

Online appendix

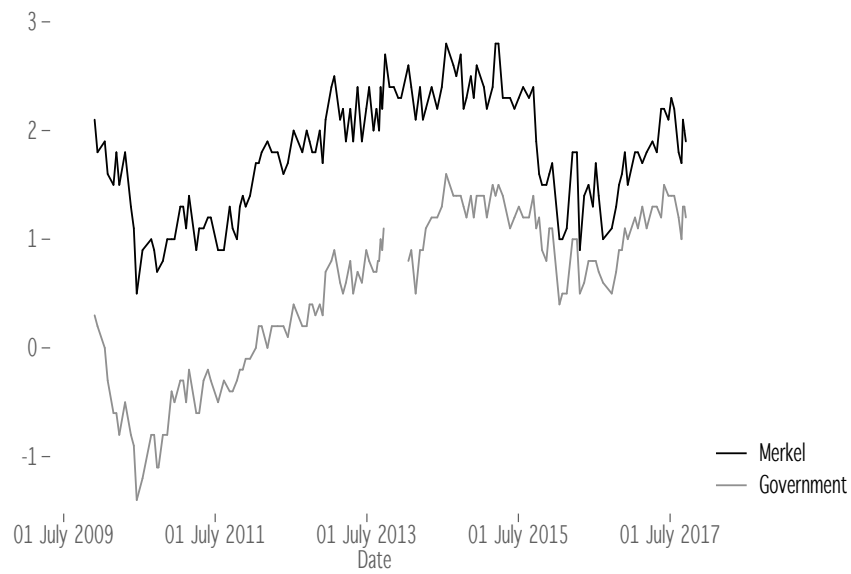


Figure OA1. Voters' mean evaluation of Angela Merkel and mean satisfaction with the work of the federal government on a scale from -5 to +5 over time. Data: ([Forschungsgruppe Wahlen 2017](#))

Table OA1. KHB results – United Kingdom

| | Thatcher 1983 Con. v. rest | Thatcher 1987 Con. v. rest | Blair 2001 Labour v. rest | Blair 2005 Labour v. rest | Cameron 2015 Con. v. rest |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | | | |
| Reduced | 1.045*** [0.826,1.264] | 1.542*** [1.270,1.814] | 1.413*** [1.052,1.773] | 1.742*** [1.228,2.257] | 2.366*** [2.082,2.649] |
| Full | 0.573*** [0.348,0.799] | 1.021*** [0.756,1.287] | 1.172*** [0.765,1.580] | 1.557*** [1.033,2.080] | 1.649*** [1.333,1.964] |
| Difference | 0.472*** [0.196,0.748] | 0.521*** [0.301,0.741] | 0.240 ⁺ [-0.0286,0.509] | 0.186 [-0.0932,0.464] | 0.717*** [0.496,0.938] |
| <i>N</i> | 2599 | 2642 | 1294 | 827 | 5512 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.69 | 0.71 | 0.62 | 0.7 | 0.81 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.82 | 1.50 | 1.20 | 1.11 | 1.43 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 45.13 | 33.77 | 17.02 | 10.66 | 30.31 |
| P_Red. Gov. Eval. | 45.13 | 33.77 | 11.81 | 7.00 | 22.55 |
| P_Red. Economy | | | 5.21 | 3.65 | 7.76 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA2. KHB results – Germany

| | Schröder 2002 SPD v. rest | Schröder 2005 SPD v. rest | Merkel 2009 Union v. rest | Merkel 2013 Union v. rest | Merkel 2017 Union v. rest |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | | | |
| Reduced | 1.058*** [0.830,1.286] | 2.023*** [1.614,2.432] | 1.584*** [1.331,1.837] | 1.917*** [1.619,2.215] | 1.222*** [0.979,1.466] |
| Full | 0.761*** [0.509,1.013] | 1.037*** [0.569,1.506] | 1.260*** [1.002,1.518] | 1.368*** [1.027,1.708] | 0.818*** [0.550,1.085] |
| Difference | 0.297*** [0.148,0.446] | 0.985*** [0.574,1.397] | 0.323*** [0.170,0.477] | 0.550*** [0.293,0.807] | 0.405*** [0.245,0.564] |
| <i>N</i> | 2159 | 1482 | 2701 | 2490 | 3650 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.55 | 0.54 | 0.61 | 0.67 | 0.42 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.39 | 1.94 | 1.25 | 1.40 | 1.49 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 28.07 | 48.72 | 20.42 | 28.67 | 33.10 |
| P_Red. Gov. Eval. | 28.35 | 47.25 | 19.24 | 29.40 | 31.17 |
| P_Red. Economy | -0.28 | 1.47 | 1.18 | -0.73 | 1.93 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA3. KHB results – Denmark

| | N. Rasmussen 1998 Socialdem. v. rest | F. Rasmussen 2005 Venstre v. rest | F. Rasmussen 2007 Venstre v. rest |
|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | |
| Reduced | 4.047*** [3.339,4.755] | 2.745*** [2.178,3.311] | 1.875*** [1.545,2.204] |
| Full | 3.601*** [2.882,4.320] | 2.458*** [1.840,3.077] | 1.378*** [1.046,1.711] |
| Difference | 0.446*** [0.183,0.709] | 0.286** [0.0866,0.486] | 0.496*** [0.218,0.775] |
| <i>N</i> | 2415 | 1808 | 1590 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.66 | 0.66 | 0.75 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.35 | 1.11 | 1.122 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 26.47 | 10.43 | 11.02 |
| P_Red. Gov. Eval. | 25.92 | 9.56 | 10.86 |
| P_Red. Economy | 0.55 | 0.88 | 0.16 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA4. KHB results – United Kingdom with left-right distance solely based on voters' perception

