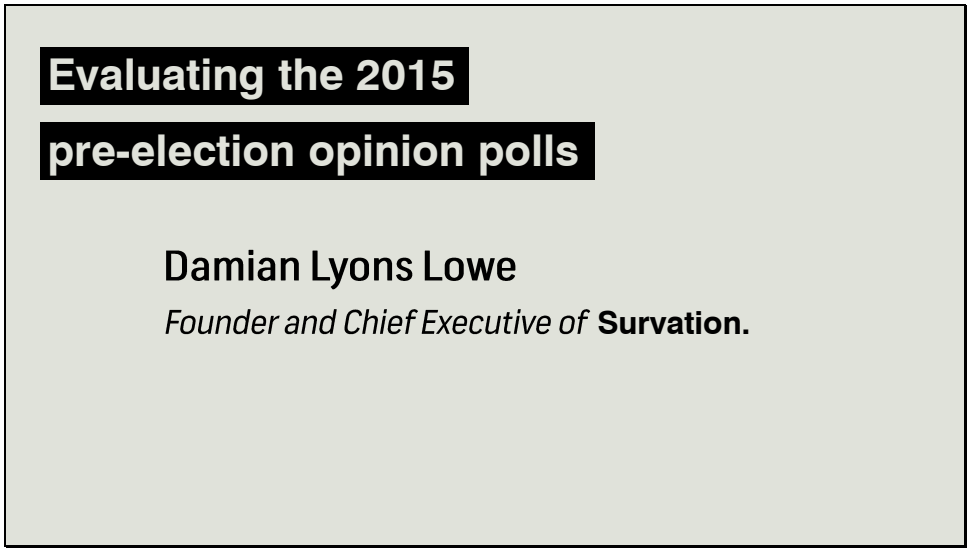
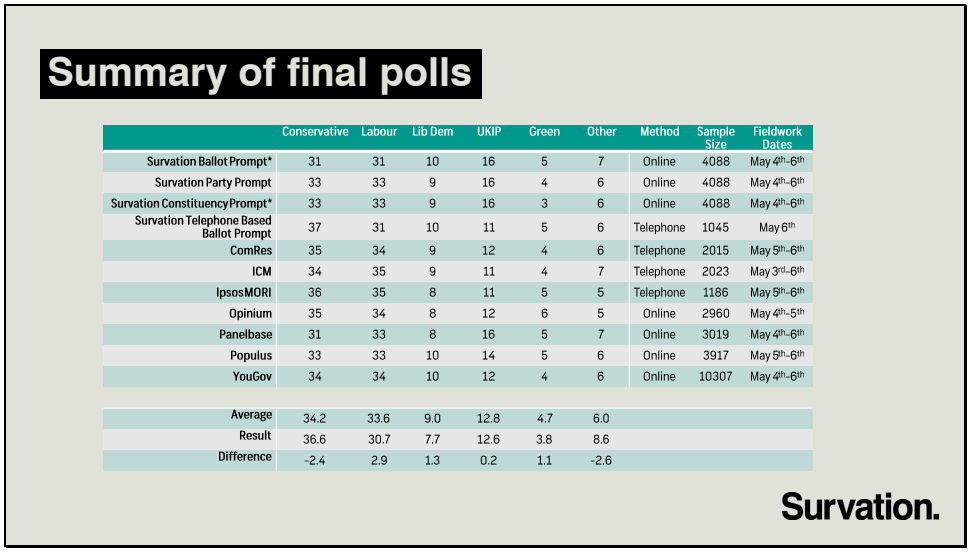
Slide 1



I founded Survation 5 years ago, we're a leading political and social research firm – more of our work currently is telephone based, although much of that is private, we also conduct online and face to face work. We're independent and work with many political parties in the UK, charities and the 3rd sector.

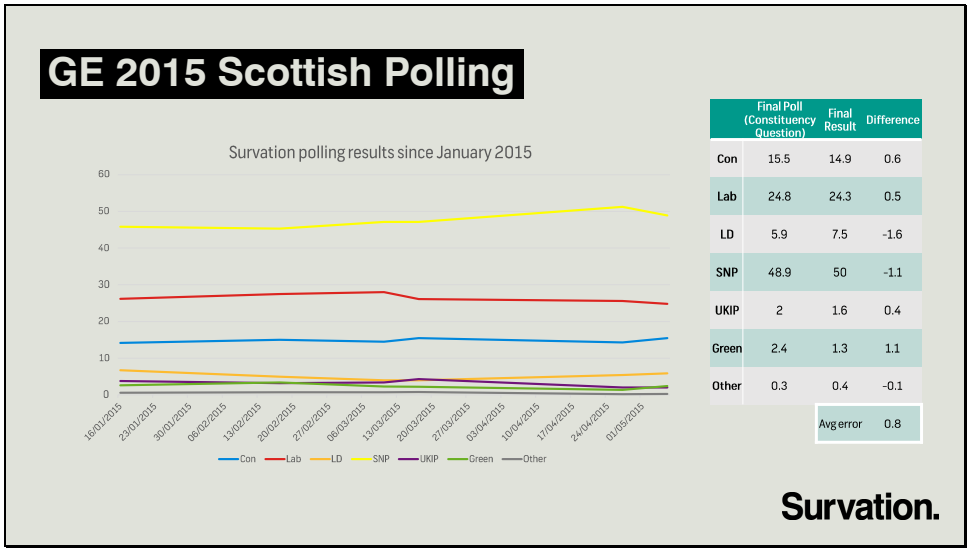
Slide 2



	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP	Green	Other	Method	Sample Size	Fieldwork Dates
Survation Ballot Prompt*	31	31	10	16	5	7	Online	4088	May 4th-6th
Survation Party Prompt	33	33	9	16	4	6	Online	4088	May 4th-6th
Survation Constituency Prompt*	33	33	9	16	3	6	Online	4088	May 4th-6th
Survation Telephone Based Ballot Prompt	37	31	10	11	5	6	Telephone	1045	May 6th
ComRes	35	34	9	12	4	6	Telephone	2015	May 5th-6th
ICM	34	35	9	11	4	7	Telephone	2023	May 3rd-6th
IpsosMORI	36	35	8	11	5	5	Telephone	1186	May 5th-6th
Opinium	35	34	8	12	6	5	Online	2960	May 4th-5th
Panelbase	31	33	8	16	5	7	Online	3019	May 4th-6th
Populus	33	33	10	14	5	6	Online	3917	May 5th-6th
YouGov	34	34	10	12	4	6	Online	10307	May 4th-6th
Average	34.2	33.6	9.0	12.8	4.7	6.0			
Result	36.6	30.7	7.7	12.6	3.8	8.6			
Difference	-2.4	2.9	1.3	0.2	1.1	-2.6			

