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

Online Appendix –

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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	-0.78	-0.91
Constituency unemployment	[-1.78; -0.04] 0.08	[-1.69; 0.11] 0.19	[-1.80; -0.04] 0.14
Electoral safety	[0.02; 0.15] 0.00	[0.10; 0.28] 0.01	[0.03; 0.27] 0.02
Legislative seniority	[-0.05; 0.06] -0.22	[-0.05; 0.07] -0.22	[-0.07; 0.11] -0.23
Party leader	[-0.28; -0.16] 1.56	[-0.28; -0.15] 1.62	[-0.30; -0.17] 1.62
Government	[1.22; 1.91] -0.40	[1.28; 1.95] -0.40	[1.29; 1.97] - 0.35
Cabinet member	[-0.53; -0.27] 0.69	[-0.53; -0.27] 0.69	[-0.48; -0.21] 0.73
Party size (log)	$[0.55; 0.83] \\ -0.06$	$[0.54; 0.84] \\ -0.05$	$[0.58; 0.87] \\ -0.02$
Debate days (log)	[-0.14; 0.02] 0.34	[-0.14; 0.03] 0.26 [0.15; 0.25]	[-0.09; 0.05] 0.25
Crisis	$ \begin{bmatrix} 0.25; \ 0.42 \\ -0.06 \end{bmatrix} $	[0.15; 0.35]	[0.14; 0.35] 0.37
Const. unemployment x Crisis	[-0.22; 0.11]	[-0.13; 0.20] -0.29	$[0.10; 0.62] \\ -0.30$
Electoral safety x Crisis		$ \begin{bmatrix} -0.44; & -0.15 \\ -0.06 \\ [-0.18; & 0.07] \end{bmatrix} $	[-0.49; -0.11] 0.13
Government x Crisis		[-0.18; 0.07]	[-0.11; 0.35] - 0.56 [-0.90; -0.24]
Const. unemployment x Government			[-0.90; -0.24] 0.09 $[-0.04; 0.21]$
Electoral safety x Government			$\begin{bmatrix} -0.04, 0.21 \end{bmatrix}$ -0.03 $\begin{bmatrix} -0.14; 0.08 \end{bmatrix}$
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis			[-0.14, 0.08] -0.00 $[-0.24; 0.25]$
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis			$\begin{bmatrix} -0.24, \ 0.23 \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -0.17 \\ [-0.44; \ 0.11] \end{bmatrix}$
μ_{lpha}	- 0.90 [-1.24; -0.57]	- 0.78 [-1.09; -0.38]	$\begin{bmatrix} -0.44, 0.11 \end{bmatrix}$ -0.91 $\begin{bmatrix} -1.22; -0.57 \end{bmatrix}$
σ_{lpha}	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.

