The state of the political landscape – where we started, where we are, where we may end up

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The 2019 GB result...and the polls when the campaign started

Party	2019	Start of 2024 campaign*	Change
Conservatives	44.7	23	-21.7
Labour	33.0	44	+11.0
Scottish National Party	4.1 (45 in Scotland)	3 (31 in Scotland)	-1.1 (-14 in Scotland)
Liberal Democrats	11.8	10	-1.8
Greens	2.8	6	+3.2
Plaid Cymru	0.4 (9.9 in Wales)	1 (14 in Wales)	+0.6 (+4.1 in Wales)
Brexit Party	2.1	11	+8.9
Conservative to Labour swing since 2019			***16.4 points***

*Average of 30 May polls

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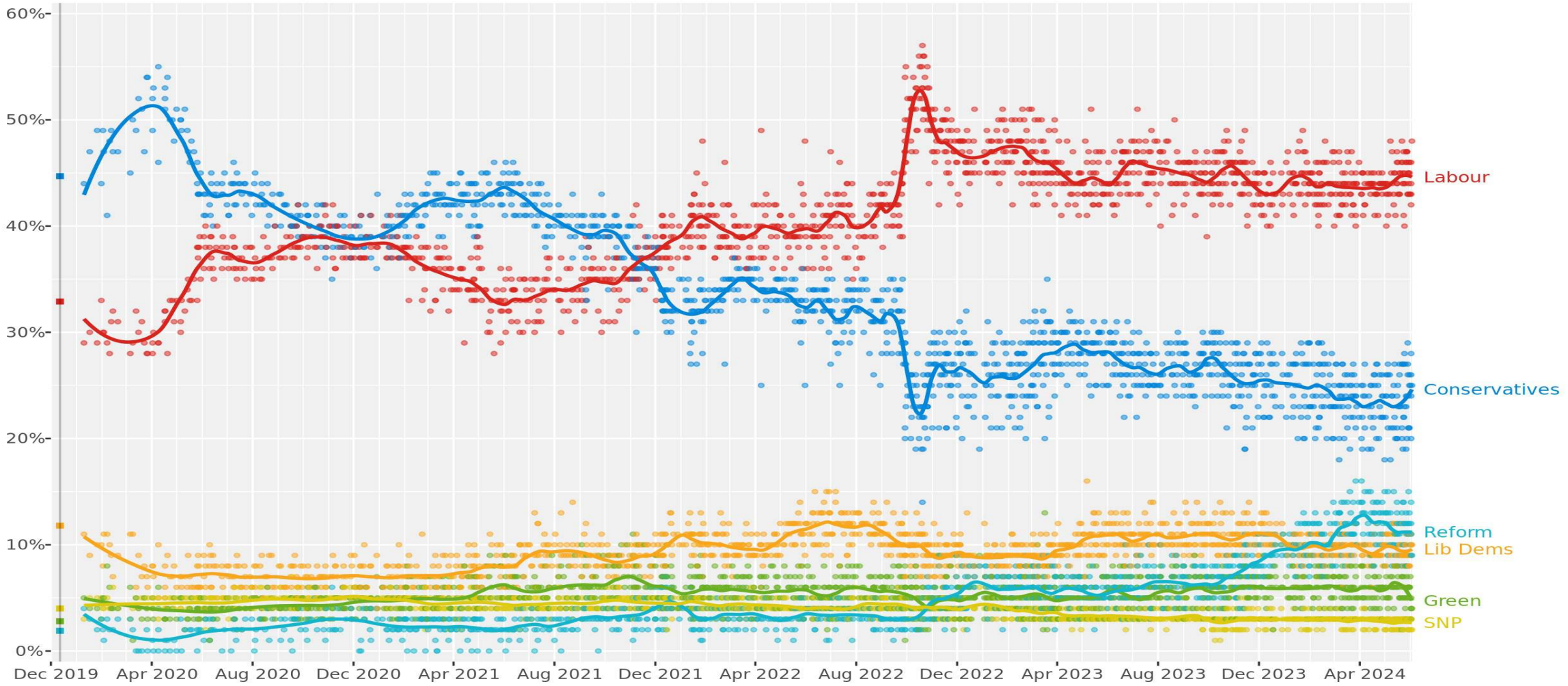
The Parliament in polls…all change?



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opinion_polling_for_the_2024_United_Kingdom_general_election#Graphical_summaries

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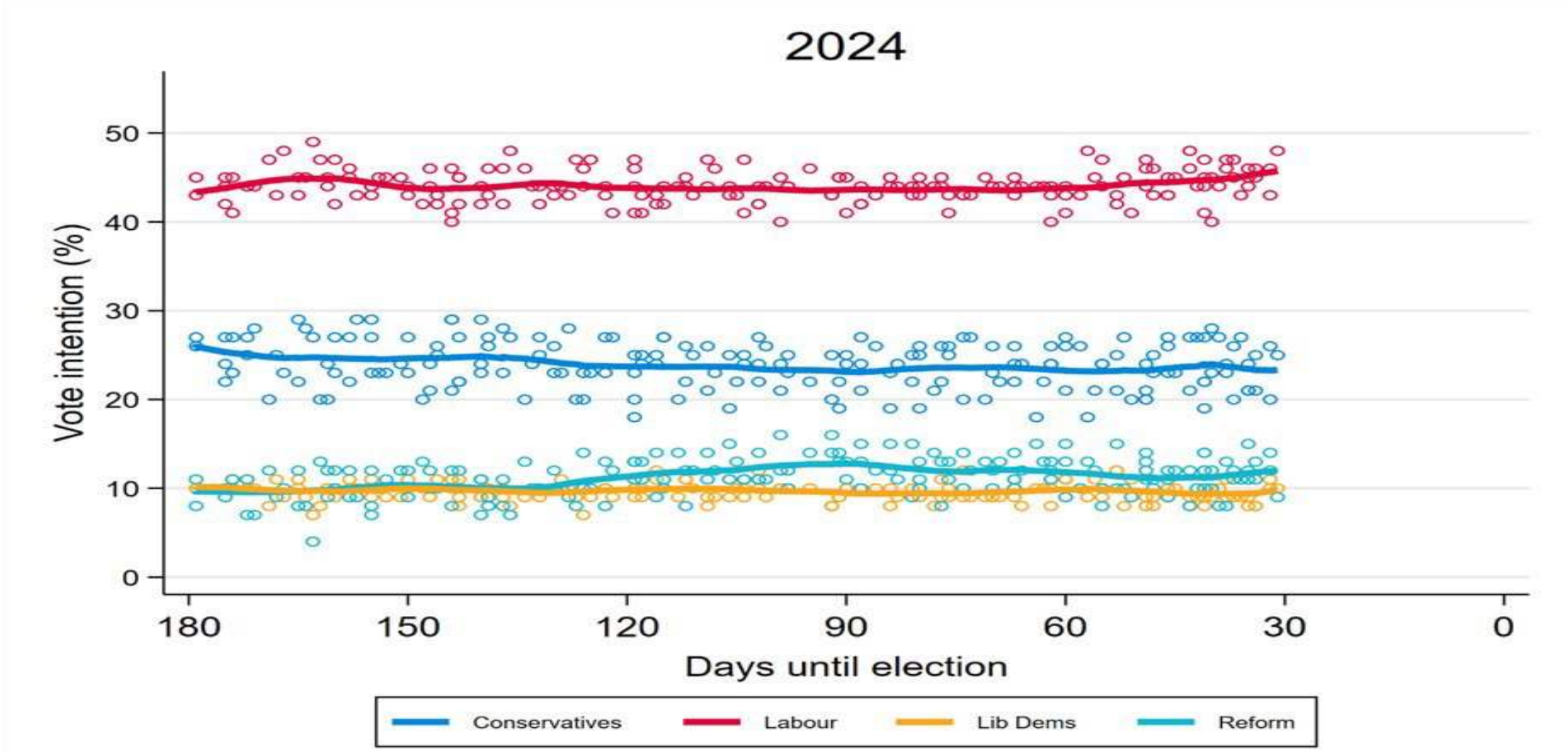
The last six months in polls...no change



Source: Professor Will Jennings

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The choice...

Every election is a choice on multiple dimensions:

Leadership: Sunak or Starmer?

Issues: Which issues matter? Who is best to address them?

Performance: How is the government doing? Are you better off now than you were four years ago? Time for a change or 'stick with the plan'?

