

CAPITAL VALUES

London, the Mayor, and the
2024 elections

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC
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Lord Ashcroft Polls

X @LordAshcroft



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LONDON LIFE

Which of the following words or phrases would you associate with London?
NB. London



In our poll we gave people both inside and outside the capital a list of words and phrases and asked which they associated with London. For Londoners, four of the six most frequently chosen words were positive – diverse (chosen by 55%), exciting (35%), dynamic (33%) and good place to live (30%) – though “too busy” (35%) and “crime-ridden” (29%) were also on the list.

This was reflected in our focus groups, where people spontaneously mentioned public transport, culture, entertainment, green space and diversity as some of the things they most liked about London. In terms of transport and culture in particular, many felt that London was much better served than anywhere else in the UK. Some also felt the same was true of schools and health services.

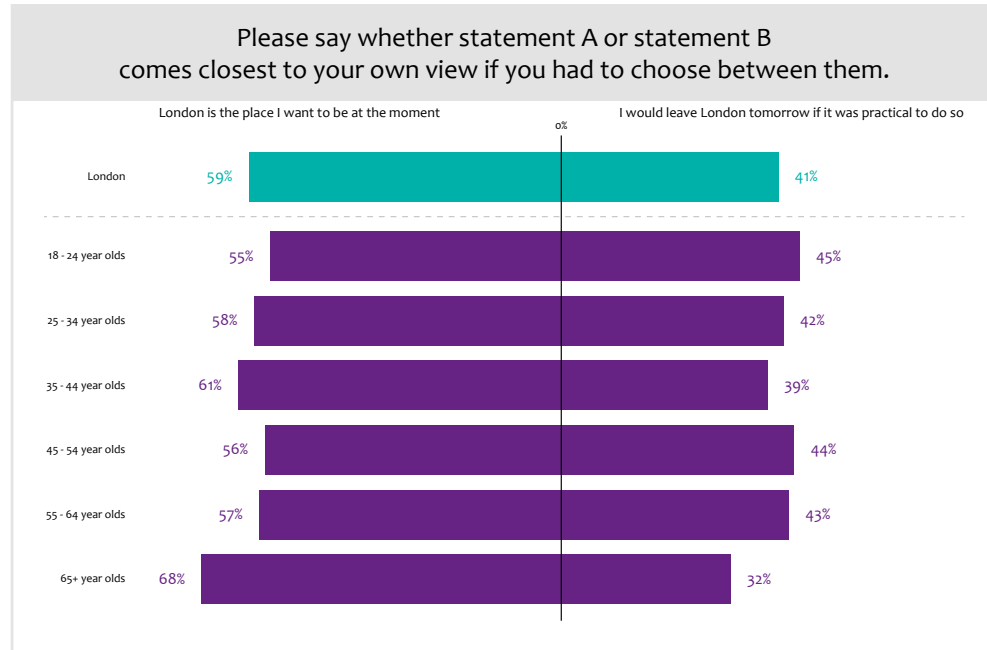
Which of the following words or phrases would you associate with London?
NB. Great Britain



Though many also mentioned diversity, there was also a feeling – shared by participants from many different backgrounds – that while different cultures and ethnicities lived alongside each other quite happily, people largely stayed within their own communities rather than mingling more widely (“we’re not integrated, really. Everyone sticks to themselves.”) Crime and traffic – especially increasing restrictions on parking and access to certain streets – were the most frequent complaints about London life in our groups.

People outside London took a somewhat different view of the capital: in contrast to Londoners’ answers, four of their top six words and phrases were negative. These were “too busy” (51%), “crime-ridden” (35%), “for the rich” (33%) and “dirty and polluted” (30%). Diverse (44%) and “exciting” (26%) were the most frequently chosen positive words.

THE PLACE TO BE?

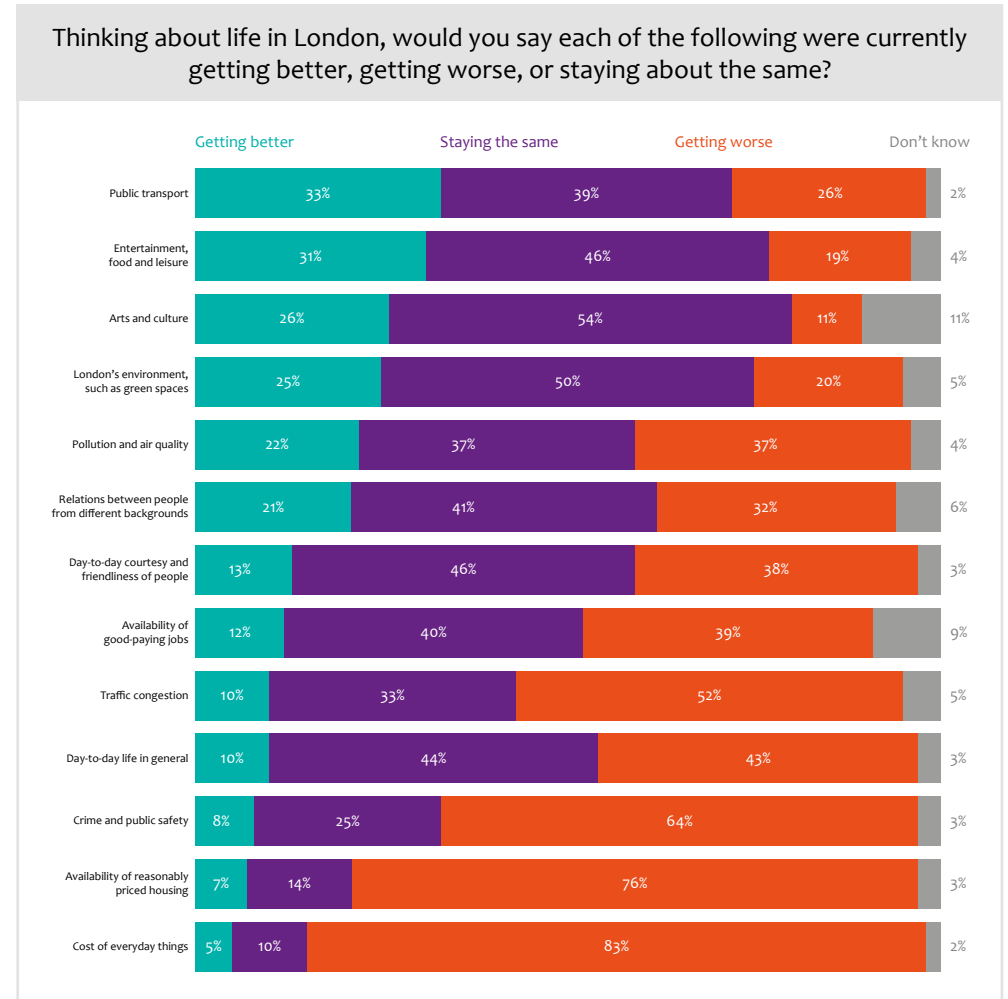


Just over half (59%) said London was “the place I want to be at the moment”, with 41% saying they would leave the capital tomorrow if it was practical for them to do so. Majorities in all demographic groups said London was where they wanted to be – in fact those aged 65 or over were the most likely to say this (68%).

