**Political alternatives under European economic governance: evidence from German budget speeches (2009-2019)**

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ONLINE APPENDIX

Table A1. List of speeches coded

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Date speech** | **Budget year** | **Government** | **Finance minister** |
| 19/01/2010 | 2010 | Second Merkel (CDU/CSU, FDP) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 14/09/2010 | 2011 | Second Merkel (CDU/CSU, FDP) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 06/09/2011 | 2012 | Second Merkel (CDU/CSU, FDP) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 11/09/2012 | 2013 | Second Merkel (CDU/CSU, FDP) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 30/01/2014 | 2014 | Third Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 09/09/2014 | 2015 | Third Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 08/09/2015 | 2016 | Third Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 06/09/2016 | 2017 | Third Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Wolfgang Schӓuble (CDU) |
| 15/05/2018 | 2018 | Fourth Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Olaf Scholz (SPD) |
| 11/09/2018 | 2019 | Fourth Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Olaf Scholz (SPD) |
| 11/09/2019 | 2020 | Fourth Merkel (CDU/CSU, SPD) | Olaf Scholz (SPD) |

Table A2. Coding categories

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **POLICIES** | | |
| *Specific policies* | Tax increase: | Explicit references to increase in taxation |
| Tax reduction: | Explicit references to reduction in taxation |
| Expenditure increase: | Explicit references to increase in expenditure |
| Expenditure reduction: | Explicit references to reduction in expenditure |
| *General policies* | Tax general: | References to taxation (or fiscal policy) but no specification |
| Expenditure general: | References to expenditure or spending, but no specification |
| Budget general: | General budgetary policy (e.g. “this budget”); references to government action with no further specification about taxation or expenditure |
| *Policy packages* | Keynesian: | Combinations of tax and expenditure increases |
| Neoliberal: | Combinations of tax and expenditure reductions |
| Fiscal consolidation: | Combinations of tax increases and expenditure reductions; policies of debt and deficit reduction |
| *Additional policies* | European policy: | Actions taken by the government at the European level |
| Other: | None of the above |
| **JUSTIFICATIONS** | | |
| *Partisan justifications* | Social: | Adress social issues related to: education; health; equality; family; unemployed; vulnerable groups; social inclusion; integration; redistribution, helping people into work; etc. |
| Market: | Promote private market; Examples: support free market, stimulate private entrepreneurship; promote private ownership (e.g. heritage); etc. |
| *Governmental justifications* | Financial: | Address public finances: public debt; public deficit; government balance sheet; long term sustainability of public finances; stability of public finances |
| International commitments: | Refer to international commitments, e.g. EU/G20/IMF |
| *Neutral categories* | Macro-economic: | Adress country's macro-economic issues such as: growth, competitivenes; inflation/deflation; industrial production, overall employment levels; etc. |
| Other: | None of the above | |

Table A3. Crosstabulation of justifications and policies (absolute numbers)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Social | Market | Macro-eco | Financial | International | Other | TOTAL |
| Budget gen | 115 | 14 | 157 | 90 | 26 | 39 | 441 |
| Exp incr. | 128 | 7 | 37 | 53 | 15 | 41 | 281 |
| Exp gen | 27 | 6 | 37 | 55 | 23 | 25 | 173 |
| Exp red | 1 | 1 | 6 | 30 | 5 | 0 | 43 |
| Tax incr | 8 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 22 |
| Tax gen | 17 | 18 | 2 | 17 | 10 | 19 | 83 |
| Tax red | 4 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 10 |
| Keynes | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 11 |
| Neolib | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Fiscal cons | 2 | 4 | 25 | 32 | 11 | 8 | 82 |
| Euro-pol | 13 | 5 | 61 | 54 | 71 | 9 | 213 |
| Other | 5 | 2 | 17 | 21 | 26 | 21 | 92 |
| TOTAL | 327 | 58 | 342 | 363 | 195 | 169 | **1454** |
| Rows: policies; columns: justifications  Source: author's data extracted from German Finance Ministers' budgetary speeches for budget years 2010-2020. | | | | | | | | |

Table A4. Share of justifications referring to different policy-types, per government (N=1454)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | Merkel II | Merkel III | Merkel IV |
| Budget general | | 30.43% | 23.40% | 38.83% |
| Expenditure increase | | 5.92% | 28.94% | 28.99% |
| Expenditure general | | 12.83% | 12.98% | 9.04% |
| Expenditure reduction | | 7.07% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| Tax increase | | 1.48% | 0.43% | 2.93% |
| Tax general | | 5.92% | 8.09% | 2.39% |
| Tax reduction | | 0.82% | 0.64% | 0.53% |
| Keynesian packages | | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.93% |
| Neoliberal packages | | 0.49% | 0.00% | 0.00% |
| Fiscal consolidation packages | | 8.39% | 6.60% | 0.00% |
| European policy | | 17.60% | 11.06% | 14.36% |
| Other |  | 9.05% | 7.87% | 0.00% |
| Total |  | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |
| Source: author's data extracted from German Finance Ministers' budgetary speeches for budget years 2010-2020. | | | | |