

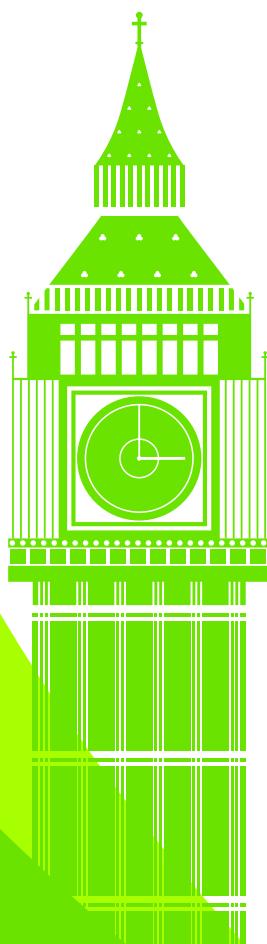
WHAT IF EVERYONE COULD VOTE?

Mapping unenfranchised
residents across the UK



TABLE OF CONTENTS

About Migrant Democracy Project	p.3
Forward from Migrant Democracy Project	p.4
What if everyone could vote? Introduction	p.7
Who can vote in the UK?	p.9
How many residents are not enfranchised?	p.11
Post-Census Migration	p.17
Lessons From Implementing Residence-Based Voting	p.20
Media analysis	p.23
What would be the financial costs of implementing residence-based voting rights	p.26
New Estimates of the cost per elector	p.29
Conclusions	p.31
Appendix	p.32
Bibliography	p.65



ABOUT MIGRANT DEMOCRACY PROJECT

Migrant Democracy Project (MDP) is a not-for-profit organisation working for migrants at home in the UK who want to shape a collective future rooted in social justice. One that reflects our needs and interests through community power building. MDP is led by the values of anti-racism, solidarity, lived experience, and intersectionality. MDP works towards building migrant power through voter registration and political education, advocating for the right to vote for all residents, and supporting first-generation migrants to get elected.

www.migrantdemos.org.uk

About this report:

This report is funded by the UK Democracy Fund. The report highlights the extent of unenfranchisement of migrant residents in the UK, as well as exploring the costs of extending the franchise.

In publishing the findings, we hope that it contributes to the growing body of evidence supporting policies around residence-based voting rights.

Report authors:

Professor Toby James is a social scientist who works on democracy, electoral integrity and the running of elections. He is currently a Professor of Politics and Public Policy at the University of East Anglia in the UK and a Distinguished Fellow at the School of Policy Studies and Institute of Intergovernmental Relations at Queen's University, Canada. He is the co-Director of the Electoral Integrity Project and the Editor-in-Chief of the multi-disciplinary, social sciences journal Policy Studies. He is a Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics in 2025. His books, edited and written with Holly Ann Garnett, include *Building Inclusive Elections* (Routledge, 2020), *What is Electoral Integrity?* (forthcoming, Cambridge University Press) and the *Oxford Handbook on Electoral Integrity* (forthcoming, Oxford University Press).

www.tobysjames.com | www.electoralintegrityproject.com

Jamie Underwood is a Postgraduate Researcher at the University of East Anglia (UEA), specialising in electoral integrity. With a background in public policy and politics, Jamie has contributed to research with the Electoral Integrity Project, producing studies for the Privy Council of Canada and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Their current PhD thesis explores the critical role of domestic election observers in fostering electoral integrity.

Report published in January 2025.



FORWARD FROM MIGRANT DEMOCRACY PROJECT

It is fundamental that people have a political voice in a truly equal democracy; where everyone has an equal say in how they are governed. Yet, the ability to participate in our democracy is not equal nor universal. The UK's current electoral system fails to be representative of many of its residents. Millions of residents who live, work and call the UK their home do not have the ability to participate in our democracy. **We are talking about migrant residents without the right to vote.** Migrants live their lives affected by the same policies as their enfranchised counterparts. In fact, migrants are disproportionately and negatively affected by Hostile Environment policies too often outside of their political control.

In calling for residence-based voting rights, Migrant Democracy Project recognises the importance of having this political voice. At a time where migration has been theatricised, it has become ever more important that those of us who have been pushed to the forefront of the political agenda have the political agency to dictate what conversation is being had, and who is leading them.

Moving and migration are positive, natural experiences. Our communities are enriched by those who have moved and made the UK their home. **One in six residents in England and Wales were born abroad.** That's 16% of the population. As our society changes, our democracy needs to remain fit for purpose, and remain inclusive of all members of the community.

The case for residence-based voting rights has never been stronger; the UK urgently needs electoral reform so that its democracy meets the needs of all residents.

Our current electoral franchise determines who is deserving of political agency and voice through a complicated myriad of bilateral agreements, historical ties to the Empire, and political decision making. Residence-based voting rights, on the other hand, recognises that all members of our community are equal and deserve a political stake in their home – regardless of where they are born.

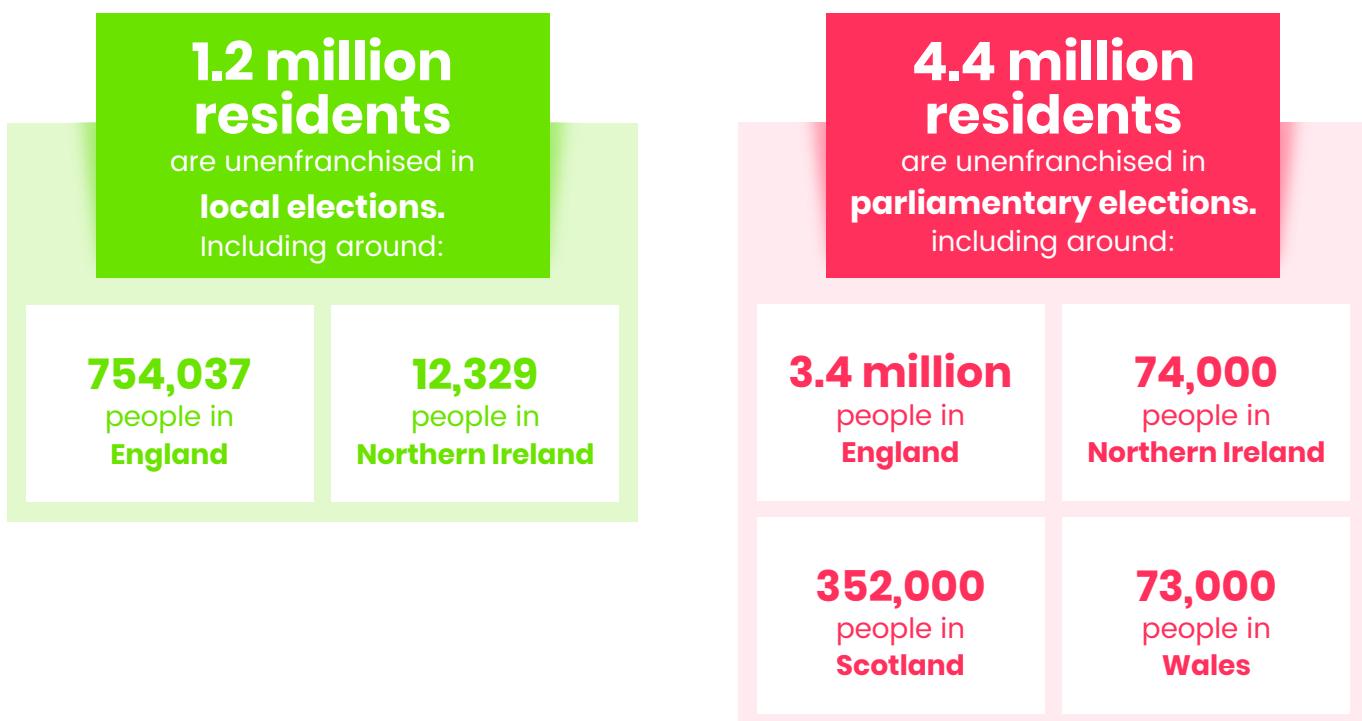


Key Findings

The electoral franchise defines who is able to participate in elections – and shapes who has a voice in society. The franchise, however, has not been designed around rational and clear principles. As a result, there are millions of people who live, pay taxes and contribute to UK society but who do not have the right to participate in elections.

High levels of unenfranchisement in our current system

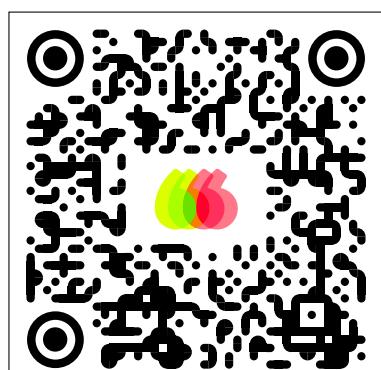
The analysis looks at the landscape of unenfranchised citizens in the UK. It finds that there are:



Disparities between areas

Although there is a high number of unenfranchised residents across the UK there is considerable variation between constituencies and local authorities. This disparity has serious consequences for how representative democracy is. Boundaries are drawn based on those registered on the electoral register. The representativeness of each constituency depends on the extent that the true number of residents in a community are on the electoral roll. Some UK Parliamentary and local constituencies have huge numbers of unenfranchised residents. As the report will show, **26 Parliamentary constituencies have less than a thousand unenfranchised residents** – whilst areas such as **Kensington and Bayswater**, had **around 32,980 people that were unenfranchised** – with its MP representing well over **132,865 people**.

There are therefore major defects in UK representative democracy. Many politicians in power do not necessarily represent their constituents. This disparity in representation is also more acutely felt across certain communities.



Search for your constituency here

A Residence-based voting rights system would have a low cost

The extension of franchise also comes at little cost to the government. With the cost per voter per cycle, amounting to around £2.96 per voter, combined with around £1.8 million in one-off costs of implementing the policy.

In summary the report shows costs to be:

- £12.2 million per year for full residence-based voting, plus £1.8million one off costs.
- £2.6 million per year for residence-based voting for local elections in England and Northern Ireland only, plus £1.8million one off costs.

Extending the franchise is possible!

Residence-based voting rights have already been introduced across numerous countries around the world, including New Zealand in national elections and Belgium and Ireland in local elections. This electoral reform not only exists away from the UK – it is also happening here at home.

Scotland and Wales have already extended the franchise to all residents in their devolved elections, including the Scottish Parliamentary Elections and the Welsh Parliamentary election for the Senedd. The report highlights how the process was not only relatively straightforward for the electoral commission, but also met with little opposition from Scottish and Welsh communities; painting a promising future for its implementation across the UK.

Recommendations

The findings of the report demonstrate the urgent need for the introduction of residence-based voting. It is clear that our current electoral system needs to be standardised across the UK, so that the electoral system remains simple and accessible for all – and there is an appetite for such simplification.

The report recommends that the UK should join the growing number of countries and regions which recognise the importance of giving all members of their communities a political voice and a say in how they are governed. Extending the franchise ensures that the UK's democracy functions inclusively and remains fit for our modern society. We hope that this report helps shine light on this much-needed democratic reform, and will provide essential information and background around the issue for all those working to enact change.

CONTACTS

Lara Parizotto

Executive Director
Migrant Democracy Project
lara@migrantdemos.org.uk

Zaya Nasheed

Campaign Organiser
Migrant Democracy Project
zaya@migrantdemos.org.uk

WHAT IF EVERYONE COULD VOTE?

Mapping residence-based voting in the UK

Introduction

Democracy is a system in which people are empowered to fulfil their goals and aspirations. Elections are one critical way in which people are empowered by enabling them to express their voice and remove or renew the mandate of their representatives.⁽¹⁾ Many people around the world do not live in the country in which they were originally born as they migrate for reasons of work, study or family. Electoral laws, however, often prohibit their participation in elections in the country in which they reside, work and call home. This means that they do not have a voice, and their experiences are not listened to by society.

'Residence-based voting' enables citizens to participate in elections in the locations in which they are ordinarily resident. Residence-based voting has long existed in the UK for citizens from Commonwealth countries who can immediately participate in Westminster Parliamentary elections upon arrival. This was put in place in the middle of the twentieth century to reflect the UK's wide connections around the world. Residence-based voting has been introduced in Scotland and Wales for local and national elections to the Senedd and Scottish Parliament to enfranchise non-Commonwealth citizens.

Existing rules are, however, complex and contradictory. They allow people to vote at some elections, but not at others. They are inconsistent across the UK. Importantly, they provide no opportunity to vote at all for many people – even if they have been in the UK and working for a long period of time and consider it home.

Report aims

Given the change in salience of the issue, this research report examines the extension of the right to vote to all residents in the UK. It seeks to address:

How many residents do NOT have the right to vote in LOCAL ELECTIONS in England and Northern Ireland?

How many residents do NOT have the right to vote in GENERAL ELECTIONS across the UK?

WHERE ARE RESIDENTS without the right to vote based per constituency and per local authority?

HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST to extend the right to vote to all residents?

The report begins by providing an overview of who can and cannot vote in different types of elections across the UK in section 2. Section 3 seeks to provide estimates of the numbers of unenfranchised residents in the UK. Section 4 evaluates the effects of changes made in Scotland and Wales. Section 5 uses an earlier section to estimate the costs of full residence-based voting.

(1) Toby S. James, "Real Democracy: A Critical Realist Approach to Democracy and Democratic Theory," *New Political Science* 46, no. 3 (2024).

Method

The report uses secondary datasets to provide estimates about the number of people who reside in the UK, who could be enfranchised by residence-based voting. It uses the Censuses from across the UK to provide a snapshot of the number of people who would have been enfranchised in 2021/22 had this policy been introduced. This is complemented with an analysis of migration statistics 2021-4. The research also involved interviews and communication with electoral officials to learn lessons from the implementation in Scotland and Wales and consider the possible consequences of extending the approach further. A media analysis has also been undertaken to identify any problems experienced in implementing residence-based voting so far.

Why Residence-based voting?

The advantages of residence-based voting are that it would:

- Give voice to people who contribute to society and are affected by the decisions made to create an inclusive democracy. This normative argument has been made in many ways by democracy theorists:
- Theories of **empowerment** argue that citizens need a variety of institutional mechanisms to ensure that they are fully empowered to live their lives to their potential. Electoral rights are one such mechanism.⁽²⁾
- Theories of **stakeholdership** argue that unenfranchised residents have a genuine stake in the society in which they live.⁽³⁾ It is therefore commonly said that there should be 'no taxation without representation'.
- Theories of **interest** argue that anyone who is affected by a decision should have entitlement to be involved in that decision, in some way.⁽⁴⁾ Put more modestly, a principle of 'all subjected interests' is that a person should have the right to vote if they are subjected to or bound by the state's decisions.⁽⁵⁾
- Bring **consistency and simplicity to electoral law** which will make elections easier to administer for electoral officials. Electoral laws are complex across the UK and this creates considerable confusion for citizens – who can vote in some elections but not in others. It can also make elections difficult to deliver.⁽⁶⁾ A more consistent approach to the franchise would address these problems.
- Bring the **UK into line with international best practices on elections**. The Council of Europe, for example, recommended that the right to vote in local elections be granted after a certain period of residence.⁽⁷⁾ Member States of the Council of Europe, of which the UK is a member, signed the Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level which commits members to the granting of political rights to long-standing foreign residents.

A full review of the arguments and counter-arguments is beyond the scope of this report.⁽⁸⁾ Instead, the focus on the consequences of implementation in the United Kingdom.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Rainer Bauböck, "Expansive Citizenship—Voting Beyond Territory and Membership," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 38, no. 4 (2005).

(4) Sarah Song, "Democracy and Noncitizen Voting Rights," *Citizenship studies* 13, no. 6 (2009).

(5) David Owen, "Transnational Citizenship and the Democratic State: Modes of Membership and Voting Rights," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 14, no. 5 (2011).

(6) Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee, *Electoral Law: The Urgent Need for Review* (London: Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee (PACAC), 2020).

(7) Venice Commission, *Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters: Guidelines and Explanatory Report* (Strasbourg: Venice Commission, 2002). https://venice.coe.int/images/SITE%20IMAGES/Publications/Code_conduite_PREMS%202026115%20GBR.pdf

(8) See, instead: Dan Ferris et al., "Noncitizen Voting Rights in the Global Era: A Literature Review and Analysis," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 21, no. 3 (2020/09/01 2020), <https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00687-8>

Who can vote in the UK?

The electoral franchise defines who can and cannot take part in elections. **Electoral laws in the UK are complex and vary by type of election and geography.** They do not follow consistent criteria or rational legal principles.



General Elections

To be eligible to vote in a UK general elections, a person must be:



- registered to vote
- 18 or over on the day of the election ('polling day')
- a British, Irish or qualifying Commonwealth citizen
- resident at an address in the UK or living abroad and registered as an overseas voter
- not be legally excluded from voting.⁽⁹⁾

A qualifying Commonwealth citizen is someone who is a resident in the UK and who has leave to remain in the UK or does not require leave to remain. A list of Commonwealth countries is provided in Table 1. The list includes Cyprus and Malta which are also EU member states. Citizens of Fiji and Zimbabwe retain their voting rights despite Fiji being currently suspended from the Commonwealth and Zimbabwe having withdrawn from the Commonwealth in 2003.

