had played a big part in driving many of these people away from the Tories nationally, they were often alert to its effect in their own neighbourhoods. If a modest rise in Council Tax under Labour would mean more social housing and better services for people in need, some argued, then maybe it was about time.

This was by no means the case for everybody. Others who had abandoned the Tories last year, often to vent their displeasure over Brexit, were happy with their low bills and clean streets. They would be balancing the possibility of putting these things at risk against the chance of giving the government another good kicking. Few had yet resolved this dilemma.

Overall, Council Tax ranked only fifth when we asked Londoners what the most important issues would be when deciding how to vote – just 23% of Londoners named it, fewer than mentioned Britain leaving the EU. Top of the list was local health services, followed by housing (the biggest single issue for voters aged up to 49), and crime. Policing cuts and police station closures were regularly mentioned in our focus groups all over London; local Conservatives may struggle to argue that they are not responsible.

As if all this were not enough, two more things make these elections hard for the Tories. The first is that the folk memory of “loony left” Labour councils with high taxes, shambolic services and extremist policies has all but disappeared. (Indeed, as people note, the biggest apparent council failure in recent times has taken place in Kensington & Chelsea, not Lambeth or Brent). Londoners who voted enthusiastically and in large numbers for Jeremy Corbyn’s party last summer have few qualms about seeing the party assume power locally. With the exception of Barnet, where several participants had noted with concern the charges of antisemitism inside Labour’s ranks, stories about bullying and strife within the party had not broken through. Half of all Londoners said they had never heard of Momentum; of those

who had, those who had turned out for Labour in 2017 were more likely to think the group was a force for good than for ill, taking the party back to its roots and providing a balance to what they saw as the increasingly right-wing Tories.

The Conservatives' second extra problem is the ground on which these elections will be decided. Our analysis reveals that London's 630 wards can be divided into six segments. Three of these are solidly Labour: Stuck in the Capital, dispersed across London, characterised by high levels of deprivation; Mobile Minorities, typically found in East and North West London; and the Barista Belt, comprising young, single professionals and people in social housing in the East and South East of the city. One segment, Sound of the Suburbs, mostly found on the outer ring in places like Bromley, Chingford and Uxbridge, has proved reliably Tory.

The last two, though, will be crucial: Liberally Affluent, largely made up of highly qualified professionals and students in West and West-Central districts, and Village London, clustered in the South West, comprising more settled professionals and families, and with the lowest levels of deprivation among the six types. Both these segments voted heavily to remain in the EU, were decisive in the lost Tory seats of Battersea, Kensington, Kingston and Twickenham, and helped give them a nasty scare in Putney. These are the people who will be going to the polls again in May in the Conservative boroughs of Kensington & Chelsea, Kingston, Richmond, and of course Wandsworth and Westminster.

Nationally, Brexit dominates the political mood. Even those who are not inclined to punish the Conservatives directly for Brexit itself see an embattled PM and a government divided and preoccupied by Europe which seems to lack both the energy and the empathy to deal with big, urgent domestic issues like the NHS, social care and housing. We have seen before what happens when the Tories look like this and people look beyond Labour's traditional shortcomings.

None of this is to say it's all over. Indeed, we found the fact that elections were looming was news to most people. The Americans like to say that all politics is local. In the London elections, the Tories will be hoping that the voters see things that way. They have two months to convince them that they should.

MAA  
March 2018

## Key points

---

- 60% of 2017 Conservative voters said they approved of the government's record to date (5% strongly, 55% somewhat). This included 64% of those who had voted to leave the EU and 55% of those who had voted to remain.
- People living in Conservative-run local authorities were more likely to say they thought their council was well run (32%) than badly run (25%). Those living in Labour authorities were slightly more likely to say badly (28%) than well (27%). In Conservative authorities just over half (54%) of those who voted Conservative in the 2014 local elections said their council was well run; in Labour authorities, 38% of those who voted Labour in 2014 said their council was well run. 30% of people living in Conservative authorities (including 42% of those who had voted Conservative in 2017) said they thought their council was better run than most councils in London. This compares to 22% of people living in Labour authorities (and 30% of 2017 Labour voters living in these areas).
- Just over six in ten people living in Conservative and Labour authorities correctly identified the party that controlled their council (including 78% of both 2014 Labour voters in Labour authorities and 2014 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities).
- London voters overall gave higher performance ratings to London Mayor Sadiq Khan (53/100), and to their local council (50), than to Theresa May (35) or Jeremy Corbyn (47). 2017 Conservative Remain voters gave Theresa May a mean score of 56, compared to 61 among Conservative Leave voters. Those living in Conservative authorities who voted Conservative in 2014 gave their local council a mean rating of 62, and their local Conservatives a mean rating of 66.
- Council Tax was the fifth most important local election issue for voters overall (chosen by 23%), after local health services (33%), housing (30%), crime (29%) and Britain leaving the EU (25%). Council Tax was most often named by 2017 Tory Leave voters in Conservative authorities (36%). Housing was the biggest issue for voters aged 18 to 49.
- Less than half of voters overall said they thought it made a great deal or a fair amount of difference which party ran their council when it came to the quality of local services (49%) or the level of Council Tax (41%). Only 58% of 2014 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities said they thought it made a difference which party ran the council when it came to the level of Council Tax.
- Asked where they put themselves on a scale between thinking local elections were "entirely about local issues and choosing people who will do a good job on the local council" (0) or "a chance to show what we think about the parties and leaders and the overall direction of the country" (100), voters overall put themselves very close to the centre, with a mean score of 48. 2017 Conservatives gave a very slightly lower (more local) than average score of 46.
- In Conservative authorities, 34% of all voters and 58% of 2017 Conservatives said they associated the Tories with better services; 34% and 46% of 2017 Conservatives said they associated the party with lower Council Tax. 18% of all voters and 34% of 2017 Tories said they associated the party with better services *and* lower Council Tax.



- Presented with a eleven possible reasons for voting Conservative at the local elections, “I trust them more to set the Council Tax at a sensible level” was chosen the most often (though by only 20% of all voters in Conservative authorities, and 41% of 2017 Tory voters in these areas). The reason most chosen for voting Labour was “they stand for things I agree with”; for the Liberal Democrats it was “they understand local issues”.
- Fewer than three in ten voters (28%) said they had heard a great deal or a fair amount about Momentum. Half said they had never heard of the group, with no difference between Conservative and Labour-run authorities. Nearly half of 2017 Labour voters (48%) said that from what they had heard, they thought Momentum was a force for good within the Labour Party, while 32% thought it a force for ill.
- Those who voted Conservative at the 2017 general election were slightly more likely than those who voted Labour to say they would turn out to vote at the local elections in May 2018. In Conservative authorities, 54% of 2017 Conservatives said they were certain to vote, compared to 44% of 2017 Labour voters.
- On average, 2017 Conservative voters put the chance that they would vote Conservative in May 2018 at 77/100. Those who voted Labour in 2017 put the chance that they would vote Labour in May at 80/100.
- 35% of 2017 Conservatives who had voted to remain in the EU put the chance that they would vote Conservative in May at 90/100 or above, compared to 46% of 2017 Conservatives who had voted to leave.

\*

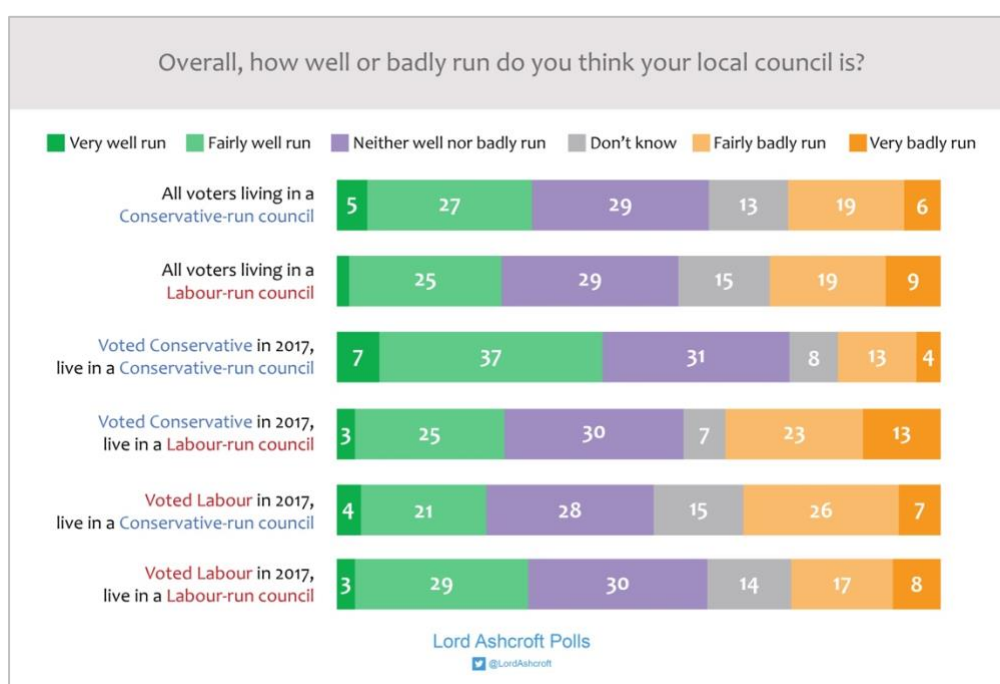
- The Conservatives lost four London seats to Labour in 2017 (Battersea, Croydon Central, Enfield Southgate, Kensington), and two to the Lib Dems (Kingston & Surbiton, Twickenham). Labour hold 49 London seats, the Tories 21 and the Lib Dems three.
- In 2017 the Conservatives increased their vote share in 33% of London constituencies, compared to 84% of seats nationally. Though their national vote share increased by 5.5 points to 42.4%, in London it fell by 1.7 points to 33.1%. Labour’s vote share in London grew by 10.8 points to 54.5%, rising in 71 of the capital’s 73 constituencies.
- Turnout at the 2017 general election increased by more in London than any other region in England, rising to 70.1% from 65.4% in 2015.
- In the EU referendum, London voted to remain by 59.9% to 40.1%. The UK as a whole voted to leave by 51.9% to 48.1%.
- The Conservatives control 10 London boroughs: Barnet, Bexley, Bromley, Havering (with Independents), Hillingdon, Kensington & Chelsea, Kingston upon Thames, Richmond upon Thames, Wandsworth and Westminster.
- Labour control 21 London boroughs: Barking & Dagenham, Brent, Camden, Croydon, Ealing, Enfield, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith & Fulham, Haringey, Harrow, Hounslow, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham, Merton, Newham, Redbridge, Southwark, Tower Hamlets (through the directly elected Executive Mayor), and Waltham Forest.
- The Liberal Democrats control the borough of Sutton.

# Whose authority?

## Councils, parties and voters

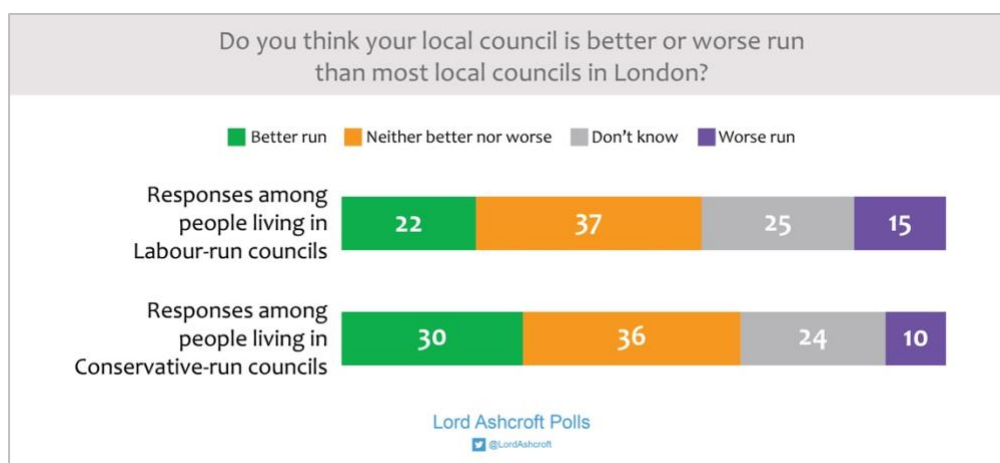
### How good is your council?

London voters as a whole were evenly divided as to whether they thought their local council was well run (29%), badly run (28%), or run neither well nor badly (29%). People living in Conservative-controlled local authority areas thought their council was well rather than badly run by 32% to 25%, while Labour authority residents were divided as to whether their council was run well (27%) or badly (28%).



In Conservative authorities, those who voted Conservative at the 2017 general election said they thought their council was well rather than badly run by 44% to 17%; those who voted Tory in the last local elections in 2014 thought so by 54% to 11%.

