

**SOCIAL VALUES AND CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES
TOWARDS WELFARE : SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX**

**TABLE S1. SCHWARTZ VALUES SCORES FOR COUNTRIES INCLUDED IN ISSP
AND ESS DATASETS**

| Country | Embeddedness score | Egalitarianism Score | Dataset | Welfare Regime / Country Type |
|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|--|
| Australia | 3.847 | 4.921 | ISSP | Liberal |
| Bulgaria | 3.800 | 5.037 | ESS | Postcommunist |
| Canada | 3.521 | 4.985 | ISSP | Liberal |
| Chile | 3.902 | 5.109 | ISSP | |
| Cyprus | 4.194 | 5.061 | ESS | |
| Czech Republic | 3.768 | 4.589 | ESS, ISSP | Postcommunist |
| Denmark | 3.289 | 5.147 | ESS, ISSP | Social Democratic |
| Estonia | 4.078 | 4.752 | ESS | Postcommunist |
| Finland | 3.532 | 5.026 | ESS, ISSP | Conservative |
| France | 3.097 | 5.183 | ESS, ISSP | Conservative |
| Germany | 3.183 | 5.140 | ESS, ISSP | Conservative |
| Greece | 3.469 | 4.979 | ESS | Southern |
| Hungary | 3.727 | 4.507 | ESS, ISSP | Postcommunist |
| Ireland | 3.598 | 4.987 | ESS, ISSP | Liberal |
| Israel | 3.823 | 4.857 | ESS, ISSP | |
| Japan | 3.547 | 4.466 | ISSP | Conservative |
| Netherlands | 3.355 | 5.083 | ESS, ISSP | Social Democratic |
| New Zealand | 3.471 | 5.027 | ISSP | Liberal |
| Norway | 3.55 | 5.285 | ESS, ISSP | Social Democratic |
| Philippines | 4.071 | 4.603 | ISSP | |
| Poland | 4.051 | 4.546 | ESS, ISSP | Postcommunist |
| Portugal | 3.513 | 5.388 | ESS, ISSP | Southern |
| Russia | 4.043 | 4.641 | ESS, ISSP | Postcommunist |
| Slovenia | 3.816 | 4.581 | ESS, ISSP | Postcommunist |
| Spain | 3.363 | 5.203 | ESS, ISSP | Southern |
| Sweden | 3.234 | 4.96 | ESS, ISSP | Social Democratic |
| Switzerland | 3.043 | 4.979 | ESS, ISSP | Conservative |
| Taiwan | 4.048 | 4.394 | ISSP | |
| Turkey | 4.026 | 4.909 | ESS | Southern |
| United Kingdom | 3.552 | 4.998 | ESS, ISSP | Liberal |
| United States | 3.771 | 4.799 | ISSP | Liberal |
| Venezuela | 3.943 | 4.734 | ISSP | |

*Data for Schwartz values are taken from Licht, Goldschmit, and Schwartz (2007). Types of welfare states are as identified by Esping-Andersen (1980), Southern welfare regimes as identified by Ferrera (1996).

