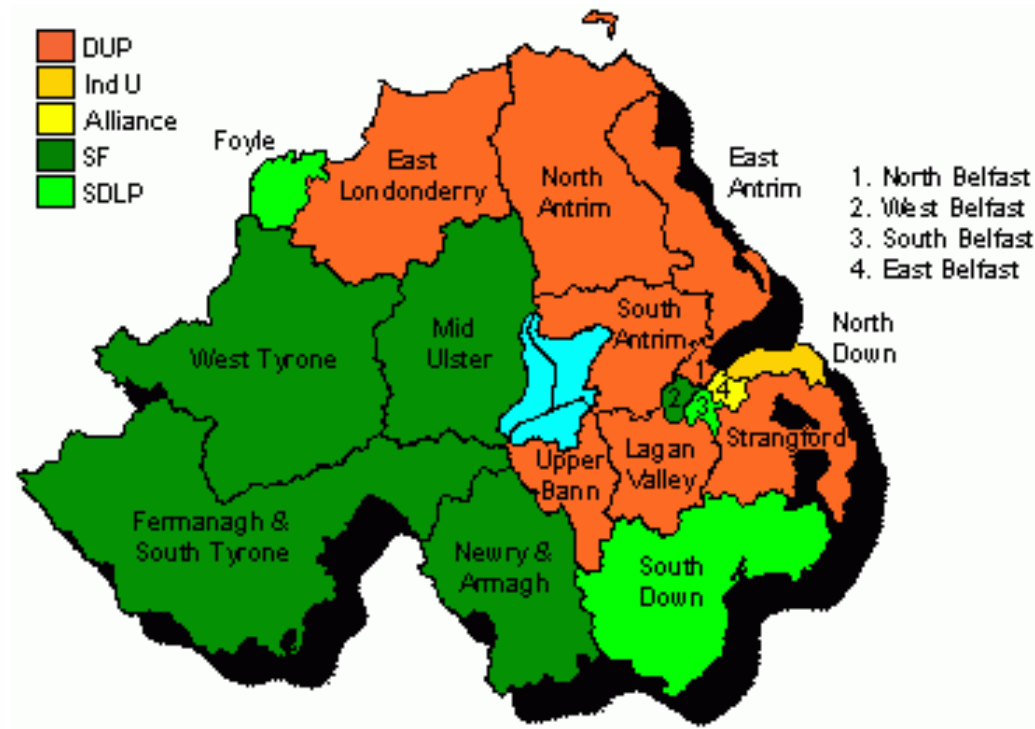


# Who cares about Voting and Identity?



# What is an election?

- A mini-referendum on the Border?
- A sectarian head-count?
- A reaffirmation of communal identity?
- A complex exercise of coalition-building?
- A complete waste of time?
- Great fun?

# The great divide

## PUL

- Protestants
- Unionists
- Loyalists

## CNR

- Catholics
- Nationalists
- Republicans

# Really?

# The numbers from the census

- Protestants and other Christians:
  - 767,924 (45.6%) in 2001
  - 752,555 (41.6%) in 2011
- Roman Catholics:
  - 678,462 (40.2%) in 2001
  - 738,033 (40.8%) in 2011
- Other religions
  - 5,028 (0.3%) in 2001
  - 14,859 (0.8%) in 2011
- None/not stated
  - 233,853 (13.9%) in 2001
  - 305,416 (16.9%) in 2011

# The numbers from elections (i)

- Westminster 2010
  - Un 340,890 (50.6%, down 1.2% from 2005)
  - Nat 282,912 (42.0%, up 0.2% from 2005)
  - Oth 50,339 (7.4%, up 1.1% from 2005)
  - turnout 57.6%, down 7.8% from 2005
- Assembly 2011
  - Un 318,869 (48.3%, down 0.5% from 2007)
  - Nat 277,961 (42.0%, down 0.4% from 2007)
  - Oth 64,906 (9.8%, up 1.0% from 2007)
  - turnout 55.6%, down 7.2% from 2007

# The numbers from elections (ii)

- Local government 2014
  - Un 300,386 (47.7%, up 2.0% from 2011)
  - Nat 239,658 (38.0%, down 2.4% from 2011)
  - Oth 89,877 (14.3%, up 0.5% from 2011)
  - turnout 51.3%, down 4.4% from 2011
- European Parliament 2014
  - Un 319,135 (51.0%, up 2.0% from 2009)
  - Nat 241,407 (38.6%, down 3.7% from 2009)
  - Oth 65,583 (10.5%, up 1.7% from 2009)
  - Turnout 51.8%, up 8.0% from 2009

# Overall picture

- From Census
  - “Catholic” population holds steady
  - “Protestants” in decline
  - “None/not stated” growing
- From elections
  - Unionist vote steady around 50%
  - Nationalist vote steady around 40%
  - Visible swing to Unionists in 2014
  - Turnout stabilising in mid 50’s

Who do we think we are?

**Is opinion divided?**



**NO**

**YES**



# The Census: national identity

British only	722,379	39.89%
Irish only	457,482	25.26%
Northern Irish only	379,267	20.94%
British and Irish only	11,877	0.66%
British and Northern Irish only	111,748	6.17%
Irish and Northern Irish only	19,132	1.06%
British, Irish & Northern Irish only	18,406	1.02%
Other	90,572	5.00%
Total British	876,577	48.41%
Total Irish	513,390	28.35%
Total Northern Irish	533,085	29.44%

# The blurred divide

- 41.6% Protestants
- 40.8% Catholics
- 48.4% British identity
- 29.4% Irish identity
- 50% vote Unionist
- 40% vote Nationalist

# Who thinks they are “British”?

The five most “British” wards:

		British	Irish	N Irish	Prot	Cath	Oth	none
Ahoghill	(Ballymena)	84.34	3.88	23.82	89.12	5.89	0.69	4.3
Ballykeel	(Ballymena)	83.67	2.13	21.56	85.05	5.75	1.73	7.48
Dunanney	(N'abbey)	83.60	3.58	24.31	84.84	2.83	0.62	11.72
Cullybackey	(Ballymena)	83.07	2.39	25.06	88.91	3.81	1.32	5.95
Kells	(Ballymena)	82.85	3.86	26.34	88.79	5.26	0.68	5.26

