**Supplementary Material (SM) to manuscript ‘Intergenerational social mobility, political socialization, and support for the left under post-industrial realignment’**

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Table S1. RE models of left party support on parental and respondent’s class, 2008-2018/9

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | UK | DE | CH |
| **Respondent's class** |  |  |  |
| Service workers | 0.00568 | 0.0408\*\*\* | -0.0129 |
| *ref. = OMC* | (0.0110) | (0.00782) | (0.0103) |
| Production workers | 0.0184 | 0.0360\*\*\* | -0.0335\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0124) | (0.00752) | (0.0105) |
| SCP | 0.0713\*\*\* | 0.0211\*\*\* | 0.0762\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0118) | (0.00647) | (0.00912) |
| Others | -0.0207\*\* | 0.00616 | -0.0100 |
|  | (0.00934) | (0.00561) | (0.00854) |
| **Parental class** |  |  |  |
| Service workers | 0.0592\*\*\* | 0.0605\*\*\* | 0.00926 |
| *ref. = OMC* | (0.0194) | (0.0156) | (0.0186) |
| Production workers | 0.0724\*\*\* | 0.0711\*\*\* | -0.0177 |
|  | (0.0139) | (0.00964) | (0.0115) |
| SCP | 0.0760\*\*\* | 0.00413 | 0.0684\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0258) | (0.0155) | (0.0174) |
| Others | 0.00801 | -0.0185 | -0.0206\* |
|  | (0.0162) | (0.0128) | (0.0118) |
| **Age** | 0.00108\*\*\* | 0.000241 | 0.00108\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000400) | (0.000300) | (0.000321) |
| **Female** | -0.00400 | 0.0147\* | 0.0128 |
|  | (0.0110) | (0.00841) | (0.00969) |
| **Part-time work** | 0.0167\*\* | -0.0115\*\* | 0.0159\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = full-time* | (0.00664) | (0.00507) | (0.00608) |
| **Civil status - married** | -0.0213\* | -0.00516 | -0.0384\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = other* | (0.0114) | (0.00669) | (0.00776) |
| **Civil status - divorced** | -0.0249 | 0.0146 | -0.0511\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0152) | (0.00959) | (0.0115) |
| **West Germany in 1989** |  | -0.0457\*\*\* |  |
| *Ref. = East Germany in 1989* |  | (0.00976) |  |
| **Abroad in 1989** |  | -0.0601\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.0190) |  |
| **Constant** | 0.241\*\*\* | 0.323\*\*\* | 0.163\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0252) | (0.0172) | (0.0165) |
| **Observations (N person-years)** | 28,348 | 43,441 | 30,463 |
| **Observations (N individuals)** | 6,301 | 13,167 | 6,157 |
| **Variance level 2 (individuals) sigma u** | 0.369 | 0.426 | 0.316 |
| **Variance level 1 (person-years) sigma e** | 0.285 | 0.199 | 0.227 |
| **ICC (rho)** | 0.626 | 0.821 | 0.660 |
| **R-squared (between)** | 0.0203 | 0.0159 | 0.0474 |
| **R-squared (overall)** | 0.0144 | 0.0150 | 0.0388 |

Source: Authors’ calculation using BHPS/UKHLS 2008-2019, G-SOEP 2008-2018, SHP 2008-2019.

Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table S2. RE models of left party support on parental and respondent’s class, interaction with generation, 2008-2018/9