TABLE S2. SUMMARY STATISTICS

S2A. INDIVIDUAL LEVEL VARIABLES

| | ISSP Dataset | | | | | ESS Dataset | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | <i>N.</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Min.</i> | <i>Max.</i> | <i>N.</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Min.</i> | <i>Max.</i> |
| Support for government responsibility | 86325 | 0.654 | 0.166 | 0 | 1 | 58538 | .653 | .128 | 0 | 1 |
| Positive opinion on welfare services | - | - | - | - | - | 57624 | .529 | .226 | 0 | 1 |
| Support for welfare spending | 82215 | 0.695 | 0.190 | 0 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Age | 95258 | 45.71 | 17.72 | 15 | 98 | 58543 | 47.44 | 18.52 | 15 | 99 |
| Gender (1=Male) | 95566 | 0.455 | 0.498 | 0 | 1 | 58721 | .456 | .498 | 0 | 1 |
| Married | 94993 | 0.545 | 0.498 | 0 | 1 | 56758 | .532 | .499 | 0 | 1 |
| Child at home | 91057 | 0.442 | 0.497 | 0 | 1 | 58471 | .385 | .486 | 0 | 1 |
| Unemployed | 94985 | 0.073 | 0.260 | 0 | 1 | 58751 | .031 | .174 | 0 | 1 |
| Disabled | 94985 | 0.020 | 0.139 | 0 | 1 | 58751 | .013 | .113 | 0 | 1 |
| Retired | 94985 | 0.192 | 0.394 | 0 | 1 | 58751 | .134 | .341 | 0 | 1 |
| Ideology | 89765 | 0.484 | 0.260 | 0 | 1 | 48903 | .520 | .227 | 0 | 1 |
| Income | 77819 | 0.726 | 0.446 | 0 | 1 | 42834 | .471 | .307 | 0 | 1 |
| Education | 90982 | 11.85 | 3.852 | 1 | 65 | 58217 | 11.95 | 4.15 | 0 | 50 |
| Union Member | 85214 | 0.349 | 0.477 | 0 | 1 | 58216 | .158 | .365 | 0 | 1 |
| Satisfied with country's economy | - | - | - | - | - | 57394 | .373 | .247 | 0 | 1 |
| Interpersonal Trust | 93036 | 0.269 | 0.222 | 0 | 1 | 57735 | .485 | .211 | 0 | 1 |
| Religiosity | - | - | - | - | - | 56625 | .399 | .284 | 0 | 1 |
| Attendance to religious services | 91538 | 0.389 | 0.336 | 0 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |

S2B. SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR COUNTRY LEVEL VARIABLES IN ISSP AND ESS DATASETS AND DATA SOURCES

| | ISSP Dataset | | | | | ESS Dataset | | | | | Data Source |
|---|--------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>N.</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Min.</i> | <i>Max.</i> | <i>N.</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Min.</i> | <i>Max.</i> | |
| Embeddedness | 27 | 4.894 | 0.273 | 4.394 | 5.388 | 23 | 3.631 | 0.339 | 3.043 | 4.194 | Licht et al., 2007 |
| Egalitarianism | 27 | 3.617 | 0.303 | 3.043 | 4.071 | 23 | 4.932 | 0.256 | 4.507 | 5.388 | Licht et al., 2007 |
| Unemployment (in percentages) | 32 | 7.694 | 4.423 | 3.394 | 25.54 | 29 | 6.169 | 2.508 | 0.989 | 11.33 | IMF, year of survey |
| Inflation | 31 | 3.355 | 3.483 | 0.000 | 16.96 | 29 | 4.627 | 4.577 | 0.700 | 22.33 | IMF, year of survey |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | 32 | 26.08 | 12.32 | 947 | 49.743 | 29 | 27.47 | 10.99 | 2.787 | 52.84 | IMF, year of survey |
| Social Security Laws (Combined index) | 32 | 0.717 | 0.091 | 0.488 | 0.872 | 26 | 0.74 | 0.085 | 0.478 | 0.873 | Botero et al., 2004 |
| Total social expenditure. public | 22 | 19.91 | 5.097 | 5.19 | 29.35 | 20 | 20.95 | 4.708 | 9.873 | 29.35 | OECD, 2007 |
| Esping-Andersen Decommodification Index | 14 | 26.7 | 8.2 | 13 | 38.3 | 10 | 30.9 | 5.5 | 23.3 | 38.3 | Esping Andersen, 1990 |
| Esping-Andersen Benefits Generosity Index | 14 | 26.97 | 5.93 | 18.7 | 38.4 | 10 | 30.04 | 4.92 | 21.4 | 38.4 | Esping Andersen, 1990 |
| Scruggs Decommodification Index | 14 | 27.15 | 6.12 | 17.92 | 30.17 | 10 | 30.24 | 4.548 | 21.94 | 30.59 | Scruggs & Allan, 2006 |
| Scruggs Benefits Generosity Index | 14 | 27.2 | 7.153 | 18.627 | 41.77 | 10 | 30.30 | 6.51 | 18.63 | 41.78 | Scruggs & Allan, 2006 |

TABLE S3. MEAN EGALITARIANISM AND EMBEDDEDNESS SCORES FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF WELFARE REGIMES AND POSTCOMMUNIST NATIONS*

| | Mean egalitarianism score | Mean embeddedness score |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Liberal welfare regimes (Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States) | 4.953 | 3.627 |
| Conservative welfare regimes (Finland, France, Germany, Japan, Switzerland) | 4.959 | 3.281 |
| Social democratic welfare states (Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden) | 5.119 | 3.357 |
| Southern/Mediterranean welfare regimes (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Turkey) | 5.12 | 3.593 |
| Postcommunist countries (Bulgaria, Czech Rep., Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Russia, Slovenia) | 4.665 | 3.901 |

*Mean scores are calculated for countries that are included in the analyses and are thus not universal means.

