TABLE A1: *Multinomial logistic regression models predicting party support in Scotland*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | BES data (1964-2010) | | BSA data (1983-2010) |
| *Labour (relative to other parties)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | 0.78\*\* | | 1.22 |
| Religion | *Practising Presbyterian* | | -1.71\*\* | | -2.21\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | -0.69\*\* | | -1.21\*\* |
|  | *No religion* | | -0.80\*\* | | -1.12\*\* |
|  | *Catholic (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year |  | | -0.01 | | 0.00 |
| Year\*religion | *Year\*practising Presbyterian* | | -0.01 | | 0.03 |
|  | *Year\*non-practising Presbyterian* | | -0.01 | | 0.01 |
|  | *Year\* no religion* | | 0.00 | | -0.01 |
|  | *Year\*Catholic (ref)* | | - | | - |
|  | | |  | |  |
| Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke) | | | 0.10 | | 0.11 |
| N | | | 3,325 | | 4,481 |

Note: \*= p<.05; \*\* = p<.01. Data= pooled BES surveys and pooled BSA surveys.

TABLE A2: *Multinomial logistic regression models predicting party support in England*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | BES data (1964-2010) | | BSA data (1983-2010) |
| *Labour (relative to other parties)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | 0.08 | | 0.06 |
| Religion | *Practising Anglican* | | -1.15\*\* | | -1.14\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Anglican* | | -0.47\*\* | | -0.34\*\* |
|  | *Nonconformist* | | -0.56\*\* | | -0.65\*\* |
|  | *No religion* | | -0.34\*\* | | -0.05 |
|  | *Catholic (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year |  | | -0.01\*\* | | 0.02\*\* |
| Year\*religion | *Year\*practising Anglican* | | -0.06 | | -0.01 |
|  | *Year\*non-practising Anglican* | | -0.06 | | -0.01\*\* |
|  | *Year\*Nonconformist* | | 0.00 | | 0.00 |
|  | *Year\* no religion* | | 0.01 | | -0.01\* |
|  | *Year\*Catholic (ref)* | | - | | - |
|  | | |  | |  |
| Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke) | | | 0.04 | | 0.04 |
| N | | | 19,914 | | 44,698 |

Note: \*= p<.05; \*\* = p<.01. Data= pooled BES surveys and pooled BSA surveys.

TABLE A3: *Multinomial logistic regression models predicting party support in Scotland*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | MODEL 1 | MODEL 2 (+controls) | | MODEL 3 (+ideology) |
| *Conservatives (relative to Labour)* | |  | | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -1.33\*\* | -3.02\*\* | | -6.35\*\* |
| Religion | *Regular Presbyterian* | | 1.18\*\* | 1.02\*\* | | 1.04\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Presbyterian* | | 0.99\*\* | 0.93\*\* | | 0.87\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | 0.44\*\* | 0.53\*\* | | 0.54\*\* |
|  | *Regular Catholic* | | -0.95\*\* | -0.78\* | | -0.83\* |
|  | *Irregular Catholic* | | -2.51\*\* | -2.44\* | | -2.05\* |
|  | *Non-practising Catholic* | | -0.96\*\* | -0.92\*\* | | -1.06\*\* |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | - | |  |
| Year | *1996* | | -0.27 | -0.40 | | -0.25 |
|  | *1998* | | 0.42 | 0.23 | | 0.41 |
|  | *1999* | | 0.01 | 0.02 | | 0.00 |
|  | *2000* | | 0.31 | 0.36 | | 0.56 |
|  | *2001* | | -0.55 | -0.36 | | -0.37 |
|  | *2002* | | 0.01 | 0.26 | | 0.37 |
|  | *2003* | | -0.10 | 0.00 | | 0.06 |
|  | *2004* | | -0.30 | -0.25 | | -0.48 |
|  | *2005* | | 0.25 | 0.32 | | 0.24 |
|  | *2006* | | 0.26 | 0.09 | | -0.09 |
|  | *2007* | | -0.24 | -0.24 | | -0.45 |
|  | *2008* | | 0.38 | 0.41 | | 0.33 |
|  | *2009* | | 0.53\* | 0.68\* | | 0.50 |
|  | *2010 (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Income | *Missing* | |  | 0.78\*\* | | 0.79\*\* |
|  | *Top decile* | |  | 1.58\*\* | | 1.18\*\* |
|  | *9th decile* | |  | 1.30\*\* | | 1.07\*\* |
|  | *4th quintile* | |  | 1.02\*\* | | 0.92\*\* |
|  | *3rd quintile* | |  | 0.81\*\* | | 0.77\*\* |
|  | *2nd quintile* | |  | 0.35 | | 0.28 |
|  | *Bottom quintile (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | |  | 0.76\*\* | | 0.41 |
|  | *Lower salariat* | |  | 0.51\*\* | | 0.36 |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | |  | 0.63\*\* | | 0.41 |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | |  | 1.13\*\* | | 0.76\*\* |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | |  | 0.32 | | 0.28 |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | |  | -0.23 | | -0.30 |
|  | *Some higher education* | |  | 0.31 | | 0.37 |
|  | *A-levels* | |  | -0.31 | | -0.44 |
|  | *O-levels* | |  | 0.07 | | -0.07 |
|  | *CSEs* | |  | 0.23 | | 0.25 |
|  | *Apprenticeship* | |  | 0.28 | | 0.14 |
