

THE FORGOTTEN ELECTIONS: THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL ELECTIONS OF 1999

David Denver and Hugh Bochel

INTRODUCTION

The first round of elections for the current Scottish local councils took place in 1995 when the present structure of local government, comprising 32 unitary authorities, was instituted. In normal circumstances the second round of elections, held on 6 May 1999, would have attracted a good deal of attention. Coming approximately half-way through the term of the UK Labour Government elected in 1997, they would have been seen as a major test of Scottish opinion and dissected in detail for clues as to the current popularity of the parties. Circumstances were not normal in 1999, however, as the council elections were held on the same day as the first election for the new Scottish Parliament (see **Scottish Affairs**, no.28, summer 1999). In both the run-up to the elections and in the aftermath, the attention of the media was focused, not unexpectedly, on the latter, and the council elections largely forgotten.

It remains the case, however, that council elections are a regular feature of the electoral scene which, apart from providing a good indication of the standing of the parties, determine the important question of party control of local authorities and are central to the health of local democracy. We provide here, therefore, a report on the 1999 elections covering in particular candidates, contests and turnout as well as the pattern of party support and the consequences of this for control of local authorities. It should be noted, however, that there was a wholesale revision of ward boundaries between

David Denver is Professor of Politics at Lancaster University. Hugh Bochel is Professor of Politics at the University of Lincolnshire and Humberside. Their full report on the 1999 local elections, including detailed results for all wards, can be obtained from Mr. J. Bochel, Election Studies, 106 Tay Street, Newport-on-Tay, Fife, DD6 8AS.

Scottish Affairs

1995 and 1999, which reduced the total number of councillors in mainland authorities from 1161 to 1148. The nature of these changes makes it impossible to determine which individual wards should be counted as gains or losses as compared with 1995. In addition, since the three Islands councils (Orkney, Shetland and Western Isles) did not have elections in 1995, the following analysis is restricted to the mainland authorities (although a separate brief note on the Islands is given at the end).

CANDIDATES, CONTESTS AND TURNOUT

In 1995 there were more candidates (3513) for the new councils than there had ever been in a single round of elections under the old system of Districts and Regions but, as Table 1 shows, this total was surpassed in 1999 even though there were slightly fewer seats at stake, because of the boundary revisions. All the major parties had more candidates than in 1995. The Conservatives in particular showed a marked improvement on their previous very poor showing, contesting all seats in six authorities and fewer than 50% in only eight. The Liberal Democrats fielded a record number of candidates but their coverage remains very patchy - they had no candidates at all in three council areas and over 90% in seven. Labour, on the other hand, contested 84.3% of all wards and reached 100% in 19 councils. Only in four rural councils (Aberdeenshire, Argyll and Bute, Scottish Borders and Highland) were fewer than 50% of wards contested by Labour. As in 1995, however, the SNP again put forward most council candidates. They were present in 91.6% of all wards and in every ward in 22 authorities. The SNP can reach places that Labour can't as is evidenced by the fact that the only council in which their contestation rate fell below 50% was Highland, which is dominated by Independents. The data in Table 1 also indicate that the long, slow decline of Independents in Scottish local politics continued in 1999. The 296 Independent candidates contested 240 wards (the numbers being different because Independents oppose one another in some places) which represents 20.9% of wards (compared with 31.0% in 1995).

One of the unmistakable trends in Scottish local elections since 1974 has been a steady increase in the number of women candidates and councillors. By 1995, 25.7% of candidates were women and the proportion of women among members of the new councils (22.9%) was the largest ever. In 1999 women made a further slight advance. They constituted 27.1% of candidates and 23.5% of those elected. The largest proportion of female candidates were fielded by the Liberal Democrats (37.9%) followed by the Conservatives

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

(31.0%), the SNP (24.9%) and Labour (23.7%). On the other hand, only 16.7% of Independent candidates were women.

