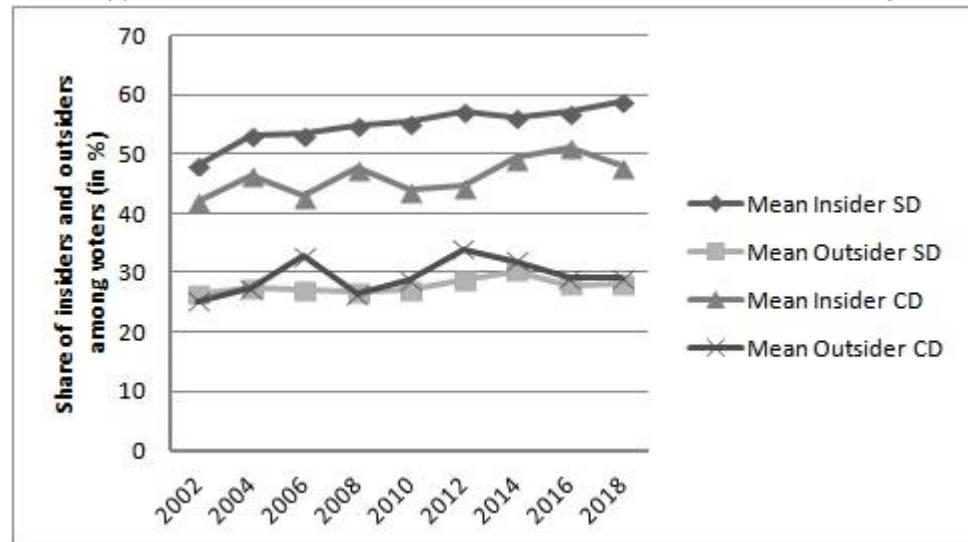


Online Appendix

for the Paper “The Partisan Politics of Employment Protection Legislation. Social democrats, Christian democrats and the conditioning effect of unemployment”

Online Appendix 1: Distribution of the share of insiders and outsiders among voters of Social democrats and Christian democrats.



Source: Own data based on ESS waves 2002-2018 for 16 advanced democracies.

Online Appendix 2: Summary of the operationalisation of the variables.

| Variable | Operationalisation | Source |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| Employment protection legislation | OECD's EPL indicators for temporary employment, regular employment and an index (summing these two categories up equally weighted) | OECD (2020a) 'OECD Indicators of Employment Protection', accessed at www.oecd.org/els/emp/oecdindicatorsofemploymentprotection.htm on December 07, 2020. |
| Partisan composition of governments | Cabinet seat shares for Social democrats, Christian democrats, Conservatives and Liberals 1) For "level"-regression: average share of cabinet seats of the respective party family in a country over the 1960-85 period 2) For "change"-regression: the respective seat shares for the relevant cabinets | Schmidt, Manfred G., Zohlnhöfer, Reimut; Bartscherer, Falk; Trocka, Caroline, 2020: The Partisan Composition of Governments Database (PACOGOV), Version 1.0. available at: www.uni-heidelberg.de/politikwissenschaften/personal/zohlnhoefer/forschung/DataPartisanComp.html on December 07, 2020. |
| Unemployment | Unemployment rates | Armingeon, K., Wenger, V., Wiedemeier, F., Isler, C., Knöpfel, L., Weisstanner, D. and Engler, S. (2018) Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2016, Bern, Institute of Political Science, University of Berne. |
| Economic Growth | 1) For "level"-regression: GDP per capita 2) For "change"-regression: GDP growth rates | OECD (2020) 'Data on the Gross domestic product (GDP)', accessed at https://data.oecd.org/gdp/gross-domestic-product-gdp.htm#indicator-chart on December 07, 2020. OECD (2020) 'Data on the real gross domestic product', accessed at https://data.oecd.org/gdp/real-gdp-forecast.htm on December 07, 2020. |
| Union density | Net union membership as share of employees | Armingeon, K., Wenger, V., Wiedemeier, F., Isler, C., Knöpfel, L., Weisstanner, D. and Engler, S. 2020. Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2018. Zurich: Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich. |
| Strike activity | Working days lost per 1000 workers | Armingeon, K., Wenger, V., Wiedemeier, F., Isler, C., Knöpfel, L., Weisstanner, D. and Engler, Sarah. 2020. Comparative Political Data Set 1960-2018. Zurich: Institute of Political Science, University of Zurich. |
| Institutional setting | Veto Player Range | Jahn, D., Düpont, N., Kosanke, S., Oberst, C., Behm, T. and Rachuj, M. (2018) 'PIP – Parties, Institutions & Preferences: PIP Collection [Version 2018-02]', Chair of Comparative Politics, University of Greifswald, accessed at http://comparativepolitics.uni-greifswald.de/data.html on December 07, 2020. |
| Economic globalisation | De facto index of economic globalisation from the KOF dataset | Gygli, S., Haelg, F., Potrafke, N. and Sturm, J.-E. (2019) The KOF Globalisation Index – Revisited, Review of International Organizations, The Review of |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| | | International Organizations, 14, 543–574. Data accessed at https://kof.ethz.ch/en/forecasts-and-indicators/indicators/kof-globalisation-index.html on December 07, 2020. |
| Cabinet duration | End year – Start year of a cabinet Own calculation based on Schmidt's et al. (2020) cabinet data set | Schmidt, Manfred G. , Zohlnhöfer, Reimut; Bartscherer, Falk, Trocka, Caroline, 2020: The Partisan Composition of Governments Database (PACOGOV), Version 1.0. available at: www.uni-heidelberg.de/politikwissenschaften/personal/zohlnhoefer/forschung/DataPartisanComp.html on December 07, 2020. |
| Period dummies | Period dummies for the start year of a cabinet in the periods 1985 to 1990; 1991 to 2001; 2002 to 2007; 2008 to 2019. | Own Coding |
| Time trend | 1: 1985-1990; 2: 1991-2001; 3: 2002-2007; 4: 2008-2019 | Own Coding |
| Insider Outsider | Percentage of voters of social democratic or Christian democratic parties (according to Schmidt et al. 2020) of insiders and outsiders; Insiders: working people with more than 30 working hours/week, unlimited working contracts Outsiders: unemployed, people with temporary contracts, people who work less than 30 hours/week | Various waves (1 - 9) of European Social Survey, available at: https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/round-index.html , last accessed on December 07, 2020. |
| High and low outsider/insider share | High = 1, above mean of the sample Low = 0, below mean of the sample | Own coding based on insider/outsider coding see above |
| Varieties of Capitalism | LMEs include: USA, UK, Canada, Australia, NZ, Ireland = 1; MMEs include: Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Greece = 2; CMEs include: Germany, Japan, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland = 3 | Own coding according to categories found in: Hall, P., Gingerich, D., 2009: Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis British Journal of Political Science, Vol. 39, No. 3: pp. 449-482. |
| Welfare state regimes | Conservative WFS: Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Switzerland = 1; Social democratic WFS: Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden = 2; Reference category: USA, Japan, Australia, Canada, Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, New Zealand, United Kingdom | Own coding according to Esping-Andersen |
| Strong unions and weak unions | Mean of union density (coding see above); if the country is above the sample mean regarding union density on average over the years, it is coded as a strong union country; if it lies below the sample mean, it is coded as weak union country | Own coding based on union density coding see above |

Online appendix 3: Descriptive Statistics, Cabinet models.

| Variables | Mean | Standard deviation | Minimum | Maximum |
|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Cabinet seat share CD | 10.1 | 20.1 | 0 | 79 |
| Cabinet seat share SD | 33.1 | 38.4 | 0 | 100 |
| Union density | 36.1 | 19.5 | 8.1 | 83.8 |
| Unemployment rate | 7.5 | 4.0 | 0.6 | 27.5 |
| Strikes | 132.6 | 366.8 | 0 | 3678.4 |
| Cabinet duration | 3.4 | .9 | 2 | 5 |
| Economic globalisation | 62.6 | 17.6 | 23.3 | 89.7 |
| Veto player range | 7.5 | 7.4 | 0 | 35.1 |
| EPL Index change | -0.1 | 0.4 | -2.3 | 0.9 |
| EPL temporary contracts change | -0.1 | 0.4 | -2.3 | 0.6 |
| EPL regular contracts change | -0.02 | 0.2 | -1.2 | 0.5 |

Online appendix 4: Development of EPL indices 1985-2019.

Figure A1: Development of the EPL Index from 1985-2019.

