**Supplementary Material**

**Full regression tables**

**Table A1:** Tax-Spend in Britain, BES (APC models)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1: APC** | **Model 2: with socio-demographics** |
| **Generation**. Reference: pre-war |  |  |
| Post-war generation | 0.002 | 0.131 |
|  | (0.116) | (0.117) |
| Neoliberal generation | -0.213 | -0.041 |
|  | (0.138) | (0.139) |
| Third way generation | -0.368\*\* | -0.229 |
|  | (0.170) | (0.174) |
| **Gender (female)** | 0.095 | 0.190 |
|  | (0.132) | (0.135) |
| Post-war generation\*gender | 0.239\* | 0.144 |
|  | (0.143) | (0.143) |
| Neoliberal\*gender | 0.179 | 0.050 |
|  | (0.147) | (0.148) |
| Third way\*gender | 0.026 | -0.180 |
|  | (0.174) | (0.175) |
| **Age.** Reference: 18-34 |  |  |
| Aged 35-59 | 0.156\*\* | 0.118\* |
|  | (0.061) | (0.061) |
| Aged 60+ | 0.287\*\*\* | 0.023 |
|  | (0.090) | (0.100) |
| **Year of survey.** Reference: 1987 |  |  |
| 1992 | 0.336\*\*\* | 0.362\*\*\* |
|  | (0.076) | (0.075) |
| 1997 | 0.810\*\*\* | 0.836\*\*\* |
|  | (0.063) | (0.063) |
| 2001 | 0.079 | 0.052 |
|  | (0.065) | (0.068) |
| 2005 | -0.359\*\*\* | -0.374\*\*\* |
|  | (0.063) | (0.065) |
| 2015 | -0.176\*\* | -0.204\*\* |
|  | (0.080) | (0.082) |
| **Owns house** |  | -0.201\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.047) |
| **Marital status.** Reference: married/cohabiting |  |  |
| Widowed |  | -0.196\*\* |
|  |  | (0.082) |
| Divorced/separated |  | -0.082 |
|  |  | (0.071) |
| Never married |  | -0.083 |
|  |  | (0.057) |
| **Union membership** |  | 0.319\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.046) |
| **Income.** Reference: low |  |  |
| Middle |  | -0.146\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.054) |
| High |  | -0.196\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.061) |
| **White** |  | 0.358\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.080) |
| **Social class.** Reference: none |  |  |
| Working class |  | 0.272\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.043) |
| Middle class |  | 0.031 |
|  |  | (0.050) |
| **Degree** |  | 0.131\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.041) |
| **Employment status**. Reference: in work |  |  |
| In FT education |  | 0.353\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.133) |
| Unemployed |  | 0.152 |
|  |  | (0.095) |
| Disabled or retired |  | 0.384\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.072) |
| Looking after home |  | 0.195\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.071) |
| Other |  | 0.277 |
|  |  | (0.180) |
| Constant | 6.300 | 5.869\*\*\* |
|  | (0.131)\*\*\* | (0.163) |
| *R*2 | 0.05 | 0.06 |
| *N* | 13,865 | 13,865 |

NB: \* *p*<0.1; \*\* *p*<0.05; \*\*\* *p*<0.01. Standard errors are in parentheses

