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The Single-Mindedness Theory: Empirical Evidence from the U.K.

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Abstract

In this paper I will exploit answers coming from the British Election Study in order to assess the validity of the Single Mindedness Theory. In particular, I will evaluate whether political preferences of voters for political candidates depend on their age and some other characteristics such as gender, education, religion, social and economic conditions. Performing LOGIT and PROBIT regression I will demonstrate that variable age is statistically significant, demonstrating that Single Mindedness Theory assumptions holds in the UK political environment.

Any man who is under 30, and is not a liberal, has not heart; and any man who is over 30, and is not a conservative, has no brains.

(Whiston Churchill, attributed)

1 Introduction

Uncertainty has always been one of the most difficult variables to model and to measure in economic and political sciences. In studying elections and voting we may see that uncertainty is bi-directional: on the one hand there exists a first type of uncertainty which voters have with respect to candidates' policies, meaning that they do not exactly know which policies politicians really prefer; on the other hand there is a second type of uncertainty which politicians have with respect to voters' preferred issues, meaning that they do not know electorate's preferences towards a certain policy. Nowadays we have very good theoretical tools to study uncertainty in elections (*see* Enelow and Hinich ??); for instance, we know that voters have preferences which may be summarised in the so-called Ideal Point (IPs) and that candidates choose policies which minimize the distance with respect to voters' IPS or in other words, which maximize the probability to win elections. Nevertheless, we still need empirical evidence which may back theoretical assumptions. The problem of uncertainty in the voting

theory is effectively studied in Alvarez ???. He identified two different levels to measure uncertainty: the first is represented by the *aggregate* measurement and the second is the *individual* measurement, which in turn may be divided into two classes: *inferencial* and *indirect*. The following scheme reports a complete taxonomy of measurement systems to detect political uncertainty.

1. Aggregate
2. Individual
 - (a) Inferential
 - (b) Direct
 - i. Direct Survey Question
 - ii. Direct Operationalization

In my paper I will be exclusively interested in analysing Direct Survey Questions (b.i), since they do not suffer from problems which frequently affect inferential measures and which are related to econometric analysis, in particular the reliance on the vagaries in different estimation methods. Direct Survey Questions usually ask respondent to locate either themselves or political candidates on scales related to one issue or more. Two very outstanding examples of these surveys are the US National Election Survey, which exploits a seven-point scale as system of answers and the British Election Study (BES from now on) which will be used in this paper.

2 Political Parties in the U.K.

Over the last two centuries the United Kingdom has had a predominantly two-party system. Before the mid-19th century British politics was dominated by the Whigs and the Tories, where the former were associated with the newly emerging moneyed industrial classes, and the latter were associated with the landed gentry and the Anglican Church. By the mid 19th century the Tories had evolved into the Conservative Party, and the Whigs had evolved into the Liberal Party. These two parties dominated the political scene until the 1920s, when the Liberal Party declined in popularity and suffered a long stream of resignations. It was replaced as the main left-wing party by the newly emerging Labour Party, who represented an alliance between the Trade Unions and various socialist societies. The Liberals merged with the Social Democratic Party, which was founded in 1981, because they had very similar views and became the Liberal Democrats which are now a sizeable third party whose electoral results have improved in recent years. The UK's First Past the Post electoral system leaves small parties disadvantaged on a national scale. It can, however, allow parties with concentrations of supporters in the constituent countries to flourish. Other

parties include two national parties, Plaid Cymru, the Party of Wales (founded in 1925), and the Scottish National Party (founded in 1934). Northern Ireland parties include the Ulster Unionists, formed in the early part of the 20th century, the Democratic Unionists, founded in 1971 by a group that broke away from the Ulster Unionists, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, founded in 1970, and Sinn Féin.

In recent years, proportional representation-based voting systems have been adopted for elections to the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales, the Northern Ireland Assembly, the London Assembly and the UK's seats in the European Parliament. In these bodies, minor parties have had some amount of success. Traditionally political parties have been private organisations with no official recognition by the state. The Registration of Political Parties Act 1998 changed that by creating a register of parties. The Electoral Commission's register of political parties lists the details of parties registered to fight elections with their name in the United Kingdom. Under current electoral law only registered party names can be used on ballot papers by those wishing to fight elections. As of 12 January 2007 it shows the number of registered political parties as below.

185 parties have their name registered for use only in England

1 party has its name registered for use in England and Scotland.

6 parties have their name registered for use in England and Wales.

144 parties have their name registered for use in England, Scotland and Wales.

17 parties have their name registered for use only in Scotland.

10 parties have their name registered for use in Wales only

In Northern Ireland, 58 parties are on the register, including the Conservative Party which fights elections in the province.

Three parties dominate politics in the House of Commons. They all operate throughout Great Britain (only the Conservative Party stands candidates in Northern Ireland). Most of the British Members of the European Parliament, the Scottish Parliament, and the National Assembly for Wales represent one of these parties:

Labour Party, centre-right to left-wing (traditionally left-wing but actually more centrist), *Co-operative Party* (all Co-operative Party MPs are also Labour MPs as part of a long-standing electoral agreement), *Conservative Party*, centrist to right (traditionally centre-right), and Liberal Democrats, centrist to centre-left.

Affiliation	Members
<i>Labour Party</i>	352
<i>Conservative Party</i>	196
<i>Liberal Democrats</i>	63
<i>Democratic Unionist Party</i>	9
<i>Scottish National Party</i>	6
<i>Sinn Féin</i>	5
<i>Plaid Cymru</i>	3
<i>Social Democratic and Labour Party</i>	3
<i>Independents</i>	1
<i>Independent Labour</i>	1
<i>Ulster Unionist Party</i>	1
<i>RESPECT The Unity Coalition</i>	1
<i>Health Concern</i>	1
<i>Speaker and Deputies</i>	4
Total	646

Table 1: Composition of the House of Commons
Source: Wikipedia

Affiliation	Life peers	Hereditary peers	Lords spiritual	Total
<i>Labour</i>	208	4	0	212
<i>Conservative</i>	159	47	0	206
<i>Liberal Democrats</i>	73	5	0	78
<i>UKIP</i>	1	1	0	2
<i>Green</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>Cross-benchers</i>	168	33	0	201
<i>Non-affiliated</i>	9	2	0	11
<i>Lords Spiritual</i>	0	0	26	26
Total	620	92	26	737

Table 2: Composition of the House of Lords
Source: Wikipedia

3 British Election Study (2005): characteristics and dimension of the sample

According to Sanders, Clarke, Steward, & Whiteley ?? the 2005 BES is based on two parallel panel surveys. The main study is a two-wave face-to-face national probability panel survey, with the first wave conducted between February and March 2005 and the second wave conducted between May and July 2005, starting right after the May 5th general election. The face-to-face study is complemented by a three-wave internet panel survey. The first internet wave was conducted in March 2005; the second wave was implemented during the official campaign, which took place in April 2005, and the third went into the field in

May 2005, immediately after the election. The pre-election wave questionnaires in both the face and internet surveys are identical, insofar as this was possible given that different modes were involved. The internet post-election survey is quite short, reflecting the fact that the internet respondents had already been interviewed a second time during the campaign. However, it did include a number of key questions – about turnout and party choice – that were asked in the more extensive post-election face survey.