The four most “British” constituencies:

	British	Irish	N Irish	Prot	Cath	Oth	none
North Down	71.86	8.65	32.70	74.44	12.59	1.15	11.83
Strangford	71.11	9.38	32.11	73.13	17.28	0.94	8.65
Belfast East	70.36	9.62	29.94	75.4	12.7	1.44	10.47
East Antrim	69.53	10.45	31.27	70.11	20.39	0.97	8.53

# Who thinks they are “Irish”?

## The five most “Irish” wards:

		Irish	British	N Irish	Cath	Prot	Oth	None
Springtown	(Derry)	76.78	5.46	19.16	96.90	1.98	0.22	0.89
Silver Bridge	(N & M)	76.45	4.83	18.91	94.51	3.47	0.37	1.64
Brandywell	(Derry)	75.99	6.01	19.36	94.55	4.45	0.08	0.92
Creggan South	(Derry)	75.67	5.31	21.61	97.28	2.20	0.04	0.48
Creggan Central	(Derry)	75.31	6.84	19.53	95.93	3.27	0.07	0.73

## The four most “Irish” constituencies:

	Irish	British	N Irish	Cath	Prot	Oth	none
West Belfast	59.17	21.50	22.44	80.08	16.65	0.58	2.69
Foyle	55.71	23.29	24.21	75.12	22.02	0.79	2.07
Newry and Armagh	45.42	29.68	26.44	66.36	30.59	0.55	2.50
Mid Ulster	41.52	30.73	30.52	66.72	30.78	0.44	2.06

# Who thinks they are “Northern Irish”?

The five most “Northern Irish” wards:

		N Irish	British	Irish	Prot	Cath	Oth	None
Ballyhoe&Corkey	(Ballymoney)	42.06	15.78	47.86	7.44	91.40	0.00	1.16
Drumaness	(Down)	40.09	28.72	36.79	14.53	81.11	0.36	4.00
Ardboe	(Cookstown)	39.80	7.53	55.47	4.58	95.00	0.16	0.27
Glenshesk	(Moyle)	39.68	13.49	50.05	8.56	90.03	0.20	1.21
Ardglass	(Down)	39.55	25.11	40.91	11.04	86.19	0.35	2.42

The four most “Northern Irish” constituencies:

	N Irish	British	Irish	Prot	Cath	Oth	None
North Down	32.70	71.86	8.65	74.44	12.59	1.15	11.83
South Down	32.38	32.58	39.52	26.85	69.26	0.52	3.36
West Tyrone	32.31	30.52	40.12	30.16	67.98	0.4	1.47
Strangford	32.11	71.11	9.38	73.13	17.28	0.94	8.65

# Who \*doesn't\* think they are “Northern Irish”?

The five least “Northern Irish” wards:

		N Irish	Irish	British	Cath	Prot	Oth	None
Shankill	(Belfast)	18.84	6.53	80.37	7.86	84.51	0.68	6.94
Silver Bridge	(N & M)	18.91	76.45	4.83	94.51	3.47	0.37	1.64
Springtown	(Derry)	19.16	76.78	5.46	96.90	1.98	0.22	0.89
Brandywell	(Derry)	19.36	75.99	6.01	94.55	4.45	0.08	0.92
Creggan Central	(Derry)	19.53	75.31	6.84	95.93	3.27	0.07	0.73

The four least “Northern Irish” constituencies:

	N Irish	Irish	British	Cath	Prot	Oth	None
Belfast West	22.44	59.17	21.50	80.08	16.65	0.58	2.69
Foyle	24.21	55.71	23.29	75.12	22.02	0.79	2.07
Newry and Armagh	26.44	45.42	29.68	66.36	30.59	0.55	2.50
Belfast North	27.28	29.88	48.66	46.94	45.67	1.04	6.36

# A surprising lack of variation

“Northern Irish” total in each constituency

North Down	32.70	South Antrim	30.72	North Antrim	29.21
South Down	32.38	Mid Ulster	30.52	Fmh & S Tyrone	28.24
West Tyrone	32.31	Belfast South	30.41	Belfast North	27.28
Strangford	32.11	Lagan Valley	29.95	Newry & Armagh	26.44
East Antrim	31.27	Belfast East	29.94	Foyle	24.21
East L'derry	31.17	Upper Bann	29.42	Belfast West	22.44

## Breakdown by religion

	All	Prot	Cath	Oth	None
British	48.4%	81.6%	12.9%	50.1%	55.9%
Irish	28.4%	3.9%	57.2%	12.4%	14.0%
<b>Northern Irish</b>	<b>29.4%</b>	<b>26.9%</b>	<b>30.7%</b>	<b>18.0%</b>	<b>35.2%</b>
Eng, Sc + W	1.6%	1.5%	0.8%	2.9%	5.2%
All other	3.4%	1.0%	4.4%	29.1%	7.1%

# What about the “Others”?

The five least British/Irish/Northern Irish wards:

		"Other"	British	Irish	N Irish	Prot	Cath	Oth	None
Coolhill	(Dungannon)	29.23	44.77	14.21	20.14	51.73	41.27	0.99	6.00
Ballysaggart	(Dungannon)	28.50	15.20	38.72	23.70	14.32	81.17	0.95	3.55
Killymeal	(Dungannon)	25.91	36.32	25.18	22.73	40.78	54.69	0.55	3.98
Drumglass	(Dungannon)	22.91	14.04	39.37	29.27	11.67	84.81	0.42	3.10
Castle Demesne	(Ballymena)	19.33	51.18	12.37	25.12	52.82	38.71	1.36	7.10

This is the wrong lens: we need to look at origins

		"Other"	UK, Ireland, etc	rest of Europe	Middle East + Asia
Coolhill	(Dungannon)	29.23	69.73	21.50	8.03
Ballysaggart	(Dungannon)	28.50	69.78	22.93	5.42
Killymeal	(Dungannon)	25.91	73.30	21.58	3.74
Drumglass	(Dungannon)	22.91	75.99	17.82	4.92
Castle Demesne	(Ballymena)	19.33	78.74	18.39	2.45



