**Supplementary material for: *Neimanns, Erik (2021)* *Preferences, vote choice, and the politics of social investment: Addressing the puzzle of unequal benefits of childcare provision. Journal of Social Policy.***

Figure A.1: Distribution of childcare preferences in the INVEDUC 2014 survey and ESS 2008

Part 1: Childcare preferences in the INVEDUC 2014 survey



Note: Average distribution of childcare preferences in Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Because Italy was not part of the ESS 2008, for reasons of comparison, Italy is not included in Figure 1, part 1.

Figure A.1: Distribution of childcare preferences in the INVEDUC 2014 survey and ESS 2008

Part 2: Childcare preferences in the ESS 2008



Note: Average distribution of childcare preferences in Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Italy is not included because it was not part of the ESS 2008.

Figure A.2: Average marginal effect of supporting additional social spending on vote intention for left and center-right parties, conditioned by household income



Note: Average marginal effects and 95 percent confidence intervals are based on multinomial logistic regressions presented in Table A.7 in the appendix, only that social spending preferences are used as conditioning variable instead of childcare preferences.

Figure A.3: Average marginal effect of more egalitarian social values on vote intention for left and center-right parties, conditioned by household income



Note: Average marginal effects and 95 percent confidence intervals are based on multinomial logistic regressions presented in Table A.7 in the appendix, only that social value orientations are used as conditioning variable instead of childcare preferences.

Figure A.4: Average marginal effect of supporting additional public childcare spending on intention to abstain from voting, conditioned by household income



Note: Average marginal effects and 95 percent confidence intervals based on logistic regressions. Same model specification as Figure 3 in the main analysis except that the dependent variable indicates vote abstention (coded as 1 if respondent "would not go to vote", "would vote blank" or "would cast a spoil vote") versus vote intention for any specific party (coded as 0).

Figure A.5: Determinants of preferences towards public childcare spending of individuals in the second income quintile (M1) and of pertaining to the second income quintile (relative to the third income quintile; M2); average marginal effects after logistic regressions



Note: The logistic regression models are the same as those shown in Figure 1, except that Model 1 includes only individuals from the second income quintile and Model 2 includes individuals from the second and third income quintiles and uses income as the dependent variable with the second quintile coded as 1 and the third quintile coded as 0. Assessing whether certain characteristics are over- or underrepresented among individuals in the second income quintile, and how these characteristics are associated with preferences allows to examine why unexpectedly support for more public childcare spending is lower in the second as compared to the third income quintile.

Table A.1: Assignment of parties to party families

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Party family | Freq. | Percent | Germany | Denmark | UK | Italy | Sweden | Ireland | Spain | France |
| Communist/Socialist | 569 | 6.64 | Linke | ENHEDSLISTEN - DE RØD-GRØNNE |  | Sinistra Ecologia Libert | Vänsterpartiet | Pirt Sóisialach; Sinn Féin | Izquierda Unida; Podemos | Le Front de gauche |
| Social democracy | 1,728 | 20.18 | SPD | SOCIALDEMOKRATIET | Labour Party; Social Democratic and Labour Party | Partito Democratico | Socialdemokraterna | Páirti Lucht Oibre | Partido Socialista Obrero Español | Le Parti socialiste; Divers gauche; Le Parti radical de gauche |
| Green/Ecologist | 462 | 5.4 | GRÜN | SF - SOCIALISTISK FOLKEPARTI | Green Party |  | Miljöpartiet de Gröna | Green Party |  | Europe Écologie Les Verts; Les Verts |
| Liberal | 710 | 8.29 | FDP | RADIKALE VENSTRE; VENSTRE; LIBERAL ALLIANCE | Liberal Democrats; Alliance Party of Northern Ireland | Con Monti per l’Italia | Centerpartiet; Folkpartiet liberalerna |  | Unión, Progreso y Democracia; Ciudadanos | Le nouveau centre; Le parti radical; Le Mouvement démocrate; L'Alliance centriste |
| Christian democracy | 685 | 8 | CDU; CSU | KRISTENDEMOKRATERNE |  |  | Kristdemokraterna | Fine Gael |  |  |
| Conservative | 1,033 | 12.06 |  | DET KONSERVATIVE FOLKEPARTI | Conservative Party; Democratic Unionist Party | Il Popolo della Libertà | Moderata samlingspartiet | Fianna Fáil | Partido Popular | L'Union pour unmouvement populaire; Divers droite |
| Right-wing | 521 | 6.08 | AFD; NPD | DANSK FOLKEPARTI | United Kingdom Independence Party; British National Party | Lega Nord per l’ Indipendenza | Sverigedemokraterna |  |  | Le Front National |
| Special issue | 137 | 1.6 | Piraten |  |  | Il Megafono - Lista Crocetta; Grande Sud; MoVimento Cinque Stelle | Feministiskt initiativ |  |  |  |
| Regionalist | 91 | 1.06 |  |  | Scottish National Party; Sinn Féin; Plaid Cymru | Südtiroler Volkspartei; Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese; Unione per il Trentino; Liste Valle d’ Aoste; Valdostian Union |  |  | La Izquierda Plural; Convergència i Unió; Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya; Partido Nacionalista Vasco; Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya |   |
| No party | 2,627 | 30.68 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 8,563 | 100 |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

