

Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World

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X variables represent a vector of control variables (party ID, leader likes, Britishness, Scottishness, approval of Scottish government, devolution preferences, satisfaction with UK democracy). Additional controls are also used (without recursive effects from other variables) but not shown on the diagram: 2011 Holyrood SNP vote, 2010 Labour vote, age, political knowledge, and subjective class.

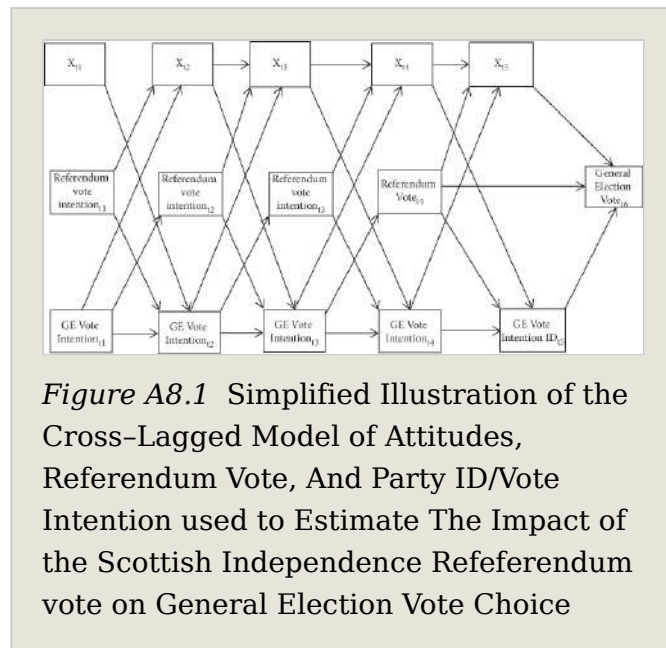


Figure A8.1 Simplified Illustration of the Cross-Lagged Model of Attitudes, Referendum Vote, and Party ID/Vote Intention used to Estimate The Impact of the Scottish Independence Referendum vote on General Election Vote Choice

T1 = Feb/march (BESIP wave 1)

T2 = May 2014 (BESIP wave 2)

T3 = pre-referendum (SRS pre-referendum)

T4 = referendum (BESIP wave 3)

T5 = pre-election (BESIP wave 4)

T6 = Post general election 2015 (BESIP wave 6)

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Table A8.1 Two parameter IRT model of Scottish devolution preferences (constant loading and varying preferences across waves)

Preference for devolution: Welfare benefits	
Discrimination	5.262***
	(0.121)
Difficulty	-0.303***
	(0.00783)
Preference for devolution: Defence & foreign affairs	
Discrimination	4.574***
	(0.116)
Difficulty	0.340***
	(0.0109)
Preference for devolution: Taxation	
Discrimination	5.221***
	(0.118)
Difficulty	-0.267***
	(0.00781)
Preference for devolution: Immigration[†]	
Discrimination	3.806***
	(0.174)
Difficulty	0.00725
	(0.0154)
Preference for devolution: Pensions[†]	
Discrimination	6.089***
	(0.350)

Difficulty	-0.0129
	(0.0129)
Preference for devolution: Energy[†]	
Discrimination	3.580***
	(0.170)
Difficulty	-0.397***
	(0.0178)
Preference for devolution: NHS	
Discrimination	3.980***
	(0.0904)
Difficulty	-0.706***
	(0.0102)
Preference for devolution: Schools	
Discrimination	4.810***
	(0.137)
Difficulty	-1.000***
	(0.0129)
Preference for devolution: Police	
Discrimination	3.425***
	(0.0741)
Difficulty	-0.854***
	(0.0118)

([†]) Only asked in Scottish Referendum Study pre-referendum wave

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

(p.229)

Table A8.2 Cross-lagged model of attitudes, referendum vote, and party ID/vote intention used to estimate the impact of the Scottish independence referendum vote on general election vote choice

Independent variables (measured in previous wave)	Referendum Yes intention t2	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes vote t4
<i>SNP Vote intention</i>		-1.082 (0.719)	-1.078* (0.646)
<i>Party ID Labour</i>	0.379 (0.443)	0.00447 (0.399)	0.00194 (0.407)
<i>Party ID SNP</i>	-0.498 (0.805)	0.858 (1.078)	0.570 (1.581)
<i>Like Salmond</i>	0.225*** (0.0608)	0.144*** (0.0558)	0.136 (0.0896)
<i>Like Sturgeon</i>			0.181** (0.0873)
<i>Like Miliband</i>	-0.168** (0.0662)	-0.136** (0.0608)	-0.106 (0.0838)
<i>Britishness</i>	-0.0396 (0.0896)	-0.154* (0.0836)	0.111 (0.120)
<i>Scottishness</i>	0.00155	0.136* (0.0836)	0.0824

