



The General Election Breadline Battleground

Contents

- Introduction** **1**
- Identifying the headline battleground – the challenge facing all political parties...** **3**
 - Overview: 3
 - Methodology - how we have created the headline battleground: 4
 - What these voters think about the political parties: Do they really care? 4
 - What party will low-income voters vote for? 5
 - Do they care about me? 6
- Appendix 1:** **7**
 - 1a. The 100 Most Marginal Constituencies: 7
 - Appendix 2: Labour targets for a majority of 50 8
 - Most marginal constituencies – England 11
 - Most marginal constituencies – Wales 12
 - Most marginal constituencies – Scotland 13
- Appendix 2:** **14**
 - Methodological statements on calculating the headline battleground: 14
- Appendix 3:** **16**
 - Survey results for low-income voters 16

Introduction

In a recent survey of low-income voters commissioned by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) almost **8 in 10 (78 per cent) voters living on the lowest incomes** have never met or spoken to their local MP. Over half of these voters also told us they hadn't heard from any of the parties in the last year, despite candidates gearing up for a general election campaign. It is probably not surprising that **60 per cent** of these forgotten voters told us that "no political party really cares about helping people like me".

The coming general election needs to be about more than Brexit if it is going to address the issues that face low-income Britain. Whether you voted leave or remain in 2016, our analysis shows that any political party will struggle to win a working majority if they fail to connect with the poorest voters across Britain and demonstrate that tackling poverty is a top priority.

As an independent think tank the CSJ is neutral on the question of which party will best address the concerns of low-income voters. However, the CSJ is not neutral on poverty. We have put together this analysis of low-income voters to encourage all parties to make social justice their priority.

In our poll of 'breadline Britain' we found that voters on the lowest incomes overwhelmingly view the Conservative Party as 'uncaring' and only interested in 'the rich'. The Labour Party is viewed as most the "out of touch" by the voters they have traditionally viewed as their 'core' vote. Neither of the two big parties aiming to win the next general election come out well in our survey. Therefore, much more needs to be done to win the 'breadline battleground' we identify in this report.

Only 3 per cent of low-income voters describe the Conservative Party as "compassionate". 50 per cent of low-income voters believe the Conservative Party "only cares about the rich". The news isn't much better for the Labour Party who are considered the most "out of touch" of all major parties despite scoring well on demonstrating concern for low paid Britain.

When we asked about support for the parties just over a third (36 per cent) said they would back the Labour Party (down 10 per cent since April 2019). These voters would traditionally be considered Labour 'core vote' but our poll shows that Jeremy Corbyn is struggling to win over much more than a third of this voting bloc.

The Conservative Party is in second place with 23 per cent of the vote but are a long way off convincing these voters that they are on their side or care about their vote.

Almost 1 in 5 (18 per cent) low-income voters tell us they will vote for The Brexit Party, which means there are approximately **1.4 million** low-income voters planning to back Nigel Farage's insurgent party¹.

The next leader will struggle to be Prime minister for long if they can't build a big social justice narrative. Number crunching by the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) shows that over **1.4 million** poorer voters live in the **100 most marginal seats** which represents **1 in 7 voters** in these areas - more than enough to swing the result of the next general election.

In our political system, some voters are more equal than others. To win, party strategists need to target resources on the marginal seats where a few hundred votes either way could be the difference between winning and losing, in all of the 100 most marginal constituencies the number of the lowest income voters exceeds the majority, making it difficult to win these constituencies without their support. This is the breadline battleground that is hard to ignore for any political party looking to lead the country.

¹ For a more detailed methodology please see Appendix 2.

Put simply, no political party will be able to win a general election and a working majority in the House of Commons without a clear message to these voters with a plan to tackle poverty and improve the lives of the poorest.

As parties go about trying to persuade voters to back their campaigns, every party should ask themselves what they will do for our country's poorest constituents and towns. Our poorest voters need the help of a government that is committed to social justice and this will only come from a political party that clearly demonstrates that commitment.

Andy Cook

Chief Executive, Centre for Social Justice.

Identifying the breadline battleground – the challenge facing all political parties...

Overview:

The Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) has analysed government deprivation data to map out the number of low-income and most deprived voters across the most marginal constituencies in the UK.

Our analysis of the **100 most marginal constituencies** in the UK – the seats that will decide a general election - shows that there are over **1.4 million** disadvantaged voters across these seats, representing **1 in 7 voters (14.6 per cent)** in these areas. **The number of voters living in poverty exceeds the majorities in each of these marginal seats. This is the forgotten 'breadline battleground'.**

As an independent think tank the CSJ is neutral on which political party should win the next general election. However, the CSJ is not neutral on poverty. Therefore, we have put together this analysis to encourage all parties to present an ambitious platform for tackling poverty.

To crunch the true number of poorer voters across the most marginal seats we have used a more detailed Index of Multiple Deprivation rather than a simple poverty line measure. Using the best available government data from England, Scotland and Wales we have calculated the number of voters who are either 'employment deprived' or 'income deprived' and taken the higher of these two figures to calculate our battleground.