Source: Döring/Manow 2016; INVEDUC 2014.

Table A.2: Multinomial logistic regression results for disaggregated party families of parties of the left and center-right

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | M1 | M2 | M3 |
| VARIABLES | Communist/Socialist | Green/Ecologist | Christian Democracy |
|   | Reference category: Social Democracy | Reference category: Conservatives |
|  |   |  |   |
| More public childcare spending | 0.092 | -0.044 | -0.242 |
|  | (0.123) | (0.130) | (0.221) |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.127 | 0.065 | 0.497 |
|  (ref: Q1) | (0.171) | (0.204) | (0.307) |
|  Q3 | -0.090 | 0.098 | 1.236\*\*\* |
|  | (0.188) | (0.224) | (0.355) |
|  Q4 | -0.387\* | 0.235 | 0.833\*\* |
|  | (0.226) | (0.245) | (0.405) |
|  Q5 | -0.696\*\* | 0.237 | -0.250 |
|  | (0.276) | (0.264) | (0.444) |
| Age | -0.007 | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.001 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.011) |
| Female | -0.496\*\*\* | 0.556\*\*\* | 0.505\* |
|  | (0.161) | (0.198) | (0.272) |
| Female \* full-time paid work | 0.282 | 0.083 | -1.320\*\*\* |
|  | (0.244) | (0.264) | (0.491) |
| Small child (< 10 years) | 0.302 | 0.253 | -0.541 |
|  | (0.194) | (0.191) | (0.392) |
| Older child (>= 10 years) | -0.371\*\* | 0.012 | 0.110 |
|  | (0.165) | (0.162) | (0.287) |
| Single Parent | 0.351 | -0.117 | 0.213 |
|  | (0.303) | (0.333) | (0.758) |
| Cohabit | -0.129 | -0.344\*\* | -0.348 |
|  (ref: one adult household) | (0.150) | (0.167) | (0.276) |
| Current situation: unemployed | 0.153 | -0.138 | -0.263 |
|  (ref: in paid work) | (0.301) | (0.407) | (0.763) |
|  Studying | 0.068 | -0.761\* | -0.544 |
|  | (0.351) | (0.403) | (0.957) |
|  Retired | -0.031 | -0.317 | 0.267 |
|  | (0.232) | (0.266) | (0.448) |
|  Housework | -0.616 | -0.234 | -0.271 |
|  | (0.444) | (0.467) | (0.639) |
|  Sick | 0.087 | -0.013 | -0.796 |
|  | (0.417) | (0.506) | (0.723) |
|  Part-time work | -0.425 | 0.321 | -0.948 |
|  (voluntarily) | (0.392) | (0.310) | (0.633) |
|  Part-time work | 0.189 | -0.156 | -1.229\*\* |
|  (involuntarily) | (0.300) | (0.323) | (0.597) |
|  Other | 0.287 | 0.247 | 0.211 |
|  | (0.632) | (0.633) | (0.762) |
| Public sector | 0.283\* | -0.087 | 0.560 |
|  | (0.167) | (0.158) | (0.350) |
| Living area: Small/middle town | 0.106 | -0.087 | 0.193 |
|  (Ref: Rural area, village) | (0.142) | (0.152) | (0.268) |
|  Large town | -0.130 | -0.026 | 0.172 |
|  | (0.154) | (0.160) | (0.270) |
| Social spending preferences | 0.599\*\*\* | -0.157 | -0.768\*\*\* |
|  | (0.129) | (0.128) | (0.246) |
| Social value orientations | 0.123\* | 0.349\*\*\* | 0.383\*\*\* |
|  | (0.064) | (0.069) | (0.131) |
| Constant | -0.419 | -0.228 | -19.967 |
|  | (0.410) | (0.434) | (3,229.407) |
|  |   |   |  |
| Observations | 2,327 | 2,327 | 1,467 |
| Standard errors in parentheses; country dummies included but not shown. |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |  |

