

# General Election 2017: Wales

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Presentation to the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Boston, 2018





- 1. Introduction: 100 Years of Labour Dominance**
2. The Campaign in Wales
3. The Results in Wales
4. Was it Carwyn Wot Won it? Or Jeremy?
5. Conclusion



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# The Campaign in Wales...

- Traditional British/Welsh campaign from Conservatives

versus

- **Welsh Labour**



OUR PLAN FOR A  
STRONGER BRITAIN AND  
A PROSPEROUS FUTURE

Y PLAN ILLUN AR GYFER  
BRYFACH A  
LLEWYRCHUS

Welsh  
Conservatives

**FORWARD TOGETHER**  
**YMLAEN GYDA'N GILYDD**

Celidwadyr Cymreig Welsh  
Conservatives



FORWARD,  
TOGETHER

Our Plan for a  
Stronger Britain and a  
Prosperous Future

THE CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST PARTY  
MANIFESTO 2017

FORWARD,  
TOGETHER

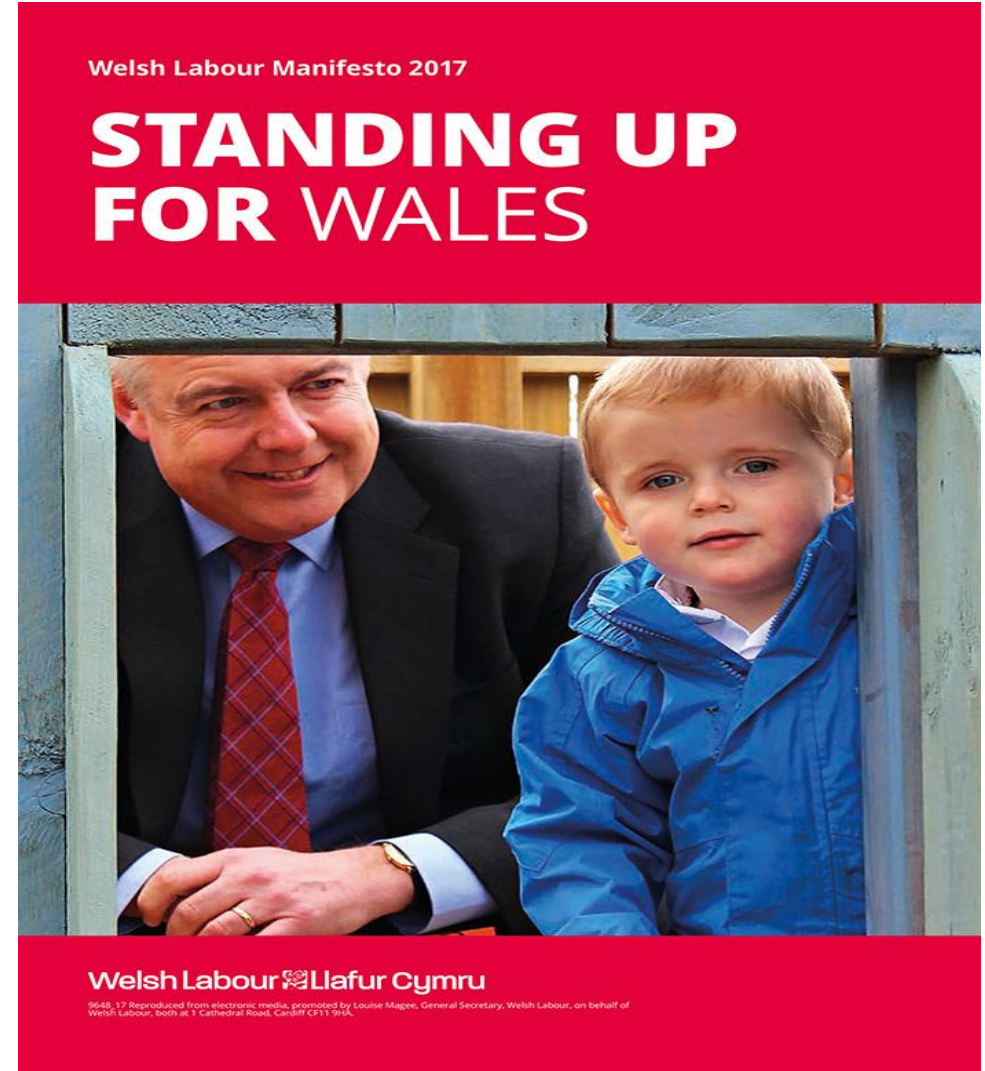
Our Plan for a  
Stronger Wales, a  
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THE WELSH CONSERVATIVE PARTY  
MANIFESTO 2017



