**Online Appendix**

**Public Opinion towards Welfare State Reform:**

**The Role of Political Trust and Government Satisfaction**

**Julian L. Garritzmann**

**Erik Neimanns**

**Marius R. Busemeyer**

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|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **Number of interviews** | **Response rate (%)** |
| Denmark | 1,000 | 36 |
| France | 1,003 | 28 |
| Germany | 1,500 | 26 |
| Ireland | 1,000 | 20 |
| Italy | 1,002 | 28 |
| Spain | 1,000 | 24 |
| Sweden | 1,100 | 33 |
| United Kingdom | 1,300 | 21 |
| Total | 8,905 | ≈ 27 |

**Table A.2**: Comparison of our INVEDUC dataset to the ESS

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **INVEDUC survey (unweighted)** | | | | **INVEDUC survey (weighted)** | | | | **ESS2012/2014 (unweighted)** | | | | **ESS2012/2014 (weighted)** | | | |
|  | Mean | SE | 95% CI | | Mean | SE | 95% CI | | Mean | SE | 95% CI | | Mean | SE | 95% CI | |
| **Age** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 56.36 | 0.41 | 55.56 | 57.17 | 50.02 | 0.74 | 48.56 | 51.47 | 51.14 | 0.32 | 50.5 | 51.77 | 50.61 | 0.34 | 49.94 | 51.28 |
| Italy | 56.2 | 0.47 | 55.29 | 57.11 | 50.18 | 0.92 | 48.37 | 51.99 | 47.93 | 0.59 | 46.77 | 49.08 | 47.93 | 0.59 | 46.77 | 49.08 |
| Spain | 48.22 | 0.48 | 47.28 | 49.16 | 47.97 | 0.9 | 46.21 | 49.72 | 48.42 | 0.41 | 47.62 | 49.22 | 48.44 | 0.41 | 47.63 | 49.24 |
| Sweden | 51.89 | 0.55 | 50.8 | 52.97 | 48.48 | 0.69 | 47.13 | 49.83 | 50.76 | 0.46 | 49.85 | 51.67 | 50.76 | 0.46 | 49.85 | 51.67 |
| Uk | 54.17 | 0.48 | 53.23 | 55.11 | 47.47 | 0.68 | 46.14 | 48.81 | 52.55 | 0.39 | 51.78 | 53.33 | 50.12 | 0.44 | 49.26 | 50.99 |
| Denmark | 55.05 | 0.54 | 53.99 | 56.12 | 48.59 | 0.76 | 47.11 | 50.08 | 49.62 | 0.48 | 48.69 | 50.56 | 49.62 | 0.48 | 48.69 | 50.56 |
| Ireland | 59.03 | 0.5 | 58.04 | 60.02 | 45.2 | 0.81 | 43.62 | 46.78 | 50.06 | 0.37 | 49.34 | 50.78 | 47.39 | 0.4 | 46.62 | 48.17 |
| France | 52.86 | 0.53 | 51.81 | 53.9 | 48.7 | 0.82 | 47.1 | 50.3 | 50.95 | 0.42 | 50.13 | 51.77 | 47.59 | 0.43 | 46.75 | 48.43 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Female** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.49 | 0.01 | 0.47 | 0.52 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.47 | 0.55 | 0.49 | 0.01 | 0.47 | 0.51 | 0.49 | 0.01 | 0.47 | 0.51 |
| Italy | 0.58 | 0.02 | 0.55 | 0.61 | 0.52 | 0.02 | 0.48 | 0.57 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.48 | 0.55 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.48 | 0.55 |
| Spain | 0.5 | 0.02 | 0.47 | 0.53 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.47 | 0.55 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.49 | 0.54 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.49 | 0.54 |
| Sweden | 0.52 | 0.02 | 0.49 | 0.55 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.47 | 0.54 | 0.5 | 0.01 | 0.48 | 0.53 | 0.5 | 0.01 | 0.48 | 0.53 |
| Uk | 0.55 | 0.01 | 0.52 | 0.58 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.48 | 0.55 | 0.57 | 0.01 | 0.55 | 0.59 | 0.57 | 0.01 | 0.54 | 0.59 |
| Denmark | 0.56 | 0.02 | 0.52 | 0.59 | 0.51 | 0.02 | 0.47 | 0.55 | 0.48 | 0.01 | 0.46 | 0.51 | 0.48 | 0.01 | 0.46 | 0.51 |
| Ireland | 0.6 | 0.02 | 0.57 | 0.63 | 0.51 | 0.03 | 0.46 | 0.56 | 0.54 | 0.01 | 0.52 | 0.56 | 0.54 | 0.01 | 0.52 | 0.57 |
| France | 0.55 | 0.02 | 0.52 | 0.58 | 0.52 | 0.02 | 0.48 | 0.56 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.5 | 0.55 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.5 | 0.55 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Years of education** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 15.29 | 0.1 | 15.09 | 15.5 | 14.92 | 0.13 | 14.67 | 15.17 | 14.29 | 0.06 | 14.17 | 14.4 | 14.26 | 0.07 | 14.13 | 14.39 |
| Italy | 13.08 | 0.14 | 12.8 | 13.37 | 12.64 | 0.16 | 12.33 | 12.96 | 12.59 | 0.17 | 12.26 | 12.93 | 12.59 | 0.17 | 12.26 | 12.93 |
| Spain | 13.01 | 0.13 | 12.76 | 13.26 | 12.62 | 0.17 | 12.28 | 12.96 | 12.35 | 0.13 | 12.09 | 12.6 | 12.31 | 0.13 | 12.05 | 12.56 |
| Sweden | 14.68 | 0.15 | 14.39 | 14.98 | 14.25 | 0.15 | 13.95 | 14.54 | 13.26 | 0.09 | 13.09 | 13.43 | 13.26 | 0.09 | 13.09 | 13.43 |
| Uk | 13.73 | 0.11 | 13.53 | 13.94 | 13.65 | 0.11 | 13.43 | 13.87 | 13.3 | 0.08 | 13.15 | 13.45 | 13.42 | 0.09 | 13.24 | 13.59 |
| Denmark | 17.19 | 0.16 | 16.89 | 17.5 | 16.65 | 0.2 | 16.26 | 17.03 | 13.32 | 0.13 | 13.07 | 13.57 | 13.32 | 0.13 | 13.07 | 13.57 |
| Ireland | 14.1 | 0.12 | 13.86 | 14.34 | 14.19 | 0.17 | 13.85 | 14.53 | 13.78 | 0.07 | 13.64 | 13.93 | 14.03 | 0.07 | 13.88 | 14.17 |
| France | 13.61 | 0.11 | 13.4 | 13.82 | 12.91 | 0.12 | 12.68 | 13.15 | 12.88 | 0.09 | 12.7 | 13.06 | 12.96 | 0.1 | 12.75 | 13.16 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Unemployed** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.02 | 0 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| Italy | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.01 | 0.1 | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.01 | 0.1 | 0.15 |
| Spain | 0.17 | 0.01 | 0.15 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.12 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.14 | 0.17 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.14 | 0.17 |
| Sweden | 0.02 | 0 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0 | 0.03 | 0.05 |
| Uk | 0.03 | 0 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Denmark | 0.02 | 0 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.06 |
| Ireland | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.11 |
| France | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.1 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.09 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Student** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.03 | 0 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0 | 0.06 | 0.08 |
| Italy | 0.02 | 0 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.09 |
| Spain | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.08 |
| Sweden | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.1 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.1 | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.1 |
| Uk | 0.02 | 0 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.06 |
| Denmark | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.1 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.11 |
| Ireland | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.09 |
| France | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.06 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Retired** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.36 | 0.01 | 0.33 | 0.38 | 0.27 | 0.02 | 0.24 | 0.3 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 0.25 | 0.28 | 0.25 | 0.01 | 0.23 | 0.27 |
| Italy | 0.36 | 0.02 | 0.33 | 0.39 | 0.28 | 0.02 | 0.24 | 0.31 | 0.2 | 0.01 | 0.17 | 0.23 | 0.2 | 0.01 | 0.17 | 0.23 |
| Spain | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.14 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.22 | 0.18 | 0.01 | 0.16 | 0.19 | 0.18 | 0.01 | 0.16 | 0.19 |
| Sweden | 0.3 | 0.01 | 0.27 | 0.33 | 0.23 | 0.01 | 0.2 | 0.26 | 0.25 | 0.01 | 0.23 | 0.27 | 0.25 | 0.01 | 0.23 | 0.27 |
| Uk | 0.35 | 0.01 | 0.32 | 0.37 | 0.24 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.26 | 0.32 | 0.01 | 0.31 | 0.34 | 0.28 | 0.01 | 0.26 | 0.3 |
| Denmark | 0.38 | 0.02 | 0.35 | 0.41 | 0.25 | 0.02 | 0.22 | 0.28 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 0.24 | 0.29 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 0.24 | 0.29 |
| Ireland | 0.42 | 0.02 | 0.38 | 0.45 | 0.15 | 0.01 | 0.12 | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.01 | 0.2 | 0.23 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.15 | 0.18 |
| France | 0.35 | 0.02 | 0.32 | 0.38 | 0.28 | 0.02 | 0.25 | 0.31 | 0.31 | 0.01 | 0.29 | 0.33 | 0.22 | 0.01 | 0.2 | 0.24 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Working full-time** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 0.43 | 0.01 | 0.41 | 0.46 | 0.47 | 0.02 | 0.43 | 0.5 | 0.46 | 0.01 | 0.44 | 0.48 | 0.45 | 0.01 | 0.44 | 0.47 |
| Italy | 0.37 | 0.02 | 0.34 | 0.4 | 0.4 | 0.02 | 0.35 | 0.44 | 0.45 | 0.02 | 0.41 | 0.48 | 0.45 | 0.02 | 0.41 | 0.48 |
| Spain | 0.44 | 0.02 | 0.41 | 0.47 | 0.49 | 0.02 | 0.45 | 0.54 | 0.4 | 0.01 | 0.38 | 0.42 | 0.4 | 0.01 | 0.38 | 0.42 |
| Sweden | 0.48 | 0.02 | 0.45 | 0.51 | 0.53 | 0.02 | 0.49 | 0.56 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.49 | 0.54 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.49 | 0.54 |
| Uk | 0.39 | 0.01 | 0.37 | 0.42 | 0.44 | 0.02 | 0.4 | 0.47 | 0.35 | 0.01 | 0.33 | 0.37 | 0.37 | 0.01 | 0.35 | 0.4 |
| Denmark | 0.47 | 0.02 | 0.44 | 0.5 | 0.54 | 0.02 | 0.5 | 0.58 | 0.5 | 0.01 | 0.48 | 0.53 | 0.5 | 0.01 | 0.48 | 0.53 |
| Ireland | 0.28 | 0.01 | 0.25 | 0.3 | 0.43 | 0.03 | 0.38 | 0.49 | 0.34 | 0.01 | 0.32 | 0.36 | 0.36 | 0.01 | 0.34 | 0.38 |
| France | 0.45 | 0.02 | 0.42 | 0.48 | 0.46 | 0.02 | 0.42 | 0.5 | 0.45 | 0.01 | 0.43 | 0.48 | 0.52 | 0.01 | 0.49 | 0.54 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Note: Data from the ESS is from 2014 (for Spain, Italy and the UK from 2012). The table shows that the deviations between both surveys with regard to average demographic characteristics are only minor. The weights effectively reduce these differences and thus account for sampling selectivity. Note, however, that not all of the values are strictly comparable. As the dates of fieldwork differ between both surveys, this may contribute to remaining differences between the surveys, in particular with regard to employment status. Also the wording of the questions for employment status and years of education differ between the surveys, which may be responsible for some minor deviations. For example, in the INVEDUCsurvey it is asked at what age respondents completed their full-time education. The ESS directly asks for completed years of education. Overall, however, this comparison demonstrates that the representativeness of the INVEDUCsample with regard to core demographic variables is comparable to the high-quality sample of the ESS. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table A.3**: Balance test for the split-sample questions, checking the randomization