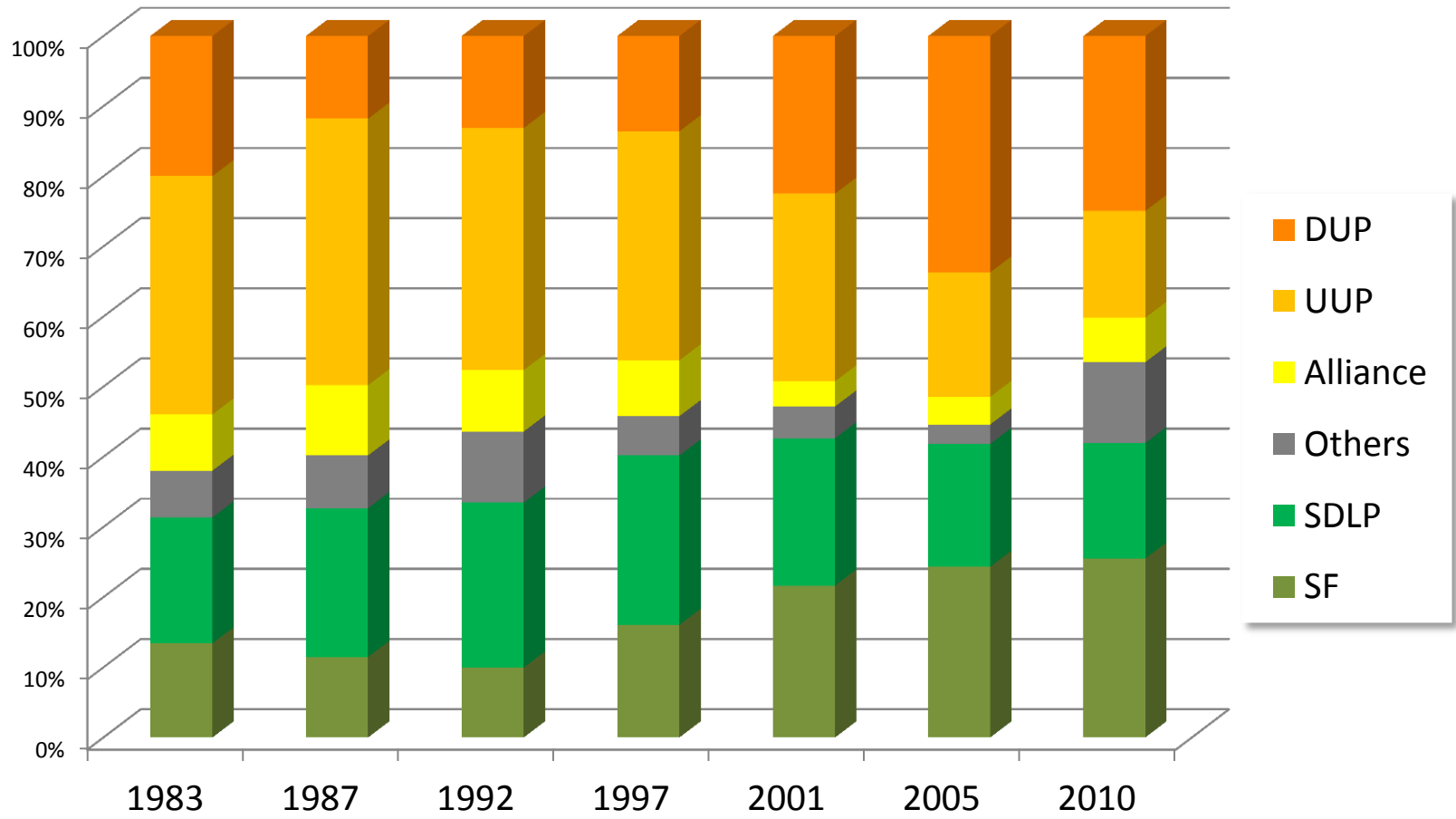
# “Others” by constituency and origin

	"Other"	UK+Ireland etc	Other Europe	Mid East + Asia
South Belfast	9.35	90.55	3.86	3.51
Fermanagh and South Tyrone	7.90	92.75	5.35	1.19
Upper Bann	6.80	93.76	4.58	0.93
East Belfast	6.00	94.24	2.91	1.59
Newry and Armagh	5.62	94.64	4.21	0.46
North Down	5.12	96.15	1.55	0.95
Lagan Valley	5.03	95.83	2.20	0.95
South Antrim	4.60	96.13	2.20	0.84
Mid Ulster	4.48	95.96	3.13	0.31
North Antrim	4.45	96.36	2.63	0.44
North Belfast	4.33	95.56	2.24	1.20
East Londonderry	4.15	96.83	1.78	0.66
South Down	4.01	96.74	2.04	0.39
East Antrim	3.87	97.02	1.22	0.88
West Tyrone	3.67	96.95	2.09	0.36
Foyle	3.50	97.06	1.31	0.93
Strangford	3.42	97.25	1.45	0.54
West Belfast	2.46	97.52	0.97	0.85

