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**Working Paper**

## Turning no tides: Union effects on partisan preferences and the working-class metamorphosis

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## **Online Appendix | MPIfG Discussion Paper 23/2**

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### **Turning No Tides**

Union Effects on Partisan Preferences and  
the Working-Class Metamorphosis

# Appendices

## Appendix A Descriptive statistics

Table A1 Descriptive statistics: Germany

	Min	Max	Mean	S.d.	Individuals
Member	0	1	.2259369	.418201	66,045
SPD	0	1	.1900914	.3923761	65,095
CDU	0	1	.1205162	.3255667	65,095
AfD	0	1	.0011012	.0331669	67,197
Man	0	1	.5515574	.4973384	67,197
25 or under	0	1	.0903177	.2866385	67,174
26–65	0	1	.9060946	.2916992	67,174
66 or above	0	1	.0035877	.0597903	67,174
Primary	0	1	.1270592	.3330418	67,197
Secondary	0	1	.6713395	.4697298	67,197
Tertiary	0	1	.2016013	.4011989	67,197
Foreign national	0	1	.1231376	.3285975	67,185
South	0	1	.2920177	.4546938	67,174
Center	0	1	.1109804	.3141103	67,174
West	0	1	.2674844	.4426505	67,174
East	0	1	.1725668	.3778751	67,174
North	0	1	.1569506	.3637569	67,174
Couple	0	1	.7632163	.4251116	67,133
1985	0	1	.082846	.2756513	67,197
1989	0	1	.0733515	.2607145	67,197
1993	0	1	.0990372	.2987141	67,197
1998	0	1	.1023706	.3031374	67,197
2001	0	1	.1522836	.3592982	67,197
2003	0	1	.1356757	.3424464	67,197
2007	0	1	.1260919	.3319554	67,197
2011	0	1	.12822	.3343371	67,197
2015	0	1	.1001235	.3001669	67,197
Working class	0	1	.4521611	.4977117	45,371

Source: German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

Table A2 Descriptive statistics: Switzerland

	Min	Max	Mean	S.d.	Individuals
Member	0	1	.2032496	.4024203	56,315
Socialist Party	0	1	.2322223	.4222543	49,233
Swiss People's Party	0	1	.1171572	.3216108	49,233
Man	0	1	.4781969	.4995288	56,391
25 or under	0	1	.161252	.3677665	56,390
26–65	0	1	.8234261	.381311	56,390
66 or above	0	1	.0153219	.1228307	56,390
Primary	0	1	.1655051	.3716391	56,391
Secondary	0	1	.6592541	.4739642	56,391
Tertiary	0	1	.1752407	.3801762	56,391
Foreign national	0	1	.1121949	.3156089	56,384
Lake Geneva	0	1	.1726339	.3779338	56,391
Middleland	0	1	.2571864	.4370869	56,391
Northwest	0	1	.1463177	.3534275	56,391
Zurich	0	1	.1717295	.3771485	56,391
East	0	1	.1234772	.328987	56,391
Center	0	1	.0963452	.2950666	56,391
Ticino	0	1	.0323101	.176824	56,391
Couple	0	1	.5429266	.4981583	56,387
1999	0	1	.0737706	.2613996	56,391
2000	0	1	.0624568	.2419855	56,391
2001	0	1	.05719	.2322073	56,391
2002	0	1	.0523133	.2226601	56,391
2003	0	1	.050469	.2189127	56,391
2004	0	1	.0809704	.272792	56,391
2005	0	1	.0654537	.2473269	56,391
2006	0	1	.0603997	.238228	56,391
2007	0	1	.069958	.2550784	56,391
2008	0	1	.0702594	.255586	56,391
2009	0	1	.0715185	.2576913	56,391
2011	0	1	.0757568	.2646109	56,391
2014	0	1	.1186182	.3233416	56,391
2017	0	1	.0908656	.2874204	56,391
Working class	0	1	.3286818	.4697383	54,892

Source: Swiss Household Panel (SHP).

Table A3 Descriptive statistics: United Kingdom

	Min	Max	Mean	S.d.	Individuals
Member	0	1	.2636017	.4405887	76,369
Labour	0	1	.3133561	.4638606	82,060
Conservative	0	1	.1977821	.3983294	82,060
UKIP	0	1	.017146	.1298161	82,060
Man	0	1	.473938	.4993233	82,323
25 or under	0	1	.190294	.3925354	82,320
26–65	0	1	.7978499	.4016061	82,320
66 or above	0	1	.0118562	.1082393	82,320
Primary	0	1	.1199026	.3248496	81,316
Secondary	0	1	.7072655	.4550204	81,316
Tertiary	0	1	.1728319	.3781042	81,316
North East	0	1	.0332845	.1793795	81,870
North West	0	1	.0933675	.2909486	81,870
Yorkshire and the Humber	0	1	.0695371	.2543668	81,870
East Midlands	0	1	.0648223	.2462135	81,870
West Midlands	0	1	.0660926	.2484454	81,870
East of England	0	1	.0667155	.2495302	81,870
London	0	1	.0675461	.2509669	81,870
South East	0	1	.1143642	.3182551	81,870
South West	0	1	.0706608	.256259	81,870
Wales	0	1	.1161964	.3204623	81,870
Scotland	0	1	.237413	.4255	81,870
Couple	0	1	.6912701	.4619722	82,292
1991	0	1	.0626921	.2424098	82,323
1992	0	1	.0587928	.2352379	82,323
1993	0	1	.0566306	.2311368	82,323
1994	0	1	.0575781	.2329453	82,323
1995	0	1	.0568128	.231486	82,323
1997	0	1	.0695188	.2543359	82,323
1999	0	1	.0964372	.2951917	82,323
2001	0	1	.1143909	.3182873	82,323
2003	0	1	.0991825	.2989087	82,323
2005	0	1	.0946516	.2927348	82,323
2007	0	1	.0901449	.286391	82,323
2011	0	1	.0593759	.2363283	82,323
2014	0	1	.046026	.2095427	82,323
2017	0	1	.0377659	.1906307	82,323
Working class	0	1	.4383703	.4961905	77,414

Source: British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS).

