Welfare State Legitimacy in Times of Crisis and Austerity

Between Continuity and Change

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Online Appendices

Online Appendix 2A.1

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table 2A.1.1   Descriptive statistics for individual-level and country-level predictors

Individual-level variables	ESS4 (N = 35 197)		ESS8 (N = 33 772)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Age				
15–24	5523	15.7	4717	14
25–34	5332	15.2	4760	14.1
35–44	6225	17.7	5429	16.1
45–54	6335	18	6106	18.1
55–64	5341	15.2	5782	17.2
65–74	3861	11	4303	12.8
75+	2506	7.1	2585	7.7
Gender				
Male	16763	47.6	16277	51.8
Female	18425	52.4	17492	48.2
Education				
Lower-secondary or below	11508	32.8	8108	24.1
Upper secondary	13763	39.2	12956	38.6
Tertiary	9847	28	12536	37.3
Employment				
Blue collar	5537	15.9	5123	15.4
White collar	7552	21.6	7045	21.2
Higher service class	2586	7.4	3226	9.7
Self-employed	2346	6.7	1986	6
Unemployed	1659	4.8	1657	5
Retired or other	15232	43.6	14256	42.8
Ever unemployed for longer than 3				
Yes	8809	25.1	9626	28.6
No	26230	74.9	24043	71.4
Placement on left-right political				
Left	10262	29.2	9594	28.4
Centre	10005	28.4	10068	29.8
Right	10713	30.4	10845	32.1
Missing	4216	12	3265	9.7
Religious denomination				
Roman Catholic	12865	36.8	11573	34.5
Protestant	5452	15.6	4659	13.9
Eastern Orthodox	471	1.3	567	1.7
Other denomination	1277	3.7	1501	4.5
No denomination	14892	42.6	15241	45.4

Table 2A.1.1   (continued)

	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
Subjective income (1–4 scale)	1.94	0.81	1.84	0.78
Satisfaction economy (0–10 scale)	4.22	2.42	5.28	2.26
Estimated unemployment rate (1–11 scale)	4.7	2.91	4.89	2.9
Principle of equality (1–5 scale)	3.69	0.85	3.68	0.83
Scope of government (0–10 scale)	7.53	1.61	7.42	1.58
Religious attendance (1–7 scale)	5.52	1.52	5.59	1.46
Country level variables				
Social expenditure per capita	7561.02	3744.4	8544.36	4500.47
Long-term unemployment rate	2.1	1.08	3.03	2.05

Note: Weighted by 'dweight'.

Online Appendix 3A.1

DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION; CORRELATION MATRIX

Table A.3.1.1   Descriptive information for abuse perceptions and the contextual characteristics per country

Country	Abuse mean 2008	Abuse mean 2016	Unemployment rate 2007	Unemployment rate 2015	GDP p/c growth 2007	GDP p/c growth 2015	Net replacement rate 5 year average 2007	Net replacement rate 5 year average 2015	% Means-tested social protection benefits 2007	% Means-tested social protection benefits 2015	Benefit conditionality 2011	Benefit conditionality 2017	Collective welfare image 2008	Collective welfare image 2016
BE	3.514	3.528	7.46	8.48	2.7	1.2	57.9	56.5	4.94	4.92	33	34	3.105	3.067
CH	3.383	3.315	4.81	4.8	3.2	0.2	72.7	70.5	6.73	7.61	37.5	37.5	2.873	2.972
CZ	3.637	3.754	5.32	5.05	5	5.1	62.6	57.5	3.2	2.72	35	33	3.281	3.297
DE	3.623	3.435	8.66	4.63	3.5	0.9	71.1	62.4	12.31	12.46	32	32	3.047	3.111
EE	3.291	3.246	4.59	6.19	8.4	2.1	39	55	0.57	0.51	46	46	2.548	2.769
ES	3.751	3.585	8.23	22.05	1.8	3.7	47.7	41.8	13.43	13.36	32	32	3.044	2.81
FI	3.273	3.162	6.85	9.37	4.7	-0.2	75.9	79	4.46	6.18	31	31.5	2.935	2.945
FR	3.615	3.735	7.66	10.36	1.8	0.7	59.9	60	11.11	10.87	32.5	33.5	3.232	3.317
GB	3.844	3.634	5.26	5.3	1.7	1.5	65.5	71.3	14.84	11.87	33	37.5	3.616	3.495
HU	4.137	3.678	7.4	6.81	0.6	3.8	64	25.1	6.38	4.24	25	28	3.326	3.197
IE	3.811	3.631	4.67	9.4	2.1	24.4	84	79.3	24.55	30.2	32.5	28.5	3.544	3.468
IL	3.673	3.588	7.31	5.24	4.1	0.6							3.068	2.865
NL	3.302	3.318	3.18	6.87	3.5	1.9	71.1	75.6	12.24	14.49	33.5	31.5	3.09	3.061
NO	3.29	3.19	2.5	4.3	1	0.9	72.2	70.1	5.07	3.57	35.5	40	3.183	3.164
PL	3.856	3.818	9.61	7.5	7.1	3.9	60.8	56.8	5.03	3.8	39	39	3.209	3.551
PT	3.501	3.428	7.96	12.44	2.3	2.2	63.6	49.6	9.26	7.99	46	45	3.11	3.494
RU	3.421	3.199	6.13	5.57	8.7	-3							2.333	2.484
SE	3.312	3.186	6.16	7.43	2.6	3.4	65.8	60.9	2.77	2.58	34	34	2.959	2.93
SI	3.705	3.653	4.83	8.96	6.4	2.2	79	69.1	8.64	7.76	46	46	3.307	3.349

