

The Most Unkindest Cuts:
Speaker Selection and Expressed Government Dissent
During Economic Crisis

– Online Appendix –

Alexander Herzog
Clemson University
aherzog@clemson.edu

Kenneth Benoit
London School of Economics
and Trinity College Dublin
kbenoit@lse.ac.uk

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B Results from Bayesian Analysis

Table B1: Multilevel probit model of speaker selection in budget debates, 1987–2013.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	-0.90 [-1.78; -0.04]	-0.78 [-1.69; 0.11]	-0.91 [-1.80; -0.04]
Constituency unemployment	0.08 [0.02; 0.15]	0.19 [0.10; 0.28]	0.14 [0.03; 0.27]
Electoral safety	0.00 [-0.05; 0.06]	0.01 [-0.05; 0.07]	0.02 [-0.07; 0.11]
Legislative seniority	-0.22 [-0.28; -0.16]	-0.22 [-0.28; -0.15]	-0.23 [-0.30; -0.17]
Party leader	1.56 [1.22; 1.91]	1.62 [1.28; 1.95]	1.62 [1.29; 1.97]
Government	-0.40 [-0.53; -0.27]	-0.40 [-0.53; -0.27]	-0.35 [-0.48; -0.21]
Cabinet member	0.69 [0.55; 0.83]	0.69 [0.54; 0.84]	0.73 [0.58; 0.87]
Party size (log)	-0.06 [-0.14; 0.02]	-0.05 [-0.14; 0.03]	-0.02 [-0.09; 0.05]
Debate days (log)	0.34 [0.25; 0.42]	0.26 [0.15; 0.35]	0.25 [0.14; 0.35]
Crisis	-0.06 [-0.22; 0.11]	0.04 [-0.13; 0.20]	0.37 [0.10; 0.62]
Const. unemployment x Crisis		-0.29 [-0.44; -0.15]	-0.30 [-0.49; -0.11]
Electoral safety x Crisis		-0.06 [-0.18; 0.07]	0.13 [-0.11; 0.35]
Government x Crisis			-0.56 [-0.90; -0.24]
Const. unemployment x Government			0.09 [-0.04; 0.21]
Electoral safety x Government			-0.03 [-0.14; 0.08]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis			-0.00 [-0.24; 0.25]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis			-0.17 [-0.44; 0.11]
μ_α	-0.90 [-1.24; -0.57]	-0.78 [-1.09; -0.38]	-0.91 [-1.22; -0.57]
σ_α	0.62 [0.54; 0.70]	0.64 [0.56; 0.72]	0.64 [0.56; 0.73]
N obs.	4333	4333	4333
N legislators	444	444	444

Table B2: Multilevel linear regression of position taking in budget debates, 1987–2013.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	-0.28 [-0.43; -0.13]	-0.27 [-0.42; -0.12]	-0.27 [-0.43; -0.12]
Constituency unemployment	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.01]	-0.01 [-0.02; 0.01]	-0.01 [-0.03; 0.01]
Electoral safety	-0.01 [-0.02; 0.01]	-0.00 [-0.02; 0.01]	-0.00 [-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.00]	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.00]	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.00]
Government	0.18 [0.15; 0.21]	0.18 [0.14; 0.21]	0.18 [0.15; 0.21]
Cabinet member	0.30 [0.26; 0.34]	0.31 [0.27; 0.34]	0.31 [0.27; 0.35]
Crisis	0.02 [-0.02; 0.05]	0.03 [-0.00; 0.07]	0.04 [-0.01; 0.10]
Const. unemployment x Crisis		-0.04 [-0.07; -0.02]	-0.03 [-0.07; 0.01]
Electoral safety x Crisis		-0.01 [-0.05; 0.02]	-0.00 [-0.05; 0.05]
Government x Crisis			-0.02 [-0.09; 0.06]
Const. unemployment x Government			0.01 [-0.02; 0.04]
Electoral safety x Government			-0.01 [-0.03; 0.02]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis			-0.03 [-0.08; 0.02]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis			-0.02 [-0.08; 0.04]
μ_α	-0.28 [-0.30; -0.26]	-0.27 [-0.30; -0.25]	-0.27 [-0.30; -0.25]
σ_α	0.11 [0.10; 0.13]	0.11 [0.10; 0.13]	0.11 [0.10; 0.13]
σ	0.18 [0.18; 0.19]	0.18 [0.18; 0.19]	0.18 [0.18; 0.19]
N obs.	1430	1430	1430
N legislators	317	317	317

Table B3: Multilevel selection model of speaker selection and position taking in budget debates, 1987–2013.

	Speaker selection	Position taking
Intercept	-0.95 [-1.88; -0.02]	-0.25 [-0.43; -0.08]
Constituency unemployment	0.14 [0.03; 0.26]	-0.02 [-0.04; 0.00]
Electoral safety	0.01 [-0.08; 0.09]	-0.00 [-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority	-0.23 [-0.29; -0.16]	-0.01 [-0.03; 0.00]
Party leader	1.64 [1.31; 2.00]	
Government	-0.36 [-0.50; -0.21]	0.18 [0.15; 0.21]
Cabinet member	0.73 [0.57; 0.88]	0.30 [0.27; 0.34]
Party size (log)	-0.01 [-0.12; 0.08]	
Debate days (log)	0.26 [0.14; 0.36]	
Crisis	0.37 [0.11; 0.61]	0.04 [-0.00; 0.09]
Const. unemployment x Crisis	-0.30 [-0.51; -0.09]	-0.03 [-0.07; 0.01]
Electoral safety x Crisis	0.15 [-0.07; 0.37]	-0.00 [-0.05; 0.04]
Government x Crisis	-0.56 [-0.88; -0.24]	-0.00 [-0.08; 0.07]
Const. unemployment x Government	0.08 [-0.05; 0.22]	0.01 [-0.02; 0.04]
Electoral safety x Government	-0.02 [-0.13; 0.09]	-0.00 [-0.03; 0.02]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis	0.00 [-0.26; 0.25]	-0.03 [-0.08; 0.03]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis	-0.19 [-0.46; 0.07]	-0.02 [-0.08; 0.04]
$\mu_{\alpha}^{\text{sel}}$	-0.94 [-1.35; -0.51]	
$\sigma_{\alpha}^{\text{sel}}$	0.64 [0.56; 0.73]	
$\mu_{\alpha}^{\text{out}}$		-0.25 [-0.29; -0.21]
$\sigma_{\alpha}^{\text{out}}$		0.11 [0.10; 0.13]
σ		0.18 [0.18; 0.19]
ρ		-0.15 [-0.33; 0.05]
N obs.	4333	4333
N legislators	444	444
N speakers	317	317

C Results from Maximum Likelihood Analysis

Figure C1 and Table C1 replicate the Bayesian multilevel probit models (Figure 2 in the paper and Table B1 in Appendix B) with maximum likelihood estimation, which yields results that are identical to those reported in the paper.

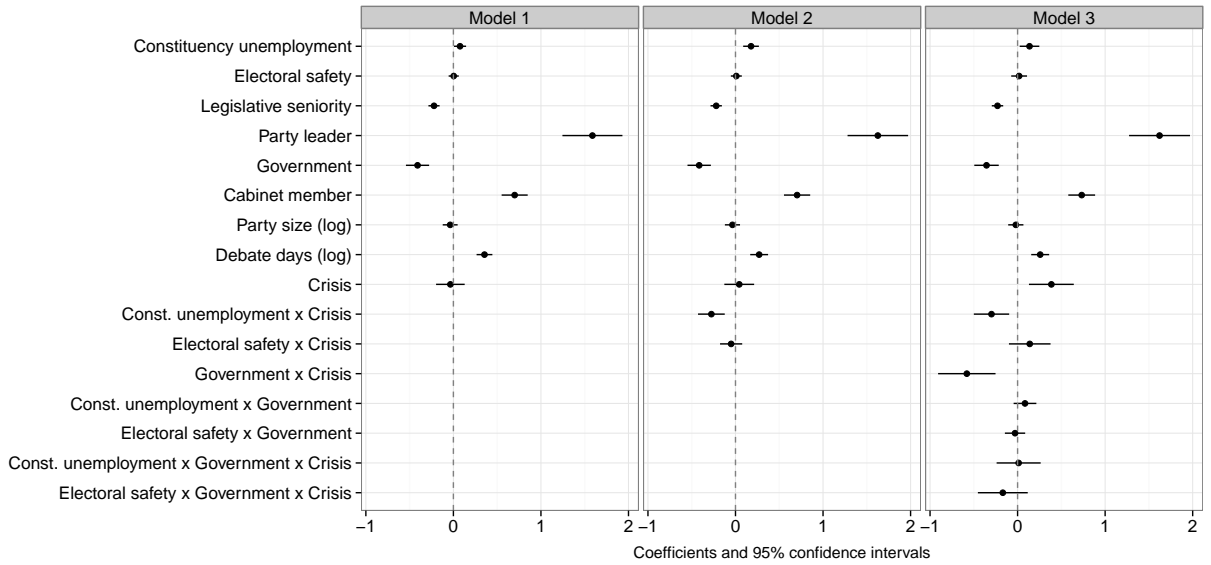


Figure C1: Coefficient plots for multilevel probit models of speaker selection estimated with ML. Continuous measures are z-transformed.

Table C1: Multilevel probit model of speaker selection in budget debates, 1987–2013, estimated with ML.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	-1.01 [-1.34; -0.67]	-0.85 [-1.20; -0.50]	-0.92 [-1.27; -0.56]
Constituency unemployment	0.08 [0.01; 0.14]	0.18 [0.09; 0.27]	0.14 [0.02; 0.25]
Electoral safety	0.00 [-0.05; 0.06]	0.01 [-0.05; 0.07]	0.02 [-0.07; 0.11]
Legislative seniority	-0.22 [-0.29; -0.16]	-0.22 [-0.29; -0.16]	-0.23 [-0.29; -0.16]
Party leader	1.59 [1.25; 1.93]	1.63 [1.28; 1.97]	1.62 [1.27; 1.97]
Government	-0.41 [-0.54; -0.28]	-0.41 [-0.55; -0.28]	-0.35 [-0.49; -0.22]
Cabinet member	0.70 [0.55; 0.85]	0.70 [0.55; 0.85]	0.73 [0.58; 0.89]
Party size (log)	-0.04 [-0.12; 0.05]	-0.03 [-0.12; 0.05]	-0.02 [-0.11; 0.07]
Debate days (log)	0.35 [0.26; 0.45]	0.27 [0.17; 0.37]	0.26 [0.16; 0.36]
Crisis	-0.03 [-0.20; 0.13]	0.04 [-0.13; 0.21]	0.39 [0.13; 0.64]
Const. unemployment x Crisis		-0.28 [-0.43; -0.12]	-0.30 [-0.50; -0.10]
Electoral safety x Crisis		-0.05 [-0.18; 0.08]	0.14 [-0.10; 0.38]
Government x Crisis			-0.58 [-0.91; -0.25]
Const. unemployment x Government			0.08 [-0.05; 0.21]
Electoral safety x Government			-0.03 [-0.15; 0.09]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis			0.01 [-0.24; 0.26]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis			-0.17 [-0.45; 0.12]
N obs.	4333	4333	4333
N legislators	444	444	444

Figure C2 and Table C2 replicate the Bayesian multilevel linear regression models (Figure 7 in the paper and Table B2 in Appendix B) with maximum likelihood estimation, which yields results that are identical to those reported in the paper.

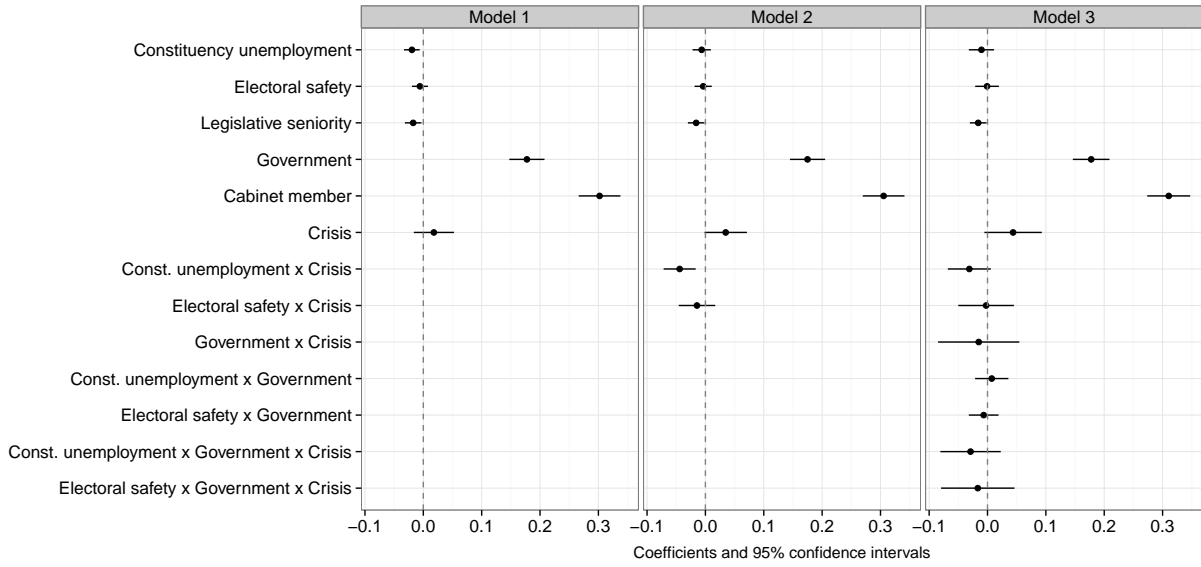


Figure C2: Coefficient plots for multilevel linear regression models of position taking estimated with ML. Continuous measures are z-transformed.

Table C2: Multilevel linear regression of position taking in budget debates, 1987–2013, estimated with ML.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	-0.28 [-0.30; -0.25]	-0.27 [-0.30; -0.25]	-0.27 [-0.30; -0.25]
Constituency unemployment	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.01]	-0.01 [-0.02; 0.01]	-0.01 [-0.03; 0.01]
Electoral safety	-0.01 [-0.02; 0.01]	-0.00 [-0.02; 0.01]	-0.00 [-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.00]	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.00]	-0.02 [-0.03; -0.00]
Government	0.18 [0.15; 0.21]	0.17 [0.14; 0.21]	0.18 [0.15; 0.21]
Cabinet member	0.30 [0.27; 0.34]	0.31 [0.27; 0.34]	0.31 [0.27; 0.35]
Crisis	0.02 [-0.02; 0.05]	0.03 [-0.00; 0.07]	0.04 [-0.01; 0.09]
Const. unemployment x Crisis		-0.04 [-0.07; -0.02]	-0.03 [-0.07; 0.01]
Electoral safety x Crisis		-0.01 [-0.05; 0.02]	-0.00 [-0.05; 0.05]
Government x Crisis			-0.02 [-0.08; 0.05]
Const. unemployment x Government			0.01 [-0.02; 0.04]
Electoral safety x Government			-0.01 [-0.03; 0.02]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis			-0.03 [-0.08; 0.02]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis			-0.02 [-0.08; 0.05]
N obs.	1430	1430	1430
N legislators	317	317	317

Figure C3 and Table C3 replicate the Bayesian sample selection model (Figure 9 in the paper and Table B3 in Appendix B) with maximum likelihood estimation. The model reported in the paper includes varying intercepts for legislators. Because hierarchical sample selection models are not implemented in standard statistical software packages, we here report results from the non-hierarchical sample selection model estimated with maximum likelihood. Despite this difference in model specification, the results are very similar to those reported in the paper.