People living in Conservative-run authority areas were also more likely than Labour authority residents to think their council was better run than most councils in London. Just over four in ten 2017 Tories (and half of 2014 Tories) in Conservative authorities thought their council was better run than most in London; this compares to 30% of 2017 Labour voters and 37% of 2014 Labour voters in Labour authorities.



As our focus groups found, however, many people had misconceptions about what was and was not part of their local council's role ("do they run schools?"). Asked how happy they were with their council, people would often mention complain about things for which it had no responsibility, such as Boris Bikes, the problems getting GP appointments, police station closures, the police not attending domestic burglaries.

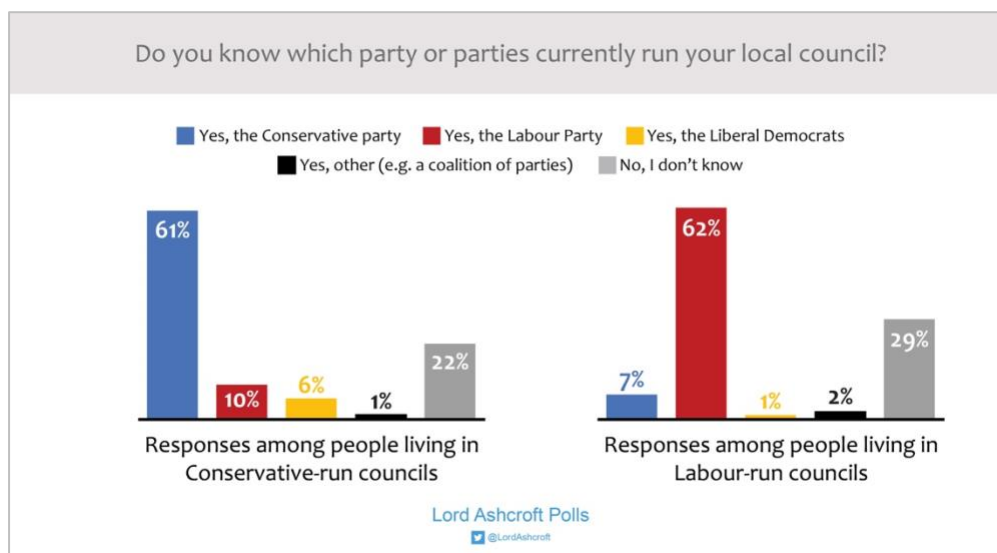
*"The streets are cleaner, even on the outskirts of Westminster.  
You don't see that in other boroughs"*

In some Conservative authorities, participants praised the level of service offered by the council ("Westminster do amazingly, they provide a lot, they try their best. The pool, libraries, gym, toddler groups. The soft play has just been renovated, trampolines everywhere"), and some felt they had a much better deal than residents of other boroughs ("the streets are cleaner, even on the outskirts of Westminster. You don't see that in other boroughs", "Much better than Brent. Brent is pants, awful", "Richmond is probably better than most when you see some of the horrors with the bins in places like Birmingham").

Even so, many did not feel in position to compare their own council with others, and had not exactly given the issue a great deal of thought. Rather than praising the council for its good service, they took it for granted. As a man in Wandsworth said: "On a day-to-day level you don't notice. You would notice if it was badly run, so it must be doing all right." And a woman Westminster: "If you were lacking a service you would notice. It's fine. The rubbish gets collected, there are no potholes."

## Who's in charge here?

In both Conservative- and Labour-controlled, just over six in ten voters correctly identified the party that ran their local council.



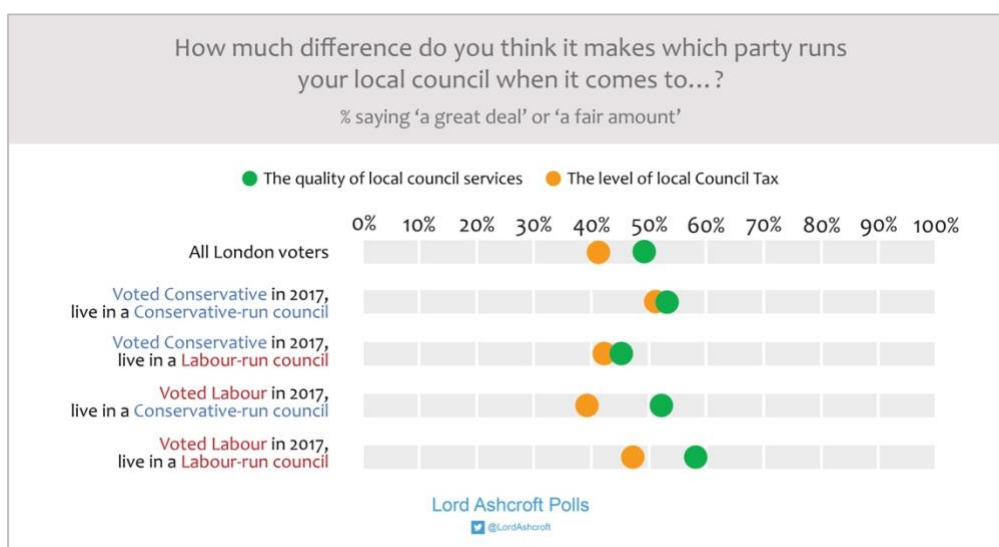
Among both 2014 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities and 2014 Labour voters in Labour authorities, the proportion correctly identifying the party in power was 78%.

However, it was clear from the focus groups that people often confuse control of the council with the party of their local MP, or merge the two, especially where they differed, or where there had been a change at a recent election. This was particularly true when we asked people in Richmond and Kingston which party ran the borough: “Vince Cable has come back”, “It’s the Lib Dems, isn’t it? No, it’s Zac Goldsmith”, “I’d happily vote for Ed Davey to be in charge again”. This was also the case elsewhere: “Woodford Green is Iain Duncan Smith. He’s lovely, really nice.” Participants in our Barnet groups assumed the borough was comfortably Conservative, and were surprised to hear the party had a majority of just one seat on the council.

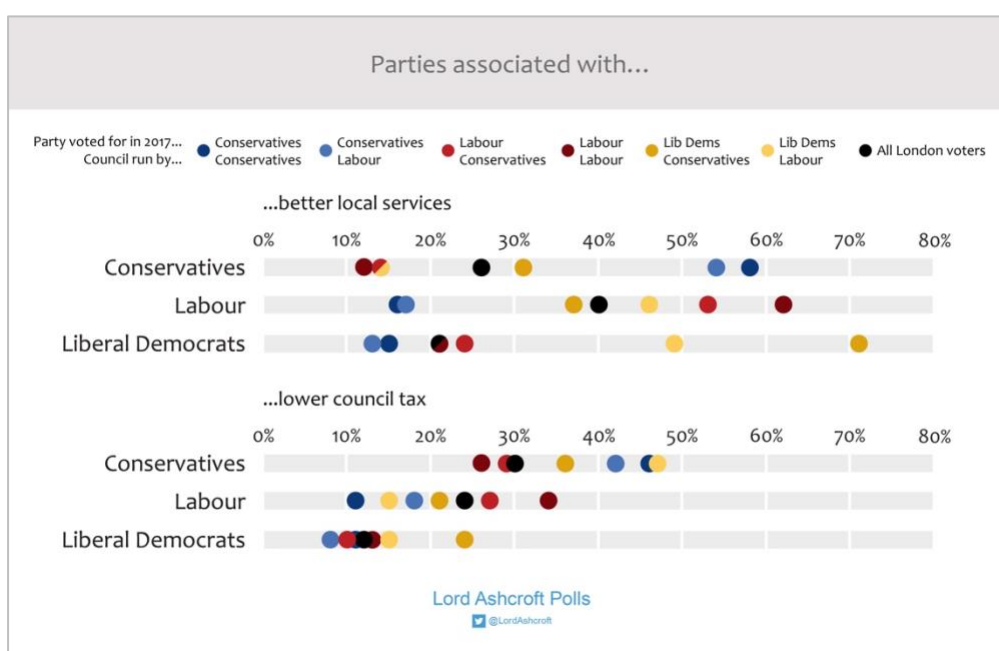
## Does it matter?

Just under half (49%) of London voters said they thought it made a great deal or a fair amount of difference which party ran their council when it came to the quality of local council services. Slightly fewer (41%) thought the party in charge made a difference to the level of their local Council Tax.

Labour voters were more likely than Conservatives to think political control made a difference to services, while Tories were very slightly more likely than Labour voters to think it made a difference to Council Tax levels. In Conservative-run authorities, only just over half (58%) of those who voted Conservative in the 2014 local elections said they thought it made a difference which party was in control when it came to the level of Council Tax.



By the same token, in Conservative authorities, only 58% of 2017 Conservative voters said that when it came to running councils they associated the Conservative Party with better services, 46% said they associated the party with lower Council Tax, and just 34% said they associated the Tories with both better services *and* lower Council Tax.



Among London voters as a whole, three in ten associated the Conservative Party with lower Council Tax, and 13% with better services *and* lower Council Tax.

This lack of a strong perceived link between the party running a council and the level of its Council Tax was also borne out in the groups. Our participants usually had a fair idea of how much they paid in Council Tax each month or year. Whether or not they considered it a large

sum, they tended to be resigned to paying it and gave the matter very little thought: “You’re in it and you get used to it. It’s one of those things you just know you have to pay”. Participants in all the locations we visited had recently heard in the news that Council Tax was soon likely to rise across the board.

Though most participants in our Westminster groups knew their Council Tax was comparatively low (the lowest Band D rate in the country), they put forward several reasons for this aside from political leadership: the perception that Westminster was a rich borough and therefore had less need to spend money or had other sources of income; the idea that “they make it up with parking fines”, residents’ parking charges, traffic cameras (“there’s a box junction that raises about £2 million a year”) and even the Congestion Charge; and the fact that council finances depended to large degree on grants from central government, and other rules over which individual local authorities had no control (“There has traditionally been a view that Conservative councils have lower Council Tax and Labour have higher Council Tax, but there is a funding mechanism for local authorities. They have different demographic characteristics”; “I thought the age of the property determined the Council Tax”).

*“Wandsworth do a cheap job. It’s good value for money.  
They don’t gamble and do mad things.”*

*“I had bought into this idea that Wandsworth had a miraculous way of keeping Council Tax low and somehow providing a good level of services. But I’m revising my view on that now.”*

Some in our groups, however, observed that when it came to Council Tax “you get what you pay for” (“Lambeth is a bit more, but you have a bin with ‘Lambeth’ on it. In Wandsworth you have to get your own bin”). This was not always a complaint: “Wandsworth do a cheap job. It’s good value for money. They don’t gamble and do mad things like Hammersmith & Fulham. You pay your money and you get what you pay for.” Others, including previous Conservative voters, worried that there was a price to pay for low local tax levels: “Youth services have been cut to the bone. And housing – I wonder where my children will live”; “I had bought into this idea that Wandsworth had a miraculous way of keeping Council Tax low and somehow providing a good level of services. But I’m revising my view on that now.”

Participants in Westminster, and also some in Wandsworth, complained that there was very little new affordable or social housing, though the councils always seemed ready to grant permission for new luxury developments that most residents could never afford: “Social housing is non-existent and they’re building these huge developments, £1 million plus for one bedroom. It’s ridiculous”.

In Westminster in particular, this contributed to a view that the council was more focused on protecting the interests of the people who lived in such developments than about ordinary people in the borough: “They’re pretty good but I don’t think it’s got a nice vibe. One of the new blocks of expensive flats, outside is all landscaped with fountains and things, which is fair enough, but it’s still a public through-way. I saw this lady walking through there with her dog, and it stopped to do its business and she stopped to clear it up, but this security guard was screaming at her. And it’s supposed to be a public right of way. That’s what I mean.”

A similar view was expressed in Kensington & Chelsea. Some who had voted Conservative in recent elections acknowledged that the royal Borough was unusual in having such extremes of poverty and wealth, but “there was an equilibrium for so many years. Now it’s become more divided. There has been an influx of Russian money, mega-basements, it’s getting more out of reach.” The council seemed to prioritise its richer residents: “I got a leaflet about the Notting Hill Carnival, what did I think about the noise and all that. I live in a very nice street, and other people I know nearby didn’t get it, so it’s as if they’re only interested in a certain type of people.” Some felt there was “a disconnect between the community and the council. It’s like the landed gentry and the rest of us holding it all together.”

There were complaints that the area was losing its distinctive character, for which some held the council partly responsible: “Notting Hill and Ladbroke Grove used to be the centre of the music scene, now it’s all corporate blocks. There were protests about Prêt opening in Ladbroke Grove... Millions of people come to the Carnival but they’re not going to come to Prêt or McDonald’s, but that’s how they seem to want to do things.”

