



LABOUR ROADMAP

GENERAL ELECTION 2017
PUBLISHED 26 JUNE 2017

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INTRODUCTION

The 2017 General Election was an opportunistic attempt by the Conservative party to consolidate their position in the House of Commons. They failed, with the Labour Party performing better than many people's expectations. However, despite electoral progress Labour has neither a majority, nor is it yet in a realistic position to form a government without another election and further gains.

Labour has done well, but there is clearly more work for the party to do. This report is a summary of how Labour performed across the UK and provides an analysis of the influence of Brexit on the election. It continues on to a brief analysis of the turnout, of why Labour's high vote share came with only limited success in terms of Parliamentary seats gained and what paths are available for Labour to build on this resurgence.

SOURCES

Labour Roadmap utilises publically available data to build our models. Much of the data comes from official government and parliamentary publications. We also thank Martin Baxter at Electoral Calculus for additional information and Ben Walker at Britain Elects for a rapid publication of an analytical format of the 2017 general election results.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- The 2017 general election saw a fall in support for minor parties to the benefit of Labour and the Conservatives. UKIP were the principal losers in England and Wales, and the SNP in Scotland.
- Labour were the principal beneficiaries of swing in urban constituencies while the swing elsewhere split with the Conservatives.
- Labour held onto its base of support in both Leave and Remain Labour held seats, due to its ambiguous position on Brexit. However excluding Scotland there was a strong correlation between swing voters in Leave seats to the Conservatives and a negative correlation with Labour. Scotland defied this trend seeing Conservatives take swing in Remain seats indicating a separate home nation dynamic.
- Labour benefited from increased national turnout, despite a lower overall turnout in traditional supporting areas. Labour gained a larger average swings in seats it held before the election than seats it did not, perhaps a reflection of narrow support for Labour or a defensive campaign. Where Labour lost swing, total swing was greater on average than other seats. Where Labour gained, the swing was on average at its lowest.
- Labour's general election result is the least effective translation of popular vote to parliamentary seats since the 1950's. The 2017 general election produced results similar to the 1959 general election. Labour has two routes open to it, a continuation with the current offer ('One More Heave') or a reassessment at finding a more effective coalition of voters. The latter is beyond the scope of this analysis and will be looked at in future research.
- To take a parliamentary majority Labour must make a 3.6 percentage point swing against incumbent parties in 64 seats. This would give Labour a win similar to the result in 1964.
- We have determined a new battleground of 128 seats including 18 current seats. The party must aim to take at least 82 of these seats. The principal target for Labour has to be the Conservative party, with secondary consideration for the nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales.
- A *progressive alliance* between Labour and the SNP and the Liberal Democrats is not a viable solution. However, a small swing from the SNP and Liberal Democrats (as the third and fourth largest parties) will help to make a swing against the Conservatives more effective.

ABOUT LABOUR ROADMAP

The Labour Roadmap project does exactly what it says on the tin - a project which will use the latest data analysis techniques to plot a route to return the Labour Party to power. Our mission is to understand Britain today and research, derive and disseminate a pragmatic Labour vision that widely resonates and persuades the public.

This project is run by Labour members for Labour members. Our aim to is aggregate expertise in the membership to build a much needed intellectual foundation to prepare Labour's return to government.

Website	www.labourroadmap.org.uk
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Twitter	@labourroadmap
Facebook	www.facebook.com/labourroadmap

RESULT SUMMARY

The election results saw moderate seat gains for Labour as well as the loss of six seats (if we include Copeland which we failed to retake following the by-election loss in February) in the Midlands all but one of which the party had held for decades. At the same time, we took safe Conservative seats like Canterbury and Ipswich.

The Conservatives lost their overall majority and are proceeding with a minority government. It is important to recognise that they have increased their share of the popular vote yet again, and have registered positive swings every general election since their recent low in the 1997 Labour landslide.

Regional breakdowns are available at the end of the report but the headline national numbers are below.

Number of Seats	262	(+30*)
Percentage of Seats	40.3	(+5.7pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	41	(+9.8pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**		
Gross Seats Gained*	36	
Gross Seats Lost*	6	
Number of Seats with Negative Swing	20	(-162)

The Labour Party now require **64 seats** to regain a majority in Westminster under a 650 seat parliament.

* Taken from the 2015 General Election - Copeland and Rochdale are classified as previously Labour.

** Excludes Northern Ireland and Buckingham

GEOGRAPHY

Labour successfully appealed across the country, and were the only party to gain on average in every region of Great Britain. The biggest loser in the election is UKIP that lost up and down the country, although in Scotland the source of the majority of the swing was the SNP.

The general pattern in the election was UKIP's losing most in swing, with Labour picking up the majority with the Conservatives. Support for minor parties dropped - perhaps a sign of increased tactical voting at a critical juncture in the political direction of the country.

Two regions stand out as exceptions:

1. Scotland continues to be a distinct case from the rest of the UK - the main loser in the election was the SNP, and this vote transferred to the Conservatives, marking a significant shift in fortune by a party marred by the legacy of Thatcher in the home nation.
2. Metropolitan London saw less swing than other regions and was the only region with gross deterioration Conservatives support.

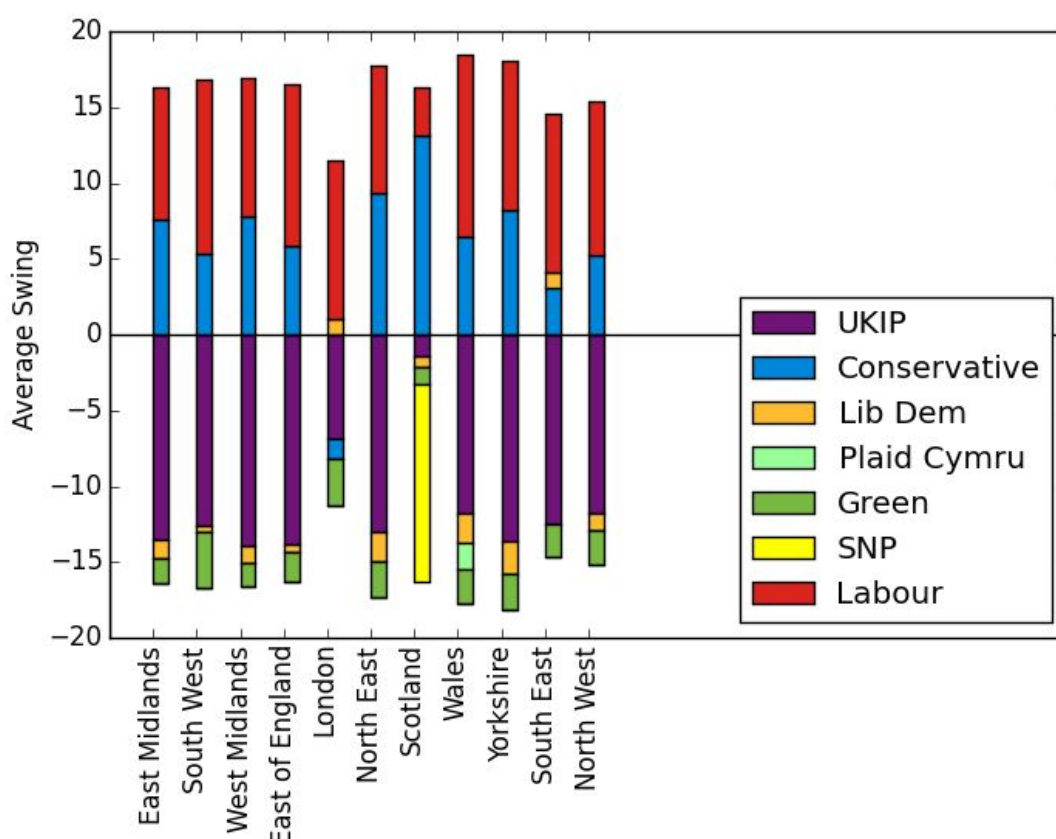


Figure: Plotting the average swings of political parties grouped by region of Great Britain.

The losses of UKIP are also uniform across levels of urbanisation constituency. Labour continues to have strong support in urban areas and benefited more in these seats. Elsewhere the swing was on average split between Labour and Conservatives.

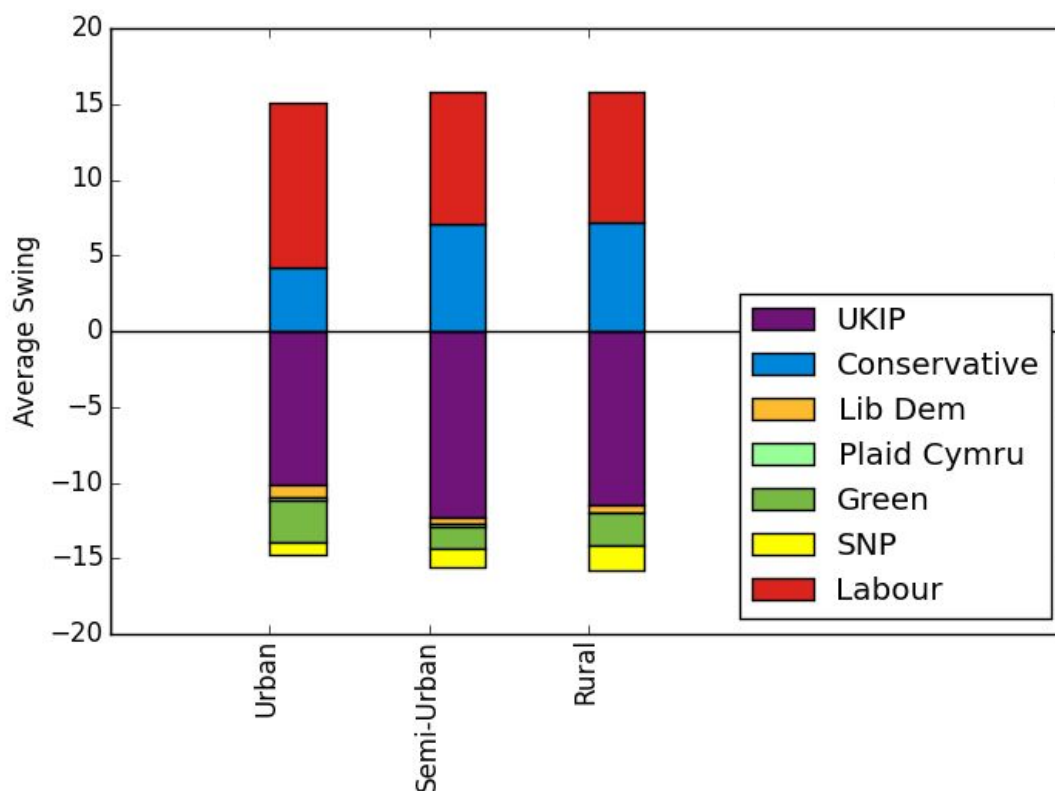


Figure: Breaking down average swings for political parties by geographical classification of the constituency.

In conclusion the results of this election have many positive aspects for the Labour party, Progress has been made across the country, with domination in the capital. The situation in Scotland must be treated as a crisis for the party. The trends are significantly different than other regions, and emergence of a two-party dynamic in Scotland between the SNP and the Conservatives will only help deflate Labour's vote through future tactical voting.

TRANSITIONS BETWEEN PARTIES

Labour was successful at challenging all major parties, making progress against all but the Greens in Brighton. Most notably, Labour increased its vote share in Conservative held seats, thus increasing the number of marginals providing a firm foundation for future elections. However, Scotland paints a different picture, the figure below illustrates Labour's problem with reaching out to SNP voters, and thus a radical rethink is needed within the Party if a substantial recovery is to be made in Scotland.

