

2024: A Reflection on a Year of Elections

A British Polling Council: Next Gen Pollsters Event

15th January 2025

BPC

Line up:



15th January 2025

Part 1 (2:30pm-3:45pm): The UK and US

■ **British Election Study Deep-Dive**

Professor Jane Green, University of Oxford and
President of the British Polling Council

■ **GE2024: A London Lens**

Jenevieve Treadwell, Policy Fellow (LSE)

■ **The US Election**

Joe Alder, Research Manager (J.L. Partners)

3:45pm - Tea and coffee break

Part 2 (4:00pm-5:30pm): Insights across the Western World

■ **The use of MRP**

Cunningham and Anouschka Rajah, Research and
Data Analysts (More in Common)

■ **A Look at Ireland**

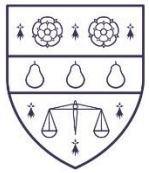
Matthew Price, Research Executive (DeltaPoll)

■ **Canada Case Study**

Rhiannon McQuone, Policy Analyst (Public First)

■ **The Rise of the Far-Right**

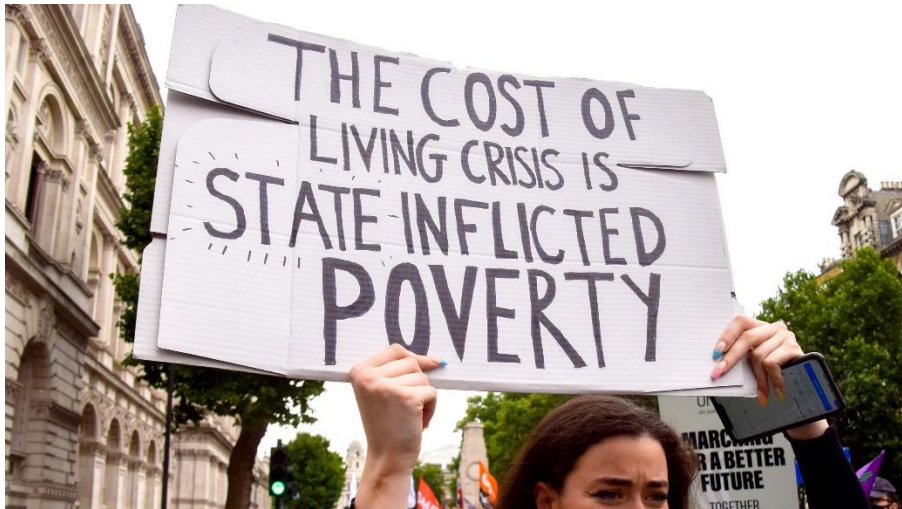
Ruby Cooper, Research Executive (DeltaPoll)²



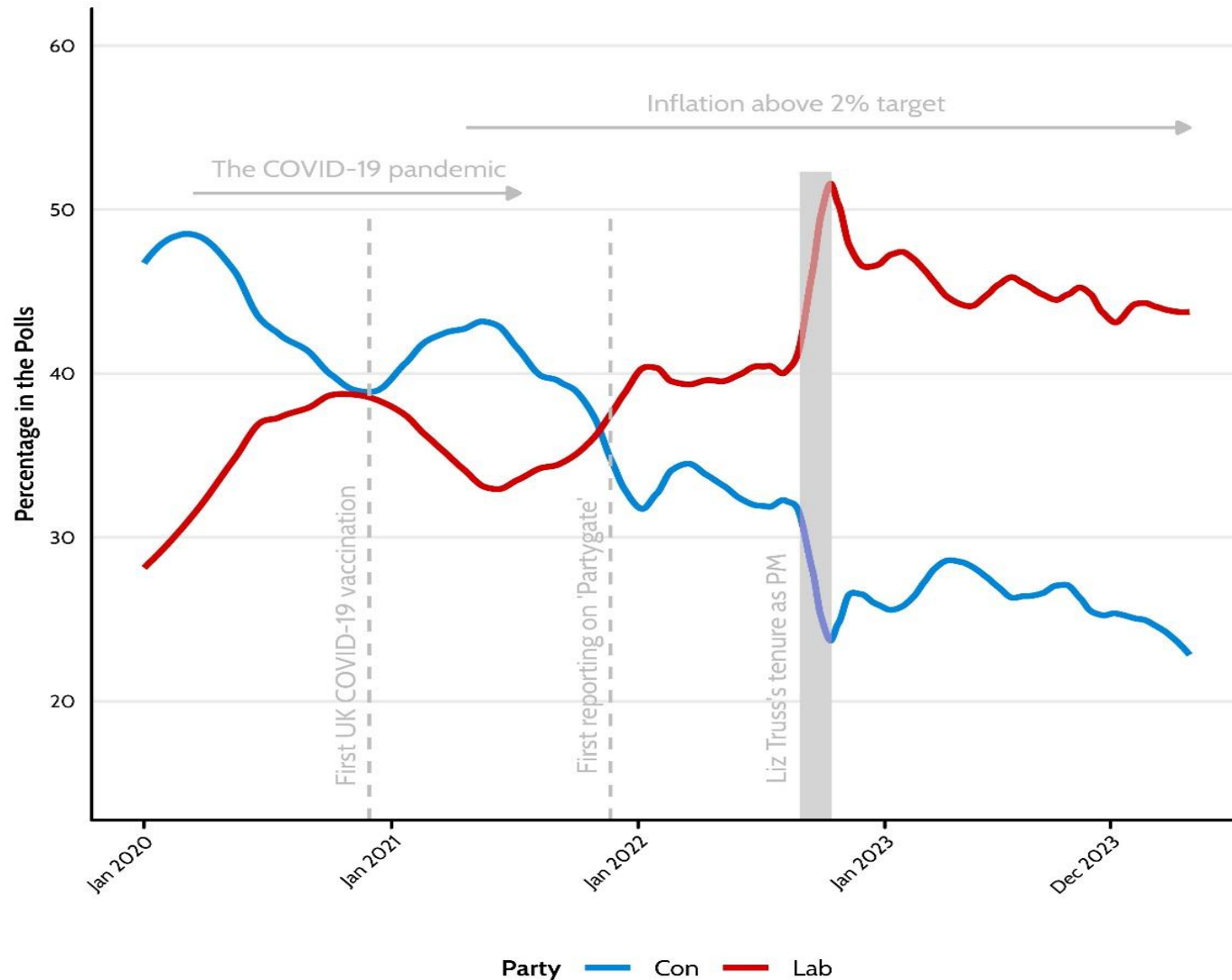
The 2024 UK election What mattered? (First for Votes, then for Seats)

Jane Green, Oxford

What moved votes?

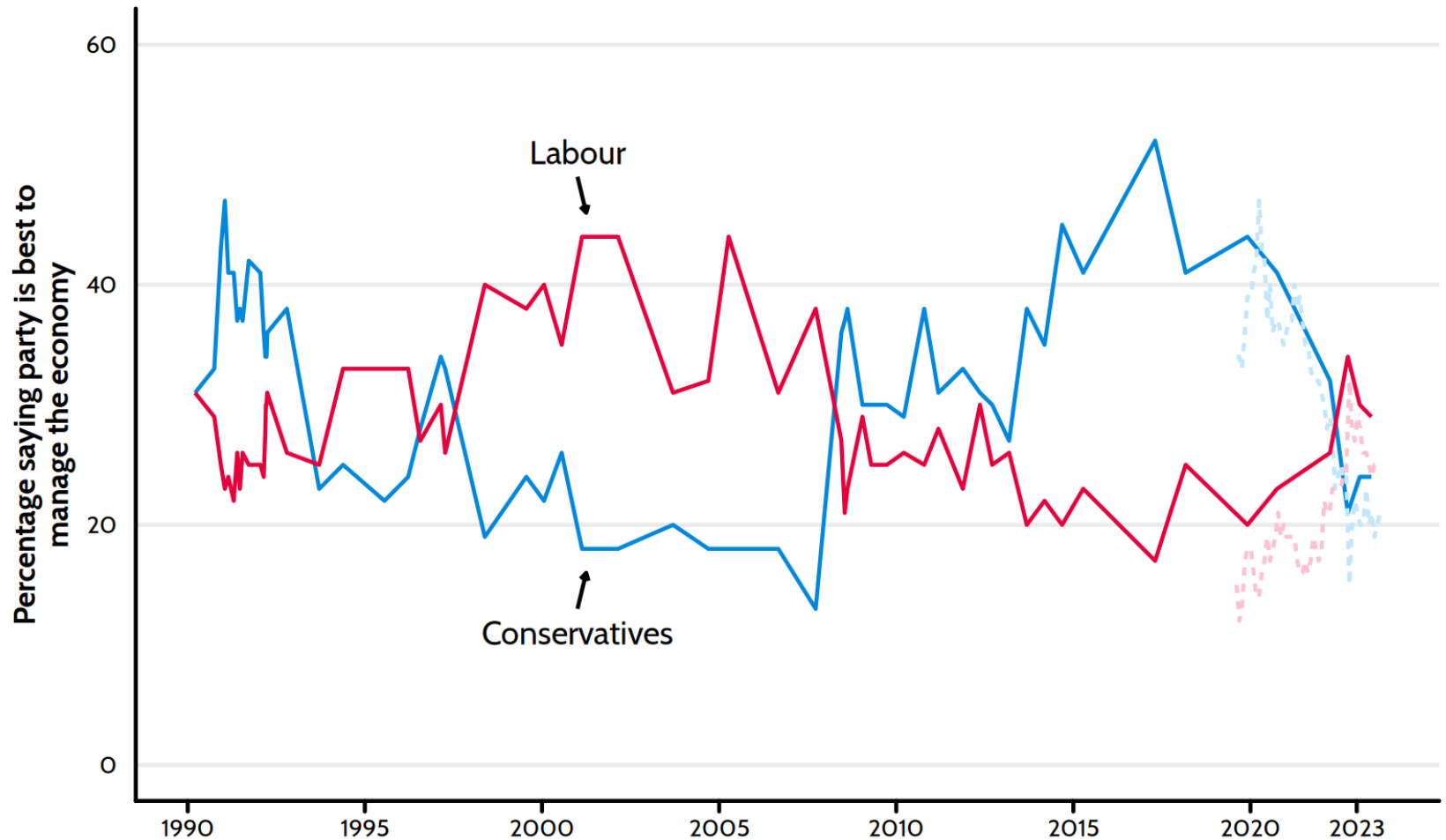


Governing competence (vote intention, 2019-2024)



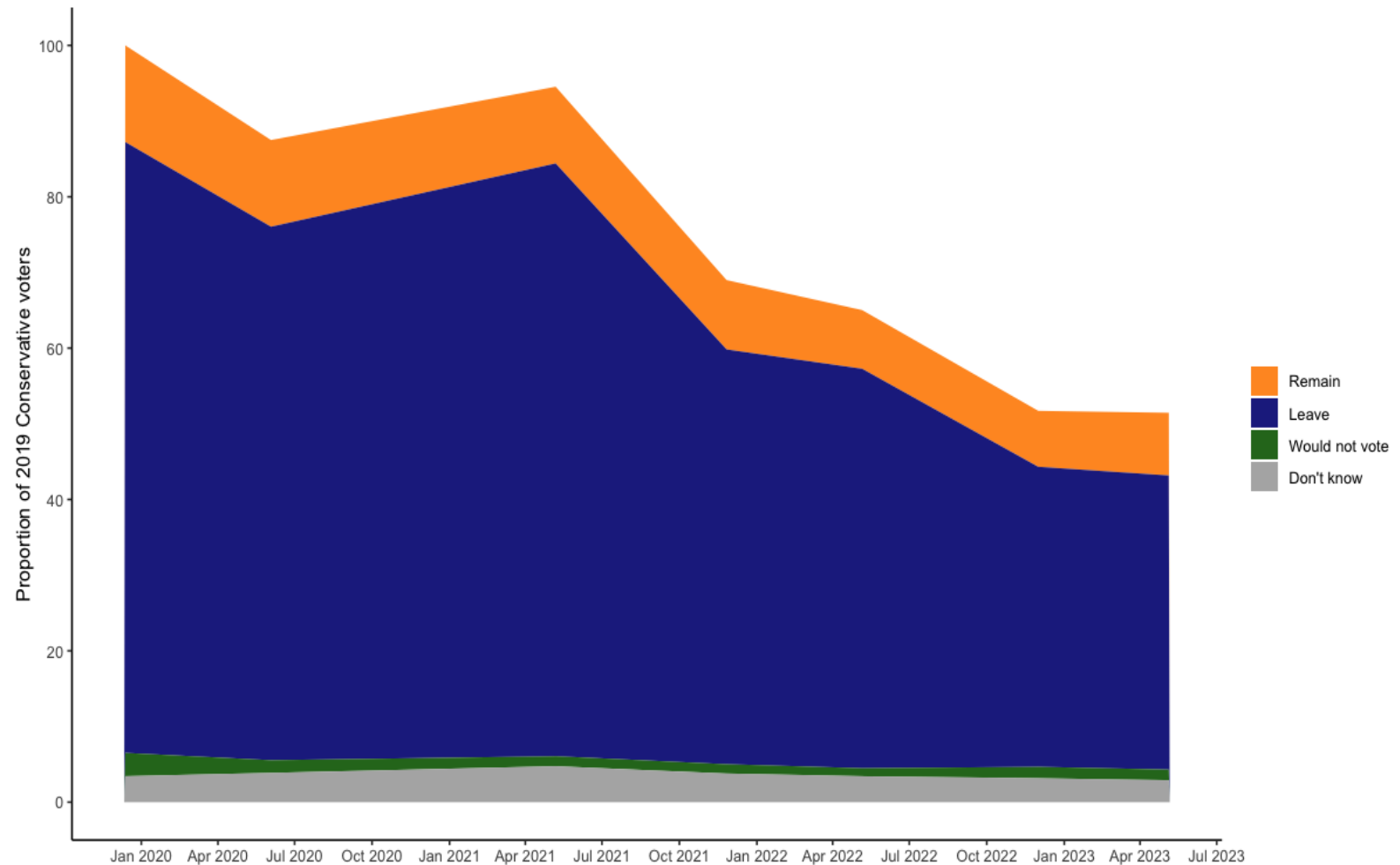
Source: All publicly available polls of UK voting intention conducted since 2019

Party most trusted on economy 1990-2023



Source: Ipsos, with YouGov figures shown in faded colours and dotted lines.

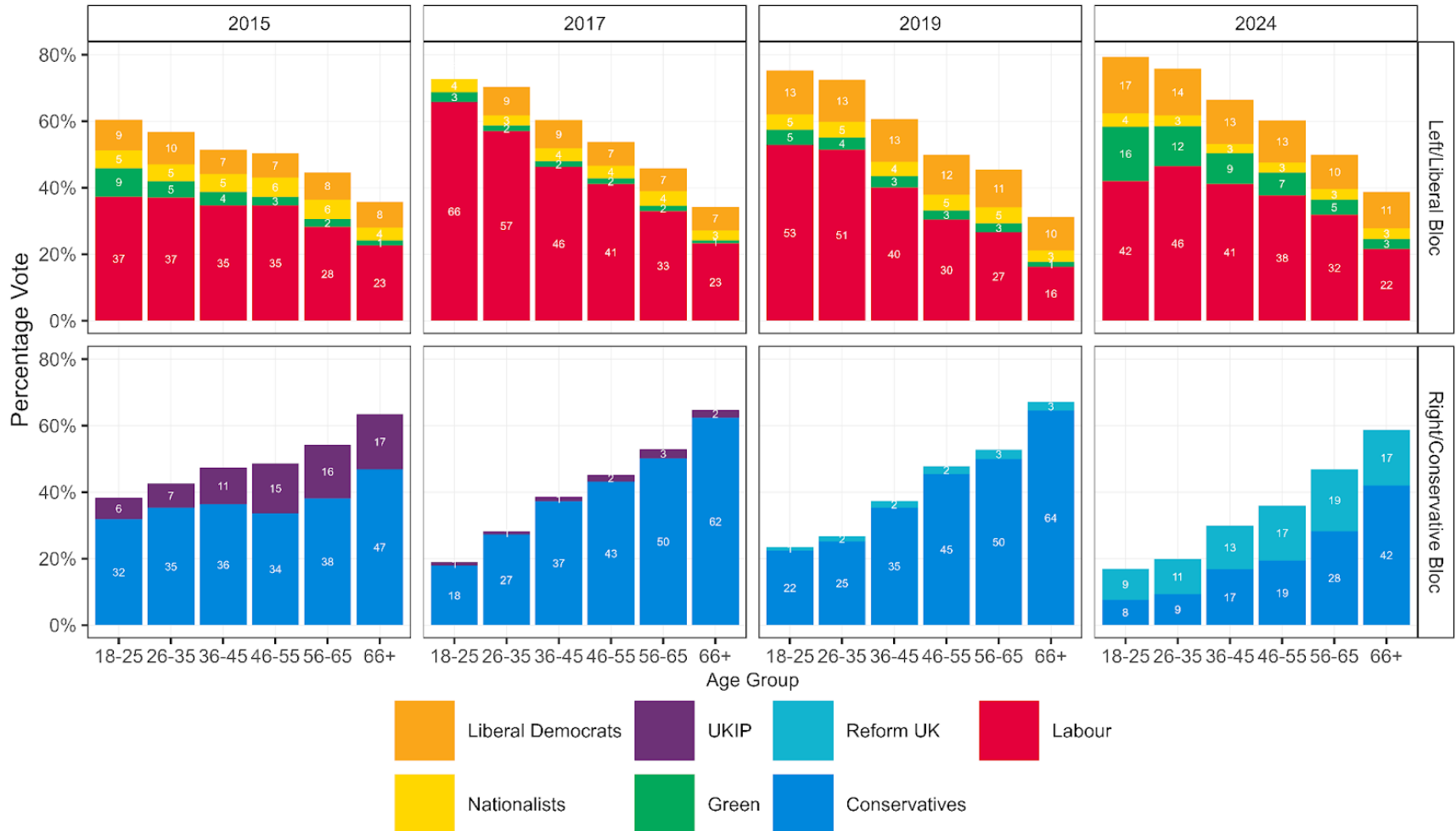
Conservative vote intention, 2020-2023, among 2019 Conservative voters, by Brexit support



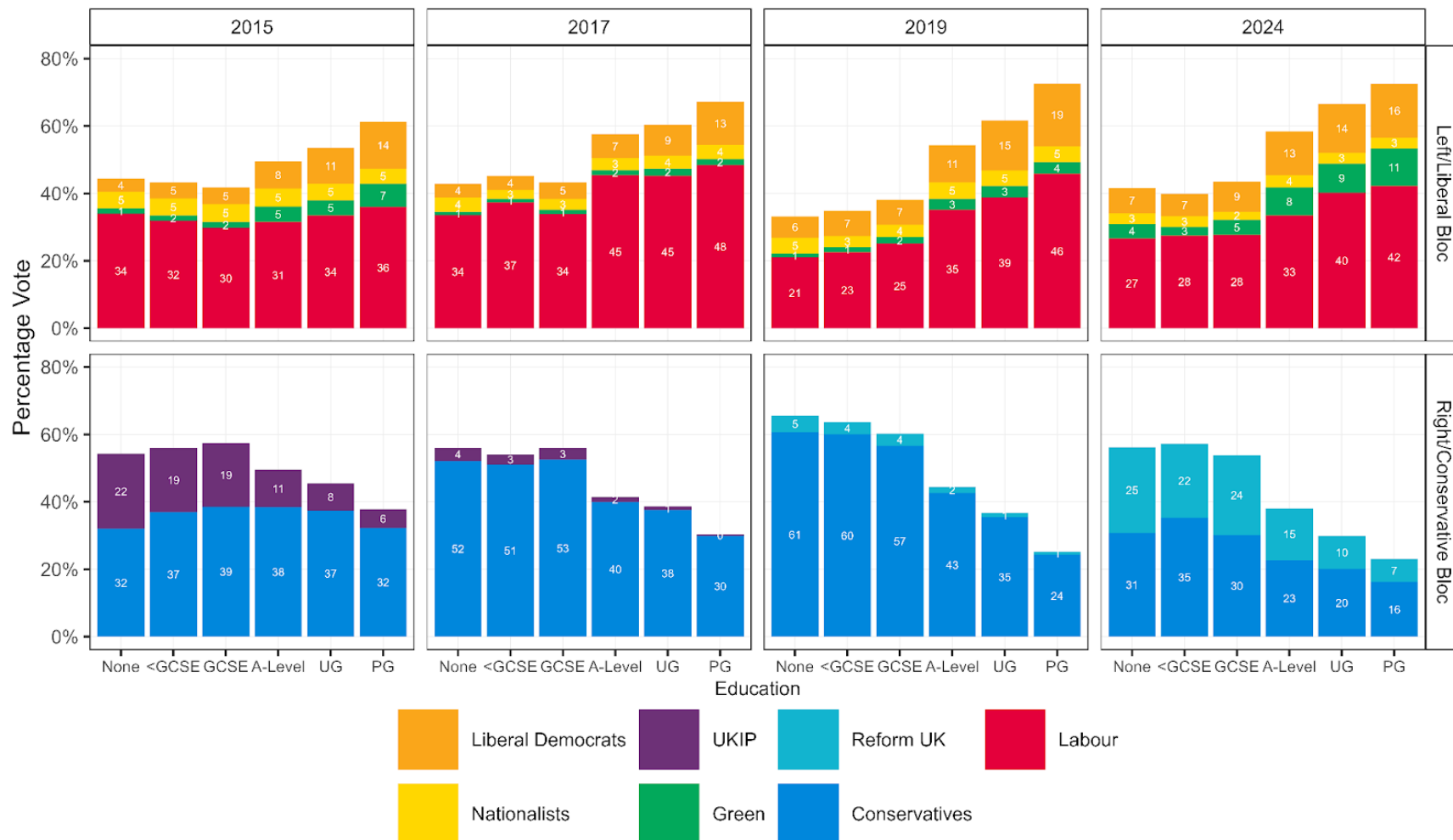
The result of this?

Consistent demographic patterns
2017-2019-2024

Vote and age 2015-2024



Vote and education 2015 - 2024



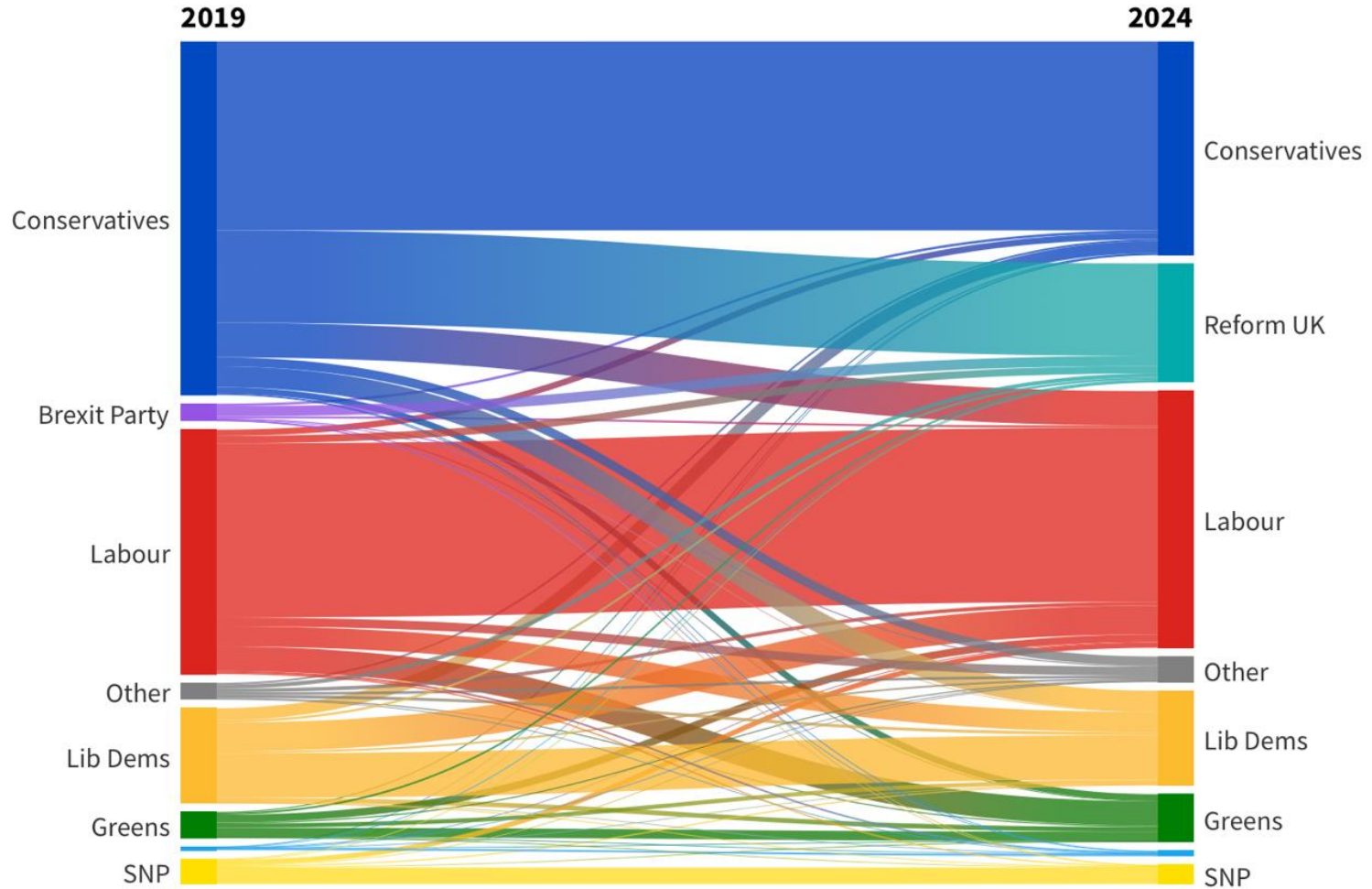
What moved seats?

How did Labour double its majority
on 34% of the vote?

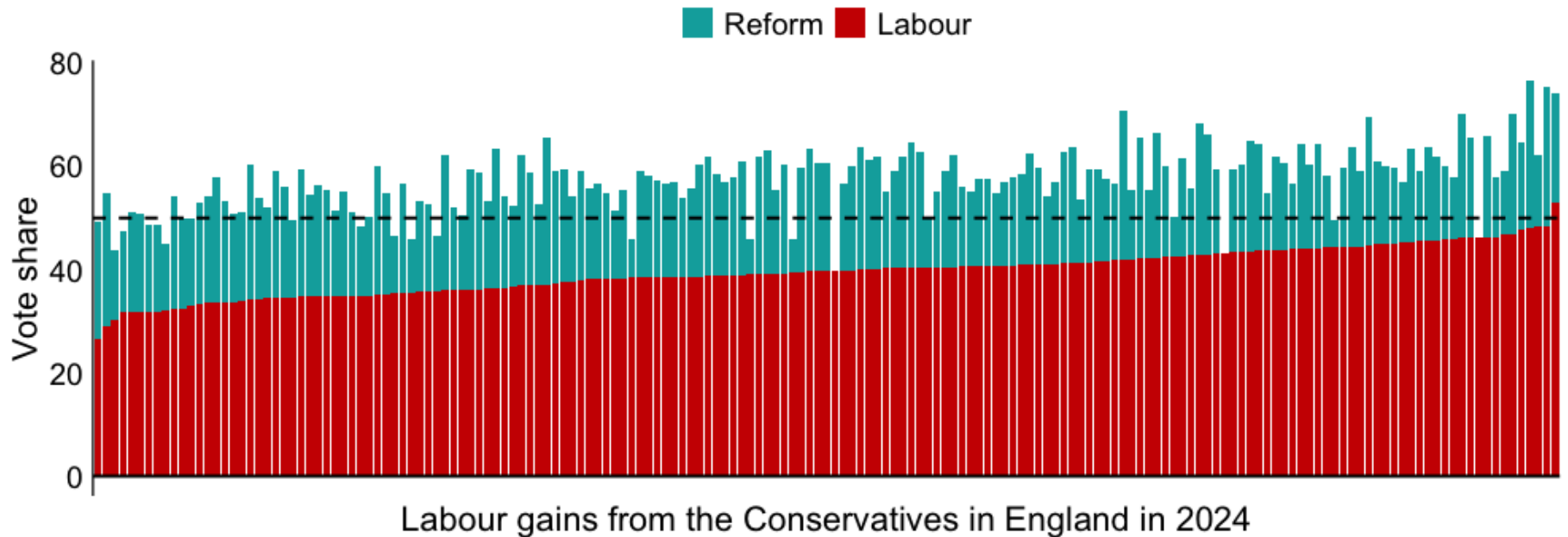
Anti-Government Context

1. Tactical voting
2. Reform UK
3. Scotland

Vote flows 2019-2024



Vote shares in constituencies Labour gained from Conservatives in England



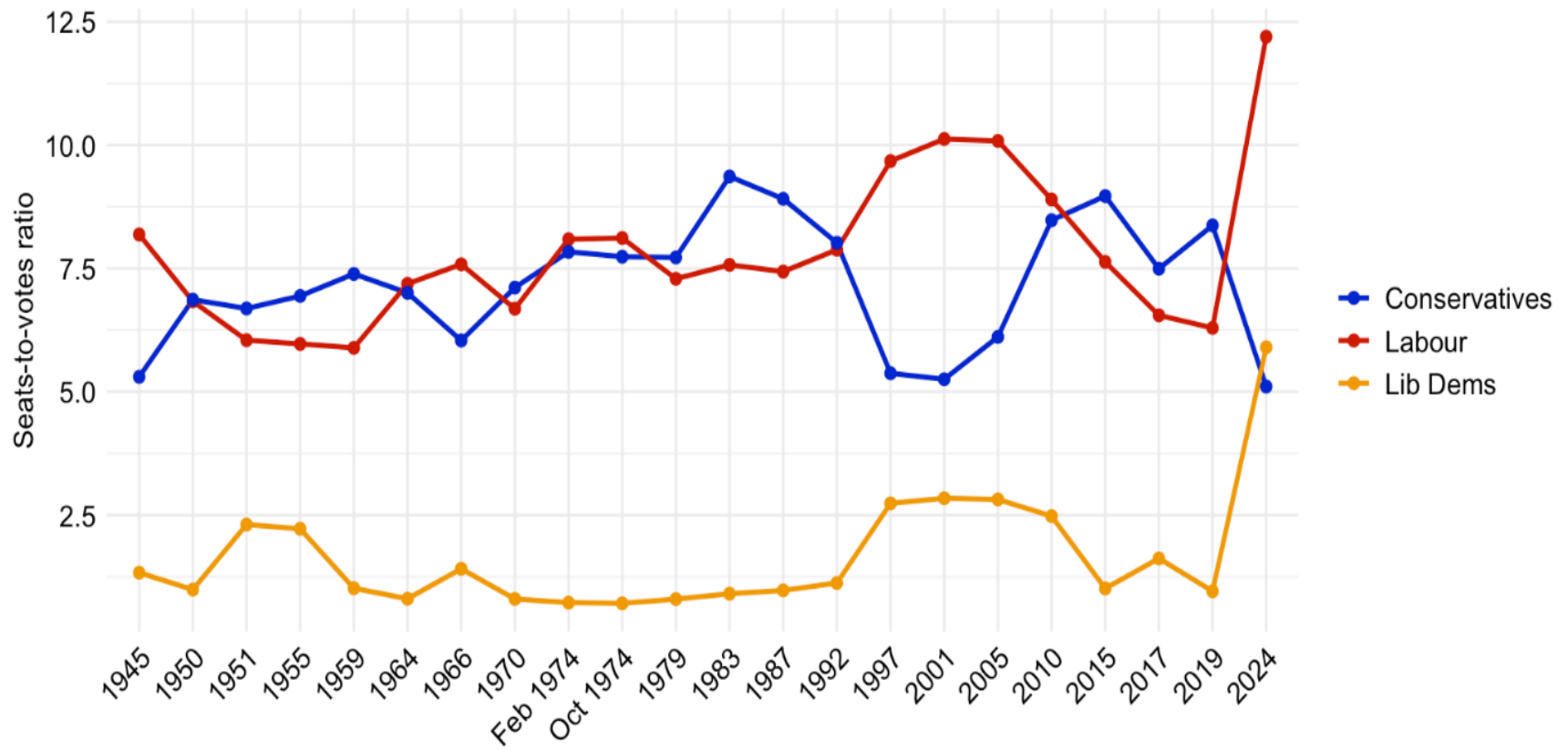
Double 'anti-government' voting in Scotland

	2019	2021	2024
Approve of both governments	3.33 %	10.1 %	3.77 %
Approve of UK govt, Disapprove of Scottish govt	7.83 %	14.4 %	8.32 %
Approve of Scottish govt, Disapprove of UK govt	52.3 %	57.2 %	29.2 %
Disapprove of both governments	36.5 %	18.3 %	58.7 %

Outcome: record-breaking election!

- Most 'disproportionate'
- Most 'fragmented'
- Lowest ever two-party share
- Most volatile (change between elections)
- Lowest share for any party governing alone
- Almost the lowest ever turnout

Votes to seats ratio, 1945-2024



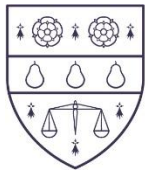
Was 2024 a success for Labour?

Were Labour just lucky?

Could it all change again quickly?

2024 election explained

- Competence losses drove down Conservative support
- This shifted the tide down, didn't disrupt the 'tribes'
- Age and education are still very important
- Bloc voting helps us understand 2024
- Votes to seats relationship exceptional in this context
 - Tactical voting, especially on 'left-liberal' side
 - Reform took votes from Conservatives, lowered the bar for Labour to win seats (loads on negative swings)
 - Labour benefited from two unpopular govts in Scotland



The 2024 UK election What mattered? (First for Votes, then for Seats)

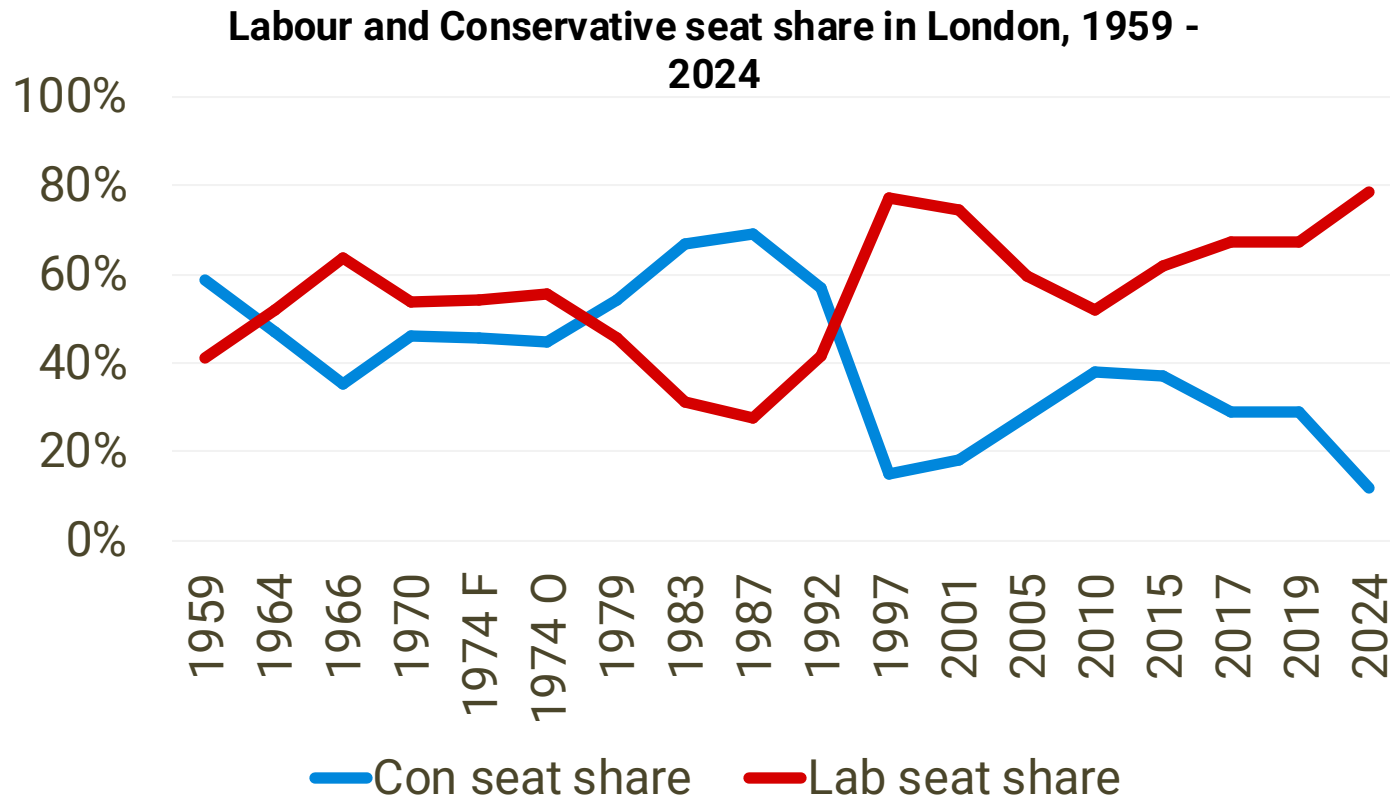
Jane Green, Oxford

A close-up photograph of a person in a grey uniform, likely a ballot handler, holding a brown envelope. The person's right hand is pointing towards a slot in a ballot box. The background is slightly blurred, showing the person's uniform and the ballot box.

GE2024: A London Lens

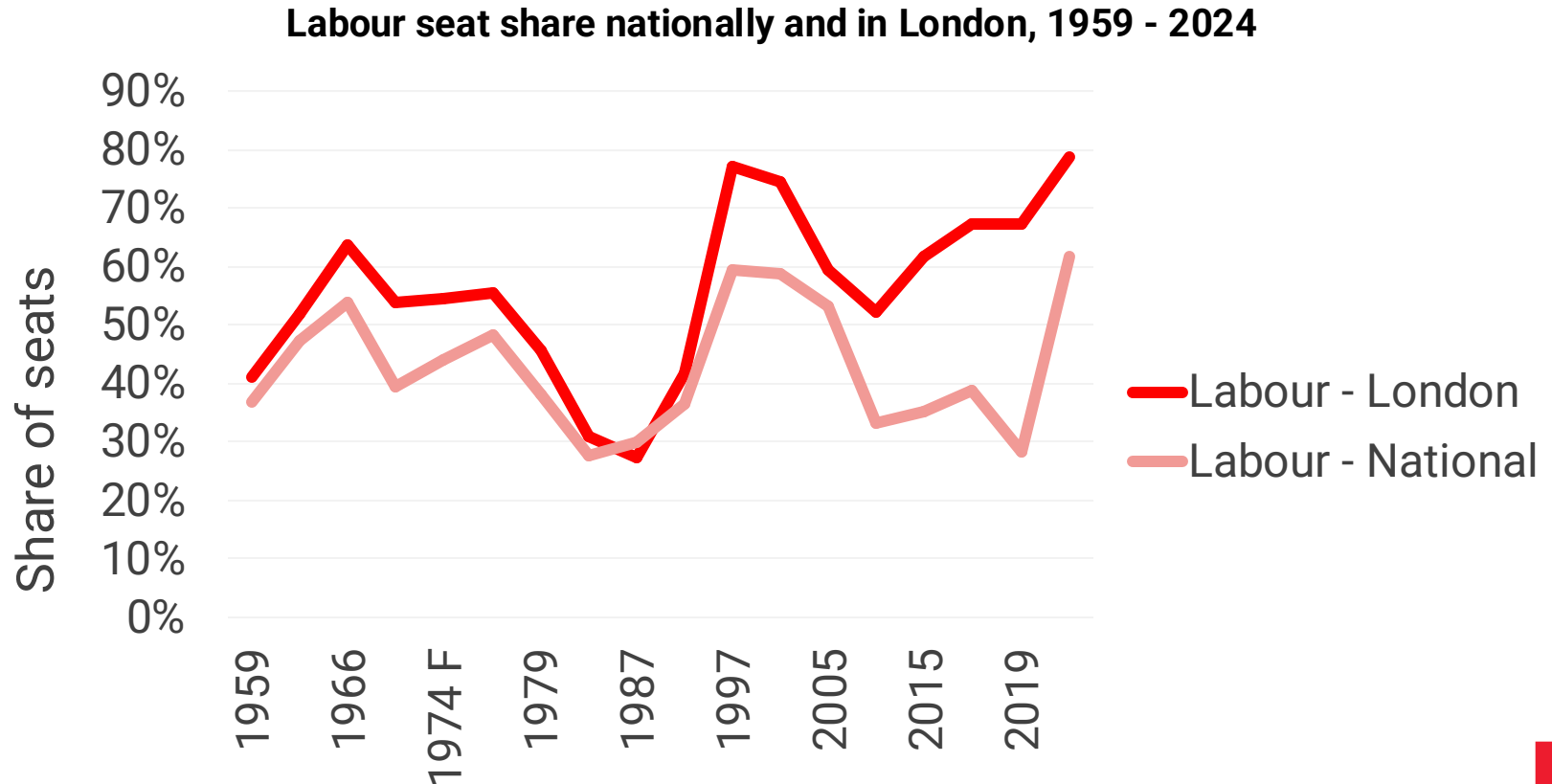
Jenevieve Treadwell
LSE London Policy Fellow

Conservatives never really recovered from 1997



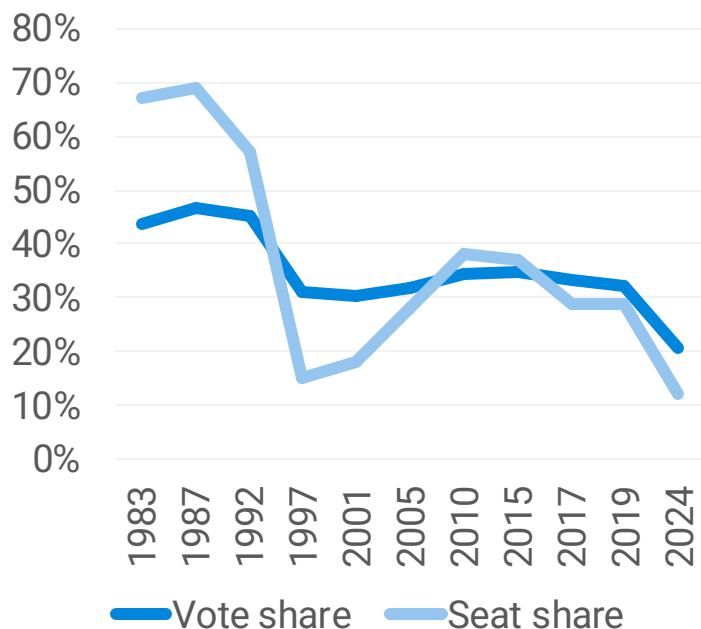
Source: House of Commons Library

London has become a Labour city

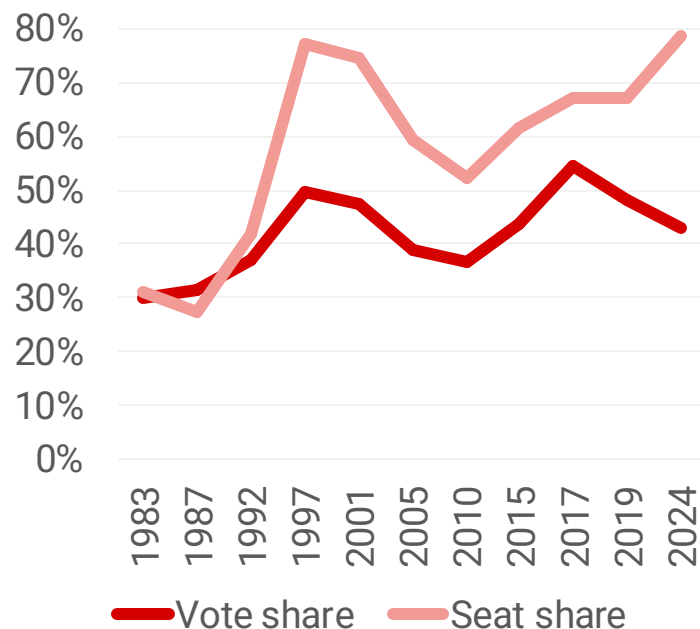


Labour is increasingly efficient in London, the Conservatives are feeling the pinch of FPTP...

Conservative vote and seat share in London, 1983 - 2024



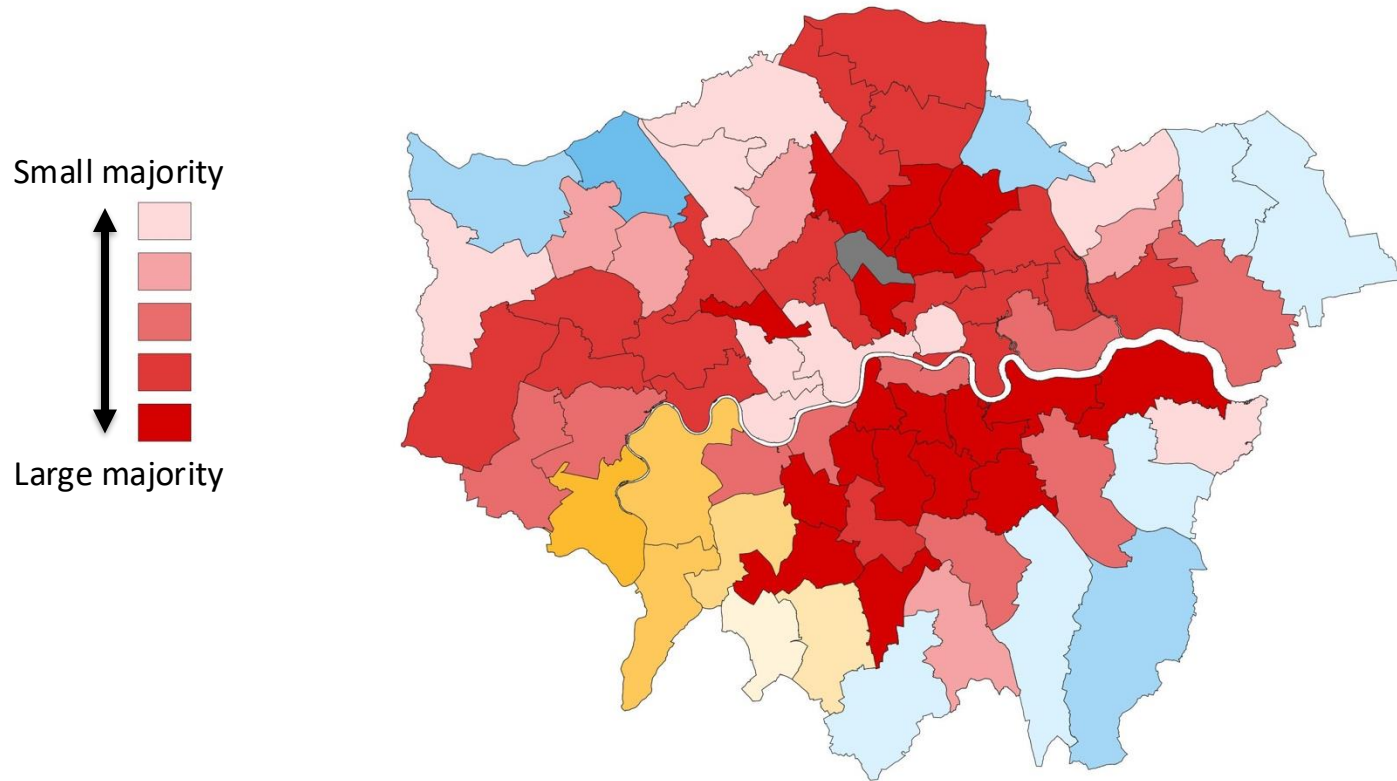
Labour vote and seat share in London, 1983-2024



Source: House of Commons Library

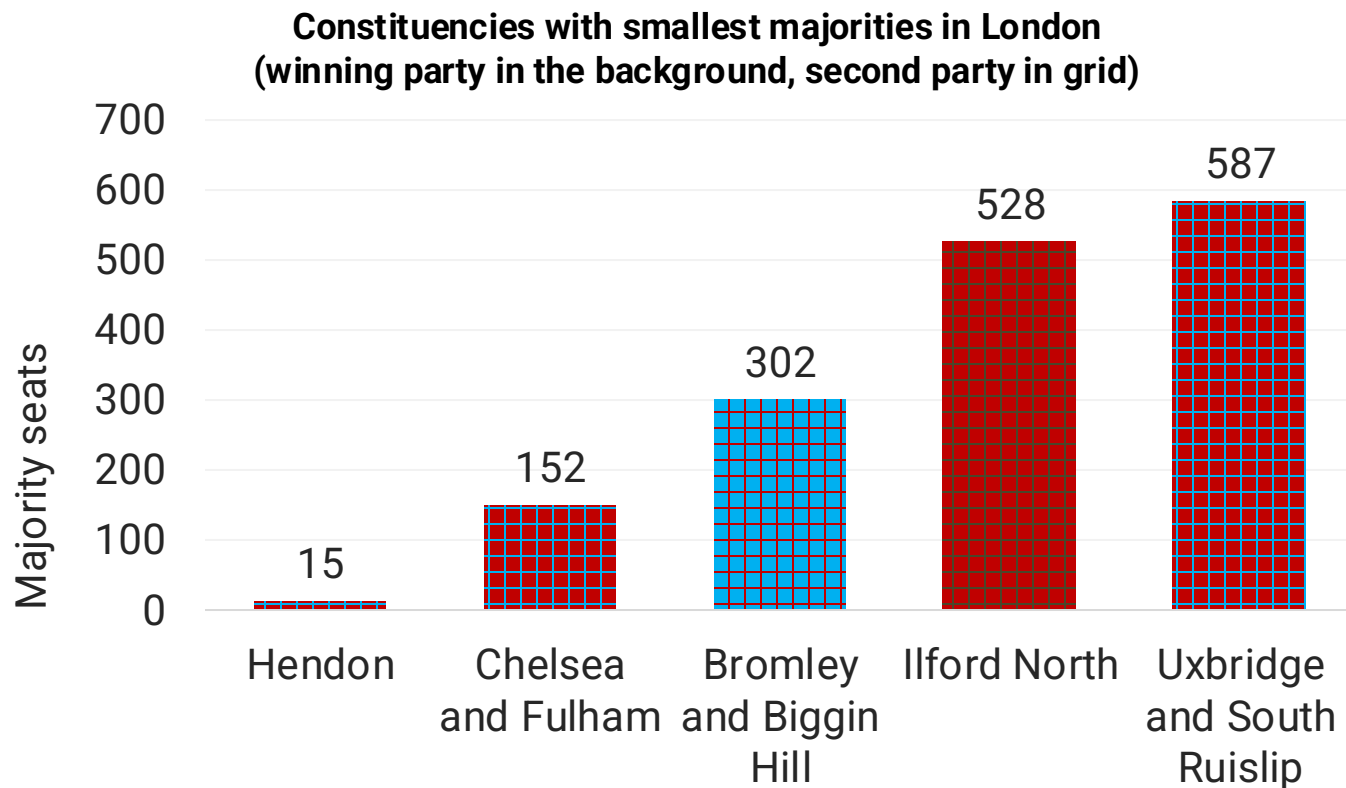
2024: Who won and by how much?

2024 General Election Results in London by strength of support



Source: House of Commons Library

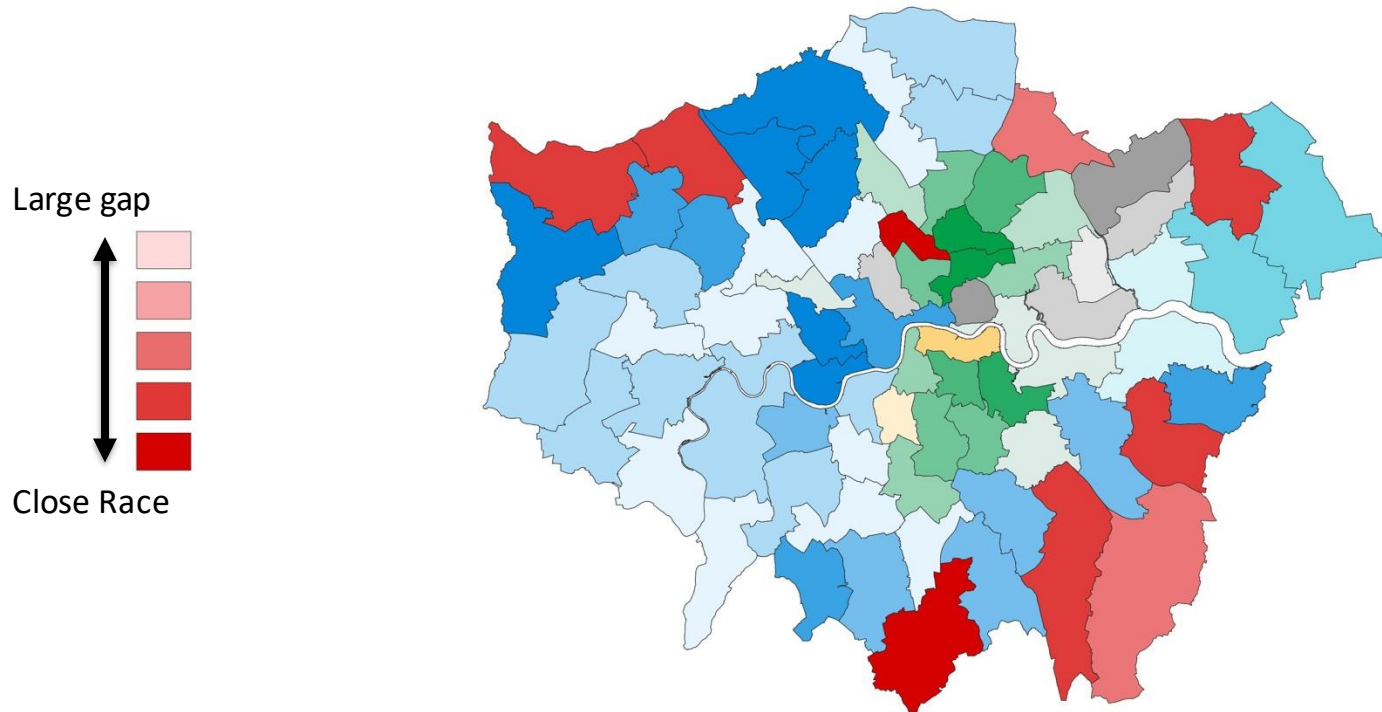
The more you have, the more you have to lose...



Source: House of Commons Library

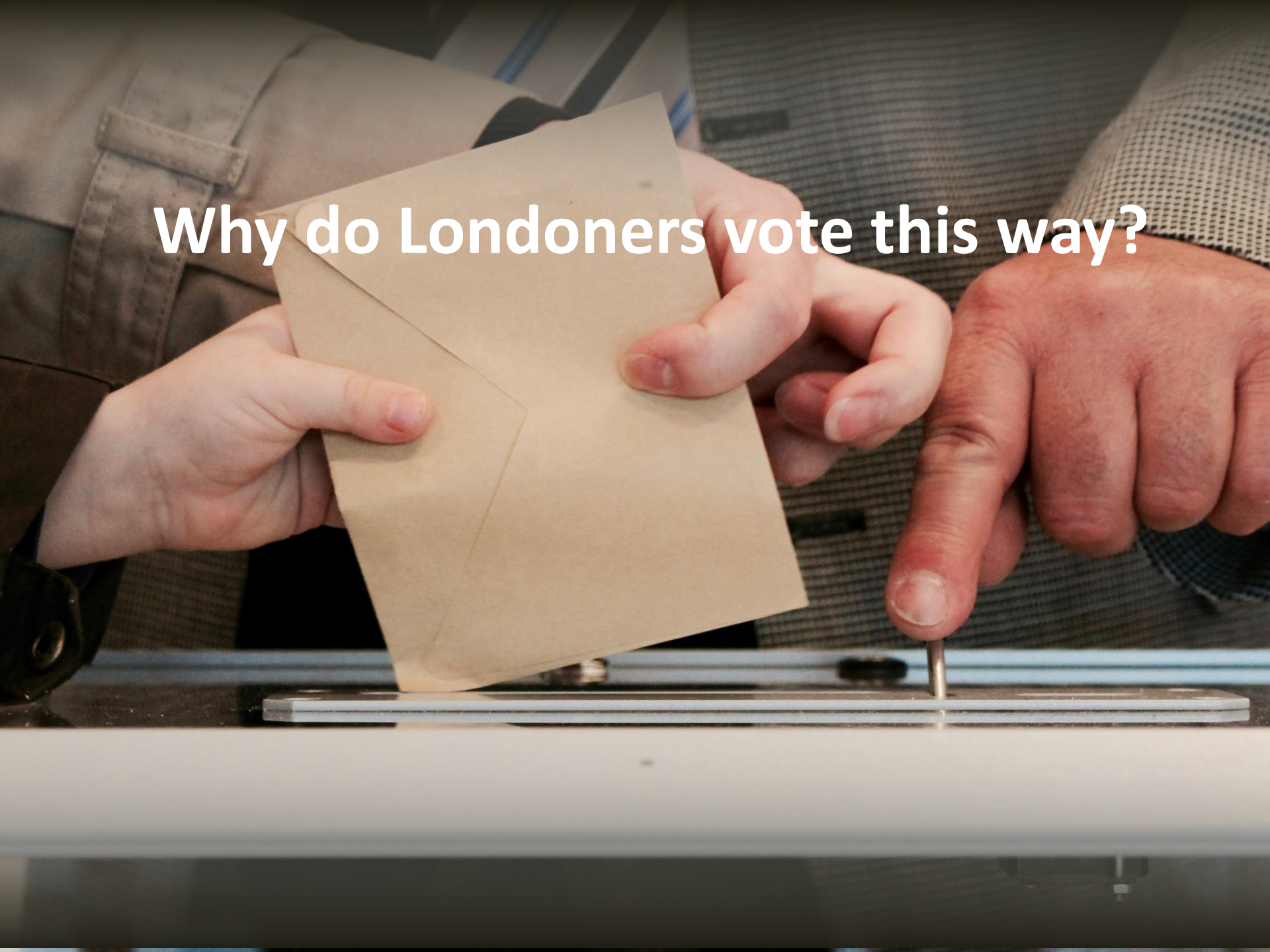
Who are the second parties? Where are they strongest?