Table A4 Descriptive statistics: United States

	Min	Max	Mean	S.d.	Individuals
Union	0	1	.1337185	.3403848	4,846
Republican vs. Democrat	0	1	.5606348	.3265066	4,736
Conservative vs. liberal	0	1	.494719	.2317758	4,734
Man	0	1	.4585225	.4983281	4,846
25 or under	0	1	.092747	.2901078	4,798
26–65	0	1	.873489	.3324591	4,798
66 or above	0	1	.0337641	.1806401	4,798
Primary	0	1	.0817169	.2739612	4,846
Secondary	0	1	.5726372	.4947467	4,846
Tertiary	0	1	.3456459	.4756275	4,846
White	0	1	.7501032	.4329978	4,846
Black	0	1	.1588939	.3656149	4,846
Other	0	1	.0910029	.2876429	4,846
Northeast	0	1	.1667699	.3728088	4,845
North	0	1	.2324045	.4224092	4,845
South	0	1	.371517	.4832601	4,845
West	0	1	.2293086	.4204315	4,845
MarStatus2	0	1	.5157895	.4998022	4,845
2006	0	1	.1405283	.3475701	4,846
2008	0	1	.2484523	.4321601	4,846
2010	0	1	.3231531	.4677289	4,846
2012	0	1	.1999587	.4000103	4,846
2014	0	1	.0879076	.2831896	4,846
Working class	0	1	.3467199	.4759757	4,756
Exposed sector	0	1	.3639195	.4811758	4,817

Source: General Social Survey (GSS).

## Appendix B Regression Tables

Table B1 Average treatment effect of joining a union: Germany – anything else vs. SPD

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	0.12*** (0.0063) 1.9e-85	0.10*** (0.0062) 1.5e-62	0.016 (0.011) 0.12	-0.014 (0.016) 0.41
Man		0.018*** (0.0049) 0.00019	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
26–65		0.069*** (0.0057) 9.7e-34	0.017* (0.0076) 0.024	0.017 (0.0094) 0.077
66 or above		0.096** (0.031) 0.0021	0.035 (0.032) 0.27	-0.0056 (0.047) 0.91
Primary (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Secondary		0.016* (0.0075) 0.039	0.037* (0.016) 0.023	0.021 (0.023) 0.35
Tertiary		0.030** (0.0092) 0.0011	0.035 (0.024) 0.14	0.0011 (0.031) 0.97
Foreign national		-0.015 (0.0079) 0.055	-0.0096 (0.032) 0.76	-0.029 (0.036) 0.42
South (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Center		0.0081 (0.0081) 0.32	-0.067* (0.032) 0.040	-0.034 (0.039) 0.39
West		0.068*** (0.0068) 4.6e-23	0.0034 (0.028) 0.90	0.013 (0.035) 0.71
East		-0.044*** (0.0065) 2.2e-11	-0.099** (0.031) 0.0016	-0.10** (0.037) 0.0043
North		0.072*** (0.0080) 1.4e-19	-0.083* (0.033) 0.011	-0.087* (0.038) 0.021
Couple		0.013* (0.0052) 0.013	0.0069 (0.0063) 0.27	0.0095 (0.0078) 0.22
1985 (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
1989		0.011 (0.0074) 0.16	0.012 (0.0076) 0.11	0.042 (0.022) 0.056
1993		-0.10*** (0.0073) 8.2e-45	-0.065*** (0.0085) 2.9e-14	-0.035 (0.023) 0.12
1998		-0.087*** (0.0079) 3.9e-28	-0.041*** (0.0093) 0.000012	-0.010 (0.023) 0.66
2001		-0.11*** (0.0074) 4.3e-46	-0.048*** (0.0095) 0.00000041	-0.027 (0.025) 0.27
2003		-0.13*** (0.0075) 2.2e-62	-0.073*** (0.0098) 1.1e-13	-0.035 (0.026) 0.17
2007		-0.16*** (0.0076) 7.7e-94	-0.096*** (0.010) 4.3e-21	-0.068** (0.024) 0.0044

2011		-0.18*** (0.0076)	-0.11*** (0.011)	-0.087*** (0.024)
		5.1e-121	2.0e-27	0.00033
2015		-0.18*** (0.0079)	-0.11*** (0.011)	-0.087*** (0.024)
		8.8e-116	2.9e-25	0.00038
Not working class				0.0016 (0.0091)
				0.86
Member X Not working class				0.028 (0.018)
				0.13
Constant	0.16*** (0.0027)	0.16*** (0.010)	0.24*** (0.023)	0.22*** (0.035)
	0	1.2e-52	3.9e-24	3.5e-10
Individuals	25,602	25,557	25,557	21,161
Observations	59,145	59,056	59,056	39,296

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).



Table B2 Average treatment effect of joining a union: Germany – anything else vs. CDU

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	-0.042*** (0.0043) 8.9e-23	-0.048*** (0.0043) 5.8e-28	-0.0039 (0.0069) 0.57	-0.0043 (0.011) 0.68
Man		0.027*** (0.0042) 6.6e-11	0 (.)	0 (.)
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
26–65		0.031*** (0.0045) 5.7e-12	0.0017 (0.0062) 0.79	0.0055 (0.0077) 0.48
66 or above		0.19*** (0.035) 0.000000024	0.059 (0.036) 0.098	0.050 (0.053) 0.35
Primary (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Secondary		0.016** (0.0050) 0.0017	-0.012 (0.014) 0.37	-0.020 (0.019) 0.28
Tertiary		0.038*** (0.0071) 0.000000049	-0.0031 (0.023) 0.89	0.013 (0.030) 0.65
Foreign national		-0.10*** (0.0041) 7.3e-138	0.019 (0.013) 0.13	0.026 (0.015) 0.082
South (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Center		0.028*** (0.0066) 0.000025	-0.011 (0.026) 0.67	-0.024 (0.032) 0.46
West		0.069*** (0.0054) 3.0e-36	0.027 (0.028) 0.33	0.035 (0.032) 0.28
East		0.0059 (0.0058) 0.31	0.042 (0.024) 0.077	0.030 (0.030) 0.31
North		0.060*** (0.0066) 2.0e-19	0.051 (0.029) 0.080	0.048 (0.034) 0.17
Couple		0.026*** (0.0041) 2.0e-10	0.0010 (0.0051) 0.84	0.0020 (0.0066) 0.76
1985 (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
1989		-0.026*** (0.0048) 0.000000075	-0.020*** (0.0052) 0.00012	-0.013 (0.016) 0.40
1993		-0.019*** (0.0054) 0.00041	0.00047 (0.0062) 0.94	0.0077 (0.016) 0.64
1998		-0.023*** (0.0059) 0.00010	0.0039 (0.0070) 0.57	0.0074 (0.017) 0.66
2001		-0.028*** (0.0055) 0.000000035	0.0032 (0.0072) 0.65	-0.0038 (0.019) 0.84
2003		0.0087 (0.0060) 0.15	0.041*** (0.0076) 0.000000058	0.027 (0.020) 0.17
2007		-0.032*** (0.0060) 0.000000055	0.0095 (0.0078) 0.22	0.012 (0.018) 0.48