| | Blair 2001 Labour v. rest | Blair 2005 Labour v. rest | Cameron 2015 Conserv. v. rest |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | |
| Reduced | 1.365*** [0.999,1.731] | 1.536*** [1.030,2.041] | 2.252*** [1.949,2.555] |
| Full | 1.149*** [0.730,1.567] | 1.338*** [0.830,1.846] | 1.566*** [1.226,1.907] |
| Difference | 0.216 [-0.0452,0.478] | 0.198 [-0.0950,0.490] | 0.686*** [0.460,0.912] |
| <i>N</i> | 1256 | 806 | 5181 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.61 | 0.69 | 0.82 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.18 | 1.14 | 1.43 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 15.85 | 12.87 | 30.45 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA5. KHB results – Germany with left-right distance solely based on voters' perception

| | Schröder 2002 SPD v. rest | Merkel 2009 Union v. rest | Merkel 2013 Union v. rest | Merkel 2017 Union v. rest |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | | |
| Reduced | 1.073*** [0.832,1.313] | 1.490*** [1.233,1.747] | 1.894*** [1.582,2.207] | 1.221*** [0.970,1.472] |
| Full | 0.781*** [0.515,1.046] | 1.203*** [0.943,1.463] | 1.367*** [1.012,1.721] | 0.838*** [0.566,1.111] |
| Difference | 0.292*** [0.142,0.442] | 0.287*** [0.136,0.438] | 0.528*** [0.271,0.784] | 0.383*** [0.221,0.544] |
| <i>N</i> | 2071 | 2656 | 2432 | 3574 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.55 | 0.62 | 0.67 | 0.43 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.367 | 1.243 | 1.388 | 1.454 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 26.82 | 19.57 | 27.93 | 31.23 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA6. KHB results – Denmark with left-right distance solely based on voters' perception

| | N. Rasmussen 1998 Socialdem. v. rest | F. Rasmussen 2005 Venstre v. rest | F. Rasmussen 2007 Venstre v. rest |
|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | |
| Reduced | 1.883*** [1.532,2.234] | 2.840*** [2.252,3.429] | 3.897*** [3.158,4.636] |
| Full | 1.303*** [0.948,1.658] | 2.572*** [1.944,3.199] | 3.533*** [2.782,4.283] |
| Difference | 0.580*** [0.269,0.891] | 0.268* [0.0582,0.479] | 0.364** [0.125,0.604] |
| <i>N</i> | 1557 | 1770 | 2409 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.66 | 0.67 | 0.75 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.44 | 1.10 | 1.10 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 30.80 | 9.45 | 9.35 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA7. KHB results – Germany with non party specific government eval.

| | Schröder 2005 SPD v. others | Merkel 2009 Unions v. others | Merkel 2013 Unions v. others | Merkel 2017 Unions v. others |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Eval. PM | | | | |
| Reduced | 1.877*** [1.437,2.316] | 1.533*** [1.289,1.777] | 1.915*** [1.611,2.219] | 1.207*** [0.964,1.449] |
| Full | 1.301*** [0.841,1.761] | 1.409*** [1.160,1.658] | 1.528*** [1.199,1.856] | 0.922*** [0.667,1.177] |
| Difference | 0.576*** [0.307,0.845] | 0.124* [0.0230,0.225] | 0.388*** [0.199,0.576] | 0.285*** [0.153,0.416] |
| <i>N</i> | 1489 | 2705 | 2489 | 3681 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.52 | 0.60 | 0.67 | 0.42 |
| Confounding-Ratio | 1.44 | 1.08 | 1.25 | 1.30 |
| Confounding-Perc. | 30.70 | 8.10 | 20.24 | 23.59 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA8. UK elections - Logistic regression results of the full model

| | Thatcher 1983 Con. v. rest | Thatcher 1987 Con. v. rest | Blair 2001 Labour v. rest | Blair 2005 Labour v. rest | Cameron 2015 Con. v. rest |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eval. prime minister | 0.573*** [0.348,0.799] | 1.021*** [0.756,1.287] | 1.172*** [0.765,1.580] | 1.557*** [1.033,2.080] | 1.649*** [1.333,1.964] |
| Eval. government | 1.478*** [1.231,1.725] | 1.012*** [0.776,1.249] | 0.293 [-0.108,0.695] | 0.253 [-0.145,0.652] | 0.845*** [0.583,1.107] |
| Economic perception | | | 0.240 [-0.0421,0.522] | 0.273 [-0.135,0.681] | 0.393*** [0.185,0.601] |
| Eval. other leaders | -0.504*** [-0.712,-0.296] | -0.800*** [-1.102,-0.498] | -0.501* [-0.956,-0.0445] | -1.205*** [-1.632,-0.777] | -0.735*** [-1.038,-0.432] |
| Eval. other parties | -0.276** [-0.457,-0.0964] | -1.116*** [-1.353,-0.879] | -0.548* [-0.973,-0.123] | -0.118 [-0.560,0.324] | -1.566*** [-1.915,-1.217] |
| PID PM party | 2.175*** [1.734,2.616] | 0.927*** [0.482,1.372] | 1.225*** [0.608,1.842] | 2.144*** [1.347,2.941] | 1.967*** [1.519,2.414] |
| PID other parties | -1.905*** [-2.303,-1.507] | -1.661*** [-2.090,-1.232] | -2.062*** [-2.789,-1.335] | -2.313*** [-3.294,-1.331] | -1.025*** [-1.378,-0.673] |
| LR-distance PM party | -0.453*** [-0.700,-0.206] | -0.442*** [-0.642,-0.241] | 0.260 [-0.198,0.717] | 0.638** [0.197,1.078] | -1.015*** [-1.364,-0.666] |
| LR-distance other parties | 0.0611 [-0.0713,0.193] | 0.222* [0.0301,0.415] | -0.175 [-0.655,0.306] | -0.345 [-0.718,0.0290] | 0.0594 [-0.152,0.271] |
| Political sophistication | | | -0.0103 [-0.284,0.264] | 0.0332 [-0.360,0.427] | 0.108 [-0.0731,0.290] |
| Female | -0.192 [-0.515,0.132] | 0.889 [-0.437,0.201] | -0.095 [-0.585,0.394] | 0.0733 [-0.595,0.742] | 0.162 [-0.150,0.475] |
| Age | 0.167 [-0.00508,0.338] | -0.118 [-0.130,0.211] | -0.108 [-0.342,0.126] | -0.189 [-0.574,0.195] | 0.256** [0.0900,0.423] |
| Observations | 2599 | 2642 | 1294 | 827 | 5512 |
| Pseudo R^2 | 0.691 | 0.708 | 0.615 | 0.700 | 0.814 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA9. Denmark – Logistic regression results of the full model

