

## SUPPLEMENTAL APPENDIX

### Between Cabinet Membership and Opposition: Commitment and Responsibility of Support Parties

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## A Treatments, attention checks, and manipulation check

Now I will ask you to carefully read three texts on the topic of Danish politics. Afterwards I will ask you some questions to see how easy the texts were to read and understand.

The national budget negotiations was the [**easiest/hardest**] in a decade.

*[The unambiguous deals in/different interpretations of] red bloc's support agreement affected the negotiations over this year's national budget. The results were [already/far from] given in advance.*

With an 18 page long support agreement, S-leader Mette Frederiksen secured the prime minister's office with the support of the Radical Liberals, SF, and the Unity List. The so-called support agreement with the title "fair direction for Denmark", which was signed by the four parties on June 25, worked as a [**strongly disciplining/vague and non-committal**] framework for the budget negotiations. The conflicts were [**thus cancelled/waiting in line**], even before the S-government and the three external support parties got into the final negotiations over this year's budget.

According to the text, what best describes the negotiations over this year's national budget?

- The negotiations were easy because the left-wing parties were committed to implementing their shared policy.
- The negotiations were hard because the left-wing parties interpreted their policy deals very differently.
- Do not know.

The red-green quartet, which has performed [**well-coordinated/uncoordinated**] so far, [**agreed/disagreed**] about the narrative. The support agreement leaves [**almost no/incredibly much**] room for interpretation and can easily start to look like a [**de facto coalition agreement/ "support dis-agreement"**] when political ambitions become concrete initiatives. The budget for 2020 was [**an important/only the first**] step towards [**realizing/interpreting**] the support agreement and thus the biggest [**victories/battles**] are still ahead.

According to the text, what might the support agreement start to look like?

- A de facto coalition agreement which works like an internal law.
- A “support dis-agreement” which contains broad ambitions instead of concrete policy.
- Do not know

**“[I cannot possibly imagine that the Social Democrats will not live up to the support agreement/We are more independent today that we have been for decades]”** said party leader of the Radical Liberals Morten Østergaard after negotiations have been concluded. “We still believe that the conditions for passing our policy is best in the current constellation” he says. **“[The crucial thing for us is not the portfolios, but the policy/However, that is not necessarily true for all eternity]”**.

How large impact do you think the support agreement has on the cooperation between the government and the external support parties?

- No impact
- Small impact
- Large impact
- Decisive impact
- Do not know

## B Dependent variables

How much responsibility do you think each of the following parties have for the general legislative process?

	1. No Responsibility	2.	3.	4.	5. Full Responsibility
Social Democrats					
Social Liberals					
Socialist People's Party					
Red-Green Unity List					

How much responsibility do you think each of the following parties have for the immigration policy?

	1. No Responsibility	2.	3.	4.	5. Full Responsibility
Social Democrats					
Social Liberals					
Socialist People's Party					
Red-Green Unity List					

How much responsibility do you think each of the following parties have for the economic policy?

	1. No Responsibility	2.	3.	4.	5. Full Responsibility
Social Democrats					
Social Liberals					
Socialist People's Party					
Red-Green Unity List					

## C Two dimensional party system

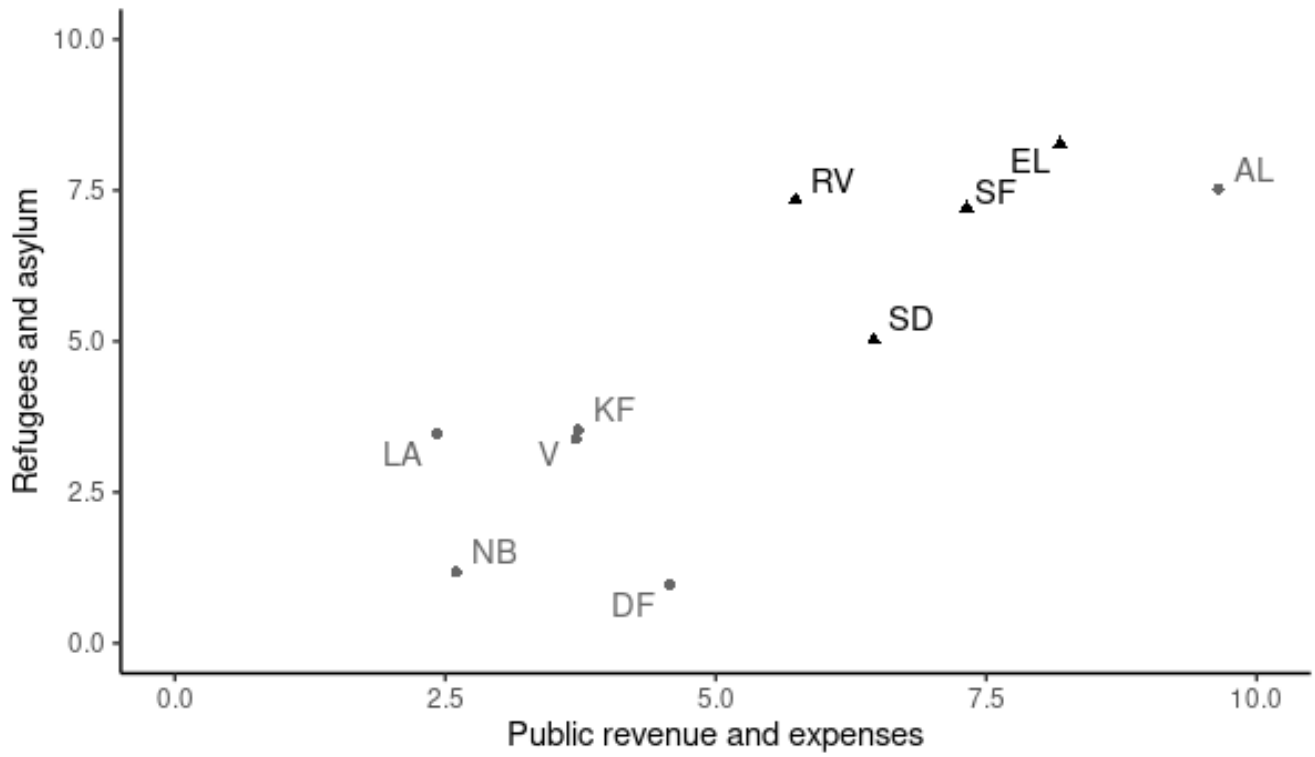


Figure 1: Average two-dimensional party placement by control group. Signatories as black triangles, opposition parties as grey dots.

## D Balance checks

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	High commitment	Low commitment
Political interest [1-4]	0.083 (0.084)	0.056 (0.085)
TV [1-7]	-0.021 (0.031)	-0.015 (0.031)
Newspaper [1-7]	-0.016 (0.025)	0.029 (0.026)
Female	0.022 (0.124)	0.080 (0.125)
Age [1-14]	-0.005 (0.025)	0.014 (0.025)
Copenhagen	0.042 (0.143)	0.227 (0.140)
Employed	-0.096 (0.161)	-0.052 (0.162)
Income [1-11]	0.038 (0.025)	0.029 (0.025)
Married	-0.046 (0.144)	0.006 (0.144)
Intercept	-0.224 (0.310)	-0.600* (0.315)
Akaike Inf. Crit.	3,706.739	3,706.739

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 1: Multinomial logistic regression coefficients and standard errors. The dependent variable indicates assignment to a treatment condition (versus the control.) The null hypothesis is that the data is balanced across treatment conditions

## E Attention check

	High	Low	Difference
Negotiations were easy	62.8 %	9.5 %	53.3 % (p < 0.01)
Negotiations were hard	19.1 %	75.5 %	-56.4 % (p < 0.01)
Do not know	18.1 %	15.0 %	3.1 % (p = 0.127)
Internal law	57.8 %	10.2 %	47.6 % (p < 0.01)
Broad ambitions	21.9 %	74.8 %	-52.8 % (p < 0.01)
Do not know	20.2 %	15.0 %	5.2 % (p = 0.01)

Table 2: Distributions of answers to the attention checks by treatment group

## F Cross-tabulations

	No impact	Small impact	Large impact	Decisive impact
Control	4.8 %	39.3 %	49.7 %	6.2 %
High	2.9 %	21.1 %	58.6 %	17.3 %
Low	6.4 %	43.0 %	45.5 %	5.2 %
N	79	575	871	167

