**Supplementary material**

**Core Political Values and the Long-Term Shaping of Partisanship in the British Electorate**

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**Appendix 1: Distinguishing between non-support and Liberal Democrat support**

In the main analysis the Liberal Democrats are included in a category with people who have no partisanship and those who support the smaller parties, such as the Greens. Support for all other smaller parties sums to a mere 1.5%. If Liberal Democrats are treated as a separate category, party identification is distributed as shown in Table A1.1.

**Table A1.1**: Distribution of four-category partisanship (1991-2008)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Freq. | Percent |
| No/other PID | 48,939 | 38.3 |
| Conservative | 31,272 | 24.5 |
| Labour | 36,762 | 28.8 |
| Lib-Dem | 10,676 | 8.4 |
| Total | 127,649 | 100.0 |

When using this four-category version of the party identification instead of only three categories, our conclusions do not change. Core values are more stable than partisanship and have a significant effect on party support, but not *vice versa*. Table A1.2 reports the cross-lagged and stability coefficient for a model that distinguishes supporters of the Liberal Democrats. Being a Lib-Dem supporter does not have a cross-lagged effect on a respondent’s core political values. However, being left or right does affect whether someone identifies with the Lib-Dems. As generally expected, it is more likely that leftist respondents become Lib-Dem supporters (b=0.20; p<0.01). Comparing the size of the effect to Labour and Conservative supporters it is however not surprising that the effect is much smaller for this more ideologically ambivalent and centrist party. For example, those with rightest values are more likely to become Conservative supporters in the next panel wave (b=0.87; p<0.001) and less likely to support Labour (b=0.66; p<0.001). The insignificant Wald-test confirms that party identification does not affect core values.

**Table A1.2**: Cross-lagged interactions and stability coefficients (for four-category partisanship)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Rightist** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Leftist** | | |  |  |  |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.87 | \*\* | 0.27 |  | 1.64 | \*\*\* | 0.21 |  | -0.77 | \* | 0.37 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | Wald-test (df): 11.3 (6) | | | | | | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Conservative (t-1) | -0.08 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.20 | \*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.12 |  | 0.10 |  |  |  |
| No/Other PID(t-1) | -0.20 | \* | 0.10 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.17 | \* | 0.08 |  |  |  |
| Lib Dem(t-1) | 0.19 |  | 0.15 |  | -0.16 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.11 |  |  |  |
| Labour(t-1) | 0.10 |  | 0.12 |  | -0.07 |  | 0.07 |  | -0.03 |  | 0.08 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. | Wald-test (df): 2970.7 (4)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Centrist (t-1) | -0.92 | \*\* | 0.28 |  | 1.26 | \*\*\* | 0.22 |  | -0.35 |  | 0.39 |  |  |  |
| Leftist (t-1) | -3.54 | \*\*\* | 0.45 |  | -0.35 |  | 0.28 |  | 3.88 | \*\*\* | 0.42 |  |  |  |
| Rightist (t-1) | 4.45 | \*\*\* | 0.42 |  | -0.92 | \* | 0.39 |  | -3.53 | \*\*\* | 0.75 |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | **Conservative** | | |  | **No/Other PID** | | |  | **Labour** | | | **Lib dem** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.45 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | 0.81 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | 0.21 | \*\*\* | 0.05 | -0.57 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | Wald-test (df): 374.7 (6)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Centrist (t-1) | -0.10 | \* | 0.05 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.11 | \* | 0.04 | -0.03 |  | 0.06 |
| Leftist (t-1) | -0.77 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.55 | \*\*\* | 0.05 | 0.20 | \*\* | 0.07 |
| Rightist (t-1) | 0.87 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.04 |  | -0.66 | \*\*\* | 0.07 | -0.17 | \* | 0.07 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. | Wald-test (df): 7761.6 (9\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |  |  |  |
| Conservative (t-1) | 2.82 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.32 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |  | -1.68 | \*\*\* | 0.09 | -0.82 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
| No/Other PID(t-1) | -0.20 | \* | 0.09 |  | 1.64 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |  | -0.56 | \*\*\* | 0.07 | -0.88 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
| Lib Dem(t-1) | -1.22 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | -1.09 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.08 | 2.89 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |
| Labour(t-1) | -1.41 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.24 | \*\* | 0.08 |  | 2.83 | \*\*\* | 0.08 | -1.19 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |

*Significance*: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. Data: BHPS 1991-2007. Effect coding.

*Note*: The model includes the effects of socio-demographic covariates on the initial partisanship and core values when respondents entered the panel.

**Appendix 2: Estimating effects using linear Structural Equation Models**

To examine the robustness of the LCA findings to different measurement and estimation specifications we created a scale that measures party identification using a question on respondents’ strength of partisanship. The variable is measured from 1 “Strong Labour” to 7 “Strong Conservative”. Such scales are typically used in US analyses. As with those studies, the variable constructed is normally distributed with the majority stating no partisanship and being classified as independent. However, unlike the American two-party system, the UK has several smaller parties that were set to missing values. Table A2.1 reports the distribution of the final ordinal measure of partisanship.

**Table A2.1:** Distribution of ordinal measure of partisanship (1991-2007)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Freq. | Percent |
| Strong Labour | 3,072 | 2.7 |
| Weak Labour | 13,441 | 11.6 |
| Independent Labour | 19,661 | 17.0 |
| Independent | 48,939 | 42.2 |
| Independent Conservative | 18,861 | 16.3 |
| Weak Conservative | 10,033 | 8.7 |
| Strong Conservative | 2,010 | 1.7 |
| Total (N x T) | 116,017 | 100.0 |

We then estimated the models shown in Table 2 using this ordinal measure of partisanship with two versions of our core value measures. First, we constructed an additive Likert scale of the core values items, which ranges from 6-30, with lower scores indicating left-wing values. Second, we estimate a latent, ordinal variable in a Structural Equation Model (SEM). Table A2.2 reports the results.