| | N. Rasmussen 1998 Socialdem. v. rest | F. Rasmussen 2005 Venstre v. rest | F. Rasmussen 2007 Venstre v. rest |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Eval. prime minister | 1.378*** [1.046,1.711] | 2.458*** [1.840,3.077] | 3.601*** [2.882,4.320] |
| Eval. government | 1.212*** [0.907,1.517] | 0.468** [0.141,0.795] | 0.643*** [0.273,1.013] |
| Economic perception | 0.0463 [-0.171,0.263] | 0.0924 [-0.124,0.309] | 0.0202 [-0.210,0.251] |
| Eval. other leaders | -0.329** [-0.576,-0.0825] | -0.524*** [-0.802,-0.247] | -0.795*** [-1.113,-0.477] |
| Eval. other parties | -1.094*** [-1.372,-0.815] | -1.237*** [-1.553,-0.920] | -1.216*** [-1.486,-0.945] |
| PID PM party | 2.687*** [2.010,3.364] | 2.832*** [2.059,3.605] | 3.397*** [2.685,4.110] |
| PID other party | -1.574*** [-2.276,-0.872] | -2.385*** [-3.027,-1.743] | -2.372*** [-3.109,-1.634] |
| LR-distance PM party | -0.694*** [-1.020,-0.367] | -0.415* [-0.776,-0.0542] | 0.0219 [-0.274,0.317] |
| LR-distance other parties | 0.0305 [-0.176,0.237] | 0.124 [-0.0461,0.293] | -0.219 [-0.439,0.00175] |
| Political sophistication | 0.132 [-0.0730,0.336] | 0.00500 [-0.208,0.218] | 0.164 [-0.0324,0.360] |
| Female | 0.213 [-0.198,0.624] | 0.527** [0.132,0.922] | -0.0212 [-0.408,0.366] |
| Age | -0.111 [-0.330,0.107] | -0.0947 [-0.315,0.125] | -0.0270 [-0.220,0.166] |
| <i>N</i> | 1590 | 1808 | 2415 |
| pseudo R^2 | 0.656 | 0.659 | 0.749 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table OA10. German elections - Logistic regression results of the full model

| | Schröder 2002 SPD v. rest | Schröder 2005 SPD v. rest | Merkel 2009 Union v. rest | Merkel 2013 Union v. rest | Merkel 2017 Union v. rest |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eval. prime minister | 0.761*** [0.509,1.013] | 1.037*** [0.569,1.506] | 1.260*** [1.002,1.518] | 1.368*** [1.027,1.708] | 0.818*** [0.550,1.085] |
| Eval. government | 0.495*** [0.291,0.700] | 1.409*** [0.982,1.836] | 0.605*** [0.368,0.842] | 0.928*** [0.562,1.294] | 0.631*** [0.419,0.842] |
| Economic perception | 0.0169 [-0.130,0.164] | 0.133 [-0.0597,0.325] | 0.152* [0.0042,0.300] | - 0.0587 [-0.231,0.113] | 0.108 [-0.0178,0.234] |
| Eval. other leaders | -0.334*** [-0.498,-0.169] | -0.273 [-0.558,0.013] | -0.701*** [-0.945,-0.458] | -0.343** [-0.580,-0.107] | -0.149* [-0.295,-0.003] |
| Eval. other parties | -0.703*** [-0.916,-0.491] | -0.858*** [-1.203,-0.513] | -0.943*** [-1.202,-0.685] | -0.892*** [-1.149,-0.634] | -0.395*** [-0.558,-0.232] |
| PID PM party | 1.741*** [1.422,2.059] | 1.379*** [1.063,1.914] | 1.599*** [1.046,1.712] | 4.995*** [1.214,1.983] | 1.833*** [1.547,2.119] |
| PID other parties | -1.719*** [-2.143,-1.295] | -1.845*** [-2.398,-1.292] | -1.754*** [-2.194,-1.313] | -1.928*** [-2.346,-1.509] | -0.737*** [-1.100,-0.375] |
| LR-distance PM party | -0.177 [-0.420,0.0669] | 0.0376 [-0.291,0.366] | -0.189 [-0.409,0.0306] | -0.319** [-0.537,-0.102] | -0.200* [-0.385,-0.0161] |
| LR-distance other parties | -0.0472 [-0.298,0.204] | 0.341 [-0.0289,0.710] | -0.0179 [-0.137,0.101] | 0.0684 [-0.0954,0.232] | -0.0102 [-0.124,0.104] |
| Political sophistication | 0.0743 [-0.0845,0.233] | 0.0996 [-0.111,0.310] | -0.0965 [-0.275,0.0821] | -0.0213 [-0.202,0.160] | 0.0587 [-0.0742,0.192] |
| Female | 0.106 [-0.188,0.399] | 0.314 [-0.0863,0.715] | -0.0428 [-0.331,0.245] | 0.110 [-0.220,0.439] | 0.0670 [-0.164,0.298] |
| Age | -0.0773 [-0.223,0.0681] | -0.165 [-0.350,0.0204] | 0.229** [0.0816,0.377] | 0.0818 [-0.101,0.265] | 0.132* [0.0161,0.248] |
| <i>N</i> | 2159 | 1482 | 2701 | 2490 | 3650 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.549 | 0.544 | 0.605 | 0.667 | 0.424 |

