

Election 2019: The Brexit Campaign?



Loughborough
University

British Polling Council

Ipsos MORI



Welcome

Simon Atkinson @SimonMAtkinson

Ipsos MORI

Dominic Wring

University of Loughborough

#GE2019

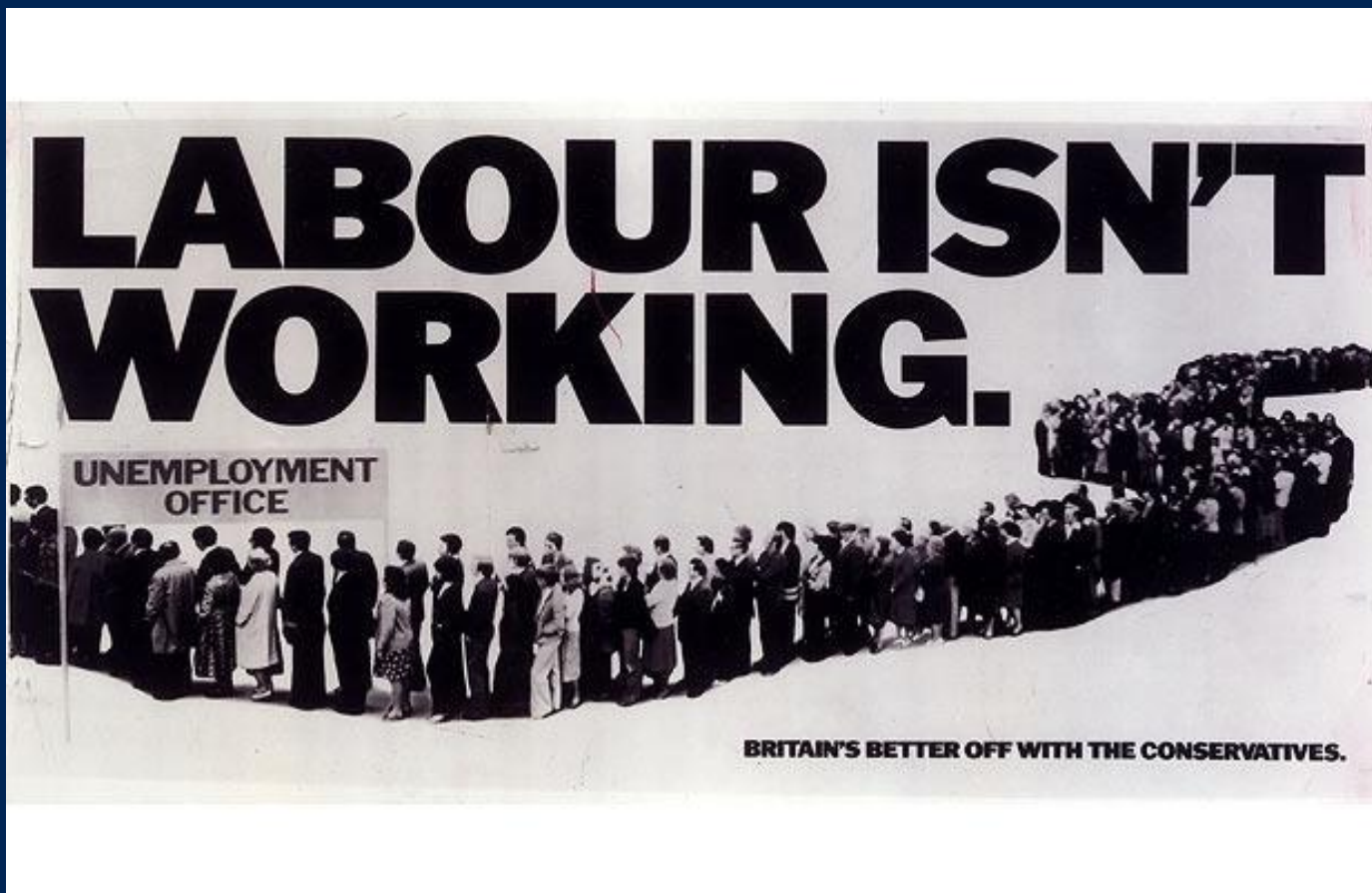
#PolComms

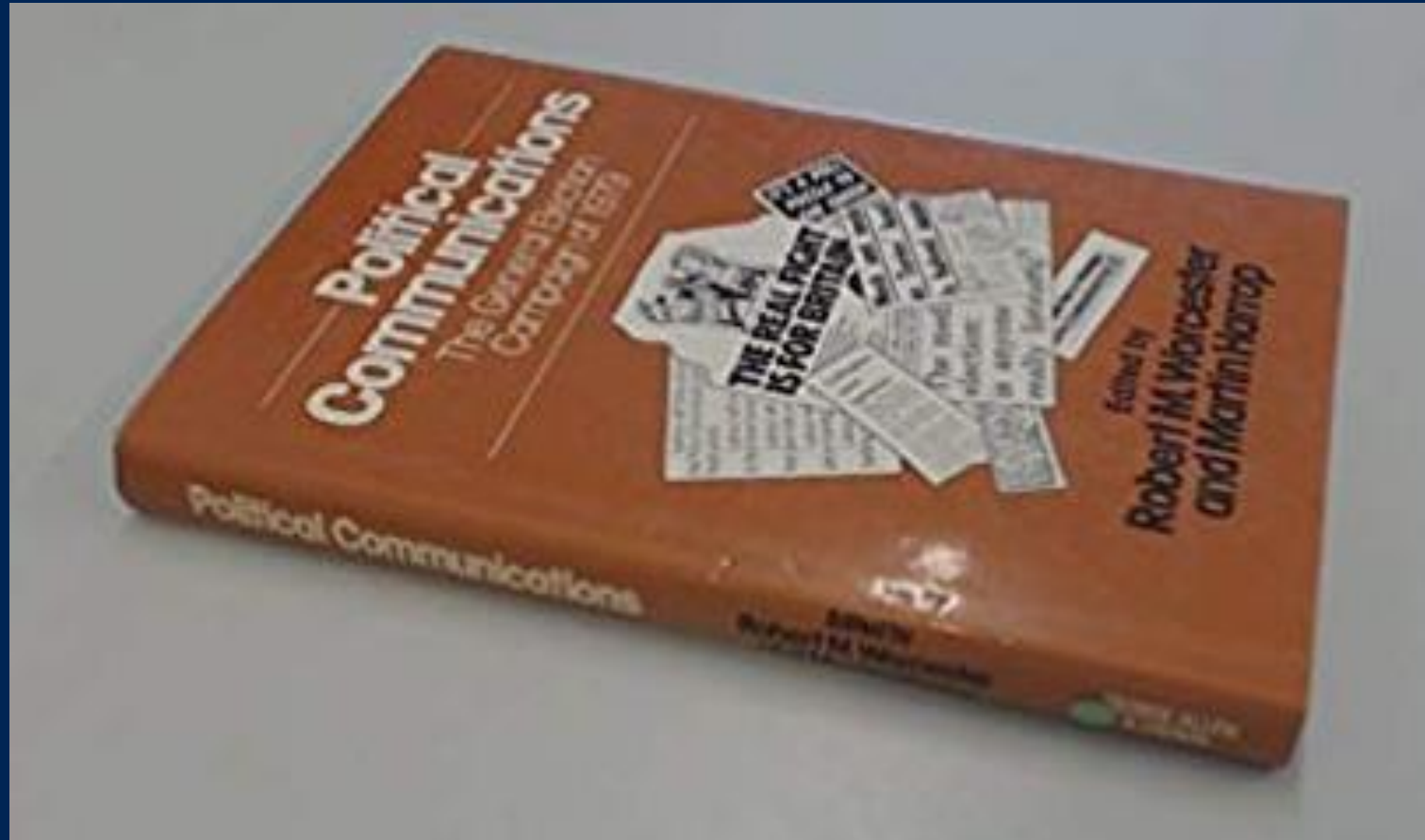
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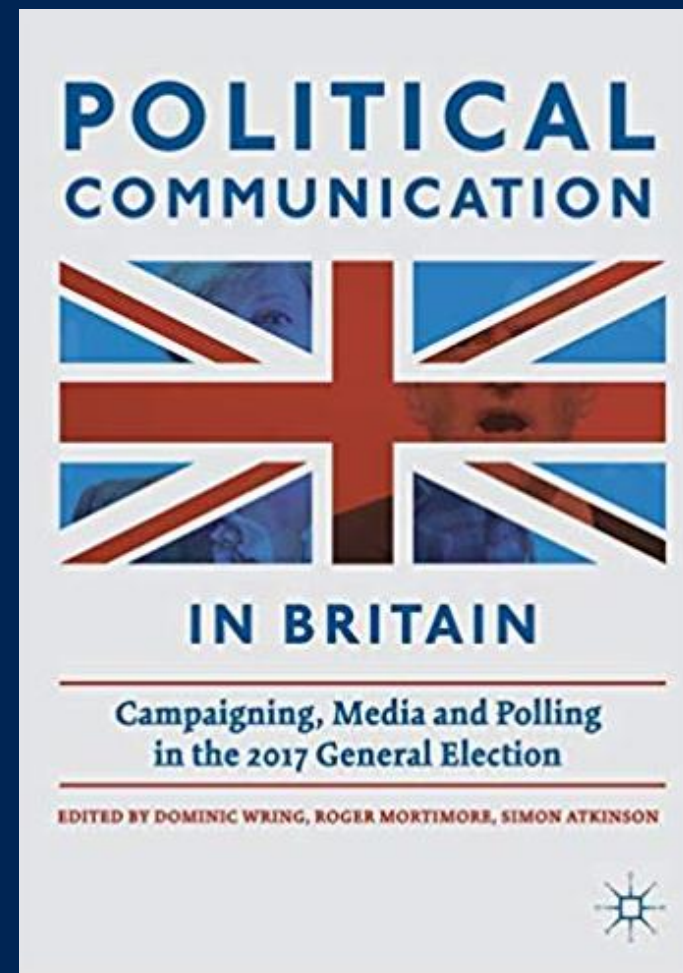
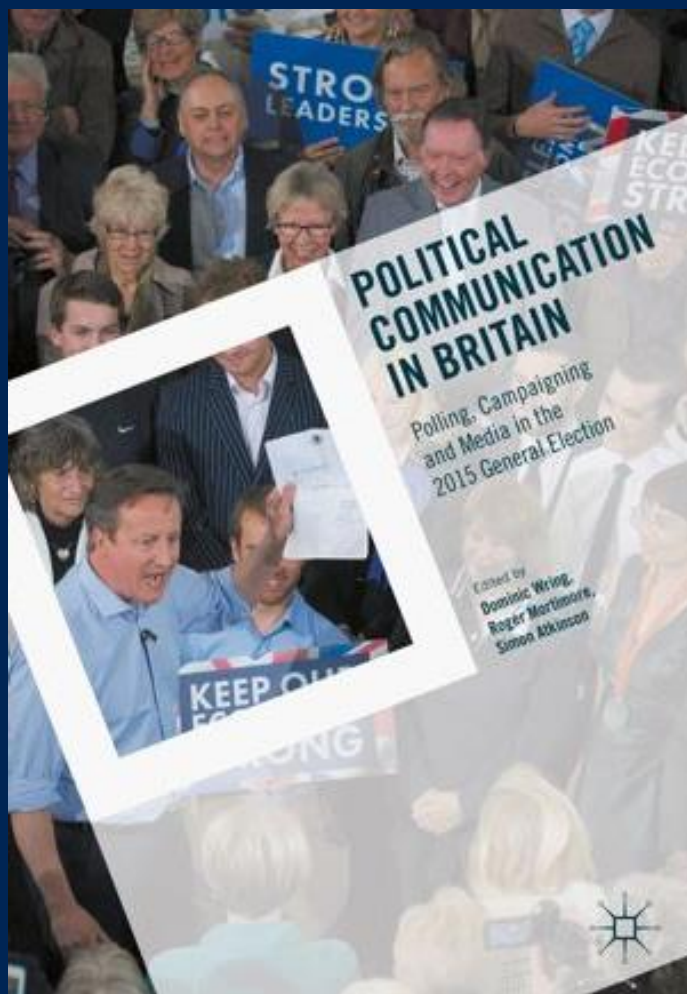
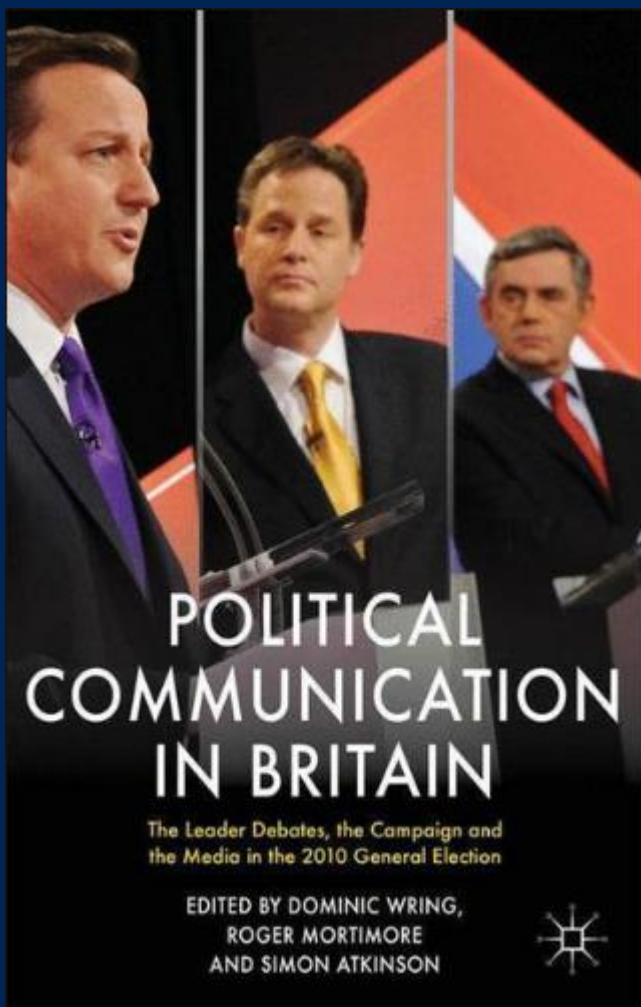


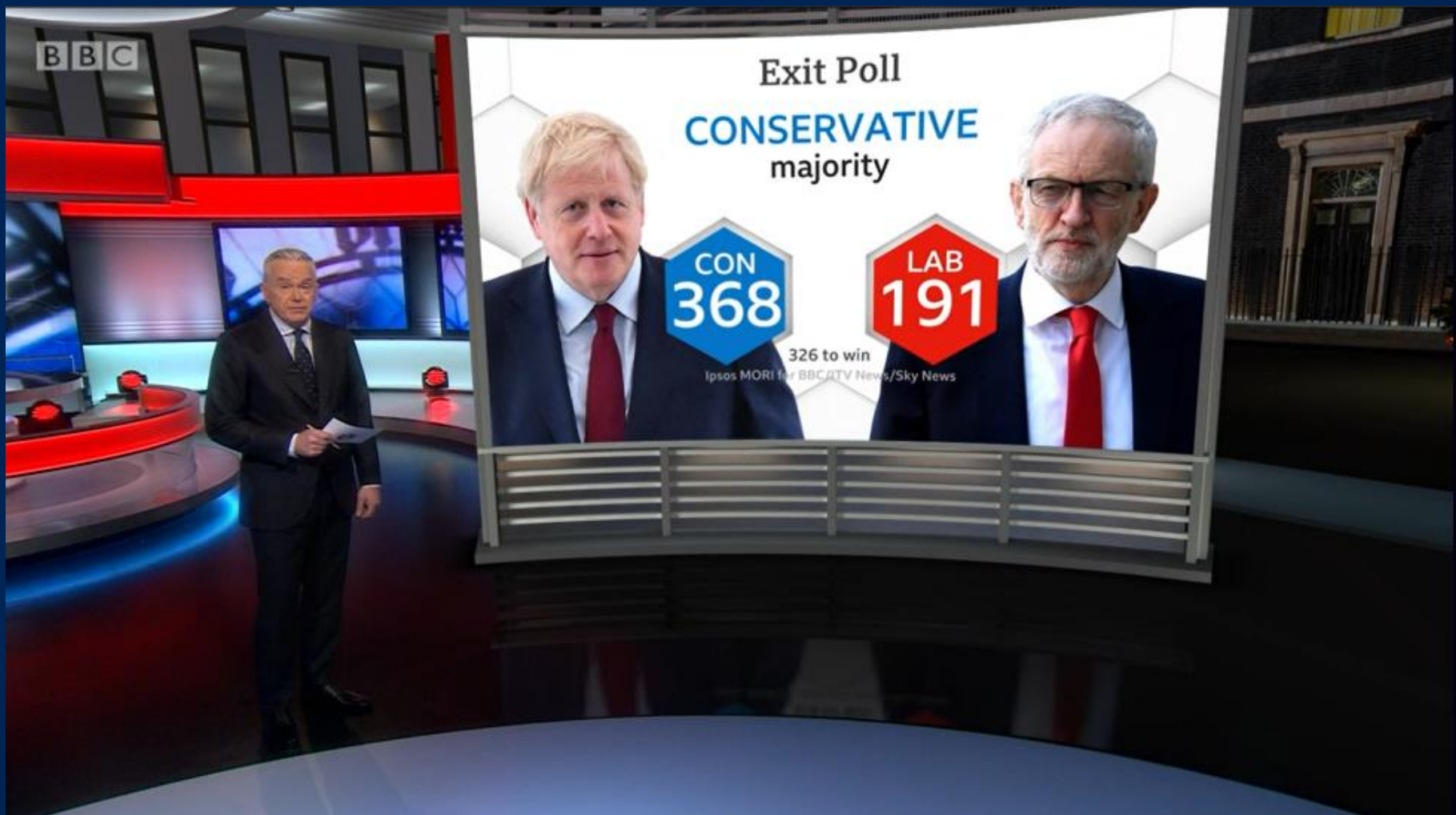
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Agenda

Session One: Coverage

10.00am – 11.30am

Session Two: Broadcasting

11.30am – 1.00pm

Lunch

Plenary: Sir John Curtice

1.30pm – 2.15pm

Session Three: Parties

2.15pm – 3.15pm

Session Four: Voters

3.15pm – 4.45pm

Launch of *Election Analysis*

4.45pm – 5.30pm

Close



British Polling Council

#GE2019 #PolComms

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Session One: Coverage

David Deacon & Dominic Wring @DNDeacon @LboroCRCC

University of Loughborough

Emily Harmer @Harm365

University of Liverpool

Declan McDowell-Naylor @Declan_JMN

Cardiff University



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Session Two: Broadcasting

Ric Bailey @BBCNews

BBC

Isla Glaister @IslaGlaister

Sky News

Emma Hoskyns @itvnews

ITV News

Adam Baxter @ofcom

Ofcom



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ELECTION 2019

— LIVE —

THE RESULTS

STARTS AT
9:55PM GMT

Exit full screen (f)

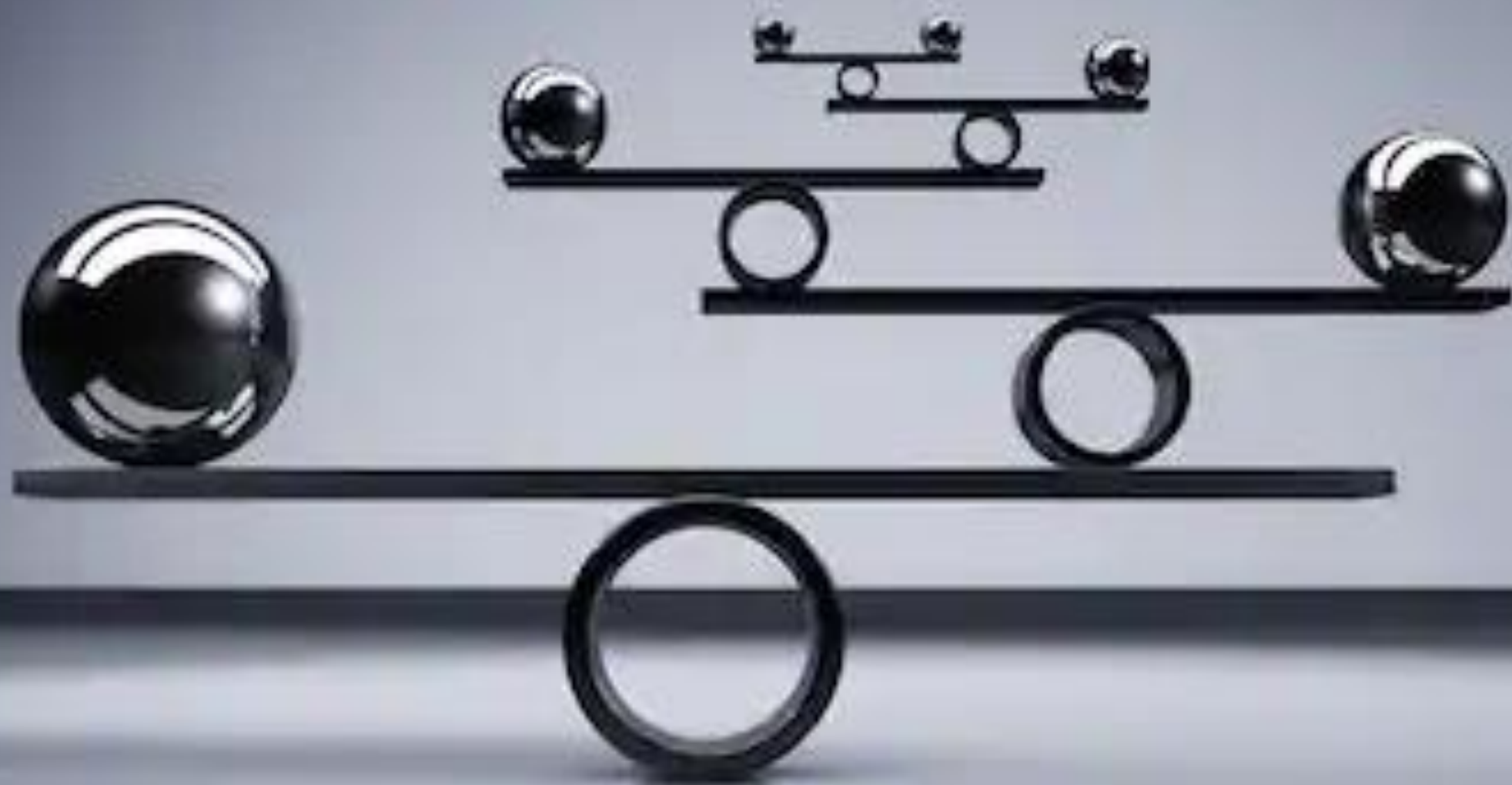


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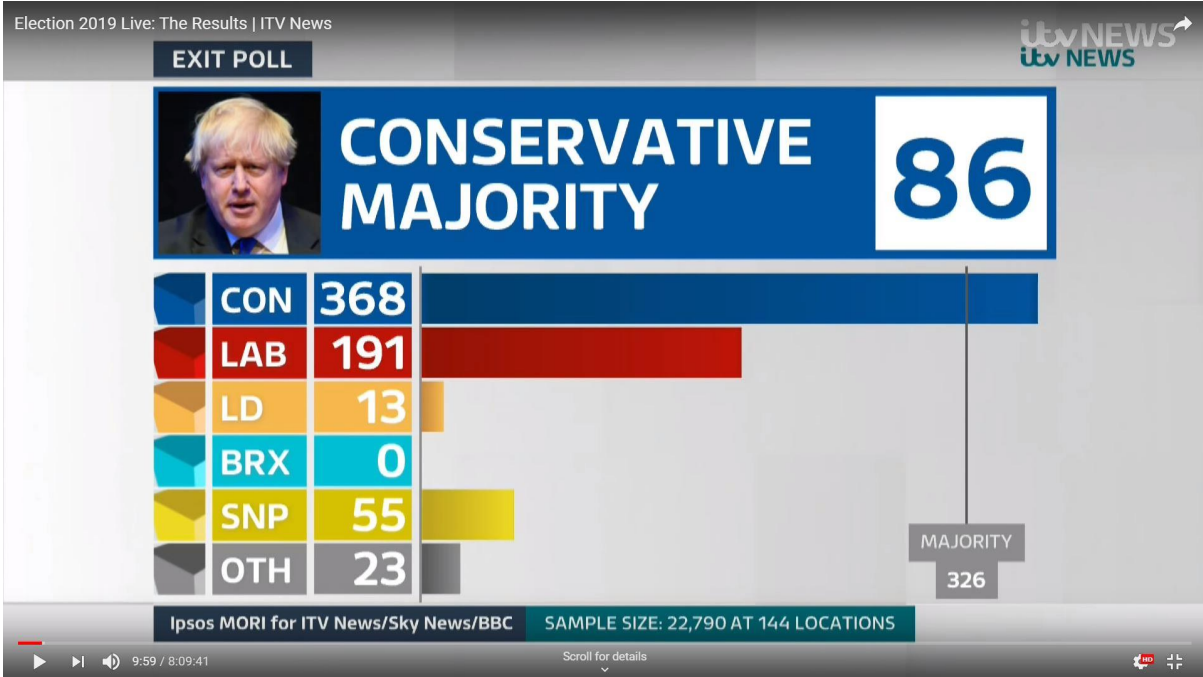
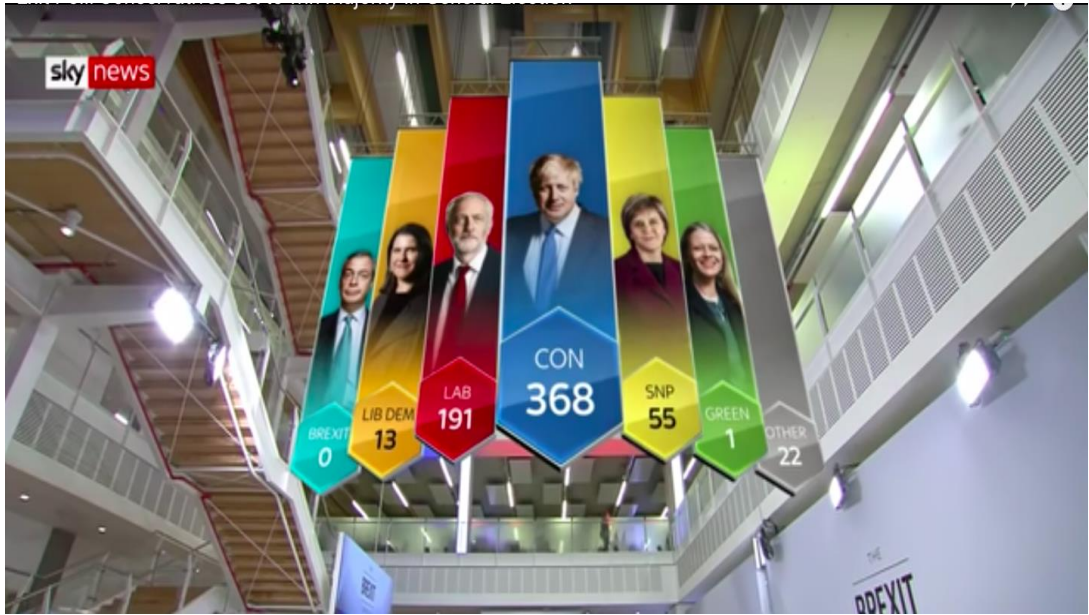