2024 General Election Second Parties by strength of support



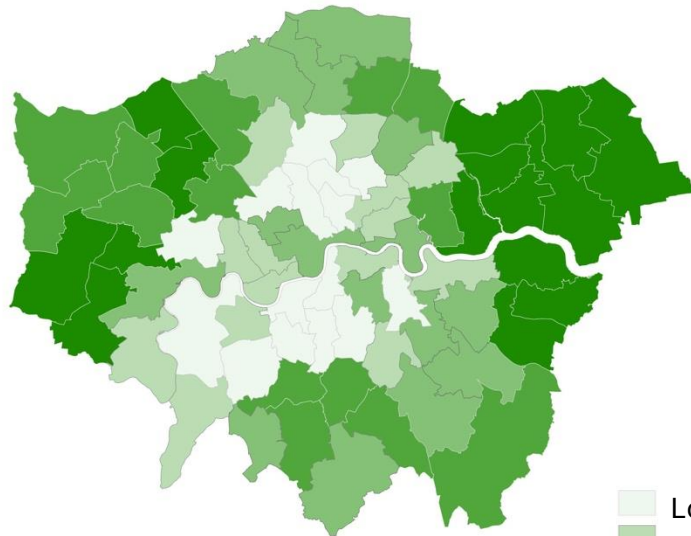
Source: House of Commons Library

Why do Londoners vote this way?

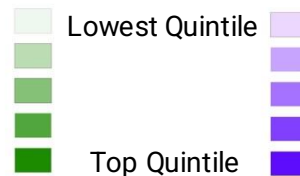
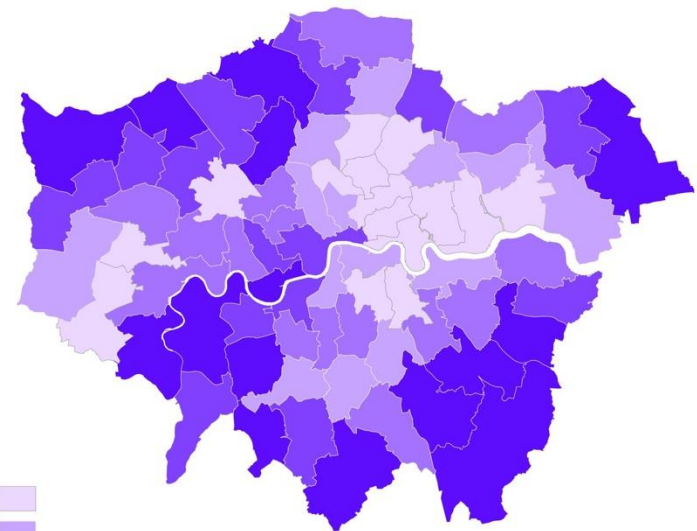


A lot of this comes down to values

% of people in constituencies that are socially authoritarian rather than socially liberal



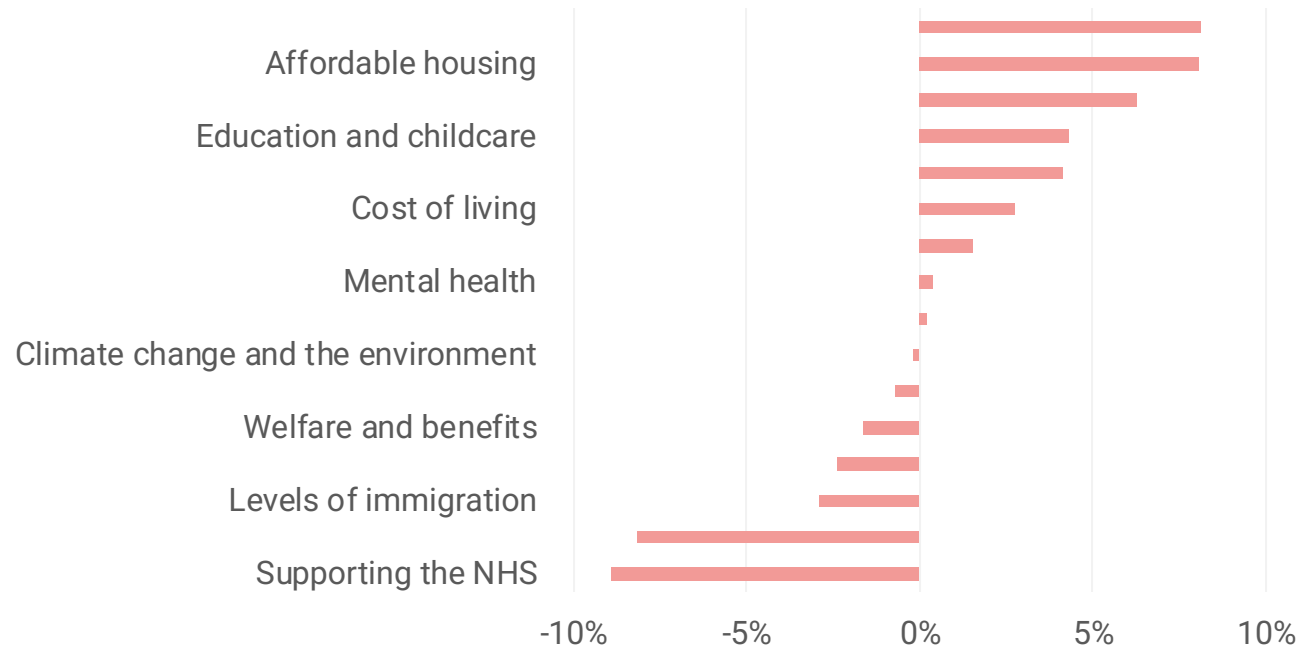
% of people in constituencies that are more economically right-wing rather than left-wing



Source: Onward UK, 2022 MRP

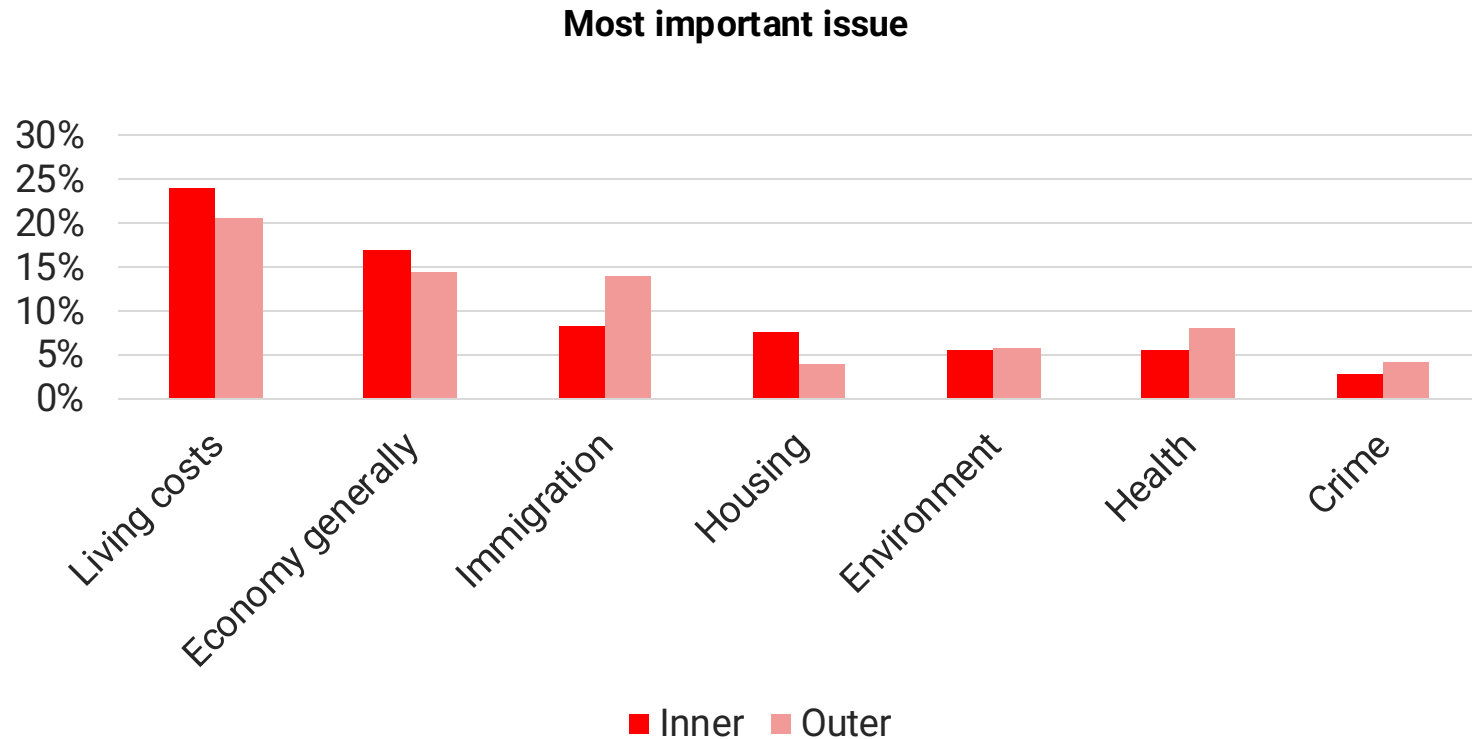
What do Londoners care about?

Most important issue: London minus the rest of England



Source: More in Common, July 2024

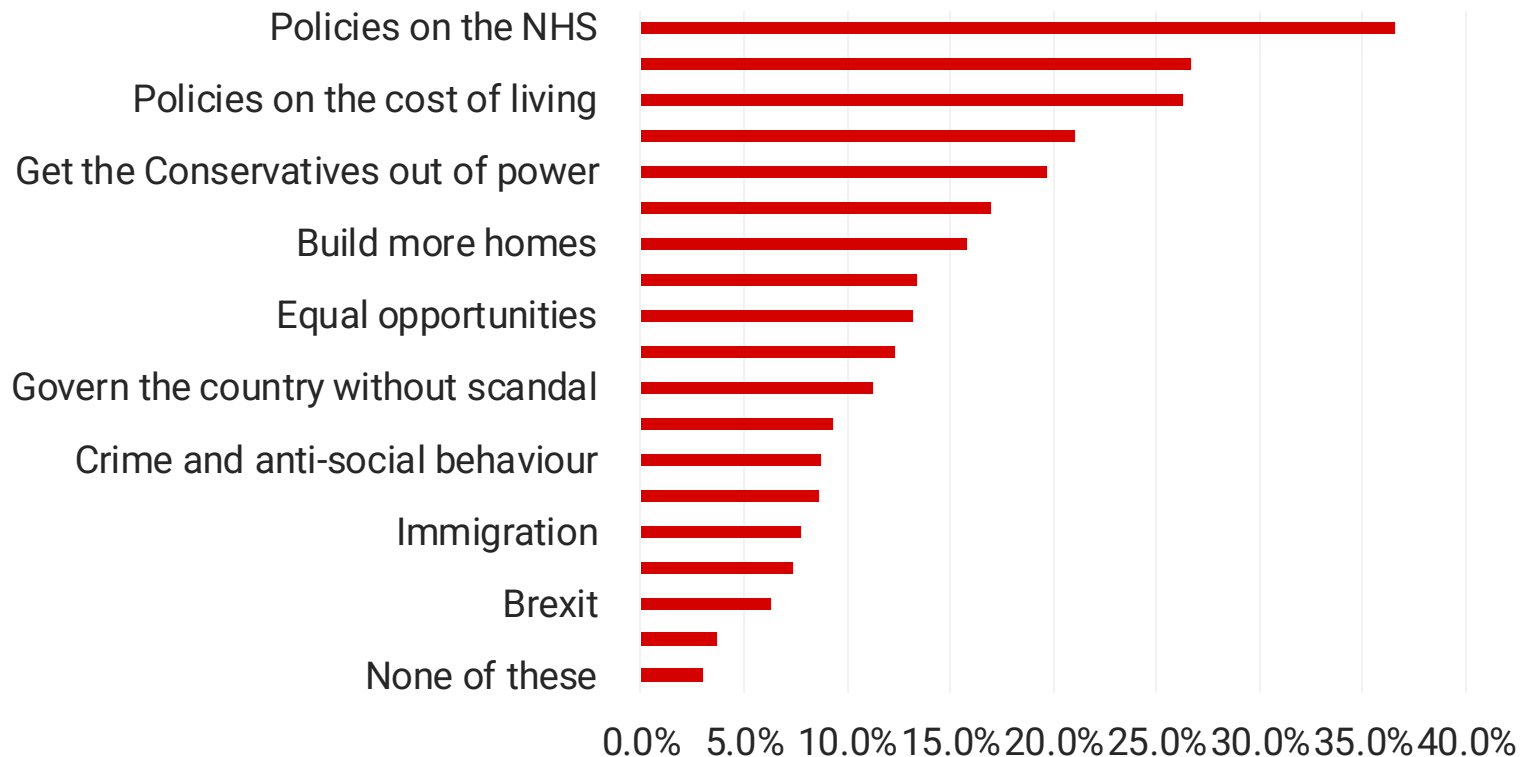
This reflects the issues voters care about



Source: BES Wave 29

Why did London Labour voters vote Labour?

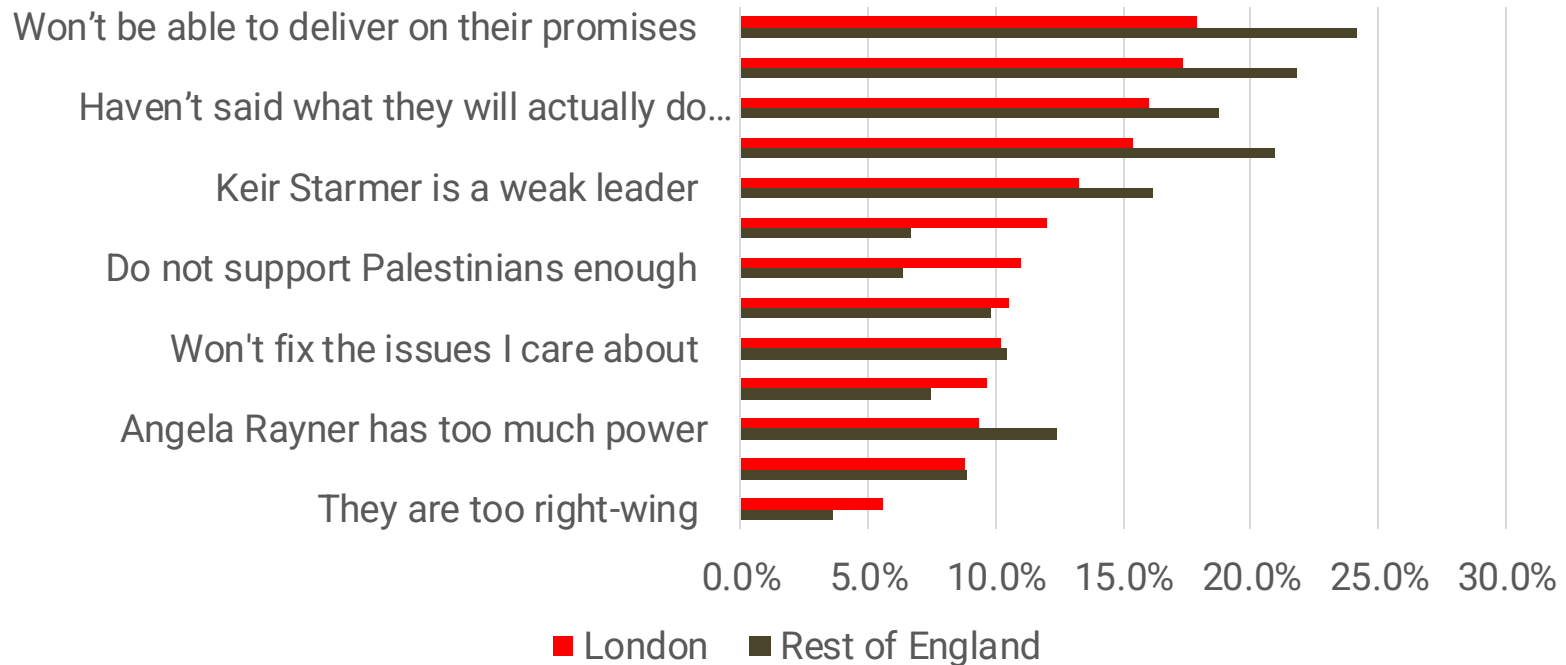
“Why vote Labour?” London



Source: More in Common, July 2024

But we can see a consequence of trying to appeal to a broad coalition

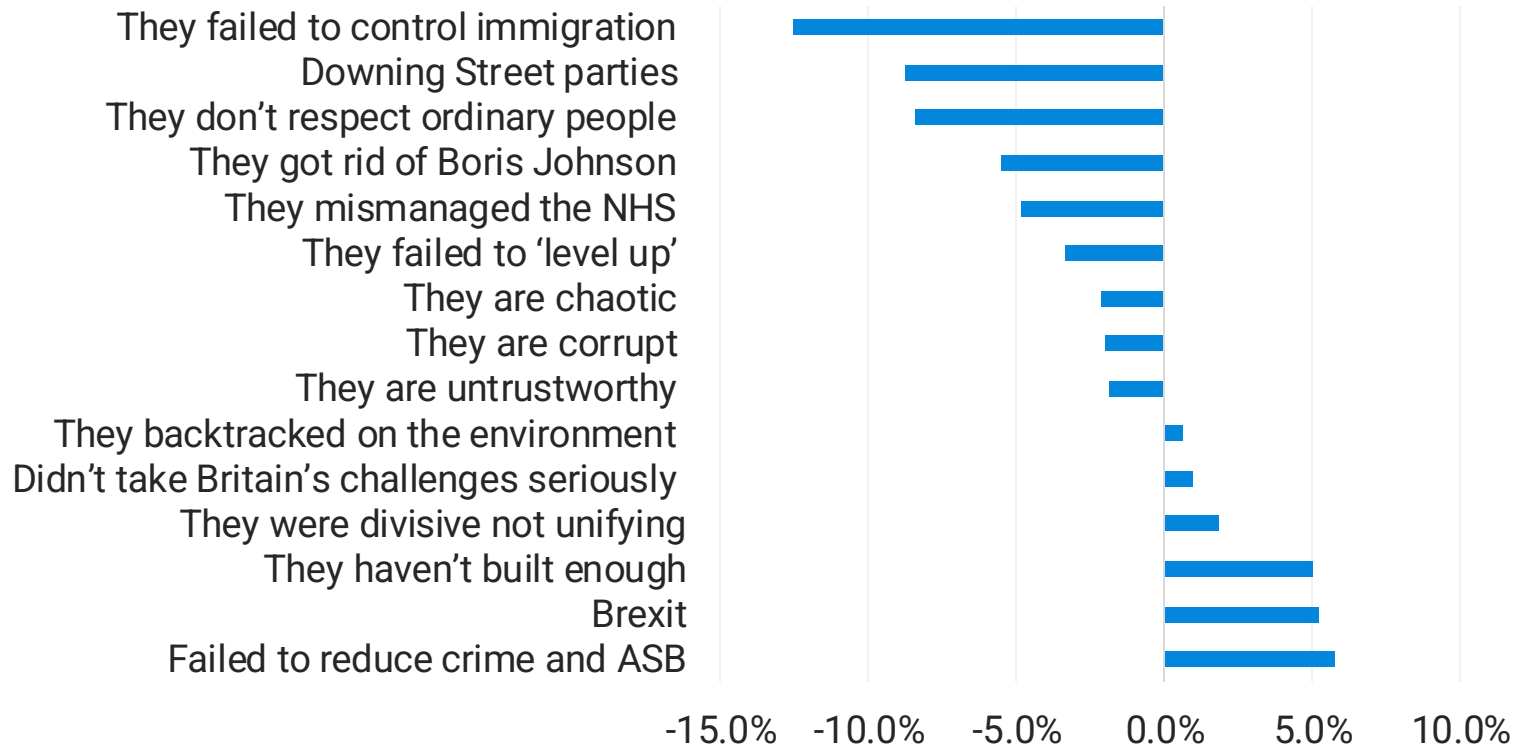
“What are the barriers to voting Labour?” London and the rest of England



Source: More in Common, July 2024

Why did London voters vote Conservative?

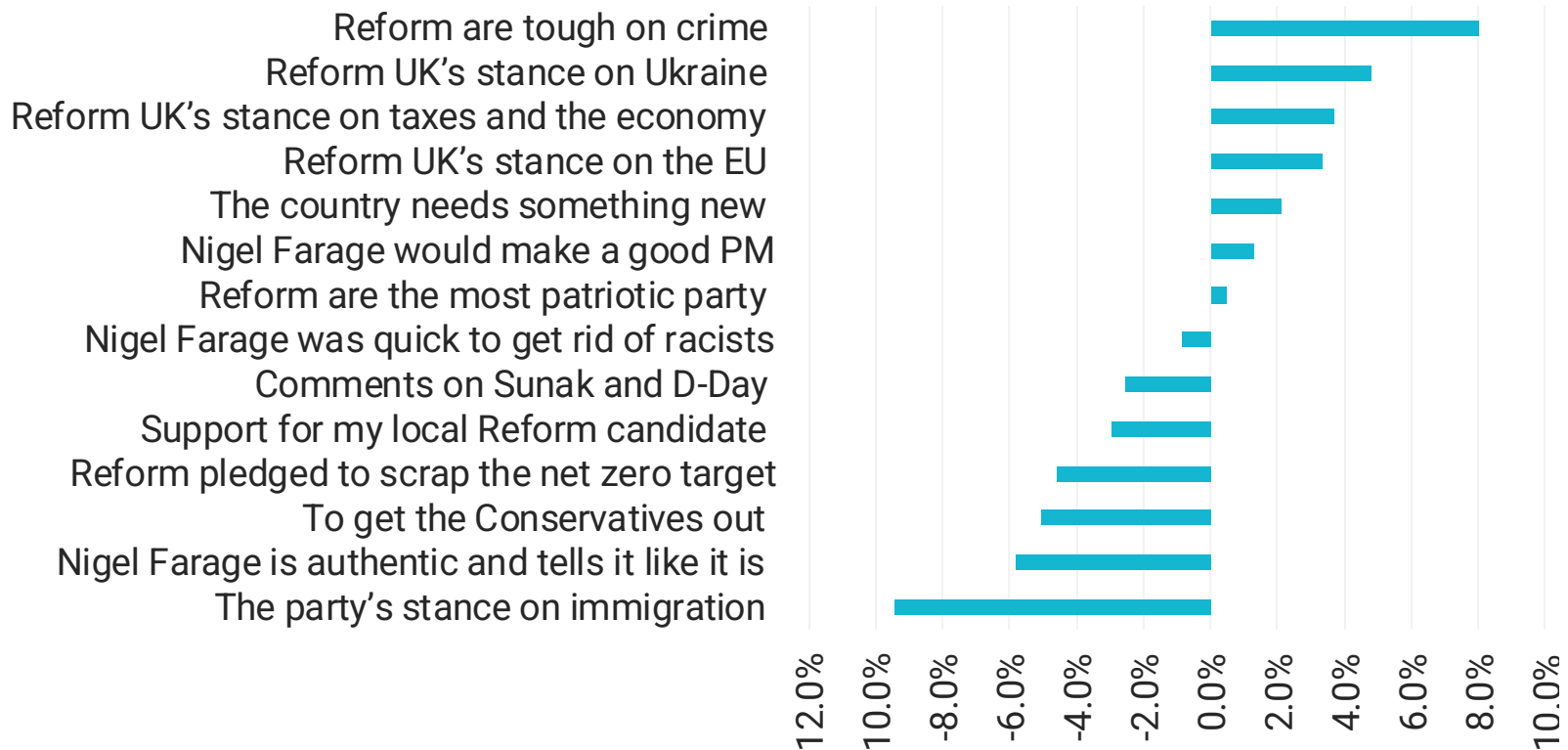
“where did the conservatives go wrong?” London vs rest



Source: More in Common, July 2024

Why did London voters vote Reform?

“why vote Reform?” London vs rest

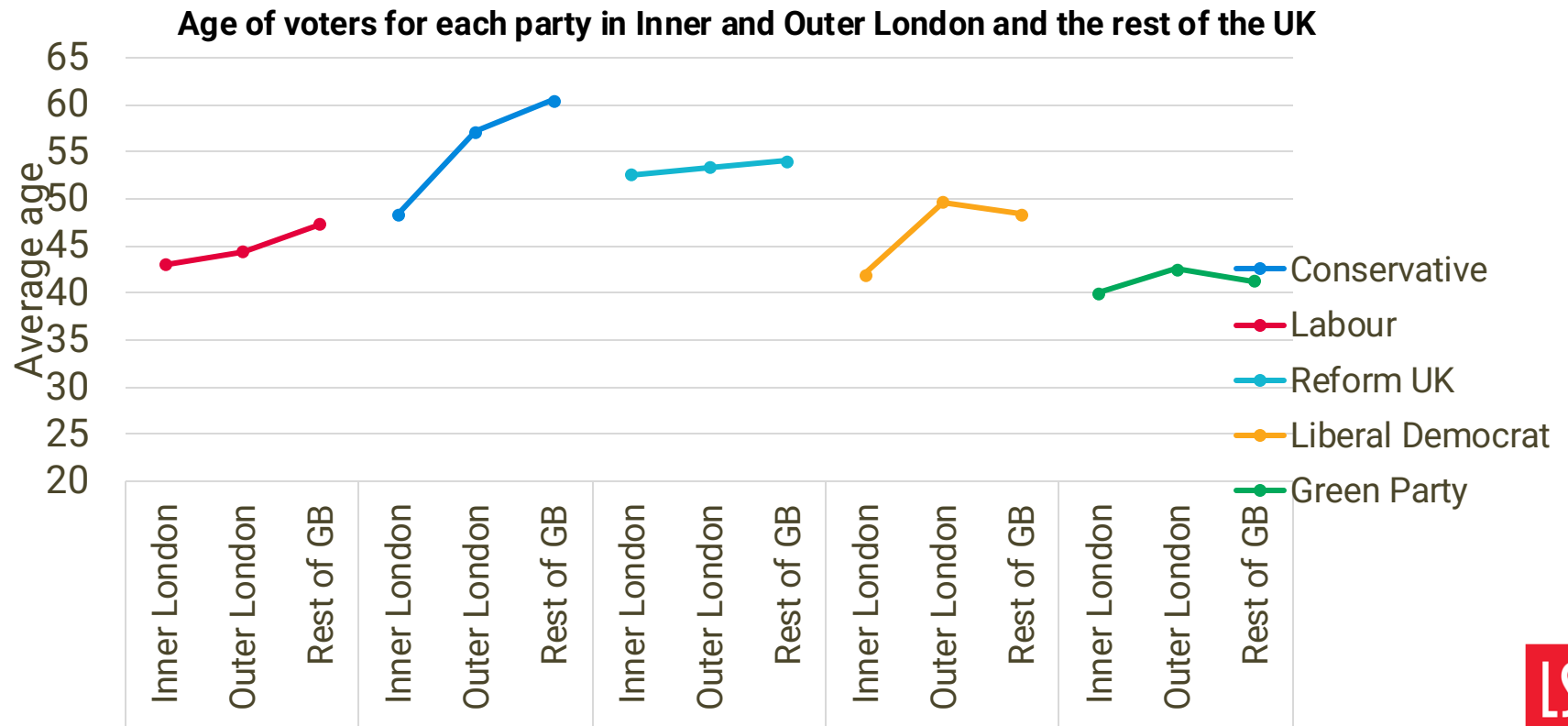


Source: More in Common, July 2024

A close-up photograph of a person's hands in a grey suit. The left hand holds a brown paper envelope, and the right hand points with the index finger towards a slot in a ballot box. The ballot box is dark grey with a horizontal slot. The background is slightly blurred, showing the person's torso and the texture of the suit.