Table A2.2 confirms the findings presented in the main manuscript. Lagged core values strongly predict subsequent partisanship (b=1.12, p<0.001), but not *vice versa*. The cross-lagged effect of partisanship on core values is zero, no matter whether we model core values as observed or latent. We again find very strong stability coefficients with core values being significantly more stable than partisanship.

**Table A2.2:** Estimates using an ordinal measure of partisanship

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | DV: Core Values (Likert scale) | | |  | DV: Ordinal Partisanship | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
| Intercept | 1.76 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | 2.32 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |
| Cross-lagged coef. | -0.31 |  | 0.18 |  | 1.21 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
| Stability coef. | 7.14 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | 6.26 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | DV: Core Values (latent scale) | | |  | DV: Ordinal Partisanship | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
| Intercept | 1.70 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | 1.71 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |
| Cross-lagged coef. | -0.12 |  | 0.16 |  | 1.21 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
| Stability coef. | 6.96 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |  | 6.24 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
| Number of cases | 7,582 | | |  |  |  |  |

*Significance*: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. Data: BHPS 1991-2007.

*Note*: The model includes the effects of socio-demographic covariates on the initial partisanship and core values when respondents entered the panel.

**Appendix 3: Supplementary information on the Latent Class Analysis**

The aim of LCA is to classify respondents into ‘true’ groups that account for the observed scores on the response items, whether left or right, with the possibility of identifying a centrist latent class that bundles those that have no clear value positions. Imagine we have two items, ‘ordinary people share nation’s wealth’ (A) and ‘public services ought to be state owned’ (B), which are proxies of what we are really interested in – ‘true’ political beliefs or values. The association between responses to these statements – i.e. disagreement with the former and agreement with the latter – is assumed to be caused by the same core value – being leftist. There is therefore no residual covariation between these two. Any observed relationship between (A) and (B) is simply because of a common ‘underlying’ unobserved trait – left-wing values.

Figure A3.1 plots the distribution of our three latent classes – leftist, centrist and rightist – on the six-item additive index score. The latent class model distinguishes extremely well between the three types of respondents. The ideologues, in particular, are very well separated, with only a small minority overlapping in the middle of the scale. As expected the centrist latent class also captures mid-range scores. Hardly any respondents in this classification are below 12 or above 20 on the 6-30 scale. Based on this result, we feel confident that the classifications estimated using latent class modeling identify meaningful distinctions between different core political values.



**Figure A3.1**: Distribution of latent classification of political values on an additive index of observed survey items

The classification statistics for the LCAs for both core values and partisanship are shown in Table A3.2. These indicate impressive goodness of fit for both analyses.

**Table A3.2:** Classification statistics of latent variables

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | *Values* | *Partisanship* |
| Classification errors | 0.077 | 0.056 |
| Reduction of errors (Lambda) | 0.816 | 0.901 |
| Entropy R-squared | 0.808 | 0.866 |
| Standard R-squared | 0.805 | 0.874 |

Finally, Table A3.3 presents latent probabilities for the six survey items on each of the latent classes.

**Table A3.3: Conditional probabilities of latent values on observed survey items**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Values: Classification** | | |  |
|  | Centrist | Leftist | Rightist | Overall |
| Item A: 1 | 0.07 | 0.37 | 0.03 | 0.13 |
| 2 | 0.53 | 0.57 | 0.37 | 0.50 |
| 3 | 0.24 | 0.05 | 0.28 | 0.21 |
| 4 | 0.15 | 0.01 | 0.30 | 0.15 |
| 5 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 |
| Mean | 2.48 | 1.70 | 2.90 | 2.41 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Item B: 1 | 0.05 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.06 |
| 2 | 0.34 | 0.51 | 0.10 | 0.32 |
| 3 | 0.33 | 0.24 | 0.26 | 0.29 |
| 4 | 0.26 | 0.09 | 0.52 | 0.28 |
| 5 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.04 |
| Mean | 2.87 | 2.28 | 3.63 | 2.92 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Item C: 1 | 0.03 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.04 |
| 2 | 0.29 | 0.51 | 0.05 | 0.28 |
| 3 | 0.45 | 0.31 | 0.29 | 0.39 |
| 4 | 0.22 | 0.06 | 0.54 | 0.26 |
| 5 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.03 |
| Mean | 2.90 | 2.30 | 3.73 | 2.96 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Item D: 1 | 0.10 | 0.46 | 0.04 | 0.16 |
| 2 | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.37 | 0.51 |
| 3 | 0.19 | 0.03 | 0.23 | 0.17 |
| 4 | 0.14 | 0.01 | 0.32 | 0.15 |
| 5 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.02 |
| Mean | 2.39 | 1.59 | 2.97 | 2.36 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Item E: 1 | 0.06 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.06 |
| 2 | 0.40 | 0.57 | 0.09 | 0.37 |
| 3 | 0.20 | 0.15 | 0.13 | 0.17 |
| 4 | 0.31 | 0.13 | 0.62 | 0.34 |
| 5 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.15 | 0.05 |
| Mean | 2.85 | 2.28 | 3.83 | 2.95 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| Item F: 1 | 0.07 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 0.09 |
| 2 | 0.48 | 0.61 | 0.14 | 0.44 |
| 3 | 0.25 | 0.11 | 0.23 | 0.22 |
| 4 | 0.18 | 0.03 | 0.48 | 0.21 |
| 5 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.14 | 0.04 |
| Mean | 2.60 | 1.90 | 3.61 | 2.68 |