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Independent variables (measured in previous wave)	Referendum Yes intention t2	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes vote t4
	(0.0822)	(0.0770)	(0.111)
<i>Approve of Scottish Government</i>	0.483 (0.317)	0.853*** (0.307)	0.0419 (0.406)
<i>Devolution Preferences</i>	0.690*** (0.204)	0.208 (0.191)	0.834*** (0.282)
<i>Satisfaction with UK democracy</i>	-0.115 (0.171)	-0.245 (0.170)	-0.456** (0.208)
<i>2011 Holyrood SNP vote</i>	0.358 (0.383)	-0.117 (0.398)	-0.554 (0.510)
<i>2010 Labour vote</i>	0.320 (0.310)	-0.316 (0.298)	-0.242 (0.390)
<i>Economy better off independence</i>	0.376 (0.335)	1.582*** (0.364)	-1.536*** (0.389)
<i>Personally worse off independence</i>	-0.512 (0.319)	-0.784*** (0.289)	0.216 (0.614)
<i>Referendum Yes vote (intention)</i>	3.822***	2.718***	3.531***

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Independent variables (measured in previous wave)	Referendum Yes intention t2	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3	Referendum Yes intention t3
	(0.323)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)	(0.358)
<i>Age</i>	-0.0112 (0.0100)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)	-0.0125 (0.00951)
<i>Political knowledge</i>	-0.0148 (0.165)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)	-0.147 (0.159)
<i>Working class (subjective)</i>	0.118 (0.279)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)	-0.200 (0.267)
<i>Constant</i>	-2.162** (0.851)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)	-0.133 (0.841)
Indepen dent variable s (measur ed in previous wave)	Vote SNP Intentio n t2	Vote SNP Intentio n t3	Vote SNP Intentio n t4	Vote SNP Intentio n t5	Vote SNP Intentio n t6	Party ID Lab t2	Party ID Lab t3	Party ID Lab t4	Party ID Lab t5	Party ID Lab t6	Party ID SNP t4	Party ID SNP t5	Party ID SNP t6	Party ID SNP t6

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Independent variable	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP
(p.230) <i>SNP vote intention</i>		0.826 (0.656)	1.339*** (0.474)	3.118*** (0.536)	3.053*** (0.442)		-1.117* (0.573)	-0.587 (0.384)	-0.331 (0.396)	-1.020** (0.397)	0.793* (0.458)	0.801* (0.432)	1.209** (0.486)
<i>Party ID Labour</i>	-0.927* (0.481)	-0.602 (0.422)	0.435 (0.381)	-0.394 (0.453)	0.231 (0.461)	3.274*** (0.228)	2.335*** (0.239)	2.238*** (0.237)	2.963*** (0.259)	3.193*** (0.268)	0.916 (1.024)	1.770*** (0.417)	1.827*** (0.441)
<i>Party ID SNP</i>	-0.389 (0.679)	0.488 (0.726)	0.0615 (1.087)	0.707 (0.737)	4.262*** (1.407)								
<i>Like Salmon</i>	0.330*** (0.0832)	0.305*** (0.0707)	0.160* (0.0821)	0.112 (0.0799)		-0.0378 (0.0461)	- 0.0935* *	-0.0518 (0.0642)	0.0266 (0.0605)		0.259*** (0.0998)	0.144 (0.0925)	
<i>Like Sturgeon</i>			0.182** (0.0823)		0.149* (0.0772)			-0.0185 (0.0604)		-0.0917 (0.0594)	0.138 (0.0963)		0.198** (0.100)

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Independent variable	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP
<i>Like Miliband</i>	-0.306*** (0.0844)	-0.0420 (0.0773)	-0.282*** (0.0725)	-0.180** (0.0766)	-0.216*** (0.0814)	0.152*** (0.0488)	0.0598 (0.0429)	0.204*** (0.0498)	0.00883 (0.0526)	0.268*** (0.0535)	-0.254*** (0.0786)	0.0682 (0.0766)	-0.155** (0.0763)
<i>Britishness</i>	0.309*** (0.106)	-0.0981 (0.0928)	0.00399 (0.0912)	-0.00821 (0.112)	-0.347*** (0.106)	0.106 (0.0701)	-0.0149 (0.0629)	-0.00979 (0.0733)	0.0802 (0.0792)	0.0756 (0.0848)	-0.0674 (0.0979)	-0.117 (0.104)	-0.167 (0.109)
<i>Scottishness</i>	0.343* (0.185)	0.143 (0.0988)	0.0846 (0.110)	0.164 (0.104)	0.242** (0.104)	-0.0730 (0.0568)	-0.0430 (0.0495)	-0.0636 (0.0623)	-0.107 (0.0660)	-0.0884 (0.0627)	0.317** (0.147)	0.384** (0.174)	0.236 (0.145)
<i>Approval of Scottish Government</i>	0.216 (0.449)	0.871** (0.373)	0.429 (0.363)	0.666* (0.396)	0.465 (0.389)	-0.0693 (0.269)	0.317 (0.274)	0.0508 (0.281)	0.579* (0.328)	0.638* (0.349)	0.397 (0.458)	-0.00237 (0.466)	-0.344 (0.499)
<i>Devolution Preferences</i>	-0.0259 (0.306)	0.467* (0.257)	0.779*** (0.271)	0.233 (0.295)	0.354 (0.275)	-0.0252 (0.160)	0.0871 (0.149)	-0.407** (0.192)	0.270 (0.193)	0.191 (0.215)	0.634** (0.314)	-0.143 (0.292)	0.211 (0.323)

