Appendix

Many Ways to be Right: Cross-pressured Voters in Western Europe

Survey questions: EVS, 1990 and 2010

State intervention in the economy

- Private vs. government ownership: On this card you see a number of opposite views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? Private ownership of business should be increased (1) or governmental ownership of business should be increased (10).

- Individual vs. state responsibility: On this card you see a number of opposite views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? People should take more responsibility for providing for themselves (1) or the government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (10).

- Take any job vs. right to refuse job when unemployed: On this card you see a number of opposite views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits (1) or people who are unemployed should have the right to refuse a job they do not want (10).

- Competition good vs. harmful: On this card you see a number of opposite views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas (1) or competition is harmful, it brings out the worst in people (10).

Cultural values:

- Child suffers with a working mother: People talk about the changing roles of men and women today. For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how much you agree with each. A pre-school child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works.

- Women want a home and children: People talk about the changing roles of men and women today. For each of the following statements I read out, can you tell me how much you agree with each. A job is alright but what most women really want is a home and children.

- Abortion: Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between. Abortion.

- Teach children religion: Here is a list of qualities which children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Religious Faith.

Factor analysis, 1990 and 2010 European Value Survey

	1990		2008	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
Private vs. government ownership business	**0.55**	0.00	-0.01	**0.51**
Individual vs. state responsibility for providing	**0.56**	-0.03	-0.04	**0.53**
Take any job vs. right to refuse job when unemployed	**0.36**	0.14	0.14	**0.49**
Competition good vs. harmful for people	**0.56**	-0.06	-0.07	**0.58**
Learn children at home: religious faith	-0.06	**0.39**	**0.32**	-0.02
Pre-school child suffers with working mother	0.04	**0.42**	**0.60**	-0.01
Women want a home and children	-0.02	**0.57**	**0.61**	-0.03
Do you justify: abortion	-0.04	**0.49**	**0.55**	0.02
Eigenvalue	1.84	1.60	1.90	1.77
Standardized Cronbach's alpha	0.59	0.53	0.61	0.62

Table 1: Factor analysis for EVS questions, 1990 and 2010

Validating scales of economic and cultural attitudes

	Dependent variable:			
	1990		*2010*	
	Economic attitudes	Cultural attitudes	Economic attitudes	Cultural attitudes
Gender (1=female)	−3.347***	−2.311***	−3.024***	−3.754***
	(0.431)	(0.463)	(0.432)	(0.468)
Age	0.095***	0.360***	0.016	0.157***
	(0.013)	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Income reference category: low				
Income (medium)	2.087***	−1.210**	3.364***	−0.772
	(0.581)	(0.608)	(0.644)	(0.961)
Income (high)	5.072***	−4.605***	6.691***	−4.061***
	(0.441)	(1.051)	(0.669)	(1.122)
Higher education (=1)			0.052	−6.568***
			(0.692)	(0.663)
Member in religious organization (=1)	0.517	8.503***	0.763	7.038***
	(0.484)	(0.991)	(0.710)	(1.524)
Union member (=1)	−4.371***	−3.544***	−4.551***	−3.775***
	(1.016)	(0.302)	(0.586)	(0.433)
Self employed (=1)	3.479***	−0.492	5.444***	0.013
	(0.934)	(1.229)	(0.948)	(0.612)
Constant	69.932***	48.331***	60.223***	46.696***
	(0.524)	(1.241)	(1.095)	(1.310)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	12,448	12,448	11,685	11,685
R^2	0.115	0.220	0.117	0.274

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 2: Demographic predictors of economic and cultural attitudes