- In the 38 seats the Conservative Party needs to win a majority of 50, there are over **half a million (506,998)** deprived voters.
- In the 115 seats the Labour Party needs to win to achieve a majority of 50, there are **over one and a half million (1,682, 386)** deprived voters. Of the 115, there are 69 seats that Labour needs to gain from Conservatives. In these seats there are **almost a million (983,464) low-income, deprived voters.**

The breadline battleground should be a major concern to party strategists and MPs in the next general election. They will need to set out plans to win over these votes if they want to be in with a chance of winning a general election. It is almost impossible for any political party - regardless of what party that might be - to achieve a working majority without winning votes from voters on the lowest incomes.

Methodology - how we have created the breadline battleground:²

The breadline battleground has been created using government data sets for each of the countries that make up the United Kingdom. The major political parties traditionally contest vacancies in England, Scotland and Wales, so for this reason we have excluded Northern Ireland.

Each national statistical authority produces an Index of Multiple Deprivation covering a range of deprivation indicators. Each nation produces a Multiple Index of Deprivation which is slightly different. However, each home nation measures Income and Employment as subcategories within their Indices.

Within each it is possible to identify population numbers allowing us to build constituency level profiles. How this has been achieved is outlined below.

It should be noted that as each nation measures income and employment deprivation differently, these are not 'like for like' comparisons but they do give an indication of the level of income poverty within each constituency. However, this represents the best available data to identify voters in poverty.

What these voters think about the political parties: Do they really care?

Alongside this electoral data we commissioned Survation to conduct an online survey of 502 UK adults (aged over 18) whose household income is below £17,00³. The field work was completed between 5th - 9th September 2019.

There is an overwhelming trend to view the major political parties as disinterested in the votes of poorer voters. Only 21 per cent of low-income voters agree that the Conservative Party is "concerned about supporting people on low-incomes". Four in ten of our voters told us that they felt the Labour Party wasn't concerned about people on low incomes. This is surely disappointing for a party founded to represent working class voters.

More concerning still for strategists at Conservative Party H.Q., the Conservative Party is viewed as compassionate by **only 3 per cent** of low-income voters. **Half (50 per cent)** of low-income voters say that the Conservatives "only cares about the rich"

Although the Labour Party is seen as the most "concerned" (**49 per cent**), it is also considered the most "out of touch" (**45 per cent**) of all the parties. Perhaps bizarrely the Conservative Party is seen as more in touch with low paid Britain than the Labour Party since Boris Johnson became Prime Minister.

Q14-17. How concerned about supporting people on low-incomes do you think the following parties are? (Change vs April 2019)

	Very concerned	Quite concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned	Don't know
Conservative	6% (+1)	16% (+2)	25% (NC)	42% (-5)	11% (+1)
Labour	18% (+4)	31% (+1)	21% (-4)	18% (-2)	12% (+1)
The Brexit Party	7%	14%	23%	33%	22%
Liberal Democrats	6%	24%	28%	23%	19%

Poorer voters are far from apathetic – contrary to popular canvassing myths that those on the lowest incomes do not vote. About **3 in 4 (70 per cent)** are very likely or certain to vote in a general election.

To try and quantify this in absolute numbers the Centre for Social Justice has calculated that this represents **approximately 8 million voting age adults across all UK constituencies, or 1 in 6 of all voters⁴.**

² For a more detailed methodology please see Appendix 2

³ This figure represents approximately a full time salary on the National Living Wage (40hrs per week x £8.21 per hour x 52 weeks)

⁴ For a more detailed methodology please see Appendix 2

What party will low-income voters vote for?

Only **1 in 5 (23 per cent)** of those likely to vote say they plan to vote Conservative at the next general election. When we asked low-income voters about their current voting intentions, almost **4 in 10 (38 per cent)** of the lowest income voters would “never” consider voting Conservative.

	Combined likely	Neither	Combined unlikely	Would never vote for them	Don't know
Conservative (Base: Respondents who would not vote for Conservatives)	18% (+4)	13% (NC)	22% (NC)	38% (-5)	8% (-1)
Labour (Base: Respondents who would not vote for Labour)	14% (NC)	14% (-3)	32% (+3)	31%(NC)	9% (NC)
The Brexit Party (Base: Respondents who would not vote for the Brexit Party)	14%	20%	22%	37%	7%
Liberal Democrat (Base: Respondents who would not vote for Liberal Democrat)	10%	21%	33%	29%	7%

Despite these findings the Conservative party would be wrong to write off poorer voters. Our research finds that **18 per cent** of those not planning to vote Conservative could be persuaded to do so in the future. This represents almost **1.4 million** voters who are potentially open to voting Conservative if the Party puts forward a ‘pitch’ that resonates with these voters.

There is little to cheer about at Labour HQ. Our voting intention figures show that support for Labour has fallen by **10 per cent** since Easter, the equivalent to 800,000 low-income voters. Although the Labour Party is 13 points ahead of the Conservatives in our Breadline Battleground, our survey reveals that **over a third (31 per cent)** of low-income voters would “never” for the Labour Party.

The Brexit Party is gaining popularity among low-income voters with an increase in support of **8 percentage points since Easter and almost 1 in 5 (18 per cent)** of low-income voters telling us they plan to back The Brexit Party when the general election is called. A further 1.1 million low-income voters who are not currently intending to vote for The Brexit Party would consider doing so.

