

ONLINE APPENDIX

Fiscal policy preferences, trade-offs, and support for social investment

Appendix A: Distribution of different types of government spending by country

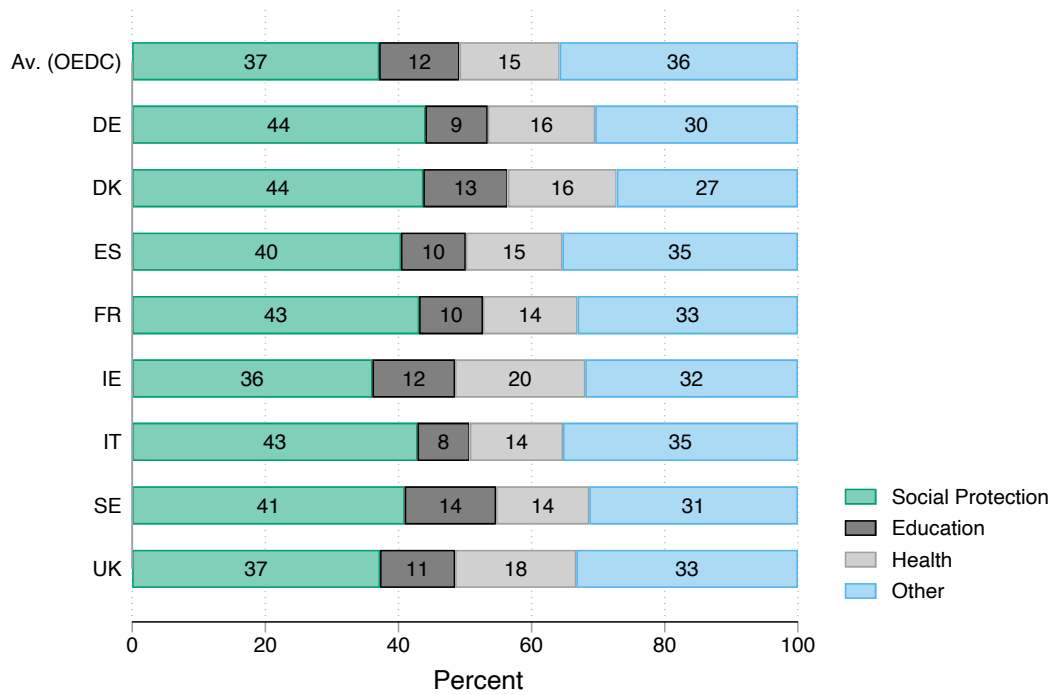


Figure A.1: Government spending in different areas as a share of total government spending in the OECD and eight West European countries

Source: OECD

Appendix B: Coding of dependent and independent variables and summary statistics

Table A.1: Summary statistics of dependent and independent variables

| | Mean | Std. Deviation | Minimum | Maximum | Observations |
|----------------------------|-------|-------------------|---------|---------|--------------|
| Fiscal type | 2.64 | 1.02 | 1 | 5 | 8213 |
| Education vs. unemployment | 0.21 | 0.41 | 0 | 1 | 2261 |
| Education vs. pensions | 0.09 | 0.28 | 0 | 1 | 2164 |
| Families vs. unemployment | 0.18 | 0.39 | 0 | 1 | 2226 |
| Families vs. pensions | 0.10 | 0.29 | 0 | 1 | 2204 |
| Education level | 3.38 | 1.53 | 1 | 5 | 8856 |
| Household income | 2.63 | 1.36 | 1 | 5 | 7982 |
| Retired | 0.31 | 0.46 | 0 | 1 | 8905 |
| Unemployed | 0.05 | 0.22 | 0 | 1 | 8894 |
| Student | 0.04 | 0.19 | 0 | 1 | 8894 |
| Age | 54.31 | 16.72 | 18 | 96 | 8881 |
| Female | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 | 8904 |
| Small children | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0 | 1 | 8872 |
| Union member | 0.26 | 0.44 | 0 | 1 | 8867 |
| Left-right position | 4.82 | 2.33 | 0 | 10 | 8152 |
| Government performance | 2.51 | 1.19 | 1 | 5 | 8736 |
| <i>N</i> | 8905 | | | | |

Appendix C: Balance of respondents according to their socio-economic profile across treatment groups

