**Welfare Attitudes in Crisis:**

**The Role of Ideology in Healthcare Satisfaction in Portugal and Ireland**

**Online Appendix**

**Table 1. Fieldwork period, response rates, total number of observations and valid observations in the seven ESS modules in Ireland and Portugal**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Module** | **Field work started** | | | **Fieldwork ended** | | | **Response Rates** | **Observations** | **Valid observations** |
|  |  | Day | Month | Year | Day | Month | Year |  |  |  |
| Ireland | 3 | 2 | Jan | 2006 | 15 | Nov | 2007 | 51.6 | 1,800 | 1,218 |
| Ireland | 4 | 11 | Sep | 2009 | 12 | Mar | 2010 | 64.5 | 1,764 | 1,580 |
| Ireland | 5 | 1 | Aug | 2011 | 5 | Feb | 2012 | 65.2 | 2,576 | 2,034 |
| Ireland | 6 | 22 | Oct | 2012 | 9 | Feb | 2013 | 67.9 | 2,628 | 2,120 |
| Ireland | 7 | 4 | Sep | 2014 | 31 | Jan | 2015 | 60.7 | 2,390 | 1,802 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Portugal | 3 | 12 | Oct | 2006 | 28 | Feb | 2007 | 75.7 | 2,222 | 1,458 |
| Portugal | 4 | 22 | Oct | 2008 | 8 | Mar | 2009 | 68.8 | 2,367 | 1,499 |
| Portugal | 5 | 6 | Nov | 2010 | 25 | Mar | 2011 | 67.1 | 2,150 | 1,367 |
| Portugal | 6 | 7 | Oct | 2012 | 20 | Mar | 2013 | 77.1 | 2,151 | 1,412 |
| Portugal | 7 | 8 | Feb | 2015 | 29 | Nov | 2015 | 43.0 | 1,265 | 1,070 |

**Table 2. OLS models of healthcare satisfaction in Portugal and Ireland**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | PORTUGAL | | | IRELAND | | |
|  | M1 | M2 | M3 | M4 | M5 | M6 |
| IE:2009, PT:2008 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2011, PT:2010 | 0.417\*\*\* | 0.915\* | 1.239 | 0.086 | 0.447 | 0.857 |
|  | (0.095) | (0.417) | (0.916) | (0.081) | (0.343) | (0.718) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2012, PT:2012 | 0.225\* | 0.696 | 1.885\* | -0.019 | 0.694\* | 1.827\* |
|  | (0.098) | (0.445) | (0.880) | (0.082) | (0.340) | (0.715) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2014, PT:2015 | 0.272\* | 0.134 | 0.913 | -0.575\*\*\* | 0.189 | 1.943\*\* |
|  | (0.111) | (0.445) | (0.834) | (0.089) | (0.351) | (0.715) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Subjective income | -0.214\*\*\* | -0.193\* | 0.083 | -0.183\*\*\* | -0.092 | 0.595\* |
|  | (0.056) | (0.090) | (0.224) | (0.038) | (0.081) | (0.292) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Ideology (L-R) | 0.057\*\* | 0.091\* | 0.235\* | 0.048\*\* | 0.113\*\* | 0.375\*\*\* |
|  | (0.020) | (0.037) | (0.115) | (0.018) | (0.037) | (0.102) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Female | -0.125 | -0.128 | -0.128 | -0.313\*\*\* | -0.313\*\*\* | -0.308\*\*\* |
|  | (0.077) | (0.077) | (0.076) | (0.061) | (0.061) | (0.061) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | 0.006 | 0.005 | 0.005 | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.002) |
| **Education** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low education = baseline | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Middle education | -0.122 | -0.127 | -0.120 | -0.148 | -0.148\* | -0.140 |
|  | (0.108) | (0.108) | (0.108) | (0.076) | (0.076) | (0.076) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| High education | 0.046 | 0.045 | 0.048 | -0.145 | -0.148 | -0.140 |
|  | (0.109) | (0.108) | (0.108) | (0.078) | (0.078) | (0.078) |
| **Health Status** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Very good = baseline | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Good | -0.230 | -0.218 | -0.219 | -0.069 | -0.075 | -0.064 |
|  | (0.125) | (0.125) | (0.125) | (0.064) | (0.064) | (0.064) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fair | -0.211 | -0.196 | -0.194 | -0.200 | -0.207\* | -0.193 |
|  | (0.140) | (0.140) | (0.140) | (0.103) | (0.103) | (0.103) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Bad | -0.712\*\*\* | -0.696\*\*\* | -0.694\*\*\* | -0.248 | -0.250 | -0.255 |
|  | (0.195) | (0.195) | (0.195) | (0.238) | (0.238) | (0.238) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Very bad | -1.414\*\*\* | -1.384\*\*\* | -1.379\*\*\* | -0.575 | -0.552 | -0.667 |
|  | (0.341) | (0.339) | (0.339) | (0.592) | (0.594) | (0.540) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Illness impediments | 0.272\* | 0.269\* | 0.273\* | 0.059 | 0.061 | 0.065 |
|  | (0.119) | (0.119) | (0.118) | (0.096) | (0.095) | (0.095) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married (0/1) | 0.048 | 0.050 | 0.051 | -0.070 | -0.068 | -0.061 |
|  | (0.082) | (0.082) | (0.082) | (0.066) | (0.066) | (0.066) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Kids at home (0/1) | 0.039 | 0.033 | 0.032 | 0.027 | 0.030 | 0.032 |
|  | (0.083) | (0.084) | (0.083) | (0.066) | (0.067) | (0.066) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Migrant | 0.405\* | 0.408\* | 0.408\* | 0.611\*\*\* | 0.613\*\*\* | 0.613\*\*\* |
|  | (0.164) | (0.163) | (0.162) | (0.091) | (0.090) | (0.090) |
| **Employment status** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Paid work = baseline | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| In education | 0.665\*\*\* | 0.669\*\*\* | 0.672\*\*\* | 0.309\* | 0.312\* | 0.308\* |
|  | (0.163) | (0.163) | (0.163) | (0.124) | (0.124) | (0.123) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployed | 0.163 | 0.173 | 0.168 | 0.420\*\*\* | 0.419\*\*\* | 0.418\*\*\* |
|  | (0.127) | (0.127) | (0.127) | (0.099) | (0.099) | (0.099) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Retired | 0.162 | 0.167 | 0.165 | 0.478\*\*\* | 0.476\*\*\* | 0.471\*\*\* |
|  | (0.132) | (0.132) | (0.132) | (0.106) | (0.106) | (0.106) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Permanently sick/disabled | 0.011 | -0.011 | -0.010 | 0.109 | 0.103 | 0.115 |
|  | (0.369) | (0.366) | (0.366) | (0.232) | (0.233) | (0.231) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Other status | 0.248 | 0.252 | 0.248 | -0.063 | -0.059 | -0.069 |
|  | (0.164) | (0.165) | (0.165) | (0.089) | (0.089) | (0.089) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Government partisan | 0.435\*\*\* | 0.419\*\*\* | 0.424\*\*\* | 0.073 | 0.060 | 0.058 |
|  | (0.079) | (0.085) | (0.085) | (0.061) | (0.061) | (0.061) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfaction with economy | 0.242\*\*\* | 0.242\*\*\* | 0.242\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.368\*\*\* | 0.369\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.022) | (0.022) | (0.016) | (0.016) | (0.016) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Redistributive values | -0.173\*\* | -0.174\*\* | -0.174\*\* | -0.099\*\*\* | -0.102\*\*\* | -0.100\*\*\* |
|  | (0.053) | (0.053) | (0.053) | (0.030) | (0.030) | (0.030) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2009, PT:2008 # Subjective income |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  |  | (.) | (.) |  | (.) | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2011, PT:2010 # Subjective income |  | -0.038 | -0.168 |  | -0.105 | -0.377 |
|  |  | (0.130) | (0.362) |  | (0.099) | (0.344) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2012, PT:2012 # Subjective income |  | -0.174 | -0.651\* |  | -0.180 | -0.764\* |
|  |  | (0.133) | (0.329) |  | (0.100) | (0.346) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2014, PT:2015 # Subjective income |  | 0.139 | -0.174 |  | -0.024 | -0.911\*\* |
|  |  | (0.139) | (0.318) |  | (0.107) | (0.348) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2009, PT:2008 # Ideology (L-R) |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |
|  |  | (.) | (.) |  | (.) | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2011, PT:2010 # Ideology (L-R) |  | -0.084 | -0.154 |  | -0.029 | -0.105 |
|  |  | (0.052) | (0.167) |  | (0.050) | (0.132) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2012, PT:2012 # Ideology (L-R) |  | -0.009 | -0.257 |  | -0.068 | -0.289\* |
|  |  | (0.054) | (0.167) |  | (0.049) | (0.130) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2014, PT:2015 # Ideology (L-R) |  | -0.038 | -0.201 |  | -0.142\*\* | -0.485\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.056) | (0.158) |  | (0.050) | (0.131) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Subjective income # Ideology (L-R) |  |  | -0.058 |  |  | -0.136\* |
|  |  |  | (0.044) |  |  | (0.054) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2009, PT:2008 # Subjective income # Ideology (L-R) |  |  | 0.000 |  |  | 0.000 |
|  |  |  | (.) |  |  | (.) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2011, PT:2010 # Subjective income # Ideology (L-R) |  |  | 0.029 |  |  | 0.052 |
|  |  |  | (0.066) |  |  | (0.064) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2012, PT:2012 # Subjective income # Ideology (L-R) |  |  | 0.100 |  |  | 0.116 |
|  |  |  | (0.063) |  |  | (0.064) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| IE:2014, PT:2015 # Subjective income # Ideology (L-R) |  |  | 0.066 |  |  | 0.176\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.061) |  |  | (0.065) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | 4.196\*\*\* | 3.994\*\*\* | 3.298\*\*\* | 3.889\*\*\* | 3.386\*\*\* | 2.023\*\*\* |
|  | (0.354) | (0.429) | (0.667) | (0.225) | (0.316) | (0.601) |
| Observations | 5466 | 5466 | 5466 | 7637 | 7637 | 7637 |
| *AIC* | 23881.727 | 23879.288 | 23882.277 | 33585.668 | 33578.694 | 33565.398 |
| R2 | 0.107 | 0.110 | 0.110 | 0.162 | 0.164 | 0.166 |