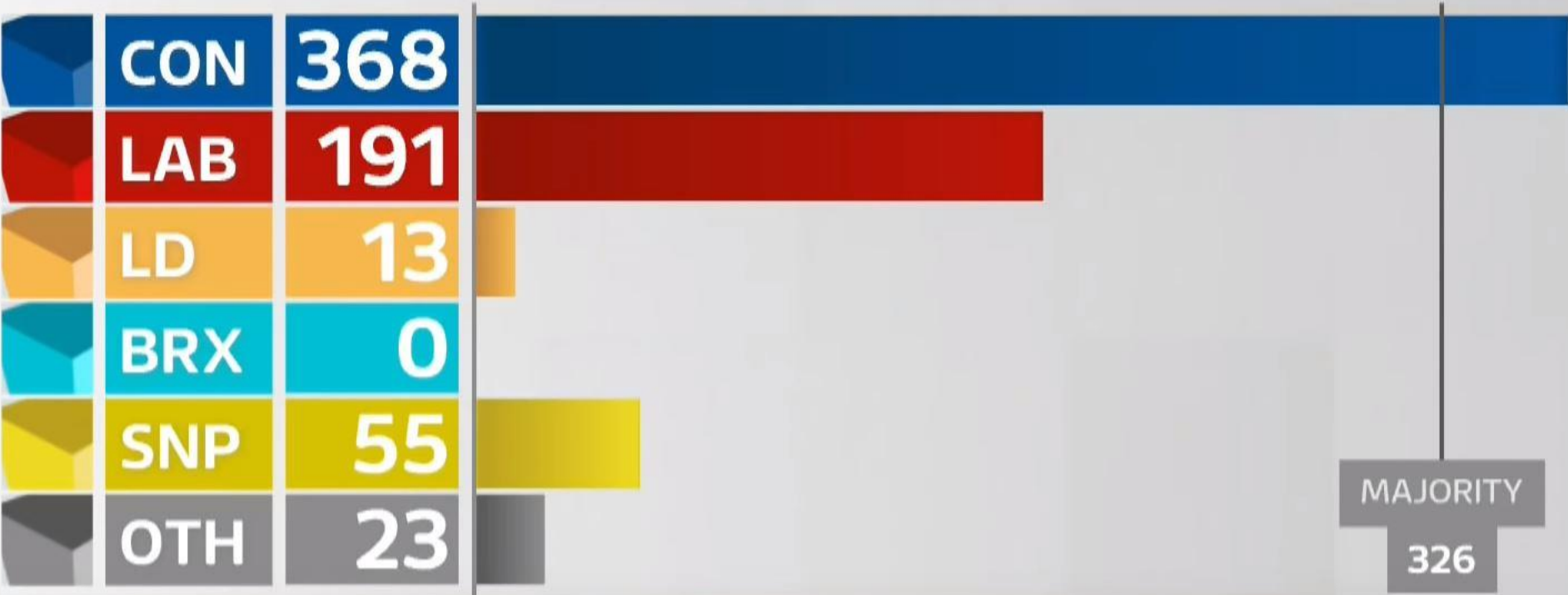


EXIT POLL



CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY

86

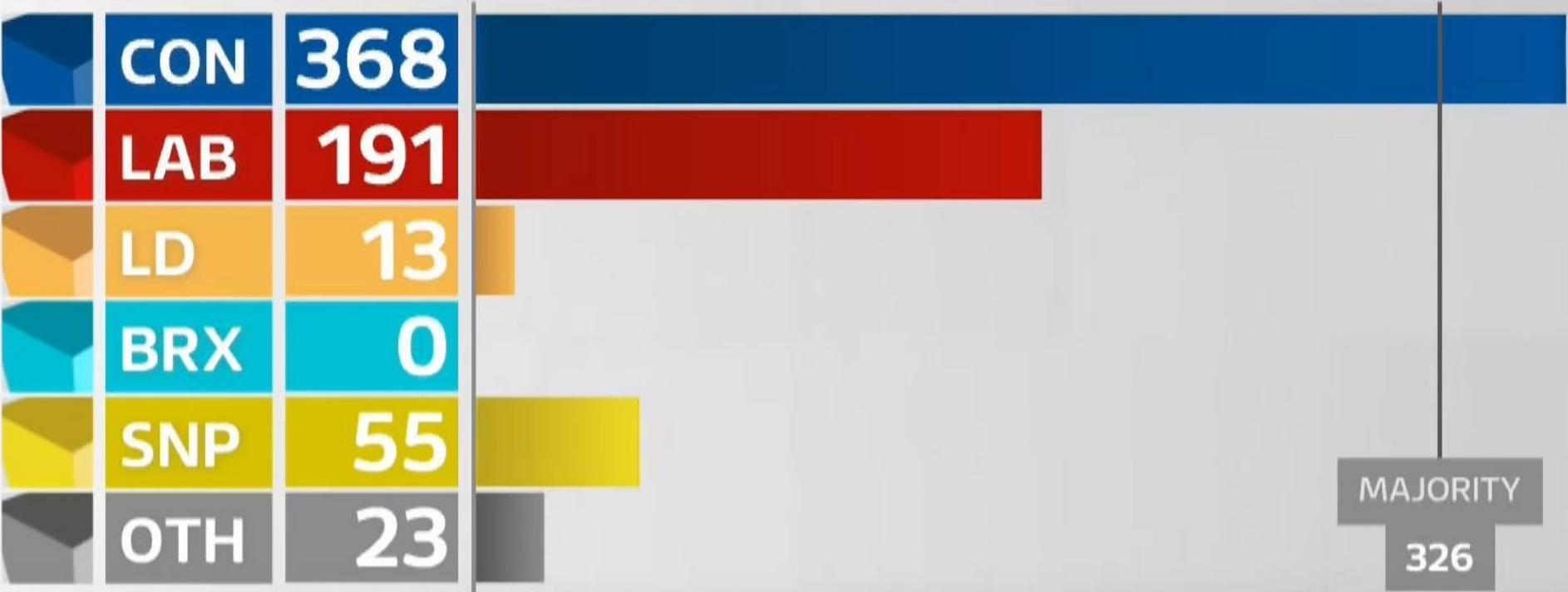


Ipsos MORI for ITV News/Sky News/BBC SAMPLE SIZE: 22,790 AT 144 LOCATIONS

EXIT POLL

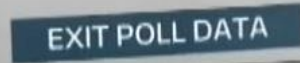


BIGGEST TORY MAJORITY
SINCE THATCHER



Ipsos MORI for ITV News/Sky News/BBC

SAMPLE SIZE: 22,790 AT 144 LOCATIONS



EXIT POLL

itv NEWS ELECTION HUBS



WALES



NORTHERN IRELAND



SCOTLAND



NORTH WEST



MIDLANDS



YORKSHIRE & THE HUMBER



NORTH EAST



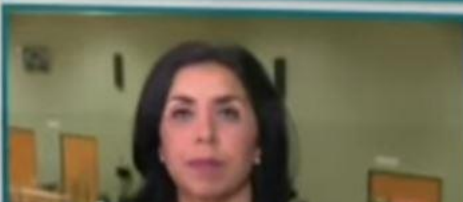
SOUTH WEST



SOUTH EAST



LONDON



EAST

itv





POLLS CLOSE IN

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Scroll for details



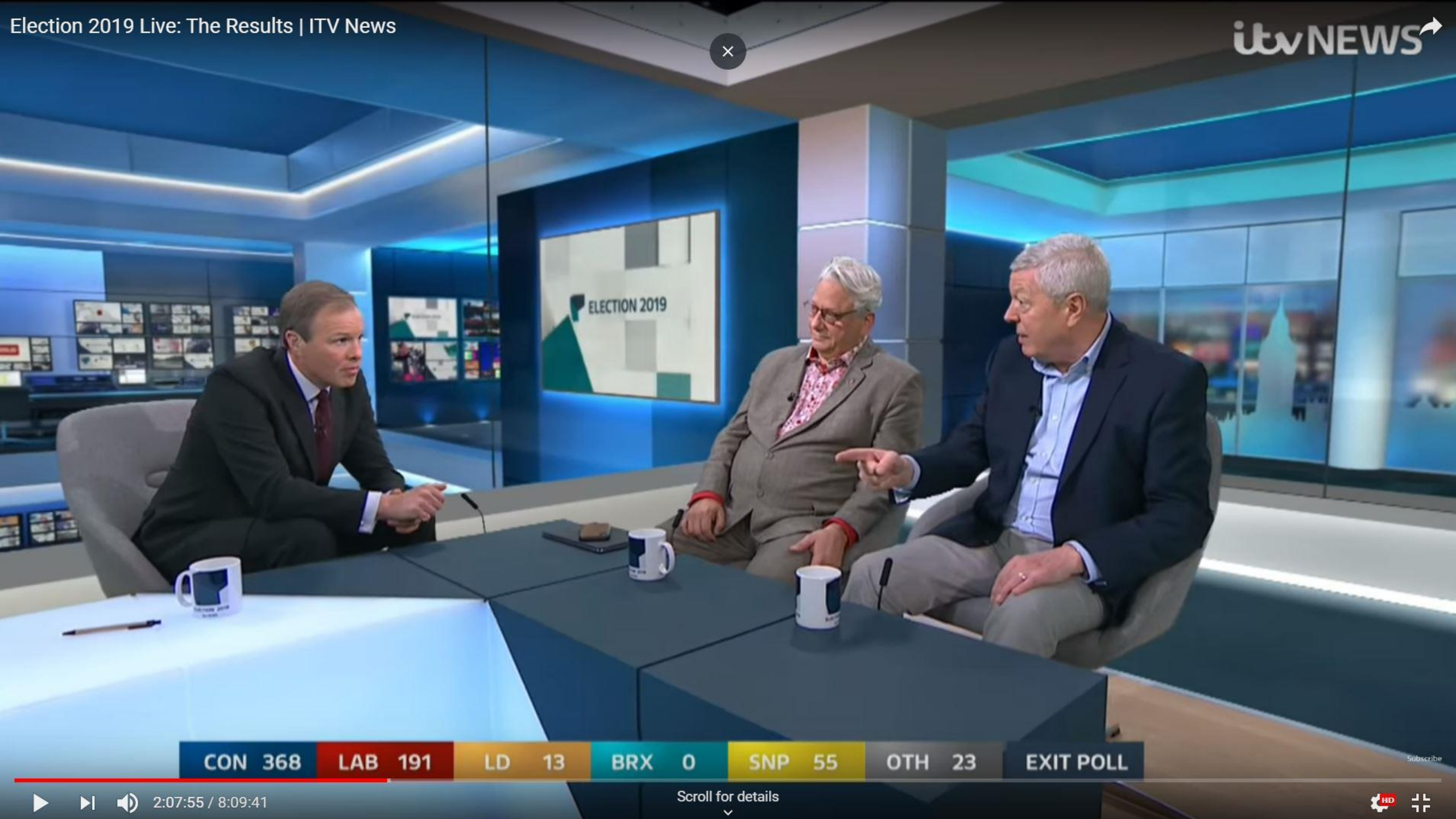
CON	368	LAB	191	LD	13	BRX	0	SNP	55	OTH	23	EXIT POLL
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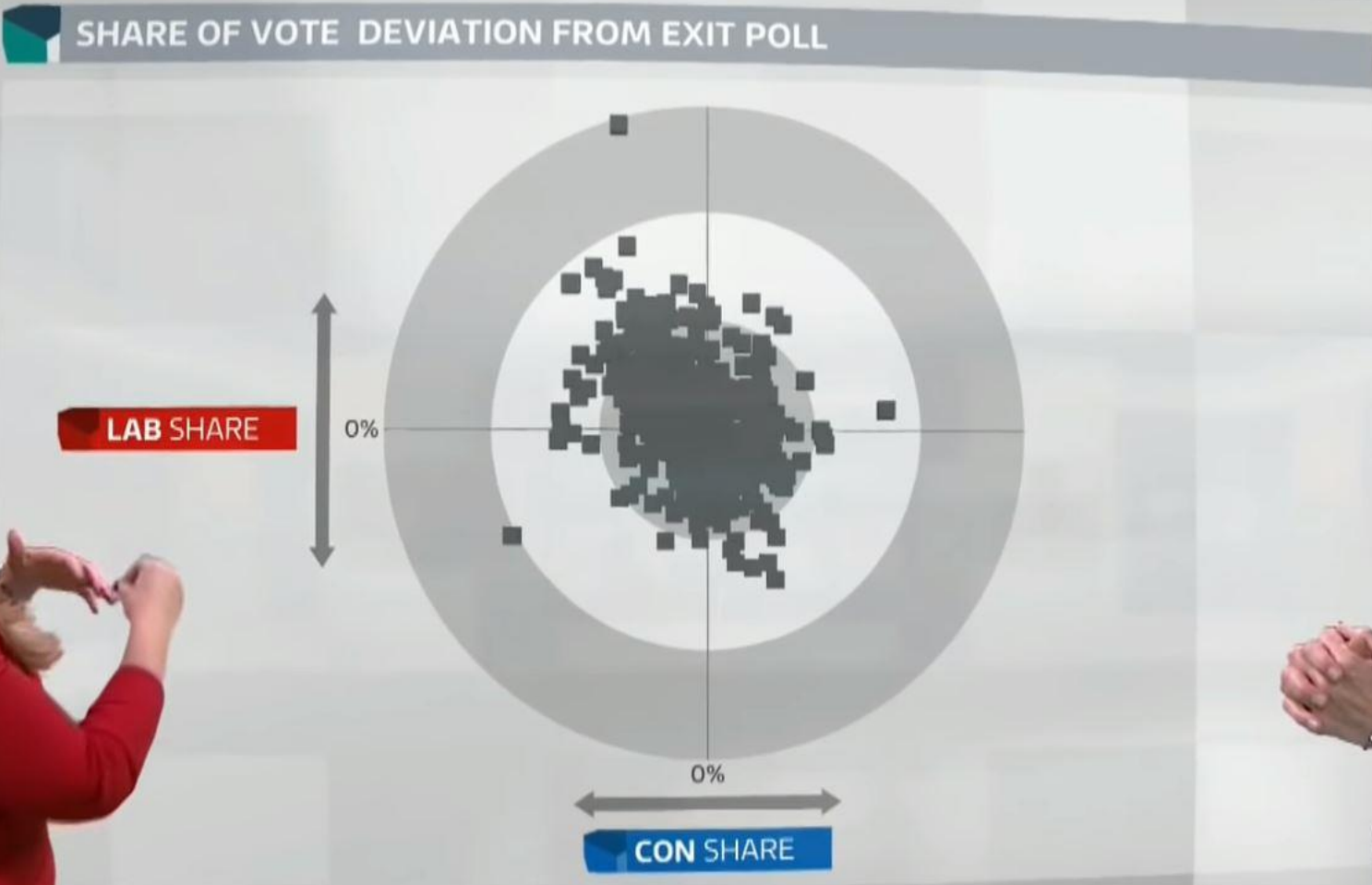


SCOTLAND				
Aberdeen N	Coatbridge	Edinburgh N	Glasgow SW	Motherwell
Aberdeen S	Cumbernauld	Edinburgh S	Glenrothes	Na h-Eileanan
Aberdeenshire	Dumfries	Edinburgh SW	Gordon	Ochil
Airdrie	Dumfriesshire	Edinburgh W	Inverclyde	Orkney & Shet
Angus	Dunb'shire E	Falkirk	Inverness	Paisley Ren N
Argyll & Bute	Dunb'shire W	Fife N E	Kilmarnock	Paisley Ren S
Ayr	Dundee East	Glasgow C	Kirkcaldy	Perth
Ayrshire C	Dundee West	Glasgow E	Lanark	Renf'shire E
Ayrshire N	Dunfermline	Glasgow N	Linlithgow	Shetland
Banff & Buchan	East Kilbride	Glasgow NE	Liverpool	South Ayr
Berwickshire	East Lothian	Glasgow NW	Manchester	South Scotland
Caithness	Edinburgh E	Glasgow S	Nottingham	South Wales

CON 368 LAB 191 LD 13 BRX 0 SNP 55 OTH 23 EXIT POLL



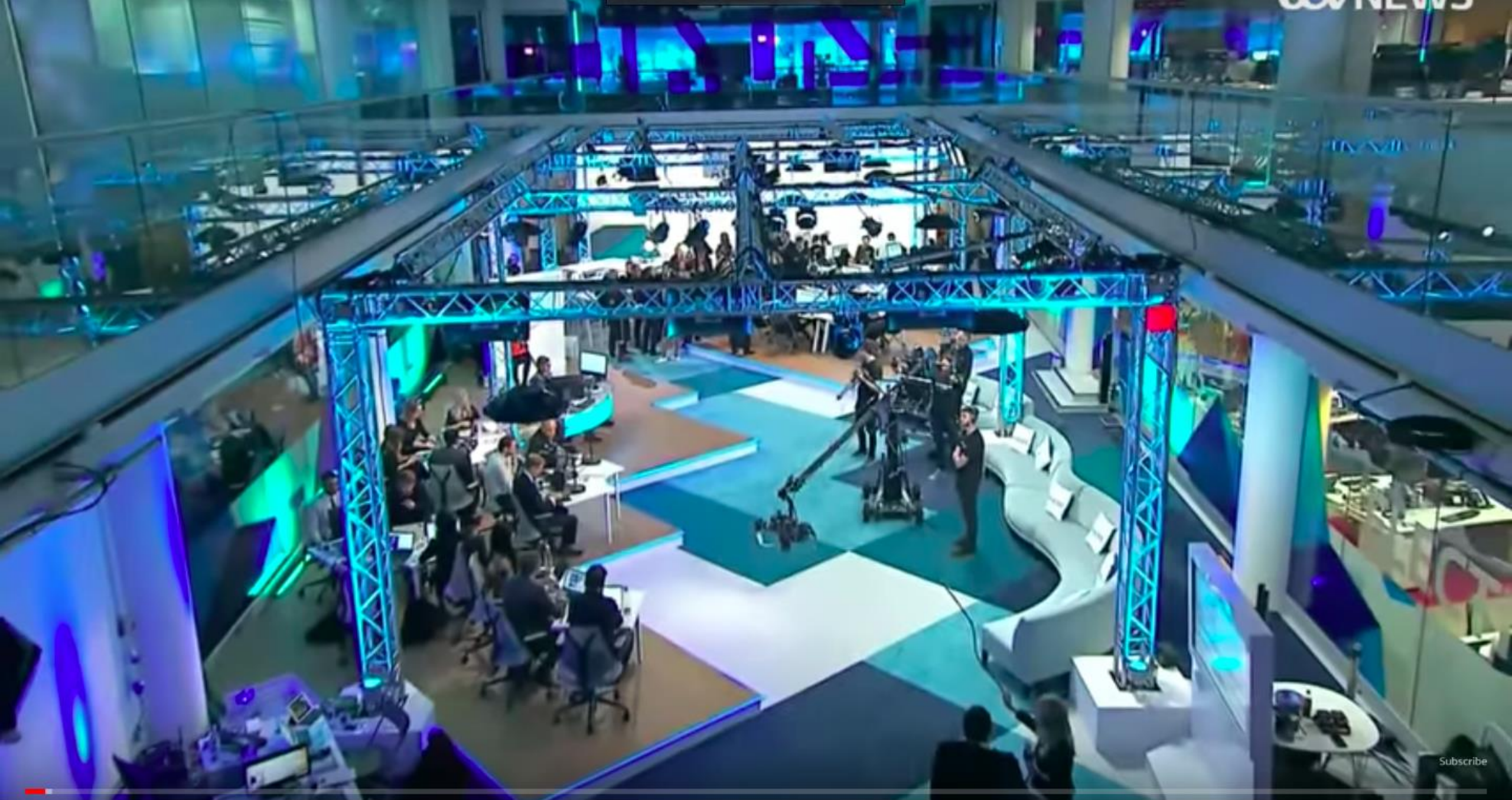
CON	368	LAB	191	LD	13	BRX	0	SNP	55	OTH	23	EXIT POLL
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DUMFRIESSHIRE, CLYDESDALE & TWEEDDALE

CON HOLD David Mundell back

CON	360	LAB	201	LD	12	BRX	0	SNP	53	OTH	24	EXIT POLL PLUS
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Election 2019: The Brexit Election?

-The Ofcom perspective

Adam Baxter, Ofcom

31 January 2020

Ofcom's role in elections

Why does Ofcom get involved in elections?

Parliament has placed duties on Ofcom in three main ways in relation to elections:

Political Adverts: These are banned on TV and radio in the UK.

Party Election Broadcasts (PEBs): Given the political advert ban, PEBs aim to give parties of all sizes the chance to broadcast their messages direct to voters. Parliament has charged Ofcom with the duty of making rules (the PPRB Rules) regarding the allocation, length and frequency of PEBs and identifying the broadcasters that are required to transmit PEBs.

Due impartiality and due accuracy and coverage of candidates: The Communications Act 2003 requires Ofcom to set rules covering due impartiality in all election broadcast output (and due accuracy in news output).

Election law requires Ofcom to adopt a Code of practice with respect to candidates appearing in broadcast items. We discharge this duty through rules in Section Six of the Broadcasting Code.

In setting the PPRB Rules and constituency reporting rules Ofcom has a statutory duty to have regard to the views of the Electoral Commission.

Regulation of election coverage

“Due impartiality”

Section Five Due impartiality

- Due impartiality and due accuracy in news (Rules 5.1 to 5.3).
- Due impartiality on matters of major political controversy and major matters relating to current public policy (all programmes: Rules 5.11 and 5.12 and Rule 5.13 on commercial non-national radio).

Section Six Elections

- Coverage across the campaign (Rules 6.1 to 6.7) including prohibition on discussing election issues on polling day (Rules 6.4 and 6.5).
- Constituency reporting (Rules 6.8 to 6.12).



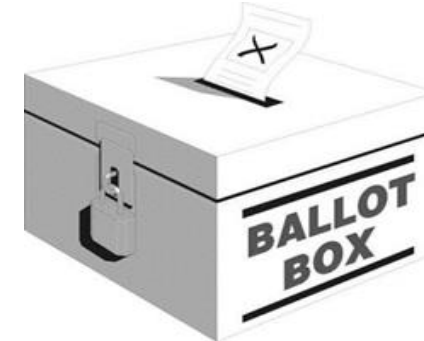
Due impartiality in the General Election – what's a practical interpretation?

- No requirement to give equal time to all parties.
- Not every party has to feature in every item.
- But coverage must be impartial between all parties over the campaign.



Coverage across the election campaign?

- Rule 6.2: “Due weight must be given to the coverage of parties and independent candidates during the election period. In determining the appropriate level of coverage to be given to parties and independent candidates broadcasters must take into account evidence of **past electoral support and/or current support**. Broadcasters must also **consider** giving appropriate coverage to **parties** and **independent candidates** with **significant views and perspectives**”.
- Due weight is a flexible term and does not mean equal coverage.
- We expect broadcasters to give appropriate editorial coverage to parties and candidates especially in situations where there are likely to be a greater range of potential voices competing for coverage



What are the requirements for parties and independent candidates?

- Since 22 March 2017, there is no longer a list of larger (formerly major) parties in Section Six of the Code.
- What is “*appropriate coverage*” is an editorial decision for the broadcaster.
- Consider: past electoral support, current support (opinion polls), number of candidates etc.
- This will vary in different localities.
- To help broadcasters Ofcom publishes a [digest of evidence of past electoral support and evidence of current support](#).



Candidates in programmes

Constituency reports:

- When candidates take part in broadcast items which could be seen as promotional for that candidate within their constituency, special rules apply (Rules 6.8 to 6.12).
- All candidates should be offered the opportunity to take part in the item if they represent parties with previous significant electoral support or significant current support. Candidates cannot veto constituency items being broadcast.
- After the close of nominations a full candidate list has to be included in the item.

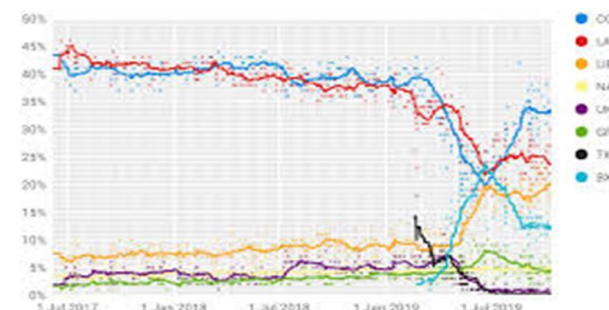
Other programming:

- Candidates **must not act as news presenters, interviewers or presenters** of any type of programme during the election period (Rule 6.6).
- Appearances by candidates in non-political programmes that were planned or scheduled before the election period may continue, but no new appearances should be arranged and broadcast during the period (Rule 6.7).

These rules are intended to help secure the integrity of the democratic process and ensure that candidates do not appear in programmes to try to gain a political advantage.

The factors Ofcom takes into account when weighing different types of electoral evidence

- Greater weight on past performance in elections over opinion poll data. (past results are a measure of how voters have exercised their democratic choice).
- Electoral performance of parties over at least two electoral cycles.
- Performance in past General Elections, as well as performance in other past elections.
- Electoral performance of parties over at least two electoral cycles when considering performance in any given type of elections. However, less weight on evidence of electoral performance two or more electoral cycles ago given the historical nature of this evidence.
- Evidence in relation to the different devolved nations of the UK.
- Evidence of current support that is objective and measurable e.g. opinion polls.



Party Election Broadcasts

- Key features:
 - PEBs for 2019 General Election were carried by: Channel 3 services; Channel 4; Channel 5; Absolute Radio; Classic FM; Talksport; and various BBC services.
 - All parties standing in at least one sixth of seats in a nation received one PEB.
 - Additional PEBs granted based on evidence of past electoral support and current support.
 - Length of broadcasts: television: 2'40", 3'40" or 4'40"; radio: up to 2'30".
 - PEBs must be broadcast between 17:30 and 11:30 on television and between 06:00 and 22:00 on radio.
- Ofcom determines any disputes about PEBs through our Election Committee.



How Ofcom approaches the regulation of the General Election

- Ofcom considers any breach arising from election-related programming to be **potentially serious** and could result in the imposition of a statutory sanction.
- If a complaint is made which raises a substantive issue concerning due impartiality during the election period, and, if upheld, might require redress before the election, it will be considered by Ofcom's Election Committee.



Ofcom's role in the 2019 General Election

2019 General Election – The background

- The 2015 General Election confirmed the fragmented nature of UK politics but 2017 saw a move back to ‘two-party’ dominance:
 - The combined Conservative/Labour vote share grew from 67.2% in 2015 to 82.3% in 2017.
 - In 2015 the Lib-Dems’ performance was its worst since 1970 (7.9%) and dropped further to 7.2% in 2017.
 - Whilst winning 56 seats out of 59 in Scotland in 2015, the SNP dropped back to 35 seats in 2017.
 - After achieving 3.89 million votes in 2015, UKIP dropped back to 594K votes in 2017.
 - Similarly the Greens dropped back from 1.16 million votes in 2015 to 526K votes in 2017.
- As with previous recent elections, we were expecting 2019 election coverage to be likely to include a broader range of voices.

The 2019 General Election was very busy for Ofcom

- We saw a huge increase in the number of complaints in 2019.

	BBC	Non-BBC	Total
2015 GE	280*	147	427
2017 GE	310	325	635
2019 GE	436	1,688	2,124

- Since 22 March 2017, Ofcom has been the backstop regulator on due impartiality/election matters for BBC content. Therefore the BBC complaints we received in 2015 were out of remit.
- We operate a 'BBC First' complaints process for any complaint regarding BBC material. This means that Ofcom would normally only consider complaints about the BBC after the BBC has had the opportunity to address it first. During elections we expect the BBC to expedite all election-related complaints.
- In 2019, as virtually all BBC complaints we received had not completed the BBC complaints process first, we considered whether any complaints gave rise to exceptional circumstances which justified our early intervention, but none did so.

The top complaint drivers in 2019

Broadcaster	Programme	TX date	Issue	Number of complaints	Ofcom Decision
Sky News	<i>Kay Burley @ Breakfast</i>	06/11/2019	Kay Burley “empty-chaired” James Cleverly after he allegedly failed to attend interview.	271	Not Pursued: Bulletin 391 , 18 November 2019
Channel 4	<i>Channel 4 News Climate Change Debate</i>	28/11/2019	Channel 4 represented Boris Johnson’s and Nigel Farage’s absence with ice sculptures	201	Not Pursued: Election Committee Decision , 3 December 2019
Sky News	<i>Brexit Election strapline</i>	Various	Complaints that the strapline framed the election as exclusively Brexit-related	175	Not Pursued: Letter to the Labour Party , 20 November 2019
ITV	<i>Johnson v Corbyn: The ITV Debate</i>	19/11/2019	Objection to the exclusion of other party leaders in this debate	211	Not Pursued: Bulletin 393 , 16 December 2019
BBC 1	<i>BBC News</i>	23/11/2019	The BBC showed a clip from the previous night’s <i>Question Time</i> that did not contain the audience laughter when Boris Johnson was asked about the issue of trust.	78	BBC First: Bulletin 393 , 16 December 2019
BBC 1	<i>BBC Breakfast</i>	11/11/2019	The BBC broadcast out-of-date footage of Boris Johnson laying a wreath due to “a production mistake”, for which it subsequently apologised.	47	BBC First: Bulletin 392 , 2 December 2019.

Case Focus: *Channel 4 News Climate Change Debate*

- We received a complaint from the Conservative Party about the *Channel 4 News Climate Change Debate* which was broadcast on 28 November 2019, which was considered by the Election Committee.
- It is for a broadcaster to propose a election debate programme format but there is no obligation for any of the party to take part.
- Depending on the particular circumstances, a broadcaster may decide to proceed with an election debate programme and to “empty chair” a party who decides not to participate. But the broadcaster must preserve due impartiality.
- Boris Johnson had been invited to take part but had chosen not to do so. Michael Gove had asked to take part, but he was not a party leader, and the other leaders’ agreement to participate was predicated on the basis they would be debating with leaders of the other main political parties. The manner in which Channel 4 preserved due impartiality had to be assessed against this backdrop which was made clear to the audience.
- References to the Conservative Party and its policies on climate change were featured in the programme as well as linked *Channel 4 News* programmes such as the episode broadcast on the following night.
- The Election Committee considered that the programme did not raise issues warranting investigation under the Broadcasting Code.



Party Election Broadcasts in 2019 General Election

- In 2019 we saw a reduction in the number of PEBs compared with 2017.

	England		Wales		Scotland	
	2017	2019	2017	2019	2017	2019
Con	5	3	4	3	4	3
Lab	5	3	4	3	4	3
L-D	4	3	4	3	4	3
SNP	-	-	-	-	4	3
PC	-	-	4	3	-	-
Green	2	2	1	1	-	2
Brexit	-	2	-	2	-	2
UKIP	3	-	3	-	1	-

	Northern Ireland	
	2017	2019
DUP	4	3
Sinn Fein	4	3
SDLP	4	3
UUP	4	3
Alliance	3	3
NI Con	1	1
Aontu	-	1

Plenary



British Polling Council

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The 2019 Election: A Battle About Brexit?

John Curtice

Univ. of Strathclyde and NatCen Social Research

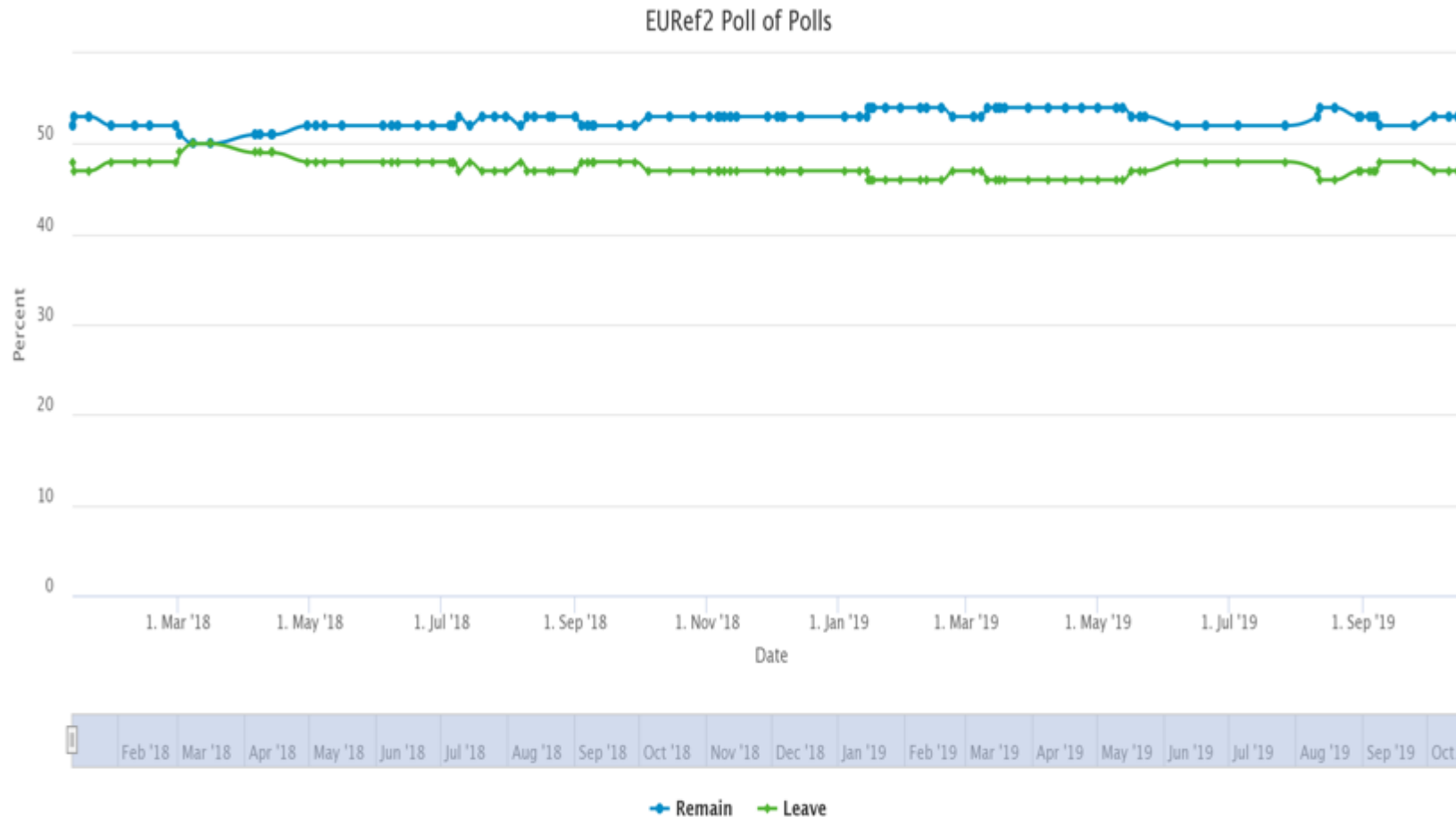
Senior Fellow, 'The UK in a Changing Europe'

whatukthinks.org/eu [@whatukthinks](https://twitter.com/whatukthinks)

The Structure

- Attitudes to Brexit
- The lessons and consequences of the Brexit impasse
- Brexit and the dynamics of the campaign
- The outcome
- The role of other considerations - policy, leadership and competence

Prospects For A Second Referendum



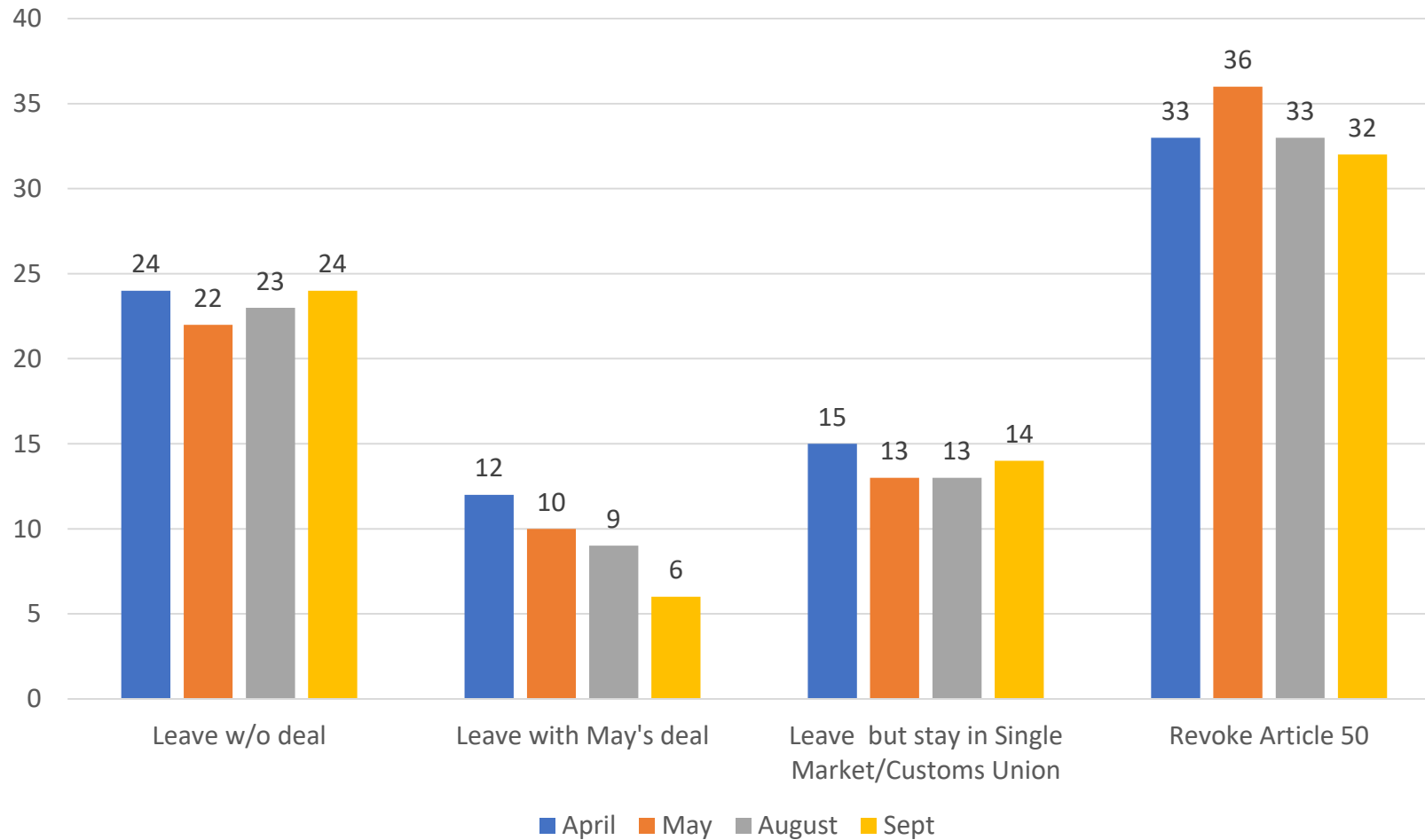
Source data at www.WhatUKThinks.org/EU run by NatCen Social Research

The Turnover of 'Votes'

EuRef2 Vote Intention	2016 Referendum Vote		
	Remain	Leave	DNV
Remain	86	9	53
Leave	10	86	23
WNV etc	4	5	23

