

Appendix D (NOT for publication; online web appendix): Tables for robustness analysis

Table D.1: Baseline adding economic variables

Independent variables	Expanding only	Contracting only	Contracting and Expanding
	Coeff.	Coeff.	Coeff.
<i>OPENNESS_{it}</i>	-1.30* (0.68)	1.39 (0.92)	-0.55 (0.78)
<i>INTEREST_{it}</i>	-7.21** (3.48)	7.30 (5.27)	1.32 (4.68)
<i>INFLATION_{it}</i>	-4.83** (2.35)	1.34 (4.58)	4.63 (3.97)
<i>DEBT_{it}</i>	0.14 (0.54)	-0.66 (0.74)	0.68 (0.62)
<i>EUROZONE_{it}</i>	-0.36 (0.32)	-0.40 (0.43)	0.46 (0.41)
<i>CRISIS_{it}</i>	0.20 (0.36)	-0.28 (0.38)	0.61* (0.35)

Notes: see notes to Table 6. Further, country-fixed effects are included; no time-fixed effects are included. Shown coefficients are the coefficients normally presented in waterfall tables, i.e. the result of adding one variable at a time to the baseline specification of Table 6. For the sake of space, the coefficients of the baseline variables are not shown.

Table D.2: Baseline adding political variables

Independent variables	Expanding only	Contracting only	Contracting and Expanding
	Coeff.	Coeff.	Coeff.
<i>CABIND</i> _{it}	0.000020 (0.0022)	-0.0051* (0.0028)	0.00042 (0.0027)
<i>CABIND</i> _{it-1}	0.0031 (0.0022)	0.0040 (0.0027)	0.0015 (0.0027)
<i>PARIND</i> _{it}	0.00048 (0.0021)	-0.0053** (0.0026)	0.00067 (0.0026)
<i>PARIND</i> _{it-1}	0.0024 (0.0021)	0.0042 (0.0026)	0.00098 (0.0026)
<i>GOVCHANGE</i> _{it}	0.10 (0.18)	-0.15 (0.24)	0.12 (0.23)
<i>GOVCHANGE</i> _{it,t-1}	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.34 (0.24)	0.11 (0.24)
<i>GOVNEW</i> _{it}	0.13 (0.20)	0.32 (0.27)	0.51** (0.26)
<i>GOVNEW</i> _{it,t-1}	0.036 (0.21)	0.019 (0.28)	-0.22 (0.27)
<i>ELECYEAR</i> _{it,t+1}	0.12 (0.20)	-1.12*** (0.32)	0.20 (0.28)
<i>ELECYEAR</i> _{it}	-0.064 (0.22)	-0.32 (0.30)	0.16 (0.31)
<i>ELECYEAR</i> _{it,t-1}	-0.049 (0.21)	-0.12 (0.28)	0.37 (0.28)

Notes: see notes to Table 6. Further, country-fixed effects are included; no time-fixed effects are included. Shown coefficients are the coefficients normally presented in waterfall tables, i.e. the result of adding one group of variables at a time to the baseline specification of Table 6. For the sake of space, the coefficients of the baseline variables are not shown.

Table D.3: Using current old-age dependency ratio instead of projected values

Independent variables	Expanding only		Contracting only		Contracting and Expanding	
	Coeff.	Marg. eff.	Coeff.	Marg. eff.	Coeff.	Marg. eff.
\overline{OAD}_t	-19.4 ^{***} (4.76)	-3.04 ^{***} (0.76)	8.56 [*] (4.39)	0.75 [*] (0.38)	7.16 (4.59)	0.67 (0.43)
$OADDEV_{it}$	-2.24 (4.65)	-0.35 (0.73)	-11.0 [*] (6.22)	-0.96 [*] (0.54)	6.80 (4.29)	0.64 (0.40)
ΔOAD_{it}	10.6 (19.4)	1.65 (3.04)	41.2 [*] (24.2)	3.60 [*] (2.11)	-29.8 (23.4)	-2.79 (2.19)
$GROWTH_{it}$	15.0 ^{***} (4.33)	2.34 ^{***} (0.67)	-14.5 ^{***} (4.75)	-1.26 ^{***} (0.41)	-4.78 (4.68)	-0.45 (0.44)
$70s \times GROWTH_{it}$	-3.65 (5.94)	-0.48 (0.79)				
DEF_{it}	-1.77 (3.01)	-0.28 (0.47)	0.88 (3.83)	0.077 (0.33)	8.53 ^{**} (3.59)	0.80 ^{**} (0.34)
$UNEMPL_{it}$	-3.85 (3.79)	-0.60 (0.60)	18.2 ^{***} (4.92)	1.59 ^{***} (0.43)	1.98 (4.00)	0.18 (0.37)
$MAASTRICHT_{it}$	0.76 ^{***} (0.26)	0.12 ^{***} (0.041)	1.06 ^{**} (0.41)	0.092 ^{**} (0.036)	1.30 ^{***} (0.38)	0.12 ^{***} (0.036)
N	1081	1081	1034	1034	987	987
McFadden R2	0.078		0.17		0.12	

Notes: see notes to Table 6. Further, country-fixed effects are included; no time-fixed effects are included.

Table D.4: Conditional logit estimation of the baseline regression

Independent variables	Expanding only		Contracting only		Contracting and Expanding	
	Coeff.	Marg. eff.	Coeff.	Marg. eff.	Coeff.	Marg. eff.
$\overline{OAD25}_t$	-6.36 ^{***} (1.63)	-0.85 ^{***} (0.14)	4.64 ^{***} (1.69)	0.39 ^{***} (0.075)	4.53 ^{***} (1.73)	0.53 ^{***} (0.11)
$OADDEV25_{it}$	2.00 (2.92)	0.27 (0.39)	0.071 (3.48)	0.0060 (0.29)	-0.65 (3.13)	-0.077 (0.37)
$\Delta OAD25_{it}$	-2.45 (6.85)	-0.33 (0.92)	4.92 (7.74)	0.41 (0.66)	7.79 (8.23)	0.92 (1.01)
$GROWTH_{it}$	15.3 ^{***} (4.33)	2.05 ^{**} (0.82)	-13.0 ^{***} (4.69)	-1.09 [*] (0.61)	-3.80 (4.57)	-0.45 (0.61)
$70s \times GROWTH_{it}$	-3.58 (5.86)	-0.37 (0.59)				
DEF_{it}	-2.08 (3.04)	-0.28 (0.40)	1.77 (3.74)	0.15 (0.31)	8.46 ^{**} (3.57)	1.00 ^{**} (0.46)
$UNEMPL_{it}$	-4.28 (3.69)	-0.57 (0.49)	16.8 ^{***} (4.90)	1.41 ^{***} (0.51)	1.07 (4.09)	0.13 (0.48)
$MAASTRICHT_{it}$	0.82 ^{***} (0.28)	0.11 ^{***} (0.033)	0.89 ^{**} (0.43)	0.075 (0.050)	0.89 ^{**} (0.41)	0.11 (0.067)
N	1081	1081	1034	1034	987	987
McFadden R2	0.045		0.15		0.093	

Notes: See notes to Table 6. Further, no time-fixed effects are included.