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | UK | DE | CH |
| **Respondent’s class** |   |   |   |
| Service workers | 0.00281 | 0.0425\*\*\* | -0.0123 |
| *ref. = OMC* | (0.0112) | (0.00790) | (0.0104) |
| Production workers | 0.0175 | 0.0362\*\*\* | -0.0341\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0127) | (0.00756) | (0.0106) |
| SCP | 0.0699\*\*\* | 0.0225\*\*\* | 0.0756\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0119) | (0.00654) | (0.00921) |
| Others | -0.0190\*\* | 0.00480 | -0.00962 |
|  | (0.00960) | (0.00572) | (0.00866) |
| **Parental class** |  |  |  |
| Service workers | 0.0692\*\* | 0.104\*\*\* | 0.0378 |
| *ref. = OMC* | (0.0313) | (0.0263) | (0.0308) |
| Production workers | 0.0938\*\*\* | 0.0856\*\*\* | -0.0162 |
|  | (0.0206) | (0.0156) | (0.0175) |
| SCP | 0.0215 | -0.00960 | 0.0282 |
|  | (0.0411) | (0.0281) | (0.0308) |
| Others | 0.00785 | -0.0252 | -0.0162 |
|  | (0.0245) | (0.0203) | (0.0179) |
| **Generation** |  |  |  |
| Gen X  | 0.0498\* | -0.0713\*\*\* | -0.0482\*\* |
| *ref. = Baby boomers* | (0.0257) | (0.0170) | (0.0192) |
| Millennials  | 0.0292 | -0.0698\*\*\* | -0.0686\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0463) | (0.0246) | (0.0246) |
| **Parental class \* generation** |  |  |  |
| Service workers \* Gen X | -0.0428 | -0.0824\*\* | -0.0242 |
|  | (0.0423) | (0.0343) | (0.0434) |
| Service workers \* Millennials | 0.0747 | -0.0191 | -0.0715 |
|  | (0.0693) | (0.0479) | (0.0485) |
| Production workers \* Gen X | -0.0617\*\* | -0.0240 | -0.0205 |
|  | (0.0293) | (0.0208) | (0.0260) |
| Production workers \* Millennials | -0.0245 | -0.0613\*\* | 0.00508 |
|  | (0.0548) | (0.0306) | (0.0324) |
| SCP \* Gen X | 0.0724 | 0.0208 | 0.0438 |
|  | (0.0555) | (0.0358) | (0.0425) |
| SCP \* Millennials | 0.143 | 0.0402 | 0.0817\* |
|  | (0.0928) | (0.0453) | (0.0443) |
| Others \* Gen X | -0.00637 | 0.0151 | -0.0214 |
|  | (0.0345) | (0.0280) | (0.0266) |
| Others \* Millennials | 0.0349 | 0.00514 | -0.00857 |
|  | (0.0646) | (0.0404) | (0.0337) |
| **Age** | 0.00266\*\*\* | -0.00127\*\*\* | -0.000248 |
|  | (0.000616) | (0.000399) | (0.000457) |
| **Female** | -0.00223 | 0.0122 | 0.0105 |
|  | (0.0113) | (0.00848) | (0.00988) |
| **Part-time work** | 0.0162\*\* | -0.00872\* | 0.0168\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = full-time* | (0.00683) | (0.00515) | (0.00620) |
| **Civil status - married** | -0.0238\*\* | -0.00691 | -0.0390\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = other* | (0.0118) | (0.00684) | (0.00798) |
| **Civil status - divorced** | -0.0260\* | 0.0112 | -0.0528\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0156) | (0.00975) | (0.0117) |
| **West Germany in 1989** |  | -0.0443\*\*\* |  |
| *Ref. = East Germany in 1989* |  | (0.00983) |  |
| **Abroad in 1989** |  | -0.0474\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.0191) |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| **Constant** | 0.154\*\*\* | 0.437\*\*\* | 0.260\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0400) | (0.0265) | (0.0287) |
| **Observations (N person-years)** | 27,322 | 42,894 | 29,845 |
| **Observations (N individuals)** | 5,967 | 12,957 | 5,952 |
| **Variance level 2 (individuals) sigma u** | 0.370 | 0.425 | 0.317 |
| **Variance level 1 (person-years) sigma e** | 0.286 | 0.200 | 0.228 |
| **ICC (rho)** | 0.625 | 0.820 | 0.660 |
| **R-squared (between)** | 0.0236 | 0.0196 | 0.0482 |
| **R-squared (overall)** | 0.0163 | 0.0192 | 0.0410 |

Source: Authors’ calculation using BHPS/UKHLS 2008-2019, G-SOEP 2008-2018, SHP 2008-2019.

Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table S. RE models of left party support on intergenerational class transitions, 2008-2018/9

