



Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World

Edward Fieldhouse, Jane Green, Geoffrey Evans, Jonathan Mellon, Christopher Prosser, Hermann Schmitt, and Cees van der Eijk

Print publication date: 2019

Print ISBN-13: 9780198800583

Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: January 2020

DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198800583.001.0001

(p.243) Appendix to Chapter 9

Edward Fieldhouse

Jane Green

Geoffrey Evans

Jonathan Mellon

Christopher Prosser

Hermann Schmitt

Cees van der Eijk

Table A9.1 Conditional logit model with alternative specific coefficients of 2017 vote choice

Base = Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrats	UKIP	Green Party
2015 Voted Conservative	-1.464***	-0.847***	-2.769***	-1.818***
	(0.179)	(0.199)	(0.587)	(0.420)
2015 Voted Outcome party	1.188***	2.005***	0.893**	1.433***
	(0.135)	(0.179)	(0.328)	(0.259)
Economic left-right distance: Conservatives	0.357***	0.279***	0.108	0.256***
	(0.0363)	(0.0437)	(0.0628)	(0.0622)
Economic left-right distance: Outcome party	-0.258***	-0.273***	-0.0776	-0.281***
	(0.0302)	(0.0445)	(0.0654)	(0.0738)
EU distance: Conservatives	0.178***	0.202***	0.297***	0.178***
	(0.0334)	(0.0375)	(0.0530)	(0.0529)
EU distance: Outcome party	-0.113***	-0.203***	-0.0202	-0.145**
	(0.0248)	(0.0303)	(0.0600)	(0.0526)
Immigration distance: Conservatives	0.103**	0.0758	0.0214	0.0467
	(0.0377)	(0.0437)	(0.0566)	(0.0593)
Immigration distance: Outcome party	-0.177***	-0.175***	-0.263**	-0.0837
	(0.0256)	(0.0343)	(0.0841)	(0.0549)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Conservative	Labour	Liberal Democrats	UKIP	Green Party
Immigration competence: Conservatives	-0.814*** (0.154)	-0.685*** (0.186)	-0.947*** (0.233)	-0.718* (0.323)
Immigration competence: Outcome party	1.191*** (0.295)	0.919* (0.402)	0.756** (0.294)	-0.0759 (1.117)
Constant	0.408 (0.215)	-0.199 (0.254)	-3.037*** (0.489)	-1.595*** (0.406)
N	3648			

(*) $p < 0.05$

(**) $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

(p.244)

Table A9.2 Graded response IRT model of Immigration attitudes

	Measured in wave:										
	1	2	3	4	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Do you think immigration is good or bad for Britain's economy?											
Discrimination	3.220***	3.568***	3.538***	3.488***	3.688***	3.544***		3.220***	3.173***		3.527***
	(0.0268)	(0.0293)	(0.0300)	(0.0282)	(0.0299)	(0.0276)		(0.0267)	(0.0258)		(0.0287)
Difficulty (base = 0: Bad for economy)											
≥ 2	-0.978***	-0.992***	-0.869***	-1.091***	-1.035***	-1.084***		-1.374***	-1.502***		-1.396***
	(0.00859)	(0.00831)	(0.00814)	(0.00865)	(0.00825)	(0.00832)		(0.0105)	(0.0112)		(0.0101)
≥ 3	-0.550***	-0.574***	-0.470***	-0.679***	-0.648***	-0.712***		-0.969***	-1.108***		-1.047***
	(0.00722)	(0.00702)	(0.00702)	(0.00720)	(0.00703)	(0.00705)		(0.00851)	(0.00904)		(0.00837)
≥ 4	-0.181***	-0.193***	-0.108***	-0.303***	-0.272***	-0.339***		-0.581***	-0.723***		-0.668***
	(0.00673)	(0.00652)	(0.00666)	(0.00656)	(0.00646)	(0.00641)		(0.00732)	(0.00767)		(0.00717)
≥ 5	0.362***	0.337***	0.411***	0.219***	0.241***	0.224***		0.0144*	-0.104***		-
	(0.00695)	(0.00669)	(0.00693)	(0.00652)	(0.00652)	(0.00641)		(0.00672)	(0.00671)		0.0519***
≥ 6	0.971***	0.947***	1.020***	0.851***	0.845***	0.861***		0.611***	0.521***		0.558***