Q2. If the General Election was taking place tomorrow, and there was a candidate from all political parties standing in your constituency, which party do you think you would vote for? (Base: Respondents Likely to vote with undecided and refused removed)

	(Change vs April 2019)
Conservative	23% (+4)
Labour	36% (-10)
The Brexit Party	18% (+8)
Liberal Democrat	13% (+3)
SNP	5% (NC)
Other	5% (-6)

Our voters are overlooked by party canvassers and their local MPs. Almost 8 in 10 (78 per cent) have never met or spoken to their local MP. When we ask if our voters had heard from either the Conservative Party or Labour Party in the last year – over half (**51 per cent**) told us they hadn’t had any contact from the Labour Party and almost 6 in 10 (**57 per cent**) said the same for the Conservative Party.

Do they care about me?

Our research shows that the Conservative Party has a long way to go to convince those on the lowest incomes that the party cares about the challenges they face and the issues that matter to them. When we ask low-income voters which party “best represents people like me”, just over a **third (36 per cent)** say that the Labour Party best represents them. 18 per cent say that The Brexit Party best represents them, just ahead of the Conservative Party on 17 per cent.

Half of low-income (50 per cent) voters think the Conservative Party “only cares about the rich” – more **than five times** the figure for the Labour Party at **9 per cent**. Just **3 per cent** of the voters we surveyed describe the Conservative Party as “compassionate” - ‘Compassionate Conservatism’ is a popular slogan among Conservative politicians but it clearly has a long way to go to convince poorer voters.

Almost half (45 per cent) of our voters think the Labour Party is the most “out of touch” of all the parties while at the same time they consider the party to be the most ‘concerned about supporting people on low-income’.

Conclusion

The Brexit Party is quickly gaining popularity among low-income voters, with almost 1 in 5 (18 per cent) telling us they intend to vote for The Brexit Party at the coming General Election and feel that Nigel Farage’s party “represents” them.

Over two thirds of our voters (67 per cent) think the Conservative Party is not concerned with supporting people on low-incomes and half (50 per cent) think the party “only cares about the rich”. Only 3 per cent of our voters think the Conservative Party can call itself “compassionate”.

The Labour Party is viewed as the most “out of touch” and has lost 10 percentage points of its support among low- income voters over the last four months.

Above all our low-income voters are the forgotten voters, candidates ignore them and hardly any of our voters have met or spoken to their local MP. At the general election we need all the major political parties to set out plans to re-connect with the Breadline Battleground and put together plans to improve their lives.

Appendix 1:

1a. The 100 Most Marginal Constituencies:

These are the 100 constituencies with the smallest majorities from across the UK. :

Conservative Targets for 50 Majority	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low-income or employment deprived [4]
Kensington	Emma Dent Coad	Labour	20	17,017	15%
Perth and North Perthshire	Pete Wishart	SNP	21	8,373	9%
Dudley North	Ian Austin	Independent	22	17,812	21%
Newcastle-under-Lyme	Paul Farrelly	Labour	30	12,245	13%
Crewe & Nantwich	Laura Smith	Labour	48	13,215	12%
Canterbury	Rosie Duffield	Labour	187	12,645	11%
Barrow & Furness	John Woodcock	Independent	209	13,889	16%
Keighley	John Grogan	Labour	239	14,606	15%
Lanark and Hamilton East	Angela Crawley	SNP	266	14,661	15%
Ashfield	Gloria De Piero	Labour	441	18,104	17%
Bishop Auckland	Helen Goodman	Labour	502	16,871	19%
Peterborough	Lisa Forbes	Labour	683	25,827	21%
Stroud	David Drew	Labour	687	9,434	9%
Westmorland and Lonsdale	Tim Farron	LibDem	777	5,923	7%
Bedford	Mohammad Yasin	Labour	789	18,078	17%
Oxford West and Abingdon	Layla Moran	LibDem	816	6,581	6%
Ipswich	Sandy Martin	Labour	831	18,296	16%
Broxtowe	Anna Soubry	Independent Group for Change	863	9,754	10%
Stockton South	Paul Williams	Labour	888	14,521	14%
Colne Valley	Thelma Walker	Labour	915	14,523	13%
Edinburgh South West	Joanna Cherry	SNP	1,097	11,383	11%
Warwick and Leamington	Matt Western	Labour	1,206	8,986	9%
Central Ayrshire	Philippa Whitford	SNP	1,267	16,689	19%
Penistone and Stocksbridge	Angela Smith	LibDem	1,322	8,928	10%
Argyll and Bute	Brendan O'Hara	SNP	1328	9,375	11%
Carshalton and Wallington	Tom Brake	LibDem	1,369	13,742	14%
Lincoln	Karen Lee	Labour	1,538	17,911	16%
Portsmouth South	Stephen Morgan	Labour	1,554	19,472	17%
Eastbourne	Stephen Lloyd	Independent	1,609	14,405	13%
Wrexham	Ian Lucas	Labour	1,832	12,718	18%
Derby North	Chris Williamson	Labour	2015	15,410	15%
Wakefield	Mary Creagh	Labour	2,176	16,878	17%
Wolverhampton South West	Rob Marris	Labour	2185	15,799	18%
High Peak	Ruth George	Labour	2,322	10,127	11%
Stoke-On-Trent North	Ruth Smeeth	Labour	2,359	20,854	21%
Totnes	Sarah Wollaston	Independent Group for Change	13,477	12,020	14%
South Cambridgeshire	Heidi Allen	Independent Group for Change	15,952	6,950	6%
Stoke-On-Trent North	Phillip Lee	LibDem	15,996	9,992	9%