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | UK | DE | CH |
| **Intergenerational Class Transitions** |   |   |   |
| Immobile prod workers | 0.0839\*\*\* | 0.104\*\*\* | -0.0335\* |
| *Ref. = Immobile OMC* | (0.0203) | (0.0128) | (0.0192) |
| Immobile serv workers | 0.0769\*\* | 0.103\*\*\* | 0.0226 |
|  | (0.0300) | (0.0243) | (0.0354) |
| Prod wkers - Serv wkers | 0.0688\*\*\* | 0.120\*\*\* | -0.0184 |
|  | (0.0192) | (0.0138) | (0.0191) |
| Serv wkers - Prod wkers | 0.0709\*\* | 0.0859\*\*\* | -0.0504 |
|  | (0.0355) | (0.0243) | (0.0359) |
| Immobile SCP | 0.168\*\*\* | 0.00580 | 0.120\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0391) | (0.0196) | (0.0238) |
| Prod wkers - SCP | 0.158\*\*\* | 0.0926\*\*\* | 0.0468\*\* |
|  | (0.0234) | (0.0142) | (0.0198) |
| Serv wkers - SCP | 0.0954\*\*\* | 0.0946\*\*\* | 0.118\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0353) | (0.0260) | (0.0329) |
| SCP - Workers | 0.0820\* | 0.0757\*\*\* | 0.0483 |
|  | (0.0421) | (0.0293) | (0.0316) |
| Prod wkers - OMC | 0.0751\*\*\* | 0.0698\*\*\* | -0.0186 |
|  | (0.0188) | (0.0114) | (0.0153) |
| Serv wkers - OMC | 0.0583\*\* | 0.0615\*\*\* | 0.00382 |
|  | (0.0284) | (0.0192) | (0.0247) |
| SCP - OMC | 0.0751\*\* | 0.0122 | 0.0599\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0346) | (0.0184) | (0.0223) |
| OMC - Workers | 0.00846 | 0.0445\*\*\* | -0.0235 |
|  | (0.0204) | (0.0125) | (0.0157) |
| OMC - SCP | 0.0488\*\* | 0.0306\*\*\* | 0.0970\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0217) | (0.0104) | (0.0149) |
| **Age** | 0.00111\*\*\* | 0.000237 | 0.00107\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000401) | (0.000300) | (0.000321) |
| **Female** | -0.00532 | 0.0139\* | 0.0126 |
|  | (0.0110) | (0.00840) | (0.00968) |
| **Part-time work** | 0.0167\*\* | -0.0117\*\* | 0.0157\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = full-time* | (0.00664) | (0.00508) | (0.00608) |
| **Civil status - married** | -0.0212\* | -0.00512 | -0.0385\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = other* | (0.0114) | (0.00669) | (0.00776) |
| **Civil status - divorced** | -0.0257\* | 0.0145 | -0.0507\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0152) | (0.00960) | (0.0115) |
| **West Germany in 1989** |  | -0.0451\*\*\* |  |
| *Ref. = East Germany in 1989* |  | (0.00976) |  |
| **Abroad in 1989** |  | -0.0597\*\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.0190) |  |
| **Constant** | 0.241\*\*\* | 0.322\*\*\* | 0.161\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0262) | (0.0175) | (0.0172) |
| **Observations (N person-years)** | 28,348 | 43,441 | 30,463 |
| **Observations (N individuals)** | 6,301 | 13,167 | 6,157 |
| **Variance level 2 (individuals) sigma u** | 0.369 | 0.426 | 0.316 |
| **Variance level 1 (person-years) sigma e** | 0.285 | 0.199 | 0.227 |
| **ICC (rho)** | 0.626 | 0.821 | 0.659 |
| **R-squared (between)** | 0.0202 | 0.0165 | 0.0516 |
| **R-squared (overall)** | 0.0135 | 0.0155 | 0.0429 |

Source: Authors’ calculation using BHPS/UKHLS 2008-2019, G-SOEP 2008-2018, SHP 2008-2019.

Coefficients of transitions into and out of the aggregated class category “other” are not displayed in this table.

Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table S. RE models of left party support on intergenerational class transitions, interacted with generation, 2008-2018/9

