Supplementary Appendix

Deterrence and Retribution as Motives for Supporting Punitive Public Policies

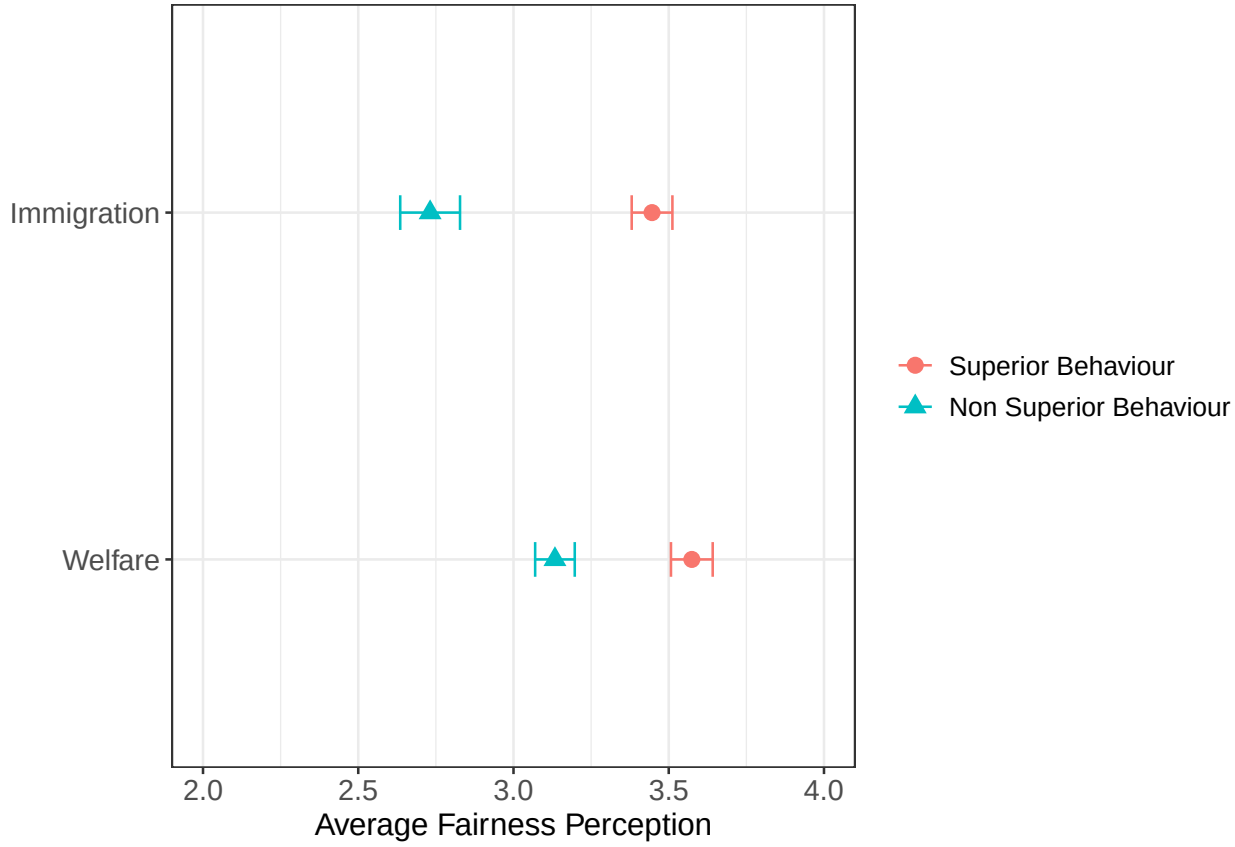
Construction of the Authoritarian Values Scale in the Immigration Experiment

Respondents' authoritarian values were measured using Feldman and Stenner (1997)'s 4-item scale of child-rearing values. The four questions comprising the scale were in a grid with the statement "Now we would like to know how you feel about raising children. For each of these four pairs of statements, please tell us which one you think is more important for a child to have":

1. Independence; Respect for elders
2. Obedience; self-reliance
3. To be considerate; to be well-behaved
4. Good manners; curiosity

A respondent's authoritarianism score is constructed by summing responses from the four questions, where each yields 1 for the more traditionalist/authoritarian answer (respect for elders, obedience, good manners, being well-behaved) and 0 for the other, so that possible values for the scale range from 0 to 4.

