



Place over politics

What polling tells us about how successful devolution has been to date

March 2024

In just over 5 weeks' time people in 10 different areas will go to the polls to vote for a mayor. In anticipation of this Centre for Cities has polled people across the largest mayoral areas to find out their knowledge of the mayoral institution and what this tells us about how successful devolution has been to date. This is what it found.

Mayors are much more recognisable than other prominent local politicians

More than three quarters of people polled could name their mayor. Sadiq Khan was most recognisable, with 88 per cent of people naming him. Andy Burnham was close behind at 83 per cent (see Figure 1).

While there is variation across the other mayors, respondents in every single area were more likely to name check the mayor than their local council leader (on average 20 per cent of people could do the latter). Being more visible and accountable was one of the benefits put forward for mayoral-led devolution. These results suggest that this benefit has come to pass.

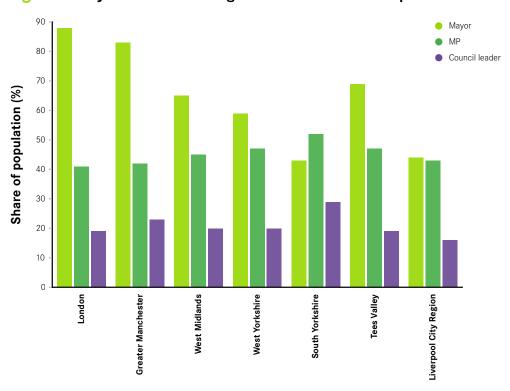


Figure 1: Mayors are more recognisable than other local politicians

Source: Focaldata polling for Centre for Cities

Questions:

- Who is the current Mayor of [your mayoral area]?
- Who is the current MP in your area?
- Who is the current leader of your local council?

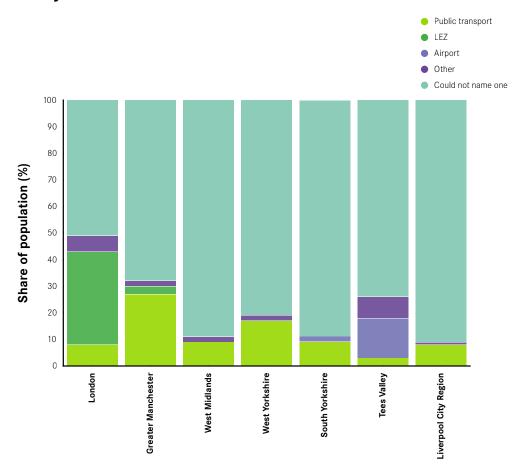
One of the reasons for the lower recognition in the Liverpool City Region may be because of a degree of confusion between the different levels of leadership. Unlike the other mayoral areas, until recently Liverpool had a directly-elected local authority mayor. In the responses given both the previous holders of this post and the Lord Mayor of Liverpool were given as responses.

To account for this Centre for Cities ran a further poll asking people to name the 'metro mayor of Liverpool City Region' rather than just the 'mayor'. Recognition increased, with 54 per cent of residents identifying their Metro Mayor, up from 43 per cent, bringing it more into line with other city regions. The other names continued to be given as answers though, suggesting more needs to be done to differentiate the different levels of governance.

Transport policies have most cut through

Perhaps unsurprisingly many fewer people could name specific policies that the mayors had put in place. But when they could name a policy, it was most likely to be a transport-related one. In London ULEZ was the most named policy – 35 per cent of respondents did so, by far the most named policy in the survey (see Figure 2). The launch of the Bee Network in Greater Manchester was cited many times, as were £2 bus fare caps in Liverpool City Region, Greater Manchester and West Yorkshire. Meanwhile taking control of the airport was by far Ben Houchen's most recognised policy in Tees Valley.

Figure 2: Transport-related policies were the most identifiable policies in mayoralties



Source: Focaldata polling for Centre for Cities

Question:

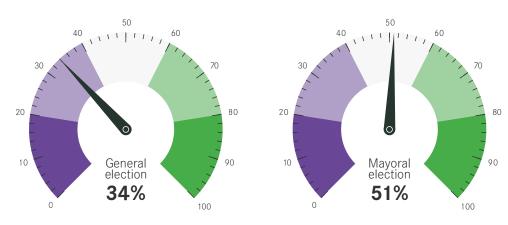
Can you name one of the policies the current Mayor has introduced?

Candidate quality is relatively more important than the colour of the rosette

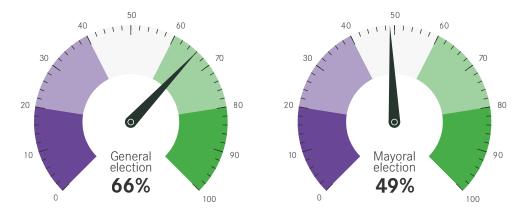
Place trumps politics, with people more likely to vote for the candidate than their party in a mayoral election than the general election. Figure 3 shows that half of people say they would vote for the candidate over party in the mayoral election compared to 34 per cent in the general election.