**Appendix 4: Covariates on initial state**

**Table A4.1: Covariates on initial state**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Conservative-PID** | | |  | **No/other-PID** | | |  | **Labour-PID** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
| Intercept | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 1.24 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.53 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
| Age (entered panel) | 0.01 | \*\*\* | 0.00 |  | -0.02 | \*\*\* | 0.00 |  | 0.00 | \* | 0.00 |
| Male (48.3%) | -0.13 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |  | -0.03 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.16 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |
| Female (51.7%) | 0.13 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.02 |  | -0.16 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |
| Social Class: Service (32%) | -0.05 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.07 |
| Intermediate (20%) | 0.19 | \*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.15 | \*\* | 0.05 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.07 |
| Self-employed (10%) | 0.24 | \*\* | 0.09 |  | 0.14 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.38 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
| Lower sales (15%) | 0.02 |  | 0.07 |  | -0.03 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.08 |
| Technicians (8%) | -0.13 |  | 0.11 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.18 | \* | 0.09 |
| Manual workers (15%) | -0.27 | \*\* | 0.09 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.18 | \* | 0.07 |
| Housing: Own (20%) | 0.01 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.05 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.06 |
| Mortgage (57%) | 0.20 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | -0.08 | \* | 0.03 |  | -0.12 | \*\* | 0.04 |
| Social (15%) | -0.24 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.22 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |
| Rented (8%) | 0.03 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.06 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.07 |
| Education: primary (30%) | 0.08 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.08 | \* | 0.04 |  | -0.16 | \*\* | 0.05 |
| Low secondary-vocational (36%) | 0.22 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.04 |  | -0.21 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |
| High secondary –mid-vocational (9%) | 0.30 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.26 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.08 |
| Higher vocational (16%) | 0.05 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.05 |  | -0.07 |  | 0.06 |
| University Degree (9%) | -0.65 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | 0.17 | \*\* | 0.06 |  | 0.48 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |
|  | **Right ideologue** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Left ideologue** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
| Intercept | -1.50 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 1.77 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.26 | \* | 0.11 |
| Age (entered panel) | 0.01 | \*\*\* | 0.00 |  | -0.02 | \*\*\* | 0.00 |  | 0.01 | \*\* | 0.00 |
| Male (48.3%) | 0.26 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |  | -0.10 | \*\*\* | 0.02 |  | -0.16 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |
| Female (51.7%) | -0.26 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |  | 0.10 | \*\*\* | 0.02 |  | 0.16 | \*\*\* | 0.03 |
| Social Class: Service (32%) | 0.36 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.18 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |  | -0.18 | \* | 0.07 |
| Intermediate (20%) | 0.01 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.06 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.08 |
| Self-employed (10%) | 0.43 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.17 | \* | 0.08 |  | -0.26 | \* | 0.11 |
| Lower sales (15%) | -0.05 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.17 | \*\* | 0.06 |  | -0.12 |  | 0.09 |
| Technicians (8%) | -0.51 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 0.18 | \* | 0.09 |  | 0.32 | \*\* | 0.11 |
| Manual workers (15%) | -0.25 | \* | 0.11 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.26 | \*\* | 0.09 |
| Housing: Own (20%) | 0.38 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.05 |  | -0.39 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |
| Mortgage (57%) | 0.25 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |  | -0.06 |  | 0.04 |  | -0.20 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |
| Social (15%) | -0.64 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 0.18 | \*\* | 0.06 |  | 0.46 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |
| Rented (8%) | 0.01 |  | 0.09 |  | -0.13 | \* | 0.06 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.08 |
| Education: primary (30%) | -0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | 0.25 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | 0.32 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |
| Low secondary-vocational (36%) | -0.22 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |  | 0.12 | \*\* | 0.04 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.05 |
| High secondary –mid-vocational (9%) | 0.09 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.09 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.09 |
| Higher vocational (16%) | 0.12 |  | 0.07 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.05 |  | -0.10 |  | 0.07 |
| University Degree (9%) | 0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.27 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.32 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |

Significance: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. Data: BHPS 1991-2007. Note: Effect coding.

**Appendix 5: Full results: Cross-lagged model by government period**

**Table A5.a:** Time period: 1991-1996 (polarization)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Rightist** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Leftist** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -1.870 | \* | 0.780 |  | 2.176 | \*\*\* | 0.490 |  | -0.305 |  | 0.755 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No/other PID (t-1) | -0.436 |  | 0.278 |  | 0.207 |  | 0.149 |  | 0.229 |  | 0.174 |
| Conservative(t-1) | 0.475 |  | 0.275 |  | 0.250 |  | 0.156 |  | -0.725 | \*\*\* | 0.203 |
| Labour(t-1) | -0.038 |  | 0.515 |  | -0.457 |  | 0.266 |  | 0.495 |  | 0.274 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coefficients |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rightist (t-1) | 5.324 | \*\*\* | 1.018 |  | -0.355 |  | 0.775 |  | -4.969 | \*\*\* | 1.388 |
| Centrist (t-1) | -3.518 | \* | 1.396 |  | 2.088 | \*\* | 0.760 |  | 1.430 |  | 0.953 |
| Leftist (t-1) | -1.806 | \* | 0.892 |  | -1.733 | \*\* | 0.548 |  | 3.539 | \*\*\* | 0.786 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | **Conservative** | | |  | **No/other PID** | | |  | **Labour** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -1.284 | \* | 0.648 |  | 0.762 | \* | 0.379 |  | 0.521 |  | 0.335 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rightist (t-1) | 1.313 | \*\*\* | 0.131 |  | -0.093 |  | 0.110 |  | -1.220 | \*\*\* | 0.195 |
| Centrist (t-1) | -0.257 | \* | 0.110 |  | 0.043 |  | 0.074 |  | 0.215 |  | 0.115 |
| Leftist (t-1) | -1.056 | \*\*\* | 0.179 |  | 0.051 |  | 0.106 |  | 1.005 | \*\*\* | 0.139 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coefficients |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No/other PID (t-1) | -0.480 |  | 0.665 |  | 1.182 | \*\* | 0.391 |  | -0.701 | \* | 0.346 |
| Conservative(t-1) | 2.965 | \*\*\* | 0.657 |  | -0.210 |  | 0.383 |  | -2.756 | \*\*\* | 0.360 |
| Labour(t-1) | -2.485 | \* | 1.296 |  | -0.972 |  | 0.756 |  | 3.457 | \*\*\* | 0.671 |

