



Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World

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Table A6.1 Graded response IRT model of economic left-right values

	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off					
Discrimination	1.954***	2.139***	2.018***	1.961***	2.074***
	(0.0166)	(0.0198)	(0.0171)	(0.0183)	(0.0194)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-2.141***	-1.860***	-2.138***	-2.042***	-1.868***
	(0.0173)	(0.0162)	(0.0173)	(0.0181)	(0.0165)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.017***	-0.857***	-1.044***	-0.954***	-0.868***
	(0.00968)	(0.00972)	(0.00978)	(0.0102)	(0.00986)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.166***	-0.0595***	-0.149***	-0.0735***	-0.0414***
	(0.00754)	(0.00811)	(0.00755)	(0.00812)	(0.00818)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	1.020***	1.099***	1.131***	1.254***	1.216***
	(0.0102)	(0.0113)	(0.0106)	(0.0123)	(0.0120)
Big business takes advantage of ordinary people					
Discrimination	2.147***	2.647***	2.278***	2.163***	2.438***
	(0.0189)	(0.0254)	(0.0200)	(0.0212)	(0.0235)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					

	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-2.863*** (0.0268)	-2.613*** (0.0256)	-3.013*** (0.0303)	-3.046*** (0.0341)	-2.719*** (0.0278)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.819*** (0.0140)	-1.523*** (0.0123)	-1.785*** (0.0137)	-1.897*** (0.0162)	-1.600*** (0.0133)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.972*** (0.00903)	-0.820*** (0.00862)	-0.902*** (0.00866)	-0.968*** (0.00978)	-0.770*** (0.00874)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.548*** (0.00813)	0.499*** (0.00817)	0.663*** (0.00836)	0.635*** (0.00909)	0.687*** (0.00893)
Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth					
Discrimination	2.528*** (0.0214)	3.033*** (0.0285)	2.709*** (0.0231)	2.516*** (0.0236)	2.811*** (0.0263)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-2.515*** (0.0207)	-2.375*** (0.0209)	-2.657*** (0.0231)	-2.668*** (0.0261)	-2.405*** (0.0217)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.484*** (0.0108)	-1.284*** (0.0102)	-1.509*** (0.0108)	-1.566*** (0.0124)	-1.342*** (0.0107)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.742*** (0.00760)	-0.571*** (0.00750)	-0.718*** (0.00745)	-0.703*** (0.00809)	-0.539*** (0.00759)

	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.595***	0.610***	0.668***	0.753***	0.764***
	(0.00767)	(0.00797)	(0.00775)	(0.00881)	(0.00861)
(p.212) There is one law for the rich and one for the poor					
Discrimination	2.513***	3.089***	2.743***	2.525***	2.672***
	(0.0213)	(0.0292)	(0.0237)	(0.0240)	(0.0251)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					
≥ <i>Disagree</i>	-2.334***	-2.083***	-2.444***	-2.504***	-2.260***
	(0.0181)	(0.0166)	(0.0196)	(0.0230)	(0.0195)
≥ <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.342***	-1.166***	-1.415***	-1.491***	-1.274***
	(0.0100)	(0.00942)	(0.0102)	(0.0119)	(0.0106)
≥ <i>Agree</i>	-0.704***	-0.624***	-0.764***	-0.809***	-0.618***
	(0.00750)	(0.00750)	(0.00752)	(0.00838)	(0.00789)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.502***	0.410***	0.452***	0.477***	0.586***
	(0.00747)	(0.00746)	(0.00722)	(0.00799)	(0.00826)
Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance					
Discrimination	1.560***	1.892***	1.714***	1.637***	1.792***
	(0.0146)	(0.0187)	(0.0157)	(0.0168)	(0.0180)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					

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	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-3.212*** (0.0333)	-2.865*** (0.0310)	-3.287*** (0.0351)	-3.303*** (0.0390)	-2.987*** (0.0334)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.694*** (0.0155)	-1.475*** (0.0141)	-1.665*** (0.0147)	-1.775*** (0.0174)	-1.565*** (0.0152)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.688*** (0.00960)	-0.624*** (0.00952)	-0.708*** (0.00929)	-0.770*** (0.0105)	-0.619*** (0.00973)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.916*** (0.0111)	0.848*** (0.0109)	0.957*** (0.0109)	0.979*** (0.0122)	0.990*** (0.0118)

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

Note: The direction of the predicted score is then reversed to give a scale that runs from left to right.