Figure 3: People say they are more likely to vote for the candidate than the party in a mayoral election than the general election

Candidate



Political party



Source: Focaldata polling for Centre for Cities

Questions:

- In the Mayoral election, what is more important in determining who you vote for?
- In the General Election, what is more important in determining who you vote for?

This again is a victory for devolution. One of the anticipated benefits was that it would create a position with enough power to not be totally swayed by national politics (in the way local council elections are). Andy Burnham has also often

<u>argued</u> that the mayor is much more about place than about party affiliation, with mayors trying to improve their place irrespective of their political affiliations. These findings back this up.

There is much support for policy power to be held at the local level

When asked at what level policy powers should be held at, for all big policy areas bar healthcare the majority of people across the mayoral areas believed they should be held at the local level (see Figure 4), and this was consistent within each mayoral area. In every case though it was the local council that respondents felt should hold these powers, rather than the mayoralty. Transport was the area where most people were likely to say it should be held by the mayor, with 28 per cent saying so, but 43 per cent saying the council should have the powers. London was the only place where this wasn't the case: 42 per cent said the mayor should control transport, compared to 28 per cent saying the boroughs should do so.

 National Government Local (Council or Mayor) 80 70 60 Share of population (%) 50 40 30 20 10 **Business support** Homelessness Healthcare **Education and training** Transport

Figure 4: People want to see policy powers held at the local level

Source: Focaldata polling for Centre for Cities

Question

Who do you think is better placed to make decisions relating to the following issues in your area?

This poses a challenge for the mayors. Not all powers should go to them by default, but where there is a rationale for decisions to be taken at the city-region wide level rather than the local authority level they are better placed to do so. Transport and housing are two examples. The good news then is that the mayors don't have to convince the public of the virtues of devolution. But they have got work to do to convince them about what policies they should have control over.

There is very little awareness of the mayoralty in areas that will vote for the first time

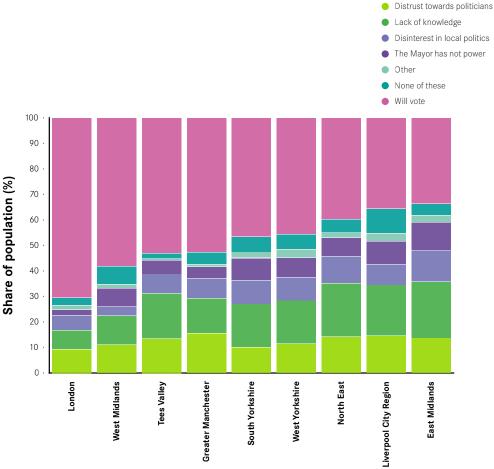
In contrast to the high recognition of existing mayors, the ability of people to name check candidates in the East Midlands and North East mayoral areas, who will vote for a mayor for the first time on 2 May, and their awareness that the election will happen, was low. In the East Midlands, only 10 per cent of people could name a candidate, and in the North East it was just 4 per cent.

In some ways this is unsurprising given they are new positions. And it is further evidence of the visibility of existing mayors, who have been able to increase awareness. Some of this will likely follow for these areas too as the institution is established. But both areas are about to get a mayor with control over a number of policies that will affect their lives. If people know about the election and choose not to vote then that is up to them. But not voting because they weren't aware of it isn't a good place to be.

And so this finding is a warning. It shows that there is work to be done by the candidates themselves and the local media in both areas to raise awareness of the importance of the mayor and the election to come.

Lack of knowledge is much less of a barrier in a number of other areas (see Figure 5). Noting that intent to vote isn't the same thing as actually doing so, almost three quarters of people in London say they will vote in May's mayoral election (and they were most likely to know the election will be in May). Two thirds say they will do so in Tees Valley, West Midlands and Greater Manchester. In places with lower intentions, lack of knowledge is the main reason offered as to why they won't. This means that campaigns to boost awareness shouldn't just be limited to the Fast Midlands and the North Fast.

Figure 5: Lack of knowledge is a main reason as to why people say they either don't know or won't vote in May's mayoral election



Source: Focaldata polling for Centre for Cities

Questions

- Will you vote in the next Mayoral election?
- What are the biggest factors that will influence your decision not to vote in the Mayoral election?

Conclusions

One of the key reasons for introducing a metro mayor over other forms of local leadership was that it would create a more visible and identifiable politician both to the electorate but also to national and international audiences. These polling results suggest that this has been the case, especially in London, Greater Manchester, Tees Valley and the West Midlands. This should give national politicians and policy makers confidence that they have made the right choice in opting for the metro mayoral model for these areas.

