

**welfare
priorities.**

Priorities, trade-offs and
reform opportunities in
European welfare politics

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Mass public attitudes on social policy priorities and
reforms in Western Europe.
WELFAREPRIORITIES dataset 2020.

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Abstract

This paper presents the WELFAREPRIORITIES dataset 2020, which contains new and detailed data on citizens’ attitudes regarding social policies, the relative importance citizens attribute to different social policy fields (old age pensions, childcare services, higher education, active labor market policy, unemployment benefits, social assistance), their social policy experiences, their perceptions of party positions regarding social policy, voters’ electoral preferences, as well as respondents’ social status, status mobility and socio-demographics. The representative sample consists of 12’000 respondents in 8 West European countries (Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Italy, UK, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark).

Through detailed information on voters’ social policy priorities (measured through conjoint experiments, point distribution question and trade-off questions), the data allows to study new research questions in the field of the mass politics of welfare state development and reform. The dataset also contains extensive information regarding voter preferences, and thus allows to link the study of electoral politics, partisan competition and welfare politics in new ways. This paper presents the motivation and implementation of the data collection, the data itself (including the codebook) and its validation.

Brief description of the dataset:

- Main content: Survey data on social policy preferences
- Sample: population representative sample of N=12’000; 1500 each in Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Italy, UK, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark
- Date of data collection : Fieldtime 04.10.2018 – 12.02.2019
- Fieldwork: Bilendi GmbH

Access to the dataset:

Please contact contact@welfarepriorities.eu

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1. Goals of the survey

The survey data presented in this working paper was collected as part of the ERC funded project *Welfarepriorities* at the University of Zurich; <http://welfarepriorities.eu>.

The data allows studying specific research questions in three broad areas:

1. Research on the **relative importance** that individual respondents attribute to particular **social policy fields** (old age pensions, higher education, childcare services, active labour market policies, unemployment benefits, social assistance), **social policy reform strategies** (social investment vs. social consumption; insider- vs. outsider-oriented policies; welfare chauvinism), and **distributive logics** (targeted, universal, progressive, equivalence). For this area of research, the dataset provides a range of indicators that are based on various ways of measuring importance and priorities.
2. Research on the **determinants of social policy reforms and reform capacity**. The dataset includes detailed measures of individual **respondents' support (both positional and importance) of particular social policy reforms and distributive profiles of reforms** (e.g. universal vs. targeted reforms of old age pensions, unemployment support or childcare services; generalized or specific cutbacks in old age pensions; welfare chauvinistic reforms etc.). Importantly, the data distinguishes systematically between support for **expansion vs. retrenchment** measures in the different social policy areas. The dataset also contains an ample range of measures on the perception of the context of reforms (fiscal pressure, budgetary constraints, effectiveness of social policies etc.).
3. Research on the **transformation of welfare politics in the context of changing electoral mass politics**. The dataset contains ample measures of **electoral preferences and general ideological attitudes (on both economic-distributive and socio-cultural issues)**, and **data on the social policy priorities ascribed to political parties by voters**, thereby allowing to study how the reconfiguration of European politics around a new dominant cleavage between universalism and particularism (Häusermann and Kriesi 2015) interacts with and structures welfare politics.

These are the **main categories of variables** available in the dataset (see List of Variables in appendix 7.1):

- Measures of welfare priorities (incl. conjoint experiment)
- General welfare attitudes and experiences
- General political attitudes
- Electoral preferences and perceptions of parties and government
- Socio-demographic indicators

2. Context of the survey: motivation and project

2.1 Research interest: the project context

The *Welfarepriorities* project studies contemporary mass politics of the welfare state. Its main ambition is to improve our understanding of i) **what citizens want** and expect from the welfare state, ii) whether their social policy preferences matter for the **electoral choices** they make, and iii) whether their preferences matter for **policy choices**.

The **underlying general hypothesis** of the project is that our answers to the above questions will be more valid when we conceive of social policy preferences not only in terms of citizens' positions on social policy (demand for more/less benefits and services), but also – and maybe even mainly – in terms of the **relative importance** they attribute to these different benefits and services.

This hypothesis builds on two key insights of the welfare state literature from the past two decades: first, citizens' preferences on social policy are more validly measured at the level of specific policies and benefits rather than at the level of generalized support for social spending or redistribution; and second, while citizens' preferences may appear convergent on overall high levels of social policy support, such convergence may mask underlying conflicts and divides in terms of the fields and reforms fiscal resources should be allocated to, especially in a context of constrained fiscal resources.

Against this background, **the project studies “welfare priorities” in four regards**: a) a methodological interest in different observational and experimental **measurement techniques** and validation, b) a substantive interest in the main **preferences divides** structuring contemporary welfare politics, c) a focus on the **quality of representation** between citizens' preferences and party positions regarding welfare priorities and d) a keen interest in the links between welfare priority divides (e.g. social investment vs. social consumption) and the shift

of the main axes of European electoral competition from economic-distributive to socio-cultural issues – **rethinking party competition on the basis of differing welfare priorities**. For more information, please visit the project website¹.

2.2 Validity problems in existing datasets on social policy preferences

Since roughly the 1990s, research on whether and how welfare states are reformed has been theorized and studied in a different intellectual framework than before. Both fiscal constraints and electoral transformations have put the study of **individual social policy preferences and public opinion** as determinants of welfare state change to the forefront. Understanding social policy preferences has become the key endeavour in this research field and a massive and still growing literature has emerged that studies the determinants of individual attitudes regarding social spending, redistribution, and various social policy instruments (e.g. Beramendi and Rehm 2016; Blekesaune and Quadagno 2003; Bremer and Bürgisser 2018; Brooks and Manza 2008; Busemeyer *et al.* 2017; Dimick *et al.* 2017; Estevez-Abe *et al.* 2001; Fossati and Häusermann 2014; Gallego and Marx 2017; Häusermann *et al.* 2015; Häusermann *et al.* 2016; Iversen and Soskice 2001; Margalit 2013; Rehm 2009; Rehm 2011; Rehm *et al.* 2012; Rueda 2005; Svallfors 2012; Walter 2010).

These studies oftentimes focus on understanding individual-level preference formation as such. However, either explicitly or implicitly, studying social policy preferences is a means rather than an end in itself. Ultimately, the goal is to understand politics and policy development at the aggregate level, and to explain differences between governments, periods, and countries.

Hence, the contribution of political science research on social policy attitudes ultimately lies in its capacity to help us understand variance in politics and policy. From this perspective, we see **two main problems in the validity of the available cross-sectional survey data** on spending, redistribution or generosity preferences that most findings rely on: first, a problem of external validity: these questions on policy positions increasingly fail to capture the choices that politicians and citizens face. The second problem is more theoretical: upon close reading, most of the prominent existing theories of contemporary welfare state development rely on assumptions regarding the *relative importance* individuals attribute to different policies, rather than their absolute positions on these policies. Yet, the empirical studies tend to use position-measures to test precisely those theories. In the following, we briefly review the two issues sequentially.

¹ <http://welfarepriorities.eu>

The first problem consists in surveys not reflecting the political choices salient in politics today. It may be illustrated most easily with an example. Over the years of the Great Recession, huge budgetary pressure emerged regarding distributive politics, especially in the countries most affected by the crisis. These pressures only intensified the structural constraints on welfare state spending that had become increasingly salient since the 1990s, such as demographic ageing or structural unemployment. In such a context, welfare politics increasingly resembles a negative- or zero-sum game. Hence, the main question governments face is whether to cut back on social spending and on what areas. These are the reforms that are debated in politics and in election campaigns, i.e. they are relevant for voters and supposedly for their choices. However, in existing surveys, citizens are usually asked if they would prefer more or less spending, more or less generous policies. In the answers to these questions, variance with regard to peoples' responses is generally low and attitudes may even be contradictory (Busemeyer 2015; Giger and Nelson 2013; Goerres and Prinzen 2012), because most people support generous social spending for redistribution, pensions, education, unemployment etc. and they also support sound public finances and low levels of taxation. Being unconstrained in their answers, respondents seem to favour all the desirable outcomes equally. Consequently, the findings then usually look similar to the ones in figure 1, displaying average support levels for increased ("more" and "much more") spending on pensions and education and for opposition to retrenchment ("less" and "much less" spending), as measured in the ISSP 2016. The numbers in figure 1 are informative and probably valid, in the sense that most citizens across all countries would indeed prefer increased spending in both key areas of welfare policy and virtually all citizens reject retrenchment. However, these numbers do not reflect the policy decisions at stake in these countries and it is highly doubtful that citizens indeed expect their parties and governments to spend "much more" when the tone of the political debate for over two decades has centred on the need for fiscal consolidation.

It is obviously doubtful that these data can explain any cross-national variation in policy development – but not because public opinion does not matter. Rather, the data used is unable to carry more information than a general "mood" regarding welfare state reform. What we would want to know is how citizens evaluate the ways in which politicians prioritize different benefits, how they handle the fiscal pressure, and how citizens themselves prioritize different areas of social spending.

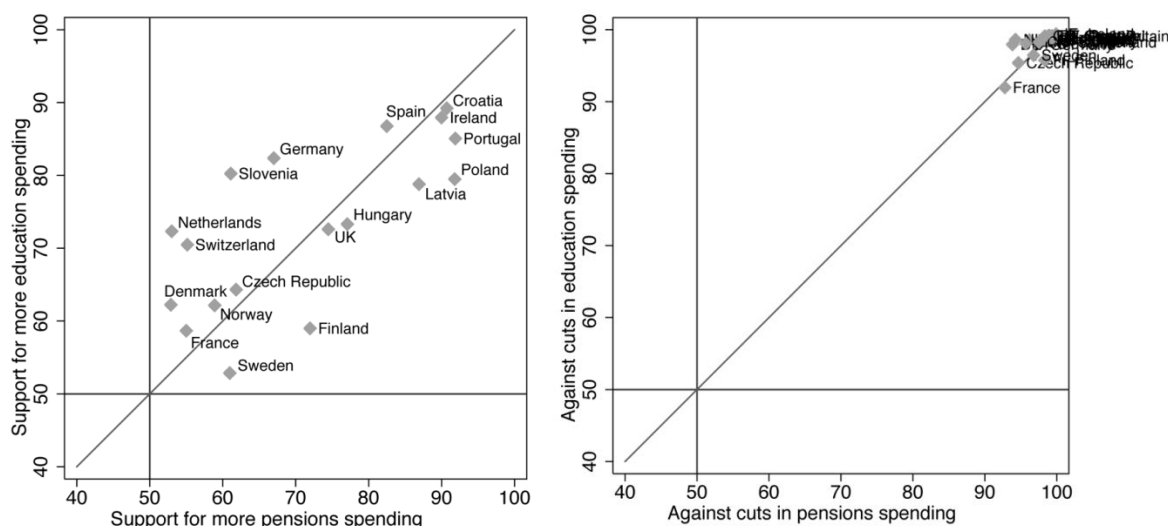


Figure 1. Average levels of support for social spending in % (ISSP 2016)

The second problem relates to the **mismatch between theories and measurement**. We illustrate it with reference to two of the most prominent welfare state theories of the past two decades. First, theories on “new politics” and welfare state retrenchment. In the wake of Pierson’s ground-breaking studies on the ways in which existing institutional settings bias democratic politics against welfare state retrenchment, innumerable studies have investigated the extent to which governments have or have not cut back on welfare generosity. One key claim that has found resonance is that the stability of benefit levels is inversely related to the concentration of the risk the benefit addresses. In other words: if unemployment is highly concentrated among the low-skilled, public opinion (or the median voter) will be more permissive towards retrenchment than if unemployment spreads widely across occupations, classes and generations (Jensen 2012; Pontusson and Weisstanner 2018; Rehm *et al.* 2012; Rehm 2016). The dispersion of risk varies across time and space, but also across policy fields, which is why old age pensions are supposed to be more stable than disability pensions. However, the point we want to make here is that the theoretical argument is based on the *relative importance* citizens attribute to particular social benefits. The more likely they are to incur the risk, the more intensely they are supposed to defend existing levels of generosity in social schemes that address precisely that risk. Hence, individual interest is supposed to explain how much relative importance individuals attribute to particular social policies (within a general bandwidth of social spending). This is why Jensen (2012) argues an interaction effect of left-right partisanship and social policy attitudes: left-wing citizens favour a higher equilibrium of taxation and spending, but *within* this equilibrium, they are *more attached* to those policies they benefit from directly, and the same goes for the right.

Insider-outsider theories of the labour market provide a second telling example. (Rueda 2005;

Rueda 2007) made waves when pointing out the dilemmas left-wing parties face in the recalibration of labour market policies. While labour market insiders' main interest consists in employment protection and generous social insurance, labour market outsiders have an interest in low "barriers to entry" into the labour market, active labour market policies and redistribution. While Rueda (2005) indeed showed significant differences in the average positions of insiders and outsiders regarding employment security policies and activation, many subsequent studies pointed out the very small substantive differences in these positions, and they countered the initial argument with evidence showing that labour market outsiders *also* support employment protection (e.g. Emmenegger 2009). Again, a close reading of the theoretical argument reveals that data on *positional* attitudes regarding social policies is not valid to accurately test it. Rather, given their employment profile, we would expect labour market insiders to *prioritize* employment protection over redistributive compensatory and activating policies and vice versa for outsiders. Insider/outsider-theory does not claim that labour market insiders would actively fight redistribution or that outsiders would mobilize to demand lower employment protection regulation. The divide that one would theoretically expect is one over priorities, not over position.

The two problems discussed in this section motivate our exploration of different ways of measuring citizens' priorities regarding welfare state policies.

2.3 Avenues for improved validity explored in the dataset

One strategy to address the lack of constraints in traditional survey items has been to include a reference to the (implicit) cost of policy intervention in the formulation of the question. Frequently, this has been done by including a reference to budgetary constraints and indicating that expansion in a specific policy will come at the cost of higher taxation, a raise in public debt or cutbacks in public expenditure in other areas (see e.g. Hansen 1998).

Although this approach represents an improvement from unconstrained measures of policy preferences, it still presents some limitations: including a reference to the fiscal cost of a specific policy ("higher taxes") usually does not convey any information about who exactly will be the main bearer(s) of this cost. Hence, although these items present an explicit trade-off, they do not hint at whose interests might be at stake.

This is precisely why we set out to measure policy priorities, i.e. the relative weight attributed to a limited range of reform or policy options. **We provide data on relative weights/priorities in three different ways: a) through conjoint experiments, b) through point distribution**

questions and c) through direct trade-off questions.

The advantage of conjoint designs is that they allow us to evaluate how different traits of a specific object contribute to the likelihood that a respondent will choose that object. Many of the characteristics of this design appear to match some of the necessary improvements to the measurement of welfare preferences. First, conjoint profiles differ on a number of attributes, which allows us to account for the multidimensionality of welfare policies. Second, respondents are asked to choose between different profiles, which introduces a constraint. In the realm of social policy and public opinion, conjoint analyses have so far been implemented to study preferences for different public spending profiles (Bremer and Bürgisser 2018; Kölln and Wlezien 2016) or for different specific reform profiles within a specific policy domain (Gallego and Marx 2017 regarding unemployment policy; Häusermann *et al.* 2019 regarding pension policy). We do not find, however, conjoint analyses that present **welfare state profiles that vary in the specific policy actions** (e.g. targeted or universal benefits) **implemented on different domains** (e.g. pensions, health, education). Our strategy proposes not to vary mere spending levels, but rather to present (separately) specific expansive and retrenching reform measures that are more explicit in terms of the action that is taken, in order for respondents to be able to understand the distributive effects of the proposed reform in terms of the divides we are interested in. Thereby, we are better able to reflect the complex multidimensionality of social policy, as trade-offs do not only take place across policy areas—i.e. spending on pensions instead of education—but also within specific policy fields – i.e. increasing minimum pensions significantly vs. increasing all pensions slightly. Being more specific about the constituencies that benefit from a specific policy provide more nuance to our measures of citizens' preferences. Including this more detailed information about the specific nature of welfare expansion or retrenchment also provides a better fit with the objective of identifying the divides that characterize conflict over welfare politics today. Raising pension spending by a certain percentage does not tell the respondent much about the distributional effect of this reform. Conversely, our conjoints specify more explicitly the proposed reform, hence providing more information about which groups are more likely to benefit from it.

Beyond conjoint data, we provide additional measures to capture policy priorities on specific reforms and areas of intervention: respondents are also asked to **allocate a limited number of points to different kinds of policy fields and policy reforms**, again separately for expansion and retrenchment. These point distribution questions provide us with very simple, direct and individual-level indicators of attributed relative importance, which can be used as indicators directly or as weights in combination with positional indicators.

Finally, we provide data on preferences regarding direct **trade-off questions**, in which expansions in one policy come at the cost of retrenchment in another policy area. These survey items are poorer than conjoint designs or point distribution questions in terms of dimensionality, but they deliver information on preferences regarding (theoretically) very specific questions (e.g. investment vs. consumption; activation vs. passive benefits etc.).

3. Implementation and technical report of fieldwork

Measuring public opinion's priorities on welfare policies (as described above) required the implementation of an original survey in eight countries. This survey was administered online to a sample of participants of the survey panel provider Bilendi.

3.1 Selection of the panel provider

The panel provider, Bilendi, was selected out of four companies that presented an offer after having been invited to a call for tender. The call for tender specified some of the key criteria to be met by the panel provider: the survey had to be fielded in eight countries (Sweden, Denmark, Germany, The Netherlands, Spain, Italy, United Kingdom and Ireland), the panel provider needed to guarantee 1,500 complete responses in each of the countries (with a specification of age, gender and education quotas - more information below), and the survey company needed to comply with the data protection and ethics requirements established by the European Research Council as well as the terms and conditions established by the University of Zurich. The call for tender also included a description of the different types of questions to be included in the questionnaire. All documents concerning the call for tender were approved by the data protection office of the UZH in February 2018.

In six of the eight countries under study, Bilendi offered proprietary online panels. In the Netherlands and Ireland, the company relied on local partners to recruit participants. In the Netherlands, Bilendi worked together with Inzicht and Lightspeed and in Ireland with two partners: Research Now and Toluna.

Participants of the Bilendi Online-Access panels are recruited in collaboration with diversified online- and offline-sources. About 90 percent of panelists are recruited actively (e.g. through e-mail, social networks, display, native ads, affiliates, etc.) and about 10 percent passively. Participants of the partners' online panels in the Netherlands and Ireland are recruited through similar means.

The contract with Bilendi included, besides the recruitment of participants, the administering of the survey fieldwork, the programming of the survey, as well as collection and storage of the responses provided by the panelists.

3.2 Ethics and data protection procedure

Before the survey went into the fieldwork, the survey questionnaire, the procedure for the recruitment of survey participants, and the informed consent form (included in appendices 0 and 7.4) were subject to an ethics and data protection review (and subsequently approval) by the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zurich.

In line with data protection regulations, the acquired data was pseudonymized by assigning respondents a personal identifier unique to the research project. Specifically, the panel provider's data management system contains two sets of IDs: a panellist ID – unique to each panellist – and a project ID – unique to a respondent for a specific project. The pseudonymization of the answers is guaranteed given that the data management system automatically prevents the panellist ID from being used outside of the system, and it is only the combination of the two IDs which allow a panellist to be individually identified. The research team at UZH did not have access to either of these IDs at any time.

3.3 Design of the study

3.3.1 Data collection method

The survey was administered online. Potential participants received an invitation to take part in the survey via e-mail. This e-mail included a unique link provided by the panel provider, Bilendi, to access the survey. Before any questions were administered, the respondents had to indicate their consent by means of the consent form (included in appendix 7.4).

The responses were collected and stored by Bilendi. Once the number of targeted responses was achieved, and the fieldwork period closed, the *Welfarepriorities* team received the collected data in a pseudonymized form. The data delivered contains a project ID number for each respondent, which is unique to the respondent at the survey level.

3.3.2 Definition of the sample

The sample was drawn from the target population including men and women, 18 years old or older, residents in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, United Kingdom and Ireland. The targeted total sample was of 12,000 complete responses (1,500 from each of the countries).

To improve the representativeness of the sample, the design included quotas for age and gender (crossed) and education level. As well as a monitoring quota for employment status. The age quotas accounted for six age groups (18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, and 66 or older). These were combined with two gender groups, men and women, to obtain the crossed quotas for each country. The education quotas were divided into three groups corresponding to the levels: (i) ISCED 0-2: less than primary, primary and lower secondary education; (ii) ISCED 3-4: upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education; and (iii) ISCED 5-8: short-cycle tertiary education, bachelor or equivalent, master or equivalent, and doctoral or equivalent.

The sample design also included a monitoring quota based on employment status for respondents up to 64 years old. This quota differentiated two groups: respondents in employment at the time of the survey and those out of employment. This quota was monitored during the fieldwork, and invitations and reminders were adjusted so as to increase the number of replies if any of the two groups became underrepresented.

All data on the distribution of the population by age, sex, educational level and employment status in each of the countries was obtained from Eurostat. It corresponds to data for the year 2017 (the latest information available at the time of the design of the survey), with the information on education and employment coming from the European Union Labour Force Survey.

Quota-relevant questions (age, gender, education level, and employment status) were asked at the beginning of the survey in order to filter out respondents in case of quota-full.

A description of the quotas and the response rate achieved for each of them is included below.

3.3.3 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was scheduled to take place in several steps. In a first stage, the fieldwork was carried out in two countries: United Kingdom and Germany. This allowed for adjustments in the questionnaire before it was fielded in the other six countries. Moreover, the fieldwork in these first two countries also included a pilot sample (the target was 150 respondents per

country, the obtained responses were 195 in Germany and 176 in the UK). The fieldwork for the pilot started on August 2nd 2018 in both countries and was closed on August 14th 2018 in the UK, and August 15th 2018 in Germany. In a second stage, the rest of the responses for these two countries were collected between October 4th 2018, and October 23rd for Germany, and until November 2nd for the UK.