(p.213)

Table A6.2 Graded response IRT model of liberal-authoritarian values

	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional British values					
Discrimination	2.216***	2.302***	2.365***	2.481***	2.443***
	(0.0188)	(0.0215)	(0.0199)	(0.0226)	(0.0225)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					
≥ <i>Disagree</i>	-2.409***	-2.268***	-2.269***	-2.116***	-2.019***
	(0.0188)	(0.0195)	(0.0176)	(0.0174)	(0.0169)
≥ <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.357***	-1.219***	-1.266***	-1.204***	-1.062***
	(0.0109)	(0.0113)	(0.0104)	(0.0106)	(0.0104)
≥ <i>Agree</i>	-0.523***	-0.390***	-0.397***	-0.377***	-0.289***
	(0.00776)	(0.00830)	(0.00746)	(0.00769)	(0.00789)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.726***	0.804***	0.839***	0.798***	0.837***
	(0.00825)	(0.00931)	(0.00838)	(0.00856)	(0.00898)
For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence					
Discrimination	2.249***	2.387***	2.342***	2.317***	2.432***
	(0.0200)	(0.0233)	(0.0207)	(0.0222)	(0.0237)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					

	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-0.933*** (0.00924)	-0.771*** (0.00949)	-0.816*** (0.00885)	-0.839*** (0.00959)	-0.794*** (0.00957)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-0.394*** (0.00749)	-0.260*** (0.00795)	-0.273*** (0.00728)	-0.312*** (0.00781)	-0.310*** (0.00797)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.0518*** (0.00704)	0.101*** (0.00767)	0.106*** (0.00699)	0.0809*** (0.00742)	0.0701*** (0.00755)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.769*** (0.00843)	0.903*** (0.00968)	0.919*** (0.00883)	0.912*** (0.00942)	0.846*** (0.00918)
Schools should teach children to obey authority					
Discrimination	1.981*** (0.0172)	2.045*** (0.0196)	2.060*** (0.0177)	2.209*** (0.0204)	2.212*** (0.0207)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-2.669*** (0.0223)	-2.517*** (0.0231)	-2.434*** (0.0200)	-2.319*** (0.0201)	-2.322*** (0.0206)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.664*** (0.0132)	-1.553*** (0.0139)	-1.461*** (0.0121)	-1.403*** (0.0122)	-1.428*** (0.0128)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.774*** (0.00884)	-0.628*** (0.00934)	-0.530*** (0.00817)	-0.515*** (0.00834)	-0.494*** (0.00863)

	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.795*** (0.00893)	0.900*** (0.0103)	0.974*** (0.00947)	0.918*** (0.00948)	0.932*** (0.00977)
Censorship of films and magazines is necessary to uphold moral standards					
Discrimination	1.120*** (0.0120)	1.159*** (0.0138)	1.153*** (0.0123)	1.251*** (0.0140)	1.259*** (0.0143)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					
≥ <i>Disagree</i>	-2.363*** (0.0252)	-2.203*** (0.0264)	-2.234*** (0.0242)	-2.055*** (0.0233)	-2.061*** (0.0239)
≥ <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-0.967*** (0.0138)	-0.835*** (0.0146)	-0.825*** (0.0131)	-0.793*** (0.0132)	-0.790*** (0.0136)
(p.214) ≥ <i>Agree</i>	0.000659 (0.0105)	0.140*** (0.0119)	0.180*** (0.0107)	0.163*** (0.0107)	0.192*** (0.0111)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	1.967*** (0.0218)	2.074*** (0.0255)	2.203*** (0.0239)	2.043*** (0.0230)	2.026*** (0.0232)
People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences					
Discrimination	2.351*** (0.0201)	2.520*** (0.0236)	2.555*** (0.0216)	2.565*** (0.0236)	2.554*** (0.0239)
Difficulty (base = Strongly disagree)					

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	Measured in wave:				
	1-5	6	7-9	10-12	13
\geq <i>Disagree</i>	-2.742*** (0.0227)	-2.567*** (0.0227)	-2.541*** (0.0204)	-2.484*** (0.0217)	-2.532*** (0.0230)
\geq <i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	-1.712*** (0.0126)	-1.531*** (0.0125)	-1.500*** (0.0113)	-1.490*** (0.0121)	-1.536*** (0.0128)
\geq <i>Agree</i>	-0.639*** (0.00789)	-0.471*** (0.00818)	-0.420*** (0.00730)	-0.433*** (0.00774)	-0.403*** (0.00802)
= <i>Strongly agree</i>	0.635*** (0.00775)	0.726*** (0.00864)	0.792*** (0.00795)	0.773*** (0.00833)	0.774*** (0.00856)

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

(p.215)

