

ONLINE APPENDIX

Note 1.

Several cases can be disputed based on the discrepancies of their categorization across different sources. I did not classify the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union “Solidarity” (NSZZ “S”) as right-wing due to its overarching role as an arbiter during the reforms. In its initial years, PO was categorized in some works as center-right, close to PiS, to move slightly left of center only later. However, PO had liberal parties as its antecedents (UD, KLD and UW) and has always appealed to different constituencies while attempting, often unsuccessfully, to become a catch-all party (CBOS 2021, 15–16). Among right-wing parties, I also included SRP, classified by some authors as “centrist” or even as left-wing as a result of its economic policies. I regard it as right-wing because it openly adhered to traditionally catholic values and nationalism (Jasiewicz 2008b, 14), the reason why it is placed on the right by other authors (Pankowski 2010; Kotwas and Kubik 2019). The support for free-market economic policies resulted in the classification of parties established by Janusz Korwin-Mikke (UPR and PJKM) as “liberal” in some sources. However, their open adherence to traditionalist values made these parties much closer to national-conservative PiS than to liberal centrist PO. A proof for this claim is Confederation Liberty and Independence (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość), an electoral and parliamentary coalition established in 2019. It is composed of KORWiN, as well as far right RN and Confederation of the Polish Crown (Konfederacja Korony Polskiej).

Table 1. Overlap in percentage between two waves at a time

Declared voting for the right-wing party		Support for the right-wing party if elections are held in near future/this Sunday					
POLPAN wave	Year of the reference election	POLPAN wave					
		1993	1998	2003	2008	2013	2018
1993	1991	6.53% (3.32%)	7.34% (5.23%)	13.49% (5.87%)	8.78% (4.24%)	12.59% (7.13%)	16.12% (10.02%)
1998	1993	1.64% (0.93%)	5.52% (3.67%)	4.73% (2.33%)	4.21% (2.24%)	5.87% (3.36%)	5.90% (3.96%)
	1997	5.25% (2.61%)	33.01% (19.95%)	20.00% (8.83%)	18.80% (9.01%)	27.04% (13.82%)	31.29% (18.82%)
2003	2001	5.11% (2.64%)	16.4% (10.01%)	21.63% (10.89%)	13.14% (6.67%)	20.73% (11.80%)	43.26% (33.05%)
2008	2005	7.98% (4.22%)	21.16% (12.73%)	26.11% (13.73%)	23.98% (12.71%)	32.21% (17.60%)	39.80% (26.07%)
	2007	7.02% (3.45%)	16.48% (9.05%)	20.71% (10.24%)	23.19% (12.38%)	28.27% (14.97%)	33.33% (21.08%)

2013	2011	7.1% (3.76%)	17.04% (10.34%)	21.39% (11.67%)	21.56% (11.76%)	34.3% (20.54%)	38.89% (25.38%)
2018	2015	8.86 (5.20%)	21.82% (14.07%)	33.01% (18.60%)	23.98% (13.48%)	39.85% (24.33%)	58.81% (40.75%)

Note: "POLPAN wave" column indicate wave in which the information on the declared voting was provided

The table includes relationship between two types of the dependent variable: 0=would vote, voted but not for a right-wing party, 1=would vote/voted for a right-wing party(0=would not vote/did not vote, for a right-wing party, 1=voted/would vote for a right-wing party)

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

The declaration of support is recorded at the same time as other answers in the survey. Information on respondents' retrospective electoral choice significantly differs from the partisan support at the time of the interview. The overlap grows with time and is highest when the time difference between the two types of questions is smaller. The reported past voting behavior overlaps also more strongly with prospective voting intentions given in the same wave than with past votes and prospective voting intentions that are closer time-wise

Figure 1. Percentage of Poles switching to the Right across adjacent waves; according to prospective vote item and mixed prospective and perspective vote items; I – models with 0=not supporting/not voted for the Right, II – models with 0=not supporting/not voted for the Right, no party support/not voted

