

ONLINE APPENDIX

Review Article: The Retreat of the Interventionist State in Advanced Democracies

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Appendix 1: Reviewed articles

Corporate and capital taxation

- Adam, Antonis, and Pantelis Kammas. 2007. Tax Policies in a Globalized World: Is it Politics after all? *Public Choice* 133:321-41.
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Total public expenditures

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Social expenditures

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Privatization

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Regulation of product and/or labour market

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Appendix 2: Coding Scheme

1. Author and name of study
2. Journal (*0=economics, 1=political science, 2=other*)
3. Policy instrument covered (*total government expenditure, public social expenditure, core expenditure, corporate and capital taxation, privatization, subsidies, product market regulation, labour market regulation*)
4. Model specification on which coding is based
5. Country Sample
6. Period of observation
7. Empirical approach/methodological/technical issues
8. Indicator for the dependent variable
9. Focus on effect of a specific independent variable (*x-centered (=1)*) vs. focus on maximizing explained variance (*y-centered (=0)*)
10. Socio-economic factors tested? (*yes=1*)
11. Effect socio-economic variables on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
12. Operationalisation socio-economic variables
13. Partisan effects tested? (*yes=1*)
14. Partisan effect on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
15. Operationalisation partisan effects
16. Effects of party system/electoral competition tested? (*yes=1*)
17. Effect of party system/electoral competition on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
18. Operationalisation effects of party system/electoral competition
19. Effects of power resources (other than government participation) tested? (*yes=1*)

20. Effects of power resources on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
21. Operationalisation power resources

22. Effects of veto players tested? (*yes=1*)
23. Effects of veto players on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
24. Operationalisation veto players

25. Effects of other political institutions tested? (*yes=1*)
26. Effects of other political institutions on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
27. Operationalisation other political institutions

28. Effects of varieties of capitalism tested? (*yes=1*)
29. Effects of varieties of capitalism on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
30. Operationalisation varieties of capitalism

31. Effects of globalisation tested? (*yes=1*)
32. Effects of globalisation on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
33. Operationalisation globalisation

34. Effects of Europeanisation tested? (*yes=1*)
35. Effects of Europeanisation on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
36. Operationalisation Europeanisation

37. Effects of diffusion tested? (*yes=1*)
38. Effects of diffusion on liberalisation (+, -, 0)
39. Operationalisation diffusion

40. Interaction effect(s) tested? (*yes=1*)
41. Which variables are interacted?
42. Effects of interaction

43. Other significant results
44. Other non-significant results
45. Comments

Appendix 3: Overview of the main effects of the 130 reviewed articles

APPENDIX 3.1.1: *Globalization effects on corporate and capital taxation*

| Globalization induces tax cuts | Insignificant results | Globalization induces tax increases |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>First generation models</i> | | |
| Adam and Kammas, 2007 | Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 | Dreher, 2006 |
| Bretschger and Hettich, 2002 | Jensen and Lindstädt, 2012 | |
| Bretschger and Hettich, 2005 | Onaran et al., 2012 | |
| Clausing 2008 | | |
| Genschel et al., 2011 | | |
| Ghinamo et al., 2010 | | |
| Kulesa and Wenzelburger 2015 | | |
| Osterloh and Debus, 2012 | | |
| Slemrod, 2004 | | |
| Swank and Steinmo 2002 | | |
| Winner, 2005 | | |
| <i>Second generation models</i> | | |
| Basinger and Hallerberg, 2004 | | |
| Cao, 2010 | | |
| Devereux et al., 2008 | | |
| Heinemann et al., 2010 | | |
| Kammas, 2011 | | |
| Plümper et al., 2009 | | |
| Swank, 2006 | | |
| Swank, 2016 | | |