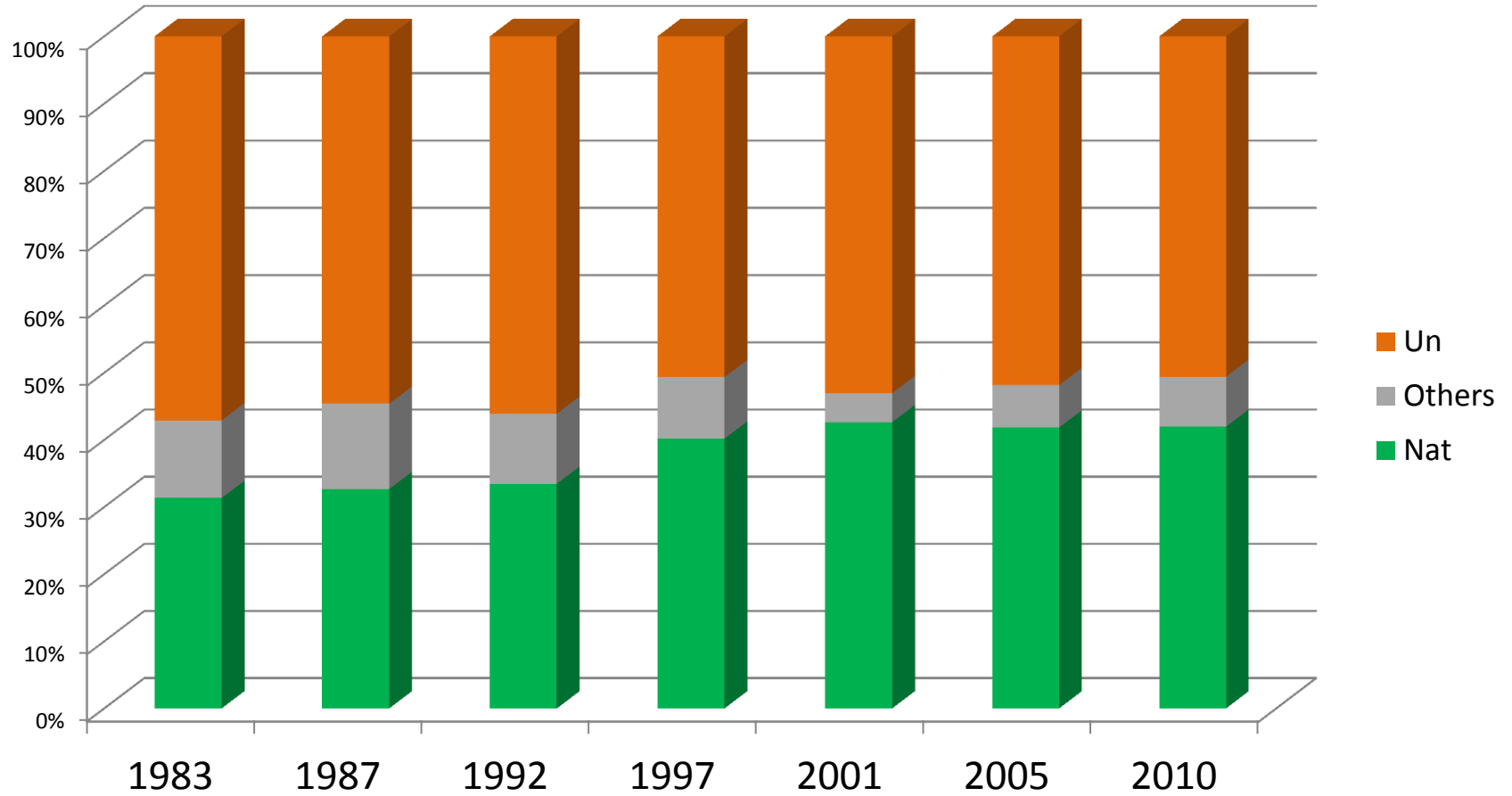
# The changing picture

- A more diverse Northern Ireland electorate
- Less identification with “British”/“Irish” labels
- ...though still true to first approximation
- ...and stronger for Prot/Brits than Cath/Ir
- Growing shared “Northern Irish” identity
- ...which has not yet reached critical mass