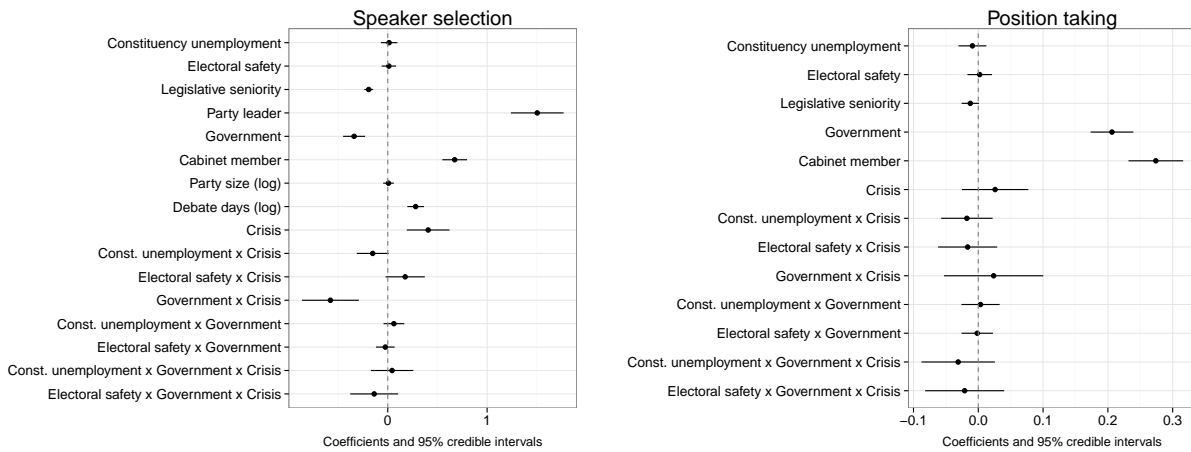


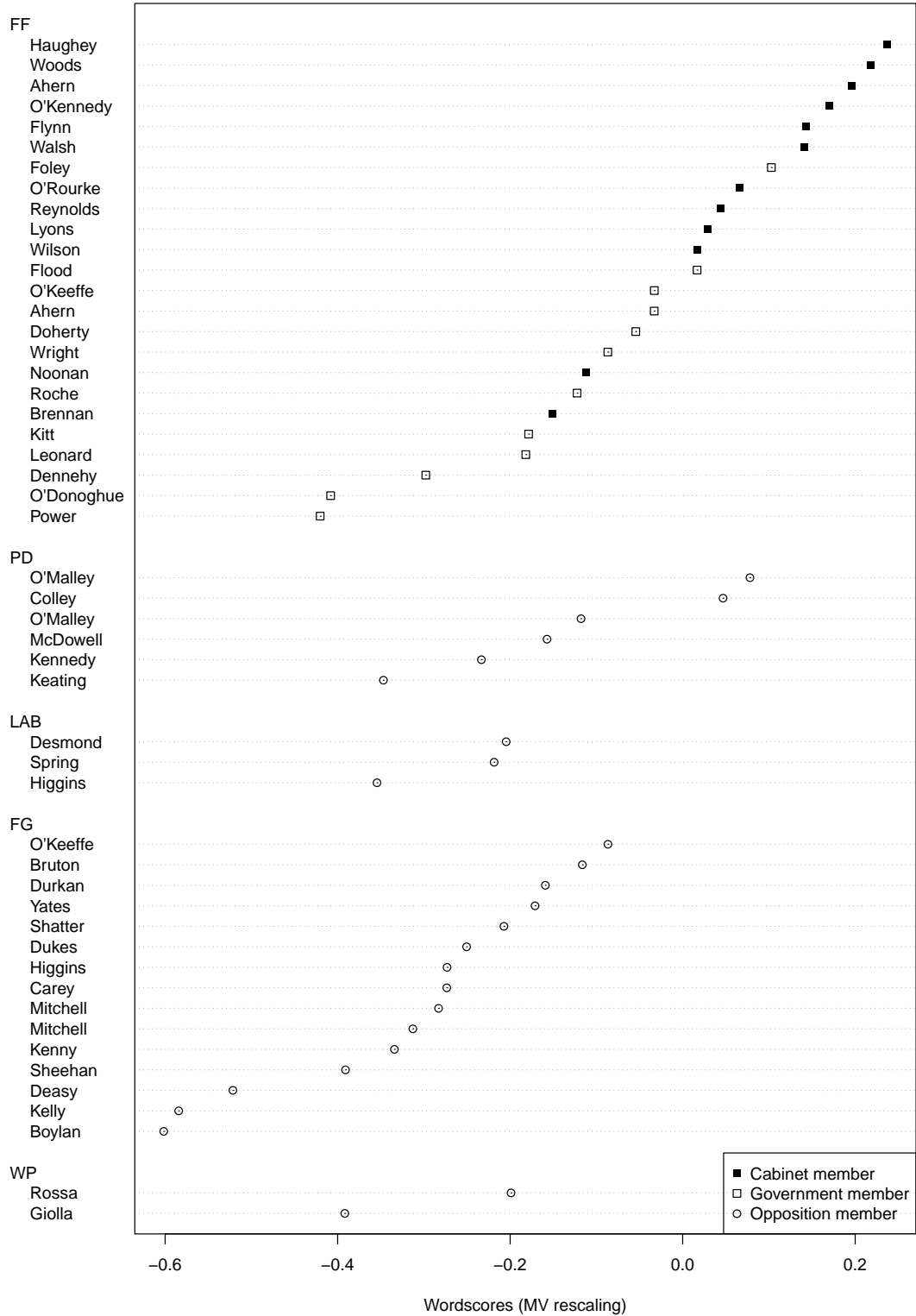
Figure C3: Coefficient plots for the effects on verbal support for the budget, from the selection model estimated with ML.

Table C3: Selection model of speaker selection and position taking in budget debates, 1987–2013, estimated with ML.

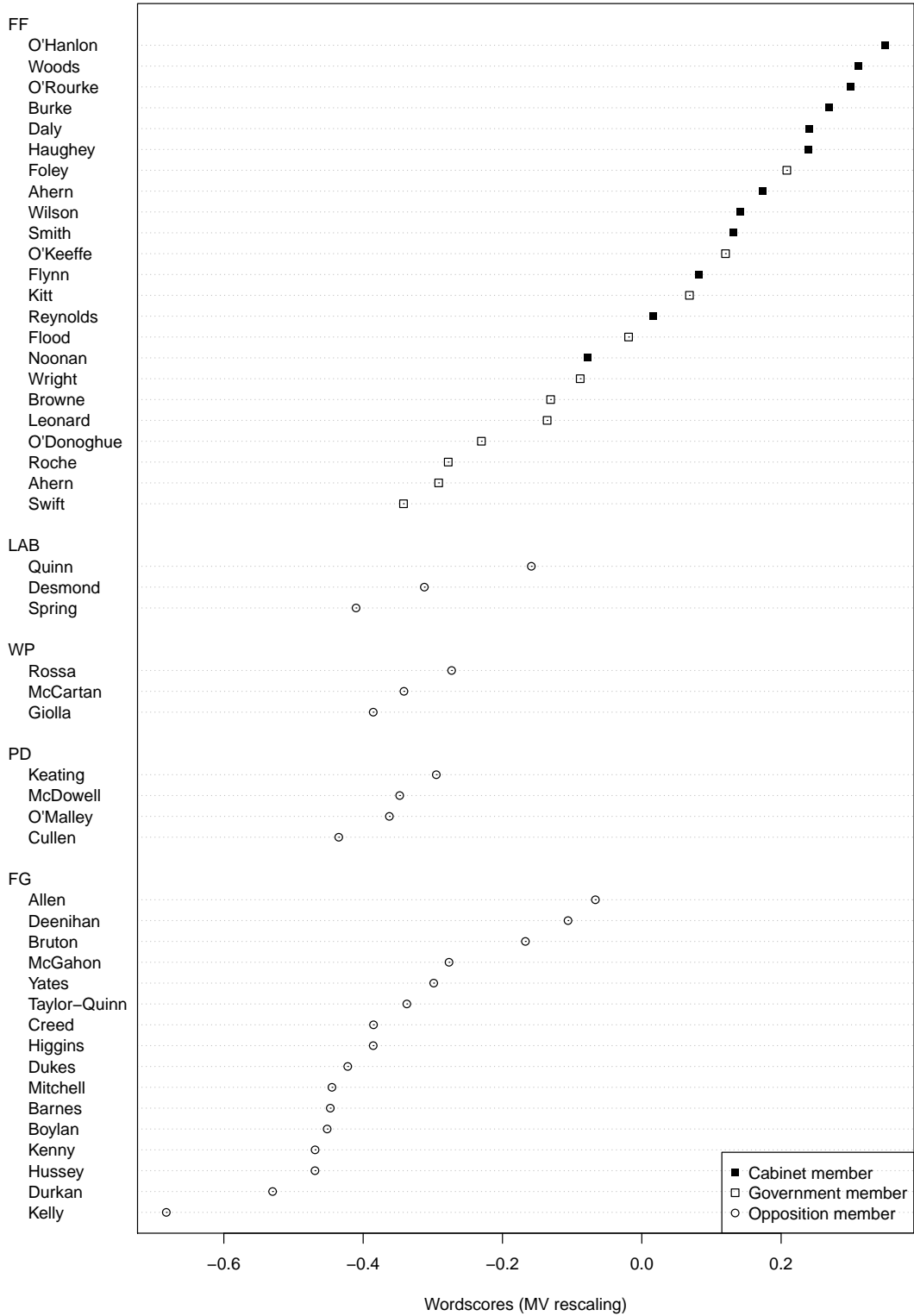
	Speaker selection	Position taking
Intercept	-0.93 [-1.16; -0.70]	-0.24 [-0.29; -0.19]
Constituency unemployment	0.01 [-0.07; 0.10]	-0.01 [-0.03; 0.01]
Electoral safety	0.01 [-0.06; 0.08]	0.00 [-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority	-0.19 [-0.24; -0.15]	-0.01 [-0.03; 0.00]
Party leader	1.50 [1.24; 1.77]	
Government	-0.34 [-0.45; -0.23]	0.21 [0.17; 0.24]
Cabinet member	0.67 [0.55; 0.80]	0.27 [0.23; 0.32]
Party size (log)	0.01 [-0.05; 0.06]	
Debate days (log)	0.28 [0.20; 0.36]	
Crisis	0.41 [0.19; 0.62]	0.03 [-0.03; 0.08]
Const. unemployment x Crisis	-0.15 [-0.31; 0.01]	-0.02 [-0.06; 0.02]
Electoral safety x Crisis	0.18 [-0.02; 0.37]	-0.02 [-0.06; 0.03]
Government x Crisis	-0.58 [-0.86; -0.29]	0.02 [-0.05; 0.10]
Const. unemployment x Government	0.06 [-0.04; 0.17]	0.00 [-0.03; 0.03]
Electoral safety x Government	-0.02 [-0.12; 0.07]	-0.00 [-0.03; 0.02]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis	0.04 [-0.17; 0.26]	-0.03 [-0.09; 0.03]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis	-0.14 [-0.38; 0.10]	-0.02 [-0.08; 0.04]
σ		0.22 [0.21; 0.23]
ρ		-0.20 [-0.42; 0.01]
N obs.	4333	4333
N legislators	444	444
N speakers	317	317