The extension of voting rights to these citizens is, as Heather Lardy noted, '**intimately connected with the colonial history of the United Kingdom.**'⁽¹⁰⁾ There was a common law rule that 'British Subjects' (that is, those who are resident in the United Kingdom on the qualifying dates) could vote in parliamentary and local elections provided that they could meet the property and other qualifications. This was defined as those born within the British Empire and dominions who swore allegiance to the monarch. The British Nationality Act 1948 introduced a citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies to be referred to as 'British subjects'. The Representation of the People Act 1949 then bestowed the right to vote to 'British subjects and citizens of the Republic of Ireland'.⁽¹¹⁾

● Antigua and Barbuda	● Fiji Islands	● Malaysia	● Samoa	● The Gambia
● Australia	● Gabon	● Maldives	● Seychelles	● Togo
● Bangladesh	● Ghana	● Malta	● Sierra Leone	● Tonga
● Barbados	● Grenada	● Mauritius	● Singapore	● Trinidad and Tobago
● Belize	● Guyana	● Mozambique	● Solomon Islands	● Tuvalu
● Botswana	● India	● Namibia	● South Africa	● Uganda
● Brunei Darussalam	● Jamaica	● Nauru	● Sri Lanka	● United Republic of Tanzania
● Cameroon	● Kenya	● New Zealand	● St Kitts & Nevis	● Vanuatu
● Canada	● Kingdom of Eswatini	● Nigeria	● St Lucia	● Zambia
● Cyprus	● Kiribati	● Pakistan	● St Vincent and The Grenadines	● Zimbabwe
● Dominica	● Lesotho	● Papua New Guinea	● Rwanda	● The Bahamas

Table 1: Qualifying Commonwealth nationalities. Source: Electoral Commission.⁽¹²⁾

(9) UK Government, "Types of Election, Referendums, and Who Can Vote," 2024, accessed 5 August 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/elections-in-the-uk/general-election>

(10) Heather Lardy, "Citizenship and the Right to Vote," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 17 (1997).

(11) Ibid., 78-9.

(12) Electoral Commission, "Register to Vote," 2024, accessed 5 August 2024, <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/voting-and-elections/who-can-vote/register-vote#commonwealth>

Local Elections

The franchise for local elections is devolved to Scottish and Welsh Parliaments for their respective areas. These local registers are also used for Scottish Parliament and Senedd elections. The eligibility requirements have therefore been revised by the respective legislatures. EU citizens could historically vote in local elections in the UK. However, different approaches were taken by the respective governments following Brexit. Scotland and Wales have also moved to enfranchise all resident citizens and those from the age of 16.



Wales and Scotland

The franchise in Wales was changed by the Senedd and Elections (Wales) Act 2020⁽¹³⁾ and in Scotland by the Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Act 2020.⁽¹⁴⁾ The franchise also includes those that are:



- 16 years old or over
- British and Irish citizens.
- Citizen of an EU country
- Citizen of other countries who have permission to enter or stay in the UK, Channel Islands or Isle of Man⁽¹⁵⁾

England and Northern Ireland

In England and Northern Ireland a more restrictive approach has been taken. The voting age has not been reduced. The UK government agreed a bilateral treaty with some countries to allow mutual voting rights to continue – but not all. Those able to vote are:



- British and Irish citizens
- Commonwealth citizens
- Citizen of Denmark, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal or Spain who are resident in UK, have permission to stay in the UK (or the Channel Islands or Isle of Man)



- Citizen of another EU country, if they have had permission to enter or stay – or not needed permission – since 31 December 2020, and this has continued without a break⁽¹⁶⁾

(13) Senedd and Elections (Wales) Act 2020, 2020.

(14) Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Act 2020, 2020; *ibid.*

(15) UK Government, “Types of Election, Referendums, and Who Can Vote.”

(16) *Ibid.*

How many residents are not enfranchised?

The concept of 'resident' can be defined and measured in different ways, such as by length of residence, nationality, immigration status or citizenship. There is therefore no definitive estimate of the number of resident people who cannot vote. Instead, estimates have to be constructed using the best available data sources (see: [Appendix 1](#)). These are:

Census

The census is undertaken every 10 years and gives an overall picture of all the people and households in the UK. It is undertaken by the Office for National Statistics (in England and Wales), National Records of Scotland (in Scotland) and Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (in Northern Ireland). This captures data on passports held and place of birth from which estimates can be generated. The different and incomplete reporting formats used by agencies makes estimates difficult. They often do not provide a complete disaggregated list by age and nationality. It was last undertaken in 2021 in England, Wales and Northern Ireland; and in 2022 in Scotland.

ONS Population by country of birth and nationality

This dataset was compiled by the ONS based on estimates from the Annual Population Survey. It was discontinued after June 2021, however, with the ONS encouraging that the Census 2021 is used for more accurate data.

Labour Force Survey

The LFS is run by the Office for National Statistics in Great Britain and by the Central Survey Unit of the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) in Northern Ireland on behalf of the Economic Labour Market Statistics Branch (ELMSB) of the Department of Finance and Personnel. It is a survey of households designed to gather information to develop labour market policies. Roughly 27,000 people respond each quarter. The pandemic led to a change in methodology from house to house surveys to telephone surveys. There was a decline in completions and the survey has since been thought to have suffered from issues with representativeness. A recovery plan has been put in place.⁽¹⁷⁾

Migration statistics

The Home Office publishes a range of statistics on migration flows. The ONS provides estimates of net migration.⁽¹⁸⁾ These are important and helpful to identify trends in migration but do not tell us about the stock of people who were originally from outside of the UK but who might have been resident and eligible to vote for a long time.⁽¹⁹⁾ However, this is especially helpful where there are new patterns of migration since the Census. A weakness of the dataset is that it is at the UK level rather than by country.

(17) ONS, *Office for National Statistics' Reintroduced Labour Force Survey (Lfs)-Derived Labour Market Statistics: Osr Progress Report*, July 2024 (ONS, 2024).

(18) ONS, *Long-Term International Migration, Provisional: Year Ending December 2023* (London: ONS, 2024), <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/longterminternationalmigrationprovisional/yearendingdecember2023>

(19) ONS, *Long-Term International Migration, Provisional: Year Ending December 2023* (London: ONS, 2024), <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/longterminternationalmigrationprovisional/>

Earlier estimates

Previous academic research

It has previously been estimated that in England and Wales alone that 2.3 million immigrants were excluded from voting at the 2015 general election.⁽²⁰⁾ Their estimates were based on the 2011 census of England and Wales of passports held.

Pre-legislative Impact Assessments in Scotland

The impact assessment for the Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill estimated that allowing persons of all nationalities who were legally resident in Scotland to vote would enfranchise 'over 55,000 non-EU, non-Commonwealth citizens'.⁽²¹⁾ This used data from the National Records of Scotland but the exact data is unclear because the document contains broken links.

Pre-legislative Impact Assessments in Wales

The impact assessment of the Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill was undertaken by the Local Government Department of the Welsh Government.⁽²²⁾ This used ONS data on the ('Population by country of birth and nationality') to estimate that 33,000 possible newly enfranchised citizens as a result of the Act.⁽²³⁾

New Estimates

New estimates are provided in this report using the 2021 Census data on passports held. Passport held is a better indicator of eligibility than nationality or country of birth as a person could be born overseas but still hold a UK passport and be eligible to vote. Where a person is recorded having more than one passport, the Census datasets only count an individual once. Such individuals are categorised in the order of 'UK passport', 'Irish passport' and then 'Other passport'.⁽²⁴⁾ This 'ranking' system helps our estimates of eligibility because it coincides with the system of eligibility for voting. The release of specific custom datasets was commissioned by the authors for England and Wales.⁽²⁵⁾ This data is complemented with an analysis of recent migration statistics.

(20) Sean Fox, Ron Johnston, and David Manley, "If Immigrants Could Vote in the UK: A Thought Experiment with Data from the 2015 General Election," *The Political Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (2016).

(21) Scottish Government, *Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill Business and Regulatory Impact Assessment (Bria)* (Edinburgh: Scottish Government, 2019), 4, <https://www.gov.scot/binaries/content/documents/govscot/publications/impact-assessment/2019/06/scottish-elections-franchise-representation-bill-bria/documents/scottish-elections-franchise-representation-bill-business-regulatory-impact-assessment-bria/scottish-elections-franchise-representation-bill-business-regulatory-impact-assessment-bria/govscot%3Adocument/scottish-elections-franchise-representation-bill-business-regulatory-impact-assessment-bria.pdf>

(22) Welsh Government, *Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill: Explanatory Memorandum Incorporating the Regulatory Impact Assessment and Explanatory Notes* (Cardiff: Local Government Department of the Welsh Government, 2019), <https://senedd.wales/laid%20documents/pri-ld12877-em/pri-ld12877-em-e.pdf>

(23) The assessment identified 135,000 foreign citizens legally resident in Wales at the end of 2017. Of these, it was 79,000 were already enfranchised EU citizens and approximately 23,000 Commonwealth citizens. This left 33,000. (p.121)

(24) ONS, "Passports Held (Detailed)," last modified 28 March 2023, 2023, accessed 9th August 2024, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/datasets/TS013/editions/2021/versions/3>

(25) CT21_0345: Title: Passport held (most detailed) Population: All usual residents aged 18 or over in households. Geography: Lower tier local authorities in England and Wales. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/adhocs/2401ct210345census2021>. CT21_0346: Title: Passport held (most detailed). Population: All usual residents aged 18 or over in households. Geography: Post-2019 Westminster Parliamentary Constituencies (2025). <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/adhocs/2402ct210346census2021>

Migration statistics often use the terminology of 'stocks' and 'flows'.⁽²⁶⁾ 'Stocks' refers to the number of migrants who are usually resident in a country during a particular period. 'Flows' refers to the number of people who have changed their residency during a particular period. The Census 2021 provides the most accurate picture of the 'stock' of people within the UK, while subsequent migration statistics provide an update on the 'flows' since the Census was conducted and current trajectories.

We now estimate the number of people who would be enfranchised by residence-based voting for each country.

Parliamentary registers in England and Wales

Residence-based voting for UK Parliamentary elections would involve a change in the franchise across all four nations.

The stock of residences who would be enfranchised on the parliamentary register in England and Wales has been calculated using Census 2021 data.⁽²⁷⁾ The ONS Census 2021 provides estimates of residents in England and Wales by passport held as well as age category. A commissioned dataset identified passport holders by passport type who were over 18 at the time.⁽²⁸⁾ The number of residents who were 18 or over and held a passport which would not entitle them to vote was 3,407,663 in England and 72,786 in Wales.

There is a mean of 6,676 unenfranchised residents per English Westminster constituency. There is considerable variation in the number of people by constituency. **The constituency with the highest number is Kensington and Bayswater 32,980.** Table 2 lists the constituencies with the most ineligible people in 2021 and suggests that London is an area where there are a significant number of people unable to vote. **In some constituencies, the numbers were much smaller: 26 parliamentary constituencies had less than a thousand.**

The number of unenfranchised residents is much lower in Wales: a mean of 2,275 people per Westminster constituency. The highest is 6,746 Cardiff South and Penarth and the lowest in Ynys Môn – just 597.

Appendix 2 and 3 list estimates of unenfranchised residents in Westminster constituencies.

Constituency	Estimated unenfranchised	Constituency	Estimated unenfranchised
1 Kensington and Bayswater	32,980	6 Brent West	27,661
2 Cities of London and Westminster	31,302	7 Ealing Central and Acton	27,104
3 West Ham and Beckton	29,888	8 Brent East	26,032
4 Tottenham	29,092	9 Hendon	25,156
5 Poplar and Limehouse	28,551	10 Chelsea and Fulham	24,531



Table 2: Parliamentary constituencies with the largest volume of ineligible people in England and Wales based on the stock of people in the 2021 Census

(26) Georgina Sturge, Migration Statistics (London: House of Commons Library, 2024), <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN06077/SN06077.pdf> p.9

(27) CT21_0346: Title: Passport held (most detailed). Population: All usual residents aged 18 or over in households. Geography: Post-2019 Westminster Parliamentary Constituencies (2025). <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/adhocs/2402ct210346census2021>

(28) Custom datasets were created which are accessible here: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/adhocs/2401ct210345census2021> and <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/adhocs/2402ct210346census2021>

Parliamentary registers in Scotland

Data from the Scottish census about passports held is not published with the same level of granularity as other nations in the UK. The National Records of Scotland have published data on sex, age and passport held in Table UV206a from the Census 2022. Passports are clustered into the following categories: 'All people, Europe', 'Europe: United Kingdom', 'Europe: Ireland', 'Europe: EU member countries', 'Africa', 'Middle East and Asia', 'Antarctica and Oceania', 'The Americas and the Caribbean' and 'No Passport.' A sum of this data provides an estimate of 336,484 people.⁽²⁹⁾ This is an over-estimate of the number of people who would be newly enfranchised for parliamentary elections because it includes Commonwealth already registered.⁽³⁰⁾

The National Records for Scotland also publish data on passport held by Westminster constituency.⁽³¹⁾ This data table does not distinguish between ages as well. A sum of individuals in the same passport held clusters therefore **creates an estimate of 352,256 people who could be enfranchised by residence-based voting.** However, constituency level estimates can still be generated by multiplying each constituency estimate by a multiplier of .955.⁽³²⁾ This is still an over-estimate of the number of people who would be newly enfranchised because it includes qualifying Commonwealth already registered.

Appendix 4 lists estimates of unenfranchised residents in by Westminster constituencies in Scotland 2022.

Parliamentary registers in Northern Ireland

The Northern Ireland Census Table MS-A21, provided by the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, lists the frequency of passports held by country. It also provides a breakdown by UK Parliamentary constituency.

Passports held are categorised into 30 categories in the most detailed publicly available dataset. Some categories are therefore merged which limits analysis. For example, the category 'Other only: North America, Central America and the Caribbean: Other' includes those with Canadian passports who would be able to vote, but also Mexican passport holders who would not.

The maximum number of resident passport holders who would not have been enfranchised at UK Parliamentary elections was 87,694. The lower amount was 73,926. This data makes no account for age. We therefore take the lower estimate of 73,926. The numbers are much lower for electoral constituencies in Northern Ireland with Upper Bann seeing the highest number being 10,675 in Upper Bann and only 1,199 in Foyle.

Appendix 5 lists estimates of unenfranchised residents in by Westminster constituencies in Northern Ireland 2022.

(29) Included were those with passports from 'Europe: EU member countries', 'Europe: Rest of Europe', 'Africa', 'Middle East and Asia', 'Antarctica and Oceania', 'The Americas and the Caribbean.' Excluded were 'Europe: United Kingdom', 'Europe: Ireland' and 'No Passport'

(30) National Records for Scotland, Scotland's Census 2022 – *National Records of Scotland Table Uv206a – Passports Held (9) by Sex by Age (20)* (2022).

(31) National Records Scotland, Scotland's Census 2022 – *National Records of Scotland Table Uv206 – Passports Held All People* (2022).

(32) The multiplier is calculated as the percentage of Scottish = 336,484 / 352,256 = 0.9552257

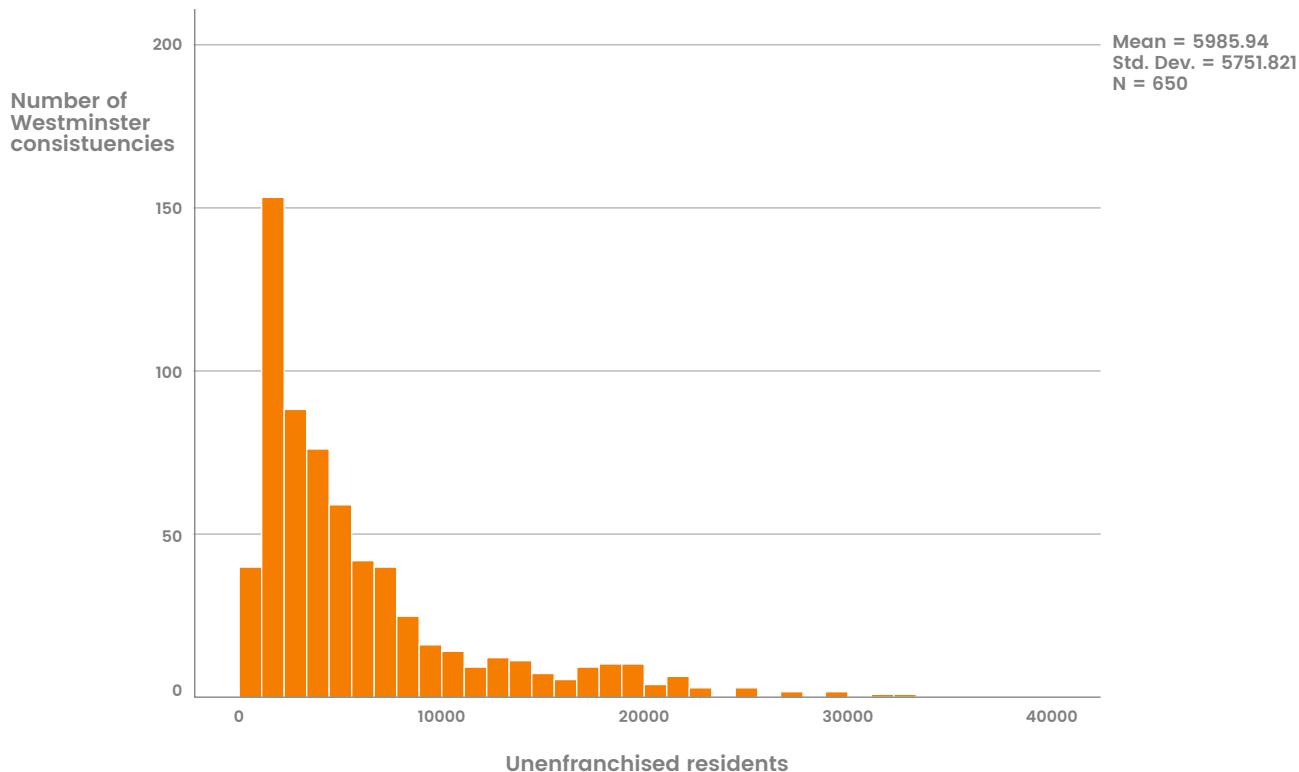


Figure 1: estimated number of unenfranchised residents in Westminster constituencies.

Local electoral registers in England

Expanding the local franchise to all residents would enfranchise fewer citizens in England and Northern Ireland than parliamentary elections. This is because many EU citizens remain enfranchised. The Elections Act 2022 made provision to retain enfranchisement for 'EU citizens with retained rights' to continue to vote. These were people who have been living in the UK or Crown Dependencies since before the end of the Implementation Period Completion Day (IPCD) – 31 December 2020 – and hold lawful immigration status. Similarly, those EU citizens from countries with reciprocal agreements (Poland, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Luxembourg) remain enfranchised regardless of the date they entered the UK. Data from the EU Settlement Scheme in December 2023 suggests that there was a very high level of applications and we can therefore assume that nearly all such citizens therefore retained their voting rights.⁽³³⁾ **In practice, many may not re-register following receipt of letters from their ERO asking them to confirm their immigration status.**⁽³⁴⁾

The additional eligible voters who would be enfranchised by residence-based voting would therefore include migrants from EU states since 31 December 2020. This will be done using migration statistics below.

The main category of 'stock' people who are not enfranchised in the 2021 Census are those from non-Commonwealth and non-EU countries. Based on the Census 2021 using the estimate methods above, this would be 754,037 in England.

The mean for each English local government area is 2,440. The largest is in Westminster where there are 18,351 unenfranchised people. In Melton, the number is as few as 162.

Appendix 6 lists estimates of unenfranchised residents in by local government area in England 2021.

(33) Home Office, "Eu Settlement Scheme Quarterly Statistics, December 2023," Home Office, last modified 7 March 2024, 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/eu-settlement-scheme-quarterly-statistics-december-2023/eu-settlement-scheme-quarterly-statistics-december-2023#applications-concluded>

(34) UK Government, "Reply to Your Electoral Registration Office About Your Voting Rights," 2024, accessed 16 December 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/reply-to-electoral-registration-office-about-your-voting-rights>

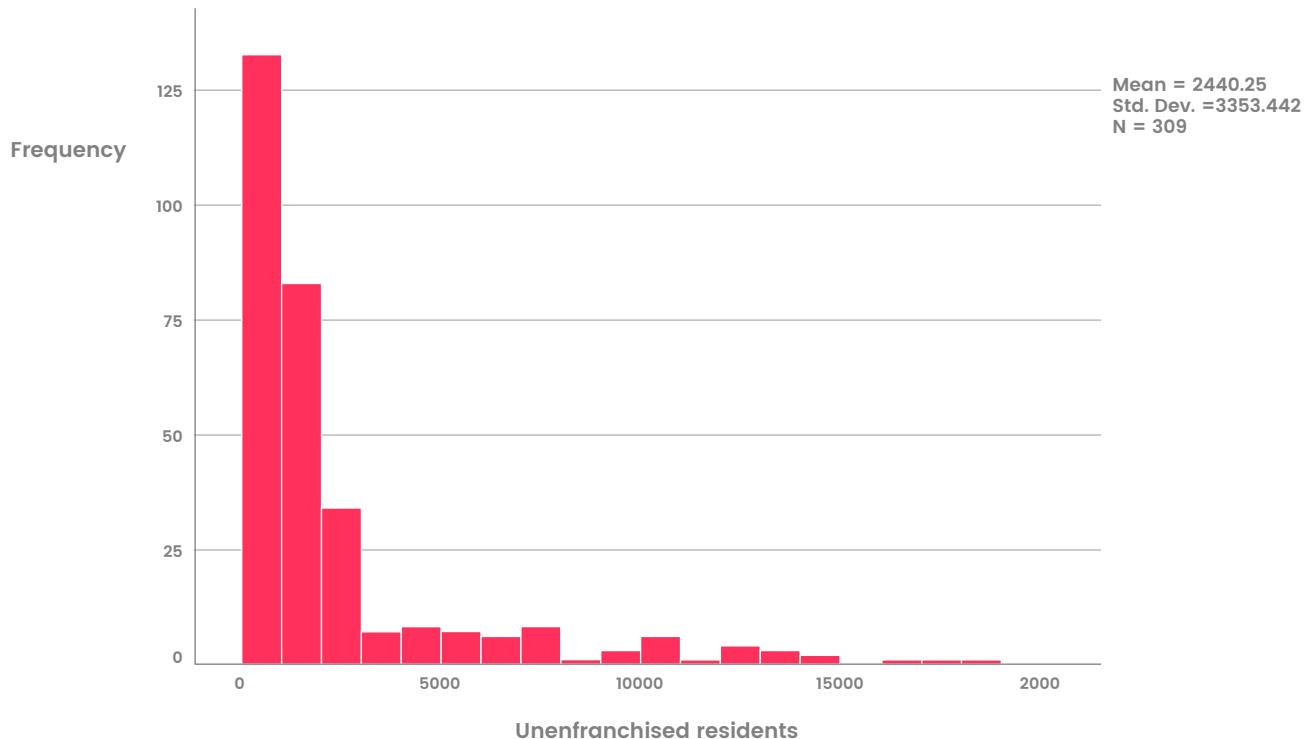


Figure 2: estimated number of unenfranchised residents in English local government areas.

Local Electoral Registers in Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency has published data on passports held by local government district.⁽³⁵⁾ Passports are clustered into the 30 passport categories. Based on the previous discussion, it is assumed that EU citizens would be enfranchised. It is assumed that the following would not be eligible to vote:

- Other only: Middle East and Asia: China
- Other only: Middle East and Asia: India
- Other only: North America, Central America and the Caribbean: Other

Overall, this would be 12,329 unenfranchised people. Data is not distinguishable by age so would be an overestimate. This would be highest in Belfast where 5,952 would be enfranchised by residence-based voting. The lowest would be the 289 in Fermanagh and Omagh. The mean average is 1,120.

Local Electoral Registers in Wales and Scotland

There would be no newly enfranchised citizens on the local registers because residence-based voting is already in place in Scotland and Wales.

(35) Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, *Ms-A21: Passports Held (Person Based) – Intermediate Detail (Classification 1)* (2022).

Post-Census Migration

Census data only provides a snapshot at a specific moment in time. Patterns of migration have shifted in the United Kingdom since the time that the Census was undertaken. The ONS have noted that there has been a major change in migration patterns since the 2021 Census because of the ending of free movement from the EU, a new immigration system in January 2021, the easing of restrictions after the coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, and the war in Ukraine.⁽³⁶⁾ It is therefore important to take this into consideration.



The Census data can be supplemented with more recent migration statistics to provide an estimate of population flows since 2021 and the current trajectory of migration. Data from the ONS estimated that the number of people entering the UK was 1,257,000 in 2022 and 1,218,000 in 2023. EU arrivals made up 15% (188,500) of these, with the majority being non-EU.⁽³⁷⁾ The main nationalities in the year ending December 2023 were Indian (250,000), Nigerian (141,000), Chinese (90,000), Pakistani (83,000) and Zimbabwean (36,000).⁽³⁸⁾ These were therefore commonly people who would already be enfranchised to vote because of their Commonwealth membership – the main exception being Chinese citizens.

Home Office Visa Data

Data from the Home Office on the Immigration System Statistics, year ending March 2024, provides information about the visa issued.⁽³⁹⁾ This is summarised in Table 3.

Year	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Work visas	167,146	165,900	163,922	164,943	175,812	192,559	114,528	239,193	421,565	616,371
Study visas	293,648	272,919	294,454	330,101	354,878	404,410	250,121	435,110	623,698	605,504
Family visas	34,852	37,711	37,781	40,123	43,620	55,643	37,087	42,182	47,119	81,203
Ukraine Family Scheme									62,338	9,672
Ukraine Sponsorship Scheme									147,368	32,095
Total	495,646	476,530	496,157	535,167	574,310	652,612	401,736	716,485	1,302,088	1,344,845

Table 3: Visa issued by year and visa type 2014–2023. Source: Home Office.⁽⁴⁰⁾

(36) <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/longterminternationalmigrationprovisional/yearendingdecember2023#long-term-emigration>

(37) ONS, Long-Term International Migration, Provisional: Year Ending December 2023 (2023), <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/longterminternationalmigrationprovisional/yearendingdecember2023#long-term-emigration>

(38) Ibid.

(39) Home Office, *Immigration System Statistics, Year Ending March 2024* (2024).

(40) Ibid.

The Home Office also provide data on visa issued by nationality for the year ending March 2024 for the 20 most numerous visas by visa type.⁽⁴¹⁾ This data was collated and is presented in full in Appendix 8 and described here. It is notable that a large volume of visas were issued to citizens who would immediately gain electoral rights upon entering the UK. Visas were issued to an estimated 1,187,457 in the twelve month people who were Commonwealth citizens and who were therefore eligible to take part in all elections. India, Nigeria and Pakistan are nationalities with the most numerous visa recipients.

An estimated 380,270 visas were issued to people who would not have been granted full electoral rights. The most numerous were China (121,326), the Philippines (47,019) and the United States (38,582). They would have, however, been entitled to vote in some elections in Scotland and Wales.

Net migration is the most useful data because it takes into consideration the number of people who have left the country as well as those who have entered. The ONS estimated that the number of people emigrating from the UK long-term was estimated at 532,000 for the year ending December 2023, compared to 493,000 for the previous year.⁽⁴²⁾ Non-EU nationals contributed 44% (233,000) of emigrants, EU nationals 38% (202,000) and British nationals 18% (98,000).⁽⁴³⁾ Estimated net migration was therefore provisionally estimated by the ONS to be 685,000 in the year ending December 2023 and 764,000 for 2022.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Calculating new enfranchisements for Westminster elections

It is clear that any overall estimate of the number of people that residence-based voting would enfranchise should include an estimate of post Census 2021 migration changes. Estimates on the number of post 2021 new electors that residence-based voting would enfranchise can only be broad-brush because available data is partial. It is not possible to provide breakdowns by each constituency or local government unit.

To estimate the number of people who may be newly enfranchised by residence-based voting we assume that net migration is 600,000 per year during the period 2022–2028. The Home Office data on visas described above and in Appendix 8 suggests that 67% of visas were issued to Commonwealth citizens, 22% non-Commonwealth citizens and in 12% of cases nationality was not clear from the data.⁽⁴⁵⁾ We assume that all such Commonwealth citizens would be eligible to vote in both local and parliamentary elections. We assume that the 22% of visa holders who were non-Commonwealth citizens were not entitled to vote – but who would be as a result of residence-based voting. **In 2022, this would mean 111,929 voters in 2022. These effects are presented over a seven-year period in the table below.**

	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028
Unenfranchised	129,353	258,706	388,059	517,413	646,766	776,119	905,472
Already enfranchised	470,647	941,294	1,411,941	1,882,587	2,353,234	2,823,881	3,294,528

Table 4: Estimated numbers enfranchised and unenfranchised immigrants for the Westminster parliamentary registers 2022–2028

(41) Home Office, Immigration System Statistics, year ending March 2024, Entry Clearance Visas – Summary Tables. [visas-summary-mar-2024-tables.xls](https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/immigration-system-statistics-year-ending-march-2024) (live.com)

(42) ONS, *Long-Term International Migration, Provisional: Year Ending December 2023*.

(43) *ibid.*

(44) *ibid.*

(45) 380,270/1,763,869 visas is 22%.

Calculating new enfranchisements for Local elections

Residence-based voting is in place already for the local electoral registers in Scotland and Wales. This means that non-Commonwealth citizens would be enfranchised for those elections. It is therefore necessary to estimate the share of net migrants who will be enfranchised by residence in Scotland and Wales as opposed to Northern Ireland and England. Scotland and Wales make up 13.47% of the overall UK local electoral register. We therefore estimate that 86.53% of 2022-2028 Non-Commonwealth immigrants will currently be unenfranchised – but could be added to the local registers as a result of residence-based voting. These are projected in Table 5 below.

	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028
Unenfranchised	111,929	223,859	335,788	447,717	559,646	671,576	783,505

Table 5: Estimated numbers enfranchised and unenfranchised immigrants for the local registers 2022-2028

Overall estimates

Estimates based on the census above are presented in the table below. These aggregate the country-level estimates based on the stock population from the Census 2021 with the estimated flow of people from 2021 up to the end of 2025. Numbers are rounded off to the nearest thousands.

	Parliamentary	Local
England	3,408,000	754,000
Northern Ireland	74,000	12,000
Scotland	336,000	0
Wales	73,000	0
2021-2025 migrants	518,000	448,000
Total	4,409,000	1,214,000

Table 6: Overall estimates of unenfranchised residents

Lessons From Implementing Residence-Based Voting

The report has so far estimated the effects of residence-based voting using demographic statistics. Residence-based voting has already been implemented in Scotland and Wales, however. This means that we can learn practical lessons based around Numbers on the electoral register

The **Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Act 2020** became law on 1 April 2020. The ONS provides data on the number of people registered each December by local authority area. Figure 3 below shows net changes in registration numbers from 2014–2023. It is difficult to attribute change to a single factor. Population shifts, the holding of elections and other administrative changes can all affect changes in the registered electorate each year. There were declines in 2015 which reflected the move to individual voter registration and increases in 2016 and 2019 to reflect the general elections. The 1 December 2020 and 1 December 2021 – the periods following the introduction of residence-based voting show net increases of 61,537 and 41,532. These are roughly in line with the expected change set out in the impact assessment.

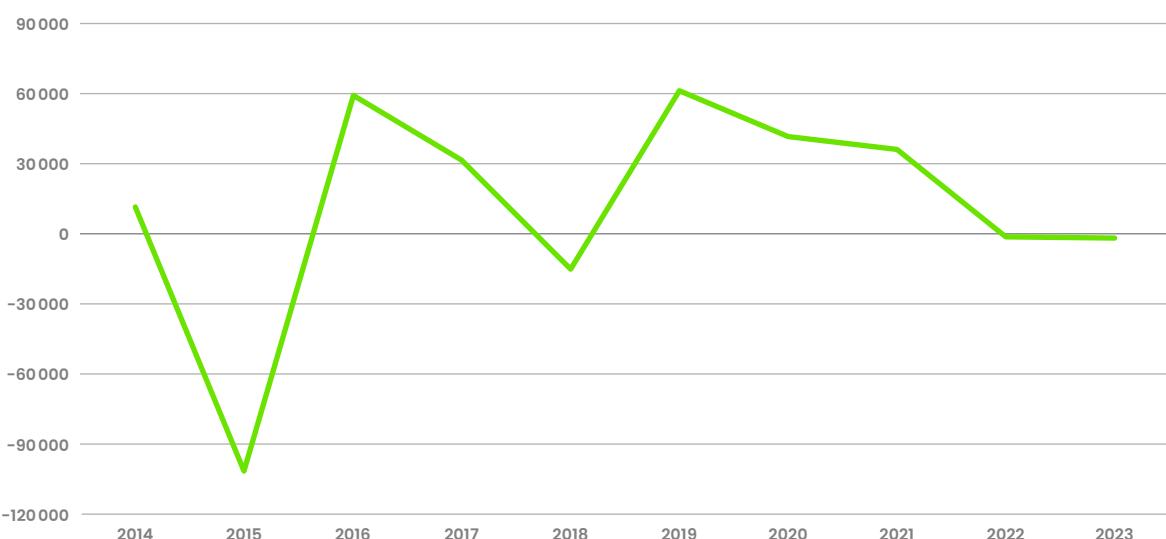


Figure 3: Net changes to the Scottish local register, 2014–2023

National Records for Scotland has published data on foreign nationals registered to vote in Scottish Parliamentary elections by council area, 2017 to 2023.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Figure 4 then maps trends in the four local authorities with the highest number of registered foreign nationals. Figure 5 shows the overall number of foreign nationals 2017–2023. This shows a marked increase in the number of foreign nationals on the electoral register since the enfranchisement change. However, this increase predated the move to residence-based voting.

(46) National Records for Scotland, *People Registered to Vote (Previously Called Electoral Statistics)* (2023).

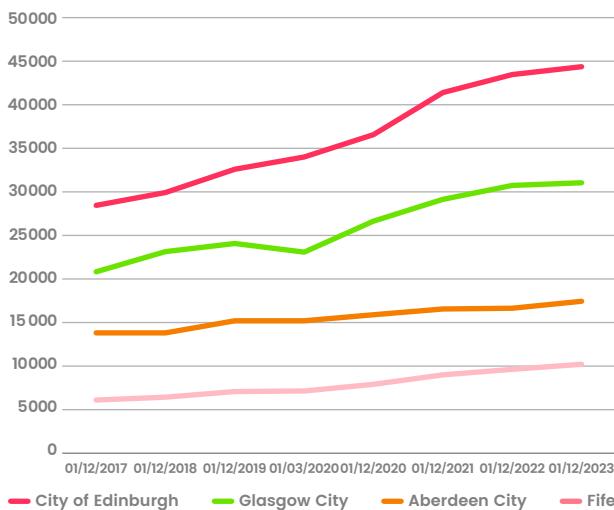


Figure 4: Foreign nationals on the select Scottish local authorities, 2017–2023

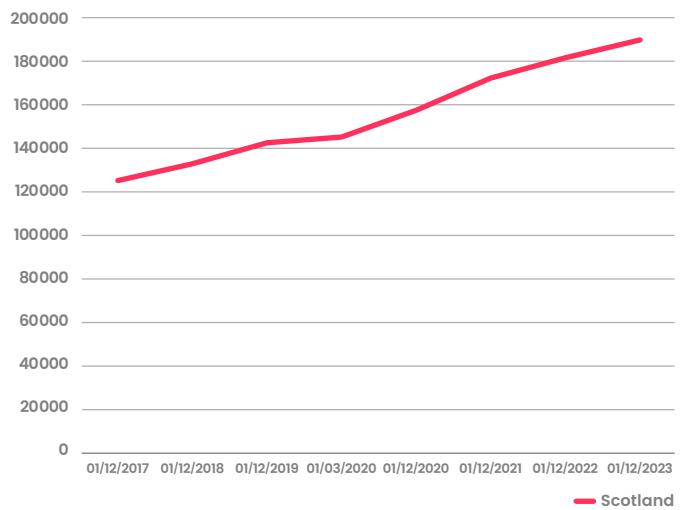


Figure 5: Foreign nationals on the Scottish local register, 2017–2023

The Local Government and Elections (Wales) Act 2021 gained Royal Assent on 20 January 2021.⁽⁴⁷⁾ There was also a small increase in the number of people on the electoral register on 1 December 2021. But multiple changes make inference difficult as there were Senedd elections in 2021 – the first which enabled residence-based voting.