2011		-0.041*** (0.0060) 1.4e-11	0.018* (0.0083) 0.033	0.020 (0.018) 0.26
2015		-0.033*** (0.0064) 0.00000043	0.033*** (0.0089) 0.00021	0.035 (0.018) 0.053
Not working class				-0.00071 (0.0078) 0.93
Member X Not working class				0.00015 (0.013) 0.99
Constant	0.13*** (0.0025) 0	0.053*** (0.0076) 3.0e-12	0.094*** (0.021) 0.0000079	0.084** (0.030) 0.0047
Individuals	25,602	25,557	25,557	21,161
Observations	59,145	59,056	59,056	39,296

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

Table B3 Average treatment effect of joining a union: Germany – anything else vs. AfD

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	-0.00061* (0.00027) 0.022	-0.00052 (0.00027) 0.057	-0.00047 (0.00063) 0.46	0.00042 (0.0011) 0.71
Man		0.00100*** (0.00029) 0.00053	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
26–65		-0.00073 (0.00057) 0.20	-0.00049 (0.00051) 0.34	-0.00066 (0.00083) 0.43
66 or above		-0.0030*** (0.00071) 0.000025	-0.0037*** (0.0010) 0.00029	-0.0052*** (0.0015) 0.00063
Primary (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Secondary		-0.00022 (0.00037) 0.56	-0.00053** (0.00020) 0.0068	-0.0013** (0.00042) 0.0019
Tertiary		-0.00078 (0.00050) 0.12	-0.00017 (0.0020) 0.93	-0.00031 (0.0034) 0.93
Foreign national		-0.00057*** (0.00016) 0.00038	0.0012*** (0.00033) 0.00025	0.0018*** (0.00051) 0.00033
South (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Center		0.00037 (0.00051) 0.47	-0.0034 (0.0030) 0.26	-0.0071 (0.0056) 0.20
West		-0.00043 (0.00030) 0.15	0.0036* (0.0018) 0.043	0.0055 (0.0030) 0.065
East		0.00088 (0.00054) 0.10	-0.0014 (0.0021) 0.51	-0.0025 (0.0034) 0.47
North		0.00010 (0.00043) 0.82	0.0034 (0.0031) 0.28	0.0050 (0.0047) 0.29
Couple		0.00034 (0.00036) 0.34	-0.00058 (0.00057) 0.31	-0.0012 (0.00084) 0.15
1985 (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
1989		0.000015 (0.000016) 0.36	0.000035 (0.000065) 0.59	-0.000057 (0.00020) 0.78
1993		-0.00016 (0.000091) 0.078	0.00016 (0.00015) 0.30	0.000088 (0.00030) 0.77
1998		-0.00011 (0.000076) 0.16	0.00026 (0.00020) 0.18	0.00028 (0.00039) 0.48
2001		-0.000063 (0.000078) 0.42	0.00031 (0.00023) 0.19	0.00082 (0.00054) 0.13
2003		-0.000042 (0.000078) 0.59	0.00035 (0.00026) 0.18	0.00094 (0.00056) 0.089
2007		-0.000027 (0.000082) 0.75	0.00021 (0.00035) 0.55	0.000091 (0.00059) 0.88

2011		-0.00023 (0.00084)	-0.00014 (0.00058)	-0.00025 (0.00079)
		0.79	0.81	0.75
2015		0.011*** (0.0014)	0.010*** (0.0017)	0.010*** (0.0018)
		1.0e-15	2.4e-09	0.000000021
Not working class				0.0032* (0.0016)
				0.039
Member X Not working class				-0.0033* (0.0015)
				0.026
Constant	0.0012*** (0.00017)	0.00032 (0.00053)	0.00031 (0.00058)	-0.00018 (0.00089)
	1.2e-13	0.55	0.59	0.84
Individuals	25,602	25,557	25,557	21,161
Observations	59,145	59,056	59,056	39,296

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP).

Table B4 Average treatment effect of joining a union: Switzerland – anything else vs. Socialist Party