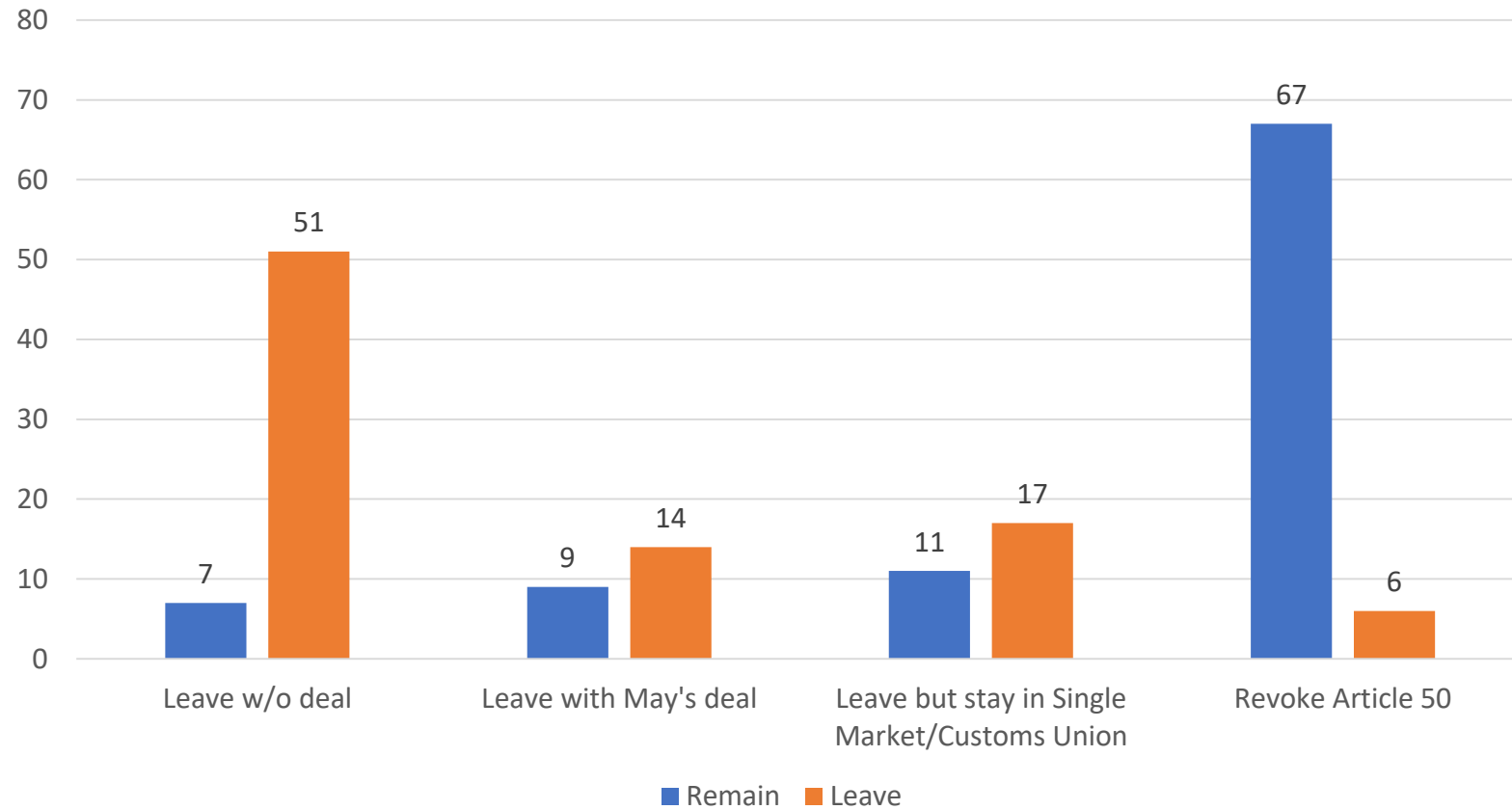
Source: Average of polls by BMG, Deltapoll, Kantar, Panelbase, and Survation 1-21.10.19

The Popularity of Extremes



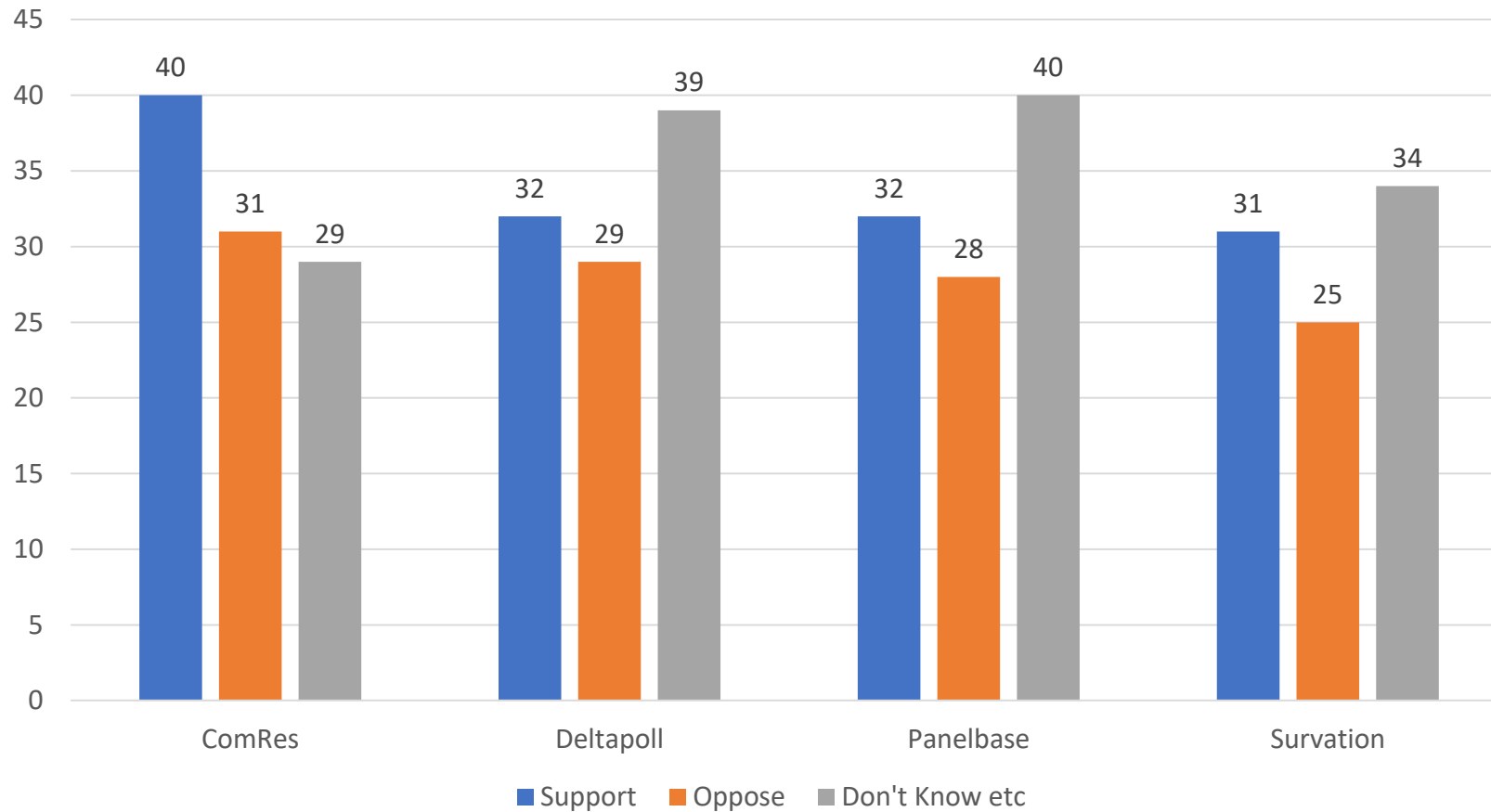
Source: Kantar

Poles Apart



Source: Kantar, average of April, May, August and September 2019

Support/Oppose Johnson's Deal



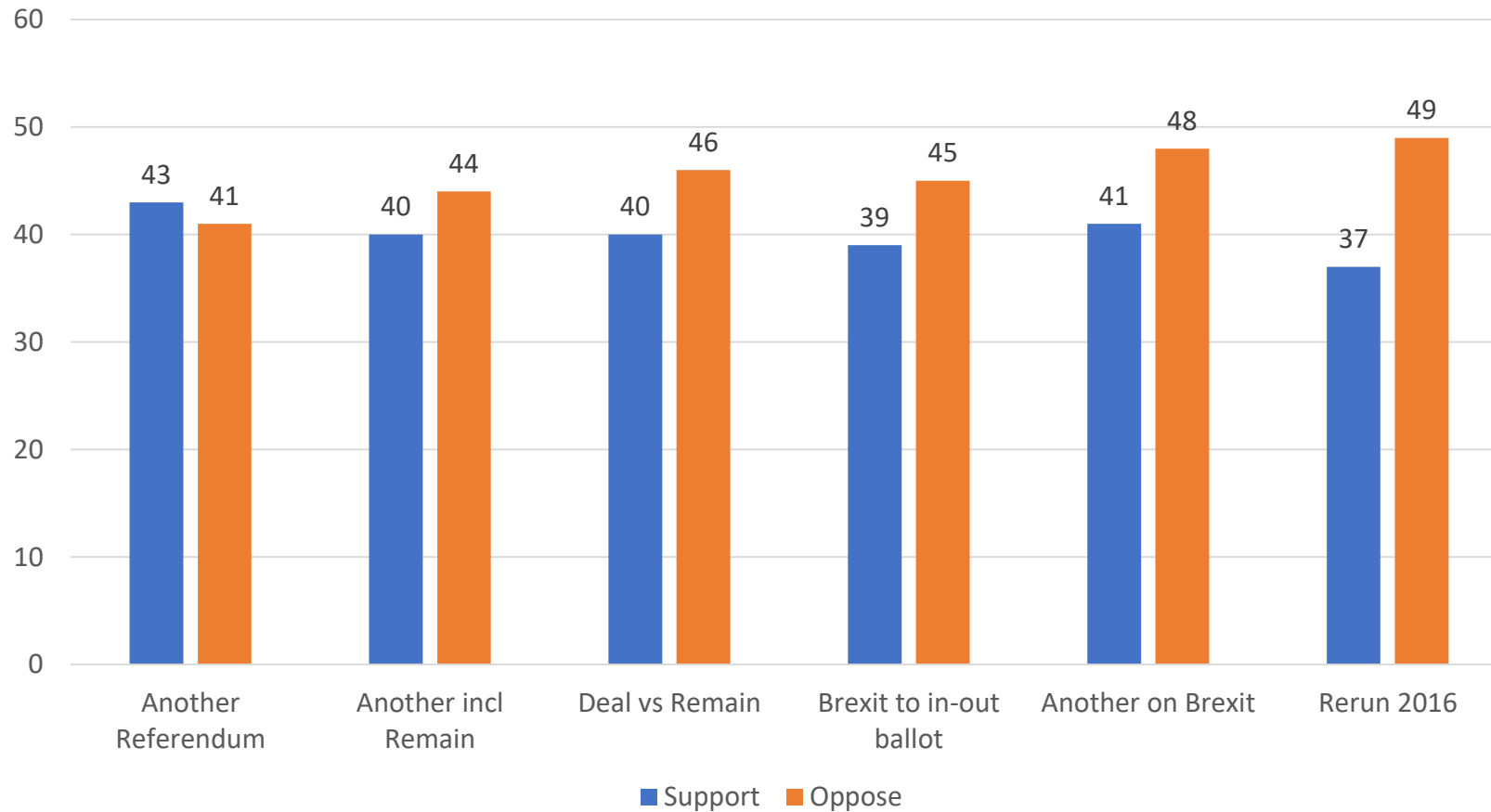
Sources: ComRes 17.10.19; Deltapoll 18-21.10.19; Panelbase 17-18.10.19; Survation 17-18.10.19

A Remain/Leave Divide

	2016 Leave				2016 Remain			
	ComRe s	Deltap oll	Panelb ase	Survati on	ComRe s	Deltap oll	Panelb ase	Survati on
Support	66	54	48	50	19	16	20	17
Oppose	8	14	15	10	55	48	44	49

Sources: ComRes 17.10.19; Deltapoll 18-21.10.19; Panelbase 17-18.10.19; Survation 17-18.10.19

Another Referendum?



Sources: Survation 17-18.10.19; Ipsos MORI 11-14.10.19; YouGov 20-21.10.19; ComRes 17.10.19; Panelbase 9-11.10.19; ComRes 9-10.10.19

Divided Over Another Referendum Too

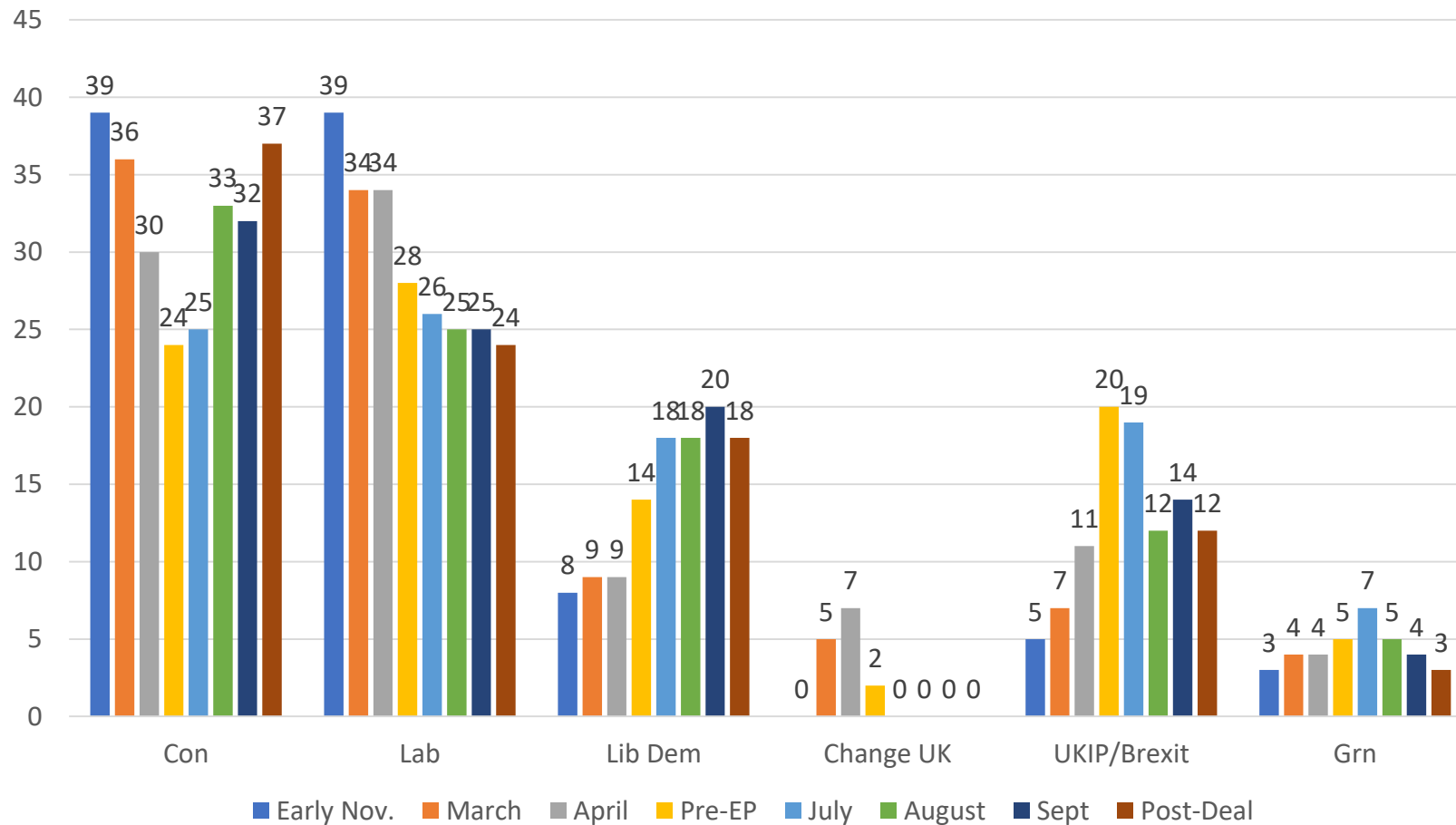
	Remain Voters		Leave Voters	
	Support	Oppose	Support	Oppose
Another referendum	72	16	17	73
Another incl Remain	70	18	10	79
Deal vs Remain	72	17	10	83
Brexit to in-out ballot	71	16	11	77
Another on Brexit	68	23	16	76
Rerun 2016	66	22	10	82

Sources: Survation 17-18.10.19; Ipsos MORI 11-14.10.19; YouGov 20-21.10.19; ComRes 17.10.19; Panelbase 9-11.10.19; ComRes 9-10.10.19

The Party Divide

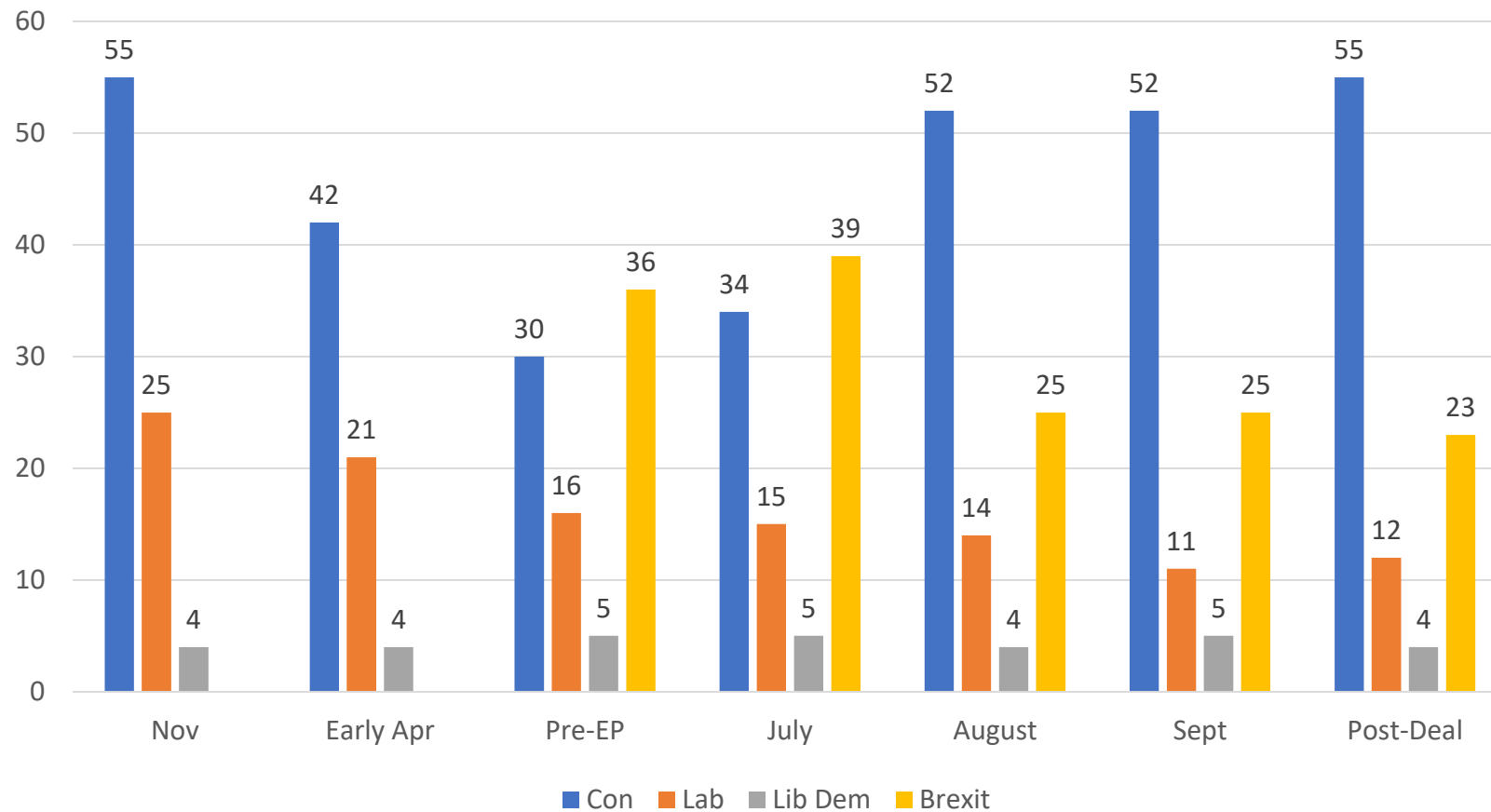
- Conservatives – Leave with deal at end of January
- Brexit – Leave
- Labour – Renegotiate and hold 2nd referendum
- SNP/PC/Greens – Remain after 2nd referendum
- Liberal Democrats – Remain either with or w/o a 2nd referendum

A Year of Brexit



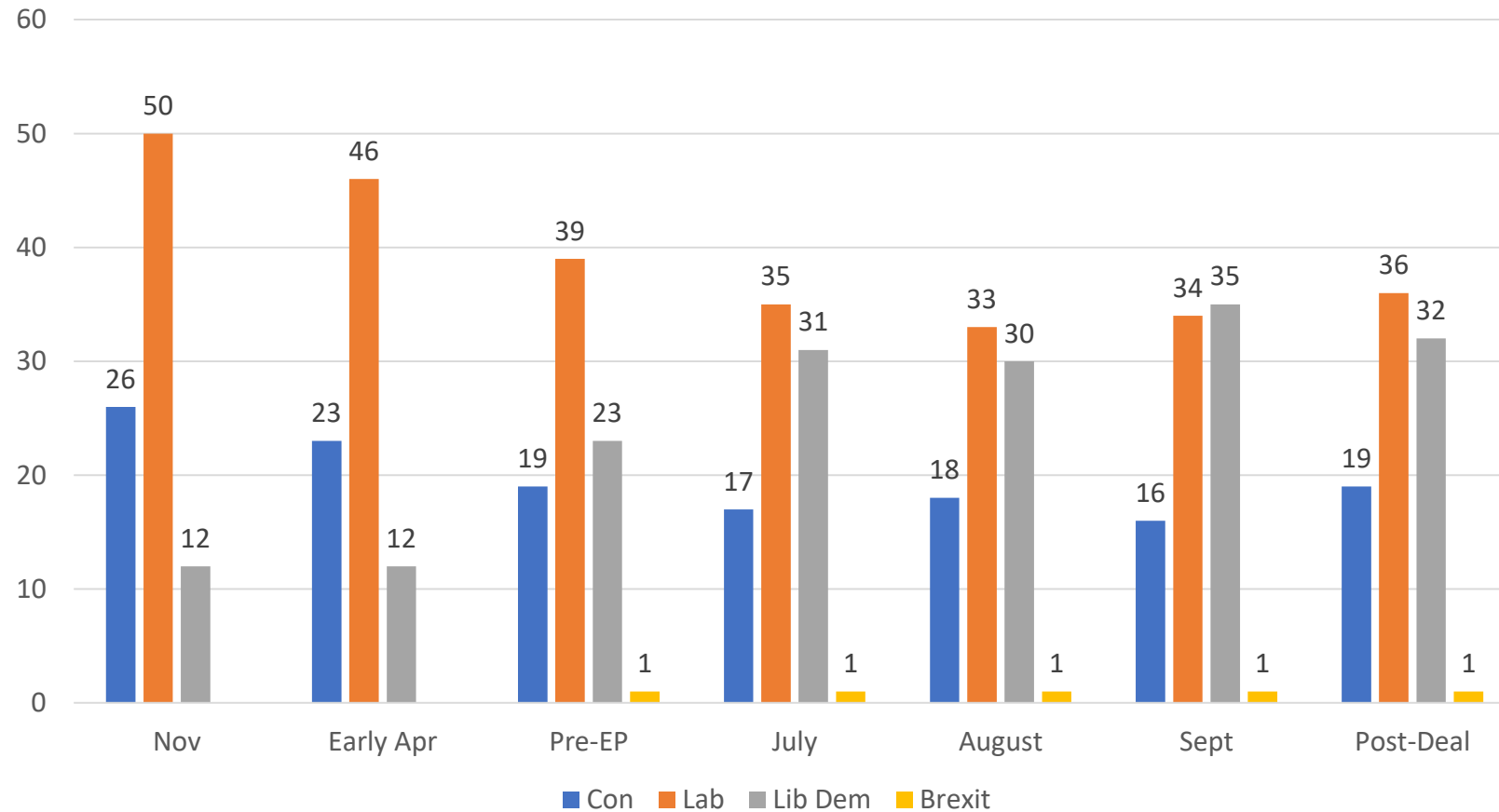
Source: Average of most recent poll conducted by each of BMG, ComRes, Deltapoll, Hanbury, ICM, Ipsos MORI, Kantar, Opinium, Panelbase, Survation, YouGov up to 15.11.19/25.3.19/12.4.19/22.5.19/17.7.19/31.8.19/1.10.19/7-27.10.19.

Westminster Vote of Leavers



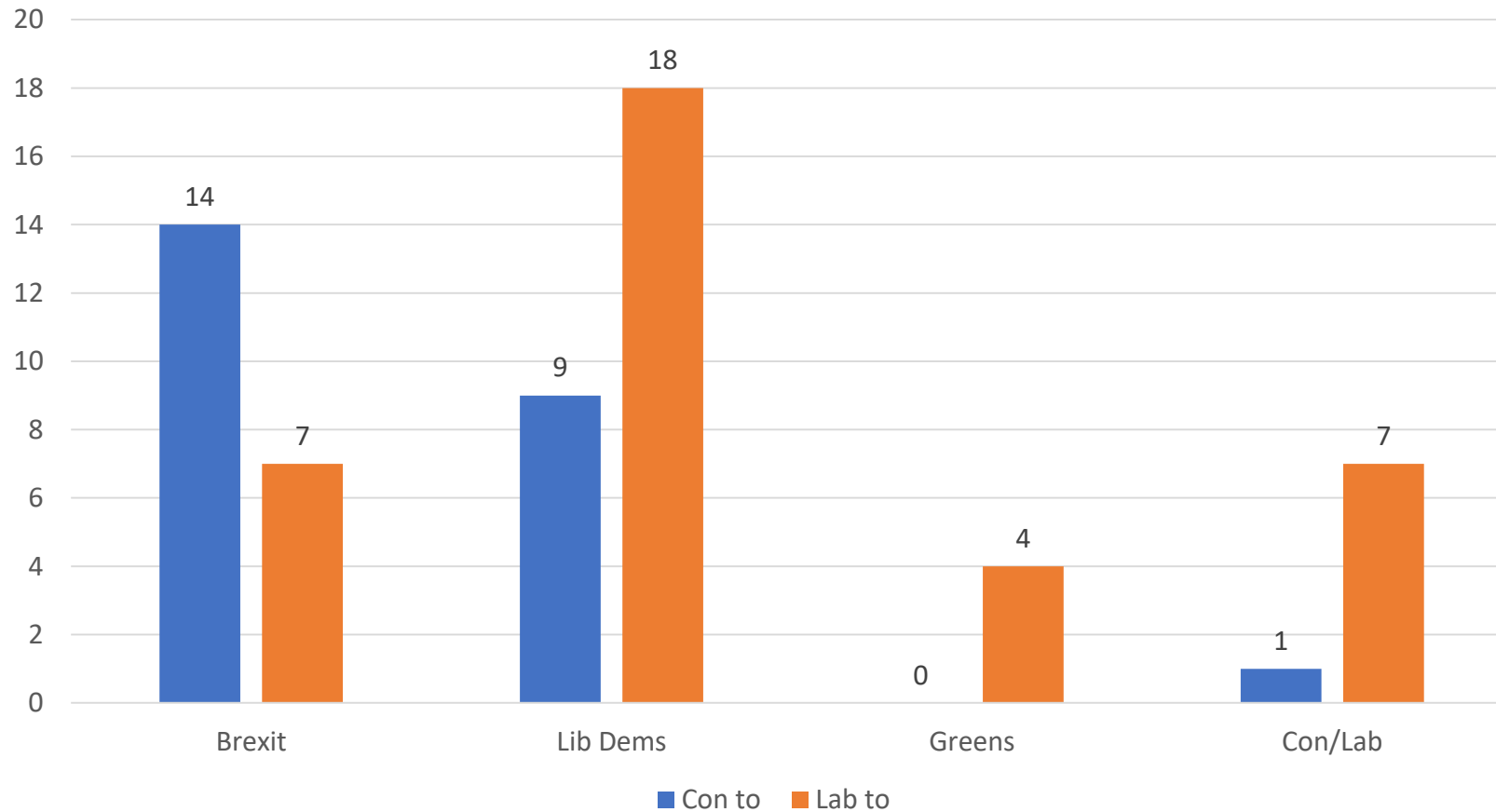
Source: Average of most recent poll conducted. by each of BMG, ComRes, Deltapoll, GRQ, Hanbury, ICM, Kantar, Opinium, Survation, YouGov up to 15.11.19/12.4.19/23.5.19/17.7.19/31.8.19/ 1.10.19/17-27.10.19

Westminster Vote of Remainers



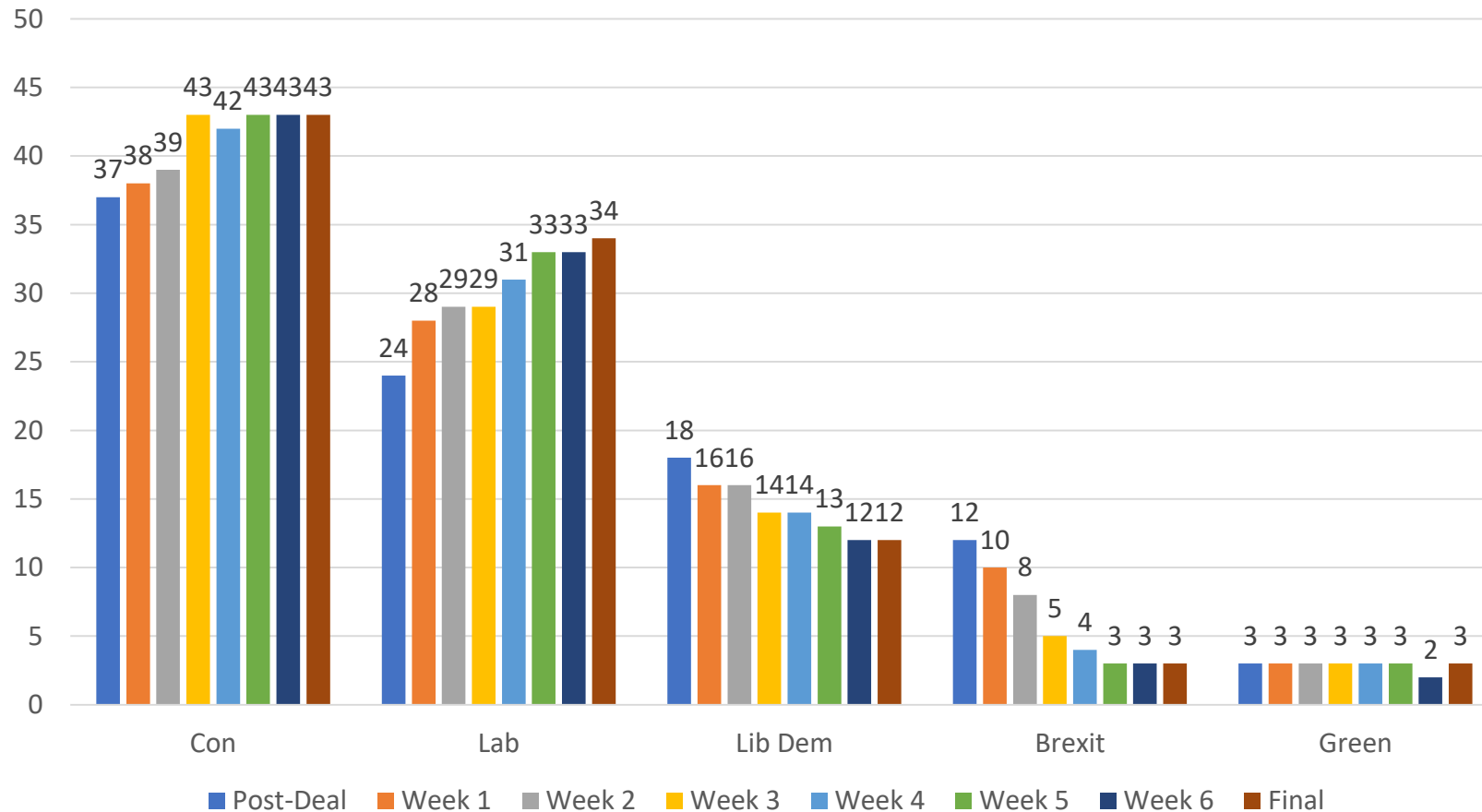
Source: Average of most recent poll conducted by each of BMG, ComRes, Deltapoll, GRQ, Hanbury, ICM, Kantar, Opinium, Panelbase, Survation, YouGov up to 15.11.19/12.4.19/23.5.19/11.7.19/31.8.19 /1.10.19/17-27.10.19