- Here we can see the final polls from all companies and how they compared to the result
- As we're all aware, all pre election published polling including our own failed to PREDICT the UK vote share percentages, average error for all companies and modes being similar, despite samples of 3, 4 or even 10 thousand in size – critically getting the GAP between Labour and the Conservatives 5-6 points from what it turned out to be.
- However Survation, similar to all BPC members, significantly were highly accurate in Scotland

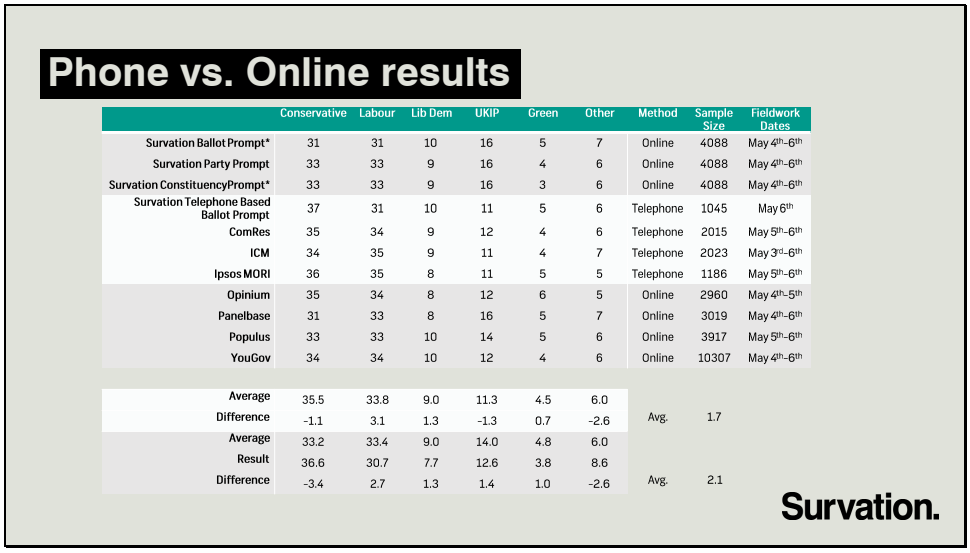
Slide 3



	Final Poll (Constituency Question)	Final Result	Difference
Con	15.5	14.9	0.6
Lab	24.8	24.3	0.5
LD	5.9	7.5	-1.6
SNP	48.9	50	-1.1
UKIP	2	1.6	0.4
Green	2.4	1.3	1.1
Other	0.3	0.4	-0.1
		Avg error	0.8

- Survation have polled Scotland once or twice per month since January 2014
- If we were to believe for example that concerns in England and Wales surrounding a potential SNP-Labour coalition or deal were the cause of late swing in England and Wales, this would not have been a significant factor in Scotland - potentially the reverse effect.

Slide 4



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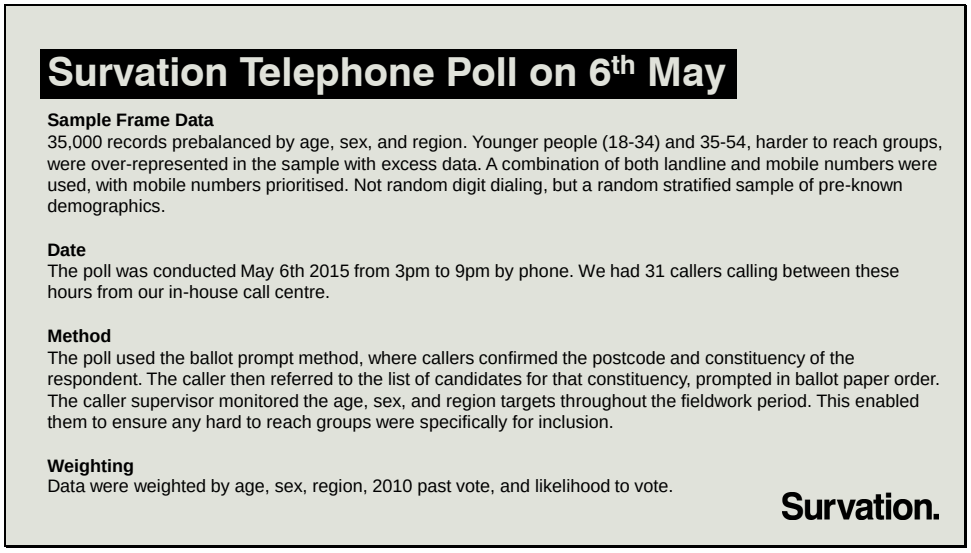
Difference	-1.1	3.1	1.3	-1.3	0.7	-2.6	Avg.	1.7	
Average	33.2	33.4	9.0	14.0	4.8	6.0			
Result	36.6	30.7	7.7	12.6	3.8	8.6			
Difference	-3.4	2.7	1.3	1.4	1.0	-2.6	Avg.	2.1	

- Leaving aside Survation's Wednesday afternoon and evening telephone poll, which I'll address later, there does not appear to be a modal effect across the industry

