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The rise of populism and the collapse of the left-right paradigm:

Lessons from the 2017 French presidential election

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Abstract

We examine the dislocation from the traditional left-right political axis in the 2017 French election, analyze support for populist movements and show that subjective variables are key to understanding it. Votes on the traditional left-right axis are correlated to ideology concerning redistribution, and predicted by socio-economic variables such as income and social status. Votes on the new diagonal opposing "open *vs* closed society" are predicted by individual and subjective variables. More specifically, low well-being predicts anti-system opinions (from the left or from the right) while low interpersonal trust (ITP) predicts right-wing populism.

1. Introduction

From Brexit to the election of Donald Trump, populist parties have gained momentum in most western and European countries, including Poland, Hungary, Switzerland, Denmark, Austria, Finland, France, Italy, and Germany. This progression culminated with Marine Le Pen reaching the second round of the French presidential election in 2017 and the populist governmental coalition in Italy in 2018.[1]

The French presidential election of 2017, in particular, illustrates of the explosion of the traditional left-right axis of politics, which had been alive and well since the end of World War II. In every Presidential election until 2012, with the exception of 2002, French voters eventually chose, in the second round, between a left wing candidate and a right wing candidate. In 2017, however, the political landscape had radically changed. The traditional conservative candidate, François Fillon, came third in the first round, while the leader of the left, with more radical clothes, Jean-luc Mélenchon, came fourth. The second round opposed Emmanuel Macron (whose motto was "neither right or left") against Marine Le Pen (leader of the extreme right party Front National). Macron eventually won by a comfortable margin (with 66% of the votes), but the French political landscape had radically changed.

In order to analyze this new political polarization, this paper uses a unique dataset. This dataset, collected Cevipof at Sciences Po, is a panel of around 17,000 people in France that began in November 2015. Monthly questionnaires continued through the 2017 election, and the panel continues with less frequent waves. The size and scope of this dataset allows us to examine vote choice in a way that has previously not been possible. It includes socioeconomic variables, geographic localization, life history and a wide range of subjective information such as life satisfaction, interpersonal trust, trust towards institutions, and various dimensions of ideology.

In a standard voter choice model, there is a single left-right axis, which is principally concerned by redistributive issues. The left, party of the poor, seeks more redistribution, and the right, party of the rich, less. The median voter strikes the

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[1] In this paper we use the populist term to characterize the radical right, like the Liga or the National Front. The radical left is equally anti-system but, as we document, does not share the same prejudice against minorities, and supports a totally different economic platform.

balance between the two. Yet real-world politics, as demonstrated by the 2017 election in France, show that voter choice does not work like that anymore (if it ever did). One reason for this is that relatively poor voters do not always seek redistribution, and relatively rich voters do not always oppose it. Le Pen voters (extreme right) are, on average, as poor as Mélenchon voters (radical left), however, according to their answers to the Cevipof survey, they do not seek redistribution to the degree that Mélenchon voters do.[2] Symmetrically, Macron voters are, on average, as rich as Fillon voters (on the conservative right), yet they do not appear to be as hostile to redistribution.

Education could potentially explain the defection of some voters from their financial interest. Education and income are obviously correlated, related by the classic Mincer curve. Interestingly, the two electorates where the discrepancy is largest are those pertaining to the old left-right axis. Mélenchon and Fillon voters have, on average, similar levels of education, but Mélenchon voters have lower income than predicted by their education and strongly support redistribution. Fillon voters, on the other hand, have higher than expected income and generally oppose redistribution. Le Pen and Macron voters have income that is close to what would be expected given their level of education (Le Pen voters have low education and low income, Macron voters have high education and high income) and do not have as strong preferences about redistribution. One potential explanation of this puzzle is that it is a particular feeling of unfairness on the part of Mélenchon voters that leads them to seek redistribution: they are earning less than they feel that they should, given their level of education.

We then use life satisfaction and inter-personal trust (referring to trust in *people*, not in institutions, and which we will call IPT) to explain, first, the dislocation from the right-left axis and, second, why Le Pen voters do not support the redistributive politics of which they could be the primary beneficiaries.[3]

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[2] Note that reference to voter preferences are obtained from responses to the Cevipof questionnaire, not from policy statements from the candidate. Le Pen's platform may have contained redistributive policies, but when voters were asked about their preferences, people who voted for her had less strong preferences than those who voted for Mélenchon.

[3] The life satisfaction question is "How satisfied are you with the life you lead?" on a scale of 0-10, and the inter-personal trust (IPT) questions are a linear combination of trust questions, including "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can never be too careful when dealing with others?"

Life satisfaction separates the electorate into two groups, and IPT separates these groups into two more groups. Le Pen voters and Mélenchon voters, on average, are the least satisfied with their lives, while Macron and Fillon voters, on average, are the most satisfied. IPT separates the electorate along a separate axis: Macron and Mélenchon voters share a high level of IPT, Fillon voters have a lower level, and Le Pen voters have extremely low levels of IPT.

We show that these subjective variables map onto both ideology and voter choice: voters with low life satisfaction are anti-system and support radical left and right wing populists, and voters with low ITP are skeptical of the social contract. Having a high IPT, Mélenchon voters believe in the social contract and favor redistribution. The opposite is true for Le Pen voters. They do not believe that redistribution can work as a solution, because they do not trust other people, whether they are neighbors or family members, much less people they have never met. From their perspective, while redistribution would benefit them in principle, it would never work. Macron voters are symmetric to Le Pen voters: with a high IPT, they are not opposed, in principle, to a redistributive system. They think it might work, if it was needed. But, being rich and satisfied with their lives, they don't think it is needed after all. The effects pull against each other, and so they are largely indifferent to redistribution. Finally, completeing the system, Fillon voters have high life satisfaction (so they do not believe redistribution is necessary) and low IPT (so they believe it would not work, even if it was necessary).

We show that life satisfaction and IPT can be linked to both individual and social variables. Life satisfaction is closely related to individual socio-economic characteristics, in particular income. IPT instead is explained by factors that are fixed relatively early in life: the professional class of parents, and especially the question of whether one is more or less successful than they were, and the culture of the place where one grew up. Le Bras and Todd have used detailed historical data to demonstrate that regional historical differences in France are highly correlated to the vote in favor of Le Pen. In particular, in the southwest of France where extended families have a tradition of working together to build local institutions, IPT is high and the vote for Le Pen is low. In the northeast, instead, where nuclear families and individualism prevail, IPT is low, and the vote for Le Pen is high.

We also analyze a large variety of ideology variables, and show that there are four groups of variables that fall in different combinations across voter groups. Moral ideologies, such as acceptance of homosexual lifestyles, largely fall on the traditional right/left axis, where Mélenchon and Macron voters are opposites of Fillon and Le Pen voters. Financial ideologies, such as solidarity and redistribution, as discussed above, are not of great interest to Macron and Le Pen voters but are deeply important to Mélenchon and Fillon voters but in opposite directions. Populism, such as distrust of elites, shows a separation between Le Pen and Mélenchon voters and one side and Fillon and Macron voters on the other. Finally, Openness, such as being pro-EU, are strongly expressed in opposite directions by Macron and Le Pen voters, but Fillon and Mélenchon voters are relatively indifferent on this set of ideologies.

The dislocation of the traditional right-left axis can be interpreted as the consequences of the demise of the old class system. On the old left-right axis, Mélenchon voters share a sense of class-consciousness, just like their adversaries, the Fillon voters. In both cases, their social and professional class is related to their vote, even when controlling for their individual income income. Le Pen and Macron voters share a more individualistic outlook, where class and the income of their neighbors are less related to their vote, once their own income is controlled for. One possible explanation for the collapse of the traditional right-left axis is then that the gradual breakdown of the French class system and the erosion of traditional social structures has left a number of individuals adrift and disenfranchised, a shift from "classes" to "masses", to paraphrase Hannah Arendt's analysis of the rise of totalitarianism in the 1930s. We suggest some avenues of future research.

Section 2 of this paper gives background for the 2017 French election and the data used in this paper. Section 3 provides a map of vote choice onto income and education and Section 4 gives background and well-being and IPT for the different candidates. Section 5 discusses the role of social experience, section 6 discusses the role of individual experience, and section 7 presents evidence on ideology and populism. Section 8 compares our results to selected studies that have touched upon the same issues. Section 9 concludes.

2. Background

2.1. Data

The Electoral Survey (Enquete Electorale) collected by Cevipof at Sciences Po is a panel dataset with a sample size of around 17,000 people in France. The respondents received monthly questionnaires in the year leading up to the French presidential election in 2017 and for several waves after.[4] The thousands of questions include objective indicators, such as education and income, but also information on family background, expectations, and policy preferences. Important for this paper, the dataset includes a large number of questions on subjective well-being (for example, life satisfaction in the present and in anticipated life satisfaction in the future), trust (generalized trust, interpersonal trust, and institutional trust) and ideology (attitudes towards immigrants, redistribution, homosexuality and the fairness of the system at large). Professional class definitions are as follows. Managers (*cadres*) are the managerial class, including higher-level intellectual, scientific, or health occupations. Mid-level professionals (*professions intermédiares*) include occupations such as technicians and nurses. Entrepreneurs (*independents* or *artisans, commerçants, et chefs d'entreprise*) include occupations where people work independently, including small business owners, artists, and other specialist independent workers. Blue-collar workers (*ouvriers*) are traditional blue-collar workers. Employees (*employees*) are traditionally the female counterpart to blue-collar workers, and include secretaries or salespersons (though the gender division has become less important in recent years). Finally, farmers (*agriculteurs*) are those who work in agriculture.

A very wide variety of ideology measures are available, so in order to structure and simplify the analysis, we have grouped these measures into conceptually similar groups, confirmed these groups using factor analysis, and constructed composites. Composite variables on ideology are constructed using the following procedure. Chronbach's alpha is calculated for groups of variables that are a priori likely to be related (for example, questions concerning homosexuality). If necessary, individual

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[4] While the overall average sample size is around 17,000 per wave, not every person answers every wave, and our specifications require pooling across waves (for example, each wave contains different ideology questions, the trust questions are asked in a different wave than the life satisfaction questions, and the vote questions are asked only in one wave). In order to maintain a consistent sample across columns (in particular when we wish to examine the change in a coefficient when a particular covariate is included) we restrict our sample to observations with all relevant data. This results in smaller sample sizes for most of our specifications. Equivalent results are obtained using the full sample available.

variables are reversed so that all response scales reflect the same underlying direction (for example, more acceptance of homosexuality). Then the unweighted average of the z-scores for the group of variables is calculated. This procedure is preferable to using a factor analysis to identify factors underlying the ideology because it provides the largest possible sample size: many respondents have skipped one or two waves of the questionnaire, and a factor analysis would require dropping these observations. Average number of observations per composite is 15,643, and the lowest number of observations is 12,283. Table 1 provides the specific questions, scales, and Chronbach's alpha for each ideology.

We use data on commune-level income from national census conducted by Insee (the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies). One disadvantage of this data is that generally large cities (such as Paris) are treated as a single unit. Analyses are robust to excluding these cases.

Data on Le Bras and Todd geographical categorization are obtained from their publication le Mystere Français (2013). Their original categorization is based on a variety of historical data, including family structure, inheritance customs, religiosity, and urban density. We refer to these categories as the "Le Bras typologies", and there are four categories : "Very weak", meaning areas with very weak integration where it is difficult for people to form social bonds, "Weak", "Strong" and "Very strong". To give some idea of categories, the north-west (Brittany) is an area of very strong integration and the and the department where Marseille is located is an area of weak integration. Paris and the surrounding areas are excluded from the Le Bras categorization and are either given a dummy variable for "missing" or excluded from specifications using the Le Bras categories.

2.2. Setup and empirical framework

In specifications using years of education, the variable is constructed using the time normally required to achieve each level of education. On the questionnaire, income is provided as a categorical variable. This is transformed into a continuous variable, using the center of the category. It is then adjusted for household size using Insee consumption unit guidelines. Results are not sensitive to different approaches for modeling income. Income rank is constructed by ranking respondents within the sample allowing ties.

Change in professional class compared to father is calculated by first grouping and ranking professional class as follows: 1 = blue collar worker or employee, 2 = farmer or independent, and 3 = mid-level worker or manager. Then an individual's class is compared to his or her father's class. Mother's class is also available but to avoid confounding with age and cultural shifts regarding women's labor participation we chose to focus on father occupation.

Vote choice is modeled as a simple binary variable equal to 1 if the respondent voted for a particular candidate and zero if they voted for any other candidate or if they abstained, or voted "white" or "null" (response options available in the question). That is, we model only the choice to vote for a particular candidate, and do not model the choice to vote itself. Logit regressions with varying controls are used to examine the relationship of sociodemographic, subjective, and ideological variables with the vote. Life satisfaction, interpersonal trust, and ideology variables are standardized with mean zero and standard deviation one to facilitate comparison of coefficients.

2.3. The 2017 election in France

The 2017 election was unique in several respects. On the traditional right, François Fillon was beset by corruption scandals involving allegedly fictitious employment of his wife, which were reported in January 2017, mere months before the April election, and despite being dogged by high publicity news reports on corruption, refused to step down as the party's candidate. On the left, the incumbent, François Hollande had staggeringly low levels of popularity. In November of 2016, less than six months before the first round, a scant 4% of French voters approved of his presidency, but Hollande waited until December to announce he would not seek re-election. This left the Socialist party, after a long period of uncertainty, with mere months to conduct a primary and select a candidate, consolidate internal support for that candidate, and prepare the campaign. The result was that in the 2017 election, the two major parties were fragmented and weak to an unprecedented degree, with only the strongest party loyalists maintaining allegiance to the PS, and leaving a vast swath of the less ideologically motivated electorate free for the taking. The discredited parties were no longer able to provide a compelling narrative to motivate their voters. At least some of the voters (about half)[5] moved off of the traditional left-right axis.

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[5] In this sample, of those who voted in 2012 for Hollande, 25% voted for Mélenchon in 2017, 17% voted for Hamon, 45% voted for Macron, and 6% went to Le Pen. Of those who voted for Sarkozy,

Marine Le Pen's rising popularity brought her to the second round of the French election as the candidate for the extreme right National Front party in 2017. Her father had done the same in 2002, but 15 years later the situation was completely different. Her father's electoral success was completely unanticipated and shocked the country. In fact, had the voters been aware of the likelihood of his success, they might well have made strategic voting decisions to avoid his first round success, and he might not have made it to the second round had French voters been aware of the possibility. In 2017, times had changed. Marine Le Pen's advancement to the second round, was, unlike her father's, expected to the point of being a given in the months running up to the election. Early in the race the polls indicated that she would reach the second round, and she did.