In-Person Surveys: the 2005 BES in-person pre-election baseline survey was conducted before the election campaign officially began. The survey was designed to yield a representative sample of 'non-institutionalized' adults aged 18 and older living in Great Britain (people living in Northern Ireland and Scots living north of the Caledonian canal were excluded). A clustered multi-stage design was employed. First, 128 constituencies were sampled (77 in England, 29 in Scotland and 22 in Wales). Constituencies were sampled using three stratification criteria: (i) electoral marginality in the 2001 general election, (ii) region in England/Scotland and percent Welsh speakers in Wales, and (iii) population density. Within each constituency selected, two wards were randomly chosen, and within each ward household addresses were selected with equal probability from the national postcode address file. For households with multiple occupants, one person (the potential respondent) was selected at random using a modified Kish grid.

The N for the pre-election campaign survey was, 3589, with a response rate of 60.5%. Beginning immediately after the election, all of the pre-election respondents were asked to do a second in-person interview. The resulting pre-post panel N was 2959 (panel retention rate = 82.4%). To provide a representative national post-election sample, the panel was supplemented by a 'top-up' sample (N = 1202) chosen using the methods described above. All of the post-election top-up respondents were interviewed in-person. The unweighted post-election sample N thus was 4161 and, altogether, 4791 respondents participated in one or both of the in-person interviews.

The in-person survey data were weighted using a combination of factors designed to correct for unequal selection probabilities arising from deliberate oversampling in Scotland and Wales, deliberate oversampling of marginal constituencies, variation in the number of households at selected addresses, and variation in the number of people living in selected households. In addition, a set of post-stratification or 'calibration' weights for age and gender were employed.

Internet Surveys: Similar to the in-person pre-election survey, the first wave of the internet survey was conducted just before the election campaign formally began. Potential internet respondents were selected from YouGov's master panel which included 89,000 people at the time the study was conducted.⁸ People join the YouGov master panel in one of three ways: (i) by visiting the YouGov website (www.YouGov.com) and registering; (ii) by being recruited by one of several professional third-party recruiters (e.g., Win4Now) employed by YouGov; (iii) through ad-hoc alliances between YouGov and partners such as media outlets interested in conducting specific survey research projects. Respondents in such

surveys can be invited to join the YouGov master panel.

Potential respondents for the BES pre-election baseline internet survey were randomly selected from subsections of the master panel defined in terms of demographics (age, gender), media consumption (newspaper readership) and a political criterion (reported vote in the preceding (2001) general election). The total (unweighted) N for the YouGov pre-campaign survey was 7793. During the election campaign 6068 of these respondents participated in a rolling campaign panel survey designed to track the dynamics of public opinion as the campaign unfolded. Immediately after the election, 5910 of the pre-campaign respondents participated in a post-election survey. The response rate for the initial pre-campaign survey was 52.0%, and panel retention rates were 77.9% (campaign survey), and 75.8% (post-election survey).

After the three waves of the internet survey were completed, post-stratification weights for the data were developed using demographic criteria (gender, age within gender, region and social class), as well as newspaper readership and vote in the 2001 general election. Similar to the in-person surveys, information from the 2001 UK census was used to develop the demographic weighting factors for the internet surveys. Data from the National Readership Survey (an annual random probability in-person survey with 34,000 respondents) were used to construct the newspaper readership weighting factor, and the past vote weighting factor was developed based on the results of a large in-house analysis of false-memory effects.

4 Econometric framework

The aim of this paper is to understand which variables, coming out from the

BES 2005, may be able to explain the positioning of a voter on the political left-right scale; in particular we want to assess whether the main assumptions stated by the Single Mindedness Theory holds. Of course summarizing here what the SMT states is an hard attempt and for a deep understanding of the theory one may refer to Canegrati ???. Nevertheless, it is useful to remind that the SMT states, amongst other things, that the old and the young have different preferences towards some issues, in particular leisure and work. Thus, we expect that the variable "age" is statistically significant, since the preference of the electorate towards political candidate should be a function of the age. Notice that the SMT abstains to say something about which political parties (i.e. Conservative or Democratic) the old or the young prefer; it only assumes that preferences of individuals towards political candidates are affected by their age. To assess if what the SMT affirms holds I have written four specifications of the models, where the variable "age" is always present. The first specification may be written as:

$$y_i^1 = \alpha + \sum_{i=1}^3 x_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

where y_i^1 represents the left-right scale and x_i are other regressors which denote some basic individual characteristics such as the region where the voter lives, his age and his gender. Nevertheless, we might not exclude that other variables may influence the positioning of the voter on the political scale. Hence, a second specification is introduced:

$$y_i^2 = \alpha + \sum_{i=1}^3 x_i + \sum_{i=1}^7 s_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (2)$$

where I have added some new regressors s_i which denote social and economical characteristics of the voter, such as level of education, marital status, employment status, the type of job, the size of community where the individual lives, his ethnicity and whether he belongs to a religious group.

In a third specification of the model

$$y_i^3 = \alpha + \sum_{i=1}^2 x_i + \sum_{i=1}^3 s_i + \sum_{i=1}^4 a_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (3)$$

I have introduced four regressors, a_i , representing the involvement of the voter in political actions; these variables are: the persuasion attempt, the participation to political meetings, the level of satisfaction about the Democracy in Britain and the participation to political activities and protests.

Finally, in a fourth specification

$$y_i^4 = \alpha + \sum_{i=1}^2 x_i + \sum_{i=1}^3 s_i + \sum_{i=1}^2 a_i + \sum_{i=1}^7 j_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (4)$$

I add 7 other variables which represent the judgment that the voter has about the political situation. There is a judgment over the general job made by the Government and then more specific judgments on how the actual Government has handled some issues such as crime, asylum seekers, National Health Service, terrorism, economy in general and taxation.

I performed regressions using LOGIT and PROBIT models, with Robust Standard Errors (results are reported in Table 3). The choice of PROBIT and LOGIT models naturally arises if we consider that the response variable is the left-right scale which is treated as ordinal, since a political scale has a natural ordering (left to right), even though distances between adjacent levels are not quantifiable. In these models, an underlying score has been estimated as a linear function of the regressors and a set of "cut points". The probability of observing an outcome equal to o corresponds to the probability that the estimated linear function and an error term lies within an interval delimited by the estimated cut points. For instance, the probability that a responder i finds himself/herself at the fourth level of the left-right scale is equal to:

$$\Pr(\text{level}_i = o) = \Pr(h_{o-1} < \gamma_1 x_{1i} + \dots + \gamma_h x_{hi} + v_i \leq h_i)$$

where v_i is assumed to be distributed according to a LOGIT (PROBIT) distribution

$$\begin{aligned} &= \frac{1}{1 + \exp(-h_o + \sum \gamma_h x_h)} - \frac{1}{1 + \exp(-h_{o-1} + \sum \gamma_h x_h)}, \text{ in the case of LOGIT} \\ &= \Phi(h_o - \sum \gamma_h x_h) - \Phi(h_{o-1} - \sum \gamma_h x_h), \text{ in the case of PROBIT} \end{aligned}$$

where $\Phi()$ is the standard normal cumulative distribution function.

