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SPICe Briefing

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Local Government Elections 2017

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This briefing looks at the 2017 local government elections including turnout, results, the gender balance of the candidates and councillors, as well as the make-up of the administration of the elections. The political composition of the councils has not yet been decided and will be covered in a separate briefing.



**POLLING
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Executive Summary

- The local government elections held on 4 May 2017 are the third Scottish elections to be held using the Single Transferable Vote system.
- Turnout was 46.0% (excluding rejected ballot papers) or 46.9% (including rejected papers).
- There were 37,491 rejected ballots or 1.95% of total votes cast.
- The Scottish National Party (SNP) won the largest share of first preference votes (32.3%) and the largest share of seats (35.1%). Its share of first preference votes is the same as in the 2012 local elections but it won six more seats than in 2012.
- The following parties have a higher number of seats than in 2012: the Scottish Conservative & Unionist Party (+140.0%), the SNP (+1.4%) and the Scottish Green Party (+35.7%).
- The following parties have a lower number of seats than in 2012: the Scottish Labour Party (-33.5%), the Scottish Liberal Democrats (-5.6%) and Independents (-16.0%).

Candidates

All the figures in this briefing for the 2017 local elections, unless otherwise specified, are those provided by Elections Scotland for the Electoral Management Board for Scotland. The figures for the 2007 and 2012 local elections come from the [Electoral Commission](#). Prior to that the figures come from SPICe Briefing 12/38 [Local government elections 2012](#).

2,572 candidates were nominated in Scotland for election on 4 May 2017. Table 1 compares candidates in the 2007, 2012 and 2017 elections.

Table 1: Number of candidates, 2007, 2012 and 2017 local elections

	2007	2012	2017
Number	2,607	2,496	2,572
Change from previous elections		-111	+ 76

Table 2 shows the share of candidates by party in the 2017 local elections ranked by share of the total.

Table 2: Number of candidates by party and share of total number of candidates (%), 2017 local elections

	Number	Share
Scottish National Party (SNP)	627	24.4%
Independent	499	19.4%
Scottish Labour Party	453	17.6%
Scottish Conservative & Unionist	380	14.8%
Scottish Liberal Democrats	247	9.6%
Scottish Green Party	218	8.5%
Other Parties	148	5.8%
Total	2,572	100.0%

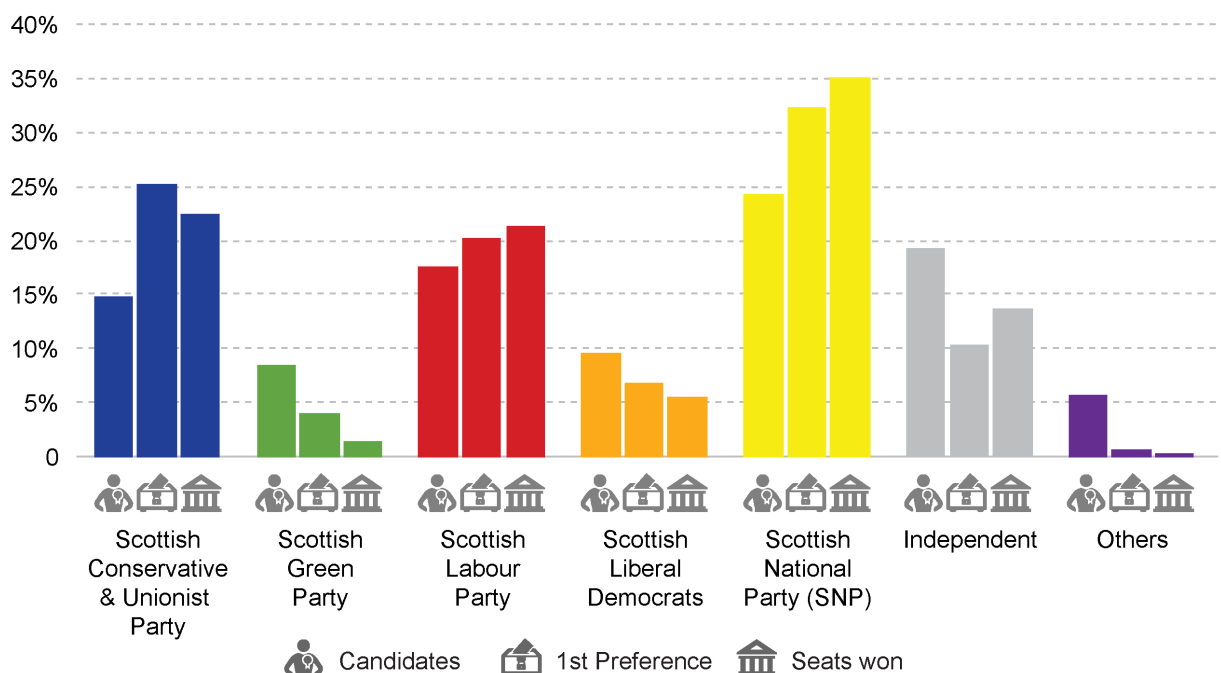
Results

Candidates, votes and seats won

As set out in the [Local Governance \(Scotland\) Act 2004](#), in local elections, voters select three or four councillors for their ward on the local council. There are 354 wards in Scotland, 351 of which were contested in the 2017 local elections. Three wards (0.8% of the total) were uncontested (this means that there were only the number of candidates, or fewer, than the seats available for that ward). 2,572 nominations were put forward and 1,227 councillors were elected (4 more than in 2012 and 5 more than in 2007, following changes to ward boundaries). Almost half of the nominated candidates were elected (47.7%).

Figure 1 compares, for each party/grouping, the candidates as a share of the total number of candidates, the first preference votes as a share of total first preference votes, and seats won as a share of total number of seats. "Party/groupings" include political parties as well as "Independent" and "Other" candidates/councillors. For simplicity, all of these categories are referred to as "parties" in the rest of the briefing.

Figure 1 Share of candidates, first preference votes and council seats by party, 2017 local elections



The Scottish National Party (SNP) had the highest share in terms of candidates, first preference votes and seats won. It put forward 627 candidates or 24.4% of the total; obtained 32.3% of first preference votes and won 35.1% of seats. "Other" candidates had the lowest in these three measures.

The Scottish Conservative & Unionist Party ("Conservatives"), Scottish Green Party ("Greens"), Scottish Liberal Democrat Party ("Liberal Democrats") and "others" got a smaller share of seats than first preference votes.

The Scottish Labour Party ("Labour"), the SNP and Independents won a higher share of seats than their share of first preference votes.

The change in the number of candidates put forward by each party between the 2012 and 2017 local elections are as follows for the main parties:

- Conservatives - 18 more in 2017 compared to 2012 (+5.0%)
- Greens - 132 more (+153.5%)
- SNP - 14 more (+2.3%)
- Labour - 44 less (-8.9%)
- Liberal Democrats - same number

Of the main parties, Labour is the only one to have put forward less candidates in 2017 than in 2012.

Table 3 shows the proportion of candidates who became councillors by party in the 2012 and 2017 local elections.