# Votes at Westminster elections 1983-2010

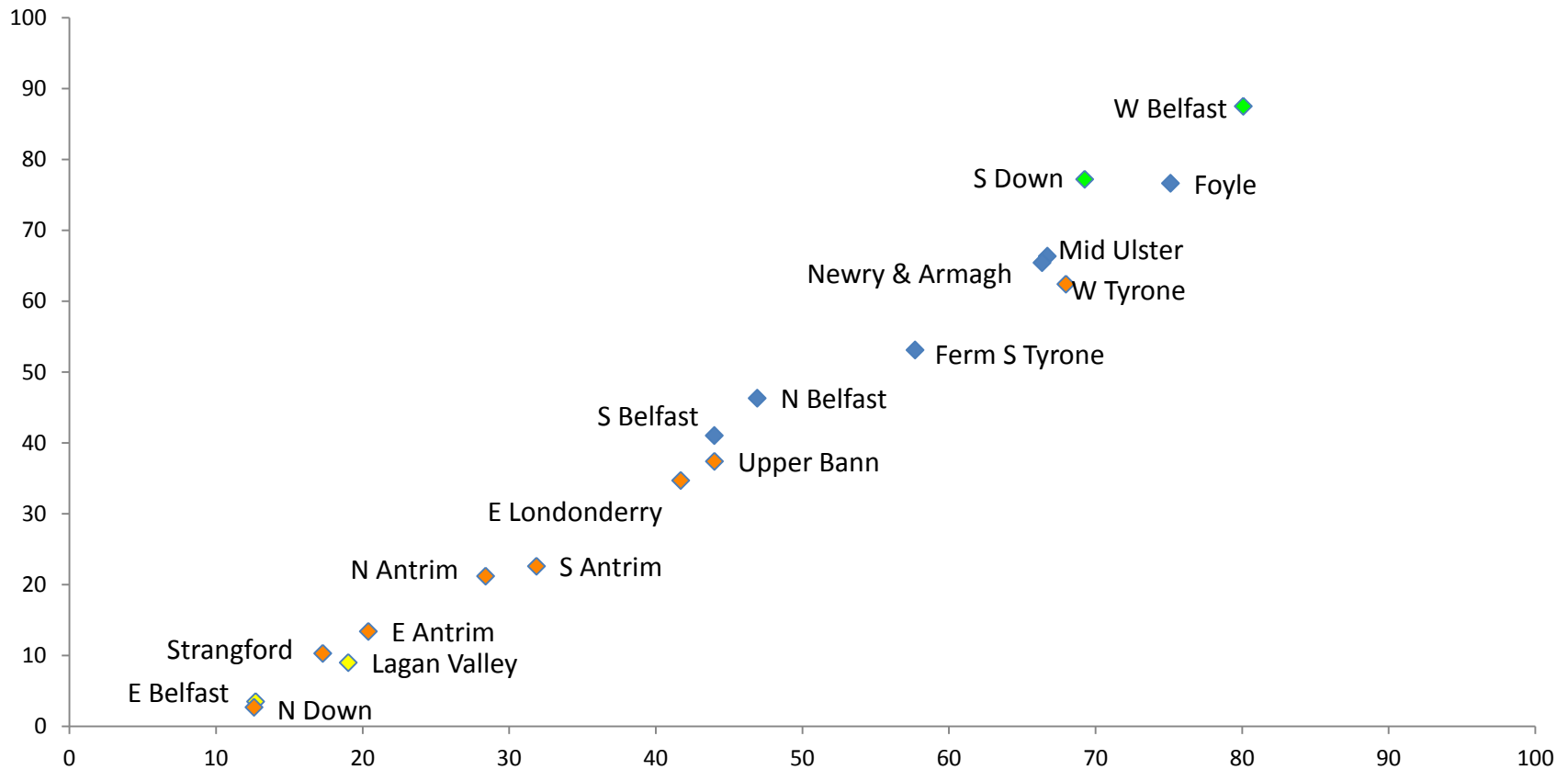


# How has the balance shifted?



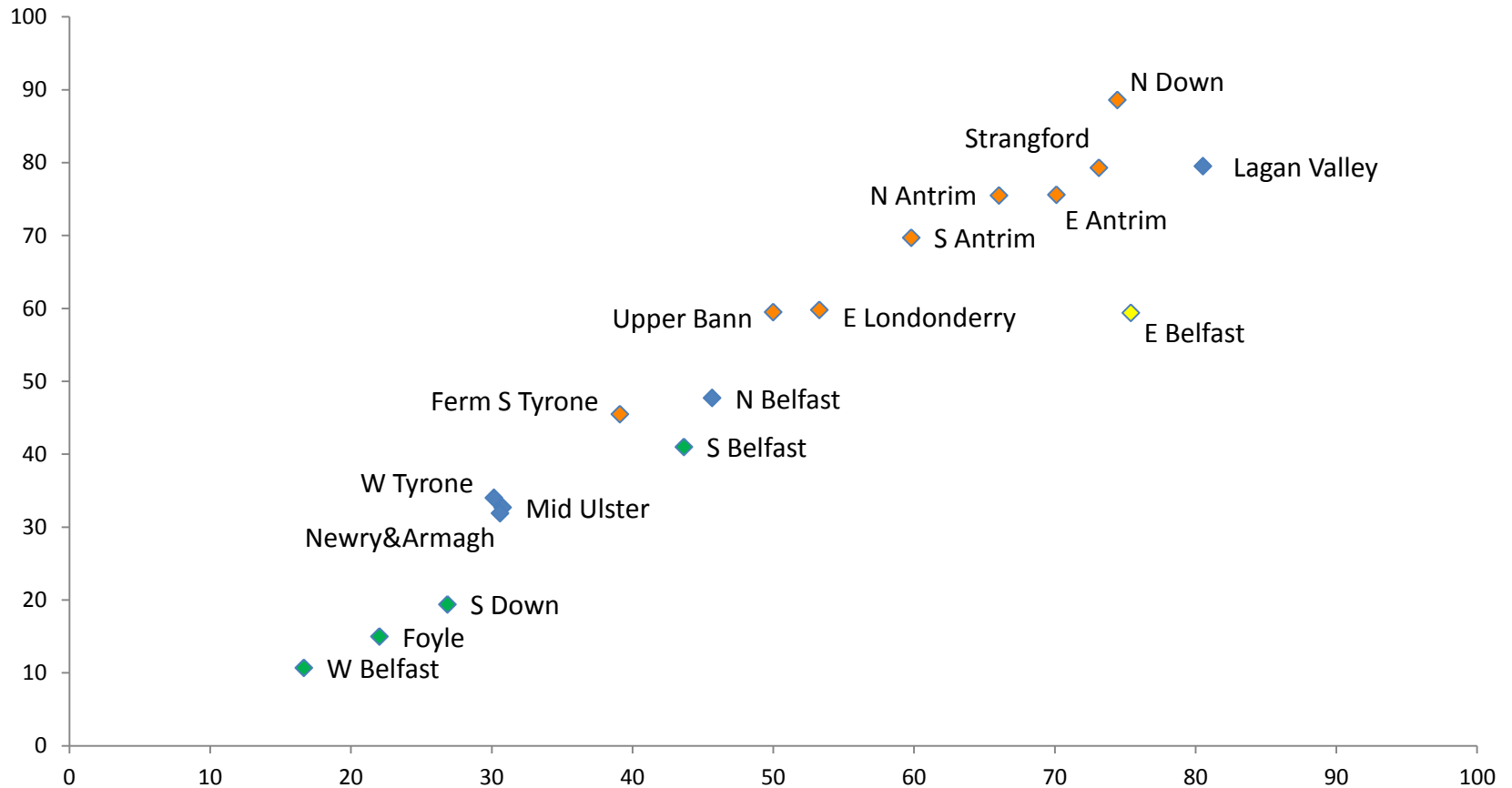
# Do Catholics vote for Nationalists?