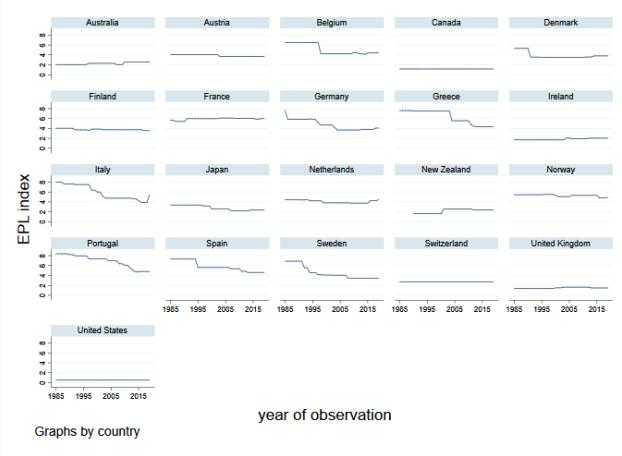
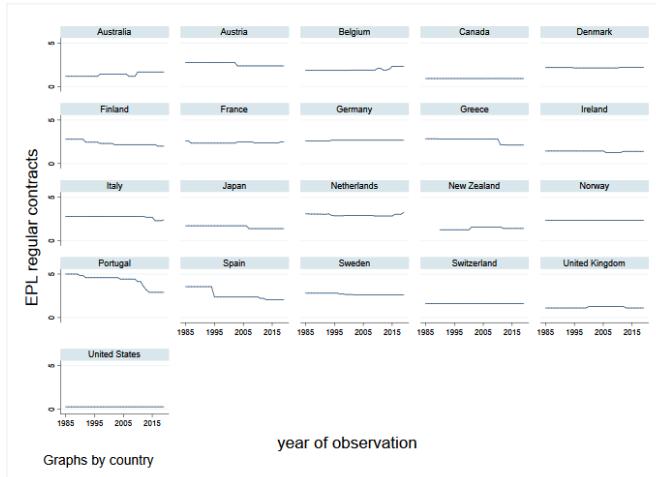
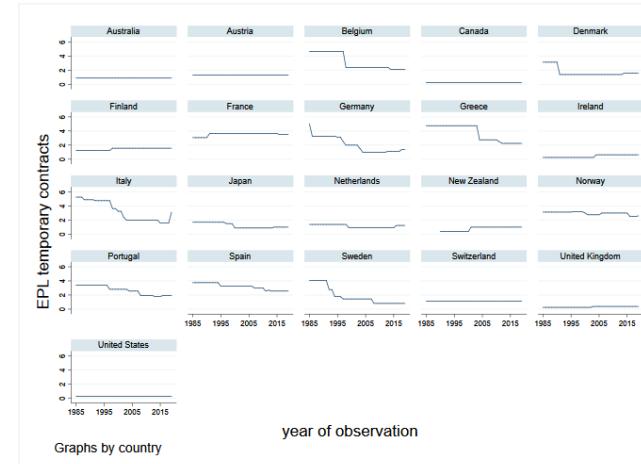


Figure A2: Development of the EPL indicator for regular contracts from 1985-2019.



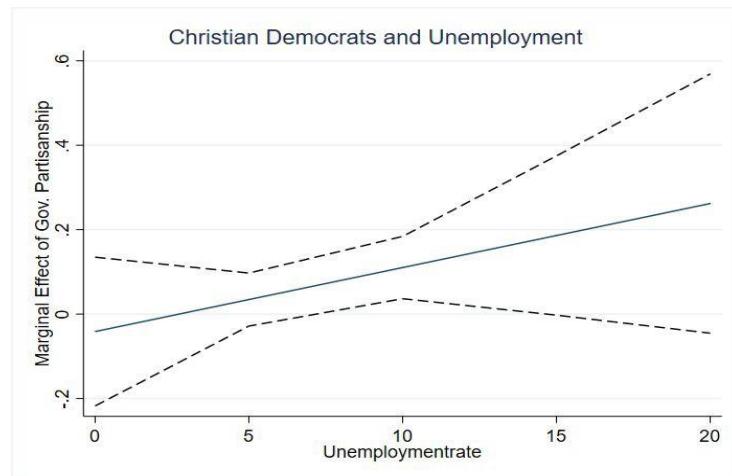
Source: Own figures based on OECD (2020a) and own calculations for the index.

Figure A3: Development of the EPL indicator for temporary contracts from 1985-2019.

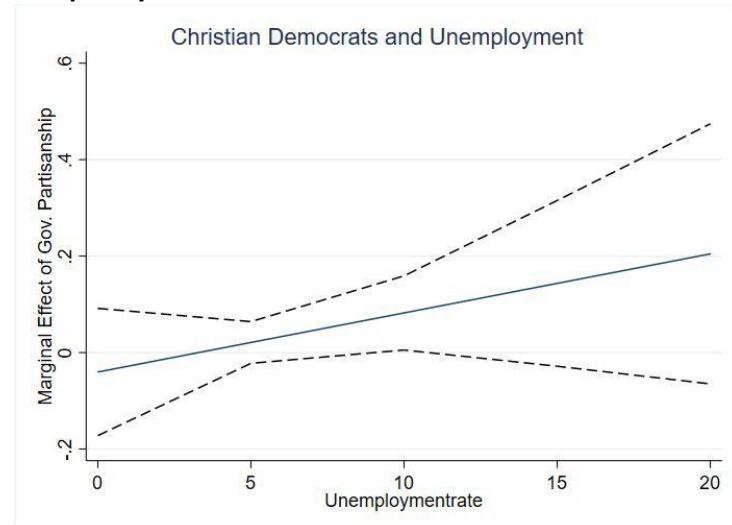


Online Appendix 5: Marginal Effects Plots for the cross-section model

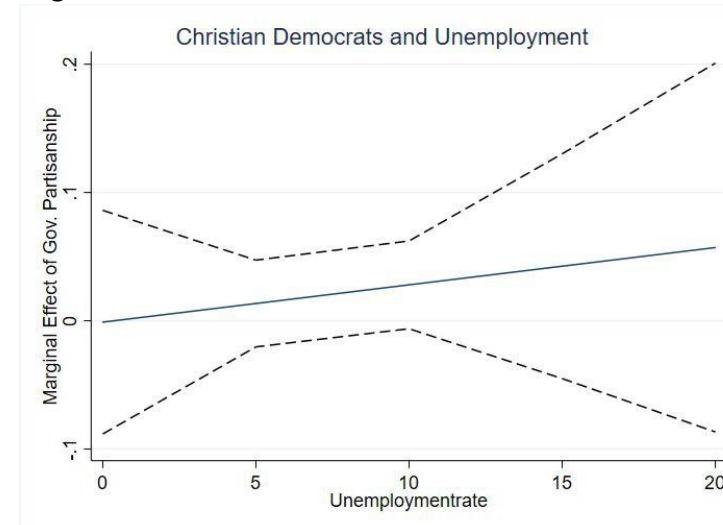
Index – Christian democrats



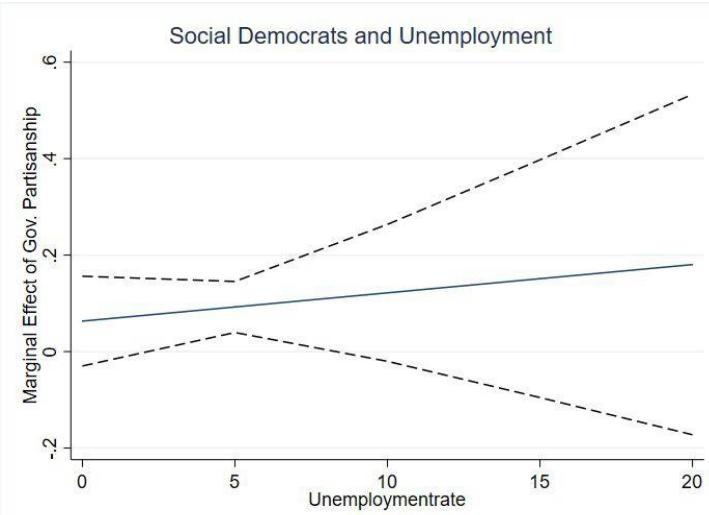
Temporary EPL – Christian democrats



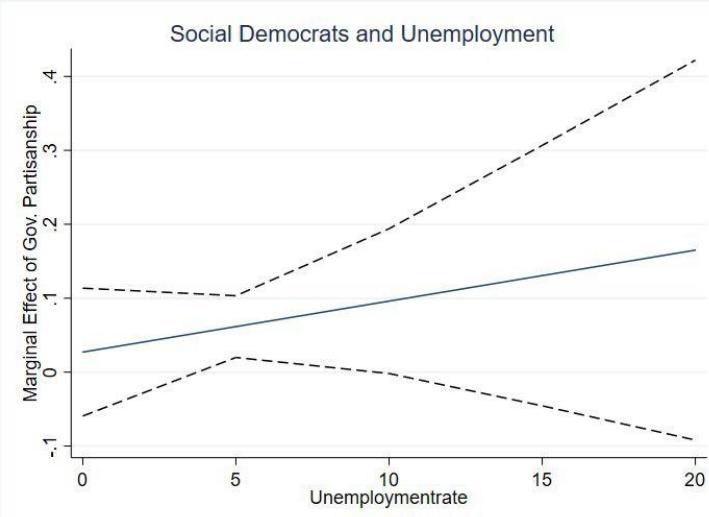
Regular EPL – Christian democrats



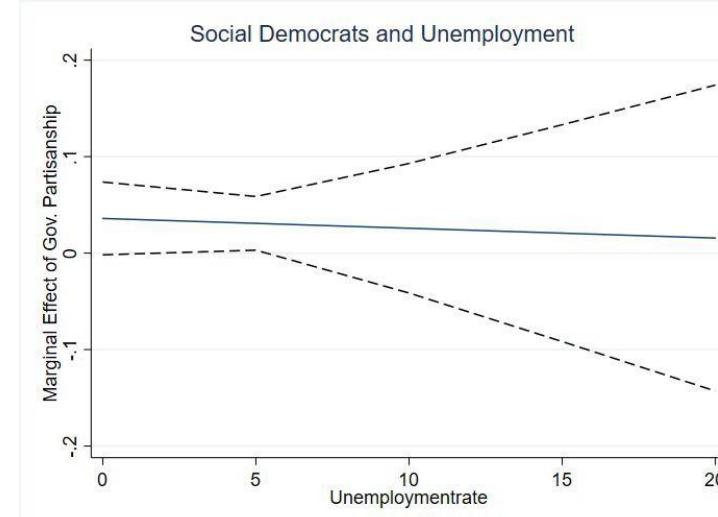
Index – Social democrats



Temporary EPL – Social democrats



Regular EPL – Social democrats



Note: The dashed lines show the 95 percent confidence intervals.

