



The 2016 National Assembly Election: What Happened, and Why?

Roger Scully

24th May 2016

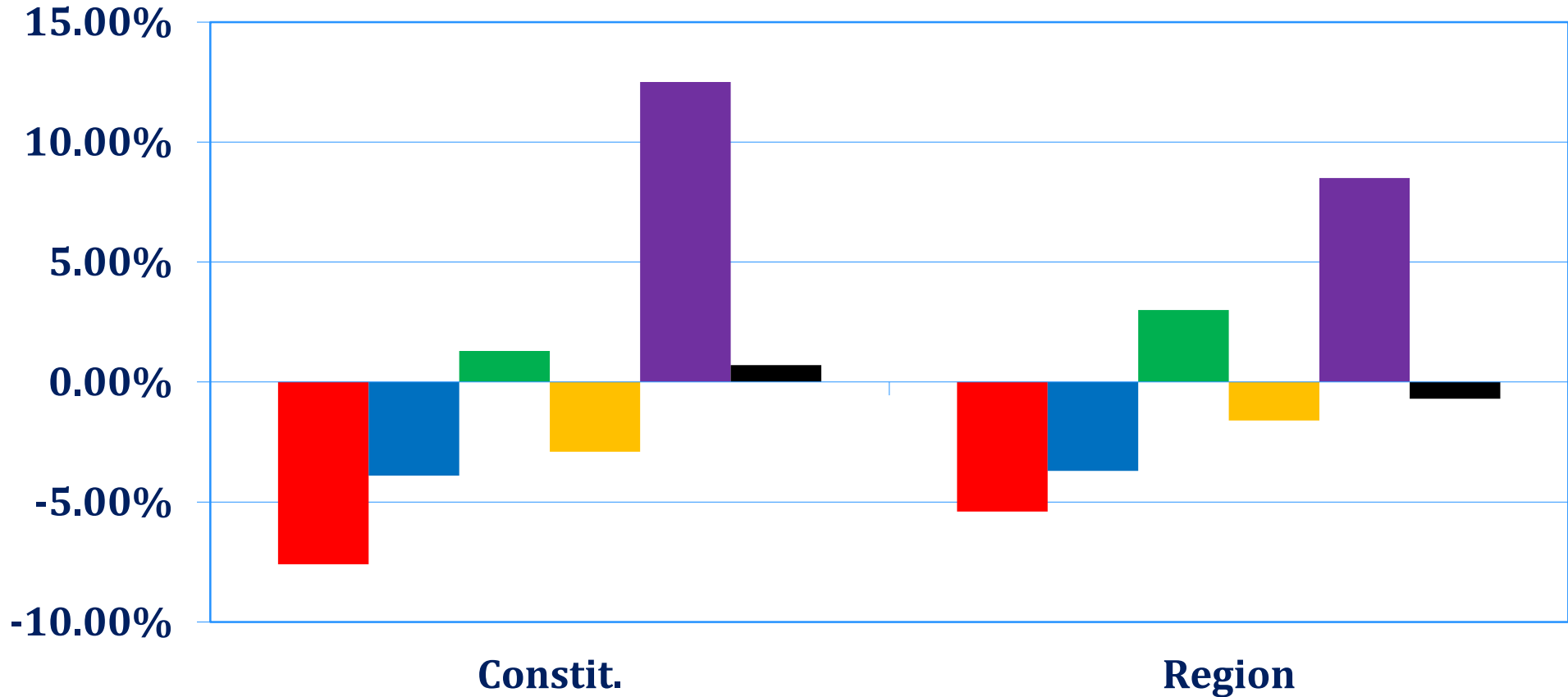
Outline of Session

1. Introduction
2. What Happened?
3. Why?
4. Q & A

The 2016 Election Result

Party	Constit.	Region	Seats
Labour	34.7%	31.5%	29 (-1)
Plaid	20.5%	20.8%	12 (+1)
Conserv.	21.1%	18.8%	11 (-3)
UKIP	12.5%	13.0%	7 (+7)
LibDems	7.7%	6.5%	1 (-4)
Others	3.5%	9.5%	0

% Vote Share Changes From 2011



2016 Results: Labour

- 37 out of 38...
- Second-lowest vote share ever, both ballots
- Vote share declined in 37 of 40 seats
- Yet but for Rhondda would have retained 30 seats

Best Const Vote Share Changes

- Arfon: + 7.8%
- Aberconwy: +1.7%
- Cardiff Central: +0.5%

Worst Const Vote Share Changes

- Rhondda: -27.3%
- Blaenau Gwent: -24.3%
- Neath: -16.1%

Regional Vote Shares

- North Wales: 28.1% (-4.0)
- Mid&West: 19.4% (-3.1)
- South West: 39.5% (-6.9)
- South Central: 33.9% (-7.1)
- South East: 38.3% (-7.3)

2016 Results: **Plaid Cymru**

- Second party in Assembly again
- Only modest vote share gains
- Second-worst constituency vote share ever
- Vote share fell in 22 of 40 seats

Best Const Vote Share Changes

- Blaenau Gwent: +31.2%
- Rhondda: + 21.1%
- Ynys Môn: +13.4%

Worst Const Vote Share Changes

- Carmarthen W & SP: -11.1%
- Cynon Valley: -7.3%
- Llanelli: -4.3%

Regional Vote Shares

- North Wales: 23.3% (+1.9)
- Mid&West: 26.3% (-0.5)
- South West: 17.2% (+3.4)
- South Central: 20.9% (+7.2)
- South East: 15.3% (+3.2)

2016 Results: Conservative

- Lost ground in Assembly election for first time ever
- Still second on constituency vote share
- Held all constituency seats
- But significant regional losses

Best Const Vote Share Changes

- Gower: +3.7%
- Wrexham: +3.7%
- Vale of Clwyd: +3.0%

Worst Const Vote Share Changes

- Ynys Môn: -17.7%
- Cardiff West: -8.3%
- Delyn: -8.2%

Regional Vote Shares

- North Wales: 22.2% (-4.6)
- Mid&West: 20.6% (-4.6)
- South West: 15.0% (-2.8)
- South Central: 18.3% (-3.7)
- South East: 17.2% (-2.4)

2016 Results: UKIP

- Held 37 of 38 constit. deposits (exception Cardiff Central)
- Double-figure regional vote share in *all* regions
- Topped 20% constituency vote in five seats: all in SWE
- But vote share down on 2014/15

Best Const Vote Share Changes

- Torfaen: +22.6%
- Islwyn: +22.2%
- Caerphilly: +22.0%

Worst Const Vote Share Changes

- Cardiff Central: +4.7%
- Cardiff North: +6.7%
- Brecon & Radnor: +7.1%

Regional Vote Shares

- North Wales: 12.5% (+7.5)
- Mid&West: 11.6% (+7.2)
- South West: 13.7% (+9.4)
- South Central: 10.4% (+6.4)
- South East: 17.8 % (+12.5)

2016 Results: Liberal Democrats

- Worst-ever Assembly election – again...
- Lost constituency deposits in 26 out of 40 seats
- Over half constituency votes from 4 seats
- Fewer elected Lib-Dems than Plaid Cymru members in UK's law-making parliaments

Best Const Vote Share Changes

- Brecon & Radnor: +9.3%
- Clwyd South: +0.5%
- Delyn: -0.2%

Worst Const Vote Share Changes

- Newport East: -11.9%
- Aberconwy: - 10.6%
- Wrexham: - 8.8%

Regional Vote Shares

- North Wales: 4.6% (-1.3)
- Mid&West: 10.9% (-1.9)
- South West: 6.5% (-0.5)
- South Central: 6.4% (-1.5)
- South East: 3.5 % (-2.5)

The Electoral Battleground

	Plausible	'Stretch'
Gains	Targets	'Dreams Come True'
Losses	Defences	'Nightmare Scenario'

The Electoral Battleground: **Labour**

	Plausible	'Stretch'
Gains	<p>No constituencies</p> <p>North list – if constituency losses</p>	<p>Carm. W & SP</p> <p>Preseli Pembs</p> <p>Aberconwy</p>
Losses	<p>Llanelli</p> <p>Cardiff Central</p> <p>Cardiff North</p> <p>Vale of Glamorgan</p> <p>Vale of Clwyd</p> <p>Gower</p>	<p>Delyn, Wrexham, Clwyd South</p> <p>Rhondda, Cardiff W, Caerphilly</p> <p>Swansea W</p> <p>Newport W</p> <p>Bridgend (?)</p>

Electoral Battleground: Conservative

	Plausible	'Stretch'
Gains	<p>Cardiff North</p> <p>Vale of Glamorgan</p> <p>Vale of Clwyd</p> <p>Gower</p> <p>Brecon & Radnor</p>	<p>Delyn</p> <p>Wrexham</p> <p>Clwyd South</p> <p>Swansea West</p> <p>Newport West</p> <p>Bridgend (?)</p> <p>MWW List</p>
Losses	<p>Carmarthen W & SP</p> <p>Aberconwy</p> <p>2nd List seats in: North, SWW, SWC, SWE</p>	<p>Montgomery</p> <p>Preseli Pembrokeshire</p> <p>Other List seats</p>

Electoral Battleground: **Plaid**

	Plausible	'Stretch'
Gains	<p>Llanelli Aberconwy Carm W & SP</p> <p>North, SWW, SWC List</p>	<p>Caerphilly Rhondda Cardiff West</p>
Losses	<p>No constituencies</p> <p>MWW List SWE 2nd List Other List seats if constit. gains</p>	<p>Ceredigion</p> <p>Some List seats</p>

Electoral Battleground: **Lib-Dems**

	Plausible	'Stretch'
Gains	Cardiff Central	Ceredigion Montgomery
Losses	Brecon & Radnor North, MWW, SWW, SWC Lists	

Electoral Battleground: **UKIP**

	Plausible	'Stretch'
Gains	Some Regional Seats	More Regional Seats (2 nd ones in North and SWE)
Losses	NOTHING TO LOSE!	

Why? Some Initial Evidence

- 2016 Welsh Election Study (WES2016)
- Funded by ESRC (Grant: ES/M011127/1)
- Several Components:
 - Voters
 - Local Campaigning
 - Social Media
- Today: Evidence from **Voter Study**
 - **Campaign Wave** (5th April – 4th May)
 - **Post-Election Wave** (6th – 22nd May)
 - Both waves, sample size > 3,000 respondents
 - All fieldwork by YouGov