We asked our London respondents whether they thought various aspects of life in the city were getting better or worse, or staying about the same. In four areas, people were more likely to say things were improving than deteriorating: public transport; entertainment, food and leisure; the environment and green spaces; and arts and culture.

There were also four areas in which more thought things were getting worse than the numbers saying they were improving or staying the same combined: traffic congestion (52%), crime and public safety (64%), the availability of reasonably priced housing (76%) and the cost of everyday things (83%).

BETTER OR WORSE?



Though most in our focus groups were still happy in London there was a very widespread view that life in the capital had got worse overall in recent years. Many of the comments about transport were positive – especially about the frequency of services, free travel for over 60s, and the new Elizabeth Line – but traffic congestion was often given as an example of the deterioration. Many of the complaints were about local schemes such as Low Traffic Neighbourhoods (LTNs), parking restrictions, 20mph limits and other initiatives which they felt had made problems worse or simply shifted them to already congested roads.

- “It used to be so much easier to drive and you knew where the parking spaces were. Now over the years, every road you go to, there’s no parking. I just feel like we’re being pushed out, pushed off the roads.”
- “About 4 or 5 years ago I felt the area was becoming less appealing. The speed limits everywhere, the sort of police state we’re living in with cameras following us everywhere. Parking issues. Things are just annoying me more and more.”
- “It’s just to make money. You get fines every two minutes. They’re lining their pockets and pretending it’s going to get used for good, but where is the good? And penalty charging is regressive because for someone on a low income, £65 could be a week’s worth of food on the table.”

Most believed that crime had got worse in London in recent years, often from their own experience or observation. A particular complaint was that crime of all kinds, including serious and violent crime, was increasingly prevalent in formerly safe and peaceful parts of the city.

- “You know when your mum would tell you to go and get a pint of milk? I wouldn’t do that because one of my nephews was mugged and nearly got stabbed. If I had kids, I’d move out.”
- “I’ve been mugged in broad daylight five times. The first one was at knifepoint. I’m a prime target because I’m a bit slow, I walk with a stick.”
- “A young woman I know was attacked by the police station. They weren’t remotely interested. Some of it’s not reported because if you’re burgled a police officer isn’t going to come out.”
- “There are gangs of kids going round attacking each other at knifepoint for their phones. They target teenage kids and steal their clothes, trainers or whatever. When was the last time you saw two police officers on the beat? They’ve closed the police stations. Richmond went years ago.”

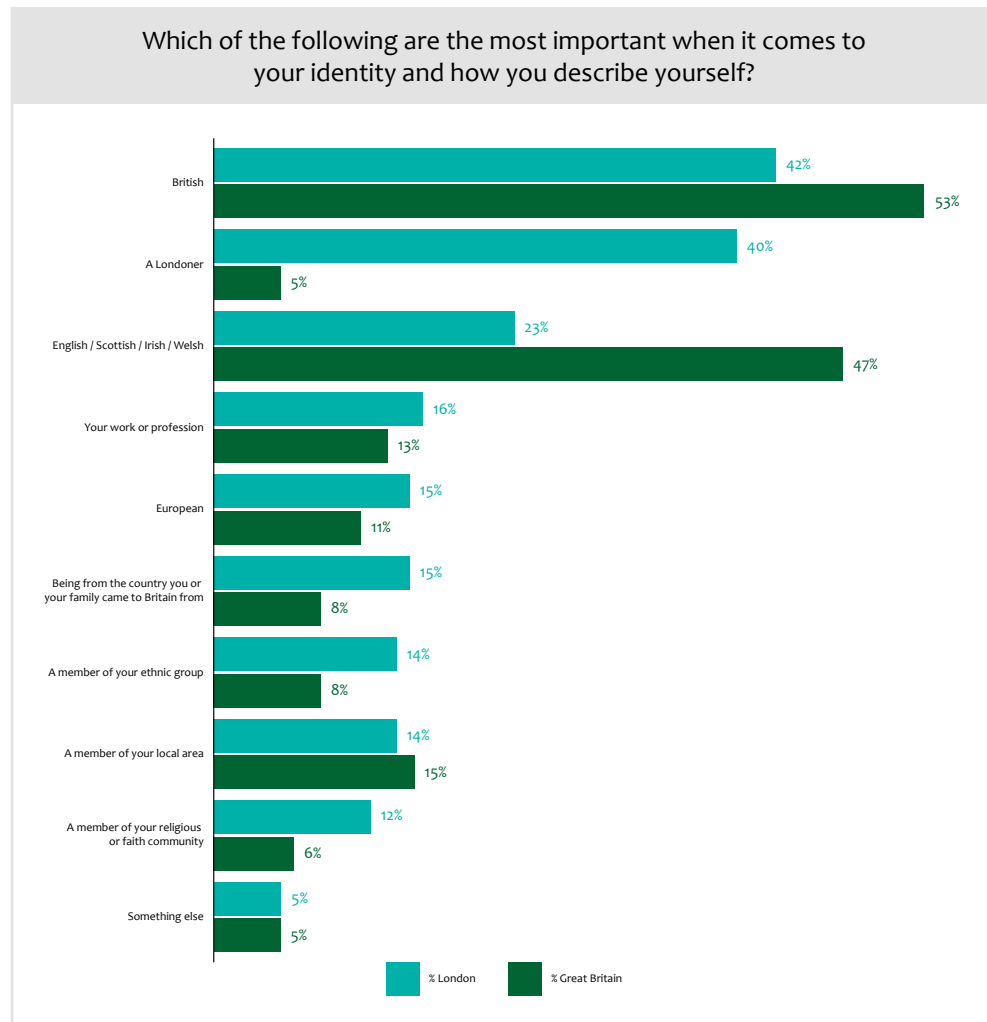
A shortage of affordable or even available housing was a major theme for our participants, both for younger people wondering if they could afford to stay in London and older generations wondering about prospects for their children. People acknowledged that housing was being built, especially high-value blocks of flats, but often said these were unaffordable or that the development seemed to be to the detriment of the local community.

- “The only way you can get a flat now is not to view it. If it’s affordable, just take it. My niece had to put down a 7½-month deposit.”
- “Let’s stop the social cleansing. They’re knocking down council estates, moving people out, and replacing them with luxury apartments.”
- “With the gentrification that’s going on, especially in East London, I don’t know if staying is even a choice for me anymore. I don’t know if I can actually afford to live here.”
- “There’s housing development going on everywhere and blocks of flats going up, but I don’t know who they’re going to. Then you have the old derelict buildings that people from the borough are living in. They’ve been hung out to dry.”

A particular complaint from people in outer boroughs was that the problems of central London were increasingly present in what they had once felt to be their more peaceful and affordable area. For some, ULEZ was a symbol of this expansion of London’s less appealing features (indeed some felt they didn’t really live in London at all: “I’ve got a Kent address, I watch Kent at Canterbury and I regard myself as living in Kent”). There was also a strong view that ULEZ was an example of outer London – assumed to be richer – being forced to pay for inner London problems and amenities.