D Estimated Positions for Individual Speakers

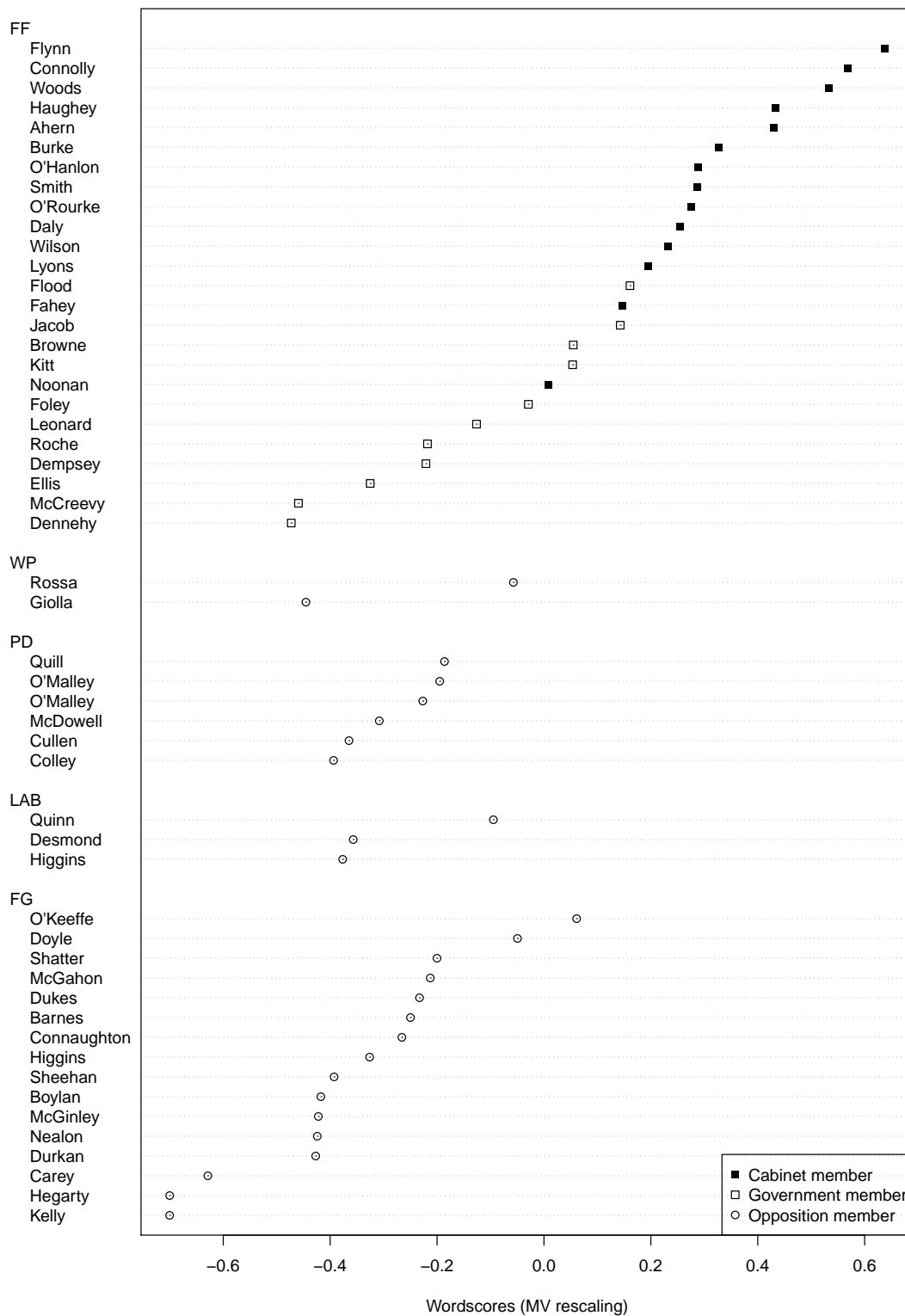
Budget debate 1987



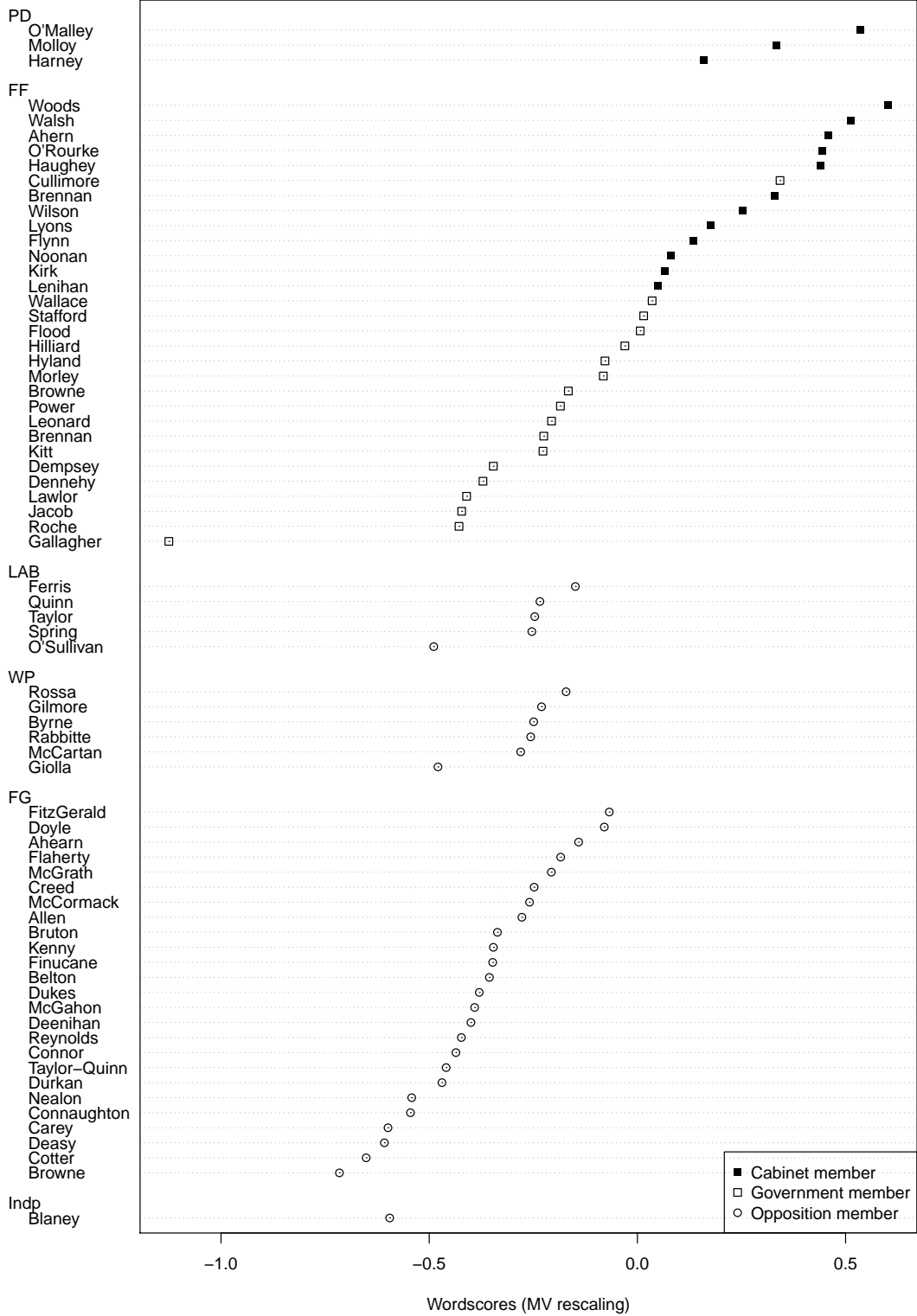
Budget debate 1988



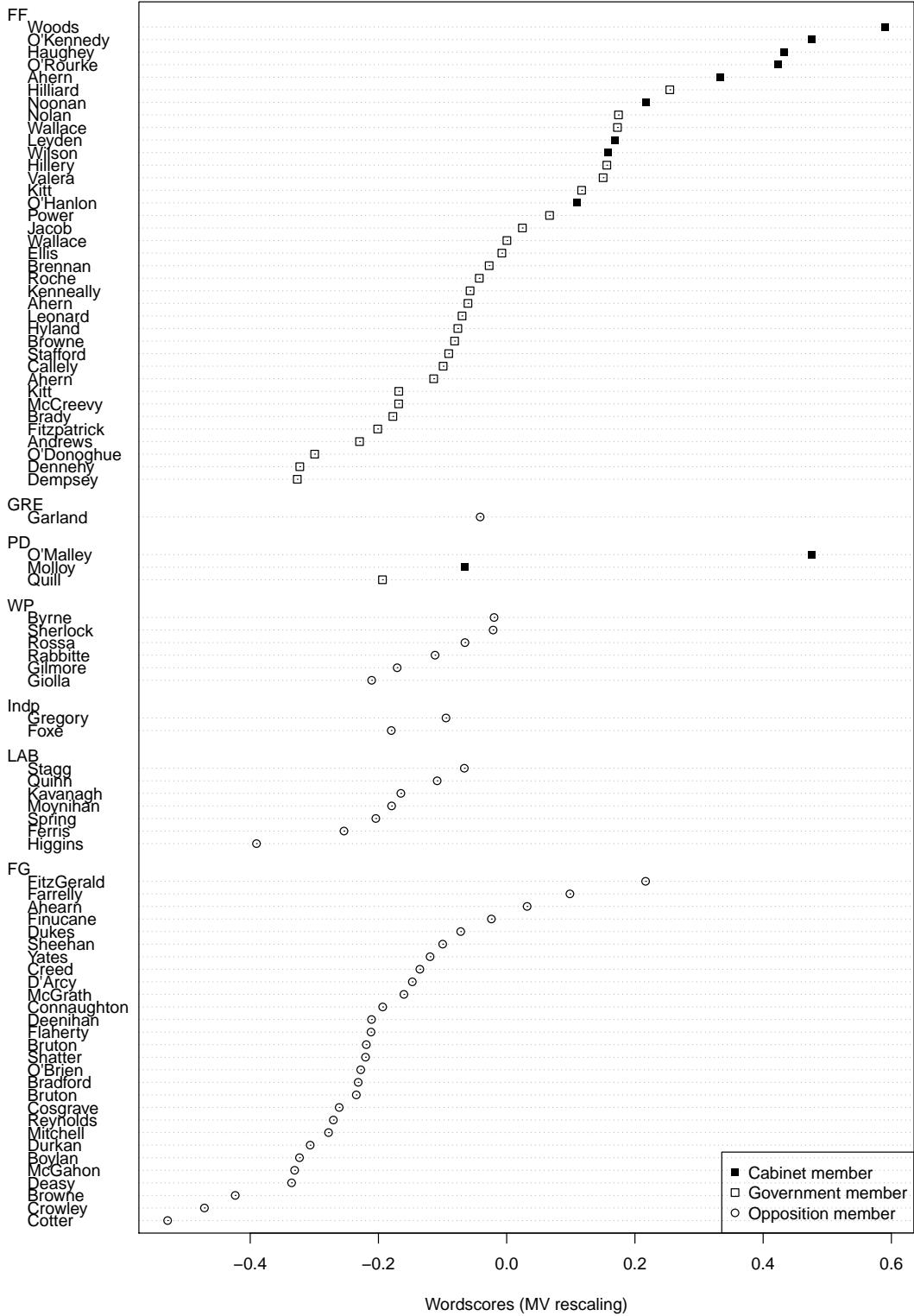
Budget debate 1989



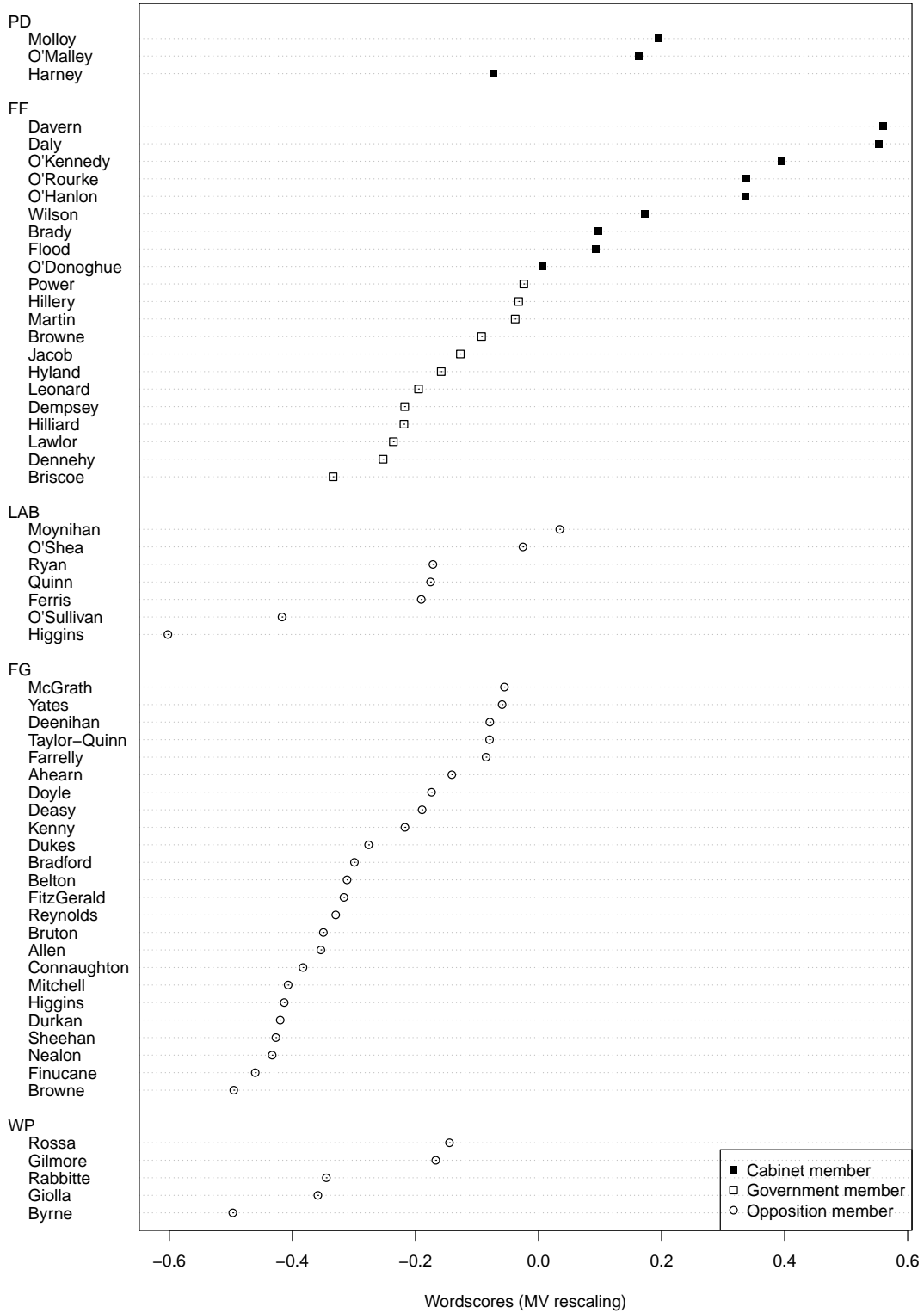