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave:										
	1	2	3	4	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	(0.00846)	(0.00805)	(0.00846)	(0.00770)	(0.00764)	(0.00758)		(0.00744)	(0.00723)		(0.00705)
= 7: Good for economy	1.639***	1.609***	1.697***	1.529***	1.506***	1.525***		1.295***	1.235***		1.230***
	(0.0121)	(0.0114)	(0.0123)	(0.0108)	(0.0107)	(0.0106)		(0.0101)	(0.00965)		(0.00928)
And do you think that immigration undermines or enriches Britain's cultural life?											
Discrimin ation	3.476***	3.680***	3.687***	3.447***	3.768***	3.716***		3.673***	3.631***		3.712***
	(0.0294)	(0.0307)	(0.0317)	(0.0283)	(0.0309)	(0.0293)		(0.0310)	(0.0299)		(0.0307)
Difficulty (base = 0: Undermin es cultural life)											
≥ 2	-0.762***	-0.780***	-0.695***	-0.860***	-0.818***	-0.861***		-0.981***	-1.046***		-0.959***
	(0.00765)	(0.00754)	(0.00751)	(0.00788)	(0.00752)	(0.00743)		(0.00828)	(0.00845)		(0.00799)
≥ 3	-0.375***	-0.390***	-0.319***	-0.471***	-0.422***	-0.473***		-0.594***	-0.640***		-0.588***
	(0.00671)	(0.00661)	(0.00669)	(0.00681)	(0.00656)	(0.00646)		(0.00700)	(0.00707)		(0.00685)

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave:										
	1	2	3	4	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
≥ 4	-	-	0.00550	-0.126***	-	-0.121***		-0.259***	-0.306***		-0.249***
	0.0488***	0.0617***			0.0696***						
	(0.00646)	(0.00634)	(0.00648)	(0.00641)	(0.00628)	(0.00614)		(0.00647)	(0.00649)		(0.00637)
≥ 5	0.376***	0.345***	0.395***	0.277***	0.335***	0.310***		0.175***	0.121***		0.175***
	(0.00674)	(0.00658)	(0.00676)	(0.00655)	(0.00652)	(0.00635)		(0.00647)	(0.00642)		(0.00641)
(p.245)	0.868***	0.853***	0.898***	0.792***	0.843***	0.830***		0.650***	0.607***		0.652***
≥ 6											
	(0.00785)	(0.00764)	(0.00789)	(0.00754)	(0.00755)	(0.00735)		(0.00716)	(0.00704)		(0.00710)
= 7:	1.432***	1.415***	1.463***	1.380***	1.392***	1.384***		1.169***	1.145***		1.177***
<i>Enriches cultural life</i>											
	(0.0104)	(0.0101)	(0.0105)	(0.0100)	(0.00993)	(0.00967)		(0.00899)	(0.00881)		(0.00891)
Some people think that the UK should allow many more immigrants to come to the UK to live and others think that the UK should allow many fewer immigrants. Where would you place yourself this scale?											
Discrimination					3.312***	3.348***	3.183***	3.363***	3.339***	2.879***	3.374***
					(0.0280)	(0.0271)	(0.0264)	(0.0288)	(0.0279)	(0.0469)	(0.134)

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave:											
	1	2	3	4	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
Difficulty (base = 0: Allow many fewer)												
≥ 1					-0.598***	-0.566***	-0.656***	-0.671***	-0.719***	-0.668***	-0.570***	
					(0.00744)	(0.00705)	(0.00756)	(0.00759)	(0.00764)	(0.0137)	(0.0297)	
≥ 2					-0.417***	-0.393***	-0.495***	-0.503***	-0.562***	-0.490***	-0.424***	
					(0.00704)	(0.00671)	(0.00716)	(0.00715)	(0.00720)	(0.0128)	(0.0282)	
≥ 3					-0.161***	-0.145***	-0.239***	-0.248***	-0.310***	-0.247***	-0.197***	
					(0.00678)	(0.00649)	(0.00681)	(0.00679)	(0.00680)	(0.0120)	(0.0270)	
≥ 4					0.134***	0.129***	0.0558***	0.0560***	0.00131	0.0682***	0.0585*	
					(0.00680)	(0.00652)	(0.00676)	(0.00671)	(0.00668)	(0.0117)	(0.0268)	
≥ 5					0.377***	0.356***	0.282***	0.292***	0.241***	0.313***	0.284***	
					(0.00704)	(0.00675)	(0.00695)	(0.00689)	(0.00683)	(0.0120)	(0.0275)	
≥ 6					0.873***	0.874***	0.908***	0.913***	0.908***	0.982***	0.854***	
					(0.00809)	(0.00782)	(0.00828)	(0.00820)	(0.00808)	(0.0146)	(0.0326)	
≥ 7					1.168***	1.168***	1.187***	1.193***	1.188***	1.282***	1.116***	
					(0.00922)	(0.00892)	(0.00943)	(0.00939)	(0.00921)	(0.0172)	(0.0374)	