Table A.2: Means and standard deviation for possible confounding variables across groups

| | Education vs. unemployment | | Education vs. pensions | | Families vs. unemployment | | Families vs. pensions | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Fiscal type | 2.64 | 1.03 | 2.65 | 0.98 | 2.65 | 1.03 | 2.62 | 1.02 |
| Education level | 3.37 | 1.54 | 3.36 | 1.53 | 3.39 | 1.54 | 3.37 | 1.52 |
| Household income | 2.60 | 1.36 | 2.63 | 1.35 | 2.63 | 1.36 | 2.64 | 1.37 |
| Retired | 0.30 | 0.46 | 0.32 | 0.47 | 0.31 | 0.46 | 0.30 | 0.46 |
| Unemployed | 0.05 | 0.23 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0.04 | 0.21 |
| Student | 0.04 | 0.21 | 0.03 | 0.18 | 0.03 | 0.18 | 0.04 | 0.19 |
| Age | 54.00 | 16.53 | 54.83 | 16.40 | 54.19 | 16.96 | 54.11 | 17.01 |
| Female | 0.55 | 0.50 | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0.54 | 0.50 |
| Small children | 0.13 | 0.34 | 0.13 | 0.34 | 0.15 | 0.36 | 0.14 | 0.34 |
| Union member | 0.27 | 0.44 | 0.27 | 0.44 | 0.26 | 0.44 | 0.26 | 0.44 |
| Left-right position | 4.75 | 2.35 | 4.85 | 2.33 | 4.88 | 2.30 | 4.82 | 2.34 |
| Gov. perf. | 2.54 | 1.21 | 2.53 | 1.19 | 2.51 | 1.20 | 2.48 | 1.17 |
| <i>N</i> | 2261 | | 2164 | | 2226 | | 2204 | |

Appendix D: Distribution of fiscal types and attitudes towards trade-off scenarios by country