Thus the estimation's outcomes consists both in a set of h coefficients and in a set of $O - 1$ cut points, with O equal to the number of possible outcomes

5 Descriptive Statistics

Appendix reports the questions of the survey which are interesting for our analysis. For every question a pie chart showing the answers is linked together. Questions and charts 1-9 refer to the basic characteristics of the responder, such as region, age, gender, marital status, socio-economical status, employment status, size of the community where he/she lives, ethnicity and affiliation to a religion. Question 10-21 are more interesting, since they refer to political characteristics of the responder. In particular question 10-12 refer to the level of "political activism" of the individual. Pie Chart number 10 shows that the great majority of individuals have never tried to talk with people in order to persuade them to vote for a particular candidate (55.16 per cent) and that only the 5.83 per cent have, whilst other responders answered that rarely (19.58 per cent) or occasionally (18.59 per cent) have. Furthermore Pie Chart number 11 shows that the 74.8 per cent of individuals have never tried to directly support a political candidate (for instance attending a meeting), and only the 5.38 per cent answered that he did it frequently. According to the joint reading of these two graphs, it seems that the percentage of political activists may be quantified around the 5 per cent, whilst the percentage of totally inactive may be quantified between the 55 and the 75 per cent. Finally Pie Chart number 13 shows the percentage of responders who took part in a protest. The percentage of individuals who answered "yes" (11.4) is firmly lower than those who answered "no" (87.12), again confirming the existence of a political inertia amongst the electorate. Otherwise, Pie Chart number 12 shows the level of satisfaction for how democracy works in Great Britain. It emerges that the percentage of those who answered to be very (5.71) or fairly (44.68) satisfied is almost equal to that of those who answered to be not very (29.68) or not at all satisfied (17.02). Questions 14-20 refer to the judgment given by responders to the Government's job. In particular, question 14 asks to express an overall judgement on the most important issue: the pie chart shows that the great majority of individuals has a negative opinion about how government has operated, the 32.68 per cent believe that the Government has made a bad job and the 27.42 per cent believe that the Government has made a very bad job. Only the 21.44 believe that the job has been good and the 6.16 that the job has been very good. Question 15-20 refer to more specific topics such as crime, asylum seekers, NHS, terrorism, economy and taxation. Here, judgments seem to be worse for security issues and slightly better for economic issues. In particular the judgement on how government has handled crime, asylum seekers is particularly negative, whilst it gets better for the management of NHS and terrorism. As for the economic issues the general judgement on how government has managed the economy is firmly positive:

only the 6.58 per cent expressed a very bad judgement and 14.22 a fairly bad one, whilst the 36.35 expressed a fairly good judgment and the 14.37 a very good one even though this judgement gets worse if individuals were asked to express an opinion on the taxation issue where the 19.27 expressed a very bad opinion and 22.7 a fairly bad one, against the 25.53 which expressed a fairly good opinion and the 3.77 which expressed a very good opinion. Finally, answer 21 asked individuals to place themselves on a eleven-level left-right scale. The lowest level (0) corresponds to the extreme left position, whilst the highest level (11) corresponds to the extreme right position. It can be easily seen that the majority of respondents are located at the centre-left position, which reflects the political tendency of the u.k. electorate during the 2005 elections.

6 Kernel Density Estimation

We want now to give a shape to the underlying density of the variables (left-right scale, judgment on how the government has handled the economy and how the government has handled taxation). Initially I draw an histogram. The number of bins is determined by the following formula:

$$\min(\sqrt{n}, 10 \log_{10} n)$$

For the *left-right scale*, n is equal to 2558, thus the number of bin is equal to 33 (Figure 1). For the *judgment on how the government has handled the economy* and for *how the government has handled taxation* is equal to 3326 and thus the number of bin is equal to 35 (Figure 2-3)

Otherwise, figures 4-15 show different kernel density estimates which exploit the Epanechnikov density, using different band width (50,25,15,5 respectively). In particular, figures 4-7 show estimates for the left-right scale, figures 8-11 estimates for the judgment on how government handled the economy and figures 12-15 estimate for the judgement on how government handled the taxation. Choosing the optimal level of width is not an easy task. As we can see the level of smoothness change as a function of the width; smaller widths do not smooth the density as much. Furthermore, in every graph the density estimate was overlaid with a normal density for comparison purposes, as to get an idea of how far is the distance between the two densities. Inspecting the trends we may see that the elder tend to give slightly better judgment to the government's job than the younger do.

7 Results

First of all, notice that results do not differ with the two methods: this is typical in the ordered variables since the only difference between LOGIT and PROBIT is that the LOGIT distribution has "fatter" tails. Due to this similarity, I will only comment the results obtained with LOGIT estimation, but the same could be done for the PROBIT.

- The first specification of the model tells us that the variable **region** is not statistically significant, whilst variables **age** is significant at the 1 per cent of the confidence interval and variable **gender** is significant at the 10 per cent of the confidence interval. The insignificance of the variable region is not surprising, since we do not expect that a region is statistically oriented to the left rather than to the right. Otherwise, age is strongly significant, meaning that for an increase in one year of age, the level on the left-right scale increases of the 0.0121 while the other variables of the model are held constant. Since an increase in the political scale means to be more right-oriented, the sign of the log-odds indicates that the old are more conservative than the young. Also the variable gender is statistically significant, this time with a negative coefficient equal to -0.1204. This means that being a female decreases the expected change in the level of the political scale which in an ultimate analysis indicates that women are more labourist than conservative.
- The second specification introduces other socio-economic variable, but we can see that only **education**, **size of community** and **religion membership** are statistically significant. Interpreting the education coefficient is not an easy task since elements of the variable do not follow a particular ordering and thus we cannot say that an increase in the level of education increase the possibility to find in a higher rather than in a lower level on the political scale. Otherwise the size of community indicates that living in a bigger community decreases the expectation to be conservative by 0.0544. Finally not being a member of a religion entails a decrease in the dependent variable of 0.2819, meaning that religious responders feel more conservative.
- The third specification add some proxy for political activism. With respect to the previous specification we may see that the level education is no longer significant, whilst two new variables, **level of satisfaction about democracy in Britain** and **taking part in protests** are. In particular most satisfied people tend to be more conservative (the expected increase on the political scale is 0.3662) and so are people who take part in protests.
- Finally, the fourth specification add opinions about the government's job. It is interesting to notice that the overall judgement is not significant at all, whilst more specific assessments, apart from the management of asylum seekers which is statistically significant only at the 10 per cent of the confidence interval using LOGIT regression or not significant at all using the PROBIT, are. As we expected increasing the bad opinion about the government's job on a single issue increases the expectation to find in a higher level on the left-right scale, or in other words to feel more conservative. Notice that this does not hold if we refers to the opinion about terrorism where the higher the level of dissatisfaction, the higher the expectations to be labourist (-0.2498).

8 Predictions

Table 4 shows the predicted probabilities for an the first respondent of the list. Obviously the same could be replicate for every respondent. We can see that probability to locate in every single level of the scale differs from specification to specification. In particular, the individual has a greater probability to be left-oriented in the first specification of the model and more right oriented in the third.

[TABLE 4 HERE]

9 Conclusions

In this paper analysed the British Election Study in order to assess the validity of the Single Mindedness Theory. The main goal was to evaluate whether political preferences of voters for political candidates depend on their age, as the SMT affirms, together with some other characteristics such as gender, education, religion, social and economic conditions. I used different specifications and run LOGIT and PROBIT regression. Results are robust in showing that variable age is strongly statistically significant, demonstrating that Single Mindedness Theory assumptions holds in the UK political environment.

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10 Appendix

10.1 List of variables

1. REGION

In which of the following do you live?

East Anglia
East Midlands
Greater London
North
North West
Scotland
South East
South West
Wales
West Midlands
Yorkshire & Humberside

[PIE CHART 1 HERE]

2. AGE

What is your age (in years)?

[PIE CHART 2 HERE]

3. GENDER

What is your gender?

Male
Female

4. EDUCATION

What is your highest level of qualification?

no formal qualifications
youth training certificate/skillseekers
recognized trade apprenticeship
clerical and commercial
city and guild certificate
city and guild certificate - advanced
onc
cse grades 2-5
cse grade 1, gce o level, gcse, school
scottish ordinary/ lower certificate
gce a level or higher certificate
scottish higher certificate
nursing qualification (eg sen, srn, scm
teaching qualification (not degree)
university diploma
university or cnaa first degree (eg ba)

university or cnaa higher degree (eg m.phil)
other technical, professional or higher
don't know
refused

[PIE CHART 3 HERE]

5. MARITAL STATUS

What is your marital status?

married
living as married
separated (after being married)
divorced
widowed
never married

[PIE CHART 4 HERE]

6. EMPLOYMENT STATUS

What is your employment status?

working full time (30 or more hours per week)
working part time (8 - 29 hours per week)
working part time (less than 8 hours a week)
full time student
retired
unemployed
not working
other

[PIE CHART 5 HERE]

7. SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL CONDITIONS

What is your type of work?

professional or higher technical work
manager or senior administrator
clerical
sales or services
foreman or supervisor of other workers
skilled manual work
semi-skilled or unskilled manual work
other
have never worked

[PIE CHART 6 HERE]

8. SIZE OF COMMUNITY

What is the size of the community you live in?

Live on a farm
Village under 500 people
500 to 1,000 people

1,001 to 10,000 people
10,000 to 50,000 people
50,001 to 100,000 people
100,001 to 500,000 people
500,001 to 1,000,000 people
Over 1,000,000 people
Don't know

[PIE CHART 7 HERE]

9. ETHNICITY

What is your Ethnicity?

white british
any other white background
white and black caribbean
white and black african
white and asian
any other mixed background
indian
pakistani
bangladeshi
any other asian background
black caribbean
black african
any other black background
chinese
other ethnic group
refused

[PIE CHART 8 HERE]

10. MEMBER OF RELIGION

Are you a member of any religion?

yes
no
not sure/don't know
refused

[PIE CHART 9 HERE]

11. PERSUASION ATTEMPT

Talked to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party of candidate?

Frequently
Occasionally
Rarely
Never
Don't know

[PIE CHART 10 HERE]

12. MEETING ATTENDANCE

Showed your support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up campaign signs, or in some other way

- Frequently
- Occasionally
- Rarely
- Never
- Don't know

[PIE CHART 11 HERE]

13. SATISFACTION ABOUT DEMOCRACY

On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Great Britain?

- Very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Not very satisfied
- Not at all satisfied
- Don't know

[PIE CHART 12 HERE]

14. TAKE PART TO PROTEST

Contacted a politician or government official either in person or in writing, or some other way

- Taken part in a protest, march or demonstration
- Worked together with people who shared the same concern
- Yes
- No
- Don't know

[PIE CHART 13 HERE]

15. JUDGMENT ON GOVERNMENT JOB

How do you judge the job done by present gov about the most important issue over the last 4 years?

- there was no one most important issue
- very good job
- good job
- bad job
- very bad job
- don't know

[PIE CHART 14 HERE]

16. JUDGMENT HOW LABOUR GOVERNMENT HANDLED CRIME

How well do you think the present government has handled crime in Britain?

- Very well

Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

[PIE CHART 15 HERE]

17. JUDGMENT HOW LABOUR GOVERNMENT HANDLED

ASYLUM

How well do you think the present government has handled asylum seekers?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

[PIE CHART 16 HERE]

18. JUDGMENT HOW LABOUR GOVERNMENT HANDLED

NHS

How well do you think the present government has handled National Health Service?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know.

[PIE CHART 17 HERE]

19. JUDGMENT HOW LABOUR GOVERNMENT HANDLED

TERRORISM

How well do you think the present government has handled the risk of terrorism in Britain?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

[PIE CHART 18 HERE]

20. JUDGMENT HOW LABOUR GOVERNMENT HANDLED

ECONOMY

How well do you think the present government has handled the economy in general?

Very well

Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

[PIE CHART 19 HERE]

21. JUDGMENT HOW LABOUR GOVERNMENT HANDLED TAXATION

How well do you think the present government has handled taxation in general?

Very well
Fairly well
Neither well nor badly
Fairly badly
Very badly
Don't know

[PIE CHART 20 HERE]

22. LEFT-RIGHT SCALE

Thinking back to the 'left-right' scale again. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?

0 – left
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10 – right
Don't know

[PIE CHART 21 HERE]

