

The electoral system for the London Mayor and Assembly

Summary: There have been seven GLA elections of the Mayor and the London Assembly since 2000. This paper explains how the GLA elections work, including legislation, current and previous voting systems, comparison with other parliaments, voter turnout and key issues for the 2024 elections. It visualises Mayoral and Assembly results for each election and explains the D'Hondt method used for allocating London-wide seats.



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Published: June 2024

About the Research Unit

The London Assembly Research Unit provides an impartial research and information service. We undertake research and analysis on key issues in London to inform the Assembly's work. Our publications are made available for all Londoners.

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June 2024

Published by
The London Assembly
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London E16 1ZE
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Further information and copies of this report are available from
<https://www.london.gov.uk/who-we-are/what-london-assembly-does>

Cover image credit: London Elects

Editing by: Richard Berry, Kate Firth, Mark Mills and William Ditcham

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Key terms

Additional Member System: An electoral system that combines majoritarian First Past the Post with proportional representation. Sometimes known as mixed-member proportional, this is the electoral system used to elect the London Assembly.

Constituency Returning Officer (CRO): For the London mayoral and Assembly elections, the CRO is the officer with overall responsibility for delivering the elections in a specific constituency. This includes arrangements for the nominations process for the Constituency Member elections; and collecting and counting votes for each of the elections. CROs are generally the Chief Executives of the largest London borough of the constituency. Borough Returning Officers are also appointed to work with the CRO to lead arrangements for the other boroughs in the constituency.

First Past the Post: An electoral system where voters cast a vote for a single candidate, and the candidate with the highest number of votes wins. Following changes included in the Elections Act 2022, this is now the system used for mayoral elections in London.

Greater London Returning Officer (GLRO): The officer who has overall responsibility for delivering London mayoral and Assembly elections. This includes responsibility for the nominations process, and overseeing the counting of results. The GLRO also announces the results of the mayoral contest and the London-wide Assembly seats (constituency seats are announced by CROs). The current GLRO is Mary Harpley, who is also the Chief Officer of the Greater London Authority. The GLRO is supported by one or more Deputy GLROs.

Supplementary Vote: An electoral system where ballot papers have two columns alongside the list of candidates. Voters choose a first preference in the first column, and can also mark a second preference for another candidate in the second column. If no candidate gets over 50 per cent of the vote, the top two candidates continue to a run-off. In this run-off, second choices of voters are counted for the remaining two candidates. The winner is the candidate with the most votes after both rounds have been counted. This was the electoral system used for London mayoral elections prior to 2024.

1 Introduction

[An electoral system](#) is the method used in a state or region for the populace to choose their representatives. Different systems set the rules and determine likely outcomes for that particular elected body. Systems can have more proportional features, where the representatives elected more closely reflect votes cast in elections, or they can prioritise large majorities in vote share, such as the First Past the Post (FPTP) system used for UK general elections. Some systems, such as the Additional Member System (AMS) used for London Assembly elections, mix elements of proportional and majoritarian systems.

This briefing will explain how the electoral system used for the election of the Mayor and the Assembly works. This system has several features that remain unusual in the electoral map of the UK, including a directly elected executive, rather than the executive being the leader of the largest party. The briefing will cover the development of the system, explain its various component features, as well as examining other systems that use similar methods of election. The briefing also includes analysis of election results since the Greater London Authority (GLA) was established in 2000.

2 A short history of the GLA electoral system

2.1 Early proposals and referendum

Elections for the predecessor to the GLA, the Greater London Council (GLC), were held every four years using FPTP. The GLC was abolished in 1986.

Following the Labour Party's victory in the 1997 general election, the new Labour Government published a Green Paper presenting options for a new elected Mayor and Assembly for London.¹ This included considerations of both FPTP and more proportional systems, but did not make any recommendations for which system should be adopted.² The Government then commissioned a group of academics from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and Birkbeck College to consider potential electoral systems for London. The group published its report in January 1998, around four months prior to the referendum on establishing the Mayor and Assembly. The group concluded:

- There would be “significant advantages” to using the Supplementary Vote (SV) method to elect a London mayor.
- Using either FPTP or SV for the Assembly would not produce proportional results, and could even risk a one-party chamber. It concluded that a system with at least some degree of proportionality should be used. The paper presented various combinations of additional member and list systems as possible solutions, but did not make a specific recommendation.³

The paper also considered plurality systems such as FPTP, and a European-style double-ballot system where two separate polls are held, but concluded that SV would be “more

¹ New leadership for London: the government's proposals for a Greater London Authority: a consultation paper, July 1997

² House of Commons Library, [Research Paper No 97/114: The Greater London Authority \(Referendum\) Bill](#), 6 November 1997

³ LSE Public Policy Group, [Electing the London Mayor and the London Assembly](#), 20 January 1998

likely to produce a result which commands widespread acceptance”, while also making “large, visible majorities” for the Mayor more likely.

A Government White Paper setting out proposals for the new Mayor and Assembly was published in March 1998. It proposed the SV system for mayoral elections, and an AMS for the Assembly, with 14 constituency members and 11 London-wide members (see section 3).⁴ On the election of the Assembly, the White Paper said:

“This [additional member] system will produce an Assembly where more than half of the members have been elected in single member constituencies, and where each party's share of the seats closely reflects its vote share. This will ensure that there are Assembly members with whom the electorate can identify on a geographical basis and that there is a more proportional outcome.”⁵

The GLA referendum was held on 7 May 1998. The question on the ballot paper was:

“Are you in favour of the Government's proposals for a Greater London Authority, made up of an elected mayor and a separately elected assembly?”

All adult residents of the 32 London boroughs and the City of London were eligible to vote in the referendum. 72 per cent voted yes, while 28 per cent voted no. Turnout in the referendum was 34.6 per cent.⁶ All boroughs and the City of London voted in favour of the question.

Following the ‘yes’ vote in the referendum, many of the proposals related to the electoral system featured in the White Paper were carried forward into the subsequent legislation. The Local Government Commission (LGC) made final proposals for size, boundaries and names of the 14 constituencies in November 1998. London's 32 boroughs and the City of London were grouped into single constituencies. Most constituencies comprise two boroughs and were named after them – for instance, the Bexley and Bromley, or Brent and Harrow constituencies. Some constituencies comprised more than two boroughs, including Hounslow, Kingston upon Thames and Richmond upon Thames in the South West constituency; and Islington, Hackney and Waltham Forest in the North East constituency. The LGC aimed for equality in size of constituencies. At the time of the LGC report, the average population size of the proposed constituencies was 360,354.⁷

2.2 Supplementary Vote

The SV electoral system was used in every London mayoral election prior to 2024. The Elections Act 2022 changed the voting system used for mayoral elections from SV to FPTP.

In an SV system, voters can express a first and second choice preference using an ‘X’ in two columns. Voters do not have to choose a second preference. If one candidate achieves over 50 per cent of the vote, they are elected and second preferences are not considered. If no candidate gets a majority, the top two candidates continue to a run-off where second choice

⁴ House of Lords debate on Greater London Authority, [White Paper](#), 25 March 1998

⁵ Quote from the ‘A Mayor and Assembly for London’ White Paper, taken from House of Commons Library, [The Greater London Authority Bill: Electoral and Constitutional Aspects](#), 11 December 1998

⁶ London Research Centre, [London Borough Council Elections \(including the GLA Referendum results\)](#), May 1998

⁷ House of Commons Library, [The Greater London Authority Bill: Electoral and Constitutional Aspects](#), 11 December 1998

preferences for the two remaining candidates are counted. The winner is the candidate with the highest number of votes, including second preference votes counted in a run-off.

In the six mayoral elections that used SV, no mayoral candidate has achieved over 50 per cent in the first round of voting. As a result, every mayoral contest has gone to a second round where second preferences are counted.

2.3 What does the legislation say?

Provisions on the electoral system of the GLA are mainly contained within the Greater London Authority Act 1999 and the Greater London Authority Elections Rules 2007.^{8 9}

Section 2 of the Act states that the 25-member Assembly will be made up of 14 constituency members and 11 London-wide members. This section also states that an ordinary GLA election will consist of a mayoral contest, and separate ballots for both constituency and London-wide members.¹⁰

Section 3 sets out the timetable for GLA elections, requiring the first set to be held on 4 May 2000, and for subsequent ordinary elections to be held on the first Thursday in May in the fourth calendar year following the previous ordinary election.¹¹

Section 4 sets out the voting systems used in each of the three ballots that make up ordinary GLA elections. It states that the 14 constituency members shall be returned under the FPTP system.¹² Procedures for the election of the 11 London-wide members, including rules around party lists, are set out in Schedule 2 Part II of the Act.¹³ Section 4(2) has been amended by Section 13 of the Elections Act 2022 to change the Mayoral voting system from SV to FPTP (see section 2.4).

2.4 Changes for the 2024 elections

The Elections Act 2022 introduced two major changes for the 2024 mayoral and Assembly elections: the introduction of voter ID, and the replacement of the SV system for mayoral elections with FPTP. As well as applying in London, these changes also applied to the other nine mayoral elections across England on 2 May.

Votes for the Mayor and Assembly elections were counted by hand at this election, instead of the electronic method used in previous contests.

Voter ID

Voters are now required to present a valid form of photo ID at polling stations in order to vote. Acceptable ID documents include a passport, driving license and certain travel cards.¹⁴ Voters who do not have an accepted form of ID can apply free of charge for a Voter Authority Certificate (VAC).¹⁵ Application for a VAC requires a recent digital photo and a National Insurance number, or other form of ID such as a birth certificate. The 2024 election was the first time that voters have been required to show ID at mayoral and Assembly

⁸ [GLA Act 1999](#)

⁹ [The Greater London Authority Elections Rules 2007](#)

¹⁰ GLA Act 1999, [section 2](#)

¹¹ GLA Act 1999, [section 3](#)

¹² GLA Act 1999, [section 4](#)

¹³ GLA Act, [schedule 2 part II](#)

¹⁴ The Electoral Commission, [Accepted forms of photo ID](#), 2024

¹⁵ Gov.uk, [Apply for photo ID to vote \(called a 'Voter Authority Certificate'\)](#), 2024

elections. The new ID rules were in place for local elections in England in May 2023.¹⁶ The London Assembly passed a motion on voter ID requirements on 8 February 2024. This motion called on the Government to “take steps to make voting as accessible as possible”, and noted that in 2019, prior to the introduction of ID requirements, there were just 33 allegations of impersonation at polling stations out of 58 million votes cast across all elections that year.¹⁷

The motion also called for the Government to accept and implement the recommendations from the Electoral Commission’s Report on the May 2023 local elections in England. This report found that around 4 per cent of all people who said they did not vote at the elections listed the ID requirement as the reason. It made several recommendations for the Government on voter ID going forward, including reviewing the current list of accepted forms of ID, and exploring whether the deadline for VAC applications could be moved closer to polling day.¹⁸

Changes to the Mayoral electoral system

The electoral system used to elect the Mayor has changed for the 2024 election. The Elections Act 2022 introduces FPTP for mayoral elections, replacing the SV system used for all prior polls. The explanatory notes accompanying the Bill cite the 2011 referendum on adopting the Alternative Vote electoral system for the House of Commons, in which voters rejected the change, as a reason for scrapping the SV system for mayoral elections. Manifesto commitments from the Conservative Party are also cited as a key reason.¹⁹

Provisions to change the mayoral electoral system were not included in original text of the Elections Bill. However, in September 2021 a House of Commons motion was passed²⁰ allowing the Bill to be amended at Committee stage to include clauses on ‘the use of the simple majority voting system in elections’, including for London mayoral elections.²¹

In the debate on the introduction of the changes, MPs from multiple parties were critical of the motion being introduced after the second reading debate had already taken place. They argued that this limited opportunities for scrutiny.²² The Government argued that such changes were manifesto commitments of the Conservative Party, and there would be adequate opportunity for parliamentary scrutiny during the Bill’s remaining stages.²³

Prior to the 2024 election, incumbent Mayor Sadiq Khan was critical of the changes, and lobbied the Labour Party to revert to the previous SV system if they form the next national government.²⁴ The Mayor also told the Assembly that the Mayor’s office was not consulted on the changes.²⁵

The Assembly passed a motion in November 2021 stating that a change from SV to FPTP would be a “backwards step”, and should be subject to a referendum of Londoners.²⁶

¹⁶ The Electoral Commission, [Report on the May 2023 local elections in England](#), 13 July 2023 (updated 13 September 2023)

¹⁷ London Assembly, [Motion on Voter Identification Requirements](#), 8 February 2024

¹⁸ The Electoral Commission, [Report on the May 2023 local elections in England](#), 13 July 2023

¹⁹ [Explanatory Notes to the Elections Bill](#), 18 January 2022

²⁰ House of Commons, [Elections Bill \(Instruction\)](#), 20 September 2021

²¹ House of Commons Library, [Elections Bill 2021-22: Progress of the Bill](#), 4 May 2022

²² House of Commons, [Hansard: Elections Bill \(Instruction\) col. 108](#), 20 September 2021

²³ House of Commons, [Hansard: Elections Bill \(Instruction\) col. 115](#), 20 September 2021

²⁴ Byline Times, [Sadiq Khan Accuses Conservatives of Manipulating Mayoral Election as he Pushes Starmer to Repeal Voting Changes](#), 15 April 2024

²⁵ London Assembly, [Mayoral Election voting system](#), 14 October 2021

²⁶ London Assembly, [Assembly calls for Mayoral voting changes to be withdrawn](#), 11 November 2021

In its review of the 2021 Mayoral and Assembly elections, the Assembly's Election Review Working Group included the following recommendation:

“Recommendation 11: We do not support any change in the voting system for the Mayor of London. If a change is to be considered then, in the same way that Londoners gave consent for the current system, any new system should be subject to a city-wide referendum.”²⁷

This recommendation was not supported by the Conservative Assembly Member of the Working Group, Keith Prince AM.