Log odds, 95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

The following parties have been included in the analysis:

Germany: Social Democratic Party (SPD), Union (Christian Democratic Union & Christian Social Union), Free Democratic Party (FDP), The Greens. The Linke has been included in 2017, 2013 and 2009. In 2005 and 2002 the PDS is included. The Alternative for Germany (AfD) is included in 2017.

Britain: The elections in 2015, 2005, 2001 include the Conservatives, Labour, Liberal Democrats. In 1983 and 1987 the SDP–Liberal Alliance has been included, as well as Labour and the Conservatives.

Denmark: Social Liberals, Social Democrats, Conservatives, Socialists, Danish People's Party, Left-wing Alliance, Venstre.

Table OA11. Variance inflation factors

| Germany 2017 | | | Germany 2013 | | | Germany 2009 | | |
|---------------------|------|----------|---------------------|------|----------|----------------------|------|----------|
| Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF |
| Eval. Gov. | 2.10 | 0.476627 | Eval. Gov. | 3.06 | 0.327137 | Eval. Gov. | 2.51 | 0.399021 |
| Eval. Merkel | 2.09 | 0.478672 | Eval. Merkel | 2.85 | 0.351318 | PID Union | 2.31 | 0.432381 |
| PID Union | 1.86 | 0.538572 | PID Union | 2.59 | 0.386189 | Eval. Merkel | 2.15 | 0.465355 |
| PID other | 1.81 | 0.553098 | PID other | 2.48 | 0.404020 | PID other | 2.03 | 0.493337 |
| Eval. other parties | 1.42 | 0.702658 | Eval. other leaders | 1.42 | 0.701922 | Eval. other parties | 1.81 | 0.553318 |
| Eval. other leaders | 1.36 | 0.732849 | LR-dist. Union | 1.38 | 0.722106 | Eval. other leaders | 1.76 | 0.569349 |
| LR-dist. Union | 1.17 | 0.856526 | Eval. other parties | 1.29 | 0.773071 | LR-dist. Union | 1.39 | 0.720255 |
| Political Soph. | 1.11 | 0.901783 | Political Soph. | 1.12 | 0.891649 | Political Soph. | 1.15 | 0.872858 |
| Economic Perc. | 1.10 | 0.906753 | Economic Perc. | 1.08 | 0.923602 | LR-dist. others | 1.07 | 0.937285 |
| Female | 1.07 | 0.934723 | Female | 1.08 | 0.926750 | Female | 1.06 | 0.941616 |
| Age | 1.06 | 0.945371 | Age | 1.08 | 0.930083 | Economic Perc. | 1.06 | 0.946424 |
| LR-dist. others | 1.04 | 0.965582 | LR-dist. others | 1.07 | 0.932930 | Age | 1.05 | 0.956575 |
| Mean VIF | 1.43 | | Mean VIF | 1.71 | | Mean VIF | 1.61 | |
| Germany 2005 | | | Germany 2002 | | | UK 1987 | | |
| Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF |
| Eval. Gov. | 2.71 | 0.368867 | Eval. Schröder | 2.45 | 0.408038 | PID Conserv. | 3.76 | 0.265887 |
| Eval. Schröder | 2.71 | 0.369649 | Eval. Gov. | 2.44 | 0.410492 | PID other | 3.54 | 0.282632 |
| LR-dist. SPD | 2.45 | 0.407936 | PID other | 1.92 | 0.521446 | Eval. Thatcher | 2.26 | 0.441718 |
| LR-dist. others | 2.37 | 0.422321 | LR-dist. SPD | 1.90 | 0.527101 | Eval. Gov. | 2.20 | 0.454137 |
| PID other | 1.71 | 0.585091 | PID SPD | 1.86 | 0.537304 | Eval. other parties | 1.84 | 0.543329 |
| PID SPD | 1.67 | 0.599932 | LR-dist. others | 1.72 | 0.582519 | LR-dist. Conserv. | 1.33 | 0.753187 |
| Eval. other leaders | 1.33 | 0.754082 | Eval. other leaders | 1.65 | 0.607124 | Eval. other leaders | 1.15 | 0.867829 |
| Eval. other parties | 1.32 | 0.757742 | Eval. other parties | 1.35 | 0.738741 | LR-dist. others | 1.07 | 0.931883 |
| Political Soph. | 1.13 | 0.883454 | Political Soph. | 1.11 | 0.900738 | Age | 1.03 | 0.969309 |
| Economic Perc. | 1.12 | 0.889108 | Economic Perc. | 1.09 | 0.915855 | Female | 1.02 | 0.978495 |
| Female | 1.08 | 0.927059 | Female | 1.08 | 0.927762 | | | |
| Age | 1.07 | 0.936988 | Age | 1.05 | 0.952950 | | | |
| Mean VIF | 1.72 | | Mean VIF | 1.63 | | Mean VIF | 1.92 | |
| UK 2015 | | | UK 2005 | | | UK 2001 | | |
| Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF |
| Eval. other parties | 3.95 | 0.252986 | PID LAbour | 3.21 | 0.311439 | PID Labour | 3.81 | 0.262649 |
| Eval. Cameron | 3.60 | 0.277956 | PID other | 2.91 | 0.343959 | PID other | 3.69 | 0.271223 |
| Eval. Gov. | 3.28 | 0.304446 | Eval. Blair | 1.95 | 0.513853 | LR-dist. Labour | 3.34 | 0.299508 |
| PID Conserv. | 3.16 | 0.316378 | Eval. Gov. | 1.85 | 0.541012 | LR-dist. others | 3.25 | 0.307240 |
| PID other | 3.05 | 0.327365 | LR-dist. Labour | 1.67 | 0.600599 | Eval. Blair | 2.40 | 0.416238 |
| Eval. other leaders | 2.87 | 0.348923 | LR-dist. others | 1.61 | 0.622747 | Eval. Gov. | 2.11 | 0.474976 |
| Economic Perc. | 1.84 | 0.544624 | Eval. other parties | 1.59 | 0.628108 | Eval. other parties | 2.04 | 0.490051 |
| LR-dist. Conserv. | 1.83 | 0.546987 | Eval. other leaders | 1.39 | 0.717552 | Eval. other leaders | 1.76 | 0.567693 |
| LR-dist. others | 1.36 | 0.737969 | Economic Perc. | 1.37 | 0.732272 | Economic Perc. | 1.36 | 0.733088 |
| Political Soph. | 1.14 | 0.879800 | Political Soph. | 1.16 | 0.862058 | Political Soph. | 1.11 | 0.902000 |
| Age | 1.06 | 0.942571 | Age | 1.10 | 0.905003 | Age | 1.08 | 0.926730 |
| Female | 1.05 | 0.948153 | Female | 1.09 | 0.913943 | Female | 1.05 | 0.948458 |
| Mean VIF | 2.35 | | Mean VIF | 1.74 | | Mean VIF | 2.25 | |
| Denmark 2007 | | | Denmark 2005 | | | Denmark 1998 | | |
| Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | Variable | VIF | 1/VIF |
| Eval. Fogh | 3.18 | 0.314027 | Eval. Fogh | 2.40 | 0.416421 | Eval. Gov. | 2.10 | 0.475609 |
| Eval. Gov. | 3.03 | 0.330017 | Eval. Gov. | 2.34 | 0.426965 | Eval. other parties | 1.75 | 0.571330 |
| Eval. other parties | 1.98 | 0.503843 | Eval. other parties | 1.79 | 0.558496 | Eval. Nystrup | 1.74 | 0.574648 |
| Eval. other leaders | 1.79 | 0.559980 | Eval. other leaders | 1.65 | 0.605301 | LR-dist. Social Dem. | 1.60 | 0.625997 |
| PID Venstre | 1.48 | 0.674073 | LR-dist. Venstre | 1.62 | 0.617469 | Eval. other leaders | 1.54 | 0.650047 |
| LR-dist. Venstre | 1.47 | 0.680300 | PID Venstre | 1.36 | 0.735454 | PID Social Dem. | 1.48 | 0.675658 |
| PID other | 1.44 | 0.695581 | PID other | 1.30 | 0.766852 | PID other | 1.41 | 0.710563 |
| Economic Perc. | 1.21 | 0.823218 | Economic Perc. | 1.28 | 0.781750 | Economic Perc. | 1.13 | 0.881617 |
| LR-dist. others | 1.15 | 0.870142 | LR-dist. others | 1.19 | 0.841359 | Political Soph. | 1.10 | 0.908888 |
| Political Soph. | 1.13 | 0.885648 | Age | 1.08 | 0.928973 | LR-dist. others | 1.09 | 0.915452 |
| Age | 1.09 | 0.915581 | Political Soph. | 1.07 | 0.931300 | Female | 1.08 | 0.923019 |
| Female | 1.06 | 0.941430 | Female | 1.06 | 0.940091 | Age | 1.08 | 0.929223 |
| Mean VIF | 1.67 | | Mean VIF | 1.51 | | Mean VIF | 1.43 | |
| UK 1983 | | | | | | | | |
| Variable | VIF | 1/VIF | | | | | | |
| PID Conserv. | 3.49 | 0.286212 | | | | | | |
| PID other | 3.38 | 0.295999 | | | | | | |
| Eval. Gov. | 1.98 | 0.505166 | | | | | | |
| Eval. Thatcher | 1.58 | 0.631257 | | | | | | |
| Eval. other leaders | 1.26 | 0.795383 | | | | | | |
| Eval. other parties | 1.25 | 0.797152 | | | | | | |
| LR-dist. Conserv. | 1.19 | 0.840366 | | | | | | |
| LR-dist. others | 1.06 | 0.939391 | | | | | | |
| Female | 1.03 | 0.968677 | | | | | | |
| Age | 1.03 | 0.971364 | | | | | | |
| Mean VIF | 1.73 | | | | | | | |

Supplementary file: Wording of survey items and additional information on variable construction

Evaluation of PMs and other leaders

Germany 2002: What do you think, in general, about Gerhard Schröder or Edmund Stoiber? Please tell me by using the following scale. +5 means that you think a great deal of Gerhard Schröder or Edmund Stoiber, -5 means that you do not think much of the politician at all. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely.

