Replication package “for Laying Down the Principles:

How Local Socialist Achievements Spurred National Bourgeois Support for Non-Contributory Pensions”

Magnus B. Rasmussen & Carl Henrik Knutsen

World Politics

Overview

This replication package contains two folders with two files each (in total, two STATA do-files and two .dta files). The folder “local pension” contains the data (**municipality_results_data**) in municipality year format and the do-file necessary (municipality_results_do) to re-create results on local old-age pension. Similarly, the folder “national pensions” contains the data (**Roll_call_results_data**) in person-rollcall format and the do-file (roll_call_results_do) necessary to replicate the results. For both do-files, it is necessary to specify where the dataset is located in the do file (under use "filepath here") for them to run. It is also necessary to download the package “estout” by running the code “findit estout” and selecting the package for download.

Data sources:

Data on local pensions and local elected representatives is taken from Rasmussen & Skorge (2023). Additional data on sector employment and turnout is from Skorge (2023) and poor relief spending is from Gjerløw & Rasmussen (2022).

Data on rollcalls are taken from Rasmussen (2022), which is based on the author’s own coding and combined with biographic information on MPs from the NSD Roll-call archive (NSD, not dated). In addition, we have coded election results manually from SSB’s (1922) election statistics.

Variable list Roll_call_results_data: see the main paper (Rasmussen & Knutsen 2024) for more encompassing information or the specific data-sources.

NSD: unique roll-call votes codes from NSD (not dated).

periode: unique election period codes from NSD (not dated).

Valgdistrikt_kode: unique electoral district codes from NSD (not dated).

vote_all_1lessgenerous: dependent variable, takes the value 1 if MP voted against non-contributory pensions or pensions in general from Rasmussen (2022).

prog: variable indicating what type of welfare program is being voted on, with eight categories: 1 Unemployment; 2 Sickness benefits; 3 Accident insurance;4 Child protection and poor relief;5 Employment protection; 8 Social Housing. (From Rasmussen 2022).

pension_percentB: share of municipalities in electoral district with old-age pensions. from Rasmussen & Skorge (2023)

parti_kode: party codes from NSD (not dated). see parti_navn for more information.

elite: dummy that takes the value 1 if MP is from the elite parties (see main paper for categorization) and 0 if not.

old_subsidies: dummy that takes the value 1 if the rollcall vote is on state subsidies for local pensions and 0 if not.

old_national: dummy that takes the value 1 if the rollcall vote is on national old-age pension program and 0 if not.

fem_mob: share of eligible women that voted. (female_vote/eligble_women). Coded from SSB (1922).

turnout: share of eligible voter that voted. (total_vote/ eligble_vote). Coded from SSB (1922).

sos_perc: percentage of voters that voted for a socialist party, combining votes for the communist Det Norske Arbeiderparti and the social democratic Det Norske Sosial Semokratiske Parti (sos_dem_vote+sos_vote)/total_vote. coded from SSB (1922)

occupation dummies: dummies that takes the value of 1 if the MP is either of the categories below and 0 if not from NSD (not dated). Farmer, Landowners, teacher, major_merchant, minor_merchant, Landowners, state_official.

Virkested1_landsdel: MPs primary region of economic engagement as coded by the NSD (not dated).

Utdanning: MPs education as coded by the NSD based on their 20 categories scheme (not dated).

Variable list municipality_results_data: see the main paper (Rasmussen & Knutsen 2024) for more encompassing information or the specific data-sources.

year: year indicator

muni: unique electoral district codes from NSD (not dated).

county: unique county code

turnout: share of turnout in local election from Skorge (2023).

Share of total employees in different economic sectors from Skorge (2023): (agriculture and forestry is reference category)

occupindupct: share occupied in industry.

occupservicepct: share occupaid in services.

occupseapct: share occupied in seafaring sector (includes fishing).

popdens: population density from Skorge (2023).

utgifter_totalt: total expenditures on poor relief from Gjerløw & Rasmussen (2022).

Party share measures: share of municipality representatives elected by specific party or party group following the criteria of Rasmussen & Skorge (see also Appendix A2. Notes on Norwegian party and local list classification in Rasmussen & Knutsen 2024).

socialist_share: Socialist share.

workerdemos_share: Worker Democrat share.

farmers_share: Agrarian Party share.

liberal_share: Liberal Party share.

conservative_share: Conservative parties share.

temperance_share: Share of representatives elected on Temperance list.

local_share: Share of Non-programmatic elected representatives.

old_age_pension: Dependent variable 1. takes the value 1 if the municipality has enacted a pension and 0 if not. From Rasmussen & Knutsen (2024)

old_age_number: Dependent variable 2. The number of old-age pension programs enacted by the municipality. From Rasmussen & Knutsen (2024)

exit: indicator that takes the value 1 if the municipality can be dropped from the sample since it implemented a pension.

election_period: variable defining each election period.

References

Gjerløw, H., and M. B. Rasmussen. 2022. "Revolution, Elite Fear, and Electoral Institutions." *Comparative Politics* 54, no. 4: 595–619. doi:10.5129/001041522X16316387001621

NSD (not dated). Politikerarkivet 1814-d.d.. Politikerarkiv 1814-d.d. - NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata (sikt.no)

Rasmussen, M. B. (2022). Farmers and the Origin of the Welfare State: Evidence from 308 Roll Call Votes between 1882 and 1940. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 45(2), 202-226.

Rasmussen, M. B., and Ø. S. Skorge. 2023. "Partiaization How National Programmatic Parties Took Hold of Local Politics." Paper presented at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland, June 27-29.

Skorge, Ø. S. 2023. "Mobilizing the Underrepresented: Electoral Systems and Gender Inequality in Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 3: 538–552. doi:10.1111/ajps.12654

SSB (1922). Stortingsvalget 1921.Norges Offesiele statistikk vii 066. Kristiania: Aschehoug & CO.