**Are demographics destiny,
or is there a 'London effect'?**

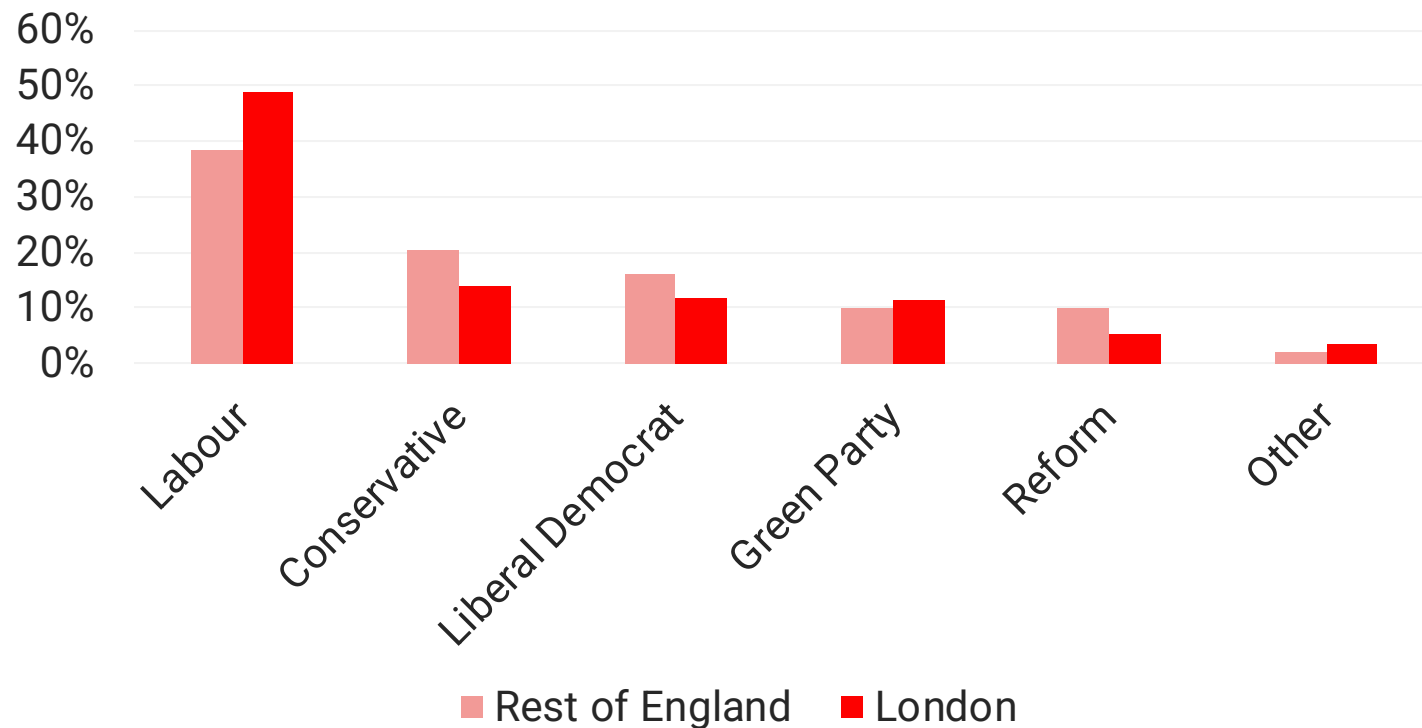
Central London Tories are much younger than suburban Conservatives



Source: BES Wave 29

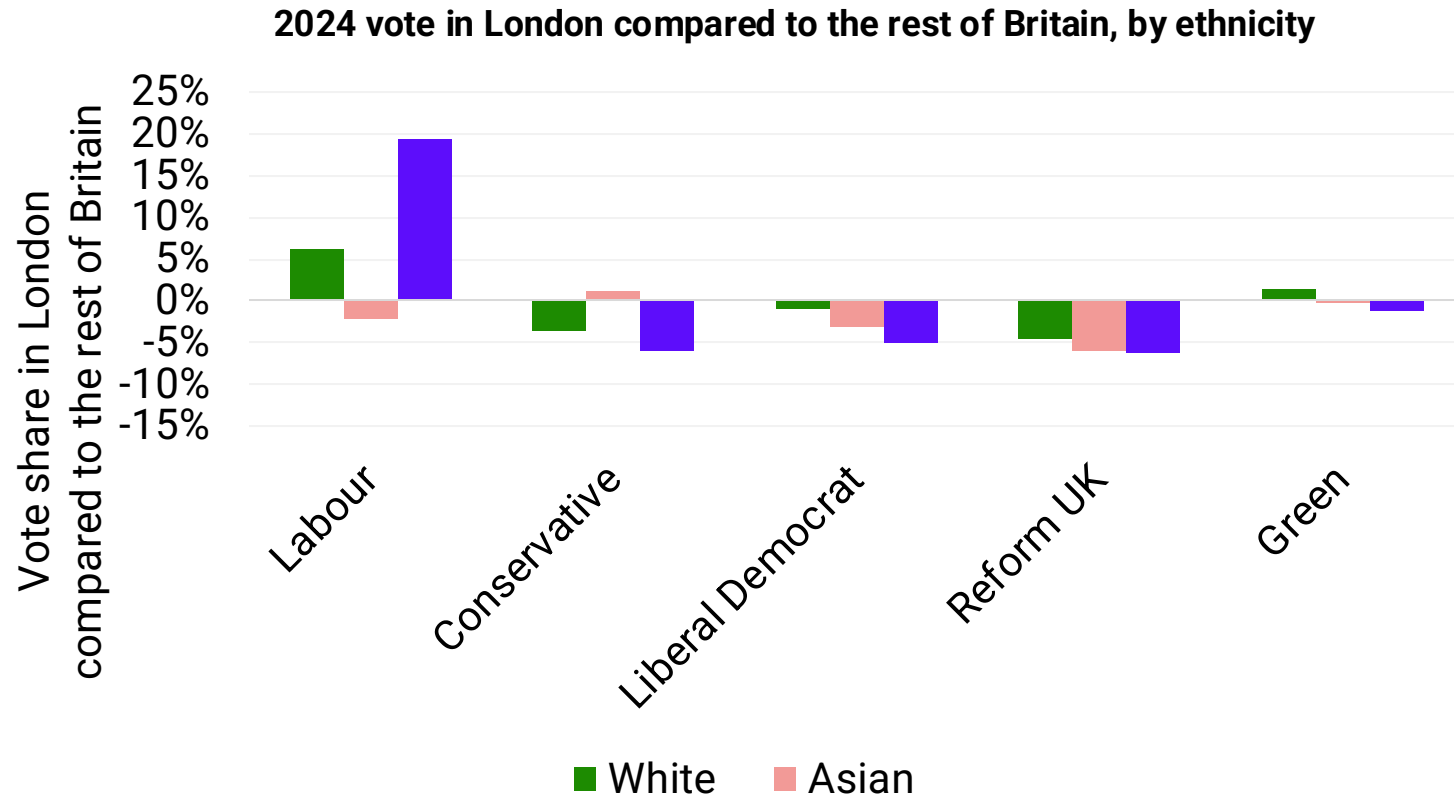
London graduates skew towards Labour

2024 general election vote among degree holders in London and the rest of England



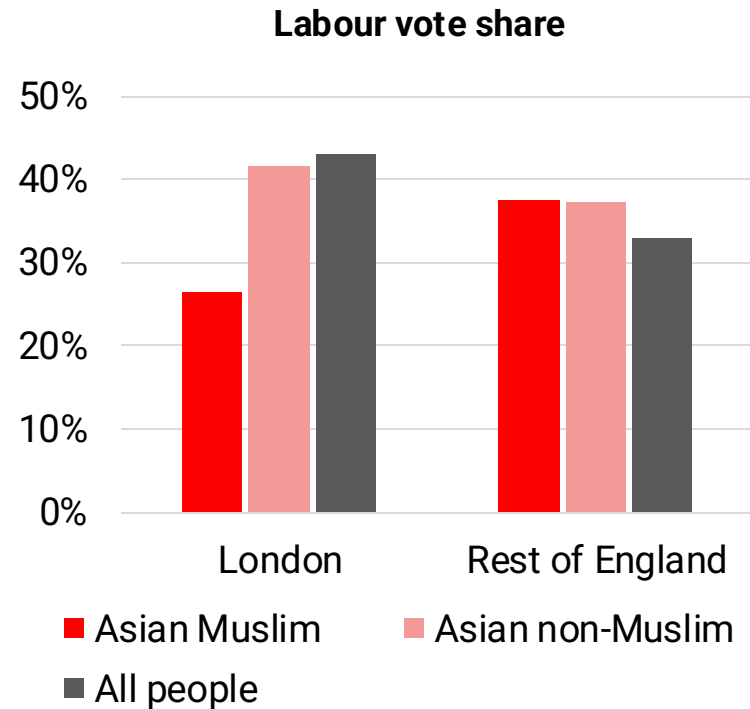
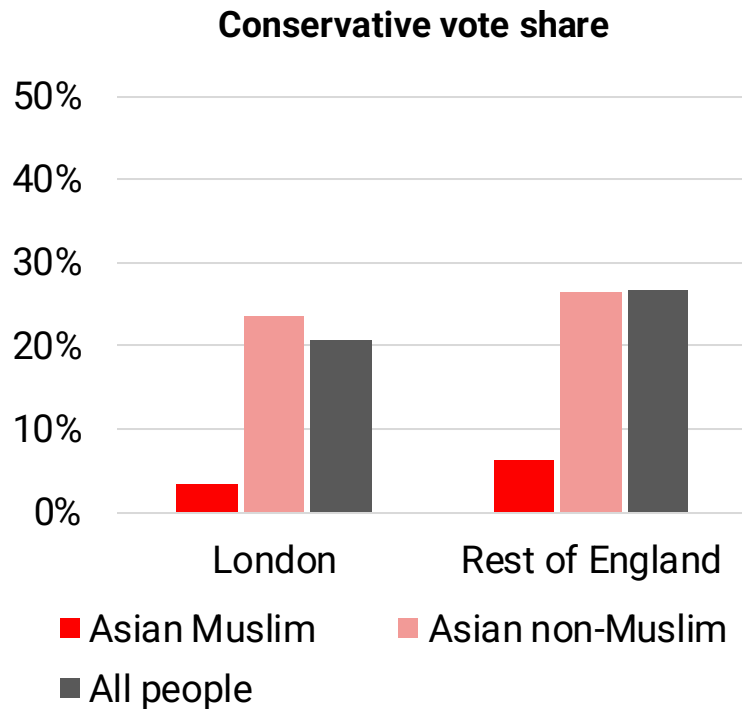
Source: BES Wave 29

Labour has lost their advantage among Asian voters



Source: BES Wave 29

Religion explains a lot of this gap

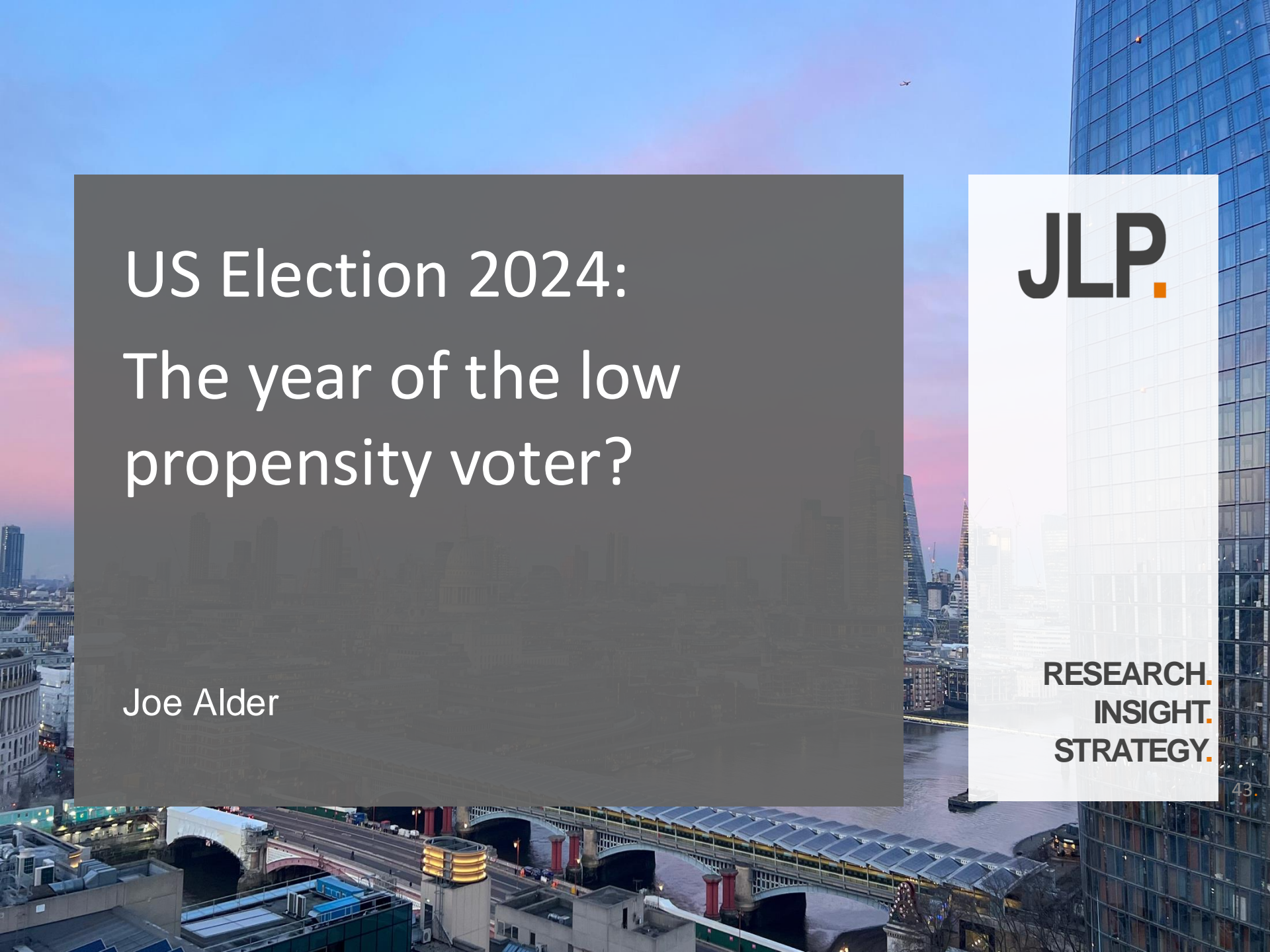


Source: BES Wave 29

A close-up photograph of a person in a grey suit holding a brown envelope. Another hand is pointing at the envelope with a metal rod. The scene appears to be a formal or official setting.

GE2024: A London Lens

Jenevieve Treadwell
LSE London Policy Fellow



US Election 2024: The year of the low propensity voter?

Joe Alder

JLP.

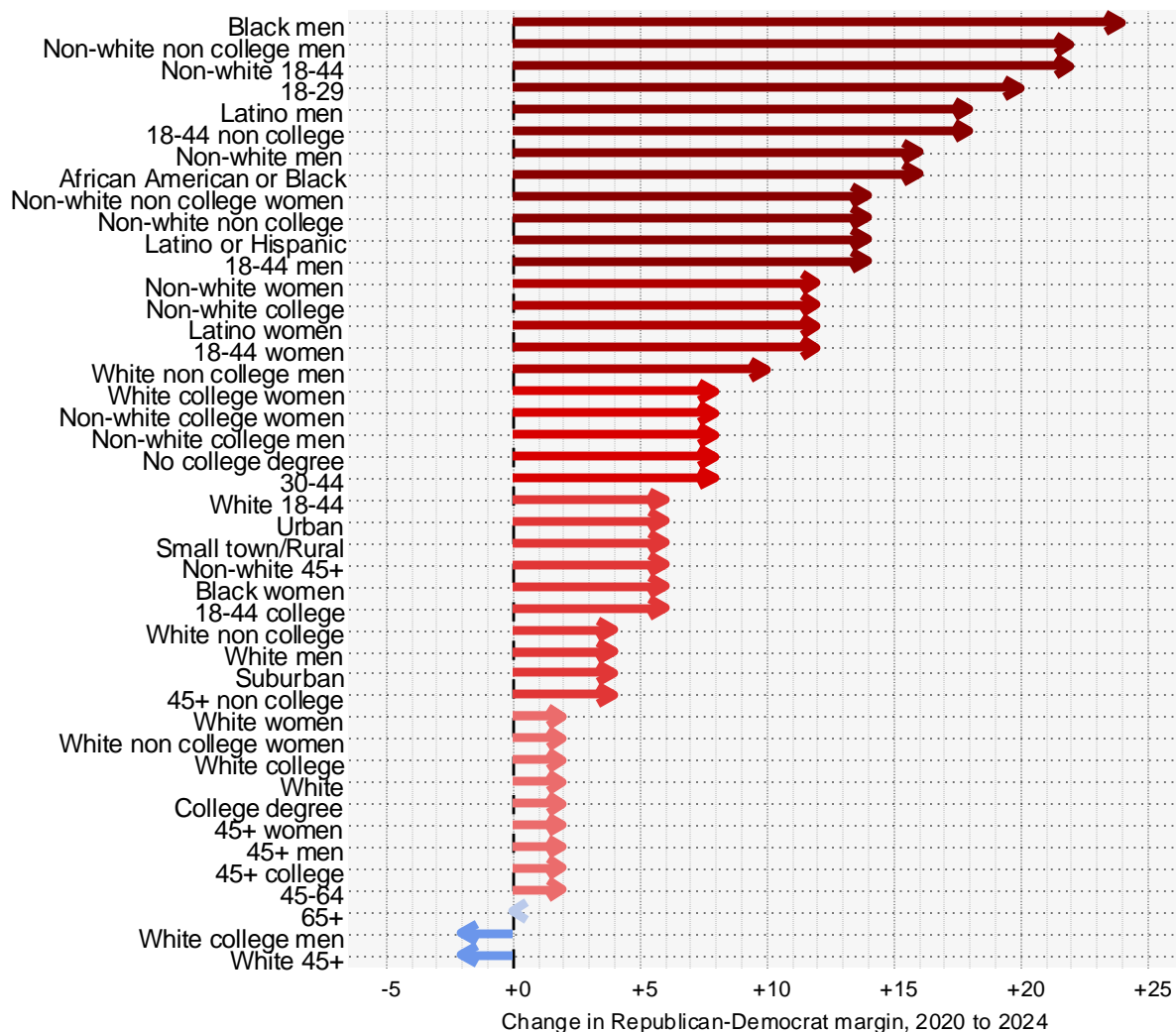
**RESEARCH.
INSIGHT.
STRATEGY.**

What just happened?

- Donald Trump won all 7 swing states
- First Republican victory in the popular vote since 2004
- Every state swung towards Trump from 2020

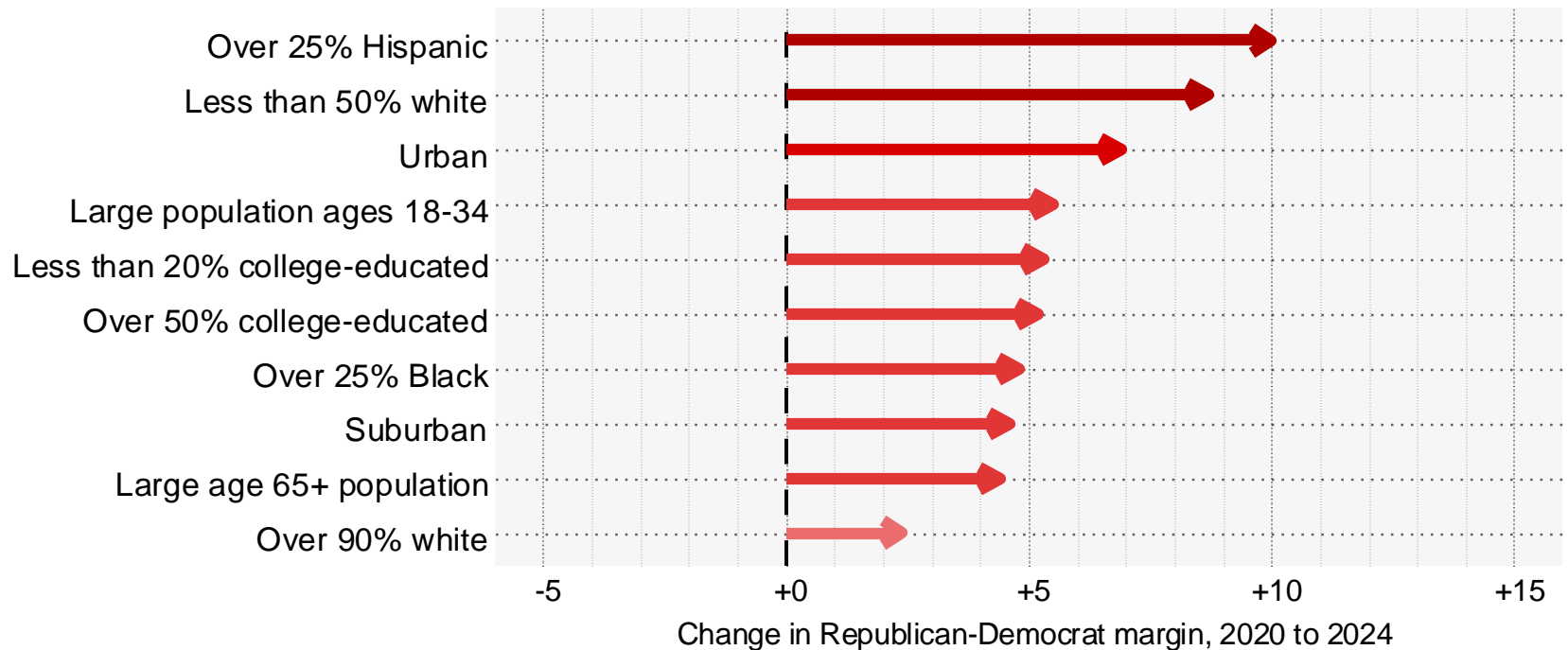
The voters that swung hardest were low propensity and low engagement: **young, less highly educated, and non-white**

AP VoteCast data



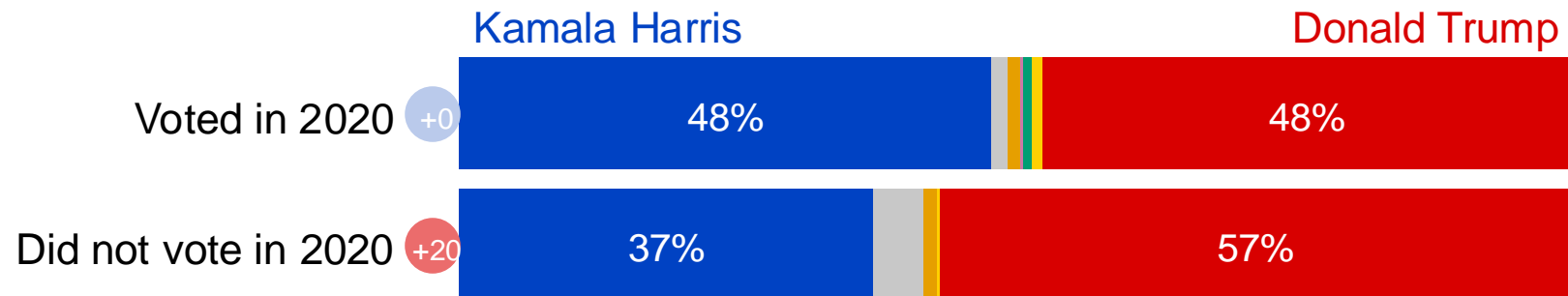
County-level results data tells a similar story

New York Times analysis of county-level results data



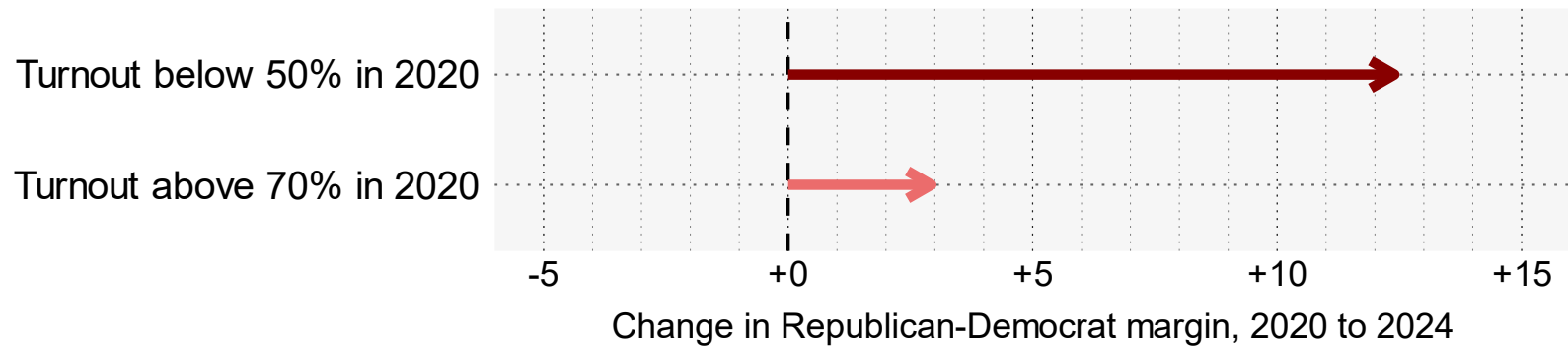
Low **propensity** voters were instrumental to Trump's win

Final J.L. Partners pre-election polling, likely voters



Again, this is supported by county-level results data

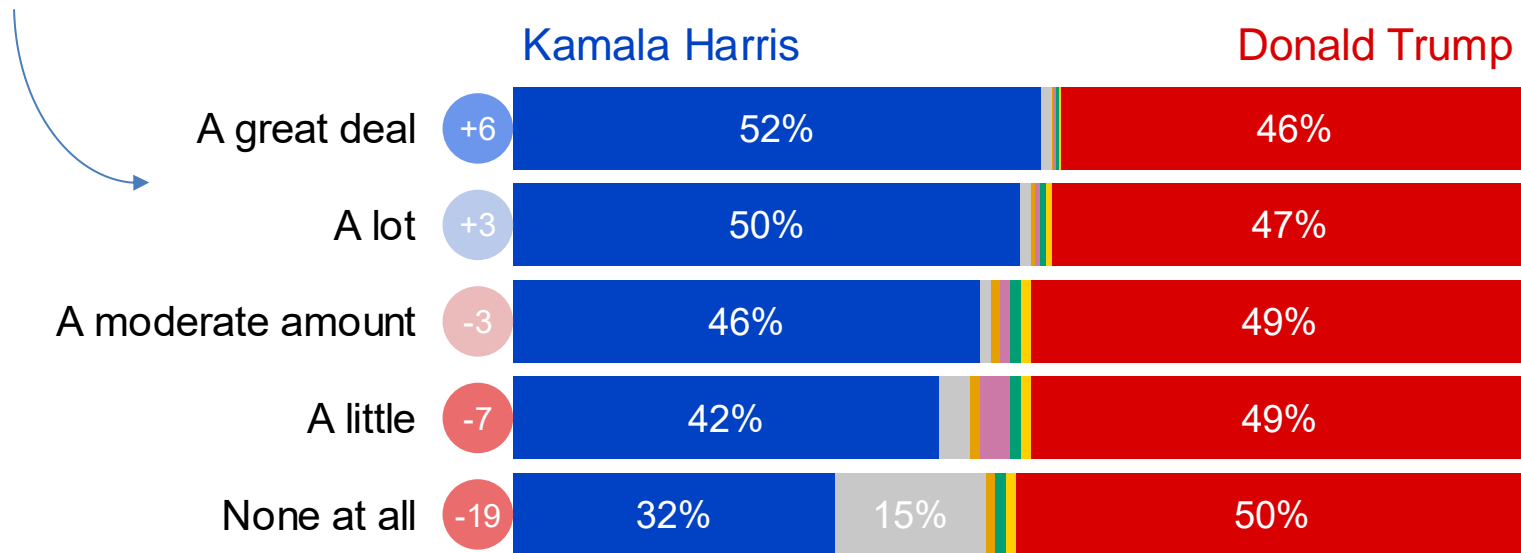
J.L. Partners analysis of county-level results data



Low **engagement** voters were instrumental to Trump's win

Data for Progress pre-election polling, likely voters

How much **attention** do you pay to **news about national politics** on TV, radio, newspapers, and the Internet?



Why?

General theories:

- **Issues:** lower engagement voters are more likely to prioritise bread and butter issues e.g. cost of living, which became much more salient between 2020 and 2024
- **Media landscape:** Republicans responded better to rise of non-traditional media, where these voters are particularly likely to be found

Non-general theories:

- **Racial depolarisation:** Non-white voters shifting right over longer term (e.g., as their voting habits align more closely with their ideology)
- **Educational realignment:** Democrat support becoming concentrated among graduates (e.g., as social issues become more salient)
- **Gen Z voters shifting right:** Possible global trend

What does this mean for polling?

