

```
*****
** Replication Materials for Milazzo, Adams, and Green (2012) **
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*****
**Data**
*****
```

Data are available at <http://www.esds.ac.uk/>

British General Election Panel Study, 1987-1992 (SN 2983)  
British General Election Panel Study, 1992-1997 (SN 3888)  
British General Election Panel Study, 1997-2001 (SN 4028)

```
*****
***1987-1992 PANEL***
*****
```

```
use "C:\bes87_92.dta", clear
```

```
*Eliminating respondents not interviewed in both waves*
```

```
gen pp2 = 0
replace pp2= 1 if v58b!=-1 & y322a!=.
drop if pp2==0
```

```
*Lab/Con Feeling Thermometers*
```

```
recode v13a 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(conth1)
replace conth1 = conth1*-1
replace conth1 = (conth1- -5)/(-1 --5)
```

```
recode y11a 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(conth2)
replace conth2 = conth2*-1
replace conth2 = (conth2- -5)/(-1 --5)
```

```
recode v13b 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(labth1)
replace labth1 = labth1 *-1
replace labth1 = (labth1 - -5)/(-1 --5)
```

```
recode y11b 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(labth2)
replace labth2 = labth2 *-1
replace labth2 = (labth2 - -5)/(-1 --5)
```

```
*Party Identification*
```

```
recode v12a -1=. 1=1 2=-1 3=0 4=0 5=0 6=0 7=0 8=0 12=. 90=0 11=0
97=0 else=. , g(pid1)
recode y10a 0=0 1=1 2=-1 3=0 4=0 5=0 6=0 7=0 10=0 11=. 97=0 else=.
, g(pid2)
```

```
* Strength of Identification*
```

```
recode v12c 1=1 2=2 3=3 else=., g(strength1)
recode y10c 1=1 2=2 3=3 else=., g(strength2)
```

\*Lab/Con - Strength of PID\*

```
gen strcon1= .
replace strcon1= 0 if pid1== -1 | pid1==0
replace strcon1= 1 if pid1==1 & strength1==3
replace strcon1= 2 if pid1==1 & strength1==2
replace strcon1= 3 if pid1==1 & strength1==1
replace strcon1= (strcon1-0)/(3-0)
```

```
gen strlab1= .
replace strlab1= 0 if pid1 ==1 | pid1==0
replace strlab1= 1 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==3
replace strlab1= 2 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==2
replace strlab1= 3 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==1
replace strlab1= (strlab1-0)/(3-0)
```

```
gen strcon2= .
replace strcon2= 0 if pid2== -1 | pid2==0
replace strcon2= 1 if pid2==1 & strength2==3
replace strcon2= 2 if pid2==1 & strength2==2
replace strcon2= 3 if pid2==1 & strength2==1
replace strcon2= (strcon2-0)/(3-0)
```

```
gen strlab2= .
replace strlab2= 0 if pid2 ==1 | pid1==0
replace strlab2= 1 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==3
replace strlab2= 2 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==2
replace strlab2= 3 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==1
replace strlab2= (strlab2-0)/(3-0)
```

\*Issue Scales\*

\*Social Services/Taxation

```
g socsrvcs1 = v29a
replace socsrvcs1=. if socsrvcs1 > 11
g socsrvcs1_con = v29b
replace socsrvcs1_con=. if socsrvcs1_con > 11
g socsrvcs1_lab = v29c
replace socsrvcs1_lab=. if socsrvcs1_lab > 11
```

```
g socsrvcs2 = y28a
replace socsrvcs2 =. if socsrvcs2 > 11 | socsrvcs2 < 1
g socsrvcs2_con = y28b
replace socsrvcs2_con=. if socsrvcs2_con > 11| socsrvcs2_con < 1
g socsrvcs2_lab = y28c
replace socsrvcs2_lab=. if socsrvcs2_lab > 11| socsrvcs2_lab < 1
```

```
g soc1 = (socsrvcs1 -1)/(11-1)
g soccon1 = (socsrvcs1_con-1)/(11-1)
g soclab1 = (socsrvcs1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g soc2 = (socsrvcs2 -1)/(11-1)
g soccon2 = (socsrvcs2_con-1)/(11-1)
g soclab2 = (socsrvcs2_lab-1)/(11-1)
```