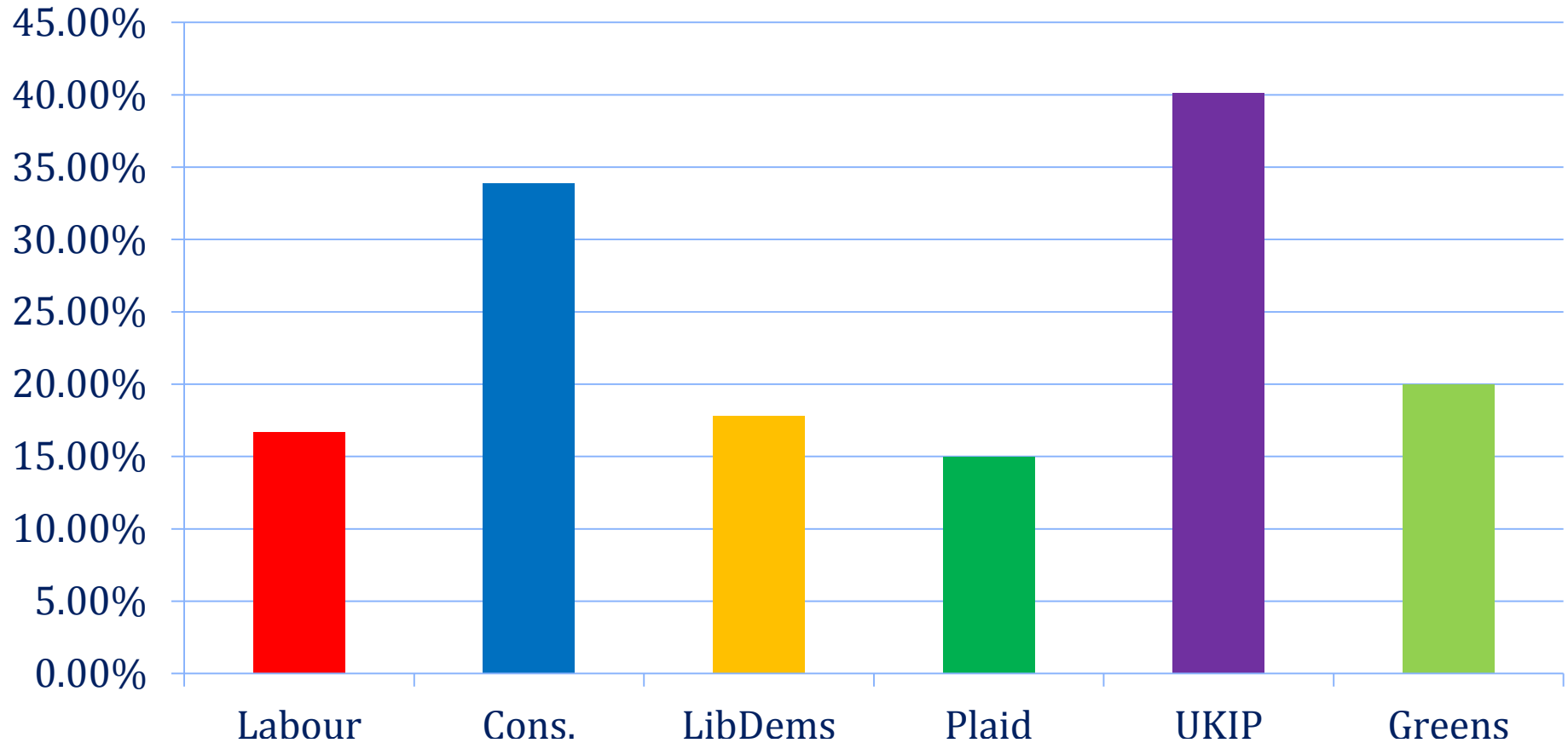
Typical Influences on Vote Choice

Longer-Term: Broad Attitudes to parties

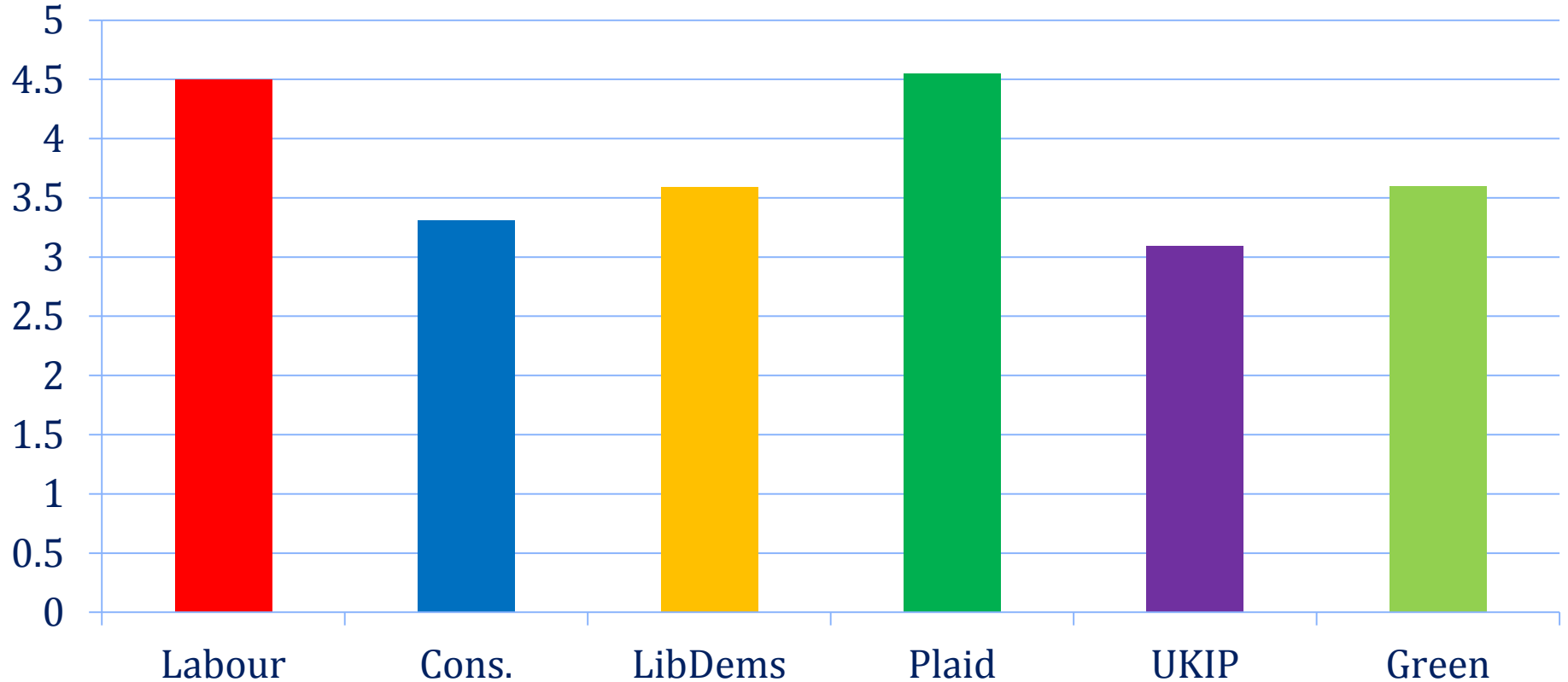
Short-Term:

- Leaders
- Campaign
- Policy (direction *and* competence)