Despite this, most felt the borough did a good job on the basics (“It’s pretty clean. If you cross over into Brent you see how much dirtier it is”; “They pick up dog poo here. You don’t get that in other boroughs”).

*“After Grenfell they were acting like criminals, hiding. They wouldn’t talk to residents.”*

*“They’ve done absolutely nothing for them. It’s the community that’s done stuff. It’s been nothing to do with the council, they didn’t even show up.”*

However, the Grenfell Tower disaster had prompted many to take a different view of the council: “It was an accident, but there are right and wrong ways to react and handle it”; “They were acting like criminals, hiding. They wouldn’t talk to residents”; “There was no transparency. They were cowards”; “They’ve done absolutely nothing for them. It’s the community that’s done stuff. It’s been nothing to do with the council, they didn’t even show up”; “I wonder if it’s fear – having been caught out and been seen to be deficient, it’s as though they’re afraid to do anything else and make the criticism worse. They’re paralysed.”

In Richmond and Kingston, the question was not how Council Tax stayed so low, but whether the high charges were justified by the level of service received (“we pay a lot, so it should be good”). Most of the previous Conservative voters we spoke to in these areas thought that, on balance, their councils did a reasonable job on the things that mattered to them: “They’re making an effort on certain things, like how the borough looks, how bearable it is to walk down the street”; “They do a good job with the parks. It’s clean and it’s rare to see litter”; “New schools have been built. The Council Tax is quite expensive but I’m happy”; “For the most part the bins are emptied and they make an effort”. This was not the case for everybody: “You would expect a Conservative-led council to take less from the ratepayer, so from that aspect it is a bit of a raw deal”; “It should be better than it is, considering what we pay”.

However, in Richmond especially, those who praised their borough’s high standards and willingness to respond quickly to problems (“We had an issue with travellers last year, and Christ they sorted that out quickly”) were more inclined to put this down to the kind of people who lived there and their eagerness to hold the council to account than to the party in control:

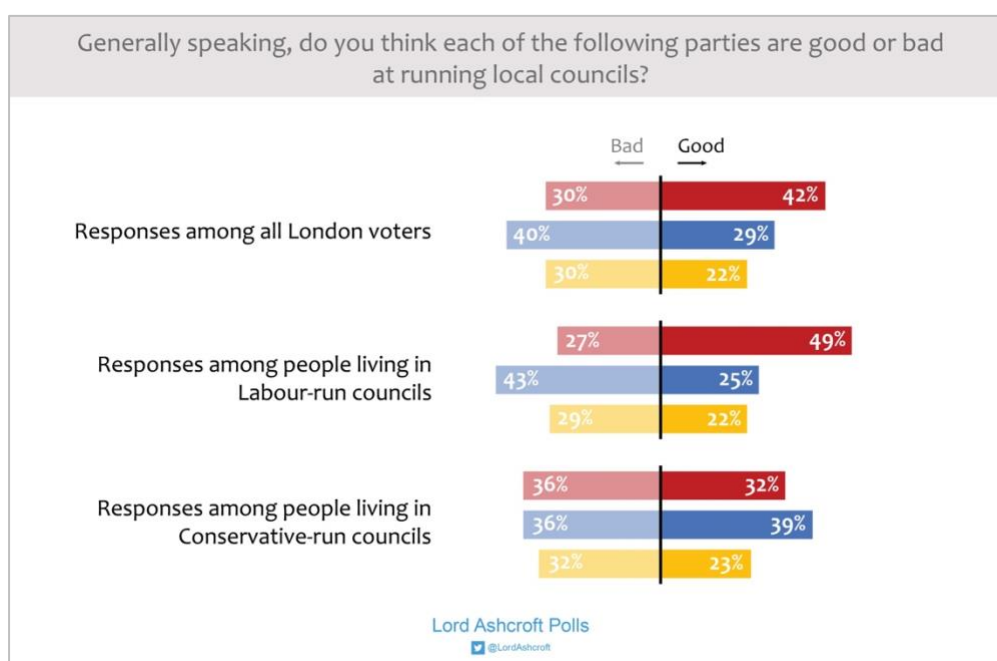


“You’ve got a certain type of person here... A lot of people think they’re entitled to a certain standard of living and they spend a lot of time complaining”; “I think we’re holding them to their word.”

*“It’s about parking, fly tipping, potholes.  
That’s why I don’t see much difference who’s in charge.”*

Others across the boroughs we visited simply did not see a connection between the important but humdrum business of the local council and party politics: “It’s about parking, fly tipping, potholes. That’s why on a personal level I don’t see much difference who’s in charge”; “I have great interest in the bins being collected and the streetlights being on, but I wouldn’t know who was running it.”

Among London voters as a whole, Labour was more likely to be thought to be good at running local councils than the Conservatives, by 42% to 29%. In Conservative authorities, just under four in ten (39%) said they thought the Tories were good at running councils, including two thirds of those who voted for the party in 2017. In Labour authorities, 71% of 2017 Labour voters said they thought their party was good at running councils, as did nearly half (49%) of all voters in these areas.



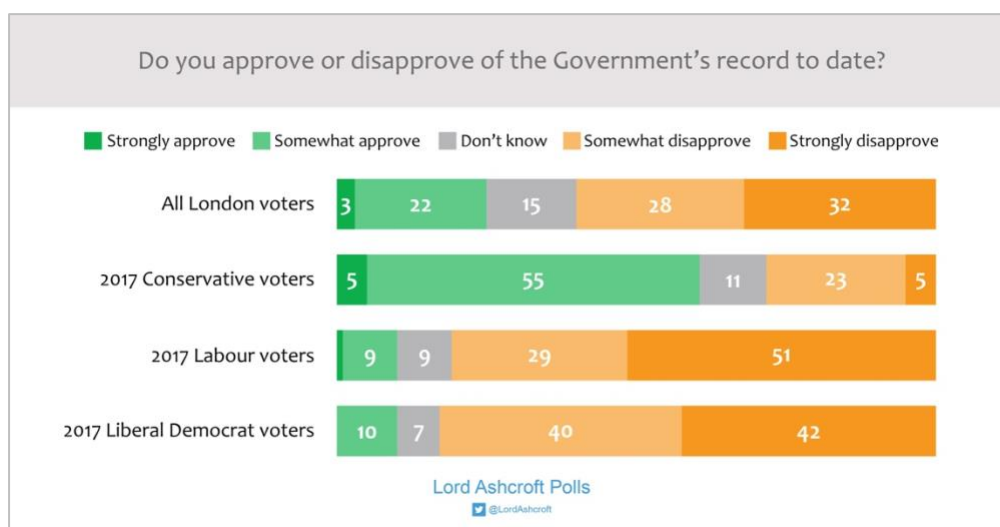


# Local and national

## What matters in the May elections

### The national picture

London voters as a whole said they disapproved of the government's record to date by 60% to 25%. Nearly one in three (32%) said they strongly disapproved.



Six in ten of those who voted Conservative in 2017 approved, though only one in twenty did so strongly. However, there was a difference among Conservatives according to how they voted in the EU referendum: while 2017 Tory Leavers approved by a 37-point margin (64% to 27%), 2017 Tory Remainers approved by just 23 points (55% to 32%).

Most of our focus groups were quite gloomy about national politics, however they had voted in the 2017 general election. Most thought Brexit was dominating the agenda, usually to their frustration, and was “swamping” or “crowding out” issues they thought deserved more attention including housing, the NHS, schools, crime and job security. Several said they had switched off from politics altogether (“I tend not to wallow in the misery of the news”).

Many of those who had voted Remain in the referendum had little confidence in the government's ability to secure a good deal and were anxious about the future (“It's unstable, not good. People feel a massive sense of unease. We don't know what's going to happen”). They also often complained about the kind of people they imagined voting to leave (“After the referendum I thought maybe you should have to have GCSEs before you can vote. Ignorant people up north who believed immigrants were the problem voted out”; “You've got millions of people who haven't got the best idea of what they're getting themselves into”).

Few of our participants who had voted to leave now regretted their decision. Many thought that concerns about Brexit were being overplayed in the media, but still worried that the government seemed to lack a strategy and felt that more progress ought to have been made

by now: “It seems optimistic that we’re going to be ready by next March”; “It’s a case of ‘fingers crossed’”; “Everyone thought we would stay so there wasn’t a proper plan put in place”.

*“She’s doing as well as she possibly can.  
She’s got a lot of half-baked people around her.”*

Most of those who had voted Conservative in 2017 said they would probably do the same in another election tomorrow, often because “there’s no competition”. Though some admired her stoicism, more often than not they talked about Theresa May in terms of sympathy rather than anything more positive: “She’s trying her best but she’s not really suited to the job”; “There is a lot of casual sexism. Her male colleagues walk all over her.” This was echoed by some of those who had switched away from the Tories (“I feel sorry for her. I’m surprised she hasn’t had a nervous breakdown”; “She’s doing as well as she possibly can, I think. She’s got a lot of half-baked people around her;” “It’s uncharted territory, no-one’s been through Brexit before. It’s a no-win situation;” “It’s a horrible job to have. She’s being bullied from all angles”).

Others who defected were less charitable (“She’s no Iron Lady, is she? How can she lead the country if she can’t lead her own party? She wanted to sack Jeremy Hunt but he walked out with an extra job”; “She makes Margaret Thatcher look like Mother Theresa”; “There was an arrogance when she called the election. She expected just to walk in”; “Cameron was trying to be a compassionate Tory but Theresa May is going in the other direction. She’s trying to be a strong leader, but to do that you’ve got to make me feel safe, and she doesn’t make me feel safe”). None saw themselves being tempted back by any alternative leader they could think of: “There could be a worse-case scenario with idiots like Jacob Rees-Mogg and Boris”; “She will stick around until she loses an election. The Tories have got no-one else who wants to sit in that chair”.

*“Before 2015 they were aiming to balance the books.  
After that they were cutting for the most vulnerable. They weren’t fair cuts.”*

Those who switched away from the Conservatives at the election said they had done so for a number of reasons, including Brexit (“There was no reason to call the election in the first place. They caused a whole load of crap and disappeared”; “I really liked Zac Goldsmith and he did a lot of good for our area, but because of his stance on Brexit I voted Lib Dem”); the choice between the party leaders (“The hubris of calling an election when she didn’t need to. The arrogant way with which she treated the country”; “I liked Jeremy Corbyn, what he stood for. He was more relatable, and he was focusing on young and vulnerable people, and education”); and, often, that the austerity that they had supported or been prepared to tolerate in 2015 had gone on too long (“Before 2015 they were aiming to balance the books. After that they were cutting for the most vulnerable. They weren’t fair cuts”; “It had gone too far. It was making things worse rather than better”).

Some also thought the Conservative Party had changed since they had last voted for it: “With the Tories I had the idea that if you vote Conservative, you can be like this too. If you work hard, you achieve. Now it’s way beyond”; “Things have gone so far one way that it needs to go

a long way back the other way to get back somewhere near the middle. The momentum is so strong in the wrong direction.”

None of those who had moved away from the Tories last year were yet tempted to go back. In addition to the factors mentioned above, the apparent divisions in the party were often cited: “They’re in disarray. It doesn’t give you confidence. How can you vote for a party that can’t decide itself?”; “They’re divided, it’s so messy. And if they’re concentrating on Brexit, who is doing the other things that need to be done?”; “It’s embarrassing that for the sake of the country they can’t all pull together. It’s like me working in a restaurant and telling people the food is crap.”

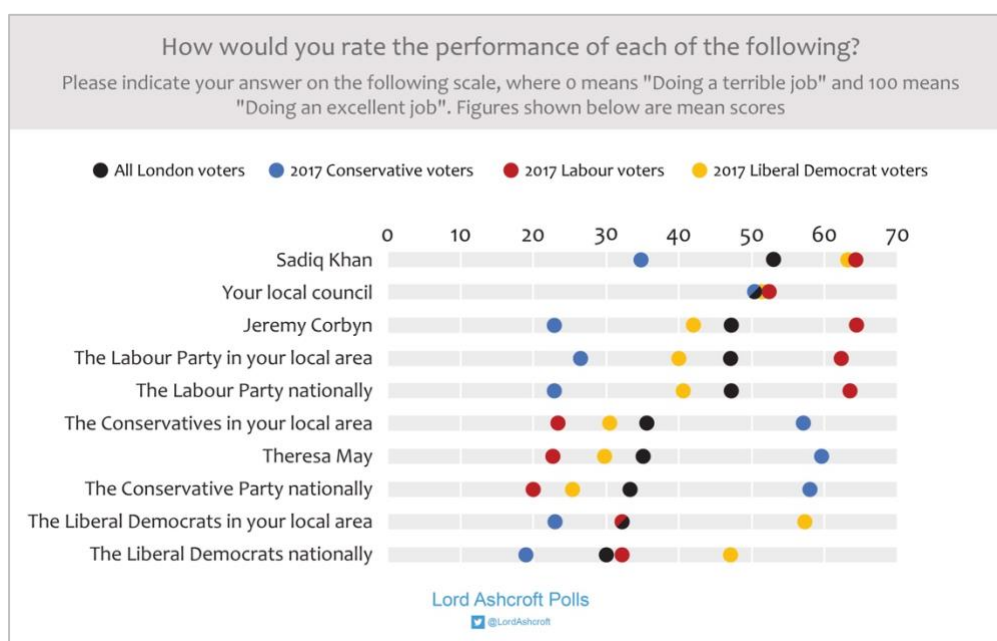
## Local and national compared

Among London voters as a whole, London Mayor Sadiq Khan received the highest performance ratings of the individuals and institutions we tested – the party leaders, local councils, and parties locally and nationally. With a mean score of 53/100 he was followed closely by “your local council” (50), Jeremy Corbyn, and the Labour Party locally and nationally (47 each).

