

The Changing Gender Gap(s) in Voting: An Occupational Realignment

Online Appendix

Appendix A. Countries and years sampled in the Eurobarometer and ESS

Appendix B. Party classifications

Appendix C. Communication and manual skills

Appendix D. Survey question wording

Appendix E. Descriptive statistics

Appendix F. Robustness tests and supplementary empirical analyses

Tables F1. Individual-level analysis by year

Table F2. Individual-level analysis with interaction between anti-immigrant attitudes and gender

Table F3. Individual-level analysis different measure for skill

Table F4. Individual-level analysis excluding retirees

Tables F5. Individual-level analysis including spouse's education and occupation

Table F6. Individual-level analysis including income

Table F7. Support for the radical right (Probit Models, ESS 1-8, balanced sample)

Figure F1. Gender gap for the Cristian Democratic-, Conservative, Radical left and Liberal party families, 1970-2016

Figure F2. Manual workers' support for the Cristian Democratic-, Conservative, radical left and Liberal party families

Figure F3. Gender gap on the left including green parties

Figure F4. Gender gap for the left including green parties differentiated by radical right presence in parliament

Appendix A. Countries included and years sampled

The tables note for each country whether it was surveyed in either the Eurobarometer (EB) (1970-2002) or ESS (rounds 1-6). A check mark denotes that the country surveyed and had a radical right party in parliament at the surveyed period, and a circle denotes that the country was surveyed but did not have a radical right party in parliament during the surveyed period. An empty cell denotes that the country was not surveyed in the specific period.

Eurobarometer (1970-2002)																															
1 9 7 0	1 9 7 1	1 9 7 3	1 9 7 4	1 9 7 5	1 9 7 6	1 9 7 7	1 9 7 8	1 9 7 9	1 9 8 0	1 9 8 1	1 9 8 2	1 9 8 3	1 9 8 4	1 9 8 5	1 9 8 6	1 9 8 7	1 9 8 8	1 9 8 9	1 9 8 0	1 9 8 1	1 9 8 2	1 9 8 3	1 9 8 4	1 9 8 5	1 9 8 6	1 9 8 7	1 9 8 8	1 9 8 9	1 9 8 0		
AT																										✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
BE	○	○		○	○	○	○	○	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
CH																													✓		
DE	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
DK			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
ES										○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
FR	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
FI																										✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
IE			○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
IT	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
GB	○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○		○
GR							○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
LU			○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
NL	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
PT										○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
SE																				○	○	○									

European Social Survey (ESS) (2002-2012)

	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
	ESS1	ESS2	ESS3	ESS4	ESS5	ESS6	ESS7	ESS8
AT	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
BE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
CH	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
DE	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
DK	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
ES	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
FI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
FR	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GB	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
GR	○	✓		✓	✓			
IE	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
IS		✓				✓		✓
IT	✓					✓		✓
LU	○	○						
NL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
NO	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
PT	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
SE	○	○	○	○	✓	✓	✓	✓

Appendix B. Party classifications

Political parties that were awarded at least one parliamentary seat during the surveyed period are sorted into party families according to several party classifications: (1) Comparative political data set, (2) Norris, Pippa (2005), (3) Laver, M., Gallagher, M., & Mair, P (2011), and (4) The Parliament and Government Composition Database. Each party is given a numeric code where the first digit indicates the super family and the ones digit represents a specific party family. For example, 21 = Socialist 22 = Left/Socialist. The super party family Left is an aggregation of the parties that fall into the following categories: socialist, social democracy, and left-socialist. The super party family Radical Right is an aggregation of the parties which fall into the following categories: radical right, populist, protest, and far right.

The four classifications are listed below.

- 1) Comparative Political Data Set. http://www.cpds-data.org/images/Update2015/CPDS_Codebook_1960-2013.pdf (p.45)
- 2) Norris, Pippa. 2005. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. Cambridge University Press pp. 54-57.
- 3) Gallagher, Michael, Michael Laver, and Peter Mair. 2011. *Representative government in modern Europe*. McGraw-Hill.
- 4) Döring, Holger, and Philip Manow. 2019. “Parliaments and Governments Database (ParlGov): Information on Parties, Elections and Cabinets in Modern Democracies. Development Version.” <http://www.parlgov.org>.

Appendix B. List of radical right and left parties

	<u>Radical right</u>	<u>Left</u>
Austria	FPO BZO	SPÖ
Belgium	Vlaams Blok/Belang Front National/Blok Parti Populaire	Socialist Party (PS) Socialist Party (SP) SP.A-Spirit
Denmark	Dansk Folkeparti (Danish peoples party)	SF (Socialistik Folkeparti) SD (Social demokratiet) V.Soc (Left Socialist)
Finland	True Finns Rural Party	Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Germany	Nationale Partei Die Republikaner	SPD (Social Democratic Party)
Greece	Popular Orthodox Rally - LAOS	DIKKI (Demokratiko Kinima) PASOK (Panhellenic Socialist Movement)
Iceland	Progressive Party Liberal Party	Social Democratic Alliance
Ireland		Labour Party Workers Party Social Democrats Democratic Left (also known as 'New Agenda') Anti-Austerity Alliance-People Before Profit Fianna Fail
Italy	Movimento Sociale Italia Partito Democratico di Unità Monarchia Alleanza Nazionale Lega Nord	PSI (Partito Socialista Italiano) PSDI (Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano) Partito Radicale Partido Democratico (PD) Democratici di Sinistra
Netherlands	Centrum Partij Farmers' Party List Pim Fortuyn PVV (List Wilders)/ Party for Freedom Liveable Netherlands Christian Union	PvdA (Partij van de Arbeid) PSP (Pacifist Soc) Green left Socialist Party
Luxembourg		SLAP
Norway	Progress Party (FrP)	SDP (Social Democrate) Labour party Socialist left party (SV) Socialist party
UK	UK Independence Party	The Labour Party

		Social Democratic and Labour Party (nir)
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party Ticino League Swiss Democrats Movement of the Citizens belonging to Geneva	Social democrats Social Democratic Party
France	Front National	PS - socialist party parti socialiste unite (PSU) FDG (Front de Gauche)
		PRG (Parti Radical de Gauche)
Portugal		PS - Partido Socialista
Sweden	Sverigedemokraterna	Social Democrats
Spain		Partido Andalucista
		Esquerra Republicana de Cataluña
		PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Español)

Appendix C. Communication and manual skills

For our analysis of the radical right and in particular occupational vulnerability of native workers in the face of competition with immigrant workers, we utilize information about the degree to which different occupations require manual or communication skills. To do so, we draw on the dataset constructed by D'Amuri et al. (2014) and adjust it to our needs. D'Amuri et al. (2014) draw on O*NET (Occupational Information Network) characterization of occupations developed by the US Department of Labor and in a series of steps adapt them to the European context. We specify these steps below.