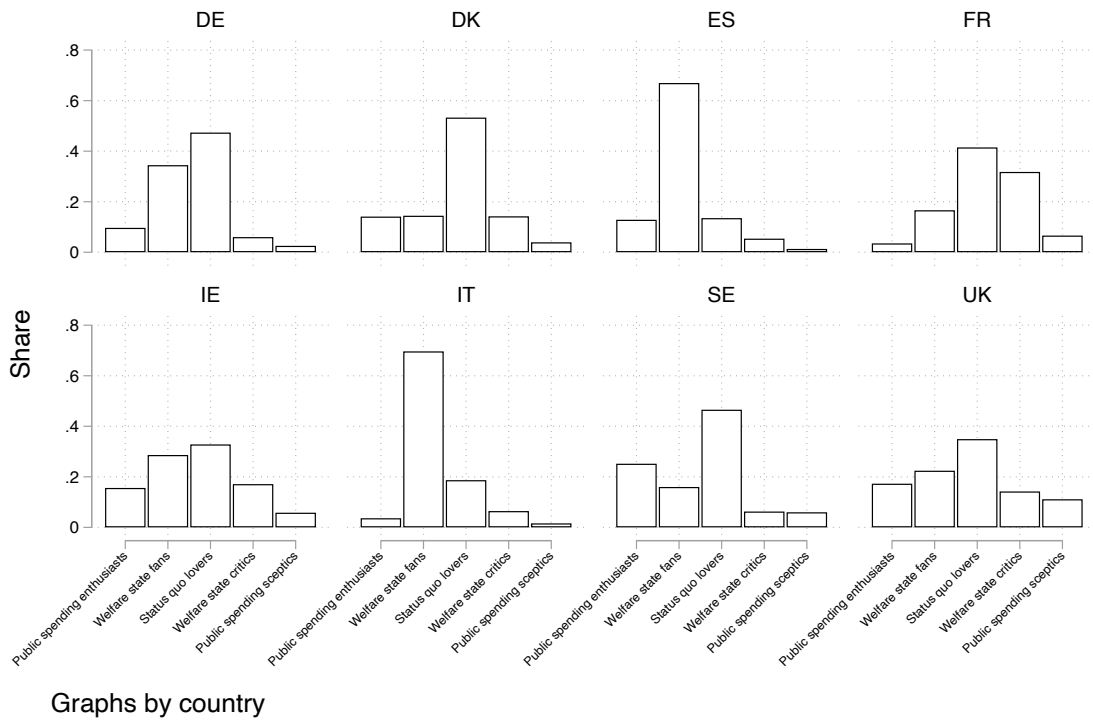


Figure A.2: Distribution of different fiscal types by country

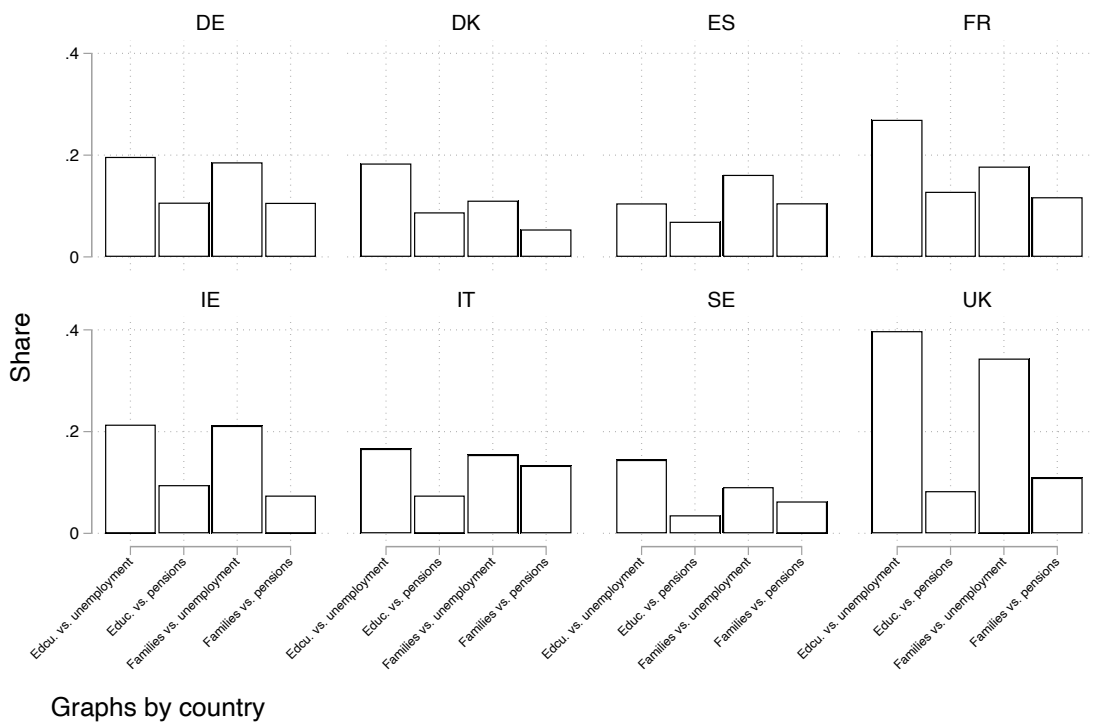


Figure A.3: Support for trade-offs across the four different scenarios by country

Appendix E: Additional analyses and robustness tests

Complementing the analysis in the main text, we conducted additional analyses to test the robustness of our results. First, we used different model specifications to replicate Table 4. Particularly, we treated the dependent variable as linear and calculated OLS regression models (Table A.3). Alternatively, we treated the dependent variable as an ordered categorical variable and used ordered logit regression models (Table A.4). The main results reported in the main text do not change.

Second, in the regression models in the main text, we did not use survey weights because the independent variables control directly for differences in the dependent variable related to these characteristics (e.g. age, gender). Yet, as a robustness test, we also calculated all regression models including the survey weights. Our expectation was that the substantive results are unaffected by this but that the significance levels will decrease due to higher standard errors. This is exactly what Table A.5 and A.6 indicate: the significance levels decrease, but the effects still point in the same direction as those in Table 3 and 4, respectively.

Third, we calculated additional models to check whether the results depend on the operationalization and selection of the specific control variables included in the analysis. We operationalized some important control variables differently (e.g. education, income) and included additional variables (e.g. socio-economic class). The reported results remain the same.

Finally, we used a Jackknife resampling approach which systematically drops observations from one country from the analysis and re-estimates the regression models. The results are shown in Table A.7 and A.8, which suggest that our results are not exclusively driven by observations from one particular country.

Table A.3: Replicating Table 4 with OLS regression models

| | Dependent variables: Trade-off scenarios | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | Educ vs. unemployment | Educ vs. pensions | Families vs. unemployment | Families vs. pensions | Educ vs. unemployment | Educ vs. pensions | Families vs. unemployment | Families vs. pensions |
| Public spending enthusiasts | 0.462** (3.87) | 0.166* (2.87) | 0.339** (4.18) | 0.0616 (1.03) | 0.340** (3.88) | 0.166* (2.62) | 0.295** (4.17) | -0.0111 (-0.15) |
| Welfare state fans | 0.127 (1.27) | 0.265** (5.34) | 0.131 (1.79) | 0.0690 (1.54) | 0.0761 (0.80) | 0.245** (4.87) | 0.117 (2.08) | 0.0268 (0.81) |
| Welfare state critics | -0.432*** (-6.54) | 0.150 (1.34) | -0.489** (-3.94) | 0.0669 (1.33) | -0.465*** (-7.83) | 0.156 (1.26) | -0.466** (-3.56) | 0.0221 (0.53) |
| Public spending sceptics | -0.264 (-1.68) | -0.00621 (-0.12) | -0.270 (-0.87) | 0.0912 (1.26) | -0.333 (-1.78) | -0.0175 (-0.25) | -0.246 (-0.74) | 0.139 (1.83) |
| Education level | -0.00428 (-0.15) | -0.0642** (-4.32) | -0.0186 (-1.35) | 0.0155 (1.28) | 0.00233 (0.08) | -0.0631** (-3.79) | -0.0204 (-1.04) | 0.0103 (0.88) |
| Household income | -0.00781 (-0.32) | -0.0208 (-1.28) | 0.000968 (0.03) | -0.0661* (-3.08) | 0.00652 (0.25) | -0.0203 (-1.19) | 0.0134 (0.35) | -0.0486 (-2.04) |
| Retired = 1 | -0.314 (-2.25) | -0.360** (-5.02) | -0.178** (-4.85) | -0.233* (-3.29) | -0.284 (-1.85) | -0.374** (-5.17) | -0.141* (-3.47) | -0.198* (-2.57) |
| Unemployed = 1 | 0.210 (1.21) | 0.0628 (1.04) | 0.369* (2.45) | -0.0216 (-0.44) | 0.168 (0.94) | 0.0732 (1.34) | 0.340 (2.08) | -0.0174 (-0.16) |
| Student = 1 | -0.0529 (-0.67) | 0.0132 (0.11) | -0.264 (-1.74) | 0.183 (1.23) | -0.113 (-1.16) | 0.0404 (0.33) | -0.189 (-1.51) | 0.189 (1.23) |
| Age | 0.0214*** (5.81) | 0.0146** (5.40) | 0.0127*** (5.80) | 0.0159*** (13.61) | 0.0213*** (5.79) | 0.0153*** (5.88) | 0.0131*** (6.07) | 0.0159*** (12.27) |
| Female = 1 | 0.000272 (0.00) | 0.0278 (0.70) | 0.0721 (1.67) | 0.0982 (2.21) | -0.0486 (-0.64) | 0.00721 (0.17) | 0.0493 (0.96) | 0.0730 (1.54) |
| Small children = 1 | 0.0677 (0.76) | -0.136* (-2.57) | -0.145 (-2.36) | -0.104 (-1.09) | 0.0458 (0.52) | -0.113 (-1.71) | -0.139 (-2.02) | -0.0674 (-0.67) |
| Union member = 1 | -0.0463 (-0.66) | 0.0391 (0.94) | 0.0990 (1.28) | 0.0943 (1.53) | -0.0577 (-0.74) | 0.0337 (0.91) | 0.101 (1.21) | 0.0698 (1.54) |
| Left-right position | | | | | -0.0487** (-4.21) | 0.0122 (1.40) | -0.0347** (-3.88) | -0.00103 (-0.09) |
| Government performance | | | | | -0.126* (-3.49) | -0.0779* (-3.11) | -0.0750* (-2.60) | -0.124*** (-6.67) |
| Constant | 2.440*** (12.26) | 3.385*** (23.54) | 2.842*** (12.54) | 3.052*** (27.46) | 3.057*** (13.91) | 3.523*** (20.77) | 3.174*** (13.75) | 3.419*** (22.29) |
| Observations | 1831 | 1806 | 1824 | 1806 | 1691 | 1678 | 1680 | 1682 |
| R ² | 0.158 | 0.076 | 0.130 | 0.067 | 0.185 | 0.086 | 0.146 | 0.086 |
| Adjusted R ² | 0.149 | 0.066 | 0.120 | 0.056 | 0.175 | 0.074 | 0.135 | 0.074 |
| AIC | 5393.8 | 4860.1 | 5229.7 | 4941.3 | 4932.2 | 4506.7 | 4807.2 | 4541.1 |
| BIC | 5432.4 | 4898.6 | 5268.2 | 4979.8 | 4970.2 | 4544.7 | 4845.2 | 4579.1 |

t statistics in parentheses

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

Table A.4: Replicating Table 4 with ordered logistic regression models

| | Dependent variables: Trade-off scenarios | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | Educ vs. unemployment | Educ vs. pensions | Families vs. unemployment | Families vs. pensions | Educ vs. unemployment | Educ vs. pensions | Families vs. unemployment | Families vs. pensions |
| Public spending enthusiasts | 0.813*** (3.96) | 0.302** (2.63) | 0.607*** (3.75) | 0.195 (1.42) | 0.591*** (3.72) | 0.297* (2.43) | 0.482*** (3.63) | 0.0750 (0.45) |
| Welfare state fans | 0.216 (1.31) | 0.534*** (5.62) | 0.256* (2.00) | 0.153* (2.02) | 0.133 (0.85) | 0.477*** (5.43) | 0.217* (2.32) | 0.0751 (1.34) |
| Welfare state critics | -0.687*** (-6.74) | 0.373 (1.81) | -0.841*** (-3.88) | 0.242* (2.43) | -0.773*** (-8.45) | 0.403 (1.82) | -0.830*** (-3.60) | 0.171* (2.32) |
| Public spending sceptics | -0.413 (-1.29) | -0.00886 (-0.08) | -0.388 (-0.66) | 0.279* (2.30) | -0.522 (-1.35) | 0.00611 (0.05) | -0.381 (-0.58) | 0.339* (2.56) |
| Education level | -0.0146 (-0.31) | -0.106*** (-3.30) | -0.0356 (-1.51) | 0.0113 (0.44) | -0.00641 (-0.13) | -0.0999* (-2.56) | -0.0395 (-1.16) | 0.00399 (0.16) |
| Household income | -0.00857 (-0.22) | -0.0490 (-1.56) | -0.0145 (-0.22) | -0.133** (-3.08) | 0.0148 (0.33) | -0.0448 (-1.25) | 0.0120 (0.17) | -0.100* (-2.13) |
| Retired = 1 | -0.566* (-2.52) | -0.723*** (-4.90) | -0.351*** (-5.11) | -0.408** (-2.87) | -0.514* (-2.02) | -0.734*** (-4.82) | -0.292*** (-3.52) | -0.343* (-2.30) |
| Unemployed=1 | 0.472 (1.52) | 0.224 (1.26) | 0.627* (2.17) | -0.0505 (-1.14) | 0.396 (1.31) | 0.270 (1.53) | 0.571 (1.85) | -0.0603 (-0.38) |
| Student=1 | -0.0778 (-0.63) | 0.0749 (0.40) | -0.505* (-1.97) | 0.260 (0.91) | -0.168 (-1.10) | 0.139 (0.68) | -0.411 (-1.90) | 0.248 (0.83) |
| Age | 0.0374*** (6.79) | 0.0304*** (6.07) | 0.0230*** (5.71) | 0.0294*** (12.13) | 0.0383*** (6.77) | 0.0317*** (6.51) | 0.0242*** (5.67) | 0.0295*** (10.55) |
| Female=1 | -0.0260 (-0.22) | -0.0104 (-0.12) | 0.0888 (1.06) | 0.177* (1.98) | -0.116 (-0.96) | -0.0512 (-0.58) | 0.0474 (0.47) | 0.124 (1.32) |
| Small children=1 | 0.158 (0.92) | -0.216 (-1.83) | -0.270* (-2.39) | -0.223 (-1.26) | 0.118 (0.72) | -0.169 (-1.24) | -0.269* (-2.17) | -0.169 (-0.89) |
| Union member = 1 | -0.0677 (-0.57) | 0.0789 (0.94) | 0.225 (1.57) | 0.158 (1.39) | -0.0912 (-0.70) | 0.0696 (0.88) | 0.223 (1.45) | 0.125 (1.38) |
| Economic left-right (right) | | | | | -0.0923*** (-4.10) | 0.0183 (1.52) | -0.0693*** (-4.69) | 0.00511 (0.20) |
| Government performance | | | | | -0.249*** (-4.12) | -0.177*** (-3.57) | -0.161*** (-3.42) | -0.278*** (-6.89) |
| Observations | 1831 | 1806 | 1824 | 1806 | 1691 | 1678 | 1680 | 1682 |
| Pseudo R^2 | 0.057 | 0.031 | 0.046 | 0.028 | 0.070 | 0.035 | 0.054 | 0.038 |
| AIC | 5056.1 | 4381.5 | 5003.5 | 4574.2 | 4615.3 | 4072.2 | 4602.0 | 4208.0 |
| BIC | 5094.7 | 4420.0 | 5042.1 | 4612.7 | 4653.3 | 4110.2 | 4639.9 | 4245.9 |