APPENDIX 3.1.2: *Globalization effects on total public expenditure*

| Globalization decreases public expenditure | Insignificant results | Globalization increases public expenditure |
|--|---|---|
| Bradbury and Crain, 2001 for trade on changes over time | Burgoon, 2001 for low-wage imports, FDI, portfolio flows | Bawn and Rosenbluth, 2006 |
| Brady and Lee, 2014 | Busemeyer, 2009, for KOF-index and capital transfers | Bradbury and Crain, 2001 for trade on differences between countries |
| Burgoon, 2001 for trade | Castles, 2001 | Busemeyer, 2009, for cross-sections |
| Busemeyer, 2009 for trade | Dreher, 2006 | Castles, 2007 on the level in 1980 |
| Cassette and Paty, 2010 | Dreher et al., 2008 | Crepaz and Moser, 2004 |
| Dahl, 2014 | Emmenegger, 2007 | Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 for low-wage imports |
| Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 for trade and capital mobility | Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 for FDI | Mukherjee, 2003 |
| Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 for trade on consumption | Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 for trade on transfers and investment and FDI | Persson and Tabelini, 2004 |
| Liberati, 2007 for trade, FDI, portfolio investment on changes over time | Lindqvist and Östling, 2010 | |
| Wehner, 2010 | Martin and Vanberg, 2013 | |
| | Pitlik, 2007 | |
| | Rodden, 2003 | |
| | Sanz and Velázquez, 2007 | |
| | Tavits, 2004 | |

APPENDIX 3.1.3: Globalization effects on social expenditure

| Globalization decreases social expenditure | Insignificant results | Globalization increases social expenditure |
|--|---|--|
| <i>First generation models</i> | | |
| Amable et al., 2006 | Brady et al., 2005 for FDI | Burgoon, 2001 for low-wage imports on changes |
| Brady et al., 2005 for net trade | Brooks and Manza, 2006 | Busemeyer, 2009 for cross-section in 1980 and 1990 |
| Burgoon, 2001 for trade | Burgoon, 2001 for FDI on levels, for low-wage imports on changes | Castles, 2007 cross-section in 1980 and 2001 |
| Busemeyer, 2009 for trade change | Busemeyer, 2009 for trade (short-term effect) (for panel and cross-section in 2000) | Ha, 2008 for capital mobility |
| Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 for trade | Castles, 2001 | Hays et al., 2005 for imports |
| Hays et al., 2005 for exports | Dreher, 2006 | Hicks and Zorn, 2005 for capital mobility |
| Herwartz and Theilen, 2014 | Emmenegger, 2007 | Hwang and Lee, 2014 for imports |
| Jahn, 2006 for trade | Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 for low-wage imports, FDI, capital mobility | Iversen and Cusack, 2000 for trade (short-term effect) |
| Jensen, 2011b | Ha, 2008 for trade | Jensen 2010 |
| Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 | Hicks and Zorn, 2005 for trade, outward FDI | Leibrecht et al., 2011 |
| Jurado, 2014 | Hwang and Lee, 2014 for FDI | Schmitt and Starke, 2011 for FDI |
| Kim and Zurlo, 2009 for (FDI+trade) | Iversen and Cusack, 2000 for trade (long-term effect) and capital mobility | Shelton, 2008 |
| Kittel and Obinger, 2003 | Jahn 2006, for capital mobility | |
| Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 for 1971-1980 and 1991-2002 | Jensen, 2011a | |
| Schmitt, 2013a | Jensen, 2011c | |
| Schmitt and Starke, 2011 for trade (short-term effect) | Kim and Zurlo, 2009 for economic system openness | |
| Swank and Martin, 2001 for capital mobility | Kittel and Obinger, 2003 for cross-section | |
| | Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 for 1971-2002 and 1981-1990 | |
| | Lipsmeyer, 2011 | |
| | Potrafke, 2009 | |
| | Sanz and Velázquez, 2007 | |
| | Schmitt and Starke, 2011 for trade (long-term effect) | |
| | Swank and Martin, 2001 for trade | |
| | Tepe and Vanhuyse, 2010 | |
| <i>Second generation models</i> | | |
| Jahn, 2006 | | |
| Schmitt, 2013a | | |