Intercept -0.28 [-0.43; -0.13]	-0.27	
[-0.43: -0.13]		-0.27
[,]	[-0.42; -0.12]	[-0.43; -0.12]
Constituency unemployment -0.02	-0.01	-0.01
[-0.03; -0.01]	[-0.02; 0.01]	[-0.03; 0.01]
Electoral safety -0.01	-0.00	-0.00
[-0.02; 0.01]	[-0.02; 0.01]	[-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority -0.02	-0.02	-0.02
[-0.03; -0.00]	[-0.03; -0.00]	[-0.03; -0.00]
Government 0.18	0.18	0.18
[0.15; 0.21]	[0.14; 0.21]	[0.15; 0.21]
Cabinet member 0.30	0.31	0.31
[0.26; 0.34] Crisis 0.02	[0.27; 0.34] 0.03	[0.27; 0.35] 0.04
[-0.02; 0.05]	[-0.00; 0.07]	[-0.01; 0.10]
Const. unemployment x Crisis	[-0.00, 0.07] -0.04	[-0.01, 0.10] -0.03
Const. unemployment x erisis	[-0.07; -0.02]	[-0.07; 0.01]
Electoral safety x Crisis	[0.07, 0.02] -0.01	[0.07, 0.01] -0.00
Electoral surcey A Chisis	[-0.05; 0.02]	[-0.05; 0.05]
Government x Crisis	[0.03, 0.02]	-0.02
		[-0.09; 0.06]
Const. unemployment x Government		0.01
r .,		[-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	-0.27	-0.27
[-0.30; -0.26]	[-0.30; -0.25]	[-0.30; -0.25]
σ_{α} 0.11	0.11	0.11
[0.10; 0.13]	[0.10; 0.13]	[0.10; 0.13]
σ 0.18	0.18	0.18
[0.18; 0.19]	[0.18; 0.19]	[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	-0.25
	[-1.88; -0.02]	[-0.43; -0.08]
Constituency unemployment	0.14	-0.02
Electoral cofety	[0.03; 0.26] 0.01	[-0.04; 0.00] -0.00
Electoral safety	[-0.08; 0.09]	[-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority	[-0.08, 0.09] -0.23	[-0.02, 0.02] -0.01
Legislative semonly	[-0.29; -0.16]	
Party leader	1.64	[0.00, 0.00]
•	[1.31; 2.00]	
Government	-0.36	0.18
	[-0.50; -0.21]	[0.15; 0.21]
Cabinet member	0.73	0.30
	[0.57; 0.88]	[0.27; 0.34]
Party size (log)	-0.01	
D.1. (1. 1. (1)	[-0.12; 0.08]	
Debate days (log)	0.26	
Crisis	[0.14; 0.36] 0.37	0.04
CHSIS	[0.11; 0.61]	[-0.00; 0.09]
Const. unemployment x Crisis	-0.30	-0.03
Consw unemprojinem ir Crisis	[-0.51; -0.09]	
Electoral safety x Crisis	0.15	-0.00
•	[-0.07; 0.37]	[-0.05; 0.04]
Government x Crisis	-0.56	-0.00
	[-0.88; -0.24]	
Const. unemployment x Government	0.08	0.01
	[-0.05; 0.22]	[-0.02; 0.04]
Electoral safety x Government	-0.02	-0.00
Court and an all and a Court and a Coicia	[-0.13; 0.09]	[-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	[-0.20, 0.23] -0.19	[-0.08, 0.03] -0.02
Electoral sarcty A Government A Crisis	[-0.46; 0.07]	
$\mu_{lpha}^{ m sel}$	-0.94	[0.00, 0.0.]
ru	[-1.35; -0.51]	
$\sigma_{lpha}^{ m sel}$	0.64	
-	[0.56; 0.73]	
$\mu_{lpha}^{ m out}$		-0.25
		[-0.29; -0.21]
$\sigma_{lpha}^{ ext{out}}$		0.11
		[0.10; 0.13]
σ		0.18
0		[0.18; 0.19] -0.15
ρ		[-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.

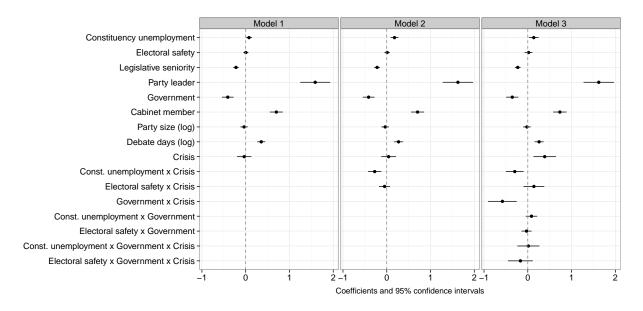


Figure C1: Coefficient plots for multilevel probit models of speaker selection estimated with ML. Continuous measures are z-transformed.