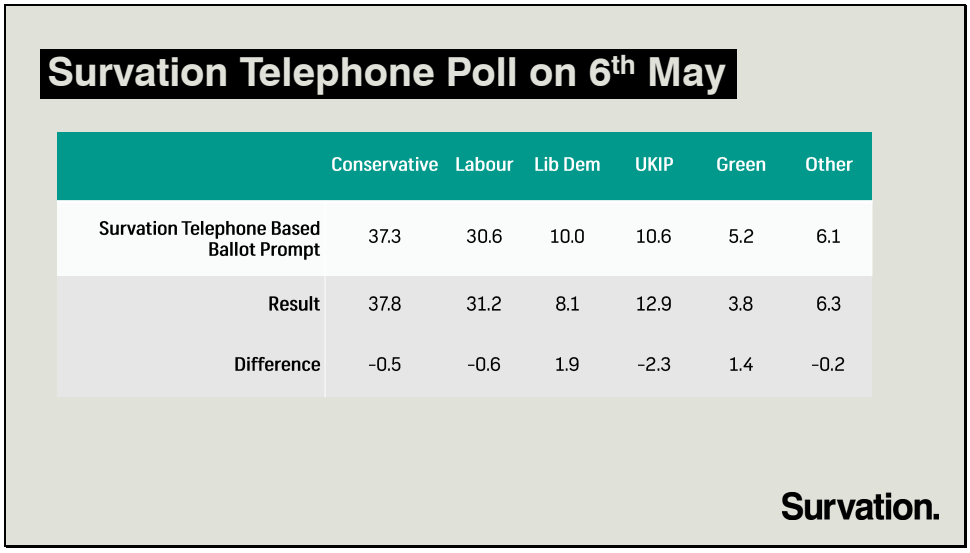
- The difference lies in fieldwork DATES. Pollsters often began fieldwork 3 days before polling day. The Survation telephone poll was conducted in the 6 hours before 9pm on May 6th, and was not tabulated and checked until after 10pm that day making a publication in a physical newspaper not feasible.

Slide 5



- The "unpublished" Survation telephone poll
    - Conducted on the evening of May 6th – the last pre-election poll and the only poll conducted entirely on May 6th
    - Not published. Data was sent to John Curtice at 7:06am on the morning of 8th May as a raw SPSS file
    - This was a stratified random phone sample, with all candidate names prompted in each constituency in ballot order
    - The reasons for not publishing are less interesting and currently not as relevant as the findings of the poll itself.

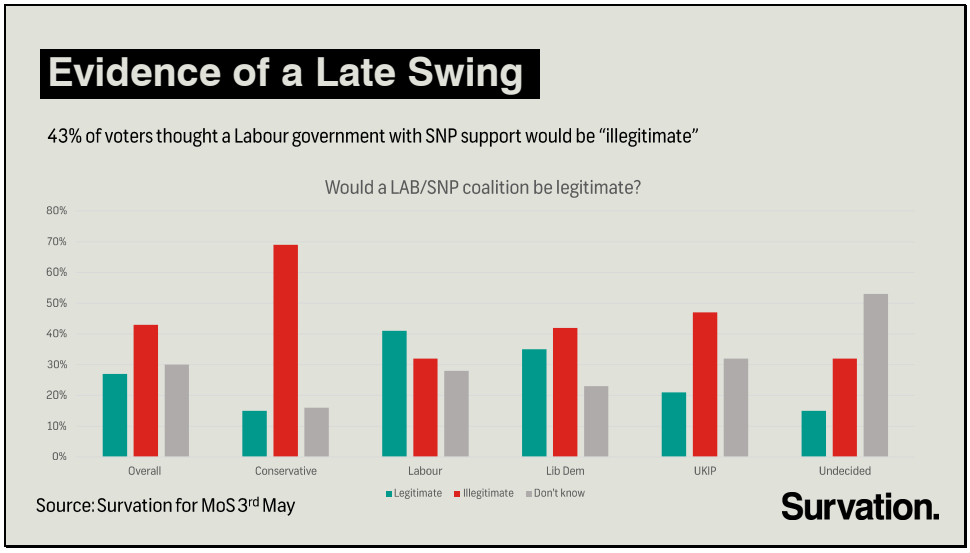
Slide 6



	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP	Green	Other
Survation Telephone Based Ballot Prompt	37.3	30.6	10.0	10.6	5.2	6.1
Result	37.8	31.2	8.1	12.9	3.8	6.3
Difference	-0.5	-0.6	1.9	-2.3	1.4	-0.2

- The final results of this poll had an average error of only 1%.

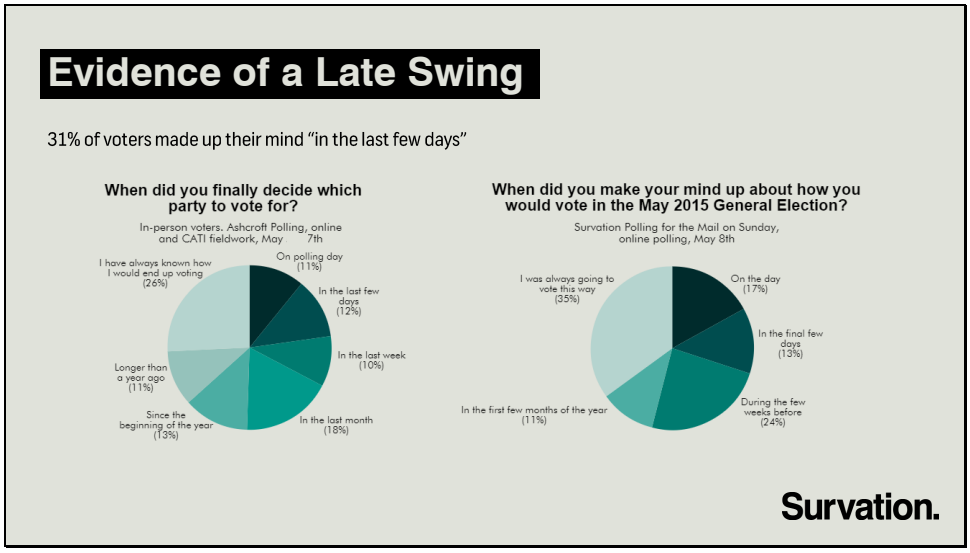
Slide 7



So, could there have been a late swing?