Online Appendix 6: Robustness check: Cabinet models (Table 2) Effects of Christian and social democratic government participation (separately) on changes on employment protection legislation, 1985-2019.

| | (1) Index | (1) Temporary Contracts | (1) Regular Contracts | (2) Index | (2) Temporary Contracts | (2) Regular Contracts |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0018 (.0013) | -.0025* (.0012) | -.0000 (.0005) | | | |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | | | | .0011 (.0006) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005* (.0002) |
| Level of EPL at the beginning of cabinet | -.0771*** (.0167) | -.1159*** (.0315) | -.0331*** (.0064) | -.0867*** (.0194) | -.1298*** (.0353) | -.0372*** (.0072) |
| Cabinet duration | -.0756 (.0455) | -.0694 (.0406) | .0030 (.0135) | -.0793 (.0467) | -.0731 (.0426) | .0028 (.0130) |
| Economic growth | .0371** (.0135) | .0376** (.0133) | -.0004 (.0032) | .0338** (.0127) | .0353*** (.0119) | -.0023 (.0034) |
| Unemployment | -.0139* (.0067) | -.0078 (.0069) | -.0053 (.0058) | -.0121* (.0068) | -.0055 (.0073) | -.0053 (.0058) |
| Union density | -.0028 (.0017) | -.0041*** (.0013) | .0009 (.0005) | -.0025 (.0018) | -.0038** (.0014) | .0008 (.0005) |
| Strikes | .0002 (.0002) | .0004 (.0002) | -.0001 (.0001) | .0002 (.0002) | .0003 (.0002) | -.0001* (.0001) |
| Institutions (Veto Player Range) | -.0038 (.0033) | -.0032 (.0031) | -.0013 (.0013) | -.0038 (.0034) | -.0032 (.0032) | -.0012 (.0013) |
| Economic globalisation | .0042*** (.0014) | .0037*** (.0012) | .0008 (.0005) | .0032** (.0014) | .0024** (.0010) | .0006 (.0004) |
| Constant | .3310 (.2231) | .2660 (.1951) | .0165 (.0454) | .3799 (.2302) | .3057 (.2016) | .0270 (.0429) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2067 | 0.2497 | 0.0593 | 0.2078 | 0.2401 | 0.0755 |

Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 7: Main interaction model: Effects of Christian and Social democratic government participation on EPL's change from 1985-2019.

| | (1) Index | (1) Temporary Contracts | (1) Regular Contracts | (2) Index | (2) Temporary Contracts | (2) Regular Contracts |
|--|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | .0005 (.0031) | .0008 (.0029) | -.0023** (.0010) | | | |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | | | | .0032*** (.0010) | .0022** (.0010) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Level | -.0773*** (.0167) | -.1138*** (.0310) | -.0293*** (.0054) | -.0848*** (.0195) | -.1292*** (.0355) | -.0345*** (.0055) |
| Cabinet duration | -.0729 (.0446) | -.0647 (.0402) | .0010 (.0138) | -.0818* (.0461) | -.0747* (.0424) | .0019 (.0123) |
| Economic growth | .0374** (.0138) | .0380** (.0136) | -.0009 (.0032) | .0357** (.0127) | .0365*** (.0120) | -.0014 (.0037) |
| Unemployment | -.0110 (.0071) | -.0039 (.0067) | -.0081 (.0058) | -.0011 (.0058) | .0015 (.0078) | .0002 (.0064) |
| Union density | -.0026 (.0017) | -.0038*** (.0013) | .0007 (.0006) | -.0030 (.0018) | -.0040** (.0014) | .0006 (.0005) |
| Strikes | .0002 (.0002) | .0003 (.0002) | -.0000 (.0001) | .0003 (.0002) | .0004* (.0002) | -.0001 (.0000) |
| Institutions (Veto Player Range) | -.0039 (.0032) | -.0034 (.0029) | -.0011 (.0013) | -.0033 (.0034) | -.0029 (.0033) | -.0009 (.0012) |
| Economic globalization | .0041*** (.0013) | .0035*** (.0011) | .0009 (.0006) | .0030** (.0014) | .0023** (.0011) | .0005 (.0004) |
| Interaction Christian democrats * unemployment | -.0003 (.0006) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003** (.0001) | | | |
| Interaction Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002* (.0001) | -.0001*** (.0000) |
| Constant | .3026 (.2144) | .2186 (.1865) | .0365 (.0516) | .3179 (.2129) | .2709 (.1919) | -.0053 (.0399) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2037 | 0.2512 | 0.0756 | 0.2134 | 0.2394 | .0399 |

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

Online Appendix 8: Robustness check: both party families in one regression model (change model)

| | (1) DV Index | (1) DV Temporary Contracts | (1) DV Regular Contracts | (2) DV Index | (2) DV Temporary Contracts | (2) DV Regular Contracts | (3) DV Index | (3) DV Temporary Contracts | (3) DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0016 (.0014) | -.0023* (.0013) | .0001 (.0006) | .0009 (.0030) | .0010 (.0029) | -.0020* (.0011) | -.0014 (.0014) | -.0022* (.0012) | .0002 (.0005) |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0009 (.0007) | .0007 (.0007) | .0005* (.0002) | .0010 (.0007) | .0007 (.0007) | .0005* (.0002) | .0030*** (.0010) | .0019* (.0010) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Level | -.0827*** (.0184) | -.1222*** (.0337) | -.0376*** (.0077) | -.0832*** (.0186) | -.1202*** (.0332) | -.0336*** (.0060) | -.0813*** (.0185) | -.1221*** (.0338) | -.0353*** (.0060) |
| Cabinet duration | -.0770 (.0452) | -.0704* (.0406) | .0026 (.0131) | -.0741 (.0442) | -.0657 (.0401) | .0007 (.0134) | -.0796* (.0447) | -.0719* (.0406) | .0017 (.0124) |
| Economic growth | .0336** (.0133) | .0350** (.0128) | -.0023 (.0035) | .0338** (.0136) | .0354** (.0132) | -.0026 (.0035) | .0354** (.0132) | .0361** (.0128) | -.0013 (.0037) |
| Unemployment | -.0135* (.0069) | -.0075 (.0070) | -.0053 (.0059) | -.0105 (.0072) | -.0036 (.0066) | -.0079 (.0059) | -.0028 (.0055) | -.0014 (.0073) | .0003 (.0065) |
| Union density | -.0028 (.0018) | -.0041*** (.0013) | .0008 (.0006) | -.0026 (.0018) | -.0039*** (.0013) | .0007 (.0006) | -.0032* (.0018) | -.0043*** (.0014) | .0006 (.0005) |
| Strikes | .0002 (.0002) | .0003 (.0002) | -.0001* (.0001) | .0002 (.0002) | .0003 (.0002) | -.0001 (.0001) | .0003 (.0002) | .0004 (.0002) | -.0001 (.0000) |
| Institutions (Veto Player Range) | -.0036 (.0033) | -.0031 (.0031) | -.0012 (.0013) | -.0038 (.0033) | -.0033 (.0030) | -.0010 (.0013) | -.0032 (.0033) | -.0028 (.0032) | -.0009 (.0012) |
| Economic globalisation | .0038** (.0014) | .0034*** (.0011) | .0006 (.0005) | .0037** (.0013) | .0032*** (.0010) | .0007 (.0006) | .0036** (.0015) | .0032** (.0012) | .0005 (.0005) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0004 (.0005) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003** (.0001) | | | |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002 (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| Constant | .3597 (.2200) | .2837 (.1934) | .0280 (.0436) | .3303 (.2098) | .2362 (.1846) | .0460 (.0492) | .3025 (.2047) | .2546 (.1849) | -.0036 (.0406) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2070 | 0.2477 | 0.0684 | 0.2045 | 0.2493 | 0.0822 | 0.2116 | 0.2457 | 0.0857 |

Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1; regressions (1) are identical with table 2 and are reproduced to allow an easy comparison.

