Methodological Appendix

A: List of National Elections

Germany

- 1990s: 1990, 1994, 1998 National Elections
- 2000s: 2002, 2005, 2009 National Elections
- 2010s: 2013, 2017 National Elections

Italy

- 1990s: 1994, 1996 National Elections
- 2000s: 2001, 2006, 2008 National Elections
- 2010: 2013; 2018 National Elections

Sweden

- 1990s: 1991, 1994, 1998 National Elections
- 2000s: 2002, 2006 National Elections
- 2010s: 2010, 2014, 2018 National Elections

The UK

- 1990s: 1992, 1997 National Elections
- 2000s: 2001, 2005 National Elections
- 2010s: 2010, 2015, 2017, 2019 National Elections

B: Variable Operationalization

Societal Modernization

The analysis relied on the data from the European Value Survey (EVS) to operationalize "societal modernization" in the 1980s and in the post-Fordist era – that is, authoritarian/libertarian attitudes regarding gender equality and, more specifically, gender roles inside and outside the households and the labor market. While the dataset provides longitudinal data from 1981 until 2017, these data were not available for each year, but only for some specific time-points (e.g., 1981, 1990, 1999, 2008, 2017). Therefore, each EVS wave was treated as proxy to identify the authoritarian/libertarian attitudes in the

whole decade. Three criteria were chosen for selecting the survey waves: (a) the data had to be available for all four countries; (b) the wave was issued at the end of the decade or at the immediate beginning of the following one; (c) there was a sufficient time gap between one wave and the next.

By following these criteria, EVS 1990 was used to detect "societal modernization" in the 1980s; EVS 1999 was used to assess "societal modernization" in the 1990s; EVS 2008 operationalized the variable in the 2000s and EVS 2017 in the 2010s.

Below is the specific operationalization:

EVS 1990	(1) "jobs are scarce: giving men priority"; recoded q316a; Authoritarian = Agree, Libertarian = Disagree (2) "working mother warm relationship with children"; recoded q445a; Authoritarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree, Libertarian = Agree + Strongly Agree (3) "pre-school child suffers with working mother"; recoded q446b; Authoritarian = Agree + Strongly Disagree, Libertarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree The Authoritarian and Libertarian attitudes are calculated as the average score of the three items.
EVS 1999	(1) "jobs are scarce: giving men priority"; recoded v99; Authoritarian = Agree, Libertarian = Disagree (2) "working mother warm relationship with children"; re-coded v154; Authoritarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree, Libertarian = Agree + Strongly Agree (3) "pre-school child suffers with working mother"; recoded v155; Authoritarian = Agree + Strongly Agree, Libertarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree The Authoritarian and Libertarian attitudes are calculated as the average score of the three items.
EVS 2008	(1) "jobs are scarce: giving men priority"; recoded v103; Authoritarian = Agree, Libertarian = Disagree (2) "working mother warm relationship with children"; recoded v156; Authoritarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree, Libertarian = Agree + Strongly Agree (3) "pre-school child suffers with working mother"; recoded v160; Authoritarian = Agree + Strongly Agree, Libertarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree The Authoritarian and Libertarian attitudes are calculated as the average score of the three items.

(Continued)

EVS 2017	(1)	"jobs are scarce: giving men priority"; recoded v81; Authoritarian = Agree, Libertarian = Disagree
	(2)	"family life suffers when woman has full-time job"; recoded v74; Authoritarian = Agree + Strongly Agree, Libertarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree
	(3)	"child suffers with working mother"; recoded v72; Authoritarian = Agree + Strongly Agree, Libertarian = Disagree + Strongly Disagree

The Authoritarian and Libertarian attitudes are calculated as the average score of the three items.

Since the three items are highly correlated, in the binary logistic regressions (Tables 3 and 4) run in Chapter 5, a simplified operationalization of the "societal modernization" variable was chosen, thus using only item 3 "pre-school child suffers with working mother".

Skills in the Female Labor Force

For the classification of the skills, the analysis relied on Daniel Oesch's social class schema, readjusting it on the basis of Fleckenstein and Seeleib-Kaiser's schema (2011, p. 149). Below are the details:

- Higher grade managers and administrators; Lower grade managers and administrators; Socio-cultural professionals; Socio-cultural semi-professionals; Technical experts; Technicians = *High General Skills*
- Skilled clerks; Unskilled clerks; Skilled service; Low-skilled service = *Low General Skills*
- Skilled manual; Low-skilled manual = *Specific Skills*