Counting by hand

The 2024 election was the first mayoral election to be counted entirely by hand. Previous mayoral contests have been counted electronically. Following the introduction of the Elections Bill, the Greater London Returning Officer (GLRO) reported to the GLA Oversight Committee that a change to FPTP for the mayoral election would open up the possibility of a manual count, which had previously been considered “both too slow and resource-intensive” in comparison with an electronic count.²⁸ The GLRO confirmed the decision to change to a manual count in August 2022.²⁹ Counting took place at nine count venues across London.³⁰ In consideration of whether to change to a manual count, the GLRO cited the lower costs associated with a manual count compared to electronic, as well as the increased simplicity in the event of a combined poll with a UK General Election.³¹

3 How does the GLA electoral system work?

The GLA consists of two branches: the Mayor and the Assembly. These two branches are elected through different voting systems. On polling day voters receive three separate ballot papers. They cast one vote for the mayor, and two votes for the Assembly: one for their local constituency member, and one for a party list or independent candidate for their London-wide member.

3.1 Electing the Mayor

For the 2024 election, the Mayor was elected through FPTP. This was the first mayoral election where this system was used, following changes introduced by the Elections Act 2022 (see section 2.4).

FPTP is a plurality voting system where parties put forward one mayoral candidate each. Independent candidates can also stand.³² These candidates all appear on the ballot paper, and the voter chooses one candidate only. Votes are then counted, and the winner is the

²⁷ London Assembly, [The 2021 Mayor and London Assembly Elections](#), January 2022

²⁸ GLA Oversight Committee, [GLA Elections 2024 – Consideration of Counting Arrangements](#), 23 March 2022

²⁹ GLA, [GLRO Decision: GLRO24-01](#), 19 August 2022

³⁰ London Elects, [Count venues](#), 2024. Each of the 14 constituencies conducts its own count, but can do this in venues outside the constituency. In 2024, the counts of five constituencies were conducted at the ExCeL conference centre, and two at Alexandra Palace.

³¹ GLA, Subject: [GLA Elections 2024 – Consideration of Counting Arrangements](#), 16 June 2022

³² London Elects and Electoral Commission, [Greater London Authority \(GLA\) elections: Guidance for Candidates and agents](#), February 2021

candidate with the largest number of votes. It is the same system used for general elections in the UK.

3.2 Electing the Assembly

The Assembly's 25 Members are elected through an Additional Member System (AMS), a mixed electoral system that combines FPTP in single member constituencies with proportional voting via party-lists. The aim of AMS is to make the overall make-up of the Assembly more reflective of votes cast, while maintaining local links to constituencies.

Constituency seats

There are 14 London Assembly constituencies, made up of London's 32 boroughs and the City of London.



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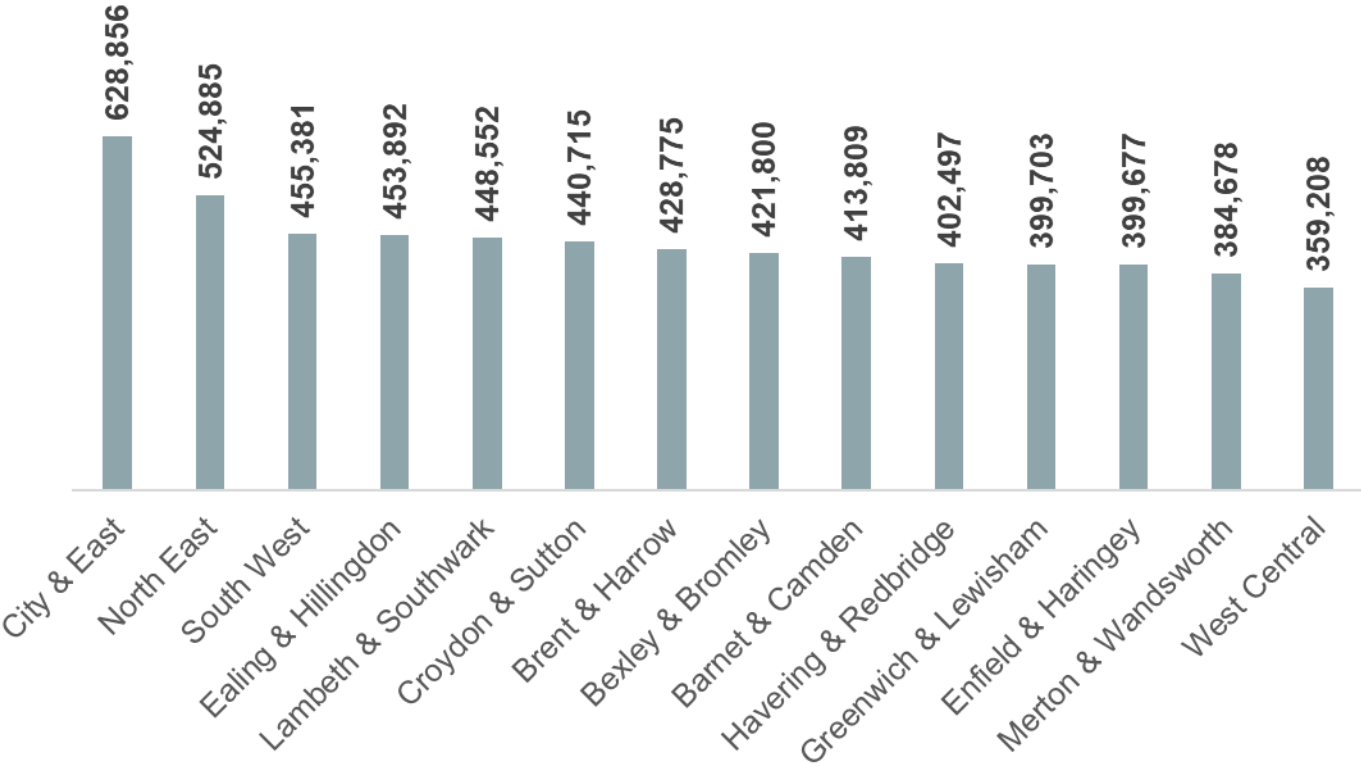
London Assembly constituency	London boroughs
Barnet & Camden	Barnet Camden
Bexley & Bromley	Bexley Bromley
Brent & Harrow	Brent Harrow
City & East	Barking & Dagenham City of London Newham Tower Hamlets
Croydon & Sutton	Croydon Sutton
Ealing & Hillingdon	Ealing Hillingdon
Enfield & Haringey	Enfield Haringey
Greenwich & Lewisham	Greenwich Lewisham
Havering & Redbridge	Havering Redbridge
Lambeth & Southwark	Lambeth Southwark
Merton & Wandsworth	Merton Wandsworth
North East	Hackney Islington Waltham Forest
South West	Hounslow

	Kingston Richmond
West Central	Hammersmith & Fulham Kensington & Chelsea Westminster

The 14 constituency seats are elected using FPTP. Each of the 14 constituencies may only return one member. Named candidates for that constituency are listed on a single ballot paper, and voters mark their choice for one candidate only. The candidate with the largest number of votes wins the seat.

The electorate³³ in each of the 14 constituencies ranges from 359,208 in West Central to 628,856 in City & East.

Constituency electorates, 2024



Source: London Elects

³³ According to [London Elects](#), those eligible to vote for London Mayor and Assembly elections are those who are: registered to vote, live in London, are 18 or over and are a British, European Union, or Commonwealth citizen who has or does not require leave to remain in the UK. The electorate are those that are eligible and are registered to vote, however someone may be eligible and not registered to vote.

London-wide seats

The 11 London-wide seats are elected via a proportional system using closed party lists.³⁴ This introduces proportionality to the Assembly, allowing these seats to be distributed according to vote share, rather than a ‘winner takes all’ basis.

Electors can use their London-wide vote either for a party list, or for an independent candidate. Any registered political party can submit a list. Closed lists mean that the order of the list is determined by the party, and not by the voter. Parties must submit their list to the GLRO, and may include anything from one to 25 candidates on the list.³⁵ The voter can only choose the list as a whole, not individual candidates. The order of the list dictates the order that members are elected if their party wins that seat, with the first candidate on the list winning the first seat, the second candidate if the party wins a second seat and so on. A place on the list is not a guarantee of a seat, and if a party submits a full list containing the legal limit of 25 candidates, the majority of these candidates will not be able to win a seat at the election, and may only be elected if other candidates on the list resign (see section 2.3). For the 2024 elections, both the Conservative and Labour parties submitted lists contained 11 candidates.³⁶

London-wide seats are allocated using the D’Hondt method. Seats are allocated in rounds. For each round, the GLRO will use the formula shown in Figure 1 to determine the winner of that seat. At the start of each round, a party’s London-wide vote is divided by the number of constituency seats won, plus one.³⁷ The party whose total is the highest after this process is completed wins the seat. The process then moves to the next round for the allocation of the next seat. The party who won the seat in the first round will have that seat counted in their divisor for round two. For example, in the ‘D’Hondt method’ visualisation, party C wins the first round, and therefore that seat is added to their seat total for round two. This means party C’s divisor for round two goes up by one, while other parties’ divisors stay the same. This process is repeated until all 11 seats have been allocated.

Independent candidates can stand in London-wide seats. As they have no constituency seats, their divisor will be one. There is a threshold stipulated in legislation which states that a party or independent candidate must reach at least five per cent of the London-wide vote to be eligible to sit in the Assembly.³⁸

D’Hondt method formula:

$\frac{\text{Number of London-wide votes}}{\text{Number of seats} + 1}$

³⁴ [Closed party lists](#) are lists where the party determines the order of candidates, and candidates are elected according to their pre-selected position on that list.

³⁵ GLA Act 1999, [schedule 2 part II](#)

³⁶ London Elects, [Statements of persons nominated for the London Assembly \(London-wide\)](#), 2024

³⁷ The ‘plus one’ element of the method is to avoid any party or candidate having a divider of zero.