Table D.5: Probability of reform regime linear in explanatory variables

Independent variables	Expanding only	Contracting only	Contracting and Expanding
$\overline{OAD25}_t$	-0.85 ^{***} (0.25)	0.50 ^{**} (0.21)	0.51 ^{**} (0.20)
$OADDEV25_{it}$	0.27 (0.33)	0.25 (0.40)	0.24 (0.27)
$\Delta OAD25_{it}$	-0.29 (1.43)	0.63 (0.60)	0.66 (0.74)
$GROWTH_{it}$	2.13 ^{***} (0.59)	-1.07 ^{***} (0.34)	-0.45 (0.35)
$70s \times GROWTH_{it}$	-0.62 (0.65)		
DEF_{it}	-0.32 (0.45)	0.25 (0.28)	0.94 ^{**} (0.39)
$UNEMPL_{it}$	-0.46 (0.53)	1.03 ^{***} (0.25)	0.099 (0.31)
$MAASTRICHT_{it}$	0.12 [*] (0.058)	0.040 (0.034)	0.062 [*] (0.032)
N	1081	1034	987
R2 (overall)	0.032	0.063	0.061

Notes: See notes to Table 6. Further, country-fixed effects are included; no time-fixed effects are included. Standard errors are Huber-White, which are robust to unrestricted heteroscedasticity and to any serial correlation within countries.

Table D.6: Probability of reform regime linear in explanatory variables – instrumental variables

Independent variables	Expanding only	Contracting only	Contracting and Expanding
$\overline{OAD25}_t$	-0.90*** (0.32)	0.48* (0.27)	0.52** (0.24)
$OADDEV25_{it}$	0.24 (0.34)	0.26 (0.42)	0.26 (0.26)
$\Delta OAD25_{it}$	-0.32 (1.47)	0.68 (0.62)	0.68 (0.74)
$GROWTH_{it}$	2.50** (1.23)	-1.75 (0.97)	-0.55 (1.31)
$70s \times GROWTH_{it}$	-5.06 (5.71)		
DEF_{it}	-1.03* (0.58)	0.43 (0.60)	1.26*** (0.48)
$UNEMPL_{it}$	-0.36 (0.67)	0.91** (0.37)	-0.083 (0.37)
$MAASTRICHT_{it}$	0.11** (0.057)	0.042 (0.035)	0.065** (0.032)
N	1081	1034	987
R2 (overall)	0.028	0.064	0.059

Notes: See notes to Table 6. Further, country-fixed effects are included; no time-fixed effects are included. Standard errors are Huber-White, which are robust to unrestricted heteroscedasticity and to any serial correlation within countries.

Appendix E (NOT for publication; online web appendix): Further robustness

Legend and mapping variables in this appendix to variable names in paper:

EXP = Expanding only ; CON = Contracting only ; BOTH = Contracting and Expanding

L.EXP = $EXP_{i,t-1}$; L2.EXP = $EXP_{i,t-2}$; L.CON = $CON_{i,t-1}$; L2.CON = $CON_{i,t-2}$; L.BOTH = $CONEXP_{i,t-1}$; L2.BOTH = $CONEXP_{i,t-2}$;

GROWTH = $GROWTH_{it}$; L.GROWTH = $GROWTH_{i,t-1}$; L2.GROWTH = $GROWTH_{i,t-2}$;

GROWTH#70s = $70s \times GROWTH_{it}$; L.GROWTH#70s = $70s \times GROWTH_{i,t-1}$;

DEF = DEF_{it} ; L.DEF = $DEF_{i,t-1}$; L2.DEF = $DEF_{i,t-2}$

UNE = $UNEMPL_{it}$; L.UNE = $UNEMPL_{i,t-1}$; L2.UNE = $UNEMPL_{i,t-2}$

D.GROWTH = $GROWTH_{it} - GROWTH_{i,t-1}$; D2.GROWTH = $GROWTH_{i,t-1} - GROWTH_{i,t-2}$;

D.DEF = $DEF_{it} - DEF_{i,t-1}$; D2.DEF = $DEF_{i,t-1} - DEF_{i,t-2}$;

D.UNE = $UNE_{it} - UNE_{i,t-1}$; D2.UNE = $UNE_{i,t-1} - UNE_{i,t-2}$;

MAASTRICHT = $MAASTRICHT_{it}$

MeanOAD25 = $\overline{OAD25_t}$; OADDev25 = $OADDEV25_{it}$; D.OAD25 = $\Delta OAD25_{it}$

CABIND = $CABIND_{it}$; L.CABIND = $CABIND_{i,t-1}$; PARIND = $PARIND_{it}$; L.PARIND = $PARIND_{i,t-1}$;

GOVCHANGE = $GOVCHANGE_{it}$; L.GOVCHANGE = $GOVCHANGE_{i,t-1}$; GOVNEW = $GOVNEW_{it}$; L.GOVNEW = $GOVNEW_{i,t-1}$;

F.ELECYEAR = $ELECYEAR_{i,t+1}$; ELECYEAR = $ELECYEAR_{it}$; L.ELECYEAR = $ELECYEAR_{i,t-1}$

= denotes an interaction

All tables: see notes to Table 6.

Table E.1: Logit estimations for the baseline regressions, only GROWTH

	EXP		CON		BOTH	
	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.
MeanOAD25	-6.01 ^{***} (1.58)	-0.93 ^{***} (0.25)	5.38 ^{***} (1.65)	0.48 ^{***} (0.15)	4.30 ^{**} (1.74)	0.41 [*] (0.16)
OADDev25	2.00 (2.89)	0.31 (0.45)	2.14 (3.37)	0.19 (0.30)	-1.17 (3.09)	-0.11 (0.29)
D.OAD25	-3.57 (6.86)	-0.55 (1.07)	8.50 (7.78)	0.77 (0.70)	9.76 (8.27)	0.92 (0.78)
GROWTH	17.2 ^{***} (4.20)	2.67 ^{***} (0.64)	-16.2 ^{***} (4.36)	-1.45 ^{***} (0.39)	-8.19 [*] (4.31)	-0.77 [*] (0.41)
GROWTH#70s	-2.99 (5.99)	-0.43 (0.87)				
MAASTRICHT	0.78 ^{***} (0.27)	0.12 ^{***} (0.042)	1.01 ^{**} (0.44)	0.091 ^{**} (0.040)	0.87 ^{**} (0.41)	0.082 ^{**} (0.039)
N	1081	1081	1034	1034	987	987
McFadden R2	0.073		0.14		0.12	

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.2: Logit estimations for the baseline regressions, only DEF

	EXP		CON		BOTH	
	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.
MeanOAD25	-6.40 ^{***} (1.40)	-0.98 ^{***} (0.21)	6.92 ^{***} (1.64)	0.63 ^{***} (0.15)	5.05 ^{***} (1.69)	0.47 ^{***} (0.16)
OADDev25	1.26 (2.82)	0.19 (0.43)	2.63 (3.34)	0.24 (0.30)	-0.49 (3.10)	-0.046 (0.29)
D.OAD25	-0.44 (6.90)	-0.067 (1.06)	6.86 (7.56)	0.62 (0.68)	8.06 (8.18)	0.75 (0.76)
DEF	-5.64 ^{**} (2.53)	-0.86 ^{**} (0.38)	10.1 ^{***} (3.28)	0.91 ^{***} (0.30)	10.1 ^{***} (3.22)	0.95 ^{***} (0.30)
MAASTRICHT	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)	0.13 ^{***} (0.042)	1.01 ^{**} (0.43)	0.092 ^{**} (0.039)	0.93 ^{**} (0.40)	0.087 ^{**} (0.038)
N	1081	1081	1034	1034	987	987
McFadden R2	0.059		0.14		0.12	

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.3: Logit estimations for the baseline regressions, only UNE

