SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

Polarisation between the rich and the poor?
The dynamics and structure of redistributive preferences in a comparative perspective

A. Survey information

A.1 France

"Would you say that the following statements apply to the French social security system or not? Our social security system ... Costs too much for society" (drees_2exp)

- DREES (2014, 2015)

"For you, should unemployment benefits be ...? A right subject to counterparts" (drees_act)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"For you, should unemployment benefits be ...? Permanent right until you find a job" (drees_find)

- DREES (2000, 2001)

"In terms of health policy, should priority be given to certain groups of the population?"(drees_healt)

- DREES (2000, 2001)

"Do you think that the health insurance system should remain essentially public?" (drees_healthpub)

- DREES (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013. 2015)

"And if the government were to put in place measures to reduce income inequality, would you personally be" (drees_incineq)

- DREES (2005, 2006)

"Position your opinion on a scale of 1 to 10. Note 1 means that you feel that the income should be more egalitarian and the score 10 that you feel should be further encouraged individual efforts." (drees_ind)

- DREES (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"In your opinion, for a society to be fair, is it important, fairly important, not important or not important at all? Ensure basic needs for all: food, shelter, clothing, education, health." (drees_inequal)

- DREES (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012,)

"With regard to social inequalities, do you think that the public authorities can...?" (drees_inequal2)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"In France, for basic health insurance, basic pension or unemployment insurance, you can not choose between a private insurance or a public fund. In your opinion, the authorization to open competition between public and private insurers? Rather, it would be a good thing, because it

would allow for higher and higher quality basic benefits; 2. Would be rather a bad thing, as it would create a two-tier social protection system" (drees_insur)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007)

"Do you think that there are too many State interventions in economic and social matters, just enough or not enough?" (drees_interv)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"For you, should unemployment benefits be ...? A limited right in time" (drees_limit)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"In your opinion, for a society to be fair, is it important, fairly important, not important or not important at all? Reducing income inequality between citizens" (drees_min)

- DREES (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012)

"The government has introduced universal health coverage, ensuring full reimbursement of care for people with low incomes (for example, less than 3,500 francs per month for a single person). This measure is financed by tax and a tax on mutuals and insurance companies. Do you personally, are you quite supportive, rather favorable, rather unfavorable, totally unfavorable to this measure?" (drees_minhealth)

- DREES (2001, 2002)

"For each of the following opinions on health care spending, tell me if you agree or disagree with it? If there were no monopoly on social security, it would work better" (drees_monop)

- DREES (2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"For each of the following opinions, tell me if you agree or disagree with them? If there was no monopoly on social security, it would work better" (drees_nosocsec)

- DREES (2001, 2002, 2003, 2004)

"With regard to ..., do you think that the public authorities can ...? Poverty and exclusion" (drees_pov)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"With regard to ..., do you think that the public authorities can ...? Problems of financing social protection" (drees_protsoc)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

"Do you think that the health or pension systems should remain essentially public?" (drees_public)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005)

"And do you think that the pension system must remain essentially public?" (drees_retire)

- DREES (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015)

“Today, the RMI is paid to people in difficulty. In your opinion, should it be ...? Submitted to counterparties” (drees_rmi)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008)

“Today, the RMI is paid to people in difficulty. In your opinion, should it be ...? Permanent until the person regains sufficient income” (drees_rmi2)

- DREES (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008)

“But finally, should the RMI exist?” (drees_rmi3)

- DREES (2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008)

“The RSA ensures a complementary role to income from activities. Do you think that ... 1. The RSA encourages unemployed people to return to work, even on a part-time basis” (drees_rsa)

- DREES (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

“The RSA ensures a complementary role to income from activities. Do you think that ... 2. The RSA leads to the development of precarious jobs” (drees_rsa2)

- DREES (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

“The RSA is also paid unlimited in time to workers with modest resources. Do you agree with the principle that the RSA be paid to them unlimited in time?” (drees_rsa3)

- DREES (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

“Today, the basic health insurance system is said to be supportive because sick people do not contribute more than healthy people. With which of these proposals do you most agree? 1. People who are likely to be more costly to pay for health insurance should pay higher contributions; 2. Strong solidarity must be maintained only with people who are seriously ill; 3. The present system of solidarity must be maintained” (drees_sick)

- DREES (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013)

“With regard to the current economic crisis, I will quote two statements, with which you are most in agreement: 1. The social protection system makes it possible to mitigate the consequences of the economic crisis in France; 2. The financing of social protection increases the debt of France and will be a brake to get out of the crisis.” (drees_socprot)

- DREES (2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

“Please sat to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels."” (ess_gincdif)

- ESS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017), CSES (2012)

“And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?” (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in prevent widespread poverty?" (ess_socben2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Which of these two statements comes closest to your own opinion? * A. I find that both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to choose one or the other, I would consider personal freedom more important, that is, everyone can live in freedom and develop without hinderance. B. Certainly both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to choose one or the other, I would consider equality more important, that is, that nobody is underprivileged and that social class differences are not so strong. 1 Agree with statement A 2 Agree with Neither/depends 3 Agree with statement B 9 Don't know" (evs_eqfree)

- EVS (1999, 2008)

"Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (1999, 2008), WVS (2006)

"To reduce unemployment, one could give more freedom to companies or, on the contrary, more serious control over companies. Where are you on a scale of 1 to 10: 1. To reduce unemployment, businesses need to be more seriously monitored; 10. In order to reduce unemployment, enterprises must be given greater freedom" (fes_unemp)

- DYNEGAL (2013), FES (2007)

"To reduce unemployment, one could give more freedom to companies or, on the contrary, more serious control over companies. Where are you on a scale of 1 to 10: 1. To reduce unemployment, businesses need to be more seriously monitored; 10. In order to reduce unemployment, enterprises must be given greater freedom" (ff_socjust)

- FF (2016, 2017)

"Here is a new list of sentences. For each of them, do you strongly agree, rather agree, rather disagree or disagree at all? - The unemployed could find work if they really wanted it." (ff_work)

- DYNAMOB (2013), FES (2012, 2017), FF (2016, 2017), PEF (2007, 2012)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better education for their children than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bedu)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better health care than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bheal)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes.

1. Agree strongly; 2. Agree; 3. Neither agree nor disagree; 4. Disagree; 5. Disagree strongly; 8. Can't choose; 9. NA" (issp_incdif)

- ISSP (1997, 1999, 2009, 2010)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Give financial help to university students from low-income families" (issp_resp2)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_resp6)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a job for everyone who wants one." (issp_resp7)

- ISSP (1996, 1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it" (issp_resp8)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide healthcare for the sick" (issp_resp9)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Cuts in government spending" (issp_spcuts)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"With regard to [public expenditure in the education sector], should there be much more, a little more, the same, a little less or much less expenditure than at present?" (issp_spedu)

- ISSP (1997, 2006), FES (2012), CSES (2012)

"With regard to [public expenditure in the health sector], should there be much more, a little more, the same, a little less or much less expenditure than at present?" (issp_sphealth)

- ISSP (1997, 2006), FES (2012), CSES (2012)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Government financing of projects to create new jobs" (issp_spjobs)

- ISSP (1997, 2006), FES (2012)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Old age pensions" (issp_sppens)

- ISSP (1997, 2006), FES (2012), CSES (2013)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Unemployment benefits" (issp_spunemp)

- ISSP (1997, 2006), FES (2012), CSES (2013)

"Do you think that people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?" (issp_tax)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"Do you think that priority should be given in the next few years ...? 1. The competitiveness of the French economy. 2. Improving the situation of employees" (pef_priority)

- DYNAMOB (2013), FES (2012, 2017), PEF (1995, 2007)

"With regard to the RSA (former RMI, the minimum income of insertion), do you think that ... 1 This does not make enough people to look for work. 2 This gives the boost that can help get out of it" (pef_rmi)

- DYNEGAL (2013), PEF (2002, 2007)

"Can you tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them? Take to the rich to give to the poor" (pef_take)

- DEM2000 (2000), DYNAMOB (2013), PEF (2007, 2012), FES (2017)

"In France, the State intervenes in economic matters. In your opinion, how should he intervene in this area? Give your answer on a scale ranging from 1 to 10: 1. The state should do much less in economic matters; 10. The State should be much more involved in economic matters." (pisj_interv)

- DYNEGAL (2013), PISJ (2009)

"Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves vs. The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (wvs_govresp)

- EVS (1999, 2008), WVS (2005)

A.2 Germany

"To what extent do you agree or disagree . . .? Families should receive financial benefits for child care when both parents work." (ben_bothwork)

- ALLBUS (1994, 2002)

"Statement about the state and the economy of the BRD: if the benefits of social security such as wage advances in the event of illness, unemployed support and the elderly are as high as now, this only leads to people not wanting to work any longer." (ben_nowork)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1994, 2004, 2014)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can… Buy better health care than people with lower incomes?" (betterhealth)

- ALLBUS (2000, 2012)

"What do you think of the following statements? Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people." (ees_ordinary)

- ALLBUS (2008), EES (2009)

"Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (agree strongly - disagree strongly) The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels" (ess_gincdif)

- CSES (2013) ESS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?" (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments45 should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

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- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (1990, 2009), WVS (1997, 2006, 2013)

"How would you place your views on this scale? Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves vs. The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for" (evs_govresp)

- EVS (1990, 1999, 2009)

"Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statement - most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some are poor?" (gap_freemarket)

- GAP (2009, 2010, 2012, 2014)

"Here is a number of ways the government can do for the economic situation. Please indicate to what extent you advocate or reject the following measures: Financing of employment programs" (gov_finemp)

- ALLBUS (1996, 2016)

"Possibilities of the government to improve the economic situation: Financing of employment programs" (govpos_fin)

- ALLBUS (1990, 2006)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better education for their children than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bedu)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better health care than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bheal)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes." (issp_incdif)

- ISSP (1985, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2009, 2010)

"Some people think those with high income should pay a larger proportion (percentage) of their earnings in taxes than those who earn low incomes. Other people think that those with high income and those with low income should pay the same proportion (percentage) of their earning in taxes. Do you think those with high incomes should 1. Pay a much larger proportion; 2. Pay a larger proportion; 3. Pay the same proportion as those who earn low income; 4. Pay a smaller proportion; 5. Pay a much smaller proportion" (issp_prop)

- ISSP (1985, 1990)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Reduce income differences between the rich and poor." (issp_resp11)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Give financial help to university students from low-income families" (issp_resp2)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the old." (issp_resp5)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2001, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_resp6)

- ISSP (1985, 1989, 1990, 1996, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a job for everyone who wants one." (issp_resp7)

- ISSP (1985, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006), NES (1998) ALLBUS (2016)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it" (issp_resp8)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide healthcare for the sick" (issp_resp9)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"The state should <be responsible for> eliminating the income differences between poor and rich." (issp_resp11)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006), ALLBUS (2016)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Cuts in government spending" (issp_spcuts)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Education" (issp_spedu)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006), CSES (2013), ALLBUS (2016)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Health" (issp_sphealth)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006), CSES (2013), ALLBUS (2016)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Old age pensions" (issp_sppens)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006), FPE (1994), CSES (2013), ALLBUS (2016)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Unemployment benefits" (issp_spunemp)

- ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006), CSES (2013), ALLBUS (2016)

"Do you think that people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?" (issp_tax)

- ISSP (1987, 1992, 1999, 2009)

"The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_unemp)

- ISSP (1987, 2009)

"Here are some opinions about the State and the economy in Germany. By and large, economic profits are nowadays distributed fairly in Germany." (prof_dist)

- ALLBUS (2004, 2014)

"I have some opinions on the state and economy of the Federal Republic. Please tell me to any opinion whether they agree fully, rather agree, rather disagree or do not agree at all - the economy only works if the entrepreneurs make good profits. Everyone benefits from that in the end." (prof_entrep)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1994, 2004, 2014), KIEL (1987, 1990)

"What is your opinion: Should social benefits be reduced in the future or should they remain as it is or should social benefits be extended?" (socben_fut)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1994, 2000, 2010, 2014)

"Please go through the statements one after the other and tell me whether you fully agree with the respective view, rather agree, rather disagree, or do not agree at all: What one gets in life depends not so much on one's own efforts but on the economic situation, the situation on the employment market, wage agreements, and the social benefits provided by the state." (socdiff_eff)

- ALLBUS (1991, 2000, 2004, 2014)

"Please go through the statements one after the other and tell me whether you fully agree with the respective view, rather agree, rather disagree, or do not agree at all: Only if the differences in income and social standing are large enough, there is also an incentive for personal achievements." (socdiff_incent)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1988, 1991, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2014), KIEL (1987, 1990)

"On the whole, I consider the social differences in our country just." (socdiff_just)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1988, 2004, 2008, 2014)

"Even if one wanted to, one could hardly make social inequalities any lower than they are here in Germany." (socineq_low)

- ALLBUS (1984, 2004, 2014), KIEL (1987, 1990)

"The state must ensure that people can live a decent income even in illness, hardship, unemployment and old age" (state_inc)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1991, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2010, 2014)

"Income should not be based solely on individual achievement. Instead, everybody should have what they and their family need for a decent life" (state_inc2)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1991, 2000, 2004, 2010, 2014)

"The differences in rank between people are acceptable because they are essentially expressing what you have done with the opportunities you had" (status_opp)

- ALLBUS (1984, 1988, 1991, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2014), KIEL (1987, 1990)

"If the federal government had to decide between tax reductions or more money for social benefits, what do you think it should do? Reduce taxes or provide more money for social services? (tax_spend)

- ALLBUS (1991, 1996, 2010)

"A large tax reform is planned for the next time. There are two basic conceptions. Some want a tax reduction for all; the others want higher taxes for the better-earners and tax cuts for smaller income." (taxcut)

- KIEL (1987, 1990)

"The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for vs. People should take more responsibility themselves." (wvs_govresp)

- WVS (1997, 2006, 2013)

A.3 Great Britain

"Should the quality of education be the same for all children or should parents who can afford it be able to pay for better education" (bes_same_edu)

- BSA (1986, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1996)

"Cutting welfare benefits would damage too many people's lives" (bsa_cut_welfare)

- BSA (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes" (bsa_income_dif)

- BSA (1985, 1986, 1987, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2000, 2004)

"It has been suggested that the National Health Service should be available only to those with lower incomes. This would mean that contributions and taxes could be lower and most people would then cake out medical insurance or pay for health care. Do your support or oppose this idea?" (bsa_nhs_limit)

- BSA (1983, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2002, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"Ordinary people get their fair share of the nation's wealth" (bsa_redist1)

- BES (1997, 2001, 2005, 2015) , BSA (1993, 2994, 1996, 1997)

"Government should redistribute income from the better-off to those who are less well off" (bsa_redist2)

- BSA (1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth" (bsa_redist3)

- BSA (1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"There are a number of policies which might help Britain's economic problems, do you support or oppose: reducing the level of government spending on health and education" (bsa_reduce_spend)

- BSA (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991)

"Do you think that health care should be the same for everyone, or should people who can afford it be able to pay for better health care" (bsa_same_health)

- BSA (1986, 1989, 1991,1993, 1996)

"Do you think that pensions should be the same for everyone or should people who can afford it be able to pay for better pensions? " (bsa_same_pensions)

- BSA (1986, 1989, 1991,1993, 1996)

"The government should spend more money on welfare benefits for the poor even if it leads to higher taxes" (bsa_spend)

- BSA (1987, 1989, 1991,1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

""Would you like to see more or less government spending than now on benefits for disabled people who cannot work?" (bsa_spend_disabled)

- BSA (1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015)

"Would you like to see more or less government spending than now on ... benefits for parents who work on very low incomes?" (bsa_spend_parents)

- BSA (1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015)

"Would you like to see more or less government spending than now on ... benefits for retired people?" (bsa_spend_pensioners)

- BSA (1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015)

"Would you like to see more or less government spending than now on ... benefits for people who care for those who are sick or disabled" (bsa_spend_sick)

- BSA (1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015)

"Would you like to see more or less government spending than now on ... benefits for single parents?" (bsa_spend_single)

- BSA (1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015)

"Suppose the Government had to choose between the three options on this card. Which do you think it should choose? - Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits. Same. More" (bsa_spend2)

- BES (1997), BSA (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"There are a number of policies which might help Britain's economic problems, do you support or oppose: control of wages by law?" (bsa_wage_control)

- BSA (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1991)

"The welfare state makes people nowadays less willing to look after themselves" (bsa_welf_dep)

- BSA (1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000)

"If welfare benefits weren't so generous, people would learn to stand on their own two feet" (bsa_welf_feet)

- BES (1997), BSA (1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"The welfare state encourages people to stop helping each other" (bsa_welf_help)

- BES 2015), BSA (1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels." (ess_gincdif)

- CSES (2015), ESS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?" (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in prevent widespread poverty?" (ess_socben2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Which of these two statements comes closest to your own opinion? * A. I find that both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to choose one or the other, I would consider personal freedom more important, that is, everyone can live in freedom and develop without hindrance. B. Certainly both freedom and equality are important. But if I were to choose one or the other, I would consider equality more important, that is, that nobody is underprivileged and that social class differences are not so strong" (evs_eqfree)

- EVS (1981, 1990, 1999, 2010)

"Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (1990, 1999, 2005, 2010)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better education for their children than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bedu)

- BSA (2004, 2010), ISSP (1999, 2009)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 1. Agree strongly; 2. Agree; 3. Neither agree nor disagree; 4. Disagree; 5. Disagree strongly; 8. Can't choose; 9. NA" (issp_incdif)

- ISSP (1985, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996, 1999, 2009, 2010)

"Some people think those with high income should pay a larger proportion (percentage) of their earnings in taxes than those who earn low incomes. Other people think that those with high income and those with low income should pay the same proportion (percentage) of their earning in taxes. Do you think those with high incomes should 1. Pay a much larger proportion; 2. Pay a larger proportion; 3. Pay the same proportion as those who earn low income; 4. Pay a smaller proportion; 5. Pay a much smaller proportion" (issp_prop)

- ISSP (1985, 1990)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Give financial help to university students from low-income families" (issp_resp2)

- BSA (2012), ISSP (2006)

"Do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to reduce income differences between the rich and the poor" (issp_resp11)

- BSA (2012, 2012), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006)

"Do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide a decent standard of living for the elderly" (issp_resp5)

- BSA (1986, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2012) ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2001, 2006)

"Do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed" (issp_resp6)

- BSA (1986, 2012) ISSP (1985, 1989, 1990, 2006)

"Do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one" (issp_resp7)

- BSA (1986, 2000, 2002, 2012), ISSP (1985, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006)

"Do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide decent housing for those who can't afford it" (issp_resp8)

- BSA (2012), ISSP (1990, 2006)

"Do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to provide health care for the sick" (issp_resp9)

- BSA (1986, 2000, 2002, 2012), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Cuts in government spending" (issp_spcuts)

- BSA (2006), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area: Education" (issp_spedu)

- BSA (1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 2006), CSES (2015), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area: Health (issp_sphealth)

- BSA (1990, 1991, 1993, 1996, 2006), CSES (2015), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Government financing of projects to create new jobs" (issp_spjobs)

- BES (1987, 1992, 1996, 1985, 1990, 2006)

"Whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area: Old age pensions" (issp_sppens)

- BSA (1990, 1991, 1993, 1996), CSES (2015), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area: Unemployment benefits" (issp_spunemp)

- BSA (1990, 1991, 1993, 1996), ISSP (1985, 1990, 1996, 2006)

"Benefits for unemployed people: would you like to see more or less government spending than now?" (issp_spunemp2)

- BSA (1998, 1999, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015), CSES (2015)

"Do you think that people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?" (issp_tax)

- BSA (2001), ISSP (1987, 1992, 1999, 2009)

"The government should provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_unemp)

- ISSP (1987, 2009)

"Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves vs. The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for" (wvs_govresp)

- EVS (1990, 1999, 2010), WVS (2005)

A.4 Netherlands

"The government must: make it possible for employees to receive some paid leave for additional education" (cv_addedu)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997)

"Will you again indicate for each of these statements to what extent you agree or disagree with them? Parents must contribute much more to the costs of secondary education that their children follow" (cv_costedu)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1983, 1986, 1992, 1996)

"Will you again indicate for each of these statements to what extent you agree or disagree with them? Students and their parents must contribute much more to the costs of university education" (cv_costedu2)

CV (1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1992)

"Are you against it or against it: the government takes the measures drastically, so that everyone really gets equal chances to achieve something in society" (cv_diffopp)

- CV (1980, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996)

"Are you against it or against it that: the government takes the measures drastically to reduce the differences in possession" (cv_diffpos)

- CV (1980, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996)

"The government must allow education to be free of charge until the 18th year" (cv_edufree)

- CV (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000)

"Here are a few questions about measures that the government could take. The government must create sufficient facilities for all those children who do not have a suitable opportunity at home to do their homework?" (cv_homework)

- CV (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000)

"The government must spend a lot more money for building good and cheap housing?" (cv_house)

- CV (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000)

"The government must: ensure that good and affordable housing for young people" (cv_houseyoung)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997)

"Do you wish the differences between high and low incomes to become much larger or a little bigger or much smaller or a bit smaller? Or do you wish them to remain the same?" (cv_incdiff)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013, 2015), NKO (1971)

"Do you believe that given the current economic situation our incomes should rise, fall or remain the same?" (cv_income)

- CV (1988, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000)

"The government must: inheritance taxes" (cv_inhtax)

- CV (1979, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1992)

"The government must increase the minimum wage much more than the other wages?" (cv_minwage)

- CV (1978, 1979, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1992)

"Does the minimum wage for adults, in your opinion, have to be increased, reduced or the same? Or should the minimum wage for adults be completely abolished?" (cv_minwage2)

- CV (1991, 1992, 1995, 1996)

"The government must: give more subsidies to those who want to follow a specific form of education at a later age" (cv_oldsub)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1991, 1992, 1996, 1997)

"There are individuals who own a lot and others who own less. Do you wish that the differences between that property become much larger, or a little bit bigger or much smaller or a bit smaller or stay as they are?" (cv_owndiff)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2008)

"Do you wish that the government should have more or less money to make all kinds of public facilities possible?" (cv_pubfac)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008)

"The government must make far more scholarships available for children from less well-off environments?" (cv_scholar)

- CV (1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000)

"Do you think that given the current economic situation social benefits should rise, fall or remain the same?" (cv_socben)

- CV (1988, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2008, 2011, 2013)

"Now follows a number of statements that you can always indicate whether you strongly agree with them, agree, disagree or strongly disagree: Our social benefits may in no case be less, even if this means some additional financial offers" (cv_socben2)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1994)

"In the future, we have to learn to live with less social security, however unjust that can in some cases also take. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this statement? (cv_socsec)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2006)

"What do you think of public expenditure: do you have to be up, down or stay as you are?" (cv_spend)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2006)

"Now follows a number of statements of which you can always indicate whether you strongly agree with it, agree with it, disagree or strongly disagree: The differences in status should be smaller than now" (cv_statusdiff)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997)

"What do you think of the taxes: do you have to be up, down, or stay as you are?" (cv_tax)

- CV (1980, 1981, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1993, 1997, 2000, 2002)

"The government must: tax on higher incomes" (cv_taxhigh)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2004)

"The government must: tax on the lower incomes" (cv_taxlow)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2004)

"The government must: the taxes on profits and capital" (cv_taxprofits)

- CV (1979, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996)

"Please sat to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels."" (ess_gincdif)

- CV (1980, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996) ESS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?" (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and

10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in prevent widespread poverty?" (ess_socben2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (1990, 1999, 2008), WVS (2006)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 1. Agree strongly; 2. Agree; 3. Neither agree nor disagree; 4. Disagree; 5. Disagree strongly; 8. Can't choose; 9. NA" (issp_incdif)

- CV (1987) ISSP (1987, 1994, 2000)

"On the whole, do you think it should or should not be the government's responsibility to Reduce income differences between the rich and poor? 1. Definitely should be; 2. Probably should be; 3. Probably should not be; 4. Definitely should not be; 8. Cant choose" (issp_resp11)

- CV (1991, 1998), ISSP (1991, 1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_resp6)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a job for everyone who wants one." (issp_resp7)

- CV (1987, 1989, 1991, 1998), ISSP (1987, 1990, 1991, 1998, 2006)

"With regard to [public expenditure in the education sector], should there be much more, a little more, the same, a little less or much less expenditure than at present?" (issp_spedu)

- ISSP (2006), NKO (2012)