Ceidwadwyr  
Cymreig | Welsh  
Conservatives



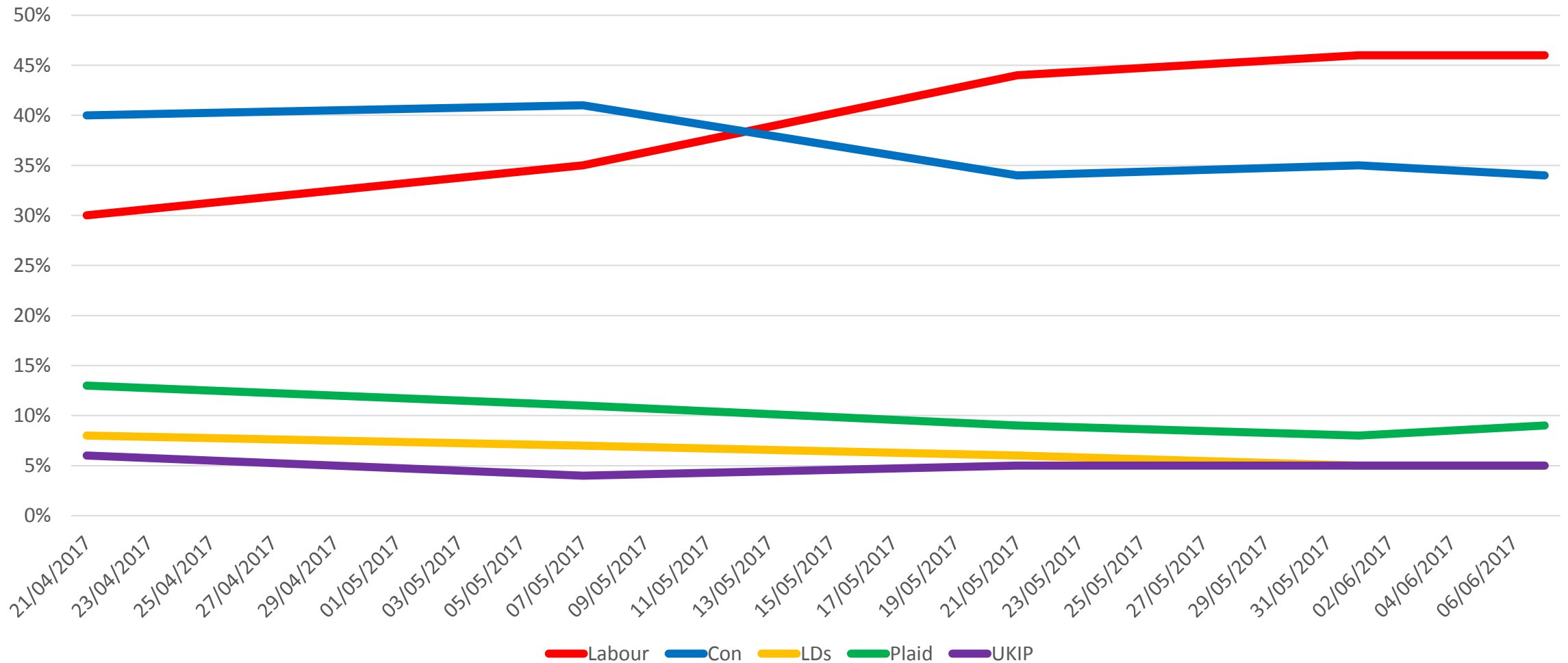








## 2017 Polls, Wales





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## The Results: 2017 General Election: Wales

Party	Vote Share (Change on 2015)	Seats (Change on 2015)
Labour	48.9% (+12.1)	28 (+3)
Conservative	33.6% (+6.3)	8 (-3)
Plaid Cymru	10.4% (-1.7)	4 (+1)
Liberal Democrats	4.5% (-2.0)	0 (-1)
UKIP	2.0% (-11.6)	0
Greens	0.3% (-2.2)	0
Others	0.2% (-0.1)	0