Germany 2005: Please tell me by using this scale what you think about some leading politicians. +5 means that you think a great deal of the particular politician. -5 means that you do not think much of him at all. If you do not know one or the other of the politicians, you do not have to rate him, of course. What do you think of...

Germany 2009: Please tell me what you think about some leading politicians. Please use the scale from -5 [I do not think much of the politician at all] to +5 [I think a great deal of the politician] again for this purpose. If you don't think you know enough about a politician, you don't have to rate him or her, of course.

Germany 2013: And what do you think of the political leaders? Please rate them by using the scale from -5 [I do not think much of the politician at all] to +5 [I think a great deal of the politician] again. If I come to a political leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. What do you think of...?

Germany 2017: And what do you think of the political leaders? Please rate them by using the scale from -5 [I do not think much of the politician at all] to +5 [I think a great deal of the politician] again. If I come to a political leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. What do you think of ...?

Denmark 1998: And now, if we use the same scale, I would like to ask what you think about some of our political leaders. If I mention a party leader whom you do not know or do not feel you know enough about, just say so. The first political leader is Poul Nyrup Rasmussen. Where would you place

Denmark 2005: And now, if we use the same scale, I would like to ask what you think about some of our political leaders. If I mention a party leader that you don't know or feel you know enough about, just say so. Where would you place on this scale? [0, View very poorly - 10, View very favorably]

Denmark 2007: The following is about how good or bad you like some of our political leaders. Where would you place ... on this scale? [0, View very poorly - 10, View very favorably]

Britain 1983: Which of the qualities on this card would you say ... has? Choose as many as you think apply. Caring; Determined; likeable as a person; tough; listens to reason; decisive; sticks to principles. [all items dichotomous: applicable/not applicable] [Thatcher's overall evaluation by voters is created by counting the number of positive attributes ascribed to her, which creates a scale from 0 to 7.]

Britain 1987: And would you describe [political leader] as: Good/bad at getting things done? Extreme or moderate? Looks after one, looks after all classes? Not/capable of being strong leader? Caring/uncaring? Likeable/not likeable as person? [all items dichotomous: yes/no] [Thatcher's overall evaluation by voters is created by counting the number of positive attributes ascribed to her, which creates a scale from 0 to 6.]

Britain 2001: Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about....?

Britain 2005: Now, let's think more generally about the party leaders. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about...?

Britain 2015: How much do you like (10) or dislike (0) each of the following party leaders?

Evaluation of the government

Germany 2002: Are you more satisfied or more dissatisfied with what the government (SPD-Bündnis90 / Die Grünen) in Berlin has accomplished so far? Please tell me with the aid of this scale. +5 means that you are completely satisfied with the present government in Berlin. -5 means that you are not at all satisfied with what the government has accomplished so far. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

Germany 2005: And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the performance of the individual partners in this government? How about the performance of the SPD in government?

Alternative item Germany 2005: Are you more satisfied or dissatisfied with what the government (SPD and Gruene) has accomplished so far? Please tell me by using this scale from plus 5 to minus 5 again. + 5 means that you are completely satisfied with what the government has accomplished so far, -5 means that you are not at all satisfied with what the government has accomplished.

Germany 2009: And if you consider each of the governing parties separately, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the work they have done? Please describe how you feel using the scale from - 5 to + 5.

Alternative item Germany 2009: Now we come to the government which is currently in power in Berlin. On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the CDU/CSU and SPD federal government is running the country? Please describe how satisfied you are using this scale from -5 to +5. The value -5 means that you are totally dissatisfied. +5 means that you are completely satisfied with the way the

government in Berlin is running the country. You can use the numbers in between to state your opinion more precisely.

Germany 2013: And when you consider each of the governing parties separately, could you please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with their performance over the last four years? Please tell me by using the scale from -5 to +5 again. How satisfied are you with the performance of the...?

Alternative item Germany 2013: As to the present federal government in Berlin - are you more satisfied or less satisfied with the performance of the government of CDU/CSU and FDP in the last four years? Please tell me by using this scale from -5 to + 5. -5 means that you are not at all satisfied with the performance of the government so far, + 5 means that you are completely satisfied with the performance of the government. Use the values in between to express your opinion more precisely.

Germany 2017: And when you consider each of the governing parties separately, could you please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with their performance over the last four years? Please tell me by using the scale from -5 to +5 again. How satisfied are you with the performance of the...?

Alternative item Germany 2017: As to the present federal government in Berlin - are you more satisfied or less satisfied with the performance of the government of CDU/CSU and SPD in the last four years? Please tell me by using this scale from -5 to + 5. -5 means that you are not at all satisfied with the performance of the government so far, + 5 means that you are completely satisfied with the performance of the government. Use the values in between to express your opinion more precisely.

Denmark 1998: I will now read a number of problems to you, and I would like to hear who you think is best to solve the problem; The current Social Democratic-led government, or a bourgeois government? [issues: economy, unemployment, state surplus, protecting Denmark's interest in the EU, environment, law and order, ensuring co-decision, freedom, tax burden, refugee policy, families, elderly issues, health care, education, protection, social expenses, equality.] [To create voters' overall evaluation of the government their answer to the several issues has been summarised on a scale from 3 (the current government is the preferred on all issues), 2 (neither government is preferred on all issues) to 1 (the opposition is preferred on all issues) by averaging over all issues.]

