Supplementary Information for the paper "Does Government Support Respond to Governments' Social Welfare <u>Rhetoric</u> or their <u>Spending</u>?"

We report the parameter estimates on the robustness checks described in the main text of the paper.

- Table S1 reports parameter estimates for an economic effects model that includes the misery index (the sum of unemployment and inflation), estimated over all governments (column 1); left-wing governments (column 2); and right-wing governments (column 3). Note that the parameter estimates in column 1 of Table S1 are identical to those we report in column 1 in Table 3 in the main text of the paper. All three sets of estimates support the conclusion that social welfare spending depresses subsequent government support, i.e., the coefficient estimate on the [government welfare spending (t 1)] variable is negative and significant in each case.
- Table S2 reports parameter estimates for the model that controls for the (levels and changes in) the <u>generosity index</u> (defined in the main text of the paper), estimated over all governments (column 1); left-wing governments (column 2); and right-wing governments (column 3). Note that the parameter estimates in column 1 of this table are identical to those we report in column 2 in Table 3 in the main text of the paper. All three sets of estimates again support the substantive conclusion that social welfare spending depresses subsequent government support, i.e., the coefficient estimate on the [generosity index (t 1)] variable is negative in each case.
- Table S3 reports models estimated over all parties, in which we omit the data from one country at a time. Column 1 reports results with the US data omitted; column 2 reports estimates with the British data omitted; column 3 reports results with Spanish data omitted. All three sets of estimates continue to support our substantive conclusions.
- Table S4 reports models estimated over all parties, where we include an additional control for lagged government social welfare speech interacted with current social welfare spending (col-umn 1); where we include separate controls for unemployment and inflation, in place of the misery index (column 2); where we control for the time to the next election, defined as the *election cycles* variable (column 3); where we lag government welfare speech and spending by two years, rather than by one year (column 4). All four sets of estimates continue to support our substantive conclusions.

	All Governments	Left-wing Governments	Right-wing governments
	(1)	(2)	(3)
government support $(t-1)$	-0.41**	-0.65**	-0.37*
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.15)
$\Delta govt.$ welfare speech (t)	0.03	-0.12	0.06
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.23)
<i>govt. welfare speech</i> $(t-1)$	-0.03	-0.21*	-0.10
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.23)
$\Delta govt.$ welfare spending (t)	-0.89	-1.59	-1.80
	(0.88)	(0.99)	(1.35)
govt. welfare spending $(t-1)$	-1.53**	-2.44**	-2.14**
	(0.40)	(0.46)	(0.75)
$\Delta misery index (t)$	-0.49	-0.36	0.31
	(0.40)	(0.49)	(0.68)
misery index $(t-1)$	-0.22*	-0.51**	0.43
	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.28)
Intercept	46.24**	80.9**	47.0**
	(11.49)	(14.8)	(18.2)
Ν	79	38	41
R^2	0.28	0.52	0.30

Table S1. Economic Effects: Results for Left-wing and Right-wing Governments

** $p \le 0.01$, * $p \le 0.05$, two-tailed tests.

<u>Notes</u>. Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses. For these analyses the dependent variable, $[\Delta government support (t)]$, is the change in the government's support in the current year compared to the previous year. The independent variables are defined in the text.

	All	Left-wing	Right-wing	
	Governments	Governments	governments	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
government support (t – 1)	-0.24* (0.10)	-0.34** (0.12)	-0.21 (0.15)	
$\Delta govt.$ welfare speech (t)	0.05	0.02	0.03	
	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.25)	
govt. welfare speech (t – 1)	-0.01	-0.02	-0.08	
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.28)	
Δ generosity index (t)	-0.19	-0.11	0.03	
	(0.88)	(1.07)	(1.68)	
generosity index $(t-1)$	-0.60**	-0.91**	-0.70	
	(0.23)	(0.26)	(0.46)	
∆misery index (t)	-0.73	-1.12*	0.24	
	(0.42)	(0.52)	(0.86)	
misery index (t – 1)	-0.04	-0.03	0.52	
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.38)	
Intercept	24.55*	38.47**	20.31	
	(9.83)	(12.67)	(14.4)	
$\frac{N}{R^2}$	76	35	41	
	0.16	0.40	0.14	

Table S2. Estimates for the Generosity Index: Left-wing and Right-wing Governments

** $p \le 0.01$, * $p \le 0.05$, two-tailed tests.

<u>Notes</u>. Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses. For these analyses the dependent variable, $[\Delta government support (t)]$, is the change in the government's support in the current year compared to the previous year. The independent variables are defined in the text.