Table A.3: Principal component factor analyses of preferences towards different areas of government spending (INVEDUC 2014) and government responsibility (ESS 2008)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| INVEDUC survey: Rotated factor loadings of principal component factor analysis (seven countries) |  |
| Variable | Factor1 | Uniqueness |  |  |
| Healthcare | 0.7096 | 0.4965 |  |  |
| Pensions | 0.6746 | 0.5449 |  |  |
| Unemployment benefits | 0.6672 | 0.5548 |  |  |
| Childcare | 0.5203 | 0.7292 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| ESS: Rotated factor loadings of principal component factor analysis (seven countries) |  |
| Variable | Factor1 | Uniqueness |  |  |
| Healthcare | 0.7966 | 0.3655 |  |  |
| Pensions | 0.8187 | 0.3298 |  |  |
| Unemployment benefits | 0.7307 | 0.466 |  |  |
| Childcare | 0.6966 | 0.5148 |  |  |

Note: Italy is not included in these factor analyses because it is not included in ESS 2008. Source: ESS 2008; INVEDUC 2014.

Table A.4: Question wording and operationalization of the independent variables

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Preferences towards public childcare spending | "Please tell me whether you would like to see more or less government spending ineach of the following areas. Keep in mind that ‘more’ or ‚much more’ might require atax increase: Pre-school and early childhood education"; 1: “much less”, 2: “less”, 3: “same as now”, 4: “more”, 5: “much more”; parts of the analysis (indicated in the main text) rely on a dichotomized operationalization of this variable which distinguishes preferences for “more” or “much more” spending (coded as 1) from preferences for “same as now,” “less,” or “much less” spending (coded as 0)  |
| 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]  |
| Children in household | Variable coding is based on the following questions: “How many children are living in your household?“ and “And how many of those are below the age of 10?“ (Small child=1 if there is at least one child in the household below the age of 10, 0 otherwise; Older child=1 if there is at least one child in the household equal or above the age of 10, 0 otherwise) |
| Current situation | Variable coding is based on the following questions: "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);  |
|  | If working less than 30 hours per week: "Why do you work part-time? Because you 1)do not want to work more hours or 2)would you like to work more hours, but have not found the right job yet or 3) would you like to work more hours, but your current employer does not allow you to increase the working hours 4) would you like to work more hours, but can ́t due to family or other obligations? 5) Cannot work more hours due to sickness or other limitations; if 2)- 4): involuntary part-time |
|  | Variable coding: 1: in paid work (> 30 hours per week); 2: unemployed; 3: studying; 4: housework 5: sick, 6: part-time work (voluntary), 7: part-time work (involuntary), 8: other |
| Single parent | "Are you a single parent?" |
| Cohabit | Variable coded as the difference between the two following questions (1: one adult household; 2: two or more adults cohabiting): |
|  | "Including yourself and children, and counting only people who live there regularly, how many members are there in your household?"  |
|  | "How many children are living in your household?"  |
| Public sector | "Do you work in the public sector?" |
| Living area | "Where do you live? 1) in a rural area or village,2) in a small or middle sized town or, 3) in a large town? |
| Social spending preferences | “Should the government spend more or less on social benefits and social services?”; 1: “much less”, 2: “less”, 3: “same as now”, 4: “more”, 5: “much more”; parts of the analysis (indicated in the main text) rely on a dichotomized operationalization of this variable which distinguishes preferences for “more” or “much more” spending (coded as 1) from preferences for “same as now,” “less,” or “much less” spending (coded as 0)  |
| Social value orientations | Predicted values of factor scores of the two following items: “People who break the law should be given much harsher sentences than they are these days“ and „[COUNTRY]'s cultural life is generally enriched by people coming to live here from other countries“; higher values indicate more libertarian social values |