Table 3: Cross-tab of perceived impact of support agreement by treatment group

	1 (no)	2	3	4	5 (full)
Control	0.3 %	1.3 %	10.7 %	45.2 %	42.6 %
High	0.3 %	2.1 %	10.3 %	41.0 %	46.3 %
Low	1.3 %	1.0 %	9.4 %	43.7 %	44.6 %
N	12	27	191	815	839

Table 4: Cross-tab of perceived responsibility of the Social Democrats by treatment group

	1 (no)	2	3	4	5 (full)
Control	6.2 %	23.3 %	40.6 %	22.3 %	7.7 %
High	6.1 %	17.5 %	42.3 %	23.5 %	10.6 %
Low	5.8 %	20.9 %	40.4 %	23.9 %	9.1 %
N	109	373	745	421	165

Table 5: Cross-tab of perceived responsibility of the Radical Liberals by treatment group

	1 (no)	2	3	4	5 (full)
Control	6.6 %	25.6 %	44.1 %	0.17.3 %	6.4 %
High	6.4 %	21.7 %	42.3 %	20.9 %	8.8 %
Low	5.1 %	24.2 %	41.1 %	21.2 %	8.4 %
N	110	434	774	361	144

Table 6: Cross-tab of perceived responsibility of the Socialist People's Party by treatment group



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	1 (no)	2	3	4	5 (full)
Control	15.9 %	34.0 %	30.7 %	13.4 %	6.0 %
High	16.1 %	0.25.5 %	34.1 %	16.3 %	8.1 %
Low	13.4 %	0.31.5 %	33.2 %	15.1 %	6.9 %
N	12	27	191	815	839

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Table 7: Cross-tab of perceived responsibility of the Unity List by treatment group