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	0.13*** (0.010) 2.5e-39	0.13*** (0.010) 6.2e-38	-0.00061 (0.011) 0.95	0.013 (0.019) 0.49
Man		-0.038*** (0.0081) 0.0000028	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
26–65		-0.019 (0.0100) 0.057	0.015 (0.012) 0.22	0.018 (0.013) 0.15
66 or above		-0.055* (0.022) 0.010	0.048 (0.025) 0.052	0.056* (0.025) 0.026
Primary (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Secondary		0.032*** (0.0097) 0.00092	0.0069 (0.014) 0.62	0.013 (0.014) 0.35
Tertiary		0.12*** (0.014) 1.6e-18	-0.015 (0.022) 0.51	-0.012 (0.023) 0.59
Foreign national		0.030* (0.013) 0.019	-0.045 (0.033) 0.18	-0.051 (0.035) 0.15
Lake Geneva (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Middleland		-0.0024 (0.013) 0.86	0.034 (0.045) 0.46	0.042 (0.048) 0.39
Northwest		-0.020 (0.015) 0.18	0.038 (0.058) 0.51	0.049 (0.061) 0.42
Zurich		-0.020 (0.014) 0.16	0.055 (0.063) 0.39	0.052 (0.068) 0.44
East		-0.074*** (0.015) 0.00000041	0.018 (0.062) 0.77	0.022 (0.066) 0.74
Center		-0.11*** (0.015) 5.6e-14	0.030 (0.058) 0.61	0.036 (0.062) 0.56
Ticino		-0.031 (0.026) 0.23	0.10 (0.10) 0.30	0.059 (0.10) 0.56
Couple		-0.019* (0.0084) 0.027	0.0021 (0.0091) 0.82	0.0025 (0.0092) 0.78
1999 (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
2000		-0.0077 (0.0081) 0.34	-0.011 (0.0076) 0.13	-0.010 (0.0077) 0.18
2001		-0.00023 (0.0089) 0.98	-0.019* (0.0083) 0.024	-0.018* (0.0084) 0.030
2002		0.019* (0.0096) 0.047	0.0049 (0.0087) 0.58	0.0062 (0.0089) 0.48
2003		-0.00098 (0.0098) 0.92	-0.016 (0.0091) 0.088	-0.016 (0.0093) 0.076
2004		-0.0055 (0.0090) 0.54	-0.0073 (0.0088) 0.40	-0.0055 (0.0089) 0.54

2005		0.00017 (0.0097)	-0.015 (0.0091)	-0.015 (0.0093)
		0.99	0.095	0.11
2006		0.0080 (0.010)	-0.016 (0.0093)	-0.015 (0.0095)
		0.44	0.089	0.12
2007		-0.046*** (0.0095)	-0.057*** (0.0094)	-0.057*** (0.0096)
		0.0000011	2.0e-09	3.3e-09
2008		-0.050*** (0.0096)	-0.063*** (0.0095)	-0.062*** (0.0097)
		0.00000019	4.3e-11	1.3e-10
2009		-0.067*** (0.0096)	-0.082*** (0.0098)	-0.080*** (0.0099)
		2.1e-12	8.5e-17	8.3e-16
2011		-0.066*** (0.0094)	-0.073*** (0.0100)	-0.072*** (0.010)
		2.5e-12	3.2e-13	1.3e-12
2014		-0.070*** (0.0087)	-0.077*** (0.010)	-0.077*** (0.011)
		7.2e-16	2.4e-13	6.5e-13
2017		-0.065*** (0.0094)	-0.076*** (0.011)	-0.075*** (0.012)
		5.2e-12	3.4e-11	1.2e-10
Not working class				0.0020 (0.0096)
				0.83
Member X Not working class				-0.015 (0.020)
				0.43
Constant	0.20*** (0.0043)	0.26*** (0.015)	0.23*** (0.045)	0.21*** (0.048)
	0	1.3e-66	0.00000035	0.0000086
Individuals	13,609	13,606	13,606	13,343
Observations	43,493	43,486	43,486	42,310

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: Swiss Household Panel (SHP).

Table B5 Average treatment effect of joining a union: Switzerland – anything else vs. Swiss People's Party

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	-0.047*** (0.0057) 1.3e-16	-0.040*** (0.0058) 3.4e-12	0.0044 (0.0066) 0.50	0.016 (0.015) 0.27
Man		0.058*** (0.0058) 6.5e-24	0 (.)	0 (.)
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
26–65		-0.026** (0.0081) 0.0011	-0.0074 (0.0088) 0.40	-0.0095 (0.0091) 0.29
66 or above		-0.0061 (0.021) 0.77	0.00094 (0.019) 0.96	-0.0034 (0.019) 0.86
Primary (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Secondary		-0.023** (0.0077) 0.0027	-0.018 (0.012) 0.13	-0.019 (0.012) 0.11
Tertiary		-0.12*** (0.0080) 9.8e-54	-0.033* (0.013) 0.012	-0.036** (0.014) 0.0077
Foreign national		-0.066*** (0.0063) 1.2e-25	-0.0072 (0.023) 0.75	-0.0062 (0.024) 0.80
Lake Geneva (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Middleland		0.067*** (0.0072) 1.5e-20	0.00059 (0.015) 0.97	0.0023 (0.016) 0.88
Northwest		0.058*** (0.0089) 7.4e-11	0.049 (0.029) 0.092	0.048 (0.029) 0.096
Zurich		0.081*** (0.0085) 1.5e-21	0.026 (0.024) 0.27	0.020 (0.024) 0.41
East		0.096*** (0.0098) 5.6e-23	0.034 (0.024) 0.16	0.030 (0.024) 0.21
Center		0.054*** (0.0097) 0.000000031	0.022 (0.025) 0.39	0.018 (0.026) 0.48
Ticino		0.0099 (0.013) 0.45	0.073 (0.047) 0.12	0.073 (0.050) 0.15
Couple		-0.0051 (0.0059) 0.39	-0.015* (0.0065) 0.025	-0.014* (0.0065) 0.032
1999 (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
2000		-0.024*** (0.0060) 0.000076	-0.020*** (0.0056) 0.00050	-0.022*** (0.0057) 0.00016
2001		-0.028*** (0.0063) 0.0000099	-0.015** (0.0058) 0.0072	-0.016** (0.0059) 0.0061
2002		-0.027*** (0.0066) 0.000043	-0.018** (0.0061) 0.0038	-0.019** (0.0062) 0.0017
2003		-0.0026 (0.0074) 0.73	0.010 (0.0066) 0.13	0.0095 (0.0068) 0.16
2004		0.0074 (0.0068) 0.28	0.0025 (0.0066) 0.70	0.0032 (0.0067) 0.63