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | UK | DE | CH |
| **Intergenerational Class Transitions** |   |   |   |
| Immobile prod workers | 0.120\*\*\* | 0.144\*\*\* | -0.0497 |
| *Ref. = Immobile OMC* | (0.0300) | (0.0203) | (0.0306) |
| Immobile serv workers | 0.125\*\* | 0.136\*\*\* | 0.0844 |
|  | (0.0512) | (0.0412) | (0.0865) |
| Prod wkers - Serv wkers | 0.0817\*\*\* | 0.104\*\*\* | -0.0663\*\* |
|  | (0.0287) | (0.0211) | (0.0293) |
| Serv wkers - Prod wkers | 0.0578 | 0.140\*\*\* | 0.0411 |
|  | (0.0607) | (0.0433) | (0.0723) |
| Immobile SCP | 0.150\*\* | 0.00158 | 0.0786\* |
|  | (0.0684) | (0.0352) | (0.0405) |
| Prod wkers - SCP | 0.161\*\*\* | 0.123\*\*\* | 0.0754\*\* |
|  | (0.0348) | (0.0221) | (0.0296) |
| Serv wkers - SCP | -0.0106 | 0.175\*\*\* | 0.208\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0619) | (0.0430) | (0.0541) |
| SCP - Workers | 0.0325 | 0.0585 | 0.0187 |
|  | (0.0767) | (0.0535) | (0.0548) |
| Prod wkers - OMC | 0.0873\*\*\* | 0.0938\*\*\* | -0.0183 |
|  | (0.0287) | (0.0183) | (0.0235) |
| Serv wkers - OMC | 0.0910\* | 0.115\*\*\* | 0.0172 |
|  | (0.0486) | (0.0320) | (0.0419) |
| SCP - OMC | 0.00494 | -0.00352 | 0.0308 |
|  | (0.0595) | (0.0326) | (0.0425) |
| OMC - Workers | -0.00173 | 0.0569\*\*\* | -0.0354 |
|  | (0.0320) | (0.0203) | (0.0268) |
| OMC - SCP | 0.0540 | 0.0380\*\* | 0.0959\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0342) | (0.0181) | (0.0251) |
| **Generation** |  |  |  |
| Gen X  | 0.0441 | -0.0642\*\*\* | -0.0555\*\* |
| *ref. = Baby boomers* | (0.0313) | (0.0191) | (0.0237) |
| Millennials  | 0.0121 | -0.0557\*\* | -0.0718\*\* |
|  | (0.0582) | (0.0274) | (0.0298) |
| **Intergenerational Class Transitions \* generation** |  |  |  |
| Immobile prod workers \* Gen X | -0.101\*\* | -0.0626\*\* | 0.0292 |
|  | (0.0434) | (0.0274) | (0.0444) |
| Immobile prod workers \* Millennials | -0.0379 | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.00237 |
|  | (0.0816) | (0.0428) | (0.0516) |
| Immobile serv workers \* Gen X | -0.0982 | -0.0676 | -0.0140 |
|  | (0.0675) | (0.0531) | (0.101) |
| Immobile serv workers \* Millennials | -0.00669 | 0.0446 | -0.178\* |
|  | (0.100) | (0.0813) | (0.108) |
| Prod wkers - Serv wkers \* Gen X | -0.0422 | 0.0522\* | 0.0849\*\* |
|  | (0.0409) | (0.0297) | (0.0430) |
| Prod wkers - Serv wkers \* Millennials | -0.0340 | -0.0378 | 0.0557 |
|  | (0.0751) | (0.0484) | (0.0530) |
| Serv wkers - Prod wkers \* Gen X | -0.00178 | -0.0913\* | -0.123 |
|  | (0.0772) | (0.0543) | (0.0925) |
| Serv wkers - Prod wkers \* Millennials | 0.255 | -0.0538 | -0.133 |
|  | (0.199) | (0.0811) | (0.0961) |
| Immobile SCP \* Gen X | 0.0508 | 0.00224 | 0.00562 |
|  | (0.0878) | (0.0455) | (0.0568) |
| Immobile SCP \* Millennials | 0.00618 | 0.0365 | 0.126\*\* |
|  | (0.131) | (0.0560) | (0.0603) |
| Prod wkers - SCP \* Gen X | -0.0348 | -0.0484 | -0.0954\*\* |
|  | (0.0490) | (0.0306) | (0.0440) |
| Prod wkers - SCP \* Millennials | 0.0616 | -0.0996\*\* | 0.00431 |
|  | (0.0977) | (0.0472) | (0.0564) |
| Serv wkers - SCP \* Gen X | 0.123 | -0.108\* | -0.116 |
|  | (0.0781) | (0.0570) | (0.0767) |
| Serv wkers - SCP \* Millennials | 0.270\*\* | -0.196\*\* | -0.189\*\* |
|  | (0.136) | (0.0813) | (0.0850) |
| SCP - Workers \* Gen X | 0.0655 | 0.0347 | 0.0710 |
|  | (0.0980) | (0.0688) | (0.0825) |
| SCP - Workers \* Millennials | 0.159 | 0.0242 | 0.0404 |
|  | (0.131) | (0.0819) | (0.0760) |
| Prod wkers - OMC \* Gen X | -0.0494 | -0.0405 | -0.0172 |
|  | (0.0399) | (0.0247) | (0.0342) |
| Prod wkers - OMC \* Millennials | 0.0575 | -0.0697\* | -0.00203 |
|  | (0.0774) | (0.0390) | (0.0456) |
| Serv wkers - OMC \* Gen X | -0.0768 | -0.104\*\* | -0.00222 |
|  | (0.0626) | (0.0422) | (0.0570) |
| Serv wkers - OMC \* Millennials | 0.0251 | -0.00530 | -0.0406 |
|  | (0.104) | (0.0601) | (0.0674) |
| SCP - OMC \* Gen X | 0.0760 | 0.0305 | 0.0583 |
|  | (0.0761) | (0.0423) | (0.0554) |
| SCP - OMC \* Millennials | 0.281\*\* | 0.0298 | 0.0174 |
|  | (0.134) | (0.0529) | (0.0592) |
| OMC - Workers \* Gen X | 0.0111 | 0.00632 | 0.0124 |
|  | (0.0437) | (0.0274) | (0.0381) |
| OMC - Workers \* Millennials | 0.0614 | -0.0951\*\* | 0.0149 |
|  | (0.0739) | (0.0400) | (0.0396) |
| OMC - SCP \* Gen X | 0.00634 | -0.0138 | 0.0110 |
|  | (0.0459) | (0.0236) | (0.0339) |
| OMC - SCP \* Millennials | -0.140 | 0.00341 | -0.00859 |
|  | (0.0895) | (0.0308) | (0.0402) |
| **Age** | 0.00266\*\*\* | -0.00131\*\*\* | -0.000283 |
|  | (0.000617) | (0.000399) | (0.000458) |
| **Female** | -0.00431 | 0.0111 | 0.0105 |
|  | (0.0113) | (0.00848) | (0.00989) |
| **Part-time work** | 0.0155\*\* | -0.00843 | 0.0171\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = full-time* | (0.00684) | (0.00516) | (0.00621) |
| **Civil status - married** | -0.0242\*\* | -0.00683 | -0.0389\*\*\* |
| *Ref. = other* | (0.0118) | (0.00685) | (0.00800) |
| **Civil status - divorced** | -0.0275\* | 0.0113 | -0.0522\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0157) | (0.00976) | (0.0117) |
| **West Germany in 1989** |  | -0.0433\*\*\* |  |
| *Ref. = East Germany in 1989* |  | (0.00983) |  |
| **Abroad in 1989** |  | -0.0465\*\* |  |
|  |  | (0.0191) |  |
| Constant | 0.159\*\*\* | 0.431\*\*\* | 0.263\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0420) | (0.0272) | (0.0304) |
| **Observations (N person-years)** | 27,322 | 42,894 | 29,845 |
| **Observations (N individuals)** | 5,967 | 12,957 | 5,952 |
| **Variance level 2 (individuals) sigma u** | 0.369 | 0.425 | 0.316 |
| **Variance level 1 (person-years) sigma e** | 0.286 | 0.200 | 0.228 |
| **ICC (rho)** | 0.625 | 0.819 | 0.659 |
| **R-squared (between)** | 0.0264 | 0.0222 | 0.0543 |
| **R-squared (overall)** | 0.0187 | 0.0214 | 0.0462 |