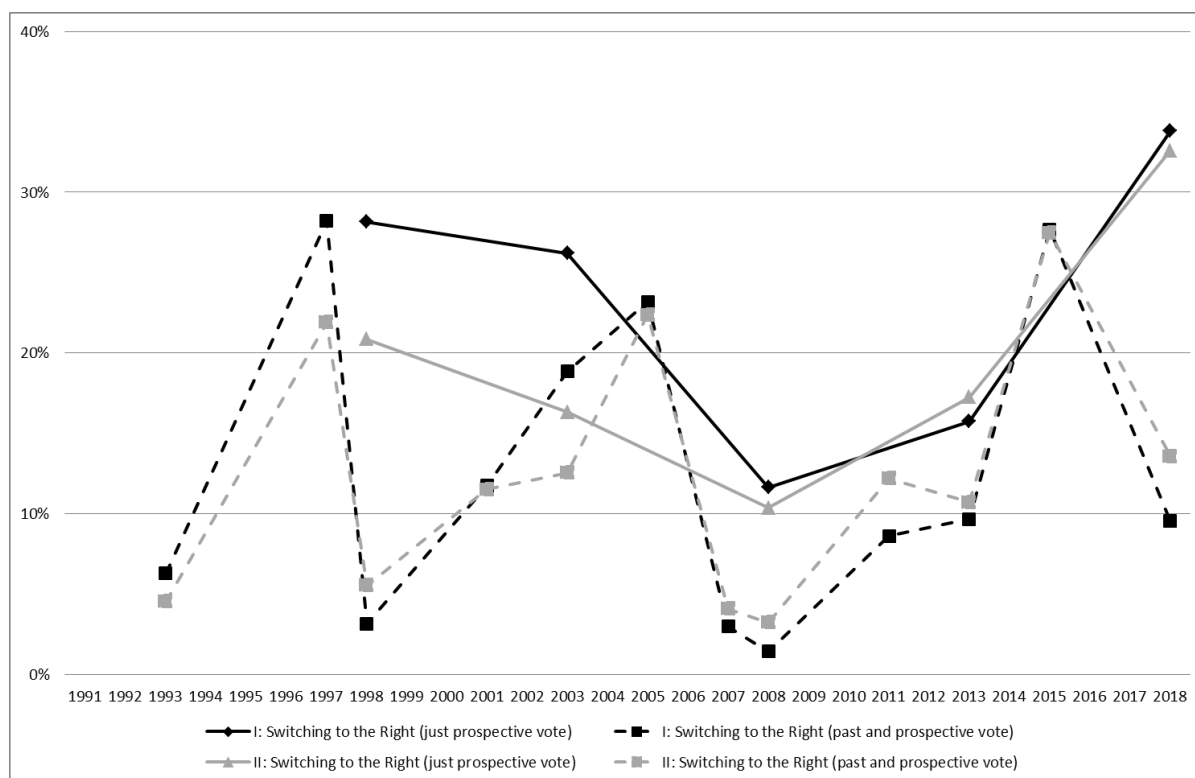


Table 2. Linear regressions of predictors on factor variables

Independent variables	B	Robust S.E.	Z
1993 wave: PROTECTIVESTATE			
Place of residence	0.098***	0.023	4.22
Education	0.200***	0.075	2.66
Household income per capita	-0.076	0.059	-1.28
Self-assessed social position	-0.151***	0.033	-4.53
Gender (male=1)	-0.175**	0.063	-2.79
Age	0.010***	0.003	3.54
N = 916, F(6, 909) = 16.83, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.107			
1998 wave: PROTECTIVESTATE(PROEU_LIB)[PROCHURCH]			
Church attendance	0.069***(0.037)[0.253***]	0.027(0.027)[0.026]	2.56(1.39)[9.63]
Place of residence	0.102****(0.109***)[-0.099***]	0.019(0.019)[0.020]	5.34(5.75)[-5.05]
Education	0.261****(0.126)[-0.101]	0.059(0.067)[0.075]	4.42(1.89)[-1.35]
Household income per capita	-0.088(-0.107***)[0.063]	0.053(0.033)[0.044]	-1.66(-3.22)[1.41]
Self-assessed social position	-0.139***(-0.143***)[0.030]	0.025(0.026)[0.028]	-5.48(-5.43)[1.09]
Gender (male=1)	-0.122**(-0.078)[-0.011]	0.049(0.049)[0.050]	-2.50(-1.58)[-0.22]
Age	-0.001(0.002)[-0.001]	0.002(0.002)[0.002]	-0.33(1.17)[-0.42]
N = 1526, F(7, 1518) = 21.26, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.107(N = 1526, F(7, 1518) = 21.09, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.097)[N = 1526, F(7, 1518) = 18.77, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.077]			
2003 wave: PROTECTIVESTATE(PROCHURCH_ANTIEU_ANLIB)			
Church attendance	0.023(0.166***)	0.029(0.029)	0.81(5.72)
Place of residence	0.054***(0.013)	0.021(0.021)	2.51(0.63)
Education	0.168***(0.111)	0.065(0.076)	2.57(1.47)
Household income per capita	-0.235***(-0.027)	0.053(0.032)	-4.45(-0.84)
Self-assessed social position	-0.102***(-0.140***)	0.028(0.029)	-3.68(-4.90)
Gender (male=1)	-0.128**(-0.133**)	0.050(0.054)	-2.58(-2.48)
Age	0.004*(0.003)	0.002(0.002)	2.27(1.75)
N = 1350, F(7, 1342) = 19.97, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.131(N = 1350, F(7, 1342) = 15.92, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.071)			
2008 wave: PROTECTIVESTATE(PROCHURCH_ANTIEU)			
Church attendance	0.012(0.196***)	0.029(0.031)	0.4(6.39)
Place of residence	0.040(-0.018)	0.022(0.022)	1.8(-0.84)
Education	0.219***(0.214*)	0.073(0.094)	2.98(2.27)
Household income per capita	-0.248***(-0.010)	0.049(0.027)	-5.03(0.38)
Self-assessed social position	-0.076**(-0.090**)	0.027(0.035)	-2.78(-2.62)
Gender (male=1)	-0.158**(-0.110)	0.054(0.058)	-2.94(-1.9)
Age	0.004*(0.000)	0.002(0.002)	2.31(0.15)
N = 1199, F(7, 1191) = 17.86, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.131(N = 1199, F(7, 1191) = 10.40, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.058)			
2013 wave: PROTECTIVESTATE(PROCHURCH_ANTIEU)[ANTILIB]			
Church attendance	0.046(0.252***)[0.059*]	0.026(0.026)[0.026]	1.79(9.81)[2.31]
Place of residence	0.097***(-0.004)[-0.061***]	0.019(0.019)[0.019]	5.05(-0.21)[-3.25]
Education	0.148*(0.247*)[-0.179]	0.072(0.104)[0.100]	2.05(2.36)[-1.80]
Household income per capita	-0.120***(-0.011)[0.039*]	0.029(0.016)[0.015]	-4.09(-0.71)[2.52]
Self-assessed social position	-0.189***(-0.133***)[-0.056*]	0.026(0.029)[0.028]	-7.31(-4.52)[-1.99]
Gender (male=1)	-0.144**(-0.017)[0.017]	0.049(0.050)[0.052]	-2.90(-0.35)[0.33]
Age	0.004*(-0.003)[0.005**]	0.002(0.002)[0.002]	2.23(-1.51)[2.81]
N = 1524, F(7, 1516) = 24.08, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.120(N = 1524, F(7, 1516) = 23.09, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.095)[N = 1524, F(7, 1516) = 5.75, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.023]			
2018 wave: PROTECTIVESTATE(PROCHURCH_ANTIEU)[ANTILIB]			
Church attendance	0.112****(0.270***)[-0.005]	0.025(0.026)[0.027]	4.45(10.42)[-0.19]
Place of residence	0.015(0.006)[-0.032]	0.019(0.019)[0.020]	0.78(0.32)[-1.61]
Education	0.244***(0.291**)[-0.152]	0.084(0.104)[0.094]	2.90(2.79)[-1.62]
Household income per capita	-0.140***(-0.044)[0.047]	0.033(0.027)[0.030]	-4.25(-1.65)[1.55]
Self-assessed social position	-0.110***(-0.092**)[-0.087**]	0.026(0.029)[0.031]	-4.25(-3.14)[-2.85]
Gender (male=1)	-0.158***(0.071)[-0.013]	0.051(0.052)[0.055]	-3.08(1.36)[-0.23]
Age	0.001(-0.007***)[-0.001]	0.001(0.001)[0.002]	1.04(-4.67)[-0.52]
N = 1373, F(7, 1365) = 20.88, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.108(N = 1373, F(7, 1365) = 26.28, Prob. > F = 0.000, R ² = 0.112)[N = 1373, F(7, 1365) = 2.44, Prob. > F = 0.017, R ² = 0.013]			

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

^ Standardized

Table 3. Logistic regression models of support for the Right across six consecutive POLPAN waves with two variants of the dependent variable; 0=would not vote and would not vote for the Right(0=would not vote for the Right)