- We've looked at the hypothesis voters were so troubled by these polls predicting to many an undesirable outcome – a hung parliament with a Labour-led SNP supported government that most English & Welsh voters would see as illegitimate –and that they actually acted differently to avoid this.
- Two initial pieces of evidence – first we know that people were concerned about the SNP. Liberal Democrat and UKIP voters were particularly strong in their view that an SNP supported Labour government would be illegitimate.
- Most people instinctively did not want a hung parliament despite being repeatedly told it was the expected outcome – 43% of the public thought there should be another general election in the case of a hung parliament to try and produce a clearer result.

Slide 8

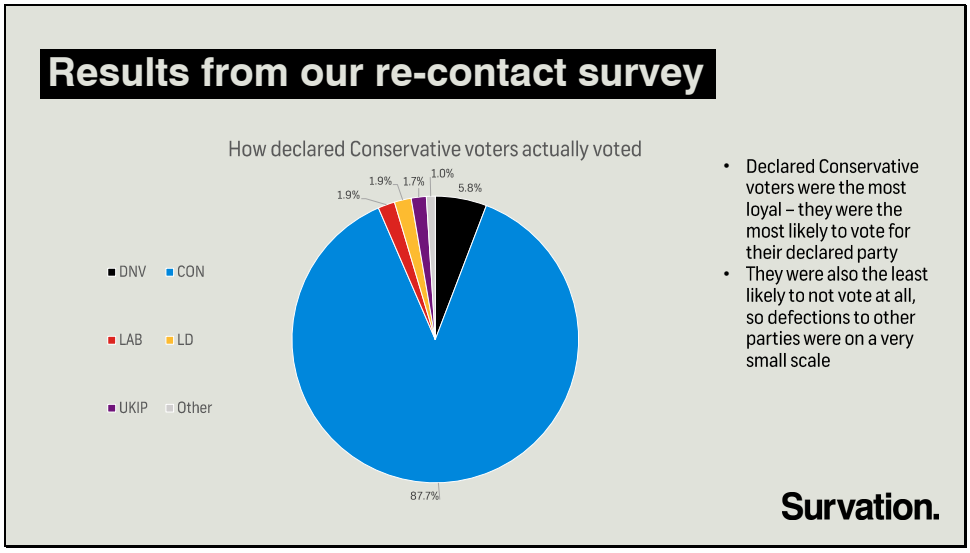


- Secondly, 31% polled immediately after the election told Survation they made up their mind in the last few days (18% said they decided on the day). Lord Ashcroft found a vey similar figure in his own polling.

- We believe the public may have been so convinced by the polls predicting a hung parliament and so worried about such an outcome, they changed their behaviour to avert such an outcome – the polls may have been as much a cause of voter behaviour as a measure of it.

- To test these theories in more depth, we conducted a recontact study which we reveal today for the first time. We successfully re-interviewed 1,755 respondents from our final online Mirror poll of 4000 respondents.
    - 15% of those who expressed a voting intention in our previous poll ended up behaving differently – not voting or voting for a different party

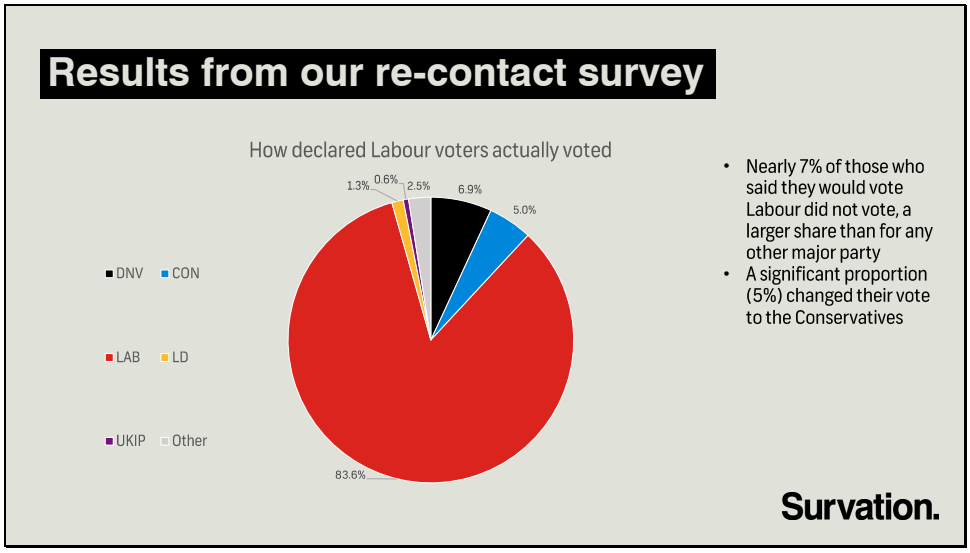
Slide 9



Conservative voters were the most loyal of any party

Conservative voter retention over the last few days was 88%, with very few switching to a different party.

Slide 10



Labour's vote retention was lower than the Conservatives, only 84%.

Significantly, 5% of those who were planning to vote Labour ended up directly switching to the Conservatives in the last few days.