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave:										
	1	2	3	4	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
≥ 8					1.562***	1.548***	1.581***	1.565***	1.554***	1.691***	1.495***
					(0.0115)	(0.0110)	(0.0118)	(0.0117)	(0.0114)	(0.0224)	(0.0475)
≥ 9					1.907***	1.895***	1.951***	1.933***	1.913***	2.063***	1.763***
					(0.0145)	(0.0139)	(0.0152)	(0.0152)	(0.0146)	(0.0293)	(0.0579)
<i>= 10: Allow many more</i>					2.086***	2.043***	2.119***	2.082***	2.061***	2.207***	1.945***
					(0.0167)	(0.0156)	(0.0173)	(0.0171)	(0.0163)	(0.0329)	(0.0673)

(*) $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

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

(p.246)

Table A9.3 Graded response IRT model of redistribution attitudes

Measured in wave:										
	1	2	3	4	6	7	10	11	12	13
Some people feel that government should make much greater efforts to make people's incomes more equal. Other people feel that government should be much less concerned about how equal people's incomes are.										
Where would you place yourself on this scale?										
Discrimination	2.400***	2.081***	3.082***	3.032***	3.319***	2.708***	2.635***	2.872***	2.693***	2.862***
	(0.0245)	(0.0216)	(0.0316)	(0.0294)	(0.0326)	(0.0263)	(0.0282)	(0.0297)	(0.0479)	(0.0292)
Difficulty (base = 0: Government should try to make incomes equal)										
≥ 1	-1.088***	-1.335***	-1.004***	-1.072***	-1.047***	-1.619***	-1.052***	-1.083***	-1.218***	-1.107***
	(0.0113)	(0.0139)	(0.0101)	(0.00998)	(0.00967)	(0.0136)	(0.0109)	(0.0105)	(0.0195)	(0.0105)
≥ 2	-0.833***	-1.052***	-0.795***	-0.850***	-0.833***	-1.283***	-0.826***	-0.867***	-0.984***	-0.877***
	(0.0100)	(0.0121)	(0.00913)	(0.00896)	(0.00870)	(0.0113)	(0.00980)	(0.00943)	(0.0173)	(0.00940)
≥ 3	-0.532***	-0.736***	-0.508***	-0.570***	-0.536***	-0.906***	-0.508***	-0.579***	-0.676***	-0.561***

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave:									
	1	2	3	4	6	7	10	11	12	13
	(0.00891)	(0.0106)	(0.00820)	(0.00803)	(0.00777)	(0.00951)	(0.00868)	(0.00842)	(0.0151)	(0.00831)
≥ 4	-0.172***	-0.350***	-0.177***	-0.212***	-0.193***	-0.385***	-0.154***	-0.226***	-0.325***	-0.181***
	(0.00815)	(0.00923)	(0.00760)	(0.00735)	(0.00717)	(0.00790)	(0.00798)	(0.00766)	(0.0135)	(0.00756)
≥ 5	0.0720***	-0.0855***	0.0566***	0.0354***	0.0580***	0.0336***	0.0865***	-0.00862	-0.0708***	0.0653***
	(0.00800)	(0.00874)	(0.00747)	(0.00721)	(0.00704)	(0.00745)	(0.00784)	(0.00746)	(0.0128)	(0.00741)
≥ 6	0.526***	0.423***	0.458***	0.432***	0.455***	0.502***	0.533***	0.401***	0.357***	0.504***
	(0.00854)	(0.00893)	(0.00784)	(0.00753)	(0.00739)	(0.00793)	(0.00840)	(0.00770)	(0.0129)	(0.00787)
≥ 7	0.772***	0.673***	0.668***	0.660***	0.677***	0.825***	0.771***	0.623***	0.590***	0.731***
	(0.00930)	(0.00959)	(0.00833)	(0.00804)	(0.00789)	(0.00887)	(0.00915)	(0.00820)	(0.0137)	(0.00847)
≥ 8	1.189***	1.080***	1.037***	1.055***	1.039***	1.344***	1.182***	0.990***	1.001***	1.118***
	(0.0112)	(0.0114)	(0.00968)	(0.00947)	(0.00913)	(0.0113)	(0.0111)	(0.00952)	(0.0163)	(0.0100)
≥ 9	1.540***	1.427***	1.351***	1.381***	1.363***	1.781***	1.538***	1.318***	1.366***	1.458***
	(0.0135)	(0.0137)	(0.0114)	(0.0112)	(0.0108)	(0.0144)	(0.0134)	(0.0113)	(0.0198)	(0.0120)

