Authoritarian Values and the Welfare State:
The Social Policy Preferences of Radical Right Voters

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Online Appendix

Figure A1: Estimated share of supporters for more spending on different welfare components with design-based standard errors. Party families are classified according to the ParlGov-Dataset (Döring and Manow, 2020).
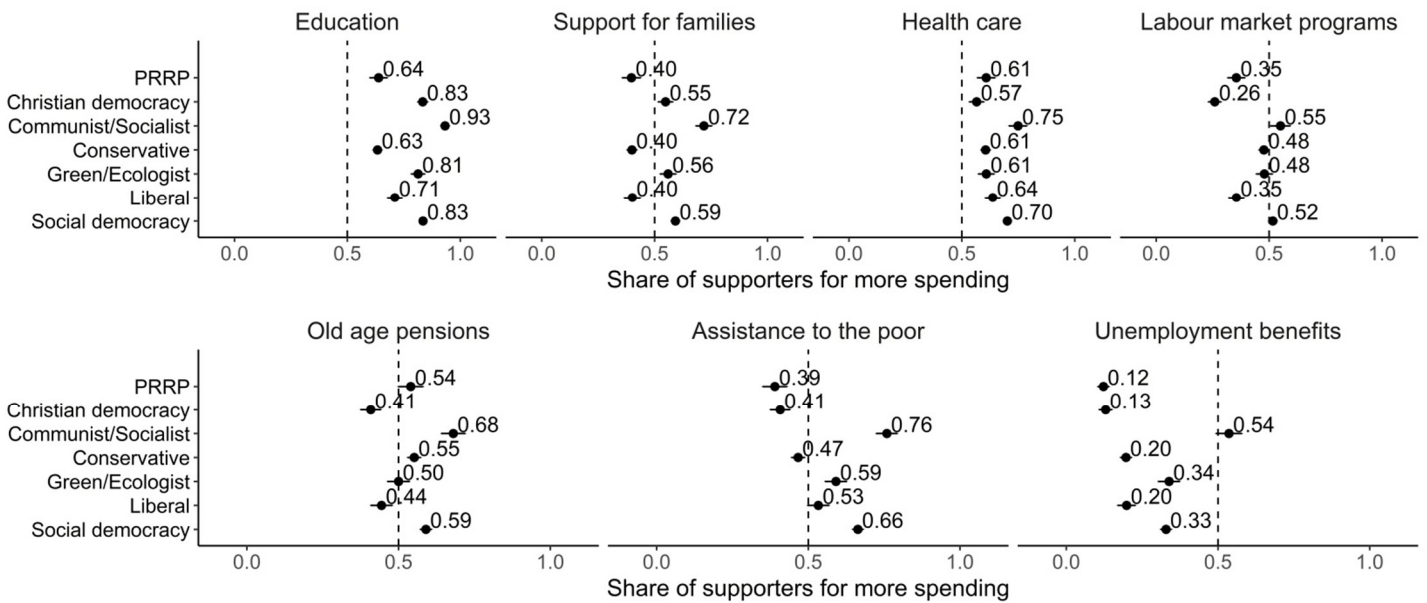
Figure A2: Regression results for welfare dimensions. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals based on standard errors derived from cluster-bootstrapped t-statistics. No country fixed effects are included.
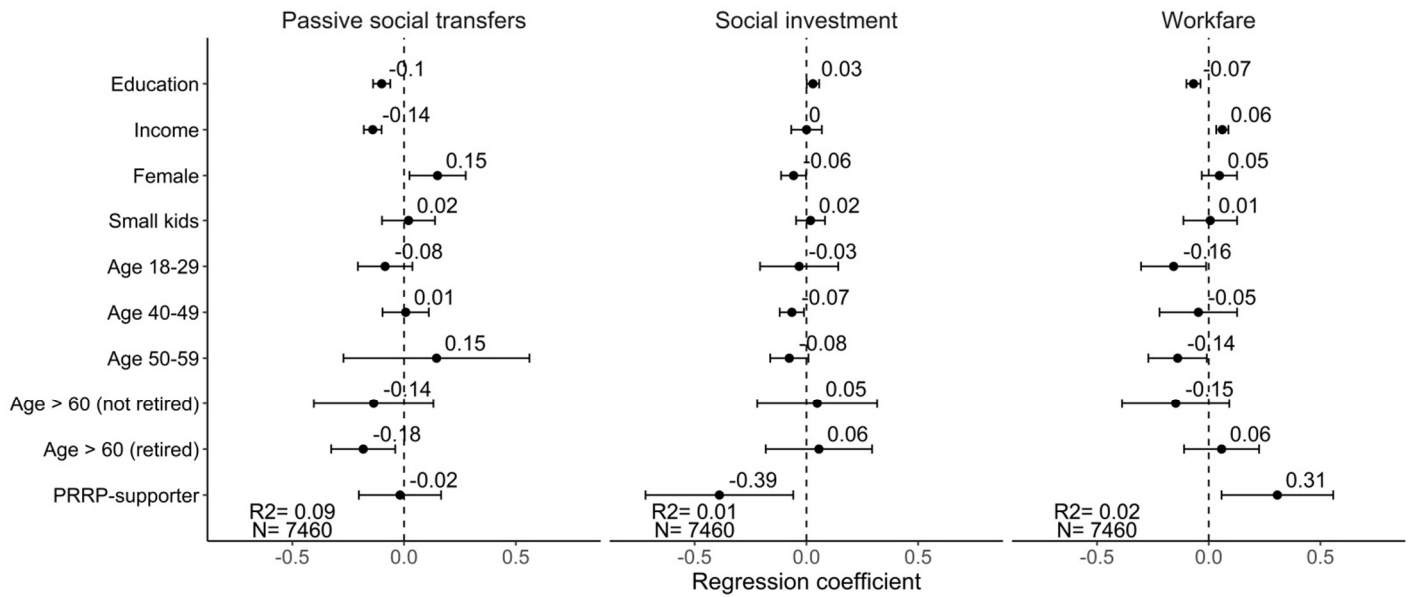