<i>Dependent variable: left-right scale</i>	<i>LOGIT (1)</i>	<i>PROBIT (1)</i>	<i>LOGIT (2)</i>	<i>PROBIT (2)</i>	<i>LOGIT (3)</i>	<i>PROBIT (3)</i>	<i>LOGIT (4)</i>	<i>PROBIT (4)</i>
Region	.0019 (0.868)	.0017 (0.798)	-.0021 (0.857)	.0003 (0.963)				
Age	.0121*** (0.000)	.0068*** (0.000)	.0056* (0.065)	.0032* (0.061)	.005* (0.067)	.0030 (0.048)**	.0053** (0.050)	.0034** (0.023)
Gender	-.1204* (0.085)	-.0620 (0.124)	-.1356* (0.063)	-.0709* (0.093)	-.1433** (0.045)	-.0697 (0.093)*	-.1731** (0.020)	-.1042** (0.015)
Education			-.0181** (0.015)	-.0093** (0.032)	-.0092 (0.165)	-.0049 (0.208)	.0031 (0.641)	.001 (0.803)
Marital status			-.0240 (0.202)	-.0151 (0.163)				
Employment status			.0026 (0.875)	.0006 (0.948)				
Social-economic conditions			-.0224 (0.174)	-.0106 (0.260)				
Size of community			-.0554*** (0.000)	-.0312*** (0.001)	-.0556*** (0.000)	-.0304*** (0.001)	-.0335** (0.029)	-.02** (0.026)
Ethnicity			-.0192 (0.269)	-.0098 (0.320)				
Member of religion			-.2819*** (0.000)	-.1700*** (0.000)	-.3051*** (0.000)	-.1814*** (0.000)	-.2398*** (0.000)	-.1473*** (0.000)
Persuasion attempt					.0396 (0.393)	.0121 (0.639)		
Meeting attendance					-.0599 (0.247)	-.0328 (0.246)		
Satisfaction about Democracy					.3662*** (0.0000)	.1927*** (0.000)	-.1182** (0.030)	-.0576* (0.070)
Take part to protest					.8695*** (0.0000)	.4651*** (0.000)	.6265*** (0.000)	.3534*** (0.000)
Judgement on Government job							-.0055 (0.873)	-.0024 (0.901)
Judgement how Labour Government handled crime							.2075*** (0.000)	.0991*** (0.001)
Judgement how Labour Government handled asylum							.3295*** (0.000)	.19*** (0.000)
Judgement how Labour Government handled NHS							.0830* (0.063)	.0535 (0.036)
Judgement how Labour Government handled terrorism							-.2498*** (0.000)	-.1355*** (0.000)
Judgement how Labour Government handled economy							.3302*** (.0000)	.1711*** (0.000)
Judgement how Labour Government handled taxation							.1910*** (.0000)	.0941*** (0.000)
Cut point 1	-3.47	-1.80	-5.02	-2.68	-2.39	-1.30	-.98	-.46
Cut point 2	-2.84	-1.54	-4.44	-2.43	-1.78	-1.04	-.36	-.20
Cut point 3	-1.79	-1.03	-3.32	-1.90	-.66	-.50	.78	.35
Cut point 4	-.85	-.52	-2.37	-1.38	.30	.02	1.83	.92
Cut point 5	-.18	-.12	-1.68	-.96	1.01	.44	2.64	1.39
Cut point 6	1.05	.64	-.43	-.19	2.32	1.24	4.16	2.28
Cut point 7	1.59	.97	.11	.13	2.88	1.58	4.79	2.65
Cut point 8	2.37	1.40	.89	.56	3.67	2.02	5.65	3.13
Cut point 9	3.41	1.91	1.91	1.07	4.72	2.54	6.75	3.69
Cut point 10	4.19	2.26	2.73	1.43	5.53	2.90	7.58	4.06
Number of observations	2557	2557	2432	2432	2479	2479	2480	2480
Pseudo R2	0.0027	0.0026	0.0074	0.0195	0.0180	0.0180	0.0644	0.0586

TABLE 3: Probit and Logit regressions for the question: *Thinking to the 'left-right' scale. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the 'left', and 10 means the 'right'?*

Regressions with Robust standard errors (p-values in parenthesis)

(***) significant at 1% of the C.I.

(**) significant at 5% of the C.I.

(*) significant at 10% of the C.I.

Predicted probability for an <i>i</i> -th responder	LOGIT (1)	PROBIT (1)	LOGIT (2)	PROBIT (2)	LOGIT (3)	PROBIT (3)	LOGIT (4)	PROBIT (4)
Left	.0167	.0152	.0128	.0102	.0105	.0076	.0127	.0108
1	.0139	.0134	.0098	.0089	.0086	.0074	.0106	.0100
2	.0528	.0527	.0438	.0431	.0370	.0364	.0473	.0493
3	.1054	.1078	.0891	.0930	.0795	.0848	.1077	.1132
4	.1234	.1262	.1132	.1187	.1070	.1139	.1495	.1487
5	.2989	.2991	.2945	.2963	.3005	.3011	.3616	.3457
6	.1186	.1164	.1276	.1234	.1323	.1268	.1173	.1194
7	.1250	.1225	.1376	.1321	.1446	.1380	.1010	.1082
8	.0878	.0871	.1021	.1001	.1082	.1063	.0592	.0637
9	.0302	.0307	.0373	.0382	.0383	.0397	.0181	.0181
Right	.0266	.0282	.0316	.0354	.0328	.0373	.0145	.0123

TABLE 4: Predicted Probabilities

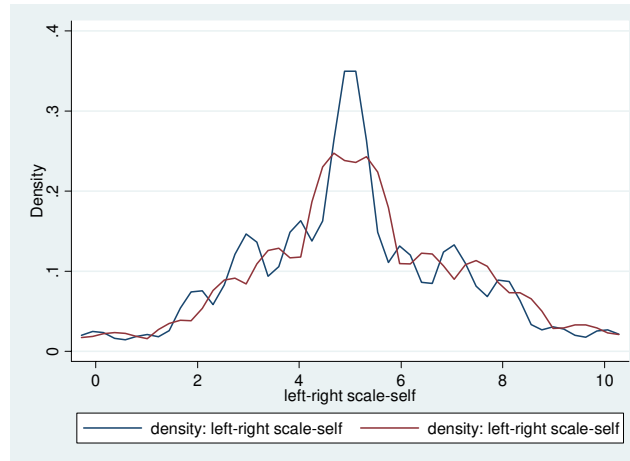


FIGURE 1: Kernel Density Function for the left-right scale (0=left; 10=right); Blue: under 45; Red: over 45

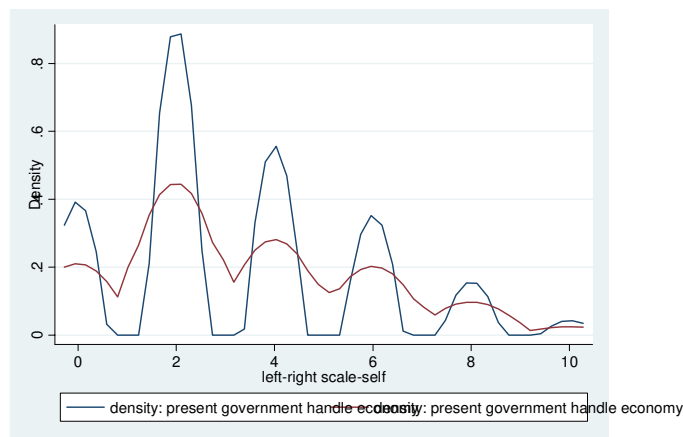


FIGURE 2: Kernel Density Function for the judgement “how labour government handled economy”; Blue: under 45; Red: over 45