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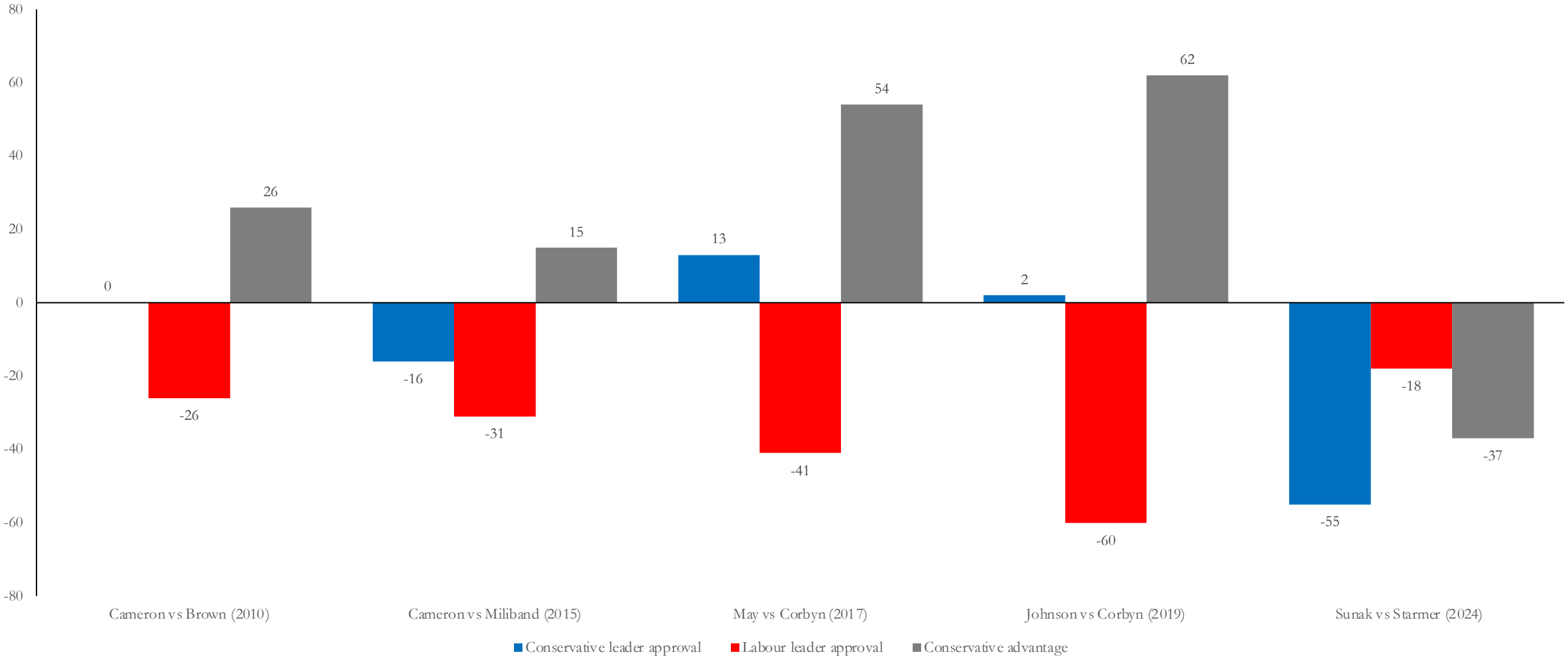
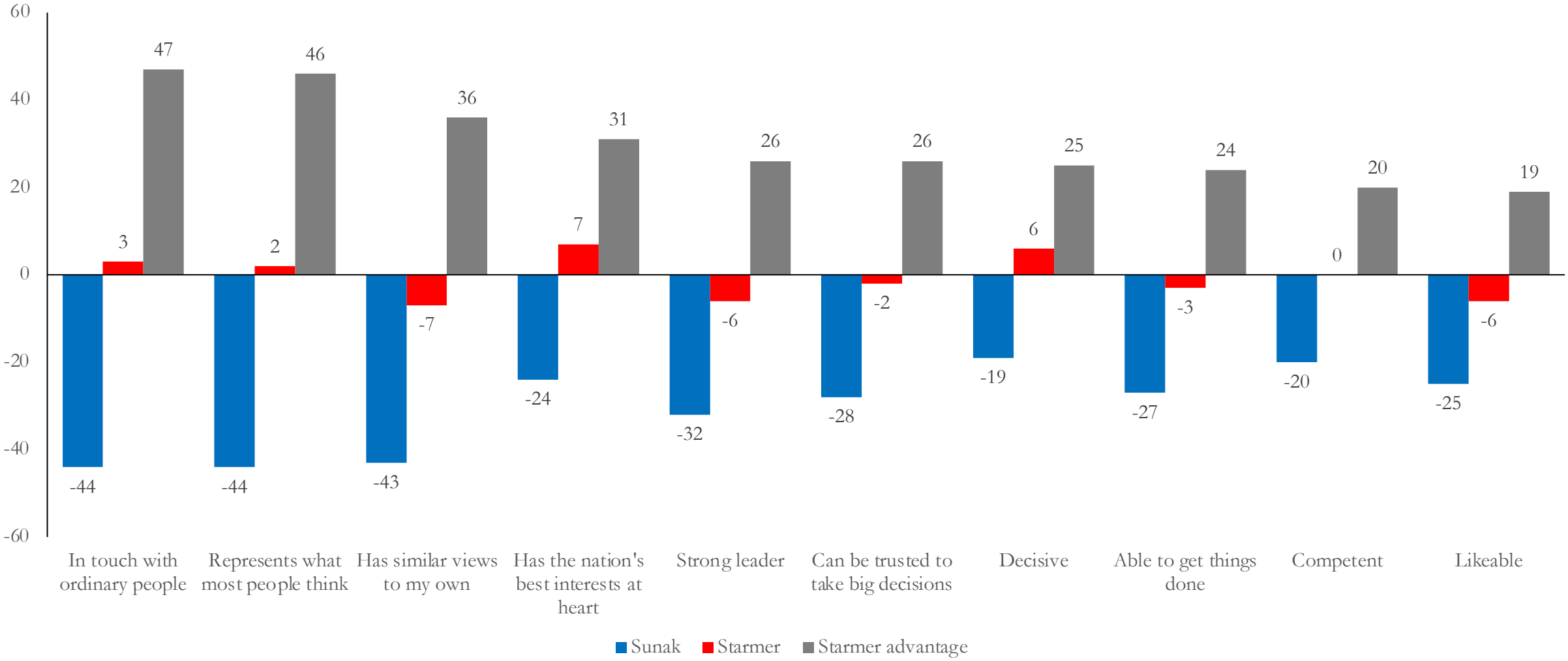
Leadership – Starmer isn't loved, but Sunak is loathed