3. The limit of the left-right axis and objective indicators

The classic paradigm of political choice is a continuum that runs in a straight line from "extreme left" to "extreme right," with the mainstream in the middle. Along this single dimension, Mélenchon voters would position themselves on the far left, Hamon (or, in 2012, Hollande) voters on the middle left, Macron (Bayrou) voters at the center, Fillon (Sarkozy) voters on the middle right, and Le Pen voters at the far right. In this paradigm, Macron's eventual victory was due to his position at the middle, where he could capture the median voter, and the weakness of the middle left candidate.

1 shows that that this schema is only partly correct. The figure shows the average of the responses to the question, "Where do you position yourself politically, on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 is left and 10 is right?" In 2012, there is some support for the continuum – a clear slope appears from Mélenchon to Le Pen. In 2017, however, more moderate voters have moved to vote for Le Pen and Mélenchon. On average, Le Pen voters do not report themselves to be more "extremely right" than Fillon voters, and, on average, Mélenchon voters do not report themselves to be more "extremely left" than Hamon voters.

Another reason that the continuum is insufficient to map the electorate is that if people follow their self-interest, where the left generally wants higher levels of

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19% voted for Macron, 55% voted for Fillon, and 15% voted for Le Pen. This means that, roughly speaking, 45% of the vote from the right drifted away from the traditional left-right axis, and 51% of the left.

redistribution and the right lower levels, then rich people should group on the right and poor people on the left. As seen in Figure 2, this is not the case. It shows the average years of education (on the y-axis) and average monthly revenue (on the x-axis) for those who voted for the main candidates or did not vote in the 2012 and 2017 presidential primaries. There are two different axes that emerge. One is the standard left-right axis, running from Mélenchon, through Hollande in 2012, to Fillon or Sarkozy. They share similar levels of education, but some are rich and some are poor – and it is unsurprising that the key debate on this axis is about redistribution. But there is another axis, the diagonal that runs from Le Pen to Macron or Bayrou, which is a dramatic division between the haves and the have-nots, with respect to both education and income.

The comparison of the 2012 and 2017 election is striking for the persistence of the sociodemographic profile of voters between the two elections for all groups except the socialists. Le Pen voters have lower education and lower revenue in both years. Mélenchon voters and abstainers have average education but low revenue in both years. Voters for Sarkozy and Fillon (the mainstream right candidates) have average education but high incomes. And voters for Bayrou and Macron (the liberal, independent candidates) are highly educated and have high incomes. Indeed, while the data are limited, there is suggestive evidence that these axes have existed for decades: when people recall for whom their parents voted (and using their own income and education as direct proxies for their parent income and education) we observe the same pattern (Figure 3)

Between 2012 and 2017, however, there was an earthquake for the Socialist Party. In 2012 Hollande's supporters had average education and average revenue. By 2017, the Socialist Party had lost the center: Hamon's supporters had very high education but lower than average revenue. The center, in 2017, was empty. The collapse of its influence, due in part to the failure of Francois Hollande's term, has split its electorates. Macron was to become the main beneficiary of this transfer.

4. Subjective variables in the 2017 election

shows the average level of overall life satisfaction and Interpersonal Trust, IPT, for voters of the four main candidates. Voters for Mélenchon and Le Pen have low levels of life satisfaction, while voters for Fillon and Macron have high life

satisfaction. Voters for Macron and Mélenchon stand out with particularly high levels of IPT, while voters for Fillon have lower levels and Le Pen the lowest levels by far.

Figure 5 unpacks this trust towards different types of people, and shows that Le Pen voters that have systematically lower interpersonal trust, even with respect to their own family members.

One reason that Le Pen and Mélenchon voters have low life satisfaction is that they are poorer than Macron and Fillon voters, and income is closely related to life satisfaction. However, the probability of voting for Le Pen decreases as life satisfaction increases at every income level – for rich people and for poor people (Figure 6). The probability of voting for Mélenchon, however, does not show a consistent decreasing pattern with life satisfaction once income is taken into account. This implies, and is confirmed by the empirical analysis, that Mélenchon voters' low levels of well-being are explained by lower levels of income but Le Pen voters' low levels of well-being are have a different source.Figure 7Figure 7 plots life satisfaction on the y axis and IPT on the x axis, by vote. Macron voters have high IPT and high well-being. Mélenchon voters have high IPT but low well-being. Fillon voters have lower IPT but high well-being, and Le Pen voters have the lowest IPT and the lowest well-being.

Table 2 through Table 5 confirm the graphical analysis, even when a wide variety of controls are included. One way to interpret this is that "right" vs "left" is about IPT, and "populist" vs "mainstream" is about life satisfaction. In other words, people with high IPT vote for the left, and people with high life satisfaction vote for the mainstream. Controlling for simple sociodemographics, life satisfaction and IPT both have higher (in absolute value) coefficients in regressions explaining the vote for Macron and Le Pen than for Fillon and Mélenchon.

5. Social variables

Votes for Fillon and Mélenchon are closely related to social variables, whereas votes for Macron and Le Pen are better explained by individual variables. "Social" variables are those that are shared, that allow or encourage people to identify with others with some shared characteristics such that they might act for their shared interests. In France, these social factors are deeply linked with locality, class, personal

history, and religion. These social factors can be related to votes even holding individual characteristics constant, or they may be related independent of individual characteristics.

For example, Table 6 shows the relationship of median income of the commune of residence to life satisfaction and IPT. Local income is positively related to both life satisfaction and IPT, and in both cases this relationship is only partly explained by individual characteristics. Table 7 shows that while local income alone is negatively related to votes for Le Pen and positively related to votes for Macron, this relationship becomes insignificant when individual characteristics are taken into account – that is, local income is related to voting for Le Pen and Macron only insofar as local income is correlated to individual income. Table 8 shows that this is not the case for Fillon and Mélenchon: people from richer communes are more likely to vote for Fillon, and less likely to vote for Mélenchon, but this is only partly explained by their own characteristics – holding individual revenue constant, people from rich areas are still more likely to vote for Fillon, and those from poor areas still more likely to vote for Mélenchon.

5.1. Professional class

Professional class can be related to life satisfaction and IPT in many ways, for example, work conditions, social prestige, or remuneration. There may also be selection effects: more educated people are more likely to be managers, and education itself may be related to life satisfaction to IPT. Table 9 shows that life satisfaction and IPT are both explained by professional class: relative to mid-level workers (the omitted group), all groups except managers have lower life satisfaction, particularly blue-collar workers and employees, but one-half to two-thirds of these differences are explained by differences in individual characteristics (such as income). IPT is also related to professional class, with all groups having lower trust than mid-level workers, especially blue-collar workers, but less of this difference is explained by differences in individual characteristics than for life satisfaction. Put differently, blue-collar workers and employees have lower life satisfaction than others, in large part because they are poorer. They also have lower IPT, but less of this is due to lower income.

Votes are also related to the professional class (Table 10 and Table 11), and in

many cases this relationship is robust to the inclusion of individual characteristics, life satisfaction and trust. For Mélenchon, all professional classes are less likely to vote for Mélenchon than mid-level workers and blue-collar workers, and these differences are robust to the inclusion of individual variables. Conversely, entrepreneurs are particularly likely to vote for Fillon, regardless of covariates. While professional class is correlated to votes for Le Pen and Macron, a greater proportion of this relationship is explained by individual characteristics, life satisfaction, or IPT than the relationship with votes for Mélenchon and Fillon. As was the case for neighborhood income, professional class predicts votes for Mélenchon and Fillon independent of individual circumstance more than votes for Macron and Le Pen.

5.2. History

Family characteristics are related to life satisfaction, trust, and the vote, but the relationship to life satisfaction is tied to individual characteristics, while the relationship with trust is more independent. People with parents who were blue-collar workers have systematically lower life satisfaction, though this relationship is almost entirely explained by their individual characteristics (including how much money they make and their own professional class) (Table 12). Children of blue-collar workers also have systematically lower IPT, but the lower level of IPT is only partly explained by individual characteristics.

As with other social variables, the relationship of votes for Fillon and Mélenchon and family background is robust to the inclusion of individual variables, but this is less the case for votes for Le Pen and Macron. The profession of the father is also significantly related votes for Fillon and Mélenchon (the traditional right-left axis), even when one's own profession, income, education, life satisfaction, and IPT are controlled for (Table 14). The relationship between parent profession and votes for Le Pen or Macron, however, is less robust to the inclusion of individual characteristics – only one professional class remains significant for each candidate (Table 13).

Family history is not the only history that matters: social and cultural mores embedded in the geographic landscape of France are also correlates of the life satisfaction, IPT, and the vote, in particular for Macron and Le Pen. Hervé Le Bras and Emmanuel Todd, in their work on geography, culture, and politics in France, have argued that traditional family structures, density, and social hierarchies are related to

support for the Front National (Le Pen's party). For example, residents of areas where extended families living together were the historical norm are less likely to vote for Le Pen. Residents of areas where nuclear families, which are more individualist, were the norm are more likely to vote for Le Pen. More generally, people from places with strong Le Bras integration are consistently more likely to vote for Macron and against Le Pen (Table 7). On the other hand, Le Bras integration explains little, if any, of the votes for Mélenchon or Fillon (Table 8).

Le Bras typologies are correlated to both life satisfaction and IPT. The relationship with IPT seems to depend less on individual characteristics than the relationship with life satisfaction. Neither of these relationships are entirely explained by individual characteristics (indeed, these coefficients are robust to the inclusion of a host of other individual and commune characteristics). The persistence of the relationship of Le Bras categories to life satisfaction, IPT, and votes for Macron and Le Pen is analysed in section 7. We will show that ideology may explain some of this relationship, although we are unable to explain it completely.

6. Individual experiences

Section 4 showed that the individual subjective variables of IPT and life satisfaction are more consistently related to votes for Le Pen and Macron than votes for Fillon and Mélenchon. Section 5 provided further evidence that, when considering social variables, such as class and neighborhood income, the social experience itself was predictive of votes for Fillon and Mélenchon, but for Le Pen and Macron, much of this relationship seemed to come through individual variables. This section examines those individual variables more closely.

6.1. Being rich, being poor

Income is significantly correlated to life satisfaction and IPT, and they are both better explained by the *rank* of income than by the actual amount of income (Table 15), suggesting that for life satisfaction and IPT, an individual's situation in comparison with others is of key importance. This is related to other findings on life satisfaction, for example Boyce et al, 2010. While income itself is related to life satisfaction (the coefficient changes only a little bit when other variables are included), for IPT the relationship with revenue is mostly explained by individual characteristics such as education. (Note that the direction of causality here is

completely unclear: it might be that education increases IPT, that people with high IPT tend to succeed more at education, or there might be some other variable that is driving both of them.)

For Macron and Le Pen, it is also the *rank* of income that matters (Table 16), while for Fillon it is the absolute amount (Table 17), and for Mélenchon, it is unclear (note that income in either transformation alone is still significant). Votes for Macron and Le Pen voters are related to how people rank in society. If people make more money than others, they tend to vote for Macron, and if they make less money than others, they tend to vote for Le Pen. The relationship between revenue and votes for Macron and Le Pen is at least in part explained by life satisfaction and IPT, whereas for Fillon, the relationship of income to vote is very stable when either IPT or life satisfaction are included as covariates.

6.2. Education

More educated people have higher life satisfaction and IPT. Again, economic factors appear to be closely related to life satisfaction: almost half of the relationship of education with life satisfaction is explained by income and employment, which is not the case for IPT (Table 18). IPT seems to have a positive relationship with education, though we are unable to make statements about causality.

The relationship of education to vote choice is strong and remains strong even when controlling for economic variables, life satisfaction, and IPT, for both Le Pen and Macron (though there is some reduction in the size of the coefficients, especially when IPT is included) (Table 19). Note that the relationship between education and votes for Macron begins only at the level of the Bac Generale. For Fillon and Mélenchon, education is less strongly related to votes overall and less robust to the inclusion of economic controls (Table 20) (recall that in Figure 2, the Fillon-Mélenchon axis was flat with respect to education). Note again the non-linear relationship of education to vote choice. For example, people who have a Bac Pro are more likely than those who do not have any diploma to vote for Fillon, and less likely to vote for Mélenchon, but those who have a Bac Generale are not significantly more or less likely to vote for either candidate.

Finally, while income rises with education, some people end up making more

or less than would be expected given their investment in education. Table 21 shows the correlation of income conditional on education (or "excess revenue") and a selection of variables. Excess revenue is quite highly correlated to life satisfaction – these are people who are doing very well, perhaps better than they expected. It is also positively correlated to votes for Fillon and, to a lesser extent, Macron.

6.3. Intergenerational mobility

While we cannot estimate intergenerational mobility in terms of revenue, we examine mobility in terms of class, and find that higher mobility is positively related to life satisfaction and IPT (Table 22).

The only candidate for whom intergenerational movement is consistently significantly associated with the vote is Le Pen. Those who have moved up in professional class are less likely to vote for her, and those who have moved down in professional class are more likely to vote for her, controlling for individual characteristics (Table 23). Votes for Macron show the opposite relationship though it is less strongly significant. Mélenchon, on the contrary, shows no relationship of votes to individual intergenerational movement, and the relationship with votes for Fillon is entirely explained by other characteristics (including parent occupation) (Table 24).

The relationship between intergenerational mobility and votes for Le Pen is explained more by IPT than by life satisfaction. One potential explanation for the importance of IPT in the relationship of social mobility and votes for the extreme right is that a failure to do as well as one's parents reduces IPT, and makes people more wary of embracing a system of redistribution. However, it could also be that people who have low IPT are more likely to move down or fail to move up and also less likely to vote for Le Pen.

7. Ideologies

As shown in the preceding sections, voter choice is not only about the contest between winners (the rich) and losers (the poor), but also about social context and subjective variables. It is not only the level of income that matters, but the relative level. It is not only professional class, but professional class relative to their father. It is not only one's conditions of life but how satisfied one is with them. Here, we show that people with low life satisfaction but high IPT are willing to embrace a system of

redistribution to redress unfairness and inequality, but people with low IPT are not - instead they want to pull up the drawbridge. While using ideology to predict vote choice raises formidable problems for identification,[6] examining ideological differences helps us better disentangle how social experiences, individual experiences, life satisfaction and IPT are related to vote choice.