Data was not systematically collected by the Welsh government on the number of new registrations. However, their initial information suggested that roughly 7,000 newly qualifying foreign citizens were added to the register by April 2022.⁽⁴⁸⁾ However, this was only based on information provided to them by four local authorities and the actual number may have been higher. Figure 6 charts the net change in the number of registered people on the local register based on ONS data. There are multiple push-pull factors likely to affect register numbers – but there does not seem to have been a major spike following the change in law.

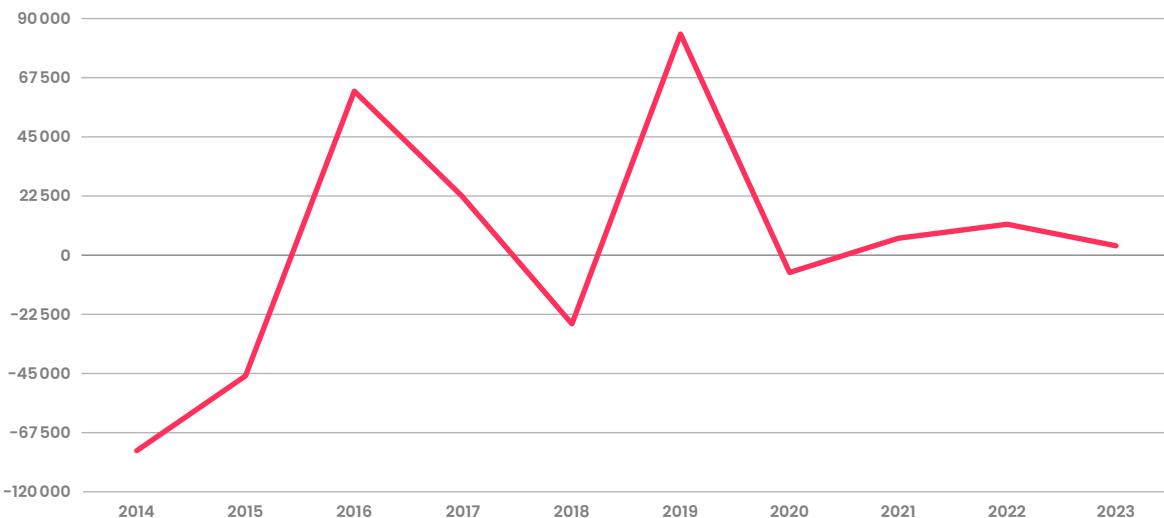


Figure 6: Net changes to the Welsh local register, 2014–2023

(47) <https://research.senedd.wales/research-articles/quick-guide-to-the-local-government-and-elections-wales-act-2021/>
 (48) Private correspondence with the Welsh Government Elections Division, 15 November 2024.

Lessons from electoral administrators

The researcher sought to gather information on electoral administrators in Scotland and Wales to understand the impact on the administration of elections. Respondents reported that concurrent with other changes to franchise – the introduction of votes at 16 made meant that it was difficult to ascertain the effects. The changes were also introduced during the pandemic which caused major concerns about how and whether elections could be run safely.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The implementation, however, **seemed to be implemented smoothly without serious problems**. According to one Welsh government official 'overall the system has worked well. We haven't heard of any issues from administrators'.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The main problem reported was engagement. According to one administrator from Wales:

'I think it was a bit of an uphill slog. You'd think you'd, you know, in an ideal world, you wish that people would flood to you and say, oh, this fantastic, we want to register to vote. It doesn't really work like that in reality. So we did have to do a lot of promotion and engagement activity locally to just to try and to get the word out there just to explain to people what was happening and then to sort of have registration drives, I suppose, to try and encourage people to register.'

The Welsh government established a Democratic Engagement Grant and the Democratic Engagement Partnership to help address this. The Grant supported over 40 projects that sought to engage with harder to reach groups (including the newly enfranchised) to participate in democracy. A budget of £300,000 was allocated for this purpose.⁽⁵¹⁾

Administrators were also approached to ask about the potential effects of implementing residence-based voting in England. Voter engagement was also suggested to be one of the key challenges:

'The bigger issue is identifying the individuals and they themselves making those applications to register'

According to another:

'If our authority had 20,000 extra people that might become eligible, the take up of that could be far lower. You might be looking at, you know, only two 3000 something.'

Automatic voter registration was one method which could assist election officials in registering people.

However, there was a broad consensus that it should not lead to major administrative difficulties:

'I think if it was just a few thousand people that become eligible to register all of the things being equal, I don't think it would be a huge undertaking.'

(49) Alistair Clark, and Toby S. James, *Britain: Postment, Complexity and Sub-National Elections in the Covid-19 Pandemic* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2022). Toby S. James, and Alistair Clark, "Wales Has Put Effective Legislation in Place to Make the Senedd Polls Covid-Safe;" *Constitution Unit Blog*, 2021, <https://constitution-unit.com/2021/02/22/wales-has-put-effective-legislation-in-place-to-make-the-senedd-polls-covid-safe/>

(50) Private correspondence with the Welsh Government Elections Division, 15 November 2024.

(51) Welsh Government, "Democratic Engagement Grant," last modified 19 July 2024, 2024, accessed 16 December 2024, <https://www.gov.wales/democratic-engagement-grant>

Media analysis

To assess whether any problems occurred media and legislative analysis was undertaken. The media analysis involved searching the Nexis UK Newspaper archives for articles with the keywords 'Scottish Franchise and Representation Bill/Act' and 'Welsh Local Government and Elections Act / Elections and Elected Bodies (Wales) Bill/Act' and 'foreign national voting Scotland/Wales'. The parliamentary debates were also examined to identify the concerns which were raised.

Scotland

During the Bill stage of the Franchise and Representation Act, criticisms predominantly focussed on the enfranchisement of prisoners serving sentences of 12 months or less. The Scottish Conservatives led the opposition, consistently arguing that it was inappropriate to enfranchise prisoners, irrespective of the length of their sentence. Media outlets like the Scottish Express amplified this opposition, with headlines such as "Fears that Greens may push for more rights for convicts to vote",⁽⁵²⁾ reflecting the Conservatives' view that the legislation reflected a soft touch towards the Scottish justice system. Similarly, the Paisley Daily Express reported on local Conservative figures calling the enfranchisement of prisoners a "slap in the face" for victims,⁽⁵³⁾ framing the measure as an affront to justice. The Scottish Daily Mail also emphasised Conservative anger over the decision, with critics contending that no prisoner, regardless of sentence length, should have the right to vote.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Concerns were raised about the extension of voting rights to foreign nationals, particularly around the practicalities of determining voter eligibility. Electoral registration officers pointed out that UK immigration rules do not recognise asylum registration cards as valid identification, complicating the process of verifying refugees' status. This issue, highlighted in The National, underscored the administrative challenges involved in accurately maintaining the electoral register.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Mike Russell, Constitutional Relations Secretary, acknowledged the risk that public confidence in the electoral system might be undermined if the register included individuals who had left Scotland or lost their right to remain. These critiques reflected broader apprehensions about the feasibility of implementing the proposed changes without eroding trust in the system.

The decision to extend voting rights to refugees but exclude asylum seekers also received criticism. This exclusion was primarily justified by the practical challenges of maintaining accurate records and the complexity of immigration law. Scottish Green MSP Mark Russell criticised the exclusion as a matter of bureaucratic inefficiency, arguing that paperwork should not prevent asylum seekers from being recognized as part of the community.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The Scottish Greens more widely proposed amendments to include asylum seekers in the franchise, arguing that voting is a fundamental human right and that their inclusion would promote integration and recognise their contributions to the community.⁽⁵⁷⁾ However, these amendments were ultimately rejected.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Mike Russell expressed sympathy for the idea of enfranchising asylum seekers but pointed to the legal and administrative barriers posed by UK immigration rules, asserting that "you cannot wish away somebody else's immigration rules and systems, you have to actually remove them legally".⁽⁵⁹⁾

(52) B. Borland, "Fears That Greens May Push for More Rights for Convicts to Vote," *Scottish Express*, 20 April 2023, 2023.

(53) R. Findlay, "Calls to Scrap Voting Rights for Prisoners," *Paisley Daily Express*, 23 February 2021, 2021.

(54) R. Watson, "Tories' Anger as Msps Give Prisoners the Right to Vote," *Scottish Daily Mail*, 21 February 2024, 2020.

(55) The National, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers Could Be Given Right to Vote in Green Bill," *The National*, 16 January 2020, 2020.

(56) A. Learmonth, "New Scottish Greens Bill Aims to Give Asylum Seekers Voting Rights," *The National (Scotland)*,

17 January 2020, 2020.

(57) The Times, "Refugees and Prisoners Given Right to Vote," *The Times*, 17 January 2020, 2020.

(58) Deal, s. (2020). 'Prisoners get right to vote; historic law allows convicts serving short sentences place at ballot box', *Metro (UK)*, 21 February, pp. 1-9.

(59) Learmonth, "New Scottish Greens Bill Aims to Give Asylum Seekers Voting Rights."

There was very little media coverage following enactment, however. A new story in April 2024 reported that 'More foreign nationals registered to vote' based on data released by the National Records of Scotland was the only news item found for 'foreign national voting Scotland' in the dataset.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Wales

Members of the Welsh Senedd debated the lack of residency requirements for foreign citizens in Welsh elections, with Conservative MS Mark Isherwood often leading the opposition to the extension of voting rights without a minimum residency period. Citing examples from other countries like New Zealand, for instance, where citizens must have lived continuously in the country for 12 months to be eligible to vote, while in Denmark, individuals must have permanent residency for three years before they can participate in regional and municipal elections. Isherwood expressed concern that the Bill, as drafted, had overextended voting rights a "step too far",⁽⁶¹⁾ pointing out that current voting agreements between the UK and the Republic of Ireland are based on a longstanding reciprocal arrangement reflecting historical ties. Similarly, the ability of Commonwealth citizens to vote in UK elections is a legacy of the Representation of the People Act 1918. In his view, the proposal to grant voting rights to all foreign citizens without any residency requirement marked an excessive departure from these established precedents. In response, Labour MS Julie James countered Isherwood's arguments by asserting that it would be **inappropriate to impose additional residency requirements for foreign citizens**, pointing out that Commonwealth citizens are already permitted to stand for election as long as they are 18 years old and live or work in the local authority area they wish to represent.⁽⁶²⁾ James argued that placing further restrictions on other foreign citizens would create inconsistency in the criteria for different groups, and thus, she saw no justification for the proposed residency requirement.⁽⁶³⁾

Some critics argued that the extension of voting rights to foreign citizens and 16-year-olds in Welsh elections was politically motivated, aimed at increasing support for particular parties. Neil Hamilton, during Senedd debates, stated that "mass migration under the Blair Government was almost explicitly brought in in order to... 'rub the right's nose in diversity and render their arguments out of date'".⁽⁶⁴⁾ He believed that extending voting rights to foreign citizens who, in their view, lacked fundamental allegiance to the country was part of a political agenda designed to shift the electorate in favour of certain parties. Caroline Jones too criticised the legislation, opposing the extension of the franchise to 16-year-olds. She argued that while 16-year-olds are restricted from other adult activities, such as smoking, visiting tanning salons, or getting intimate body piercings, they are paradoxically allowed to vote.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Jones highlighted the inconsistency in lowering the voting age without reducing the age of majority, stating, "unless those advocating votes at 16 are also going to reduce the age of majority, I believe that the voting age should remain at 18".⁽⁶⁶⁾ Furthermore, she opposed changes to electoral arrangements without first addressing the need for local government reform, suggesting that such reforms should be prioritized before altering who can vote.

(60) Laura Pollock, "More Foreign Nationals Registered to Vote," *The Press and Journal*, 11 April 2024, 2024, <https://www.thenational.scot/news/24247697.foreign-nationals-registered-vote-scotland-ever/>

(61) Senedd Cymru. Plenary – Questions to the First Minister. Plenary 10/11/2020 – Welsh Parliament (Accessed 14 Oct. 2024).

(62) Senedd Cymru. Plenary – Questions to the First Minister. Plenary 10/11/2020 – Welsh Parliament (senedd.wales) (Accessed 14 Oct. 2024).

(63) Senedd Cymru. Plenary – Questions to the First Minister. Plenary 10/11/2020 – Welsh Parliament (Accessed 14 Oct. 2024).

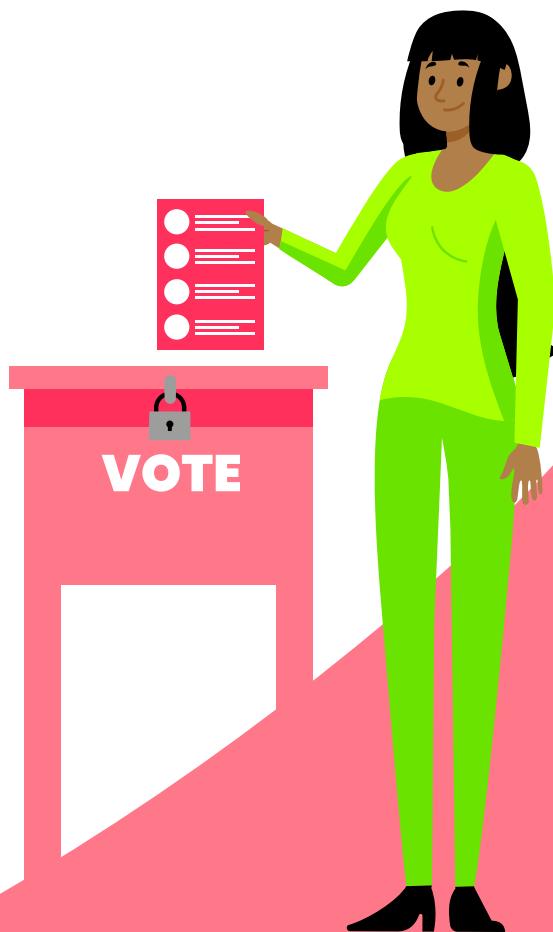
(64) Senedd Cymru. Plenary – Questions to the First Minister. Plenary 10/11/2020 – Welsh Parliament (Accessed 14 Oct. 2024).

(65) Senedd Cymru. Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee: Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill, Stage 2 proceedings. Available at: Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee – Fifth Senedd 02/10/2020 (Accessed: 14 October 2024).

(66) Senedd Cymru. Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee: Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill, Stage 2 proceedings 02/10/2020 (Accessed: 14 October 2024).

Headlines related to the implementation of the franchise expansion generally carried a positive and progressive tone. Terms like “landmark”,⁽⁶⁷⁾ “huge change”⁽⁶⁸⁾ and “clears latest hurdle”⁽⁶⁹⁾ **suggest momentum and forward-thinking reforms that enhance democratic engagement.** The framing of these headlines positions the Bill as a **milestone in improving electoral inclusivity in Wales.** They emphasise the significance and potential long-term impact of automatic voter registration, presenting it as a victory for voters and a step forward in modernising electoral processes. In contrast, more negative headlines focused on contentious or controversial proposals within the Bill, highlighting practical concerns or broader political implications. For example, phrases like “double standards”,⁽⁷⁰⁾ “Tories attack decision”,⁽⁷¹⁾ and “insult to victims”⁽⁷²⁾ bring attention to the potential pitfalls or unintended consequences of these reforms. The polarity between the optimistic coverage of voter registration reforms and the critical attention given to other provisions of the Bill highlights the complexities of electoral reform and the mixed reception from the public, policymakers, and media alike.

The debates and media coverage of the changes therefore did not draw attention to any specific logistical challenge involved in implementing franchise change. It also proposed changes to the voting rights of those in prison which drew more attention.



(67) Tenby Observer, “Wales Passes Landmark Bill to Introduce Automatic Registration of Electors,” *Tenby Observer* 13 July 2024, 2024.

(68) R. Mosalski, “A Huge Change to Voting in Wales Has Just Been Given the Go-Ahead,” *Wales Online*, 9 July 2024, 2024.

(69) The Western Mail, “Plan to Auto Register Voters Clears Latest Hurdle in Senedd,” *The Western Mail*, 4 July 2024, 2024.

(70) L. Docherty, “Jackson Carlaw’s Double Standards Called out on Criminal Voting Rights,” *The National*, 22 February 2020, 2020.

(71) S. Johnson, “Scottish Prisoners to Get Vote for the First Time in Shetland by-Election,” *The Daily Telegraph*, 2 August 2019, 2019.

(72) Borland, “Fears That Greens May Push for More Rights for Convicts to Vote.”