Appendix 2: Labour targets for a majority of 50

Labour Targets for 50 Majority	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
Dudley North	Ian Austin	Independent	22	17,812	21%
Southampton Itchen	Royston Smith	Conservative	31	17,602	16%
Glasgow South West	Chris Stephens	SNP	60	19,018	22%
Glasgow East	David Linden	SNP	75	20,455	22%
Arfon	Hywel Williams	Plaid Cymru	92	5,607	9%
Ceredigion	Ben Lake	Plaid Cymru	104	1,462	2%
Airdrie and Shotts	Neil Gray	SNP	195	13,632	16%
Barrow & Furness	John Woodcock	Independent	209	13,889	16%
Lanark and Hamilton East	Angela Crawley	SNP	266	14,661	15%
Preseli Pembrokeshire	Stephen Crabb	Conservative	314	5,523	7%
Motherwell and Wishaw	Marion Fellows	SNP	318	16,213	17%
Pudsey	Stuart Andrew	Conservative	331	8,269	9%
Thurrock	Jackie Doyle-Price	Conservative	345	21,787	17%
Hastings and Rye	Amber Rudd	Conservative	346	23,474	21%
Chipping Barnet	Theresa Villiers	Conservative	353	14,209	12%
Inverclyde	Ronnie Cowan	SNP	384	16,303	21%
Norwich North	Chloe Smith	Conservative	507	12,493	14%
Calder Valley	Craig Whittaker	Conservative	609	12,577	12%
Aberconwy	Guto Bebb	Conservative	635	10,020	17%
Stoke-On-Trent South	Jack Brereton	Conservative	663	16,265	18%
Telford	Lucy Allan	Conservative	720	20,221	21%
Northampton North	Michael Ellis	Conservative	807	13,295	15%
Dunfermline and West Fife	Douglas Chapman	SNP	844	9,711	10%
Broxtowe	Anna Soubry	Independent Group for Change	863	9,754	10%
Bolton West	Chris Green	Conservative	936	12,496	13%
Na h-Eileanan An Iar	Angus MacNeil	SNP	1,007	2,803	10%
Middlesbrough South and East Cleveland	Andy McDonald	Conservative	1,020	17,772	19%
Mansfield	Ben Bradley	Conservative	1,057	18,458	17%
Glasgow North	Patrick Grady	SNP	1,060	19,459	25%
Hendon	Matthew Offord	Conservative	1,072	22,222	16%
Edinburgh South West	Joanna Cherry	SNP	1,097	11,383	11%
Northampton South	Andrew Lewer	Conservative	1,159	17,248	17%
Central Ayrshire	Philippa Whitford	SNP	1,267	16,689	19%
Pendle	Andrew Stephenson	Conservative	1,279	16,325	18%
Penistone & Stocksbridge	Angela Smith	LibDem	1,322	8,928	10%
Morecambe and Lunesdale	David Morris	Conservative	1,399	15,141	17%
Putney	Justine Greening	Conservative	1,554	11,771	12%
Camborne and Redruth	George Eustice	Conservative	1,577	15,552	17%
Edinburgh North and Leith	Deidre Brock	SNP	1,625	12,616	11%
Finchley and Golders Green	Mike Freer	Conservative	1,657	15,661	12%
Milton Keynes South	Iain Stewart	Conservative	1,665	18,893	14%
Copeland	Turdy Harrison	Conservative	1695	10,229	13%

Labour Targets for 50 Majority	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
Harrow East	Bob Blackman	Conservative	1,757	14,052	13%
Milton Keynes North	Mark Lancaster	Conservative	1,975	17,234	13%
Blackpool North & Cleveleys	Paul Maynard	Conservative	2,023	17,462	21%
Glasgow South	Stewart McDonald	SNP	2,027	15,515	18%
Watford	Richard Harrington	Conservative	2,092	12,215	10%
Morley & Outwood	Andrea Jenkyns	Conservative	2,104	10,835	11%
Vale Of Glamorgan	Alun Cairns	Conservative	2,190	22,208	22%
Glasgow Central	Alison Thewliss	SNP	2,267	20,743	21%
West Dunbartonshire	Martin Docherty-Hughes	SNP	2,288	12,635	14%
Chingford and Woodford Green	Iain Duncan Smith	Conservative	2,438	13,240	14%
Crawley	Henry Smith	Conservative	2,457	13,400	12%
South Swindon	Robert Buckland	Conservative	2,464	15,138	14%
Worcester	Robin Walker	Conservative	2,508	13,301	13%
Paisley and Renfrewshire South	Mhairi Black	SNP	2,541	12,706	15%
Glasgow North West	Carol Monaghan	SNP	2,561	18,189	21%
Carlisle	John Stevenson	Conservative	2,599	11,882	14%
Walsall North	Eddie Hughes	Conservative	2,601	26,545	27%
Paisley and Renfrewshire North	Gavin Newlands	SNP	2,613	14,466	16%
Corby	Tom Pursglove	Conservative	2,690		
North East Derbyshire	Lee Rowley	Conservative	2,860	11,367	12%
Reading West	Alok Sharma	Conservative	2,876	14,214	14%
Southport	Damien Moore	Conservative	2,914	13,524	15%
Linlithgow and Falkirk East	Martyn Day	SNP	2,919	17,017	15%
Carmarthen West and Pembrokeshire South	Simon Hart	Conservative	3,110	6,204	8%
Cities of London and Westminster	Mark Field	Conservative	3,148	14,310	12%
Rossendale and Darwen	Jake Berry	Conservative	3,216	14,473	15%
Glenrothes	Peter Grant	SNP	3,267	12,691	14%
Stevenage	Stephen McPartland	Conservative	3,386	13,379	14%
Edinburgh East	Tommy Sheppard	SNP	3,425	15,424	15%
Scarborough and Whitby	Robert Goodwill	Conservative	3,435	15,619	16%
Clwyd West	David Jones	Conservative	3437	13,207	18%
North Ayrshire and Arran	Patricia Gibson	SNP	3,633	16,272	17%
Truro and Falmouth	Sarah Newton	Conservative	3,792	11,582	12%
East Kilbride, Strathaven and Lesmahagow	Lisa Cameron	SNP	3,866	5,331	5%
Livingston	Hannah Bardell	SNP	3,878	17,911	16%
Carmarthen East and Dinefwr	Jonathan Edwards	Plaid Cymru	3,908	5,032	7%
Aberdeen North	Kirsty Blackman	SNP	4,139	8,188	8%
Filton and Bradley Stoke	Jack Lopresti	Conservative	4,190	12,875	13%
Cumbernauld, Kilsyth and Kirkintilloch East	Stuart McDonald	SNP	4,264	11,066	13%
Loughborough	Nicky Morgan	Conservative	4,269	11,371	11%
Erewash	Maggie Throup	Conservative	4,534	14,421	15%

