Split-ticket voting at the combined General and Local Elections in 2015

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Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Annual Conference,
University of Cardiff, September 11th-13th September, 2015

Split-ticket voters

- Dividing electoral choice across parties and candidates
- Weakening of party identification leading to more split-ticket behaviour
- Instrumental choice – divided government, moderating policy
- Tactical choices – campaign messages
- Expressive voting – support and protest

Outline

- Fifth consecutive occasion combining general and local elections
- Opportunities to observe differences in the aggregate voting data
- BES provide individual-level data – examining trend in split-ticket voting since 1979
- Large N survey in 2015 permits within party comparisons between loyalists and splitters

Aggregate data

Voting in metropolitan boroughs

	Con	Lab	LD	Green	UKIP
Constituencies 2015 (N=)	117	118	107	105	117
Median %	111.2	104.5	79.6	60.4	101.4
Constituencies 2010 (N=)	118	118	116	40	51
Median %	106.4	106	91.3	43.3	195.8

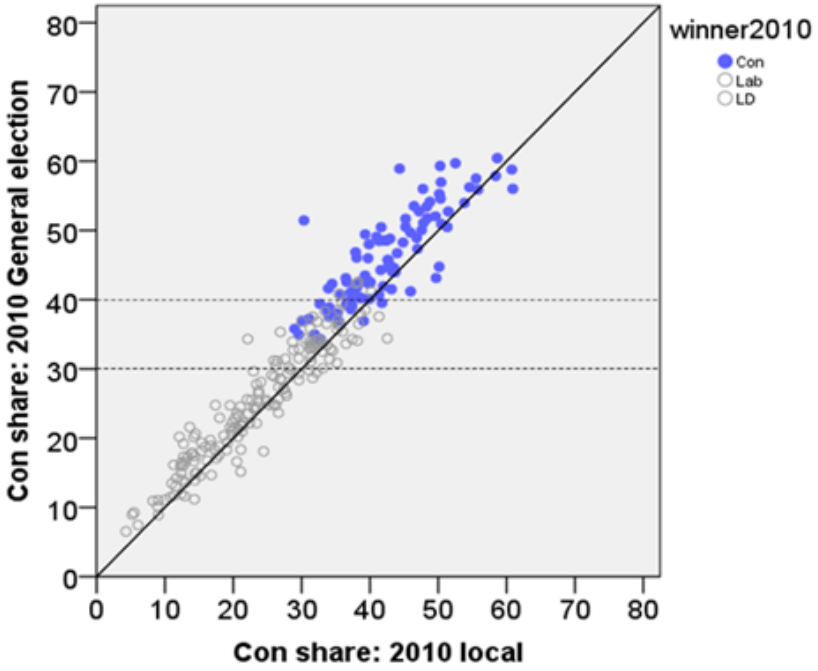
- Values are general election vote as pct of local vote
- Median values used because of large range
- Trend for two major parties continues
- Lib Dems revert to prior pattern < 2010
- Greens & Ukip fight more wards in 2015

