

Data File: clean\_macro.dta

Variable Name	Variable Label	Additional Description
country	Country Name	Country String
year	Election Year	Year
elec_date	Election Date	Date of general election
vote_share_cab	Gov Vote Share	% votes won by cabinet parties
vote_share_cab_tmin1	Gov Vote Share - Last Election	% votes at previous election by cabinet parties
vote_share_pm	PM Party Vote Share	% votes won by PM party
vote_share_pm_tmin1	PM Party Vote Share - Last Election	% votes share at previous election by PM's party
ENEP_tmin1	Party Fractionalisation - Last Election	Fractionalization Index. Source: Gallagher (see details)
parties_ingroup	Parties in Government	Number of parties in coalition
left_right_cabinet	Ideology of Government	1-10 scale (1=far left; 10=far right)
left_right_pm	Ideology of PM Party	1-10 scale (1=far left; 10=far right)
cab_ideal_sd	Gov Ideological Disparity	Standard deviation of government party left-right scale
parlgov_turnout	Turnout	Turnout %
election_month	Election Month	Election month
election_quarter	Election Quarter	Election quarter
co	Country Code	Country code. 1=AUT 2=BEL 3=DEU 4=DNK 5=ESP 6=FIN 7=FRA 8=GBR 9=GRC 10=IRL 11=ITA 12=LUX 13=NLD 14=PRT 15=SWE
seatshare_cabinet	Prior Government Seat Share	% seats held by governing coalition
eb	Eurobarometer Study #	Title number of closest prior Eurobarometer, to which election is matched (See list of included Eurobarometer surveys in readme file.)
satislfe_survey_mean	Life Satisfaction	Country-Survey mean (1-4 scale)
satis_resid_nocontrols	Residualized SWB (survey FEs)	Residualized life satisfaction (see text)
satis_resid_dem	Residualized SWB (survey FEs + Dem)	Residualized life satisfaction (see text)
satis_resid_dempluspol	Residualized SWB (survey FEs + Dem + Pol)	Residualized life satisfaction (see text)
sat1_pc	% satislfe==1	% responding "not at all"
sat2_pc	% satislfe==2	% responding "not very"
sat3_pc	% satislfe==3	% responding "fairly"
sat4_pc	% satislfe==4	% responding "very"
satislfe_sd	Std Dev SWB	Standard deviation of country-survey life satisfaction
survey_date	Survey Date	Eurobarometer survey date
satislfe_sd_overmean	Coefficient of Variation SWB	Country-survey SD/Mean life satisfaction
satislfe_electionyear_mean	SWB election year mean	Country-mean life satisfaction, pooled all surveys in election year
satislfe_electionyear_mean_L1	SWB election year mean (-1Y)	Pooled mean, year prior to election
satislfe_growthrate	SWB growth rate (Yt-1 to Yt)	% change in life sat from year prior to election to election year
unemployment_rate	Unemployment Rate	%. Source: OECD
inflation_rate	Inflation Rate	%. Source: OECD
gdppc_growth_rate	Per Capita GDP Growth Rate	%. Source: OECD
loggdp	GDP Per Capita	Natural Logarithm. Source: OECD
z_*	Standardized versions of main variables	z-scores
trend*	Time Trends	Country-specific linear time trends
quad_trend*	Time Trends	Country-specific quadratic time trends