**Table A2:** Tax-Spend in the United States, ANES (APC models)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1: APC** | **Model 2: with socio-demographics** |
| **Generation.** Reference: pre-war |  |  |
| Post-war generation | -0.228 | -0.133 |
|  | (0.105)\*\* | (0.103) |
| Neoliberal generation | -0.041 | -0.042 |
|  | (0.127) | (0.126) |
| Third way generation | -0.041 | -0.102 |
|  | (0.175) | (0.172) |
| **Gender (female)** | 0.043 | 0.030 |
|  | (0.103) | (0.103) |
| Post-war\*gender | 0.407 | 0.349 |
|  | (0.111)\*\*\* | (0.109)\*\*\* |
| Neoliberal\*gender | 0.400 | 0.378 |
|  | (0.128)\*\*\* | (0.125)\*\*\* |
| Third way\*gender | 0.425 | 0.400 |
|  | (0.178)\*\* | (0.174)\*\* |
| **Age.** Reference: 18-34 |  |  |
| Aged 35-59 | -0.184 | -0.120 |
|  | (0.046)\*\*\* | (0.046)\*\*\* |
| Aged 60+ | -0.257 | -0.352 |
|  | (0.084)\*\*\* | (0.087)\*\*\* |
| **Year of Survey.** Reference: 1982 |  |  |
| 1984 | 0.153 | 0.121 |
|  | (0.067)\*\* | (0.065)\* |
| 1986 | 0.541 | 0.481 |
|  | (0.067)\*\*\* | (0.064)\*\*\* |
| 1988 | 0.320 | 0.278 |
|  | (0.070)\*\*\* | (0.067)\*\*\* |
| 1990 | 0.540 | 0.479 |
|  | (0.070)\*\*\* | (0.068)\*\*\* |
| 1992 | 0.204 | 0.197 |
|  | (0.080)\*\* | (0.077)\*\* |
| 2004 | 0.624 | 0.602 |
|  | (0.086)\*\*\* | (0.084)\*\*\* |
| 2008 | 0.700 | 0.511 |
|  | (0.091)\*\*\* | (0.090)\*\*\* |
| **Employment status.** Reference: in work |  |  |
| In FT education |  | 0.139 |
|  |  | (0.113) |
| Unemployed |  | 0.238 |
|  |  | (0.069)\*\*\* |
| Disabled/retired |  | 0.225 |
|  |  | (0.065)\*\*\* |
| Looking after the home |  | 0.041 |
|  |  | (0.060) |
| Other |  | 0.400 |
|  |  | (0.882) |
| **Owns house** |  | -0.201 |
|  |  | (0.039)\*\*\* |
| **Marital status.** Reference: married/cohabiting |  |  |
| Widowed |  | 0.247 |
|  |  | (0.073)\*\*\* |
| Divorced/separated |  | 0.106 |
|  |  | (0.050)\*\* |
| Never married |  | -0.002 |
|  |  | (0.050) |
| **Union membership** |  | 0.258 |
|  |  | (0.053)\*\*\* |
| **Race.** Reference: white |  |  |
| Black |  | 0.858 |
|  |  | (0.051)\*\*\* |
| Hispanic |  | 0.341 |
|  |  | (0.068)\*\*\* |
| Other |  | 0.156 |
|  |  | (0.080)\* |
| **Income.** Reference: low |  |  |
| Middle |  | -0.139 |
|  |  | (0.045)\*\*\* |
| High |  | -0.229 |
|  |  | (0.052)\*\*\* |
| **Social class.** Reference: none |  |  |
| Working class |  | 0.140 |
|  |  | (0.042)\*\*\* |
| Middle class |  | -0.029 |
|  |  | (0.042) |
| **Religion.** Reference: Protestant |  |  |
| Catholic |  | 0.294 |
|  |  | (0.040)\*\*\* |
| Jewish |  | 0.722 |
|  |  | (0.120)\*\*\* |
| Other/none |  | 0.207 |
|  |  | (0.051)\*\*\* |
| **Education**. Reference: Grade school or less |  |  |
| High school |  | -0.120 |
|  |  | (0.083) |
| Some college |  | -0.255 |
|  |  | (0.087)\*\*\* |
| College or advanced degree |  | -0.345 |
|  |  | (0.090)\*\*\* |
| Constant | 3.942 | 4.018 |
|  | (0.117)\*\*\* | (0.142)\*\*\* |
| *R*2 | 0.05 | 0.13 |
| *N* | 9,137 | 9,137 |

NB: \* *p*<0.1; \*\* *p*<0.05; \*\*\* *p*<0.01. Standard errors are in parentheses