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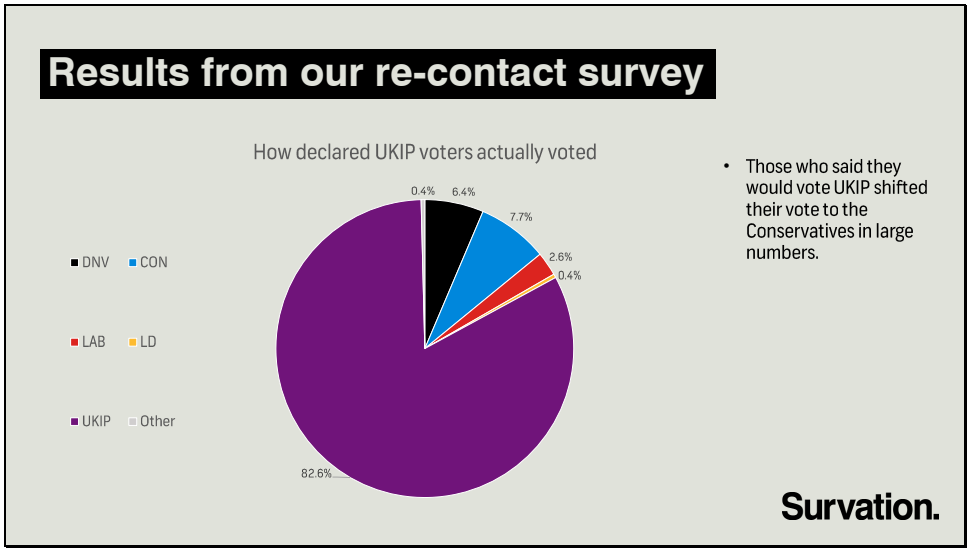

UKIP voter retention was relatively lower still, only 83%

8% - a significant proportion – of UKIP voters returned to the Conservative party in the final days.

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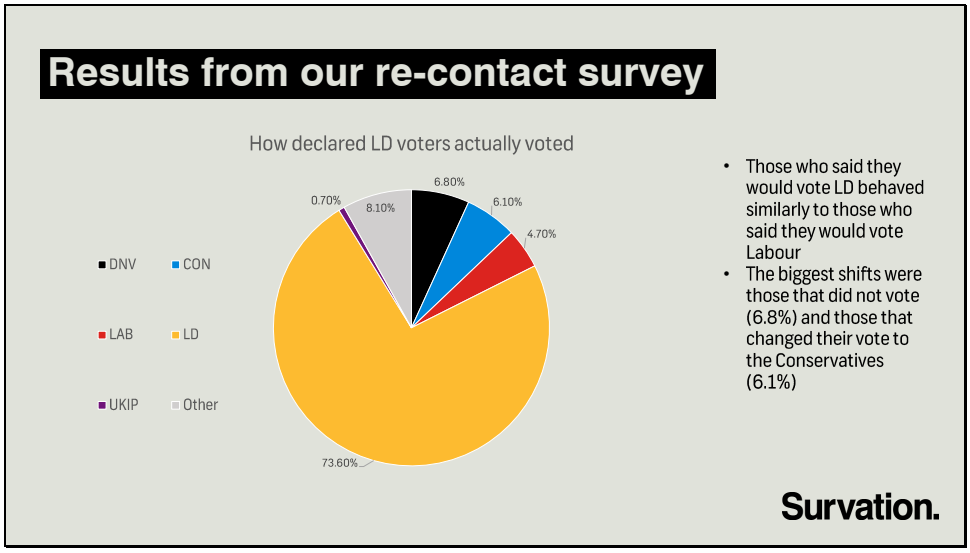

Liberal Democrats had the lowest voter retention of any party, contributing significantly to their collapse.

In the final days of the campaign, more LibDems switched to the Conservatives than Labour, hurting them doubly in Con-Lib marginals

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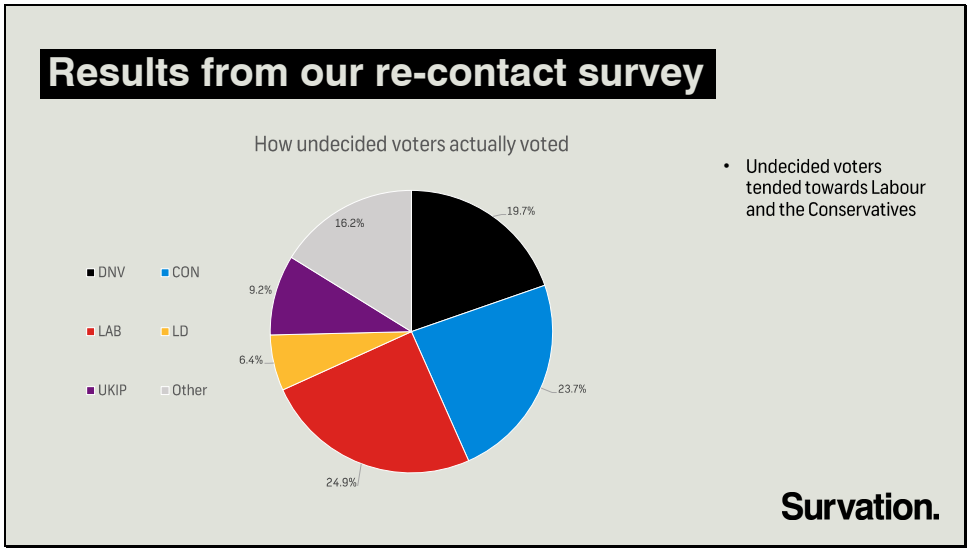

Undecided voters broke to Labour and Conservatives in roughly equal proportions (slightly more to Labour), with around a fifth not voting.