Online Appendix 9: Robustness check: Unemployment rate in the cabinets' starting years in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction terms are reported)

| | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. |
|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0017 (.0013) | -.0024* (.0012) | -.0000 (.0005) | .0001 (.0029) | .0007 (.0029) | -.0023** (.0009) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment rate (cabinet start year) | | | | -.0003 (.0005) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003*** (.0001) |
| Unemployment rate (cabinet start year) | -.0133** (.0059) | -.0070 (.0066) | -.0057 (.0056) | -.0112* (.0063) | -.0036 (.0065) | -.0084 (.0053) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2070 | 0.2487 | 0.0656 | 0.2030 | 0.2494 | 0.0837 |

| | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011 (.0006) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005* (.0002) | .0033** (.0012) | .0022* (.0011) | .0017*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment rate (cabinet start year) | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002 (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| Unemployment rate (cabinet start year) | -.0118* (.0061) | -.0050 (.0072) | -.0057 (.0055) | -.0011 (.0051) | .0012 (.0080) | .0017 (.0059) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2087 | 0.2402 | 0.0810 | 0.2164 | 0.2395 | 0.1081 |

| | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. | DV Index | DV Temp. C. | DV Reg. C. |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0014 (.0014) | -.0022* (.0013) | .0001 (.0005) | .0007 (.0029) | .0010 (.0028) | -.0021** (.0010) | -.0013 (.0013) | -.0021 (.0012301) | .0002 (.0005) |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0009 (.0007) | .0007 (.0007) | .0005* (.0003) | .0010 (.0007) | .0007 (.0007) | .0004 (.0003) | .0031** (.0012) | .0018* (.0011) | .0017*** (.0005) |
| Unemployment rate (cab. start year) | -.0128** (.0060) | -.0065 (.0068) | -.0056 (.0056) | -.0104 (.0064) | -.0030 (.0065) | -.0081 (.0054) | -.0790* (.0046) | -.0011 (.0073) | .0003 (.0059) |
| Unemployment rate (cab. start year)*Social democrats | | | | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002 (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| Unemployment rate (cab. start year)*Christian democrats | | | | | | | | | |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2074 | 0.2469 | 0.0741 | 0.2038 | 0.2480 | 0.0891 | 0.2140 | 0.2449 | 0.1018 |

Online Appendix 10: Robustness check: European Employment Strategy and EU included in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction term)

a) EES

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0018 (.0014) | -.0024* (.0012) | -.0000 (.0005) | .0004 (.0031) | .0009 (.0031) | -.0021** (.0010) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003 (.0006) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003** (.0001) |
| EES | -.0493 (.0792) | -.1075 (.0884) | .0580* (.0310) | -.0486 (.0795) | -.1078 (.0876) | .0550* (.0295) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2030 | 0.2571 | 0.0786 | 0.1999 | 0.2588 | 0.0923 |

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011* (.0006) | .0010 (.0006) | .0005* (.0003) | .0032*** (.0011) | .0022* (.0011) | .0015*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002 (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| EES | -.0547 (.0870) | -.1161 (.0961) | .0551 (.0319) | -.0503 (.0865) | -.1129 (.0974) | .0565** (.0267) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2046 | 0.2495 | 0.0922 | 0.2098 | 0.2480 | 0.1105 |

b) EU

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0019 (.0014) | -.0025* (.0013) | -.0001 (.0006) | .0004 (.0031) | .0008 (.0030) | -.0023** (.0010) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003 (.0006) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003*** (.0001) |
| EU | .0290 (.1015) | .0141 (.0964) | .0164 (.0349) | .0287 (.1010) | .0104 (.0927) | .0115 (.0299) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2012 | 0.2441 | 0.0535 | 0.1982 | 0.2455 | 0.0691 |

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011 (.0006) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005** (.0002) | .0034*** (.0011) | .0022** (.0010) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002 (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| EU | .0252 (.1026) | -.0026 (.1019) | .0185 (.0332) | .0463 (.1109) | .0102 (.1058) | .0272 (.0367) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2022 | 0.2342 | 0.0702 | 0.2088 | 0.2335 | 0.0893 |

Online Appendix 11: Robustness check: Varieties of capitalism as control variable in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction term)

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0023 (.0014) | -.0032** (.0012) | -.0001 (.0006) | -.0005 (.0033) | -.0008 (.0033) | -.0025** (.0011) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003 (.0006) | -.0003 (.0006) | .0003** (.0001) |
| VoC | .0513 (.0513) | .0680* (.0355) | .0044 (.0126) | .0450 (.0407) | .0582 (.0382) | .0100 (.0145) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2062 | 0.2565 | 0.0524 | 0.2017 | 0.2540 | 0.0702 |

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011 (.0007) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005* (.0002412) | .0036*** (.0010) | .0026** (.0010) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0004*** (.0001) | -.0002** (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| VoC | .0332 (.0428) | .0394 (.0400) | .0030 (.0125) | .0525 (.0432) | .0525 (.0421) | .0101 (.0128) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2043 | 0.2389 | 0.0685 | 0.2134 | 0.2414 | 0.0873 |

Online Appendix 12: Robustness check: Welfare state regimes included as control variable in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction term)

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0014 (.0018) | -.0020 (.0018) | -.0007 (.0007) | .0006 (.0032) | .0009 (.0034) | -.0033*** (.0010) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003 (.0010) | -.0004 (.0005) | .0004*** (.0001) |
| <i>Reference category</i> | | | | | | |
| Social democratic WFS | .0731 (.1076) | .0727 (.1060) | .0703** (.0316) | .0631 (.1074) | .0529 (.1085) | .0789** (.0290) |
| Conservative WFS | .3240* (.1576) | .3338** (.1380) | .0186 (.0304) | .3174* (.1587) | .3187** (.1438) | .0219 (.0306) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2182 | 0.2670 | 0.0703 | 0.2144 | 0.2662 | 0.0932 |

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0010 (.0007) | .0008 (.0007) | .0005* (.0003) | .0033*** (.0009) | .0023** (.0009) | .0015*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003*** (.0001) | -.0002** (.0001) | -.0001*** (.0000) |
| <i>Reference category</i> | | | | | | |
| Social democratic WFS | .0380 (.0984) | .0194 (.0941) | .0500 (.0341) | .0374 (.0938) | .0213 (.0944) | .0495 (.0300) |
| Conservative WFS | .3328* (.1730) | .3482** (.1515) | .0210 (.0368) | .3389* (.1641) | .3533** (.1512) | .0227 (.0322) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2231 | 0.2651 | 0.0775 | 0.2300 | 0.2654 | 0.0941 |

Online Appendix 13: Robustness check: Dummy for financial crisis as control in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction term)

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0017 (.0014) | -.0024* (.0013) | -.0001 (.0006) | .0009 (.0033) | .0014 (.0031) | -.0025** (.0010) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0004 (.0006) | -.0006 (.0005) | .0004*** (.0001) |
| Financial Crisis Dummy | .0385 (.0597) | .0421 (.0493) | -.0205 (.0221) | .0498 (.0627) | .0592 (.0531) | -.0299 (.0211) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2020 | 0.2458 | 0.0555 | 0.1999 | 0.2491 | 0.0756 |

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011 (.0006) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005* (.0002) | .0033*** (.0010) | .0022** (.0009) | .0015*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002* (.0001) | -.0001*** (.0000) |
| Financial Crisis Dummy | .0480 (.0539) | .0555 (.0431) | -.0189 (.0202) | .0523 (.0541) | .0577 (.0442) | -.0168 (.0195) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2039 | 0.2376 | 0.0713 | 0.2100 | 0.2372 | 0.0876 |

Robustness check: Dummy for Southern Europe (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain) as control in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction term)

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0019 (.0013) | -.0025** (.0012) | -.0001 (.0006) | .0005 (.0031) | .0010 (.0030) | -.0023** (.0010) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0004 (.0006) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003** (.0001) |
| South Dummy | -.0283 (.1761) | -.0465 (.1385) | -.0025 (.0543) | -.0395 (.1707) | -.0683 (.1296) | -.0039 (.0510) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2009 | 0.2449 | 0.0520 | 0.1981 | 0.2476 | 0.0684 |

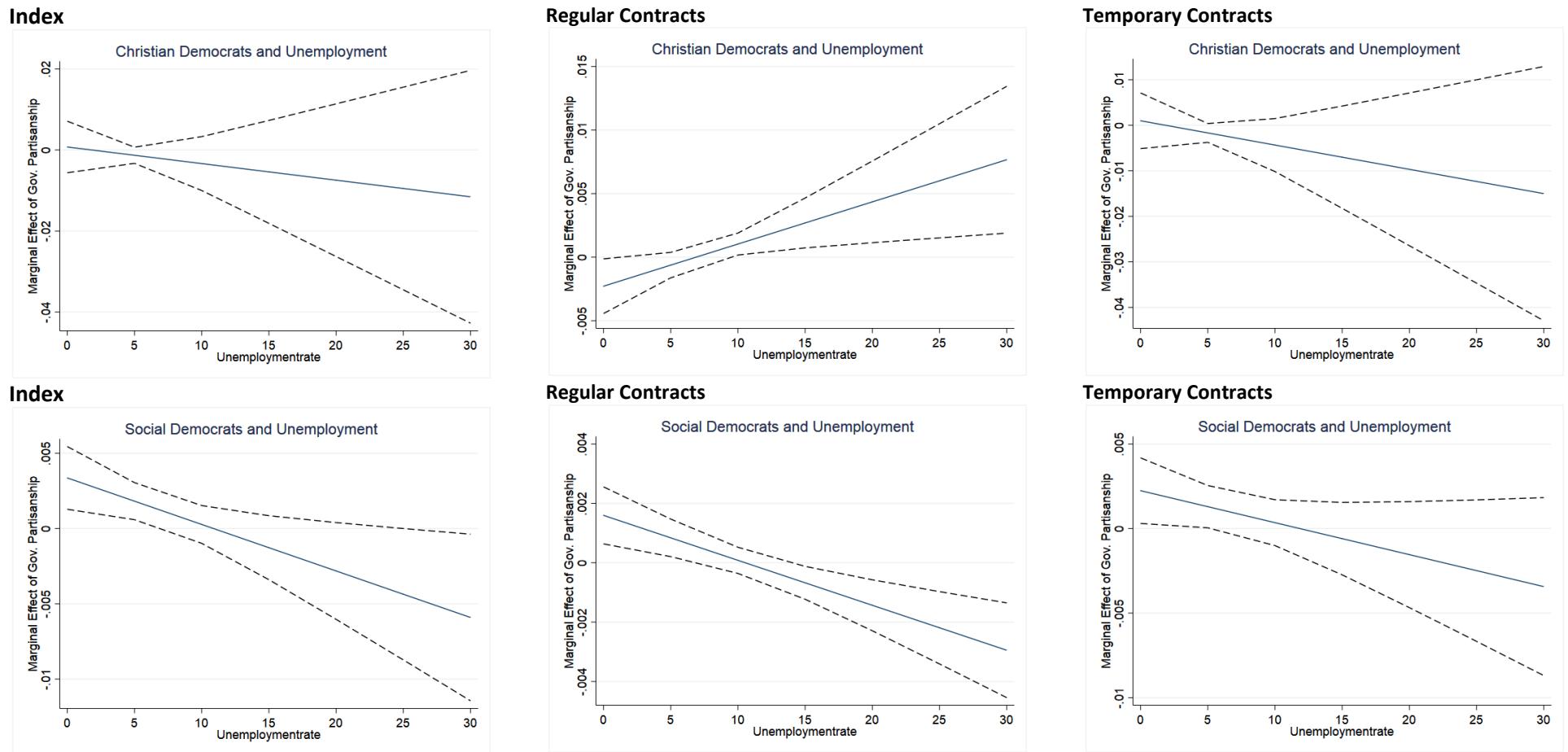
| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011 (.0006256) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005* (.0002) | .0032*** (.0010) | .0022** (.0010) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002* (.0001) | -.0001*** (.0000) |
| South Dummy | .0029 (.2027) | -.0306 (.1638) | -.0039 (.0513) | .0029 (.1972) | -.0274 (.1627) | -.0084 (.0472) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2017 | 0.2347 | 0.0683 | 0.2073 | 0.2338 | 0.0854 |