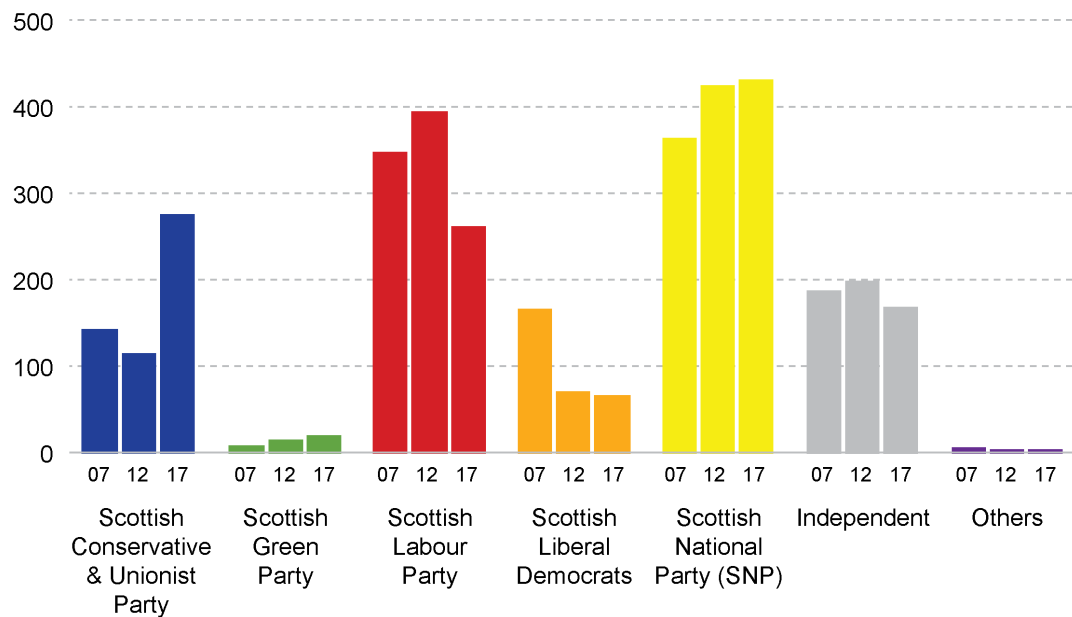
Table 3: Share of candidates who became councillors by party, 2012 and 2017 local elections

	2012	2017	Percentage point change
Scottish Conservative & Unionist	31.8%	72.6%	+40.9
Scottish Green Party	16.3%	8.7%	-7.6
Scottish Labour Party	79.3%	57.8%	-21.4
Scottish Liberal Democrats	28.7%	27.1%	-1.6
Scottish National Party (SNP)	69.2%	68.7%	-0.5
Independent and Other	29.5%	26.6%	-2.9

The Conservatives had the highest share of candidates who were elected (72.6%) and the Greens had the lowest (8.7%). All the parties except the Conservatives saw a decrease in the proportion of nominated candidates who were elected in 2017 compared to 2012.

Number and share of seats won

Figure 2 shows the number of seats won by party at each of the local elections in the past ten years.

Figure 2: Number of seats won by party, 2007, 2012 and 2017 local elections

The Greens and the SNP have seen a progressive increase in their number of seats won since 2007. The Liberal Democrats and "others" have seen a decrease in the past three local elections. After a decrease from 2007 to 2012, the Conservatives saw an increase in 2017, while Labour and Independents both saw the opposite: an increase between 2007 and 2012, and a decrease between 2012 and 2017.

Figure 3 shows the share of seats won by party in the 2007, 2012 and 2017 local elections.

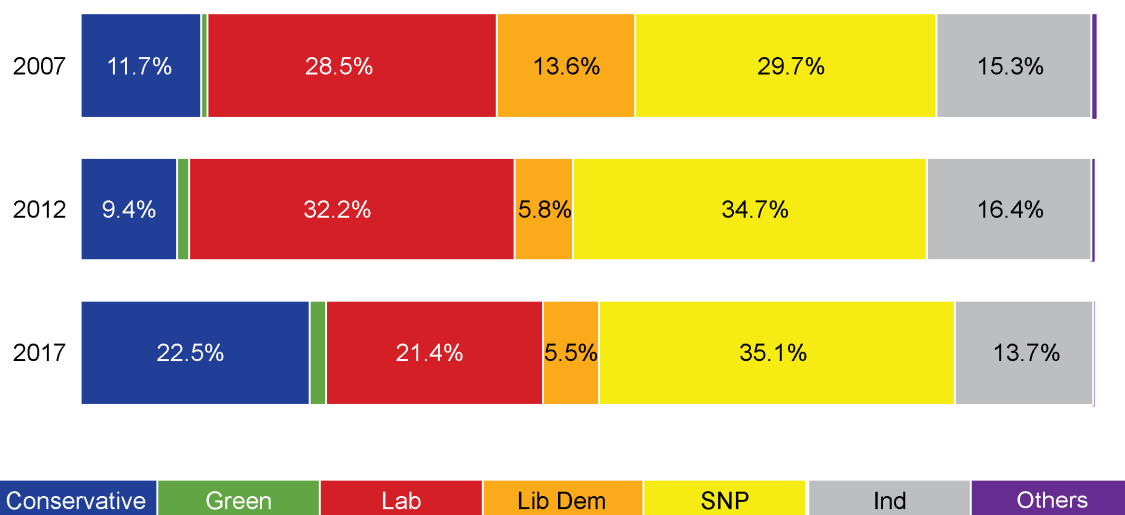
Figure 3: Share (%) of seats won by party, 2007, 2012 and 2017 local elections

Table 4 shows the share of seats by party in the 2012 and 2017 elections and the percentage change between the two.

Table 4: Share (%) of total seats, 2012 and 2017 local elections

	2012	2017	Percentage point change 2012-2017
Scottish Conservative & Unionist Party	115	276	140.0%
Scottish Labour Party	394	262	-33.5%
Scottish Liberal Democrats	71	67	-5.6%
Scottish National Party (SNP)	425	431	1.4%
Independents	200	168	-16.0%
Scottish Green Party	14	19	35.7%
Others	4	4	0.0%
Total	1,223	1,227	0.3%

Caution must be taken when comparing local election results in 2012 and 2017. Prior to the 2017 elections, changes were made to council ward boundaries in 25 council areas. This means that comparisons with the actual results from 2012 may be inaccurate due to a small increase in the total number of seats (from 1,223 to 1,227), different boundaries, and some wards having their number of councillors adjusted.¹

The main changes in number of seats won by party between the 2012 and 2017 local elections are:

- At 431, the number of SNP seats is 6 seats higher in 2017 than in 2012 (+1.4%). This represents 35.1% of the total number of seats.
- The SNP holds 40% of seats or more in 10 local authorities.
- The biggest SNP changes were in Glasgow, which has 12 more SNP seats than in 2012, and Aberdeenshire which has 7 less SNP seats.
- Despite receiving 0.0% of first preference votes in Shetland, the SNP won a seat in that local authority as one ward was uncontested.
- The number of Conservative seats rose by 161, from 115 to 276, a 140.0% increase. The Conservatives won 22.5% of seats in total (compared to 9.4% in 2012), and more than 40% of seats in three local authorities.
- The biggest gains for the Conservatives were in Fife, where their number of seats won is higher by 12 than at the 2012 local elections. They did not lose seats in any local authority.
- The number of seats won by Labour declined by 132, going from 394 to 262. This represents a 33.5% decrease. The party won 21.4% of seats in total (compared to 32.3% in 2012) and more than 40% of seats in two local authorities.
- Labour did not increase its number of seats in any local authority and in Glasgow it holds 13 less seats than in 2012.
- Changes to the number of Liberal Democrat seats varied from -5 (Highland) to +3 (East Dunbartonshire).
- The Green share of seats increased by 5, from 14 to 19 (a 35.7% increase on 2012), and they now hold 1.5% of all seats. The Green Party holds more than 10% of seats in one local authority (Edinburgh).