O*NET assigns scores indicating the importance of different tasks for a total of 339 occupations distinctly recognized by Standard Occupation Classification (SOC). Tasks vary widely, and include things such as lifting heavy boxes, using statistical software, driving a truck, and the like. D'Amuri et al. (2014) lump the seventy-eight tasks into five broader skill categories: communication, mental, complex, manual and routine. Communication skills, for example, include oral comprehension, oral expression, speech clarity, written comprehension and written expression while wrist-finger speed, manual dexterity, and trunk strength are categorized as 'manual'. They then convert each of the five broad skill scores into a percentile by sector, describing the particular skill intensity of the occupation compared to others. For example, laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport are given a manual score of 87, meaning that eighty-seven percent of workers in the 2000 US Census use manual skills less intensively than laborers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport. Once each of the 339 occupations is assigned a percentile score, D'Amuri et al. lump occupations to twenty-one occupational categories according to the ISCO classification of occupations. The percentile score of each such category is a weighted average of the scores of the relevant original occupations where the weights are the proportion of the US population in each of the 339 ISCO occupations according to the 2000 US Census. Lastly, we collapse D'Amuri et al.'s twenty-one occupational categories into ten sectors using a broader ISCO sector classification whereby the skill percentile score of each sector is the simple average of the occupational categories that make up the sector. It is these percentiles that we incorporate into the survey data.

While the ESS occupation code overlaps with the ISCO sector code, EB uses somewhat different occupational categorization, one that ranges between 110 and 540, with the first digit indicating an unspecified classification of a sector. The matching was done by comparing the descriptions of the EB occupation categories to the individual occupation categories in the ESS and implementing the first digit of the ESS category (the ISCO sector classification) as the sector for the EB category. For example, in the EB, 322 is described as 'employed position not at a desk but in a service job (hospital, restaurant, police, fireman...)'. In the ESS, health care assistants are coded as 5321, cooks are coded as 5120, Police as 5412, and Firemen as 5411, therefore occupation 322 in the EB dataset is coded as Sector 5.

Note that the import of skill scores developed based on the US economy to the European sphere rests on two assumptions. First, it assumes that occupations that require manual (communication) skills in the US require similar type of skill set in Europe. This seems like a reasonable assumption given the general technological similarity between the two. Second, given that preliminary scores are turned into percentiles based on the number of workers per sector our particular procedure assumes that the relative size of sectors is similar across the two. We relax this assumption by rank ordering the usage of different skills across sectors rather than utilizing percentiles. Our results are similar across specifications (see Robustness section).

Appendix D. Survey question wording

Variable	Description
Eurobarometer	
CNTRY	The variable CNTRY identifies in which country a particular interview was conducted. Usually the selection of countries was restricted to member states of the European Community/European Union. The number of surveyed member states grew from five in 1970 up to 16 (Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, and the United Kingdom) in 1999. Concerning the United Kingdom, we have information on Great Britain (excluding Northern Ireland), concerning Germany, information was collected on West Germany.
Year	Year of observation
VOTEINT	Respondents to the survey were asked, “If there were a general election tomorrow (say if the contact is under 18 years: and you had a vote), which party would you support?” observations were allotted according to the variable “PRTY”. Each country has PRTY choices according to relevance.
European Social Survey	
CNTRY	The variable identifies which country a particular interview was conducted in. In our analysis we made use of 18 Western European countries that were surveyed between 2002 and 2016. Countries included: Switzerland, Iceland, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Portugal, Sweden, Spain, and the United Kingdom
PRTVTxcntry	Given that respondents previously answered that they voted in the last election they were asked, “Which party did you vote for in that election?” The variable is country and round specific where x denotes which round and version of the question (values: blank for first, <i>a</i> for second, <i>b</i> for third etc.) Cntry denotes the country which the variable pertains to, for example, <i>at</i> is Austria, <i>be</i> is Belgium and so on. The vote choice variable for Austria (Surveyed in rounds 1-3) looks like the following: PRTVTAT (Round 1 and 2), PRTVTAAT (Round 3).
ESSROUND	The variable identifies which round the survey was conducted for. ESS1 was conducted in 2002 with a new survey completed every two years, so

	that ESS2 was completed in 2004, ESS3 in 2006, ESS4 in 2008, ESS5 in 2010 and so forth.
Imdfetn	Respondents were asked, “[To what extent do you think [country] should allow people] of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people?” Respondents either answered, “allow many”, “allow some”, “allow few”, or “allow none”. We recoded these into categories into numeric values 1-4 where one takes the category of “allow many immigrants” and 4 is “allow none”.
imdfetn	Respondents were asked, “[To what extent do you think [country] should allow people] of a different race or ethnic group from most [country] people?” Respondents either answered, “allow many”, “allow some”, “allow few”, or “allow none”. We recoded these into categories into numeric values 1-4 where one takes the category of “allow many immigrants” and 4 is “allow none”.
Impctr	Description: Respondents were asked, “[Should country C] allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe? Respondents either answered, “allow many”, “allow some”, “allow few”, or “allow none”. We recoded these into categories into numeric values 1-4 where one takes the category of “allow many immigrants” and 4 is “allow none”.
Imbgoco	Respondents were asked “Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]’s economy that people come to live here from other countries?” Respondents gave a numeric answer between 0-10, where 10 indicated “good for the economy” and 0 indicated bad for the economy. We recoded this variable so answers ranged from 0-10, and 0 indicated good for the economy and 10 indicates bad for the economy
Imueclt	Respondents were asked “Would you say that [country’s] cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries?” Respondents gave a numeric answer between 0-10, where 10 indicated “cultural life enriched” and 0 indicated cultural life undermined”. We recoded this variable so answers ranged from 0-10, and 0 indicated “cultural life enriched” and 10 indicates “cultural life undermined”.
Imwbcnt	Respondents were asked “Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries?” Respondents gave a numeric answer between 0-10, where 10 indicated “better place to