2005		-0.0025 (0.0071)	-0.0036 (0.0068)	-0.0044 (0.0069)
		0.73	0.59	0.53
2006		0.0012 (0.0075)	0.0058 (0.0068)	0.0057 (0.0070)
		0.87	0.39	0.41
2007		0.045*** (0.0077)	0.038*** (0.0071)	0.037*** (0.0072)
		5.4e-09	0.000000097	0.00000020
2008		0.015* (0.0075)	0.0077 (0.0069)	0.0066 (0.0070)
		0.046	0.26	0.35
2009		0.027*** (0.0075)	0.012 (0.0072)	0.011 (0.0073)
		0.00034	0.11	0.14
2011		0.037*** (0.0076)	0.013 (0.0076)	0.012 (0.0077)
		0.00000098	0.081	0.11
2014		0.034*** (0.0068)	0.0087 (0.0079)	0.0082 (0.0080)
		0.00000079	0.27	0.30
2017		0.027*** (0.0072)	0.0065 (0.0083)	0.0067 (0.0084)
		0.00015	0.44	0.43
Not working class				0.014 (0.0085)
				0.098
Member X Not working class				-0.014 (0.015)
				0.36
Constant	0.13*** (0.0035)	0.098*** (0.010)	0.12*** (0.020)	0.12*** (0.021)
	1.8e-290	1.2e-22	2.3e-10	8.2e-09
Individuals	13,609	13,606	13,606	13,343
Observations	43,493	43,486	43,486	42,310

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: Swiss Household Panel (SHP).



Table B6 Average treatment effect of joining a union: UK – anything else vs. Labour Party

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	0.16*** (0.0078) 6.1e-90	0.14*** (0.0078) 9.5e-71	0.017* (0.0079) 0.027	0.0075 (0.011) 0.49
Man		0.014* (0.0069) 0.041	0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)
26–65		0.026*** (0.0072) 0.00026	0.0097 (0.0082) 0.24	0.0094 (0.0086) 0.28
66 or above		0.0070 (0.028) 0.80	-0.017 (0.023) 0.45	-0.021 (0.024) 0.38
Primary (ref.)		0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)
Secondary		-0.072*** (0.010) 5.3e-12	0.018 (0.015) 0.23	0.018 (0.016) 0.26
Tertiary		-0.043** (0.013) 0.0015	0.054** (0.021) 0.0096	0.053* (0.022) 0.015
North East (ref.)		0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)
North West		-0.11*** (0.024) 0.000013	-0.099 (0.071) 0.16	-0.10 (0.073) 0.15
Yorkshire and the Humber		-0.057* (0.025) 0.021	-0.097 (0.071) 0.17	-0.10 (0.073) 0.16
East Midlands		-0.19*** (0.025) 9.5e-15	-0.090 (0.072) 0.21	-0.097 (0.073) 0.19
West Midlands		-0.17*** (0.025) 1.2e-11	-0.099 (0.075) 0.19	-0.10 (0.076) 0.17
East of England		-0.23*** (0.025) 7.4e-21	-0.080 (0.069) 0.25	-0.086 (0.071) 0.23
London		-0.14*** (0.025) 0.000000032	-0.077 (0.070) 0.27	-0.086 (0.072) 0.23
South East		-0.25*** (0.023) 2.6e-28	-0.086 (0.069) 0.21	-0.094 (0.071) 0.18
South West		-0.26*** (0.024) 2.1e-27	-0.12 (0.073) 0.086	-0.13 (0.075) 0.084
Wales		-0.092*** (0.023) 0.000061	-0.18* (0.079) 0.023	-0.19* (0.081) 0.021
Scotland		-0.27*** (0.022) 2.0e-35	-0.11 (0.077) 0.15	-0.13 (0.080) 0.11
Couple		0.0079 (0.0070) 0.26	0.0069 (0.0067) 0.31	0.0074 (0.0070) 0.29
1991 (ref.)		0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)	0 (.) (.)
1992		-0.036*** (0.0060) 1.7e-09	-0.019*** (0.0053) 0.00051	-0.019*** (0.0054) 0.00050
1993		0.0061 (0.0067) 0.37	0.023*** (0.0059) 0.000098	0.023*** (0.0059) 0.00010

1994		0.076*** (0.0074) 8.0e-25	0.086*** (0.0066) 5.7e-39	0.086*** (0.0066) 6.7e-39
1995		0.10*** (0.0076) 1.2e-40	0.11*** (0.0068) 6.7e-58	0.11*** (0.0068) 1.4e-57
1997		0.15*** (0.0081) 9.1e-77	0.16*** (0.0078) 2.1e-95	0.16*** (0.0078) 3.6e-95
1999		0.057*** (0.0078) 4.6e-13	0.082*** (0.0076) 3.4e-27	0.083*** (0.0076) 3.1e-27
2001		0.031*** (0.0078) 0.000061	0.11*** (0.0078) 1.4e-41	0.11*** (0.0081) 9.7e-46
2003		-0.056*** (0.0079) 8.3e-13	0.012 (0.0081) 0.14	0.0039 (0.0084) 0.64
2005		-0.024** (0.0082) 0.0040	0.051*** (0.0084) 1.2e-09	0.052*** (0.0088) 3.1e-09
2007		-0.048*** (0.0082) 4.9e-09	0.026** (0.0088) 0.0030	0.022* (0.0091) 0.015
2011		-0.062*** (0.011) 0.000000010	0.020 (0.011) 0.061	0.016 (0.011) 0.14
2014		-0.070*** (0.012) 5.1e-09	0.015 (0.012) 0.22	0.012 (0.013) 0.34
2017		-0.053** (0.019) 0.0049	0.043* (0.018) 0.018	0.041* (0.019) 0.034
Not working class				0.0038 (0.0063) 0.54
Member X Not working class				0.017 (0.012) 0.14
Constant	0.27*** (0.0039) 0	0.47*** (0.024) 1.9e-88	0.33*** (0.067) 0.00000088	0.35*** (0.068) 0.00000025
Individuals	18,901	18,512	18,512	17,326
Observations	68,236	66,924	66,924	62,586

Note: Significance levels: \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ . Source: British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS).