7.1. Types of ideology

Ideology is not a spectrum that runs from Mélenchon voters on the left to Le Pen voters on the right. There are some ideologies that are shared by Le Pen voters and Mélenchon voters, some that are shared by Le Pen and Fillon voters, and some about which Fillon and Mélenchon's voters care deeply but about which Macron and Le Pen voters are relatively indifferent, and the reverse.

Figure 9 shows how these ideologies can be sorted into 4 groups, based on the divisions between the voters for the different candidates. Table 1 shows the individual questions used in this analysis, which are grouped into related composites as described in Section 2.1. The first group of ideologies, which we call financial values, is shown on the upper right of Figure 9, and for which an individual question is shown on the upper right of Figure 10, have to do with government spending, attitudes towards capitalism, and redistribution questions. These financial values fall on the traditional right / left cleavage and are highly correlated in opposite directions with votes for Fillon and Mélenchon.

 Voters for Fillon generally oppose government spending and are reluctant to embrace solidarity, and Mélenchon voters support it. However, voters for Macron and Le Pen do not have strong consistent feelings on financial values. This suggests that preferences about financial values are related to the social axis, and reinforces the importance of revenue and class in votes for Mélenchon and Fillon. The second ideology group is about moral values, shown on the upper left of Figure 9, and for which an individual question is shown on the upper left of Figure 10 These ideologies

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[6] The dilemma when using ideology as an explanatory variable for voter choice is the endogeneity of these variables: ideology and vote preferences may be determined simultaneously, and may interact with one another. In the case of a sort populist resurgence, this is likely to be a particularly strong problem. For example, the appearance of a populist candidate with a discourse that is fiercely anti-immigrant can create an environment that is accommodating to the expression of previously hidden anti-immigrant sentiment. Alternatively, the voter might update his or her beliefs to align with the opinion of the candidate, if he or she considers the candidate trustworthy on other issues. In both cases, using ideology to predict candidate preferences will be misleading.

are generally about constraining (or tolerating) the behavior of others. In this group are attitudes towards homosexuality, criminality, immigration, and protection of the environment. It is in this group of variables that we might most strongly expect to find the candidates on a continuum from extreme right to center right to center left to extreme left. Indeed, Macron and Mélenchon have opposite correlations to Le Pen and Fillon, but note that Macron's voters are not solidly on the left – they are not as far "left" as Fillon's voters are "right".

The third group, trust in the system (not IPT, which is trust in individuals), shown on the lower left of Figure 8, with an individual question on the lower left of Figure 10, clearly falls on the extreme/mainstream cleavage. These ideologies have to do with how trustworthy the government is, and whether society is set up so that everyone has an equal opportunity for success, and whether political elites can be trusted to represent the interests of the people. Le Pen and Mélenchon voters are similar in their lower trust of the system, and the mainstream candidates, Macron and Fillon, are similar in their higher trust. Voters for Mélenchon and Le Pen both feel betrayed by the system, and that the elites cannot be trusted.

The final group of ideologies, which we call openness, shown on the lower right of Figure 9, with the individual question on the lower right of, falls on the individualistic Le Pen/Macron axis. While Macron was generally considered a center left candidate, Macron's voters did not in fact have strong feelings about issues that are traditionally seen as being on the left, particularly redistribution, and instead are very focused on Openness. When asked to what degree they agreed with the idea that society should take from the rich to give to the poor, Macron voters agreed about as much as Le Pen voters (Figure 10) and much less than Mélenchon voters. The ideology of Macron's voters is an extreme on support for the EU and more generally Openness. Le Pen voters are the polar opposite in this respect. They are nationalist and skeptical of Openness. In contrast, Fillon's voters do not (on average) have strong consistent feelings about Openness – nor do Mélenchon voters.

7.2. Life satisfaction, trust, and ideology

Table 25 through Table 28 show the relationship of life satisfaction and trust to the four different types of ideology. All coefficients are for standardized independent and dependent variables, allowing for comparison between variables. Life satisfaction is

positively associated with believing society is fair, optimism about the EU, tolerance of homosexuality, but negatively associated with supporting redistribution. Trust is positively associated with all four ideologies. Estimates for the associations are generally stable, regardless of what covariates are included.

7.3. Social correlates of ideology

Managers and entrepreneurs are especially hostile to redistribution, relative to mid-level workers (the omitted category), and, unlike blue-collar workers, their attitude is not explained by their income. Managers are also more likely to believe society is fair, though significance varies, and for managers this belief is fairly stable with respect to other characteristics. The relative independence of redistributive ideology from income for managers and entrepreneurs suggests that it is not motivated only by self-interest. Blue-collar workers are more likely to support redistribution, but this is because they are poorer – controlling for income, they are no more likely to support redistribution. The R^2 of TABLES show that of these different ideologies, attitudes about redistribution are the most explained by professional class.

Ideology regarding the EU, however, is not deep-seated in class politics, and most correlation of class with attitudes towards the EU is explained by individual characteristics, life satisfaction or IPT. Attitudes towards the EU are grouped into ideologies concerning Openness, which is the category along which Le Pen and Macron voters distinguish themselves, with Macron voters being supportive of Openness and Le Pen voters hostile to it. The lack of relationship – except through individual differences – of professional class to Openness reinforces the earlier finding that votes for Macron and Le Pen were better explained by individual variables than social variables.

Mid-level workers (the omitted category) are more tolerant of homosexuality than all other professional classes, and the effect of adding coefficients varies by class. The intolerance of entrepreneurs and blue-collar workers is explained partly by individual characteristics and partly by IPT. Relatively little of the intolerance of farmers and employees can be explained by covariates.

Parent characteristics are most strongly related to attitudes towards redistribution and homosexuals, controlling for individual characteristics including the respondent's

own class. Attitudes towards redistribution are driven not just by personal interest, but also, for managers and entrepreneurs, by class consciousness. Children of entrepreneurs and managers are more opposed to redistribution, even controlling for their individual situation. Children of blue-collar workers are more supportive of redistribution, but this is only because of their own individual characteristics.

The deep hostility of managers and entrepreneurs, and their children, to redistribution regardless of their own situation, is in stark contrast to blue-collar workers and their children are supportive of redistribution because they are relatively poor and therefore the likely beneficiaries of redistribution. Managers and entrepreneurs are driven to oppose redistribution for general ideological reasons and (upper) class solidarity, whereas blue-collar workers support redistribution because they are poor and self-interested. This supports the idea that class affiliation is decaying (at least for blue-collar workers) and as a consequence they are voting based on their individual experience (leading them off of the traditional left-right class-based axis between Fillon and Mélenchon, and towards the diagonal individualistic axis between Macron and Le Pen).

People who live in richer communes are more likely to be against redistribution, regardless of their own individual characteristics (Table 29 and Table 30). They are also more likely to be optimistic about the EU, but this is due to differences in individual characteristics. Local income is unrelated to feeling society is fair and tolerance of homosexuals. Redistribution and openness are also related to the Le Bras categories (higher integration is associated with more openness and more support of redistribution) but this relationship is explained partly by IPT. That is, people from higher integration departments have higher IPT and, as a consequence, they are more optimistic about the EU and more supportive of redistribution. People from high integration departments are also significantly and robustly more likely to express tolerance for homosexuality.

7.4. Individual correlates of ideology

Rich people, who have higher life satisfaction and higher IPT are more likely to believe that society is fair because they have higher life satisfaction, more likely to support the EU because they have higher life satisfaction and IPT, less likely to support redistribution only partly because of higher life satisfaction and very slightly

more likely to be tolerant of homosexuals (Table 35 and Table 36).

Intergenerational shifts in class are not robustly related to most ideologies, with the exception of redistribution (Table 39 and Table 40): anyone who has left the class that they grew up in, whether moving up or down, is more opposed to redistribution than those who have stayed. It is not the case that only those who have moved up relative to their parents oppose redistribution; those who have moved down also oppose redistribution (even though they are likely to be poorer).

Revenue conditional on education (the extent to which people make more or less money than they might expect given their level of education) is positively correlated with feeling that society is fair and negatively correlated with supporting redistribution (Table 21). That is, when people earn more money than others with the same level of education, they tend to believe that society is fair and to be against redistribution. Note that, in examining the role of education, only those who went to the elite "Grands Ecoles" are more likely than those with no diploma to think that people get what they deserve in society (Table 37), and this is almost entirely explained by their better economic outcomes and higher life satisfaction.

Education is positively associated with optimism about the EU, though as with vote choices there is substantial non-linearity, and this relationship is still confined to higher education (at least some school beyond the Bac). The role of education is slightly broader for feelings for redistribution and homosexuality: more educated people, starting with the Bac Pro, are less likely to support redistribution but, starting from the Bac Generale, more likely to accept homosexuality (Table 38). These relationships are fairly stable even when other characteristics, life satisfaction, and IPT are controlled for.

8. Literature

Our paper is related to the growing literature from diverse disciplines on the political economy of populism (see Gidron and Bonikowski (2013) and Mudde and Katwesser (2017) for overall reviews, Dornbusch and Edwards (1991) for an analysis of populism in Latin America and Rodrik (2017) for a synthetic discussion of the recent rise of populist parties). The closest to our papers are recent studies by Algan et al. (2018), Guiso et al. (2017), Inglehart and Norris (2016) and Dustmann et al.

(2017). Several of these papers examine the support for populism in European countries using individual survey data from the European Social Survey. Guiso et al. (2017) study the demand and supply of populism and document a link between individual-level economic insecurity and voting for populist parties. Inglehart and Norris (2016) also use survey-level data and argue that the rise of populism reflects cultural rather than economic factors. Dustmann et al. (2017) also use ESS data and show that regional unemployment is associated with non-mainstream vote in European Parliamentary elections. Algan et al. (2018) use regional industrial specialization, in particular pre-crisis construction booms, to instrument for the causal impact of the Great Recession on the support of non-mainstream parties. In contrast to Inglehart and Norris (2016), they find that economic insecurity explains a substantial share of the rise in populism.

Other papers have focused on other specific contexts, including France: Malgouyres (2017) analyses differential exposure to import competition to estimate the impact of trade shocks on the vote for the FN in France, finding small but significant, and potentially increasing, effects. Becker et al. (2017) analyze the determinants of the Brexit vote across UK districts, finding find that low levels of education, low income, and, to a lesser extent, unemployment are significant correlates, while there is no strong relationship with local levels of immigration. Colantone and Stanig (2016) show that import competition from China is also a strong correlate of Brexit vote. The role of globalization in the rise of populism is also analyzed in seminal papers by Autor et al. (2016, 2017) and Che et al. (2016) in the US context. They show a rising political polarization and higher likelihood for Trump voting in US counties that were affected the most by China's accession to the WTO.

Our paper does not consider the evolution of populism in Europe in general, but focuses on a specific place and time, the French presidential election of 2017. While this limits our analysis to a particular context, the large sample size and representativeness of this dataset allows us to explore the differences in the support for left-wing and right wing populism in greater detail, as well as describing the factors related to the shift from the traditional left-right axis of class conflict to the diagonal axis of individualism. Our paper does not focus on the dichotomy between cultural backlash and economic factors, indeed we show that economic factors are

related to life satisfaction, which is related to populist vote on both the right and the left, but equally we also show that IPT, which seems to be cultural, is equally important, and high on the populist left but low on the populist right. Analyses that conflate the extreme left and the extreme right miss this crucial point: it is not cultural or economic, rather it is the intersection of the two.

Piketty (2018) uses historical exit poll data from France, Britain and the United States to document the transformation of the left-right traditional axis. His paper adds an important historical dimension to our own. Similar to our paper, he argues that the 2017 election divided the French electorate into four quarters. In his analysis, there are the internationalist-egalitarians, represented by Mélenchon, the internationalist-inegalitarians, represented by Macron, the nativist-inegalitarians, represented by Fillon, and the nativist-egalitarians, represented by Le Pen. His historical perspective echoes many of our own finding, in particular the collapse of the old class system. Our data however suggest that it is not quite as he describes it: Macron and Le Pen voters are not egalitarian or inegalitarian, but rather indifferent to inequality on average. Fillon and Mélenchon are not internationalist or nativist but relatively indifferent to openness. We also do not find that education plays the role he assigns to these shifts. Mélenchon supporters, the new French left, are not highly educated "brahman"-like voters, but rather a new proletariat often from the public sector. More than education, the subjective variables of IPT and life satisfaction are needed to understand the simultaneous roles of culture and economics.

9. Conclusion and agenda for future research

This paper has used uniquely detailed data to describe the dislocation from the traditional left-right political axis that was exemplified by the 2017 French election, and used subjective variables on life satisfaction and IPT to underpin a categorization of ideology and vote choices. The old, left-right axis of Mélenchon and Fillon is a battle over redistribution, where the experiences of previous generations play a role above and beyond the experience of this one. The new, diagonal axis is based on individual experience. Much of our analysis suggests that a declassification is at work, a movement from class consciousness to individualism that provides an opening for political entrepreneurs such as Macron and Le Pen.

The next question to be addressed is, why now? There are several possible

reasons. The first, and simplest, is that 2017 provided a perfect storm of disapproval on the left and disgust on the right, which emptied the center. As apparent from Figure 2 the socialist party voter was positioned in the center to capture the median voter in 2012. In 2017, the party simply exploded, one half going to Macron, and the other split between Hamon and Mélenchon. Even if this was a "perfect storm", it is one that laid bare the underlying dynamics in French politics.

However, there is also reason to think that this unique moment in time coincided with a number of social and economic shifts that have laid fertile ground for a growing individualism in France. For an increasing number of people in France, these shifts are leading to an undoing of the ties that previously bound them to others – these people have been "declassified", and so they vote not with a class or a group, but with their own individual interests. There are many factors that lead to this declassification: the demise of the lifetime employment model, the weakened political and social power of some classes (for example, the blue collar manufacturing class), and individuals who themselves have broken the class barriers (for example, by moving up or down on the professional class scale relative to their father). In addition, the classes themselves may be changing. Eric Maurin (2002) has shown that the majority of blue-collar workers are in firms classified as "artisanal": they are truck drivers or repair personnel.

Future research will use enrich our analysis and add a temporal dimension with a historical analysis of shifts in the composition of the blue-collar working class, surveys such as Eurobarometer and ESS which extend further back in time.