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Trade-off I, Split 1 | Trade-off I, Split 2 | Trade-off I, Split 3 | Trade-off I, Split 4 | Trade-off II, Split 1 | Trade-off II, Split 2 | Trade-off II, Split 3 | Trade-off II, Split 4 | Trade-off III, Split 1 | Trade-off III, Split 2 |
|  | Education (no constraints) | Education vs. higher taxes | Education vs. higher debt | Education vs. pensions | Education vs. unemployment benefits | Education vs. pensions | Family policies vs. unemployment benefits | Family policies vs. pensions | Social investments vs. passive transfers | Passive transfers vs. social investments |
| Educational degree | 1.97 | 1.93 | 1.96 | 1.98 | 1.96 | 1.94 | 1.98 | 1.96 | 1.93 | 2.00 |
| Household income | 2.49 | 2.62 | 2.58 | 2.58 | 2.53 | 2.59 | 2.58 | 2.54 | 2.55 | 2.58 |
| Female | 0.50 | 0.52 | 0.49 | 0.48 | 0.49 | 0.49 | 0.53 | 0.49 | 0.52 | 0.48 |
| Children in household | 0.40 | 0.42 | 0.41 | 0.41 | 0.42 | 0.41 | 0.42 | 0.38 | 0.42 | 0.40 |
| Current situation: unemployed | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.05 |
| Studying | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| Retired | 0.22 | 0.24 | 0.24 | 0.26 | 0.23 | 0.25 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 0.25 |
| In paid work | 0.47 | 0.49 | 0.51 | 0.46 | 0.48 | 0.49 | 0.45 | 0.50 | 0.47 | 0.50 |
| Other | 0.20 | 0.18 | 0.16 | 0.18 | 0.17 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.16 |
| Age | 47.66 | 47.79 | 49.34 | 49.55 | 48.22 | 49.45 | 49.08 | 47.64 | 47.90 | 49.06 |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.07 |
| Cohabit | 0.74 | 0.76 | 0.74 | 0.76 | 0.76 | 0.75 | 0.73 | 0.76 | 0.77 | 0.73 |
| Right-wing ideology | 0.93 | 0.91 | 0.95 | 0.94 | 0.92 | 0.92 | 0.98 | 0.92 | 0.93 | 0.94 |
| Government support | 0.33 | 0.30 | 0.27 | 0.31 | 0.33 | 0.27 | 0.28 | 0.31 | 0.30 | 0.30 |
| Government satisfaction | 2.44 | 2.48 | 2.49 | 2.50 | 2.51 | 2.38 | 2.56 | 2.44 | 2.47 | 2.48 |
|  | 1,850 | 1,808 | 1,760 | 1,737 | 1,823 | 1,780 | 1,822 | 1,791 | 3,590 | 3,527 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Note: Numbers denote mean values for each split-sample question. For variable operationalization, see Table A.4. Survey weights used. | | | | | | | |  |  |  |

**Table A.4**: List of question wording and descriptive statistics for all variables for Study 1

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Operationalization** | **N** | **Mean** | **SD** | **Min** | **Max** |
| Educational degree | „What is the highest level of education or training that you have completed?“ [five country-specific response categories]; variable coding: no post-secondary education (1: lower secondary education or less; 2: upper secondary general education), vocational education (3: upper secondary vocational education; 4: post-secondary, non-higher education) or higher education (5: higher education) | 17,493 | 2.08 | 0.85 | 1 | 3 |
| Household income | „What is your households total net income per month? Please include all income after tax and whether from employment, benefits, investments or any other source.“ [country-specific income quintiles given as response categories] | 17,493 | 2.65 | 1.36 | 1 | 5 |
| Female | 0: Male; 1: Female | 17,493 | 0.53 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Children in household | Variable coded based on the following question: “How many children are living in your household?“ (1 if there is at least one child in the household, 0 otherwise) | 17,493 | 0.34 | 0.47 | 0 | 1 |
| Current situation | "What describes best your current working status” (Working full-time over 30 hours per week; working part-time in your main job; working less than 10 hours per week); if working less than 30 hours per week: “Which of the following possibilities best describes your current situation?” (unemployed, student, retired, housework, permanently sick or disabled, in paid work); variable coding: 1: full-time employed (reference category); 2: unemployed; 3: studying; 4: retired; 5: other | 17,493 |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 1: Aged <30; 2: aged 30-39 (reference category); 3: aged 40-49; 4: aged 50-59; 5: aged 60+ (summary statistics given for continuous operationalization of age) | 17,493 | 54.17 | 16.36 | 18 | 95 |
| Risk of unemployment | "According to you, how likely does it seem that you will become unemployed?" (1: likely or very likely; 0: not very likely or not at all likely) | 17,493 | 0.05 | 0.22 | 0 | 1 |
| Cohabit | 1: More than one adult living in a household; 0: One adult household | 17,493 | 0.70 | 0.46 | 0 | 1 |
| Government satisfaction | "Now thinking about the [country] government: How satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job?" (1: not at all satisfied; 2: fairly unsatisfied; 3: neither satisfied nor unsatisfied; 4: fairly satisfied; 5: very satisfied) | 17,493 | 2.51 | 1.19 | 1 | 5 |
| Right-wing ideology | "In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?" variable coding: 0 (left): categories 0-3; 1 (center): categories 4-6; 2 (right): categories 7-10 | 16,271 | 0.97 | 0.67 | 0 | 2 |
| Government support | "If there was a [general] election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?" (1: if vote intention for a current government party; 0: otherwise; source: parlgov.org) | 17,493 | 0.29 | 0.45 | 0 | 1 |
| Materialistic costs | Coded as 1, if someone experiences materialistic costs under a given trade-off scenario, 0 otherwise. Trade-offs I, Split 2 & 3: Losses due to income position (highest income quintile (Q5)); Trade-off I, Split 4, Trade-offs II, Split 2 & 4, Trade-off III, Split 1: Losses due to age (age > 60 or being retired); Trade-offs II, Split 1 & 3, Trade-off III, Split 1: Losses due to being unemployed. | 17,493 | 0.41 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideological costs | Coded as 1, if someone experiences ideological costs under a given trade-off scenario, 0 otherwise. Trade-offs I, Split 2 & 3: Losses due to right-wing ideology; Trade-offs I, Split 4, Trade-offs II, Split 1-4, Trade-off III, Split 1: Losses due to left-wing ideology | 16,271 | 0.23 | 0.42 | 0 | 1 |