	live” and 0 indicated “worse place to live”. We recoded this variable so answers ranged from 0-10, and 0 indicates “better place to live” and 10 indicated “worse place to live”.
Rlgdgr	Respondents were asked “Regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion, how religious would you say you are?” Respondents gave a numeric answer between 0-10, where 10 indicated “not at all religious” and 0 indicated “very religious”.
Brncntr	Respondents were asked “Were you born in [country]?” A score of 1 indicated “Yes” and a score of 2 indicated “No”. We recoded this variable so that a score of 0 indicated “Yes” and a score of 1 indicated “No”.
Eduyrs	Respondents were asked, “How many years of full-time education have you completed?” Answers varied from 1-37 years.
Domicil	Respondents were asked, “Which phrase on this card best describes the area where you live?” They were given five choices, “a big city”, “suburbs or outskirts of big city”, “town or small city”, “country village” or “farm or home in countryside”. We recoded this variable so that 5 indicated, “a big city” and 1 indicated “farm or home in countryside”.
uemp3m	Respondents were asked “Have you ever been unemployed and seeking work for a period of more than three months” A score of 1 indicated “Yes” and a score of 2 indicated “No”. We recoded this variable so that a score of 0 indicated “No” and a score of 1 indicated “Yes”.
Mbtru	Respondents were asked, “Are you or have you ever been a member of a trade union or similar organisation?” A score of 1 indicated “Yes, currently”, 2 indicated “Yes, previously” and 3 indicated “No”. We recoded this variable so that 1 indicates “Yes, currently” and 0 indicates “Yes, previously” and “No”.
Agea	Age of the respondent calculated from the year of birth (yrbrn) and the year of the interview. We dropped all observations for those respondents under the age 18 (age of suffrage).

Appendix E. Descriptive statistics

	ESS 2002-2016		
	N	Mean	SD
Manual	129163	44.77	18.32
Communication	129163	58.16	21.59
Male	129163	0.49	0.50
Age (18-102)	129163	51.33	16.86
Religiosity (0- not at all religious; 10- very religious)	129163	4.67	2.92
Education (Years of full-time education completed; 0- 56)	129163	12.95	4.28
Union member (0-not member; 1-member)	129163	0.30	0.46
Population density (1- countryside; 5-big city)	129163	3	1.21
Unemployed for > 3 months	129163	0.25	0.43
Foreign born	129163	0.05	0.22
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life (0-Cultural life enriched; 10-Cultural life undermined)	129163	4.07	2.44
Do not allow immigr. of a different race (1-Allow many to come and live here; 4- Allow none)	129163	2.38	0.84
Immig. make country a worse place to live (0-Immig's make country better; 10-Immig's make country worse)	129163	4.84	2.23
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe (1-Allow many to come and live here; 4-Allow none)	129163	2.45	0.86
Immig. are bad for the economy (0-Good for the economy; 10-Bad for the economy)	129163	4.76	2.32
Macro-level analysis	ESS 2002-2016, CHES 1999-2014		
Male domination of manual sectors	113	0.36	0.16
Gender gap on the radical right	62	0.04	0.03
Gender gap on the left	119	-0.03	0.04
Economic position of mainstream left	100	3.44	0.83
Economic position of the radical right	54	6.19	1.29
GAL-TAN of mainstream left	100	3.61	0.82
GAL-TAN of the radical right	54	8.60	1.06

Table F1(a). Support for the radical right, ESS1 (Probit)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Communication	Manual	(7)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.22*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.27* (0.13)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.16)
Communication		-0.49** (0.17)	-0.35* (0.16)	-0.20 (0.25)			
Male x communication				-0.20 (0.25)			
Manual					0.51** (0.20)	0.35 (0.20)	0.12 (0.30)
Male x manual						0.33 (0.31)	
Union member	-0.21* (0.10)	-0.24* (0.09)	-0.21* (0.09)	-0.21* (0.09)	-0.23* (0.09)	-0.21* (0.09)	-0.21* (0.09)
Education (yrs.)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Population density	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Age	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02*** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)						
Religiosity	-0.01 (0.01)						
Unemployed for > 3 months	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)
Foreign born	-0.16 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.17)	-0.06 (0.16)	-0.13 (0.15)	-0.06 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.16)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life		0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)		0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race		0.24*** (0.04)	0.24*** (0.04)		0.24*** (0.04)	0.24*** (0.04)	0.24*** (0.04)
Immig. make country a worse place to live		0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)		0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Not allow immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe		0.08*** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)		0.09*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe		0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)		0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Constant	-0.33 (0.26)	-0.00 (0.31)	-2.29*** (0.15)	-2.38*** (0.11)	-0.47* (0.24)	-2.62*** (0.19)	-2.52*** (0.26)
Observations	7515	6789	6789	6789	6789	6789	6789

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FEs included.

Table F1(b). Support for the radical right, ESS2 (Probit)

	Communication				Manual		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.22*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.18** (0.05)	0.25** (0.09)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.18** (0.05)	0.08 (0.11)
Communication		-0.54*** (0.10)	-0.35* (0.15)	-0.26 (0.22)			
Male x communication				-0.13 (0.15)			
Manual					0.60*** (0.12)	0.39* (0.17)	0.25 (0.25)
Male x manual						0.21 (0.18)	
Union member	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.15 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.10)
Education (yrs.)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
Population density	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Age	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)						
Religiosity	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.12** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)
Foreign born	-0.22 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.21 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.11)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life1			0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)		0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Not allowing immigrants of a different race			0.15*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)		0.15*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)		0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe			0.05 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)		0.05 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)		0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)
Constant	-0.42 (0.25)	-0.18 (0.27)	-2.31*** (0.38)	-2.37*** (0.41)	-0.73** (0.25)	-2.67*** (0.30)	-2.61*** (0.29)
Observations	6938	6468	6468	6468	6468	6468	6468

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FEs are included.

Table F1c. Support for the radical right, ESS3 (Probit)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Communication	(4)	(5)	Manual	(7)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
Male	0.26*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.06)	0.29** (0.10)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.13 (0.13)	
Communication		-0.63*** (0.11)	-0.36*** (0.10)	-0.28 (0.14)				
Male x communication				-0.12 (0.18)				
Manual					0.71*** (0.12)	0.41*** (0.10)	0.27 (0.14)	
Male x manual							0.20 (0.21)	
Union member	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.08)	-0.15 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.08)	-0.14 (0.08)	
Education (yrs.)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	
Population density	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	
Age	-0.01 (0.01)							
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	
Religiosity	-0.02* (0.01)							
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.20* (0.09)	0.19* (0.09)	0.19 (0.10)	0.19* (0.10)	0.19* (0.09)	0.19 (0.10)	0.19* (0.10)	
Foreign born	-0.19** (0.07)	-0.23*** (0.07)	-0.18* (0.08)	-0.18* (0.08)	-0.23*** (0.07)	-0.18* (0.08)	-0.18* (0.07)	
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)		0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)		0.07 (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)		0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe			0.18* (0.07)	0.18* (0.07)		0.18* (0.08)	0.18* (0.08)	
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)		0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	
Constant	-0.30 (0.46)	-0.01 (0.44)	-2.46*** (0.49)	-2.51*** (0.54)	-0.66 (0.53)	-2.84*** (0.56)	-2.79*** (0.53)	
Observations	6611	6196	6196	6196	6196	6196	6196	

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FE included.