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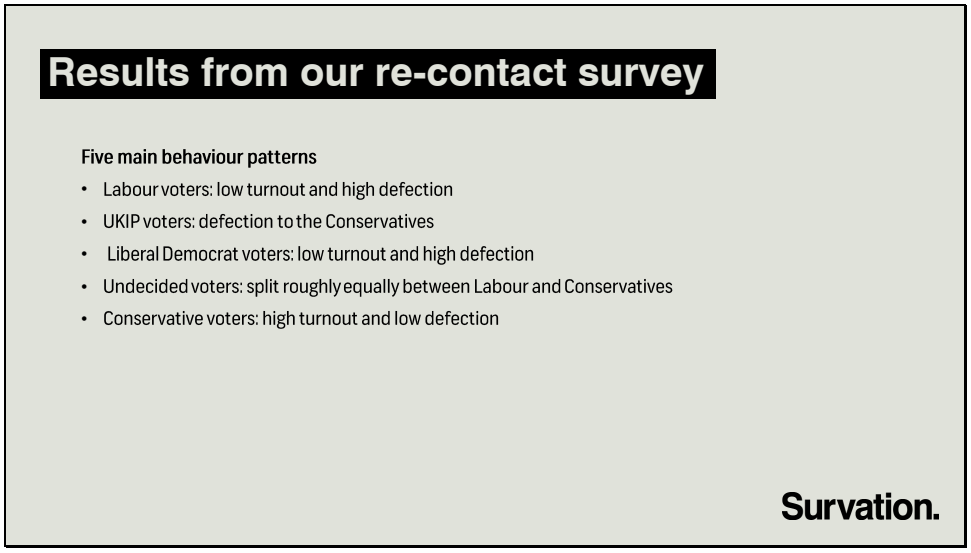
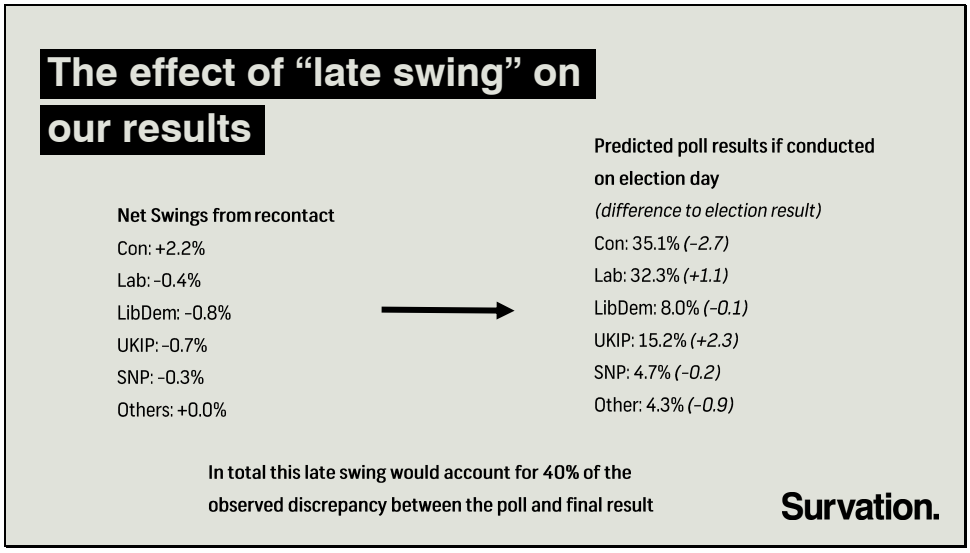


- Labour voters did not turn out and, to a lesser extent, switched votes to the Conservatives
- UKIP voters switched to the Conservatives
- Liberal Democrat voters switched to the Conservatives or did not turn out
- Undecided voters split fairly equally between Labour and Conservatives
- Conservative voters turned out in high numbers and were very unlikely to change their mind

The British Election Study also had some evidence of its own to support this hypothesis.

Slide 15

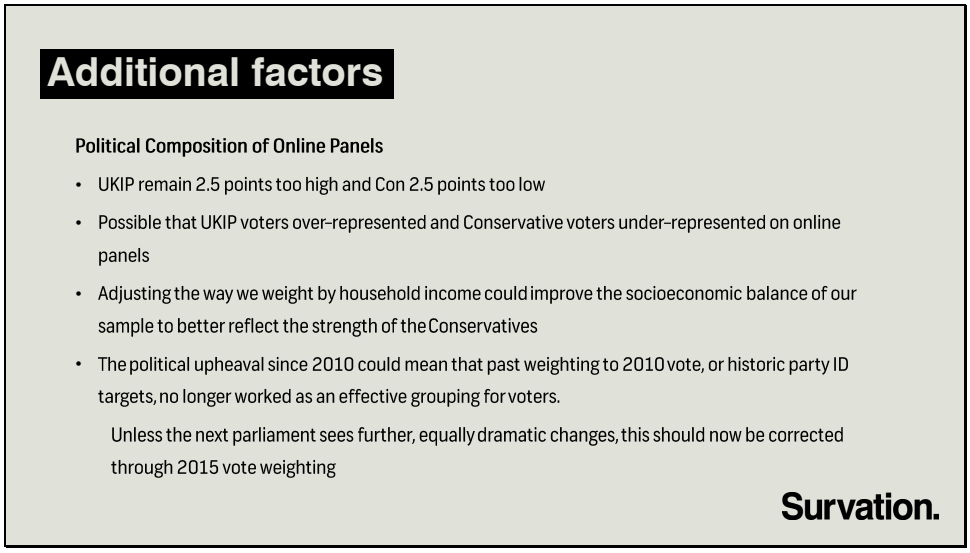


Comparing the actual vote to the pre-election declared vote in our re-contact survey, we found a late swing of 2.2 percentage points towards the Conservatives.

If this swing is applied to our final pre-election poll results we would have predicted the Conservative vote share to be 35% - still short of the final result but significantly closer.