**Table A.5:** Regression table – effect of trust on 10 reform scenarios (Study 1)

**Multilevel random country intercept logistic regressions: Support for reform under various trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; separate models by trade-off**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1: Trade-off I, Split 1 | | | | M2: Trade-off I, Split 2 | | | | | | M3: Trade-off I, Split 3 | | | | | | M4: Trade-off I, Split 4 | | | | | | M5: Trade-off II, Split 1 | | | | |
|  | Education (no constraints) | | | | Education vs. higher taxes | | | | | | Education vs. higher debt | | | | | | Education vs. pensions | | | | | | Education vs. unemployment benefits | | | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | | b | | SE | | p | | b | | SE | | p | | b | | SE | | p | | b | | SE | | p |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.85 | | 0 | | 0.04 | | 0.95 | | -0.02 | | 0.04 | | 0.56 | | 0.16 | | 0.05 | | 0 | | 0.19 | | 0.05 | | 0 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.58 | 0.14 | 0 | | -0.24 | | 0.12 | | 0.05 | | -0.31 | | 0.12 | | 0.01 | | -0.28 | | 0.14 | | 0.04 | | 0.04 | | 0.15 | | 0.78 |
| Vocational education | -0.25 | 0.14 | 0.07 | | -0.38 | | 0.12 | | 0 | | -0.26 | | 0.12 | | 0.04 | | -0.5 | | 0.14 | | 0 | | 0.05 | | 0.15 | | 0.74 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.19 | 0.18 | 0.29 | | -0.44 | | 0.16 | | 0.01 | | -0.01 | | 0.16 | | 0.96 | | -0.02 | | 0.18 | | 0.91 | | 0.18 | | 0.2 | | 0.38 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.29 | 0.17 | 0.08 | | -0.25 | | 0.14 | | 0.08 | | 0.02 | | 0.15 | | 0.88 | | -0.18 | | 0.17 | | 0.29 | | 0.39 | | 0.19 | | 0.04 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.39 | 0.18 | 0.03 | | -0.23 | | 0.16 | | 0.15 | | 0.07 | | 0.16 | | 0.67 | | -0.04 | | 0.18 | | 0.83 | | 0.19 | | 0.2 | | 0.34 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.97 | | -0.11 | | 0.17 | | 0.5 | | -0.05 | | 0.17 | | 0.79 | | 0.08 | | 0.18 | | 0.67 | | 0.43 | | 0.22 | | 0.05 |
| Female | 0.16 | 0.11 | 0.16 | | -0.01 | | 0.1 | | 0.9 | | -0.01 | | 0.1 | | 0.95 | | -0.21 | | 0.11 | | 0.06 | | -0.1 | | 0.12 | | 0.41 |
| Children at home | 0.09 | 0.14 | 0.52 | | 0.37 | | 0.12 | | 0 | | 0.11 | | 0.12 | | 0.37 | | 0.3 | | 0.13 | | 0.02 | | 0.08 | | 0.15 | | 0.59 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | 0.15 | 0.27 | 0.58 | | -0.45 | | 0.25 | | 0.08 | | 0.23 | | 0.23 | | 0.33 | | 0.68 | | 0.24 | | 0 | | -0.23 | | 0.3 | | 0.43 |
| Studying | 0.26 | 0.35 | 0.45 | | 0.29 | | 0.31 | | 0.35 | | 0.88 | | 0.33 | | 0.01 | | 0.55 | | 0.33 | | 0.1 | | -0.22 | | 0.31 | | 0.47 |
| Retired | 0.2 | 0.19 | 0.3 | | 0.23 | | 0.17 | | 0.16 | | 0.1 | | 0.17 | | 0.56 | | 0.15 | | 0.2 | | 0.46 | | -0.26 | | 0.22 | | 0.25 |
| Other | -0.06 | 0.16 | 0.73 | | 0.11 | | 0.15 | | 0.47 | | 0.14 | | 0.15 | | 0.36 | | 0.07 | | 0.17 | | 0.68 | | -0.2 | | 0.18 | | 0.26 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | -0.1 | 0.26 | 0.69 | | 0.56 | | 0.23 | | 0.02 | | -0.02 | | 0.23 | | 0.94 | | 0.01 | | 0.25 | | 0.96 | | 0.69 | | 0.25 | | 0 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.19 | 0.21 | 0.36 | | 0.09 | | 0.19 | | 0.64 | | -0.12 | | 0.19 | | 0.5 | | 0.28 | | 0.19 | | 0.14 | | -0.53 | | 0.21 | | 0.01 |
| Age 50-59 | -0.31 | 0.21 | 0.14 | | 0.33 | | 0.19 | | 0.08 | | -0.01 | | 0.18 | | 0.96 | | -0.07 | | 0.2 | | 0.71 | | -0.82 | | 0.21 | | 0 |
| Age 60+ | -0.47 | 0.24 | 0.05 | | 0.17 | | 0.21 | | 0.42 | | -0.04 | | 0.21 | | 0.86 | | -0.36 | | 0.24 | | 0.12 | | -0.62 | | 0.25 | | 0.02 |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.03 | 0.23 | 0.9 | | -0.18 | | 0.22 | | 0.42 | | 0.14 | | 0.22 | | 0.52 | | -0.16 | | 0.26 | | 0.54 | | -0.68 | | 0.31 | | 0.03 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.06 | 0.13 | 0.63 | | 0.03 | | 0.12 | | 0.77 | | 0.2 | | 0.12 | | 0.1 | | 0.16 | | 0.14 | | 0.23 | | 0.28 | | 0.15 | | 0.06 |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Constant | 1.58 | 0.34 | 0 | | 0.15 | | 0.29 | | 0.6 | | -0.35 | | 0.26 | | 0.18 | | -1.28 | | 0.27 | | 0 | | -1.74 | | 0.35 | | 0 |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| Observations | 1,973 |  |  | | 1,963 | |  | |  | | 1,895 | |  | |  | | 1,855 | |  | |  | | 1,951 | |  | |  |
| Number of groups | 8 |  |  | | 8 | |  | |  | | 8 | |  | |  | | 8 | |  | |  | | 8 | |  | |  |
|  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |
| **Table A.5 (continued)** |  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |  |
|  | M6: Trade-off II, Split 2 | | | M7: Trade-off II, Split 3 | | | | | | M8: Trade-off II, Split 4 | | | | | | M9: Trade-off III, Split 1 | | | | | | M10: Trade-off III, Split 2 | | | | |  |
|  | Education vs. pensions | | | Family policies vs. unemployment benefits | | | | | | Family policies vs. pensions | | | | | | Social investments vs. passive transfers | | | | | | Passive transfers vs. social investments | | | | |  |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | | SE | | p | | b | | SE | | p | | b | | SE | | p | | b | | SE | | p |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.13 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.05 | | 0.05 | | 0.37 | | 0.17 | | 0.07 | | 0.02 | | 0.16 | | 0.05 | | 0 | | 0.02 | | 0.05 | | 0.7 |  |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.72 | 0.23 | 0 | 0.15 | | 0.16 | | 0.35 | | 0.3 | | 0.2 | | 0.14 | | 0 | | 0.14 | | 0.97 | | 0.71 | | 0.16 | | 0 |  |
| Vocational education | -0.41 | 0.21 | 0.05 | -0.19 | | 0.17 | | 0.25 | | 0.06 | | 0.21 | | 0.78 | | -0.08 | | 0.14 | | 0.58 | | 0.59 | | 0.17 | | 0 |  |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.05 | 0.27 | 0.85 | -0.41 | | 0.22 | | 0.07 | | -0.24 | | 0.26 | | 0.34 | | 0.22 | | 0.18 | | 0.21 | | 0.63 | | 0.21 | | 0 |  |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.32 | 0.26 | 0.23 | 0.08 | | 0.19 | | 0.67 | | -0.24 | | 0.24 | | 0.32 | | 0.18 | | 0.16 | | 0.27 | | 0.35 | | 0.2 | | 0.08 |  |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.07 | 0.27 | 0.81 | 0.09 | | 0.21 | | 0.67 | | -0.39 | | 0.28 | | 0.16 | | 0.12 | | 0.17 | | 0.5 | | 0.11 | | 0.24 | | 0.65 |  |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.3 | 0.27 | 0.26 | 0.29 | | 0.22 | | 0.19 | | 0.15 | | 0.27 | | 0.58 | | 0.12 | | 0.19 | | 0.53 | | 0.26 | | 0.26 | | 0.31 |  |
| Female | -0.54 | 0.18 | 0 | -0.29 | | 0.13 | | 0.03 | | -0.45 | | 0.17 | | 0.01 | | -0.19 | | 0.11 | | 0.08 | | -0.06 | | 0.13 | | 0.66 |  |
| Children at home | 0.25 | 0.2 | 0.22 | -0.03 | | 0.16 | | 0.83 | | 0 | | 0.2 | | 0.99 | | 0.41 | | 0.13 | | 0 | | -0.15 | | 0.17 | | 0.36 |  |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | -0.23 | 0.51 | 0.66 | -0.38 | | 0.32 | | 0.24 | | -0.06 | | 0.4 | | 0.88 | | -0.2 | | 0.25 | | 0.43 | | 0.32 | | 0.29 | | 0.27 |  |
| Studying | 0.94 | 0.45 | 0.04 | 0.26 | | 0.36 | | 0.48 | | -0.23 | | 0.44 | | 0.6 | | -0.06 | | 0.29 | | 0.82 | | -0.5 | | 0.48 | | 0.29 |  |
| Retired | 0.4 | 0.34 | 0.25 | 0.39 | | 0.25 | | 0.11 | | -0.01 | | 0.31 | | 0.97 | | 0.07 | | 0.21 | | 0.76 | | 0.26 | | 0.23 | | 0.26 |  |
| Other | 0.54 | 0.25 | 0.03 | 0.09 | | 0.19 | | 0.62 | | -0.02 | | 0.25 | | 0.94 | | -0.08 | | 0.16 | | 0.61 | | 0.2 | | 0.2 | | 0.31 |  |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | -0.16 | 0.36 | 0.66 | 0.44 | | 0.26 | | 0.1 | | 0.43 | | 0.31 | | 0.17 | | 0.28 | | 0.21 | | 0.18 | | -0.27 | | 0.32 | | 0.4 |  |
| Age 40-49 | -0.07 | 0.28 | 0.79 | -0.29 | | 0.22 | | 0.19 | | -0.28 | | 0.29 | | 0.33 | | -0.3 | | 0.17 | | 0.09 | | -0.01 | | 0.25 | | 0.98 |  |
| Age 50-59 | -0.54 | 0.3 | 0.07 | -0.58 | | 0.23 | | 0.01 | | -0.55 | | 0.29 | | 0.06 | | -0.66 | | 0.18 | | 0 | | -0.08 | | 0.25 | | 0.76 |  |
| Age 60+ | -0.92 | 0.38 | 0.02 | -1.03 | | 0.29 | | 0 | | -0.75 | | 0.35 | | 0.03 | | -0.86 | | 0.23 | | 0 | | -0.12 | | 0.29 | | 0.68 |  |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.03 | 0.36 | 0.93 | 0.01 | | 0.26 | | 0.96 | | 0.07 | | 0.33 | | 0.82 | | -0.19 | | 0.24 | | 0.44 | | -0.22 | | 0.3 | | 0.46 |  |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.22 | 0.21 | 0.29 | -0.24 | | 0.16 | | 0.13 | | -0.3 | | 0.2 | | 0.13 | | 0.19 | | 0.14 | | 0.16 | | 0.02 | | 0.15 | | 0.91 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |  |
| Constant | -1.81 | 0.4 | 0 | -1 | | 0.36 | | 0.01 | | -1.89 | | 0.39 | | 0 | | -2.37 | | 0.29 | | 0 | | -3.27 | | 0.36 | | 0 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |  |  |
| Observations | 1,886 |  |  | 1,915 | |  | |  | | 1,897 | |  | |  | | 3,850 | |  | |  | | 3,792 | |  | |  |  |
| Number of groups | 8 |  |  | 8 | |  | |  | | 8 | |  | |  | | 8 | |  | |  | | 8 | |  | |  |  |