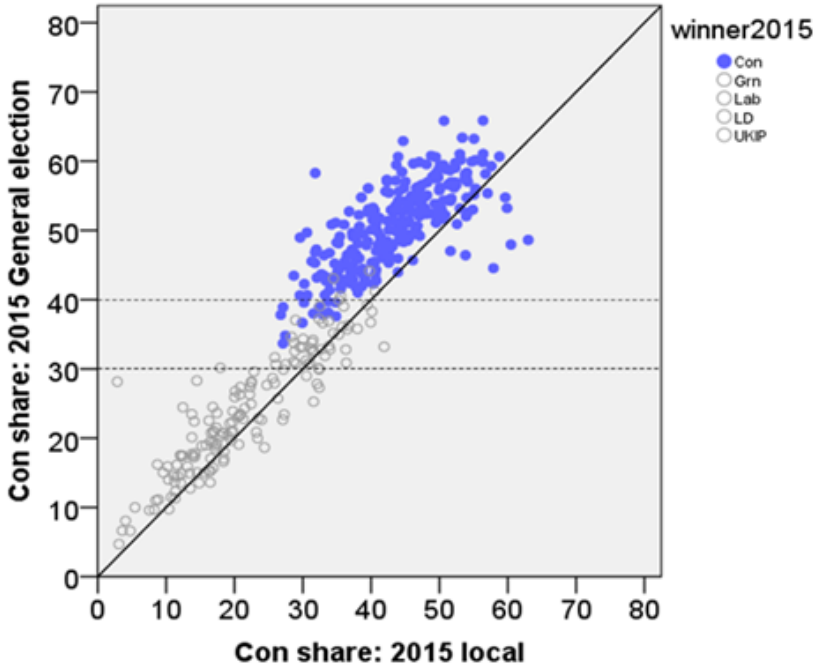
Voting in districts/unitary councils

	Con	Lab	LD	Green	UKIP
Constituencies 2015 (N=)	73	73	69	62	72
Median %	113.8	104	75.3	61.6	101.2
Constituencies 2010 (N=)	78	77	77	39	40
Median %	106.7	102.9	87.6	47.6	129.5

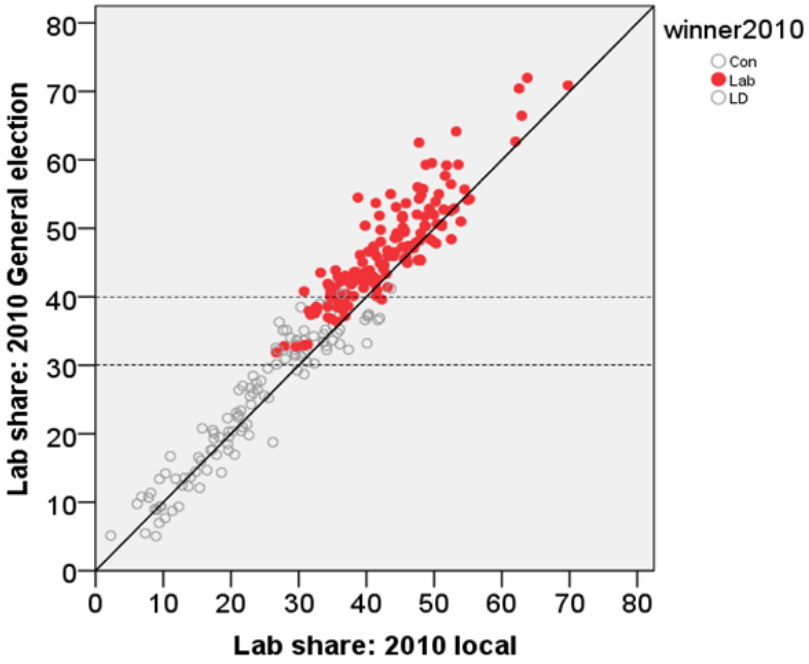
- N of constituencies reduced by boundary changes
- Values are general election vote as pct of local vote
- Median values used because of large range
- Con ge vote increases as pct of local vote
- Lib Dems revert to prior pattern < 2010
- Greens & Ukip fight more wards in 2015