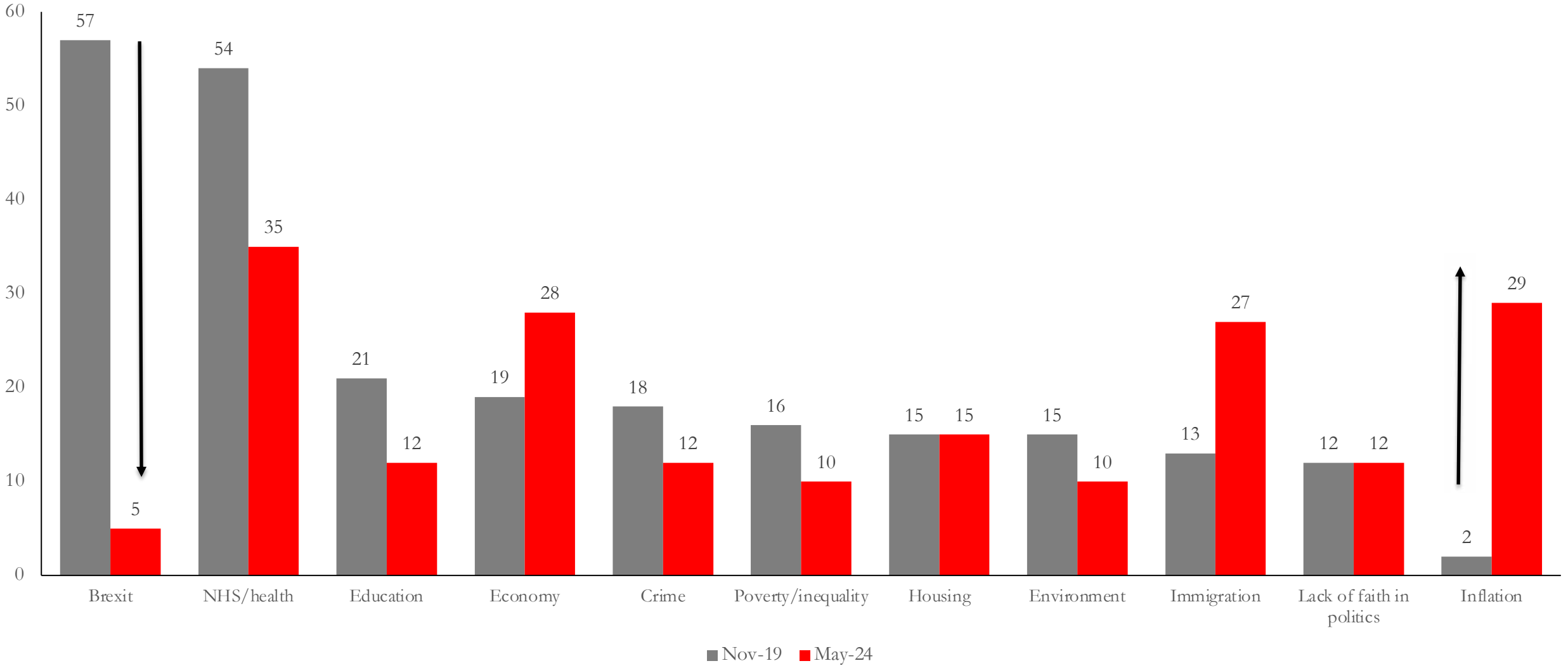


Leadership: Sunak trails Starmer on every personal quality, and the campaign isn't closing the gap



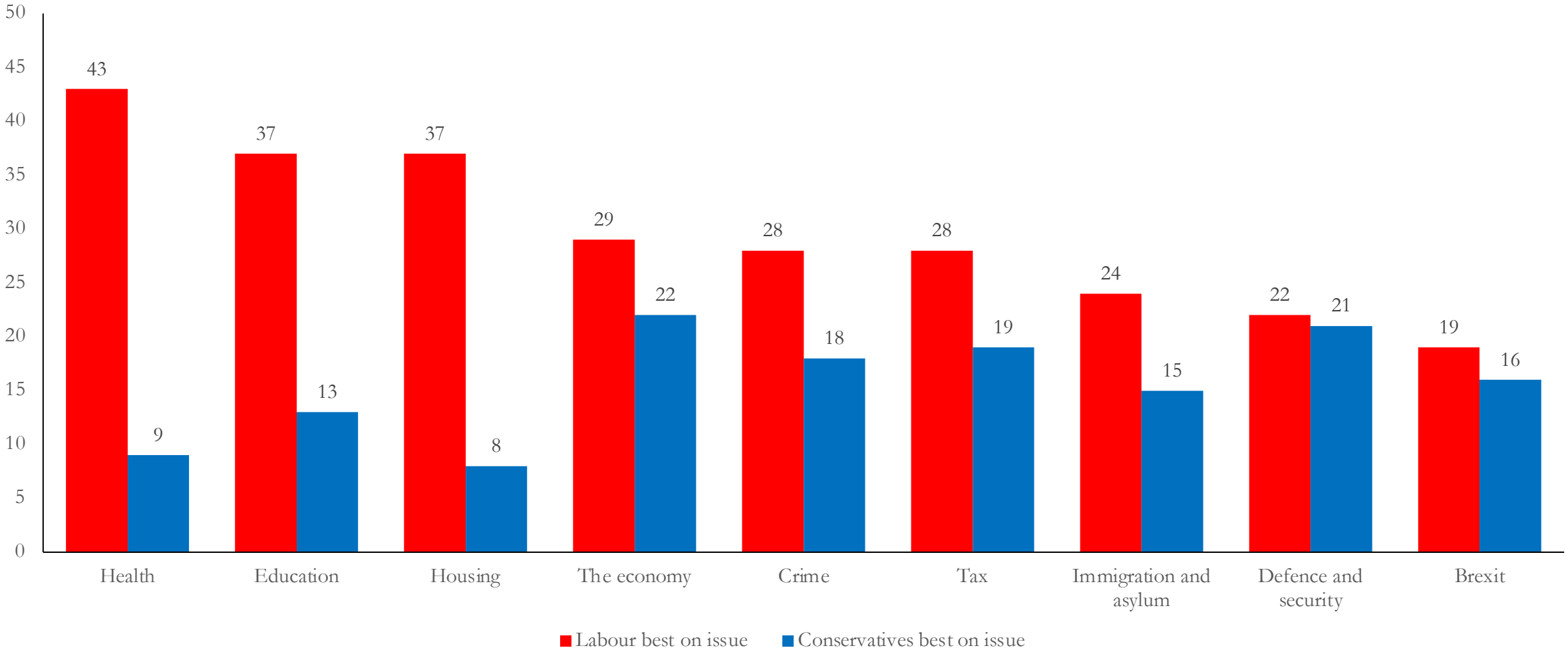
Source: Opinium 5-7th June 2024

Issues: Old priorities resurface with Brexit ‘done’ (for now, at least) and COVID beaten



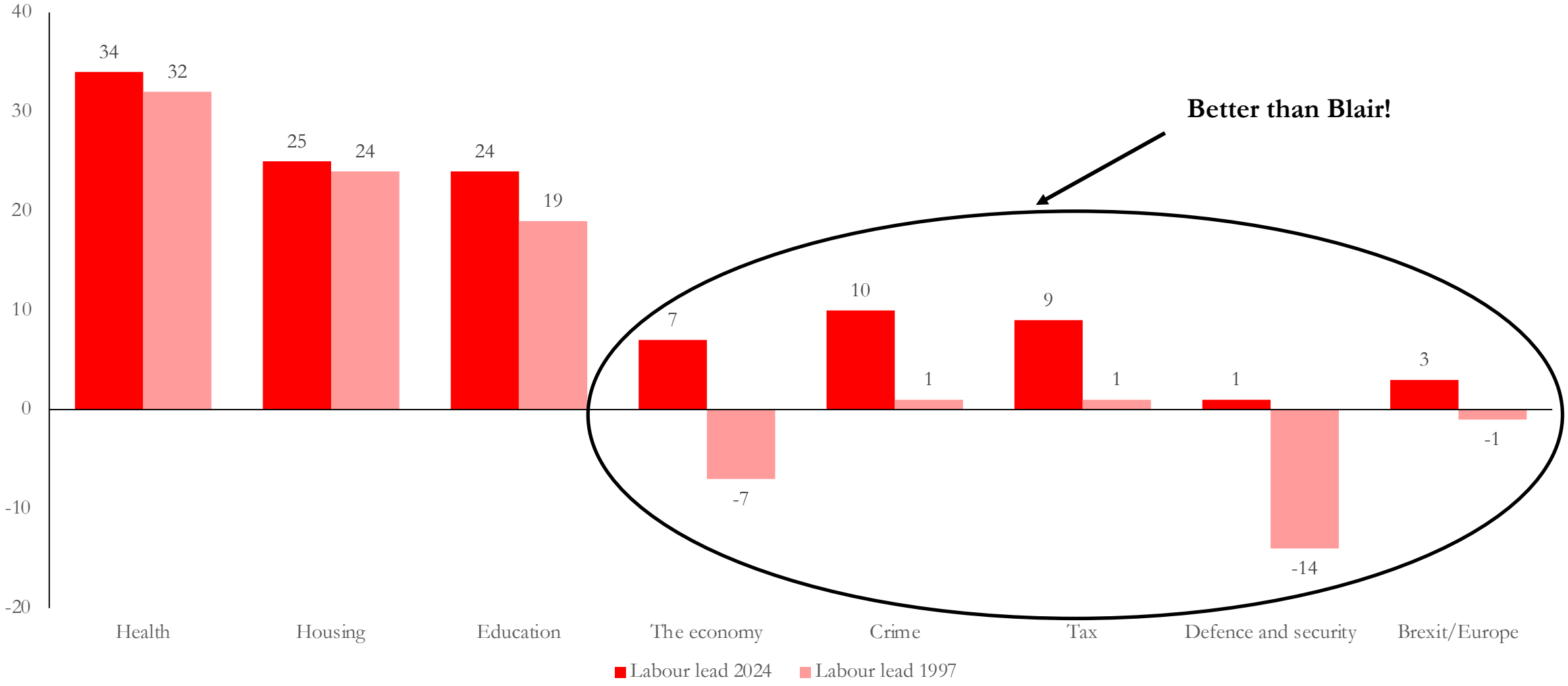
Source: IPSOS-MORI issues index, November 2019 and May 2024

Who is best on the issues? A Labour clean sweep...

