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
1. Introduction: 100 Years of Labour Dominance

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The Campaign in Wales...

- Traditional British/Welsh campaign from Conservatives

versus

- Welsh Labour
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 Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future
THE WELSH CONSERVATIVE PARTY
MANIFESTO 2017
2017 Polls, Wales
1. Introduction: 100 Years of Labour Dominance

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# The Results: 2017 General Election: Wales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Vote Share (Change on 2015)</th>
<th>Seats (Change on 2015)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>48.9% (+12.1)</td>
<td>28 (+3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>33.6% (+6.3)</td>
<td>8 (-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaid Cymru</td>
<td>10.4% (-1.7)</td>
<td>4 (+1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal Democrats</td>
<td>4.5% (-2.0)</td>
<td>0 (-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKIP</td>
<td>2.0% (-11.6)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greens</td>
<td>0.3% (-2.2)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.2% (-0.1)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Results: Labour

- Won most votes and seats for 26\textsuperscript{th} 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 shared 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 Pembs: +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 Pembs: -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

- May
- Corbyn
- Jones
- Wood
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>% cases correctly predicted</th>
<th>Pseudo $R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age, Education, Class, Sex</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological self-placement</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brexit Vote</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party ID</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Approval</td>
<td>77.6</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader Ratings</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Composite Model</td>
<td>88.3</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Modelling 2017 Vote Choice in Wales

| VoteLaborNet | Robust | Coef. | Std. Err. | z     | P>|z| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|------|---------------------|
| politics_scale_profile_update | .0477269 | .0916959 | 0.52 | 0.603 | -1.129937 | .2274474 |
| Female | .1328816 | .1791002 | 0.74 | 0.458 | -.2181464 | .4839136 |
| RemainVoter | -.5315451 | .2201335 | -2.41 | 0.016 | -.9629079 | -1.000004 |
| ap3d | .1064999 | .0165171 | 2.06 | 0.039 | .0053322 | .2076676 |
| ap3i | -.1468259 | .0437317 | -3.37 | 0.001 | -.2285792 | -.0658725 |
| ap3a | -.2664684 | .0452476 | -5.90 | 0.000 | -.3555152 | -.1777847 |
| ap3b | .4128024 | .0390782 | 10.56 | 0.000 | .3362185 | .4893941 |
| Age1824 | 1.832253 | .521978 | 3.51 | 0.000 | .8091945 | 2.855311 |
| Age2534 | 1.588998 | .364957 | 4.35 | 0.000 | .8736958 | 2.304301 |
| Age3544 | .7631242 | .2815522 | 2.71 | 0.007 | .2113025 | 1.314966 |
| Age4554 | .7912588 | .2782548 | 2.93 | 0.003 | .2615602 | 1.320940 |
| Age5564 | .3755516 | .23965 | 1.57 | 0.117 | -.0041538 | .8452569 |
| EduLLevel | -.8370075 | .4265196 | -1.96 | 0.050 | -.1.672971 | -.0010444 |
| EduALevel | -.3512814 | .4475355 | -0.78 | 0.432 | -.1.228435 | .5258722 |
| EduUni | -.6875347 | .4953628 | -1.48 | 0.138 | -.1.489753 | .194684 |
| EduOther | -.5063801 | .3987739 | -1.28 | 0.199 | -.1.377804 | .1852763 |
| SocgradeA8 | .3367933 | .0628505 | 0.52 | 0.599 | -.9231780 | 1.5906757 |
| SocgradeC1 | .8971528 | .0621775 | 1.45 | 0.146 | -.1.161492 | 1.155798 |
| SocgradeC2 | -.6493324 | .0533614 | -12.08 | 0.940 | -.1.329987 | 1.231232 |
| SocgradeDE | -.6907299 | .0510668 | 1.41 | 0.157 | -.1.185330 | .366014 |
| PartyID Tory | -.9957316 | .3648723 | -2.73 | 0.006 | -.1.710868 | -.2.080595 |
| PartyID Lab | 2.056538 | .2371621 | 8.67 | 0.000 | 1.591789 | 2.521367 |
| PartyIDLD | .0663016 | .351585 | 0.19 | 0.850 | -.6227923 | .7553954 |
| PartyID Plaid | -.1.01514 | .3285366 | -3.09 | 0.002 | -.1.659913 | -.3713674 |
| UKGovApproval1 | -.3089119 | .121271 | -2.55 | 0.011 | -.5465986 | -.0712251 |
| WGovApproval2 | .2394571 | .1311127 | 1.83 | 0.068 | .0157510 | .4944332 |
| _cons | -.1.227216 | .8755246 | -2.42 | 0.015 | -.3.838713 | -.4867194 |
Modelling Vote Choice in 2017 in Wales: Carwyn v. Corbyn
1. Introduction: 100 Years of Labour Dominance

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5. Conclusion: the End of British Party Politics?
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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