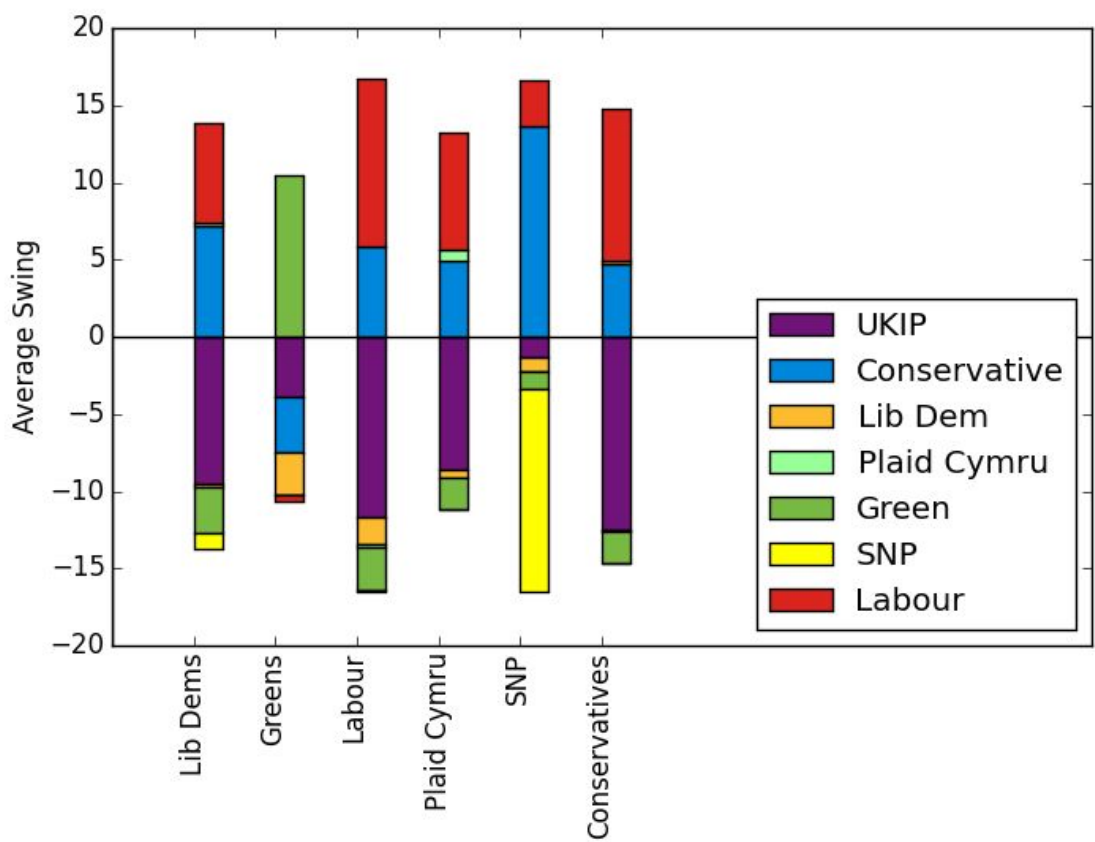


Figure: Plotting the average swings of political parties grouped by the party controlling the seat at 2015 general election.

However, Labour did make impressive gains, with historic results in seats such as Portsmouth South, Canterbury and Kensington. Over half the gains came from campaigns which recorded swings above the national swing.

Seat	Swing	Seat	Swing
Portsmouth South	21.51	Kensington	11.11
Canterbury	20.48	Ipswich	10.39
Brighton Kemptown	19.18	Weaver Vale	10.06
Plymouth Sutton & Devonport	16.67	Croydon Central	9.66
Bristol North West	16.25	Crewe & Nantwich	9.39
Reading East	15.98	Warrington South	9.33
High Peak	14.35	Stroud	9.27
Leeds North West	14.03	Glasgow North East	9.23
Gower	12.83	Battersea	9.11
Colne Valley	12.77	Coatbridge, Chryston & Bellshill	8.7
Enfield Southgate	12.7	Lincoln	8.46
Bury North	12.51	Keighley	8.43
Peterborough	12.47	Bedford	6.65
Derby North	11.97	Midlothian	6.16
Cardiff North	11.87	East Lothian	5.06
Vale Of Clwyd	11.86	Kirkcaldy & Cowdenbeath	3.6
Warwick & Leamington	11.79	Sheffield Hallam	2.61
Stockton South	11.48	Rutherglen & Hamilton West	2.31

We note that Labour made progress in the vote share in all six of the seat losses to the Conservatives, and in all cases it was a result of redistribution of the 2015 UKIP vote in favour of the Conservative party. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that all of these seats except for Middlesbrough South and Cleveland East (or their predecessor seats) were seats we had held since the 1920s or 30s. One, Derbyshire North East, was a seat Labour first won in 1910. Whilst we have much to celebrate in this election, the loss of such historic fortresses must be of central concern for the party.

Seat	Swing	Status
Mansfield	5.11	con gain
Copeland*	2.85	con gain
Stoke-On-Trent South	8.29	con gain
Middlesbrough South & Cleveland East	5.49	con gain
Walsall North	3.79	con gain
Derbyshire North East	2.87	con gain

The largest swings received for Labour were mostly in marginal seats already held by the party - potentially an indication of the defense mounted by local constituency parties where a potential loss was expected at the start of the campaign. With the exceptions of York and Cardiff Central all these seats are in Southern England.

Seat	Swing	Status
Bristol West	30.27	lab hold
York Central	22.77	lab hold
Truro & Falmouth	22.5	con hold
Cardiff Central	22.4	lab hold
Hove	21.85	lab hold
Bristol South	21.7	lab hold
Norwich South	21.69	lab hold
Portsmouth South	21.51	lab gain
Bristol East	21.45	lab hold
Canterbury	20.48	lab gain

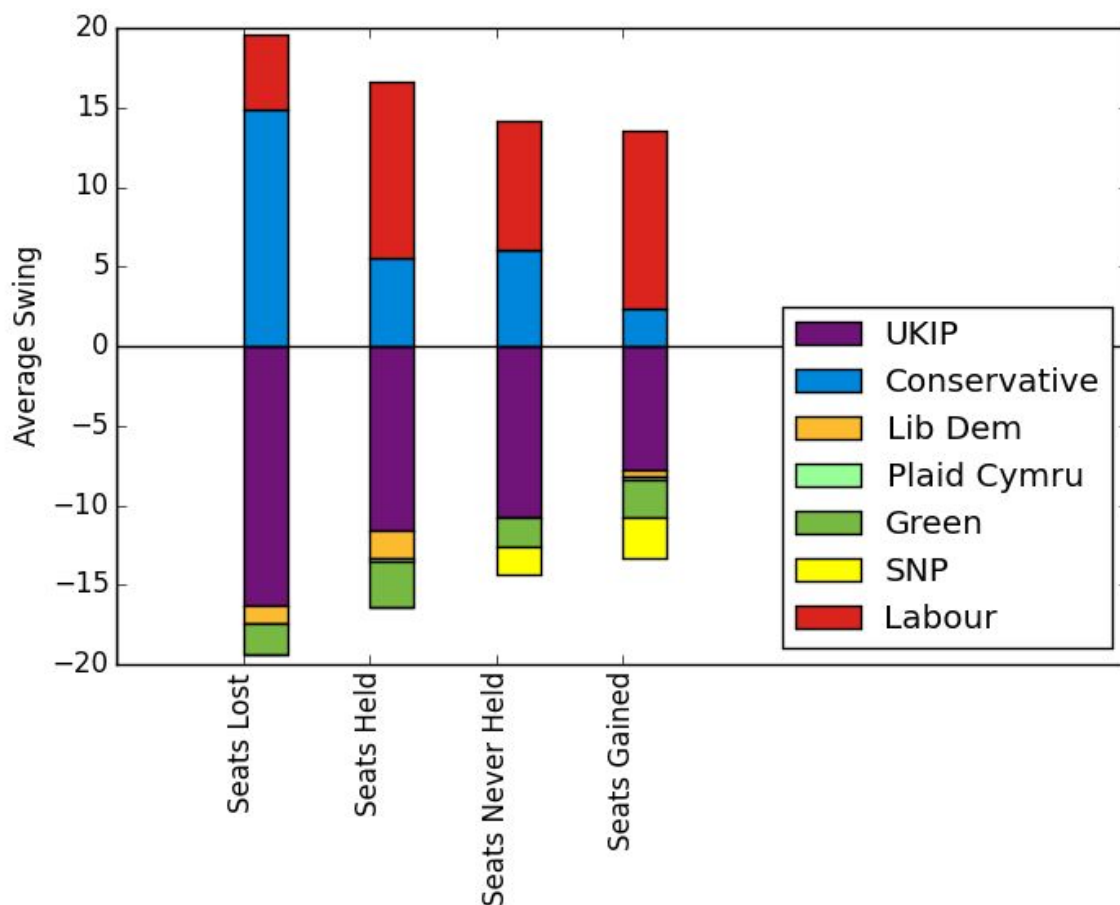


Figure: Plotting the average swings of political parties grouped by seats that Labour lost in the general election, seats held on, seats gained and all other seats that were not Labour before or now.

There is a difference in the levels of swing in seats where Labour won and loss. Where Labour lost seats the average swing was larger and the Conservatives picked up the vast majority of it. Elsewhere, Labour picked up more of the transfer.

Labour must look to do more to appeal to non-urban communities to ensure the party, and monitor progress made in the North East in the near future where the Conservatives are performing relatively well from the UKIP redistribution.

HOW WAS LABOUR AFFECTED BY THE BREXIT DIVIDE

This election was called by the Conservatives explicitly to strengthen their hand in the forthcoming Brexit negotiations, although the topic of leaving the European Union did not dominate the campaign messaging of either of the two main parties. Nevertheless Brexit cuts right through not only the country but also both Labour and the Conservatives parties, and it was a large part of the coverage of the election.

The election results show that Labour's support transcends Brexit, commanding an average popular support of 41.4% and 42.7% in seats that voted leave and remain respectively in the 2016 referendum. There is twice the variance in our levels of support in seats that voted to remain.

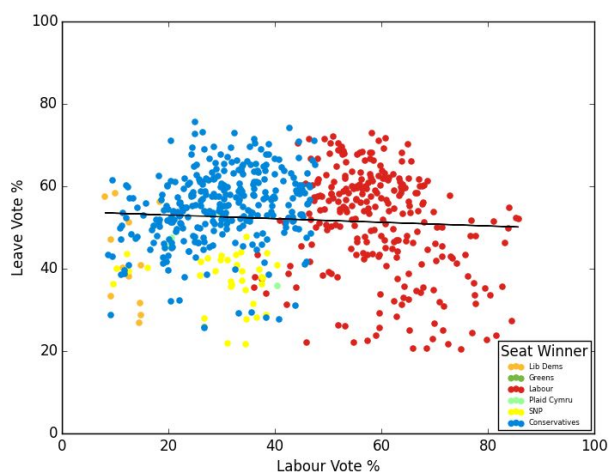


Figure: Labour's vote share for each parliamentary constituency against the percentage of those voting Leave in the 2016 European Union referendum.

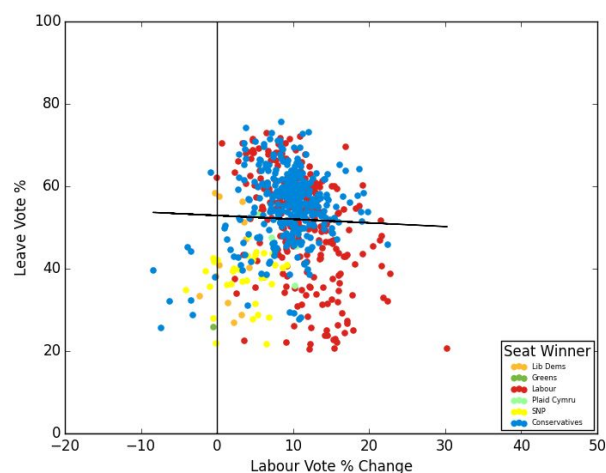


Figure: Labour's swing for each parliamentary constituency against the percentage of those voting Leave in the 2016 European Union referendum.

This indicates that remain seats were more erratic in swing support for the party, although with a high proportion of Scottish seats causes this spread, this is likely to be symptom of Scottish politics with the known swing towards the Conservatives.