Table A6.3 Multinomial logistic regression model of 2015 vote

Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 Retrospective economic evaluation	-0.268*** (0.0629)	-0.237 (0.139)	-0.234*** (0.0642)	-0.227*** (0.0652)	-0.223 (0.146)
2015 Retrospective economic evaluation	0.669*** (0.0765)	0.179 (0.212)	0.479*** (0.0800)	0.570*** (0.0789)	0.108 (0.218)
Labour economic competence		-1.001*** (0.175)			-0.851*** (0.185)
Conservative economic competence		0.712*** (0.192)			0.580** (0.201)
Attitude towards austerity			0.929*** (0.100)		0.695** (0.237)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Labour responsible for Global Financial Crisis				0.0306 (0.146)	-0.600 (0.332)
Labour responsible for level of national debt				1.155*** (0.157)	0.616 (0.365)
Age	0.0315*** (0.00557)	0.0313** (0.0116)	0.0336*** (0.00569)	0.0324*** (0.00566)	0.0323** (0.0119)
Female	-0.263 (0.134)	-0.245 (0.294)	-0.135 (0.138)	-0.153 (0.137)	-0.173 (0.302)
Education level (Base = no qualifications)					
<i>Below GCSE</i>	0.588 (0.346)	0.434 (0.782)	0.517 (0.350)	0.621 (0.352)	0.491 (0.793)
<i>GCSE</i>	0.348 (0.255)	-0.134 (0.576)	0.333 (0.259)	0.339 (0.261)	-0.0322 (0.581)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
<i>A Level</i>	0.530*	-0.110	0.545*	0.487	-0.0184
	(0.270)	(0.606)	(0.275)	(0.277)	(0.617)
<i>Undergraduate</i>	0.370	-0.506	0.326	0.271	-0.478
	(0.256)	(0.576)	(0.261)	(0.262)	(0.586)
<i>Postgraduate</i>	0.411	-0.548	0.313	0.244	-0.623
	(0.342)	(0.780)	(0.350)	(0.346)	(0.787)
<i>Other</i>	-0.219	-1.225	-0.246	-0.252	-1.067
	(0.431)	(0.883)	(0.438)	(0.436)	(0.905)
Income percentile	0.00723*	0.0126*	0.00662*	0.00694*	0.0132*
	(0.00286)	(0.00630)	(0.00292)	(0.00291)	(0.00645)
Missing income data dummy	-0.197	0.215	-0.206	-0.167	0.165
	(0.229)	(0.499)	(0.234)	(0.230)	(0.503)
Economic left- right values	1.461***	1.328***	1.163***	1.420***	1.164***
	(0.0974)	(0.215)	(0.103)	(0.0990)	(0.223)
Liberal- authoritarian values	0.902***	0.799***	0.864***	0.869***	0.796***
	(0.0963)	(0.210)	(0.0985)	(0.0977)	(0.213)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Immigration attitudes	0.257** (0.0940)	0.184 (0.215)	0.248** (0.0955)	0.208* (0.0960)	0.249 (0.220)
2015 not very strong Conservative Party id	0.794*** (0.171)	0.179 (0.366)	0.751*** (0.174)	0.722*** (0.172)	0.0952 (0.372)
2015 fairly strong Conservative Party id	1.002*** (0.167)	0.506 (0.376)	0.914*** (0.170)	0.930*** (0.169)	0.418 (0.383)
2015 very strong Conservative Party id	1.513*** (0.293)	2.228* (1.094)	1.406*** (0.298)	1.463*** (0.294)	2.176* (1.104)
(p.216) 2015 not very strong Labour Party id	-1.366*** (0.227)	-0.518 (0.499)	-1.309*** (0.231)	-1.204*** (0.233)	-0.333 (0.510)
2015 fairly strong Labour Party id	-2.645*** (0.255)	-0.764 (0.515)	-2.504*** (0.258)	-2.450*** (0.260)	-0.729 (0.525)
2015 very strong Labour Party id	-4.145*** (0.675)	-2.626* (1.245)	-3.932*** (0.695)	-3.874*** (0.685)	-2.447 (1.338)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 not very strong Conservative Party id	0.392* (0.160)	-0.240 (0.356)	0.393* (0.162)	0.355* (0.161)	-0.186 (0.362)
2010 fairly strong Conservative Party id	0.830*** (0.184)	0.795* (0.394)	0.853*** (0.187)	0.779*** (0.185)	0.792* (0.402)
2010 very strong Conservative Party id	0.562* (0.274)	0.997 (0.657)	0.612* (0.279)	0.501 (0.274)	1.065 (0.684)
2010 not very strong Labour Party id	0.129 (0.217)	-0.0588 (0.461)	0.242 (0.221)	0.172 (0.222)	-0.0780 (0.464)
2010 fairly strong Labour Party id	-0.0610 (0.253)	-0.555 (0.529)	0.0229 (0.257)	0.0474 (0.259)	-0.633 (0.537)
2010 very strong Labour Party id	-0.520 (0.515)	-0.553 (1.033)	-0.529 (0.531)	-0.428 (0.519)	-0.727 (1.057)
Constant	-3.567*** (0.540)	-1.542 (1.232)	-3.350*** (0.552)	-4.122*** (0.560)	-1.761 (1.314)
N	4228	992	4218	4228	992