- “I used to feel we had the best of both worlds, the convenience and amenities without any of the issues. It used to be a pleasant place to come to, low council tax. Now we have the problems with crime and other things. The problems with London aren’t getting bigger, they’re just seeping out to more places.”
- “ULEZ is like a negative of London’s that’s come out here.”
- “They think ‘the people in Bexley out there, they’ve got money, they can afford it. It feels a bit Robin Hood-ish.’”
- “Khan keeps talking about the kids who have suffered from carbon monoxide or whatever, and it’s true. Maybe in London they need it. But in places like Biggin Hill, in the country, they don’t need ULEZ.”

THE LONDON FACTOR



IDENTITY

Asked how they thought about their identity and how they described themselves, people in London were almost as likely to say they thought of themselves as a Londoner (40%) as to think of themselves as British (42%). They were much more likely to say they identified as a Londoner than to say they were English, Scottish, Irish or Welsh (23%), or as being from the country from which they or their family came to Britain.

“I felt very strongly after Brexit that I would no longer say that I came from Britain for a long time. I would say I come from London because I didn’t want to associate myself with Brexit, frankly.”








“You definitely feel you’re part of something and contributing to something a little bit more than just being British, which a lot of us [Asian/Muslim] here might not relate to as much.”

“I do consider myself a Londoner and a British person, but I can never consider myself an English person. If I was in the Olympics I can see myself with the British flag around me, but going to football, that St George’s flag is just alien to me. I’ve never been included in that.”








People in the country as a whole were more likely than those in London to describe themselves as British (53%), and nearly as likely to identify as English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish (47%). Only 15% said they would describe themselves as being from their local area, in contrast to the 4 in 10 residents of the capital identifying as Londoners.

Which of the following do you think are the most important issues facing the country? Please select three from the list below

London

	The cost of living	53%
	The NHS and social care	38%
	Affordable housing	23%
	The economy and jobs	22%
	Crime and policing	21%
	Climate change and the environment	17%
	Immigration	17%

Great Britain

	The cost of living	54%
	The NHS and social care	50%
	Immigration	24%
	The economy and jobs	22%
	Climate change and the environment	19%
	Crime and policing	16%
	Affordable housing	15%

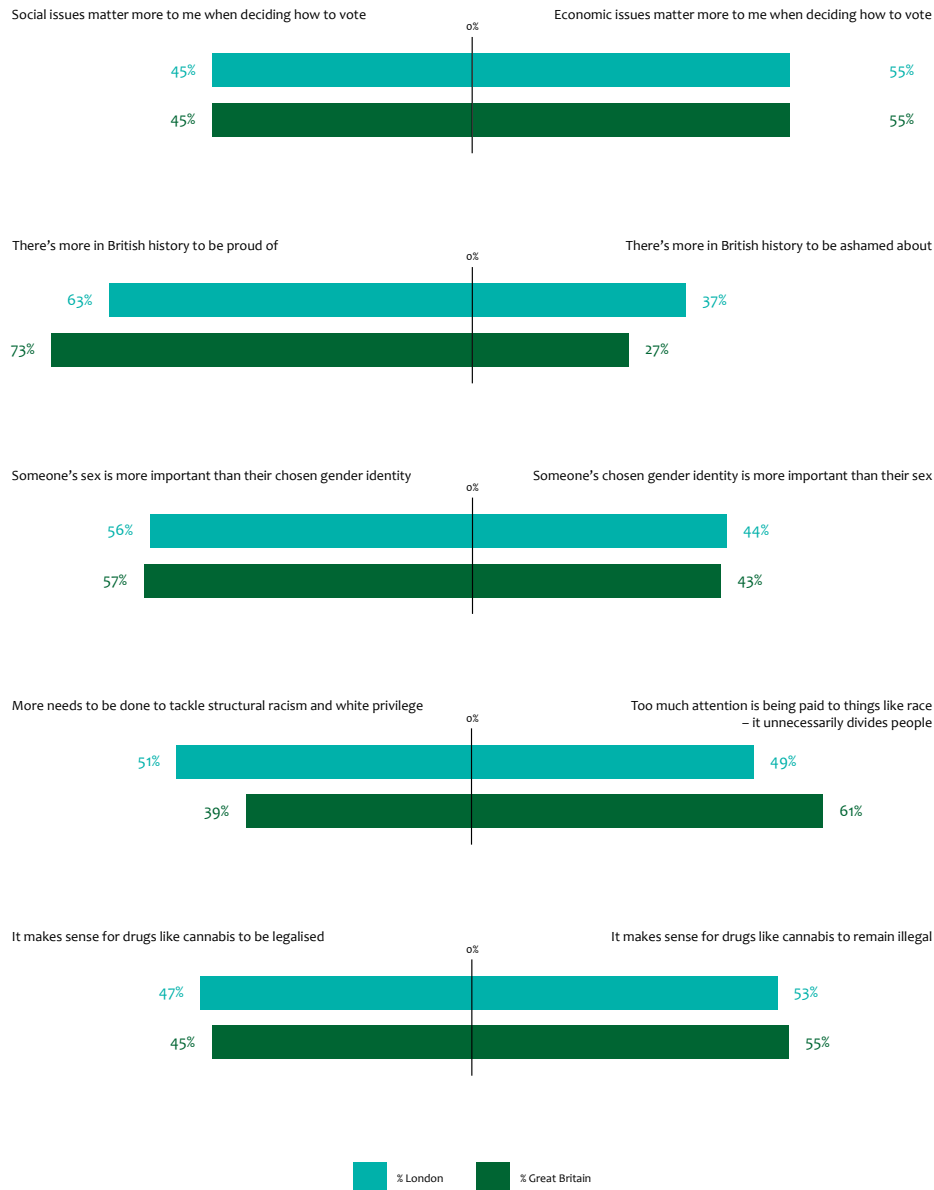
ISSUES FACING BRITAIN

Respondents in and out of London had similar views about the most important issues facing the country, but with notable variations. The cost of living topped both lists (named by 53% inside London and 54% in Britain as a whole), followed by the NHS and social care – though this was named more often outside London (50%) than inside (38%). The economy and jobs was fourth on both lists, named by 22% in both cases.

However, third on the London list was affordable housing (named by 23%, compared to 15% in the country as a whole, where it was seventh on the list), and third on the GB list was immigration (named by 24%, compared to 17% in London, where it was equal sixth). Crime and policing was also a bigger concern in London, where it was named by 21% of respondents, compared to 16% in Britain as a whole.

In London, concern about the NHS, immigration and climate change and the environment rose with age – each was more than twice as likely to be mentioned by those aged 65+ than by 18-24-year-olds. The reverse was true for racism and discrimination, mentioned by 13% of 18-24s and 5% of those aged 65+. Mentions of affordable housing peaked among 25-34s (29%) but was named by more than 1 in 5 in all age groups. The cost of living was mentioned by a majority in all age groups except over-65s (45%).

For the following pairs of statements, please say whether statement A or statement B comes closest to your own view if you had to choose between them.