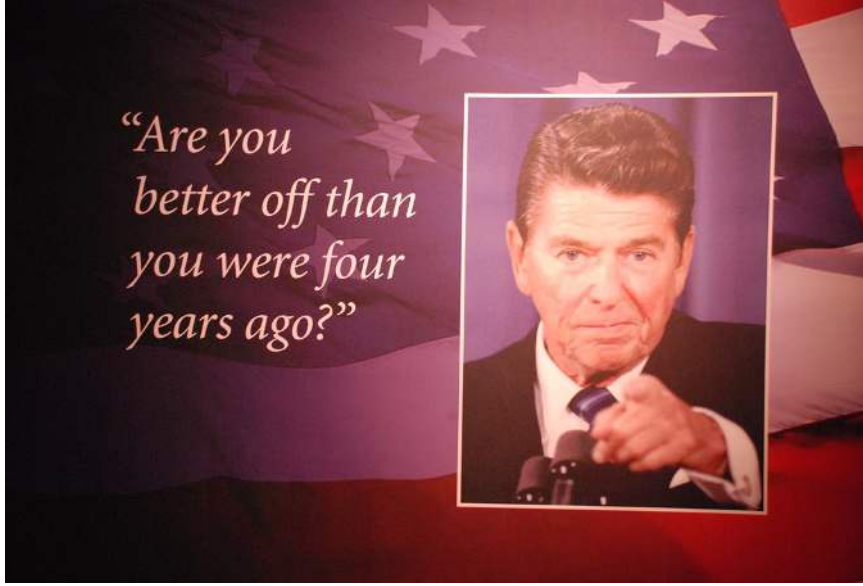


Source: YouGov 1-3 June 2024

...which even Tony Blair didn't manage in 1997



Source: YouGov, 1-3 June 2024; IPSOS-MORI Times Election Poll 10th April 1997



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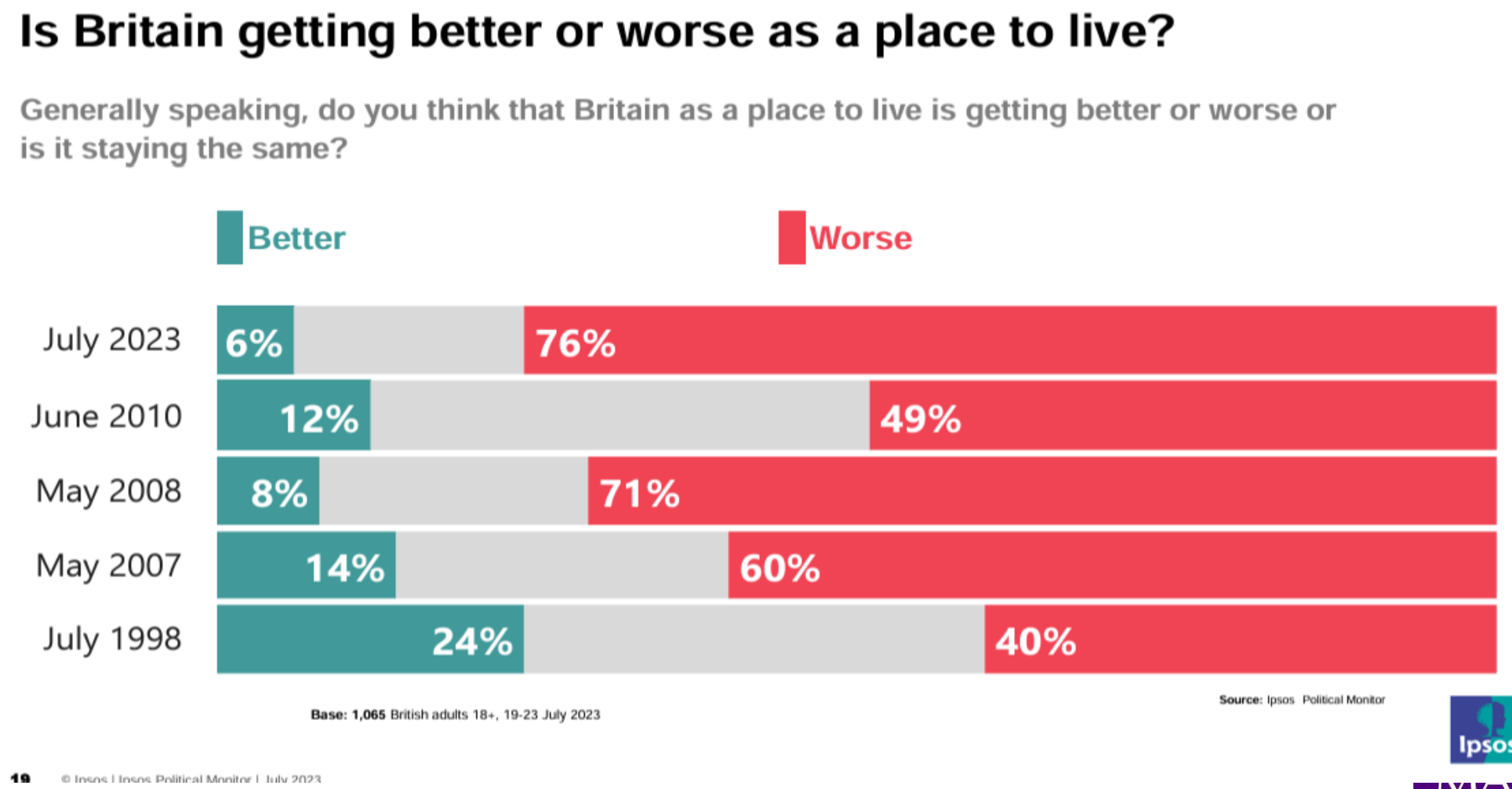
British voters have had a clear answer to the Reagan question for a while…