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Liberal Democrats (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 Retrospective economic evaluation	-0.190** (0.0686)	-0.0375 (0.158)	-0.176* (0.0689)	-0.184** (0.0703)	-0.0288 (0.162)
2015 Retrospective economic evaluation	0.378*** (0.0843)	0.540* (0.241)	0.297*** (0.0880)	0.327*** (0.0864)	0.507* (0.244)
Labour economic competence		-0.641** (0.201)			-0.637** (0.208)
Conservative economic competence		-0.131 (0.202)			-0.127 (0.216)
Attitude towards austerity			0.399*** (0.110)		-0.220 (0.276)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Labour responsible for Global Financial Crisis				-0.153 (0.164)	-0.422 (0.378)
Labour responsible for level of national debt				0.673*** (0.160)	0.580 (0.393)
Age	0.0155* (0.00605)	0.0126 (0.0130)	0.0168** (0.00612)	0.0161** (0.00610)	0.0132 (0.0132)
Female	-0.261 (0.150)	0.144 (0.350)	-0.244 (0.152)	-0.190 (0.152)	0.0791 (0.358)
Education level (Base = no qualifications)					
<i>Below GCSE</i>	0.394 (0.435)	0.523 (1.210)	0.386 (0.437)	0.405 (0.436)	0.646 (1.215)
<i>GCSE</i>	0.420 (0.323)	1.150 (0.884)	0.421 (0.325)	0.382 (0.326)	1.256 (0.888)
<i>A Level</i>	0.219 (0.339)	0.658 (0.908)	0.226 (0.341)	0.207 (0.341)	0.757 (0.914)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(p.217) <i>Undergraduate</i>	0.223	0.0935	0.218	0.137	0.134
	(0.317)	(0.884)	(0.320)	(0.320)	(0.891)
<i>Postgraduate</i>	-0.0307	-0.586	-0.0485	-0.169	-0.745
	(0.388)	(1.053)	(0.391)	(0.391)	(1.068)
<i>Other</i>	-0.0526	-1.707	-0.0469	-0.0859	-1.741
	(0.517)	(1.443)	(0.519)	(0.516)	(1.450)
Income percentile	0.00424	0.00310	0.00390	0.00438	0.00370
	(0.00310)	(0.00704)	(0.00312)	(0.00313)	(0.00715)
Missing income data dummy	-0.261	0.384	-0.281	-0.278	0.384
	(0.268)	(0.583)	(0.271)	(0.268)	(0.581)
Economic left- right values	0.699*** (0.102)	0.521* (0.244)	0.557*** (0.111)	0.665*** (0.104)	0.586* (0.253)
Liberal- authoritarian values	-0.0417 (0.101)	-0.228 (0.230)	-0.103 (0.102)	-0.0647 (0.101)	-0.278 (0.235)
Immigration attitudes	0.121	0.186	0.124	0.0999	0.181