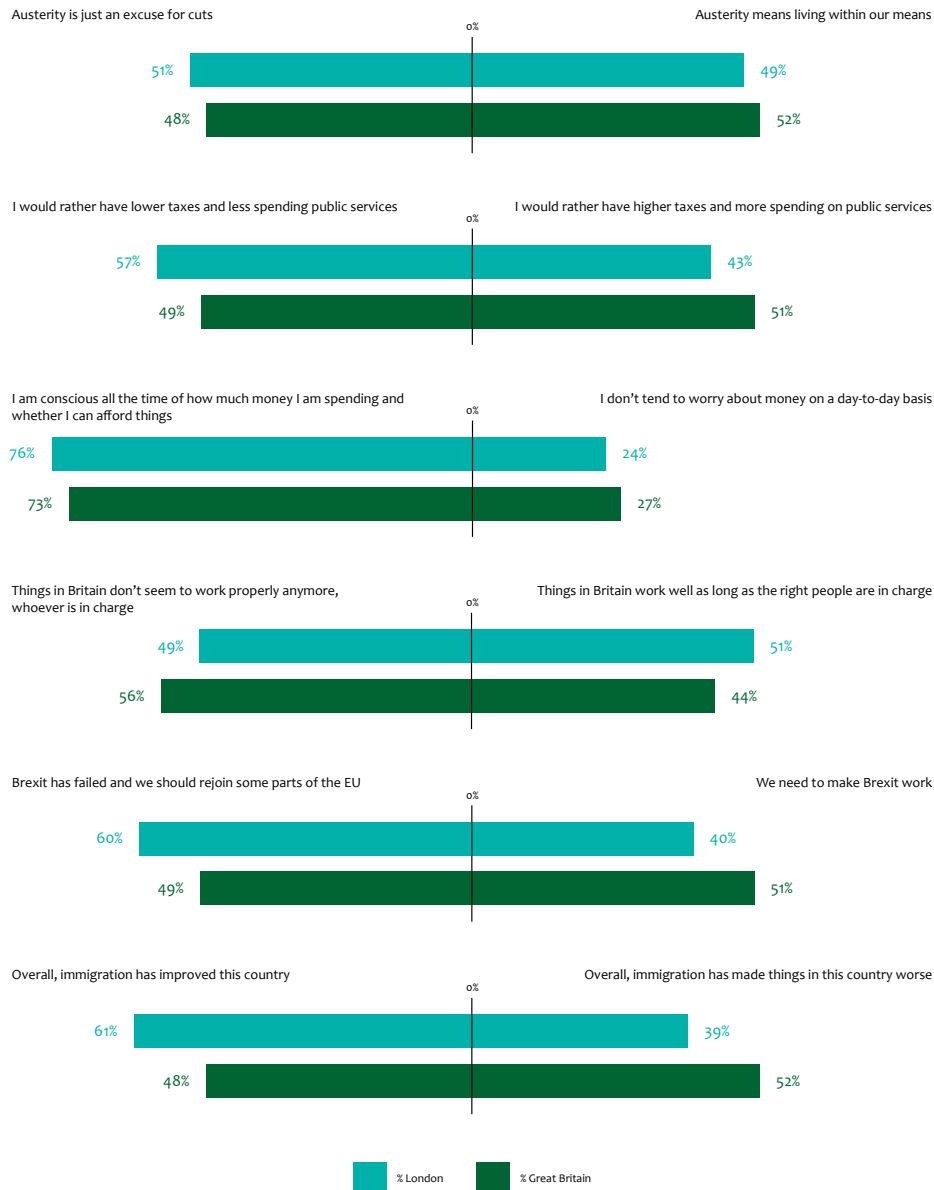


COMPARING ATTITUDES

We gave our poll respondents pairs of opposing statements on a wide range of issues and asked which came closer to their own view in each case. On some social and cultural issues the balance of opinion was identical in London and outside. In both polls, people said that when deciding how to vote economic issues were more important than social issues by 55% to 45%; just over half agreed that someone’s sex is more important than their chosen gender identity; and small majorities said it made sense for drugs like cannabis to remain illegal.

However, while people in Britain as a whole agreed by a 46-point margin (73% to 27%) that there is more in British history to be proud of than ashamed about, Londoners agreed by 26 points (63% to 37%). While Londoners agreed by 51% to 49% that more needs to be done to tackle structural racism and white privilege, people in the country as a whole preferred the opposing statement – “too much attention is being paid to things like race – it divides people unnecessarily” – by 61% to 39%.

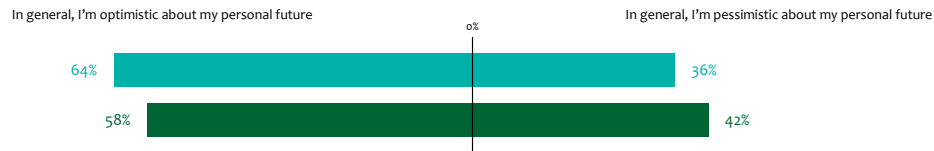
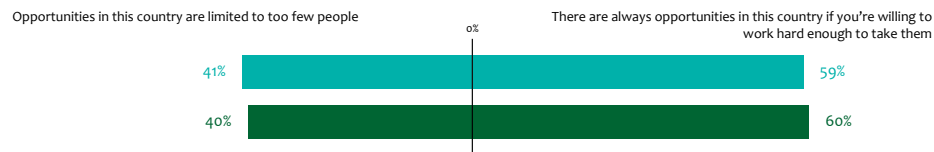
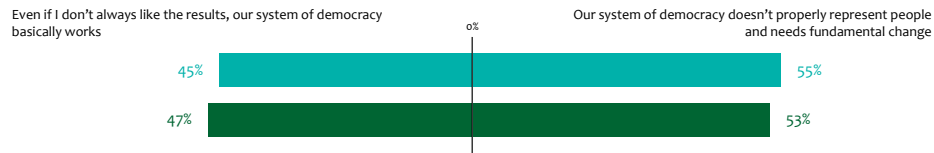
For the following pairs of statements, please say whether statement A or statement B comes closest to your own view if you had to choose between them.



On economic issues, we see a fairly even division both in and out of London as to whether austerity means living within our means or is just an excuse for cuts. In both cases, around three quarters say they are conscious all the time of how much money they are spending and whether they can afford things. However, while Londoners agree by a 20-point margin that Brexit has failed and we need to re-join some parts of the EU, people in the country as a whole say “we need to make Brexit work” by 51% to 49%. Similarly, while Londoners say immigration has improved the country by 61% to 39%, in Britain more widely people say the opposite by a 4-point margin.

While people outside London agree that things in Britain don't seem to work properly anymore whoever is in charge (by 56% to 44%), those in London were slightly more likely to think things still work well as long as the right people are in charge (by 51% to 49%). A majority of those in London (57%) said they would rather have lower taxes and less spending, but people in the country as a whole were more divided, preferring higher taxes and more spending on public services by 51% to 49%.

For the following pairs of statements, please say whether statement A or statement B comes closest to your own view if you had to choose between them.



% London % Great Britain

People inside and outside London agreed by almost identical margins that there are always opportunities in this country if you're willing to work hard enough to take them. However, Londoners were somewhat more likely to be optimistic about their personal future (64% said they were, compared to 58% in the country as a whole), and less pessimistic about the future of the UK (52% of Londoners were, compared to 59% in the Britain more widely).