Figure A3: Regression effects of PRRP support on three latent dimensions of social policy preferences. Regressions include demographic controls and exclude one country at a time. Point estimates with 95% confidence intervals.
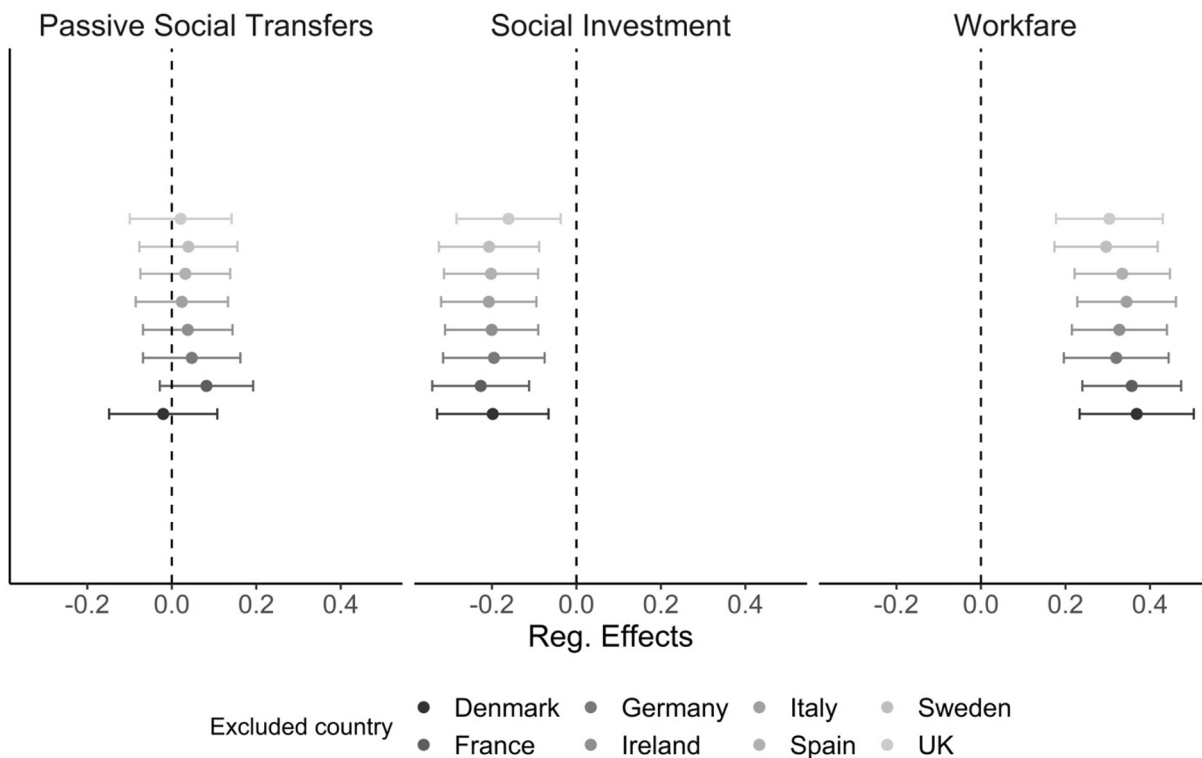
Figure A4: Regression results for welfare