Source: IPSOS-MORI July 2023

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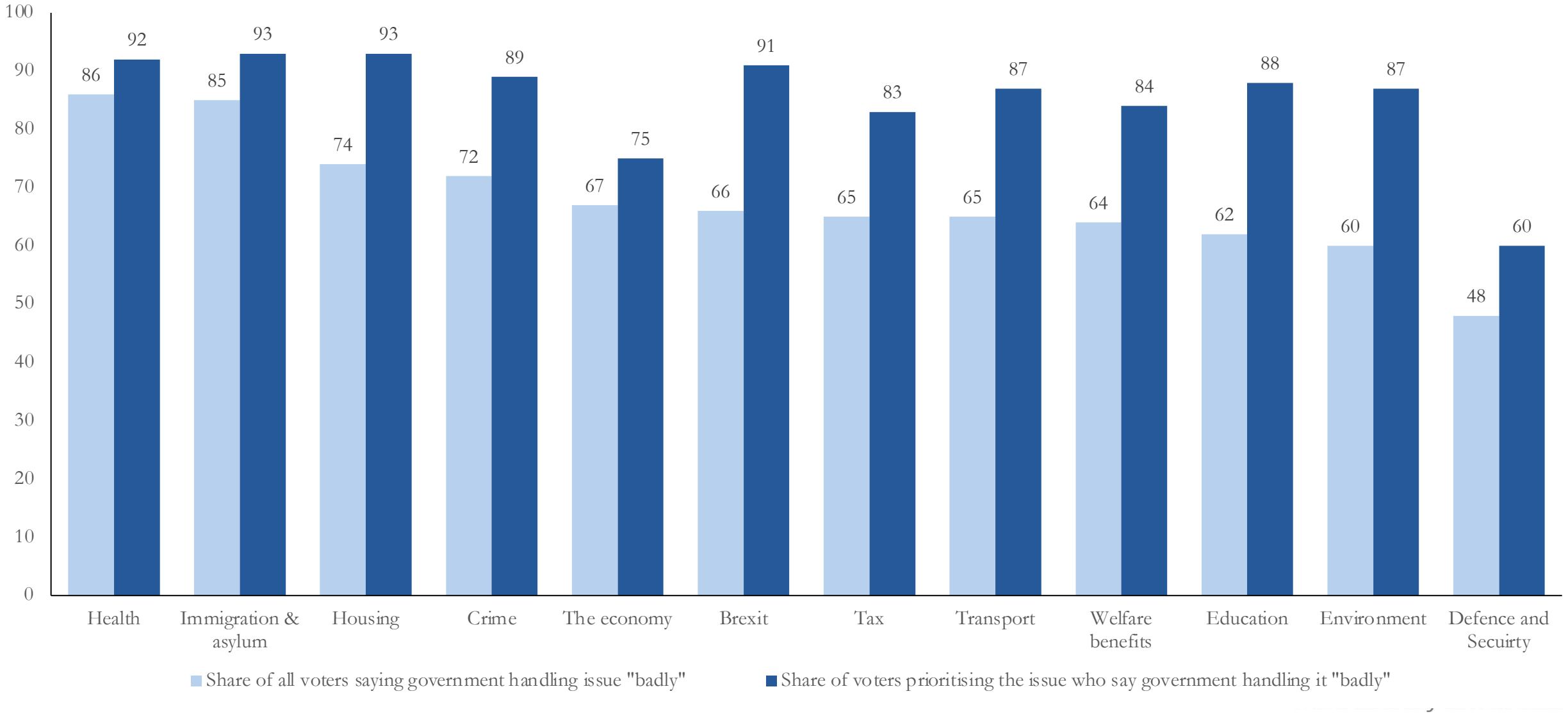
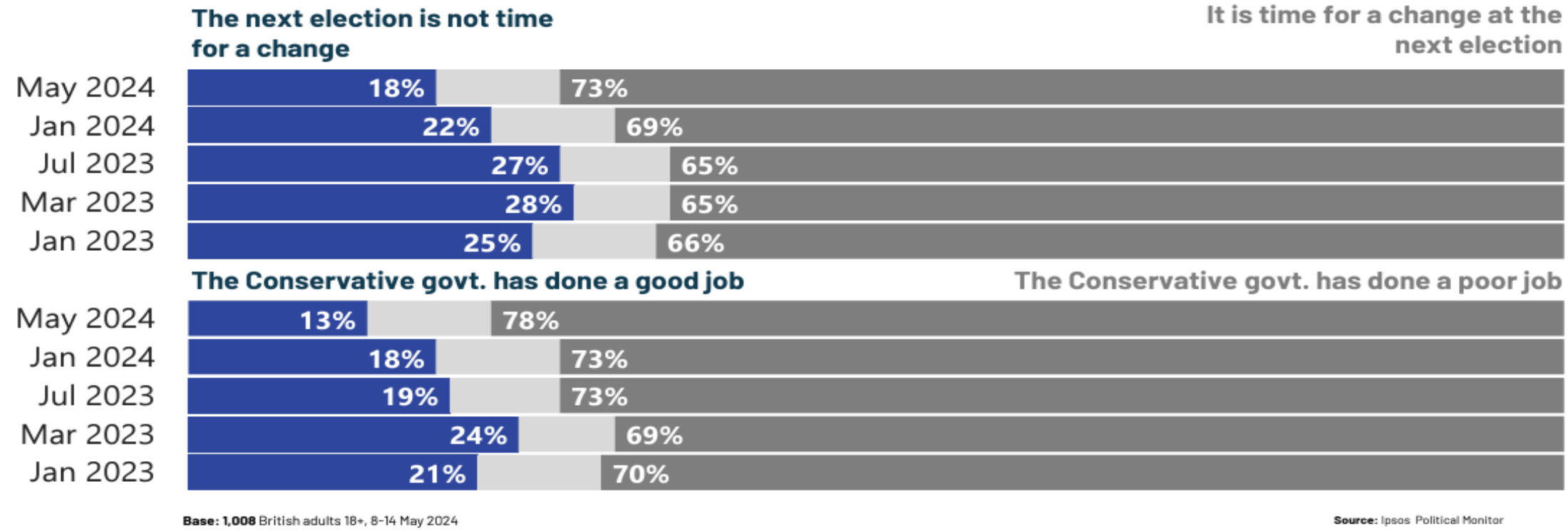
The government gets failing grades on every issue...and scores even worse with the voters who care most...



No wonder then that voters see this election as “time for a change”

Thinking about the outcome of the next General Election, which of the following, if any, comes closest to your view?



Base: 1,008 British adults 18+, 8-14 May 2024

Source: Ipsos Political Monitor

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Four more Tory headaches

- Proportional swing – Labour winning more where more is needed
- Tactical voting – voters backing whoever is best placed to defeat the Tories
- Scotland – SNP slump, Labour comeback
- Return of Farage – hitting the Tories harder because he sat the last one out