The average swings for Labour in Leave and Remain seats respectively are 9.7% and 9.3%, further adding credence to Labour's positioning on Europe drawing support from the UKIP collapse.

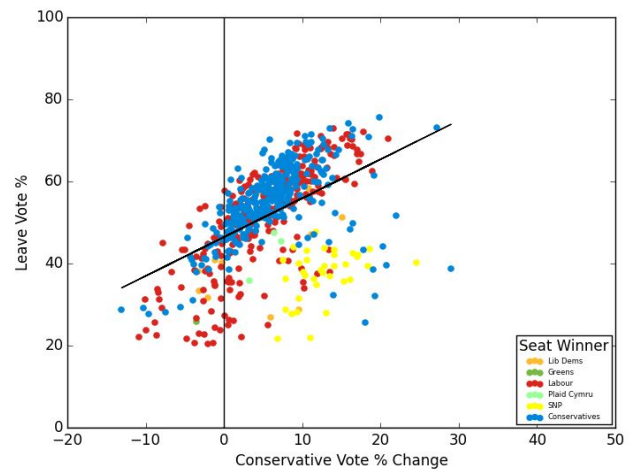
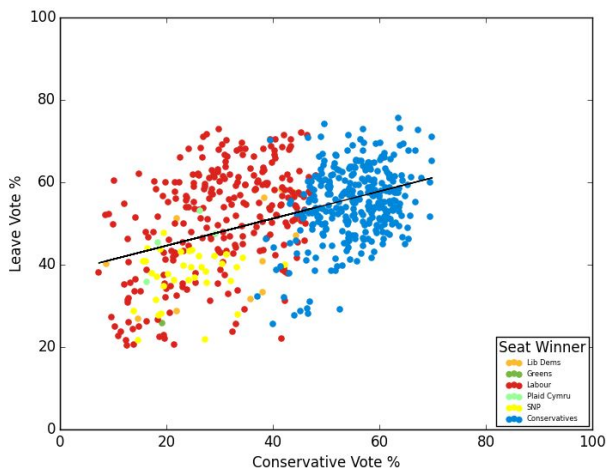


Figure: Conservative's vote share for each parliamentary constituency against the percentage of those voting Leave in the 2016 European Union referendum.

Unlike Labour, the Conservatives have the clarity of stronger support in seats that voted leave. The Conservatives however have a clear correlation between their swing and levels of Leave support, with a negative swing in many Remain areas.

Our conjecture before in Scotland is formed with the gains made against the SNP where there was a greater salience for devolution than Brexit.

Therefore the Labour Party needs to consider how it can blend both its metropolitan liberal remain vote and its small-c conservative working class core vote which the swings show are vulnerable to a challenge from a more credible and positive Conservative campaign.

TURNOUT AND CHOICE

This election has seen an increase of the proportion of votes going to Labour and the Conservatives at the expense of the smaller parties. In 2015 this could be attributed to the collapse of the Liberal Democrats following the Coalition government, mitigated in Scotland with the SNP landslide.

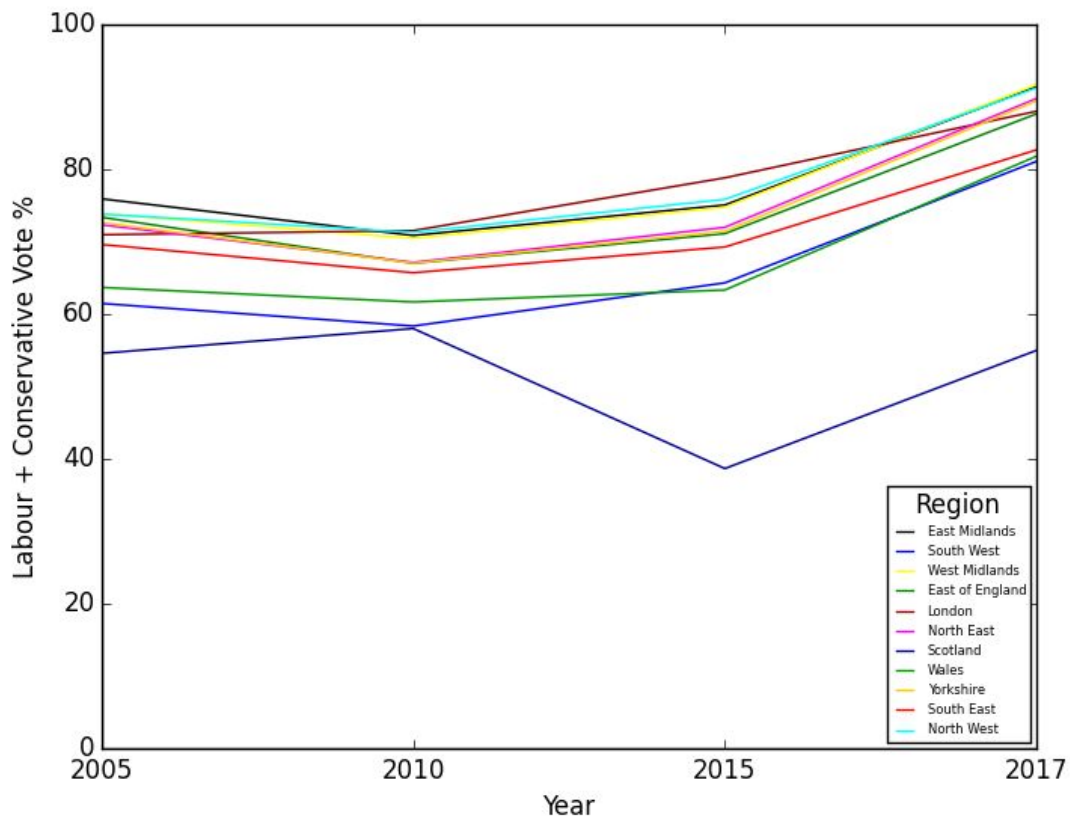


Figure: The vote share of the two largest parties combined plotted for each region across recent general election results.

The principal advantage of the polarisation is that it makes it easier for Labour to target the space occupied by the Conservatives who now possess a greater share of the remaining vote. Put simply, the well is dry for Labour everywhere else (with the exception of Scotland where Labour has to target Conservative and the SNP).

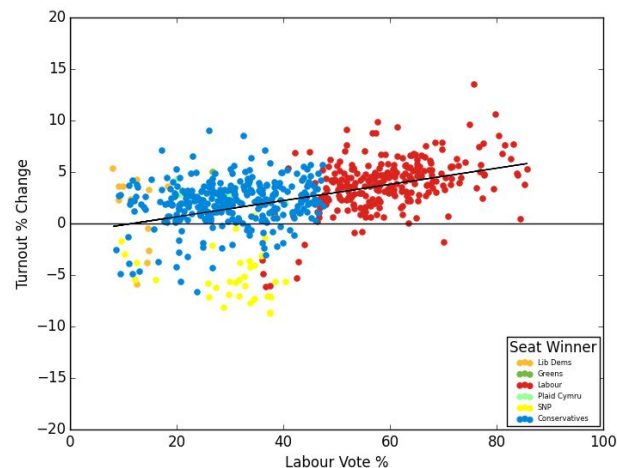
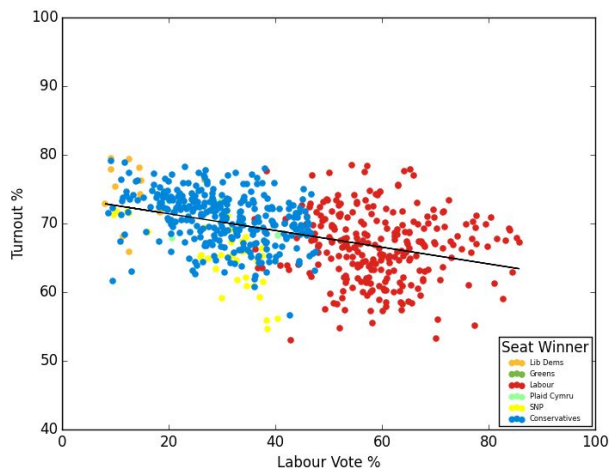


Figure: The turnout is lower as Labour vote share increases.

Figure: Turnout increased more as Labour's vote share increased.

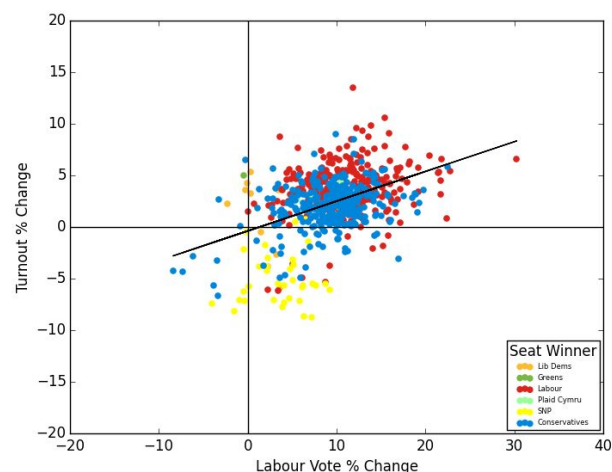
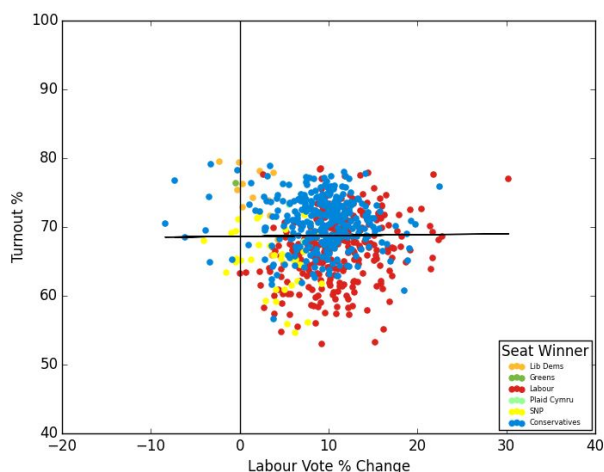


Figure: Labour's swing was unaffected by levels of turnout.

Figure: Turnout increased as Labour's vote share increased.

Constituencies with greater Labour support have lower turnout, but more people came out for this general election. The swing achieved by Labour was unaffected by the absolute turnout, but areas with greater turnout increase a greater Labour swing.

RESULTS WITHOUT SUCCESS

The Labour party is popular, but it is not in power. Our levels of popular support are comparable to New Labour in 2001 and the swing from the 2015 election at the same level as Tony Blair's historic landslide in 1997.

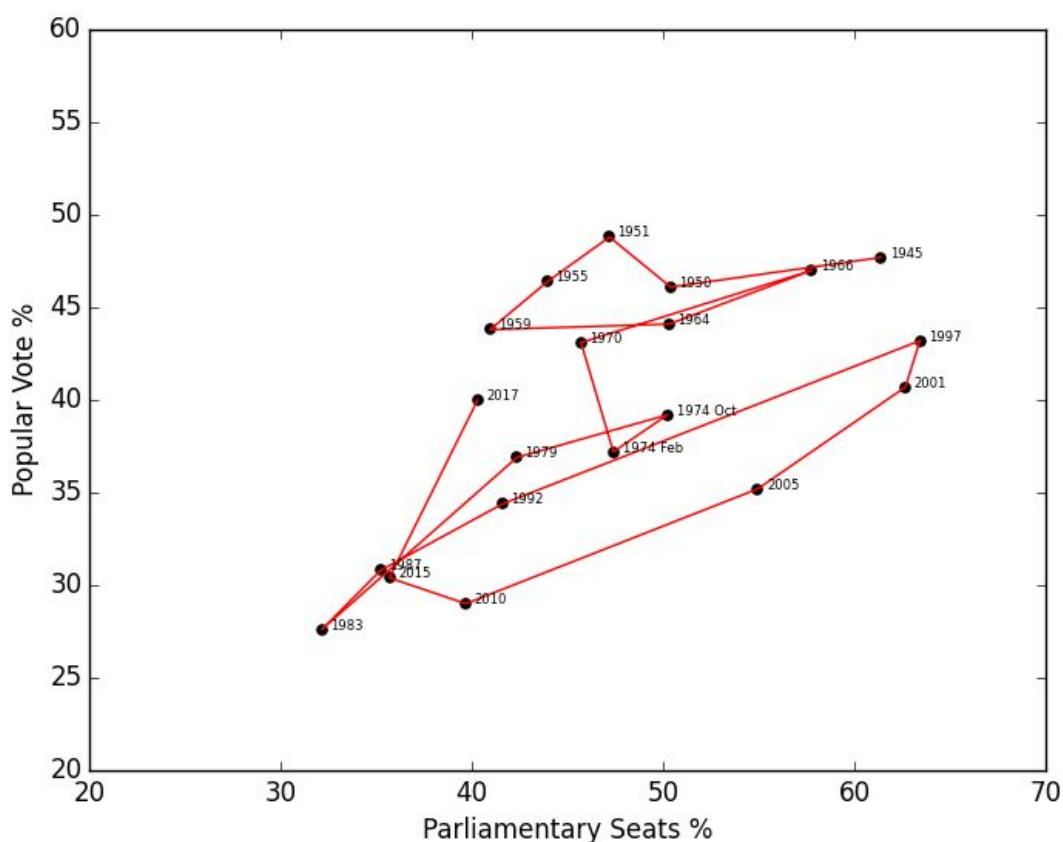


Figure: The Labour party is in new territory for generations.

