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

List of Tables

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

List of Figures

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

Chart, box and whisker chart

Description automatically generated

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)

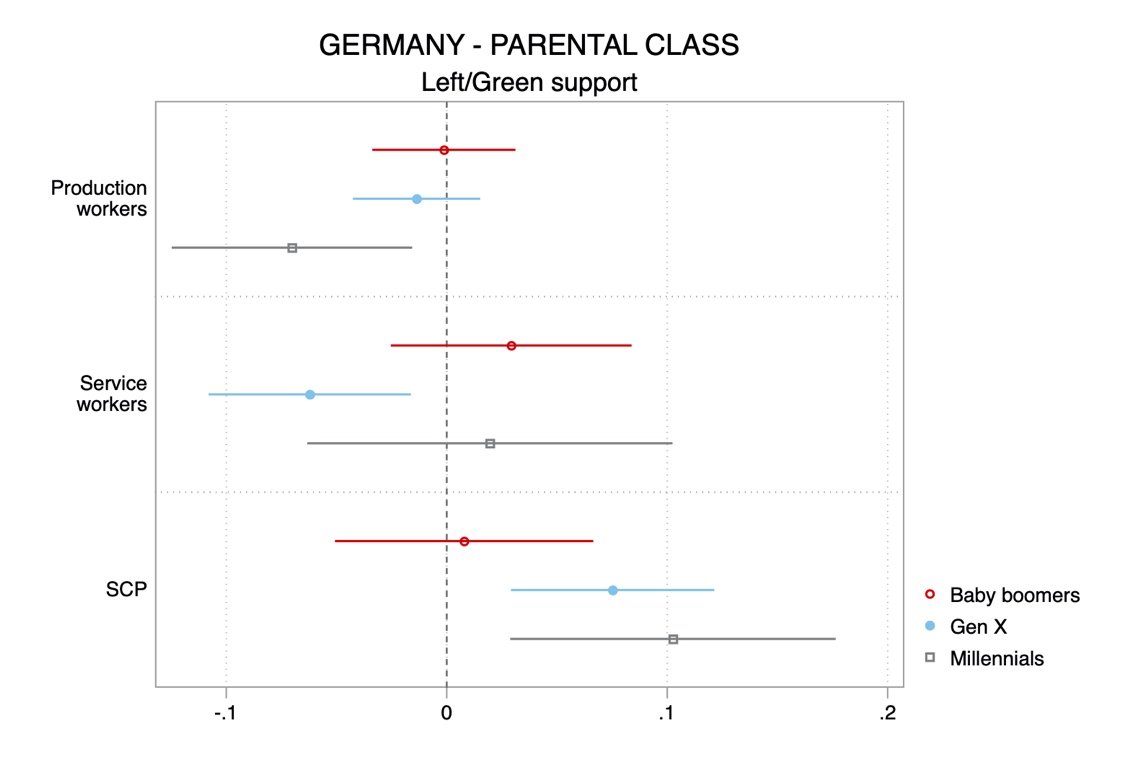
Figure S2. Impact of respondent’s class (net of parental class) on left party support, across time periods

Chart

Description automatically generated

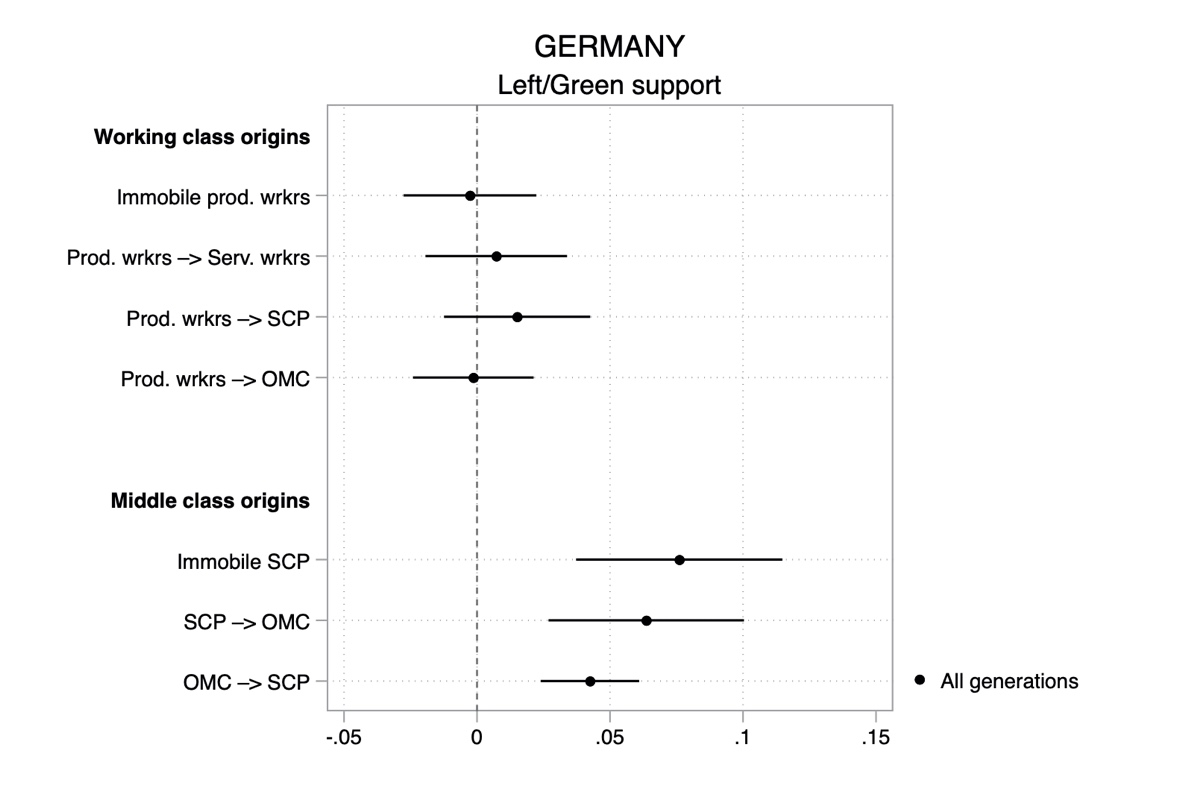
Note: average marginal effects (with 95% confidence intervals) on probability to support a left party, relative to the reference category old middle class. Controls: full-/parttime work, civil status, gender, age (DE: East/West Germany in 1989). Data: BHPS/UKHLS 1991-2019, G-SOEP 1990-2018, and SHP 1999-2019.

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)