TABLE S4. ALTERNATIVE RANDOM INTERCEPT MODELS *

S4A. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (ESS 2008)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | .004 (.004) | .002 (.003) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inflation | | | .005 (.002)*** | .003 (.003) | | | | | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | | | -.000 (.000)*** | -.000 (.000) | | | | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | | | | .026 (.019) | -.003 (.032) | | | | |
| Social security laws | | | | | | | | | .144 (.113) | .220 (.100)*** | | |
| Total social expenditure | | | | | | | | | | | .001 (.002) | .005 (.003)* |
| Embeddedness | | .089 (.033)*** | | .080 (.036)*** | | .075 (.038)*** | | .092 (.034)*** | | .128 (.038)*** | | .128 (.051)*** |
| Egalitarianism | | .075 (.043)* | | .079 (.042)** | | .085 (.043)** | | .073 (.061) | | .097 (.044)*** | | .104 (.050)*** |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 44039/ 29 | 36690/ 23 | 44039/ 29 | 36690/ 23 | 44039/ 29 | 36690/ 23 | 44039/ 29 | 36690/ 23 | 43074/28 | 35725/ 22 | 32686/ 20 | 31036/ 19 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1646.95 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1494.1 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1655.91 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1494.49 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1654.19 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1494.71 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1648.07 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1493.49 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1690.15 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1544.4 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1239.8 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1249.18 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | - 69712.2 | -29941.5 | - 69718.3 | - 59883.3 | - 69717.3 | - 59883.5 | - 69713.1 | - 59882.2 | - 68161.6 | -58333.5 | -54240.1 | - 51163.5 |

*Note that all alternative models in Tables S4 and S5 include all the individual level control variables in the original analyses.

S4A. CONTINUED

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Decommodification (EA) | .004 (.002)*** | .005 (.002)*** | | | | | | |
| Benefits generosity (EA) Decommodification (A&S) | | | .002 (.003) | .006 (.002)*** | | .007 (.002) | .006 (.003)*** | |
| Benefits generosity (A&S) | | | | | | | | .005 (.002)*** |
| Embeddedness | | .137 (.042)*** | | .179 (.050)*** | | .068 (.052) | | .054 (.049) |
| Egalitarianism | | .035 (.085) | | .095 (.086) | | -.014 (.113) | | -.020 (.100) |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 19553/ 11 | 17903/ 10 | 19553/ 11 | 17903/ 10 | 19553/ 11 | 17903/ 10 | 19553/ 11 | 17903/ 10 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1242.99 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1282.03 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1239.23 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1278.5 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1248.18 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1274.85 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1252.32 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1278.94 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | - 38734.4 | - 35614.1 | - 38731.8 | - 35612.8 | - 38737.6 | - 35611.2 | -38739.7 | -35613.1 |

