

Online Appendix

The Impact of Partisanship in the Era of Retrenchment: Insights from Quantitative Welfare State Research

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Table A1: Studies on Partisan Effects after the Golden Age

Study	Dependent Variable	Countries	Period	Partisan Effect
Burgoon 2001	Social Spending (A/H/P)	18	1980-1994	(~)(~)(~)
Castles, 2001	Social Spending (A)	19	1984-1997	(~)
Swank and Martin 2001	Social Spending (A)	15	1979-1995	(~)
Kittel and Obinger 2003	Social Spending (A)	21	1982-1997	(~)(~) ^f
Korpi and Palme 2003	Replacement Rates (A)	18	1975-1995	(+)
Moene and Wallerstein 2003	Social Spending (A/H/P/U)	18	1980-1995	(+)(+)(+)(~)
Allan and Scruggs, 2004	Replacement Rates (H/U)	18	1975-1999	(+)(+)
Brandl and Traxler 2005	Social Spending (A)	20	1980-1996	(~)
Castles, 2005	Social Spending (A)	21	1990-2001	(~)
Hicks and Zorn 2005 (2007) ^a	Social Spending (A)	18	1978-1994	(~)
Swank 2005	1) Replacement Rates (H/P/U) 2) Generosity Index (A)	18	1981-2000	1) (+)(+)(+) 2) (+)
Amable et al. 2006	1) Social Spending (A) 2) Replacement Rates (H)	18	1981-1999	1) (~) 2) (+)
Brooks and Manza 2006a	Social Spending (A)	15	1986-2000	(~)
Brooks and Manza 2006b	Social Spending (A)	14	1980-2000	(~)
Jahn, 2006	Social Spending (A)	16	1980-2001	(-)
Bolzendahl and Brooks 2007	Social Spending (A)	12	1980-1999	(~)
Bolzendahl 2009	Social Spending (A)	12	1980-1999	(~)
Busemeyer 2009	Social Spending (A)	21	1980-2004	(~)
Hicks and Freeman 2009	Replacement Rates (P)	18	1975-2000	(-)
Potrafke 2009	Social Spending (A)	20	1980-2003	(~)
Tepe and Vanhuyse 2009	1) Social Spending (P) 2) Generosity Index (P)	18	1980-2002	1) (~) 2) (~)
Bolzendahl 2010	Generosity Index (A)	12	1980-2000	(~)
Jensen 2010	Social Spending (A)	18	1980-2000	(+)
Kwon and Pontusson 2010	Social Spending (A)	16	1971-2002 ^c	(~)
Potrafke 2010	Social Spending (H)	18	1971-2004 ^c	(~)
Tepe and Vanhuyse 2010a	Social Spending (H/P/U)	21	1980-2003	(~)(~)(~)
Tepe and Vanhuyse 2010b	Social Spending (A)	21	1980-2005	(~) ^d
Bolzendahl 2011	Social Spending (A/H/P)	12	1980-1999	(~)(~)(~)
Finseraas and Vernby 2011	Generosity Index (A)	18	1972-2002 ^c	(+)
Jensen 2011a	1) Replacement Rates (U) 2) Social Spending (H)	18	1980-2000	1) (+) 2) (~)

