



Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World

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Table A4.1 Pooled no party identity fixed-effects model empty and full

	Empty	Full
(Intercept)	-2.638***	-1.357***
	(0.130)	(0.181)
Father no party ID		0.653***
		(0.045)
Union member		-0.076
		(0.051)
Age		-0.014***
		(0.001)
Male		-0.002
		(0.045)
White		-0.160

	Empty	Full
		(0.096)
Not married		0.026
		(0.046)
Degree		0.004
		(0.053)
No religion		0.297***
		(0.046)
Class (Base = Intermediate)		
<i>Middle</i>		-0.041
		(0.063)
<i>Working</i>		-0.104*
		(0.050)
Difference Conservative/Labour (Base = Not much difference)		
<i>Some Difference</i>		-0.566***
		(0.057)
<i>Great difference</i>		-1.087***
		(0.058)
Region (Base = London/South East)		
<i>Midlands/Eastern</i>		0.098
		(0.057)
<i>North</i>		-0.148*
		(0.058)
<i>Scotland</i>		-0.029
		(0.079)
<i>South West</i>		-0.206*
		(0.087)
<i>Wales</i>		-0.254*
		(0.107)
Election effects (Base = 1964)		

	Empty	Full
1966	0.213	0.171
	(0.178)	(0.181)
(p.202) 1970	0.124	0.140
	(0.206)	(0.209)
1974 (Oct)	0.353*	0.192
	(0.152)	(0.155)
1979	0.683***	0.595***
	(0.154)	(0.158)
1983	0.721***	1.007***
	(0.140)	(0.145)
1987	0.781***	1.062***
	(0.139)	(0.145)
1992	0.494***	0.542***
	(0.145)	(0.149)
1997	0.645***	0.487***
	(0.143)	(0.147)
2015	1.092***	0.813***
	(0.141)	(0.147)
2017	1.072***	0.931***
	(0.144)	(0.151)
Elections	11	11
AIC	16284.715	15415.530
N	22276	22276

(*) $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

(p.203)

Table A4.2 Pooled individual volatility fixed-effects model empty and full

Empty	Dealignment	Fragmentation	Convergence	Convergence + fragmentation	Other	Combined
Party ID at election 1 (Base = Not very strong)						
<i>None/DK</i>	-0.381***					-0.349***
	(0.0872)					(0.0927)
<i>Fairly strong</i>	0.273					0.210
	(0.161)					(0.165)
<i>Very strong</i>	0.192					0.226
	(0.171)					(0.212)
Difference between parties (Base = No difference)						
<i>Some difference</i>			-0.332***	-0.0703		-0.0875
			(0.0774)	(0.172)		(0.167)
<i>Great difference</i>			-0.643***	0.149		0.222
			(0.114)	(0.257)		(0.248)
Voted Con/Lab at election 1		-1.532***		-0.928***		-0.665**

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Empty	Dealignment	Fragmentation	Convergence	Convergence + Other fragmentation	Combined
		(0.134)		(0.218)	(0.236)
Party ID=Vote at election 1	-0.785***				-0.653***
	(0.0909)				(0.0830)
(Fairly strong PID) * (PID=Vote)	-0.953***				-0.749***
	(0.196)				(0.196)
(Very strong PID) * (PID = Vote)	-1.515***				-1.282***
	(0.190)				(0.223)
Con/Lab * Some difference				-0.345	-0.324
				(0.270)	(0.272)
Con/Lab * Great difference				-0.992*	-0.901*
				(0.416)	(0.401)
Degree					-0.00111
					(0.0744)
					(0.0668)

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Empty		Dealignment	Fragmentation	Convergence	Convergence + fragmentation	Other	Combined
Male						-0.0348	-0.0920*
						(0.0422)	(0.0396)
Not married						-0.0566	-0.0344
						(0.0766)	(0.0730)
Age						-0.0112***	-0.00889***
						(0.00186)	(0.00194)
(p.204)							
Election 2							
(Base = 1966)							
<i>1970</i>	0.323*	0.277***	0.325***	0.258***	0.282***	0.280***	0.266***
	(0.133)	(0.00355)	(0.00551)	(0.00602)	(0.00771)	(0.00377)	(0.00943)
<i>1974</i>	0.565***	0.561***	0.611***	0.502***	0.564***	0.526***	0.552***
	(0.127)	(0.00533)	(0.0117)	(0.00532)	(0.0115)	(0.00655)	(0.0133)
<i>1974.5</i>	0.284*	0.0967***	0.0418	0.245***	0.0553**	0.249***	-0.0578*
	(0.118)	(0.0102)	(0.0225)	(0.00186)	(0.0208)	(0.00329)	(0.0284)
<i>1979</i>	0.545***	0.370***	0.381***	0.566***	0.425***	0.528***	0.324***
	(0.138)	(0.0110)	(0.0116)	(0.0107)	(0.0166)	(0.00335)	(0.0212)
<i>1987</i>	0.446**	0.0945***	0.0761*	0.640***	0.213**	0.372***	-0.0305

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Empty		Dealignment	Fragmentation	Convergence	Convergence + fragmentation	Other	Combined
	(0.137)	(0.0174)	(0.0336)	(0.0477)	(0.0665)	(0.00825)	(0.0656)
1992	0.791***	0.426***	0.491***	0.845***	0.597***	0.695***	0.371***
	(0.114)	(0.0171)	(0.0205)	(0.0245)	(0.0295)	(0.00628)	(0.0350)
1997	0.991***	0.702***	0.806***	0.947***	0.795***	0.938***	0.651***
	(0.111)	(0.0177)	(0.00878)	(0.0120)	(0.0205)	(0.0104)	(0.0291)
2001	0.798***	0.542***	0.649***	0.812***	0.647***	0.843***	0.479***
	(0.110)	(0.0220)	(0.0142)	(0.0110)	(0.0173)	(0.0117)	(0.0256)
2015	1.517***	1.249***	1.205***	1.617***	1.291***	1.601***	1.157***
	(0.0980)	(0.0155)	(0.0260)	(0.0138)	(0.0256)	(0.0239)	(0.0465)
2017	1.080***	0.685***	0.846***	1.240***	0.963***	1.147***	0.718***
	(0.0972)	(0.0173)	(0.0202)	(0.0261)	(0.0295)	(0.0286)	(0.0529)
Constant	-1.911***	-0.546***	-0.611***	-1.514***	-0.721***	-1.328***	0.447**
	(0.0933)	(0.0900)	(0.103)	(0.0607)	(0.141)	(0.103)	(0.168)
N	20361	20361	20361	20361	20361	20361	20361

(*) $p < 0.05$;

(**) $p < 0.01$;

(***) $p < 0.001$

(p.205) Equation for within- and between-cohort variation

We define A_{ct} as the proportion of respondents at time t in age cohort c and N_{ct} as the proportion of age cohort c that does not identify with a political party at time t . Therefore for two periods (1 and 2) we define:



and



Table A4.3 Factiva Search terms used to calculate the effective number of media parties

Party	Search string
Conservative	(Conservative or Conservatives or Tory or Tories) AND party
Labour	(Labour) AND party
Liberal Democrats	(Liberal Democrat or Liberal Democrats or Lib Dem or Lib Dems or Lib-Dem or Lib-Dems) AND party
Green	(Green Party) AND party
Plaid Cymru	(Plaid Cymru) AND party
SNP	(SNP or Scottish National Party) AND party
UKIP	(UKIP or United Kingdom Independence Party) AND party
Respect	(Respect Party) AND party
BNP	(British National Party or BNP) AND party
Referendum	(Referendum Party) AND party
the (control)	the

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