Source: Authors’ calculation using BHPS/UKHLS 2008-2019, G-SOEP 2008-2018, SHP 2008-2019.

Coefficients of transitions into and out of the aggregated class category “other” are not displayed in this table.

Standard errors in parentheses. \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

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Figure S1. Impact of parental and respondent’s class (net of each other) on left and green party support in Germany



Note: average marginal effects (with 95% confidence intervals) on probability to support a left or green party, relative to the reference category old middle class. Controls: full-/parttime work, civil status, gender, age, East/West Germany in 1989. Data: G-SOEP 2008-2018 (N= 13,167)

Figure S2. Impact of respondent’s class (net of parental class) on left party support, across time periods



Note: average marginal effects (with 95% confidence intervals) on probability to support a left party, relative to the reference category old middle class. Controls: full-/parttime work, civil status, gender, age (DE: East/West Germany in 1989). Data: BHPS/UKHLS 1991-2019, G-SOEP 1990-2018, and SHP 1999-2019.

Figure S3. Impact of parental class (net of respondent’s class) on left and green party support in Germany, by generations



Note: average marginal effects (with 95% confidence intervals) on probability to support a left or green party, relative to the reference category old middle class. Controls: full-/parttime work, civil status, gender, age, East/West Germany in 1989. Data: G-SOEP 2008-2018 (N= 12,957)

Figure S4. Impact of intergenerational class transitions on left and green party support in Germany



Note: average marginal effects (with 95% confidence intervals) on probability to support a left or green party, relative to the reference category immobile old middle class. Controls: full-/parttime work, civil status, gender, age, East/West Germany in 1989. Data: G-SOEP 2008-2018 (N= 13,167)