LGBT CANDIDATES IN UK ELECTIONS
HOW MUCH HAS CHANGED?

Professor Andrew Reynolds
Rt Hon Angela Eagle MP Labour
Joanna Cherry QC MP SNP
Baroness Liz Barker LibDem
Nick Herbert MP Conservative

The Constitution Unit
Out LGBT MPs
United Kingdom Feb 2017

# UK MPs 1984-2017

Feb 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>%</th>
<th># MPs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>LIECHTENSTEIN</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>2/25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SCOTLAND</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>10/129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>UNITED KINGDOM</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>39/650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NETHERLANDS</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>9/150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>NEW ZEALAND</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>6/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>WALES</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>3/60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>SWEDEN</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>13/349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>ISLE OF MAN</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>1/39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DENMARK</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>5/179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>AUSTRALIA</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>4/150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Party Name</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td># MPS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Scottish National Party (UK)</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>8/56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Green Party (New Zealand)</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>2/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Green Party (Finland)</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>2/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Labour Party (New Zealand)</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>3/31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Democratic Alliance (South Africa)</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>8/89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>PvdA (Netherlands)</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>3/36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Green Party (Germany)</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>5/63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Liberal Party (Australia)</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>3/45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Labour Party (UK)</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>15/231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Moderate Party (Sweden)</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>5/84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Conservative Party (UK)</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>16/329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>VVD (Netherlands)</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>2/41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Social Democrats (Switzerland)</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>2/43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Social Democrats (Denmark)</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>2/47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LGBT – Party Ideology

- Right
- Left
- Center
- Nationalist
- Green

1976

2017
Does sexual orientation still matter in elections?

CASE STUDY

The impact of LGBT candidate identity and visibility on vote share in the UK elections of 2015
LGBT Candidates

631 districts in England, Scotland, Wales (excluding Northern Ireland and Speaker’s district)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total LGBT Candidates</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>BME</th>
<th>Incumb.</th>
<th>Ran in 2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGBT Candidates by Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Model

Dependent Variable

Candidate Vote Share 2015

- **Candidate Level IVs**
  - sexual orientation
  - gender
  - ethnicity
  - incumbency
  - party ID
  - 2010 party vote
  - candidate education
  - campaign spending
  - LGBT ‘outness’

- **District Level IVs**
  - deprivation
  - social grade
  - urban/rural
  - % Muslims
  - % UK born

- **Regional Level IVs**
  - party vote change (2010-15)
  - marriage equality support
## General Findings

### Candidate Vote Share (2015)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.245</td>
<td>0.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incumbent</td>
<td>1.834***</td>
<td>0.134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGB</td>
<td>-0.063</td>
<td>0.337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BME</td>
<td>-0.766***</td>
<td>0.288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- LGB candidates: sexual orientation does not have a negative impact on candidate vote share
- Female candidates: gender does not negatively impact vote share
- Ethnic minority candidates: ethnic identity has a negative impact on electoral results (-0.8% vote share)
- Interaction between sexual orientation and constituency features reveals some interesting findings
• LGB candidates have a positive impact in ‘mainly rural’ and ‘largely rural’ districts (+2% vote share)
Muslim Residents in District

- LGB candidates do not have a negative impact until the percentage of Muslims in the district reaches ~18%
- Only 32 out of 632 districts have a proportion of Muslims greater than 18%
- Even then, limited negative impact: -0.25% when Muslims are 30%

Ilford North (15%) Wes Streeting
Croydon North (13%) Steve Reed
• LGBT candidates have a positive impact for the Labour Party (+0.9% vote)
• Similarly, female and BME candidates have positive impact for Labour
• LGBT instead have a negative impact for the Conservative Party (-0.6% vote)
Tory LGBT candidates

- LGBT candidates not disproportionately in unwinnable seats.
- LGBT Tories do not decrease vote in competitive districts.
- LGBT Tory candidates in no-hoper seats do see a minor reduction in their vote share.
Out LGB MPs UK 2017

- Nigel Evans
- Crispin Blunt
- Margot James
- Iain Stewart
- Nick Boles
- Mike Freer
- Nick Gibb
- Stuart Andrew
- Conor Burns
- Ben Howlett
- Nick Herbert
- Alan Duncan
- David Kawczynski
- David Mundell
- Nick Gibb
- Justine Greening
- Mark Menzies
- Stephen Twigg
- Angela Eagle
- Clive Betts
- Ben Bradshaw
- Nick Brown
- Chris Bryant
- Cat Smith
- Wes Streeting
- Steve Reed
- Stephen Doughty
- Peter Kyle
- Gerald Jones
- Gordon Marsden
- Nia Griffith

Tory:
- Stuart McDonald
- Stewart McDonald
- Martin Doherty
- John Nicolson
- Joanna Cherry
- Angela Crawley
- Mhairi Smith
- Hannah Bardell
Conclusions

• LGBT candidates generally do not have a negative impact on party vote share
  • In some contexts, they actually increase the vote share
  • Some resistance remained among Conservative voters in 2015
• LGBT candidates perform more similarly to female candidates than ethnic minority ones
## Constituency Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Constituencies with at least one LGBT candidate</th>
<th>Constituencies without any LGBT candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Urban (1-5)</strong></td>
<td>2.950</td>
<td>2.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deprivation (0-100)</strong></td>
<td>41.38</td>
<td>42.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Grade (0-100)</strong></td>
<td>53.51</td>
<td>52.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% Muslim</strong></td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>3.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% UK born</strong></td>
<td>86.28</td>
<td>88.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>% Support marriage equality (region)</strong></td>
<td>67.55</td>
<td>68.34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General Model

- Multilevel model with candidates grouped by district clustered into regions (varying intercept)
- DV: Candidate district vote share (2015 election)
- Candidate-level IVs: sexual orientation, gender, ethnic identity, incumbency status, party ID, 2010 party district vote share, Candidate education, campaign spending, LGBT ‘outness’
- District-level IVs: deprivation, social grade, urban/rural, % Muslims, % UK born
- Regional-level IVs: average change in party vote share (2010-15), support for marriage equality
Levels of Deprivation

- Impact of LGBT candidates tends to become more positive when deprivation is lower - but the coefficient fails to reach statistical significance.
Party Variation

• Multilevel models with candidates grouped by party
  • Varying intercept
  • Varying slope of individual-level variables: LGB, Female, and BME
• LGB coefficient is not significant in the models averaging the impact across all of the parties, but interesting variation emerges across parties
Estimated Coefficient of Gender (Female) on Candidate Vote Share by Party

Parties

Conserv  Green  Labour  Libdem  PC  SNP  UKIP
Estimated Coefficient of Ethnic Identity (BME) on Candidate Vote Share by Party

Parties:
- Conserv
- Green
- Labour
- Libdem
- PC
- SNP
- UKIP