We have not been able to definitively identify a specific cause(s) of the polling error. We have looked at a large number of possible issues, but none of them made a significant difference. They include:

- Running a recall MRP poll to see if people responded differently after the election.
- Looking at various bivariate predictors (such as Age x GE2019), comparing with old polls and BES data
- Trying different sets of MRP predictors
- Looking at political attention and internet usage (to see if the disengaged respondents are different)

In terms of the specific panel member and their behaviours:

- Looking at the date people joined the panel to see if longer-term panellists are different
- Looking at the demographics of people who skipped VI polls to see if those "skippers" are different
- Looking at people who left the panel before 2024 to see if ex-panellists are different

We did notice that the panel became more pro-Labour (in terms of GE2019 vote) over time. But on its own this shouldn't skew the results after either MRP or classic quota-weighting.

We note that some other pollsters saw a difference between VI from MRP and VI from quota-weighting. We have seen such differences in previous elections, but we did not see a significant difference in 2024.

Our MRP is run in a fairly straightforward way, without much additional modelling. We made a model for which seats were likely Lib Dem targets, but otherwise we used the responses from the respondents and unadjusted census/political data.

One hypothesis is that Conservative loyalists (that is, those who voted Con in both 2019 and 2024) were less likely to take part in polling panels than Conservative switchers. And similarly for those planning not to vote at all. It's hard to test that hypothesis, but it could theoretically explain much of the error.