The Pattern of Switching since 2017 – Post - Deal



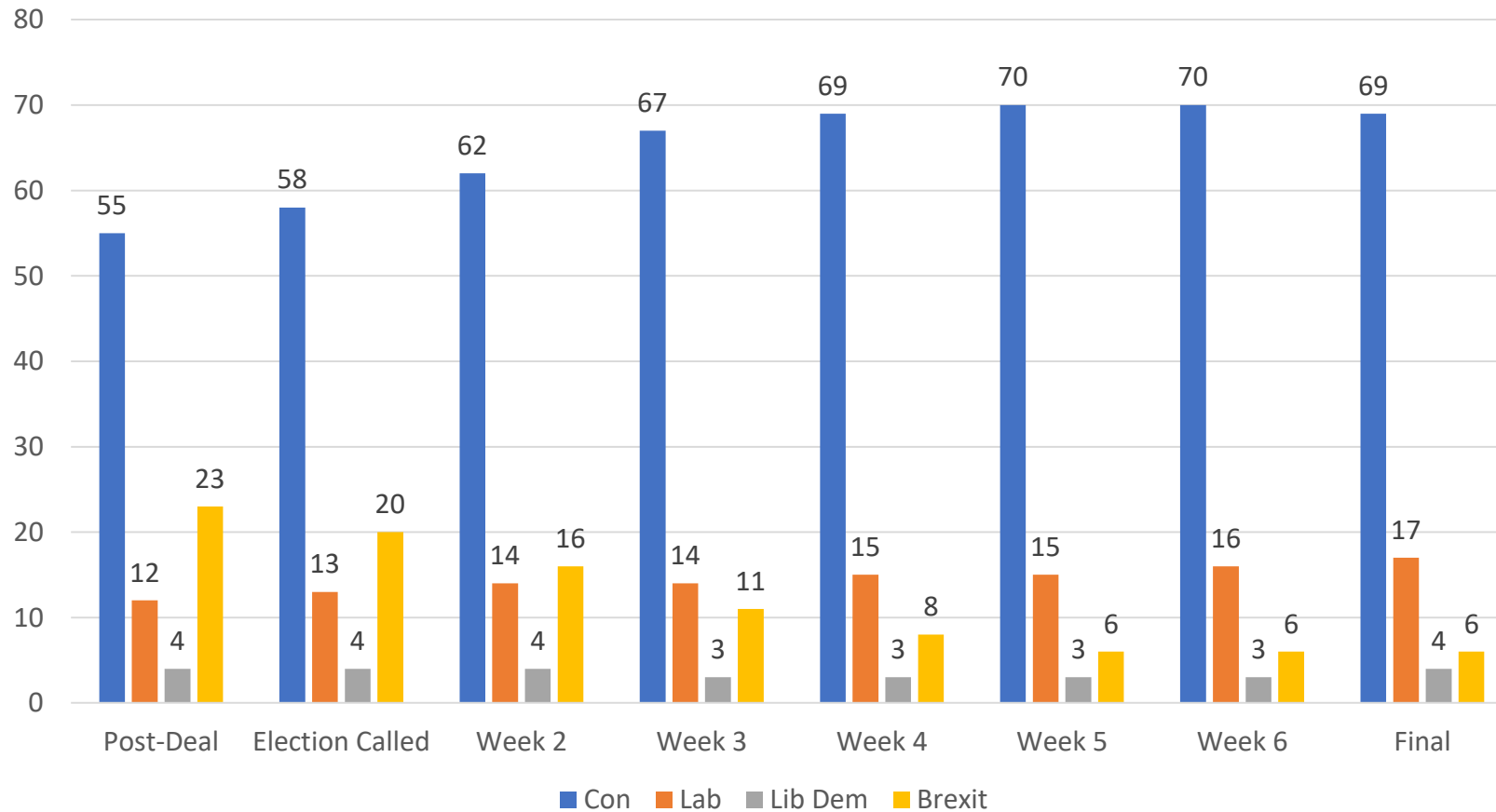
Source: Average of most recent poll by Deltapoll, Opinium, Panelbase, Survation and YouGov 17-25.10.19

The Campaign Polls



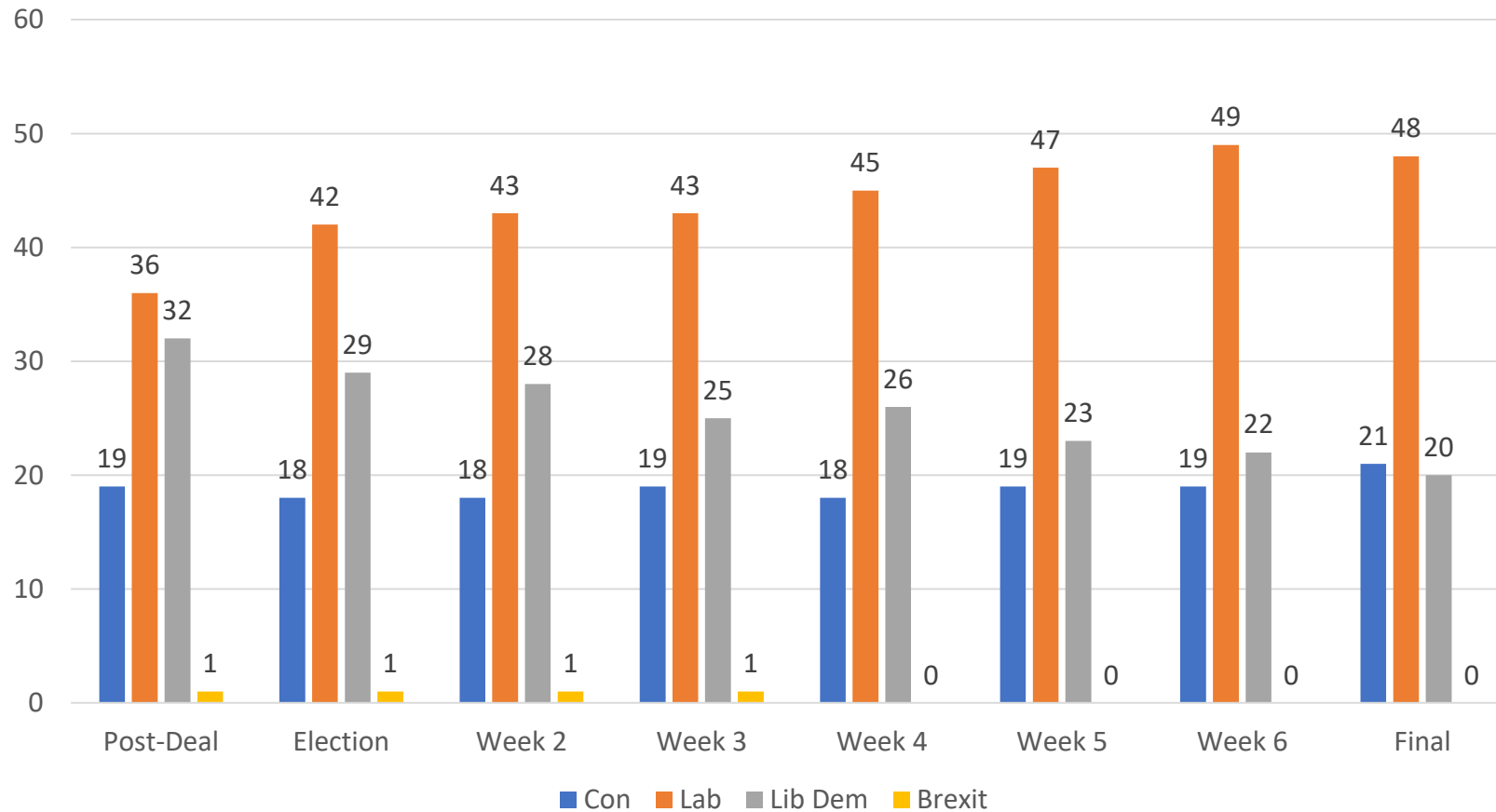
Post Deal: Average of most recent. poll 7-27.10.19 by 9 companies. Week 1: Average of most recent poll to 6.11.19 by 8 companies. Week 2: Average of most recent poll by 9 companies 6-12.11.19. Week 3: Average of 10 companies 13-19.11.19: Week 4: Average of 9 companies 19-26.11.19; Week 5: Average of 9 companies 26.11—3.12.19; Week 6: Average of 8 companies 4-7.12.19: Final: Average of 10 companies 4-11.12.19

Leavers In The Election



Average of most recent poll by BMG, ComRes, Detapoll, ICM, Kantar, Number Cruncher Politics, Opinium, ORB, Panelbase, Survation, YouGov 17-27.11.19/ 6.11.19/12.11.19/19.11.19/26.11.19/3.12.19/7.12.19/11.12.19

Remainers in the Election



Average of most recent poll by BMG, ComRes, Detapoll, ICM, Kantar, Number Cruncher Politics, Opinium, ORB, Panelbase, Survation, YouGov 17-27.11.19/ 6.11.19/12.11.19/19.11.19/23.11.19/3.12.19/7.12.19/11.12.19

The Result

	% Votes (GB)	Change since 2017	Seats (UK)	Change since 2017
Conservative	44.7	+1.2	365	+49
Brexit	2.1	(+0.2)	0	-
Labour	33.0	-8.0	203	-59
Liberal Democrats	11.8	+4.2	11	-1
SNP	4.0	+0.9	48	+13
Greens	2.8	+1.1	1	n/c
PC	0.4	-0.1	4	+1
Others	1.1	+0.4	18	n/c

Highest Tory vote since 1979 and biggest majority since 1987

Lowest Lab seats since 1983 but only lowest vote since 2010

The Brexit Divide - 1

	Remain Voters		Leave Voters	
	2019	2017	2019	2017
Conservative	19	25	74	65
Brexit/UKIP	0	0	4	4
Labour	49	55	14	24
Liberal Democrats	21	12	3	3
SNP/PC	7	5	2	2
Greens	4	2	2	1

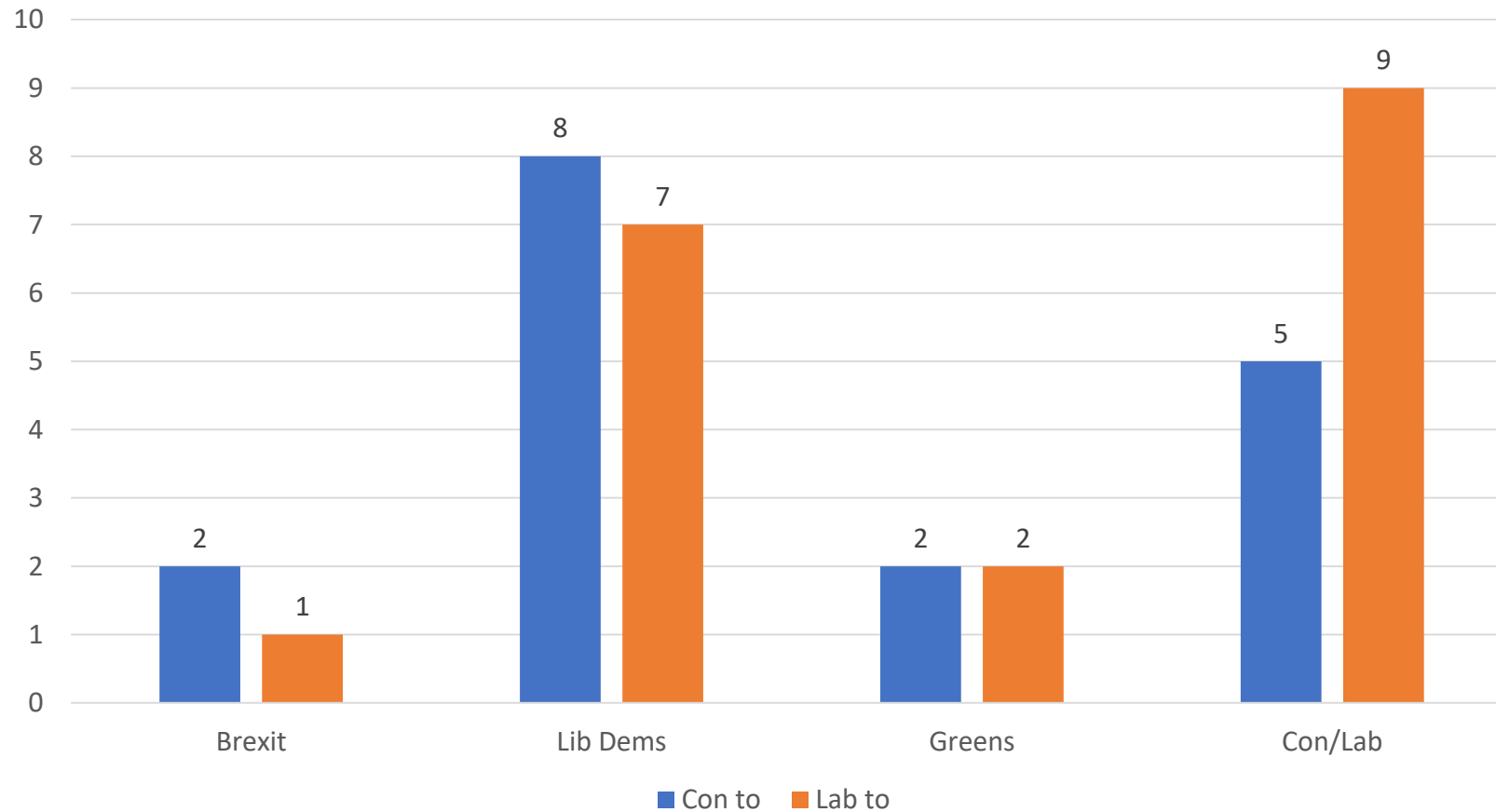
Source: YouGov (41,995) 13-16.12.19; (52,609) 9-13.6.17.

The Brexit Divide - 2

	Remain Voters		Leave Voters	
	2019	2017	2019	2017
Conservative	20	25	73	60
Brexit/UKIP	0	0	4	6
Labour	47	51	16	25
Liberal Democrats	21	14	3	4
SNP/PC	7	7	2	2
Greens	4	3	2	2

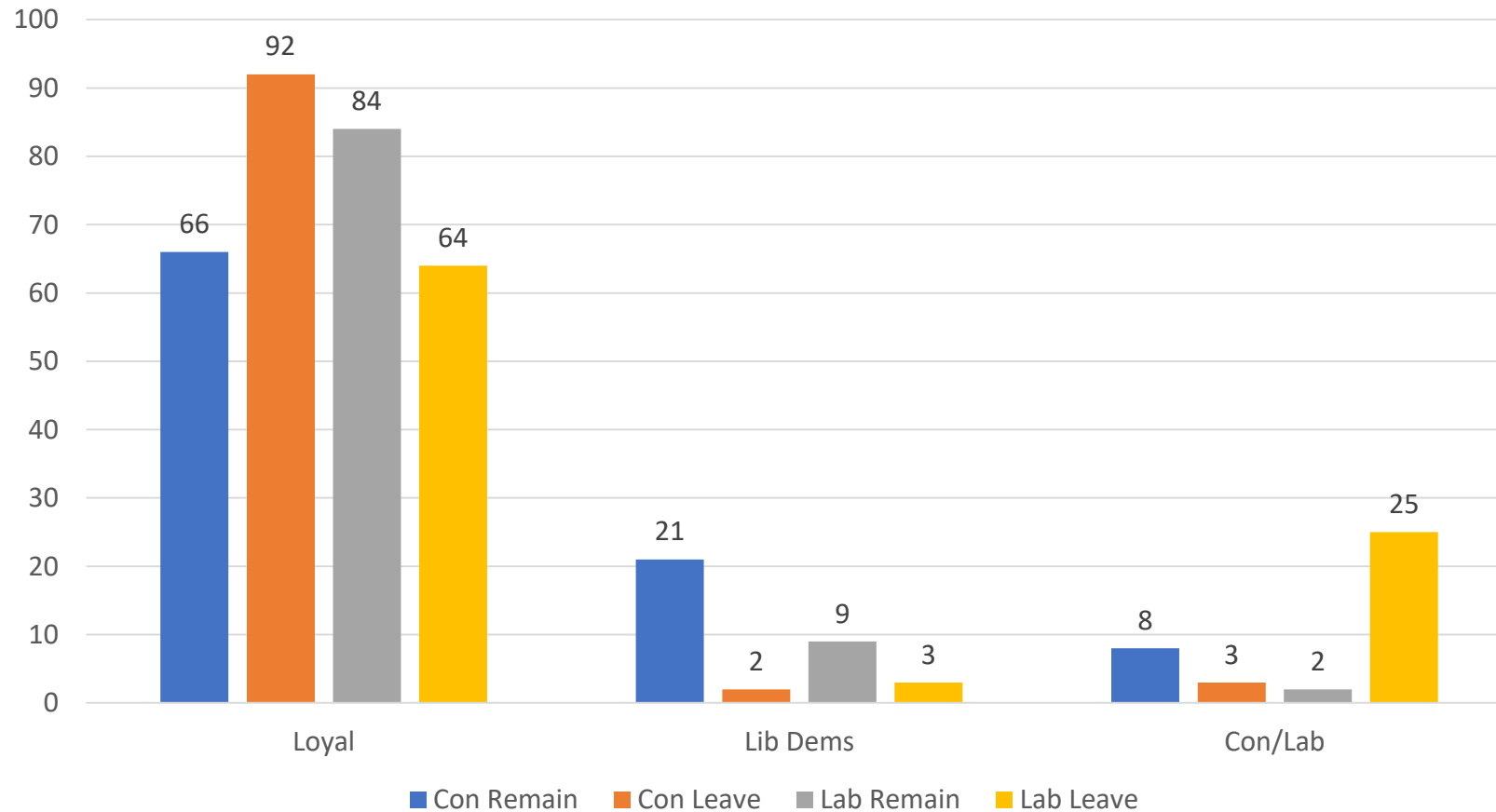
Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls: (13,128) 6-9.6.17; (14,394)11-12.12.19. Voters only.

The Final Pattern of Switching 2017-19 (1)



Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 11-12.12.19. 14% of 2017 LDs switched to Con, while 27% did so to Lab

The Final Pattern of Switching 20917-19 (2)



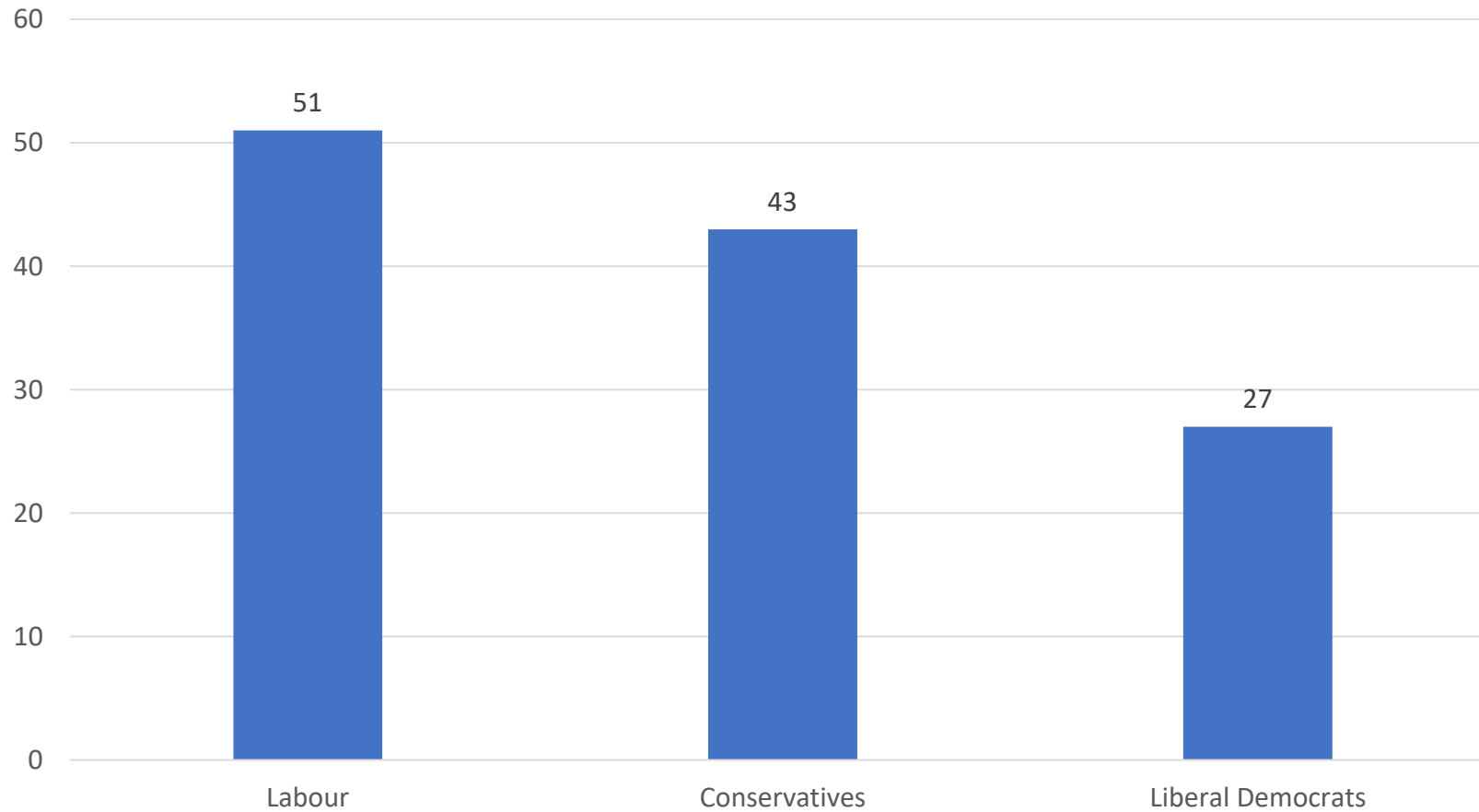
Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 11-12.12.19.

The Long-Term Change

	Remain Voters		Leave Voters	
	2019	2015	2019	2015
Conservative	19	30	74	45
Brexit/UKIP	0	1	4	25
Labour	49	43	14	20
Liberal Democrats	21	11	3	5
SNP/PC	7	7	2	3
Greens	4	7	2	1

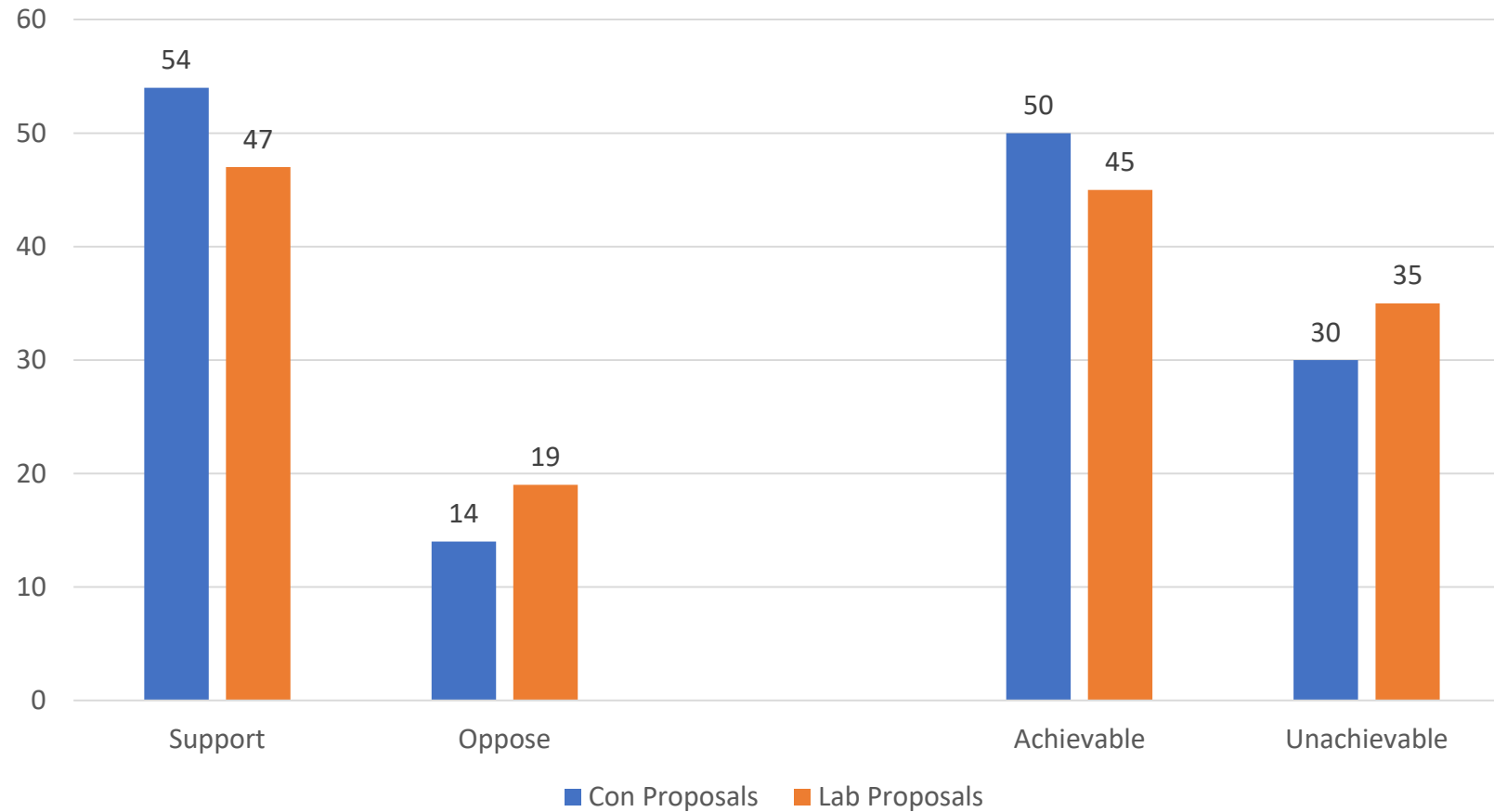
Source: YouGov 13-16.12.19; 9-13.6.17.

Average Policy Recognition



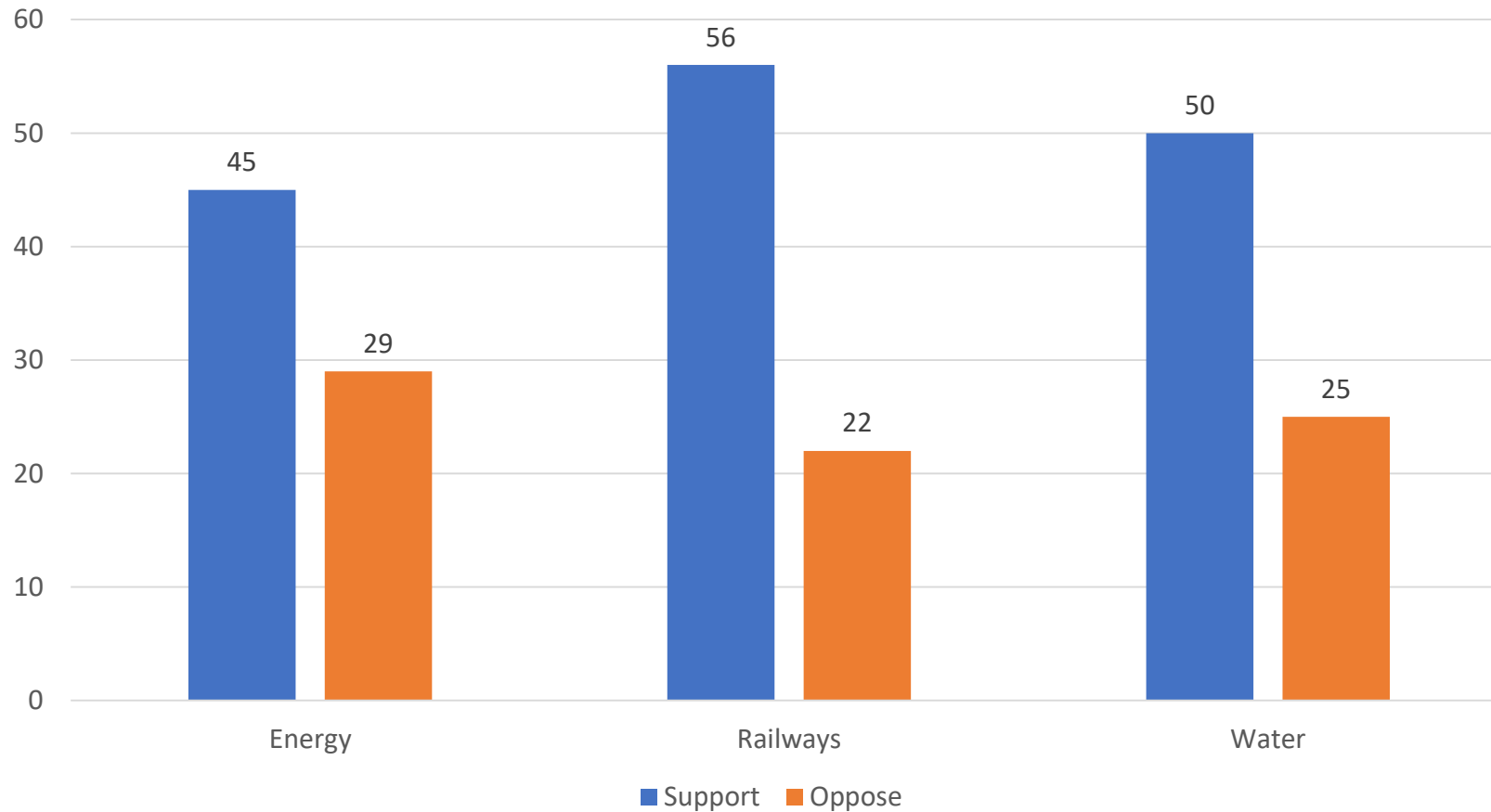
Source: Lord Ashcroft Polls 28.11-2.12.19

The Policy Ledger



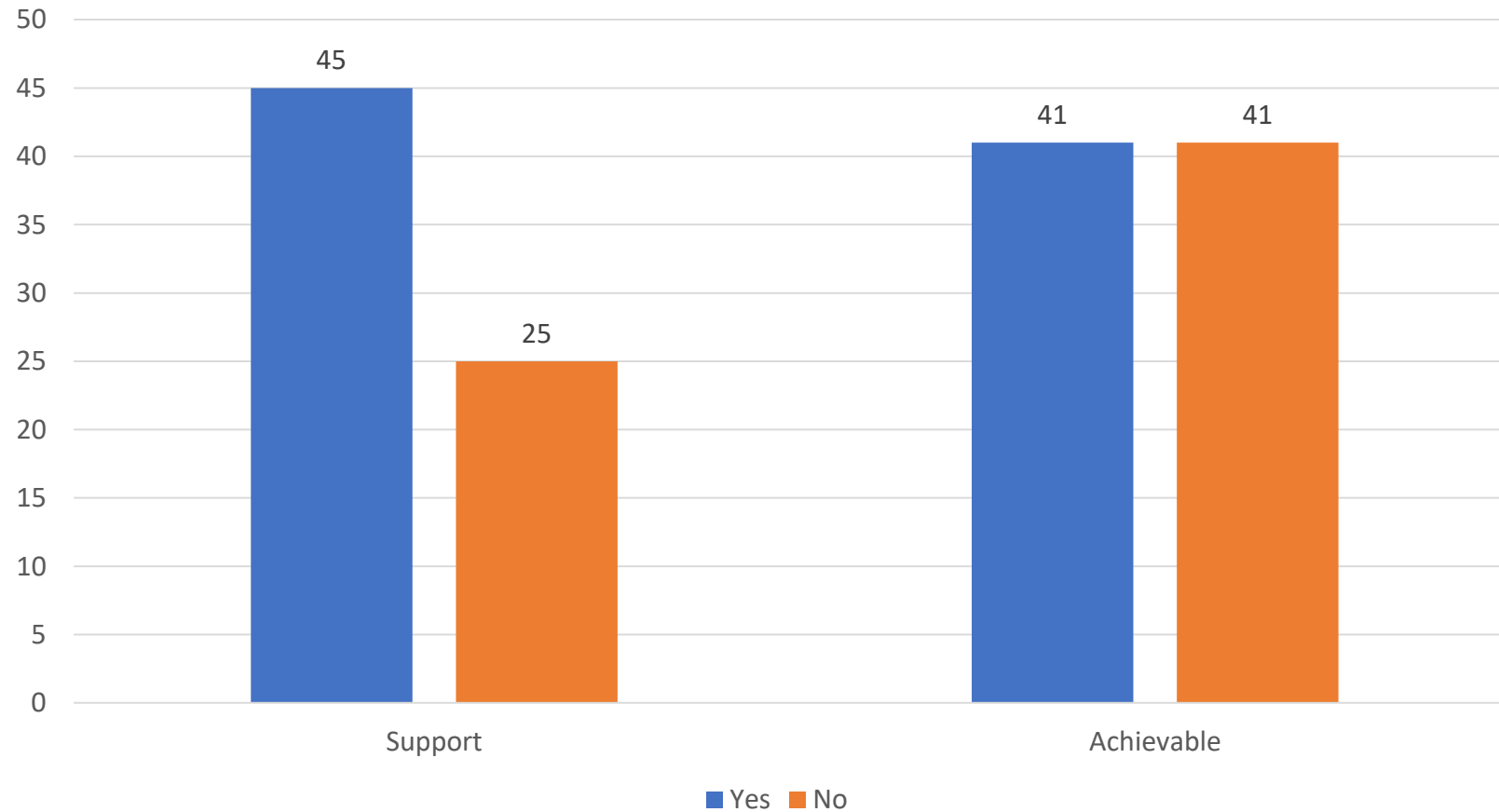
Source: Opinium: Average of 11 Conservative and 14 Labour manifesto proposals 27-29.11.19