- The number of seats won by Green candidates by local authority is higher by up to 2 seats (Edinburgh) and lower by one seat on only one local authority (Midlothian), with no change in 26 local authorities.
- Independent councillors won more than 70% of seats in three local authorities (Shetland Islands, Orkney Islands and Na h-Eileanan an Iar).

Share of first preference votes

Figure 4 shows the share of first preference votes by party in the Scottish local elections from 1999 to 2017.

Figure 4: Share (%) of total Scottish first preference votes, 1999 to 2017 local elections

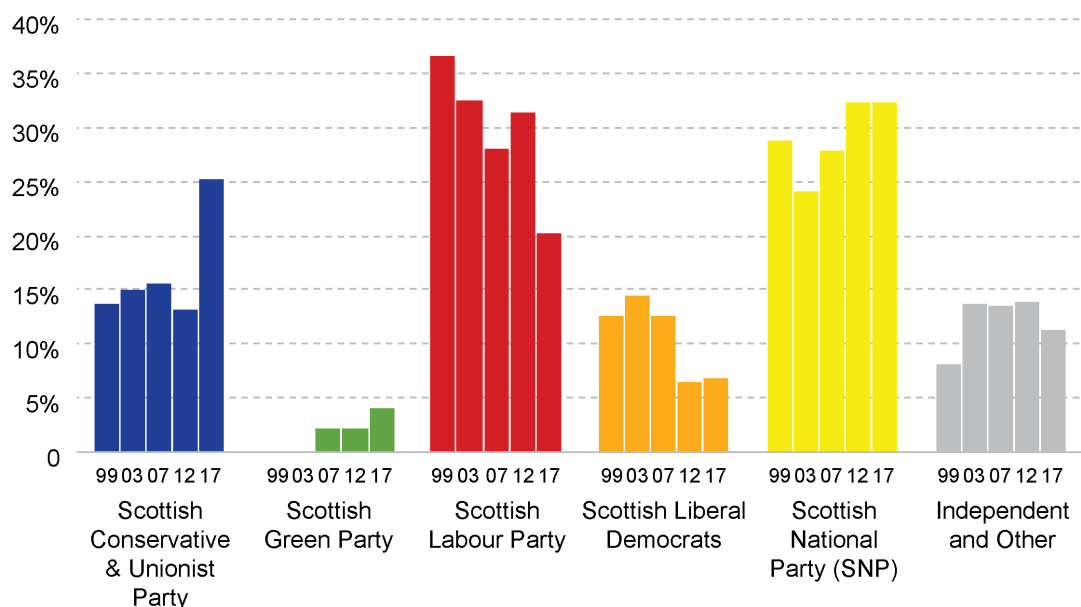


Table 5 shows the share of first preference votes by party in the 2012 and 2017 elections and the percentage point change between the two.

Table 5: Share of total Scottish first preference votes (%) and changes, 2012 and 2017 local elections

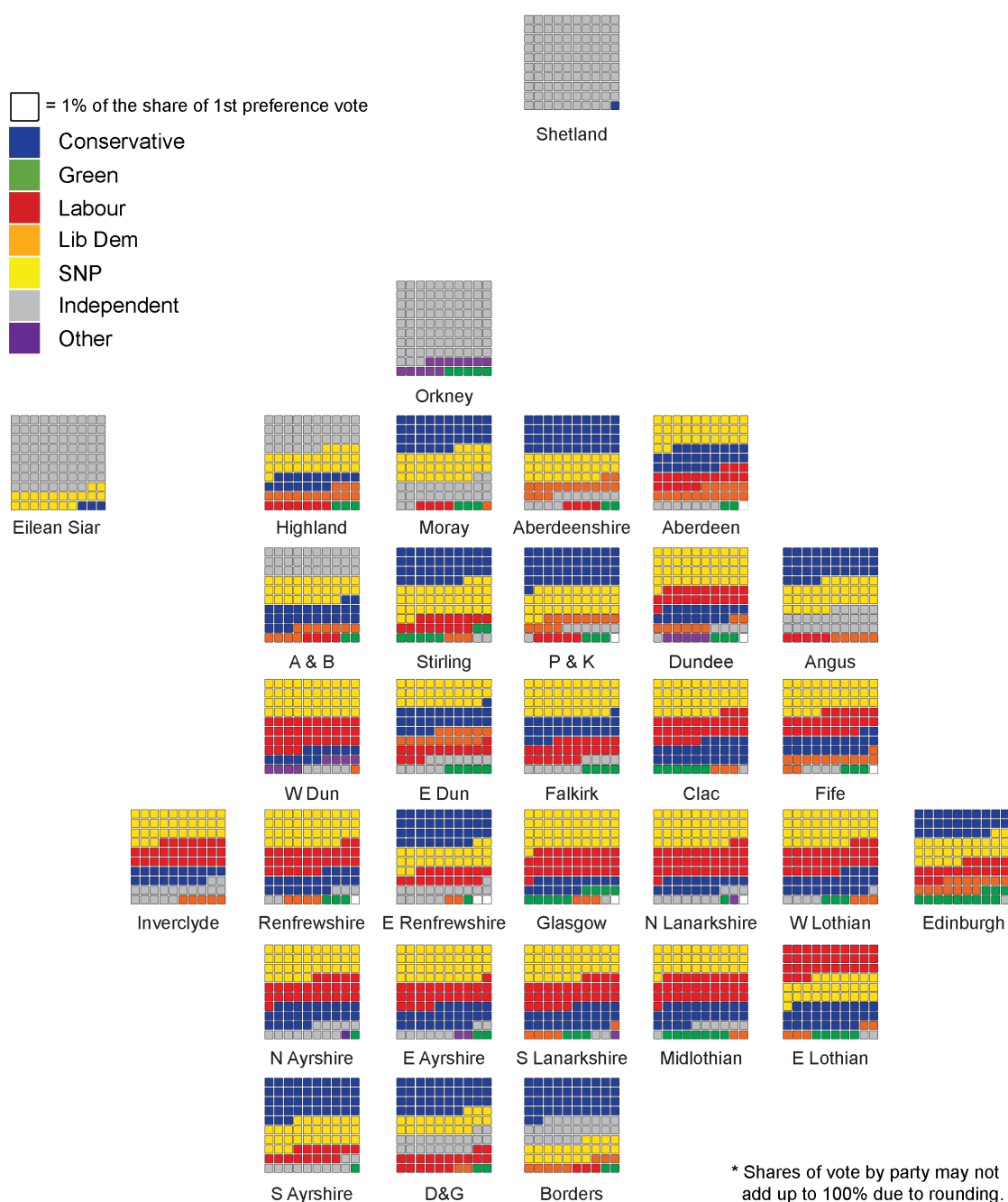
	2012	2017	Percentage point change 2012-2017
Scottish Conservative & Unionist	13.3	25.3	+12.0
Scottish Labour Party	31.4	20.2	-11.2
Scottish Liberal Democrats	6.6	6.8	+0.2
Scottish National Party (SNP)	32.3	32.3	+0.0
Independents	12.1	10.5	-1.6
Scottish Green Party	2.3	4.1	+1.8
Others	1.9	0.8	-1.1