\*Nationalization

```

g national1 = v34a
replace national1 =. if national1 > 11
g national1_con = v34b
replace national1_con=. if national1_con > 11
g national1_lab = v34c
replace national1_lab=. if national1_lab > 11

g national2 = y31a
replace national2=. if national2> 11 | national2< 1
g national2_con = y31b
replace national2_con=. if national2_con > 11| national2_con < 1
g national2_lab = y31c
replace national2_lab=. if national2_lab > 11| national2_lab < 1

g nat1 = (national1-1)/(11-1)
g natcon1 = (national1_con-1)/(11-1)
g natlab1 = (national1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g nat2 = (national2-1)/(11-1)
g natcon2 = (national2_con-1)/(11-1)
g natlab2 = (national2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*Inflation

g inflation1 = v28a
replace inflation1=. if inflation1> 11
g inflation1_con = v28b
replace inflation1_con=. if inflation1_con > 11
g inflation1_lab = v28c
replace inflation1_lab=. if inflation1_lab > 11

g inflation2= y27a
replace inflation2=. if inflation2> 11 | inflation2< 1
g inflation2_con = y27b
replace inflation2_con=. if inflation2_con > 11| inflation2_con < 1
g inflation2_lab = y27c
replace inflation2_lab=. if inflation2_lab > 11| inflation2_lab < 1

g inf1 = (inflation1 -1)/(11-1)
g infcon1 = (inflation1_con-1)/(11-1)
g inflab1 = (inflation1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g inf2 = (inflation2-1)/(11-1)
g infcon2 = (inflation2_con-1)/(11-1)
g inflab2 = (inflation2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*Redistribution

g redist1 = v35a
replace redist1 =. if redist1 > 11
g redist1_con = v35b
replace redist1_con=. if redist1_con > 11
g redist1_lab = v35c
replace redist1_lab=. if redist1_lab > 11

g redist2= y32a
replace redist2=. if redist2> 11 | redist2< 1

```

```
g redist2_con = y32b
replace redist2_con=. if redist2_con > 11| redist2_con < 1
g redist2_lab = y32c
replace redist2_lab=. if redist2_lab > 11| redist2_lab < 1
```

```
g red1 = (redist1 -1)/(11-1)
g redcon1 = (redist1_con-1)/(11-1)
g redlab1 = (redist1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g red2 = (redist2-1)/(11-1)
g redcon2 = (redist2_con-1)/(11-1)
g redlab2 = (redist2_lab-1)/(11-1)
```

\*NOTE: Subconstituency variables are described in the text.

\*Generate Panel ID\*

```
g survey = 1
```

```
keep pp2 conth1 conth2 labth1 labth2 strcon1 strlab1 strcon2 strlab2
soc1 soccon1 soclab1 soc2 soccon2 soclab2 nat1 natcon1 natlab1 nat2
natcon2 natlab2 inf1 infcon1 inflab1 inf2 infcon2 inflab2 red1
redcon1 redlab1 red2 redcon2 redlab2 paper hiloincome hiloeducation
hiloindex survey
```

```
save "C:\bes87_92merge.dta", replace
```

```
*****
***1992-1997 PANEL***
*****
```

```
use "C:\bes9297.dta", clear
```

\*Eliminating respondents not interviewed in both waves\*

```
gen pp92 = 0
replace pp92= 1 if study92=="BES92"
```

```
gen pp97 = 0
replace pp97= 1 if study97=="BES97"
```

```
g pp2 = 0
replace pp2 =1 if pp92==1 & pp97==1
```

```
drop if pp2==0
```