Those who voted Conservative in 2017 gave Theresa May a mean score of 60 (61 among referendum Leave voters, 56 among Remain voters).

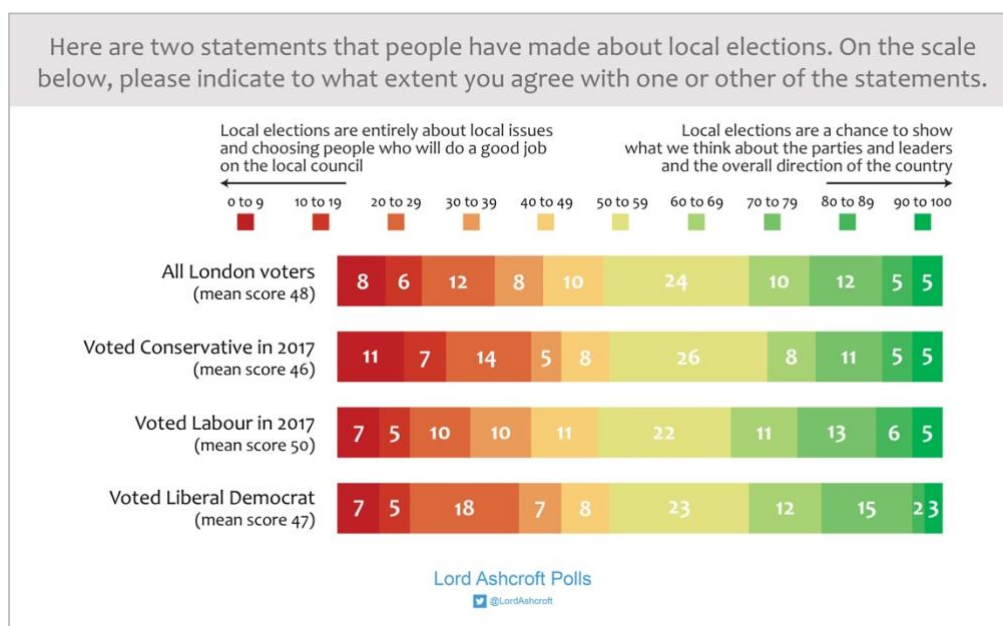
People living in Conservative-controlled local authority areas gave ‘your local council’ a mean score of 52, compared to 49 among those in Labour areas. 2017 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities have their council a mean score of 58 (and Labour voters 49); 2017 Labour voters in Labour areas gave their councils a mean score of 54.

In Conservative authority areas, those who had voted Tory at the 2014 local elections gave their local Conservatives a mean score of 66, higher than for any other institution or individual.



## What matters in May?

We asked people to say how they saw the balance of local and national factors when deciding how to vote in local elections by asking them to put themselves on a scale between zero (“local elections are entirely about local issues and choosing people who will do a good job on the local council”) and 100 (“local elections are a chance to show what we think about the parties and leaders and the overall direction of the country”).



Every voter group had a mean score very close to 50, meaning they would consider a fairly even balance between local and national factors. With a mean score of 46, Conservative voters were very marginally more likely to consider local over national factors than London voters as a whole.

*“I’m happy with the way Wandsworth is run. I’ve got no qualms about it, and it is cheap. What is there to complain about?”*

*“I’d be looking at the bigger picture, not just local issues. I want to send a message nationally by changing things locally.”*

The opinions expressed in our focus groups reflected this spread. People would often claim at first that only local issues would factor in their decision, and some stuck to this view (“It’s what affects your life on a day-to-day basis, regardless of who is PM”; “I’m happy with the way Wandsworth is run. I’ve got no qualms about it, and it is cheap. What is there to complain about?”).

However, several in each group admitted that national factors would play at least as big a part, if indeed they bothered to turn out at all. Often this was because they thought nothing much would change at local level whoever was in charge, so they could use their vote to send a message nationally without worrying too much about the consequences – or that the things

local councils did matter less than the bigger things at stake: “They seem like small issues compared to the national things that are going on. They don’t come to much, things like the blow heater they gave me last week. National issues are what you tend to go to”; “I’d be looking at the bigger picture, not just local issues. I want to send a message nationally by changing things locally”; “The government would have to listen to how many people were changing their voting. They would have to win them back.”

In several of the groups people also admitted that “it wouldn’t feel right to vote one way nationally and one way locally”, even if they had no complaints about the way their council was currently run: “I’d feel like a hypocrite. Conservatism works in Richmond but I don’t feel it’s right to vote Lib Dem in a national election and Conservative locally. If we’re consistent then things might change for the better.”

## The big issues

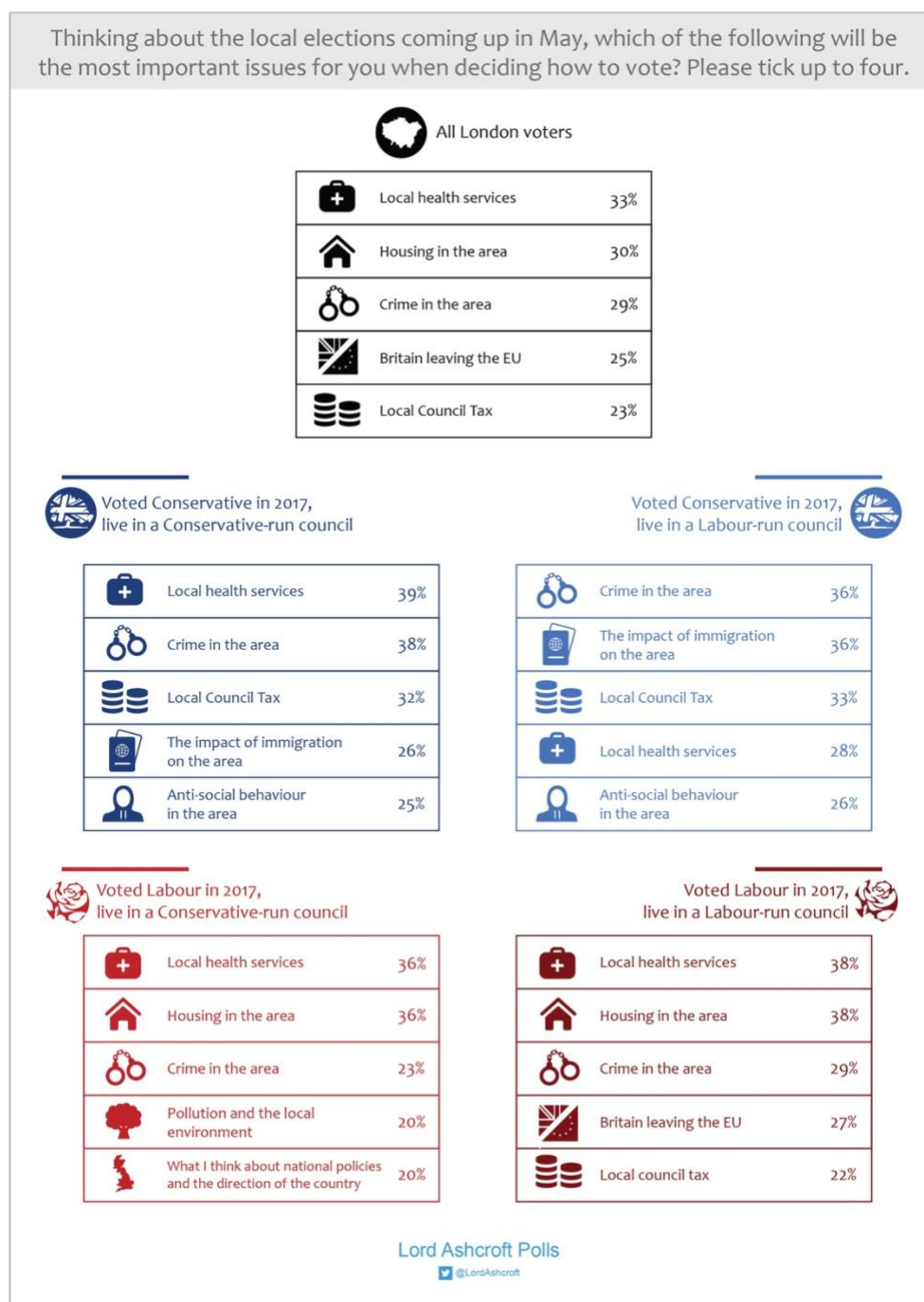
Asked which of twenty specific issues would play the biggest part in their local election voting decisions, London voters as a whole were most likely to mention local health services (33% naming this in their top four), housing (30%), crime (29%) and Britain leaving the EU (25%). Local Council Tax was the fifth most chosen issue, named by just under a quarter (23%).

Conservative voters were more likely to name Council Tax as an important issue than voters as a whole, but only 32% of those who voted for the party in 2017 named it among their top four.

For 2017 Labour voters in Conservative-controlled authority areas, Council Tax did not feature in the top five issues, being chosen by only 19% of such voters.

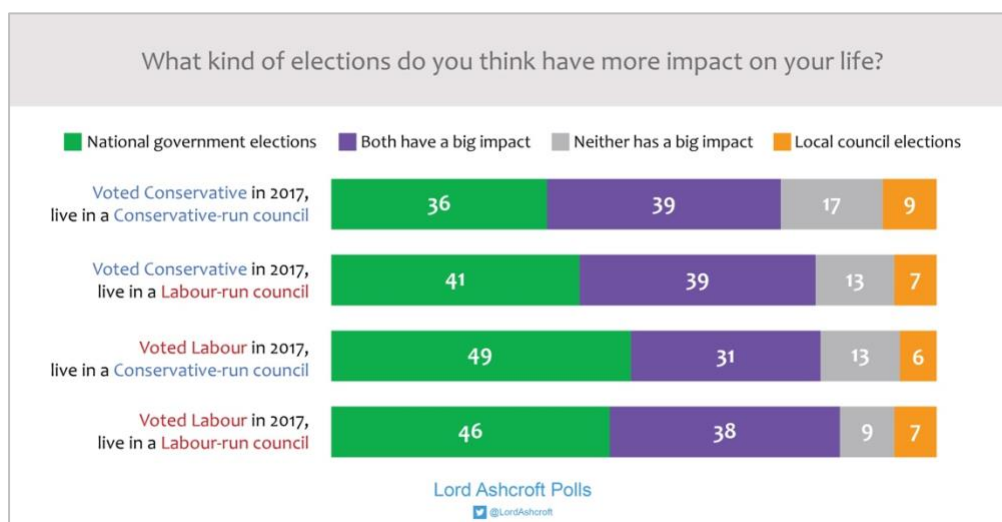
*“I’m frightened about my child’s education in Westminster, and secondary schools for boys. There’s the one Tony Blair’s boys went to, but you have to have the Pope on speed-dial to get in.”*

Our focus groups talked about the issues that worried them in their local areas. Common themes included a rise in homelessness (“There are tent cities in Soho”; “In Ilford there is a village of homeless people. Ilford used to be posh”), congestion and pollution, crime and policing (“Westminster turned off 80% of the CCTV cameras because of the cutbacks”, “Policing – you literally have to call one to see one”), education (“I’m frightened about my child’s education in Westminster, and secondary schools for boys. There’s the one Tony Blair’s boys went to but you’ve got to have the Pope on speed-dial to get in”), social housing and affordable housing, and the effects of austerity on certain council services (“There has been too much belt tightening and we have been able to see the effects”; “Things like sports clubs are struggling and not continuing”).



Only 7% of London voters said they thought local council elections had a bigger impact on their lives than national elections, while more than four in ten (42%) said they thought the latter were more important. Just over one third said they thought both were important.





## What would change with a change of control?

In our focus groups in Conservative-run authorities we asked people what they thought would change if political control of their council were to change in May.