In the other six countries the fieldwork took place simultaneously, finishing at different dates depending on the speed at which the targeted number of completed interviews was reached. In Denmark, Italy, Spain and Sweden the first survey responses were collected on November 21st 2018. In Ireland and the Netherlands, the first interviews were completed a day later, on November 22nd 2018. In Denmark, Italy and Spain the fieldwork was closed on December 27th 2018, while it was closed on December 31st in Sweden, on January 2nd in the Netherlands and on January 4th 2019 in Ireland. In these six countries, the fieldwork was closely monitored on a daily base. To ensure that all quotas would be filled and at a similar speed, the number of invitations and reminders sent out was adjusted in line with the progress in the fieldwork. Each day of the fieldwork we calculated the percentage of complete responses in the overall sample (i.e. the number of completed surveys over the targeted 1,500 complete responses), as well as the percentage of complete responses in each of the quotas (by age and gender crossed, by education, as well as the monitoring employment quota). For those quotas in which the rate of complete responses was substantively lower than the overall rate in the country, the invitations and reminders were intensified. This daily tracking and corresponding adjustment of the survey invitation process allowed us to increase, early on, the response rate of certain groups that appeared initially difficult to reach.

Table 1 below reports the final percentages of complete responses by quotas (over the initial targeted quota). The percentages in the cells correspond to the total responses achieved in that quota over the targeted number of complete responses (calculated over a total of 1,500 responses). In Germany and the UK almost all quotas are over 100%, because the quotas were computed over a total of 1,500 targeted responses, and these countries had additional responses from the pilot (as can be seen in the last row indicating the total number of completed responses). To ensure the quality of the responses obtained respondents who failed to pass the attention checks included in the survey were filtered out. Respondents were also excluded if they took an unrealistically short time in answering the conjoint items the survey. Because the conjoint section is a crucial part of our survey, and it presents a relatively demanding task, respondents who went too quickly through the conjoint section (took less than 80 seconds to

complete the conjoints) were also screened out from the sample. The median time dedicated to complete the survey was of 29 minutes.

Table 1. Percentage of complete responses by quotas (over initially targeted total), by country

Quotas	Germany	United Kingdom	Denmark	Netherlands	Sweden	Ireland	Italy	Spain
Female, Age 18-25	115.8%	113.7%	115.3%	100.0%	114.3%	100.0%	114.5%	102.9%
Female, Age 26-35	117.9%	127.9%	100.9%	100.9%	103.3%	100.7%	103.0%	102.7%
Female, Age 36-45	115.9%	113.9%	104.9%	101.7%	96.6%	100.6%	100.0%	103.3%
Female, Age 46-55	117.2%	118.5%	101.5%	100.7%	100.8%	101.5%	101.4%	104.3%
Female, Age 56-65	114.6%	110.0%	100.9%	100.8%	105.6%	100.0%	105.9%	104.4%
Female, Age 66+	101.0%	106.2%	103.8%	100.0%	108.4%	59.3%	100.9%	70.6%
Male, Age 18-25	107.2%	58.6%	66.7%	60.0%	101.0%	78.1%	102.7%	100.0%
Male, Age 26-35	121.8%	114.0%	93.9%	89.7%	74.6%	100.0%	79.4%	123.2%
Male, Age 36-45	119.3%	118.3%	84.6%	100.0%	86.2%	101.9%	101.5%	101.3%
Male, Age 46-55	119.7%	113.7%	103.0%	100.0%	102.4%	101.6%	100.7%	103.5%
Male, Age 56-65	123.5%	121.7%	108.0%	112.4%	107.4%	100.0%	100.0%	102.8%
Male, Age 66+	112.3%	116.3%	118.2%	107.4%	101.2%	100.0%	120.9%	103.5%
Education Group 1	124.9%	121.2%	103.1%	98.2%	89.1%	51.4%	76.2%	91.2%
Education Group 2	110.9%	98.7%	87.3%	93.8%	101.3%	96.8%	117.1%	104.2%
Education Group 3	116.8%	120.4%	117.3%	105.6%	103.8%	116.9%	135.8%	110.9%
N	1,722	1,677	1,513	1,481	1,500	1,433	1,542	1,508

Table 2 below reports the survey completion rate in each of the countries. This has been calculated as the ratio of complete responses over the total number of individuals to which invitations were sent out. This information is not available for Ireland or the Netherlands as the panel provider Bilendi relied on panels from partners in those countries.

Table 2. Completion rates (complete responses/total invitations sent out)

Germany	24.0%
United Kingdom	3.1%
Denmark	17.9%
Netherlands	Na
Sweden	17.1%
Ireland	Na
Italy	11.8%
Spain	4.1%

Note: Information not available for those countries in which survey provider, Bilendi, relied on partner panels

3.3.4 Data weights and availability of the data

To increase the representativeness of the sample in analyses and in the computation of descriptive statistics, the dataset provides two kinds of design weights. One set of design weights is purely socio-demographic, to achieve representativeness in terms of age and gender (crossed), and educational attainment; while the second set of design weights also includes partisanship in the calculation, making the sample representative by age and gender (crossed), educational attainment and partisanship (measured as the party the respondents voted for in the last general election).

The data (in its pseudonymized form) is currently stored at the University of Zurich, and will continue to be stored at this location until the completion of the *Welfarepriorities* project. After its completion the data will be made available at FORS. For questions regarding access to the data earlier than publication, please write to contact@welfarepriorities.eu.

4. Basic validation

The survey and fieldwork process relied on a number of tools and strategies (e.g. the different quotas, the fieldwork monitoring, or the design weights) to increase the representativeness of the responses obtained through the online sample. Yet, because the survey was fielded exclusively on a sample of online panellists, it is reasonable that questions about its representativeness may still arise. For this reason, and to validate any claims about the representativeness of our sample, we establish a comparison between some demographic, socio-economic and political variables included in our online samples and the latest wave of the European Social Survey (ESS) (round 8, 2016). The ESS is a cross-national survey that is particularly strict about sampling, with individuals being selected by strict random probability methods, and with substitution of non-responding households or individuals not being allowed at any stage of the sampling and fieldwork process. In the ESS samples must be representative of all persons aged 15 and over. We have accordingly eliminated respondents aged 17 or younger to establish comparability with our own survey. In the comparisons, we have excluded pre-test respondents (from the UK and Germany) from our sample. In all weighted comparisons, we have introduced design weights for age, gender and education (but not partisanship) from our sample, and the post-stratification weight (variable “pspwght”) in the ESS. Since Denmark is not part of the 8th wave of the ESS, the comparisons were carried out for the remaining seven countries.

Appendix 7.5 presents graphical comparisons of weighted and unweighted *Welfarepriorities* and ESS data along a series of variables that are asked identically in the two surveys. Starting with the socio-demographic variables gender, age and education – which were included as quotas in our survey – we find that there are only small differences in the gender composition of the two survey samples (appendix 7.5.1) that disappear entirely in the weighted comparison (appendix 7.5.2). In terms of age, the two datasets are again quite comparable, particularly when weights are implemented and we compare the different 10-year age groups (appendix 7.5.4). We only find larger differences if we focus on the category grouping the oldest respondents in our sample (66 or older). While in our dataset the majority of these respondents are 66 to 70 years old, in the ESS we find more respondents of an older age (e.g. 75 year olds are underrepresented in our sample). When comparing the two samples on the level of educational attainment by respondents, we find that the two samples are fairly comparable. Overall, the representativeness of our sample becomes more problematic at the lowest level of education. As the figure displays (appendix 7.5.6), in all countries, the lowest level of educational attainment is underrepresented in our sample, in comparison to the ESS. In countries like Sweden, the Netherlands, or Germany this difference is rather small; while it is particularly larger in the UK, Italy and Spain. Hence, generalizations about individuals with the lowest level of educational attainment must be treated cautiously. The comparison of the other educational attainment levels fares better. It is only worth noticing that in Germany and the Netherlands respondents with upper secondary education are underrepresented in our panel, while respondents with advanced vocational degrees are overrepresented. In this case, as well as with the lowest education level, it is likely that these differences could not be mitigated by the use (and monitoring) of the quotas, because these levels (specifically) were aggregated into fewer categories for the computation of the quotas.

Moving on to a comparison on political variables, figures 7.5.7 to 7.5.10 in the appendix, display the distribution of the respondents the *Welfarepriorities* survey and the ESS along four political items that were asked identically in the two surveys, and that are central in many studies of political science. Along levels of political interest (figure 7.5.7), our sample follows very closely the distribution in the ESS for Germany, the Netherlands, the UK and Sweden. In comparison to the ESS, in the cases of Ireland and Spain the least interested category is relatively underrepresented in our sample, and this difference becomes starker in the case of Italy, where there is a substantial difference between our sample and the ESS. In terms of ideological left-right self-placement (figure 7.5.8), the distribution in our sample follows very

closely that of the ESS. There is a slight overrepresentation of politically extreme responses in Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and the UK, but these are only very small differences.

Lastly in what concerns political attitudes, we establish a comparison on two items that are frequently used to capture differences in preferences on economic and cultural issues (respectively). Here we should remark a limitation of the comparison, since the response scales are not identical and there is a slight difference in the wording of the economic question². While the ESS captures preferences on these items on a 5-item Likert scale, our survey relies on a 4-item scale omitting the middle category (neither agree nor disagree). In terms of preferences concerning redistribution (figure 7.5.9), there are no great differences between the placement of respondents in our sample and in the ESS. There is no systematic pattern by which respondents of the online panel appear more or less favourable towards redistribution. While our sample is slightly more favourable towards redistribution in Germany and the Netherlands, the opposite is true for Spain and Sweden.

On the cultural item of whether same-sex couples should be allowed to adopt (7.5.10), there are no substantively large differences in the distribution of the two samples. Again, as in the case of redistribution, there is no systematic pattern by which the sample recruited online is systematically more or less culturally liberal. The largest difference between the two samples appears in the case of Italy, in which respondents from the *Welfarepriorities* survey hold more culturally liberal positions than ESS respondents.

5. Substantive overview - selection

The empirics presented in this chapter give an overview of the different kinds of variables included in the *Welfarepriorities* dataset. These include the above-mentioned measures of welfare priorities (conjoint experiments, point distribution item, and trade-off questions) as well as general (welfare) attitudes, perceptions of party positions, and socio-demographics. We show the distribution of answers for the pooled sample and for some items by economic left-right preferences, educational attainment, and country. Note that this is only a selection of some of the most interesting findings and variables – the dataset includes many more.

² While in our survey this item reads: “*For a society to be fair, income differences should be small*”; the ESS relies on the statement: “*For a society to be fair, differences in people's standard of living should be small*”.

5.1 Measures of welfare priorities

5.1.1 Conjoint experiment

Figure 2 illustrates the setup of the conjoint experiment as presented to the respondents of the questionnaire in the United Kingdom. Based on such pairwise comparisons of policy proposals, we compute the effect of each level (as shown in columns 2 and 3) of the six policies (column 1) on the overall support of the policy proposal – namely the Average Marginal Component Effect (AMCE). These results (for the pooled sample) are presented in Figure 3 for welfare expansion and Figure 4 for welfare retrenchment.

Imagine that the government in the UK had additional means to increase welfare benefits and services. The following two proposals present different forms of expansion of benefits and services.

	Proposal A	Proposal B
Old age pension benefits	Increase minimum benefits, but preserve maximum benefits	Leave benefits unchanged
Availability of good quality childcare services	Increase availability only for lower-income families	Leave availability unchanged
Access to good quality university education	Expand access for all students	Expand access for all students
Unemployment benefits	Leave benefits unchanged	Increase benefits for all unemployed
Reintegration services for the unemployed	Expand services only for the British	Expand services only for long-term unemployed
Social assistance benefits	Leave benefits unchanged	Increase benefits for all recipients

Which of the two would you prefer?

- ☐ Proposal A
- ☐ Proposal B

Figure 2. Conjoint experiment – example of pairwise comparison respondents were confronted with

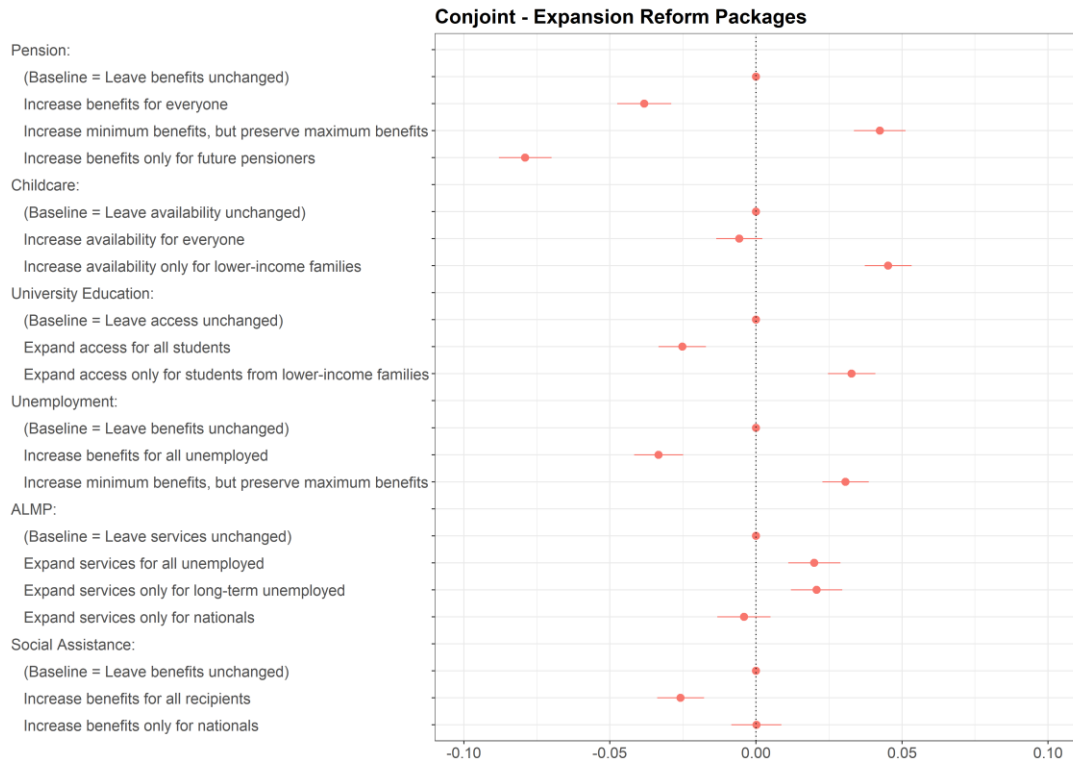


Figure 3. Conjoint experiment - effects of reform elements on support for welfare expansion reform package

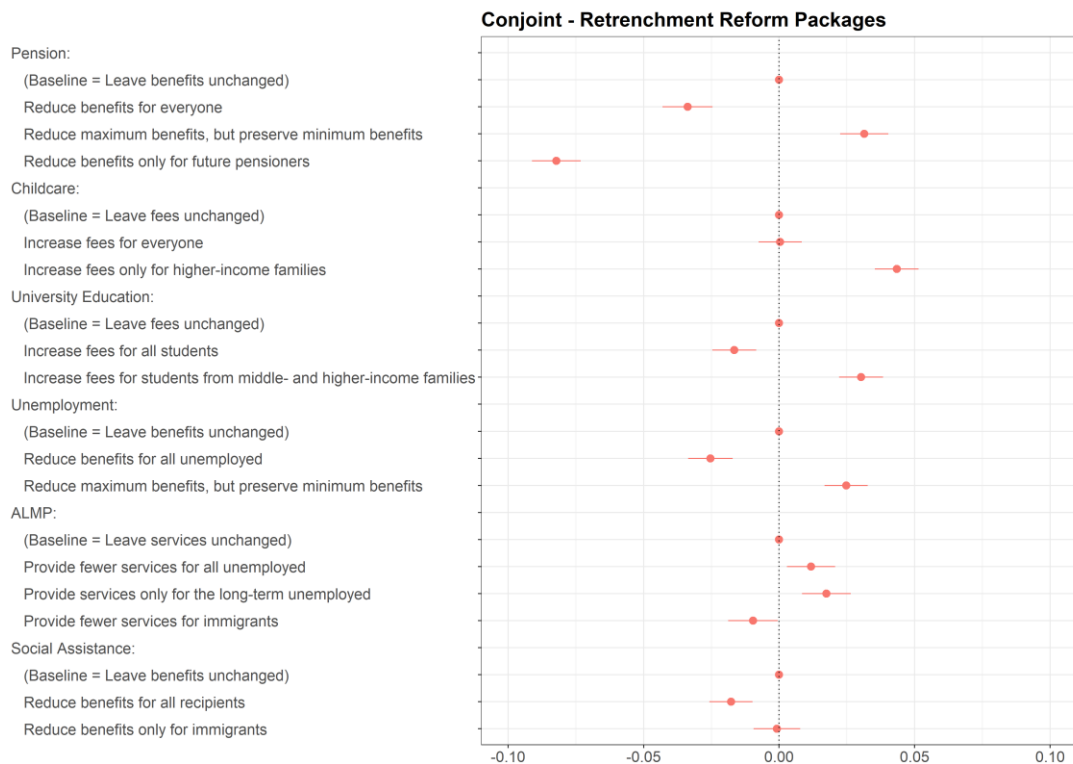


Figure 4. Conjoint experiment - effects of reform elements on support for welfare retrenchment reform package

5.1.2 Point Distribution

Figure 5 displays the results of the point distribution items for the pooled sample. The left panel shows the average points given to the six policy fields in an expansion scenario, the right panel the points attributed to the same fields in a retrenchment scenario. Figures 6 and 7 replicate the analysis for single countries. In addition to this, the interviewees were also asked to allocate points to specific welfare *reforms* rather than policy *fields*. These items (not shown here) reveal a similar pattern.

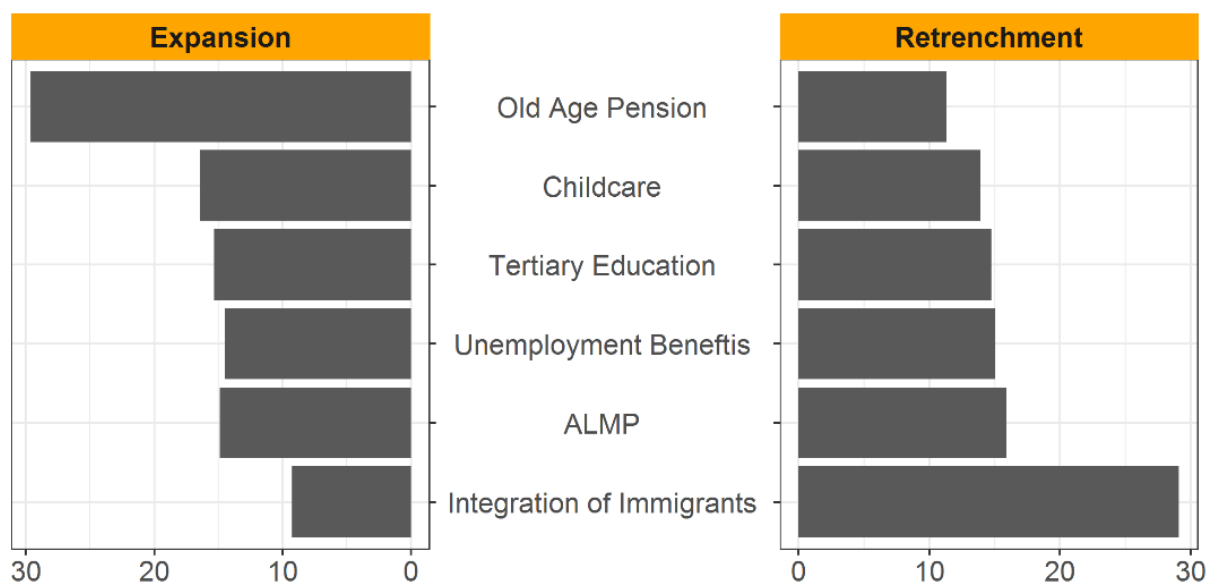


Figure 5. Average number of points allocated to each policy field in an expansion scenario (left hand side) and in a retrenchment scenario (right hand side)

Notes: In the expansion scenario more points mean that respondents consider **improvements** in this field **more important**. In the retrenchment scenario more points mean that respondents consider **reductions** **more acceptable**. Respondents had to allocate exactly 100 points among the six policy fields.

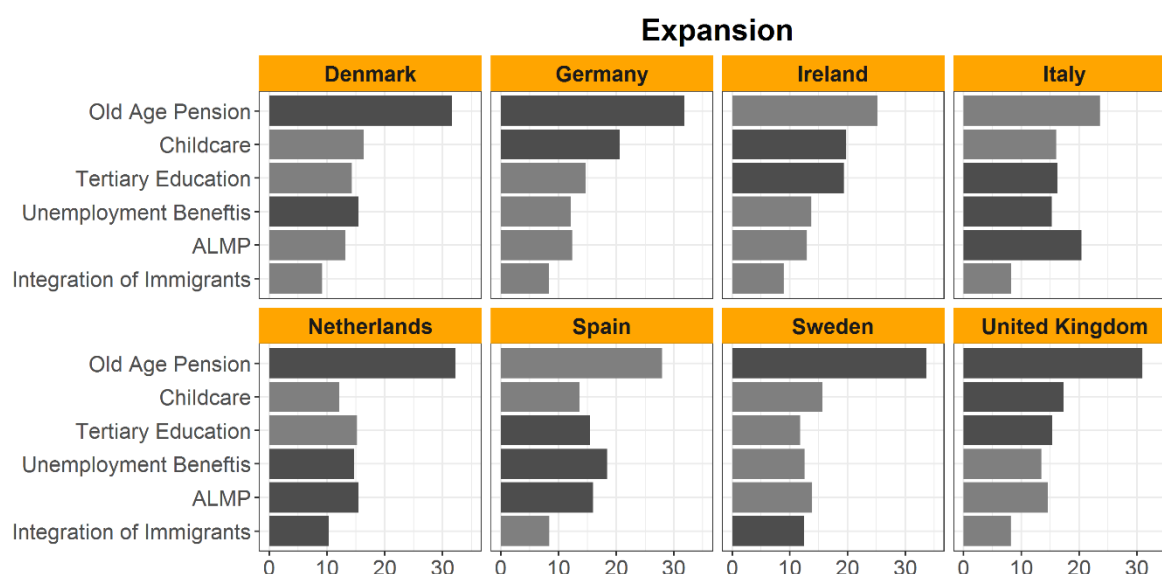


Figure 6. Prioritization of improvements – average number of points allocated to each policy field, by country

Notes: More points mean that respondents consider **improvements** in this field **more important**. Respondents had to allocate exactly 100 points among the six policy fields. The shade of the bars indicate whether the points given are above (dark) or below (light) the mean over all countries.