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	-0.85	-0.92
-	[-1.34; -0.67]	[-1.20; -0.50]	[-1.27; -0.56]
Constituency unemployment	0.08	0.18	0.14
T1 1 . C .	[0.01; 0.14]	[0.09; 0.27]	[0.02; 0.25]
Electoral safety	0.00	0.01	0.02
Legislative seniority	[-0.05; 0.06] - 0.22	[-0.05; 0.07] - 0.22	[-0.07; 0.11] - 0.23
Legislative semonty	[-0.29; -0.16]	[-0.29; -0.16]	[-0.29; -0.16]
Party leader	1.59	1.63	1.62
,	[1.25; 1.93]	[1.28; 1.97]	[1.27; 1.97]
Government	-0.41	-0.41	-0.35
	[-0.54; -0.28]	[-0.55; -0.28]	[-0.49; -0.22]
Cabinet member	0.70	0.70	0.73
D	[0.55; 0.85]	[0.55; 0.85]	[0.58; 0.89]
Party size (log)	-0.04	-0.03	-0.02
Debate days (log)	[-0.12; 0.05] 0.35	[-0.12; 0.05] 0.27	[-0.11; 0.07] 0.26
Devate days (log)	[0.26; 0.45]	[0.17; 0.37]	[0.16; 0.36]
Crisis	-0.03	0.04	0.39
	[-0.20; 0.13]	[-0.13; 0.21]	[0.13; 0.64]
Const. unemployment x Crisis		-0.28	-0.30
		[-0.43; -0.12]	[-0.50; -0.10]
Electoral safety x Crisis		-0.05	0.14
		[-0.18; 0.08]	[-0.10; 0.38]
Government x Crisis			-0.58
Const. unemployment x Government			[-0.91; -0.25] 0.08
Const. unemployment x Government			[-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.

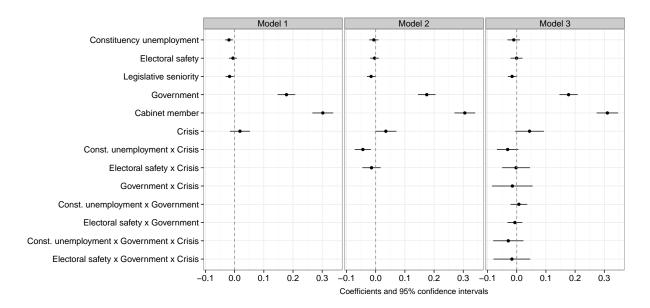


Figure C2: Coefficient plots for multilevel linear regression models of position taking estimated with ML. Continuous measures are z-transformed.