**Table A3:** Education Spending in Britain, ISSP (APC models)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1: APC** | **Model 2: with socio-demographics** |
| **Generation.** Reference: pre-war |  |  |
| Post-war generation | -0.028 | -0.027 |
|  | (0.073) | (0.073) |
| Neoliberal generation | 0.074 | 0.082 |
|  | (0.096) | (0.097) |
| Third way generation | 0.037 | 0.025 |
|  | (0.118) | (0.119) |
| **Gender(female)** | 0.008 | 0.021 |
|  | (0.088) | (0.088) |
| Post-war\*gender | 0.103 | 0.099 |
|  | (0.093) | (0.093) |
| Neoliberal\*gender | -0.039 | -0.057 |
|  | (0.097) | (0.097) |
| Third way\*gender | 0.056 | 0.046 |
|  | (0.109) | (0.110) |
| **Year of Survey.** Reference: 1985 |  |  |
| 1990 | 0.087 | 0.099 |
|  | (0.034)\*\* | (0.035)\*\*\* |
| 1996 | 0.129 | 0.097 |
|  | (0.053)\*\* | (0.055)\* |
| 2006 | -0.006 | -0.015 |
|  | (0.054) | (0.055) |
| 2016 | -0.026 | -0.048 |
|  | (0.050) | (0.053) |
| **Age.** Reference: 18-34 |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Aged 35-59 | -0.025 | -0.027 |
|  | (0.039) | (0.039) |
| Aged 60+ | -0.156 | -0.144 |
|  | (0.066)\*\* | (0.068)\*\* |
| **Marital Status.** Reference: married/cohabiting | |  |
| Widowed |  | -0.006 |
|  |  | (0.046) |
| Divorced |  | 0.003 |
|  |  | (0.041) |
| Separated |  | -0.016 |
|  |  | (0.083) |
| Never married |  | -0.053 |
|  |  | (0.032)\* |
| **Education.** Reference: no secondary qualification | |  |
| Secondary |  | -0.051 |
|  |  | (0.031) |
| A-Level |  | 0.004 |
|  |  | (0.040) |
| High education below degree |  | -0.062 |
|  |  | (0.038) |
| Degree |  | 0.058 |
|  |  | (0.039) |
| Other |  | 0.003 |
|  |  | (0.110) |
| **Employment status.** Reference: unemployed | |  |
| Employed |  | -0.114 |
|  |  | (0.050)\*\* |
| Not in labour force |  | -0.114 |
|  |  | (0.057)\*\* |
| **Religion.** Reference: Catholic |  |  |
| Protestant |  | -0.232 |
|  |  | (0.041)\*\*\* |
| Other Christian |  | -0.056 |
|  |  | (0.057) |
| Other non-Christian |  | -0.040 |
|  |  | (0.070) |
| Religious |  | -0.146 |
|  |  | (0.040)\*\*\* |
| Constant | 3.967 | 4.254 |
|  | (0.087)\*\*\* | (0.104)\*\*\* |
| *R2* | 0.02 | 0.04 |
| *N* | 4,250 | 4,250 |

NB: \* *p*<0.1; \*\* *p*<0.05; \*\*\* *p*<0.01. Standard errors are in parentheses

**Table A4:** Education Spending in the US, ISSP (APC models)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1: APC** | **Model 2: with socio-demographics** |
| **Generation.** Reference: pre-war |  |  |
| Post-war generation | -0.039 | -0.035 |
|  | (0.088) | (0.088) |
| Neoliberal generation | -0.036 | -0.046 |
|  | (0.113) | (0.113) |
| Third way generation | -0.010 | -0.033 |
|  | (0.126) | (0.127) |
| **Gender(female)** | 0.005 | -0.034 |
|  | (0.100) | (0.103) |
| Post-war\*gender | 0.044 | 0.067 |
|  | (0.106) | (0.108) |
| Neoliberal\*gender | 0.066 | 0.118 |
|  | (0.116) | (0.119) |
| Third way\*gender | 0.167 | 0.214 |
|  | (0.116) | (0.118)\* |
| **Year of Survey.** Reference: 1985 |  |  |
| 1990 | 0.159 | 0.169 |
|  | (0.047)\*\*\* | (0.048)\*\*\* |
| 1996 | 0.190 | 0.170 |
|  | (0.070)\*\*\* | (0.072)\*\* |
| 2006 | 0.374 | 0.368 |
|  | (0.067)\*\*\* | (0.068)\*\*\* |
| 2016 | 0.201 | 0.176 |
|  | (0.064)\*\*\* | (0.066)\*\*\* |
| **Age.** Reference: 18-34 |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Aged 35-59 | -0.125 | -0.115 |
|  | (0.043)\*\*\* | (0.044)\*\*\* |
| Aged 60+ | -0.253 | -0.247 |
|  | (0.069)\*\*\* | (0.071)\*\*\* |
| **Marital Status.** Reference: married/cohabiting | |  |
| Widowed |  | 0.097 |
|  |  | (0.054)\* |
| Divorced |  | 0.133 |
|  |  | (0.040)\*\*\* |
| Separated |  | 0.066 |
|  |  | (0.073) |
| Never married |  | 0.102 |
|  |  | (0.037)\*\*\* |
| **Education.** Reference: less than high school | |  |
| High School |  | -0.023 |
|  |  | (0.039) |
| College education |  | 0.009 |
|  |  | (0.043) |
| **Employment status.** Reference: unemployed | |  |
| Employed |  | -0.058 |
|  |  | (0.078) |
| Not in labour force |  | -0.056 |
|  |  | (0.082) |
| **Religion.** Reference: Catholic |  |  |
| Protestant |  | -0.028 |
|  |  | (0.034) |
| Other Christian |  | -0.115 |
|  |  | (0.063)\* |
| Other non-Christian |  | 0.159 |
|  |  | (0.074)\*\* |
| Religious |  | 0.061 |
|  |  | (0.045) |
| Constant | 3.934 | 3.960 |
|  | (0.100)\*\*\* | (0.130)\*\*\* |
| *R2* | 0.04 | 0.05 |
| *N* | 3,682 | 3,682 |