dimensions. Error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals derived from design-based standard errors. All models include country fixed effects.
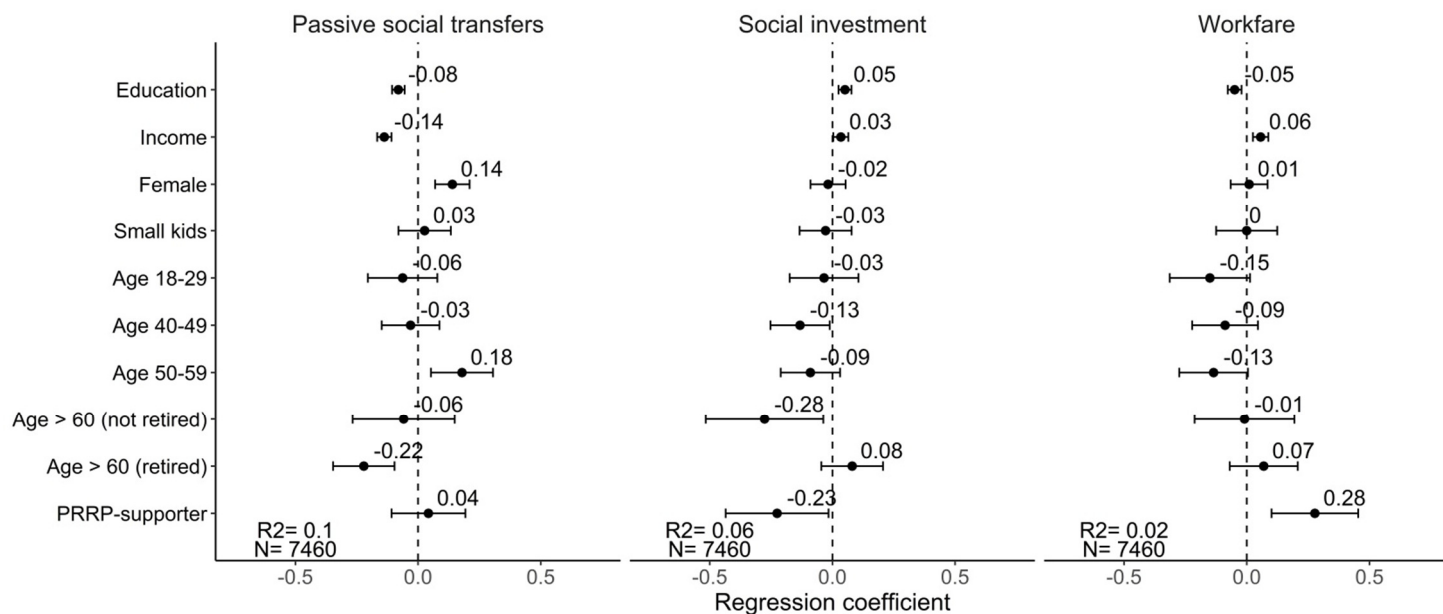
Table A1: Results for factor analysis of policy reform items. Parallel analysis, Scree test and the Eigenvalue > 1 criterion suggest three factors. Results after Varimax-rotation.

	Social investment	Passive social transfers	Workfare
Labour market training	**0.39**	0.14	**-0.61**
Expand early childcare	**0.76**	0.08	0.04
Universities and Research	**0.76**	0.00	-0.10
Accept job quickly	0.13	0.03	**0.88**
Pension increase	0.09	**0.79**	0.10
Early retirement	0.00	**0.76**	-0.16

Table A2: Summary statistics of independent and dependent variables.

	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Pctl(75)	Max
Passive social transfers	8,281	0.010	1.000	-2.516	-0.706	0.850	2.531
Social investment	8,281	0.007	0.998	-4.573	-0.536	0.730	2.007
Workfare	8,281	0.004	1.000	-2.843	-0.754	0.680	2.791
Health care	8,804	0.687	0.464	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Unemployment benefeits	8,673	0.298	0.457	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Labour market programs	8,559	0.451	0.498	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Assistance to the poor	8,719	0.579	0.494	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Support for families	8,652	0.482	0.500	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Old age pensions	8,729	0.547	0.498	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Education (DV)	8,833	0.755	0.430	0.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Small kids	8,872	0.138	0.345	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Income	7,982	2.627	1.359	1.000	1.000	4.000	5.000
Female	8,904	0.541	0.498	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Education (IV)	8,856	3.376	1.531	1.000	2.000	5.000	5.000
Age 18-29	8,881	0.099	0.298	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Age 30-39	8,881	0.178	0.382	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Age 50-59	8,881	0.209	0.406	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Age > 60 (not retired)	8,881	0.095	0.294	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Age > 60 (retired)	8,905	0.317	0.465	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Age > 60	8,881	0.413	0.492	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
Social values right	7,964	-0.018	1.000	-3.019	-0.706	0.672	2.877
Economic right	7,964	0.003	1.000	-2.489	-0.697	0.893	2.263
PRRP_supporter	8,905	0.049	0.217	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000

Table A3: Estimated share and actual share of PRRP-votes in European and national elections based on the INVEDUC survey and the ParlGov Database (Döring and Manow 2020). The national election closest to the polling year, 2014, was selected.

	Estimated Share	EP-Election (2014)	National elections (year)
Denmark	21.4	26.6	20.58 (2015)
France	5.26	24.86	13.6 (2012)
Germany	4.58	7.1	4.7 (2013)
Italy	3.91	6.15	4.1 (2013)
Sweden	10.2	9.67	12.86 (2014)
UK	13.2	27.49	12.65 (2015)

Table A4: Party/party-family pairs based on respondents' indication of party affiliation in the INVEDUC-Survey and their corresponding coding in the ParlGov-Dataset. Note that the category PRRP is unavailable in ParlGov and was assigned by the researchers.

	Party	Party-Family
Germany	Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen	Green/Ecologist
	Christlich Demokratische Union	Christian democracy
	Christlich Soziale Union	Christian democracy
	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands	Social democracy
	Die Linke / PDS	Communist/Socialist
	Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands	Right-wing
	Piratenpartei Deutschland	Special issue
	Alternative für Deutschland	PRRP
	Freie Demokratische Partei	Liberal
Italy	Partito Democratico	Social democracy
	Forza Italia – Il Popolo della Libertà	Conservative
	Movimento 5 Stelle	Green/Ecologist
	Union Valdôtaine	Special issue
	Sinistra (Ecologia) Libertà	Communist/Socialist
	Lega Nord	PRRP
	Scelta Civica	Liberal
	Südtiroler Volkspartei	Special issue
Spain	Partido Socialista Obrero Español	Social democracy
	Unión Progreso y Democracia	Liberal
	Partido Communista | Izquierda Unida	Communist/Socialist
	Alianza-Partido Popular	Conservative
	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya	Special issue
	Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya	Social democracy
	Convergència i Unió	Conservative
	Partido Nacionalista Vasco – Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea	Christian democracy
Sweden	Moderaterna	Conservative
	Vänsterpartiet (kommunisterna)	Communist/Socialist
	Socialdemokraterna	Social democracy
	Sverigedemokraterna	PRRP
	Centerpartiet	Agrarian
	Miljöpartiet de Gröna	Green/Ecologist
	Folkpartiet	Liberal
	Kristdemokraterna	Christian democracy
UK	Labour Party	Social democracy
	Conservatives	Conservative
	United Kingdom Independence Party	PRRP
	Green Party	Green/Ecologist
	Social Democratic and Labour Party	Social democracy
	Liberals	Liberal
	Scottish National Party – Pàrtaidh Nàiseanta na h-Alba	Social democracy
	Plaid Cymru	Special issue
	British National Party	Right-wing