Figure A1. Average Perceptions of Fair Treatment, by perception of superior behaviour (Mean Scores and 95% Confidence Intervals), coding perception of superior behaviour as a Binary Variable



Note: Includes only those assigned to one of the three treatments involving punishment. Here, for migration perception of superior behaviour is instead coded as a 1 for anyone said that the migrant would be likely or very likely to migrate and somewhat or strongly disagreed that they themselves would migrate, and 0 otherwise

Figure A2. Average Perceptions of Fair Treatment, by Behavioural Superiority (Mean Scores and 95% Confidence Intervals), in the Experimental Conditions Featuring no Punishment

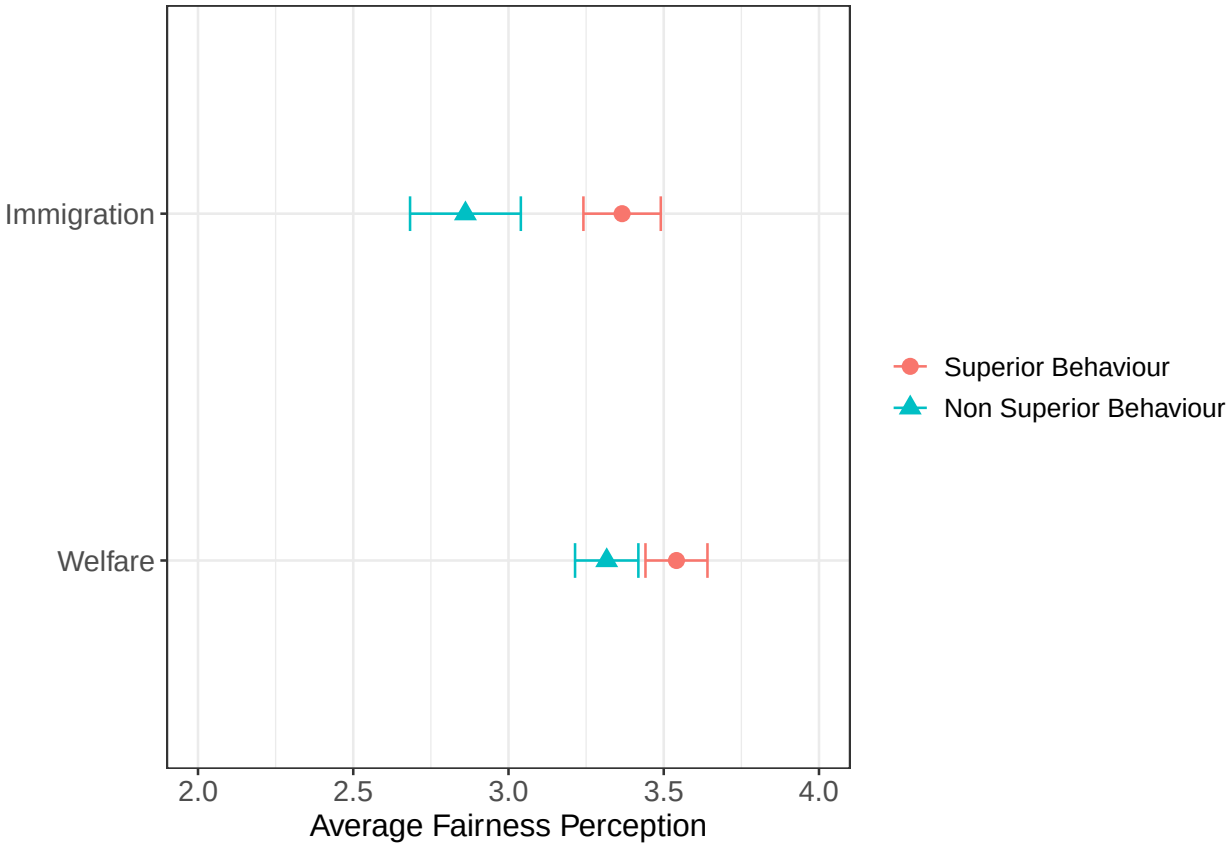
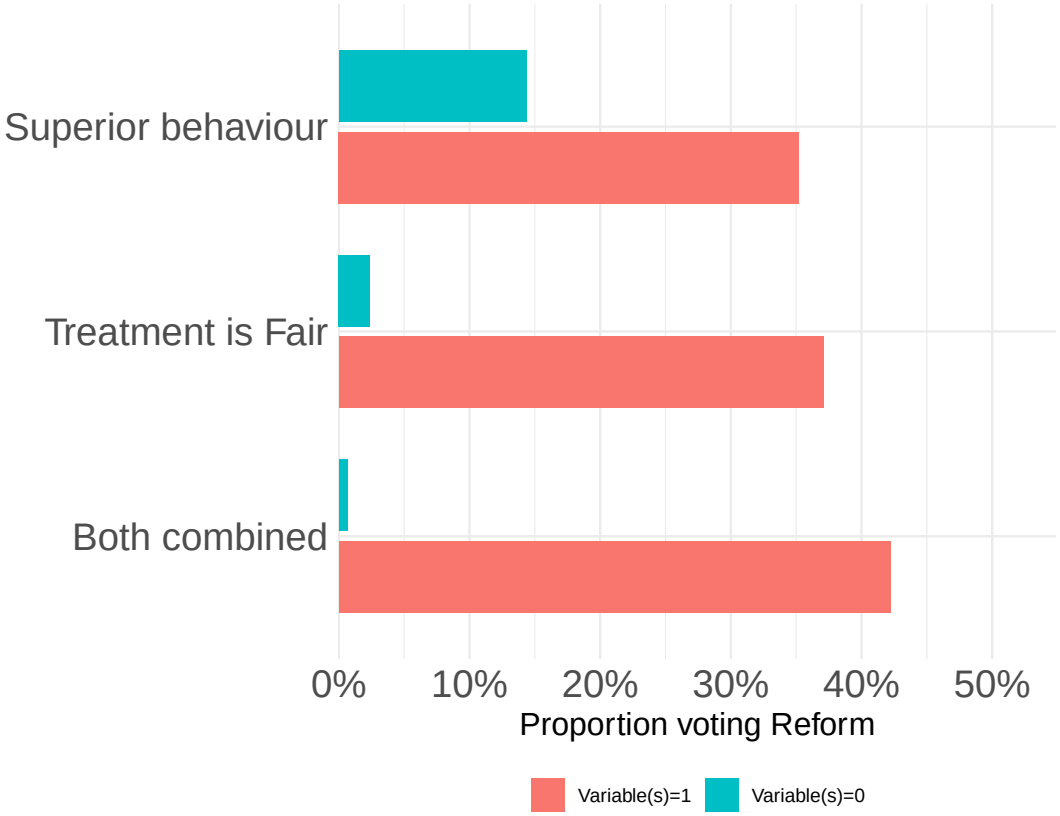
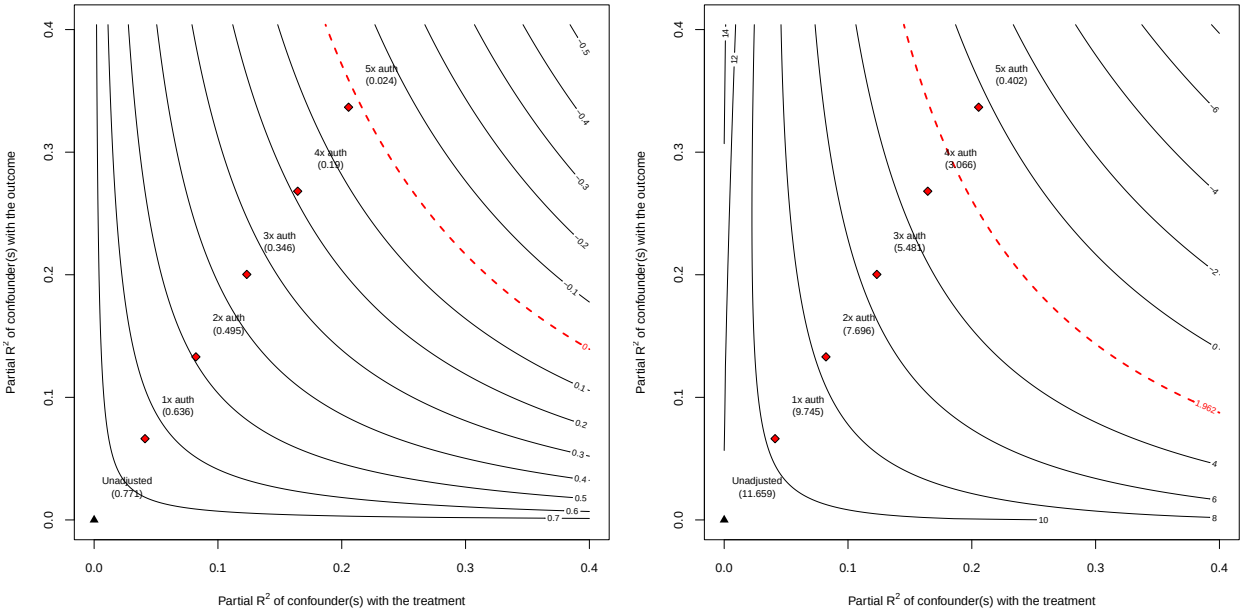


Figure A3. Reform Party Support in the Immigration Experiment, by Perceptions of Superior Behaviour and Fair Treatment



Note: Includes only those assigned to one of the three treatments involving punishment.