Table F1(d). Support for the radical right, ESS4 (Probit)

	Communication				Manual		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.28*** (0.05)	0.28*** (0.07)	0.31*** (0.09)	0.35** (0.13)	0.28*** (0.07)	0.31*** (0.09)	0.21 (0.18)
Communication		-0.57*** (0.11)	-0.39*** (0.08)	-0.34* (0.16)			
Male x communication				-0.06 (0.19)			
Manual					0.61*** (0.11)	0.41*** (0.07)	0.25 (0.23)
Male x manual							0.22 (0.31)
Union member	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.07)
Education (yrs.)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Population density	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age squared	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.24* (0.09)	0.21* (0.11)	0.23 (0.12)	0.23 (0.12)	0.21* (0.11)	0.23 (0.12)	0.23 (0.12)
Foreign born	-0.09 (0.16)	-0.09 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.16)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)		0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.11* (0.06)	0.11* (0.06)		0.11 (0.06)	0.11 (0.06)
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)		0.05** (0.01)	0.05** (0.01)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe			0.21*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)		0.21*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)		0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
Constant	-0.39 (0.31)	-0.04 (0.39)	-2.36*** (0.24)	-2.38*** (0.28)	-0.61* (0.30)	-2.75*** (0.20)	-2.68*** (0.18)
Observations	5644	4946	4946	4946	4946	4946	4946

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FEs included.

Table F1(e). Support for the radical right, ESS5 (Probit)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Communication	Manual	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.22*** (0.06)	0.13 (0.07)	0.17* (0.07)	0.22** (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.17** (0.06)	0.11 (0.09)		
Communication		-0.73** (0.22)	-0.49* (0.19)	-0.41* (0.20)					
Male x communication				-0.10 (0.09)					
Manual						0.78** (0.26)	0.52* (0.23)	0.41 (0.23)	
Male x manual								0.14 (0.09)	
Union member	-0.09 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)		
Education (yrs.)	-0.05*** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)		
Population density	-0.05 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)		
Age	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)		
Age squared	0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)		
Religiosity	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)		
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.19** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.18* (0.07)	0.18* (0.07)	0.17** (0.06)	0.18* (0.07)	0.18* (0.07)		
Foreign born	-0.25** (0.09)	-0.29** (0.10)	-0.21 (0.11)	-0.21 (0.11)	-0.29** (0.10)	-0.21 (0.11)	-0.21 (0.11)		
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)			0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.09 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)			0.09 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	
Immigr. make country a worse place to live			0.07** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)			0.07** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)	
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries			0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)			0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	
Immigr. are bad for the economy			0.07** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)			0.07** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)	
Constant	-1.07*** (0.29)	-0.78** (0.27)	-3.51*** (0.18)	-3.55*** (0.17)	-1.51*** (0.37)	-4.00*** (0.34)	-3.96*** (0.34)		
Observations	8305	7495	7495	7495	7495	7495	7495	7495	

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FE included.

Table F1(f). Support for the radical right, ESS6 (Probit)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Communication	Manual	(7)
Male	0.27*** (0.04)	0.21*** (0.04)	0.25*** (0.06)	0.44*** (0.13)	0.22*** (0.04)	0.25*** (0.06)	0.06 (0.10)
Communication		-0.68*** (0.09)	-0.37*** (0.10)	-0.13 (0.13)			
Male x communication				-0.33 (0.17)			
Manual					0.75*** (0.11)	0.41*** (0.12)	0.10 (0.14)
Male x manual						0.43* (0.21)	
Union member	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.07 (0.06)	-0.08 (0.06)
Education (yrs.)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)
Population density	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)
Age	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)						
Religiosity	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.11** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	0.11** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.09* (0.04)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.11*** (0.03)
Foreign born	-0.12* (0.06)	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)		0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race				0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)
Immig. make country a worse place to live				0.09*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.01)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries				0.18*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.03)
Immig. are bad for the economy				0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)
Constant	-1.19*** (0.20)	-0.98*** (0.23)	-3.73*** (0.30)	-3.88*** (0.26)	-1.68*** (0.23)	-4.12*** (0.28)	-3.98*** (0.31)
Observations	9786	9157	9157	9157	9157	9157	9157

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FE included.

Table F1(g). Support for the radical right, ESS7 (Probit)

	Communication				Manual		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.19*** (0.05)	0.11 (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.38* (0.17)	0.12* (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)	-0.12 (0.09)
Communication		-0.74*** (0.13)	-0.42** (0.13)	-0.11 (0.26)			
Male x communication				-0.42 (0.23)			
Manual					0.79*** (0.16)	0.43** (0.16)	0.02 (0.31)
Male x manual							0.58* (0.26)
Union member	-0.09 (0.05)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.11* (0.06)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.14** (0.05)
Education (yrs.)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
Population density	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age	0.01 (0.01)						
Age squared	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.17** (0.05)	0.15* (0.06)	0.15** (0.06)	0.15** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)	0.15** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)
Foreign born	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.19* (0.08)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.09)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)		0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.18*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)		0.18*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)		0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe			0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)		0.06 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)		0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Constant	-0.29 (0.27)	0.04 (0.35)	-2.71*** (0.39)	-2.90*** (0.48)	-0.70** (0.27)	-3.12*** (0.38)	-2.95*** (0.33)
Observations	9738	9118	9118	9118	9118	9118	9118

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FEs included.