Independent variables	B	Robust S.E.	Z	Odds ratio
1993 wave				
Church attendance	0.138(0.146)	0.210(0.229)	0.66(0.64)	1.148(1.157)
Opinion about state socialism	0.161(0.144)	0.226(0.238)	0.71(0.60)	1.174(1.155)
Place of residence	-0.251(-0.306)	0.179(0.199)	-1.40(-1.53)	0.778(0.737)
Education	-0.477(0.026)	0.694(0.761)	-0.69(0.03)	0.621(1.026)
Unemployed	-0.272(-0.600)	1.120(1.072)	-0.24(-0.56)	0.762(0.549)
Household income per capita [^]	0.318(-0.009)	0.312(0.397)	1.02(-0.02)	1.374(0.991)
Self-assessed social position [^]	-0.051(-0.070)	0.190(0.192)	-0.27(-0.36)	0.950(0.932)
Gender (male=1)	0.043(-0.307)	0.422(0.418)	0.10(-0.73)	1.044(0.736)
Age	0.003(-0.009)	0.019(0.021)	0.16(-0.45)	1.003(0.991)
N = 404, LR $\chi^2(9) = 7.52$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.583$, R ² = 0.035(N = 249, LR $\chi^2(9) = 5.79$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.761$, R ² = 0.033)				
1998 wave				
Church attendance	0.444***(0.431***)	0.085(0.095)	5.23(4.53)	1.558(1.540)
Catholic Church and politics	0.391***(0.392***)	0.062(0.068)	6.31(5.78)	1.478(1.480)
Opinion about the EU	-0.361***(-0.316**)	0.093(0.101)	-3.89(-3.12)	0.697(0.729)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	-0.141(-0.131)	0.101(0.106)	-1.39(-1.24)	0.869(0.877)
Minority yields to majority	-0.005(-0.036)	0.063(0.069)	-0.09(-0.52)	0.995(0.965)
One good party is enough	-0.003(0.081)	0.056(0.060)	-0.05(1.34)	0.997(1.084)
Good leader can be above the law	0.074(0.118)	0.067(0.074)	1.11(1.59)	1.077(1.125)
Opinion about state socialism	0.297***(0.335***)	0.085(0.092)	3.51(3.62)	1.345(1.398)
Place of residence	0.023(-0.047)	0.059(0.066)	0.40(-0.71)	1.024(0.954)
Education	0.019(0.234)	0.201(0.223)	0.09(1.05)	1.019(1.264)
Unemployed	0.176(0.538*)	0.239(0.274)	0.74(1.96)	1.193(1.712)
Household income per capita [^]	-0.012(-0.007)	0.068(0.059)	-0.17(-0.12)	0.988(0.993)
Self-assessed social position [^]	0.048(-0.024)	0.080(0.087)	0.59(-0.28)	1.049(0.976)
Gender (male=1)	0.364*(0.358*)	0.153(0.169)	2.38(2.12)	1.439(1.430)
Age	0.008(-0.006)	0.006(0.007)	1.37(-0.88)	1.009(0.994)
N = 1163, LR $\chi^2(15) = 144.78$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.122(N = 836, LR $\chi^2(15) = 113.33$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.122)				
2003 wave				
Church attendance	0.332***(0.183)/ 0.320***(0.160)\$	0.092(0.107)/ 0.079(0.105)\$	3.61(1.71)/ 4.05(1.52)\$	1.393(1.201)/ 1.376(1.173)\$
Catholic Church and politics	0.035(0.127)/ 0.061(0.201**)\$	0.068(0.082)/ 0.059(0.079)\$	0.51(1.56)/ 1.05(2.54)\$	1.036(1.136)/ 1.063(1.222)\$
Opinion about the EU	0.330***(0.608***)/ 0.025(0.351**)\$	0.104(0.118)/ 0.093(0.124)\$	3.17(5.14)/ 0.27(2.83)\$	1.391(1.836)/ 1.025(1.421)\$
Conflict btw the elite and the people	0.217(0.266*)/ 0.118(0.204)\$	0.114(0.134)/ 0.101(0.138)\$	1.90(1.98)/ 1.16(1.48)\$	1.243(1.304)/ 1.125(1.226)\$
Minority yields to majority	0.059(0.065)/ 0.012(-0.027)\$	0.070(0.081)/ 0.061(0.082)\$	0.83(0.81)/ 0.19(-0.33)\$	1.060(1.067)/ 1.012(0.973)\$
One good party is enough	-0.004(0.109)/ -0.141**(-0.020)\$	0.060(0.065)/ 0.054(0.072)\$	-0.06(1.69)/ -2.60(-0.28)\$	0.996(1.116)/ 0.869(0.980)\$
Good leader can be above the law	-0.042(-0.027)/ -0.011(0.027)\$	0.079(0.092)/ 0.069(0.090)\$	-0.53(-0.29)/ -0.16(0.30)\$	0.959(0.974)/ 0.989(1.027)\$
Opinion about state socialism	0.255***(0.183)/ 0.386***(-0.435***)\$	0.084(0.100)/ 0.075(0.102)\$	3.05(1.83)/ 5.16(4.28)\$	1.290(1.201)/ 1.471(1.544)\$
Place of residence	0.058(-0.008)/ -0.096(-0.286***)\$	0.062(0.070)/ 0.055(0.076)\$	0.94(-0.12)/ -1.75(-3.77)\$	1.060(0.992)/ 0.908(0.751)\$
Education	0.029(0.467)/ -0.043(0.464)\$	0.222(0.272)/ 0.211(0.286)\$	0.13(1.72)/ -0.21(1.62)\$	1.029(1.595)/ 0.958(1.590)\$
Unemployed	-0.490*(-0.557*)/ -0.150(-0.227)\$	0.210(0.245)/ 0.169(0.222)\$	-2.34(-2.28)/ -0.89(-1.03)\$	0.612(0.573)/ 0.860(0.797)\$
Household income per capita [^]	-0.132(-0.229)/ 0.129(0.034)\$	0.113(0.136)/ 0.083(0.104)\$	-1.18(-1.68)/ 1.56(0.33)\$	0.876(0.795)/ 1.138(1.035)\$
Self-assessed social position [^]	-0.187*(-0.291**)/ -0.068(-0.243*)\$	0.084(0.098)/ 0.075(0.102)\$	-2.24(-2.96)/ -0.90(-2.38)\$	0.829(0.747)/ 0.935(0.785)\$
Gender (male=1)	0.403*(0.376)/ 0.501(0.619)\$	0.163(0.192)/ 0.163(0.192)/	2.48(1.96)/ 3.46(3.22)\$	1.496(1.456)/ 1.650(1.858)\$