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

Legislative seniority		Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constituency unemployment	Intercent	0.20	0.27	0.27
Constituency unemployment -0.02 -0.01 -0.02 0.01 -0.03 0.01 Electoral safety -0.01 -0.02 0.01 -0.00 -0.00 Legislative seniority -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 Legislative seniority -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 Government 0.18 0.17 0.18 0.17 0.18 Government 0.30 0.31 0.31 0.31 Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 0.02 Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 0.03 Const. unemployment x Crisis -0.04 -0.03 0.04 Electoral safety x Crisis -0.01 -0.05 0.0 Government x Crisis -0.01 -0.05 0.0 Const. unemployment x Government -0.01 -0.05 0.0 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 -0.02 0.01 0.01 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 -0.02 0.03 0.01	пиегсері	*		*
Const. unemployment x Crisis Const. unemployment x Government Con	Constituency unemployment			
Cabinet member Cabinet member Cabinet member Cabinet memployment x Crisis Const. unemployment x Crisis Const. unemployment x Crisis Const. unemployment x Government Const. une	Constituency unemproyment			
Legislative seniority $[-0.02; 0.01]$ $[-0.02; 0.01]$ $[-0.02; 0.01]$ $[-0.02; 0.02]$ Government 0.18 0.17 0.18 Gabinet member 0.30 0.31 0.31 Cabinet member 0.30 0.31 0.31 Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 Const. unemployment x Crisis -0.02 $[-0.00; 0.07]$ $[-0.01; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Crisis -0.04 -0.03 Government x Crisis -0.01 $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Const. unemployment x Government $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.08; 0.02]$ Const. unemployment x Government $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.08; 0.02]$ Electoral safety x Government $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.08; 0.02]$ Electoral safety x Government $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.02; 0.05]$	Electoral safety			
Legislative seniority -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.02 -0.03 ; -0.00 $[-0.03; -0.00]$ $[-0.03; -0.00]$ $[-0.03; -0.00]$ $[-0.03; -0.00]$ $[-0.18]$ Government 0.18 0.17 0.18 Cabinet member 0.30 0.31 0.31 Cabinet member 0.30 0.31 0.31 Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 Const. unemployment x Crisis -0.04 -0.03 Electoral safety x Crisis -0.01 -0.00 Government x Crisis -0.01 -0.00 Const. unemployment x Government -0.01 -0.02 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 -0.02 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 -0.02 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 -0.02	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	[-0.02; 0.01]	[-0.02; 0.01]	[-0.02; 0.02]
Government 0.18 $[0.15; 0.21]$ 0.17 $[0.14; 0.21]$ 0.18 $[0.15; 0.2]$ Cabinet member 0.30 $[0.27; 0.34]$ [0.27; 0.34] [0.27; 0.3] Crisis 0.02 $[-0.00; 0.07]$ [-0.01; 0.0] Const. unemployment x Crisis [-0.02; 0.05] [-0.00; 0.07] [-0.01; 0.0] Electoral safety x Crisis -0.01 $[-0.07; -0.02]$ [-0.07; 0.0] Government x Crisis -0.01 $[-0.05; 0.02]$ [-0.05; 0.0] Const. unemployment x Government 0.01 $[-0.02; 0.0]$ [-0.08; 0.0] Electoral safety x Government -0.01 $[-0.02; 0.0]$ [-0.02; 0.0] Electoral safety x Government -0.01 $[-0.02; 0.0]$ [-0.02; 0.0]	Legislative seniority			
Cabinet member $[0.15; 0.21]$ $[0.14; 0.21]$ $[0.15; 0.2]$ Cabinet member $[0.30]$ $[0.31]$ $[0.31]$ Crisis $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ Crisis $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.00; 0.07]$ $[-0.01; 0.0]$ Const. unemployment x Crisis $[-0.04]$ $[-0.07; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Crisis $[-0.01]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Government x Crisis $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Const. unemployment x Government $[-0.02; 0.0]$ $[-0.02; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Government $[-0.02; 0.0]$ $[-0.02; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Government $[-0.02; 0.0]$ $[-0.02; 0.0]$,	[-0.03; -0.00]	[-0.03; -0.00]	[-0.03; -0.00]
Cabinet member 0.30 0.31 0.31 Crisis $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 Const. unemployment x Crisis -0.04 -0.03 Electoral safety x Crisis -0.01 -0.00 Government x Crisis -0.01 -0.05 ; 0.02 Government x Crisis -0.02 $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Const. unemployment x Government 0.01 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 Electoral safety x Government -0.01	Government	0.18	0.17	0.18
Crisis $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.27; 0.34]$ $[0.01; 0.06]$ $[-0.01; 0.06]$ $[-0.01; 0.06]$ $[-0.01; 0.06]$ $[-0.07; 0.06]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$				[0.15; 0.21]
Crisis 0.02 0.03 0.04 Const. unemployment x Crisis $[-0.02; 0.05]$ $[-0.00; 0.07]$ $[-0.01; 0.0]$ Const. unemployment x Crisis $[-0.07; -0.02]$ $[-0.07; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Crisis $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Government x Crisis $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Const. unemployment x Government $[-0.02; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Government $[-0.02; 0.0]$	Cabinet member			
				[0.27; 0.35]
Const. unemployment x Crisis -0.04 -0.03 Electoral safety x Crisis -0.01 -0.00 Electoral safety x Crisis -0.05 ; 0.02 $[-0.05$; 0.02 Government x Crisis -0.02 $[-0.08$; 0.02 Const. unemployment x Government 0.01 $[-0.02$; 0.02 Electoral safety x Government -0.01 $[-0.02$; 0.02	Crisis			
Electoral safety x Crisis $[-0.07; -0.02]$ $[-0.07; 0.02]$ $[-0.07; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.05; 0.02]$ $[-0.08; 0.02]$		[-0.02; 0.05]		
Electoral safety x Crisis -0.01 -0.00 Government x Crisis -0.02 $[-0.05; 0.02]$ Const. unemployment x Government $[-0.08; 0.0]$ Const. unemployment x Government $[-0.02; 0.0]$ Electoral safety x Government -0.01	Const. unemployment x Crisis			
Government x Crisis $ \begin{bmatrix} -0.05; \ 0.02 \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -0.05; \ 0.02 \end{bmatrix} $ $ \begin{bmatrix} -0.05; \ 0.02 \end{bmatrix} $ $ \begin{bmatrix} -0.08; \ 0.02 \end{bmatrix} $ $ \begin{bmatrix} -0.08; \ 0.01 \end{bmatrix} $ $ \begin{bmatrix} -0.02; \ 0.02 \end{bmatrix} $ Electoral safety x Government $ \begin{bmatrix} -0.02; \ 0.02 \end{bmatrix} $	Electoral sofety v. Crisis			
Government x Crisis -0.02 [-0.08; 0.0 Const. unemployment x Government 0.01 [-0.02; 0.0 Electoral safety x Government -0.01	Electoral salety x Crisis			
Const. unemployment x Government	Government v Crisis		[-0.03, 0.02]	
Const. unemployment x Government 0.01 [-0.02; 0.0] Electoral safety x Government -0.01	Government & Crisis			
Electoral safety x Government $\begin{bmatrix} -0.02; \ 0.01 \end{bmatrix}$	Const unemployment x Government			
Electoral safety x Government -0.01	const. unemproyment a covernment			[-0.02; 0.04]
·	Electoral safety x Government			
-0.05; 0.0	•			[-0.03; 0.02]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis -0.03	Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis			
[-0.08; 0.0]				[-0.08; 0.02]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis -0.02	Electoral safety x Government x Crisis			
[-0.08; 0.0]				[-0.08; 0.05]
N obs. 1430 1430 1430	N obs.	1430	1430	1430
N legislators 317 317 317				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.