Table F1(h). Support for the radical right, ESS8 (Probit)

	Communication				Manual		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.24*** (0.05)	0.20*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.16 (0.15)	0.20*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.16 (0.12)
Communication		-0.54*** (0.15)	-0.33* (0.13)	-0.37* (0.18)			
Male x communication				0.04 (0.23)			
Manual					0.59*** (0.16)	0.36* (0.15)	0.34 (0.20)
Male x manual						0.04 (0.28)	
Union member	-0.12 (0.06)	-0.16** (0.05)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.16** (0.05)	-0.15*** (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.04)
Education (yrs.)	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.04*** (0.00)
Population density	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Age	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01* (0.01)						
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.18* (0.08)	0.16 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)	0.16* (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)	0.13 (0.08)
Foreign born	-0.20* (0.09)	-0.25** (0.09)	-0.21* (0.08)	-0.21* (0.08)	-0.25** (0.09)	-0.21* (0.08)	-0.21* (0.08)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)		0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)		0.15** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)		0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe			0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)		0.14** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.05* (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)		0.05* (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Constant	-0.16 (0.27)	0.16 (0.29)	-2.41*** (0.28)	-2.39*** (0.28)	-0.39 (0.21)	-2.75*** (0.22)	-2.74*** (0.24)
Observations	9792	9096	9096	9096	9096	9096	9096

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country FE included.

**Table F2. Support for the radical right
(Probit, incl. interaction between gender and anti-immigrant attitudes, ESS 1-8)**

	Cultural anti-immigrant attitudes (1)	Economic anti- immigrant attitudes (2)	Economic anti- immigrant attitudes (3)	Economic anti- immigrant attitudes (4)
Male	0.19** (0.06)	0.19** (0.06)	0.25*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.03)
Communication	-0.43*** (0.05)		-0.45*** (0.05)	
Manual		0.46*** (0.06)		0.48*** (0.06)
cultural anti-immigrant attitudes	2.54*** (0.16)	2.55*** (0.16)		
M * cultural anti-immigrant attitudes	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.11)		
economic anti-immigrant attitudes			2.16*** (0.12)	2.16*** (0.12)
M * economic anti-immigrant attitudes			-0.09 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.06)
Union member	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.12** (0.04)	-0.13** (0.04)	-0.13** (0.04)
Education (Yrs.)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Population density	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
Unemployed for>3 months	0.12** (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)
Foreign born	-0.13** (0.05)	-0.13** (0.04)	-0.16** (0.05)	-0.16** (0.05)
Constant	-1.88*** (0.25)	-2.30*** (0.25)	-1.51*** (0.23)	-1.96*** (0.23)
Observations	66673	66673	66673	66673

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country and year FE included.

Table F3. Support for the radical right, ordered skill variables (Probit, ESS 1-8)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Communication (ordered)	Manual (ordered)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.22 *** (0.01)	0.18 *** (0.01)	0.18 *** (0.02)	0.24 *** (0.04)	0.19 *** (0.01)	0.19 *** (0.02)	0.12 ** (0.04)		
Communication (ordered)		-0.07 *** (0.00)	-0.05 *** (0.00)	-0.04 *** (0.01)					
Male x communication				-0.01 (0.01)					
Manual (ordered)					0.06 *** (0.00)	0.04 *** (0.00)	0.03 *** (0.01)		
Male x manual						0.02 * (0.01)			
Union member	-0.12 *** (0.02)	-0.15 *** (0.02)	-0.12 *** (0.02)	-0.12 *** (0.02)	-0.15 *** (0.02)	-0.12 *** (0.02)	-0.12 *** (0.02)		
Education (yrs.)	-0.06 *** (0.00)	-0.05 *** (0.00)	-0.03 *** (0.00)	-0.03 *** (0.00)	-0.05 *** (0.00)	-0.03 *** (0.00)	-0.03 *** (0.00)		
Population density	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.01 * (0.01)	-0.01 * (0.01)	-0.04 *** (0.01)	-0.01 * (0.01)	-0.01 * (0.01)		
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)		
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 * (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)		
Religiosity	-0.01 *** (0.00)	-0.01 *** (0.00)	-0.01 *** (0.00)						
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.14 *** (0.02)	0.12 *** (0.02)	0.12 *** (0.02)	0.12 *** (0.02)	0.12 *** (0.02)	0.12 *** (0.02)	0.12 *** (0.02)		
Foreign born	-0.18 *** (0.03)	-0.21 *** (0.04)	-0.13 ** (0.04)	-0.13 ** (0.04)	-0.20 *** (0.04)	-0.13 ** (0.04)	-0.13 ** (0.04)		
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.07 *** (0.01)	0.08 *** (0.01)		0.08 *** (0.01)	0.08 *** (0.01)		
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.13 *** (0.02)	0.13 *** (0.02)		0.13 *** (0.02)	0.13 *** (0.02)		
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.07 *** (0.01)	0.07 *** (0.01)		0.07 *** (0.01)	0.07 *** (0.01)		
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries outside Europe			0.13 *** (0.01)	0.13 *** (0.01)		0.13 *** (0.01)	0.13 *** (0.01)		
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.05 *** (0.00)	0.05 *** (0.00)		0.05 *** (0.00)	0.05 *** (0.00)		
Constant	-0.20 ** (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)	-2.28 *** (0.09)	-2.32 *** (0.09)	-0.51 *** (0.08)	-2.65 *** (0.09)	-2.60 *** (0.10)		
Observations	72464	66673	66673	66673	66673	66673	66673	66673	66673

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Table E3 repeats the analysis in Table 2 but rank-orders the sectors on both communication and manual skill. Country and year FE are included.

Table F4. Support for the radical right (Probit, retirees excluded or incl. as dummy)

	(1) Communication, no retirees	(2) Manual, no retirees	(3) Communication, retirees dummy	(4) Manual, retirees dummy
Male	0.18* (0.07)	0.19* (0.07)	0.17** (0.06)	0.17** (0.06)
Communication	-0.52* (0.24)		-0.49* (0.19)	
Manual		0.57* (0.29)		0.52* (0.23)
Retirees			0.00 (0.11)	0.01 (0.11)
Union member	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.04 (0.06)
Education (Yrs.)	-0.03+ (0.02)	-0.03+ (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Population density	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01+ (0.01)	-0.01+ (0.01)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Unemployed for>3 months	0.17* (0.07)	0.17* (0.07)	0.18* (0.07)	0.18* (0.07)
Foreign born	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.21+ (0.11)	-0.21+ (0.11)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Not allowing immigrants of a different race	0.05 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.09+ (0.05)	0.09+ (0.05)
Immigrants make country worse place to live	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)
Not allow immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe	0.20* (0.10)	0.20* (0.10)	0.16** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)
Immigration bad for country's economy	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)
Constant	-3.41*** (0.31)	-3.95*** (0.47)	-3.51*** (0.18)	-4.00*** (0.33)
Observations	5841	5841	7495	7495

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. Analysis is performed on ESS 5 (2010) as the retiree variable is available only for ESS 5 and ESS 2. Country FEs are included.