S4B. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (ISSP 2006)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff.(Std. Error) | Coeff.(Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | .007 (.003)*** | .008 (.005) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inflation | | | .016 (.004)*** | .014 (.003)*** | | | | | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | | | - 0.000 (.000)*** | - 0.000 (.000) | | | | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | | | .048 (.036) | .054 (.045) | | | | | |
| Social security laws | | | | | | | | .065 (.168) | | .346 (.164)*** | | |
| Total social expenditure | | | | | | | | | | .003 (.003) | .006 (.003)** | .246 (.059)*** |
| Embeddedness | | .212 (.058)*** | | .144 (.049)*** | | .201 (.067)*** | | .225 (.058)*** | | .261 (.056)*** | | .200 (.052)*** |
| Egalitarianism | | .187 (.064)*** | | .187 (.050)*** | | .199 (.066)*** | | .238 (.076)*** | | .169 (.062)*** | | |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 53365/ 31 | 41100/ 25 | 53365/ 31 | 41100 / 25 | 53365/ 31 | 41100 / 25 | 53365/ 31 | 41100 / 25 | 53365/ 31 | 41100/ 25 | 31191/ 22 | 30621/ 21 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(14)=$ 2326.28 | $\chi^2(14)=$ 1934.49 | $\chi^2(14)=$ 2344.55 | $\chi^2(16)=$ 1828.11 | $\chi^2(14)=$ 2325.71 | $\chi^2(16)=$ 1893.4 | $\chi^2(14)=$ 2322.11 | $\chi^2(16)=$ 1894.23 | $\chi^2(14)=$ 2320.23 | $\chi^2(16)=$ 1899.81 | $\chi^2(14)=$ 1676.90 | $\chi^2(16)=$ 1689.88 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -60210.6 | - 44792.4 | -60221.7 | -44804.6 | -60210.1 | -44791.1 | -60207.4 | -44791.5 | -60205.8 | -44794.2 | -35542.4 | -34695.13 |

S4B. CONTINUED

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Decommodification (EA) | .002 (.002) | .004 (.001)*** | | | | | | |
| Benefits generosity (EA) | | | .002 (.003) | .005 (.003)** | | | | |
| Decommodification (A&S) | | | | .006 (.003)*** | .006 (.002)*** | | | |
| Benefits generosity (A&S) | | | | | | .006 (.002)*** | .005 (.002)*** | |
| Embeddedness | | .264 (.049)*** | | .255 (.062)*** | | .211 (.043)*** | .184 (.040)*** | |
| Egalitarianism | | .222 (.054)*** | | .204 (.067)*** | | .145 (.065)*** | .133 (.064)*** | |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 17059/ 15 | 17060/ 15 | 17059/ 15 | 17059/ 15 | 17059/ 15 | 17059/ 15 | 17059/ 15 | 17060/ 15 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(14) =$ 1593.01 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 1637.94 | $\chi^2(14) =$ 1592.58 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 1623.09 | $\chi^2(14) =$ 1598.11 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 1637.60 | $\chi^2(14) =$ 1603.15 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 1642.25 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -20091.2 | -20110.3 | -20090.9 | -20106.2 | -20095.1 | -20110.2 | -20098.1 | -20111.3 |

S4C. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: OPINION ON WELFARE SERVICES (ESS 2008)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | .002 (.005) | .000 (.005) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inflation | | | .010 (.002)*** | .006 (.005) | | | | | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | | | -.000 (.000)*** | -.000 (.000) | | | | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | | | .042 (.027) | .013 (.049) | | | | | |
| Social security laws | | | | | | | | .272 (.158)* | | .298 (.151)** | | |
| Total social expenditure | | | | | | | | | | .000 (.002) | | .001 (.003) |
| Embeddedness | | .110 (.050)*** | | .083 (.052) | | .076 (.055) | | .107 (.050)*** | | .117 (.057)*** | | .010 (.062) |
| Egalitarianism | | .098 (.064) | | .101 (.062) | | .112 (.064)** | | .112 (.090) | | .081 (.066) | | .058 (.061) |
| N. Level-1 / Level-2 obs. | 43725/ 29 | 36477/23 | 43725/ 29 | 36477/ 23 | 43725/ 29 | 36477/ 23 | 43725/ 29 | 36477/ 23 | 42773/ 28 | 35525/ 22 | 32513/ 20 | 30864/ 19 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1369.59 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1387.95 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1384.77 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1381.84 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1377.56 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1381.77 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1371.78 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1380.14 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1358.2 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1369.52 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1161.66 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1070.73 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | - 14177.7 | - 12556.5 | 14189.7 | 12550.4 | - 14184.4 | 12550.3 | - 14169.3 | - 12549.9 | - 14131.7 | - 12508.4 | - 13525.2 | - 12842.1 |