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave:									
	1	2	3	4	6	7	10	11	12	13
= 10:	1.721***	1.626***	1.497***	1.541***	1.516***	2.001***	1.714***	1.489***	1.568***	1.627***
<i>Government should be less concerned about equal incomes</i>	(0.0149)	(0.0152)	(0.0124)	(0.0123)	(0.0118)	(0.0165)	(0.0149)	(0.0124)	(0.0224)	(0.0133)

* p<0.05

** p<0.01

(***) p<0.001

(p.247)

Table A9.4 Logistic models of 2015 and 2017 Conservative vs Labour (1=conservative) vote choice, examining the relative explanatory power of the economic and cultural dimensions

	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
Economic left-right values	1.283***		1.796***	0.809***		1.581***
	(0.0764)		(0.103)	(0.0596)		(0.0862)
Redistribution attitude	1.039***		0.878***	0.906***		0.741***
	(0.0858)		(0.104)	(0.0660)		(0.0872)
Liberal-authoritarian values		0.275***	0.757***		0.303***	0.725***
		(0.0591)	(0.0936)		(0.0563)	(0.0792)
EU attitude		0.912***	0.877***		1.182***	1.342***
		(0.0662)	(0.0931)		(0.0636)	(0.0878)
Immigration attitude		-0.0326	0.140		0.140*	0.394***
		(0.0712)	(0.0977)		(0.0702)	(0.0880)
Constant	-0.127**	0.0415	-0.399***	-0.0108	-0.142***	-0.560***

	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
	(0.0486)	(0.0367)	(0.0584)	(0.0387)	(0.0357)	(0.0521)
N	7128			8454		
Pseudo R ²	0.330	0.115	0.441	0.228	0.205	0.448

(*) p<0.05

(**) p<0.01

(***) p<0.001

(p.248)

Table A9.5 Multinomial logistic models of 2015 and 2017 vote choice in England, examining the relative explanatory power of the economic and cultural dimensions

	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
Base = Conservatives						
Labour						
Economic left-right values	-1.264*** (0.0663)		-1.715*** (0.0794)	-0.851*** (0.0504)		-1.575*** (0.0670)
Redistribution attitude	-0.911*** (0.0709)		-0.893*** (0.0848)	-0.879*** (0.0564)		-0.678*** (0.0679)
Liberal-authoritarian values		-0.264*** (0.0496)	-0.667*** (0.0686)		-0.284*** (0.0479)	-0.672*** (0.0611)
EU attitude		-0.902*** (0.0634)	-0.830*** (0.0822)		-1.194*** (0.0570)	-1.281*** (0.0735)
Immigration attitude		0.0581 (0.0634)	-0.190* (0.0886)		-0.132* (0.0630)	-0.413*** (0.0747)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Conservatives	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
Constant	-0.0670 (0.0437)	-0.168*** (0.0343)	0.202*** (0.0489)	-0.106** (0.0346)	0.0615 (0.0318)	0.456*** (0.0435)
Liberal Democrats						
Economic left- right values	-0.791*** (0.0827)		-1.293*** (0.0997)	-0.321*** (0.0740)		-1.126*** (0.0931)
Redistribution attitude	-0.458*** (0.0770)		-0.278** (0.103)	-0.526*** (0.0641)		-0.125 (0.0938)
Liberal- authoritarian values		-0.378*** (0.0892)	-0.750*** (0.112)		-0.394*** (0.0811)	-0.784*** (0.102)
EU attitude		-0.747*** (0.0994)	-0.732*** (0.116)		-1.402*** (0.0889)	-1.564*** (0.107)
Immigration attitude		-0.271* (0.103)	-0.477** (0.116)		-0.208 (0.0889)	-0.467*** (0.107)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Conservatives	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
		(0.125)	(0.147)		(0.109)	(0.127)
Constant	-1.245*** (0.0548)	-1.583*** (0.0514)	-1.006*** (0.0621)	-1.269*** (0.0455)	-1.357*** (0.0500)	-0.839*** (0.0597)
(p.249) UKIP						
Economic left- right values	-1.370*** (0.0712)		-1.119*** (0.0782)	-1.167*** (0.0858)		-0.911*** (0.102)
Redistribution attitude	-0.00442 (0.0746)		-0.0381 (0.0676)	-0.105 (0.110)		-0.0514 (0.0816)
Liberal- authoritarian values		0.0000816 (0.0622)	-0.286*** (0.0761)		-0.00517 (0.0856)	-0.274** (0.0952)
EU attitude		0.709*** (0.0784)	0.807*** (0.0852)		0.572*** (0.129)	0.551*** (0.135)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Conservatives	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
Immigration attitude		0.725***	0.630***		0.762***	0.596***
		(0.0685)	(0.0793)		(0.109)	(0.117)
Constant	-0.694***	-2.021***	-1.531***	-2.508***	-3.787***	-3.316***
	(0.0498)	(0.0725)	(0.0816)	(0.0714)	(0.144)	(0.153)
Green Party						
Economic left- right values	-1.319***		-1.790***	-0.836***		-1.595***
	(0.0972)		(0.114)	(0.115)		(0.133)
Redistribution attitude	-0.890***		-0.786***	-0.560***		-0.283
	(0.0994)		(0.132)	(0.135)		(0.164)
Liberal- authoritarian values		-0.709***	-1.050***		-0.492***	-0.878***
		(0.112)	(0.115)		(0.117)	(0.117)
EU attitude		-1.135***	-1.046***		-1.004***	-1.119***