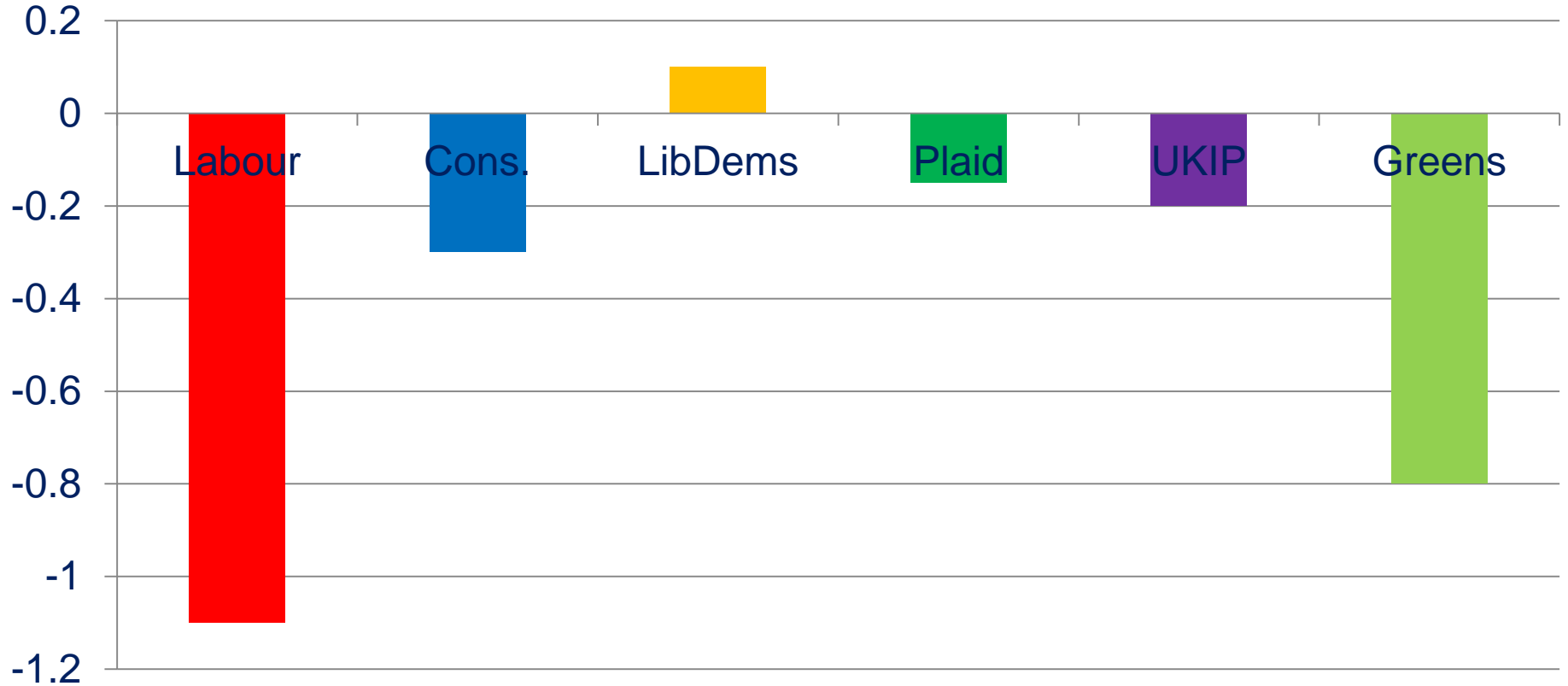
Parties' Popularity: % 0/10



Parties' Popularity: Average /10

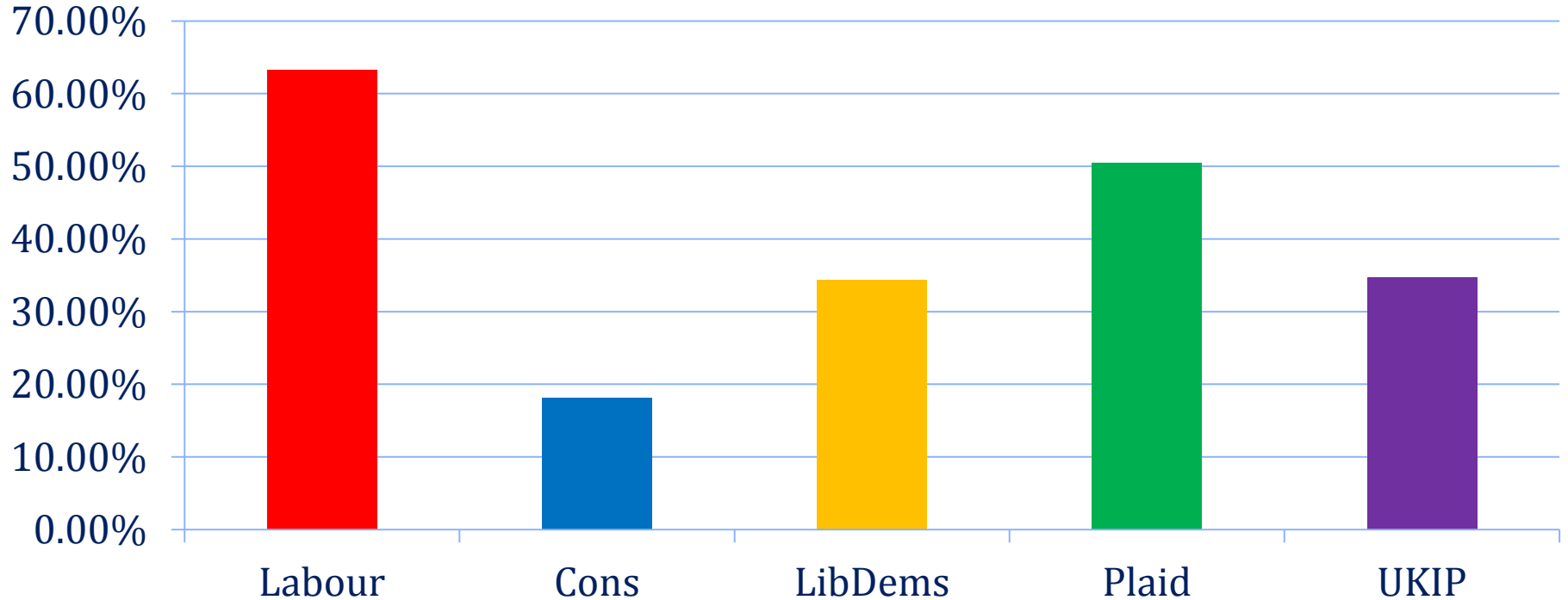


Change in Average Popularity, 2011-16



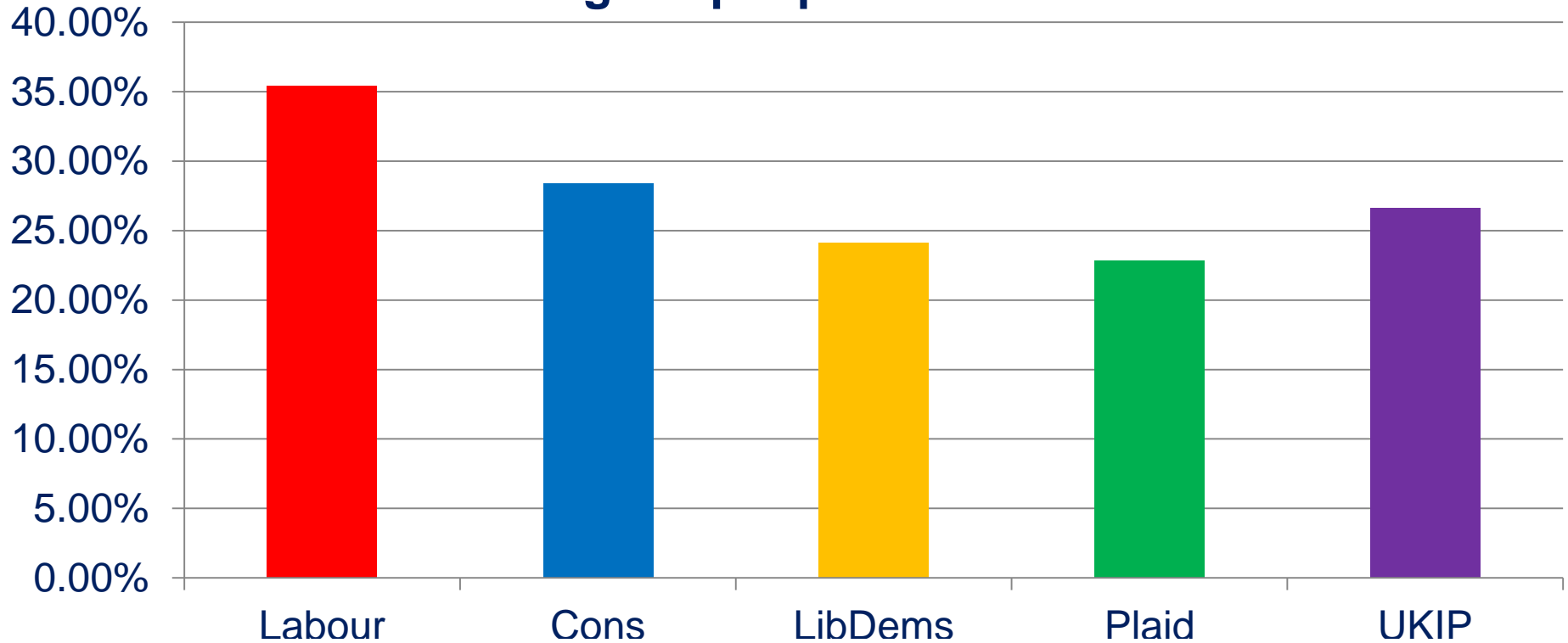
‘How much does each of these parties look after the interests of...?’ (% ‘great deal’/’fair amount’)

Working Class People



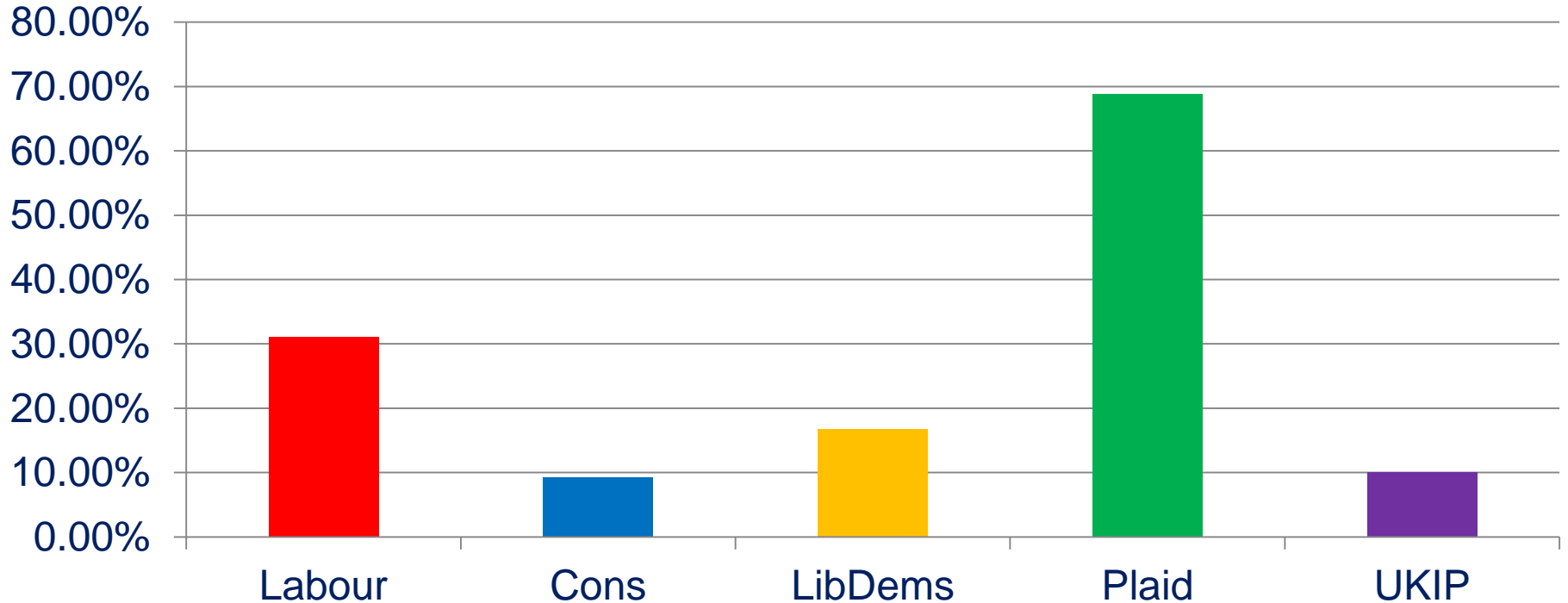
‘How much does each of these parties look after the interests of...?’ (% ‘great deal’/’fair amount’)

English people in Wales



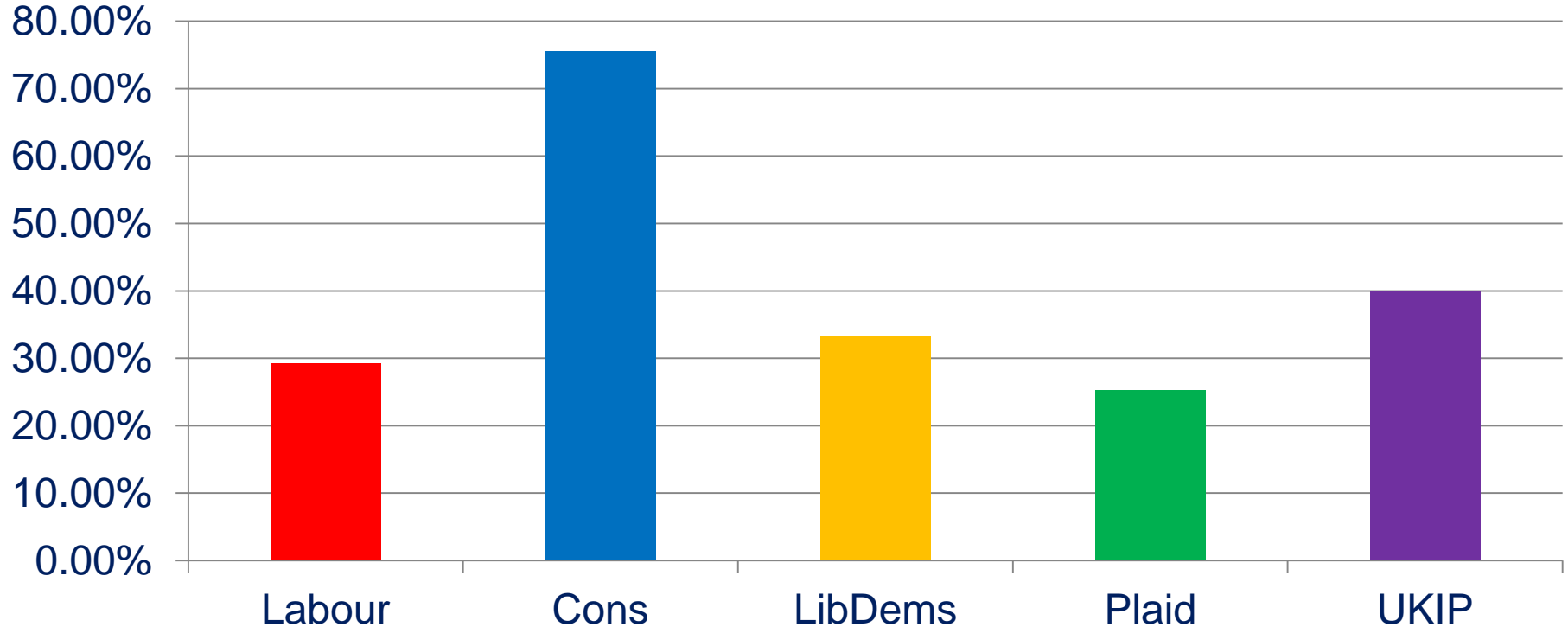
‘How much does each of these parties look after the interests of...?’ (% ‘great deal’/’fair amount’)

People who speak Welsh



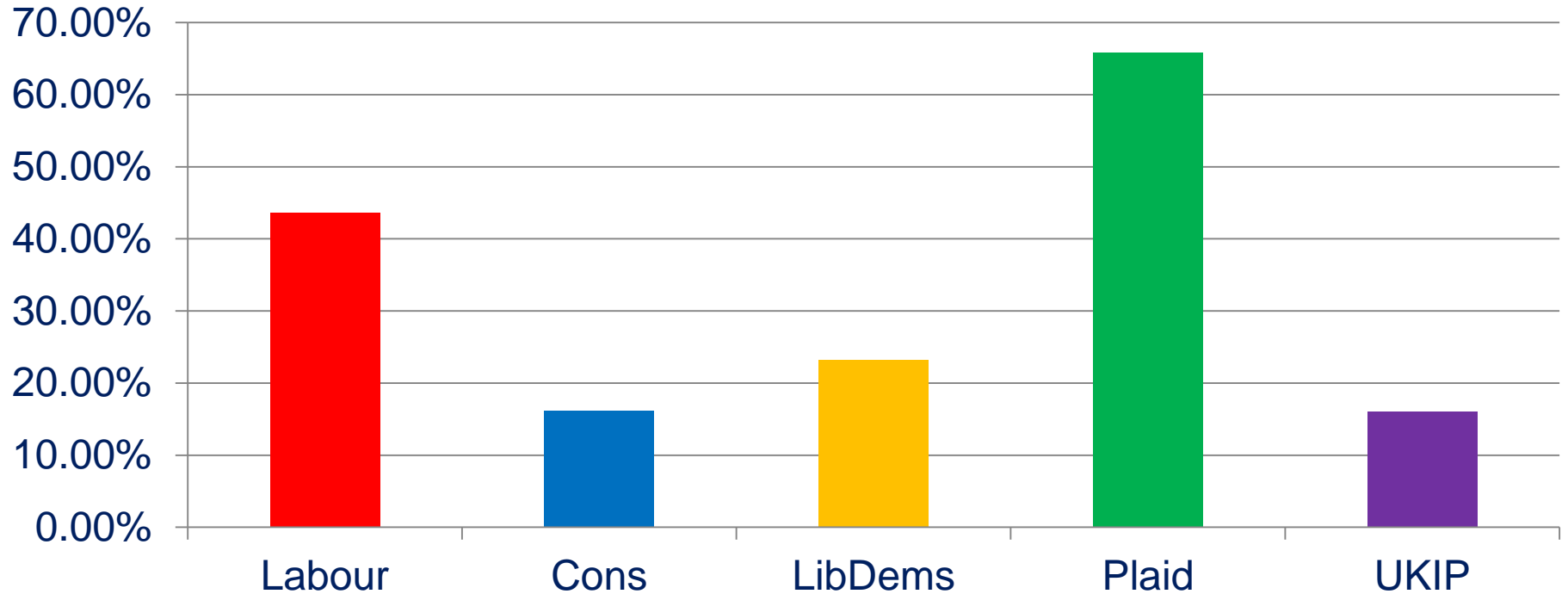
‘How much does each of these parties look after the interests of...?’ (% ‘great deal’/’fair amount’)

Wealthy People



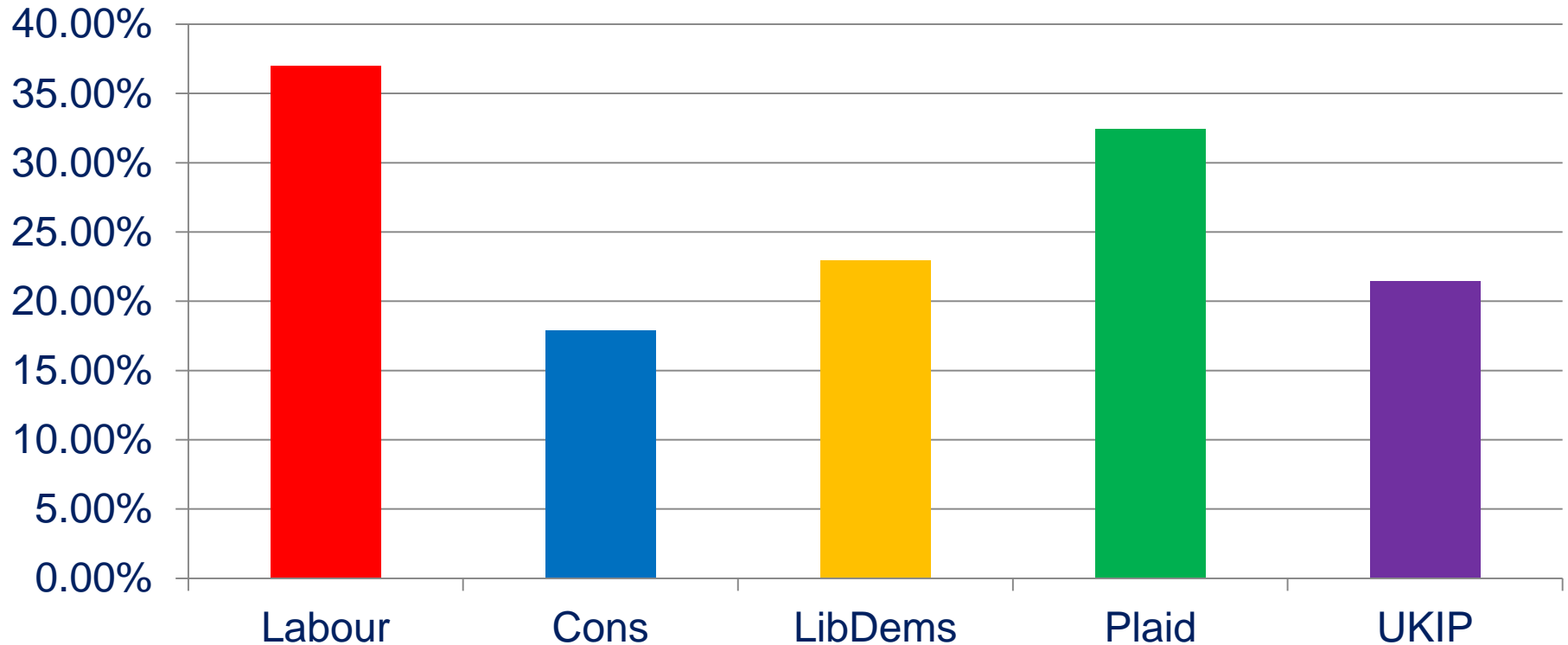
‘How much does each of these parties look after the interests of...?’ (% ‘great deal’/’fair amount’)

Welsh people in general

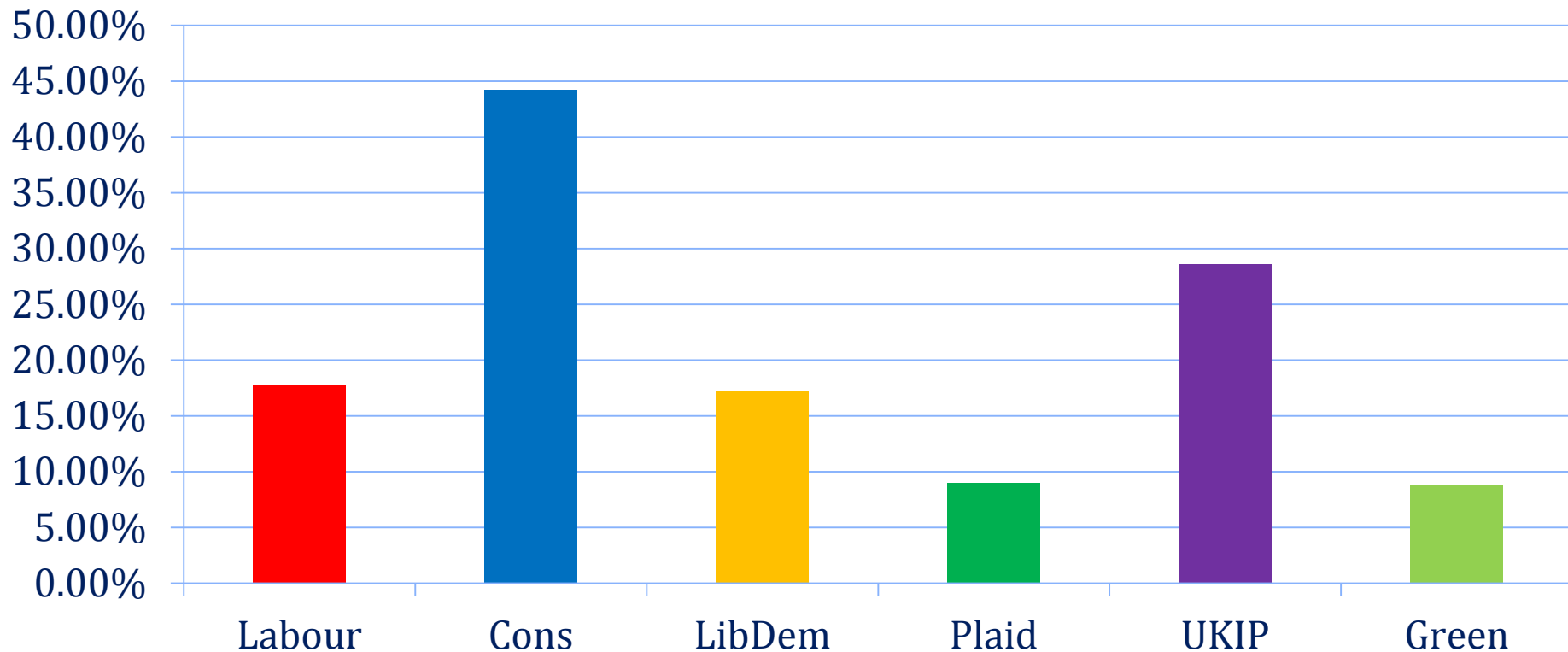


'How much does each of these parties look after the interests of...?' (% 'great deal'/'fair amount')