The results also raise concerns that there is very little awareness of the creation of the mayoral position and the forthcoming election in the East Midlands and

the North East, the two areas that will be voting for the position for the first time. With five weeks to go this emphasises the need to raise awareness, and in doing so the local media and the candidates themselves should not just look to discuss the candidates, but the value and power of the institution too to raise turnout and boost the mandate of whoever is the eventual winner.

Methodology

Focaldata polled a representative sample (based on age and gender) of 3,455 people eligible to vote in upcoming mayoral elections in Greater London (628), Greater Manchester (501), West Midlands (452), West Yorkshire (412), South Yorkshire (255), Tees Valley (155) and Liverpool City Region (287), and in the areas covered by the two new mayoral combined authorities in the East Midlands (365) and the North-East (390).

To get all mayoral area averages the data was further weighted to represent the relative size of the population in each mayoral area.

The survey was in the field between 26 February 2024 and 15 March 2024.

Polling data

| | | Those giving the correct answer to: Who is the current Mayor of [Mayoral | Those giving the correct answer to: Who is the current MP in | Those giving the correct answer to: Who is the current leader of your local |
|-----------------|--------------|---|--|---|
| Mayoral area | Total sample | area]? | your area? | council? |
| London | 628 | 552 | 257 | 117 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 501 | 415 | 209 | 117 |
| West Midlands | 452 | 292 | 202 | 89 |
| West Yorkshire | 412 | 244 | 193 | 83 |
| South Yorkshire | 255 | 110 | 132 | 75 |
| Tees Valley | 155 | 108 | 73 | 30 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 287 | 127 | 125 | 46 |
| East Midlands | 365 | 38 | 169 | 78 |
| North East | 390 | 14 | 144 | 52 |

Those who could name a policy in response to: Can you name one of the policies the current Mayor has introduced?

| | Public | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-----|---------|-------|
| Mayoral area | transport | LEZ | Airport | Other |
| London | 48 | 222 | 0 | 38 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 133 | 16 | 0 | 11 |
| West Midlands | 39 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| West Yorkshire | 72 | 1 | 0 | 7 |
| South Yorkshire | 23 | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| Tees Valley | 5 | 0 | 23 | 13 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 24 | 1 | 0 | 2 |

In the Mayoral election, what is more important in determining who you vote for?

In the General Election, what is more important in determining who you vote for?

| Mayoral area | Candidate | Party | Candidate | Party |
|-----------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|
| London | 328 | 300 | 236 | 392 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 263 | 238 | 165 | 336 |
| West Midlands | 241 | 211 | 170 | 282 |
| West Yorkshire | 212 | 200 | 118 | 294 |
| South Yorkshire | 119 | 136 | 75 | 180 |
| Tees Valley | 99 | 56 | 73 | 82 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 139 | 148 | 91 | 196 |
| East Midlands | 168 | 197 | 102 | 263 |
| North East | 201 | 189 | 142 | 248 |

Who do you think is better placed to make decisions relating to the following issues in your area?

Homelessness

| Mayoral area | Mayor | Council | Nat Govt | Other |
|-----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| London | 110 | 285 | 221 | 13 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 98 | 282 | 112 | 9 |
| West Midlands | 61 | 259 | 120 | 12 |
| West Yorkshire | 38 | 238 | 115 | 21 |
| South Yorkshire | 32 | 139 | 69 | 15 |
| Tees Valley | 21 | 92 | 37 | 6 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 29 | 175 | 71 | 11 |
| East Midlands | 34 | 217 | 98 | 16 |
| North East | 27 | 227 | 112 | 22 |

Transport

| Mayoral area | Mayor | Council | Nat Govt | Other |
|-----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| London | 261 | 161 | 187 | 19 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 180 | 217 | 93 | 11 |
| West Midlands | 112 | 221 | 109 | 10 |
| West Yorkshire | 98 | 185 | 112 | 16 |
| South Yorkshire | 57 | 134 | 58 | 6 |
| Tees Valley | 40 | 84 | 27 | 4 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 60 | 151 | 67 | 10 |
| East Midlands | 27 | 228 | 99 | 11 |
| North East | 58 | 215 | 95 | 21 |

Crime

| Mayoral area | Mayor | Council | Nat Govt | Other |
|-----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| London | 143 | 168 | 293 | 23 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 106 | 198 | 182 | 15 |
| West Midlands | 82 | 151 | 191 | 27 |
| West Yorkshire | 53 | 152 | 183 | 24 |
| South Yorkshire | 38 | 86 | 116 | 14 |
| Tees Valley | 38 | 58 | 53 | 6 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 42 | 118 | 107 | 20 |
| East Midlands | 40 | 155 | 148 | 22 |
| North East | 49 | 172 | 141 | 27 |