Standard errors in parentheses

Post-stratification weights applied

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

**Table 3. Summary Statistics of the Irish and Portuguese sample**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **IRELAND** | | | |  | **PORTUGAL** | | | |
| **Mean** | **Standard Deviation** | **Min** | **Max** | **Mean** | **Standard Deviation** | **Min** | **Max** |
| Healthcare Satisfaction | 4.125 | 2.420 | 0 | 10 |  | 4.388 | 2.277 | 0 | 10 |
| **Subjective income** | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Living comfortably | 0.255 | 0.436 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.076 | 0.266 | 0 | 1 |
| Coping | 0.480 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.501 | 0.5 | 0 | 1 |
| Difficult | 0.188 | 0.390 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.311 | 0.311 | 0 | 1 |
| Very difficult | 0.078 | 0.269 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.112 | 0.315 | 0 | 1 |
| **Ideology (L-R)** | 5.082 | 1.758 | 0 | 10 |  | 4.892 | 2.185 | 0 | 10 |
| **Employment status** | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Employed | 0.425 | 0.494 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.407 | 0.491 | 0 | 1 |
| In education | 0.067 | 0.250 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.051 | 0.220 | 0 | 1 |
| Unemployed | 0.117 | 0.322 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.093 | 0.290 | 0 | 1 |
| Retired | 0.195 | 0.396 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.342 | 0.475 | 0 | 1 |
| Sick/disabled | 0.031 | 0.174 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.015 | 0.122 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | 0.165 | 0.371 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.091 | 0.288 | 0 | 1 |
| **Education** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low | 0.363 | 0.481 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.697 | 0.460 | 0 | 1 |
| Middle | 0.311 | 0.463 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.172 | 0.378 | 0 | 1 |
| High | 0.326 | 0.469 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.131 | 0.337 | 0 | 1 |
| **Subjective health status** | |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Very good | 0.381 | 0.486 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.108 | 0.311 | 0 | 1 |
| Good | 0.431 | 0.495 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.405 | 0.491 | 0 | 1 |
| Fair | 0.158 | 0.364 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.357 | 0.479 | 0 | 1 |
| Bad | 0.026 | 0.159 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.108 | 0.311 | 0 | 1 |
| Very bad | 0.061 | 0.062 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.022 | 0.146 | 0 | 1 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Female | 0.523 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.577 | 0.494 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 48.646 | 17.731 | 15 | 101 |  | 53.426 | 18.646 | 15 | 97 |
| Illness impediments | 0.179 | 0.383 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.199 | 0.399 | 0 | 1 |
| Married (0/1) | 0.543 | 0.498 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.594 | 0.491 | 0 | 1 |
| Kids at home (0/1) | 0.386 | 0.487 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.338 | 0.473 | 0 | 1 |
| Migrant | 0.134 | 0.340 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.057 | 0.232 | 0 | 1 |
| Government support | 0.385 | 0.487 | 0 | 1 |  | 0.304 | 0.460 | 0 | 1 |
| Observations | 7637 |  |  |  |  | 5466 |  |  |  |

**Figure 1. Predicted levels and changes in healthcare satisfaction in Germany, by income and ideology**

**Diagram

Description automatically generated**

Note: Predicted probabilities and marginal changes calculated based on OLS regression of healthcare satisfaction on ideology, subjective income and same set as control variables as in the main analysis.

**Figure 2. Predicted healthcare satisfaction for the high and low income groups in Germany, by ideological position.**

Diagram

Description automatically generated

Note: Predicted probabilities and marginal changes calculated based on OLS regression of healthcare satisfaction on ideology, subjective income and same set as control variables as in the main analysis.

**Figure 3. Income Distribution in Ireland and Portugal (2008-2015)**

Diagram

Description automatically generated

**Figure 4. Ideology Distribution in Ireland and Portugal (2008-2015)**

Table

Description automatically generated

**Figure 5. Predicted healthcare satisfaction in Ireland & Portugal, by health status**

Diagram

Description automatically generated

Note: Predicted probabilities and marginal changes calculated based on OLS regression of healthcare satisfaction on ideology, subjective health and same set as control variables as in the main analysis.

**Figure 6. Predicted healthcare satisfaction for the groups with good and bad health in Portugal, by ideological position.**

Diagram

Description automatically generated

Note: Predicted probabilities and marginal changes calculated based on OLS regression of healthcare satisfaction on ideology, subjective income and same set as control variables as in the main analysis.

**Figure 7. Predicted healthcare satisfaction for the groups with good and bad health in Ireland, by ideological position.**

Diagram

Description automatically generated

Note: Predicted probabilities and marginal changes calculated based on OLS regression of healthcare satisfaction on ideology, subjective income and same set as control variables as in the main analysis.