t statistics in parentheses, cut points not shown

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

Table A.5: Replicating Table 3 with survey weights

| | Dependent variable: Fiscal type | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| | (1) | | | | (2) | | | |
| | Sending enthusiasts | Welfare state fans | Welfare state critics | Spending sceptics | Spending enthusiasts | Welfare state fans | Welfare state critics | Spending sceptics |
| Education level | 0.0481 (0.92) | -0.0425 (-1.17) | -0.0986* (-2.07) | -0.115 (-1.73) | 0.0276 (0.49) | -0.0347 (-0.90) | -0.0835 (-1.64) | -0.0718 (-1.03) |
| Household inc. | -0.159** (-2.88) | -0.180*** (-4.24) | 0.0836 (1.59) | 0.00435 (0.06) | -0.138* (-2.39) | -0.171*** (-3.80) | 0.0844 (1.46) | -0.0350 (-0.49) |
| Retired = 1 | -0.0284 (-0.11) | -0.0729 (-0.44) | 0.216 (0.98) | 0.628* (2.00) | -0.0129 (-0.05) | -0.0307 (-0.18) | 0.284 (1.20) | 0.572 (1.73) |
| Unempl. = 1 | 0.367 (0.92) | 0.484* (2.01) | -0.242 (-0.77) | 0.412 (0.97) | -0.181 (-0.46) | 0.416 (1.52) | -0.150 (-0.45) | 0.434 (0.97) |
| Student = 1 | 0.187 (0.46) | -0.298 (-0.92) | -0.0178 (-0.04) | -1.431 (-1.94) | 0.142 (0.34) | -0.441 (-1.30) | 0.0544 (0.13) | -1.399 (-1.89) |
| Age | 0.00513 (0.67) | -0.00162 (-0.34) | -0.00316 (-0.47) | -0.0319*** (-3.58) | 0.00703 (0.88) | -0.00279 (-0.54) | -0.00411 (-0.56) | 0.0327** (-3.64) |
| Female = 1 | -0.0779 (-0.56) | 0.370*** (3.70) | 0.0316 (0.24) | 0.0773 (0.43) | -0.0935 (-0.64) | 0.285** (2.68) | 0.0267 (0.19) | 0.0767 (0.41) |
| Small children = 1 | -0.345 (-1.74) | -0.145 (-0.97) | -0.0531 (-0.29) | -0.540* (-2.06) | -0.281 (-1.34) | -0.115 (-0.72) | -0.0176 (-0.09) | -0.626* (-2.41) |
| Union member = 1 | 0.410* (2.52) | -0.0627 (-0.49) | 0.0584 (0.31) | 0.132 (0.57) | 0.326 (1.95) | -0.128 (-0.91) | 0.0176 (0.09) | 0.182 (0.76) |
| Left-right position | | | | | -0.245*** (-6.57) | -0.111*** (-4.60) | 0.134*** (4.03) | 0.0745 (1.59) |
| Government performance | | | | | -0.297*** (-4.30) | -0.277*** (-5.45) | -0.286*** (-4.47) | -0.227* (-2.45) |
| Constant | -1.453** (-2.84) | 0.327 (1.03) | -1.975*** (-4.10) | -1.137* (-2.06) | 0.458 (0.82) | 1.727*** (4.46) | -1.836** (-3.00) | -0.825 (-1.20) |
| Observations | 7366 | | | | 6808 | | | |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.6: Replicating Table 4 with survey weights

| | Dependent variables: Trade-off scenarios | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | Educ vs. unemployment | Educ vs. pensions | Families vs. unemployment | Families vs. pensions | Educ vs. unemployment | Educ vs. pensions | Families vs. unemployment | Families vs. pensions |
| Public spending enthusiasts | -0.713 (-1.84) | 0.536 (1.08) | -0.529 (-1.43) | 0.659 (1.47) | -1.230** (-2.96) | 0.402 (0.80) | -0.549 (-1.34) | 1.205** (2.81) |
| Welfare state fans | -0.164 (-0.63) | -0.255 (-0.66) | -0.00330 (-0.01) | -0.0539 (-0.15) | -0.0291 (-0.11) | -0.423 (-1.00) | 0.0800 (0.28) | 0.165 (0.45) |
| Welfare state critics | 0.517 (1.85) | -0.137 (-0.36) | 1.337*** (4.87) | 0.713 (1.79) | 0.516 (1.72) | -0.148 (-0.37) | 1.380*** (4.87) | 1.014* (2.38) |
| Public spending sceptics | 0.509 (1.39) | 0.182 (0.32) | 0.758 (1.84) | 0.291 (0.57) | 0.819* (2.26) | 0.376 (0.66) | 0.753 (1.77) | 0.354 (0.63) |
| Education level | 0.0403 (0.56) | 0.142 (1.31) | -0.0257 (-0.33) | 0.0538 (0.54) | -0.0122 (-0.16) | 0.148 (1.18) | -0.0183 (-0.22) | 0.0647 (0.63) |
| Household income | 0.0574 (0.73) | 0.123 (0.93) | 0.121 (1.36) | 0.0167 (0.17) | 0.0654 (0.77) | 0.158 (1.13) | 0.0845 (0.90) | 0.0101 (0.10) |
| Retired = 1 | 0.894** (2.65) | 1.122* (2.28) | 0.548 (1.70) | 0.891* (2.10) | 1.041** (2.95) | 1.266* (2.51) | 0.367 (1.07) | 0.850 (1.91) |
| Unemployed = 1 | 0.589 (1.29) | 0.527 (0.66) | -0.971* (-2.01) | 0.517 (0.94) | 0.337 (0.73) | -0.735 (-1.08) | -0.951 (-1.88) | 0.472 (0.71) |
| Student = 1 | 0.421 (0.88) | -0.426 (-0.63) | -0.0547 (-0.10) | 0.249 (0.43) | 0.699 (1.48) | -0.331 (-0.47) | -0.102 (-0.19) | 0.173 (0.30) |
| Age | -0.0308*** (-3.49) | -0.0323* (-2.27) | -0.0308*** (-3.39) | -0.0300** (-2.66) | -0.0298*** (-3.50) | -0.0360* (-2.37) | -0.0286** (-3.03) | -0.0308** (-2.66) |
| Female = 1 | -0.378 (-1.90) | -0.829** (-2.80) | -0.156 (-0.79) | -0.302 (-1.18) | -0.213 (-1.01) | -0.718* (-2.32) | -0.143 (-0.68) | -0.126 (-0.48) |
| Small children = 1 | 0.0751 (0.28) | 0.0857 (0.26) | 0.276 (1.04) | 0.313 (0.98) | 0.183 (0.64) | -0.106 (-0.31) | 0.228 (0.82) | 0.0632 (0.19) |
| Union member = 1 | 0.221 (0.89) | -0.637 (-1.74) | 0.212 (0.86) | -0.595 (-1.49) | 0.270 (1.02) | -0.513 (-1.38) | 0.165 (0.62) | -0.411 (-1.05) |
| Left-right position | | | | | 0.0728 (1.41) | 0.0412 (0.73) | 0.0375 (0.67) | 0.0441 (0.76) |
| Government performance | | | | | 0.0615 (1.38) | 0.0684 (0.28) | 0.0212 (-0.21) | 0.323** (3.03) |
| Constant | -0.122 (-0.21) | -1.234 (-1.35) | -0.286 (-0.46) | -0.990 (-1.38) | -0.682 (-0.99) | -1.536 (-1.52) | -0.537 (-0.66) | -2.362** (-2.62) |
| Observations | 1851 | 1818 | 1849 | 1815 | 1706 | 1687 | 1699 | 1689 |