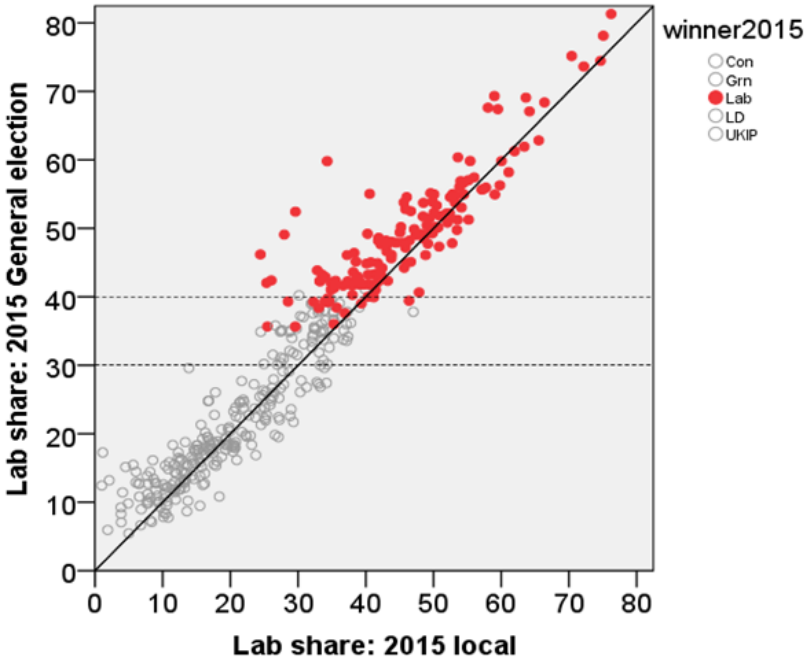
The Conservative vote 2010 & 2015



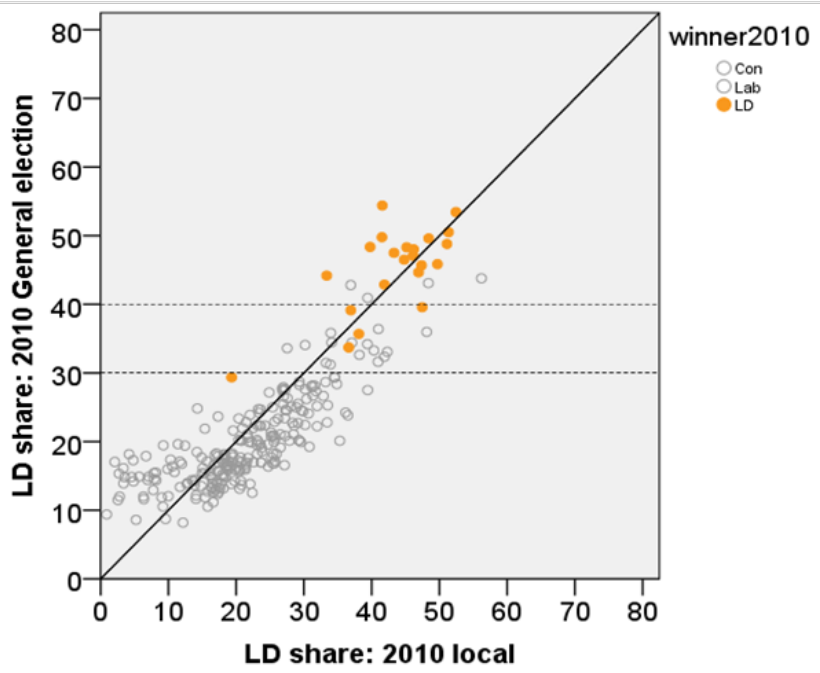


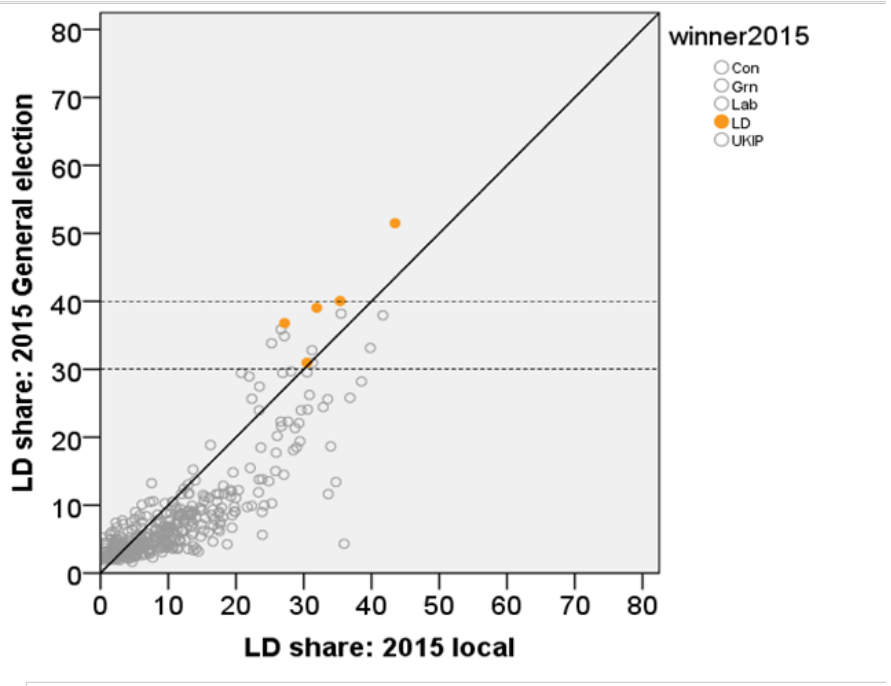
The Labour vote 2010 & 2015



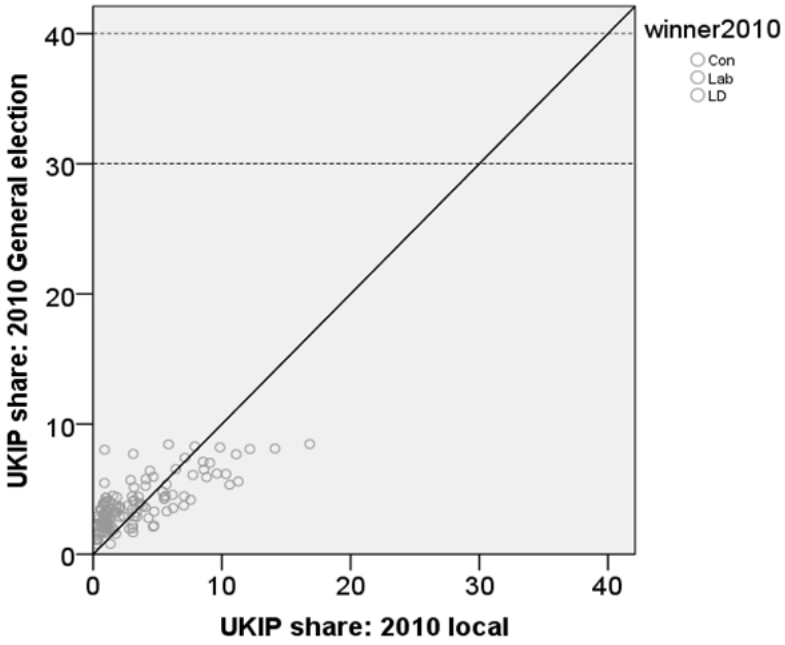


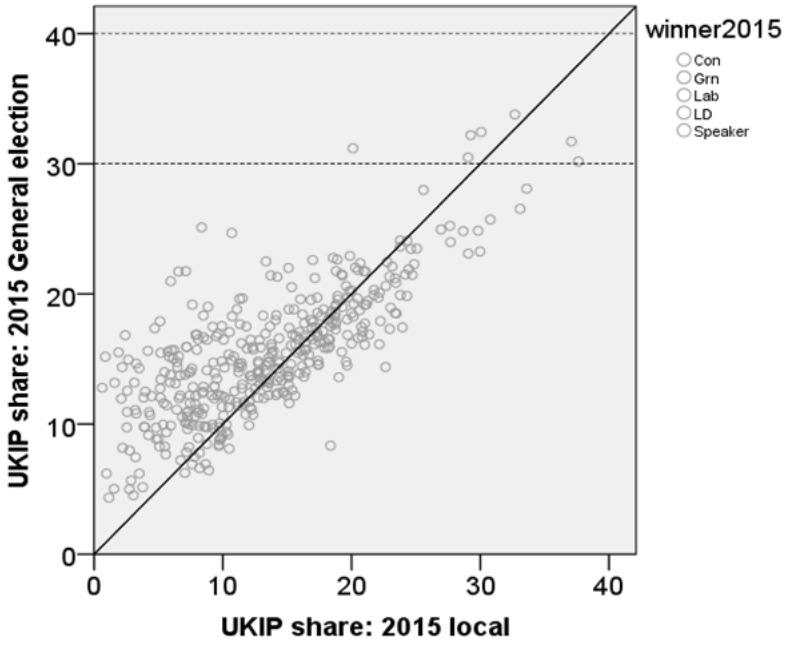
The Lib Dem vote 2010 & 2015