|  | *No qualifications (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private school |  | |  | 1.13\*\* | | 1.03\*\* |
| Housing | *Council house* | |  | -0.85\*\* | | -0.72\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | |  | -0.08 | | -0.12 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Employment | *Retired* | |  | 0.53\* | | 0.32 |
|  | *Unemployed/ incapacitated* | |  | 0.78\*\* | | 0.74\* |
|  | *Looking after home/ other* | |  | 0.95\*\* | | 0.87\*\* |
|  | *In work (ref)* | |  | - | |  |
| Private sector |  | |  | -0.16 | | -0.19 |
| Trade union | *Never member* | |  | 0.78\*\* | | 0.69\*\* |
|  | *Current member* | |  | -0.31 | | -0.22 |
|  | *Former member (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1926* | |  | 0.67 | | 0.79 |
|  | *1926-1935* | |  | 0.44 | | 0.65 |
|  | *1936-1945* | |  | 0.23 | | 0.47 |
|  | *1946-1955* | |  | 0.00 | | 0.26 |
|  | *1956-1965* | |  | 0.16 | | 0.35 |
|  | *1966-1975* | |  | -0.13 | | 0.03 |
|  | *1976-1992 (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Female |  | |  | -0.40\*\* | | -0.46\*\* |
| Non-white |  | |  | -0.63 | | -0.67 |
| Libertarian-authoritarian values | | |  |  | | 0.46\*\* |
| Left-right values | | |  |  | | 0.83\*\* |
| Nat identity | *Scottish not British* | |  |  | | -0.72 |
|  | *More Scottish than British* | |  |  | | -0.23 |
|  | *More British than Scottish* | |  |  | | 0.10 |
|  | *British not Scottish* | |  |  | | 0.66 |
|  | *Neither British nor Scottish (ref)* | |  |  | | - |
| Irish identity |  | |  |  | | 0.40 |
| Euro identity |  | |  |  | | -0.45\* |
|  | |  | | |  | |
| *Liberals (relative to Labour)* | |  | | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -1.11\*\* | -2.51\*\* | | -2.55\*\* |
| Religion | *Regular Presbyterian* | | 0.21 | -0.10 | | 0.00 |
|  | *Irregular Presbyterian* | | 0.25 | 0.04 | | 0.10 |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | -0.61\*\* | -0.54\*\* | | -0.49\* |
|  | *Regular Catholic* | | -1.59\*\* | -1.62\*\* | | -1.56\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Catholic* | | -0.90\* | -0.83 | | -0.68 |
|  | *Non-practising Catholic* | | -1.87\*\* | -1.80\*\* | | -1.72\*\* |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - |  | | - |
| Year | *1996* | | -1.06 | -0.89 | | -0.85 |
|  | *1998* | | 0.00 | 0.08 | | 0.18 |
|  | *1999* | | -0.15 | -0.04 | | -0.01 |
|  | *2000* | | 0.30 | 0.43 | | 0.50 |
|  | *2001* | | -0.30 | -0.03 | | 0.03 |
|  | *2002* | | -0.61 | -0.37 | | -0.34 |
|  | *2003* | | -0.15 | -0.03 | | 0.04 |
|  | *2004* | | -0.53 | -0.44 | | -0.48 |
|  | *2005* | | -0.31 | -0.25 | | -0.29 |
|  | *2006* | | 0.42 | 0.24 | | 0.25 |
|  | *2007* | | -0.43 | -0.35 | | -0.32 |
|  | *2008* | | -0.13 | -0.16 | | -0.17 |
|  | *2009* | | -0.15 | -0.02 | | -0.02 |
|  | *2010 (ref)* | | - | - | | - |
| Income | *Missing* | |  | 0.41 | | 0.36 |
|  | *Top decile* | |  | 0.33 | | 0.22 |
|  | *9th decile* | |  | 0.77\* | | 0.78\* |
|  | *4th quintile* | |  | 0.64 | | 0.62 |
|  | *3rd quintile* | |  | 0.63\* | | 0.66\* |
|  | *2nd quintile* | |  | 0.57 | | 0.56 |
|  | *Bottom quintile (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | |  | 0.05 | | -0.07 |
|  | *Lower salariat* | |  | 0.34 | | 0.32 |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | |  | 0.11 | | 0.08 |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | |  | 0.02 | | -0.19 |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | |  | -0.78\*\* | | -0.77\*\* |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | |  | 1.25\*\* | | 1.09\*\* |
|  | *Some higher education* | |  | 1.27\*\* | | 1.16\*\* |
|  | *A-levels* | |  | 0.80\*\* | | 0.69\* |
|  | *O-levels* | |  | 0.40 | | 0.36 |
|  | *CSEs* | |  | 0.63\* | | 0.61\* |
|  | *Apprenticeship* | |  | -0.67 | | -0.70 |
|  | *No qualifications (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private school |  | |  | 0.52\* | | 0.43 |
| Housing | *Council house* | |  | -0.25 | | -0.15 |
|  | *Private rental* | |  | 0.18 | | 0.09 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Employment | *Retired* | |  | 0.26 | | 0.19 |
|  | *Unemployed/ incapacitated* | |  | 0.26 | | 0.31 |
|  | *Looking after home/ other* | |  | 0.04 | | -0.02 |
|  | *In work (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | |  | -0.12 | | -0.10 |
| Trade union | *Never member* | |  | 0.39\* | | 0.36 |
|  | *Current member* | |  | -0.38 | | -0.37 |
|  | *Former member (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1926* | |  | 0.76 | | 0.90 |
|  | *1926-1935* | |  | 0.43 | | 0.60 |
|  | *1936-1945* | |  | 0.04 | | 0.18 |