APPENDIX 3.1.4: Globalization effects on privatization

| Globalization induces privatization | Insignificant results | Globalization induces less privatization |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <i>First generation models</i> | | |
| Belke et al., 2007 | Fink, 2011a | |
| Belloc et al., 2014 | Roberts and Saeed, 2012 | |
| Fink, 2011b | Schmitt, 2013b | |
| Kogut and MacPherson, 2008 | Schuster et al. 2013 | |
| Obinger et al., 2014 | Schneider and Häge, 2008 | |
| Schneider et al., 2005 | Zohlhöfer et al., 2008 | |
| <i>Second generation models</i> | | |
| Schmitt, 2011 | | |
| Schmitt, 2014 | | |

APPENDIX 3.1.5: Globalization effects on subsidies

| Globalization decreases subsidies | Insignificant results | Globalization increases subsidies |
|--|---|--|
| Aydin, 2007 | Franchino and Mainenti, 2013 | Rickard 2012b |
| Schuster et al., 2013 for change in trade openness | Hwang and Lee, 2014 | Schuster et al., 2013 for level of trade openness |
| Zahariadis, 2001 for horizontal subsidies | Obinger and Zohlnhöfer, 2007 | Zahariadis, 2001 for total subsidies |
| Zahariadis, 2010a for trade | Rickard, 2012a | Zahariadis, 2010b for portfolio investment for total subsidies |
| Zahariadis, 2010b for trade for total subsidies | Schuster et al., 2013 for capital market development | |
| | Zahariadis, 2002 | |
| | Zahariadis, 2010a for FDI | |
| | Zahariadis 2010b for sectoral subsidies and for FDI for total subsidies | |

APPENDIX 3.1.6: Globalization effects on regulation

| Globalization induces less regulation | Insignificant results | Globalization induces more regulation |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| Belloc and Nicita, 2011 | de Francesco, 2012 | Algan and Cahuc, 2006 |
| Belloc et al., 2014 | Gilardi, 2002 | Galasso, 2014 for EPL |
| Chang and Berdiev, 2011 | Heinemann, 2007 product markets, trade | Heinemann, 2007 for EPL |
| Galasso, 2014 for product markets | Neugart, 2008 | |
| Heinemann, 2007 product markets, FDI | Pitlik, 2007 | |
| Potrafke, 2010b for EPL regular employment | Potrafke, 2010a | |
| Schuster et al., 2013 for level of trade openness | Potrafke, 2010b for EPL | |
| | Schuster et al., 2013 for capital market development and changes in trade openness | |
| | Siegel, 2007 | |

APPENDIX 3.2.1: Europeanization effects on corporate and capital taxation

| Europeanization induces tax cuts | Insignificant results | Europeanization induces tax increases |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Clausing, 2008 | | |
| Genschel et al. 2011 | | |
| Hays, 2003 | | |

APPENDIX 3.2.2: Europeanization effects on total public expenditure

| Europeanization decreases public expenditure | Insignificant results | Europeanization increases public expenditure |
|---|--|--|
| Brady and Lee, 2014 | Busemeyer, 2009 for differences between countries | |
| Busemeyer, 2009 for changes over time | Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 for consumption and transfer | |
| Darby et al., 2004 | Martin and Vanberg, 2013 on changes over time | |
| Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 for investment | Pitlik, 2007 | |
| Martin and Vanberg, 2013 on differences between countries | Wehner, 2010 | |

APPENDIX 3.2.3: *Europeanization effects on social expenditure*

| Europeanization decreases social expenditure | Insignificant results | Europeanization increases social expenditure |
|--|--|--|
| Busemeyer, 2009 Jahn, 2006 on levels Schmidt, 2001 | Ha, 2008 Jahn, 2006 on changes Jensen, 2011b Kittel and Obinger, 2003 Schmitt and Starke, 2011 | |