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Indepen dent variable s	Vote SNP Intentio n	Vote SNP Intentio n	Vote SNP Intentio n	Vote SNP Intentio n	Vote SNP Intentio n	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP
(p.231)	0.0305 (0.230)	0.110 (0.198)	-0.244 (0.185)	0.0583 (0.210)	0.304 (0.201)	0.122 (0.128)	-0.0773 (0.120)	0.0561 (0.132)	0.110 (0.140)	-0.166 (0.157)	-0.339 (0.209)	-0.306 (0.224)	-0.0218 (0.229)
<i>Satisfac tion with UK democr acy</i>													
<i>2011 Holyroo d SNP vote</i>	-0.501 (0.447)	1.312*** (0.330)	-0.900* (0.480)	0.811* (0.421)	0.842* (0.431)	-0.386 (0.282)	-0.186 (0.291)	-0.0243 (0.326)	-0.777** (0.307)	-0.586* (0.339)	-1.008** (0.484)	0.427 (0.390)	1.110*** (0.394)
<i>2010 Labour vote</i>	0.0433 (0.398)	- 1.025*** (0.336)	-0.126 (0.358)	0.320 (0.367)	-0.270 (0.368)	0.930*** (0.204)	0.587*** (0.202)	0.639*** (0.235)	0.961*** (0.245)	0.402 (0.264)	-0.891** (0.409)	-0.0122 (0.372)	-0.0137 (0.384)
<i>Referen dum Yes vote (intention)</i>	0.571 (0.496)	0.725* (0.377)	1.890*** (0.432)	2.104*** (0.445)	1.188*** (0.384)	-0.675** (0.303)	0.603* (0.332)	- 1.112*** (0.324)	- 1.090*** (0.376)	-0.608 (0.371)	1.936*** (0.597)	1.624*** (0.559)	1.327*** (0.489)

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Independent variable	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Vote SNP Intention	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID Lab	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP	Party ID SNP
<i>Age</i>	0.0100 (0.0129)	- 0.00149 (0.0112)	- 0.00389 (0.0123)	- 0.00709 (0.0129)	0.00453 (0.0136)	0.00519 (0.00701)	0.0131* (0.00669)	0.0180* (0.00818)	0.0273* (0.00865)	- 0.00167 (0.00943)	0.0170 (0.0134)	-0.0102 (0.0135)	0.0260* (0.0139)
<i>Political knowledge</i>	0.0250 (0.228)	-0.0360 (0.187)	-0.142 (0.194)	0.460** (0.224)	-0.484** (0.197)	0.0612 (0.125)	0.311*** (0.118)	-0.0649 (0.137)	-0.0405 (0.147)	0.370** (0.151)	-0.281 (0.214)	-0.488** (0.211)	- 0.803*** (0.226)
<i>Working class (subjective)</i>	0.241 (0.377)	0.269 (0.321)	-0.201 (0.328)	0.138 (0.351)	0.168 (0.339)	0.258 (0.204)	0.393** (0.188)	0.431* (0.223)	0.503** (0.235)	0.555** (0.246)	-0.267 (0.369)	-0.481 (0.358)	-0.362 (0.358)
<i>Constant</i>	- 3.959*** (1.430)	- 3.950*** (0.969)	- 3.171*** (1.081)	- 3.980*** (1.139)	- 2.885*** (1.107)	- 2.806*** (0.606)	- 1.652*** (0.595)	- 2.088*** (0.707)	- 3.050*** (0.734)	- 2.143*** (0.753)	- 5.796*** (1.414)	- 5.532*** (1.441)	- 5.832*** (1.323)
		Britishness t2	Britishness t3	Britishness t4	Britishness t5	Britishness t5	Scottishness t2	Scottishness t3	Scottishness t3	Scottishness t4	Scottishness t4	Scottishness t5	Scottishness t5
(p.232) <i>Lagged dependent variable</i>	0.692*** (0.0211)	0.678*** (0.0242)	0.687*** (0.0261)	0.669*** (0.0287)	0.871*** (0.0147)	0.841*** (0.0176)	0.919*** (0.0167)	0.883*** (0.0170)					

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	Britishness t2	Britishness t3	Britishness t4	Britishness t5	Scottishness t2	Scottishness t3	Scottishness t4	Scottishness t5
<i>SNP vote intention</i>		-0.481* (0.247)	-0.495*** (0.147)	0.185 (0.168)		0.102 (0.242)	-0.0855 (0.125)	-0.0554 (0.140)
<i>Referendum Yes vote (intention)</i>	-0.540*** (0.0867)	-0.357*** (0.0993)	-0.803*** (0.106)	-0.239** (0.121)	0.0512 (0.0758)	-0.0883 (0.0910)	0.237*** (0.0861)	0.0409 (0.0970)
<i>Party ID Labour</i>	0.126 (0.0883)	-0.109 (0.106)	-0.00394 (0.0900)	-0.0447 (0.126)	0.0185 (0.0816)	-0.274*** (0.102)	0.0904 (0.0773)	-0.125 (0.105)
<i>Party ID SNP</i>	0.331 (0.224)	-0.214 (0.278)	-0.00808 (0.398)	-0.285 (0.208)	0.0838 (0.206)	-0.173 (0.267)	0.155 (0.356)	-0.0140 (0.175)
<i>Age</i>	0.00752*** (0.00217)	0.0123*** (0.00252)	0.00876*** (0.00276)	0.0104*** (0.00306)	0.000678 (0.00194)	0.00400* (0.00241)	-0.00157 (0.00233)	0.00223 (0.00251)
<i>Political knowledge</i>	-0.00804 (0.0374)	-0.0512 (0.0426)	0.00276 (0.0459)	0.0247 (0.0494)	-0.0549 (0.0349)	-0.0226 (0.0419)	0.0169 (0.0399)	-0.0945** (0.0415)
<i>Working class (subjective)</i>	-0.0391 (0.0619)	-0.173** (0.0703)	-0.00511 (0.0757)	0.0709 (0.0811)	0.0796 (0.0578)	0.00679 (0.0686)	0.0986 (0.0650)	0.0101 (0.0682)
<i>Constant</i>	1.237*** (0.155)	1.356*** (0.186)	1.374*** (0.195)	1.510*** (0.227)	0.568*** (0.132)	1.001*** (0.167)	0.403*** (0.152)	0.600*** (0.171)

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	Approve of Scottish Government	Approve of Scottish Government	Approve of Scottish Government	Approve of Scottish Government	Devolution Preferences	Devolution Preferences	Devolution Preferences	Devolution Preferences
	t2	t3	t4	t5	t2	t3	t4	t5
(p.233) <i>Lagged dependent variable</i>	0.551*** (0.0228)	0.485*** (0.0344)	0.464*** (0.0327)	0.495*** (0.0308)	0.543*** (0.0234)	0.392*** (0.0307)	0.477*** (0.0341)	0.462*** (0.0348)
<i>SNP vote intention</i>		0.0346 (0.0910)	0.118** (0.0536)	0.231*** (0.0537)		0.160 (0.137)	0.0792 (0.0807)	0.275*** (0.0881)
<i>Referendum Yes vote (intention)</i>	0.222*** (0.0268)	0.217*** (0.0387)	0.210*** (0.0376)	0.207*** (0.0382)	0.402*** (0.0468)	0.625*** (0.0591)	0.284*** (0.0629)	0.263*** (0.0662)
<i>Party ID Labour</i>	0.00794 (0.0264)	0.0154 (0.0392)	-0.0000190 (0.0319)	0.0307 (0.0407)	-0.0239 (0.0453)	0.0696 (0.0590)	0.0274 (0.0489)	-0.0735 (0.0670)
<i>Party ID SNP</i>	0.156** (0.0675)	0.0849 (0.101)	0.00114 (0.135)	-0.000343 (0.0669)	-0.0318 (0.116)	0.0461 (0.152)	0.379* (0.207)	-0.0275 (0.110)
<i>Age</i>	-0.00131** (0.000625)	-0.000757 (0.000901)	-0.00282*** (0.000946)	0.000429 (0.000960)	-0.00105 (0.00108)	-0.00271** (0.00136)	0.000353 (0.00145)	-0.00157 (0.00157)

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	Approve of Scottish Government t2	Approve of Scottish Government t3	Approve of Scottish Government t4	Approve of Scottish Government t5	Devolution Preferences t2	Devolution Preferences t3	Devolution Preferences t4	Devolution Preferences t5
<i>Political knowledge</i>	0.00479 (0.0112)	-0.0340** (0.0157)	0.00235 (0.0163)	0.00285 (0.0160)	0.0831*** (0.0194)	-0.0781*** (0.0241)	0.0859*** (0.0249)	0.0580** (0.0264)
<i>Working class (subjective)</i>	-0.0102 (0.0186)	0.0628** (0.0259)	-0.00672 (0.0268)	-0.00683 (0.0262)	-0.0490 (0.0318)	0.0600 (0.0390)	-0.00353 (0.0410)	0.0783* (0.0431)
<i>Constant</i>	0.147*** (0.0377)	0.173*** (0.0573)	0.303*** (0.0554)	0.0344 (0.0615)	-0.0952 (0.0642)	-0.186** (0.0857)	-0.180** (0.0853)	-0.150 (0.0999)
	Like Salmond t2	Like Salmond t3	Like Salmond t4	Like Sturgeon t5	Like Miliband t2		Like Miliband t4	Like Miliband t5
(p.234) <i>Lagged dependent variable</i>	0.783*** (0.0174)	0.688*** (0.0224)	0.795*** (0.0286)	0.678*** (0.0324)	0.693*** (0.0220)		0.665*** (0.0270)	0.690*** (0.0292)
<i>SNP vote intention</i>		0.279 (0.378)	0.509** (0.243)	0.858*** (0.295)			-0.639*** (0.242)	0.599** (0.271)

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	Like Salmond t2	Like Salmond t3	Like Salmond t4	Like Sturgeon t5	Like Miliband t2	Like Miliband t4	Like Miliband t5
<i>Referendum Yes vote (intention)</i>	0.834*** (0.133)	1.535*** (0.168)	1.072*** (0.186)	1.405*** (0.233)	-0.188 (0.129)	-1.172*** (0.164)	0.000459 (0.184)
<i>Party ID Labour</i>	-0.162 (0.125)	0.110 (0.165)	0.229 (0.144)	0.0636 (0.208)	0.308** (0.144)	0.275* (0.150)	0.527*** (0.202)
<i>Party ID SNP</i>	0.398 (0.318)	0.967** (0.420)	0.0321 (0.633)	-0.567 (0.355)	-0.140 (0.354)	-0.944 (0.632)	-0.146 (0.330)
<i>Age</i>	-0.00197 (0.00295)	-0.00793** (0.00380)	-0.0149*** (0.00425)	0.00691 (0.0053)	-0.000612 (0.00331)	0.00115 (0.00441)	0.00734 (0.00482)
<i>Political knowledge</i>	-0.00632 (0.0539)	-0.204*** (0.0682)	-0.0473 (0.0754)	0.054 (0.0897)	0.0965 (0.0606)	0.0429 (0.0768)	0.0976 (0.0816)
<i>Working class (subjective)</i>	0.0320 (0.0875)	0.162 (0.109)	0.138 (0.120)	-0.375** (0.144)	0.168* (0.0980)	-0.0107 (0.125)	0.0790 (0.132)
<i>Constant</i>	0.578*** (0.181)	0.771*** (0.241)	1.139*** (0.252)	1.299*** (0.333)	1.441*** (0.217)	1.449*** (0.288)	1.247*** (0.328)

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	Satisfaction with UK democracy t2	Satisfaction with UK democracy t3	Satisfaction with UK democracy t4	Satisfaction with UK democracy t5
(p.235) <i>Lagged dependent variable</i>	0.524*** (0.0238)	0.568*** (0.0317)	0.539*** (0.0307)	0.539*** (0.0305)
<i>SNP vote intention</i>		0.0715 (0.169)	-0.167 (0.103)	0.0176 (0.105)
<i>Referendum Yes vote (intention)</i>	-0.268*** (0.0537)	-0.334*** (0.0676)	-0.428*** (0.0719)	-0.0322 (0.0753)
<i>Party ID Labour</i>	0.0720 (0.0568)	0.0661 (0.0766)	0.0413 (0.0646)	0.198** (0.0814)
<i>Party ID SNP</i>	-0.134 (0.143)	-0.0785 (0.188)	0.258 (0.288)	0.00675 (0.132)
<i>Age</i>	0.000300 (0.00134)	-0.000311 (0.00174)	0.000666 (0.00187)	-0.00183 (0.00189)

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	Satisfaction with UK democracy t2	Satisfaction with UK democracy t3	Satisfaction with UK democracy t4	Satisfaction with UK democracy t5
<i>Political knowledge</i>	0.0349 (0.0246)	-0.0839*** (0.0313)	-0.0772** (0.0330)	-0.0449 (0.0325)
<i>Working class (subjective)</i>	-0.0477 (0.0396)	-0.00191 (0.0495)	0.0417 (0.0524)	0.0189 (0.0516)
<i>Constant</i>	1.091*** (0.0966)	1.067*** (0.135)	1.077*** (0.136)	0.985*** (0.141)

(p.236)

(p.237)

(p.239)

Table A8.3 Logistic regression model of SNP vote (intention) before and after the Scottish independence referendum among 2010 Labour voters used to estimate the counterfactual effect of change in attitude on voting for the SNP

	Pre-referendum	Post-referendum
Britishness	-0.214**	-0.238***
	(0.103)	(0.0923)
Scottishness	-0.0894	0.175*
	(0.121)	(0.104)
Approval of Scottish Government	0.358	0.778**
	(0.439)	(0.346)
Like Salmond (pre referendum)/Sturgeon (post referendum)	0.447***	0.251***
	(0.0942)	(0.0698)
Like Miliband	-0.327***	-0.195***
	(0.0861)	(0.0704)
Devolution preferences	-0.397	0.481*
	(0.281)	(0.258)
Satisfaction with UK democracy	0.0729	0.299
	(0.238)	(0.189)
Referendum Yes vote (intention)	0.954**	1.652***
	(0.466)	(0.356)
Labour party identity strength (base = non-identifier)		
<i>Not very strong</i>	-0.548	0.345
	(0.575)	(0.507)
<i>Fairly strong</i>	-0.789	-0.146
	(0.518)	(0.443)
<i>Very strong</i>	-0.640	-1.216*