What does this mean for polling?

At J.L. Partners, we:

1. Applied a **mixed methods approach**
(live cell, live landline,
text-to-web, online
panel, app-based)

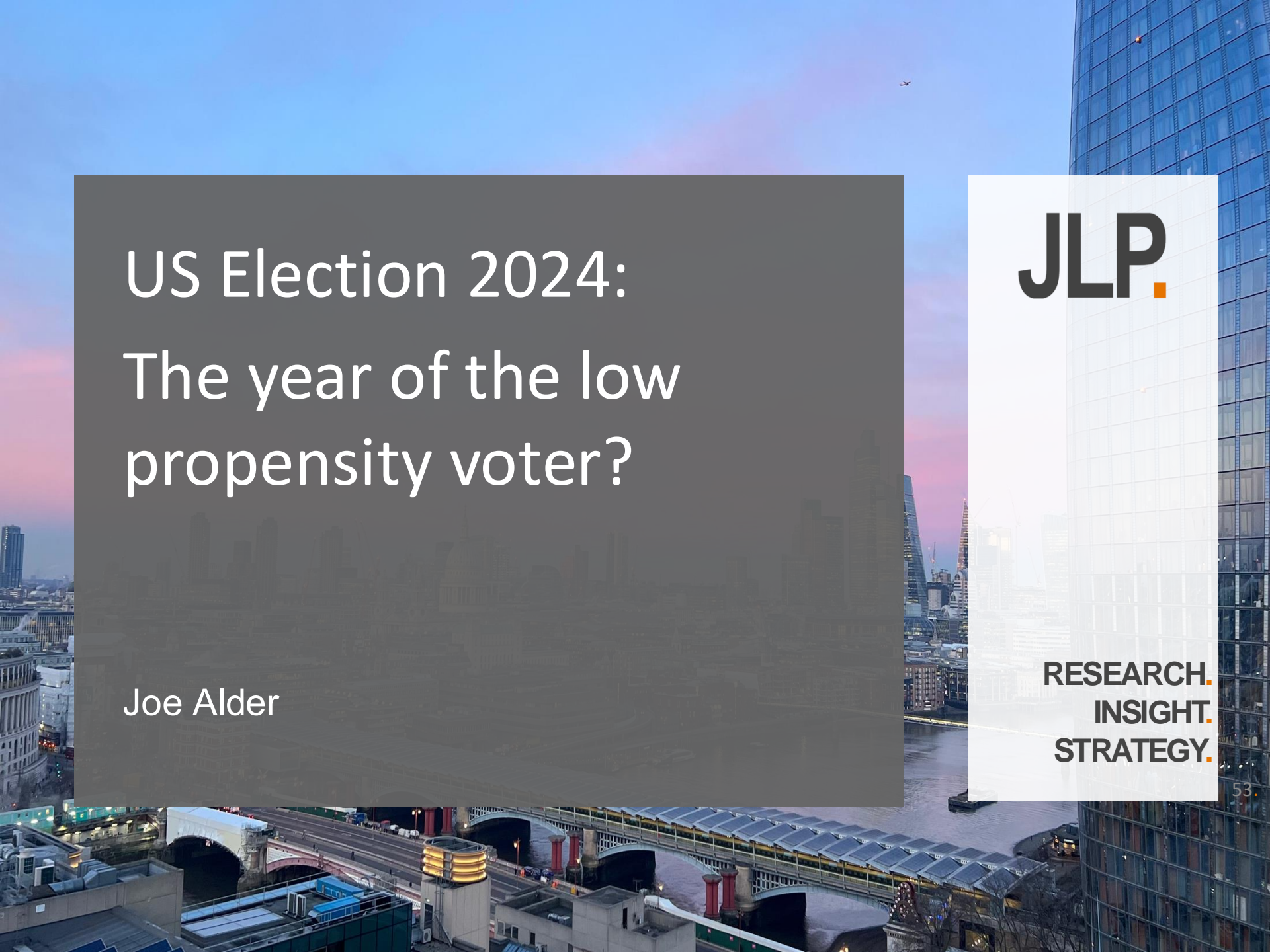


2. Ensured a **high proportion of low propensity voters**
(e.g., 17% non-voters
from 2020)



3. Cross-referenced **self-reported turnout likelihood** and **voting history** to estimate voter likelihood





US Election 2024: The year of the low propensity voter?

Joe Alder

JLP.

**RESEARCH.
INSIGHT.
STRATEGY.**

Panel Questions: The UK and US

■ **Professor Jane Green** University of Oxford and
President of the British Polling Council

■ **Jenevieve Treadwell** Policy Fellow (LSE)

■ **Joe Alder** Research Manager (J.L. Partners)

15th January 2025

BPC

2024: A Reflection on a Year of Elections

A British Polling Council: Next Gen Pollsters Event

Tea break!!

Meet back in 15 minutes

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More in
Common

The use of MRP

Jenna Cunningham, Anouschka Rajah

2024 - an MRP election

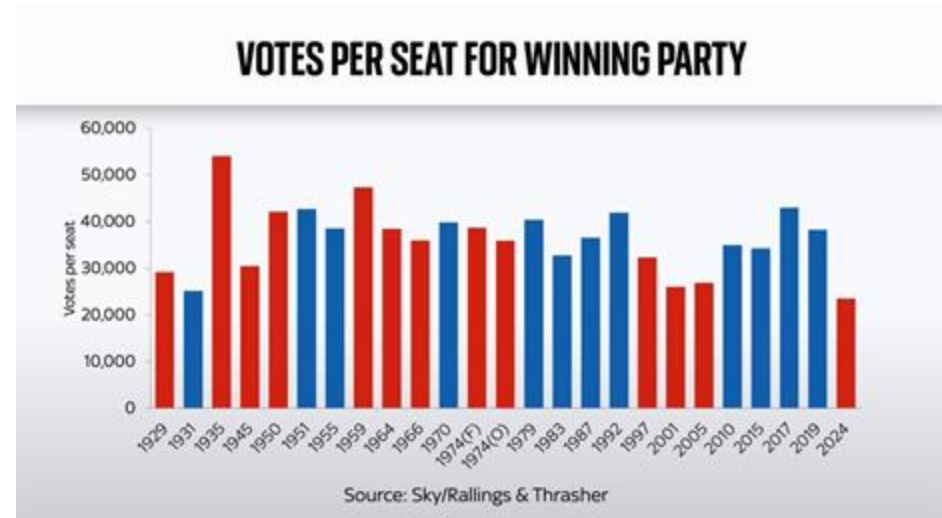
Pollsters publishing MRPs
in UK General Elections:

2017	2019	2024
YouGov	YouGov FocalData	YouGov FocalData Survation FindOutNow Electoral Calculus Best for Britain We Think Savanta Ipsos Techne JL Partners (SRP) Stonehaven Opinium More in Common

- The 2024 UK General Election introduced the widespread use of MRP across the polling industry.
- In an election in which the winner was easy to predict, 'mega polls' and constituency-level projections using techniques like MRP garnered continuous media attention.
- This brought both challenges and opportunities.

The challenge

- Traditional voting intention polls are a national estimate based on a representative sample of at least 2,000 people.
- But FPTP means that we are essentially interested in 632 different elections.
- It would be incredibly expensive and time-consuming to run a poll in each constituency.
- And using a uniform swing model, even with the correct vote share, would result in a seat prediction for the Conservatives that was 120 seats off.

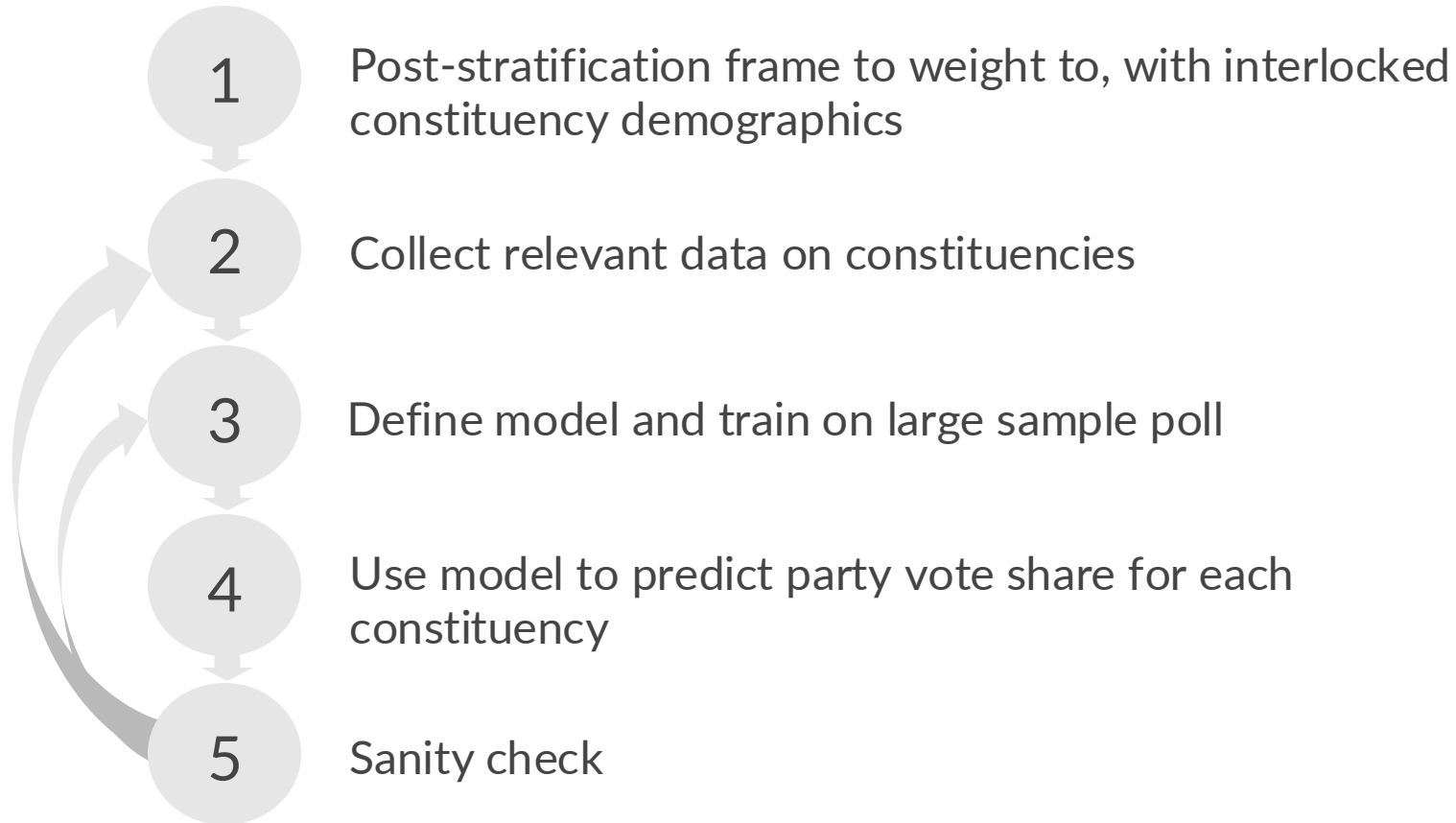


The solution - MRP

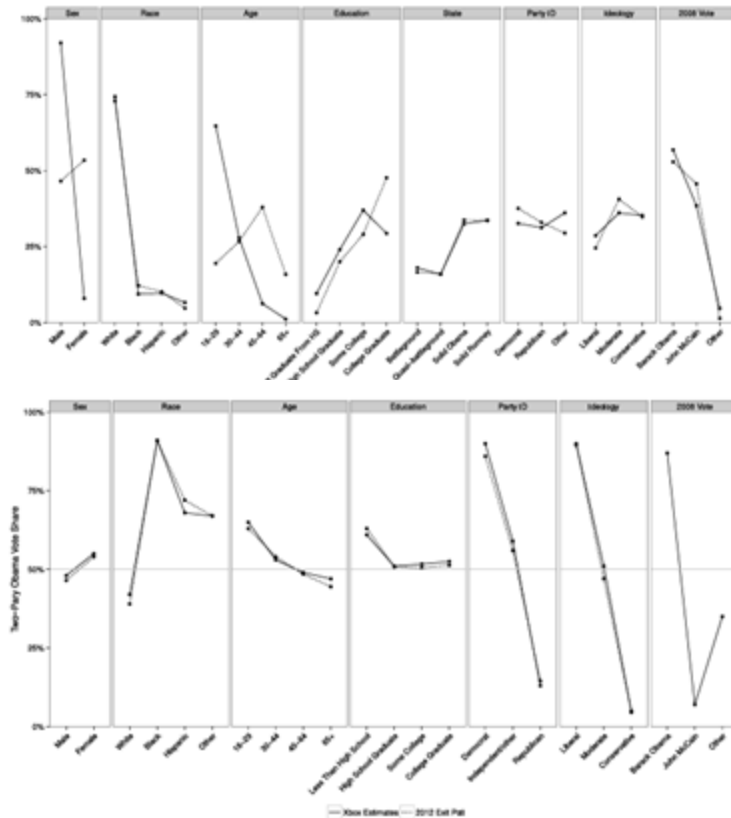
- 'Multilevel Regression with Post-stratification' (MRP) uses data from a larger national voting intention poll (at least 10,000 people) to model how people will vote based on their demographics, voting behaviour and information about their constituency.
- The model is then applied to the demographic and electoral makeup of each constituency to make a constituency-level projection.



Process



MRP with non-representative data



- Wang et. al. (2015) were the first to use the MRP technique to predict an election outcome.
- They used data from Xbox users - which skewed massively young and male - to predict the 2012 US presidential election.
- Key advantages of MRP - if data is missing for a certain group (e.g., young women), it will use data from nearby groups (e.g., young men, or older women) to fill in the gaps.

Differing results - data collection

2024 saw a range of MRP estimates because MRP modelling involves making subjective decisions. When it comes to data collection, this includes:

- Source of respondents
- Oversampling
- Question wording

If a general election was called tomorrow, how likely would you be to vote? Please rate from 0 to 10, where 0 means certain not to vote, and 10 means certain to vote.

An election has been called for July 4th this year. How likely are you be to vote in this election? Please rate from 0 to 10, where 0 means certain not to vote, and 10 means certain to vote.

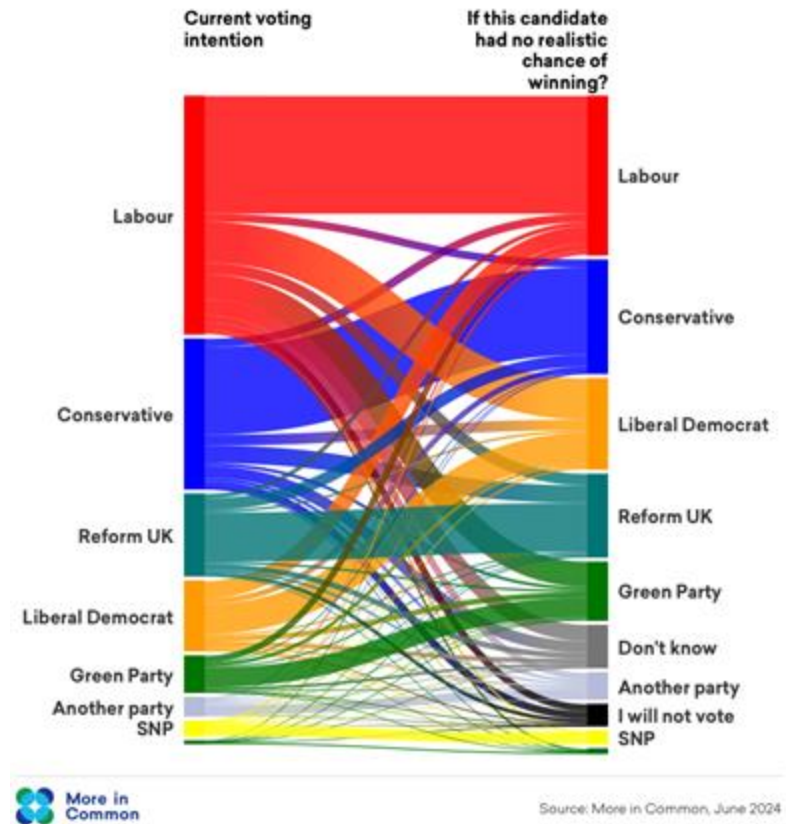
And, if a general election was called tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

And, which party do you plan to vote for in this election?

Differing results - handling unknowns

- Turnout
- Undecided voters
- Tactical voting

What difference might tactical voting make?



Differing results - model inputs



- Infinite variables available
- Trade offs with computing time
- Variable independence / interaction

What now?

- Constituency-level projections throughout this Parliament
- Using MRP modelling for issues other than voting intention
- Open questions around transparency
- The end of MRP?



Jenna Cunningham, jenna@moreincommon.com

Anouschka Rajah, anouschka@moreincommon.com



Irish General Election 2024

Matthew Price, Deltapoll

Spot the difference...



≡ Home UK World Business Politics

Irish general election:
Exit poll predicts 'tie'
between three main
parties

8 February 2020



≡ Home UK World Business Politics

Tight three-way race in
Irish general election,
RTÉ exit poll suggests

29 November 2024



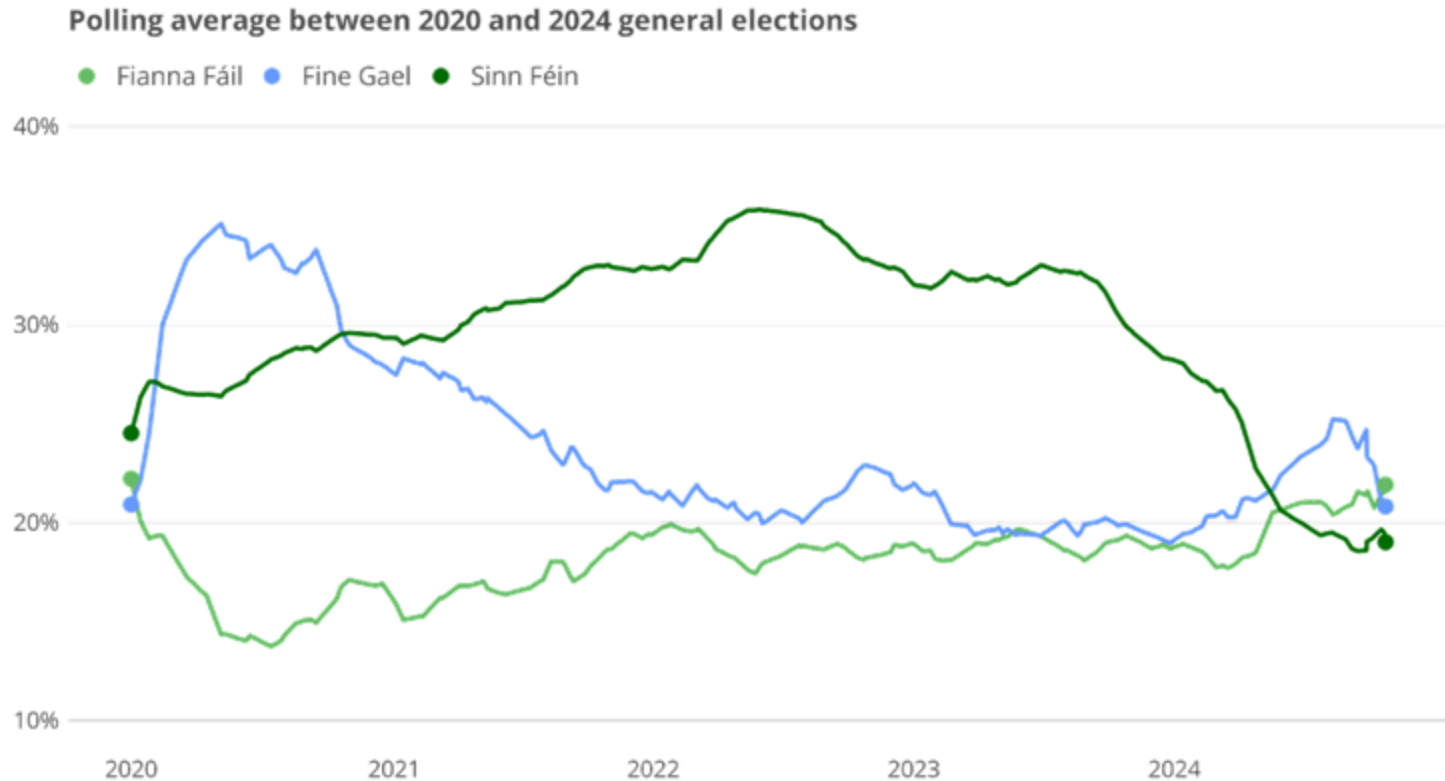
What happened?



- The incumbent coalition of **Fianna Fáil** and **Fine Gael** won re-election
- Despite mid-cycle dominance, **Sinn Féin** finished third
- Polls were historically accurate (average error $\approx 0.5\text{pp}$)
- There were some dubious candidate posters...
- **Question:** Why did Sinn Féin fail to capitalise?



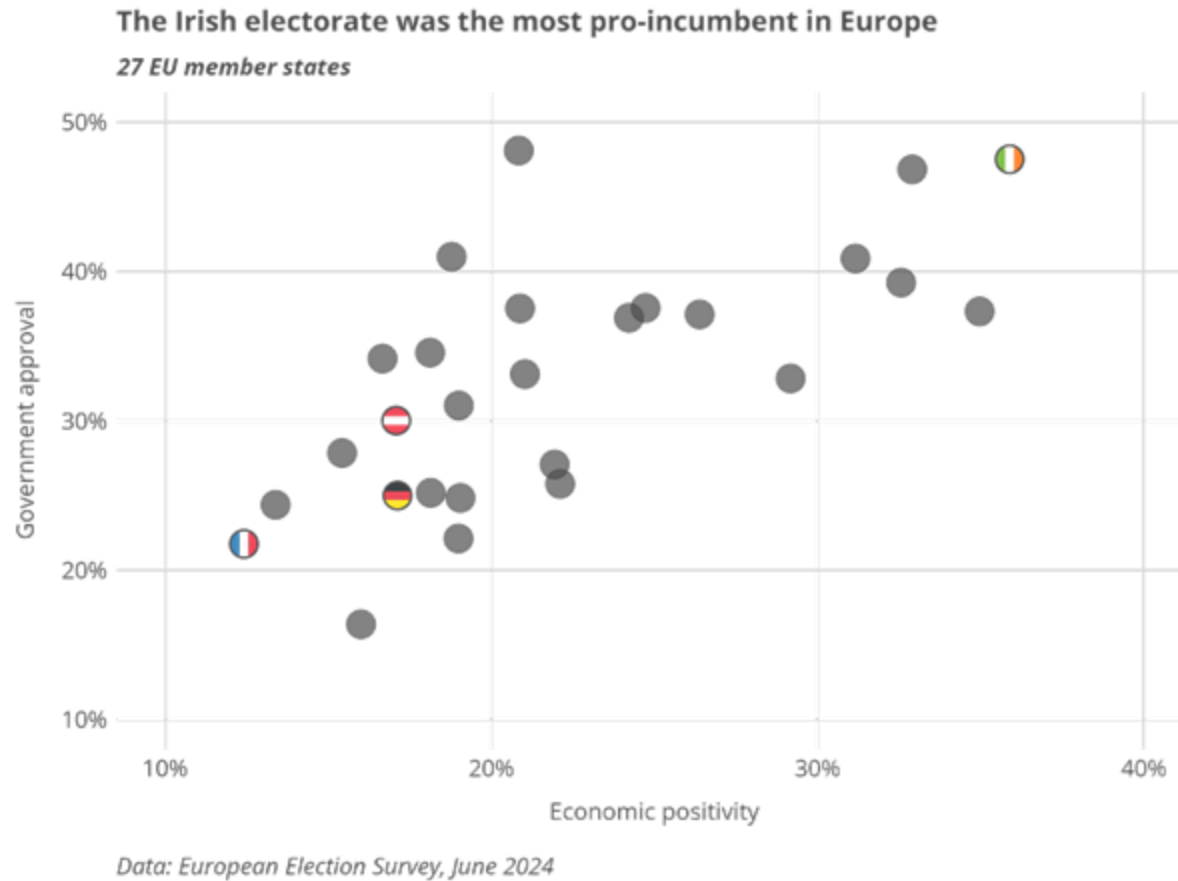
A three-horse race (and a photo finish)



Data: Irish Polling Indicator, RTÉ News



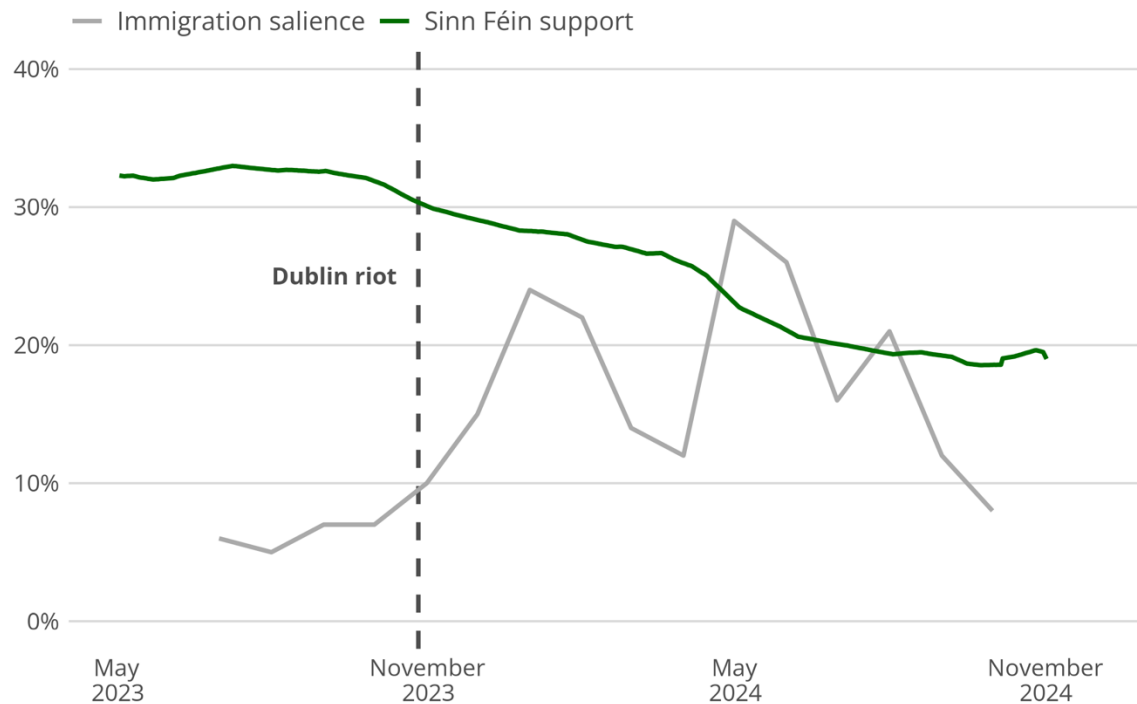
A (relatively) popular government



Anxiety about immigration



Immigration's rise; Sinn Féin's decline

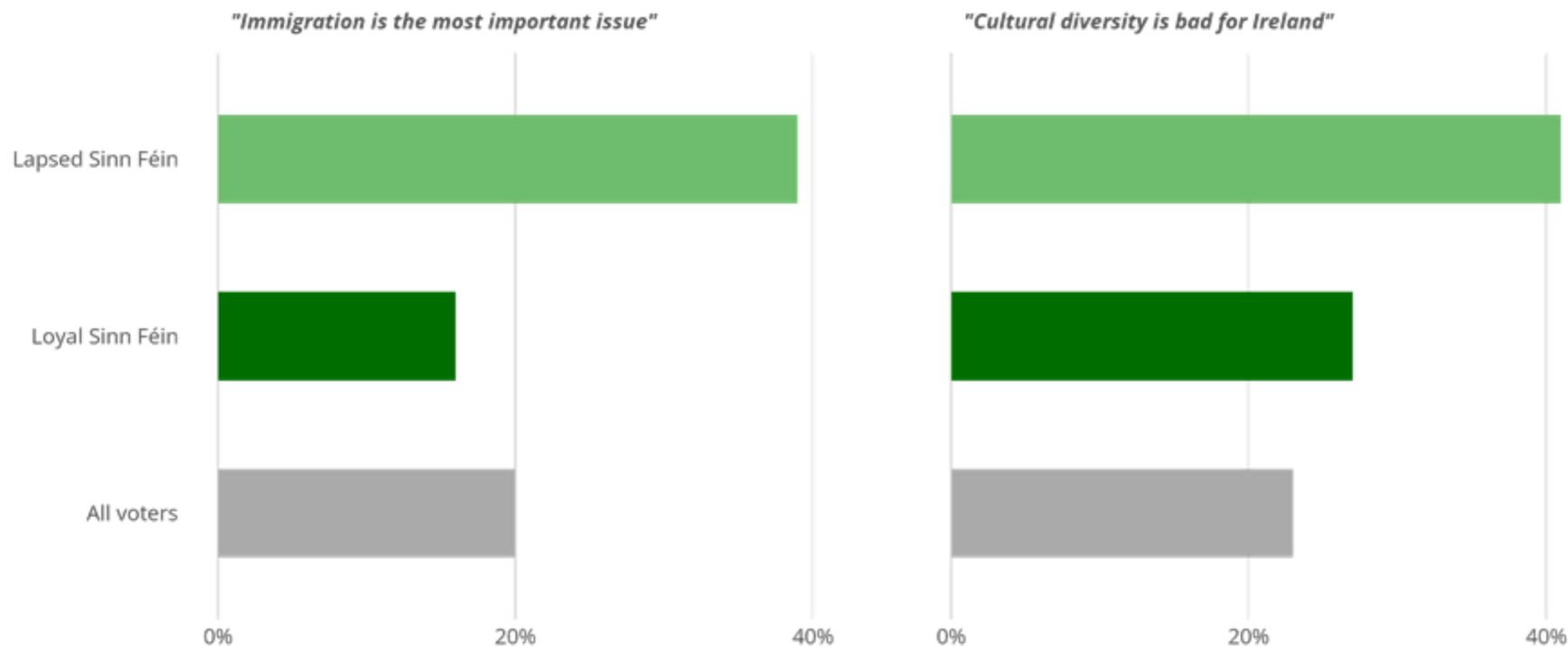


Data: Irish Polling Indicator, Ipsos / B&A



Who deserted Sinn Féin?