Denmark 2005: And similarly, we would like to hear your assessment of the government's work in general in the last 3 years. [scale: very well, well, neither well nor poorly, poorly, very poorly]

Denmark 2007: And similarly, we would like to hear your assessment of the government's work in general in the last 3 years. [scale: very well, well, neither well nor poorly, poorly, very poorly]

Britain 1983: On the whole, do you think the Conservative government handled the Falklands dispute,... On the whole, do you think the Conservative government over the last four years has handled the problems

of inflation,... And unemployment: on the whole do you think the Conservative government over the last four years has handled the problem of unemployment,... On the whole, do you think the Conservative government over the last four years was successful or unsuccessful In keeping taxes down generally? And was it successful or unsuccessful in improving our standard of living? Do you think the Conservative government over the last four years has generally handled the problem of strikes,... [very well, fairly well, not very well, or not at all well.] [Voters' evaluation of government performance is created by averaging over all issues.]

Britain 1987: Between 1983 and 1987, how well/badly did Conservative government handle... prices; unemployment; taxes; health and social services; crime; education; defence? [very well, fairly well, not very well, not at all well]. [Voters' evaluation of government performance is created by averaging over all issues.]

Britain 2001: How well do you think the present government has handled each of the following issues? [Issues: Asylum seekers and refugees; Crime; The economy in general; Education; Relations with the European Union; Inflation; The National Health Service; Pensions; Taxes; Transport; Unemployment; Making life better for people like me; Foot and mouth disease] [very well, fairly well, not very well, not at all well]. [Voters' evaluation of government performance is created by averaging over all issues.]

Britain 2005: How well do you think the present government has handled each of the following issues? [Issues: crime; asylum seekers; health service; terrorism; economy; taxation] [very well, fairly well, not very well, not at all well]. [Voters' evaluation of government performance is created by averaging over all issues.]

Britain 2015: Do you approve or disapprove of the job that each of the following [The UK government] are doing? Strongly disapprove, Disapprove, Neither approve nor disapprove, Approve, Strongly approve.

Evaluation of non-governing parties

Germany 2002: What do you think, in general, about the political parties? Please tell me by using this scale. +5 means that you think a great deal of the party, -5 means that you don't think much of it at all. Using the values in between you can express your opinion more precisely.

Germany 2005: And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the performance of the [political party] in the opposition? - And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the performance of die Greens in this government?

Germany 2009: And how satisfied are you with the work of the following political parties over the last four years? Please use the scale from -5 to +5 again.

Germany 2013: And how satisfied are you with the performance of each of the opposition parties over the last four years? Please tell me by using the scale from -5 to +5 again. How satisfied are you with the performance of the...?

Germany 2017: And how satisfied are you with the performance of each of the opposition parties over the last four years? Please tell me by using the scale from -5 to +5 again. How satisfied are you with the performance of the...?

Denmark 1998: Then I would like to hear what you think about the individual political parties. After reading the name of the party in question, I would like to ask you to place the party on this scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you really dislike the party and 10 means you really like the party. If I come to a party that you do not know or feel you know enough about, just say so.

Denmark 2005: Then I would like to hear what you think about the individual political parties. After reading the name of the party in question, I would like to ask you to place the party on this scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you really dislike the party and 10 means you really like the party. If I come to a party that you do not know or feel you know enough about, just say so. The first party is ... Where would you place ...

Denmark 2007: Please place each party on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you dislike the party very much and 10 means you really like the party. Where would you place [political party]

Britain 1983: On the whole, would you describe the ... as extreme/moderate; united/divided; good for one class/good for all classes; clear policies/vagues policies. [dichotomous scales] [Voters' overall assessment of the non-governing parties has been created by counting the number of positive ascribed characteristics, scale 0 (party is extreme, divided, good for one class and has vague policies) to 4 (party is moderate, united, good for all classes and has clear policies).]

Britain 1987: How do you feel about the ...? Strongly in favour, in favour, neither in favour or against, against, strongly against?

Britain 2001: I'm now going to ask a few questions about political parties. On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about...?

Britain 2005: On a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about the...?

Britain 2015: How much do you like [10 strongly like] or dislike [strongly dislike] each of the following parties?

Evaluation of the economy

Germany 2002: Has the general economic situation in the old federal/new federal states in the last one to two years got substantially better, somewhat better, somewhat worse, substantially worse or is it the same?

Germany 2005: How would you, quite generally, evaluate the present economic situation in Germany? Is it good, part good/part bad or bad?

Germany 2009: Has the general economic situation in Germany improved a lot in the last one to two years, improved a bit, stayed the same, got a bit worse or got a lot worse?

Germany 2013: And has the general economic situation in Germany improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably in the last one to two years?

Germany 2017: And has the general economic situation in Germany improved considerably, improved somewhat, remained the same, deteriorated somewhat or deteriorated considerably in the last one to two years?

Denmark 1998: Would you say that the country's economic situation has improved, is roughly unchanged, or has gotten worse within the last 12 months? (if improved / worse): Would you say much or only somewhat?

Denmark 2005: Then I have some questions about how the development has been. I would like to answer you by using the response options shown on the map here: How do you think the economic situation for Denmark is today compared to 3 - 4 years ago? [Scale: Much better, Better, No change, Worse, Much worse]

Denmark 2007: Then we have some questions about the economic development over the past 3 years. How do you think the economic situation for Denmark is today compared to 3 years ago? [Scale: Much better, Better, No change, Worse, Much worse]

Britain 2001: How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months. Has it: got a lot worse, got a little worse, stayed the same, got a little better or got a lot better?

Britain 2005: How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months? Has it: got a lot worse, got a little worse, stayed the same, got a little better or got a lot better?

Britain 2015: How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12months? Has it: Got a lot worse, Got a little worse, Stayed the same, Got a little better, Got a lot better?