Table F5(a). Support for the radical right (Probit, incl. partner's education, ESS 1-8)

	(1)	(2)
Male	0.15*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.04)
Communication	-0.45*** (0.06)	
Manual		0.48*** (0.07)
Education (Yrs.)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Partner's education	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)
Union member	-0.12* (0.05)	-0.12* (0.05)
Population density	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Unemployed for>3 months	0.10** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)
Foreign born	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Not allowing immigrants of a different race	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)
Immigrants make country worse place to live	0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Not allow immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe	0.13*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Immigration bad for country's economy	0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Constant	-1.86*** (0.28)	-2.31*** (0.26)
Observations	45426	45426

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Manual and communication coefficients keep their significance when adding partner's education.

$r(\text{respondent's education}, \text{partner's education}) = .53$ ($p < .001$).

Table F5(b). Support for the radical right (Probit, incl. partner's skill, ESS 1-8)

	(1)	(2)
Male	0.16*** (0.03)	0.16*** (0.03)
Communication	-0.31*** (0.04)	
Partner's comm.	-0.00** (0.00)	
Manual		0.35*** (0.04)
Partner's manual		0.00* (0.00)
Union member	-0.10* (0.04)	-0.10* (0.04)
Education (Yrs.)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
Population density	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
Unemployed for>3 months	0.10** (0.04)	0.10** (0.04)
Foreign born	-0.13* (0.05)	-0.13* (0.05)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)
Not allowing immigrants of a different race	0.15*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)
Immigrants make country worse place to live	0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Not allow immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe	0.13*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Immigration bad for country's economy	0.05*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Constant	-2.22*** (0.35)	-2.76*** (0.31)
Observations	44956	44956

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Manual and communication coefficients keep their significance when adding partner's occupation.

$r(\text{respondent's communication skill score}, \text{partner's communication skill score}) = .65$ ($p < .001$).

Table F6. Support for the radical right (Probit, with household income, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016)

	2004 (ESS2)		2008 (ESS4)		2012 (ESS 6)		2016 (ESS8)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Male	0.21*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.33*** (0.07)	0.34*** (0.07)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.18*** (0.05)	0.18*** (0.05)
Communication	-0.37* (0.17)		-0.38*** (0.09)		-0.37*** (0.11)		-0.31* (0.13)	
Manual		0.42* (0.20)		0.38*** (0.10)		0.39** (0.13)		0.32* (0.14)
Household's net income	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Union member	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.13** (0.05)	-0.13** (0.05)
Education (yrs.)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.04*** (0.00)
Population density	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Age	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age squared	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.07 (0.04)	0.07 (0.04)	0.19 (0.12)	0.19 (0.12)	0.09* (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.13* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)
Foreign born	-0.16 (0.08)	-0.16 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.14)	-0.04 (0.14)	0.04 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.18*** (0.05)
Immigrants undermine country's cultural life	0.08*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race	0.15*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.11 (0.05)	0.10 (0.06)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.14*** (0.04)	0.15*** (0.05)	0.15*** (0.05)
Immig. make country a worse place to live	0.06* (0.06)	0.06* (0.06)	0.06*** (0.06***)	0.06*** (0.06***)	0.08*** (0.08***)	0.08*** (0.08***)	0.07*** (0.07***)	0.07*** (0.07***)

	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries	0.05 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	0.21*** (0.06)	0.21*** (0.06)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.12* (0.05)	0.12* (0.05)
Immig. are bad for the economy	0.04** (0.01)	0.04** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.06** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Constant	-2.15*** (0.41)	-2.54*** (0.34)	-2.16*** (0.17)	-2.52*** (0.14)	-3.77*** (0.30)	-4.14*** (0.26)	-2.20*** (0.25)	-2.50*** (0.20)
Observations	5712	5712	4361	4361	8611	8611	9510	9510

Note. Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

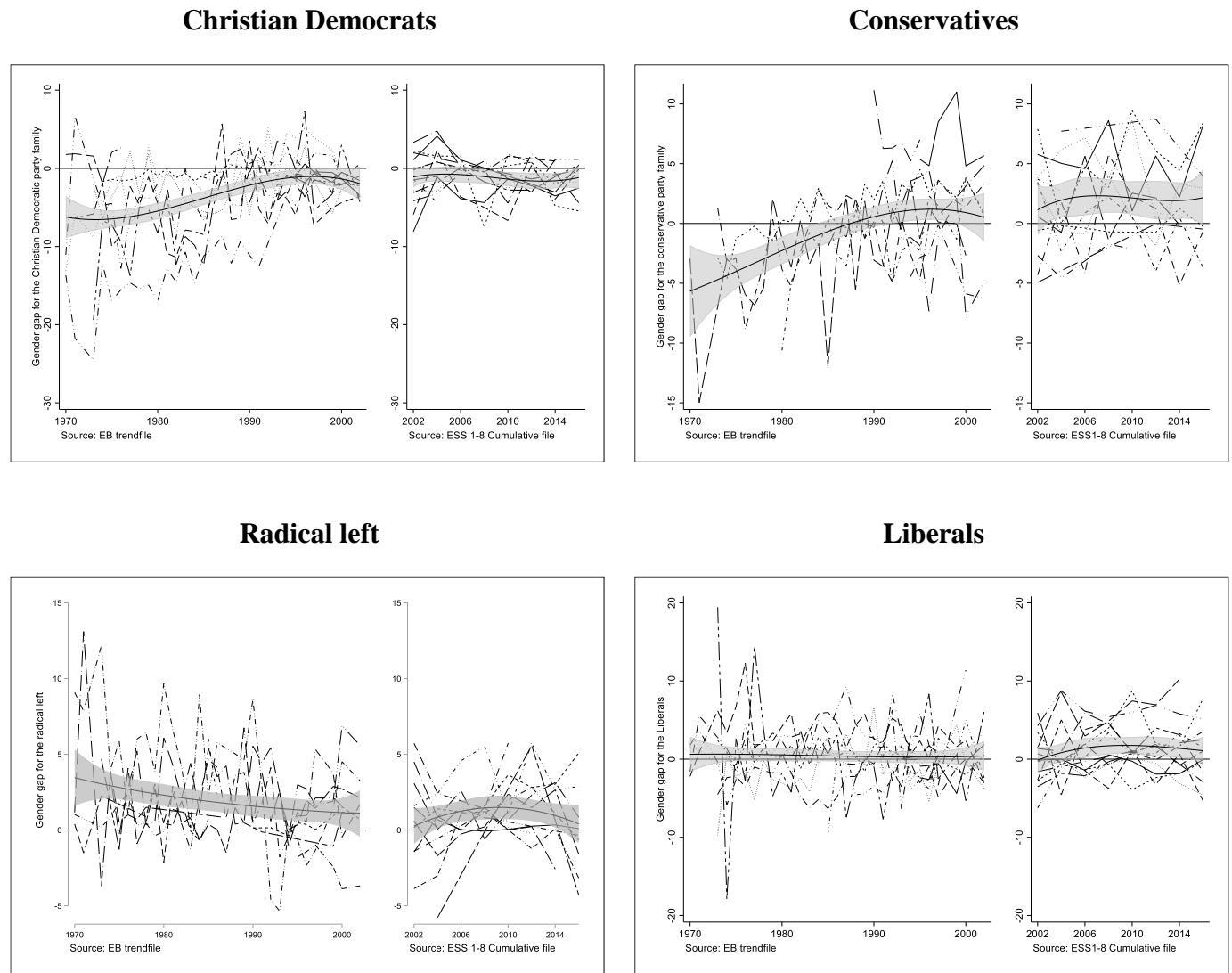
The inclusion of income does not change the significant effect of communication and manual skills on the vote.