**Table A.6:** Regression table – all policy trade-off questions pooled (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Multilevel random individual, random country intercept, logistic regressions: Support for reform under various policy trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.21 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.19 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.15 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Reform "loser" group (self-interest) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.91 | 0.20 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.41 |  |  |  |
| Reform "loser" group (ideology) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.44 | 0.21 | 0.04 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.37 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) |  |  |  | -0.07 | 0.09 | 0.46 | -0.05 | 0.09 | 0.63 | -0.07 | 0.09 | 0.45 | -0.04 | 0.09 | 0.64 |
| Vocational education |  |  |  | -0.23 | 0.09 | 0.01 | -0.23 | 0.10 | 0.01 | -0.24 | 0.09 | 0.01 | -0.23 | 0.10 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) |  |  |  | -0.10 | 0.12 | 0.42 | -0.07 | 0.12 | 0.57 | -0.04 | 0.12 | 0.76 | -0.07 | 0.12 | 0.55 |
| Household income: Q2 |  |  |  | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.92 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.87 | 0.03 | 0.11 | 0.81 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.88 |
| Household income: Q4 |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.12 | 0.90 | -0.03 | 0.12 | 0.78 | -0.02 | 0.12 | 0.86 | -0.04 | 0.12 | 0.75 |
| Household income: Q5 |  |  |  | 0.25 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.23 | 0.13 | 0.07 | 0.23 | 0.13 | 0.07 |
| Female |  |  |  | -0.32 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.30 | 0.08 | 0.00 | -0.33 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.31 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| Children at home |  |  |  | 0.24 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.23 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.27 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.24 | 0.09 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) |  |  |  | -0.04 | 0.18 | 0.83 | 0.01 | 0.18 | 0.96 |  |  |  | 0.01 | 0.18 | 0.94 |
| Studying |  |  |  | 0.28 | 0.21 | 0.18 | 0.32 | 0.21 | 0.12 |  |  |  | 0.31 | 0.21 | 0.14 |
| Retired |  |  |  | 0.16 | 0.14 | 0.25 | 0.10 | 0.14 | 0.46 |  |  |  | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.37 |
| Other |  |  |  | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.84 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.51 |  |  |  | 0.09 | 0.11 | 0.45 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) |  |  |  | 0.41 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.37 | 0.16 | 0.02 |  |  |  | 0.38 | 0.16 | 0.02 |
| Age 40-49 |  |  |  | -0.28 | 0.13 | 0.03 | -0.29 | 0.13 | 0.03 |  |  |  | -0.28 | 0.13 | 0.03 |
| Age 50-59 |  |  |  | -0.70 | 0.13 | 0.00 | -0.71 | 0.13 | 0.00 |  |  |  | -0.71 | 0.14 | 0.00 |
| Age 60+ |  |  |  | -1.00 | 0.16 | 0.00 | -0.99 | 0.17 | 0.00 |  |  |  | -0.99 | 0.17 | 0.00 |
| Risk of unemployment |  |  |  | -0.20 | 0.16 | 0.22 | -0.25 | 0.17 | 0.14 | -0.22 | 0.16 | 0.17 | -0.26 | 0.17 | 0.13 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) |  |  |  | -0.00 | 0.09 | 1.00 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.76 | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.93 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.82 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.18 | 0.09 | 0.06 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.32 | 0.09 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government electoral support |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.75 |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.60 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -3.49 | 0.18 | 0.00 | -2.73 | 0.24 | 0.00 | -2.76 | 0.25 | 0.00 | -2.77 | 0.24 | 0.00 | -2.63 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Variance components |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Country variance | 0.13 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.16 | 0.09 | 0.06 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.07 |
| Individual variance | 2.74 | 0.26 | 0.00 | 2.31 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 2.30 | 0.25 | 0.00 | 2.35 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 2.32 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 14,958 | | | 13,332 | | | 12,454 | | | 13,332 | | | 12,454 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | |
| Note. In M4 the "loser" group includes in varying composition those in retirement, those above the age of 60, and those being unemployed. In M5 the "loser" group includes left-wing individuals. Group composition varies across split-sample trade-offs (see main text for details). The remaining concomitant variables are only included, if they do not already indicate loser status for a specific trade-off. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table A.7**: Regression table – robustness test: including vote intention for the incumbent government (and its interaction with government satisfaction) (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction |  |  |  | 0.18 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Government electoral support | 0.21 | 0.08 | 0.01 | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.47 |
| Government support \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | -0.05 | 0.08 | 0.52 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.05 | 0.09 | 0.58 | -0.04 | 0.09 | 0.64 |
| Vocational education | -0.25 | 0.10 | 0.01 | -0.23 | 0.10 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.10 | 0.12 | 0.43 | -0.07 | 0.12 | 0.56 |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.97 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.88 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.03 | 0.12 | 0.81 | -0.03 | 0.12 | 0.78 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.22 | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.21 | 0.13 | 0.10 |
| Female | -0.31 | 0.08 | 0.00 | -0.30 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| Children at home | 0.23 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.23 | 0.09 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | -0.02 | 0.18 | 0.91 | 0.01 | 0.18 | 0.96 |
| Studying | 0.31 | 0.21 | 0.14 | 0.33 | 0.21 | 0.12 |
| Retired | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.37 | 0.10 | 0.14 | 0.47 |
| Other | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.47 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.51 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.40 | 0.16 | 0.01 | 0.37 | 0.16 | 0.02 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.29 | 0.13 | 0.03 | -0.29 | 0.13 | 0.03 |
| Age 50-59 | -0.73 | 0.14 | 0.00 | -0.71 | 0.13 | 0.00 |
| Age 60+ | -1.01 | 0.17 | 0.00 | -0.99 | 0.17 | 0.00 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.28 | 0.17 | 0.11 | -0.25 | 0.17 | 0.14 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.79 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.77 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | -0.23 | 0.09 | 0.02 | -0.18 | 0.09 | 0.06 |
| Right-wing | 0.32 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.09 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.34 | 0.23 | 0.00 | -2.79 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 12,454 | | | 12,454 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | |

**Table A.8**: Regressions by country (Study 1), pooled policy trade-offs

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1: Germany | | | M2: Italy | | | M3: Spain | | | M4: Sweden | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | -0.04 | 0.09 | 0.62 | 0.33 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.32 | 0.10 | 0.00 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.23 | 0.22 | 0.32 | -0.27 | 0.28 | 0.34 | 0.12 | 0.27 | 0.67 | -0.11 | 0.28 | 0.70 |
| Vocational education | -0.29 | 0.20 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.36 | 0.71 | -0.51 | 0.33 | 0.12 | -0.37 | 0.30 | 0.21 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.08 | 0.28 | 0.77 | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0.69 | 0.29 | 0.34 | 0.40 | -0.29 | 0.45 | 0.52 |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.05 | 0.25 | 0.85 | -0.08 | 0.33 | 0.81 | 0.18 | 0.31 | 0.55 | -0.11 | 0.34 | 0.75 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.09 | 0.26 | 0.73 | 0.33 | 0.39 | 0.40 | -0.13 | 0.40 | 0.74 | -0.33 | 0.36 | 0.35 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.24 | 0.28 | 0.38 | 0.09 | 0.50 | 0.85 | -0.07 | 0.45 | 0.88 | 0.05 | 0.36 | 0.90 |
| Female | -0.19 | 0.18 | 0.29 | -0.72 | 0.24 | 0.00 | -0.57 | 0.23 | 0.01 | -0.10 | 0.22 | 0.66 |
| Children at home | 0.36 | 0.22 | 0.10 | -0.30 | 0.26 | 0.25 | 0.32 | 0.25 | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.31 | 0.49 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | -0.56 | 0.67 | 0.41 | -0.39 | 0.51 | 0.45 | -0.25 | 0.34 | 0.48 | 1.33 | 0.71 | 0.06 |
| Studying | -0.37 | 0.53 | 0.48 | 0.76 | 0.89 | 0.39 | 1.29 | 0.54 | 0.02 | -0.20 | 0.50 | 0.69 |
| Retired | 0.31 | 0.30 | 0.31 | -0.02 | 0.43 | 0.97 | 0.56 | 0.50 | 0.26 | 0.61 | 0.50 | 0.22 |
| Other | 0.20 | 0.25 | 0.43 | 0.10 | 0.34 | 0.78 | -0.06 | 0.34 | 0.85 | -0.16 | 0.38 | 0.68 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.52 | 0.40 | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.66 | 0.76 | 0.11 | 0.41 | 0.78 | 0.46 | 0.45 | 0.30 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.66 | 0.33 | 0.05 | 0.13 | 0.45 | 0.78 | -0.19 | 0.33 | 0.56 | -0.48 | 0.38 | 0.21 |
| Age 50-59 | -1.29 | 0.33 | 0.00 | -0.54 | 0.46 | 0.24 | -0.39 | 0.35 | 0.27 | -0.51 | 0.40 | 0.20 |
| Age 60+ | -1.47 | 0.39 | 0.00 | -1.08 | 0.55 | 0.05 | -0.90 | 0.51 | 0.08 | -1.48 | 0.54 | 0.01 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.36 | 0.50 | 0.46 | -0.48 | 0.52 | 0.35 | -0.37 | 0.40 | 0.36 | -0.59 | 0.63 | 0.35 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.17 | 0.20 | 0.40 | -0.01 | 0.29 | 0.96 | -0.12 | 0.30 | 0.71 | 0.06 | 0.31 | 0.85 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.84 | 0.48 | 0.00 | -2.20 | 0.63 | 0.00 | -3.46 | 0.57 | 0.00 | -3.39 | 0.61 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 2,354 | | | 1,430 | | | 1,580 | | | 1,430 | | |
| Number of individuals | 1,335 | | | 830 | | | 918 | | | 830 | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Table A.8 (continued)** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | M5: United Kingdom | | | M6: Denmark | | | M7: Ireland | | | M8: France | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.25 | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.10 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.10 | 0.04 | -0.05 | 0.10 | 0.59 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | 0.48 | 0.27 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.30 | 0.85 | -0.85 | 0.33 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.26 | 0.97 |
| Vocational education | 0.17 | 0.23 | 0.46 | -0.37 | 0.26 | 0.15 | -0.47 | 0.37 | 0.20 | -0.36 | 0.24 | 0.14 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.19 | 0.34 | 0.58 | 0.14 | 0.40 | 0.74 | 0.15 | 0.42 | 0.72 | -0.42 | 0.31 | 0.19 |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.09 | 0.31 | 0.78 | -0.01 | 0.39 | 0.97 | -0.11 | 0.40 | 0.78 | -0.08 | 0.28 | 0.79 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.33 | 0.33 | 0.31 | 0.11 | 0.36 | 0.75 | -0.58 | 0.48 | 0.23 | -0.05 | 0.32 | 0.89 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.34 | 0.32 | 0.30 | 0.49 | 0.36 | 0.17 | 0.12 | 0.56 | 0.83 | 0.37 | 0.34 | 0.28 |
| Female | -0.06 | 0.20 | 0.78 | -0.25 | 0.22 | 0.27 | -0.28 | 0.28 | 0.31 | -0.69 | 0.20 | 0.00 |
| Children at home | 0.30 | 0.24 | 0.22 | 0.86 | 0.30 | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.32 | 0.78 | 0.20 | 0.24 | 0.41 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | -0.76 | 0.61 | 0.21 | 0.89 | 0.64 | 0.16 | -1.46 | 0.79 | 0.07 | 1.15 | 0.40 | 0.00 |
| Studying | 0.63 | 0.65 | 0.34 | 0.76 | 0.60 | 0.20 | -0.59 | 0.89 | 0.51 | 0.60 | 0.60 | 0.32 |
| Retired | -0.77 | 0.38 | 0.04 | 0.97 | 0.43 | 0.02 | -0.30 | 0.43 | 0.48 | 0.10 | 0.44 | 0.82 |
| Other | -0.39 | 0.27 | 0.14 | 0.52 | 0.41 | 0.20 | -0.12 | 0.37 | 0.74 | 0.24 | 0.31 | 0.44 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.78 | 0.39 | 0.04 | 0.43 | 0.50 | 0.39 | -0.09 | 0.70 | 0.89 | 0.47 | 0.37 | 0.20 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.41 | 0.33 | 0.21 | -0.11 | 0.36 | 0.75 | -0.22 | 0.58 | 0.70 | -0.45 | 0.33 | 0.18 |
| Age 50-59 | -0.75 | 0.35 | 0.03 | -0.72 | 0.39 | 0.06 | -0.77 | 0.55 | 0.16 | -0.54 | 0.33 | 0.10 |
| Age 60+ | -0.39 | 0.43 | 0.37 | -1.11 | 0.48 | 0.02 | -1.33 | 0.60 | 0.03 | -0.64 | 0.48 | 0.18 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.30 | 0.42 | 0.48 | 0.19 | 0.53 | 0.72 | 0.14 | 0.61 | 0.81 | 0.05 | 0.37 | 0.88 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.24 | 0.23 | 0.30 | 0.45 | 0.30 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.32 | 0.65 | -0.17 | 0.24 | 0.47 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.59 | 0.53 | 0.00 | -3.73 | 0.63 | 0.00 | -2.54 | 0.74 | 0.00 | -1.49 | 0.47 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 1,729 | | | 1,453 | | | 1,551 | | | 1,595 | | |
| Number of individuals | 1,012 | | | 850 | | | 874 | | | 905 | | |