Source: INVEDUC 2014.

Table A.5: Logistic regression results of preferences to increase public childcare spending

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|   | M1 |
| VARIABLES | More public childcare spending |
|   |   |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.205\*\*\* |
|  (ref: Q1) | (0.073) |
|  Q3 | -0.081 |
|  | (0.081) |
|  Q4 | -0.147 |
|  | (0.092) |
|  Q5 | -0.189\* |
|  | (0.100) |
| Age | -0.000 |
|  | (0.002) |
| Female | -0.022 |
|  | (0.070) |
| Female \* full-time paid work | 0.179\* |
|  | (0.104) |
| Small child (< 10 years) | 0.295\*\*\* |
|  | (0.079) |
| Older child (>= 10 years) | -0.170\*\*\* |
|  | (0.065) |
| Single Parent | -0.015 |
|  | (0.126) |
| Cohabit | 0.141\*\* |
|  (ref: one adult household) | (0.064) |
| Current situation: unemployed | -0.022 |
|  (ref: in paid work) | (0.134) |
|  Studying | -0.097 |
|  | (0.167) |
|  Retired | 0.138 |
|  | (0.100) |
|  Housework | -0.138 |
|  | (0.160) |
|  Sick | 0.142 |
|  | (0.192) |
|  Part-time work | -0.184 |
|  (voluntarily) | (0.152) |
|  Part-time work | -0.070 |
|  (involuntarily) | (0.127) |
|  Other | -0.071 |
|  | (0.266) |
| Public sector | 0.217\*\*\* |
|  | (0.071) |
| Living area: Small/middle town | 0.023 |
|  (Ref: Rural area, village) | (0.058) |
|  Large town | 0.152\*\* |
|  | (0.065) |
| Social spending preferences | 0.647\*\*\* |
|  | (0.054) |
| Social value orientations | 0.104\*\*\* |
|  | (0.026) |
| Constant | -0.469\*\*\* |
|  | (0.170) |
|  |  |
| Observations | 7,124 |
| Standard errors in parentheses; country dummies included but not shown. |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |

Table A.6: Multinomial logistic regression results for voting intentions by party families