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Conservatives	2015			2017		
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Both dimensions
		(0.126)	(0.134)		(0.126)	(0.135)
Immigration attitude		-0.161	-0.366*		-0.123	-0.392*
		(0.138)	(0.142)		(0.156)	(0.155)
Constant	-2.282***	-2.672***	-2.256***	-3.004***	-2.911***	-2.424***
	(0.0734)	(0.0867)	(0.0882)	(0.0917)	(0.0941)	(0.102)
N	10135	10135	10135	10101	10101	10101
Pseudo R ²	0.148	0.134	0.282	0.132	0.155	0.297

(*) p<0.05

(**) p<0.01

(***) p<0.001

(p.250)

Table A9.6 Multinomial logistic models of 2015 and 2017 vote choice in Scotland, examining the relative explanatory power of the economic and cultural dimensions

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Conservatives								
Economic left-right values	1.254***			1.200***	0.885***			0.948***
	(0.145)			(0.166)	(0.115)			(0.143)
Redistribution attitude	0.765***			0.0940	0.785***			0.167
	(0.149)			(0.175)	(0.113)			(0.139)
Liberal-authoritarian values		0.442***		0.547***		0.371***		0.382**
		(0.0990)		(0.154)		(0.0888)		(0.135)
EU attitude		0.658***		0.351*		1.079***		1.283***
		(0.108)		(0.151)		(0.100)		(0.140)
Immigration attitude		-0.140		-0.247		0.179		0.160

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
		(0.101)		(0.166)		(0.101)		(0.159)
Devolution attitude			-3.078***	-2.724***			-2.859***	-2.517***
			(0.167)	(0.182)			(0.126)	(0.135)
Constant	-1.590***	-1.284***	-2.255***	-2.586***	-0.355***	-0.364***	-0.628***	-0.720***
	(0.100)	(0.0723)	(0.118)	(0.142)	(0.0703)	(0.0643)	(0.0883)	(0.104)
Labour								
Economic left-right values	0.343**			0.0763	0.284***			-0.0243
	(0.108)			(0.137)	(0.0813)			(0.105)
Redistribution attitude	0.0741			-0.326*	0.0644			-0.228*
	(0.0987)			(0.140)	(0.0901)			(0.113)
Liberal-authoritarian values		0.0571		-0.166		0.0435		-0.121
		(0.0913)		(0.113)		(0.0879)		(0.102)

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
EU attitude		-0.0834 (0.0923)		-0.198 (0.132)		0.0175 (0.0995)		0.0551 (0.118)
Immigration attitude		0.244* (0.107)		0.0246 (0.135)		0.266* (0.104)		0.112 (0.126)
(p.251) Devolution attitude			-2.223*** (0.142)	-2.334*** (0.154)			-1.721*** (0.108)	-1.796*** (0.116)
Constant	-0.626*** (0.0667)	-0.728*** (0.0640)	-1.059*** (0.0873)	-1.155*** (0.0926)	-0.273*** (0.0664)	-0.324*** (0.0675)	-0.0194 (0.0728)	-0.0672 (0.0864)
Liberal Democrats								
Economic left-right values	0.768*** (0.142)			0.508** (0.174)	0.623*** (0.140)			0.267 (0.159)
Redistribution attitude	0.584***			0.161	0.590***			0.305

