

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
Cons	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			
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>		
Intercept	-0.87 **	0.27	1.64 ***	0.21	-0.77 *	0.37		
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u> Wald-test (df): 11.3 (6)								
Tories(t-1)	-0.08	0.11	0.20 **	0.07	-0.12	0.10		
No/oth 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		
<u>Stability coef.</u> 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		
	Tories		No/oth PID		Labour		Lib dem	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	-0.45 ***	0.07	0.81 ***	0.04	0.21 ***	0.05	-0.57 ***	0.06
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u> 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

<u>Stability coef.</u>	Wald-test (df): 7761.6 (9***)				
Tories(t-1)	2.82 *** 0.08	-0.32 *** 0.06	-1.68 *** 0.09	-0.82 ***	0.10
No/oth 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 continuous-level variable that mimics the measurement of party identification using a separate question of respondents' strength of partisanship. The variable is measured from 1 "Strong Labour" to 7 "Strong Tory". 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 Independent	48,939	42.2
Independent Tory	18,861	16.3
Weak Tory	10,033	8.7
Strong Tory	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 as done in the main analysis. The later is typically referred to as 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 how we model core values, as observed or latent. We again find very strong stability coefficients with core values being significantly more stable.

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

	DV: Core Values (Likert scale)		DV: Ordinal Partisanship	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
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	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
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.

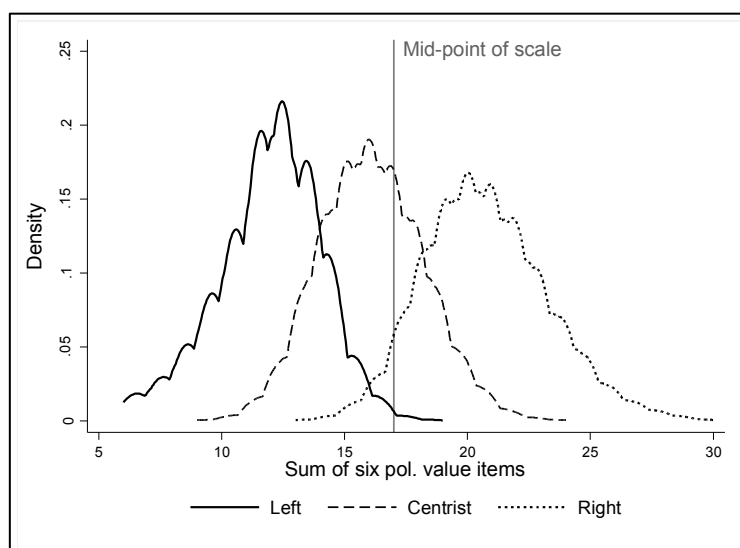


Figure A3.1: Distribution of latent classification of political values on an additive index of observed survey items

The classification statistics for the LCAs of 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

	<i>Values</i>	<i>Partisanship</i>
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

Table A3.3 shows the estimated transition probability for the three latent classes of values and partisanship. For example, 97% of all centrist respondents are stable from one wave to the next. Overall, it appears that both latent variables are very stable with more than 90% of respondents not changing their partisanship or core values. Merely, leftist and Labour supporters are slightly more volatile. On average 13% of the BHPS respondents changed their latent classification from leftist to centrist from one wave to the next. Similarly, 11% of the Labour supporters gave up their party identification or identify with one of the smaller parties.

It does however not unclear whether all leftist Labour supporters are moving to the centre and independence. This becomes somewhat apparent in the lower part of Table 2. About 62% of leftists in the previous wave are also Labour supporters, 35% however do not identify with one of the two major parties. It is interesting to note that only 41% of Labour supporters were classified as leftist in the next panel wave. In comparison, 71% of those classified as right in t-1 identify with the Conservatives in t. But only 41% of Conservatives at t-1 are classified as right in t.

To sum, from these estimated transition probabilities between two waves it appears that both partisanship and core values are relatively stable. The cross-classifications between these two however show some interesting (descriptive) patterns. Core values are more consistent with their respective partisanship than vice versa. Party supporters appear to divert more often from their “natural” ideology – rightist Conservative and leftist Labour partisans.

Table A3.3: Estimated Transition Matrix of LCM

[t]	Ideology [t-1]			Party ID [t-1]		
	Centrist	Leftist	Rightist	None/oth	Conservatives	Labour
Centrist	0.97	0.13	0.07	0.72	0.44	0.56
Leftist	0.02	0.87	0.00	0.16	0.03	0.41
Rightist	0.01	0.00	0.93	0.12	0.53	0.03

No/other PID	0.54	0.35	0.25	0.90	0.11	0.07
Tories	0.19	0.03	0.71	0.03	0.88	0.00
Labour	0.27	0.62	0.04	0.06	0.01	0.93

Finally, Table A3.4 presents latent probabilities for the six survey items on each of the latent classes.

Table A3.4: 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

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
<u>Education</u> : 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	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	-1.870 *	0.780	2.176 ***	0.490	-0.305	0.755
<u>Cross-lagged effects</u>						
No/oth 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
<u>Stability coefficients</u>						
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
	Tories		No/oth PID		Labour	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	-1.284 *	0.648	0.762 *	0.379	0.521	0.335
<u>Cross-lagged effects</u>						
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
<u>Stability coefficients</u>						
No/oth 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	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	-1.026 ***	0.234	1.250 ***	0.148	-0.224	0.181
<u>Cross-lagged effects</u>						
No/oth 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
<u>Stability coefficients</u>						
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
	Tories		No/oth PID		Labour	
	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	-0.113	0.072	0.886 ***	0.064	-0.773 ***	0.102
<u>Cross-lagged effects</u>						
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
<u>Stability coefficients</u>						
No/oth 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	
		<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	Age	-0.93 ***	0.25	1.67 ***	0.20	-0.74 *	0.36
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u>		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
Tories(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/oth 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
<u>Stability coef.</u>		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		Tories		No/oth PID		Labour	
Age		<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept		-0.66 ***	0.06	0.76 ***	0.04	-0.10 *	0.05
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u>		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
<u>Stability coef.</u>		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
Tories(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/oth 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
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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		<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Education							
Intercept		-1.05 ***	0.15	1.70 ***	0.10	-0.65 ***	0.16
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u>		Wald-test (df): 25.3 (24)					
No/oth 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
	Oth 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
Tories(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
	Oth 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
<u>Stability coef.</u>		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
	Oth 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
	Oth 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
	Oth 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

		Tories		No/oth PID		Labour	
		<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept		-0.55 ***	0.05	0.73 ***	0.04	-0.18 ***	0.04
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u>		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
	Oth 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
	Oth 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
	Oth 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
<u>Stability coef.</u>		Wald-test (df): 5428.9 (24)***					
No/oth 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
	Oth 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
	Oth 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
Tories(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
	Oth 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	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept	Income	-0.94 **	0.30	1.96 ***	0.25	-1.01 *	0.46
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u>		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/oth 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
Tories(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
<u>Stability coef.</u>		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

		Tories		No/oth PID		Labour	
		<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>	<i>coef.</i>	<i>s.e.</i>
Intercept		-0.57 ***	0.05	0.71 ***	0.04	-0.15 **	0.04
<u>Cross-lagged effects:</u>		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
<u>Stability coef.</u>		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
	Top-20	-1.78 ***	0.15	-0.91 ***	0.10	2.69 ***	0.11
No/oth PID(t-1)	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
	Top-20	-0.65 ***	0.11	1.33 ***	0.08	-0.69 ***	0.10
Tories(t-1)	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.