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
|  | Left | Center-right | Liberal | Right-wing | Other |
| VARIABLES | Reference category: No party |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Public childcare spending: less | 0.062 | 0.242 | 0.718 | -0.041 | -0.652 |
|  (ref: much less) | (0.423) | (0.417) | (0.797) | (0.598) | (0.779) |
|  same as now | 0.289 | 0.169 | 0.465 | 0.193 | -0.515 |
|  | (0.399) | (0.397) | (0.775) | (0.561) | (0.696) |
|  more | 0.346 | 0.034 | 0.153 | 0.027 | -0.258 |
|  | (0.399) | (0.398) | (0.777) | (0.565) | (0.693) |
|  much more | 0.533 | 0.024 | 0.111 | -0.072 | -0.198 |
|  | (0.411) | (0.417) | (0.801) | (0.603) | (0.722) |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.264\*\*\* | 0.375\*\*\* | 0.175 | 0.220 | 0.275 |
|  (ref: Q1) | (0.094) | (0.109) | (0.189) | (0.173) | (0.216) |
|  Q3 | 0.341\*\*\* | 0.633\*\*\* | 0.739\*\*\* | 0.460\*\* | 0.137 |
|  | (0.107) | (0.122) | (0.194) | (0.191) | (0.252) |
|  Q4 | 0.301\*\* | 0.842\*\*\* | 0.854\*\*\* | 0.209 | -0.061 |
|  | (0.122) | (0.137) | (0.213) | (0.226) | (0.292) |
|  Q5 | 0.204 | 1.235\*\*\* | 1.216\*\*\* | -0.103 | -0.015 |
|  | (0.139) | (0.148) | (0.221) | (0.259) | (0.338) |
| Age | -0.001 | 0.002 | -0.003 | -0.006 | -0.018\*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.008) |
| Female | -0.183\*\* | -0.229\*\* | -0.540\*\*\* | -0.735\*\*\* | -0.655\*\*\* |
|  | (0.093) | (0.104) | (0.167) | (0.167) | (0.232) |
| Female \* full-time paid work | -0.055 | -0.183 | 0.157 | -0.320 | 0.186 |
|  | (0.138) | (0.154) | (0.229) | (0.254) | (0.329) |
| Small child (< 10 years) | -0.023 | 0.112 | 0.305\* | 0.338\* | 0.071 |
|  | (0.106) | (0.118) | (0.160) | (0.187) | (0.223) |
| Older child (>= 10 years) | -0.039 | 0.000 | -0.175 | -0.175 | 0.215 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.097) | (0.144) | (0.165) | (0.186) |
| Single Parent | -0.032 | -0.021 | -0.099 | -0.105 | -0.658 |
|  | (0.162) | (0.186) | (0.278) | (0.303) | (0.435) |
| Cohabit | 0.142\* | -0.142 | -0.201 | -0.113 | 0.043 |
|  (ref: one adult household) | (0.085) | (0.095) | (0.148) | (0.150) | (0.212) |
| Current situation: unemployed | 0.192 | -0.345 | 0.155 | 0.067 | -0.042 |
|  (ref: in paid work) | (0.172) | (0.219) | (0.298) | (0.334) | (0.361) |