What would be the financial costs?

To estimate the costs of full residence-based voting it is helpful to review how funding works in the UK and the estimates from the impact assessments for Scotland and Wales.

How funding works

The funding of elections in the UK is complex and data is not regularly published.⁽⁷³⁾ Expenditure is categorised into two broad camps: electoral registration and the election itself. Electoral registration is funded by the respective local authority – although the organisational form varies across the UK as noted above. The funding of elections varies, as Table 2 show, with the UK government paying for the costs of running an election to the UK parliament, for example. In practice the expenditure is incurred by the local authority but then reclaimed from the government department after the election. Ahead of each election, the government passes a piece of legislation making financial provision for the election. This will contain the 'Maximum Recoverable Allowance' ('MRA') for each RO – an upper limit on the expenditure that they can reclaim from the government which are classified as their 'expenses'. In addition to the direct costs involved in running elections, legislation allows the RO to claim charges for their services rendered. This is a payment for the work that they undertake – reflecting also their personal liability for the election.

The UK government has published reports on expenditure involved in the 2014 European Parliamentary elections,⁽⁷⁴⁾ 2015 parliamentary election⁽⁷⁵⁾ and the 2016 Police and Crime Commissioner elections.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Data on registration costs is more limited. The Electoral Commission collected data on the costs of electoral registration (alongside elections) from 2009–2011.⁽⁷⁷⁾ This reported expenditure per elector of £1.87 (£0.75 outside of the annual canvas and £1.12 during the annual canvass).⁽⁷⁸⁾ There have been significant changes to electoral registration since this report. This includes the move to individual voter registration and the reformed canvass.⁽⁷⁹⁾ More recent studies have been undertaken by ClearView Research⁽⁸⁰⁾ and Democracy Volunteers.⁽⁸¹⁾ However, the latter studies do not include all authorities.

(73) Toby S. James, *Financing Electoral Management Body and Electoral Activity Costs in the United Kingdom* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2024).

(74) HM Government, *The Costs of the 2014 European Parliamentary Elections* (London: HM Government, 2016).

(75) HM Government, *The Costs of the 2015 UK Parliamentary General Election* (London: HM Government, 2018).

(76) HM Government, *The Costs of the 2016 Police and Crime Commissioner Elections* (London: HM Government, 2022).

(77) Electoral Commission, *The Cost of Electoral Administration in Great Britain* (London: Electoral Commission, 2012).

(78) Ibid., 20.

(79) Toby S. James, "The Spill-over and Displacement Effects of Implementing Election Administration Reforms: Introducing Individual Electoral Registration in Britain," *Parliamentary Affairs* 67, no. 2 (2014), <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1093/pa/gss032>

(80) Toby S. James, and Tyrone Jervier, *The Cost of Elections Funding Electoral Services in England and Wales* (London: ClearView Research, 2017).

(81) Democracy Volunteers, *Democracy under Stress: A Report into Elections Funding in England* (London: Democracy Volunteers, 2021).

Impact Assessment in Scotland

A financial impact assessment of the effects of residence-based voting was provided by the Scottish government upon introduction of the Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill into Parliament.⁽⁸²⁾ This estimated that the new costs would include:

- **Software costs.** Changes to Electoral Management Systems were estimated to be between £150,000 and £250,000.
- **Voter registration portal costs.** Costs were thought to be involved in making changes to the UK Government's Individual Electoral Registration Digital Service (IERDS) in the region of £20,000.
- **Voter registration.** An additional £340,000–£360,000 would be needed to cover initial registration costs in the financial year 2020/21 – with costs thereafter covered by the annual canvass
- **Electoral costs.** An estimated £200,000 was thought to be required to cover the additional election costs. This was based on £3 per voter (x 55,000 voters).
- **Publicity.** Costs of approximately £200,000 were estimated to be needed to cover the costs of publicity.
- **Form redesigns.** The cost of developing new forms was estimated to be £80,000. This partly resulted from changes needed to accommodate other franchise changes.

Overall, costs were estimated at £200,000 per election, plus one off costs of £750,000.

Impact Assessments in Wales

An impact assessment of the Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill was also undertaken by the Local Government Department of the Welsh Government.⁽⁸³⁾ The provided a more detailed breakdown of data sources and methodology. This estimated that the new costs would include:

- **Registration costs.** Data from the Electoral Commission's report on the cost of electoral administration surveys was used to create a cost per voter.⁽⁸⁴⁾ This was adjusted for inflation. The cost to local government of registering the additional electorate was therefore calculated as $33,000 \times £1.22 = £40,260$ per year.
- **Software costs.** Changes to the Electoral Management Software used by electoral officials was calculated to be £636,000 as a one off cost for 2020–21.
- **Election costs.** Based on inflation adjusted Electoral Commission data of £2.23 per elector, the additional annual cost of running elections was estimated at $£2.23 \times 33,000 = £227,000$.

(82) Scottish Government, *Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill: Financial Memorandum* (Edinburgh Scottish Parliament, 2019), <https://www.parliament.scot/-/media/files/legislation/bills/s5-bills/scottish-elections-franchise-and-representation-scotland-bill/introduced/financial-memorandum-scottish-elections-franchise-and-representation-scotland-bill.pdf>

(83) Welsh Government, *Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill: Explanatory Memorandum Incorporating the Regulatory Impact Assessment and Explanatory Notes*.

(84) Electoral Commission, *The Cost of Electoral Administration in Great Britain*.

- **Awareness raising.** Costs of approximately £945,000 split over two years was estimated to fall on the Welsh Government. Cost of £36,300 (£1.10 per person x 33,000) was estimated to fall on the Electoral Commission.

- **Form redesign.** Relevant forms such as the Household Enquiry Form were estimated to be needed to be redesigned. The new forms would need to be tested with users. The one-off costs involved were estimated to be £75,000.

Overall, the costs were estimated to be £40,000 per year to local government, plus £227,000 per election. There would also be one off costs of around £1m.

Views of Administrators

Electoral administrators were asked what they thought the financial costs would be if it was rolled out more widely.

A common theme was that the costs of updating the EMS software should be minimal. According to one:

'I think it is possibly a bit of a red herring because I can't see that being a massive change because ultimately all you're doing is...changing a field or background table.'

Outreach was also suggested to be the bigger cost. According to one administrator:

'To me, would be outreach, depending on how far governments wanted to go on that outreach work or put the responsibility on EROs, I think the unit cost to get somebody to be registered would be similar to what it is for any other elector because ultimately again, you know you're using all the same data.'

Budgets were often already constrained for outreach work in some authorities.

As one administrator explained:

'It's something that varies significantly across local authorities. So a couple of our neighbouring authorities, they have an actual outreach officer in their electoral services team that goes out and you know, does work at schools or with community groups and things like that. That's unfortunately not something that we have.'

New Estimates of the cost per elector

Based on the above information the costs can be estimated as follows.

Long term costs:

- **Registration costs.** The original Electoral Commission estimator of £1.87 per person is adjusted for inflation to June 2024 to £2.6838 per person.⁽⁸⁵⁾

The total additional cost for registering all residents can be calculated using the estimated new electors multiplied by the cost per person.

Event costs:

- **Additional costs for organising the election.** The Maximum Recoverable Allowance – the amount set aside by the UK government to cover the rules of a parliamentary election was £161,269,346 for the UK 2024 parliamentary election.⁽⁸⁶⁾ The estimated eligible electorate was 54,572,588 according to International IDEA.⁽⁸⁷⁾ This means a cost of £2.9551347 per eligible person. The estimated costs per person are multiplied by the newly enfranchised residents.

One off costs are based around those estimated in the impact assessments.

- **Form redesign:** Voter registration and other forms would need to be updated. £100,000 is estimated based on earlier estimates.
- **Software costs:** £700,000 is estimated based on the costs in Wales.
- **Awareness raising:** £1million is estimated based on the costs in Wales

Table 6 presents the costs of full residence based voting for parliamentary and local elections over a full five year period (which is the length of an electoral cycle). However, it is important to provide an annual cost since this is the way in which electoral budgets are produced. Table 7 therefore provides estimates that the annual costs would be £18.4 million per year for full residence-based voting). There would also be one off costs of £1.8 million (Table 9). Residence-based voting for local elections in England and Northern Ireland only be £4 million plus £1.8 million one off costs.

These would be maximum costs assuming that all electors registered and that there would not be any economies of scale generated from existing administrative systems. Registration rates were 66% for Commonwealth citizens and 54% for EU citizens in 2022.⁽⁸⁸⁾ If registration rates were only 66% of the newly enfranchised residents then the costs would more accurately be reduced by multiplied by 0.66. Full residence based voting would therefore cost approximately £12.2 million and residence-based voting for local elections would cost approximately £2.6 million.

(85) The Bank of England inflation adjustment tool is used:

<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator>

(86) The Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Charges) Order 2024, 2024.

(87) International IDEA, "Voter Turnout Database: United Kingdom," 2024, accessed 16 December 2024,

https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/question-country?question_id=9115&country=236&database_theme=293

(88) Electoral Commission, *Accuracy and Completeness of the Electoral Registers* (London: Electoral Commission, 2023).

5-year cost of implementing residence-based voting rights in Parliamentary and Local Elections.

	5-year	
	Parliamentary	Local
Registration	£ 59,154,602	£ 16,291,780
General election costs	£ 13,027,038	£ 0
Local election costs	£ 0	£ 3,587,779
Maximum cost	£ 72,181,640	£ 19,879,559
Assuming 66% registration	£ 47,639,882	£ 13,120,509

Table 7: Maximum costs of residence based voting over a 5 year period

	Annual	
	Parliamentary	Local
	£ 11,830,920	£ 3,258,356
	£ 2,605,408	£ 0
	£ 0	£ 717,556
Total per year	£ 14,436,328	£ 3,975,912
Cost per year assuming 66% registration	£ 9,527,976.42	£ 2,624,101.73

Table 8: Annual Costs of Residence based voting

One off costs	
Form designs	£ 100,000
Software changes	£ 700,000
Publicity campaign	£ 1,000,000
	£ 1,800,000

Table 9: One-off implementation costs

The consequences of residence-based voting would also include the need to revise parliamentary and local boundaries. However, boundaries are already subject to periodic review in response to population changes and there would not necessarily be an additional cost.

Conclusions

The electoral franchise defines who is able to participate in elections – and shapes who has a voice in society. The franchise, however, has not been designed around rational and clear principles. It is the product of past historical agreements, complex and inconsistent. It is based on a mixture of citizenship, residency and political decisions. The Elections Act 2022 made changes to the franchise which further complicated the electoral franchise and led to many residents being removed from the franchise.

Residence-based voting involves enfranchising all citizens who live in a country to vote. It has recently been introduced in Scotland and Wales for local and Scottish Parliamentary/Senedd elections.

This report estimates the likely impact of residence-based voting and the lessons that can be drawn from the UK experience so far. It concludes that residence-based voting has already been introduced in Scotland and Wales without any major financial, administrative or political problems.

Extending residence-based voting to all local elections would enfranchise an estimated **1.2 million people** on the local registers in England and Northern Ireland.

Extending residence based voting to Westminster parliamentary elections would enfranchise an estimated **4.4 million people** on the parliamentary franchise across the UK.

The cost would be an estimated:

- **£12.2 million per year** for full residence-based voting, plus £1.8million one off costs.
- **£2.6 million per year** for residence-based voting for local elections in England and Northern Ireland only, plus **£1.8million** one off costs.

The advantages of residence-based voting are that it would:

- Give voice to people who contribute to society and are affected by the decisions made to create an inclusive democracy.
- Bring consistency and simplicity to electoral law which will make elections easier to administer for electoral officials.
- Bring the UK into line with international best practices on elections.

There are other aspects of the electoral process which might be affected by the changes. The electoral boundaries would need to be immediately revised and this would create a reshaped electoral map. This would be undertaken as part of regular boundary reviews and would not involve additional financial cost. The electoral map would look different – but this would be because it would better reflect the composition of the population of the United Kingdom.

APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Available Data sources

Provider	Name	Description	Coverage	Advantages	Problems
ONS and National Records of Scotland	<u>Population by country of birth and nationality England and Wales.</u> <u>Scotland</u> <u>Northern Ireland</u>	UK residents by broad country of birth and citizenship groups, broken down by UK country, local authority, unitary authority, metropolitan and London boroughs, and counties. Estimates from the Annual Population Survey.	2020-21. Discontinued after June 2021.	Used for impact assessments for the Scotland and Wales.	Discontinued after 2021 because of issue with 'administrative data from HMRC (Migrant Worker Scan (MWS))'. Users are referred to the Census data instead. The dataset does not distinguish Commonwealth countries from the 'rest of the world'.
ONS	<u>Population of birth in Census 2021 Northern Ireland.</u>				
NISRA, ONS	<u>Passports held in Northern Ireland.</u> <u>Passport held in Scotland.</u>	Passport held questions in Census 2021. 2021, breakdowns by age and geographical location. 2021, breakdowns by age and geographical location.			Northern Ireland data by age does not distinguish Commonwealth countries from the 'rest of the world'. Scotland dataset does not distinguish Commonwealth countries from the 'rest of the world'.

Appendix 2: Estimated Stock of unenfranchised residents in Westminster Parliamentary England 2021

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
A	E14001063	Aldershot	10,349
	E14001064	Aldridge-Brownhills	1,160
	E14001065	Altrincham and Sale West	3,039
	E14001066	Amber Valley	1,365
	E14001067	Arundel and South Downs	2,155
	E14001068	Ashfield	2,821
	E14001069	Ashford	6,262
	E14001070	Ashton-under-Lyne	4,202
	E14001071	Aylesbury	6,379
B	E14001072	Banbury	7,601
	E14001073	Barking	18,987
	E14001074	Barnsley North	3,891
	E14001075	Barnsley South	4,461
	E14001076	Barrow and Furness	1,136
	E14001077	Basildon and Billericay	4,394
	E14001078	Basingstoke	7,546
	E14001079	Bassetlaw	3,963
	E14001080	Bath	7,098
	E14001081	Battersea	18,340
	E14001082	Beaconsfield	3,987
	E14001083	Beckenham and Penge	8,487
	E14001084	Bedford	13,466
	E14001085	Bermondsey and Old Southwark	21,519
	E14001086	Bethnal Green and Stepney	18,877
	E14001087	Beverley and Holderness	913
	E14001088	Bexhill and Battle	1,630
	E14001089	Bexleyheath and Crayford	4,865
	E14001090	Bicester and Woodstock	7,291
	E14001091	Birkenhead	2,279
	E14001092	Birmingham Edgbaston	8,048
	E14001093	Birmingham Erdington	8,293
	E14001094	Birmingham Hall Green and Moseley	5,276

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
B	E14001095	Birmingham Hodge Hill and Solihull North	5,006
	E14001096	Birmingham Ladywood	17,520
	E14001097	Birmingham Northfield	3,522
	E14001098	Birmingham Perry Barr	7,575
	E14001099	Birmingham Selly Oak	4,556
	E14001100	Birmingham Yardley	6,153
	E14001101	Bishop Auckland	791
	E14001102	Blackburn	4,694
	E14001103	Blackley and Middleton South	8,798
	E14001104	Blackpool North and Fleetwood	1,232
	E14001105	Blackpool South	4,125
	E14001106	Blaydon and Consett	1,200
	E14001107	Blyth and Ashington	718
	E14001108	Bognor Regis and Littlehampton	7,232
	E14001109	Bolsover	2,729
	E14001110	Bolton North East	3,896
	E14001111	Bolton South and Walkden	6,946
	E14001112	Bolton West	2,138
	E14001113	Bootle	3,005
	E14001114	Boston and Skegness	12,821
	E14001115	Bournemouth East	11,429
	E14001116	Bournemouth West	10,230
	E14001117	Bracknell	6,643
	E14001118	Bradford East	5,373
	E14001119	Bradford South	4,004
	E14001120	Bradford West	6,722
	E14001121	Braintree	3,037
	E14001122	Brent East	26,032
	E14001123	Brent West	27,661
	E14001124	Brentford and Isleworth	21,306
	E14001125	Brentwood and Ongar	2,816
	E14001126	Bridgwater	5,311
	E14001127	Bridlington and The Wolds	1,028
	E14001128	Brigg and Immingham	1,410
	E14001129	Brighton Kemptown and Peacehaven	6,544
	E14001130	Brighton Pavilion	9,142
	E14001131	Bristol Central	9,084

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
B	E14001132	Bristol East	9,021
	E14001133	Bristol North East	6,556
	E14001134	Bristol North West	7,823
	E14001135	Bristol South	6,430
	E14001136	Broadland and Fakenham	1,313
	E14001137	Bromley and Biggin Hill	5,914
	E14001138	Bromsgrove	964
	E14001139	Broxbourne	7,394
	E14001140	Broxtowe	3,715
	E14001141	Buckingham and Bletchley	6,162
	E14001142	Burnley	4,753
	E14001143	Burton and Uttoxeter	8,394
	E14001144	Bury North	3,048
	E14001145	Bury South	4,852
	E14001146	Bury St Edmunds and Stowmarket	4,861
C	E14001147	Calder Valley	1,178
	E14001148	Camborne and Redruth	1,943
	E14001149	Cambridge	21,945
	E14001150	Cannock Chase	1,541
	E14001151	Canterbury	6,022
	E14001152	Carlisle	3,296
	E14001153	Carshalton and Wallington	7,391
	E14001154	Castle Point	1,122
	E14001155	Central Devon	1,585
	E14001156	Central Suffolk and North Ipswich	2,425
	E14001157	Chatham and Aylesford	4,762
	E14001158	Cheadle	1,796
	E14001159	Chelmsford	5,282
	E14001160	Chelsea and Fulham	24,531
	E14001161	Cheltenham	5,816
	E14001162	Chesham and Amersham	3,808
	E14001163	Chester North and Neston	3,726
	E14001164	Chester South and Eddisbury	1,784
	E14001165	Chesterfield	1,542
	E14001166	Chichester	4,122
	E14001167	Chingford and Woodford Green	10,141
	E14001168	Chippenham	2,551