Attitudes to Nationalisation



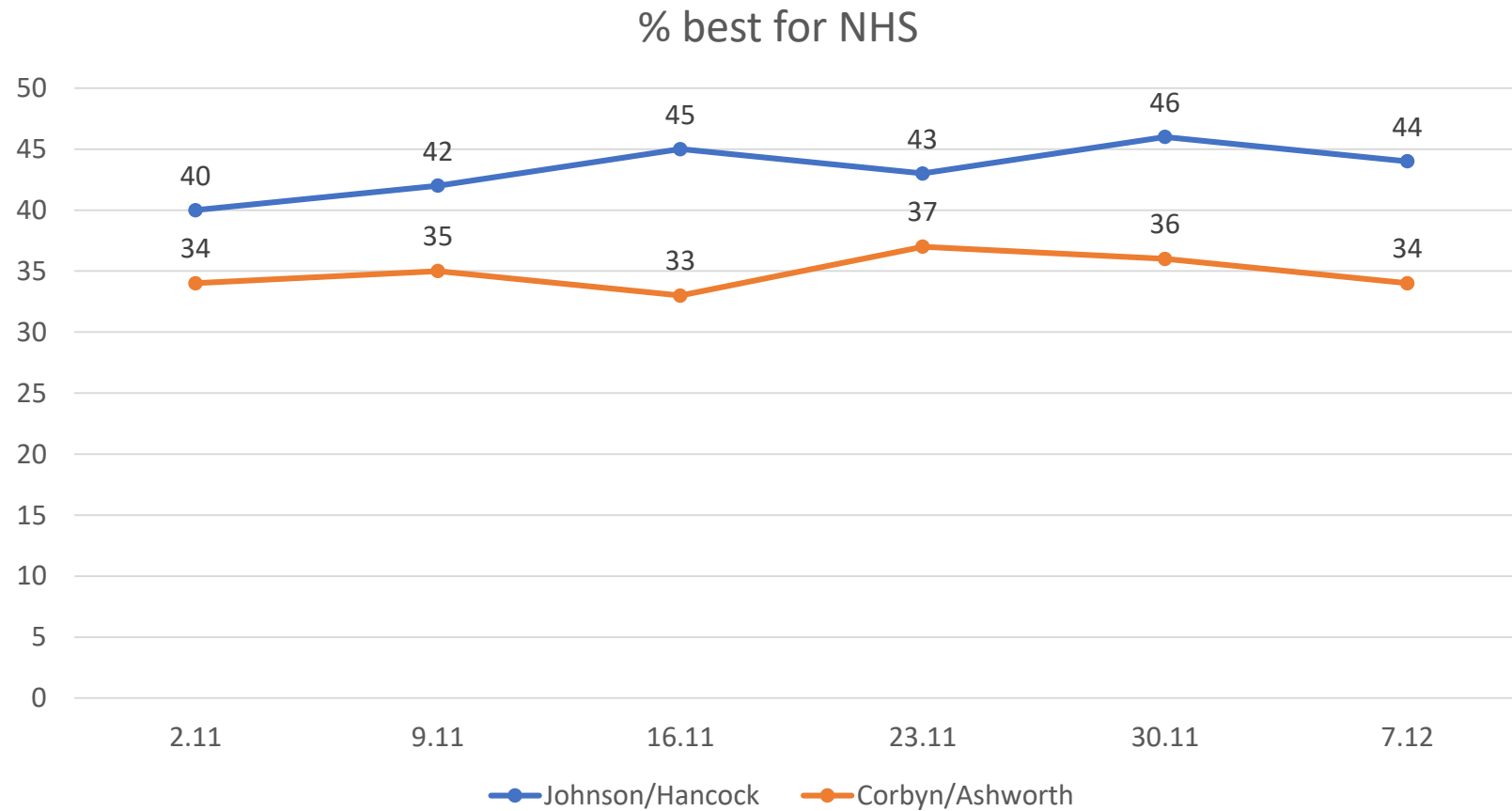
Source: YouGov 7-8.11.19

Two Perspectives on Railway Nationalisation



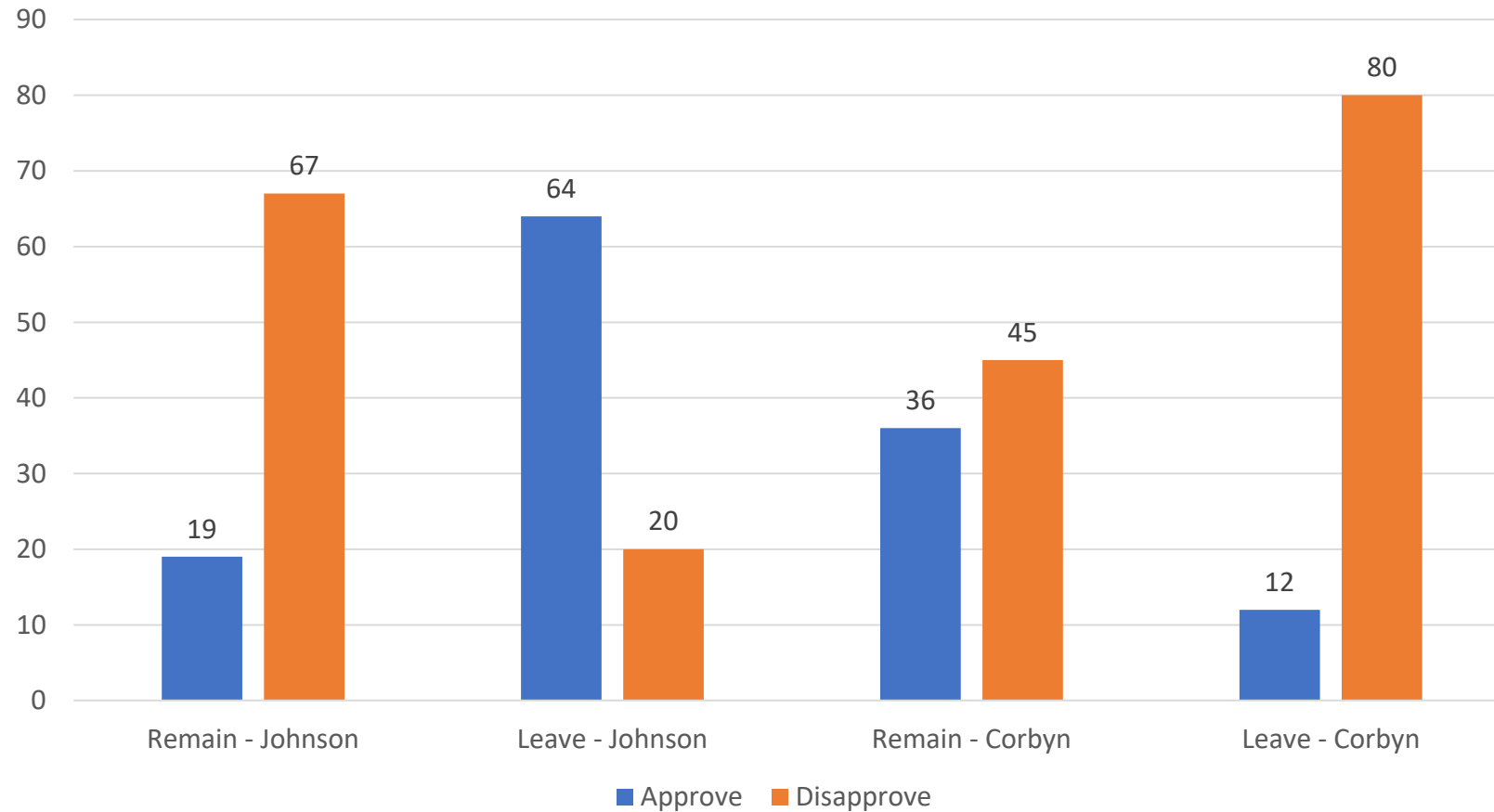
Source: Opinium 27-19.11.19

Distrusted Even on Health



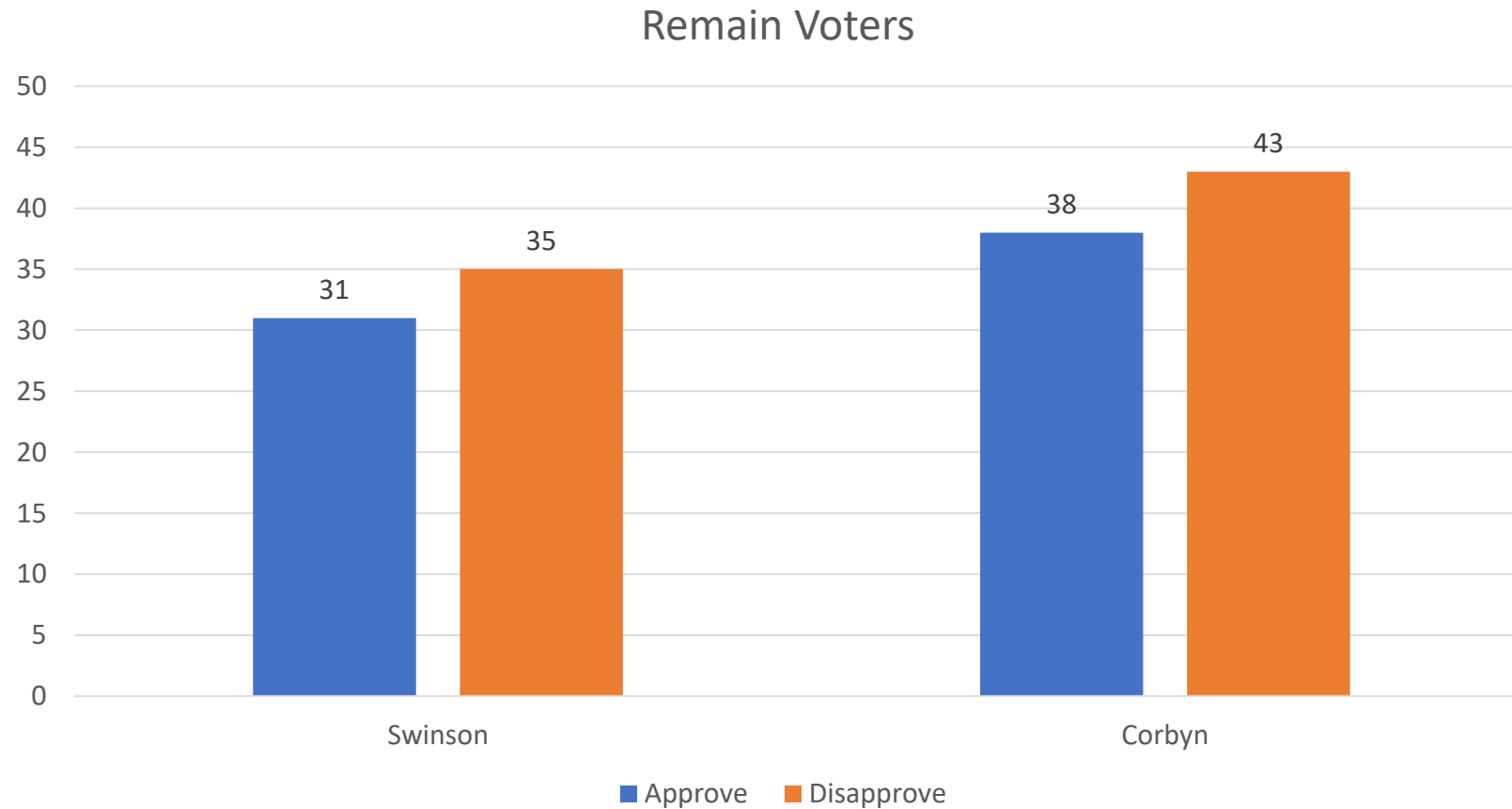
Source: Deltapoll

Differences of Leadership



Source: Average of 3 Opinimum Polls: 27.11-11.12.19

Lack of Pulling Power



Source: Opinium 10-11.12.19

Summary

- Electorate were presented with (more or less) a binary choice that largely aligned with the (sharp) Remain/Leave divide – but with more than one party backing each view.
- Voters were stable in their Brexit preferences but potentially volatile in how they expressed them.
- Both Conservative and Labour advanced in the campaign – Con by squeezing Brexit/Leave, Labour by squeezing Lib Dem/Remain. Labour did not reverse existing losses to Con.
- Conservative victory founded on uniting the Leave vote, while the Remain vote was relatively divided. Attitudes towards Brexit itself did not change.
- Striking a new deal, leadership evaluations (and perceptions of competence) between them helped unite the Leave vote – and leave Remain divided.

Conclusion

- Most voters voted in line with their Brexit preference.
- Consequently, Brexit structured party choice even more than in 2017 (and 2015).
- But that does not mean that the aggregate outcome necessarily identified the majority view.

Session Three: Parties

Lord Hayward

A Conservative Perspective

Rory MacQueen

Chief Economic Advisor, Shadow Chancellor



British Polling Council

Ipsos MORI



Session Four: Voters

Ben Page @benatipsosmori

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Tara Beard-Knowland @IpsosMORI

Ipsos MORI

Nick Moon

Moonlight Research

Anthony Wells @anthonyjwells

YouGov



Ipsos MORI



The voters...

Jan 2020

BEN PAGE

**CHIEF EXECUTIVE, IPSOS MORI,
VISITING PROFESSOR, KINGS COLLEGE LONDON**



@benatipsosmori / ben.page@ipsos.com

Ipsos MORI



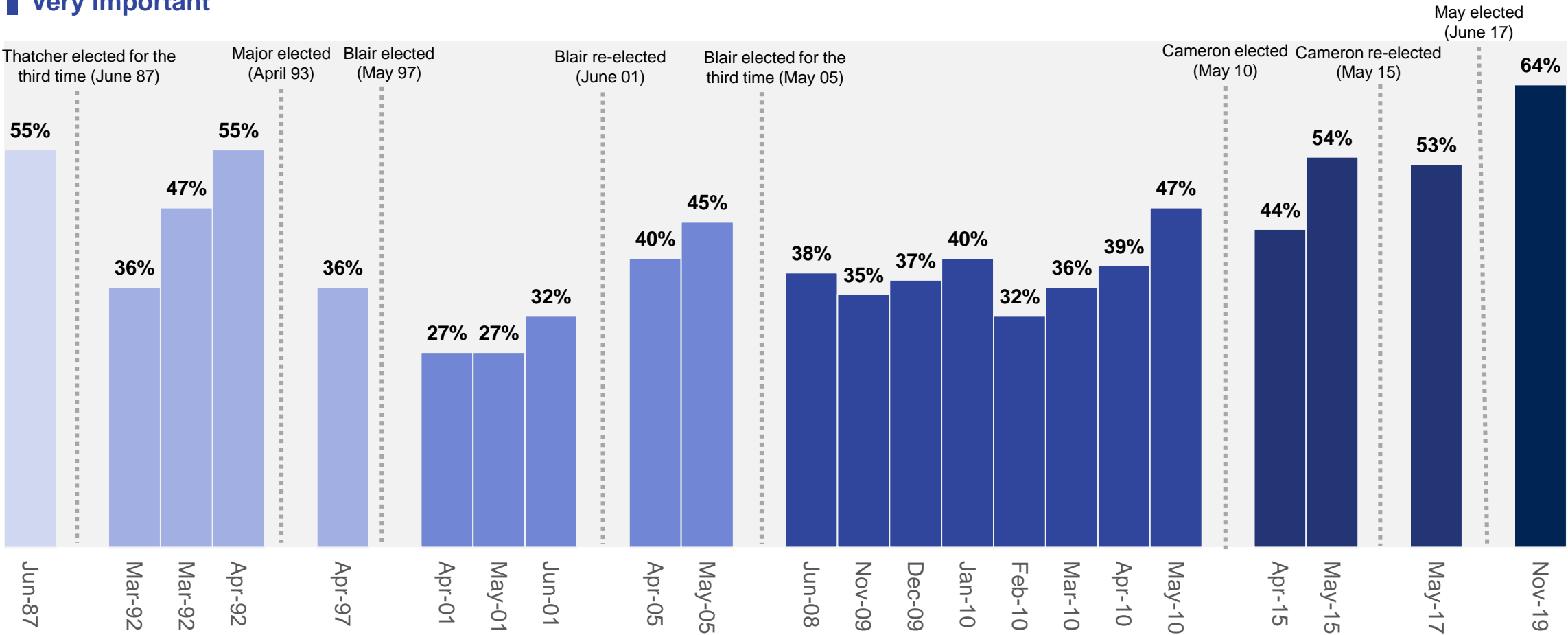
Polling Accuracy in the 2019 General Election

	Con	Lab	LD	Grn	Brex	Other	Average error
BMG	41	32	14	3	4	5	1.60
Deltapoll	45	35	10	3	4	4	1.30
Focal Data	42	34	14	3	3	4	1.43
ICM	42	36	12	2	3	4	1.53
Ipsos MORI	44	33	12	3	2	6	0.27
Kantar	44	32	13	3	3	5	0.77
NCP	43	33	12	3	3	6	0.57
Opinium	45	33	12	2	2	6	0.30
Panelbase	43	34	11	3	4	5	1.03
Qriously	43	30	12	4	3	8	1.57
Savanta ComRes	41	36	12	2	3	6	1.50
Survation	45	34	9	3	3	6	0.93
YouGov	43	34	12	3	3	5	0.77
<i>"Poll of polls"</i>	43.2	33.5	11.9	2.8	3.1	5.4	0.57
Result	44.7	33	11.8	2.8	2.1	5.6	

Higher salience of election did not translate into turnout

How important is it to you personally who wins the next general election?

Very important



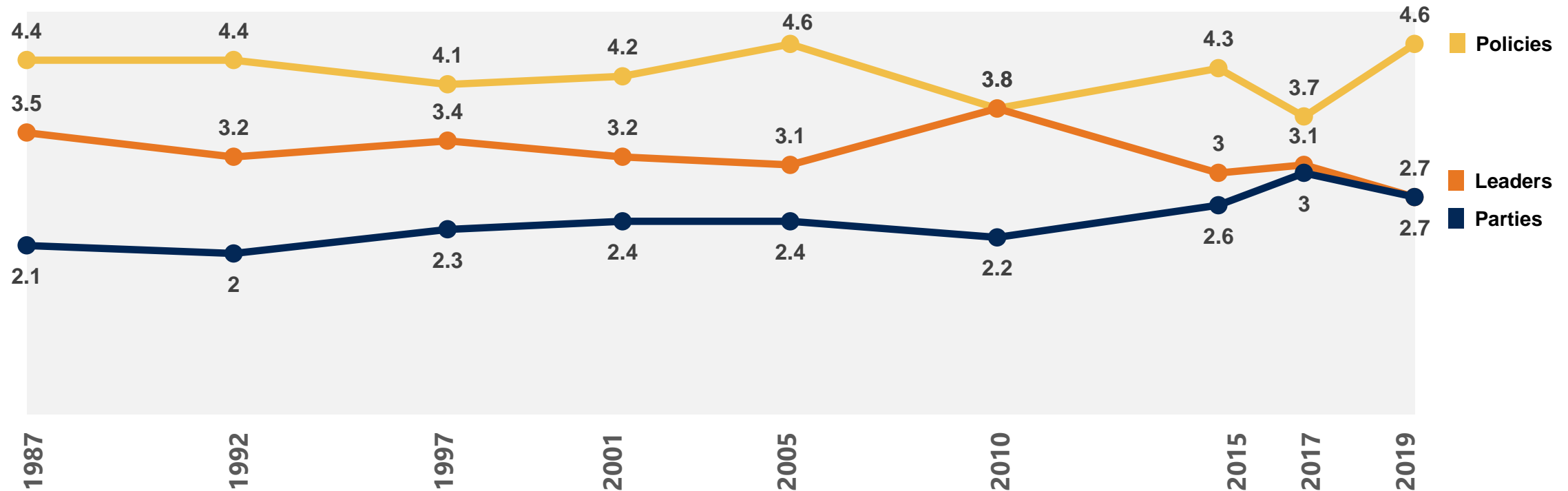
Base: c.1,000 British adults 18+ each month

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

What matters to you when voting? GE2005-GE2019

If you had a total of ten points to allocate according to how important each of these was to you, how many points would you allocate to the leaders of the party you intend voting for, how many to its policies, and how many to the party as a whole?

Mean results among all giving a voting intention

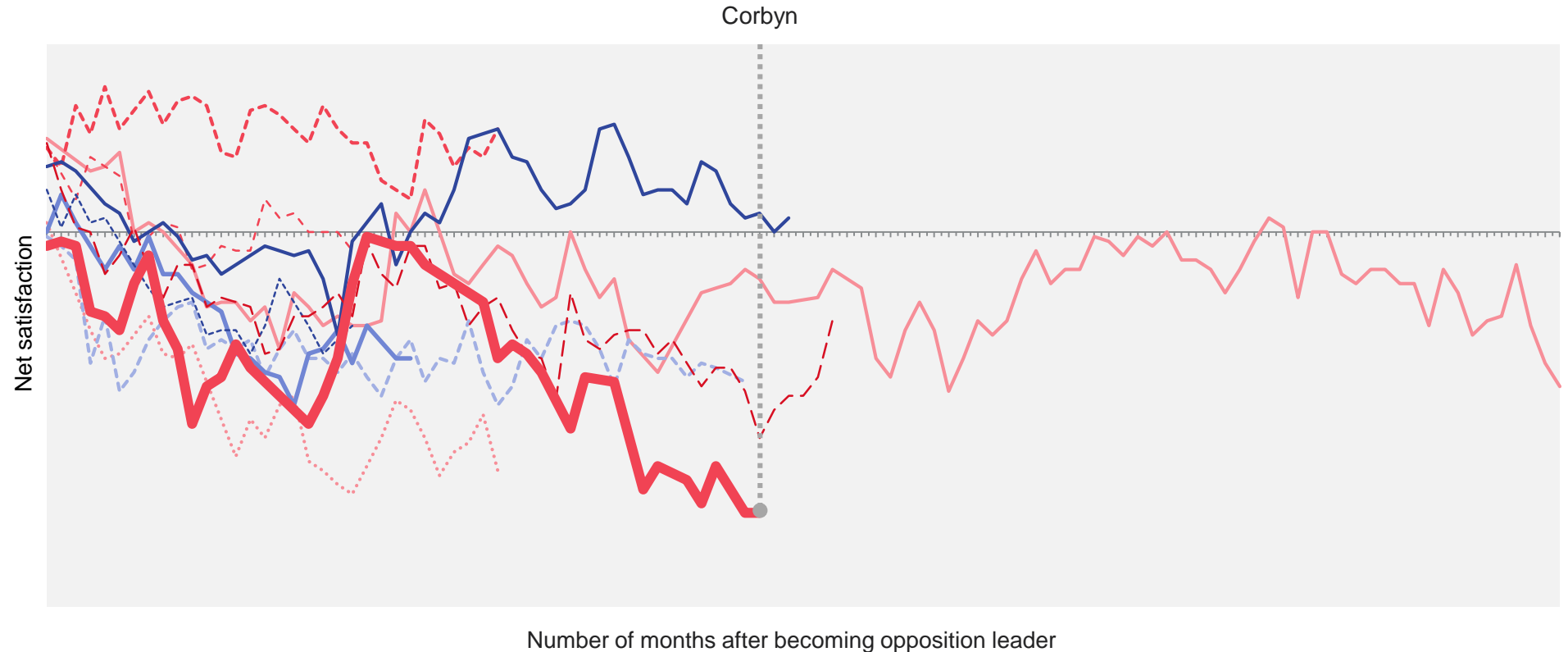


Base: c.1,000 British adults 18+ each month giving a voting intention

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Problems with Corbyn...

How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way ... is doing his job as leader of the ... Party?



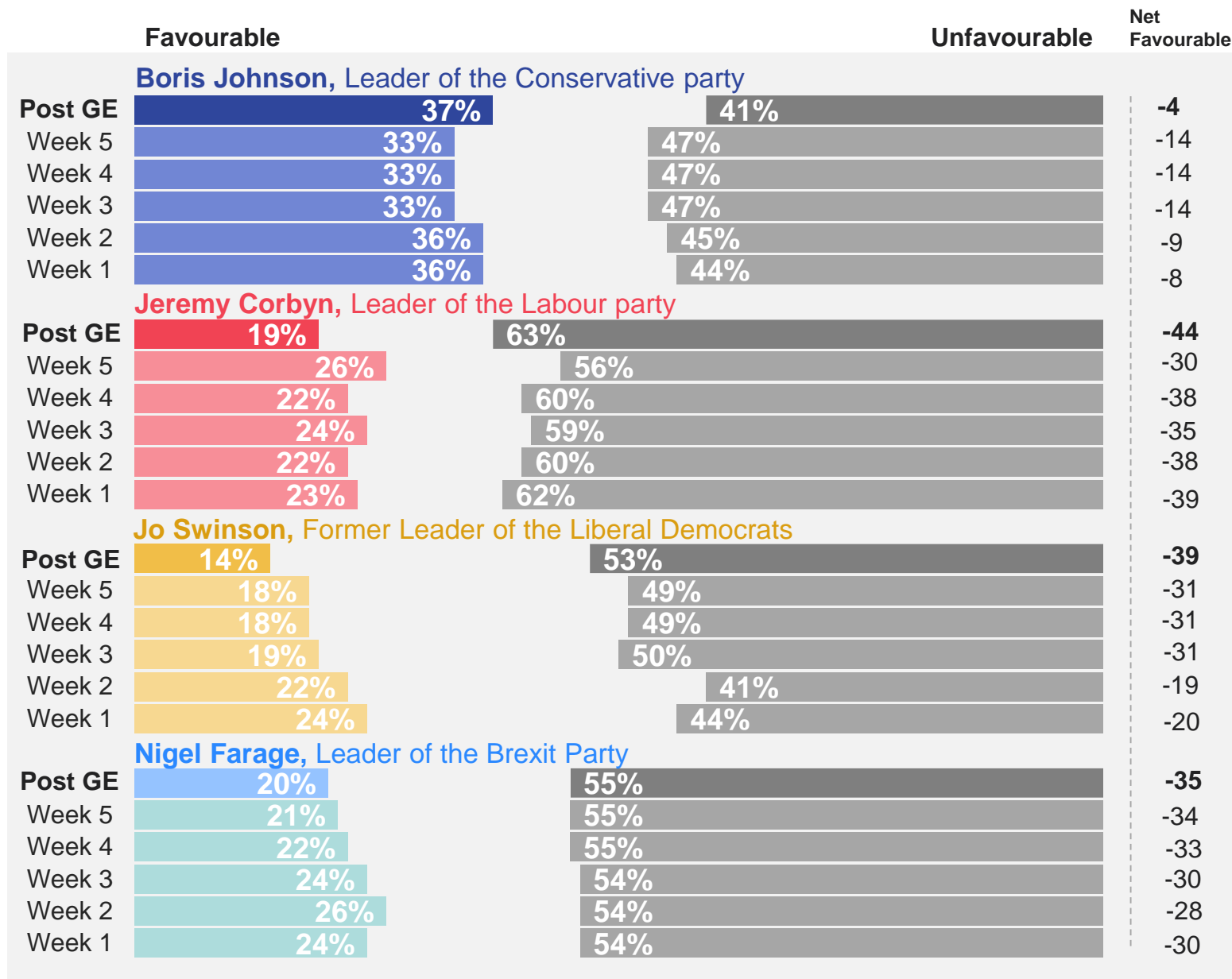
Note: Data collected prior to February 2008 was collected via face-to-face methodology; data collected from February 2008 was via telephone

Base: c.1,000 British adults each month

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Steady BoJo lead No Corbyn surge Swinson bombed

To what extent, if at all, do you have a favourable or unfavourable opinion of the following politicians and political parties?

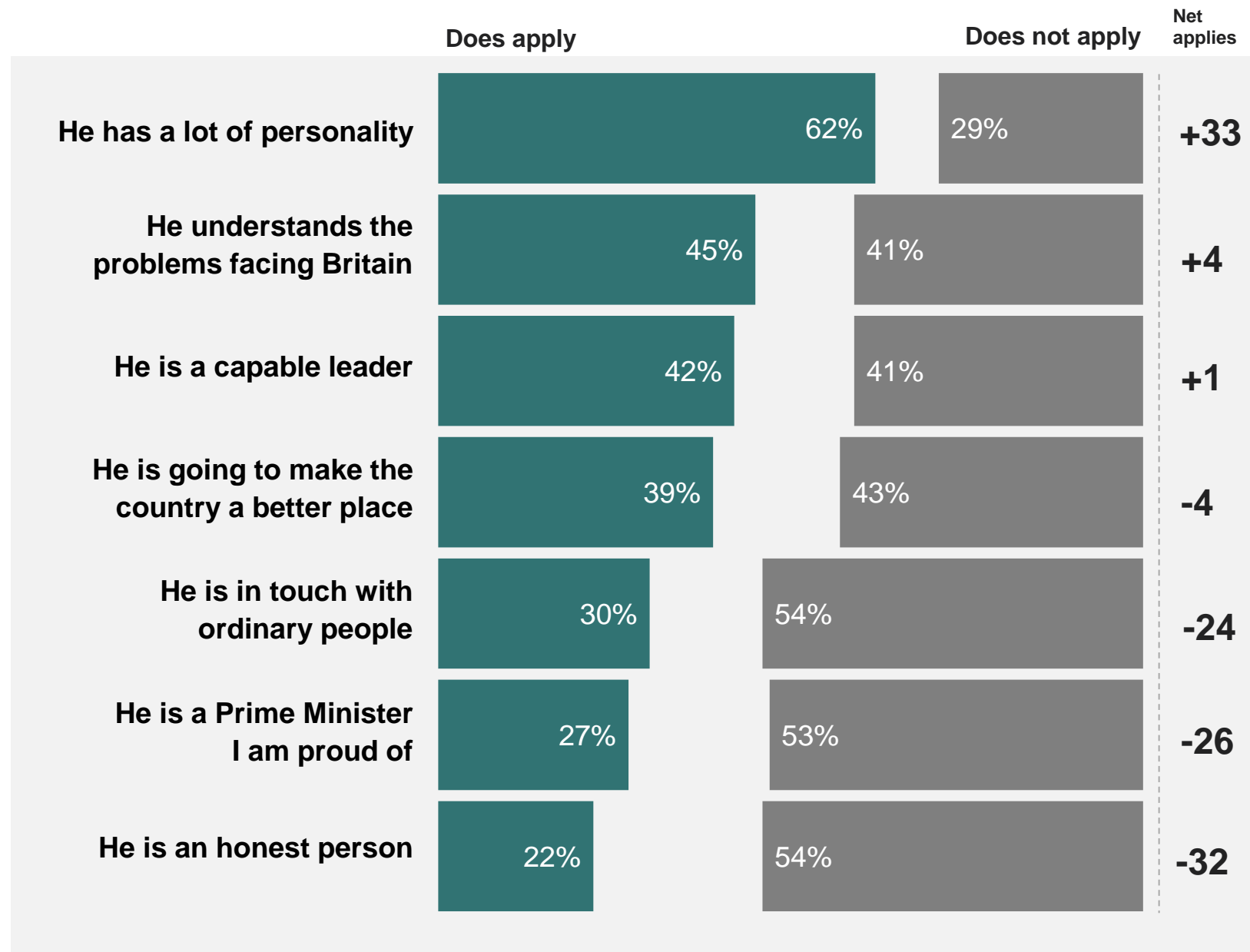


Base: 1,138 Online British adults 18+, 13-16 December, 2019

Source: Ipsos MORI General Election 2019 Campaign Tracker

Boris Johnson: leadership attributes

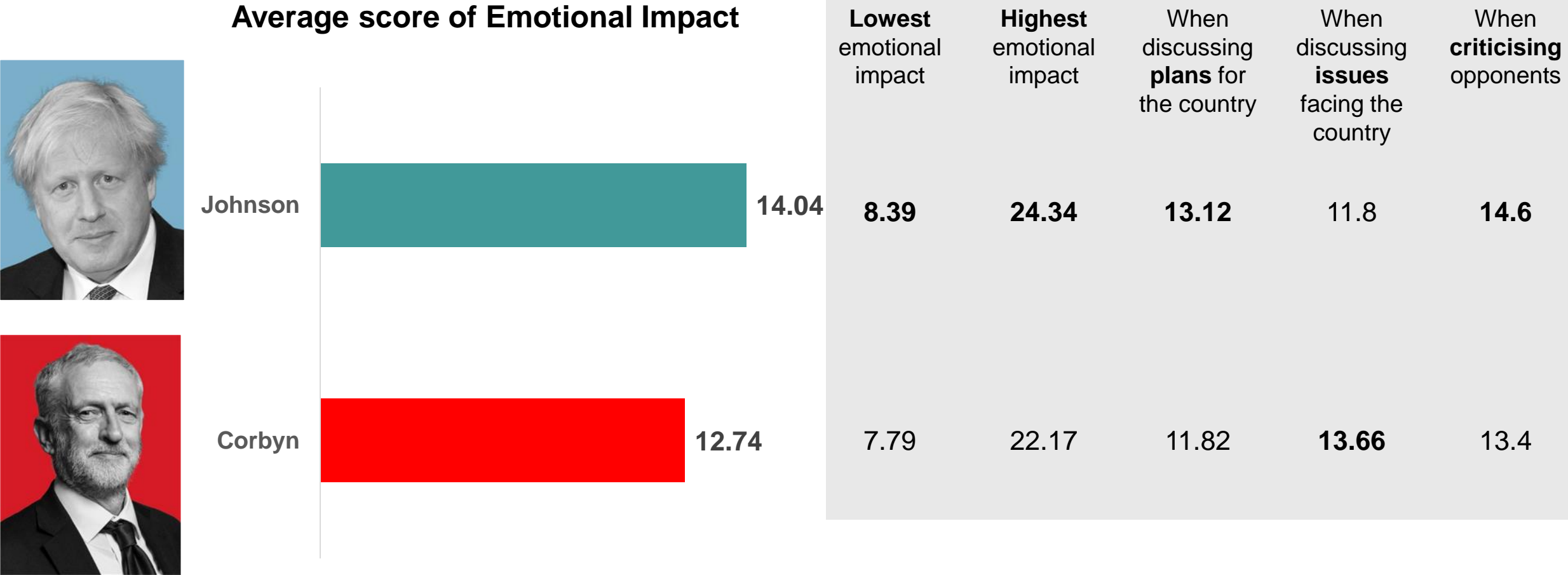
Do you think each of the following statements does or does not apply to the Prime Minister Boris Johnson?



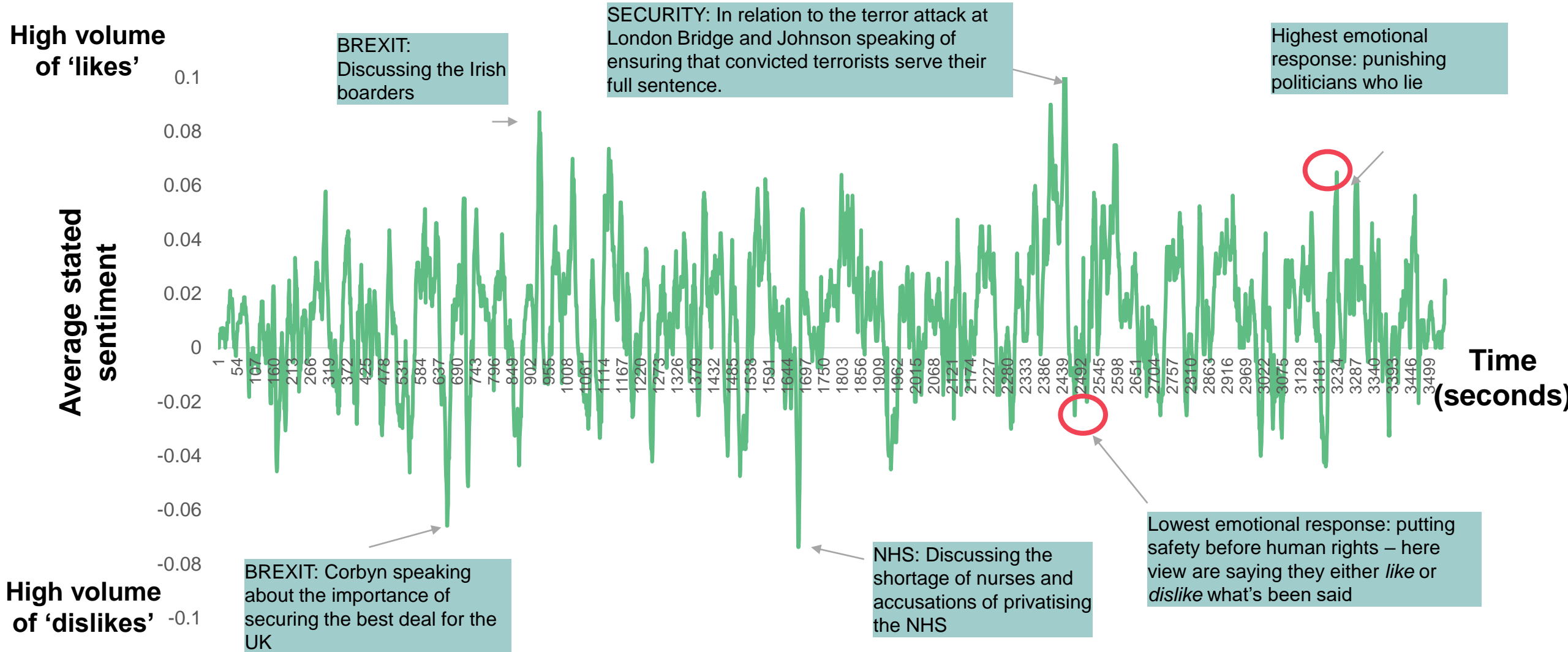
Base: 1,138 Online British adults 18+, 13-16 December, 2019

Source: Ipsos MORI General Election 2019 Campaign Tracker

Johnson secured more emotional intensity from viewers on almost every measure – particularly when criticising Corbyn



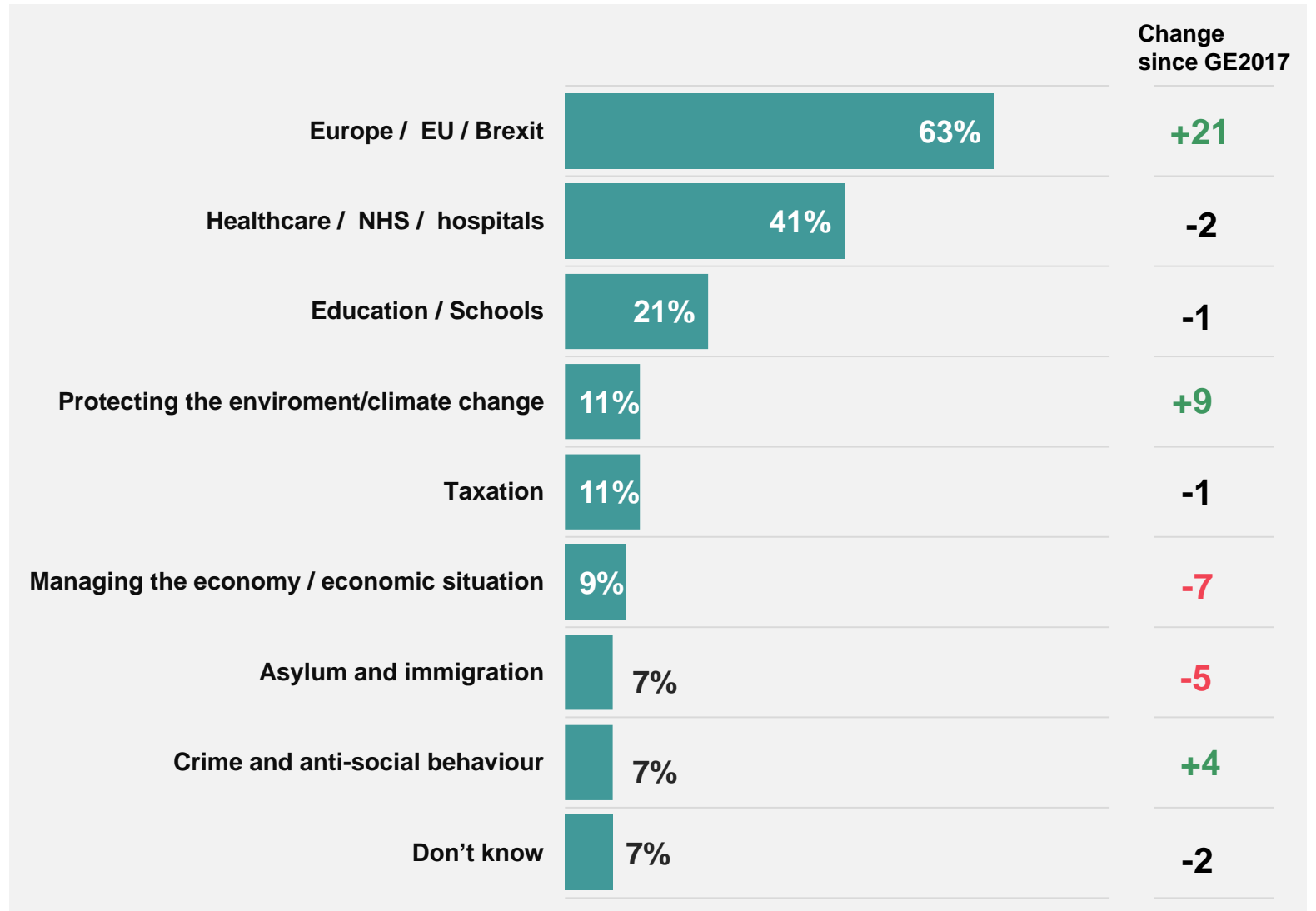
Brexit was a key point of difference in what viewers said they 'liked' – though this doesn't always map to strength of emotional arousal on key issues



Stated Sentiment score is based on the average of Likes and Dislikes that participants stated they felt through the app, on a scale of -1.0 - +1.0, where +1 is the most positive emotional response and -1 is the most negative response.

Brexit dominated the issues/policies - top of mind....

Looking ahead to the next General Election, which, if any, issues do you think will be very important to you in helping you decide which party to vote for?

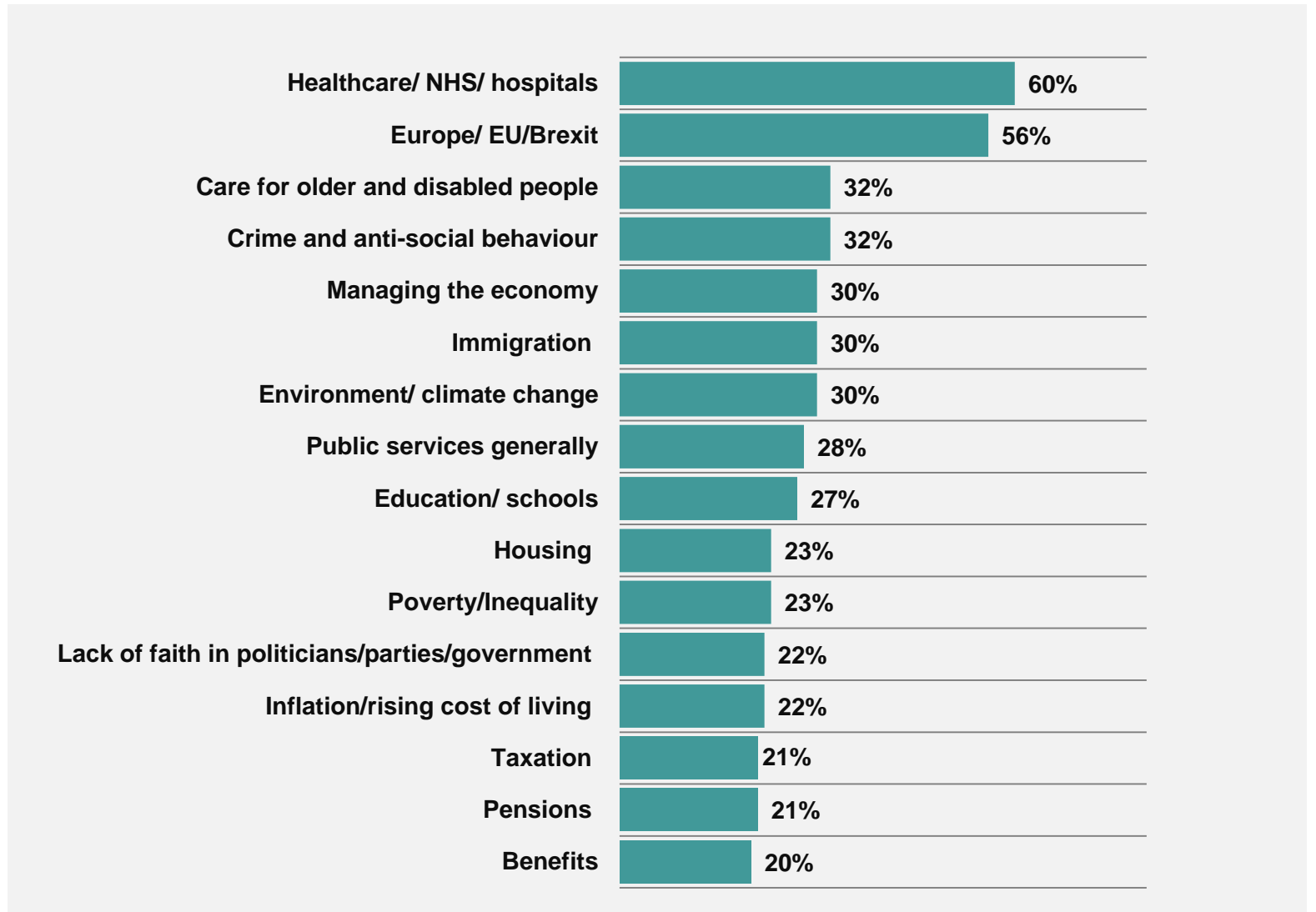


Base: 1,228 British adults 18+, 15-19 November 2019

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Prompted concerns were different....

Looking ahead to the General Election, which, if any, issues do you think will be very important to you in helping you decide which party to vote for?

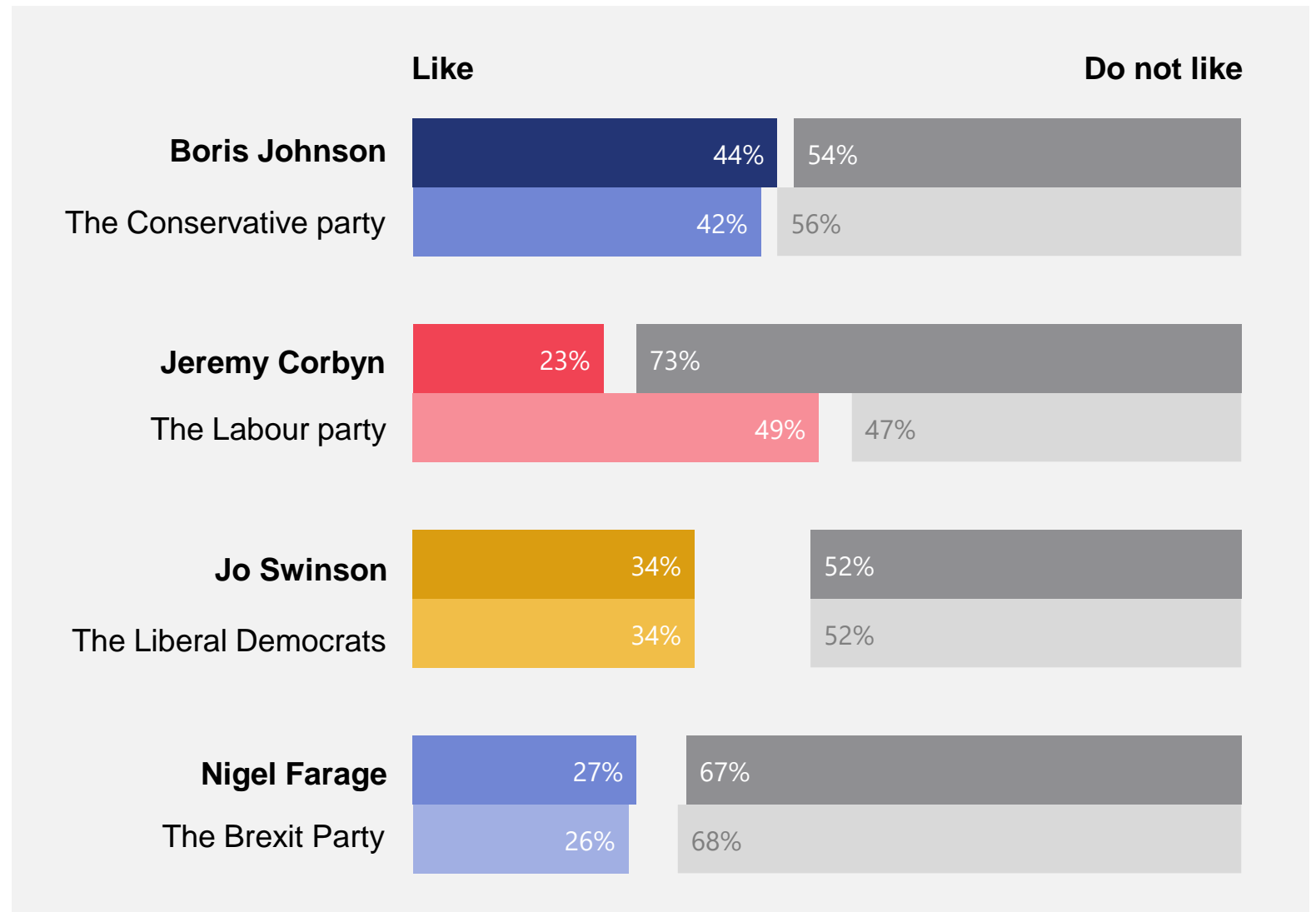


Source: Ipsos MORI General Election 2019 Campaign Tracker

Base: 1,140 Online British adults 18+, 15-18 November 2019

Despite failing badly, Labour still the most liked party

Which of these statements come closest to your views of ... and the ... party?



Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

Base: 1,228 British adults 18+, 15-19 November 2019

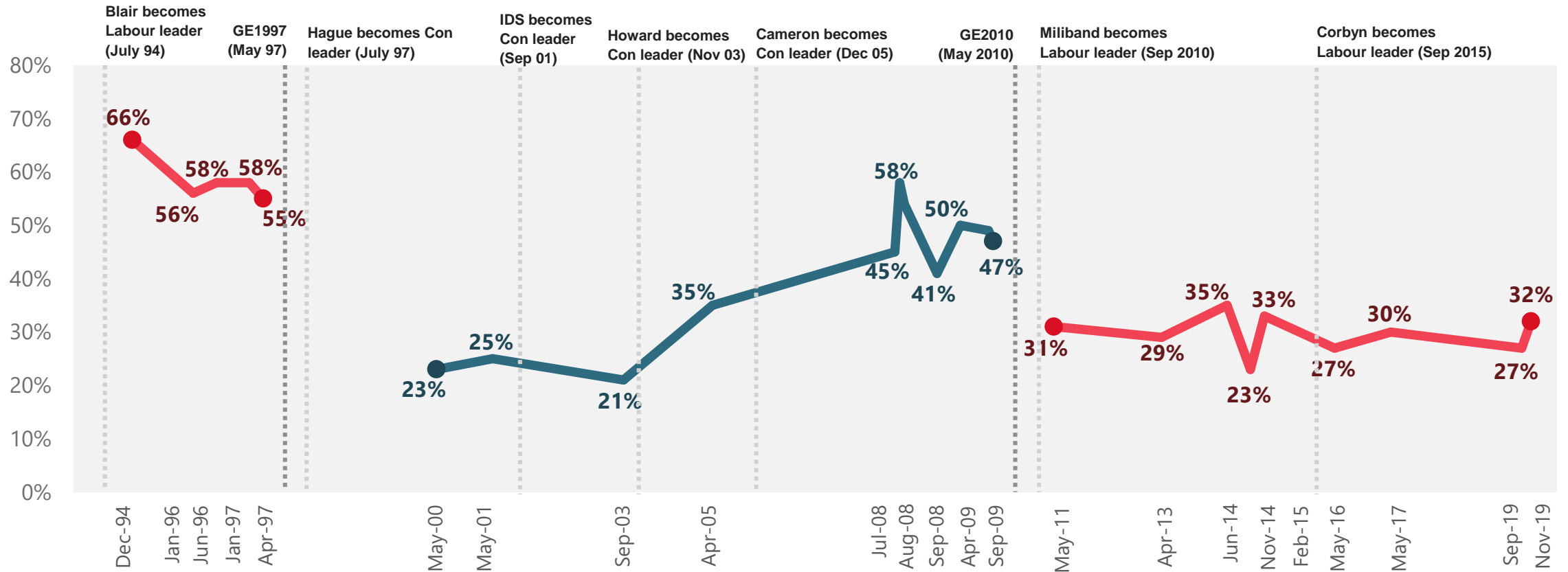
Ipsos MORI



Major competence problems as much as policy problems

To what extent, if at all, do you agree with the following? ... is ready to form the next Government?

% Agree

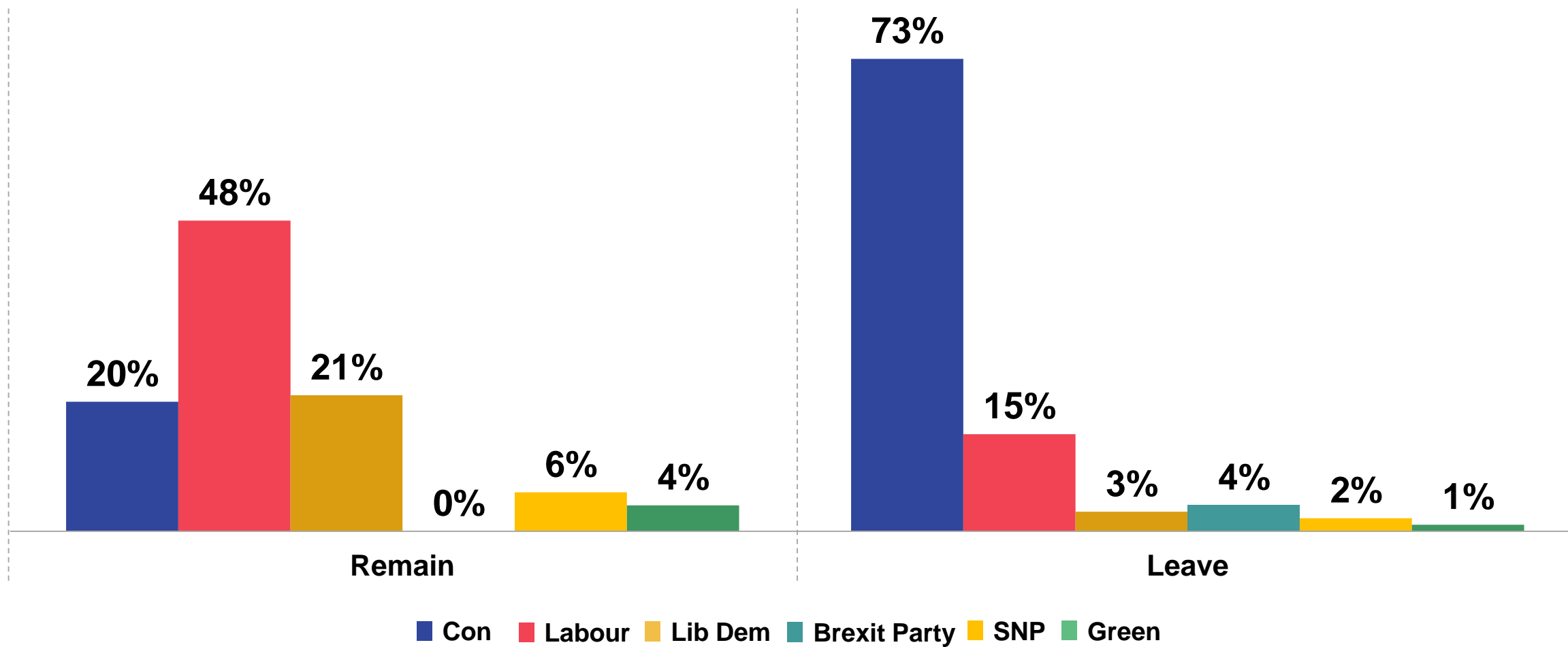


Base: 1,228 British adults 18+, 15-19 November 2019

Source: Ipsos MORI Political Monitor

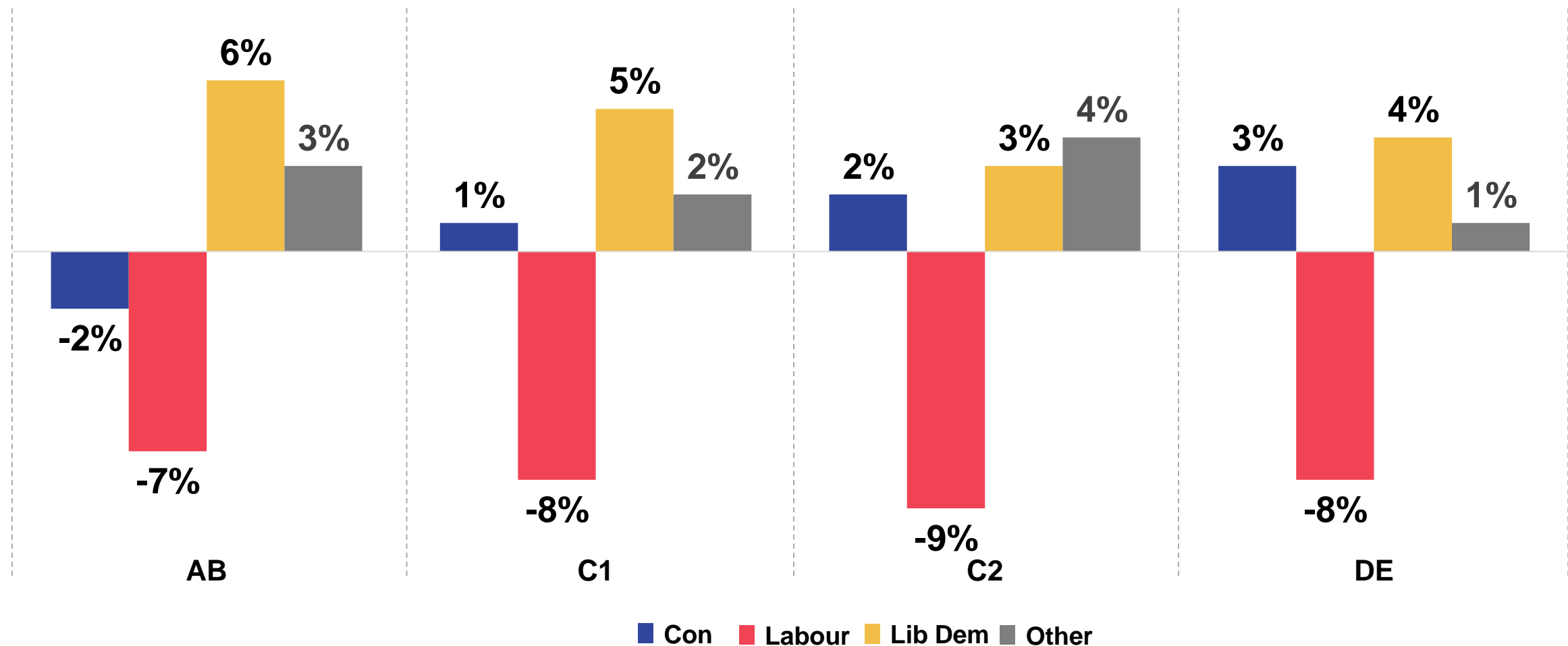
Tories won by securing the Leave vote

The Conservatives won most of the Leave vote while the Remain vote was much more split



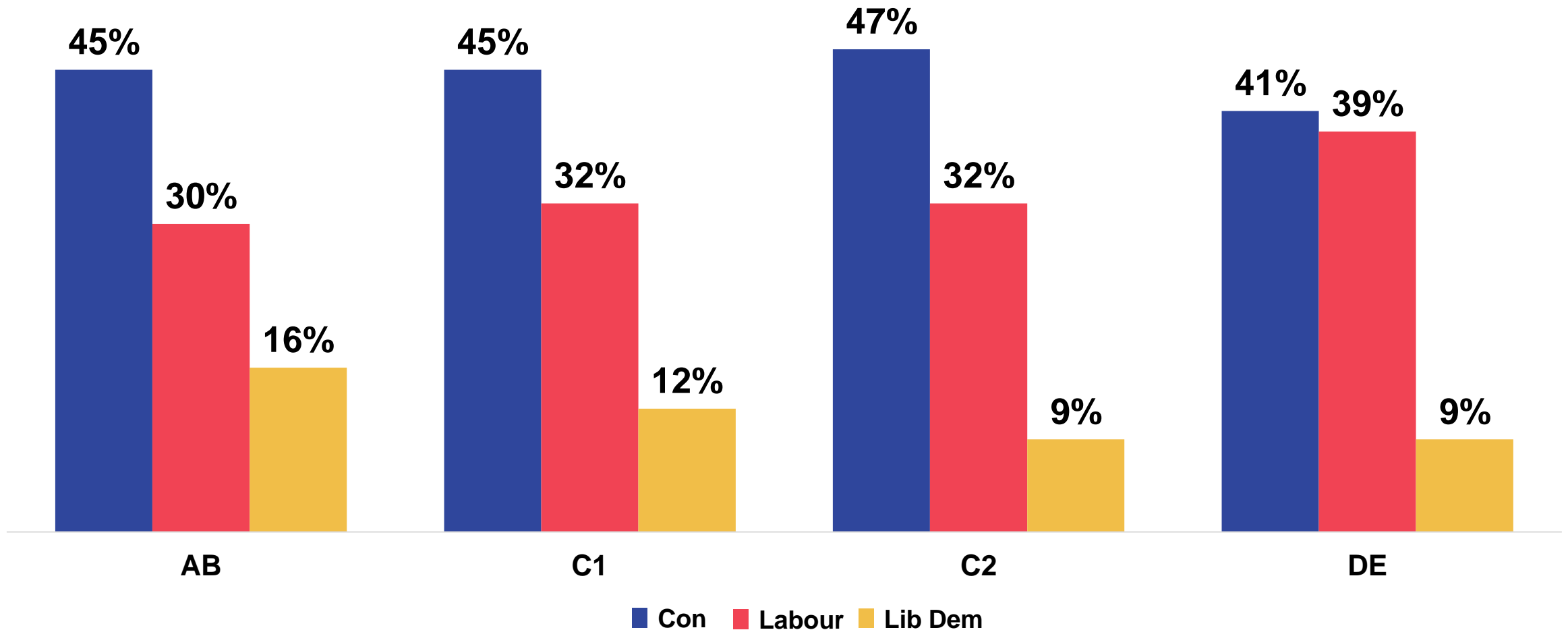
Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

Labour lost votes among all social classes



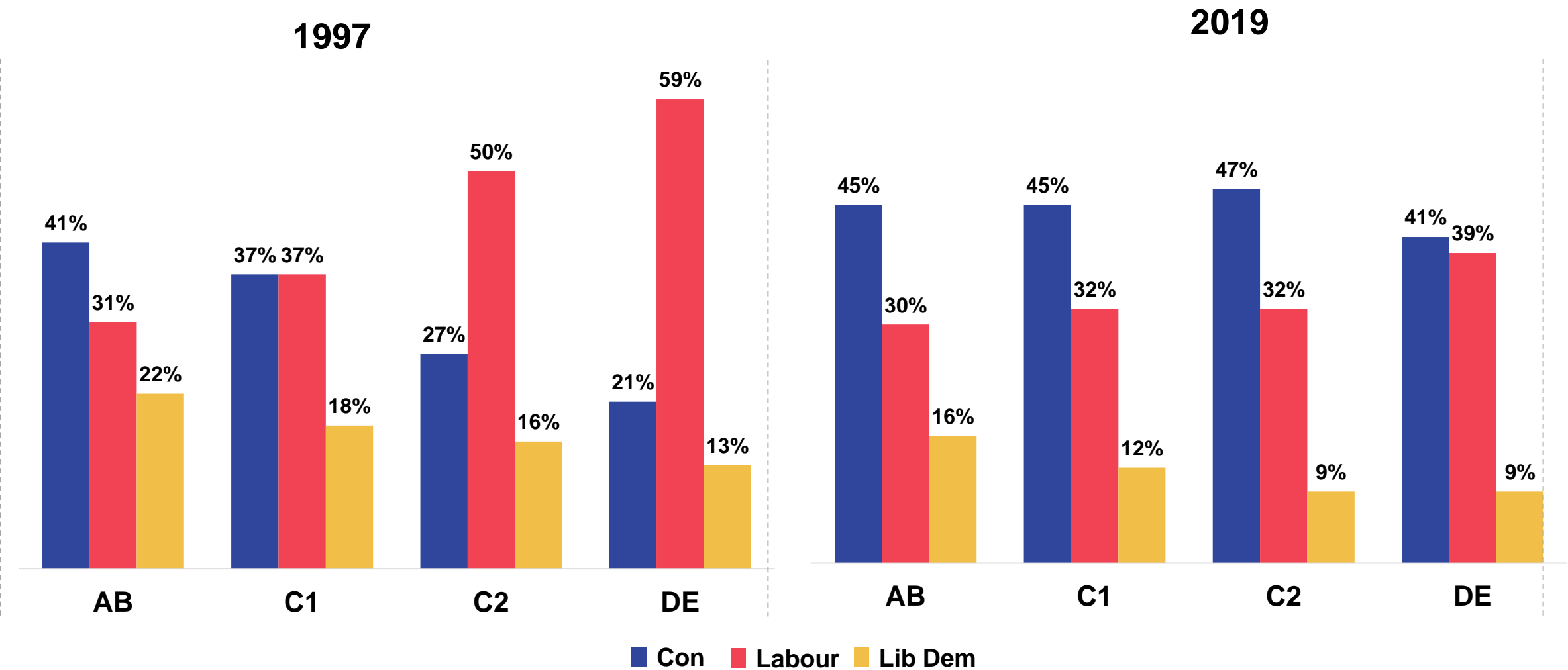
Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

Voting by Social Class – a revolution?