|  Studying | 0.332 | -0.028 | 0.158 | -0.066 | 0.902\*\* |
|  | (0.230) | (0.272) | (0.359) | (0.426) | (0.399) |
|  Retired | 0.253\* | 0.198 | 0.197 | 0.076 | -0.285 |
|  | (0.137) | (0.150) | (0.220) | (0.234) | (0.329) |
|  Housework | -0.130 | -0.206 | -0.733 | 0.337 | 0.144 |
|  | (0.211) | (0.243) | (0.554) | (0.432) | (0.434) |
|  Sick | 0.193 | 0.061 | -0.693 | -0.353 | 0.630 |
|  | (0.247) | (0.286) | (0.626) | (0.456) | (0.538) |
|  Part-time work | 0.400\* | 0.058 | 0.396 | 0.021 | 0.018 |
|  (voluntarily) | (0.209) | (0.232) | (0.331) | (0.390) | (0.571) |
|  Part-time work | -0.001 | -0.231 | -0.004 | -0.178 | 0.165 |
|  (involuntarily) | (0.167) | (0.192) | (0.307) | (0.314) | (0.363) |
|  Other | -0.420 | -0.146 | -0.642 | -0.219 | 0.251 |
|  | (0.351) | (0.378) | (0.778) | (0.675) | (0.680) |
| Public sector | 0.089 | -0.370\*\*\* | -0.218 | 0.039 | -0.070 |
|  | (0.093) | (0.107) | (0.149) | (0.172) | (0.211) |
| Living area: Small/middle town | 0.100 | -0.136 | 0.209 | -0.254\* | 0.027 |
|  (Ref: Rural area, village) | (0.077) | (0.085) | (0.133) | (0.136) | (0.183) |
|  Large town | 0.372\*\*\* | -0.190\* | 0.421\*\*\* | -0.172 | 0.418\*\* |
|  | (0.087) | (0.098) | (0.146) | (0.162) | (0.205) |
| Social spending: less | 0.282 | 0.256 | 0.950\*\* | -0.328 | 0.466 |
|  (ref: much less) | (0.245) | (0.203) | (0.387) | (0.246) | (0.683) |
|  same as now | 0.507\*\* | 0.028 | 0.708\* | -0.771\*\*\* | 0.632 |
|  | (0.232) | (0.194) | (0.377) | (0.240) | (0.642) |
|  more | 0.798\*\*\* | -0.476\*\* | 0.197 | -0.867\*\*\* | 0.465 |
|  | (0.232) | (0.198) | (0.386) | (0.250) | (0.637) |
|  much more | 1.191\*\*\* | -0.903\*\*\* | 0.409 | -0.232 | 1.075\* |
|  | (0.248) | (0.248) | (0.428) | (0.317) | (0.654) |
| Social value orientations | 0.380\*\*\* | -0.143\*\*\* | 0.259\*\*\* | -0.878\*\*\* | 0.185\*\* |
|  | (0.037) | (0.042) | (0.060) | (0.071) | (0.087) |
| Constant | -1.029\*\* | -0.281 | -1.905\*\* | 0.920 | -18.420 |
|  | (0.498) | (0.494) | (0.909) | (0.702) | (1,163.833) |
|  |   |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 6,872 | 6,872 | 6,872 | 6,872 | 6,872 |
| Standard errors in parentheses; country dummies included but not shown. |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |  |  |  |