While these heights should be commended as evidence of the progress of Labour since 2015, we are not in power, let alone by a landslide. The reality of the First Past the Post system has meant that Labour has failed to stitch a coalition from across the nation and converted success into results. In headline numbers, we are in territory that we haven't been in since Gaitskell leadership into the 1959 general election. The added worry is that we are no longer in the 1950s - minor parties still take a larger share of the popular vote despite the collapse of minor party vote share in this election.

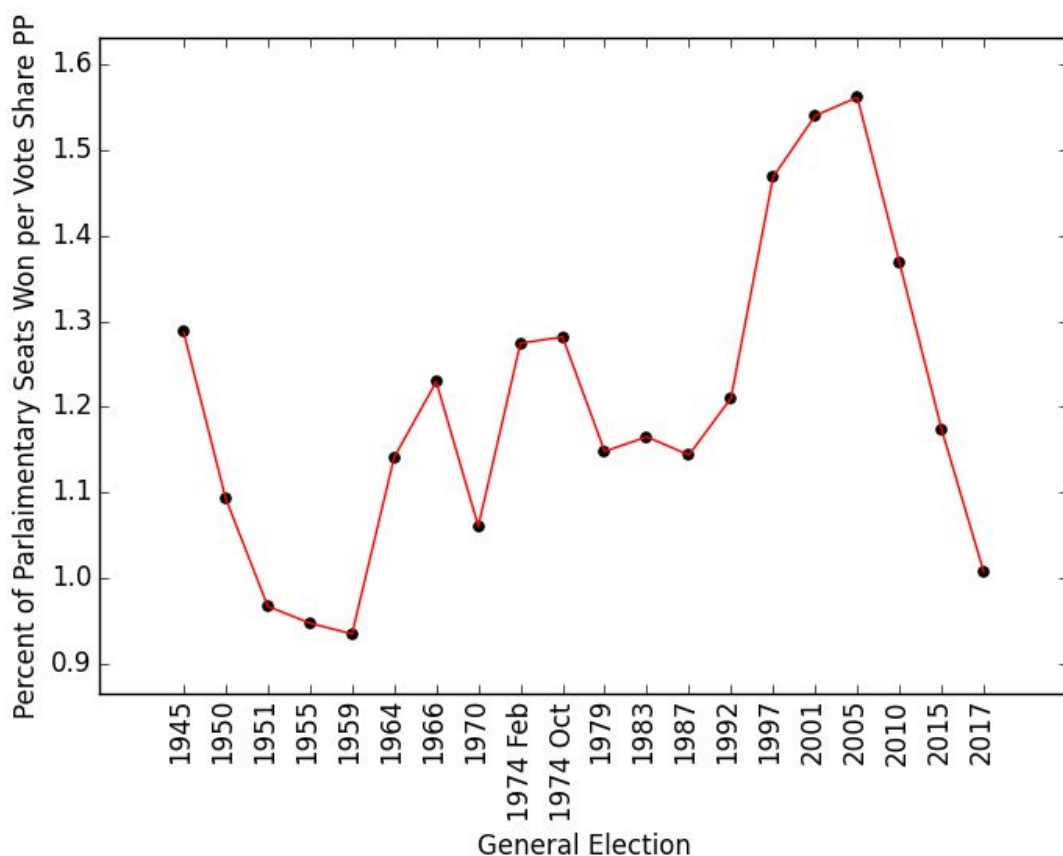


Figure: The 2017 general election has been the least effective in modern times at translating popular support into seats.

Our analysis from 1945 onwards has shown that the 2017 results for Labour have been among the least efficient for Labour. The support that Labour has developed is underrepresented or conversely not representative of Britain. Labour has failed to build a broad enough coalition of the electorate to deliver seats.

Labour made greater gains on the defensive in seats already held prior to the election, achieving a 10.9% swing. On the attack the parties only achieved an 8.4% swing. This seems to follow the defensive strategy that many in the party were following in the fear of massive parliamentary losses following initial polling.

Labour is racking up even larger majorities in places it holds but losing ground in places it doesn't. Our appeal has become deeper, We have failed to register more seat gains with breadth.

The question arises from this fact, if Labour support is too concentrated? Can Labour implement a successful incremental approach in the marginals at the next election. Or does this equate to a populist bubble that may burst, and a suitable course for the party is to reimagine a perhaps more viable coalition of voters are needed to get across the 326 seats?

ROUTE TO POWER

As we concluded in the previous section, Labour has two strategies back into power following the unfamiliar new territory that this election has put the party in.

The first is to continue the path we are on, and focus on expanding support in marginal seats to secure a parliamentary majority. The second option would be to restructure an offer to attract a coalition of voters that can build a parliamentary majority with less support required by the popular vote.

In this report we will focus on the first option. The rationale is the other requires substantial research well beyond the election results themselves. We also make the assumption that the first option is the preference of the current Labour leadership.

We now look at where we need to achieve this swing. We will also be assuming a 650 parliament at the next election mostly for ease of analysis. In June 2017 Electoral Calculus published implied results of the 2017 general election evaluated using the proposed boundaries. Our model has not yet been adapted to handle implied boundary translations.

Additionally with such a precarious minority government and lacking the assumption amongst her backbenchers that they will be able to take seats off Labour to compensate for ones lost to the boundary review, Theresa May is extremely unlikely to be able to implement David Cameron's boundary changes in the current Parliament. We also note that the DUP who are supporting May's minority government will lose three Northern Ireland seats with a gain of two for Sinn Fein.

Seat	Maj.	Status	Seat	Maj.	Status	Seat	Maj.	Status
Stockton South	1.65	lab gain	Milton Keynes South	-2.67	con hold	Glenrothes	-8.09	snp hold
Ipswich	1.63	lab gain	Northampton South	-2.82	con hold	Cities Of London & Westminster	-8.14	con hold
Bedford	1.63	lab gain	Pendle	-2.85	con hold	Filton & Bradley Stoke	-8.25	con hold
Colne Valley	1.62	lab gain	Edinburgh North & Leith	-2.87	snp hold	Clwyd West	-8.45	con hold
Peterborough	1.27	lab gain	Milton Keynes North	-3	con hold	Shipley	-8.77	con hold
Bishop Auckland	1.16	lab hold	Morecambe & Lunesdale	-3.06	con hold	Edinburgh South West	-8.83	snp hold
Stroud	1.08	lab gain	Finchley & Golders Green	-3.16	con hold	Ceredigion	-9.07	pc gain
Ashfield	0.92	lab hold	Glasgow North	-3.17	snp hold	Erewash	-9.11	con hold
Glasgow North East	0.76	lab gain	Camborne & Redruth	-3.25	con hold	Falkirk	-9.15	snp hold
Kirkcaldy & Cowdenbeath	0.56	lab gain	Putney	-3.31	con hold	Carmarthen East & Dinefwr	-9.52	pc hold
Rutherglen & Hamilton West	0.52	lab gain	Harrow East	-3.46	con hold	Worthing East & Shoreham	-9.61	con hold
Keighley	0.48	lab gain	Watford	-3.57	con hold	Cumbria, Kilsyth & Kirkintilloch E	-9.73	snp hold
Barrow & Furness	0.44	lab hold	Copeland	-3.95	con gain	Sherwood	-9.74	con hold
Canterbury	0.33	lab gain	Morley & Outwood	-4.02	con hold	Gloucester	-10.21	con hold
Crewe & Nantwich	0.09	lab gain	Vale Of Glamorgan	-4.08	con hold	Nuneaton	-10.29	con hold
Newcastle-Under-Lyme	0.07	lab hold	Corby	-4.48	con hold	Colchester	-10.6	con hold
Dudley North	0.06	lab hold	Glasgow South	-4.55	snp hold	Uxbridge & South Ruislip	-10.78	con hold
Kensington	0.05	lab gain	Swindon South	-4.81	con hold	Wimbledon	-10.92	con hold
Southampton Itchen	-0.07	con hold	Worcester	-4.84	con hold	Plymouth Moor View	-11.01	con hold
Glasgow South West	-0.17	snp hold	Crawley	-4.89	con hold	Ayrshire Central	-11.11	snp hold
Glasgow East	-0.21	snp hold	Blackpool North & Cleveleys	-4.93	con hold	Aberdeen North	-11.26	snp hold
Arfon	-0.33	pc hold	Dunbartonshire West	-5.19	snp hold	Shrewsbury & Atcham	-11.39	con hold
Airdrie & Shotts	-0.53	snp hold	Chingford & Woodford Green	-5.19	con hold	Ayrshire North & Arran	-11.41	snp hold
Pudsey	-0.61	con hold	Linlithgow & East Falkirk	-5.3	snp hold	Rochford & Southend East	-11.74	con hold
Hastings & Rye	-0.63	con hold	Reading West	-5.56	con hold	Halesowen & Rowley Regis	-11.84	con hold
Chipping Barnet	-0.64	con hold	Paisley & Renfrewshire North	-5.61	snp hold	Altrincham & Sale West	-12.17	con hold
Thurrock	-0.69	con hold	Derbyshire North East	-5.68	con gain	Wycombe	-12.3	con hold
Lanark & Hamilton East	-0.71	snp hold	Carlisle	-6.04	con hold	Dover	-12.39	con hold
Preseli Pembrokeshire	-0.74	con gain	Southport	-6.08	con gain	Thanet South	-12.87	con hold
Motherwell & Wishaw	-0.76	snp hold	Paisley & Renfrewshire South	-6.08	snp hold	Renfrewshire East	-13.31	con gain
Inverclyde	-0.98	snp hold	Glasgow Central	-6.3	snp hold	Kilmarnock & Loudoun	-13.48	snp hold
Calder Valley	-1.05	con hold	Rossendale & Darwen	-6.41	con hold	Ribble South	-13.53	con hold
Norwich North	-1.1	con hold	Glasgow North West	-6.59	snp hold	Rushcliffe	-13.74	con hold
Broxtowe	-1.55	con hold	Truro & Falmouth	-6.69	con hold	Dundee West	-13.78	snp hold
Stoke-On-Trent South	-1.59	con gain	Na H-Eileanan An Iar (WI)	-6.8	snp hold	Welwyn Hatfield	-14.26	con hold
Telford	-1.61	con hold	Scarborough & Whitby	-6.81	con hold	York Outer	-14.43	con hold
Dunfermline & West Fife	-1.65	snp hold	Walsall North	-6.82	con gain	Stafford	-14.89	con hold
Bolton West	-1.83	con hold	Stevenage	-6.86	con hold	Stirling	-14.97	con gain
Aberconwy	-1.98	con hold	E Kilbride, Strathaven & Lesmahagow	-7.15	snp hold	Swindon North	-15.18	con hold
Northampton North	-2	con hold	Carmarthen W & Pembrokeshire S	-7.37	con hold	Kingswood	-15.39	con hold
Hendon	-2.06	con hold	Livingston	-7.39	snp hold	Harlow	-15.68	con hold
Mansfield	-2.11	con gain	Edinburgh East	-7.87	snp hold	Rugby	-16	con hold
Middlesbrough S & Cleveland E	-2.14	con gain	Loughborough	-7.88	con hold			

Table: The new battleground for Labour to win the next election taking into account variability of swing. Securing 82 of these 128 seats is the priority, and to build upon current support we must focus our offer to these constituents.