Jensen 2011b	Social Spending (A)	18	1980-2001	(~)
Jensen 2011c	Social Spending (H)	18	1980-2001	(~)
Jensen 2011d	Social Spending (A/H)	18	1985-2002	(~)(~)
Jensen 2011e	Social Spending (A)	18	1980-2002	(~)
Jordan 2011	Social Spending (H)	18	1960-2000 ^c	(~)
Lipsmeyer 2011	Social Spending (A)	17	1981-1998	(~)
Schmitt and Starke 2011	Social Spending (A/H/P/U)	21	1980-2005	(~)(~)(~)(~)
Fernandez 2012	Generosity Index (P)	19	1981-2004	(~)
Jensen 2012a	1) Replacement Rates (U) 2) Social Spending (H)	18	1980-2002	1) (+) 2) (~)
Jensen 2012b	Social Spending (H/P/U)	18	1980-2002	(~)(~)(~)
Arnold 2013	Replacement Rates (H)	31	1981-2010	(~)
Danforth and Stephens 2013a ^b	Replacement Rates (H/P/U)	18	1975-2000	(+)(~)(+)
Danforth and Stephens 2013b ^b	Replacement Rates (H/P/U)	18	1975-2000	(+)(+)(~)
Schmitt 2013	Spending (Aggregate)	21	1980-2007	(~)
Wenzelburger et al. 2013a ^b	Replacement Rates (H/P/U)	18	1990-2000	(+)(~)(~)
Wenzelburger et al. 2013b ^b	Replacement Rates (H/P/U)	18	1990-2000	(~)(~)(~)
Galasso 2014	Replacement Rates (U)	25	1975-2007	(+)
Herwartz and Theilen, 2014	Social Spending (A)	21	1980-2008	(~)
Hwang and Lee 2014	Social Spending (A)	31	1980-2001	(~)
Immergut and Abou-Chadi 2014	Generosity Index (P)	16	1980-2003	(+)
Jensen and Mortensen 2014	Replacement Rates (U)	17	1980-2007	(+)
Jensen et al. 2014	Replacement Rates (U)	18	1976-2000	(+)
Jurado 2014	Social Spending (A)	22	1980-2006	(-)
Montanari and Nelson 2014	Generosity Index (H)	18	1980-2005	(+)
Reeves et al. 2014	Social Spending (H)	27	1995-2011	(~)
Tromborg 2014	Social Spending (P/U)	18	1980-2007	(~)(~)
Wolf et al. 2014	Replacement Rates (H/P/U)	18	1980-1999	(+)(~)(+)
Döring and Schwander 2015^e	Replacement Rates (U)	18	1975-1999	(+)(+)(~)
Jensen and Seeberg 2015	Social Spending (A)	23	1980-2007	(+)
Knotz and Lindvall 2015	Replacement Rates (U)	25	1985-2008	(+)
Stephens 2015	1) Social Spending (A/H) 2) Replacement Rates (H/P/U)	18	1986-2010	1) (+)(~) 2) (~)(~)(~)
Armingeon et al. 2016	Social Spending (A)	17	1982-2009	(~)
Fervers et al. 2016	Social Spending (H)	22	1980-2009	(+)
Hooghe and Oser 2016	Social Spending (A)	30	1980-2010	(~)
Schmitt 2016	Social Spending (A)	21	1980-2009	(+)

Notes: Welfare Programs: A = Aggregate, H = Health/Sick Pay, P = Pensions, U = Unemployment; Partisan Effects: (+) = Partisan Effects, (~) = No Partisan Effects, (-) = Reversed Partisan Effects.

The studies are presented in temporal order. Studies in bold are focusing on partisanship or treat it at least as one of the major independent variables and not as a mere control variable.

^a The revision published in 2007 confirms the original results.

^b Both studies have been split due to conducting similar tests with two different datasets.

^c Studies contain separate analyses for the post-1973 period.

^d Significant partisan effects regarding smaller cutbacks.

^e The study contains three tests which differ regarding the operationalisation of the independent variable (partisanship).

^f The study contains two tests which differ regarding the data structure.

Table A2: Studies Controlling for Time Effects

Study	Total Period	Dependent Variable	Decline over Time
Kittel and Obinger 2003	1982-1997	Spending	Yes
Potrafke 2009	1980-2003	Spending	Yes
Kwon and Pontusson 2010	1971-2002	Spending	Yes
Potrafke 2010	1971-2004	Spending	Yes
Finseraas and Vernby 2011	1972-2002	Entitlements	No
Jensen 2011b	1980-2001	Spending	Yes
Jensen 2011c	1980-2001	Spending	Yes
Jordan 2011	1960-2000	Spending	Yes
Herwartz and Theilen 2014	1980-2008	Spending	Yes
Wolf et al. 2014	1980-1999	Entitlements	Yes*
Fervers et al. 2016	1980-2009	Spending	Yes
Schmitt 2016	1980-2009	Spending	No

* Declining partisan effects regarding unemployment and health care but not pensions.

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Table A3: Probit Regression Results

	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>p</i> -value
Policy field			
Aggregate	0.81	0.52	0.12
Health	0.9	0.5	0.07
Pension	Reference		
Unemployment	0.68	0.5	0.16
Dependent variable			
Spending	-1.75	0.4	0.00
Entitlements	Reference		
Independent variable			
Cabinet share	Reference		
Left-right	-0.52	0.54	0.34
Data			
Time-series	Reference		
Cross-section	-0.65	0.53	0.23
Average year of analysis	-0.15	0.065	0.02
Average years of analysis * Spending	0.14	0.09	0.13
Specific partisanship study	0.47	0.3	0.13
Constant	-0.2	0.4	0.61

Note: $N=106$. The dependent variable is a dummy that indicates whether a study corroborated partisan theory or not. The average year of analysis is centred around its mean to facilitate a meaningful interpretation of *p*-values in the presence of interaction effects.