		0.145***(0.192 **)\$		
Age	0.000(-0.010)/ 0.007(-0.005)\$	0.006(0.007)/ 0.005(0.007)\$	0.04(-1.37)/ 1.31(-0.78)\$	1.000(0.990)/ 1.007(0.995)\$
N = 984, LR $\chi^2(15) = 59.13$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.062$ (N = 596, LR $\chi^2(15) = 71.28$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.111$) / N=984, LR $\chi^2(15)=97.04$, Prob. $> \chi^2=0.000$, $R^2=0.081$ (N=596, LR $\chi^2(15)=72.13$, Prob. $> \chi^2=0.000$, $R^2=0.106$)				
2008 wave				
Church attendance	0.431***(0.386**)	0.110(0.125)	3.93(3.10)	1.539(1.471)
Catholic Church and politics	0.350***(0.352***)	0.075(0.087)	4.65(4.06)	1.418(1.422)
Opinion about the EU	0.266(0.661***)	0.143(0.177)	1.86(3.73)	1.305(1.936)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	0.122(0.118)	0.126(0.143)	0.97(0.83)	1.130(1.126)
Minority yields to majority	0.022(0.128)	0.090(0.103)	0.24(1.25)	1.022(1.137)
One good party is enough	-0.036(0.046)	0.070(0.079)	-0.52(0.58)	0.964(1.047)
Good leader can be above the law	-0.018(-0.001)	0.091(0.104)	-0.20(-0.01)	0.982(0.999)
Opinion about state socialism	0.472***(0.364**)	0.112(0.126)	4.22(2.89)	1.604(1.439)
Place of residence	0.057(0.062)	0.078(0.089)	0.73(0.69)	1.058(1.064)
Education	0.388(0.748*)	0.278(0.330)	1.39(2.27)	1.474(2.114)
Unemployed	-0.562(-0.473)	0.350(0.384)	-1.61(-1.23)	0.570(0.623)
Household income per capita[^]	-0.380*(-0.544*)	0.166(0.214)	-2.29(-2.54)	0.684(0.581)
Self-assessed social position[^]	-0.033(-0.075)	0.099(0.109)	-0.33(-0.69)	0.968(0.927)
Gender (male=1)	0.655***(0.507*)	0.192(0.215)	3.41(2.36)	1.925(1.660)
Age	0.002(-0.003)	0.006(0.007)	0.26(-0.46)	1.002(0.997)
N = 933, LR $\chi^2(15) = 83$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.124$ (N = 591, LR $\chi^2(15) = 76.04$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.162$)				
2013 wave				
Church attendance	0.318***(0.368***)	0.094(0.109)	3.37(3.36)	1.374(1.445)
Catholic Church and politics	0.451***(0.518***)	0.070(0.082)	6.41(6.34)	1.570(1.679)
Opinion about the EU	0.242***(0.378***)	0.049(0.061)	4.94(6.18)	1.273(1.460)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	0.179(0.521***)	0.108(0.129)	1.65(4.03)	1.196(1.683)
Minority yields to majority	0.060(-0.002)	0.072(0.087)	0.84(-0.02)	1.062(0.998)
One good party is enough	0.094(0.137)	0.061(0.072)	1.53(1.92)	1.098(1.147)
Good leader can be above the law	-0.136(-0.209*)	0.079(0.099)	-1.71(-2.12)	0.873(0.811)
Opinion about state socialism	0.139(0.160)	0.097(0.113)	1.43(1.42)	1.149(1.174)
Place of residence	0.012(-0.009)	0.061(0.070)	0.20(-0.13)	1.012(0.991)
Education	-0.166(-0.104)	0.295(0.372)	-0.56(-0.28)	0.847(0.901)
Unemployed	0.429(0.863*)	0.330(0.376)	1.30(2.30)	1.536(2.371)
Household income per capita[^]	0.019(0.005)	0.059(0.052)	0.32(0.10)	1.019(1.005)
Self-assessed social position[^]	0.124(0.056)	0.091(0.113)	1.36(0.50)	1.132(1.058)
Gender (male=1)	0.552***(0.600**)	0.173(0.203)	3.19(2.95)	1.737(1.821)
Age	0.005(0.002)	0.007(0.008)	0.63(0.21)	1.005(1.002)
N = 856, LR $\chi^2(15) = 115.30$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.143$ (N = 630, LR $\chi^2(15) = 117.03$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.221$)				
2018 wave				
Church attendance	0.426***(0.408***)	0.083(0.106)	5.13(3.85)	1.531(1.503)
Catholic Church and politics	0.549***(0.785***)	0.078(0.111)	7.03(7.10)	1.731(2.193)
Opinion about the EU	0.169***(0.360***)	0.048(0.062)	3.48(5.77)	1.184(1.433)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	-0.363***(-0.426**)	0.106(0.134)	-3.42(-3.17)	0.695(0.653)
Minority yields to majority	0.202***(0.253**)	0.070(0.084)	2.88(3.00)	1.224(1.288)
One good party is enough	0.138*(0.207**)	0.061(0.079)	2.27(2.62)	1.149(1.230)
Good leader can be above the law	0.010(-0.050)	0.077(0.092)	0.12(-0.54)	1.010(0.951)
Opinion about state socialism	0.332***(0.345**)	0.098(0.128)	3.39(2.70)	1.393(1.412)
Place of residence	0.091(0.125)	0.057(0.073)	1.60(1.71)	1.095(1.133)
Education	-0.057(0.311)	0.260(0.394)	-0.22(0.79)	0.944(1.365)
Unemployed	-0.218(-0.017)	0.360(0.525)	-0.61(-0.03)	0.804(0.983)
Household income per capita[^]	-0.179*(-0.303**)	0.084(0.098)	-2.13(-3.10)	0.836(0.739)
Self-assessed social position[^]	-0.120(-0.202)	0.082(0.104)	-1.47(-1.94)	0.887(0.817)
Gender (male=1)	0.685***(0.467*)	0.162(0.199)	4.24(2.35)	1.984(1.595)
Age	-0.005(-0.015*)	0.005(0.006)	-1.00(-2.54)	0.995(0.985)
N = 966, LR $\chi^2(15) = 230.58$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.24$ (N = 780, LR $\chi^2(15) = 223.81$, Prob. $> \chi^2 = 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.365$)				

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

[^] Standardized

\$PO as right-wing

Table 4. Switching from socialist parties to right-wing

Independent variables	B	Robust S.E.	Z	Odds ratio
1993 => 1998				
Gender (male=1)	-1.888(-1.746)	1.273(1.172)	-1.48(-1.49)	0.151(0.175)
Age in 1998	0.048(0.031)	0.046(0.048)	1.05(0.66)	1.049(1.032)
Education	#(#)			
Place of residence	-0.331(-0.263)	0.567(0.535)	-0.58(-0.49)	0.718(0.769)
Self-assessed social pos. 98-93 [^]	-0.217(-0.214)	0.354(0.342)	-0.61(-0.63)	0.805(0.807)
Hh income per capita 98-93 [^]	-1.165(-1.355)	0.926(0.934)	-1.26(-1.45)	0.312(0.258)
Church attendance in 1998	1.953*(1.960)	0.784(0.796)	2.49(2.46)	7.052(7.100)
N = 61, LR $\chi^2(6) = 11.21$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.082$, R ² = 0.314(N = 53, LR $\chi^2(6) = 10.3$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.113$, R ² = 0.307)				
1998 => 2003				
Gender (male=1)	0.214(0.537)	0.584(0.633)	0.37(0.85)	1.238(1.711)
Age in 2003	-0.040(-0.047)	0.023(0.028)	-1.71(-1.68)	0.961(0.954)
Education	0.848(1.377)	0.639(0.770)	1.33(1.79)	2.336(3.963)
Place of residence	0.182(0.231)	0.242(0.283)	0.75(0.82)	1.200(1.260)
Self-assessed social pos. 03-98 [^]	0.153(-0.048)	0.243(0.290)	0.63(-0.17)	1.166(0.953)
Hh income per capita 03-98 [^]	0.407(0.568)	0.545(0.797)	0.75(0.71)	1.502(1.765)
Church attendance in 1998	0.016(-0.026)	0.308(0.339)	0.05(-0.08)	1.016(0.974)
N = 167, LR $\chi^2(7) = 6.18$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.519$, R ² = 0.058(N = 87, LR $\chi^2(7) = 5.49$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.601$, R ² = 0.093)				
2003 => 2008				
Gender (male=1)	-0.330(-0.514)	0.935(0.997)	-0.35(-0.51)	0.719(0.598)
Age in 2008	0.024(0.026)	0.022(0.022)	1.13(1.16)	1.025(1.026)
Education	1.325(1.259)	1.033(1.070)	1.28(1.18)	3.761(3.522)
Place of residence	0.582(0.750*)	0.325(0.356)	1.79(2.11)	1.790(2.116)
Self-assessed social pos. 08-03 [^]	-0.060(-0.067)	0.268(0.267)	-0.22(-0.25)	0.942(0.935)
Hh income per capita 08-03 [^]	-0.098(0.214)	0.565(0.520)	-0.17(0.41)	0.907(1.238)
Church attendance in 2003	0.023(-0.099)	0.490(0.511)	0.05(-0.19)	1.024(0.906)
N = 80, LR $\chi^2(7) = 11.99$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.101$, R ² = 0.094(N = 54, LR $\chi^2(7) = 10.81$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.147$, R ² = 0.119)				
2008 => 2013				
Gender (male=1)	2.092(5.536*)	2.298(2.147)	0.91(2.58)	8.100(253.744)
Age in 2013	0.009(0.039)	0.045(0.051)	0.21(0.77)	1.009(1.040)
Education	#(#)			
Place of residence	0.845(1.447)	0.700(0.534)	1.21(2.71)	2.328(4.250)
Self-assessed social pos. 13-08 [^]	-0.440(-1.191)	0.408(0.974)	-1.08(-1.22)	0.644(0.304)
Hh income per capita 13-08 [^]	0.092(-0.270)	0.267(0.457)	0.34(-0.59)	1.096(0.763)
Church attendance in 2008	1.437*(4.915)	0.660(3.314)	2.18(1.48)	4.210(136.377)
N = 21, LR $\chi^2(6) = 11.42$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.076$, R ² = 0.229(N = 19, LR $\chi^2(6) = 10.23$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.115$, R ² = 0.352)				
2013 => 2018				
Gender (male=1)	0.208(-0.124)	1.279(1.474)	0.16(-0.08)	1.231(0.883)
Age in 2018	-0.128**(-0.121**)	0.045(0.044)	-2.85(-2.76)	0.880(0.886)
Education	#(#)			
Place of residence	-0.379(-0.383)	0.451(0.451)	-0.84(-0.85)	0.684(0.682)
Self-assessed social pos. 18-13 [^]	0.252(0.484)	0.562(0.737)	0.45(0.66)	1.287(1.623)
Hh income per capita 18-13 [^]	-0.215(0.073)	0.938(0.899)	-0.23(0.08)	0.806(1.076)
Church attendance in 2013	1.180**(0.993*)	0.437(0.432)	2.7(2.30)	3.254(2.700)
N = 29, LR $\chi^2(6) = 21.83$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.001$, R ² = 0.422(N = 26, LR $\chi^2(6) = 19.27$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.004$, R ² = 0.397)				

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

[^] Standardized

omitted: education(0) predicts failure perfectly

FULL REGRESSION TABLES

Ad. Figure 3. Characteristics of support for the Right across six consecutive POLPAN waves: logistic regression models.