## G Graphical illustration of treatment effects

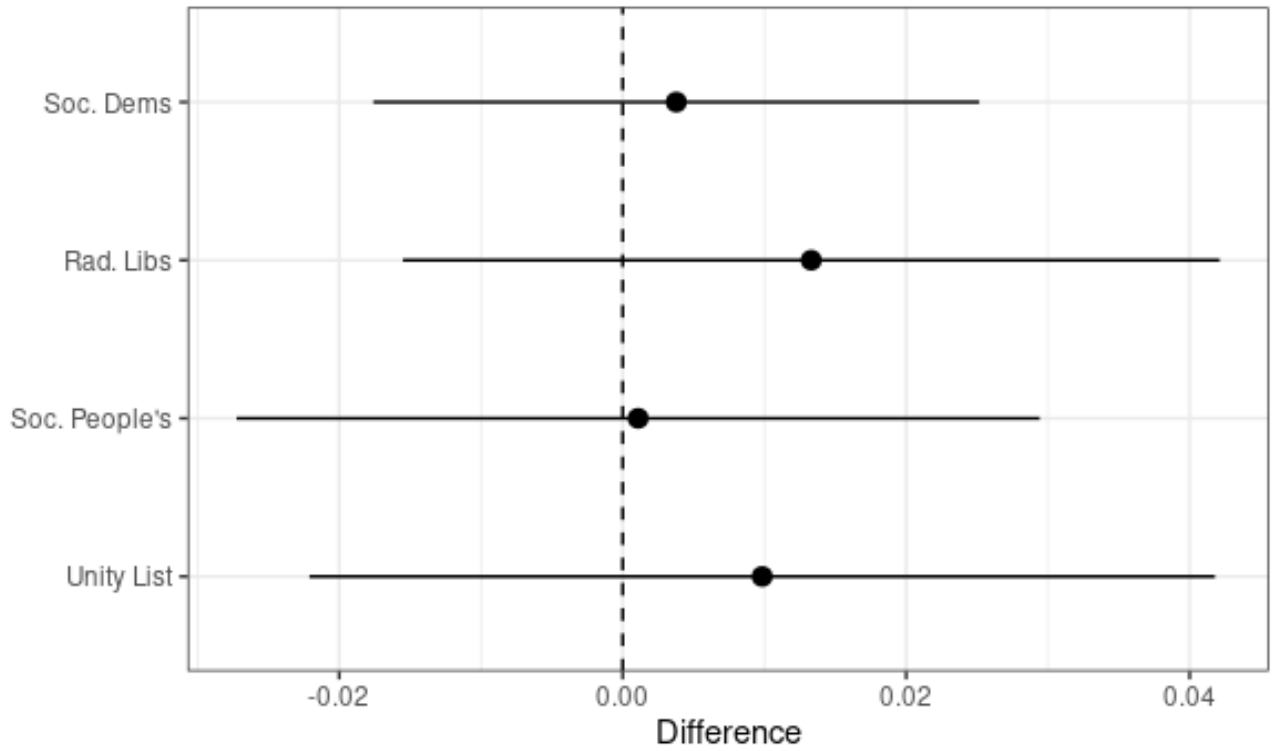


Figure 2: Difference in average perceived responsibility between high and low commitment groups. Point estimates shown with 95 percent confidence intervals

## **H Treatment effects on responsibility for immigration and economic policy**

Treatment	Soc. Dems	Rad. Libs	Soc. People's	Unity List	N
Control	0.78 (0.21)	0.55 (0.27)	0.53 (0.26)	0.48 (0.29)	727
High	0.81 (0.19)	0.58 (0.27)	0.55 (0.27)	0.49 (0.30)	723
Low	0.80 (0.21)	0.56 (0.28)	0.56 (0.27)	0.49 (0.30)	714
Difference	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)	

Table 8: Perceived responsibility for immigration policy by treatment group

Treatment	Soc. Dems	Rad. Libs	Soc. People's	Unity List	N
Control	0.81 (0.20)	0.56 (0.25)	0.49 (0.24)	0.43 (0.28)	727
High	0.83 (0.19)	0.60 (0.26)	0.51 (0.28)	0.44 (0.31)	723
Low	0.83 (0.20)	0.57 (0.26)	0.50 (0.27)	0.42 (0.30)	714
Difference	0.00 (0.02)	0.03* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	

Table 9: Perceived responsibility for economic policy by treatment group

**I Robustness: Treatment effects for attentive respondents**

Treatment	Soc. Dems	Rad. Libs	Soc. People's	Unity List	N
High	0.84 (0.17)	0.55 (0.24)	0.52 (0.23)	0.44 (0.27)	353
Low	0.83 (0.18)	0.52 (0.25)	0.50 (0.25)	0.41 (0.27)	473
Difference	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	

Table 10: Perceived responsibility for the general legislative process for the subset of respondents who could recall stimulus material and pass both attention checks.

## J Wishful thinking? Party supporter perceptions

Vote choice	Soc. Dems	Rad. Libs	Soc. People's	Unity List	N
Social Democrats	<b>0.83 (0.17)</b>	0.46 (0.23)	0.48 (0.21)	0.39 (0.24)	169
Social Liberals	0.81 (0.19)	<b>0.53 (0.19)</b>	0.46 (0.18)	0.35 (0.18)	50
Conservatives	0.85 (0.15)	0.53 (0.27)	0.49 (0.27)	0.39 (0.28)	49
New Right	0.76 (0.22)	0.44 (0.34)	0.34 (0.29)	0.28 (0.29)	20
Klaus Riskaer Pedersen Party	0.83 (0.20)	0.50 (0.47)	0.55 (0.41)	0.58 (0.41)	6
Socialist People's Party	0.83 (0.19)	0.58 (0.23)	<b>0.57 (0.23)</b>	0.52 (0.25)	45
Liberal Alliance	0.80 (0.19)	0.50 (0.26)	0.48 (0.25)	0.36 (0.27)	20
Christian Democrats	0.95 (0.11)	0.65 (0.34)	0.55 (0.33)	0.55 (0.33)	5
Danish People's Party	0.83 (0.20)	0.50 (0.30)	0.47 (0.29)	0.39 (0.33)	65
Hard Line	0.68 (0.24)	0.46 (0.22)	0.54 (0.34)	0.50 (0.29)	8
Liberals	0.85 (0.15)	0.52 (0.24)	0.45 (0.25)	0.35 (0.29)	115
Red-Green Unity List	0.82 (0.16)	0.52 (0.23)	0.52 (0.24)	<b>0.51 (0.27)</b>	54
The Alternative	0.84 (0.17)	0.58 (0.21)	0.54 (0.22)	0.39 (0.26)	25

Table 11: Perceived responsibility for general policy by party choice (recall)