In Westminster, some thought this was very unlikely to happen (“We will never get the Tories out of Westminster because there are too many people living in those million-pound flats”). Most of our participants had switched to Labour at the 2017 general election having previously voted Conservative, and many of these welcomed the prospect of a change at City Hall. Without being able to point to specifics, they had the feeling that a Labour council would be “more community friendly. There would be a shift in focus away from the rich being the main priority for everything towards normal people for a change.” They might also “spend more on services”. A few looked fondly back to a previous era of Labour control: “In the ‘70s we had the GLC, children were looked after, there were free events along the river. There was a better vibe when Labour were in. You felt a warmth, people coming together. Now it’s all Victorian. People look grey and miserable.”

In Wandsworth, people who switched away from the Conservatives last year also talked about the idea that there would be “more money in the community”, since a “Labour seem to be more for the people. A Tory council is less benevolent and pragmatic”.

*“I wouldn’t mind paying more if I could see things happening with my own eyes.”*

*“It would be like voting for an electricity bill rise. Why?”*

In both boroughs, people tended to feel that Labour control would probably mean a rise in Council Tax – though not necessarily a huge one, and most would still expect their tax bill to be low compared to other councils. Those who were open to the idea of Labour taking over said they were relaxed about a Council Tax rise – though often with the proviso that they knew in advance where the money would be spent and would be able to see tangible improvements as a result: “It depends what it goes towards. What would be the perks?”; “I wouldn’t mind

paying more if I could see things happening with my own eyes”; “It depends why. If it means care for the elderly improves, if it means you can see the benefits”.

However, a few of our participants – including those who had voted Labour in 2017 – admitted that the thought of a Council Tax rise under Labour would be enough to push them back into the Tory camp in the local elections: “The issue is voting for the unknown or stick with what you know. £1,200 a year would become something else, when the streets are clean and the rubbish is taken away. It would be like voting for an electricity bill rise. Why?”

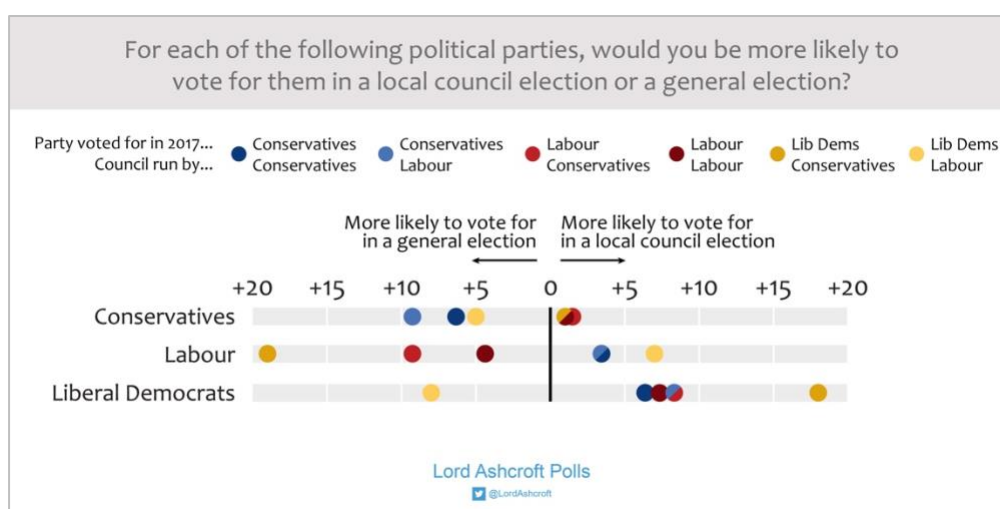
In Richmond and Kingston, the potential consequences of a change of political control were much less clear to our participants. None could identify substantial differences between the Conservatives and Lib Dems at local level or potential consequences of a change of political control. On one of the biggest local controversies, Heathrow expansion, they knew the two parties were united in opposition.

This tended to prompt one of three responses: that they would wait and see what the parties offered at the election; that they would vote on the record of their own councillors (“I’ve got good councillors who poke and harass the RFU [over Twickenham]”; “Of my three ward councillors there’s only one I would happily vote for again”); or that they would vote on the basis of national issues instead.

## Local and national parties

For the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats, voters were more likely to say they would be equally likely to vote for the party at a local or general election, or that they would never vote for them, than that they would be more likely to choose them at one type of election than the other.

However, voters were slightly more likely to say they would consider the Conservatives in a general rather than a local election, and the Liberal Democrats in a local rather than a general election. 2014 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities were the only group to say they would be more likely to support the party locally than nationally.



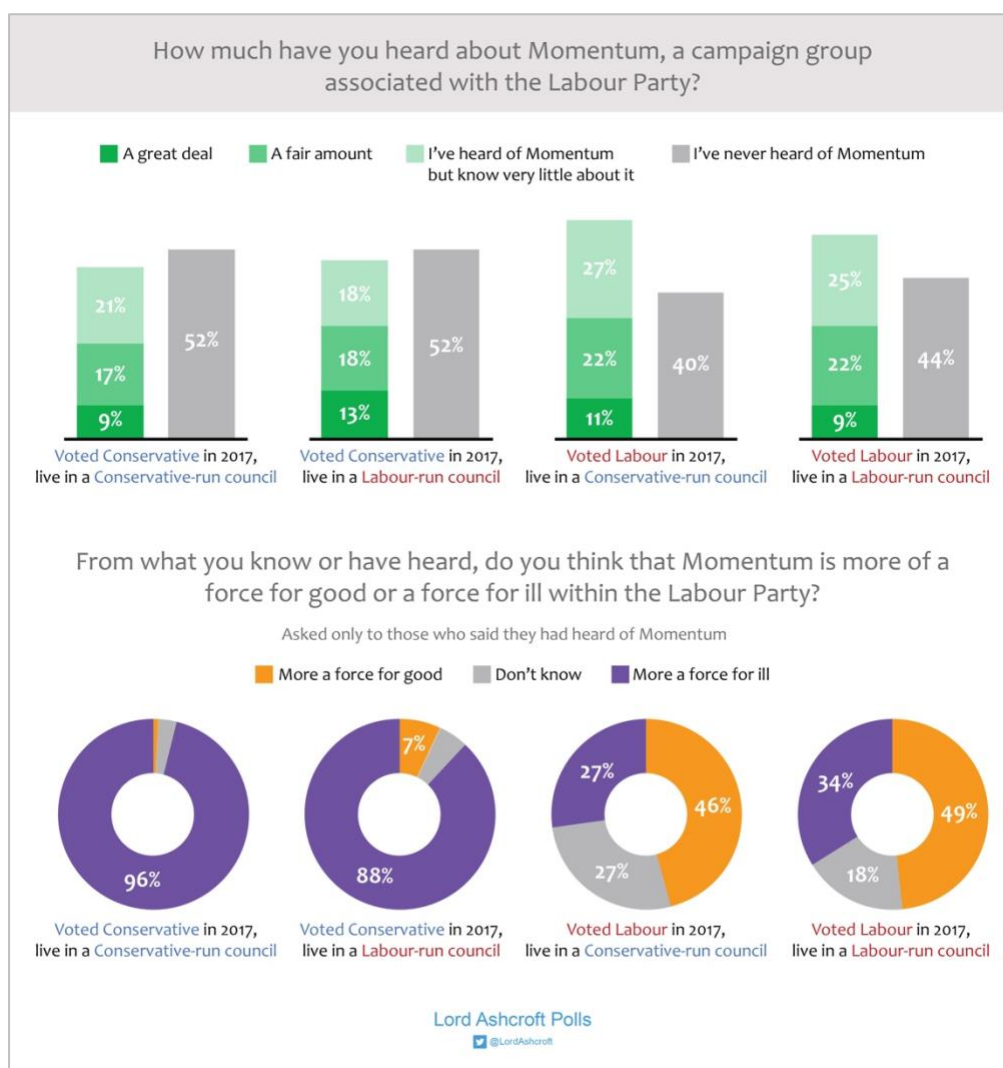


Similarly, around four in ten voters said that their view of each party nationally was no more or less favourable than of the party locally; of the remainder, people were slightly more likely to have a favourable view of Labour and the Conservatives nationally, and the Liberal Democrats locally.

## Momentum's momentum

Half of all London voters – including 52% of those who voted Conservative and 43% of those who voted Labour in 2017 – said they had never heard of Momentum. A further 22% said they had heard “very little”, with fewer than three in ten saying they had heard “a fair amount” (19%) or “a great deal” (9%).

Of those who had heard of Momentum, three in ten said that from what they knew or had heard they thought the group was a force for good within the Labour Party; just over half (55%) thought it a force for ill. However, voters were deeply split by party on this question. While more than nine in ten 2017 Conservatives thought Momentum a force for ill, nearly half (48%) of 2017 Labour voters thought it a force for good. Just under a third of Labour voters who had heard of the group thought Momentum a force for ill, and one in five said they didn't know.



Most people in our focus groups had either not heard of Momentum or knew very little about it. Among those with an opinion, a very few argued the organisation was dangerous or divisive (“Labour is being pulled apart and it doesn’t look attractive to other people. We don’t know what it stands for”).

*“The Tories say they’re like Militant,  
but that’s pretty rich from a party with Jacob Rees-Mogg and Boris Johnson.”*

More often, people argued that Momentum was trying to take Labour “back to its roots”, which was no bad thing since “Tony Blair took it too far to the right”. Some also argued that it offered a balance to what they saw as an increasingly right-wing Conservative Party: “The Tories say they’re like Militant but that’s pretty rich from a party with Jacob Rees-Mogg and Boris Johnson”.

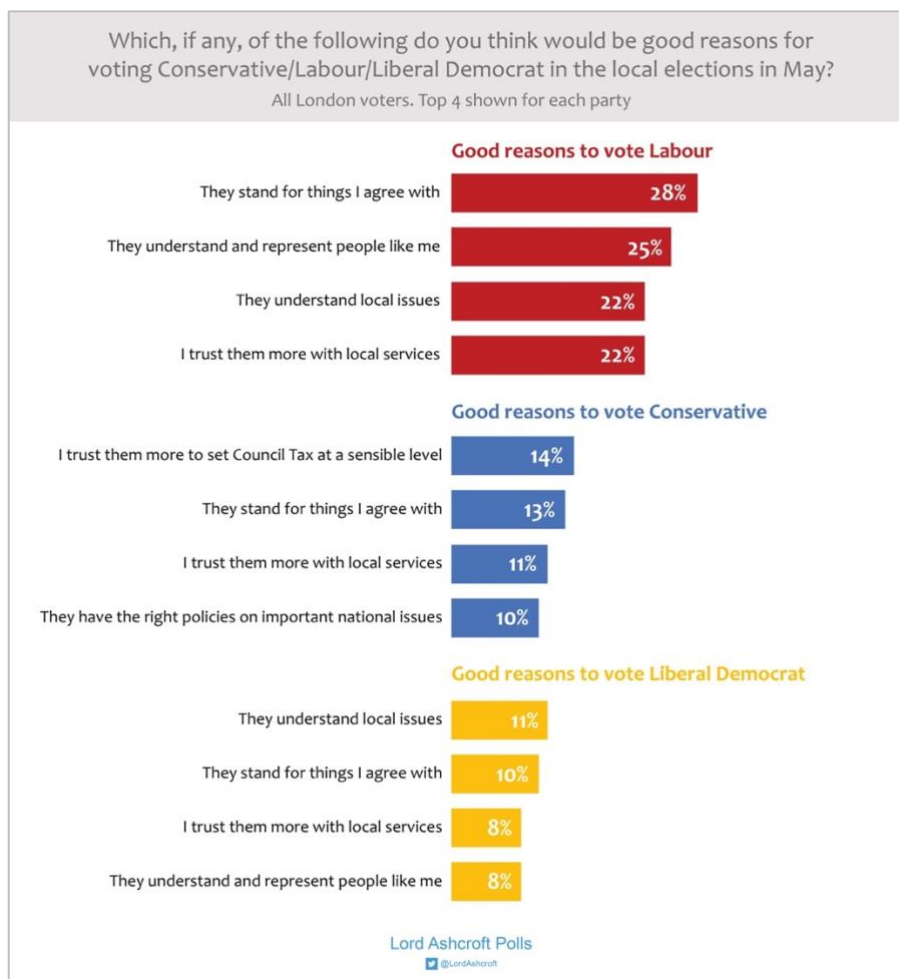
The one location in which Labour’s internal politics had firmly registered with our participants was Barnet, where the question of antisemitism within the party was raised spontaneously. While stopping short of accusing Jeremy Corbyn himself of being antisemitic, they felt he was blind to the issue and willing to excuse antisemitism in his supporters in a way he never would with people who were homophobic or discriminated against disabled people or other groups.

## Why would you vote for them?

In our survey we asked people to select what they considered good reasons to vote Conservative, Labour and Lib Dem, from a list of eleven potentials. Respondents were asked to choose those that they thought were both true, and a good reason to vote for the party.