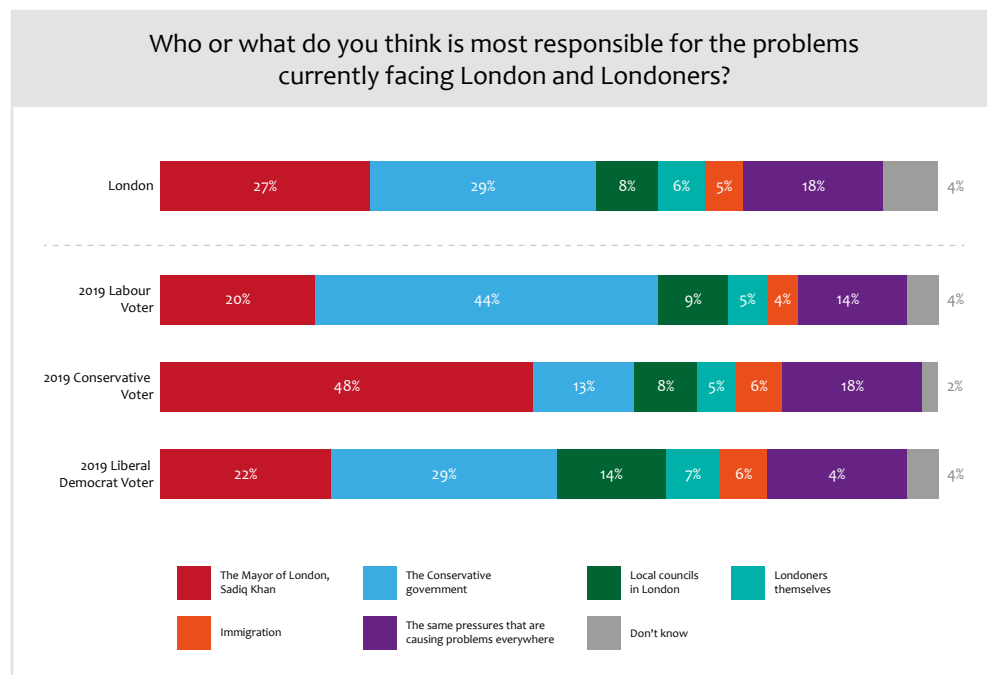
Similar proportions said that even if they didn't always like the results, Britain's system of democracy basically works; small majorities said the system no longer properly represented people and needed fundamental change.

We asked our focus groups whether they thought London had different values from the rest of the country, and if so how. The most frequent answer was that Londoners were comfortable with and tolerant of people from different cultures and backgrounds, and that people in the capital were less judgemental. However, there was also a widespread feeling that day-to-day life was less friendly, and that people were increasingly tense and wary of personal contact.



- “In the north everybody talks to everybody. So when I first came to London I went round saying hello and people looked at me as if I was mad.”
- “It’s so fast-paced, so selfish, there’s no manners. Everyone just cares about money. ‘Get out of my way’. I’m included, I do it myself. There’s no morals or standards or respect, that’s gone out of the window.”
- “People are more guarded. ‘Why are you talking to me? Why are you bothering me?’ There’s too much anxiety. If you talk to somebody, they want to know why.”
- “Everyone here is familiar with lots of different ethnicities, different languages. When you go to smaller places outside London that tolerance isn’t quite as good as it is here. I think it’s fear of the unknown.”
- “There is a general air of superiority. We just tend to think that ‘we’re from London, all the big decisions get made here, the rest of the country is behind. Just catch up with us’.”
- “I feel like generally London is less judgemental than some people in different parts of the country. Where I grew up in the home counties, the curtains would twitch if there was a different car parked in the drive or something.”

THE MAYOR



WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT?

When we asked people in the capital who they thought was most responsible for the problems facing London and Londoners, the most frequent answer was “the Conservative government” (named by 29%, including 41% of those currently intending to vote for Sadiq Khan next May). Only just over half (54%) of those intending to vote for Susan Hall blamed the Mayor, Sadiq Khan; 14% of them (and 18% overall) pointed to “the same pressures that are causing problems everywhere”.

Many in our focus groups readily admitted that they did not have a clear idea as to who in London is responsible for what – the Mayor, local authorities or central government. People also agreed that more than one level of authority would have a say in any given issue, which often led to confusion or meant things took longer than they should. Many believed that while the Mayor or local authorities might be responsible for particular areas, delivery often depended on funding which was largely controlled by central government. (One exception was ULEZ, and especially the expansion to outer boroughs, which was generally recognised to be Sadiq Khan’s policy).

“The Mayor can always say ‘we want to do X, Y and Z but we have limited funding’. So there is confusion. Do we blame the government for not giving enough, or the Mayor for not putting it in the right areas?”

“The Mayor has control over who is in charge of the Met, but he doesn’t fund it. The funding comes from central government.”

“TFL own the main roads and the council own the side roads, and they’re always squabbling about what to do. It’s like Hammersmith Bridge – it’s not reopening because no-one knows who’s going to pay for it. And instead of getting their heads together to solve the problem they’re all digging their heels in.”

SADIQ KHAN

How well do you think each of the following statements describes Sadiq Khan, the Mayor of London – where 0 means it is not true of him at all and 10 means it is completely true of him.

NB. Mean scores



We gave Londoners a range of statements and asked how true of Sadiq Khan they considered each one – where 0 meant it was not true at all and 10 meant it was completely true. Most of the mean scores were reasonably positive, ranging from 7.1 for having a clear idea what he wants to achieve to 6.2 for having effective policies and 6.0 for understanding “people like me”. Among those intending to vote for Khan, the highest scores were for being “principled” and that he “represents London’s values”. Those intending to vote for Susan Hall gave him the lowest score for understanding people like them (3.9), but a more positive 6.0 for having a clear idea what he wants to achieve.



In our focus groups, most of those who voted for Khan admitted that they did so by default as he was the Labour candidate. Even so, many voters of all types liked the idea of having a Mayor with his background.

- “I liked the fact that he was a Londoner, he was from a normal family and he was from an ethnic minority. And his dad was a bus driver.”
- “He spoke about social justice a lot. But I think primarily why I actually voted for him because he was like me.”
- “He was the first Muslim ethnic Mayor, which sent a signal to the rest of the world that we’re OK with picking someone who doesn’t look like the rest of the UK. A minority in a position of power. But he doesn’t milk it.”
- “I didn’t vote for him, but as a minority it was nice to see someone in power as a minority. But he’s let us down – it’s constant daylight robbery with all the charges and fines at a time when we’ve gone through covid and we’ve got an economic crisis.”

There were more mixed views about the qualities Khan brings to the job. Several thought he did not communicate particularly well and rarely seemed willing to justify his more controversial policies or engage with his critics.

- “Sometimes I don’t think he strongly defends himself. Like when a policy is criticised, he doesn’t seem to be able to push through. ULEZ for example.”
- “At least Keir Starmer can take criticism and admit when he’s made a mistake. Sadiq Khan is just so arrogant.”
- “I think he shows a lot of vulnerability. He recently wrote an article in the Standard about when he was at a conference and he suffered a heart attack there, from the anxiety of the job. Which was quite amazing. Clearly it has had an impact on him.”
- “He’s more of a talker than a doer.”
- “He’s the face of the band. He doesn’t write the songs.”

RECORD AS MAYOR

Which of the following should be the main priorities for the Mayor of London?
How good or bad a job would you say Sadiq Khan has done on each of the following – where 0 means he has done a terrible job and 10 means he has done an excellent job?

NB. Mean scores



For a more detailed assessment of Khan's performance we asked what people felt should be the main priorities for the Mayor of London, and how good a job they thought he had done on each one. The issue most often named as a priority – tackling crime (48%) – was also the issue on which Khan received his lowest performance score (5.4). Two of his highest scores – speaking out against the Tory government and investing more in culture and the arts – were at the bottom of Londoners' Mayoral priority list.

Those intending to vote for Khan gave him their highest marks for attracting international investment, improving air quality, protecting green spaces, investing in culture and the arts, and showing London's inclusive values. Their lowest marks were for tackling crime, reducing homelessness (also the two issues at the top of their priority list) and keeping council tax low. Susan Hall voters gave their lowest marks for tackling crime and making the right decisions about ULEZ (both 3.9), and the highest marks for speaking out against the Tory government (6.6), followed by protecting green spaces (6.4).

Our focus groups could not recall Khan's specific pre-election pledges but believed he had promised improvements in areas including crime, housing, transport and the environment. Few believed such improvements had been delivered, though some mentioned initiatives they liked, including free school lunches.

“Free school lunches. That's only this year, but to a lot of children that will make such a difference.”

“Air quality has got better. When I was a child you could see St Paul's from Archway Road. Maybe on a clear day you could see the hill at Blackheath. Now you can see the South Downs. Whether it's cause and effect, he's certainly contributed to it.”

“The TFL budget has gone to crap, but he kept the fares down for ages.”

“Did he introduce the Hopper fare, or was that Livingstone?”

However, most struggled to think of positive achievements, though as noted above, some put this down to limited funding from central government. Some felt his achievements had to be balanced against the costs of his other policies, especially concerning traffic and ULEZ, and many observed that he seemed to prioritise personal PR above delivery. There were also complaints that Khan sometimes seemed eager to comment on international affairs rather than focus on his remit as Mayor of London – though some Muslim voters said it was important to them that Khan had called for a ceasefire in the Israel-Gaza conflict.

“I think he’s trying. He promised a housing scheme and there are lots of flats being built around Wembley, and homeless people have been moved into flats. But low-income people are suffering because of the traffic charges.”

“He hasn’t met his pledges about housing. There’s a lot of homelessness, a lot of lawlessness, he hasn’t made London safer, and the ULEZ policy was tone deaf in a cost-of-living crisis.”

“Ken didn’t seem to be on as much of a PR jaunt as our current Mayor. It seems to be more about his image and having press opportunities. He only cares about his tweets and how many likes he gets.”

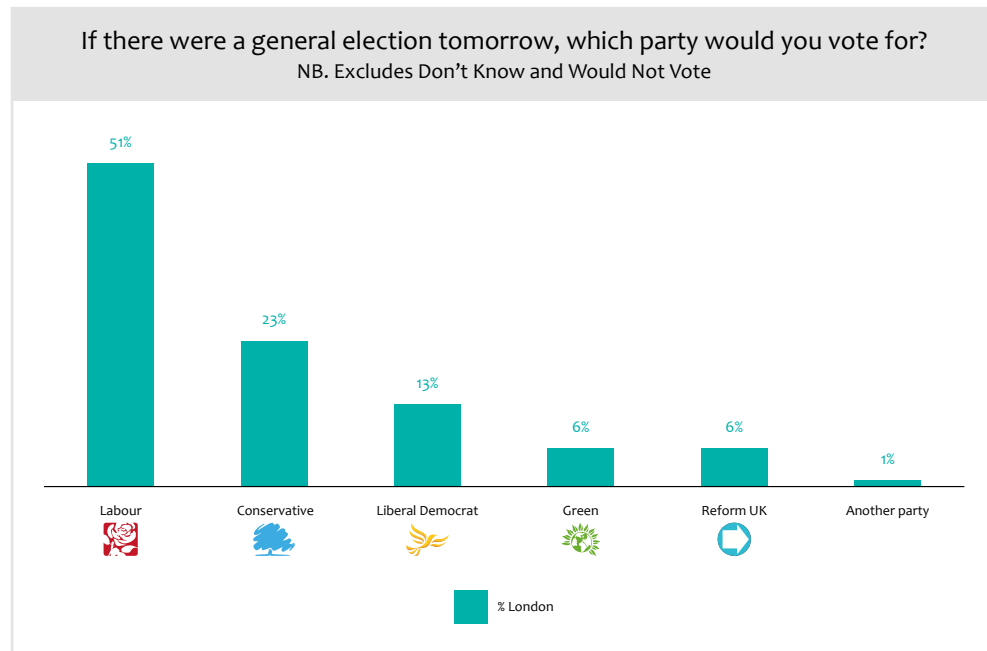
“He’s much more interested in how the world perceives him, his international reputation. He’s always tweeting about international issues and focusing very little on London issues like crime. He’s complaining about Donald Trump or going to meet the French president, never about local issues.”

“I voted remain but one thing that irritates me is he’s constantly talking about Brexit. Just move on. Stop the international statesman persona and focus on London.”

“Israel and the Palestinians is a really important issue, don’t get me wrong, but what’s it got to do with London? It’s not his job.”

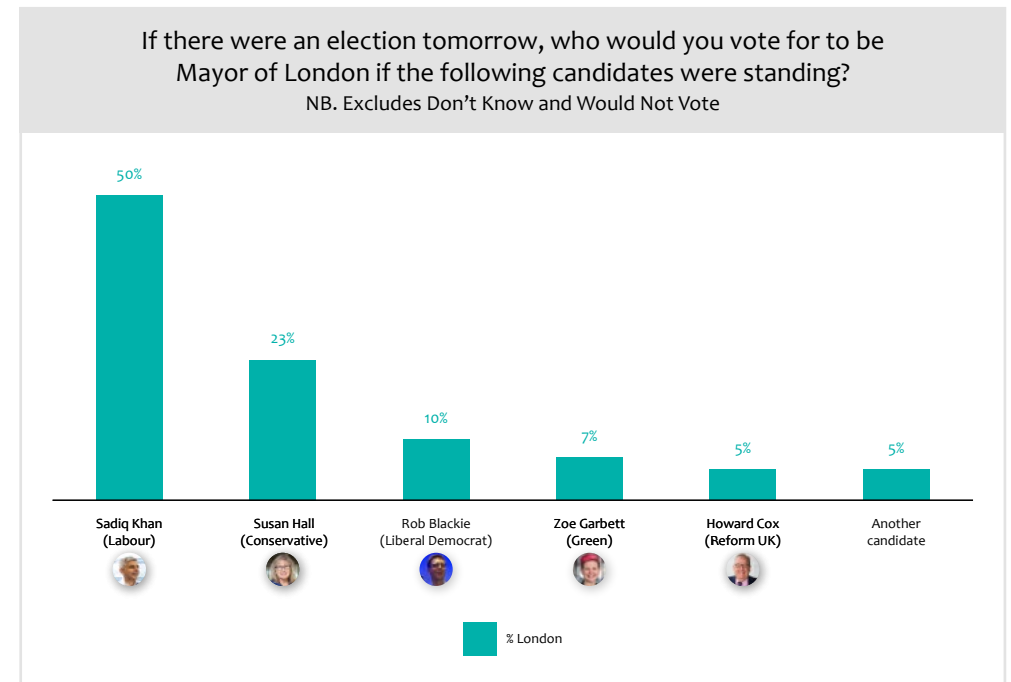
“The conflict is very heavy on people’s hearts. I think it can definitely change people’s minds, they want to vote for someone who stands up for the Palestinians. You want to think, does this person empathise with me and my community and my identity?”

THE 2024 ELECTIONS



When we asked Londoners how they currently intended to vote in the 2024 Mayoral election and, separately, the next general election also expected next year, the results were very similar.

Looking to the next general election we found Labour ahead by 28 points in London (by 51% to 23%) and by 16 points in Britain as a whole (by 43% to 27%). Even so, this represents a smaller swing to Labour since the 2019 election in London (6%), where Labour support was already high, than in Britain more widely (14%).

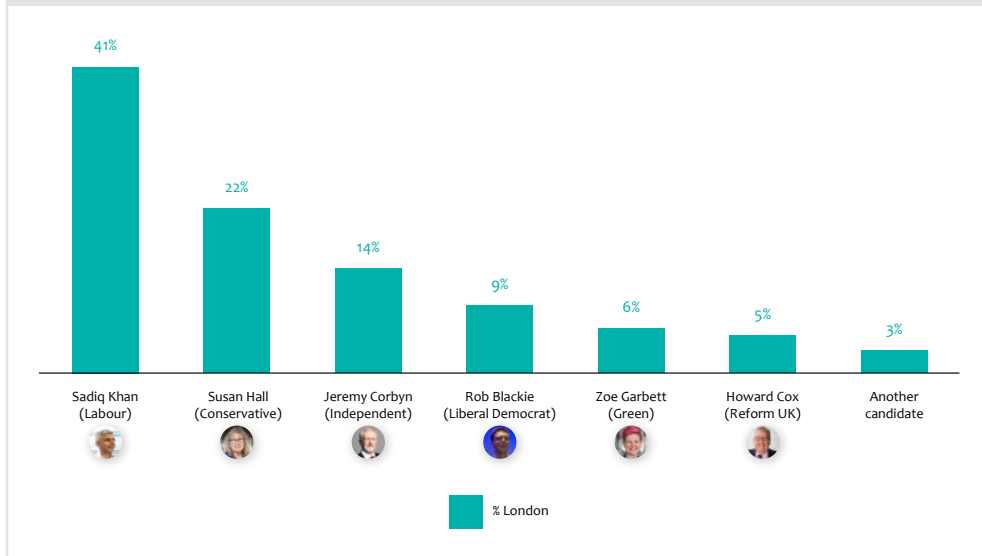


When it came to the Mayoral election, we found Sadiq Khan on 50%, followed by Conservative Susan Hall on 23%, Lib Dem candidate Rob Blackie on 10%, Zoe Garbett of the Greens on 7% and Reform UK's Howard Cox on 5%. We found 77% of 2019 Labour general election voters saying they would support Khan, with 69% of 2019 Tories saying they would back Susan Hall (and 14% backing Khan).

Khan received a majority of all voters up to the age of 44 (including 64% of 18-24s), 63% of Asian and 65% of black voters. Hall's support rose from 9% among 18-24s to 48% of those aged 65 or over.

And who would you vote to be Mayor of London if these candidates were standing?

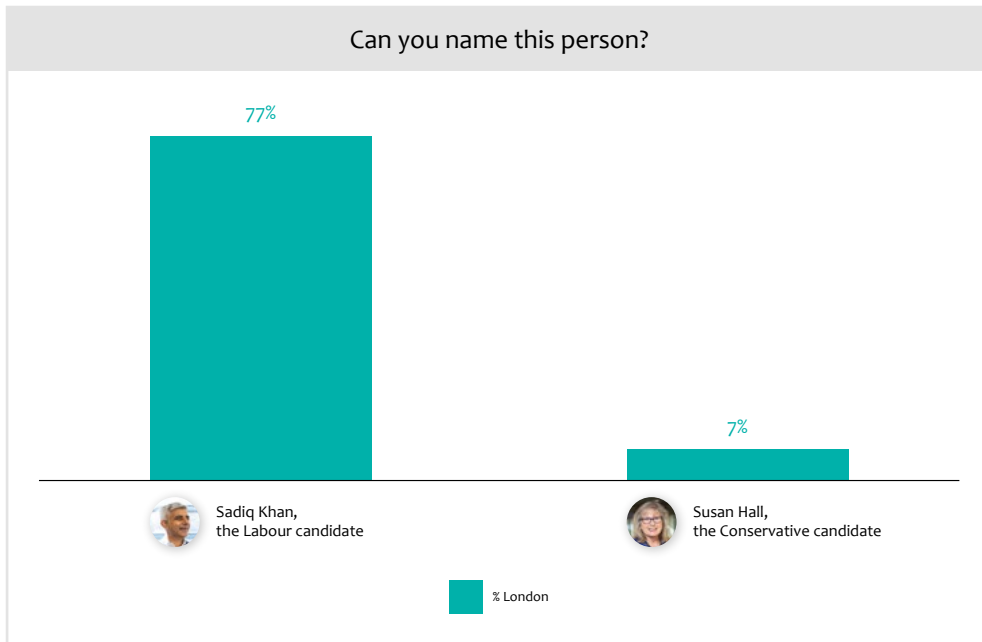
NB. Excludes Don't Know and Would Not Vote



We then asked how people would vote if Jeremy Corbyn – reported to be considering entering the campaign – were added to the ballot. In this scenario Corbyn came third with 14% of the vote, including 22% of those who voted Labour at the 2019 general election.

Khan's vote share fell to 41% and his lead over Hall fell to 19 points – though he still topped the poll comfortably. Corbyn's support was highest among 18-24s (19%) and black voters (22%), though 51% of both these groups said they would still support Khan.

