

## Web Appendix

Table A1: Descriptive Statistics

<i>Variable</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Deficit Growth	270	0.07	0.05	-0.12	0.31
Spending Growth	270	0.03	0.04	-0.12	-0.14
Social Security Spending Growth	270	0.05	0.06	-0.13	0.25
Pre-election Year	270	0.14	0.28	0	1
Inflation (Federal Level)	270	0.55	0.74	-2.30	1.44
Employment (State Level)	270	7.53	0.98	5.90	9.04
GDP Growth Rate (State Level)	270	0.02	0.02	-0.05	0.07
City States	270	0.20	0.40	0	1
Unification	270	0.44	0.50	0	1
1. Oil Crisis	270	0.04	0.19	0	1
2. Oil Crisis	270	0.15	0.36	0	1
Winning Margin (Government)	270	51.83	6.21	31.3	79.7
SPD in Government	270	0.56	0.50	0	1
FDP in Government	270	0.26	0.44	0	1
Grand Coalition	270	0.05	0.21	0	1
Maastricht	270	0.41	0.49	0	1

Table A2: Robustness Check: Election Year

	Deficit	Spending	Social Security
Pre-election Year	-0.021** (0.010)	0.003 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.012)
Maastricht	0.010 (0.024)	-0.062* (0.034)	-0.065* (0.037)
Maastricht*Preelection	0.016 (0.015)	-0.018 (0.015)	0.038** (0.018)
Election Year	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.000 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.006)
Inflation (Federal)	0.002 (0.006)	0.007 (0.009)	0.001 (0.010)
Employment (State)	0.314** (0.086)	0.096 (0.102)	0.570** (0.125)
GDP Growth (State)	-0.361* (0.202)	0.096 (0.292)	-0.485 (0.318)
City States	0.449** (0.027)	0.131** (0.038)	0.792** (0.042)
Unification	-0.019 (0.019)	0.013 (0.037)	-0.042 (0.040)
1. Oil Crisis	0.024* (0.013)	0.036* (0.020)	0.086** (0.022)
2. Oil Crisis	0.003** (0.001)	0.016** (0.002)	0.037** (0.002)
Trend	-0.005 (0.006)	0.001 (0.005)	0.001 (0.006)
Residuals	1.007** (0.008)	0.931** (0.013)	1.015** (0.004)
Constant	-2.265** (0.004)	-0.717** (0.007)	-4.380** (0.008)
Observations	280	240	240
Adjusted R-squared	0.562	0.258	0.323
F	1462**	506.3**	5814**

*Two-Tailed Test* \* =  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.05$

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses*

Table A3: Robustness Check: Post-Election Year

	Deficit	Spending	Social Security
Pre-election Year	-0.019** (0.009)	0.001 (0.009)	0.000 (0.011)
Maastricht	0.010 (0.023)	-0.063* (0.034)	-0.066* (0.038)
Maastricht*Preelection	0.016 (0.015)	-0.017 (0.014)	0.038** (0.018)
Postelection Year	0.006 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.006)
Inflation (Federal)	0.002 (0.006)	0.007 (0.009)	0.001 (0.010)
Employment (State)	0.315** (0.085)	0.096 (0.102)	0.570** (0.126)
GDP Growth (State)	-0.370* (0.200)	0.101 (0.292)	-0.482 (0.319)
City States	0.450** (0.026)	0.130** (0.038)	0.791** (0.042)
Unification	-0.021 (0.018)	0.013 (0.037)	-0.041 (0.040)
1. Oil Crisis	0.024* (0.013)	0.037* (0.020)	0.084** (0.022)
2. Oil Crisis	0.003** (0.001)	0.016** (0.002)	0.036** (0.002)
Trend	-0.005 (0.006)	0.001 (0.005)	0.001 (0.006)
Residuals	1.009** (0.008)	0.924** (0.013)	1.015** (0.004)
Constant	-2.275** (0.004)	-0.710** (0.007)	-4.373** (0.008)
Observations	280	240	240
Adjusted R-squared	0.563	0.259	0.323
F	1536	504.4	5779

*Two-Tailed Test* \*= $p < 0.1$ , \*\*= $p < 0.05$

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses*

Table A4: Robustness Check: Coalition Governments

	Deficit	Spending	Social Security
Pre-election Year	-0.021** (0.009)	0.002 (0.010)	0.000 (0.012)
Maastricht	0.008 (0.024)	-0.064* (0.034)	-0.069* (0.036)
Maastricht*Preelection	0.018 (0.014)	-0.015 (0.015)	0.040** (0.018)
SPD	0.001 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.018* (0.009)
SPD, FDP	0.012 (0.008)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.009)
CDU, FDP	0.012 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.012)
SPD, Gruene	0.002 (0.014)	-0.008 (0.016)	-0.026 (0.019)
Grand Coalition	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)
Inflation (Federal)	0.002 (0.006)	0.007 (0.009)	0.001 (0.010)
Employment (State)	0.268** (0.088)	0.103 (0.113)	0.652** (0.141)
GDP Growth (State)	-0.384* (0.201)	0.088 (0.290)	-0.484 (0.309)
City States	0.387** (0.027)	0.143** (0.038)	0.910** (0.041)
Unification	-0.016 (0.019)	0.015 (0.037)	-0.043 (0.039)
1. Oil Crisis	0.023* (0.013)	0.034* (0.020)	0.079** (0.021)
2. Oil Crisis	0.002* (0.001)	0.015** (0.002)	0.035** (0.002)
Trend	-0.005 (0.007)	0.001 (0.010)	0.001 (0.011)
Residuals	1.015** (0.010)	0.914** (0.012)	1.005** (0.004)
Constant	-1.916** (0.004)	-0.766** (0.007)	-5.006** (0.008)
Observations	280	240	240
Adjusted R-squared	0.563	0.247	0.331
F	842.2**	430.8**	5615**

*Two-Tailed Test* \* =  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.05$

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses*

Table A5: Robustness Check: Partisanship of the Federal Government

	Deficit	Spending	Social Security
Pre-election Year	-0.020** (0.009)	-0.000 (0.009)	0.002 (0.012)
Maastricht	-0.003 (0.023)	-0.062* (0.035)	-0.081** (0.038)
Maastricht*Preelection	0.017 (0.014)	-0.012 (0.014)	0.039** (0.018)
SPD in Government	0.004 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.006)
FDP in Government	0.005 (0.014)	0.004 (0.013)	0.002 (0.016)
Grand Coalition	-0.008 (0.038)	-0.001 (0.058)	0.020 (0.063)
SPD, FDP (Federal)	0.015 (0.016)	0.042* (0.025)	0.033 (0.028)
SPD (Federal)	0.014** (0.002)	-0.027** (0.003)	0.004 (0.004)
Inflation (Federal)	0.003 (0.006)	0.006 (0.009)	0.002 (0.010)
Employment (State)	0.254** (0.087)	0.057 (0.107)	0.589** (0.136)
GDP Growth (State)	-0.503** (0.201)	0.060 (0.300)	-0.643* (0.328)
City States	0.365** (0.026)	0.080** (0.040)	0.815** (0.043)
Unification	-0.026 (0.019)	0.005 (0.039)	-0.051 (0.042)
1. Oil Crisis	0.014 (0.018)	0.042 (0.029)	0.065** (0.031)
2. Oil Crisis	-0.015** (0.005)	0.013** (0.005)	0.012** (0.006)
Trend	-0.004 (0.006)	0.003 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)
Residuals	1.029** (0.011)	0.964** (0.022)	0.996** (0.004)
Constant	-1.833** (0.004)	-0.447** (0.007)	-4.551** (0.008)
Observations	280	240	240
Adjusted R-squared	0.582	0.269	0.336
F	1054**	227.2**	4170**

*Two-Tailed Test* \* =  $p < 0.1$ , \*\* =  $p < 0.05$

*Robust standard errors are in parentheses*

Table A6: Robustness Check: Partisanship and Budget Cycles

	Deficit	Spending	Social Security
Pre-election Year	-0.017* (0.010)	-0.001 (0.010)	0.008 (0.013)
Preelection*SPD	-0.009 (0.017)	0.006 (0.017)	-0.015 (0.022)
Maastricht	0.001 (0.016)	-0.054** (0.026)	-0.090** (0.028)
Maastricht*Preelection	0.020 (0.018)	-0.019 (0.020)	0.044* (0.024)
Inflation (Federal)	0.001 (0.006)	0.008 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.010)
Employment (State)	0.245** (0.089)	0.115 (0.121)	0.539** (0.146)
GDP Growth (State)	-0.369* (0.204)	0.070 (0.291)	-0.451 (0.321)
City States	0.355** (0.019)	0.158** (0.037)	0.751** (0.040)
1. Oil Crisis	0.023* (0.013)	0.035* (0.020)	0.082** (0.022)
2. Oil Crisis	0.002 (0.006)	0.016** (0.007)	0.036** (0.008)
SPD in Government	-0.000 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.006)
FDP in Government	0.008 (0.014)	0.004 (0.014)	0.004 (0.017)
Grand Coalition	-0.006** (0.001)	0.003* (0.002)	0.016** (0.002)
Trend	-0.006 (0.006)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.000 (0.006)
Residuals	0.998** (0.011)	0.965** (0.011)	1.005** (0.004)
Constant	-1.730** (0.004)	-0.864** (0.007)	-4.127** (0.008)
Conditional Coefficient	-0.025 (0.016)	0.005 (0.018)	-0.007 (0.021)
Observations	280	240	240
Adjusted R-squared	0.560	0.249	0.310
F	630.0**	602.4**	3563**

*Two-Tailed Test* \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; Robust standard errors are in parentheses