Robustness check: Interaction Financial crisis and Southern Europe in the change model (only partisan variables and interaction term)

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0020 (.0013) | -.0025* (.0012) | -.0001 (.0005) | .0007 (.0030) | .0010 (.0029) | -.0023** (.0010) |
| Christian democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0004 (.0006) | -.0005 (.0005) | .0003** (.0001) |
| Financial Crisis*South | -.1394 (.2564) | -.0431 (.2208) | -.0179 (.0420) | -.1750 (.2531) | -.0924 (.2169) | .0069 (.0387) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2027 | 0.2441 | 0.0523 | 0.2008 | 0.2464 | 0.0684 |

| | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts | DV Index | DV Temporary Contracts | DV Regular Contracts |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Social democratic cabinet shares | .0011* (.0006) | .0009 (.0006) | .0005** (.0002) | .0034*** (.0010) | .0022** (.0009) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002* (.0001) | -.0002*** (.0000) |
| Financial Crisis*South | -.1365 (.2471) | -.0298 (.2126) | -.0012 (.0418) | -.1581 (.2371) | -.0410 (.2067) | -.0444 (.0464) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2037 | 0.2343 | 0.0693 | 0.2100 | 0.2337 | 0.0870 |

Online Appendix 13 (continued): Marginal Effect Plots for robustness check including the interaction Financial crisis and Southern Europe in the change model



Online Appendix 14: Robustness check: Cabinet models controlling for different time periods (only partisan variables, time variables, and the interaction terms)

a) Period dummies (reference category 1985-1990).

| | Index | Temp. Contracts | Regular Contracts | Index | Temp. Contracts | Regular Contracts |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | .0016 (.0032) | .0016 (.0029) | -.0025** (.0010) | | | |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | | | | .0035*** (.0010) | .0024** (.0010) | .0016*** (.0005) |
| Interaction Christian democrats * unemployment | -.0005 (.0006) | -.0006 (.0005) | .0004*** (.0001) | | | |
| Interaction Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003** (.0001) | -.0002 (.0001) | -.0001*** (.0000) |
| <i>Reference category: 1985-1990</i> | | | | | | |
| 1991-2001 | -.0716 (.1341) | -.1095 (.1458) | .0003 (.0376) | -.0487 (.1259) | -.0897 (.1363) | .0047 (.0366) |
| 2002-2007 | .0040 (.1439) | -.0540 (.1630) | -.0038 (.0305) | .0413 (.1407) | -.0173 (.1574) | .0109 (.0295) |
| post 2007 | .0656 (.1531) | .0136 (.1702) | -.0280 (.0346) | .1054 (.1453) | .0439 (.1637) | .0002 (.0304) |
| Constant | .3053 (.2500) | .2578 (.2396) | .0426 (.0547) | .3048 (.2476) | .3030 (.2476) | -.0094 (.0504) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.1991 | 0.2509 | 0.0583 | 0.2115 | 0.2387 | 0.0717 |

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 14 (continued)

b) Time trend.

| | Index | Temp. Contracts | Regular Contracts | Index | Temp. Contracts | Regular Contracts |
|---|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | .0013 (.0033) | .0015 (.0031) | -.0025** (.0010) | | | |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | | | | .0035*** (.0009) | .0024** (.0010) | .0015*** (.0005) |
| Interaction Christian democrats * unemployment | -.0004 (.0006) | -.0006 (.0005) | .0003*** (.0001) | | | |
| Interaction Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003*** (.0001) | -.0002* (.0001) | -.0001*** (.0000) |
| Time trend variable | .0401 (.0395) | .0279 (.0424) | -.0102 (.0096) | .0533 (.0372) | .0378 (.0408) | .0001 (.0087) |
| Constant | .2087 (.2507) | .1526 (.2364) | .0591 (.0584) | .1870 (.2331) | .1821 (.2330) | -.0056 (.0512) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.2025 | 0.2481 | 0.0711 | 0.2165 | 0.2387 | 0.0852 |

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

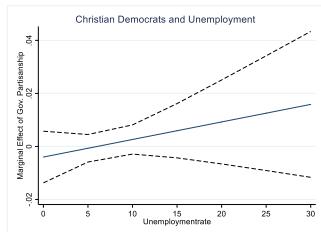
Online Appendix 15: Robustness check: Cabinet model with fixed effects and the corresponding marginal effects plots.

| | Index | Temp. Contracts | Regular Contracts | Index | Temp. Contracts | Regular Contracts |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Christian democratic cabinet shares | -.0040 (.0049) | -.0045 (.0045) | -.0029 (.0019) | | | |
| Social democratic cabinet shares | | | | .0035* (.0018) | .0033** (.0017) | .0006 (.0008) |
| Level | -.4031*** (.0650) | -.3779*** (.0628) | -.3665*** (.0758) | -.3892*** (.0624) | -.3740*** (.0592) | -.3747*** (.0821) |
| Cabinet duration | -.0914** (.0392) | -.0789** (.0357) | .0038 (.0150) | -.0841** (.0380) | -.0743** (.0346) | .0072 (.0147) |
| Economic growth | .0343** (.0157) | .0333** (.0144) | .0010 (.0061) | .0317** (.0158) | .0333** (.0146) | -.0005 (.0062) |
| Unemployment | -.0302* (.0161) | -.0228 (.0148) | -.0050 (.0061) | -.0122 (.0165) | -.0043 (.0151) | -.0025 (.0065) |
| Union density | -.0078 (.0081) | -.0061 (.0074) | -.0021 (.0032) | -.0104 (.0078) | -.0087 (.0071) | -.0021 (.0031) |
| Strikes | .0003 (.0003) | .0002 (.0003) | .0001 (.0001) | .0002 (.0003) | .0002 (.0003) | .0000 (.0001) |
| Institutions (Veto Player Range) | -.0028 (.0051) | -.0021 (.0047) | -.0020 (.0020) | -.0023 (.0051) | -.0014 (.0047) | -.0017 (.0020) |
| Economic globalisation | -.0094** (.0044) | -.0053 (.0038) | -.0036** (.0017) | -.0098** (.0044) | -.0060 (.0038) | -.0036** (.0017) |
| Interaction Christian democrats * unemployment | .0007 (.0006) | .0006 (.0006) | .0003 (.0002) | | | |
| Interaction Social democrats * unemployment | | | | -.0003 (.0002) | -.0003 (.0002) | .0000 (.0001) |
| Separate country dummy effects not reported here | | | | | | |
| Constant | 3.4794*** (.6541) | 2.1018*** (.4600) | 1.1181*** (.2703) | 3.2388*** (.6337) | 1.9592*** (.4410) | 1.0855*** (.2922) |
| N | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 | 140 |
| Adj. R ² | 0.3155 | 0.3486 | 0.1453 | 0.3337 | 0.3648 | 0.1530 |

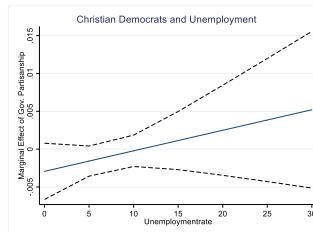
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Online Appendix 15 (continued)