\*Lab/Con Feeling Thermometers\*

```
g conth1 = confel92*-1
replace conth1 =. if conth1 < -5
replace conth1 = (conth1- -5)/(-1 --5)
```

```
g conth2 = confel97*-1
replace conth2 =. if conth2 < -5
replace conth2 = (conth2- -5)/(-1 --5)
```

```

g labth1 = labfel92*-1
replace labth1 =. if labth1 < -5
replace labth1 = (labth1 - -5)/(-1 --5)

g labth2 = labfel97*-1
replace labth2 =. if labth2 < -5
replace labth2 = (labth2 - -5)/(-1 --5)

*Party Identification*

recode ptyth92 0=0 1=1 2=-1 3=0 4=0 5=0 6=0 7=0 8=0 9=0 10=0 else=.
, g(pid1)
recode ptythn97 0=0 1=1 2=-1 3=0 4=0 5=0 6=0 7=0 10=0 12=0 13=0 14=0
else=. , g(pid2)

* Strength of Identification*

recode idstr92 1=1 2=2 3=3 else=., g(strength1)
recode idstrn97 1=1 2=2 3=3 else=., g(strength2)

*Lab/Con - Strength of PID*

gen strcon1= .
replace strcon1= 0 if pid1== -1 | pid1==0
replace strcon1= 1 if pid1==1 & strength1==3
replace strcon1= 2 if pid1==1 & strength1==2
replace strcon1= 3 if pid1==1 & strength1==1
replace strcon1= (strcon1-0)/(3-0)

gen strlab1= .
replace strlab1= 0 if pid1 ==1 | pid1==0
replace strlab1= 1 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==3
replace strlab1= 2 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==2
replace strlab1= 3 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==1
replace strlab1= (strlab1-0)/(3-0)

gen strcon2= .
replace strcon2= 0 if pid2== -1 | pid2==0
replace strcon2= 1 if pid2==1 & strength2==3
replace strcon2= 2 if pid2==1 & strength2==2
replace strcon2= 3 if pid2==1 & strength2==1
replace strcon2= (strcon2-0)/(3-0)

gen strlab2= .
replace strlab2= 0 if pid2 ==1 | pid2==0
replace strlab2= 1 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==3
replace strlab2= 2 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==2
replace strlab2= 3 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==1
replace strlab2= (strlab2-0)/(3-0)

*Issue Scales*

*Social Services/Taxation

g socsrvcs1 = rtxs92
replace socsrvcs1=. if socsrvcs1 <1 | socsrvcs1 > 11

```

```
g socsrvcs1_con = contxs92
replace socsrvcs1_con=. if socsrvcs1_con <1 | socsrvcs1_con > 11
g socsrvcs1_lab = labtxs92
replace socsrvcs1_lab=. if socsrvcs1_lab <1 | socsrvcs1_lab > 11
```

```
g socsrvcs2 = rtxs97
replace socsrvcs2=. if socsrvcs2 <1 | socsrvcs2 > 11
g socsrvcs2_con = contxs97
replace socsrvcs2_con=. if socsrvcs2_con <1 | socsrvcs2_con > 11
g socsrvcs2_lab = labtxs97
replace socsrvcs2_lab=. if socsrvcs2_lab <1 | socsrvcs2_lab > 11
```

```
g soc1 = (socsrvcs1 -1)/(11-1)
g soccon1 = (socsrvcs1_con-1)/(11-1)
g soclab1 = (socsrvcs1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g soc2 = (socsrvcs2 -1)/(11-1)
g soccon2 = (socsrvcs2_con-1)/(11-1)
g soclab2 = (socsrvcs2_lab-1)/(11-1)
```

#### \*Nationalization

```
g national1 = rprn92
replace national1 =. if national1 > 11 | national1 <1
g national1_con = conprn92
replace national1_con=. if national1_con > 11 | national1_con <1
g national1_lab = labprn92
replace national1_lab=. if national1_lab > 11 | national1_lab <1
```

```
g national2 = rprn97
replace national2 =. if national2 > 11 | national2 <1
g national2_con = conprn97
replace national2_con=. if national2_con > 11 | national2_con <1
g national2_lab = labprn97
replace national2_lab=. if national2_lab > 11 | national2_lab <1
```

```
g nat1 = (national1-1)/(11-1)
g natcon1 = (national1_con-1)/(11-1)
g natlab1 = (national1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g nat2 = (national2-1)/(11-1)
g natcon2 = (national2_con-1)/(11-1)
g natlab2 = (national2_lab-1)/(11-1)
```

#### \*Inflation

```
g inflation1 = rjbprc92
replace inflation1=. if inflation1 > 11 | inflation1 < 1
g inflation1_con = conjbp92
replace inflation1_con=. if inflation1_con > 11 | inflation1_con < 1
g inflation1_lab = labjbp92
replace inflation1_lab=. if inflation1_lab > 11 | inflation1_lab < 1
```

```
g inflation2= rjbprc97
replace inflation2=. if inflation2 > 11 | inflation2 < 1
g inflation2_con = conjbp97
replace inflation2_con=. if inflation2_con > 11 | inflation2_con < 1
g inflation2_lab = labjbp97
```

```

replace inflation2_lab=. if inflation2_lab > 11| inflation2_lab < 1

g inf1 = (inflation1 -1)/(11-1)
g infcon1 = (inflation1_con-1)/(11-1)
g inflab1 = (inflation1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g inf2 = (inflation2-1)/(11-1)
g infcon2 = (inflation2_con-1)/(11-1)
g inflab2 = (inflation2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*Redistribution

g redist1 = rieq92
replace redist1 =. if redist1 > 11| redist1< 1
g redist1_con = conieq92
replace redist1_con=. if redist1_con > 11| redist1_con < 1
g redist1_lab = labieq92
replace redist1_lab=. if redist1_lab > 11| redist1_lab < 1

g redist2= rieq97
replace redist2=. if redist2> 11 | redist2< 1
g redist2_con = conieq97
replace redist2_con=. if redist2_con > 11| redist2_con < 1
g redist2_lab = labieq97
replace redist2_lab=. if redist2_lab > 11| redist2_lab < 1

g red1 = (redist1 -1)/(11-1)
g redcon1 = (redist1_con-1)/(11-1)
g redlab1 = (redist1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g red2 = (redist2-1)/(11-1)
g redcon2 = (redist2_con-1)/(11-1)
g redlab2 = (redist2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*NOTE: Subconstituency variables are described in the text.

*Generate Panel ID*

g survey = 2

keep pp2 conth1 conth2 labth1 labth2 strcon1 strlab1 strcon2 strlab2
soc1 soccon1 soclab1 soc2 soccon2 soclab2 nat1 natcon1 natlab1 nat2
natcon2 natlab2 inf1 infcon1 inflab1 inf2 infcon2 inflab2 red1
redcon1 redlab1 red2 redcon2 redlab2 survey

save "C:\bes92_97merge.dta", replace

*****
***1997-2001 PANEL***
*****

use " C:\beps9701.dta", clear

*Eliminating respondents not interviewed in both waves*

gen pp97 = 0
replace pp97= 1 if wavel==1

```

```

gen pp01 = 0
replace pp01= 1 if wave8==1

gen pp2 = 0
replace pp2 = 1 if pp97==1 & pp01==1

drop if pp2==0

*Lab/Con Feeling Thermometers*

recode confel97 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(conth1)
replace conth1 = conth1*-1
replace conth1 = (conth1- -5)/(-1 --5)

recode confel01 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(conth2)
replace conth2 = conth2*-1
replace conth2 = (conth2- -5)/(-1 --5)

recode labfel97 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(labth1)
replace labth1 = labth1 *-1
replace labth1 = (labth1 - -5)/(-1 --5)

recode labfel01 1=1 2=2 3=3 4=4 5=5 else=., g(labth2)
replace labth2 = labth2 *-1
replace labth2 = (labth2 - -5)/(-1 --5)

*Party Identification*

recode ptythn97 0=0 1=1 2=-1 3=0 4=0 5=0 6=0 7=0 else=. , g(pid1)
recode ptythn01 0=0 1=1 2=-1 3=0 4=0 5=0 6=0 7=0 else=. , g(pid2)

*Strength of Identification*

recode idstrn97 1=1 2=2 3=3 else=., g(strength1)
recode idstrn01 1=1 2=2 3=3 else=., g(strength2)

*Lab/Con - Strength of PID*

gen strcon1= .
replace strcon1= 0 if pid1==-1 | pid1==0
replace strcon1= 1 if pid1==1 & strength1==3
replace strcon1= 2 if pid1==1 & strength1==2
replace strcon1= 3 if pid1==1 & strength1==1
replace strcon1= (strcon1-0)/(3-0)

gen strlab1= .
replace strlab1= 0 if pid1 ==1 | pid1==0
replace strlab1= 1 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==3
replace strlab1= 2 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==2
replace strlab1= 3 if pid1 ==-1 & strength1==1
replace strlab1= (strlab1-0)/(3-0)

gen strcon2= .
replace strcon2= 0 if pid2==-1 | pid2==0
replace strcon2= 1 if pid2==1 & strength2==3

```



```
replace strcon2= 2 if pid2==1 & strength2==2
replace strcon2= 3 if pid2==1 & strength2==1
replace strcon2= (strcon2-0)/(3-0)
```

```
gen strlab2= .
replace strlab2= 0 if pid2 ==1 | pid2==0
replace strlab2= 1 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==3
replace strlab2= 2 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==2
replace strlab2= 3 if pid2 ==-1 & strength2==1
replace strlab2= (strlab2-0)/(3-0)
```

\*Issue Scales\*

\*Social Services/Taxation

```
g socsrvcs1 = rtxspd97
replace socsrvcs1=. if socsrvcs1 <1 | socsrvcs1 > 11
g socsrvcs1_con = contxs97
replace socsrvcs1_con=. if socsrvcs1_con <1 | socsrvcs1_con > 11
g socsrvcs1_lab = labtxs97
replace socsrvcs1_lab=. if socsrvcs1_lab <1 | socsrvcs1_lab > 11
```

```
g socsrvcs2 = rtxspd01
replace socsrvcs2=. if socsrvcs2 <1 | socsrvcs2 > 11
g socsrvcs2_con = contxs01
replace socsrvcs2_con=. if socsrvcs2_con <1 | socsrvcs2_con > 11
g socsrvcs2_lab = labtxs01
replace socsrvcs2_lab=. if socsrvcs2_lab <1 | socsrvcs2_lab > 11
```

```
g soc1 = (socsrvcs1 -1)/(11-1)
g soccon1 = (socsrvcs1_con-1)/(11-1)
g soclab1 = (socsrvcs1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g soc2 = (socsrvcs2 -1)/(11-1)
g soccon2 = (socsrvcs2_con-1)/(11-1)
g soclab2 = (socsrvcs2_lab-1)/(11-1)
```

\*Nationalization

```
g national1 = rprn97
replace national1 =. if national1 > 11 | national1 <1
g national1_con = conprn97
replace national1_con=. if national1_con > 11 | national1_con <1
g national1_lab = labprn97
replace national1_lab=. if national1_lab > 11 | national1_lab <1
```

```
g national2 = rprfw01
replace national2 =. if national2 > 11 | national2 <1
g national2_con = conpr01
replace national2_con=. if national2_con > 11 | national2_con <1
g national2_lab = labpr01
replace national2_lab=. if national2_lab > 11 | national2_lab <1
```

```
g nat1 = (national1-1)/(11-1)
g natcon1 = (national1_con-1)/(11-1)
g natlab1 = (national1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g nat2 = (national2-1)/(11-1)
```

```

g natcon2 = (national2_con-1)/(11-1)
g natlab2 = (national2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*Inflation

g inflation1 = rjbprc97
replace inflation1=. if inflation1> 11 | inflation1 < 1
g inflation1_con = conjbp97
replace inflation1_con=. if inflation1_con > 11 | inflation1 < 1
g inflation1_lab = labjbp97
replace inflation1_lab=. if inflation1_lab > 11 | inflation1 < 1

g inflation2= rjbprc01
replace inflation2=. if inflation2> 11 | inflation2< 1
g inflation2_con = conjbp01
replace inflation2_con=. if inflation2_con > 11| inflation2_con < 1
g inflation2_lab = labjbp01
replace inflation2_lab=. if inflation2_lab > 11| inflation2_lab < 1

g inf1 = (inflation1 -1)/(11-1)
g infcon1 = (inflation1_con-1)/(11-1)
g inflab1 = (inflation1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g inf2 = (inflation2-1)/(11-1)
g infcon2 = (inflation2_con-1)/(11-1)
g inflab2 = (inflation2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*Redistribution

g redist1 = rieg97
replace redist1 =. if redist1 > 11| redist1< 1
g redist1_con = conieg97
replace redist1_con=. if redist1_con > 11| redist1_con < 1
g redist1_lab = labieg97
replace redist1_lab=. if redist1_lab > 11| redist1_con < 1

g redist2= rieg01
replace redist2=. if redist2> 11 | redist2< 1
g redist2_con = conieg01
replace redist2_con=. if redist2_con > 11| redist2_con < 1
g redist2_lab = labieg01
replace redist2_lab=. if redist2_lab > 11| redist2_lab < 1

g red1 = (redist1 -1)/(11-1)
g redcon1 = (redist1_con-1)/(11-1)
g redlab1 = (redist1_lab-1)/(11-1)
g red2 = (redist2-1)/(11-1)
g redcon2 = (redist2_con-1)/(11-1)
g redlab2 = (redist2_lab-1)/(11-1)

*NOTE: Subconstituency variables are described in the text.

*Generate Panel ID*

g survey = 3

```

```

keep pp2 conth1 conth2 labth1 labth2 strcon1 strlab1 strcon2 strlab2
soc1 soccon1 soclab1 soc2 soccon2 soclab2 nat1 natcon1 natlab1 nat2
natcon2 natlab2 inf1 infcon1 inflab1 inf2 infcon2 inflab2 red1
redcon1 redlab1 red2 redcon2 redlab2 survey

```

```

save "C:\bes97_01merge.dta", replace

```

```

*****
***MERGE DATA***
*****

```

```

use "C:\bes97_01merge.dta", clear
append using "C:\Users\Caitlin\Desktop\bes92_97merge.dta"
append using "C:\Users\Caitlin\Desktop\bes87_92merge.dta"

```

```

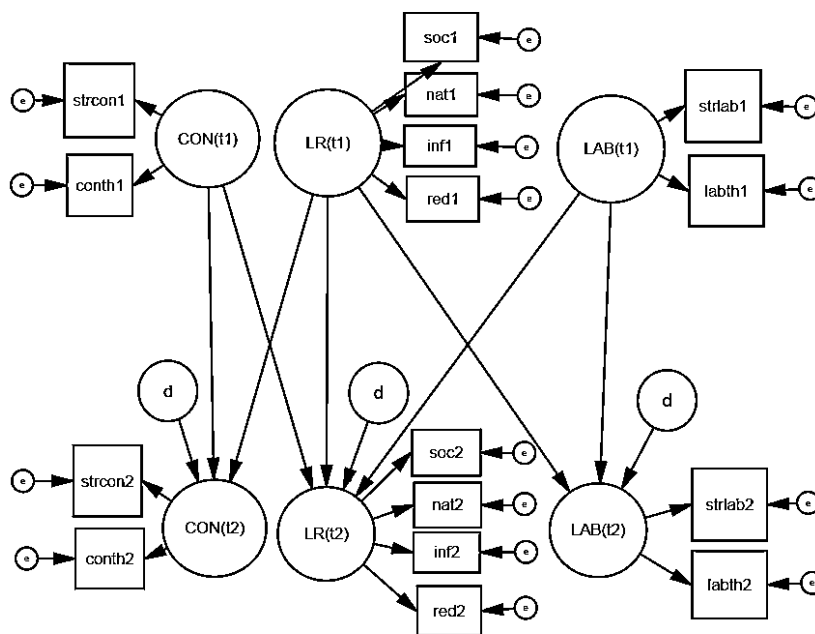
save "C:\Users\Caitlin\Desktop\bes87_01.dta", replace

```

```

*****
***MODEL (AMOS DIAGRAM)***
*****

```



Notes. Covariances and model constraints are described in the text, but are omitted from the above diagram for clarity of presentation.