The 12.0 percentage point increase in first preference votes for the Conservatives comes at the same time as a 11.2 percentage point decrease in Labour's share of these votes, and smaller changes in both directions (under 2.0 percentage points) in other parties. The

Conservative share of first preference vote, which had previously been around 15% or less since 2003, rose to 25.3% in 2017 after a 2.3% decrease in 2012. In contrast, Labour, which had seen a 3.3 percentage point increase in first preference votes between 2007 and 2012, saw a decrease of 20.2 percentage points in 2017. This puts Labour significantly below its historical share of these votes since 2003 of around 30%. Since 2012, the Liberal Democrats have received significantly less than their historic share of first preference votes in local elections from 1999 to 2007. In contrast, the Green Party saw a strong increase in its share of first preference votes between 2012 and 2017. Support for independent candidates has been relatively steady, slightly under 15% since 2003.

Figure 5 shows the the share of first preference votes by party and local authority in the 2017 elections.

Figure 5: Share of first preference vote by party and local authority, 2017 local elections



See the Annex for detailed percentages of first preference vote by party.

The main points on first preferences cast by party are:

- SNP:
 - The SNP obtained 32.3% of total first preference votes across Scotland (the same as in the 2012 local elections).
 - The SNP share of the vote was above 30% in 20 of the 32 local authorities.
 - The largest positive percentage point differences in SNP share of votes were in West Dunbartonshire (+9.8), Glasgow City (+8.4) and Inverclyde (+7.4).
 - The largest negative percentage point differences in SNP share of first preference votes were in Angus (-13.2), Aberdeenshire (-10.7) and Perth and Kinross (-10.6).
- Conservatives:
 - The Conservatives received 25.3% of first preference votes, an increase of 12 percentage points compared to 2012.
 - The Conservative share of the vote was above 30% in 9 local authorities. This compares to 1 (South Ayrshire) in the 2012 elections.
 - The biggest positive changes in the Party's share of first preference votes were in Aberdeenshire (+18.9 percentage points), Moray (+18.6) and the Scottish Borders (+18.4).
 - The Conservatives' share of the vote is not lower than it was in 2012 in any local authority.
- Labour:
 - Labour obtained 20.2% of the vote, a decrease of 11.2% percentage points since the 2012 election when the party received 31.4% of first preference votes.
 - Labour's share of the vote was above 30% in 5 local authorities, compared to 16 in 2012. It was under 10% in 10 areas (compared to 8 in 2012).
 - Labour's share is not higher in 2017 than in 2012 in any local authority, and it is lower than in 2012 in 30 out of 32 local authorities. It remained at 0.0% in the remaining two areas (Shetland and Orkney).
 - The biggest differences in Labour's share of first preference votes were in Renfrewshire (-20.6 percentage points), North Lanarkshire (-18) and Inverclyde (-17.3).
- Liberal Democrats:
 - The Liberal Democrats obtained 6.8% of the first preference votes, a 0.2% percentage point decrease compared to 2012.

- Changes in Liberal Democrat votes by local authority ranged from a decrease of 8.3 percentage points (Scottish Borders) to a 4.3 percentage point increase (Edinburgh City) since 2012.
- Greens:
 - The Greens' share of the vote was 4.1% in 2017, or 1.8 percentage points higher than in 2012. This represents almost a doubling their share of the vote.
 - Changes in the Green vote ranged from a -0.5 percentage point (Aberdeenshire) to +6.5 percentage point (Clackmannanshire) compared to 2012.
- Independents:
 - Independent candidates received more than 30% of the vote in 5 local authorities, and more than 75% in 3 local authorities: the Shetland Islands (100.0%), the Orkney Islands (83.2%) and Na h Eileanan an Iar (77.5%).
 - The difference in share of votes since 2012 for Independents ranged from a -13.7 percentage points (Orkney Islands) to +6.9 percentage points (Na h Eileanan an Iar).

Electorate and Turnout

Individual Electoral Registration was introduced in England, Scotland and Wales in 2014. It replaced the previous "household registration" - where one person in each household registered everyone to vote. ² Individuals now register individually by providing their name, address, date of birth and National Insurance number at gov.uk/register-to-vote.

The electorate for Scottish Local Government elections are: ³

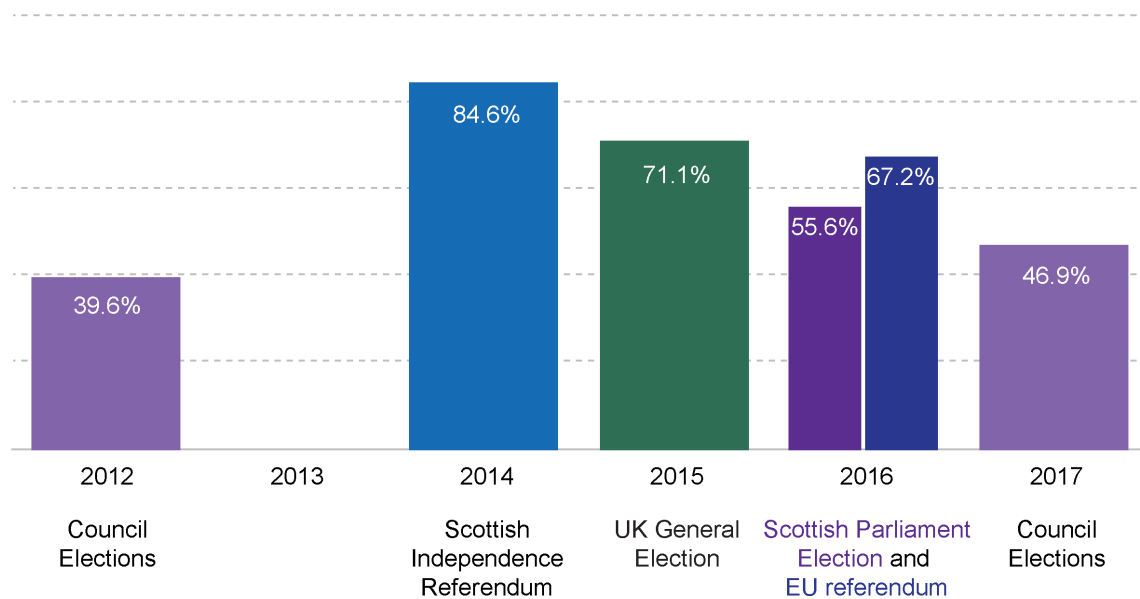
- British, Irish, other EU citizens, or a qualifying Commonwealth citizens (i.e. they have leave to enter or remain in the UK or don't require leave to enter or to remain in the UK) permanently living in the UK
- 16 years or older

Scottish Elections (Reduction of Voting Age) Act 2015 provides that the voting age in Scotland for local government electors is 16 years or over. The 2017 local elections were the first local elections where 16 and 17 year olds were allowed to vote.