|  | *1946-1955* | |  | 0.41 | | 0.53 |
|  | *1956-1965* | |  | -0.13 | | -0.05 |
|  | *1966-1975* | |  | -0.48 | | -0.46 |
|  | *1976-1992 (ref)* | |  | - | |  |
| Female |  | |  | -0.04 | | -0.08 |
| Non-white |  | |  | -2.00\* | | -2.00\* |
| Libertarian-authoritarian values | | |  |  | | -0.22 |
| Left-right values | | |  |  | | 0.32\*\* |
| Nat identity | *Scottish not British* | |  |  | | 0.02 |
|  | *More Scottish than British* | |  |  | | -0.03 |
|  | *More British than Scottish* | |  |  | | -0.02 |
|  | *British not Scottish* | |  |  | | 0.57 |
|  | *Neither British nor Scottish (ref)* | |  |  | | - |
| Irish identity |  | |  |  | | 0.16 |
| Euro identity |  | |  |  | | -0.08 |
|  |  | |  |  | |  |
| *SNP (relative to Labour)* | |  | | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -1.30\*\* | -1.74\*\* | | -3.32\*\* |
| Religion | *Regular Presbyterian* | | -0.41 | -0.23 | | -0.20 |
|  | *Irregular Presbyterian* | | -0.12 | -0.04 | | 0.03 |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | -0.43\*\* | -0.35 | | -0.32\* |
|  | *Regular Catholic* | | -1.77\*\* | -1.64\*\* | | -1.56\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Catholic* | | -0.91\* | -0.87\* | | -0.87\* |
|  | *Non-practising Catholic* | | -1.11\*\* | -1.12\*\* | | -1.12\*\* |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | - | | - |
| Year | *1996* | | 0.71 | 0.65 | | 0.57 |
|  | *1998* | | 0.87\* | 0.82\* | | 0.68 |
|  | *1999* | | 0.62 | 0.61 | | 0.61 |
|  | *2000* | | 0.92\*\* | 0.89\*\* | | 0.82\* |
|  | *2001* | | 0.79\* | 0.80\* | | 0.76\* |
|  | *2002* | | 0.33 | 0.35 | | 0.46 |
|  | *2003* | | 0.32 | 0.23 | | 0.23 |
|  | *2004* | | 0.75 | 0.76\* | | 0.82\* |
|  | *2005* | | 0.78\* | 0.69\* | | 0.61 |
|  | *2006* | | 0.56 | 0.45 | | 0.51 |
|  | *2007* | | 0.68\* | 0.69\* | | 0.71\* |
|  | *2008* | | 0.68\* | 0.67\* | | 0.64 |
|  | *2009* | | 0.81\*\* | 0.76\* | | 0.87\* |
|  | *2010 (ref)* | | - | - | | - |
| Income | *Missing* | |  | 0.20 | | 0.10 |
|  | *Top decile* | |  | -0.37 | | -0.32 |
|  | *9th decile* | |  | -0.62\* | | -0.59 |
|  | *4th quintile* | |  | -0.12 | | -0.14 |
|  | *3rd quintile* | |  | -0.25 | | -0.28 |
|  | *2nd quintile* | |  | 0.03 | | 0.00 |
|  | *Bottom quintile (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | |  | 0.34 | | 0.52\* |
|  | *Lower salariat* | |  | 0.45\* | | 0.52\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | |  | 0.48\*\* | | 0.57\*\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | |  | 0.87\*\* | | 0.95\*\* |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | |  | 0.16 | | 0.18 |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | |  | 0.25 | | 0.50 |
|  | *Some higher education* | |  | 0.30 | | 0.57 |
|  | *A-levels* | |  | -0.21 | | -0.06 |
|  | *O-levels* | |  | 0.07 | | 0.15 |
|  | *CSEs* | |  | 0.36 | | 0.35 |
|  | *Apprenticeship* | |  | -0.12 | | -0.10 |
|  | *No qualifications (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private school |  | |  | 0.23 | | 0.26 |
| Housing | *Council house* | |  | 0.15 | | 0.13 |
|  | *Private rental* | |  | -0.60\* | | -0.55\* |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Employment | *Retired* | |  | -0.29 | | -0.20 |
|  | *Unemployed/ incapacitated* | |  | 0.17 | | 0.16 |
|  | *Looking after home/ other* | |  | 0.27 | | 0.35 |
|  | *In work (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | |  | 0.21 | | 0.26 |
| Trade union | *Never member* | |  | 0.27 | | 0.26 |
|  | *Current member* | |  | -0.14 | | -0.22 |
|  | *Former member (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1926* | |  | -0.23 | | -0.46 |
|  | *1926-1935* | |  | 0.29 | | 0.06 |
|  | *1936-1945* | |  | 0.33 | | 0.12 |
|  | *1946-1955* | |  | 0.29 | | 0.10 |
|  | *1956-1965* | |  | 0.26 | | 0.13 |
|  | *1966-1975* | |  | 0.11 | | -0.05 |
|  | *1976-1992 (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Female |  | |  | -0.42\*\* | | -0.46\*\* |
| Non-white |  | |  | -1.99\* | | -1.97\* |
| Libertarian-authoritarian values | | |  |  | | 0.08 |
| Left-right values | | |  |  | | -0.18 |
| Nat identity | *Scottish not British* | |  |  | | 2.18\*\* |
|  | *More Scottish than British* | |  |  | | 1.33 |
|  | *More British than Scottish* | |  |  | | 0.25 |
|  | *British not Scottish* | |  |  | | 0.90 |
|  | *Neither British nor Scottish (ref)* | |  |  | | - |
| Irish identity |  | |  |  | | -0.33 |
| Euro identity |  | |  |  | | 0.28 |
|  | | |  |  | |  |
| Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke) | | | 0.12 | 0.29 | | 0.39 |

Note: \*= p<.05; \*\* = p<.01. N = 2,604. Data= pooled BSA surveys.