Table A.7: Replicating Table 3 with a Jackknife resampling approach (by country)

| | <i>Dependent variable: Fiscal type</i> | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | (1) | | | | (2) | | | |
| | Public spending enthusiasts | Welfares state fans | Welfare state critics | Public spending sceptics | Public spending enthusiasts | Welfare state fans | Welfare state critics | Public spending sceptics |
| Education level | 0.0562 (1.22) | -0.132* (-2.79) | -0.0465 (-1.00) | -0.00477 (-0.11) | 0.0665 (1.35) | -0.116* (-2.50) | -0.0153 (-0.31) | 0.0288 (0.75) |
| Household inc. | -0.163* (-2.39) | -0.189** (-4.90) | 0.0211 (0.35) | -0.0867 (-1.15) | -0.112 (-1.58) | -0.152** (-4.46) | 0.0672 (1.79) | -0.0800 (-1.32) |
| Retired=1 | 0.0240 (0.19) | -0.365 (-2.14) | 0.0271 (0.10) | 0.246 (0.85) | 0.116 (1.03) | -0.275 (-1.72) | 0.0770 (0.31) | 0.216 (0.79) |
| Unemployed=1 | 0.0747 (0.34) | 0.617* (2.45) | -0.120 (-0.55) | -0.0460 (-0.23) | -0.191 (-0.65) | 0.546 (2.25) | -0.108 (-0.50) | -0.157 (-0.60) |
| Student=1 | 0.350 (0.97) | -0.455 (-1.67) | -0.272 (-0.89) | -1.064 (-2.09) | 0.330 (0.86) | -0.435 (-1.46) | -0.123 (-0.40) | -1.030 (-1.93) |
| Age | 0.00245 (0.66) | -0.00324 (-0.49) | -0.00390 (-0.48) | -0.0227* (-2.40) | 0.00332 (0.68) | -0.00332 (-0.48) | -0.00404 (-0.54) | -0.0238* (-2.55) |
| Female=1 | -0.0353 (-0.44) | 0.274** (3.80) | -0.0499 (-0.61) | 0.190* (2.38) | -0.0646 (-0.78) | 0.213 (2.35) | -0.0769 (-0.93) | 0.165 (1.73) |
| Small children=1 | -0.0654 (-0.43) | -0.0323 (-0.39) | 0.0913 (0.91) | -0.130 (-1.00) | -0.0562 (-0.36) | -0.0478 (-0.54) | 0.00205 (0.02) | -0.172 (-1.27) |
| Union memb.=1 | 0.503 (2.31) | -0.306 (-0.99) | -0.444 (-1.45) | -0.223 (-1.00) | 0.461 (1.97) | -0.311 (-1.03) | -0.388 (-1.40) | -0.159 (-0.65) |
| Left-right position | | | | | -0.236*** (-8.34) | -0.111** (-4.85) | 0.178*** (6.18) | 0.108** (3.71) |
| Government performance | | | | | -0.418** (-4.94) | -0.332* (-2.88) | -0.465* (-2.41) | -0.299* (-2.77) |
| Constant | -1.109* (-3.24) | 1.040 (1.99) | -0.648 (-2.28) | -0.603 (-1.43) | 0.830 (1.56) | 2.288* (3.00) | -0.661 (-1.71) | -0.440 (-1.07) |
| Observations | 7366 | | | | 6808 | | | |
| R2 | 0.0247 | | | | 0.0664 | | | |
| AIC | 20177.8 | | | | 17898.7 | | | |
| BIC | 20226.1 | | | | 17946.5 | | | |