Labour Targets for 50 Majority	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
Shipley	Philip Davies	Conservative	4,681	10,577	11%
East Renfrewshire	Paul Masterton	Conservative	4,712	13,077	14%
Nuneaton	Marcus Jones	Conservative	4,739	14,328	15%
Falkirk	John McNally	SNP	4,923	13,039	12%
Plymouth Moor View	Johnny Mercer	Conservative	5,019	17,934	19%
Uxbridge and Ruislip South	Boris Johnson	Conservative	5,034	12,910	12%
East Worthing and Shoreham	Tim Loughton	Conservative	5,106	11,596	12%
Sherwood	Mark Spencer	Conservative	5,198	13,194	13%
Halesowen and Rowley Regis	James Morris	Conservative	5,253	15,422	17%
Dundee West	Chris Law	SNP	5,262	14,021	16%
Gloucester	Richard Graham	Conservative	5,520	18,581	16%
Rochford and Southend East	James Duddridge	Conservative	5,548	21,140	20%
Wimbledon	Stephen Hammond	Conservative	5,622	6,642	7%
Colchester	Will Quince	Conservative	5,677	17,103	14%
Kilmarnock and Loudoun	Alan Brown	SNP	6,269	18,296	16%
South Thanet	Craig Mackinlay	Conservative	6,387	20,072	20%
Altrincham and Sale West	Sir Graham Brady	Conservative	6,426	8,102	8%
Dover	Charlie Elphicke	Independent	6,437	15,834	16%
Wycombe	Steve Baker	Conservative	6,578	11,551	10%
Shrewsbury and Atcham	Daniel Kawczynski	Conservative	6,627	20,854	21%
Dundee East	Stewart Hosie	SNP	6,645	15,217	17%
Harlow	Robert Halfon	Conservative	7,031	14,505	15%
Redditch	Rachel Maclean	Conservative	7,363	12,201	13%
Welwyn Hatfield	Grant Shapps	Conservative	7,369	12,051	10%
Enfield North	Joan Ryan	Independent Group for Change	10,247	24,185	22%
Luton South	Gavin Shuker	Independent	13,925	21,557	18%
Stockport	Ann Coffey	Independent Group for Change	14,477	15,974	18%
Nottingham East	Chris Leslie	Independent Group for Change	19,590	25,253	23%
Birkenhead	Frank Field	Independent	25,514	21,621	24%
Streatham	Chuka Umunna	LibDem	26,285	21,079	17%
Luciana Berger	Liverpool Wavertree	LibDem	29,466	21,898	23%
Ilford South	Mike Gapes	Independent Group for Change	31,647	27,428	19%