Independent variables	B	Robust S.E.	Z	Odds ratio
1993 wave				
Church attendance	0.254(0.274)	0.228(0.257)	1.12(1.06)	1.289(1.315)
Opinion about state socialism	0.204(0.178)	0.238(0.260)	0.86(0.69)	1.227(1.195)
Place of residence	-0.275(-0.324)	0.186(0.200)	-1.48(-1.62)	0.760(0.724)
Education	-0.288(0.237)	0.691(0.795)	-0.42(0.30)	0.750(1.267)
Unemployed	-0.024(-0.213)	1.109(1.089)	-0.02(-0.20)	0.976(0.808)
Household income per capita 93-88 [^]	-0.107(-0.116)	0.246(0.228)	-0.44(-0.51)	0.898(0.890)
Self-assessed social position 93-88 [^]	0.017(-0.031)	0.208(0.209)	0.08(-0.15)	1.017(0.969)
Gender (male=1)	-0.008(-0.343)	0.454(0.453)	-0.02(-0.76)	0.992(0.710)
Age	-0.004(-0.019)	0.019(0.020)	-0.21(-0.92)	0.996(0.981)
N = 366, LR $\chi^2(9) = 6.8$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.658$, R ² = 0.034(N = 233, LR $\chi^2(9) = 7.52$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.583$, R ² = 0.042)				
1998 wave				
Church attendance	0.551***(0.490**)	0.142(0.164)	3.88(2.99)	1.735(1.633)
Catholic Church and politics	0.408***(0.491***)	0.094(0.110)	4.36(4.48)	1.504(1.634)
Opinion about the EU	-0.278*(-0.209)	0.139(0.153)	-2.00(-1.36)	0.757(0.812)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	-0.168(-0.214)	0.153(0.167)	-1.10(-1.28)	0.845(0.808)
Minority yields to majority	0.021(-0.020)	0.093(0.104)	0.23(-0.19)	1.021(0.981)
One good party is enough	-0.052(0.083)	0.084(0.090)	-0.62(0.92)	0.949(1.086)
Good leader can be above the law	0.114(0.098)	0.103(0.112)	1.10(0.88)	1.120(1.104)
Opinion about state socialism	0.246(0.284)	0.132(0.149)	1.86(1.91)	1.279(1.329)
Place of residence	0.037(0.011)	0.091(0.103)	0.41(0.11)	1.037(1.011)
Education	-0.058(0.197)	0.306(0.352)	-0.19(0.56)	0.944(1.217)
Unemployed	-0.447(-0.093)	0.442(0.499)	-1.01(-0.19)	0.639(0.911)
Household income per capita 98-93 [^]	0.048(0.035)	0.067(0.066)	0.73(0.54)	1.050(1.036)
Self-assessed social position 98-93 [^]	-0.001(-0.002)	0.094(0.108)	-0.01(-0.02)	0.999(0.998)
Gender (male=1)	0.324(0.285)	0.234(0.256)	1.39(1.11)	1.383(1.329)
Age	-0.012(-0.028*)	0.012(0.013)	-0.96(-2.15)	0.988(0.972)
N = 484, LR $\chi^2(15) = 71.4$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.137(N = 365, LR $\chi^2(15) = 55.2$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.148)				
2003 wave				
Church attendance	0.409***(0.282*)/ 0.375***(0.263*)\$	0.104(0.121)/ 0.091(0.122)\$	3.94(2.33)/ 4.11(2.16)\$	1.506(1.326)/ 1.455(1.301)\$
Catholic Church and politics	-0.020(0.077)/ 0.050(0.219*)\$	0.076(0.091)/ 0.067(0.090)\$	-0.27(0.85)/ 0.75(2.43)\$	0.980(1.080)/ 1.051(1.245)\$
Opinion about the EU	0.337***(0.564***)/ 0.029(0.303*)\$	0.115(0.130)/ 0.105(0.139)\$	2.92(4.32)/ 0.27(2.17)\$	1.401(1.757)/ 1.029(1.354)\$
Conflict btw the elite and the people	0.210(0.301*)/ 0.153(0.298*)\$	0.128(0.148)/ 0.115(0.151)\$	1.64(2.03)/ 1.33(1.96)\$	1.233(1.351)/ 1.165(1.347)\$
Minority yields to majority	0.050(0.062)/ -0.001(-0.021)\$	0.079(0.093)/ 0.071(0.096)\$	0.64(0.67)/ -0.02(-0.22)\$	1.052(1.064)/ 0.999(0.979)\$
One good party is enough	0.023(0.174*)/- 0.159***(0.006)\$	0.066(0.072)/ 0.060(0.077)\$	0.35(2.42)/ -2.67(0.08)\$	1.024(1.190)/ 0.853(1.006)\$
Good leader can be above the law	-0.036(-0.043)/ 0.032(0.072)\$	0.085(0.101)/ 0.077(0.103)\$	-0.42(-0.42)/ 0.41(0.70)\$	0.964(0.958)/ 1.032(1.074)\$
Opinion about state socialism	0.229*(0.182)/ 0.390****(0.450****)\$	0.092(0.111)/ 0.082(0.111)\$	2.49(1.64)/ 4.75(4.06)\$	1.257(1.199)/ 1.477(1.569)\$
Place of residence	0.034(0.013)/ -0.101(-0.223***)\$	0.070(0.079)/ 0.061(0.084)\$	0.49(0.17)/ -1.66(-2.64)\$	1.035(1.014)/ 0.904(0.800)\$
Education	0.116(0.593*)/- 0.228(0.301)\$	0.240(0.300)/ 0.231(0.321)\$	0.48(1.98)/ -0.99(0.94)\$	1.123(1.810)/ 0.796(1.351)\$
Unemployed	-0.102(-0.021)/ -0.183(-0.210)\$	0.224(0.262)/ 0.196(0.257)\$	-0.46(-0.08)/ -0.94(-0.82)\$	0.903(0.979)/ 0.833(0.811)\$
Household income per capita 03-98 [^]	-0.042(0.010)/ -0.164(-0.203)\$	0.148(0.159)/ 0.109(0.141)\$	-0.28(0.06)/ -1.51(-1.44)\$	0.959(1.010)/ 0.849(0.816)\$

Self-assessed social position 03-98 [^]	-0.130(-0.156)/ -0.040(-0.042)\$	0.085(0.095)/ 0.075(0.096)\$	-1.53(-1.64)/ -0.54(-0.44)\$	0.878(0.856)/ 0.960(0.958)\$
Gender (male=1)	0.502***(0.398)/ 0.459***(0.460*)\$	0.184(0.219)/ 0.165(0.219)\$	2.73(1.82)/ 2.79(2.10)\$	1.652(1.489)/ 1.583(1.584)\$
Age	0.000(-0.014)/ 0.017(0.004)\$	0.007(0.009)/ 0.007(0.009)\$	-0.04(-1.55)/ 2.51(0.42)\$	1.000(0.986)/ 1.017(1.004)\$
N = 762, LR $\chi^2(15) = 41.08$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.052(N = 467, LR $\chi^2(15) = 52.56$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.09)/ N=762, LR $\chi^2(15)=80.81$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.000$, R ² =0.086(N=467, LR $\chi^2(15)=62.82$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.000$, R ² =0.104)				
2008 wave				
Church attendance	0.510***(0.453***)	0.138(0.157)	3.70(2.89)	1.666(1.573)
Catholic Church and politics	0.402***(0.397***)	0.085(0.099)	4.70(4.03)	1.494(1.488)
Opinion about the EU	0.269(0.774***)	0.171(0.226)	1.58(3.43)	1.309(2.168)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	0.165(0.211)	0.144(0.170)	1.14(1.24)	1.179(1.234)
Minority yields to majority	0.022(0.156)	0.109(0.131)	0.20(1.19)	1.022(1.169)
One good party is enough	-0.038(0.049)	0.078(0.089)	-0.48(0.55)	0.963(1.050)
Good leader can be above the law	-0.027(-0.025)	0.110(0.122)	-0.25(-0.20)	0.973(0.976)
Opinion about state socialism	0.433***(0.328*)	0.128(0.144)	3.40(2.28)	1.542(1.389)
Place of residence	0.144(0.214*)	0.091(0.106)	1.58(2.02)	1.155(1.238)
Education	0.591(0.961**)	0.308(0.359)	1.92(2.68)	1.807(2.614)
Unemployed	-0.092(0.142)	0.503(0.622)	-0.18(0.23)	0.912(1.153)
Household income per capita 08-03 [^]	-0.319**(-0.435**)	0.110(0.146)	-2.89(-2.98)	0.727(0.647)
Self-assessed social position 08-03 [^]	-0.031(-0.001)	0.092(0.100)	-0.34(-0.01)	0.969(0.999)
Gender (male=1)	0.587***(0.373)	0.223(0.252)	2.63(1.48)	1.799(1.452)
Age	-0.006(-0.009)	0.008(0.010)	-0.72(-1.00)	0.994(0.991)
N = 673, LR $\chi^2(15) = 64.94$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.142(N = 440, LR $\chi^2(15) = 60.52$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.184)				
2013 wave				
Church attendance	0.306*(0.303)	0.152(0.168)	2.02(1.80)	1.359(1.354)
Catholic Church and politics	0.574***(0.649***)	0.102(0.116)	5.61(5.61)	1.776(1.913)
Opinion about the EU	0.301***(0.366***)	0.089(0.105)	3.40(3.49)	1.351(1.442)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	0.141(0.383*)	0.163(0.196)	0.86(1.96)	1.151(1.467)
Minority yields to majority	0.010(-0.078)	0.115(0.135)	0.08(-0.58)	1.010(0.925)
One good party is enough	0.106(0.180)	0.096(0.113)	1.10(1.59)	1.112(1.197)
Good leader can be above the law	-0.020(-0.115)	0.125(0.145)	-0.16(-0.79)	0.980(0.891)
Opinion about state socialism	0.223(0.160)	0.142(0.167)	1.57(0.96)	1.250(1.173)
Place of residence	0.032(0.067)	0.100(0.109)	0.32(0.61)	1.033(1.069)
Education	-0.199(-0.442)	0.449(0.595)	-0.44(-0.74)	0.819(0.643)
Unemployed	0.711(1.041)	0.546(0.581)	1.30(1.79)	2.035(2.831)
Household income per capita 13-08 [^]	-0.269(-0.179)	0.145(0.133)	-1.85(-1.34)	0.764(0.836)
Self-assessed social position 13-08 [^]	0.121(0.127)	0.106(0.138)	1.14(0.92)	1.128(1.135)
Gender (male=1)	0.905***(0.925**)	0.271(0.314)	3.34(2.95)	2.471(2.522)
Age	0.002(0.000)	0.012(0.014)	0.14(0.01)	1.002(1.000)
N = 385, LR $\chi^2(15) = 73.58$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.211(N = 283, LR $\chi^2(15) = 64.19$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.261)				
2018 wave				
Church attendance	0.389***(0.454***)	0.114(0.136)	3.41(3.32)	1.475(1.574)
Catholic Church and politics	0.608***(0.838***)	0.109(0.147)	5.55(5.71)	1.836(2.313)
Opinion about the EU	0.231***(0.410***)	0.063(0.082)	3.66(4.99)	1.259(1.507)
Conflict btw the elite and the people	-0.488**(-0.436**)	0.149(0.188)	-3.27(-2.32)	0.614(0.647)
Minority yields to majority	0.184*(0.256**)	0.087(0.109)	2.11(2.35)	1.202(1.292)
One good party is enough	0.242***(0.392***)	0.083(0.108)	2.93(3.65)	1.274(1.481)
Good leader can be above the law	-0.037(-0.230)	0.107(0.122)	-0.35(-1.88)	0.964(0.795)
Opinion about state socialism	0.263*(0.175)	0.128(0.158)	2.06(1.11)	1.301(1.191)
Place of residence	0.186***(0.163)	0.077(0.095)	2.42(1.72)	1.205(1.178)
Education	-0.515(-0.014)	0.375(0.551)	-1.37(-0.03)	0.598(0.986)
Unemployed	-0.383(0.245)	0.507(0.690)	-0.76(0.35)	0.682(1.277)
Household income per capita 18-13 [^]	-0.015(-0.040)	0.047(0.053)	-0.32(-0.76)	0.985(0.960)
Self-assessed social position 18-13 [^]	-0.054(0.030)	0.085(0.105)	-0.64(0.28)	0.947(1.030)
Gender (male=1)	0.619***(0.422)	0.216(0.262)	2.87(1.61)	1.857(1.525)
Age	-0.006(-0.022**)	0.008(0.010)	-0.76(-2.25)	0.994(0.979)
N = 563, LR $\chi^2(15) = 132.92$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.27(N = 466, LR $\chi^2(15) = 119.37$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.377)				