Table F7. Support for the radical right (Probit Models, ESS 1-8, balanced sample)

	Communication				Manual		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Male	0.22*** (0.02)	0.16*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)	0.34*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.05)
Communication		-0.68*** (0.04)	-0.44*** (0.04)	-0.23** (0.07)			
Male x communication				-0.28*** (0.09)			
Manual					0.74*** (0.04)	0.46*** (0.05)	0.17* (0.08)
Male x manual							0.42*** (0.10)
Union member	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.02)	-0.11*** (0.02)
Education (yrs.)	-0.06*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.03*** (0.00)
Population density	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Age	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Age squared	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Religiosity	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.01** (0.00)
Unemployed for > 3 months	0.16*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.02)
Foreign born	-0.20*** (0.04)	-0.23*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.23*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)	-0.14*** (0.04)
Immig Immigrants undermine country's cultural life			0.08*** (0.00)	0.08*** (0.00)		0.08*** (0.00)	0.08*** (0.00)
Do not allow immigr. of a different race			0.14*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)		0.14*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.02)
Immig. make country a worse place to live			0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)		0.07*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Do not allow immigr. from poorer countries			0.13*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)		0.13*** (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Immig. are bad for the economy			0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)		0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Constant	-0.37*** (0.08)	-0.08 (0.08)	-2.50*** (0.10)	-2.62*** (0.11)	-0.77*** (0.09)	-2.94*** (0.10)	-2.81*** (0.11)
Observations	55470.00	51694.00	51694.00	51694.00	51694.00	51694.00	51694.00

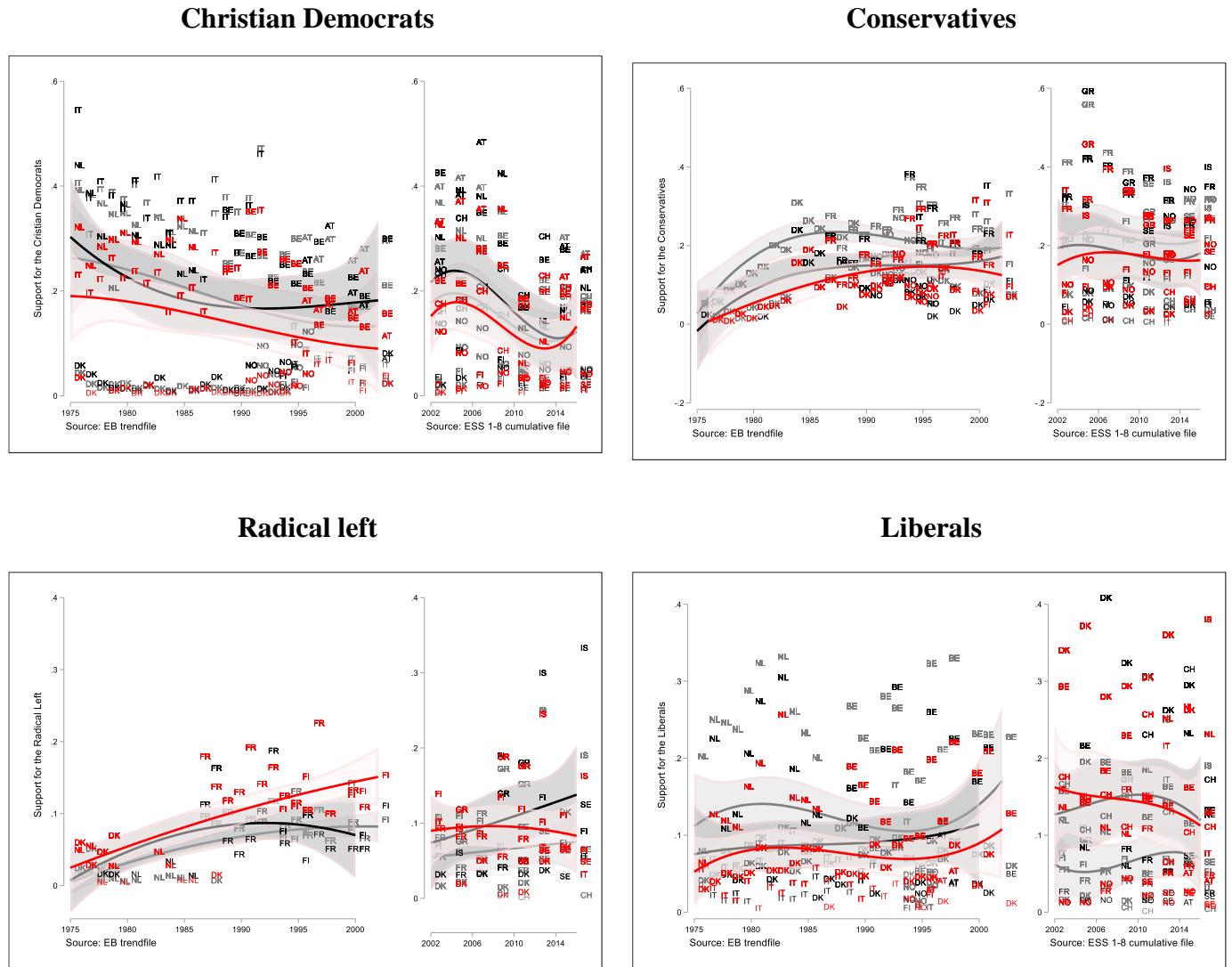
Note. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Country and year FE are included. Countries included are Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Finland, France, Netherlands, and Norway.