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	(0.110)	(0.265)	(0.110)	(0.111)	(0.270)
2015 not very strong Liberal Democrat Party id	1.348*** (0.212)	1.341** (0.504)	1.357*** (0.213)	1.337*** (0.213)	1.464** (0.516)
2015 fairly strong Liberal Democrat Party id	1.897*** (0.264)	1.604** (0.550)	1.872*** (0.266)	1.883*** (0.265)	1.584** (0.554)
2015 very strong Liberal Democrat Party id	3.621*** (0.718)	1.958 (1.345)	3.653*** (0.736)	3.644*** (0.722)	1.636 (1.384)
2015 not very strong Liberal Democrat Party id	-0.787** (0.250)	-1.092 (0.565)	-0.760** (0.251)	-0.680** (0.253)	-1.003 (0.573)
2015 fairly strong Labour Party id	-1.579*** (0.256)	-1.855** (0.614)	-1.511*** (0.256)	-1.477*** (0.258)	-1.770** (0.622)
2015 very strong Labour Party id	-3.062*** (0.577)	-16.42 (895.4)	-2.938*** (0.579)	-2.924*** (0.580)	-15.76 (645.0)
2010 not very strong Liberal Democrat Party id	0.605** (0.200)	0.762 (0.481)	0.591** (0.201)	0.637** (0.202)	0.667 (0.490)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 fairly strong Liberal Democrat Party id	0.270 (0.264)	0.627 (0.581)	0.264 (0.265)	0.283 (0.265)	0.568 (0.590)
2010 very strong Liberal Democrat Party id	0.752 (0.495)	1.050 (1.121)	0.743 (0.496)	0.730 (0.494)	0.914 (1.095)
2010 not very strong Labour Party id	-0.152 (0.262)	0.515 (0.562)	-0.128 (0.263)	-0.118 (0.264)	0.343 (0.565)
2010 fairly strong Labour Party id	-0.0137 (0.277)	0.637 (0.623)	-0.0116 (0.278)	0.0172 (0.280)	0.546 (0.631)
2010 very strong Labour Party id	-0.115 (0.453)	0.0657 (1.204)	-0.0933 (0.455)	-0.0583 (0.456)	0.0224 (1.209)
Constant	-2.415*** (0.592)	-1.721 (1.474)	-2.278*** (0.597)	-2.630*** (0.607)	-1.840 (1.536)
N	4228	992	4218	4228	992
UKIP (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 Retrospective economic evaluation	-0.359*** (0.0650)	-0.310* (0.149)	-0.334*** (0.0659)	-0.326*** (0.0671)	-0.331* (0.154)
(p.218) 2015 Retrospective economic evaluation	0.212** (0.0716)	0.110 (0.209)	0.0527 (0.0758)	0.142 (0.0738)	0.0377 (0.214)
Labour economic competence		-0.947*** (0.181)			-0.868*** (0.193)
Conservative economic competence		0.0678 (0.185)			-0.0485 (0.193)
Attitude towards austerity			0.767*** (0.0979)		0.388 (0.236)
Labour responsible for Global Financial Crisis				0.0866 (0.148)	-0.811* (0.347)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Labour responsible for level of national debt				0.775*** (0.152)	0.565 (0.373)
Age	0.0265*** (0.00591)	0.0418** (0.0132)	0.0274*** (0.00599)	0.0276*** (0.00597)	0.0420** (0.0134)
Female	-0.594*** (0.137)	-0.547 (0.311)	-0.526*** (0.140)	-0.514*** (0.139)	-0.583 (0.319)
Education level (Base = no qualifications)					
<i>Below GCSE</i>	0.258 (0.320)	0.923 (0.793)	0.217 (0.324)	0.293 (0.323)	1.090 (0.805)
<i>GCSE</i>	0.373 (0.233)	0.481 (0.581)	0.351 (0.237)	0.369 (0.237)	0.601 (0.585)
<i>A Level</i>	0.261 (0.257)	0.109 (0.639)	0.298 (0.261)	0.241 (0.262)	0.243 (0.647)
<i>Undergraduate</i>	-0.171 (0.245)	-0.185 (0.602)	-0.209 (0.251)	-0.243 (0.250)	-0.115 (0.609)
<i>Postgraduate</i>	0.173	0.00454	0.103	0.0251	0.0137

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	(0.355)	(0.855)	(0.362)	(0.358)	(0.865)
<i>Other</i>	-0.0621	-0.483	-0.0750	-0.103	-0.293
	(0.425)	(0.959)	(0.430)	(0.429)	(0.979)
Income percentile	0.00186	0.0109	0.00127	0.00154	0.0116
	(0.00294)	(0.00652)	(0.00300)	(0.00298)	(0.00664)
Missing income data dummy	-0.0635	0.0459	-0.0731	-0.0462	-0.00686
	(0.232)	(0.549)	(0.236)	(0.232)	(0.546)
Economic left- right values	0.723***	0.730***	0.468***	0.690***	0.652**
	(0.0921)	(0.216)	(0.0990)	(0.0938)	(0.228)
Liberal- authoritarian values	0.907***	0.633**	0.864***	0.882***	0.627**
	(0.0942)	(0.213)	(0.0962)	(0.0951)	(0.215)
Immigration attitudes	0.626***	0.803***	0.621***	0.581***	0.851***
	(0.0925)	(0.213)	(0.0939)	(0.0939)	(0.219)
2015 not very strong UKIP party id	0.658*	0.985	0.669*	0.702*	1.015
	(0.283)	(0.573)	(0.283)	(0.283)	(0.581)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2015 fairly strong UKIP party id	1.987*** (0.225)	2.306*** (0.463)	2.003*** (0.225)	1.994*** (0.225)	2.379*** (0.471)
2015 very strong UKIP party id	2.823*** (0.315)	2.899*** (0.622)	2.921*** (0.319)	2.864*** (0.317)	2.889*** (0.644)
2015 not very strong Labour Party id	-1.597*** (0.238)	-0.372 (0.511)	-1.558*** (0.242)	-1.414*** (0.242)	-0.275 (0.524)
2015 fairly strong Labour Party id	-1.825*** (0.213)	-0.710 (0.519)	-1.698*** (0.216)	-1.668*** (0.217)	-0.669 (0.526)
(p.219) 2015 very strong Labour Party id	-2.834*** (0.408)	-1.876 (0.968)	-2.718*** (0.419)	-2.623*** (0.408)	-1.736 (0.971)
2010 not very strong UKIP party id	0.414 (0.263)	0.0692 (0.628)	0.411 (0.265)	0.416 (0.263)	0.0663 (0.629)
2010 fairly strong UKIP party id	0.409 (0.303)	-0.0859 (0.522)	0.369 (0.305)	0.394 (0.305)	-0.0900 (0.537)
2010 very strong UKIP party id	2.477*** (0.652)	0.619 (1.205)	2.441*** (0.664)	2.396*** (0.657)	0.616 (1.202)