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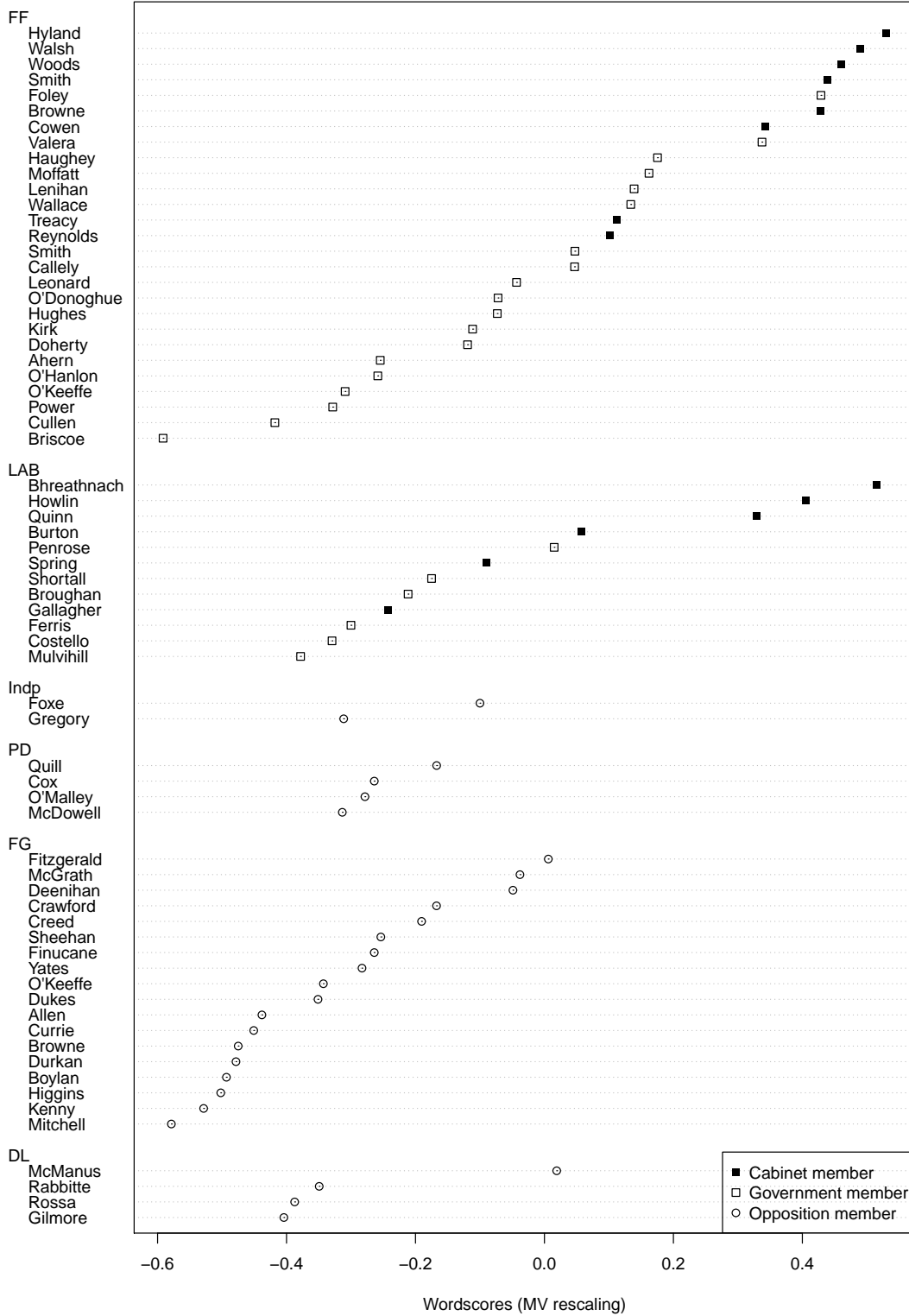
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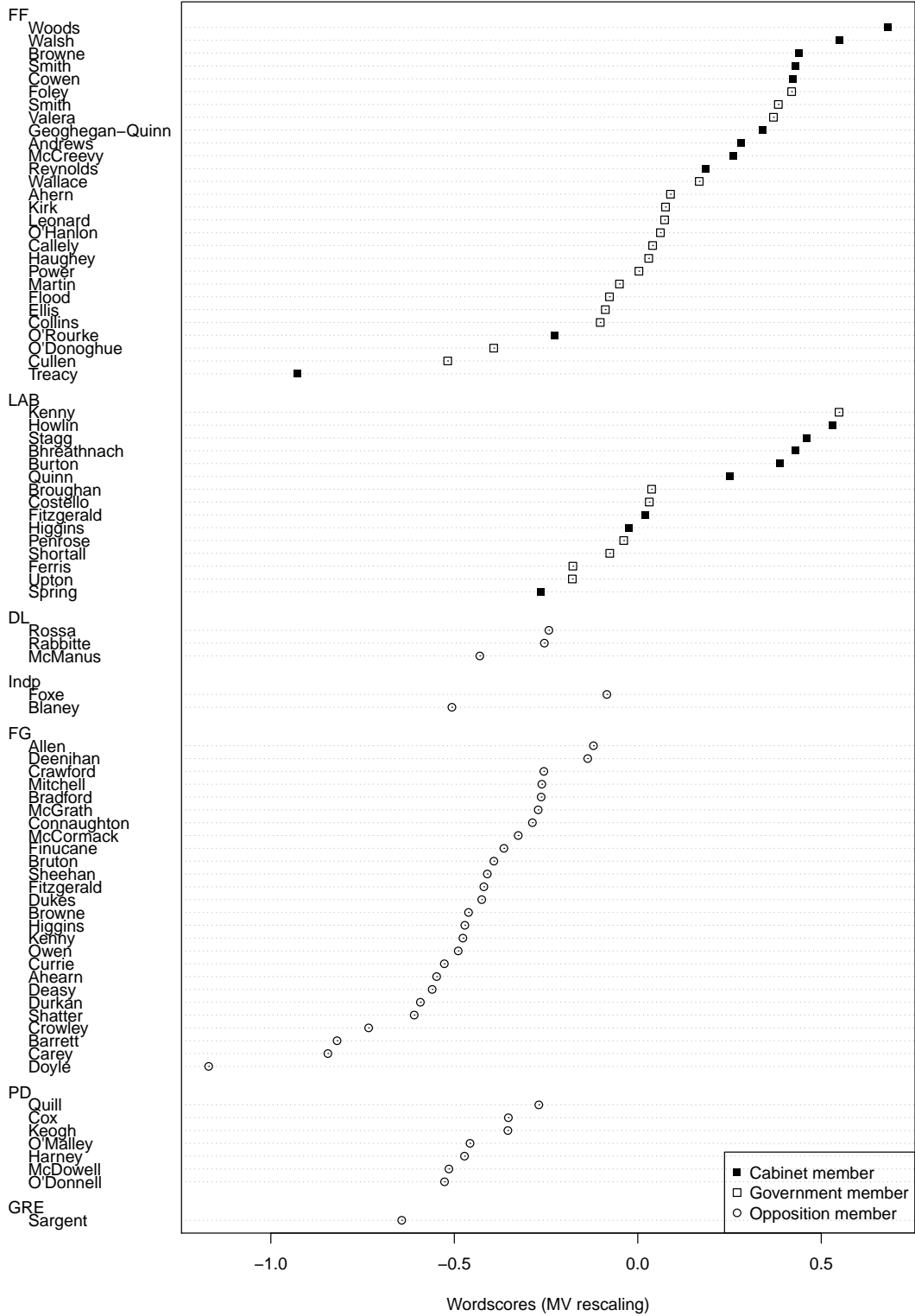
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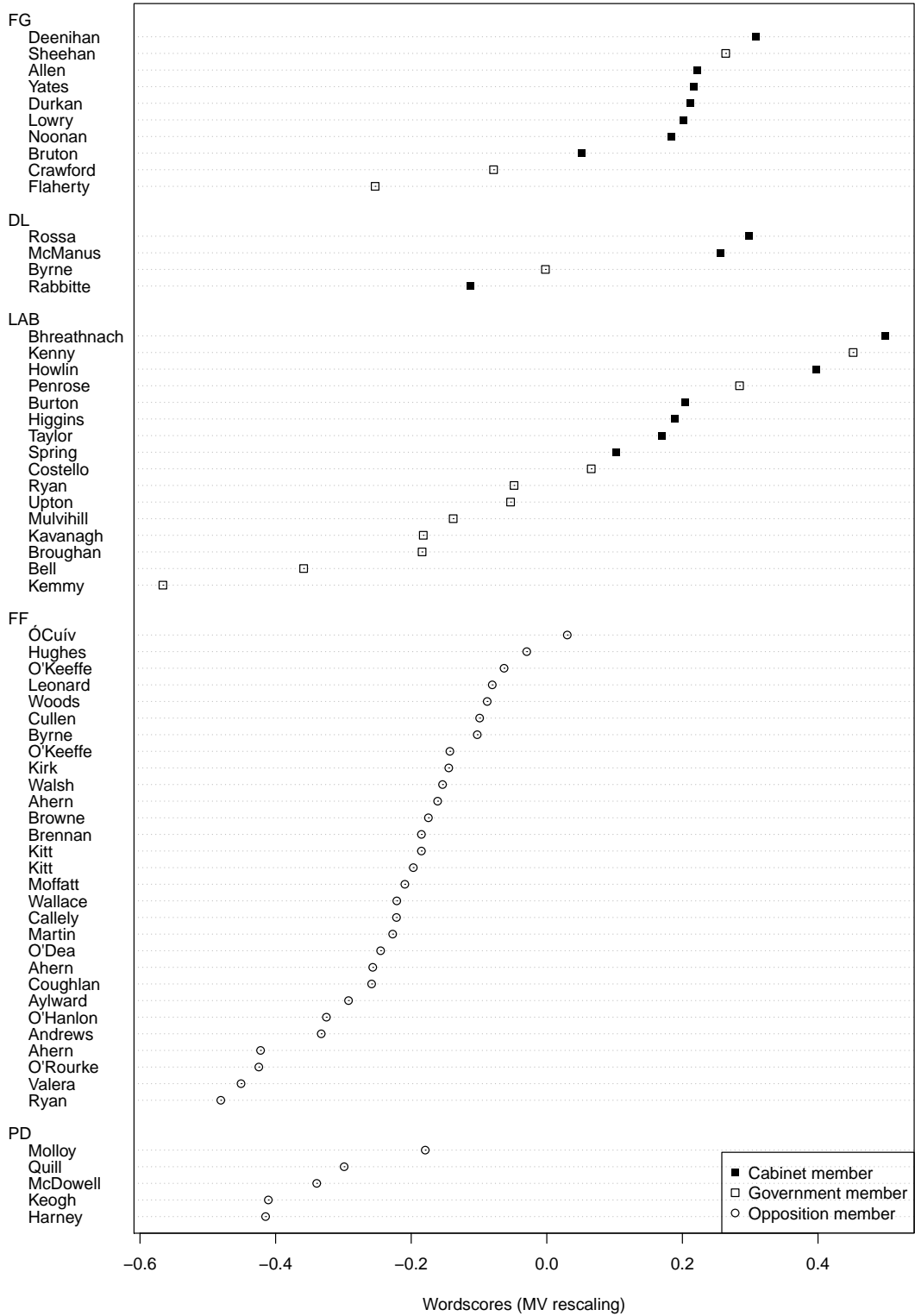
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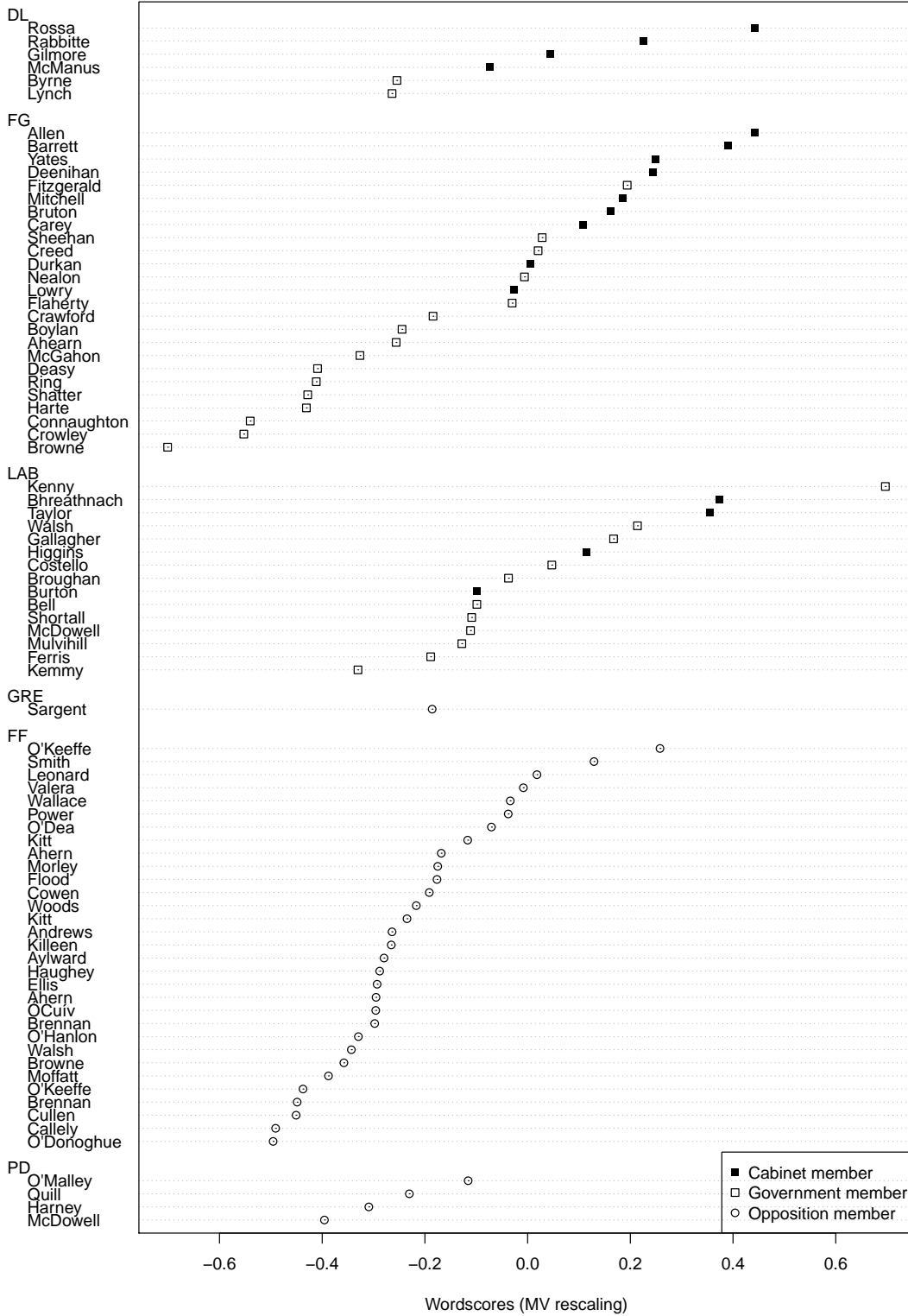
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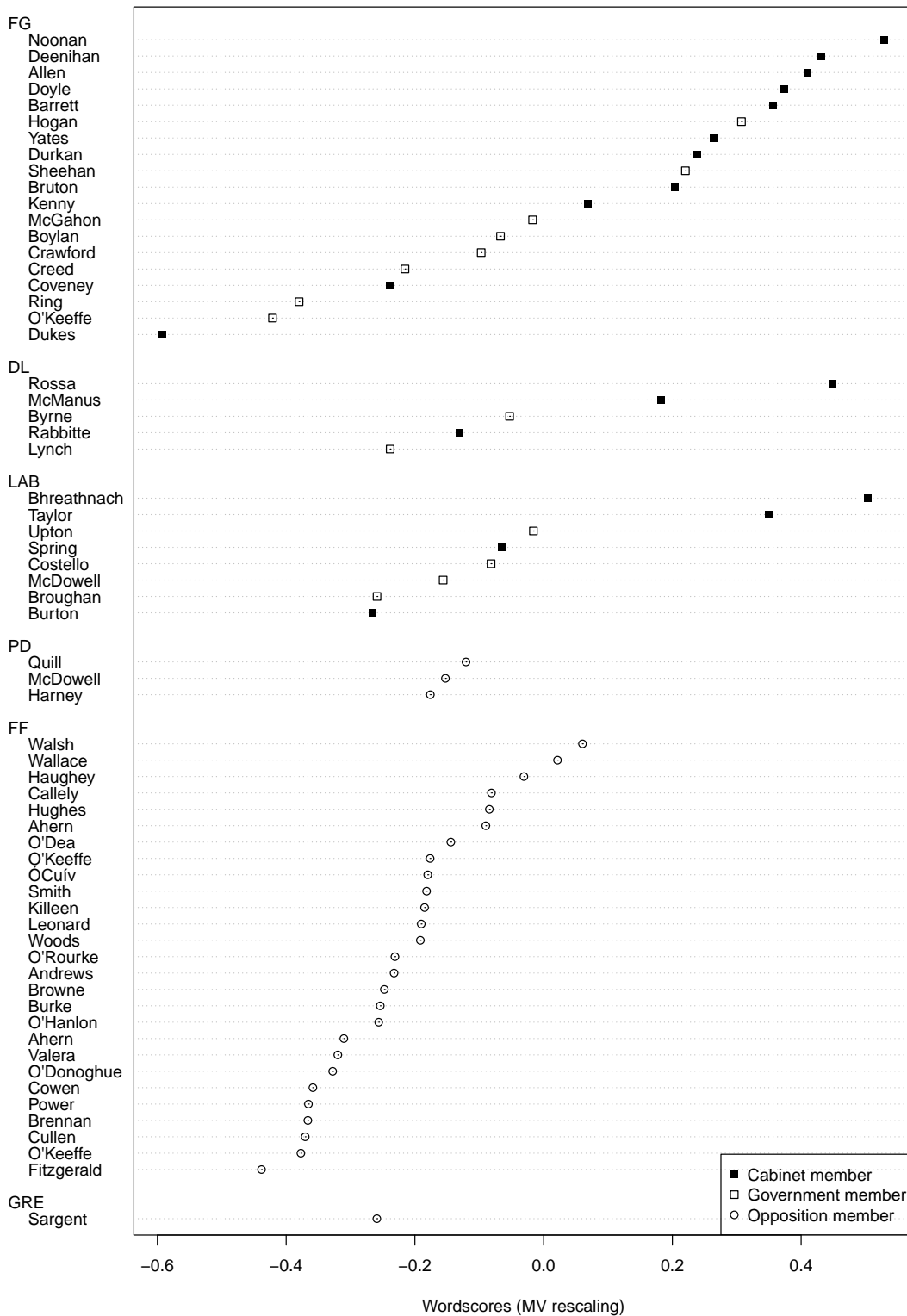
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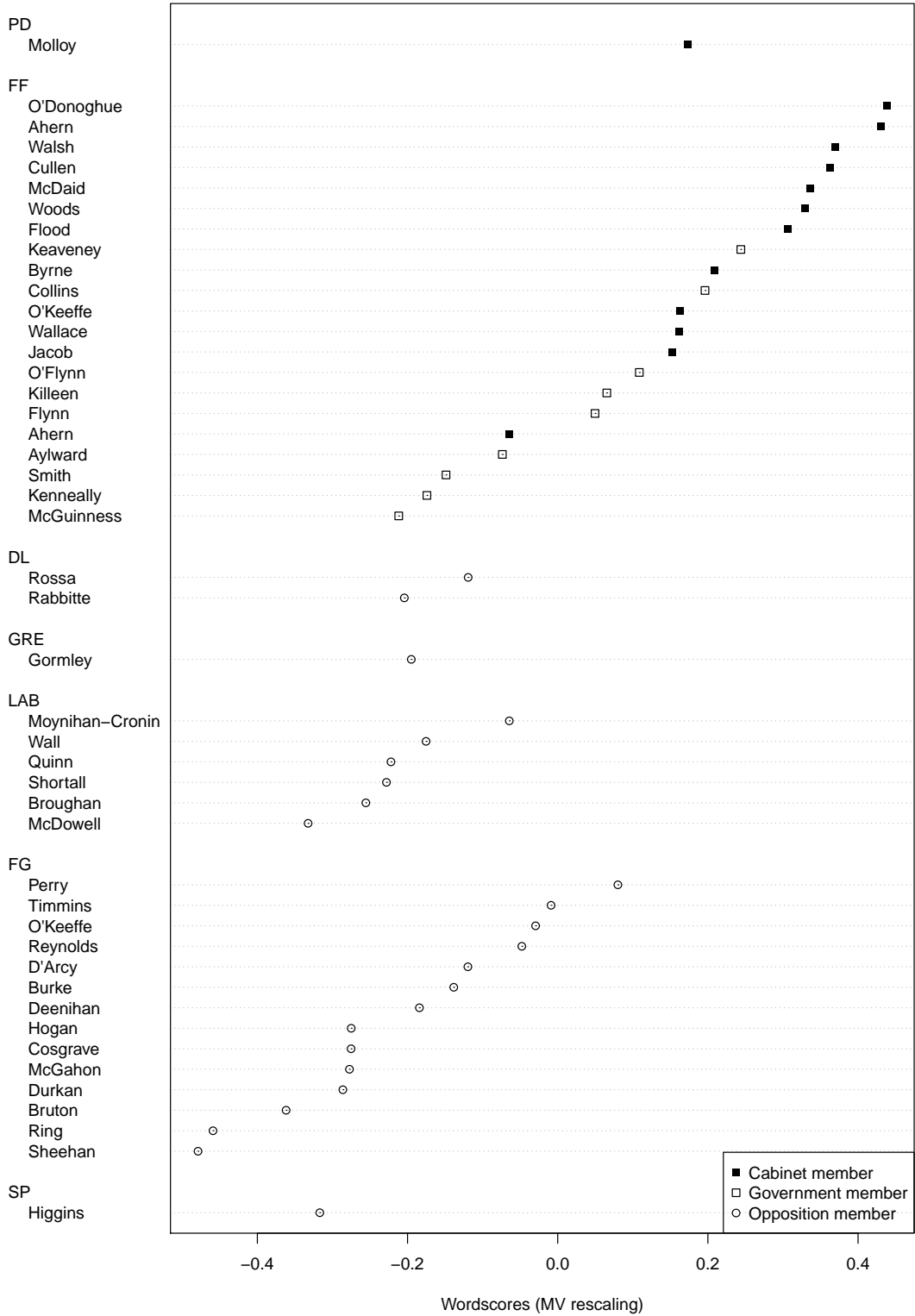
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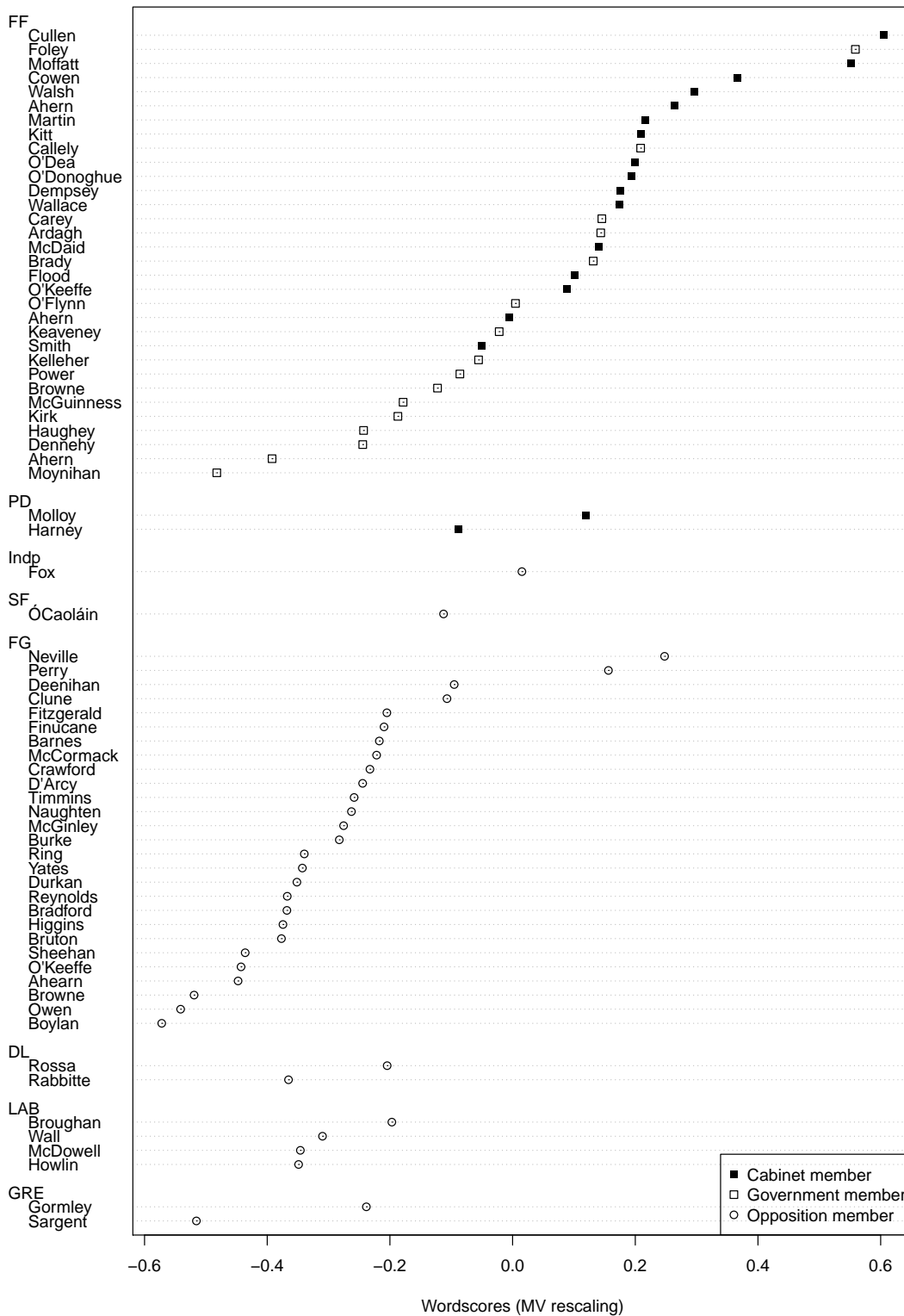
Budget debate 1997