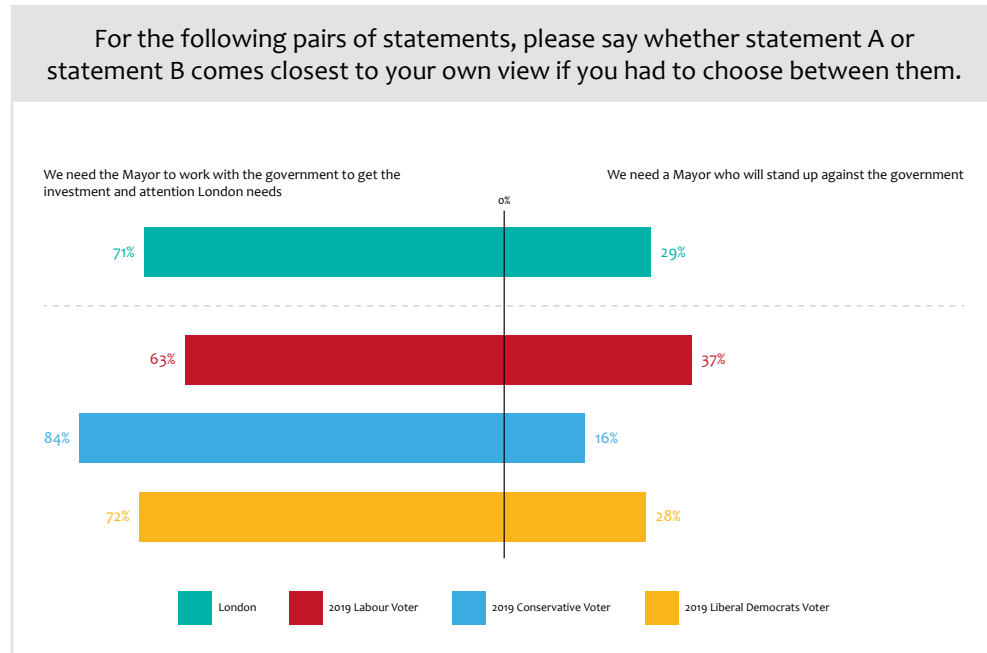




In our poll, only 7% correctly identified a picture of Susan Hall, compared to 77% for Sadiq Khan. In each of our groups, a few participants had heard her name but few knew much about her so far. Some had heard that she had promised to reverse the ULEZ expansion if elected. Those who had seen her in action considered her a better candidate than Shaun Bailey, but most doubted that she had a realistic chance of victory. Partly for this reason, even some of those who had been critical of Khan’s record were not sure they would turn out to vote in May.

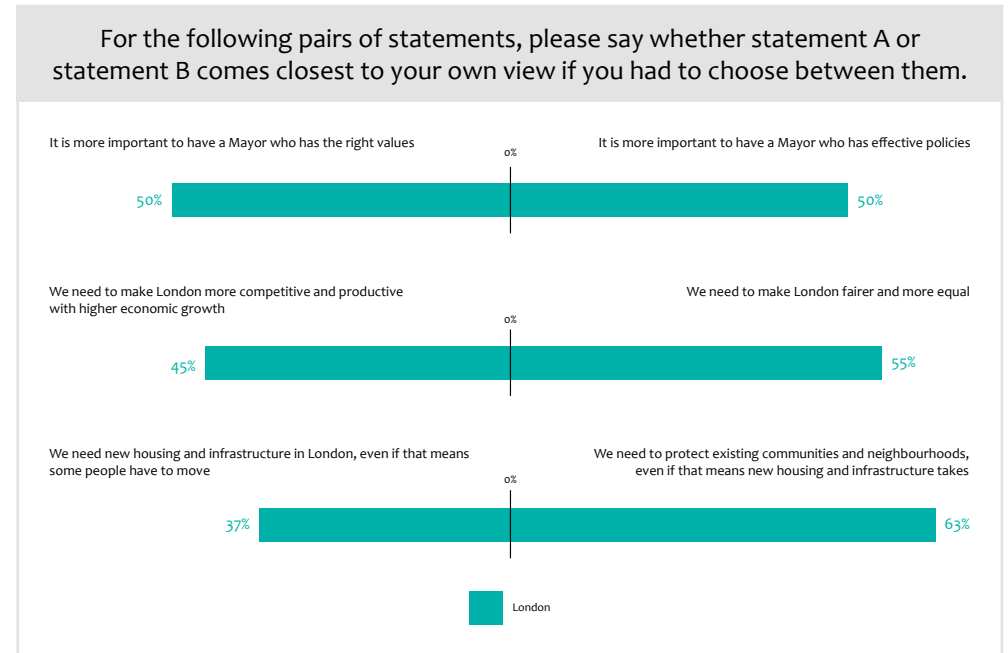
- “She’s going to cancel ULEZ on day one if she comes in. That’s a big one for me.”
- “She’s a business lady from Harrow. And at the Conservative conference she was speaking to the Jewish community saying that crimes against Jewish people had increased under Sadiq Khan. So she’s appealing specifically to them.”
- “Wasn’t she caught liking an Enoch Powell ‘rivers of blood’ tweet or something?”
- “I’ll check out the policies and see who will do the best job. And that could differ from how I vote in a general election.”
- “She comes across as quite down to earth and a fairly normal person. When you see her holding Sadiq Khan to account in London Assembly meetings, she’s actually really good at it. But she hasn’t really got good PR on TV so far.”
- “After the mess the Tories have made, I can’t really see Londoners voting in a Conservative Mayor. I just can’t see it happening.”

WHAT KIND OF MAYOR?



Overall, 79% (including 84% of those intending to vote for Khan) said they would be voting for the candidate they liked the most. 21%, including 16% of Khan voters and 26% of Hall voters) said they would vote to stop the candidate they liked least from winning.

Clear majorities of all voters – including 70% of Khan supporters and 83% of Hall supporters but only 58% of those who would back Corbyn – agreed “we need the Mayor to work with the government to get the investment and attention London needs”. Only 29% (but 42% of potential Corbyn supporters) preferred the statement “we need a Mayor who will stand up against the government”.



Overall, Londoners were more likely to agree that “we need to make London fairer and more equal” (55%) than that we needed to make the capital “more competitive with higher economic growth” (45%). Those intending to vote for Hall were the only group to prefer the latter statement (which they did by 68% to 32%).

Londoners were exactly divided as to whether it was more important for the Mayor to have the right values or to have effective policies. By small margins, values were favoured by Khan voters (by 4 points), Corbyn voters (by 10 points) and Garbett voters (by 16 points); Hall voters preferred effective policies by 16 points, and Cox voters by 2 points.

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

3,418 adults in London were interviewed online between 23 October and 8 November 2023. 2,518 adults throughout Britain were interviewed online between 31 October and 8 November 2023. Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in London and Great Britain respectively. Full data tables are available at [LordAshcroftPolls.com](https://www.lordashcroftpolls.com)

8 focus groups with voters from a wide range of social, economic and political backgrounds were held between 1 and 9 November in central London, Muswell Hill, Richmond and Bexleyheath.



ABOUT LORD ASHCROFT

LORD ASHCROFT KCMG PC is an international businessman, philanthropist, author and pollster. He is a former treasurer and deputy chairman of the UK Conservative Party. He is also honorary chairman and a former treasurer of the International Democrat Union. He is founder and chairman of the board of trustees of Crimestoppers, vice-patron of the Intelligence Corps Museum, chairman of the trustees of Ashcroft Technology Academy, a senior fellow of the International Strategic Studies Association, former chancellor of Anglia Ruskin University and a former trustee of Imperial War Museums.

HIS POLITICAL BOOKS INCLUDE:

- Smell the Coffee: A Wake-Up Call for the Conservative Party
- Call Me Dave: The Unauthorised Biography of David Cameron
- Hopes and Fears: Trump, Clinton, the Voters and the Future
- Well, You Did Ask: Why the UK Voted to Leave the EU
- The Lost Majority: The 2017 Election, the Conservative Party, the Voters and the Future
- Jacob's Ladder: The Unauthorised Biography of Jacob Rees-Mogg
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- Reunited Nation? American Politics Beyond the 2020 Election
- Red Knight: The Unauthorised Biography of Sir Keir Starmer
- First Lady: Intrigue at the Court of Carrie and Boris Johnson
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HIS OTHER BOOKS INCLUDE:

- Victoria Cross Heroes, Volumes I and II
- Special Forces Heroes
- George Cross Heroes
- Special Ops Heroes
- Heroes of the Skies
- White Flag? An Examination of the UK's Defence Capability
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