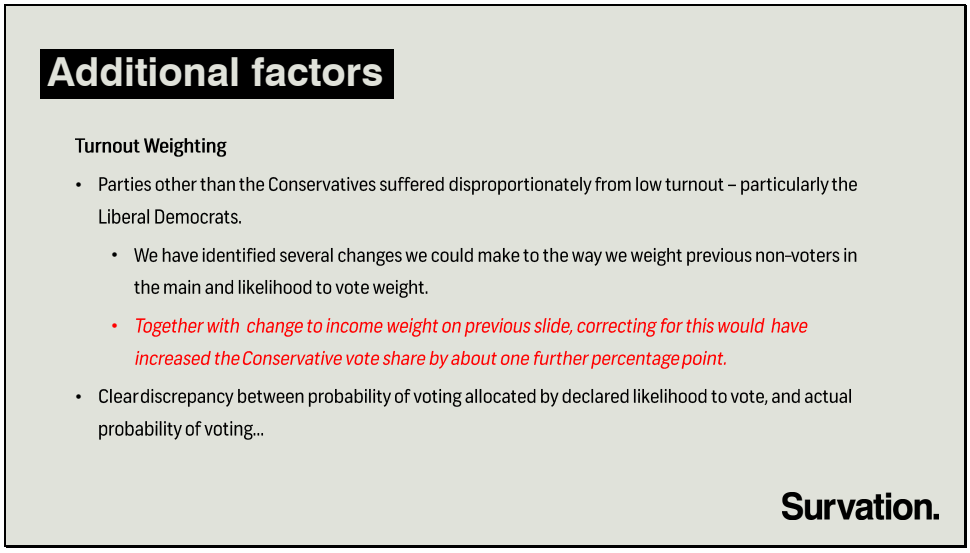
Overall, the late swing observed in our re-contact survey explains 40% of the polling error from our final poll.

Slide 16



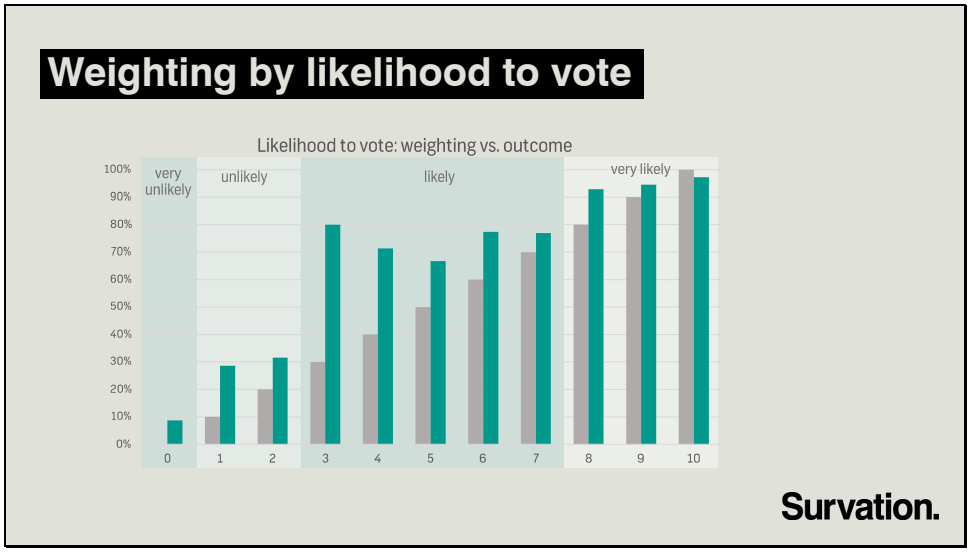
- It is quite possible that UKIP supporters were over-represented on panels used, and Conservative voters were under-represented
- UKIP supporters were consistently down-weighted in Survation's pre-election polls, whilst Conservative voters were generally up-weighted, mainly via by income weighting
- Whilst weighting should eradicate all of this panel effect it did not go far enough
- Possible that the political upheaval since 2010 meant that **weighting to past vote or historic party ID targets was not an effective proxy for political views in 2015**
- If this was a large cause of the problem this **should now be corrected** through 2015 vote weighting, unless the next parliament sees as many dramatic changes to party support.

Slide 17



- Part of the rise in Conservative vote share can be explained by the high turnout amongst their voters
- We have identified changes we can make to the way we weight previous non-voters
- Changing the way we weight income and previous non-voters would have increased the Conservative vote share by about one further percentage point
- More broadly there is a clear discrepancy between how likely respondents say they were to vote, and how likely they were to later report having voted

Slide 18



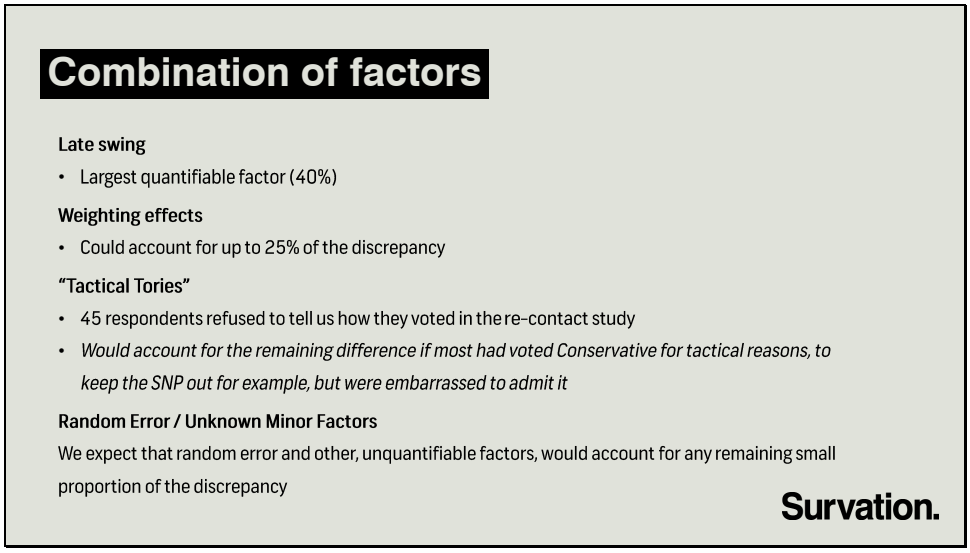
This graph shows the reported likelihood of voting (out of 10, in grey) against how likely those respondents actually were to later report having voted.
Although some observations are based on small sample sizes we can clearly see that the correlation between expressed likelihood to vote and propensity to later report having voted was not linear

We can divide voters into four broad groups

Those who are very likely to vote, those who have a high probability of voting, those who are unlikely to vote, and those who say they will not vote (who by-and-large stick to their guns).