TABLE A4: *Multinomial logistic regression models predicting party support in England*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | MODEL 1 | MODEL 2 (+controls) | | MODEL 3 (+ideology) |
| *Conservatives (relative to Labour)* | |  | | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -0.04 | -1.41\*\* | | -7.22\*\* |
| Religion | *Regular Anglican* | | 1.01\*\* | 0.80\*\* | | 0.62\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Anglican* | | 1.07\*\* | 0.85\*\* | | 0.64\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Anglican* | | 0.52\*\* | 0.47\*\* | | 0.30\*\* |
|  | *Regular Nonconformist* | | 0.33\*\* | 0.29\*\* | | 0.17 |
|  | *Irregular Nonconformist* | | 0.36\* | 0.42\*\* | | 0.32\* |
|  | *Non-practising Nonconformist* | | 0.16 | 0.27\* | | 0.19 |
|  | *Regular Catholic* | | -0.05 | -0.11 | | -0.08 |
|  | *Irregular Catholic* | | -0.01 | 0.07 | | 0.09 |
|  | *Non-practising Catholic* | | -0.37\*\* | -0.21\*\* | | -0.24\*\* |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | - | | - |
| Year | *1996* | | -0.52\*\* | -0.65\*\* | | -0.49\*\* |
|  | *1998* | | -0.72\*\* | -0.87\*\* | | -0.75\*\* |
|  | *1999* | | -0.63\*\* | -0.83\*\* | | -0.76\*\* |
|  | *2000* | | -0.54\*\* | -0.64\*\* | | -0.55\*\* |
|  | *2001* | | -0.81\*\* | -0.93\*\* | | -0.91\*\* |
|  | *2002* | | -0.71\*\* | -0.85\*\* | | -0.76\*\* |
|  | *2003* | | -0.47\*\* | -0.58\*\* | | -0.51\*\* |
|  | *2004* | | -0.26\*\* | -0.42\*\* | | -0.52\*\* |
|  | *2005* | | -0.58\*\* | -0.71\*\* | | -0.83\*\* |
|  | *2006* | | -0.30\*\* | -0.36\*\* | | -0.40\*\* |
|  | *2007* | | -0.39\*\* | -0.50\*\* | | -0.56\*\* |
|  | *2008* | | 0.09 | 0.08 | | 0.17\* |
|  | *2009* | | 0.09 | 0.03 | | 0.06 |
|  | *2010 (ref)* | | - | - | | - |
| Income | *Missing* | |  | 0.49\*\* | | 0.39\*\* |
|  | *Top decile* | |  | 0.83\*\* | | 0.52\*\* |
|  | *9th decile* | |  | 0.71\*\* | | 0.42\*\* |
|  | *4th quintile* | |  | 0.55\*\* | | 0.39\*\* |
|  | *3rd quintile* | |  | 0.37\*\* | | 0.30\*\* |
|  | *2nd quintile* | |  | 0.22\*\* | | 0.19\* |
|  | *Bottom quintile (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | |  | 0.39\*\* | | 0.26\*\* |
|  | *Lower salariat* | |  | 0.42\*\* | | 0.37\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | |  | 0.46\*\* | | 0.44\*\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | |  | 0.69\*\* | | 0.56\*\* |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | |  | 0.16\* | | 0.13\* |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | |  | -0.15\* | | 0.28\*\* |
|  | *Some higher education* | |  | 0.39\*\* | | 0.52\*\* |
|  | *A-levels* | |  | 0.39\*\* | | 0.52\*\* |
|  | *O-levels* | |  | 0.49\*\* | | 0.51\*\* |
|  | *CSEs* | |  | 0.33\*\* | | 0.37\*\* |
|  | *Apprenticeship* | |  | 0.08 | | 0.09 |
|  | *No qualifications (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private school |  | |  | 0.79\*\* | | 0.79\*\* |
| Housing | *Council house* | |  | -0.83\*\* | | -0.69\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | |  | -0.18\*\* | | -0.03 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Employment | *Retired* | |  | 0.08 | | 0.03 |
|  | *Unemployed/ incapacitated* | |  | -0.19\*\* | | -0.11 |
|  | *Looking after home/ other* | |  | 0.06 | | 0.14\* |
|  | *In work (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | |  | 0.23\*\* | | 0.20\*\* |
| Trade union | *Never member* | |  | 0.57\*\* | | 0.51\*\* |
|  | *Current member* | |  | -0.22\*\* | | -0.12\* |
|  | *Former member (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1926* | |  | 1.09\*\* | | 1.10\*\* |
|  | *1926-1935* | |  | 0.92\*\* | | 0.96\*\* |
|  | *1936-1945* | |  | 0.83\*\* | | 0.91\*\* |
|  | *1946-1955* | |  | 0.49\*\* | | 0.62\*\* |
|  | *1956-1965* | |  | 0.20\*\* | | 0.28\*\* |
|  | *1966-1975* | |  | -0.03 | | -0.04 |
|  | *1976-1992 (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Female |  | |  | -0.10\*\* | |  |
| Non-white |  | |  | -0.88\*\* | | -0.86\*\* |
| Region | *Wales* | |  | -0.65\*\* | | -0.61\*\* |
|  | *North* | |  | -0.56\*\* | | -0.67\*\* |
|  | *Midlands and East* | |  | 0.03 | | -0.01 |
|  | *Southwest* | |  | 0.02 | | -0.03 |
|  | *London and Southeast (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Libertarian-authoritarian values | | |  |  | | 0.82\*\* |
| Left-right values | | |  |  | | 0.97\*\* |
