Online Appendix

Abel Bojar, 'Biting the Hand that Feeds: Reconsidering the Partisan Determinants of Welfare Spending in Times of Austerity', *Government and Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*

Construction of RSP series

As indicated in the text, RSP for the three social groups for a given party for a given year was defined by $RSP_{gp} = \frac{Vgp - Vtp}{Vtp}$. The categorization of respondents into the two social groups of interest were based on the survey questions on respondents' occupation/and or job status. From the Eurobarometer series I classified respondents into pensioners (answering "retired" to the survey questions) and workers (answering "manual skilled worker", "manual unskilled worker" and "other unskilled worker"). The ISSP series allowed a more systematic classification of respondents relying on ILO-ISCO (4 digit) categories where higher categories indicate lower "status". This was cross-validated by comparing self-reported family income across the major occupational groups.

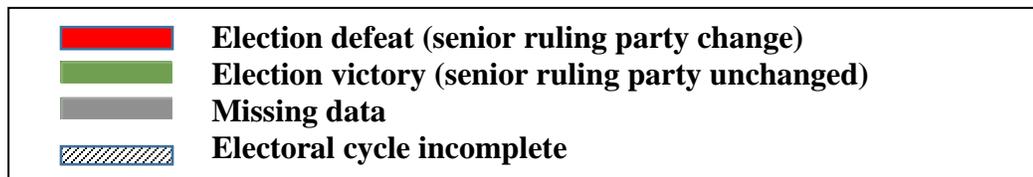Accordingly, workers comprised the last 3 of the 9 main categories.

7) Craft and related trades workers,
8) Plant and machine operators,
9) Elementary occupations.

Pensioners, similarly to the Eurobarometer series, were classified by another survey question on occupation status.

The general rule I followed to ensure as much consistency as possible is to use the Eurobarometer trend file from its beginning until its end in 2002 (vote intention questions were interrupted in that year and subsequent Eurobarometer surveys did not include that question). Following 2002 I switched to the ISSP files. For countries that had little or no Eurobarometer coverage I extended the ISSP series further back in time until the earliest observation (generally in the early 90s).

Table A1
Summary of welfare retrenchment episodes* and re-election outcomes in countries covered by the Comparative Welfare Entitlement Dataset, 1980-2010

Year	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Finland	France	Germany	Greece	Ireland	Italy	Netherlands	New Zealand	Norway	Portugal	Spain	Sweden	UK	US
1980	-0.7			-0.2	1.5		1.4	0.5	(missing)	3.4		1.6	0.5	1.8	(missing)				1.6
1981		-1.1	1			2.6					0.6						1.6	-3.3	
1982	0.2							-0.6		2.2		-0.6							0.1
1983			2.2	1.3	-0.5								-0.9	0.8					
1984	0.4						3.9		1.7			-1.9				1.3		0.2	
1985		1.4			-2.6	2.2		1		-4.3	1.2							-1.7	
1986	0.6			0.8									0.5						-1.2
1987			0.4				0.3	0.3	0					0.5			1.2		
1988					-0.5					-0.3		-0.3				2.3			
1989	0.1	-1.2			-0.4	1.1		0.3					-0.2					-0.9	
1990			-0.5						0.5		0.9						-1		
1991				-0.5			-1.5			-0.1				0.2		0.9			1.3
1992	0.5	0.1			1.9				0			-0.9	-0.8						
1993			-0.1			0.6		-0.3			1						-0.3		
1994																			-0.3
1995	-0.1	0.1		-0.1	-2.1		-0.4		0.1	9.6	-0.3		-0.3				-0.5	-0.8	
1996								-1.4				0.5		-0.4					
1997	-0.4		-0.3			-1.3										1.1	-1.6		
1998		0.4							-0.3					0.8		1.7			0.2
1999				0.1							0.4			1.4				1.7	
2000	-0.1				-0.5		1	-0.6				1.5					-4.2		
2001		2.2				-0.9							0			0.6			
2002			0.9						2.8										-0.3
2003	-0.6			-0.4	-0.3							0.2		-0.7		0.1		0.8	
2004								-2			2.3		0.1				-0.7		
2005		0.2				-0.2	0.2	0.2	0		2	0							
2006	-0.2		0.9	0.2	-1.5											1	1		0.2
2007				-0.2			0.1				-0.2			1.1		4.3			
2008		-0.1						0.1	0.3								-3.6	-0.7	
2009	0		1.2							0.3		0.7							
2010																			

Legend:
- **Red** — Election defeat (senior ruling party change)
- **Green** — Election victory (senior ruling party unchanged)
- **Grey** — Missing data
- **Hatched** — Electoral cycle incomplete

*Entries refer to the change in the overall Generosity Index over the electoral cycle. Green and red shaded areas depict the largest falls in the index (at least more than a standard deviation below the mean)

Table A2
**Models explaining a broader measure of spending representing pensioners' interest
in OECD countries†**

Dependent variable	Δpension spending	Δold-age-related spending	Δunemployment benefits	Δworker-related spending
RSP_pensioner	-0.263	-0.326		
	(3.57)***	(2.81)***		
RSP_worker			-0.084	-0.222
			(1.57)	(2.49)**
EMU	0.019	0.044	0.034	0.072
	(0.64)	(0.93)	(2.19)**	(3.69)***
RSP_pensioner*EMU	0.378	0.565		
	(3.05)***	(2.71)***		
RSP_worker*EMU			0.006	-0.111
			(0.08)	(1.64)
Lisbon	0.008	0.029	0.024	0.097
	(0.27)	(0.54)	(1.34)	(3.28)***
RSP_pensioner*Lisbon	-0.014	-0.054		
	(0.12)	(0.28)		
RSP_worker*Lisbon			0.043	0.406
			(0.65)	(3.82)***
growth	-0.057	-0.069	-0.005	-0.029
	(7.53)***	(6.22)***	(1.24)	(3.48)***
Δ oldage	23.421	20.488		
	(3.67)***	(1.70)*		
Δ unemployment			0.086	0.061
			(10.67)***	(3.84)***
liberal	0.027	0.076	-0.004	0.009
	(0.85)	(1.41)	(0.18)	(0.20)
christdem	-0.065	-0.029	-0.008	-0.061
	(2.27)**	(0.62)	(0.38)	(1.69)*
conservative	-0.023	-0.053	-0.019	-0.008
	(1.13)	(1.57)	(1.02)	(0.23)
other	0.116	-0.001	0.005	-0.123
	(1.72)*	(0.02)	(0.11)	(2.32)**
dreher	-0.001	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002
	(0.58)	(2.00)**	(1.01)	(2.03)**
vetoplayers	0.040	-0.109	0.098	-0.062
	(0.59)	(0.97)	(2.05)**	(0.71)
Constant	0.324	0.704	0.205	0.533
	(3.39)***	(5.07)***	(3.66)***	(3.22)***
N	535	535	531	490
R2	0.36	0.52	0.51	0.44

p<0.1 p<0.05; ** p<0.01***

† The coefficients are random-effects estimates with a set of time dummies and panel-corrected standard errors(t-statistics in paranthesis).

Table A3
Data Sources

Variables	Source
Programme-Specific Spending	OECD Social Expenditure Database
RSP	Eurobarometer Trend-File, ISSP
Underlying government primary balance	OECD Economic Outlook database no. 98
Economic and Structural Control variables (growth, unemployment, old-age ratio)	OECD i.library, Eurostat
Party Family Labels	Comparative Political Dataset, University of Bern
Dreher Index (KOF Index of Globalization)	Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich
Veto players index	Wiltold Henisz, POLCON database