

Partisan Priorities and Public Budgeting

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Supplemental Materials A —Party Coding of Budget Categories

Table 1A shows how we classify OMB subfunctions by political party for the United States.

Tables 2A and 3A show how we code budget functions by party for the United Kingdom and

France. Table 4A shows the party coding for Denmark and the remaining 25 OECD countries.

Table 1A. Party Ownership of 67 OMB Subfunctions, with Fiscal Year 2011 as example

| Category | FY Spending 2011 (\$Billions) | Spending Type | Coding |
|---|--|------------------|-------------------------|
| Military Personnel | 136.65 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| DOD - Operation and Maintenance | 247.48 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| DOD - Procurement | 102.11 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| DOD - Research and Development | 62.16 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| DOD - Military Construction | 9.81 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| DOD - Family Housing | 1.46 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| DOD - Other | 5.92 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| Atomic Energy Defense Activities | 15.80 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| Defense-related Activities | 6.67 | Defense | Republican ^A |
| Federal Law Enforcement Activities | 23.93 | Discretionary | Republican ^B |
| Federal Litigative and Judicial Activities | 13.89 | Discretionary | Republican ^B |
| Federal Correctional Activities | 7.06 | Discretionary | Republican ^B |
| Criminal Justice Assistance | 2.86 | Discretionary | Republican ^B |
| Emergency Energy Preparedness | 0.00 | Discretionary | Republican |
| Republican Total | 635.80 (19.16% of All Spending) | | |
| Farm Income Stabilization | 14.04 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Agricultural Research and Services | 3.96 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |
| Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education | 34.20 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |
| Higher Education | 17.59 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Research and General Education Aids | 3.03 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |
| Training and Employment | 7.00 | Discretionary | Democrat ^C |
| Other Labor Services | 1.66 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |
| Social Services | 15.80 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Health Care Services | 280.11 | Mandatory | Democrat ^D |
| Health Research and Training | 28.18 | Discretionary | Democrat ^D |
| Consumer and Occupation Health and Safety | 4.02 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |
| General Retirement and Disability Insurance | 6.96 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Federal Employee Retirement and Disability | 110.82 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Unemployment Compensation | 80.78 | Mandatory | Democrat ^E |
| Housing Assistance | 34.63 | Discretionary | Democrat ^B |
| Food and Nutrition Assistance | 99.36 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Other Income Security | 141.11 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Social Security | 723.11 | Mandatory | Democrat ^A |
| Medicare | 405.59 | Mandatory | Democrat ^B |
| Democratic Total | 2,011.75 | (60.62% of All Spending) | |
| Energy Information, Policy and Regulation | 0.42 | Discretionary | - |
| Energy Conservation | 0.00 | Discretionary | - |
| General Science and Basic Research | 10.38 | Discretionary | - |
| Space Flight, Research, and Supporting Activities | 14.84 | Discretionary | - |
| Water Resources | 6.85 | Discretionary | - |
| Conservation and Land Management | 9.07 | Discretionary | - |
| Recreational Resources | 3.00 | Discretionary | - |
| Pollution Control and Abatement | 7.46 | Discretionary | - |
| Other Natural Resources | 5.52 | Discretionary | - |
| Ground Transportation | 48.56 | Discretionary | - |
| Air Transportation | 18.98 | Discretionary | - |
| Water Transportation | 8.59 | Discretionary | - |
| Other Transportation | 0.35 | Discretionary | - |
| Community Development | 4.01 | Discretionary | - |
| Area and Regional Development | 2.72 | Discretionary | - |
| Legislative Functions | 3.41 | Discretionary | - |
| Executive Direction and Management | 0.42 | Discretionary | - |
| Central Fiscal Operations | 10.73 | Discretionary | - |
| General Property and Records Management | -0.41 | Discretionary | - |
| Central Personnel Management | 0.17 | Discretionary | - |
| General Purpose Fiscal Assistance | 6.82 | Discretionary | - |

| | | | |
|---|-----------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Other General Government | 3.49 | Discretionary | - |
| Conduct of Foreign Affairs | 19.25 | Defense | - |
| International Development and Humanitarian Assistance | 12.19 | Defense | - |
| International Security Assistance | 14.07 | Defense | - |
| Foreign Information and Exchange Activities | 1.33 | Defense | - |
| Income Security for Veterans | 45.10 | Mandatory | - |
| Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation | 10.52 | Mandatory | - |
| Veterans Medical Care | 45.35 | Discretionary | - |
| Other Veterans Benefits and Services | 5.27 | Discretionary | - |
| Disaster Relief and Insurance | 9.24 | Discretionary | - |
| Other Advancement of Commerce | 32.88 | Discretionary | - |
| Interest on the Public Debt | 309.99 | Mandatory | - |
| Neutral Total | 670.58 | (20.20% of All Spending) | |
| Total All Spending | 3,318.13 | | |

Citation A = Sigelman and Buell 2004; Petrocik et al. 2003; Damore 2004

Citation B = Petrocik et al. 2003; Damore 2004

Citation C = Hibbs 1977

Citation D = Sigelman and Buell 2004

Citation E = Hibbs 1977; Petrocik et al. 2003; Damore 2004

Table 2A. UK Party Ownership by Budget Category

| Topic | Left | Right | Neutral |
|--------------------------|------|-------|---------|
| Pensions | X | | |
| Health | X | | |
| Education | X | | |
| Defense | | X | |
| Welfare | X | | |
| Protection (Law & Order) | | X | |
| General Government | | | X |
| Transportation | | | X |
| Other | | | X |

Table 3A. French Party Ownership by Budget Category

| Topic | Left Party | Right Party | Neutral |
|--|------------|-------------|---------|
| Economy & Finance | | | X |
| Education | X | | |
| Public Works & Transportation | | | X |
| Justice & Interior Affairs | | X | |
| Defense | | X | |
| Agriculture | | X | |
| Industry & Commerce; Research & Technology | | | X |
| Social Affairs | X | | |
| Housing | X | | |
| Veterans | | X | |

Table 4A. OECD Party Ownership by Budget Category

| Topic | Left Party | Right Party | Neutral |
|---------------------|------------|-------------|---------|
| Public Service | | | X |
| Defense | | X | |
| Public Order | | X | |
| Economic Affairs | | | X |
| Environment | X | | |
| Housing | X | | |
| Health | X | | |
| Recreation, Culture | | | X |
| Education | X | | |
| Social Protection | X | | |

Supplemental Materials B—Difference of Means for U.S. Budget Subfunctions

Table 5A shows the results of 66 difference of means test, one for each US budget subfunction.

In all, only 4 of the 66 tests return statistically significant coefficients.

Table 5A. Difference of Means Testing across US Budget Subfunctions

| Category | Left-spending | Std. Dev. | Right-spending | Std. Dev. | T-value |
|---|---------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|---------|
| Military Personnel | 2.02 | 1.15 | 1.24 | 1.01 | 0.501 |
| DOD - Operation and Maintenance | 4.56 | 1.50 | 2.08 | 1.72 | 1.033 |
| DOD - Procurement | 2.84 | 3.04 | 1.14 | 2.65 | 0.418 |
| DOD - Research and Development | 0.07 | 1.05 | 5.91 | 2.39 | -1.966* |
| DOD - Military Construction | 2.15 | 8.11 | 4.15 | 3.50 | -0.249 |
| DOD - Family Housing | -3.53 | 3.38 | 1.68 | 2.08 | -1.377 |
| DOD - Other | 412.53 | 222.26 | -2.08 | 14.42 | 1.861 |
| Atomic Energy Defense Activities | 20.02 | 12.12 | 2.38 | 3.49 | 1.549 |
| Defense-related Activities | 291.19 | 273.76 | 21.28 | 12.95 | 1.094 |
| Federal Law Enforcement Activities | 7.57 | 3.18 | 7.22 | 2.14 | 0.093 |
| Federal Litigative and Judicial Activities | 5.14 | 0.93 | 10.84 | 3.90 | -1.263 |
| Federal Correctional Activities | 3.11 | 1.64 | 10.25 | 2.61 | -2.163 |
| Criminal Justice Assistance | 3.89 | 15.23 | 12.27 | 8.61 | -0.516 |
| Emergency Energy Preparedness | 73.91 | 70.47 | 3.15 | 16.99 | 1.340 |
| Farm Income Stabilization | 38.32 | 22.23 | 13.29 | 13.95 | 0.994 |
| Agricultural Research and Services | 2.02 | 1.75 | 2.70 | 1.36 | -0.312 |
| Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education | 24.55 | 15.39 | 8.87 | 6.04 | 1.032 |
| Higher Education | 13.28 | 10.64 | 39.59 | 26.75 | -0.827 |
| Research and General Education Aids | 7.11 | 8.07 | 10.43 | 5.26 | -0.357 |
| Training and Employment | 5.48 | 7.41 | 49.53 | 35.01 | -1.092 |
| Other Labor Services | 56.92 | 56.21 | 3.10 | 4.22 | 1.083 |
| Social Services | 21.35 | 14.26 | 8.37 | 2.33 | 1.047 |
| Health Care Services | 9.81 | 5.59 | 11.46 | 2.30 | -0.295 |
| Health Research and Training | 6.58 | 3.03 | 4.22 | 2.04 | 0.668 |

| | | | | | |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| Consumer and Occupation Health and Safety | 20.17 | 12.88 | 4.82 | 1.37 | 1.340 |
| General Retirement and Disability Insurance | -0.19 | 5.95 | 5.60 | 3.83 | -0.851 |
| Federal Employee Retirement and Disability | 8.62 | 4.79 | 5.81 | 2.60 | 0.544 |
| Unemployment Compensation | -2.02 | 4.26 | 16.44 | 6.85 | -2.136* |
| Housing Assistance | 30.09 | 24.89 | 34.25 | 17.82 | -0.139 |
| Food and Nutrition Assistance | 5.00 | 2.30 | 13.89 | 3.90 | -1.821 |
| Other Income Security | 5.38 | 1.73 | 5.88 | 1.52 | -0.218 |
| Social Security | 7.83 | 1.64 | 5.91 | 0.98 | 1.047 |
| Medicare | 24.06 | 16.05 | 7.09 | 1.47 | 1.313 |
| Energy Information, Policy and Regulation | 1.14 | 7.64 | -1.98 | 5.32 | 0.347 |
| Energy Conservation | -2.37 | 12.37 | 100.23 | 85.56 | -0.969 |
| General Science and Basic Research | 5.03 | 3.29 | 21.56 | 8.75 | -1.491 |
| Space Flight, Research, and Supporting Activities | 11.53 | 8.30 | 10.16 | 5.60 | 0.142 |
| Water Resources | -0.20 | 3.40 | 6.77 | 4.35 | -1.206 |
| Conservation and Land Management | 10.25 | 6.29 | 4.66 | 4.24 | 0.761 |
| Recreational Resources | 5.04 | 3.86 | 8.31 | 4.71 | -0.514 |
| Pollution Control and Abatement | -2.32 | 7.35 | 22.32 | 13.26 | -1.317 |
| Other Natural Resources | 7.44 | 3.16 | 8.55 | 3.10 | -0.245 |
| Ground Transportation | 8.68 | 3.42 | 71.25 | 67.83 | -0.811 |
| Air Transportation | 1.90 | 4.09 | 10.25 | 4.07 | -1.423 |
| Water Transportation | 1.54 | 3.07 | 3.46 | 2.68 | -0.470 |
| Other Transportation | -2.12 | 2.93 | 4.97 | 3.75 | -1.356 |
| Community Development | 394.45 | 293.72 | 94.06 | 61.98 | 1.121 |
| Area and Regional Development | 21.53 | 20.78 | 472.47 | 461.75 | -0.926 |
| Legislative Functions | 2.41 | 2.61 | 8.90 | 4.21 | -1.221 |
| Executive Direction and Management | 5.56 | 4.66 | 6.58 | 4.76 | -0.149 |
| Central Fiscal Operations | 1.56 | 2.00 | 2.95 | 1.41 | -0.580 |
| General Property and Records Management | 16.68 | 16.21 | 35.95 | 24.48 | -0.602 |
| Central Personnel Management | 7.27 | 8.63 | 7.14 | 7.37 | 0.011 |

| | | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| General Purpose Fiscal Assistance | -0.65 | 4.37 | 50.14 | 43.73 | -1.019 |
| Other General Government | 4.79 | 8.06 | 17.58 | 11.70 | -0.849 |
| Conduct of Foreign Affairs | 1.59 | 4.87 | 7.21 | 2.27 | -1.123 |
| International Development and Humanitarian Assistance | 38.91 | 30.81 | 10.51 | 6.17 | 1.030 |
| International Security Assistance | 16.30 | 10.96 | 14.42 | 13.27 | 0.105 |
| Foreign Information and Exchange Activities | -0.75 | 3.03 | 4.14 | 1.57 | -1.569 |
| Income Security for Veterans | 4.15 | 5.37 | 1.54 | 0.65 | 0.544 |
| Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation | 45.63 | 47.88 | 5.68 | 8.04 | 0.926 |
| Veterans Medical Care | 1.19 | 1.98 | 5.26 | 0.73 | -2.101* |
| Other Veterans Benefits and Services | -1.59 | 1.96 | 5.37 | 2.57 | -2.010* |
| Disaster Relief and Insurance | 27.09 | 21.62 | 98.11 | 41.85 | -1.346 |
| Other Advancement of Commerce | 8.76 | 9.28 | 58.50 | 40.50 | -1.008 |
| Interest on the Public Debt | 3.85 | 1.44 | 3.53 | 1.18 | 0.172 |

Note: The analysis for “Disaster Relief and Insurance” excludes one observation of percent change in excess of 600,000, corresponding to Hurricane Andrew. This is the only observation in the dataset that approaches this magnitude.

N = 28 for Left-spending and 36 for the Right

* = significant at 0.05 p-value

Supplemental Materials C —Robustness Tests

Using Congress as the Reference Unit for Measures of Consistency

Our analyses use a measure of spending consistency that is based on the party of the head of government. Here, we look at the US, and consider an alternate definition that measures consistency based on Congress. Under this definition a consistent change takes place when spending is adjusted to match the partisan priorities of whichever party controls the House of Representatives. (We use control of the House as the reference unit rather than unified control over both congressional chambers to avoid dropping observations.) Table 6A shows the results of our analysis using this alternate definition, revealing that substantively it makes little difference what definition of consistency we use. The pattern, of greater consistency as party control increases, remains intact.

Table 6A. Spending Consistency by Party Control Based on Congressional Consistency Measure, 1947-2009

| Government | N | % Consistent | % Inconsistent | C-I |
|-------------------------------------|-------|--------------|----------------|------|
| All Spending | | | | |
| Total | 3,807 | 23.59 | 19.20 | 4.39 |
| Divided | 2,306 | 21.77 | 16.83 | 4.94 |
| Unified | 1,501 | 26.38 | 22.85 | 3.53 |
| Unified and filibuster proof | 606 | 29.70 | 21.12 | 8.58 |
| Discretionary Spending Changes Only | | | | |
| Total | 2,292 | 16.49 | 13.48 | 3.01 |
| Divided | 1,388 | 14.41 | 12.46 | 1.95 |
| Unified | 904 | 19.69 | 15.04 | 4.65 |
| Unified and filibuster proof | 352 | 22.44 | 12.78 | 9.66 |

Table 7A replicates Table 5A, which tested for statistically significant differences in the spending patterns of Republicans and Democrats across each OMB subfunction. Table 5A considered a party to be in power when a president of that party was in the White House. Table 7A considers a party to be in power when they have a majority in the House of Representatives.

Substantively it makes little difference what reference unit we use; Table 7A shows only two budget categories with statistically significant differences between the parties – federal employee retirement and disability, food and nutrition assistance, and interest on the public debt.

Table 7A. Different of Means Testing across US Budget Subfunctions, using Congressional Measure of Consistency

| Category | Left-spending | Std. Dev. | Right-spending | Std. Dev. | T-value |
|---|---------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|---------|
| Military Personnel | 1.19 | 5.08 | 2.77 | 7.13 | 0.885 |
| DOD - Operation and Maintenance | 2.48 | 8.20 | 5.17 | 10.58 | 0.962 |
| DOD - Procurement | 0.49 | 15.74 | 6.24 | 10.15 | 1.234 |
| DOD - Research and Development | 3.36 | 12.26 | 3.83 | 6.58 | 0.133 |
| DOD - Military Construction | 2.99 | 31.43 | 4.36 | 20.37 | 0.147 |
| DOD - Family Housing | -0.38 | 14.43 | -1.03 | 9.69 | 0.149 |
| DOD - Other | 121.02 | 405.83 | 457.83 | 1,363.97 | 1.283 |
| Atomic Energy Defense Activities | 9.08 | 38.22 | 13.15 | 64.56 | 0.306 |
| Defense-related Activities | 12.82 | 88.55 | 482.09 | 1,771.66 | 1.736 |
| Federal Law Enforcement Activities | 7.39 | 16.36 | 7.33 | 7.71 | 0.013 |
| Federal Litigative and Judicial Activities | 9.41 | 20.40 | 5.17 | 6.41 | 0.813 |
| Federal Correctional Activities | 8.15 | 15.07 | 4.05 | 6.16 | 1.055 |
| Criminal Justice Assistance | 10.64 | 55.59 | 5.74 | 32.35 | 0.292 |
| Emergency Energy Preparedness | 41.97 | 157.42 | -12.36 | 33.91 | 1.015 |
| Farm Income Stabilization | 21.42 | 96.92 | 32.70 | 111.35 | 0.388 |
| Agricultural Research and Services | 2.36 | 9.20 | 2.54 | 6.81 | 0.072 |
| Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education | 19.72 | 68.51 | 3.76 | 18.99 | 0.915 |
| Higher Education | 29.81 | 140.86 | 22.88 | 66.12 | 0.189 |

| | | | | | |
|---|-------|--------|-------|--------|------------|
| Research and General Education Aids | 10.06 | 40.20 | 5.71 | 23.35 | 0.409 |
| Training and Employment | 12.97 | 49.92 | 82.12 | 310.12 | - 1.510 |
| Other Labor Services | 35.79 | 227.84 | -0.78 | 9.49 | 0.638 |
| Social Services | 17.29 | 54.68 | 2.90 | 11.27 | 1.007 |
| Health Care Services | 12.88 | 3.49 | 4.31 | 2.80 | 1.361 |
| Health Research and Training | 5.25 | 13.91 | 5.27 | 6.42 | - 0.004 |
| Consumer and Occupation Health and Safety | 13.89 | 52.60 | 4.49 | 6.09 | 0.709 |
| General Retirement and Disability Insurance | 2.04 | 22.30 | 6.14 | 38.52 | - 0.523 |
| Federal Employee Retirement and Disability | 10.01 | 22.09 | -1.86 | 9.78 | 2.075* |
| Unemployment Compensation | 8.74 | 37.71 | 7.21 | 27.67 | 0.148 |
| Housing Assistance | 42.20 | 133.77 | 3.12 | 25.29 | 1.155 |
| Food and Nutrition Assistance | 12.88 | 21.77 | 1.36 | 6.43 | 0.042* |
| Other Income Security | 6.38 | 9.11 | 3.50 | 8.95 | 1.096 |
| Social Security | 7.59 | 1.16 | 4.22 | 0.76 | 1.622 |
| Medicare | 16.89 | 50.63 | 5.72 | 6.21 | 0.788 |
| Energy Information, Policy and Regulation | -2.40 | 28.46 | 2.37 | 22.82 | - 0.518 |
| Energy Conservation | 90.22 | 376.88 | -0.30 | 11.39 | 0.826 |
| General Science and Basic Research | 15.33 | 47.44 | 13.78 | 23.07 | 0.121 |
| Space Flight, Research, and Supporting Activities | 14.61 | 42.47 | -1.61 | 3.90 | 1.469 |
| Water Resources | 2.49 | 21.19 | 7.42 | 28.35 | - 0.738 |
| Conservation and Land Management | 6.66 | 29.59 | 8.43 | 28.24 | 0.834 |
| Recreational Resources | 8.53 | 22.02 | 1.92 | 32.88 | 0.913 |
| Pollution Control and Abatement | 19.53 | 69.99 | 0.10 | 4.65 | 0.993 |
| Other Natural Resources | 6.89 | 14.12 | 11.59 | 25.91 | - 0.920 |
| Ground Transportation | 55.85 | 352.39 | 7.95 | 16.31 | 0.540 |
| Air Transportation | 7.42 | 3.57 | 4.13 | 4.88 | 0.483 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|--------|----------|-------|--------|--------|---|
| Water Transportation | 2.02 | 17.27 | 4.42 | 12.06 | 0.513 | - |
| Other Transportation | 3.02 | 16.60 | 0.54 | 15.11 | 0.449 | |
| Community Development | 299.26 | 1,223.46 | 4.14 | 76.61 | 0.959 | |
| Area and Regional Development | 344.71 | 2,158.08 | 5.48 | 65.52 | 0.605 | |
| Legislative Functions | 5.54 | 19.89 | 7.64 | 25.29 | 0.341 | - |
| Executive Direction and Management | 5.29 | 27.11 | 8.66 | 26.24 | 0.434 | - |
| Central Fiscal Operations | 3.22 | 6.70 | -0.28 | 14.90 | 1.297 | |
| General Property and Records Management | 24.97 | 130.01 | 36.95 | 104.34 | 0.324 | - |
| Central Personnel Management | 2.65 | 36.30 | 20.83 | 62.76 | 1.425 | - |
| General Purpose Fiscal Assistance | 33.40 | 226.85 | 11.49 | 51.92 | 0.381 | |
| Other General Government | 15.99 | 62.12 | -0.03 | 51.48 | 0.929 | |
| Conduct of Foreign Affairs | 5.36 | 20.98 | 2.93 | 16.69 | 0.419 | |
| International Development and Humanitarian Assistance | 26.61 | 121.79 | 10.10 | 43.71 | 0.512 | |
| International Security Assistance | 16.09 | 75.20 | 12.68 | 56.06 | 0.166 | |
| Foreign Information and Exchange Activities | 3.44 | 11.06 | -1.30 | 13.63 | 1.352 | |
| Income Security for Veterans | 2.73 | 21.677 | 2.55 | 4.96 | 0.033 | |
| Veterans Education, Training, and Rehabilitation | 29.61 | 197.19 | 3.82 | 17.52 | 0.519 | |
| Veterans Medical Care | 3.10 | 8.55 | 4.64 | 5.57 | 0.674 | - |
| Other Veterans Benefits and Services | 1.42 | 12.74 | 5.65 | 16.76 | 1.033 | - |
| Disaster Relief and Insurance | 69.05 | 31.50 | 66.55 | 47.69 | 0.041 | |
| Other Advancement of Commerce | 45.53 | 217.09 | 15.38 | 42.05 | 0.531 | |
| Interest on the Public Debt | 5.42 | 6.45 | -1.58 | 7.29 | 3.641* | |

Note: The analysis for "Disaster Relief and Insurance" excludes one observation of percent change in excess of 600,000, corresponding to Hurricane Andrew. This is the only observation in the dataset that approaches this magnitude.

N = 48 for Left-spending and 16 for the Right
* = significant at 0.05 p-value

Aggregate Government Spending

Table 5 from the paper shows that in Denmark and the United Kingdom, left-wing parties are more likely to increase total government spending than right-wing parties. But the opposite appears true in France and the difference between parties in the US was non-significant. United States. Table 5A takes a second look at the idea that left-wing parties can be associated with “big government”, but this time instead of averaging across multiple budget categories, we assess difference of means on aggregate government spending in each year. The idea is to provide a purer test of this basic hypothesis, but the revised approach shows little change from Table 5.

Table 5A. Average Growth of Government During Left and Right-party Control

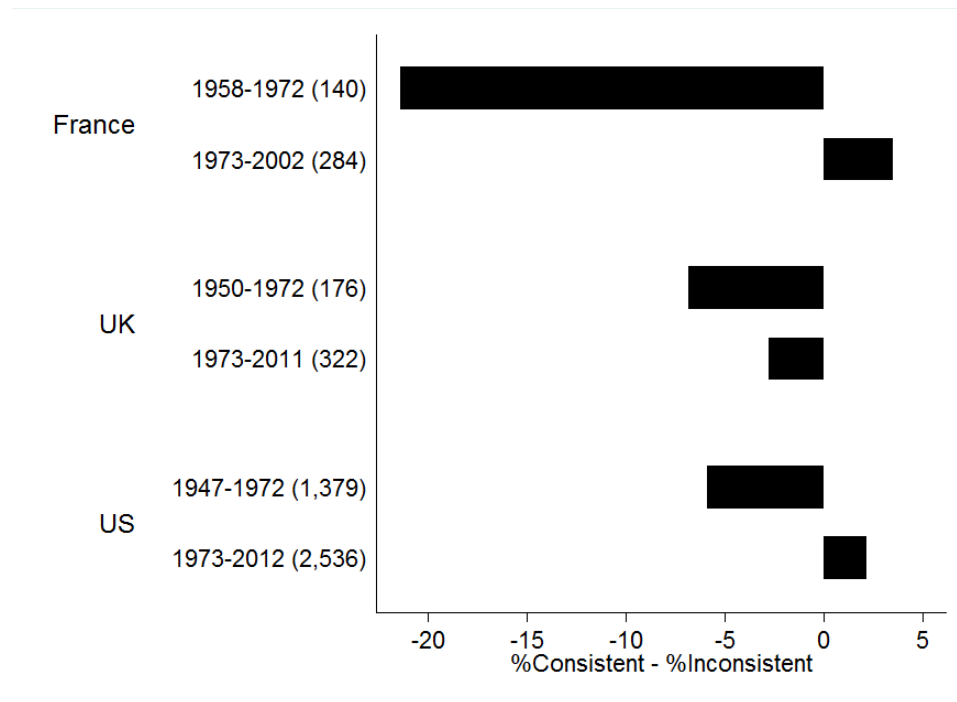
| Country | N | Avg. Growth Left-party | N | Avg. Growth Right-party | T-test |
|----------------|----|---------------------------|----|----------------------------|---------|
| United States | 28 | 5.12 | 36 | 3.71 | 0.579 |
| United Kingdom | 24 | 9.09 | 36 | 8.05 | 0.677 |
| France | 15 | 0.66 | 28 | 4.25 | -2.051* |
| Denmark | 19 | 9.79 | 20 | 5.23 | 2.678* |

* = significant at 0.05 p-value

Tracking Consistency over Time

In Table 3 and Figure 4, we look at the occurrence of consistent and inconsistent budget changes across different levels of party control for the UK, France, and Denmark. Here, we take advantage of the longer budgetary time series available for these countries and consider how the occurrence of consistent changes has varied over time. Figure 1A plots the difference between the percentage of total budgetary changes that are considered consistent and inconsistent before and after 1973. (Note, because budget data for Denmark is only available through 1971, it is excluded from the analysis.) We use 1973 as the dividing point because this was the year the Arab oil embargo began, which put tremendous stress on the economies of the countries under consideration. We might expect that the budgetary process underwent substantial changes during this period as governments struggled to adjust. In general, however, the logic is simply to divide the data into historical and modern periods to better determine how party spending effects have occurred over time. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the total number of observations for each country.

Figure 1A. Tracking the Ideological Consistency of Budgetary Changes before and after 1973



There is some evidence from the US and France that ideologically-consistent reallocations are more likely in the post-1973 period, but, with the clear exception of France, the differences between consistent and inconsistent changes are modest for each period, ranging from -7 to 3 percent. Further, no matter the period, no great support for party spending effects presents itself.

Alternative Classifications for Christian Democratic Parties

The paper codes Christian Democratic parties as right-wing. However, while traditionally right-leaning, Christian Democrats may be more amenable to certain types of social spending than other right-wing parties. We repeat the analysis with alternative coding for Christian Democrats. Figure 2A displays the proportion of budget reallocations that are consistent, inconsistent, or neutral, (replicating Figure 4 from the paper) with Christian Democratic parties coded as left-wing. Figure 3A provides the same display after coding health care and social protections as Christian Democratic priorities (in addition to the right-wing priorities of social order and defense). In both cases, the alternative coding makes little difference to the overall trend—consistent and inconsistent changes occur at very similar rates across the OECD countries.

Figure 2A. Spending Consistency in 24 OECD Countries (Christian Democrats as a Left-wing Party)

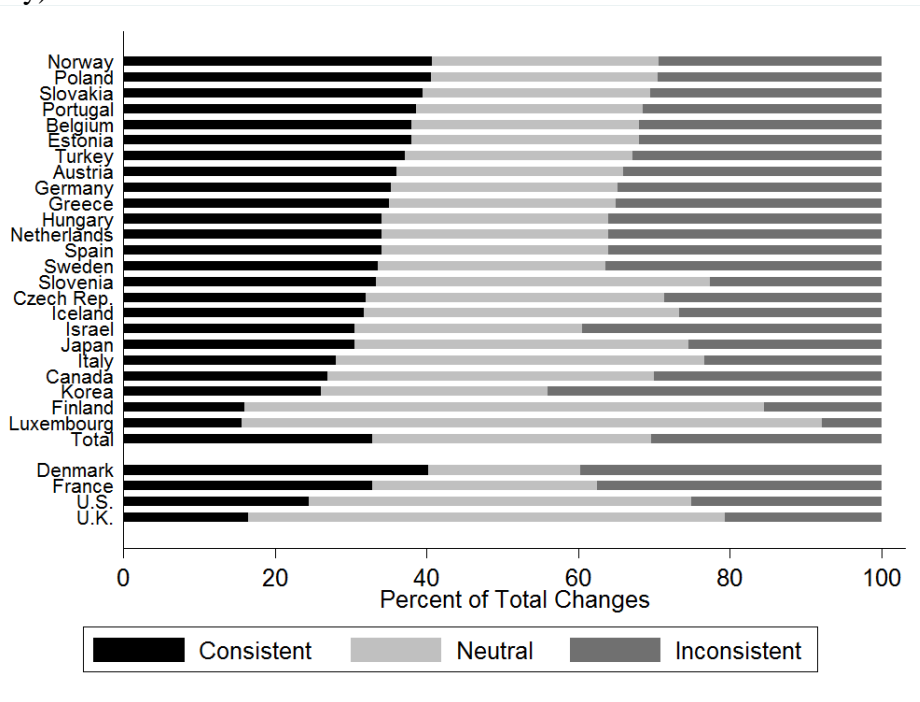
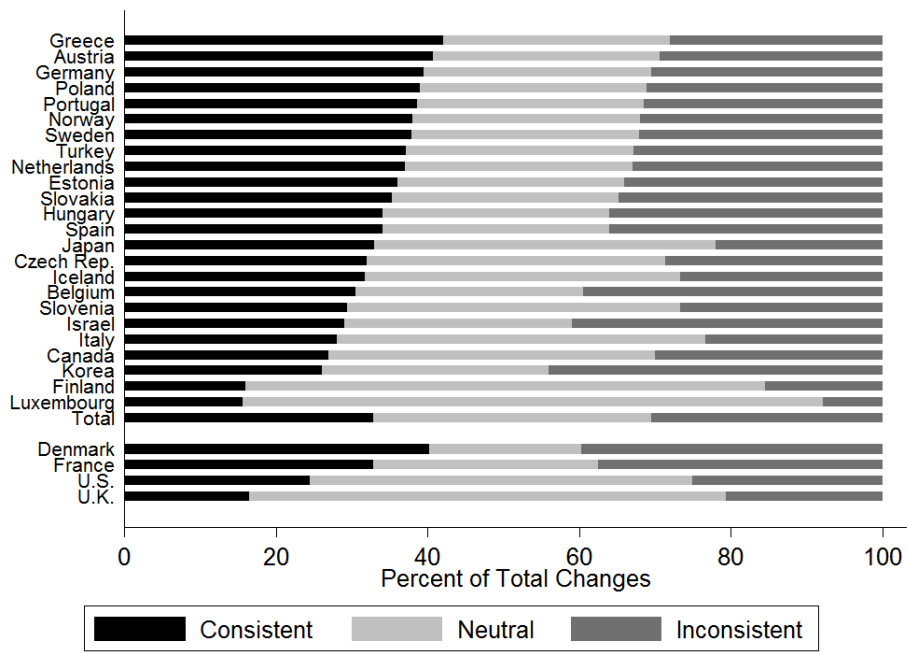


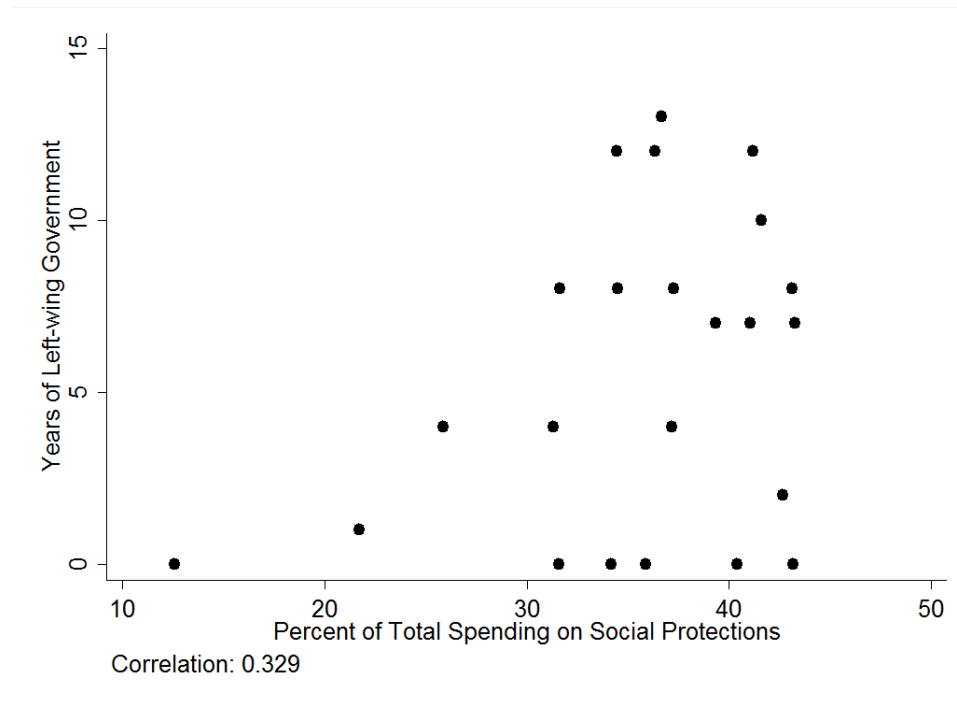
Figure 3A. Spending Consistency in 24 OECD Countries (Christian Democrat Specific)



Relating our Findings with those of Huber and Stephens (2001)

Evelyn Huber and John Stephens' 2001 *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State* was a landmark study, demonstrating that rising expenditure levels among Western European countries could be linked to left-wing governments and the development of the welfare state. Using the OECD budget data employed in this paper, we attempt to replicate one of their key findings – that the cumulative number of years of left-wing government affects spending on social protections. Figure 4A plots the total number of years of left government against the percent of total spending that went to social protections in the most recent year of budget data for the 25 OECD countries that share budgetary codes. As the note to the figure indicates, these series are correlated at 0.329.

Figure 4A. Spending on Social Protections by Cumulative Years of Left-wing Government



Even using different data and methodology, it appears that Huber and Stephens' finding is consistent with our own. There does appear to be a relationship between spending on social protections and the cumulative years of left-wing government. Certainly then, party spending

effects do exist, and can sometimes lead to substantively important differences in policy outcomes. But, placing these results within the larger context of our findings emphasizes that instances of ideologically-consistent budgeting are very much the exception to the rule. Most of the time, public budgets are less a reflection of partisan priorities than of changing civil and economic realities.