³⁸ GLA Act 1999, [schedule 2 Part II, paragraph 7](#)

D'Hondt method of allocating seats

An example of the London-wide Assembly Member electoral system

London-wide seat	Party A	Party B	Party C	Seat allocation
London-wide votes	800,000	400,000	200,000	
Constituency seats	6	2	0	
1 st seat	$800,000 \div 7 = 114,286$	$400,000 \div 3 = 133,333$	$200,000 \div 1 = \mathbf{200,000}$	Party C
2 nd seat	$800,000 \div 7 = 114,286$	$400,000 \div 3 = \mathbf{133,333}$	$200,000 \div 2^* = 100,000$	Party B
3 rd seat	$800,000 \div 7 = \mathbf{114,286}$	$400,000 \div 4^* = 100,000$	$200,000 \div 2 = 100,000$	Party A

*The divider increases by one, to reflect an increase in the number of seats from the previous round(s)

D'Hondt method

An example of the London-wide Assembly Member electoral system



1 seat



100,000 votes

	Party A	Party B	Party C
London-wide votes			
Seats	+1	+1	+1
Round 1	114,286	133,333	200,000
	+1	+1	+1
Round 2	114,286	133,333	100,000
	+1	+1	+1
Round 3	114,286	100,000	100,000

3.3 Assembly Member resignations

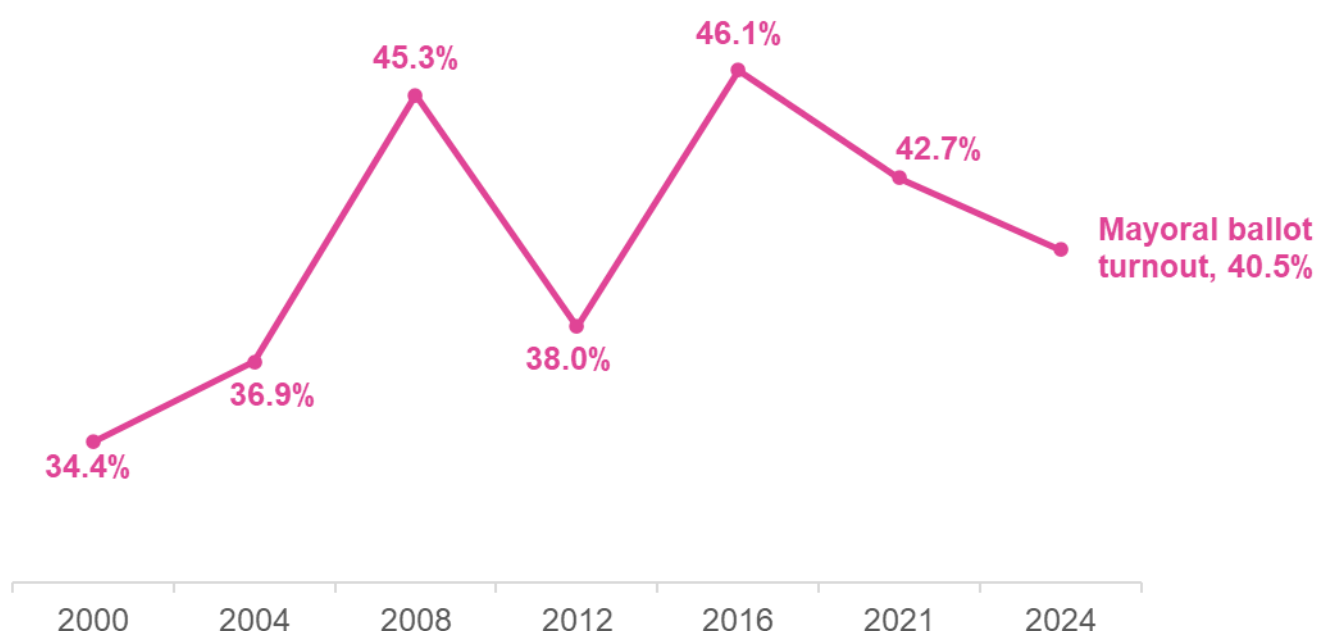
If an Assembly Member stands down outside of an election, the process differs between constituency and London-wide Members. For London-wide members, the seat passes to the next person on that party's list and there is not a by-election. For constituency members, [Section 10 of the 1999 Act](#) stipulates that a by-election must be held in that constituency to fill the vacant seat.

3.4 Cost, turnout and recounts

The Assembly's Election Review Working Group, which published its report into the 2021 elections in January 2022, found that the 2021 elections cost significantly more than previous contests. This was caused largely by the delay in holding the election as originally planned in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Final costs for the postponed election were around £38m, compared to £16m for the 2016 contest.³⁹

Turnout is the proportion of registered voters (electorate) in London who cast a vote in the election, including those that are then 'rejected'. Turnout can vary across the three ballot papers – Mayoral, Assembly constituency and Assembly London-wide – if a voter chooses not to vote on all three papers. Data since 2000 suggests that turnout is similar across ballot papers and therefore turnout figures have generally varied by only 0.1 percentage points. Turnout for the Mayoral election in 2024 was 40.5 per cent. Turnout has ranged from 34.4 per cent in 2000 to 46.1 per cent in 2016.

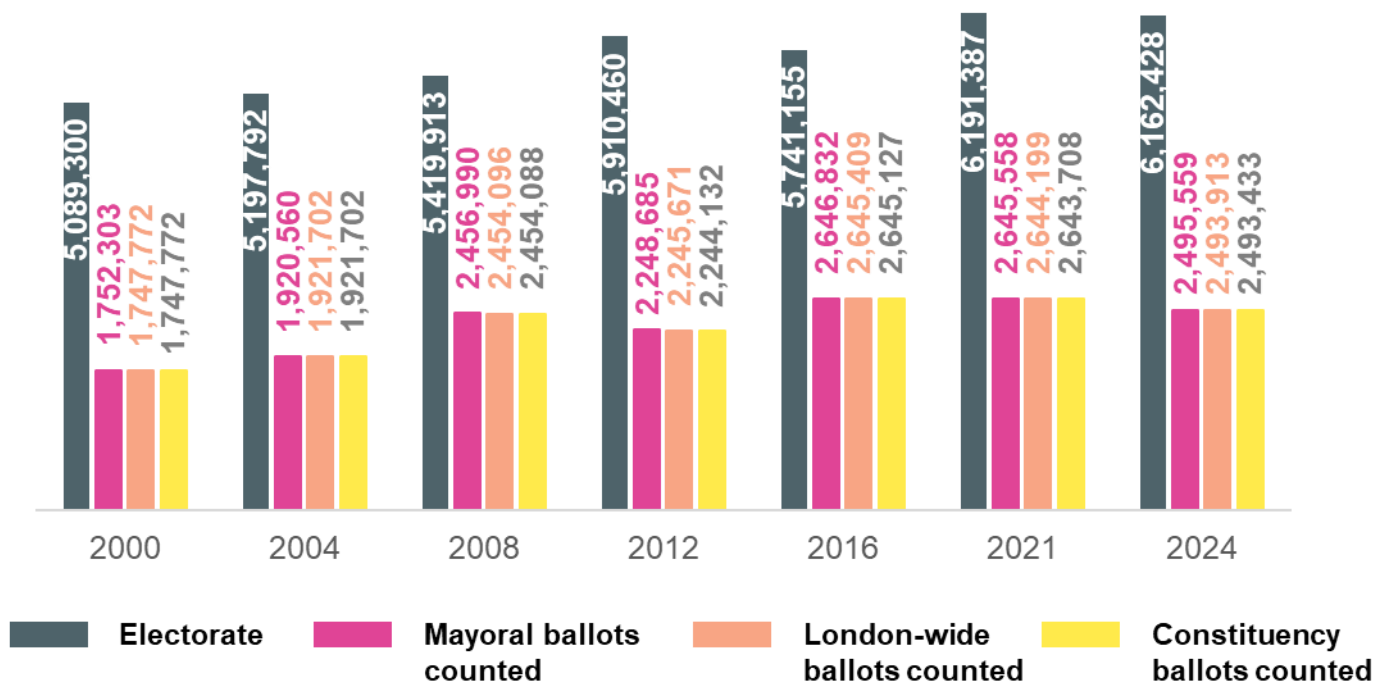
Mayoral ballot turnout



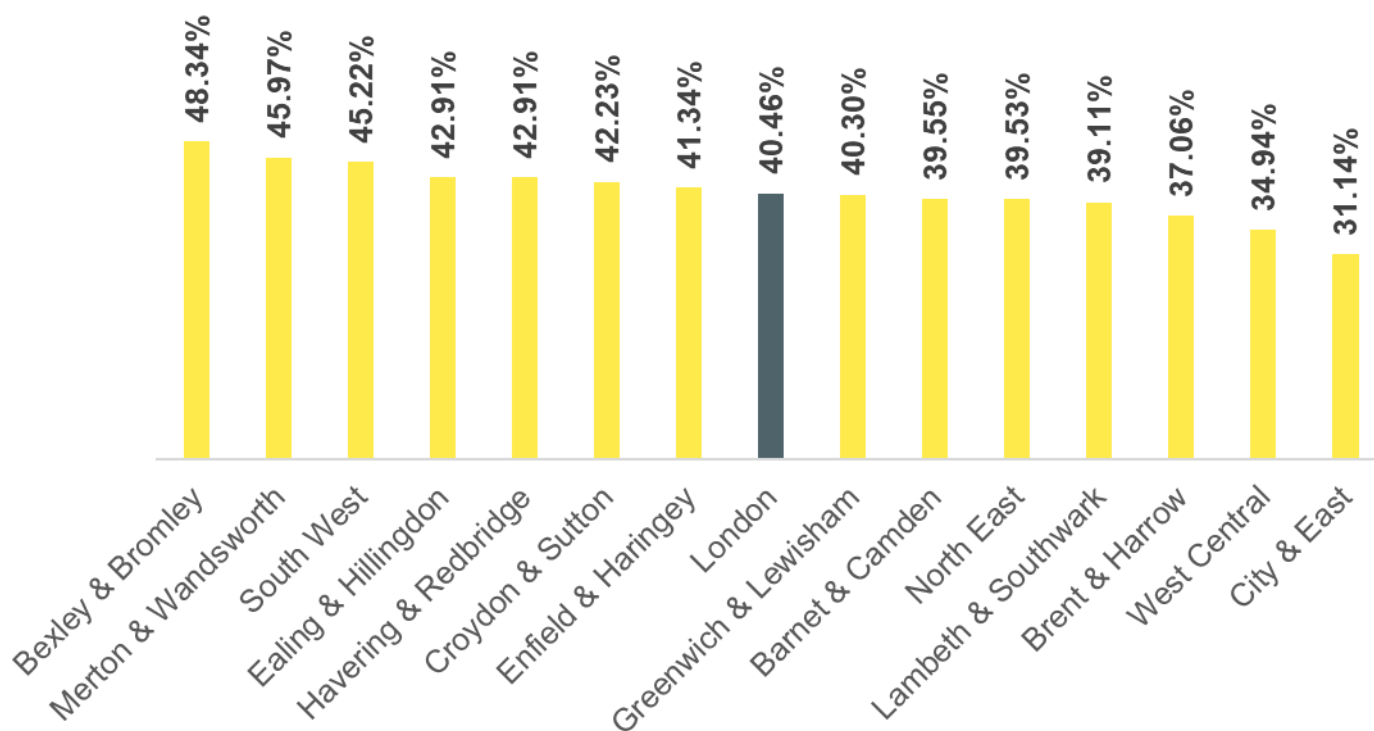
Source: London Elects

³⁹ London Assembly, [The 2021 Mayor and London Assembly Elections](#), January 2022