**Table A.9**: List of question wording and descriptive statistics for all variables for Study 2 (ESS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Operationalization** | **N** | **Mean** | **SD** | **Min** | **Max** |
| Educational degree | “What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed?“ [country-specific response categories] | 41,740 | 3.95 | 1.84 | 1 | 7 |
| Household income | “Please tell me which letter describes your household's total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?“ [country-specific income deciles given as response categories]; recoded into quintiles for the analysis | 34,562 | 2.85 | 1.35 | 1 | 5 |
| Female | 0: Male; 1: Female | 41,948 | 0.52 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Children in household | Children living at home or not (1 if there is at least one child in the household, 0 otherwise) | 41,946 | 0.35 | 0.48 | 0 | 1 |
| Current situation | Main activity, last 7 days. Recoded for the analysis into the following categories: 1: paid work; 2: education; 3: unemployed; 4: retired; 5: other | 41,827 |  |  |  |  |
| Age | Age of respondent | 41,802 | 49.28 | 18.64 | 15 | 100 |
| Risk of unemployment | "Please tell me how likely it is that during the next 12 months you will be unemployed and looking for work for at least four consecutive weeks?" (1: not at all likely; 2: not very likely; 3: likely; 4: very likely) | 40,861 | 1.43 | 1.11 | 0 | 4 |
| Cohabit | 1: lives with husband/wife/partner; 0: otherwise | 41,778 | 0.59 | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Government satisfaction | "Now thinking about the [country] government: How satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job?" (0: extremely dissatisfied; 10: extremely satisfied) | 40,888 | 4.43 | 2.40 | 0 | 10 |
| Trust in country's parliament | "Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust." | 41,188 | 4.60 | 2.54 | 0 | 10 |
| Trust in the legal system | "Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust." | 41,223 | 5.48 | 2.59 | 0 | 10 |
| Trust in politicians | "Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust." | 41,423 | 3.66 | 2.41 | 0 | 10 |
| Trust in political parties | "Please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust each of the institutions I read out. 0 means you do not trust an institution at all, and 10 means you have complete trust." | 41,228 | 3.63 | 2.37 | 0 | 10 |

**Table A.10**: Regression table – effect of different measures of government satisfaction and political trust on reform scenarios (Study 2)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Active vs. passive labor market policies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
| Educational attainment | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.68 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.26 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.48 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.56 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.58 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 | -0.12 | 0.04 | 0.01 | -0.12 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.12 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.12 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.05 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.06 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.05 | -0.08 | 0.04 | 0.04 | -0.08 | 0.04 | 0.04 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.21 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Female | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | -0.07 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Children at home | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.76 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.56 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.57 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.75 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.73 |
| Current situation: Studying (ref: in paid work) | 0.23 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.24 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| Unemployed | -0.33 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| Retired | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.18 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.12 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.11 |
| Other | -0.17 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.18 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.17 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.17 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.18 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Age | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.04 | 0.03 | 0.21 | -0.04 | 0.03 | 0.21 | -0.04 | 0.03 | 0.19 | -0.04 | 0.03 | 0.20 | -0.04 | 0.03 | 0.22 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.07 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Government satisfaction | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Same controls as in Study 1 (Table 1, Model 2) | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |
| Countries | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  |
| Observations | 31,459 |  |  | 31,660 |  |  | 31,655 |  |  | 31,770 |  |  | 31,648 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Table A.10 (continued) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Reconciliation vs. taxation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M6 | | | M7 | | | M8 | | | M9 | | | M10 | | |
| Educational attainment | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.13 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.14 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.15 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.04 | 0.04 | 0.29 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.34 | -0.04 | 0.04 | 0.28 | -0.04 | 0.04 | 0.30 | -0.04 | 0.04 | 0.32 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.81 | -0.01 | 0.04 | 0.84 | -0.01 | 0.04 | 0.81 | -0.00 | 0.04 | 0.92 | -0.00 | 0.04 | 0.94 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.61 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.95 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.89 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.74 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.71 |
| Female | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.79 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.67 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.68 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.96 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.82 |
| Children at home | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.02 |
| Current situation: Studying (ref: in paid work) | 0.12 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.06 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.11 | 0.06 | 0.05 |
| Unemployed | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.27 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.37 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.37 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.38 |
| Retired | 0.14 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Other | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 |
| Age | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.05 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.02 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.08 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.02 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.06 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.90 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.96 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.98 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.96 |
| Government satisfaction | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Same controls as in Study 1 (Table 1, Model 2) | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |
| Countries | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  |
| Observations | 31,327 |  |  | 31,498 |  |  | 31,491 |  |  | 31,613 |  |  | 31,502 |  |  |

**Table A.11**: Regression table – robustness test: including country fixed effects (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Logistic regressions: Support for reform under various policy trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs; individual-level clustered standard errors included to account for pooling of the data** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.16 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.15 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.14 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Reform "loser" group (self-interest) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.71 | 0.17 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.48 |  |  |  |
| Reform "loser" group (ideology) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.32 | 0.17 | 0.07 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.46 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) |  |  |  | -0.06 | 0.07 | 0.44 | -0.04 | 0.07 | 0.61 | -0.06 | 0.07 | 0.42 | -0.04 | 0.07 | 0.61 |
| Vocational education |  |  |  | -0.19 | 0.07 | 0.01 | -0.19 | 0.07 | 0.01 | -0.20 | 0.07 | 0.01 | -0.19 | 0.07 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) |  |  |  | -0.05 | 0.09 | 0.60 | -0.02 | 0.10 | 0.80 | -0.01 | 0.09 | 0.95 | -0.03 | 0.10 | 0.79 |
| Household income: Q2 |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.73 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.67 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.62 | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.67 |
| Household income: Q4 |  |  |  | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.93 | -0.01 | 0.09 | 0.95 | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.96 | -0.01 | 0.09 | 0.93 |
| Household income: Q5 |  |  |  | 0.19 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.17 | 0.10 | 0.07 | 0.18 | 0.10 | 0.07 |
| Female |  |  |  | -0.24 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.22 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.25 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.23 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| Children at home |  |  |  | 0.18 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.17 | 0.07 | 0.01 | 0.21 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.18 | 0.07 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) |  |  |  | -0.02 | 0.14 | 0.87 | -0.00 | 0.14 | 0.99 |  |  |  | 0.01 | 0.14 | 0.97 |
| Studying |  |  |  | 0.18 | 0.15 | 0.24 | 0.22 | 0.15 | 0.16 |  |  |  | 0.21 | 0.15 | 0.18 |
| Retired |  |  |  | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.40 | 0.05 | 0.11 | 0.63 |  |  |  | 0.07 | 0.11 | 0.52 |
| Other |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.09 | 0.91 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.75 |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.68 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) |  |  |  | 0.29 | 0.11 | 0.01 | 0.26 | 0.12 | 0.03 |  |  |  | 0.26 | 0.12 | 0.02 |
| Age 40-49 |  |  |  | -0.20 | 0.10 | 0.03 | -0.21 | 0.10 | 0.03 |  |  |  | -0.21 | 0.10 | 0.03 |
| Age 50-59 |  |  |  | -0.56 | 0.10 | 0.00 | -0.57 | 0.10 | 0.00 |  |  |  | -0.57 | 0.10 | 0.00 |
| Age 60+ |  |  |  | -0.76 | 0.12 | 0.00 | -0.77 | 0.13 | 0.00 |  |  |  | -0.77 | 0.12 | 0.00 |
| Risk of unemployment |  |  |  | -0.16 | 0.13 | 0.21 | -0.20 | 0.13 | 0.13 | -0.18 | 0.13 | 0.16 | -0.20 | 0.13 | 0.12 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.61 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.45 | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.55 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.49 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.13 | 0.08 | 0.09 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.25 | 0.07 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government electoral support |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.64 |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.51 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.54 | 0.10 | 0.00 | -2.03 | 0.17 | 0.00 | -2.05 | 0.18 | 0.00 | -2.07 | 0.17 | 0.00 | -1.98 | 0.18 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Italy (ref: Germany) | 0.05 | 0.11 | 0.65 | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.38 | 0.19 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.40 | 0.21 | 0.13 | 0.10 |
| Spain | -0.14 | 0.11 | 0.20 | -0.33 | 0.12 | 0.01 | -0.32 | 0.12 | 0.01 | -0.29 | 0.12 | 0.01 | -0.29 | 0.12 | 0.02 |
| Sweden | -0.39 | 0.10 | 0.00 | -0.55 | 0.11 | 0.00 | -0.60 | 0.12 | 0.00 | -0.55 | 0.11 | 0.00 | -0.53 | 0.12 | 0.00 |
| Uk | 0.58 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.45 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.51 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.48 | 0.10 | 0.00 |
| Denmark | -0.04 | 0.10 | 0.72 | -0.12 | 0.11 | 0.27 | -0.16 | 0.11 | 0.15 | -0.11 | 0.11 | 0.33 | -0.10 | 0.11 | 0.37 |
| Ireland | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.36 | 0.16 | 0.11 | 0.15 | 0.16 | 0.12 | 0.18 | 0.16 | 0.11 | 0.16 | 0.18 | 0.12 | 0.13 |
| France | 0.30 | 0.10 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.19 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.18 | 0.11 | 0.09 | 0.22 | 0.11 | 0.05 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 14,958 | | | 13,332 | | | 12,454 | | | 13,332 | | | 12,454 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | |
| Note. In M4 the "loser" group includes in varying composition those in retirement, those above the age of 60, and those being unemployed. In M5 the "loser" group includes left-wing individuals. Group composition varies across split-sample trade-offs (see main text for details). The remaining concomitant variables are only included, if they do not already indicate loser status for a specific trade-off. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table A.12**: Regression table – robustness test: including country fixed effects (Study 2)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Active vs. passive labor market policies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
|  | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
| Government satisfaction | 0.013 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.010 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.007 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.008 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.010 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Same controls as in Study 1 (Table 1, Model 2) | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| Country fixed effects | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| Countries | 22 | | | 22 | | | 22 | | | 22 | | | 22 | | |
| Observations | 31,459 | | | 31,660 | | | 31,655 | | | 31,770 | | | 31,648 | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Reconciliation vs. taxation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M6 | | | M7 | | | M8 | | | M9 | | | M10 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
| Government satisfaction | 0.011 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.012 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.012 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.013 | 0.001 | 0.000 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.013 | 0.001 | 0.000 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Same controls as in Study 1 (Table 1, Model 2) | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| Country fixed effects | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | | ✓ | | |
| Countries | 22 | | | 22 | | | 22 | | | 22 | | | 22 | | |
| Observations | 31,327 | | | 31,498 | | | 31,491 | | | 31,613 | | | 31,502 | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *Notes*: Replication of Table 2 from the main analysis with marginal effect estimates based on logistic regression models with country-level fixed effects. Standard errors are shown in parentheses. Brackets report p-values. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table A.13**: Regression table – robustness test: testing for the influence of missing values (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Multilevel random individual, random country intercept, logistic regressions: Support for reform under various policy trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs; including missing values for income and ideology** | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.14 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.07 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.04 | 0.01 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.07 | 0.09 | 0.41 | -0.07 | 0.09 | 0.40 | -0.07 | 0.09 | 0.41 |
| Vocational education | -0.25 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.25 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.26 | 0.09 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.10 | 0.12 | 0.41 | -0.09 | 0.26 | 0.74 | -0.10 | 0.12 | 0.39 |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.94 | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.47 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.98 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.02 | 0.12 | 0.89 | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.83 | -0.02 | 0.12 | 0.87 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.21 | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.83 | 0.21 | 0.13 | 0.10 |
| Household income: missing | 0.08 | 0.14 | 0.55 | 0.42 | 0.33 | 0.21 | 0.08 | 0.14 | 0.58 |
| Household income: Q1 \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | -0.00 | 0.09 | 0.98 |  |  |  |
| Household income: Q2 \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | -0.07 | 0.09 | 0.44 |  |  |  |
| Household income: Q4 \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.10 | 0.77 |  |  |  |
| Household income: Q5 \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.10 | 0.63 |  |  |  |
| Household income: missing \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | -0.13 | 0.11 | 0.27 |  |  |  |
| Female | -0.30 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.30 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.30 | 0.07 | 0.00 |
| Children at home | 0.27 | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | -0.02 | 0.17 | 0.90 | -0.02 | 0.17 | 0.91 | -0.02 | 0.17 | 0.89 |
| Studying | 0.25 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.25 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.25 | 0.19 | 0.19 |
| Retired | 0.16 | 0.13 | 0.22 | 0.16 | 0.13 | 0.22 | 0.16 | 0.13 | 0.22 |
| Other | -0.00 | 0.10 | 0.96 | -0.01 | 0.10 | 0.94 | -0.01 | 0.10 | 0.95 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.47 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.47 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.47 | 0.15 | 0.00 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.30 | 0.12 | 0.02 | -0.29 | 0.12 | 0.02 | -0.29 | 0.12 | 0.02 |
| Age 50-59 | -0.66 | 0.13 | 0.00 | -0.67 | 0.13 | 0.00 | -0.66 | 0.13 | 0.00 |
| Age 60+ | -0.99 | 0.15 | 0.00 | -0.98 | 0.15 | 0.00 | -0.99 | 0.15 | 0.00 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.13 | 0.16 | 0.40 | -0.13 | 0.16 | 0.41 | -0.13 | 0.16 | 0.40 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.02 | 0.08 | 0.81 | -0.02 | 0.09 | 0.82 | -0.02 | 0.08 | 0.82 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | -0.17 | 0.09 | 0.06 | -0.17 | 0.09 | 0.06 | -0.43 | 0.21 | 0.04 |
| Right-wing | 0.32 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.32 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 0.21 | 0.24 |
| Missing | -0.14 | 0.14 | 0.32 | -0.14 | 0.14 | 0.33 | -0.30 | 0.30 | 0.32 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.17 |
| Right-wing \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.71 |
| Missing \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.07 | 0.12 | 0.58 |
| Government electoral support | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.35 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.40 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.34 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.66 | 0.24 | 0.00 | -2.73 | 0.29 | 0.00 | -2.57 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 14,709 | | | 14,709 | | | 14,709 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | |

**Table A.14**: Regression table – all fiscal trade-off questions pooled (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Multilevel random individual, random country intercept, logistic regressions: Support for reform under various fiscal trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.63 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.66 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.68 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.71 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.42 |
| Reform "loser" group (self-interest) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.06 | 0.25 | 0.82 |  |  |  |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.08 | 0.91 |  |  |  |
| Reform "loser" group (ideology) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.57 | 0.21 | 0.01 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.30 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) |  |  |  | -0.26 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.24 | 0.09 | 0.01 | -0.26 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.25 | 0.09 | 0.00 |
| Vocational education |  |  |  | -0.31 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.31 | 0.09 | 0.00 | -0.36 | 0.09 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) |  |  |  | -0.25 | 0.11 | 0.02 | -0.24 | 0.12 | 0.04 |  |  |  | -0.24 | 0.12 | 0.04 |
| Household income: Q2 |  |  |  | -0.13 | 0.10 | 0.21 | -0.11 | 0.11 | 0.28 |  |  |  | -0.11 | 0.10 | 0.29 |
| Household income: Q4 |  |  |  | -0.07 | 0.11 | 0.51 | -0.09 | 0.12 | 0.44 |  |  |  | -0.08 | 0.11 | 0.46 |
| Household income: Q5 |  |  |  | -0.08 | 0.12 | 0.48 | -0.06 | 0.12 | 0.61 |  |  |  | -0.06 | 0.12 | 0.62 |
| Female |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.07 | 0.94 | -0.00 | 0.07 | 0.95 | -0.01 | 0.07 | 0.94 | -0.00 | 0.07 | 0.95 |
| Children at home |  |  |  | 0.22 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.23 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.22 | 0.09 | 0.01 | 0.22 | 0.09 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) |  |  |  | -0.08 | 0.17 | 0.65 | -0.07 | 0.18 | 0.70 | -0.08 | 0.17 | 0.65 | -0.04 | 0.18 | 0.81 |
| Studying |  |  |  | 0.58 | 0.22 | 0.01 | 0.51 | 0.23 | 0.03 | 0.57 | 0.22 | 0.01 | 0.52 | 0.23 | 0.02 |
| Retired |  |  |  | 0.18 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.19 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.18 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.19 | 0.12 | 0.12 |
| Other |  |  |  | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.21 | 0.15 | 0.11 | 0.17 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.21 | 0.16 | 0.11 | 0.14 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) |  |  |  | 0.29 | 0.16 | 0.08 | 0.32 | 0.17 | 0.07 | 0.29 | 0.16 | 0.08 | 0.34 | 0.17 | 0.05 |
| Age 40-49 |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.13 | 0.94 | 0.02 | 0.14 | 0.88 | -0.01 | 0.13 | 0.94 | 0.01 | 0.14 | 0.95 |
| Age 50-59 |  |  |  | 0.15 | 0.13 | 0.25 | 0.19 | 0.14 | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0.13 | 0.25 | 0.19 | 0.14 | 0.17 |
| Age 60+ |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.15 | 0.74 | 0.05 | 0.16 | 0.74 | 0.05 | 0.15 | 0.74 | 0.05 | 0.16 | 0.73 |
| Risk of unemployment |  |  |  | -0.04 | 0.16 | 0.79 | -0.06 | 0.16 | 0.70 | -0.04 | 0.16 | 0.78 | -0.08 | 0.16 | 0.62 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) |  |  |  | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.25 | 0.15 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.25 | 0.14 | 0.09 | 0.10 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.48 | 0.09 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.24 | 0.09 | 0.01 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government electoral support |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.68 |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.63 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.44 | 0.20 | 0.20 | 0.33 | 0.02 | 0.21 | 0.91 | 0.19 | 0.21 | 0.35 | 0.30 | 0.21 | 0.16 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Variance components |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Country variance | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.08 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 4,337 | | | 3,850 | | | 3,568 | | | 3,850 | | | 3,568 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | |
| Note. In M4 the "loser" group includes those in the highest income quintile. In M5 the "loser" group includes right-wing individuals. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table A.15**: Regression table - robustness test: test for nonlinear interaction effects (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Multilevel random individual, random country intercept, logistic regressions: Support for reform under various policy trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs; including squared political trust** | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | -0.27 | 0.18 | 0.12 | -0.34 | 0.18 | 0.05 |
| Government satisfaction^2 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Reform "loser" group (self-interest) | -1.16 | 0.39 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction | 0.27 | 0.32 | 0.40 |  |  |  |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction^2 | -0.04 | 0.06 | 0.48 |  |  |  |
| Reform "loser" group (ideology) |  |  |  | -0.90 | 0.44 | 0.04 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | 0.50 | 0.38 | 0.20 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction^2 |  |  |  | -0.08 | 0.07 | 0.28 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.08 | 0.09 | 0.41 | -0.05 | 0.09 | 0.58 |
| Vocational education | -0.24 | 0.09 | 0.01 | -0.23 | 0.10 | 0.02 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.05 | 0.12 | 0.67 | -0.09 | 0.12 | 0.48 |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.86 | 0.01 | 0.11 | 0.92 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.02 | 0.12 | 0.88 | -0.04 | 0.12 | 0.75 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.22 | 0.13 | 0.08 | 0.22 | 0.13 | 0.09 |
| Female | -0.32 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.30 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| Children at home | 0.27 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.23 | 0.09 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | 0.26 | 0.23 | 0.27 | 0.00 | 0.18 | 0.99 |
| Studying | 0.23 | 0.21 | 0.27 | 0.31 | 0.21 | 0.14 |
| Retired | 0.07 | 0.20 | 0.74 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.38 |
| Other | -0.05 | 0.11 | 0.63 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.49 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.53 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.38 | 0.16 | 0.02 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.19 | 0.12 | 0.13 | -0.29 | 0.13 | 0.03 |
| Age 50-59 | -0.56 | 0.12 | 0.00 | -0.72 | 0.13 | 0.00 |
| Age 60+ | -0.81 | 0.21 | 0.00 | -1.01 | 0.17 | 0.00 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.22 | 0.16 | 0.17 | -0.26 | 0.17 | 0.13 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.96 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.83 |
| Government electoral support |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.77 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.29 | 0.30 | 0.00 | -2.07 | 0.31 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Variance components |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Country variance | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.07 |
| Individual variance | 2.34 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 2.30 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 13,332 | | | 12,454 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | |
| Note. In M1 the "loser" group includes in varying composition those in retirement, those above the age of 60, and those being unemployed. In M2 the "loser" group includes left-wing individuals. Group composition varies across split-sample trade-offs (see main text for details). The remaining concomitant variables are only included, if they do not already indicate loser status for a specific trade-off. | | | | | | |

**Figure A.1**: Predicted probabilities - robustness test: test for nonlinear interaction effects (Study 1)



*Notes*: Predicted probabilities and 95%-confidence intervals, based on Table A.15, Models 1 and 2.