Table 1
Number of Candidates in Scottish Council Elections

	1995	1999	Change
Con	586	728	+142
Lab	935	968	+33
Lib Dem	527	596	+69
SNP	994	1052	+58
Ind	361	296	-65
Others	108	155	+47
Total	3511	3795	+284
N of Wards	1161	1148	

A direct consequence of the large number of party candidates was that only 2.8% of wards were uncontested. This compares with 4.7% in 1995 and is the smallest proportion since the re-organisation of local government in 1974 - indeed, almost certainly the lowest proportion ever. Moreover, all of the 32 uncontested seats were concentrated in just four authorities - Aberdeenshire (5), Argyll & Bute (4), Scottish Borders (1) and Highland (22). It seemed possible in 1995 that the very high proportion of contests (95.3%) reflected in part a temporary flurry of interest raised by the institution of the new local government system and the fact that there were more sitting councillors than there were new seats. The 1999 figures show that this was not the case. Rather, they demonstrate the contribution that political parties make to local democracy. Parties have incentives to oppose one another, and thus offer voters a choice, which Independents do not have.

Table 2 compares turnout in contested wards in the council elections with turnout in other Scottish polls from 1995 to 1999. Turnout in 1995, at just under 45%, was around what has come to be normal for Scottish local elections, and was clearly much lower than turnout at the subsequent general election and the devolution referendum in 1997. In the 1999 round of elections, however, the level of turnout in the council elections was clearly

Scottish Affairs

affected by the fact that Scottish Parliament elections were held on the same day - the turnout at the two levels was almost exactly the same, indicating that having turned up to the polls voters were happy to cast a vote in the local as well as the Parliament elections. On this occasion, therefore, it seems likely that variations in local election turnout across wards and local authorities were largely by-products of differential turnout in the Scottish Parliament elections. In other words, local election turnout had little to do with local politics but was affected by matters specific to the Parliament elections - such as constituency marginality - and by the contextual variables which are associated with variations in turnout such as the class or housing structure of the area concerned.

Table 2
Turnout in Scotland-wide Elections/Referendum 1995-1999

Council Elections 1995	General Election 1997	Devolution Referendum 1997	Scottish Parliament Election 1999	Council Elections 1999	European Election 1999
%	%	%	%	%	%
44.9	71.4	60.4	58.8	58.5	24.7

These latter factors tend to make variations in turnout across local authorities relatively predictable, and this is illustrated by the fact that the correlation coefficient measuring the strength of the association between turnout at the 1995 local elections and local turnout in 1999 in the 29 council areas was 0.808. Only Glasgow and Dundee fell significantly below what would have been expected on the basis of predicting from the 1995 figure (-6.4% and -4.3% respectively) while only East Renfrewshire - where the electors perhaps surprised themselves by unseating the Conservatives in the 1997 general election - significantly exceeded the expected turnout (+5.2%).

The fact that we have ward-level data enables us to explore turnout variation on 6 May 1999 in a little more detail than is possible using figures for constituencies or entire local authorities. The range of turnouts at ward level was very large. It was 70% or more in 79 wards, with a high of 79.6% in Fairmilehead (Edinburgh), and fell below 40% in 20 wards, 17 of them in Glasgow, which also had the ward with the lowest turnout in Scotland - 31.6% in Keppochhill. Turnouts in the Parliament election tended to be

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

higher in more middle-class constituencies with relatively large proportions of owner occupiers and also in rural areas. Given this, it is not surprising that there was a significant positive correlation between turnout level and the previous strength of the Conservatives and a negative correlation for Labour. On the other hand, there was no significant relationship with the level of previous Liberal Democrat or SNP support. The data in Table 3 suggest that the constituency variations in this respect are themselves products of similar variations at ward level. It shows, first, the mean turnout in all wards won by each of the parties. Turnout was clearly highest in Conservative wards and lowest in Labour wards with the others falling somewhere between. The table also shows the same calculation for wards in constituencies won by Labour at the 1997 general election and the same pattern is found. Even within Labour constituencies, average turnout in Conservative wards was more than ten points greater than that in Labour wards. This must partly be explained by the social composition of the different wards but it might also suggest that Labour failed to galvanise its supporters for the Parliament elections. The high turnout in Conservative areas might also reflect an awareness among their supporters that, even if they lived in Labour constituencies, they could help to elect MSPs on the basis of their list votes.