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
	(0.135)			(0.173)	(0.146)			(0.165)
Liberal-authoritarian values		0.226*		0.0719		0.280*		0.0768
		(0.0989)		(0.143)		(0.117)		(0.138)
EU attitude		0.286*		0.0636		0.154		0.172
		(0.127)		(0.158)		(0.124)		(0.146)
Immigration attitude		-0.309**		-0.545**		-0.114		-0.320
		(0.119)		(0.169)		(0.145)		(0.183)
Devolution attitude			-2.428***	-2.395***			-2.257***	-2.159***
			(0.187)	(0.209)			(0.139)	(0.150)
Constant	-1.874***	-1.833***	-2.331***	-2.437***	-1.614***	-1.706***	-1.613***	-1.575***
	(0.0972)	(0.0894)	(0.126)	(0.142)	(0.0908)	(0.0980)	(0.108)	(0.126)
UKIP								

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Economic left-right values	-0.208			-0.232	-0.618**			-0.119
	(0.200)			(0.252)	(0.219)			(0.238)
Redistribution attitude	0.985***			0.480*	0.323			-0.00159
	(0.202)			(0.229)	(0.517)			(0.568)
Liberal-authoritarian values		-0.119		-0.356		0.756		0.451
		(0.346)		(0.399)		(0.424)		(0.333)
EU attitude		0.915**		0.729		0.963		0.996
		(0.354)		(0.381)		(0.842)		(0.790)
(p.252) Immigration attitude		0.793**		0.744*		1.678**		1.577**
		(0.298)		(0.356)		(0.578)		(0.528)
Devolution attitude			-2.789***	-2.360***			-2.300**	-2.236**

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
			(0.377)	(0.341)			(0.773)	(0.721)
Constant	-3.417***	-3.939***	-4.198***	-4.493***	-4.870***	-6.293***	-4.460***	-6.145***
	(0.180)	(0.309)	(0.405)	(0.459)	(0.461)	(0.692)	(0.584)	(0.902)
Green Party								
Economic left-right values	-0.155			-0.320	0.299			0.141
	(0.222)			(0.247)	(0.657)			(0.666)
Redistribution attitude	-0.114			-0.0942	0.153			-0.000833
	(0.186)			(0.237)	(0.446)			(0.490)
Liberal-authoritarian values		-0.515		-0.547*		0.315		0.214
		(0.263)		(0.258)		(0.302)		(0.305)
EU attitude		-0.659**		-0.677**		0.324		0.331
		(0.216)		(0.221)		(0.513)		(0.545)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = SNP	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Immigration attitude		0.0284		-0.0570		-0.684		-0.793
		(0.205)		(0.196)		(0.559)		(0.598)
Devolution attitude			-0.358*	-0.910***			-0.936*	-0.993**
			(0.171)	(0.214)			(0.370)	(0.346)
Constant	-3.842***	-4.287***	-3.606***	-4.226***	-4.443***	-4.691***	-4.186***	-4.287***
	(0.168)	(0.204)	(0.155)	(0.203)	(0.412)	(0.401)	(0.395)	(0.442)
N	4695	4695	4695	4695	3413	3413	3413	3413
Pseudo R ²	0.095	0.039	0.215	0.281	0.092	0.094	0.222	0.317

(*) p<0.05

(**) p<0.01

(***) p<0.001

Table A9.7 Multinomial logistic models of 2015 and 2017 vote choice in Wales, examining the relative explanatory power of the economic and cultural dimensions

	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Conservatives								
Economic left-right values	1.287***			1.576***	0.883***			1.410***
	(0.166)			(0.180)	(0.119)			(0.145)
Redistribution attitude	0.841***			0.556***	0.658***			0.242
	(0.154)			(0.166)	(0.120)			(0.148)
Liberal-authoritarian values		0.340**		0.631***		0.390***		0.604***
		(0.122)		(0.169)		(0.112)		(0.148)
EU attitude		0.882***		0.690***		1.445***		1.547***
		(0.125)		(0.163)		(0.136)		(0.181)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Labour	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Immigration attitude		-0.0553 (0.137)		0.0662 (0.189)		-0.0334 (0.133)		0.0974 (0.167)
Devolution attitude			-1.203*** (0.0958)	-0.719*** (0.123)			-1.212*** (0.0980)	-0.750*** (0.122)
Constant	-0.494*** (0.1000)	-0.388*** (0.0770)	-0.508*** (0.0816)	-0.765*** (0.108)	-0.502*** (0.0808)	-0.662*** (0.0823)	-0.643*** (0.0747)	-1.010*** (0.107)
Liberal Democrats								
Economic left-right values	0.801*** (0.176)			0.763*** (0.182)	0.340* (0.165)			0.317 (0.173)
Redistributio n attitude	0.352* (0.151)			0.480** (0.185)	0.424** (0.149)			0.412* (0.170)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Labour	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Liberal- authoritarian values		-0.202		-0.315		-0.0404		-0.157
		(0.157)		(0.162)		(0.142)		(0.164)
EU attitude		0.0577		-0.0560		0.120		0.0250
		(0.156)		(0.171)		(0.189)		(0.210)
Immigration attitude		-0.230		-0.261		-0.225		-0.250
		(0.188)		(0.214)		(0.171)		(0.198)
(p.254) Devolution attitude			-0.563***	-0.430***			-0.727***	-0.680***
			(0.111)	(0.128)			(0.141)	(0.158)
Constant	-1.596***	-1.834***	-1.739***	-1.716***	-1.969***	-2.096***	-2.105***	-2.077***
	(0.112)	(0.117)	(0.109)	(0.128)	(0.121)	(0.141)	(0.124)	(0.161)
Plaid Cymru								