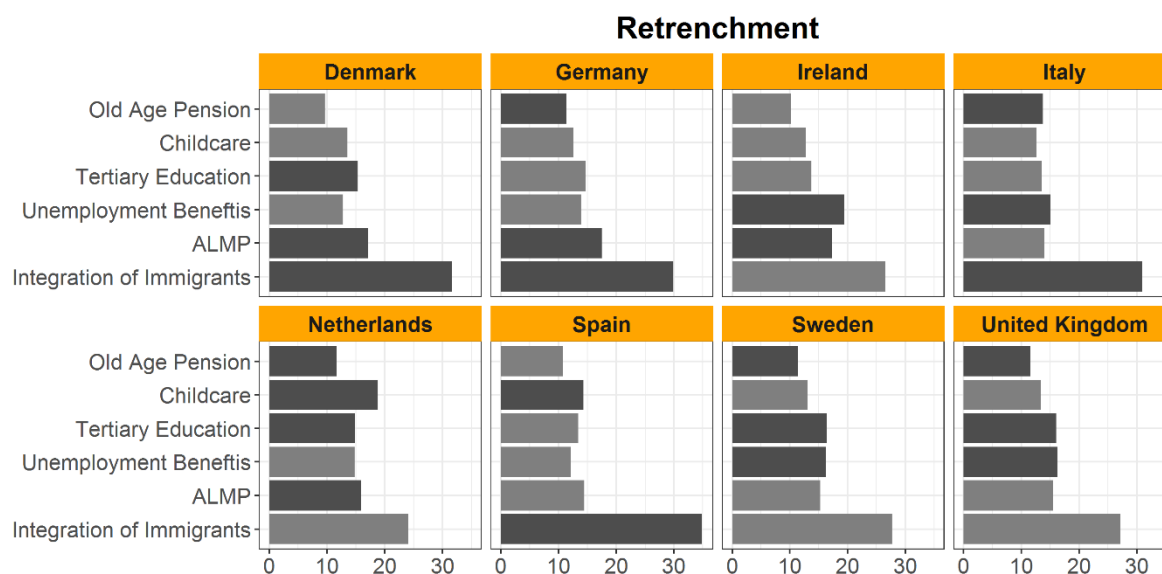


Figure 7. Acceptability of reductions – average number of points allocated to each policy field, by country

Notes: More points mean that respondents consider **reductions** **more acceptable**. Respondents had to allocate exactly 100 points among the six policy fields.

5.1.3 Trade-off questions

Figure 8 presents results for seven specific welfare trade-off questions where expansions come at explicit costs in the form of cuts elsewhere. The results shown are based on the pooled sample.

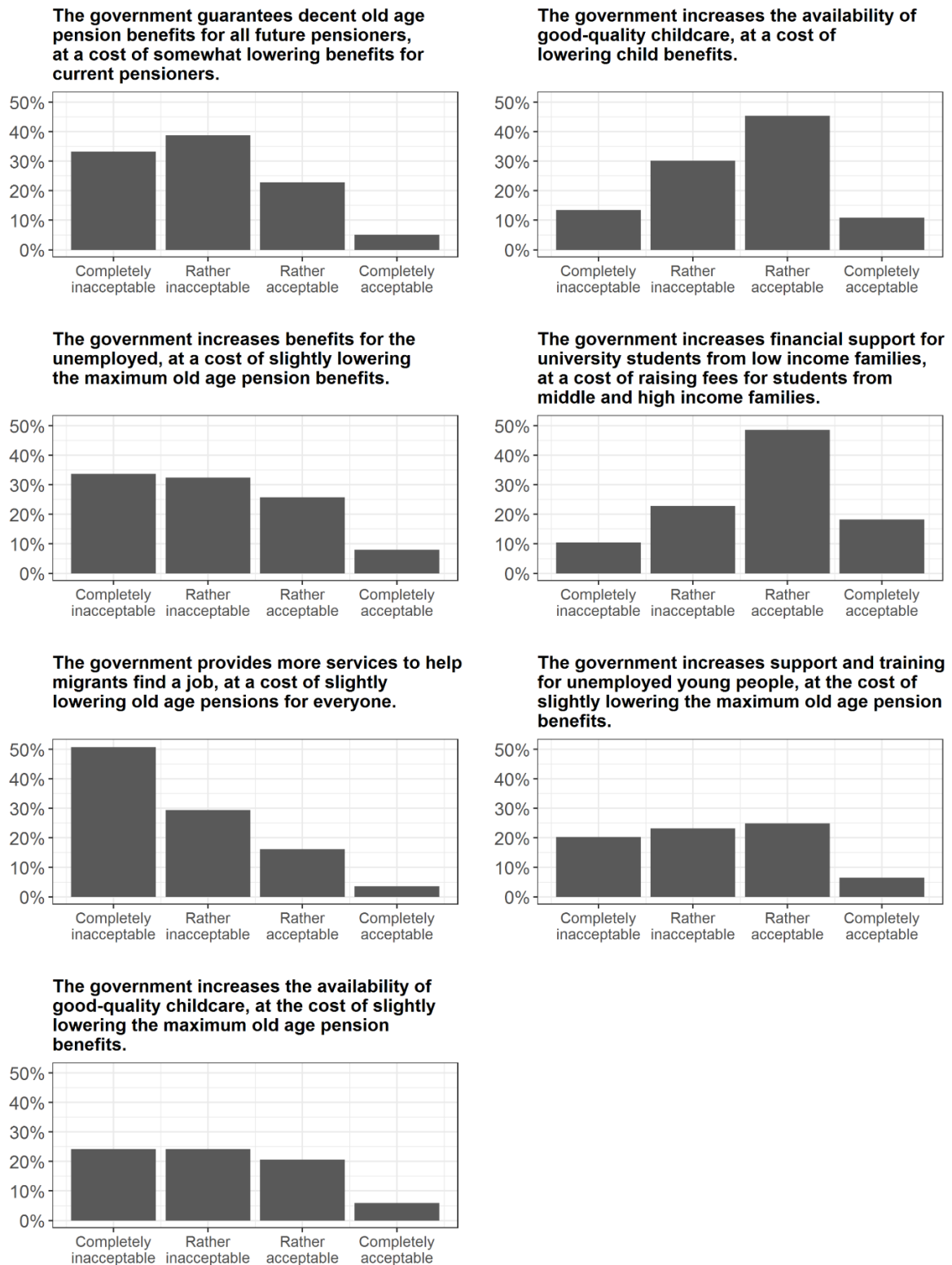


Figure 8. Distribution of answers to trade-off questions

5.2 General welfare attitudes and experiences

This subchapter shows the distribution of answers to perceptions of financial constraint (Figure 9), perceptions of trade-offs in welfare policy making (Figure 10), the evaluation of welfare state efficiency (Figures 11 and 12), and subjective welfare state experiences (Figure 13), all by economic left-right preferences. Figure 14 illustrates support for expansion and retrenchment in specific policy fields.

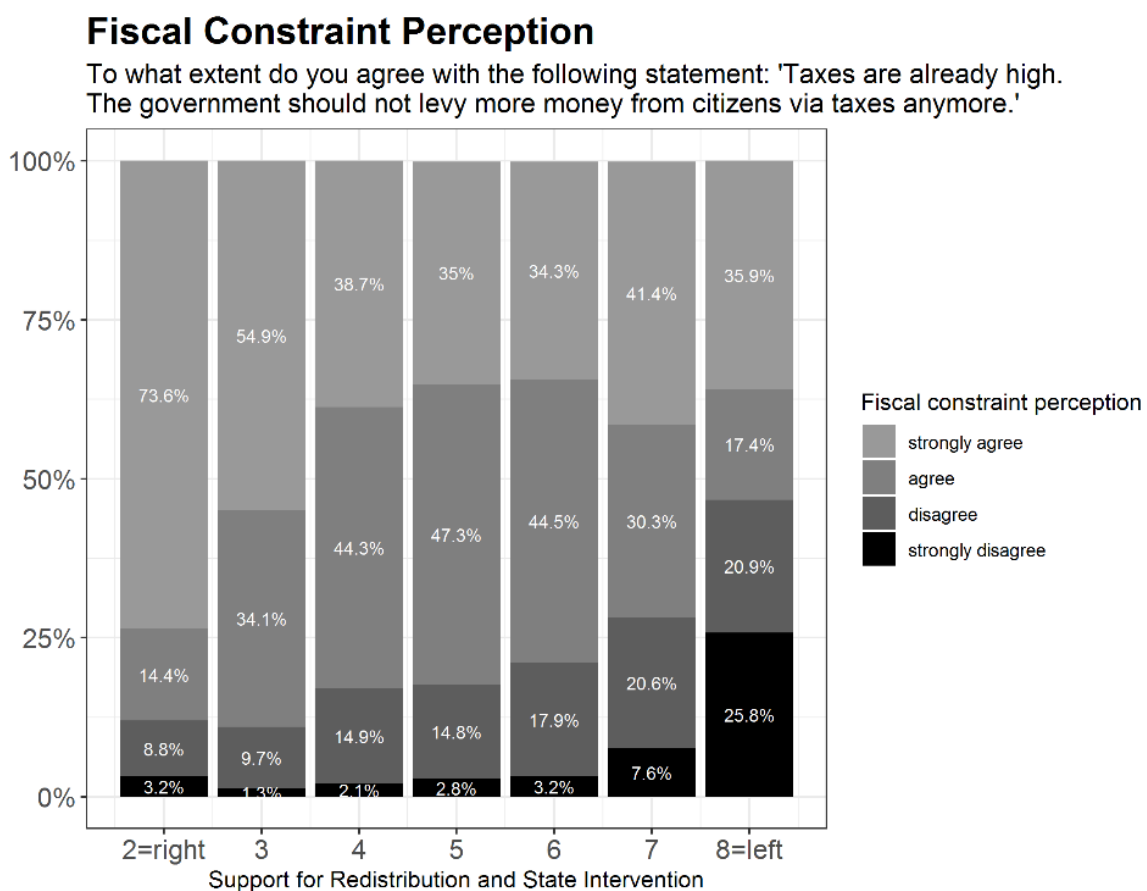


Figure 9. Distribution of fiscal constraint perceptions by economic left-right preferences

Example: Of the people who strongly agree to both redistribution and state interventions, 35.9% strongly agree with the existence of a fiscal constraint.

Trade-off perception

To what extent do you agree with the following statement:
'Nowadays, the welfare state can't offer everything that one may wish for.
If you increase benefits for some people,
sooner or later someone else will have to accept lower benefits'

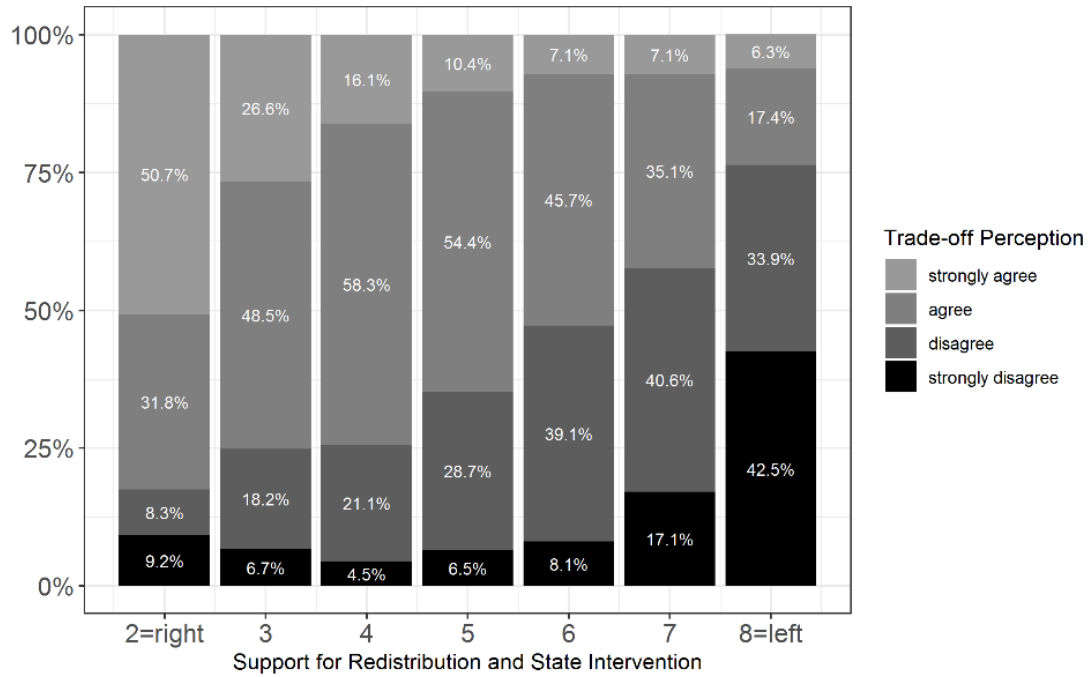


Figure 10. Distribution of welfare state trade-off perceptions by economic left-right preferences

Example: Of the people who strongly disagree to both redistribution and state interventions, 50.7% strongly agree with the existence of trade-offs in contemporary welfare politics.

Evaluation of the Welfare State

Some people say that the money that goes into the welfare state in the [COUNTRY] is used efficiently, while others say that a lot of money is wasted. What do you think?

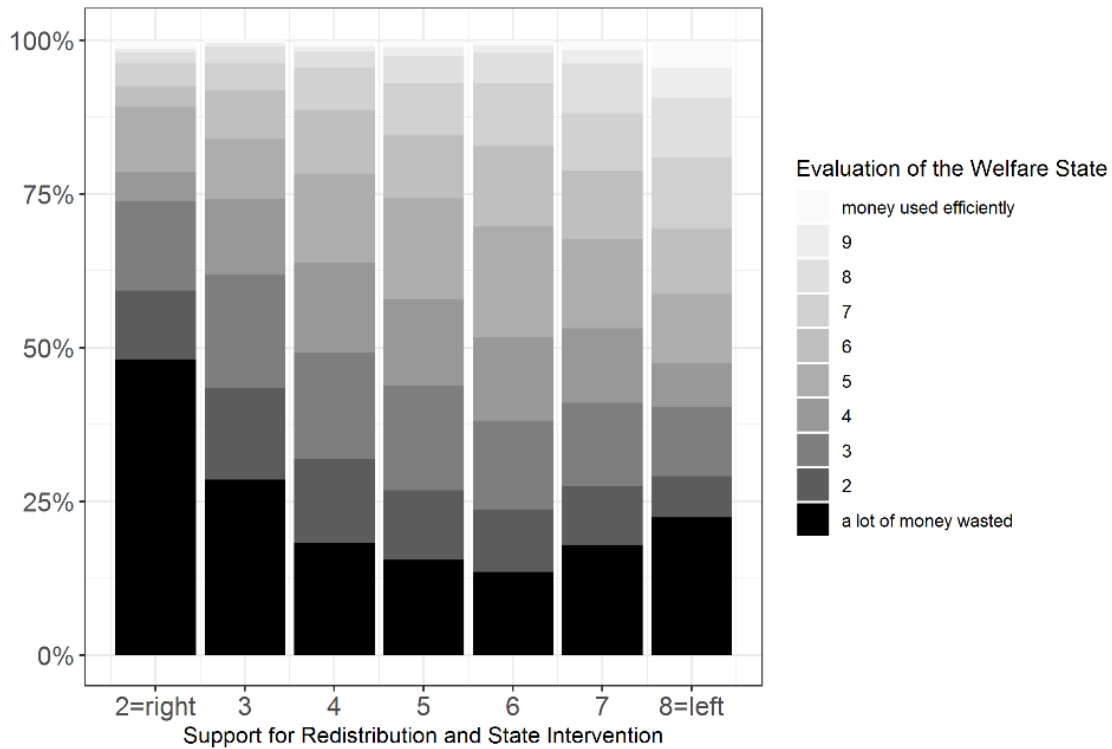


Figure 11. Evaluation of the efficiency of the welfare state by economic left-right preferences, all countries

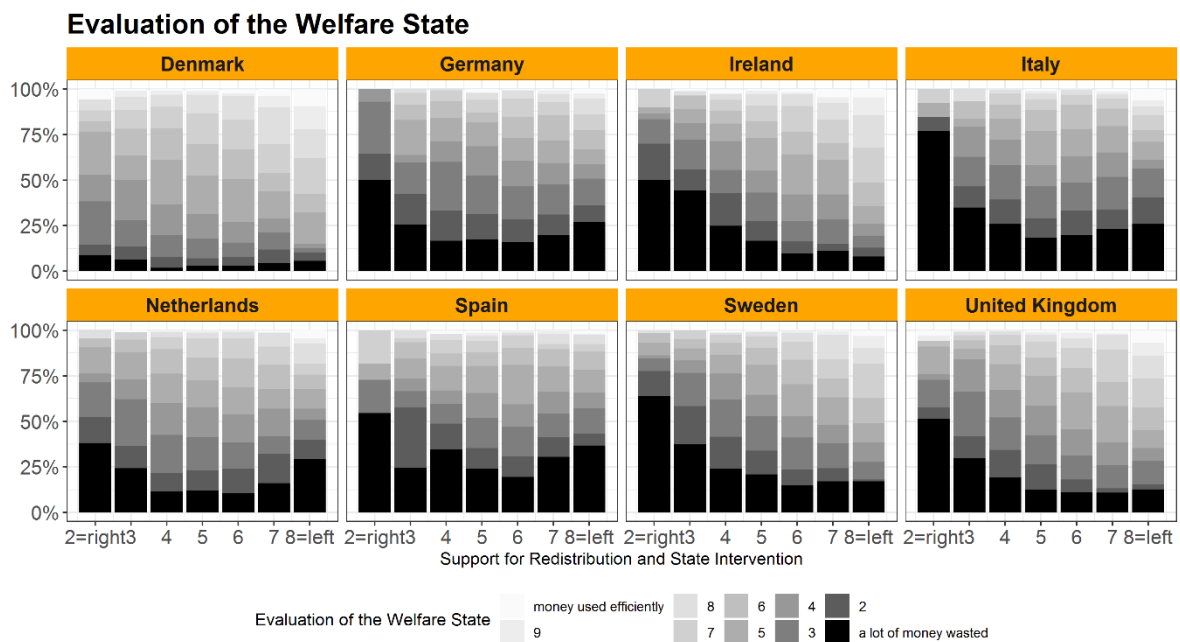


Figure 12. Evaluation of the efficiency of the welfare state by economic left-right preferences, by country

Subjective Experience with the Welfare State

Thinking about your interactions with welfare state employees in the past 12 months (e.g. job counsellors, public day centre workers, teachers, social workers, medical staff), is your evaluation of them positive or negative overall?