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country	Country	Country (String)
co	Country code	Country code. 1=AUT 2=BEL 3=DEU 4=DNK 5=ESP 6=FIN 7=FRA 8=GBR 9=GRC 10=IRL 11=ITA 12=LUX 13=NLD 14=PRT 15=SWE
year	Survey year	Survey year
month	Survey Month	Survey Month
eb	Eurobarometer #	Eurobarometer Title Number (See list of included Eurobarometer surveys in readme file.)
satisfle	Life Satisfaction	1=not at all, 2=not very, 3=fairly, 4=very
voteint	Voting Intention	Voting intention. For country-specific party IDs, see Codebook Appendix, section Appendix 10 (page 686 onwards) at <a href="https://www.gesis.org/eurobarometer-data-service/search-data-access/eb-trends-trend-files/mannheim-eb-trend-file">https://www.gesis.org/eurobarometer-data-service/search-data-access/eb-trends-trend-files/mannheim-eb-trend-file</a> .
vote_wouldntvote	Vote Int: Blank/Wouldnt/Refused/DK	1 if would not vote
vote_pm	Vote Intention: PM party	1 if intends to vote for PM party
vote_cab	Vote Intention: Governing party	1 if intends to vote for cabinet party
lastvote_pm	Last vote was for PM party	1 if last vote was for current PM's party
lastvote_cab	Last vote was for governing party	1 if last vote was for party in current cabinet
better	Life Next Year: Better or worse	1=better, 2=same, 3=worse
finapast	Household Finances over past year	1=a lot better, 2=little better, 3=same, 4=little worse, 5=a lot worse
study_id	Eurobarometer study ID	Eurobarometer study ID (ZACAT identifier. See list of included Eurobarometer surveys in readme file.)
id	Eurobarometer unique person ID	Eurobarometer unique ID
age	Age	Age in years
age_sq	Age squared	Age in years squared
female	Female	1 if female
educ_0to15	Education: until 0-15 years old	1 if left education before 16
educ_16to19	Education: until 16-19 years old	1 if left education 16-19 years old
educ_20plus	Education: until 20+ years old	1 if left education after 20
educ_stillstudying	Education: still studying	1 if still studying
educ_missing	Education: missing	1 if education missing
mar4_single	Marital status: Single	1 if single
mar4_married	Marital status: Married/Live as Married	1 if married
mar4_divsep	Marital status: Divorced/Separated	1 if divorced/separated
mar4_widowed	Marital status: Widow/Widower	1 if widowed
mar4_missing	Marital status: Missing	1 if marital status missing
cabinet_id	Parlgov Cabinet ID	Parlgov Cabinet ID
parliament_id	Parlgov Parliament ID	Parlgov Parliament ID
seatshare_cabinet	Government Seat Share	Current government seat share (Parlgov)
left_right_cabinet	Right-wingness of Government	1-10 scale (1=far left; 10=far right)
left_right_pm	Right-wingness of PM Party	1-10 scale (1=far left; 10=far right)
cab_ideol_sd	Gov. Ideological Disparity	Standard deviation of government party positions on left-right scale
parties_ingroup	Num. of Government Parties	Number of parties in power
ENEP_tmin1	Effective Number of Parties	Fractionalization Index. Source: Gallagher (see details)
ideol_proximity	Ideological Distance from Gov.	Absolute distance between respondent's and government's ideology (see details)
country_eb	Survey	Country*Survey
version	EB Version	Dataset version
egotrop_econ1	Household Finances over past year: a lot better	Dummy for individual response
egotrop_econ2	A little better	Dummy for individual response
egotrop_econ3	Stayed the same	Dummy for individual response
egotrop_econ4	A little worse	Dummy for individual response
egotrop_econ5	A lot worse	Dummy for individual response
satisf1-satisf4	Life satisfaction	Dummies for individual responses to satisfle
z_satisfle	Life satisfaction	z-scored life satisfaction (satisfle)

**Data File:** clean\_soep.dta

Variable Name	Variable Label	Additional Description
year	Survey Year	Survey Year
wave	Survey Wave	Survey Wave
id	Never Changing Person ID	Never Changing Person ID
month	Survey Month	Survey Month
reg	State of Residence	[1] Schleswig-Holstein [2] Hamburg [3] Lower Saxony [4] Bremen [5] North-Rhine-Westfalia [6] Hessen [7] Rheinland-Pfalz [8] Baden-Wuerttemberg [9] Bavaria [10] Saarland [11] Berlin [12] Brandenburg [13] Mecklenburg-Vorpommern [14] Saxony [15] Saxony-Anhalt [16] Thuringia
lifesatisfaction	Life Satisfaction	0-11 scale (0=not at all, 10=completely)
sat_lifein5y	Life Satisfaction in 5 Years	0-11 scale (0=not at all, 10=completely)
finances_worried	Worries About Finances	1=very concerned , 2=somewhat, 3=not at all
fin_worr1-fin_worr3	Worries About Finances	Dummies for response categories
women	Female	1 if female
age	Age	Age in years
agesq	Age-squared	Age in years squared
income_gross_nominal	Gross Nominal HH Income	Annual pre-tax household income (euros)
logincome	Log Income	Natural logarithm of household income
mar_married	Marital: Married	1 if married
mar_single	Marital: Single	1 if single
mar_divsep	Marital: Divorced/Separated	1 if divorced/separated
mar_widowed	Marital: Widowed	1 if widowed
pol_supports_edu	Supports: CDU/CSU	1 if supports CDU/CSU
pol_supports_spd	Supports: SPD	1 if supports SPD
pol_supports_fdp	Supports: FDP	1 if supports FDP
pol_supports_green	Supports: Gruene	1 if supports Greens
pol_supports_govparty	Supports Government Party	1 if supports government party
z_lifesatisfaction	Life Satisfaction	z-score
count_id	# Waves Observed in SOEP	1-31 waves