	EXP		CON		BOTH	
	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.
MeanOAD25	-5.70 ^{***} (1.40)	-0.87 ^{***} (0.21)	5.27 ^{***} (1.65)	0.47 ^{***} (0.15)	4.64 ^{***} (1.71)	0.44 ^{***} (0.16)
OADDev25	1.72 (2.80)	0.26 (0.43)	-0.92 (3.44)	-0.082 (0.31)	-1.94 (3.10)	-0.18 (0.29)
D.OAD25	0.33 (6.96)	0.051 (1.07)	4.51 (7.66)	0.40 (0.68)	7.32 (8.21)	0.69 (0.78)
UNE	-4.12 (2.91)	-0.63 (0.45)	19.9 ^{***} (4.61)	1.78 ^{***} (0.41)	5.53 (3.78)	0.52 (0.36)
MAASTRICHT	0.88 ^{***} (0.28)	0.13 ^{***} (0.042)	0.88 ^{**} (0.43)	0.079 ^{**} (0.039)	0.77 [*] (0.41)	0.073 [*] (0.038)
N	1081	1081	1034	1034	987	987
McFadden R2	0.056		0.15		0.11	

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.4: Base regressions with actual OAD25 instead of split into MeanOAD25 and DOAD25

	EXP	CON	BOTH
OAD25	-4.55 ^{***} (1.45)	3.92 ^{**} (1.57)	3.28 ^{**} (1.46)
D.OAD25	1.09 (6.83)	2.72 (7.54)	5.51 (8.12)
GROWTH	16.5 ^{***} (4.42)	-14.1 ^{***} (4.73)	-4.55 (4.60)
GROWTH#70s	-3.49 (6.02)		
DEF	-1.70 (3.02)	2.01 (3.80)	9.05 ^{**} (3.63)
UNE	-4.08 (3.73)	16.7 ^{***} (4.91)	0.51 (4.11)
MAASTRICHT	0.62 ^{**} (0.26)	1.04 ^{**} (0.42)	1.11 ^{***} (0.38)
N	1081	1034	987
McFadden R2	0.070	0.16	0.12

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.5: Base regressions leaving out insignificant demographic variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-6.27 ^{***} (1.64)	4.86 ^{***} (1.70)	4.78 ^{***} (1.73)
GROWTH	15.8 ^{***} (4.38)	-12.9 ^{***} (4.74)	-3.75 (4.64)
GROWTH#70s	-4.20 (5.69)		
DEF	-2.00 (3.03)	1.79 (3.76)	8.94 ^{**} (3.58)
UNE	-4.01 (3.67)	16.9 ^{***} (4.71)	1.90 (3.98)
MAASTRICHT	0.79 ^{***} (0.28)	0.82 [*] (0.43)	0.93 ^{**} (0.41)
N	1104	1056	1008
McFadden R2	0.073	0.16	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.6: Country-specific time trend

	EXP	CON	BOTH
GROWTH	16.3 ^{***} (4.49)	-13.6 ^{***} (4.94)	-2.77 (4.77)
GROWTH#70s	-4.39 (6.01)		
DEF	-2.34 (3.38)	1.83 (4.27)	10.3 ^{**} (4.06)
UNE	-4.84 (4.18)	17.0 ^{***} (5.96)	0.49 (4.89)
MAASTRICHT	0.98 ^{***} (0.38)	1.12 [*] (0.58)	1.20 ^{**} (0.52)
N	1104	1056	1008
McFadden R2	0.10	0.20	0.15

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.7: Logit estimations for the baseline regressions, high migration countries

	EXP		CON		BOTH	
	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.
MeanOAD25	-7.90**	-1.29**	8.34**	0.77**	8.67**	0.67**
	(3.67)	(0.59)	(4.01)	(0.37)	(3.63)	(0.28)
OADDev25	6.78	1.11	17.3*	1.60*	12.5	0.97
	(8.79)	(1.42)	(9.15)	(0.83)	(9.41)	(0.74)
D.OAD25	14.1	2.31	-1.89	-0.18	-5.95	-0.46
	(12.7)	(2.06)	(11.9)	(1.10)	(15.3)	(1.19)
GROWTH	23.3**	3.81**	-22.2*	-2.06*	-7.77	-0.60
	(11.0)	(1.70)	(12.6)	(1.15)	(14.2)	(1.11)
GROWTH#70s	-7.19	-0.74				
	(15.2)	(1.57)				
DEF	15.4	2.51	-3.04	-0.28	27.3*	2.12*
	(11.0)	(1.75)	(13.9)	(1.29)	(14.8)	(1.14)
UNE	-12.0	-1.97	42.6**	3.96***	-17.2	-1.34
	(15.5)	(2.55)	(17.1)	(1.53)	(17.5)	(1.35)
MAASTRICHT	0.99	0.16	13.3	1.23	15.2	1.19
	(1.11)	(0.18)	(892.3)	(82.9)	(1160.8)	(90.3)
N	188	188	188	188	188	188
McFadden R2	0.13		0.20		0.14	

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.8: Logit estimations for the baseline regressions, low migration countries

	EXP		CON		BOTH	
	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.	Coeff.	Marg. Eff.
MeanOAD25	-5.45 ^{***}	-0.83 ^{***}	4.27 ^{**}	0.37 ^{**}	4.26 ^{**}	0.41 ^{**}
	(1.94)	(0.30)	(2.11)	(0.18)	(2.15)	(0.21)
OADDev25	-0.51	-0.078	-1.90	-0.16	-2.07	-0.20
	(3.49)	(0.53)	(4.08)	(0.35)	(3.53)	(0.34)
D.OAD25	-10.3	-1.56	6.93	0.59	13.2	1.27
	(8.62)	(1.31)	(10.6)	(0.91)	(10.0)	(0.96)
GROWTH	15.6 ^{***}	2.37 ^{***}	-12.3 ^{**}	-1.06 ^{**}	-3.67	-0.35
	(4.85)	(0.73)	(5.26)	(0.45)	(4.95)	(0.48)
GROWTH#70s	-3.94	-0.56				
	(6.47)	(0.95)				
DEF	-3.99	-0.61	2.08	0.18	7.62 ^{**}	0.73 ^{**}
	(3.24)	(0.49)	(3.96)	(0.34)	(3.75)	(0.36)
UNE	-2.77	-0.42	15.9 ^{***}	1.37 ^{***}	2.34	0.23
	(3.86)	(0.59)	(5.26)	(0.45)	(4.32)	(0.42)
MAASTRICHT	0.82 ^{***}	0.13 ^{***}	0.99 ^{**}	0.085 ^{**}	0.89 ^{**}	0.086 ^{**}
	(0.32)	(0.048)	(0.47)	(0.041)	(0.45)	(0.043)
N	893	893	846	846	799	799
McFadden R2	0.076		0.17		0.13	

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.9: Base regressions with linear trend instead of MeanOAD25 and OADDev25

	EXP	CON	BOTH
Trend	-0.045 ^{***}	0.035 ^{***}	0.031 ^{***}
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)
D.OAD25	-1.68	5.66	7.95
	(6.73)	(7.55)	(8.06)
GROWTH	15.8 ^{***}	-13.4 ^{***}	-4.00
	(4.38)	(4.79)	(4.64)
GROWTH#70s	-4.14		
	(5.94)		
DEF	-1.94	1.79	8.56 ^{**}
	(3.03)	(3.75)	(3.58)
UNE	-3.65	16.5 ^{***}	0.51
	(3.73)	(4.90)	(4.11)
MAASTRICHT	0.83 ^{***}	0.85 [*]	0.92 ^{**}
	(0.28)	(0.44)	(0.41)
N	1081	1034	987
McFadden R2	0.076	0.17	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.10: Including two lags of the regime indicators

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-6.16 ^{***} (1.73)	4.74 ^{**} (1.86)	6.38 ^{***} (1.89)
OADDev25	2.17 (3.00)	0.33 (3.62)	-0.76 (3.22)
D.OAD25	-2.86 (6.98)	4.62 (7.94)	9.63 (8.49)
GROWTH	15.7 ^{***} (4.37)	-13.0 ^{***} (4.82)	-4.09 (4.71)
GROWTH#70s	-2.60 (6.24)		
DEF	-2.28 (3.13)	1.87 (3.94)	10.2 ^{***} (3.90)
UNE	-3.23 (3.85)	17.8 ^{**} (5.05)	1.73 (4.36)
MAASTRICHT	0.85 ^{***} (0.28)	0.90 ^{**} (0.45)	0.91 ^{**} (0.42)
L.EXP	0.077 (0.20)	-0.35 (0.32)	-0.18 (0.30)
L2.EXP	0.23 (0.19)	0.30 (0.30)	0.10 (0.28)
L.CON	-0.25 (0.31)	-0.57 [*] (0.33)	0.37 (0.31)
L2.CON	-0.17 (0.31)	0.19 (0.31)	-0.72 [*] (0.38)
L.BOTH	0.17 (0.28)	0.073 (0.32)	-0.89 ^{**} (0.36)
L2.BOTH	-0.21 (0.31)	0.48 (0.32)	-0.87 ^{**} (0.35)
N	1058	1012	966
McFadden R2	0.081	0.17	0.15

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.11: Base regressions with one lag of economic variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-7.39 ^{***} (1.67)	5.06 ^{***} (1.72)	4.78 ^{***} (1.76)
OADDev25	1.68 (2.91)	0.16 (3.49)	-0.53 (3.18)
D.OAD25	-1.67 (7.03)	5.85 (7.59)	8.95 (8.25)
L.GROWTH	7.44 [*] (3.98)	-11.0 ^{**} (4.65)	-4.29 (4.56)
L.GROWTH#70s	2.51 (5.84)		
L.DEF	-6.71 ^{**} (3.07)	3.62 (3.70)	8.87 ^{**} (3.62)
L.UNE	0.52 (3.54)	10.3 ^{**} (4.67)	-2.21 (4.30)
MAASTRICHT	0.85 ^{***} (0.28)	0.92 ^{**} (0.43)	0.93 ^{**} (0.41)
N	1081	1034	987
McFadden R2	0.068	0.15	0.12

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.12: Base regressions with contemporaneous values and one lag of economic variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-6.49 ^{***}	4.51 ^{**}	4.67 ^{**}
	(1.73)	(1.81)	(1.88)
OADDev25	2.28	0.19	-0.43
	(3.00)	(3.58)	(3.22)
D.OAD25	-2.37	5.50	8.69
	(6.94)	(7.88)	(8.38)
GROWTH	19.9 ^{***}	-15.3 ^{**}	-4.68
	(5.44)	(6.49)	(6.32)
GROWTH#70s	-0.84		
	(6.11)		
L.GROWTH	3.06	-3.83	-0.61
	(3.79)	(5.69)	(5.43)
DEF	7.36	-2.20	4.16
	(4.67)	(5.84)	(5.39)
L.DEF	-12.1 ^{**}	4.54	5.89
	(4.84)	(5.27)	(5.15)
UNE	6.16	12.2	2.68
	(12.3)	(14.8)	(14.6)
L.UNE	-7.76	3.33	-3.42
	(11.9)	(14.2)	(14.3)
MAASTRICHT	0.87 ^{***}	0.89 ^{**}	0.92 ^{**}
	(0.28)	(0.44)	(0.41)
N	1081	1034	987
McFadden R2	0.084	0.17	0.13
Wald test for all lags = 0			
Chi2	8.20	1.21	1.36
Prob > Chi2	0.042	0.75	0.71

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.13: Base regressions with contemporaneous values and two lags of economic variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-6.56 ^{***} (1.78)	3.88 ^{**} (1.90)	4.56 ^{**} (1.99)
OADDev25	2.40 (3.08)	-0.10 (3.61)	-0.94 (3.28)
D.OAD25	-2.07 (7.02)	5.21 (7.92)	9.08 (8.47)
GROWTH	19.9 ^{***} (5.43)	-14.0 ^{**} (6.69)	-5.49 (6.61)
GROWTH#70s	-0.98 (6.39)		
L.GROWTH	5.80 (4.42)	-7.66 (6.76)	0.57 (6.49)
L2.GROWTH	2.03 (3.82)	-4.30 (5.75)	-6.03 (5.42)
DEF	7.49 (4.65)	-2.16 (5.98)	3.95 (5.42)
L.DEF	-9.52 (6.44)	3.43 (6.66)	3.16 (6.55)
L2.DEF	-4.26 (5.22)	1.18 (5.22)	2.52 (5.35)
UNE	3.35 (13.0)	19.6 (16.3)	1.64 (16.3)
L.UNE	7.28 (19.7)	-22.6 (25.7)	-5.31 (26.0)
L2.UNE	-11.2 (12.3)	18.9 (16.1)	1.06 (16.0)
MAASTRICHT	0.93 ^{***} (0.28)	0.88 ^{**} (0.44)	0.87 ^{**} (0.42)
N	1058	1012	966
McFadden R2	0.088	0.16	0.13
Wald test for all lags = 0			
Chi2	11.5	2.85	2.98
Prob > Chi2	0.073	0.83	0.81

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.14: Base regressions with contemporaneous values and first difference of economic variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-6.49 ^{***} (1.73)	4.51 ^{**} (1.81)	4.67 ^{**} (1.88)
OADDev25	2.28 (3.00)	0.19 (3.58)	-0.43 (3.22)
D.OAD25	-2.37 (6.94)	5.50 (7.88)	8.69 (8.38)
GROWTH	22.9 ^{***} (6.41)	-19.2 ^{**} (8.76)	-5.29 (8.39)
GROWTH#70s	2.22 (7.06)		
D.GROWTH	-3.06 (3.79)	3.83 (5.69)	0.61 (5.43)
DEF	-4.75 (3.34)	2.34 (4.30)	10.0 ^{**} (4.03)
D.DEF	12.1 ^{**} (4.84)	-4.54 (5.27)	-5.89 (5.15)
UNE	-1.60 (3.90)	15.6 ^{***} (5.27)	-0.74 (4.51)
D.UNE	7.76 (11.9)	-3.33 (14.2)	3.42 (14.3)
MAASTRICHT	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.89 ^{**} (0.44)	0.92 ^{**} (0.41)
N	1081	1034	987
McFadden R2	0.084	0.17	0.13
Wald test for all lags = 0			
Chi2	8.20	1.21	1.36
Prob > Chi2	0.042	0.75	0.71

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.15: Base regressions with contemporaneous values and two difference of economic variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-6.56 ^{***} (1.78)	3.88 ^{**} (1.90)	4.56 ^{**} (1.99)
OADDev25	2.40 (3.08)	-0.10 (3.61)	-0.94 (3.28)
D.OAD25	-2.07 (7.02)	5.21 (7.92)	9.08 (8.47)
GROWTH	27.8 ^{***} (7.45)	-25.9 ^{**} (11.0)	-10.9 (10.4)
GROWTH#70s	6.86 (8.34)		
D.GROWTH	-9.87 (8.44)	16.3 (13.4)	11.5 (12.5)
D2.GROWTH	2.03 (3.82)	-4.30 (5.75)	-6.03 (5.42)
DEF	-6.29 [*] (3.66)	2.46 (4.72)	9.64 ^{**} (4.43)
D.DEF	18.0 ^{**} (7.98)	-5.79 (8.57)	-8.21 (8.60)
D2.DEF	-4.26 (5.22)	1.18 (5.22)	2.52 (5.35)
UNE	-0.57 (4.16)	15.8 ^{***} (5.67)	-2.60 (4.97)
D.UNE	15.1 (15.2)	-15.1 (18.4)	3.18 (18.3)
D2.UNE	-11.2 (12.3)	18.9 (16.1)	1.06 (16.0)
MAASTRICHT	0.93 ^{***} (0.28)	0.88 ^{**} (0.44)	0.87 ^{**} (0.42)
N	1058	1012	966
McFadden R2	0.088	0.16	0.13
Wald test for all lags = 0			
Chi2	11.5	2.85	2.98
Prob > Chi2	0.073	0.83	0.81