There were 4,110,790 registered voters for the 2017 local elections. This represents three quarters (76.1%) of the Scottish population (mid-2016 population estimates). ⁴

Figure 5 compares voter turnout at the local, Scottish and general elections and referendums between 2012 and 2017.

Figure 5: Turnout in Scotland at elections and referendums between the 2012 and 2017 council elections

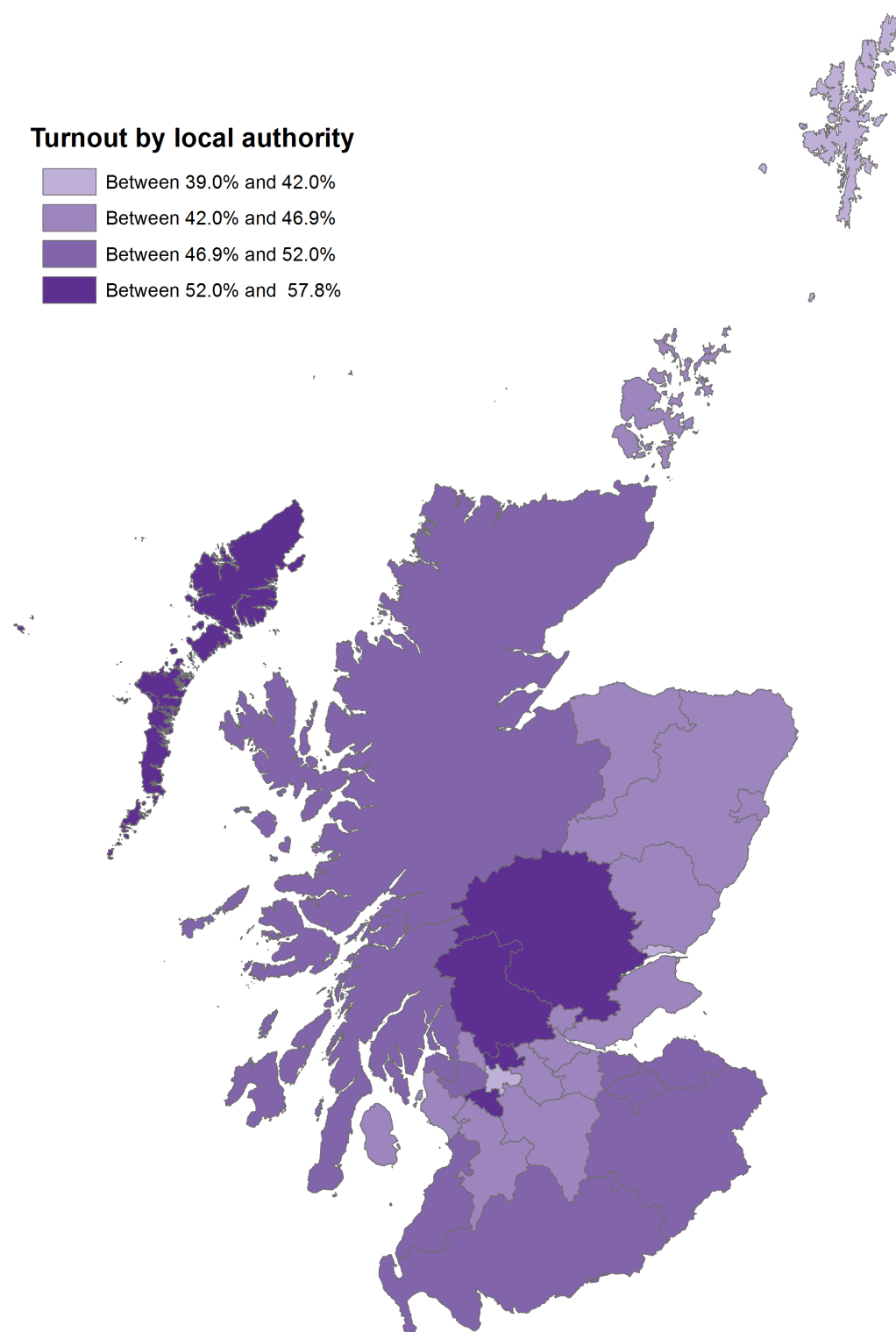


1,927,149 votes were cast in the 2017 local elections, including rejected papers. Turnout was therefore 46.9%. This compares to 39.6% in the 2012 local elections, but is lower than the other elections and the two referendums since 2012. Excluding rejected papers, 46.0% of the electorate cast a vote, compared to 39.1% in 2012.

There were 730,216 postal voters registered for the 2017 local elections, or 17.8% of the electorate (this compares to 15.2% of the electorate in the 2012 local elections).⁵ Almost a third (27.4%) of total votes were cast by postal voters (527,369 votes). At 72.2%, turnout for postal voters, was significantly higher than for the totality of the electorate in the 2017 local elections.⁶

Figure 6 shows turnout by local authority in the 2017 local elections.

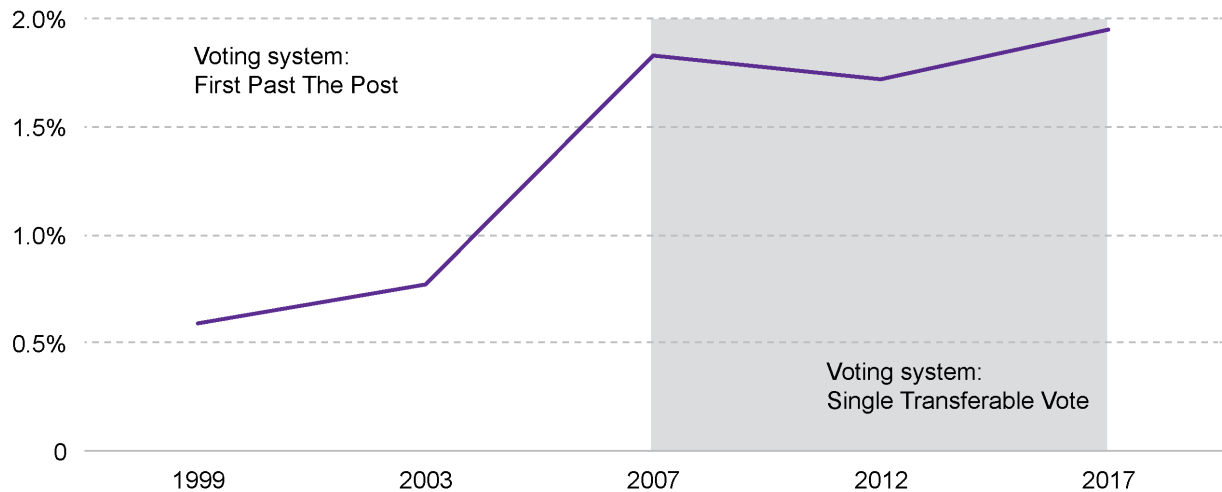
Figure 6: Turnout by local authority, 2017 local elections