Table 2 presents the results OLS regressions with country fixed effects and survey weights, with standard errors clustered by country. The dependent variables are composite indices of economic and cultural attitudes. For both economic and cultural attitudes, in both 1990 and 2010, these scales range between 0 (most progressive) and 100 (most conservative). The demographic variables predict these attitudes as expected, providing face validity for these measures.
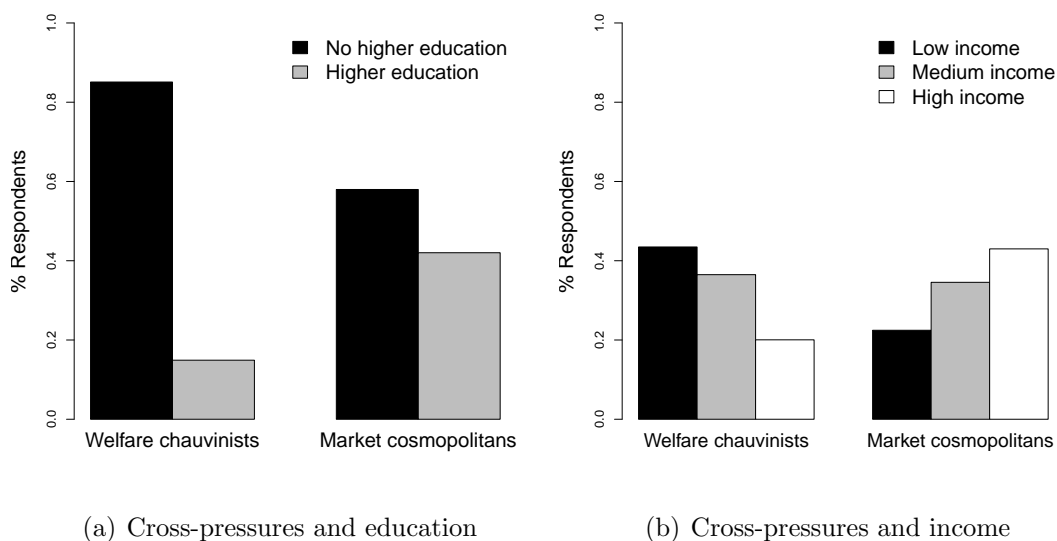
(a) Cross-pressures and education   (b) Cross-pressures and income

Figure 1: Cross-pressures and key demographics

Demographics and identities of cross-pressured voters

In order to consider variations in demographics across groups of cross-pressured voters, I focus on the 2010 sample (since education is not recorded for the 1990 sample). I subset respondents into two groups: welfare chauvinists (lowest quantile on the ΔEC variable) and market cosmopolitans (highest quantile on the ΔEC variable). Higher education is measured as a binary variable, which takes the value of 1 for respondents with some or full university degree. Respondents' income is coded in the survey data into three categories: low, medium and high.

As shown in Figure 1, welfare chauvinsits tend to have lower education and lower income, while market cosmopolitans are characterized by higher education and higher income. These differences are statistically significant. For the binary higher-education variable, $t = -28.6$, $p < 0.00$. For the income variable (considered as a numeric vector), $t = -23.3$, $p < 0.00$.

In order to examine the relationship between these demographic variables and social identities, I examine data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) of 2003. This

survey includes unique questions about respondents' social identities (Han, 2016). Survey respondents were asked about the most important groups for their identity. It is reasonable to assume that respondents' most important social identity is the one from which they draw a sense of social status, as argued by Shayo (2009). I create a binary variable for respondents who consider their occupational identity to be especially important, a second binary variable for respondents who consider their ethnic and national identities to be especially important, and a third binary variable for respondent who consider their religious identity as especially important. Using linear probability models (OLS), I regress these binary variables on continuous measures of years of education and income.

| | Dependent variable: | | | | | |
	Occupation	Nationality	Religion	Occupation	Nationality	Religion
Years of education	0.011***	−0.008***	−0.003**			
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)			
Income				0.00000***	−0.00000***	−0.00000***
				(0.00000)	(0.000)	(0.00000)
Constant	0.203***	0.236***	0.102***	0.296***	0.161***	0.061***
	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.0001)	(0.00002)	(0.0001)
Country FE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	11,778	11,778	11,778	10,405	10,405	10,405
R^2	0.027	0.025	0.017	0.029	0.019	0.016

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3: Identities, education and income

Each year of education and additional income increase respondents' probability to identify with their occupational identity and decreases their probability of identifying with their national and religious identities. While the coefficient for income is substantively very small, this reflects the fact an additional increase in one unit of the local currency (in most cases, €1) is likely to indeed have a very small effect on social identities.

Survey questions: ESS, 2016

In constructing the unbundling scale, I take the standard variation of respondents' answers to the three following questions:

- Government should reduce differences in income levels (agree strongly; agree; neither agree nor disagree; disagree; disagree strongly)

- Gay and lesbian couples right to adopt children (agree strongly; agree; neither agree nor disagree; disagree; disagree strongly)

- Immigrants make country worse or better place to live (0-Worse place to live; 10-Better place to live)

Cross-pressured and voting

	Conservatives	Christian Democrats	Liberals	Radical right	Social Democrats	Greens	Radical left
			Dependent variable:				
Unbundling scale	0.092	0.072	0.021	0.303***	−0.235***	−0.183***	−0.032
	(0.079)	(0.062)	(0.046)	(0.056)	(0.065)	(0.036)	(0.048)
Gender	−0.013	0.004	−0.008	−0.038***	0.009	0.033***	0.007
	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Church attendance	0.067	0.153***	−0.039*	−0.061***	−0.059***	−0.015	−0.062**
	(0.045)	(0.036)	(0.023)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.009)	(0.025)
Higher education	0.028	0.008	0.034***	−0.065***	−0.044**	0.057***	0.017
	(0.026)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.022)	(0.013)	(0.016)
Income	0.016**	0.007*	0.008**	−0.005***	−0.008***	−0.003	−0.007***
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Age	0.002***	0.001	0.0004	−0.001***	0.001***	−0.001***	−0.001*
	(0.0005)	(0.0004)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0005)	(0.0004)	(0.0004)
Union membership	−0.098***	−0.023*	−0.028*	−0.013	0.093***	0.009	0.023***
	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.004)
Self-employed	0.064*	0.014	0.024	−0.005	−0.068***	0.013*	−0.016***
	(0.035)	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Constant	0.091	0.155***	−0.039	0.252***	0.406***	0.233***	0.140***
	(0.063)	(0.035)	(0.027)	(0.019)	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.031)
Observations	8,185	11,515	10,733	11,784	14,390	12,306	9,856
R^2	0.048	0.168	0.075	0.075	0.070	0.058	0.047

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4: Unbudnled attitudes and voting by party families

Result of Linear Probability Models, standard errors clustered by country. Data source: European Social Survey 2016.

Support for the right across electoral systems

	(1990)	(1990)	(2010)	(2010)	(1990)	(1990)	(2010)	(2010)
	United Kingdom				Netherlands			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ΔEC	0.004***	0.004***	−0.001	−0.001	−0.003***	−0.003*	−0.002***	−0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
ΔEC^2	0.0001**	0.00004*	0.0001**	0.0001**	0.0001***	0.0001*	0.00005***	0.00003
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00004)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Gender (1=female)		−0.112***		−0.079**		−0.131***		−0.108***
		(0.034)		(0.040)		(0.040)		(0.033)
Age		0.006***		0.004***		0.001		−0.0002
		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)		(0.001)
Income: medium		0.085*		−0.022		0.142***		0.108**
		(0.046)		(0.050)		(0.052)		(0.044)
Income: High		0.131***		0.096*		0.160***		0.159***
		(0.049)		(0.053)		(0.055)		(0.043)
Higher education (=1)				−0.012				−0.042
				(0.043)				(0.036)
Member in religious organization (=1)		0.116**		0.015		0.220***		0.109***
		(0.046)		(0.059)		(0.042)		(0.039)
Union member (=1)		−0.189***		−0.078		−0.216***		−0.047
		(0.044)		(0.062)		(0.048)		(0.039)
Self employed (=1)		−0.094		0.019		0.161		0.128**
		(0.067)		(0.072)		(0.165)		(0.059)
Constant	0.348***	0.096	0.339***	0.155**	0.498***	0.353***	0.478***	0.407***
	(0.019)	(0.076)	(0.021)	(0.077)	(0.025)	(0.077)	(0.019)	(0.069)
Observations	1,183	814	1,003	609	761	589	1,257	883
R^2	0.044	0.115	0.010	0.050	0.011	0.123	0.006	0.051

Dependent variable: Identify with the right (=1)

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 5: Mixed belief systems and support for the right in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands

Result of OLS regressions, standard errors clustered by country. Data source: European Values Survey, 1990 and 2010.

References

Han, Kyung Joon. 2016. "Income inequality and voting for radical right-wing parties." *Electoral Studies* 42(c):54–64.

Shayo, Moses. 2009. "A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution." *American Political science review* 103(02):147–174.