	Democratic Unionist Party	Conservative
	Sinn Féin	Communist/Socialist
Denmark	Venstre	Liberal
	Konservative	Conservative
	Dansk Folkeparti	PRRP
	Socialdemokraterne	Social democracy
	Det Radikale Venstre	Liberal
	Enhedslisten – De Rød-Grønne	Communist/Socialist
	Socialistisk Folkeparti	Green/Ecologist
	Ny-Liberal Alliance	Liberal
Ireland	Fine Gael	Christian democracy
	Sinn Féin	Communist/Socialist
	Fianna Fáil	Conservative
	Socialist Party	Communist/Socialist
	Labour Party	Social democracy
	Green Party – Comhaontas Glas	Green/Ecologist
France	Union pour un mouvement populaire | Les Républicains	Conservative
	Rassemblement des gauches républicaines	Conservative
	Les Verts	Green/Ecologist
	Parti radical de gauche	Social democracy
	Parti socialiste	Social democracy
	divers droite	Conservative
	Union pour la démocratie française | Mouvement démocrate	Conservative
	Alliance centriste	Liberal
	divers gauche	Social democracy
	Front national	PRRP
	Nouveau centre	Liberal

Table A5: Linear-regression results for welfare dimensions. Country-clustered standard errors in parentheses. All models include country fixed effects.

	Social investment		Workfare		Passive social transfers	
	(1)	**(2)**	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(1)**	**(2)**
Intercept	-0.61 ***	-0.57 ***	-0.05	-0.11	0.40 ***	0.38 ***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Education	0.05 ***	0.04 ***	-0.06 ***	-0.02 *	-0.09 ***	-0.07 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income	0.02 *	0.02	0.07 ***	0.07 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.10 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	-0.04	-0.04	0.05	0.05	0.14 **	0.10 **
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Small kids	0.01	0.02	0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Age 18-29	-0.02	-0.04	-0.14 *	-0.13 **	-0.04	-0.01
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age 40-49	-0.06 *	-0.06 *	-0.05	-0.07	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age 50-59	-0.06	-0.07	-0.14 **	-0.15 **	0.14 **	0.15 ***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age > 60 (not retired)	0.05	0.06	-0.07	-0.10	-0.01	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.05)
Age > 60 (retired)	0.13 **	0.16 ***	0.07	-0.03	-0.15 **	-0.13 **
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Social values right		-0.08 ***		0.25 ***		0.15 ***
		(0.02)		(0.03)		(0.01)
Economic right		-0.05 ***		0.16 ***		-0.14 ***
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.02)
PRRP-supporter	-0.20 ***	-0.14 ***	0.34 ***	0.19 ***	0.04	-0.03
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.05)
N	7460	6907	7460	6907	7460	6907
R2	0.07	0.08	0.03	0.10	0.13	0.17

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

Table A6: Logistic regression results for spending variables. Country-clustered standard errors in parentheses. All models include country fixed effects.

	Health care	Unemploy-ment benefits	Old age pensions	Assistance to the poor	Support for families	Education	Labour market programs
Intercept	1.45 ***	-0.23	0.42 *	0.31 **	-0.17	0.43 *	-1.10 ***
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.09)
Education	-0.13 ***	-0.05	-0.12 ***	-0.01	-0.09 ***	0.05 *	-0.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Income	-0.16 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.01	-0.13 ***
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Female	0.36 ***	0.05	0.26 ***	0.06	-0.06	-0.03	0.08
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Small kids	-0.13	-0.05	-0.18	-0.04	0.28 **	0.03	-0.14
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Age 18-29	-0.02	0.03	-0.31 *	0.05	0.16	0.05	-0.05
	(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.05)
Age 40-49	0.03	0.17	0.09	0.13	-0.15 *	-0.01	0.02
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.07)
Age 50-59	-0.02	0.34 **	0.16	0.29 **	-0.12	0.01	0.13 *
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.06)
Age > 60 (not retired)	0.01	0.35 *	0.09	0.45 ***	0.06	-0.13	0.00
	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.11)
Age > 60 (retired)	-0.22 **	0.19	0.03	0.34 ***	-0.28 *	-0.13	-0.07
	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.05)
PRRP-supporter	-0.09	-0.49 ***	0.26	-0.56 ***	-0.25 *	-0.30	-0.14
	(0.22)	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.16)
N	7878	7768	7825	7814	7769	7909	7693
R2	0.08	0.10	0.08	0.07	0.12	0.07	0.07

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

Table A7: Logistic regression results for spending variables. Country-clustered standard errors in parentheses. All models include country fixed effects.