Most marginal constituencies – England

Most Marginal Seats - England	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
Kensington	Emma Dent Coad	Labour	20	17,017	15%
Dudley North	Ian Austin	Independent	22	17,812	21%
Newcastle-under-Lyme	Paul Farrelly	Labour	30	12,245	0.13
Southampton Itchen	Royston Smith	Conservative	31	17,602	16%
Richmond Park	Zac Goldsmith	Conservative	45	8,757	7%
Crewe & Nantwich	Laura Smith	Labour	48	13,215	12%
Canterbury	Rosie Duffield	Labour	187	13,173	11%
Barrow & Furness	John Woodcock	Independent	209	13,889	16%
Keighley	John Grogan	Labour	239	14,606	15%
St Ives	Derek Thomas	Conservative	312	13,088	15%
Pudsey	Stuart Andrew	Conservative	331	8,269	9%
Thurrock	Jackie Doyle-Price	Conservative	345	21,787	17%
Hastings and Rye	Amber Rudd	Conservative	346	23,474	21%
Chipping Barnet	Theresa Villiers	Conservative	353	14,209	12%
Ashfield	Gloria De Piero	Labour	441	18,104	17%
Bishop Auckland	Helen Goodman	Labour	502	16,871	19%
Norwich North	Chloe Smith	Conservative	507	12,493	14%
Calder Valley	Craig Whittaker	Conservative	609	12,577	12%
Stoke-On-Trent South	Jack Breerton	Conservative	663	16,265	18%
Peterborough	Lisa Forbes	Labour	683	25,827	21%
Stroud	David Drew	Labour	687	9,434	9%
Telford	Lucy Allan	Conservative	720	20,221	21%
Westmorland and Lonsdale	Tim Farron	LibDem	777	5,923	7%
Bedford	Mohammad Yasin	Labour	789	18,078	17%
Northampton North	Michael Ellis	Conservative	807	13,295	15%
Oxford West and Abingdon	Layla Moran	LibDem	816	6,581	6%
Ipswich	Sandy Martin	Labour	831	18,296	16%
Broxtowe	Anna Soubry	Conservative	863	9,754	10%
Stockton South	Paul Williams	Labour	888	14,521	14%
Colne Valley	Thelma Walker	Labour	915	14,523	13%
Bolton West	Chris Green	Conservative	936	12,496	13%
Middlesbrough South and East Cleveland	Andy McDonald	Conservative	1,020	17,772	19%
Mansfield	Ben Bradley	Conservative	1057	18,458	17%
Hendon	Matthew Offord	Conservative	1,072	22,222	16%
Northampton South	Andrew Lewer	Conservative	1159	17,248	17%
Warwick and Leamington	Matt Western	Labour	1,206	8,986	9%
Pendle	Andrew Stephenson	Conservative	1279	16,325	18%
Penistone and Stocksbridge	Angela Smith	LibDem	1,322	8,928	10%
Carshalton & Wallington	Tom Brake	LibDem	1369	14,249	14%
Morecambe and Lunesdale	David Morris	Conservative	1,399	15,141	17%
Lincoln	Karen Lee	Labour	1538	17,911	16%
Portsmouth South	Stephen Morgan	Labour	1,554	19,472	17%
Putney	Justine Greening	Conservative	1554	11,771	12%
Camborne and Redruth	George Eustice	Conservative	1,577	15,552	17%

Most Marginal Seats - England	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
Eastbourne	Stephen Lloyd	Independent	1609	14,405	13%
Finchley and Golders Green	Mike Freer	Conservative	1,657	15,661	12%
Milton Keynes South	Iain Stewart	Conservative	1665	18,893	14%
Copeland	Turdy Harrison	Conservative	1,695	10,229	13%
Harrow East	Bob Blackman	Conservative	1757	14,052	13%
Milton Keynes North	Mark Lancaster	Conservative	1,975	17,234	13%
Derby North	Chris Williamson	Labour	2015	15,410	15%
Blackpool North & Cleveleys	Paul Maynard	Conservative	2,023	17,462	21%
Watford	Richard Harrington	Conservative	2092	12,215	10%
Morley & Outwood	Andrea Jenkyns	Conservative	2,104	10,835	11%
Sheffield, Hallam	Jared O'Mara	Independent	2125	5,543	6%
Wakefield	Mary Creagh	Labour	2,176	16,878	17%
Wolverhampton South West	Rob Marris	Labour	2185	15,799	18%
High Peak	Ruth George	Labour	2,322	10,127	11%
Stoke-On-Trent North	Ruth Smeeth	Labour	2359	20,854	21%
Battersea	Marsha De Cordova	Labour	2,416	13,886	12%
Chingford and Woodford Green	Iain Duncan Smith	Conservative	2438	13,240	14%
Crawley	Henry Smith	Conservative	2,457	13,400	12%
South Swindon	Robert Buckland	Conservative	2464	15,138	14%
Worcester	Robin Walker	Conservative	2,508	13,301	13%
Blackpool South	Gordon Marsden	Labour	2523	21,526	27%
Warrington South	Faisal Rashid	Labour	2,549	11,269	10%
				975,792	14%
				total number	percentage average

Most marginal constituencies – Wales

Most Marginal Seats - England	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
Arfon	Hywel Williams	Plaid Cymru	92	5,607	9%
Ceredigion	Ben Lake	Plaid Cymru	104	1,462	2%
Preseli Pembrokeshire	Stephen Crabb	Conservative	314	5,523	7%
Aberconwy	Guto Bebb	Conservative	635	10,020	17%
Brecon and Radnorshire	Jane Dodds	LibDem	1425	3,116	5%
Wrexham	Ian Lucas	Labour	1,832	12,718	18%
Newport West	Ruth Jones	Labour	1951	26,477	30%
Vale Of Glamorgan	Alun Cairns	Conservative	2190	22,208	22%
Vale Of Clwyd	Chris Ruane	Labour	2379	18,007	25%
				105,138	15%
				total number	percentage average