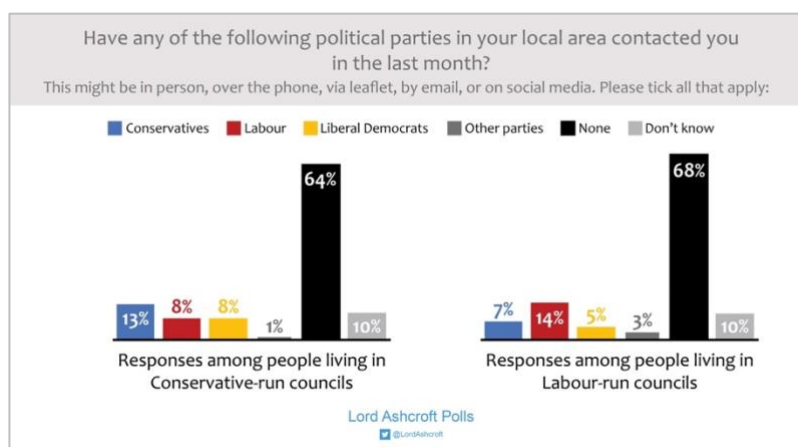
For London voters as a whole, and those who voted Labour in 2017, the top five arguments for voting Labour were that they “stand for things I agree with,” “understand and represent people like me”, and that they understood local issues and could be trusted with local services.

The best reason for voting Conservative was “I trust them more to set Council Tax at a sensible level”, chosen by 14% of London voters (but 20% of those living in Conservative authorities). In Conservative authorities, 41% of 2017 Conservative voters chose this as a good reason to vote for the party in May, putting it second behind “they stand for things I agree with”.



## Ground game

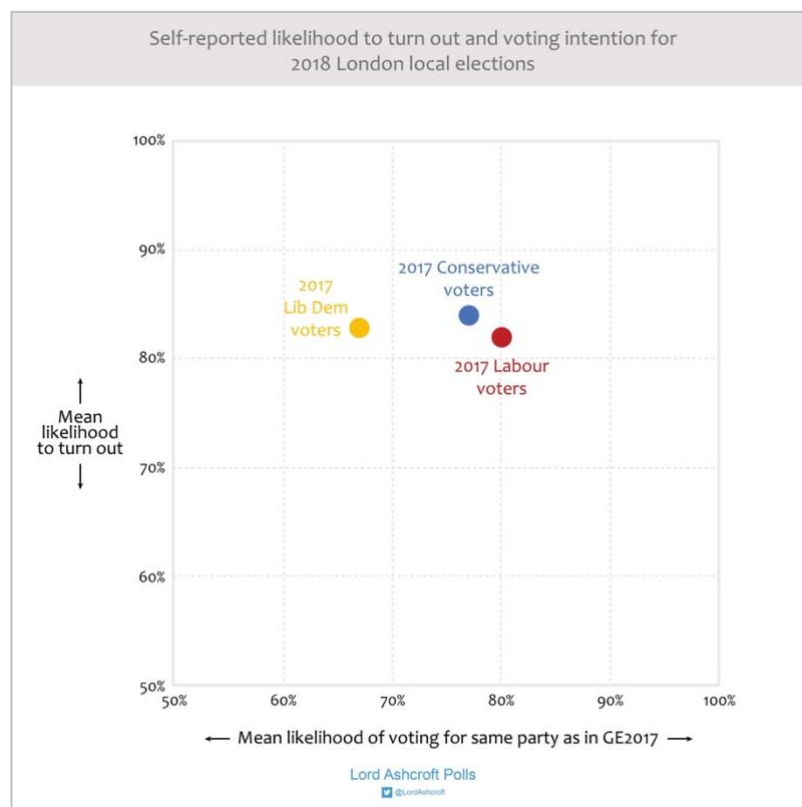
Two thirds of London voters said they had not heard from any of the political parties in the last month, whether in person, over the telephone, on social media, or by receiving leaflets or emails. People living in Conservative authorities were slightly more likely to have heard from the Conservatives (13%) than other parties, while those living in Labour areas were most likely to have heard from Labour (14%).



## The turnout question

We asked people how likely they were to turn out and vote in the local council elections in May, and how likely they were to vote for each party on a scale from zero (definitely not) to one hundred (definitely will). People have not historically been very good at predicting their likelihood to turn out, especially in local elections where turnout is lower. On average, people in our survey put their likelihood to vote at 8/10, with 45% of all Londoners saying they were 10/10 certain to vote. This included 56% of 2017 Conservatives, 53% of 2017 Labour voters and 48% of 2017 Lib Dems.

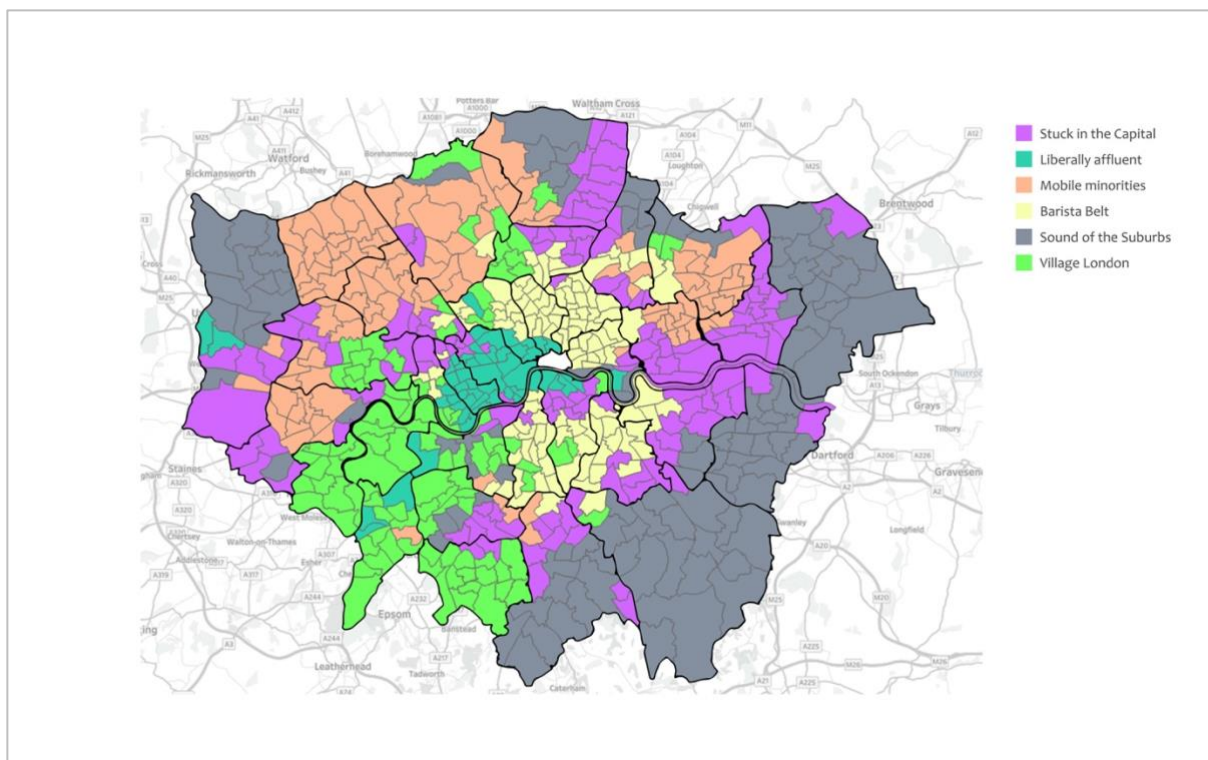
Those who voted Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat in 2017 each reported their likelihood of turning out at just over 8/10 on average. Labour voters put their mean likelihood of choosing the party again at the local elections at 80/100; 2017 Conservatives put the chance of their voting Tory again at 77/100.



# The battlegrounds

## Where the May elections will be won and lost

Our analysis suggests that the 630 wards in the 32 London boroughs can be divided into six types or segments. These segments, described below, were created using a statistical method known as ‘optimised K-mean clustering’, a technique that sorts individuals, objects or places according to their shared characteristics. Here, the places are London wards and the shared characteristics are demographic variables from the census including age, health, housing tenure, working status, occupation, marital status and religion, plus modelled voting data at council and constituency level.



### 1. Stuck in the Capital

- The largest segment: around 20% of London’s electorate lives in these wards.
- Dispersed across London; particularly strong presence in Barking, Mitcham & Morden, Edmonton and West Ham.
- Highest levels of deprivation and people in the DE social grade (semi-skilled, unskilled occupations and unemployed). More likely to live in social housing and less likely to own their own home. More likely to be unemployed or economically inactive.
- Most likely to have children, half of whom are in single-parent households.
- Labour stronghold. Most voted Remain in the referendum, but with the second highest Leave vote after Sound of the Suburbs.

## 2. Liberally Affluent

- The smallest segment, with around 10% of the London electorate, but with the potential to make a big difference to London's political map in the May local elections.
- Predominantly found in the West-Central zones of London: areas include Westminster, Chelsea, Fulham, Kensington, Hammersmith and Bermondsey.
- Residents are the most likely to be highly qualified and to be in social group AB (senior managerial and professional occupations). They are also more likely than those in other segments to be aged 18 to 34, and there is a relatively high proportion of students.
- The most likely to live in private rented accommodation; relatively few owner-occupiers compared to other segments.
- Traditionally solidly Conservative but with a big swing to Labour and increased Lib Dem support in 2017. Voted heavily for Remain in the EU referendum.

## 3. Mobile Minorities

- Around 17% of the capital's electorate live in these wards, which are typically found in North West and East London districts including Brent, Ealing, Harrow, Finchley, East Ham and Ilford.
- People in this segment are the least likely to be white, and include a much higher than average proportion of Hindus, Sikhs, Jews and Muslims. Residents are the most likely of all segments to be married with children.
- A relatively high proportion are in social groups C2 (skilled manual occupations, as well as sales and customer service staff) and DE.
- Consistently strongly Labour in recent national and local elections. Decisively voted Remain in the referendum, but with a higher Leave vote than London overall.

## 4. Barista Belt

- The second largest segment, with 19% of the London electorate.
- Typically located in East and South East London; areas include Hackney, Bethnal Green, Peckham and Islington.
- The population largely comprises young, single people in professional occupations, and people in social housing with higher measures of deprivation.
- Labour's strongest segment, alongside Stuck in the Capital; also has the highest Green vote share of any segment. The Barista Belt was most heavily Remain-supporting segment in the referendum.

## 5. Sound of the Suburbs

- Home to around 18% of the London electorate. Largely found on the outer ring of London in areas including Beckenham, Bexleyheath, Bromley, Chingford, Orpington and Uxbridge.
- Includes a the highest proportion of older and retired people, and of those who are white, Christian and define as English.
- Has the highest proportion of people who own their own home, with or without a mortgage, low levels of deprivation, and the most likely to be in the C1 or C2 social groups.
- The most Conservative-supporting segment in recent elections, and with the highest levels of support for UKIP. The only London segment to support Leave over Remain in the referendum.

## 6. Village London

- This segment contains around 16% of London voters.
- Most of these wards are in South West London, with a few scattered in North London. Locations include Battersea, parts of Wandsworth, Ealing, Kingston, Richmond, Twickenham and Wimbledon.
- Village London has the lowest levels of deprivation of any segment. Residents are the most likely to be in full-time employment, in professional or managerial occupations or to be self-employed.
- Village London residents are more likely than London as a whole to be white and to identify as English or British, and to be married with children.
- Politically this segment is typically split between the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats. While the Conservatives have retained the most support in recent elections, the other parties have made gains; this is the strongest segment for the Lib Dems. Village London voted strongly to remain in the EU (though was still only the third most heavily remain-supporting of the six segments).