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

[^] Standardized

\$PO as right-wing

Ad. Figure 4.

(Table I). Predictors of switching to the Right across two consecutive POLPAN waves with two variants of the dependent variable: logistic regression models.

Independent variables	B	Robus t S.E.	Z	Odds ratio
1993 => 1998				
Gender (male=1)	-0.014(-0.199)	0.288(0.357)	-0.05(-0.56)	0.986(0.819)
Age in 1998	0.018(0.003)	0.014(0.018)	1.26(0.15)	1.018(1.003)
Education	-0.560(0.003)	0.395(0.586)	-1.42(0.00)	0.571(1.003)
Place of residence	0.138(0.177)	0.108(0.143)	1.28(1.24)	1.148(1.194)
Self-assessed social pos. 98-93 [^]	0.040(-0.044)	0.107(0.156)	0.38(-0.28)	1.041(0.957)
Hh income per capita 98-93 [^]	0.133*(0.120)	0.063(0.065)	2.10(1.84)	1.143(1.128)
N = 313, LR $\chi^2(6) = 7.98$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.239$, R ² = 0.018(N = 166, LR $\chi^2(6) = 4.99$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.545$, R ² = 0.018)				
1998 => 2003				
Gender (male=1)	0.510*(0.585)	0.230(0.330)	2.22(1.77)	1.665(1.795)
Age in 2003	-0.011(-0.027)	0.009(0.015)	-1.20(-1.83)	0.989(0.973)
Education	0.451(1.210**)	0.282(0.431)	1.60(2.81)	1.570(3.354)
Place of residence	0.055(-0.077)	0.085(0.122)	0.64(-0.64)	1.056(0.925)
Self-assessed social pos. 03-98 [^]	-0.011(-0.050)	0.102(0.142)	-0.11(-0.35)	0.989(0.951)
Hh income per capita 03-98 [^]	-0.065(-0.248)	0.177(0.290)	-0.36(-0.85)	0.937(0.781)
N = 572, LR $\chi^2(6) = 9.04$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.171$, R ² = 0.018(N = 223, LR $\chi^2(6) = 10.78$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.095$, R ² = 0.051)				
2003 => 2008				
Gender (male=1)	0.416(0.335)	0.309(0.508)	1.35(0.66)	1.516(1.398)
Age in 2008	-0.020*(-0.025)	0.009(0.015)	-2.12(-1.73)	0.980(0.975)
Education	0.912**(1.616*)	0.348(0.648)	2.62(2.49)	2.489(5.031)
Place of residence	0.132(0.249)	0.119(0.199)	1.11(1.25)	1.141(1.283)
Self-assessed social pos. 08-03 [^]	-0.041(-0.109)	0.120(0.177)	-0.34(-0.62)	0.960(0.897)
Hh income per capita 08-03 [^]	-0.330***(-0.311***)	0.089(0.086)	-3.72(-3.60)	0.719(0.733)
N = 508, LR $\chi^2(6) = 25.62$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.000$, R ² = 0.06(N = 206, LR $\chi^2(6) = 21.66$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.001$, R ² = 0.113)				
2008 => 2013				
Gender (male=1)	0.182(0.244)	0.270(0.431)	0.67(0.57)	1.199(1.276)
Age in 2013	0.011(-0.014)	0.009(0.013)	1.28(-1.06)	1.011(0.986)
Education	-0.686(#)	0.546(#)	-1.26(#)	0.503(#)
Place of residence	0.090(0.149)	0.103(0.158)	0.88(0.94)	1.095(1.160)
Self-assessed social pos. 13-08 [^]	0.029(0.024)	0.112(0.217)	0.26(0.11)	1.030(1.024)
Hh income per capita 13-08 [^]	-0.228*(-0.209)	0.110(0.132)	-2.07(-1.58)	0.796(0.812)
N = 413, LR $\chi^2(6) = 9.25$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.16$, R ² = 0.019(N = 174, LR $\chi^2(6) = 4.69$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.455$, R ² = 0.025)				
2013 => 2018				
Gender (male=1)	0.244(-0.090)	0.231(0.333)	1.05(-0.27)	1.276(0.914)
Age in 2018	-0.016*(-0.040***)	0.007(0.011)	-2.23(-3.63)	0.984(0.961)
Education	0.422(1.666*)	0.394(0.693)	1.07(2.40)	1.524(5.292)
Place of residence	0.134(0.150)	0.086(0.121)	1.56(1.23)	1.143(1.161)
Self-assessed social pos. 18-13 [^]	-0.137(0.192)	0.100(0.167)	-1.36(1.14)	0.872(1.211)
Hh income per capita 18-13 [^]	0.002(-0.007)	0.054(0.055)	0.04(-0.13)	1.002(0.993)
N = 362, LR $\chi^2(6) = 10.61$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.101$, R ² = 0.024(N = 191, LR $\chi^2(6) = 17.68$, Prob. > $\chi^2 = 0.007$, R ² = 0.09)				