Table A.7: Multinomial logistic regression results for voting intentions by party families including interactions between childcare preferences and income

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 |
|  | Left | Center-right | Liberal | Right-wing | Other |
| VARIABLES | Reference category: No party |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |
| More public childcare spending | -0.026 | -0.053 | -0.492\* | -0.387\* | -0.169 |
|  | (0.125) | (0.148) | (0.267) | (0.229) | (0.297) |
| Household income: Q2 | 0.144 | 0.427\*\*\* | 0.148 | 0.007 | -0.261 |
|  (ref: Q1) | (0.132) | (0.148) | (0.236) | (0.220) | (0.326) |
|  Q3 | 0.240 | 0.691\*\*\* | 0.644\*\*\* | 0.442\* | -0.282 |
|  | (0.149) | (0.164) | (0.244) | (0.238) | (0.372) |
|  Q4 | 0.252 | 1.023\*\*\* | 0.877\*\*\* | 0.092 | 0.019 |
|  | (0.169) | (0.180) | (0.262) | (0.287) | (0.393) |
|  Q5 | -0.096 | 1.140\*\*\* | 0.904\*\*\* | -0.306 | -0.764 |
|  | (0.185) | (0.187) | (0.267) | (0.319) | (0.537) |
| More public childcare spending \* Q2 | 0.203 | -0.102 | 0.005 | 0.483 | 0.862\*\* |
|  | (0.178) | (0.209) | (0.374) | (0.328) | (0.415) |
| More public childcare spending \* Q3 | 0.171 | -0.103 | 0.209 | 0.078 | 0.654 |
|  | (0.192) | (0.220) | (0.354) | (0.339) | (0.464) |
| More public childcare spending \* Q4 | 0.062 | -0.362 | -0.041 | 0.388 | -0.236 |
|  | (0.212) | (0.237) | (0.370) | (0.384) | (0.521) |
| More public childcare spending \* Q5 | 0.559\*\* | 0.210 | 0.661\* | 0.579 | 1.242\* |
|  | (0.239) | (0.249) | (0.365) | (0.447) | (0.635) |
| Age | -0.001 | 0.001 | -0.003 | -0.008 | -0.018\*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.006) | (0.008) |
| Female | -0.172\* | -0.228\*\* | -0.529\*\*\* | -0.732\*\*\* | -0.635\*\*\* |
|  | (0.093) | (0.104) | (0.167) | (0.166) | (0.231) |
| Female \* full-time paid work | -0.063 | -0.186 | 0.124 | -0.347 | 0.172 |
|  | (0.138) | (0.154) | (0.228) | (0.253) | (0.328) |
| Small child (< 10 years) | -0.023 | 0.115 | 0.299\* | 0.291 | 0.072 |
|  | (0.106) | (0.118) | (0.160) | (0.186) | (0.223) |
| Older child (>= 10 years) | -0.042 | 0.006 | -0.150 | -0.191 | 0.205 |
|  | (0.086) | (0.097) | (0.143) | (0.164) | (0.186) |
| Single Parent | -0.007 | -0.041 | -0.123 | -0.065 | -0.647 |
|  | (0.161) | (0.186) | (0.278) | (0.300) | (0.434) |
| Cohabit | 0.142\* | -0.143 | -0.199 | -0.119 | 0.058 |
|  (ref: one adult household) | (0.085) | (0.095) | (0.148) | (0.150) | (0.212) |
| Current situation: unemployed | 0.212 | -0.358 | 0.168 | 0.007 | -0.014 |
|  (ref: in paid work) | (0.171) | (0.219) | (0.298) | (0.333) | (0.359) |
|  Studying | 0.305 | -0.038 | 0.146 | -0.070 | 0.902\*\* |
|  | (0.229) | (0.271) | (0.358) | (0.425) | (0.400) |
|  Retired | 0.257\* | 0.205 | 0.194 | 0.082 | -0.300 |
|  | (0.136) | (0.149) | (0.220) | (0.233) | (0.330) |
|  Housework | -0.133 | -0.211 | -0.733 | 0.274 | 0.113 |
|  | (0.210) | (0.242) | (0.554) | (0.430) | (0.434) |
|  Sick | 0.217 | 0.029 | -0.692 | -0.372 | 0.615 |
|  | (0.246) | (0.286) | (0.626) | (0.454) | (0.536) |
|  Part-time work | 0.397\* | 0.050 | 0.382 | -0.063 | 0.004 |
|  (voluntarily) | (0.209) | (0.232) | (0.331) | (0.390) | (0.572) |
|  Part-time work | -0.008 | -0.245 | -0.012 | -0.182 | 0.137 |
|  (involuntarily) | (0.166) | (0.192) | (0.306) | (0.312) | (0.362) |
|  Other | -0.434 | -0.130 | -0.604 | -0.251 | 0.270 |
|  | (0.352) | (0.378) | (0.778) | (0.678) | (0.674) |
| Public sector | 0.092 | -0.370\*\*\* | -0.222 | 0.025 | -0.083 |
|  | (0.093) | (0.107) | (0.148) | (0.171) | (0.211) |
| Living area: Small/middle town | 0.111 | -0.136 | 0.220\* | -0.258\* | 0.058 |
|  (Ref: Rural area, village) | (0.077) | (0.085) | (0.133) | (0.135) | (0.182) |
|  Large town | 0.380\*\*\* | -0.196\*\* | 0.427\*\*\* | -0.188 | 0.432\*\* |
|  | (0.087) | (0.098) | (0.146) | (0.161) | (0.205) |
| Social spending preferences | 0.427\*\*\* | -0.610\*\*\* | -0.504\*\*\* | -0.184 | 0.045 |
|  | (0.073) | (0.083) | (0.130) | (0.134) | (0.173) |
| Social value orientations | 0.398\*\*\* | -0.151\*\*\* | 0.262\*\*\* | -0.937\*\*\* | 0.192\*\* |
|  | (0.037) | (0.041) | (0.059) | (0.069) | (0.087) |
| Constant | -0.258 | -0.050 | -0.614\* | 0.643\* | -19.367 |
|  | (0.237) | (0.263) | (0.371) | (0.377) | (2,144.309) |
|  |   |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 6,872 | 6,872 | 6,872 | 6,872 | 6,872 |
| Standard errors in parentheses; country dummies included but not shown. |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |  |  |  |

Table A.8: Ordered logistic regression results of preferences to increase public childcare spending