NB: \* *p*<0.1; \*\* *p*<0.05; \*\*\* *p*<0.01. Standard errors are in parentheses

**Table A5:** Health Spending in Britain, ISSP (APC models)

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1: APC** | **Model 2: with socio-demographics** |
| **Generation.** Reference: pre-war |  |  |
| Post-war generation | 0.023 | 0.014 |
|  | (0.067) | (0.067) |
| Neoliberal generation | 0.061 | 0.049 |
|  | (0.087) | (0.088) |
| Third way generation | -0.024 | -0.046 |
|  | (0.108) | (0.109) |
| **Gender(female)** | -0.034 | -0.057 |
|  | (0.079) | (0.080) |
| Post-war\*gender | 0.155 | 0.172 |
|  | (0.084)\* | (0.084)\*\* |
| Neoliberal\*gender | 0.065 | 0.085 |
|  | (0.088) | (0.088) |
| Third way\*gender | 0.207 | 0.228 |
|  | (0.099)\*\* | (0.100)\*\* |
| **Year of Survey.** Reference: 1985 |  |  |
| 1990 | 0.039 | 0.052 |
|  | (0.031) | (0.032) |
| 1996 | 0.058 | 0.059 |
|  | (0.048) | (0.051) |
| 2006 | -0.150 | -0.126 |
|  | (0.049)\*\*\* | (0.050)\*\* |
| 2016 | -0.064 | -0.025 |
|  | (0.046) | (0.048) |
| **Age.** Reference: 18-34 |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Aged 35-59 | -0.034 | -0.041 |
|  | (0.035) | (0.036) |
| Aged 60+ | 0.005 | -0.040 |
|  | (0.060) | (0.062) |
| **Marital Status.** Reference: married/cohabiting | |  |
| Widowed |  | 0.013 |
|  |  | (0.041) |
| Divorced |  | -0.004 |
|  |  | (0.038) |
| Separated |  | 0.051 |
|  |  | (0.075) |
| Never married |  | 0.007 |
|  |  | (0.029) |
| **Education.** Reference: no secondary qualification | |  |
| Secondary |  | -0.114 |
|  |  | (0.029)\*\*\* |
| A-Level |  | -0.099 |
|  |  | (0.037)\*\*\* |
| High education below degree |  | -0.189 |
|  |  | (0.035)\*\*\* |
| Degree |  | -0.188 |
|  |  | (0.036)\*\*\* |
| Other |  | -0.185 |
|  |  | (0.098)\* |
| **Employment status.** Reference: unemployed | |  |
| Employed |  | -0.097 |
|  |  | (0.046)\*\* |
| Not in labour force |  | -0.078 |
|  |  | (0.052) |
| **Religion.** Reference: Catholic |  |  |
| Protestant |  | -0.156 |
|  |  | (0.038)\*\*\* |
| Other Christian |  | -0.095 |
|  |  | (0.052)\* |
| Other non-Christian |  | -0.143 |
|  |  | (0.064)\*\* |
| Religious |  | -0.096 |
|  |  | (0.036)\*\*\* |
| Constant | 4.168 | 4.472 |
|  | (0.079)\*\*\* | (0.095)\*\*\* |
| R2 | 0.01 | 0.03 |
| N | 4,281 | 4,281 |