The conventional wisdom is that the Labour party require 64 seats to form a majority in the House of Commons. Looking at the swing from incumbent party to Labour in each of these seats we can establish that Labour requires a 3.6% uniform swing under the current boundaries. In a historical context, this would be similar to the achievement election result to Wilson in 1964.

This requires each of these seats to achieve these particular swings against incumbent local parties. The reality is that there is a complex transition of votes between all candidates. As we saw previously, in 2015 most of the swing was from minor parties. For this analysis, we omit voter transfer.

Furthermore, the uniform swing is an average swing, some seats will swing more, others less. We relax our constraints to capture marginals by expanding the range of seats to look beyond the immediate 64 to a standard deviation of the 2017 election swing.

This results in 128 battleground seats of which Labour must look at securing a minimum of 82 (a net increase of 64) to return to government.

BATTLEGROUND PROFILES

We can undertake further analysis on the new battleground for Labour by performing cluster analysis. Our model separates the seats Labour needs to defend and those we need to gain. With both sets, we have applied the *Meanshift* clustering algorithm to determine profiles for seats.

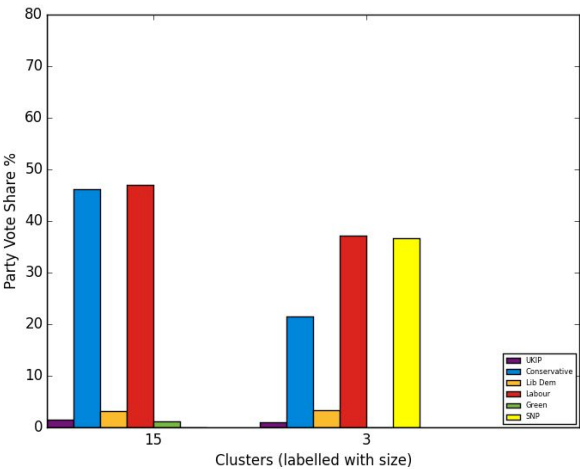


Figure: Two clusters identified in the defensive seats Labour control in the new battleground.

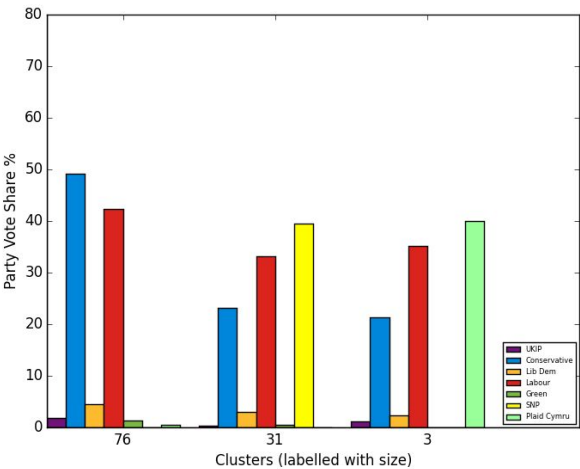


Figure: Three clusters identified in the seats that Labour must try and take in the new battleground.

On the defence, the principal opposition is the Conservatives in most of the seats. Three have the principal opposition being the SNP. As the left figure shows, the Conservatives and Labour control virtually all of the vote in the larger group, and a three-way split in the second.

Our target seats are similar, the majority cluster as two-way marginals between Labour and the Conservatives. The second group consists of SNP seats which have significant levels of support between the Conservatives, Labour and the SNP. The final group are the Plaid Cymru seats, which similarly are three-way marginals with Labour and the Conservatives.

In all scenarios above the analysis shows the principal target has to be the Conservatives, with secondary consideration for the nationalist parties. The Liberal Democrats and UKIP voters are no longer a target for Labour, although the party must consider future positioning to avoid losing supporters to them.

SWING DYNAMICS WITH OTHER PARTIES

We can break down individual swings from different parties to Labour to understand what levels of which voters we need to achieve a majority. The caveat of this basic model is that it treats both parties as independent - with no vote transfer between them.

The contour plots below indicate the number of seats that Labour will gain with the swings applied.

We present two models here, an additive model with percentage point from the two parties to Labour - capped by the maximum support in each seat. The second geometric model is formed with a percentage of the current support of the two parties in each seat transferring to Labour. In both models, seat victories are recalculated for all parties contesting the seat once the two swings are applied.

We have built models for the Conservative, SNP and Liberal Democrats as the three parties with significant popular support.

WINNING WITH SWINGS FROM THE CONSERVATIVES AND SNP

By looking at the Conservative and SNP we note that with the limited seats in Scotland, a Labour majority is impossible by going after SNP voters. The geometric swing model does, however, show that securing the first 15% of SNP voters would make our job significantly easier.

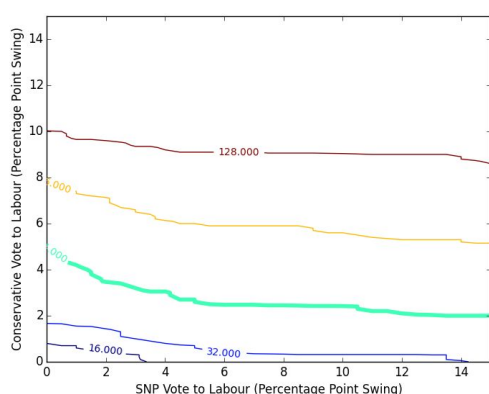


Figure: Additive model of swing from both Conservative and SNP towards Labour and the seats that could be won.

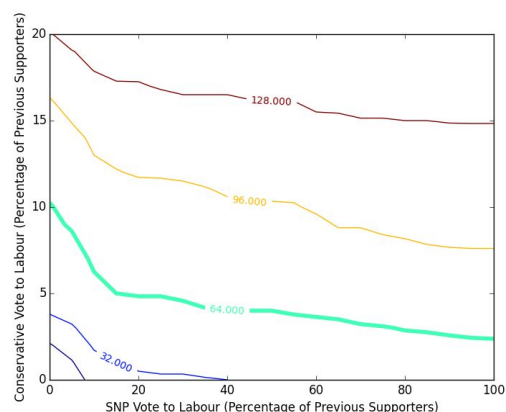


Figure: Geometric model of swing from both Conservative and SNP towards Labour and the seats that could be won.

WINNING WITH SWINGS FROM THE CONSERVATIVES AND LIB DEMS

Comparing the interactions between swings from the Conservative and Liberal Democrat we can conclude that 3 percentage point swing from the Liberal Democrats does help Labour. We also note that a transfer of all Liberal Democrat support to Labour is now sufficient to win 64 seats. However, there is a

question of whether the only remaining Lib Dem voters after 2015 and 2017 represent their core vote who won't swing at all.

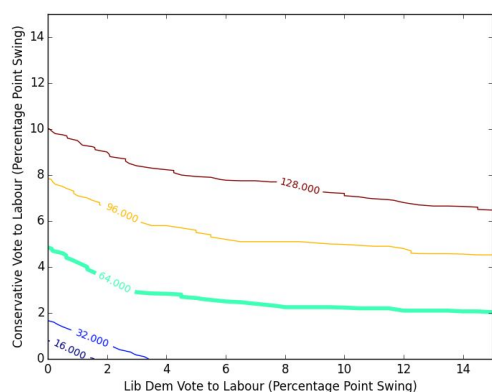


Figure: Additive model of swing from both Conservative and Lib Dem towards Labour and the seats that could be won.

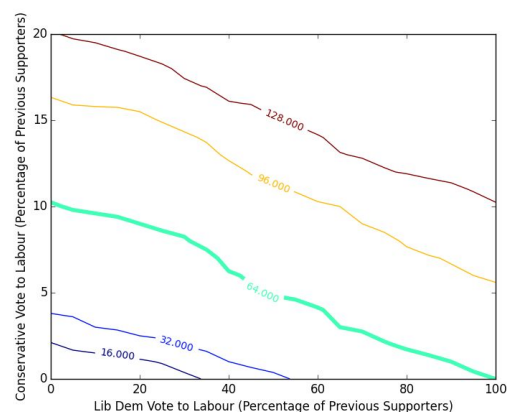


Figure: Geometric model of swing from both Conservative and Lib Dem towards Labour and the seats that could be won.

WINNING WITH SWINGS FROM THE SNP AND LIB DEMS

The interactions between the SNP and Liberal Democrats, so us that a "Progressive Alliance" win for Labour is theoretically possible, but would the vast majority of SNP and Liberal Democrat voters to transfer to Labour. Uniform swings for each party derived from this would also be subject to standard deviation addition. Our conclusion is that securing the Progressive Alliance vote is not viable to secure a parliamentary majority for Labour.

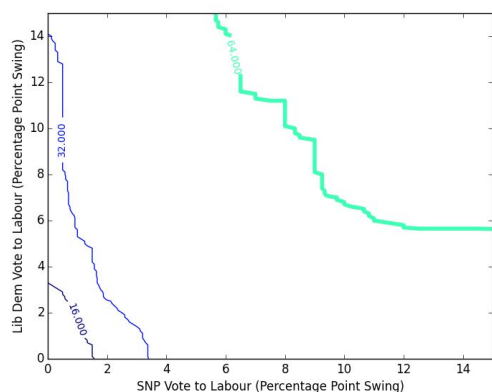


Figure: Additive model of swing from both SNP and Lib Dem towards Labour and the seats that could be won.

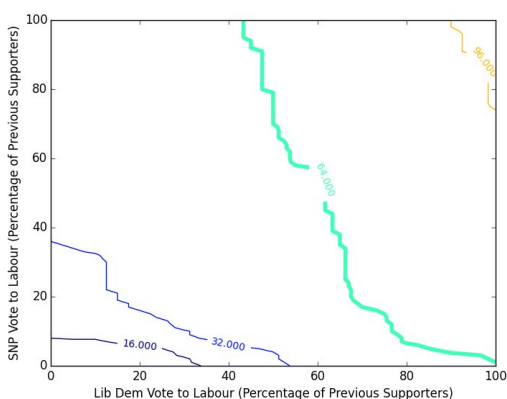


Figure: Geometric model of swing from both SNP and Lib Dem towards Labour and the seats that could be won.

In conclusion, following this incremental route, the party must protect the gains we have made and make attempts to take us over the line - a 'One More Heave' strategy. It would continue to build upon the current coalition of voters to secure the next-64 seats. The challenge to achieve this route is to expand the appeal while maintaining existing support. A strategy with concentrated support may prove to be more difficult to widen its appeal.

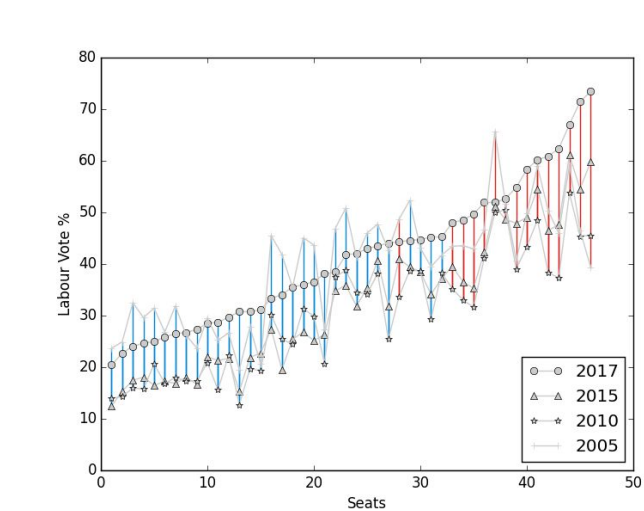
From the battleground, roughly 40% are urban seats, a third suburban and a quarter rural, which does work well in Labour's favour based on current performance in these types of seats.

