

Appendix

Table A.1. Summary statistics

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	N
Redistribution preferences (1-5 scale)	3.76	1.15	1	5	25,544
Redistribution preferences (dichotomous)	0.68	0.47	0	1	25,544
Unemployment policy preferences (1-5 scale)	3.80	1.04	1	5	25,649
Unemployment policy preferences (dichotomous)	0.68	0.47	0	1	25,649
Union member	0.25	0.43	0	1	26,262
Subjective income strata	5.35	1.69	1	10	25,839
Left-Right ideology	2.88	1.05	1	5	17,614
Education	3.11	1.36	1	5	26,089
Gender (female)	0.55	0.50	0	1	26,257
Age	43.02	13.45	15	65	26,262
Unemployed	0.06	0.24	0	1	26,262
Religion (Christian)	0.63	0.48	0	1	26,262
Wage bargaining level	2.27	1.04	1	5	26,262
Union density	28.1	21.1	7.6	79.4	26,262
Growth	3.62	2.96	-2.7	10.4	26,262
Electoral disproportionality	5.84	4.16	0.35	16.6	26,262

Table A.2. Estimated effects of union membership and union structure on redistribution preferences (dichotomous measure of preferences)

Covariates	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
<i>Individual level</i>				
Union member	0.33** (0.04)	0.29** (0.05)	0.03 (0.12)	-0.38 (0.20)
Subjective income position	-0.20** (0.01)	-0.17** (0.01)	-0.17** (0.01)	-0.17** (0.01)
Education	-0.16** (0.01)	-0.18** (0.01)	-0.18** (0.01)	-0.18** (0.01)
Sex (female)	0.32** (0.03)	0.33** (0.04)	0.32** (0.04)	0.32** (0.04)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.19** (0.03)	0.21* (0.09)	0.20* (0.09)	0.20* (0.09)
Religion(Christian)	-0.10** (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)
Left-Right ideology		-0.38** (0.02)	-0.38** (0.02)	-0.38** (0.02)
Constant	2.20** (0.16)	3.19** (0.18)	1.78** (0.57)	1.93** (0.57)
<i>Country level</i>				
Wage bargaining level			0.39** (0.12)	0.38** (0.12)
Union density			-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Growth rates			0.09* (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
Log(electoral disproportionality)			0.25 (0.18)	0.18 (0.18)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>				
Union			0.10* (0.04)	0.10* (0.05)
× Wage bargaining level				0.005 (0.003)
Union				0.17** (0.07)
× Log(electoral disproportionality)				
Log-likelihood	-13981.9	-9510.3	-9501.6	-9498.1
N of observations	25,024	16,980	16,980	16,980
N of countries	26	26	26	26

Note: Entries are estimated coefficients and standard errors from multilevel analysis.

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (two-tailed tests).

Table A.3. Estimated effects of union membership and union structure on social policy preferences

Covariates	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
<i>Individual level</i>				
Union member	0.23** (0.03)	0.19** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.10)	0.06 (0.15)
Subjective income position	-0.15** (0.01)	-0.14** (0.01)	-0.14** (0.01)	-0.14** (0.01)
Education	-0.06** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)
Sex (female)	0.09** (0.02)	0.07* (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	0.08** (0.03)
Age	0.004** (0.00)	0.005** (0.00)	0.004** (0.00)	0.004** (0.00)
Unemployed	0.71** (0.05)	0.66** (0.07)	0.68** (0.07)	0.65** (0.07)
Religion(Christian)	-0.17** (0.03)	-0.19** (0.04)	-0.17** (0.03)	-0.21** (0.03)
Left-Right ideology		-0.36** (0.01)	-0.35** (0.01)	-0.36** (0.01)
<i>Country level</i>				
Wage bargaining level			-0.01 (0.02)	-0.18** (0.02)
Union density			-0.02** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Growth rates			0.02** (0.00)	-0.04** (0.01)
Log(electoral disproportionality)			-0.35** (0.02)	-0.25** (0.03)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>				
Union			0.07* (0.03)	0.11** (0.04)
× Wage bargaining level				-0.005* (0.002)
Union				-0.005 (0.05)
× Union density				
Union				
× Log(electoral disproportionality)				
Country-level variance	0.25** (0.01)	0.12** (0.01)	0.27** (0.01)	0.19** (0.01)
Log-likelihood	-32478.3	-21875.5	-21880.0	-21875.2
N of observations	25,115	16,999	16,999	16,999
N of countries	26	26	26	26

Note: Entries are estimated coefficients and standard errors from multilevel analysis.