| Nat identity | *English not British* | |  |  | | 0.46\*\* |
|  | *More English than British* | |  |  | | 0.36\*\* |
|  | *More British than English* | |  |  | | 0.37\*\* |
|  | *British not English* | |  |  | | 0.24\*\* |
|  | *Neither British nor English (ref)* | |  |  | | - |
| Irish identity |  | |  |  | | -0.37\*\* |
| Euro identity |  | |  |  | | -0.41\*\* |
|  | |  | | |  | |
| *Liberals (relative to Labour)* | |  | | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -0.67\*\* | -1.16\*\* | | -1.32\*\* |
| Religion | *Regular Anglican* | | 0.61\*\* | 0.48\*\* | | 0.49\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Anglican* | | 0.51\*\* | 0.41\*\* | | 0.42\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Anglican* | | -0.18\*\* | -0.07 | | -0.05 |
|  | *Regular Nonconformist* | | 0.54\*\* | 0.53\*\* | | 0.54\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Nonconformist* | | 0.48\*\* | 0.54\*\* | | 0.56\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Nonconformist* | | -0.03 | 0.16 | | 0.17 |
|  | *Regular Catholic* | | -0.36\*\* | -0.38\*\* | | -0.39\*\* |
|  | *Irregular Catholic* | | -0.29\* | -0.32\*\* | | -0.33\* |
|  | *Non-practising Catholic* | | -0.51\*\* | -0.35\*\* | | -0.35\*\* |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | - | |  |
| Year | *1996* | | -0.55\*\* | -0.43\*\* | | -0.40\*\* |
|  | *1998* | | -0.74\*\* | -0.66\*\* | | -0.65\*\* |
|  | *1999* | | -0.66\*\* | -0.60\*\* | | -0.59\*\* |
|  | *2000* | | -0.66\*\* | -0.58\*\* | | -0.56\*\* |
|  | *2001* | | -0.48\*\* | -0.45\*\* | | -0.45\*\* |
|  | *2002* | | -0.54\*\* | -0.52\*\* | | -0.50\*\* |
|  | *2003* | | -0.52\*\* | -0.47\*\* | | -0.46\*\* |
|  | *2004* | | -0.08 | -0.08 | | -0.09 |
|  | *2005* | | -0.33\*\* | -0.35\*\* | | -0.34\*\* |
|  | *2006* | | -0.27\*\* | -0.24\* | | -0.23\* |
|  | *2007* | | -0.56\*\* | -0.58\*\* | | -0.59\*\* |
|  | *2008* | | -0.37\*\* | -0.33\*\* | | -0.32\*\* |
|  | *2009* | | -0.11 | -0.10 | | -0.10 |
|  | *2010 (ref)* | | - | - | | - |
| Income | *Missing* | |  | 0.09 | | 0.07 |
|  | *Top decile* | |  | -0.03 | | -0.09 |
|  | *9th decile* | |  | 0.15 | | 0.13 |
|  | *4th quintile* | |  | 0.10 | | 0.08 |
|  | *3rd quintile* | |  | 0.17\* | | 0.16\* |
|  | *2nd quintile* | |  | 0.07 | | 0.07 |
|  | *Bottom quintile (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | |  | 0.15\* | | 0.13 |
|  | *Lower salariat* | |  | 0.21\*\* | | 0.19\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | |  | 0.20\*\* | | 0.20\*\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | |  | 0.14 | | 0.12 |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | |  | 0.01 | | 0.00 |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | |  | 0.68\*\* | | 0.65 |
|  | *Some higher education* | |  | 0.64\*\* | | 0.62 |
|  | *A-levels* | |  | 0.51\*\* | | 0.47 |
|  | *O-levels* | |  | 0.42\*\* | | 0.40 |
|  | *CSEs* | |  | 0.23\* | | 0.22 |
|  | *Apprenticeship* | |  | 0.09 | | 0.09 |
|  | *No qualifications (ref)* | |  | - | | 0b |
| Private school |  | |  | 0.47\*\* | | 0.47\*\* |
| Housing | *Council house* | |  | -0.38\*\* | | -0.36\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | |  | 0.09 | | 0.10 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Employment | *Retired* | |  | -0.02 | | -0.03 |
|  | *Unemployed/ incapacitated* | |  | -0.02 | | -0.01 |
|  | *Looking after home/ other* | |  | -0.01 | | -0.01 |
|  | *In work (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | |  | 0.01 | | 0.01 |
| Trade union | *Never member* | |  | 0.28\*\* | | 0.28\*\* |
|  | *Current member* | |  | -0.19\*\* | | -0.19\*\* |
|  | *Former member (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1926* | |  | 0.22 | | 0.22 |
|  | *1926-1935* | |  | 0.12 | | 0.14 |
|  | *1936-1945* | |  | 0.17 | | 0.18 |
|  | *1946-1955* | |  | 0.06 | | 0.07 |
|  | *1956-1965* | |  | -0.23\*\* | | -0.22\*\* |
|  | *1966-1975* | |  | -0.29\*\* | | -0.29\*\* |
|  | *1976-1992 (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Female |  | |  | 0.13\*\* | | 0.10\* |
| Non-white |  | |  | -0.87\*\* | | -0.87\*\* |
| Region | *Wales* | |  | -0.81\*\* | | -0.81\*\* |
|  | *North* | |  | -0.53\*\* | | -0.53\*\* |
|  | *Midlands and East* | |  | -0.19\*\* | | -0.19\*\* |
|  | *Southwest* | |  | 0.31\*\* | | 0.31\*\* |