10. *References*

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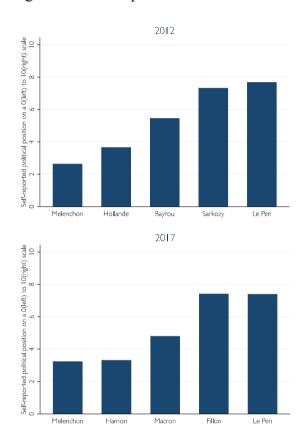Le Bras, H. and E. Todd (2013). Le Mystere Français. Paris: Le Seuil.

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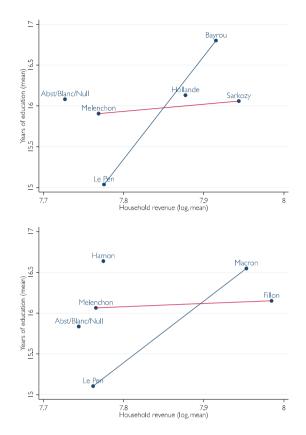
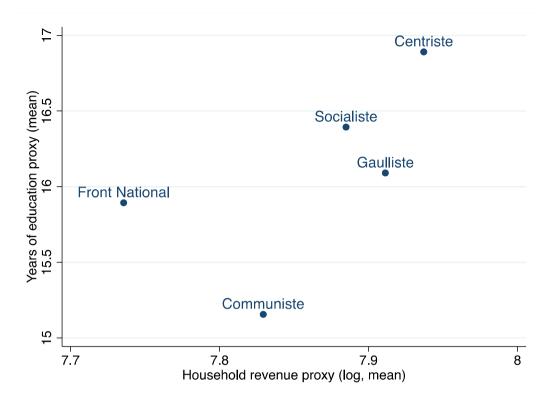## 11. Figures

Figure 1. Political position of voters

Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate. Individual responses to the political positioning question are averages over all waves available.

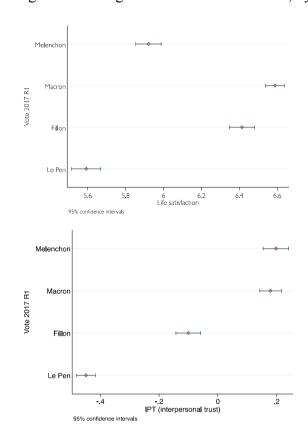Figure 2. Mean income and education, by first round vote

Weighted average of education and income for voters of each candidate in the first round in 2012 (left) and 2017 (right). Years of education are estimated from reported diploma, and results are robust to alternative specifications for the education variable.
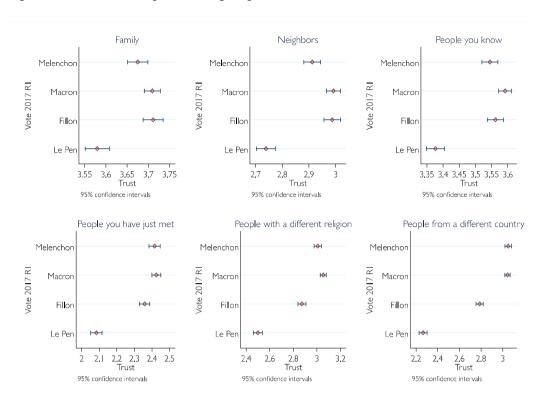
Figure 3. Mean income and education, by father's vote

Weighted average of education and income by respondent's recollection of parent vote.

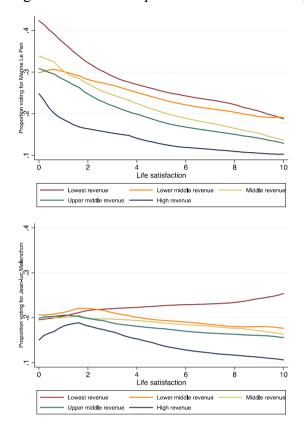Figure 4. Average life satisfaction and IPT, by vote

Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017 to questions on life satisfaction (left) and IPT (interpersonal trust, right).

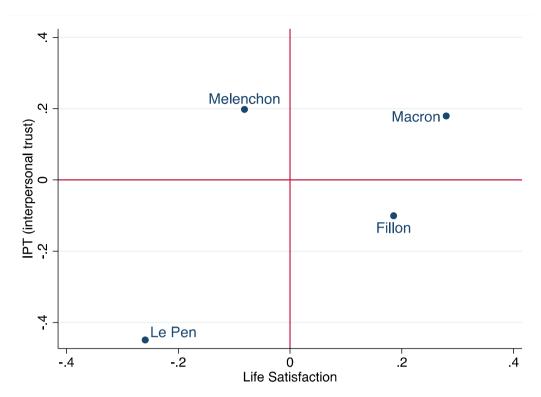Figure 5. Trust toward particular groups

Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017.

Figure 6. Relationship of life satisfaction and populist votes across income
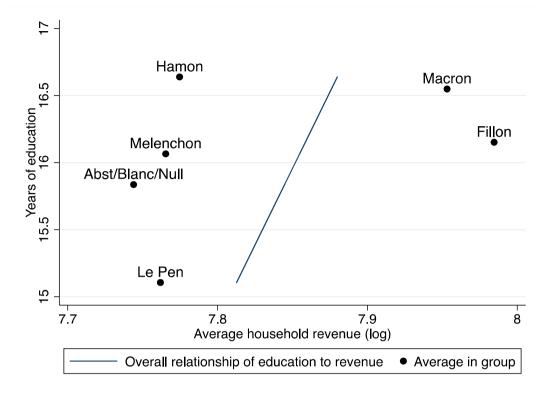

Lines show the smoothed weighted average of the proportion of people voting for Marine Le Pen (left) or Jean-Luc Mélenchon (right) at each level of life satisfaction and at different quintiles of revenue.

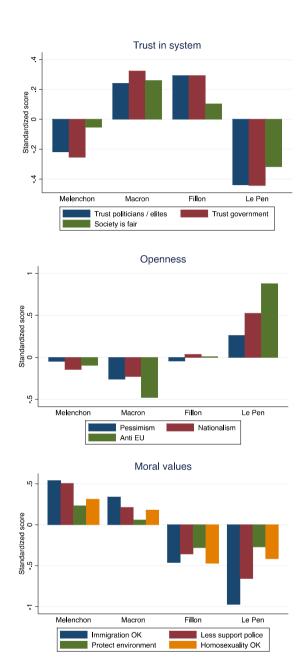Figure 7. IPT and Life satisfaction, by vote choice

Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017 for IPT (y-axis) and life satisfaction (x-axis). IPT and life satisfaction are normalized with mean 0 and standard deviation 1. Le Pen voters have low IPT and low life satisfaction, while Macron voters have high life satisfaction and high IPT.

Figure 8: Difference between revenue and expectations of revenue given education

Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017 for household revenue and years of education. The line represents the overall relationship in the sample of years of education and household revenue, it can be interpreted as the expected value of revenue at a given level of education. Voters on the right of the line (Macron and Fillon voters) earn more than expected given their level of education. Voters on the left of this line (everyone else) earn less than expected given their level of education.

Figure 9: Ideological groupings (composite variables) by voter choice

Weighted average of responses for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017. The questions used in the composition of each ideology can be found in Table 1.

Figure 10. Four ideological groups (individual question examples), by voter choice

Weighted average of responses to specific questions for voters for each candidate in the first round in 2017.

2. *Tables*

Table 1. Ideology questions and categorization

		Moral values	
Ideology	Cronbach's alpha	Questions	Original scale
Anti-immigrant	0.9196	There are too many immigrants in France	1=disagree, 5=agree
		French people should have priority for jobs.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		Children of immigrants are as French as children of non-immigrants.	1=disagree, 5=agree (R)
		Immigration is a source of cultural enrichment.	1=disagree, 5=agree (R)
		Islam is a threat for the west.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		Extent to which documented immigrants be allowed to participate in elections should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
		Number of foreigners authorized to live in France should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
		Expulsion of illegal immigrants should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased (R)
		Number of refugees and asylum seekers authorized to live in France should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
		Spending on social benefits for legal immigrants in France should be…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
Limits on police and military	0.7801	Death penalty should be reinstated	1=disagree, 5=agree (R)
		Spending on border control should be…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Spending on police and maintaining order should be…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Spending on the army and defense should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
		Severity of punishment for delinquents should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
		Resources for surveillance by security services should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
Environment	0.8084	Importance for you of the environment	1=not at all important, 5=extremely important (R)
		Spending on environmental protection should…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Spending on fighting climate change should…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Taxes on polluting activities should…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
Support homo-sexual rights	0.7249	Homosexuality is an acceptable way to live one's sexual life.	1=agree, 5=disagree
		Homosexual rights should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased

		Financial	
Ideology	Cronbach's alpha	Questions	Original scale
Equality	0.779	Good thing that there are different social groups, some high and some low	1=disagree, 7=agree (R)
		People at the bottom of the social order should maintain their place	1=disagree, 7=agree
		We need to do everything we can so that different social groups live in the same conditions.	1=disagree, 7=agree
		We should have more equality in society.	1=disagree, 7=agree
Anti-capitalist	0.7014	Image of bankers	1=very positive, 5=very negative
		Image of entrepeneurs	1=very positive, 5=very negative
		Image of stockholders	1=very positive, 5=very negative
Civil servants	0.8316	Number of civil servants should be…	1=greatly reduced, 5=greatly increased
		It is necessary to reduce the number of civil servants	1=disagree, 5=agree
Government spending	0.7541	For social justice, should take from rich to give to poor	1=agree, 5=disagree (R)
		During an economic crisis, the government should…	1=disagree, 5=agree
		In the next years, the government's priority should be…	1=French competitiveness, 2=improving citizen lives
		Importance of social benefits in France	1=too much importance, 5=not enough importance
		Government spending on health care should…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Government spending on retired persons should…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Spending on unemployment insurance should…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater
		Spending on social benefits should…	1=be much smaller, 2=be much greater

Trust society			
Ideology	Cronbach's alpha	Questions	Original scale
Populism	0.771	Politicians in parliament should follow the will of the people.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		The most important decision should be made by people, not politicians.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		Political differences between political elites and ordinary people are bigger than differences between citizens.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		Prefer to be represented by an ordinary citizen than a professional politician.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		Politicians talk too much and act too little.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		Political compromise is the same as betraying your principles.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		A referendum should be held for important questions for our country.	1=disagree, 5=agree
		If I could, I would go to a meeting to discuss local political issues.	1=disagree, 5=agree
Trust institutions	0.8795	Trust in the Assembly (lower house of parliament)	0=Absolutely no trust, 10=Absolute trust
		Trust in the Senate (upper house of parliament)	0=Absolutely no trust, 10=Absolute trust
		Trust in the Constitutional Council	0=Absolutely no trust, 10=Absolute trust
		Trust in the European Union	0=Absolutely no trust, 10=Absolute trust
		Trust in local mayor	0=Absolutely no trust, 10=Absolute trust
		Trust in the President of France	0=Absolutely no trust, 10=Absolute trust
		Political elites ignore the problems of the people.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)
		Political power is controlled by economic power.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)
		We don't have enough information on political decisions.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)
		All citizens are not treated in the same way.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)
		Too many decisions are made by experts who were not elected.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)
		There is not enough supervision of political leaders.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)

			Trust society	
			Refusal to choose a candidate ("vote blanc") is not sufficiently taken into account.	0=Critique not relevant, 10=Critique relevant (R)
			France would be better governed if we chose some policymakers randomly from ordinary citizens.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 10=Absolutely agree (R)
			France would be better governed if we made sure that the profiles of policymakers reflected diversity in France.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 10=Absolutely agree (R)
			France would be better governed if we tested the competence of elected officials before they took office.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 10=Absolutely agree (R)
			France would be better governed if we there were more referendums so that citizens have the last word.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 10=Absolutely agree (R)
			France would be better governed if we made it mandatory to vote for all elections.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 10=Absolutely agree (R)
			France would be better governed if we consulted ordinary citizens more frequently.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 10=Absolutely agree (R)
		0.7603	In general, you find that society is fair.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 9=Absolutely agree
			In general, institutions function as they are supposed to.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 9=Absolutely agree
Society is fair			Most politicians are serving the interest of the people.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 9=Absolutely agree
			Everyone has the same chance for prosperity and happiness.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 9=Absolutely agree
			Society is structured such that in general people get what they deserve.	0=Absolutely do not agree, 9=Absolutely agree

Table 2. Life satisfaction and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Le Pen				Macron		
Life satisfaction	-0.0552***	-0.0431***	-0.0398***	-0.0371***	0.0698***	0.0619***	0.0557***	0.0539***
	(0.00365)	(0.00370)	(0.00383)	(0.00383)	(0.00394)	(0.00393)	(0.00404)	(0.00403)
Sociodem	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Observations	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184
Pseudo R2	0.0320	0.0731	0.0747	0.0861	0.0220	0.0340	0.0371	0.0421

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 3. Life satisfaction and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Fillon				Mélenchon			
Life satisfaction	0.0286***	0.0227***	0.0150***	0.0144***	-0.0187***	-0.0173***	-0.0123***	-0.0129***
	(0.00386)	(0.00390)	(0.00404)	(0.00400)	(0.00345)	(0.00350)	(0.00363)	(0.00363)
Sociodem	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184	14,184
	0.0622	0.0741	0.0806	0.0916	0.0162	0.0183	0.0213	0.0294

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 4. IPT and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
	Le Pen				Macron			
IPT	-0.118***	-0.107***	-0.105***	-0.101***	0.0753***	0.0667***	0.0650***	0.0624***
	(0.00390)	(0.00390)	(0.00391)	(0.00393)	(0.00425)	(0.00431)	(0.00430)	(0.00433)
Sociodemographics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083
Pseudo R2	0.107	0.138	0.141	0.152	0.0262	0.0375	0.0436	0.0491

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 5. IPT and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Fillon				Mélenchon			
IPT	-0.0103***	-0.0170***	-0.0191***	-0.0200***	0.0528***	0.0564***	0.0580***	0.0570***
	(0.00394)	(0.00398)	(0.00398)	(0.00399)	(0.00402)	(0.00411)	(0.00409)	(0.00410)
Sociodemographics	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083	11,083
Pseudo R2	0.0551	0.0684	0.0754	0.0929	0.0318	0.0366	0.0413	0.0537

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 6. Local variables, life satisfaction, and IPT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Life Satisfaction		IPT	
Local median income	2.09e-05***	7.57e-06***	1.20e-05***	4.09e-06
	(2.39e-06)	(2.12e-06)	(2.84e-06)	(2.77e-06)
Very weak intergration	0.0192	-0.0122	-0.0624*	-0.0764**
	(0.0244)	(0.0211)	(0.0319)	(0.0301)
Strong integration	0.0359	0.00909	0.0216	0.00807
	(0.0268)	(0.0251)	(0.0388)	(0.0360)
Very strong integration	0.114***	0.0953***	0.144***	0.140***
	(0.0271)	(0.0252)	(0.0355)	(0.0347)
Include individual variables		Yes		Yes
Constant	-0.432***	-2.360***	-0.288***	-1.291***
	(0.0489)	(0.153)	(0.0622)	(0.175)
Observations	14,184	14,184	11,083	11,083
Adjusted R-squared	0.008	0.094	0.006	0.051

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables include age, age², sex, education, revenue (log and rank), and dummies for employment, retirement, and born outside France. Dummy for missing Le Bras indicator included.

