Economic or cultural backlash? Rethinking outsiders’ voting behavior

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**Online Appendix**

**Table A1: Descriptive statistics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev.</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Insider</td>
<td>0.695</td>
<td>0.460</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.072</td>
<td>0.259</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary worker</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>0.295</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo self-employed</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.248</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed with employees</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.212</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-redistribution</td>
<td>3.786</td>
<td>1.067</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-immigration</td>
<td>3.124</td>
<td>1.302</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time worker</td>
<td>0.123</td>
<td>0.329</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in politics</td>
<td>2.483</td>
<td>0.870</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.474</td>
<td>0.499</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>43.129</td>
<td>11.491</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With partner</td>
<td>0.678</td>
<td>0.467</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>0.495</td>
<td>0.500</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minority</td>
<td>0.046</td>
<td>0.209</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade union member</td>
<td>0.440</td>
<td>0.496</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>2.156</td>
<td>0.647</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net HH income</td>
<td>6.195</td>
<td>2.640</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration-demarcation</td>
<td>5.946</td>
<td>5.939</td>
<td>-23.162</td>
<td>42.335</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table A2: Effects of outsidersness on voting behavior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Model 1</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abstention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ref. cat.: insiders)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.357** (0.146)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary worker</td>
<td>0.235* (0.136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo self-employed</td>
<td>0.398** (0.168)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>0.533*** (0.133)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-redistribution</td>
<td>-0.151*** (0.0324)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-immigration</td>
<td>-0.159*** (0.0462)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time worker</td>
<td>-0.0947 (0.0910)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in politics</td>
<td>-0.744*** (0.0597)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-0.225*** (0.0361)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.0465** (0.0222)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age^2</td>
<td>0.000116 (0.000292)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With partner</td>
<td>-0.132** (0.0586)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children</td>
<td>0.00305 (0.0746)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic minority</td>
<td>0.323 (0.229)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union member</td>
<td>-0.523*** (0.115)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ref. cat.: low edu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium education</td>
<td>0.0719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.225)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High education</td>
<td>-0.418*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.222)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net HH income</td>
<td>-0.0593***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.0189)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wave dummies</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.042***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.625)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Log pseudolik. -86094.83

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.