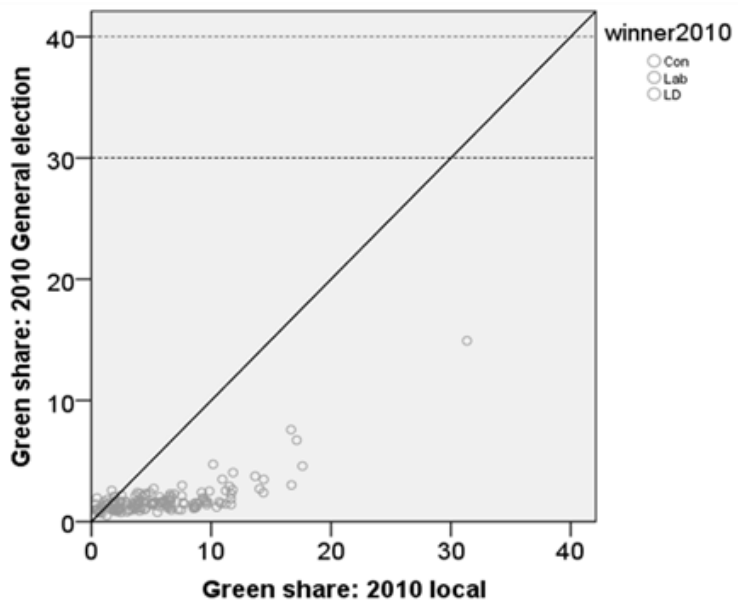


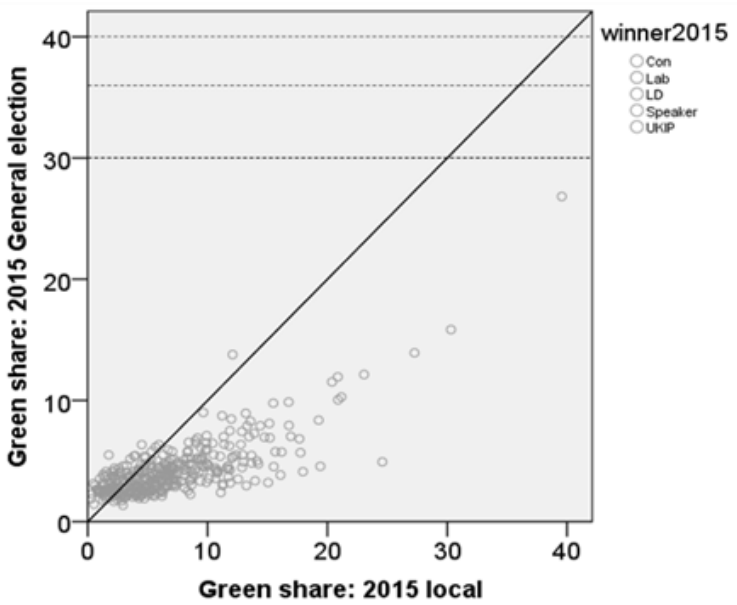
The Ukip vote 2010 & 2015





The Green vote 2010 & 2015





Survey evidence

Headlines

- According to BES some 26% of voters are ticket splitters in 2015 cf circa 20% in 2010
- Approximately a fifth of Conservative and Labour ge voters supported other parties with local vote
- More than a third of Lib Dems did so
- More than four in ten Greens and Ukip g.e. voters split tickets
- Did this opportunity impact upon polling accuracy?

Proportion of party loyalists

	1979	1997	2010	2015
Conservative	83	76	78	72
Labour	82	75	78	74
Lib (Dem)	43	53	65	40