*Significance*: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. *Data*: BHPS 1991-2007. Effect coding.

**Table A5.b:** Time period: 1997-2007 (depolarization)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Rightist** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Leftist** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -1.026 | \*\*\* | 0.234 |  | 1.250 | \*\*\* | 0.148 |  | -0.224 |  | 0.181 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No/other PID (t-1) | -0.043 |  | 0.203 |  | -0.069 |  | 0.120 |  | 0.113 |  | 0.134 |
| Labour (t-1) | 0.257 |  | 0.306 |  | -0.102 |  | 0.167 |  | -0.155 |  | 0.179 |
| Conservative (t-1) | -0.213 |  | 0.230 |  | 0.171 |  | 0.144 |  | 0.042 |  | 0.179 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coefficients |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rightist (t-1) | 4.188 | \*\*\* | 0.360 |  | -1.536 | \*\*\* | 0.256 |  | -2.652 | \*\*\* | 0.369 |
| Centrist (t-1) | -1.603 | \*\*\* | 0.386 |  | 2.122 | \*\*\* | 0.224 |  | -0.519 | \* | 0.257 |
| Leftist (t-1) | -2.585 | \*\*\* | 0.521 |  | -0.586 | \* | 0.281 |  | 3.171 | \*\*\* | 0.313 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | **Conservative** | | |  | **No/other PID** | | |  | **Labour** | | |
|  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept | -0.113 |  | 0.072 |  | 0.886 | \*\*\* | 0.064 |  | -0.773 | \*\*\* | 0.102 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rightist (t-1) | 0.659 | \*\*\* | 0.075 |  | -0.304 | \*\*\* | 0.064 |  | -0.354 | \*\*\* | 0.099 |
| Centrist (t-1) | -0.088 |  | 0.064 |  | 0.072 |  | 0.046 |  | 0.016 |  | 0.065 |
| Leftist (t-1) | -0.571 | \*\*\* | 0.094 |  | 0.232 | \*\*\* | 0.061 |  | 0.339 | \*\*\* | 0.075 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coefficients |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No/other PID (t-1) | -0.527 | \*\*\* | 0.093 |  | 1.448 | \*\*\* | 0.091 |  | -0.921 | \*\*\* | 0.146 |
| Labour (t-1) | -2.002 | \*\*\* | 0.110 |  | -0.701 | \*\*\* | 0.082 |  | 2.703 | \*\*\* | 0.122 |
| Conservative (t-1) | 2.528 | \*\*\* | 0.110 |  | -0.747 | \*\*\* | 0.111 |  | -1.782 | \*\*\* | 0.188 |

**Appendix 6: Full results: Cross-lagged model conditioned on age**

**Table A6.a**: Dependent variable: Political values

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Conditioned | **Rightist** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Leftist** | | |
|  | Age | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept |  | -0.93 | \*\*\* | 0.25 |  | 1.67 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | -0.74 | \* | 0.36 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | | Wald-test (df): 32.4 (24) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Labour (t-1) | 15-24 | 0.29 |  | 0.24 |  | -0.21 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.17 |
|  | 25-34 | 0.18 |  | 0.25 |  | -0.03 |  | 0.14 |  | -0.15 |  | 0.18 |
|  | 35-44 | 0.74 |  | 0.43 |  | -0.38 |  | 0.23 |  | -0.36 |  | 0.24 |
|  | 45-55 | -0.15 |  | 0.27 |  | -0.13 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.28 |  | 0.17 |
|  | 55-64 | -0.25 |  | 0.30 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.16 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.19 |
|  | 65+ | -0.15 |  | 0.35 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.19 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.22 |
| Conservative (t-1) | 15-24 | -0.12 |  | 0.28 |  | 0.29 |  | 0.16 |  | -0.17 |  | 0.22 |
|  | 25-34 | -0.15 |  | 0.24 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.16 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.24 |
|  | 35-44 | -0.62 | \* | 0.29 |  | 0.46 | \*\* | 0.17 |  | 0.16 |  | 0.23 |
|  | 45-55 | 0.27 |  | 0.21 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.14 |  | -0.39 |  | 0.20 |
|  | 55-64 | 0.24 |  | 0.21 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.16 |  | 0.20 |
|  | 65+ | 0.43 |  | 0.22 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.15 |  | -0.35 |  | 0.23 |
| No/other PID (t-1) | 15-24 | -0.17 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.25 |  | 0.14 |
|  | 25-34 | -0.03 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.09 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.15 |
|  | 35-44 | -0.12 |  | 0.25 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.14 |  | 0.20 |  | 0.17 |
|  | 45-55 | -0.12 |  | 0.21 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.16 |
|  | 55-64 | 0.01 |  | 0.23 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.17 |
|  | 65+ | -0.28 |  | 0.23 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.14 |  | 0.25 |  | 0.18 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. |  | Wald-test (df): 2829.4 (24)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Centrist (t-1) | 15-24 | -0.86 | \*\* | 0.33 |  | 1.30 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | -0.43 |  | 0.40 |
|  | 25-34 | -0.90 | \*\* | 0.33 |  | 1.41 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | -0.51 |  | 0.39 |
|  | 35-44 | -1.42 | \*\* | 0.50 |  | 1.66 | \*\*\* | 0.31 |  | -0.23 |  | 0.47 |
|  | 45-55 | -0.90 | \* | 0.36 |  | 1.19 | \*\*\* | 0.25 |  | -0.29 |  | 0.41 |
|  | 55-64 | -0.78 | \* | 0.37 |  | 0.98 | \*\*\* | 0.26 |  | -0.20 |  | 0.41 |
|  | 65+ | -0.95 | \* | 0.43 |  | 1.05 | \*\*\* | 0.29 |  | -0.10 |  | 0.46 |
| Rightist (t-1) | 15-24 | 4.57 | \*\*\* | 0.46 |  | -1.22 | \*\* | 0.40 |  | -3.35 | \*\*\* | 0.74 |
|  | 25-34 | 4.60 | \*\*\* | 0.45 |  | -1.13 | \*\* | 0.39 |  | -3.46 | \*\*\* | 0.73 |
|  | 35-44 | 4.76 | \*\*\* | 0.52 |  | -1.09 | \*\* | 0.42 |  | -3.68 | \*\*\* | 0.78 |
|  | 45-55 | 4.47 | \*\*\* | 0.44 |  | -0.90 | \* | 0.39 |  | -3.57 | \*\*\* | 0.73 |
|  | 55-64 | 4.16 | \*\*\* | 0.44 |  | -0.58 |  | 0.38 |  | -3.58 | \*\*\* | 0.73 |
|  | 65+ | 3.98 | \*\*\* | 0.46 |  | -0.55 |  | 0.40 |  | -3.42 | \*\*\* | 0.76 |
| Leftist (t-1) | 15-24 | -3.71 | \*\*\* | 0.47 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.29 |  | 3.78 | \*\*\* | 0.43 |
|  | 25-34 | -3.69 | \*\*\* | 0.47 |  | -0.27 |  | 0.29 |  | 3.97 | \*\*\* | 0.43 |
|  | 35-44 | -3.34 | \*\*\* | 0.51 |  | -0.57 |  | 0.30 |  | 3.91 | \*\*\* | 0.44 |
|  | 45-55 | -3.57 | \*\*\* | 0.50 |  | -0.28 |  | 0.30 |  | 3.85 | \*\*\* | 0.43 |
|  | 55-64 | -3.38 | \*\*\* | 0.51 |  | -0.40 |  | 0.31 |  | 3.78 | \*\*\* | 0.44 |
|  | 65+ | -3.02 | \*\*\* | 0.53 |  | -0.50 |  | 0.31 |  | 3.52 | \*\*\* | 0.45 |

**Table A6.b**: Dependent variable: Partisanship

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Conditioned | **Conservative** | | |  | **No/other PID** | | |  | **Labour** | | |
|  | Age | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept |  | -0.66 | \*\*\* | 0.06 |  | 0.76 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | -0.10 | \* | 0.05 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | | Wald-test (df): 347.0 (24)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Centrist (t-1) | 15-24 | -0.09 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.07 |
|  | 25-34 | -0.09 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.07 |
|  | 35-44 | 0.02 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.06 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.08 |
|  | 45-55 | 0.12 |  | 0.12 |  | -0.12 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.10 |
|  | 55-64 | -0.24 | \* | 0.12 |  | -0.10 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.34 |  | 0.12 |
|  | 65+ | -0.38 | \* | 0.19 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.39 | \* | 0.17 |
| Rightist (t-1) | 15-24 | 0.68 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.19 | \* | 0.08 |  | -0.49 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 25-34 | 0.83 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.10 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.73 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 35-44 | 0.73 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.07 |  | -0.69 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 45-55 | 0.81 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | -0.25 | \*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.56 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |
|  | 55-64 | 1.06 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.12 |  | -1.09 | \*\*\* | 0.19 |
|  | 65+ | 0.85 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | 0.20 |  | 0.16 |  | -1.04 | \*\*\* | 0.25 |
| Leftist (t-1) | 15-24 | -0.59 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.49 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | 25-34 | -0.74 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | 35-44 | -0.74 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.64 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | 45-55 | -0.93 | \*\*\* | 0.19 |  | 0.36 | \*\* | 0.11 |  | 0.57 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | 55-64 | -0.81 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.75 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 65+ | -0.47 |  | 0.28 |  | -0.19 |  | 0.17 |  | 0.65 | \*\* | 0.21 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. |  | Wald-test (df): 5122.4 (24)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Labour (t-1) | 15-24 | -1.65 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |  | -0.46 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 2.11 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | 25-34 | -1.54 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | -0.81 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | 2.35 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
|  | 35-44 | -1.94 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | -0.72 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 2.67 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | 45-55 | -2.05 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 2.77 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 55-64 | -2.35 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | -0.46 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 2.80 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 65+ | -2.51 | \*\*\* | 0.30 |  | -0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | 3.13 | \*\*\* | 0.23 |
| Conservative (t-1) | 15-24 | 2.18 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.60 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -1.57 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | 25-34 | 2.26 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.52 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -1.73 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 35-44 | 2.53 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.57 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -1.96 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | 45-55 | 2.70 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | -0.55 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -2.15 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 55-64 | 2.69 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | -0.77 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | -1.92 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |
|  | 65+ | 3.21 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | -0.68 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | -2.53 | \*\*\* | 0.27 |
| No/other PID (t-1) | 15-24 | -0.53 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 1.06 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.53 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |
|  | 25-34 | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 1.33 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
|  | 35-44 | -0.59 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 1.30 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | 45-55 | -0.65 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | 1.26 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | 55-64 | -0.34 |  | 0.18 |  | 1.23 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.88 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 65+ | -0.70 | \*\* | 0.24 |  | 1.30 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.60 | \*\* | 0.21 |

*Significance*: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. Data: BHPS 1991-2007. Effect coding.

