## APPENDIX A

## Descriptive Statistics

Table A.1Descriptive Statistics of all Variables in the Main Analysis

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Mean | min | max | St.dev | N |
| Public health care\* | 4.2 | 1 | 7 | 1.9 | 7620 |
| Old age pensions\* | 3.7 | 1 | 7 | 1.9 | 7591 |
| Sickness benefits\* | 3.9 | 1 | 7 | 1.7 | 7515 |
| Unemployment benefits\* | 3.8 | 1 | 7 | 1.7 | 7548 |
| Social welfare benefits\* | 3.7 | 1 | 7 | 1.8 | 7537 |
| Elder care\* | 4.0 | 1 | 7 | 1.9 | 7586 |
| Child care\* | 4.2 | 1 | 7 | 1.8 | 7519 |
| Sustainability index | 27.4 | 7 | 49 | 11.4 | 7213 |
| Ensure a reasonable standard of living for the old\*\* | 8.2 | 0 | 10 | 2.0 | 4679 |
| Ensure a reasonable standard of living for the unemployed\*\* | 6.1 | 0 | 10 | 2.8 | 4681 |
| Ensure a reasonable standard of living for immigrants\*\* | 5.5 | 0 | 10 | 2.9 | 4678 |

\*Q: Thinking ahead 10 years from now, for each of the following social security and public services, where would you place yourself on a scale from 1-7, where 1 means that [country] will not be able to afford the present level of social security and public services, and 7 means that [country] will be able to afford to increase the level?”

\*\*Q:People have different views on what the responsibilities of the public sector (state and municipality) should or should not be. For each of the following tasks, can you indicate on a scale from 0 to 10 how much responsibility you think the public sector ought to have? (Only available for Germany and Norway.)

**APPENDIX B Randomness of Treatment**

Table B.1 Checking for Randomness of Treatment.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Gender |  | Age |  |  |  | Education |  |
|  | Male | Female | -29 | 30-45 | 46-60 | 60+ | Low | Mid | High |
| Group 1 | 50 | 50 | 16.5 | 24.3 | 31.8 | 27.4 | 13.3 | 39.2 | 47.5 |
| Group 2 | 48 | 52 | 17.1 | 25.5 | 33.8 | 23.6 | 12.2 | 39.5 | 48.3 |
| Group 3 | 50 | 50 | 16.9 | 24.2 | 35.0 | 23.9 | 14.9 | 38.8 | 46.3 |
| Group 4 | 50 | 50 | 16.0 | 25.0 | 37.9 | 21.1 | 14.2 | 39.2 | 46.6 |
| Group 5 | 48 | 52 | 16.8 | 26.0 | 33.7 | 23.5 | 13.1 | 42.0 | 44.9 |
| Group 6  | 48 | 52 | 16.7 | 25.0 | 33.7 | 24.7 | 14.2 | 41.3 | 44.5 |
| Group 7  | 49 | 51 | 15.3 | 32.3 | 32.6 | 19.8 | 14.3 | 39.9 | 45.8 |
| Control group | 50 | 50 | 15.7 | 28.7 | 32.8 | 22.8 | 12.9 | 40.4 | 46.7 |

**APPENDIX C Proportion ‘don’t know’**

Table C.1 Proportion “don’t know” Answers

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Item | Germany | Norway | Sweden | Item mean |
| Public health care | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.04 | 0.06 |
| Old age pensions | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.06 |
| Sickness benefits | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Unemployment benefits | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Social welfare benefits | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Elder care | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.04 | 0.06 |
| Child care | 0.07 | 0.1 | 0.05 | 0.07 |
| Country mean | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.05 |  |

Only one experimental treatment (a high number of people of working age are not working) systematically lowers the likelihood of giving the answer “don’t know”. Heckman selection models with the treatment as independent variables both in the selection and outcome equation indicate that the treatment effects on whether he or she gives an answer other than “don’t know”.

**APPENDIX D The Distribution of the Sustainability Index**

Figure D.1 The Distribution of the Sustainability Index



The additive index reveals a large amount of symmetry with the mode at 28. Several local extrema can be seen at 7, 14, 21, 28, 35, 42 and 49. They mainly stem from people who have given the same answer to all items. The proportion of respondents who did that is 29 % in Germany, 31 % in Norway, and 35 % in Sweden.