S4C. CONTINUED

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Decommodification (EA) | .005 (.001)*** | .006 (.002)*** | | | | | | |
| Benefits generosity (EA) | | | .005 (.002)*** | .007 (.002)*** | | | | |
| Decommodification (A&S) | | | | | .004 (.002)** | .009 (.002)*** | | |
| Benefits generosity (A&S) | | | | | | .003 (.002)* | .006 (.002)*** | |
| Embeddedness | | .007 (.039) | | .061 (.045) | | -.086 (.043)*** | | -.093 (.047)*** |
| Egalitarianism | | -.179 (.081)** | | -.111 (.078) | | -.272 (.095)*** | | -.247 (.096)*** |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 19523/ 11 | 17874/ 10 | 19523/ 11 | 17874/ 10 | 19523/ 11 | 17874/ 10 | 19523/ 11 | 17874/ 10 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1829.19 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1733.29 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1829.86 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1731.85 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1821.96 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1731.88 | $\chi^2(15)=$ 1821.63 | $\chi^2(17)=$ 1728.89 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -12385.5 | -11294.0 | -12385.2 | -12293.5 | -12381.9 | -12293.5 | -12381.7 | -11292.6 |

S4D. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SUPPORT FOR WELFARE SPENDING (ISSP 2006)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | .006 (.003)** | .006 (.005) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inflation | | | .011 (.004)*** | .005 (.004) | | | | | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | | | -.000 (.000)*** | -.000 (.000) | | | | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | | | | .042 (.033) | | | | | |
| Social Security Laws (combined index) | | | | | | | | | -.227 (.194) | | | |
| Total social expenditure. public | | | | | | | | | | | -.005 (.003)** | -.003 (.004) |
| Embeddedness | | .220 (.055)*** | | .199 (.058)*** | | .197 (.059)*** | | .240 (.056)*** | | .234 (.055)*** | | .157 (.065)*** |
| Egalitarianism | | .112 (.058)** | | .113 (.058)*** | | .123 (.058)*** | | .100 (.073) | | .115 (.061)** | | .107 (.058)** |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 49319/ 29 | 39449/ 24 | 49319/ 29 | 39449/ 24 | 49319/ 29 | 39449/ 24 | 49319/ 29 | 39449/ 24 | 49319/ 29 | 39449/ 24 | 32673/ 22 | 32106/ 21 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(14) = 3380.53$ | $\chi^2(16) = 3232.98$ | $\chi^2(14) = 3387.51$ | $\chi^2(16) = 3234.61$ | $\chi^2(14) = 3388.78$ | $\chi^2(16) = 3234.32$ | $\chi^2(14) = 3378.22$ | $\chi^2(16) = 3230.26$ | $\chi^2(14) = 3377.90$ | $\chi^2(16) = 3234.32$ | $\chi^2(14) = 3046.67$ | $\chi^2(16) = 3080.00$ |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -39155.7 | -31489.1 | -39160.1 | -31489.8 | -39160.9 | -31489.6 | -39154.1 | -31487.9 | -39153.9 | -31487.8 | -26251.2 | -25922.9 |

S4D. CONTINUED

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Decommodification (EA) | -.002 (.002) | .001 (.002) | | | | | | |
| Benefits generosity (EA) | | | -.006 (.003)*** | -.002 (.004) | | | | |
| Decommodification (A&S) | | | | | -.002 (.003) | .002 (.003) | | |
| Benefits generosity (A&S) | | | | | | | -.001 (.002) | .001 (.002) |
| Embeddedness | | .176 (.074)*** | | .136 (.082)** | | .167 (.064)*** | | .157 (.063)*** |
| Egalitarianism | | -.048 (.080) | | -.024 (.088) | | -.082 (.096) | | -.073 (.098) |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 | 18399 / 15 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(14) =$ 2068.41 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 2077.62 | $\chi^2(14) =$ 2072.79 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 2077.49 | $\chi^2(14) =$ 2067.14 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 2078.28 | $\chi^2(14) =$ 2066.78 | $\chi^2(16) =$ 2077.78 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -14215.3 | -14220.84 | -14218.2 | -14220.8 | -14214.3 | -14221.2 | -14213.9 | -14220.9 |