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Labour	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Economic left-right values	-0.135			0.0159	-0.0289			0.203
	(0.145)			(0.157)	(0.129)			(0.142)
Redistributio n attitude	0.272			0.608***	0.228			0.267
	(0.142)			(0.172)	(0.137)			(0.147)
Liberal- authoritarian values		-0.430**		-0.247		0.0524		0.169
		(0.152)		(0.166)		(0.141)		(0.138)
EU attitude		0.0698		0.0717		0.456**		0.476***
		(0.133)		(0.147)		(0.141)		(0.144)
Immigration attitude		0.115		0.114		-0.0485		-0.0854
		(0.139)		(0.143)		(0.151)		(0.146)
Devolution attitude			0.846***	1.024***			0.609***	0.834***

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Labour	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
			(0.133)	(0.140)			(0.120)	(0.140)
Constant	-1.092*** (0.102)	-1.198*** (0.109)	-1.576*** (0.123)	-1.434*** (0.134)	-1.552*** (0.109)	-1.475*** (0.107)	-1.826*** (0.123)	-1.623*** (0.130)
UKIP								
Economic left-right values	-0.00228 (0.143)			0.509** (0.197)	-0.425 (0.232)			0.261 (0.333)
Redistributio n attitude	0.967*** (0.162)			0.605*** (0.166)	0.558* (0.242)			0.371 (0.232)
Liberal- authoritarian values		0.438* (0.177)		0.550* (0.219)		0.198 (0.294)		0.0493 (0.322)
EU attitude		1.645*** (0.164)		1.587*** (0.173)		1.802*** (0.264)		1.853*** (0.285)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Labour	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
(p.255) Immigration attitude		0.612**		0.780***		0.796*		0.889*
		(0.190)		(0.213)		(0.355)		(0.374)
Devolution attitude			-1.005***	-0.515***			-0.498	-0.152
			(0.135)	(0.151)			(0.291)	(0.252)
Constant	-0.845***	-2.137***	-1.096***	-2.100***	-2.855***	-3.908***	-2.778***	-3.789***
	(0.0949)	(0.154)	(0.100)	(0.175)	(0.182)	(0.374)	(0.168)	(0.388)
Green Party								
Economic left-right values	0.235			0.215	-0.134			0.103
	(0.233)			(0.244)	(0.559)			(0.351)
Redistributio n attitude	0.128			0.209	-0.973**			-1.158***
	(0.206)			(0.266)	(0.328)			(0.342)

Appendix to Chapter 9

Base = Labour	2015				2017			
	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	All dimensions	Economic dimension	Cultural dimension	Devolution Dimension	Both dimensions
Liberal- authoritarian values		-0.554		-0.615*		0.511		0.272
		(0.286)		(0.299)		(0.433)		(0.307)
EU attitude		0.00959		-0.0210		1.180		0.953
		(0.213)		(0.217)		(1.254)		(0.857)
Immigration attitude		0.0926		0.106		-1.927		-1.417
		(0.297)		(0.291)		(1.254)		(0.865)
Devolution attitude			-0.150	-0.196			-0.179	-0.419*
			(0.202)	(0.217)			(0.215)	(0.204)
Constant	-2.473***	-2.745***	-2.578***	-2.591***	-5.137***	-4.780***	-4.366***	-5.267***
	(0.162)	(0.168)	(0.153)	(0.179)	(0.446)	(0.552)	(0.422)	(0.486)
N	2463	2463	2463	2463	2029	2029	2029	2029
Pseudo R ²	0.114	0.125	0.090	0.267	0.092	0.145	0.081	0.269