Nationalist vote 2010 vs census Catholics 2011

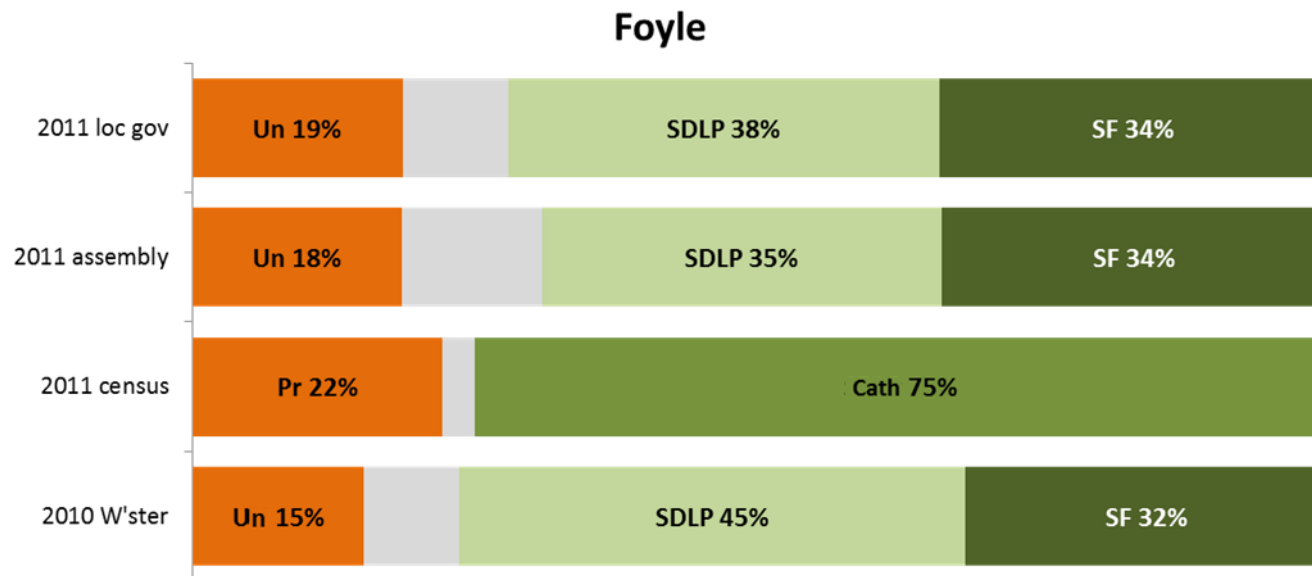
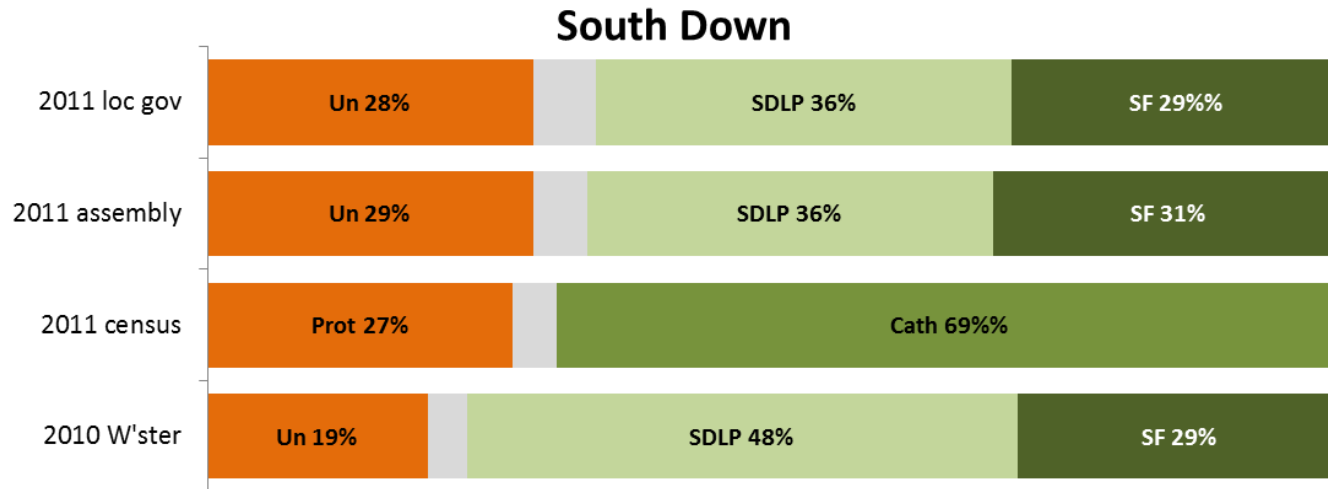