We have also seen that Labour must primarily make inroads into current Conservative voters, although small gains against the SNP and Liberal Democrats would make this easier to take seats.

EAST MIDLANDS

Seat	Status	Seat	Status	Seat	Status
Amber Valley	con hold	Derbyshire South	con hold	Mansfield	con gain
Ashfield	lab hold	Erewash	con hold	Newark	con hold
Bassetlaw	lab hold	Gainsborough	con hold	Northampton North	con hold
Bolsover	lab hold	Gedling	lab hold	Northampton South	con hold
Boston & Skegness	con hold	Grantham & Stamford	con hold	Northamptonshire South	con hold
Bosworth	con hold	Harborough	con hold	Nottingham East	lab hold
Broxtowe	con hold	High Peak	lab gain	Nottingham North	lab hold
Charnwood	con hold	Kettering	con hold	Nottingham South	lab hold
Chesterfield	lab hold	Leicester East	lab hold	Rushcliffe	con hold
Corby	con hold	Leicester South	lab hold	Rutland & Melton	con hold
Daventry	con hold	Leicester West	lab hold	Sherwood	con hold
Derby North	lab gain	Leicestershire North West	con hold	Sleaford & North Hykeham	con hold
Derby South	lab hold	Leicestershire South	con hold	South Holland & The Deepings	con hold
Derbyshire Dales	con hold	Lincoln	lab gain	Wellingborough	con hold
Derbyshire Mid	con hold	Loughborough	con hold		
Derbyshire North East	con gain	Louth & Horncastle	con hold		

Number of Seats	15	(+1)
Percentage of Seats	32.6	(+2.2pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	40.5	(+8.85pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	68.9	(+2.53pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	3	
Gross Seats Lost*	2	



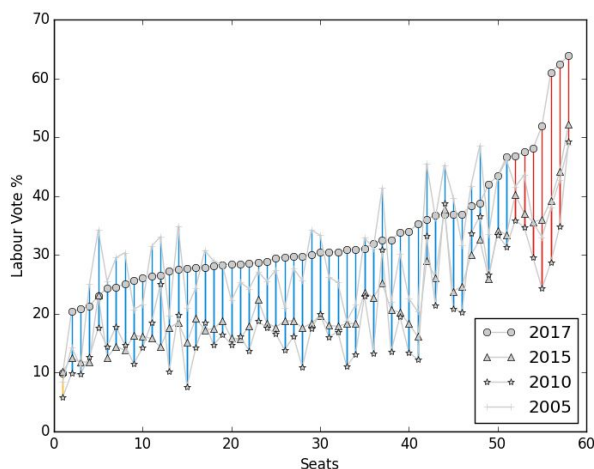
The East Midlands is Labour's problem in a microcosm. The results were mixed; gains in Lincoln and Derby North, holds in Tory target seats like Ashfield and Gedling but the loss of the historical Labour fortresses of Mansfield (held since 1923) and Derbyshire North East (held since 1935, first won in 1910) hint at a wider problem.

As the figure suggests, Labour still have work to do in the Conservative marginals - we have yet to return to 2005 levels in this region, a challenge for the party, yet we can have confidence that we are able to win here.

EAST OF ENGLAND

Seat	Status	Seat	Status	Seat	Status
Basildon & Billericay	con hold	Epping Forest	con hold	Norwich North	con hold
Basildon South & East Thurrock	con hold	Great Yarmouth	con hold	Norwich South	lab hold
Bedford	lab gain	Harlow	con hold	Peterborough	lab gain
Bedfordshire Mid	con hold	Harwich & North Essex	con hold	Rayleigh & Wickford	con hold
Bedfordshire North East	con hold	Hemel Hempstead	con hold	Rochford & Southend East	con hold
Bedfordshire South West	con hold	Hertford & Stortford	con hold	Saffron Walden	con hold
Braintree	con hold	Hertfordshire North East	con hold	Southend West	con hold
Brentwood & Ongar	con hold	Hertfordshire South West	con hold	St Albans	con hold
Broadland	con hold	Hertsmere	con hold	Stevenage	con hold
Broxbourne	con hold	Hitchin & Harpenden	con hold	Suffolk Central & Ipswich North	con hold
Bury St Edmunds	con hold	Huntingdon	con hold	Suffolk Coastal	con hold
Cambridge	lab hold	Ipswich	lab gain	Suffolk South	con hold
Cambridgeshire North East	con hold	Luton North	lab hold	Suffolk West	con hold
Cambridgeshire North West	con hold	Luton South	lab hold	Thurrock	con hold
Cambridgeshire South	con hold	Maldon	con hold	Watford	con hold
Cambridgeshire South East	con hold	Norfolk Mid	con hold	Waveney	con hold
Castle Point	con hold	Norfolk North	ld hold	Welwyn Hatfield	con hold
Chelmsford	con hold	Norfolk North West	con hold	Witham	con hold
Clacton	con hold	Norfolk South	con hold		
Colchester	con hold	Norfolk South West	con hold		

Number of Seats	7	(+3)
Percentage of Seats	12.1	(+5.2pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	40.5	(+8.85pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	69.73	(+2.23pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	3	
Gross Seats Lost*	0	



The East of England saw Labour pick up small town seats in Bedford, Ipswich and Peterborough and challenges our hypothesis of Labour struggling in those areas.

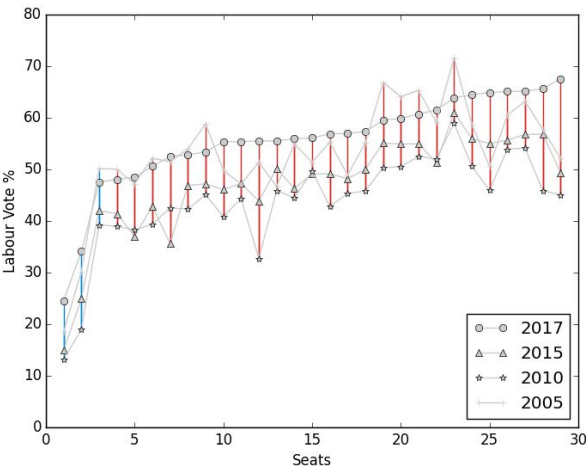
Labour should look to these local cases for salutary lessons to apply in small town areas elsewhere.

Labour made significant progress across the region, with many seats surpassing 2005 levels of support.

NORTH EAST

Seat	Status	Seat	Status	Seat	Status
Berwick-Upon-Tweed	con hold	Hartlepool	lab hold	Sedgefield	lab hold
Bishop Auckland	lab hold	Hexham	con hold	South Shields	lab hold
Blaydon	lab hold	Houghton & Sunderland South	lab hold	Stockton North	lab hold
Blyth Valley	lab hold	Jarrow	lab hold	Stockton South	lab gain
Darlington	lab hold	Middlesbrough	lab hold	Sunderland Central	lab hold
Durham North	lab hold	Middlesbrough S & Cleveland East	con gain	Tynemouth	lab hold
Durham North West	lab hold	Newcastle Upon Tyne Central	lab hold	Tyneside North	lab hold
Durham, City Of	lab hold	Newcastle Upon Tyne East	lab hold	Wansbeck	lab hold
Easington	lab hold	Newcastle Upon Tyne North	lab hold	Washington & Sunderland West	lab hold
Gateshead	lab hold	Redcar	lab hold		

Number of Seats	26	(o)
Percentage of Seats	89.7	(opp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	55.5	(+8.61pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	66.03	(+4.26pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	1	
Gross Seats Lost*	1	



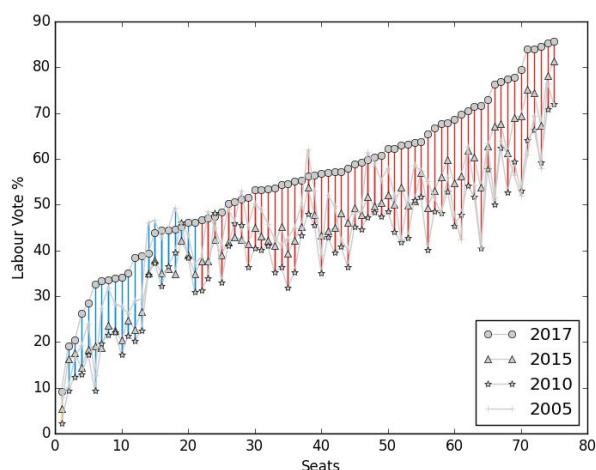
The North East has long been a stronghold for the party. The party extended control with the majority of seats having over 50% of the vote.

This region remains Labour's to lose but it is of concern that Labour lost the marginal of Middlesbrough South and Cleveland East..

NORTH WEST

Seat	Status	Seat	Status	Seat	Status
Altrincham & Sale West	con hold	Fylde	con hold	Ribble South	con hold
Ashton Under Lyne	lab hold	Garston & Halewood	lab hold	Ribble Valley	con hold
Barrow & Furness	lab hold	Halton	lab hold	Rochdale	lab hold
Birkenhead	lab hold	Hazel Grove	con hold	Rossendale & Darwen	con hold
Blackburn	lab hold	Heywood & Middleton	lab hold	Salford & Eccles	lab hold
Blackley & Broughton	lab hold	Hyndburn	lab hold	Sefton Central	lab hold
Blackpool North & Cleveleys	con hold	Knowsley	lab hold	Southport	con gain
Blackpool South	lab hold	Lancashire West	lab hold	St Helens North	lab hold
Bolton North East	lab hold	Lancaster & Fleetwood	lab hold	St Helens South & Whiston	lab hold
Bolton South East	lab hold	Leigh	lab hold	Stalybridge & Hyde	lab hold
Bolton West	con hold	Liverpool Riverside	lab hold	Stockport	lab hold
Bootle	lab hold	Liverpool Walton	lab hold	Stretford & Urmston	lab hold
Burnley	lab hold	Liverpool Wavertree	lab hold	Tatton	con hold
Bury North	lab gain	Liverpool West Derby	lab hold	Wallasey	lab hold
Bury South	lab hold	Macclesfield	con hold	Warrington North	lab hold
Carlisle	con hold	Makerfield	lab hold	Warrington South	lab gain
Cheadle	con hold	Manchester Central	lab hold	Weaver Vale	lab gain
Chester, City Of	lab hold	Manchester Gorton	lab hold	Westmorland & Lonsdale	ld hold
Chorley	lab hold	Manchester Withington	lab hold	Wigan	lab hold
Congleton	con hold	Morecambe & Lunesdale	con hold	Wirral South	lab hold
Copeland	con gain	Oldham East & Saddleworth	lab hold	Wirral West	lab hold
Crewe & Nantwich	lab gain	Oldham West & Royton	lab hold	Workington	lab hold
Denton & Reddish	lab hold	Pendle	con hold	Worsley & Eccles South	lab hold
Eddisbury	con hold	Penrith & The Border	con hold	Wyre & Preston North	con hold
Ellesmere Port & Neston	lab hold	Preston	lab hold	Wythenshawe & Sale East	lab hold

Number of Seats	54	(+3)
Percentage of Seats	72	(4pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	54.9	(+10.3pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	67.9	(+3.49pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	4	
Gross Seats Lost*	1	



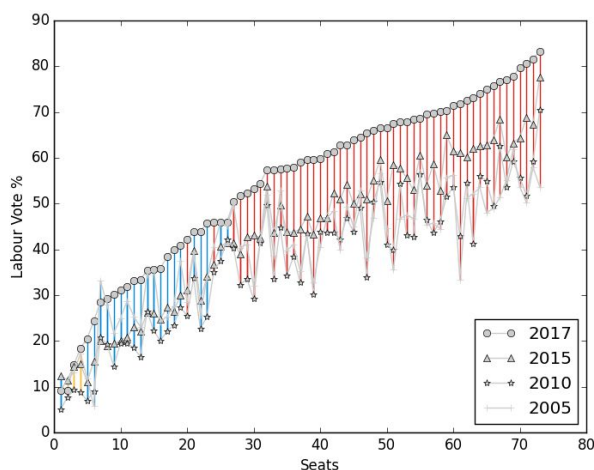
In the North West Labour took some marginal seats but lost Southport and failed to retake Copeland having lost it in the by-election in February. The four seats Labour regained were all won by the Conservatives between 2008 and 2010.

The figure indicates how favourably the swing has been in Labour seats, with support at recent highs. There are a number of remaining Conservative seats which Labour performed well in, candidates for the 'one more heave' strategy.

LONDON

Seats	Status	Seats	Status	Seats	Status
Barking	lab hold	Edmonton	lab hold	Lewisham Deptford	lab hold
Battersea	lab gain	Eltham	lab hold	Lewisham East	lab hold
Beckenham	con hold	Enfield North	lab hold	Lewisham West & Penge	lab hold
Bermondsey & Old Southwark	lab hold	Enfield Southgate	lab gain	Leyton & Wanstead	lab hold
Bethnal Green & Bow	lab hold	Erith & Thamesmead	lab hold	Mitcham & Morden	lab hold
Bexleyheath & Crayford	con hold	Feltham & Heston	lab hold	Old Bexley & Sidcup	con hold
Brent Central	lab hold	Finchley & Golders Green	con hold	Orpington	con hold
Brent North	lab hold	Greenwich & Woolwich	lab hold	Poplar & Limehouse	lab hold
Brentford & Isleworth	lab hold	Hackney N & Stoke Newington	lab hold	Putney	con hold
Bromley & Chislehurst	con hold	Hackney South & Shoreditch	lab hold	Richmond Park	con hold
Camberwell & Peckham	lab hold	Hammersmith	lab hold	Romford	con hold
Carshalton & Wallington	ld hold	Hampstead & Kilburn	lab hold	Ruislip, Northwood & Pinner	con hold
Chelsea & Fulham	con hold	Harrow East	con hold	Streatham	lab hold
Chingford & Woodford Green	con hold	Harrow West	lab hold	Sutton & Cheam	con hold
Chipping Barnet	con hold	Hayes & Harlington	lab hold	Tooting	lab hold
Cities Of London & Westminster	con hold	Hendon	con hold	Tottenham	lab hold
Croydon Central	lab gain	Holborn & St Pancras	lab hold	Twickenham	ld gain
Croydon North	lab hold	Hornchurch & Upminster	con hold	Uxbridge & South Ruislip	con hold
Croydon South	con hold	Hornsey & Wood Green	lab hold	Vauxhall	lab hold
Dagenham & Rainham	lab hold	Ilford North	lab hold	Walthamstow	lab hold
Dulwich & West Norwood	lab hold	Ilford South	lab hold	West Ham	lab hold
Ealing Central & Acton	lab hold	Islington North	lab hold	Westminster North	lab hold
Ealing North	lab hold	Islington South & Finsbury	lab hold	Wimbledon	con hold
Ealing Southall	lab hold	Kensington	lab gain		
East Ham	lab hold	Kingston & Surbiton	ld gain		

Number of Seats	49	(+4)
Percentage of Seats	67.1	(+5.5pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	54.5	(+10.8pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	70.15	(4.46pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	4	
Gross Seats Lost*	0	



London, the beating heart of the Metropolitan liberal classes, saw huge gains for Labour in the popular vote as well as gaining many seats including the formerly Tory safe seat of Kensington.

This election saw an extension of support in Labour seats. We also note that Labour's support in the London Liberal Democrats seats is very low and prioritising any of these seats is not a wise course of action.

SCOTLAND

Seats	Status	Seats	Status	Seats	Status
Aberdeen North	snp hold	Dunfermline & W Fife	snp hold	Inverness Nairn Badenoch & Strathspey	snp hold
Aberdeen South	con gain	E Kilbride, Strathaven & Lesmahagow	snp hold	Kilmarnock & Loudoun	snp hold
Aberdeenshire West & Kincardine	con gain	East Lothian	lab gain	Kirkcaldy & Cowdenbeath	lab gain
Airdrie & Shotts	snp hold	Edinburgh East	snp hold	Lanark & Hamilton East	snp hold
Angus	con gain	Edinburgh North & Leith	snp hold	Linlithgow & East Falkirk	snp hold
Argyll & Bute	snp hold	Edinburgh South	lab hold	Livingston	snp hold
Ayr Carrick & Cumnock	con gain	Edinburgh South West	snp hold	Midlothian	lab gain
Ayrshire Central	snp hold	Edinburgh West	ld gain	Moray	con gain
Ayrshire North & Arran	snp hold	Falkirk	snp hold	Motherwell & Wishaw	snp hold
Banff & Buchan	con gain	Fife North East	snp hold	Na H-Eileanan An Iar (WI)	snp hold
Berwickshire, Roxburgh & Selkirk	con gain	Glasgow Central	snp hold	Ochil & South Perthshire	con gain
Caithness Sutherland & Easter Ross	ld gain	Glasgow East	snp hold	Orkney & Shetland	ld hold
Coatbridge, Chryston & Bellshill	lab gain	Glasgow North	snp hold	Paisley & Renfrewshire North	snp hold
Cumbernauld, Kilsyth & Kirkintilloch E	snp hold	Glasgow North East	lab gain	Paisley & Renfrewshire South	snp hold
Dumfries & Galloway	con gain	Glasgow North West	snp hold	Perth & North Perthshire	snp hold
Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale & Tweeddale	con hold	Glasgow South	snp hold	Renfrewshire East	con gain
Dunbartonshire East	ld gain	Glasgow South West	snp hold	Ross Skye & Lochaber	snp hold
Dunbartonshire West	snp hold	Glenrothes	snp hold	Rutherglen & Hamilton West	lab gain
Dundee East	snp hold	Gordon	con gain	Stirling	con gain
Dundee West	snp hold	Inverclyde	snp hold		

Number of Seats

Percentage of Seats

Percentage of Contested Votes**

Contested Turnout Percentage**

Gross Seats Gained*

Gross Seats Lost*

7

11.9

27.1

66.19

6

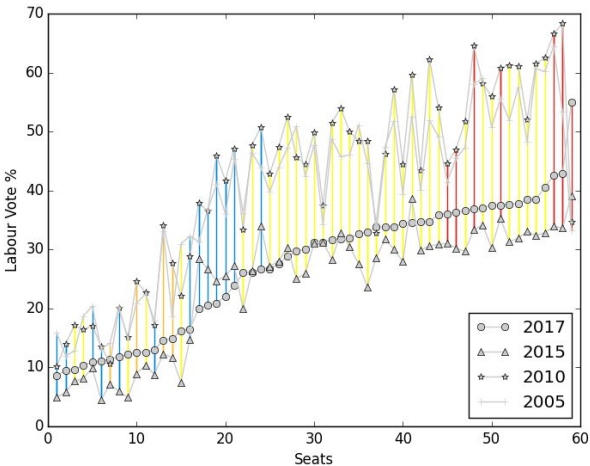
0

(+6)

(10.2pp)

(+2.8pp)

(-4.58pp)



Scotland is in electoral terms, a different country.

Labour gained six seats at the expense of the SNP although support levels across the nation are significantly down from recent highs.

We can no longer consider Scotland a Labour fortress. Votes have migrated away from the SNP to the Conservatives.

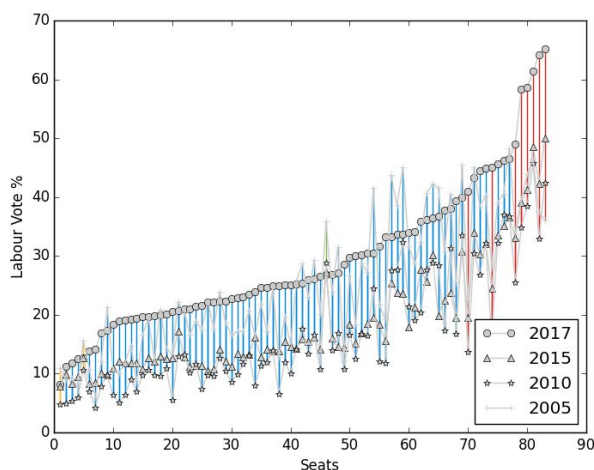
We can also seem from the figure a group of now Conservative seats where Labour's support has dropped since 2015.

A significant rethink to Labour's strategy must be undertaken.

SOUTH EAST

Seat	Status	Seat	Status	Seat	Status
Aldershot	con hold	Gosport	con hold	Reigate	con hold
Arundel & South Downs	con hold	Gravesham	con hold	Rochester & Strood	con hold
Ashford	con hold	Guildford	con hold	Romsey & Southampton N	con hold
Aylesbury	con hold	Hampshire East	con hold	Runnymede & Weybridge	con hold
Banbury	con hold	Hampshire North East	con hold	Sevenoaks	con hold
Basingstoke	con hold	Hampshire North West	con hold	Sittingbourne & Sheppey	con hold
Beaconsfield	con hold	Hastings & Rye	con hold	Slough	lab hold
Bexhill & Battle	con hold	Havant	con hold	Southampton Itchen	con hold
Bognor Regis & Littlehampton	con hold	Henley	con hold	Southampton Test	lab hold
Bracknell	con hold	Horsham	con hold	Spelthorne	con hold
Brighton Kemptown	lab gain	Hove	lab hold	Surrey East	con hold
Brighton Pavilion	g hold	Isle Of Wight	con hold	Surrey Heath	con hold
Buckingham	speaker	Lewes	con hold	Surrey South West	con hold
Canterbury	lab gain	Maidenhead	con hold	Sussex Mid	con hold
Chatham & Aylesford	con hold	Maidstone & The Weald	con hold	Thanet North	con hold
Chesham & Amersham	con hold	Meon Valley	con hold	Thanet South	con hold
Chichester	con hold	Milton Keynes North	con hold	Tonbridge & Malling	con hold
Crawley	con hold	Milton Keynes South	con hold	Tunbridge Wells	con hold
Dartford	con hold	Mole Valley	con hold	Wantage	con hold
Dover	con hold	New Forest East	con hold	Wealden	con hold
Eastbourne	ld gain	New Forest West	con hold	Winchester	con hold
Eastleigh	con hold	Newbury	con hold	Windsor	con hold
Epsom & Ewell	con hold	Oxford East	lab hold	Witney	con hold
Esher & Walton	con hold	Oxford West & Abingdon	ld gain	Woking	con hold
Fareham	con hold	Portsmouth North	con hold	Wokingham	con hold
Faversham & Kent Mid	con hold	Portsmouth South	lab gain	Worthing East & Shoreham	con hold
Folkestone & Hythe	con hold	Reading East	lab gain	Worthing West	con hold
Gillingham & Rainham	con hold	Reading West	con hold	Wycombe	con hold

Number of Seats	8	(+4)
Percentage of Seats	9.5	(+4.8pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	28.6	(+10.3pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	71.31	(+2.74pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	4	
Gross Seats Lost*	0	



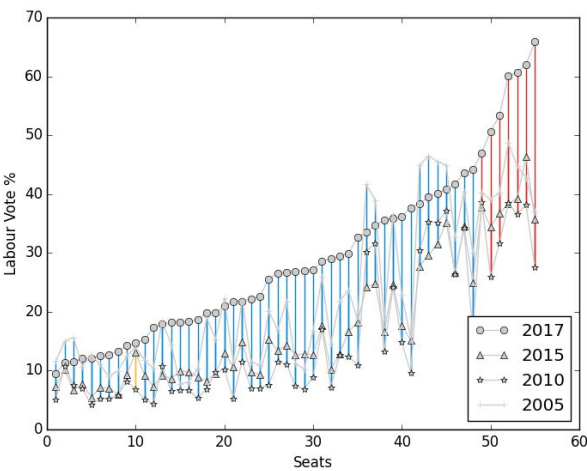
The South East is not a natural ground for the party, but despite domination by the Conservatives Labour has gained in urban centres.

