

Economic or cultural backlash? Rethinking outsiders' voting behavior

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Online Appendix

Table A1: Descriptive statistics

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Insider	0.695	0.460	0	1
Unemployed	0.072	0.259	0	1
Temporary worker	0.096	0.295	0	1
Solo self-employed	0.066	0.248	0	1
Self-employed with employees	0.047	0.212	0	1
Pro-redistribution	3.786	1.067	1	5
Pro-immigration	3.124	1.302	1	5
Part-time worker	0.123	0.329	0	1
Interest in politics	2.483	0.870	1	4
Female	0.474	0.499	0	1
Age	43.129	11.491	18	67
With partner	0.678	0.467	0	1
With children	0.495	0.500	0	1
Ethnic minority	0.046	0.209	0	1
Trade union member	0.440	0.496	0	1
Education	2.156	0.647	1	3
Net HH income	6.195	2.640	1	10
State-market	-15.328	11.277	-63.381	19.512
Integration-demarcation	5.946	5.939	-23.162	42.335

Table A2: Effects of outsidersness on voting behavior

	Model 1				
	Abstention	Ecologist	Communist	Major right	Nationalist
(Ref. cat.: insiders)					
Unemployed	0.357** (0.146)	-0.243** (0.114)	0.245 (0.185)	-0.00477 (0.114)	0.0445 (0.236)
Temporary worker	0.235* (0.136)	-0.0189 (0.125)	0.254*** (0.0766)	0.133 (0.177)	0.0822 (0.128)
Solo self-employed	0.398** (0.168)	0.588*** (0.212)	0.145 (0.204)	0.518*** (0.197)	0.177 (0.193)
Self-employed	0.533*** (0.133)	0.490*** (0.178)	0.127 (0.221)	0.870*** (0.181)	0.793*** (0.112)
Pro-redistribution	-0.151*** (0.0324)	0.0232 (0.0423)	0.275*** (0.0928)	-0.353*** (0.0544)	-0.105 (0.113)
Pro-immigration	-0.159*** (0.0462)	0.274*** (0.0581)	0.0340 (0.0585)	-0.124*** (0.0373)	-0.509*** (0.196)
Part-time worker	-0.0947 (0.0910)	0.376*** (0.104)	0.103 (0.156)	-0.0625 (0.110)	-0.238 (0.192)
Interest in politics	-0.744*** (0.0597)	0.111 (0.0793)	0.196*** (0.0337)	-0.0254 (0.0619)	-0.138 (0.0999)
Female	-0.225*** (0.0361)	0.154*** (0.0546)	-0.0341 (0.0440)	-0.114*** (0.0408)	-0.334*** (0.106)
Age	-0.0465** (0.0222)	0.0871*** (0.0275)	-0.0125 (0.0432)	-0.0363** (0.0185)	0.0366 (0.0308)
Age ²	0.000116 (0.000292)	-0.00110*** (0.000297)	0.0000767 (0.000494)	0.000362* (0.000189)	-0.000618** (0.000304)
With partner	-0.132** (0.0586)	-0.0787 (0.102)	-0.0938 (0.114)	-0.0167 (0.0296)	-0.0431 (0.112)
With children	0.00305 (0.0746)	-0.0187 (0.0718)	-0.0765 (0.0754)	0.0550 (0.0960)	0.0191 (0.123)
Ethnic minority	0.323 (0.229)	-0.794** (0.329)	-0.708 (0.493)	-0.676*** (0.213)	-0.0615 (0.446)
Union member	-0.523*** (0.115)	-0.264** (0.126)	0.320*** (0.115)	-0.365*** (0.0924)	-0.146 (0.176)

(Ref. cat.: low edu)					
Medium education	0.0719	1.262***	0.107	0.199	0.0904
	(0.225)	(0.303)	(0.165)	(0.180)	(0.300)
High education	-0.418*	1.499***	0.216	0.235	-0.0945
	(0.222)	(0.237)	(0.237)	(0.167)	(0.330)
Net HH income	-0.0593***	-0.00433	-0.0582**	0.0444***	0.0149
	(0.0189)	(0.0226)	(0.0260)	(0.0124)	(0.0223)
Wave dummies	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	5.042***	-5.786***	-2.686***	2.680***	-0.441
	(0.625)	(0.663)	(0.938)	(0.711)	(1.231)

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Notes: Multinomial logit model predicting 7 possible vote choices. Base category: major left parties. Outcome 'Other' not shown. Wave dummies included. ESS population size and design weights applied. Robust standard errors clustered by countries in parentheses. *p<0.10, **p<0.05, *** p<0.010.