Figure A4. Sensitivity Analysis for the Effect of Superior Behaviour on Support for Punitive Policies, Immigration Model

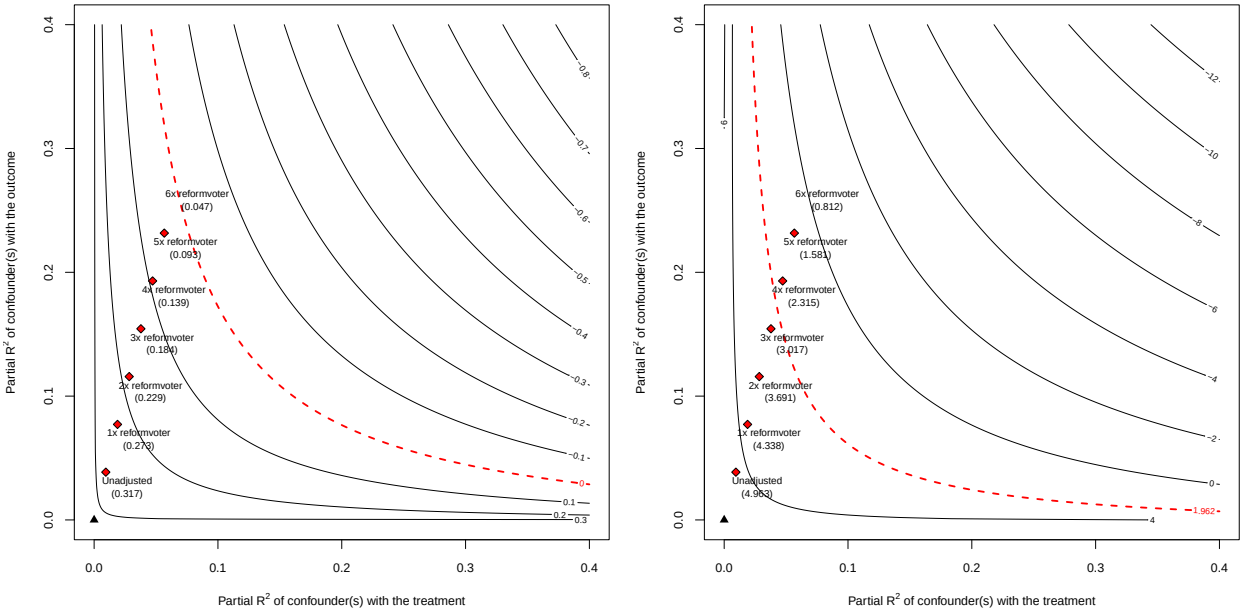


(a) Point estimate

(b) Significance

Note: Contours show, on the left: the estimates for *Superior behaviour* that would have been obtained in a regression model including unobserved confounders with hypothetical strengths of association indicated by the axis values. Thus the red contour shows sets of partial R^2 values that would reduce the coefficient to zero. On the right: the t-statistics (at a 5% significance level) that would be obtained for the *Superior behaviour* coefficient in a regression model including unobserved confounders with hypothetical strengths of association indicated by the axis values. Thus the red contour shows sets of partial R^2 values that would reduce the t-statistic to 1.96. The red diamonds show the coefficient values and t-statistics that would be obtained if the effect of confounding is between 1 and 5 times as large as the *authoritarianism* variable

Figure A5. Sensitivity Analysis for the Effect of Superior Behaviour on Support for Punitive Policies, Welfare Model