*Note*: The model includes the effects of socio-demographic covariates on the initial partisanship and core values when respondents entered the panel.

**Appendix 7: Full results: Cross-lagged model conditioned on education level**

**Table A7.a**: Dependent variable: Political values

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Rightist** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Leftist** | | |
|  | Conditioned | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  | Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept |  | -1.05 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | 1.70 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.65 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | | Wald-test (df): 25.3 (24) | | | | | | | | | | |
| No/other PID (t-1) | No qualif | -0.11 |  | 0.17 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.12 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -0.33 |  | 0.27 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.26 |  | 0.19 |
|  | O-levels | -0.26 |  | 0.23 |  | -0.15 |  | 0.14 |  | 0.41 | \* | 0.18 |
|  | A-levels | -0.24 |  | 0.20 |  | -0.06 |  | 0.14 |  | 0.30 |  | 0.22 |
|  | Oth degree | -0.02 |  | 0.17 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.14 |
|  | Uni degree | -0.16 |  | 0.27 |  | -0.30 |  | 0.27 |  | 0.47 |  | 0.47 |
| Labour (t-1) | No qualif | -0.19 |  | 0.26 |  | -0.06 |  | 0.14 |  | 0.24 |  | 0.15 |
|  | Less than O-levels | 0.05 |  | 0.39 |  | -0.14 |  | 0.21 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.23 |
|  | O-levels | 0.17 |  | 0.35 |  | -0.12 |  | 0.19 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.22 |
|  | A-levels | 0.18 |  | 0.30 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.13 |  | 0.27 |
|  | Other degree | 0.28 |  | 0.25 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.14 |  | -0.24 |  | 0.17 |
|  | Uni degree | -0.18 |  | 0.31 |  | -0.23 |  | 0.26 |  | 0.41 |  | 0.50 |
| Conservative (t-1) | No qualif | 0.30 |  | 0.18 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.11 |  | -0.39 | \*\* | 0.15 |
|  | Less than O-levels | 0.28 |  | 0.28 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.17 |  | -0.34 |  | 0.24 |
|  | O-levels | 0.09 |  | 0.26 |  | 0.28 |  | 0.17 |  | -0.37 |  | 0.25 |
|  | A-levels | 0.06 |  | 0.26 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.20 |  | -0.17 |  | 0.34 |
|  | Other degree | -0.26 |  | 0.21 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.20 |  | 0.19 |
|  | Uni degree | 0.34 |  | 0.51 |  | 0.53 |  | 0.51 |  | -0.87 |  | 0.93 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. |  | Wald-test (df): 2856.2 (24)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leftist (t-1) | No qualif | -2.83 | \*\*\* | 0.36 |  | -0.55 | \*\* | 0.19 |  | 3.38 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -2.61 | \*\*\* | 0.46 |  | -0.62 | \* | 0.25 |  | 3.23 | \*\*\* | 0.29 |
|  | O-levels | -2.97 | \*\*\* | 0.45 |  | -0.57 | \* | 0.24 |  | 3.54 | \*\*\* | 0.30 |
|  | A-levels | -3.85 | \*\*\* | 0.39 |  | -0.14 |  | 0.23 |  | 3.99 | \*\*\* | 0.32 |
|  | Other degree | -3.91 | \*\*\* | 0.37 |  | -0.26 |  | 0.20 |  | 4.17 | \*\*\* | 0.26 |
|  | Uni degree | -5.15 | \*\*\* | 0.42 |  | 0.84 | \*\* | 0.32 |  | 4.30 | \*\*\* | 0.48 |
| Centrist (t-1) | No qualif | -1.26 | \*\*\* | 0.30 |  | 1.11 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.22 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -1.28 | \*\* | 0.42 |  | 1.28 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.30 |
|  | O-levels | -1.26 | \*\* | 0.40 |  | 1.63 | \*\*\* | 0.23 |  | -0.38 |  | 0.31 |
|  | A-levels | -0.24 |  | 0.29 |  | 1.32 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | -1.09 | \*\*\* | 0.33 |
|  | Other degree | -0.80 | \*\* | 0.28 |  | 1.39 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | -0.59 | \* | 0.24 |
|  | Uni degree | 0.44 |  | 0.32 |  | 1.26 | \*\*\* | 0.29 |  | -1.71 | \*\*\* | 0.51 |
| Rightist (t-1) | No qualif | 4.10 | \*\*\* | 0.27 |  | -0.56 | \*\* | 0.19 |  | -3.53 | \*\*\* | 0.34 |
|  | Less than O-levels | 3.89 | \*\*\* | 0.35 |  | -0.67 | \*\* | 0.23 |  | -3.22 | \*\*\* | 0.40 |
|  | O-levels | 4.23 | \*\*\* | 0.34 |  | -1.06 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | -3.16 | \*\*\* | 0.42 |
|  | A-levels | 4.09 | \*\*\* | 0.32 |  | -1.19 | \*\*\* | 0.24 |  | -2.90 | \*\*\* | 0.43 |
|  | Other degree | 4.71 | \*\*\* | 0.28 |  | -1.13 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | -3.59 | \*\*\* | 0.34 |
|  | Degree | 4.71 | \*\*\* | 0.49 |  | -2.11 | \*\*\* | 0.51 |  | -2.60 | \*\* | 0.88 |

