



Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World

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Table A5.1 Multilevel logit predicting immigration being seen as the respondent's 'most important issue'

Log(Immigration change)	0.473*
	(0.188)
Log(Immigration level)	0.396***
	(0.089)
Log(Immigration change) * Log(Immigration level)	-0.122**
	(0.039)
Education level (Base = No qualifications)	
<i>GCSE D-G</i>	-0.163
	(0.101)
<i>GCSE A*-C</i>	-0.177*
	(0.073)
<i>A level</i>	-0.539***

	(0.079)
<i>Undergraduate</i>	-0.941***
	(0.078)
<i>Postgraduate</i>	-1.460***
	(0.119)
Age	0.073***
	(0.010)
Age ²	-0.001***
	(0.000)
Newspaper (Base = None)	
<i>The Express</i>	0.820***
	(0.123)
<i>The Daily Mail</i>	0.844***
	(0.062)
<i>The Mirror</i>	-0.239**
	(0.081)
<i>The Daily Star</i>	0.816***
	(0.194)
<i>The Sun</i>	0.865***
	(0.065)
<i>The Daily Telegraph</i>	0.111
	(0.100)
<i>The Financial Times</i>	-0.898
	(0.533)
<i>The Guardian</i>	-2.155***
	(0.222)
<i>The Independent</i>	-1.040***
	(0.246)
<i>The Times</i>	-0.608***
	(0.134)

<i>The Scotsman</i>	-0.292
	(0.366)
(p.207) <i>The Herald</i>	-0.821*
	(0.356)
<i>The Western Mail</i>	-0.589
	(0.389)
Other local newspaper	-0.190
	(0.121)
Other Newspaper	-0.208*
	(0.096)
Constant	-4.639***
	(0.435)
N Respondents	14,584
N Regions	11
N Local Authorities	787

(*) $p < 0.05$;

(**) $p < 0.01$;

(***) $p < 0.001$

Table A5.2 Interclass correlation coefficients from the multilevel logit model shown in Table A5.1

Level	Empty model	Full model
Region	0.021	0.012
	(0.010)	(0.006)
Local authority	0.047	0.024
	(0.010)	(0.008)

Table A5.3 OLS model predicting yearly proportion of respondents saying immigration is an important issue as a function of newspaper coverage of immigration (Newspaper coverage and immigration levels are standardized)

	Daily Mail	Daily Express	The Sun	All	Daily Mail + polynomial
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.101*** (0.015)			0.148*** (0.026)	0.105*** (0.017)
<i>Daily Express</i>		0.034 (0.021)		-0.004 (0.019)	
<i>The Sun</i>			0.027* (0.012)	-0.022 (0.017)	
Immigration	0.029 (0.021)	0.116* (0.041175)	0.130*** (0.031)	-0.003 (0.033)	0.023 (0.035)
Year	0.004 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.000 (0.004)	0.004 (0.003)	-0.011 (0.080)
Year ²					0.001 (0.003)
Year ³					0.000 (0.000)
Constant	-7.609 (3.864)	3.14 (9.208)	-0.728 (8.803)	-8.099 (5.037)	20.988 (159.143)

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	Daily Mail	Daily Express	The Sun	All	Daily Mail + polynomial
Adjusted R ²	0.967	0.81	0.86	0.955	0.965
N	25	17	18	17	25

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Table A5.4 Two-parameter IRT model of immigration concern in the 2010 BESIP

Most Important Issue is immigration	
Discrimination	1.382***
	-0.047
Difficulty	1.547***
	-0.038
Immigration emotions: angry	
Discrimination	3.415***
	-0.164
Difficulty	0.122***
	-0.011
Immigration emotions: disgust	
Discrimination	2.451***
	-0.073
Difficulty	0.250***
	-0.012
Immigration emotions: uneasy	
Discrimination	0.591***
	-0.023
Difficulty	-0.080**
	-0.029
Immigration emotions: afraid	
Discrimination	1.871***
	-0.049
Difficulty	0.755***
	-0.017

* $p < 0.05$ (**) $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

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Table A5.5 Same vote in 2010 versus UKIP contrasts from multinomial logistic regression models of different groups of 2010 voters

	2010 Labour	2010 Conservative	Liberal Democrat
EU approval	-0.508***	-0.650***	-0.698
	(0.119)	(0.088)	(0.104)
Immigration concern	0.706***	0.394***	0.773
	(0.163)	(0.110)	(0.161)
Strength of ID with 2010 party (Base = No/different party ID)			
<i>Not very strongly</i>	-0.083	-0.480*	-0.880*
	(0.415)	(0.213)	(0.354)
<i>Fairly strongly</i>	-0.461	-0.979***	-0.615*
	(0.336)	(0.179)	(0.285)
<i>Very strongly</i>	-1.983***	-1.499***	-2.042**
	(0.517)	(0.241)	(0.773)
Education level (Base = No qualifications)			
<i>GCSE D-G</i>	-0.224	-0.454	-0.181
	(0.541)	(0.383)	(0.700)
<i>GCSE A*-C</i>	-0.162	-0.453	-0.747
	(0.390)	(0.255)	(0.495)
<i>A level</i>	-0.132	-0.321	-0.765
	(0.471)	(0.270)	(0.536)
<i>Undergraduate</i>	-0.546	-0.675*	-1.025*
	(0.463)	(0.273)	(0.492)
<i>Postgrad</i>	-14.501	-0.067	-0.850
	(707.056)	(0.369)	(0.626)
<i>Other qualification</i>	-0.517	-0.640*	-0.583
	(0.488)	(0.272)	(0.515)

	2010 Labour	2010 Conservative	Liberal Democrat
Age	0.006	-0.014*	0.011
	(0.012)	(0.007)	(0.010)
Female	-0.467	-0.291	-0.136
	(0.262)	(0.148)	(0.236)
Constant	-0.249	1.750**	1.715*
	(0.945)	(0.543)	(0.826)
N origin voters	1,056	1,588	1,178
N UKIP switchers	81	270	130
Pseudo R ²	0.1381	0.1155	0.0923

(*) p<0.05

(**) p<0.01

(***) p<0.001

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Table A5.6 OLS regression predicting approval of EU membership (five category dependent variable) used for imputation of EU approval under conditions of low anti-immigrant preferences

Immigration concern	-0.617***
	(0.020)
Education level (Base = No qualifications)	
<i>GCSE D-G</i>	0.054
	(0.083)
<i>GCSE A*-C</i>	0.152**
	(0.058)
<i>A level</i>	0.418***
	(0.062)
<i>Undergraduate</i>	0.554***
	(0.058)
<i>Postgrad</i>	0.802***
	(0.073)

<i>Other qualification</i>	0.387***
	(0.061)
Age	-0.002
	(0.001)
Female	-0.219***
	(0.029)
2010 General Election Vote (Base = Conservatives)	
<i>Labour</i>	0.715***
	(0.039)
<i>Liberal Democrat</i>	0.723***
	(0.038)
<i>SNP</i>	-0.952
	(1.071)
<i>Plaid Cymru</i>	0.508***
	(0.191)
<i>UKIP</i>	-0.534***
	(0.064)
<i>Green Party</i>	0.735***
	(0.142)
<i>British National Party (BNP)</i>	-0.260
	(0.133)
<i>Other</i>	0.155
	(0.112)
Constant	2.263***
	(0.096)
Adjusted R ²	0.390
N	5,501

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