Table 7. Local variables and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Le Pen				Macron			
Local median income	-5.93e-06***	-1.96e-06	-1.67e-06	-1.41e-06	3.68e-06***	6.04e-07	2.52e-07	3.31e-07
	(1.37e-06)	(1.31e-06)	(1.33e-06)	(1.34e-06)	(1.12e-06)	(1.14e-06)	(1.17e-06)	(1.16e-06)
Very weak intergration	0.000770	0.00815	0.00680	-0.000458	-0.000298	-0.00776	-0.00474	-0.00268
	(0.0153)	(0.0153)	(0.0156)	(0.0147)	(0.0130)	(0.0130)	(0.0132)	(0.0125)
Strong integration	-0.0330*	-0.0263	-0.0276	-0.0247	0.0301**	0.0236*	0.0259*	0.0237*
	(0.0181)	(0.0168)	(0.0170)	(0.0154)	(0.0147)	(0.0143)	(0.0143)	(0.0140)
Very strong integration	-0.0834***	-0.0824***	-0.0791***	-0.0648***	0.0732***	0.0706***	0.0671***	0.0624***
	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0149)	(0.0138)	(0.0127)	(0.0128)	(0.0126)	(0.0123)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057
csp==7	0.0114	0.0720	0.0810	0.145	0.00460	0.0283	0.0421	0.0467

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, a dummy for born in France, sex, income, education, and dummies for unemployment, inactivity and student status. A dummy variable is included in all specifications for those with missing Lebras classification.

Table 7. Local variables and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Le Pen				Macron			
Local median income	-5.93e-06***	-1.96e-06	-1.67e-06	-1.41e-06	3.68e-06***	6.04e-07	2.52e-07	3.31e-07
	(1.37e-06)	(1.31e-06)	(1.33e-06)	(1.34e-06)	(1.12e-06)	(1.14e-06)	(1.17e-06)	(1.16e-06)
Very weak intergration	0.000770	0.00815	0.00680	-0.000458	-0.000298	-0.00776	-0.00474	-0.00268
	(0.0153)	(0.0153)	(0.0156)	(0.0147)	(0.0130)	(0.0130)	(0.0132)	(0.0125)
Strong integration	-0.0330*	-0.0263	-0.0276	-0.0247	0.0301**	0.0236*	0.0259*	0.0237*
	(0.0181)	(0.0168)	(0.0170)	(0.0154)	(0.0147)	(0.0143)	(0.0143)	(0.0140)
Very strong integration	-0.0834***	-0.0824***	-0.0791***	-0.0648***	0.0732***	0.0706***	0.0671***	0.0624***
	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0149)	(0.0138)	(0.0127)	(0.0128)	(0.0126)	(0.0123)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057
csp==7	0.0114	0.0720	0.0810	0.145	0.00460	0.0283	0.0421	0.0467

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, a dummy for born in France, sex, income, education, and dummies for unemployment, inactivity and student status. A dummy variable is included in all specifications for those with missing Lebras classification.

Table 8. Local variables and the vote for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Fillon				Mélenchon		
Local median income	8.25e-06***	5.31e-06***	5.22e-06***	5.37e-06***	-6.00e-06***	-4.49e-06***	-4.41e-06***	-4.70e-06***
	(1.17e-06)	(1.20e-06)	(1.20e-06)	(1.20e-06)	(1.26e-06)	(1.29e-06)	(1.29e-06)	(1.29e-06)
Very weak intergration	0.0199	0.0150	0.0157	0.0137	0.000629	0.000996	0.000520	0.00554
	(0.0151)	(0.0144)	(0.0143)	(0.0141)	(0.0148)	(0.0142)	(0.0142)	(0.0137)
Strong integration	0.00571	0.00450	0.00511	0.00454	0.0110	0.0114	0.0111	0.0111
	(0.0184)	(0.0189)	(0.0189)	(0.0185)	(0.0182)	(0.0177)	(0.0178)	(0.0168)
Very strong integration	-0.00588	-0.00747	-0.00828	-0.00515	0.0276*	0.0278*	0.0289*	0.0193
	(0.0156)	(0.0170)	(0.0170)	(0.0173)	(0.0148)	(0.0147)	(0.0148)	(0.0149)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057	11,057
Pseudo R2	0.00816	0.0767	0.0776	0.0790	0.00399	0.0226	0.0236	0.0438

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, a dummy for born in France, sex, income, education, and dummies for unemployment, inactivity and student status. A dummy variable is included in all specifications for those with missing Lebras classification.

Table 9. Professional class, life satisfaction and IPT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Life Satisfaction		IPT	
Farmers	-0.121	0.0812	-0.170	-0.00837
	(0.0914)	(0.0914)	(0.133)	(0.135)
Entrepreneurs	-0.116**	-0.0532	-0.183***	-0.143***
	(0.0481)	(0.0464)	(0.0556)	(0.0545)
Managers	0.109***	-0.0166	0.0319	-0.0417
	(0.0245)	(0.0263)	(0.0300)	(0.0324)
Employees	-0.200***	-0.0948***	-0.187***	-0.129***
	(0.0230)	(0.0236)	(0.0267)	(0.0283)
Workers	-0.309***	-0.102***	-0.457***	-0.243***
	(0.0348)	(0.0362)	(0.0395)	(0.0433)
Include individual variables		Yes		Yes
Constant	0.141***	-2.245***	0.120***	-1.374***
	(0.0161)	(0.187)	(0.0196)	(0.224)
Observations	12,234	12,234	9,745	9,745
Adjusted R-squared	0.021	0.088	0.025	0.053

*OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables include age, age², sex, education, revenue (log and rank), and dummies for employment, retirement, and born outside France. Omitted category : intermediate professions (white collar non-managerial).*

Table 10. Professional class and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Fillon				Mélenchon			
Farmers	0.0320	0.103**	0.102**	0.103**	-0.139**	-0.175***	-0.174***	-0.179***
	(0.0479)	(0.0466)	(0.0463)	(0.0466)	(0.0564)	(0.0562)	(0.0565)	(0.0540)
Entrepreneurs	0.131***	0.126***	0.127***	0.123***	-0.0899***	-0.0947***	-0.0958***	-0.0882***
	(0.0194)	(0.0188)	(0.0188)	(0.0189)	(0.0229)	(0.0226)	(0.0227)	(0.0223)
Managers	0.0794***	0.0492***	0.0496***	0.0482***	-0.0653***	-0.0504***	-0.0508***	-0.0481***
	(0.0123)	(0.0132)	(0.0132)	(0.0132)	(0.0119)	(0.0127)	(0.0126)	(0.0125)
Employees	0.0110	0.0134	0.0147	0.0108	-0.0258***	-0.0279***	-0.0294***	-0.0206**
	(0.0118)	(0.0121)	(0.0121)	(0.0121)	(0.00992)	(0.0105)	(0.0105)	(0.0104)
Workers	-0.109***	-0.0358*	-0.0348*	-0.0416**	0.0109	-0.0171	-0.0185	-0.00472
	(0.0206)	(0.0210)	(0.0210)	(0.0211)	(0.0142)	(0.0154)	(0.0154)	(0.0154)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations				(0.00433)				(0.00431)
Pseudo R2								

*Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, education and dummies for retired, born in France, and unemployment. Only individuals with CSP included in sample (students and inactive excluded). Omitted category : mid-level workers.*

Table 11. Professional class and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Le Pen				Macron		
Farmers	0.0991**	0.0293	0.0309	0.0299	-0.0832	-0.0398	-0.0449	-0.0388
	(0.0469)	(0.0467)	(0.0462)	(0.0491)	(0.0529)	(0.0534)	(0.0542)	(0.0537)
Entrepreneurs	0.0858***	0.0666***	0.0632***	0.0527**	-0.0931***	-0.0787***	-0.0767***	-0.0691***
	(0.0218)	(0.0215)	(0.0214)	(0.0207)	(0.0241)	(0.0243)	(0.0241)	(0.0241)
Managers	-0.0592***	-0.00142	-0.00296	-0.00568	0.0373***	0.00560	0.00703	0.00827
	(0.0153)	(0.0159)	(0.0157)	(0.0150)	(0.0120)	(0.0130)	(0.0129)	(0.0129)
Employees	0.0938***	0.0619***	0.0580***	0.0489***	-0.0620***	-0.0236*	-0.0185	-0.0151
	(0.0115)	(0.0122)	(0.0121)	(0.0117)	(0.0114)	(0.0123)	(0.0122)	(0.0122)
Workers	0.175***	0.0757***	0.0723***	0.0530***	-0.113***	-0.0501**	-0.0459**	-0.0341*
	(0.0148)	(0.0160)	(0.0160)	(0.0154)	(0.0178)	(0.0194)	(0.0193)	(0.0192)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
				(0.00413)				(0.00465)
csp==7								

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, education and dummies for retired, born in France, and unemployment. Only individuals with CSP included in sample (students and inactive excluded). Omitted category : mid-level workers.

Table 12. Parent characteristics, life satisfaction and IPT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Life Satisfaction		IPT	
Father farmer	0.137***	0.192***	-0.0266	0.00212
	(0.0455)	(0.0443)	(0.0553)	(0.0533)
Father worker	-0.0795***	0.0398	-0.164***	-0.0695**
	(0.0289)	(0.0283)	(0.0341)	(0.0343)
Father employee	-0.0830**	-0.00845	-0.135***	-0.0741*
	(0.0348)	(0.0332)	(0.0399)	(0.0394)
Father entrepreneur	-0.0188	0.0191	-0.0297	-0.0235
	(0.0351)	(0.0337)	(0.0409)	(0.0400)
Father manager	0.0889***	0.0317	0.0692*	0.0219
	(0.0311)	(0.0300)	(0.0377)	(0.0374)
Parents born outside France	-0.0320	-0.0286	0.0481*	0.0505*
	(0.0223)	(0.0222)	(0.0258)	(0.0263)
Include individual variables		Yes		Yes
Constant	0.0600**	-2.133***	0.0383	-1.257***
	(0.0234)	(0.170)	(0.0282)	(0.208)
Observations	14,220	14,220	11,112	11,112
Adjusted R-squared	0.006	0.097	0.007	0.056

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, CSP, education and dummies for retired, born in France, unemployment and missing father CSP.

Table 13. Parent characteristics and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
			Le Pen				Macron	
Father farmer	0.0177	-0.00987	-0.000596	-0.0103	0.0237	0.0542**	0.0417*	0.0547***
	(0.0245)	(0.0234)	(0.0232)	(0.0223)	(0.0214)	(0.0214)	(0.0213)	(0.0211)
Father worker	0.0786***	0.0257*	0.0280**	0.0193	-0.0487***	-0.0105	-0.0129	-0.00562
	(0.0147)	(0.0143)	(0.0142)	(0.0136)	(0.0140)	(0.0140)	(0.0139)	(0.0139)
Father employee	0.0654***	0.0329**	0.0331**	0.0272*	-0.0171	0.00657	0.00519	0.0116
	(0.0171)	(0.0164)	(0.0164)	(0.0157)	(0.0164)	(0.0162)	(0.0161)	(0.0161)
Father entrepreneur	0.0234	0.0107	0.0111	0.00849	-0.0346**	-0.0204	-0.0214	-0.0184
	(0.0181)	(0.0172)	(0.0171)	(0.0165)	(0.0169)	(0.0167)	(0.0165)	(0.0165)
Father manager	-0.0572***	-0.0253	-0.0243	-0.0243	0.0253*	0.00950	0.00733	0.00840
	(0.0181)	(0.0172)	(0.0171)	(0.0163)	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0146)	(0.0146)
Parents born outside France	-0.0163	-0.00903	-0.00994	-0.00377	-0.00889	-0.0116	-0.0103	-0.0142
	(0.0113)	(0.0112)	(0.0111)	(0.0110)	(0.0107)	(0.0108)	(0.0107)	(0.0107)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction		Yes					Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086
Pseudo R2	0.0120	0.0741	0.0826	0.146	0.00389	0.0276	0.0411	0.0464

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, CSP, education and dummies for retired, born in France, unemployment and missing father CSP. Omitted category : mid-level workers.

Table 14. Parent characteristics and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
			Fillon				Mélenchon	
Father farmer	0.0854***	0.0537***	0.0510**	0.0545***	-0.124***	-0.102***	-0.0986***	-0.0996***
	(0.0210)	(0.0201)	(0.0201)	(0.0201)	(0.0237)	(0.0237)	(0.0237)	(0.0233)
Father worker	-0.0234	-0.0161	-0.0166	-0.0170	-0.0117	-0.00858	-0.00792	-0.00380
	(0.0152)	(0.0146)	(0.0146)	(0.0145)	(0.0125)	(0.0126)	(0.0126)	(0.0124)
Father employee	-0.0196	-0.0183	-0.0185	-0.0194	-0.0190	-0.0158	-0.0156	-0.0108
	(0.0179)	(0.0169)	(0.0169)	(0.0168)	(0.0148)	(0.0147)	(0.0147)	(0.0145)
Father entrepreneur	0.0780***	0.0527***	0.0525***	0.0526***	-0.0482***	-0.0341**	-0.0339**	-0.0318**
	(0.0165)	(0.0158)	(0.0159)	(0.0158)	(0.0157)	(0.0155)	(0.0155)	(0.0154)
Father manager	0.0771***	0.0513***	0.0510***	0.0518***	-0.0572***	-0.0440***	-0.0435***	-0.0454***
	(0.0153)	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0148)	(0.0144)	(0.0144)	(0.0144)	(0.0142)
Parents born outside France	-0.0293***	-0.0213*	-0.0209*	-0.0204*	0.0397***	0.0300***	0.0298***	0.0272***
	(0.0112)	(0.0112)	(0.0111)	(0.0111)	(0.00931)	(0.00956)	(0.00956)	(0.00950)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086
Pseudo R2	0.0130	0.0877	0.0884	0.0903	0.00711	0.0304	0.0314	0.0514

*Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, CSP, education and dummies for retired, born in France, unemployment and missing father CSP. Omitted category : mid-level workers.*

Table 15. Income, life satisfaction, and IPT

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Life Satisfaction				IPT			
Adjusted income (rank)	0.886***		0.764***	0.664***	0.490***		0.539***	0.223*
	(0.0310)		(0.115)	(0.113)	(0.0364)		(0.135)	(0.134)
Adjusted income (log)		0.433***	0.0646	0.0513		0.235***	-0.0262	-0.00348
		(0.0168)	(0.0607)	(0.0591)		(0.0195)	(0.0709)	(0.0701)
Include individual variables				Yes				Yes
Constant	-0.426***	-3.138***	-0.836**	-0.197	-0.281***	-1.747***	-0.115	-0.691
	(0.0197)	(0.124)	(0.387)	(0.395)	(0.0222)	(0.144)	(0.452)	(0.465)
Observations	14,220	14,220	14,220	14,220	11,112	11,112	11,112	11,112
Adjusted R-squared	0.066	0.061	0.066	0.098	0.019	0.017	0.019	0.055

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual controls are sex, age, age², education, a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France, a dummy for unemployed and professional class.