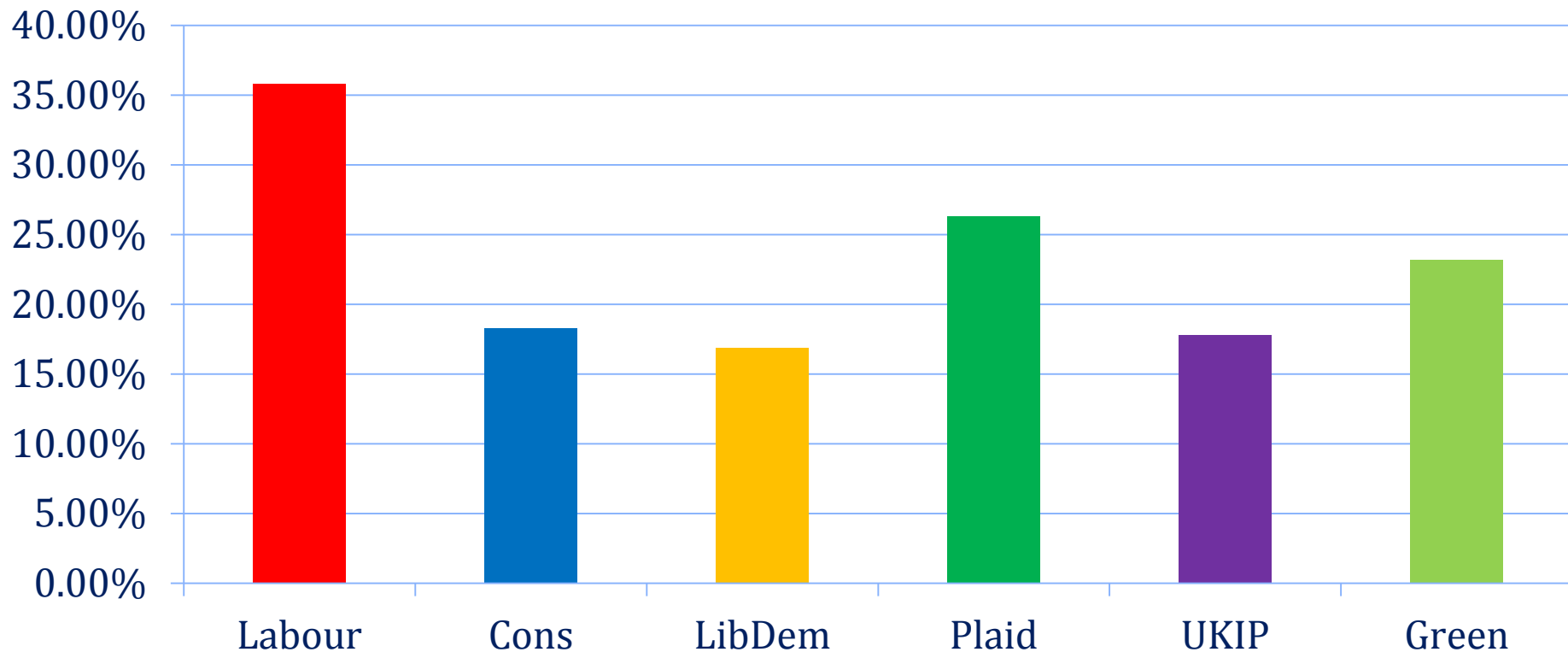
People like you



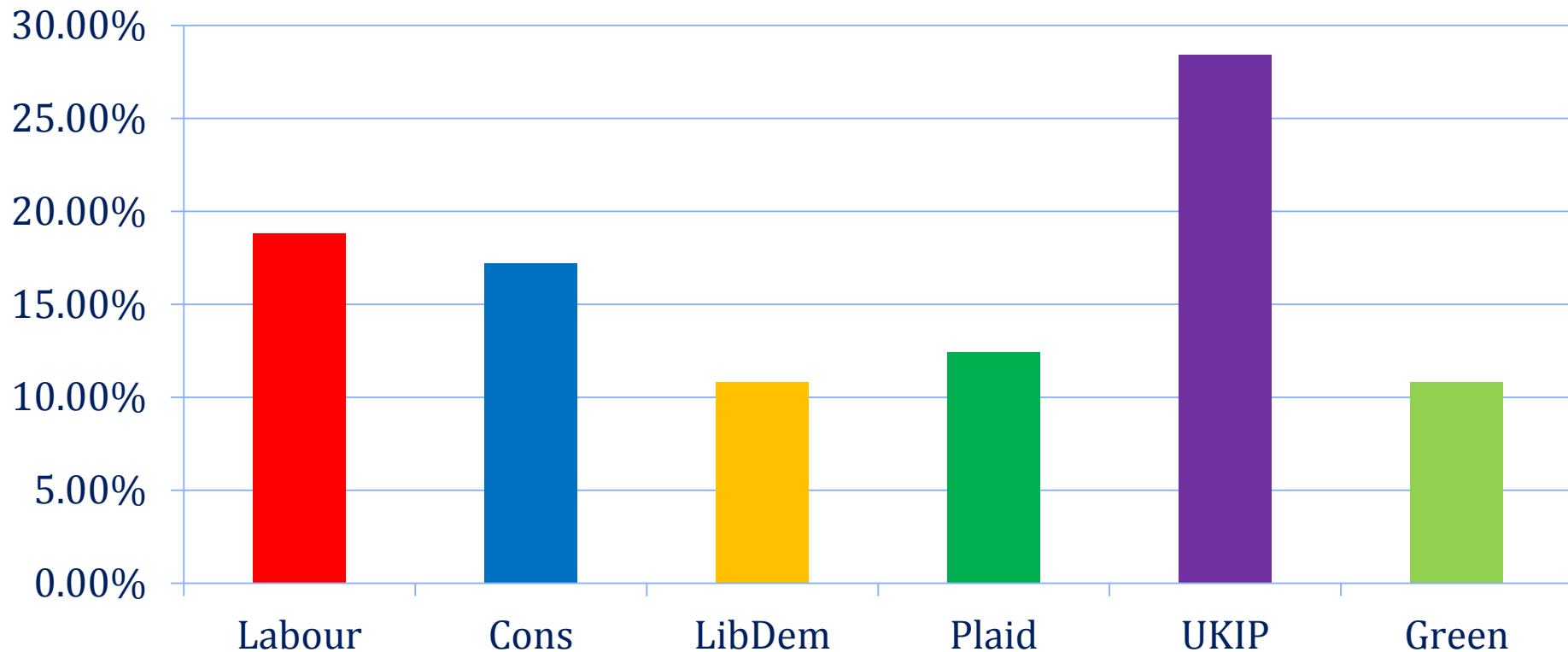
Which of these emotions do you feel about each of the parties? Angry



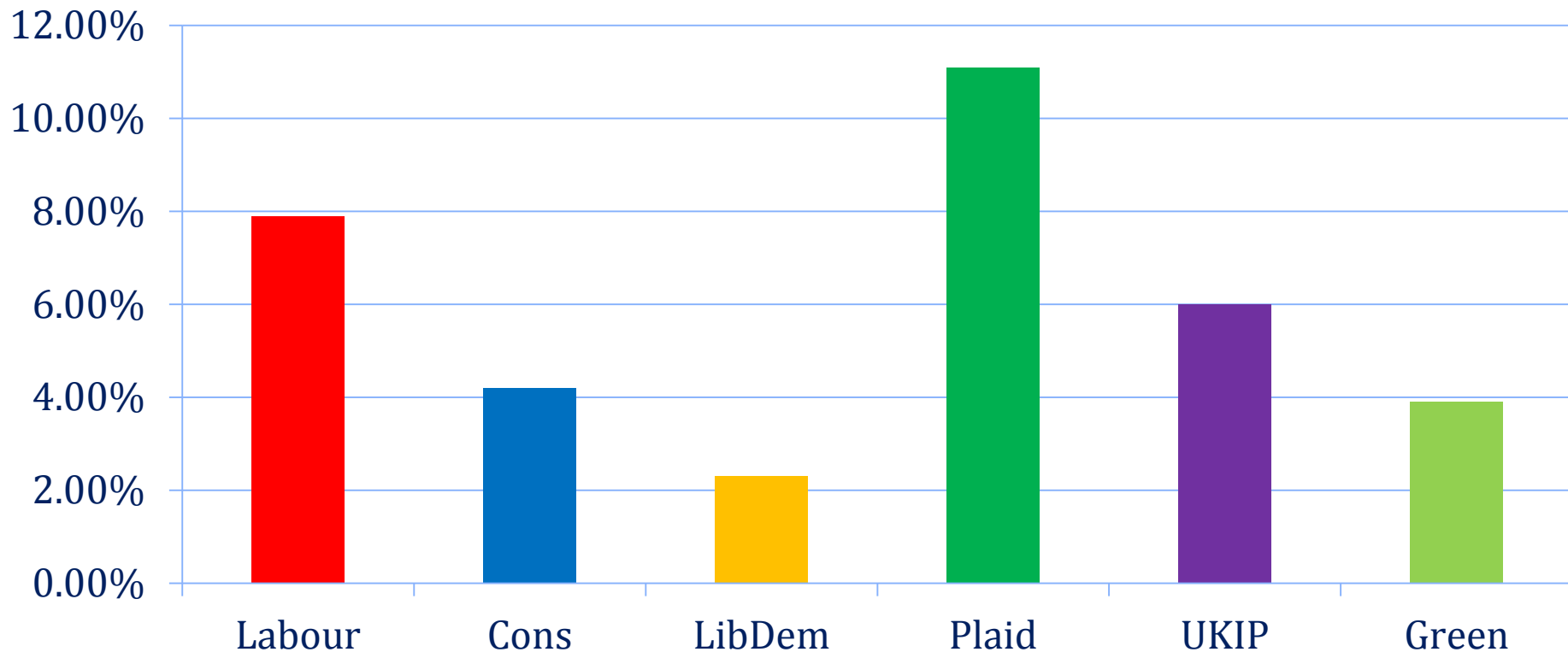
Which of these emotions do you feel about each of the parties? Hopeful



Which of these emotions do you feel about each of the parties? Afraid



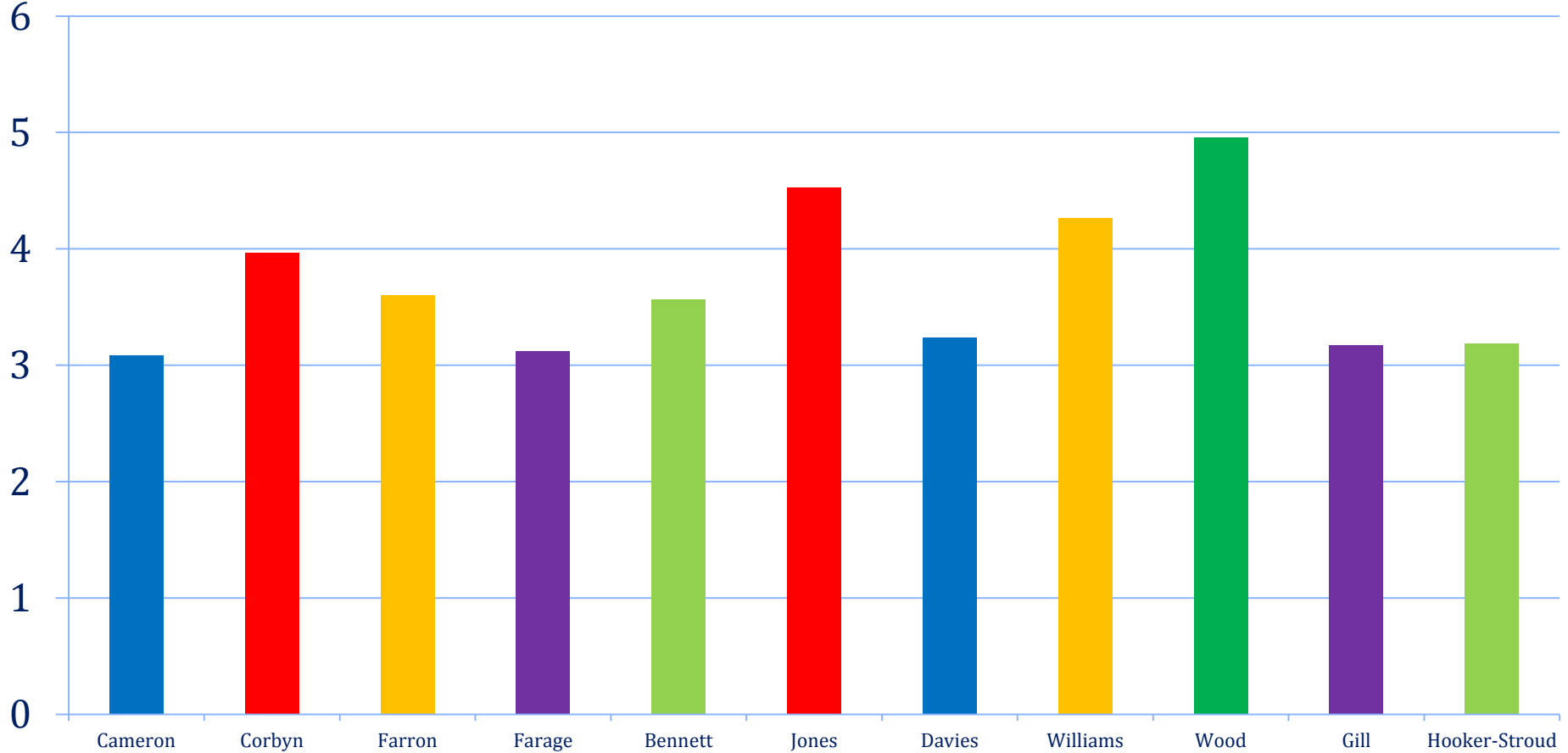
Which of these emotions do you feel about each of the parties? Proud



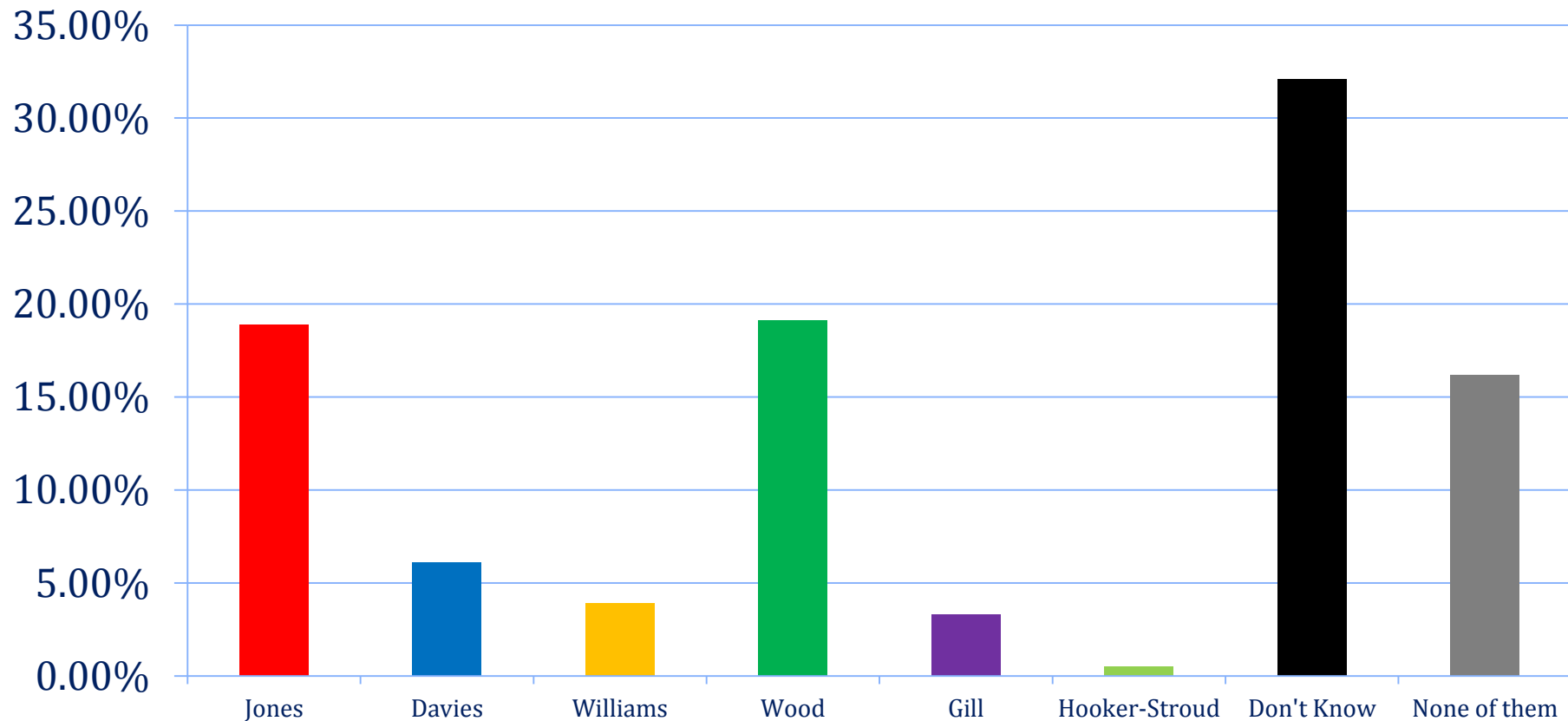
Party Leadership

- Party Leaders matter in elections
- 2011 Elections: attitudes to both UK and Welsh leaders mattered (cf. Scotland)
- Plentiful evidence on leaders in WES2016

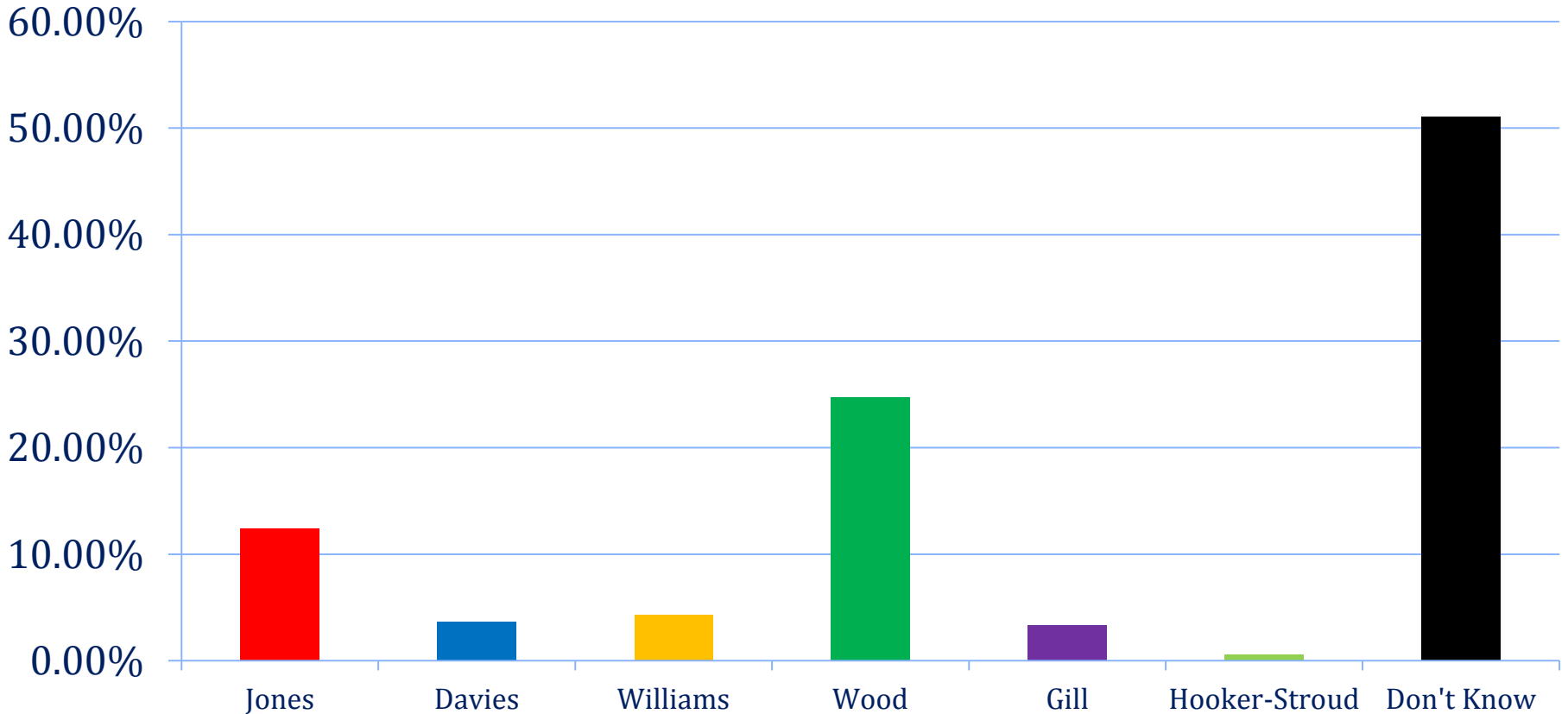
Popularity: Average /10



Best First Minister?

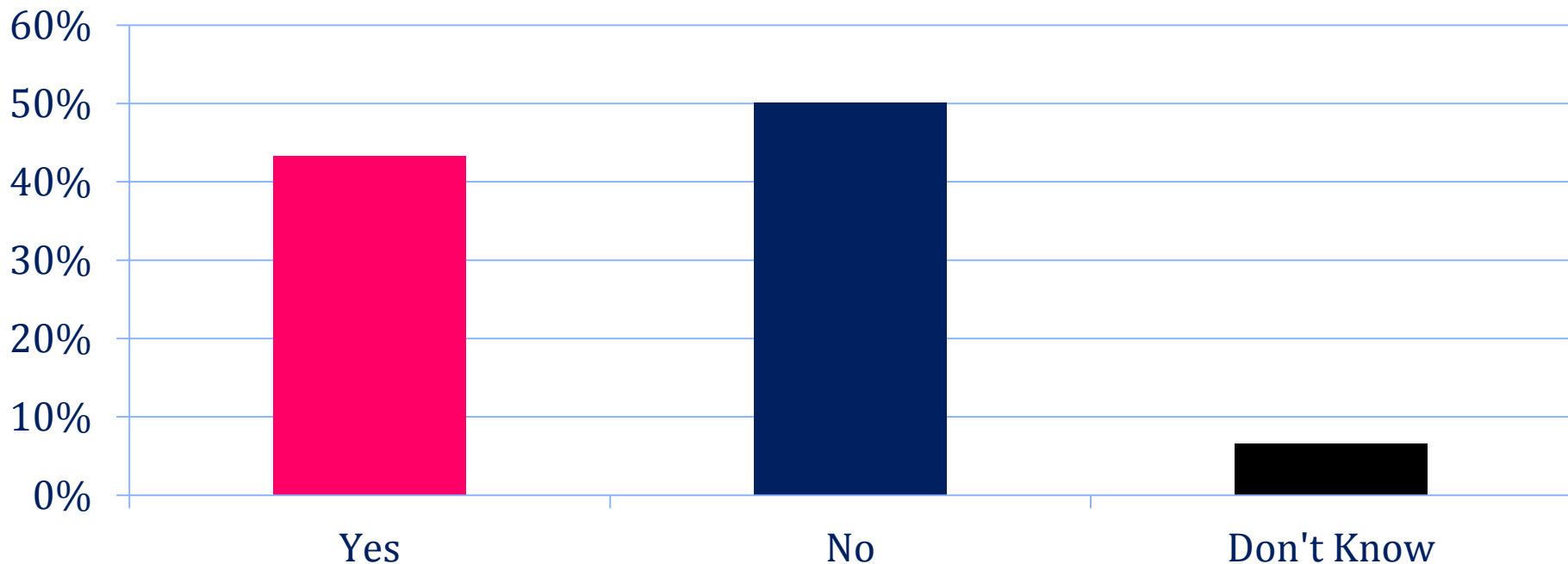


Which Leader Performed Best in Campaign?

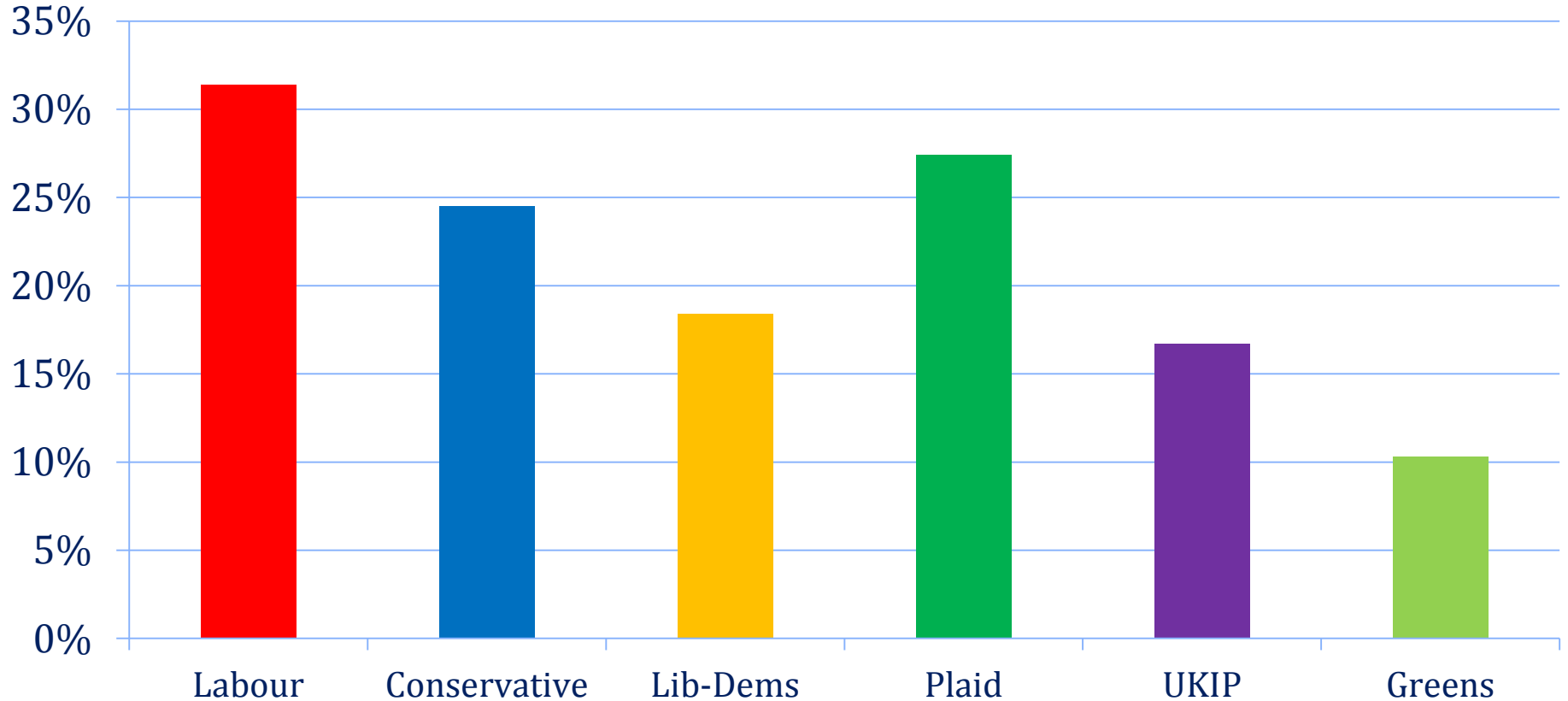


Campaigns: Levels of Party Contact

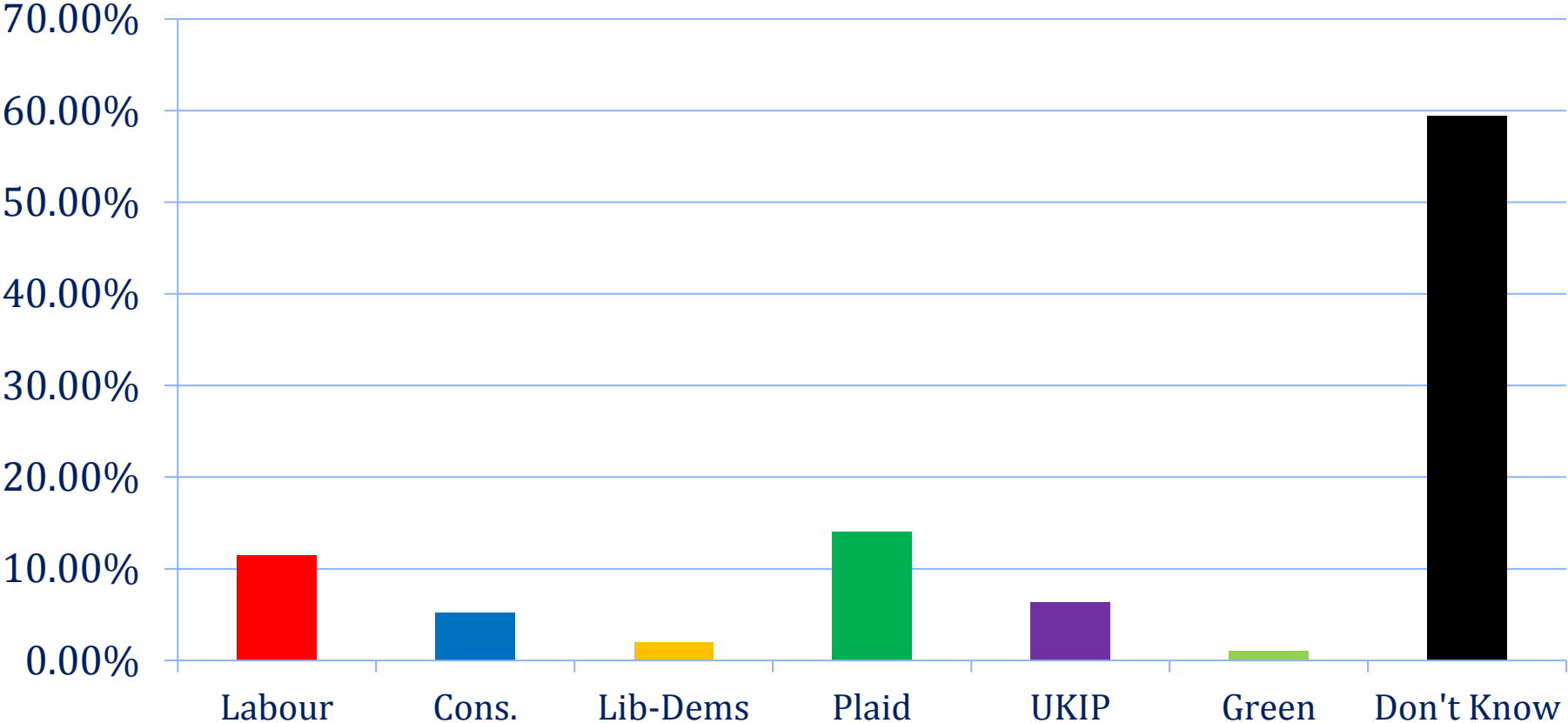
‘Were you contacted by a political party during the [National Assembly] election campaign?’



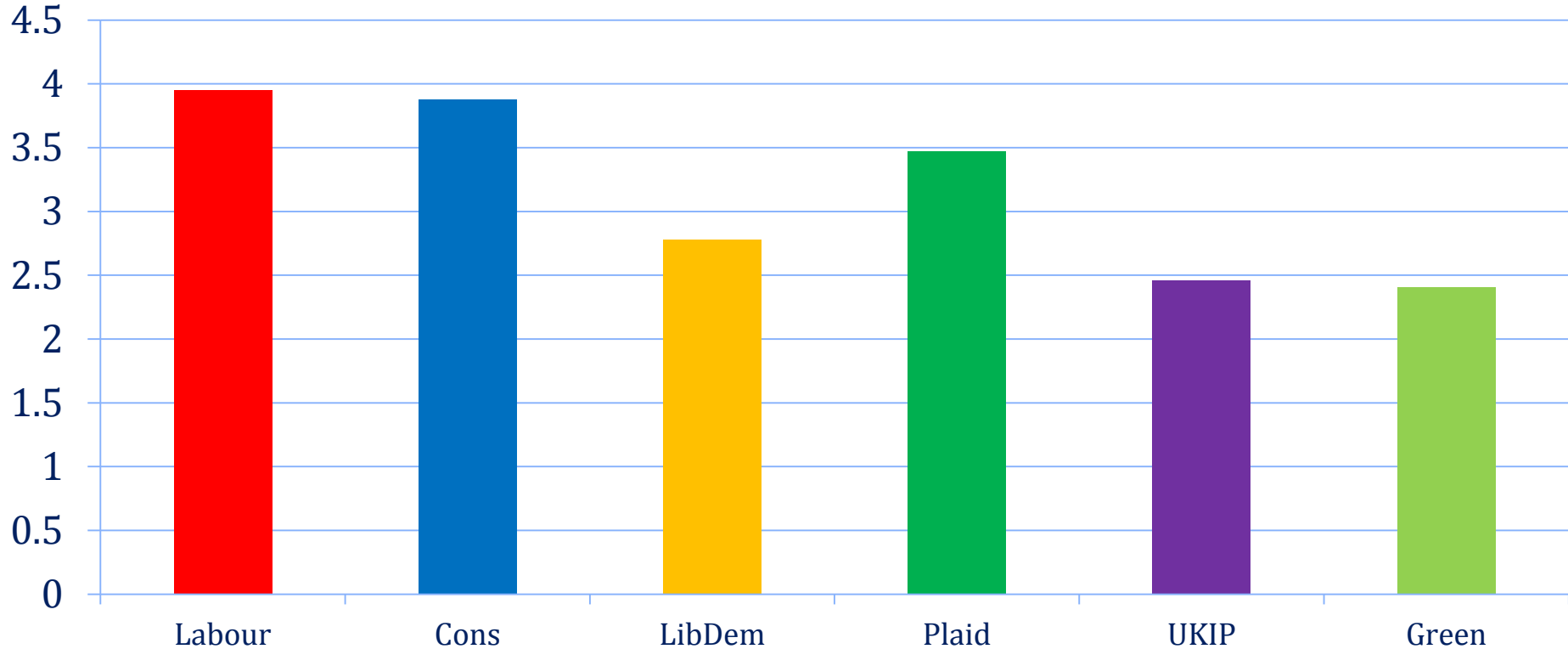
Which Party Contacted?



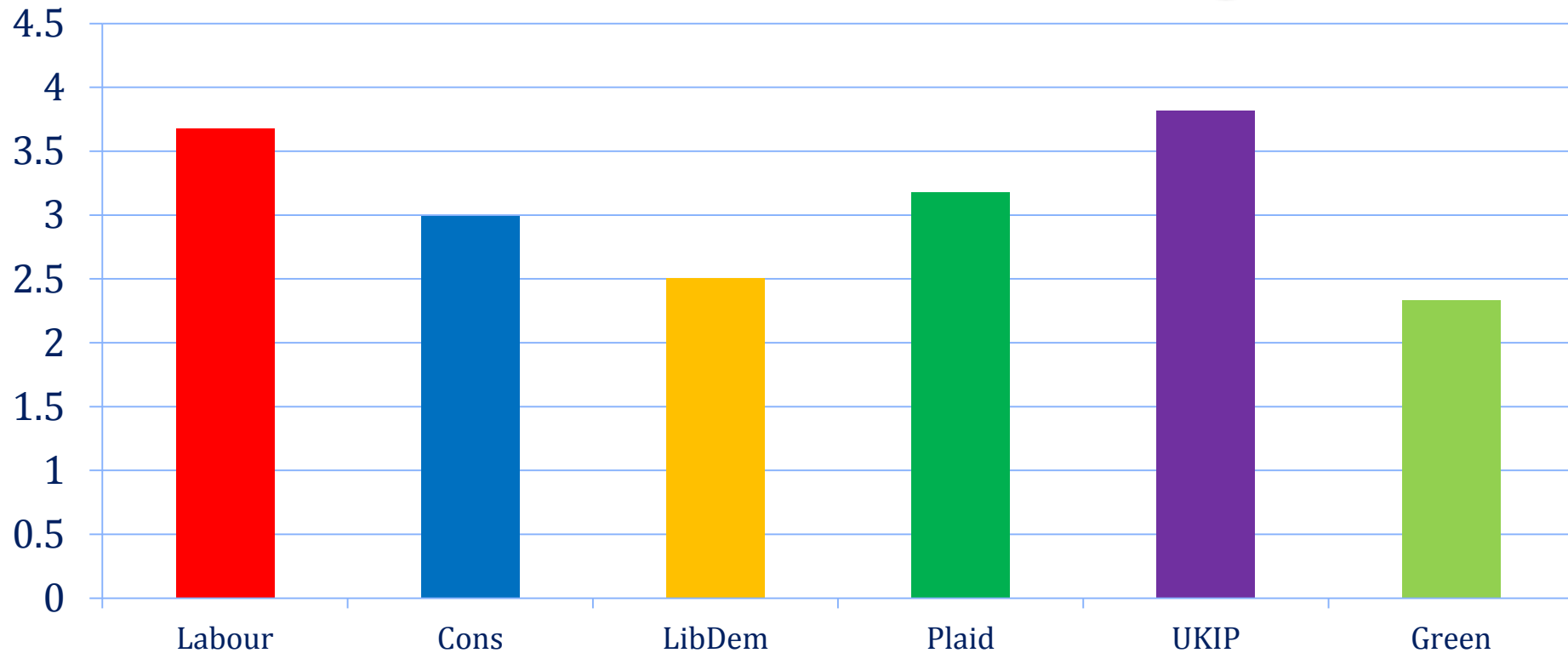
Which party ran best campaign?