Table 3A.1.2 Correlation matrix of country-level characteristics by year

	Abuse perceptions		Unemploy-ment rate		GDP per capita growth rate		Net replacement rate		Means tested benefits		Benefit conditionality		Collective image of welfare recipients	
	2008	2016	2007	2015	2007	2015	2007	2015	2007	2015	2011	2017	2008	2016
Abuse perceptions	1.000													
Unemployment rate	0.400	0.172	1.000	1.000										
GDP per capita growth rate	-0.258	0.304	-0.013	0.132	1.000	1.000								
Net replacement rate	-0.040	-0.305	-0.296	-0.316	-0.192	0.274	1.000	1.000						
Means tested benefits	0.450	0.234	0.004	0.260	-0.464	0.779	0.352	0.436	1.000	1.000				
Benefit conditionality	-0.332	-0.197	-0.132	-0.127	0.551	-0.387	-0.188	-0.017	-0.265	-0.494	1.000	1.000		
Collective image of welfare recipients	0.685	0.668	-0.068	-0.196	-0.458	0.399	0.418	0.184	0.600	0.355	-0.314	-0.006	1.000	1.000

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Online Appendix 4A.1

HIERARCHICAL REGRESSION RESULTS; SYSTEM DISSATISFACTION

Table 4A.1.1   Hierarchical regression results: unstandardized coefficients and standard errors of variables predicting vulnerability

	Germany		Sweden		UK		Ireland		Spain		Portugal	
Step 1	$R^2 = 0.176$***		$R^2 = 0.141$***		$R^2 = 0.203$***		$R^2 = 0.178$***		$R^2 = 0.144$***		$R^2 = 0.163$***	
Round	-0.02	(0.01)	-0.10***	(0.01)	-0.13***	(0.01)	-0.03*	(0.01)	0.04*	(0.02)	0.05**	(0.02)
Gender	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.02+	(0.01)	-0.04**	(0.01)	-0.00	(0.01)	-0.01	(0.02)	-0.07**	(0.02)
Citizenship	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.12***	(0.01)	0.06+	(0.03)	0.04+	(0.02)	-0.10**	(0.02)	-0.12+	(0.07)
Children home	0.11***	(0.01)	0.07***	(0.01)	0.13***	(0.02)	0.12***	(0.02)	0.09***	(0.02)	0.05*	(0.02)
Age	-0.01***	(0.00)	-0.01***	(0.00)	-0.01***	(0.00)	-0.02***	(0.00)	-0.02***	(0.00)	-0.003*	(0.001)
Education	-0.01**	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.00)	-0.01***	(0.00)	-0.01**	(0.00)	-0.02***	(0.00)	-0.03***	(0.01)
Income	-0.11***	(0.00)	-0.09***	(0.01)	-0.11***	(0.01)	-0.13***	(0.01)	-0.11***	(0.01)	-0.11***	(0.01)
Step 2	$\Delta R^2 = 0.001$		$\Delta R^2 = 0.001$		$\Delta R^2 = 0.002$		$\Delta R^2 = 0.010$***		$\Delta R^2 = 0.011$***		$\Delta R^2 = 0.001$	
Gndr X round	-0.00	(0.01)	0.00	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)	0.00	(0.02)	-0.02	(0.02)
Citiz X round	0.01	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.03)	-0.04	(0.03)	-0.06*	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.01	(0.07)
Child X round	-0.01	(0.01)	-0.02	(0.01)	0.01	(0.02)	-0.02+	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)	0.02	(0.02)
Age X round	0.00*	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.02*	(0.001)	0.00**	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
Educ X round	0.00	(0.00)	-0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.01***	(0.00)	0.00	(0.01)
Incom X round	-0.00	(0.00)	0.01	(0.01)	0.01	(0.01)	-0.02*	(0.01)	-0.04***	(0.01)	-0.00	(0.01)

Notes: *** p < 0.001, ** p < 0.01, * p < 0.05, + p < 0.10.