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.16: Base regressions with interaction of business cycle variables with MeanOAD25

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-3.99 (2.54)	7.13** (2.99)	7.55** (2.98)
OADDev25	2.98 (3.03)	1.27 (3.68)	-0.45 (3.33)
D.OAD25	-1.78 (6.91)	5.66 (7.86)	8.93 (8.36)
MeanOAD25#GROWTH	6.92 (47.7)	72.6 (55.3)	5.88 (56.0)
MeanOAD25#GROWTH#70s	-979.0 (1061.9)		
MeanOAD25#DEF	-14.0 (29.7)	-53.1 (44.1)	20.8 (39.9)
MeanOAD25#UNE	-41.2 (38.0)	-19.7 (36.9)	-53.4 (35.6)
GROWTH	12.8 (15.7)	-39.0** (19.5)	-6.51 (20.1)
GROWTH#70s	195.3 (214.0)		
DEF	2.27 (9.64)	21.6 (16.2)	0.42 (14.8)
UNE	7.50 (11.5)	23.9* (13.8)	21.0 (13.8)
MAASTRICHT	0.92*** (0.28)	1.03** (0.45)	0.87** (0.41)
N	1081	1034	987
McFadden R2	0.079	0.17	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.17 - EXP: Baseline adding separate political variables, PART I

	EXP	EXP	EXP	EXP
MeanOAD25	-6.77 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.42 ^{***} (1.66)	-6.77 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.42 ^{***} (1.66)
OADDev25	2.26 (3.12)	2.41 (2.97)	2.31 (3.13)	2.46 (2.98)
D.OAD25	-1.17 (7.09)	-2.60 (6.96)	-1.20 (7.09)	-2.63 (6.96)
GROWTH	15.9 ^{***} (4.47)	15.4 ^{***} (4.42)	15.9 ^{***} (4.48)	15.4 ^{***} (4.42)
GROWTH#70s	-3.84 (5.95)	-3.77 (5.95)	-3.79 (5.95)	-3.78 (5.95)
DEF	-2.06 (3.14)	-2.04 (3.09)	-2.06 (3.14)	-2.02 (3.09)
UNE	-4.74 (3.85)	-5.11 (3.79)	-4.65 (3.85)	-4.98 (3.78)
MAASTRICHT	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)	0.82 ^{***} (0.28)	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)	0.82 ^{***} (0.28)
CABIND	0.0025 [*] (0.0014)			
L.CABIND		0.0028 ^{**} (0.0013)		
PARIND			0.0024 [*] (0.0013)	
L.PARIND				0.0026 ^{**} (0.0013)
N	1058	1081	1058	1081
McFadden R2	0.083	0.080	0.083	0.080

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.17 - CON: Baseline adding separate political variables, PART I

	CON	CON	CON	CON
MeanOAD25	5.34 ^{***} (1.79)	4.76 ^{***} (1.73)	5.32 ^{***} (1.79)	4.77 ^{***} (1.73)
OADDev25	0.75 (3.73)	0.094 (3.54)	0.63 (3.73)	0.089 (3.54)
D.OAD25	3.59 (7.87)	5.11 (7.86)	3.61 (7.88)	5.11 (7.86)
GROWTH	-12.8 ^{***} (4.80)	-13.5 ^{***} (4.78)	-12.8 ^{***} (4.80)	-13.5 ^{***} (4.78)
DEF	1.64 (3.82)	1.85 (3.82)	1.63 (3.81)	1.86 (3.82)
UNE	16.7 ^{***} (4.93)	17.3 ^{***} (4.98)	16.7 ^{***} (4.93)	17.3 ^{***} (4.98)
MAASTRICHT	0.85 [*] (0.44)	0.91 ^{**} (0.44)	0.86 [*] (0.44)	0.91 ^{**} (0.44)
CABIND	-0.0019 (0.0017)			
L.CABIND		-0.000089 (0.0017)		
PARIND			-0.0020 (0.0016)	
L.PARIND				-0.000051 (0.0016)
N	1012	1034	1012	1034
McFadden R2	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.17 - BOTH: Baseline adding separate political variables, PART I

	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH
MeanOAD25	5.03 ^{***} (1.85)	4.73 ^{***} (1.76)	5.02 ^{***} (1.84)	4.70 ^{***} (1.76)
OADDev25	-0.81 (3.37)	-0.75 (3.19)	-0.73 (3.37)	-0.68 (3.18)
D.OAD25	7.95 (8.43)	8.38 (8.37)	7.89 (8.42)	8.23 (8.36)
GROWTH	-4.30 (4.66)	-4.20 (4.64)	-4.29 (4.66)	-4.07 (4.64)
DEF	7.96 ^{**} (3.65)	8.81 ^{**} (3.64)	7.98 ^{**} (3.65)	8.82 ^{**} (3.64)
UNE	1.33 (4.24)	0.83 (4.20)	1.36 (4.23)	0.92 (4.18)
MAASTRICHT	0.85 ^{**} (0.42)	0.90 ^{**} (0.41)	0.85 ^{**} (0.42)	0.90 ^{**} (0.41)
CABIND	0.0016 (0.0017)			
L.CABIND		0.0015 (0.0017)		
PARIND			0.0014 (0.0016)	
L.PARIND				0.00088 (0.0016)
N	966	987	966	987
McFadden R2	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.18 - EXP: Baseline adding separate political variables, PART II

	EXP	EXP	EXP	EXP	EXP	EXP	EXP
MeanOAD25	-6.97 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.44 ^{***} (1.65)	-6.98 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.50 ^{***} (1.65)	-6.47 ^{***} (1.79)	-6.93 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.50 ^{***} (1.65)
OADDev25	2.05 (3.10)	2.10 (2.95)	1.95 (3.11)	2.03 (2.95)	2.64 (3.20)	2.06 (3.11)	2.03 (2.95)
D.OAD25	-1.24 (7.08)	-2.23 (6.93)	-0.91 (7.05)	-2.50 (6.94)	-2.23 (7.05)	-1.26 (7.06)	-2.56 (6.94)
GROWTH	15.9 ^{***} (4.44)	15.7 ^{***} (4.37)	16.2 ^{***} (4.44)	15.7 ^{***} (4.38)	16.0 ^{***} (4.46)	16.0 ^{***} (4.44)	15.7 ^{***} (4.38)
GROWTH#70s	-3.57 (5.93)	-3.43 (5.95)	-3.10 (5.98)	-3.64 (5.95)	-3.50 (5.95)	-3.60 (5.96)	-3.72 (5.94)
DEF	-2.11 (3.13)	-2.31 (3.08)	-2.25 (3.15)	-2.13 (3.08)	-2.67 (3.16)	-2.10 (3.14)	-2.10 (3.08)
UNE	-4.04 (3.80)	-4.49 (3.73)	-4.20 (3.80)	-4.39 (3.74)	-3.76 (3.84)	-4.08 (3.80)	-4.36 (3.73)
MAASTRICHT	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)	0.88 ^{***} (0.28)	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)	0.83 ^{***} (0.29)	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.84 ^{***} (0.28)
GOVCHANGE	0.14 (0.17)						
L.GOVCHANGE		-0.20 (0.17)					
GOVNEW			0.14 (0.20)				
L.GOVNEW				0.020 (0.20)			
F.ELECYEAR					0.16 (0.17)		
ELECYEAR						-0.10 (0.18)	
L.ELECYEAR							-0.058 (0.18)
N	1058	1081	1058	1081	1035	1058	1081
McFadden R2	0.081	0.078	0.080	0.076	0.077	0.080	0.076