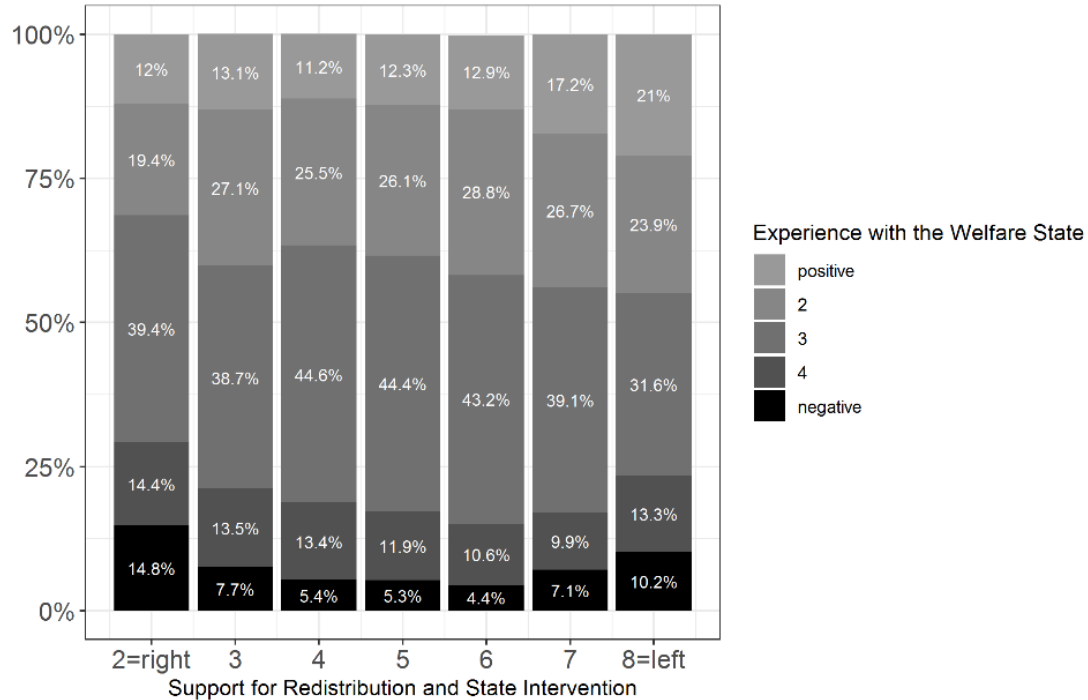


Figure 13. Evaluation of people's subjective experience with the welfare state by economic left-right preferences

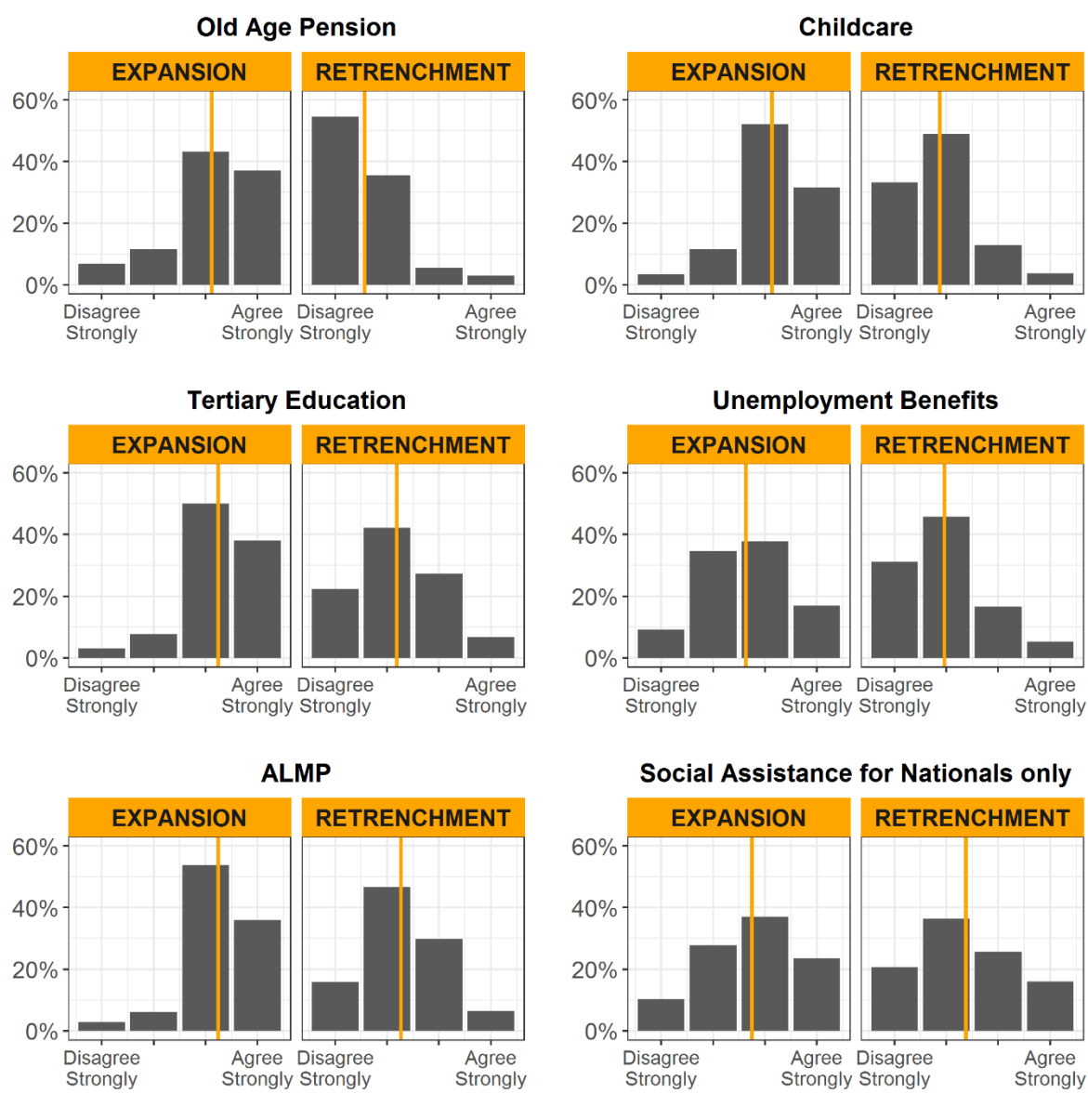


Figure 14. Distribution of support for expansion (left panel) and retrenchment (right panel) in the respective policy fields

Notes: The vertical, orange line represents the mean.

5.3 Perceptions of parties and government

Figures 15 to 17 show respondents' perception of congruence between their and the political decision-makers' social policy priorities for the pooled sample and by country and economic left-right preferences. Figure 18 plots the results for attitudes on government duty. Furthermore, respondents were asked to evaluate parties' social policy priorities using the same point distribution item presented above. Figures 19 and 20 present these evaluations in comparison with the priorities of the respective party's electorate. The dataset further includes standard question on electoral preferences (e.g. vote choice next and last election) for which results are not shown here.

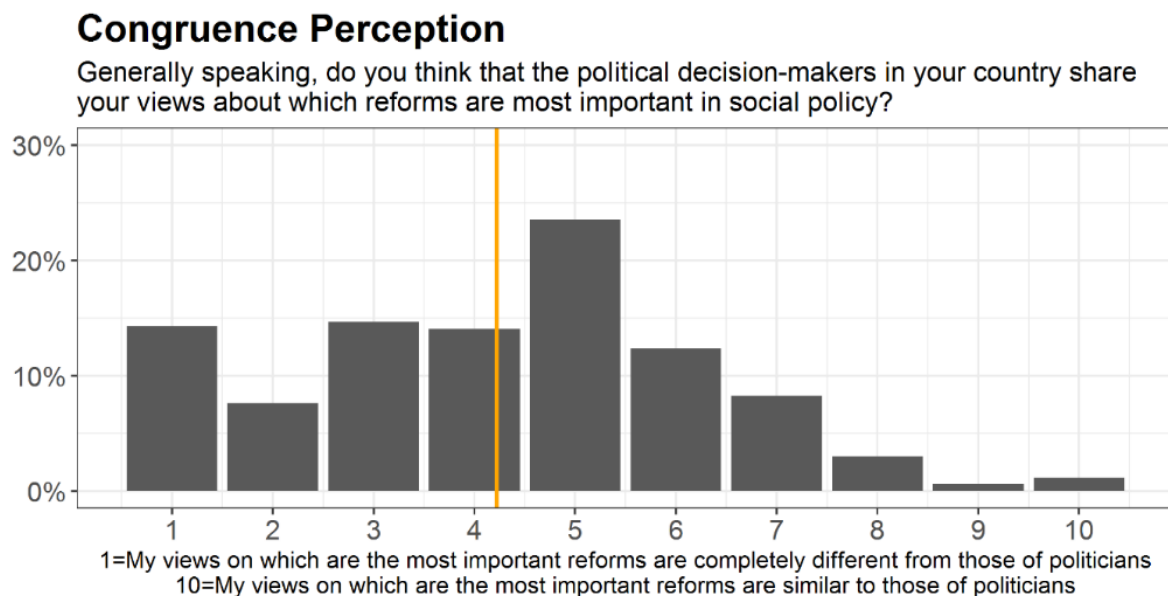


Figure 15. Distribution of perceived congruence with decision-makers concerning social policy, all countries

Notes: The vertical, orange line represents the mean.

Congruence Perception

Generally speaking, do you think that the political decision-makers in your country share your views about which reforms are most important in social policy?

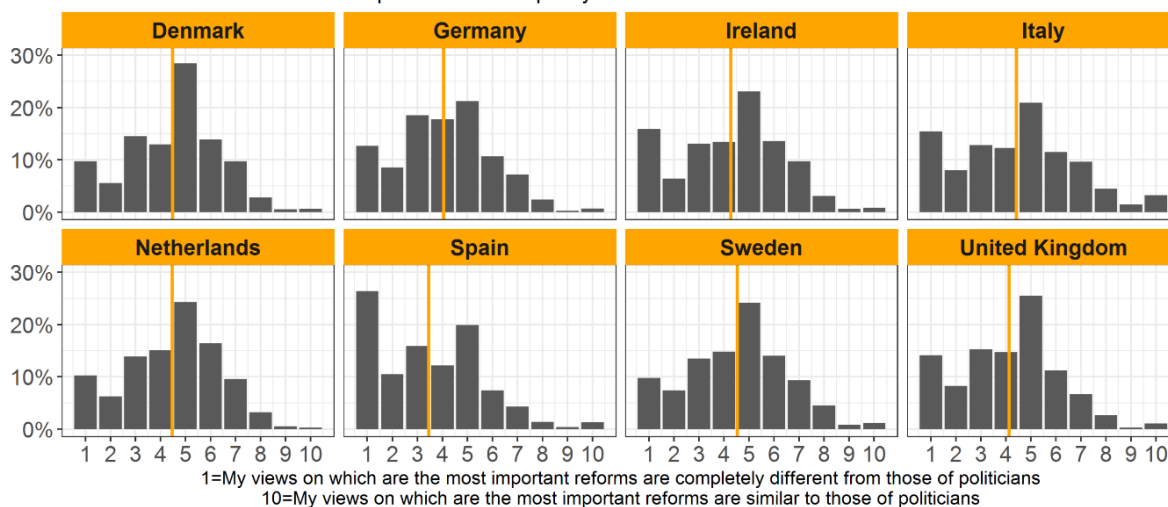


Figure 16. Distribution of perceived congruence with decision-makers concerning social policy, by country

Notes: The vertical, orange line represents the mean.

Congruence Perception by Redistribution Support

Generally speaking, do you think that the political decision-makers in your country share your views about which reforms are most important in social policy?

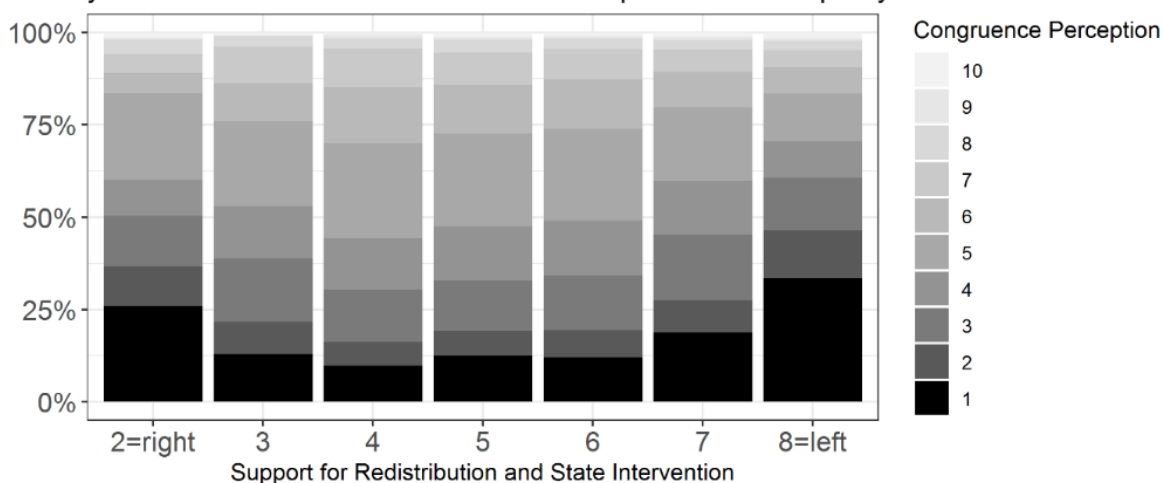


Figure 17. Distribution of perceived congruence with decision-makers concerning social policy by economic left-right preferences

Government Duty

The government should adopt decisions that respond to what most people want, even if that means violating existing international commitments.

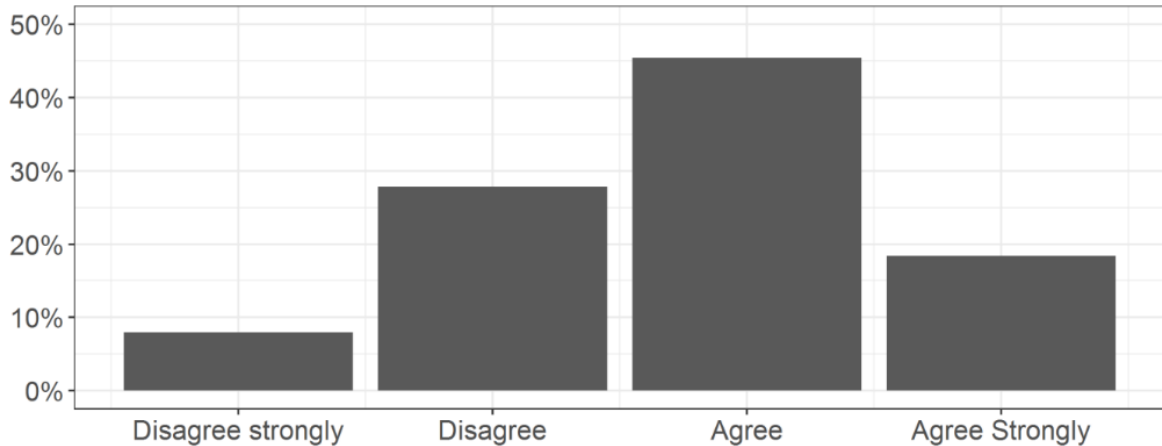


Figure 18. Prioritization of different government duties: representative vs. responsible government

Congruence Voters/Parties - Points to Expand in Policy Fields

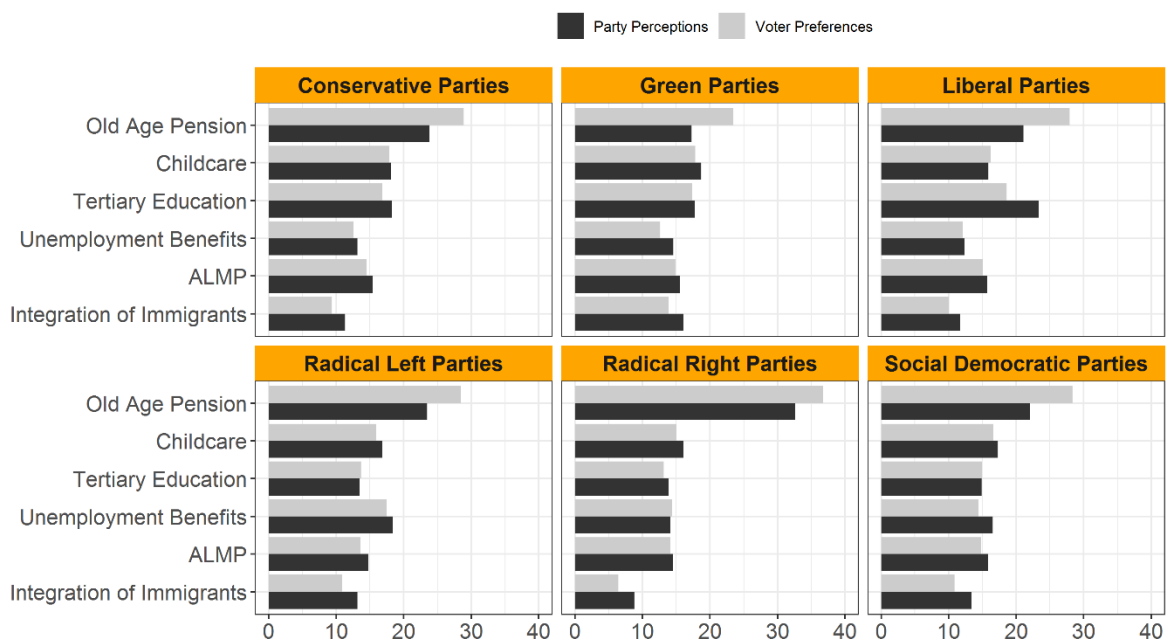


Figure 19. Congruence between voters' welfare expansion priorities and the perception of their party's welfare expansion priorities, by party family

Example: Liberal party voters on average allocate about 18 out of 100 points to improvements in the field of tertiary education, making this their second most prioritized policy field after old age pensions. However, liberal party voters on average would expect their party to allocate about 23 out of 100 points to improvements in the field of tertiary education. I.e. liberal voters perceive their parties to prioritize improvement in tertiary education even more strongly than they personally prioritize these improvements.

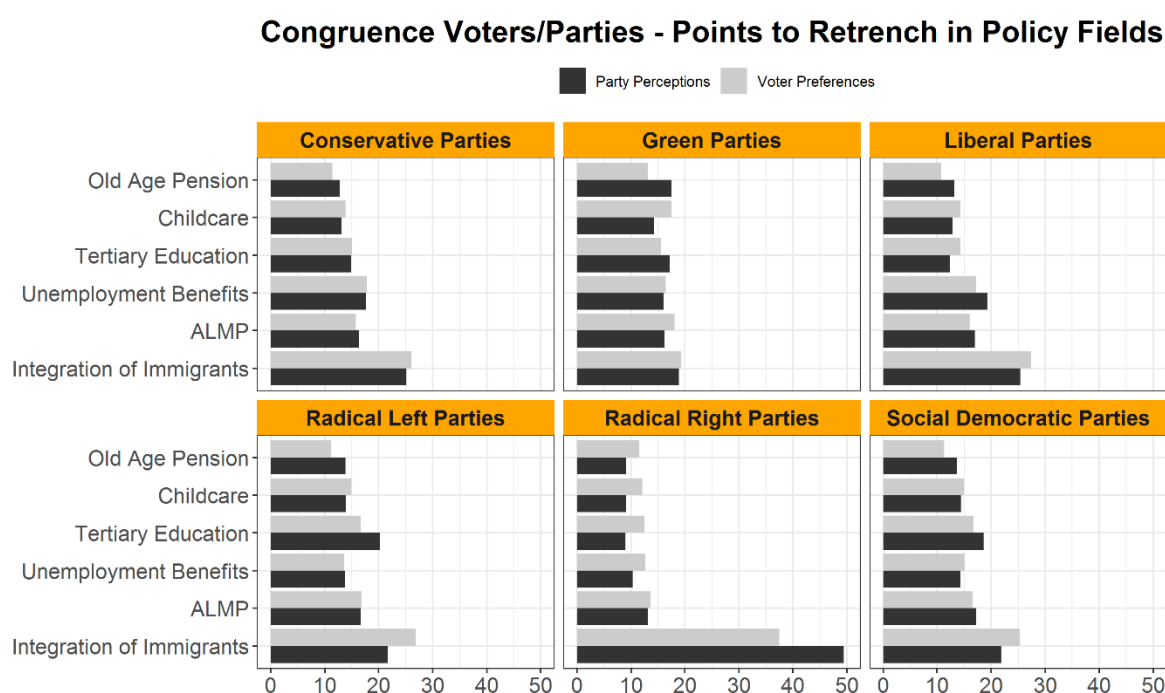


Figure 20. Congruence between voters' welfare retrenchment priorities and the perception of their party's welfare retrenchment priorities, by party family

Example: Radical left party voters on average allocate about 26 out of 100 points to retrenchment in social assistance for immigrants, making this the policy field where they find cutbacks most acceptable if need be. However, radical left party voters on average would expect their party to allocate only about 21 out of 100 points to retrenchment in social assistance of for immigrants. I.e. radical left voters perceive their parties to oppose cutbacks in social assistance for immigrants more strongly than they personally oppose these cutbacks.

5.4 Status and opportunities of respondents

This chapter presents answers to several variables that capture respondents' self-assessed status and opportunities in society. This includes: labour market opportunities for respondents themselves (Figures 21 and 22) and their children (Figures 23 and 24) by economic left-right preferences and educational attainment, as well as subjective social status (Figures 25 and 26), social mobility (Figures 27 and 28), and the long-term evaluation of society (Figures 29 and 30), each for the entire sample and by education. Additionally, the dataset includes a multitude of socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, parental status, trade union membership, detailed employment situation and occupation (for both the respondent and her partner/spouse), family life, and income.

Labour Market Opportunities - Self

The world is changing fast. If you think of your future, how do you rate your personal chance of being in good, stable employment until you will retire?

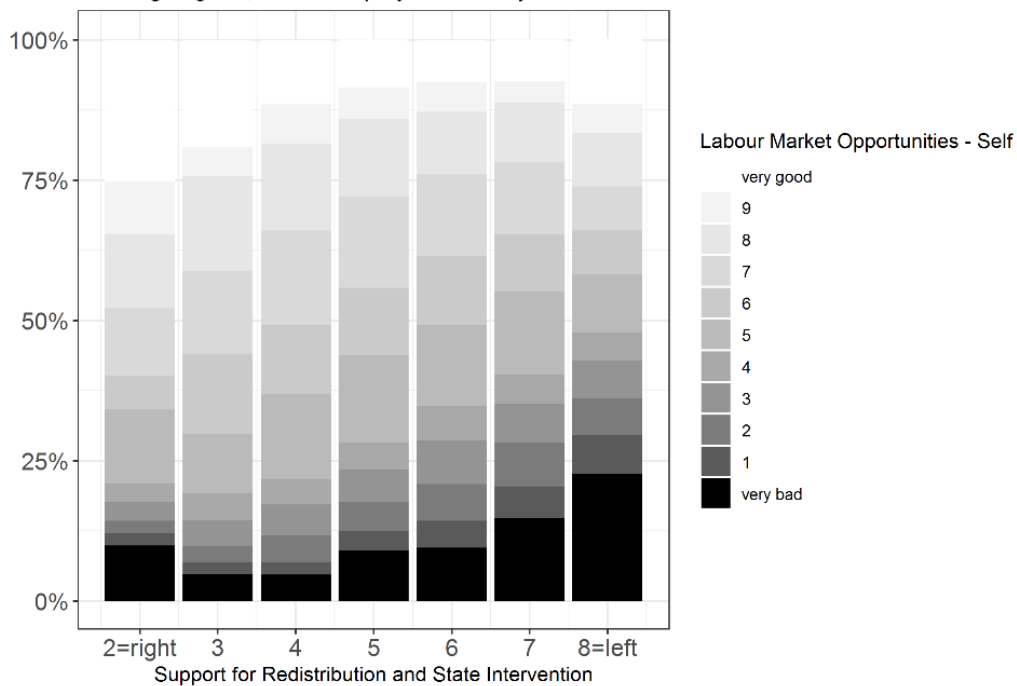


Figure 21. Subjective labour market opportunities by economic left-right preferences

Labour Market Opportunities - Self

The world is changing fast. If you think of your future, how do you rate your personal chance of being in good, stable employment until you will retire?