# Do Protestants vote for Unionists?

Unionist vote 2010 vs census Protestants 2011

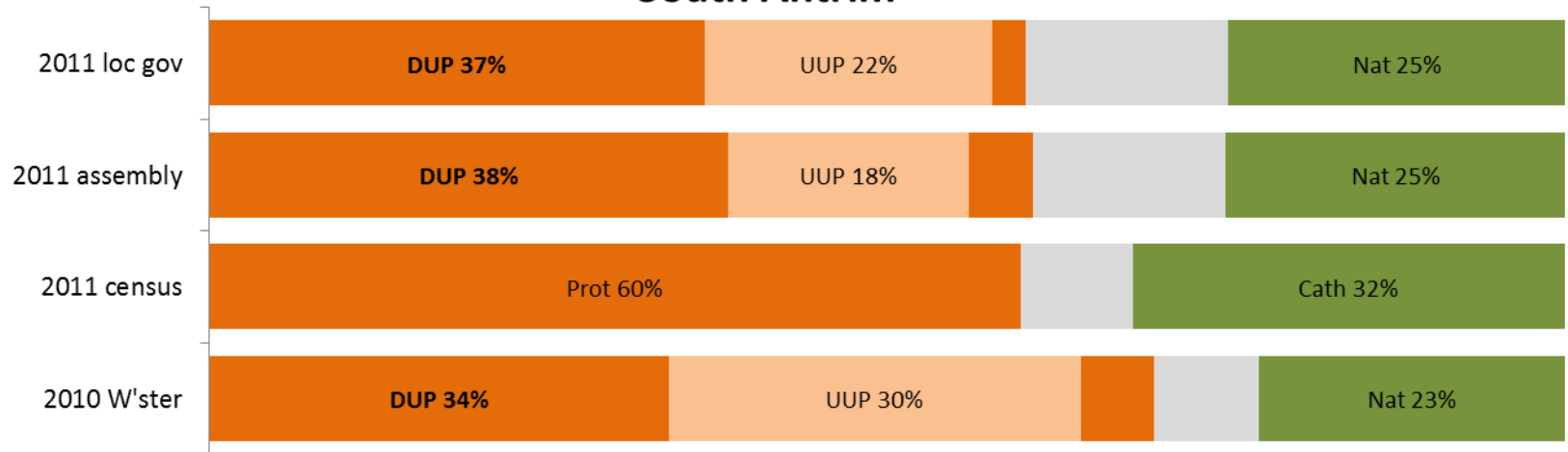


# Do Protestants vote Nationalist?

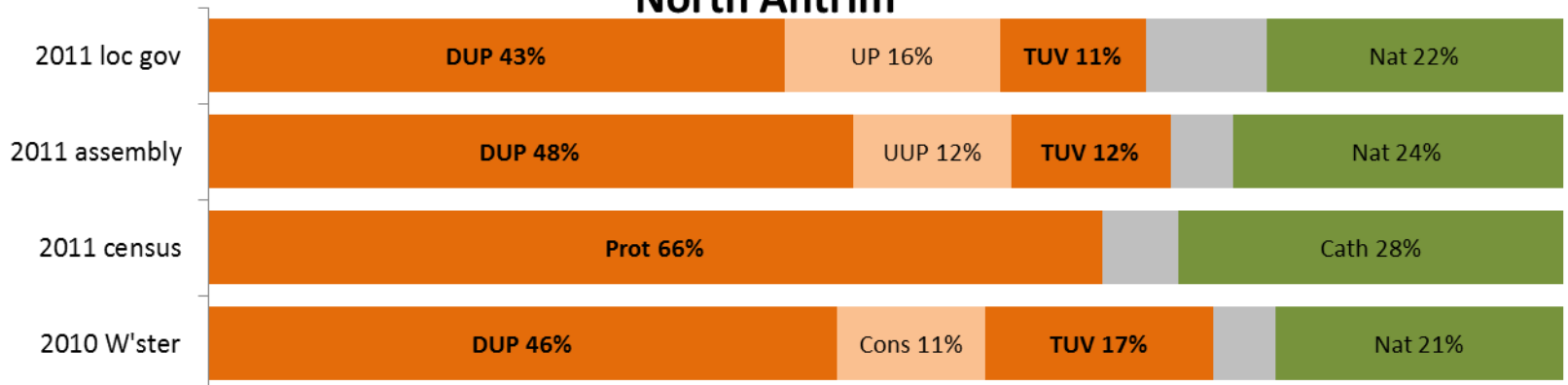


# Do Catholics vote Unionist?

## South Antrim



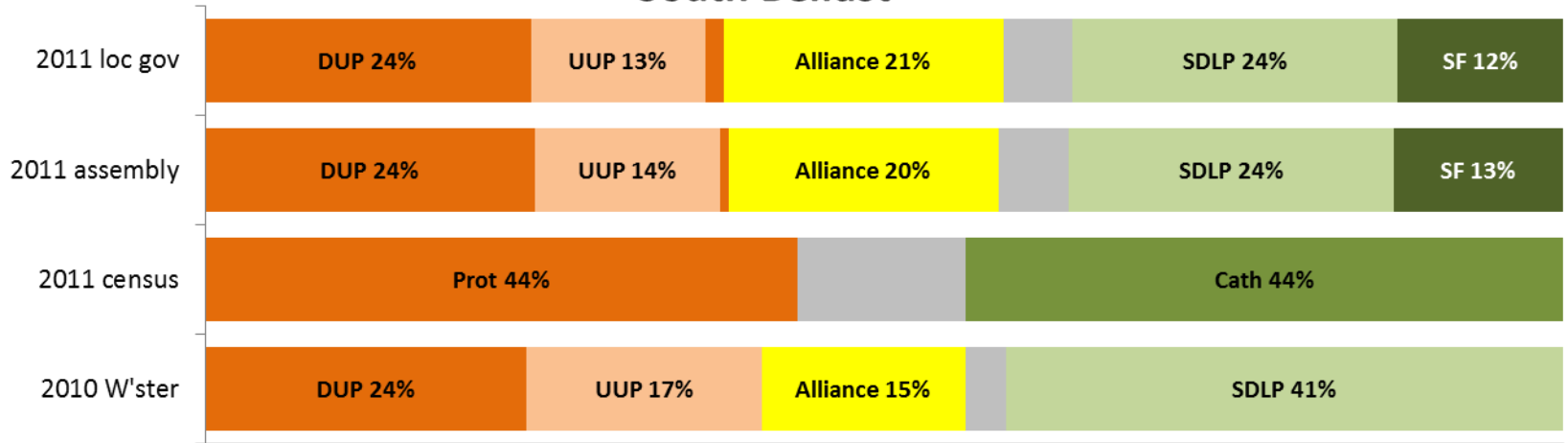
## North Antrim



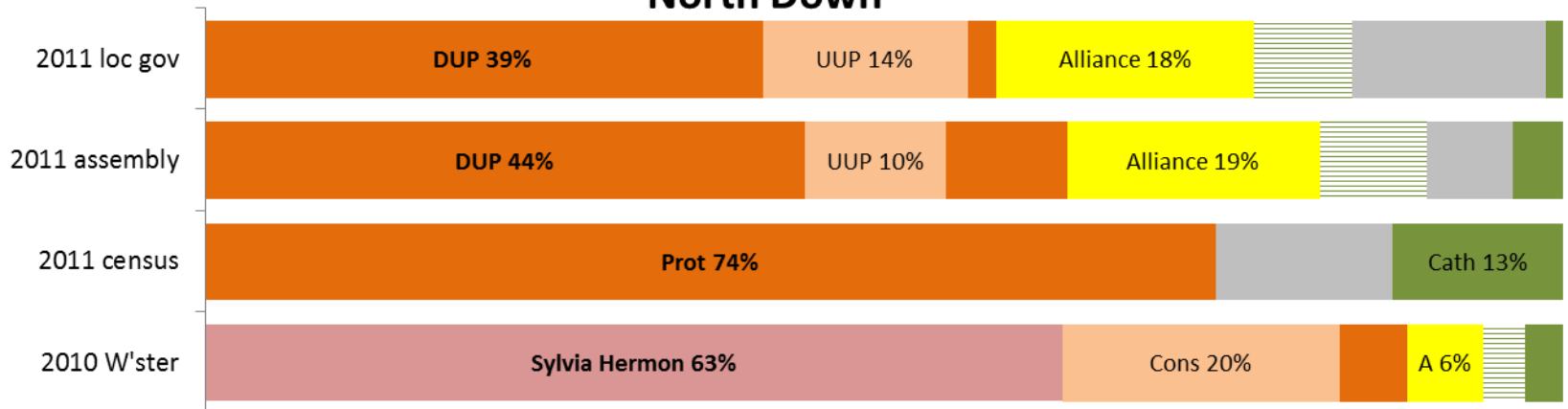


# Volatile voters

## South Belfast

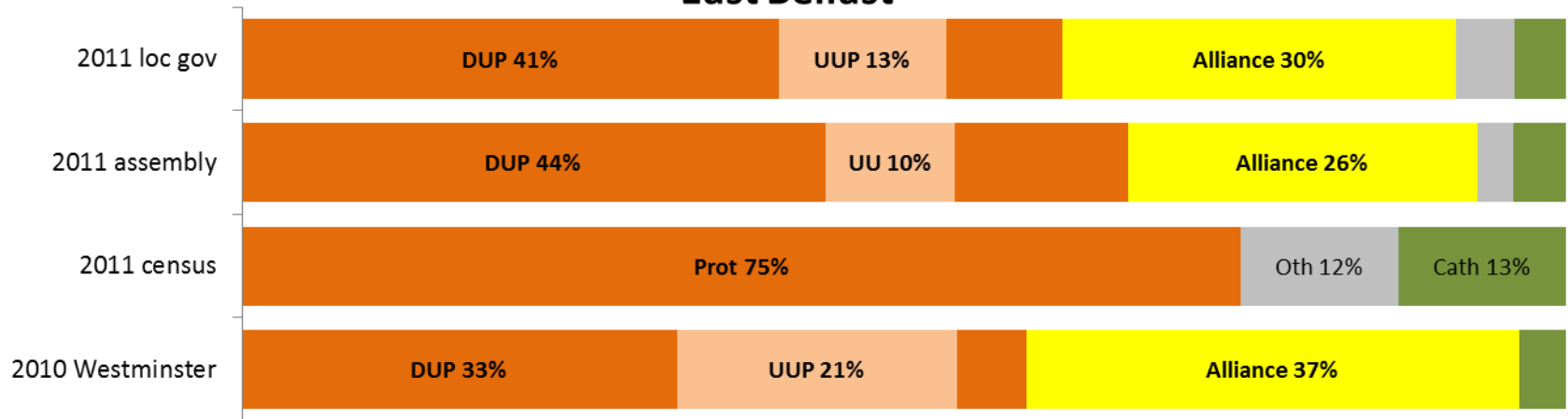


## North Down

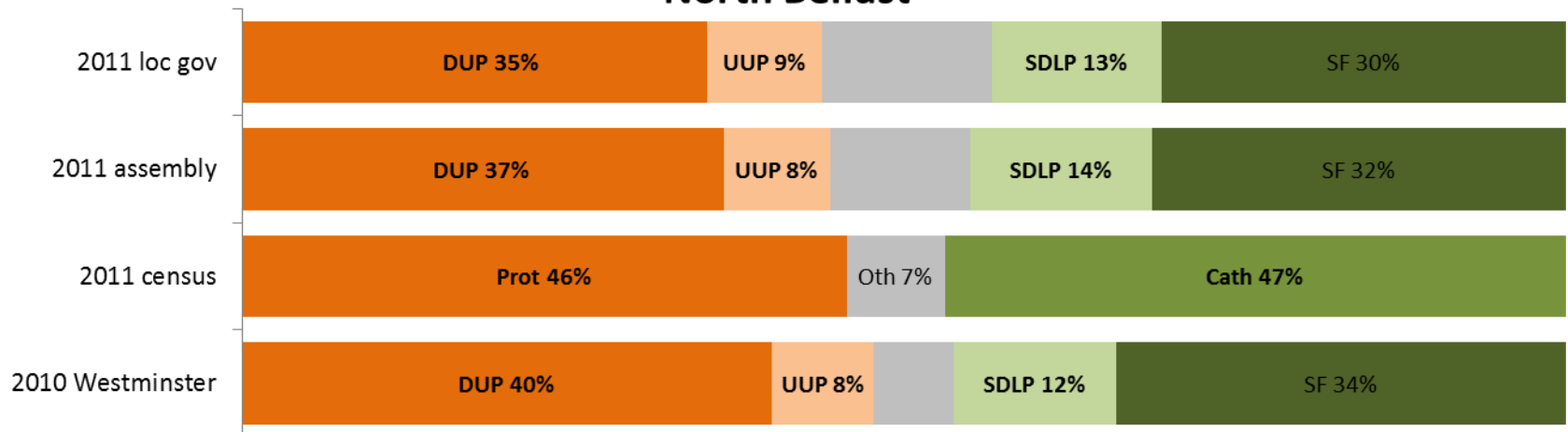


# The marginal seats

## East Belfast



## North Belfast



# The future of party politics

- Most Protestants still vote Unionist, & most Catholics still vote Nationalist, mostly.
- But the exceptions are less exceptional than they used to be. Identity is looser now.
- This isn't "tactical voting"; it means parties must build – and rebuild – winning coalitions.
- The biggest change in voter behaviour is that many more of them don't.

# Historical turnout change

- In 2001, the top 4 turnouts in the UK were:
  - Mid Ulster 81.3%; West Tyrone 79.9%
  - Fermanagh/South Tyrone 78.0%; Newry & Armagh 76.8%
- In 2005, top 6 turnouts in the UK were:
  - West Dorset 76.3%
  - Fermanagh/South Tyrone 73.5%; Mid Ulster 73.2%
  - North Norfolk 73.0%; Richmond Park 72.8%
  - West Tyrone 72.7%
- In 2010, Fermanagh/South Tyrone, with 68.9% turnout, ranked 179<sup>th</sup> of 650 seats in the UK
  - No other NI seat was in the top 400
- New procedures? Or just less exciting?

# Turnout – a comparative view

- 58% Northern Ireland (Westminster 2010)
- 65% UK as a whole (Westminster 2010)
- 3 EU countries have compulsory voting
- 65% average parliamentary t/o in other 25
- 7 EU countries had 58% turnout or less at their last parliamentary election
  - Portugal 58%; France 57%; Lithuania 53%; Slovenia 52%; Bulgaria 51%; Poland 49%; Romania 42%
- Is Northern Ireland becoming normal?

# What comes next?

- Belgium
  - Moroccan, Turkish, African immigrants all become Francophone or Flemish politicians
- Bosnia
  - Three heads of state who must be from each of the constituent nations
  - Challenged by the Council of Europe and EU
- “Anglo-Saxon” model
  - Broad political parties which need to continually reinvent themselves

# What is normal politics anyway?

- Does “normal” mean a left-wing party vs a right-wing party, with centrists in the middle?
  - Or does this confuse “normal” with “1950s England”?
- Traditional party systems under pressure
  - UKIP, Greens, SNP
  - Front National
  - Podemos
  - Syriza
- Northern Ireland’s party system has been stable since 1983
  - But what comes next?

You decide.