# Full poll results

3,059 adults in London were interviewed online between 1 and 8 February 2018. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in London. Full data tables are available at [LordAshcroftPolls.com](http://LordAshcroftPolls.com)

\* Conservative segments are defined as follows:

Loyalists: Voted Conservative in both the 2015 and 2017 general elections  
 Joiners: Did not vote Conservative in 2015, voted Conservative in 2017  
 Defectors: Voted Conservative in 2015, did not vote Conservative in 2017

**How likely do you think you are to vote in the local council elections that will take place on Thursday 3 May, where 0 means you are certain not to vote and 10 means you are absolutely certain to vote?**

	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT*			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Mean likelihood to vote /10	8	8	8	8	8	9	8	8	8	9	9	8
% saying 10/10 certain to vote	45	56	53	48	50	55	56	65	41	63	63	59

- In Conservative authorities:
  - 54% of 2017 Conservative voters said they were 10/10 certain to vote in the local elections
  - 55% of 2017 Lib Dem voters said they were 10/10 certain to vote in the local elections
  - 44% of 2017 Labour voters said they were certain to vote in the local elections

**How likely are you to vote for the Conservative Party / Labour Party / Liberal Democrats in the local elections on Thursday 3 May, where 0 means you are absolutely certain not to vote for the party and 100 means you are absolutely certain to vote for the party?**

Mean likelihood to vote for party /100	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Conservative	32	77	12	18	21	53	81	71	38	82	11	16
Labour	51	14	80	34	62	33	12	17	44	13	84	35
Liberal Democrat	24	14	23	67	29	15	14	12	34	13	22	69

*Note: These are not projected vote shares. The figures show each group's mean likelihood of voting for each party on a scale from 0 to 100. E.g. those who voted Conservative at the 2017 general election say on average that there is a 77/100 chance that they will vote Conservative at the council elections in May 2018.*

- In Conservative authorities, those who voted Conservative at the 2015 GE and Remain in the referendum had a mean likelihood of voting Conservative in May 2018 at 72/100; 48% of them put the chance that they would vote Conservative at 9 or 10/10. This compares to a mean likelihood of 83/100 among 2015 Conservative Leave voters, 59% of whom put the chance of their voting Conservative in May 2018 at 9 or 10/10.



- In Conservative authorities, 2017 Conservative voters' mean likelihood of voting Conservative in the 2018 local elections was 79/100; 53% put the chance of their doing so at 9 or 10/10. 2017 Labour voters in these areas put their likelihood of voting Labour in the local elections at an average of 73/100; 50% put the chance that they would vote Labour at 9 or 10/10.
- In Conservative authorities, 59% of those who voted Conservative at the 2014 local elections put their likelihood of voting Conservative in May 2018 at 9 or 10/10. 63% of those who voted Labour in these areas in 2014 put their chance of voting Labour again at 9 or 10/10.
- 35% of 2017 Conservatives who had voted to remain in the EU put the chance that they would vote Conservative in May at 90/100 or above, compared to 46% of 2017 Conservatives who had voted to leave.

**Do you approve or disapprove of the government's record to date?**

	%	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
			Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Strongly approve	3		5	1	0	2	4	7	4	1	6	2	1
Somewhat approve	22		55	9	10	14	39	59	50	22	59	10	16
<b>TOTAL APPROVE</b>	<b>25</b>		<b>60</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>
Somewhat disapprove	28		23	29	40	29	26	20	30	45	20	27	43
Strongly disapprove	32		5	51	42	45	19	4	7	17	6	56	37
<b>TOTAL DISAPPROVE</b>	<b>60</b>		<b>28</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>80</b>
Don't know	15		11	9	7	10	12	10	9	15	9	5	4

- Remain voters who voted Conservative in 2017 approved of the government's record by 55% to 32%. 2017 Conservative Leave voters approved by 64% to 27%.
- People in Conservative authorities who voted Conservative in the 2014 local elections approved of the government's record by 67% to 26%. 2017 Conservative voters in these areas approved by 61% to 30%.
- In Conservative authorities, those who voted Conservative in the 2015 GE and Remain in the referendum approved of the government's record by 56% to 31%, compared to 66%-26% among 2015 Conservatives who voted Leave.

**Overall, how well or badly run do you think your local council is?**

	%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
			Con council residents	Lab council residents
Very well run	3		5	2
Fairly well run	26		27	25
<b>TOTAL WELL RUN</b>	<b>29</b>		<b>32</b>	<b>27</b>
Neither	29		29	29
Fairly badly run	19		19	19
Very badly run	9		6	9
<b>TOTAL BADLY RUN</b>	<b>28</b>		<b>25</b>	<b>28</b>
Don't know	14		13	15

- In Conservative authorities, 54% of those who voted Conservative in the 2014 local elections said they thought their council was well run. 30% said neither well nor badly, 11% said badly.
- In Labour authorities, only 38% of those who voted Labour in 2014 said they thought their council was well run. 24% said it was badly run.

**Do you think your local council is better or worse run than most local councils in London?**

	%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
			Con council residents	Lab council residents
Much better	5		7	3
Somewhat better	21		23	19
<b>TOTAL BETTER</b>	<b>26</b>		<b>30</b>	<b>22</b>
Neither	37		36	37
Somewhat worse	9		7	10
Much worse	4		3	5
<b>TOTAL WORSE</b>	<b>13</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>
Don't know	25		24	25

- In Conservative authorities, 42% of 2017 GE Conservative voters (and 50% of 2014 Conservative voters) said they thought their council was better run than most in London.
- In Labour authorities, 30% of 2017 Labour voters (and 37% of 2014 Labour voters) said they thought their council was better run than most in London.

**Do you know which party or parties currently run your local council?**

	%	COUNCIL CONTROL	
		Con council residents	Lab council residents
Conservatives	61	7	
Labour	10	62	
Lib Dems	6	1	
Other, e.g. a coalition of parties	1	2	
Don't know	22	29	

- The proportion of 2014 Conservative local election voters in Conservative authorities who knew the Conservatives ran their council matched the proportion of 2014 Labour voters in Labour areas who knew Labour ran their council: 78%.

**How would you rate the performance of each of the following, where 0 means they are doing a terrible job and 100 means they are doing an excellent job?**

Mean score /100	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Sadiq Khan	53	35	64	63	64	35	34	33	53	36	67	61
Your local council	50	50	52	51	53	47	53	44	49	53	54	51
Jeremy Corbyn	47	23	64	42	55	35	22	24	46	23	65	43
Labour Party locally	47	27	62	40	55	35	26	27	48	26	65	38
Labour Party nationally	47	23	64	41	54	34	22	24	45	23	65	42
Conservatives locally	36	57	23	31	29	43	59	51	37	61	22	26
Theresa May	35	60	23	30	27	47	61	58	35	61	22	31
Conservatives nationally	33	58	20	25	25	45	60	54	34	59	19	26
Lib Dems locally	32	23	32	57	36	22	23	21	39	23	32	60
Lib Dems nationally	30	19	32	47	34	20	19	17	37	20	32	48

- 2017 GE Conservatives who had voted Remain gave Theresa May a mean score of 56, compared to 61 among 2017 Conservative Leavers. The gap was slightly wider among 2015 Conservatives: 50 for Remainers, 60 for Leavers.
- Jeremy Corbyn received almost identical scores from 2017 Labour Leavers (66) and Remainers (65).
- People living in Conservative-controlled local authority areas gave a mean score of 52 for 'Your local council'. People in Labour-controlled areas gave a mean score of 49.
- In Conservative authorities, people who voted Conservative in the 2014 local elections rated their local council at 62/100. People who voted Labour in these areas gave a mean score of 49/100, nearly as high as that given by Labour voters in Labour authority areas (55/100).
- 2017 GE Conservatives in Conservative authorities gave almost equal mean scores for the Conservative Party nationally (60) and locally (61), though previous Conservative voters in all elections who voted Remain in the referendum had a slightly better view of the party locally than nationally.
- In Conservative authorities, those who voted Conservative in the 2014 local elections gave their local Conservatives a mean score of 66, higher than anyone else on the list including Theresa May (61), the Conservatives nationally (60) and their local council (62).

Thinking about the local elections coming up in May, which of the following will be the most important issues for you when deciding how to vote? Please choose up to four.

% naming in top 4	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Local health services	33	32	38	34	35	35	33	34	32	32	38	30
Housing	30	21	37	27	33	27	19	26	22	20	39	33
Crime	29	36	28	25	27	35	35	35	25	32	30	33
Britain leaving the EU	25	25	25	33	27	24	24	25	31	28	26	27
Local Council Tax	23	32	21	24	21	30	34	31	21	33	22	22
Education and local schools	17	14	20	22	20	15	14	15	23	15	22	20
Anti-social behaviour	17	25	15	14	16	20	23	29	13	22	17	17
The impact of immigration on the area	16	32	8	6	6	33	30	41	10	33	7	7
The local economy and jobs	15	13	18	15	17	12	13	10	13	14	19	18
Social care	15	12	17	15	17	14	12	14	7	11	21	21
Pollution and the local environment	15	11	17	23	19	11	11	9	26	10	16	23
Public transport	13	12	14	15	15	10	10	10	15	10	15	13
Local waste collection	13	17	11	16	14	15	18	18	9	17	14	15
National policies and the direction of the country	12	9	15	20	15	9	10	5	15	9	15	14
Roads in the area	11	18	9	14	9	16	19	16	13	17	10	16
Parks and open spaces	9	9	10	10	10	7	9	11	11	11	8	13
Parking	9	14	7	8	7	12	13	17	7	11	7	11
The political parties and leaders	9	7	11	13	12	6	8	4	16	7	11	13
Family life and childcare	7	3	10	6	8	6	3	3	8	5	10	10
Local business rates	2	3	2	2	2	3	3	3	6	4	3	1
None of these	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	3	2	1	0
Don't know	8	4	7	4	7	4	3	3	7	4	3	1

- For 2014 Conservative local election voters in Conservative authorities, Council Tax (33%) was second to local health services (38%). Council Tax was also more likely to be chosen by Conservative Loyalists (34%) and those aged 65 or over (32%).
- Previous Conservative voters who voted Leave in the referendum were more likely to name Council Tax as an important issue than previous Conservatives who voted Remain.
- Housing was the most important issue for voters aged 18 to 49.

**When it comes to the quality of local council services, how much difference, if any, do you think it makes which political party runs your local council?**

	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
A great deal	15	16	19	12	16	17	17	15	13	20	22	22
A fair amount	34	33	38	44	39	34	35	32	31	35	44	40
GREAT/FAIR AMOUNT	49	49	57	56	55	51	52	47	44	55	66	62
Not very much	26	33	22	31	26	29	33	33	30	32	19	29
None at all	5	5	4	1	3	6	3	10	5	4	3	1
NOT MUCH/NONE	31	38	26	32	29	35	36	43	35	36	22	30
Don't know	20	12	18	12	17	14	11	10	21	9	11	8

**When it comes to the level of your local Council Tax, how much difference, if any, do you think it makes which political party runs your local council?**

	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
A great deal	14	20	14	15	14	20	22	19	15	25	17	14
A fair amount	27	26	30	32	31	24	27	26	24	28	35	35
GREAT/FAIR AMOUNT	41	46	44	47	45	44	49	45	39	53	52	49
Not very much	28	32	27	34	29	31	33	30	35	32	26	39
None at all	7	6	7	3	6	9	4	10	8	4	6	1
NOT MUCH/NONE	35	38	34	37	35	40	37	40	43	36	32	40
Don't know	23	15	21	16	21	16	13	15	18	11	16	10

- In Conservative authorities, 2014 Labour voters (63%) were slightly more likely than 2014 Conservative voters (58%) to say it makes a difference which party runs the council when it comes to local services.
- The same proportion of 2014 Conservatives (58%) also said the party that run the council made a difference to the level of Council Tax, compared to 46% of 2014 Labour voters.

**What kind of elections do you think have more impact on your life – elections to decide which party runs your local council, or which party runs the national government?**

	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Local council	7	8	7	7	5	10	8	6	8	8	7	9
National government	42	39	47	51	50	36	41	35	47	39	47	44
Both have a big impact	36	38	37	34	35	40	37	42	34	40	40	42
Neither has a big impact	16	15	10	8	10	15	14	16	11	13	5	5

Here are two statements that people have made about local elections. Please indicate to what extent you agree with one or other of the statements.

0 = "Local elections are entirely about local issues and choosing people who will do a good job on the local council"

100 = "Local elections are a chance to show what we think about the parties and leaders and the overall direction of the country"

	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Mean score /100	48	46	50	47	49	47	47	46	50	49	51	43

- With a mean score of 46/100, 2014 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities were only fractionally more likely than average to think local elections were about local rather than national issues.

Generally speaking, do you think each of the following parties are good or bad at running local councils?

% 'very or fairly good' / 'very or fairly bad'	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Conservatives	29/40	62/17	15/56	26/49	23/49	44/33	67/12	54/26	44/29	69/18	15/63	33/49
Labour	42/30	16/61	68/11	40/32	55/20	29/48	15/62	16/64	42/32	17/68	77/8	45/38
Lib Dems	22/30	16/39	24/28	63/9	29/25	16/42	18/37	14/48	34/21	19/42	26/31	69/10

	%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
			Con council residents	Lab council residents
Conservatives	29/40		39/36	25/43
Labour	42/30		32/36	49/27
Lib Dems	22/30		23/32	22/29

- In Conservative authorities, 74% of 2014 Conservative voters and 67% of 2017 Conservative voters said they thought the Conservatives were good at running councils.
- In Labour authorities, 80% of 2014 Labour voters and 71% of 2017 Labour voters said they thought Labour were good at running councils.