	Health care	Unemployment benefits	Old age pensions	Assistance to the poor	Support for families	Education	Labour market programs
Intercept	1.57 ***	-0.13	0.39	0.42 ***	-0.10	0.45 *	-1.02 ***
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.21)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.21)	(0.08)
Education	-0.12 ***	-0.09 ***	-0.11 ***	-0.06 ***	-0.10 ***	0.03	-0.04
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Income	-0.13 ***	-0.26 ***	-0.24 ***	-0.14 ***	-0.12 **	-0.01	-0.12 ***
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.02)
Female	0.27 ***	0.02	0.21 ***	0.03	-0.15 **	-0.08	0.04
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.07)
Small kids	-0.15 *	-0.02	-0.19	0.01	0.25 *	0.11	-0.19 *
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Age 18-29	-0.05	0.11	-0.29	0.02	0.18	0.10	-0.07
	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.06)
Age 40-49	0.04	0.25 *	0.15	0.16	-0.13	0.01	0.04
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.08)
Age 50-59	-0.01	0.42 ***	0.20	0.30 **	-0.12	0.05	0.12
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.07)
Age > 60 (not retired)	0.06	0.43 **	0.15	0.48 ***	0.11	-0.01	0.02
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.10)
Age > 60 (retired)	-0.15	0.39 **	0.11	0.50 ***	-0.19	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.05)
Social values right	0.11 *	-0.22 ***	0.16 **	-0.28 ***	-0.01	-0.20 ***	-0.14 **
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Economic right	-0.31 ***	-0.36 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.31 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.21 ***	-0.25 ***
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.06)
PRRP-supporter	-0.11	-0.40 ***	0.19	-0.36 *	-0.20	-0.14	-0.02
	(0.24)	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.17)
N	7169	7104	7126	7125	7103	7198	7055
R2	0.09	0.13	0.10	0.09	0.13	0.08	0.08

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

Table A8: Results for multi-level models following the procedures presented in Elff *et al.* (2019). Displayed are regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses.

	Social investment	Workfare	Passive social transfers
Intercept	0.02	0.05	-0.04
	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Education	0.06 ***	-0.03 *	-0.10 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income	0.03	0.09 ***	-0.13 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Female	-0.04	0.05 *	0.10 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Small kids	0.02	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age 18-29	-0.04	-0.13 *	-0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age 40-49	-0.06	-0.07	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Age 50-59	-0.07	-0.16 ***	0.15 ***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Age > 60 (not retired)	0.06	-0.11	0.00
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Age > 60 (retired)	0.16 ***	-0.03	-0.13 **
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Social values right	-0.08 ***	0.25 ***	0.15 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Economic right	-0.05 ***	0.16 ***	-0.14 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
PRRP-supporter	-0.14 *	0.19 ***	-0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)
N	6888	6888	6888
Log Likelihood	-9494.06	-9460.42	-9212.64
AIC	19018.12	18950.84	18455.28

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.

Table A9: Results for factor analysis of policy reform items for the sample excluding Ireland and Spain. Parallel analysis, Scree test and the Eigenvalue > 1 criterion suggest three factors. Results after Varimax-rotation.

	Social investment	Passive social transfers	Workfare
Labour market training	**0.40**	0.13	**-0.63**
Expand early childcare	**0.75**	0.10	0.04
Universities and Research	**0.76**	-0.03	-0.09
Accept job quickly	0.14	0.04	**0.87**
Pension increase	0.10	**0.79**	0.11
Early retirement	-0.02	**0.77**	-0.17

Table A10: Regression results for the sample excluding Ireland and Spain. Country-clustered standard errors in parentheses. All models include country fixed effects.