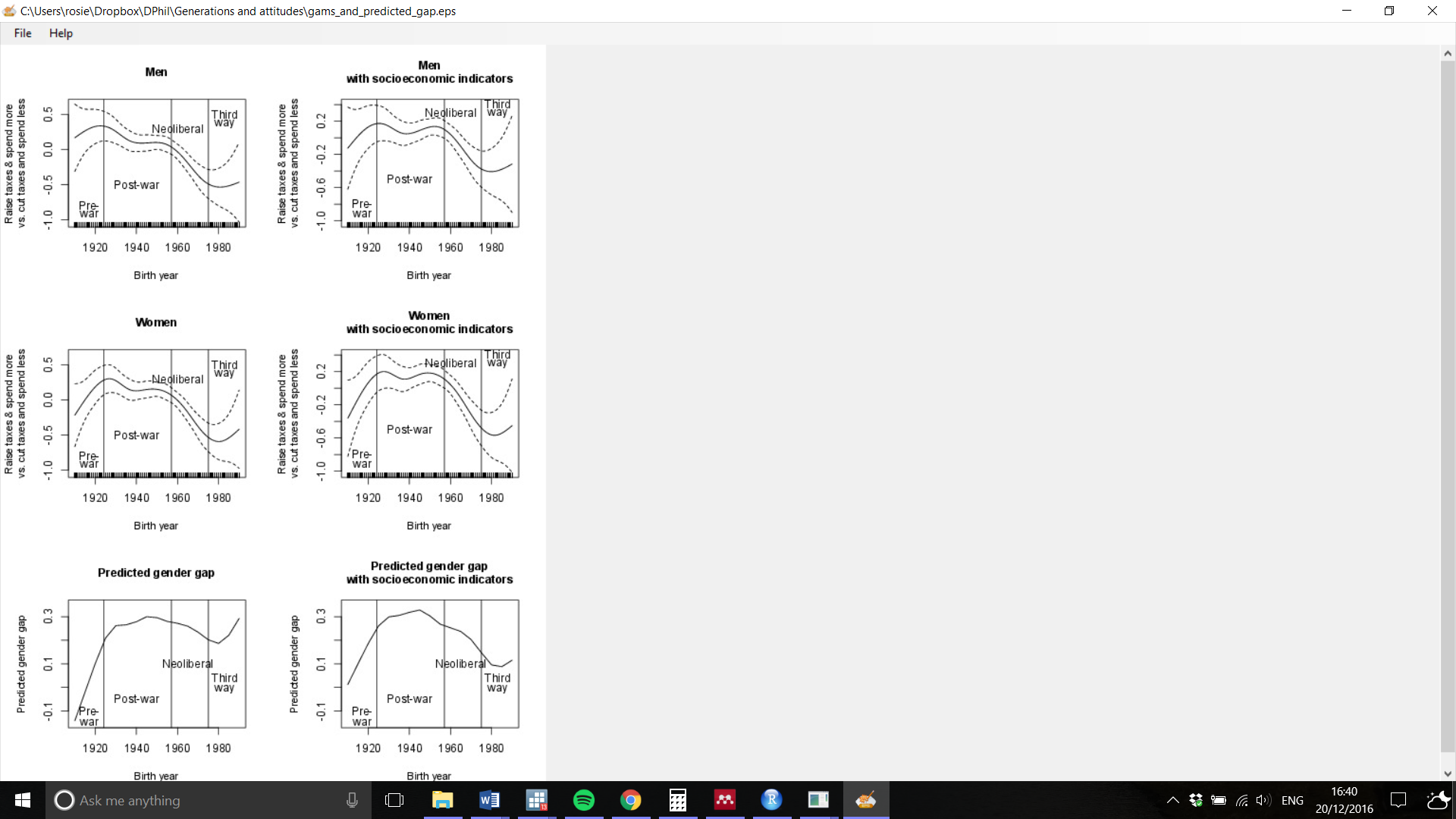
NB: \* *p*<0.1; \*\* *p*<0.05; \*\*\* *p*<0.01. Standard errors are in parentheses