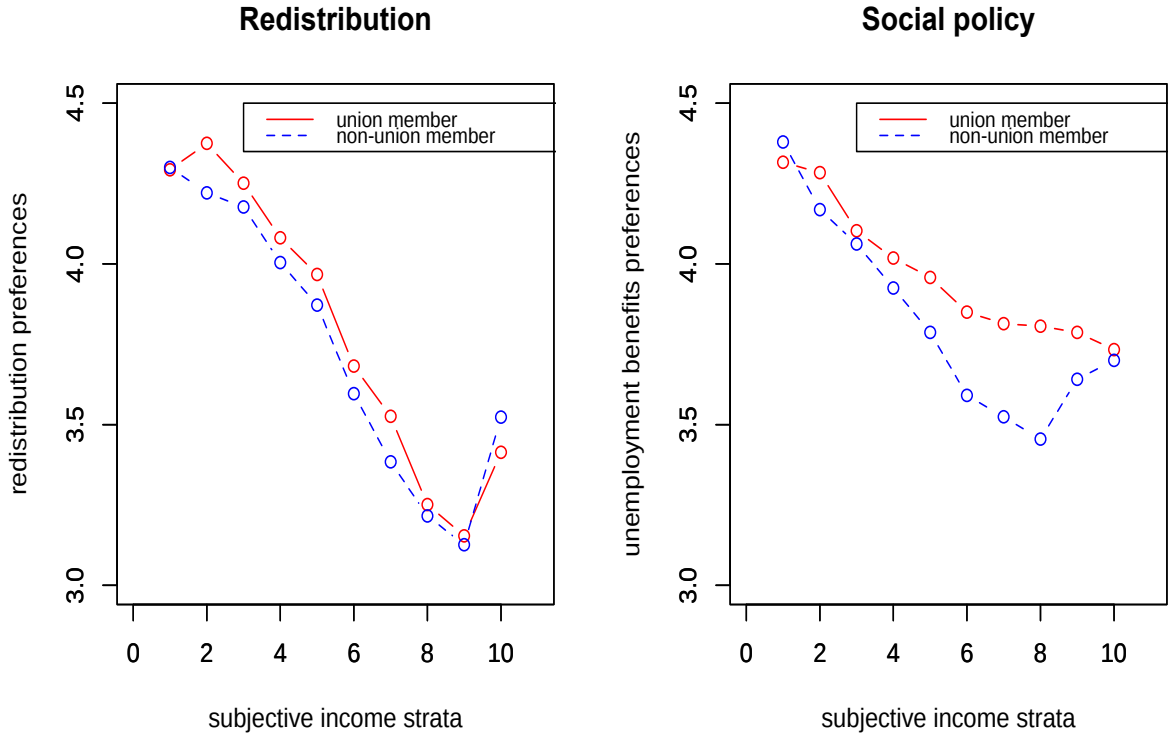
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01 (two-tailed tests).

Table A.4. Estimated effects of union membership and union structure on redistribution Preferences among middle- and upper-income respondents

Covariates	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
<i>Individual level</i>				
Union member	0.43** (0.04)	0.36** (0.04)	0.04 (0.13)	-0.19 (0.20)
Subjective income position	-0.18** (0.02)	-0.19** (0.02)	-0.17** (0.02)	-0.16** (0.02)
Education	-0.18** (0.01)	-0.19** (0.02)	-0.20** (0.02)	-0.20** (0.02)
Sex (female)	0.35** (0.04)	0.33** (0.04)	0.34** (0.04)	0.34** (0.04)
Age	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Unemployed	0.22* (0.09)	0.24* (0.11)	0.24* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)
Religion(Christian)	-0.20** (0.04)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.07 (0.04)
Left-Right ideology		-0.45** (0.02)	-0.45** (0.02)	-0.45** (0.02)
<i>Country level</i>				
Wage bargaining level			0.38** (0.03)	0.33** (0.03)
Union density			-0.004** (0.001)	-0.01** (0.00)
Growth rates			0.05** (0.01)	0.03* (0.01)
Log(electoral disproportionality)			0.12** (0.04)	0.22** (0.05)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>				
Union × Wage bargaining level			0.12** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)
Union × Union density				0.001 (0.002)
Union × Log(electoral disproportionality)				0.12 (0.07)
Country-level variance	0.29** (0.03)	0.28** (0.02)	0.17** (0.01)	0.17** (0.01)
Log-likelihood	-17265.3	-12376.3	-12358.3	-12356.4
N of observations	12,197	8,884	8,884	8,884
N of countries	26	26	26	26

Note: Entries are estimated coefficients and standard errors from multilevel analysis.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed tests).

Figure A.1. Income and Policy Preferences by union membership



Note: X-axis denotes subjective income strata (1-10 scale) and y-axis refers to policy preferences (1-5 scale).