"Some people think that the differences in incomes in our country should be increased (at number 1). Others think that these differences should be decreased (at number 7). Of course, there are also people whose opinion is somewhere in between. Where would you place yourself on this line?" (nko_diffinc)

- CV (1992) NKO (1986, 1989, 1994, 1998, 2006, 2010, 2012)

"Some people think that the differences in income in our country should stay as they are. Other people think that these differences should become much smaller. Where would you place yourself on this line?" (nko_level)

- NKO (1981, 1982, 1986)

A.5 Norway

"Do you react with complete agreement, qualified agreement, qualified disagreement, or complete disagreement to the following statements? Would you please indicate your answer for each item

presented? A. To exhort people to greater effort, we should be willing to accept bigger differences in wage levels" (es_bigdiff)

- ES (1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2013), EURS (1994)

"Now for the subject of social security, welfare, etc. What is your opinion: Do you think that in the future there should be less benefits, they should be maintained as they are now, or should they be built further out?" (es_expand)

- ES (1989, 1993, 1997)

"Do you react with complete agreement, qualified agreement, qualified disagreement, or complete disagreement to the following statements? Would you please indicate your answer for each item presented? F. It is more important to develop public services that to reduce taxation" (es_pubdev)

- ES (1989, 1993, 1997, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2013)

"For each of these suggestions, can you say whether it is: a good proposal which is very important to carry through, a good proposal which is fairly important to carry through, a bad suggestionswhich is fairly important not to carry through, a bad suggestions which is very important not to carry through, or do not have a particular opinion about this issue? 5. Reduce taxes on high income" (es_taxhigh)

- ES (1989, 1993)

"Would you kindly choose an answer to the statements I read to you? I. One should impose a greater tax on high income (es_taxhigh2)

- ES (2002, 2006, 2010)

"Now let's take a look at some statements. We will continue to use the answer alternatives: strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat and strongly disagree. I. Wealth tax should be abolished" (es_taxwealth)

- ES (2009, 2013)

"Please sat to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels."" (ess_gincdif)

- ESS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017), CSES (2014)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?" (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and

10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in prevent widespread poverty?" (ess_socben2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (1990, 1999, 2008), WVS (2006)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better education for their children than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bedu)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better health care than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bheal)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes. 1. Agree strongly; 2. Agree; 3. Neither agree nor disagree; 4. Disagree; 5. Disagree strongly; 8. Can't choose; 9. NA" (issp_incdif)

- ISSP (1990, 1992, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2009, 2010)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Give financial help to university students from low-income families" (issp_resp2)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the old." (issp_resp5)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2001, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_resp6)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a job for everyone who wants one." (issp_resp7)

- ISSP (1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it" (issp_resp8)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide healthcare for the sick" (issp_resp9)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006)

“The state should <be responsible for> eliminating the income differences between poor and rich.” (issp_resp11)

- ISSP (1990, 1991, 1996, 1998, 2006)

“Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Cuts in government spending” (issp_spcuts)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006)

“With regard to [public expenditure in the education sector], should there be much more, a little more, the same, a little less or much less expenditure than at present?” (issp_spedu)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006), ES (2013), CSES (2014)

“With regard to [public expenditure in the health sector], should there be much more, a little more, the same, a little less or much less expenditure than at present?” (issp_sphealth)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006), ES (2013), CSES (2014)

“Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Government financing of projects to create new jobs” (issp_spjobs)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006)

“Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Old age pensions” (issp_sppens)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006), ES (2013), CSES (2014)

“Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Unemployment benefits” (issp_spunemp)

- ISSP (1990, 1996, 2006), ES (2013), CSES (2014), NCP (2014)

“Do you think that people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?” (issp_tax)

- ISSP (1992, 1999, 2009)

“Consider the statements below. To which extent do you agree or disagree with them? The state should contribute to reducing inequalities in income in society.” (ncp_ineq)

- NCP (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016)

“How do you agree or disagree with the following statements: A. The tax burden should be lowered, even if it leads to cutbacks in the welfare state” (ncp_taxred)

- NCP (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016)

“Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves vs. The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for” (wvs_govresp)

- EVS (1990, 1996, 2008), WVS (2007)

A.6 Sweden

"Using this card, please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (agree strongly - disagree strongly) The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels" (ess_gincdif)

- CSES (2014) ESS (2002, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?" (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments45 should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in prevent widespread poverty?" (ess_socben2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (1990, 2010), WVS (2005, 2006, 2011)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better education for their children than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bedu)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"Is it just or unjust – right or wrong – that people with higher incomes can... Buy better health care than people with lower incomes?" (issp_bheal)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes." (issp_incdif)

- ISSP (1996, 1999, 2000, 2009, 2010)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Reduce income differences between the rich and poor." (issp_resp11)

- ISSP (1996, 1998, 2006),

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Give financial help to university students from low-income families" (issp_resp2)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Keep prices under control." (issp_resp4)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the old." (issp_resp5)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_resp6)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a job for everyone who wants one." (issp_resp7)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it" (issp_resp8)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide healthcare for the sick" (issp_resp9)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Cuts in government spending" (issp_spcuts)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Education" (issp_spedu)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Health" (issp_sphealth)

- ISSP (1996, 2006)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Old age pensions" (issp_sppens)

- ISSP (1996, 2006), CSES (2014)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Unemployment benefits" (issp_spunemp)

- ISSP (1996, 2006), CSES (2014)

"Do you think that people with high incomes should pay a larger share of their income in taxes than those with low incomes, the same share, or a smaller share?" (issp_tax)

- ISSP (1999, 2009)

"Below are a number of suggestions that have taken place in the political debate on the labor market area. What is your opinion about each of them? - Invest more in labor market policy measures in the AMS management" (riks_ams)

- RIKS (1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003)

"What is your opinion about each of them? - Increase salary differences" (riks_gap)

- RIKS (1999, 2000, 2002)

What is your opinion about each of them? - Reduce income disparities in society (riks_incdiff)

- RIKS (1986, 1988, 2012, 2013, 2014), EuP (1995, 1999, 2004, 2009), SNES (1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010).

"What is your opinion about each of them? - soften labor law" (riks_lablaw)

- RIKS (1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015)

"What is your opinion about the following suggestions? - Profits should not be allowed in the tax-funded health care, education and care" (riks_profit)

- RIKS (2013, 2014, 2015)

"In the political debate, a number of proposals have been put forward on how to improve the Swedish economy. Whats your opinion? - Reduce public spending" (riks_pubspend)

- RIKS (1996, 1997, 1999)

"Below are a number of suggestions that have occurred in the political debate. What is your opinion about each of them? - Reducing the public sector" (riks_sector)

- RIKS (1986, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016), EuP (1995, 1999, 2004, 2009), SNES (1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010), RS (1994)

"I will now read a list of things that some people think should be implemented in Sweden. If you use the answers to this card, what is your opinion about the proposal to: lower taxes" (riks_tax)

- RIKS (1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015), EuP (1999, 2004, 2009), SNES (2010)

"In the political debate, a number of proposals have been put forward on how to improve the Swedish economy. Whats your opinion? - Raise the taxes" (riks_tax2)

- RIKS (1996, 1997, 1998, 2015, 2016)

"What is your opinion about each of them? - Impose stricter requirements on the unemployed to take jobs that are available" (riks_unemp)

- RIKS (2001, 2002)

"What is your opinion about each of them? - Raise unemployment benefit (cash register)" (riks_unemp2)

- RIKS (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016), EuP (1999, 2004, 2009), SNES (2010)

"What is your opinion about each of them? - Restrict the right to unemployment benefits" (riks_unemp3)

- RIKS (1999, 2000, 2001)

"What is your opinion about the proposal to: Reduce social contributions" (snes_cont)

- EuP (1995), SNES (2010)

"What is your opinion about the proposal to: Cut taxes" (snes_cuttax)

- SNES (1998, 2002, 2006)

"What is your opinion about the following proposal: Build more day care centres for children" (snes_daycare)

- SNES (1985, 1988, 1991)

"What is your opinion about the following proposal: Increase the rate of taxation on high income" (snes_hightax)

- EuP (1995), SNES (1994)

"What is your opinion about the following proposal: Lower tax rate on high income" (snes_lowtax)

- SNES (1985, 1988)

"I would like to hear what you think of the suggestions. Work towards a society which more private enterprise and a more market-oriented economy" (snes_market)

- EuP (2009), RS (1994), SNES (1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010)

"What is your opinion about the proposal to: Keep the property tax" (snes_proptax)

- SNES (2002, 2006)

"What is your opinion about the proposal to raise wine and spirits prices strongly to limit alcohol abuse and alcohol damage in society?" (snes_raisetax)

- EuP (1995, 1999), RS (1994), SNES (1991, 1994)

"What is your opinion about the following proposal: Reduce social benefits" (snes_redben)

- SNES (1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006)

"What is your opinion about the following suggestions? Raise retirement age" (snes_retire)

- SNES (2010), RIKS (2015)

"On the whole, are you in favour of or against the introduction of some kind of allowance to parents of small children, or do you have no particular opinon on the issue?" (snes_small)

- SNES (1985, 1991, 2006)

"Social reforms in this country have gone so far that the state ought to reduce rather than increase social benefits and support for people. (snes_socref)

- SNES (1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010)

"Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves vs. The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (wvs_govresp)

- EVS (1990, 2000, 2010), WVS (2006, 2011)

A.7 Switzerland

"A Switzerland in which everyone enjoys the same opportunities / A Switzerland in which there are no equal opportunities?" (equal_opp)

- VOX (1993, 1994, 1994, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008)

"To what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements: the government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, disagree strongly)" (ess_gincdif)

- ESS (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2015, 2017), CSES (2011)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people lazy?" (ess_lazy)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"People have different views on what the responsibilities of governments45 should or should not be. For each of the tasks I read out please tell me on a score of 0-10 how much responsibility you think governments should have. 0 means it should not be governments' responsibility at all and 10 means it should be entirely governments' responsibility. Firstly to ensure a reasonable standard od living for the old?" (ess_resp1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed" (ess_resp2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And how much responsibility do you think governments should have to ensure sufficient child care services for working parents" (ess_resp3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_smalldiff)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in place too great a strain on the economy?" (ess_socben1)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in prevent widespread poverty?" (ess_socben2)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in lead to a more equal society?" (ess_socben3)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in cost businesses too much in taxes and charges?" (ess_socben4)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"And to what extent do you agree or disagree that social benefits and services in country make people less willing to care for one another?" (ess_socben5)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"Using this card, please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements Large differences in people's incomes are acceptable to properly reward differences in talents and efforts. (agree strongly, agree, neither, disagree, strongly disagree)" (ess_talent)

- ESS (2009, 2017)

"How would you place your views on this scale? Incomes should be made more equal vs. There should be greater incentives for individual effort" (evs_equal)

- EVS (2008), WVS (1996, 2007)

"A Switzerland with big differences in income / a Switzerland without differences in income?" (inc_diff)

- VOX (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016)

"What is your opinion of the following statement: It is the responsibility of the government to reduce the differences in income between people with high incomes and those with low incomes." (issp_incdif)

- ISSP (1998, 2001, 2009, 2010)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Reduce income differences between the rich and poor." (issp_resp11)

- ISSP (1998, 1999, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Give financial help to university students from low-income families" (issp_resp2)

- ISSP (1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the old." (issp_resp5)

- ISSP (1998, 2001, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a decent standard of living for the unemployed." (issp_resp6)

- ISSP (1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide a job for everyone who wants one." (issp_resp7)

- ISSP (1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide decent housing for those who can't afford it" (issp_resp8)

- ISSP (1998, 2006)

"On the whole, do you think it should be or should not be the government's responsibility to: Provide healthcare for the sick" (issp_resp9)

- ISSP (1998, 2006)

"Please show which actions you are in favour of and which you are against. Cuts in government spending" (issp_spcuts)

- ISSP (1998, 2006)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Education" (issp_spedu)

- ISSP (1998, 2006), Selects (2011), CSES (2011)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Health" (issp_sphealth)

- ISSP (1998, 2006), Selects (2011), CSES (2011), SHP (2012, 2015)

"Please show whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it. More or less government spending for: Old age pensions" (issp_sppens)

- ISSP (1998, 2006), Selects (2011), CSES (2011), SHP (2012, 2015)

"More or less government spending for: Unemployment benefits" (issp_spunemp)

- ISSP (1996, 2006), CSES (2011), SHP (2012, 2015)

"Are you for a reduction of the social expenses of the Confederation, or for an increase of the social expenses of the Confederation?" (soc_exp)

- Selects (1995, 1999, 2007, 2011, 2015)

"Opinion on social expenses" (soc_exp2)

- SHP (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2015)

Are you for an increase in taxation on high incomes, or for a reduction in taxation on high incomes?" (tax_high)

- "Selects (1995, 1999, 2007, 2011, 2015)

"Opinion on taxes on high income" (tax_high2)

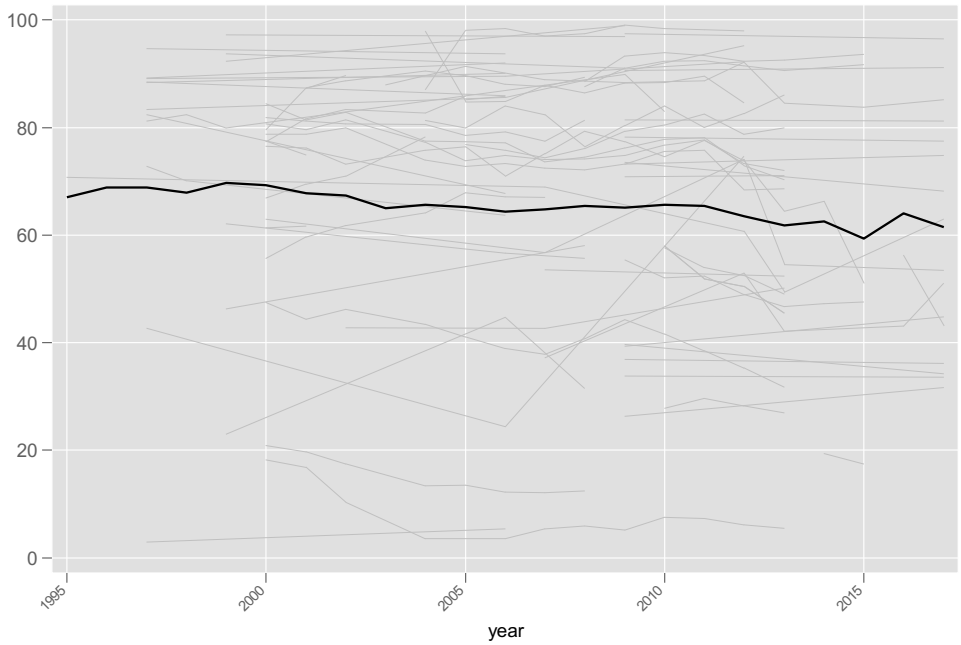
- SHP (2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2015)

"Individuals should take more responsibility for providing for themselves vs. The state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for (wvs_govresp)

- EVS (2008), WVS (1996, 2007)

B. Visual overview individual series

Figure B.1 Visual overview individual series – France

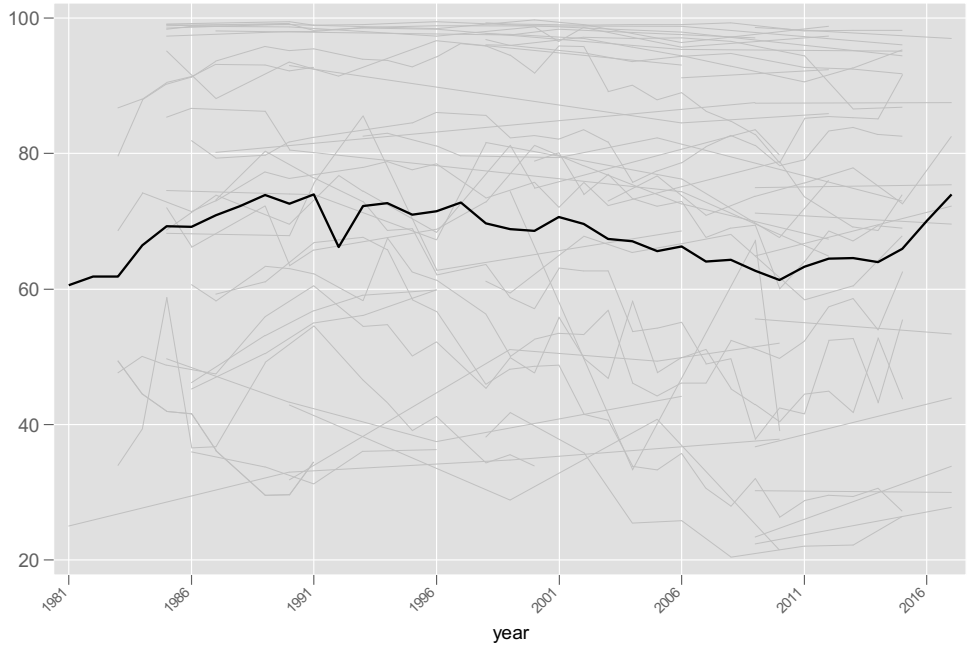


Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

Figure B.2 Visual overview individual series – Germany

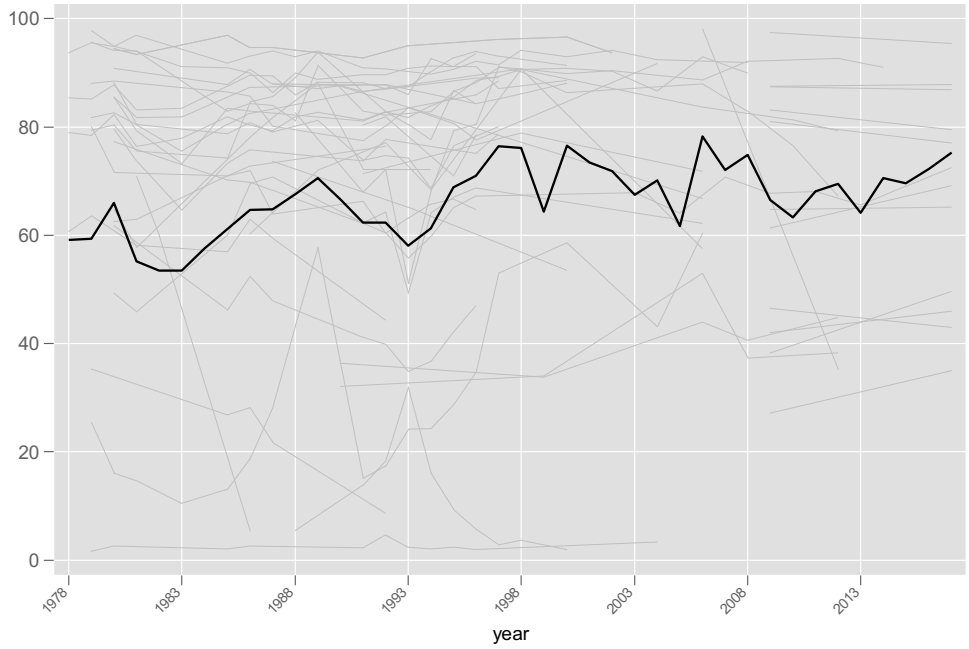
Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

Figure B.3 Visual overview individual series – Great Britain



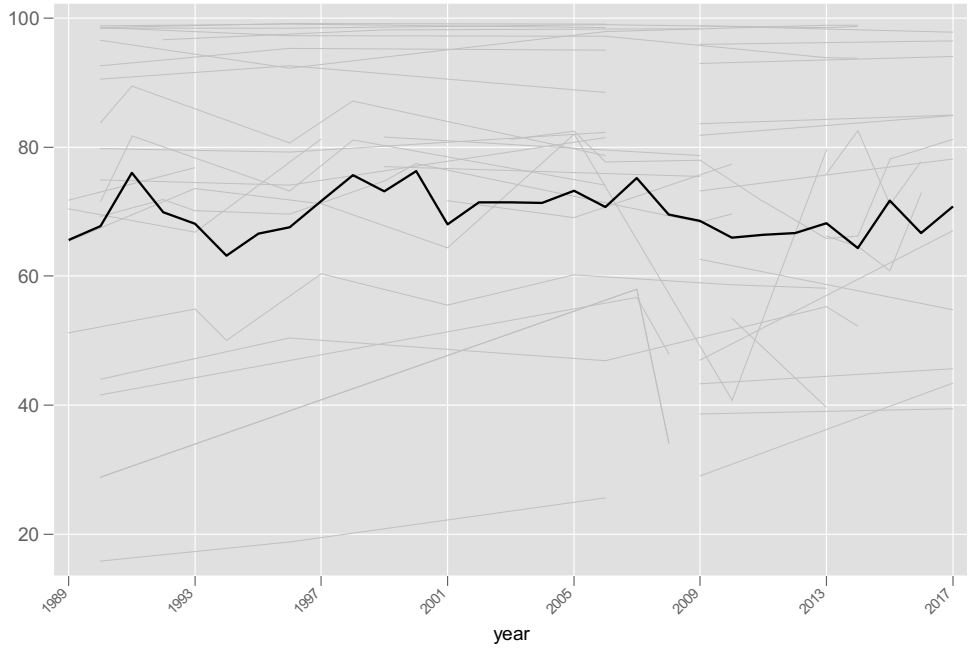
Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

Figure B.4 Visual overview individual series – Netherlands



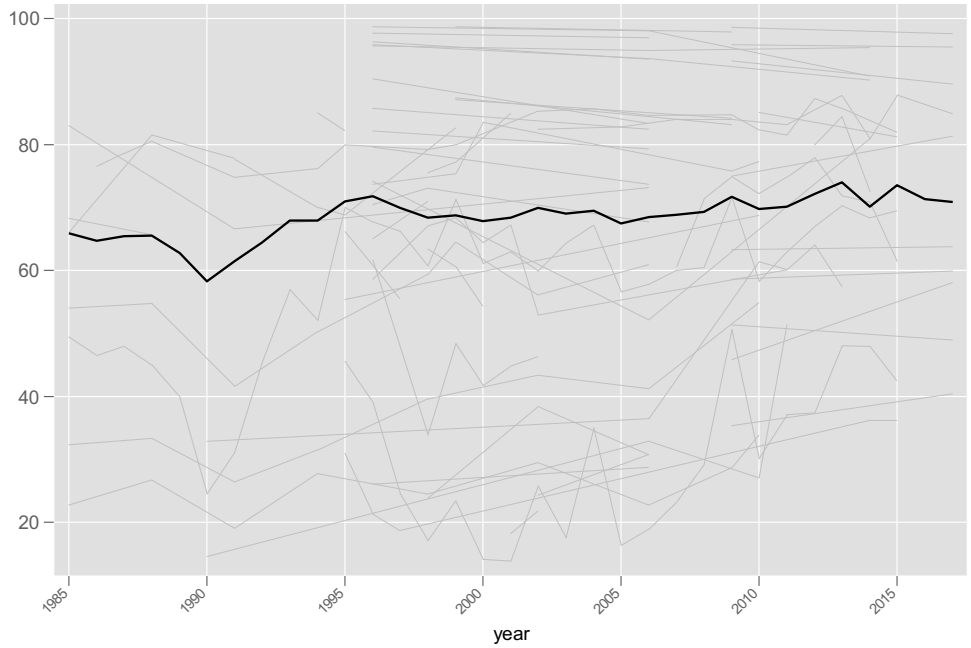
Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

Figure B.5 Visual overview individual series – Norway



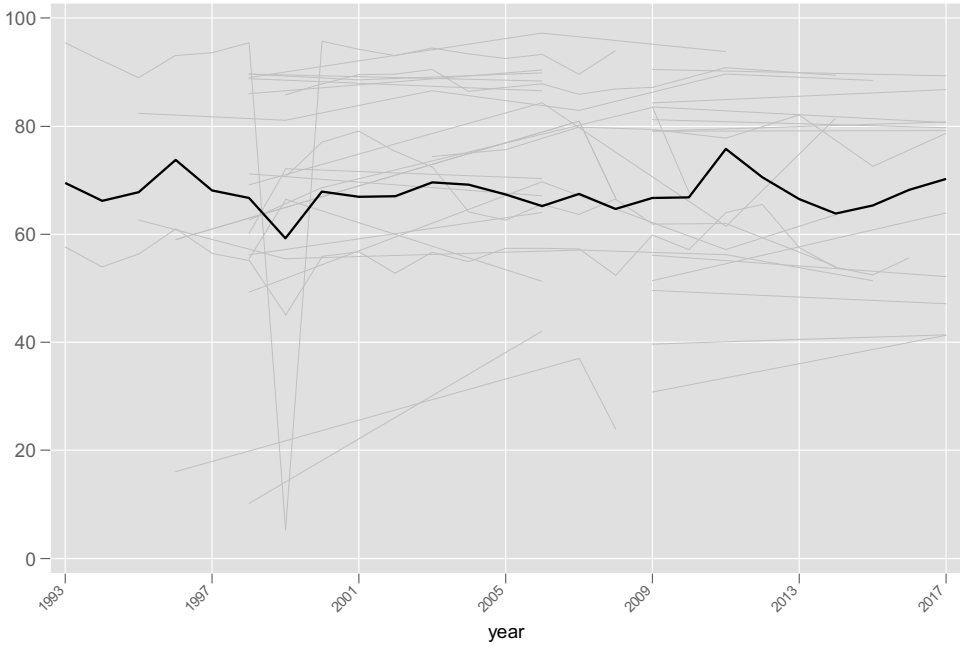
Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

Figure B.6 Visual overview individual series – Sweden



Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

Figure B.7 Visual overview individual series – Switzerland



Note: The full line represents the unstandardised and unsmoothed estimation of a single country-measure from the individual items, through the dyadic ratios algorithm.

C. Explained variance of redistributive preference measures

Table C.1 Loadings and descriptive variable information – France

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
drees_2exp	2	1	18.448	0.95
drees_act	13	0.784	7.643	4.594
drees_find	2	1	76.193	1.294
drees_health	2	-1	61.52	0.177
drees_healthpub	7	-0.231	92.547	1.699
drees_incineq	2	-1	85.526	0.301
drees_ind	4	0.914	65.927	3.726
drees_inequal	9	0.544	88.092	3.877
drees_inequal2	13	0.905	74.158	3.457
drees_insur	7	-0.974	63.358	4.203
drees_interv	15	0.809	72.598	6.989
drees_limit	13	0.914	40.91	4.258
drees_min	9	-0.303	96.869	3.509
drees_minhealth	2	-1	88.531	1.168
drees_monop	9	-0.062	78.255	2.462
drees_nosocsec	4	-0.967	71.386	4.191
drees_pov	13	0.938	77.279	3.824
drees_protsoc	13	0.889	76.211	2.867
drees_public	5	-0.886	82.219	2.744
drees_retire	7	-0.134	91.045	1.522
drees_rmi	8	0.973	15.235	3.347
drees_rmi2	8	0.738	80.139	1.438
drees_rmi3	8	-0.728	87.634	3.198
drees_rsa	4	0.901	51.438	4.43
drees_rsa2	4	0.683	28.205	0.949
drees_rsa3	4	0.934	53.319	3.041
drees_sick	10	-0.646	81.727	2.585
drees_socprot	7	0.796	50.063	3.025
ess_gincdif	9	0.762	87.896	2.759
ess_lazy	2	1	36.996	2.737
ess_resp1	2	1	96.985	0.5
ess_resp2	2	1	77.885	0.378
ess_resp3	2	-1	90.89	0.261
ess_smalldiff	2	-1	74.05	0.807
ess_socben1	2	1	33.746	0.115
ess_socben2	2	1	81.386	0.12
ess_socben3	2	1	70.864	2.697
ess_socben4	2	-1	29.034	2.683

ess_socben5	2	1	36.559	0.347
ess_talent	2	-1	42.086	2.709
evs_eqfree	2	-1	52.176	5.904
evs_equal	3	0.941	58.172	2.832
fes_unemp	2	1	53.034	0.576
ff_socjust	2	1	49.714	6.589
ff_work	5	-0.433	44.666	5.186
issp_bedu	2	1	92.417	1.324
issp_bheal	2	1	97.124	0.145
issp_incdif	5	-0.825	83.279	3.451
issp_resp2	2	1	94.239	0.475
issp_resp6	2	1	75.139	7.332
issp_resp7	3	0.997	68.872	3.791
issp_resp8	2	1	87.224	1.233
issp_resp9	2	-1	90.625	1.396
issp_spcuts	2	-1	4.199	1.235
issp_spedu	3	-0.694	90.358	1.402
issp_sphealth	3	-0.906	86.167	2.22
issp_spjobs	2	-1	89.248	0.898
issp_sppens	3	-0.75	88.054	5.148
issp_spunemp	3	-0.292	47.176	20.661
issp_tax	2	-1	95.675	3.298
pef_priority	5	0.761	62.576	7.526
pef_rmi	3	-0.876	45.227	3.516
pef_take	5	0.321	60.369	7.613
pisj_interv	2	-1	70.997	0.064
wvs_govresp	3	-0.898	33.108	8.911

Table C.2 Loadings and descriptive variable information – Germany

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
ben_bothwork	2	1	76.426	5.413
ben_nowork	4	0.501	58.92	6.761
betterhealth	2	1	88.03	2.655
ess_gincdif	9	0.861	80.186	7.558
ess_lazy	2	-1	41.046	0.787
ess_resp1	2	1	92.171	0.152
ess_resp2	2	-1	75.639	3.39
ess_resp3	2	1	95.196	1.278
ess_smalldiff	2	1	77.306	1.43
ess_socben1	2	1	50.022	7.25

ess_socben2	2	1	84.402	1.077
ess_socben3	2	1	65.288	0.94
ess_socben4	2	1	53.077	16.106
ess_socben5	2	-1	40.702	1.059
ess_talent	2	1	30.471	5.939
evs_equal	5	0.867	63.065	14.578
evs_govresp	3	-0.924	26.334	2.68
gov_finemp	2	-1	89.705	4.217
govpos_fin	2	-1	83.115	1.086
issp_bedu	2	1	87.382	0.864
issp_bheal	2	-1	85.971	0.773
issp_incdif	10	0.821	74.739	4.327
issp_prop	2	1	99.614	0.278
issp_resp11	7	0.856	74.629	6.274
issp_resp2	4	0.983	90.956	2.03
issp_resp5	6	0.331	95.635	1.074
issp_resp6	6	-0.73	80.124	5.998
issp_resp7	8	-0.12	78.72	8.389
issp_resp8	4	-0.832	80.556	2.383
issp_resp9	5	0.401	97.039	0.657
issp_spcuts	4	0.388	8.757	2.192
issp_spedu	6	0.726	93.154	4.954
issp_sphealth	6	-0.091	92.483	3.469
issp_sppens	7	0.353	91.9	4.133
issp_spunemp	6	-0.284	70.865	2.956
issp_tax	4	0.572	98.357	0.45
issp_unemp	2	-1	80.948	3.406
prof_dist	2	-1	81.091	2.906
prof_entrep	6	0.77	24.819	6.164
socben_fut	5	0.596	75.871	10.111
socdiff_eff	4	-0.887	57.633	7.01
socdiff_incent	11	0.762	38.796	5.347
socdiff_just	5	-0.16	64.27	6.634
socineq_low	5	0.746	46.484	9.666
state_inc	7	0.162	88.236	3.574
state_inc2	6	0.326	48.736	4.38
status_opp	11	0.737	45.018	5.083
tax_spend	3	0.707	52.61	11.608
taxcut	2	-1	61.77	0.218
wvs_govresp	3	0.449	64.671	3.06

Table C.3 Loadings and descriptive variable information – Great Britain

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
bes_same_edu	5	0.529	55.037	4.996
bsa_cut_welfare	16	0.902	70.81	5.08
bsa_income_dif	10	0.377	73.127	6.348
bsa_nhs_limit	20	0.523	74.393	3.248
bsa_redist1	7	0.544	80.334	3.206
bsa_redist2	27	0.638	55.582	6.12
bsa_redist3	25	0.281	81.635	2.455
bsa_reduce_spend	8	0.94	91.014	2.264
bsa_same_health	5	0.405	53.356	5.044
bsa_same_pensions	5	-0.745	34.667	1.929
bsa_spend	25	0.949	58.331	11.028
bsa_spend_disabled	9	0.963	94.909	2.305
bsa_spend_parents	9	0.696	94.111	1.426
bsa_spend_pensioners	9	0.427	94.333	4.144
bsa_spend_sick	9	0.592	98.839	0.457
bsa_spend_single	9	0.075	63.938	3.773
bsa_spend2	31	0.928	90.199	4.928
bsa_wage_control	8	-0.93	38.4	6.667
bsa_welf_dep	14	0.522	41.637	7.63
bsa_welf_feet	25	0.948	43.079	13.773
bsa_welf_help	28	0.68	49.438	4.801
ess_gincdif	8	0.713	75.789	3.304
ess_lazy	2	1	25.029	2.692
ess_resp1	2	-1	97.851	0.82
ess_resp2	2	-1	70.42	0.843
ess_resp3	2	1	87.518	0.005
ess_smalldiff	2	1	68.588	3.697
ess_socben1	2	-1	30.095	0.093
ess_socben2	2	1	75.209	0.227
ess_socben3	2	-1	54.49	1.134
ess_socben4	2	1	44.59	11.304
ess_socben5	2	1	40.292	3.576
ess_talent	2	1	28.601	5.224
evs_eqfree	4	0.262	32.625	4.743
evs_equal	4	-0.793	46.082	8.259
issp_bedu	4	0.28	53.486	17.657
issp_incdif	10	-0.742	75.144	5.001
issp_prop	2	1	99.063	0.16
issp_resp11	8	0.16	73.948	4.388
issp_resp2	2	-1	91.816	0.607
issp_resp5	9	0.395	97.867	1.039

issp_resp6	6	0.772	79.707	7.883
issp_resp7	11	-0.25	71.006	5.139
issp_resp8	3	0.936	87.842	3.687
issp_resp9	8	0.369	98.724	0.916
issp_spcuts	4	0.654	38.099	10.286
issp_spedu	7	0.825	97.736	0.918
issp_sphealth	7	0.837	98.232	1.774
issp_spjobs	6	0.073	93.196	2.736
issp_sppens	7	0.871	97.673	1.537
issp_spunemp	6	0.361	71.527	7.278
issp_spunemp2	9	0.914	28.505	7.459
issp_tax	4	0.912	97.826	0.494
issp_unemp	2	-1	83.894	3.678
wvs_govresp	4	0.701	33.486	8.746

Table C.4 Loadings and descriptive variable information – Netherlands

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
cv_addedu	9	0.911	82.555	4.15
cv_costedu	6	0.725	83.343	2.62
cv_costedu2	5	0.255	69.158	5.473
cv_diffopp	9	0.695	89.836	2.385
cv_diffpos	10	0.497	45.019	7.559
cv_edufree	18	0.852	81.516	3.099
cv_homework	18	0.553	65.51	5.794
cv_house	18	-0.504	90.916	2.441
cv_houseyoung	9	0.838	84.338	4.519
cv_incdiff	21	0.231	88.437	4.395
cv_income	10	-0.894	10.954	8.876
cv_inhtax	5	-0.353	24.17	8.865
cv_minwage	7	-0.076	58.049	6.055
cv_minwage2	4	-0.609	77.984	4.189
cv_oldsub	9	0.709	74.737	4.165
cv_owndiff	19	-0.229	93.007	2.032
cv_pubfac	20	0.857	85.821	5.345
cv_scholar	18	0.802	88.335	3.045
cv_socben	14	0.884	76.057	12.453
cv_socben2	7	0.8	73.549	9.479
cv_socsec	12	0.487	61.154	8.128
cv_spend	19	0.768	32.159	16.7
cv_statusdiff	13	0.26	77.932	3.872
cv_tax	10	0.427	94.869	1.306
cv_taxhigh	12	-0.023	83.534	4.383

cv_taxlow	11	0.135	2.58	0.774
cv_taxprofits	11	-0.169	67.807	5.22
ess_gincdif	18	0.627	66.805	4.903
ess_lazy	2	-1	44.744	1.75
ess_resp1	2	-1	96.49	1.03
ess_resp2	2	1	87.679	0.154
ess_resp3	2	-1	79.048	1.962
ess_smalldiff	2	1	65.258	3.877
ess_socben1	2	1	64.998	0.251
ess_socben2	2	-1	87.187	0.304
ess_socben3	2	-1	81.356	1.851
ess_socben4	2	1	44.006	5.64
ess_socben5	2	1	43.982	1.975
ess_talent	2	1	31.105	3.902
evs_equal	5	0.741	39.944	4.271
issp_incdif	3	-0.7	64.104	8.139
issp_resp11	3	0.4	74.369	3.634
issp_resp6	2	-1	77.179	10.362
issp_resp7	6	-0.573	83.147	11.522
issp_spedu	2	1	66.64	31.442
nko_diffinc	8	0.616	76.61	8.867
nko_level	3	-0.955	45.38	28.703
wvs_govresp	5	0.841	38.952	7.337

Table C.5 Loadings and descriptive variable information – Norway

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
es_bigdiff	8	0.813	56.162	3.681
es_expand	3	0.777	72.909	6.161
es_pubdev	7	0.649	68.166	12.761
es_taxhigh	2	1	74.321	2.491
es_taxhigh2	3	-0.897	72.745	3.439
es_taxwealth	2	-1	46.535	6.919
ess_gincdif	9	0.921	76.404	5.274
ess_lazy	2	1	39.069	0.411
ess_resp1	2	-1	98.376	0.454
ess_resp2	2	1	93.59	0.519
ess_resp3	2	1	96.263	0.237
ess_smalldiff	2	1	75.705	2.454
ess_socben1	2	-1	58.751	3.875
ess_socben2	2	1	83.409	1.556
ess_socben3	2	1	84.369	0.649
ess_socben4	2	1	57.063	10.029

ess_socben5	2	1	44.467	1.172
ess_talent	2	1	36.262	7.19
evs_equal	3	0.981	48.749	6.192
issp_bedu	2	1	80.173	1.475
issp_bheal	2	1	76.266	0.791
issp_incdif	8	0.949	71.422	2.93
issp_resp11	5	0.979	76.407	4.228
issp_resp2	3	0.993	80.487	1.353
issp_resp5	4	-0.886	98.872	0.163
issp_resp6	3	-0.895	90.588	1.7
issp_resp7	5	0.761	84.009	3.975
issp_resp8	3	0.999	76.87	3.309
issp_resp9	3	0.352	99.002	0.291
issp_spcuts	3	0.939	20.088	4.076
issp_spedu	5	-0.077	96.939	2.49
issp_sphealth	5	0.424	98.687	0.19
issp_spjobs	3	0.392	94.386	1.207
issp_sppens	5	0.494	96.173	1.945
issp_spunemp	5	-0.395	49.887	4.004
issp_tax	3	0.137	97.782	0.731
ncp_ineq	4	-0.972	76.06	2.506
ncp_taxred	4	-0.872	67.595	4.572
wvs_govresp	3	0.998	40.299	12.673

Table C.6 Loadings and descriptive variable information – Sweden

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
ess_gincdif	9	0.784	84.235	2.209
ess_lazy	2	1	50.195	1.205
ess_resp1	2	1	98.134	0.51
ess_resp2	2	1	91.517	1.828
ess_resp3	2	1	95.707	0.196
ess_smalldiff	2	-1	78.194	3.158
ess_socben1	2	-1	59.261	0.64
ess_socben2	2	-1	85.988	0.087
ess_socben3	2	-1	84.282	0.449
ess_socben4	2	-1	51.998	6.146
ess_socben5	2	-1	63.587	0.246
ess_talent	2	-1	37.956	2.528
evs_equal	4	0.74	47.77	13.114
issp_bedu	2	-1	85.704	1.452
issp_bheal	2	-1	85.301	2.128
issp_incdif	5	-0.751	77.194	3.398

issp_resp11	3	-0.002	70.434	2.181
issp_resp2	2	1	76.696	2.932
issp_resp4	2	1	84.13	1.641
issp_resp5	2	1	97.334	0.359
issp_resp6	2	1	86.969	3.533
issp_resp7	2	-1	68.125	2.988
issp_resp8	2	1	80.809	1.431
issp_resp9	2	1	94.999	1.363
issp_spcuts	2	-1	27.434	1.322
issp_spedu	3	0.375	93.304	2.303
issp_sphealth	3	0.056	95.925	3.545
issp_sppens	3	0.985	95.393	0.32
issp_spunemp	3	0.74	69.14	12.283
issp_tax	2	-1	98.32	0.409
riks_ams	6	0.836	46.176	8.331
riks_gap	3	-0.492	79.309	4.111
riks_incdiff	17	0.773	81.321	3.738
riks_lablaw	9	-0.568	62.248	4.975
riks_profit	3	0.994	78.987	4.931
riks_pubspend	3	0.54	60.854	4.334
riks_sector	31	0.96	57.924	10.606
riks_tax	21	0.849	29.315	11.604
riks_tax2	5	0.363	28.7	7.372
riks_unemp	2	1	20.096	1.808
riks_unemp2	9	0.065	70.688	5.561
riks_unemp3	3	0.807	59.484	3.786
snes_cont	2	-1	62.147	6.668
snes_cuttax	3	0.905	31.056	5.939
snes_daycare	3	-0.371	75.189	6.58
snes_hightax	2	-1	83.68	1.357
snes_lowtax	2	1	67.021	1.271
snes_market	9	0.718	26.459	4.316
snes_proptax	2	-1	27.582	3.205
snes_raisetax	4	-0.382	74.913	5.621
snes_redben	8	0.794	55.241	6.598
snes_retire	2	-1	83.2	1.92
snes_small	3	0.53	74.301	6.736
snes_socref	8	0.801	37.87	8.339
wvs_govresp	5	0.739	30.437	12.084

Table C.7 Loadings and descriptive variable information – Switzerland

Variable	Cases	Loading	Mean	Std. Dev.
equal_opp	16	-0.082	93.184	1.595
ess_gincdif	8	0.099	77.645	2.939
ess_lazy	2	-1	54.172	1.96
ess_resp1	2	-1	89.897	0.589
ess_resp2	2	-1	80.507	0.762
ess_resp3	2	1	79.922	0.865
ess_smalldiff	2	-1	82.152	1.436
ess_socben1	2	-1	48.412	1.227
ess_socben2	2	1	85.564	1.197
ess_socben3	2	1	79.202	0.048
ess_socben4	2	1	57.716	6.231
ess_socben5	2	1	40.573	0.866
ess_talent	2	1	36.085	5.262
evs_equal	3	-0.536	68.845	9.117
inc_diff	24	0.99	56.059	2.789
issp_incdif	4	-0.22	70.622	7.8
issp_resp11	3	-0.757	67.537	5.262
issp_resp2	2	-1	88.289	2.188
issp_resp5	3	-0.718	89.405	0.591
issp_resp6	2	1	69.13	2.033
issp_resp7	3	-0.895	57.775	6.379
issp_resp8	2	-1	60.145	3.86
issp_resp9	2	1	88.994	0.641
issp_spcuts	2	-1	26.139	15.905
issp_spedu	3	-0.032	93.406	3.358
issp_sphealth	4	-0.382	77.612	5.874
issp_spjobs	2	1	87.713	1.104
issp_sppens	4	-0.15	91.142	4.83
issp_spunemp	4	0.258	62.823	8.144
soc_exp	5	0.202	56.573	3.607
soc_exp2	13	-0.04	67.339	6.887
tax_high	6	0.698	85.276	3.354
tax_high2	13	0.547	88.106	1.655
wvs_govresp	3	-0.563	25.655	8.63

D. Full tables of alpha test scales of standardised series, across countries

Table D.1 Alpha test scales

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
France	23	+	0.727	0.537	0.146	0.507
Germany	33	-	0.708	0.488	0.138	0.491
Great Britain	37	+	0.733	0.603	0.142	0.499
Netherlands	40	+	0.608	0.357	0.218	0.626
Norway	29	+	0.495	0.218	0.186	0.579
Sweden	33	-	0.661	0.393	0.173	0.557
Switzerland	25	-	0.349	0.062	0.224	0.634
Test scale					0.176	0.599

Table D.2 Interitem covariances

	France	Germany	Great Britain	Netherlands	Norway	Sweden	Switzerland
France	1						
Germany	0.634	1					
Great Britain	0.322	0.377	1				
Netherlands	0.108	0.099	0.318	1			
Norway	0.268	0.075	0.053	0.195	1		
Sweden	0.291	0.384	0.431	-0.238	0.141	1	
Switzerland	0.013	0.054	-0.1	-0.028	0.183	0.086	1

E. Individual figures for redistributive preferences, per income group and by country

Figure E.1. Income-group redistributive preferences - France

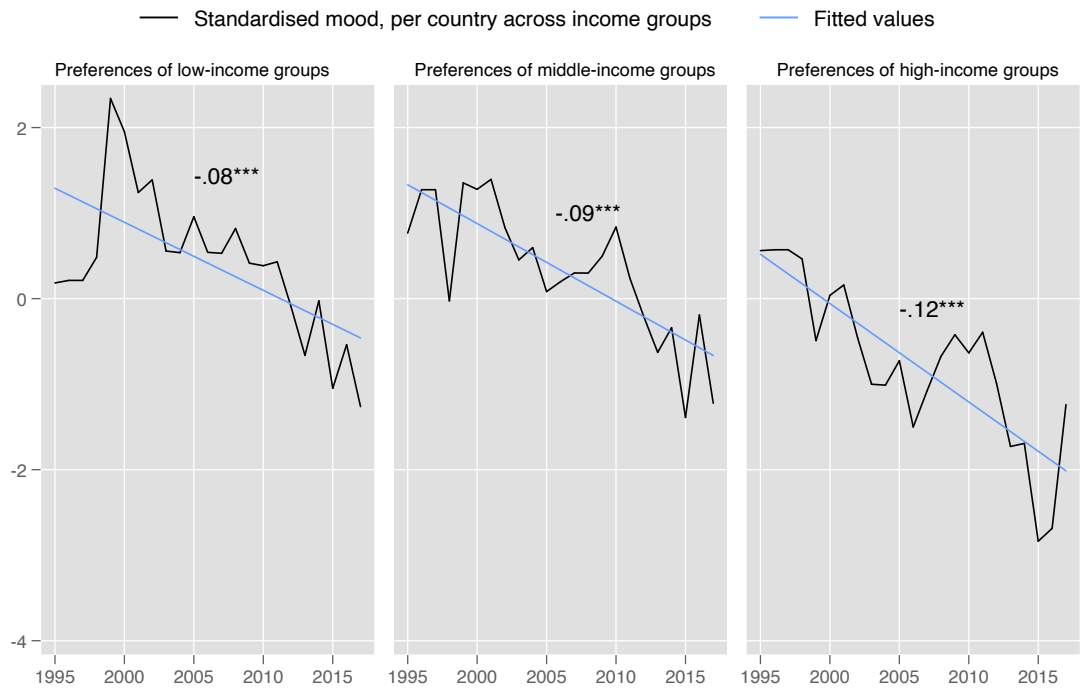


Figure E.2. Income-group redistributive preferences – Germany

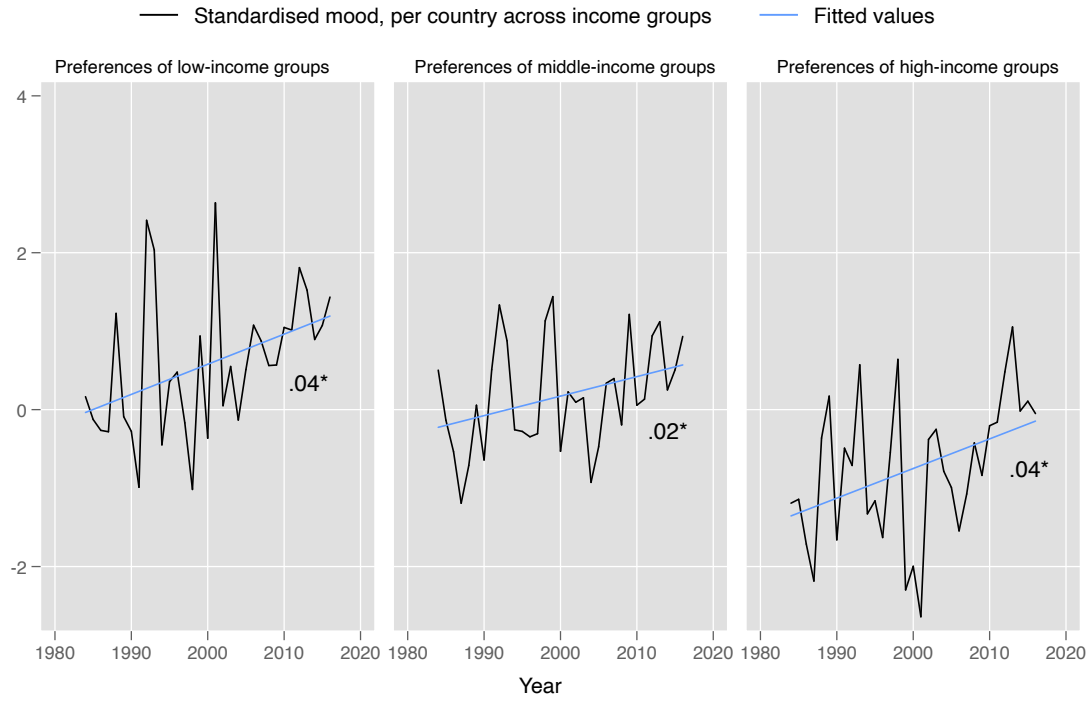


Figure E.3. Income-group redistributive preferences – Great Britain

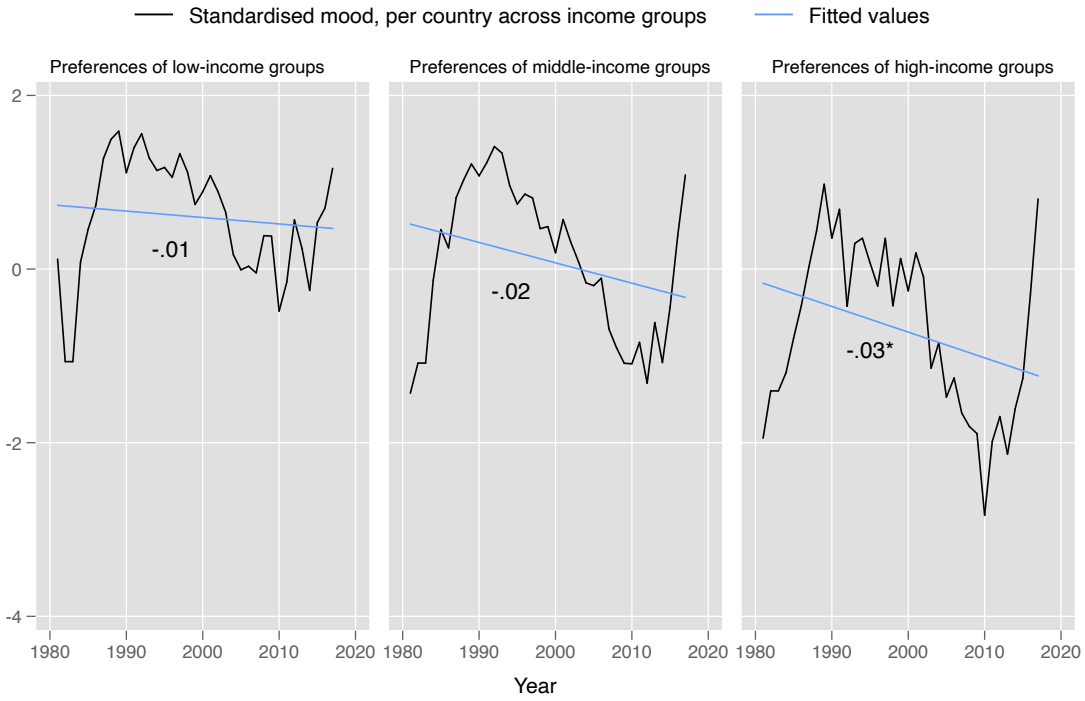


Figure E.4. Income-group redistributive preferences – Netherlands

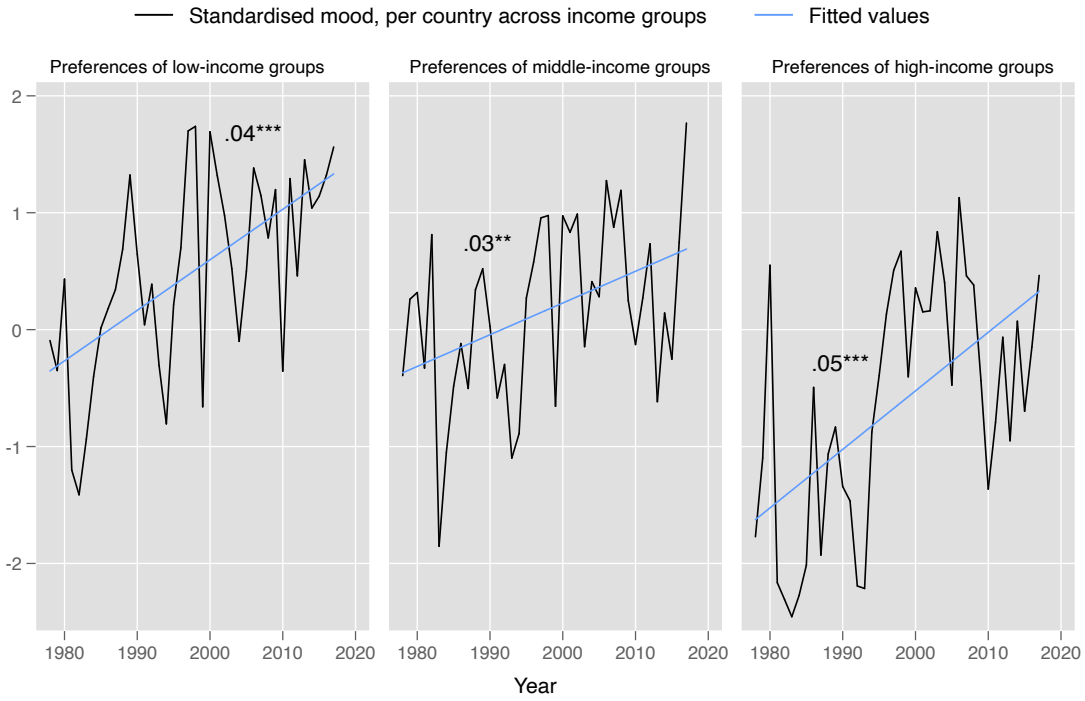


Figure E.5. Income-group redistributive preferences – Norway

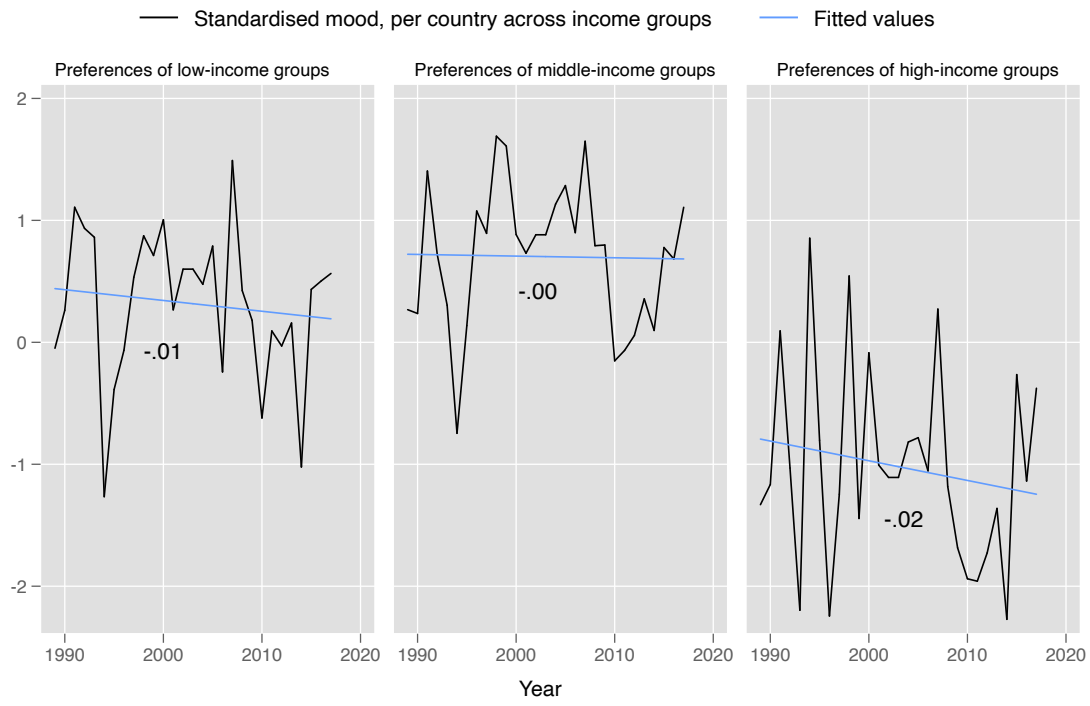


Figure E.6. Income-group redistributive preferences – Sweden

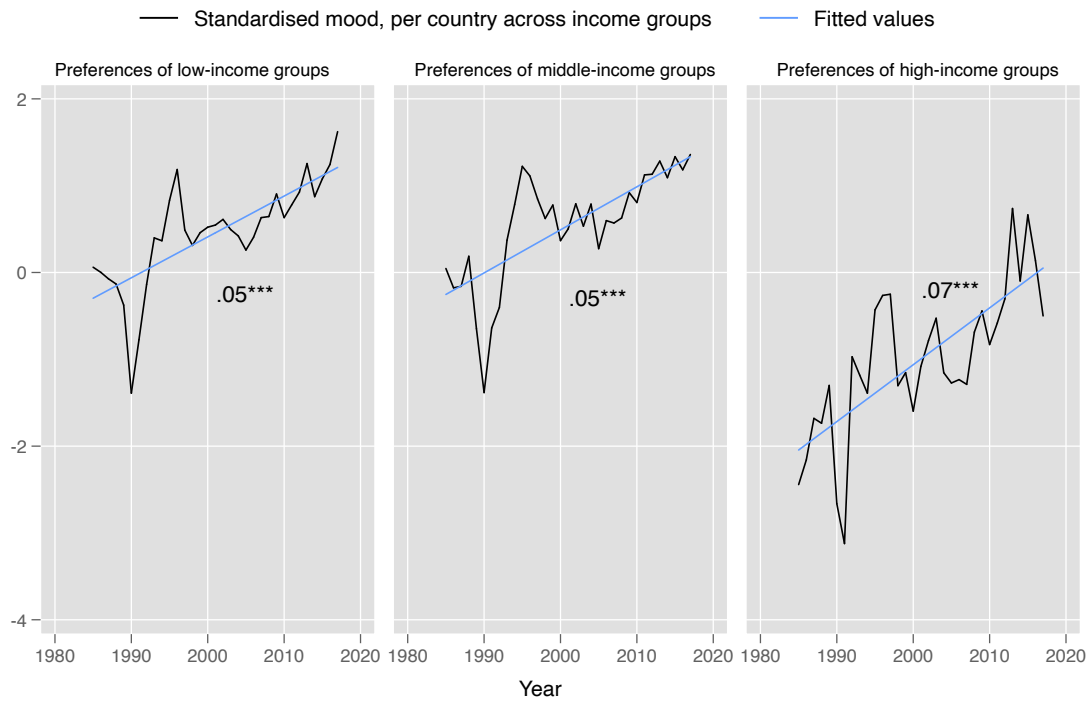
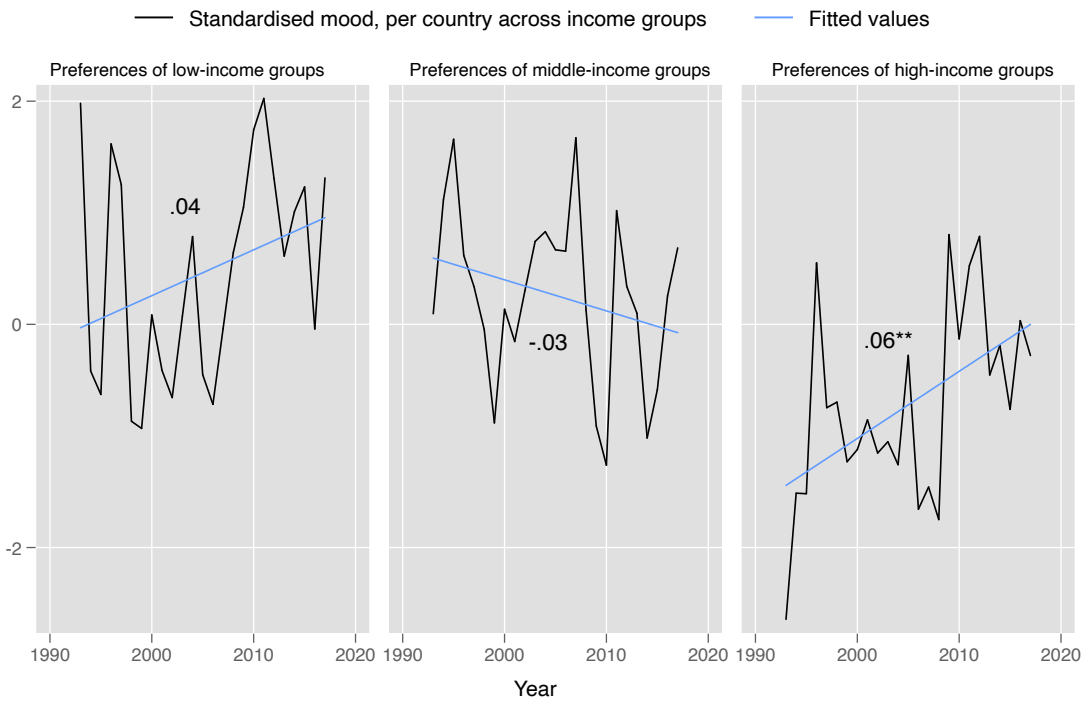


Figure E.7. Income-group redistributive preferences – Switzerland



F. Full table of factor analysis of standardised series, across countries

Table F.1 Factor analysis

	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	2.507	1.852	0.807	0.807
Factor2	0.655	0.267	0.211	1.018
Factor3	0.387	0.328	0.125	1.143
Factor4	0.060	0.132	0.019	1.162
Factor5	-0.072	0.104	-0.023	1.139
Factor6	-0.175	0.080	-0.056	1.082
Factor7	-0.256	-	-0.082	1

Note: LR test: Chi2(21) = 46.43 ; Prob > chi2 = 0.001

Table F.2 Factor loadings

	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Factor5	Uniqueness
France	0.824	0.135	-0.200	-0.034	0.261	0.824
Germany	-0.724	-0.030	0.278	0.013	0.398	-0.724
Great Britain	0.620	0.457	0.193	-0.087	0.362	0.620
Netherlands	0.416	0.157	0.359	0.130	0.656	0.416
Norway	0.492	-0.316	0.276	-0.038	0.580	0.492
Sweden	-0.707	0.430	0.070	-0.094	0.303	-0.707
Switzerland	-0.068	0.343	-0.152	0.153	0.831	-0.068

G. Full tables of alpha test scales of standardised series, by country

Table G.1 Alpha test scales – France

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	23	+	0.858	0.686	0.541	0.841
Middle-income	23	+	0.943	0.874	0.416	0.681
High-income	23	+	0.862	0.661	0.517	0.879
Test scale					0.491	0.857

Table G.2 Interitem covariances – France

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.720		
Middle-income	0.517	0.600	
High-income	0.416	0.541	0.890

Table G.3 Alpha test scales – Germany

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	33	+	0.730	0.333	0.253	0.564
Middle-income	33	+	0.791	0.567	0.124	0.263
High-income	33	+	0.715	0.307	0.280	0.606
Test scale					0.219	0.576

Table G.4 Interitem covariances – Germany

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.817		
Middle-income	0.280	0.470	
High-income	0.124	0.253	0.820

Table G.5 Alpha test scales – Great Britain

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	37	+	0.918	0.848	0.770	0.949
Middle-income	37	+	0.971	0.931	0.541	0.863
High-income	37	+	0.962	0.898	0.507	0.907
Test scale					0.606	0.938

Table G.6 Interitem covariances – Great Britain

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.471		
Middle-income	0.507	0.751	
High-income	0.541	0.770	0.954

Table G.7 Alpha test scales – Netherlands

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	40	+	0.859	0.697	0.562	0.815
Middle-income	40	+	0.869	0.740	0.582	0.791
High-income	40	+	0.919	0.770	0.395	0.763
Test scale					0.513	0.851

Table G.8 Interitem covariances – Netherlands

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.714		
Middle-income	0.395	0.568	
High-income	0.582	0.562	1.066

Table G.9 Alpha test scales – Norway

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	29	+	0.820	0.600	0.141	0.440
Middle-income	29	+	0.823	0.625	0.142	0.428
High-income	29	+	0.734	0.308	0.277	0.872
Test scale					0.187	0.672

Table G.10 Interitem covariances – Norway

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.382		
Middle-income	0.277	0.337	
High-income	0.142	0.141	0.661

Table G.11 Alpha test scales – Sweden

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	33	+	0.963	0.926	0.456	0.880
Middle-income	33	+	0.957	0.908	0.430	0.878
High-income	33	+	0.941	0.835	0.370	0.972
Test scale					0.419	0.934

Table G.12 Interitem covariances – Sweden

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.361		
Middle-income	0.371	0.422	
High-income	0.430	0.456	0.738

Table G.13 Alpha test scales – Switzerland

Item	Obs	Sign	Item-test correlation	Item-rest correlation	Average interitem covariance	alpha
Low-income	25	+	0.770	0.377	0.169	0.403
Middle-income	25	-	0.633	0.277	0.314	0.549
High-income	25	+	0.758	0.416	0.153	0.338
Test scale					0.212	0.542

Table G.14 Interitem covariances – Switzerland

	Low-income	Middle-income	High-income
Low-income	0.913		
Middle-income	0.153	0.590	
High-income	0.314	0.169	0.746

H. Full tables of factor analysis of standardised series, by income group across countries

Table H.1 Factor analysis low-income groups, across countries

	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	2.169	1.367	0.791	0.791
Factor2	0.802	0.532	0.293	1.084
Factor3	0.271	0.218	0.099	1.182
Factor4	0.053	0.135	0.019	1.202
Factor5	-0.082	0.091	-0.030	1.172
Factor6	-0.173	0.125	-0.063	1.109
Factor7	-0.298	-	-0.109	1

Note: LR test: chi2(21) = 37.73; Prob > chi2 = 0.014

Table H.2 Factor loadings low-income groups, across countries

	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Uniqueness
France	-0.740	-0.286	0.117	0.049	0.355
Germany	0.458	-0.174	0.351	-0.095	0.628
Great Britain	-0.333	0.484	0.150	0.132	0.615
Netherlands	0.022	0.527	-0.087	-0.104	0.703
Norway	-0.559	0.285	-0.025	-0.088	0.598
Sweden	0.765	0.300	0.176	0.059	0.291
Switzerland	0.636	-0.082	-0.269	0.050	0.514

Table H.3 Factor analysis middle-income groups, across countries

	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	2.173	1.425	0.670	0.670
Factor2	0.748	0.254	0.231	0.900
Factor3	0.495	0.101	0.152	1.052
Factor4	0.393	0.451	0.121	1.174
Factor5	-0.058	0.172	-0.018	1.156
Factor6	-0.229	0.047	-0.071	1.085
Factor7	-0.277	-	-0.085	1

Note: LR test: chi2(21) = 41.38; Prob > chi2 = 0.005

Table H.4 Factor loadings middle-income groups, across countries

	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Uniqueness
France	0.626	-0.025	0.150	-0.406	0.420
Germany	-0.475	0.508	0.074	0.066	0.507
Great Britain	0.608	0.094	0.496	0.020	0.376
Netherlands	0.493	-0.183	-0.182	0.144	0.670
Norway	0.565	0.531	-0.012	0.247	0.337
Sweden	-0.678	-0.197	0.428	0.121	0.304
Switzerland	0.405	-0.356	0.066	0.357	0.578

Table H.5 Factor analysis high-income groups, across countries

	Eigenvalue	Difference	Proportion	Cumulative
Factor1	2.602	1.679	0.680	0.680
Factor2	0.922	0.453	0.241	0.920
Factor3	0.470	0.276	0.123	1.043
Factor4	0.193	0.146	0.051	1.094
Factor5	0.047	0.180	0.012	1.106
Factor6	-0.133	0.140	-0.035	1.071
Factor7	-0.273	-	-0.071	1

Note: LR test: chi2(21) = 52.51; Prob > chi2 = 0.000

Table H.6 Factor loadings high-income groups, across countries

	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Uniqueness
France	0.487	-0.471	-0.025	0.253	-0.037
Germany	-0.663	0.394	0.008	0.298	0.020
Great Britain	0.627	-0.137	0.501	0.045	-0.031
Netherlands	0.598	0.225	0.092	0.085	0.174
Norway	0.505	0.541	-0.041	0.097	-0.119
Sweden	-0.748	0.107	0.456	-0.043	-0.014
Switzerland	-0.600	-0.414	-0.016	0.143	0.007

I. Distribution of variance of preference measures

Table I.1: R-Squared of independent ANOVAS

	Variance explained by time	Variance explained by income groups
France	0.556	0.285
Germany	0.372	0.312
Great Britain	0.634	0.288
Netherlands	0.593	0.231
Norway	0.271	0.551
Sweden	0.439	0.503
Switzerland	0.241	0.271
All countries	0.145	0.277

J. Alternative models of standardised polarisation series

Our data reflect typical cross-time cross-section series. In the manuscript, we present OLS models with a lagged dependent variable in the models to deal with dynamics over time (Beck & Katz, 1995). However, we present cross-validation models, following previous studies relying on similar datasets (Schakel, 2013; Van Hauwaert & English, 2019), and the results remain robust.

The first column presents a fixed-effects specification that accounts for country-specific time-constant unobserved heterogeneity. By contrast, our random effects model assumes the variation across countries to be random and uncorrelated with our independent variables. However, we just use it here as a robustness check, since we are not interested in exploring whether differences across countries have an influence on the association between income-group preferences but only whether allowing for different intercepts alter the results. The third column presents a panel-data model using generalized least squares (in the presence of autocorrelation within panels and cross-sectional correlation and heteroskedasticity across panels). We include this model as it is recommended for datasets with a small number of observations and large timeseries. Some authors alternatively recommend Prais-Winsten regressions for time series analysis. These allow to fit a linear regression model in which the errors are serially correlated. Lastly, we specify a common panel-corrected standard errors (PCSEs) model while controlling for autocorrelation (Beck & Katz, 1995). Each of these models has some advantages and limitations; since the results do not change depending on the specification, we include the simple OLS in the text.

J.1 Alternatives for model (3) in Table 6

	FE	RE	FGLS	PRAIS	PCSE
Middle-income group preferences$_{t-1}$	0.289*	0.288*	0.285*	0.179*	0.256*
	0.058	0.057	0.057	0.059	0.062
Low-income group preferences$_{t}$	0.382*	0.382*	0.384*	0.442*	0.399*
	0.061	0.061	0.060	0.061	0.057
High-income group preferences$_{t}$	0.215*	0.217*	0.217*	0.212*	0.245*
	0.062	0.048	0.061	0.062	0.059
Constant	0.013	0.012	0.012	-0.004	0.003
	0.048	0.048	0.048	0.057	0.037
Observations	213	213	213	206	213
Number of countries	7	7	7	-	7
R-squared	0.516	0.516	-	0.444	0.562
sigma_u	0.029	-	-	-	-
sigma_e	0.703	0.703	-	-	-

rho	0.002	-	-	0.167	variable

J.1 Alternatives for model (4) in Table 6

	FE	RE	FGLS	PRAIS	PCSE
Middle-income group preferences$_{t-1}$	-0.380*	-0.381*	-0.390*	-0.296*	-0.378*
	0.055	0.055	0.055	0.050	0.056
Δ Low-income group preferences$_t$	0.308*	0.308*	0.306*	0.357*	0.311*
	0.054	0.053	0.052	0.056	0.055
Δ High-income group preferences$_t$	0.108^	0.120*	0.108*	0.104^	0.093^
	0.055	0.052	0.054	0.057	0.053
Constant	0.015	0.015	0.015	0.005	0.008
	0.053	0.052	0.052	0.045	0.045
Observations	213	213	213	206	213
Number of countries	7	7	7	-	7
R-squared	0.337	0.337	-	0.330	0.330
sigma_u	0.032	-	-	-	-
sigma_e	0.771	0.771	-	-	-
rho	0.002	-	-	-0.154	variable

Note: The FE model represents the in-text model; the RE model specifies random effects for the in-text model (instead of fixed-effects); the FGLS model is a cross-sectional time-series GLS regression with a common AR(1) coefficient for all panels; the PRAIS model is a Cochrane-Orcutt AR(1) regression; the PCSE model is a Prais-Winsten regression with correlated panels and corrected standard errors (PCSEs).

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