**Table A.16**: Regression table - robustness test: including attitudinal control variables (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Multilevel random individual, random country intercept, logistic regressions: Support for reform under various policy trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs; replication of Table 1, Model 4, controlling for attitudinal variables** | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.16 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.15 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Reform "loser" group (self-interest) | -0.87 | 0.21 | 0.00 | -0.82 | 0.21 | 0.00 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.61 | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.75 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.05 | 0.10 | 0.61 | -0.08 | 0.10 | 0.41 |
| Vocational education | -0.24 | 0.10 | 0.01 | -0.26 | 0.10 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.01 | 0.12 | 0.92 | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.75 |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.03 | 0.11 | 0.77 | 0.04 | 0.11 | 0.74 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.04 | 0.12 | 0.74 | -0.05 | 0.12 | 0.66 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.19 | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.11 | 0.13 | 0.40 |
| Female | -0.30 | 0.08 | 0.00 | -0.29 | 0.08 | 0.00 |
| Children at home | 0.27 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.09 | 0.00 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | 0.35 | 0.24 | 0.14 | 0.32 | 0.25 | 0.20 |
| Studying | 0.28 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.25 | 0.22 | 0.24 |
| Retired | -0.01 | 0.21 | 0.96 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 1.00 |
| Other | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.89 | 0.06 | 0.11 | 0.57 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.50 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.53 | 0.16 | 0.00 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.17 | 0.13 | 0.18 | -0.10 | 0.13 | 0.41 |
| Age 50-59 | -0.54 | 0.12 | 0.00 | -0.46 | 0.13 | 0.00 |
| Age 60+ | -0.75 | 0.21 | 0.00 | -0.70 | 0.21 | 0.00 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.27 | 0.17 | 0.11 | -0.26 | 0.17 | 0.13 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.71 | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.94 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | -0.18 | 0.10 | 0.07 | -0.05 | 0.10 | 0.63 |
| Right-wing | 0.32 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.10 | 0.03 |
| Government electoral support | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.74 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.78 |
| Support for more public social spending |  |  |  | -0.39 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -2.83 | 0.25 | 0.00 | -1.52 | 0.27 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Variance components |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Country variance | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.12 | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| Individual variance | 2.35 | 0.25 | 0.00 | 2.24 | 0.25 | 0.00 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 12,454 | | | 12,093 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | |
| Note. The "loser" group includes in varying composition those in retirement, those above the age of 60, and those being unemployed. Group composition varies across split-sample trade-offs (see main text for details). The remaining concomitant variables are only included, if they do not already indicate loser status for a specific trade-off. | | | | | | |

**Figure A.2**: Predicted probabilities – robustness test: policy trade-offs, including attitudinal control variables (Study 1)



**Table A.17**: Regression table - robustness test: including attitudinal control variables (Study 2)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Active vs. passive labor market policies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
| Educational attainment | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.68 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.32 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.54 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.59 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.65 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.12 | 0.04 | 0.01 | -0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.14 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.10 | -0.06 | 0.04 | 0.11 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.08 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.08 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.08 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Female | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.06 | 0.03 | 0.02 | -0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Children at home | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.57 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.52 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.55 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.63 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.63 |
| Current situation: Studying (ref: in paid work) | 0.25 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.25 | 0.07 | 0.00 |
| Unemployed | -0.33 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.33 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| Retired | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.19 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.17 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.14 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.15 |
| Other | -0.18 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.19 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.17 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.18 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.19 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Age | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.10 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | -0.06 | 0.03 | 0.08 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | -0.13 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.16 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.16 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.15 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.16 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Right-wing | -0.03 | 0.03 | 0.35 | -0.02 | 0.03 | 0.56 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.82 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.72 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.65 |
| Government electoral support | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.41 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Government satisfaction | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Same controls as in Study 1 (Table 1, Model 3) | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |
| Countries | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  |
| Observations | 29,071 |  |  | 29,212 |  |  | 29,174 |  |  | 29,279 |  |  | 29,185 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Table A.17 (continued) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Reconciliation vs. taxation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M6 | | | M7 | | | M8 | | | M9 | | | M10 | | |
| Educational attainment | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.22 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.25 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.24 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.23 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.27 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.39 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.46 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.39 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.43 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.43 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.59 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.86 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.92 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.80 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.79 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.18 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.30 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.29 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.19 |
| Female | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.69 | -0.01 | 0.02 | 0.80 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.78 | -0.02 | 0.02 | 0.52 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.63 |
| Children at home | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: Studying (ref: in paid work) | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.19 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.39 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.34 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.25 |
| Unemployed | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.36 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.34 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.38 |
| Retired | 0.12 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Other | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| Age | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.30 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.16 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.33 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.20 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.33 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.93 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.95 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.99 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.97 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | 0.35 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.33 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Right-wing | -0.15 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.15 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.14 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.15 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.15 | 0.03 | 0.00 |
| Government electoral support | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.06 | -0.03 | 0.03 | 0.20 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.67 | -0.03 | 0.03 | 0.28 | -0.03 | 0.03 | 0.32 |
| Government satisfaction | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Same controls as in Study 1 (Table 1, Model 3) | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |
| Countries | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  |
| Observations | 28,957 |  |  | 29,073 |  |  | 29,039 |  |  | 29,143 |  |  | 29,059 |  |  |

**Table A.18**: Regression table – tax and debt trade-off questions (Study 1)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Multilevel random individual, random country intercept, logistic regressions: Support for reform under tax (M1 and 2) and debt (M3 and 4) trade-off conditions; maximum likelihood estimates; pooled split-sample trade-offs** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | |
| VARIABLES | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government satisfaction | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.72 | -0.01 | 0.05 | 0.85 | -0.04 | 0.05 | 0.38 | -0.05 | 0.06 | 0.40 |
| Reform "loser" group (self-interest) | 0.13 | 0.35 | 0.71 |  |  |  | -0.32 | 0.38 | 0.40 |  |  |  |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction | -0.09 | 0.11 | 0.43 |  |  |  | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.40 |  |  |  |
| Reform "loser" group (ideology) |  |  |  | -0.51 | 0.29 | 0.08 |  |  |  | -0.62 | 0.30 | 0.04 |
| Loser \* Government satisfaction |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.10 | 0.79 |  |  |  | 0.10 | 0.10 | 0.30 |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | -0.23 | 0.12 | 0.05 | -0.24 | 0.13 | 0.06 | -0.32 | 0.12 | 0.01 | -0.29 | 0.13 | 0.02 |
| Vocational education | -0.38 | 0.12 | 0.00 | -0.48 | 0.13 | 0.00 | -0.26 | 0.12 | 0.04 | -0.27 | 0.13 | 0.04 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.44 | 0.16 | 0.01 | -0.39 | 0.17 | 0.02 | -0.01 | 0.16 | 0.96 | -0.02 | 0.16 | 0.89 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.24 | 0.14 | 0.09 | -0.20 | 0.15 | 0.17 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.87 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.89 |
| Household income: Q4 | -0.23 | 0.16 | 0.15 | -0.21 | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.09 | 0.16 | 0.59 | 0.05 | 0.16 | 0.78 |
| Household income: Q5 |  |  |  | -0.08 | 0.18 | 0.63 |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.18 | 0.96 |
| Female | -0.01 | 0.10 | 0.91 | -0.04 | 0.10 | 0.68 | -0.01 | 0.10 | 0.90 | 0.02 | 0.10 | 0.85 |
| Children at home | 0.37 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.41 | 0.13 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.12 | 0.40 | 0.06 | 0.13 | 0.61 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | -0.45 | 0.25 | 0.08 | -0.34 | 0.27 | 0.20 | 0.23 | 0.24 | 0.32 | 0.20 | 0.25 | 0.44 |
| Studying | 0.29 | 0.31 | 0.36 | 0.31 | 0.32 | 0.33 | 0.89 | 0.33 | 0.01 | 0.78 | 0.34 | 0.02 |
| Retired | 0.22 | 0.17 | 0.19 | 0.27 | 0.17 | 0.12 | 0.12 | 0.17 | 0.49 | 0.08 | 0.18 | 0.67 |
| Other | 0.11 | 0.15 | 0.48 | 0.13 | 0.16 | 0.41 | 0.15 | 0.15 | 0.31 | 0.19 | 0.16 | 0.22 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | 0.57 | 0.24 | 0.01 | 0.55 | 0.24 | 0.03 | -0.04 | 0.23 | 0.88 | 0.09 | 0.24 | 0.70 |
| Age 40-49 | 0.10 | 0.19 | 0.61 | 0.06 | 0.20 | 0.78 | -0.14 | 0.19 | 0.46 | -0.05 | 0.19 | 0.80 |
| Age 50-59 | 0.34 | 0.19 | 0.07 | 0.39 | 0.20 | 0.05 | -0.03 | 0.18 | 0.89 | 0.00 | 0.19 | 0.98 |
| Age 60+ | 0.19 | 0.22 | 0.38 | 0.16 | 0.22 | 0.48 | -0.06 | 0.22 | 0.77 | -0.02 | 0.22 | 0.94 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.20 | 0.22 | 0.37 | -0.19 | 0.23 | 0.41 | 0.14 | 0.22 | 0.52 | 0.07 | 0.23 | 0.76 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.75 | 0.07 | 0.12 | 0.56 | 0.19 | 0.12 | 0.11 | 0.25 | 0.13 | 0.05 |
| Government electoral support |  |  |  | 0.09 | 0.12 | 0.47 |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.13 | 0.96 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 0.10 | 0.29 | 0.72 | 0.23 | 0.30 | 0.45 | -0.30 | 0.26 | 0.26 | -0.29 | 0.27 | 0.29 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Variance components |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Country variance | 0.19 | 0.11 | 0.07 | 0.19 | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.19 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.23 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trade-off, sample split dummies | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | | Yes | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 1,960 | | | 1,808 | | | 1,890 | | | 1,760 | | |
| Number of country groups | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | | 8 | | |
| Note. In M1 and M3 the "loser" group includes those in the highest income quintile. In M2 and M4 the "loser" group includes right-wing individuals. | | | | | | | | | | | | |

**Figure A.3**: Predicted probabilities - robustness test: support for reform under tax and debt trade-off conditions (Study 1)