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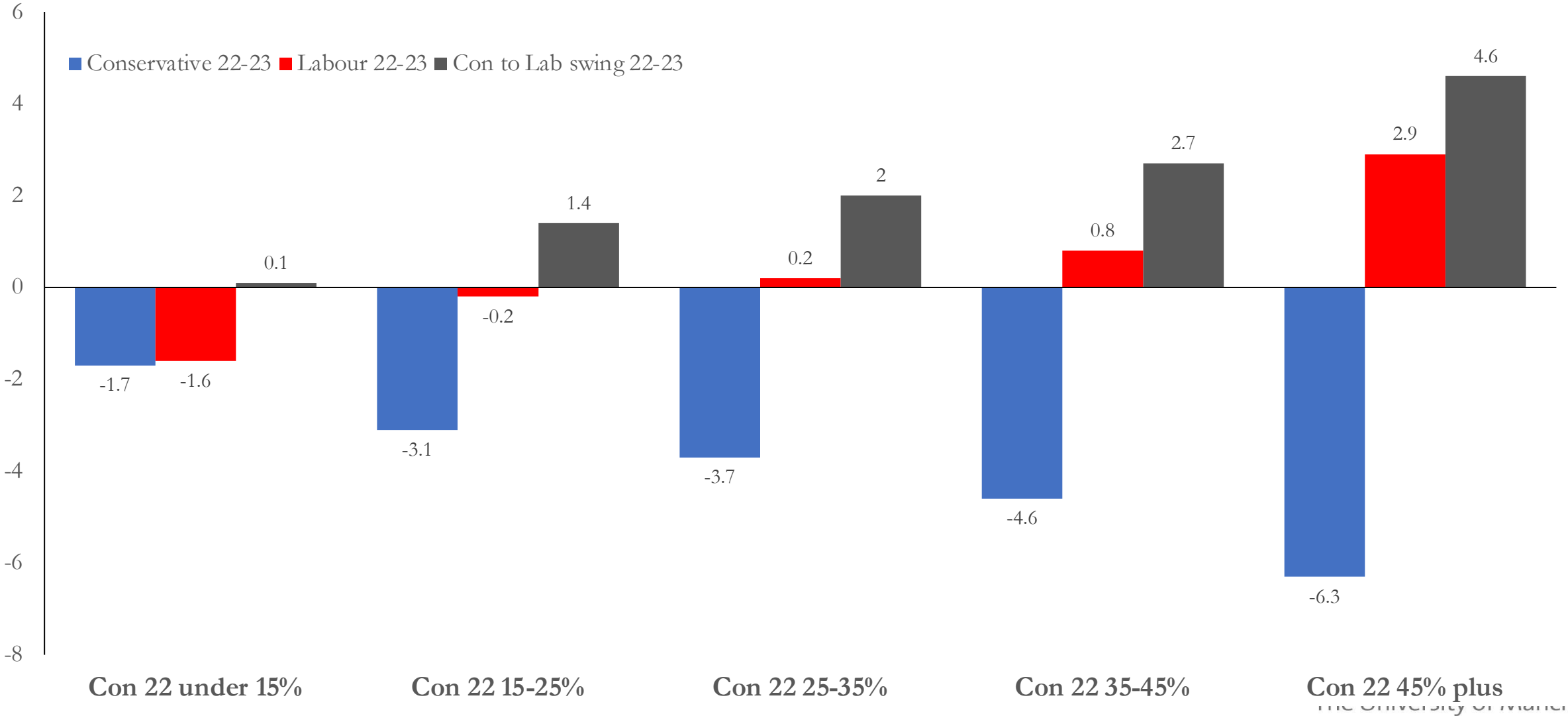
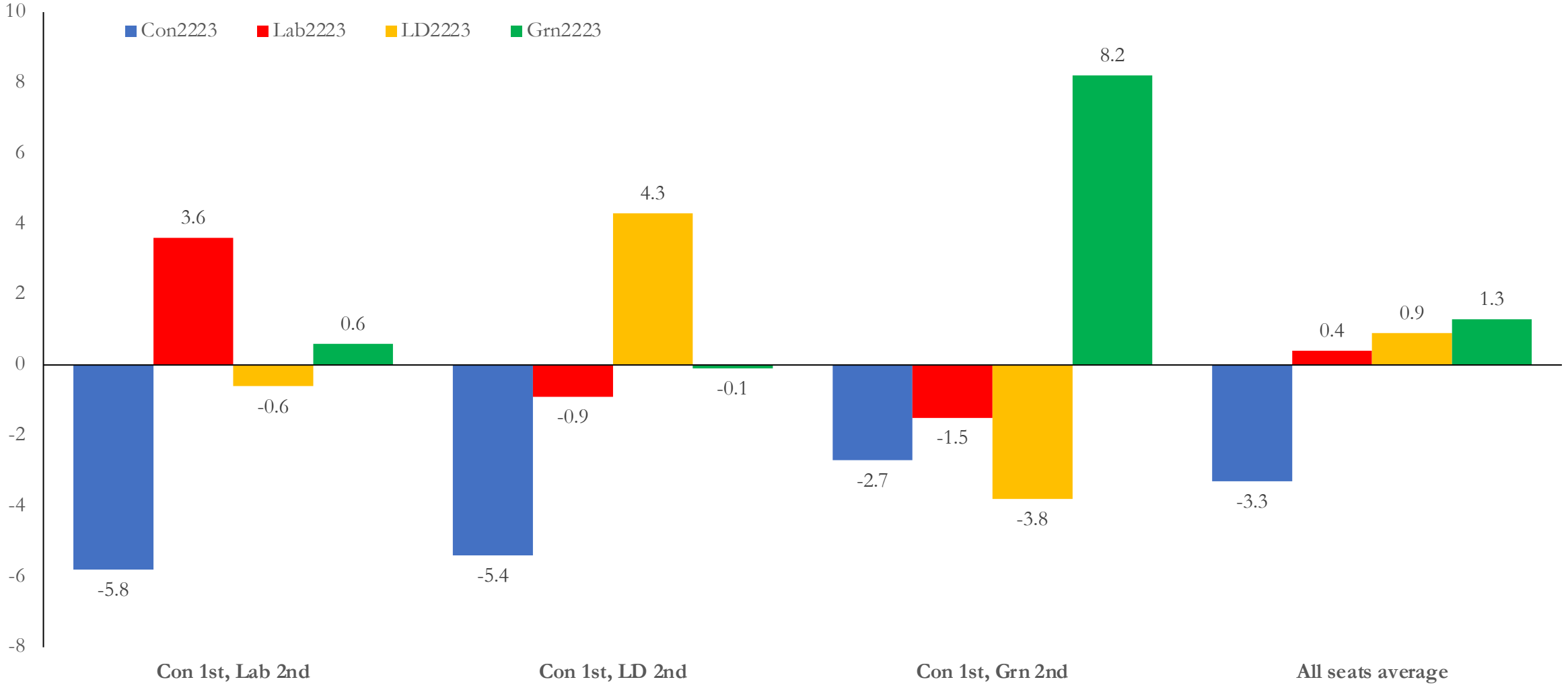
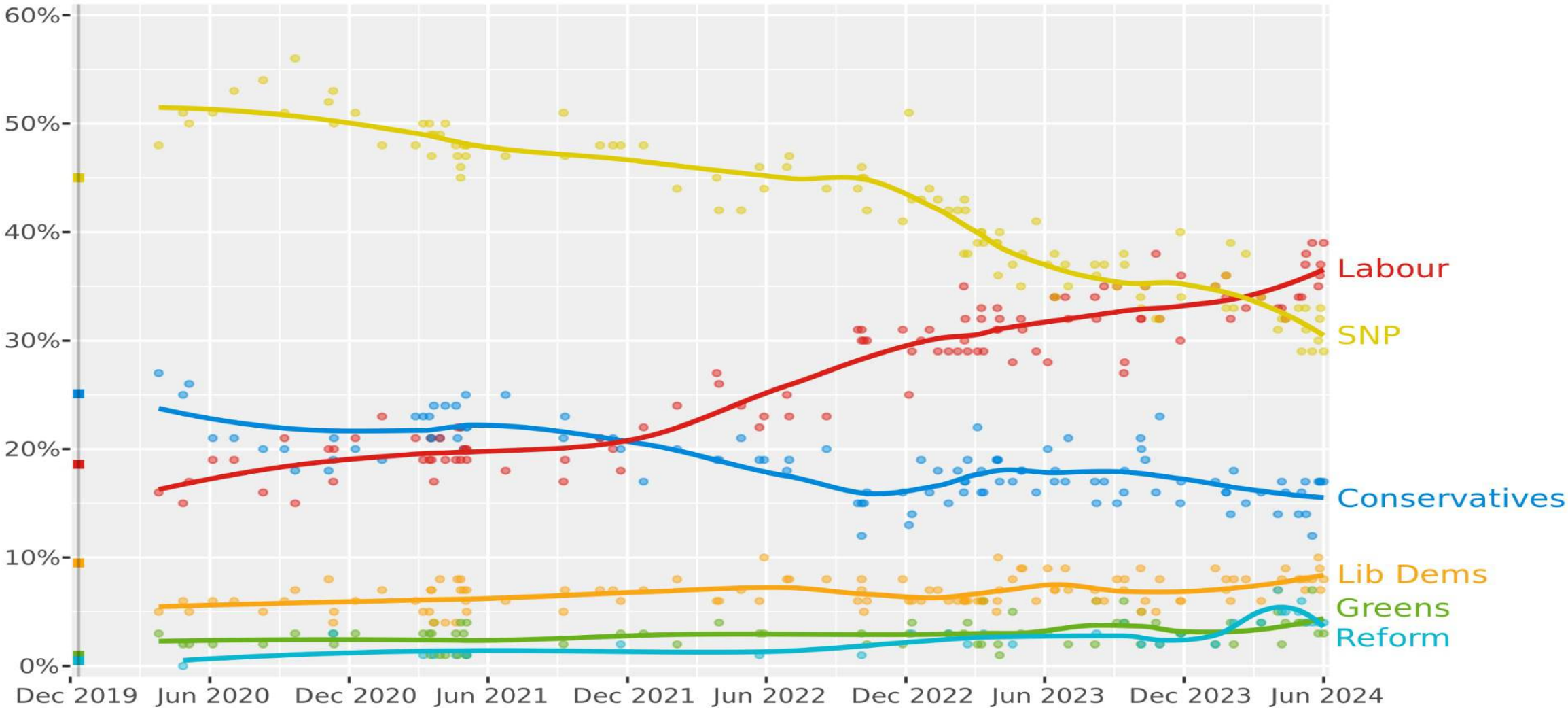
...Proportional swing: both polls and local elections show Labour are making the biggest gains where they need the biggest swings