APPENDIX 3.2.4: *Europeanization effects on privatization*

| Europeanization induces more privatization | Insignificant results | Europeanization induces less privatization |
|--|--|---|
| Belloc et al. 2014 Clifton et al., 2006 Fink, 2011a Fink, 2011b for some sectors Obinger et al., 2014 Schmitt, 2013b for telecommunication and postal services Schmitt, 2014 Schmitt and Obinger, 2011 for telecommunication Schneider and Häge, 2008 Schuster et al., 2013 | Fink, 2011b for some sectors Meseguer, 2004 Schmitt, 2011 Schmitt and Obinger, 2011 for postal services Zohlhöfer et al., 2008 | Schmitt, 2013b for railways Schmitt and Obinger, 2011 for railways |

APPENDIX 3.2.5: *Europeanization effects on subsidies*

| Europeanization decreases subsidies | Insignificant results | Europeanization increases subsidies |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| Aydin, 2007 Franchino and Mainenti, 2013 Rickard, 2012a Schuster et al., 2013 Zahariadis, 2010a Zahariadis, 2010b | Obinger and Zohlhöfer, 2007 Zahariadis, 2002 | |

APPENDIX 3.2.6: *Europeanization effects on regulation*

| Europeanization induces less regulation | Insignificant results | Europeanization induces more regulation |
|---|---|---|
| Belloc et al., 2014 Galasso, 2014 Schuster et al., 2013 | Heinemann, 2007 Levi-Faur, 2004 Pitlik, 2007 Potrafke, 2010a | |

APPENDIX 3.3.1: *Effects of socio-economic problems on capital taxation*

| Problem load induces tax cuts | Insignificant results | Problem load induces tax increases |
|---|---|--|
| <u>slow growth:</u> Basinger and Hallerberg, 2004 Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Onaran et al., 2012 Plümper et al., 2009 Swank, 2006 Swank and Steinmo, 2002 | <u>growth:</u> Adam and Kammas, 2007 Cao, 2010 Dreher, 2006 Jensen and Lindstädt, 2012 Kulesa and Wenzelburger, 2015 Onaran et al., 2012 Osterloh and Debus, 2012 Swank, 2016 | <u>slow growth:</u> Bretschger and Hettich, 2002 Bretschger and Hettich, 2005 |
| <u>unemployment:</u> Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Swank, 2006 Swank, 2016 Swank and Steinmo, 2002 Winner, 2005 | <u>unemployment:</u> Cao, 2010 Dreher, 2006 Kulesa and Wenzelburger, 2015 Plümper et al., 2009 | |
| <u>(old age) dependency ratio:</u> Adam and Kamas, 2007 Dreher, 2006 | <u>(old age) dependency ratio:</u> Devereux et al., 2008 Heinemann et al., 2010 Onaran et al., 2012 Swank, 2006 Swank and Steinmo, 2002 | <u>(old age) dependency ratio:</u> Cao, 2010 Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Ghinamo et al., 2010 Kammas 2011 Osterloh and Debus, 2012 Plümper et al., 2009 |
| | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Onaran et al., 2012 | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Kulesa and Wenzelburger, 2015 Plümper et al., 2009 Swank, 2006 Swank, 2016 Swank and Steinmo, 2002 Winner, 2005 |

APPENDIX 3.3.2: *Effects of socio-economic problems on total public expenditure*

| Problem load decreases public expenditure | Insignificant results | Problem loads increases public expenditure |
|---|---|--|
| <u>slow growth:</u> Darby et al., 2004 on investment expenditure Pitlik 2007 | | <u>slow growth:</u> Bräuninger, 2005 Burgoon, 2001 Castles, 2001 Castles, 2007 on changes (1980-90) Darby et al., 2004 on consumption expenditure Dreher, 2006 Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Harrinvirta and Mattila, 2001 Wehner, 2010 |
| <u>unemployment:</u> Bawn and Rosenbluth, 2006 Brady and Lee, 2014 Busemeyer, 2009 (long-term effect) Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 long-term effect for consumption and investment | <u>unemployment:</u> Cassette and Paty, 2010 Darby et al., 2004 on consumption expenditure Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 long-term effect for transfers, short-term effect for investment | <u>unemployment:</u> Bräuninger, 2005 Burgoon, 2001 Busemeyer, 2009 (short-term effect) Castles, 2001 Crepaz and Moser, 2004 Darby et al., 2004 on investment expenditure Dreher, 2006 Emmenegger 2007 Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 short-term effect for consumption and transfers Harrinvirta and Mattila, 2001 Martin and Vanberg, 2013 |
| <u>(old) age dependency ratio:</u> Dahl, 2014 Dreher et al., 2008 for some expenditure categories | <u>(old) age dependency ratio:</u> Bawn and Rosenbluth, 2006 Brady and Lee, 2014 Burgoon, 2001 Busemeyer, 2009 Dreher, 2006 on levels Emmenegger, 2007 Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 Lindqvist and Östling, 2010 Martin and Vanberg, 2013 Persson and Tabellini, 2004 Rodden, 2003 | <u>(old) age dependency ratio:</u> Busemeyer, 2008 Cassette and Party, 2010 Castles, 2007 on changes (1980-90) Crepaz and Moser, 2004 Dreher, 2006 on changes Dreher et al. 2008 for some expenditure categories Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Mukherjee, 2003 Sanz and Velázquez, 2007 |
| <u>de-industrialization:</u> | <u>de-industrialization:</u> Brady and Lee, 2014 | <u>de-industrialization:</u> Burgoon, 2001 Busemeyer, 2009 |
| <u>deficits/debt:</u> Brady and Lee, 2014 Castles, 2007 on changes (1980/90-2001) Keman, 2010 Liberati, 2007 Rodden, 2003 | | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Bräuninger, 2005 Castles, 2007 on the level in 1980 Sanz and Velásquez, 2007 |

APPENDIX 3.3.3: *Effects of socio-economic problems on social expenditure*

| Problem load decreases social expenditure | Insignificant results | Problem loads increases social expenditure |
|--|---|--|
| <u>slow growth:</u> Herwartz and Theilen, 2014 | <u>growth:</u> Castles, 2001 Jahn, 2006 on changes Jensen 2010 Jensen, 2011a Jensen, 2011c Kittel and Obinger, 2003 Schmitt and Starke, 2011 | <u>slow growth:</u> Amable et al., 2006 Busemeyer, 2009 Castles 2007 Castles and Obinger, 2007 Dreher, 2006 Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Ha, 2008 Hicks and Zorn, 2005 Iversen and Cusack, 2000 Jahn, 2006 on levels Jensen, 2011b Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 Jurado, 2014 Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 Leibrecht et al., 2011 Obinger and Schmitt, 2011 Potrafke, 2009 Razin et al., 2002 Schmitt, 2013a Shelton, 2008 Swank and Martin, 2001 Tepe and Vanhuysse, 2010 |
| <u>unemployment:</u> Brooks and Manza, 2006 Busemeyer, 2009 (long-term effect) Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 Schmitt, 2013a Tepe and Vanhuysse, 2010 | <u>unemployment:</u> Busemeyer, 2009 for cross-section Jahn, 2006 on changes Jensen, 2011a Jensen, 2011b (long-term effect) Hwang and Lee, 2014 Kittel and Obinger, 2003 for cross-section Lipsmeyer, 2011 Razin et al., 200 Schmitt and Starke, 2011 (long-term effect) | <u>unemployment:</u> Brady et al., 2005 Burgoon, 2001 Busemeyer, 2009 (short-term effect) Castles, 2001 Dreher, 2006 Emmenegger, 2007 Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Ha, 2008 Herwartz and Theilen, 2014 Hicks and Zorn, 2005 Jahn, 2006 on level Jensen 2010 Jensen, 2011b (short-term effect) Jensen, 2011c Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 Jurado, 2014 Kim and Zurlo, 2009 Kittel and Obinger, 2003 Moene and Wallerstein, 2001 Potrafke, 2009 Schmidt, 2001 Schmitt and Starke, 2011 (short-term effect) Swank and Martin, 2011 |
| <u>(old) age dependency ratio:</u> Brady et al., 2005 Razin et al., 2002 | <u>old age dependency ratio:</u> Burgoon, 2001 on levels Busemeyer, 2009 (long-term effect) Dreher, 2006 Emmenegger, 2007 | <u>old age dependency ratio:</u> Brady et al., 2005 Brooks and Manza, 2006 Burgoon, 2001 on changes Busemeyer 2008 Busemeyer, 2009 (short-term |

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| | Hays et al., 2005 Jahn, 2006 Jensen, 2011a Jensen, 2011b (short-term effect) Jensen, 2011c Kim and Zurlo, 2009 Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 Leibrecht et al., 2011 Lipsmeyer, 2011 Moene and Wallerstein, 2001 Obinger and Schmitt, 2011 Potrafke, 2009 Schmitt and Starke, 2011 Tepe and Vanhuyse, 2010 | effect) Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 Ha, 2008 Herwartz and Theilen, 2014 Hicks and Zorn, 2005 Jensen 2010 Jensen, 2011b (long-term effect) Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 Jurardo, 2014 Kittel and Obinger, 2003 Sanz and Velázquez, 2007 Shelton, 2008 Swank und Martin, 2001 |
| <u>de-industrialization:</u> Burgoon, 2001 on changes (short-term effect) Jensen, 2011a Jensen, 2011b | <u>de-industrialization:</u> Brady et al., 2005 Burgoon, 2001 on levels Busemeyer, 2009 Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 | <u>de-industrialization:</u> Busemeyer, 2009 Castles 2007 for 1980s Hays et al., 2005 Hicks and Zorn, 2005 Iversen and Cusack, 2000 Jensen, 2011c |
| <u>deficits/debt:</u> Herwartz and Theilen, 2014 Jensen, 2011b for debt level Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 Swank and Martin, 2001 | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Hicks and Zorn, 2005 Jensen, 2011b (short-term effect) Schmitt, 2013a Schmitt and Starke, 2011 (long-term effect) | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Amable et al., 2006 Hicks and Zorn, 2005 Leibrecht et al., 2011 Lipsmeyer, 2011 Sanz and Velázquez, 2007 Schmitt and Starke, 2011 (short-term effect) |

APPENDIX 3.3.4: *Effects of socio-economic problems on privatization*

| Problem load induces more privatization | Insignificant results | Problem load induces less privatization |
|--|--|---|
| <u>slow growth:</u> Zohlnhöfer et al., 2008 | <u>growth:</u> Bortolotti et al., 2003 Bortolotti and Pinotti, 2008 Schmitt, 2011 Schmitt, 2013b Schmitt, 2014 | |
| <u>unemployment:</u> Belke et al., 2007 | | |
| <u>deficits/debt:</u> Belke et al., 2007 Bortolotti et al., 2003 (incidence) Obinger et al., 2014 Schmitt, 2013b Schuster et al., 2013 Zohlnhöfer et al., 2008 | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Bortolotti et al., 2003 (proceeds) Bortolotti and Pinotti, 2008 Fink, 2011a Fink, 2011b Henisz et al., 2005 Kogut and MacPherson, 2008 Li and Xu, 2002 Roberts and Saeed, 2012 Schmitt, 2011 Schmitt, 2014 Schneider and Häge, 2008 | |

APPENDIX 3.3.5: *Effects of socio-economic problems on subsidies*

| Problem load decreases subsidies | Insignificant results | Problem loads increases subsidies |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| <u>slow growth:</u> Obinger and Zohlnhöfer, 2007 Rickard, 2012a | <u>growth:</u> Franchino and Mainenti, 2013 Zahariadis, 2010a Zahariadis, 2010b | |
| | <u>unemployment:</u> Hwang and Lee, 2014 | <u>unemployment:</u> Aydin, 2007 |
| <u>deficits/debt:</u> Obinger and Zohlnhöfer, 2007 Schuster et al., 2013 Zahariadis, 2002 | | |

APPENDIX 3.3.6: *Effects of socio-economic problems on regulation*

| Problem load induces less regulation | Insignificant results | Problem load induces more regulation |
|--|---|---|
| | <u>growth:</u> Heinemann, 2007 Siegel, 2007 | <u>slow growth:</u> Algan and Cahuc, 2006 |
| | <u>unemployment:</u> Potrafke, 2010a | |
| <u>deficits/debt:</u> Belloc and Nicita, 2011 Galasso, 2014 Schuster et al., 2013 | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Henisz et al., 2005 (electricity) Potrafke, 2010a Siegel, 2007 | <u>deficits/debt:</u> Henisz et al., 2005 (telecommunication) Li and Xu, 2002 |

APPENDIX 3.4.1: *Partisan effects on corporate and capital taxation*

| Left (right) parties increase (decrease) taxes | Insignificant or unexpected results | Expected partisan effects for the 1970s/1980s but not for the 1990s |
|---|--|---|
| Basinger and Hallerberg, 2004 Bretschger and Hettich, 2002 Bretschger and Hettich, 2005 Clausing, 2008 Jensen and Lindstädt, 2012 Kammas, 2011 Kulesa and Wenzelburger 2015 Osterloh and Debus, 2012 Plümper et al., 2009 Swank, 2006 Swank and Steinmo, 2002 | <u>Insignificant:</u> Adam and Kammas, 2007 Devereux et al., 2008 Dreher, 2006 Hays, 2003 Heinemann et al., 2010 Onaran, 2011 Swank, 2016 | Osterloh and Debus 2012 |
| | <u>Unexpected:</u> Garrett and Mitchel, 2001 (Christian democrats increase taxes) | |

APPENDIX 3.4.2: *Partisan effects on total public expenditure*

| Left (right) parties increase (decrease) public expenditure | Insignificant results | Expected partisan effects for the 1970s/1980s but not for the 1990s |
|---|--|---|
| Bawn and Rosenbluth, 2006 | Brady and Lee, 2014 | |
| Castles, 2007 on the level in 1980 and 2001 | Bräuninger 2005 | |
| Darby et al., 2004 | Burgoon 2001 | |
| Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 for consumption | Busemeyer, 2009 | |
| Martin and Vanberg, 2013 on differences between countries | Crepaz and Moser, 2004 | |
| Pitlik, 2007 | Dahl, 2014 | |
| Tavits, 2004 | Dreher, 2006 | |
| | Emmenegger 2007 | |
| | Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 | |
| | Hansson and Olofsdotter, 2008 for transfers and investment | |
| | Harrinvirta and Mattila, 2001 | |
| | Martin and Vanberg, 2013 on changes over time | |
| | Mukherjee, 2003 | |
| | Rodden, 2003 | |
| | Wehner, 2010 | |

APPENDIX 3.4.3: *Partisan effects on social expenditure*

| Left (right) parties increase (decrease) social expenditure | Insignificant results | Expected partisan effects for the 1970s/1980s but not for the 1990s |
|---|--|---|
| Brady et al., 2005 | <u>Insignificant:</u> | Kittel and Obinger, 2003 for Christian democratic parties |
| Burgoon, 2001 on changes | Amable et al., 2006 | Kwon and Pontusson, 2010 |
| Castles 2007 | Brooks and Manza, 2006 | Potrafke, 2009 |
| Castles and Obinger, 2007 | Burgoon, 2001 on levels | |
| Congleton and Bose, 2010 | Dreher, 2006 | |
| Jensen 2010 | Emmenegger, 2007 | |
| Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 for right parties | Garrett and Mitchell, 2001 | |
| Lipsmeyer, 2011 | Ha, 2008 | |
| Moene and Wallerstein, 2001 | Hays et al., 2005 | |
| Schmidt, 2001 | Herwartz and Theilen, 2014 | |
| | Hicks and Zorn, 2005 | |
| | Hwang and Lee, 2014 | |
| | Iversen and Cusack, 2000 | |
| | Jahn, 2006 | |
| | Jensen, 2011a | |
| | Jensen, 2011b | |
| | Jensen, 2011c (1980-2001) | |
| | Jensen and Seeberg, 2015 for left parties | |
| | Kim and Zurlo, 2009 | |
| | Kittel and Obinger, 2003 for left parties | |
| | Schmitt, 2013a | |
| | Schmitt and Starke, 2011 | |
| | Swank and Martin, 2001 | |
| | Tepe and Vanhuyse, 2010 | |
| | <u>Unexpected:</u> | |
| | Jensen 2011c (left parties negative effect, 1991-2001) | |
| | Jurado, 2014 (left parties negative effect) | |

APPENDIX 3.4.4: *Partisan effects on privatization*

| Left (right) parties induce less (more) privatization | Insignificant or unexpected results | Expected partisan effects for the 1970s/1980s but not for the 1990s |
|---|--|---|
| Belke et al., 2007 | <u>Insignificant:</u> | Schneider et al. 2005 |
| Belloc et al. 2014 | Bortolotti et al., 2003 (proceeds) | Zohlnhöfer et al. 2008 |
| Bortolotti et al., 2003 (incidence) | Fink, 2011a | |
| Bortolotti and Pinotti, 2008 | Fink, 2011b | |
| Henisz et al., 2005 (electricity) | Henisz et al., 2005 (telecom) | |
| Li and Xu, 2002 | Kogut and MacPherson, 2008 | |
| Obinger et al., 2014 | Roberts and Saeed, 2012 | |
| Schmitt, 2013b | Schmitt, 2011 | |
| Schneider and Häge, 2008 | Schmitt and Obinger, 2011 | |
| Schuster et al., 2013 (turnover) | Schuster et al., 2013 (employment) | |
| | <u>Unexpected:</u> | |
| | Meseguer, 2004 (left parties privatize more) | |

APPENDIX 3.4.5: *Partisan effects on subsidies*

| Left (right) parties increase (decrease) subsidies | Insignificant results | Expected partisan effects for the 1970s/1980s but not for the 1990s |
|--|---|---|
| Hwang and Lee, 2014 | <u>Insignificant:</u> | Obinger and Zohlnhöfer, 2007 |
| | Franchino and Mainenti, 2013 | |
| | Schuster et al., 2013 | |
| | Zahariadis, 2002 | |
| | <u>Unexpected:</u> | |
| | Rickard, 2012a (left parties decrease subsidies) | |
| | Rickard, 2012b (left parties decrease subsidies) | |
| | Zahariadis, 2010a (left parties decrease subsidies) | |
| | Zahariadis, 2010b (left parties decrease subsidies) | |

APPENDIX 3.4.6: *Partisan effects on regulation*

| Left (right) parties induce more (less) regulation | Insignificant results | Expected partisan effects for the 1970s/1980s but not for the 1990s |
|--|---|---|
| Algan and Cahuc, 2006 Botero et al. 2004 Chang and Berdiev, 2011 Galasso, 2014 Pitlik, 2007 Potrafke, 2010a Smith and Urpelainen, 2016 | <u>Insignificant:</u> Davidsson and Emmenegger, 2013 Heinemann, 2007 for product markets Henisz et al., 2005 Li and Xu, 2002, Potrafke, 2010b Schuster et al., 2013 <u>Unexpected:</u> Belloc and Nicita, 2011 (left and right parties liberalise more than others) Belloc et al., 2014 (left parties liberalise more) Heinemann, 2007 (centre parties deregulate EPL less than left and right parties) | Siegel, 2007 |