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
C	E14001169	Chipping Barnet	11,558
	E14001170	Chorley	1,929
	E14001171	Christchurch	1,700
	E14001172	Cities of London and Westminster	31,302
	E14001173	City of Durham	2,735
	E14001174	Clacton	1,326
	E14001175	Clapham and Brixton Hill	15,077
	E14001176	Colchester	8,033
	E14001177	Colne Valley	1,077
	E14001178	Congleton	1,068
	E14001179	Corby and East Northamptonshire	11,385
	E14001180	Coventry East	11,861
	E14001181	Coventry North West	8,275
	E14001182	Coventry South	10,822
	E14001183	Cramlington and Killingworth	897
	E14001184	Crawley	12,334
	E14001185	Crewe and Nantwich	8,399
	E14001186	Croydon East	8,098
	E14001187	Croydon South	6,389
	E14001188	Croydon West	16,600
D	E14001189	Dagenham and Rainham	12,420
	E14001190	Darlington	3,116
	E14001191	Dartford	6,681
	E14001192	Daventry	4,317
	E14001193	Derby North	5,612
	E14001194	Derby South	10,459
	E14001195	Derbyshire Dales	1,053
	E14001196	Dewsbury and Batley	2,900
	E14001197	Didcot and Wantage	5,293
	E14001198	Doncaster Central	10,852
	E14001199	Doncaster East and the Isle of Axholme	2,246
	E14001200	Doncaster North	2,857
	E14001201	Dorking and Horley	3,688
	E14001202	Dover and Deal	3,460
	E14001203	Droitwich and Evesham	5,202
	E14001204	Dudley	2,963
	E14001205	Dulwich and West Norwood	12,322

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
D	E14001206	Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard	7,611
E	E14001207	Ealing Central and Acton	27,104
	E14001208	Ealing North	22,184
	E14001209	Ealing Southall	17,338
	E14001210	Earley and Woodley	6,731
	E14001211	Easington	844
	E14001212	East Grinstead and Uckfield	3,204
	E14001213	East Ham	19,349
	E14001214	East Hampshire	2,180
	E14001215	East Surrey	2,826
	E14001216	East Thanet	4,651
	E14001217	East Wiltshire	2,483
	E14001218	East Worthing and Shoreham	3,278
	E14001219	Eastbourne	6,771
	E14001220	Eastleigh	2,906
	E14001221	Edmonton and Winchmore Hill	16,454
	E14001222	Ellesmere Port and Bromborough	2,303
	E14001223	Eltham and Chislehurst	9,991
	E14001224	Ely and East Cambridgeshire	6,212
	E14001225	Enfield North	12,543
	E14001226	Epping Forest	5,740
	E14001227	Epsom and Ewell	6,568
	E14001228	Erewash	2,071
	E14001229	Erith and Thamesmead	17,158
	E14001230	Esher and Walton	6,520
	E14001231	Exeter	6,685
	E14001232	Exmouth and Exeter East	2,599
F	E14001233	Fareham and Waterlooville	1,728
	E14001234	Farnham and Bordon	3,778
	E14001235	Faversham and Mid Kent	3,253
	E14001236	Feltham and Heston	21,489
	E14001237	Filton and Bradley Stoke	7,020
	E14001238	Finchley and Golders Green	21,413
	E14001239	Folkestone and Hythe	3,668
	E14001240	Forest of Dean	1,514
	E14001241	Frome and East Somerset	2,149
	E14001242	Fylde	1,804

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
G	E14001243	Gainsborough	1,389
	E14001244	Gateshead Central and Whickham	3,549
	E14001245	Gedling	2,653
	E14001246	Gillingham and Rainham	4,040
	E14001247	Glastonbury and Somerton	2,004
	E14001248	Gloucester	7,094
	E14001249	Godalming and Ash	3,441
	E14001250	Goole and Pocklington	3,744
	E14001251	Gorton and Denton	7,718
	E14001252	Gosport	1,755
	E14001253	Grantham and Bourne	4,459
	E14001254	Gravesham	7,098
	E14001255	Great Grimsby and Cleethorpes	3,931
	E14001256	Great Yarmouth	5,140
H	E14001257	Greenwich and Woolwich	19,318
	E14001258	Guildford	7,946
	E14001259	Hackney North and Stoke Newington	14,470
	E14001260	Hackney South and Shoreditch	17,770
	E14001261	Halesowen	1,740
	E14001262	Halifax	2,927
	E14001263	Hamble Valley	2,201
	E14001264	Hammersmith and Chiswick	22,388
	E14001265	Hampstead and Highgate	20,962
	E14001266	Harborough, Oadby and Wigston	2,549
	E14001267	Harlow	7,803
	E14001268	Harpenden and Berkhamsted	2,838
	E14001269	Harrogate and Knaresborough	4,189
	E14001270	Harrow East	18,585
	E14001271	Harrow West	18,904
	E14001272	Hartlepool	987
	E14001273	Harwich and North Essex	2,146
	E14001274	Hastings and Rye	4,331
	E14001275	Havant	1,745
	E14001276	Hayes and Harlington	16,133
	E14001277	Hazel Grove	1,320
	E14001278	Hemel Hempstead	6,264
	E14001279	Hendon	25,156

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
H	E14001280	Henley and Thame	3,446
	E14001281	Hereford and South Herefordshire	5,379
	E14001282	Herne Bay and Sandwich	1,893
	E14001283	Hertford and Stortford	5,872
	E14001284	Hertsmere	8,116
	E14001285	Hexham	916
	E14001286	Heywood and Middleton North	3,786
	E14001287	High Peak	1,293
	E14001288	High Peak	2,446
	E14001289	Hitchin	2,787
	E14001290	Holborn and St Pancras	17,115
	E14001291	Honiton and Sidmouth	1,855
	E14001292	Hornchurch and Upminster	5,836
	E14001293	Hornsey and Friern Barnet	15,363
	E14001294	Horsham	3,887
	E14001295	Houghton and Sunderland South	836
	E14001296	Hove and Portslade	8,762
	E14001297	Huddersfield	4,647
	E14001298	Huntingdon	6,866
	E14001299	Hyndburn	1,943
I	E14001300	Ilford North	14,106
	E14001301	Ilford South	14,887
	E14001302	Ipswich	10,370
	E14001303	Isle of Wight East	1,322
	E14001304	Isle of Wight West	1,353
	E14001305	Islington North	16,321
	E14001306	Islington South and Finsbury	19,326
J	E14001307	Jarrow and Gateshead East	1,415
K	E14001308	Keighley and Ilkley	1,981
	E14001309	Kenilworth and Southam	2,301
	E14001310	Kensington and Bayswater	32,980
	E14001311	Kettering	7,009
	E14001312	Kingston and Surbiton	13,572
	E14001313	Kingston upon Hull East	3,559
	E14001314	Kingston upon Hull North and Cottingham	9,349
	E14001315	Kingston upon Hull West and Haltemprice	6,219
	E14001316	Kingswinford and South Staffordshire	633

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
K	E14001317	Knowsley	2,223
L	E14001318	Lancaster and Wyre	3,305
	E14001319	Leeds Central and Headingley	7,239
	E14001320	Leeds East	5,518
	E14001321	Leeds North East	4,222
	E14001322	Leeds North West	1,734
	E14001323	Leeds South	12,895
	E14001324	Leeds South West and Morley	2,538
	E14001325	Leeds West and Pudsey	4,597
	E14001326	Leicester East	15,094
	E14001327	Leicester South	12,532
	E14001328	Leicester West	16,739
	E14001329	Leigh and Atherton	3,078
	E14001330	Lewes	2,314
	E14001331	Lewisham East	13,735
	E14001332	Lewisham North	18,325
	E14001333	Lewisham West and East Dulwich	8,963
	E14001334	Leyton and Wanstead	19,725
	E14001335	Lichfield	1,558
	E14001336	Lincoln	8,434
	E14001337	Liverpool Garston	2,739
	E14001338	Liverpool Riverside	10,864
	E14001339	Liverpool Walton	4,180
	E14001340	Liverpool Wavertree	6,179
	E14001341	Liverpool West Derby	3,685
	E14001342	Loughborough	4,633
	E14001343	Louth and Horncastle	948
	E14001344	Lowestoft	1,517
	E14001345	Luton North	8,921
	E14001346	Luton South and South Bedfordshire	17,467
M	E14001347	Macclesfield	2,189
	E14001348	Maidenhead	6,625
	E14001349	Maidstone and Malling	7,867
	E14001350	Makerfield	1,654
	E14001351	Maldon	1,313
	E14001352	Manchester Central	13,963
	E14001353	Manchester Rusholme	10,620

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
M	E14001354	Manchester Withington	5,208
	E14001355	Mansfield	6,714
	E14001356	Melksham and Devizes	1,877
	E14001357	Melton and Syston	2,160
	E14001358	Meriden and Solihull East	2,033
	E14001359	Mid Bedfordshire	2,903
	E14001360	Mid Buckinghamshire	2,687
	E14001361	Mid Cheshire	2,586
	E14001362	Mid Derbyshire	1,277
	E14001363	Mid Dorset and North Poole	1,709
	E14001364	Mid Leicestershire	2,949
	E14001365	Mid Norfolk	3,489
	E14001366	Mid Sussex	3,504
	E14001367	Middlesbrough and Thornaby East	3,724
	E14001368	Middlesbrough South and East Cleveland	663
	E14001369	Milton Keynes Central	14,324
	E14001370	Milton Keynes North	6,014
	E14001371	Mitcham and Morden	19,184
	E14001372	Morecambe and Lunesdale	2,211
N	E14001373	New Forest East	1,475
	E14001374	New Forest West	1,971
	E14001375	Newark	4,005
	E14001376	Newbury	4,526
	E14001377	Newcastle upon Tyne Central and West	8,080
	E14001378	Newcastle upon Tyne East and Wallsend	4,617
	E14001379	Newcastle upon Tyne North	3,770
	E14001380	Newcastle-under-Lyme	2,395
	E14001381	Newton Abbot	1,382
	E14001382	Newton Aycliffe and Spennymoor	1,158
	E14001383	Normanton and Hemsworth	3,851
	E14001384	North Bedfordshire	3,536
	E14001385	North Cornwall	1,924
	E14001386	North Cotswolds	2,559
	E14001387	North Devon	1,718
	E14001388	North Dorset	1,916
	E14001389	North Durham	875
	E14001390	North East Cambridgeshire	8,168

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
N	E14001391	North East Derbyshire	979
	E14001392	North East Hampshire	2,975
	E14001393	North East Hertfordshire	2,850
	E14001394	North East Somerset and Hanham	1,924
	E14001395	North Herefordshire	2,508
	E14001396	North Norfolk	1,138
	E14001397	North Northumberland	1,039
	E14001398	North Shropshire	2,670
	E14001399	North Somerset	2,355
	E14001400	North Warwickshire and Bedworth	2,596
	E14001401	North West Cambridgeshire	10,967
	E14001402	North West Essex	3,273
	E14001403	North West Hampshire	5,105
	E14001404	North West Leicestershire	2,868
	E14001405	North West Norfolk	6,732
	E14001406	Northampton North	19,877
	E14001407	Northampton South	11,289
	E14001408	Norwich North	5,213
	E14001409	Norwich South	7,734
O	E14001410	Nottingham East	13,121
	E14001411	Nottingham North and Kimberley	6,306
	E14001412	Nottingham South	7,197
	E14001413	Nuneaton	4,811
	E14001414	Old Bexley and Sidcup	4,516
	E14001415	Oldham East and Saddleworth	3,518
	E14001416	Oldham West, Chadderton and Royton	3,750
P	E14001417	Orpington	4,659
	E14001418	Ossett and Denby Dale	1,750
	E14001419	Oxford East	17,850
	E14001420	Oxford West and Abingdon	9,287
	E14001421	Peckham	15,794
	E14001422	Pendle and Clitheroe	4,612
	E14001423	Penistone and Stocksbridge	840
P	E14001424	Penrith and Solway	1,750
	E14001425	Peterborough	20,307
	E14001426	Plymouth Moor View	2,150
	E14001427	Plymouth Sutton and Devonport	6,192

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
P	E14001428	Pontefract, Castleford and Knottingley	3,145
	E14001429	Poole	5,077
	E14001430	Poplar and Limehouse	28,551
	E14001431	Portsmouth North	4,300
	E14001432	Portsmouth South	9,276
	E14001433	Preston	7,840
	E14001434	Putney	18,221
Q	E14001435	Queen's Park and Maida Vale	22,866
R	E14001436	Rawmarsh and Conisbrough	1,727
	E14001437	Rayleigh and Wickford	1,063
	E14001438	Reading Central	18,135
	E14001439	Reading West and Mid Berkshire	4,530
	E14001440	Redcar	707
	E14001441	Redditch	5,269
	E14001442	Reigate	4,878
	E14001443	Ribble Valley	1,505
	E14001444	Richmond and Northallerton	1,334
	E14001445	Richmond Park	13,949
	E14001446	Rochdale	4,004
	E14001447	Rochester and Strood	4,130
	E14001448	Romford	8,490
	E14001449	Romsey and Southampton North	4,381
S	E14001450	Rossendale and Darwen	1,413
	E14001451	Rother Valley	995
	E14001452	Rotherham	4,102
	E14001453	Rugby	9,865
	E14001454	Ruislip, Northwood and Pinner	7,664
	E14001455	Runcorn and Helsby	1,679
	E14001456	Runnymede and Weybridge	7,768
	E14001457	Rushcliffe	2,216
	E14001458	Rutland and Stamford	1,903
	E14001459	Salford	13,049
	E14001460	Salisbury	2,885
	E14001461	Scarborough and Whitby	2,655
	E14001462	Scunthorpe	7,425
	E14001463	Sefton Central	820
	E14001464	Selby	2,516

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
S	E14001465	Sevenoaks	3,333
	E14001466	Sheffield Brightside and Hillsborough	5,884
	E14001467	Sheffield Central	6,828
	E14001468	Sheffield Hallam	1,912
	E14001469	Sheffield Heeley	4,391
	E14001470	Sheffield South East	3,030
	E14001471	Sherwood Forest	1,705
	E14001472	Shipley	1,772
	E14001473	Shrewsbury	2,765
	E14001474	Sittingbourne and Sheppey	3,763
	E14001475	Skipton and Ripon	1,803
	E14001476	Sleaford and North Hykeham	1,880
	E14001477	Slough	17,170
	E14001478	Smethwick	8,083
	E14001479	Solihull West and Shirley	2,046
	E14001480	South Basildon and East Thurrock	4,058
	E14001481	South Cambridgeshire	7,175
	E14001482	South Cotswolds	2,192
	E14001483	South Derbyshire	1,888
	E14001484	South Devon	1,446
	E14001485	South Dorset	1,856
	E14001486	South East Cornwall	1,159
	E14001487	South Holland and The Deepings	9,663
	E14001488	South Leicestershire	1,540
	E14001489	South Norfolk	2,155
	E14001490	South Northamptonshire	2,511
	E14001491	South Ribble	1,270
	E14001492	South Shields	1,135
	E14001493	South Shropshire	1,107
	E14001494	South Suffolk	1,664
	E14001495	South West Devon	1,080
	E14001496	South West Hertfordshire	4,836
	E14001497	South West Norfolk	7,568
	E14001498	South West Wiltshire	3,971
	E14001499	Southampton Itchen	10,039
	E14001500	Southampton Test	14,284
	E14001501	Southend East and Rochford	4,436

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
S	E14001502	Southend West and Leigh	3,274
	E14001503	Southgate and Wood Green	24,483
	E14001504	Southport	4,365
	E14001505	Spelthorne	7,220
	E14001506	Spen Valley	1,357
	E14001507	St Albans	6,245
	E14001508	St Austell and Newquay	2,025
	E14001509	St Helens North	1,938
	E14001510	St Helens South and Whiston	2,169
	E14001511	St Ives	1,468
	E14001512	St Neots and Mid Cambridgeshire	6,512
	E14001513	Stafford	2,928
	E14001514	Staffordshire Moorlands	752
	E14001515	Stalybridge and Hyde	1,809
	E14001516	Stevenage	5,313
	E14001517	Stockport	3,311
	E14001518	Stockton North	1,483
	E14001519	Stockton West	925
	E14001520	Stoke-on-Trent Central	7,402
	E14001521	Stoke-on-Trent North	3,249
	E14001522	Stoke-on-Trent South	1,945
	E14001523	Stone, Great Wyrley and Penkridge	781
	E14001524	Stourbridge	1,749
	E14001525	Stratford and Bow	22,636
	E14001526	Stratford-on-Avon	3,588
	E14001527	Streatham and Croydon North	18,270
	E14001528	Stretford and Urmston	3,539
	E14001529	Stroud	1,947
	E14001530	Suffolk Coastal	2,285
	E14001531	Sunderland Central	2,248
	E14001532	Surrey Heath	4,630
	E14001533	Sussex Weald	1,866
	E14001534	Sutton and Cheam	10,035
	E14001535	Sutton Coldfield	1,954
	E14001536	Swindon North	6,571
	E14001537	Swindon South	12,822
T	E14001538	Tamworth	3,268