**Table A6:** Health Spending in the US, ISSP (APC models)

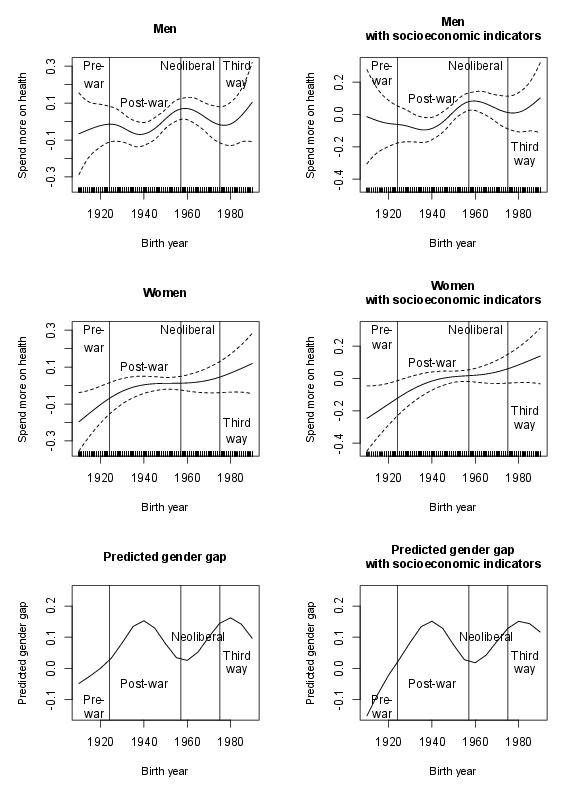
|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Model 1: APC** | **Model 2: with socio-demographics** |
| **Generation.** Reference: pre-war |  |  |
| Post-war generation | -0.083 | -0.067 |
|  | (0.092) | (0.092) |
| Neoliberal generation | -0.164 | -0.181 |
|  | (0.118) | (0.118) |
| Third way generation | -0.137 | -0.201 |
|  | (0.132) | (0.132) |
| **Gender(female)** | -0.138 | -0.114 |
|  | (0.105) | (0.107) |
| Post-war\*gender | 0.184 | 0.163 |
|  | (0.112) | (0.112) |
| Neoliberal\*gender | 0.224 | 0.222 |
|  | (0.122)\* | (0.124)\* |
| Third way\*gender | 0.318 | 0.316 |
|  | (0.121)\*\*\* | (0.123)\*\* |
| **Year of Survey.** Reference: 1985 |  |  |
| 1990 | 0.333 | 0.355 |
|  | (0.050)\*\*\* | (0.050)\*\*\* |
| 1996 | 0.272 | 0.244 |
|  | (0.073)\*\*\* | (0.076)\*\*\* |
| 2006 | 0.495 | 0.518 |
|  | (0.070)\*\*\* | (0.071)\*\*\* |
| 2016 | 0.154 | 0.177 |
|  | (0.067)\*\* | (0.069)\*\*\* |
| **Age.** Reference: 18-34 |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| Aged 35-59 | -0.042 | -0.017 |
|  | (0.045) | (0.046) |
| Aged 60+ | -0.057 | -0.032 |
|  | (0.073) | (0.074) |
| **Marital Status.** Reference: married/cohabiting | |  |
| Widowed |  | -0.027 |
|  |  | (0.057) |
| Divorced |  | 0.093 |
|  |  | (0.042)\*\* |
| Separated |  | 0.090 |
|  |  | (0.077) |
| Never married |  | 0.177 |
|  |  | (0.039)\*\*\* |
| **Education.** Reference: less than high school | |  |
| High School |  | -0.143 |
|  |  | (0.041)\*\*\* |
| College education |  | -0.202 |
|  |  | (0.045)\*\*\* |
| **Employment status.** Reference: unemployed | |  |
| Employed |  | -0.126 |
|  |  | (0.082) |
| Not in labour force |  | -0.152 |
|  |  | (0.086)\* |
| **Religion.** Reference: Catholic |  |  |
| Protestant |  | -0.069 |
|  |  | (0.035)\*\* |
| Other Christian |  | -0.096 |
|  |  | (0.066) |
| Other non-Christian |  | 0.306 |
|  |  | (0.078)\*\*\* |
| Religious |  | 0.040 |
|  |  | (0.047) |
| Constant | 3.668 | 3.874 |
|  | (0.105)\*\*\* | (0.135)\*\*\* |
| *R2* | 0.04 | 0.06 |
| *N* | 3,670 | 3,670 |

NB: \* *p*<0.1; \*\* *p*<0.05; \*\*\* *p*<0.01. Standard errors are in parentheses