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.8: Replicating Table 4 with a Jackknife resampling approach (by country)

| | Dependent variable: Trade-off scenarios | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
| | Education vs. unempl. | Education vs. pensions | Families vs. unempl. | Families vs. pensions | Education vs. unempl. | Education vs. pensions | Families vs. unempl. | Families vs. pensions |
| Spending enthusiasts | -0.953** (-4.66) | -0.723* (-2.64) | -0.559* (-2.40) | 0.350 (1.27) | -0.940*** (-7.33) | -0.795* (-2.81) | -0.643 (-2.24) | 0.540 (1.76) |
| Welfare state fans | -0.207 (-0.81) | -0.545* (-2.39) | -0.00357 (-0.01) | 0.227 (0.95) | -0.0705 (-0.28) | -0.519 (-1.79) | 0.0580 (0.23) | 0.317 (1.19) |
| Welfare state critics | 0.993*** (6.20) | 0.104 (0.39) | 1.124** (4.26) | 0.526 (1.82) | 1.037*** (7.16) | 0.109 (0.35) | 1.144** (4.43) | 0.585* (2.57) |
| Spending sceptics | 0.831* (2.64) | 0.0402 (0.13) | 1.108 (1.47) | 0.449 (1.21) | 0.966* (2.46) | 0.147 (0.42) | 1.134 (1.37) | 0.223 (0.45) |
| Education level | 0.0493 (0.80) | 0.191* (2.84) | 0.0141 (0.40) | -0.0842* (-3.13) | 0.0180 (0.28) | 0.221** (3.96) | 0.0152 (0.37) | -0.0963* (-2.87) |
| Household inc. | 0.0308 (0.50) | 0.0336 (0.65) | 0.0157 (0.24) | 0.0436 (0.71) | 0.0209 (0.29) | 0.0439 (0.72) | -0.00260 (-0.04) | 0.0406 (0.59) |
| Retired=1 | 0.432 (1.11) | 0.546 (1.99) | 0.153 (0.83) | 0.609* (2.83) | 0.378 (0.89) | 0.660 (2.15) | -0.000244 (-0.00) | 0.538 (2.09) |
| Unemployed=1 | -0.245 (-0.48) | -0.119 (-0.20) | -0.784 (-1.87) | -0.0376 (-0.08) | -0.154 (-0.30) | -0.208 (-0.22) | -0.739 (-1.75) | -0.0305 (-0.05) |
| Student=1 | 0.210 (0.82) | 0.202 (0.61) | 0.149 (0.45) | -0.600 (-1.19) | 0.370 (1.21) | 0.244 (0.80) | 0.0495 (0.15) | -0.617 (-1.21) |
| Age | -0.0326** (-4.03) | -0.0236 (-2.33) | -0.0233* (-2.76) | -0.0319** (-5.01) | -0.0313** (-3.52) | -0.0269* (-2.45) | -0.0232* (-2.79) | -0.0320** (-4.19) |
| Female=1 | -0.101 (-0.66) | -0.562* (-3.46) | -0.258* (-2.63) | -0.438** (-3.85) | -0.0206 (-0.13) | -0.521* (-3.34) | -0.252* (-2.48) | -0.436** (-3.59) |
| Small children=1 | -0.0541 (-0.26) | 0.439** (4.85) | 0.272 (2.12) | 0.155 (0.89) | -0.0148 (-0.06) | 0.352* (3.20) | 0.244 (1.62) | 0.0450 (0.20) |
| Union memb.=1 | -0.110 (-0.54) | -0.291 (-2.18) | -0.251 (-0.78) | -0.353 (-1.53) | -0.138 (-0.60) | -0.237 (-2.01) | -0.306 (-0.92) | -0.269 (-1.29) |
| Left-right position | | | | | 0.0980** (4.26) | -0.0273 (-0.68) | 0.0440 (1.40) | 0.0404 (1.27) |
| Government performance | | | | | 0.163 (2.02) | 0.0742 (0.62) | 0.0936 (1.21) | 0.159 (2.34) |
| Constant | 0.0886 (0.19) | -1.616 (-2.22) | -0.443 (-0.70) | -0.485 (-1.22) | -0.867 (-1.43) | -1.736 (-2.25) | -0.814 (-1.14) | -1.101* (-2.93) |
| Observations | 1851 | 1818 | 1849 | 1815 | 1706 | 1687 | 1699 | 1689 |
| R2 | 0.110 | 0.0748 | 0.112 | 0.0493 | 0.125 | 0.0830 | 0.124 | 0.0552 |
| AIC | 1733.3 | 990.0 | 1577.7 | 1129.6 | 1570.5 | 907.7 | 1450.9 | 1031.0 |
| BIC | 1771.9 | 1028.5 | 1616.4 | 1168.2 | 1608.6 | 945.7 | 1488.9 | 1069.0 |

t statistics in parentheses

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