Within these groups the likelihood to vote does not vary significantly. From this analysis we are reviewing how we weight likelihood to vote in future.

Slide 19

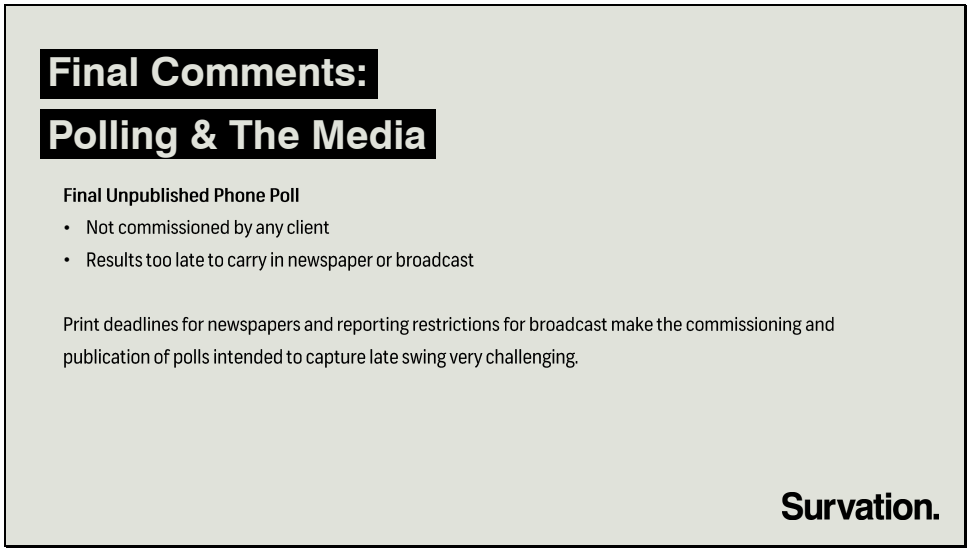


Clearly, such large discrepancies in the polls are unlikely to be explained exclusively by one factor. However, our research suggests that the late-swing of voters to the Conservatives, and the low turnout amongst those intending to vote for other parties, accounts for 40% of the total error. Other sources of error that we can identify include weighting effects that I have briefly discussed, which could account for up to another 25% or so of the error.

Finally, we cannot rule out the presence of "tactical Tories". 45 respondents to our re-contact survey refused to say how they had voted. Had the majority of these been "tactical tories" it would have explained all of the error other than late swing. These are not the same as "shy Tories" historically who were long term embarrassed Conservative supporters, but rather people who genuinely did not like the Conservative Party but "lent" them their vote in 2015 to avoid the dangers of an unstable SNP-Labour government in a hung parliament.

Going forward, Survation are looking to continue to improve our online polling methods as they relate to income , the participation of non-voters, the non-linear relationship between likelihood to vote (LTV) and they way they applied to our raw data. Survation's ballot paper prompting methodology appears from our research to work best as either a first or second question. Applying this prompt as a **third** voting question exaggerated the respondent's propensity to "choose a party" when the respondent may have actually been more undecided or less likely to vote.

Slide 20



Final point to make about how polls are reported rather than their method.

Our final telephone poll wasn't commissioned by a client, it was Suvation's own idea as with the Scottish independence referendum where we produced a telephone poll the day before the referendum as a check on our own online method, which was published at 11pm in the Daily Record.

In this case, the result were available too late on the Wednesday evening to carry in any print or broadcast media.

In general the lesson is this:

Reporting of polls commissioned by the media who have deadlines for physical print and the restriction of reporting polls near polling day itself for broadcast clients given regulatory restrictions makes the commissioning and publication of a late poll intended to capture a potential late swing very challenging.

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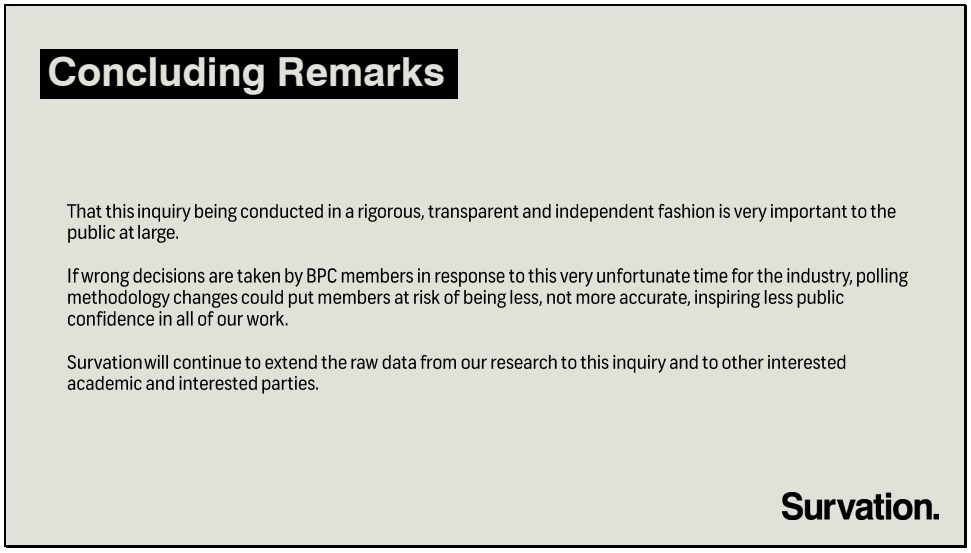

Finally I would just say, that this inquiry being conducted in a rigorous, transparent and independent fashion is very important to the public at large.

If wrong decisions are taken by BPC members in response to this very unfortunate time for the industry, polling methodology changes could put members at risk of being less, not more accurate, inspiring less public confidence in all of our work.

Survation will continue to extend the raw data from our research to this inquiry and to other interested academic and interested parties.

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