**When it comes to running local councils, which of the following do you most associate with...**

%	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
CONSERVATIVES												
BETTER services and LOWER CT	13	33	5	10	10	22	38	24	14	40	4	10
BETTER services but HIGHER CT	13	23	8	9	10	18	24	23	14	24	9	15
WORSE services but LOWER CT	17	10	22	33	24	11	10	10	20	9	26	32
WORSE SERVICES and HIGHER CT	25	7	38	25	29	20	4	15	18	6	41	25
TOTAL BETTER SERVICES	26	56	13	19	20	40	62	47	28	64	13	25
TOTAL LOWER COUNCIL TAX	30	43	27	43	34	33	48	34	34	49	30	42
LABOUR												
BETTER services and LOWER CT	15	2	26	6	18	9	2	2	13	4	30	3
BETTER services but HIGHER CT	25	14	34	37	34	16	15	13	25	14	40	40
WORSE services but LOWER CT	9	13	7	11	8	13	13	14	10	15	5	16
WORSE SERVICES and HIGHER CT	17	40	6	15	10	31	41	44	17	44	5	15
TOTAL BETTER SERVICES	40	16	60	43	52	25	17	15	38	18	70	43
TOTAL LOWER COUNCIL TAX	24	15	33	17	26	22	15	16	23	19	35	19
LIB DEMS												
BETTER services and LOWER CT	5	2	6	15	7	3	2	1	6	3	5	23
BETTER services but HIGHER CT	16	13	16	42	21	12	13	13	25	13	19	40
WORSE services but LOWER CT	7	8	7	3	8	8	7	11	7	10	9	3
WORSE SERVICES and HIGHER CT	13	23	9	2	9	21	21	30	5	24	10	4
TOTAL BETTER SERVICES	21	15	22	57	28	15	15	14	31	16	24	63
TOTAL LOWER COUNCIL TAX	12	10	13	18	15	11	9	12	13	13	14	26

%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
		Con council residents	Lab council residents
CONSERVATIVES			
BETTER services and LOWER CT	13	18	11
BETTER services but HIGHER CT	13	16	12
WORSE services but LOWER CT	17	16	17
WORSE SERVICES and HIGHER CT	25	18	27
TOTAL BETTER SERVICES	26	34	23
TOTAL LOWER COUNCIL TAX	30	34	28
LABOUR			
BETTER services and LOWER CT	15	9	17
BETTER services but HIGHER CT	25	23	26
WORSE services but LOWER CT	9	9	10
WORSE SERVICES and HIGHER CT	17	21	15
TOTAL BETTER SERVICES	40	32	43
TOTAL LOWER COUNCIL TAX	24	18	27

- In Conservative authorities:
  - 34% of all voters, 58% of 2017 Conservatives and 67% of 2014 Conservatives said they associated the Conservatives with better services.
  - 34% of all voters, 46% of 2017 Conservatives and 54% of 2014 Conservatives said they associated the Conservatives with lower Council Tax.
  - 18% of all voters, 34% of 2017 Conservatives and 43% of 2014 Conservatives said they associated the Conservatives with better services and lower Council Tax.
  - 61% of 2014 Conservative voters and 58% of 2017 Conservative voters associate Labour with higher Council Tax.

**Have any of the following political parties in your local area contacted you in the last month? This might be in person, over the phone, via leaflet, by email, or on social media.**

% saying contacted by...	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
Conservatives	9	14	7	16	9	11	16	9	11	16	8	20
Labour	12	8	17	9	14	10	8	9	8	7	20	10
Liberal Democrats	6	6	4	24	7	6	5	8	8	6	5	27
UKIP	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	1	2
Green Party	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	2	1
NONE	67	73	68	59	67	70	71	78	65	73	69	52



%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
		Con council residents	Lab council residents
Conservatives	9	13	7
Labour	12	8	14
Liberal Democrats	6	8	5
UKIP	1	0	1
Green Party	2	1	2
NONE	67	64	68

For each of the following political parties, would you be more likely to vote for them in a local council election or a general election?

%	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
CONSERVATIVES												
More likely local	9	18	5	8	8	13	21	14	11	24	3	8
More likely general	12	24	4	11	9	16	22	27	24	18	6	14
Just as likely both	18	42	8	16	13	31	45	34	26	48	6	14
Never	41	3	66	54	56	23	1	7	18	3	75	59
LABOUR												
More likely local	12	8	16	13	14	10	8	9	20	6	19	10
More likely general	13	4	20	17	16	9	3	4	12	4	18	19
Just as likely both	31	10	49	33	43	18	9	15	31	9	55	36
Never	24	61	2	25	13	43	65	58	16	69	1	27
LIB DEMS												
More likely local	12	10	15	20	16	8	11	9	12	10	14	30
More likely general	6	3	7	16	8	3	3	3	10	3	6	14
Just as likely both	17	11	17	49	23	10	12	10	26	11	19	45
Never	36	55	32	4	29	52	56	58	23	58	37	4

- 2014 Conservative voters in Conservative local authorities were the only group to say they would be more likely to vote Conservative in a local election than a general election (by 23% to 17%) than vice versa. The figures were reversed for 2017 Conservative voters in these areas.

**For each of the following parties, do you have a more favourable view of the party in your local area, or a more favourable view of the party nationally?**

% saying more favourable...	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
CONSERVATIVES												
Locally	10	10	11	17	12	9	9	11	17	13	10	19
Nationally	17	38	7	15	12	26	42	39	27	38	10	17
No difference	44	36	53	50	50	42	36	36	29	38	58	49
LABOUR												
Locally	15	14	17	23	16	14	14	10	25	13	19	17
Nationally	23	6	37	23	29	15	5	8	18	7	40	28
No difference	37	54	31	38	37	44	54	57	29	56	33	41
LIB DEMS												
Locally	12	11	13	34	16	10	9	16	14	11	15	39
Nationally	8	5	9	18	12	5	6	5	13	6	9	25
No difference	40	49	42	35	42	45	49	51	35	50	46	24
UKIP												
Locally	3	3	2	0	2	4	2	7	2	3	3	1
Nationally	7	14	3	1	2	15	13	22	8	11	3	3
No difference	48	46	55	66	59	42	47	43	46	51	59	66
GREEN PARTY												
Locally	9	5	12	10	11	7	6	5	11	5	14	9
Nationally	12	4	16	17	17	6	5	5	9	5	17	19
No difference	38	50	37	44	39	44	48	54	39	52	38	43

% saying more favourable...	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
		Con council residents	Lab council residents
CONSERVATIVES			
Locally	10	14	9
Nationally	17	20	15
No difference	44	40	46
LABOUR			
Locally	15	10	17
Nationally	23	19	25
No difference	37	41	34

- Conservative voters in Conservative authorities were only slightly more likely than voters as a whole or other Conservatives to say they had a more favourable view of the party locally than nationally.

**Which, if any, of the following do you think would be good reasons for voting CONSERVATIVE in the local elections in May? Please tick all those that you think are both true and good reasons to vote CONSERVATIVE in the local elections.**

% choosing	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
I trust them more to set Council Tax at a sensible level	14	36	4	14	11	24	41	29	16	42	6	17
They stand for things I agree with	13	39	2	6	8	24	44	31	10	44	3	7
I trust them more with local services	11	30	3	5	7	19	33	22	9	35	2	11
They have the right policies on important national issues	10	27	3	2	6	19	30	23	9	30	4	4
They have good local candidates	9	21	4	13	8	14	26	11	11	24	4	13
They are doing a good job at national level	9	23	3	2	6	14	27	17	5	26	4	5
They have the right policies on important local issues	9	22	4	8	7	15	25	20	12	29	3	7
They have good national leadership	8	20	3	3	4	15	23	15	6	24	3	7
They are doing a good job locally	8	19	4	10	7	13	22	12	10	26	4	9
They understand and represent people like me	8	23	2	4	5	14	27	14	8	28	2	5
They understand local issues	8	19	4	5	7	12	22	12	9	23	4	5
None of the above	48	14	70	55	60	33	11	22	37	10	74	59
Don't know	19	16	14	12	14	18	13	18	24	12	9	8

- 20% of all voters in Conservative authorities said “I trust them more to set the Council Tax at a sensible level” was a good reason to vote Conservative.
- 41% of 2017 Conservative voters in Conservative authorities said this (just behind “They stand for things I agree with”, at 44%), as did 46% of 2014 Conservative voters in these areas.
- Only 6% of 2017 Labour voters and 12% of 2017 Lib Dems in Conservative authorities said trusting the Conservatives to set the Council Tax at a sensible level was a good reason to vote Conservative.
- 31% of those aged 65 or over said trusting the Conservatives on Council Tax was a good reason to vote Conservative, compared to 11% of 18 to 24s and 8% of 25 to 49s.

**Which, if any, of the following do you think would be good reasons for voting LABOUR in the local elections in May? Please tick all those that you think are both true and good reasons to vote LABOUR in the local elections.**

% choosing	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
They stand for things I agree with	28	3	49	26	40	13	3	3	14	4	55	29
They understand and represent people like me	25	4	44	23	34	15	3	4	16	5	49	27
I trust them more with local services	22	5	37	23	32	12	5	6	12	5	44	17
They understand local issues	22	10	35	24	30	14	9	11	22	9	43	24
They have the right policies on important national issues	19	2	34	12	27	8	2	1	9	2	38	11
They have the right policies on important local issues	19	4	33	17	27	10	4	5	14	5	38	19
They have good local candidates	16	4	28	11	23	8	5	1	11	4	34	14
They have good national leadership	15	1	27	6	20	8	1	1	4	2	29	9
They are doing a good job locally	15	4	26	11	21	8	4	2	15	5	33	13
I trust them more to set Council Tax at a sensible level	15	3	27	9	19	11	2	5	17	3	29	14
They are doing a good job at national level	12	2	23	5	16	8	1	2	8	3	27	6
None of the above	29	64	6	28	17	49	66	65	22	67	4	33
Don't know	19	16	13	14	15	17	15	14	24	13	7	9

**Which, if any, of the following do you think would be good reasons for voting LIBERAL DEMOCRAT in the local elections in May? Please tick all those that you think are both true and good reasons to vote LIBERAL DEMOCRAT in the local elections.**

% choosing	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
They understand local issues	11	8	11	39	15	6	7	8	12	7	13	40
They stand for things I agree with	10	3	12	42	17	2	2	4	13	3	12	44
They understand and represent people like me	8	3	8	36	12	3	3	2	8	3	9	42
I trust them more with local services	8	4	8	34	12	5	4	4	5	4	10	41
They have the right policies on important local issues	7	3	7	29	10	4	4	3	8	4	8	31
They have the right policies on important national issues	7	1	7	28	10	1	1	1	10	2	8	31
They have good local candidates	7	5	6	31	10	5	5	7	11	6	7	38
I trust them more to set Council Tax at a sensible level	6	4	6	21	9	4	4	4	14	3	8	30
They are doing a good job locally	6	3	5	29	8	4	3	3	9	4	6	35
They are doing a good job at national level	3	1	3	7	4	1	1	1	6	1	3	7
They have good national leadership	3	1	3	13	5	1	0	3	3	2	4	13
None of the above	42	58	39	8	35	57	59	61	30	60	44	7
Don't know	31	26	33	15	29	27	25	22	32	23	25	11

**How much have you heard about Momentum, a campaign group associated with the Labour Party?**

%	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
A great deal	9	11	10	13	11	10	12	10	10	14	11	11
A fair amount	19	18	22	27	25	15	19	18	20	18	27	25
Very little	22	19	25	29	26	21	19	20	21	21	27	32
Never heard of Momentum	50	52	43	31	38	54	50	53	49	47	35	31

%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
		Con council residents	Lab council residents
A great deal	9	10	9
A fair amount	19	18	19
Very little	22	23	22
Never heard of Momentum	50	49	50

**Those saying they have heard of Momentum: From what you know or have heard, do you think Momentum is more of a force for good or a force for ill within the Labour Party?**

%	ALL	2017 GE VOTE			EU REF VOTE		CON SEGMENT			2014 COUNCIL VOTE		
		Con	Lab	LD	Rem	Leave	Loyal	Joiner	Def	Con	Lab	LD
More a force for good	30	5	48	7	36	16	2	15	20	6	47	9
More a force for ill	55	92	32	81	47	77	95	80	63	92	36	77
Don't know	15	4	20	12	17	7	3	5	17	2	18	14

%	ALL	COUNCIL CONTROL	
		Con council residents	Lab council residents
More a force for good	30	21	34
More a force for ill	55	60	53
Don't know	15	19	13

- In Conservative authorities, 46% of 2017 Labour voters and 45% of 2014 Labour voters said they thought Momentum was a force for good. Around one third said it was a force for ill, and the rest didn't know.
- In Labour authorities, 49% of 2017 Labour voters and 48% of 2014 Labour voters said they thought Momentum was a force for good.