## The Results: Labour

- Won most votes and seats for 26<sup>th</sup> successive general election in Wales (1922 onwards)
- Highest vote share since 1997; and vote share decline in 0 seats in Wales
- Lost 0 deposits
- Highest Vote Share: Aberavon: 68.1%
- Lowest Vote Share: Montgomeryshire: 15.9%

### Best Vote Share Changes From 2015

- Cardiff Central: +22.4%
- Aberavon: +19.2%
- Swansea West: +17.2%
- Cardiff South & Penarth: +16.7%
- Cardiff West: +16.0%

### Worst Vote Share Changes from 2015

- Blaenau Gwent: +0.0%
- Brecon & Radnor: +3.3%
- Carmarthen East & Dinefwr: +5.6%
- Dwyfor Meirionydd: +7.2%
- Ogmore: +9.5%



## The Results: Conservatives

- Highest Welsh vote share since 1935
- Vote share declined in only one seat in Wales
- Lost 0 deposits
- Highest Vote Share: Monmouth: 53.1%
- Lowest Vote Share: Rhondda: 10.1%

### Best Vote Share Changes From 2015

- Islwyn: +12.1%
- Wrexham: +12.0%
- Swansea East: +10.7%
- Clwyd South: +8.7%
- Caerphilly: +8.6%

### Worst Vote Share Changes from 2015

- Cardiff North: -0.3%
- Vale of Glamorgan: +1.4%
- Preseli Pembrokeshire: +3.0%
- Carmarthen West & South Pems: +3.1%
- Aberconwy: +3.1%





## The Results: **Plaid Cymru**

- Lowest vote share since 1997
- Vote shared increased in only six seats
- Lost 16 deposits
- Highest Vote Share: Dwyfor Meirionydd: 45.1%
- Lowest Vote Share: Newport East: 2.4%

### Best Vote Share Changes From 2015

- Blaenau Gwent: +12.3%
- Dwyfor Meirionydd: +4.3%
- Ceredigion: +1.6%
- Carmarthen East & Dinefwr: +0.9%
- Montgomery: +0.4%

### Worst Vote Share Changes from 2015

- Swansea East: -5.6%
- Rhondda: -4.7%
- Llanelli: -4.7%
- Cardiff West: -4.4%
- Neath: -4.2%



## The Results: Liberal Democrats

- Vote share down 2.0 points on dreadful 2015 result
- Lowest vote share in Wales ever; lower than in Scotland or England
- Vote share increased in only two seats
- Lost 36 deposits
- Highest Vote Share: Brecon & Radnor: 29.1%
- Lowest Vote Share: Rhondda: 0.8%

### Best Vote Share Changes From 2015

- Brecon & Radnor: +0.8%
- Preseli Pembrokeshire: +0.7%
- Carmarthen East & Dinefwr: -0.1%
- Carmarthen West & South Pems: -0.1%
- Arfon: -0.4%

### Worst Vote Share Changes from 2015

- Cardiff Central: -13.7%
- Pontypridd: -8.0%
- Ceredigion: -6.9%
- Swansea West: -5.6%
- Montgomery: -4.1%



## The Results: UKIP

- Lost more than five-sixths of 2015 vote share in Wales
- All 32 Welsh candidates lost deposits; in 2015, stood 40 candidates and all retained deposit
- Highest Vote Share: Islwyn: 4.4%
- Lowest Vote Share: Cardiff Central: 0.8%

### Best Vote Share Changes From 2015

- Cardiff Central: -5.6%
- Cardiff North: -6.6%
- Brecon & Radnor: -6.9%
- Arfon: -8.5%
- Preseli Pembrokeshire: -8.5%