**Table A7.b**: Dependent variable: Partisanship

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Conservative** | | |  | **No/Otherer PID** | | |  | **Labour** | | |
|  |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept |  | -0.55 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |  | 0.73 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | -0.18 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | | Wald-test (df): 386.6 (24)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leftist (t-1) | No qualif | -0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -0.83 | \*\*\* | 0.19 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.81 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |
|  | O-levels | -0.92 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | 0.24 | \* | 0.10 |  | 0.68 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | A-levels | -0.99 | \*\*\* | 0.23 |  | 0.23 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.76 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |
|  | Other degree | -0.55 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.43 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
|  | Uni degree | -0.66 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.67 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |
| Centrist (t-1) | No qualif | -0.19 | \* | 0.09 |  | -0.07 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.27 | \*\* | 0.10 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -0.11 |  | 0.12 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.11 |
|  | O-levels | -0.03 |  | 0.09 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.08 |
|  | A-levels | 0.02 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.15 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.11 |
|  | Other degree | -0.13 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.04 |  | 0.07 |
|  | Uni degree | -0.25 | \* | 0.13 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.23 | \* | 0.11 |
| Rightist (t-1) | No qualif | 0.82 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.10 |  | -0.85 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | Less than O-levels | 0.94 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.14 |  | -0.93 | \*\*\* | 0.19 |
|  | O-levels | 0.95 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.23 | \*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | A-levels | 0.97 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.89 | \*\*\* | 0.19 |
|  | Other degree | 0.68 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.20 | \*\* | 0.06 |  | -0.48 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
|  | Uni degree | 0.92 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.10 |  | -0.90 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. |  | Wald-test (df): 5428.9 (24)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| No/other PID (t-1) | No qualif | -0.82 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 1.33 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.51 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -0.68 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | 1.35 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.67 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |
|  | O-levels | -0.82 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 1.29 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.47 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | A-levels | -0.56 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | 1.27 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | Other degree | -0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 1.28 | \*\*\* | 0.07 |  | -0.70 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
|  | Uni degree | -0.79 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 1.37 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
| Labour (t-1) | No qualif | -1.94 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |  | -0.70 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 2.64 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | Less than O-levels | -1.61 | \*\*\* | 0.20 |  | -0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 2.22 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |
|  | O-levels | -1.52 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.83 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 2.35 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | A-levels | -1.69 | \*\*\* | 0.22 |  | -0.83 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | 2.52 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |
|  | Other degree | -1.85 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.66 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | 2.51 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | Uni degree | -1.66 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | -0.95 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 2.61 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
| Conservative (t-1) | No qualif | 2.76 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.63 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -2.13 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | Less than O-levels | 2.29 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | -0.73 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | -1.56 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |
|  | O-levels | 2.34 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.46 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -1.88 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | A-levels | 2.25 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | -0.44 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | -1.81 | \*\*\* | 0.17 |
|  | Other degree | 2.44 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.62 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -1.82 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | Degree | 2.45 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | -0.43 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -2.03 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |

*Significance*: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. *Data*: BHPS 1991-2007. Effect coding.

*Note*: The model includes the effects of age, social class, gender, education, and housing on the initial partisanship and core values when respondents entered the panel.

**Appendix 8: Full results: Cross-lagged model conditioned on income quintiles**

**Table A8.a**: Dependent variable: Political values

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Rightist** | | |  | **Centrist** | | |  | **Leftist** | | |
|  | Conditioned | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  | Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept |  | -0.94 | \*\* | 0.30 |  | 1.96 | \*\*\* | 0.25 |  | -1.01 | \* | 0.46 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | | Wald-test (df): 25.1 (20) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Labour (t-1) | Bottom-20 | 0.37 |  | 0.33 |  | -0.19 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.17 |  | 0.23 |
|  | 20-40 | -0.09 |  | 0.25 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.15 |
|  | 40-60 | 0.36 |  | 0.48 |  | -0.32 |  | 0.25 |  | -0.04 |  | 0.26 |
|  | 60-80 | 0.08 |  | 0.27 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.15 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.18 |
|  | Top-20 | 0.03 |  | 0.20 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.21 |
| No/other PID(t-1) | Bottom-20 | -0.36 |  | 0.20 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.12 |  | 0.29 |  | 0.18 |
|  | 20-40 | -0.31 |  | 0.18 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.22 |  | 0.13 |
|  | 40-60 | -0.14 |  | 0.30 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.16 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.18 |
|  | 60-80 | -0.16 |  | 0.18 |  | 0.01 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.15 |
|  | Top-20 | 0.35 |  | 0.20 |  | -0.29 | \* | 0.14 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.23 |
| Conservative (t-1) | Bottom-20 | -0.01 |  | 0.27 |  | 0.13 |  | 0.18 |  | -0.12 |  | 0.28 |
|  | 20-40 | 0.40 | \* | 0.18 |  | -0.05 |  | 0.11 |  | -0.35 | \* | 0.16 |
|  | 40-60 | -0.22 |  | 0.34 |  | 0.34 |  | 0.19 |  | -0.12 |  | 0.24 |
|  | 60-80 | 0.08 |  | 0.21 |  | -0.01 |  | 0.13 |  | -0.07 |  | 0.21 |
|  | Top-20 | -0.38 |  | 0.29 |  | 0.30 |  | 0.21 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.37 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Stability coef. |  | Wald-test (df): 2657.5 (20)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rightist (t-1) | Bottom-20 | 4.54 | \*\*\* | 0.56 |  | -0.53 |  | 0.50 |  | -4.01 | \*\*\* | 0.96 |
|  | 20-40 | 4.55 | \*\*\* | 0.53 |  | -0.27 |  | 0.48 |  | -4.28 | \*\*\* | 0.94 |
|  | 40-60 | 5.22 | \*\*\* | 0.62 |  | -0.62 |  | 0.51 |  | -4.60 | \*\*\* | 0.96 |
|  | 60-80 | 4.69 | \*\*\* | 0.54 |  | -0.52 |  | 0.48 |  | -4.17 | \*\*\* | 0.94 |
|  | Top-20 | 5.19 | \*\*\* | 0.69 |  | -1.51 | \* | 0.65 |  | -3.67 | \*\*\* | 1.26 |
| Centrist (t-1) | Bottom-20 | -0.80 |  | 0.43 |  | 1.12 | \*\*\* | 0.31 |  | -0.32 |  | 0.53 |
|  | 20-40 | -1.21 | \*\* | 0.38 |  | 0.85 | \*\* | 0.29 |  | 0.36 |  | 0.49 |
|  | 40-60 | -2.09 | \*\*\* | 0.49 |  | 1.39 | \*\*\* | 0.32 |  | 0.70 |  | 0.52 |
|  | 60-80 | -0.75 |  | 0.40 |  | 0.99 | \*\*\* | 0.29 |  | -0.25 |  | 0.51 |
|  | Top-20 | 0.26 |  | 0.48 |  | 1.21 | \*\* | 0.44 |  | -1.47 |  | 0.83 |
| Leftist (t-1) | Bottom-20 | -3.74 | \*\*\* | 0.53 |  | -0.59 |  | 0.34 |  | 4.33 | \*\*\* | 0.54 |
|  | 20-40 | -3.34 | \*\*\* | 0.51 |  | -0.58 |  | 0.32 |  | 3.92 | \*\*\* | 0.52 |
|  | 40-60 | -3.13 | \*\*\* | 0.54 |  | -0.78 | \* | 0.34 |  | 3.90 | \*\*\* | 0.53 |
|  | 60-80 | -3.95 | \*\*\* | 0.53 |  | -0.47 |  | 0.33 |  | 4.42 | \*\*\* | 0.53 |
|  | Top-20 | -5.44 | \*\*\* | 0.50 |  | 0.30 |  | 0.33 |  | 5.14 | \*\*\* | 0.55 |