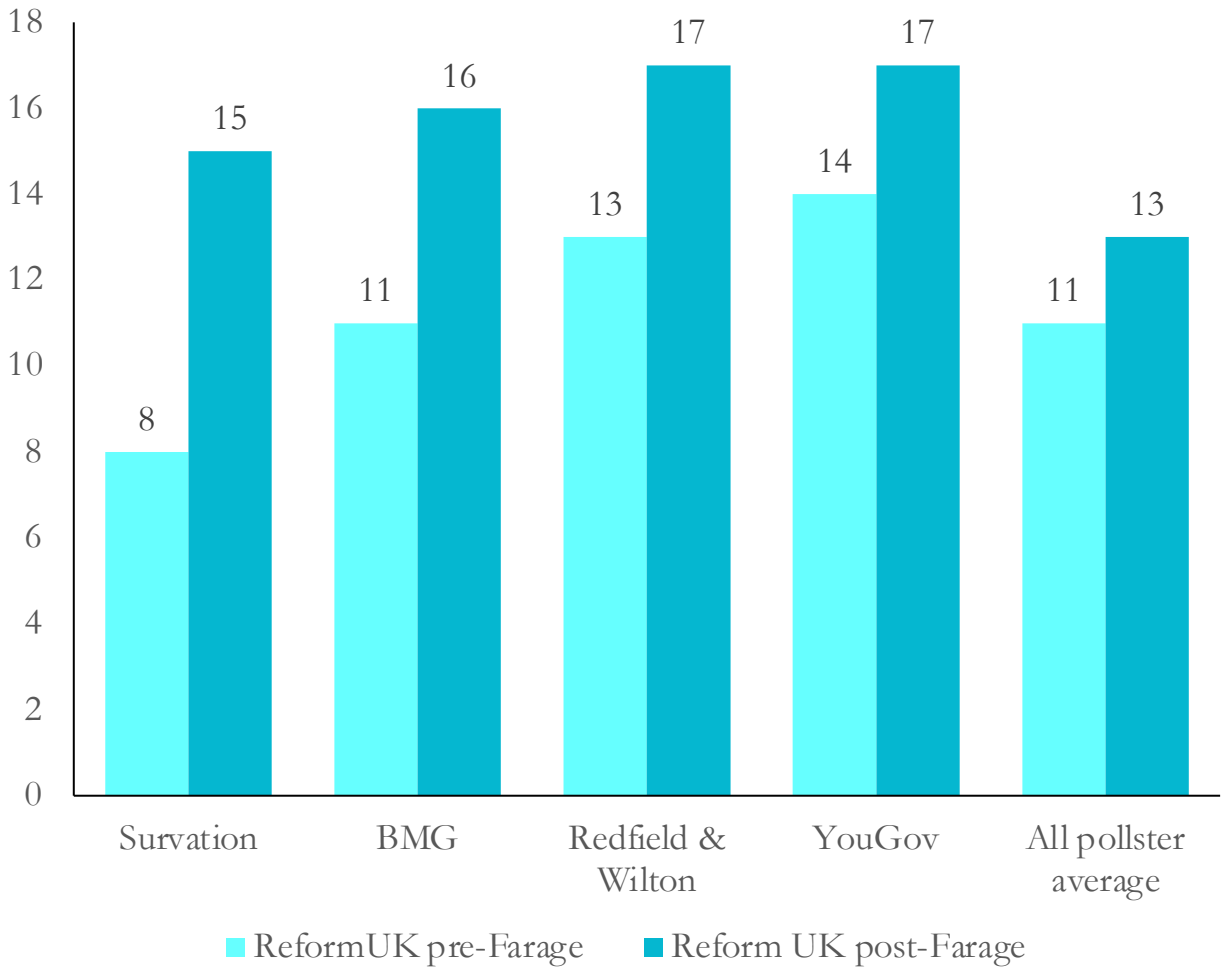
Tactical voting: voters in recent local elections have coalesced behind whoever is second place in Con held seats



SNP to Labour swing in Scotland is even bigger than Con to Labour swing in England & Wales



The Farage effect – hitting the Tories hard where it hurts



Recipe for a landslide

- Start with a twenty point vote lead…
- …add a big leadership advantage…
- …throw in leads on every issue voters care about…
- …and low marks for the government on every outcome…
- …add a dash of “time for a change”…
- …sprinkle gains just where you need them – in marginals, in Scotland, through tactical voting…
- Then, to finish, throw on some populist Farage brandy, and ignite…

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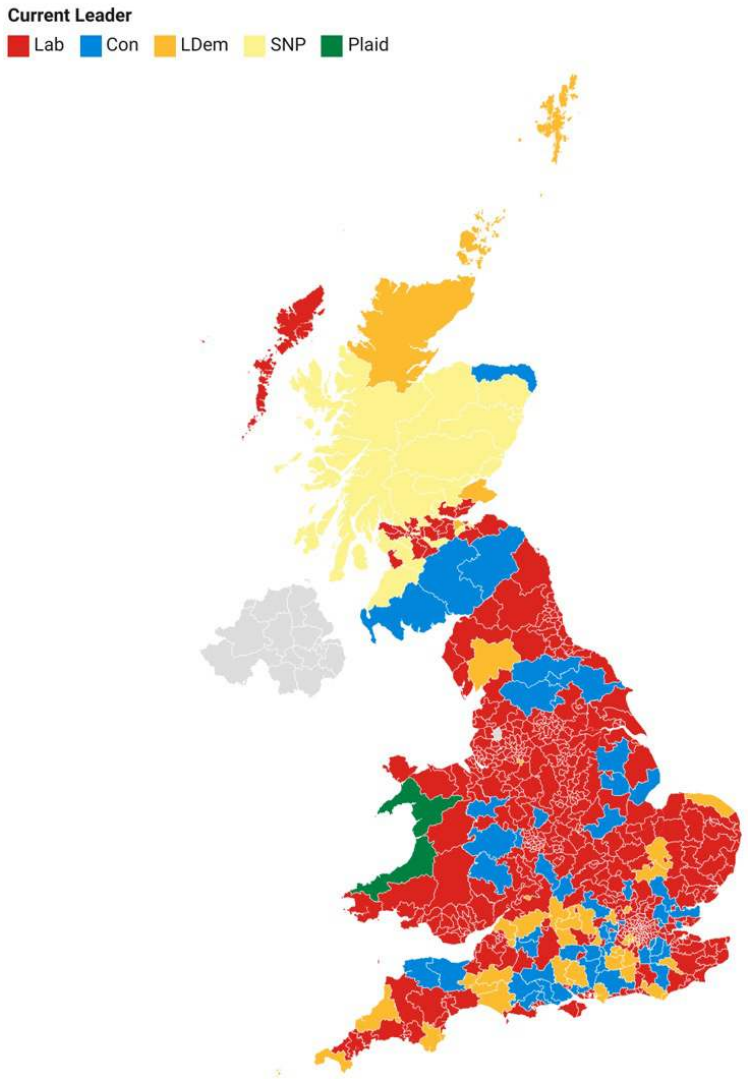
First YouGov MRP of 2024 general election shows Labour on track to beat 1997 landslide

UK Tories Are on Course for Historic Defeat, Mega Poll Shows

Survation MRP: Labour Set for Record Breaking Majority



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A good campaign could still soften the blow…But…

‘The stupidest of stupid ideas’: Rishi Sunak’s D-Day snub sparks Tory outrage

Sunak's D-Day absence: How the PM walked into an election blunder

Furious Tories turn on Rishi Sunak over D-day commemorations snub

Rishi Sunak D-Day row: ‘How could anyone vote Tory after this?’

D-Day blunder has Rishi Sunak under siege as war veterans and military chiefs condemn apologetic PM for skipping anniversary ceremony

By HARRIET LINE and MARK NICOL

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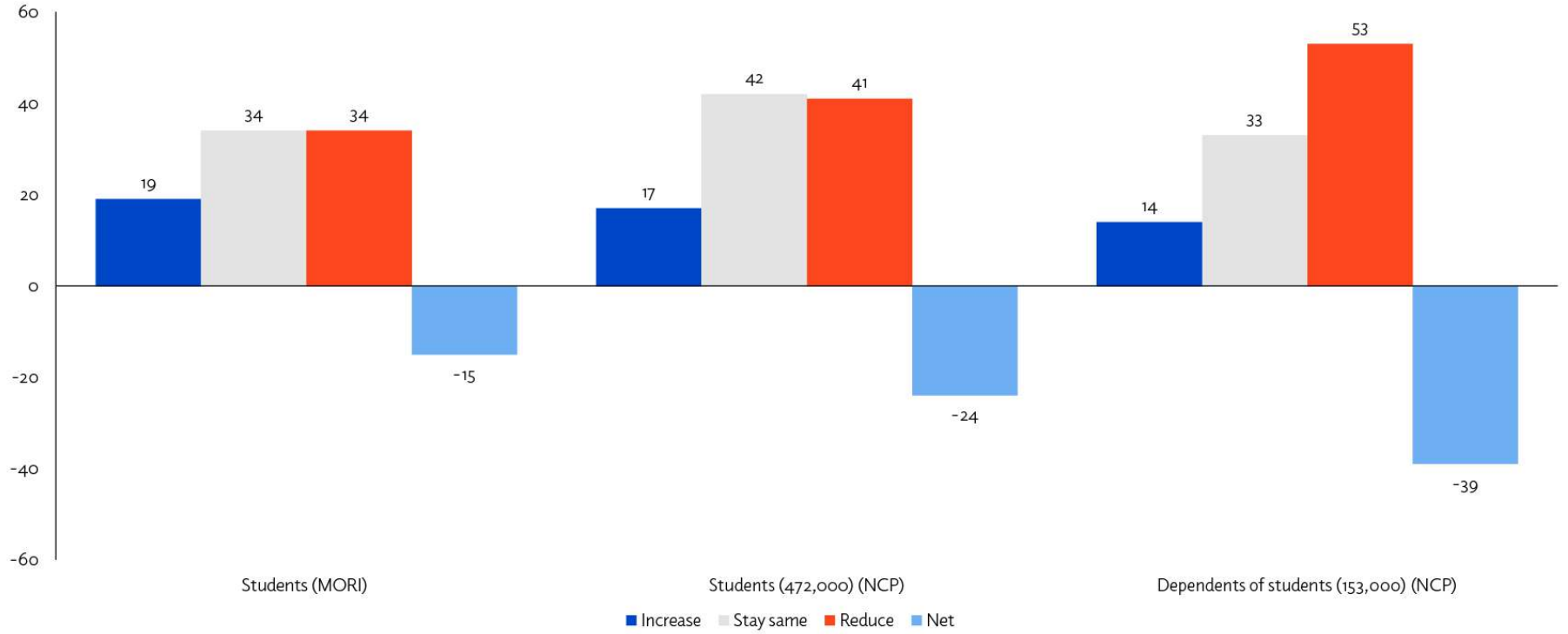
Post-script – a tough fight to come for HE?
Public may be souring on high foreign student numbers…