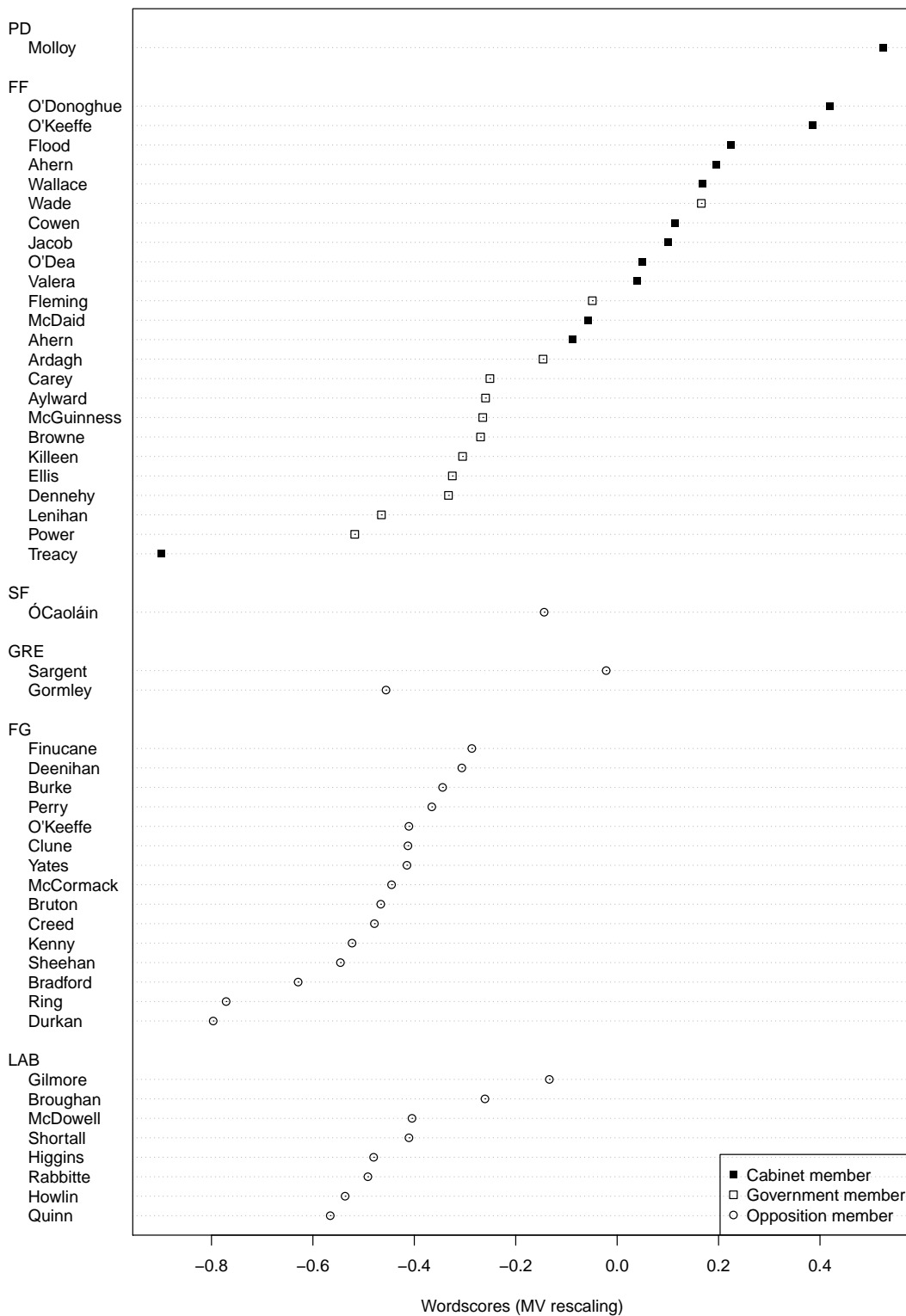
Budget debate 1998



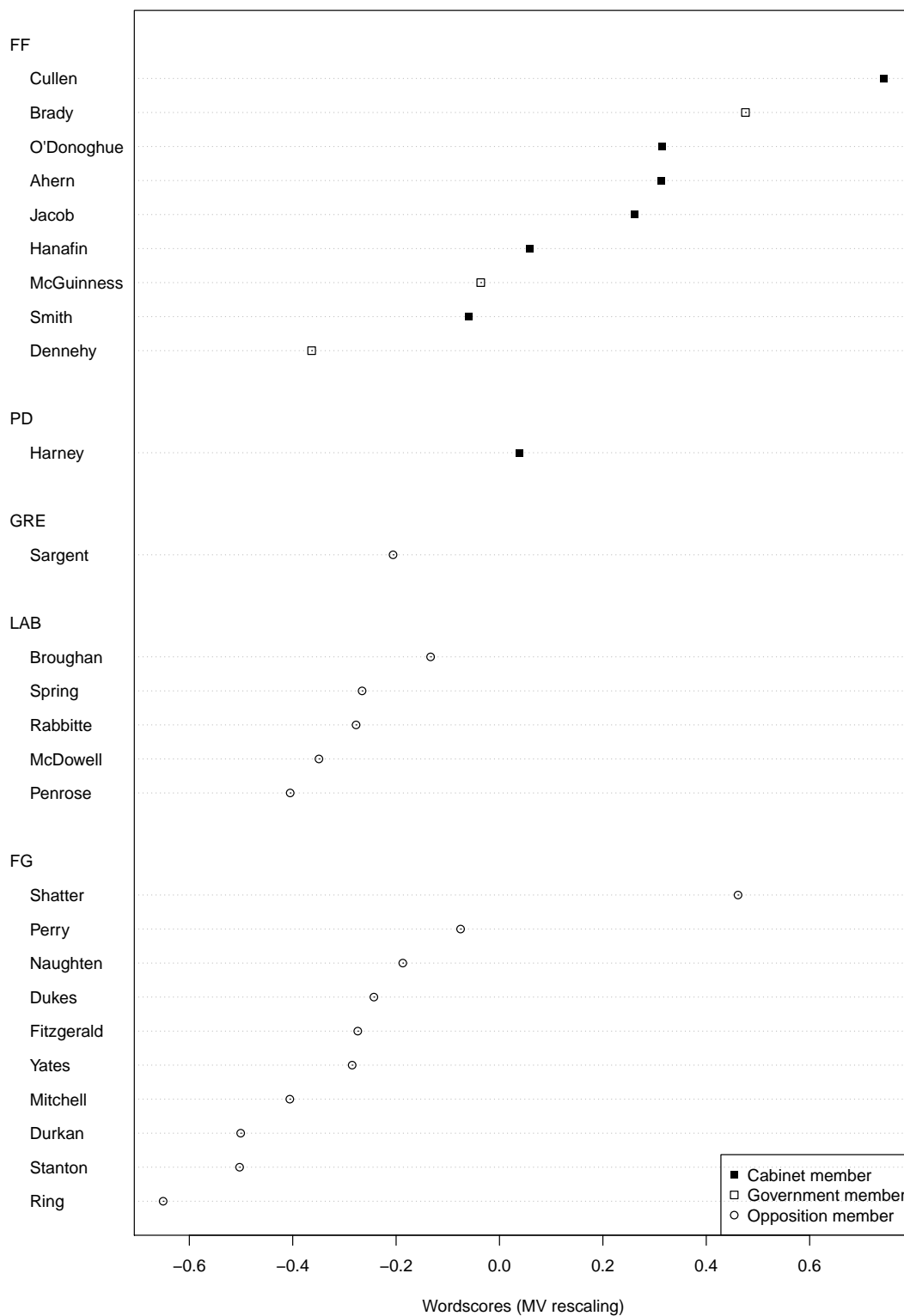
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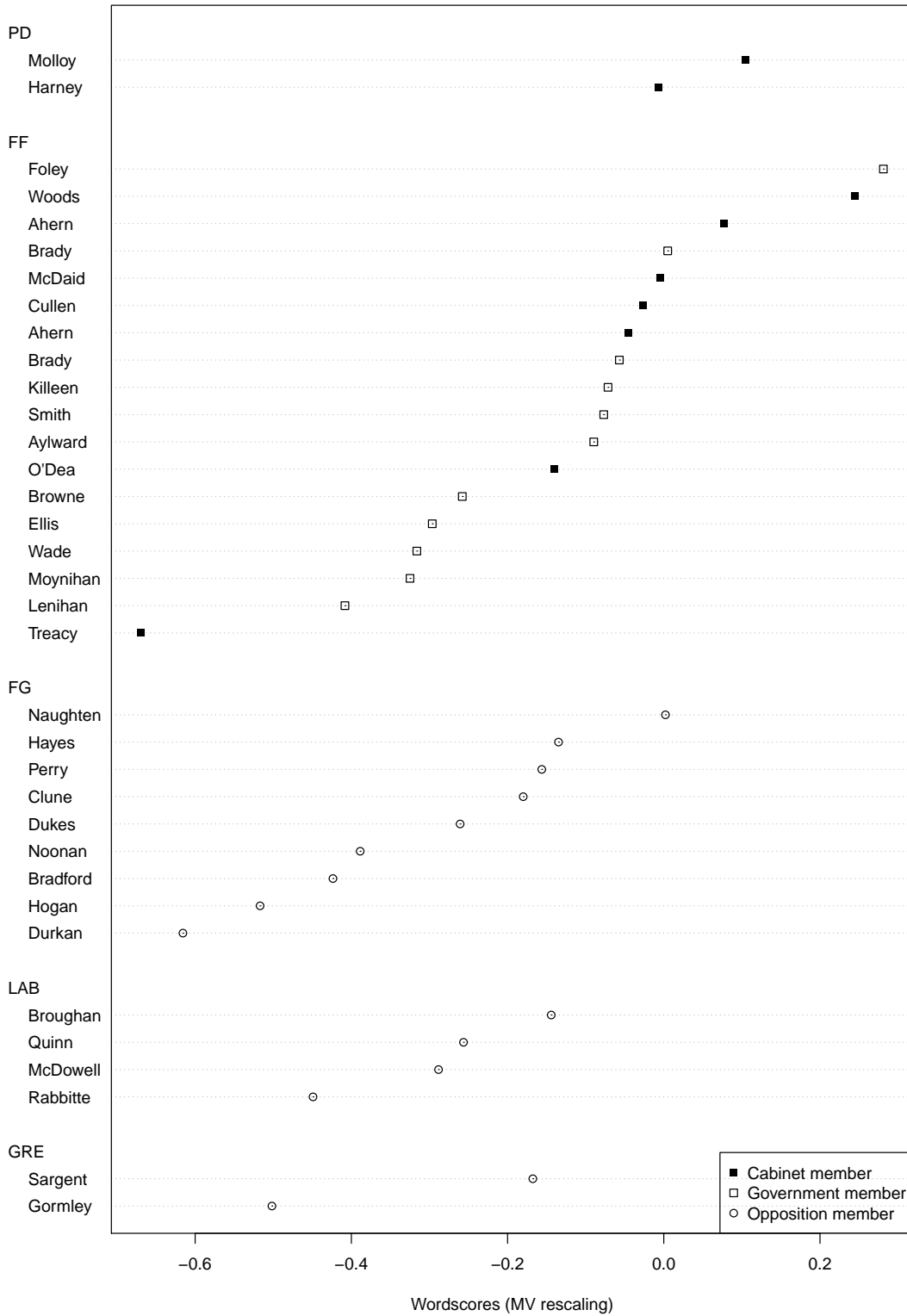
Budget debate 2000



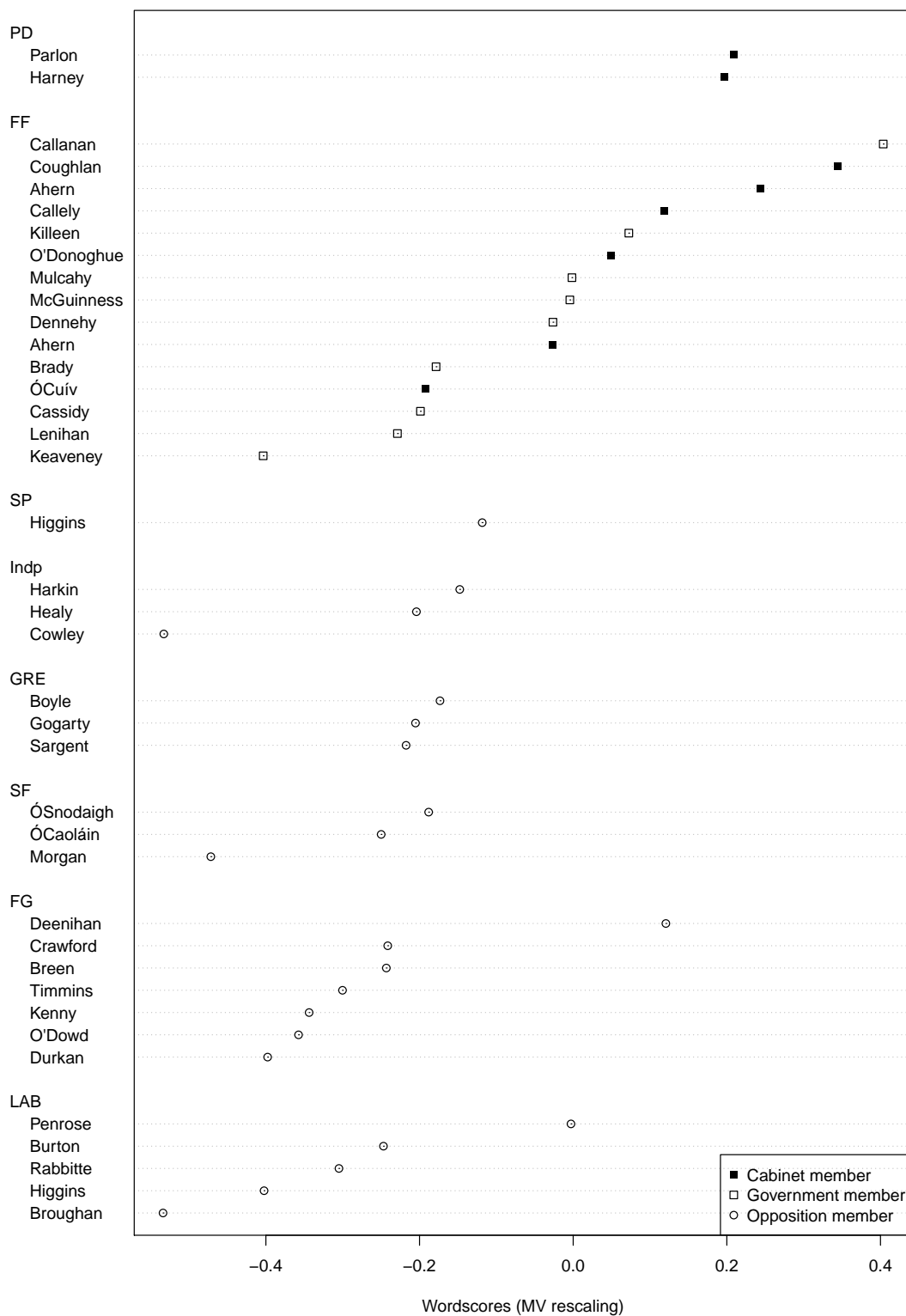
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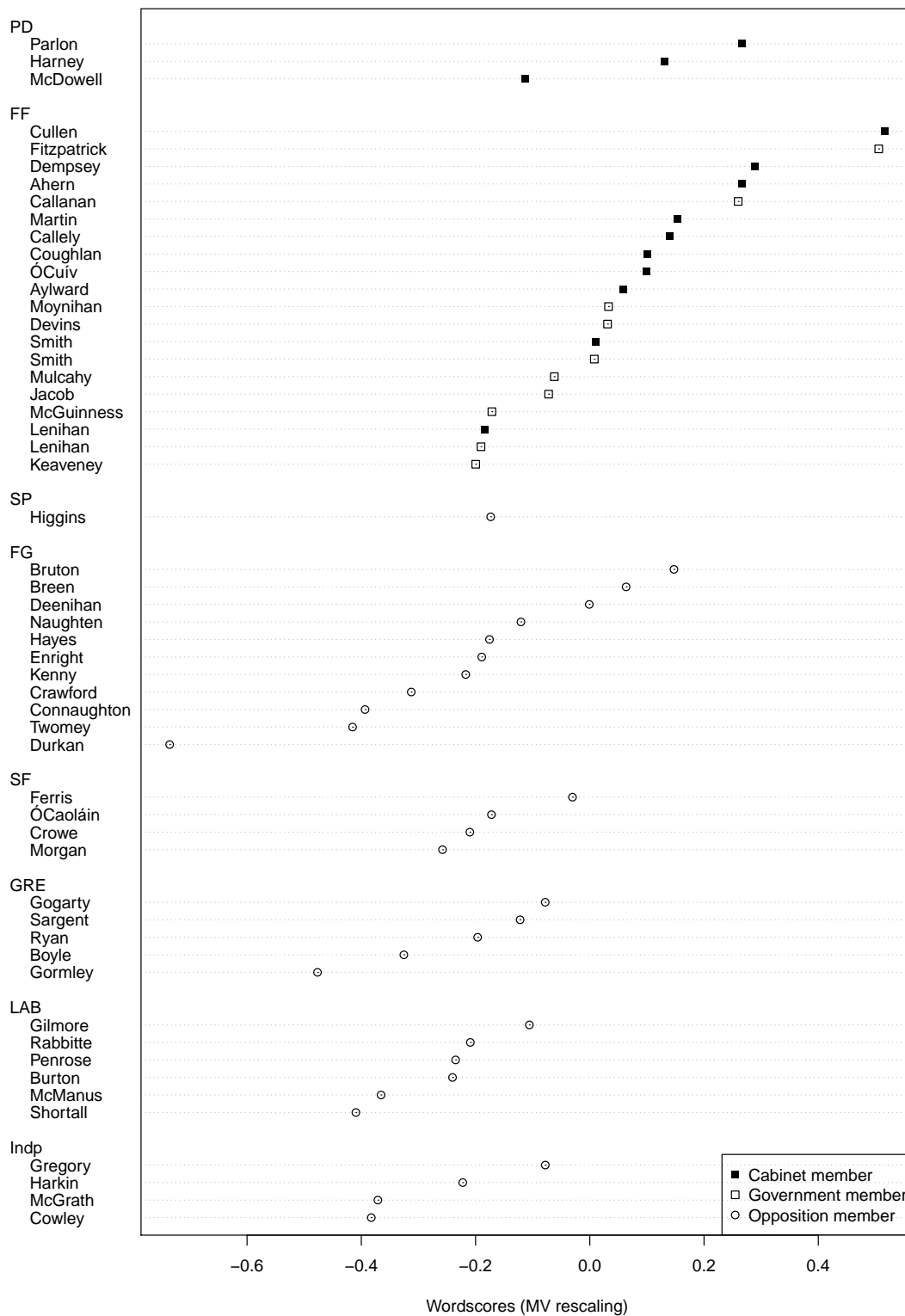
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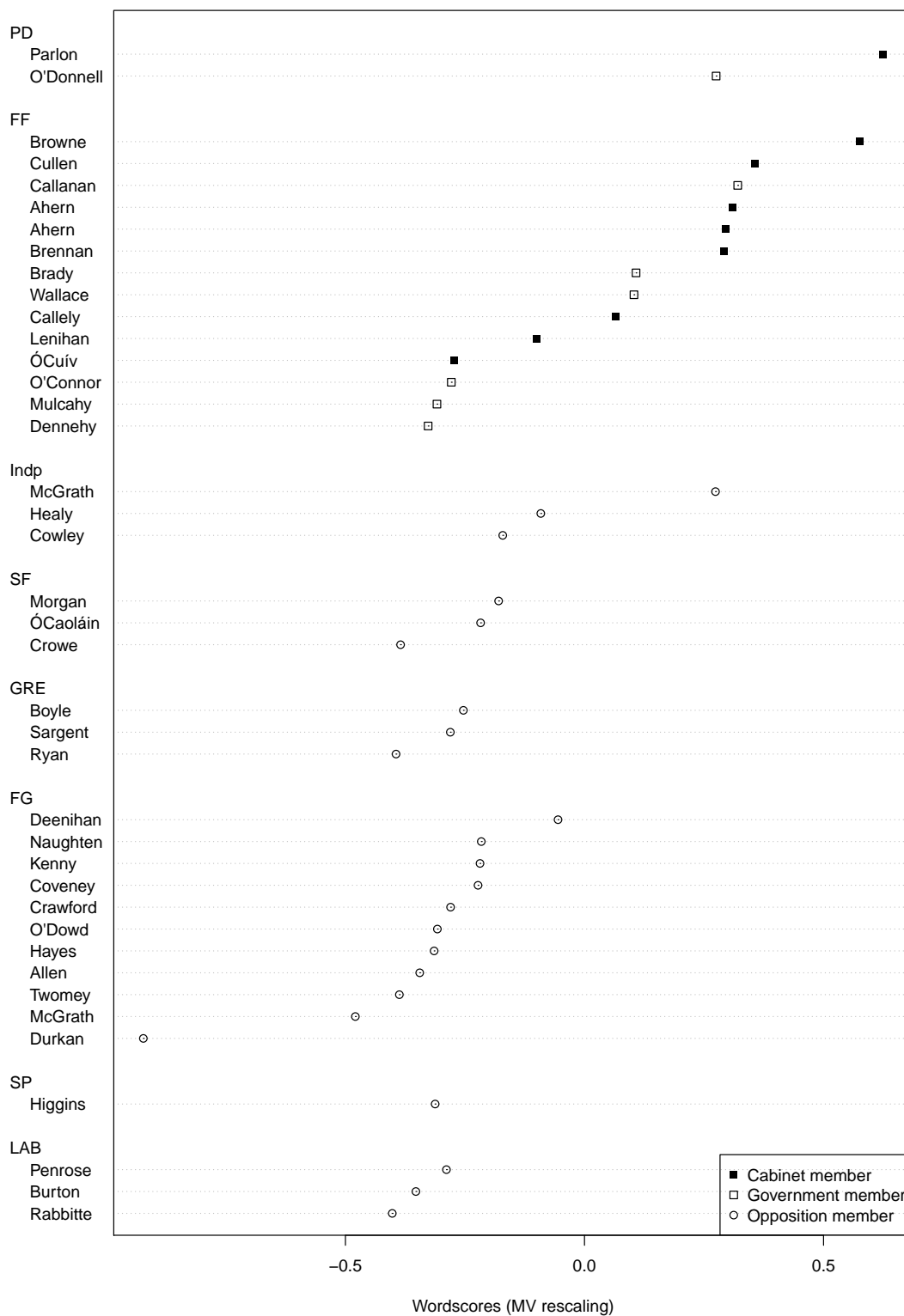
Budget debate 2003