Lapsed Sinn Féin voters prioritise and oppose immigration more than loyal Sinn Féin voters

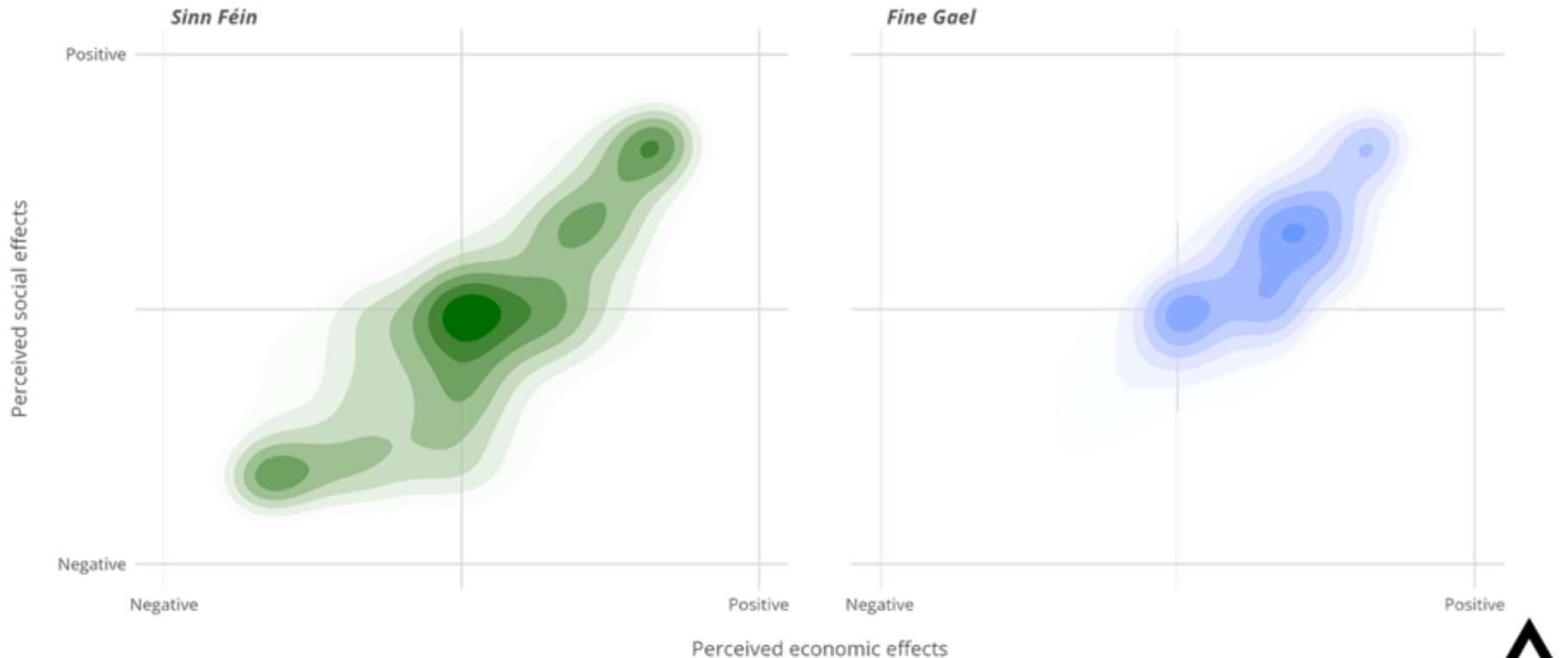


Data: NEDS, An Coimisiún Toghcháin, June 2024



An unsustainable electoral coalition

Immigration attitudes of 2020 General Election voters



Data: NEDS, An Coimisiún Toghcháin, June 2024



How Sinn Féin lost it



- An unusually pro-incumbent electoral context
- Ideological fissures exposed as immigration became salient
- Nationalist voters were alienated
- **Lesson:** Some electoral coalitions are single-use



References

- △ Tom Louwerse and Stefan Müller. 2024. *Irish Polling Indicator Datasets: Development Version*. URL: <https://github.com/Irish-Polling-Indicator/ipi-data>
- △ RTÉ News. 2024. *General Election 2024 Live Results*. URL: <https://www.rte.ie/news/election-24/results/#/national>
- △ European Election Research Group. 2024. *European Election Study (EES)*. URL: <https://www.gesis.org/en/services/finding-and-accessing-data/international-survey-programs/european-election-studies/ees-2024-study>
- △ Irish Times, Ipsos / Behaviour and Attitudes (B&A). 2024. *Snapshot Series*. URL: <https://banda.ie/report-series/irish-times-ipsos-ba-snapshot-series/>
- △ An Coimisiún Toghcháin. 2024. *National Election and Democracy Study (NEDS)*. URL: <https://www.neds.ie/index.php?page=data>
- △ Rory Costello. 2024. “The impact of immigration on Sinn Féin support in three charts”, *Irish Politics Forum*. URL: <https://politicalreform.ie/2024/09/09/the-impact-of-immigration-on-sinn-fein-support-in-three-charts/>



Cheers for listening

Matthew Price, Deltapoll



Why Canada going to the polls spells t-r-o-u-b-l-e for international students, and d-o-w-n-f-a-l-l for Trudeau

Rhiannon McQuone

32%

of 2024 elections
that overturned the
incumbent party

>80%

of democracies that held
elections in 2024 saw the
incumbent party lose seats or
vote share from the last election

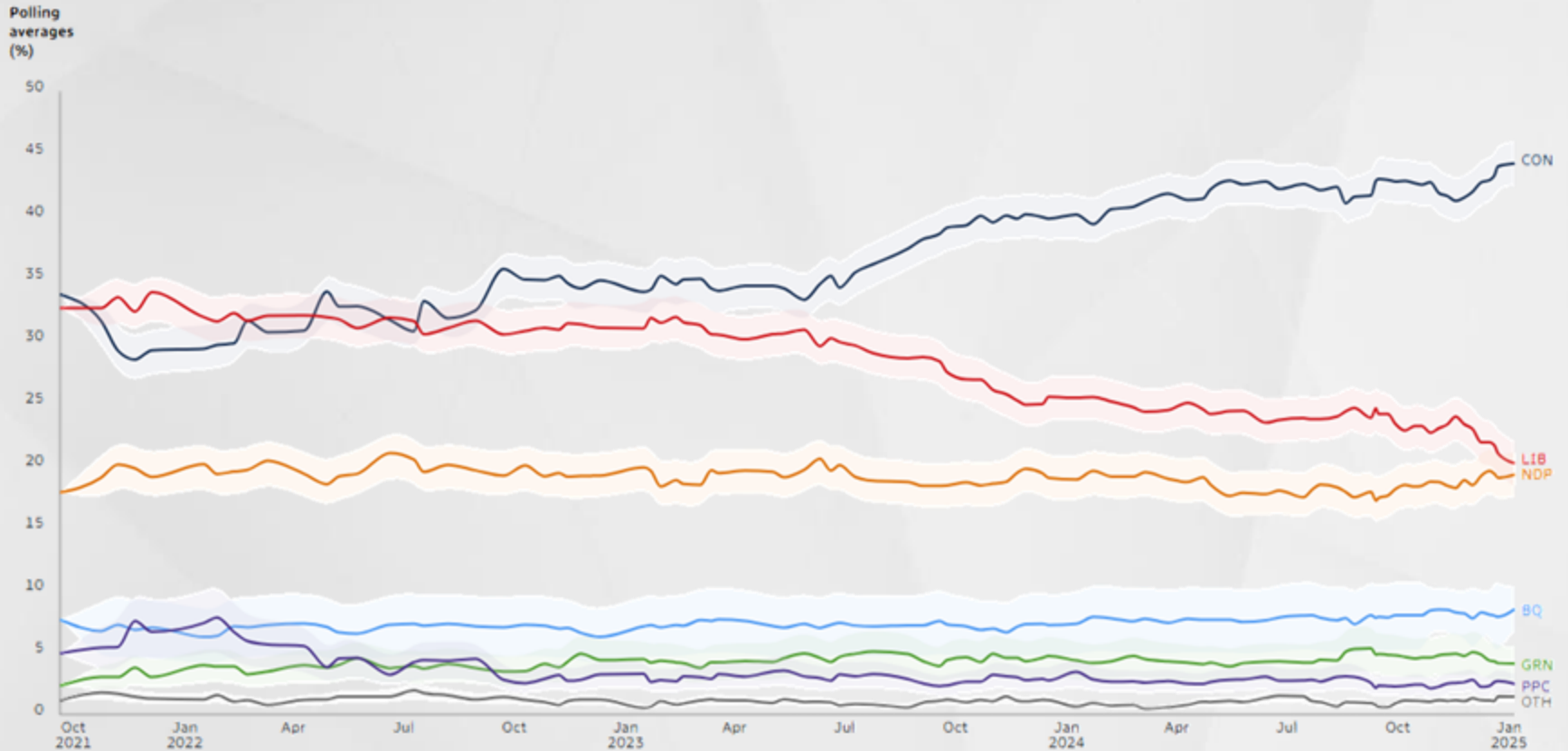
The first time since

1905

(when records began)
that this level of
incumbent rejection has
occurred

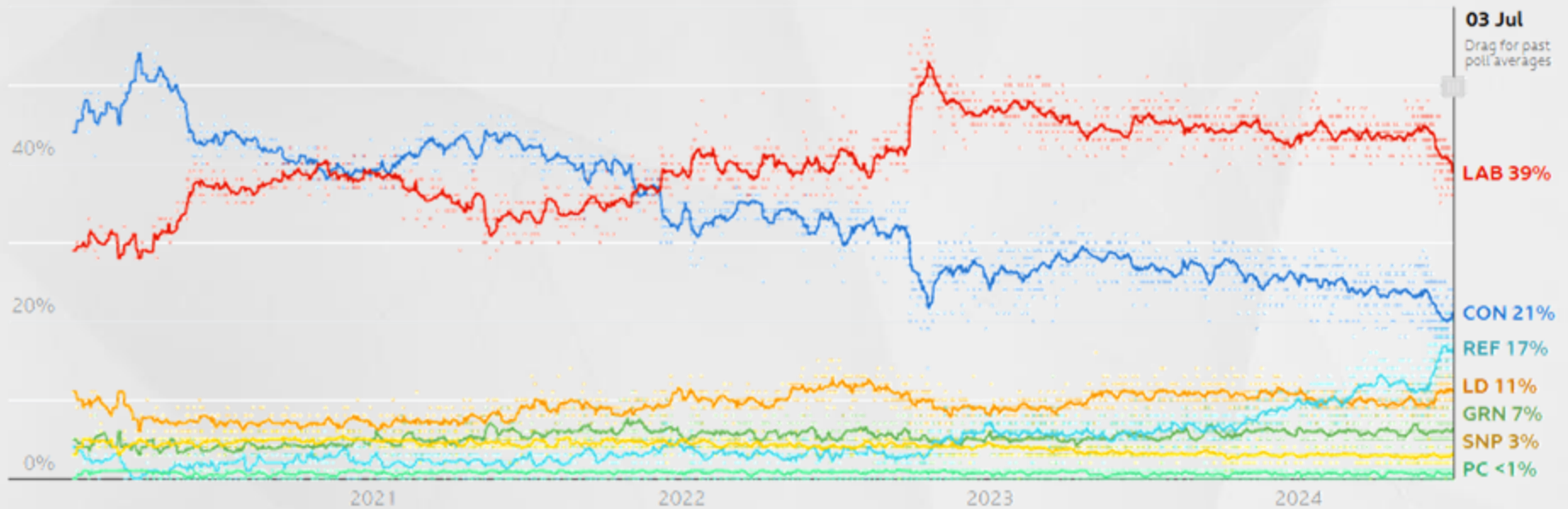
Source: International Ideas, The 2024 Global Elections Super-Cycle; abc News, Democrats aren't alone — incumbent parties have lost elections all around the world; Financial Times, Democrats join 2024's graveyard of incumbents

Canada is no exception to this rule...



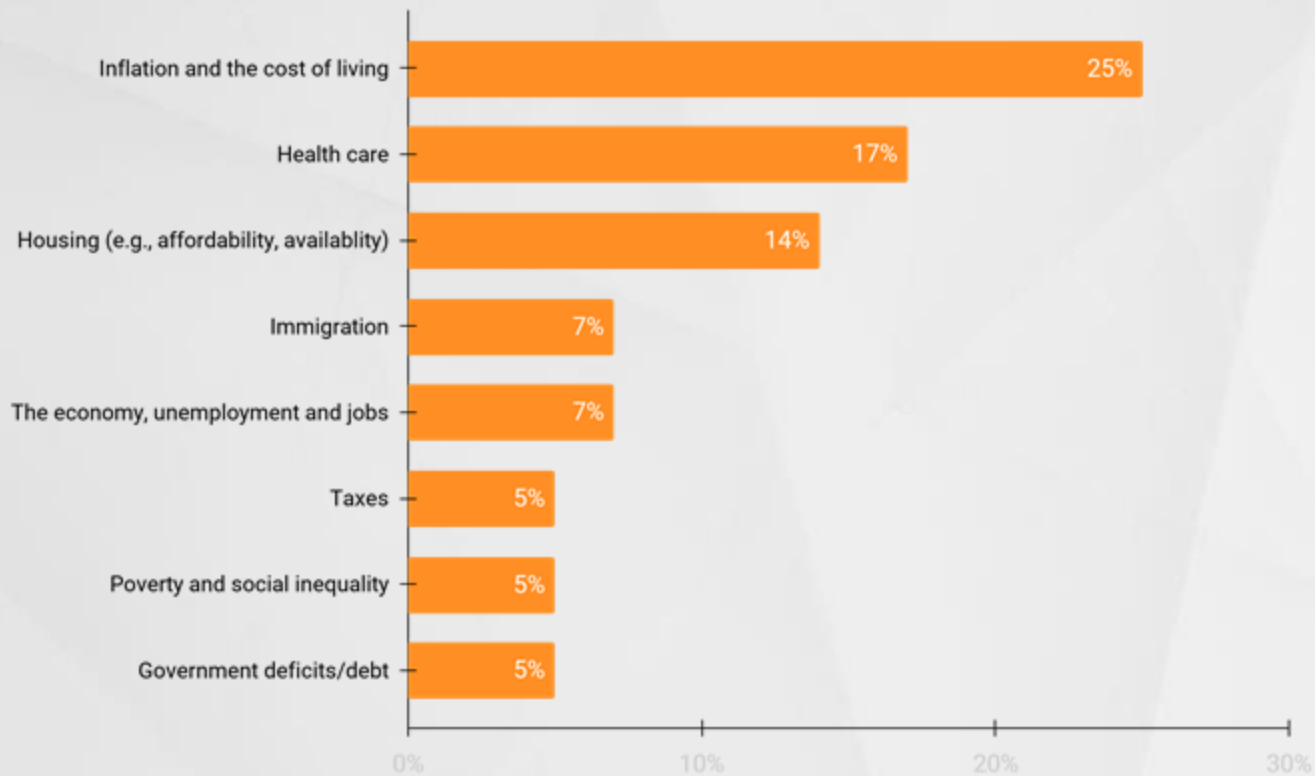
Source: CBC News Polling Tracker, last updated 23rd December 2024

Just for comparison, the UK



Source: BBC News Polling Tracker, data from 11th January 2020 to 3rd July 2024

What worries Canadians?



Source: Ipsos, fieldwork conducted 6th to 10th December 2024, 1,001 sample size of Canadian adults

Who worries Canadians?



Inflation/
cost of living



Immigration



Housing



Economy



Taxes



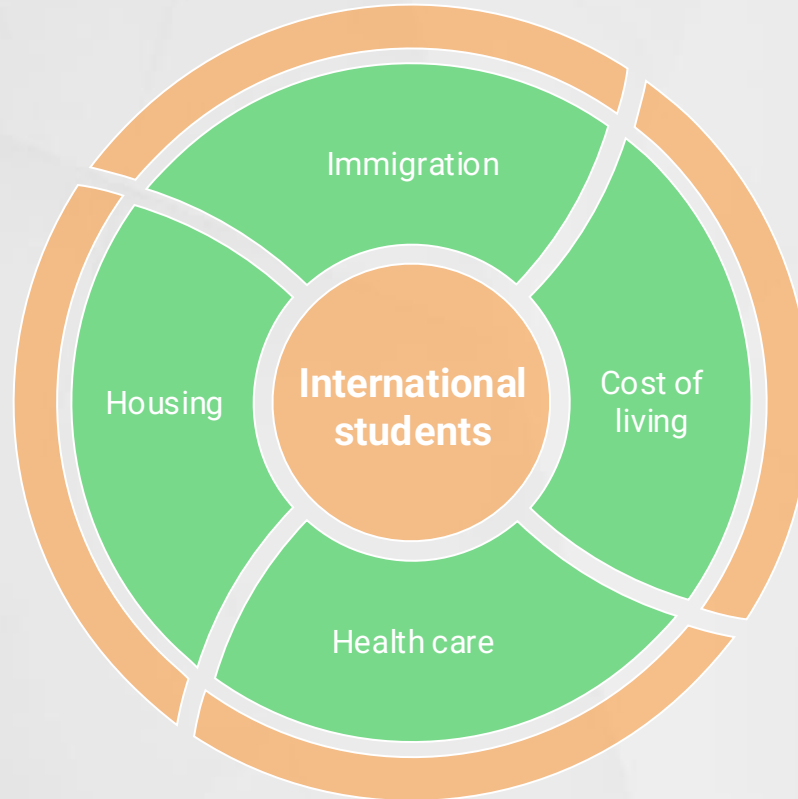
Source: Ipsos, fieldwork conducted 6th to 10th December 2024, 1,001 sample size of Canadian adults

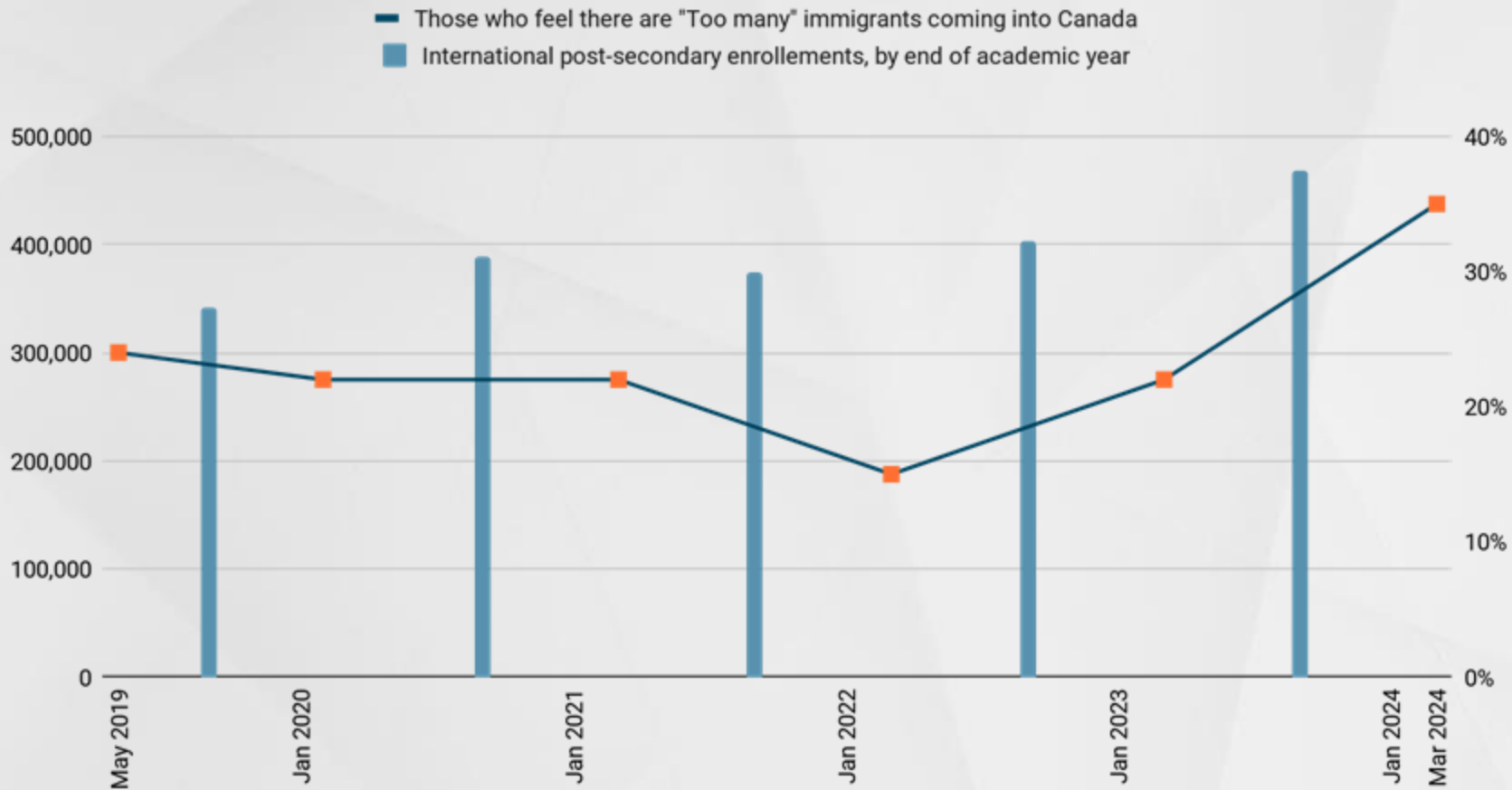
How we went about understanding the issue...



International
students

What did Trudeau Tru-do?



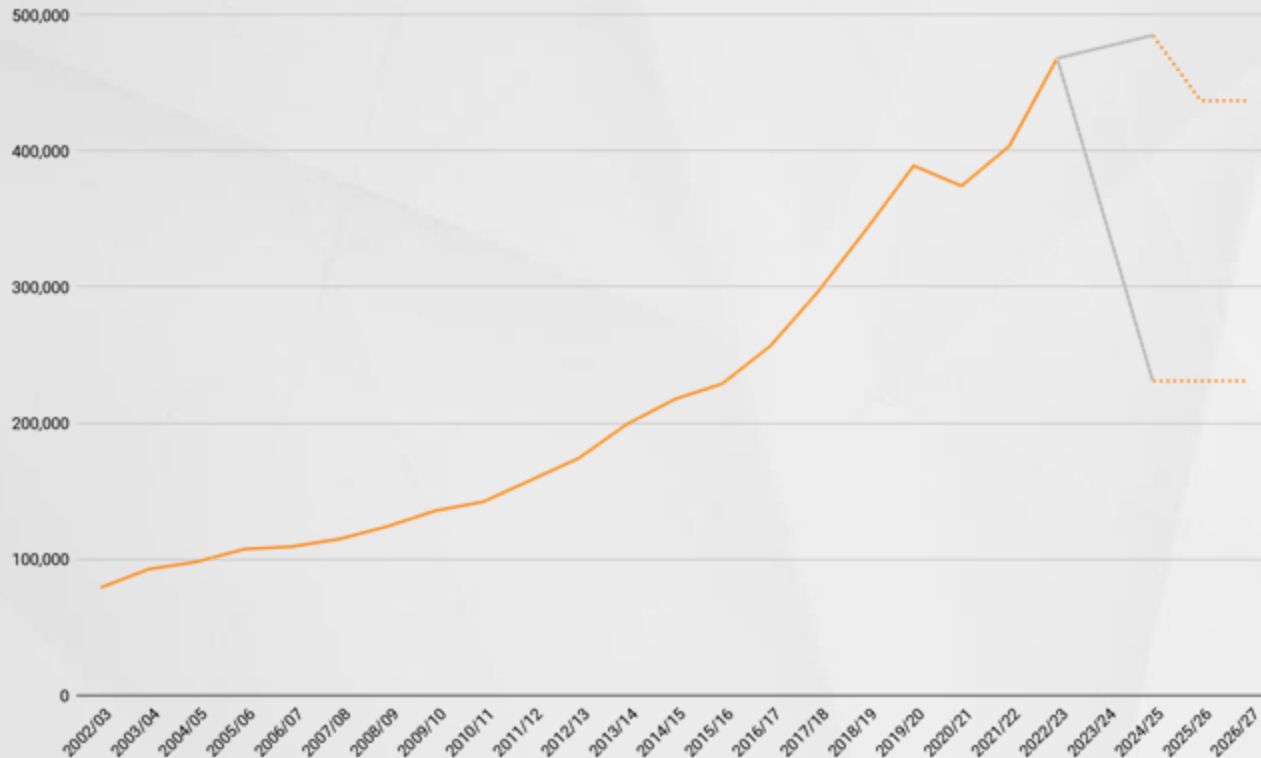


Source: **Enrollments data:** Postsecondary enrolments, by status of student in Canada, country of citizenship and gender, Statistique Canada, 20th November 2024; **"Too many immigrants" tracking data:** Government of Canada, IRCC, Deputy Minister, Transition Binder, 2024 - Public Opinion Research on Canadians' Attitudes Towards Immigration, January 2024

International Student Cap

- 2 year cap announced January 2024, extended in September 2024
- 2024: 35% down
- 2025: A further 10%
- 2026: Maintaining this level
- Part of a set of wider initiatives, including restrictions to the post-graduation work permit
- All with the aim of reducing proportion of Canada's population made up of temporary residents from 6.5% to 5% over next 3 years

What will happen?



Sources: **Tracking data:** Postsecondary enrolments, by status of student in Canada, country of citizenship and gender, Statistique Canada, 20th November 2024; **Government Projections:** Strengthening temporary residence programs for sustainable volumes, 18th September 2024; **ApplyBoard Projections:** Looking Ahead to 2025: Predictions for Canada's International Student Program, 10th September 2024

Is it working?

Purpose 1:

Improve public
sentiment

Purpose 2:

Reduce immigration
numbers

Will it work? In terms of public opinion...