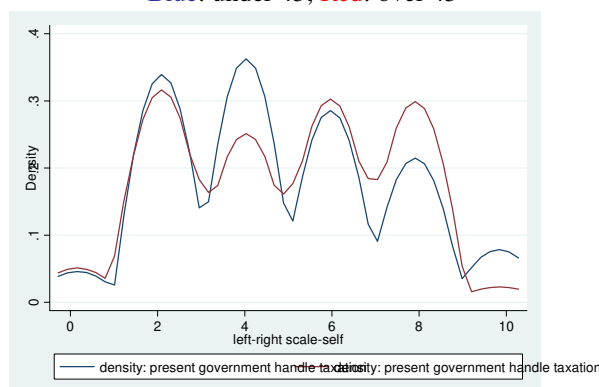


FIGURE 3: Kernel Density Function for the judgement “how labour government handled taxation”;

Blue: under 45; Red: over 45

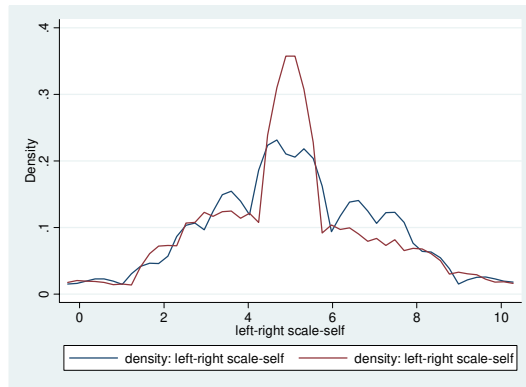


FIGURE 4

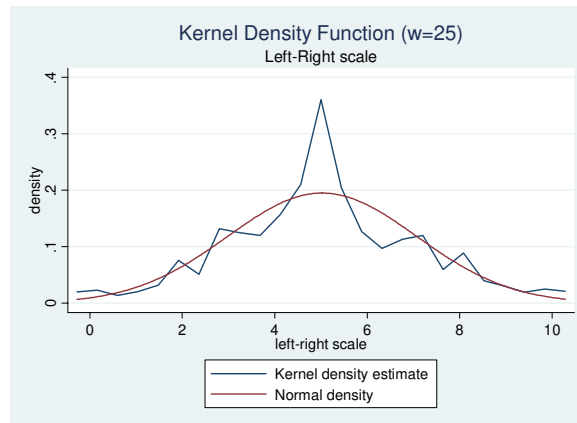


FIGURE 5

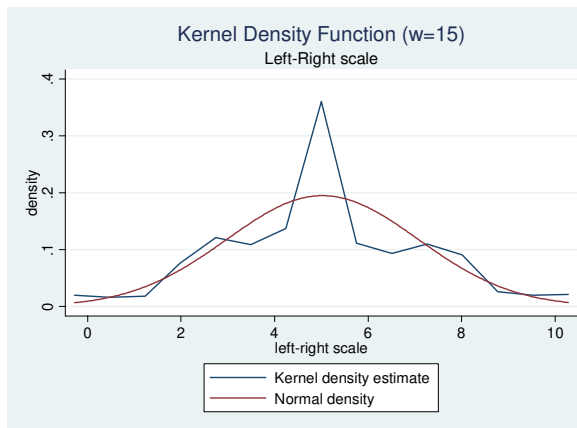


FIGURE 6

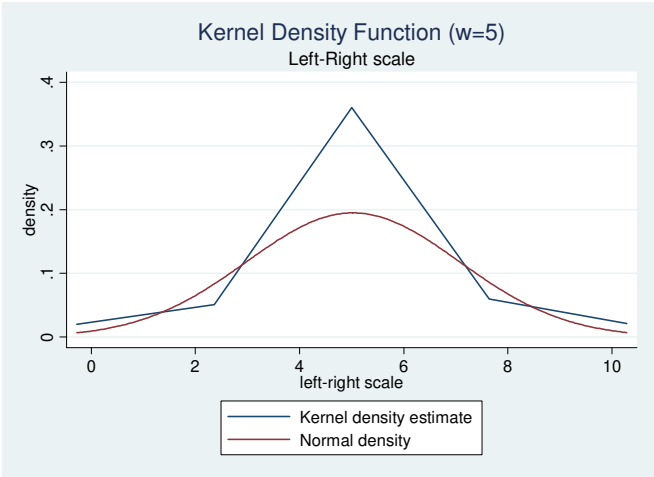


FIGURE 7

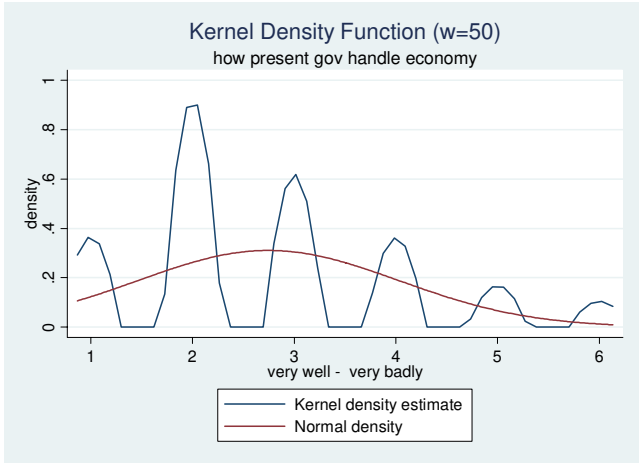


FIGURE 8