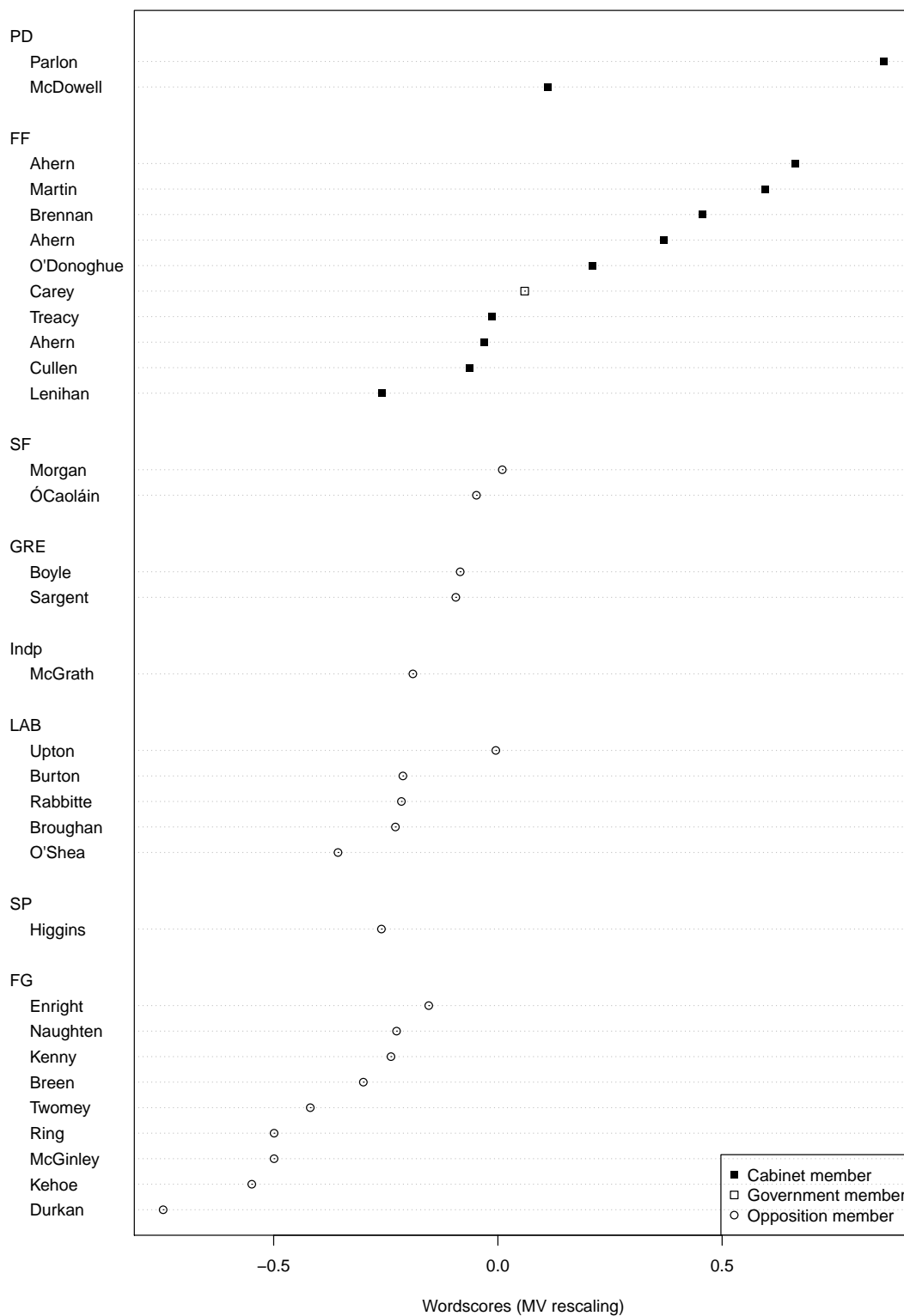
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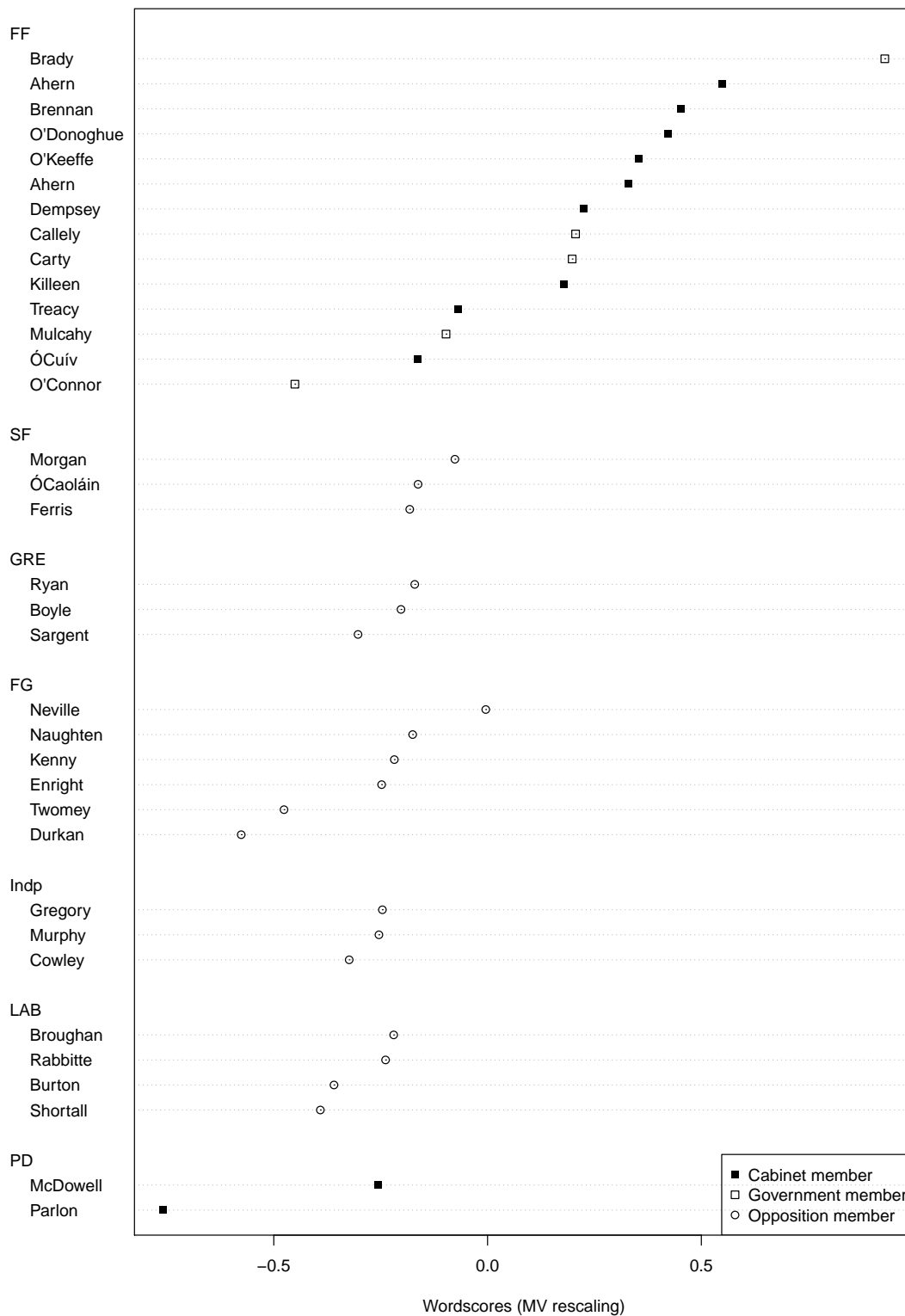
Budget debate 2005



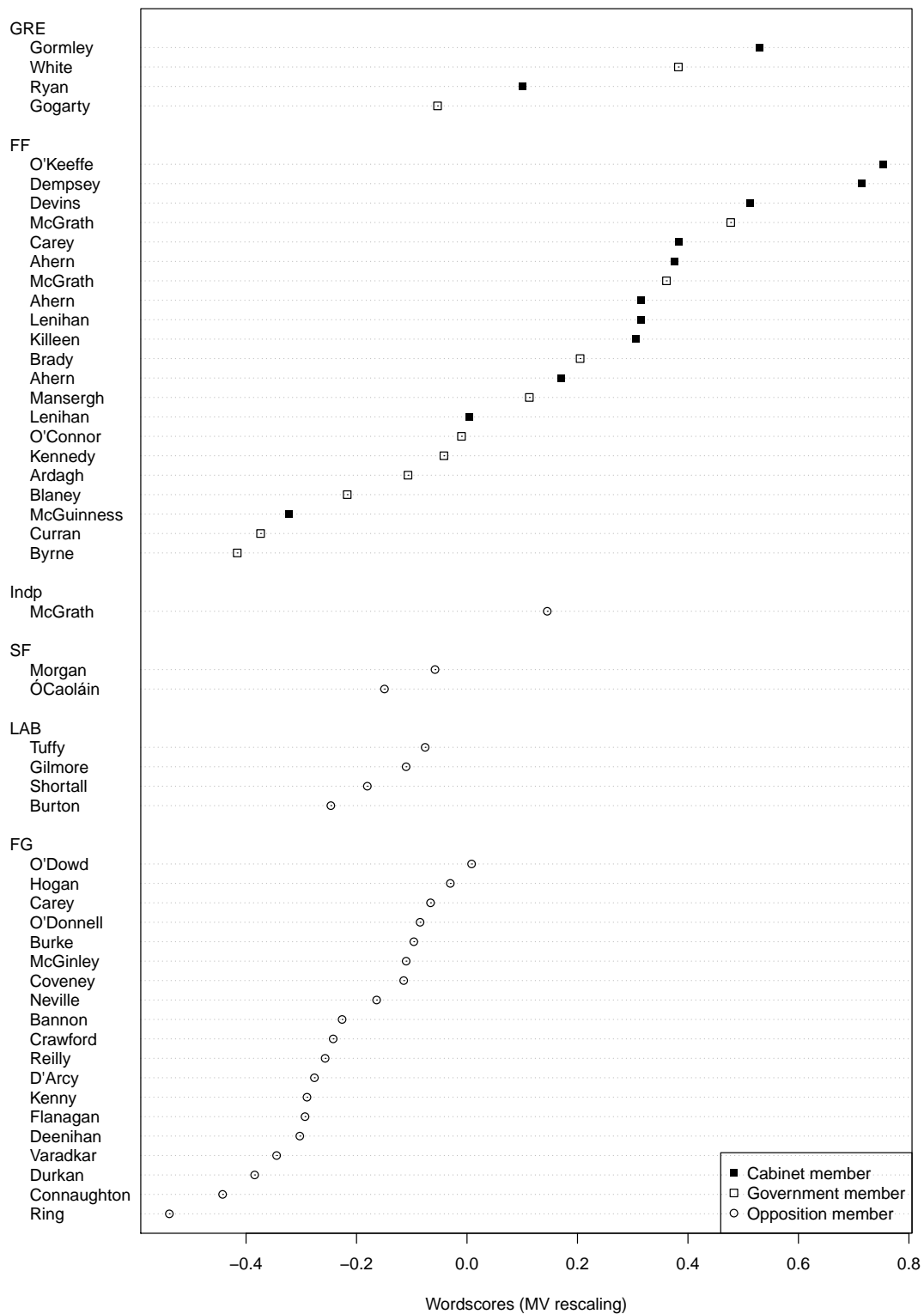
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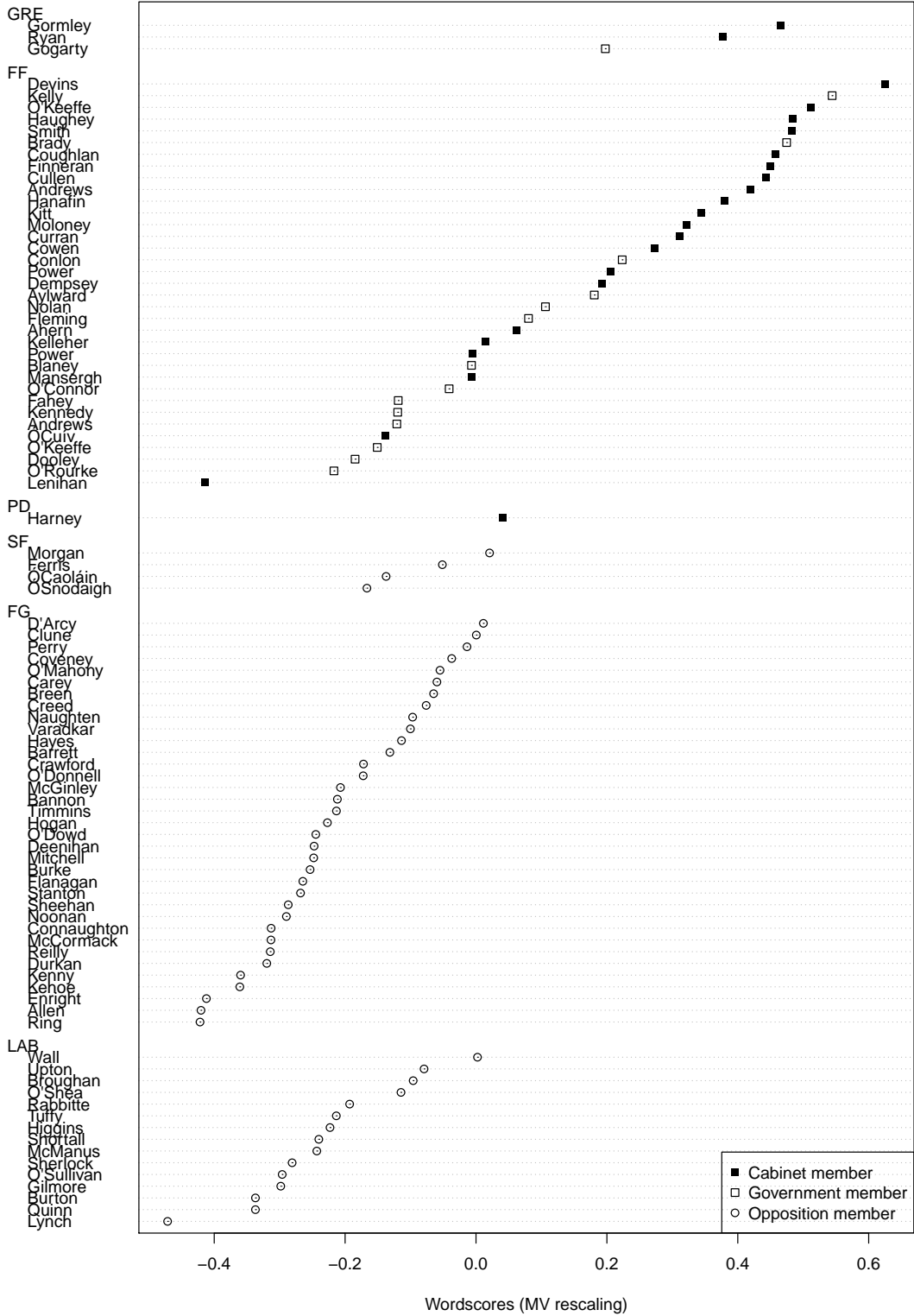
Budget debate 2007