Table A4: Partisan Effects Based on Competing Datasets

		Unemployment		Sick Pay		Pensions	
		CWED	SCIP	CWED	SCIP	CWED	SCIP
Wenzelburger et al. 2013	SD			(+) ^{***}	(+)		
	CD			(~)	(-) ^{***}		
	Center	(+) ^{***}	(+) ^{**}	(+) ^{***}	(+)		
	Lib	(+) ^{***}	(+) [*]			(+) ^{***}	(+)
	Right	(+) [*]	(+) ^{***}			(+) ^{***}	(+)
Danforth/Stephens 2013	Left	(+) ^{***}	(+)	(+) ^{***}	(+)	(-) ^{***}	(+) ^{***}
	CD	(~)	(~)	(+) ^{***}	(+) ^{***}	(+) ^{***}	(+) ^{***}

Sources: Wenzelburger et al. 2013, Tab. 3; Danforth and Stephens 2013, Fig. 1.

Notes: SD = Social Democrats, CD = Christian Democrats, Center = Non-Christian center, Lib = Liberals.

(+) = Positive effect on replacement rates, (~) = no effect, (-) = negative effect.

* Significant at the 0.10 level, ** significant at the 0.05 level, *** significant at the 0.01 level.

Wenzelburger et al. (cross-section, 1990-2000) present best-fit models for the CWED (black) as well as the SCIP (grey). Danforth and Stephens (time-series cross-section, 1975-2000) only give information on statistical significance at the 0.01 level.

Table A5: List of Excluded Studies

Study	Reason for Exclusion
Huber and Stephens 2000	Time period: 1962-1987
Huber and Stephens 2001	No journal article
Garrett and Mitchell 2001	Time period: 1961-1993
Moene and Wallerstein 2001	DV: 'Spending on insurance against income loss' (incl. private exp.)
Siegel 2001	No journal article, language
Swank 2001	No journal article
Lipsmeyer 2002	Region: Eastern Europe
Swank 2002	No journal article
Brady 2003	Time period: 1967-1997
Bradley et al. 2003	DV: Redistribution
Obinger and Kittel 2003	No journal article, language
Castles 2004	No journal article
Tavares 2004	Time period: 1960-1995
Brady et al. 2005	Legacy effects (since 1946)
Bräuninger 2005	Time period: 1971-1999
Hays et al. 2005	Time period: 1960-2000
Kittel and Winner 2005	see Garrett/Mitchell 2001
Pennings 2005	QCA
Taylor-Gooby 2005	Legacy effects
Cusack et al. 2006	Time period: 1960-1995
Dreher 2006	Time period: 1970-2000
Brooks and Manza 2007	No journal article
Castles 2007	No journal article
Castles and Obinger 2007	Time period: 1950-2000 (legacy effects)
Emmenegger 2007	Language
Ha 2008	Time period: 1960-2000
Huber et al. 2008	Region: Latin America
Huo et al. 2008	Time period: 1971-2000
Rueda 2008	Time period: 1960-1995
Careja and Emmenegger 2009	Region: Central and Eastern Europe
Castles 2009	Time period: 1960-2003 (legacy effects)
Kim and Zurlo 2009	Legacy effects
Vis 2009a	QCA
Vis 2009b	QCA
Congleton and Bose 2010	Time period: 1960-1998
Kühner 2010	DV: 'extent of change' → direction unclear
Vis 2010	No journal article (QCA)
Lipsmeyer and Zhu 2011	Time period: 1971-2007
Noy 2011	Region: Latin America
Breunig and Busemeyer 2012	DV: 'Budgetary categories'
Fernandez 2012	No journal article
Pennings 2012	No journal article (QCA)
Rothstein et al. 2012	Legacy effects (since 1946)
Schmidt 2012	No journal article

Tepe and Vanhuyse 2012	No journal article
Zohlnhöfer et al. 2012	Language
Montanari and Nelson 2013	No journal article
Schmitt and Obinger 2013	Time period: 1960-2000
Swank 2013	No journal article
Brady and Lee 2014	DV: 'Government spending'
Herwartz and Theilen 2014	Time period: 1971-2008
Huber and Stephens 2014	DV: 'Redistribution'
Jensen 2014	No journal article
Barth et al. 2015	Time period: 1971-2002
Gingrich and Häusermann 2015	Time period: 1970-2011 (+ only interaction term)
Ha 2015	Region: 'Less developed world'
Soroka et al. 2016	Time period: 1970-2007

Note: DV = dependent variable.

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