Party identification

Germany 2002: Many people in the Federal Republic lean toward a particular party for a long time, although they may occasionally vote for a different party. How about you? Do you in general lean toward a particular party? If so, which one? Please just tell me the respective letter from this list.

Germany 2005: Many people in the Germany lean toward a particular party for a long time, although they may occasionally vote for a different party. How about you? Do you in general lean toward a particular party? If so, which one?

Germany 2009: Many people in Germany are inclined to support a particular political party for a longer period of time even if they occasionally vote for another party. What about you? In general terms, are you inclined to support a particular political party? And if so, which one?

Germany 2013: Now, let's look at the political parties. In Germany, many people lean toward a particular political party for a long time, although occasionally, they vote for another party. How about you, do you lean toward a particular political party? If yes, which party is that?

Germany 2017: Now, let's look at the political parties. In Germany, many people lean towards a particular party for a long time, although they may occasionally vote for a different party. How about you, do you in general lean towards a particular party? If so, which one?

Denmark 1998: Do you generally feel attached to a particular party?

Denmark 2005: Many consider themselves supporters of a particular party. There are also many who do not feel like supporters of any special party. Do you consider yourself such as Social Democrat, Conservative, Radical, Leftist, SF or something else, or don't you feel like a supporter of a particular party?

Denmark 2007: Many consider themselves supporters of a particular party. There are also many who do not consider themselves a supporter of any particular party. Do you consider yourself a supporter of Social Democrats, Conservatives, Radicals, Leftists, SF or other, or don't you feel like a certain party supporter?

Britain 1983: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as ...?

Britain 1987: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as ...?

Britain 2001: Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others? If yes, please tell me which party?

Britain 2005: Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others? Which party is that?

Britain 2015: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat or what?

Left-right self and party positioning

Germany 2002: In politics people often use the terms 'left' and 'right'. Using this scale from 1 to 11, where would you place yourself, 1 meaning left and 11 right? - Political parties are often classified as 'left' or 'right'. Please tell me using this list where you would place the following parties. I'm now going to read the parties to you individually.

Germany 2005: There are various terms which are frequently used when talking about politics, such as 'left' and 'right'. We would like to know whether you would place yourself more to the left or more to the right. Please imagine a thermometer again, but this time only with a scale from 0 to 10. 0 means far left, 10 means far right. Using the values in between, you can express your opinion more precisely. Where would you place yourself?

Germany 2009: In politics people often talk about "left" and "right" Using this scale from 1 to 11, how would you describe the following parties if 1 is "left" and 11 is "right"? Let me read the parties out to you. -Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Germany 2013: In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the following parties on a scale from 1 to 11 where 1 means the left and 11 means the right? -And what about you? How would you describe your own views on a scale from 1 to 11?

Germany 2017: In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place the following parties on a scale from 1 to 11 where 1 means the left and 11 means the right? -Where would you place yourself on this scale?

Denmark 1998: In politics, people often talk about left and right. Below is a scale 0 (Left) - 10 (Right). Where would you place yourself and the individual parties on this scale?

Denmark 2005: In politics, people often talk about left and right. Below is a scale 0 (Left) - 10 (Right). Where would you place yourself and the individual parties on this scale?

Denmark 2007: In politics, people often talk about left and right. Below is a scale 0 (Left) - 10 (Right). Where would you place yourself and the individual parties on this scale?

Britain 1983: Now, this time I want to ask you first where you think the Conservative and Labour Parties are on the scale [1 extreme left] [extreme right 10]? Now tick the box in the last row that comes closest to where you are on the scale.

Britain 1987: Some people feel that government should put up taxes a lot and spend much more on health and social services. These people would put themselves in box (01). Other people feel that government should cut taxes a lot and spend much less on health and social services. These people would put themselves in box (11). In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box comes closest to your own

views about taxes and government spending? -Now where do you think the Conservative and Labour parties stand?

Britain 2001: In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Using the scale from 0 to 10, where would you place...?

Britain 2005: In politics, people sometimes talk about parties and politicians as being on the left or right. Using the 0 to 10 scale on this card, where the end marked 0 means left and the end marked 10 means right, where would you place yourself on this scale? Using the 0 to 10 scale on this card, where the end marked 0 means left and the end marked 10 means right, where would you place the [political party] on this scale?

Britain 2015: In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale? In politics people sometimes talk of left (0) and right (10). Where would you place the following parties on this scale?

Political sophistication

Germany 2002: How strongly are you interested in politics? Would you say very strongly, fairly strongly, moderately, less strongly or not at all?

Germany 2005: How strongly are you interested in politics? Very strongly, strongly, somewhat, hardly or not at all?

Germany 2009: In general terms: How interested in politics are you? Very interested, fairly interested, middling, not very interested or not interested at all.

Germany 2013: Quite generally, how interested are you in politics: very interested, somewhat interested, in between, not very interested, or, not at all interested?

Germany 2017: Quite generally, how interested are you in politics: very interested, somewhat interested, in between, not very interested, or, not at all interested?

Denmark 1998: Would you say you are very interested in politics, somewhat interested, little or not interested in politics at all?

Denmark 2005: Would you say you are very interested in politics, somewhat interested, little or not interested in politics at all?

Denmark 2007: Would you say you are very interested in politics, somewhat interested, little or not interested in politics at all?

Britain 2001: Let's talk for a few minutes about politics in general. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics? A great deal, quite a lot, some, not very much or none at all?

Britain 2005: Let's talk for a few minutes about politics in general. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics? A great deal, quite a lot, some, not very much or none at all?

Britain 2015: On a scale of 0 [pay no attention] to 10 [pay a great deal of attention] how much attention do you generally pay to politics?