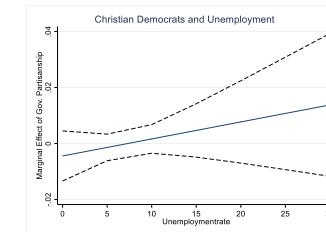
Index EPL CD



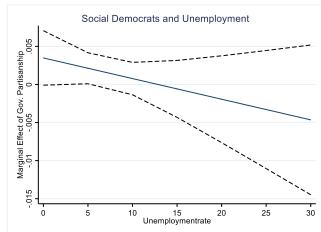
Regular Contracts CD



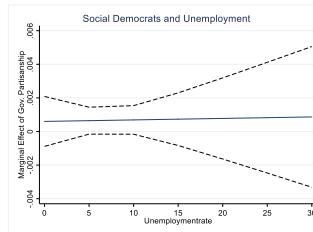
Temporary Contracts CD



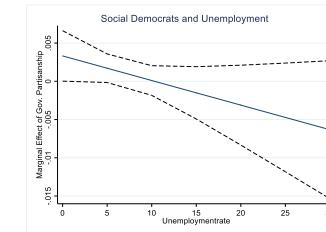
Index EPL SD



Regular Contracts SD



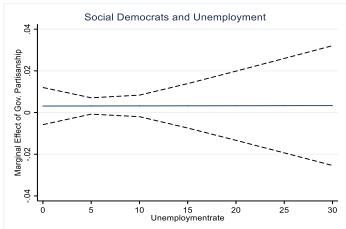
Temporary Contracts SD



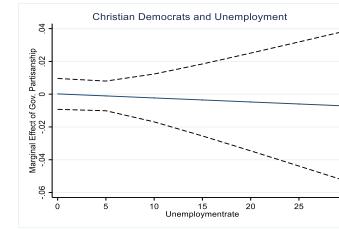
Online Appendix 16: MEPs for interaction effects for the cabinet models for countries with strong and with weak unions.

Countries with strong Unions (n = 51)

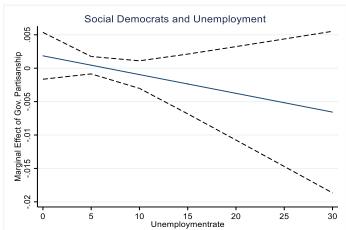
Index SD



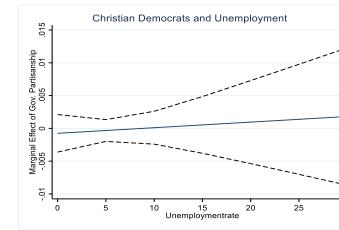
Index CD



Reg. Contracts SD

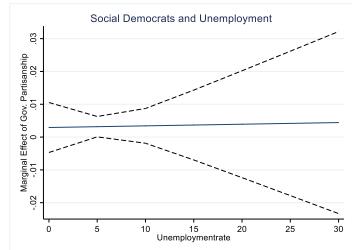


Reg. Contracts CD

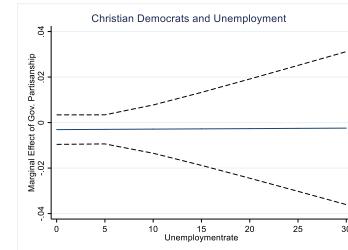


Online Appendix 16 (continued)

Temp. Contracts SD



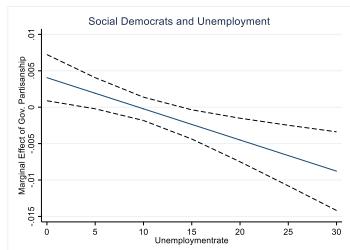
Temp. Contracts CD



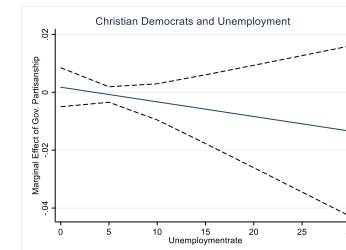
Online Appendix 16 (continued)

Countries with weak Unions (n = 89)

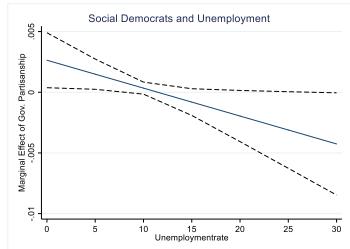
Index SD



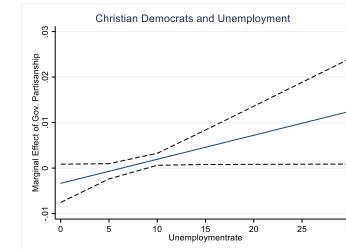
Index CD



Reg. Contracts SD

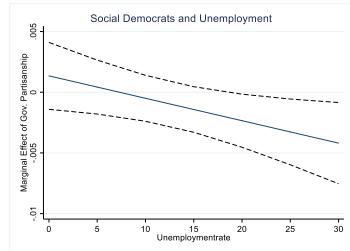


Reg. Contracts CD

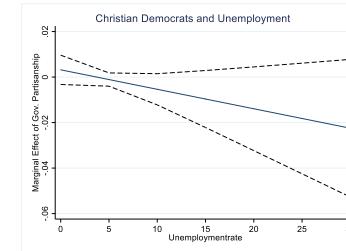


Online Appendix 16 (continued)

Temp. Contracts SD

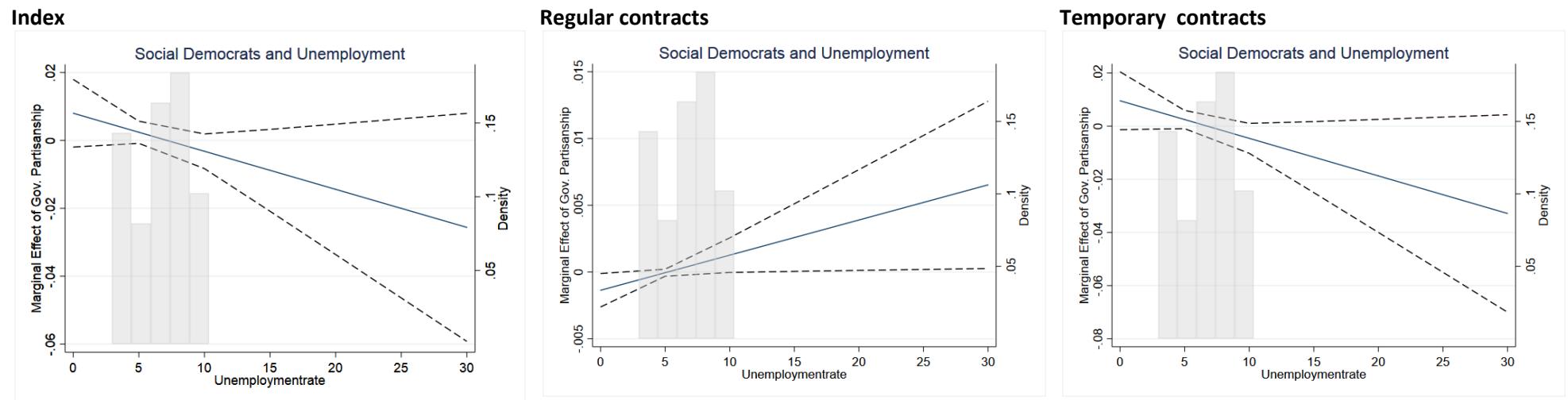


Temp. Contracts CD



Online appendix 17: Marginal Effects Plots for interaction effects for the cabinet models by high/low insider/outsider share of Social democratic/Christian democratic parties.

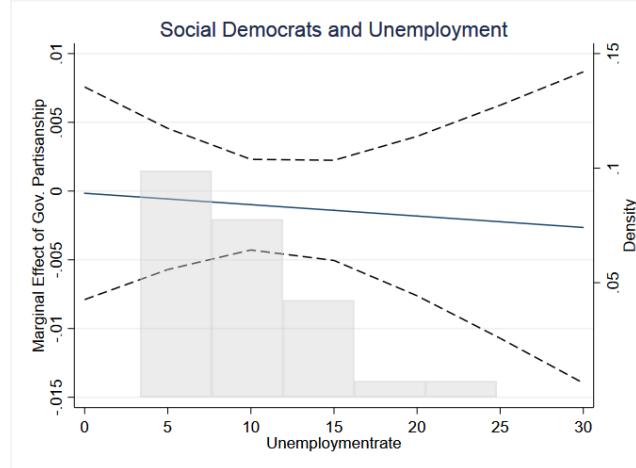
1a) Cabinets with high insider voter share for social democratic parties (n=26)



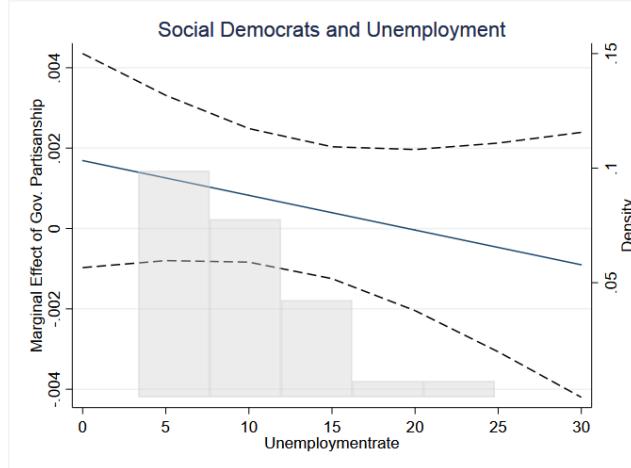
Online appendix 17 (continued)

1b) Cabinets with low insider voter share for social democratic parties (n=21)