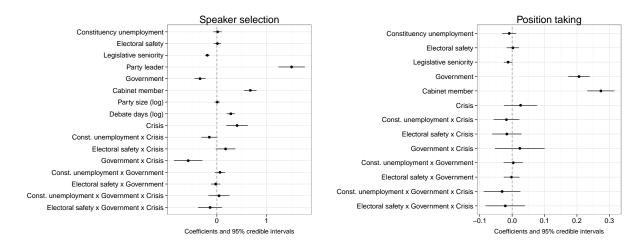


Figure C3: Coefficient plots for the effects on verbal support for the budget, from the selection model estimated with ML.

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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	-0.24
	[-1.16; -0.70]	[-0.29; -0.19]
Constituency unemployment	0.01	-0.01
	[-0.07; 0.10]	[-0.03; 0.01]
Electoral safety	0.01	0.00
	[-0.06; 0.08]	[-0.02; 0.02]
Legislative seniority	-0.19	-0.01
	[-0.24; -0.15]	[-0.03; 0.00]
Party leader	1.50	
	[1.24; 1.77]	
Government	-0.34	0.21
~	[-0.45; -0.23]	[0.17; 0.24]
Cabinet member	0.67	0.27
	[0.55; 0.80]	[0.23; 0.32]
Party size (log)	0.01	
	[-0.05; 0.06]	
Debate days (log)	0.28	
	[0.20; 0.36]	0.02
Crisis	0.41	0.03
Court court Citi	[0.19; 0.62]	[-0.03; 0.08]
Const. unemployment x Crisis	-0.15	-0.02
Electronal cofete or Coicia	[-0.31; 0.01]	[-0.06; 0.02]
Electoral safety x Crisis	0.18	-0.02
Covernment v. Crisis	[-0.02; 0.37] - 0.58	[-0.06; 0.03] 0.02
Government x Crisis	[-0.86; -0.29]	[-0.05; 0.10]
Const. unamployment v. Government	[-0.80, -0.29] 0.06	[-0.03, 0.10] 0.00
Const. unemployment x Government	[-0.04; 0.17]	[-0.03; 0.03]
Electoral safety x Government	[-0.04, 0.17] -0.02	[-0.03, 0.03] -0.00
Electoral salety x dovernment	[-0.12; 0.07]	[-0.03; 0.02]
Const. unemployment x Government x Crisis	0.04	[0.03, 0.02] -0.03
Const. unemployment a Government a Crisis	[-0.17; 0.26]	[-0.09; 0.03]
Electoral safety x Government x Crisis	-0.14	-0.02
Electoral safety A Government A Crisis	[-0.38; 0.10]	[-0.08; 0.04]
σ	[0.30, 0.10]	0.22
		[0.21; 0.23]
ρ		-0.20
r		[-0.42; 0.01]
	40.22	
N obs.	4333	4333
N legislators	444	444
N speakers	317	317

D Estimated Positions for Individual Speakers