(*) p<0.05

(**) $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

(p.256)

Table A9.8 Hybrid (two parameter and graded response) IRT model of Welsh devolution preferences across the 2014-17 panel (varying loading and constant preferences across waves)

	Measured in wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	7	11
Preference for devolution: Welfare benefits							
Discrimination	2.516***	2.580***	2.383***	2.393***	2.537***		
	(0.105)	(0.107)	(0.102)	(0.109)	(0.115)		
Difficulty	0.237***	0.383***	0.217***	0.383***	0.305***		
	(0.0247)	(0.0249)	(0.0260)	(0.0279)	(0.0265)		
Preference for devolution: NHS							
Discrimination	2.479***	2.562***	2.517***	2.705***	2.620***		
	(0.0996)	(0.0995)	(0.105)	(0.116)	(0.113)		
Difficulty	-0.350***	-0.213***	-0.343***	-0.211***	-0.258***		
	(0.0258)	(0.0243)	(0.0265)	(0.0253)	(0.0261)		
Preference for devolution: Schools							

	Measured in wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	7	11
Discrimination	2.800***	2.871***	2.572***	2.892***	2.829***		
	(0.115)	(0.113)	(0.110)	(0.127)	(0.124)		
Difficulty	-0.611***	-0.507***	-0.705***	-0.580***	-0.578***		
	(0.0266)	(0.0250)	(0.0295)	(0.0273)	(0.0277)		
Preference for devolution: Defence & foreign affairs							
Discrimination	2.569***	2.739***	2.726***	2.520***	2.754***		
	(0.133)	(0.144)	(0.156)	(0.148)	(0.166)		
Difficulty	1.290***	1.388***	1.449***	1.524***	1.478***		
	(0.0419)	(0.0429)	(0.0475)	(0.0530)	(0.0505)		
Preference for devolution: Taxation							
Discrimination	3.073***	3.501***	3.037***	3.038***	3.064***		
	(0.137)	(0.159)	(0.139)	(0.147)	(0.149)		
Difficulty	0.476***	0.564***	0.452***	0.572***	0.575***		
	(0.0244)	(0.0237)	(0.0250)	(0.0271)	(0.0270)		

	Measured in wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	7	11
(p.257)							
Preference for devolution: Police							
Discrimination	2.185*** (0.0880)	2.117*** (0.0827)	1.871*** (0.0793)	2.069*** (0.0898)	1.911*** (0.0839)		
Difficulty	-0.215*** (0.0264)	-0.153*** (0.0261)	-0.276*** (0.0300)	-0.156*** (0.0284)	-0.167*** (0.0298)		
Preference for devolution: Justice							
Discrimination	2.564*** (0.112)	2.502*** (0.109)	2.085*** (0.0959)	2.436*** (0.117)	2.545*** (0.124)		
Difficulty	0.539*** (0.0268)	0.689*** (0.0287)	0.703*** (0.0332)	0.715*** (0.0321)	0.737*** (0.0319)		
Overall devolution preference							
Discrimination	3.721***	3.923***	3.807***	4.243***	3.996***	3.895***	3.458***

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	7	11
	(0.108)	(0.110)	(0.114)	(0.131)	(0.122)	(0.132)	(0.132)
Difficulty (base = There should be no devolved government in Wales)							
\geq <i>The National Assembly for Wales should have fewer powers</i>	-0.981***	-0.886***	-0.971***	-0.858***	-0.868***	-0.798***	-0.863***
	(0.0267)	(0.0250)	(0.0272)	(0.0257)	(0.0262)	(0.0271)	(0.0307)
\geq <i>We should leave things as they are now</i>	-0.697***	-0.554***	-0.705***	-0.562***	-0.619***	-0.564***	-0.550***
	(0.0239)	(0.0222)	(0.0245)	(0.0231)	(0.0239)	(0.0247)	(0.0273)
\geq <i>The National Assembly for Wales should have more powers</i>	0.137***	0.210***	0.0479*	0.125***	0.109***	0.267***	0.328***
	(0.0209)	(0.0204)	(0.0212)	(0.0209)	(0.0213)	(0.0229)	(0.0259)

Appendix to Chapter 9

	Measured in wave						
	1	2	3	4	6	7	11
= <i>Wales should become independent, separate from the UK</i>	1.430***	1.423***	1.541***	1.435***	1.422***	1.452***	1.495***
	(0.0350)	(0.0341)	(0.0386)	(0.0363)	(0.0370)	(0.0395)	(0.0447)

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

(***) $p < 0.001$

Access brought to you by: