**Appendix**

**Table A1: Measures of partisan politics**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Conserv.** | **Liberals** | **Market lib.** | **Left lib.** | **Greens** | **Soc. Dem.** |
|  | **Denmark** |
| **N** | 155 | 155 | 155 | 155 | 155 | 155 |
| **Mean** | 20,8 | 47,7 | 36,6 | 11,1 | 0,0 | 26,1 |
| **Max** | 40 | 68 | 68 | 35 | 0 | 76,2 |
| **Min** | 0 | 18,2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Std. dev.** | 18,2 | 19,1 | 31,7 | 13,2 | 0,0 | 31,9 |
|  | **France** |
| **N** | 190 | 190 | 190 | 190 | 190 | 190 |
| **Mean** | 48,8 | 10,1 | 6,8 | 3,3 | 1,7 | 27,3 |
| **Max** | 90,6 | 39,3 | 39,3 | 9,1 | 5,1 | 87,2 |
| **Min** | 0 | 3,03 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Std. dev.** | 38,4 | 6,0 | 7,9 | 4,3 | 2,2 | 35,9 |
|  | **Germany** |
| **N** | 330 | 330 | 330 | 330 | 330 | 330 |
| **Mean** | 0 | 10,2 | 10,2 | 0 | 9,9 | 41,9 |
| **Max** | 0 | 31,3 | 31,3 | 0 | 60,0 | 78,6 |
| **Min** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Std. dev.** | 0 | 14,3 | 14,3 | 0,0 | 12,8 | 33,8 |
|  | **United Kingdom** |
| **N** | 205 | 205 | 205 | 205 | 205 | 205 |
| **Mean** | 54,6 | 2,4 | 2,4 | 0 | 0 | 42,9 |
| **Max** | 100 | 21,7 | 21,7 | 0 | 0 | 100 |
| **Min** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Std. dev.** | 47,9 | 6,9 | 6,9 | 0 | 0 | 49,6 |
|  | **Total** |
| **N** | 880 | 880 | 880 | 880 | 880 | 880 |
| **Mean** | 26,9 | 15,0 | 12,3 | 2,7 | 4,1 | 36,2 |
| **Max** | 100 | 68 | 68 | 35 | 60 | 100 |
| **Min** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Std. dev.** | 38,3 | 19,9 | 20,3 | 7,2 | 9,1 | 38,9 |

Source: Own calculations partly based on Armingeon et al. (2015), Döring and Manow (2018), Schmidt (2013), and Seki and Williams (2014). Statistics based on the dataset for penal legislation.

**Table A2: Interaction effects – regression table (ologit and all party/welfare interactions)**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | ologit | ologit | ologit | ologit | ologit |
| Average Welfare change prec. 6m | 0.00086 | -0.0025 | 0.0026 | 0.048 | 0.100\*\* |
| (0.03) | (-0.09) | (0.10) | (1.47) | (2.40) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cab seats conservatives | -0.0077\*\*\* | -0.0087\*\*\* | -0.0087\*\*\* | -0.0072\*\*\* |  |
| (-2.78) | (-3.17) | (-3.17) | (-2.59) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Interaction welfare\*cons*** | ***0.00081*** |  |  |  |  |
| ***(1.16)*** |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cab seats market liberals | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.021\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.018\*\* |  |
| (-2.95) | (-2.89) | (-2.98) | (-2.44) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Interaction welfare\*market lib*** |  | ***0.0020*** |  |  |  |
|  | ***(1.46)*** |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cab seats left liberals | -0.092\*\*\* | -0.092\*\*\* | -0.097\*\*\* | -0.085\*\*\* | -0.039\*\*\* |
| (-3.95) | (-3.94) | (-4.01) | (-3.57) | (-2.66) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Interaction welfare\*left liberals*** |  |  | ***0.0045*** |  |  |
|  |  | ***(1.08)*** |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cab seats greens | -0.021\*\* | -0.022\*\* | -0.022\*\* | -0.017 | -0.018\* |
| (-2.00) | (-2.08) | (-2.04) | (-1.61) | (-1.81) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Interaction welfare\*greens*** |  |  |  | ***-0.0043\**** |  |
|  |  |  | ***(-1.77)*** |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Cab seats 3way soc dem |  |  |  |  | 0.0070\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (2.89) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ***Interaction welfare\*3w soc dem*** |  |  |  |  | ***-0.0016\*\**** |
|  |  |  |  | ***(-2.30)*** |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Fiscal balance | -0.048 | -0.045 | -0.047 | -0.045 |  |
|  | (-1.42) | (-1.30) | (-1.38) | (-1.31) |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Net migration rate | 0.016\*\* | 0.017\*\*\* | 0.017\*\*\* | 0.017\*\*\* | 0.015\*\* |
|  | (2.48) | (2.78) | (2.70) | (2.82) | (2.29) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant (ols) |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant (ologit, cut1) | -7.71\*\*\* | -7.71\*\*\* | -7.74\*\*\* | -7.49\*\*\* | -5.98\*\*\* |
| (-11.20) | (-11.18) | (-11.21) | (-10.61) | (-13.52) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant (ologit, cut2) | -5.44\*\*\* | -5.43\*\*\* | -5.47\*\*\* | -5.22\*\*\* | -3.71\*\*\* |
| (-9.04) | (-9.02) | (-9.10) | (-8.43) | (-12.88) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant (ologit, cut3) | -1.96\*\*\* | -1.96\*\*\* | -2.00\*\*\* | -1.73\*\*\* | -0.23 |
| (-3.61) | (-3.60) | (-3.67) | (-3.08) | (-1.20) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant (ologit, cut4) | -0.024 | -0.019 | -0.060 | 0.20 | 1.69\*\*\* |
| (-0.04) | (-0.04) | (-0.11) | (0.36) | (9.34) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant (ologit, cut5) | 1.75\*\*\* | 1.76\*\*\* | 1.72\*\*\* | 1.98\*\*\* | 3.47\*\*\* |
| (2.88) | (2.89) | (2.82) | (3.15) | (11.00) |
| *N* | 875 | 875 | 875 | 875 | 875 |
| *R*2 | 0.042 | 0.043 | 0.043 | 0.043 | 0.041 |

Note: Country dummies included; \* *p* < .1, \*\* *p* < .05, \*\*\* *p* < .01; *z*- (*t-)* statistics in parentheses

**Appendix References**

**Armingeon K, Isler C, Knöpfel L, Weistanner D and Engler S** (2015) *Comparative Political Dataset 1960-2013*. Institute of Political Science. UoB. Bern.

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