

The Electoral Consequences of Offshoring

How the Globalization of Production Shapes Party Preferences in Multi-Party Systems

Online Appendix

Abstract

How does offshoring affect individual party preferences in multi-party systems? We argue that exposure to offshoring influences individual preferences for those political parties with clear policy positions on issues relevant for individuals with offshorable jobs (left, liberal and center-right parties), but does not affect voting decisions for parties concentrating on other issues (green parties or populist right parties). Examining individual-level data from five waves of the European Social Survey for 18 advanced democracies, we find that these effects vary by skill-level and exposure. Offshoring increases preferences for liberal and center-right parties that advocate economic openness among the highly skilled. In contrast, low-skilled individuals exposed to offshoring are more likely to prefer leftist political parties that champion social protection and redistribution. Furthermore, offshoring does not affect the propensity to vote for green and populist right parties.

Figure 1: Distribution of Preferences for Party Families by Country – Vote Choice

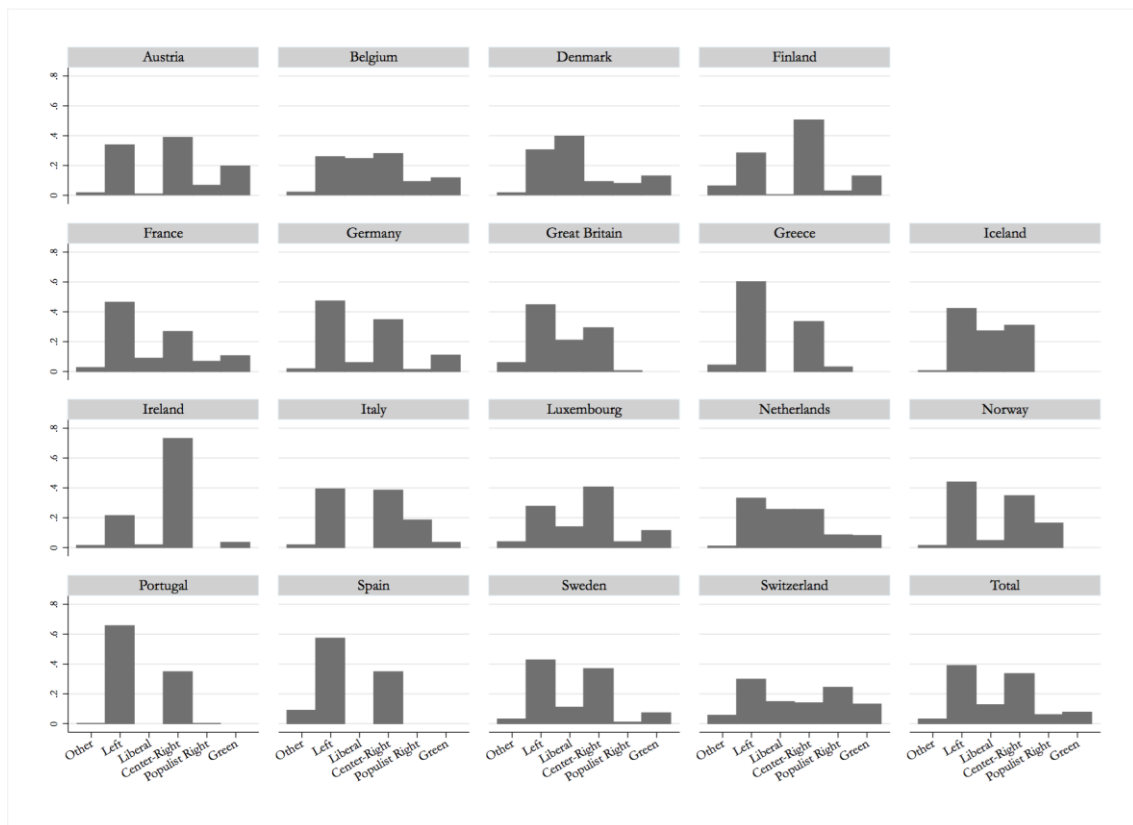


Figure 2: Distribution of Preferences for Party Families by Country – Closeness

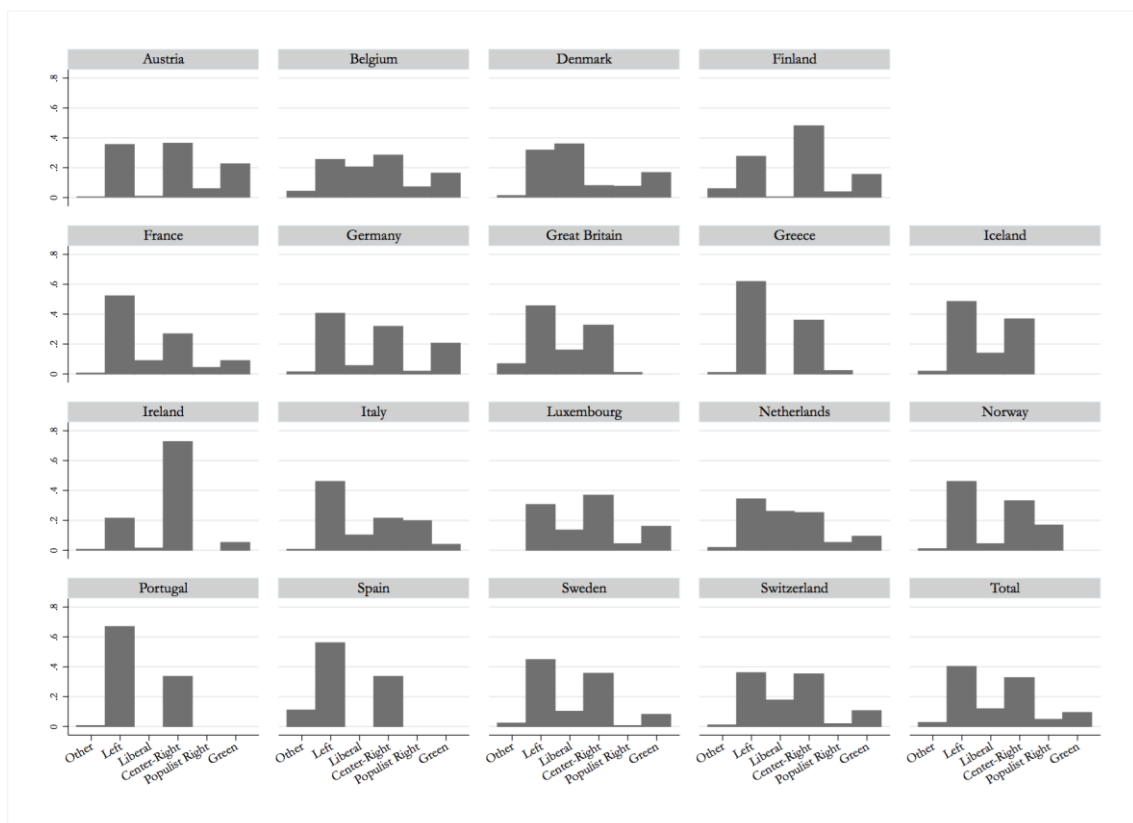


Figure 3: Distribution of Party Positions

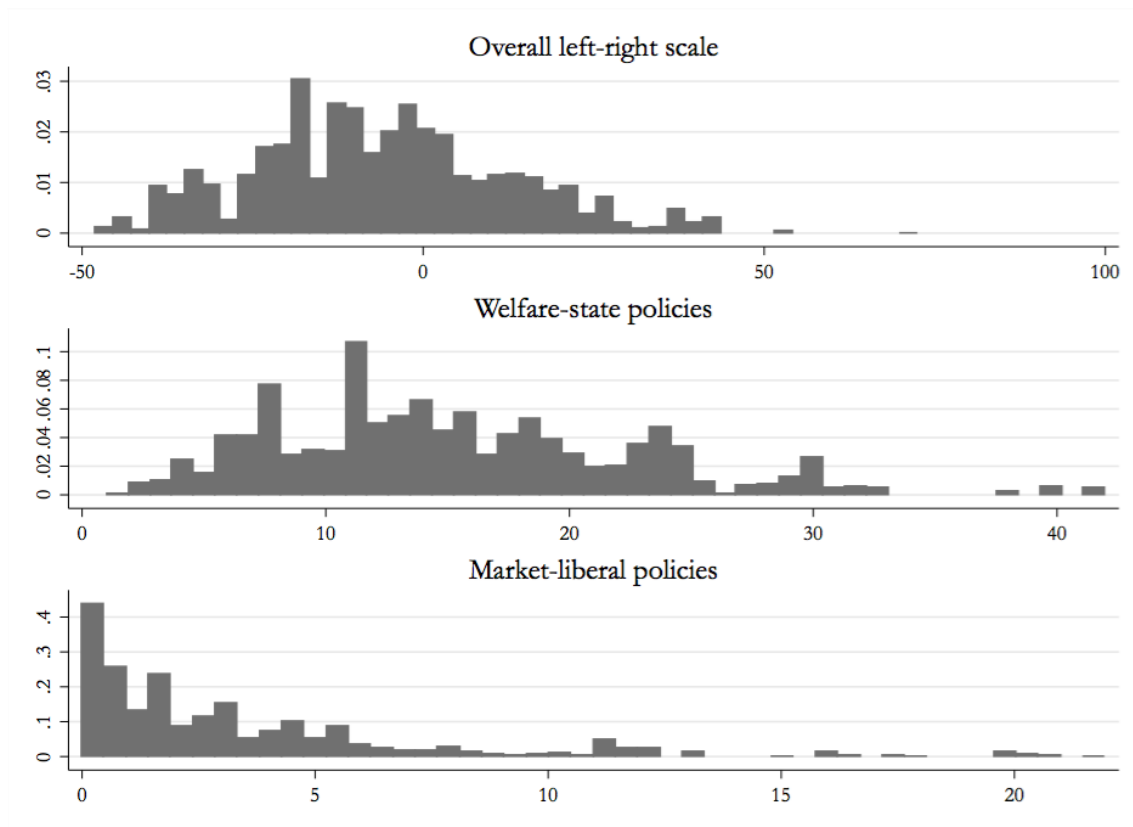


Figure 4: Distribution of Offshorability by Country

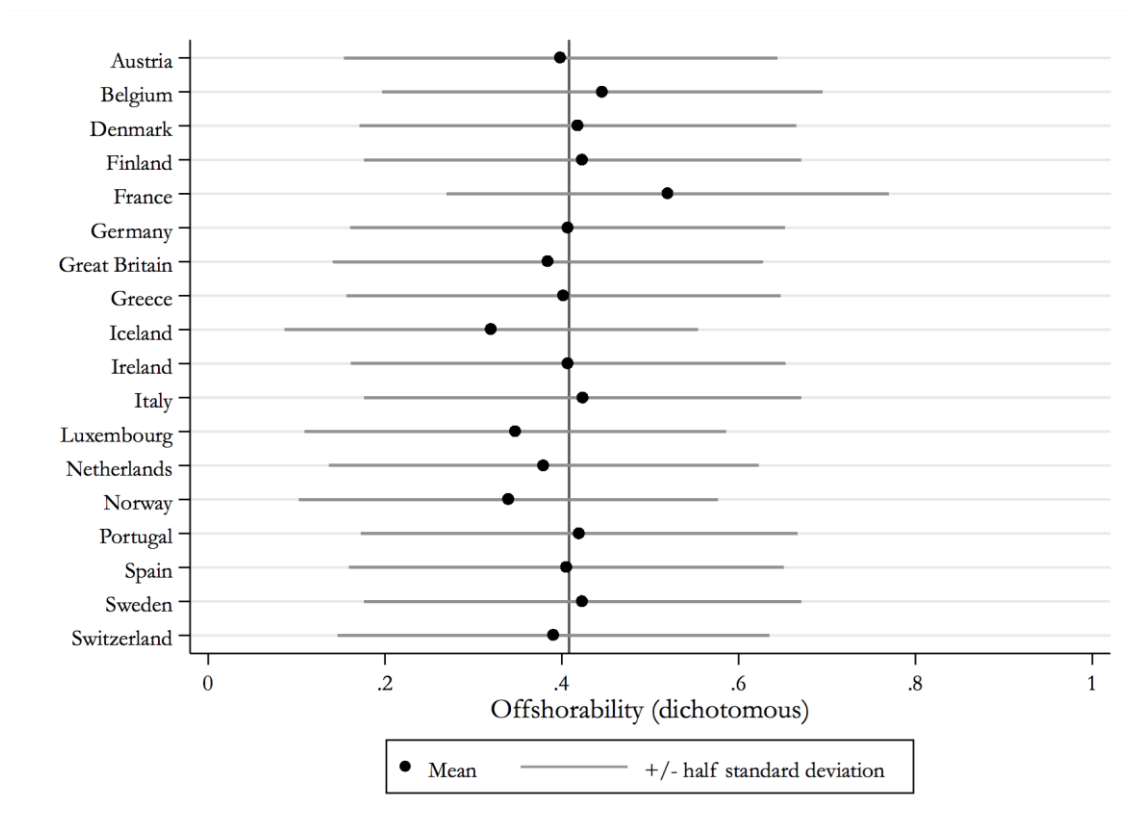


Figure 5: Distribution of Education Years by Country

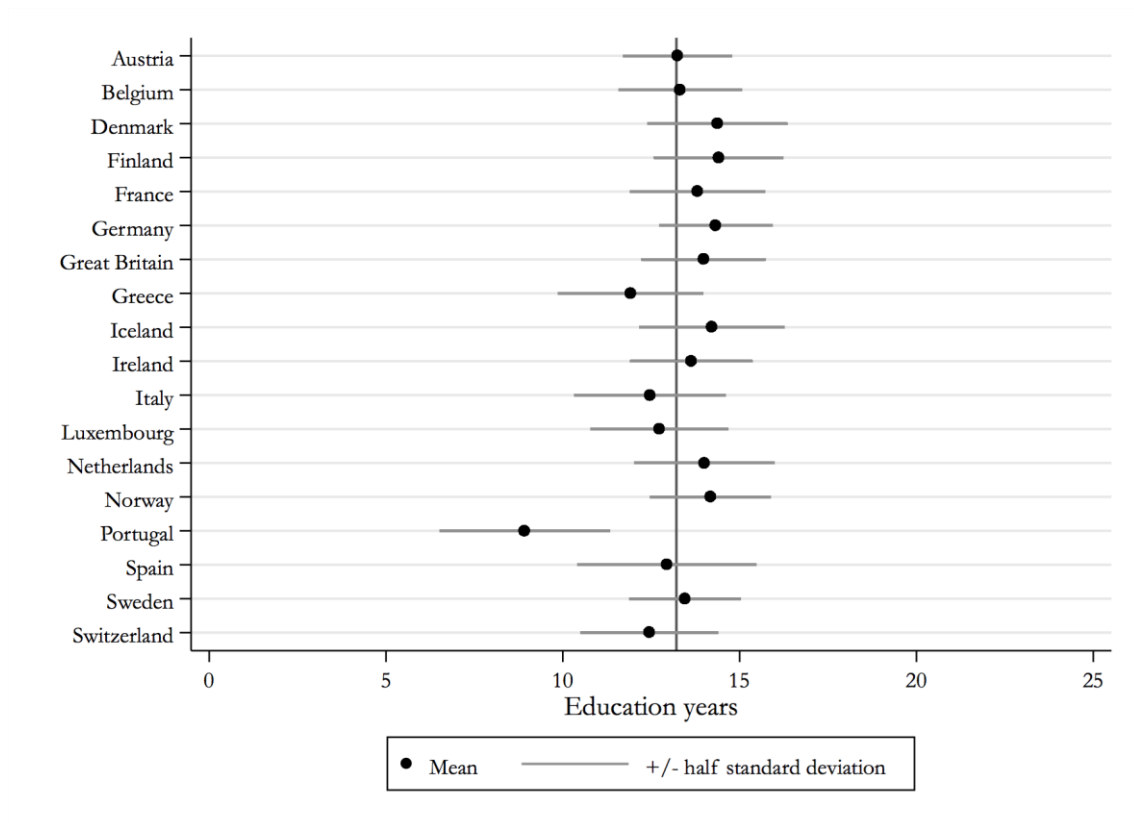


Figure 6: Distribution of Education Levels by Country

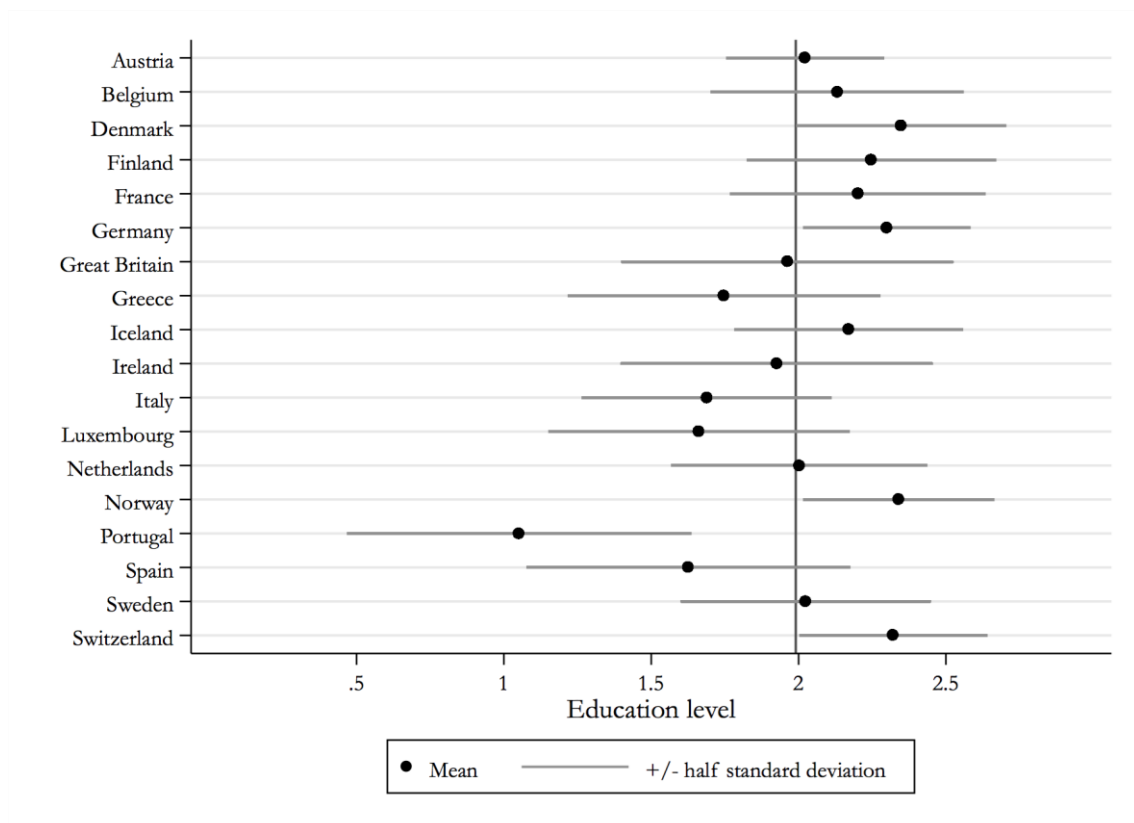


Table 1: Operationalization and Summary Statistics

	Operationalization	N	Mean	Sd.	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variables						
Difficulty of getting a similar or better job	ESS question E35 in 2002, G79 in 2004, and G40 in 2010	38910	5.46	2.90	0.00	10.00
Importance of job security for job choice	ESS question G111 in 2004 and G66 in 2010	51947	4.31	0.81	1.00	5.00
Support for redistribution	ESS question B44 in 2002 and B30 in 2004-2010	148864	3.78	1.05	1.00	5.00
Overall left-right scale	Variable rile from Volkens et al. (2013), matched on the basis of ESS question B14 in 2002 and B12 in 2004-2010	80832	-5.67	17.79	-48.00	72.50
Welfare-state policies	Variable welfare from Volkens et al. (2013), see above	80257	14.74	7.11	1.03	41.98
Market-liberal policies	Variable markeco from Volkens et al. (2013), see above	80832	3.18	3.61	0.00	21.95
Left vote	ESS question B14 in 2002 and B12 in 2004-2010	92927	0.39	0.49	0.00	1.00
Left closeness	ESS question B25b in 2002 and B20b in 2004-2010	73329	0.40	0.49	0.00	1.00
Liberal vote	ESS question B14 in 2002 and B12 in 2004-2010	92927	0.11	0.31	0.00	1.00
Liberal closeness	ESS question B25b in 2002 and B20b in 2004-2010	73329	0.10	0.30	0.00	1.00
Center-right vote	ESS question B14 in 2002 and B12 in 2004-2010	92927	0.37	0.48	0.00	1.00
Center-right closeness	ESS question B25b in 2002 and B20b in 2004-2010	73329	0.36	0.48	0.00	1.00
Populist right vote	ESS question B14 in 2002 and B12 in 2004-2010	92927	0.05	0.23	0.00	1.00
Populist right closeness	ESS question B25b in 2002 and B20b in 2004-2010	73329	0.04	0.20	0.00	1.00
Green vote	ESS question B14 in 2002 and B12 in 2004-2010	92927	0.06	0.23	0.00	1.00
Green closeness	ESS question B25b in 2002 and B20b in 2004-2010	73329	0.08	0.26	0.00	1.00

	Operationalization	N	Mean	Sd.	Min.	Max.
Independent Variables						
Education years	ESS question F7 in 2002-2008 and F16 in 2010	150116	12.06	4.27	0.00	25.00
Education level	ESS question F6 in 2002-2008 and F15 in 2010	151001	1.69	1.05	0.00	3.00
Job offshorability (binary: cat. 1 is non-offshorable)	Blinder (2009), matched on the basis of ISCO	135567	0.38	0.49	0.00	1.00
Job offshorability (recoded: cat. 1 and 2 are non-offshorable)	Blinder (2009), matched on the basis of ISCO	135567	0.29	0.45	0.00	1.00
Job offshorability (ordinal)	Blinder (2009), matched on the basis of ISCO	135567	1.76	1.05	1.00	4.00
Job offshorability (metric)	Blinder (2009), matched on the basis of ISCO	135567	22.66	30.99	0.00	100.00
Job offshorability (AA 2011)	Acemoglu and Autor (2011), matched on the basis of ISCO	151888	0.27	0.44	0.00	1.00
Individual-Level Control Variables						
Income	ESS question F30 in 2002, F32 in 2004-2008 and F41 in 2010	115009	-0.03	2.37	-8.00	8.00
Female	ESS question F2 in 2002-2010	151758	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00
Age (in years)	ESS question F3 in 2002-2010	151313	47.25	18.46	12.00	123.00
Unemployed	ESS question F8a in 2002-2008 and F17a in 2010	151888	0.06	0.23	0.00	1.00
Urban area	ESS question F5 in 2002-2008 and F14 in 2010	151464	0.32	0.47	0.00	1.00
Routinization	Acemoglu and Autor (2011), matched on the basis of ISCO	113080	-0.21	1.02	-3.15	2.83
Skill specificity	Iversen and Soskice (2001), matched on the basis of ISCO	135567	1.17	0.68	0.48	4.11
Outsider status	ESS question F14 in 2002-2008 and F23 in 2010	151888	0.12	0.32	0.00	1.00
Self-employed	ESS question F12 in 2002-2008 and F21 in 2010	151888	0.12	0.32	0.00	1.00
Union member	ESS question F8a in 2002-2008 and F17a in 2010	151086	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00
Political interest	ESS question B1 in 2002-2010	151583	2.42	0.91	1.00	4.00

	Operationalization	N	Mean	Sd.	Min.	Max.
Church attendance	ESS question C14 in 2002-2004, C22 in 2006, C24 in 2008, and C22 in 2010	151336	5.46	1.52	1.00	7.00
Left-right self-placement	ESS question B28 in 2002 and B23 in 2004-2010	135042	5.04	2.06	0.00	10.00
Cultural attitudes toward immigration	ESS question D28 in 2002 and B39 in 2004-2010	146872	4.98	2.48	0.00	10.00
Economic attitudes toward immigration	ESS question D27 in 2002 and B38 in 2004-2010	146386	4.98	2.37	0.00	10.00
Sectoral trade exposure	(import + export)/gross output by industrial sector from the OECD STAN database, matched on the basis of NACE	102137	0.34	4.82	0.00	1230.6
Public sector employee	Based on NACE code 75 in 2002-2008 and 84 in 2010	151888	0.06	0.23	0.00	1.00
Risk aversion	ESS question D52 in 2006	27963	5.27	2.82	0.00	10.00
Working-age respondents	ESS question F8a in 2002-2008 and F17a in 2010	151888	0.73	0.42	0.00	1.00
Active labor market participants	ESS question F8a in 2002-2008 and F17a in 2010	151888	0.57	0.50	0.00	1.00
Country-Level Control Variables						
Unemployment rate	OECD (2013a); harmonized unemployment rate	151888	7.12	3.06	2.52	20.06
FDI stock	UNCTAD (2013); sum of inward and outward FDI stocks in % of GDP	151888	108.42	67.49	16.66	301.95
Effective # of parties	Bormann and Golder (2013); effective number of electoral parties (without other parties)	151888	3.99	1.54	2.15	9.07
Trade openness	Heston et al. (2012); sum of imports and exports in % of GDP	151888	90.95	42.20	48.04	274.99
Social expenditure	OECD (2013b); total public social expenditures in % of GDP	151888	23.34	3.80	15.18	29.53

Table 2: Number of Respondents by Country and ESS Round

Country	Round 1: 2002	Round 2: 2004	Round 3: 2006	Round 4: 2008	Round 5: 2010	Total
Austria	2257	2256	2405	0	0	6918
Belgium	1899	1778	1798	1760	1704	8939
Denmark	1506	1487	1505	1610	1576	7684
Finland	2000	2022	1896	2195	1878	9991
France	1503	1806	1986	2073	1728	9096
Germany	2919	2870	2916	2751	3031	14487
Great Britain	2052	1897	2394	2352	2422	11117
Greece	2566	2406	0	2072	2715	9759
Iceland	0	579	0	0	0	579
Ireland	2046	2285	1798	1764	2576	10469
Italy	1207	1529	0	0	0	2736
Luxembourg	1552	1635	0	0	0	3187
Netherlands	2364	1881	1889	1778	1829	9741
Norway	2036	1760	1750	1549	1548	8643
Portugal	1511	2052	2222	2367	2150	10302
Spain	1729	1663	1876	2576	1885	9729
Sweden	1999	1948	1927	1830	1497	9201
Switzerland	2040	2141	1804	1819	1506	9310
Total	33186	33995	28166	28496	28045	151888

Table 3: Party Family Classification

	Code	Schmidt (2010, 2012) classification	Volgens et al. (2013) classification
Left	1	Social democratic Communist Socialist	Social democratic Communist
Liberal	2	Liberal	Liberal
Center-Right	3	Conservative Christian democratic Non-religious center	Conservative Christian democratic
Populist Right	4	Right	Nationalist
Green	5	Green	Ecology
Other	0	Regional Agrarian Other	Ethnic/regional Agrarian Special issue Other

Table 4: Education Level Classification

	ISCED category	Detailed ESS classification
Less than lower secondary	0 and 1	Not completed ISCED-level; ISCED 1; Vocational ISCED 2c < 2years
Lower secondary education completed	2	General/pre-vocational ISCED 2a/2b; General ISCED 2a; Vocational ISCED 2a/2b; Vocational ISCED 3c < 2 years
Upper secondary education completed and post-secondary, non-tertiary education completed	3 and 4	General ISCED 3 >= 2 years; General ISCED 3a/3b; General ISCED 3a; Vocational ISCED 3c >= 2 years; Vocational ISCED 3a/3b; Vocational ISCED 3a; General ISCED 4a/4b; General ISCED 4a; Other ISCED 4 programs; Vocational ISCED 4a/4b; Vocational ISCED 4a
Tertiary education completed	5 and 6	ISCED 5a short; ISCED 5b short; ISCED 5a medium, lower tertiary; ISCED 5a medium, upper tertiary; ISCED 5a long, lower tertiary; ISCED 5a long, upper tertiary; ISCED 6, doctoral degree

Table 5: Determinants of Individual Preferences for Labor Market Risk and Redistribution

	Model 1: Difficulty of getting a similar or better job	Model 2: Importance of job security for job choice	Model 3: Support for Redistribution
Education years	-0.024*** (0.01)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.020*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.920*** (0.15)	0.149** (0.06)	0.040 (0.04)
Education x Offshorability	-0.045*** (0.01)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.011*** (0.00)
Income	-0.070*** (0.01)	-0.018*** (0.00)	-0.072*** (0.00)
Female	0.062 (0.04)	0.101*** (0.02)	0.186*** (0.01)
Age in years	-0.028** (0.01)	0.011** (0.00)	0.016*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.001*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.976*** (0.32)	-0.094*** (0.03)	0.151*** (0.02)
Urban resident	-0.041 (0.04)	-0.041** (0.02)	-0.022** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.030*** (0.01)	0.027*** (0.00)	-0.026*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.178*** (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)	0.002 (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001 (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.014 (0.04)	-0.026 (0.02)	0.093*** (0.01)
Model	OLS	Ordered probit	Ordered probit
# of respondents	20827	20471	52362
# of countries	18	18	18
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multinomial OLS/ordered probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 1: "How easy or difficult would it be for you to get a similar or better job with another employer if you wanted to/if you had to leave your current job?" – 10-point scale.

Model 2: "How important do you think each of the following would be if you were choosing a job? A secure job." – 5-point scale.

Model 3: "The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels." – 5-point scale.

Table 6: Determinants of Individual Preferences for Party Families – Multinomial Model

	Left	Liberal	Center-Right	Populist Right	Green
Education years		0.032*** (0.01)	0.009** (0.00)	-0.109*** (0.01)	0.115*** (0.01)
Offshorability		-0.413*** (0.12)	-0.200** (0.08)	-0.259* (0.15)	-0.426*** (0.16)
Education x Offshorability		0.040*** (0.01)	0.022*** (0.01)	0.012 (0.01)	0.026** (0.01)
Income		0.096*** (0.01)	0.070*** (0.01)	-0.025*** (0.01)	-0.029*** (0.01)
Female		-0.154*** (0.03)	-0.096*** (0.02)	-0.505*** (0.04)	0.338*** (0.04)
Age in years		-0.083*** (0.01)	-0.035*** (0.00)	-0.032*** (0.01)	-0.066*** (0.01)
Age squared		0.001*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000* (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed		-0.335*** (0.08)	-0.283*** (0.05)	0.132 (0.09)	-0.105 (0.08)
Urban resident		-0.118*** (0.03)	-0.336*** (0.02)	-0.220*** (0.05)	0.319*** (0.04)
Unemployment rate		-0.175*** (0.02)	-0.015* (0.01)	0.005 (0.03)	-0.076*** (0.02)
FDI stock		-0.007*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.004*** (0.00)	-0.006*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties		-0.068* (0.04)	0.219*** (0.03)	0.305*** (0.04)	-0.006 (0.04)
# of respondents	51653				
# of countries	18				
Prob > Chi ²	0				
BIC	120158.36				
Log likelihood	-59362.93				
Multinomial logit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.					
Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.					
Model includes country dummies (not reported).					

Table 7: Overall Left-Right Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Education years	-0.104*** (0.03)	-0.088*** (0.03)	-0.039* (0.02)	-0.107*** (0.02)
Offshorability	-1.608*** (0.57)	-1.357** (0.64)	-1.422*** (0.44)	-1.652*** (0.52)
Education x Offshorability	0.181*** (0.04)	0.164*** (0.04)	0.166*** (0.03)	0.179*** (0.04)
Income	0.509*** (0.04)	0.473*** (0.04)	0.490*** (0.03)	0.488*** (0.03)
Female	-1.710*** (0.15)	-1.934*** (0.16)	-1.401*** (0.13)	-1.493*** (0.13)
Age in years	-0.235*** (0.04)	-0.308*** (0.05)	-0.194*** (0.02)	-0.210*** (0.03)
Age squared	0.002*** (0.00)	0.003*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-1.509*** (0.33)	-1.486*** (0.41)	-1.469*** (0.33)	-1.229*** (0.29)
Urban resident	-1.430*** (0.16)	-1.392*** (0.18)	-1.395*** (0.14)	-1.231*** (0.15)
Anti-immigration (culture)	1.308*** (0.03)	1.361*** (0.04)	1.183*** (0.03)	1.082*** (0.03)
Unemployment rate	-0.043 (0.06)	-0.028 (0.07)	-0.022 (0.05)	-0.264*** (0.04)
FDI stock	0.070*** (0.00)	0.077*** (0.00)	0.069*** (0.00)	0.072*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.477** (0.20)	0.309 (0.22)	0.423** (0.18)	0.332** (0.16)
# of respondents	46075	39123	61879	55183
# of countries	18	18	18	25
ICC (rho)	0.237	0.245	0.240	0.274
Panel SD (sigma)	8.868	9.095	8.907	9.558
R2 (overall)	0.067	0.072	0.064	0.035
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Table 8: Overall Left-Right Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		-0.079*** (0.03)	-0.145*** (0.04)	-0.087*** (0.03)	-0.066*** (0.02)
Education level	0.186 (0.12)				
Offshorability	-0.446 (0.41)				
Offshorability (recoded)		-1.169* (0.61)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			-0.499* (0.26)		
Offshorability (metric)				-0.020** (0.01)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					-0.577 (0.74)
Education x Offshorability	0.600*** (0.18)	0.152*** (0.04)	0.062*** (0.02)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.127** (0.05)
Income	0.459*** (0.04)	0.512*** (0.04)	0.512*** (0.04)	0.514*** (0.04)	0.505*** (0.04)
Female	-1.739*** (0.15)	-1.712*** (0.15)	-1.729*** (0.15)	-1.727*** (0.15)	-1.779*** (0.15)
Age in years	-0.246*** (0.04)	-0.233*** (0.04)	-0.234*** (0.04)	-0.233*** (0.04)	-0.234*** (0.04)
Age squared	0.003*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-1.462*** (0.34)	-1.503*** (0.33)	-1.511*** (0.33)	-1.509*** (0.33)	-1.531*** (0.33)
Urban resident	-1.536*** (0.16)	-1.412*** (0.16)	-1.421*** (0.16)	-1.416*** (0.16)	-1.446*** (0.16)
Anti-immigration (culture)	1.353*** (0.03)	1.308*** (0.03)	1.309*** (0.03)	1.308*** (0.03)	1.310*** (0.03)
Unemployment rate	-0.040 (0.06)	-0.045 (0.06)	-0.045 (0.06)	-0.044 (0.06)	-0.046 (0.06)
FDI stock	0.070*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.481** (0.20)	0.474** (0.20)	0.480** (0.20)	0.483** (0.20)	0.461** (0.20)
# of respondents	45934	46075	46075	46075	46075
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.237	0.237	0.237	0.237	0.237
Panel SD (sigma)	8.858	8.860	8.868	8.867	8.857
R2 (overall)	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.068
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 9: Overall Left-Right Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	-0.106*** (0.03)	-0.071*** (0.03)	-0.098*** (0.03)	-0.114*** (0.03)	-0.078*** (0.03)
Offshorability	-1.524*** (0.57)	-1.244** (0.57)	-1.604*** (0.57)	-1.609*** (0.57)	-1.208** (0.57)
Education x Offshorability	0.171*** (0.04)	0.141*** (0.04)	0.181*** (0.04)	0.189*** (0.04)	0.147*** (0.04)
Income	0.504*** (0.04)	0.532*** (0.04)	0.511*** (0.04)	0.509*** (0.04)	0.529*** (0.04)
Female	-1.479*** (0.15)	-1.776*** (0.15)	-1.748*** (0.15)	-1.999*** (0.15)	-1.921*** (0.15)
Age in years	-0.247*** (0.04)	-0.142*** (0.04)	-0.234*** (0.04)	-0.212*** (0.04)	-0.136*** (0.04)
Age squared	0.002*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-1.338*** (0.33)	-1.690*** (0.33)	-1.520*** (0.33)	-1.259*** (0.33)	-1.300*** (0.33)
Urban resident	-1.390*** (0.16)	-1.474*** (0.16)	-1.418*** (0.16)	-1.205*** (0.16)	-1.199*** (0.16)
Anti-immigration (culture)	1.308*** (0.03)	1.295*** (0.03)	1.299*** (0.04)	1.300*** (0.03)	1.277*** (0.03)
Unemployment rate	-0.043 (0.06)	-0.057 (0.06)	-0.044 (0.06)	-0.049 (0.06)	-0.062 (0.06)
FDI stock	0.071*** (0.00)	0.071*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)	0.072*** (0.00)	0.072*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.481** (0.20)	0.476** (0.20)	0.476** (0.20)	0.430** (0.20)	0.431** (0.20)
Self-employed	3.024*** (0.24)				2.365*** (0.24)
Union member		-3.288*** (0.18)			-2.955*** (0.18)
Political interest			-0.147 (0.10)		-0.184* (0.10)
Church attendance				-1.235*** (0.06)	-1.226*** (0.06)
# of respondents	46075	46013	46056	46042	45964
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.237	0.231	0.238	0.245	0.240
Panel SD (sigma)	8.848	8.677	8.875	9.008	8.856
R2 (overall)	0.070	0.085	0.067	0.071	0.089
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 10: Overall Left-Right Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	-0.081** (0.03)	-0.124*** (0.03)	-0.101*** (0.03)	-0.026 (0.02)	-0.089*** (0.03)
Offshorability	-1.209** (0.62)	-1.584*** (0.57)	-1.636*** (0.57)	-0.957* (0.52)	-1.553*** (0.58)
Education x Offshorability	0.153*** (0.04)	0.179*** (0.04)	0.181*** (0.04)	0.089** (0.04)	0.178*** (0.04)
Income	0.486*** (0.04)	0.495*** (0.04)	0.498*** (0.04)	0.226*** (0.03)	0.510*** (0.04)
Female	-1.818*** (0.16)	-1.842*** (0.15)	-1.682*** (0.15)	-0.979*** (0.14)	-1.850*** (0.15)
Age in years	-0.241*** (0.04)	-0.232*** (0.04)	-0.258*** (0.04)	-0.126*** (0.04)	-0.233*** (0.04)
Age squared	0.003*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.003*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-1.357*** (0.37)	-1.477*** (0.33)	-1.321*** (0.34)	-0.574* (0.31)	-1.596*** (0.34)
Urban resident	-1.450*** (0.18)	-1.455*** (0.16)	-1.423*** (0.16)	-0.859*** (0.15)	-1.374*** (0.16)
Anti-immigration (culture)	1.327*** (0.04)	1.318*** (0.03)	1.305*** (0.03)	0.677*** (0.03)	1.155*** (0.04)
Unemployment rate	-0.103 (0.06)	-0.043 (0.06)	-0.044 (0.06)	-0.056 (0.06)	-0.073 (0.06)
FDI stock	0.073*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)	0.073*** (0.00)	0.070*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.327 (0.23)	0.467** (0.20)	0.482** (0.20)	0.576*** (0.18)	0.472** (0.20)
Routinization	-0.178** (0.09)				
Skill specificity		-0.541*** (0.13)			
Outsider			-0.862*** (0.24)		
Left-right placement				3.585*** (0.03)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					0.283*** (0.04)
# of respondents	38013	46075	46075	44945	45525
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.240	0.237	0.237	0.311	0.237
Panel SD (sigma)	8.954	8.866	8.870	9.619	8.851
R2 (overall)	0.068	0.068	0.067	0.180	0.069
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 11: Overall Left-Right Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	-0.116*** (0.03)	-0.103*** (0.03)	0.149** (0.06)	-0.139*** (0.03)	-0.105*** (0.03)
Offshorability	-1.465*** (0.55)	-1.607*** (0.57)	-2.767** (1.31)	-1.886*** (0.67)	-1.615*** (0.57)
Education x Offshorability	0.165*** (0.04)	0.180*** (0.04)	0.225** (0.09)	0.215*** (0.05)	0.181*** (0.04)
Income	0.510*** (0.03)	0.510*** (0.04)	0.777*** (0.09)	0.662*** (0.04)	0.511*** (0.04)
Female	-1.693*** (0.14)	-1.712*** (0.15)	-1.614*** (0.35)	-1.760*** (0.17)	-1.711*** (0.15)
Age in years	-0.230*** (0.04)	-0.233*** (0.04)	-0.312*** (0.09)	-0.274*** (0.05)	-0.236*** (0.04)
Age squared	0.002*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.003*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-1.628*** (0.32)	-1.522*** (0.33)	0.098 (0.82)	-1.549*** (0.40)	-1.509*** (0.33)
Urban resident	-1.511*** (0.16)	-1.426*** (0.16)	-0.912** (0.38)	-1.436*** (0.19)	-1.434*** (0.16)
Anti-immigration (culture)	1.287*** (0.03)	1.308*** (0.03)	1.404*** (0.08)	1.325*** (0.04)	1.308*** (0.03)
Unemployment rate		-0.045 (0.06)	1.127*** (0.08)	1.675*** (0.16)	-0.088 (0.06)
FDI stock		0.070*** (0.00)	0.084*** (0.00)	0.083*** (0.01)	0.070*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties		0.484** (0.20)	-1.703*** (0.15)	0.881*** (0.25)	0.311 (0.22)
Public sector		-0.506* (0.29)			
Risk aversion			-0.061 (0.07)		
Sectoral trade exposure				-0.004 (0.01)	
Trade openness					0.004 (0.02)
Social expenditure					0.358** (0.16)
# of respondents	46075	46075	9156	35651	46075
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.252	0.237	0.000	0.262	0.247
Panel SD (sigma)	8.957	8.867	0.000	9.730	9.097
R2 (overall)	0.046	0.067	0.099	0.048	0.060
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 12: Welfare-State Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Education years	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.016** (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)
Offshorability	0.428** (0.19)	0.383* (0.21)	0.399*** (0.15)	0.529*** (0.18)
Education x Offshorability	-0.045*** (0.01)	-0.041*** (0.01)	-0.042*** (0.01)	-0.052*** (0.01)
Income	-0.159*** (0.01)	-0.154*** (0.01)	-0.151*** (0.01)	-0.161*** (0.01)
Female	0.401*** (0.05)	0.458*** (0.05)	0.317*** (0.04)	0.342*** (0.05)
Age in years	0.074*** (0.01)	0.089*** (0.02)	0.051*** (0.01)	0.064*** (0.01)
Age squared	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.436*** (0.11)	0.391*** (0.14)	0.451*** (0.11)	0.283*** (0.10)
Urban resident	0.344*** (0.06)	0.322*** (0.06)	0.342*** (0.05)	0.283*** (0.05)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.275*** (0.01)	-0.243*** (0.01)	-0.218*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.362*** (0.02)	-0.379*** (0.02)	0.032** (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-1.717*** (0.07)	-1.667*** (0.07)	-1.644*** (0.06)	-1.186*** (0.06)
# of respondents	46075	39123	61879	55183
# of countries	18	18	18	25
ICC (rho)	0.514	0.507	0.514	0.442
Panel SD (sigma)	5.528	5.440	5.506	4.880
R2 (overall)	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.001
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Table 13: Welfare-State Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		-0.014 (0.01)	0.002 (0.01)	-0.011 (0.01)	-0.014* (0.01)
Education level	-0.147*** (0.04)				
Offshorability	0.204 (0.14)				
Offshorability (recoded)		0.169 (0.21)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			0.108 (0.09)		
Offshorability (metric)				0.004 (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					0.242 (0.25)
Education x Offshorability	-0.177*** (0.06)	-0.028* (0.01)	-0.014** (0.01)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.036** (0.02)
Income	-0.147*** (0.01)	-0.160*** (0.01)	-0.160*** (0.01)	-0.160*** (0.01)	-0.159*** (0.01)
Female	0.408*** (0.05)	0.402*** (0.05)	0.405*** (0.05)	0.405*** (0.05)	0.415*** (0.05)
Age in years	0.077*** (0.01)	0.073*** (0.01)	0.073*** (0.01)	0.073*** (0.01)	0.073*** (0.01)
Age squared	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.429*** (0.11)	0.434*** (0.11)	0.436*** (0.11)	0.436*** (0.11)	0.440*** (0.11)
Urban resident	0.356*** (0.06)	0.340*** (0.06)	0.342*** (0.06)	0.340*** (0.06)	0.347*** (0.06)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.270*** (0.01)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.263*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.362*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-1.719*** (0.07)	-1.717*** (0.07)	-1.718*** (0.07)	-1.719*** (0.07)	-1.714*** (0.07)
# of respondents	45934	46075	46075	46075	46075
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.516	0.514	0.514	0.514	0.514
Panel SD (sigma)	5.552	5.527	5.529	5.529	5.524
R2 (overall)	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 14: Welfare-State Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.012 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.009 (0.01)
Offshorability	0.405** (0.19)	0.339* (0.19)	0.431** (0.19)	0.429** (0.19)	0.332* (0.19)
Education x Offshorability	-0.042*** (0.01)	-0.035*** (0.01)	-0.045*** (0.01)	-0.046*** (0.01)	-0.036*** (0.01)
Income	-0.158*** (0.01)	-0.165*** (0.01)	-0.159*** (0.01)	-0.159*** (0.01)	-0.163*** (0.01)
Female	0.338*** (0.05)	0.414*** (0.05)	0.401*** (0.05)	0.456*** (0.05)	0.418*** (0.05)
Age in years	0.077*** (0.01)	0.052*** (0.01)	0.074*** (0.01)	0.069*** (0.01)	0.052*** (0.01)
Age squared	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.389*** (0.11)	0.479*** (0.11)	0.437*** (0.11)	0.386*** (0.11)	0.387*** (0.11)
Urban resident	0.332*** (0.06)	0.354*** (0.06)	0.344*** (0.06)	0.302*** (0.06)	0.303*** (0.06)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.259*** (0.01)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.261*** (0.01)	-0.257*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.360*** (0.02)	-0.355*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.358*** (0.02)	-0.353*** (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-1.718*** (0.07)	-1.719*** (0.07)	-1.717*** (0.07)	-1.710*** (0.07)	-1.713*** (0.07)
Self-employed	-0.825*** (0.08)				-0.674*** (0.08)
Union member		0.766*** (0.06)			0.676*** (0.06)
Political interest			-0.001 (0.03)		0.008 (0.03)
Church attendance				0.234*** (0.02)	0.232*** (0.02)
# of respondents	46075	46013	46056	46042	45964
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.514	0.505	0.514	0.512	0.504
Panel SD (sigma)	5.519	5.425	5.528	5.501	5.403
R2 (overall)	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.000
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 15: Welfare-State Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	-0.013 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.025*** (0.01)	-0.007 (0.01)
Offshorability	0.197 (0.21)	0.423** (0.19)	0.433** (0.19)	0.241 (0.19)	0.416** (0.19)
Education x Offshorability	-0.034** (0.01)	-0.044*** (0.01)	-0.045*** (0.01)	-0.020 (0.01)	-0.044*** (0.01)
Income	-0.152*** (0.01)	-0.156*** (0.01)	-0.158*** (0.01)	-0.091*** (0.01)	-0.160*** (0.01)
Female	0.445*** (0.06)	0.432*** (0.05)	0.396*** (0.05)	0.228*** (0.05)	0.426*** (0.05)
Age in years	0.081*** (0.01)	0.073*** (0.01)	0.078*** (0.01)	0.047*** (0.01)	0.073*** (0.01)
Age squared	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.385*** (0.12)	0.428*** (0.11)	0.403*** (0.11)	0.182* (0.11)	0.459*** (0.11)
Urban resident	0.364*** (0.06)	0.349*** (0.06)	0.342*** (0.06)	0.195*** (0.05)	0.335*** (0.06)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.267*** (0.01)	-0.265*** (0.01)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.109*** (0.01)	-0.235*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.351*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.359*** (0.02)	-0.347*** (0.02)	-0.353*** (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-1.836*** (0.08)	-1.715*** (0.07)	-1.718*** (0.07)	-1.727*** (0.07)	-1.719*** (0.07)
Routinization	0.064** (0.03)				
Skill specificity		0.129*** (0.04)			
Outsider			0.151* (0.08)		
Left-right placement				-0.872*** (0.01)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					-0.053*** (0.01)
# of respondents	38013	46075	46075	44945	45525
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.524	0.514	0.514	0.561	0.515
Panel SD (sigma)	5.675	5.524	5.529	5.770	5.542
R2 (overall)	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.001
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 16: Welfare-State Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.006 (0.01)	-0.043* (0.02)	-0.004 (0.01)	0.001 (0.01)
Offshorability	0.306* (0.18)	0.428** (0.19)	1.793*** (0.56)	0.543** (0.22)	0.439** (0.19)
Education x Offshorability	-0.040*** (0.01)	-0.045*** (0.01)	-0.121*** (0.04)	-0.054*** (0.02)	-0.046*** (0.01)
Income	-0.135*** (0.01)	-0.161*** (0.01)	-0.463*** (0.04)	-0.174*** (0.01)	-0.176*** (0.01)
Female	0.382*** (0.05)	0.402*** (0.05)	0.338** (0.15)	0.412*** (0.06)	0.405*** (0.05)
Age in years	0.071*** (0.01)	0.072*** (0.01)	0.127*** (0.04)	0.086*** (0.02)	0.079*** (0.01)
Age squared	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.592*** (0.11)	0.446*** (0.11)	-0.792** (0.35)	0.498*** (0.13)	0.443*** (0.11)
Urban resident	0.328*** (0.05)	0.340*** (0.06)	0.250 (0.16)	0.318*** (0.06)	0.360*** (0.05)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.256*** (0.01)	-0.262*** (0.01)	-0.512*** (0.03)	-0.259*** (0.01)	-0.259*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate		-0.358*** (0.02)	0.036 (0.03)	-0.387*** (0.05)	-0.307*** (0.02)
FDI stock		-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.022*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties		-1.723*** (0.07)	2.339*** (0.07)	-2.244*** (0.08)	-1.675*** (0.07)
Public sector		0.398*** (0.10)			
Risk aversion			0.028 (0.03)		
Sectoral trade exposure				-0.000 (0.00)	
Trade openness					0.174*** (0.01)
Social expenditure					-0.764*** (0.05)
# of respondents	46075	46075	9156	35651	46075
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.498	0.515	0.000	0.574	0.787
Panel SD (sigma)	5.006	5.537	0.000	6.229	10.254
R2 (overall)	0.036	0.001	0.170	0.002	0.000
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 17: Market-Liberal Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Education years	-0.029*** (0.01)	-0.025*** (0.01)	-0.014*** (0.00)	-0.027*** (0.01)
Offshorability	-0.273** (0.12)	-0.155 (0.14)	-0.289*** (0.09)	-0.300*** (0.11)
Education x Offshorability	0.035*** (0.01)	0.028*** (0.01)	0.036*** (0.01)	0.038*** (0.01)
Income	0.085*** (0.01)	0.074*** (0.01)	0.090*** (0.01)	0.085*** (0.01)
Female	-0.310*** (0.03)	-0.332*** (0.04)	-0.246*** (0.03)	-0.251*** (0.03)
Age in years	-0.039*** (0.01)	-0.061*** (0.01)	-0.033*** (0.01)	-0.032*** (0.01)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.273*** (0.07)	-0.304*** (0.09)	-0.228*** (0.07)	-0.164*** (0.06)
Urban resident	-0.202*** (0.04)	-0.185*** (0.04)	-0.180*** (0.03)	-0.129*** (0.03)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.204*** (0.01)	0.212*** (0.01)	0.174*** (0.01)	0.162*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	0.111*** (0.01)	0.110*** (0.01)	0.118*** (0.01)	-0.098*** (0.01)
FDI stock	0.004*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)	0.003*** (0.00)	0.003*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.865*** (0.04)	0.806*** (0.05)	0.834*** (0.04)	0.284*** (0.03)
# of respondents	46075	39123	61879	55183
# of countries	18	18	18	25
ICC (rho)	0.211	0.208	0.204	0.204
Panel SD (sigma)	1.777	1.772	1.730	1.675
R2 (overall)	0.017	0.019	0.017	0.043
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Table 18: Market-Liberal Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		-0.024*** (0.01)	-0.037*** (0.01)	-0.025*** (0.01)	-0.020*** (0.01)
Education level	-0.019 (0.03)				
Offshorability	-0.141 (0.09)				
Offshorability (recoded)		-0.202 (0.13)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			-0.087 (0.06)		
Offshorability (metric)				-0.003* (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					0.023 (0.16)
Education x Offshorability	0.163*** (0.04)	0.030*** (0.01)	0.012*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.017 (0.01)
Income	0.076*** (0.01)	0.086*** (0.01)	0.086*** (0.01)	0.086*** (0.01)	0.084*** (0.01)
Female	-0.312*** (0.03)	-0.310*** (0.03)	-0.314*** (0.03)	-0.314*** (0.03)	-0.327*** (0.03)
Age in years	-0.040*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.269*** (0.07)	-0.272*** (0.07)	-0.274*** (0.07)	-0.274*** (0.07)	-0.278*** (0.07)
Urban resident	-0.224*** (0.04)	-0.197*** (0.04)	-0.199*** (0.04)	-0.198*** (0.04)	-0.204*** (0.04)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.212*** (0.01)	0.203*** (0.01)	0.204*** (0.01)	0.204*** (0.01)	0.204*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	0.111*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)
FDI stock	0.004*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.868*** (0.04)	0.865*** (0.04)	0.866*** (0.04)	0.866*** (0.04)	0.862*** (0.04)
# of respondents	45934	46075	46075	46075	46075
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.213	0.211	0.211	0.211	0.211
Panel SD (sigma)	1.785	1.773	1.776	1.776	1.773
R2 (overall)	0.018	0.017	0.017	0.017	0.017
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 19: Market-Liberal Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	-0.029*** (0.01)	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.026*** (0.01)	-0.030*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)
Offshorability	-0.258** (0.12)	-0.211* (0.12)	-0.270** (0.12)	-0.275** (0.12)	-0.204* (0.12)
Education x Offshorability	0.034*** (0.01)	0.029*** (0.01)	0.035*** (0.01)	0.036*** (0.01)	0.029*** (0.01)
Income	0.084*** (0.01)	0.089*** (0.01)	0.086*** (0.01)	0.085*** (0.01)	0.090*** (0.01)
Female	-0.267*** (0.03)	-0.321*** (0.03)	-0.324*** (0.03)	-0.331*** (0.03)	-0.323*** (0.03)
Age in years	-0.041*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-0.037*** (0.01)	-0.023*** (0.01)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.242*** (0.07)	-0.307*** (0.07)	-0.276*** (0.07)	-0.255*** (0.07)	-0.263*** (0.07)
Urban resident	-0.194*** (0.04)	-0.209*** (0.04)	-0.198*** (0.04)	-0.185*** (0.04)	-0.182*** (0.04)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.204*** (0.01)	0.202*** (0.01)	0.201*** (0.01)	0.203*** (0.01)	0.198*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	0.112*** (0.01)	0.109*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.109*** (0.01)
FDI stock	0.005*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.866*** (0.04)	0.866*** (0.04)	0.866*** (0.04)	0.862*** (0.04)	0.863*** (0.04)
Self-employed	0.554*** (0.05)				0.438*** (0.05)
Union member		-0.591*** (0.04)			-0.532*** (0.04)
Political interest			-0.057*** (0.02)		-0.060*** (0.02)
Church attendance				-0.090*** (0.01)	-0.089*** (0.01)
# of respondents	46075	46013	46056	46042	45964
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.213	0.217	0.212	0.212	0.219
Panel SD (sigma)	1.785	1.803	1.781	1.779	1.814
R2 (overall)	0.018	0.019	0.017	0.018	0.019
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 20: Market-Liberal Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.032*** (0.01)	-0.028*** (0.01)	-0.015*** (0.01)	-0.026*** (0.01)
Offshorability	-0.169 (0.13)	-0.269** (0.12)	-0.279** (0.12)	-0.147 (0.12)	-0.275** (0.12)
Education x Offshorability	0.031*** (0.01)	0.035*** (0.01)	0.035*** (0.01)	0.019** (0.01)	0.036*** (0.01)
Income	0.081*** (0.01)	0.083*** (0.01)	0.083*** (0.01)	0.037*** (0.01)	0.086*** (0.01)
Female	-0.329*** (0.04)	-0.332*** (0.03)	-0.304*** (0.03)	-0.191*** (0.03)	-0.329*** (0.03)
Age in years	-0.039*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-0.043*** (0.01)	-0.021*** (0.01)	-0.039*** (0.01)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.247*** (0.08)	-0.268*** (0.07)	-0.236*** (0.07)	-0.112 (0.07)	-0.289*** (0.07)
Urban resident	-0.194*** (0.04)	-0.206*** (0.04)	-0.200*** (0.04)	-0.109*** (0.03)	-0.191*** (0.04)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.204*** (0.01)	0.205*** (0.01)	0.203*** (0.01)	0.099*** (0.01)	0.180*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	0.107*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.111*** (0.01)	0.110*** (0.01)	0.106*** (0.01)
FDI stock	0.005*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.801*** (0.05)	0.864*** (0.04)	0.866*** (0.04)	0.896*** (0.04)	0.866*** (0.04)
Routinization	-0.021 (0.02)				
Skill specificity		-0.092*** (0.03)			
Outsider			-0.173*** (0.05)		
Left-right placement				0.601*** (0.01)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					0.045*** (0.01)
# of respondents	38013	46075	46075	44945	45525
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.203	0.211	0.211	0.234	0.210
Panel SD (sigma)	1.739	1.776	1.777	1.789	1.770
R2 (overall)	0.018	0.018	0.018	0.086	0.018
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Table 21: Market-Liberal Party Position – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	-0.030*** (0.01)	-0.028*** (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.033*** (0.01)	-0.030*** (0.01)
Offshorability	-0.274** (0.11)	-0.273** (0.12)	-0.405 (0.31)	-0.313** (0.15)	-0.284** (0.12)
Education x Offshorability	0.035*** (0.01)	0.035*** (0.01)	0.046** (0.02)	0.042*** (0.01)	0.036*** (0.01)
Income	0.103*** (0.01)	0.086*** (0.01)	0.102*** (0.02)	0.120*** (0.01)	0.090*** (0.01)
Female	-0.323*** (0.03)	-0.310*** (0.03)	-0.444*** (0.08)	-0.344*** (0.04)	-0.312*** (0.03)
Age in years	-0.039*** (0.01)	-0.038*** (0.01)	-0.038* (0.02)	-0.047*** (0.01)	-0.041*** (0.01)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.238*** (0.07)	-0.278*** (0.07)	0.144 (0.20)	-0.263*** (0.09)	-0.274*** (0.07)
Urban resident	-0.225*** (0.03)	-0.200*** (0.04)	0.119 (0.09)	-0.202*** (0.04)	-0.209*** (0.04)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.208*** (0.01)	0.204*** (0.01)	0.139*** (0.02)	0.212*** (0.01)	0.203*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate		0.111*** (0.01)	-0.145*** (0.02)	-0.026 (0.03)	0.049*** (0.01)
FDI stock		0.004*** (0.00)	-0.024*** (0.00)	0.010*** (0.00)	0.005*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties		0.868*** (0.04)	0.928*** (0.04)	0.850*** (0.05)	0.653*** (0.05)
Public sector		-0.202*** (0.06)			
Risk aversion			-0.050*** (0.02)		
Sectoral trade exposure				-0.002 (0.00)	
Trade openness					-0.016*** (0.01)
Social expenditure					0.537*** (0.03)
# of respondents	46075	46075	9156	35651	46075
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.262	0.211	0.000	0.234	0.429
Panel SD (sigma)	1.895	1.777	0.000	1.958	2.966
R2 (overall)	0.011	0.018	0.094	0.011	0.007
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Multilevel OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 22: Preferences for Left Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Education years	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.022*** (0.00)	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.020*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.159*** (0.04)	0.129*** (0.05)	0.167*** (0.03)	0.147*** (0.04)	0.142*** (0.05)
Education x Offshorability	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.014*** (0.00)	-0.014*** (0.00)
Income	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.031*** (0.00)	-0.035*** (0.00)	-0.027*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)
Female	0.054*** (0.01)	0.075*** (0.01)	0.035*** (0.01)	0.043*** (0.01)	0.067*** (0.01)
Age in years	0.029*** (0.00)	0.031*** (0.00)	0.022*** (0.00)	0.025*** (0.00)	0.039*** (0.00)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.138*** (0.03)	0.125*** (0.03)	0.131*** (0.02)	0.095*** (0.02)	0.153*** (0.03)
Urban resident	0.102*** (0.01)	0.099*** (0.01)	0.122*** (0.01)	0.075*** (0.01)	0.103*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.064*** (0.00)	-0.056*** (0.00)	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.072*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.021*** (0.00)	0.018*** (0.01)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.045*** (0.00)	0.016*** (0.01)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.102*** (0.02)	-0.098*** (0.02)	-0.083*** (0.01)	-0.062*** (0.01)	-0.071*** (0.02)
# of respondents	52629	44533	70641	64113	33139
# of countries	18	18	18	25	18
ICC (rho)	0.085	0.092	0.080	0.117	0.107
Panel SD (sigma)	0.305	0.319	0.295	0.364	0.345
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.063	0.064	0.054	0.053	0.066
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	66685.14	56306.18	89729.67	79774.96	42211.61
Log-likelihood	-33239.3	-28051.4	-44758.76	-39782.33	-21006.93

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Model 5: Dependent variable is party closeness instead of party the respondent voted for in the last election.

Table 23: Preferences for Left Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		-0.018*** (0.00)	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.018*** (0.00)	-0.020*** (0.00)
Education level	-0.109*** (0.01)				
Offshorability	0.062** (0.03)				
Offshorability (recoded)		0.168*** (0.05)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			0.063*** (0.02)		
Offshorability (metric)				0.002*** (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					0.031 (0.06)
Education x Offshorability	-0.050*** (0.01)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.006*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)
Income	-0.029*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.032*** (0.00)
Female	0.057*** (0.01)	0.054*** (0.01)	0.055*** (0.01)	0.055*** (0.01)	0.059*** (0.01)
Age in years	0.030*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.133*** (0.03)	0.137*** (0.03)	0.138*** (0.03)	0.138*** (0.03)	0.139*** (0.03)
Urban resident	0.100*** (0.01)	0.101*** (0.01)	0.101*** (0.01)	0.101*** (0.01)	0.105*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.062*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.019*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.103*** (0.02)	-0.102*** (0.02)	-0.102*** (0.02)	-0.102*** (0.02)	-0.100*** (0.02)
# of respondents	52473	52629	52629	52629	52629
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.083	0.085	0.085	0.085	0.085
Panel SD (sigma)	0.300	0.305	0.304	0.305	0.305
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.071	0.063	0.063	0.063	0.066
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	66367.14	66698.86	66698.11	66701.93	66663.88
Log-likelihood	-33080.32	-33246.15	-33245.78	-33247.69	-33228.67

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 24: Preferences for Left Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.021*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.020*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.149*** (0.04)	0.122*** (0.04)	0.160*** (0.04)	0.160*** (0.04)	0.119*** (0.04)
Education x Offshorability	-0.014*** (0.00)	-0.011*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.012*** (0.00)
Income	-0.032*** (0.00)	-0.036*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.036*** (0.00)
Female	0.024** (0.01)	0.060*** (0.01)	0.054*** (0.01)	0.087*** (0.01)	0.069*** (0.01)
Age in years	0.031*** (0.00)	0.020*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)	0.027*** (0.00)	0.020*** (0.00)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.114*** (0.03)	0.159*** (0.03)	0.138*** (0.03)	0.113*** (0.03)	0.112*** (0.03)
Urban resident	0.097*** (0.01)	0.107*** (0.01)	0.102*** (0.01)	0.080*** (0.01)	0.079*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.059*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.059*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.021*** (0.00)	0.022*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.023*** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.104*** (0.02)	-0.105*** (0.02)	-0.102*** (0.02)	-0.101*** (0.02)	-0.105*** (0.02)
Self-employed	-0.394*** (0.02)				-0.334*** (0.02)
Union member		0.344*** (0.01)			0.305*** (0.01)
Political interest			0.002 (0.01)		0.006 (0.01)
Church attendance				0.133*** (0.00)	0.134*** (0.00)
# of respondents	52629	52545	52608	52592	52490
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.090	0.099	0.085	0.086	0.107
Panel SD (sigma)	0.314	0.331	0.305	0.306	0.347
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.074	0.075	0.063	0.086	0.106
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	66241.35	65957.87	66667.58	65825.84	64788.46
Log-likelihood	-33011.96	-32870.24	-33225.09	-32804.22	-32269.24
Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.					
Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.					

Table 25: Preferences for Left Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.029*** (0.00)	-0.018*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.123*** (0.05)	0.154*** (0.04)	0.160*** (0.04)	0.122** (0.05)	0.145*** (0.04)
Education x Offshorability	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.009** (0.00)	-0.014*** (0.00)
Income	-0.029*** (0.00)	-0.030*** (0.00)	-0.032*** (0.00)	-0.011*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)
Female	0.061*** (0.01)	0.081*** (0.01)	0.053*** (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	0.060*** (0.01)
Age in years	0.031*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)	0.030*** (0.00)	0.024*** (0.00)	0.030*** (0.00)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.108*** (0.03)	0.131*** (0.03)	0.130*** (0.03)	0.059** (0.03)	0.142*** (0.03)
Urban resident	0.104*** (0.01)	0.108*** (0.01)	0.102*** (0.01)	0.065*** (0.01)	0.100*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.064*** (0.00)	-0.062*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.009*** (0.00)	-0.054*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.023*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.01)	0.021*** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.106*** (0.02)	-0.100*** (0.02)	-0.102*** (0.02)	-0.145*** (0.02)	-0.101*** (0.02)
Routinization	0.078*** (0.01)				
Skill specificity		0.108*** (0.01)			
Outsider			0.033* (0.02)		
Left-right placement				-0.353*** (0.00)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					-0.012*** (0.00)
# of respondents	43627	52629	52629	51175	52002
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.087	0.086	0.085	0.102	0.086
Panel SD (sigma)	0.308	0.306	0.304	0.337	0.306
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.074	0.068	0.064	0.376	0.063
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	54959.69	66571.17	66692.83	53396.39	65864.25
Log-likelihood	-27373.01	-33176.87	-33237.70	-26589.77	-32823.54

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 26: Preferences for Left Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.164*** (0.04)	0.159*** (0.04)	0.132 (0.10)	0.220*** (0.05)	0.158*** (0.04)
Education x Offshorability	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.015** (0.01)	-0.020*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)
Income	-0.036*** (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.036*** (0.01)	-0.034*** (0.00)	-0.032*** (0.00)
Female	0.055*** (0.01)	0.054*** (0.01)	0.071*** (0.03)	0.042*** (0.01)	0.053*** (0.01)
Age in years	0.030*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)	0.033*** (0.01)	0.032*** (0.00)	0.029*** (0.00)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.124*** (0.03)	0.140*** (0.03)	0.049 (0.06)	0.105*** (0.03)	0.138*** (0.03)
Urban resident	0.106*** (0.01)	0.102*** (0.01)	0.045 (0.03)	0.092*** (0.01)	0.102*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.061*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.01)	-0.060*** (0.00)	-0.060*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.033*** (0.01)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.059* (0.03)	0.027*** (0.01)	0.020*** (0.00)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.091*** (0.02)	-0.103*** (0.02)	-0.117* (0.06)	-0.104*** (0.02)	-0.099*** (0.02)
Public sector		0.085*** (0.02)			
Risk aversion			0.008 (0.01)		
Sectoral trade exposure				0.001 (0.00)	
Trade openness					-0.004*** (0.00)
Social expenditure					0.009 (0.01)
# of respondents	52629	52629	10385	40856	52629
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.058	0.085	0.068	0.053	0.050
Panel SD (sigma)	0.249	0.304	0.270	0.238	0.228
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.094	0.064	0.093	0.076	0.089
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	66446.90	66681.72	13307.23	52270.36	66692.37
Log-likelihood	-33120.17	-33232.15	-6579.63	-26029.00	-33232.04

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 27: Preferences for Liberal Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Education years	0.019*** (0.00)	0.020*** (0.00)	0.020*** (0.00)	0.017*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.052 (0.07)	0.024 (0.07)	-0.036 (0.05)	-0.055 (0.06)	-0.064 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	0.009** (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)	0.008** (0.00)	0.009** (0.00)	0.011* (0.01)
Income	0.040*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.038*** (0.00)	0.035*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)
Female	-0.053*** (0.02)	-0.046*** (0.02)	-0.029** (0.01)	-0.022 (0.01)	-0.118*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.021*** (0.01)	-0.011*** (0.00)	-0.015*** (0.00)	-0.029*** (0.01)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.131*** (0.04)	-0.113** (0.05)	-0.122*** (0.04)	-0.098*** (0.03)	-0.136** (0.06)
Urban resident	-0.014 (0.02)	-0.020 (0.02)	-0.023 (0.02)	0.024 (0.02)	-0.001 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.005 (0.00)	-0.008** (0.00)	-0.014*** (0.00)	0.006 (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.062*** (0.01)	-0.053*** (0.01)	-0.023*** (0.00)	-0.055*** (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.022 (0.02)	-0.025 (0.02)	0.075*** (0.02)	0.086*** (0.03)
# of respondents	52629	44533	70641	64113	33139
# of countries	18	18	18	25	18
ICC (rho)	0.629	0.627	0.648	0.583	0.443
Panel SD (sigma)	1.303	1.297	1.356	1.181	0.892
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.023	0.027	0.022	0.021	0.062
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	31539.76	27061.42	41113.06	39913.10	19655.55
Log-likelihood	-15666.61	-13429.02	-20450.46	-19851.40	-9728.89

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Model 5: Dependent variable is party closeness instead of party the respondent voted for in the last election.

Table 28: Preferences for Liberal Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		0.020*** (0.00)	0.014*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)
Education level	0.099*** (0.01)				
Offshorability	-0.061 (0.05)				
Offshorability (recoded)		-0.085 (0.07)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			-0.036 (0.03)		
Offshorability (metric)				-0.001 (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					0.039 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	0.060*** (0.02)	0.011** (0.00)	0.005** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.005 (0.01)
Income	0.037*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.039*** (0.00)
Female	-0.054*** (0.02)	-0.053*** (0.02)	-0.054*** (0.02)	-0.054*** (0.02)	-0.058*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.124*** (0.04)	-0.130*** (0.04)	-0.131*** (0.04)	-0.131*** (0.04)	-0.133*** (0.04)
Urban resident	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)	-0.013 (0.02)	-0.016 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.003 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.013 (0.02)	-0.013 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)
# of respondents	52473	52629	52629	52629	52629
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.625	0.629	0.629	0.629	0.629
Panel SD (sigma)	1.291	1.303	1.303	1.303	1.303
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.026	0.023	0.023	0.023	0.024
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	31375.99	31547.80	31542.89	31544.82	31536.18
Log-likelihood	-15584.75	-15670.63	-15668.17	-15669.14	-15664.82

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 29: Preferences for Liberal Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	0.019*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.00)	0.020*** (0.00)	0.020*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.047 (0.07)	-0.031 (0.07)	-0.052 (0.07)	-0.052 (0.07)	-0.030 (0.07)
Education x Offshorability	0.009** (0.00)	0.007 (0.00)	0.009** (0.00)	0.009** (0.00)	0.007 (0.00)
Income	0.039*** (0.00)	0.041*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.041*** (0.00)
Female	-0.035** (0.02)	-0.056*** (0.02)	-0.052*** (0.02)	-0.049*** (0.02)	-0.035** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.011*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.120*** (0.04)	-0.132*** (0.04)	-0.133*** (0.04)	-0.134*** (0.04)	-0.128*** (0.04)
Urban resident	-0.013 (0.02)	-0.018 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)	-0.018 (0.02)	-0.021 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.005 (0.00)	-0.005 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.005 (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.057*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.057*** (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.013 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)
Self-employed	0.232*** (0.02)				0.197*** (0.03)
Union member		-0.182*** (0.02)			-0.157*** (0.02)
Political interest			0.003 (0.01)		0.003 (0.01)
Church attendance				0.027*** (0.01)	0.026*** (0.01)
# of respondents	52629	52545	52608	52592	52490
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.634	0.638	0.629	0.626	0.637
Panel SD (sigma)	1.315	1.327	1.302	1.294	1.326
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.024	0.023	0.024	0.025	0.026
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	31464.41	31430.28	31542.85	31525.18	31368.96
Log-likelihood	-15623.49	-15606.45	-15662.72	-15653.89	-15559.49
Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.					
Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.					

Table 30: Preferences for Liberal Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	0.015*** (0.00)	0.016*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.00)	0.024*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.043 (0.07)	-0.063 (0.07)	-0.052 (0.07)	-0.040 (0.07)	-0.050 (0.07)
Education x Offshorability	0.011** (0.01)	0.010** (0.00)	0.009** (0.00)	0.006 (0.00)	0.009** (0.00)
Income	0.033*** (0.00)	0.037*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.028*** (0.00)	0.039*** (0.00)
Female	-0.054*** (0.02)	-0.078*** (0.02)	-0.053*** (0.02)	-0.013 (0.02)	-0.054*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.018*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.013*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.124*** (0.05)	-0.124*** (0.04)	-0.129*** (0.04)	-0.085* (0.04)	-0.138*** (0.04)
Urban resident	-0.021 (0.02)	-0.019 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)	0.009 (0.02)	-0.015 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.002 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.033*** (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.054*** (0.01)	-0.055*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.053*** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.003 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)
Routinization	-0.038*** (0.01)				
Skill specificity		-0.104*** (0.01)			
Outsider			-0.011 (0.03)		
Left-right placement				0.152*** (0.00)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					-0.002 (0.00)
# of respondents	43627	52629	52629	51175	52002
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.627	0.631	0.629	0.644	0.629
Panel SD (sigma)	1.297	1.307	1.303	1.344	1.302
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.023	0.025	0.023	0.058	0.023
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	25164.65	31500.53	31550.48	29589.91	31157.02
Log-likelihood	-12475.49	-15641.55	-15666.53	-14686.52	-15469.92

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 31: Preferences for Liberal Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	0.019*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.00)	0.021*** (0.01)	0.020*** (0.00)	0.019*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.044 (0.07)	-0.052 (0.07)	-0.132 (0.15)	-0.092 (0.07)	-0.054 (0.07)
Education x Offshorability	0.009** (0.00)	0.009** (0.00)	0.015 (0.01)	0.013** (0.01)	0.009** (0.00)
Income	0.042*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.039*** (0.01)	0.046*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)
Female	-0.051*** (0.02)	-0.053*** (0.02)	-0.035 (0.04)	-0.042** (0.02)	-0.053*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.016* (0.01)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.127*** (0.04)	-0.132*** (0.04)	-0.023 (0.09)	-0.095** (0.05)	-0.130*** (0.04)
Urban resident	-0.015 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)	0.028 (0.04)	-0.016 (0.02)	-0.014 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.004 (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.221*** (0.05)	-0.056*** (0.01)	-0.081 (0.13)	-0.070*** (0.02)	-0.063*** (0.01)
FDI stock	0.005*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	0.011* (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.113 (0.08)	-0.012 (0.02)	0.163 (0.23)	-0.027 (0.02)	-0.026 (0.02)
Public sector		-0.053* (0.03)			
Risk aversion			-0.025*** (0.01)		
Sectoral trade exposure				-0.007 (0.01)	
Trade openness					0.005** (0.00)
Social expenditure					0.033* (0.02)
# of respondents	52629	52629	10385	40856	52629
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.425	0.629	0.491	0.598	0.585
Panel SD (sigma)	0.859	1.302	0.982	1.219	1.187
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.364	0.023	0.259	0.111	0.043
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	31561.63	31547.86	6466.03	24925.81	31554.21
Log-likelihood	-15677.54	-15665.22	-3159.03	-12356.73	-15662.96

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 32: Preferences for Center-Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Education years	0.004* (0.00)	0.005** (0.00)	0.009*** (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.051 (0.05)	-0.072 (0.05)	-0.085** (0.03)	-0.033 (0.04)	-0.074 (0.06)
Education x Offshorability	0.008** (0.00)	0.009*** (0.00)	0.009*** (0.00)	0.007** (0.00)	0.010** (0.00)
Income	0.042*** (0.00)	0.038*** (0.00)	0.041*** (0.00)	0.035*** (0.00)	0.045*** (0.00)
Female	-0.030** (0.01)	-0.053*** (0.01)	-0.011 (0.01)	-0.026** (0.01)	-0.056*** (0.01)
Age in years	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.017*** (0.00)	-0.014*** (0.00)	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.025*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.151*** (0.03)	-0.156*** (0.03)	-0.153*** (0.03)	-0.104*** (0.02)	-0.236*** (0.04)
Urban resident	-0.187*** (0.01)	-0.187*** (0.01)	-0.188*** (0.01)	-0.161*** (0.01)	-0.201*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.052*** (0.00)	0.044*** (0.00)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.073*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.006 (0.01)	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.037*** (0.00)	-0.008 (0.01)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.014 (0.02)	0.021 (0.02)	0.006 (0.01)	-0.020* (0.01)	-0.047** (0.02)
# of respondents	52629	44533	70641	64113	33139
# of countries	18	18	18	25	18
ICC (rho)	0.148	0.152	0.149	0.163	0.121
Panel SD (sigma)	0.416	0.424	0.419	0.442	0.372
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.045	0.040	0.040	0.042	0.071
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	61652.81	52259.60	84025.55	76571.52	38647.67
Log-likelihood	-30723.13	-26028.11	-41906.70	-38180.61	-19224.96

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * $p \leq 0.10$; ** $p \leq 0.05$; *** $p \leq 0.01$.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Model 5: Dependent variable is party closeness instead of party the respondent voted for in the last election.

Table 33: Preferences for Center-Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		0.005** (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)	0.006*** (0.00)	0.006*** (0.00)
Education level	0.068*** (0.01)				
Offshorability	0.011 (0.03)				
Offshorability (recoded)		-0.048 (0.05)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			0.001 (0.02)		
Offshorability (metric)				-0.000 (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					0.090 (0.06)
Education x Offshorability	0.020 (0.01)	0.007** (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)
Income	0.038*** (0.00)	0.043*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.00)	0.043*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.00)
Female	-0.033*** (0.01)	-0.031*** (0.01)	-0.032*** (0.01)	-0.032*** (0.01)	-0.036*** (0.01)
Age in years	-0.020*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.145*** (0.03)	-0.151*** (0.03)	-0.151*** (0.03)	-0.151*** (0.03)	-0.152*** (0.03)
Urban resident	-0.193*** (0.01)	-0.185*** (0.01)	-0.185*** (0.01)	-0.185*** (0.01)	-0.189*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.052*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.009** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.013 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)	0.012 (0.02)
# of respondents	52473	52629	52629	52629	52629
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.153	0.148	0.148	0.148	0.148
Panel SD (sigma)	0.425	0.416	0.416	0.416	0.417
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.049	0.044	0.044	0.044	0.046
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	61389.69	61663.49	61665.18	61669.06	61633.81
Log-likelihood	-30591.60	-30728.47	-30729.32	-30731.25	-30713.63

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 34: Preferences for Center-Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	0.004* (0.00)	0.007*** (0.00)	0.003 (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)	0.004* (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.043 (0.05)	-0.022 (0.05)	-0.053 (0.05)	-0.054 (0.05)	-0.024 (0.05)
Education x Offshorability	0.007** (0.00)	0.005 (0.00)	0.008** (0.00)	0.010*** (0.00)	0.007** (0.00)
Income	0.042*** (0.00)	0.044*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.00)	0.044*** (0.00)	0.045*** (0.00)
Female	-0.010 (0.01)	-0.034*** (0.01)	-0.026** (0.01)	-0.083*** (0.01)	-0.068*** (0.01)
Age in years	-0.020*** (0.00)	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.016*** (0.00)	-0.011*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.134*** (0.03)	-0.164*** (0.03)	-0.151*** (0.03)	-0.110*** (0.03)	-0.108*** (0.03)
Urban resident	-0.182*** (0.01)	-0.191*** (0.01)	-0.188*** (0.01)	-0.152*** (0.01)	-0.153*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.047*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.011** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.012** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.015 (0.02)	0.015 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)	0.009 (0.02)	0.011 (0.02)
Self-employed	0.242*** (0.02)				0.200*** (0.02)
Union member		-0.243*** (0.01)			-0.218*** (0.01)
Political interest			0.016** (0.01)		0.009 (0.01)
Church attendance				-0.200*** (0.00)	-0.201*** (0.00)
# of respondents	52629	52545	52608	52592	52490
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.147	0.149	0.149	0.130	0.136
Panel SD (sigma)	0.416	0.418	0.418	0.387	0.397
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.048	0.053	0.045	0.105	0.116
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	61483.93	61264.55	61635.88	59745.69	59251.91
Log-likelihood	-30633.25	-30523.58	-30709.23	-29764.14	-29500.97
Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.					
Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.					

Table 35: Preferences for Center-Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	-0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	0.004** (0.00)	0.009*** (0.00)	0.005** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.033 (0.05)	-0.044 (0.05)	-0.054 (0.05)	-0.008 (0.05)	-0.038 (0.05)
Education x Offshorability	0.008** (0.00)	0.007** (0.00)	0.008** (0.00)	0.002 (0.00)	0.007** (0.00)
Income	0.041*** (0.00)	0.039*** (0.00)	0.041*** (0.00)	0.025*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.00)
Female	-0.028** (0.01)	-0.057*** (0.01)	-0.027** (0.01)	0.034*** (0.01)	-0.031** (0.01)
Age in years	-0.020*** (0.00)	-0.018*** (0.00)	-0.021*** (0.00)	-0.011*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.127*** (0.03)	-0.144*** (0.03)	-0.130*** (0.03)	-0.088*** (0.03)	-0.148*** (0.03)
Urban resident	-0.187*** (0.01)	-0.192*** (0.01)	-0.186*** (0.01)	-0.188*** (0.01)	-0.185*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.050*** (0.00)	0.050*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.008** (0.00)	0.047*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.012** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.008 (0.01)	-0.010** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.023 (0.02)	0.012 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)	0.032* (0.02)	0.012 (0.02)
Routinization	-0.066*** (0.01)				
Skill specificity		-0.111*** (0.01)			
Outsider			-0.093*** (0.02)		
Left-right placement				0.312*** (0.00)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					0.002 (0.00)
# of respondents	43627	52629	52629	51175	52002
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.154	0.149	0.148	0.193	0.148
Panel SD (sigma)	0.427	0.418	0.417	0.489	0.416
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.052	0.049	0.046	0.285	0.045
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	51140.59	61545.33	61640.66	51379.61	60973.61
Log-likelihood	-25463.46	-30663.95	-30711.62	-25581.38	-30378.21

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 36: Preferences for Center-Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	0.004* (0.00)	0.004* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.001 (0.00)	0.004* (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.055 (0.05)	-0.051 (0.05)	0.098 (0.10)	-0.083 (0.05)	-0.050 (0.05)
Education x Offshorability	0.008** (0.00)	0.008** (0.00)	-0.002 (0.01)	0.010*** (0.00)	0.008** (0.00)
Income	0.045*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.00)	0.043*** (0.01)	0.040*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.00)
Female	-0.031*** (0.01)	-0.030** (0.01)	-0.068** (0.03)	-0.031** (0.01)	-0.030** (0.01)
Age in years	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.018*** (0.00)	-0.019*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.138*** (0.03)	-0.151*** (0.03)	-0.146** (0.07)	-0.135*** (0.03)	-0.151*** (0.03)
Urban resident	-0.192*** (0.01)	-0.187*** (0.01)	-0.159*** (0.03)	-0.179*** (0.01)	-0.187*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.049*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.042*** (0.01)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.030 (0.02)	-0.010** (0.00)	-0.001 (0.05)	0.001 (0.01)	-0.010** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.000 (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)	0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.035 (0.04)	0.014 (0.02)	-0.003 (0.10)	0.026 (0.02)	0.014 (0.02)
Public sector		0.003 (0.02)			
Risk aversion			-0.016*** (0.01)		
Sectoral trade exposure				0.000 (0.00)	
Trade openness					-0.000 (0.00)
Social expenditure					-0.001 (0.01)
# of respondents	52629	52629	10385	40856	52629
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.154	0.148	0.152	0.167	0.148
Panel SD (sigma)	0.426	0.416	0.423	0.447	0.416
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.055	0.045	0.062	0.045	0.045
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	61392.67	61663.66	12160.23	48153.38	61674.54
Log-likelihood	-30593.06	-30723.12	-6006.13	-23970.51	-30723.12

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 37: Preferences for Populist Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Education years	-0.049*** (0.00)	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.039*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.053*** (0.01)
Offshorability	-0.018 (0.08)	0.040 (0.09)	-0.014 (0.06)	-0.007 (0.08)	-0.160 (0.11)
Education x Offshorability	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.007 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)
Income	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.024*** (0.00)	-0.025*** (0.00)	-0.028*** (0.01)
Female	-0.214*** (0.02)	-0.238*** (0.02)	-0.220*** (0.02)	-0.216*** (0.02)	-0.253*** (0.03)
Age in years	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.014** (0.01)	-0.005 (0.00)	-0.003 (0.00)	-0.001 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.132*** (0.05)	0.120** (0.06)	0.145*** (0.05)	0.087** (0.04)	0.114* (0.06)
Urban resident	-0.017 (0.02)	0.015 (0.03)	0.008 (0.02)	-0.020 (0.02)	-0.015 (0.03)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.175*** (0.00)	0.179*** (0.01)	0.165*** (0.00)	0.147*** (0.00)	0.188*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.018 (0.02)	-0.021 (0.01)	0.057*** (0.01)	-0.007 (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.005*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.069*** (0.02)	0.053** (0.03)	0.059*** (0.02)	0.008 (0.02)	0.180*** (0.03)
# of respondents	52629	44533	70641	64113	33139
# of countries	18	18	18	25	18
ICC (rho)	0.534	0.530	0.527	0.533	0.451
Panel SD (sigma)	1.069	1.062	1.055	1.067	0.906
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.123	0.128	0.108	0.122	0.207
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	17296.23	14500.36	23216.07	21729.51	8946.71
Log-likelihood	-8544.84	-7148.49	-11501.96	-10759.60	-4374.48

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Model 5: Dependent variable is party closeness instead of party the respondent voted for in the last election.

Table 38: Preferences for Populist Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		-0.049*** (0.00)	-0.047*** (0.01)	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.049*** (0.00)
Education level	-0.194*** (0.02)				
Offshorability	0.034 (0.06)				
Offshorability (recoded)		-0.008 (0.09)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			-0.012 (0.04)		
Offshorability (metric)				-0.000 (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					-0.106 (0.11)
Education x Offshorability	-0.033 (0.03)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.001 (0.01)
Income	-0.021*** (0.01)	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)
Female	-0.214*** (0.02)	-0.214*** (0.02)	-0.214*** (0.02)	-0.214*** (0.02)	-0.209*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.123*** (0.05)	0.131*** (0.05)	0.132*** (0.05)	0.132*** (0.05)	0.133*** (0.05)
Urban resident	-0.029 (0.02)	-0.018 (0.02)	-0.016 (0.02)	-0.016 (0.02)	-0.015 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.176*** (0.00)	0.175*** (0.00)	0.175*** (0.00)	0.175*** (0.00)	0.174*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.017 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.066*** (0.02)	0.069*** (0.02)	0.069*** (0.02)	0.069*** (0.02)	0.070*** (0.02)
# of respondents	52473	52629	52629	52629	52629
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.550	0.533	0.533	0.533	0.533
Panel SD (sigma)	1.106	1.068	1.069	1.069	1.069
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.120	0.123	0.123	0.123	0.124
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	17305.98	17295.26	17292.04	17292.12	17288.92
Log-likelihood	-8549.75	-8544.36	-8542.75	-8542.79	-8541.18

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 39: Preferences for Populist Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	-0.049*** (0.00)	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.044*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.019 (0.08)	-0.017 (0.08)	-0.016 (0.08)	-0.035 (0.08)	-0.031 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)
Income	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.020*** (0.01)	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.020*** (0.01)
Female	-0.215*** (0.02)	-0.217*** (0.02)	-0.241*** (0.02)	-0.197*** (0.02)	-0.229*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.131*** (0.05)	0.129*** (0.05)	0.135*** (0.05)	0.124*** (0.05)	0.122*** (0.05)
Urban resident	-0.017 (0.02)	-0.016 (0.02)	-0.009 (0.02)	-0.033 (0.02)	-0.024 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.175*** (0.00)	0.174*** (0.00)	0.171*** (0.00)	0.176*** (0.00)	0.172*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.069*** (0.02)	0.067*** (0.02)	0.072*** (0.02)	0.071*** (0.02)	0.072*** (0.02)
Self-employed	-0.017 (0.03)				-0.020 (0.03)
Union member		-0.066*** (0.02)			-0.068*** (0.02)
Political interest			-0.108*** (0.01)		-0.105*** (0.01)
Church attendance				0.082*** (0.01)	0.080*** (0.01)
# of respondents	52629	52545	52608	52592	52490
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.533	0.534	0.540	0.531	0.538
Panel SD (sigma)	1.069	1.071	1.084	1.063	1.079
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.123	0.124	0.128	0.130	0.134
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	17306.84	17267.57	17245.35	17220.71	17155.45
Log-likelihood	-8544.71	-8525.09	-8513.97	-8501.65	-8452.74
Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.					
Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.					

Table 40: Preferences for Populist Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	-0.034*** (0.00)	-0.044*** (0.00)	-0.049*** (0.00)	-0.049*** (0.00)	-0.044*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.009 (0.09)	-0.023 (0.08)	-0.019 (0.08)	0.016 (0.09)	0.000 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	-0.008 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.007 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)
Income	-0.021*** (0.01)	-0.019*** (0.01)	-0.023*** (0.01)	-0.035*** (0.01)	-0.020*** (0.01)
Female	-0.246*** (0.02)	-0.179*** (0.02)	-0.213*** (0.02)	-0.167*** (0.02)	-0.253*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000* (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.084 (0.05)	0.127*** (0.05)	0.138*** (0.05)	0.187*** (0.05)	0.115** (0.05)
Urban resident	-0.001 (0.03)	-0.010 (0.02)	-0.017 (0.02)	-0.005 (0.03)	-0.005 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.171*** (0.01)	0.173*** (0.00)	0.175*** (0.00)	0.151*** (0.01)	0.131*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.023 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.011 (0.02)	-0.017 (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.058** (0.03)	0.072*** (0.02)	0.069*** (0.02)	0.087*** (0.03)	0.062** (0.02)
Routinization	0.106*** (0.01)				
Skill specificity		0.124*** (0.02)			
Outsider			-0.027 (0.04)		
Left-right placement				0.175*** (0.01)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					0.088*** (0.01)
# of respondents	43627	52629	52629	51175	52002
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.540	0.536	0.533	0.523	0.548
Panel SD (sigma)	1.083	1.075	1.069	1.047	1.101
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.125	0.126	0.123	0.170	0.134
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	14213.40	17251.16	17306.56	15805.35	16950.17
Log-likelihood	-6999.87	-8516.87	-8544.57	-7794.25	-8366.50

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 41: Preferences for Populist Right Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	-0.052*** (0.00)	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.052*** (0.01)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.049*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.039 (0.08)	-0.016 (0.08)	-0.019 (0.20)	-0.025 (0.09)	-0.020 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	-0.000 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)
Income	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.019*** (0.01)	-0.022*** (0.01)
Female	-0.218*** (0.02)	-0.214*** (0.02)	-0.188*** (0.05)	-0.216*** (0.02)	-0.213*** (0.02)
Age in years	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.014 (0.01)	-0.008 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.139*** (0.05)	0.129*** (0.05)	0.098 (0.11)	0.162*** (0.05)	0.132*** (0.05)
Urban resident	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.016 (0.02)	0.007 (0.06)	-0.003 (0.03)	-0.017 (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.177*** (0.00)	0.174*** (0.00)	0.181*** (0.01)	0.168*** (0.01)	0.175*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	-0.163*** (0.04)	-0.012 (0.02)	-0.146 (0.13)	-0.063*** (0.02)	-0.017 (0.02)
FDI stock	-0.003* (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	0.002 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.448*** (0.08)	0.070*** (0.02)	0.380 (0.24)	0.034 (0.03)	0.054** (0.03)
Public sector		-0.120*** (0.05)			
Risk aversion			0.029*** (0.01)		
Sectoral trade exposure				-0.003 (0.01)	
Trade openness					0.002 (0.00)
Social expenditure					0.022 (0.02)
# of respondents	52629	52629	10385	40856	52629
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.430	0.533	0.485	0.521	0.517
Panel SD (sigma)	0.869	1.068	0.971	1.043	1.034
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.385	0.124	0.276	0.136	0.126
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	17032.28	17300.03	3483.34	13831.17	17316.18
Log-likelihood	-8412.86	-8541.31	-1667.69	-6809.41	-8543.94

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 42: Preferences for Green Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Education years	0.049*** (0.00)	0.050*** (0.00)	0.047*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)	0.053*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.013 (0.08)	0.015 (0.09)	0.025 (0.07)	0.015 (0.08)	0.043 (0.10)
Education x Offshorability	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.006 (0.00)	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.007 (0.01)
Income	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.043*** (0.01)	-0.041*** (0.00)	-0.043*** (0.00)	-0.050*** (0.01)
Female	0.216*** (0.02)	0.226*** (0.02)	0.208*** (0.02)	0.202*** (0.02)	0.283*** (0.02)
Age in years	0.008 (0.01)	0.018*** (0.01)	0.014*** (0.00)	0.005 (0.01)	0.014** (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.018 (0.04)	-0.003 (0.05)	0.031 (0.04)	0.022 (0.04)	0.078 (0.05)
Urban resident	0.221*** (0.02)	0.230*** (0.02)	0.207*** (0.02)	0.206*** (0.02)	0.184*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.129*** (0.01)	-0.121*** (0.00)	-0.117*** (0.00)	-0.152*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.002 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.012 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001*** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001* (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.107*** (0.03)	0.099*** (0.03)	0.118*** (0.03)	0.055** (0.03)	0.094*** (0.03)
# of respondents	52629	44533	70641	64113	33139
# of countries	18	18	18	25	18
ICC (rho)	0.676	0.670	0.674	0.707	0.680
Panel SD (sigma)	1.444	1.425	1.436	1.554	1.457
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.083	0.086	0.089	0.064	0.101
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	22420.72	18922.20	26128.56	24179.94	16153.52
Log-likelihood	-11107.08	-9359.41	-12958.21	-11984.82	-7977.88

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 1: Baseline model.

Model 2: Sample restricted to active labor market participants.

Model 3: Sample extended to working-age and retired respondents.

Model 4: Sample expanded to 25 countries.

Model 5: Dependent variable is party closeness instead of party the respondent voted for in the last election.

Table 43: Preferences for Green Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Education years		0.049*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.01)	0.049*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)
Education level	0.199*** (0.02)				
Offshorability	-0.028 (0.07)				
Offshorability (recoded)		-0.025 (0.09)			
Offshorability (ordinal)			-0.012 (0.04)		
Offshorability (metric)				0.000 (0.00)	
Offshorability (AA 2011)					0.069 (0.10)
Education x Offshorability	-0.018 (0.03)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.007 (0.01)
Income	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)
Female	0.207*** (0.02)	0.215*** (0.02)	0.218*** (0.02)	0.217*** (0.02)	0.219*** (0.02)
Age in years	0.009 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.022 (0.04)	0.018 (0.04)	0.018 (0.04)	0.018 (0.04)	0.018 (0.04)
Urban resident	0.241*** (0.02)	0.220*** (0.02)	0.219*** (0.02)	0.219*** (0.02)	0.219*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.132*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.001* (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.110*** (0.03)	0.108*** (0.03)	0.107*** (0.03)	0.107*** (0.03)	0.108*** (0.03)
# of respondents	52473	52629	52629	52629	52629
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.667	0.676	0.675	0.675	0.675
Panel SD (sigma)	1.415	1.443	1.443	1.442	1.441
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.091	0.083	0.083	0.083	0.083
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	22481.90	22420.09	22426.44	22427.01	22427.91
Log-likelihood	-11137.70	-11106.77	-11109.95	-11110.23	-11110.68

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 44: Preferences for Green Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 11	Model 12	Model 13	Model 14	Model 15
Education years	0.049*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.050*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.014 (0.08)	-0.016 (0.08)	-0.014 (0.08)	-0.022 (0.08)	-0.026 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
Income	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)
Female	0.213*** (0.02)	0.216*** (0.02)	0.221*** (0.02)	0.232*** (0.02)	0.236*** (0.02)
Age in years	0.008 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.006 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.016 (0.04)	0.019 (0.04)	0.018 (0.04)	0.003 (0.04)	0.003 (0.04)
Urban resident	0.221*** (0.02)	0.221*** (0.02)	0.219*** (0.02)	0.204*** (0.02)	0.202*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.126*** (0.01)	-0.126*** (0.01)	-0.124*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.107*** (0.03)	0.108*** (0.03)	0.109*** (0.03)	0.109*** (0.03)	0.112*** (0.03)
Self-employed	-0.035 (0.03)				-0.035 (0.03)
Union member		0.030 (0.02)			0.025 (0.02)
Political interest			0.021 (0.01)		0.023* (0.01)
Church attendance				0.085*** (0.01)	0.084*** (0.01)
# of respondents	52629	52545	52608	52592	52490
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.676	0.676	0.673	0.677	0.675
Panel SD (sigma)	1.444	1.444	1.436	1.448	1.441
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.083	0.084	0.084	0.089	0.091
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	22430.30	22403.39	22415.55	22306.49	22295.39
Log-likelihood	-11106.44	-11093.00	-11099.07	-11044.54	-11022.71

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 45: Preferences for Green Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 16	Model 17	Model 18	Model 19	Model 20
Education years	0.048*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.048*** (0.00)	0.046*** (0.00)	0.046*** (0.00)
Offshorability	0.024 (0.09)	-0.015 (0.08)	-0.010 (0.08)	-0.065 (0.08)	-0.010 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	0.003 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)
Income	-0.046*** (0.00)	-0.045*** (0.00)	-0.043*** (0.00)	-0.031*** (0.00)	-0.046*** (0.00)
Female	0.216*** (0.02)	0.210*** (0.02)	0.212*** (0.02)	0.193*** (0.02)	0.233*** (0.02)
Age in years	0.007 (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)	0.012** (0.01)	0.007 (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.045 (0.05)	0.019 (0.04)	-0.013 (0.04)	-0.040 (0.04)	0.023 (0.04)
Urban resident	0.225*** (0.02)	0.220*** (0.02)	0.220*** (0.02)	0.196*** (0.02)	0.215*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.124*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.092*** (0.01)	-0.104*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.005 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.01)	0.005 (0.01)
FDI stock	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.120*** (0.03)	0.107*** (0.03)	0.107*** (0.03)	0.114*** (0.03)	0.108*** (0.03)
Routinization	-0.051*** (0.01)				
Skill specificity		-0.026 (0.02)			
Outsider			0.124*** (0.03)		
Left-right placement				-0.180*** (0.01)	
Anti-immigration (econ.)					-0.043*** (0.01)
# of respondents	43627	52629	52629	51175	52002
# of countries	18	18	18	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.655	0.676	0.677	0.697	0.676
Panel SD (sigma)	1.377	1.444	1.447	1.517	1.443
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.091	0.083	0.084	0.106	0.085
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	18490.17	22429.50	22413.07	20777.63	22088.00
Log-likelihood	-9138.25	-11106.04	-11097.82	-10280.39	-10935.41

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Table 46: Preferences for Green Parties – Robustness Checks

	Model 21	Model 22	Model 23	Model 24	Model 25
Education years	0.050*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)	0.052*** (0.01)	0.051*** (0.00)	0.049*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.020 (0.08)	-0.012 (0.08)	-0.063 (0.19)	-0.052 (0.09)	-0.013 (0.08)
Education x Offshorability	-0.003 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)	0.003 (0.01)	-0.000 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.01)
Income	-0.048*** (0.00)	-0.044*** (0.00)	-0.049*** (0.01)	-0.043*** (0.01)	-0.045*** (0.00)
Female	0.215*** (0.02)	0.216*** (0.02)	0.252*** (0.04)	0.228*** (0.02)	0.216*** (0.02)
Age in years	0.009* (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)	0.010 (0.01)	0.003 (0.01)	0.008 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.000* (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.019 (0.04)	0.016 (0.04)	0.012 (0.10)	0.006 (0.05)	0.018 (0.04)
Urban resident	0.220*** (0.02)	0.221*** (0.02)	0.270*** (0.04)	0.201*** (0.02)	0.221*** (0.02)
Anti-immigration (culture)	-0.128*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)	-0.140*** (0.01)	-0.124*** (0.01)	-0.127*** (0.01)
Unemployment rate	-0.005 (0.05)	-0.002 (0.01)	0.102 (0.13)	0.040** (0.02)	-0.005 (0.01)
FDI stock	0.004** (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)	0.006 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.00)	-0.001** (0.00)
Effective number of parties	0.271*** (0.09)	0.108*** (0.03)	0.271 (0.24)	0.119*** (0.03)	0.097*** (0.03)
Public sector		-0.078** (0.04)			
Risk aversion			0.027*** (0.01)		
Sectoral trade exposure				0.001 (0.00)	
Trade openness					0.004 (0.00)
Social expenditure					-0.012 (0.03)
# of respondents	52629	52629	10385	40856	52629
# of countries	18	18	14	18	18
ICC (rho)	0.494	0.676	0.487	0.646	0.660
Panel SD (sigma)	0.988	1.443	0.975	1.352	1.392
R ² (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.253	0.083	0.246	0.098	0.094
Prob > Chi ²	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	22522.66	22427.37	4620.30	18282.60	22440.74
Log-likelihood	-11158.05	-11104.97	-2236.17	-9035.12	-11106.22

Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.

Model 21: Multilevel model clustered on country-survey instead of country.

Table 47: Disaggregate Center-Right Parties and Vote Turnout

	Christian Democrats	Conservative	Vote Turnout
Education years	0.005 (0.00)	0.004 (0.00)	0.047*** (0.00)
Offshorability	-0.108* (0.06)	0.019 (0.08)	0.095*** (0.03)
Education x Offshorability	0.004 (0.00)	0.008 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.00)
Income	-0.002 (0.00)	0.060*** (0.00)	0.056*** (0.00)
Female	0.022 (0.02)	-0.051** (0.02)	0.006 (0.01)
Age in years	-0.012*** (0.00)	-0.026*** (0.01)	0.051*** (0.00)
Age squared	0.000*** (0.00)	0.000*** (0.00)	-0.000*** (0.00)
Unemployed	-0.154*** (0.04)	-0.096** (0.05)	-0.279*** (0.02)
Urban resident	-0.371*** (0.02)	-0.044** (0.02)	-0.073*** (0.01)
Anti-immigration (culture)	0.020*** (0.00)	0.065*** (0.00)	-0.026*** (0.00)
Unemployment rate	0.031*** (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	-0.008** (0.00)
FDI stock	0.004*** (0.00)	0.004*** (0.00)	-0.000 (0.00)
Effective number of parties	-0.042** (0.02)	0.147** (0.07)	-0.029* (0.02)
# of respondents	40755	34324	97238
# of countries	14	11	18
ICC (rho)	0.613	0.933	0.113
Panel SD (sigma)	1.260	3.733	0.357
R2 (McKelvey/Zavoina)	0.035	0.014	0.132
Prob > Chi2	0.000	0.000	0.000
BIC	32776.63	20642.04	79296.08
Log-likelihood	-16287.47	-10221.81	-39538.93
Multilevel probit estimates with standard errors in parentheses.			
Level of statistical significance: * p≤0.10; ** p≤0.05; *** p≤0.01.			