Rejected ballots

There were 37,491 rejected ballots, 1.95% of total votes cast (compared to 1.71% in the 2012 local elections ⁵). Figure 7 compares this to previous elections.

Figure 7: Rejected ballots at local elections since 1999



The share of rejected votes since 2007 is well above the levels in 1999 (0.59%) and 2003 (0.77%) ⁷ when First Past the Post (FPTP) was still in place. This may be a reflection of lower voter understanding of how to vote under STV than FPTP. For instance, an article from the Press and Journal on 12 May 2017 stated: "Considerable confusion reigns over the "single transferable vote" system". ⁸

Single Transferable Vote

The [Local Governance \(Scotland\) Act 2004](#) made provision for the introduction of Single Transferable Vote (STV) for Scottish Local Government elections and STV has been used in the 2007, 2012 and 2017 elections. Prior to STV (most recently in the 2003 local elections), the voting system in local elections in Scotland was FPTP, and this is still the system used in local elections in England and Wales. Northern Ireland, like Scotland, also uses STV for local government elections.⁹

STV is a form of proportional representation. It is more difficult for one party to achieve an overall majority with STV than FPTP (used for UK Parliament elections for instance) or the Additional Member System (used for Scottish Parliament elections). There is some evidence that systems of proportional representation treat larger parties somewhat more favourably than smaller parties¹⁰ and especially so when the number of seats being elected in each district is relatively low.¹¹

Under STV, seats are distributed according to vote share. Each voter gets one vote, which can transfer from their first-preference to their second and so on. The ballot paper lists the name of each candidate standing for election, and voters rank these in order of preference: 1 for first-choice, 2 for second-choice, etc. Voters can rank as few or as many candidates as they like.

The votes are counted in stages, and only first preferences are counted in the first stage. To be elected, a candidate has to reach a set amount of votes or "quota". The quota is worked out by dividing the number of ballots by the number of councillors to be elected. Any candidate who reaches the quota in the first round is automatically elected. Any votes received over the quota are transferred to the second preference. If not enough candidates reach the quota at this stage, the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated and all of their votes are passed to the next preference on the ballot papers. This process is repeated until the required number of councillors per ward meets the quota and they are elected.

According to the [Electronic Vote Counting Scottish Local Government Elections 2017 Training Guide](#) by Elections Scotland, the benefits of STV include:¹²

- Giving more choice than other voting systems.
- Leading to fewer wasted votes, as votes are "transferable".
- There are no "safe seats" – so parties must, in theory, campaign everywhere, and not just in marginal seats.

In addition, the public elections supplier UK engage¹³ states that with STV and multi-member constituencies, parties may in theory have a strong electoral incentive to present a balanced team of candidates in order to maximise the number of higher preferences that would go to their candidates. When voters have the ability to rank candidates, the least favoured candidates are theoretically unlikely to win, as they are unlikely to pick up second, third and lower-preference votes.

UK engage state that the disadvantages of STV include:¹³

- In areas with a low populations density, such as the Highlands, STV can lead to very big constituencies. This was one of the reasons the Arbuthnott Commission in 2007 cautioned against using STV for non-local Scottish elections.¹⁴
- In large multi-member constituencies ballot papers can be large and this may be confusing.
- The process of counting the results takes longer under STV than FPTP.
- As it allows voters to rank candidates, STV can be prone to "alphabetic voting". This is when people vote for candidates in the order they appear on the ballot.

As noted by Professor Curtice in a report on the 2012 local elections, under STV "there is a risk that voters who are primarily motivated by their support for a particular party may be indifferent as to which of their preferred parties' candidates is elected, and simply opt to place its candidates in the order in which they appear on the ballot."¹⁰

Bochel et al. found that where parties ran more than one candidate in a single ward, alphabetic voting occurred in 85% of cases in 2007¹⁵ and 79% of cases in 2012¹⁶ while a BBC Scotland examination of the 2017 local election results found that it occurred in 78% of cases.¹⁷ BBC Scotland also reported that this trend "was usually only broken when a well-known incumbent councillor was the candidate further down the paper."

In response to a question by Kenneth Gibson (MSP) on 11 May 2017 asking "whether the Scottish Government will act to introduce randomised ordering of candidates' surnames on ballot papers at future elections", First Minister Nicola Sturgeon stated: "randomised ordering of candidates' surnames is one of the innovations that the Scottish Government will consider for future local government elections."¹⁸

Timing of local elections

In 2007, Scottish Parliament and Scottish local elections were held on the same day. The Arbuthnott Commission ¹⁴ as well as an independent review of the 2007 Scottish Parliamentary and local government elections ¹⁹ subsequently recommended that Scottish Parliament and local government elections be held on different days. The [Scottish Local Government \(Elections\) Act 2009](#) de-coupled the Scottish Parliament and Scottish local authority elections and since 2012 they have been held separately.

The Scottish local elections on 4 May 2017 were held on the same day as the local elections in England (34 councils) and Wales (22 councils). In addition, 6 areas in England voted for newly-created "combined local authority mayors" on the same day. 2 councils in England (Doncaster and North Tyneside) also voted for local authority mayors. ²⁰

Gender balance of councillors and candidates

Table 6 shows the number and share of female candidates by party and the percentage point change from the 2012 to the 2017 local elections.