Labour has increased support in Conservative seats quite considerably since the last election, an illustration of dissatisfaction with the direction of the Conservative government.

SOUTH WEST

Seats	Status	Seats	Status	Seats	Status
Bath	ld gain	Devon South West	con hold	St Austell & Newquay	con hold
Bournemouth East	con hold	Devon West & Torridge	con hold	St Ives	con hold
Bournemouth West	con hold	Dorset Mid & Poole North	con hold	Stroud	lab gain
Bridgwater & West Somerset	con hold	Dorset North	con hold	Swindon North	con hold
Bristol East	lab hold	Dorset South	con hold	Swindon South	con hold
Bristol North West	lab gain	Dorset West	con hold	Taunton Deane	con hold
Bristol South	lab hold	Exeter	lab hold	Tewkesbury	con hold
Bristol West	lab hold	Filton & Bradley Stoke	con hold	Thornbury & Yate	con hold
Camborne & Redruth	con hold	Forest Of Dean	con hold	Tiverton & Honiton	con hold
Cheltenham	con hold	Gloucester	con hold	Torbay	con hold
Chippenham	con hold	Kingswood	con hold	Totnes	con hold
Christchurch	con hold	Newton Abbot	con hold	Truro & Falmouth	con hold
Cornwall North	con hold	Plymouth Moor View	con hold	Wells	con hold
Cornwall South East	con hold	Plymouth Sutton & Devonport	lab gain	Weston-Super-Mare	con hold
Cotswolds, The	con hold	Poole	con hold	Wiltshire North	con hold
Devizes	con hold	Salisbury	con hold	Wiltshire South West	con hold
Devon Central	con hold	Somerset North	con hold	Yeovil	con hold
Devon East	con hold	Somerset North East	con hold		
Devon North	con hold	Somerton & Frome	con hold		

Number of Seats	7	(+3)
Percentage of Seats	12.7	(+5.5pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	29.1	(+11.4pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	71.83	(+2.27pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	3	
Gross Seats Lost*	0	



Labour last lost Bristol North West back in 2005, and 2017 marks the uniting of the city as red under a Labour directly-elected mayor.

The party has made significant progress across all seats. It is important to note that in Tory marginals we have performed better in 2005 - reassurance that Labour can permeate further in these seats.

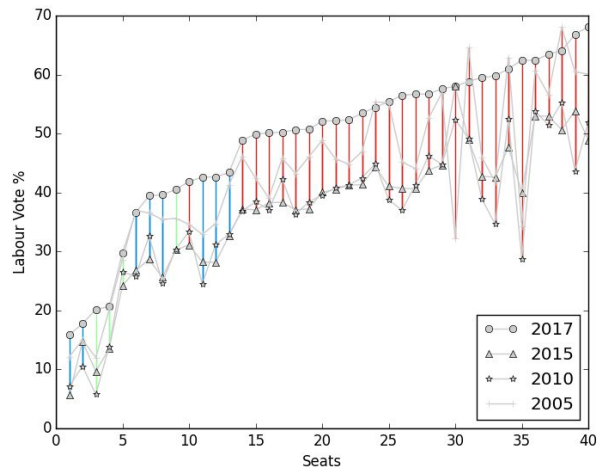
WALES

Seats	Status	Seats	Status	Seats	Status
Aberavon	lab hold	Ceredigion	pc gain	Newport West	lab hold
Aberconwy	con hold	Clwyd South	lab hold	Ogmore	lab hold
Alyn & Deeside	lab hold	Clwyd West	con hold	Pontypridd	lab hold
Arfon	pc hold	Cynon Valley	lab hold	Preseli Pembrokeshire	con hold
Blaenau Gwent	lab hold	Delyn	lab hold	Rhondda	lab hold
Brecon & Radnorshire	con hold	Dwyfor Meirionnydd	pc hold	Swansea East	lab hold
Bridgend	lab hold	Gower	lab gain	Swansea West	lab hold
Caerphilly	lab hold	Islwyn	lab hold	Torfaen	lab hold
Cardiff Central	lab hold	Llanelli	lab hold	Vale Of Clwyd	lab gain
Cardiff North	lab gain	Merthyr Tydfil & Rhymney	lab hold	Vale Of Glamorgan	con hold
Cardiff South & Penarth	lab hold	Monmouth	con hold	Wrexham	lab hold
Cardiff West	lab hold	Montgomeryshire	con hold	Ynys Mon	lab hold
Cardiff South & Penarth	lab hold	Neath	lab hold		
Carmarthen East & Dinefwr	pc hold	Newport East	lab hold		
Carmarthen W & Pembrokeshire S	con hold				

Number of Seats	28	(+4)
Percentage of Seats	70	(+7.5pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	48.95	(+12.05pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	68.48	(+2.86pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	3	
Gross Seats Lost*	0	

Labour strengthened its hold over Wales by gaining four seats.

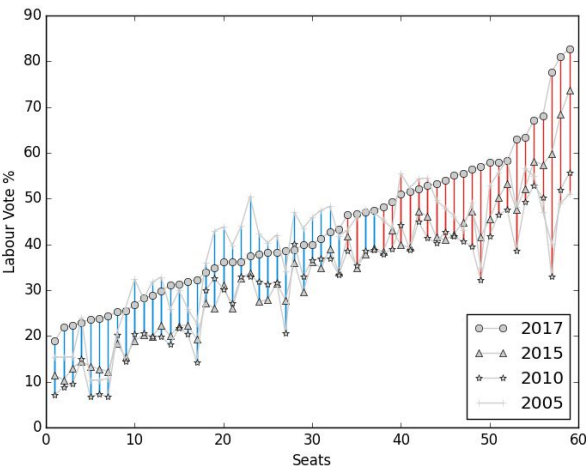
This is a promising change to poor local election results the month before and the tone at the start of the campaign.



WEST MIDLANDS

Seats	Status	Seats	Status	Seats	Status
Aldridge-Brownhills	con hold	Herefordshire North	con hold	Stratford-On-Avon	con hold
Birmingham Edgbaston	lab hold	Kenilworth & Southam	con hold	Sutton Coldfield	con hold
Birmingham Erdington	lab hold	Lichfield	con hold	Tamworth	con hold
Birmingham Hall Green	lab hold	Ludlow	con hold	Telford	con hold
Birmingham Hodge Hill	lab hold	Meriden	con hold	Walsall North	con gain
Birmingham Ladywood	lab hold	Newcastle-Under-Lyme	lab hold	Walsall South	lab hold
Birmingham Northfield	lab hold	Nuneaton	con hold	Warley	lab hold
Birmingham Perry Barr	lab hold	Redditch	con hold	Warwick & Leamington	lab gain
Birmingham Selly Oak	lab hold	Rugby	con hold	Warwickshire North	con hold
Birmingham Yardley	lab hold	Shrewsbury & Atcham	con hold	West Bromwich East	lab hold
Bromsgrove	con hold	Shropshire North	con hold	West Bromwich West	lab hold
Burton	con hold	Solihull	con hold	Wolverhampton North East	lab hold
Cannock Chase	con hold	Stafford	con hold	Wolverhampton South East	lab hold
Coventry North East	lab hold	Staffordshire Moorlands	con hold	Wolverhampton South West	lab hold
Coventry North West	lab hold	Staffordshire South	con hold	Worcester	con hold
Coventry South	lab hold	Stoke-On-Trent Central	lab hold	Worcestershire Mid	con hold
Dudley North	lab hold	Stoke-On-Trent North	lab hold	Worcestershire West	con hold
Dudley South	con hold	Stoke-On-Trent South	con gain	Wrekin, The	con hold
Halesowen & Rowley Regis	con hold	Stone	con hold	Wyre Forest	con hold
Hereford & South Herefordshire	con hold	Stourbridge	con hold		

Number of Seats	24	(-1)
Percentage of Seats	40.7	(-1.7pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	42.5	(+9.6pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	66.8	(+2.81pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	1	
Gross Seats Lost*	2	



The West Midlands was the only region where Labour lost seats overall, losing two and gaining just one. Labour took Warwick and Leamington - a student-heavy constituency - but lost two heartland seats, Walsall North and Stoke-on-Trent South.

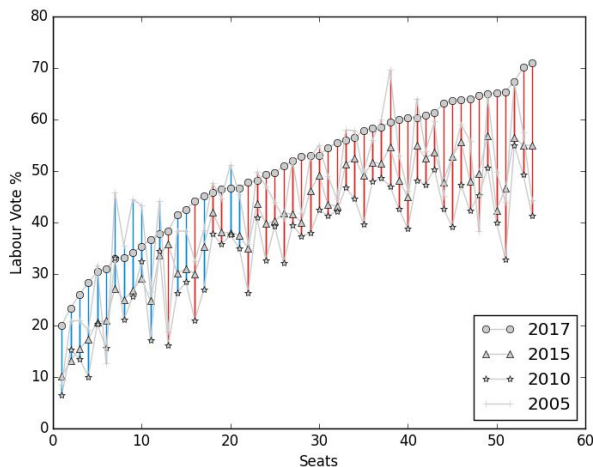
The West Midlands saw increased majorities in the metropolitan areas, especially Birmingham.

There are a number of marginals where Labour has not yet reached 2005 levels which the party can focus on to gain.

YORKSHIRE

Seat	Status	Seat	Status	Seat	Status
Barnsley Central	lab hold	Haltemprice & Howden	con hold	Rother Valley	lab hold
Barnsley East	lab hold	Harrogate & Knaresborough	con hold	Rotherham	lab hold
Batley & Spen	lab hold	Hemsworth	lab hold	Scarborough & Whitby	con hold
Beverley & Holderness	con hold	Huddersfield	lab hold	Scunthorpe	lab hold
Bradford East	lab hold	Hull East	lab hold	Selby & Ainsty	con hold
Bradford South	lab hold	Hull North	lab hold	Sheffield Brightside & Hillsborough	lab hold
Bradford West	lab hold	Hull West & Hessle	lab hold	Sheffield Central	lab hold
Brigg & Goole	con hold	Keighley	lab gain	Sheffield Hallam	lab gain
Calder Valley	con hold	Leeds Central	lab hold	Sheffield Heeley	lab hold
Cleethorpes	con hold	Leeds East	lab hold	Sheffield South East	lab hold
Colne Valley	lab gain	Leeds North East	lab hold	Shipley	con hold
Dewsbury	lab hold	Leeds North West	lab gain	Skipton & Ripon	con hold
Don Valley	lab hold	Leeds West	lab hold	Thirsk & Malton	con hold
Doncaster Central	lab hold	Morley & Outwood	con hold	Wakefield	lab hold
Doncaster North	lab hold	Normanton, Pontefract & Castleford	lab hold	Wentworth & Dearne	lab hold
Elmet & Rothwell	con hold	Penistone & Stocksbridge	lab hold	York Central	lab hold
Great Grimsby	lab hold	Pudsey	con hold	York Outer	con hold
Halifax	lab hold	Richmond	con hold	Yorkshire East	con hold

Number of Seats	37	(+4)
Percentage of Seats	68.5	(+7.4pp)
Percentage of Contested Votes**	49	(-1.27pp)
Contested Turnout Percentage**	66.19	(+3.09pp)
Gross Seats Gained*	4	
Gross Seats Lost*	0	



In Yorkshire Labour made gains despite a slight drop in its share of the percentage of the contested votes, amongst others taking Sheffield Hallam from Nick Clegg

.Labour support is stronger than recent years, although there are a number of marginals where support has been higher in 2005 which need to be regained.

FUTURE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This report provides a starting point to analyse and build a practical route for the Labour party back to government. The Labour Roadmap project will continue research into the paths available.

The principal question raised by this report is the two routes we have identified. The first is whether Labour can build upon the existing though ineffectively distributed support base or does it need to focus on altering the coalition of voters it is able to pick up to deliver a parliamentary majority.

In either case, we also conclude that it is more important than ever in this climate for political shifts in the nation to understand who are the current and potential Labour supporters of 2017..