Table B7 Average treatment effect of joining a union: UK – anything else vs. Conservative Party

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	-0.079*** (0.0061) 1.6e-37	-0.089*** (0.0064) 7.4e-44	-0.018** (0.0067) 0.0085	-0.013 (0.0083) 0.12
Man		0.027*** (0.0062) 0.000017	0 (.)	0 (.)
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
26–65		0.081*** (0.0064) 1.0e-36	-0.00056 (0.0073) 0.94	-0.0015 (0.0076) 0.85
66 or above		0.18*** (0.027) 1.6e-11	0.033 (0.023) 0.15	0.037 (0.024) 0.13
Primary (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Secondary		0.085*** (0.0088) 3.8e-22	0.033** (0.012) 0.0072	0.035** (0.013) 0.0073
Tertiary		0.062*** (0.011) 0.000000025	0.021 (0.018) 0.24	0.016 (0.019) 0.39
North East (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
North West		0.074*** (0.019) 0.00011	0.057 (0.055) 0.30	0.056 (0.055) 0.31
Yorkshire and the Humber		0.023 (0.019) 0.24	0.061 (0.058) 0.29	0.059 (0.057) 0.30
East Midlands		0.12*** (0.021) 0.000000019	0.015 (0.055) 0.78	0.014 (0.054) 0.79
West Midlands		0.12*** (0.021) 7.2e-09	0.050 (0.058) 0.39	0.047 (0.058) 0.41
East of England		0.16*** (0.022) 7.0e-14	0.061 (0.056) 0.28	0.058 (0.056) 0.30
London		0.099*** (0.020) 0.0000014	0.024 (0.054) 0.66	0.020 (0.054) 0.71
South East		0.15*** (0.019) 6.4e-15	0.075 (0.053) 0.16	0.073 (0.053) 0.16
South West		0.13*** (0.021) 1.0e-10	0.073 (0.057) 0.20	0.069 (0.056) 0.22
Wales		0.0010 (0.017) 0.95	0.057 (0.056) 0.32	0.057 (0.056) 0.31
Scotland		-0.060*** (0.016) 0.00025	0.052 (0.058) 0.38	0.048 (0.058) 0.40
Couple		0.035*** (0.0062) 0.000000020	0.022*** (0.0058) 0.00014	0.023*** (0.0060) 0.00016
1991 (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
1992		-0.028*** (0.0060) 0.0000026	-0.038*** (0.0054) 2.0e-12	-0.037*** (0.0054) 7.9e-12

1993		-0.066*** (0.0068) 4.9e-22	-0.072*** (0.0061) 1.7e-31	-0.071*** (0.0062) 1.8e-30
1994		-0.12*** (0.0071) 3.3e-60	-0.12*** (0.0065) 2.1e-78	-0.12*** (0.0065) 1.6e-77
1995		-0.12*** (0.0072) 4.4e-62	-0.12*** (0.0067) 2.7e-76	-0.12*** (0.0067) 1.3e-75
1997		-0.16*** (0.0073) 3.7e-104	-0.15*** (0.0072) 5.0e-90	-0.14*** (0.0072) 8.8e-89
1999		-0.15*** (0.0071) 1.0e-95	-0.14*** (0.0072) 7.6e-78	-0.14*** (0.0072) 2.6e-77
2001		-0.18*** (0.0070) 2.5e-145	-0.15*** (0.0073) 1.3e-89	-0.15*** (0.0075) 3.0e-89
2003		-0.18*** (0.0073) 4.8e-125	-0.15*** (0.0077) 1.2e-79	-0.15*** (0.0078) 1.7e-77
2005		-0.17*** (0.0075) 2.6e-109	-0.13*** (0.0080) 4.1e-63	-0.13*** (0.0082) 4.3e-59
2007		-0.16*** (0.0077) 1.3e-94	-0.12*** (0.0083) 2.7e-45	-0.11*** (0.0085) 4.8e-40
2011		-0.13*** (0.010) 3.6e-36	-0.091*** (0.010) 2.1e-19	-0.083*** (0.010) 1.1e-15
2014		-0.13*** (0.011) 1.4e-31	-0.087*** (0.011) 9.8e-15	-0.081*** (0.012) 1.7e-12
2017		-0.088*** (0.018) 0.00000073	-0.021 (0.017) 0.22	-0.018 (0.018) 0.31
Not working class				0.015* (0.0058) 0.011
Member X Not working class				-0.012 (0.0097) 0.23
Constant	0.23*** (0.0040) 0	0.13*** (0.019) 2.4e-12	0.22*** (0.051) 0.000011	0.23*** (0.051) 0.000063
Individuals	18,901	18,512	18,512	17,326
Observations	68,236	66,924	66,924	62,586

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS).

Table B8 Average treatment effect of joining a union: UK – anything else vs. UKIP

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)
Member	0.00096 (0.0016) 0.54	0.00010 (0.0015) 0.95	-0.0024 (0.0022) 0.27	0.0016 (0.0018) 0.37
Man		0.0036* (0.0014) 0.012	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
26–65		0.0059*** (0.0014) 0.000025	0.00075 (0.0017) 0.66	-0.000055 (0.0012) 0.97
66 or above		0.022* (0.0095) 0.018	0.0065 (0.010) 0.52	0.0040 (0.0081) 0.62
Primary (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
Secondary		-0.0048* (0.0022) 0.031	-0.0022 (0.0039) 0.58	-0.00022 (0.0028) 0.94
Tertiary		-0.0069* (0.0029) 0.020	-0.0036 (0.0052) 0.49	-0.0027 (0.0033) 0.41
North East (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
North West		-0.00097 (0.0013) 0.46	-0.0041 (0.0029) 0.16	-0.0028 (0.0030) 0.35
Yorkshire and the Humber		-0.00057 (0.0014) 0.68	-0.000030 (0.0014) 0.98	0.00036 (0.0017) 0.83
East Midlands		-0.0021 (0.0013) 0.10	-0.0035 (0.0026) 0.17	-0.0038 (0.0026) 0.15
West Midlands		-0.0010 (0.0013) 0.46	0.0020 (0.0018) 0.27	0.0014 (0.0019) 0.45
East of England		-0.0015 (0.0013) 0.25	0.0023 (0.0021) 0.27	0.0026 (0.0023) 0.26
London		-0.00035 (0.0013) 0.79	-0.0012 (0.0019) 0.52	0.0012 (0.0019) 0.52
South East		-0.00025 (0.0013) 0.85	0.0016 (0.0022) 0.47	0.0021 (0.0021) 0.31
South West		-0.00084 (0.0014) 0.55	0.0016 (0.0022) 0.45	0.00082 (0.0021) 0.70
Wales		-0.0055*** (0.0014) 0.000062	0.013 (0.0073) 0.086	0.015* (0.0070) 0.029
Scotland		0.054*** (0.0030) 1.3e-72	0.0036 (0.0038) 0.34	0.0020 (0.0018) 0.27
Couple		0.0047** (0.0015) 0.0021	-0.0011 (0.0012) 0.39	-0.00091 (0.00086) 0.29
1991 (ref.)		0 (.) .	0 (.) .	0 (.) .
1992		0.00025 (0.00019) 0.18	-0.000016 (0.00015) 0.92	-0.000086 (0.00012) 0.49