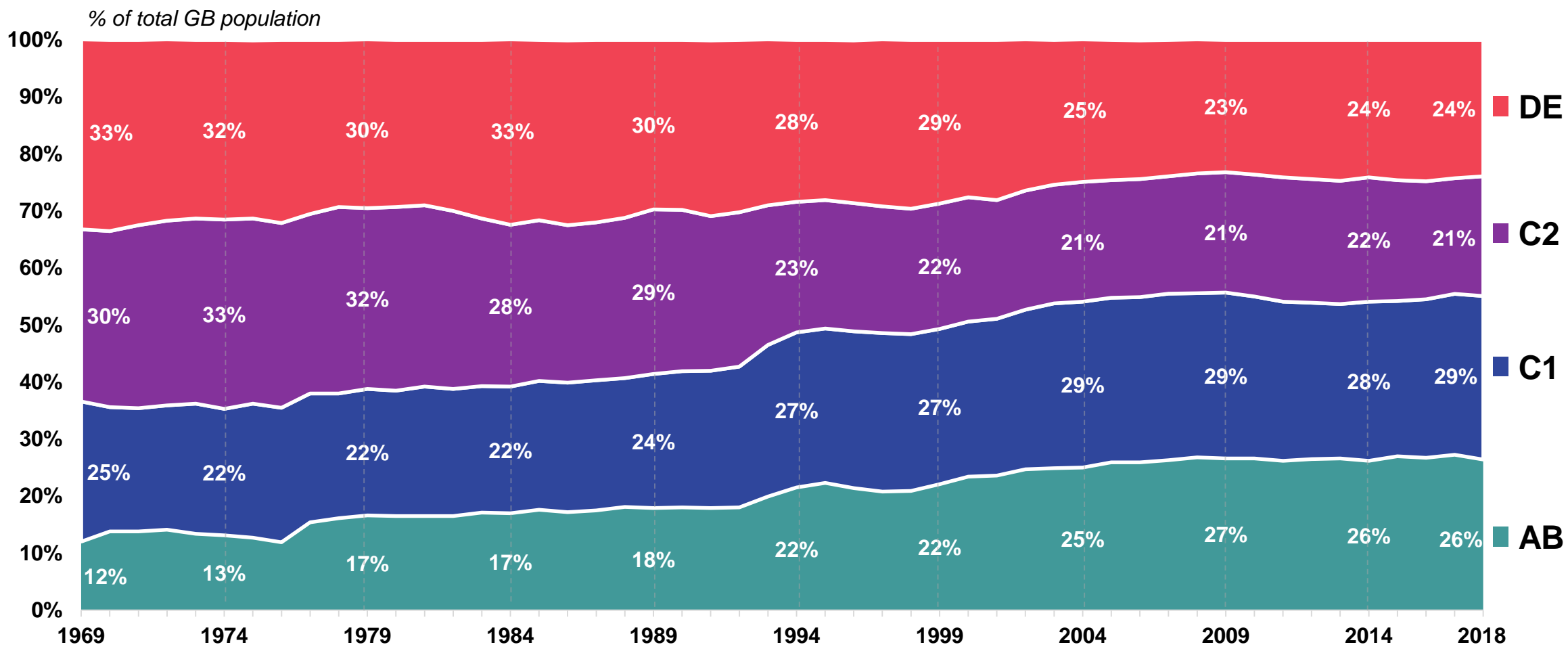
Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

Voting by Social Class in 2019 and 1997



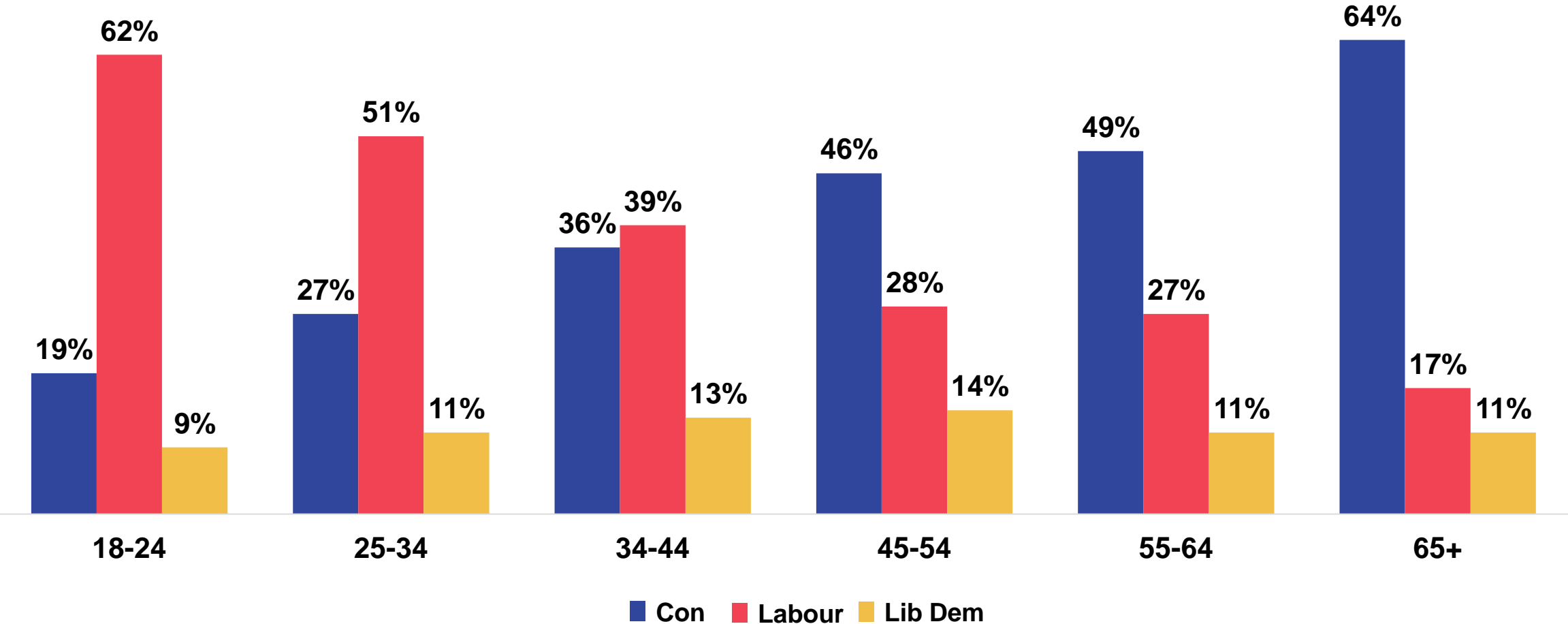
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The middle classes – from 37% to 55% of Britain....



Source: National Readership Survey / PAMCo Social Grading Data

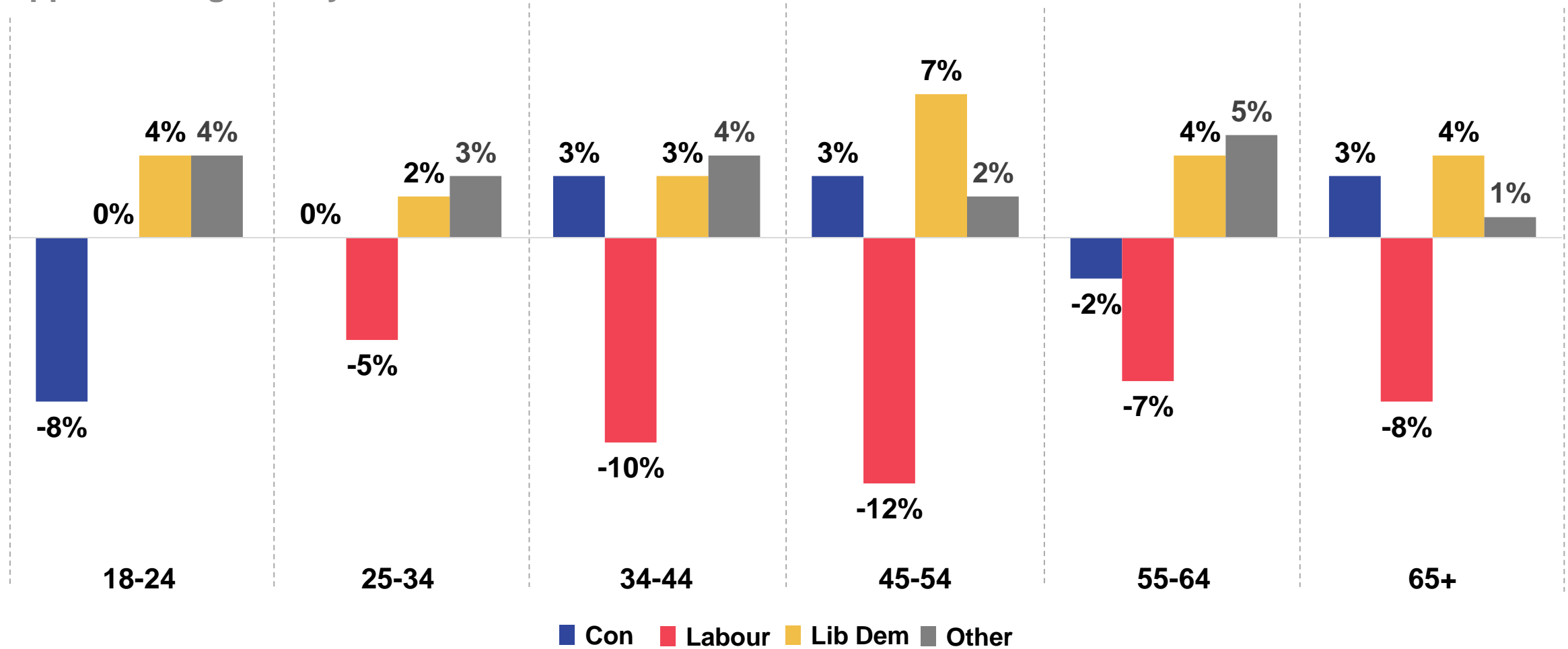
Biggest age difference we have seen



Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

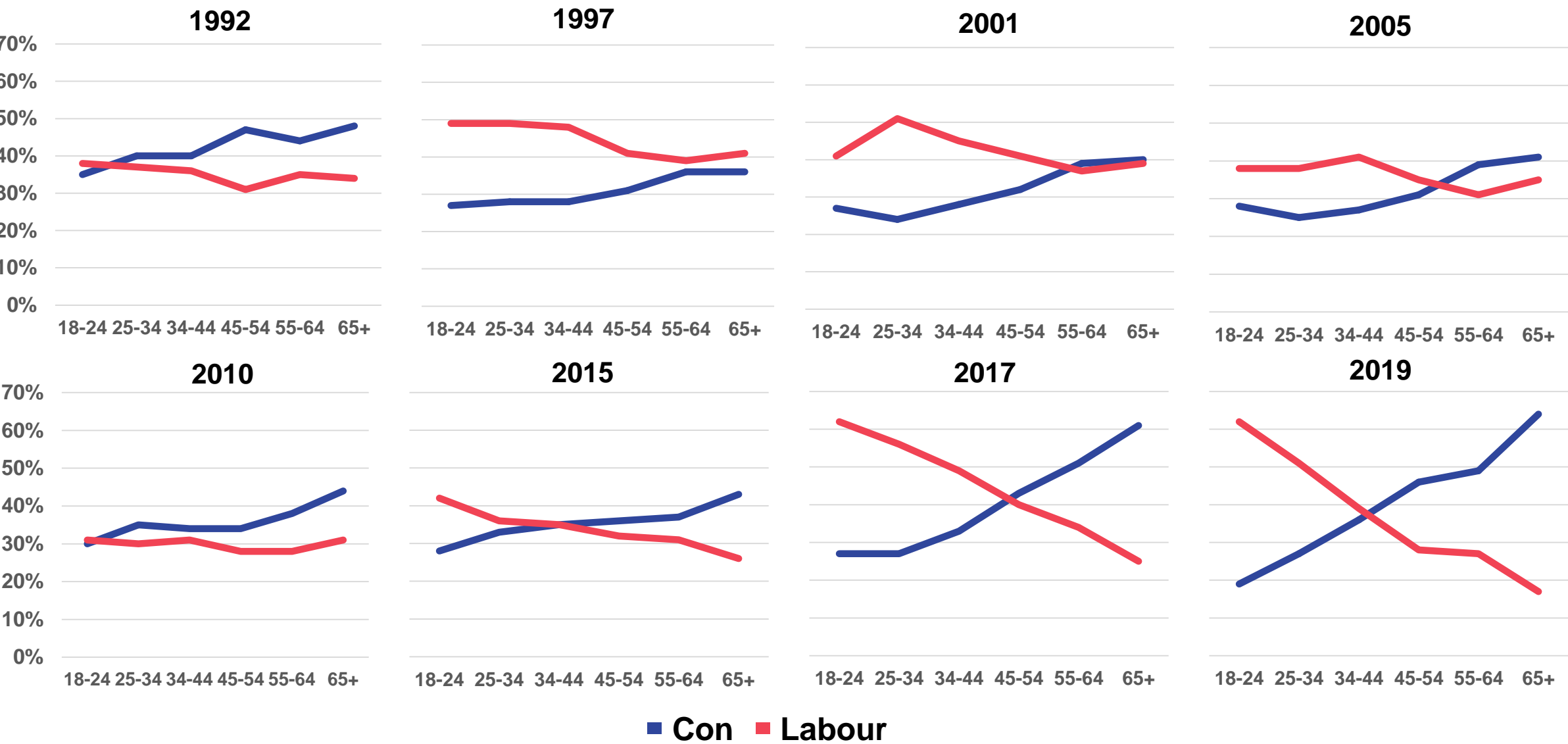
The only group Lab held onto were under 25s...

The biggest swing away from Labour was among 35-54 year-olds, while the Conservatives lost support among 18-24 year olds



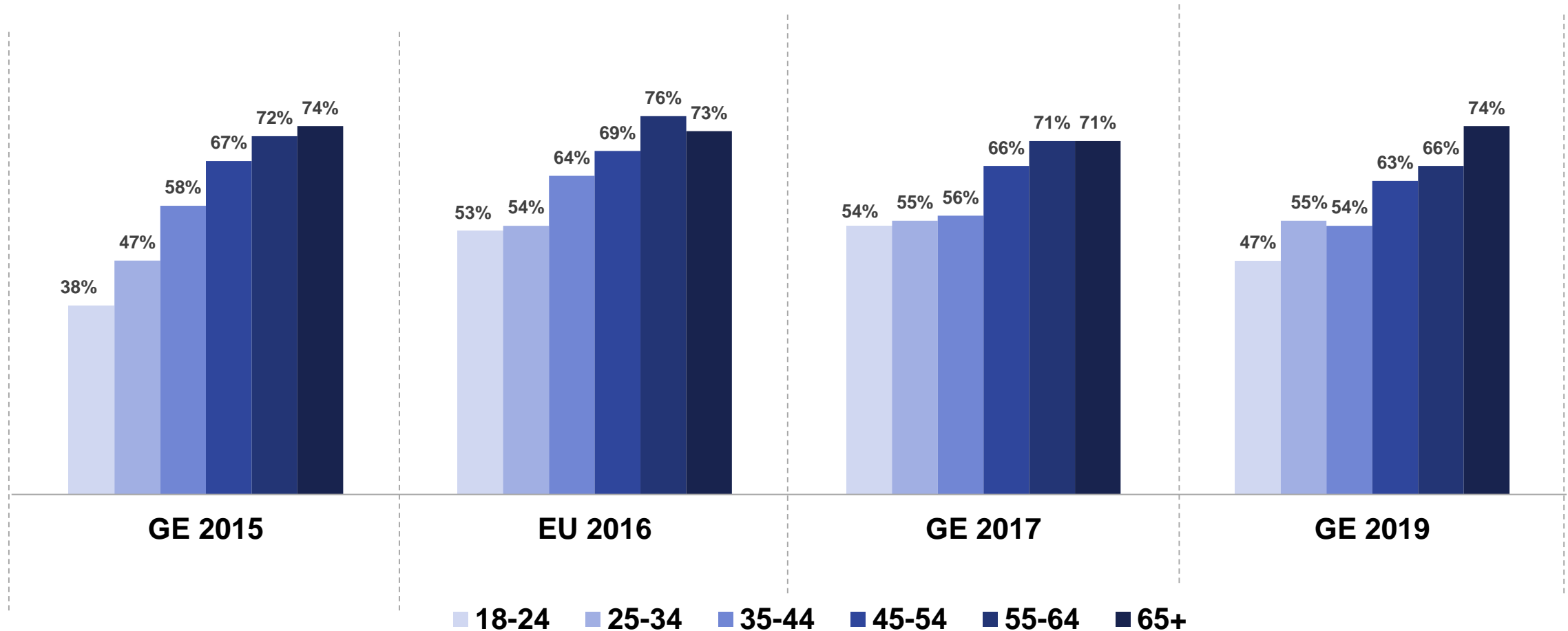
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Vote by Age over time



Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

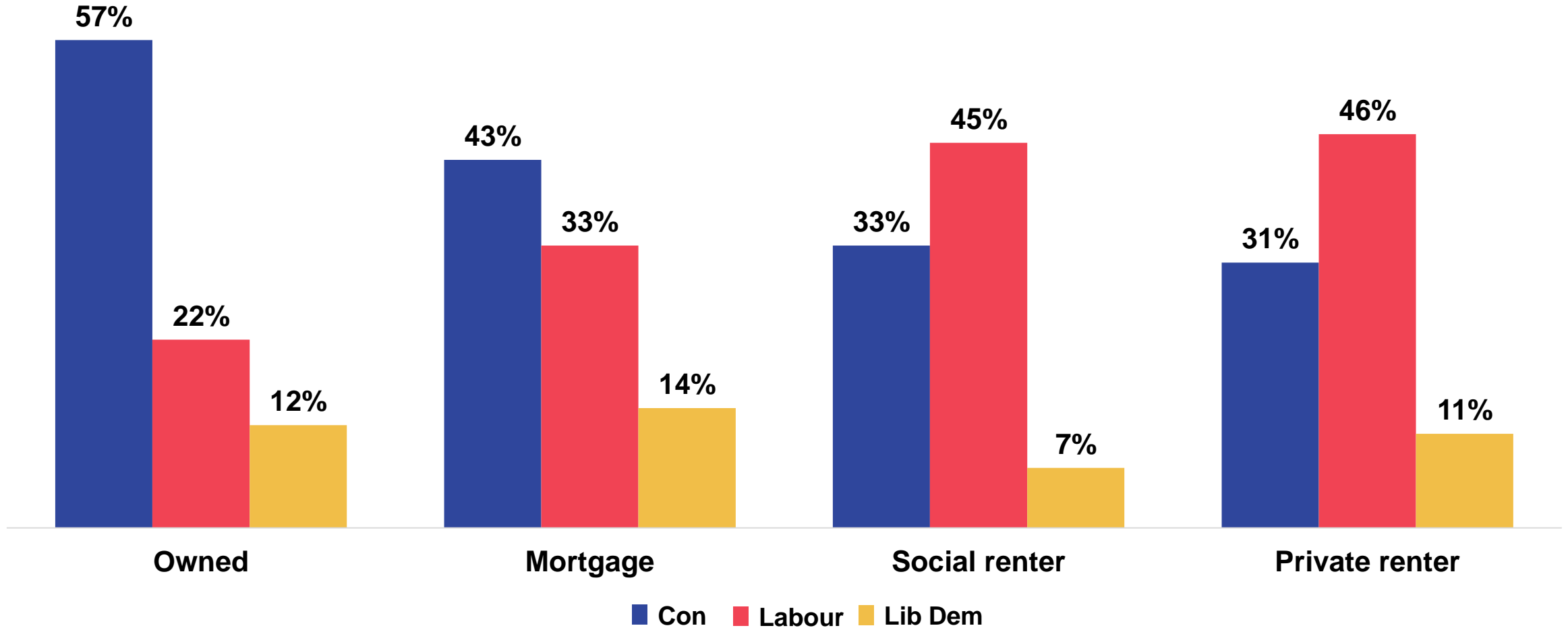
Having the young on your side not much use if don't vote



Estimated turnout among all adults %

Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

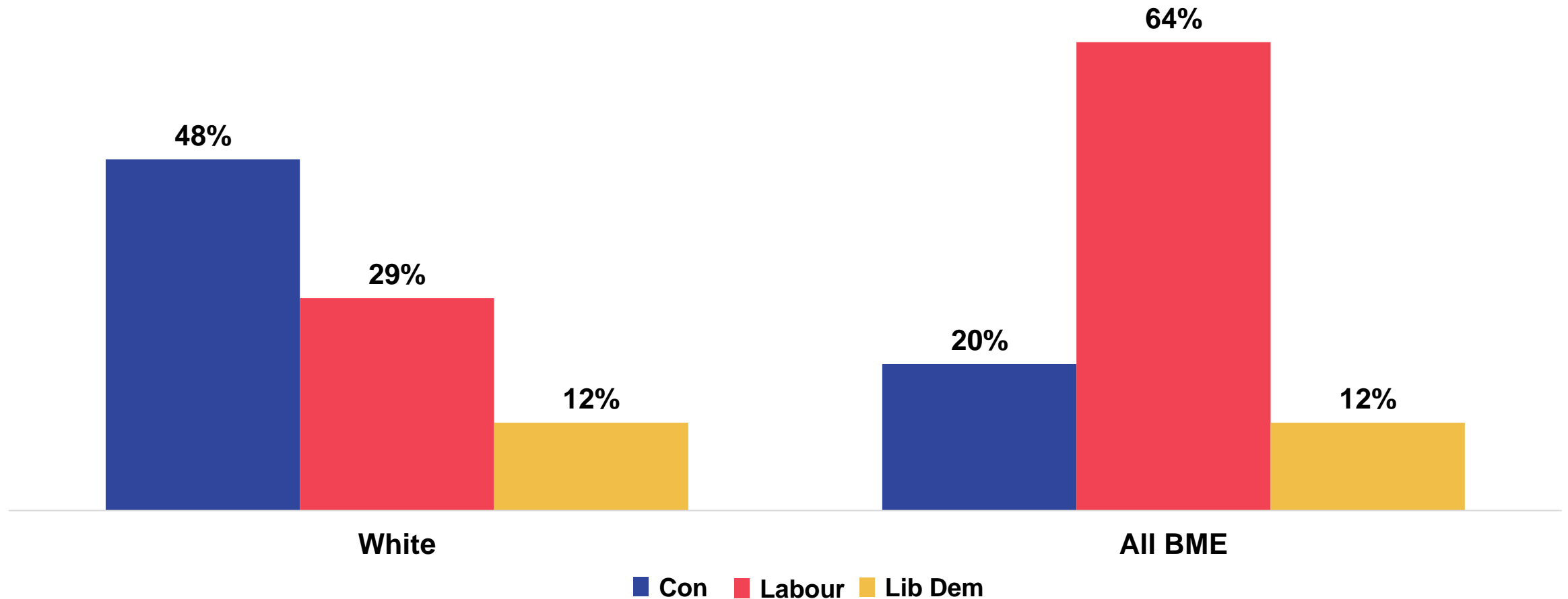
Labour did win among renters....



Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

And BAME voters...

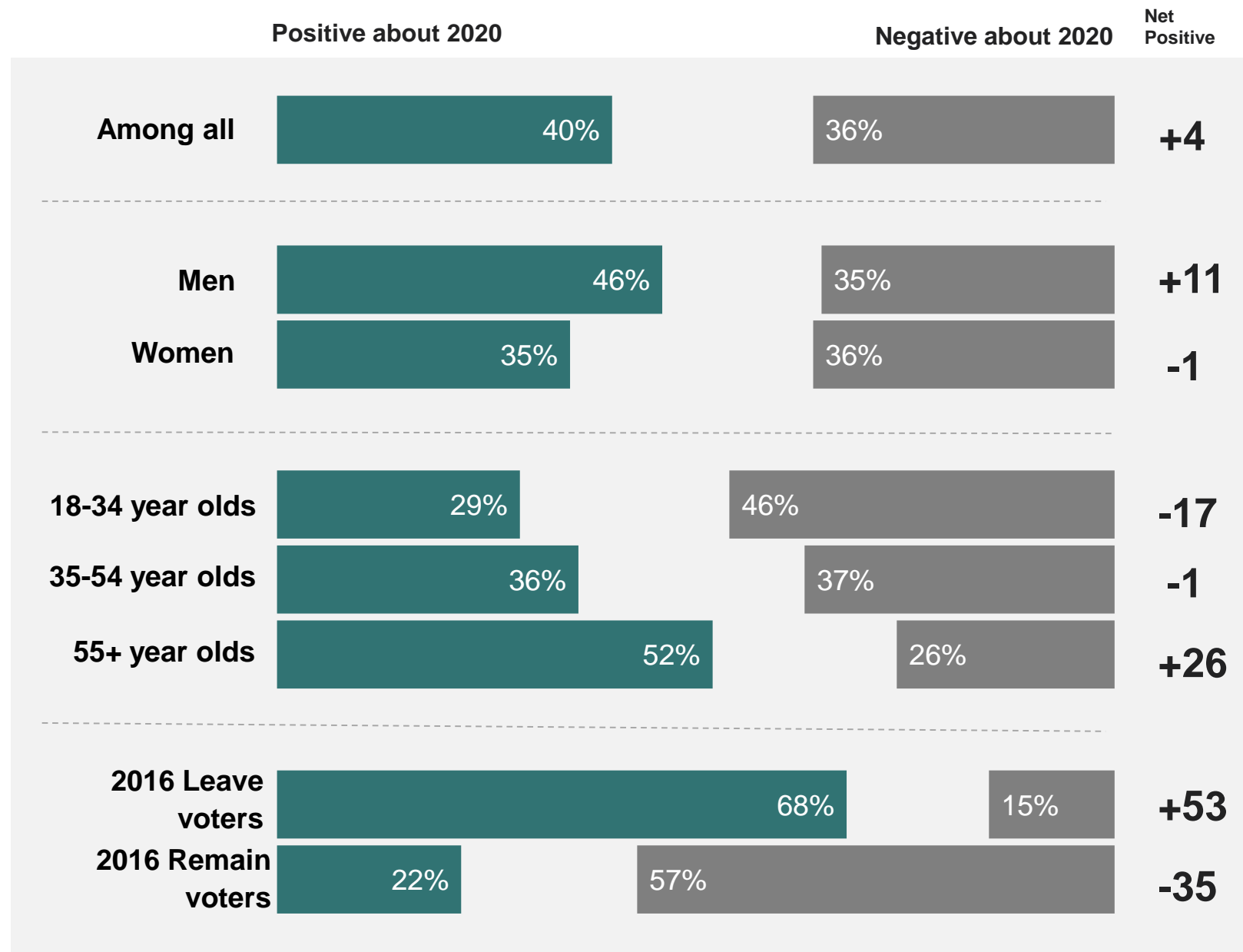
Labour led among BME voters, the Conservatives among white voters



Base: 27,591 GB adults aged 18+, of whom 19,747 defined as likely voters according to our standard turnout filter (all 9/10 certain to vote, always/usually/it depends vote in General Elections, registered to vote and answers reallocated to ensure parties standing in constituency) interviewed telephone and online 15 Nov – 11 Dec 2019. Data has been weighted to the actual election results by region and to the population profile of Great Britain.

How does the election make you feel for 2020?

Does the result of the election make you feel...?



Base: 1,138 Online British adults 18+, 13-16 December, 2019

Source: Ipsos MORI General Election 2019 Campaign Tracker

Thank you

ben.page@ipsos.com

Ipsos MORI



Social Media and the General Election

January 2020

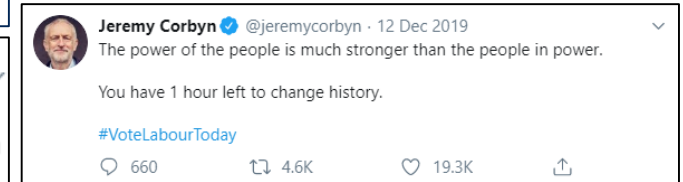
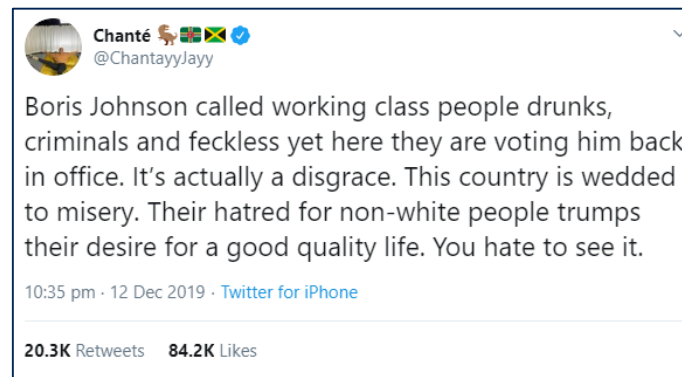
Tara Beard-Knowland

Head of Social Intelligence Analytics

2017 vs. 2019 on Twitter

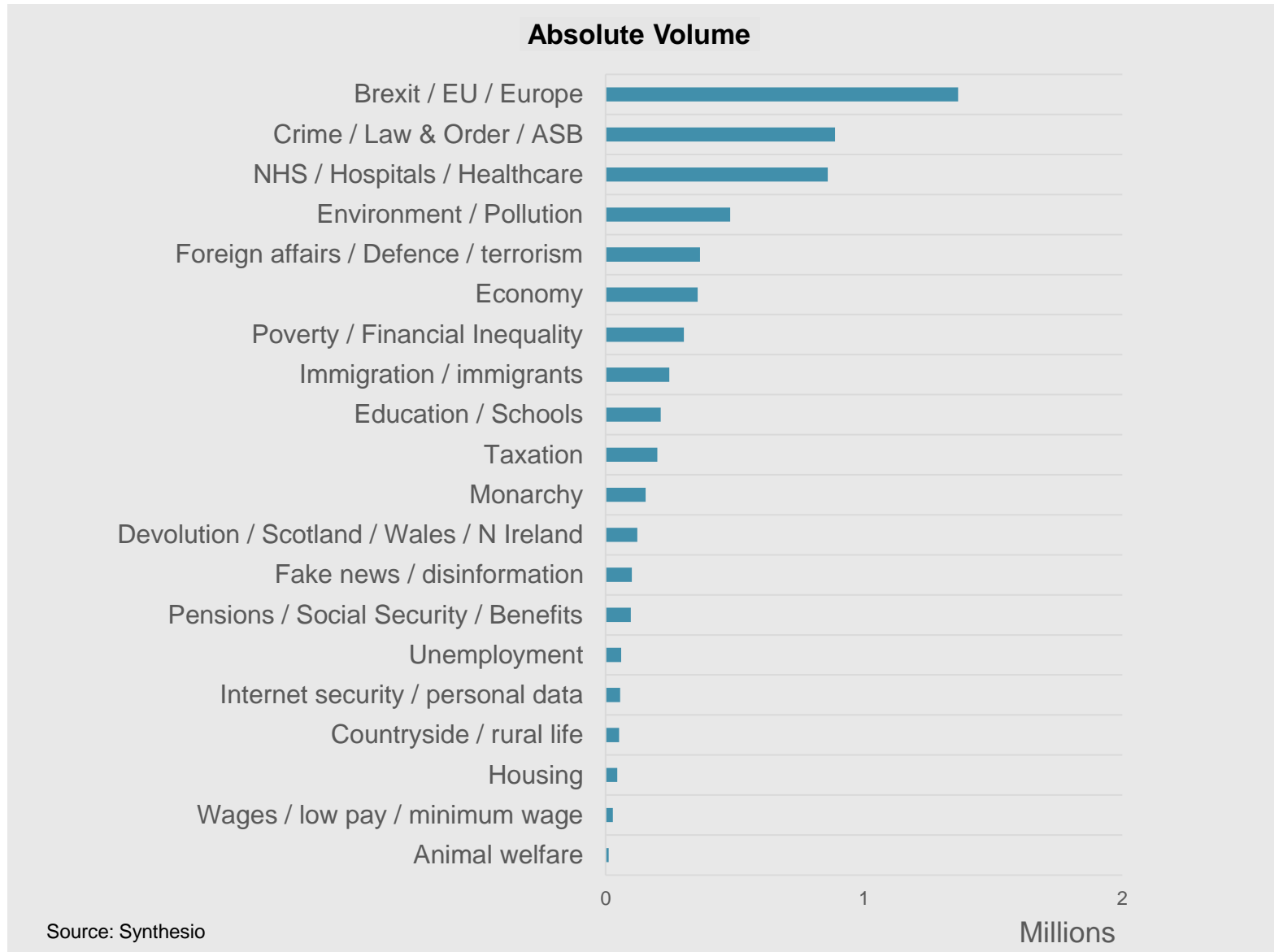
120% more
tweets about
Jeremy Corbyn

144% more
tweets about
Boris Johnson
vs. Theresa May



We track 21 topics each month on social media

December 2019

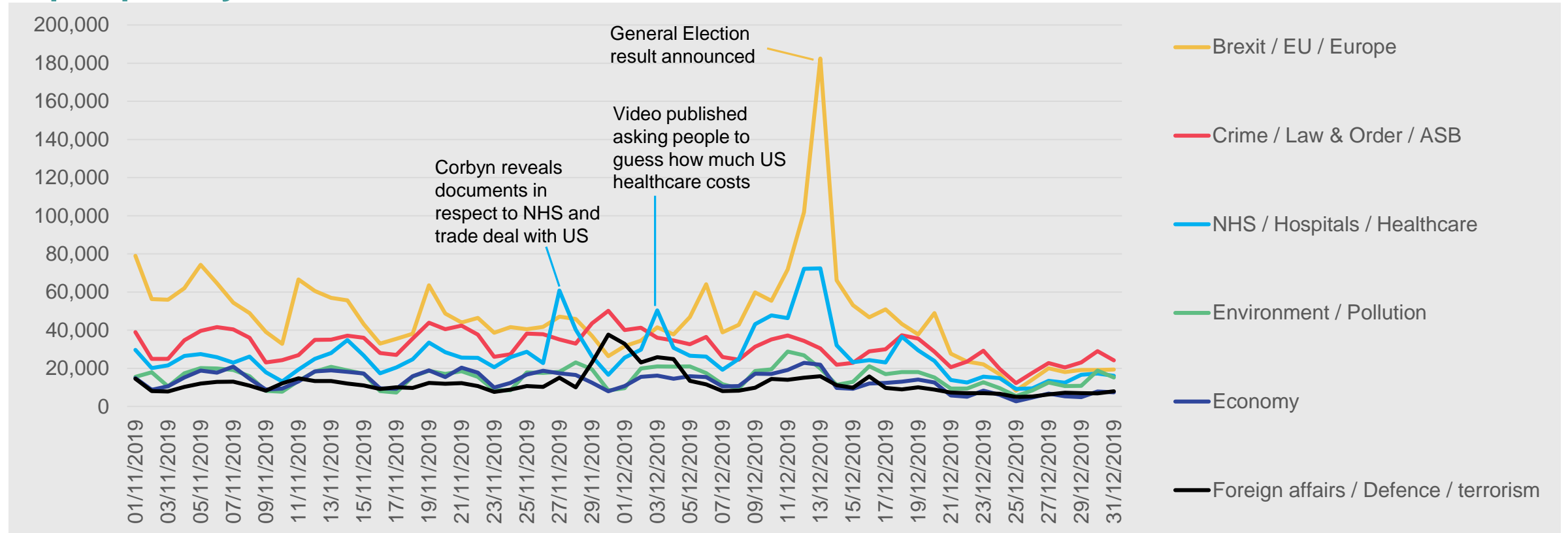


**On election
day, Brexit
dominated the
topics... and
even more so
the day after**



Brexit dominates, although both Brexit & NHS spike on results day

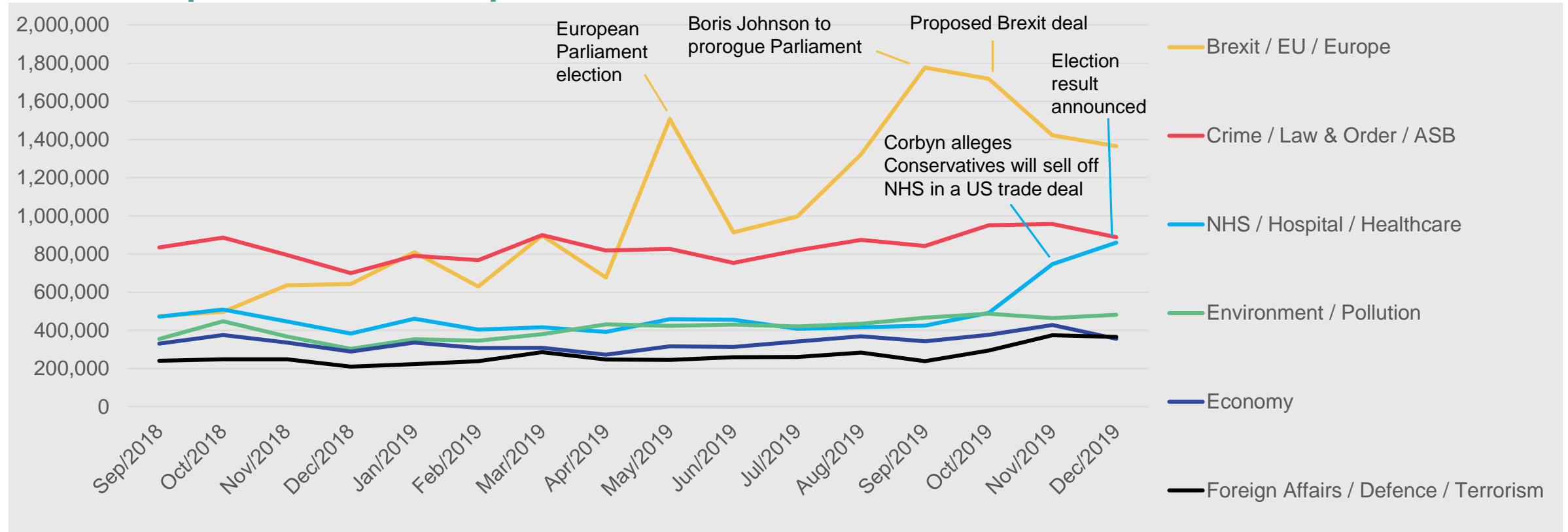
Top Topics by Volume for November & December 2019