Appendix to Chapter 6

Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 not very strong Labour Party id	-0.110 (0.212)	-0.110 (0.486)	-0.0312 (0.216)	-0.0754 (0.215)	-0.180 (0.484)
2010 fairly strong Labour Party id	-0.198 (0.232)	0.274 (0.499)	-0.142 (0.235)	-0.113 (0.236)	0.0957 (0.500)
2010 very strong Labour Party id	-1.211** (0.460)	-1.089 (1.094)	-1.144* (0.466)	-1.098* (0.457)	-1.258 (1.065)
Constant	-1.176* (0.531)	-0.600 (1.293)	-0.901 (0.542)	-1.607** (0.549)	-0.327 (1.344)
N	4228	992	4218	4228	992
Green Party (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2010 Retrospective economic evaluation	-0.107 (0.0883)	-0.262 (0.216)	-0.104 (0.0884)	-0.0768 (0.0906)	-0.199 (0.224)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2015	-0.0123	-0.0917	-0.0427	-0.0431	-0.0886
Retrospective economic evaluation	(0.102)	(0.311)	(0.106)	(0.103)	(0.318)
Labour economic competence		-0.417 (0.261)			-0.434 (0.272)
Conservative economic competence		-0.0865 (0.282)			-0.0581 (0.307)
Attitude towards austerity			0.165 (0.137)		-0.00949 (0.367)
Labour responsible for Global Financial Crisis				0.225 (0.203)	0.560 (0.477)
Labour responsible for level of national debt				0.369 (0.202)	-0.207 (0.541)
Age	0.00179	0.00910	0.00203	0.00262	0.0106

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
	(0.00760)	(0.0187)	(0.00764)	(0.00763)	(0.0188)
Female	0.136	0.0234	0.143	0.166	-0.0519
	(0.193)	(0.455)	(0.193)	(0.194)	(0.472)
Education level (Base = no qualifications)					
<i>Below GCSE</i>	-1.090	-14.32	-1.124	-1.080	-13.73
	(0.810)	(1024.1)	(0.810)	(0.810)	(722.9)
<i>GCSE</i>	0.152	-0.189	0.134	0.144	-0.269
	(0.419)	(0.883)	(0.419)	(0.421)	(0.897)
<i>A Level</i>	0.0938	-1.142	0.0756	0.0624	-1.320
	(0.430)	(0.939)	(0.430)	(0.433)	(0.970)
<i>Undergraduate</i>	0.0911	-1.278	0.0760	0.0414	-1.270
	(0.408)	(0.901)	(0.408)	(0.411)	(0.902)
<i>Postgraduate</i>	0.688	-1.383	0.656	0.596	-1.296
	(0.463)	(1.097)	(0.464)	(0.466)	(1.086)
<i>Other</i>	-0.960	-0.632	-0.926	-1.012	-0.543
	(0.908)	(1.458)	(0.903)	(0.910)	(1.452)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(p.220) Income percentile	0.000135 (0.00378)	-0.000611 (0.00866)	5.64e-08 (0.00378)	-0.000168 (0.00378)	-0.00129 (0.00871)
Missing income data dummy	-0.609 (0.373)	-0.658 (1.019)	-0.633 (0.373)	-0.637 (0.375)	-0.576 (1.012)
Economic left- right values	-0.166 (0.122)	-0.487 (0.295)	-0.217 (0.132)	-0.176 (0.123)	-0.468 (0.319)
Liberal- authoritarian values	-0.125 (0.116)	-0.578* (0.279)	-0.146 (0.119)	-0.133 (0.117)	-0.576* (0.287)
Immigration attitudes	-0.239 (0.143)	-0.425 (0.360)	-0.244 (0.143)	-0.277 (0.144)	-0.468 (0.368)
2015 not very strong Green Party id	1.743*** (0.374)	2.342** (0.888)	1.737*** (0.373)	1.738*** (0.374)	2.282* (0.898)
2015 fairly strong Green Party id	2.190*** (0.340)	1.911* (0.793)	2.175*** (0.341)	2.210*** (0.340)	2.126** (0.807)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
2015 very strong Green Party id	4.303*** (0.855)	5.340*** (1.475)	4.253*** (0.852)	4.353*** (0.858)	5.817*** (1.539)
2015 not very strong Labour Party id	-0.560* (0.286)	-0.904 (0.775)	-0.557 (0.286)	-0.472 (0.290)	-0.945 (0.802)
2015 fairly strong Labour Party id	-1.635*** (0.304)	-0.721 (0.669)	-1.608*** (0.304)	-1.558*** (0.305)	-0.682 (0.684)
2015 very strong Labour Party id	-2.779*** (0.600)	-2.162 (1.276)	-2.747*** (0.601)	-2.668*** (0.602)	-2.150 (1.261)
2010 not very strong Green Party id	-0.0178 (0.438)	0.505 (1.023)	0.0244 (0.438)	-0.0118 (0.439)	0.651 (1.017)
2010 fairly strong Green Party id	-0.256 (0.517)	0.203 (1.061)	-0.259 (0.517)	-0.276 (0.515)	0.123 (1.047)
2010 very strong Green Party id	1.792 (1.503)	0 (.)	1.803 (1.484)	1.817 (1.540)	0 (.)
2010 not very strong Labour Party id	-0.361 (0.293)	-0.205 (0.648)	-0.347 (0.294)	-0.327 (0.295)	-0.166 (0.658)