Table 16. Income and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Le Pen					Macron				
Adjusted income (log)		-0.0945***	0.00318	0.00668	0.00769		0.0924***	-0.0136	-0.0154	-0.00845
		(0.00727)	(0.0257)	(0.0254)	(0.0253)		(0.00790)	(0.0252)	(0.0252)	(0.0251)
Adjusted income (rank)	-0.202***		-0.111**	-0.0862*	-0.0882*	0.188***		0.155***	0.116**	0.130***
	(0.0149)		(0.0509)	(0.0505)	(0.0500)	(0.0148)		(0.0494)	(0.0495)	(0.0493)
Individual			Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction				Yes					Yes	
IPT					Yes					Yes
Observations	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086
Pseudo R2	0.0201	0.0177	0.0655	0.0746	0.141	0.0137	0.0124	0.0249	0.0387	0.0442

Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual controls are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France and unemployment. Marginal effects from logit regression.

Table 17. Income and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
				Fillon				Mélenchon		
Adjusted income (rank)		0.118***	0.0690**	0.0696**	0.0662**		-0.0618***	-0.0276	-0.0263	-0.0295
		(0.00797)	(0.0278)	(0.0278)	(0.0275)		(0.00676)	(0.0214)	(0.0213)	(0.0222)
Adjusted income (log)	0.223***		-0.00777	-0.0191	0.00248	-0.124***		-0.0333	-0.0261	-0.0443
	(0.0149)		(0.0528)	(0.0530)	(0.0525)	(0.0137)		(0.0433)	(0.0432)	(0.0445)
Individual			Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction				Yes					Yes	
IPT					Yes					Yes
Observations	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086
Pseudo R2	0.0243	0.0252	0.0737	0.0746	0.0759	0.00848	0.00850	0.0196	0.0206	0.0411

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, CSP, education and dummies for retired, born in France, unemployment and missing father CSP. Omitted category : mid-level workers.

Table 18. Sociodemographics, life satisfaction, and IPT

	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Life Satisfaction		IPT	
Age	-0.0224***	-0.0290***	-0.00726	-0.00894**
	(0.00360)	(0.00355)	(0.00454)	(0.00453)
Age²	0.000240***	0.000265***	0.000167***	0.000172***
	(4.23e-05)	(4.14e-05)	(5.20e-05)	(5.18e-05)
Female	-0.0207	0.00811	0.0615***	0.0701***
	(0.0179)	(0.0174)	(0.0205)	(0.0206)
Retired	0.201***	0.133***	0.0598	0.0480
	(0.0350)	(0.0340)	(0.0375)	(0.0376)
Born outside France	-0.0478	-0.00834	0.0566	0.0643
	(0.0640)	(0.0618)	(0.0722)	(0.0714)
CAP	0.113***	0.0970**	-0.0202	-0.0241
	(0.0434)	(0.0421)	(0.0462)	(0.0460)
BEP	0.102**	0.0741*	0.110**	0.102**
	(0.0439)	(0.0421)	(0.0480)	(0.0479)
BAC Pro	0.144***	0.0736*	0.0874*	0.0699
	(0.0417)	(0.0404)	(0.0456)	(0.0455)
BAC Gen	0.220***	0.138***	0.195***	0.174***
	(0.0421)	(0.0406)	(0.0463)	(0.0461)
BAC+2/3	0.345***	0.201***	0.358***	0.320***
	(0.0354)	(0.0343)	(0.0388)	(0.0391)
BAC+4	0.443***	0.230***	0.447***	0.388***
	(0.0388)	(0.0380)	(0.0434)	(0.0446)
Grands Ecoles	0.625***	0.343***	0.540***	0.459***
	(0.0483)	(0.0489)	(0.0568)	(0.0586)
Adjusted income (log)		0.378***		0.117***
		(0.0180)		(0.0217)
Unemployed		-0.488***		-0.00216
		(0.0459)		(0.0500)
Constant	0.201**	-2.203***	-0.452***	-1.225***
	(0.0838)	(0.147)	(0.108)	(0.182)
Observations	14,220	14,220	11,112	11,112
Adjusted R-squared	0.034	0.092	0.042	0.046

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

Table 19. Sociodemographics and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Le Pen				Macron			
Age	0.0146***	0.0151***	0.0139***	0.0131***	0.00203	0.000797	0.00229	0.00122
	(0.00215)	(0.00213)	(0.00213)	(0.00201)	(0.00192)	(0.00192)	(0.00190)	(0.00190)
Age²	-0.0002***	-0.0002***	-0.0002***	-0.00017***	-1.18e-05	-5.90e-06	-1.96e-05	-1.58e-05
	(2.57e-05)	(2.54e-05)	(2.54e-05)	(2.38e-05)	(2.18e-05)	(2.2e-05)	(2.2e-05)	(2.2e-05)
Female	-0.0185**	-0.0222**	-0.0222***	-0.0144*	-0.0110	-0.00646	-0.00661	-0.0109
	(0.00862)	(0.00865)	(0.00861)	(0.00834)	(0.00858)	(0.00857)	(0.00851)	(0.00849)
Retired	0.0225	0.0286*	0.0346**	0.0332**	0.0196	0.00938	0.00105	0.00742
	(0.0170)	(0.0170)	(0.0169)	(0.0161)	(0.0161)	(0.0161)	(0.0160)	(0.0158)
Born outside France	-0.0984**	-0.103**	-0.103***	-0.0893**	-0.0219	-0.0185	-0.0143	-0.0219
	(0.0403)	(0.0404)	(0.0394)	(0.0377)	(0.0328)	(0.0328)	(0.0323)	(0.0326)
CAP	0.0143	0.0162	0.0199	0.0163	-0.00918	-0.0105	-0.0154	-0.00749
	(0.0165)	(0.0165)	(0.0165)	(0.0161)	(0.0210)	(0.0209)	(0.0208)	(0.0205)
BEP	-0.0437**	-0.0400**	-0.0366**	-0.0270	0.00361	0.000819	-0.00199	-0.00504
	(0.0174)	(0.0174)	(0.0174)	(0.0169)	(0.0213)	(0.0212)	(0.0211)	(0.0210)
BAC Pro	-0.0502***	-0.0423**	-0.0393**	-0.0315*	0.0254	0.0153	0.0131	0.0124
	(0.0168)	(0.0168)	(0.0168)	(0.0163)	(0.0205)	(0.0204)	(0.0204)	(0.0201)
BAC Gen	-0.0929***	-0.0839***	-0.0780***	-0.0642***	0.0729***	0.0611***	0.0529***	0.0503**
	(0.0177)	(0.0178)	(0.0177)	(0.0172)	(0.0198)	(0.0198)	(0.0197)	(0.0195)
BAC+2/3	-0.157***	-0.140***	-0.131***	-0.104***	0.111***	0.0892***	0.0782***	0.0691***
	(0.0148)	(0.0151)	(0.0151)	(0.0147)	(0.0164)	(0.0167)	(0.0166)	(0.0165)
BAC+4	-0.259***	-0.234***	-0.224***	-0.187***	0.161***	0.128***	0.115***	0.103***
	(0.0194)	(0.0197)	(0.0196)	(0.0190)	(0.0177)	(0.0183)	(0.0183)	(0.0182)
Grands Ecoles	-0.333***	-0.297***	-0.283***	-0.238***	0.166***	0.120***	0.102***	0.0915***
	(0.0340)	(0.0343)	(0.0339)	(0.0318)	(0.0232)	(0.0239)	(0.0237)	(0.0234)
Adjusted income (log)		-0.0494***	-0.0338***	-0.0337***		0.0613***	0.0407***	0.0550***
		(0.00832)	(0.00843)	(0.00801)		(0.00862)	(0.00869)	(0.00854)
Unemployed		0.00562	-0.0163	0.00860		-0.0866***	-0.0577**	-0.0855***
		(0.0189)	(0.0191)	(0.0185)		(0.0237)	(0.0237)	(0.0234)
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086
Pseudo R2	0.0608	0.0649	0.0742	0.140	0.0174	0.0241	0.0382	0.0437

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 20. Sociodemographics and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
			Fillon				Mélenchon	
Age	-0.00560***	-0.00664***	-0.00630***	-0.00667***	-0.000559	2.03e-05	-0.000350	0.000811
	(0.00190)	(0.00189)	(0.00189)	(0.00190)	(0.00177)	(0.00176)	(0.00176)	(0.00177)
Age²	0.000118***	0.000122***	0.000119***	0.000124***	-1.26e-05	-1.41e-05	-1.08e-05	-2.74e-05
	(2.08e-05)	(2.06e-05)	(2.06e-05)	(2.07e-05)	(2.08e-05)	(2.06e-05)	(2.06e-05)	(2.08e-05)
Female	0.0225***	0.0275***	0.0275***	0.0292***	-0.0147*	-0.0178**	-0.0177**	-0.0208***
	(0.00838)	(0.00838)	(0.00837)	(0.00838)	(0.00791)	(0.00793)	(0.00793)	(0.00783)
Retired	0.0168	0.0102	0.00853	0.0115	-0.0487***	-0.0443***	-0.0423***	-0.0445***
	(0.0138)	(0.0138)	(0.0138)	(0.0138)	(0.0156)	(0.0156)	(0.0156)	(0.0154)
Born outside France	0.000116	0.00332	0.00394	0.00430	0.0912***	0.0880***	0.0875***	0.0855***
	(0.0314)	(0.0315)	(0.0315)	(0.0313)	(0.0264)	(0.0264)	(0.0263)	(0.0262)
CAP	-0.00317	-0.00502	-0.00623	-0.00541	-0.0348*	-0.0329*	-0.0318*	-0.0311*
	(0.0183)	(0.0182)	(0.0182)	(0.0182)	(0.0181)	(0.0181)	(0.0181)	(0.0179)
BEP	0.0276	0.0232	0.0225	0.0257	-0.0217	-0.0185	-0.0175	-0.0234
	(0.0194)	(0.0193)	(0.0193)	(0.0193)	(0.0183)	(0.0182)	(0.0182)	(0.0180)
BAC Pro	0.0548***	0.0454**	0.0449**	0.0466**	-0.0404**	-0.0337*	-0.0327*	-0.0372**
	(0.0184)	(0.0183)	(0.0183)	(0.0183)	(0.0179)	(0.0179)	(0.0179)	(0.0176)
BAC Gen	0.0304*	0.0190	0.0172	0.0223	-0.0164	-0.00870	-0.00665	-0.0187
	(0.0182)	(0.0182)	(0.0182)	(0.0182)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)	(0.0173)
BAC+2/3	0.0657***	0.0448***	0.0425***	0.0508***	-0.0290**	-0.0147	-0.0118	-0.0329**
	(0.0150)	(0.0152)	(0.0152)	(0.0153)	(0.0147)	(0.0148)	(0.0149)	(0.0148)
BAC+4	0.0820***	0.0481***	0.0455**	0.0548***	-0.0443***	-0.0225	-0.0193	-0.0452***
	(0.0172)	(0.0178)	(0.0178)	(0.0179)	(0.0165)	(0.0169)	(0.0169)	(0.0168)
Grands Ecoles	0.196***	0.151***	0.148***	0.160***	-0.117***	-0.0872***	-0.0826***	-0.114***
	(0.0206)	(0.0212)	(0.0213)	(0.0214)	(0.0250)	(0.0254)	(0.0254)	(0.0251)
Adjusted income (log)		0.0651***	0.0602***	0.0674***		-0.0431***	-0.0384***	-0.0502***
		(0.00863)	(0.00887)	(0.00859)		(0.00742)	(0.00760)	(0.00749)
Unemployed		-0.0120	-0.00587	-0.0124		-0.00349	-0.0107	-0.00417
		(0.0242)	(0.0243)	(0.0242)		(0.0178)	(0.0180)	(0.0177)
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086	11,086
Pseudo R2	0.0669	0.0737	0.0746	0.0759	0.0161	0.0196	0.0206	0.0410

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 21. Correlation of "excess revenue" with subjective variables, the vote, and ideology

	Correlation with "excess revenue"
Life Satisfaction	0,26
Interpersonal trust	0.0693
Vote Le Pen	-0,04
Vote Fillon	0,12
Vote Macron	0,08
Vote Mélenchon	-0,07
Fairness	0,07
Openness	0,03
Redistribution	-0,15
Tolerance	-0,02

Excess revenue is calculated as the residual from a regression of education on household revenue.

Table 22. Intergenerational mobility, life satisfaction, and IPT

	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Life Satisfaction		IPT	
Higher professional class than father	0.157***	0.0692***	0.168***	0.134***
	(0.0224)	(0.0253)	(0.0262)	(0.0300)
Lower professional class than father	-0.0743***	-0.0843***	-0.00455	-0.0837**
	(0.0260)	(0.0283)	(0.0293)	(0.0339)
Constant	-0.00272	-2.393***	-0.0739***	-1.439***
	(0.0144)	(0.190)	(0.0162)	(0.226)
Observations	11,617	11,617	9,237	9,237
Adjusted R-squared	0.008	0.096	0.006	0.057

*Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$ Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, sex, income, education, parent occupation and a dummy for unemployment.*

Table 23. Intergenerational mobility and votes for Le Pen and Macron

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Le Pen				Macron		
Higher professional class than father	-0.0642***	-0.0369***	-0.0353***	-0.0255**	0.0417***	0.0253**	0.0231*	0.0169
	(0.0113)	(0.0118)	(0.0118)	(0.0116)	(0.00994)	(0.0121)	(0.0121)	(0.0120)
Lower professional class than father	0.00574	0.0445***	0.0409***	0.0339**	-0.0138	-0.00803	-0.00386	-0.00278
	(0.0112)	(0.0141)	(0.0140)	(0.0136)	(0.0114)	(0.0128)	(0.0127)	(0.0126)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100
Pseudo R2	0.00526	0.0695	0.0767	0.135	0.00245	0.0287	0.0422	0.0486

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, sex, income, education, parent occupation and a dummy for unemployment.