|  | *London and Southeast (ref)* | |  | - | | - |
| Libertarian-authoritarian values | | |  |  | | -0.04 |
| Left-right values | | |  |  | | 0.12\*\* |
| Nat identity | *English not British* | |  |  | | 0.01 |
|  | *More English than British* | |  |  | | -0.02 |
|  | *More British than English* | |  |  | | 0.01 |
|  | *British not English* | |  |  | | 0.07 |
|  | *Neither British nor English (ref)* | |  |  | | - |
| Irish identity |  | |  |  | | 0.08 |
| Euro identity |  | |  |  | | 0.00 |
|  |  | |  |  | |  |
| Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke) | | | 0.06 | 0.21 | | 0.32 |

Note: \*= p<.05; \*\* = p<.01. N = 24,220. Data= pooled BSA surveys.

TABLE A5: *Multinomial logistic regression models predicting party support in Scotland including parental party identification*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | MODEL 2 (+controls) | | MODEL 3 (+parental PID) |
| *Conservatives (relative to Labour)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -2.42\*\* | | -1.98\*\* |
| Religion | *Practising Presbyterian* | | 1.09\*\* | | 0.90\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | 0.16 | | 0.15 |
|  | *Catholic* | | -0.65\* | | 0.06 |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year | *1979* | | 1.42\*\* | | 1.46\*\* |
|  | *1983* | | 1.07\*\* | | 1.10\*\* |
|  | *1987* | | 0.93\*\* | | 1.01\*\* |
|  | *1992* | | 0.98\*\* | | 1.02\*\* |
|  | *1997 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | | 1.21\*\* | | 1.59\*\* |
|  | *Lower salariat* | | 1.26\*\* | | 1.26\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | | 0.81\*\* | | 0.95\*\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | | 1.44\*\* | | 1.53\*\* |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | | 0.32 | | 0.43 |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | | -0.52 | | -1.44\*\* |
|  | *Some higher education* | | 1.10 | | 1.00 |
|  | *A-levels* | | 0.34 | | -0.01 |
|  | *More than minimum* | | 0.05 | | -0.23 |
|  | *Minimum (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private school |  | | 1.06\*\* | | 0.63 |
| Housing | *Council house* | | -1.70\*\* | | -1.72\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | | -0.04 | | -0.30 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | | 0.1 | | -0.06 |
| Trade union | *Current member* | | -0.75\*\* | | -0.75\*\* |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1909* | | 1.81\* | | 0.96 |
|  | *1910-1919* | | 1.55\* | | 1.50\*\* |
|  | *1920-1929* | | 1.12 | | 1.10 |
|  | *1930-1939* | | 0.92 | | 1.29 |
|  | *1940-1949* | | 0.94 | | 1.13 |
|  | *1950-1959* | | 0.61 | | 0.94 |
|  | *1960-1969* | | 0.56 | | 0.60 |
|  | *Post 1970 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Female |  | | -0.18 | | -0.22 |
| Mother’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 1.17\*\* |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.81\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.59 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 1.05 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | -0.52 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
| Father’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 0.43 |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.78\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.02 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | -0.54 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | 0.41 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
|  |  | |  | |  |
| *Liberals (relative to Labour)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -1.98\*\* | | -1.66\* |
| Religion | *Practising Presbyterian* | | 1.03\*\* | | 0.81\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | -0.14 | | -0.27 |
|  | *Catholic* | | -0.73\* | | -0.49 |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year | *1979* | | 1.17\*\* | | 1.21\*\* |
|  | *1983* | | 0.64 | | 0.68 |
|  | *1987* | | 0.59 | | 0.69\* |
|  | *1992* | | 0.10 | | 0.13 |
|  | *1997 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | | 0.59 | | 0.80 |
|  | *Lower salariat* | | 1.38\*\* | | 1.38\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | | 0.61\* | | 0.66\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | | 0.31 | | 0.39 |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | | 1.02\* | | 1.09\* |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | | 0.69 | | 0.08 |
