

### Understanding the Reasons for the Welsh Vote

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Presentation to PPIW Conference on Brexit & Wales

30<sup>th</sup> March 2017



### Why Did Wales Vote Leave?

- Puzzling, given Wales' status as net beneficiary of EU membership – apparently against self-interest
- Also counter to self-image of Wales portrayed by much of the political/cultural elite: outward-looking, European nation
- And counter to referendum campaign stance of nearly all that elite

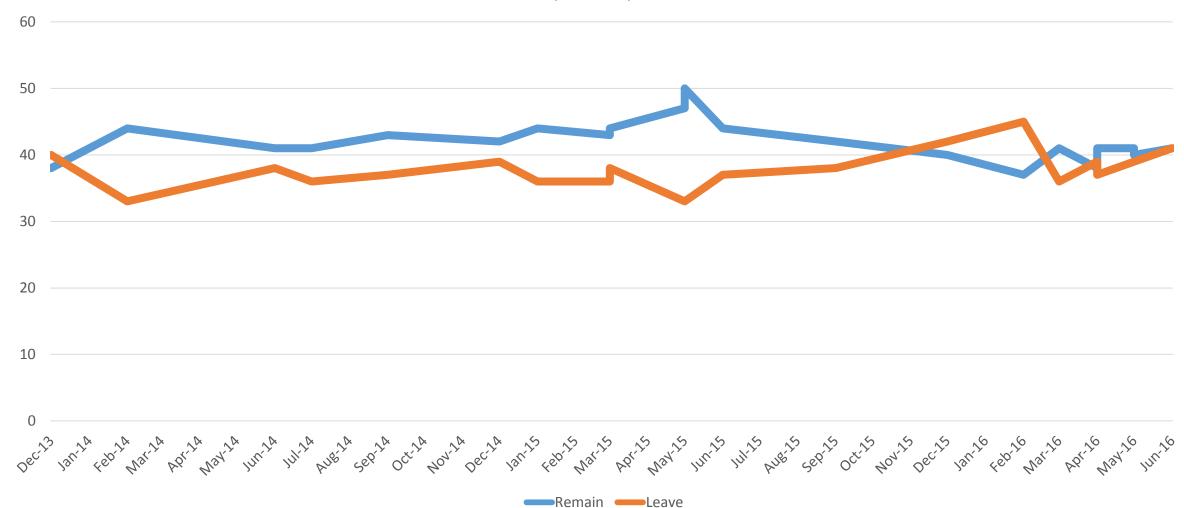


### Point 1: The result was not a great surprise

- Opinion polls on EU Referendum vote had been showing things very close in Wales for some time: generally had Remain ahead, but mostly had it very close
- But, as with Donald Trump, people couldn't quite accept that it might happen?



#### EU Referendum Polls, Wales, Dec 2013 – June 2016





### Point 2: There was little Welsh campaign

- EU Referendum 7 weeks after devolved elections
- Welsh parties and news-media very thinly resourced;
   had thrown everything they had at May elections
- Therefore, little left for EU Referendum campaign, little work by party activists or Welsh-specific media coverage



## Point 3: Following Point 2 – one side of 'bi-focal Wales' emphasised in EU Referendum

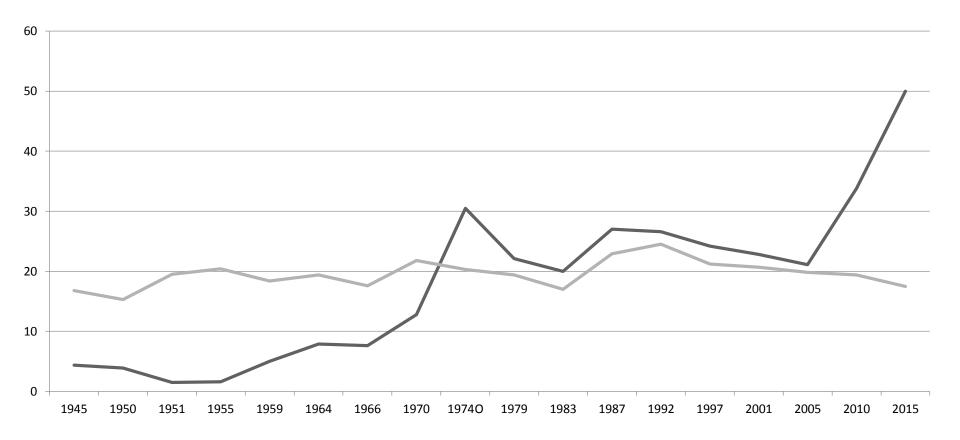
- Balsom et al (1983): Politics in Wales has a "bi-focal perspective", Welsh as well as British
- No general pattern of Welsh voting patterns becoming more like those of England
- In May elections, Plaid Cymru gained ground and won 2 of 4 PCC elections in Wales



## Index of Dissimilarity, Scotland and Wales (compared to England), 1945-2015 General Elections

Scotland

----Wales





# Point 4: Demographics of the vote: very similar in Wales to England

- Similar sorts of places voted Remain and Leave in Wales as in England
- Similar sorts of people also voted Remain and Leave in Wales as in England



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- Similar sorts of places voted Remain and Leave in Wales as in England
- Similar sorts of people also voted Remain and Leave in Wales as in England (Age, Income, Education Level, National Identity)

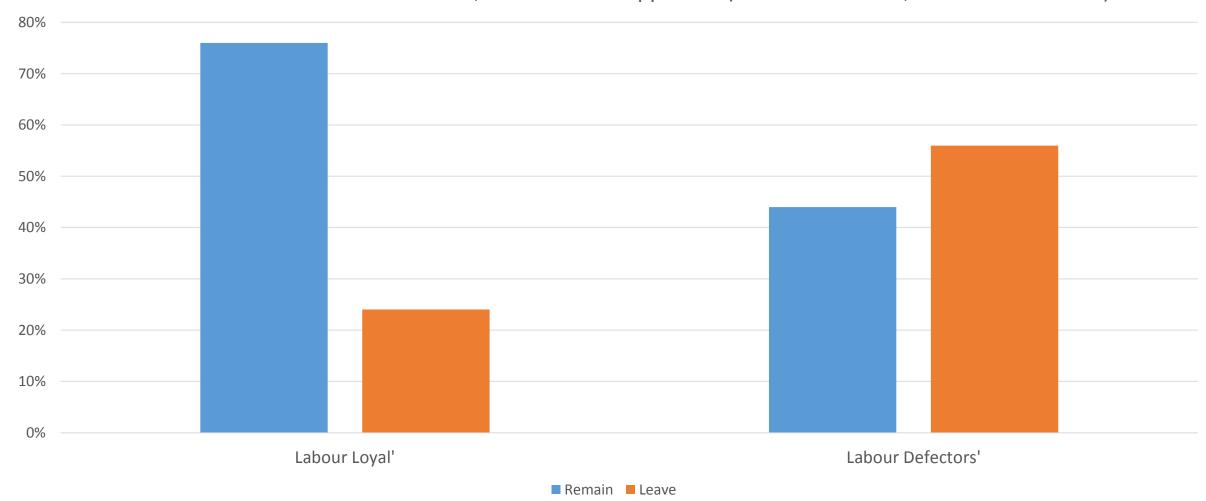


### Point 5: Labour defectors were a key group

- Those people remaining loyal to Labour were still quite significantly pro-Remain
- But those who had abandoned Labour since 2011 leaned clearly towards Leave



#### EU Referendum Vote Intention, 2011 Labour Supporters (Source: WES2016, Post-Election Wave)





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