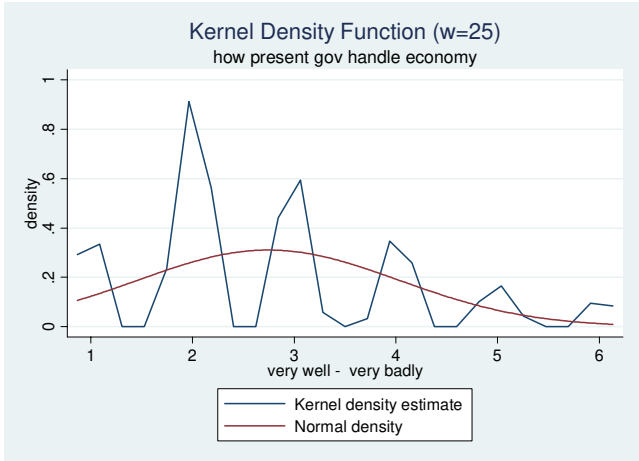


FIGURE 9

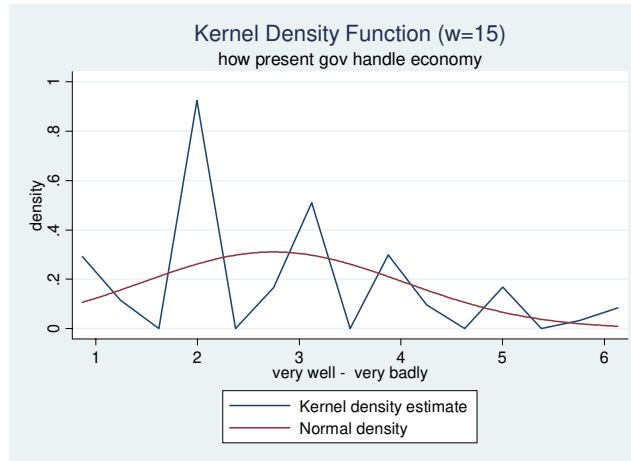


FIGURE 10

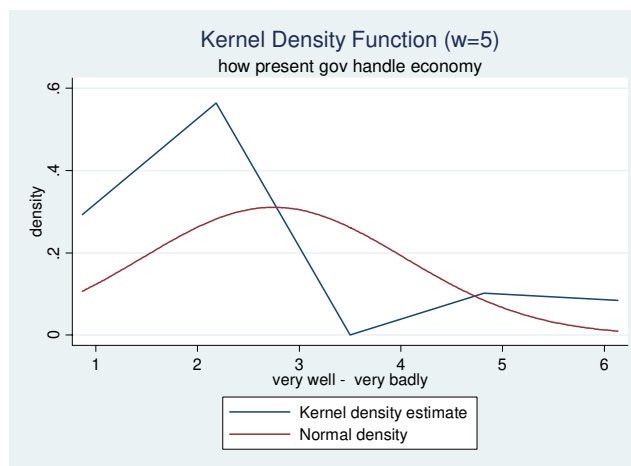


FIGURE 11

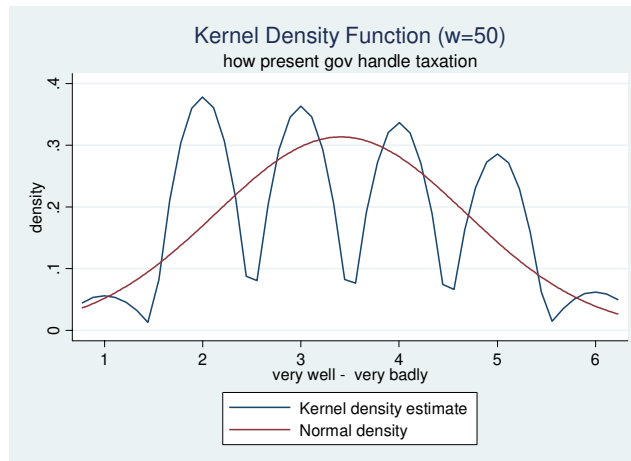


FIGURE 12

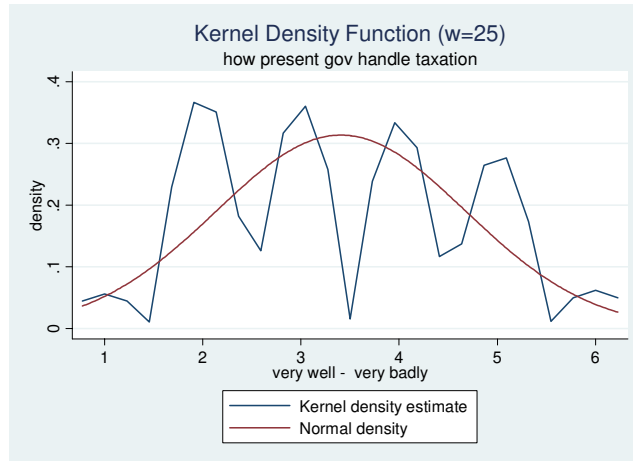


FIGURE 13

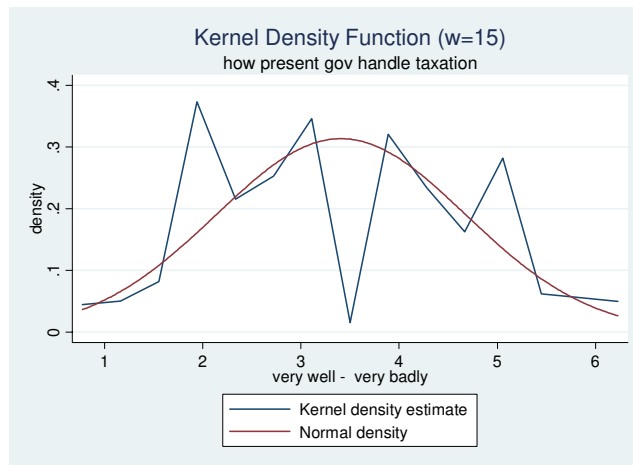


FIGURE 14

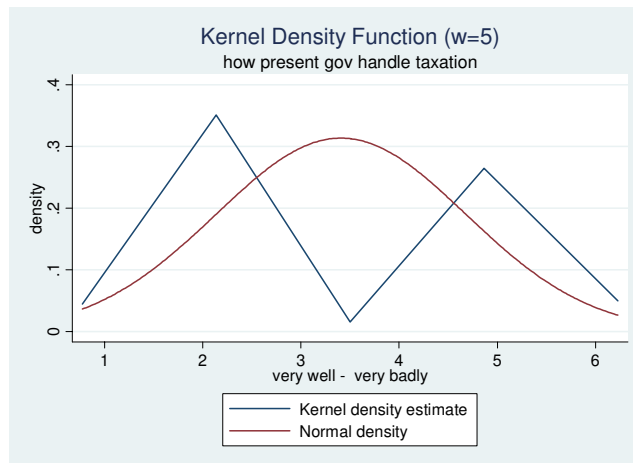
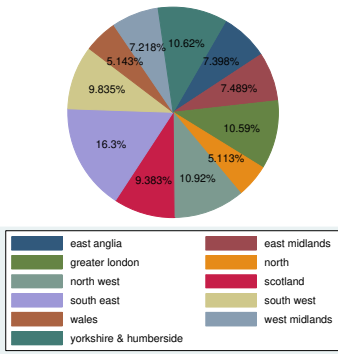
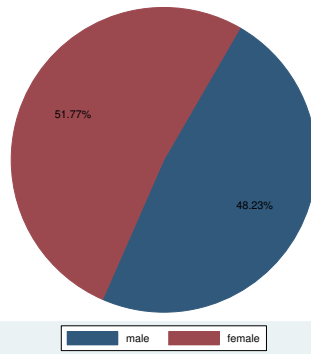


FIGURE 15

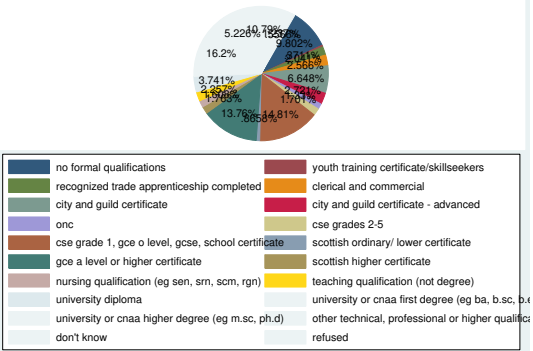
Region



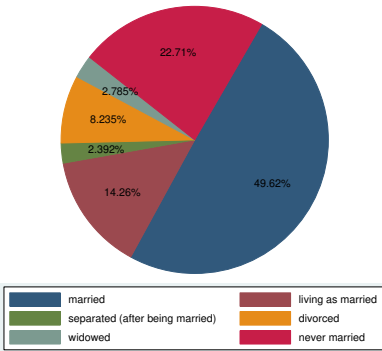
Gender



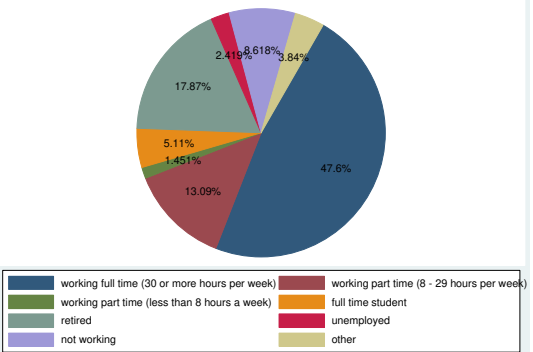
Education



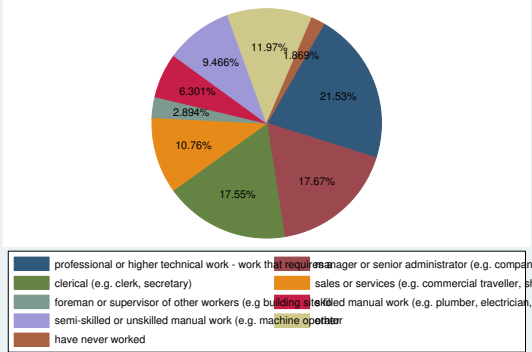
Marital Status



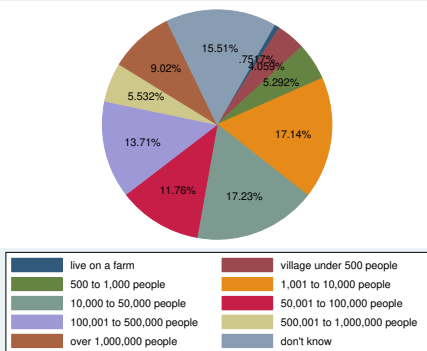
Employment Status



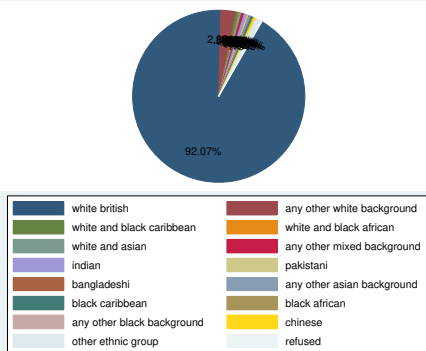
Socio-economic Conditions



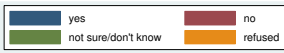
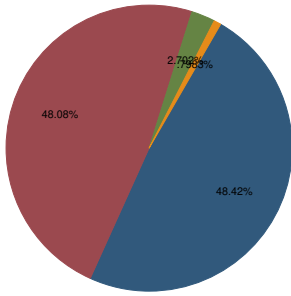
Size of Community



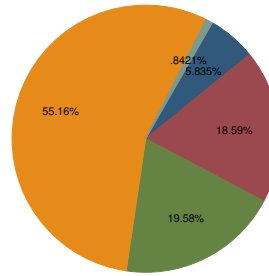
Ethnicity



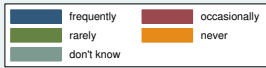
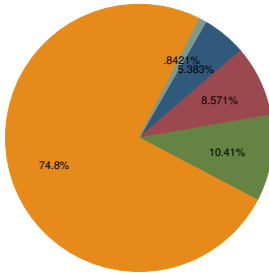
Member of Religion



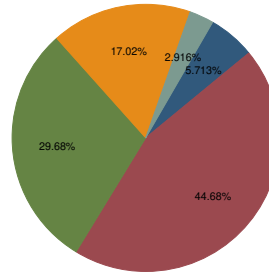
Persuasion Attempt



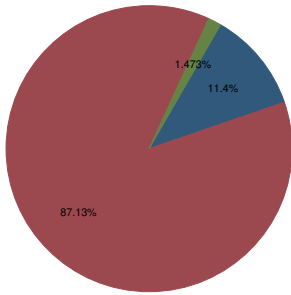
Meeting Attendance



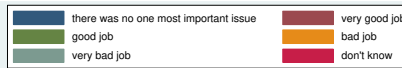
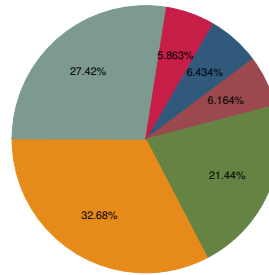
Satisfaction about Democracy



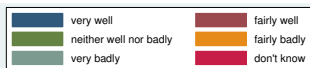
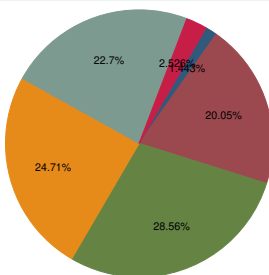
Take part in protests



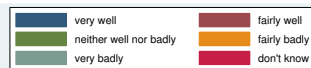
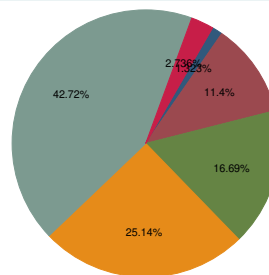
Judgement On Government Job



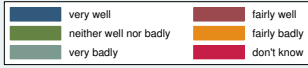
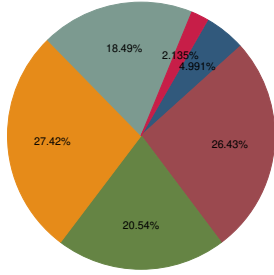
Judgement how labour government handled crime



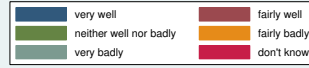
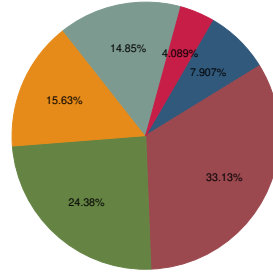
Judgement how labour government handled asylum



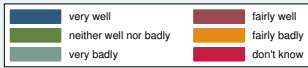
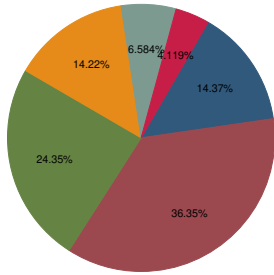
Judgement how labour government handled NHS



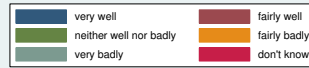
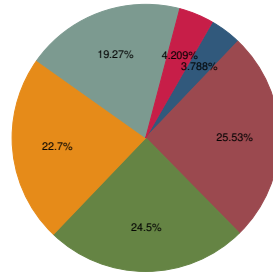
Judgement how labour government handled terrorism



Judgement how labour government handled economy



Judgement how labour government handled taxation



Position on left-right scale