**Table A8.b:** Dependent variable: Partisanship

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **Conservative** | | |  | **No/other PID** | | |  | **Labour** | | |
|  |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |  | *coef.* |  | *s.e.* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Intercept |  | -0.57 | \*\*\* | 0.05 |  | 0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.04 |  | -0.15 | \*\* | 0.04 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cross-lagged effects: | | Wald-test (df): 384.8 (20)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rightist (t-1) | Bottom-20 | 0.98 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | -0.37 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.61 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 20-40 | 0.77 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.11 |  | -0.69 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |
|  | 40-60 | 0.99 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 0.00 |  | 0.10 |  | -0.99 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |
|  | 60-80 | 0.80 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.02 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.78 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | Top-20 | 0.75 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.16 | \* | 0.07 |  | -0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
| Centrist (t-1) | Bottom-20 | 0.01 |  | 0.10 |  | -0.03 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.09 |
|  | 20-40 | -0.16 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.05 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.10 |
|  | 40-60 | -0.29 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.20 | \* | 0.09 |
|  | 60-80 | -0.07 |  | 0.08 |  | -0.08 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.15 | \* | 0.08 |
|  | Top-20 | -0.09 |  | 0.09 |  | 0.02 |  | 0.06 |  | 0.07 |  | 0.08 |
| Leftist (t-1) | Bottom-20 | -0.99 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | 0.40 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 0.59 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | 20-40 | -0.61 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | 0.03 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.58 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | 40-60 | -0.70 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.09 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.79 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | 60-80 | -0.73 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 0.11 |  | 0.08 |  | 0.63 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | Top-20 | -0.66 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | 0.15 |  | 0.10 |  | 0.51 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  |  |  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stability coef. |  | Wald-test (df): 5486.4 (20)\*\*\* | | | | | | | | | | |
| Labour (t-1) | Bottom-20 | -1.59 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | -0.71 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 2.30 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | 20-40 | -1.77 | \*\*\* | 0.16 |  | -0.68 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 2.44 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 40-60 | -2.07 | \*\*\* | 0.18 |  | -0.49 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 2.56 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |
|  | 60-80 | -1.64 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.77 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 2.41 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
| No/other PID(t-1) | Top-20 | -1.78 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |  | -0.91 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | 2.69 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | Bottom-20 | -0.80 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |  | 1.27 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.46 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 20-40 | -0.84 | \*\*\* | 0.14 |  | 1.40 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.56 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 40-60 | -0.54 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | 1.28 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.75 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | 60-80 | -0.66 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 1.33 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.67 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |
| Conservative (t-1) | Top-20 | -0.65 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | 1.33 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -0.69 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |
|  | Bottom-20 | 2.39 | \*\*\* | 0.12 |  | -0.56 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -1.83 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |
|  | 20-40 | 2.61 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.73 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -1.88 | \*\*\* | 0.15 |
|  | 40-60 | 2.61 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |  | -0.80 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -1.81 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |
|  | 60-80 | 2.30 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -0.55 | \*\*\* | 0.08 |  | -1.74 | \*\*\* | 0.11 |
|  | Top-20 | 2.42 | \*\*\* | 0.10 |  | -0.42 | \*\*\* | 0.09 |  | -2.00 | \*\*\* | 0.13 |

*Significance*: \* p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001. *Data*: BHPS 1991-2007. Effect coding.

*Note*: The model includes the effects of age, social class, gender, education, and housing on the initial partisanship and core values when respondents entered the panel**.**