TABLE S5. ALTERNATIVE RANDOM COEFFICIENT MODELS **

S5A. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (ESS 2008)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | -.001 (.003) | | | | | |
| Inflation | | .002 (.003) | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | -.000 (000) | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | .010 (.028) | | |
| Social security laws | | | | | .235 (.082)*** | |
| Total social expenditure | | | | | | .010 (.002)*** |
| Embeddedness | .041 (.029) | .032 (.031) | .039 (.033) | .037 (.029) | .065 (.031)*** | .064 (.040) |
| Egalitarianism | .071 (.037)** | .071 (.037)** | .069 (.038)* | .084 (.052)* | .079 (.036)*** | .085 (.040)*** |
| <i>Cross Level Interactions</i> | | | | | | |
| Ideology x Embeddedness | .104 (.027)*** | .104 (.027)*** | .104 (.027)*** | .104 (.028)*** | .127 (.031)*** | .136 (.038)*** |
| Ideology x Egalitarianism | .018 (.036) | .018 (.036) | .018 (.036) | .018 (.036) | .040 (.038) | .046 (.043) |
| N. Level 1 / Level 2 obs. | 36690/ 23 | 36690/ 23 | 36690/ 23 | 36690/ 23 | 35725/ 22 | 31036/ 19 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1179.25 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1179.71 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1179.31 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1179.47 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1236.45 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 990.24 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -60185.6 | -60185.8 | -60185.5 | -60185.6 | -58636.4 | -51453.8 |

** Note that all alternative models include all the individual level control variables in the original analyses. Controls for decommodification and benefits generosity indices were not included in these models due to substantive loss of degrees of freedom at the country level.

S5B. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (ISSP 2006)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | .007 (.005) | | | | | |
| Inflation | | .015 (.003)*** | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | -.000 (.000) | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | .049 (.044) | | |
| Social security laws | | | | | .346 (.160)*** | |
| Total social expenditure | | | | | | .005 (.003)** |
| Embeddedness | .139 (.069)*** | .065 (.061) | .123 (.077) | .149 (.069)*** | .185 (.064)*** | .201 (.068)*** |
| Egalitarianism | .150 (.041)*** | .150 (.064)*** | .162 (.076)*** | .197 (.085)*** | .132 (.070)** | .163 (.060)*** |
| <i>Cross Level Interactions</i> | | | | | | |
| Ideology x Embeddedness | .187 (.078)*** | .187 (.078)*** | .187 (.078)*** | .186 (.078)*** | .187 (.078)*** | .109 (.090) |
| Ideology x Egalitarianism | .094 (.089) | .093 (.089) | .094 (.089) | .093 (.089) | .094 (.089) | .098 (.088) |
| N. Level 1/ Level 2 obs. | 41100 25 | 41100/ 25 | 41101/ 25 | 41101/ 25 | 41101/ 25 | 23254/ 21 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(18) = 1807.53$ | $\chi^2(18) = 1845.49$ | $\chi^2(18) = 1807.12$ | $\chi^2(18) = 1807.02$ | $\chi^2(18) = 1811.70$ | $\chi^2(18) = 1436.68$ |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -46122.1 | -46135.8 | -46121.5 | -46121.6 | -46124.8 | -35514.9 |

S5C. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: OPINION ON WELFARE SERVICES (ESS 2008)

| | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) | Coeff. (Std. Error) |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Level 2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | | | |
| Unemployment | -.000 (.005) | | | | | |
| Inflation | | .006 (.005) | | | | |
| GDP per capita (PPP) | | | -.000 (.000) | | | |
| Postcommunism | | | | .016 (.049) | | |
| Social security laws | | | | | .348 (.149)*** | |
| Total social expenditure | | | | | | .001 (.003) |
| Embeddedness | .002 (.054) | -.025 (.057) | -.035 (.061) | -.002 (.055) | -.006 (.058) | -.006 (.058) |
| Egalitarianism | .104 (.071) | .109 (.069) | .121 (.072)* | .125 (.096) | .073 (.067) | .073 (.067) |
| <i>Cross Level Interactions</i> | | | | | | |
| Ideology x | .214 | .214 | .214 | .214 | .252 | .252 |
| Embeddedness | (.039)*** | (.039)*** | (.039)*** | (.039)*** | (.044)*** | (.044)*** |
| Ideology x | | | | | | |
| Egalitarianism | -.011 (.051) | -.011 (.052) | -.011 (.052) | -.011 (.052) | .025 (.055) | .025 (.055) |
| N. Level 1/ Level 2 | | | | | | |
| obs. | 36477/ 23 | 36477/ 23 | 36477/ 23 | 36477/ 23 | 35525/ 22 | 30864/ 19 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1031.13 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1032.84 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1034.73 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1031.33 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 1027.84 | $\chi^2(19)=$ 794.96 |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -12850.4 | -12851.6 | 12851.8 | -12850.4 | -12806.6 | -12695.4 |