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.18 - CON: Baseline adding separate political variables, PART II

	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON	CON
MeanOAD25	5.57 ^{***} (1.79)	4.86 ^{***} (1.72)	5.54 ^{***} (1.79)	4.74 ^{***} (1.72)	6.22 ^{***} (1.91)	5.56 ^{***} (1.79)	4.80 ^{***} (1.72)
OADDev25	0.59 (3.74)	0.21 (3.53)	0.62 (3.73)	0.083 (3.53)	0.064 (4.19)	0.56 (3.74)	0.092 (3.53)
D.OAD25	3.86 (7.88)	5.08 (7.85)	3.84 (7.87)	5.17 (7.87)	4.35 (8.11)	3.76 (7.91)	5.30 (7.81)
GROWTH	-13.0 ^{***} (4.78)	-13.6 ^{***} (4.79)	-12.6 ^{***} (4.80)	-13.4 ^{***} (4.79)	-13.0 ^{***} (4.90)	-13.1 ^{***} (4.78)	-13.6 ^{***} (4.80)
DEF	1.66 (3.82)	1.50 (3.83)	1.41 (3.84)	1.80 (3.83)	1.71 (4.00)	1.66 (3.82)	1.84 (3.82)
UNE	16.8 ^{***} (4.96)	17.3 ^{***} (5.01)	16.7 ^{***} (4.97)	17.2 ^{***} (5.00)	17.6 ^{***} (5.10)	16.8 ^{***} (4.96)	17.4 ^{***} (4.99)
MAASTRICHT	0.81 [*] (0.44)	0.91 ^{**} (0.44)	0.82 [*] (0.44)	0.92 ^{**} (0.44)	0.68 (0.45)	0.81 [*] (0.44)	0.91 ^{**} (0.44)
GOVCHANGE	-0.068 (0.23)						
L.GOVCHANGE		-0.34 (0.23)					
GOVNEW			0.32 (0.26)				
L.GOVNEW				0.15 (0.26)			
F.ELECYEAR					-0.97 ^{***} (0.29)		
ELECYEAR						0.084 (0.23)	
L.ELECYEAR							0.19 (0.23)
N	1012	1034	1012	1034	990	1012	1034
McFadden R2	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.20	0.17	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.18 - BOTH: Baseline adding separate political variables, PART II

	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH
MeanOAD25	4.88 ^{***} (1.84)	4.62 ^{***} (1.75)	4.87 ^{***} (1.84)	4.66 ^{***} (1.75)	5.13 ^{***} (1.94)	4.90 ^{***} (1.83)	4.70 ^{***} (1.76)
OADDev25	-0.66 (3.35)	-0.71 (3.17)	-0.66 (3.35)	-0.68 (3.17)	-1.25 (3.57)	-0.64 (3.35)	-0.68 (3.17)
D.OAD25	7.47 (8.41)	8.02 (8.36)	8.08 (8.33)	8.09 (8.35)	7.96 (8.45)	7.60 (8.40)	8.40 (8.32)
GROWTH	-4.05 (4.65)	-3.96 (4.63)	-3.06 (4.67)	-3.91 (4.64)	-3.31 (4.65)	-3.94 (4.65)	-3.96 (4.65)
DEF	8.02 ^{**} (3.66)	8.94 ^{**} (3.65)	7.84 ^{**} (3.67)	8.79 ^{**} (3.64)	9.21 ^{**} (3.79)	8.02 ^{**} (3.66)	8.78 ^{**} (3.63)
UNE	1.58 (4.20)	1.18 (4.17)	1.05 (4.26)	1.07 (4.18)	-0.087 (4.39)	1.51 (4.20)	1.02 (4.17)
MAASTRICHT	0.86 ^{**} (0.41)	0.91 ^{**} (0.41)	0.90 ^{**} (0.42)	0.91 ^{**} (0.41)	0.93 ^{**} (0.42)	0.87 ^{**} (0.41)	0.91 ^{**} (0.41)
GOVCHANGE	0.092 (0.23)						
L.GOVCHANGE		0.14 (0.23)					
GOVNEW			0.46 [*] (0.25)				
L.GOVNEW				-0.0048 (0.26)			
F.ELECYEAR					0.067 (0.24)		
ELECYEAR						-0.10 (0.24)	
L.ELECYEAR							0.30 (0.23)
N	966	987	966	987	945	966	987
McFadden R2	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.19 - EXP: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with GROWTH

	EXP	EXP	EXP
MeanOAD25	-6.98 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.99 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.96 ^{***} (1.74)
OADDev25	2.09 (3.11)	1.92 (3.11)	2.23 (3.12)
D.OAD25	-0.91 (7.08)	-0.99 (7.06)	-1.22 (7.03)
GROWTH	21.6 ^{***} (6.45)	16.7 ^{***} (4.85)	13.8 ^{***} (4.73)
GROWTH#70s	1.79 (7.40)	-2.46 (6.45)	-7.01 (6.71)
DEF	-2.27 (3.13)	-2.25 (3.15)	-2.19 (3.14)
UNE	-4.20 (3.81)	-4.19 (3.80)	-4.31 (3.80)
MAASTRICHT	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.88 ^{***} (0.28)	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)
GOVCHANGE	0.34 (0.24)		
GOVCHANGE#GROWTH	-8.67 (7.03)		
GOVNEW		0.18 (0.25)	
GOVNEW#GROWTH		-1.97 (7.63)	
ELECYEAR			-0.30 (0.25)
ELECYEAR#GROWTH			8.55 (7.41)
N	1058	1058	1058
McFadden R2	0.082	0.081	0.082

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.19 - CON: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with GROWTH

	CON	CON	CON
MeanOAD25	5.63 ^{***} (1.79)	5.57 ^{***} (1.79)	5.71 ^{***} (1.79)
OADDev25	0.56 (3.75)	0.55 (3.73)	0.44 (3.75)
D.OAD25	3.68 (7.94)	3.85 (7.87)	3.65 (7.92)
GROWTH	-20.1 ^{***} (6.77)	-10.8 [*] (5.70)	-9.47 [*] (5.72)
DEF	1.83 (3.86)	1.54 (3.85)	1.96 (3.81)
UNE	17.1 ^{***} (5.03)	16.6 ^{**} (4.99)	17.0 ^{**} (4.95)
MAASTRICHT	0.79 [*] (0.44)	0.84 [*] (0.44)	0.81 [*] (0.44)
GOVCHANGE	-0.19 (0.25)		
GOVCHANGE#GROWTH	13.2 (9.00)		
GOVNEW		0.37 (0.27)	
GOVNEW#GROWTH		-6.00 (9.99)	
ELECYEAR			0.18 (0.25)
ELECYEAR#GROWTH			-10.6 (9.41)
N	1012	1012	1012
McFadden R2	0.17	0.17	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.19 - BOTH: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with GROWTH

