

## *Government and Opposition*

# Conviction or Consent? Tracing the Influence of Coalition Partners on Family Policy under Centre-Right Ministers

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## Supplementary Material

### A.1 Complete list of interviews

Below we provide the complete list of interviews conducted for this study. We list the interviews for each case in chronological order. The interview code we use to refer to the interview through the paper follows this logic: we either use the party acronym followed by a number (such as SPD\_1); or specify the country (ES or DE) followed by a code to refer to an expert (Exp), Catholic organization (Church), or feminist organization representative (Fem), such as (ES\_Exp1). In the table below we note the relevant information about the respondent's position, respecting their anonymity in case they requested so. We also indicate the date the interview was conducted.

**Table A.1. Interviews conducted for the German case.**

Code	Position	Conducted
FDP_1	FDP Member of Family Policy Committee (2005 – 2009), Bundestag; FDP Parliamentary Group	May 2023
DL_1	Advisor to Die Linke Member of Family Policy Committee (2005 – 2009), Bundestag; Die Linke Parliamentary Group	May 2023
DE_Exp	Economist and Regular Advisor to the Ministry of Family Affairs; Expert in Family Policy Committee Expert Hearing, Bundestag	May 2023
DE_Church	Catholic Interest Group Representative	May 2023
SPD_1	Advisor to SPD Member of Family Policy Committee (2005 – 2009), Bundestag; SPD Parliamentary Group	May 2023

SPD_2	Advisor of the SPD Parliamentary Group in charge of preparing the coalition negotiations on family policy in 2005	September 2023
CDU_1	Federal Minister of Family Affairs (2009 – 2013), member of CDU.	October 2023
CSU_1	Family Policy Spokesperson of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group (2005 – 2009), member of CSU	October 2023

**Table A.2. Interviews conducted for the Spanish case.**

Code	Position	Conducted
Cs_1	Head of the Cs' economic office, program coordinator, and negotiator for the government formation agreement in 2016.	January 2023
ES_Exp1	Expert in family policy in Spain and member of PiiNA.	March 2023
Cs_2	Advisor to Cs economics policy officer, also member of Cs.	April 2023
PSOE_1	Secretary General of Equality between 2004 and 2008, from PSOE.	April 2023
ES_Fem	President of the Platform for Leaves Equalization (PiiNA) between 2007 and 2019.	April 2023
ES_Exp2	Expert in family policy in Spain, frequent consultant to PSOE.	June 2023
PP_1	President of the Equality Commission (2011 – 2015), member of PP.	August 2023
PP_2	Minister of employment (2015 – 2018), member of PP, negotiator for the government formation agreement in 2016.	August 2023

## **A.2 Political position of CDU, SPD, PP and Cs**

The figures below depict the political positions of CDU, SPD, PP, and Cs on issues relevant to family policy reform. The data is sourced from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES), which collects expert opinions on party positions across various political matters. CHES has published six waves on European politics until now, spanning from 1999 to 2019. The earliest CHES waves (1999 and 2002) lack the more detailed policy positions that have been incorporated from 2006 onwards. However, they include 'Galtan' dimension (green-alternative-libertarian versus traditional-authoritarian-nationalist).

Galtan includes parties' stances on social and cultural values, including civil liberties, abortion, gender equality, and traditional morality (Figure A.1.1). Therefore, it can be used as a proxy for leave reform. Meanwhile, figures A.1.2 to A.1.4 offer a more detailed look at policy positions related to leave reform such as social lifestyle liberalism and the role of religious principles in politics, although the data represents a period posterior to the CDU 2006 reform.

Two main ideas can be drawn from these figures. Firstly, figures A.1.1 to A.1.4 consistently show that the PP and the CDU have held more traditional positions than Cs and the SPD. This apparent conservatism contrasts with the progressive reforms examined in this study. Conversely, Cs and, notably, SPD, have been perceived as more progressive. This reinforces the idea that progressive leave reforms were unexpected for PP and CDU, while Cs and SPD could be potential advocates if they gain influence.

Secondly, experts surveyed do not observe ideational change from CDU or PP prior to the implementation of the reform under study. The CDU is even considered to become more conservative between 1999 and 2006, a year before Elterngeld was approved. The position of the PP is overall stable. This challenges the idea that conservative parties' ideational change led them to purposefully introduce progressive reforms, contributing to the alternative hypothesis that these parties rather consented to progressive reforms proposed by others. Moreover, CDU is perceived by experts to become more progressive in social lifestyle between 2006 and 2012, pointing out to the relevance of the progressive reforms introduced in ministries controlled by the CDU during this period.

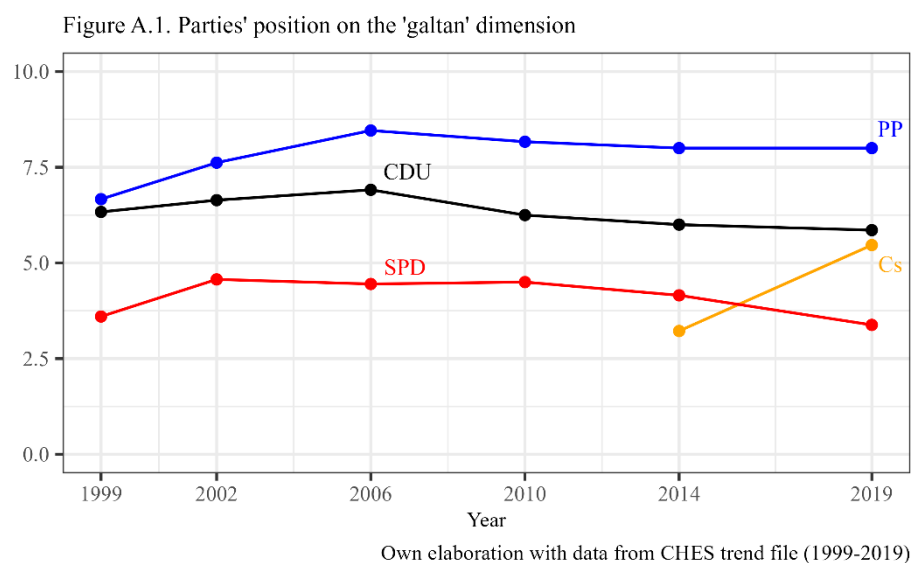
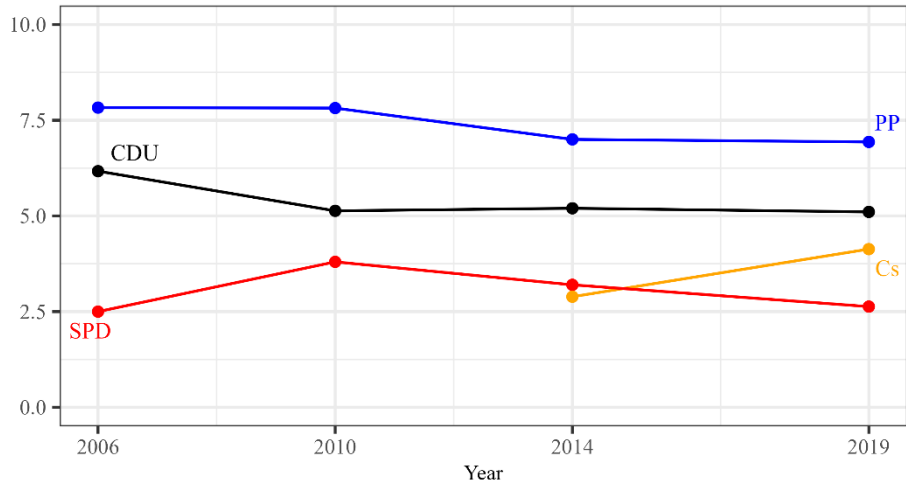
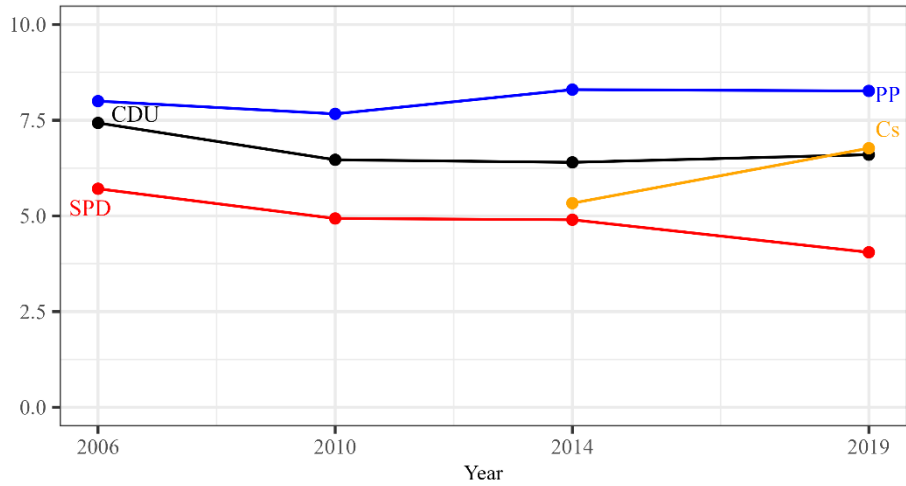


Figure A.2. Parties' position on liberalism in social lifestyle (e.g. gender equality)



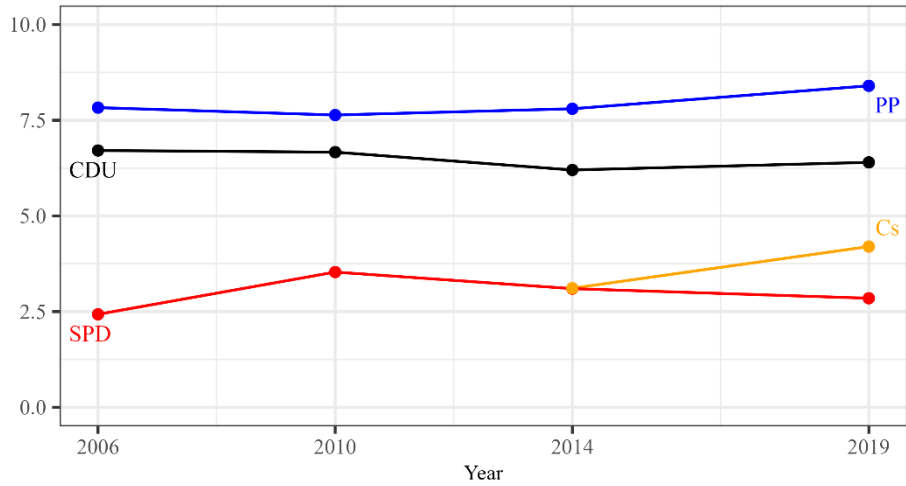
Own elaboration with data from CHES trend file (1999-2019)

Figure A.3. Parties' position on civil liberties versus law and order



Own elaboration with data from CHES trend file (1999-2019)

Figure A.4. Parties' agreement with the role of religious principles in politics



Own elaboration with data from CHES trend file (1999-2019)