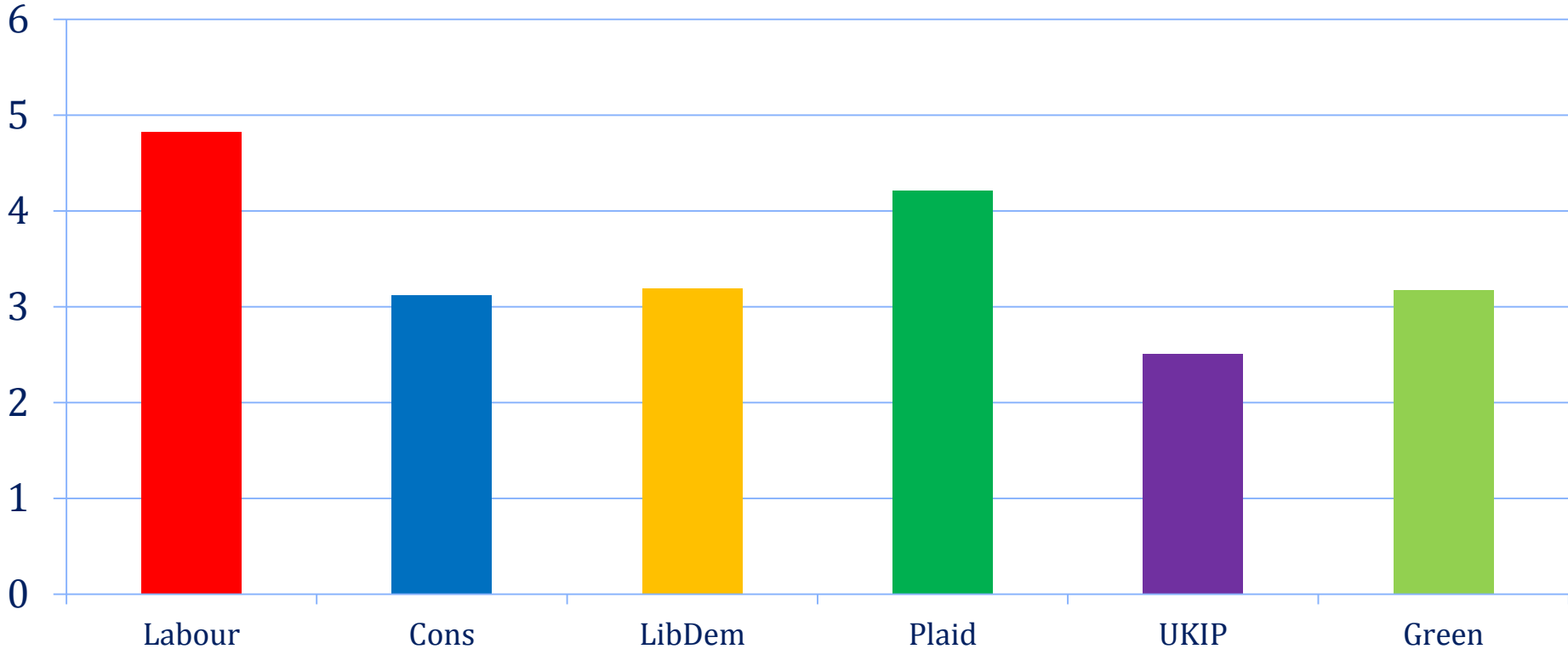
Policy: Average (/10) levels of Trust in parties to deal with...Economy



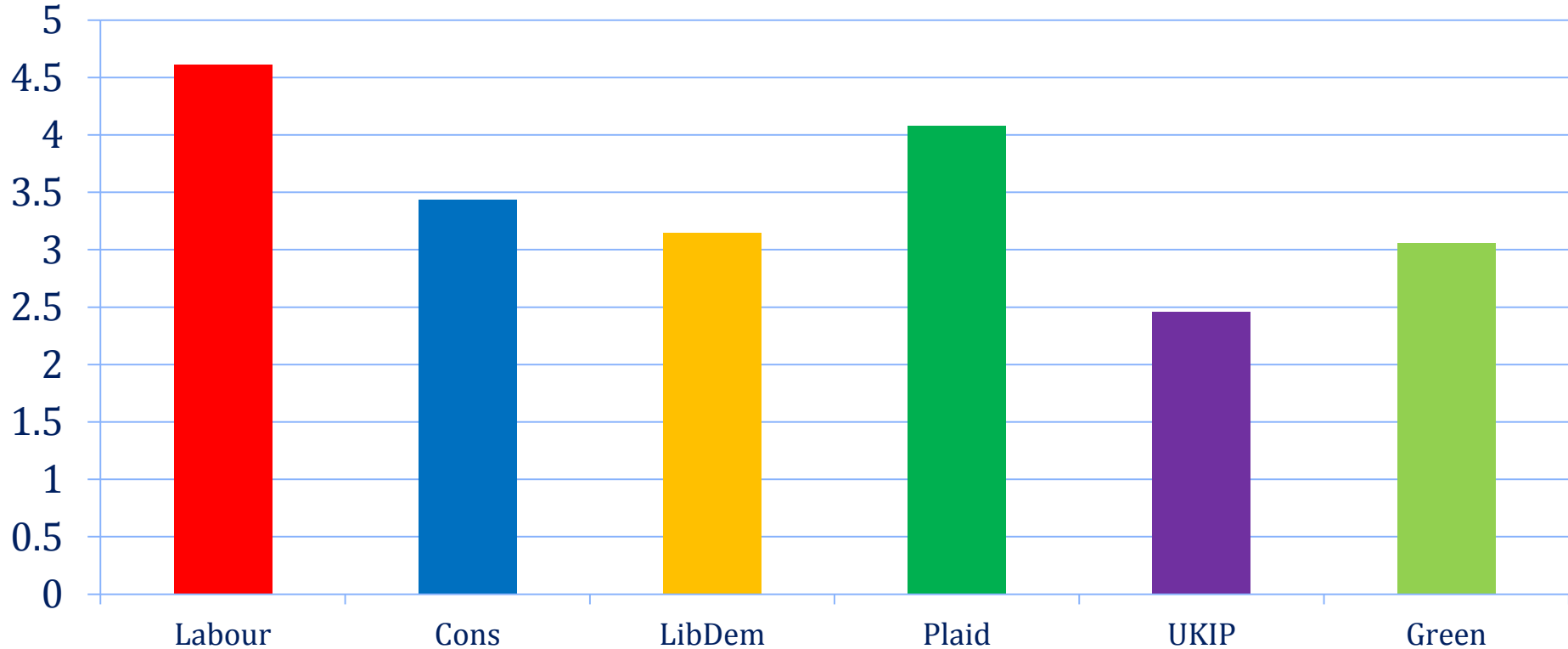
Policy: Average (/10) levels of Trust in parties to deal with...Immigration



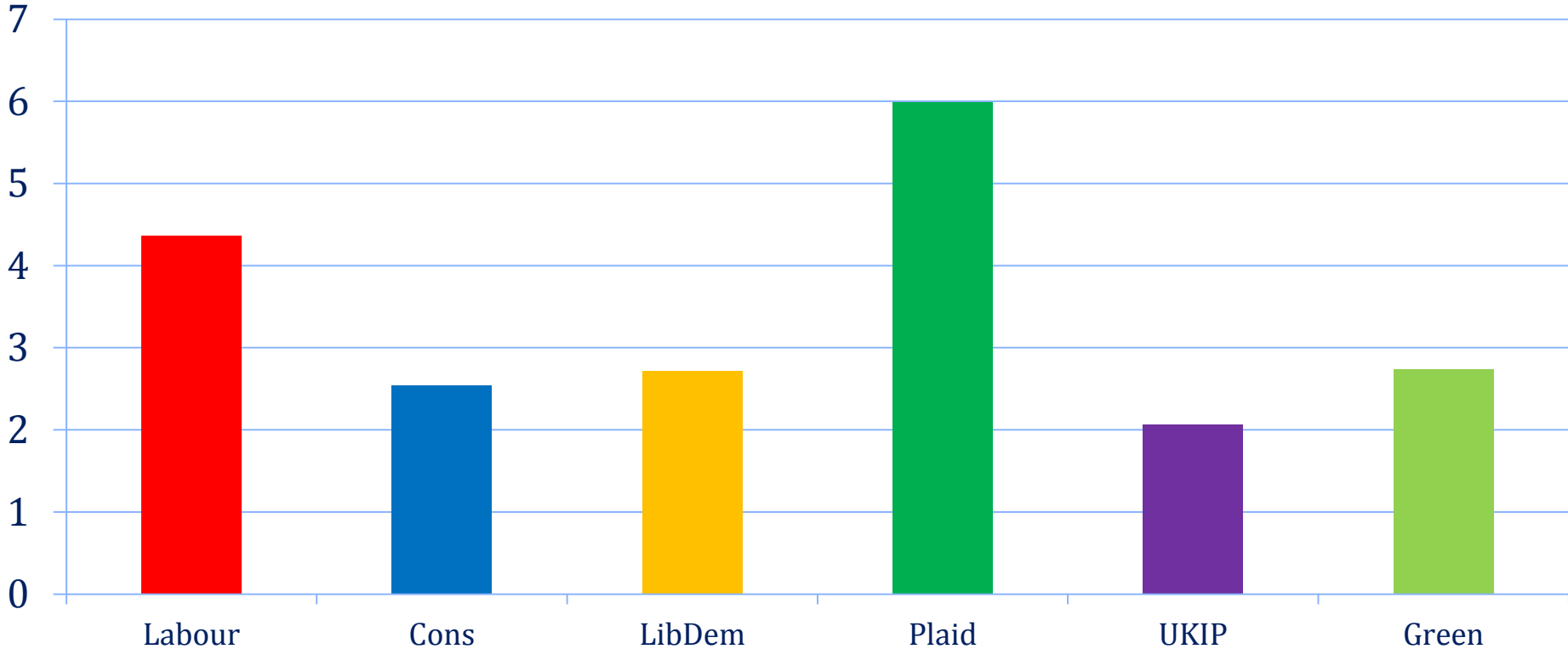
Policy: Average (/10) levels of Trust in parties to deal with...Health



Policy: Average (/10) levels of Trust in parties to deal with...Education

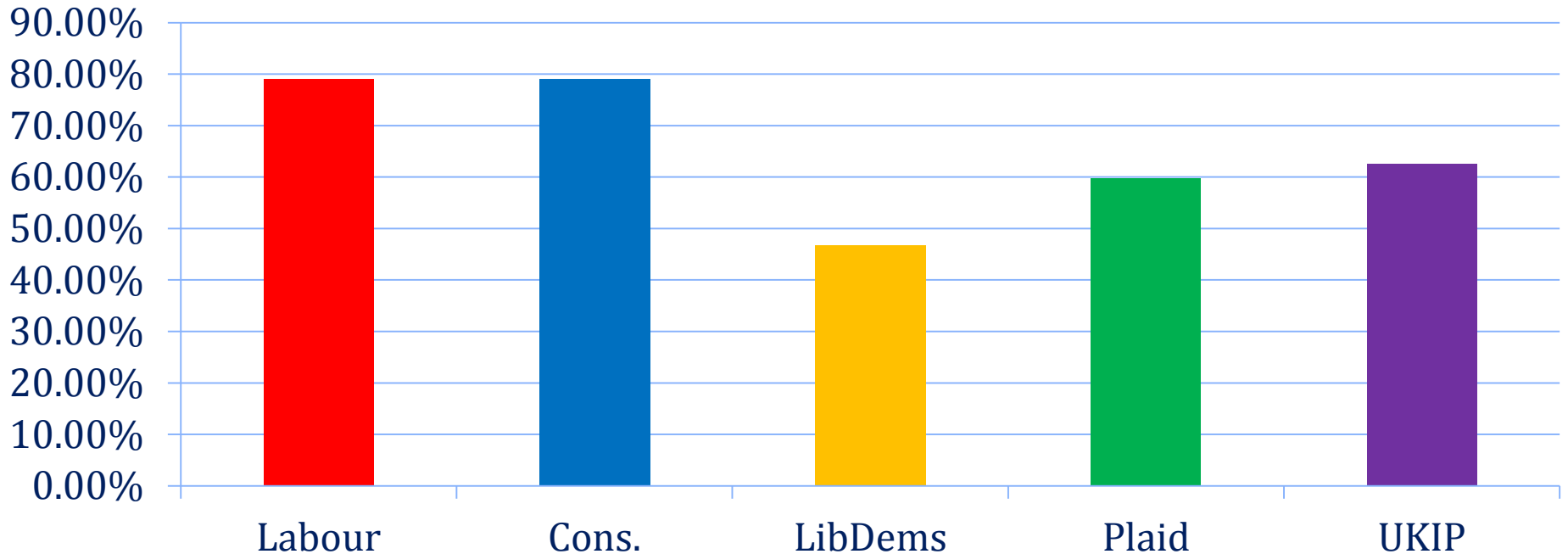


Policy: Average (/10) levels of Trust in parties to deal with...Standing up for Wales' Interests



Converting Attitudes into Votes

% of people giving 8-10 on party popularity scale who actually voted for party on constituency ballot





Canolfan Llywodraethiant Cymru
Wales Governance Centre



Any Questions?

www.cf.ac.uk/wgc
wgc@cardiff.ac.uk