TABLE S6A. RANDOM INTERCEPT MODELS USING ALTERNATIVE MEASURE OF SOCIAL VALUES

| | Government responsibility | | Opinion on welfare services | Support for increased spending |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Ia: ESS 2008 | Ib: ISSP 2006 | Ic: ESS 2008 | Id: ISSP 2006 |
| Constant | .588 (.068) | .514 (.085)*** | .416 (.103)*** | .733 (.087)*** |
| <i>Level-1 (Individual) Effects</i> | | | | |
| Age | .000 (.000) | .000 (.000)*** | -.001 (.000)*** | .001 (.000)*** |
| Male | -.007 (.001)*** | -.021 (.001)*** | -.003 (.002) | -.033 (.001)*** |
| Education | -.001 (.000)*** | -.001 (.001)*** | .003 (.000)*** | -.005 (.000)*** |
| Income | -.035 (.002)*** | -.019 (.001)*** | -.032 (.004)*** | -.021 (.002)*** |
| Ideology | -.039 (.003)*** | -.022 (.002)*** | -.092 (.005)*** | -.023 (.003)*** |
| Retired | .005 (.002)*** | .001 (.002) | -.007 (.004)** | .026 (.003)*** |
| Disabled | .008 (.005) | .020 (.004)*** | .021 (.010)** | .043 (.006)*** |
| Union member | .009 (.002)*** | .004 (.001)*** | .011 (.003)*** | .010 (.002)*** |
| Unemployed | .005 (.004) | .007 (.002)*** | .005 (.007) | .017 (.004)*** |
| Married | .000 (.001) | -.001 (.001) | -.002 (.003) | -.009 (.001)*** |
| Child at home | .002 (.001) | -.003 (.001)** | .003 (.003) | .008 (.002)*** |
| Satisfied with country's economy | -.055 (.003)*** | - | -.016 (.005)*** | - |
| Trust people | .009 (.003)*** | -.063 (.002)*** | .133 (.006)*** | -.091 (.004)*** |
| Religious | .011 (.002)*** | - | -.015 (.004)*** | - |
| Religious attendance | - | -.010 (.001)*** | | -.017 (.003)*** |
| <i>Level-2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | |
| Unemployment rate | .004 (.003) | .008 (.005)* | .002 (.005) | .006 (.005) |
| Embeddedness - Autonomy | .040 (.015)*** | .010 (.022) | .051 (.022)*** | .078 (.024)*** |
| Egalitarianism - Hierarchy | .040 (.021)** | .100 (.042)** | .041 (.032) | .009 (.043) |
| <i>Random-effects Parameters</i> | | | | |
| Country level | .041 (.006)*** | .061 (.009)*** | .062 (.009)*** | .060 (.009)*** |
| Individual level | .107 (.000)*** | .109 (.000)*** | .203 (.001)*** | .162 (.000)*** |
| <hr/> | | | | |
| Number of Level-1/ Level 2 | | | | |
| Units | 36690 / 23 | 44445 / 25 | 36477 / 23 | 39449 / 24 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(17)=1494.52$ | $\chi^2(16)=1935.31$ | $\chi^2(17)=1380.23$ | $\chi^2(16)= 3230.84$ |
| -2 Log Likelihood | - 59883.2 | -70297.174 | -12549.686 | - 314888.2 |
| Obs. per group | Min=922 | Min=422 | Min=913 | Min=361 |
| | Avg=1595.2 | Avg=1777 | Avg=1586 | Avg=1643 |
| | Max=2427 | Max=3477 | Max=2425 | Max=3277 |

Table entries are Coefficients from multilevel models and their standard errors; *** p < .001; ** p < .005; * p < .010. two tailed.