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
T	E14001539	Tatton	2,288
	E14001540	Taunton and Wellington	4,830
	E14001541	Telford	4,774
	E14001542	Tewkesbury	3,382
	E14001543	The Wrekin	3,908
	E14001544	Thirsk and Malton	1,768
	E14001545	Thornbury and Yate	2,166
	E14001546	Thurrock	13,360
	E14001547	Tipton and Wednesbury	5,897
	E14001548	Tiverton and Minehead	1,866
	E14001549	Tonbridge	2,714
	E14001550	Tooting	12,485
	E14001551	Torbay	3,493
	E14001552	Torridge and Tavistock	1,063
	E14001553	Tottenham	29,092
	E14001554	Truro and Falmouth	2,211
	E14001555	Tunbridge Wells	5,173
	E14001556	Twickenham	9,157
	E14001557	Tynemouth	1,446
U	E14001558	Uxbridge and South Ruislip	11,392
V	E14001559	Vauxhall and Camberwell Green	18,231
W	E14001560	Wakefield and Rothwell	5,978
	E14001561	Wallasey	1,199
	E14001562	Walsall and Bloxwich	6,579
	E14001563	Walthamstow	19,860
	E14001564	Warrington North	4,454
	E14001565	Warrington South	4,210
	E14001566	Warwick and Leamington	7,616
	E14001567	Washington and Gateshead South	1,143
	E14001568	Watford	12,970
	E14001569	Waveney Valley	1,652
	E14001570	Weald of Kent	1,940
	E14001571	Wellingborough and Rushden	9,427
	E14001572	Wells and Mendip Hills	1,999
	E14001573	Welwyn Hatfield	8,927
	E14001574	West Bromwich	6,542
	E14001575	West Dorset	1,557

England	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
W	E14001576	West Ham and Beckton	29,888
	E14001577	West Lancashire	3,090
	E14001578	West Suffolk	12,089
	E14001579	West Worcestershire	1,575
	E14001580	Westmorland and Lonsdale	2,587
	E14001581	Weston-super-Mare	5,062
	E14001582	Wetherby and Easingwold	1,202
	E14001583	Whitehaven and Workington	768
	E14001584	Widnes and Halewood	1,665
	E14001585	Wigan	3,484
	E14001586	Wimbledon	14,859
	E14001587	Winchester	3,488
	E14001588	Windsor	8,885
	E14001589	Wirral West	905
	E14001590	Witham	2,106
	E14001591	Witney	3,841
	E14001592	Woking	8,746
	E14001593	Wokingham	4,015
	E14001594	Wolverhampton North East	4,973
	E14001595	Wolverhampton South East	7,333
	E14001596	Wolverhampton West	7,334
	E14001597	Worcester	6,104
	E14001598	Worsley and Eccles	4,643
	E14001599	Worthing West	4,046
	E14001600	Wycombe	7,925
	E14001601	Wyre Forest	2,107
	E14001602	Wythenshawe and Sale East	6,198
Y	E14001603	Yeovil	5,128
	E14001604	York Central	6,183
	E14001605	York Outer	1,938

Appendix 3: Estimated Stock of non-enfranchised residents in Westminster Parliamentary Wales 2021

Wales	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
A	W0700 0081	Aberfan Maesteg	849
	W0700 0082	Alyn and Deeside	4,399
B	W0700 0083	Bangor Aberconwy	2,186
	W0700 0084	Blaenau Gwent and Rhymney	1,166
C	W0700 0085	Brecon, Radnor and Cwm Tawe	1,304
	W0700 0086	Bridgend	1,699
C	W0700 0087	Caerfyrddin	1,512
	W0700 0088	Caerphilly	1,001
	W0700 0089	Cardiff East	5,941
	W0700 0090	Cardiff North	2,392
	W0700 0091	Cardiff South and Penarth	6,746
	W0700 0092	Cardiff West	3,470
	W0700 0093	Ceredigion Preseli	2,138
	W0700 0094	Clwyd East	1,107
	W0700 0095	Clwyd North	1,279
	W0700 0096	Dwyfor Meirionnydd	1,191
	W0700 0097	Gower	1,389
	W0700 0098	Llanelli	2,282
M	W0700 0099	Merthyr Tydfil and Aberdare	2,098
	W0700 0100	Mid and South Pembrokeshire	1,443
	W0700 0101	Monmouthshire	1,498
	W0700 0102	Montgomeryshire and Glyndwr	1,993
	W0700 0103	Neath and Swansea East	1,711
N	W0700 0104	Newport East	5,316
	W0700 0105	Newport West and Islwyn	1,766
	W0700 0106	Pontypridd	1,552
R	W0700 0107	Rhondda and Ogmore	803
S	W0700 0108	Swansea West	4,916
T	W0700 0109	Torfaen	1,065
V	W0700 0110	Vale of Glamorgan	1,112
W	W0700 0111	Wrexham	4,865
Y	W0700 0112	Ynys Môn	597

Appendix 4: Estimated Stock of non-enfranchised residents in Westminster Parliamentary Scotland 2022

Scotland	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
A	S1400 0060	Aberdeen North	15,163
	S1400 0061	Aberdeen South	17,672
	S1400 0062	Aberdeenshire North and Moray East	5,302
	S1400 0063	Airdrie and Shotts	2,713
	S1400 0064	Alloa and Grangemouth	2,926
	S1400 0065	Angus and Perthshire Glens	3,727
	S1400 0066	Arbroath and Broughty Ferry	3,513
	S1400 0067	Argyll, Bute and South Lochaber	2,870
	S1400 0107	Ayr, Carrick and Cumnock	1,527
B	S1400 0068	Bathgate and Linlithgow	4,998
	S1400 0108	Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk	3,181
C	S1400 0069	Caithness, Sutherland and Easter Ross	2,830
	S1400 0109	Central Ayrshire	1,145
	S1400 0070	Coatbridge and Bellshill	2,481
	S1400 0071	Cowdenbeath and Kirkcaldy	4,922
	S1400 0072	Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch	1,964
D	S1400 0073	Dumfries and Galloway	2,032
	S1400 0074	Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale and Tweeddale	1,736
	S1400 0075	Dundee Central	11,243
	S1400 0076	Dunfermline and Dollar	4,168
E	S1400 0077	East Kilbride and Strathaven	1,840
	S1400 0021	East Renfrewshire	2,766
	S1400 0078	Edinburgh East and Musselburgh	20,969
	S1400 0079	Edinburgh North and Leith	20,559
	S1400 0080	Edinburgh South	14,343
	S1400 0081	Edinburgh South West	17,828
	S1400 0082	Edinburgh West	8,288
F	S1400 0083	Falkirk	3,449
G	S1400 0084	Glasgow East	13,790
	S1400 0085	Glasgow North	19,611
	S1400 0086	Glasgow North East	11,645
	S1400 0087	Glasgow South	6,588

Scotland	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
G	S1400 0088	Glasgow South West	8,992
	S1400 0089	Glasgow West	10,769
	S1400 0090	Glenrothes and Mid Fife	2,314
	S1400 0091	Gordon and Buchan	2,634
H	S1400 0092	Hamilton and Clyde Valley	2,998
I	S1400 0093	Inverclyde and Renfrewshire West	1,292
	S1400 0094	Inverness, Skye and West Ross-shire	6,308
K	S1400 0110	Kilmarnock and Loudoun	1,410
L	S1400 0095	Livingston	6,771
	S1400 0096	Lothian East	3,495
M	S1400 0097	Mid Dunbartonshire	2,203
	S1400 0045	Midlothian	4,344
	S1400 0098	Moray West, Nairn and Strathspey	3,514
	S1400 0099	Motherwell, Wishaw and Carluke	3,905
N	S1400 0027	Na h-Eileanan an Iar	456
	S1400 0048	North Ayrshire and Arran	1,278
	S1400 0100	North East Fife	6,335
O	S1400 0051	Orkney and Shetland	1,035
P	S1400 0101	Paisley and Renfrewshire North	4,486
	S1400 0102	Paisley and Renfrewshire South	4,211
	S1400 0103	Perth and Kinross-shire	5,998
R	S1400 0104	Rutherglen	2,791
S	S1400 0105	Stirling and Strathallan	5,550
W	S1400 0111	West Aberdeenshire and Kincardine	3,605
	S1400 0106	West Dunbartonshire	2,000

Appendix 5: Estimated Stock of non-enfranchised residents in Westminster Parliamentary Northern Ireland 2021

Northern Ireland	Code	Constituency	Unenfranchised residents
B	N0500 0001	Belfast East	5,291
	N0500 0002	Belfast North	4,038
	N0500 0003	Belfast South and Mid Down	5,486
	N0500 0004	Belfast West	1,536
E	N0500 0005	East Antrim	1,478
	N0500 0006	East Londonderry	2,117
F	N0500 0007	Fermanagh and South Tyrone	9,535
	N0500 0008	Foyle	1,199
L	N0500 0009	Lagan Valley	3,078
M	N0500 0010	Mid Ulster	5,191
N	N0500 0011	Newry and Armagh	7,096
	N0500 0012	North Antrim	4,832
	N0500 0013	North Down	1,942
S	N0500 0014	South Antrim	3,055
	N0500 0015	South Down	2,921
	N0500 0016	Strangford	1,724
U	N0500 0017	Upper Bann	10,675
W	N0500 0018	West Tyrone	2,732

Appendix 6: Estimated Stock of non-enfranchised residents in English Local Authorities in 2021

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
A	E0700 0223	Adur	414
	E0700 0026	Allerdale	297
	E0700 0032	Amber Valley	398
	E0700 0224	Arun	910
	E0700 0170	Ashfield	453
	E0700 0105	Ashford	2,950
B	E0700 0200	Babergh	457
	E8090 00003	Barnet	17,331
	E8090 00002	Barking and Dagenham	3,364
	E0800 0016	Barnsley	948
	E0700 0027	Barrow-in-Furness	320
	E0700 0066	Basildon	1,261
	E0700 0084	Basingstoke and Deane	3,033
	E0700 0171	Bassetlaw	369
	E0600 0022	Bath and North East Somerset	2,596
	E0600 0055	Bedford	1,870
	E8090 00004	Bexley	3,263
	E0800 0025	Birmingham	16,658
	E0700 0129	Blaby	421
	E0600 0008	Blackburn with Darwen	765
	E0600 0009	Blackpool	902
	E0700 0033	Bolsover	199
	E0800 0001	Bolton	1,970
	E0700 0136	Boston	519
	E0600 0058	Bournemouth, Christchurch and Poole	5,818
	E0600 0036	Bracknell Forest	2,153
	E8080 00032	Bradford	2,891
	E0700 0067	Braintree	745
	E0700 0143	Breckland	1,320
	E8090 00005	Brent	12,797
	E0700 0068	Brentwood	620
	E0600 0043	Brighton and Hove	5,864

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
B	E0600 0023	Bristol, City of	7,601
	E0700 0144	Broadland	562
	E8090 00006	Bromley	5,956
	E0700 0234	Bromsgrove	317
	E0700 0095	Broxbourne	1,167
	E0700 0172	Broxtowe	1,275
	E0600 0060	Buckinghamshire	5,437
	E0700 0117	Burnley	381
	E0800 0002	Bury	1,362
C	E80800 0033	Calderdale	704
	E0700 0008	Cambridge	7,863
	E8090 00007	Camden	13,865
	E0700 0192	Cannock Chase	257
	E0700 0106	Canterbury	1,924
	E0700 0028	Carlisle	543
	E0700 0069	Castle Point	296
	E0600 0056	Central Bedfordshire	1,885
	E0700 0130	Charnwood	1,447
	E0700 0070	Chelmsford	1,488
	E0700 0078	Cheltenham	1,486
	E0700 0177	Cherwell	2,871
	E0600 0049	Cheshire East	2,344
	E0600 0050	Cheshire West and Chester	2,070
	E0700 0034	Chesterfield	370
	E0700 0225	Chichester	1,001
	E0700 0118	Chorley	362
	E8090 00001	City of London	841
	E0700 0071	Colchester	2,721
	E0700 0029	Copeland	201
	E0600 0052	Cornwall	2,602
	E0700 0079	Cotswold	766
	E0600 0047	County Durham	2,342
	E0800 0026	Coventry	5,623
	E0700 0163	Craven	174
	E0700 0226	Crawley	1,540
	E8090 00008	Croydon	7,276
D	E0700 0096	Dacorum	1,396

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
D	E0600 0005	Darlington	534
	E0700 0107	Dartford	1,355
	E0600 0015	Derby	2,508
	E0700 0035	Derbyshire Dales	291
	E0800 0017	Doncaster	1,944
	E0600 0059	Dorset	1,758
	E0700 0108	Dover	871
	E0800 0027	Dudley	1,303
E	E8090 00009	Ealing	14,238
	E0700 0009	East Cambridgeshire	1,320
	E0700 0040	East Devon	738
	E0700 0085	East Hampshire	925
	E0700 0242	East Hertfordshire	1,197
	E0700 0137	East Lindsey	424
	E0600 0011	East Riding of Yorkshire	1,159
	E0700 0193	East Staffordshire	688
	E0700 0244	East Suffolk	1,146
	E0700 0061	Eastbourne	1,322
	E0700 0086	Eastleigh	972
	E0700 0030	Eden	206
	E0700 0207	Elmbridge	3,111
	E8090 00010	Enfield	9,753
	E0700 0072	Epping Forest	1,388
	E0700 0208	Epsom and Ewell	1,490
F	E0700 0036	Erewash	418
	E0700 0041	Exeter	2,302
	E0700 0087	Fareham	517
	E0700 0010	Fenland	571
	E0700 0112	Folkestone and Hythe	1,678
G	E0700 0080	Forest of Dean	303
	E0700 0119	Fylde	323
	E8080 00037	Gateshead	1,439
	E0700 0173	Gedling	516
	E0700 0081	Gloucester	1,054
	E0700 0088	Gosport	394
	E0700 0109	Gravesham	820
	E0700 0145	Great Yarmouth	545

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
G	E8090 00011	Greenwich	12,702
	E0700 0209	Guildford	3,025
H	E8090 00012	Hackney	10,481
	E0600 0006	Halton	446
	E0700 0164	Hambleton	302
	E8090 00013	Hammersmith and Fulham	10,483
	E0700 0131	Harborough	435
	E8090 00014	Haringey	10,913
	E0700 0073	Harlow	989
	E0700 0165	Harrogate	1,747
	E8090 00015	Harrow	5,843
	E0700 0089	Hart	960
	E0600 0001	Hartlepool	272
	E0700 0062	Hastings	926
	E0700 0090	Havant	521
	E8090 00016	Harvering	3,044
	E0600 0019	Herefordshire, County of	1,003
	E0700 0098	Hertsmere	1,740
	E0700 0037	High Peak	328
	E8090 00017	Hillingdon	6,600
	E0700 0132	Hinckley and Bosworth	420
	E0700 0227	Horsham	1,221
	E8090 00018	Hounslow	10,380
	E0700 0011	Huntingdonshire	2,576
	E0700 0120	Hyndburn	199
I	E0700 0202	Ipswich	1,654
	E0600 0046	Isle of Wight	781
	E0600 0053	Isles of Scilly	8
	E8090 00019	Istington	10,486
K	E8090 00020	Kensington and Chelsea	12,419
	E0700 0146	Kings Lynn and West Norfolk	1,839
	E0600 0010	Kingston upon Hull, City of	2,264
	E8090 00021	Kingston upon Thames	6,780
	E8080 00034	Kirklees	2,359
	E0800 0011	Knowsley	674
L	E8090 00022	Lambeth	11,707
	E0700 0121	Lancaster	1,253

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
L	E8080 00035	Leeds	9,165
	E0600 0016	Leicester	4,610
	E0700 0063	Lewes	728
	E8090 00023	Lewisham	9,450
	E0700 0194	Lichfield	337
	E0700 0138	Lincoln	994
	E0800 0012	Liverpool	7,830
	E0600 0032	Luton	2,800
M	E0700 0110	Maidstone	2,347
	E0700 0074	Maldon	210
	E0700 0235	Malvern Hills	357
	E0800 0003	Manchester	12,760
	E0700 0174	Mansfield	610
	E0600 0035	Medway	2,041
	E0700 0133	Melton	162
	E0700 0187	Mendip	729
	E8090 00024	Merton	7,903
	E0700 0042	Mid Devon	338
	E0700 0203	Mid Suffolk	488
	E0700 0228	Mid Sussex	1,439
	E0600 0002	Middlesbrough	1,139
	E0600 0042	Milton Keynes	4,288
	E0700 0210	Mole Valley	904
N	E0700 0091	New Forest	903
	E0700 0175	Newark and Sherwood	458
	E0800 0021	Newcastle upon Tyne	5,314
	E0700 0195	Newcastle-under-Lyme	608
	E0700 0195	Newham	10,775
	E0700 0043	North Devon	482
	E0700 0038	North East Derbyshire	273
	E0600 0012	North East Lincolnshire	648
	E0700 0099	North Hertfordshire	1,089
	E0700 0139	North Kesteven	456
	E0600 0013	North Lincolnshire	750
	E0700 0147	North Norfolk	368
	E0600 0061	North Northamptonshire	2,835
	E0600 0024	North Somerset	1,243