**APPENDIX E Effect of Treatments on Specific Policy Areas**

Table E.1 Effect of treatment (reform pressure) on welfare state sustainability in specific policy areas (b-coefficients. OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Health | Pensions | Sick pay | Unemp. | Social benefits | Elder care | Child care |
| Grey wave | Germany | 0.025 | 0.088 | -0.014 | -0.002 | -0.081 | -0.08 | -0.158 |
|  | Norway | 0.03 | 0.232\* | 0.112 | 0.108 | 0.11 | 0.153 | 0.042 |
|  | Sweden | -0.204 | -0.081 | -0.286\*\* | -0.158 | -0.097 | -0.111 | -0.159 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Too few  | Germany | -0.039 | 0.088 | -0.072 | -0.089 | -0.128 | -0.225 | -0.047 |
| Working | Norway | -0.103 | 0.232 | -0.038 | 0.023 | 0.018 | 0.014 | -0.09 |
|  | Sweden | -0.211 | -0.081\* | -0.28\*\* | -0.252\* | -0.174 | -0.253\* | -0.215 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| EU  | Germany | -0.014 | 0.088 | 0.016 | -0.081 | -0.152 | -0.135 | -0.045 |
| immigration | Norway | -0.61\*\*\* | 0.232\*\*\* | -0.398 | -0.418\*\*\* | -0.458\*\*\* | -0.485\*\*\* | -0.416\*\*\* |
|  | Sweden | -0.221 | -0.081 | -0.258\* | -0.193 | -0.031 | -0.165 | -0.202 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Non Western | Germany | -0.064 | 0 | -0.085 | -0.058 | -0.054 | -0.097 | -0.189 |
| immigration | Norway | -0.61\*\*\* | -0.434\*\*\* | -0.416\*\*\* | -0.445\*\*\* | -0.434\*\*\* | -0.506\*\*\* | -0.454\*\*\* |
|  | Sweden | -0.335\*\* | -0.225 | -0.405\*\*\* | -0.283\*\* | -0.219 | -0.264\* | -0.318\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Financial  | Germany | 0.131 | 0.308\* | 0.085 | 0.075 | 0.05 | 0.127 | 0.166 |
| Crisis | Norway | -0.178 | -0.019 | -0.036 | -0.053 | -0.003 | -0.067 | -0.072 |
|  | Sweden | -0.172 | -0.104 | -0.312\*\* | -0.203 | -0.074 | -0.126 | -0.075 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Favourable | Germany | -0.048 | 0.036 | -0.046 | -0.041 | -0.052 | -0.026 | -0.1 |
| Situation | Norway | -0.04 | -0.082 | -0.095 | -0.016 | -0.003 | -0.079 | -0.021 |
|  | Sweden | -0.076 | -0.096 | -0.233\* | -0.104 | 0.004 | -0.029 | -0.097 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| All pressures | Germany | 0.051 | 0.001 | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.002 | 0.011 | 0.058 |
|  | Norway | -0.238\* | -0.187 | -0.288\*\* | -0.222\* | -0.15 | -0.178 | -0.168 |
|  | Sweden | -0.231\* | -0.173 | -0.338\*\*\* | -0.22\* | -0.174 | -0.199 | -0.153 |

\*\*\*p < 0.01; \*\*p < 0.05, \*p < 0.10.

**APPENDIX F Interaction Effects**

### Table F.1 Interaction analysis with policy support as the moderator. OLS regressions on sustainability index with interactions between specific pressure frame and support for the state's responsibility for that area or group

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Population Ageing  |  | Employment |  | Immigration EU |  | Immigration non-Western |  |
| COEFFICIENT | DE | NO | DE | NO | DE | NO | DE | NO |
| Imputed value on dependent variable | 2.19 | -2.342\*\* | 4.765\*\*\* | -2.005 | 2.913\*\* | -0.788 | 2.263 | -0.612 |
|  | 0.170 | 0.040 | 0.003 | 0.104 | 0.035 | 0.501 | 0.128 | 0.583 |
| German regions (0=West, 1= East) | -1.304 |  | -1.080 |  | -0.694 |  | -1.141 |  |
|  | 0.260 |  | 0.343 |  | 0.525 |  | 0.325 |  |
| Grey wave versus control | 0.392 | 0.568 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 0.730 | 0.557 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| govt responsibility for the old | 0.046 | -0.017 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 0.285 | 0.730 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Grey wave X govt resp old | -0.017 | 0.029 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | **0.776** | **0.626** |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Too few working versus control |  |  | -0.796 | 1.727 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | 0.747 | 0.346 |  |  |  |  |
| govt responsibility for the unemployed |  |  | 0.258 | 0.576\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | -0.258 | -0.007 |  |  |  |  |
| Too few working X govt resp unemployed |  |  | 0.071 | -0.293 |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | **0.828** | **0.326** |  |  |  |  |
| Immigration from EU countries versus control |  |  |  |  | -0.266 | -4.558\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | 0.878 | 0.009 |  |  |
| Govt responsibility immigrants |  |  |  |  | 0.679\*\*\* | 0.643\*\*\* | 0.675\*\*\* | 0.643\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | 0.001 | 0.001 | -0.002 | -0.001 |
| Immigration EU X govt resp immigrants |  |  |  |  | 0.127 | 0.294 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | **0.661** | **0.286** |  |  |
| Immigration from non-Western/non-European countries versus control |  |  |  |  | -2.753 | -6.783\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 0.126 | 0.000 |
| Immi from non-European/Western X govt resp immi |  |  |  |  |  | 0.552\* | 0.677\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | **0.068** | **0.009** |
| Constant | 23.81\*\*\* | 31.39\*\*\* | 22.14\*\*\* | 27.90\*\*\* | 20.43\*\*\* | 27.39\*\*\* | 20.61\*\*\* | 27.38\*\*\* |
|  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Observations | 466 | 699 | 471 | 661 | 475 | 671 | 473 | 669 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.017 | 0.011 | 0.056 | 0.063 | 0.084 | 0.107 |
| p values below point estimates |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |