

**ON LONDON**  
FOR THE GOOD CITY

**Lowick**

# THE ON LONDON GUIDE TO THE LONDON MAYOR AND LONDON ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 2024

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**By Dave Hill and Lewis Baston**

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# INTRODUCTION: THE LONDON LANDSCAPE

On 2 May Londoners will vote for a Mayor and 25 members of the London Assembly for the seventh time since the Greater London Authority was created. These elections will be unique for two controversial reasons.

One is that the outcome of this year's race for Mayor will, for the first time, be determined by the First Past The Post electoral system instead of the Supplementary Vote method under which the mandates of the capital's Mayors have been won ever since the first contest for the job took place in the year 2000.

Londoners chose the Supplementary Vote method as part of the deal for the new layer of regional government they voted to adopt in a referendum in 1998. Yet the government offered them no plebiscite or even a consultation when replacing it as part of its Elections Act (2022).

A minister claimed that First Past The Post "ensures clearer accountability" but didn't explain how. What it will probably ensure is that the candidate who wins will take command of an annual budget of over £20 billion for a four-year term as the directly-elected choice of considerably fewer than 50 per cent of those Londoners who vote.

Supplementary Vote guaranteed a broader and fuller mandate by allowing electors to register a first and a second preference for Mayor. The winner was the candidate who initially came first or second after first preference votes were counted and then finished up with the highest total after the second preferences of voters whose first choice candidate had been eliminated were added on.

The outcomes of both the election for Mayor and those for seats on the Assembly will also be affected by another provision of the same Act - its requirement, applied to all UK elections, that electors produce an approved form of photographic identification when casting their votes at a polling station.

The introduction of Voter ID has been criticised as a solution in search of a problem for which little evidence exists. There are fears that it will lead to lower turnouts. Following last May's council elections in other parts of England, which saw the new rule applied for the first time, the Electoral Commission, the UK's elections watchdog, found that around four per cent of people who didn't vote said it was because of the ID stipulation.

Another difference from all previous Mayor and Assembly elections is that City Hall, where the winners will go about their work, has moved. Having occupied Norman Foster's bulbous bespoke building by Tower Bridge since July 2002, the politicians and most Greater London Authority staff officially relocated in March 2022 to what was previously called the Crystal building, beside the Royal Docks.

This year's campaigns are proceeding in a London landscape enduring many stresses and strains. The last such elections took place amid the weary atmosphere of a retreating but still present Covid-19, which had already delayed them by 12 months. Three years on, the capital's economy, so vital to the whole nation, is again demonstrating its resilience. Yet London's productivity growth has slowed to almost nothing since the global financial crisis, and social inequalities the pandemic harshly exposed are far from gone.

The shortage of secure, affordable, good quality housing that has weakened the capital for so many years has become more acute, prompting London Councils, the body representing all 33 of the city's local authorities, to call the situation an emergency. Shocking revelations about the culture and lack of professional standards of the Metropolitan Police have triggered a reforming response, but there is still much work to do. Transport for London is making an operating surplus, yet the Underground still has trains more than half a century old and the city's road traffic congestion remains a blight.

All of these issues fall into the domain of London's Mayors, but their powers to address them continue to be limited. London has become a place and a symbol of values the political geography of Britain makes it expedient for government ministers - and, to a lesser degree, their opposite numbers - to disparage. "Levelling up" has often been a pretext for slighting or excluding the capital. While other cities and regions have been handed greater controls over their own destinies, London's have been overridden and eroded.

Devolution probably won't be high on the election campaign agendas, but perhaps it should be. After all, it defines the capacity of London's Mayors to make a difference in vital parts of London life, such as crime, transport, housing, planning, the economy, culture and the environment.

To vote in the elections, you must be at least 18 years old on the day they take place, live in London, be on the electoral register and be either a British citizen, a European Union citizen or a Commonwealth citizen who has or does not require leave to remain in the UK. British citizens who live overseas are not eligible.

Over six million Londoners are entitled to vote. Many of them will already be making their judgements about which candidates deserve their backing. The election process is different in 2024, but the big themes are familiar - and increasingly urgent.

# THE FIGHT TO BE MAYOR: CAN KHAN LOSE?

Precedent suggests that Labour incumbent Sadiq Khan, who is seeking a historic third term, will be very hard to beat. As the 2021 **On London** guide explained, history shows that a Labour candidate can be expected to win any mayoral election in which the following conditions apply:

1. Labour isn't running hugely behind the Tories in national polls.
2. The Labour candidate turns out a normal Labour vote, or better.
3. The Tory candidate has limited appeal beyond the Tory core.

Labour candidate Ken Livingstone failed to win a third term as Mayor in 2008 because conditions 1 and 3 were not met: Labour was behind in national polls and his Conservative challenger, Boris Johnson, attracted voters who didn't usually vote Tory. In 2012, Livingstone again failed to beat Johnson, this time because conditions 2 and 3 were not met: Labour was ahead in national polls, but what was called the "Boris bonus" still existed and Livingstone attracted less support than Labour Assembly candidates on the day. He had become a net negative. But the 2008 election, when turnout surged and Boris Johnson was elected, involved a realignment. Conservative votes shot up in the suburbs and the Tories even prevailed in a couple of normally Labour-backing boroughs, Greenwich and Hounslow.

% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
<b>FIRST PREFERENCES</b>						
Con	27.1	29.1	43.2	44.0	35.0	35.3
Lab	13.1	36.8	37.0	40.3	44.2	40.0
Lib Dem	11.9	15.3	9.8	4.2	4.6	4.4
Green	2.2	3.1	3.2	4.5	5.8	7.8
UKIP	1.0	6.2	0.9	2.0	3.6	0.6
Ind KL	39.0	-	-	-	-	-
Others	5.8	9.6	5.9	5.1	6.7	11.9
<b>AFTER SECOND PREFERENCES</b>						
Con	42.1	44.6	53.2	51.5	43.2	44.8
Lab	-	55.4	46.8	48.5	56.8	55.2
Ind KL	57.9	-	-	-	-	-
Winner	Ken Livingstone	Ken Livingstone	Boris Johnson	Boris Johnson	Sadiq Khan	Sadiq Khan

*"Ind KL" stands for Ken Livingstone as an Independent candidate.*

When Labour won with Livingstone in 2004 and with Khan in 2016 all three conditions were met. And in 2021 Khan overcame falling short of one of them, with Labour at that time being up to and above 10 points behind the Tories nationally.

In 2024, conditions 1 and 3 look to be firmly established for Khan: Labour as a party has been far ahead of the Tories in national polls for many months and its lead in London has been particularly pronounced; Khan's closest rival, the Conservative candidate Susan Hall has nothing like the high profile or unique appeal of Johnson in 2008 and 2012. But there is some doubt about Khan nailing condition 2.

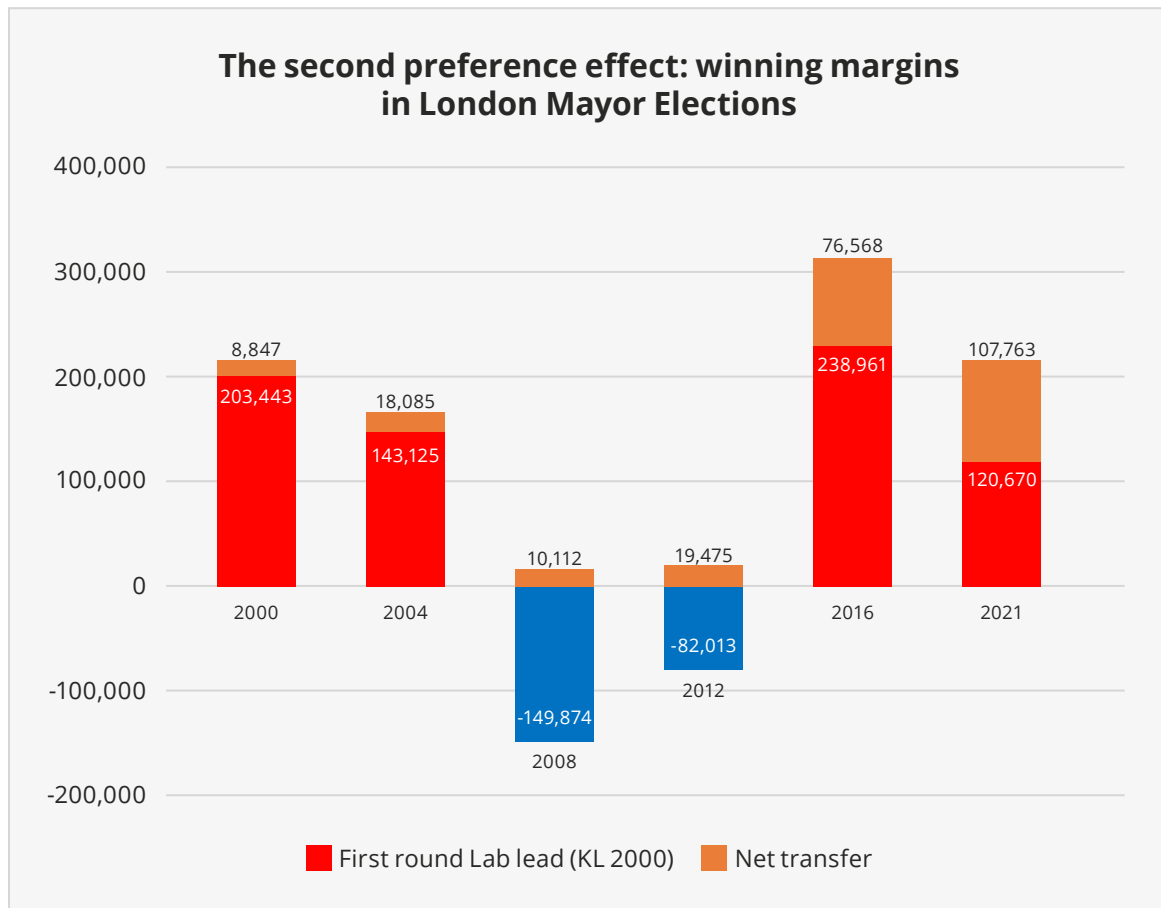
Why? Because some Londoners who have voted for him in the past might be bored or fed with him by now – a common problem with candidates seeking an electorate's backing for a third time. And because some whose enthusiasm for him is lukewarm might decide when the time comes that he will win without their help and not bother to provide it.

These are not things Team Khan has been acknowledging in public. But people close to his campaign privately disclose that it does not feel as if Khan is heading for an easy win. That anxiety explains some of the urgency with which the incumbent has been insisting that this year's contest will be the closest and toughest he's yet had.

The rest is for reasons Khan has been vocal about - those two big changes to the electoral system. The Labour Mayor is not alone in suspecting that the Conservative national government's imposition of First Past The Post was covertly motivated by a deduction that doing so would help Conservative mayoral candidates win by splitting support for the "progressive" parties, Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Greens. The late Bob Kerlake, once the head of the civil service, took this view. "It is hard to see any other reason for them doing this than perceived electoral advantage," he wrote.

Vindication for such suspicions has been claimed in the form of victory for the Conservative candidate in the Bedford mayoral election held last May, when the Tory candidate defeated the Lib Dem runner-up by a mere 145 votes under First Past The Post, taking just a 33.1 per cent share. Had the Supplementary Vote system still been in place it seems likely that the bulk of the second preference votes of Labour and Green supporters would have gone to the Lib Dem, enabling him to overtake the Tory and win.

Unlike the Bedford Lib Dem, Khan finished ahead of his Tory rival on first preferences in 2021 but more than doubled his percentage lead once second preferences topped him up. That is why he has been openly appealing to London’s Lib Dem and Green voters to “lend” him their votes this time to ensure that Hall cannot, as it were, sneak into the Mayor’s City Hall office through a back door.



Khan is also proclaiming that Voter ID will hit his chances, brandishing a study showing that the requirement could cause him to lose five per cent of the votes he would have otherwise received.

As this guide goes live there have been six of them so far this year. All have given Khan commanding leads in what he calls his “two horse race” with Hall ranging from 13 to 25 percentage points.

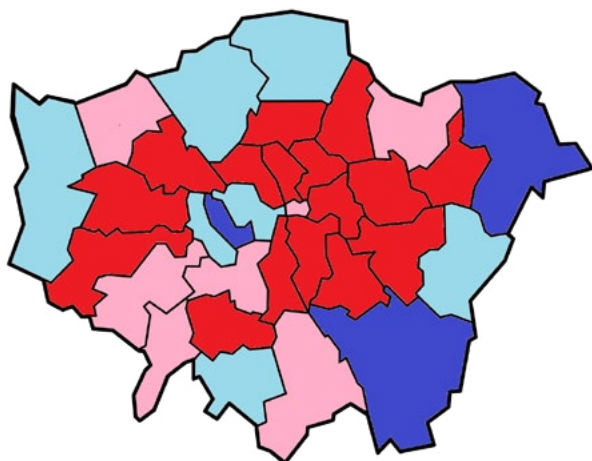
But in 2021, five polls in a row, published in March and the first half of April, gave Khan leads of more than 20 points over his Tory opponent Shaun Bailey. In the second half of April this lead shrank to as little as 12 points. And the actual result saw Khan prevail on first preferences by only 4.7 per cent, taking a 40 per cent share when some early spring polls had raised the prospect of his getting more than 50 per cent.

Moreover, Bailey's first preference share was markedly higher than polls had hinted it might be: 35.3 per cent compared with a maximum poll finding of 31 per cent. Polling companies, mindful of what happened last time, have been making adjustments but are no more inclined than the Labour candidate to rule out something similar happening again.

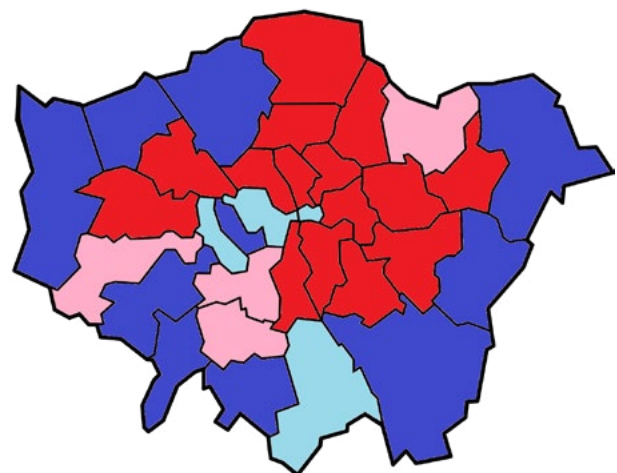
Precedent also urges circumspection. All three London Mayors so far have won two terms in a row, and in every case the second win has been by a smaller margin than the first. And London voters have shown, both in 2004 and 2012, that they can be willing to vote for mayoral candidates whose party label is unpopular. Despite London's generally Labour tendencies since the general election of 1997, mayoral politics can be competitive. Polls have put Labour's general election lead over the Tories significantly higher than Khan's over Hall. In that difference lies evidence that Khan's warnings against complacency are something more than an expectation management scare tactic.

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Mayoral elections do not work in the same way as parliamentary or borough contests in that there is no premium on getting votes in marginal areas as opposed to anywhere else. It is therefore possible to win an election by turning out the heartlands or by running the other side close in its stronger areas or both. Ken Livingstone's win as a Labour candidate in 2004 was by a margin similar to Khan's in 2016, but his coalition was different – much stronger in several outer suburbs while not racking up the margins in inner boroughs. His win in 2000 as an Independent was also broad-based.



*2004 Mayoral Election*

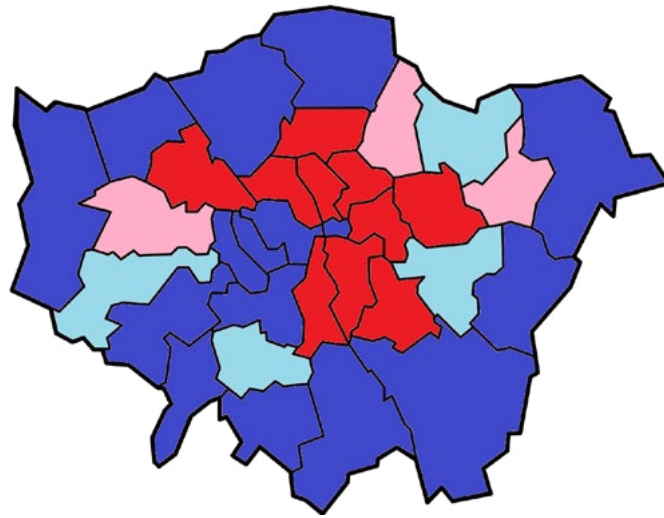


*2016 Mayoral Election*

■ *strongly Labour*    
 ■ *marginally Labour*    
 ■ *strongly Conservative*    
 ■ *marginally Conservative*

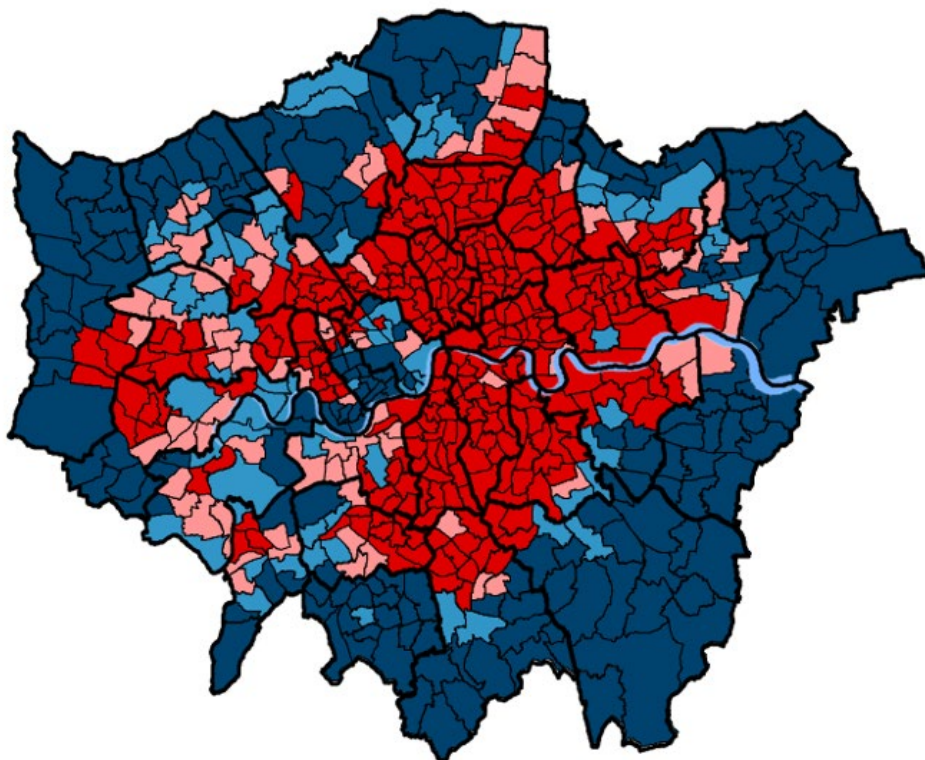


But the 2008 election, when turnout surged and Boris Johnson was elected, involved a realignment. Conservative votes shot up in the suburbs and the Tories even prevailed in a couple of normally Labour-backing boroughs, Greenwich and Hounslow.



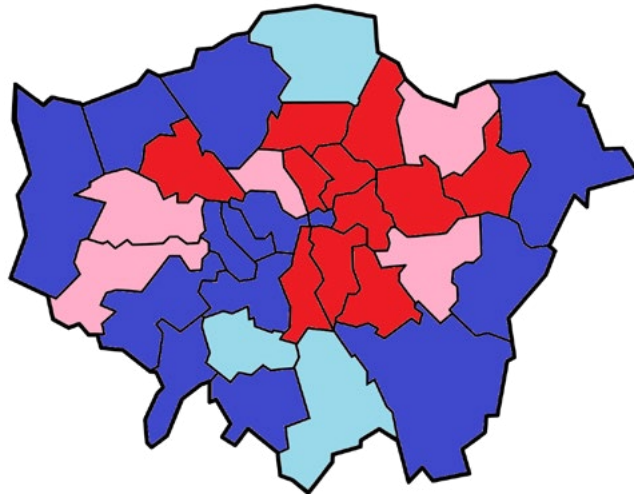
*2008 Mayoral Election*

The ward map below of party support in 2021 largely replicates the pattern of all mayoral elections since 2008, with Labour dominating in inner London and the Conservatives piling up votes in the outer ring – the “doughnut” that was the focus of Boris Johnson’s strategists.



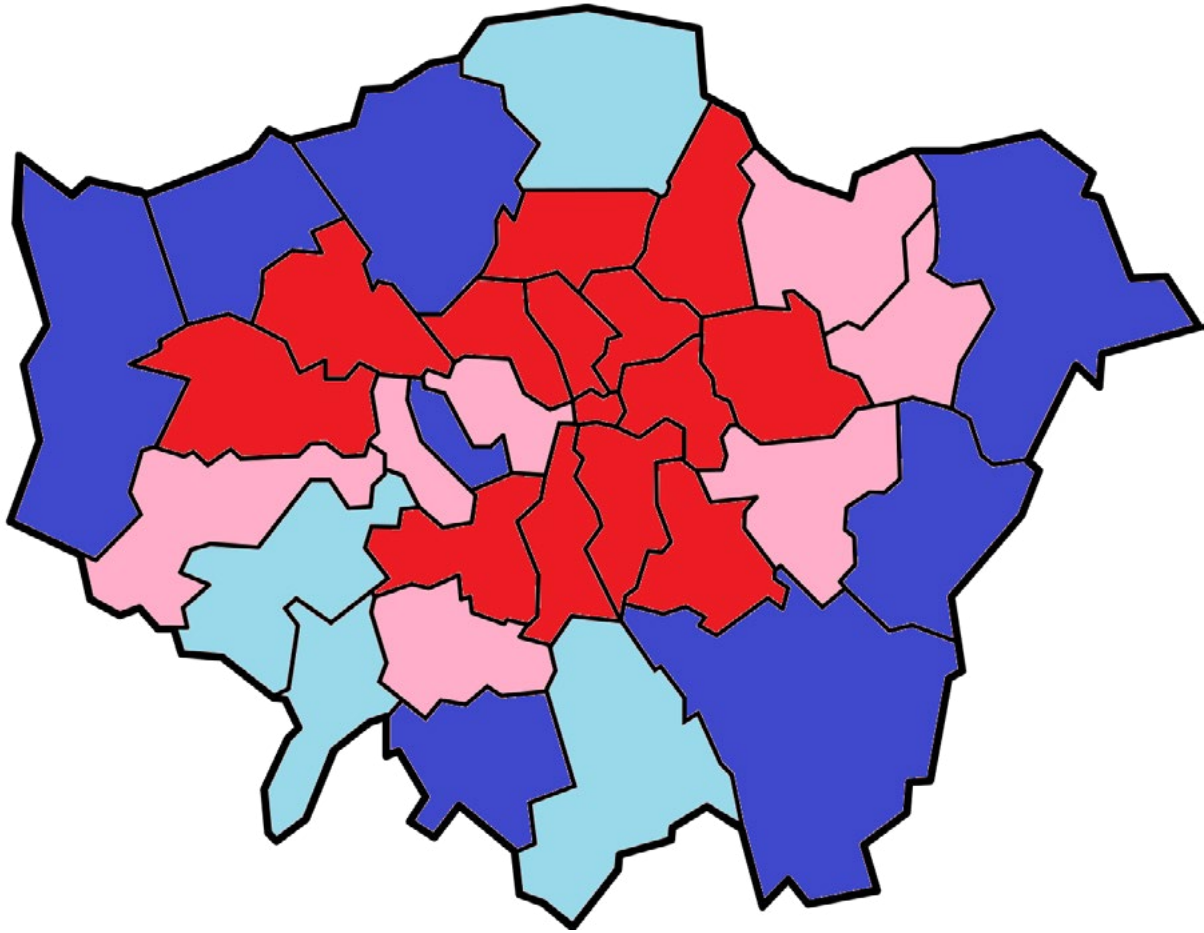
There is no reason to expect the pattern to change radically in 2024. It is stronger in mayoral than in council or even London Assembly elections. Yet there seems to be something about these contests that slightly alters the normal partisan dynamics. It means the doughnut has accommodated some intriguing variations.

The 2012 election was not just a faded copy of 2008: Johnson did even better than in 2008 in several affluent inner areas, but slipped back further out, for instance in Redbridge and Croydon.



*2012 Mayoral Election*

Khan won in 2016 with a rather traditional Labour coalition of support in inner London and working-class areas of outer London, but the 2021 election was affected by Brexit polarisation - Leave-voting Barking & Dagenham swung strongly to the Tories while pro-Remain Richmond went sharply the other way. Khan lost in solidly working-class wards in Harrow, but won in affluent ones in Wandsworth and Westminster.



*2021 Mayoral Election*

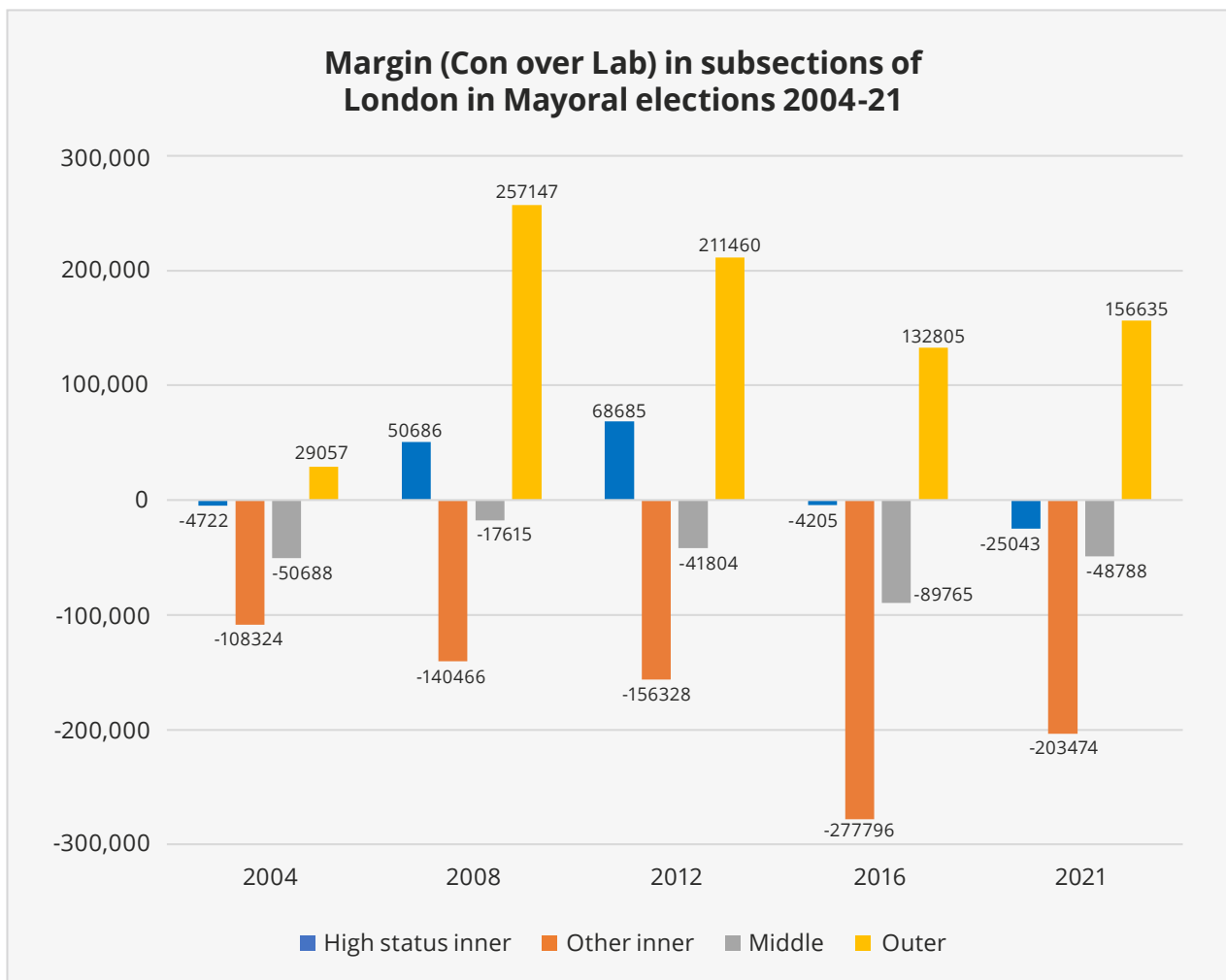
Breaking the voting patterns down into an approximation of the Transport for London fare zones suggests the doughnut metaphor doesn't do full justice to the varying distributions of political alliances in London. They are more like the concentric rings of a Chelsea bun.

TfL zone	Bailey % first preference 2021	Khan % first preference 2021	(Con) lead in % first preferences 2021	Swing (to Con) 2016-21 %
1	31.6	40.5	-8.9	-1.4
2	24.0	48.8	-24.8	+0.8
3	26.3	47.6	-21.3	+2.0
4	38.7	38.4	+0.2	+4.5
5	45.4	31.8	+13.6	+3.2
6	53.2	24.8	+28.5	+0.8

The chart above shows that in 2021 Khan expanded his lead in the very centre of London - which overlaps a lot with the most educated and affluent parts of the capital – compared with 2016. Zone 2 is the Labour heartland – a diverse inner city swirl with low car ownership which identifies strongly with London. Zone 3 is only a little less supportive. Zone 4 is the transition zone, where Khan’s strength dissipated most in 2021 compared to 2016. Zone 5 is Conservative-led but with Labour not miles behind in a good year such as 2016. Zone 6 is strongly Conservative.

Percentages do not give the full picture. Winning a London-wide election is about turnout as well as swing between the parties. Johnson’s win in 2008 and Khan’s in 2016, were as much about mobilising voters as converting them. In both cases, the winning candidate’s thumping majority in the sub-section of London that was already most sympathetic to their party powered their overall victory.

Khan’s less good performance in 2021 had much to do with the reduced margins coming out of inner and “middle London” Labour strongholds. For instance, the Khan margin in Newham in 2016 was 39,929, but it fell to 18,405 five years later. Any failure by Khan to mobilise Labour voters to a degree that comes at least reasonably close to replicating his opinion poll leads will further weaken him.



The formula for victory in 2024 will be of the same basic shape for either candidate as it was in 2021. Given the trends in borough elections, Khan should be able to do even better in wealthy inner districts but could do with a higher turnout in the rest of inner London and he has ground to make up in the territory half way out.

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Where does all this leave Susan Hall? The London Tory base may be smaller but it's pretty hardcore, especially in the outer ring. Following the example of her party nationally, she has been attacking Khan as an individual relentlessly. But she has her own challenges to meet.

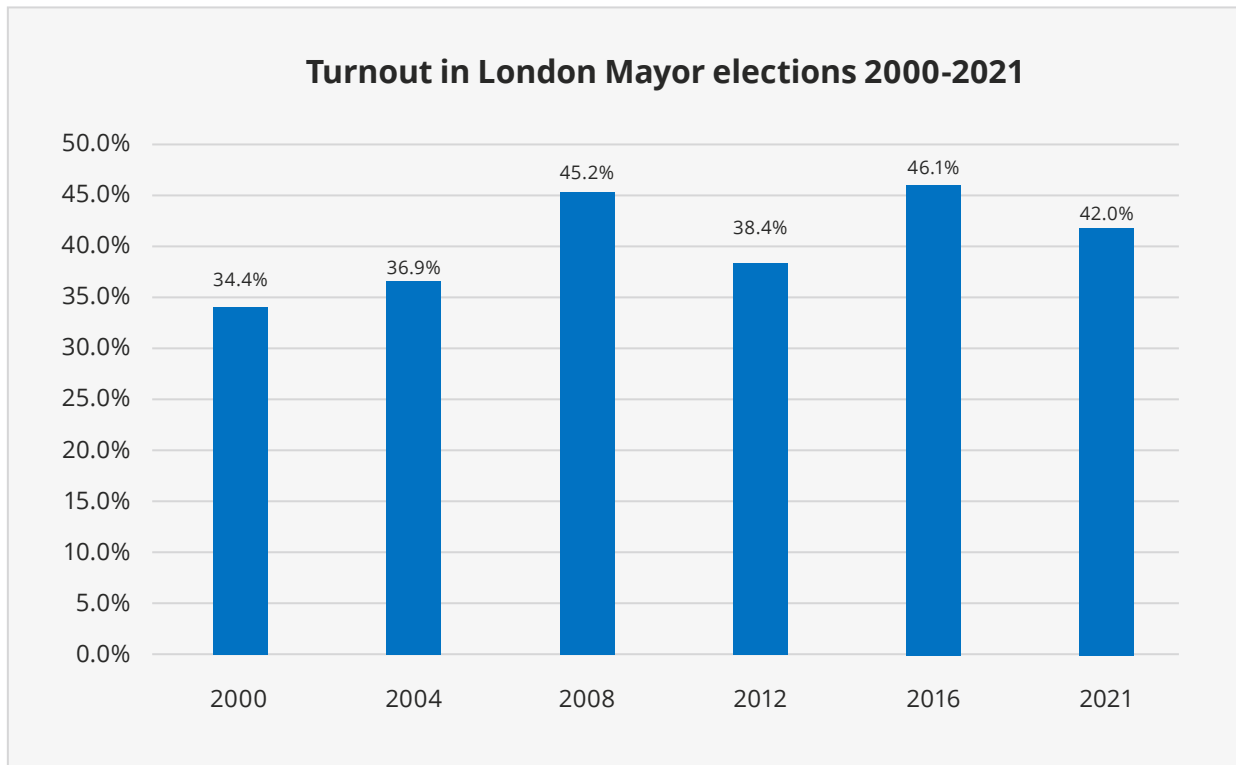
Her political history is a weapon for Khan and her early broadcast media appearances have attracted mockery. In addition, Hall must contend with some of the same pressures from other parties that the Conservatives have been struggling with everywhere.

Reform UK, the latest descendant of the UK Independence Party, is not as strong in London as in the country generally, just as its ancestor wasn't. Even so, its candidate, Howard Cox, is fishing in the same voter pool as Hall. Moreover, five more of the 13 names on the mayoral ballot sheet are either somewhere to her right, fellow critics of Khan's policies for restricting motor vehicles, or both.

They and Cox might end up with less than 10 per cent of the mayoral vote between them, but it will be 10 per cent that Hall won't get. Her need to protect what we might call her Nigel Farage flank also leaves her open to attrition from her left, as Lib Dem candidate Rob Blackie has detected. Other Tory-inclined voters deterred by Hall's hard right pedigree, might prefer the Independent Natalie Campbell, who was longlisted by the Tories in their selection process.

Khan is not threatened by a comparable squeeze. He might lose support to the Greens' Zoë Garbett, as Labour politicians in London tend to when some voters decide the party is insufficiently left wing. But media speculation that Jeremy Corbyn might run as an Independent has come to nothing and another Left populist, George Galloway, who had spoken of contesting the mayoralty is not doing so, having won a parliamentary by-election in Rochdale. No one else whose platform is supporting the Palestinian cause in the Middle East conflict and critical of Labour's national stance has stepped forward either. It has probably helped Khan that he made an early call for a ceasefire.

Another aspect of turnout, which Labour candidates always hope will be high, might help Khan relative to 2021. The general trend for mayoral contests has been up, and the 42 per cent of 2021 was higher than many had feared, given the debilitating effects of Covid and the very high level of rejected ballots. And at 4.3 per cent, the spoilage rate was more than twice as high as previous levels.



The problem seems to have been the design of the mayoral ballot paper. It had to accommodate a field of 20, resulted in two columns of candidates, each with a first and a second preference box beside their name. Voters were confused. Things will be simpler in 2024, partly because there will be no second preference box this time and partly because the field is smaller - nomination rules were relaxed for 2021 due to the pandemic which made it easier to enter the race.

Finally, some doubt the impact on Khan's support of Voter ID will be as big he says it could be. Those the Electoral Commission found didn't vote in 2023 included disabled, younger, ethnic minority and unemployed people. All of them are categories of citizen more likely to vote Labour than Conservative, and London has higher percentages of young and ethnic minority citizens than the national average. Yet some analysis contends that although Voter ID might help the Tories in London, it won't by very much.

Khan could be right that that his apparently huge early leads deceive. But even if every factor that might work against him is piled on one side, he still appears set fair for that historic third term win.

# MAYORAL CANDIDATES AND THEIR CAMPAIGNS

There will be 13 names on the ballot paper this year, seven fewer than in 2021. The number would have been higher had two of the better-placed also-rans from three years ago completed their nomination forms correctly: YouTuber Niko Omilana finished fifth last time with 49,628 votes (two per cent) and former actor Laurence Fox came sixth with 47,634 (1.9 percent). Those who got the form-filling right and also found the £10,000 deposit are:

- FEMY AMIN** (Animal Welfare Party)
- COUNT BINFACE** (Count Binface for Mayor)
- ROB BLACKIE** (Liberal Democrat)
- NATALIE CAMPBELL** (Independent)
- HOWARD COX** (Reform UK)
- AMY GALLAGHER** (Social Democratic Party)
- ZOË GARBETT** (Green Party)
- TARUN GHULATI** (Independent)
- SUSAN HALL** (Conservative)
- SADIQ KHAN** (Labour)
- ANDREAS MICHLI** (Independent)
- BRIAN ROSE** (London Real Party)
- NICK SCANLON** (Britain First)

# Sadiq Khan

Khan, 53, has been the first Mayor of London whose time in office has never coincided with his party being in national government. Critics, including some in Labour circles, believe he could and should have made a better job of his relationships with the array of Tory ministers he has had dealings with since 2016. Others point to the sustained hostility directed at him from Westminster, especially after Boris Johnson, his predecessor as London Mayor, secured his big parliamentary majority in 2019.

This was most notable in the conditions attached to a series of short-term funding deals with Transport for London to see it through the ravages of the pandemic. There has also been recurring interference from above in Khan's London Plan, the master mayoral blueprint for London's overall development. Khan's powers have been over-ridden and his autonomy constrained. The government's "levelling up" agenda has had, in both word and deed, a distinctly London-bashing quality. It's been a strange way of honouring Johnson's 2019 manifesto commitment to end the days of "Whitehall knows best".

It is therefore unsurprising that Khan is holding up the prospect of his working hand-in-hand with a Labour national government in the near future as a good reason for Londoners to give him a third term. Other headline themes of his campaign have been his most obviously popular policies, the threat to them he claims is posed by the "hard right" Hall, the London values he says he represents. He is highlighting his freezing of Transport for London public transport fares, his free school meals programme which guarantees one to every London primary school child, his air quality measures and his programme for reforming the Metropolitan Police.

A promise that 40,000 new council homes would be completed by 2030 opened his campaign, followed by pledges to boost community policing, eradicate homelessness and create a new climate action plan and an "Erasmus-style" student exchange scheme with other countries.

At his manifesto launch he revealed that if elected he will continue his free school meals programme for the next four years and fund "baby banks" across the city to ensure that parents of young children can obtain basics, such as nappies and bedding.

Attempting to blunt his Tory rival's main lines of attack, Khan has ruled out both an increase in the Ultra-Low Emission Zone (ULEZ) daily charge for motor vehicles that fail to meet its anti-pollution standards and has repeatedly insisted he does not intend to bring in a comprehensive "pay-per-mile" road user charging system.



# Susan Hall

Khan was accompanied at his launch event, held at a community centre near Paddington, by Labour leader Sir Keir Starmer with a full complement of media in attendance. This made a striking contrast with Hall, whose challenge was formally announced at a gathering in what appeared to be a car park in Uxbridge with, it seems, not a single journalist invited.

Hall later said this had been a virtuous expression of the kind of politician she is: not “glitzy” but an assiduous door-knocker who wants to hear from voters directly. This fits with her headline message that she would be “a Mayor who listens” but it might also betray a nervousness about facing media scrutiny.

Previously, a trio of appearances on the radio show of Nick Ferrari, a host with whom Hall shares common ground politically, had not gone well: among other things, the Tory candidate had effectively unravelled her own claim to have been the victim of a pickpocket on the Tube and been unable to say what a London bus fare costs.

These and other fluffs continue to be brought up, along with her widely-reported past social media applause for Donald Trump, for an admirer of Enoch Powell and for a far-right agitator who used the anti-Muslim term “Londonistan”.

Hall has also angered Khan supporters by claiming at last autumn’s Conservative conference that some Jewish Londoners are “frightened” of the Labour Mayor “because of his divisive attitudes” when, in reality, Khan, a Muslim of course, has won repeated applause from Jewish leaders for supporting their community.

Hall has sought to brush these matters aside, but that won’t make them go away. The same may be true of her team’s attempt to distance her from the Conservative Party by rebranding her as simply “Susan”, stripping campaign materials of True Blue livery, and mentioning that she’s the Tory candidate only in its small print.

Such an uncoupling makes sense in view of Hall’s party’s current unpopularity, which is particularly pronounced in London. But she is such an archetypal Tory it won’t be an easy ploy to execute. An unrepentant Leaver, she maintained her public loyalty to her party’s top brass even through the ravages of “partygate”, the pandemic scandal that ended Johnson’s premiership. She praised the catastrophic budget of his successor, Liz Truss.

Hall does, however, have a long London government pedigree. Reportedly aged 69, she has served as a Harrow councillor since 2006 and was briefly the borough's leader between September 2013 and May 2014 following a split in the Labour group. In June 2017 she ascended to the London Assembly, succeeding Kemi Badenoch, now a government minister, after she became an MP. Hall led the Assembly Tory group from 2019 until May 2023, when she was replaced.

Her foreground promises have been to reduce crime, bring about the building of more family-sized homes, and scrap "on day one" Khan's latest expansion of the ULEZ from the North and South Circular roads to take in all of Greater London. Further echoing national Tory opposition to what it calls a "war on motorists" Hall has said she would facilitate the removal by boroughs of Low Traffic Neighbourhoods and end 20 mile-per-hour speed limits on TfL roads. She is also advocating a faster switch to electric buses and the installation of more electric vehicle charging points.

## Rob Blackie

The Liberal Democrat challenger, 50, is a former overseas aid worker and adviser to the late Charles Kennedy when he was the party's leader from 1999 to 2006. Blackie went on to hold leadership positions in major communications firms, specialising in digital campaigning.

His topline promise is to "fix the Met", which, in his party's tradition of valuing local accountability, he argues has become too distant from the Londoners it's meant to serve. He has also raised concerns about basic Met information technology, describing it as falling far short of what is found in private sector businesses with particularly bad consequences for the investigation of rape and sexual offences.

Blackie is also calling for the police to spend less time stopping people to search them for cannabis and laughing gas, saying they should concentrate more closely on violent crime instead. Past experience lends moral authority to his views on this: some years ago, he was the victim of a mugging which left him with serious injuries, later necessitating major surgery.

On housing, Blackie describes himself as a "Yimby champion", backing "new housing of all types" along with supporting strengthening the rights of renters. He's promised to improve on Khan's progress towards net zero and on his tree-planting record and to restrict use of the forthcoming Silvertown Tunnel beneath the Thames to low-carbon vehicles. Blackie is also seeking a seat on the London Assembly, a goal he stands a far better chance of attaining than becoming Mayor.

## Zoë Garbett

The Green candidate, 36, has been majoring on London's unaffordability. She has made early promises to extend existing free public transport entitlements to younger and older Londoners, expand Khan's free school meals programme to take in secondary as well as primary schools and set up a commission to work out how best to hold down private sector rents.

Garbett has been a Hackney councillor since 2022 and contested the borough's mayoral by-election last year, finishing second. Originally from Somerset, she has held public and mental health-related jobs in a variety of London boroughs and been a Green for more than ten years, initially as a behind-the-scenes organiser. Her distinctive pink quiff helps her stand out.

The full suite of "active travel" and motor traffic-reduction measures is endorsed by the Green candidate. She uses a bicycle to get around the city, and thinks the key to encouraging more people to do the same is more and better dedicated infrastructure, better bike parking security and a greater focus on low-income communities. Like her party colleagues on the London Assembly, she backs adopting a London-wide road user charging scheme.

On housing supply, Garbett would like Mayor Khan's policy of helping local authorities purchase existing homes and converting them for social rent to be enlarged, believing it to be a preferable approach to demolish-and-rebuild estate regeneration. She accepts that building new homes is also part of the solution and would seek to extract higher proportions of sub-market priced "affordable" dwellings from private developers. Like all the other leading candidates, she rules out building on Green Belt land.

Like Rob Blackie, Garbett is also seeking election to the London Assembly. She has been placed in fourth position on her party's list of Londonwide candidates, behind its trio of existing AMs. If she is unsuccessful but the Greens again win three Assembly seats, she stands a chance of filling one of them later in the year. Current Green AM Siân Berry has said that if she becomes the MP for Brighton Pavilion at the general election, she will resign from the Assembly. Should that happen, Garbett would automatically fill the vacant seat in the same way as Susan Hall filled Kemi Badenoch's.

## Howard Cox

A long-time campaigner for private motorists' rights as founder of the Fair Fuel UK campaign, which seeks to reduce the duty paid on petrol consumption, Cox is unusual for a London Mayor candidate in that he lives in the Tunbridge Wells district of Kent. He has pledged to do away with the ULEZ completely, including the original central London section which was a Mayor Johnson policy implemented by Mayor Khan, and to refund all vehicle owners who have been charged or fined in the area covered by the latest expansion. He also says he would end 20 mile per hour speed limits and "remove" all Low Traffic Neighbourhoods, despite most of these being on roads owned by boroughs and which Mayors do not control.

Alongside striking an aggressively nationalist "culture war" tone, Cox has been attacking Hall as well as Khan and vowed to "triple visible policing levels" and to see the back of any Met Commissioner who didn't make that come about. He has alleged that the Met panders to what he calls "woke politics".

## The Rest

Opposing policies regulating motor vehicles is a foreground concern of two of the independent candidates, investment banker **Tarun Ghulati** and businessman **Andreas Michli**. Ghulati says he would completely scrap the ULEZ, review 20 mph limits and LTNs, and suspend congestion charging at weekends. He's also said he would increase the police presence on the streets and try to reduce loneliness and poverty. Michli opposes LTNs. The owner of a gym in Haringey, he says he'd provide a free gym membership for every Londoner and improve police officers' fitness levels.

Another independent, **Natalie Campbell**, social entrepreneur, co-chief executive of drinks company Belu and Chancellor of the University of Westminster, was last year longlisted to be the Tory candidate. She has also been a member of London's local enterprise partnership, a group of business leaders which worked with the Mayor and London Councils.

**Brian Rose**, a US-born ex-banker ran for Mayor in 2021, finishing seventh with 31,111 votes (1.2 per cent). He has a media firm called London Real, is a fan of crypto currency and wants TfL privatised. He too would scrap the ULEZ.

Britain First is a far-right group that registered as a political party in 2021. Its candidate is **Nick Scanlon**, who stood unsuccessfully for Greenwich Council in May 2022. The party's leader, Paul Golding, ran in 2016 under the Britain First banner, finishing eighth with 31,372 votes (1.2 per cent).

The Animal Welfare Party, which also offers a wider environmental agenda, contested the mayoralty in 2016 and 2021 and is represented this time by **Femy Amin**, who came to the UK as a teenage refugee from Afghanistan.

Representing the Social Democratic Party (SDP), **Amy Gallagher**, a nurse, says her chief concerns are poor living conditions, unreliable public transport and lack of community in the capital. The SDP has a historic link with the centrist party of that name formed in 1981, but says it is "socially conservative". Another ULEZ-scrapper.

**Count Binface** is the satirical space warrior alter ego of comedian David Harvey. He finished ninth in the 2021 mayoral election, receiving 24,775 votes, representing one per cent of the total. His slogan is "Make Earth Great Again".

# THE LONDON ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

The primary function of the 25 members of the London Assembly - AMs for short - is to scrutinise and hold the Mayor to account by means of committee hearings, investigations and plenary and Mayor's Question Time sessions. It is consulted about strategies and the Mayor's budget, although its powers to constrain the Mayor are weak. England's other devolved regional authorities do not have equivalent bodies.

The Assembly is elected using the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system, sometimes called the Additional Member system. Its guiding principle is that there should be a majority of members elected using First Past The Post in single member geographical constituencies but that the overall political composition of the Assembly should be in line with the votes cast in a parallel Assembly ballot conducted under a form of Proportional Representation. The same system is used to elect the parliaments of Scotland and New Zealand.

Londoners therefore have two votes for London Assembly members - one for candidates for the constituency in which they live, the other for a London-wide member. There are 14 constituency seats and 11 London-wide top-up list seats. In 2021 Labour won 11 Assembly seats altogether. The 12 Labour won in 2012 and 2016 is the highest number ever won by any party.