Table 3
Variations in Ward Turnout 1999

	Wards Won by:				
	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	SNP	Ind
	%	%	%	%	%
All Wards	66.8	56.5	61.2	59.9	62.5
(N)	(108)	(543)	(145)	(191)	(119)
Labour	67.6	56.3	62.4	60.4	62.8
Constits					
(N)	(78)	(513)	(66)	(124)	(35)

PATTERNS OF PARTY SUPPORT

While the number of candidates put forward by the various parties, the number of uncontested seats and turnout trends are of interest to students of

Scottish Affairs

elections, they are not the stuff of media headlines. What most concerns the media and the general public is the performances of the parties, especially the numbers of seats won and lost. We begin this section by looking at the votes cast for the parties. Table 4 compares the distribution of party support in 1999 with the first round of local elections under the present structure in 1995. The Conservatives reached an all-time low in 1995 but pulled themselves off the floor in 1999, increasing their vote share by 2.4%. The Liberal Democrats and SNP also improved their position but Labour fell back significantly. As we have already seen, however, there were significant changes in the number of candidates put forward by the parties - with an especially large increase in the case of the Conservatives. Variations in candidatures clearly affect the level of support that the parties obtain - if there is no party candidate in a ward no votes for the party can be cast - and thus the 'raw' figures shown in Table 4 may be to some extent misleading indicators of party popularity. To get a clearer picture of trends we should ideally compare only those wards which all four parties contested in both elections. Unfortunately, the review of ward boundaries undertaken between 1995 and 1999 was extensive and the Scottish Local Government Boundary Commission gives no comparisons between old and new boundaries so that we are unable to adopt this strategy. There was one authority, however, in which all four parties contested all seats in both 1995 and 1999 - the City of Edinburgh. Here, the SNP vote share increased by 3.2% and that of the Liberal Democrats by 6.3%. Labour declined by 8.2% but the Conservatives also declined marginally by 0.8%. If Edinburgh is representative, these figures suggest that there was little overall 'real' change in support for the Conservatives but that the changes for the other parties were not artefacts of changes in the numbers of candidates put forward.

Table 4
Share of Votes in Local Elections 1995-1999

	Council Elections 1995	Council Elections 1999	Change
	%	%	%
Con	11.3	13.7	+2.4
Lab	43.8	36.6	-7.2
Lib Dem	9.7	13.6	+3.9
SNP	26.2	28.9	+2.7
Ind	7.6	6.5	-1.1
Others	1.5	0.7	-0.8

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

Further details of the pattern of party support are given in Table 5 which shows the distribution of votes within individual authorities. Despite an increased commitment which saw their support rise above 30% in two authorities (East Renfrewshire and South Ayrshire) the Conservatives remain very weak in Scottish local elections failing to reach 10% of the vote in 12 councils. Labour, in contrast, clearly remains the dominant party in the central belt. It is worth noting, however, that the SNP ran Labour very close in the latter's former stronghold of Dundee and was a very close challenger in some other areas such as Renfrewshire, West Lothian and East Ayrshire. In almost all authorities SNP support was at a very respectable level. Support for the Liberal Democrats, on the other hand, remains very patchy. They had no candidates in three authorities and had less than 5% of the votes in another five but they are the leading party in Aberdeenshire and were the second party in terms of popular support in four other councils - Aberdeen, Edinburgh, East Dunbartonshire and Inverclyde.

Despite the changes in the level of support for the parties from 1995, the relative strength of the parties across authorities was very similar in both sets of elections. Correlating the parties' vote shares in 1995 and 1999 gives coefficients of 0.957 for the Conservatives, 0.968 for Labour, 0.952 for the Liberal Democrats and 0.838 for the SNP. These indicate very strong relationships and show that the geography of party support did not alter very much in 1999. Almost all of the cases in which a party performed unexpectedly well or badly in the light of its 1995 showing can be explained in terms of changes in candidatures. There are a few exceptions which are worth noting, however. Labour's worst performance was in Dundee and this was also one of the SNP's best. Labour also did relatively badly in South Ayrshire where the beneficiaries were the Conservatives. Finally, the SNP did much worse than would be expected in Moray where they previously controlled the council.

From a local perspective, what matters in local elections is winning seats. That, rather than ups and downs in the shares of the votes, is what determines who controls the local council and acquires the powers that accrue from such control. Table 6 shows the total number of seats won by each of the parties in the 1999 elections as compared with the last elections in 1995 while Table 7 shows the number won in 1999 in the various authorities. Despite a significant fall in support, Labour retains the lion's share of Scottish council seats although this fell to less than 50% of the total. The other major parties

Scottish Affairs

increased their representation on local councils but the number of seats won by Independent declined further.