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Conservatives (base category = Labour)	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	
2010 fairly strong Labour Party id	-0.705* (0.329)	-1.348 (0.767)	-0.693* (0.328)	-0.647 (0.330)	-1.303 (0.791)	
2010 very strong Labour Party id	-0.993 (0.573)	-1.094 (1.255)	-0.980 (0.572)	-0.938 (0.577)	-1.082 (1.257)	
Constant	-1.194	0.673 (0.718)	-1.093 (1.740)	-1.492* (0.719)	0.299 (0.739)	(1.889)
N	4228	992	4218	4228	992	

(*) p<0.05

(**) p<0.01

(***) p<0.001

(p.221)

Table A6.4 Graded response IRT Model of austerity attitudes

Necessity of deficit reduction	
Discrimination	-0.888***
	(0.0107)
Difficulty (base = It is completely unnecessary)	
≥ <i>It is not necessary but it would be desirable</i>	3.119***
	(0.0367)
≥ <i>It is important but not absolutely necessary</i>	0.991***
	(0.0156)
= <i>It is completely necessary</i>	-1.774***
	(0.0212)
How to reduce deficit	
Discrimination	-1.201***
	(0.0117)
Difficulty (base = Only by increasing taxes)	
≥ <i>Mainly by increasing taxes, but also by cutting spending</i>	1.633***
	(0.0166)
≥ <i>An equal balance of spending cuts and tax increases</i>	0.460***
	(0.00993)
≥ <i>Mainly by cutting spending, but with some tax increases</i>	-1.435***
	(0.0139)
= <i>Only by cutting spending</i>	-2.592***
	(0.0237)
Cuts too far: public spending	
Discrimination	4.710***
	(0.0584)
Difficulty (base = Not gone nearly far enough)	
≥ <i>Not gone far enough</i>	-2.177***
	(0.0134)

\geq <i>About right</i>	-1.339***
	(0.00758)
\geq <i>Gone too far</i>	-0.388***
	(0.00536)
= <i>Gone much too far</i>	0.617***
	(0.00585)
Cuts too far: NHS	
Discrimination	2.739***
	(0.0231)
Difficulty (base = Not gone nearly far enough)	
\geq <i>Not gone far enough</i>	-2.747***
	(0.0212)
\geq <i>About right</i>	-1.944***
	(0.0121)
\geq <i>Gone too far</i>	-0.949***
	(0.00713)
= <i>Gone much too far</i>	0.220***
	(0.00594)
(p.222) Cuts too far: Local services	
Discrimination	3.368***
	(0.0305)
Difficulty (base = Not gone nearly far enough)	
\geq <i>Not gone far enough</i>	-2.660***
	(0.0200)
\geq <i>About right</i>	-1.822***
	(0.0107)
\geq <i>Gone too far</i>	-0.422***
	(0.00579)
= <i>Gone much too far</i>	0.780***
	(0.00668)

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

Note: The direction of the predicted score is then reversed to give a scale that runs from anti-austerity to pro-austerity.