### Worst Vote Share Changes from 2015

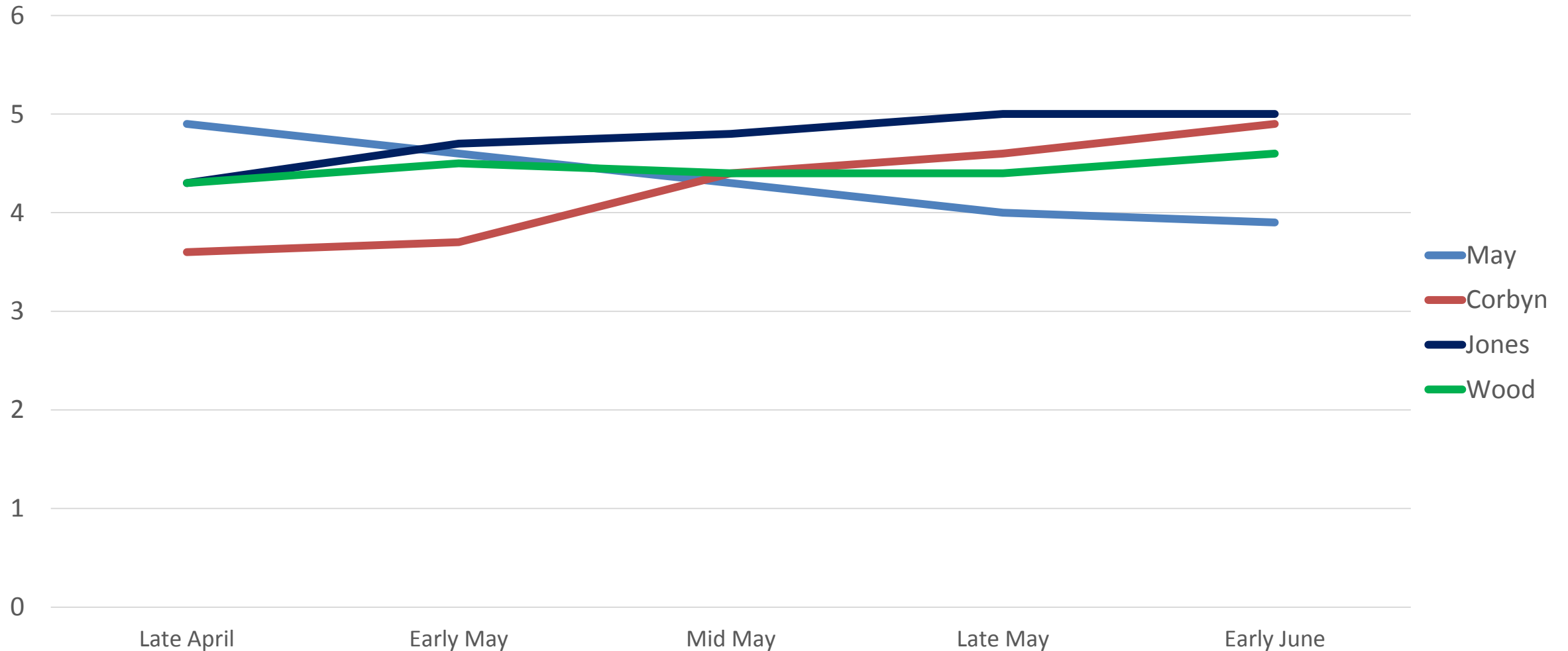
- Delyn: -16.4%
- Caerphilly: -16.3%
- Wrexham: -15.5%
- Newport East: -15.2%
- Torfaen: -15.1%



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## Average Party Leader Ratings, Wales, April-June 2017







## *Modelling Vote Choice in 2017 in Wales*

- Logit model: Voted Labour or not (among those voting)
- Explanatory variables
  - **Social Background:** Age, Sex, Class, Education
  - **General Political:** Left-Right self-placement, Brexit vote choice, Govt approval (UK and Welsh), Party ID
  - **Leader Ratings:** main two at UK and Welsh level (May, Corbyn, Jones, Wood)



## *Modelling 2017 Vote Choice in Wales*

Model	% cases correctly predicted	Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>
Age, Education, Class, Sex	62.5	.09
Ideological self-placement	73.5	.22
Brexit Vote	64.0	.05
Party ID	81.1	.41
Government Approval	77.6	.30
Leader Ratings	86.0	.55
Composite Model	88.3	.64