Table 24. Intergenerational mobility and votes for Fillon and Mélenchon

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Fillon				Mélenchon		
Higher professional class than father	0.0240**	-0.00163	-0.00229	0.000577	-0.00371	0.0126	0.0131	0.00505
	(0.0103)	(0.0121)	(0.0120)	(0.0121)	(0.00910)	(0.0104)	(0.0104)	(0.0102)
Lower professional class than father	0.0239**	-0.0136	-0.0127	-0.0151	-0.0154	-0.00122	-0.00228	0.00332
	(0.0111)	(0.0124)	(0.0124)	(0.0124)	(0.0103)	(0.0121)	(0.0121)	(0.0119)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100	10,100
Pseudo R2	0.000940	0.0806	0.0817	0.0834	0.000295	0.0187	0.0195	0.0391

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, sex, income, education, parent occupation and a dummy for unemployment.

Table 25. Life satisfaction and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Society is fair				EU good for employment			
Life satisfaction	0.379***	0.388***	0.386***	0.389***	0.382***	0.353***	0.354***	0.348***
	(0.0184)	(0.0186)	(0.0190)	(0.0191)	(0.0226)	(0.0229)	(0.0235)	(0.0236)
Sociodem	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
Constant	5.010***	5.138***	5.308***	5.595***	3.380***	3.223***	3.217***	3.502***
	(0.156)	(0.167)	(0.287)	(0.343)	(0.199)	(0.213)	(0.365)	(0.435)
Observations	14,015	14,015	14,015	14,015	13,675	13,675	13,675	13,675
Adjusted R-squared	0.048	0.050	0.050	0.051	0.029	0.038	0.037	0.039

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 26. Life satisfaction and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Pro redistribution				Homosexuality acceptable			
Life satisfaction	-0.137***	-0.119***	-0.0895***	-0.0871***	0.0785***	0.0652***	0.0577***	0.0564***
	(0.0110)	(0.0111)	(0.0114)	(0.0114)	(0.0107)	(0.0108)	(0.0111)	(0.0111)
Sociodem	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
Constant	-2.980***	-2.778***	-1.068***	-1.073***	3.382***	3.255***	2.723***	2.909***
	(0.0986)	(0.103)	(0.174)	(0.203)	(0.0921)	(0.0962)	(0.169)	(0.199)
Observations	14,035	14,035	14,035	14,035	14,033	14,033	14,033	14,033
Adjusted R-squared	0.020	0.031	0.044	0.053	0.045	0.053	0.054	0.060

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 27. IPT and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Society is fair				EU good for employment			
IPT	0.146***	0.152***	0.148***	0.152***	0.435***	0.403***	0.401***	0.396***
	(0.0203)	(0.0206)	(0.0206)	(0.0207)	(0.0246)	(0.0248)	(0.0249)	(0.0251)
Sociodem	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
Constant	5.149***	5.157***	4.639***	4.834***	3.219***	2.997***	2.699***	3.134***
	(0.195)	(0.208)	(0.344)	(0.402)	(0.239)	(0.257)	(0.428)	(0.511)
Observations	10,972	10,972	10,972	10,972	10,774	10,774	10,774	10,774
Adjusted R-squared	0.012	0.014	0.016	0.017	0.038	0.048	0.048	0.049

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 28. IPT and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Pro redistribution				Homosexuality acceptable			
IPT	0.0753***	0.101***	0.110***	0.110***	0.249***	0.239***	0.237***	0.234***
	(0.0121)	(0.0121)	(0.0120)	(0.0120)	(0.0111)	(0.0113)	(0.0113)	(0.0114)
Sociodem	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Education		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Economic			Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes
Social				Yes				Yes
Constant	-3.137***	-2.826***	-0.999***	-0.956***	3.482***	3.395***	2.919***	3.149***
	(0.119)	(0.124)	(0.198)	(0.233)	(0.109)	(0.115)	(0.192)	(0.224)
Observations	10,986	10,986	10,986	10,986	10,984	10,984	10,984	10,984
Adjusted R-squared	0.010	0.029	0.046	0.055	0.094	0.098	0.099	0.103

OLS. Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Sociodemographic variables are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France. Economic variables are log of household revenue, rank of household revenue, and a dummy for unemployed. Social variables are occupational class, parent characteristics, and commune characteristics.

Table 29. Local variables and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Society is fair				EU good for employment		
Local median income	3.54e-06	-1.54e-06	-4.21e-06	-2.10e-06	1.84e-05***	6.66e-06	4.30e-06	5.26e-06
	(7.15e-06)	(7.15e-06)	(7.54e-06)	(7.40e-06)	(6.24e-06)	(6.31e-06)	(6.15e-06)	(6.05e-06)
Very weak intergration	-0.0122	-0.0274	-0.00848	-0.0160	-0.118*	-0.141**	-0.125*	-0.108
	(0.0575)	(0.0577)	(0.0577)	(0.0603)	(0.0641)	(0.0642)	(0.0641)	(0.0672)
Strong integration	-0.0386	-0.0452	-0.0309	-0.0459	0.0381	0.0210	0.0323	0.0198
	(0.0607)	(0.0605)	(0.0586)	(0.0616)	(0.0680)	(0.0699)	(0.0718)	(0.0746)
Very strong integration	-0.0527	-0.0550	-0.0841*	-0.0768	0.131	0.130	0.105	0.0763
	(0.0518)	(0.0522)	(0.0499)	(0.0518)	(0.0819)	(0.0820)	(0.0809)	(0.0824)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	4.053***	4.548***	5.436***	4.746***	3.050***	2.105***	2.873***	2.615***
	(0.150)	(0.373)	(0.359)	(0.384)	(0.133)	(0.382)	(0.387)	(0.389)
Observations	10,952	10,952	10,952	10,952	10,757	10,757	10,757	10,757
Adjusted R-squared	-0.000	0.009	0.050	0.016	0.002	0.019	0.039	0.049

OLS regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, a dummy for born in France, sex, income, education, and dummies for unemployment, inactivity and student status. A dummy variable is included in all specifications for those with missing Lebras classification.

Table 30. Local variables and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Pro redistribution				Homosexuality acceptable			
Local median income	-2.24e-05***	-1.28e-05***	-1.22e-05***	-1.32e-05***	1.05e-06	-1.46e-06	-1.91e-06	-2.38e-06
	(3.78e-06)	(3.89e-06)	(3.95e-06)	(3.93e-06)	(3.54e-06)	(3.21e-06)	(3.22e-06)	(3.01e-06)
Very weak intergration	-0.0800**	-0.0648*	-0.0691*	-0.0567	0.0113	0.00800	0.0111	0.0254
	(0.0373)	(0.0367)	(0.0363)	(0.0362)	(0.0375)	(0.0349)	(0.0356)	(0.0330)
Strong integration	0.0242	0.0321	0.0287	0.0317	0.00124	-0.00375	-0.00125	-0.00475
	(0.0323)	(0.0319)	(0.0318)	(0.0312)	(0.0460)	(0.0439)	(0.0443)	(0.0402)
Very strong integration	0.0662*	0.0679*	0.0749**	0.0523	0.140***	0.138***	0.133***	0.104***
	(0.0360)	(0.0367)	(0.0360)	(0.0375)	(0.0427)	(0.0406)	(0.0410)	(0.0392)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	-2.343***	-0.954***	-1.165***	-0.812***	3.768***	2.611***	2.764***	2.921***
	(0.0751)	(0.230)	(0.229)	(0.230)	(0.0714)	(0.227)	(0.225)	(0.222)
Observations	10,966	10,966	10,966	10,966	10,964	10,964	10,964	10,964
Adjusted R-squared	0.009	0.040	0.046	0.049	0.003	0.054	0.058	0.100

OLS regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, a dummy for born in France, sex, income, education, and dummies for unemployment, inactivity and student status. A dummy variable is included in all specifications for those with missing Lebras classification.

Table 31. Class and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Society is fair				EU good for employment			
Farmers	0.289	0.300	0.275	0.301	-0.279	-0.118	-0.155	-0.129
	(0.192)	(0.191)	(0.183)	(0.190)	(0.253)	(0.252)	(0.243)	(0.251)
Entrepreneurs	0.188*	0.135	0.156	0.156	-0.294**	-0.238*	-0.217*	-0.182
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.103)	(0.105)	(0.123)	(0.122)	(0.120)	(0.120)
Managers	0.234***	0.199***	0.209***	0.205***	0.175***	-0.0157	-0.00634	0.00220
	(0.0526)	(0.0573)	(0.0565)	(0.0571)	(0.0640)	(0.0702)	(0.0692)	(0.0681)
Employees	0.0270	0.0242	0.0633	0.0434	-0.214***	-0.118*	-0.0821	-0.0668
	(0.0488)	(0.0521)	(0.0513)	(0.0520)	(0.0619)	(0.0655)	(0.0651)	(0.0649)
Workers	-0.0274	-0.0814	-0.0458	-0.0455	-0.458***	-0.186*	-0.153	-0.0889
	(0.0731)	(0.0793)	(0.0770)	(0.0794)	(0.0983)	(0.107)	(0.106)	(0.105)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	4.054***	4.750***	5.574***	4.955***	3.572***	2.711***	3.488***	3.281***
	(0.0341)	(0.422)	(0.413)	(0.421)	(0.0418)	(0.545)	(0.538)	(0.538)
Observations	9,709	9,709	9,709	9,709	9,512	9,512	9,512	9,512
Adjusted R-squared	0.003	0.011	0.050	0.018	0.008	0.018	0.040	0.048

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, education and dummies for retired, born in France, and unemployment. Only individuals with CSP included in sample (students and inactive excluded). Omitted category : mid-level workers.

Table 32. Class and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Pro redistribution				Homosexuality acceptable			
Farmers	0.00602	-0.142	-0.136	-0.141	-0.309**	-0.280*	-0.284*	-0.278*
	(0.150)	(0.152)	(0.150)	(0.151)	(0.155)	(0.149)	(0.148)	(0.155)
Entrepreneurs	-0.260***	-0.285***	-0.290***	-0.267***	-0.145**	-0.0594	-0.0551	-0.0260
	(0.0644)	(0.0637)	(0.0636)	(0.0635)	(0.0575)	(0.0572)	(0.0572)	(0.0558)
Managers	-0.245***	-0.158***	-0.161***	-0.153***	-0.0145	-0.0578*	-0.0557	-0.0478
	(0.0340)	(0.0368)	(0.0368)	(0.0363)	(0.0325)	(0.0345)	(0.0344)	(0.0334)
Employees	0.0191	-0.0201	-0.0292	-0.00400	-0.149***	-0.115***	-0.108***	-0.0853***
	(0.0298)	(0.0315)	(0.0314)	(0.0313)	(0.0289)	(0.0304)	(0.0304)	(0.0296)
Workers	0.240***	0.0835*	0.0753	0.114**	-0.187***	-0.0762*	-0.0694	-0.0194
	(0.0426)	(0.0465)	(0.0463)	(0.0465)	(0.0421)	(0.0454)	(0.0453)	(0.0445)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	-2.799***	-1.381***	-1.572***	-1.208***	3.914***	2.621***	2.779***	2.941***
	(0.0216)	(0.243)	(0.243)	(0.243)	(0.0212)	(0.239)	(0.237)	(0.234)
Observations	9,718	9,718	9,718	9,718	9,716	9,716	9,716	9,716
Adjusted R-squared	0.018	0.037	0.042	0.049	0.005	0.057	0.061	0.103

*Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, education and dummies for retired, born in France, and unemployment. Only individuals with CSP included in sample (students and inactive excluded). Omitted category : mid-level workers.*

Table 33. Parent variables and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Society is fair				EU good for employment			
Father farmer	0.211**	0.184*	0.0925	0.183*	0.0886	0.164	0.0844	0.160
	(0.0944)	(0.0960)	(0.0950)	(0.0956)	(0.126)	(0.128)	(0.129)	(0.126)
Father worker	0.0189	0.0306	0.0111	0.0406	-0.236***	-0.106	-0.123	-0.0784
	(0.0614)	(0.0623)	(0.0610)	(0.0622)	(0.0783)	(0.0791)	(0.0782)	(0.0783)
Father employee	0.0993	0.0969	0.0899	0.107	-0.163*	-0.0703	-0.0753	-0.0416
	(0.0728)	(0.0727)	(0.0709)	(0.0725)	(0.0908)	(0.0900)	(0.0885)	(0.0890)
Father entrepreneur	0.0931	0.0885	0.0823	0.0919	-0.0866	-0.0438	-0.0468	-0.0354
	(0.0725)	(0.0723)	(0.0707)	(0.0721)	(0.0949)	(0.0942)	(0.0928)	(0.0929)
Father manager	0.0677	0.0223	0.00945	0.0191	0.0693	-0.0256	-0.0356	-0.0324
	(0.0664)	(0.0664)	(0.0648)	(0.0661)	(0.0812)	(0.0813)	(0.0803)	(0.0796)
Parents born outside France	0.206	0.181	0.181	0.215	-0.210	-0.0894	-0.0963	-0.0122
	(0.151)	(0.152)	(0.152)	(0.151)	(0.225)	(0.225)	(0.221)	(0.223)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	4.055***	4.585***	5.415***	4.773***	3.556***	2.692***	3.406***	3.204***
	(0.0496)	(0.394)	(0.387)	(0.394)	(0.0629)	(0.508)	(0.503)	(0.502)
Observations	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,785	10,785	10,785	10,785
Adjusted R-squared	0.000	0.011	0.051	0.017	0.003	0.019	0.039	0.049

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, education and dummies for retired, born in France, and unemployment. Only individuals with CSP included in sample (students and inactive excluded). Omitted category : mid-level workers.