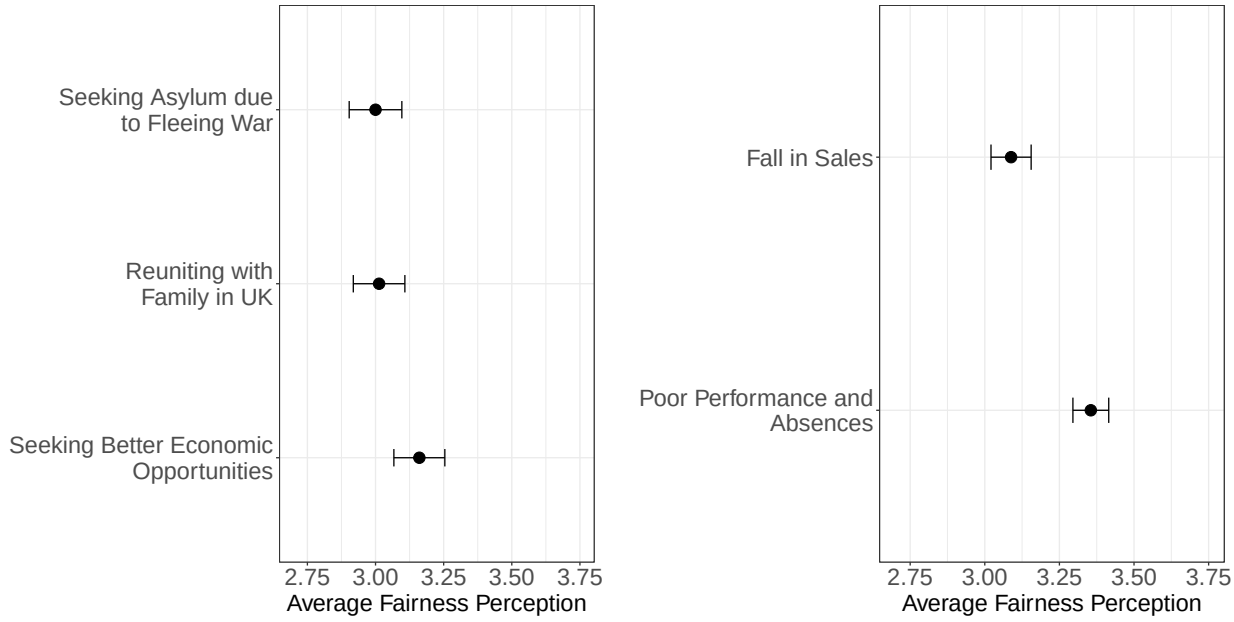


(a) Point estimate

(b) Significance

Note: Contours show, on the left: the estimates for *Superior behaviour* that would have been obtained in a regression model including unobserved confounders with hypothetical strengths of association indicated by the axis values. Thus the red contour shows sets of partial R^2 values that would reduce the coefficient to zero. On the right: the t-statistics (at a 5% significance level) that would be obtained for the *Superior behaviour* coefficient in a regression model including unobserved confounders with hypothetical strengths of association indicated by the axis values. Thus the red contour shows sets of partial R^2 values that would reduce the t-statistic to 1.96. The red diamonds show the coefficient values and t-statistics that would be obtained if the effect of confounding is between 1 and 5 times as large as the *reformvoter* variable

Figure A6. Average Perceptions of Fair Treatment, by Reason for Migration or Losing Job (Mean Scores and 95% Confidence Intervals)



(a) Immigration

(b) Welfare

Note: Includes only those assigned to one of the three treatments involving punishment. Higher values indicate greater perceived fairness of treatment. In the immigration experiment, the differences between "seeking better economic opportunities" and both "reuniting with family in the UK" and "seeking asylum" are statistically significant at the 5% level.

Table A1. Regression Results Explaining Perceptions of Fair Treatment when Punished (1-4 Scale)

	Immigration	Welfare
Superior Behaviour	0.65**	0.35**
	(0.060)	(0.056)
Authoritarianism Scale (0-4)	0.15**	
	(0.021)	
Reform Voter		0.32**
		(0.060)
Age (Years)	0.010**	0.0070**
	(0.0015)	(0.0015)
Female	-0.17**	-0.040
	(0.056)	(0.052)
Degree Holder	-0.10*	-0.091
	(0.060)	(0.055)
Working Class	0.077	-0.17**
	(0.070)	(0.070)
Upper/Upper-Middle Class	-0.14**	0.12**
	(0.065)	(0.060)
N	1035	960

***=significant at 5% level; *=significant at 10% level*

Note: Includes only those assigned to one of the three treatments involving punishment. Both models control for authoritarian values (as defined in the main paper) or in the case of welfare, its nearest available proxy (being a reform voter). The other variables are: sex (female=1), education (degree holder = 1, all others = 0), age (in years), class (lower=0, upper/middle=1), authoritarian values (immigration model), reform voter (=1 if intends to vote reform at next election, 0 otherwise: welfare model)