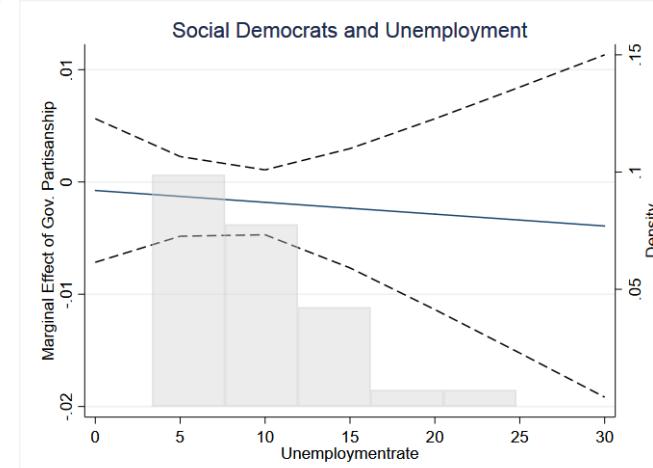
Index



Regular contracts



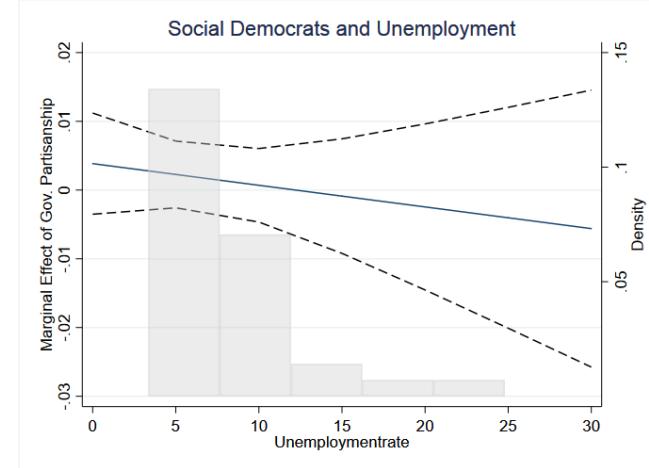
Temporary contracts



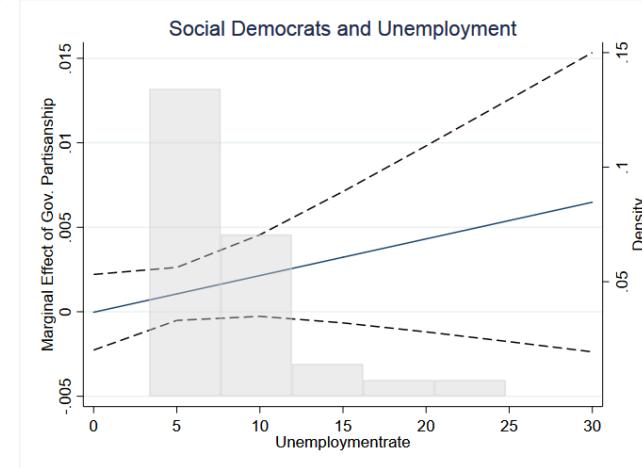
Online appendix 17 (continued)

2a) Cabinets with high outsider voter share for social democratic parties (n=24)

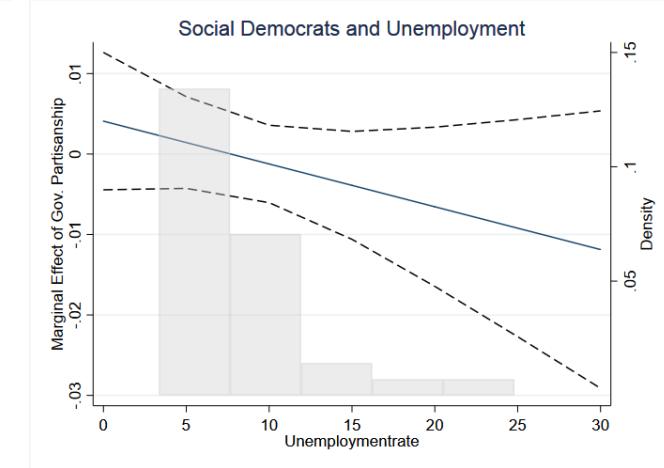
Index



Regular contracts

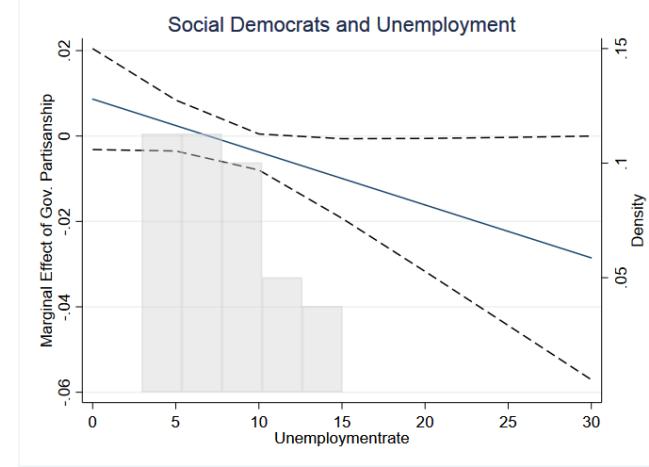


Temporary contracts

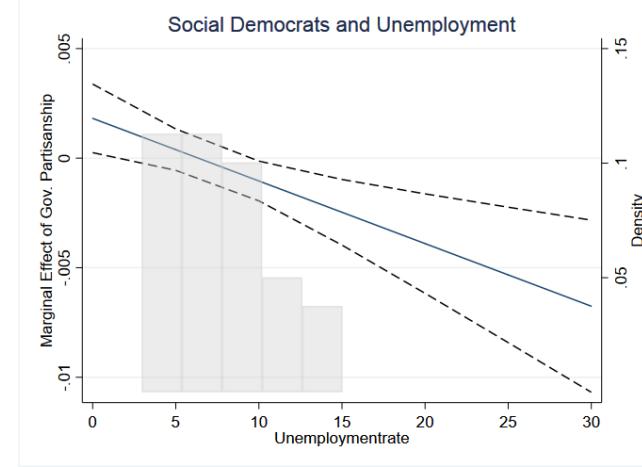


2b) Cabinets with low outsider voter share for social democratic parties (n=23)

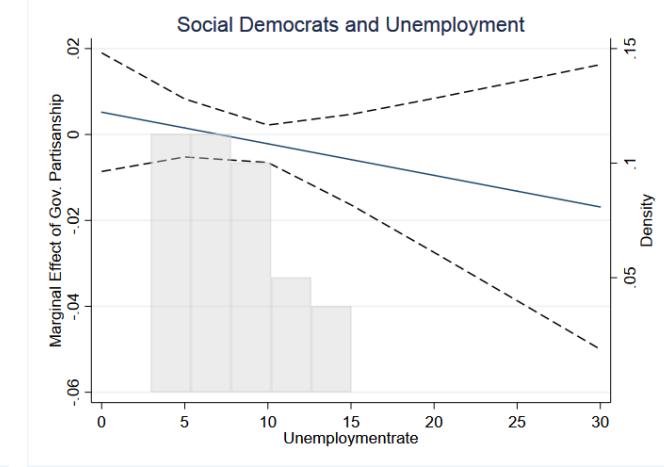
Index



Regular contracts



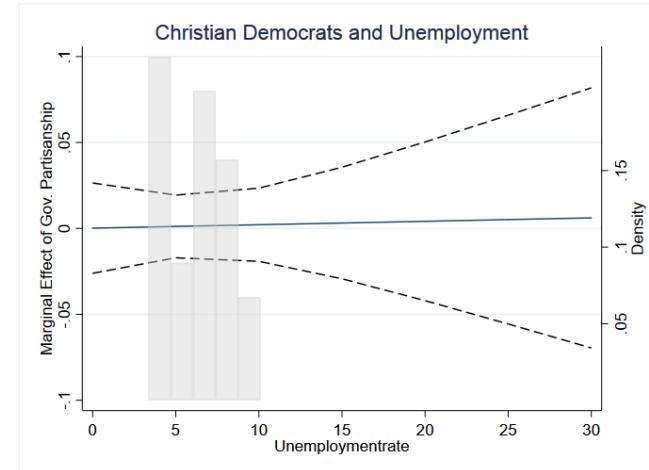
Temporary contracts



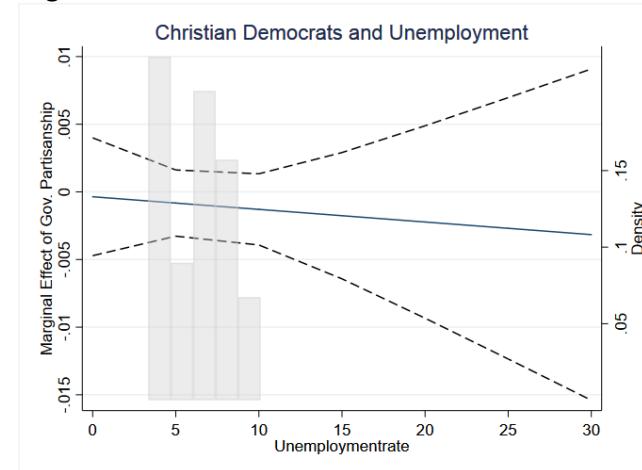
Online appendix 17 (continued)

3a) Cabinets with high insider voter share for Christian democratic parties (n=26)