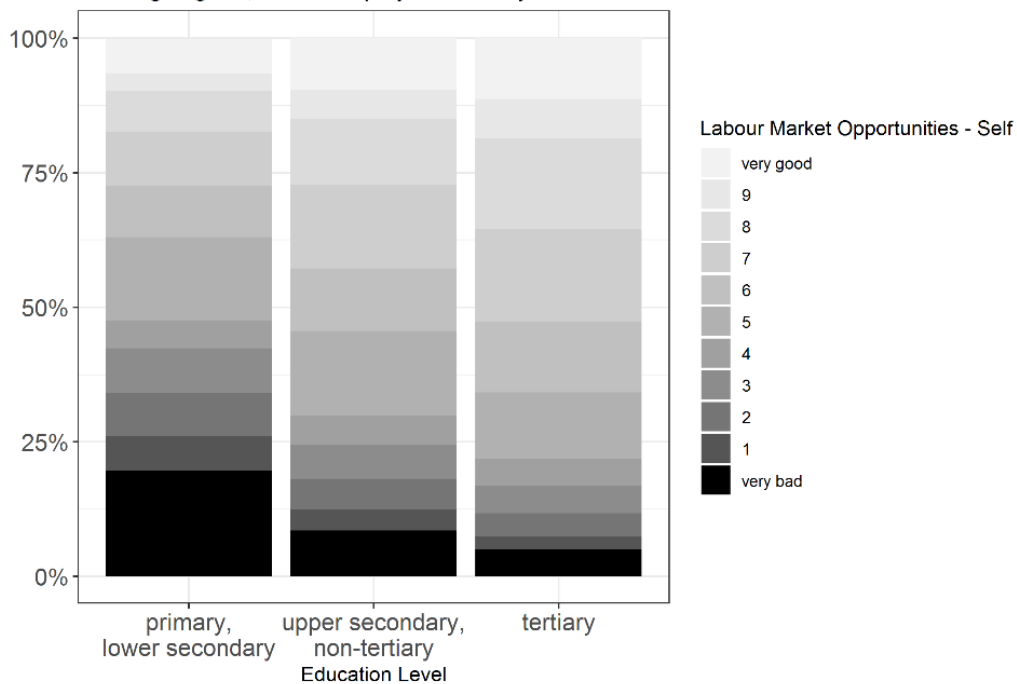


Figure 22. Subjective labour market opportunities, by education level

Labour Market Opportunities - Children

Please think of the life your children have ahead of them in this changing world.
How do you rate their chances of being in good, stable employment until retirement?



Figure 23. Subjective labour market opportunities of respondents' children by economic left-right preferences

Labour Market Opportunities - Children

Please think of the life your children have ahead of them in this changing world.
How do you rate their chances of being in good, stable employment until retirement?

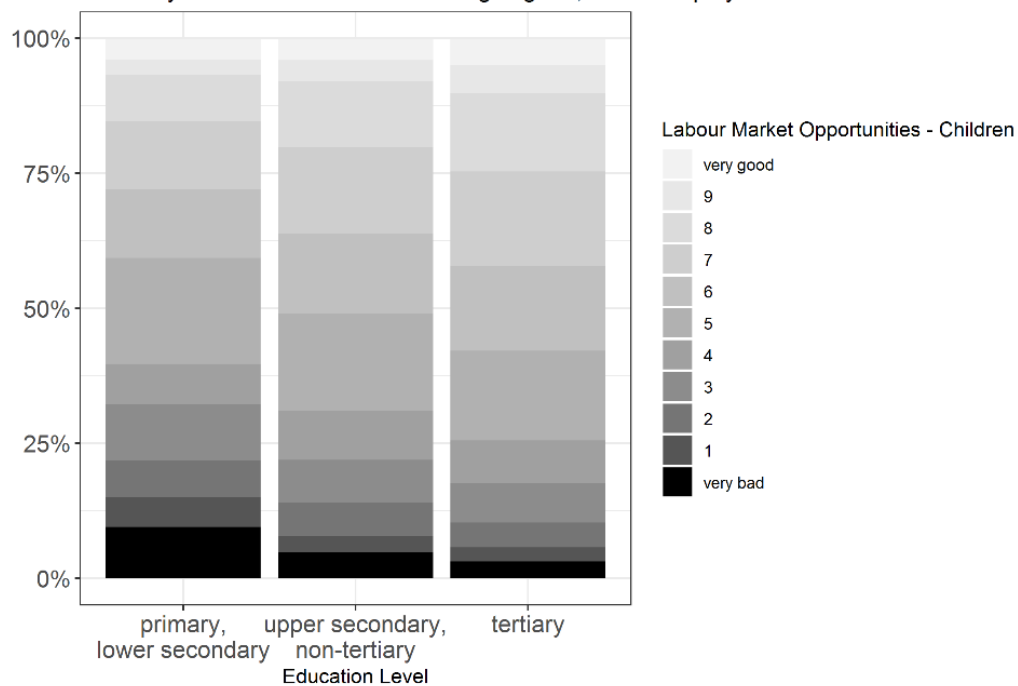


Figure 24. Subjective labour market opportunities of respondents' children, by education level

Subjective Social Status

There are people who tend to be towards the top of our society and people who tend to be towards the bottom. Where would you place yourself on this scale that runs from top (10) to bottom (1)?

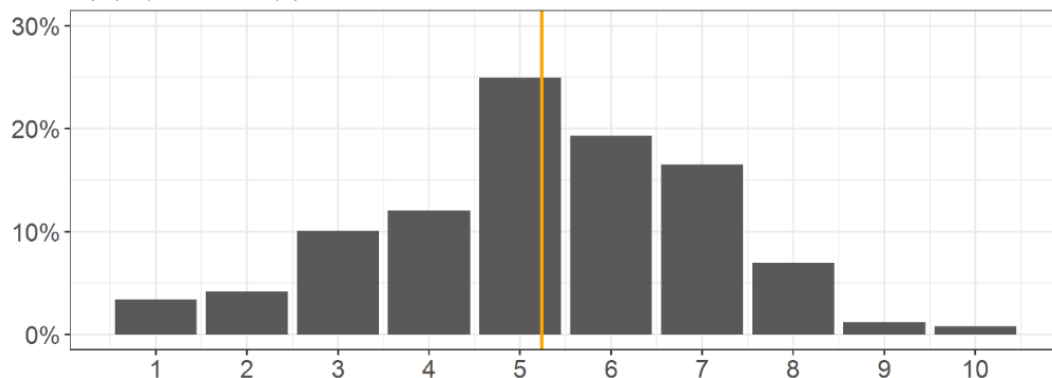


Figure 25. Subjective social status

Notes: The vertical, orange line represents the mean.

Subjective Social Status

There are people who tend to be towards the top of our society and people who tend to be towards the bottom. Where would you place yourself on this scale that runs from top (10) to bottom (1)?

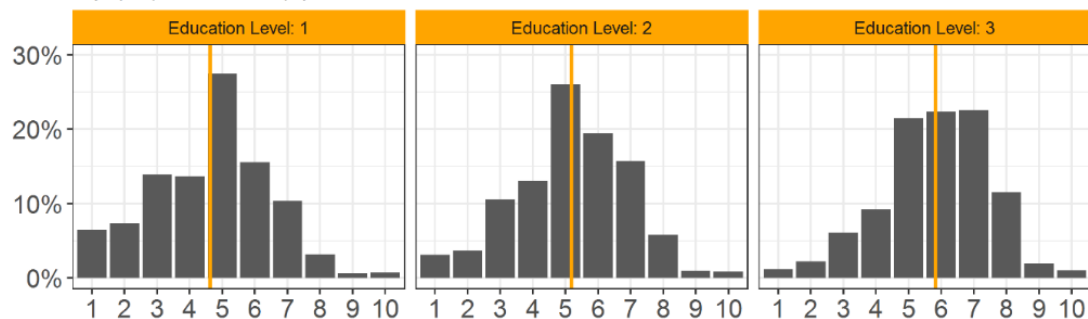


Figure 26. Subjective social status, by education level

Notes: The vertical, orange line represents the mean. Education level 1 = primary and lower secondary; education level 2 = upper secondary, education level 3 = tertiary

Social Mobility

If you compare your position in society with the one your parents had at your age.
Would you say that your position now is lower or higher compared to
their position back then?

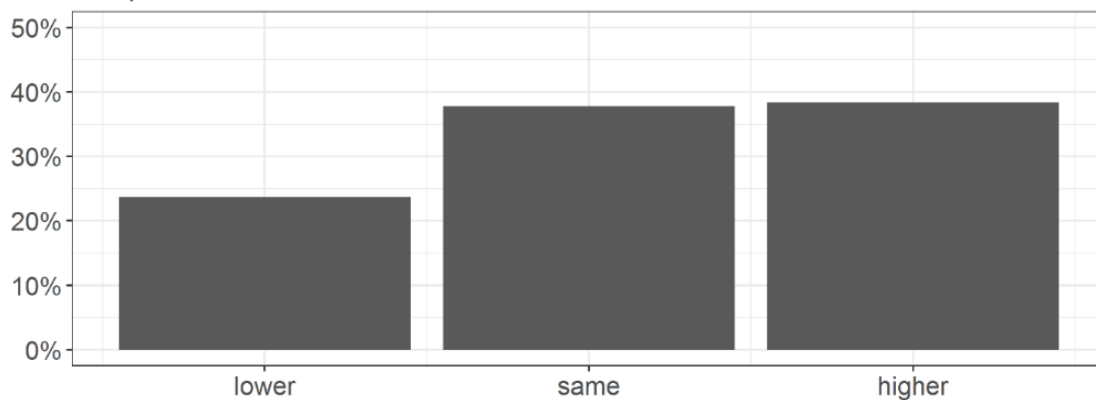


Figure 27. Perception of personal, intergenerational mobility

Social Mobility

If you compare your position in society with the one your parents had at your age.
Would you say that your position now is lower or higher compared to
their position back then?

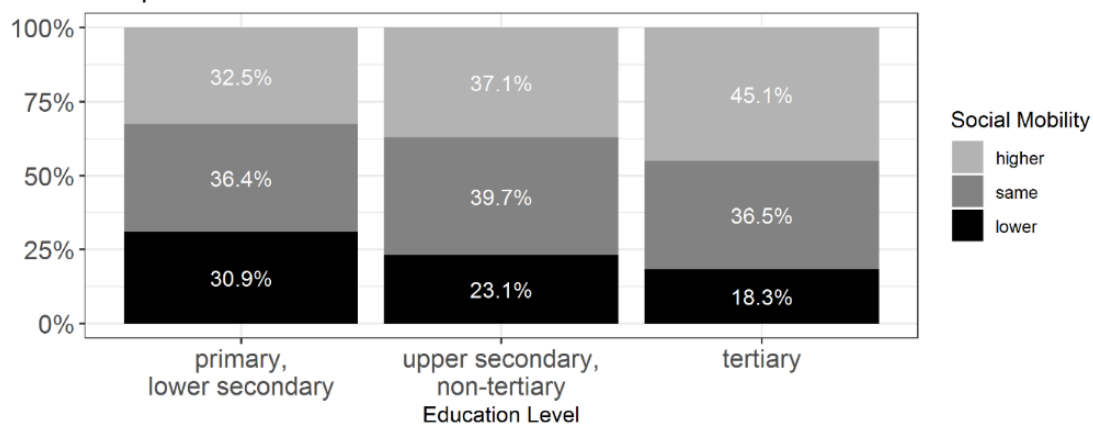


Figure 28. Perception of personal, intergenerational mobility, by education level

Long-term Evaluation of Society

Would you say that life in [COUNTRY] has become better or worse than 30 years ago?

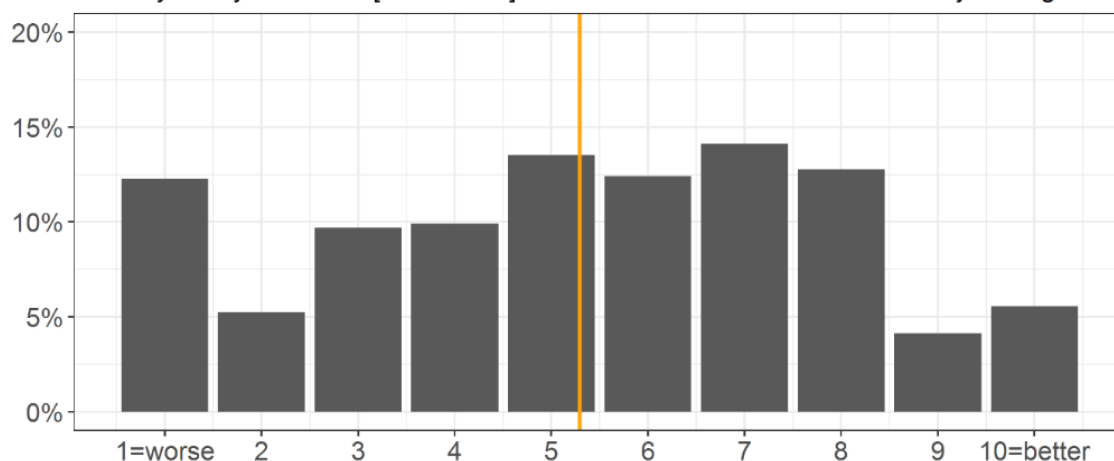


Figure 29. Distribution of long-term evaluation of society

Long-term Evaluation of Society

Would you say that life in [COUNTRY] has become better or worse than 30 years ago?

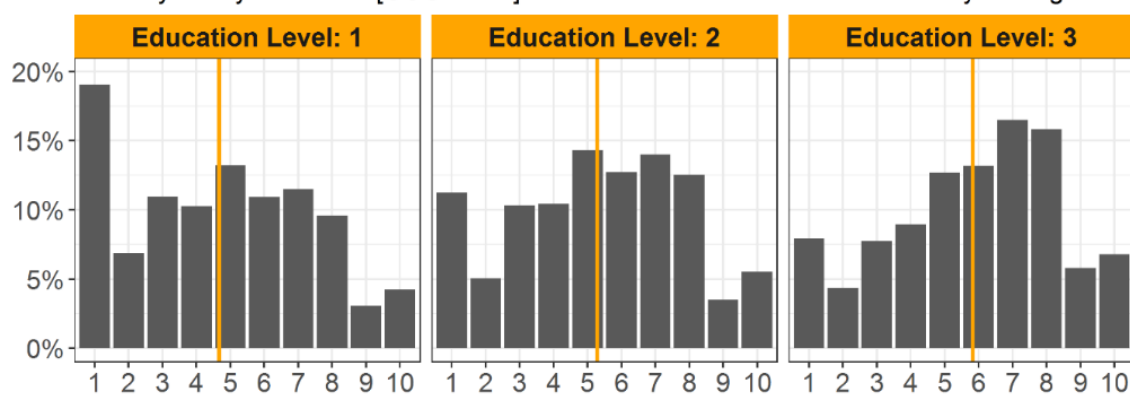


Figure 30. Distribution of long-term evaluation of society, by education level

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7. Appendix

7.1 List of variables

<i>Nmbr</i>	<i>Abbreviation</i>	<i>Description</i>
Q0a	<i>age</i>	age in years
Q0b	<i>sex</i>	
Q0c	<i>educ</i>	education level
Q0d	<i>lm</i>	labour market status
Q1.1	<i>pos.e</i>	Position on expansion
Q1.2	<i>pos.r</i>	Position on retrenchment
Q1.3	<i>to.real</i>	Trade-off scenario realistic
Q1.4	<i>fc.real</i>	Fiscal constraint realistic
Q2.1	<i>cj.e.package</i>	Chosen package conjoint expansion
Q2.2	<i>cj.e.sup1</i>	Support for conjoint expansion proposal A
Q2.3	<i>cj.e.sup2</i>	Support for conjoint expansion proposal B
Q2.4	<i>cj.r.package</i>	Chosen package conjoint retrenchment
Q2.5	<i>cj.r.sup1</i>	Support for conjoint retrenchment proposal A
Q2.6	<i>cj.r.sup2</i>	Support for conjoint retrenchment proposal B
Q3.1.1	<i>to1</i>	Trade-off: pensions intergenerational
Q3.1.2	<i>to2</i>	Trade-off: childcare vs child benefits
Q3.1.3	<i>to3</i>	Trade-off: unemployment benefits vs pensions
Q3.1.4	<i>to4</i>	Trade-off: education redistribution
Q3.1.5	<i>to5</i>	Trade-off: integration vs pensions
Q3.1.6	<i>to6</i>	Trade-off: almp vs pensions
Q3.1.7	<i>to7</i>	Trade-off: childcare vs pensions
Q3.2	<i>prio.r.e</i>	Priority for expansion (reform)
Q3.3	<i>prio.f.e</i>	Priority for expansion (field)
Q3.4	<i>prio.r.r</i>	Priority for retrenchment (reform)
Q3.5	<i>prio.f.r</i>	Priority for retrenchment (field)
Q4.1	<i>fairsoc</i>	Small income differences for fair society
Q4.1.2	<i>socstrain</i>	Social benefits place strain on economy
Q4.1.3	<i>govrespar</i>	Government responsibility to support working parents
Q4.1.4	<i>investeduc</i>	Government should invest in education
Q4.1.5	<i>migrnc</i>	Immigration threat to national culture
Q4.1.6	<i>gayadopt</i>	Right to adopt children for gay couples
Q4.1.7	<i>famlife</i>	Family life suffers when woman works full-time
Q4.1.8	<i>migrln</i>	Immigration threat to labour market
Q4.1.9	<i>euintegr</i>	EU integration has gone too far
Q4.1.10	<i>govtpl</i>	Government adopt decision violating int. commitments
Q4.2	<i>lrscaler</i>	Left-right scale
Q4.3	<i>soctrst</i>	Most people can be trusted
Q4.4	<i>statecap</i>	Political decisions implemented efficiently
Q4.5	<i>poltrst</i>	Trust in politicians
Q4.6	<i>lngtrmsup</i>	Support for long term reform in education/pension
Q4.7	<i>evalws</i>	Money in welfare state used efficiently
Q4.8	<i>livingstd</i>	Standard of living has improved
Q4.9	<i>autom</i>	Likelihood that job will be automated
Q4.10	<i>sss</i>	Subjective social status
Q4.11	<i>socmob</i>	Subjective social mobility
Q4.12	<i>lngtrmeval</i>	Life in [COUNTRY] has become better
Q5.1	<i>party</i>	Party vote for if elections held next Sunday
Q5.2	<i>polintr</i>	How interested in politics
Q5.3	<i>prtcp</i>	Participation in last national election
Q5.4	<i>lastelect</i>	Party voted for in last election
Q6.1	<i>wscntct</i>	Evaluation of contact with welfare state employees
Q6.2	<i>wsexp</i>	Received benefits or services
Q7.1	<i>congr</i>	Political decision-makers share views on social policy
Q7.2	<i>eval.e.p1</i>	Evaluation of expansion priority of party1
Q7.3	<i>eval.r.p1</i>	Evaluation of retrenchment priority of party1
Q7.4	<i>eval.e.p2</i>	Evaluation of expansion priority of party2

Q7.5	<i>eval.r.p2</i>	Evaluation of retrenchment priority of party2
Q8.1	<i>citizen</i>	Citizen of [COUNTRY]
Q8.2	<i>tumembr</i>	Trade union membership
Q8.3	<i>tuname</i>	Name of current trade union
Q8.4	<i>tunameprev</i>	Name of previous trade union
Q8.5	<i>parent</i>	Number of children
Q8.6	<i>chldrnage</i>	Age of children
Q8.7	<i>chldrnfm</i>	Sex of children
Q8.8	<i>emplsit</i>	Current employment situation
Q8.9	<i>prtime</i>	Employed full or part time
Q8.10	<i>wrkhrs</i>	Average working hours per week
Q8.11	<i>prtimevol</i>	Like to increase contracted working hours
Q8.12	<i>employees</i>	Number of employees
Q8.13	<i>occ1</i>	Current job
Q8.14	<i>occ2</i>	Type of company
Q8.15	<i>occ3</i>	Hierarchical position
Q8.16	<i>sector</i>	Kind of organisation working for
Q8.17	<i>oppecon</i>	Chances of being in stable employment until retirement
Q8.18	<i>oppsoc</i>	Chances of fulfilled life
Q8.19	<i>oppeconkid</i>	Chances for child of being in stable employment until retirement
Q8.20	<i>oppsockid</i>	Changes for child of fulfilled life
Q8.21	<i>oppeconkids</i>	Chances for children of being in stable employment until retirement
Q8.22	<i>oppsockids</i>	Changes for children of fulfilled life
Q8.23	<i>jobkid</i>	Current job of child
Q8.24	<i>jobkids</i>	Current job of children
Q8.25	<i>spouse</i>	Living with a partner/spouse in same household
Q8.26	<i>earner</i>	Main income earner in household
Q8.27	<i>emplsit.sp</i>	Current employment situation, spouse
Q8.28	<i>prtime.sp</i>	Employed full or part time, spouse
Q8.29	<i>wrkhrs.sp</i>	Average working hours per week, spouse
Q8.30	<i>occ1.sp</i>	Current job, spouse
Q8.31	<i>occ2.sp</i>	Type of company, spouse
Q8.32	<i>occ3.sp</i>	Hierarchical position, spouse
Q8.33	<i>chldrnsup</i>	Support adult children in everyday life
Q8.34	<i>prntsup</i>	Support parents in everyday life
Q8.35	<i>income</i>	Households yearly total income

7.2 Questionnaire

PART 0 – QUOTAS

Q0a	<i>age</i>	In what year were you born?
		2001
		...
		1910

Q0b	<i>sex</i>	Please indicate your sex.
		1 female
		2 male

Q0c	<i>educ</i>	What is the highest level of education you have completed?
		0 Less than primary education
		1 Primary education
		2 Lower secondary education
		3 Upper secondary education
		4 Post-secondary further education
		5 Short-cycle tertiary education
		6 Bachelor's or equivalent level
		7 Master's and Doctoral level

Q0d	<i>lm</i>	Are you currently in paid employment?
		1 Yes
		2 No

PART 1 – POSITIONS

Q1.1	To what extent do you agree with the following policy reform proposals? The government should...	
-------------	---	--

[Randomize order of items]

<i>pos.e.pen</i>	... increase old age pension benefits
<i>pos.e.cc</i>	... increase the availability of good-quality childcare services
<i>pos.e.educ</i>	... expand access to good-quality university education for students from lower-income families
<i>pos.e.ub</i>	... increase unemployment benefits
<i>pos.e.almp</i>	... expand services that help reintegrate the long-term unemployed into the labour market
<i>pos.e.socass</i>	... expand social assistance benefits for [COUNTRY] nationals only

1	Disagree strongly
2	Disagree
3	Agree
4	Agree strongly

Q1.2	To what extent do you agree with the following policy reform proposals? The government should...
-------------	---