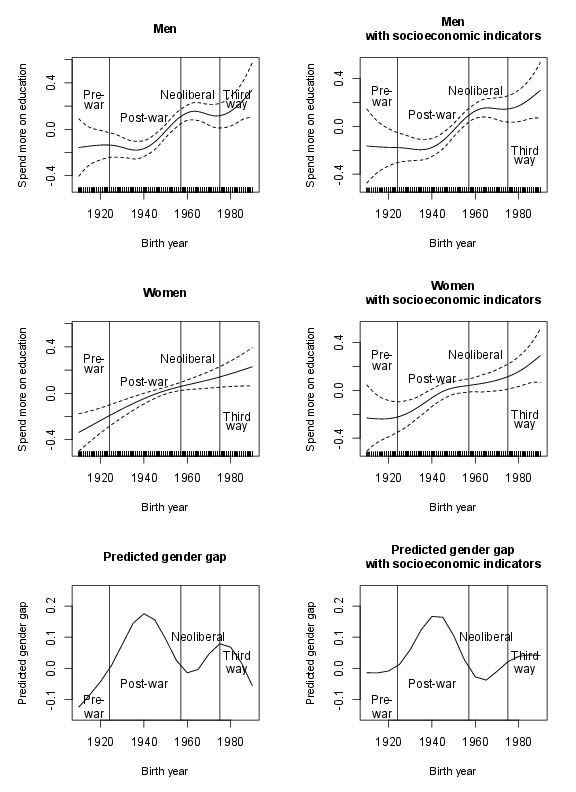
**Robustness Check: GAMs**

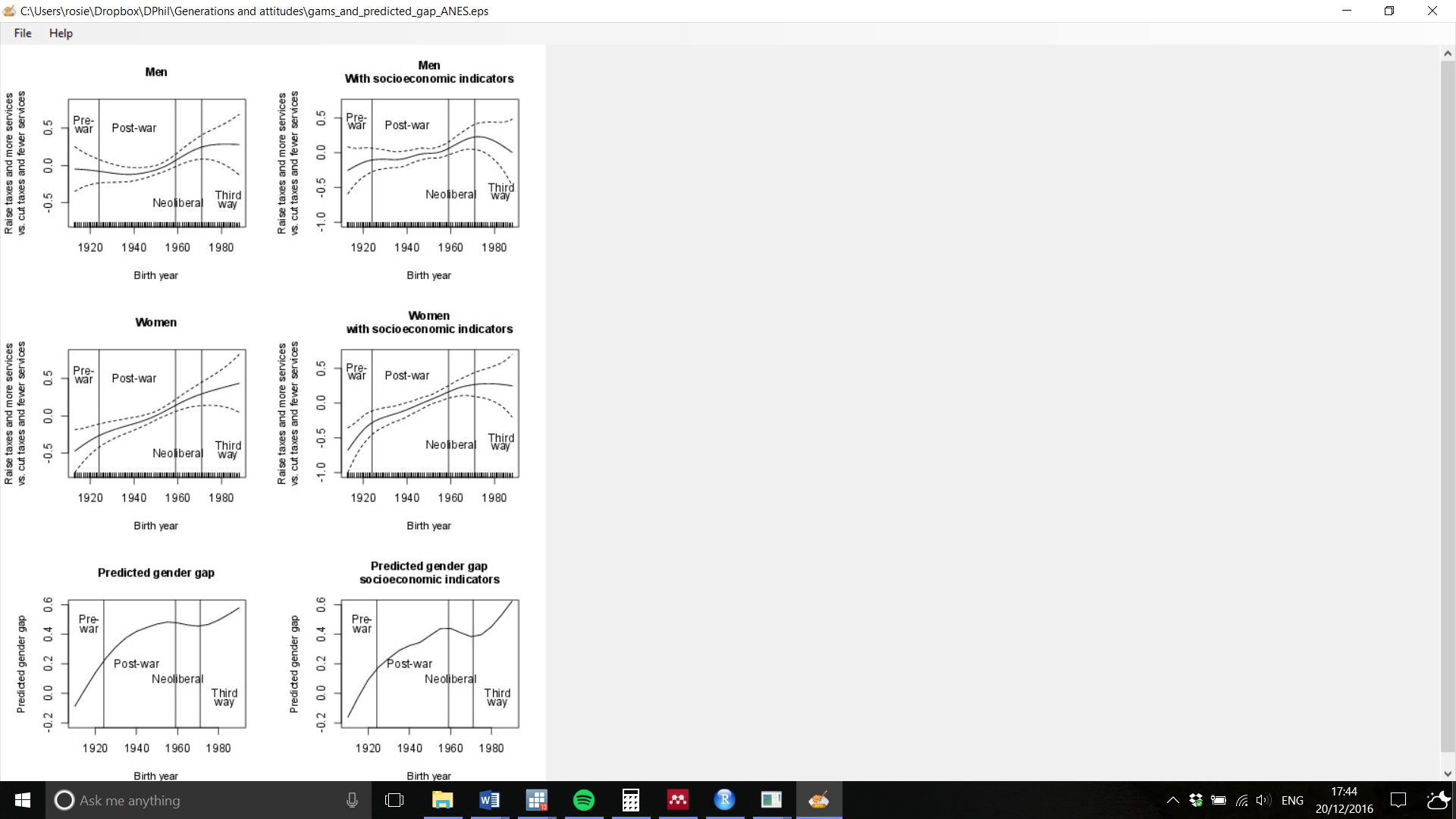


**Fig. A1.** Generational trends in Britain in support for tax-spend scale for men and women, BES (GAMs)

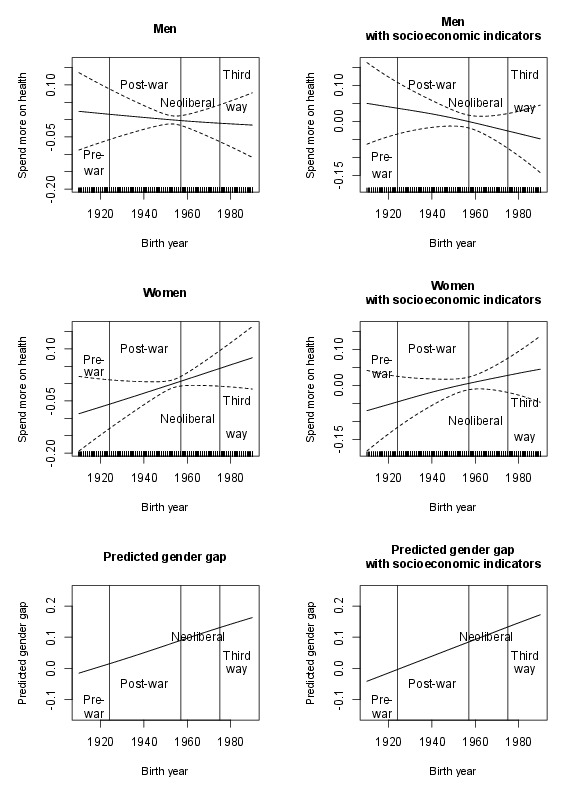


**Fig. A2.** Generational trends in Britain in support for health spending for men and women, ISSP (GAMs)

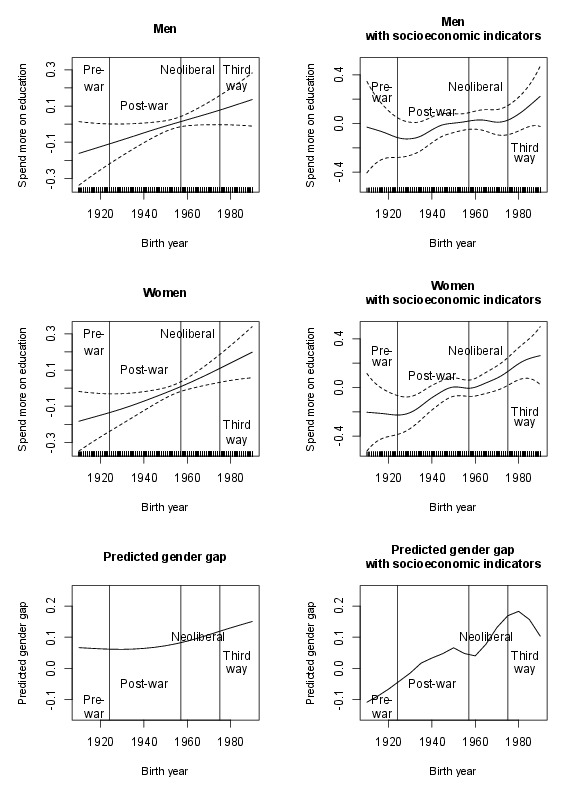
**Fig. A3.** Generational trends in Britain in support for education spending for men and women, ISSP (GAMs)



**Fig. A4.** Generational trends in the US in support for spending on social services for men and women, ANES (GAMs)



**Fig. A5.** Generational trends in the US in support for health spending for men and women, ISSP (GAMs)

**Fig. A6.** Generational trends in the US in support for education spending for men and women, ISSP (GAMs)

Figures A1-A6 show the results from the GAMs for the various dependent variables, for models with and without the socioeconomic variables. The models for the categorical dependent variables from the ISSP are modelled in a linear way in order to aid computation of the GAMs. The GAMs cannot test whether the generational and gender differences are statistically significant, but can be used to assess whether the coding of the *generation* variable is valid, by visually inspecting the smoothed birth year function and comparing it to the generation categorisation. Figures A1-A3 show that this is broadly the case in Britain, with high/increasing support for spending/redistribution for the post-war generation, and then flattening/decreasing support for the neoliberal generation. The bottom panel of the figure shows the predicted gender gap calculated from the GAMs, with other variables held at the same means and medians as for the marginal effects calculated from the OLS/ordered logit models. This shows a very similar pattern to the regression models for each dependent variable.

The GAMs for the ANES in figures A4-A6 show that the generational distinctions are less relevant in the US than in Britain. There appears to be gradual change across all birth years, with no noticeable distinctions between generations of the kind seen in Britain. However, the GAMs do support the conclusions reached about the gender gap from the age-period-cohort models: the gender gap remains fairly stable for all generations born in the post-war generation and after in the ANES, and grows in size for younger generations in the ISSP.