	US Data	UK Data	Spanish Data
	Removed	Removed	Removed
	(1)	(2)	(3)
government support $(t-1)$	-0.42** (0.10)	-0.43**	-0.37**
$\Delta govt.$ welfare speech (t)	0.05 (0.06)	(0.13) 0.02 (0.10)	(0.11) 0.05 (0.15)
<i>govt. welfare speech</i> $(t-1)$	0.02	-0.06	-0.00
	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.16)
$\Delta govt.$ welfare spending (t)	-0.62	-1.52	-0.81
	(0.81)	(1.49)	(1.12)
<i>govt. welfare spending</i> $(t-1)$	-1.03*	-1.58**	-1.53**
	(0.42)	(.49)	(0.47)
$\Delta misery index (t)$	-0.36	-0.37	-0.57
	(0.34)	(0.55)	(0.70)
misery index $(t-1)$	-0.21*	-0.27*	0.00
	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.26)
Intercept	35.97**	49.58**	41.78**
	(11.63)	(14.34)	(14.08)
N	51	51	56
R ²	0.31	0.29	0.29

Table S3. Estimates While Omitting One Country at a Time

** $p\!\leq\!0.01$, * $p\!\leq\!0.05$, two-tailed tests.

<u>Notes</u>. Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses. For these analyses the dependent variable, $[\Delta government \ support \ (t)]$, is the change in the government's support in the current year compared to the previous year. The independent variables are defined in the text.

	Speech × Spending	Separate Unempl. & Infl.	Election cycles (3)	Two-Year Lags (4)
	(1)	(2)		
government support $(t-1)$	039**	-0.41**	-0.42**	-0.35**
government support (t 1)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Δ govt. welfare speech (t)	0.03	0.04	0.03	(0.11)
ддол. weijare speech (l)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	
govt. welfare speech $(t-1)$	-0.56	0.00	-0.04	
sour wegare speech (i 1)	(0.62)	(0.11)	(0.10)	
Δ govt. welfare spending (t)	-1.63	-1.65	-0.74	
$\Delta govi.$ weight e spending (i)	(1.06)	(1.14)	(0.94)	
govt. welfare spending (t – 1)	-1.88**	-1.45**	-1.56**	
sore weight spending $(i-1)$	(0.56)	(0.45)	(0.41)	
govt. welfare speech (t – 1)	0.03	(0.13)	(0.11)	
\times govt. welfare speech (i = 1) \times govt. welfare spending (t)	(0.03)			
	-0.46		-0.45	-0.30
$\Delta misery index (t)$				
······································	(0.40) -0.22*		(0.41) -0.24*	(0.36) -0.12
misery index $(t-1)$				
	(0.09)	-0.15	(0.10)	(0.09)
Δ unemployment (t)				
		(0.54) -0.29*		
unemployment (t-1)				
		(0.14) -0.62		
Δ inflation (t)		-0.62 (0.59)		
· // . · // 1)		0.48		
inflation $(t-1)$				
		(0.48)	-0.38	
Election cycle (t)			(0.57)	
A cout welfand an coch h			(0.57)	0.00
∆govt. welfare speech be-				(0.00)
tween				(0.07)
(t-2) and (t)				
govt. welfare speech $(t-2)$				0.01
				(0.10)
$\Delta govt.$ welfare spending be-				-1.34*
tween $(t-2)$ and (t)				(0.54)
govt. welfare spending $(t-2)$				-1.23**
				(0.47)
Intercept	51.94**	44.93**	48.81**	36.51**
	(13.36)	(12.40)	(12.51)	(13.53)
N	79	79	79	69
R^2	0.29	0.28	0.28	0.22

Table S4. Analyses of Government Support: Additional Robustness Checks

** $p \le 0.01$; * $p \le 0.05$; two-tailed tests.

<u>Notes</u>. Panel-corrected standard errors in parentheses. For these analyses the dependent variable, $[\Delta government \ support \ (t)]$, was the change in the government's support in the current year compared to the previous year. The independent variables are defined in the text.