1993		0.00046 (0.00023)	-0.00013 (0.00020)	-0.00026 (0.00015)
		0.051	0.51	0.089
1994		0.00070** (0.00025)	0.000018 (0.00026)	-0.00011 (0.00021)
		0.0059	0.95	0.60
1995		0.00083** (0.00028)	0.00017 (0.00033)	-0.000015 (0.00025)
		0.0026	0.61	0.95
1997		0.0013*** (0.00030)	0.00044 (0.00042)	0.000079 (0.00033)
		0.000029	0.29	0.81
1999		-0.0061*** (0.00052)	0.0012* (0.00055)	0.00053 (0.00044)
		4.6e-32	0.022	0.22
2001		0.030*** (0.0018)	0.0080*** (0.0013)	0.00074 (0.00055)
		2.0e-63	1.5e-09	0.18
2003		0.023*** (0.0018)	0.0049*** (0.0014)	0.0013* (0.00064)
		4.3e-40	0.00039	0.042
2005		0.017*** (0.0017)	0.0011 (0.0015)	0.0016* (0.00077)
		2.7e-24	0.46	0.040
2007		0.018*** (0.0018)	0.0032 (0.0018)	0.0094*** (0.0013)
		7.0e-22	0.079	8.4e-13
2011		-0.012*** (0.0011)	-0.025*** (0.0033)	-0.0089*** (0.0022)
		6.3e-27	8.3e-14	0.000069
2014		0.033*** (0.0052)	0.026*** (0.0063)	0.038*** (0.0059)
		1.5e-10	0.000025	9.7e-11
2017		0.0039 (0.0057)	-0.0073 (0.0085)	0.0092 (0.0080)
		0.49	0.39	0.25
Not working class				-0.00096 (0.00082)
				0.24
Member X Not working class				-0.0034 (0.0020)
				0.085
Constant	0.017*** (0.00087)	-0.010*** (0.0028)	0.015*** (0.0039)	0.0016 (0.0031)
	2.2e-82	0.00021	0.00015	0.61
Individuals	18,901	18,512	18,512	17,326
Observations	68,236	66,924	66,924	62,586

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) and UK Household Longitudinal Survey (UKHLS).

Table B9 Average treatment effect of joining a union: US – Republican vs. Democrat

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)	FE with controls – interaction by sector (ref. exposed sector)
Member	0.069*** (0.021) 0.00085	0.050* (0.020) 0.011	0.0029 (0.025) 0.91	0.016 (0.033) 0.63	0.023 (0.033) 0.49
Man		-0.050*** (0.013) 0.00011	0.0049 (0.0061) 0.42	0.0053 (0.0062) 0.40	0.0040 (0.0062) 0.52
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
26–65		-0.022 (0.017) 0.21	-0.0095 (0.019) 0.62	-0.0030 (0.019) 0.88	-0.0078 (0.019) 0.68
66 or above		0.0027 (0.040) 0.95	0.040 (0.031) 0.20	0.037 (0.030) 0.22	0.041 (0.031) 0.19
Primary (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Secondary		-0.036 (0.019) 0.052	-0.010 (0.031) 0.74	-0.0097 (0.032) 0.76	-0.010 (0.031) 0.74
Tertiary		-0.018 (0.021) 0.40	0.026 (0.037) 0.49	0.029 (0.038) 0.45	0.028 (0.037) 0.46
White (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Black		0.31*** (0.015) 6.5e-89	0.064 (0.038) 0.093	0.063 (0.038) 0.10	0.067 (0.039) 0.087
Other		0.12*** (0.019) 6.6e-11	0.017 (0.023) 0.46	0.017 (0.023) 0.45	0.018 (0.023) 0.43
Northeast (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
North Central		-0.0073 (0.021) 0.73	-0.072 (0.069) 0.29	-0.072 (0.069) 0.30	-0.072 (0.069) 0.29
South		-0.047* (0.019) 0.013	-0.0053 (0.073) 0.94	-0.0050 (0.072) 0.94	-0.0050 (0.072) 0.95
West		0.0080 (0.021) 0.71	-0.098 (0.076) 0.20	-0.098 (0.077) 0.20	-0.097 (0.076) 0.20
Couple		-0.050*** (0.012) 0.000066	-0.0048 (0.012) 0.70	-0.0035 (0.013) 0.78	-0.0033 (0.012) 0.79
2006		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
2008		0.047*** (0.012) 0.000072	0.028** (0.0090) 0.0016	0.029** (0.0092) 0.0018	0.028** (0.0090) 0.0016
2010		0.026* (0.012) 0.039	0.016 (0.0100) 0.11	0.015 (0.010) 0.15	0.016 (0.0100) 0.12
2012		0.041** (0.015) 0.0081	0.011 (0.011) 0.32	0.0093 (0.012) 0.42	0.012 (0.011) 0.30
2014		0.041* (0.019) 0.031	0.0047 (0.014) 0.73	0.0021 (0.014) 0.88	0.0048 (0.014) 0.73
Not working class				-0.0038 (0.011) 0.74	
Member X Not working class				-0.021 (0.037) 0.58	

Other sectors					-0.0021 (0.011) 0.85
Member X Other sectors					-0.027 (0.035) 0.45
Constant	0.55*** (0.0074) 0	0.57*** (0.030) 3.9e-76	0.58*** (0.062) 2.6e-20	0.58*** (0.062) 4.1e-20	0.58*** (0.062) 6.1e-20
Individuals	2,363	2,357	2,357	2,329	2,351
Observations	4,648	4,602	4,602	4,518	4,579

Note: Significance levels: \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ . Source: General Social Survey (GSS).