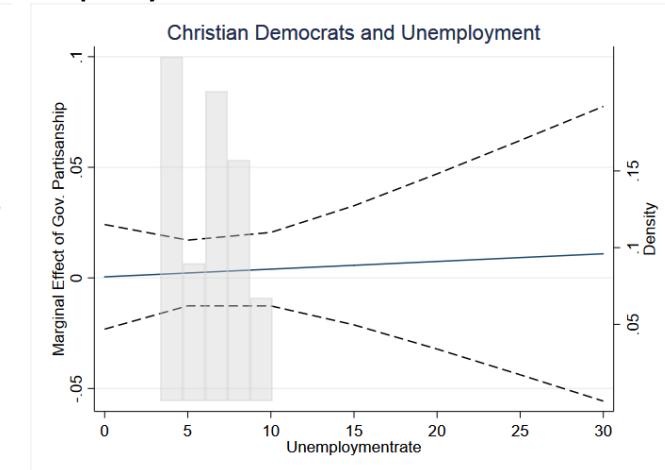
Index



Regular contracts

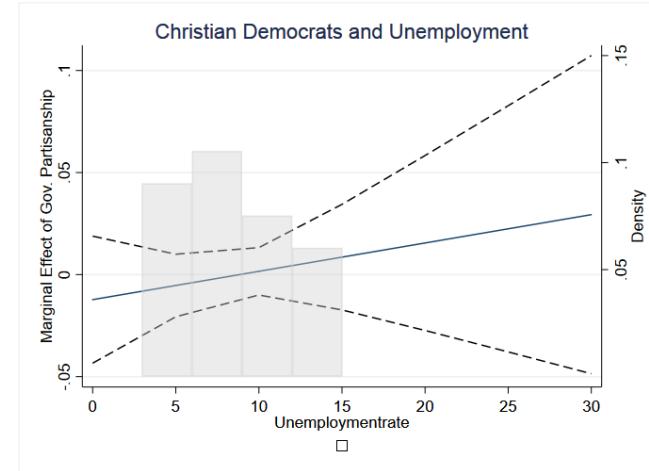


Temporary contracts

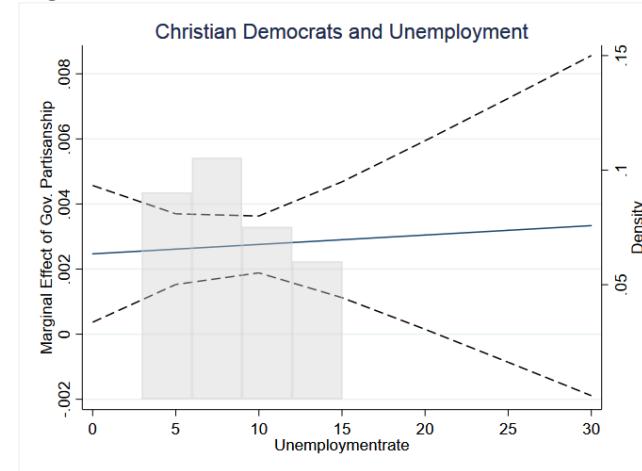


3b) Cabinets with low insider voter share for Christian democratic parties (n = 12)

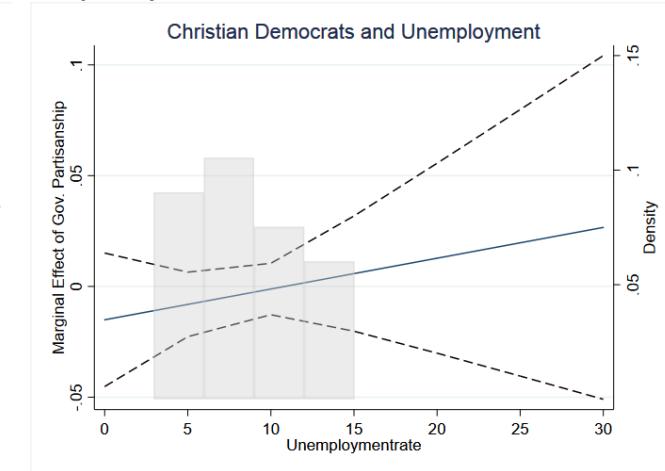
Index



Regular contracts



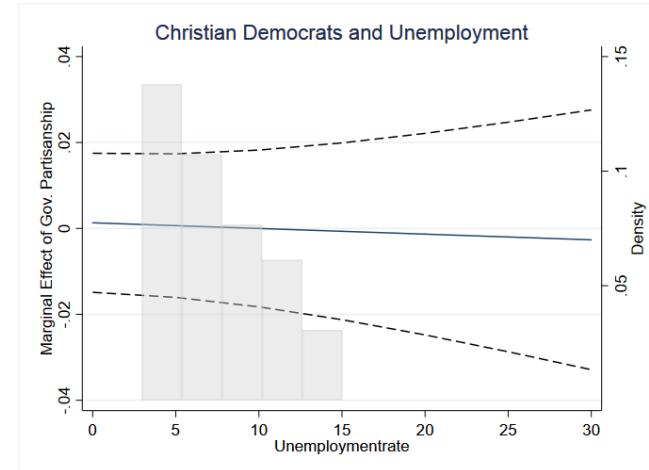
Temporary contracts



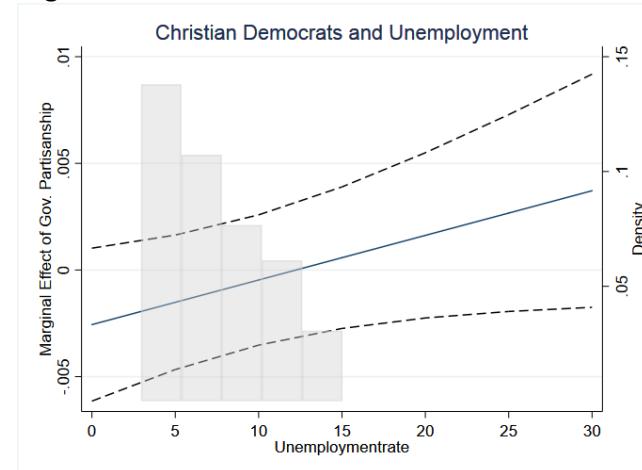
Online appendix 17 (continued)

4a) Cabinets with high outsider voter share for Christian democratic parties (n=20)

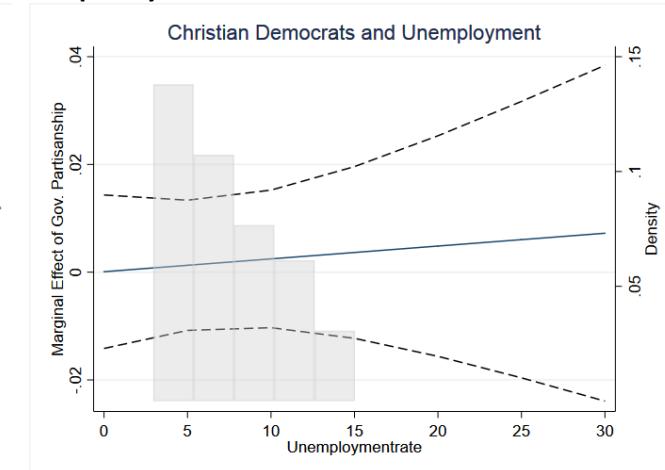
Index



Regular contracts

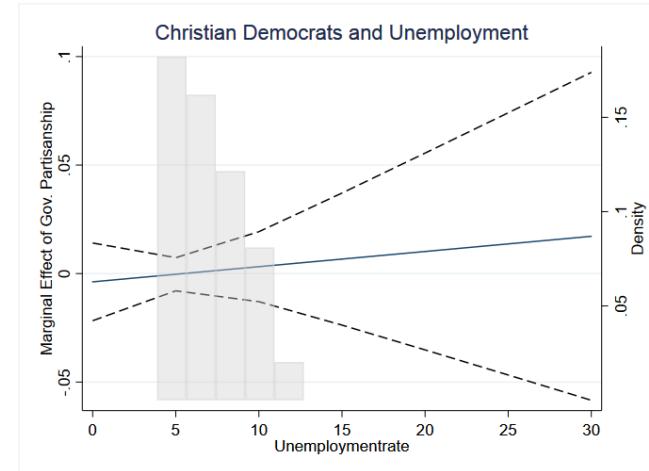


Temporary contracts

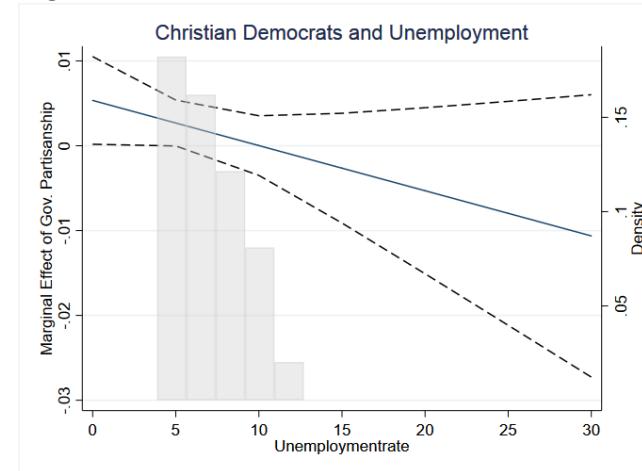


4b) Cabinets with low outsider voter share for Christian democratic parties (n=18)

Index



Regular contracts



Temporary contracts