Table 4A.1.2a   System dissatisfaction by wave interactions, simple effects and estimated means for non-crisis countries

Germany

Interaction
b = .0240 (.0060), t(5492) = 4.0205, p < .001

Simple effects	b	S.E.	t	p	95 % CI
2008	0.001	0.009	0.13	0.897	[-.0164; .0187]
2016	0.032	0.009	3.489	<.001	[.0138; .0494]

Estimated means	*2008*	*2016*
low dissatisfaction	3.0	3.1
high dissatisfaction	3.0	3.2

Simple effects: Germany

Sweden

Interaction
b= .0484 (.0080), t(3312) = 6.0555, p < .001

Simple effects	b	S.E.	t	p	95 % CI
2008	-0.042	0.011	-3.87	<.001	[-.0628; -.0206]
2016	0.055	0.012	4.648	<.001	[.0318; .0783]

Estimated means	*2008*	*2016*
low dissatisfaction	2.81	2.64
high dissatisfaction	2.67	2.83

Simple effects: Sweden

UK

Interaction
b = -.0597 (.0066), t(4194) = -9.0607, p < .001

Simple effects	b	S.E.	t	p	95 % CI
2008	0.058	0.009	6.383	<.001	[.0402; .0758]
2016	-0.061	0.01	-6.38	<.001	[-.0802; -.0425]

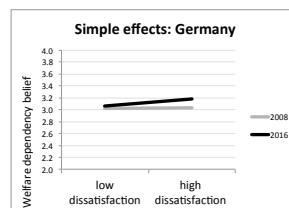| Estimated means	*2008*	*2016*
low dissatisfaction	3.23	3.32
high dissatisfaction	3.46	3.07
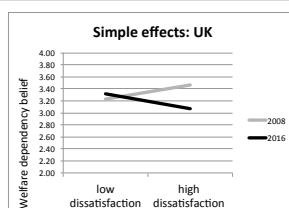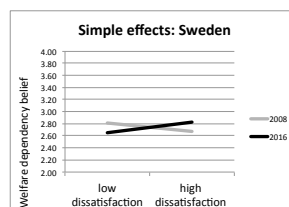
Simple effects: UK

Table 4A.1.2b   System dissatisfaction by wave interactions, simple effects and estimated means for crisis countries

Ireland

Interaction
b= -.0035 (.0073), t(4361) = -0.4840, p = .628

Simple effects	b	S.E.	t	p	95 % CI
2008	-0.001	0.012	-0.1	0.92	[-.0240; .0217]
2016	-0.007	0.01	-0.713	0.476	[-.0256; .0120]

Estimated means	*2008*	*2016*
low dissatisfaction	3.13	3.17
high dissatisfaction	3.12	3.14

Simple effects: Ireland

Spain

Interaction
b= -.0520 (.0078), t(4214) = -6.6772, p < .001

Simple effects	b	S.E.	t	p	95 % CI
2008	0.05	0.011	4.398	<.001	[.0275; .0719]
2016	-0.054	0.011	-4.98	<.001	[-.0756; -.0329]

Estimated means	*2008*	*2016*
low dissatisfaction	2.83	2.85
high dissatisfaction	3.02	2.64

Simple effects: Spain

Portugal

Interaction
b= .0276 (.0086), t(3385) = 3.2128, p = .001

Simple effects	b	S.E.	t	p	95 % CI
2008	-0.04	0.011	-3.632	<.001	[-.0610; -.0182]
2016	0.016	0.133	0.245	0.242	[-.0105; .0417]

Estimated means	*2008*	*2016*
low dissatisfaction	3.15	3.39
high dissatisfaction	3.00	3.45

Simple effects: Portugal
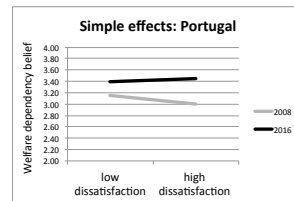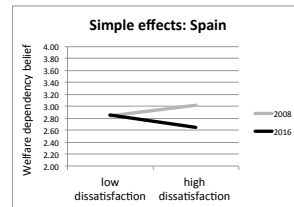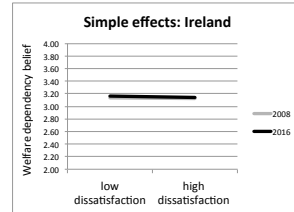
Online Appendix 5A.1

PREFERENCES AND THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

Table 5A.1.1   Preferences regarding the government's role in the provision
for the elderly, the unemployed and childcare in Russia and
European countries

Country	Government's responsibility for					
	Standards of living of				Provision of affordable	
	Elderly		Unemployed		Childcare services	
	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016
Belgium	7.87	7.81	6.06	6.31	7.28	7.57
Switzerland	7.21	7.04	6.26	6.15	6.41	6.58
Czech Republic	8.16	8.21	6.21	6.57	7.39	8.00
Germany	7.44	7.52	6.32	6.03	7.84	8.42
Estonia	8.71	8.40	7.26	6.59	8.23	8.40
Spain	8.87	8.54	7.84	7.75	8.36	7.97
Finland	8.44	8.13	7.47	7.19	8.16	8.00
France	7.93	7.84	6.17	6.17	7.10	7.40
United Kingdom	8.51	7.81	5.98	5.87	6.95	6.97
Hungary	8.78	7.77	6.93	6.14	8.38	7.73
Ireland	8.48	7.92	6.77	6.54	6.82	7.10
Israel	9.09	9.16	7.55	7.52	8.54	8.22
Netherlands	7.72	7.39	6.29	6.38	6.26	6.17
Norway	8.66	8.23	7.34	7.35	7.97	8.19
Poland	8.67	8.16	6.38	6.05	7.28	8.13
Portugal	8.84	8.62	7.31	7.14	8.26	8.60
Russian Federation	9.16	8.53	7.11	6.44	8.15	7.51
Sweden	8.48	8.07	7.39	6.96	7.92	7.80
Slovenia	8.34	8.19	6.75	6.88	8.15	8.31

Online Appendix 7A.1

DEFINITION AND WEBSOURCES; DATA MATRIX

Table 7A.1.1   Definition and web sources per social policy indicator

Policy indicator	Definition and source
MT_ue	The ratio of spending on means-tested unemployment benefits relative to the total amount of spending on unemployment benefits.
MT_all	The ratio of spending on means-tested social benefits relative to the total amount of spending on social benefits.
	Source: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/social-protection/data/database (Accessed 17 September 2018).
NRR_in	Net replacement rates (as in % of previous net wage) of insurance benefits during the first 12 months of unemployment, averaged across six different family types (that is, single person with no children, lone parent with two children, one-earner married couple with children, one-earner married couple without children, two-earner married couple with children, two-earner married couple without children) and three different earnings levels (that is, 67%, 100% and 150% of average wage). Where applicable, cash housing and social assistance top-ups are included.
NRR_lt	Net replacement rates (as in % of previous net wage) of insurance benefits after the 5th year of unemployment, averaged across six different family types (that is, single person with no children, lone parent with two children, one-earner married couple with children, one-earner married couple without children, two-earner married couple with children, two-earner married couple without children) and three different earnings levels (that is 67%, 100% and 150% of average wage). Where applicable, cash housing and social assistance top-ups are included.
NRR_5y	The average of net replacement rates (as in % of previous net wage) of insurance benefits during the first 5 years of unemployment, averaged across six different family types (that is single person with no children, lone parent with two children, one-earner married couple with children, one-earner married couple without children, two-earner married couple with children, two-earner married couple without children) and three different earnings levels (that is 67%, 100% and 150% of average wage). Where applicable, cash housing and social assistance top-ups are included.
	Source: http://www.oecd.org/els/benefits-and-wages -statistics.htm (Accessed 17 September 2018).
SOCXP	Total amount of social expenditures as a percentage of GDP per capita.
	Source: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/social-protection/data/database and http://www.oecd.org/social/expenditure.htm (Accessed 17 September 2018).

Table 7A.1.1 (continued)

Policy indicator	Definition and source
ALMP	Spending on active labour market policies (that is employment services, training, employment incentives, integration of the disabled, direct job creation, and start-up incentives) as a percentage of GDP per capita, divided by the unemployment rate.
	Source: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/labour-market/labour-market-policy/database (Accessed 17 September 2018).
WREQ	The overall strictness of work-related eligibility criteria in unemployment insurance (that is availability criteria, job-search requirements and monitoring, sanctions) (Venn, 2012; Immervoll and Knotz, 2018).
	Source: https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/oecd-social-employment-and-migration-working-papers_ 1815199x (Accessed 17 September 2018).

Table 7A.1.2   Data matrix of the contextual variables

Country	MT_UE		MT_all		NRR_in		NRR_1t		NRR_5y		SOCXP		ALMP		WREQ		GDP		UE	
	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2016	2011	2017	2008	2016	2008	2016
AT	np	0.245	np	?	np	68	np	60	np	69	np	27.8	np	0.097	np	2.91	np	?	np	6.0
BE	0	0	0.051	0.049	62	69	60	54	64	63	27.7	30.3	0.072	0.067	2.39	2.98	115	118	7.0	7.8
BG	0	np	0.047	np	61	np	34	np	40	np	14.7	np	0.043	np	2.96	np	44	np	5.6	np
CH	0.056	0.034	0.065	0.076	83	80	53	52	72	71	23.2	27.3	md	md	3.55	3.55	143	161	3.4	4.9
CY	0.005	np	0.122	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	17.6	np	0.028	np	1.84	np	97	np	3.6	np
CZ	0	0	0.021	0.027	67	70	48	48	56	57	17.9	19	0.025	0.061	2.69	2.71	81	88	4.4	4.0
DE	0.532	0.535	0.120	0.125	74	73	52	48	65	57	27.1	29.1	0.075	0.064	3.14	3.14	116	124	7.3	4.1
DK	0	np	0.032	np	76	np	61	0	76	np	28.9	np	0.284	np	3.45	np	123	np	3.3	np
EE	0	0	0.004	0.005	62	65	33	41	35	48	14.7	16.4	0.005	0.026	4.19	4.19	68	75	5.5	6.8
ES	0.182	0.305	0.136	0.134	69	66	35	34	47	43	21.4	24.6	0.052	0.022	2.70	2.70	103	92	11.3	19.6
FI	0.187	0.297	0.042	0.062	69	75	57	61	70	72	25.1	31.6	0.100	0.095	2.76	2.79	118	109	6.4	8.8
FR	0.103	0.073	0.142	0.109	72	72	46	46	60	59	33.9	30.4	0.077	0.070	3.19	3.3	107	104	7.8	10.1
GB	0.267	0.325	0.146	0.119	53	54	52	52	61	60	25.8	28.6	0.006	md	3.29	3.65	115	108	5.6	4.8
GR	0.002	np	0.075	np	49	np	16	np	21	np	26.0	np	0.018	np	2.73	np	94	np	7.7	np
HR	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	18.8	np	md	np	3.80	np	64	np	8.4	np
HU	0.304	0.495	0.054	0.042	69	58	47	28	53	24	22.3	20.0	0.033	0.170	2.05	2.47	64	67	7.8	5.1
IE	0.428	0.775	0.253	0.302	69	66	67	64	80	74	20.7	16.3	0.083	0.047	2.97	2.71	133	183	6.3	8.4
IL	md	md	md	md	71	84	38	39	43	47	15.4	16.1	md	md	2.39	md	md	md	6.1	4.8
IS	np	0	np	0.230	np	68	np	56	np	64	np	22.8	np	md	np	3.08	np	128	np	8.4
IT	np	0	np	0.077	np	71	np	17	np	23	np	29.9	np	0.035	np	3.31	np	97	np	11.7
LT	np	0	np	0.032	np	66	np	md	np	37	np	15.6	np	0.030	np	3.06	np	75	np	7.9
LV	0	np	0.020	np	83	np	43	np	48	np	12.1	np	0.010	np	3.13	np	56	np	7.5	np

Table 7A.1.2 *(continued)*

Country	MT_UE		MT_all		NRR_in		NRR_1t		NRR_5y		SOCXP		ALMP		WREQ		GDP		UE	
	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2015	2008	2016	2011	2017	2008	2016	2008	2016
NL	0.365	0.263	0.145	0.145	75	74	58	55	73	70	26.4	30.2	0.216	0.080	3.43	3.09	134	128	3.1	6.0
NO	0	0	0.044	0.036	70	69	53	52	69	69	21.8	27.9	0.162	0.080	3.05	3.37	189	148	2.5	4.7
PL	0.124	0.193	0.043	0.038	55	57	43	42	50	48	19.3	19.1	0.065	0.059	3.10	3.10	56	68	7.1	6.2
PT	0.181	0.136	0.099	0.080	84	78	40	33	61	49	23.4	25.7	0.051	0.037	4.15	3.89	78	77	7.7	11.1
RO	1	np	0.048	np	53	np	26	np	26	np	13.7	np	0.010	np	3.40	np	47	np	5.8	np
RU	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md	md
SE	0	0	0.027	0.026	65	60	52	50	67	62	27.7	29.2	0.102	0.128	3.37	3.37	122	123	6.2	7.0
SI	0.002	0	0.085	0.078	74	75	57	56	67	65	21.0	23.8	0.021	0.020	4.06	4.06	91	83	4.4	8.0
SK	0.006	np	0.049	np	72	np	35	np	37	np	15.7	np	md	np	3.38	np	75	np	9.5	np
TR	0.176	np	md	np	52	np	14	np	8	np	11.4	12.0	md	np	2.41	2.41	47	64	9.7	10.8
UA	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np	md	np

Notes: 1. np = not participating in the ESS wave; md = missing data due to data unavailability.
2. From the data matrix, one can read which countries were excluded in the multilevel models introducing contextual variables because of missing data. Russia and Ukraine, for example, were excluded altogether because of missing data across the board, but Cyprus, as a second example, was only excluded from the models including net replacement rates.
3. Austria and Lithuania did participate in ESS4, but were excluded because the Austrian data was only gathered in 2011 and the Lithuanian data does not provide sample weights.