	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH
MeanOAD25	4.92 ^{***}	4.85 ^{***}	4.91 ^{***}
	(1.84)	(1.84)	(1.85)
OADDev25	-0.53	-0.64	-0.40
	(3.36)	(3.36)	(3.36)
D.OAD25	7.79	8.58	7.97
	(8.39)	(8.31)	(8.39)
GROWTH	2.35	-6.87	-7.23
	(6.92)	(5.72)	(5.45)
DEF	7.84 ^{**}	7.55 ^{**}	7.99 ^{**}
	(3.66)	(3.65)	(3.67)
UNE	1.73	1.46	1.41
	(4.20)	(4.25)	(4.22)
MAASTRICHT	0.88 ^{**}	0.89 ^{**}	0.86 ^{**}
	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.41)
GOVCHANGE	0.23		
	(0.25)		
GOVCHANGE#GROWTH	-11.3		
	(8.86)		
GOVNEW		0.34	
		(0.27)	
GOVNEW#GROWTH		11.1	
		(9.34)	
ELECYEAR			-0.26
			(0.28)
ELECYEAR#GROWTH			11.9
			(9.69)
N	966	966	966
McFadden R2	0.13	0.13	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.20 - EXP: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with DEF

	EXP	EXP	EXP
MeanOAD25	-6.97 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.97 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.92 ^{***} (1.74)
OADDev25	2.05 (3.10)	1.95 (3.11)	2.07 (3.11)
D.OAD25	-1.24 (7.08)	-0.87 (7.05)	-1.21 (7.06)
GROWTH	15.9 ^{***} (4.44)	16.2 ^{***} (4.44)	16.1 ^{***} (4.44)
GROWTH#70s	-3.58 (5.94)	-3.11 (5.98)	-3.61 (5.96)
DEF	-2.09 (3.97)	-1.91 (3.33)	-2.32 (3.36)
UNE	-4.04 (3.80)	-4.20 (3.81)	-4.07 (3.80)
MAASTRICHT	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)
GOVCHANGE	0.14 (0.20)		
GOVCHANGE#DEF	-0.041 (4.02)		
GOVNEW		0.17 (0.22)	
GOVNEW#DEF		-1.39 (4.44)	
ELECYEAR			-0.12 (0.21)
ELECYEAR#DEF			0.79 (4.35)
N	1058	1058	1058
McFadden R2	0.081	0.081	0.080

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.20 - CON: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with DEF

	CON	CON	CON
MeanOAD25	5.62 ^{***} (1.79)	5.56 ^{***} (1.79)	5.56 ^{***} (1.78)
OADDev25	0.75 (3.75)	0.61 (3.74)	0.56 (3.74)
D.OAD25	4.36 (7.90)	3.84 (7.87)	3.89 (7.90)
GROWTH	-12.9 ^{***} (4.80)	-12.6 ^{***} (4.80)	-13.2 ^{***} (4.79)
DEF	5.94 (5.32)	0.94 (4.05)	1.09 (4.10)
UNE	16.7 ^{***} (4.99)	16.6 ^{***} (4.98)	16.8 ^{***} (4.95)
MAASTRICHT	0.82 [*] (0.44)	0.83 [*] (0.44)	0.81 [*] (0.44)
GOVCHANGE	0.14 (0.29)		
GOVCHANGE#DEF	-6.59 (5.62)		
GOVNEW		0.25 (0.33)	
GOVNEW#DEF		2.40 (6.49)	
ELECYEAR			0.016 (0.29)
ELECYEAR#DEF			2.26 (5.82)
N	1012	1012	1012
McFadden R2	0.17	0.17	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.20 - BOTH: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with DEF

	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH
MeanOAD25	4.92 ^{***}	4.87 ^{***}	4.91 ^{***}
	(1.84)	(1.84)	(1.84)
OADDev25	-0.71	-0.65	-0.54
	(3.35)	(3.35)	(3.35)
D.OAD25	6.92	8.09	7.05
	(8.46)	(8.32)	(8.49)
GROWTH	-4.22	-2.98	-3.89
	(4.67)	(4.69)	(4.66)
DEF	4.67	7.62 ^{**}	10.1 ^{**}
	(4.95)	(3.86)	(4.01)
UNE	1.84	0.98	1.51
	(4.22)	(4.28)	(4.23)
MAASTRICHT	0.85 ^{**}	0.91 ^{**}	0.87 ^{**}
	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.41)
GOVCHANGE	-0.099		
	(0.29)		
GOVCHANGE#DEF	5.24		
	(5.22)		
GOVNEW		0.43	
		(0.33)	
GOVNEW#DEF		1.08	
		(5.85)	
ELECYEAR			0.19
			(0.30)
ELECYEAR#DEF			-8.40
			(5.61)
N	966	966	966
McFadden R2	0.13	0.13	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.21 - EXP: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with UNE

	EXP	EXP	EXP
MeanOAD25	-6.97 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.98 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.96 ^{***} (1.74)
OADDev25	2.05 (3.10)	2.01 (3.12)	2.09 (3.11)
D.OAD25	-1.16 (7.08)	-0.91 (7.05)	-1.28 (7.12)
GROWTH	16.0 ^{***} (4.45)	16.2 ^{***} (4.44)	16.0 ^{***} (4.45)
GROWTH#70s	-3.63 (5.94)	-3.29 (6.02)	-3.24 (5.96)
DEF	-2.12 (3.14)	-2.24 (3.15)	-2.08 (3.13)
UNE	-3.41 (4.71)	-4.60 (4.06)	-2.85 (3.95)
MAASTRICHT	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)	0.88 ^{***} (0.28)	0.87 ^{***} (0.28)
GOVCHANGE	0.20 (0.34)		
GOVCHANGE#UNE	-1.00 (4.51)		
GOVNEW		0.045 (0.39)	
GOVNEW#UNE		1.46 (5.00)	
ELECYEAR			0.21 (0.35)
ELECYEAR#UNE			-4.83 (4.82)
N	1058	1058	1058
McFadden R2	0.081	0.081	0.081

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.21 - CON: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with UNE

	CON	CON	CON
MeanOAD25	5.53 ^{***}	5.65 ^{***}	5.55 ^{***}
	(1.79)	(1.79)	(1.78)
OADDev25	0.69	0.86	0.53
	(3.73)	(3.75)	(3.73)
D.OAD25	4.13	3.67	3.24
	(7.91)	(7.89)	(7.88)
GROWTH	-13.0 ^{***}	-12.2 ^{**}	-13.3 ^{***}
	(4.80)	(4.84)	(4.81)
DEF	1.58	1.70	1.62
	(3.86)	(3.88)	(3.84)
UNE	19.8 ^{***}	13.8 ^{**}	15.6 ^{***}
	(5.90)	(5.55)	(5.18)
MAASTRICHT	0.81 [*]	0.81 [*]	0.81 [*]
	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)
GOVCHANGE	0.35		
	(0.49)		
GOVCHANGE#UNE	-5.19		
	(5.35)		
GOVNEW		-0.33	
		(0.56)	
GOVNEW#UNE		7.88	
		(5.92)	
ELECYEAR			-0.24
			(0.47)
ELECYEAR#UNE			4.20
			(5.20)
N	1012	1012	1012
McFadden R2	0.17	0.17	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.21 - BOTH: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with UNE

	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH
MeanOAD25	4.96 ^{***}	4.85 ^{***}	4.90 ^{***}
	(1.84)	(1.84)	(1.84)
OADDev25	-0.74	-0.73	-0.63
	(3.36)	(3.36)	(3.35)
D.OAD25	7.20	8.16	7.81
	(8.43)	(8.33)	(8.45)
GROWTH	-4.22	-3.16	-3.92
	(4.65)	(4.69)	(4.65)
DEF	7.96 ^{**}	7.76 ^{**}	8.01 ^{**}
	(3.66)	(3.68)	(3.66)
UNE	-1.09	1.69	1.98
	(5.17)	(4.96)	(4.45)
MAASTRICHT	0.86 ^{**}	0.90 ^{**}	0.87 ^{**}
	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.41)
GOVCHANGE	-0.30		
	(0.49)		
GOVCHANGE#UNE	4.87		
	(5.35)		
GOVNEW		0.58	
		(0.52)	
GOVNEW#UNE		-1.36	
		(5.49)	
ELECYEAR			0.027
			(0.48)
ELECYEAR#UNE			-1.65
			(5.40)
N	966	966	966
McFadden R2	0.13	0.13	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.22 - EXP: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with MAASTRICHT