	Pre-referendum	Post-referendum
	(0.787)	(0.621)
SNP party identity strength (base = non-identifier)		
<i>Not very strong</i>	1.095 (0.710)	0.769 (0.844)
<i>Fairly strong</i>	1.573** (0.633)	2.920*** (0.943)
<i>Very strong</i>	1.751* (0.915)	1.579 (1.115)
Constant	-1.577 (1.018)	-2.841*** (0.946)
N	708	708

Table A8.4 Hybrid (two parameter and graded response) IRT model of Scottish devolution preferences Across the 2014-17 panel (varying loading and constant preferences across waves)

	BESIP Wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	10	11
Devolution preference: Welfare benefits							
Discrimination	3.368***	3.158***	2.967***	3.680***	3.717***	3.431***	3.039***
	(0.112)	(0.100)	(0.108)	(0.131)	(0.134)	(0.155)	(0.126)
Difficulty	-0.366***	-0.354***	-0.727***	-0.511***	-0.542***	-0.543***	-0.540***
	(0.0162)	(0.0164)	(0.0191)	(0.0163)	(0.0164)	(0.0201)	(0.0204)
Devolution preference: NHS							
Discrimination	2.347***	2.298***	2.665***	3.253***	3.111***	3.082***	2.914***
	(0.0818)	(0.0803)	(0.112)	(0.128)	(0.125)	(0.145)	(0.131)
Difficulty	-0.847***	-0.941***	-1.310***	-1.000***	-1.059***	-0.808***	-0.890***
	(0.0221)	(0.0233)	(0.0293)	(0.0213)	(0.0227)	(0.0233)	(0.0237)
Devolution preference: Schools							

	BESIP Wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	10	11
Discrimination	2.389***	2.352***	2.512***	3.369***	3.324***	3.302***	2.889***
	(0.0979)	(0.0972)	(0.120)	(0.150)	(0.152)	(0.173)	(0.140)
Difficulty	-1.405***	-1.506***	-1.741***	-1.329***	-1.408***	-1.124***	-1.203***
	(0.0324)	(0.0348)	(0.0424)	(0.0271)	(0.0291)	(0.0279)	(0.0293)
Devolution preference: Defence & foreign affairs							
Discrimination	3.473***	3.564***	3.098***	3.226***	3.035***	3.199***	3.442***
	(0.112)	(0.113)	(0.101)	(0.105)	(0.0983)	(0.134)	(0.141)
Difficulty	0.294***	0.283***	0.311***	0.285***	0.365***	0.285***	0.300***
	(0.0176)	(0.0172)	(0.0189)	(0.0182)	(0.0190)	(0.0226)	(0.0212)
Devolution preference: Taxation							
Discrimination	3.513***	3.254***	3.036***	3.739***	3.749***	3.451***	3.255***
	(0.117)	(0.104)	(0.110)	(0.132)	(0.133)	(0.155)	(0.136)
Difficulty	-0.314***	-0.351***	-0.687***	-0.467***	-0.465***	-0.488***	-0.494***
	(0.0160)	(0.0163)	(0.0186)	(0.0161)	(0.0162)	(0.0199)	(0.0196)

	BESIP Wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	10	11
(p.238)							
Devolution preference: Police							
Discrimination	2.083*** (0.0791)	2.087*** (0.0789)	2.204*** (0.0922)	2.467*** (0.0955)	2.548*** (0.100)	2.838*** (0.135)	2.559*** (0.114)
Difficulty	-1.217*** (0.0301)	-1.268*** (0.0307)	-1.409*** (0.0348)	-1.142*** (0.0268)	-1.145*** (0.0266)	-0.953*** (0.0265)	-0.969*** (0.0266)
Feelings if Scotland became independent							
Discrimination	2.650*** (0.0601)	2.766*** (0.0611)					2.015*** (0.0526)
Difficulty (base = 0: Extremely disappointed)							
≥ 1	-0.560*** (0.0181)	-0.591*** (0.0176)					-1.019*** (0.0161)
≥ 2	-0.379*** (0.0174)	-0.403*** (0.0169)					-0.712*** (0.0130)
≥ 3	-0.222*** (0.0172)	-0.227*** (0.0167)					-0.350*** (0.0105)

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	BESIP Wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	10	11
≥ 4	-0.0930***	-0.111***					-0.0515***
	(0.0174)	(0.0169)					(0.00966)
≥ 5	-0.0167	-0.0277					0.111***
	(0.0175)	(0.0171)					(0.00981)
≥ 6	0.202***	0.153***					0.703***
	(0.0182)	(0.0176)					(0.0133)
≥ 7	0.280***	0.239***					0.879***
	(0.0185)	(0.0179)					(0.0150)
≥ 8	0.428***	0.389***					1.089***
	(0.0193)	(0.0186)					(0.0172)
≥ 9	0.646***	0.608***					1.371***
	(0.0207)	(0.0198)					(0.0205)
$= 10$: <i>Extremely happy</i>	0.800***	0.752***					1.527***
	(0.0219)	(0.0209)					(0.0225)