Housing

| Mayoral area | Mayor | Council | Nat Govt | Other |
|-----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| London | 88 | 348 | 179 | 13 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 70 | 338 | 83 | 9 |
| West Midlands | 59 | 292 | 85 | 15 |
| West Yorkshire | 31 | 271 | 94 | 16 |
| South Yorkshire | 23 | 168 | 57 | 7 |
| Tees Valley | 21 | 99 | 30 | 4 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 23 | 187 | 69 | 7 |
| East Midlands | 22 | 255 | 80 | 8 |
| North East | 26 | 262 | 82 | 20 |

Business support

| Mayoral area | Mayor | Council | Nat Govt | Other |
|-----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| London | 114 | 219 | 271 | 24 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 104 | 218 | 158 | 20 |
| West Midlands | 115 | 166 | 152 | 20 |
| West Yorkshire | 65 | 169 | 151 | 27 |
| South Yorkshire | 44 | 114 | 86 | 11 |
| Tees Valley | 48 | 57 | 47 | 4 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 49 | 117 | 104 | 17 |
| East Midlands | 42 | 184 | 121 | 18 |
| North East | 50 | 183 | 124 | 32 |

Education and training

| London 77 222 313 Greater 8 8 8 12 206 West Midlands 53 190 189 West Yorkshire 34 177 182 | Other | Nat Govt | Council | Mayor | Mayoral area |
|---|-------|----------|---------|-------|-----------------|
| Manchester 67 212 206 West Midlands 53 190 189 | 15 | 313 | 222 | 77 | London |
| West Midlands 53 190 189 | | | | | Greater |
| .,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, | 17 | 206 | 212 | 67 | Manchester |
| West Yorkshire 34 177 182 | 20 | 189 | 190 | 53 | West Midlands |
| | 18 | 182 | 177 | 34 | West Yorkshire |
| South Yorkshire 23 98 127 | 8 | 127 | 98 | 23 | South Yorkshire |
| Tees Valley 29 54 65 | 8 | 65 | 54 | 29 | Tees Valley |
| Liverpool City | | | | | Liverpool City |
| Region 24 132 122 | 9 | 122 | 132 | 24 | Region |
| East Midlands 22 167 163 | 12 | 163 | 167 | 22 | East Midlands |
| North East 42 163 164 | 20 | 164 | 163 | 42 | North East |

Healthcare

| Mayoral area | Mayor | Council | Nat Govt | Other |
|-----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------|
| London | 61 | 133 | 412 | 21 |
| Greater | | | | |
| Manchester | 57 | 151 | 278 | 14 |
| West Midlands | 43 | 110 | 278 | 20 |
| West Yorkshire | 34 | 99 | 260 | 20 |
| South Yorkshire | 20 | 60 | 163 | 12 |
| Tees Valley | 25 | 40 | 82 | 8 |
| Liverpool City | | | | |
| Region | 24 | 96 | 158 | 8 |
| East Midlands | 15 | 94 | 241 | 15 |
| North East | 23 | 127 | 215 | 24 |

Will you vote in the next mayoral election?

| Mayoral area | Yes | No |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|
| London | 460 | 168 |
| Greater Manchester | 309 | 192 |
| West Midlands | 283 | 169 |
| West Yorkshire | 220 | 192 |
| South Yorkshire | 139 | 116 |
| Tees Valley | 99 | 56 |
| Liverpool City Region | 127 | 160 |
| East Midlands | 165 | 200 |
| North East | 188 | 202 |

What are the biggest factors that will influence your decision not to vote in the Mayoral election?

| | | | | The | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|---------|-------|-------|
| | Distrust | | Disinterest | Mayor | | None |
| | towards | Lack of | in local | has not | | of |
| Mayoral area | politicians | knowledge | politics | power | Other | these |
| London | 61 | 49 | 38 | 14 | 11 | 19 |
| Greater | | | | | | |
| Manchester | 91 | 80 | 46 | 26 | 6 | 27 |
| West Midlands | 54 | 55 | 17 | 35 | 8 | 34 |
| West Yorkshire | 55 | 82 | 44 | 37 | 16 | 28 |
| South Yorkshire | 30 | 51 | 28 | 26 | 7 | 18 |
| Tees Valley | 25 | 33 | 14 | 10 | 1 | 4 |
| Liverpool City | | | | | | |
| Region | 52 | 71 | 29 | 32 | 11 | 34 |
| East Midlands | 67 | 108 | 59 | 55 | 13 | 22 |
| North East | 67 | 99 | 50 | 34 | 9 | 25 |

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We produce rigorous, data-driven research and policy ideas to help cities, large towns and Government address the challenges and opportunities they face – from boosting productivity and wages to preparing for Brexit and the changing world of work.

We also work closely with urban leaders, Whitehall and business to ensure our work is relevant, accessible and of practical use to cities, large towns and policy makers.

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