TABLE S6B. RANDOM COEFFICIENT MODELS USING ALTERNATIVE MEASURE OF SOCIAL VALUES

| | Government responsibility | | Opinion on welfare services | Support for increased spending |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | Ia: ESS 2008 | Ib: ISSP 2006 | Ic: ESS 2008 | IId: ISSP 2006 |
| Constant | .588 (.057) | .507 (.087)*** | .329 (.110)*** | .733 (.107)*** |
| <i>Level-1 (Individual) Effects</i> | | | | |
| Age | .000 (.000) | .000 (.000)** | -.001 (.000)*** | .001 (.000)*** |
| Male | -.007 (.001)*** | -.020 (.001)*** | -.003 (.002) | -.032 (.002)*** |
| Education | -.001 (.000)*** | -.001 (.000)*** | .003 (.000)*** | -.005 (.000)*** |
| Income | -.034 (.002)*** | -.020 (.001)*** | -.031 (.004)*** | -.021 (.002)*** |
| Ideology | .004 (.049) | .037 (.083) | .045 (.065) | .010 (.157) |
| Retired | .006 (.002)*** | .003 (.002) | -.006 (.004) | .026 (.003)*** |
| Disabled | .008 (.005) | .023 (.004)*** | .021 (.010)** | .047 (.006)*** |
| Union member | .008 (.002)*** | .004 (.001)*** | .009 (.003)*** | .010 (.002)*** |
| Unemployed | .004 (.004) | .004 (.002)** | .005 (.007) | .018 (.004)*** |
| Married | .000 (.001) | -.001 (.001) | -.002 (.003) | -.010 (.001)*** |
| Child at home | .002 (.001) | -.001 (.001) | .002 (.003) | .009 (.002)*** |
| Satisfied with country's economy | -.054 (.003)*** | - | -.012 (.005)** | - |
| Trust people | .008 (.003)** | -.062 (.002)*** | .129 (.006)*** | -.086 (.004)*** |
| Religiosity | .009 (.002)*** | - | -.016 (.004)*** | - |
| Religious attendance | - | -.009 (.002)*** | - | -.017 (.003)*** |
| <i>Level-2 (Country) Effects</i> | | | | |
| Unemployment rate (year of survey) | .001 (.003) | .006 (.005) | .002 (.005) | .004 (.005) |
| Embeddedness - Autonomy | .022 (.012)** | -.016 (.023) | .008 (.024) | .071 (.030)*** |
| Egalitarianism - Hierarchy | .043 (.018)*** | .114 (.044)*** | .064 (.035)** | .022 (.055) |
| <i>Level-1*Level-2 Interactions</i> | | | | |
| Embed-Auton x Ideology | .038 (.013)*** | .066 (.024)*** | .086 (.017)*** | .014 (.048) |
| Egal-Hierarchy x Ideology | -.011 (.018) | -.038 (.048) | -.036 (.024) | -.043 (.089) |
| <i>Random-effects Parameters</i> | | | | |
| Constant | .033 (.005)*** | .068 (.010)*** | .041 (.008) | .122 (.018)*** |
| Individual level | .034 (.005)*** | .063 (.009)*** | .066 (.010)*** | .076 (.011)*** |
| Corr (Ideology, Constant) | .255 (.231) | -.269 (.193)** | -.352 (.222) | -.596 (.135)*** |
| N. Level-1/ Level 2 Units | 36690 / 23 | 44445 / 25 | 36477 / 23 | 39449 / 24 |
| Wald Chi ² | $\chi^2(19)=1177.91$ | $\chi^2(18)=1828.40$ | $\chi^2(19)=1055.09$ | $\chi^2(18)=3183.86$ |
| -2 Log Likelihood | -60186.982 | -71747.874 | -12853.432 | -32567.78 |
| | Min = 922 | Min=422 | Min = 913 | Min=361 |
| | Avg = 1595.2 | Avg=1777 | Avg = 1586 | Avg=1643 |
| Observations per group | Max = 2427 | Max=3477 | Max = 2425 | Max=3277 |

Table entries are Coefficients from multilevel models and their standard errors; *** p < .001; ** p < .005; * p < .010. two tailed.