Table 34. Parent variables and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Pro redistribution				Homosexuality acceptable			
Father farmer	-0.0626	-0.0876	-0.0667	-0.0881	-0.294***	-0.162***	-0.179***	-0.163***
	(0.0593)	(0.0602)	(0.0600)	(0.0598)	(0.0577)	(0.0564)	(0.0564)	(0.0549)
Father worker	0.0944**	0.0143	0.0188	0.0221	-0.138***	-0.0512	-0.0548	-0.0350
	(0.0387)	(0.0391)	(0.0391)	(0.0389)	(0.0349)	(0.0351)	(0.0349)	(0.0340)
Father employee	0.0499	0.00832	0.00986	0.0163	-0.0664	-0.00215	-0.00336	0.0144
	(0.0460)	(0.0457)	(0.0456)	(0.0455)	(0.0420)	(0.0410)	(0.0409)	(0.0400)
Father entrepreneur	-0.0818*	-0.0766	-0.0752	-0.0740	-0.132***	-0.0735*	-0.0746*	-0.0680
	(0.0476)	(0.0470)	(0.0468)	(0.0466)	(0.0434)	(0.0427)	(0.0425)	(0.0416)
Father manager	-0.195***	-0.125***	-0.123***	-0.128***	0.0295	0.0219	0.0196	0.0172
	(0.0434)	(0.0430)	(0.0430)	(0.0427)	(0.0387)	(0.0382)	(0.0381)	(0.0372)
Parents born outside France	-0.0337	-0.0980	-0.0957	-0.0751	-0.288***	-0.155*	-0.157*	-0.108
	(0.0898)	(0.0866)	(0.0872)	(0.0865)	(0.0887)	(0.0886)	(0.0877)	(0.0850)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	-2.802***	-1.245***	-1.434***	-1.103***	3.938***	2.814***	2.963***	3.112***
	(0.0326)	(0.229)	(0.229)	(0.229)	(0.0285)	(0.224)	(0.223)	(0.219)
Observations	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,993	10,993	10,993	10,993
Adjusted R-squared	0.007	0.043	0.048	0.052	0.009	0.055	0.058	0.101

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, education and dummies for retired, born in France, and unemployment. Only individuals with CSP included in sample (students and inactive excluded). Omitted category : mid-level workers.

Table 35. Revenue and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
			Society is fair					EU good for employment		
Adjusted income (rank)	0.295*** (0.0677)		0.328 (0.246)	0.0767 (0.243)	0.294 (0.245)	0.535*** (0.0848)		0.0842 (0.307)	-0.142 (0.300)	-0.00854 (0.301)
Adjusted income (log)		0.138*** (0.0358)	-0.0700 (0.129)	-0.0896 (0.128)	-0.0694 (0.129)		0.264*** (0.0451)	0.0333 (0.163)	0.0186 (0.159)	0.0363 (0.160)
Individual			Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction				Yes					Yes	
IPT					Yes					Yes
Constant	3.959*** (0.0418)	3.102*** (0.266)	5.617*** (0.872)	5.692*** (0.863)	5.717*** (0.871)	3.148*** (0.0536)	1.490*** (0.335)	2.802** (1.104)	2.844*** (1.075)	3.074*** (1.088)
Observations	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,785	10,785	10,785	10,785	10,785
Adjusted R2	0.002	0.002	0.011	0.051	0.017	0.004	0.004	0.018	0.038	0.048

*Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual controls are sex, age, age², a dummy for retirement, a dummy for being born outside of France and unemployment. Marginal effects from logit regression.*

Table 36. Revenue and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
			Pro redistribution					Homosexuality acceptable		
Adjusted income (rank)	-0.655*** (0.0405)		-0.404*** (0.135)	-0.348** (0.135)	-0.429*** (0.134)	0.0764* (0.0392)		-0.0609 (0.148)	-0.104 (0.146)	-0.114 (0.142)
Adjusted income (log)		-0.324*** (0.0209)	-0.0630 (0.0681)	-0.0581 (0.0683)	-0.0626 (0.0675)		0.0451** (0.0209)	0.116 (0.0779)	0.113 (0.0766)	0.117 (0.0742)
Individual			Yes	Yes	Yes			Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction				Yes					Yes	
IPT					Yes					Yes
Constant	-2.462*** (0.0242)	-0.428*** (0.154)	-2.409*** (0.459)	-2.428*** (0.460)	-2.333*** (0.456)	3.795*** (0.0240)	3.504*** (0.154)	2.565*** (0.516)	2.580*** (0.508)	2.726*** (0.493)
Observations	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,993	10,993	10,993	10,993	10,993
Adjusted R2	0.028	0.026	0.042	0.047	0.051	0.000	0.000	0.053	0.057	0.099

*Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses, *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Individual variables are age, age², revenue, CSP, education and dummies for retired, born in France, unemployment and missing father CSP. Omitted category : mid-level workers.*

Table 37. Sociodemographic variables and faireness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Society is fair				EU good for employment			
Age	-0.0441***	-0.0474***	-0.0359***	-0.0462***	0.00433	0.00184	0.0122	0.00542
	(0.00858)	(0.00858)	(0.00840)	(0.00857)	(0.0109)	(0.0109)	(0.0108)	(0.0106)
Age²	0.000488***	0.000510***	0.000404***	0.000485***	-1.94e-05	-5.28e-06	-9.89e-05	-7.39e-05
	(9.72e-05)	(9.71e-05)	(9.50e-05)	(9.70e-05)	(0.000125)	(0.000125)	(0.000124)	(0.000122)
Female	-0.0985***	-0.0917**	-0.0925**	-0.102***	0.127***	0.134***	0.134***	0.105**
	(0.0378)	(0.0380)	(0.0372)	(0.0379)	(0.0483)	(0.0485)	(0.0480)	(0.0479)
Retired	0.0540	0.0198	-0.0351	0.0129	0.190**	0.167*	0.118	0.145
	(0.0698)	(0.0702)	(0.0688)	(0.0699)	(0.0905)	(0.0908)	(0.0901)	(0.0893)
Born outside France	0.202	0.209	0.227	0.201	0.0664	0.0723	0.0884	0.0487
	(0.148)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.147)	(0.190)	(0.190)	(0.187)	(0.187)
CAP	0.117	0.114	0.0770	0.117	-0.0126	-0.0151	-0.0473	-0.00578
	(0.0880)	(0.0879)	(0.0864)	(0.0875)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.124)
BEP	-0.0484	-0.0516	-0.0763	-0.0678	-0.0945	-0.0988	-0.123	-0.147
	(0.0918)	(0.0917)	(0.0913)	(0.0915)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.124)
BAC Pro	0.0752	0.0533	0.0277	0.0428	-0.0742	-0.0930	-0.114	-0.122
	(0.0873)	(0.0873)	(0.0860)	(0.0871)	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.116)	(0.116)
BAC Gen	-0.0428	-0.0661	-0.126	-0.0913	-0.0542	-0.0758	-0.126	-0.147
	(0.0856)	(0.0855)	(0.0841)	(0.0851)	(0.115)	(0.115)	(0.114)	(0.115)
BAC+2/3	-0.0377	-0.0808	-0.161**	-0.128*	0.278***	0.239**	0.169*	0.106
	(0.0721)	(0.0727)	(0.0722)	(0.0726)	(0.0986)	(0.0989)	(0.0982)	(0.0991)
BAC+4	0.0140	-0.0506	-0.142*	-0.108	0.722***	0.663***	0.584***	0.505***
	(0.0799)	(0.0819)	(0.0814)	(0.0820)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.107)	(0.107)
Grands Ecoles	0.262**	0.172	0.0472	0.104	0.829***	0.748***	0.637***	0.561***
	(0.105)	(0.108)	(0.106)	(0.108)	(0.132)	(0.134)	(0.134)	(0.134)
Adjusted income (log)		0.104***	-0.0401	0.0862**		0.101**	-0.0266	0.0540
		(0.0395)	(0.0392)	(0.0395)		(0.0501)	(0.0502)	(0.0496)
Unemployed		-0.307***	-0.0921	-0.307***		-0.181	0.0124	-0.176
		(0.0947)	(0.0936)	(0.0946)		(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.119)
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	5.101***	4.492***	5.319***	4.677***	2.815***	2.193***	2.921***	2.689***
	(0.208)	(0.343)	(0.337)	(0.344)	(0.263)	(0.434)	(0.431)	(0.429)
Observations	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,981	10,785	10,785	10,785	10,785
Adjusted R2	0.007	0.009	0.050	0.016	0.017	0.018	0.038	0.048

*Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Table 38. Sociodemographic variables and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Pro redistribution				Homosexuality acceptable			
Age	0.0208***	0.0252***	0.0226***	0.0262***	0.0234***	0.0221***	0.0241***	0.0241***
	(0.00525)	(0.00519)	(0.00520)	(0.00519)	(0.00498)	(0.00499)	(0.00499)	(0.00491)
Age²	-0.00028***	-0.0003***	-0.00027***	-0.00031***	-0.00035***	-0.00034***	-0.00036***	-0.00038***
	(5.98e-05)	(5.91e-05)	(5.92e-05)	(5.91e-05)	(5.73e-05)	(5.74e-05)	(5.74e-05)	(5.66e-05)
Female	-0.0501**	-0.0696***	-0.0696***	-0.0773***	0.150***	0.157***	0.157***	0.141***
	(0.0233)	(0.0232)	(0.0231)	(0.0231)	(0.0220)	(0.0221)	(0.0220)	(0.0216)
Retired	-0.0134	0.0179	0.0310	0.0126	-0.0247	-0.0322	-0.0423	-0.0437
	(0.0428)	(0.0427)	(0.0428)	(0.0425)	(0.0414)	(0.0415)	(0.0415)	(0.0406)
Born outside France	0.175**	0.155*	0.151*	0.149*	-0.169**	-0.161*	-0.158*	-0.174**
	(0.0844)	(0.0826)	(0.0827)	(0.0821)	(0.0842)	(0.0841)	(0.0834)	(0.0813)
CAP	0.0408	0.0503	0.0589	0.0528	-0.0682	-0.0720	-0.0786	-0.0667
	(0.0512)	(0.0508)	(0.0505)	(0.0508)	(0.0515)	(0.0515)	(0.0514)	(0.0503)
BEP	0.0136	0.0326	0.0388	0.0207	0.0222	0.0145	0.00971	-0.0112
	(0.0537)	(0.0534)	(0.0531)	(0.0536)	(0.0519)	(0.0518)	(0.0518)	(0.0512)
BAC Pro	-0.0861*	-0.0431	-0.0376	-0.0508	0.00328	-0.0114	-0.0156	-0.0279
	(0.0514)	(0.0513)	(0.0508)	(0.0513)	(0.0513)	(0.0513)	(0.0513)	(0.0508)
BAC Gen	-0.133**	-0.0834	-0.0693	-0.102**	0.108**	0.0910*	0.0802	0.0506
	(0.0523)	(0.0520)	(0.0516)	(0.0520)	(0.0499)	(0.0499)	(0.0498)	(0.0489)
BAC+2/3	-0.217***	-0.127***	-0.108**	-0.162***	0.169***	0.138***	0.124***	0.0620
	(0.0430)	(0.0435)	(0.0434)	(0.0436)	(0.0430)	(0.0434)	(0.0433)	(0.0427)
BAC+4	-0.269***	-0.129**	-0.108**	-0.171***	0.302***	0.253***	0.237***	0.162***
	(0.0491)	(0.0502)	(0.0501)	(0.0503)	(0.0477)	(0.0490)	(0.0490)	(0.0486)
Grands Ecoles	-0.611***	-0.420***	-0.391***	-0.470***	0.181***	0.115*	0.0926	0.00705
	(0.0656)	(0.0675)	(0.0680)	(0.0674)	(0.0637)	(0.0649)	(0.0646)	(0.0626)
Adjusted income (log)		-0.270***	-0.237***	-0.283***		0.0984***	0.0726***	0.0701***
		(0.0233)	(0.0236)	(0.0233)		(0.0228)	(0.0229)	(0.0221)
Unemployed		0.0537	0.00430	0.0533		0.0306	0.0685	0.0298
		(0.0567)	(0.0564)	(0.0567)		(0.0540)	(0.0541)	(0.0526)
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Constant	-2.864***	-1.104***	-1.296***	-0.968***	3.272***	2.619***	2.767***	2.914***
	(0.124)	(0.198)	(0.199)	(0.198)	(0.117)	(0.198)	(0.196)	(0.193)
Observations	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,995	10,993	10,993	10,993	10,993
Adjusted R2	0.021	0.037	0.042	0.046	0.050	0.052	0.055	0.098

Robust standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 39. Intergenerational mobility and fairness and openness ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Society	is fair			EU good for	employment	
Higher professional class than father	0.0390	0.0193	-0.00130	0.00712	0.183***	0.0829	0.0655	0.0524
	(0.0467)	(0.0471)	(0.0462)	(0.0470)	(0.0589)	(0.0589)	(0.0581)	(0.0579)
Lower professional class than father	-0.103*	-0.0760	-0.0603	-0.0761	-0.0109	0.0375	0.0530	0.0382
	(0.0534)	(0.0538)	(0.0528)	(0.0537)	(0.0701)	(0.0708)	(0.0704)	(0.0701)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	9,215	9,215	9,215	9,215	9,022	9,022	9,022	9,022
Pseudo R2	0.001	0.009	0.050	0.017	0.001	0.018	0.039	0.046

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, sex, income, education, parent occupation and a dummy for unemployment.

Table 40. Intergenerational mobility and redistribution and tolerance ideologies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Pro redistribution				Homosexuality	acceptable	
Higher professional class than father	-0.146***	-0.0720**	-0.0674**	-0.0806***	0.0185	0.0126	0.00925	-0.00470
	(0.0292)	(0.0297)	(0.0296)	(0.0295)	(0.0277)	(0.0276)	(0.0276)	(0.0270)
Lower professional class than father	-0.0967***	-0.119***	-0.123***	-0.119***	-0.0528*	-0.0357	-0.0329	-0.0360
	(0.0334)	(0.0333)	(0.0331)	(0.0332)	(0.0309)	(0.0306)	(0.0306)	(0.0299)
Individual		Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes	Yes
Life satisfaction			Yes				Yes	
IPT				Yes				Yes
Observations	9,224	9,224	9,224	9,224	9,223	9,223	9,223	9,223
Pseudo R2	0.003	0.037	0.043	0.047	0.000	0.051	0.055	0.097

Marginal effects from logit regression. Robust standard errors in parentheses.*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1 Individual variables are age, age squared, a dummy for retired, sex, income, education, parent occupation and a dummy for unemployment.