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

Table A8.5 Graded response IRT Model of EU Integration attitudes

Measured in wave:												
	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Some people feel that Britain should do all it can to unite fully with the European Union. Other people feel that Britain should do all it can to protect its independence from the European Union. Where would you place yourself on this scale?												
Discrimination	2.968***	2.791***	3.467***	3.544***	3.538***	3.886***	4.010***	4.274***	5.154***	5.466***	5.548***	5.345***
	(0.0403)	(0.0372)	(0.0465)	(0.0449)	(0.0444)	(0.0355)	(0.0350)	(0.0383)	(0.0502)	(0.0521)	(0.0523)	(0.0504)
Difficulty (base = 0: Unite fully with the European Union)												
≥ 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1.566***	1.681***	1.547***	1.582***	1.531***	1.737***	1.767***	1.412***	1.366***	1.272***	1.180***	1.255***
	(0.0174)	(0.0193)	(0.0166)	(0.0159)	(0.0153)	(0.0131)	(0.0130)	(0.0100)	(0.00932)	(0.00852)	(0.00777)	(0.00843)
)))))
≥ 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1.381***	1.454***	1.355***	1.391***	1.345***	1.544***	1.562***	1.223***	1.188***	1.100***	1.011***	1.089***
	(0.0153)	(0.0164)	(0.0143)	(0.0138)	(0.0133)	(0.0113)	(0.0110)	(0.00878)	(0.00823)	(0.00761)	(0.00701)	(0.00757)
)))))
≥ 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1.117***	1.134***	1.053***	1.093***	1.019***	1.266***	1.255***	0.944***	0.930***	0.851***	0.779***	0.829***
	(0.0130)	(0.0135)	(0.0118)	(0.0114)	(0.0109)	(0.00934)	(0.00894)	(0.00751)	(0.00714)	(0.00672)	(0.00633)	(0.00667)
)))))))

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Measured in wave:												
	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
≥ 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.839***	0.816***	0.740***	0.796***	0.727***	0.933***	0.919***	0.635***	0.643***	0.582***	0.528***	0.539***
	(0.0113)	(0.0115)	(0.0102)	(0.00984	(0.00960	(0.00777	(0.00745	(0.00667	(0.00637	(0.00614	(0.00590	(0.00611
))))))))))))
≥ 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.676***	0.617***	0.549***	0.594***	0.531***	0.693***	0.686***	0.430***	0.459***	0.408***	0.371***	0.367***
	(0.0106)	(0.0106)	(0.00963	(0.00916	(0.00904	(0.00703	(0.00677	(0.00637	(0.00609	(0.00594	(0.00575	(0.00594
))))))))))))
≥ 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	0.288***	0.245***	0.207***	0.249***	0.173***	0.343***	0.356***	0.111***	0.157***	0.120***	0.117***	0.0794
	(0.00959	(0.00977	(0.00912	(0.00860	(0.00863	(0.00646	(0.00624	(0.00621	(0.00592	(0.00584	(0.00568	(0.00587
))))))))))))
≥ 7	-	-	-	-	0.0188*	-	-	0.0643	0.00280	0.0358	0.0359	0.0723
	0.121***	0.0595	0.0350	0.0642		0.150***	0.165***	***		***	***	***
	(0.00946	(0.00970	(0.00907	(0.00856	(0.00866	(0.00637	(0.00614	(0.00625	(0.00595	(0.00587	(0.00571	(0.00591
))))))))))))
≥ 8	0.139***	0.209***	0.226***	0.216***	0.299***	0.108***	0.0913	0.291***	0.222***	0.260***	0.234***	0.305***

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		Measured in wave:											
		1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		(0.00958)	(0.00998)	(0.00929)	(0.00876)	(0.00899)	(0.00645)	(0.00619)	(0.00642)	(0.00610)	(0.00602)	(0.00582)	(0.00608)
≥ 9		0.366***	0.468***	0.432***	0.435***	0.529***	0.334***	0.334***	0.504***	0.435***	0.475***	0.428***	0.512***
		(0.0100)	(0.0107)	(0.00975)	(0.00922)	(0.00957)	(0.00670)	(0.00642)	(0.00674)	(0.00640)	(0.00631)	(0.00605)	(0.00639)
<i>= 10:</i>		0.507***	0.639***	0.562***	0.569***	0.676***	0.485***	0.501***	0.663***	0.571***	0.618***	0.558***	0.652***
<i>Protect</i>		(0.0105)	(0.0114)	(0.0102)	(0.00968)	(0.0102)	(0.00701)	(0.00673)	(0.00713)	(0.00672)	(0.00663)	(0.00630)	(0.00673)
<i>our</i>													
<i>independ</i>													
<i>ence</i>													
(p.240) Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it has already gone too far. What is your opinion?													
Discrimi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nation	2.660***	2.190***	2.964***	2.841***	2.879***								
	(0.0383)	(0.0319)	(0.0418)	(0.0382)	(0.0384)								
Difficulty (base = 0: Unification has already gone too far)													
≥ 1	0.504***	0.634***	0.527***	0.557***	0.608***								
	(0.0116)	(0.0136)	(0.0114)	(0.0112)	(0.0114)								
≥ 2	0.299***	0.378***	0.325***	0.365***	0.429***								
	(0.0109)	(0.0125)	(0.0107)	(0.0105)	(0.0107)								