# Modelling 2017 Vote Choice in Wales

Iteration 5: log pseudolikelihood = -425.93044

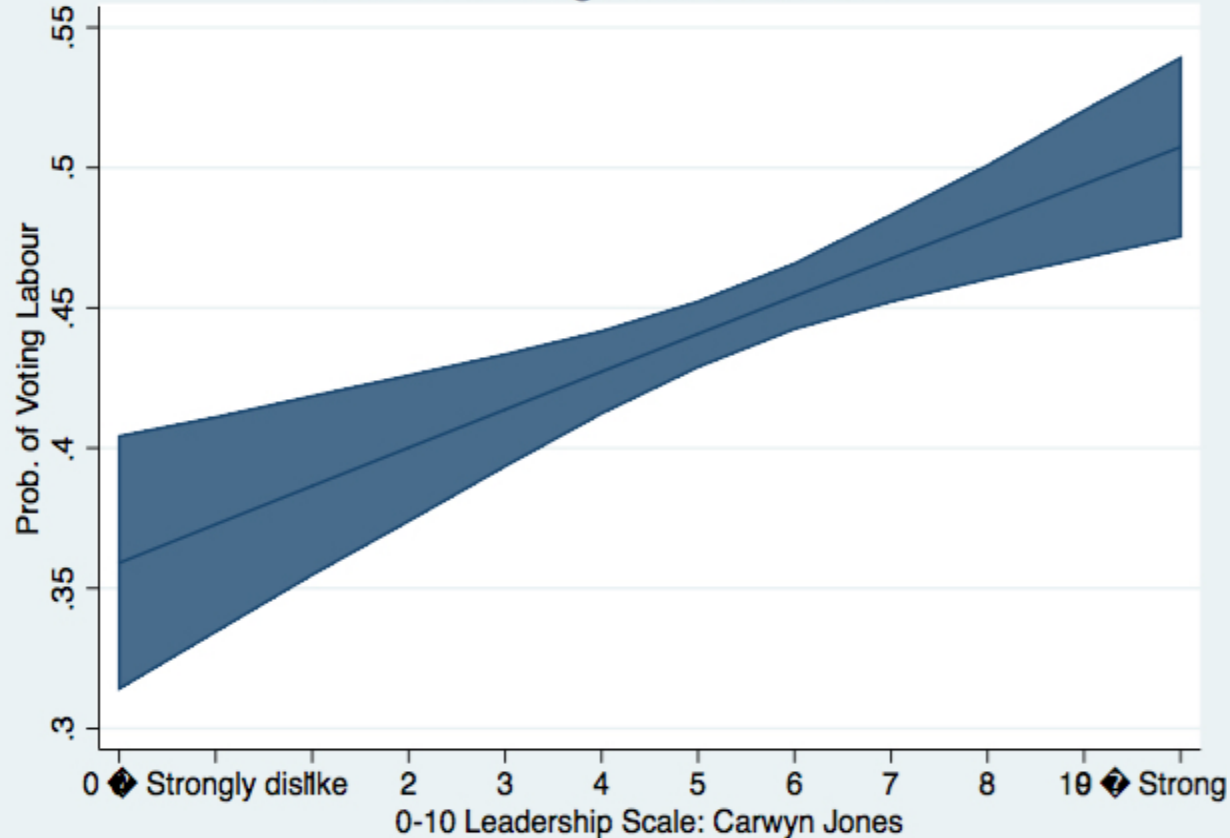
Logistic regression	Number of obs	=	2,088
	Wald chi2(26)	=	583.20
	Prob > chi2	=	0.0000
Log pseudolikelihood = -425.93044	Pseudo R2	=	0.6438

VoteLaborNot	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
politics_scale_profile_update	.0477269	.0916959	0.52	0.603	-.1319937	.2274474
Female	.1328836	.1791002	0.74	0.458	-.2181464	.4839136
RemainVoter	-.5314541	.2201335	-2.41	0.016	-.9629079	-.1000004
ap3d	.1064999	.0516171	2.06	0.039	.0053322	.2076676
ap3i	-.1468259	.0417117	-3.52	0.000	-.2285792	-.0650725
ap3a	-.2664684	.0452476	-5.89	0.000	-.3551521	-.1777847
ap3b	.4128024	.0390782	10.56	0.000	.3362106	.4893941
Age1824	1.832253	.521978	3.51	0.000	.8091945	2.855311
Age2534	1.588998	.364957	4.35	0.000	.8736958	2.304301
Age3544	.7631342	.2815522	2.71	0.007	.2113021	1.314966
Age4554	.7912588	.2702548	2.93	0.003	.2615692	1.320948
Age5564	.3755516	.23965	1.57	0.117	-.0941538	.8452569
Edu0Level	-.8370075	.4265196	-1.96	0.050	-1.672971	-.0010444
EduALevel	-.3512814	.4475355	-0.78	0.432	-1.228435	.5258722
EduUni	-.6075347	.4093028	-1.48	0.138	-1.409753	.194684
EduOther	-.5963091	.3987753	-1.50	0.135	-1.377894	.1852763
SocgradeAB	.3367933	.6428505	0.52	0.600	-.9231706	1.596757
SocgradeC1	.0971528	.6421775	0.15	0.880	-1.161492	1.355798
SocgradeC2	-.0493324	.6533614	-0.08	0.940	-1.329897	1.231232
SocgradeDE	.0907879	.6510968	0.14	0.889	-1.185338	1.366914
PartyIDTory	-.9957316	.3648723	-2.73	0.006	-1.710868	-.280595
PartyIDLab	2.056538	.2371621	8.67	0.000	1.591709	2.521367
PartyIDLD	.0663016	.351585	0.19	0.850	-.6227923	.7553954
PartyIDPlaid	-1.01514	.3285636	-3.09	0.002	-1.659113	-.3711674
UKGovtapproval_1	-.3089119	.121271	-2.55	0.011	-.5465986	-.0712251
WGovtapproval_2	.2394571	.1311127	1.83	0.068	-.0175191	.4964332
_cons	-2.122716	.8755246	-2.42	0.015	-3.838713	-.4067194