Ballot papers counted by type



Constituency turnout, 2024



Source: London Elects

Source: London Elects

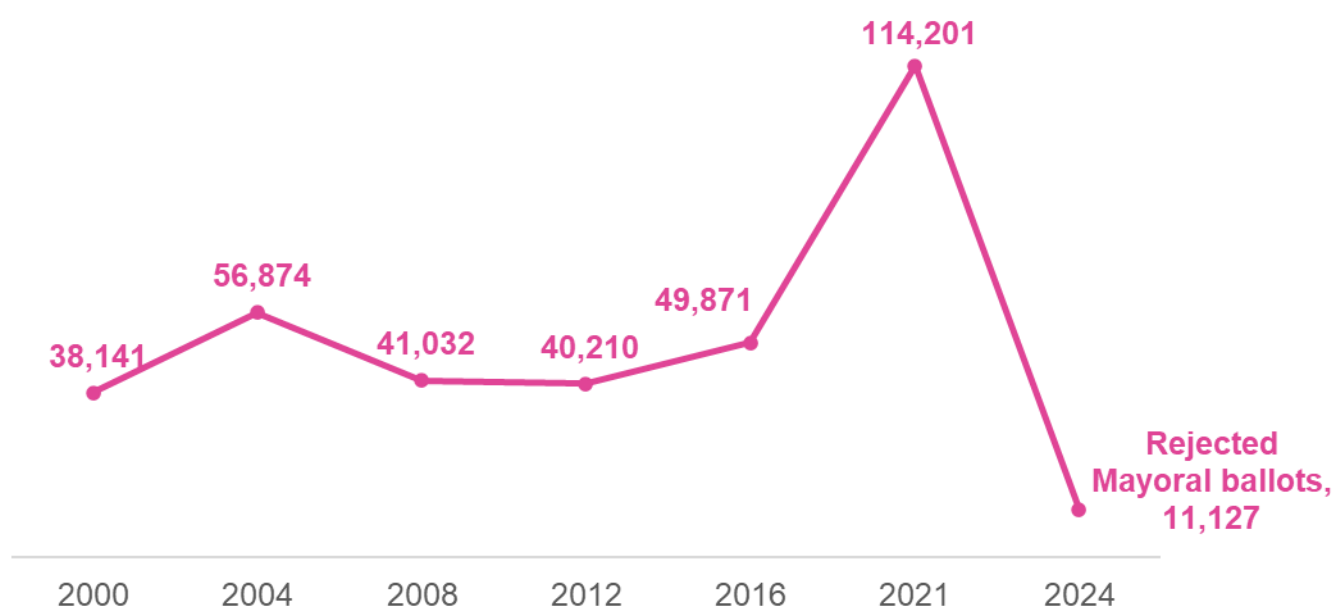
Rejected ballots

Ballots are counted as 'rejected' for the following potential reasons:

- voting for too many (in SV) or more than one (in FPTP)
- unmarked ballot paper
- uncertain ballot paper
- an indication that would identify the individual
- want of an official mark.

For Mayoral elections, the number of rejected ballots has varied across elections. In 2024, there were 11,127 reject ballots, compared to 114, 201 in 2021, including 87,214 ballots that were categorised as 'voting too many'.⁴⁰

Rejected Mayoral ballots



Note: data from 2000-2021 represents rejected first preference Mayoral ballots

Source: London Elects

⁴⁰ The high number of rejected ballots in 2021, by historical standards, was investigated by the London Assembly Election Review Working Group. The Working Group's final report can be found [here](#).

Since 2012, London Elects data has provided a breakdown of the reasons for rejected ballots:

	Voting too many/more than one	Unmarked	Uncertain	Identifying mark	Want of official mark
2012	21,833	12,705	5,494	153	25
2016	32,217	12,292	5,135	215	12
2021	87,214	18,071	8,672	167	77
2024	2,806	7,878		129	314

How and when are results announced?

GLA elections are organised by London Elects, a team with staff drawn from the GLA, working under the direction of the GLRO. London Elects work closely with the 32 boroughs and the City of London, who provide most of the staff for the count and for individual polling stations.

Polling stations for the 2024 GLA elections were open from 7am to 10pm on Thursday 2 May 2024. Votes for all three contests were counted on Saturday 4 May. For the Assembly elections, constituency results must be known before the results for London-wide seats can be determined, as the number of constituency seats a party wins plays a significant role in the allocation of London-wide seats (see section 3.2). For the 2024 election, constituency results were announced by returning officers at specific constituency count centres. Once all constituency announcements were made, the GLRO announced the results of the 11 London-wide seats, as well as the mayoral contest, at City Hall.

Recount procedure

Candidates and certain election agents may request to have votes recounted in both constituency and London-wide seats, as well as mayoral contests. The request for a recount can only be made at constituency level, before results from that constituency have been announced; there is no provision for a simultaneous London-wide recount. The GLRO must be consulted before a Constituency Returning Officer (CRO) makes a decision on whether to grant a recount.⁴¹ Returning officers can reject the request for a recount if they believe the request is unreasonable.⁴²

⁴¹ The Electoral Commission, [Guidance for Returning Officers administering a Greater London Authority \(GLA\) election](#), 2024

⁴² Rules for recounts for all three branches of GLA elections are included in the Greater London Authority Elections Rules 2007.

3.5 Which other parliaments use the additional-member system?

Scotland and Wales

The AMS system is used in both the Scottish Parliament and Senedd Cymru (the Welsh Parliament).

In the Scottish Parliament there are 73 single-member constituencies elected by FPTP. For the proportional seats, Scotland is divided into eight regions. Each region elects seven regional members, leading to totals of 56 regional members and 129 members in the parliament as a whole. Like GLA elections, the Scottish parliament uses closed lists and the D'Hondt method to allocate regional seats.⁴³

A similar system is currently used to elect the Senedd in Wales, with 40 constituencies using FPTP, and five proportional regions electing four members each.⁴⁴ However, under plans currently going through the Senedd's legislative process, the Senedd may change to a fully proportional closed list system in an expanded 96 seat chamber in the next couple of years.⁴⁵ The Senedd Cymru (Members and Elections) Bill, the legislation implementing the majority of these changes, has been approved in the Senedd, and is now awaiting Royal Assent, which is expected in June.

Outside of the UK

Outside of the UK, AMS is often known as the Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system. Germany and New Zealand are examples of countries that use this system for their elections.

Voters in elections to the German Bundestag cast two votes: one for their constituency and one for their party list for their state. There are 299 constituencies, elected by FPTP. The list vote then makes up a further 299 seats, based on the proportion of the second vote parties receive in that state, and making up the official total of 598 seats in the chamber. However, this total can vary as parties can be given extra seats if they win fewer constituency seats than is reflected in their list votes.⁴⁶ The current Bundestag has 734 seats.⁴⁷ Parties must achieve at least 5 per cent of the vote, or at least three constituency seats, to enter the Bundestag.

New Zealand's House of Representatives changed from FPTP to MMP for the 1996 election, following an indicative referendum in 1992. A subsequent referendum was held in 2011 asking voters if they wanted to keep MMP, with 58 per cent voting in favour.⁴⁸ 64 members are elected in constituencies (known as 'electorates'), while 49 are from closed party lists. Seven MPs are also elected from special Māori electorates. Parties must receive at least 5 per cent of the vote in order to gain a seat. This system is slightly different to the GLA system, with a different method used for allocating seats meaning that parties are allocated

⁴³ Scottish Parliament, [How MSPs are elected](#)

⁴⁴ Senedd Cymru, [How are Members of the Senedd are elected?](#), 11 March 2021

⁴⁵ Senedd Cymru, [Senedd Cymru \(Members and Elections\) Bill](#), 18 September 2023

⁴⁶ Electoral Reform Society, [How does proportional representation work in Germany?](#), 18 December 2018.

⁴⁷ Bundestag, [Distribution of seats in the 20th German Bundestag](#)

⁴⁸ New Zealand Parliament, [Final Results for the 2011 New Zealand General Election and Referendum](#), 29 March 2012.

list seats after electorate seats have been declared to ensure they have a proportionate share matching their vote.⁴⁹

4 How has London voted?

There have been seven GLA elections, comprising elections for the Mayor of London and the London Assembly, since the formation of the GLA in 2000. With the exception of the 2021 election, which was delayed by one year due to the pandemic, Mayoral and Assembly terms have lasted four years.

The following section visually represents the results of each Mayoral and London Assembly election since 2000.

Mayoral election data shows the number of votes per candidate, and where relevant first, second and transferred votes under the SV system as outlined at section 2.2 of this paper.

For the Assembly, this includes the make-up of the Assembly by party, comparison of seats numbers among constituency and London-wide seats by party, and a map of London Assembly constituencies by party.

The data source is [London Elects](#), which publishes data for Mayoral and Assembly elections as part of its role in organising the GLA elections.

⁴⁹ Electoral Reform Society, [New Zealand's MMP electoral system: how does it work?](#), 14 October 2020.

Mayors of London since 2000



2000 Ken Livingstone (Independent)



2004 Ken Livingstone (Labour)



2008 Boris Johnson (Conservative)



2012 Boris Johnson (Conservative)



2016 Sadiq Khan (Labour)



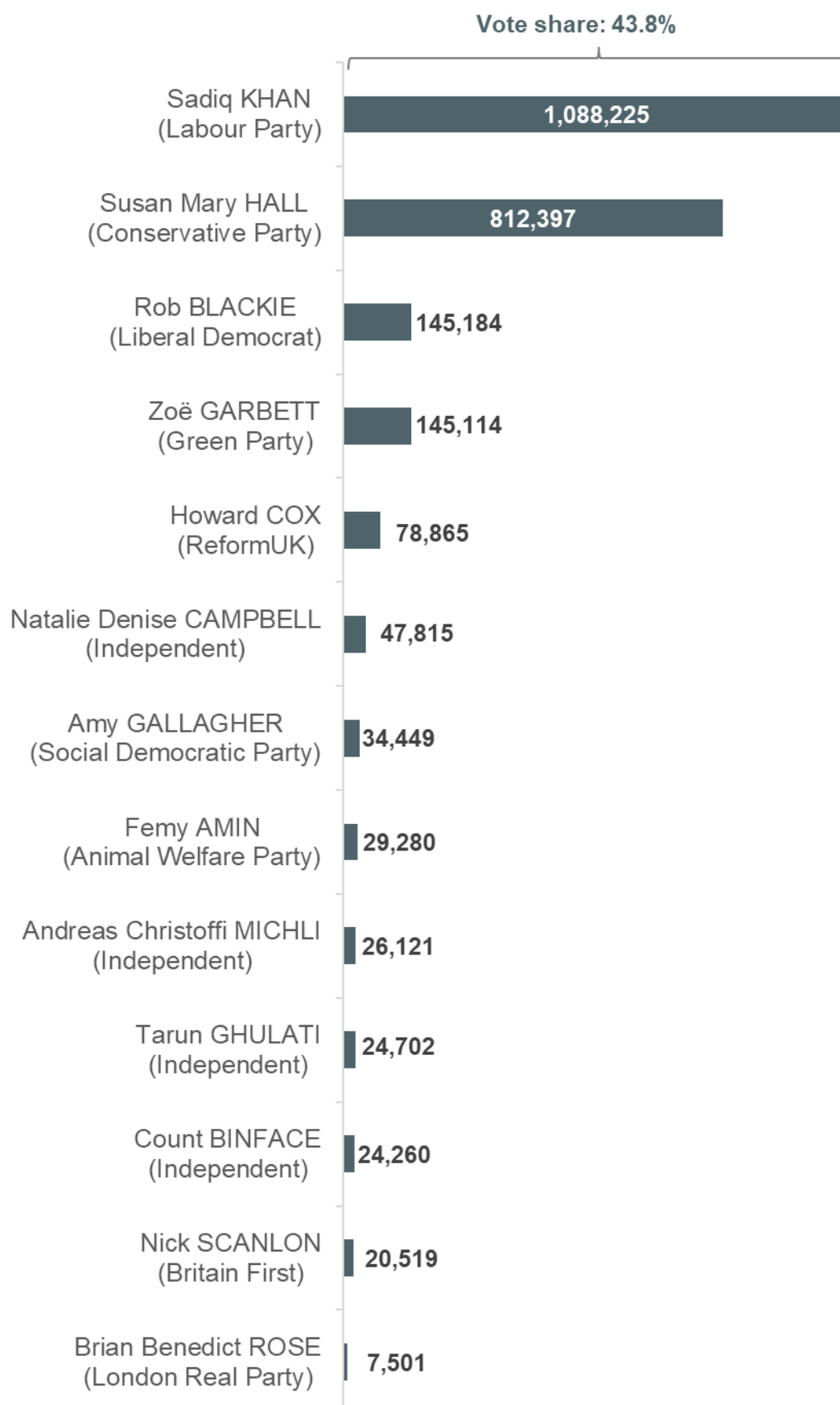
2021 Sadiq Khan (Labour)