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	Measured in wave:											
	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
≥ 3	0.106***	0.141***	0.101***	0.139***	0.190***							
	(0.0105)	(0.0118)	(0.0103)	(0.0100)	(0.0101)							
≥ 4	-	-	-	-	-							
	0.128***	0.140***	0.148***	0.131***	0.0769							
	(0.0104)	(0.0115)	(0.0101)	(0.00984	(0.00983							
))							
≥ 5	-	-	-	-	-							
	0.317***	0.349***	0.350***	0.333***	0.296***							
	(0.0105)	(0.0117)	(0.0102)	(0.00996	(0.00990							
))							
≥ 6	-	-	-	-	-							
	0.981***	1.066***	0.949***	1.008***	0.969***							
	(0.0131)	(0.0148)	(0.0122)	(0.0123)	(0.0120)							
≥ 7	-	-	-	-	-							
	1.267***	1.358***	1.225***	1.296***	1.239***							
	(0.0153)	(0.0175)	(0.0143)	(0.0146)	(0.0140)							
≥ 8	-	-	-	-	-							
	1.636***	1.714***	1.551***	1.642***	1.547***							
	(0.0193)	(0.0219)	(0.0177)	(0.0184)	(0.0171)							

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	Measured in wave:											
	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
≥ 9	-	-	-	-	-							
	1.904***	1.985***	1.803***	1.890***	1.822***							
	(0.0233)	(0.0262)	(0.0213)	(0.0221)	(0.0209)							
$= 10:$	-	-	-	-	-							
<i>Unificati</i>	2.044***	2.183***	1.932***	2.010***	1.929***							
<i>on</i>	(0.0257)	(0.0300)	(0.0236)	(0.0243)	(0.0227)							
<i>should</i>												
<i>be</i>												
<i>pushed</i>												
<i>further</i>												

(*) $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

Note: In waves 1-6, each question was asked to a randomly half of the sample. From waves 7 onward, one question was asked to the whole sample.

(p.241)

Table A8.6 Multinomial logistic model of 2015 and 2017 vote choice in Scotland

Base category = SNP	2015	2017
Conservative		
Economic left-right	1.347***	1.081***
	(0.0846)	(0.0897)
Liberal-authoritarianism	0.289**	0.324**
	(0.0982)	(0.104)
EU attitude	0.245*	1.300***
	(0.0993)	(0.111)
Immigration attitude	-0.0288	0.236*
	(0.107)	(0.116)
Scottish devolution attitude	-3.326***	-2.831***
	(0.118)	(0.114)
Constant	-2.321***	-0.542***
	(0.0983)	(0.0855)
Labour		
Economic left-right	-0.0724	-0.284***
	(0.0572)	(0.0664)
Liberal-authoritarianism	-0.289***	-0.180*
	(0.0678)	(0.0753)
EU attitude	-0.268***	0.117
	(0.0776)	(0.0892)
Immigration attitude	-0.0448	0.106
	(0.0799)	(0.0904)
Scottish devolution attitude	-2.954***	-2.144***
	(0.0932)	(0.0906)
Constant	-0.821***	-0.0376
	(0.0583)	(0.0713)

Base category = SNP	2015	2017
Liberal Democrat		
Economic left-right	0.596***	0.405***
	(0.0807)	(0.0980)
Liberal-authoritarianism	-0.209*	0.00223
	(0.0972)	(0.115)
EU attitude	-0.0333	0.169
	(0.104)	(0.130)
Immigration attitude	-0.192	-0.175
	(0.111)	(0.137)
Scottish devolution attitude	-2.889***	-2.319***
	(0.120)	(0.128)
Constant	-1.957***	-1.254***
	(0.0886)	(0.104)
UKIP		
Economic left-right	0.152	-0.341
	(0.138)	(0.366)
Liberal-authoritarianism	0.120	0.359
	(0.179)	(0.433)
EU attitude	1.437***	1.552**
	(0.207)	(0.527)
Immigration attitude	0.490**	1.169*
	(0.190)	(0.497)
(p.242) Scottish devolution attitude	-2.872***	-2.682***
	(0.184)	(0.366)
Constant	-4.468***	-6.088***
	(0.244)	(0.757)
Green Party		
Economic left-right	-0.290*	-0.0457
	(0.124)	(0.308)

Base category = SNP	2015	2017
Liberal-authoritarianism	-0.784***	0.179
	(0.137)	(0.336)
EU attitude	-0.294	0.292
	(0.173)	(0.408)
Immigration attitude	-0.0258	-0.446
	(0.170)	(0.406)
Scottish devolution attitude	-1.240***	-0.896*
	(0.149)	(0.357)
Constant	-3.362***	-3.957***
	(0.160)	(0.336)
N	5041	3424

(*) $p < 0.05$

(**) $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

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