Recent polling suggests growing public concern about the scale of student migration

Views of migration levels for student and student dependants

UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE



Source: NatCen panel (Jan 2024); IPSOS-MORI Immigration Tracker (Feb 2024)

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...and strongly favour central government controls on recruitment

The UK public reject the principle of allowing universities the freedom to recruit students from abroad

Responses by party affiliation to the question, "should NHS/universities be free to recruit migrants or should government impose limits?"

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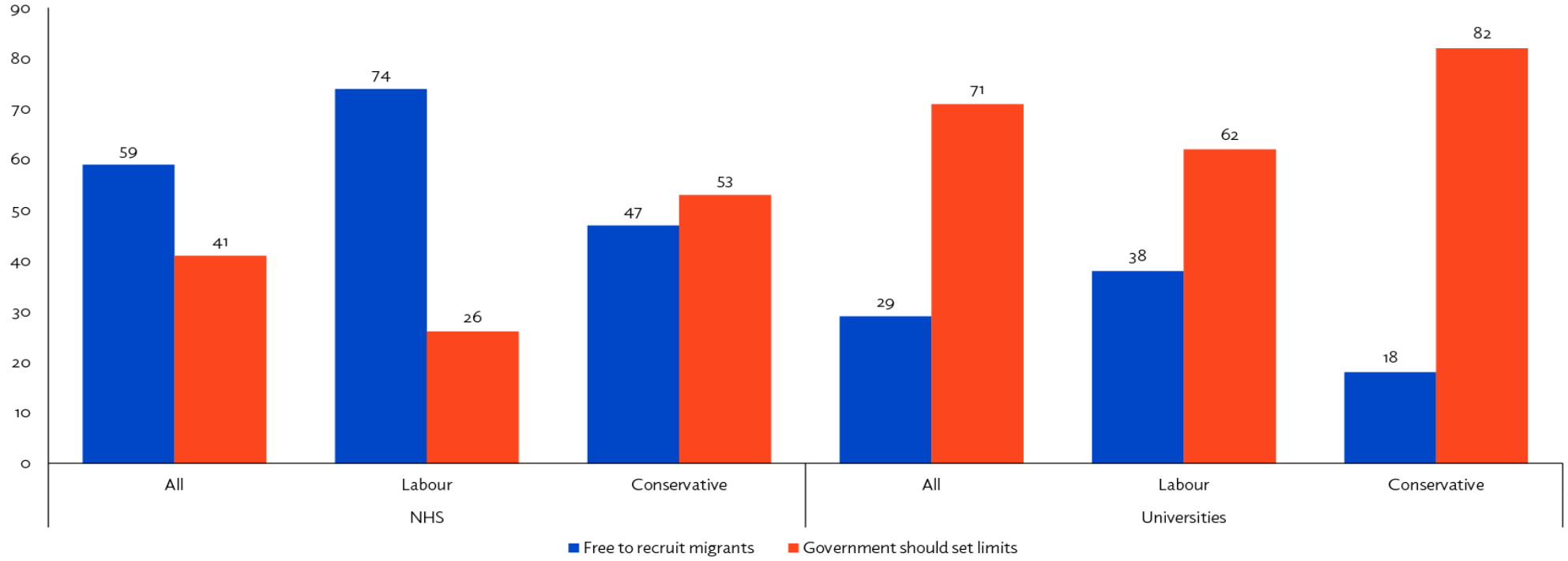
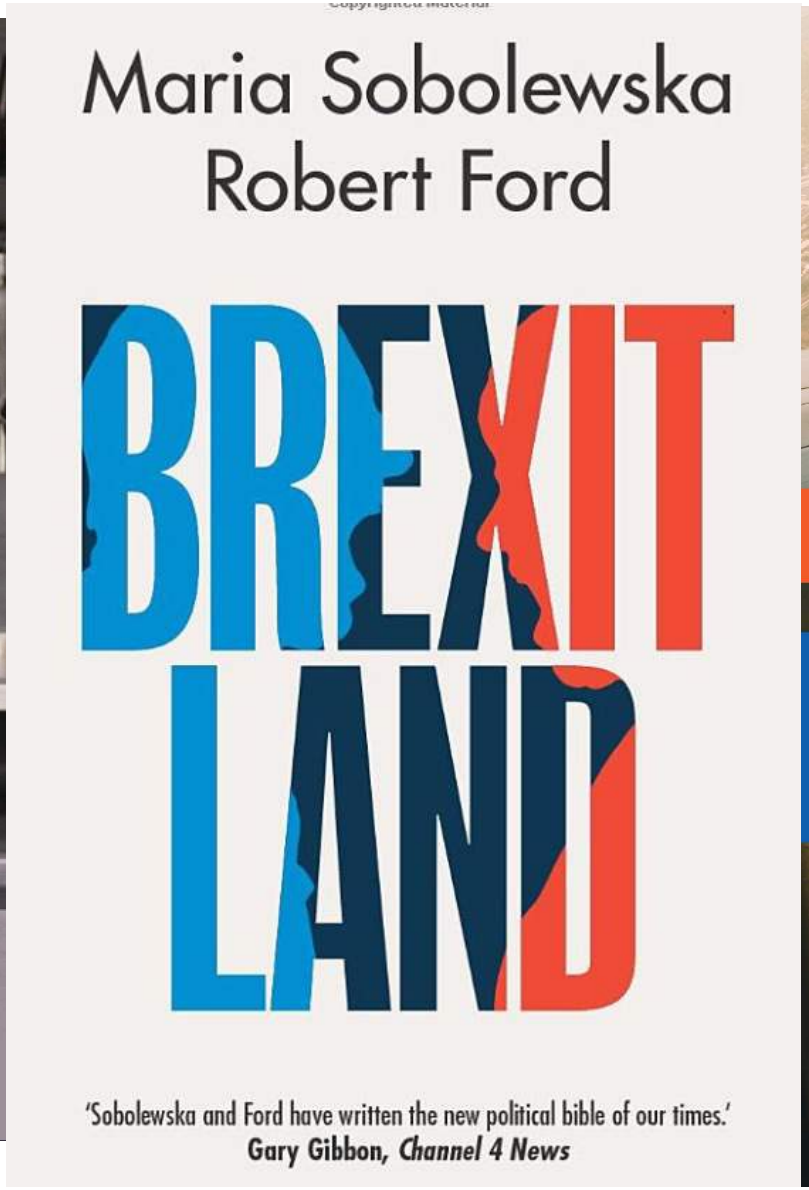


Source: NatCen Panel January 2024

ROBERT FORD
TIM BALE
WILL JENNINGS
PAULA SURRIDGE
GET
BREXIT
DONE
The BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION of 2019


Maria Sobolewska
Robert Ford
BREXIT LAND
'Sobolewska and Ford have written the new political bible of our times.'
Gary Gibbon, Channel 4 News

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MIGRATION TO THE UK AFTER BREXIT:
POLICY, POLITICS AND PUBLIC OPINION

THANK YOU!