Source: British Election Studies

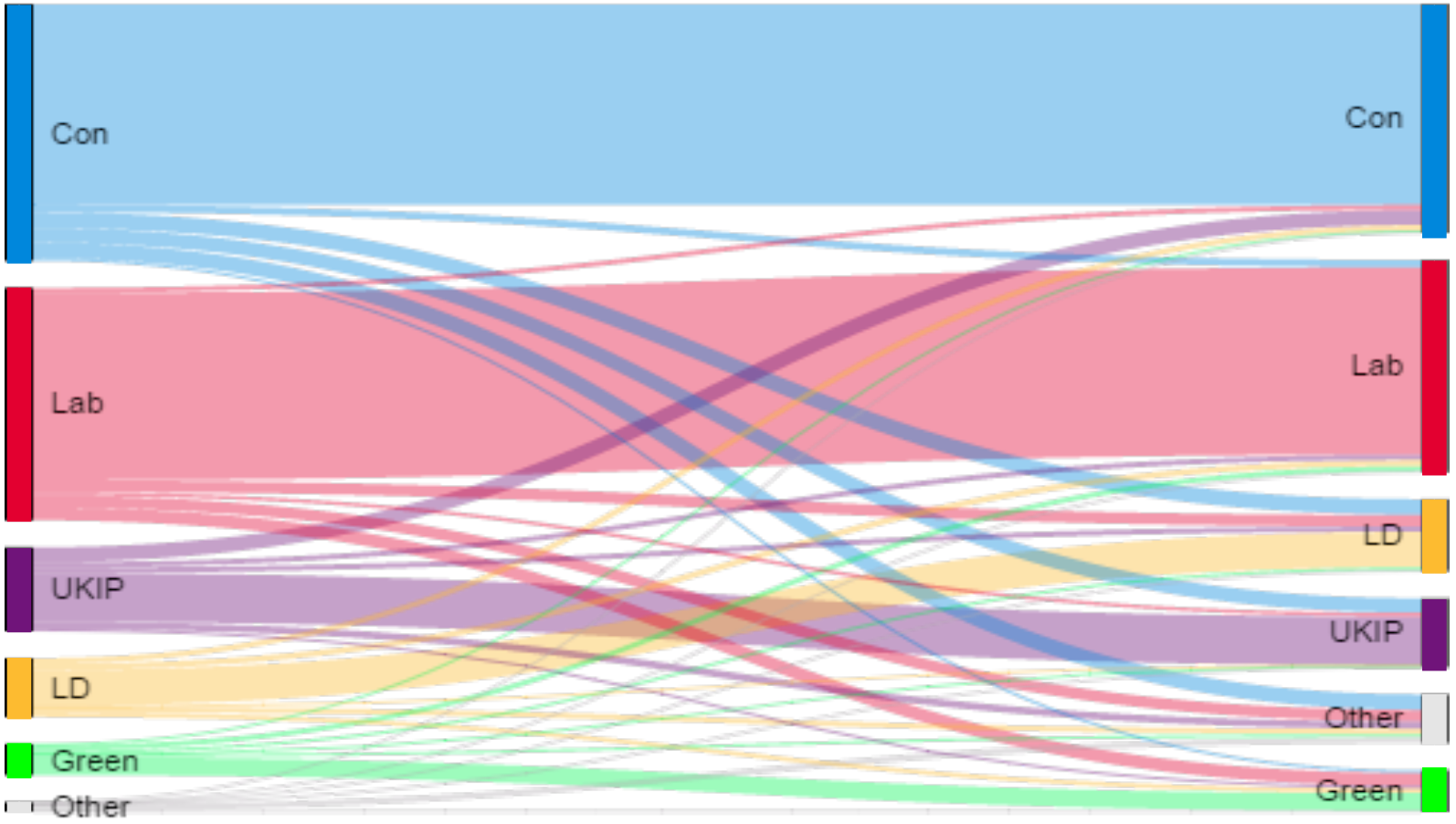
How voters divided choices in 2015

				Local vote				
2015		**Con**	**Lab**	**LD**	**UKIP**	**Green**	**Other**	
g.e.	**Con**	79	3	6	5	1	5	100
	Lab	2	82	5	2	5	5	100
	LD	9	10	63	2	7	9	100
	UKIP	18	6	7	58	3	8	100
	Green	4	16	12	2	58	9	100
	Other	9	8	9	4	8	61	100
Total		34	33	12	9	6	7	100

Source: British Election Study 2015

Splitters – 21% Con; 18% Lab; 37% LD; 42% Ukip & Greens

The flow of voters from general to local



General Election ***Local Election***

Split-ticket voters in three main parties

	1979	1997	2010	2015
Conservative general vote/Conservative local vote	42.5	32.3	36.7	40.9
Conservative general vote/Labour local vote	2.5	0.8	0.8	1.6
Conservative general vote/Liberal (Democrat) local vote	5.0	4.4	3.5	3.3
Labour general vote/Conservative local vote	1.6	2.7	1.1	1.0
Labour general vote/Labour local vote	30.8	34	31.8	39.8
Labour general vote/Liberal (Democrat) local vote	4.4	5.2	1.8	2.5
Liberal (Democrat) general vote/Conservative local vote	1.6	2.5	1.8	1.2
Liberal (Democrat) general vote/Labour local vote	1.6	2.0	1.8	1.3
Liberal (Democrat) general vote/Liberal (Democrat) local vote	10.1	16.1	20.8	8.4
Total 'splitters'	**16.7**	**17.7**	**10.7**	**10.9**