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

[^] Standardized

omitted: education(0) predicts failure perfectly

(Table II). Predictors of switching to the Right across two consecutive POLPAN waves with two variants of the dependent variable: logistic regression models; *Models with church attendance variables*

Independent variables	B	Robust S.E.	Z	Odds ratio
1993 => 1998				
Church attendance	0.762***(0.750***)	0.173(0.217)	4.41(3.46)	2.142(2.118)
Gender (male=1)	0.250(0.031)	0.296(0.364)	0.84(0.08)	1.284(1.031)
Age in 1998	0.011(-0.007)	0.015(0.018)	0.78(-0.38)	1.012(0.993)
Education	-0.561(0.114)	0.393(0.576)	-1.43(0.20)	0.571(1.121)
Place of residence	0.011(0.015)	0.107(0.145)	0.10(0.10)	1.011(1.015)
Self-assessed social pos. 98-93 [^]	0.054(0.016)	0.116(0.161)	0.46(0.10)	1.055(1.016)
Hh income per capita 98-93 [^]	0.140*(0.125)	0.081(0.083)	1.72(1.51)	1.150(1.134)
N=298, LR $\chi^2(7)=25.16$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.001$, R ² =0.085(N=159, LR $\chi^2(7)=14.03$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.051$, R ² =0.081)				
1998 => 2003				
Church attendance	0.393***(0.602***)	0.132(0.213)	2.99(2.83)	1.482(1.825)
Gender (male=1)	0.641***(0.766*)	0.242(0.359)	2.65(2.13)	1.898(2.151)
Age in 2003	-0.018(-0.031*)	0.009(0.015)	-1.91(-2.02)	0.982(0.969)
Education	0.558(1.531***)	0.288(0.45)	1.94(3.40)	1.747(4.622)
Place of residence	0.005(-0.131)	0.092(0.135)	0.06(-0.97)	1.005(0.877)
Self-assessed social pos. 03-98 [^]	0.062(0.09)	0.104(0.152)	0.60(0.59)	1.064(1.094)
Hh income per capita 03-98 [^]	-0.137(-0.493)	0.176(0.305)	-0.78(-1.62)	0.872(0.611)
N=522, LR $\chi^2(7)=22.07$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.003$, R ² =0.04(N=211, LR $\chi^2(7)=21.64$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.003$, R ² =0.102)				
2003 => 2008				
Church attendance	0.238(0.313)	0.181(0.316)	1.31(0.99)	1.268(1.367)
Gender (male=1)	0.498(0.525)	0.323(0.531)	1.54(0.99)	1.645(1.690)
Age in 2008	-0.021*(-0.027)	0.010(0.016)	-2.06(-1.73)	0.979(0.973)
Education	0.911***(1.596*)	0.353(0.678)	2.58(2.35)	2.488(4.934)
Place of residence	0.071(0.203)	0.121(0.211)	0.59(0.96)	1.073(1.225)
Self-assessed social pos. 08-03 [^]	-0.029(-0.131)	0.122(0.181)	-0.24(-0.72)	0.972(0.877)
Hh income per capita 08-03 [^]	-0.340***(0.311***)	0.096(0.091)	-3.55(-3.40)	0.712(0.733)
N=474, LR $\chi^2(7)=23.01$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.002$, R ² =0.061(N=188, LR $\chi^2(7)=21.72$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.003$, R ² =0.125)				
2008 => 2013				
Church attendance	0.382*(0.333)	0.165(0.270)	2.32(1.23)	1.466(1.395)
Gender (male=1)	0.257(0.221)	0.274(0.441)	0.94(0.50)	1.293(1.248)
Age in 2013	0.010(-0.014)	0.009(0.014)	1.07(-1.00)	1.010(0.986)
Education	-0.867(0.000)	0.544(#)	#(-1.59)	0.420 (#)
Place of residence	0.041(0.139)	0.106(0.168)	0.38(0.83)	1.042(1.149)
Self-assessed social pos. 13-08 [^]	0.026(0.064)	0.118(0.213)	0.22(0.30)	1.027(1.066)
Hh income per capita 13-08 [^]	-0.282*(-0.223)	0.126(0.141)	-2.24(-1.58)	0.754(0.800)
N=380, LR $\chi^2(7)=16.51$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.021$, R ² =0.040(N=156, LR $\chi^2(7)=5.96$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.428$, R ² =0.037)				
2013 => 2018				
Church attendance	0.354***(0.400***)	0.111(0.154)	3.19(2.60)	1.42(1.49)
Gender (male=1)	0.396(0.085)	0.239(0.344)	1.66(0.25)	1.49(1.09)
Age in 2018	-0.020***(0.044***)	0.007(0.011)	-2.70(-3.89)	0.98(0.96)
Education	0.358(1.535*)	0.401(0.736)	0.89(2.09)	1.43(4.64)
Place of residence	0.078(0.126)	0.090(0.126)	0.86(1.00)	1.08(1.13)
Self-assessed social pos. 18-13 [^]	-0.153(0.185)	0.102(0.171)	-1.50(1.09)	0.86(1.20)
Hh income per capita 18-13 [^]	-0.015(-0.028)	0.055(0.057)	-0.27(-0.50)	0.99(0.97)
N=360, LR $\chi^2(7)=21.27$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.003$, R ² =0.048(N=189, LR $\chi^2(7)=22.32$, Prob. > $\chi^2=0.002$, R ² =0.12)				

* p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

[^] Standardized

omitted: education(0) predicts failure perfectly