Figure F1. Gender gap for the Cristian Democratic-, Conservative, Radical left and Liberal party families, 1970-2016



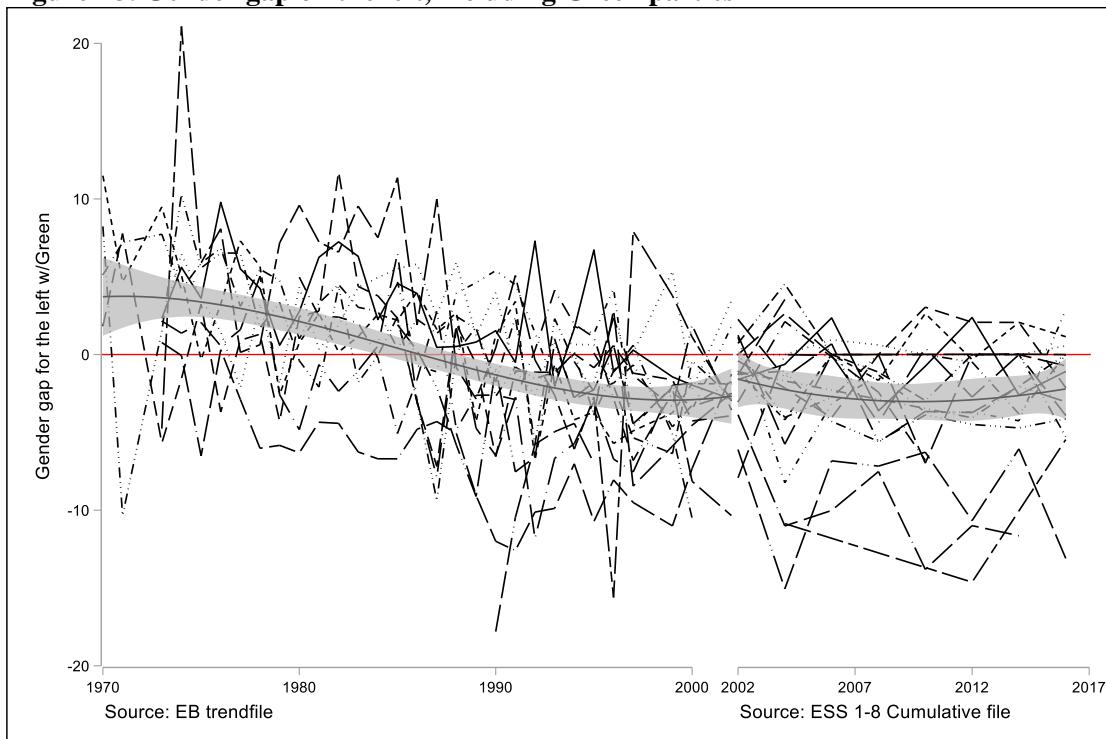
Note. Trendline is a polynomial regression of the gender gap on year, weighted by country.

Figure F2. Manual workers' support for the Cristian Democratic-, Conservative radical left and Liberal party families



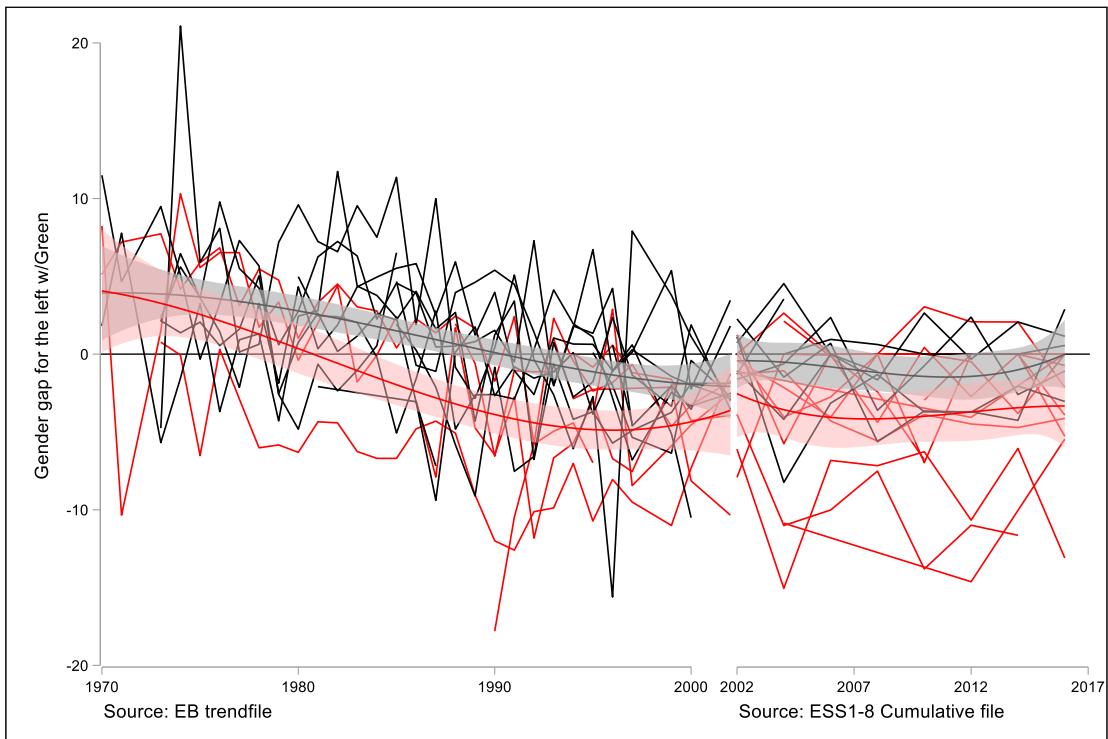
Note. (a) rate of support among men holding manual jobs (red), women holding manual jobs (black), as well as the general population (grey). Manual workers are those who work in sectors 7, 8, and 9. Italy is excluded as the largest leftwing party is classified as radical left.

Figure F3. Gender gap on the left, including Green parties



Note. The gender gap for the left party family and for environmental parties. Parties included in the left party family are: socialist, social democratic, left-socialist and parties that are included in the green party family are: environmental and green ecologist parties. See A2 for more information about party classifications.

Figure F4. Gender gap for the left, including green parties differentiated by radical right presence in parliament



Note. The gender gap on the left party family in countries where radical right parties gained at least a single seat in parliament (red) and countries where the radical right has no presence in parliament (black). Parties included in the left party family are: socialist, social democratic, left-socialist, environmental and green ecologist parties. See A2 for more information about party classifications.

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