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
N	E0800 0022	North Tyneside	1,015
	E0700 0218	North Warwickshire	184
	E0700 0134	North West Leicestershire	418
	E0600 0057	Northumberland	852
	E0700 0148	Norwich	2,521
	E0600 0018	Nottingham	6,239
	E0700 0219	Nuneaton and Bedworth	1,297
O	E0700 0135	Oadby and Wigston	475
	E0800 0004	Oldham	1,072
	E0700 0178	Oxford	6,984
P	E0700 0122	Pendle	318
	E0600 0031	Peterborough	2,815
	E0600 0026	Plymouth	1,920
	E0600 0044	Portsmouth	2,902
	E0700 0123	Preston	1,425
R	E0600 0038	Reading	7,033
	E8090 00026	Redbridge	4,691
	E0600 0003	Redcar and Cleveland	308
	E0700 0236	Redditch	312
	E0700 0211	Reigate and Banstead	1,892
	E0700 0124	Ribble Valley	167
	E8090 00027	Richmond upon Thames	6,615
	E0700 0166	Richmondshire	447
	E0800 0005	Rochdale	1,141
	E0700 0075	Rochford	231
	E0700 0125	Rossendale	195
	E0700 0064	Rother	534
	E0800 0018	Rotherham	1,026
	E0700 0220	Rugby	1,164
	E0700 0212	Runnymede	1,756
	E0700 0176	Rushcliffe	839
N	E0700 0092	Rushmoor	6,042
	E0600 0017	Rutland	219
	E0700 0167	Ryedale	177
	E0800 0006	Salford	4,787
	E0800 0028	Sandwell	2,621
	E0700 0168	Scarborough	411

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
S	E0700 0188	Sedgemoor	656
	E0800 0014	Sefton	1,289
	E0700 0169	Selby	318
	E0700 0111	Sevenoaks	1,143
	E0800 0019	Sheffield	7,231
	E0600 0051	Shropshire	1,319
	E0600 0039	Slough	2,259
	E8000 029	Solihull	1,388
	E0700 0246	Somerset West and Taunton	1,007
	E0700 0012	South Cambridgeshire	2,669
	E0700 0039	South Derbyshire	358
	E0600 0025	South Gloucestershire	2,330
	E0700 0044	South Hams	421
	E0700 0140	South Holland	516
	E0700 0141	South Kesteven	709
	E0700 0031	South Lakeland	514
	E0700 0149	South Norfolk	898
	E0700 0179	South Oxfordshire	1,646
	E0700 0126	South Ribble	303
	E0700 0189	South Somerset	1,002
	E0700 0196	South Staffordshire	197
	E0800 0023	South Tyneside	570
	E0600 0045	Southampton	4,837
	E0600 0033	Southend-on-Sea	1,686
	E8090 00028	Southwark	13,973
	E0700 0213	Spelthorne	1,558
	E0700 0240	St Albans	2,067
	E0800 0013	St. Helens	706
	E0700 0197	Stafford	953
	E0700 0198	Staffordshire Moorlands	201
	E0700 0243	Stevenage	1,111
	E0800 0007	Stockport	1,942
	E0600 0004	Stockton-on-Tees	890
	E0600 0021	Stoke-on-Trent	1,770
	E0700 0221	Stratford-on-Avon	891
	E0700 0082	Stroud	661
	E0800 0024	Sunderland	1,201

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
S	E0700 0214	Surrey Heath	1,588
	E8090 00029	Sutton	4,541
	E0700 0113	Swale	621
	E0600 0030	Swindon	4,125
T	E0800 0008	Tameside	1,165
	E0700 0199	Tamworth	249
	E0700 0215	Tandridge	626
	E0700 0045	Teignbridge	512
	E0600 0020	Telford and Wrekin	875
	E0700 0076	Tendring	507
	E0700 0093	Test Valley	1,159
	E0700 0083	Tewkesbury	632
	E0700 0114	Thanet	1,009
	E0700 0102	Three Rivers	875
	E0600 0034	Thurrock	1,765
	E0700 0115	Tonbridge and Malling	1,006
	E0600 0027	Torbay	862
	E0700 0046	Torridge	189
	E8090 00030	Tower Hamlets	14,519
U	E0800 0009	Trafford	2,589
	E0700 0116	Tunbridge Wells	1,203
V	E0700 0077	Uttlesford	610
V	E0700 0180	Vale of White Horse	2,028
W	E8080 00036	Wakefield	1,419
	E8080 00030	Walsall	1,294
	E8090 00031	Waltham Forest	7,158
	E8090 00032	Wandsworth	13,749
	E0600 0007	Warrington	1,225
	E0700 0222	Warwick	1,959
	E0700 0103	Watford	2,229
	E0700 0216	Waverley	1,394
	E0700 0065	Wealden	872
	E0700 0241	Welwyn Hatfield	1,500
	E0600 0037	West Berkshire	1,624
	E0700 0047	West Devon	250
	E0700 0127	West Lancashire	373
	E0700 0142	West Lindsey	336

England	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
W	E0600 0062	West Northamptonshire	4,285
	E0700 0181	West Oxfordshire	1,082
	E0700 0245	West Suffolk	8,871
	E8090 00033	Westminster	18,351
	E0800 0010	Wigan	1,485
	E0600 0054	Wiltshire	3,801
	E0700 0094	Winchester	1,460
	E0600 0040	Windsor and Maidenhead	2,737
	E0800 0015	Wirral	1,341
	E0700 0217	Woking	2,305
	E0600 0041	Wokingham	2,433
	E8080 00031	Wolverhampton	1,958
	E0700 0237	Worcester	752
	E0700 0229	Worthing	1,181
	E0700 0238	Wychavon	554
	E0700 0128	Wyre	314
	E0700 0239	Wyre Forest	310
Y	E0600 0014	York	2,621

Appendix 7: Estimated Stock of non-enfranchised residents in Local Authorities in Northern Ireland in 2021

Northern Ireland	Code	Name	Unenfranchised residents
A	N0900 0001	Antrim and Newtownabbey	648
	N0900 0011	Ards and North Down	714
	N0900 0002	Armagh City, Banbridge and Craigavon	929
B	N0900 0003	Belfast	5,952
C	N0900 0004	Causeway Coast and Glens	473
D	N0900 0005	Derry City and Strabane	558
F	N0900 0006	Fermanagh and Omagh	289
L	N0900 0007	Lisburn and Castlereagh	872
M	N0900 0008	Mid Ulster	871
	N0900 0009	Mid and East Antrim	469
N	N0900 0010	Newry, Mourne and Down	554

Appendix 8: Visas issued by nationality in year to March 2024

							Common-wealth	Sub-total Currently Enfranchised	Sub-total Not enfranchised
	Work	Worker	Temporary worker	Study	Family	Total			
India	151,981	141,265	5,141	145,660	4,651	448,698	Yes	448,698	0
Nigeria	75,098	72,362	1,473	75,036	2,416	226,385	Yes	226,385	0
Other nationalities	95,217		12,482	67,771	20,672	196,142		0	0
Pakistan	49,532	47,088	1,121	48,705	13,990	160,436	Yes	160,436	0
China	6,642	3,654	1,676	109,354		121,326	No	0	121,326
Zimbabwe	43,840	43,387				87,227	Yes	87,227	0
Ghana	31,396	30,911		8,149	2,177	72,633	Yes	72,633	0
Bangladesh	23,817	23,251		12,537	3,283	62,888	Yes	62,888	0
Philippines	27,631	17,247			2,141	47,019	No	0	47,019
United States	11,159	7,298	1,906	15,074	3,145	38,582	No	0	38,582
Sri Lanka	13,814	12,805		9,307	1,398	37,324	Yes	37,324	0
Nepal	5,997	5,265		11,679	3,094	26,035	No	0	26,035
Australia	13,778		10,400			24,178	Yes	24,178	0
Kyrgyzstan	9,760		9,711			19,471	No	0	19,471
South Africa	9,253	6,317			1,736	17,306	Yes	17,306	0
Turkey	5,471	4,124		4,983	2,325	16,903	No	0	16,903
Tajikistan	6,281		6,252			12,533	No	0	12,533
Kenya	6,551	5,877				12,428	Yes	12,428	0
New Zealand	6,383		5,504			11,887	Yes	11,887	0
Uzbekistan	5,079		4,951			10,030	No	0	10,030
France		3,373	1,397	3,884		8,654	No	0	8,654
Iran				5,389	2,305	7,694	No	0	7,694
Saudi Arabia				7,649		7,649	No	0	7,649
Canada			3,078	3,953		7,031	Yes	7,031	0

	Work	Worker	Temporary worker	Study	Family	Total	Common-wealth	Sub-total Currently Enfranchised	Sub-total Not enfranchised
Saudi Arabia				7,649		7,649	No	0	7,649
Canada			3,078	3,953		7,031	Yes	7,031	0
Kazakhstan	6,584		6,376			12,960	No	0	12,960
Malaysia				6,313		6,313	Yes	6,313	0
Hong Kong				6,195		6,195	Yes	6,195	0
South Korea			1,449	3,916		5,365	No	0	5,365
Germany			1,131	4,055		5,186	No	0	5,186
Thailand				4,089	1,089	5,178	No	0	5,178
Japan		2,676	2,160			4,836	No	0	4,836
Kuwait				4,707		4,707	No	0	4,707
Cameroon		3,089			1,067	4,156	Yes	4,156	0
Syria					3,669	3,669	No	0	3,669
Egypt		3,283				3,283	No	0	3,283
Afghanistan					2,723	2,723	No	0	2,723
Eritrea					2,719	2,719	No	0	2,719
Italy		2,593				2,593	No	0	2,593
Uganda		2,372				2,372	Yes	2,372	0
Iraq					2,300	2,300	No	0	2,300
Ukraine			2,273			2,273	No	0	2,273
Moldova			2,103			2,103	No	0	2,103
Sudan					1,291	1,291	No	0	1,291
Albania					1,193	1,193	No	0	1,193
Romania			1,114			1,114	No	0	1,114
Bulgaria		881				881	No	0	881
Totals						1,763,869		1,187,457	380,270

Notes: Data is compiled by the authors using Home Office data.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The two columns on the right indicate if these people would be entitled to vote in UK elections. Blank fields was not listed in the original Home Office figures.

(89) Home Office, "Immigration System Statistics, Year Ending March 2024."

Bibliography

Bauböck, Rainer. "Expansive Citizenship—Voting Beyond Territory and Membership." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 38, no. 4 (2005): 683-87.

Borland, B. "Fears That Greens May Push for More Rights for Convicts to Vote." *Scottish Express*. 20 April 2023, 2023.

Clark, Alistair, and Toby S. James. *Britain: Postment, Complexity and Sub-National Elections in the Covid-19 Pandemic*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 2022.

Democracy Volunteers. *Democracy under Stress: A Report into Elections Funding in England*. London: Democracy Volunteers, 2021.

Docherty, L. "Jackson Carlaw's Double Standards Called out on Criminal Voting Rights." *The National*. 22 February 2020, 2020.

Electoral Commission. *Accuracy and Completeness of the Electoral Registers*. London: Electoral Commission, 2023.

Electoral Commission. *The Cost of Electoral Administration in Great Britain*. London: Electoral Commission, 2012.

Electoral Commission. "Register to Vote." 2024. Accessed 5th August 2024.

<https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/voting-and-elections/who-can-vote/register-vote#commonwealth>

Ferris, Dan, Ron Hayduk, Alyscia Richards, Emma Strauss Schubert, and Mary Acri. "Noncitizen Voting Rights in the Global Era: A Literature Review and Analysis." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 21, no. 3 (2020/09/01 2020): 949-71. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00687-8>

Findlay, R. "Calls to Scrap Voting Rights for Prisoners." *Paisley Daily Express*. 23 February 2021, 2021.

Fox, Sean, Ron Johnston, and David Manley. "If Immigrants Could Vote in the Uk: A Thought Experiment with Data from the 2015 General Election." *The Political Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (2016): 500-08.

HM Government. *The Costs of the 2014 European Parliamentary Elections*. London: HM Government, 2016.

HM Government. *The Costs of the 2015 Uk Parliamentary General Election*. London: HM Government, 2018.

HM Government. *The Costs of the 2016 Police and Crime Commissioner Elections*. London: HM Government, 2022.

Home Office. "Eu Settlement Scheme Quarterly Statistics, December 2023." *Home Office*. Last modified 7 March 2024, 2024.

Home Office. *Immigration System Statistics*, Year Ending March 2024. 2024.

Home Office. "Migration Statistics." 2024. Accessed 1 December 2024.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/migration-statistics>

International IDEA. "Voter Turnout Database: United Kingdom." 2024. Accessed 16 December 2024.

https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/question-country?question_id=9115&country=236&database_theme=293

James, Toby S. *Financing Electoral Management Body and Electoral Activity Costs in the United Kingdom*. Stockholm: International IDEA, 2024.

James, Toby S. "Real Democracy: A Critical Realist Approach to Democracy and Democratic Theory." *New Political Science* 46, no. 3 (2024): 228-58.

James, Toby S. "The Spill-over and Displacement Effects of Implementing Election Administration Reforms: Introducing Individual Electoral Registration in Britain." *Parliamentary Affairs* 67, no. 2 (2014): 281-305. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.1093/pa/gss032>

James, Toby S., and Alistair Clark. "Wales Has Put Effective Legislation in Place to Make the Senedd Polls Covid-Safe." *Constitution Unit Blog*, 2021. <https://constitution-unit.com/2021/02/22/wales-has-put-effective-legislation-in-place-to-make-the-senedd-polls-covid-safe/>

James, Toby S., and Tyrone Jervier. *The Cost of Elections Funding Electoral Services in England and Wales*. London: ClearView Research, 2017.

Johnson, S. "Scottish Prisoners to Get Vote for the First Time in Shetland by-Election." *The Daily Telegraph*. 2 August 2019, 2019.

Lardy, Heather. "Citizenship and the Right to Vote." *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 17 (1997): 75.

Learnmonth, A. "New Scottish Greens Bill Aims to Give Asylum Seekers Voting Rights." *The National (Scotland)*. 17 January 2020, 2020.

Mosalski, R. "A Huge Change to Voting in Wales Has Just Been Given the Go-Ahead." *Wales Online*. 9 July 2024, 2024.

National Records for Scotland. *People Registered to Vote (Previously Called Electoral Statistics)*. Edited by National Records for Scotland, 2023.

National Records for Scotland. *Scotland's Census 2022 – National Records of Scotland Table Uv206a – Passports Held (9) by Sex by Age (20)*. Edited by National Records for Scotland, 2022.

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. *Ms-A21: Passports Held (Person Based) – Intermediate Detail (Classification 1)*. 2022.

ONS. *Long-Term International Migration, Provisional: Year Ending December 2023*. London: ONS, 2024.

ONS. *Long-Term International Migration, Provisional: Year Ending December 2023*. 2023.

ONS. *Office for National Statistics' Reintroduced Labour Force Survey (Lfs) – Derived Labour Market Statistics: Osr Progress Report, July 2024*. ONS, 2024.

ONS. "Passports Held (Detailed)." Last modified 28 March 2023, 2023. Accessed 9 August 2024. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/datasets/TS013/editions/2021/versions/3>

Owen, David. "Transnational Citizenship and the Democratic State: Modes of Membership and Voting Rights." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 14, no. 5 (2011): 641-63.

Pollock, Laura. "More Foreign Nationals Registered to Vote." *The Press and Journal*. 11 April 2024, 2024, <https://www.thenational.scot/news/24247697.foreign-nationals-registered-vote-scotland-ever/>

Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee. *Electoral Law: The Urgent Need for Review*. London: Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee (PACAC), 2020.

Scotland, National Records. *Scotland's Census 2022 – National Records of Scotland Table Uv206 – Passports Held All People*. 2022.

Scottish Government. *Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill Business and Regulatory Impact Assessment (Bria)*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government, 2019.

Scottish Government. *Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Bill: Financial Memorandum*. Edinbrugh Scottish Parliament, 2019.

Scottish Parliament, Scottish Elections (Franchise and Representation) Act 2020. 2020.

Senedd, Senedd and Elections (Wales) Act 2020. 2020.

Song, Sarah. "Democracy and Noncitizen Voting Rights." *Citizenship studies* 13, no. 6 (2009): 607-20.

Sturge, Georgina *Migration Statistics*. London: House of Commons Library, 2024.

Tenby Observer. "Wales Passes Landmark Bill to Introduce Automatic Registration of Electors." *Tenby Observer* 13 July 2024, 2024.

The National. "Refugees and Asylum Seekers Could Be Given Right to Vote in Green Bill." *The National*. 16 January 2020, 2020.

The Times. "Refugees and Prisoners Given Right to Vote." *The Times*. 17 January 2020, 2020.

The Western Mail. "Plan to Auto Register Voters Clears Latest Hurdle in Senedd." *The Western Mail*. 4 July 2024, 2024.

UK Government. "Reply to Your Electoral Registration Office About Your Voting Rights." 2024. Accessed 16 December 2024. <https://www.gov.uk/reply-to-electoral-registration-office-about-your-voting-rights>

UK Government. "Types of Election, Referendums, and Who Can Vote." 2024. Accessed 5th August 2024. <https://www.gov.uk/elections-in-the-uk/general-election>

UK Parliament, The Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Charges) Order 2024. 2024.

Venice Commission. *Code of Good Practice in Electoral Matters: Guidelines and Explanatory Report*. Strasbourg: Venice Commission, 2002.

Watson, R. "Tories' Anger as Msps Give Prisoners the Right to Vote." *Scottish Daily Mail*. 21 February 2024, 2020.

Welsh Government. "Democratic Engagement Grant." Last modified 19 July 2024, 2024. Accessed 16 December 2024. <https://www.gov.wales/democratic-engagement-grant>

Welsh Government. *Local Government and Elections (Wales) Bill: Explanatory Memorandum Incorporating the Regulatory Impact Assessment and Explanatory Notes*. Cardiff: Local Government Department of the Welsh Government, 2019.

migrantdemos.org.uk

   @migrantdemos