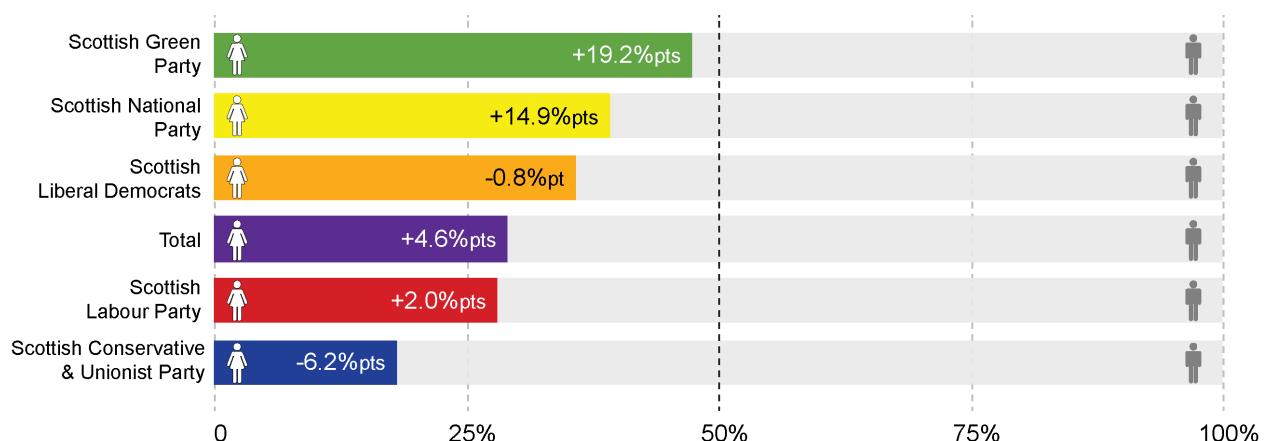
Table 6: Proportion (%) of female candidates by party and change (percentage point), 2012 and 2017 local elections

	2012	2017	Percentage point change
Scottish Conservative & Unionist	26.0	21.3	-4.7
Scottish Labour Party	27.2	31.9	4.7
Scottish Liberal Democrats	27.5	32.8	5.3
Scottish National Party (SNP)	23.8	41.3	17.5
Independents	13.3	18.4	5.1
Scottish Green Party	41.8	45.4	3.6
Others	19.5	18.4	-1.1
Total	22.8	30.5	7.7

Overall the proportion of female candidates in the 2017 local elections increased to 30.5% from 22.8% in 2012. The Scottish Green Party had the highest proportion of candidates who were female at 45.4%. The Conservatives and "Others" had a lower proportion of female candidates in the 2017 local elections than in 2012. All other parties saw a rise in the proportion of female candidates, with the SNP showing the highest increase at a 17.5 percentage points.

Figure 8 shows the proportion of council seats in Scotland by party and by gender ranked according to the proportion of female councillors. It also shows the percentage point change in the share of council seats occupied by women between the 2012 and 2017 local elections. For example, almost 50% of council seats held by the Green Party following the 2017 local elections were won by women, a 19.2 percentage point increase since the 2012 local election.

Figure 8: Share of council seats by gender and change in the share of women councillors from 2012, 2017 local elections



Administration of the elections

Administrative bodies

Under the provisions of the [Scotland Act 1998](#) the Scottish Government has responsibility for the conduct of Scottish local government elections. Local authorities themselves are responsible for organising and conducting these elections in their own areas.

The Electoral Management Board (EMB), which was established by [Local Electoral Administration \(Scotland\) Act 2011](#), is responsible for the administration of local elections in Scotland. The EMB has power over the performing standards of Electoral Registration Officers (EROs). EROs are officials appointed by the local authority to prepare and maintain the Register of Electors. Throughout Scotland (with the exception of the City of Dundee and Fife) councils have appointed the local Assessor as ERO. ²¹

The Electoral Commission is the independent body which oversees elections and regulates political finance in the UK. In Scotland it has statutory duties over Scottish Parliament and European Parliament elections, and, since the [Local Electoral Administration \(Scotland\) Act 2011](#) was passed, Scottish local elections as well.

For more detail on the administration of the elections, see [SPICe briefing SB 12/38 Local government elections 2012](#).

Vote counting

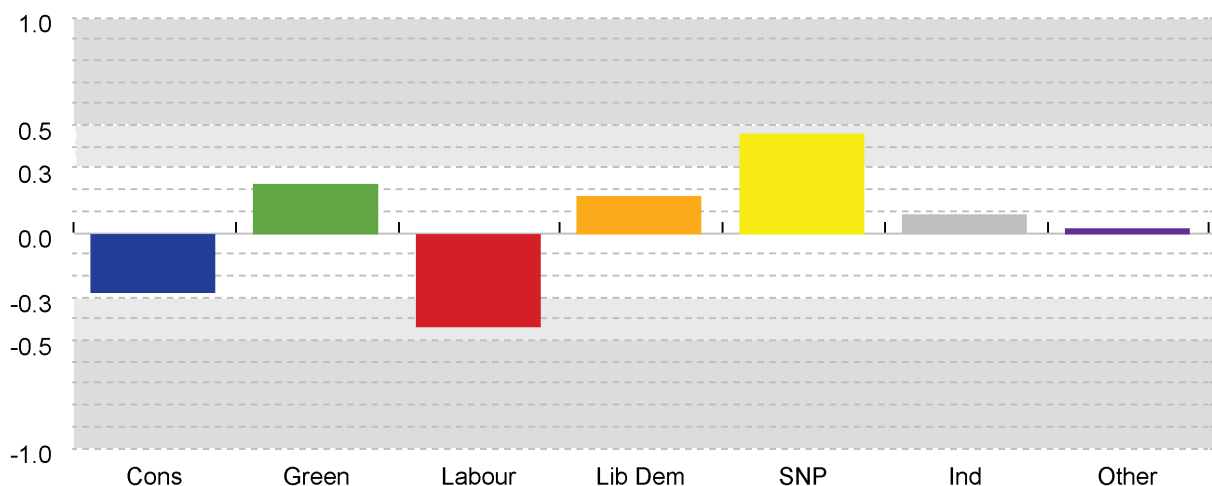
Votes were counted electronically, and an [Electronic Vote Counting - Training Guide](#) was jointly published by the Scottish Government, Elections Scotland, CGI and Idox to inform the count teams in local authorities.

The EU Referendum and the 2017 local elections

To explore the existence of a potential link (measured by the correlation coefficient r) between EU Referendum votes in 2016 and the change in party support between the 2012 and 2017 local elections, SPICe tested the relationship between the proportion (percentage of total) of the "remain" vote in the 2016 EU referendum by local authority and the change in share of first preference vote by party and by local authority (in percentage points) between the 2012 and 2017 local elections.

Figure 9 measures the strength of the link between the proportion of "remain" votes and the change in first preference votes for each party between 2012 and 2017 across local authorities.

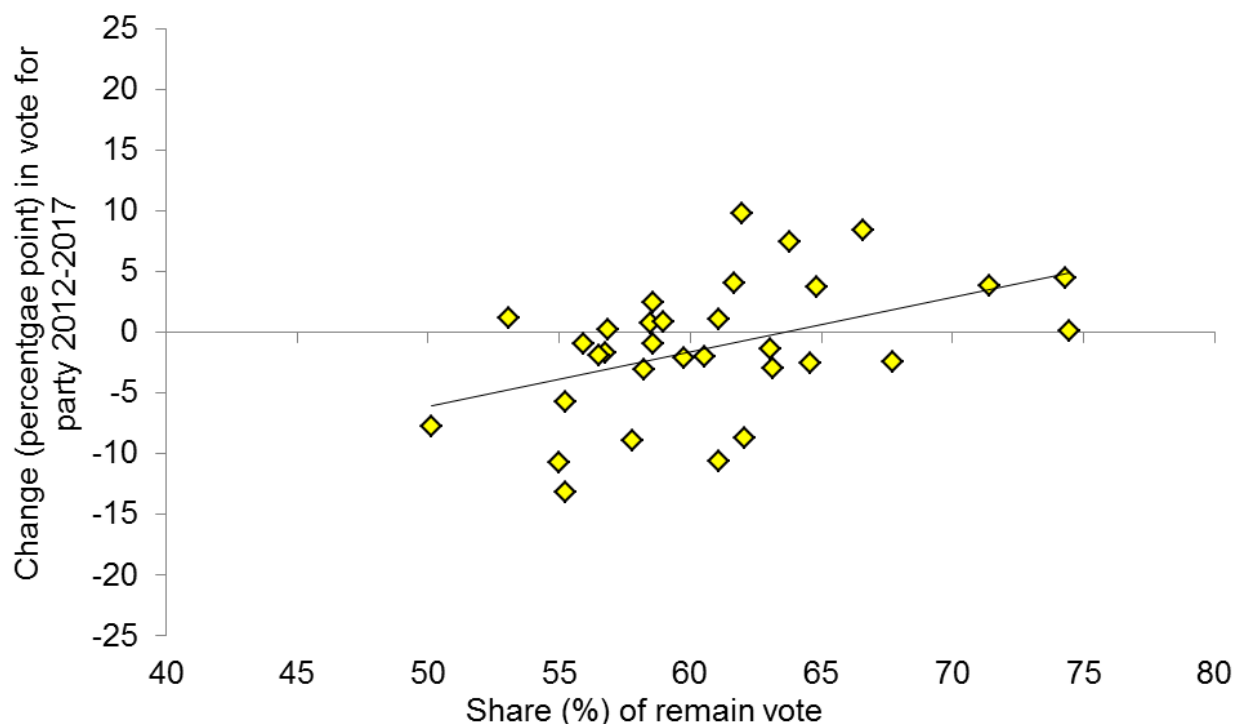
Figure 9: Correlation coefficient between the share of "Remain" vote by local authority and change in vote between the 2012 and 2017 local elections



For instance, there is a positive correlation between the two factors for the SNP (correlation coefficient $r = 0.46$). Figure 9 also shows that there is a small correlation between the proportion of "remain" votes and increase in support for the Greens ($r = 0.23$) and Liberal Democrats ($r = 0.17$) (other coefficients are under 0.1 and considered negligible).

Figure 10 plots local authorities by proportion of "remain" votes and change in first preference votes for SNP between 2012 and 2017. It illustrates that the higher the share of "remain" votes in the 2016 Referendum, the higher the increase in support for the SNP between 2012 and 2017 (or the lower the decrease) tends to be. SPICe also looked at the link between the proportion of "remain" votes in 2016 and the total share of votes for each party in the 2017 local elections. There is a negligible positive correlation between these two variables for the SNP ($r = 0.07$).

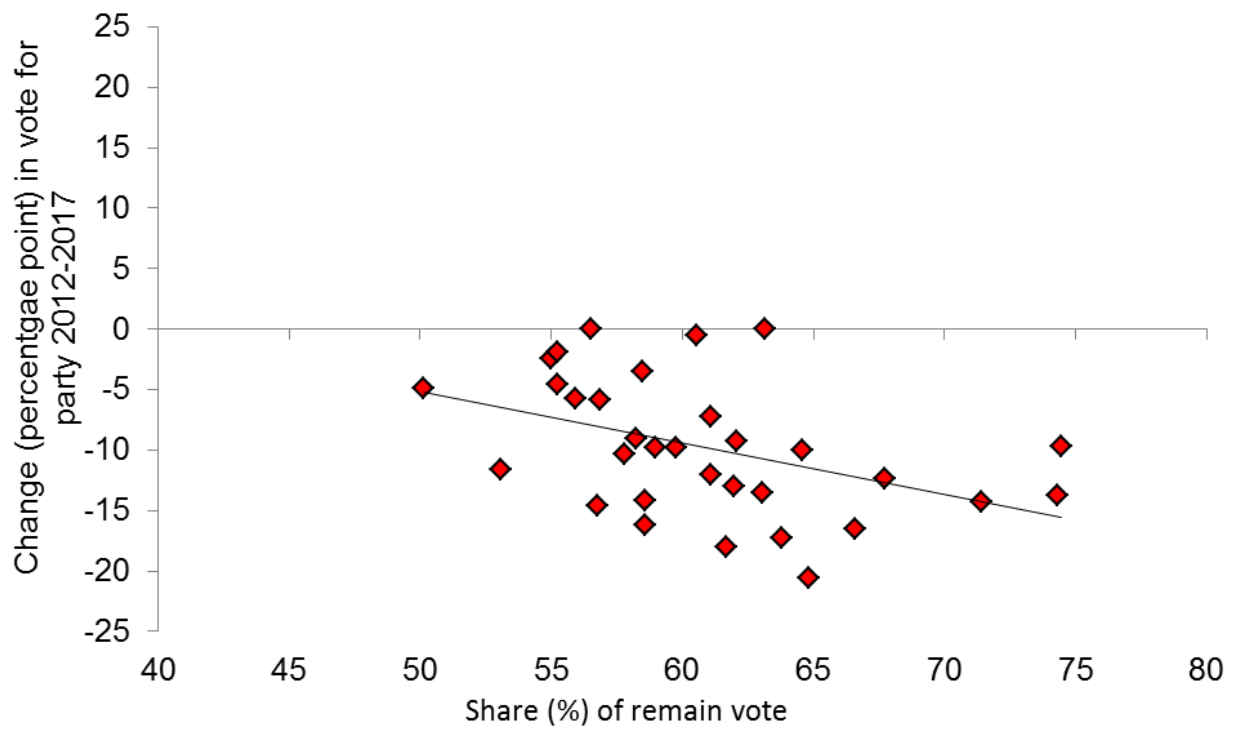
Figure 10: Share (%) by local authority of "remain" vote in the EU Referendum and change (percentage point) in the share of first preference vote for the SNP in the 2012 and 2017 local elections by local authority



On the other hand, Figure 9 shows a negative correlation between the proportion of "remain" votes in the EU and the change in the share of votes between 2012 and 2017 for Labour ($r = -0.43$) and a lesser negative correlation for the Conservatives ($r = -0.28$).

Figure 11 plots local authorities by share of "remain" votes and change in first preference votes for Labour between 2012 and 2017 and illustrates that the higher the proportion of "remain" votes, the bigger the decrease in support for Labour tends to be. However, there also exists a positive correlation between the proportion of "remain" votes and the total share of votes for Labour in the 2017 local elections ($r = 0.3$).

Figure 11: Share (%) by local authority of "remain" vote in the EU Referendum and change (percentage point) in the share of first preference vote for Labour in the 2012 and 2017 local elections by local authority



Finally, there is a positive correlation between support for "remain" and support for the Greens at the 2017 local elections ($r = 0.53$).

Bibliography

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