Table B10 Average treatment effect of joining a union: US – Conservative vs. liberal

	OLS without controls	OLS with controls	FE with controls	FE with controls – interaction by social class (ref. working class)	FE with controls – interaction by sector (ref. exposed sector)
Member	0.013 (0.014) 0.35	0.0014 (0.014) 0.92	-0.015 (0.027) 0.57	-0.065 (0.033) 0.052	0.019 (0.041) 0.65
Man		-0.012 (0.0091)	0.0040 (0.0072)	0.0039 (0.0073)	0.0041 (0.0072)
25 or under (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
26–65		-0.045*** (0.013) 0.00054	-0.0017 (0.019) 0.93	0.0028 (0.019) 0.89	0.000027 (0.020) 1.00
66 or above		-0.030 (0.028) 0.28	0.019 (0.036) 0.60	0.029 (0.035) 0.41	0.020 (0.037) 0.58
Primary (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Secondary		0.011 (0.015) 0.46	0.0012 (0.043) 0.98	-0.0034 (0.044) 0.94	0.0020 (0.043) 0.96
Tertiary		0.047** (0.017) 0.0045	-0.026 (0.045) 0.57	-0.036 (0.046) 0.43	-0.029 (0.046) 0.53
White (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
Black		0.043*** (0.012) 0.00020	-0.0070 (0.087) 0.94	-0.0067 (0.087) 0.94	-0.0035 (0.086) 0.97
Other		0.052*** (0.015) 0.00061	0.021 (0.023) 0.34	0.020 (0.023) 0.37	0.022 (0.023) 0.33
Northeast (ref.)		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
North Central		-0.024 (0.014) 0.10	0.040 (0.063) 0.53	0.043 (0.061) 0.48	0.038 (0.064) 0.55
South		-0.055*** (0.013) 0.000029	0.053 (0.033) 0.11	0.054 (0.032) 0.093	0.052 (0.033) 0.11
West		0.0067 (0.015) 0.65	0.0067 (0.038) 0.86	0.0057 (0.037) 0.88	0.0051 (0.038) 0.89
Couple		-0.056*** (0.0087) 1.6e-10	-0.0084 (0.012) 0.49	-0.011 (0.012) 0.37	-0.0092 (0.012) 0.44
2006		0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)	0 (.)
2008		0.019* (0.0096) 0.044	0.013 (0.0097) 0.18	0.013 (0.0098) 0.18	0.013 (0.0097) 0.17
2010		0.0078 (0.0099) 0.43	-0.0041 (0.011) 0.70	-0.0033 (0.011) 0.76	-0.0044 (0.011) 0.67
2012		0.014 (0.012) 0.22	-0.0081 (0.012) 0.50	-0.0072 (0.012) 0.56	-0.0085 (0.012) 0.48
2014		0.021 (0.014) 0.15	-0.0032 (0.015) 0.82	-0.0046 (0.015) 0.76	-0.0033 (0.015) 0.82
Not working class				-0.0087 (0.015) 0.56	
Member X Not working class				0.074* (0.035) 0.035	

Other sectors					0.00075 (0.013) 0.95
Member X Other sectors					-0.045 (0.045) 0.32
Constant	0.49*** (0.0049) 0	0.55*** (0.024) 5.4e-108	0.48*** (0.051) 2.2e-20	0.49*** (0.052) 3.1e-20	0.48*** (0.052) 1.1e-19
Individuals	2,364	2,357	2,357	2,330	2,352
Observations	4,646	4,597	4,597	4,511	4,572

Note: Significance levels: \*  $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ . Source: General Social Survey (GSS).

## Appendix C Average partisan preferences among wage earners, newcomers, and members

Table C1 Germany

	SPD	CDU	AfD
Wage earners	0.19	0.12	0.0011
Newcomers	0.22	0.093	0.00000
Members	0.33	0.096	0.00016
Wage earners – working class	0.17	0.084	0.0014
Newcomers – working class	0.20	0.060	0.00000
Members – working class	0.30	0.060	0.00000
Wage earners – not working class	0.18	0.14	0.0020
Newcomers – not working class	0.22	0.10	0.00000
Members – not working class	0.28	0.092	0.00000

Table C2 Switzerland

	Socialist Party	Swiss People's Party
Wage earners	0.23	0.12
Newcomers	0.28	0.099
Members	0.35	0.075
Wage earners – working class	0.18	0.18
Newcomers – working class	0.23	0.19
Members – working class	0.27	0.17
Wage earners – not working class	0.25	0.089
Newcomers – not working class	0.30	0.068
Members – not working class	0.37	0.048

Table C3 United Kingdom

	Labour Party	Conservative Party	UKIP
Wage earners	0.31	0.20	0.017
Newcomers	0.32	0.17	0.022
Members	0.44	0.16	0.015
Wage earners – working class	0.34	0.16	0.0082
Newcomers – working class	0.40	0.15	0.0033
Members – working class	0.49	0.16	0.0035
Wage earners – not working class	0.32	0.24	0.0059
Newcomers – not working class	0.32	0.24	0.00000
Members – not working class	0.44	0.16	0.0030

Table C4 United States

	Republican vs. Democrat	Conservative vs. Liberal
Wage earners	0.56	0.50
Newcomers	0.67	0.53
Members	0.61	0.51
Wage earners – working class	0.58	0.48
Newcomers – working class	0.69	0.51
Members – working class	0.62	0.53
Wage earners – not working class	0.56	0.50
Newcomers – not working class	0.68	0.54
Members – not working class	0.59	0.52
Wage earners – exposed sector	0.55	0.48
Newcomers – exposed sector	0.70	0.50
Members – exposed sector	0.63	0.54
Wage earners – other sectors	0.57	0.50
Newcomers – other sectors	0.66	0.54
Members – other sectors	0.60	0.51