Source: British Election Study 2015

The broader picture and Ukip

	2010	2015
Type of voter	**%**	**%**
Conservative general vote./UKIP local vote	0.6	2.4
Labour general vote/UKIP local vote	-	0.7
Liberal (Democrat) general vote/UKIP local vote	-	0.2
UKIP general vote/ Conservative local vote	0.4	2.3
UKIP general vote/Labour local vote	0.3	0.8
UKIP general vote/Liberal (Democrat) local vote	-	0.9
UKIP general vote/UKIP local vote	0.7	7.4

Social characteristics of split-ticket voters

- Men more likely than women
- Older rather than younger
- Minority ethnic least likely
- Higher educated
- Social renters least likely
- Higher earning households

Strength of party identification

	split-ticket voter	party loyalist
Does not identify with party	37.4	62.6
Not very strongly identifies with party	36.9	63.1
Very/fairly strongly identifies with party	21.3	78.7
Total	25.7	74.3

Split-ticket versus loyalists 1979-2015

	1979	1997	2010	2015
	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
STRENGTH	-1.12 (0.365)**	-0.86 (0.235)**	-0.86 (0.346)**	-1.08 (0.08)**
CONFEEL	-0.06 (0.099)	-0.26 (0.509)	0.16 (0.064)**	-0.04 (0.01)**
LABFEEL	0.14 (0.089)	0.71 (0.578)	0.17 (0.066)**	-0.04 (0.01)**
LIBFEEL	-0.12 (0.083)	1.00 (0.612)	0.13 (0.081)	0.10 (0.01)**
OTHERP	0.67 (0.383)*	1.05 (0.239)**	n/a	0.07 (0.01)**†
DEGREE	0.32 (0.767)	0.39 (0.316)	0.14 (0.306)	0.20 (0.06)**
AGE	0.00 (0.012)	0.01 (0.008)	0.01 (0.008)	0.01 (0.002)**
INCOME	0.08 (0.064)	0.28 (0.095)**	0.03 (0.035)	0.02 (0.01)*
TACTICAL	0.23 (0.408)	0.58 (0.325)	1.79 (0.521)**	0.96 (0.09)**
Constant	-1.72 (1.29)	-3.82 (.911)**	-5.1 (.963)**	-1.12 (0.16)**
% correct	56	82.9	91.1	74.5
Nagelkerke R^2	0.153	0.178	0.092	0.1
N=	266	643	757	8,602

Straight ticket versus LD/Ukip splitters

	Con/Con vs.	Con/Con vs.	Lab/Lab vs.	Lab/Lab vs.
	Con GE/LD local	Con/UKIP	Lab/LD	Lab/UKIP
Strength	0.93 (0.26)**	1.08 (0.33)**	-0.40 (0.36)	1.16 (0.54)*
CONfeel	0.25 (0.05)**	0.21 (0.07)**	0.06 (0.04)	0.13 (0.08)
LABfeel	0.10 (0.04)**	0.04 (0.04)	0.34 (0.05)**	0.26 (0.09)**
LDfeel	-0.33 (0.04)**	0.04 (0.04)	-0.42 (0.04)**	0.09 (0.07)
UKIPfeel	0.06 (0.03)*	-0.57 (0.05)**	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.49 (0.06)**
Degree	-0.18 (0.17)	0.25 (0.20)	-0.20 (0.19)	-0.34 (0.37)
Age	-0.02 (0.01)**	-0.02 (0.01)*	-0.02 (0.01)**	-0.03 (0.01)*
Income	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.03)*	-0.12 (0.05)*
Tactical	-0.79 (0.28)**	-0.88 (0.29)**	0.01 (0.31)	0.36 (0.51)
LDwinner2010ge	-1.72 (0.24)**	0.88 (0.48)	-2.28 (0.27)**	0.50 (0.80)
LDsecond2010ge	-0.68 (0.17)**	0.45 (0.19)*	-1.01 (0.20)**	0.55 (0.35)
Constant	2.50 (0.59)**	3.92 (0.76)**	4.25 (0.63)**	4.32 (0.97)**
% correct	92.7 (8.2 / 99.6)	93.6 (10.7 / 99.2)	94.0 (8.1 / 99.5)	97.9 (1.5 / 99.9)
Nagelkerke R^2	0.21	0.34	0.27	0.3
N	2,744	2,706	2,696	2,585