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Online Appendix 7A.2

THE IMPACT OF THE INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL CONTROL
VARIABLES

Table 7A.2.1   The impact of the individual-level control variables on popular deservingness perceptions

	Need (low–high)	Job-seeking efforts (low–high)
Individual level		
ESS round (ref.: 2008/09)		
2016/17	-0.076*	-0.048
Age (in years)	0.054***	-0.086***
Gender (ref.: male)		
Female	-0.002	-0.015*
Education (in years)	0.139***	-0.019*
Current work status (ref.: paid work)		
In education	0.045***	-0.016*
Unemployed/disabled	0.053***	-00.43***
Retired	0.025**	-0.010
Other (Incl. housework)	0.004	-0.017**
Past unemployment experience > 3 months (ref.: no)		
Yes	0.036***	0.051***
Predicted likelihood of future unemployment	0.015*	-0.017*
Subjective income (ref.: living comfortably on present income)		
Coping	-0.038***	-0.024**
Difficult	-0.018***	-0.073***
Very difficult	0.036***	-0.112***
Left-right ideology (ref.: centre)		
Left-wing	0.087***	-0.050***
Right-wing	-0.012	-0.043***
Missing	0.010	-0.024**
Egalitarianism	0.061***	-0.087***
Country-year level		
Net replacement rate, long-term unemployment	-0.272**	-0.313**
Total social expenditures	-0.200**	
Spending on active labour market policies		0.330*
Strictness of work-related eligibility criteria	0.095	
GDP per capita (in PPS per head)	-0.525***	0.535***
Unemployment rate	0.193**	0.219

Table 7A.2.1   (continued)

	Need (low–high)	Job-seeking efforts (low–high)
R^2 individual level	0.062	0.042
N individual level	76 197	67 167
R^2 country-year level	0.841	0.375
N country-year level	43	37

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; data were weighted using the post-stratification weights provided by ESS; standardized coefficients.

*Table 7A.2.2 The impact of the individual-level control variables on public
            support for unemployment provision*

Fixed effects	
Intercept	6.758***
ESS round (ref.: 2008/09)	
2016/17	-0.107
Deservingness perceptions	
Need	0.175***
Job-seeking efforts	0.309***
Interaction terms	
Need*ESS round 2016/17	0.019
Job-seeking efforts*ESS round 2016/17	-0.084*
Age (in years)	0.001
Gender (ref.: male)	
Female	0.077**
Education (in years)	-0.023***
Current work status (ref.: paid work)	
In education	0.082
Unemployed/disabled	0.217***
Retired	0.136***
Other (incl. housework)	0.102**
Past unemployment experience for more than 3 months (ref.: no)	
Yes	0.095***
Predicted likelihood of future unemployment	-0.015
Subjective income (ref.: living comfortably on present income	
Coping	0.021
Difficult	0.177***
Very difficult	0.311***
Left-right ideology (ref.: centre)	
Left-wing	0.161***
Right-wing	0.50
Missing	0.166***
Egalitarianism	0.332***

Table 7A.2.2   *(continued)*

Random effects	
Random slope variances	
Need	0.010***
Job-seeking efforts	0.012***
Residual variance (individual level)	4.184***
Random intercept variance (country-year level)	0.261***
N $_{\text{individual level}}$	89 974
N $_{\text{country-year level}}$	52

Notes: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$; data were weighted using the post-stratification weights provided by ESS; unstandardized coefficients.

Online Appendix 7A.3

COUNTRY-SPECIFIC STANDARDIZED EFFECTS

Table 7A.3.1   Country-specific standardized effects of deservingness perceptions on public support for unemployment provision

Country	ESS 2008		ESS 2016	
	Job-seeking efforts	*Need*	*Job-seeking efforts*	*Need*
AT			0.204***	-0.014
BE	0.179***	0.083**	-0.283***	0.065**
BG	0.163***	0.142***		
CH	0.161***	0.086***	0.115***	0.075**
CY	0.014	-0.121***		
CZ	0.180***	0.126***	0.223***	0.278***
DE	0.067**	0.172***	0.228***	0.060**
DK	0.246***	0.009		
EE	0.134***	0.125***	0.150***	0.162***
ES	0.078***	0.140***	0.169***	0.209***
FI	0.179***	0.057**	0.177***	0.088***
FR	0.248***	0.188***	0.219***	0.173***
GB	0.205***	0.185***	0.223***	0.150***
GR	0.181***	0.133***		
HR	0.163***	0.214***		
HU	0.084**	0.268***	0.180***	0.121***
IE	0.167***	0.139***	0.224***	0.081***
IL	0.137***	0.075***	0.062**	0.068**
IS			0.177***	0.135**
IT			0.231***	0.248***
LT			0.236***	0.217***
LV	0.162***	0.151***		
NL	0.219***	0.045	0.188***	0.133***
NO	0.171***	0.023	0.173***	0.028
PL	0.092***	0.122***	0.183***	0.145***
PT	0.092***	0.175***	0.082**	0.272***
RO	0.150***	0.237***		
RU	0.188***	0.158***	0.239***	0.244***
SE	0.110***	0.084***	0.215***	0.019
SI	0.119***	0.175***	0.150***	0.215***
SK	0.117***	0.151***		
TR	0.034	0.271***		
UA	0.193***	0.189***		

Notes: * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001; data were weighted using the post-stratification weights provided by ESS; standardized coefficients; controlled for age, gender, education, work status, subjective income, past unemployment experience, perceived unemployment risk, egalitarianism and political ideology; Cyprus (CY) is a clear outlier because need perceptions have a negative effect on support for social welfare, meaning that Cypriots are more inclined to share welfare resources with unemployed people who they perceive as well-off than with unemployed people who they perceive as poor.

Online Appendix 8A.1

THE PUBLIC PENSION SYSTEM: ATTITUDES,
INDICATORS, SUPPORT

Table 8A.1.1   Institutional determinants of attitudes towards the public pension system: country-level results from multilevel linear regressions

	Elderly living standards		Government's responsibility for pension provision	
	Whole sample	60+ only	Whole sample	60+ only
Replacement rate	0.02	0.02	-0.00	-0.01
Poverty rate	-0.02	-0.00	0.01	0.01
Dependency ratio	-0.07	-0.11**	-0.03	-0.05
Public pension expenditure	0.06	0.03	0.06	0.04
Private pension expenditure	0.35*	0.36	-0.35*	-0.35**
Perception of living standards	–	–	-0.13***	-0.13***
N (country-years)	36	36	36	36
Individual-level variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Δ Replacement rate	0.02	0.02	0.00	-0.01
Δ Poverty rate	-0.03	-0.02	-0.01	-0.00
Δ Dependency ratio	-0.10	-0.13	0.01	0.00
Δ Public pension expenditure	0.06	0.03	0.09**	0.06
Δ Private pension expenditure	0.01	0.01	-0.03**	-0.03**
Δ Perception of living standards	–	–	-0.16	-0.30*
N (countries)	18	18	18	18
Individual-level variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

*Notes:*   * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$.
Each line represents the results of a single multilevel model with only one independent variable at the country level. For the explanation of the within-country change, we also add the aggregate evaluation of the living standards of older people and preference for government responsibility for pensions in 2008.

Table 8A.1.2 Country-level indicators

Country (code)	Dependency ratio		Poverty rate (among 65+)		Replacement rate		Pubic spending on pensions (as % of GDP)		Private pension expenditure (as % of GDP)	
	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016	2008	2016
Austria (AT)	25.4	27.5	18.9	13.2	61	62	13.6	14.8	0.63	0.65
Belgium (BE)	25.8	28.2	21.2	15.4	45	48	11.0	12.7	1.15	1.03
Switzerland (CH)	24.1	26.7	27.2	25.2	36	45	10.9	12.0	4.43	4.86
Czech Republic (CZ)	20.6	27.6	7.4	8.1	51	50	7.8	8.7	0.31	0.30
Germany (DE)	30.4	32.0	14.9	17.6	44	46	12.0	11.8	0.74	0.77
Estonia (EE)	25.8	29.3	39.0	40.2	45	45	6.9	8.2	0.02	0.02
Spain (ES)	23.8	28.3	25.5	13.0	42	66	9.2	12.7	0.60	0.60
Finland (FI)	24.8	32.4	22.5	12.3	49	53	10.4	13.1	0.18	0.18
France (FR)	25.2	30.0	11.9	8.2	65	68	13.3	15.0	0.25	0.24
United Kingdom (GB)	24.0	27.9	27.3	17.1	43	53	10.3	11.5	4.42	5.08
Hungary (HU)	23.5	27.2	4.3	6.8	61	67	10.8	8.8	0.20	1.20
Ireland (IE)	15.6	20.4	21.1	14.2	49	38	6.5	5.6	0.96	0.76
Netherlands (NL)	21.8	27.8	9.4	9.0	43	50	11.3	13.1	3.51	4.71
Norway (NO)	22.1	25.0	14.7	9.0	52	59	7.5	10.2	0.53	0.77
Poland (PL)	18.9	23.1	11.7	12.8	56	62	11.5	11.8	0.00	1.00
Portugal (PT)	26.6	31.8	22.3	18.3	51	64	12.7	15.0	0.17	0.27
Sweden (SE)	26.7	31.5	15.0	16.8	62	57	11.1	11.2	2.04	2.87
Slovenia (SI)	23.3	27.6	21.3	17.6	44	47	9.5	11.0	0.01	0.50

Sources: All indicators from Eurostat social indicator database , except private pension expenditure: OECD social expenditures database.
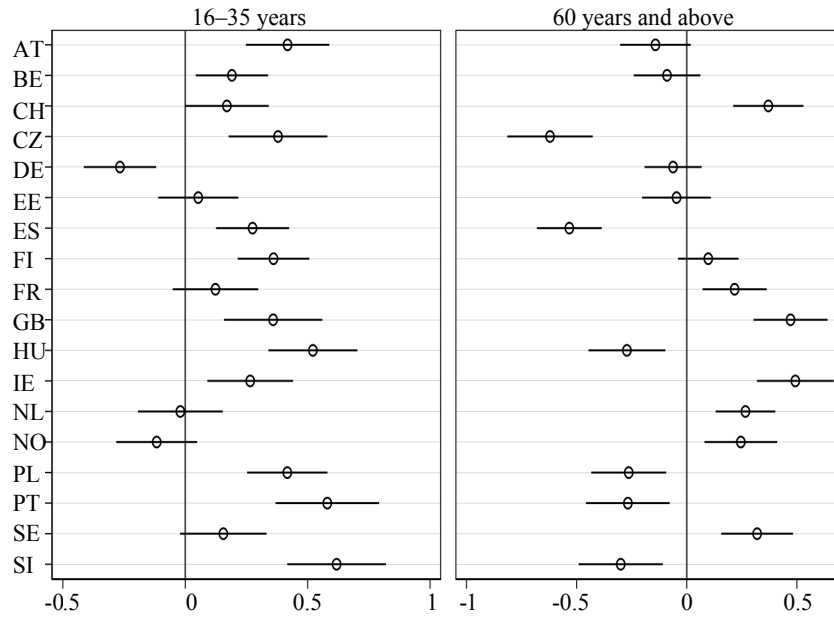
Government's responsibility to provide a decent standard of living for the old
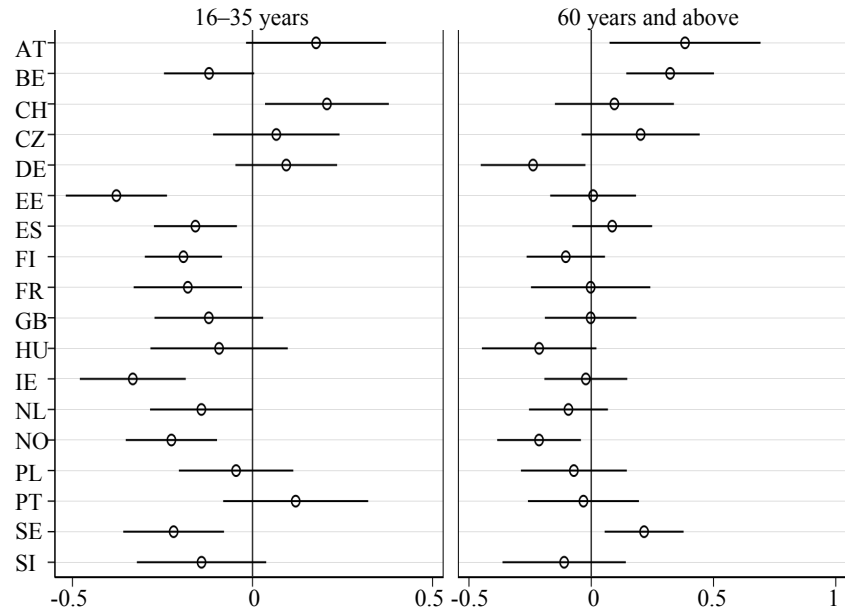
Note: 36–59 year old as reference category.

Figure 8A.1.1 Differences in support for public pensions between age groups

Evaluation of standard of living of pensioners (by age group)

Note: 36–59 year old as reference category.

Figure 8A.1.1 (continued)

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Online Appendix 9A.1

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Table 9A.1.1   Descriptive statistics, individual-level categorical variables

	2008	2016
	Freq. (%)	Freq. (%)
Welfare nationalism		
Unconditional inclusion	17	19
Conditional inclusion	76	72
Exclusion	6	9
Anti-immigration from poor, non-EU countries		
Allow many/some	50	53
Allow a few/none	50	47
Economic insecurity		
No difficulty	78	82
Difficulty	22	18
Labour force status		
Employed	52	53
Unemployed	5	5
Not in the labour force	43	43
Residence		
Large City	19	20
Suburbs or outskirts of big city	11	11
Town or small city	32	32
Country village	31	31
Farm or home in countryside	7	7
Sex		
Female	52	52
Male	48	48
Nativity		
Native born	91	90
Immigrant	9	10

Source: ESS4 and ESS8.

Table 9A.1.2   Descriptive statistics, individual-level continuous variables

	2008			2016		
	Mean (SD)	Min.	Max.	Mean (SD)	Min.	Max.
Age (years)	47.39 (18.42)	15	90	49.23 (18.37)	15	90
Education (years)	12.43 (4.03)	0	30	13.11 (3.80)	0	30

Source: ESS4 and ESS8.