52%

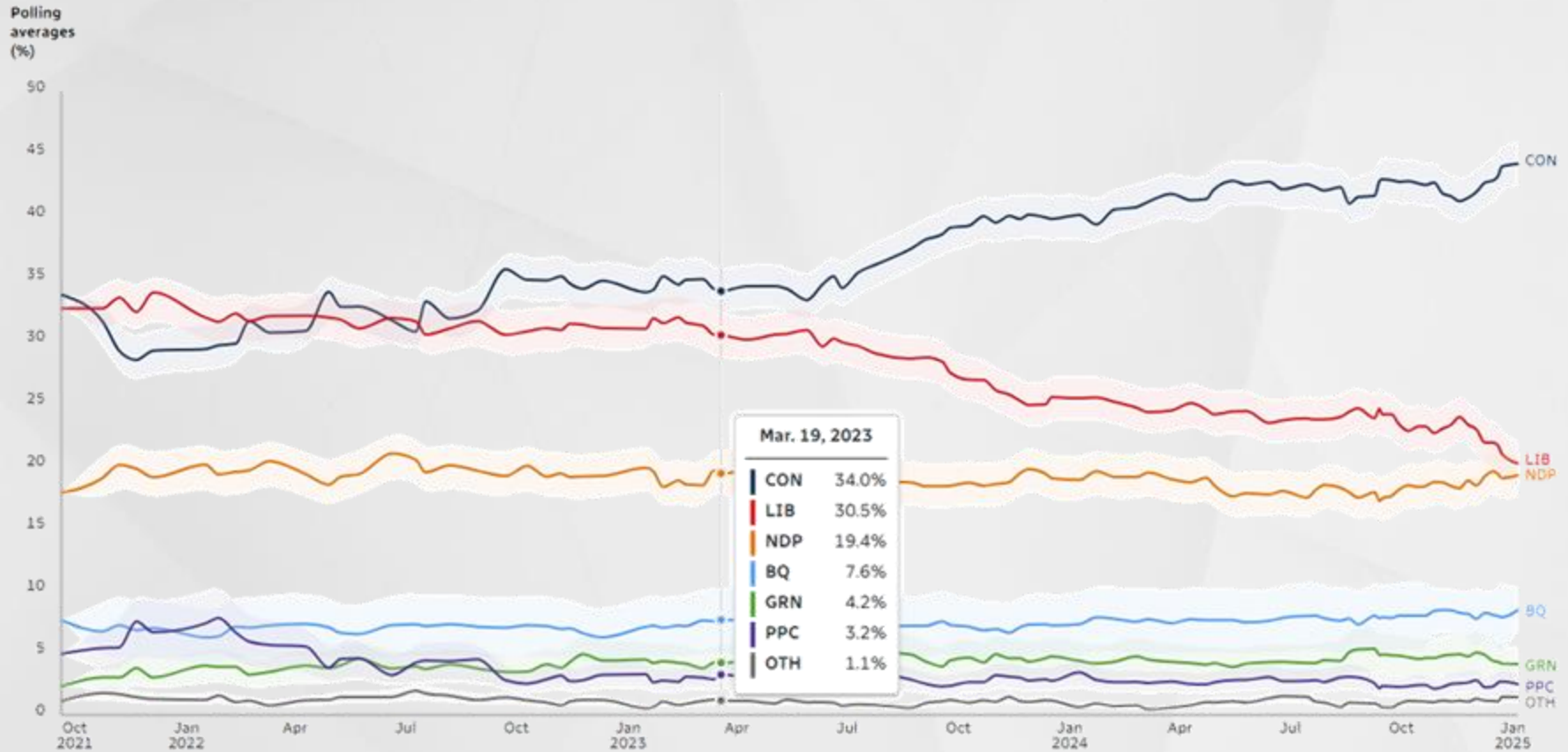
are in favour of the
International Student cap

51%

feel programs like healthcare,
agriculture and science should
be exempt from the rule

Source: Navigator's research arm "Discover", fieldwork conducted March 2024, 1,500 sample size of Canadian adults

The bigger picture



Source: CBC News Polling Tracker, last updated 23rd December 2024

Is it working?

Purpose 1:

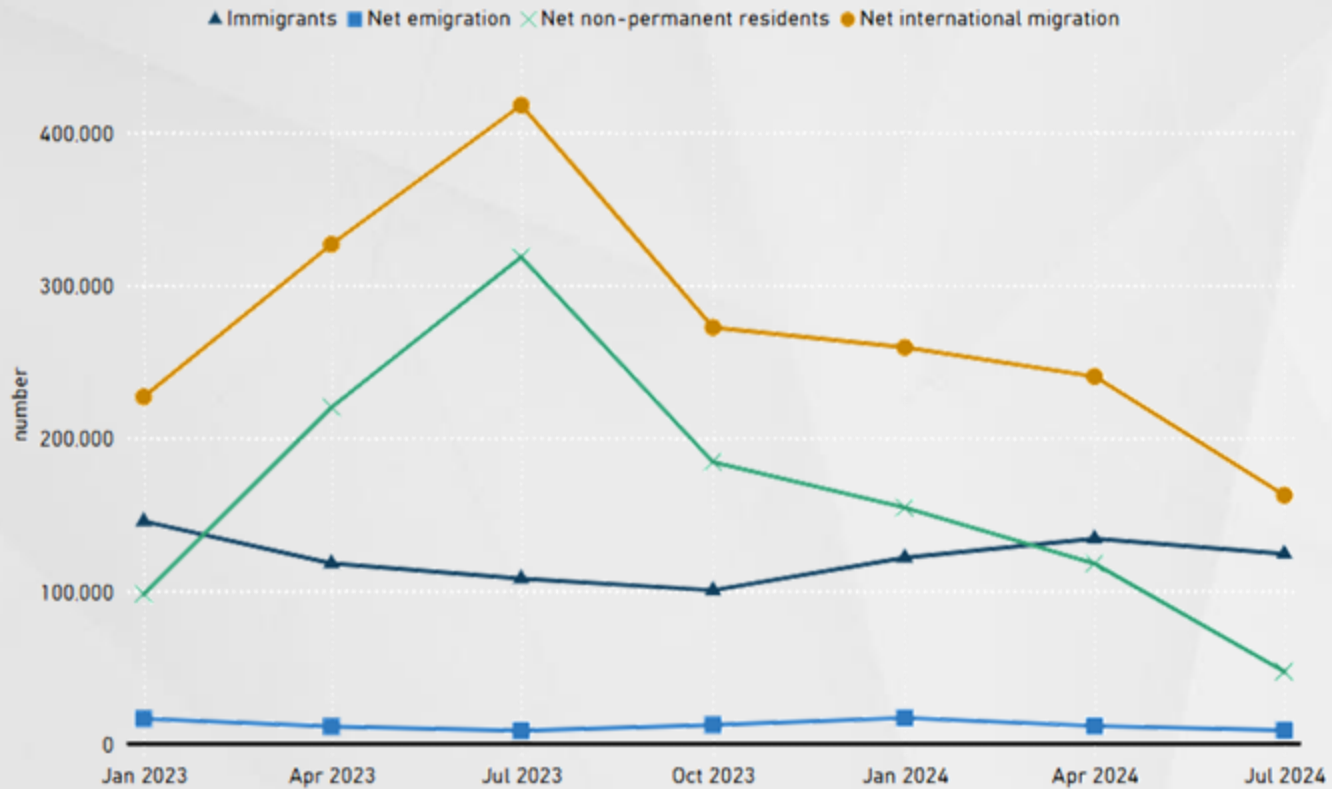
Improve public
sentiment

Purpose 2:

Reduce immigration
numbers

Is it working?

International migration components, Canada, all quarters, 2023 to 2024



Source: Statistique Canada, Quarterly demographic estimates, provinces and territories: Interactive dashboard, last modified 17th December 2024

But at what cost?

Universities

- Reliance on international fees
- Program closures
- Job losses
- Drop in application rates
- Concerns about international reputation

Students

- Less attractive
- No impact on current visas
- Restrictions to post-study work visas

Big issues

- Long term housing shortage persists
- Limited impact on rental prices too
- Workforce and labour shortages

What happens now?



Thank you

Thank you

 **PUBLICFIRST**

 **PUBLICFIRST**

DELTA POLL

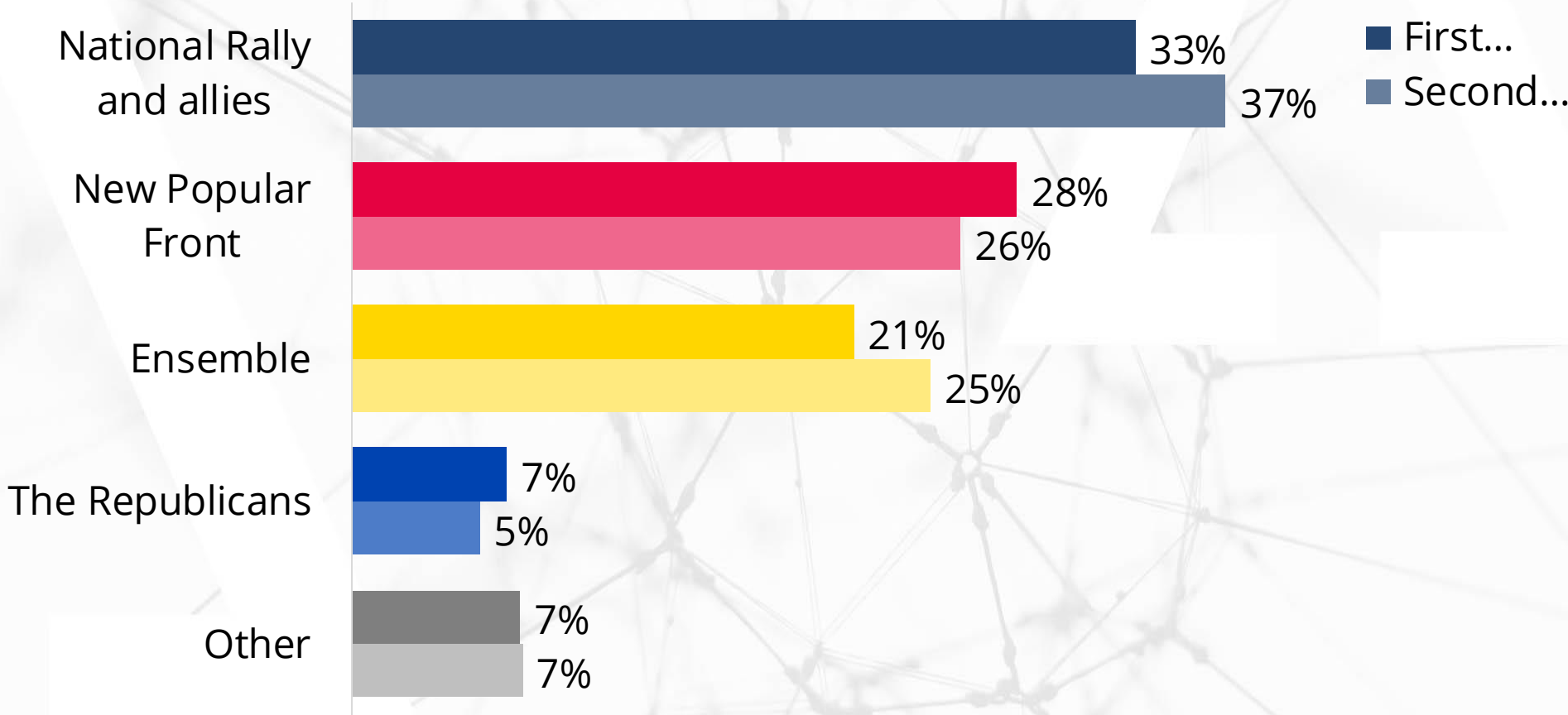
The demographics of far-right support: a look at France
and Great Britain

Ruby Cooper

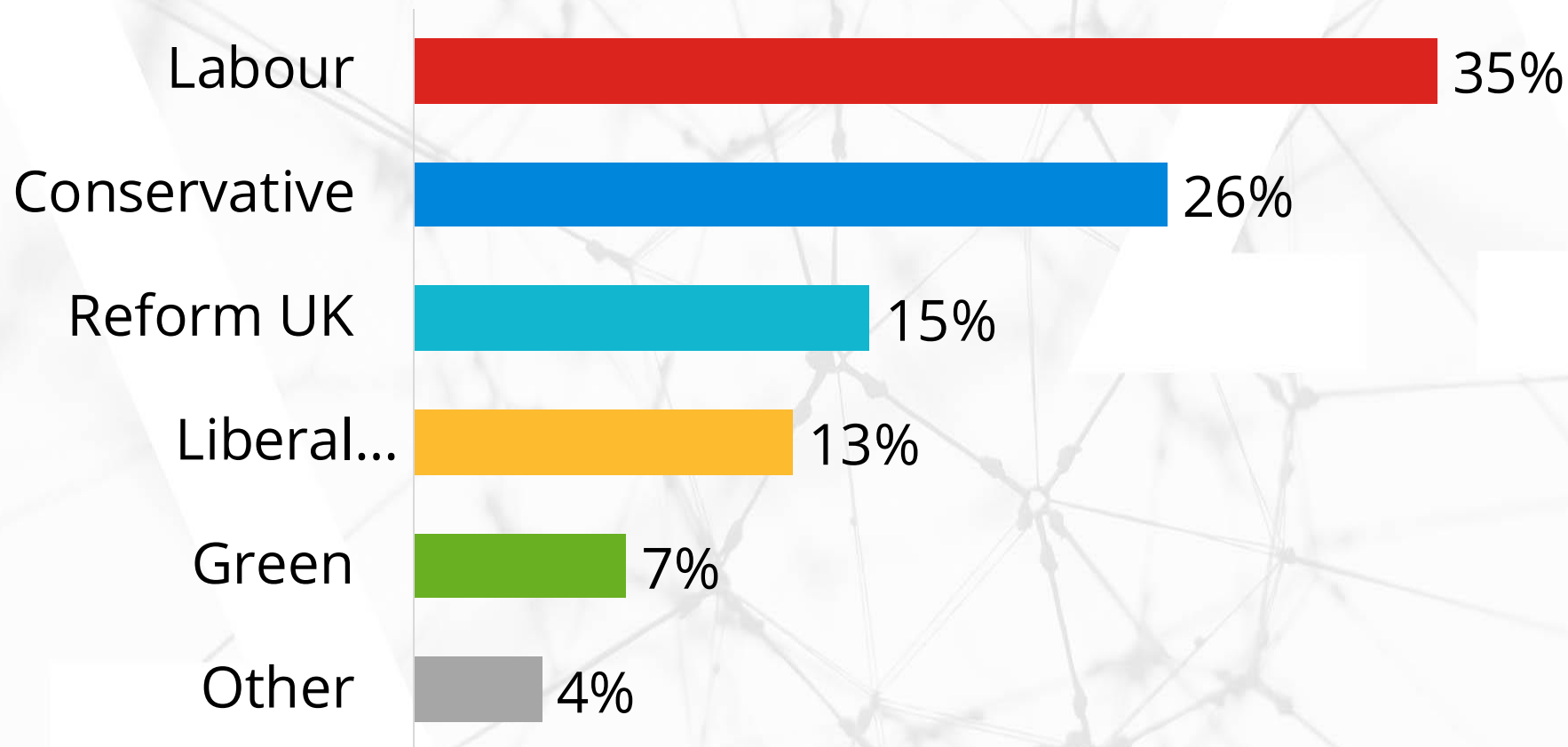
2024: A Reflection on a year of elections

Wednesday 15th January 2025

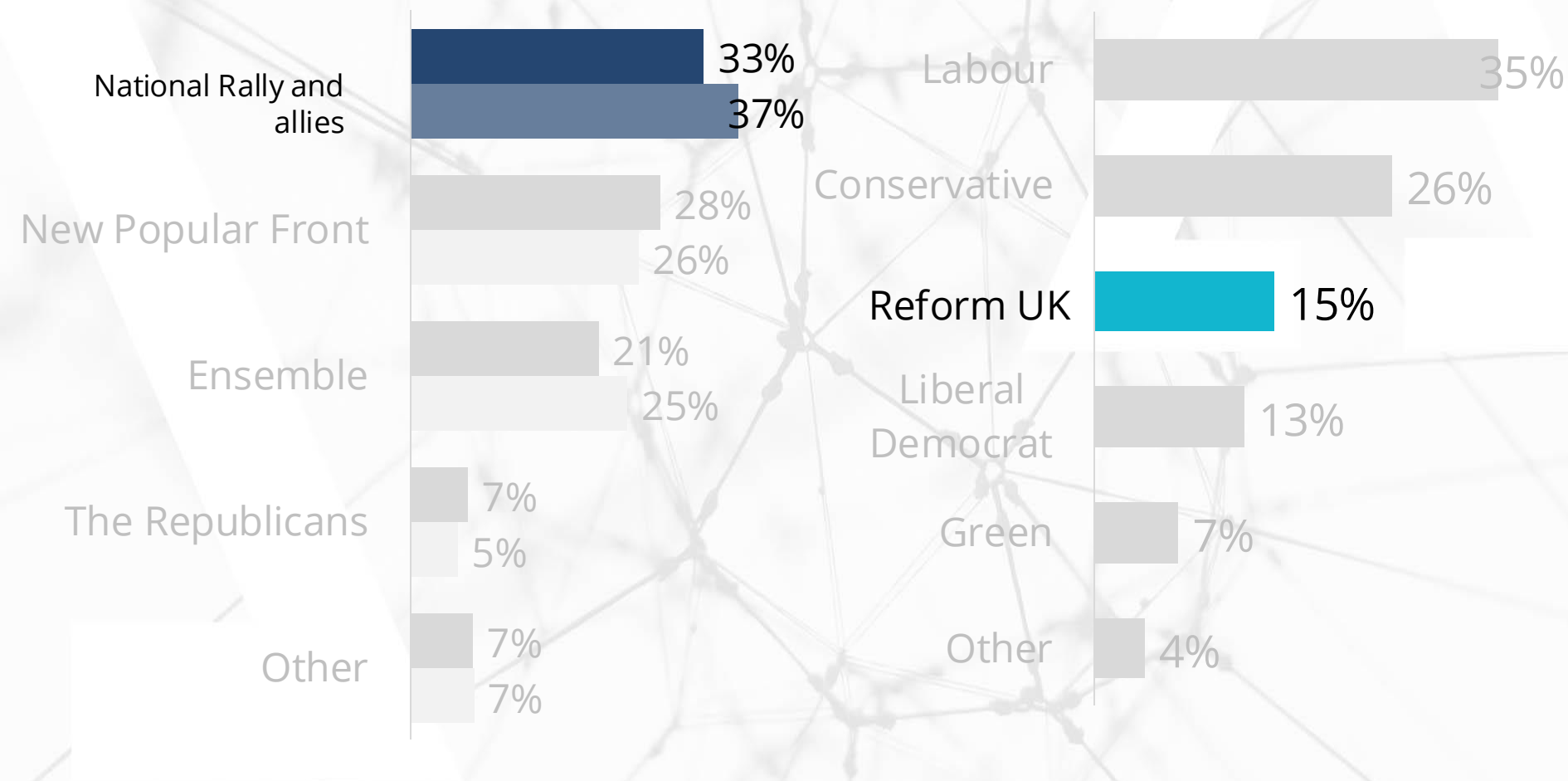
The 2024 Election - France



The 2024 Election – England and Wales



The 2024 Elections



Individual-level polling data

DELTAPOLL

Individual-level polling data

- **Gender:** higher support among men than women

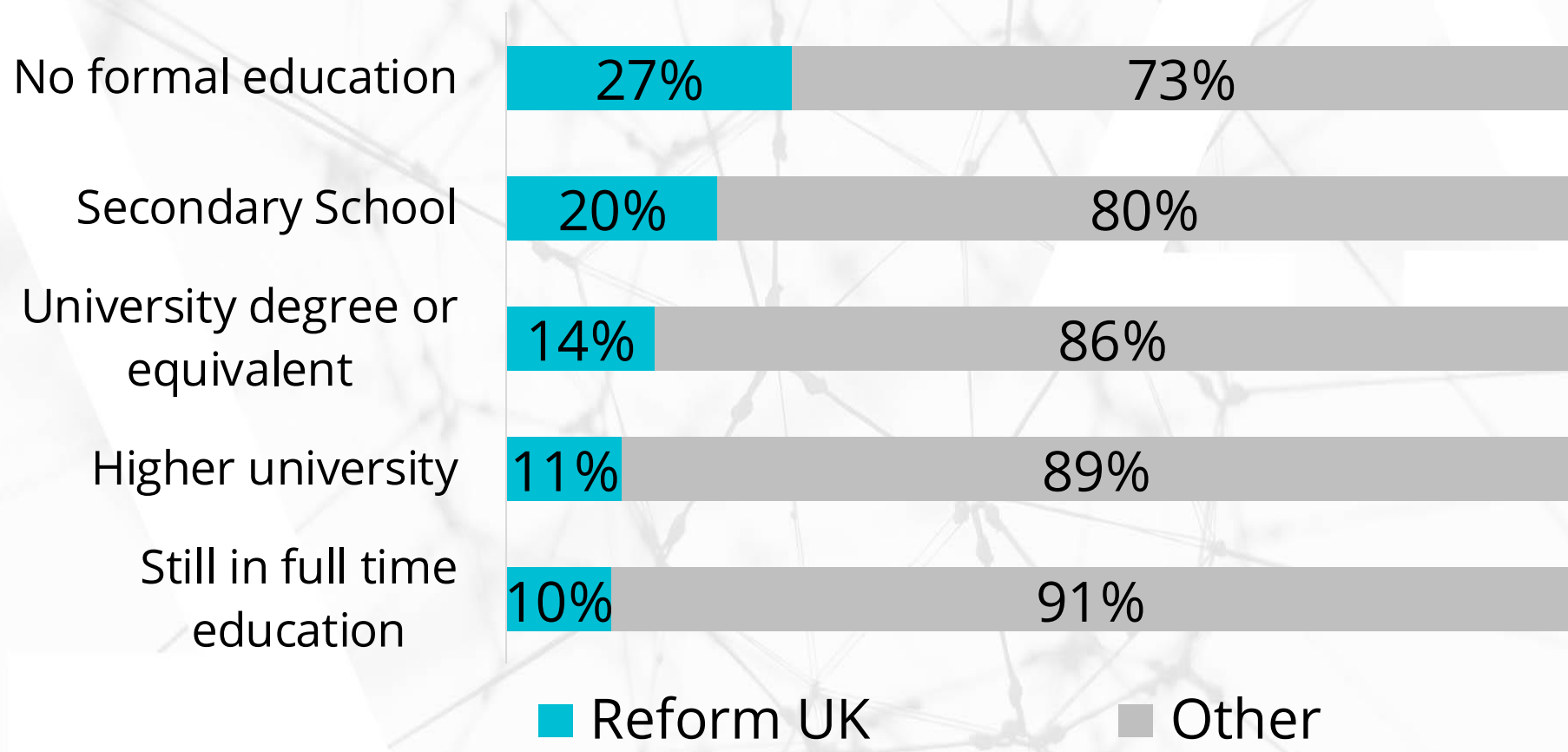
Individual-level polling data

- **Gender**
- **Age:** highest support among 50 to 59-year-old age group

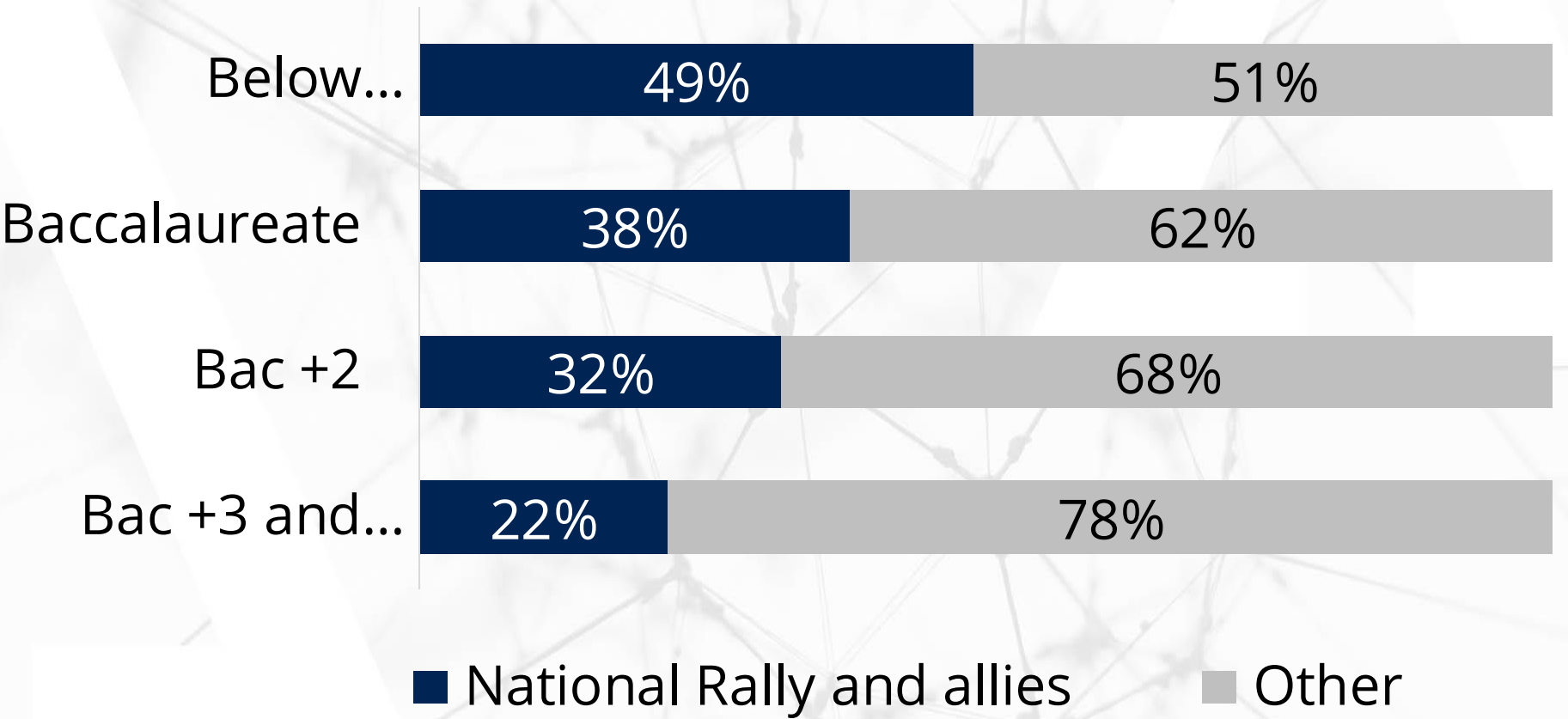
Individual-level polling data

- **Gender**
- **Age**
- **Education:** lower support among those with higher educational qualifications

England & Wales: highest educational qualification



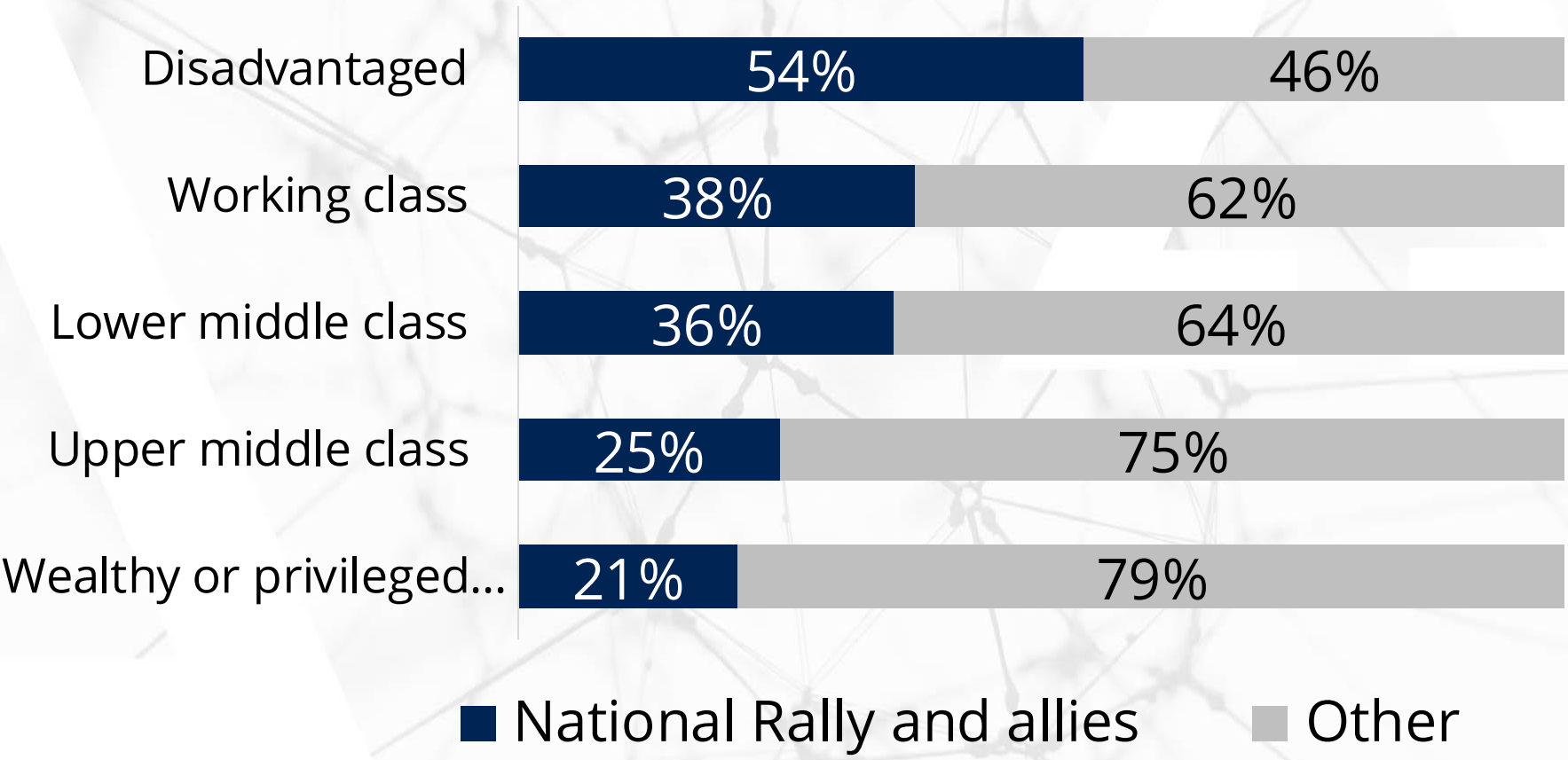
France: highest educational qualification