Source: Synthesio

But Brexit has dominated since late 2018, although the NHS is building

Volume of posts about the topics



Source: Synthesio

And there was a lot of #GE chatter on social media – 5 of the top 20 hashtags

Top hashtags from our topics December 2019

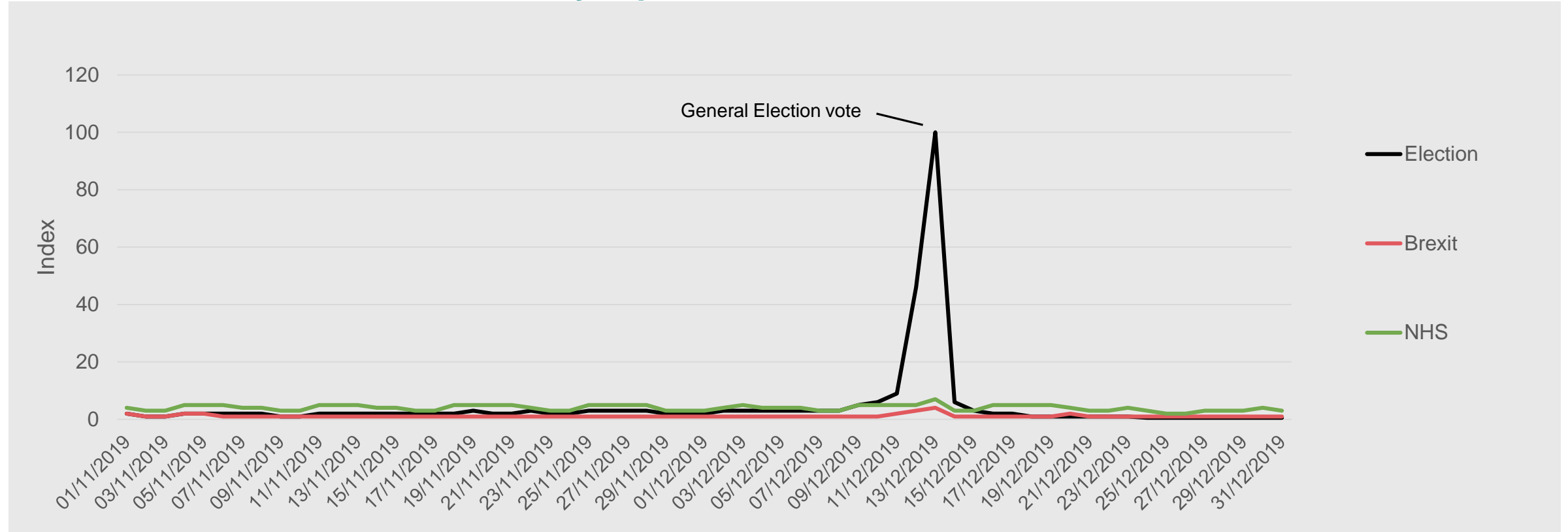


Position	Top Hashtags	Volume
1	#ge2019	251,273
2	#generalelection2019	136,091
3	#brexit	92,763
4	#votelabour	56,808
5	#nhs	53,064
6	#generalelection19	31,633
7	#voteconservative	30,793
8	#ge19	26,098
9	#labour	22,001
10	#indyref2	18,612
11	#votetactically	17,515
12	#bbcelection	16,303
13	#borisjohnson	15,710
14	#toriesout	14,367
15	#cybersecurity	14,200
16	#gtto	14,104
17	#generalelection	14,040
18	#getbrexitdone	13,133
19	#saveournhs	13,058
20	#bbcdebate	12,403

Source: Synthesio

The election itself was searched far more than Brexit or the NHS in the run-up

Level of search interest around key topics



Source: Google Trends

Three of our top hashtags were pro-Labour or anti-Tory (plus one about Labour)

Top hashtags from our topics December 2019



Position	Top Hashtags	Volume
1	#ge2019	251,273
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Source: Synthesio

While only one was pro-Tory and one about Johnson

Top hashtags from our topics December 2019

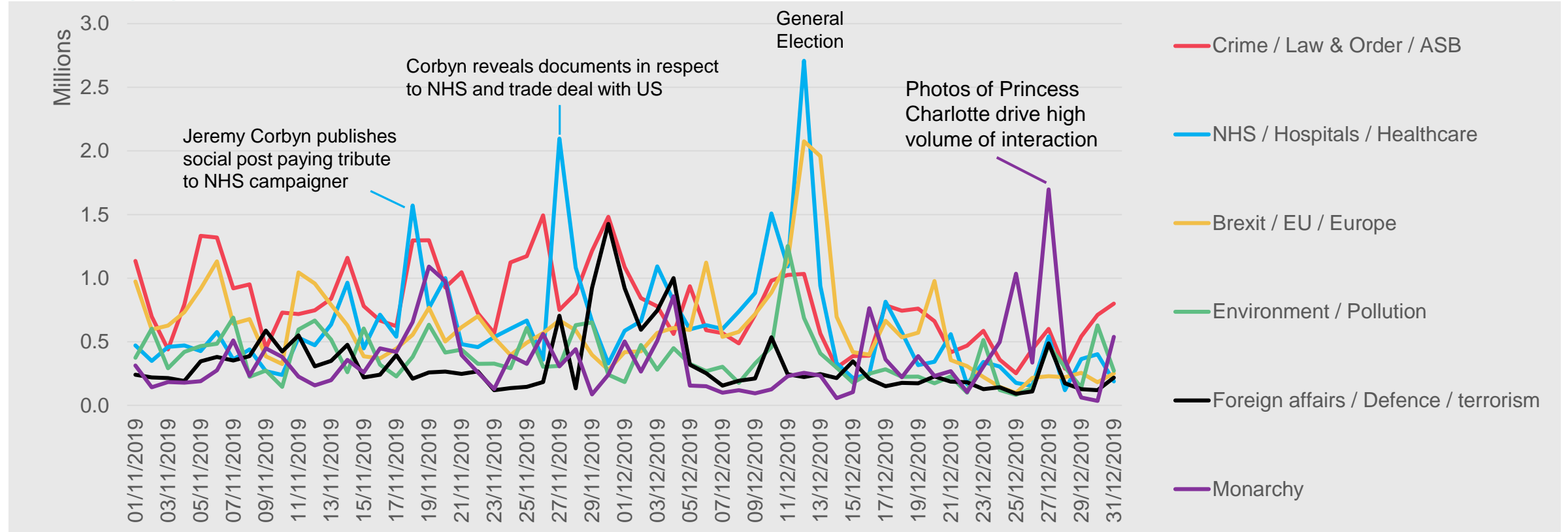


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17	#generalelection	14,040
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19	#saveournhs	13,058
20	#bbcdebate	12,403

Source: Synthesio

But it's not just about volume: interactions are important too – they show engagement

Top engagement with topics for November & December 2019



Source: Synthesio



Labour's message dominated social media in the UK election. The party got crushed anyway.

Will Martin Dec 13, 2019, 9:03 AM



Analysis

- The Labour Party has suffered its worst election defeat since 1935. But if you were following the campaign only on social media, you probably didn't see it coming.
- Jeremy Corbyn's party was dominant when it came to campaigning on the internet, making use of memes, viral Facebook posts, and sharply edited videos to catch the eye of voters.
- Corbyn's fans were much more engaged on social media than Prime Minister Boris Johnson's, and Labour attack videos against the Conservatives garnered millions of views.
- That didn't translate into votes though, with the Conservatives winning 364 seats to Labour's 203.

Hard-hitting analysis of Labour's social media campaign has hit some headlines

**Are the
assertions
about his
social media
dominance
fair?**











UK Labour



Corbyn drove a lot of social engagement with these topics



December Twitter influencers, based on our topics

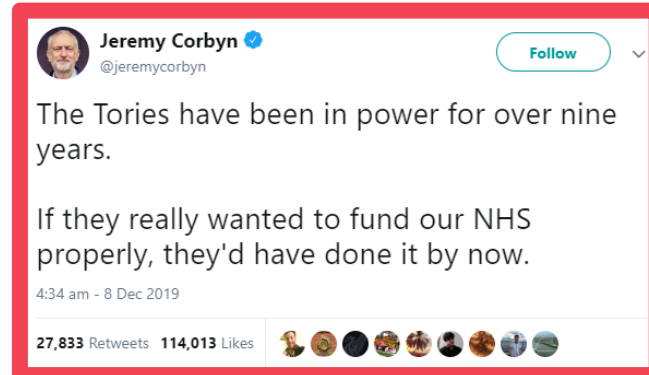
	Rank	Influencer	Posts*	Interactions	Reach
	1.	Jeremy Corbyn	116	3,570,896	2,349,766
	2.	Piers Morgan	93	228,525	6,985,946
	3.	Stephen Tries	2	47,600	497,195
	4.	Stan Collymore	15	49,822	885,130
	5.	Sky Sports News	9	89,998	7,005,466
	6.	Led By Donkeys	7	155,042	333,398
	7.	Danny Wallace	13	67,188	175,368
	8.	Kensington Palace	31	266,761	1,878,490
	9.	TONI TONE	12	135,048	101,711
	10.	Boris Johnson	180	1,216,368	1,402,367

But Boris Johnson posted more about the topics

*Includes posts only if related to any of the 21 topics we track

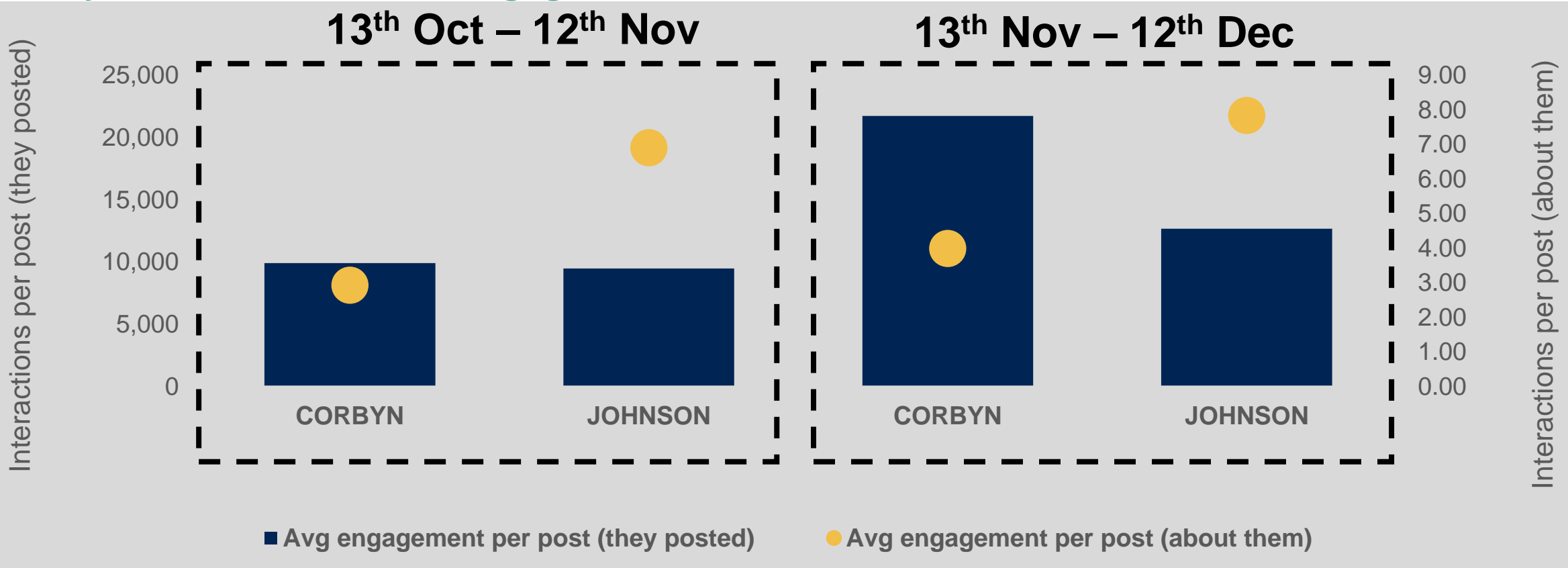
He had two of the top most engaged with tweets

Top 5 Election posts – By Interactions



More engagement with Corbyn's posts – but people engaged more with posts about Johnson

Corbyn & Johnson Twitter Engagement













Source: Synthesio

Corbyn was most influential about NHS



December Twitter influencers, based on NHS topic

	Rank	Influencer	Posts*	Interactions	Reach
	1.	Jeremy Corbyn	65	2,154,511	2,349,766
	2.	Stephen Tries	2	47,600	497,195
	3.	Led By Donkeys	5	125,413	332,885
	4.	Rufus Hound	2	42,901	1,113,084
	5.	Boris Johnson	20	184,134	1,400,741
	6.	David Schneider	35	290,935	432,990
	7.	Paul Joseph Watson	5	27,105	1,073,602
	8.	PoliticsJOE	9	97,350	113,166
	9.	Nicola Sturgeon	3	19,840	1,022,324
	10.	Gary Younge	2	44,788	95,863











And posted a lot about it

*Includes posts only if related to any topic

Also very influential on Brexit



December Twitter influencers, based on Brexit topic

	Rank	Influencer	Posts*	Interactions	Reach
	1.	Piers Morgan	19	156,248	6,980,807
	2.	Jeremy Corbyn	6	295,586	2,347,232
	3.	Danny Wallace	5	67,032	175,218
	4.	Boris Johnson	147	1,089,198	1,398,149
	5.	David Lammy	24	152,247	595,763
	6.	David Schneider	60	307,972	434,019
	7.	Keir Starmer	4	55,854	269,071
	8.	Nicola Sturgeon	9	21,321	1,037,780
	9.	BBC Breaking News	7	17,823	41,148,578
	10.	James O'Brien	30	95,019	566,130

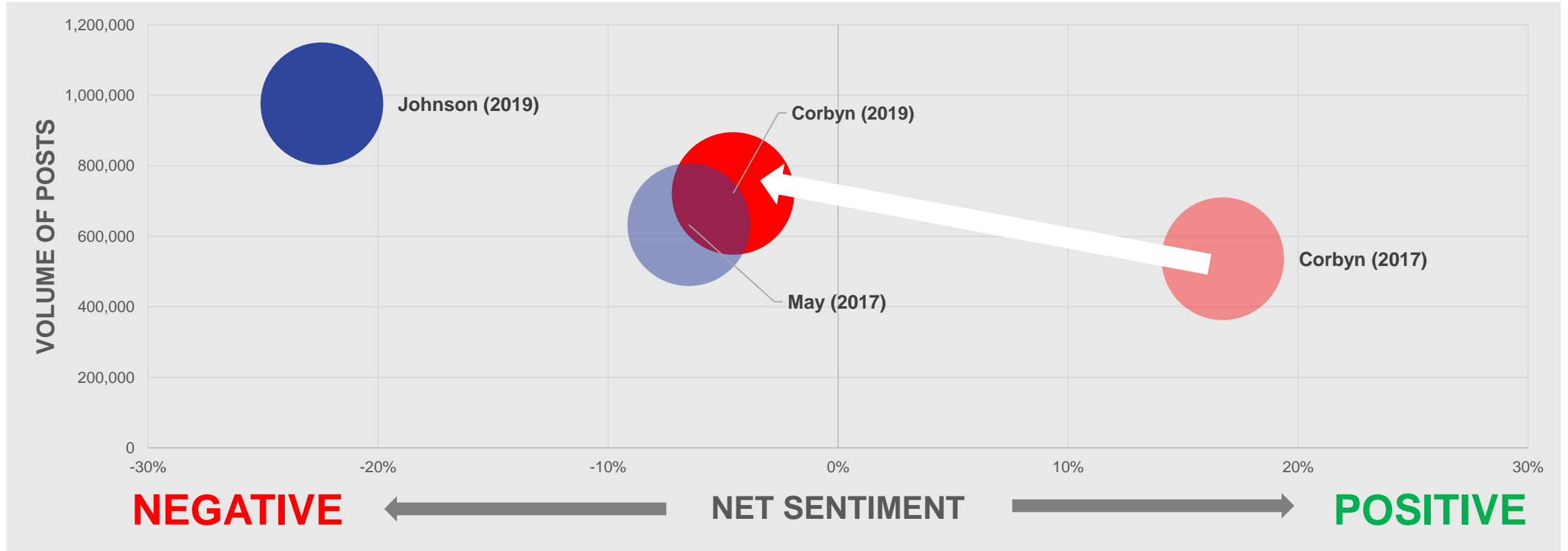
**Thanks to his
higher reach,
although
Johnson got
more
interactions**

*Includes posts only if related to any topic

In 2017, Corbyn was seen much more positively on social media



Corbyn vs. Johnson 2019 – Sentiment & Volume



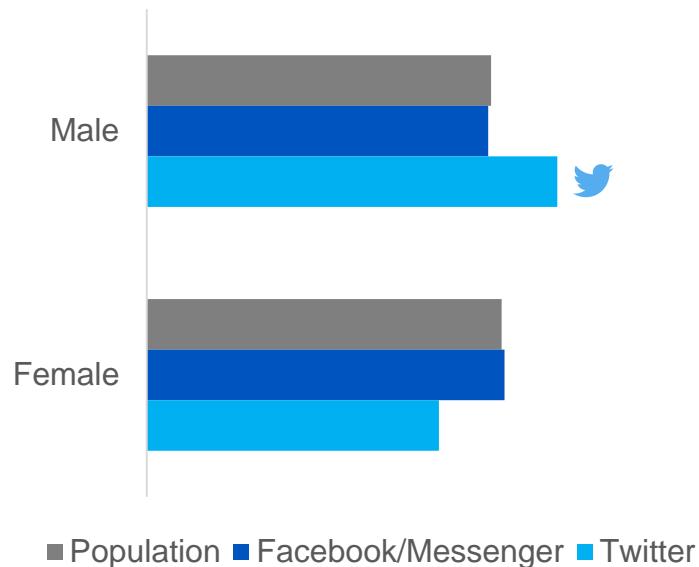
Source: Synthesio, Compares 30 days before the General Election in each year

**“Britain and
Twitter are not
the same
thing”**



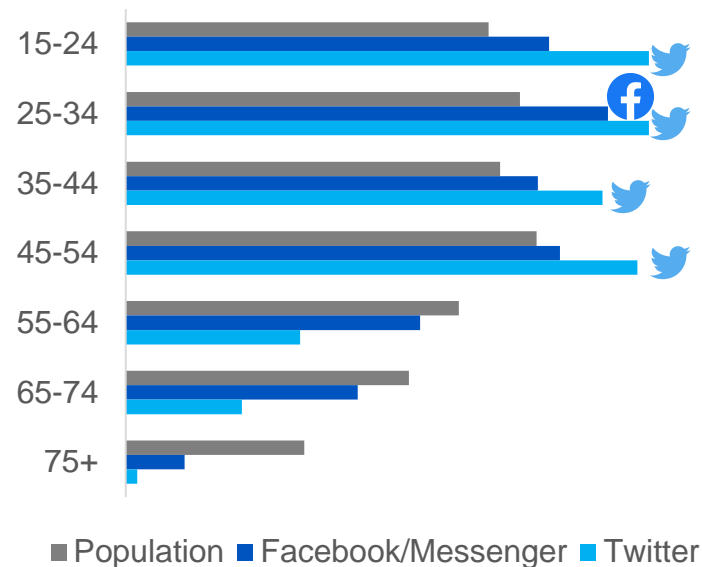
Twitter is more male and younger. Facebook, where the Tories were more active, is better aligned to the UK population

Gender



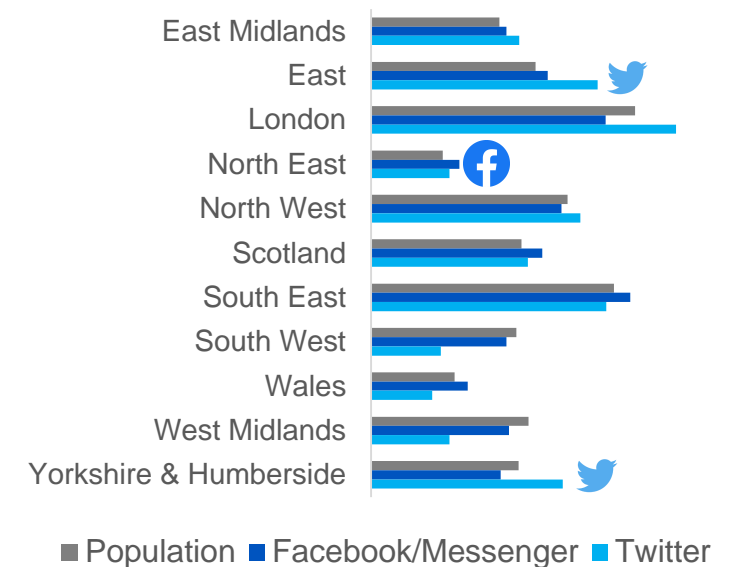
Sources: ONS Population Estimates 2015; Ipsos MORI Tech Tracker Q3 2019

Age




Sources: ONS Population Estimates 2015; Ipsos MORI Tech Tracker Q3 2019

Region



Sources: ONS Population Estimates 2018; Ipsos MORI Tech Tracker Q3 2019; excludes Northern Ireland

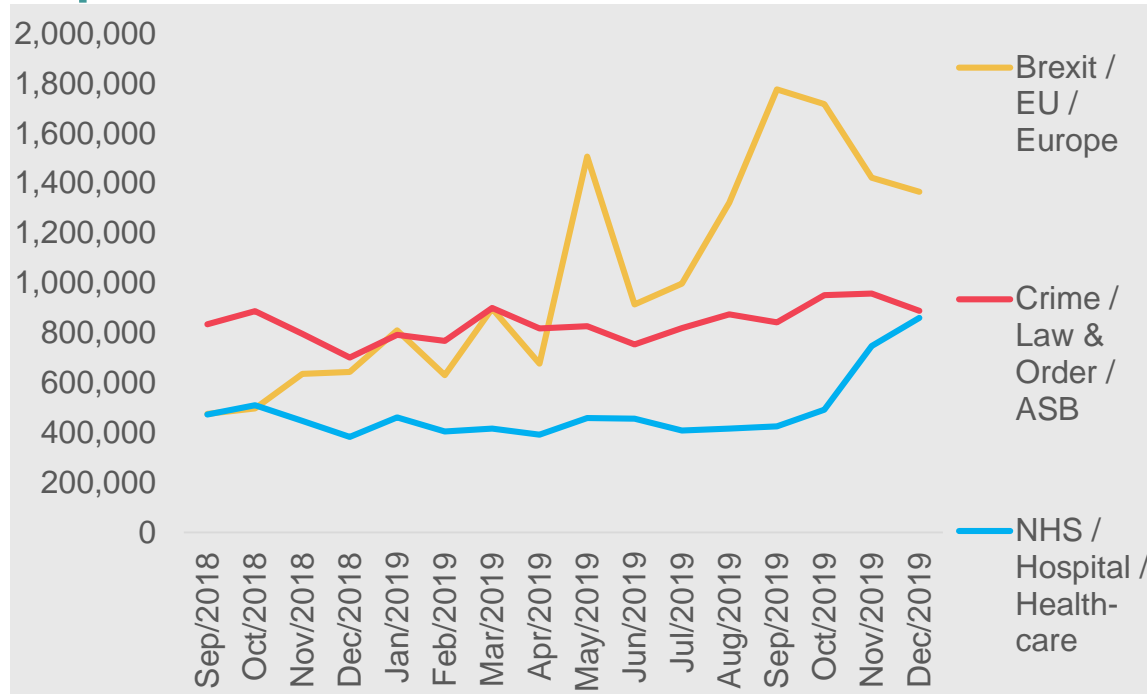
Facebook over-indexes vs. total adult population
Twitter over-indexes vs. total adult population

A young woman with long, dark, wavy hair is shown from the chest up. She is wearing a dark, possibly black, leather jacket. Her head is tilted slightly down and to her left, and her eyes are closed or looking down. Her expression is somber or contemplative. The background is a solid, muted blue-grey color.

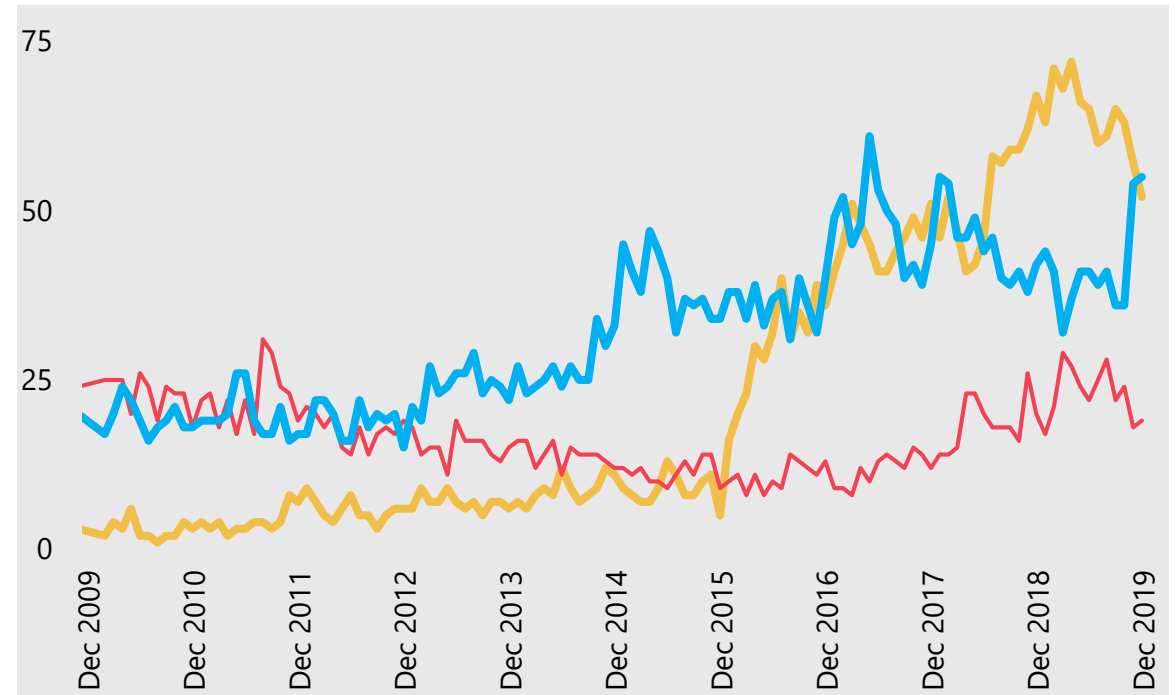
**Does that
mean we can
just ignore
social media
and social
media data?**

The trend in NHS from social is re-emerging as the top issues in our issues index

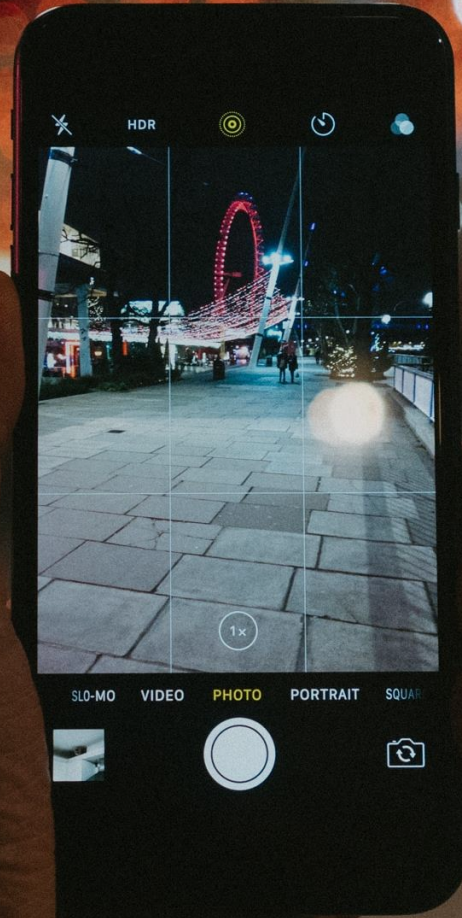
Volume of social media posts
Sep-18 to Dec-19



Ipsos MORI Issues Index
Dec-09 to Dec-19



**Social media
are complex –
you can't take
a single
measure as
success... or
as failure**

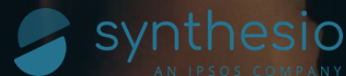


Thank you

Tara Beard-Knowland

Head of Social Intelligence Analytics

 @KnowlandTara



Ipsos MORI



Session Five: www.electionanalysis.uk

Nathalie Weidhase @NWeidhase
Bournemouth University

Ivor Gaber @ivorgaber
University of Sussex



British Polling Council

Ipsos MORI



Thank you



British Polling Council

Ipsos MORI