[Randomize order of items]

<i>pos.r.pen</i>	... reduce old age pension benefits
<i>pos.r.cc</i>	... increase the fees for public childcare services
<i>pos.r.educ</i>	... increase student fees for university education for students from middle- and higher-income families
<i>pos.r.ub</i>	... reduce unemployment benefits
<i>pos.r.alm</i>	... provide labour market reintegration services only to the long-term unemployed (rather than all unemployed)
<i>pos.r.socass</i>	... reduce social assistance benefits only for the non-[COUNTRY]

- 1 Disagree strongly
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Agree
- 4 Agree strongly

Q1.3	<i>to.real</i>	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “Nowadays, the welfare state can’t offer everything that one may wish for. If you increase benefits for some people, sooner or later someone else will have to accept lower benefits”
-------------	----------------	---

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Agree
- 4 Strongly agree

Q1.4	<i>fc.real</i>	To what extent do you agree with the following statement: “Taxes are already high. The government should not levy more money from citizens via taxes anymore.”
-------------	----------------	--

- 1 Strongly disagree
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Agree
- 4 Strongly agree

PART 2 – CONJOINT

Q2.1	<i>cj.e.package</i>	Imagine that the government in [COUNTRY] had additional means to increase welfare benefits and services. The following two proposals present different forms of expansion of benefits and services. Which of the two would you prefer?
-------------	---------------------	--

- 1 Proposal A
- 2 Proposal B

Q2.2	<i>cj.e.sup1</i>	On this screen, you again see the same two proposals that you just compared before. On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that you would very strongly oppose the proposal and 7 indicates that you would support it very strongly, how would you rate proposal A?
-------------	------------------	--

- 1 I strongly oppose the proposal
- ...
- 7 I strongly support the proposal

Q2.3	<i>cj.e.sup2</i>	Using the same scale, how would you rate your support for proposal B?
	1	I strongly oppose the proposal
	...	
	7	I strongly support the proposal
Q2.4	<i>cj.r.package</i>	Imagine that the government in the UK had to cut back welfare benefits and services. The following two proposals present different forms of retrenchment of benefits and services. Which of the two would you prefer?
	1	Proposal A
	2	Probosal B
Q2.5	<i>cj.r.sup1</i>	On this screen, you again see the same two proposals that you just compared before. On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that you would very strongly oppose the proposal and 7 indicates that you would support it very strongly, how would you rate proposal A?
	1	I strongly oppose the proposal
	...	
	7	I strongly support the proposal
Q2.6	<i>cj.r.sup2</i>	Using the same scale, how would you rate your support for proposal B?
	1	I strongly oppose the proposal
	...	
	7	I strongly support the proposal

PART 3 – PRIORITIES

Q3.1		Please imagine that the government wants to improve certain social benefits. However, it can only do so by cutting back on other social benefits. To what extent do you find the following cutbacks acceptable in comparison to the improvement they allow? The government...
[Randomize order of items]		
<i>to1</i>	... guarantees decent old age pension benefits for all future pensioners, at a cost of somewhat lowering benefits for current pensioners.	
<i>to2</i>	... increases the availability of good-quality childcare, at a cost of lowering child benefits.	
<i>to3</i>	... increases benefits for the unemployed, at a cost of slightly lowering the maximum old age pension benefits.	
<i>to4</i>	... increases financial support for university students from low income families, at a cost of raising fees for students from middle and high income families.	
<i>to5</i>	... provides more services to help migrants find a job, at a cost of slightly lowering old age pensions for everyone.	
<i>to6</i>	... increases support and training for unemployed young people, at the cost of slightly lowering the maximum old age pension benefits.	
<i>to7</i>	... increases the availability of good-quality childcare, at the cost of slightly lowering the maximum old age pension benefits.	
	1	Completely unacceptable
	2	Rather unacceptable
	3	Rather acceptable
	4	Completely acceptable

Q3.2 Imagine that the government had the means to increase some social benefits, but not all of them. Which of the following improvements of social benefits do you consider most important? You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those improvements that you consider more important and fewer points to the ones you consider less important. The government should ...

[Randomize order of items]

<i>prio.r.e.pen1</i>	... increase the minimum level of old age pension benefits
<i>prio.r.e.pen2</i>	... increase old age pension benefits for everyone
<i>prio.r.e.cc1</i>	... increase the availability of good-quality childcare services only for lower-income families
<i>prio.r.e.cc2</i>	... increase the availability of good-quality childcare services for everyone
<i>prio.r.e.educ1</i>	... expand access to good quality university education for all students
<i>prio.r.e.educ2</i>	... expand access to good quality university education only for students from lower-income families

___ [box to write down number]

Q3.3 Now imagine that the government had the means to improve benefits in some social policy fields, but not in all of them. You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those fields in which you consider benefit improvement more important, and fewer points to those areas in which you consider benefit improvement less important.

[Randomize order of items]

<i>prio.f.e.pen</i>	Old age pensions
<i>prio.f.e.cc</i>	Childcare
<i>prio.f.e.educ</i>	University education
<i>prio.f.e.ub</i>	Unemployment benefits
<i>prio.f.e.almp</i>	Labour market reintegration services
<i>prio.f.e.migr</i>	Services for the social and labour market integration of immigrants

___ [box to write down number]

Q3.4 Imagine the government had to cut back on some social benefits, but not on all of them. Which of the following reductions of social benefits do you find most acceptable? You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those reductions that you consider more acceptable and fewer points to the ones that you find less acceptable.

[Randomize order of items]

<i>prio.r.r.pen1</i>	... reduce old age pension benefits for everyone
<i>prio.r.r.pen2</i>	... reduce only the maximum level of old age pension benefits, but preserve the minimum level as it is
<i>prio.r.r.cc1</i>	... increase the fees for public childcare services only for middle- and higher-income families
<i>prio.r.r.cc2</i>	... increase the fees for public childcare services for everyone
<i>prio.r.r.educ1</i>	... increase student fees for university education except for students from lower-income families
<i>prio.r.r.educ2</i>	... increase student fees for university education

___ [box to write down number]

Q3.5	Now finally imagine the government had to cut back benefits in some social policy fields, but not in all of them. You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those fields in which you would find a reduction of benefits more acceptable, and fewer points to those areas in which you would find reductions less acceptable.
-------------	--

[Randomize order of items]

<i>prio.f.r.pen</i>	Old age pensions
<i>prio.f.r.cc</i>	Childcare
<i>prio.f.r.educ</i>	University education
<i>prio.f.r.ub</i>	Unemployment benefits
<i>prio.f.r.almp</i>	Labour market reintegration services
<i>prio.f.r.migr</i>	Services for the social and labour market integration of immigrants
—	[box to write down number]

PART 4 – ATTITUDES

Q4.1	To what extent do you agree with the following statements:
-------------	--

[Randomize order of items]

<i>fairsoc</i>	For a society to be fair, income differences should be small.
<i>socstrain</i>	Social benefits and services in [COUNTRY] place too great a strain on the economy.
<i>govrespar</i>	It is the government's responsibility to support working parents.
<i>investeduc</i>	The government should invest more in education.
<i>migrnc</i>	Immigration is a threat to our national culture.
<i>gayadopt</i>	Gay and lesbian couples should have the same rights to adopt children as straight couples.
<i>famlife</i>	All in all, family life suffers when the woman has a full-time job.
<i>migrml</i>	Immigration is a threat to the national labour market.
<i>euintegr</i>	European integration has gone too far.
<i>govppl</i>	The government should adopt decisions that respond to what most people want, even if that means violating existing international commitments.

- 1 Disagree strongly
- 2 Disagree
- 3 Agree
- 4 Agree strongly

Q4.2	<i>lrsscale</i>	In politics, people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale where 0 means "left" and 10 means "right"?
-------------	-----------------	--

0 left

...

10 right

Q4.3	<i>soctrst</i>	In general, do you think most people can be trusted?
-------------	----------------	--

1 most people cannot be trusted

...

10 most people can be trusted

Q4.4	<i>statecap</i>	In general, do you think that in your country, political decisions are generally implemented effectively?
-------------	-----------------	---

1 not implemented effectively at all

...

10 implemented effectively

Q4.5	<i>poltrst</i>	In general, do you trust politicians in your country?
	1	I do not trust politicians at all
	...	
	10	I completely trust politicians

Q4.6	<i>lngtrmsup</i>	
[Split sample: show one of the following]		
	A	Imagine the [COUNTRY] government were planning a large education reform to increase the quality of the education system. The reform would take 2 years to be implemented and would cost 5 billions. Would you support such a reform?
	B	Imagine the [COUNTRY] government were planning a large education reform to increase the quality of the education system. The reform would take 15 years to be implemented and would cost 5 billions. Would you support such a reform?
	C	Imagine the [COUNTRY] government were planning a large pension reform to increase old age pension benefits. The reform would take 2 years to be implemented and would cost 5 billions. Would you support such a reform?
	D	Imagine the [COUNTRY] government were planning a large pension reform to increase old age pension benefits. The reform would take 15 years to be implemented and would cost 5 billions. Would you support such a reform?
	1	would definitely not support it
	...	
	10	would definitely support it

Q4.7	<i>evalws</i>	Some people say that the money that goes into the welfare state in the [COUNTRY] is used efficiently, while others say that a lot of money is wasted. What do you think?
	1	A lot of money is wasted
	...	
	10	The money is used efficiently

Q4.8	<i>livingstd</i>	Would you say that overall your economic living standard has declined or improved compared to what it was 10 years ago?
	0	declined
	...	
	10	improved

[Randomize order of questions Q4.9 and Q4.10]

[Filter: show if Q0d=1]

Q4.9	<i>autom</i>	What is the percent likelihood (0-100) that your job will be automated by a robot, new technology, smart software or artificial intelligence in the next 10 years?
	0	
	...	
	100	

[Randomize order of questions Q4.9 and Q4.10]

Q4.10	<i>sss</i>	There are people who tend to be towards the top of our society and people who tend to be towards the bottom. Where would you place yourself on this scale that runs from top (10) to bottom (1)?
	1	bottom
	...	
	10	top

Q4.11	<i>socmob</i>	If you compare your position in society with the one your parents had at your age. Would you say that your position now is lower or higher compared to their position back then?
	1	lower
	2	same
	3	higher

Q4.12	<i>lngtrmeval</i>	Would you say that life in the [COUNTRY] has become better or worse than 30 years ago?
	1	worse
	...	
	10	better

PART 5 – VOTE DECISION

Q5.1 [DK]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Socialdemokraterne
	2	Dansk Folkeparti (DF)
	3	Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti
	4	Enhedslisten – De Rød-Grønne
	5	Liberal Alliance
	6	Alternativet
	7	Radikale Venstre
	8	Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF)
	9	Det Konservative Folkeparti (DKF)
	10	Other
	11	Would not vote

Q5.1 [DE]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Union (CDU/CSU)
	2	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)
	3	Die Linke
	4	Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
	5	Alternative für Deutschland (AFD)
	6	Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)
	7	Other
	8	Would not vote

Q5.1 [IE]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Fine Gael
	2	Fianna Fáil
	3	Sinn Féin
	4	Labour Party
	5	Independent Alliance
	6	AAA-PBP
	7	Social Democrats
	8	Other
	9	Would not vote

Q5.1 [IT]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S)
	2	Partito Democratico (PD)
	3	Lega Nord (LN)
	4	Forza Italia (FI)
	5	Fratelli d'Italia (FdI)
	6	Liberi e Uguali (LeU)
	7	Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) - Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese (PATT)
	8	Other
	9	Would not vote

Q5.1 [NL]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)
	2	Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)
	3	Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA)
	4	Democraten 66 (D66)
	5	GroenLinks (GL)
	6	Socialistische Partij (SP)
	7	Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)
	8	ChristenUnie (CU)
	9	Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD)
	10	50PLUS (50+)
	11	Other
	12	Would not vote

Q5.1 [ES]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Partido Popular (PP)
	2	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
	3	Unidos Podemos
	4	Ciudadanos (Cs)
	5	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya–Catalunya Sí (ERC-CatSí)
	6	Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea (EAJ) - Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)
	7	Euskal Herria Bildu
	8	Partit Demòcrata Europeu Català (PDeCAT)
	9	Other
	10	Would not vote

Q5.1 [SW]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti (SAP)
	2	Moderata samlingspartiet (M)
	3	Sverigedemokraterna (SD)
	4	Miljöpartiet (MP)
	5	Centerpartiet (C)
	6	Vänsterpartiet (V)
	7	Liberalerna (L)
	8	Kristdemokraterna (KD)
	9	Other
	10	Would not vote

Q5.1 [UK]	<i>party</i>	If there were to be a General Election next week, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?
	1	Conservative and Unionist Party
	2	Labour Party
	3	Liberal Democrats
	4	Scottish National Party (SNP)
	5	UK Independence Party (UKIP)
	6	Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)
	7	Sinn Féin
	8	Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales
	9	Other
	10	would not vote

Q5.2	<i>polintr</i>	How interested would you say you are in politics?
	1	Not at all interested
	2	Hardly interested
	3	Quite interested
	4	Very interested

Q5.3	<i>prtcp</i>	Some people don't vote nowadays for one reason or another. Did you vote in the last national election in (mention year)?
	1	yes
	2	no
	3	I was not eligible to vote

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [DK]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
	1	Socialdemokraterne
	2	Dansk Folkeparti (DF)
	3	Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti
	4	Enhedslisten – De Rød-Grønne
	5	Liberal Alliance
	6	Alternativet
	7	Radikale Venstre
	8	Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF)
	9	Det Konservative Folkeparti (DKF)
	10	Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [DE]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
	1	Union (CDU/CSU)
	2	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD)
	3	Die Linke
	4	Bündnis 90/Die Grünen
	5	Alternative für Deutschland (AFD)
	6	Freie Demokratische Partei (FDP)
	7	Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [IE]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
	1	Fine Gael
	2	Fianna Fáil
	3	Sinn Féin
	4	Labour Party
	5	Independent Alliance
	6	AAA-PBP
	7	Social Democrats
	8	Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [IT]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
	1	Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S)
	2	Partito Democratico (PD)
	3	Lega Nord (LN)
	4	Forza Italia (FI)
	5	Fratelli d'Italia (FdI)
	6	Liberi e Uguali (LeU)
	7	Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) - Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese (PATT)
	8	Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [NL]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
	1	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)
	2	Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)
	3	Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA)
	4	Democraten 66 (D66)
	5	GroenLinks (GL)
	6	Socialistische Partij (SP)
	7	Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)
	8	ChristenUnie (CU)
	9	Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD)
	10	50PLUS (50+)
	11	Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [ES]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
	1	Partido Popular (PP)
	2	Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
	3	Unidos Podemos
	4	Ciudadanos (Cs)
	5	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya–Catalunya Sí (ERC-CatSí)
	6	Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya (CDC)
	7	Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea (EAJ) - Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)
	8	Euskal Herria Bildu
	9	Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [SW]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
		1 Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti (SAP)
		2 Moderata samlingspartiet (M)
		3 Sverigedemokraterna (SD)
		4 Miljöpartiet (MP)
		5 Centerpartiet (C)
		6 Vänsterpartiet (V)
		7 Liberalerna (L)
		8 Kristdemokraterna (KD)
		9 Other

[Filter: show if Q5.3=1]

Q5.4 [UK]	<i>lastelect</i>	Which political party did you vote for in the last election?
		1 Conservative and Unionist Party
		2 Labour Party
		3 Liberal Democrats
		4 Scottish National Party (SNP)
		5 UK Independence Party (UKIP)
		6 Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)
		7 Sinn Féin
		8 Plaid Cymru – Party of Wales
		9 Other

PART 6 – WELFARE STATE CONTACT

Q6.1	<i>wscntct</i>	Thinking about your interactions with welfare state employees in the past 12 months (e.g. job counsellors, public day centre workers, teachers, social workers, medical staff), is your evaluation of them positive or negative overall?
		1 Positively
	...	
		5 Negatively

Q6.2	<i>wsexp</i>	Have you ever used or received any of the following services or benefits?
		[Multiple answers possible]
		1 Unemployment benefits
		2 Job placement services
		3 Public childcare
		4 Social assistance

PART 7 – PERCEPTION OF PARTIES

Q7.1	<i>congr</i>	Generally speaking, do you think that the political decision-makers in your country share your views about which reforms are most important in social policy?
		1 My views on which are the most important reforms are completely different from those of politicians.
	...	
		10 My views on which are the most important reforms are similar to those of politicians.

[party X1=party chosen in 5.1; if 5.1="other" or 5.1="would not vote" party X1=randomly assigned party]

Q7.2 In which of the following areas do you think the [party X1] would prioritise improvements of social benefits?
You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those areas in which you think the [party X1] would prioritise improvements and fewer points to those areas where you think the [party X1] would deem improvements less important.

[Randomize order of items]

<i>eval.e.p1.pen</i>	Old age pensions
<i>eval.e.p1.c</i>	Childcare
<i>eval.e.p1.educ</i>	University education
<i>eval.e.p1.ub</i>	Unemployment benefits
<i>eval.e.p1.almp</i>	Labour market reintegration services
<i>eval.e.p1.migr</i>	Services for the social and labour market integration of immigrants

___ [box to write down number]

[party X1: see Q7.2]

Q7.3 And in which of the following areas do you think the [party X1] would be most likely to cut benefits if it had to?
You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those areas in which you think the [party X1] would be more likely to cut existing benefits and fewer points to those areas where you think the [party X1] would defend existing benefits at all cost.

[Randomize order of items]

<i>eval.r.p1.pen</i>	Old age pensions
<i>eval.r.p1.c</i>	Childcare
<i>eval.r.p1.educ</i>	University education
<i>eval.r.p1.ub</i>	Unemployment benefits
<i>eval.r.p1.almp</i>	Labour market reintegration services
<i>eval.r.p1.migr</i>	Services for the social and labour market integration of immigrants

___ [box to write down number]

[party X2=randomly assigned party ≠ party X1 in Q7.2/Q7.3]

Q7.4 In which of the following areas do you think the [party X2] would prioritise improvements of social benefits?
You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those areas in which you think the [party X2] would prioritise improvements and fewer points to the areas where you think the [party X2] would deem improvements less important.

[Randomize order of items]

<i>eval.e.p2.pen</i>	Old age pensions
<i>eval.e.p2.c</i>	Childcare
<i>eval.e.p2.educ</i>	University education
<i>eval.e.p2.ub</i>	Unemployment benefits
<i>eval.e.p2.almp</i>	Labour market reintegration services
<i>eval.e.p2.migr</i>	Services for the social and labour market integration of immigrants

___ [box to write down number]

[party X2: see Q7.4]

Q7.5 And in which of the following areas do you think the [party X2] would be most likely to cut benefits if it had to?
You can allocate 100 points. Give more points to those areas in which you think the [party X2] would be more likely to cut existing benefits and fewer points to the areas for which you think the [party X2] would defend existing benefits at all cost.

[Randomize order of items]

<i>eval.r.p2.pen</i>	Old age pensions
<i>eval.r.p2.c</i>	Childcare
<i>eval.r.p2.educ</i>	University education
<i>eval.r.p2.ub</i>	Unemployment benefits
<i>eval.r.p2.almp</i>	Labour market reintegration services
<i>eval.r.p2.migr</i>	Services for the social and labour market integration of immigrants

___ [box to write down number]

PART 8 – SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS

Q8.1 *citizen* Are you a citizen of [COUNTRY]?

1 yes
2 no

Q8.2 *tumembr* Are you or have you ever been a member of a trade union or similar organization? If yes, is that currently or previously?

1 Yes, currently
2 Yes, previously
3 No

[Filter: show if Q8.2=1]

Q8.3 *tuname* Please write the name of the trade union you are a member of.

___ [box to write down name]

[Filter: show if Q8.2=2]

Q8.4 *tunameprev* Please write the name of the trade union you were a member of.

___ [box to write down name]

Q8.5 *parent* How many children do you have?

0
...
10

[Filter: show if Q8.5≠0]

Q8.6 *chldrnage* How old are your children? / How old is your child?

0
...
99

[Filter: show if Q8.5≠0]

Q8.7 *chldrnfem* How many of your children are female?