|  | *Some higher education* | | 1.09 | | 1.04 |
|  | *A-levels* | | 0.36 | | 0.17 |
|  | *More than minimum* | | 0.29 | | 0.14 |
|  | *Minimum (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private school |  | | 0.24 | | -0.09 |
| Housing | *Council house* | | -0.96\*\* | | -0.90\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | | -0.33 | | -0.46 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | | 0.01 | | -0.10 |
| Trade union | *Current member* | | -0.66\* | | -0.68\* |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1909* | | -0.23 | | -1.18 |
|  | *1910-1919* | | 0.47 | | 0.24 |
|  | *1920-1929* | | 0.25 | | 0.10 |
|  | *1930-1939* | | -0.30 | | -0.13 |
|  | *1940-1949* | | 0.14 | | 0.15 |
|  | *1950-1959* | | 0.13 | | 0.25 |
|  | *1960-1969* | | 0.16 | | 0.18 |
|  | *Post 1970 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Female |  | | -0.04 | | -0.05 |
| Mother’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 1.30\*\* |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.44 |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 1.01 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 0.50 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | 0.06 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
| Father’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | -0.12 |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.34 |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.41 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 0.19 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | -0.11 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
|  | |  | |
| *Nationalists (relative to Labour)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -0.19 | | 0.08 |
| Religion | *Practising Presbyterian* | | 0.34 | | 0.21 |
|  | *Non-practising Presbyterian* | | -0.26 | | -0.27 |
|  | *Catholic* | | -0.96\*\* | | -0.77 |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year | *1979* | | 0.12 | | 0.31 |
|  | *1983* | | -0.13 | | -0.16 |
|  | *1987* | | -0.25 | | -0.18 |
|  | *1992* | | 0.51 | | 0.55 |
|  | *1997 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | | 0.03 | | 0.25 |
|  | *Lower salariat* | | 0.69\* | | 0.66 |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | | 0.19 | | 0.23 |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | | 0.03 | | 0.16 |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | | 0.55 | | 0.63 |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | | -0.93 | | -1.33\* |
|  | *Some higher education* | | -0.08 | | 0.12 |
|  | *A-levels* | | -0.51 | | -0.59 |
|  | *More than minimum* | | -0.10 | | -0.16 |
|  | *Minimum (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private school |  | | -0.51 | | -0.61 |
| Housing | *Council house* | | -0.23 | | -0.18 |
|  | *Private rental* | | -0.02 | | -0.07 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | | -0.04 | | -0.11 |
| Trade union | *Current member* | | -0.37 | | -0.33 |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1909* | | -2.73 | | -2.86 |
|  | *1910-1919* | | -1.08 | | -0.81 |
|  | *1920-1929* | | -0.70 | | -0.41 |
|  | *1930-1939* | | -0.45 | | -0.01 |
|  | *1940-1949* | | -0.62 | | -0.31 |
|  | *1950-1959* | | -0.22 | | 0.10 |
|  | *1960-1969* | | -0.30 | | -0.22 |
|  | *Post 1970 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Female |  | | -0.05 | | -0.07 |
| Mother’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 0.93\* |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.26 |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.74 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 0.29 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | -0.33 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
| Father’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | -0.74 |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.77\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | -0.75 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 1.29\* |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | 0.00 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
|  | | |  | |  |
| Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke) | | | 0.37 | | 0.48 |

Note: \*= p<.05; \*\* = p<.01. N = 2,083. Data= pooled BES surveys.