	Social investment	Workfare	Passive social transfers	Health care	Unemployment benefits	Old age pension	Assistance to the poor	Support for families	Education	Labour market programs
Intercept	-0.50 ***	-0.14	0.38 ***	1.55 ***	-0.14 *	0.47 *	0.42 ***	-0.17	0.39	-1.02 ***
	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.16)	(0.07)	(0.19)	(0.08)	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.10)
Education	0.04 **	-0.02	-0.07 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.08 *	-0.12 ***	-0.06 **	-0.08 **	0.04	-0.03
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Income	0.01	0.06 ***	-0.11 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.25 ***	-0.26 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.10 *	0.02	-0.13 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Female	-0.05	0.04	0.13 **	0.23 **	0.01	0.24 ***	0.04	-0.19 ***	-0.11	0.04
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.08)
Small kids	0.06 **	0.04	0.04	-0.12	-0.07	-0.05	0.06	0.34 **	0.14	-0.15
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.12)
Age 18-29	0.00	-0.07	0.00	-0.09	-0.12	-0.30	0.05	0.21	0.11	-0.06
	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.16)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.12)	(0.08)
Age 40-49	-0.07	-0.10	-0.00	0.03	0.19	0.11	0.20	-0.18 *	-0.07	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.04)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.08)
Age 50-59	-0.06	-0.15 **	0.19 ***	0.03	0.36 **	0.20	0.35 **	-0.16	-0.04	0.06
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.07)
Age > 60 (not retired)	0.09 *	-0.04	0.08 ***	0.08	0.25 *	0.21	0.50 ***	0.03	-0.11	-0.00

	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.23)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.13)
Age > 60 (retired)	0.21 ***	-0.01	-0.11 *	-0.07	0.28 **	0.07	0.48 ***	-0.22	-0.02	-0.05
	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.21)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.04)
Social values right	-0.10 ***	0.26 ***	0.17 ***	0.16 ***	-0.22 **	0.20 **	-0.29 ***	0.01	-0.22 ***	-0.13 *
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.06)
Economic right	-0.05 **	0.15 ***	-0.15 ***	-0.32 ***	-0.38 ***	-0.27 ***	-0.33 ***	-0.30 ***	-0.20 **	-0.23 **
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.08)
PRRP-supporter	-0.13 ***	0.19 ***	-0.04	-0.14	-0.39 ***	0.16	-0.35	-0.21	-0.12	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.24)	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.20)	(0.18)
N	5263	5263	5263	5492	5429	5452	5452	5434	5514	5398
R2	0.06	0.10	0.19	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.12	0.07	0.07

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table A11: Regression results under control for social classes. Country-clustered standard errors in parentheses. All models include country fixed effects.

	Social investment	Workfare	Passive social transfers	Health care	Unemployment benefits	Old age pension	Assistance to the poor	Support for families	Education	Labour market programs
Intercept	-0.68 ***	-0.03	0.60 ***	1.53 ***	-0.32	0.69 ***	0.26 ***	-0.11	0.25	-1.18 ***
	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.16)	(0.06)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.18)
Education	0.05 ***	-0.06 ***	-0.08 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.04	-0.11 ***	-0.01	-0.08 ***	0.05 *	-0.02
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Income	0.02	0.06 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.14 ***	-0.23 ***	-0.25 ***	-0.13 ***	-0.13 ***	-0.00	-0.12 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Female	-0.06 *	0.06 *	0.15 **	0.33 ***	0.01	0.26 ***	0.05	-0.05	-0.07	0.05
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.05)
Small kids	0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.11	-0.05	-0.17	-0.05	0.28 **	0.02	-0.14
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Age 18-29	-0.02	-0.12 *	-0.05	-0.06	-0.05	-0.35 **	-0.00	0.12	0.01	-0.07
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.05)
Age 40-49	-0.06 *	-0.06	-0.01	0.04	0.20	0.10	0.13	-0.15	-0.00	0.03
	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.07)
Age 50-59	-0.07	-0.14 **	0.15 **	0.00	0.36 ***	0.16	0.28 **	-0.10	0.01	0.14 *
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.07)
Age > 60	0.04	-0.05	-0.02	-0.01	0.32 **	0.07	0.39 ***	-0.04	-0.16	-0.05
	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.12)

Capital accumulator (Ref: Blue collar worker)	0.15 **	0.02	-0.35 ***	-0.37 *	-0.21	-0.59 ***	-0.12	-0.24	0.14	0.00
	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.07)	(0.18)
Socio-cultural professional	0.22 **	-0.10	-0.18 **	-0.04	-0.01	-0.25	0.02	-0.20 *	0.35 **	0.13
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.15)
Low service functionary	0.03	0.09	-0.15	0.08	-0.01	-0.36 *	0.09	-0.14	0.15	0.07
	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Mixed service functionary	0.02	0.03	-0.27 ***	-0.11	-0.24	-0.51 ***	-0.25	-0.30 *	0.09	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.16)
Others	0.11 *	-0.13	-0.26 ***	-0.07	0.27	-0.27 *	0.16	0.01	0.36 ***	0.16
	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.09)	(0.15)
Self-employed	0.13	0.09	-0.41 ***	-0.46 *	-0.53 *	-0.51 ***	0.02	-0.25 **	0.06	-0.27
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.18)
Retired	0.20 *	0.09	-0.37 ***	-0.34	-0.13	-0.39 ***	-0.04	-0.35 ***	0.24 ***	0.07
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.15)
PRRP-supporter	-0.20 ***	0.34 ***	0.04	-0.10	-0.49 ***	0.26	-0.57 ***	-0.26 *	-0.30	-0.13
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.22)	(0.06)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.11)	(0.19)	(0.16)
N	7460	7460	7460	7878	7768	7825	7814	7769	7909	7693
R2	0.07	0.03	0.13	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.07	0.12	0.07	0.07