## ***London Assembly representation by party since 2000***

	2000		2004		2008		2012		2016		2021	
Conservative	9	$\frac{8}{1}$	9	$\frac{9}{0}$	11	$\frac{8}{3}$	9	$\frac{6}{3}$	8	$\frac{5}{3}$	9	$\frac{5}{4}$
Labour	9	$\frac{6}{3}$	7	$\frac{5}{2}$	8	$\frac{6}{2}$	12	$\frac{8}{4}$	12	$\frac{9}{3}$	11	$\frac{9}{2}$
Lib Dem	4		5		3		2		1		2	
Green	3		2		2		2		2		3	
UKIP	0		2		0		0		2		0	
BNP	0		0		1		0		0		0	

*The split between constituency (top) and London-wide list (bottom) Assembly Members is shown for Conservative and Labour parties. No other party has yet won a constituency seat.*

Only four of the 14 constituency seats have ever changed hands and the Tories have never won fewer than five of them, the number they hold at present. This time, there seems a strong likelihood that they will be reduced to three, a chance they could go down to one or two, and even a possibility, although remote, they could end up with none at all.

The corrective mechanisms of MMP would, however, deliver some compensation to the Tories for constituency losses through the London-wide side of the election: it has not gone unnoticed that although the system for electing the Mayor has been changed in a way likely to help Conservative candidates, that for the Assembly has been left as it was. Even so, it is entirely conceivable that Labour, having fallen one short in 2012 and 2016, could finish up with a majority of the 25 Assembly seats in 2024.

Achieving this, though historic, would not be significant in any other way: it would confer no extra power and, from a Mayor's point of view, as long as just one third of AMs are on his side he can be as good as certain of getting his annual budget passed without amendment. Nonetheless, a Labour Assembly majority would be a striking symbol of the party's strength across the capital.

# THE CONSTITUENCIES

The 14 London Assembly constituencies are assembled from two or three neighbouring or coterminous borough areas, except for City & East which comprises three boroughs and the City of London. Labour currently holds nine of the seats and the Conservatives hold the other five.

Most constituency seats have usually been safe for either party. The marginals which could change hands this year include one that might see the first ever Lib Dem constituency win.

	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021	2022
Barnet & Camden	Con	Con	Con	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Bexley & Bromley	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con
Brent & Harrow	Lab	Con	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
City & East	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Croydon & Sutton	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con
Ealing & Hillingdon	Con	Con	Con	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Enfield & Haringey	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Greenwich & Lewisham	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Havering & Redbridge	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Lab
Lambeth & Southwark	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
Merton & Wandsworth	Con	Con	Con	Con	Lab	Lab	Lab
North East	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab	Lab
South West	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	LD
West Central	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Con	Lab
Conservative	8	9	8	6	5	5	2
Labour	6	5	6	8	9	9	11
Lib Dem	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

*Right hand column lists which party came out top when results of 2022 elections in the boroughs each constituency contains are combined.*



The best indicators of how the 2024 constituency votes might play out are the results of the council elections of May 2022. They aren't a perfect guide because they took place two years ago and some Londoners vote differently in borough contests from how they vote for AMs.

Even so, the 2022 outcomes point to the Tories losing the West Central and Havering & Redbridge seats to Labour with an inaugural Lib Dem triumph in the South West seat, covering Hounslow, Kingston and Richmond. In addition, Labour might get lucky in Croydon & Sutton for the first time. Hope for the Conservatives lies in particular local reasons why Labour might slip up in either Ealing & Hillingdon or Brent & Harrow.

Most of the incumbent constituency AMs are standing again, including Labour Assembly group leader Len Duvall, who has been on the Assembly since it was established. Those standing down are Labour's Onkar Sahota, who was deselected in Ealing & Hillingdon, and two Conservatives: Nicholas Rogers who is moving on after a single term representing South West, and Peter Fortune who, after a single stint as AM for Bexley & Bromley, has been chosen to run for a seat in parliament.

## BARNET & CAMDEN



This radial slice of north London stretches all the way from Lincoln's Inn Fields close to the capital's centre to its rural fringe at Arkley and Hadley Wood. The seat's most distinctive demographic feature is the 11 per cent of the population who are Jewish. There are deprived inner urban areas and outer estates, but the bulk of the seat is affluent and educated.

The political traditions of the two boroughs from which the seat is composed are different. Camden has elected Labour majorities every time except for in 1968 and 2006, while Barnet has tended to the Conservatives – there was no overall majority in 1994 or 1998 but otherwise it was stubbornly Tory until Labour swept in in 2022.

Barnet is larger than Camden and usually has a higher turnout, so the Assembly constituency has tended to be marginal, with a Tory winning the first three elections and Labour winning the next three.

BARNET AND CAMDEN						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	32.9	35.3	41.2	31.9	35.5	35.0
Labour	32.5	26.7	30.0	44.7	44.3	42.3
Lib Dem	17.6	17.5	12.6	8.3	6.1	8.0
Green	11.7	8.8	9.5	10.7	9.2	12.5
UKIP*	1.7	6.4	2.1	4.4	4.9	2.6
Left	2.8	3.8	1.2			
CPA		1.4	2.0			
Winner	CON	CON	CON	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	0.4	8.6	11.2	12.8	8.8	7.3
	Brian Coleman	Brian Coleman	Brian Coleman	Andrew Dismore	Andrew Dismore	Anne Clarke

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance.  
Left: Aggregate far left share.*

Labour’s position approaching the 2024 elections appears strong. Boosted by its win in Barnet, the combined borough elections vote shares gave Labour a lead of 17 points - 46 per cent to 29 per cent for the Conservatives.

All the seat’s AMs so far have been Barnet political figures: Brian Coleman for the Conservatives (2000-2012) and Andrew Dismore for Labour (2012-2020). Anne Clarke, the current AM, was elected to the Childs Hill ward of Barnet Council in 2018, the first Labour winner there in 40 years. She went on to hold the Assembly seat convincingly for her party in 2021.

The Tory candidate this year is Julie Redmond, a public health nurse who stood unsuccessfully in the West End Westminster Council ward in 2022. She was born in Ireland and Clarke in the suburbs of Chicago. These contestants illustrate London’s international appeal.

## Full List of Candidates

- Anne Clarke (Labour)
- Scott Emery (Lib Dem)
- Raj Forhad (Reform UK)
- Bill Martin (The Socialist Party GB)
- Julie Redmond (Conservative)
- Kate Tokley (Green)

## BEXLEY & BROMLEY



Formed from neighbouring boroughs in the suburbs of south east London, bordering Kent, this is the safest Tory seat. The only strong Labour areas are at the edges, in Penge in north west Bromley and along the Thames frontage of Bexley. Both Bexley and Bromley councils remained under Tory control in 2022 and the party successfully defended the Old Bexley & Sidcup parliamentary seat in a by-election in December 2021.

Could it possibly be vulnerable to Labour? In theory, perhaps. Its distribution produced a flattering number of council seats, but the combined Tory vote share in the two boroughs in 2022 was 42 per cent - only seven points bigger than Labour's.

BEXLEY AND BROMLEY						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	47.2	40.4	52.6	52.6	46.1	52.6
Labour	22.1	15.6	15.0	24.2	24.1	25.5
Lib Dem	21.6	18.9	10.6	6.8	6.4	7.1
Green	8.1	5.1	4.6	5.5	6.7	11.6
UKIP*		16.8	4.0	6.4	16.1	3.1
Left	1.0	1.1	0.5			
Right			7.1	4.5		
CPA		2.1	2.2			
Winner	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON
Majority	25.1	21.5/LD	37.6	28.4	22.0	27.1
	Bob Neill	Bob Neill	James Cleverly	James Cleverly	Gareth Bacon	Peter Fortune

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. All Con majorities over Lab except where LD (Lib Dem) stated.*

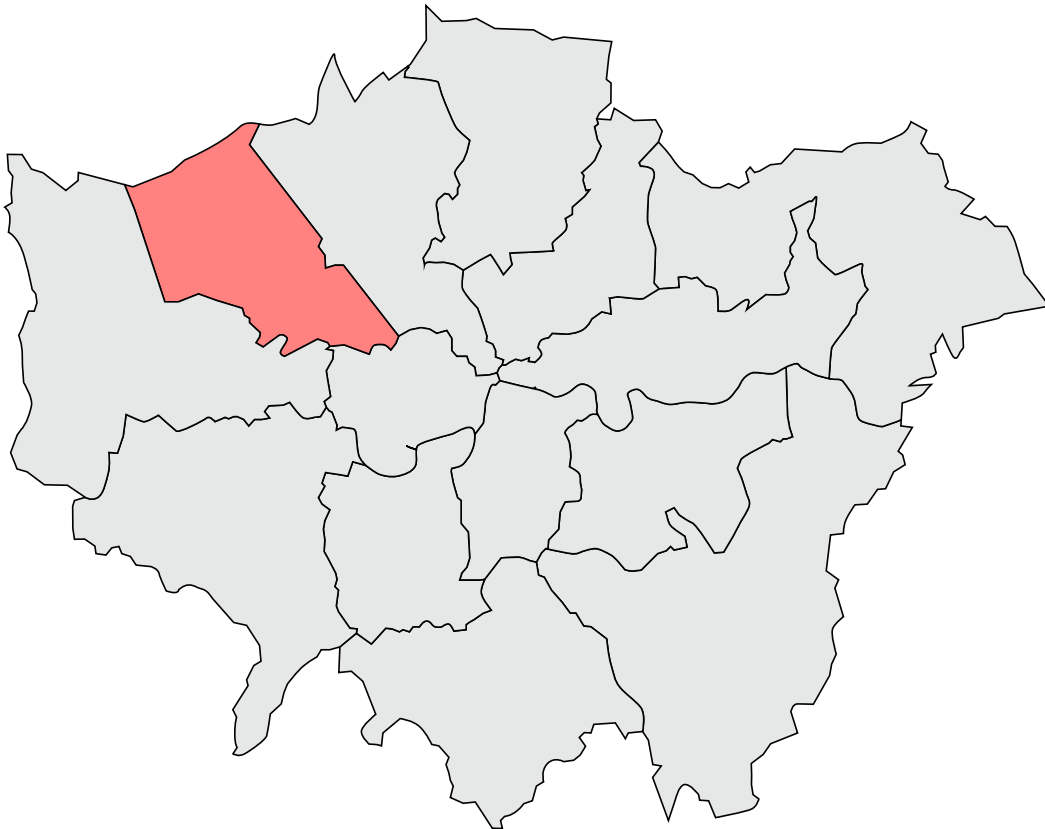
Yet Bexley & Bromley is highly likely to stick with the Conservatives. There have been large swings to Labour outside London of late, but not within it compared to the party's strong showing two years ago. The Tories might do better in outer London Assembly seats than they do in borough or parliamentary contests. The boundary area has seen some of the most disruptive anti-ULEZ campaigning.

The first three AMs for this seat have gone on to be MPs: Bob Neill became the parliamentary member for Bromley & Chislehurst; James Cleverly, now Home Secretary, represents Braintree; Gareth Bacon holds the local Orpington seat. Now, incumbent Peter Fortune, who won Bexley & Bromley for the first time in 2021, has been selected to contest the newly-formed Bromley & Biggin Hill parliamentary seat, a successor to Bromley & Chislehurst from which Neill, latterly Sir Bob, will retire at the general election. The Tories' new candidate for Bexley & Bromley is Frederick Turrell, a Bromley councillor for Hayes & Coney Hall ward.

## Full List of Candidates

Gita Bapat (Lib Dem)  
 Alan Cook (Reform UK)  
 Marley King (Green)  
 Kevin McKenna (Labour)  
 Frederick Turrell (Conservative)

## BRENT & HARROW



Brent & Harrow is a diverse constituency in every meaning of the term. Geographically, it stretches from inner-city Kilburn to the comfortable suburbia of Stanmore and Pinner. The majority of its electors are either residents of Harrow or the northern part of Brent. Yet these “Metroland” suburbs are among the most ethnically diverse places in Britain. Harrow has a very large Hindu community – the 2021 Census found it made up 25.8 per cent of the borough’s population – as do Wembley and Queensbury in Brent. The south of Brent also has a sizeable black population. Only 35 per cent of the constituency is white.

The Brent & Harrow seat has been won by Labour in five out of six London Assembly elections so far, the odd one out being the win in 2004 for Conservative Bob Blackman, formerly Brent Council leader and now the MP for Harrow East.

BRENT AND HARROW						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	33.1	34.0	36.2	28.0	33.9	33.2
Labour	37.6	30.0	37.3	48.5	45.7	45.6
Lib Dem	17.6	17.7	12.5	10.8	6.6	8.7
Green	9.0	5.9	6.5	7.3	5.7	10.2
UKIP*		6.1	2.0	5.4	5.2	2.3
Left	2.6	3.9	1.5		0.3	
Right			1.4			
CPA		2.3	2.7			
Winner	LAB	CON	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	4.5	4.0	1.1	20.5	11.8	12.4
	Toby Harris	Bob Blackman	Navin Shah	Navin Shah	Navin Shah	Krupesh Hirani

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance.  
Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share.*

Despite Labour’s successes, the seat’s outer London character has kept it from being entirely safe, and political cross-currents could be at play in 2024. While Labour held Brent easily in the 2022 borough elections, it was a different story in Harrow, where the Conservatives gained a majority. Their gains were concentrated in Hindu areas – the community was swinging to the right even before Rishi Sunak became Prime Minister. Another factor in the mix is that Susan Hall is a Harrow councillor as well as being an AM and was once briefly council leader.

Still, the two 2022 borough results added together produced a Labour share of 45 per cent to 33 per cent for the Tories, which was a virtual repeat of the Assembly seat’s result the year before. Labour’s Krupesh Hirani is seeking a second term. His Tory challenger is Romania-born businessman Stefan Bucovineanul-Voloseniuc who fleetingly dropped out in January before deciding to stand after all.

## Full List of Candidates

- Nida Al-Fulaij (Green)
- Stefan Bucovineanul-Voloseniuc (Conservative)
- Krupesh Hirani (Labour)
- Ian Price (Reform UK)
- Jonny Singh (Lib Dem)

## CITY & EAST



City & East is the only Assembly seat embracing four local authority areas – Newham, Barking & Dagenham, Tower Hamlets and the City of London. The latter is rather different from the others in that it isn't a borough council – it operates according to its own ancient rules – and, though an economic powerhouse, is geographically very small and contains only about 8,000 residents who can vote.

That is the sort of number found in a single ward in most boroughs and means City & East's political character is defined by the three boroughs it contains, two of which are monolithically pro-Labour in most elections and have made the constituency the party's safest in most Assembly elections.



CITY AND EAST						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	19.5	18.1	17.5	14.6	15.4	21.2
Labour	45.9	29.1	34.7	63.0	57.8	56.7
Lib Dem	18.5	13.9	7.5	4.3	8.9	6.4
Green	12.1	6.6	6.3	6.4	5.1	11.6
UKIP*		13.7	1.7	3.1	8.5	4.1
Left	4.0	15.0	15.8	0.6	2.0	
Right			12.2	4.1		
CPA		3.4	4.0			
CUP				4.0		
Winner	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	26.4	11.0	17.2	48.4	42.4	35.5
	John Biggs	John Biggs	John Biggs	John Biggs	Unmesh Desai	Unmesh Desai

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. CUP: Communities United Party. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share.*

The partial exception is Tower Hamlets, which has a more varied and sometimes turbulent political history. It is currently controlled by the Aspire Party, a local organisation led by the borough's Mayor, Lutfur Rahman, which ended Labour's control in 2022. There have also been some unaccustomed dents in Labour's dominance in Newham of late, in the form of two local by-election defeats at the hands of the Newham Independents, a grouping that emulates Aspire's appeal to Muslim voters and in its responsiveness to specific local issues.

That is particularly significant given that City & East has, at 33.8 per cent, the highest proportion of Muslim voters of any Assembly seat, according to the 2021 Census. With Labour's relationship with Muslim voters across the country becoming strained due to its line on the conflict in Gaza there was potential for a pro-Palestine, left-populist intervention in some form such as Tower Hamlets has seen before, but that has not materialised.

There will be other challenges to Labour. The Trade Unionist and Socialist Coalition (TUSC) is standing a candidate, running on a "no cuts" platform. The Greens, too, could erode Labour's support from the left. Moreover, though it makes little mark in borough elections, there is a latent Conservative vote in Barking & Dagenham – Shaun Bailey polled 36.5 per cent of the mayoral first preference vote in 2021 to specific local issues such as opposition to Low Traffic Neighbourhoods.

But for all that, Labour incumbent Unmesh Desai can afford to do much worse than he did in 2021 and still hold the seat.

## **Full List of Candidates**

Lois Austin (TUSC)

Unmesh Desai (Labour)

Freddie Downing (Conservative)

AK Goodman (Independent)

Joe Hudson-Small (Green)

David Sandground (Reform UK)

Patrick Stillman (Lib Dem)

# CROYDON & SUTTON



In borough terms, the political shading of this mainly suburban south London constituency is distinctively distributed. Croydon Council is closely contested between the Conservatives and Labour, with the former stronger in the south and the latter in the north. Neighbouring Sutton has been a resilient fiefdom for the Lib Dems since 1986, although the Conservatives have wrested both of the borough's parliamentary seats from them at recent general elections, gaining Sutton & Cheam in 2015 and Carshalton & Wallington in 2019.

The combined strength of the Tories across the Assembly seat compared with rival parties explains why they have held it continuously since its creation with a low but stable share of the vote. And the 2022 borough results suggest they are in fairly good shape to defend it, despite the party's problems nationally. In Croydon, against the trend, they won the inaugural contest to be the borough's directly elected Mayor and deprived Labour of its majority of councillors.

CROYDON AND SUTTON						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	40.6	38.6	44.1	39.1	38.6	41.4
Labour	24.7	19.1	19.5	33.0	32.2	31.3
Lib Dem	25.7	21.1	18.6	14.2	10.4	14.4
Green	7.4	4.6	5.2	6.7	7.4	9.9
UKIP*		11.2	5.4	7.0	10.1	1.8
Left	1.5	2.3	0.8			
Right			2.4		0.1	
CPA		3.1	4.0			
Winner	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON
Majority	14.9/LD	17.5/LD	24.6	6.1	6.4	10.1
	Andrew Pelling	Andrew Pelling	Steve O'Connell	Steve O'Connell	Steve O'Connell	Neil Garratt

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. All Con majorities over Lab except where LD (Lib Dem) stated.*

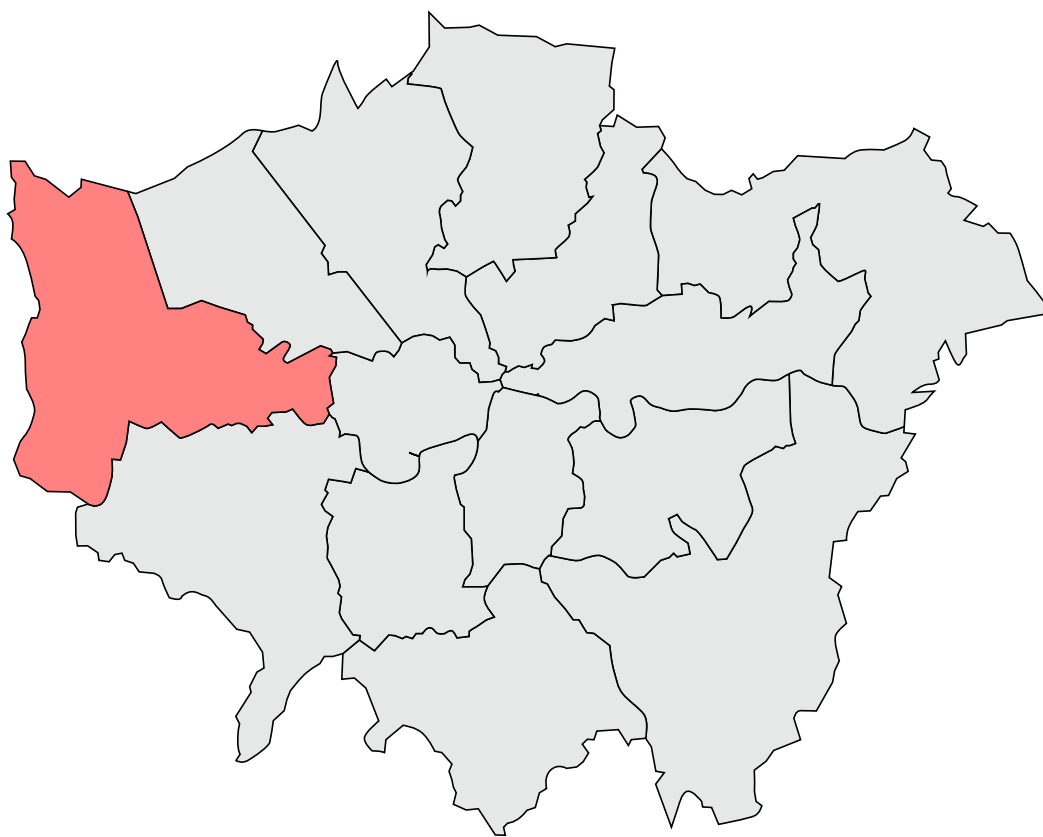
The Croydon swing away from Labour meant the Tories finished ten points ahead of them across Croydon and Sutton combined, with a 36 per cent vote share compared with Labour's 26 per cent, the Lib Dems' 23 and the Greens' 11.

That Tory lead over Labour was the same size as Tory incumbent Neil Garratt's margin of victory over the Labour runner-up in the Assembly seat in 2021. It means that Garratt, who leads the Conservative group at City Hall and is also a councillor in Sutton, will be re-elected unless the recent solidity of the Tory vote is undermined by the party's unpopularity nationally and by tactical voting, probably by Lib Dems getting behind Labour rather than the other way round.

## Full List of Candidates

April Ashley (TUSC)  
 Trish Fivey (Lib Dem)  
 Neil Garratt (Conservative)  
 Maddie Henson (Labour)  
 Marian Newton (Reform UK)  
 Peter Underwood (Green)

## EALING & HILLINGDON



This outer west London seat lies on either side of the A40 as it heads towards Oxford and of the parallel A4020 through Southall and Uxbridge. A marginal, it probably represents the Conservatives' best hope for a gain in 2024, thanks to Labour's small majority and its outer London social composition.

The two boroughs are very different politically. Ealing has been Labour-controlled since 2010 and the party has a large majority at present. Hillingdon has had a Conservative ascendancy since 2006 and is therefore one of the party's more reliable London boroughs. The combination has resulted in Ealing & Hillingdon being won three times by Conservatives and three times by Labour. The 2022 borough elections saw Labour finish nearly 12 points ahead, taking 43.4 per cent of the vote and the Tories 31.7 per cent.

EALING AND HILLINGDON						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	37.4	32.4	43.2	38.1	34.9	36.9
Labour	31.7	24.5	26.6	40.0	42.8	40.8
Lib Dem	18.5	16.8	10.4	7.2	6.5	4.8
Green	9.8	6.7	7.3	6.6	7.8	8.1
UKIP*		10.5	2.6	4.1	7.9	4.2
Left	2.5	3.0	1.4			
Right			5.7	3.9		
CPA		2.2	2.9			
Ind		3.8				
Winner	CON	CON	CON	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	5.7	7.9	16.6	1.9	7.9	3.9
	Richard Barnes	Richard Barnes	Richard Barnes	Onkar Sahota	Onkar Sahota	Onkar Sahota

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. Ind: Independent candidate.*

Despite winning in 2021, Labour is fielding a different candidate this time. Onkar Sahota, who had represented the seat since 2012, was deselected by his local party members last year and replaced by experienced Ealing councillor Bassam Mahfouz, who stood for the Ealing Central & Acton parliamentary seat in 2010.

Sahota's vocal support for the ULEZ expansion may have told against him, particularly after the Conservatives hung on to Uxbridge & South Ruislip – a part of this Assembly constituency – in the July 2023 parliamentary by-election. The Tories will be hoping that negative views of the ULEZ won't have dissipated since it came into effect the month after that narrow hold. Their candidate Henry Higgins can be relied upon to aspirate the "H" in Hillingdon with due precision.

## Full List of Candidates

Anthony Goodwin (Reform UK)  
 Henry Higgins (Conservative)  
 Jess Lee (Green)  
 Bassam Mahfouz (Labour)  
 Kuldev Sehra (Lib Dem)

## ENFIELD & HARINGEY



Enfield & Haringey is an outer north London seat, although Haringey has many inner urban characteristics. The constituency was only narrowly held by Labour in the first three Assembly elections, but Joanne McCartney's majority ballooned in 2012 and it has remained safe for her and her party since then. The combined Labour margin over the Tories in the 2022 Enfield and Haringey borough elections was a formidable 22 points, very similar to what it was for the Assembly contest of 2021.