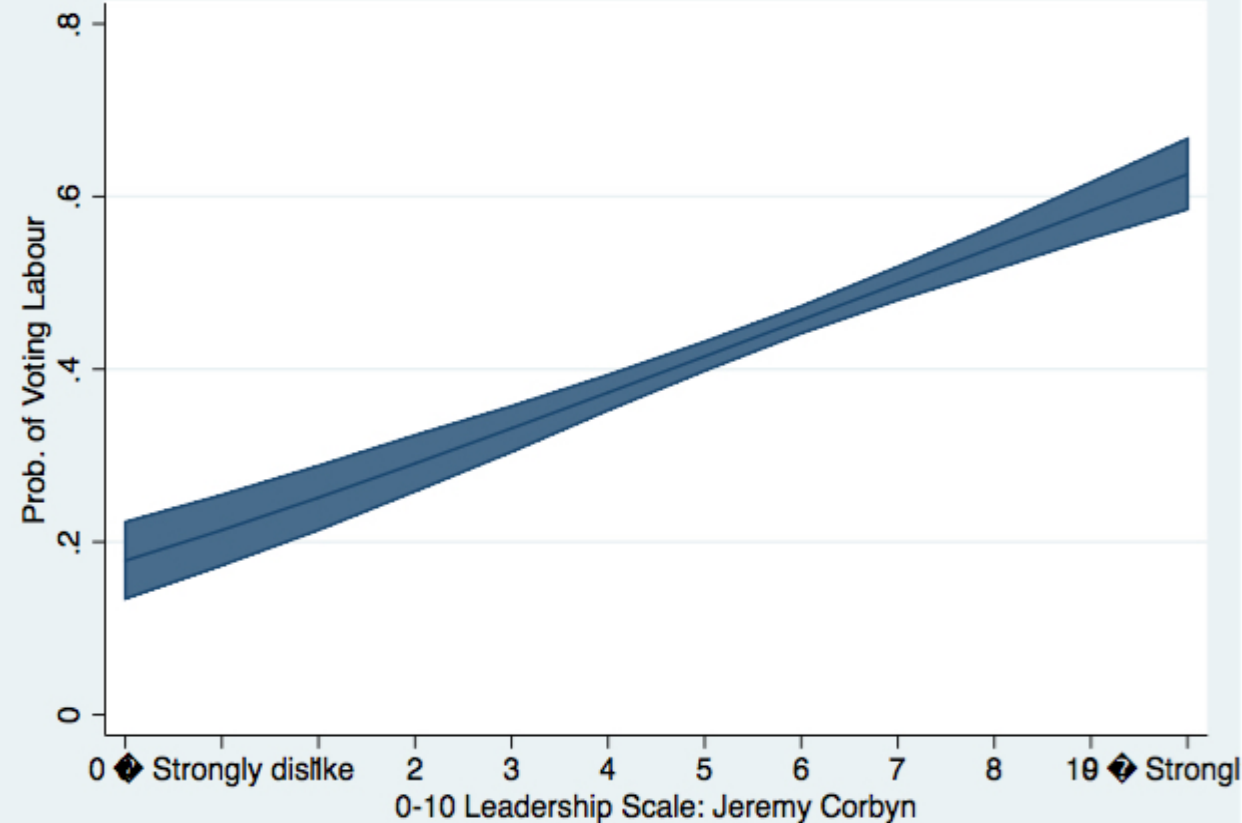


# Modelling Vote Choice in 2017 in Wales: Carwyn .v. Corbyn

Predictive Margins with 90% CIs



Predictive Margins with 90% CIs





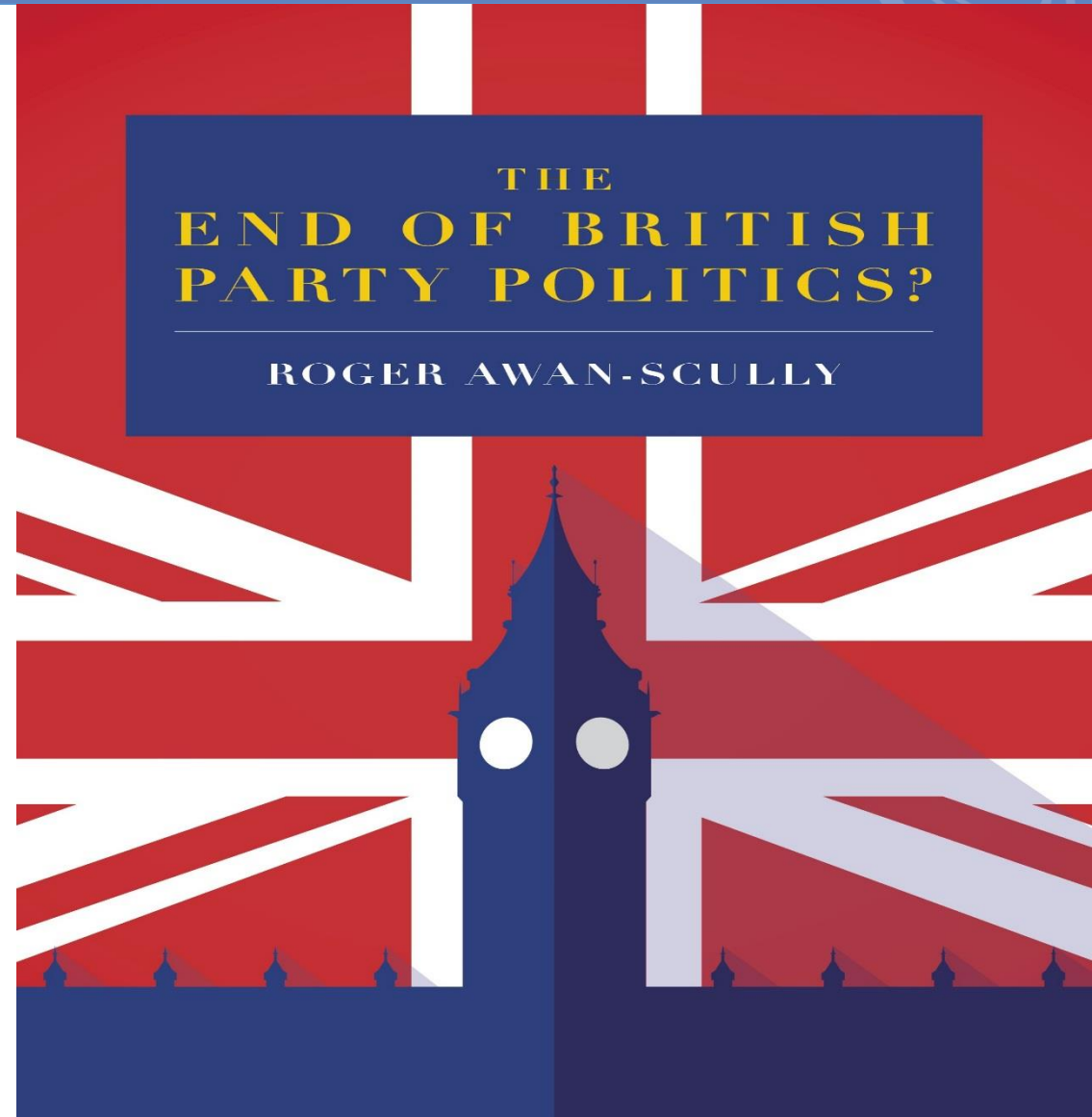
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## *The End of British Party Politics?*

- Divergence of results across nations of UK
- Increasing differentiation of party organisation and campaigning
- But mixed impact? Wales an example where UK-level factors still driving vote choice



# Diolch / Thanks

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<http://blogs.cardiff.ac.uk/electionsinwales/>



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