**Table A.19**: Regression table – interaction effects for ideological costs (Study 2)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | M1 | | | M2 | | | M3 | | | M4 | | | M5 | | |
|  | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  | Active vs. passive labor market policies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Government satisfaction | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | -0.19 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.04 | 0.07 | 0.56 | -0.12 | 0.08 | 0.12 | -0.01 | 0.06 | 0.85 | -0.08 | 0.06 | 0.16 |
| Right-wing | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.73 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.90 | -0.11 | 0.08 | 0.15 | -0.06 | 0.06 | 0.33 | -0.13 | 0.06 | 0.03 |
| Left-wing \* Government satisfaction | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.31 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Government satisfaction | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.40 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Educational attainment | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.68 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.33 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.56 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.64 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.68 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | -0.12 | 0.04 | 0.01 | -0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.14 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 | -0.13 | 0.04 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.10 | -0.06 | 0.04 | 0.12 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.08 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.08 | -0.07 | 0.04 | 0.08 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.20 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Female | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.06 | 0.03 | 0.01 | -0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | -0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | -0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Children at home | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.57 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.52 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.55 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.64 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.63 |
| Current situation: Studying (ref: in paid work) | 0.25 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.27 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.26 | 0.07 | 0.00 |
| Unemployed | -0.33 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 | -0.34 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| Retired | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.18 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.17 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.14 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.15 |
| Other | -0.18 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.19 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.18 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.18 | 0.05 | 0.00 | -0.19 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Age | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.11 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | -0.06 | 0.03 | 0.08 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 |
| Risk of unemployment | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 | -0.08 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Government electoral support | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.38 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.04 |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing \* Trust parliament |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.05 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Trust parliament |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.63 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing \* Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.54 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Left-wing \* Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.39 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Left-wing \* Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 | 0.01 | 0.15 |
| Right-wing \* Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.03 |
| Constant | 0.96 | 0.14 | 0.00 | 0.99 | 0.13 | 0.00 | 1.07 | 0.14 | 0.00 | 1.07 | 0.13 | 0.00 | 1.06 | 0.13 | 0.00 |
| Observations | 29,071 |  |  | 29,212 |  |  | 29,174 |  |  | 29,279 |  |  | 29,185 |  |  |
| Number of groups | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | M6 | | | M7 | | | M8 | | | M9 | | | M10 | | |
|  | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
|  | Reconciliation vs. taxation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Government satisfaction | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | 0.30 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.24 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.27 | 0.06 | 0.00 | 0.29 | 0.06 | 0.00 |
| Right-wing | -0.12 | 0.07 | 0.06 | -0.02 | 0.07 | 0.79 | -0.14 | 0.07 | 0.06 | -0.05 | 0.06 | 0.37 | -0.03 | 0.06 | 0.59 |
| Left-wing \* Government satisfaction | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.30 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Government satisfaction | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.69 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Educational attainment | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.22 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.23 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.24 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.23 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.27 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.39 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.46 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.37 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.44 | -0.03 | 0.04 | 0.44 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.02 | 0.04 | 0.59 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.87 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.95 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.82 | 0.01 | 0.04 | 0.78 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.18 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.28 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.28 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.20 | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.19 |
| Female | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.68 | -0.01 | 0.02 | 0.79 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.77 | -0.02 | 0.02 | 0.52 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.63 |
| Children at home | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Current situation: Studying (ref: in paid work) | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.19 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.39 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.26 |
| Unemployed | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.34 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.37 |
| Retired | 0.12 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.00 |
| Other | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.04 |
| Age | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.31 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.17 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.33 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.20 | -0.00 | 0.00 | 0.34 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.08 |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.92 | -0.00 | 0.01 | 0.96 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.98 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.99 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.95 |
| Government electoral support | -0.05 | 0.03 | 0.06 | -0.03 | 0.03 | 0.26 | -0.01 | 0.03 | 0.73 | -0.03 | 0.03 | 0.32 | -0.02 | 0.03 | 0.38 |
| Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing \* Trust parliament |  |  |  | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.14 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Trust parliament |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.03 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left-wing \* Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.03 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Trust legal system |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.98 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |  |  |  |
| Left-wing \* Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.20 |  |  |  |
| Right-wing \* Trust politicians |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.02 | 0.01 | 0.06 |  |  |  |
| Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.06 | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Left-wing \* Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.42 |
| Right-wing \* Trust parties |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | -0.03 | 0.01 | 0.02 |
| Constant | -0.09 | 0.12 | 0.45 | -0.06 | 0.12 | 0.64 | -0.05 | 0.12 | 0.68 | -0.04 | 0.12 | 0.74 | -0.07 | 0.12 | 0.58 |
| Observations | 28,957 |  |  | 29,073 |  |  | 29,039 |  |  | 29,143 |  |  | 29,059 |  |  |
| Number of groups | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  | 22 |  |  |

**Table A.20**: Marginal effects of political trust and government satisfaction for ideological loser groups (Study 2)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
|  | Active vs. passive labor market policies | | | | | Reconciliation vs. taxation | | | | |
|  | Government satisfaction | Trust in country's parliament | Trust in the legal system | Trust in politicians | Trust in political parties | Government satisfaction | Trust in country's parliament | Trust in the legal system | Trust in politicians | Trust in political parties |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Left-wing | 0.0159\*\*\* | 0.00550\* | 0.00395 | 0.000349 | 0.00413 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.00243) | (0.00230) | (0.00225) | (0.00249) | (0.00252) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Right-wing |  |  |  |  |  | 0.0119\*\*\* | 0.00728\*\* | 0.00989\*\*\* | 0.00916\*\*\* | 0.00837\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | (0.00243) | (0.00233) | (0.00223) | (0.00241) | (0.00247) |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Observations | 29071 | 29212 | 29174 | 29279 | 29185 | 28957 | 29073 | 29039 | 29143 | 29059 |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Standard errors in parentheses; average marginal effects are based on regression coefficients in Table A.19.  \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001 | | | | | | | | | | |

**Table A.21**: Correlations between government satisfaction and political trust by country (Study 2); pairwise correlation coefficients, levels of significance, and number of observations; seven countries included in Study 1 and Study 2 included

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Trust in… | | | |
| Satisfaction with government |  | parliament | legal system | politicians | political parties |
| Pooled sample (seven countries) | r= | 0.60 | 0.48 | 0.61 | 0.58 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 15176 | 15214 | 15289 | 15246 |
| Germany | r= | 0.63 | 0.46 | 0.66 | 0.62 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 2771 | 2781 | 2781 | 2772 |
| France | r= | 0.48 | 0.43 | 0.57 | 0.53 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 2020 | 2030 | 2032 | 2031 |
| Italy | r= | 0.60 | 0.44 | 0.60 | 0.58 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 2481 | 2473 | 2488 | 2485 |
| Spain | r= | 0.56 | 0.46 | 0.52 | 0.47 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 1821 | 1873 | 1879 | 1875 |
| Sweden | r= | 0.53 | 0.42 | 0.59 | 0.54 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 1504 | 1491 | 1501 | 1490 |
| Ireland | r= | 0.55 | 0.44 | 0.51 | 0.48 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 2669 | 2660 | 2699 | 2689 |
| United Kingdom | r= | 0.57 | 0.37 | 0.53 | 0.50 |
|  | p= | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | N= | 1910 | 1906 | 1909 | 1904 |
| Standard deviation of correlation coefficients |  | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.05 |
| Minimum value |  | 0.48 | 0.37 | 0.51 | 0.47 |
|  |  | France | United Kingdom | Ireland | Spain |
| Maximum value |  | 0.63 | 0.46 | 0.66 | 0.62 |
|  |  | Germany | Spain | Germany | Germany |

**Table A.22**: Regression table – Consistency check for the two education vs. pensions trade-offs (Study 1); multinomial logistic regression coefficients; the dependent variable is a combination of responses to the two education vs. pensions trade-offs (see lines 1 and 2 for the definition of the categories)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Base outcome: Support both education vs. pensions spending trade-offs | | | | | | | | |
|  | Oppose both trade-offs | | | Support only "cutting back in other areas such as pensions" trade-off | | | Support only "cutting old age pensions to increase education spending by 10%" trade-off | | |
|  | b | SE | p | b | SE | p | b | SE | p |
| No post-secondary education (Ref: Higher Educ.) | 0.40 | 0.34 | 0.25 | -0.06 | 0.38 | 0.87 | -1.60 | 0.65 | 0.01 |
| Vocational education | -0.17 | 0.28 | 0.55 | -0.57 | 0.32 | 0.08 | -0.93 | 0.52 | 0.07 |
| Household income: Q1 (Ref: Q3) | 0.32 | 0.46 | 0.49 | 0.82 | 0.51 | 0.11 | 2.58 | 0.76 | 0.00 |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.01 | 0.34 | 0.98 | -0.10 | 0.39 | 0.80 | 0.58 | 0.59 | 0.32 |
| Household income: Q4 | 0.05 | 0.38 | 0.89 | 0.01 | 0.43 | 0.98 | -14.88 | 733.09 | 0.98 |
| Household income: Q5 | 0.45 | 0.41 | 0.27 | 0.25 | 0.45 | 0.58 | -0.45 | 0.80 | 0.57 |
| Female | 0.65 | 0.26 | 0.01 | 0.37 | 0.28 | 0.19 | -0.17 | 0.45 | 0.71 |
| Children at home | -0.59 | 0.30 | 0.05 | 0.53 | 0.33 | 0.11 | -0.38 | 0.53 | 0.48 |
| Current situation: unemployed (ref: in paid work) | 15.17 | 1,138.90 | 0.99 | 16.23 | 1,138.90 | 0.99 | -0.82 | 2,056.90 | 1.00 |
| Studying | -1.25 | 0.63 | 0.05 | -0.73 | 0.78 | 0.35 | -17.09 | 1,784.89 | 0.99 |
| Retired | 0.33 | 0.48 | 0.49 | 0.53 | 0.53 | 0.31 | 0.77 | 1.02 | 0.45 |
| Other | 0.17 | 0.42 | 0.69 | 0.43 | 0.45 | 0.35 | -0.44 | 0.77 | 0.57 |
| Age 18-29 (Ref: Age 30-39) | -0.54 | 0.54 | 0.32 | 0.89 | 0.65 | 0.17 | -0.81 | 0.94 | 0.39 |
| Age 40-49 | -0.97 | 0.42 | 0.02 | 0.49 | 0.53 | 0.35 | -1.43 | 0.71 | 0.04 |
| Age 50-59 | 0.30 | 0.46 | 0.52 | 1.40 | 0.57 | 0.01 | -0.55 | 0.78 | 0.48 |
| Age 60+ | 0.20 | 0.54 | 0.71 | 1.54 | 0.65 | 0.02 | -1.31 | 1.11 | 0.24 |
| Risk of unemployment | 0.02 | 0.50 | 0.96 | -1.11 | 0.76 | 0.14 | 0.31 | 0.94 | 0.74 |
| Cohabit (ref: one adult household) | 0.49 | 0.29 | 0.08 | 0.65 | 0.33 | 0.04 | 1.19 | 0.51 | 0.02 |
| Left-wing (Ref: Center) | 0.14 | 0.30 | 0.64 | 0.23 | 0.33 | 0.49 | 0.26 | 0.52 | 0.63 |
| Right-wing | 0.23 | 0.33 | 0.48 | -0.00 | 0.37 | 0.99 | 0.50 | 0.61 | 0.42 |
| Government electoral support | 0.45 | 0.30 | 0.13 | 0.46 | 0.33 | 0.16 | 0.65 | 0.51 | 0.20 |
| Government satisfaction | -0.24 | 0.13 | 0.05 | 0.17 | 0.14 | 0.21 | 0.07 | 0.22 | 0.76 |
| Italy (ref: Germany) | 1.42 | 0.68 | 0.03 | 0.16 | 0.73 | 0.82 | 0.07 | 0.99 | 0.95 |
| Spain | 1.87 | 0.66 | 0.00 | 1.93 | 0.70 | 0.01 | 1.68 | 0.89 | 0.06 |
| Sweden | 1.50 | 0.51 | 0.00 | 0.81 | 0.55 | 0.14 | -14.52 | 784.42 | 0.99 |
| Uk | 0.84 | 0.45 | 0.06 | 0.95 | 0.48 | 0.05 | 0.41 | 0.69 | 0.55 |
| Denmark | -0.55 | 0.39 | 0.15 | -0.41 | 0.44 | 0.35 | -16.37 | 887.93 | 0.99 |
| Ireland | 0.63 | 0.51 | 0.22 | 0.26 | 0.56 | 0.64 | -0.02 | 0.76 | 0.98 |
| France | -0.18 | 0.37 | 0.62 | -0.60 | 0.43 | 0.16 | -2.37 | 0.88 | 0.01 |
| Constant | 1.85 | 0.59 | 0.00 | -1.95 | 0.72 | 0.01 | -0.71 | 1.06 | 0.50 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 1,389 |  |  | 1,389 |  |  | 1,389 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Note: The number of observations for the categories of the dependent variable are 1,224 (columns 2-4), 300 (columns 5-7), 57 (columns 8-10), 99 (base outcome). | | | | | | | | | |