	EXP	EXP	EXP
MeanOAD25	-6.97 ^{***} (1.74)	-7.03 ^{***} (1.74)	-6.93 ^{***} (1.74)
OADDev25	2.15 (3.11)	1.93 (3.11)	2.04 (3.11)
D.OAD25	-1.32 (7.09)	-0.85 (7.05)	-1.18 (7.02)
GROWTH	15.7 ^{***} (4.45)	16.2 ^{***} (4.44)	16.1 ^{***} (4.45)
GROWTH#70s	-3.52 (5.95)	-3.35 (6.00)	-3.77 (5.99)
DEF	-2.08 (3.13)	-2.27 (3.15)	-2.15 (3.15)
UNE	-4.02 (3.80)	-4.22 (3.80)	-4.08 (3.80)
MAASTRICHT	0.67 [*] (0.37)	0.83 ^{***} (0.30)	0.75 ^{**} (0.30)
GOVCHANGE	0.030 (0.21)		
GOVCHANGE#MAASTRICHT	0.31 (0.36)		
GOVNEW		0.055 (0.26)	
GOVNEW#MAASTRICHT		0.21 (0.40)	
ELECYEAR			-0.25 (0.22)
ELECYEAR#MAASTRICHT			0.45 (0.37)
N	1058	1058	1058
McFadden R2	0.081	0.081	0.082

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.22 - CON: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with MAASTRICHT

	CON	CON	CON
MeanOAD25	5.54 ^{***} (1.79)	5.79 ^{***} (1.80)	5.56 ^{***} (1.79)
OADDev25	0.56 (3.73)	0.33 (3.74)	0.56 (3.74)
D.OAD25	3.85 (7.88)	4.02 (7.86)	3.76 (7.91)
GROWTH	-12.9 ^{***} (4.80)	-12.0 ^{**} (4.80)	-13.1 ^{***} (4.78)
DEF	1.61 (3.84)	1.36 (3.84)	1.67 (3.82)
UNE	16.8 ^{***} (4.97)	17.1 ^{**} (4.97)	16.8 ^{***} (4.96)
MAASTRICHT	1.04 ^{**} (0.52)	1.12 ^{**} (0.48)	0.82 [*] (0.46)
GOVCHANGE	0.16 (0.36)		
GOVCHANGE#MAASTRICHT	-0.38 (0.47)		
GOVNEW		0.91 ^{**} (0.42)	
GOVNEW#MAASTRICHT		-0.93 [*] (0.53)	
ELECYEAR			0.10 (0.33)
ELECYEAR#MAASTRICHT			-0.034 (0.47)
N	1012	1012	1012
McFadden R2	0.17	0.17	0.17

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.22 - BOTH: Baseline adding interaction of political variables with MAASTRICHT

	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH
MeanOAD25	4.87 ^{***}	4.98 ^{***}	4.90 ^{***}
	(1.83)	(1.84)	(1.83)
OADDev25	-0.68	-1.00	-0.64
	(3.34)	(3.37)	(3.35)
D.OAD25	7.71	8.06	7.61
	(8.42)	(8.32)	(8.39)
GROWTH	-3.95	-2.70	-3.95
	(4.66)	(4.64)	(4.65)
DEF	8.06 ^{**}	7.74 ^{**}	8.02 ^{**}
	(3.66)	(3.67)	(3.66)
UNE	1.51	1.57	1.50
	(4.21)	(4.26)	(4.20)
MAASTRICHT	1.05 ^{**}	1.18 ^{**}	0.86 ^{**}
	(0.50)	(0.47)	(0.43)
GOVCHANGE	0.28		
	(0.36)		
GOVCHANGE#MAASTRICHT	-0.31		
	(0.46)		
GOVNEW		0.95 ^{**}	
		(0.42)	
GOVNEW#MAASTRICHT		-0.75	
		(0.52)	
ELECYEAR			-0.13
			(0.35)
ELECYEAR#MAASTRICHT			0.042
			(0.48)
N	966	966	966
McFadden R2	0.13	0.13	0.13

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table E.23: Base regressions with recession dummy instead of business cycle variables

	EXP	CON	BOTH
MeanOAD25	-5.62 ^{***} (1.36)	6.49 ^{***} (1.61)	5.22 ^{***} (1.67)
RECESSION	-0.088 (0.16)	0.38 [*] (0.21)	0.27 (0.21)
MAASTRICHT	0.79 ^{***} (0.27)	0.95 ^{**} (0.42)	0.90 ^{**} (0.40)
N	1104	1056	1008
McFadden R2	0.051	0.12	0.11

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.24: Base regressions with additional regime CONBOTH = (CON or BOTH)

	CON	BOTH	CONBOTH
MeanOAD25	4.77 ^{***} (1.72)	4.66 ^{***} (1.75)	5.87 ^{***} (1.36)
OADDev25	0.091 (3.54)	-0.68 (3.17)	-0.056 (2.70)
D.OAD25	5.11 (7.86)	8.08 (8.35)	8.64 (6.54)
GROWTH	-13.5 ^{***} (4.78)	-3.91 (4.63)	-11.1 ^{***} (3.87)
DEF	1.86 (3.82)	8.79 ^{**} (3.64)	6.99 ^{**} (3.06)
UNE	17.3 ^{***} (4.98)	1.06 (4.16)	10.6 ^{***} (3.71)
MAASTRICHT	0.91 ^{**} (0.44)	0.91 ^{**} (0.41)	0.94 ^{***} (0.32)
N	1034	987	1034
McFadden R2	0.17	0.13	0.19

Standard errors in parentheses, ^{*} $p < 0.10$, ^{**} $p < 0.05$, ^{***} $p < 0.01$

Table E.25: Inverse p-value of Wald test of a break after that year

	break_invps		CON		BOTH	
	EXP					
	Spec1	Spec2	Spec1	Spec2	Spec1	Spec2
1979	33.2	204.4	3.8	3.9	1.6	1.5
1989	15.2	27.7	3.1	4.4	1.2	1.4
1999	2.9	4.0	8.1	3.8	9.3	5.2
2009	5.4	8.4	1.0	1.1	17.6	25.0

Table E.26: Break in the optimal year (1979)

	EXP	
	Spec1	Spec2
Dummy	-0.61** (0.28)	-0.61** (0.27)
GROWTH	15.6*** (4.40)	15.7*** (4.38)
DEF	-2.25 (3.21)	-2.12 (3.08)
UNE	-4.20 (3.82)	-4.38 (3.73)
GROWTH#Dummy	-19.2*** (7.34)	-19.4*** (7.28)
DEF#Dummy	0.98 (6.33)	
UNE#Dummy	-1.74 (8.76)	
D.OAD25	-2.60 (6.96)	-2.51 (6.93)
MeanOAD25	-6.51*** (1.66)	-6.49*** (1.65)
OADDev25	2.05 (2.95)	2.04 (2.95)
MAASTRICHT	0.84*** (0.28)	0.84*** (0.28)

Standard errors in parentheses, * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Dummy indicates a variable which is 0 from 1970 up to (and including) the break year and 1 after this break year.

Wald test for significance of coefficients in 1st sub-period. Reported value is the Chi2 value of 'coef + coef#Dummy = 0

GROWTH	0.37	0.38
DEF	0.042	
UNE	0.46	
N	1081	1081
Breakyear	1979	1979