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table A12: Regression results including party-families. Country-clustered standard errors in parentheses. All models include country fixed effects.

	Social investment	Workfare	Passive social transfers	Health care	Unemployment benefits	Old age pension	Assistance to the poor	Support for families	Education	Labour market programs
Intercept	-0.80 ***	0.40 **	0.39 ***	1.33 ***	-0.78 ***	0.57 **	-0.37 **	-0.46 ***	0.01	-1.21 ***
	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.30)	(0.17)
Education	0.05 ***	-0.06 ***	-0.09 ***	-0.13 ***	-0.05 *	-0.12 ***	-0.02	-0.10 ***	0.04	-0.03
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Income	0.02 **	0.04 ***	-0.12 ***	-0.14 ***	-0.24 ***	-0.26 ***	-0.13 **	-0.12 **	0.01	-0.12 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Female	-0.05 *	0.05	0.15 ***	0.34 ***	0.01	0.28 ***	0.04	-0.09 **	0.00	0.06
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.03)	(0.11)	(0.06)
Small kids	0.02	0.03	0.04	-0.10	-0.04	-0.12	0.02	0.31 **	0.05	-0.19 *
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Age 18-29	-0.01	-0.16 **	0.00	0.03	-0.06	-0.24	0.15	0.23	0.13	-0.00
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.06)
Age 40-49	-0.06	-0.08	0.02	0.04	0.17	0.16	0.22	-0.16	0.08	0.06
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.05)
Age 50-59	-0.05	-0.16 ***	0.17 ***	0.00	0.39 ***	0.22 *	0.37 **	-0.09	0.06	0.09
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.08)
Age > 60 (not retired)	0.07	-0.13	0.04	0.02	0.40 **	0.20	0.57 ***	0.10	-0.06	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.06)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.11)
Age > 60 (retired)	0.14 *	0.00	-0.10 *	-0.19	0.25 *	0.13	0.49 ***	-0.22	-0.04	-0.04

	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.06)
Christian democracy (Ref: PRRP)	0.19 ***	-0.10 *	-0.07	0.16	-0.21 **	-0.46 *	0.38 *	0.17	0.01	0.00
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.26)	(0.07)	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.24)	(0.12)
Conservative	0.13	0.01	-0.08	-0.19	0.01	-0.39	-0.01	-0.01	-0.09	-0.24
	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Green/Ecologist	0.34 ***	-0.55 ***	-0.10	-0.01	0.80 ***	-0.52 **	0.93 ***	0.23 ***	0.56 **	0.29
	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.29)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.07)	(0.21)	(0.16)
Liberal	0.20 ***	-0.23	-0.21	-0.20	-0.02	-0.62 *	0.27	-0.11	0.18	-0.27
	(0.03)	(0.15)	(0.12)	(0.30)	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Social democracy	0.34 ***	-0.48 ***	-0.00	0.30	0.76 ***	-0.17	0.84 ***	0.47 **	0.66 *	0.40 **
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.22)	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.26)	(0.13)
Undecided/non-voters	0.05	-0.34 ***	0.03	0.19	0.47 ***	-0.12	0.58 ***	0.32 ***	0.18	0.13
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.17)	(0.19)
Others	0.23 ***	-0.72 ***	0.12	0.57 ***	1.16 ***	0.22	1.18 ***	0.68 ***	0.59 **	0.55 *
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.22)	(0.23)
N	6362	6362	6362	6714	6624	6674	6658	6621	6742	6563
R2	0.08	0.07	0.14	0.08	0.12	0.10	0.09	0.12	0.08	0.08

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.