Table A6.5 Multinomial Logistic regression model of 2017 vote

Base = Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrat	UKIP	Green Party
2010 Retrospective economic evaluation	-0.0948 (0.0798)	0.0113 (0.0870)	0.0190 (0.155)	-0.164 (0.156)
2015 Retrospective economic evaluation	0.177 (0.0966)	0.238* (0.110)	0.0236 (0.163)	-0.208 (0.191)
2017 Retrospective economic evaluation	0.669*** (0.103)	-0.184 (0.125)	0.380* (0.170)	0.215 (0.207)
Age	0.0271*** (0.00738)	0.0343*** (0.00801)	0.0218 (0.0153)	0.00968 (0.0144)
Female	-0.106 (0.171)	-0.297 (0.196)	-0.257 (0.316)	-0.0956 (0.346)
Education level (Base = no qualifications)				
<i>Below GCSE</i>	0.358 (0.428)	0.839 (0.583)	-0.358 (0.759)	-15.39 (1363.3)
<i>GCSE</i>	-0.0727 (0.309)	0.258 (0.455)	0.0348 (0.456)	-0.752 (0.619)
<i>A Level</i>	0.0559 (0.333)	0.522 (0.454)	-0.680 (0.566)	-0.919 (0.665)

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Base = Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrat	UKIP	Green Party
<i>Undergraduate</i>	-0.285 (0.317)	0.132 (0.436)	-0.384 (0.513)	-0.678 (0.585)
<i>Postgraduate</i>	-0.0345 (0.432)	0.699 (0.496)	-1.268 (1.159)	-0.595 (0.765)
<i>Other</i>	-0.372 (0.726)	0.151 (0.884)	0.304 (1.022)	-1.056 (1.530)
Income percentile	0.00221 (0.00353)	0.00899* (0.00377)	0.0108 (0.00654)	0.00142 (0.00687)
Economic left-right values	0.959*** (0.120)	0.520*** (0.128)	0.328 (0.197)	0.339 (0.222)
Liberal-authoritarian values	0.274* (0.118)	0.0458 (0.125)	0.0760 (0.213)	-0.267 (0.221)
(p.223) Immigration attitudes	0.208 (0.119)	-0.104 (0.143)	0.511* (0.223)	-0.104 (0.257)
EU attitudes	1.073*** (0.132)	-0.286* (0.141)	1.437*** (0.274)	0.236 (0.251)

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Base = Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrat	UKIP	Green Party
2017 not very strong outcome party id	1.100*** (0.269)	0.417 (0.321)	1.478** (0.496)	1.026 (0.954)
2017 fairly strong outcome party id	1.860*** (0.311)	1.009** (0.378)	1.707*** (0.425)	1.152 (0.706)
2017 very strong outcome party id	1.991*** (0.601)	3.232*** (0.922)	1.479* (0.584)	2.214 (1.133)
2017 not very strong Labour Party id	-1.032** (0.316)	-0.681 (0.364)	-0.725 (0.635)	-0.876 (0.668)
2017 fairly strong Labour Party id	-1.810*** (0.330)	-1.446*** (0.345)	-1.878* (0.729)	-1.231* (0.544)
2017 very strong Labour Party id	-3.241*** (0.713)	-2.418*** (0.615)	-2.510* (1.263)	-16.75 (631.5)
2015 not very strong outcome party id	-0.304 (0.292)	0.696* (0.346)	2.233*** (0.602)	1.945** (0.673)
2015 fairly strong outcome party id	0.143 (0.335)	1.092* (0.461)	0.00548 (0.500)	0.691 (0.739)
2015 very strong outcome party id	0.392 (0.609)	0.857 (0.971)	0.185 (0.487)	2.238 (1.162)
2015 not very strong Labour Party id	-0.687* (0.309)	0.214 (0.347)	-1.008 (0.700)	-0.651 (0.725)
2015 fairly strong Labour Party id	-0.654* (0.319)	0.0395 (0.368)	-0.160 (0.613)	0.182 (0.563)

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Base = Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrat	UKIP	Green Party
2015 very strong Labour Party id	-0.432 (0.548)	0.115 (0.531)	-0.184 (1.022)	-1.471 (1.196)
2010 not very strong outcome party id	0.522* (0.263)	0.0896 (0.281)	-1.385 (0.747)	-0.374 (1.002)
2010 fairly strong outcome party id	0.0419 (0.290)	-0.544 (0.385)	-0.0475 (0.506)	2.062** (0.768)
2010 very strong outcome party id	-0.0965 (0.501)	-1.275 (0.763)	0.279 (0.652)	2.785 (4.137)
2010 not very strong Labour Party id	0.267 (0.294)	-0.959* (0.383)	0.0123 (0.574)	-0.209 (0.644)
2010 fairly strong Labour Party id	0.269 (0.317)	-0.226 (0.357)	0.439 (0.611)	0.178 (0.576)
2010 very strong Labour Party id	0.145 (0.545)	-1.131 (0.618)	-0.0352 (0.992)	1.458* (0.698)
Constant	-3.539*** (0.697)	-3.529*** (0.809)	-5.213*** (1.348)	-1.645 (1.307)
N	2255			

(*) $p < 0.05$

(**) $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

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