TABLE A6: *Multinomial logistic regression models predicting party support in England including parental party identification*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | | MODEL 2 (+controls) | | MODEL 3 (+parental PID) |
| *Conservatives (relative to Labour)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -0.86\*\* | | -0.93\*\* |
| Religion | *Practising Anglican* | | 0.88\*\* | | 0.70\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Anglican* | | 0.39\*\* | | 0.33\*\* |
|  | *Nonconformist* | | 0.26\*\* | | 0.21\* |
|  | *Catholic* | | -0.08 | | 0.00 |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year | *1979* | | 0.92\*\* | | 0.88\*\* |
|  | *1983* | | 1.03\*\* | | 1.11\*\* |
|  | *1987* | | 1.00\*\* | | 1.09\*\* |
|  | *1992* | | 0.97\*\* | | 1.07\*\* |
|  | *1997 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | | 0.99\*\* | | 0.98\*\* |
|  | *Lower salariat* | | 0.65\*\* | | 0.63\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | | 0.63\*\* | | 0.62\*\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | | 1.08\*\* | | 1.03\*\* |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | | 0.27\* | | 0.29\* |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | | -0.21 | | -0.62\*\* |
|  | *Some higher education* | | 0.63\*\* | | 0.33 |
|  | *A-levels* | | 0.61\*\* | | 0.36\*\* |
|  | *More than minimum* | | 0.57\*\* | | 0.38\*\* |
|  | *Minimum (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private school |  | | 0.80\*\* | | 0.37\*\* |
| Housing | *Council house* | | -1.38\*\* | | -1.23\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | | -0.46\*\* | | -0.50\*\* |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | | 0.16\*\* | | 0.17\*\* |
| Trade union | *Current member* | | -0.67\*\* | | -0.63\*\* |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1909* | | 0.34 | | 0.35 |
|  | *1910-1919* | | 0.05 | | 0.24 |
|  | *1920-1929* | | 0.03 | | 0.28 |
|  | *1930-1939* | | 0.11 | | 0.55\*\* |
|  | *1940-1949* | | 0.02 | | 0.46\*\* |
|  | *1950-1959* | | -0.31\* | | 0.08 |
|  | *1960-1969* | | 0.04 | | 0.16 |
|  | *Post 1970 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Female |  | | -0.03 | | 0.01 |
| Non-white |  | | -1.55\*\* | | -1.34\*\* |
| Region | *Wales* | | -1.19\*\* | | -0.97\*\* |
|  | *North* | | -0.67\*\* | | -0.57\*\* |
|  | *Midlands and East* | | -0.15\* | | -0.11 |
|  | *Southwest* | | 0.15 | | 0.17 |
|  | *London and Southeast (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Mother’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 0.80\*\* |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.59\*\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.23 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | -0.81 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | -0.04 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
| Father’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 0.45\*\* |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.59\*\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | -0.08 |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 0.58 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | 0.05 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
|  |  | |  | |  |
| *Liberals (relative to Labour)* | |  | |
| Constant |  | | -1.79\*\* | | -1.70\*\* |
| Religion | *Practising Anglican* | | 0.46\*\* | | 0.36\*\* |
|  | *Non-practising Anglican* | | 0.05 | | 0.04 |
|  | *Nonconformist* | | 0.50\*\* | | 0.37\*\* |
|  | *Catholic* | | -0.36\*\* | | -0.32\*\* |
|  | *No religion (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Year | *1979* | | 0.48\*\* | | 0.46\*\* |
|  | *1983* | | 1.04\*\* | | 1.08\*\* |
|  | *1987* | | 0.94\*\* | | 0.98\*\* |
|  | *1992* | | 0.52\*\* | | 0.57\*\* |
|  | *1997 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Occupation | *Upper salariat* | | 0.74\*\* | | 0.76\*\* |
|  | *Lower salariat* | | 0.62\*\* | | 0.60\*\* |
|  | *Routine non-manual* | | 0.50\*\* | | 0.53\*\* |
|  | *Petty bourgeois* | | 0.48\*\* | | 0.44\*\* |
|  | *Foremen and supervisors* | | 0.21 | | 0.23 |
|  | *Working class (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Education | *Degree* | | 0.46\*\* | | 0.19 |
|  | *Some higher education* | | 0.55\*\* | | 0.36 |
|  | *A-levels* | | 0.72\*\* | | 0.58\*\* |
|  | *More than minimum* | | 0.50\*\* | | 0.38\*\* |
|  | *Minimum (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private school |  | | 0.54\*\* | | 0.34\*\* |
| Housing | *Council house* | | -0.83\*\* | | -0.76\*\* |
|  | *Private rental* | | -0.08 | | -0.09 |
|  | *Owner-occupier (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Private sector |  | | 0.05 | | 0.06 |
| Trade union | *Current member* | | -0.26\*\* | | -0.22\*\* |
| Birth cohort | *Pre 1909* | | 0.16 | | -0.08 |
|  | *1910-1919* | | 0.05 | | 0.08 |
|  | *1920-1929* | | 0.23 | | 0.40\* |
|  | *1930-1939* | | 0.24 | | 0.57\*\* |
|  | *1940-1949* | | 0.27 | | 0.62\*\* |
|  | *1950-1959* | | 0.12 | | 0.44\* |
|  | *1960-1969* | | 0.02 | | 0.14 |
|  | *Post 1970 (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Female |  | | 0.17\* | | 0.20\*\* |
| Non-white |  | | -1.56\*\* | | -1.55\*\* |
| Region | *Wales* | | -1.09\*\* | | -0.97\*\* |
|  | *North* | | -0.60\*\* | | -0.51\*\* |
|  | *Midlands and East* | | -0.18\* | | -0.15 |
|  | *Southwest* | | 0.50\*\* | | 0.50\*\* |
|  | *London and Southeast (ref)* | | - | | - |
| Mother’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | 0.34\*\* |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.36\*\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.69\*\* |
|  | *Other* | |  | | -0.42 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | -0.05 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
| Father’s PID | *Conservative* | |  | | -0.02 |
|  | *Labour* | |  | | -0.51\*\* |
|  | *Liberal* | |  | | 0.36\* |
|  | *Other* | |  | | 0.23 |
|  | *No ID* | |  | | 0.12 |
|  | *Don’t know (ref)* | |  | | - |
|  | | |  | |  |
| Pseudo R-square (Nagelkerke) | | | 0.28 | | 0.39 |

Note: \*= p<.05; \*\* = p<.01. N = 10,835. Data= pooled BES surveys