0
...
10

Q8.8	<i>emplsit</i>	What is your current employment situation?
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[Multiple answers possible]

<i>emplsit1</i>	employed with a fixed-term contract
<i>emplsit2</i>	employed with a permanent (unlimited) contract
<i>emplsit3</i>	self-employed
<i>emplsit4</i>	in education (vocational training, higher education)
<i>emplsit5</i>	non-employed housewife/househusband
<i>emplsit6</i>	pensioner
<i>emplsit7</i>	unemployed
<i>emplsit8</i>	other

0 Unchecked
1 Checked

[Filter: show if Q8.8=1 or 2]

Q8.9	<i>prtime</i>	You are employed...
-------------	---------------	---------------------

1 Full-time
2 Part-time (30 hours per week or less)

[Filter: show if Q8.9=2]

Q8.10	<i>wrkhrs</i>	How many hours do you work per week on average?
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— [box to write down number]

[Filter: show if Q8.9=2]

Q8.11	<i>prtimevol</i>	Would you like to increase your number of contracted hours?
--------------	------------------	---

1 Yes
2 No

[Filter: show if Q8.8=3]

Q8.12	<i>employees</i>	You are self-employed: how many employees work in your company, yourself included?
--------------	------------------	--

1 1 (only you)
2 between 2 and 14 employees
3 between 15 and 50 employees
4 more than 50 employees

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠4]

Q8.13	<i>occ1</i>	What is your current job? If you are not currently in paid employment, characterise your main job in the past. Please give a precise description (e.g. primary school teacher; sales assistant in a supermarket; engineer in the pharmaceutical industry).
--------------	-------------	--

— [box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠4]

Q8.14	<i>occ2</i>	In what type of company do (did) you work? Please give a precise description (type of company and number of employees; e.g. Telecommunications company, about 20'000 employees; Small corner shop, 3 employees).
--------------	-------------	--

— [box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠4]

Q8.15	<i>occ3</i>	Now, please give a precise description of your hierarchical position (e.g. assistant; project manager; CEO)
		— [box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠4]

Q8.16	<i>sector</i>	For which kind of organisation do/did you work?
	1	Central or local government
	2	Other public sector (such as education and health)
	3	A state-owned enterprise
	4	A private firm
	5	Self-employed
	6	Other

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠6]

Q8.17	<i>oppecon</i>	The world is changing fast. If you think of your future, how do you rate your personal chances of being in good, stable employment until you will retire?
	0	very bad
	...	
	10	very good

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠6]

Q8.18	<i>oppsoc</i>	Now think beyond the labour market of your overall quality of life. How do you rate your personal chances of having a safe, fulfilled life over your life course?
	0	very bad
	...	
	10	very good

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠6 & Q8.5=1]

Q8.19	<i>oppeconkid</i>	Please think of the life your child has ahead of him/her in this changing world. How do you rate his/her chances of being in good, stable employment until retirement?
	0	very bad
	...	
	10	very good

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠6 & Q8.5=1]

Q8.20	<i>oppsockid</i>	And beyond the labour market, think about his/her overall quality of life. How do you rate your child's chances of having a safe, fulfilled life over his/her life course?
	0	very bad
	...	
	10	very good

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠6 & Q8.5>1]

Q8.21	<i>oppeconkids</i>	Please think of the life your children have ahead of them in this changing world. How do you rate their chances of being in good, stable employment until retirement?
	0	very bad
	...	
	10	very good

[Filter: show if Q8.8≠6 & Q8.5>1]

Q8.22	<i>oppsockids</i>	And beyond the labour market, think about their overall quality of life. How do you rate your children's chances of having a safe, fulfilled life over their life course?
	0	very bad
	...	
	10	very good

[Filter: show if Q8.5=1]

Q8.23	<i>jobkid</i>	Please indicate the current jobs or main occupations of your child (e.g. teacher, medical doctor student). If your child is not grown up yet, please leave blank.
	—	[box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.5>1]

Q8.24	<i>jobkids</i>	Please indicate the current jobs or main occupations of your children (e.g. teacher, medical doctor student). If your children are not grown up yet, please leave blank.
	—	[box to write down]

Q8.25	<i>spouse</i>	Do you live with a partner/spouse in the same household?
	1	Yes
	2	No

[Filter: show if Q8.25=1]

Q8.26	<i>earner</i>	Who is the main income earner in your household?
	1	Me
	2	My spouse/partner
	3	Both earn roughly equal incomes
	4	Other

[Filter: show if Q8.25=1]

Q8.27	<i>emplsit.sp</i>	What is the current employment situation of your spouse/partner?
[Multiple answers possible]		
	1	employed with a fixed-term contract
	2	employed with a permanent (unlimited) contract
	3	self-employed
	4	in education (vocational training, higher education)
	5	non-employed housewife/househusband
	6	pensioner
	7	unemployed
	8	other

[Filter: show if Q8.27=1 or 2]

Q8.28	<i>prttime.sp</i>	Your spouse is employed...
	1	Full-time
	2	Part-time (30 hours per week or less)

[Filter: show if Q8.28=2]

Q8.29	<i>wrkhrs.sp</i>	How many hours does your spouse work per week on average?
	—	[box to write down number]

[Filter: show if Q8.25=1]

Q8.30 *occ1.sp* What is your spouse's current job? If your spouse is not currently in paid employment, characterise your spouse's main job in the past. Please give a precise description.

— [box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.25=1]

Q8.31 *occ2.sp* In what type of company do (did) your spouse work? Please give a precise description (type of company and number of employees; e.g. Telecommunications company, about 20'000 employees; Small corner shop, 3 employees).

— [box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.25=1]

Q8.32 *occ3.sp* Now, please give a precise description of your spouse's hierarchical position (e.g. collaborator; project manager; ...)

— [box to write down]

[Filter: show if Q8.6>18]

Q8.33 *chldrsup* Do you regularly support your adult children in their everyday life?

[Multiple answers possible]

- 1 Financial support
- 2 Support with childcare duties
- 3 Housing

Q8.34 *prntsups* Do you regularly support your parents or parents-in-law in their everyday life?

[Multiple answers possible]

- 1 Financial support
- 2 Care (with household duties, medical care, etc.)
- 3 Housing

Q8.35 [DK] *income* What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?

- 1 Mindre end 132.000 kr.
- 2 Mellem 132.000 og 173.999 kr.
- 3 Mellem 174.000 og 217.999 kr.
- 4 Mellem 218.000 og 263.999 kr.
- 5 Mellem 264.000 og 325.999 kr.
- 6 Mellem 326.000 og 396.999 kr.
- 7 Mellem 397.000 og 462.999 kr.
- 8 Mellem 463.000 og 530.999 kr.
- 9 Mellem 531.000 og 630.999 kr.
- 10 Over 631.000 kr.

Q8.35 [DE] *income* What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?

- 1 0 bis 12.710€
- 2 12.711€ bis 17.290€
- 3 17.291€ bis 21.460€
- 4 21.461€ bis 25.660€
- 5 25.661€ bis 30.280€
- 6 30.281€ bis 35.500€
- 7 35.501€ bis 41.650€
- 8 41.651€ bis 49.780€
- 9 49.781€ bis 63.050€
- 10 63.051€ oder mehr

Q8.35 [IE]	<i>income</i>	What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?
1		Less than €12,775
2		€12,775 to €18,770
3		€18,770 to €25,025
4		€25,025 to €30,760
5		€30,760 to €36,500
6		€36,500 to €42,750
7		€42,750 to €49,795
8		€49,795 to €61,525
9		€61,525 to €84,465
10		More than €84,465

Q8.35 [IT]	<i>income</i>	What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?
1		Meno di 9.000€
2		Da 9.000€ a 13.500€
3		Da 13.501€ a 17.000€
4		Da 17.001€ a 20.500€
5		Da 20.501€ a 24.000€
6		Da 24.001€ a 29.000€
7		Da 29.001€ a 34.500€
8		Da 34.501€ a 42.500€
9		Da 42.501€ a 54.500€
10		Più di 54.500€

Q8.35 [NL]	<i>income</i>	What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?
1		Minder dan €13,200
2		€13,200 tot €17,300
3		€17,300 tot €20,800
4		€20,800 tot €24,500
5		€24,500 tot €28,700
6		€28,700 tot €33,900
7		€33,900 tot €40,100
8		€40,100 tot €47,800
9		€47,800 tot €60,100
10		€60,100 of meer

Q8.35 [ES]	<i>income</i>	What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?
1		9.350€ o menos
2		Más de 9.350€ hasta 12.000€
3		Más de 12.000€ hasta 15.000€
4		Más de 15.000€ hasta 18.000€
5		Más de 18.000€ hasta 21.600€
6		Más de 21.600€ hasta 26.400€
7		Más de 26.400€ hasta 30.000€
8		Más de 30.000€ hasta 34.200€
9		Más de 34.200€ hasta 44.400€
10		Más de 44.400€

Q8.35 [SW]	<i>income</i>	What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?
	1	Upp till 143.999
	2	144.000 - 191.999
	3	192.000 - 239.999
	4	240.000 - 287.999
	5	288.000 - 323.999
	6	324.000 - 371.999
	7	372.000 - 431.999
	8	432.000 - 515.999
	9	516.000 - 635.999
	10	636.000 eller mer

Q8.35 [UK]	<i>income</i>	What is your household's yearly total income, after tax and compulsory deductions, from all sources?
	1	Less than £11,475
	2	£11,475 to under £15,392
	3	£15,392 to under £19,088
	4	£19,088 to under £23,060
	5	£23,060 to under £27,473
	6	£27,473 to under £32,824
	7	£32,824 to under £39,169
	8	£39,169 to under £47,830
	9	£47,830 to under £63,277
	10	£63,277 or more

7.3 Description of the study from the perspective of the participants

1. Participants (the online panelists) received a standard invitation via e-mail to participate in the survey. The e-mail already contained relevant information regarding the duration of the survey (25 to 30 minutes), the conditions for participation (eligibility), the cash incentive (to be credited to the users' account after successful completion), and the subject of the survey. After having followed the link, respondents were first given information about the project and asked if they want to give their informed consent to participation. A screen presented the informed consent form. Before proceeding, respondents needed to actively give their informed consent by clicking on the respective answer item (Agree to participate).
2. Once they agreed to participate they were presented with the questionnaire (divided into a series of screens). The first items in the questionnaire corresponded to the sampling quotas (age, gender and education), so that once certain profile quotas were filled respondents with this profile were screened out from the questionnaire. These items were presented at the beginning, precisely to prevent respondents corresponding to already filled quotas from wasting their time responding to the questionnaire.
3. Then respondents went through a series of screens that presented them with the different items included in the questionnaire (see attached document) and were asked to answer questions for about 25-30 minutes. The questionnaire was designed so that respondents could skip questions (except for some questions, like the quota question, or a few items explicitly marked as 'forced choice' in the questionnaire). After finalizing the survey (or quitting it at any point), they had no further tasks or obligations with the survey.
4. After having completed the survey respondents were redirected to Bilendi's website, where they were shown that the cash incentives were awarded to their accounts.
5. Bilendi offered support for respondents at all times via e-mail or telephone. For that, the invitations contained the reference code for the survey. Respondents were also given an e-mail address from the UZH team in case they had questions on the substance of the survey or on their rights as participants.

7.4 Informed Consent Form

Welcome and thank you for logging into the survey!

The Welfare State Survey 2018 asks what citizens think about the state of social policy and possible reforms in this area in their country. Our goal is to compare the opinions of citizens in different European countries, in order to better understand the most pressing public demands for social policy reform.

The survey has been developed by a research team at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. The principal investigator is Prof. Dr. Silja Häusermann from the University of Zurich. The survey is funded by the European Research Council. It has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Zurich.

Completing the survey will take you approximately 25-30 minutes.

Formal implications of your participation:

By participating in this survey, you agree that your answers are used in fully anonymized form for scientific research only. The results from this study will be presented as statistical summaries. No information will be presented about individual respondents. The researchers working with the data will not know the identity of the participants at any point of the process.

Participation is voluntary:

Participation in this online survey is voluntary. You can exit the survey at any point and you can skip questions at any time without giving reasons for doing so. Exiting the survey or skipping questions will have no negative implications for you.

Data protection:

Your personal data will be handled privately, confidentially and with the greatest care. The UZH has engaged a processor (survey company) which processes and collects the information/data under the instruction and control of UZH. The researchers analyzing this data will not be able to trace information back to you. The list that links your response with a participant ID number will be kept separate from research data. This information will be stored securely by the survey company for the duration of the project on a server in Germany, after which it will be irrevocably deleted. The information you provide will only be used in fully anonymized form for scientific purposes. At the end of the project, the fully anonymized data will be made available to the scientific community. The process of data collection, handling and analysis complies with strict European Research Council Standards and the relevant Swiss law.

Questions

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant, please contact the project team (contact@welfarepriorities.eu). If, at a later point, you want to revoke your consent, please contact support@meinungsplatz.net.

I have understood the above information and I give my informed consent to participate in this study.

Agree to participate

Decline participation

7.5 Appendix to section 5 (basic validation)

Figure 7.5.1 Comparison of gender distribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and Welfarepriorities survey – without any sample weights

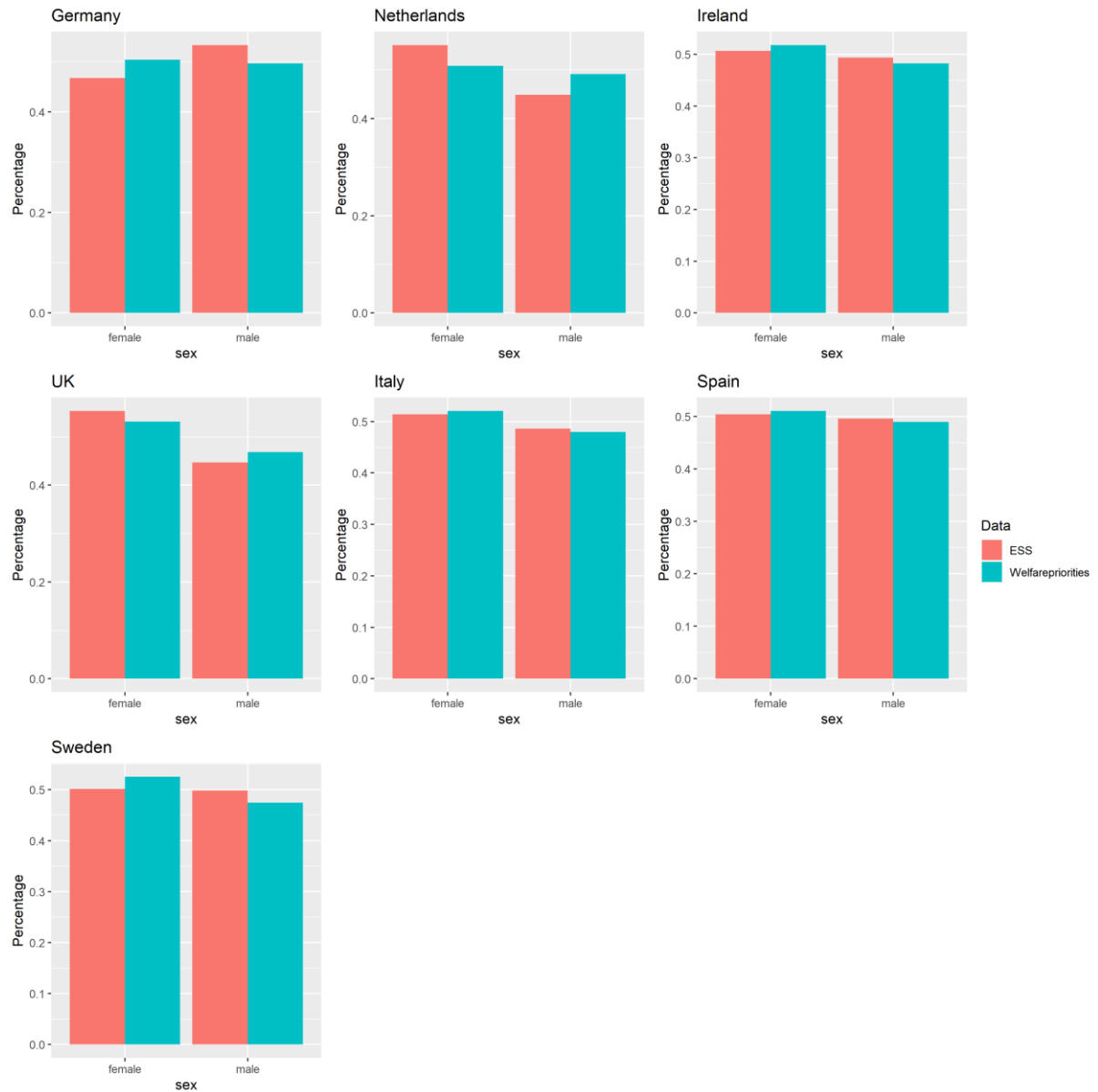


Figure 7.5.2 Comparison of gender distribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

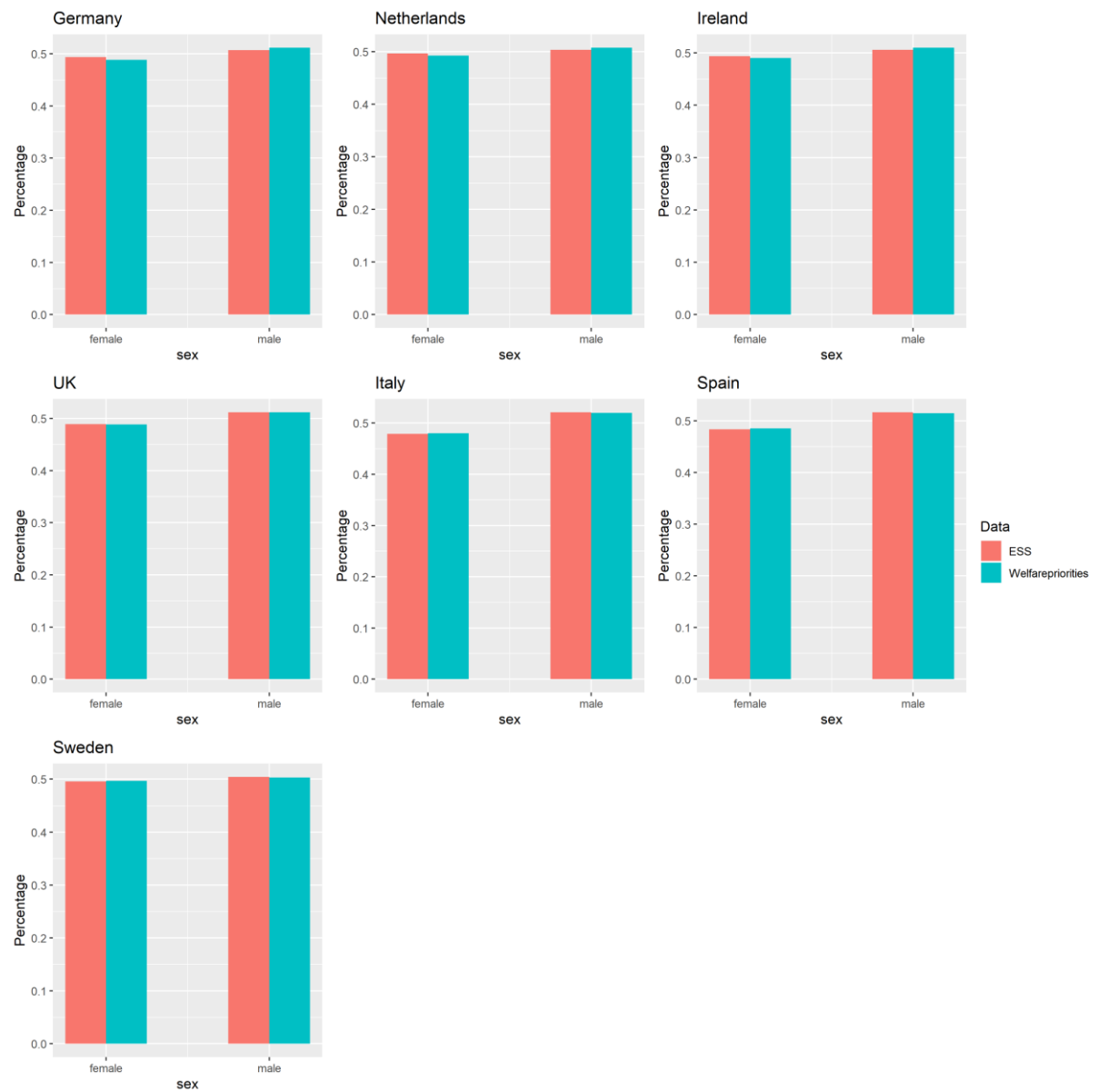


Figure 7.5.3 Comparison of age distribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – without any sample weights

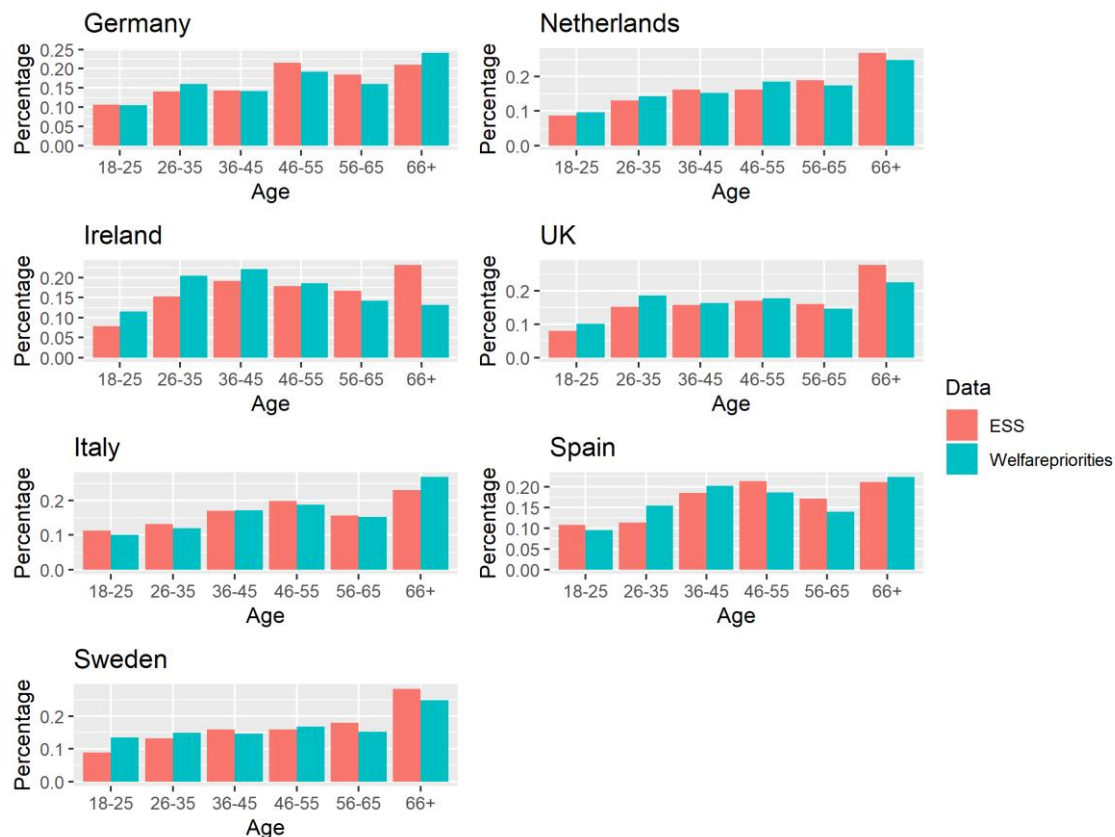


Figure 7.5.4 Comparison of age distribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