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

Table 5
Share of Votes in Local Authorities 1999

	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	SNP	Ind	Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Aberdeen	17.3	32.0	25.5	25.1	0.2	0
Aberdeenshire	18.4	5.0	32.8	29.4	14.3	0.1
Angus	17.9	18.3	8.9	46.5	3.2	5.1
Argyll and Bute	10.7	9.9	15.8	20.5	42.9	0.3
East Ayrshire	9.3	45.7	1.9	40.8	2.2	0.2
North Ayrshire	18.2	46.9	0	31.2	1.9	1.8
South Ayrshire	35.4	41.1	0	23.3	0.2	0
Borders	16.9	5.4	27.5	18.1	32.1	0
Clackmannan	8.7	44.5	1.6	44.5	0.6	0
Dumfries & Galloway	17.4	26.0	9.9	20.4	24.6	1.7
East						
Dunbartonshire	19.2	35.5	26.6	18.6	0	0.1
West						
Dumbartonshie	0.2	52.2	0	45.4	2.2	0
Dundee	18.0	36.5	5.6	36.2	0	3.7
Edinburgh	22.5	32.5	24.4	20.5	0	0.1
Falkirk	6.0	41.8	3.6	34.0	11.7	2.8
Fife	7.1	38.8	22.3	26.8	2.2	2.7
Glasgow	7.4	49.6	5.6	29.7	0	7.7
Highland	3.3	15.4	10.6	12.5	55.9	2.3
Inverclyde	5.1	38.5	34.0	21.7	0.1	0.6
North						
Lanarkshire	4.3	55.0	1.7	35.7	2.8	0.5
South						
Lanarkshire	10.3	50.0	5.7	33.1	0.3	0.7
East Lothian	17.8	45.2	12.8	24.2	0	0
Midlothian	7.6	45.8	15.6	30.6	0.4	0
West Lothian	9.0	44.9	4.5	41.4	0	0.2
Moray	3.8	20.5	8.3	30.4	36.9	0
Perth and Kinross	29.1	16.1	16.8	34.8	3.2	0
East						
Renfrewshire	32.4	31.9	13.6	18.3	0.6	3.2
Renfrewshire	10.7	41.9	7.9	37.6	1.4	0.5
Stirling	27.2	38.0	9.0	24.8	1.1	0

Scottish Affairs

Table 6
Council Seats Won in Local Elections 1995-1999

	Council Elections 1995		Council Elections 1999	
	N	%	N	%
Con	82	7.1	108	9.4
Lab	614	52.9	545	47.5
Lib Dem	121	10.4	148	12.9
SNP	181	15.6	201	17.5
Ind	154	13.3	135	11.8
Others	7	0.6	11	0.9
Total	1161		1148	

Note: The 1995 election was postponed in two wards but they were subsequently won by Labour and are included as Labour seats here.

It is not possible to make a simple calculation of gains and losses of seats within councils since in many cases the number of seats at stake in 1999 was different from that in 1995. Nonetheless, in terms of share of seats won, Labour clearly lost out most heavily to the SNP in three councils - Dundee, Clackmannanshire and East Ayrshire - and to the Conservatives in South Ayrshire. On the other hand, the Conservatives advanced at the expense of the SNP in Perth and Kinross while SNP representation on Moray council collapsed from 13 out of 18 to just two out of 26.

The consequences of these results for control of the new authorities are as follows (figures in brackets show the change as compared with 1995):

Majority Labour Control (-5):

Aberdeen, East Ayrshire, North Ayrshire, South Ayrshire, West Dunbartonshire, Edinburgh, Fife, Glasgow, Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, South Lanarkshire, East Lothian, Midlothian, West Lothian, Renfrewshire

Majority SNP Control (-2)

Angus

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

Majority Independent Control (0)

Argyll and Bute, Highland, Moray

Scottish Affairs

Table 7
Seats Won in Councils 1999

	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	SNP	Ind	Other
Aberdeen	6	22	12	3	0	0
Aberdeenshire	7	0	28	23	10	0
Angus	2	1	2	21	1	2
Argyll and Bute	4	1	6	5	20	0
East Ayrshire	1	17	0	14	0	0
North Ayrshire	2	25	0	2	1	0
South Ayrshire	13	17	0	0	0	0
Borders	1	1	14	4	14	0
Clackmannan	1	8	0	9	0	0
Dumfries & Galloway	8	13	6	5	14	1
East Dunbartonshire	3	11	10	0	0	0
West Dumbartonshire	0	14	0	7	1	0
Dundee	4	14	0	10	0	1
Edinburgh	13	31	13	1	0	0
Falkirk	2	15	0	9	5	1
Fife	1	43	21	9	2	2
Glasgow	1	74	1	2	0	1
Highland	0	10	12	8	48	2
Inverclyde	1	11	8	0	0	0
North Lanarkshire	0	56	0	12	2	0
South Lanarkshire	2	54	1	10	0	0
East Lothian	5	17	0	1	0	0
Midlothian	0	17	1	0	0	0
West Lothian	1	20	0	11	0	0
Moray	1	6	2	2	15	0
Perth and Kinross	11	6	6	16	2	0
East Renfrewshire	8	9	2	0	0	1
Renfrewshire	1	21	3	15	0	0
Stirling	9	11	0	2	0	0

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

No Overall Control (Largest parties in brackets) (+7)

Aberdeenshire (Lib Dem), Scottish Borders (Lib Dem/Ind), Clackmannanshire (SNP), Dumfries & Galloway (Ind), East Dunbartonshire (Lab), Dundee (Lab), Falkirk (Lab), Perth and Kinross (SNP), East Renfrewshire (Lab), Stirling (Lab)

Labour's dominance of Scottish local government is less complete than it was. They lost overall control of five authorities - Clackmannanshire, East Dunbartonshire, Dundee, Falkirk and Stirling. Perhaps more surprisingly, the SNP also lost control of two councils - Moray and Perth and Kinross. As before, neither the Conservatives nor the Liberal Democrats control a single council. A significant minority of Scottish councils (10) are now in a situation in which no party has overall control. There are different views about whether this is a development to be welcomed or not. On the one hand, those who take a 'party government' view of local politics would argue that it is best to have a single party controlling the local council. This ensures effective and coherent policy-making and administration and enables the electorate to hold the party accountable when the next round of local elections comes along. On the other hand, others argue that single-party government - especially if it extends over a lengthy period can give rise to, at best, complacency and, at worst, corruption. What is certainly the case is that many more councillors will now find themselves in an unfamiliar situation in which compromise, coalition and conciliation will be the order of the day and the power of party caucuses significantly reduced.

VOTING IN THE COUNCIL AND SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS COMPARED

The fact that the 1999 Scottish council elections were held on the same day as elections for the Scottish Parliament offers an unusual opportunity to compare local and national voting in Scotland and, in particular, to examine whether local voting is truly 'local', i.e. reflects local rather than national concerns. We have seen that turnout in the two elections was almost identical but did electors simply 'vote the party ticket' or did they differentiate between the two levels? As a first step in exploring this question, Table 8 compares the overall constituency and list votes in the Scottish Parliament elections with the overall distribution of party support in the local elections.

Comparing the two first-past-the post elections we find that support for the Conservatives, Labour and the Liberal Democrats was lower at the local

Scottish Affairs

level; support for 'others' was significantly greater while SNP support was almost the same. To a large extent these differences reflect the fact that the parties do not contest all wards. In numerous cases - especially in areas dominated by Independents - it would have been impossible to vote the party ticket as there would not have been a local party candidate to support. The ideal comparison, therefore, would focus on constituencies comprising entire local wards which had candidates of all four parties. Here again, however, the ward boundary changes brought in for the 1999 elections prove a major handicap. The Parliamentary constituencies are based on the old electoral divisions used for electing the now defunct Regional councils and these were ignored in defining new wards. As a consequence, there was only one constituency in Scotland which fulfilled the necessary conditions for an exact comparison - Aberdeen Central. Nonetheless, the results in this constituency are instructive. Almost exactly the same number of votes were cast in the 14 wards in the local elections (26,472) as in the constituency contest for the Scottish Parliament (26,495). However the distribution of these votes was slightly different in the two contests. The Conservatives obtained 13.8% of the Parliament vote but 16.7% of the local vote, Labour went from 38.9% to 36.8%, the Liberal Democrats from 16.6% to 18.9%, the SNP from 28.7% to 27.0% and others from 2.0% to 0.6%. We calculate that, at a minimum, around 1,390 voters (5.2%) must have voted for different parties at ward and constituency level in the space of a few minutes. Although it would be helpful to have more cases to analyse, this suggests that at least some voters appear to have local considerations in mind when voting in local elections.

Table 8
Share of Votes in Parliament and Council Elections

	Scottish Parliament		
	Constituencies	List	Councils
	%	%	%
Con	15.6	15.4	13.7
Lab	38.9	33.7	36.6
Lib Dem	13.9	12.2	13.6
SNP	28.8	27.4	28.9
Others	2.8	11.3	7.2

Note: Votes cast in the constituencies of Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles in the Parliament elections are excluded to ensure comparability with council elections.

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

Another comparison that can be made between the Parliament and the council elections relates to the electoral systems used. While first-past-the-post remained in force at local level in 1999 an element of proportionality was introduced into the Parliament elections. As Table 9 shows, the effect, not unexpectedly, was to produce a fairly close relationship between the share of votes received in constituency contests and the overall share of Parliamentary seats won. Labour was slightly over-represented and the other parties under-represented but the distortions involved are not large. In contrast, in council contests Labour received almost 10% more seats than they would have under strict proportionality while the SNP were even more seriously under-represented. This reflects the relatively even distribution of SNP support across the country. The Conservatives also were not rewarded as fairly (at least in the eyes of proponents of PR) in the local as in the Parliament elections. The efficient distribution of the Liberal Democrat vote - very weak in some areas and moderately strong in others - resulted in their being only very slightly under-represented in council chambers while the over-representation of 'others' is largely a consequence of the small ward electorates in areas of Independent strength.

There is strong pressure within the Scottish Parliament to introduce a more proportional electoral system for local elections. It is possible, indeed, that the 1999 round will prove to be the last to be fought under the present system. It is difficult to predict the effects of reforms - and it is not clear how a proportional system would work in areas dominated by Independents - but it seems certain that a change along these lines would further reduce the number of councils controlled by a single party. In addition, in areas where Labour has long been dominant, reform would result in at least a semblance of opposition in the council chambers. These developments would certainly make Scottish local government more interesting for commentators and might also increase the interest of voters.

Table 9
Comparison of Share of Seats and Votes Won in Parliament and Council Elections

	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	SNP	Others
Scottish Parliament	-1.3	+4.8	-2.0	-1.0	-0.4
Councils	-4.3	+10.9	-0.7	-11.4	+5.5

Scottish Affairs

Notes: As before, Scottish Parliament results for Orkney, Shetland and Western Isles are omitted to ensure comparability. The figures shown represent the share of seats minus the share of votes won thus showing the direction and extent of disproportionality. The Parliament figures are based on the share of constituency votes.

A NOTE ON THE ISLANDS COUNCILS

Between 1974 and 1995 there was a two-tier structure of local government - Regions and Districts - in mainland Scotland. The special circumstances of the Northern and Western Isles meant that such a structure was not appropriate, however, and three unitary Islands Councils - Orkney, Shetland and Western Isles - were created. Since these were already in place, there was no need for special elections to be held in the Islands areas in 1995 when the new mainland unitary authorities were first elected. In 1999 the islands re-entered the normal election cycle, and Table 10 summarises the results as compared with the last elections in 1994.

Table 10
Elections for Islands Councils 1994 and 1999

	1994	1999				
Electorate	55,503	55,087				
Wards	84	74				
% wards contested	44.0	60.8				
% turnout	60.6	62.9				
	1994			1999		
	Cands	% Votes	Seats	Cands	% Votes	Seats
Con	0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0
Lab	6	6.5	5	12	6.1	6
Lib	2	1.5	2	11	7.2	8
Dem						
SNP	0	0.0	0	5	5.3	3
Ind	112	89.9	68	108	79.9	56
Others	8	2.0	7	3	0.0	1

The Scottish Council Elections of 1999

From their inception the Islands councils have been dominated by Independents. In 1994 they comprised the vast majority of candidates, won almost 90% of the votes and 80% of the seats. (The 7 'other' seats included 6 won by candidates standing under the banner of the Shetland Movement.) Typical of areas in which non-partisan local politics is the rule, a large proportion (56%) of wards went uncontested - indeed in two no candidates at all came forward. In 1999 some slight inroads were made by the political parties (other than the Conservatives) and there was a sharp reduction in uncontested wards (just under 40%) but, even so, Independents remained the dominant force. The parties are gradually increasing their role in local politics in the few remaining mainland councils where Independents are still important. If this process continues then the Islands are likely to prove the last bastions of non-partisan politics in Scotland.

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