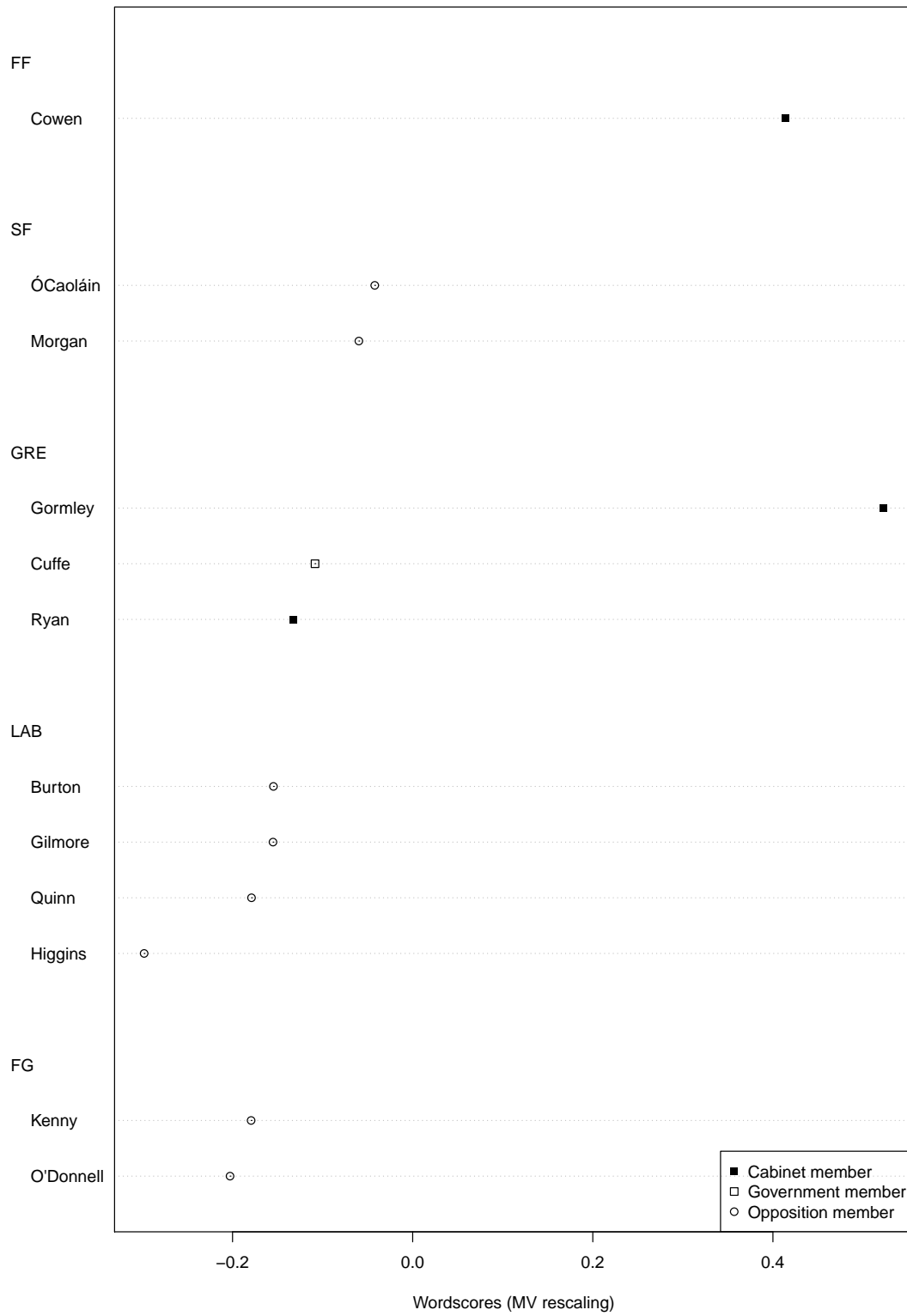
Budget debate 2008



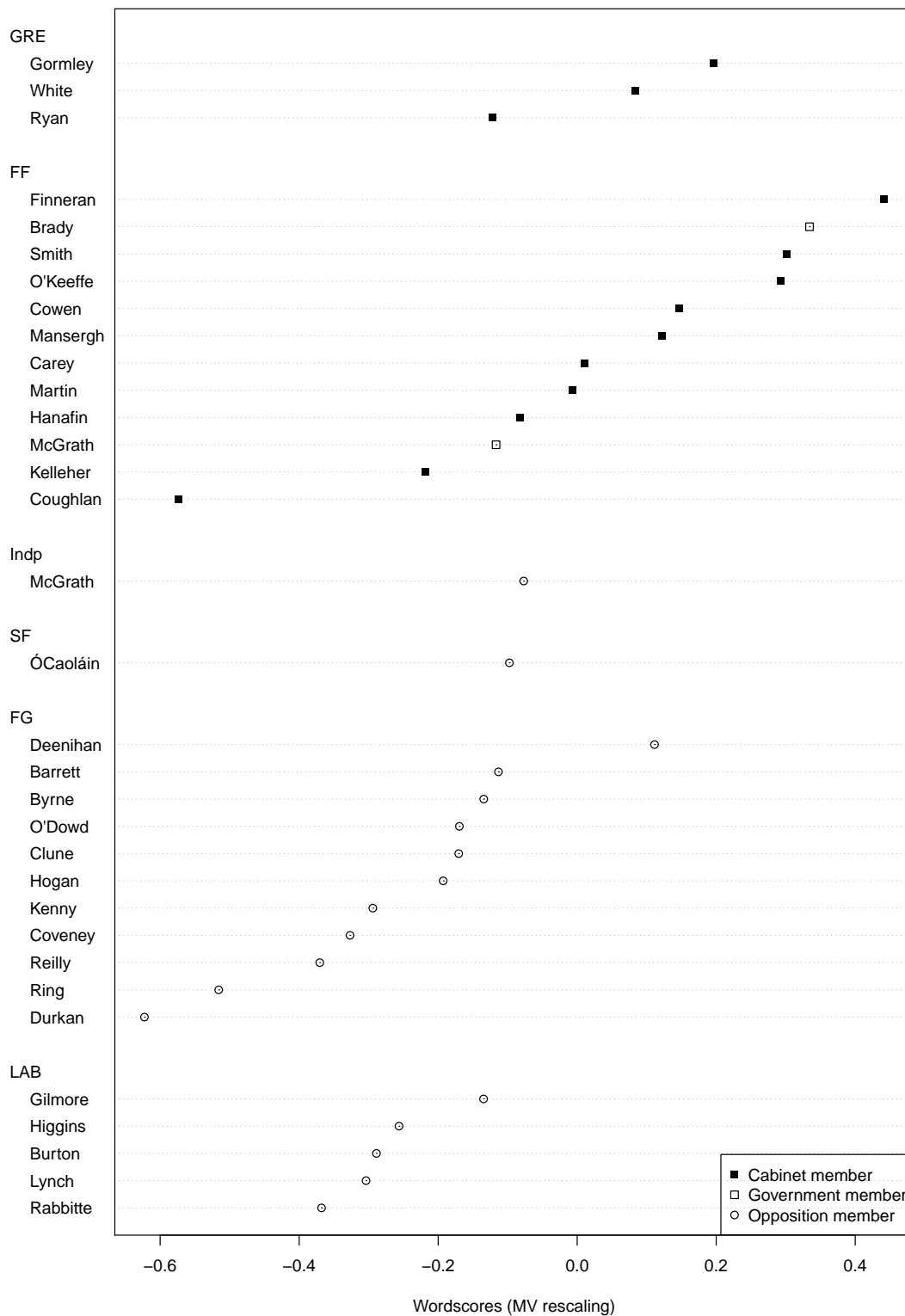
Budget debate 2009



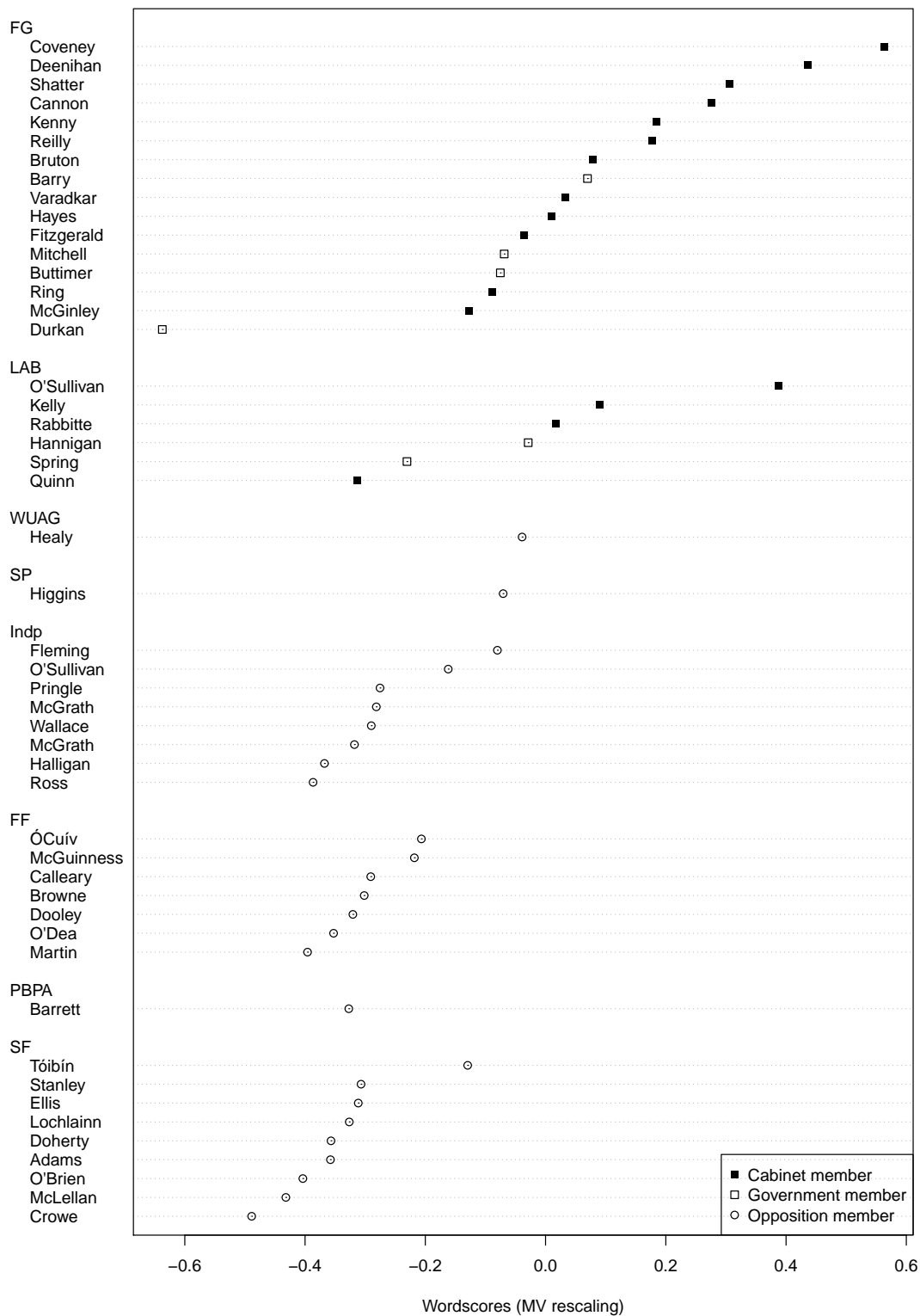
Budget debate 2010



Budget debate 2011



Budget debate 2012



Budget debate 2013