Most marginal constituencies – Scotland

Most Marginal Seats - England	Sitting MP	Party	2017 Majority (by election majority where relevant)	Higher of number of people income or employment deprived [3]	Percentage of either low income or employment deprived [4]
North East Fife	Stephen Gethins	SNP	2	5,577	7%
Perth and North Perthshire	Pete Wishart	SNP	21	8,373	9%
Glasgow South West	Chris Stephens	SNP	60	19,018	22%
Glasgow East	David Linden	SNP	75	20,455	22%
Stirling	Stephen Kerr	Conservative	148	9,494	10%
Airdrie and Shotts	Neil Gray	SNP	195	13,632	16%
Glasgow North East	Paul Sweeney	Labour	242	21,172	25%
Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath	Lesley Laird	Labour	259	15,327	16%
Rutherglen and Hamilton West	Gerard Killen	Labour	265	17,278	16%
Lanark and Hamilton East	Angela Crawley	SNP	266	14,661	15%
Motherwell and Wishaw	Marion Fellows	SNP	318	16,213	17%
Inverclyde	Ronnie Cowan	SNP	384	16,303	21%
Dunfermline and West Fife	Douglas Chapman	SNP	844	9,711	10%
Midlothian	Danielle Rowley	Labour	885	9,550	11%
Na h-Eileanan An Iar	Angus MacNeil	SNP	1007	2,803	10%
Glasgow North	Patrick Grady	SNP	1060	19,459	25%
Edinburgh South West	Joanna Cherry	SNP	1097	11,383	11%
Central Ayrshire	Philippa Whitford	SNP	1,267	16,689	19%
Argyll and Bute	Brendan O'Hara	SNP	1328	9,375	11%
Coatbridge, Chryston and Bellshill	Hugh Gaffney	Labour	1,586	16,942	18%
Edinburgh North and Leith	Deidre Brock	SNP	1625	12,616	11%
Glasgow South	Stewart McDonald	SNP	2,027	15,515	18%
Caithness, Sutherland & Easter Ross	Jamie Stone	LibDem	2044	7,101	12%
Glasgow Central	Alison Thewliss	SNP	2,267	20,743	21%
West Dunbartonshire	Martin Docherty- Hughes	SNP	2288	15950.58	0.178
Paisley and Renfrewshire South	Mhairi Black	SNP	2,541	12,706	15%
				358,048	15%
				total number	percentage average

Appendix 2:

Methodological statements on calculating the headline battleground:

The list of one hundred most marginal constituencies was updated to reflect the 2017 General Election results by extracting data from the House of Commons Library data and the Election Polling website (). The list of target constituencies for either the Labour Party or the Conservative Party to win a majority of 50 seats in Parliament was determined by extracting data from the House of Commons Library data and the Election Polling website (www.electionpolling.co.uk).

In the original analysis the methodologies varied between England, Scotland and Wales constituencies to reflect the slightly different ways the Index of Multiple Deprivation is reported for each of these countries. This has remained the case in the updated analysis.

English constituencies

For the constituencies in England, the constituency deprivation figures calculated by the House of Commons Library have been used. These are based upon the latest English Index of Multiple Deprivation (2015). They were calculated by taking an average of the deprivation scores for all Lower Super Output Areas in the constituency, weighted by population (to take account of the fact that LSOA population sizes can vary). LSOAs have been matched to constituencies on a best-fit basis. LSOA population data and deprivation scores are published by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government.

From the House of Commons Library constituency data both the percentage of the population experiencing deprivation relating to low-income and the percentage of the working age population in an area involuntarily excluded from the labour market has been identified and extracted. These have been multiplied by the relevant 2017 population figures [ONS. Parliamentary Constituencies Population Estimates, Mid-2017] to produce the number of people in the constituency affected by the relevant measure. These have been combined to give a total number of people per constituency affected by either low-income or employment deprivation.

Welsh constituencies

The structure of data by constituency in Wales is different to England and both the percentage of the population experiencing deprivation relating to low-income and the percentage of the working age population in an area involuntarily excluded from the labour market have been determined based upon the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) 2014 produced by Welsh Government – Statistics and Research.

<http://wimd.wales.gov.uk/geography/wca/W09000002?lang=en#&min=0&max=100&domain=overall>

This provides the levels for the 20% most deprived LOSAs in Wales that are within the constituency.

The same method as for English constituencies has then applied using the Office of National Statistics 'Parliamentary Constituencies Population Estimates, Mid-2017'.

Scottish UK Parliament constituencies

The structure of data by constituency in Scotland is different to England and both the percentage of the population experiencing deprivation relating to low-income and the percentage of the working age population in an area involuntarily excluded from the labour market have been determined based upon the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2016 produced by the Scottish Government. This provides the levels for the 20% most deprived LOSAs in Scotland that are within the constituency. However, this is only produced by Scottish Parliament constituencies and so the data for these has been mapped on a best fit basis to the UK Parliament constituencies in Scotland.

The same method as for English constituencies has then applied using the Office of National Statistics 'Parliamentary Constituencies Population Estimates, Mid-2017'.

Additional Methodology

In addition to the main methodology, for the 2019 update the higher of percentage of the population experiencing deprivation relating to low-income or the percentage of the working age population in an area involuntarily excluded from the labour market has been identified and multiplied by the relevant 2017 population figures.

This has been provided based upon the NSO guidance to the England IMD which states that there is a strong correlation between the percentage of the working age population in an area involuntarily excluded from the labour market and therefore a degree of double counting to add the figures together. Taking the higher of the two measures provides a more conservative estimate that avoids any double counting.

Methodological statements on calculating the number of low-income voters:

We have extrapolated figures from our survey of relative low-income adults. Relative low-income adults were defined, for the purpose of our survey, as adults with a household earning which is less than £17,000.

To calculate the total number of voting age adults who are low-income, we used data from the Households Below Average Income dataset. The most recent release stated that 5.9 million working age adults were in relative low-income households and 2.2 million pensioners were in relative low-income adults.

Working age adults are defined as: individuals aged 19 and over, or 16 and not in fulltime education. To exclude those aged 16 and 17 who may be defined as relative low-income, but unable to vote, we subtracted the school leavers from 2016 and 2017 who did not go on to fulltime education from the number of people identified as relative low-income adults.

The number of people who did not go on to fulltime education in 2016 and 2017 equates to 130,000 people, rounded. When we subtract this figure from the number of adults in relative low-income and round, the total number of voting age adults in relative low-income comes to 8 million.

This is likely an underestimate of the total number of people who are relative low-income voting age adults. This calculation makes the assumption that all 16 and 17 years olds not in fulltime education are in relative low-income, which is unlikely. Therefore, the 8 million figure should be treated as a lower bound for the estimated total number of voting age adults in relative low-income.

Appendix 3:

Survey results for low-income voters

Centre for Social Justice Summary Document – Low-income voters

Sample size: 502







Methodology: People aged 18+ whose household income is below £16,999 and live in Great Britain were interviewed online.

Fieldwork dates: 5th – 9th September 2019

Q1. If there were to be another general election, on a scale of 0-10, where 10 is certain and 0 is would not vote, how likely would you be to vote?

0 – would not vote	1-3	4-6	7-9	10 - certain to vote
12%	5%	13%	18%	52%

Q2. If the General Election was taking place tomorrow, and there was a candidate from all political parties standing in your constituency, which party do you think you would vote for? (Base: Respondents Likely to vote with undecided and refused removed)

	(Change vs April 2019)
 Conservative	23% (+4)
 Labour	36% (-10)
 The Brexit Party	18% (+8)
 Liberal Democrat	13% (+3)
 SNP	5% (NC)
 Other	5% (-6)

Q3. You said that you would definitely not vote if there was a general election tomorrow. What is the main reason for this? (Base: Respondents who said they would definitely not vote)

I am not interested in voting	49%
I do not think my vote will count	25%
There is no viable option for me	15%
Other	7%
Prefer not to say	2%
Don't know	3%

Q4-7. Regardless of your current voting intention, how likely or unlikely would you be to ever vote for the following parties?

(Change vs April 2019)

*Please note, The Brexit Party and The Liberal Democrats were not included in the survey conducted in April 2019, therefore there is no recorded change.

	Combined likely	Neither	Combined unlikely	Would never vote for them	Don't know
Conservative (Base: Respondents who would not vote for Conservatives)	18% (+4)	13% (NC)	22% (NC)	38% (-5)	8% (-1)
Labour (Base: Respondents who would not vote for Labour)	14% (NC)	14% (-3)	32% (+3)	31%(NC)	9% (NC)
The Brexit Party (Base: Respondents who would not vote for the Brexit Party)	14%	20%	22%	37%	7%
Liberal Democrat (Base: Respondents who would not vote for Liberal Democrat)	10%	21%	33%	29%	7%

Q8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "no political party really cares about helping people like me".

(Change vs April 2019)

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
27% (-3)	33% (+2)	23% (+2)	9% (NC)	3% (-1)	5% (+1)

Q9. Which of the following political parties do you think best represents people like you?

Conservative	17%
Labour	36%
Liberal Democrat	13%
SNP	4%
Plaid Cymru	1%
The Brexit Party	18%
Another Party	12%

Q10-13. Thinking about the following political parties in general, which of the following statements would you most associate with them? Select all that apply.

(Change vs April 2019)

	Only cares about the rich	Cares about people like me	Out of touch	Doesn't understand what it is like to struggle	Compassionate	Don't know
Conservative	50% (-7)	14% (+5)	34% (-14)	44% (-8)	3% (-2)	14% (+2)
Labour	9% (-4)	27% (-3)	45% (+4)	22% (-5)	19% (-1)	16% (-1)
The Brexit Party	21%	21%	26%	25%	9%	29%
Liberal Democrat	13%	15%	35%	26%	14%	25%

Q14-17. How concerned about supporting people on low-incomes do you think the following parties are?

(Change vs April 2019)

	Very concerned	Quite concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned	Don't know
Conservative	6% (+1)	16% (+2)	25% (NC)	42% (-5)	11% (+1)
Labour	18% (+4)	31% (+1)	21% (-4)	18% (-2)	12% (+1)
The Brexit Party	7%	14%	23%	33%	22%
Liberal Democrat	6%	24%	28%	23%	19%

Q18-21. Have you heard from either the Conservative or Labour parties in the last 12 months in any of the following ways? Select all that apply.

(Change vs April 2019)

	Leaflet	Letter to your home address	Door-knocking at your home address	Telephone call	Email	Not heard from them	Don't know
Conservative	23% (-4)	9% (NC)	3% (-3)	2% (NC)	5% (+1)	57% (NC)	8% (+2)
Labour	29% (+3)	10% (-1)	6% (-2)	2% (+1)	7% (+1)	51% (+1)	7% (+1)
The Brexit Party	19%	5%	2%	1%	4%	64%	7%
Liberal Democrat	20%	7%	4%	2%	5%	61%	8%

Q22. Have you ever met or spoken to your local MP?

Yes	17%
No	78%
Not sure	5%

THE CENTRE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

Kings Buildings

16 Smith Square

Westminster, SW1P 3HQ

United Kingdom

t: +44 (0) 20 3150 2326

Twitter: @csjthinktank

www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk