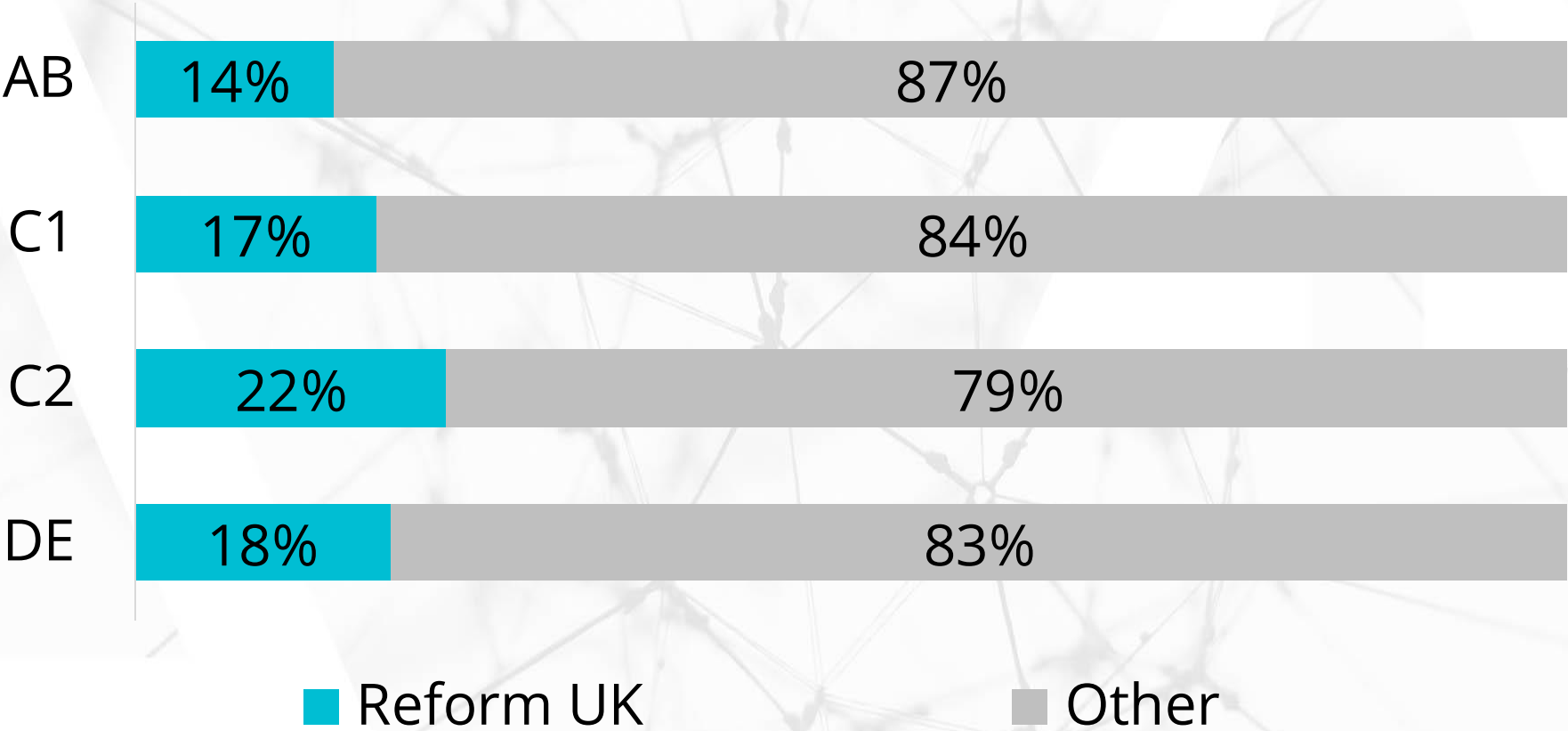
Individual-level polling data

- **Gender**
- **Age**
- **Education**
- **Social Grade:** lower socio-economic circumstances are generally associated with higher support

France: social background



England and Wales: social grade



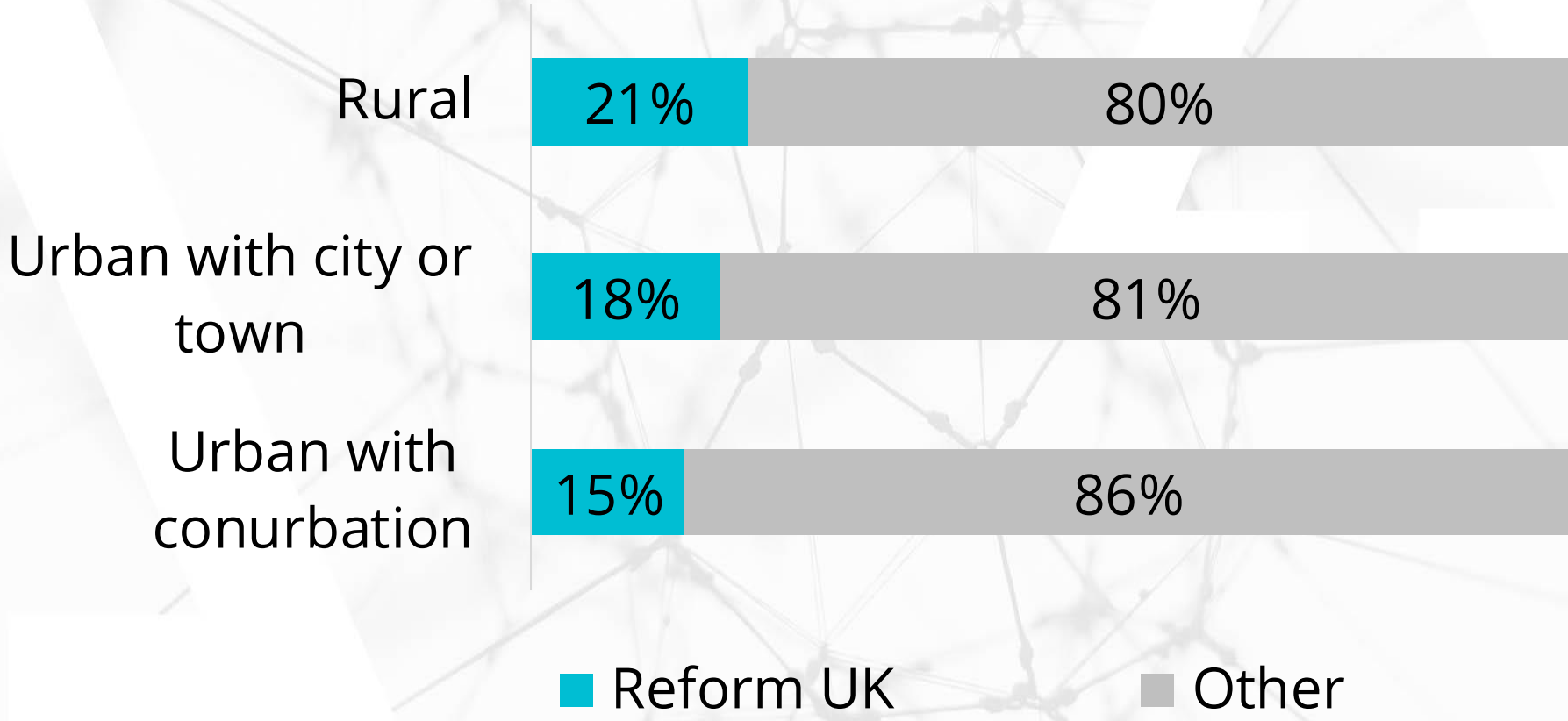
Individual-level polling data

- **Gender**
- **Age**
- **Education**
- **Social Grade**
- **Income:** lower household incomes generally associated with higher support

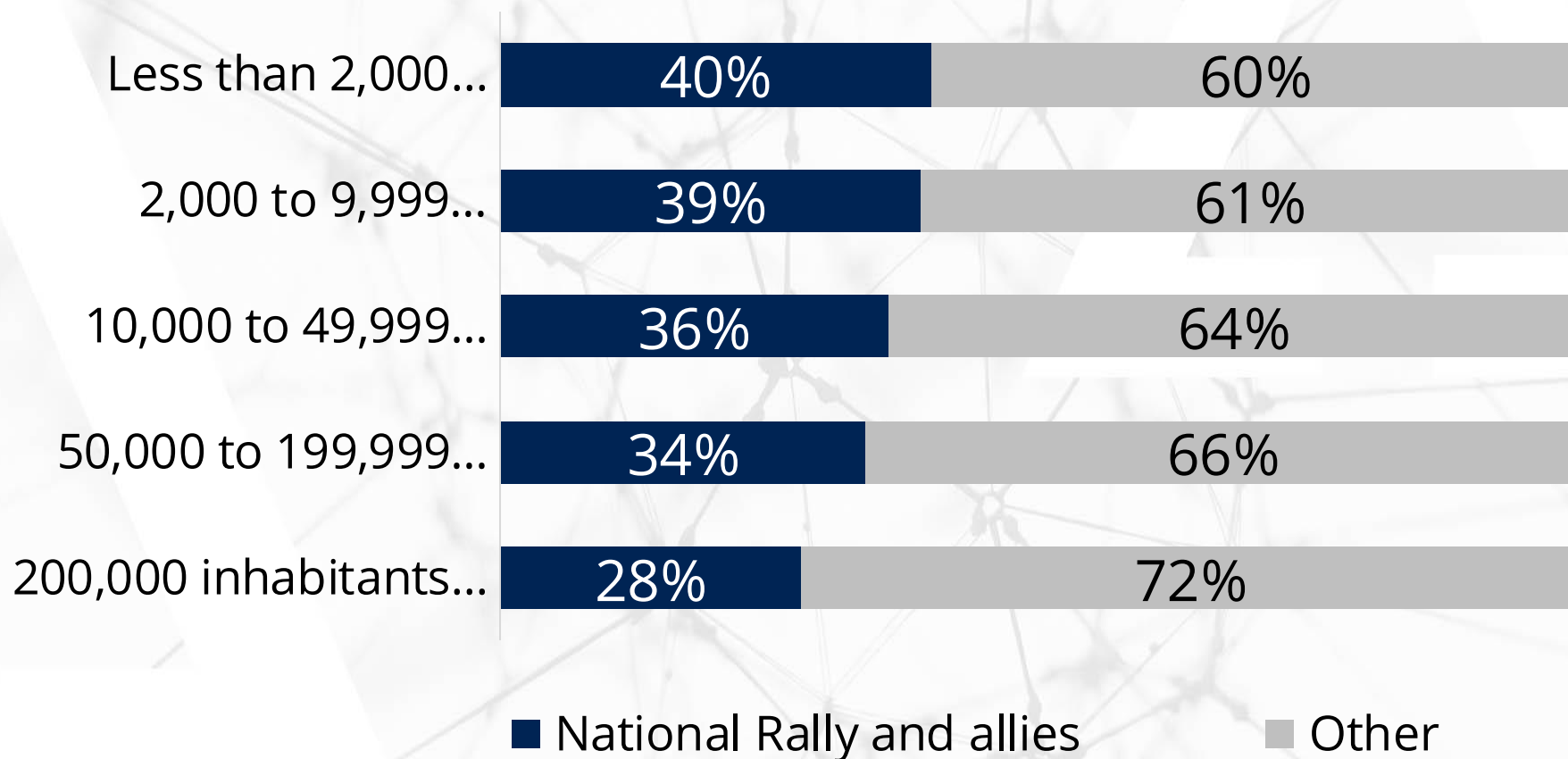
Individual-level polling data

- **Gender**
- **Age**
- **Education**
- **Social Grade**
- **Income**
- **Area type:** higher support among those living in more rural or less dense areas

England and Wales: area type



France: area type



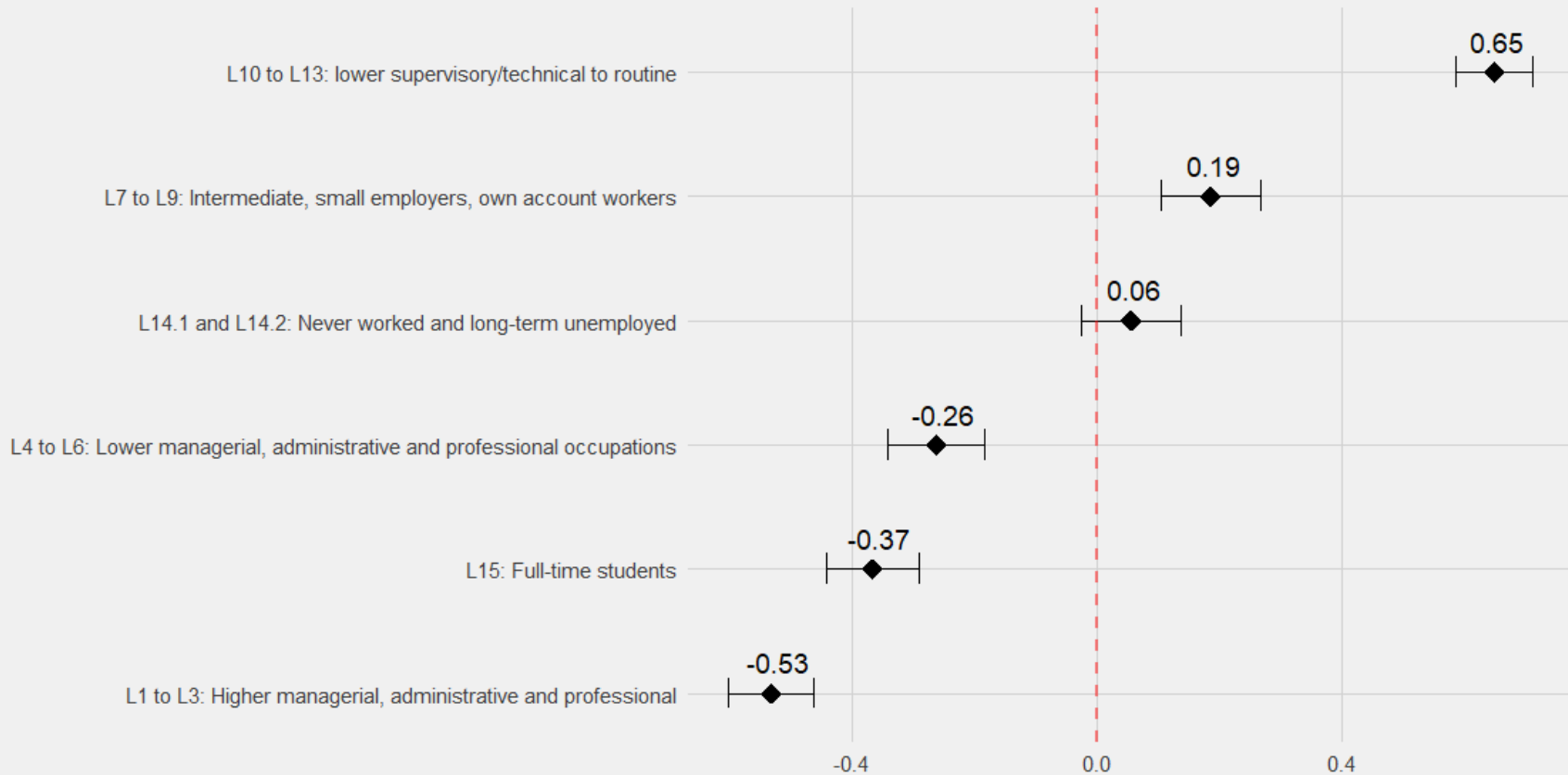
Summary of polling data

- **Gender:** higher support among men than women
- **Age:** highest support among 50 to 59-year-old age group
- **Education:** lower support among those with higher educational qualifications
- **Social Grade:** lower socio-economic circumstances are generally associated with higher support
- **Income:** lower household incomes generally associated with higher support
- **Area type:** higher support among those living in more rural/less dense areas

Constituency-level analysis

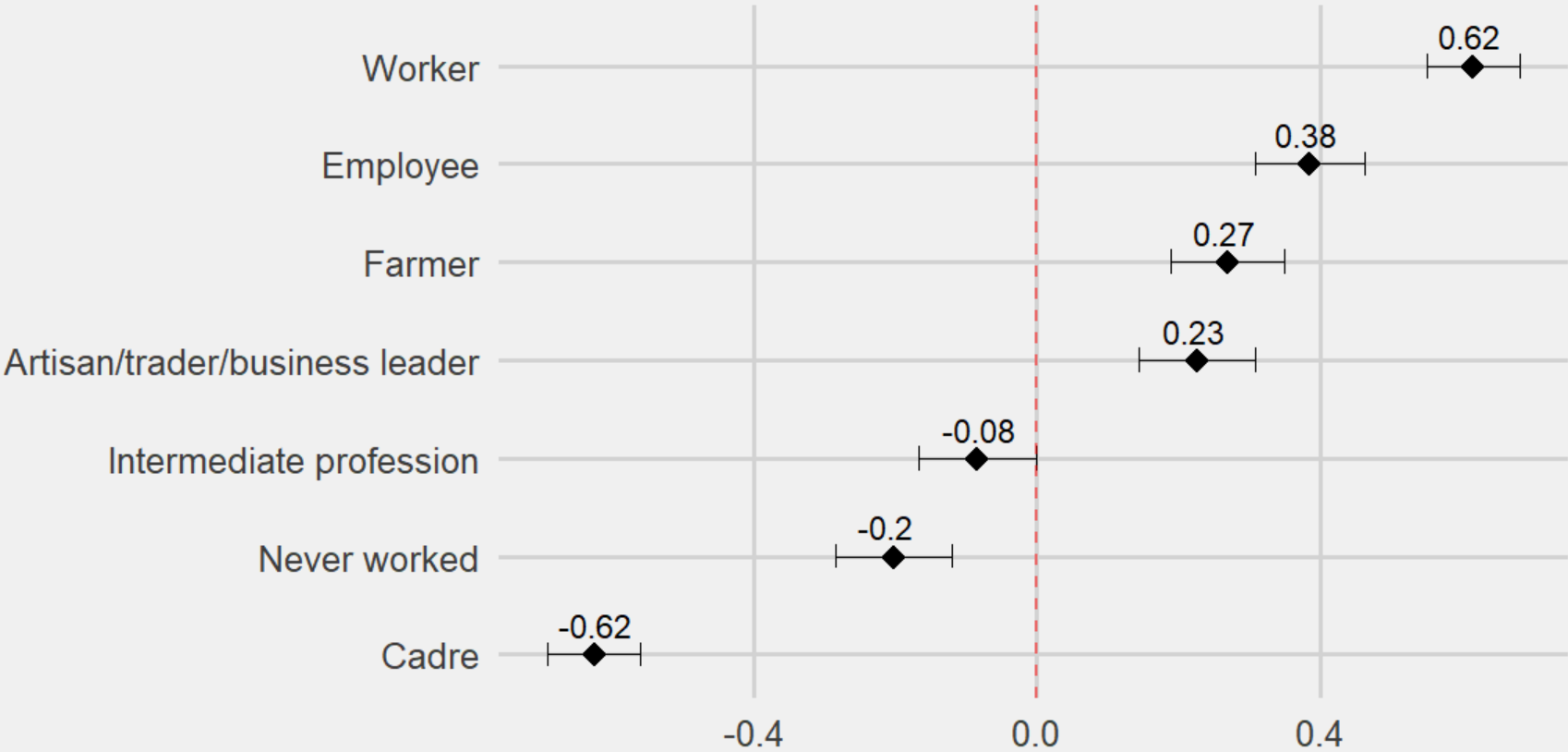


Reform UK vote share by occupation



Increase in Reform UK vote share in standard deviations associated with a standard deviation increase in share of active population in each profession

National Rally and allies vote share by occupation

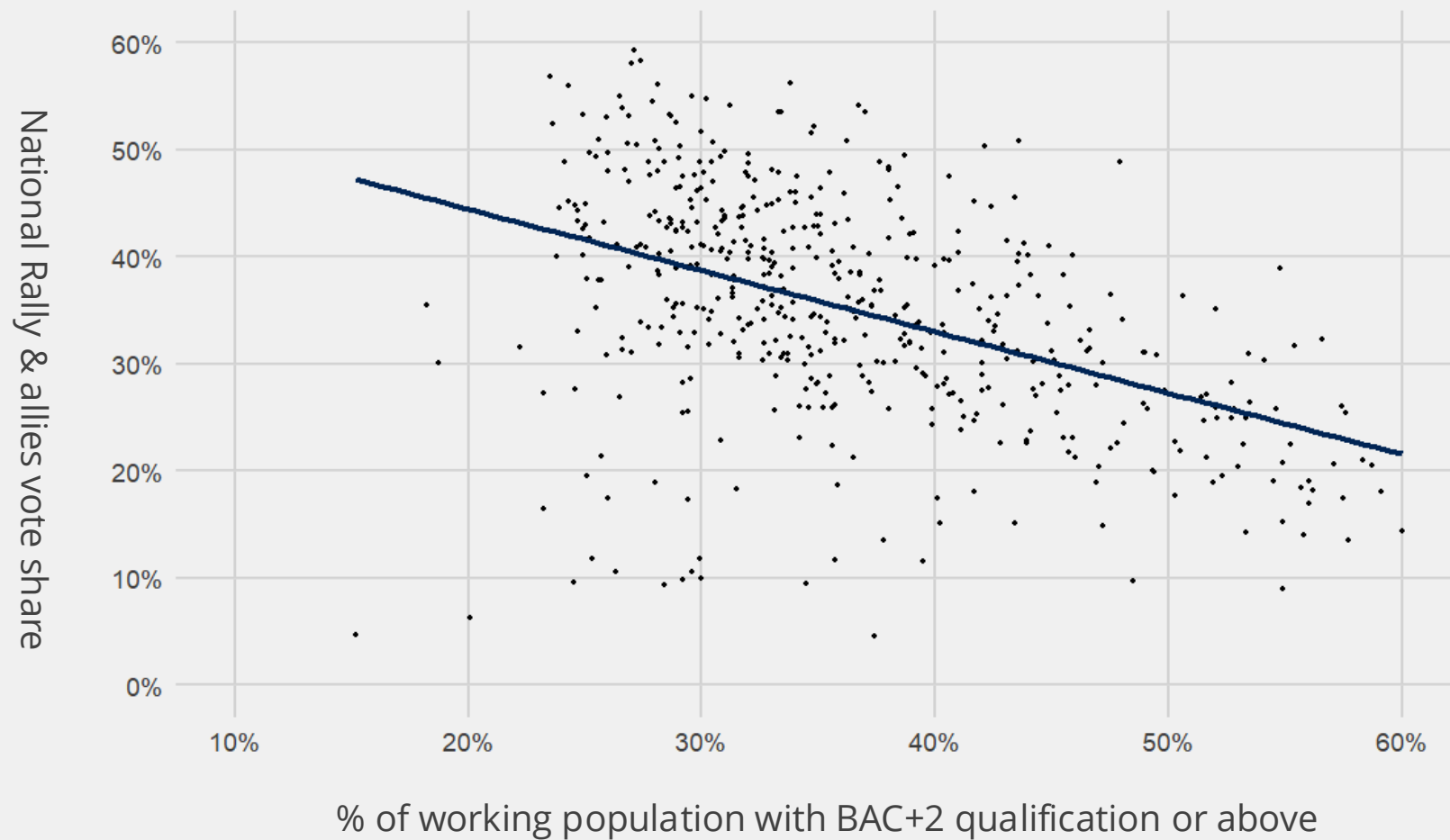


Increase in National Rally vote share in standard deviations associated with a standard deviation increase in share of working/active adults in each profession

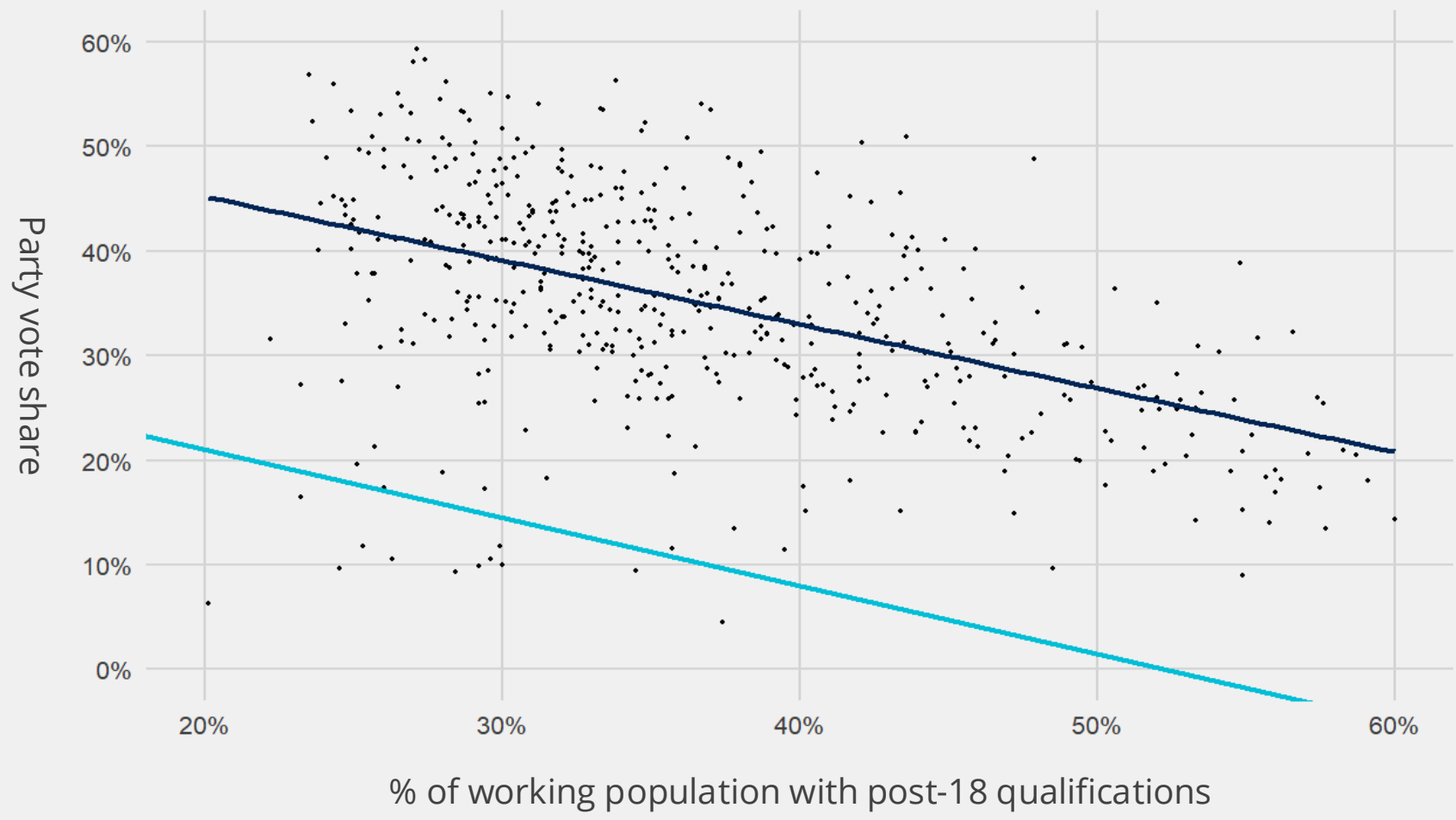
Reform UK vote share by post-18 education



National Rally and allies vote share by post-18 education



Party vote shares by post-18 education



Conclusion



DELTA POLL

Ruby Cooper

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[@rubycooper.bsky.social](https://bsky.social/rubycooper)

Sources

England & Wales

- Polling data: Deltapoll; *Fieldwork: 14th June to 3rd July 2024 ; Sample: 7,051 adults in England and Wales, including 1,056 adults who said they plan to vote for Reform UK.*
- Constituency election results: House of Commons Library
- Demographic data: Office for National Statistics, 2021 Census

France

- Polling data: [Ipsos](#); *Fieldwork: 27th to 28th June 2024; Sample: 10,286 adults in France*
- Constituency election results: [Ministry of the Interior](#)
- Demographic data: Insee, National Institute of Statistics

Panel Questions: Insights across the Western World

■ **Anouschka Rajah and Jenna Cunningham** Research and Data Analysts (More in Common)

■ **Matthew Price** Research Executive (DeltaPoll)

■ **Rhiannon McQuone** Policy Analyst (Public First)

■ **Ruby Cooper** Research Executive (DeltaPoll)

15th January 2025

BPC

2024: A Reflection on a Year of Elections

A British Polling Council: Next Gen Pollsters Event



Time for Wine ☺

15th January 2025

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