2024 Sadiq Khan (Labour)

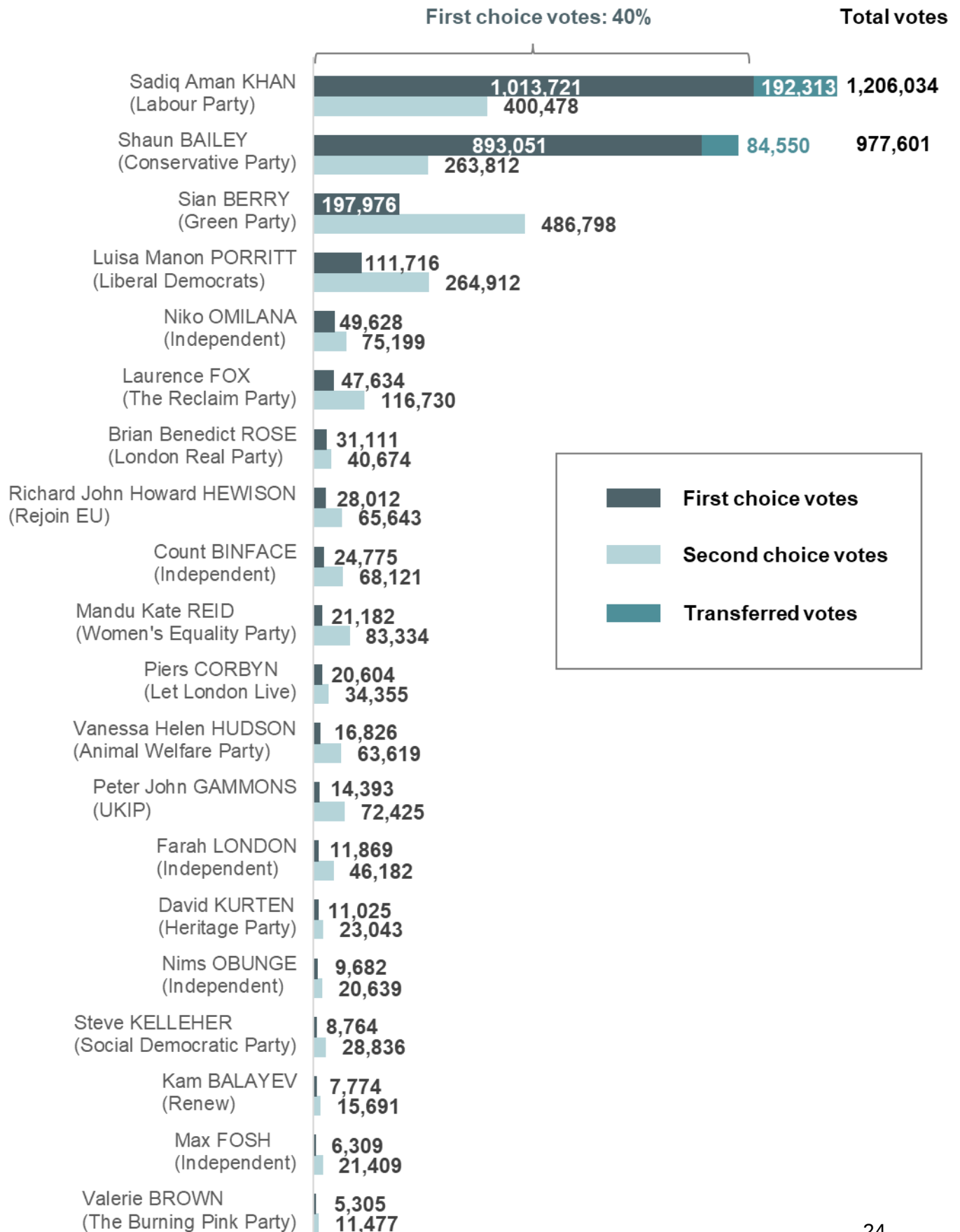
2024 Mayoral election results

First past the post electoral system



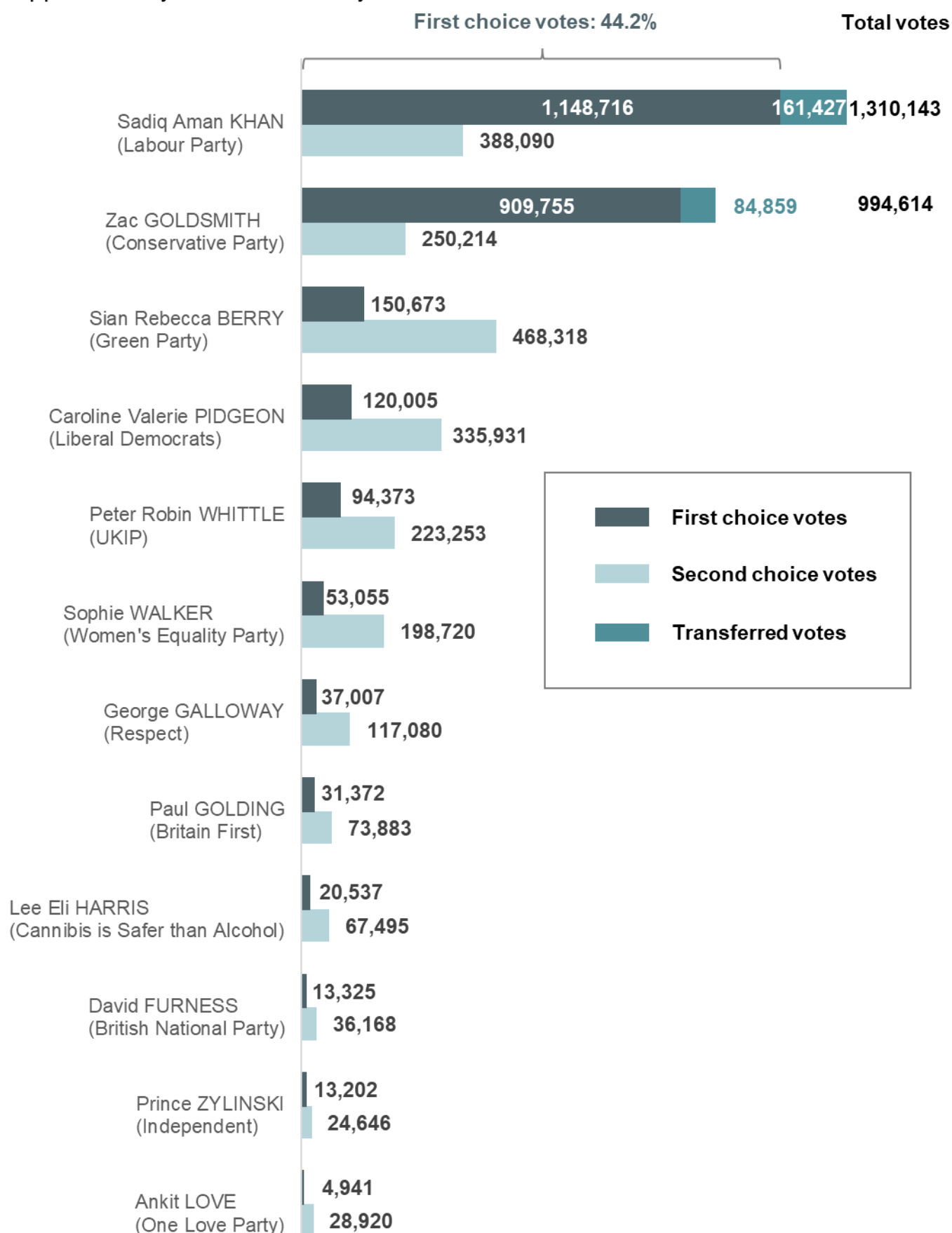
2021 Mayoral election results

Supplementary vote electoral system



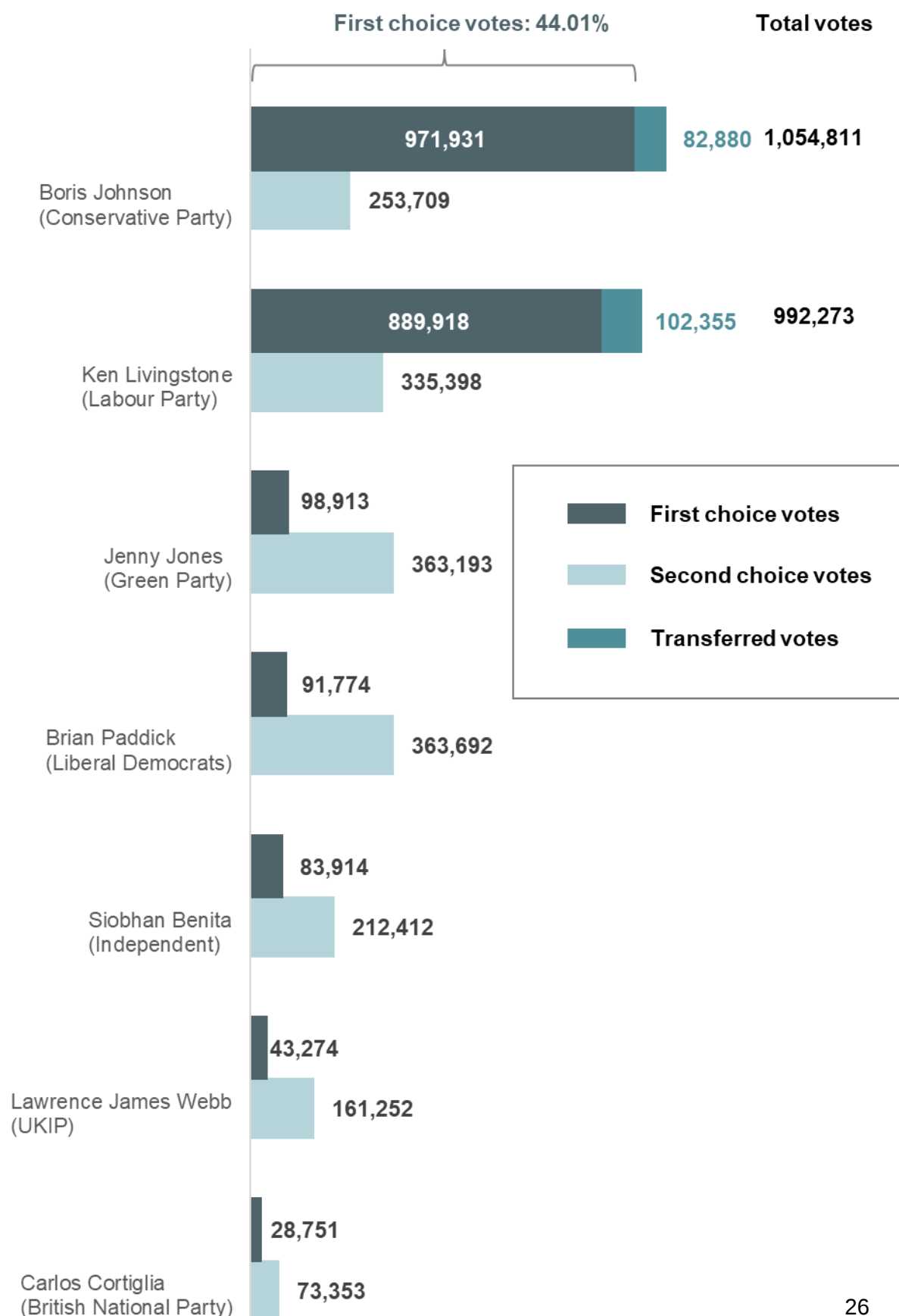
2016 Mayoral election results

Supplementary vote electoral system



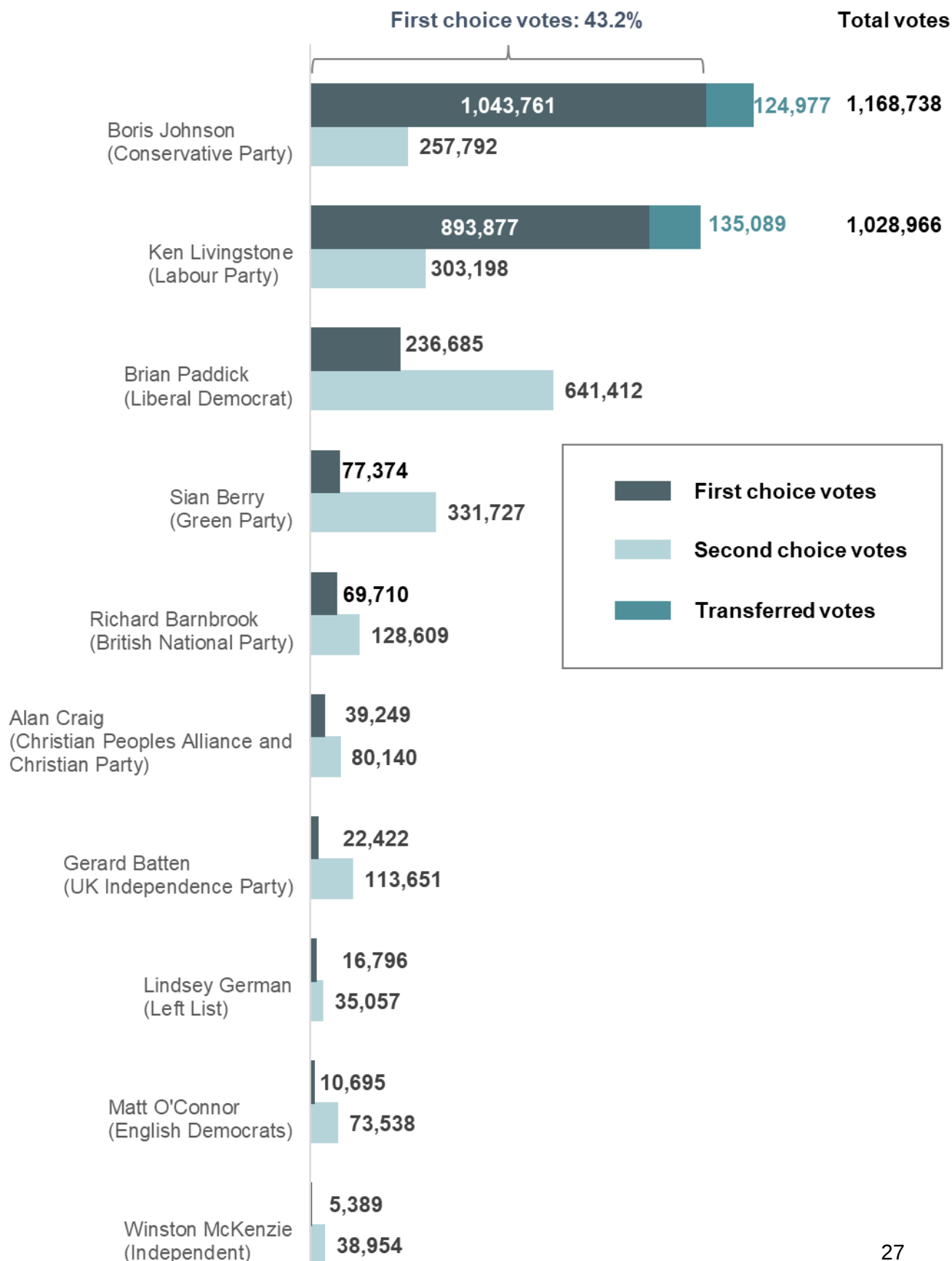
2012 Mayoral election results

Supplementary vote electoral system



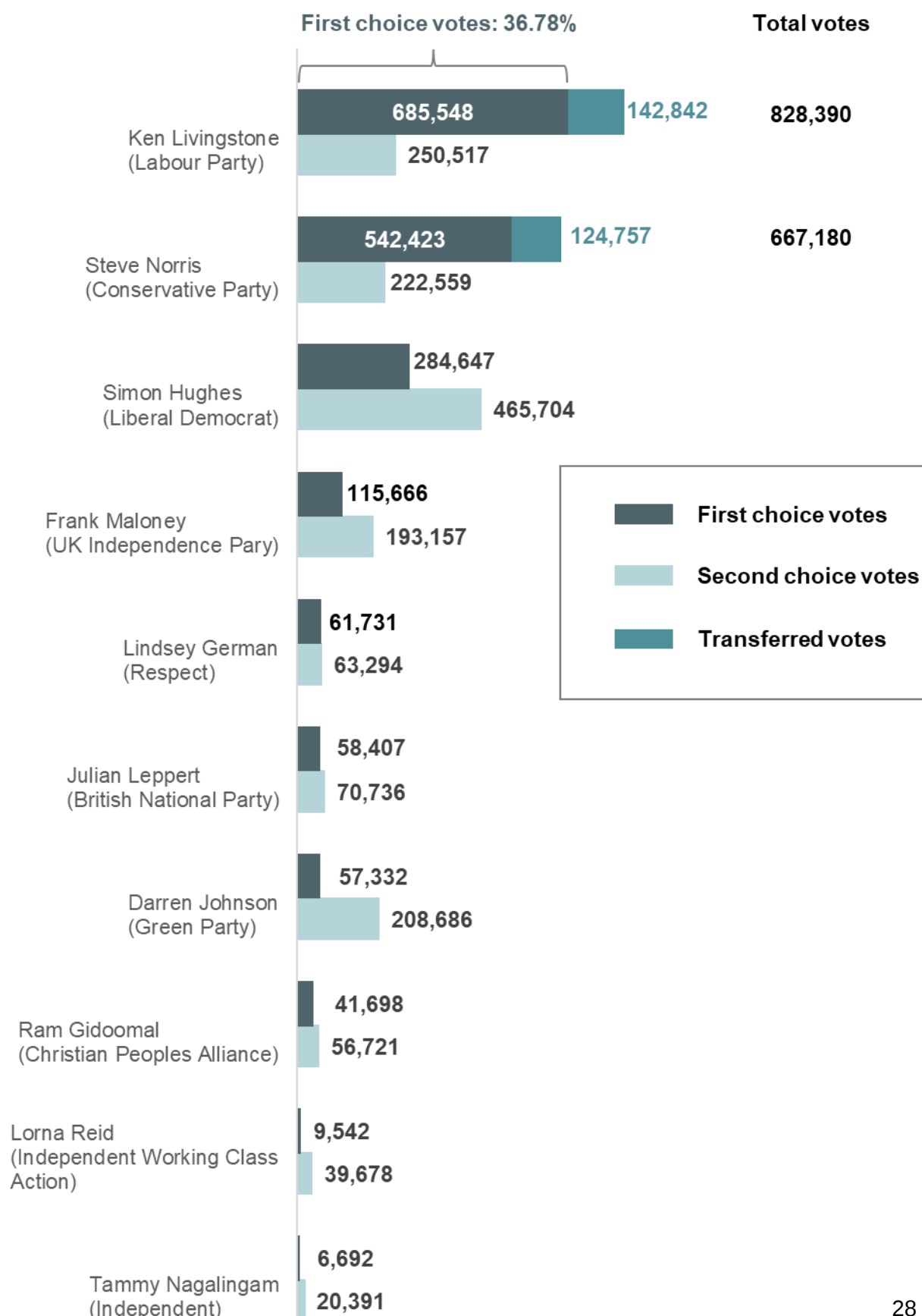
2008 Mayoral election results

Supplementary vote electoral system



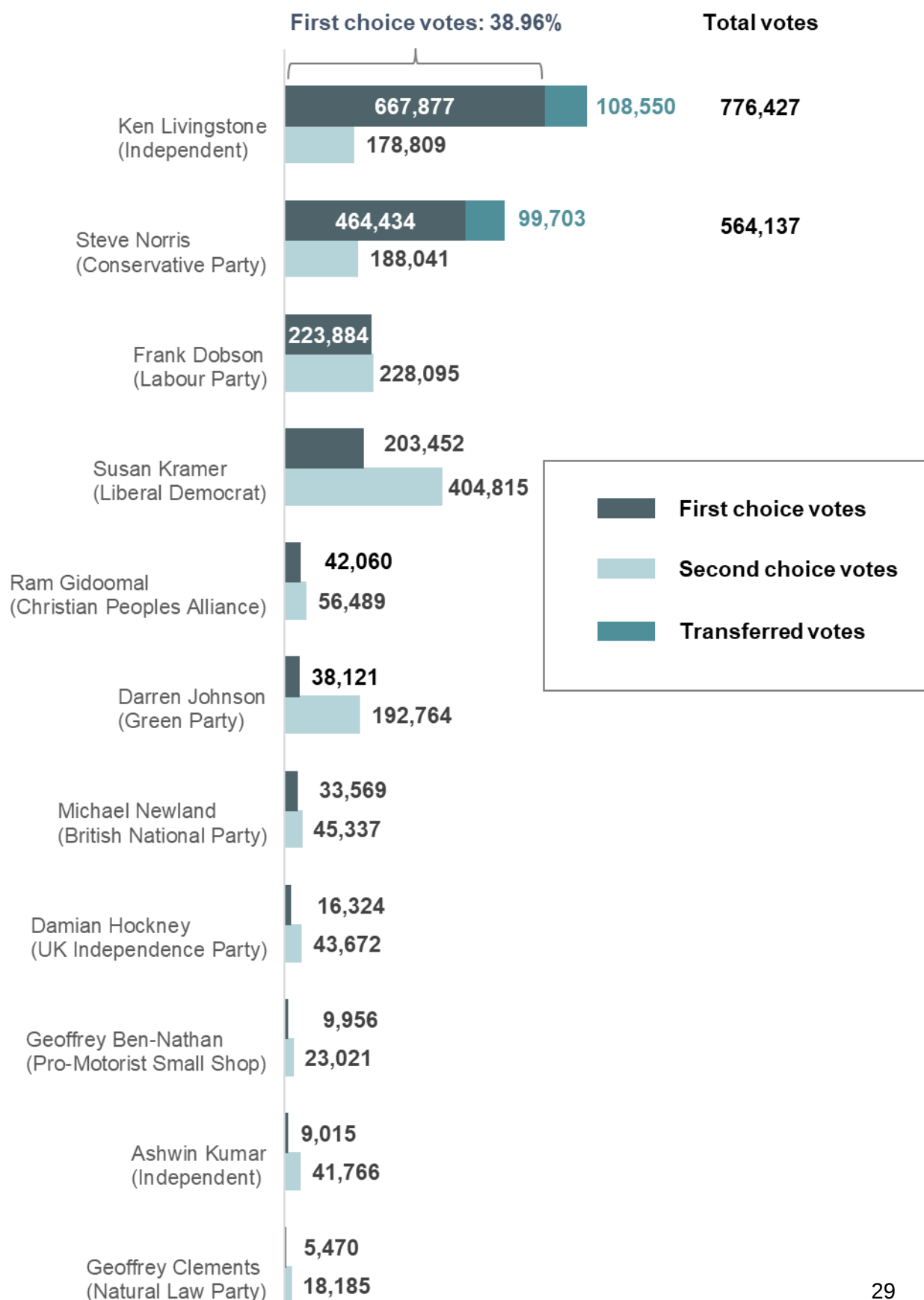
2004 Mayoral election results

Supplementary vote electoral system

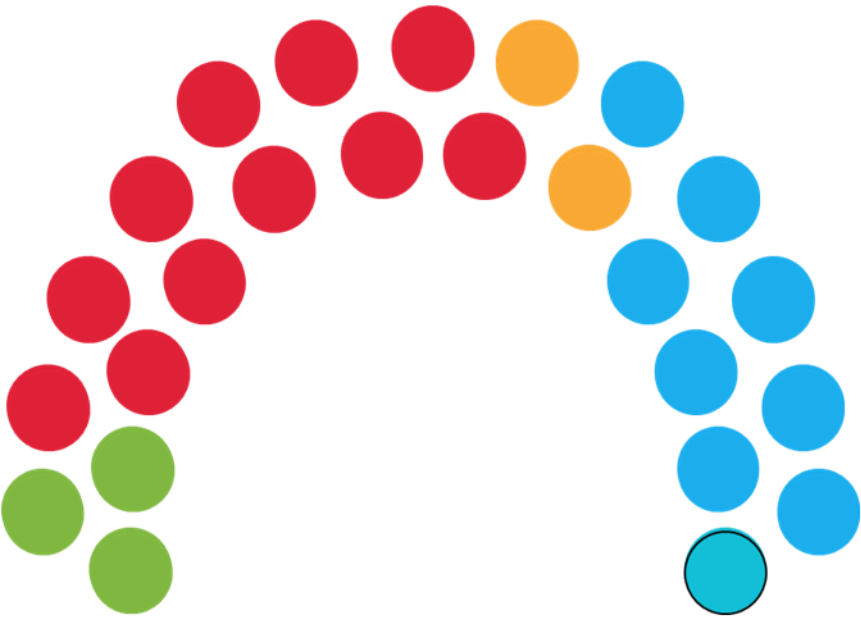
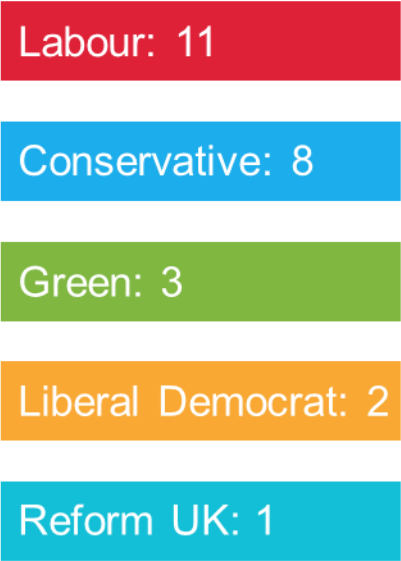


2000 Mayoral election results

Supplementary vote electoral system



2024 London Assembly results



London-wide

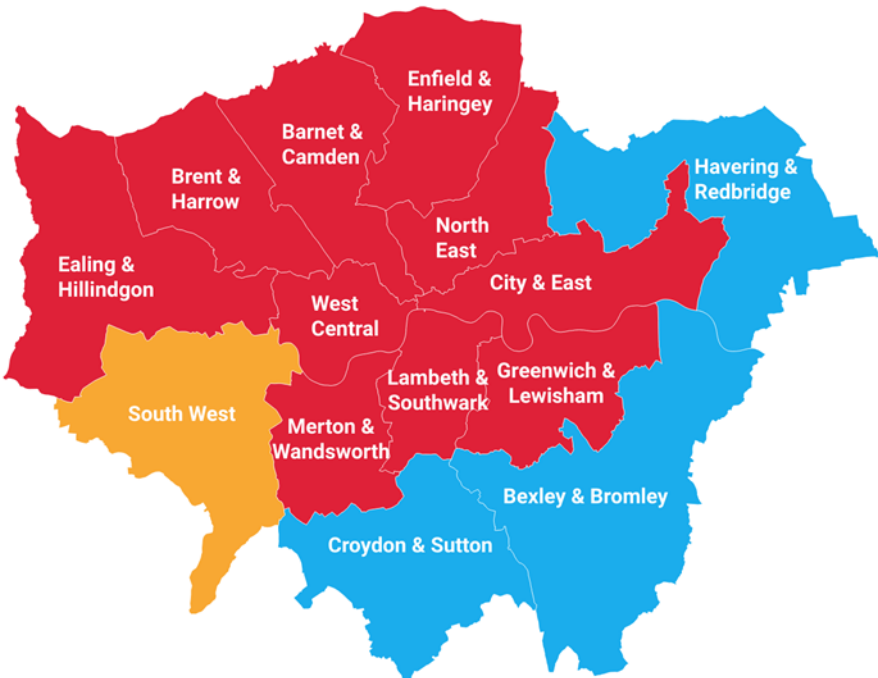


11 seats

Constituency



14 seats



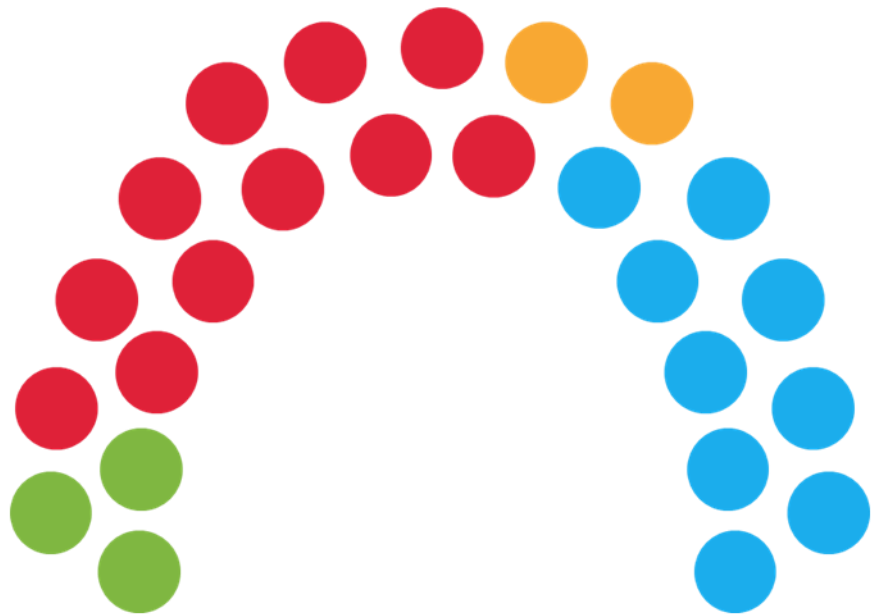
2021 London Assembly results

Labour: 11

Conservative: 9

Green: 3

Liberal Democrat: 2



London-wide

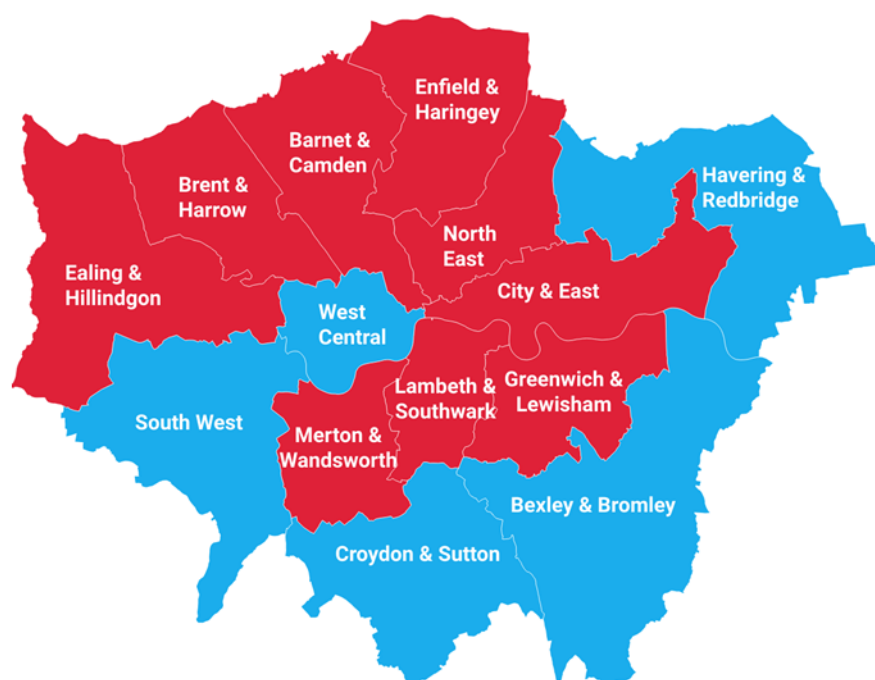


11 seats

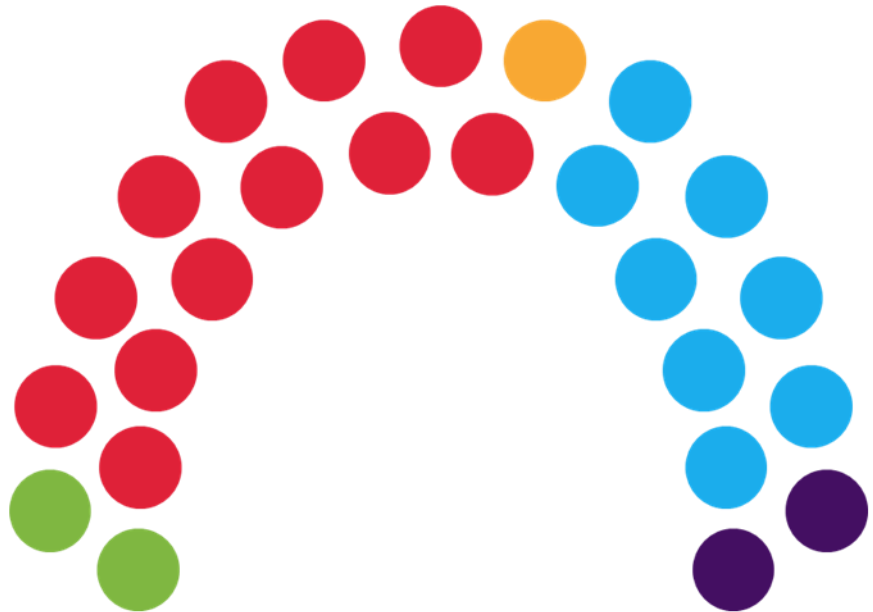
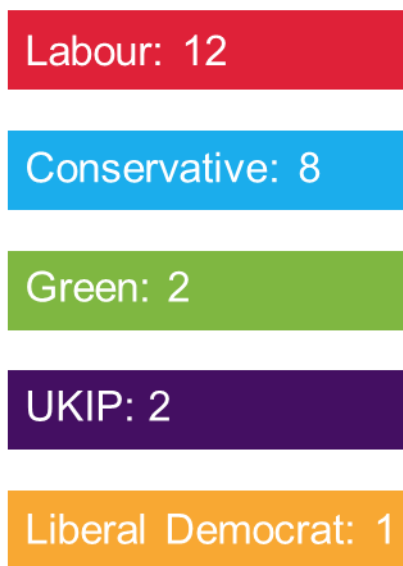
Constituency



14 seats



2016 London Assembly results



London-wide



11 seats

Constituency



14 seats



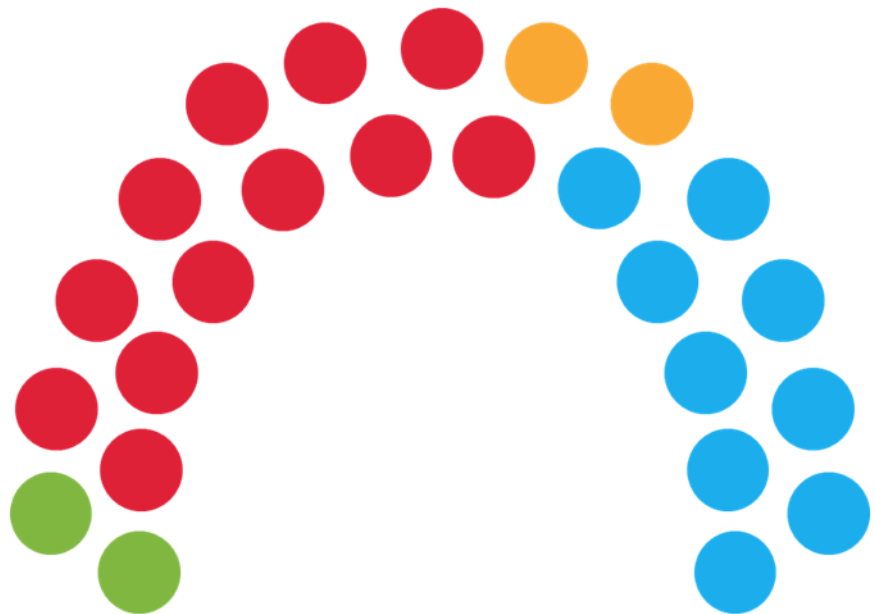
2012 London Assembly results

Labour: 12

Conservative: 9

Green: 2

Liberal Democrat: 2



London-wide



11 seats

Constituency



14 seats



2008 London Assembly results

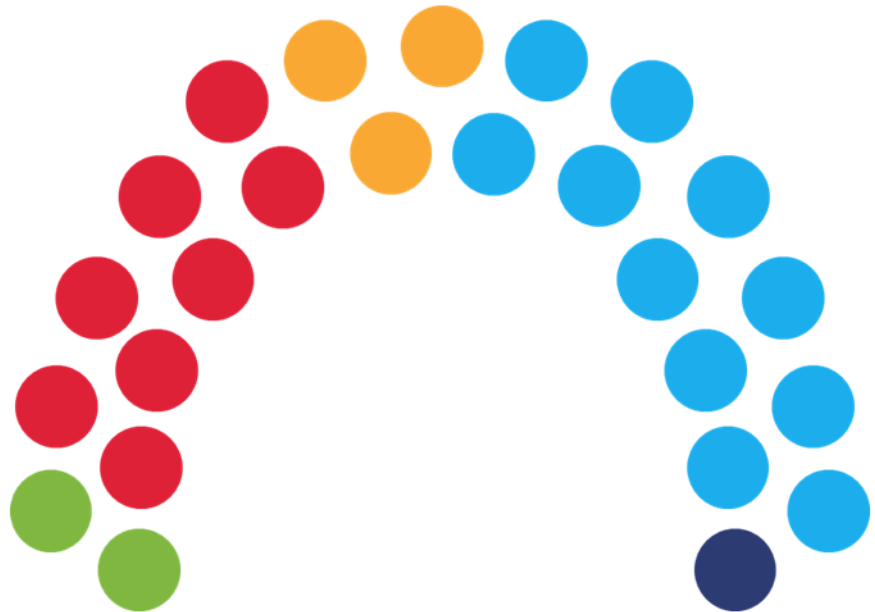
Conservative: 11

Labour: 8

Liberal Democrat: 3

Green: 2

BNP: 1



London-wide

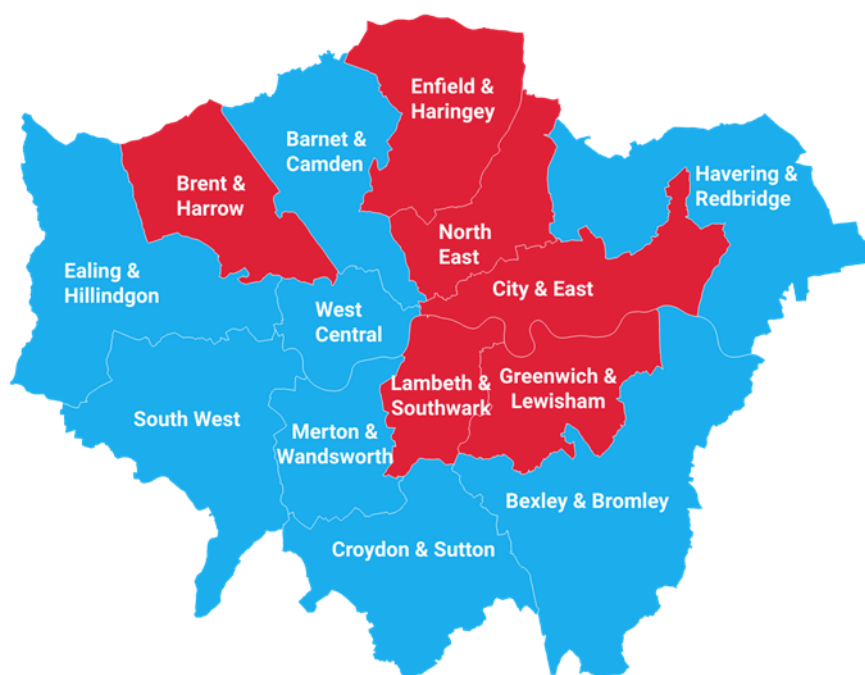


11 seats

Constituency



14 seats



2004 London Assembly results

Conservative: 9

Labour: 7

Liberal Democrat: 5

Green: 2

UKIP: 2



London-wide

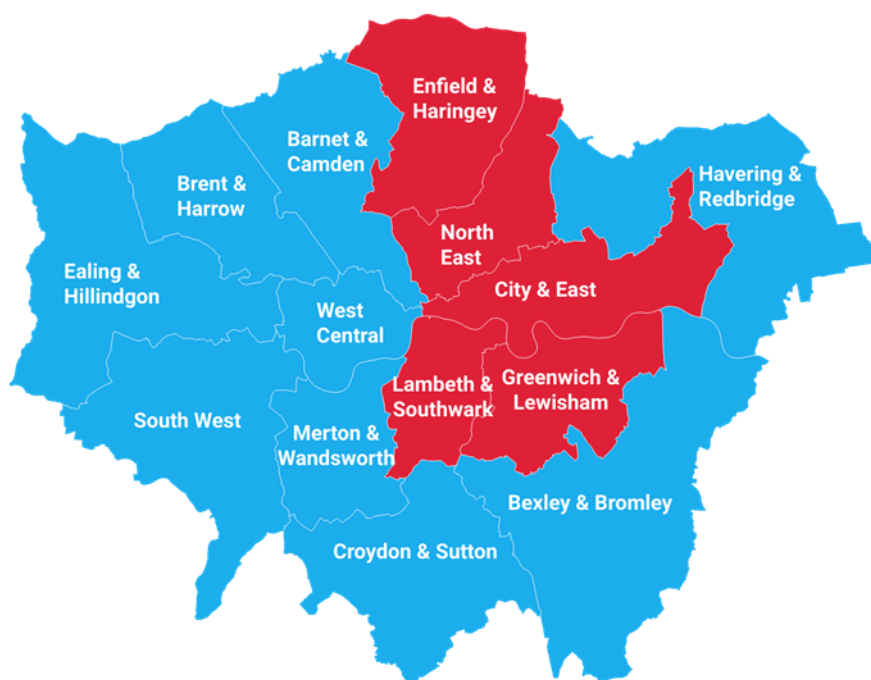


11 seats

Constituency



14 seats



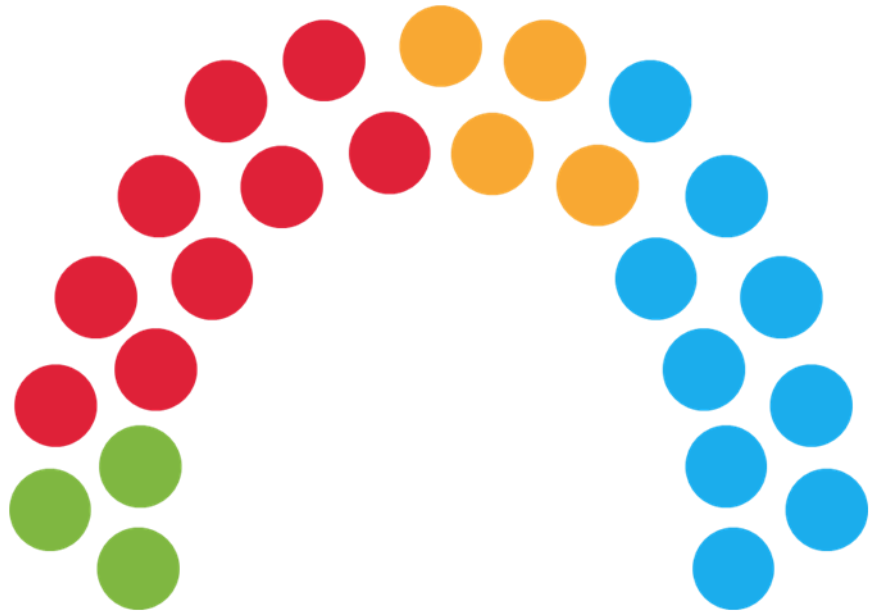
2000 London Assembly results

Labour: 9

Conservative: 9

Green: 3

Liberal Democrat: 4



London-wide

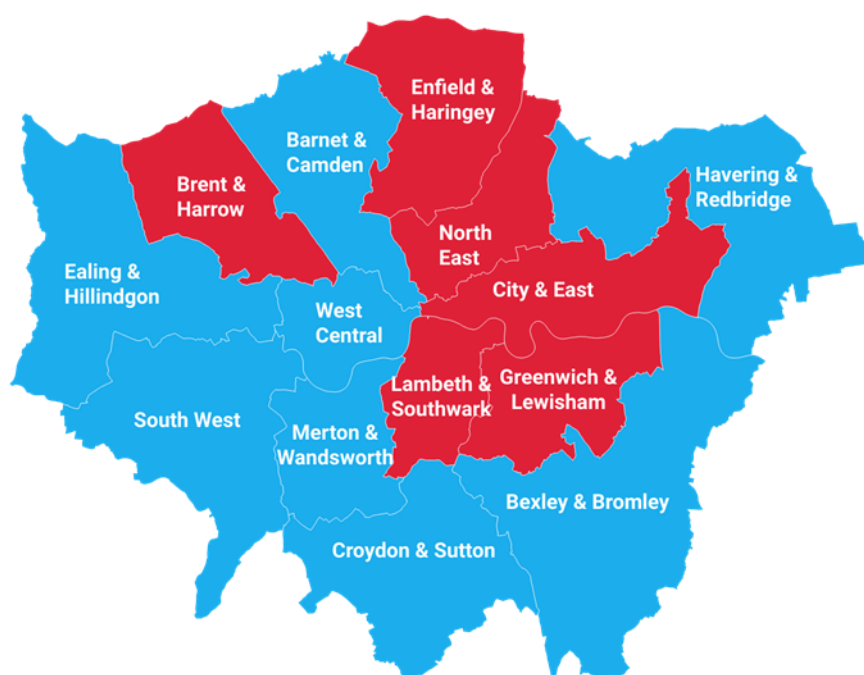


11 seats

Constituency



14 seats



Other formats and languages

If you, or someone you know needs this report in large print or braille, or a copy of the summary and main findings in another language, then please call us on: 020 7983 4100 or email assembly.translations@london.gov.uk

Chinese

如您需要这份文件的简介的翻译本，
请电话联系或按上面所提供的邮寄地址或
Email 与我们联系。

Vietnamese

Nếu ông (bà) muốn nội dung văn bản này được dịch sang tiếng Việt, xin vui lòng liên hệ với chúng tôi bằng điện thoại, thư hoặc thư điện tử theo địa chỉ ở trên.

Greek

Εάν επιθυμείτε περίληψη αυτού του κειμένου στην γλώσσα σας, παρακαλώ καλέστε τον αριθμό ή επικοινωνήστε μαζί μας στην ανωτέρω ταχυδρομική ή την ηλεκτρονική διεύθυνση.

Turkish

Bu belgenin kendi dilinize çevrilmiş bir özetini okumak isterseniz, lütfen yukarıdaki telefon numarasını arayın, veya posta ya da e-posta adresi aracılığıyla bizimle temasa geçin.

Punjabi

ਜੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸ ਦਸਤਾਵੇਜ਼ ਦਾ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਆਪਣੀ ਭਾਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਲੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੋ, ਤਾਂ ਕਿਰਪਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸ ਨੰਬਰ 'ਤੇ ਫੋਨ ਕਰੋ ਜਾਂ ਉਪਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਡਾਕ ਜਾਂ ਈਮੇਲ ਪਤੇ 'ਤੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸੰਪਰਕ ਕਰੋ।

Hindi

यदि आपको इस दस्तावेज़ का सारांश अपनी भाषा में चाहिए तो उपर दिये हुए नंबर पर फोन करें या उपर दिये गये डाक पते या ई मेल पते पर हम से संपर्क करें।

Bengali

আপনি যদি এই দলিলের একটা সারাংশ নিজের ভাষায় পেতে চান, তাহলে দয়া করে ফো করবেন অথবা উল্লিখিত ডাক ঠিকানায় বা ই-মেইল ঠিকানায় আমাদের সাথে যোগাযোগ করবেন।

Urdu

اگر آپ کو اس دستاویز کا خلاصہ اپنی زبان میں درکار ہو تو، براہ کرم نمبر پر فون کریں یا مذکورہ بالا ڈاک کے پتے یا ای میل پتے پر ہم سے رابطہ کریں۔

Arabic

الوصول على ملخص لهذا المستند بلغة،
فرجاء الاتصال برقم الهاتف أو الاتصال على
العنوان البريدي أو عنوان البريد
الإلكتروني أعلاه.

Gujarati

જો તમારે આ દસ્તાવેજનો સાર તમારી ભાષામાં જોઈતો હોય તો ઉપર આપેલ નંબર પર ફોન કરો અથવા ઉપર આપેલ ટપાલ અથવા ઈ-મેઈલ સરનામા પર અમારો સંપર્ક કરો.