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|   | M1 |
| VARIABLES | More public childcare spending |
|   |   |
| Household income: Q2 | -0.165\*\* |
|  (ref: Q1) | (0.0669) |
|  Q3 | -0.0241 |
|  | (0.0747) |
|  Q4 | -0.124 |
|  | (0.0848) |
|  Q5 | -0.151 |
|  | (0.0924) |
| Age | -0.00185 |
|  | (0.00228) |
| Female | -0.00345 |
|  | (0.0644) |
| Female \* full-time paid work | 0.165\* |
|  | (0.0956) |
| Small child (< 10 years) | 0.308\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0729) |
| Older child (>= 10 years) | -0.216\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0602) |
| Single Parent | 0.102 |
|  | (0.115) |
| Cohabit | 0.134\*\* |
|  (ref: one adult household) | (0.0589) |
| Current situation: unemployed | -0.0799 |
|  (ref: in paid work) | (0.124) |
|  Studying | -0.250 |
|  | (0.155) |
|  Retired | 0.163\* |
|  | (0.0918) |
|  Housework | -0.239 |
|  | (0.150) |
|  Sick | 0.0996 |
|  | (0.174) |
|  Part-time work | -0.144 |
|  (voluntarily) | (0.139) |
|  Part-time work | -0.149 |
|  (involuntarily) | (0.118) |
|  Other | -0.111 |
|  | (0.247) |
| Public sector | 0.238\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0652) |
| Living area: Small/middle town | 0.0562 |
|  (Ref: Rural area, village) | (0.0535) |
|  Large town | 0.167\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0600) |
| Social spending: less | 0.133 |
|  (ref: much less) | (0.146) |
|  same as now | 0.361\*\*\* |
|  | (0.139) |
|  more | 0.822\*\*\* |
|  | (0.141) |
|  much more | 1.511\*\*\* |
|  | (0.157) |
| Social value orientations | 0.103\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0249) |
|  |  |
| cut1 | -4.301\*\*\* |
|  | (0.240) |
| cut2 | -2.089\*\*\* |
|  | (0.204) |
| cut3 | 0.720\*\*\* |
|  | (0.201) |
| cut4 | 3.239\*\*\* |
|  | (0.206) |
|  |  |
| Observations | 7124 |
| Standard errors in parentheses; country dummies included but not shown. |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |

Table A.9: Likelihood to not go to vote, vote blank, or cast a spoil vote by income quintile

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Non-voter | Q1 | Q2 | Q3 | Q4 | Q5 | Total |
| 0 | 0.88 | 0.92 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.94 | 0.92 |
| 1 | 0.12 | 0.08 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.08 |
| Total | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Note: Survey weights included. |  |  |  |  |

Table A.10: Left and right party statements on traditional morality; higher values indicate less traditional positions

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Left parties | Center-right parties | Difference: Left - Center-right |  |  |  |
| Denmark | 0.07 | -2.33 | 2.41 |  |  |  |  |  |
| France | 0.50 | -1.06 | 1.56 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Germany | 1.52 | -2.41 | 3.93 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ireland | 0.39 | -0.13 | 0.52 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Italy | 2.57 | -0.95 | 3.52 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Spain | 2.70 | -0.21 | 2.91 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sweden | 0.01 | -5.18 | 5.19 |  |  |  |  |  |
| United Kingdom | -3.65 | -3.24 | -0.41 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total | 0.51 | -1.94 | 2.45 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Note: Average net positions of parties on traditional morality (per604 - per603) from the Comparative Manifesto Project (Volkens et al. 2019) for the election preceding fieldwork of the survey in 2014 (see Benoit and Laver (2006) for the validity of the construction of the scale). Left parties include Communist/Socialist, Social democratic and Green parties. Center-right parties include Conservative and Christian-Democratic parties. Per604 includes statements on support for divorce and abortion, support for a modern family composition, and a separation of the church and the state. Per603 includes statements on suppression of immorality, stability of the traditional family, and support for the role of religious institutions. |

Figure A.6: Left and right party statements on traditional morality; higher values indicate less traditional positions



Note: Average net positions of parties on traditional morality (per604 - per603) from the Comparative Manifesto Project (Volkens et al. 2019) for elections between 1950 (Spain: 1977) and 2014 averaged by decades (see Benoit and Laver 2006 for the validity of the construction of the scale). Left parties include Communist/Socialist, Social democratic and Green parties. Center-right parties include Conservative and Christian-Democratic parties. Per604 includes statements on support for divorce and abortion, support for a modern family composition, and a separation of the church and the state. Per603 includes statements on suppression of immorality, stability of the traditional family, and support for the role of religious institutions.

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