ENFIELD AND HARINGEY						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	29.2	27.9	32.4	25.8	23.7	25.8
Labour	32.2	29.2	33.3	51.2	54.0	48.3
Lib Dem	13.4	17.0	14.9	9.4	7.1	10.3
Green	10.1	8.9	7.9	8.5	9.1	13.0
UKIP*		9.2	3.0	3.0	5.4	2.0
Left	3.4	5.9				
Right			1.4	2.1		
CPA		2.0	3.6			
Ind pro-Ken	11.8					
Winner	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	3.0	1.3	0.9	25.4	30.4	22.5
	Nicky Gavron	Joanne McCartney	Joanne McCartney	Joanne McCartney	Joanne McCartney	Joanne McCartney

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. Ind pro-Ken: Independent supporting Ken Livingstone.*

Moreover, the non-Labour vote is split. Enfield Conservatives made gains on the strength of local issues in 2022 but in Haringey the heavily outnumbered opposition comes from the Lib Dems. There is a respectable Green vote in the borough too. But the scene appears set for another Labour win.

## Full List of Candidates

Roger Gravett (Reform UK)  
 Katie Knight (Green)  
 Joanne McCartney (Labour)  
 Calum McGillivray (Conservative)  
 Guy Russo (Lib Dem)



# GREENWICH & LEWISHAM



This constituency covers the inner south east of London, although Greenwich borough stretches out as far as Thamesmead and Eltham. It is reliably Labour territory, with the party keeping control of Greenwich Council and the Lewisham mayoralty even at its low London local government ebb of 2006.

This makes the main electoral challenge for the party getting the vote out to support Sadiq Khan and bulk up Labour's London-wide vote share for the Assembly. The Conservatives came second in 2021, but they were not far ahead of the Greens, who have a core of support in Lewisham in particular, where their candidate finished second in the borough's mayoral by-election in March.

When you add up the Green shares in the 2022 borough elections you get 19 per cent, beating the Tories' 15 per cent. However, the Greens were still well short of Labour's 53 per cent.

GREENWICH AND LEWISHAM						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	23.6	20.4	25.2	20.7	18.9	22.9
Labour	42.6	33.3	36.2	49.6	52.5	48.3
Lib Dem	17.2	17.6	12.4	7.1	6.9	7.5
Green	12.5	10.4	10.6	9.4	12.6	18.1
UKIP*		12.4	2.7	3.8	8.4	2.2
Left	4.2	2.6	2.5	5.2		
Right			7.0	4.1		
CPA		3.3	3.5			
Winner	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	CON	CON
Majority	19.0	12.9	11.0	28.9	33.6	25.4
	Len Duvall	Len Duvall	Len Duvall	Len Duvall	Len Duvall	Len Duvall

*\*Includes Brexit Party share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance.  
Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share.*

Labour candidate Len Duvall is the only AM of the original 25 elected in 2000 to still be in office. He has led the Assembly Labour group since 2004 and served in a senior capacity on many of its committees as well as chairing the now-defunct Metropolitan Police Authority. Before all that, he led Greenwich Council from 1992 to 2000.

The Green candidate is Greenwich Council candidate and anti-Silvertown Tunnel activist Karin Tearle. Former Bromley councillor Kieran Terry represents the Conservatives.

## Full List of Candidates

Len Duvall (Labour)  
 Josh Matthews (Lib Dem)  
 Mark Simpson (Reform UK)  
 Karin Tearle (Green)  
 Kieran Terry (Conservative)

# HAVERING & REDBRIDGE



Havering & Redbridge is in the outer east of London, north of the Thames. It has always been a Conservative seat, although the party's majority there became uncomfortably small in the elections of 2012 and 2016. It could be a close-run thing again.

The battle for the seat can be seen as one between the two boroughs from which it is composed. Redbridge is a bit larger and Labour-inclined, but the Conservative majority in Havering is emphatic and has always proved decisive. In 2021, Labour did better than the Tories in Redbridge by 12,228 votes (13.6 per cent) but in Havering, the Conservative margin over Labour was 27,555 votes (35.3 per cent).

Redbridge has trended towards Labour as it has become increasingly ethnically diverse. The party won a council majority for the first time ever in 2014 and now dominates. Havering's political environment has been more confused. The Conservatives have long jostled for borough control with Residents' Association councillors, who took control of control of the council in 2022 with support from Labour.

HAVERING AND REDBRIDGE						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	37.5	34.6	47.7	37.6	37.7	46.0
Labour	30.0	21.7	21.5	34.8	36.9	36.9
Lib Dem	12.9	10.5	7.6	4.5	4.2	4.8
Green	6.2	4.6	5.5	3.7	5.6	8.1
UKIP*		14.1	7.4	6.7	15.6	3.1
Left	1.6	4.0	0.9	3.7		1.1
Right			3.9	6.9		
CPA		2.3	3.4			
Resident	11.8	5.4		5.8		
Winner	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON
Majority	7.5	12.9	26.2	2.8	0.8	9.1
	Roger Evans	Roger Evans	Roger Evans	Roger Evans	Keith Prince	Keith Prince

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. Resident: Residents' Association candidate.*

The latter party's small but decisive revival in Havering contributed to its finishing ahead of the Tories across the two boroughs, winning 37 per cent of the combined vote compared with the Tories' 30 per cent.

Another reason sitting member Keith Prince should be concerned is that the narrowness of his win in 2016 – by 64,483 votes to the Labour candidate's 63,045 – was partly due to the strength at that time of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), especially in Havering, whose candidate's 26,788 votes will have largely been accumulated at Prince's expense.

Pollsters have found it difficult to quantify the popularity of UKIP descendant Reform UK, but if support for it is at a similar level to that of UKIP in 2016, Prince can expect to suffer again. That possibility, along with Labour being more popular now than it was in 2016, means Havering & Redbridge could well be won by Labour for the first time.

Prince, however, is an experienced local politician. Currently leader of Havering's Tory group, he's also been a Redbridge councillor, having a seat there from 2003 to 2018 and leading the borough between 2009 and 2014. Labour's candidate is Guy Williams, who represents Redbridge's Churchfields ward in Woodford. Another former Redbridge councillor, Alex Wilson, who sat as a Conservative from 2009 until 2018, is running for Reform UK. Wilson contested the 2021 Chesham & Amersham parliamentary by-election for Reform.

# Full List of Candidates

Kim Arrowsmith (Green)  
Mohammed Asif (Independent)  
Fraser Coppin (Lib Dem)  
Keith Prince (Conservative)  
Andy Walker (TUSC)  
Guy Williams (Labour)  
Alex Wilson (Reform UK)

# LAMBETH & SOUTHWARK



This constituency covers a large section of inner south London, from the South Bank and Waterloo down to the hillsides of Streatham and Dulwich. It has always been in Labour hands.

The Lib Dems have come closest to breaking that grip. In 2004, senior Southwark councillor and future London Assembly member Caroline Pidgeon stood and got the majority down to 5,475. But Labour's margins have greatly widened since then, in line with the party's local government base. Both Lambeth and Southwark councils have long been under Labour control – Lambeth since 2006, Southwark since 2010 – and recently by big majorities. In 2021 it was the Greens' Claire Sheppard who finished second in the Assembly election.

LAMBETH AND SOUTHWARK						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	19.1	15.2	20.1	19.4	18.5	16.5
Labour	37.6	31.7	37.2	52.8	51.6	49.0
Lib Dem	22.3	26.9	22.7	11.6	11.4	11.2
Green	13.1	10.4	11.0	11.5	13.7	19.7
UKIP*		7.7	1.8	2.8	3.5	2.1
Left	6.7	4.3	2.2	1.9	0.4	1.6
CPA		3.2	2.7			
Winner	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	15.3/LD	4.8/LD	14.5/LD	33.4	33.1	29.3/G
	Val Shawcross	Val Shawcross	Val Shawcross	Val Shawcross	Florence Eshalomi	Marina Ahmad

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. All Lab majorities over Con except where LD (Lib Dem) or G (Green) stated.*

Incumbent AM Marina Ahmad was previously a Bromley councillor. Since her victory in 2021 she has sought to follow her predecessor Florence Eshalomi into parliament, but been unsuccessful in attempts to become Labour's candidate for Camberwell & Peckham and Beckenham & Penge. Sheppard, a Nunhead-based activist, is standing again for the Greens. Conservative candidate Christine Wallace is chief of staff to Bedfordshire MP Andrew Selous.

## Full List of Candidates

Marina Ahmed (Labour)  
Adam Buick (The Socialist Party)  
Chris French (Lib Dem)  
Tony Sharp (Reform UK)  
Claire Sheppard (Green)  
Christine Wallace (Conservative)

# MERTON & WANDSWORTH



Stretching from Nine Elms on the south bank of the Thames down to Mitcham and leafy Raynes Park, this south west London constituency was held by the Conservatives the first four times it was contested before switching to Labour from 2016.

Wandsworth, the larger of the two boroughs in the seat, calls itself “the brighter borough”. It is certainly the best-educated – 62 per cent of its population has a degree. The constituency as a whole, although it has pockets of deprivation in Mitcham and Tooting in particular, takes its general tone from the youthful, professional demographic that predominates.



MERTON AND WANDSWORTH						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	39.5	38.8	44.9	43.1	39.4	33.7
Labour	28.3	25.3	29.2	36.5	41.7	41.7
Lib Dem	10.9	14.4	10.3	7.9	5.8	10.4
Green	7.4	8.2	8.4	7.5	7.9	12.6
UKIP*		6.7	2.6	2.5	4.6	1.7
Left	1.3	3.4	1.0	0.9		
CPA		2.2	2.4			
Ind pro-Ken	10.4					
Winner	CON	CON	CON	CON	LAB	LAB
Majority	11.2	13.5	15.7	6.6	2.3	8.0
	Elizabeth Howlett	Elizabeth Howlett	Richard Tracey	Richard Tracey	Leonie Cooper	Leonie Cooper

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. Ind pro-Ken: Independent supporting Ken Livingstone.*

Labour's majority, against the general trend, went up significantly in 2021 – a harbinger of the party's capture in May 2022 of what had been the Tory flagship Wandsworth Council after 44 years in opposition. Labour also controls Merton Council and the two 2022 borough results translate into an 11-point lead in the Assembly seat - 42 per cent to 32 per cent. This will give confidence to sitting AM Leonie Cooper, who is also a Wandsworth councillor, as she seeks a third term at City Hall.

Conservative candidate Eleanor Cox is a Merton councillor for Lower Morden ward. She won one of the three seats there from Labour in 2022, a gain made in the face of the general swing against the Tories.

## Full List of Candidates

Leonie Cooper (Labour)  
 Ellie Cox (Conservative)  
 Tania Marszalek (Reform UK)  
 Pippa Maslin (Green)  
 Sue Wixley (Lib Dem)

## NORTH EAST



One of the three Assembly constituencies made up of three boroughs, North East is very safe for Labour. It reaches outwards from the fringes of the City in south Hackney all the way to Epping Forest at the Essex border, leaping over the River Lea along the way.

Its three boroughs are Hackney, Islington and Waltham Forest, all of which have had Labour-run councils with comfortable majorities since 2010. The only consistently Conservative part of the seat is the far north at Chingford, but even there the Tory position seems to be weakening thanks to demographic change. The Greens have some support in the seat, mostly in Hackney and Islington, and this was enough for them to secure second place in 2021.

NORTH EAST						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	17.8	18.1	23.3	18.6	14.2	18.8
Labour	36.1	29.1	37.9	53.1	58.7	51.2
Lib Dem	21.1	18.7	14.9	6.9	6.3	6.7
Green	15.6	13.0	13.3	15.5	12.9	19.8
UKIP*		8.9	2.8	3.4	4.9	1.9
Left	7.0	9.8	3.1		2.2	1.5
CPA		2.5	2.7			
Winner	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB	LAB
Majority	15.0/LD	10.4/LD	14.6	34.5	44.5	31.4/G
	Meg Hillier	Meg Hillier	Jennette Arnold	Jennette Arnold	Jennette Arnold	Sem Moema

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. All Lab majorities over Con except where LD (Lib Dem) or G (Green) stated.*

Islington-born Hackney councillor Sem Moema was elected to the Assembly for the first time in 2021. A former public affairs professional, she specialises in housing issues. As a Hackney deputy cabinet member, she introduced the licensing of private landlords. Pearce Branigan, a Hackney resident and another communications professional, carries the Conservative banner. The Greens are represented by Hackney-based Antoinette Fernandez, who was born into but subsequently cut off from a wealthy Nigerian family.

## Full List of Candidates

Pearce Branigan (Conservative)  
 Tan Bui (Independent)  
 Antoinette Fernandez (Green)  
 Tony Glover (Reform UK)  
 Rebecca Jones (Lib Dem)  
 Sem Moema (Labour)  
 Nancy Taaffe (TUSC)

## SOUTH WEST



South West is the most enigmatic Assembly constituency because it combines one borough, Hounslow, where Labour dominates and two smaller ones, Kingston and Richmond, where the main battles are between the Lib Dems and Conservatives, with the Lib Dems having decisive advantages recently.

There is an overall anti-Conservative majority but it has never been mobilised behind a single party – the Labour voters of Hounslow will not vote tactically for the Lib Dem, and Lib Dem campaigners won't concede the lead they enjoy in a part of London with two Lib Dem majority councils and three Lib Dem MPs.

Borough level analysis shows that in 2021 the Conservative candidate got only the second highest number of votes in each of the three boroughs, but came first in the constituency as a whole, maintaining the hold the party has had on the seat since its creation. However, the Tory vote share was its lowest yet. Its candidate cannot afford to lose any more support in this delicately-balanced seat, even if anti-Tory voters still refuse to behave tactically.

SOUTH WEST						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	35.4	33.0	40.8	39.8	39.5	31.9
Labour	22.8	17.0	16.0	28.7	29.4	26.3
Lib Dem	30.2	30.3	26.5	16.7	14.3	28.2
Green	9.9	6.7	6.8	9.8	9.2	10.7
UKIP*		8.4	2.0	4.9	7.0	1.6
Left	1.7	2.6	0.8		0.3	
Right			3.5			
CPA		2.0	2.0			
Winner	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON
Majority	5.2/LD	2.7/LD	14.3/LD	11.1	10.1	3.7/LD
	Tony Arbour	Tony Arbour	Tony Arbour	Tony Arbour	Tony Arbour	Nicholas Rogers

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance. Left: Aggregate far left share. Right: Aggregate far right share. All Con majorities over Lab except where LD (Lib Dem) stated.*

Indeed, it would not take much of a drop for the Tories to finish third: Lib Dem landslides in Kingston and Richmond boroughs in 2022 were enough to put the party ahead in Assembly constituency vote share terms with 34 per cent, followed by the Conservatives with 25 per cent and Labour only just behind on 24 per cent. A further 13 per cent went to the Greens.

The odds must favour the Lib Dem candidate Gareth Roberts. He has led Richmond Council since 2018 and finished second to Rogers last time. Labour's candidate is Marcela Benedetti, a worker against domestic abuse who was born in Argentina and whose family were political refugees. The current Conservative AM Nicholas Rogers, a first-time winner in 2021, is not standing again. His successor as candidate is Ron Mushiso, who is a councillor for the Chiswick Gunnersbury ward in Hounslow.

## Full List of Candidates

Marcela Benedetti (Labour)  
 Steve Chilcott (Reform UK)  
 Abigail Hardy (Independent)  
 Ron Mushiso (Conservative)  
 Gareth Roberts (Lib Dem)  
 Chas Warlow (Green)

## WEST CENTRAL



West Central covers the retail and tourist heart of London and some of its most favoured inner residential areas – Marylebone, Kensington, Chelsea and Fulham. As such, it draws together the strongest Conservative areas of central and inner London. These sustain a blue blob of three parliamentary constituencies surrounded by the red of Labour’s London heartland.

But there are traditional Labour areas as well, in the belt of territory stretching from Shepherd’s Bush to Kilburn. And the politics of West Central have been shifting. That story is told by changes of voting habits in the three boroughs within the seat over the past ten years.

Labour gained control of Hammersmith & Fulham Council from the Conservatives in 2014 and have retained it ever since. In 2022, the party won Westminster for the first time in its history. Only Kensington & Chelsea continues to be a Tory stronghold.

WEST CENTRAL						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	44.2	44.7	53.4	50.4	44.2	38.9
Labour	27.1	18.9	21.7	30.5	34.7	37.3
Lib Dem	13.2	15.1	9.8	6.9	6.9	9.5
Green	11.5	9.3	10.4	8.7	9.2	11.6
UKIP*		6.2	1.9	3.5	5.0	1.4
Left	2.6	4.2	1.0			
CPA		1.7				
Winner	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON
Majority	17.1	25.8	31.7	19.9	9.5	1.6
	Angela Bray	Angela Bray	Kit Malthouse	Kit Malthouse	Tony Devenish	Tony Devenish

*\*Includes Reform UK share 2021. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance.  
Left: Aggregate far left share.*

Put together, the three 2022 borough elections saw Labour 9.5 points ahead, winning 45 per cent of the total vote compared with the Tories' 36 per cent. In the last three West Central elections the Conservative majority has reduced and it seems to be the seat most likely to change hands on 2 May. The area's wealthy, highly-educated Conservative base seems to have reacted badly to Brexit and culture wars.

The current Tory AM, Tony Devenish was first elected in 2016 and continues to represent Knightsbridge & Belgravia on Westminster City Council. Labour's candidate is James Small-Edwards, who was elected to Westminster Council for Bayswater ward as part of Labour's historic victory two years ago. He is the son of Shaun Edwards, international rugby player and coach, and of Heather Small, singer with Nineties pop band M People.

## Full List of Candidates

Tony Devenish (Conservative)  
 Christophe Noblet (Lib Dem)  
 Nicola Pateman (Reform UK)  
 Rajiv Sinha (Green)  
 James Small-Edwards (Labour)

# LONDON-WIDE LIST PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

Eleven AMs represent London in general rather than a particular constituency. They are elected from party lists of candidates in proportion to the votes cast for those parties in the London-wide ballot, taking into account the number of seats each party has won in the constituency section.

Two rules govern the distribution. One is that a party needs to obtain a minimum of five per cent of the vote in order to win a London-wide seat. The Lib Dems and the Greens have reached this threshold in every election, UKIP did so twice (2004 and 2016) and the British National Party has managed it once (2008).

The other rule is the use of a mathematical formula – a modified form of the d'Hondt method of divisors - to determine which party should have how many seats. This is one of the standard ways of deciding proportional allocations.

The higher up a party's list a London-wide candidate is, the better their chances of getting elected, although the electoral system means these chances can be adversely affected by party colleagues' fortunes in constituency seats. For example, when Labour gained the Merton & Wandsworth constituency seat from the Tories in 2016 it resulted in the party winning one fewer London-wide seats than would otherwise have been the case.

To arrive at the London-wide outcome, each party's London-wide vote is divided by the number of constituency seats it already has, plus one ( $V/S+1$ ). The first London-wide seat is awarded to the party that comes out of that equation with the highest number. In 2021 it was the Greens. The calculation is then done again taking into account the allocation of the first seat, and the party with the new highest number receives the second London-wide seat. In 2021 it was the Lib Dems. And so on. In 2021, Conservative candidates won four of the 11 London-wide seats, the Greens won three and the Lib Dems and Labour two each.



LONDON WIDE BALLOT VOTE SHARES						
% vote	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016	2021
Conservative	29.0	28.5	34.1	32.0	29.2	30.7
Labour	30.3	25.0	27.1	41.1	40.3	38.1
Lib Dem	14.8	16.9	11.2	6.8	6.3	7.3
Green	11.1	8.6	8.3	8.5	8.0	13.0
UKIP*	2.1	8.4	1.9	4.5	6.5	2.0
WEP	-	-	-	-	3.5	2.2
Respect	-	4.7	2.4	-	1.6	-
BNP	2.9	4.8	5.3	2.1	0.6	-
CPA	3.3	2.9	2.9	1.8	1.8	-

*Parties that have obtained three per cent of vote in at least one election.*

*\*The 2021 figure combines UKIP and Reform UK, each of which polled one per cent.*

*WEP: Women's Equality Party. CPA: Christian Peoples Alliance*

With Labour looking likely to gain at least two constituency seats from the Tories this time, their list representation will probably be smaller than in 2021. By contrast, that of the Tories could increase, compensating for constituency losses. Both the Lib Dems and the Greens will be hoping for three seats in this section of the ballot, possibly more. It is possible that Reform UK will secure representation too by more than doubling its two per cent share of 2021.

Below are the best-placed London-wide candidates for the five parties that appear to be in contention for the 11 seats available in the order in which they are listed. An extra Conservatives is included because Labour constituency gains could be such that six Tories win London-wide seats. It is followed by a round-up of the other parties and individuals contesting this part of the Assembly election.

## Conservative

Susan Hall  
 Shaun Bailey  
 Emma Best  
 Andrew Boff  
 Alessandro Georgiou  
 Nicholas McLean

It has been an eventful term for three of the four current Conservative London-wide members. Bailey quit as chair of the Assembly police and crime committee in December 2021 after photographs emerged of him attending a party a year earlier during his mayoral campaign which took place in breach of Covid restrictions. Fixed penalty notices were later issued to many of those present, but Bailey was not one of them. The adverse publicity didn't stop Boris Johnson giving Bailey a seat in the House of Lords.

Hall, of course, is Bailey's successor as her party's mayoral candidate. Boff was ejected from the 2023 Conservative conference for objecting to then Home Secretary Suella Braverman's comments about so-called "gender ideology", which he described as "trash". Best is the fourth incumbent. Possible newcomers Georgiou and McLean are councillors in Enfield and Merton respectively.

## Green

Siân Berry  
Caroline Russell  
Zack Polanski  
Zoë Garbett  
Benali Hamdache

The top three are current AMs, headed by two-time former mayoral candidate Berry, followed by Islington councillor Russell and by Polanski, a newcomer in 2021. If mayoral hopeful Garbett doesn't join them on 2 May, she might later replace Berry, who is running for the Brighton Pavilion parliamentary seat and has said she will step down from the Assembly if she wins it.

## Labour

Elly Baker  
Sakina Sheikh  
John Howard  
James Beckles  
Bora Kwon

Both Baker and Sheikh were elected for the first time in 2021 and their re-election hopes depend on the size of the Labour vote in the London-wide ballot and whether Labour gains constituency seats.

## Liberal Democrat

Hina Bokhari  
Rob Blackie  
Irina von Wiese  
Gareth Roberts  
Chris Maines

One of the two current Lib Dem AMs, past mayoral candidate Caroline Pidgeon, is standing down. The other, Bokhari, heads the list this year, followed by mayoral candidate Blackie. Von Wiese is a Southwark councillor who served a short term as a London Member of the European Parliament (2019-2020). Roberts is also standing in Lib Dem target constituency South West, so if his party does well enough to qualify for four London-wide seats he'll probably get elected there. Chris Maines recently ran for Mayor of Lewisham.

## Reform UK

Alex Wilson  
Howard Cox  
Mark Simpson  
Ian Price  
Steve Chilcott

Wilson, who used to be a Redbridge Council Tory, is also contesting the Havering & Redbridge constituency. It's not impossible that both he and mayoral candidate Cox will win London-wide seats.

## The Rest

Animal Welfare Party  
Britain First  
Christian Peoples Alliance  
Communist Party of Britain  
Heritage Party  
Rejoin EU  
Social Democratic Party  
Laurence Fox (Independent)  
Farah London (Independent)  
Gabe Romualdo (Independent)

# THE COUNT AND THE RESULTS

Announcement of the results has, for the second time in the GLA's history, been scheduled for two days after in-person voting takes place, rather than the following day.

The first time was 2021, because the need to ensure Covid safety for staff administering counts meant the process took longer. This time it is because electronic counting is to be replaced by a hand count.

The change is partly because the Greater London Returning Officer believes the disappearance of the second preference vote for Mayor will make hand counting simpler, and partly because when advance planning was taking place there had been the possibility of a general election too taking place on 2 May.

Verification of the number of ballot papers will take place on Friday 3 May. Counting will take place on Saturday 4 May at nine venues rather than three as at previous elections. Declarations of Assembly constituency results will be made at the relevant venue on the same day. Those of the mayoral and Assembly London-wide results are intended to take place at City Hall on the Saturday evening.

It has become a tradition for the outcome of the mayoral race not to be announced until much later than hoped for. Fingers crossed for a prompt declaration in 2024.

**Dave Hill and Lewis Baston, 18 April 2024**

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Lewis Baston is an election analyst and commentator. Dave Hill is the founder, publisher and editor of journalism website **OnLondon.co.uk**.

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CITY HALL

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