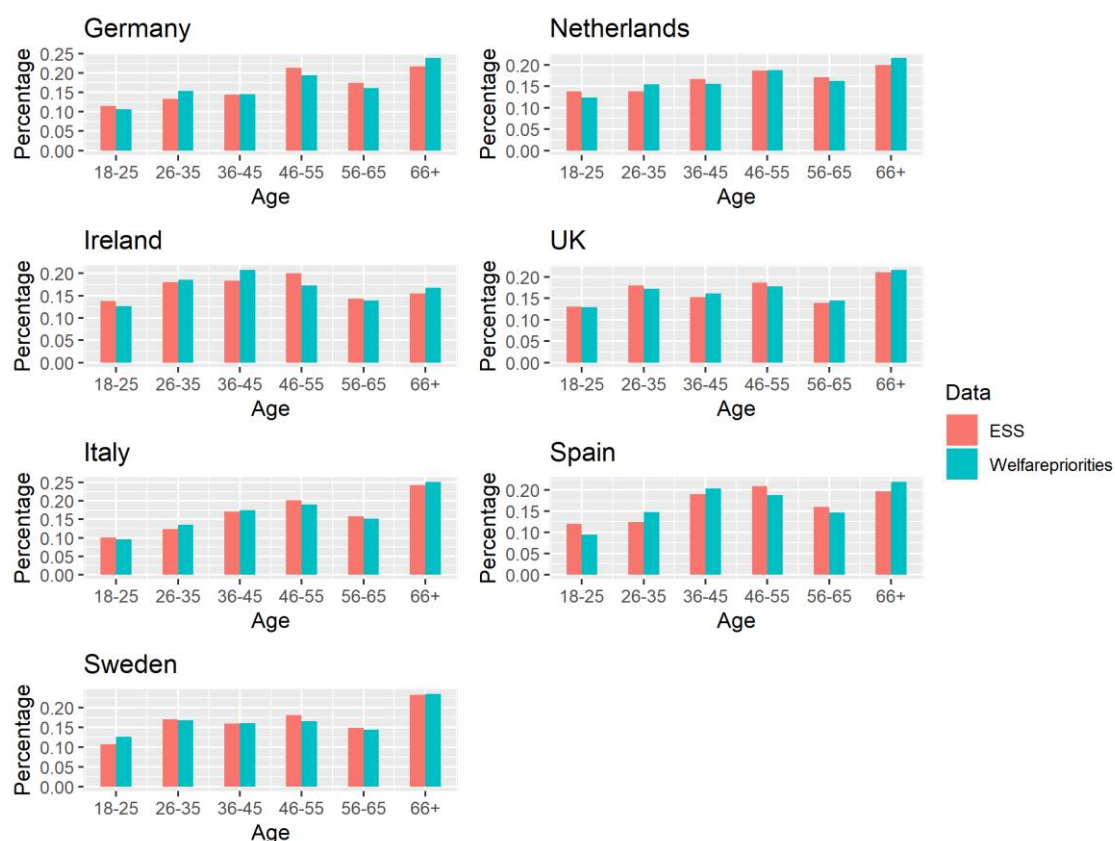


Figure 7.5.5 Comparison of educational attainment distribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – without any sample weights

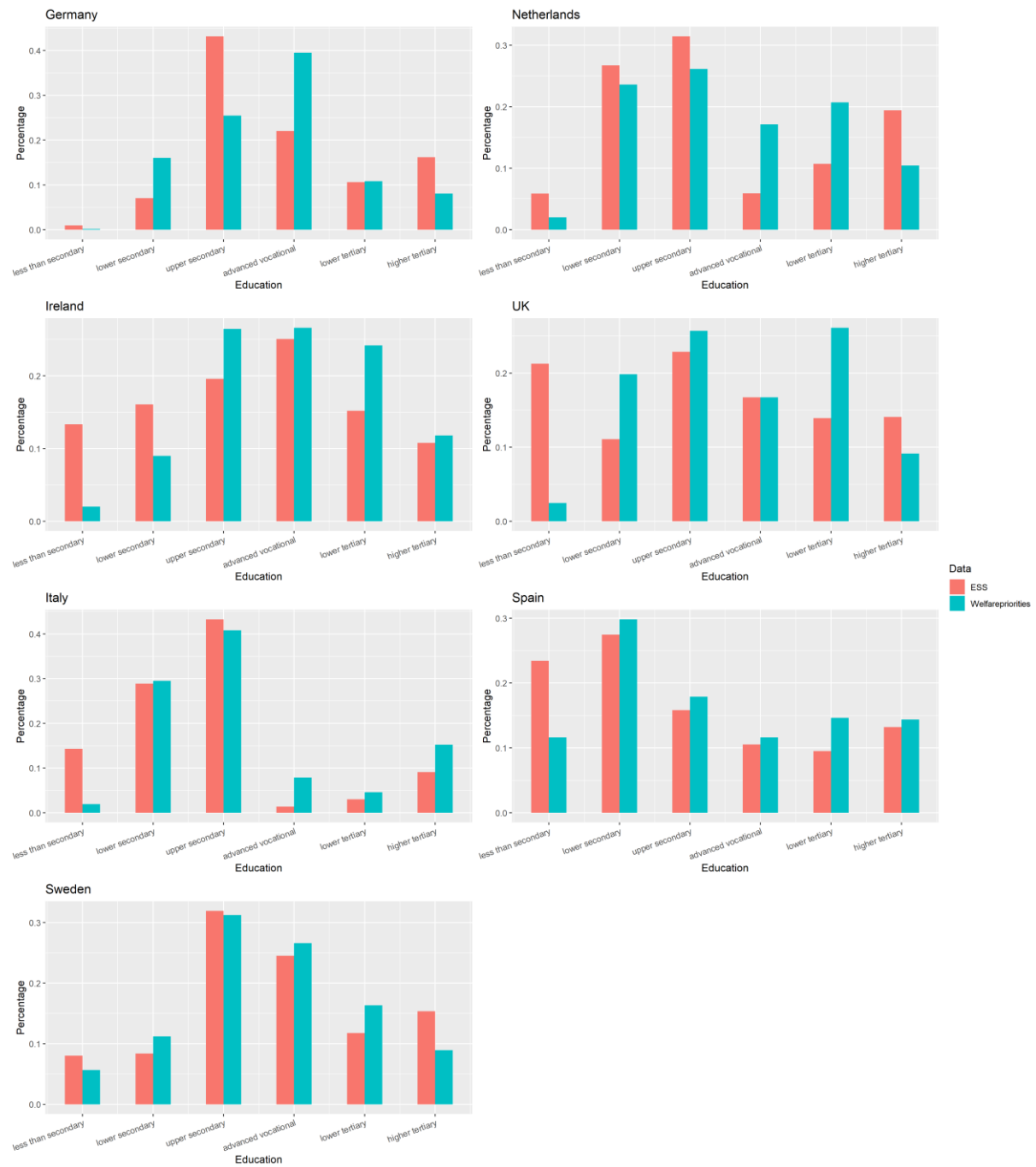


Figure 7.5.6 Comparison of educational attainment distribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

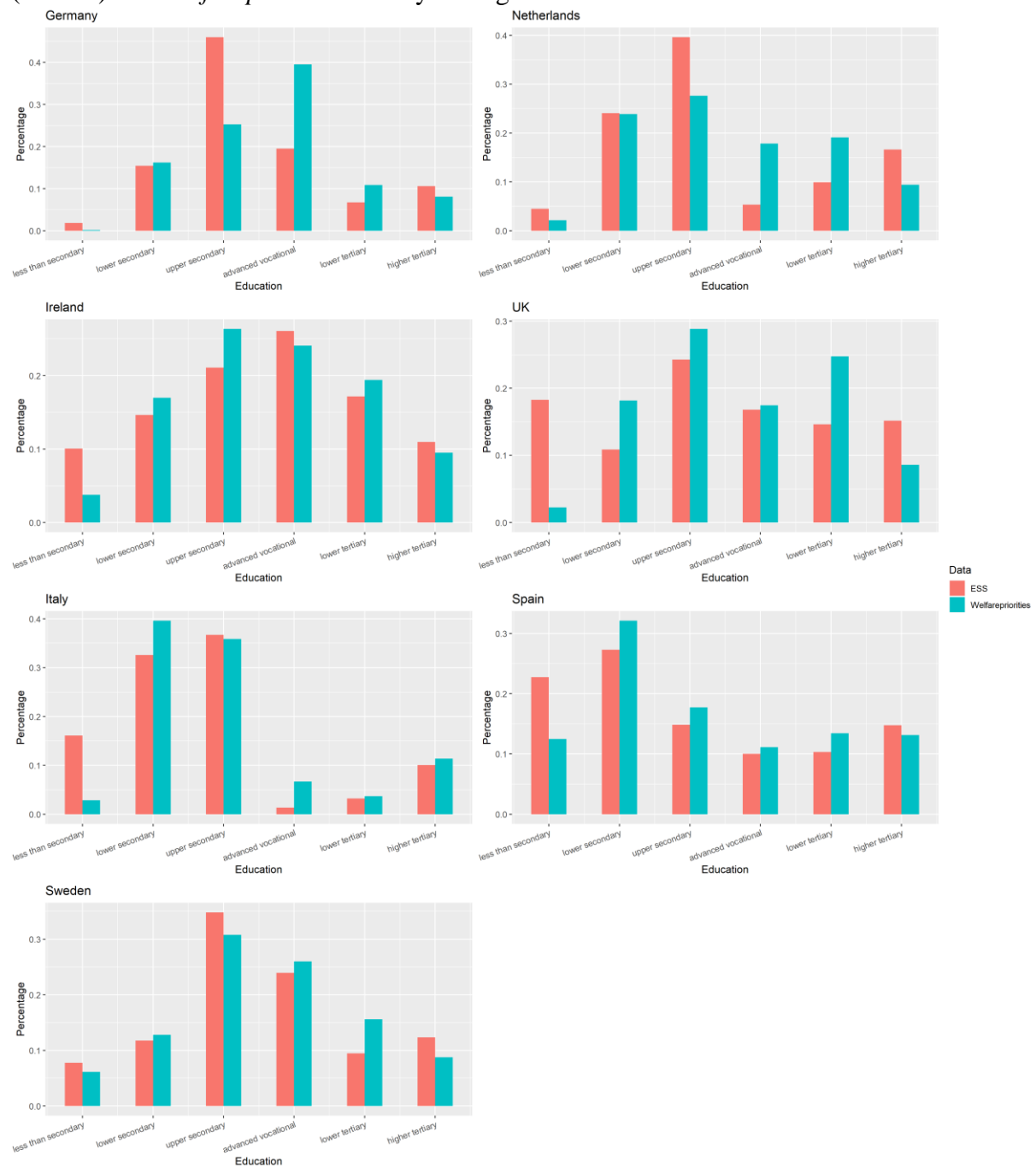


Figure 7.5.7 Comparison of levels of political interest in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

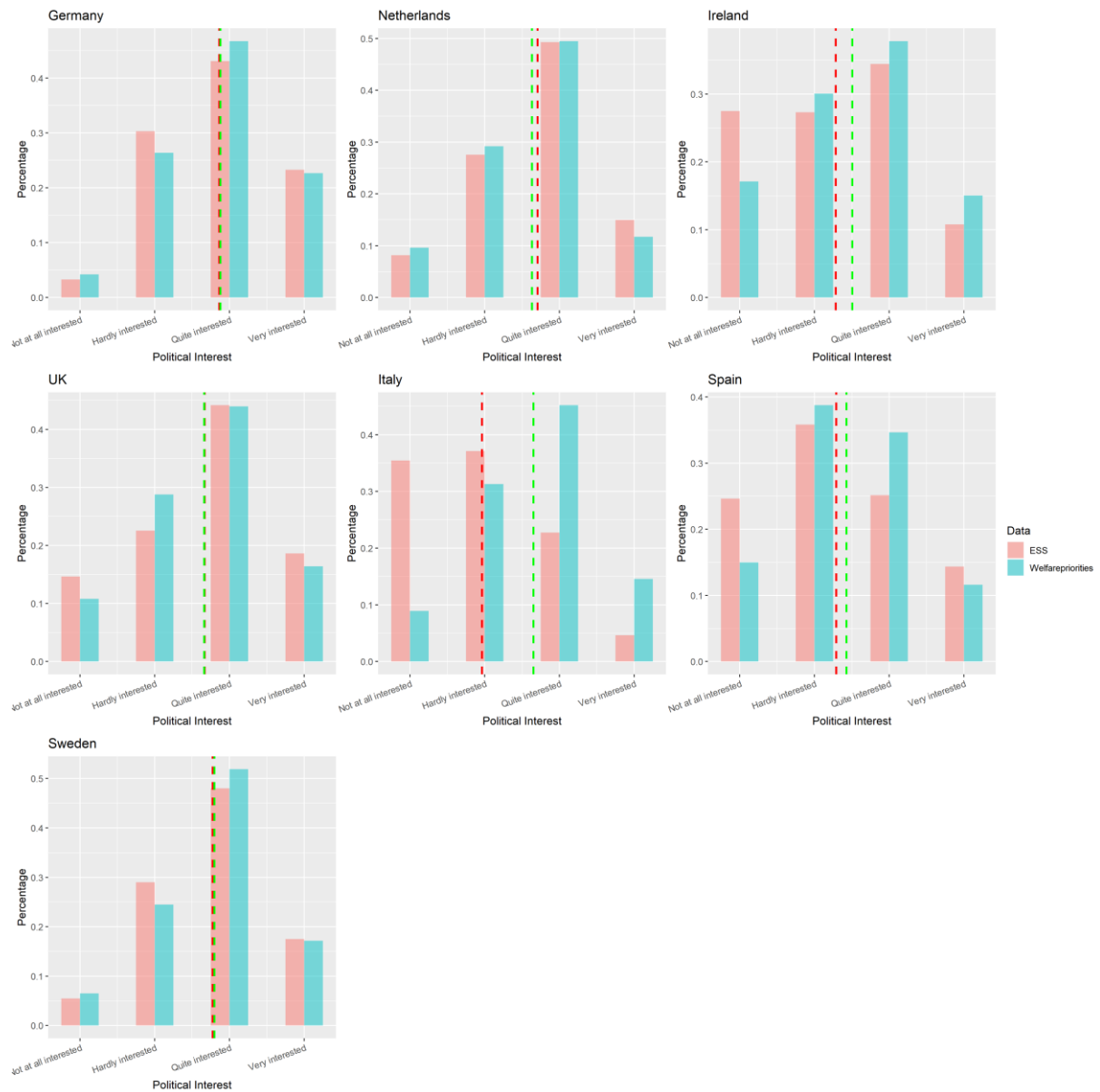


Figure 7.5.8 Comparison of left-right ideological placement in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

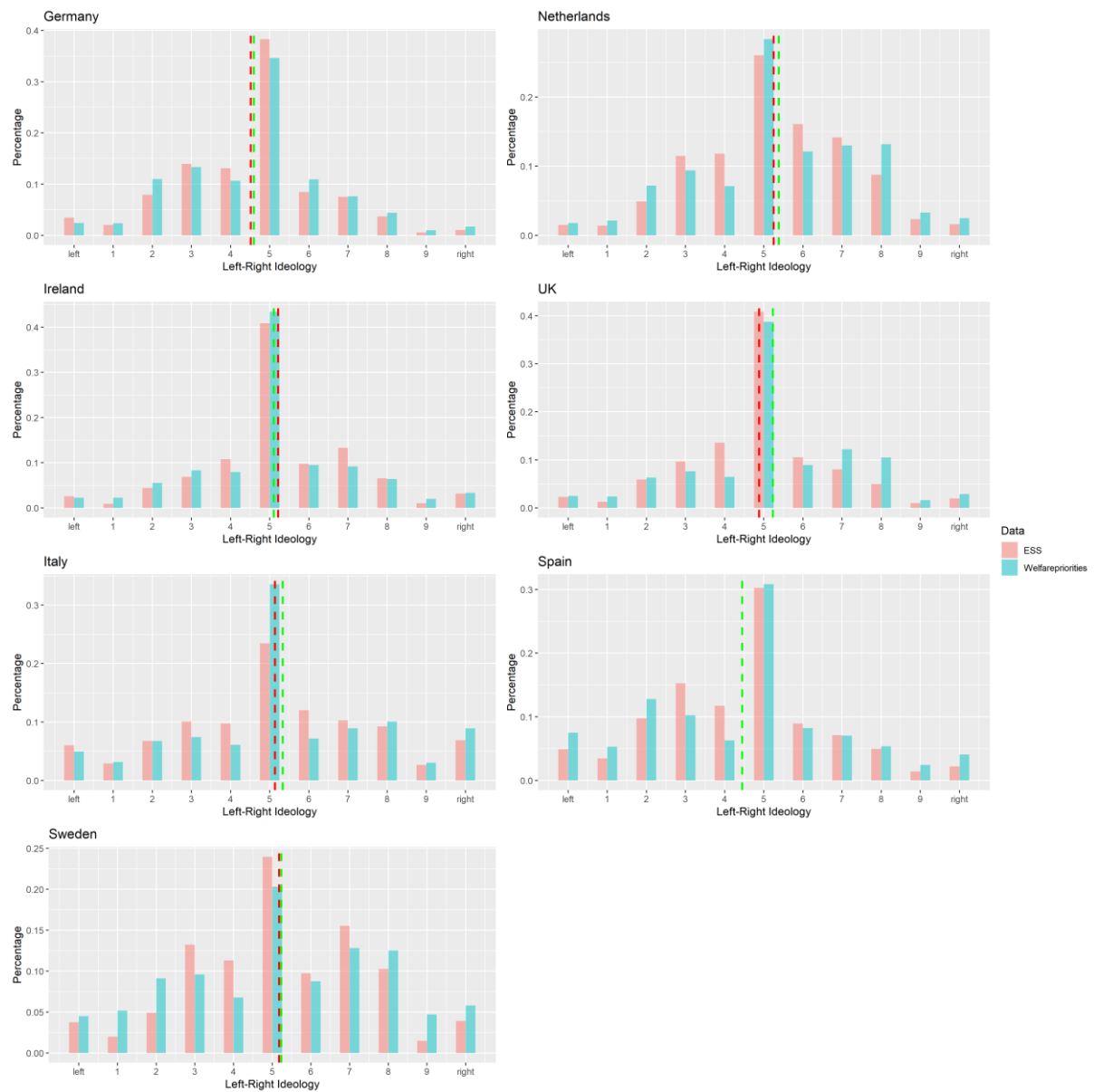


Figure 7.5.9 Comparison of preferences towards redistribution in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

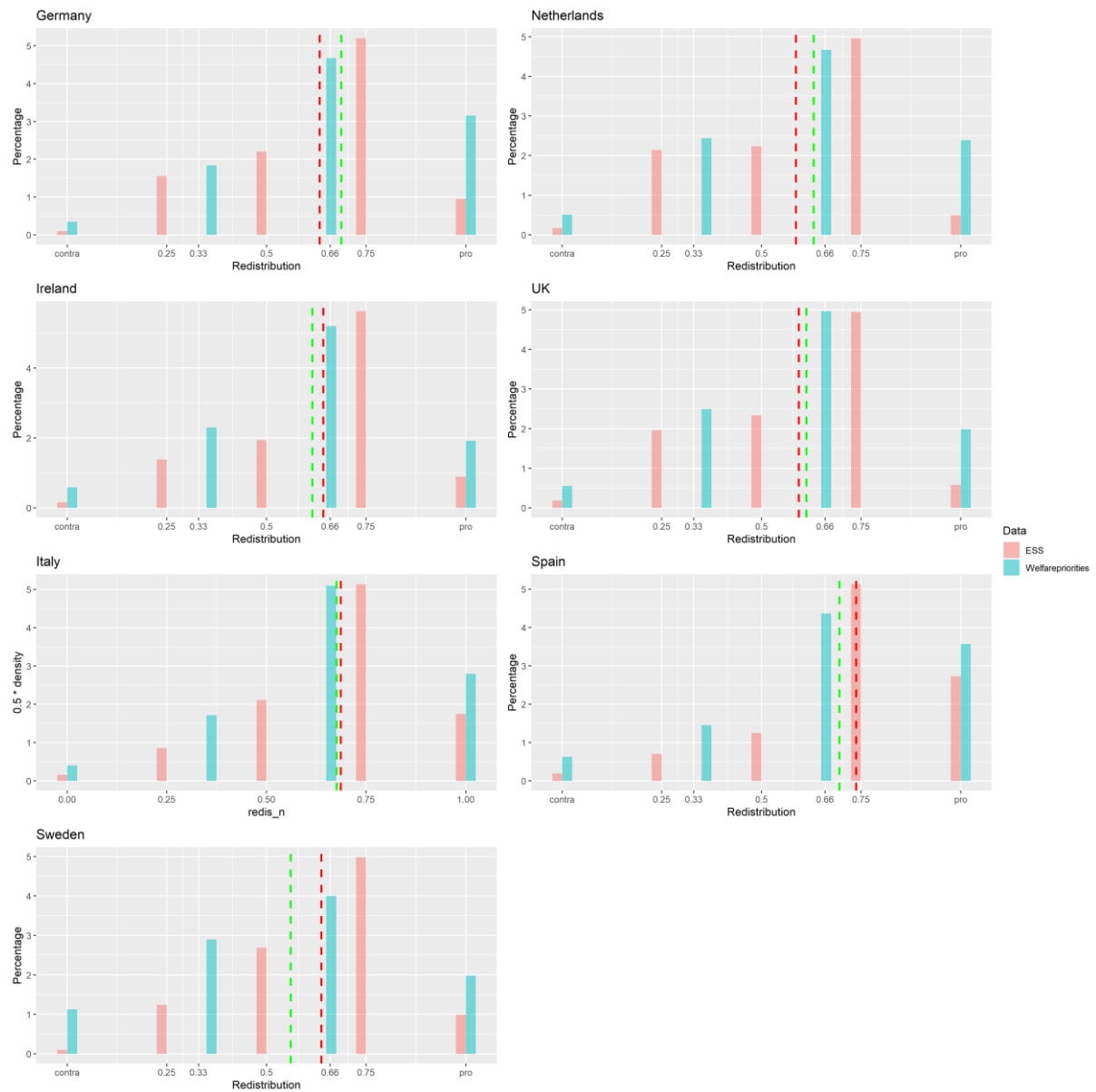


Figure 7.5.10 Comparison of preferences concerning adoption by same-sex couples in European Social Survey (wave 8) and *Welfarepriorities* survey – weighted data