Data File: clean\_bhps.dta

Variable Name	Variable Label	Additional Description
wave	Survey Wave	Survey Wave
id	Never Changing Person ID	Person ID, combined BHPS/UKHLS
pid	Never Changing Person ID (BHPS)	Person ID for BHPS
year	Survey Year	Survey Year
month	Survey Month	Survey Month
reg	Government region	Government Office Region. 1= North East 2= North West 3=Yorkshire & Humber 4=East Midlands 5=West Midlands 6=East of England 7=London 8=South East 9=South West 10=Wales 11=Scotland
lifesatisfaction	Life Satisfaction	1-7 scale (1=not at all, 7=completely)
finansit_today	Financial Situation: Today	1=finding it very difficult, 2=finding it quite difficult, 3=just about getting by, 4=doing alright, 5=living comfortably
fin_today*	Financial Situation: Today	Dummies for response categories
finansit_1ychange	Financial Situation: Since Past Year	1=worse off , 2=about same, 3=better off
fin_1ych1*	Financial Situation: Since Past Year	Dummies for response categories
finansit_future	Financial Situation: Future	1=worse, 2=same, 3=better
fin_fut1*	Financial Situation: Future	Dummies for response categories
women	Female	1 if female
age	Age	Age in years
agesq	Age-squared	Age in years squared
income_gross_nominal_equiv	HH Income (equivalized)	Annual pre-tax household income (GBP)
logincome	Household Income (ln)	Natural logarithm of household income
mar_single	Marital: Single	1 if married
mar_married	Marital: Married	1 if single
mar_divsep	Marital: Divorced/Separated	1 if divorced/separated
mar_widowed	Marital: Widowed	1 if widowed
pol_supports_lab	Supports: Labour Party	1 if supports Labour
pol_supports_con	Supports: Tory Party	1 if supports Conservatives
pol_supports_lib	Supports: Lib Dems	1 if supports Liberal Democrats
pol_supports_govparty	Supports Government Party	1 if supports government party
z_lifesatisfaction	Life Satisfaction	z-score
count_pid	# Waves Observed in BHPS	1-17 waves

## Additional Data Description

### 1. National-Level Analysis

SWB data are drawn from the Eurobarometer, a series of national surveys by the European Commission that began in 1973 and have been carried out typically twice a year since. The Eurobarometer began with the original 9 EU member states in 1973, and has expanded over time along with the European Union (EU). I examine a panel of the 15 longest-duration EU members during the 1973-2014 period. For each national survey, a new and independent random sample of approximately 1,000 individuals from each country is interviewed face-to-face. The countries included are: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden. A number of further states joined the EU (and thus also the Eurobarometer) in 2004, but are not included as there is only a relatively small number of SWB surveys, and even fewer matching electoral data points, available for these countries.

**National Happiness.** I code responses to the question “*On the whole, are you i) very satisfied, ii) fairly satisfied, iii) not very satisfied, or iv) not at all satisfied with the life you lead?*” such that 4 corresponds to the “very satisfied” category and 1 to the “not at all” category. Following the literature, I then calculate each country’s linear average life satisfaction on this 1-4 scale at each survey.<sup>23</sup> In supplementary analysis, I first adjust these responses for individual-level determinants of life satisfaction such as demographic differences and political partisanship.

**Government Vote Share.** This is the total percentage of votes won collectively by all of the parties that are in the governing coalition prior to the election. In further models I also consider the vote share received by the main coalition party only. The sample consists of 145 parliamentary elections during the 1973-2014 period. Six elections are dropped from the analysis, leaving 139 in the regression analysis.<sup>24</sup> Electoral data is drawn from the University of Bremen’s Parliament and Government Composition (ParlGov) database.

**Turnout.** Votes cast as a percentage of the electorate (source: ParlGov).

**Number of parties in government.** The number of parties that are part of the governing coalition in the run-up to the general election.

**Government seat share.** Collective seat share in parliament of the governing coalition.

**Government ideological disparity.** A measure of how unified a governing coalition is in terms of its political positions. For each party in the coalition, the ideological position of the party is computed by taking the mean of four of the main left-right scales used in the political science literature (Benoit and Laver, 2006; Castles and Mair, 1984; Hooghe et al., 2010; Huber and Inglehart, 1995). The disparity measure is then calculated as the standard deviation of this scale across all of the parties in government prior to the election.

**Party fractionalization.** Effective Number of Parties (ENP), calculated following Laakso and Taagepera (1979) as  $ENP = \frac{1}{\sum(v_i)^2}$ , where  $v$  is percentage of votes for party  $i$  at the last election. (Source: Michael Gallagher - [https://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/people/michael\\_gallagher/](https://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/people/michael_gallagher/))

<sup>23</sup>Treating categorical SWB answers as a linear measure is standard in the literature and has been shown to make little difference. Stevenson and Wolfers (2008) compare a number of different aggregation methods, and find the simple linear mean correlates almost perfectly with more technically sophisticated methods.

<sup>24</sup>In each case the country was being led prior to the election by a non-partisan, meaning there is no incumbent vote share to be explained. These are: Greece 1989 (second election, at which the government was led by Ioannis Grivas); Greece 1990 (Xenophon Zolotas); Greece 2012 (second election, Panagiotis Pikrammenos); Italy 1994 (Carlo Azeglio Ciampi); Italy 1996 (Lamberto Dini); Italy 2013 (Mario Monti).

gallagher/E1Systems/Docts/ElectionIndices.pdf)

**Economic Growth.** Percentage change in per capita GDP (measured in USD 2010, PPP) from the year prior to the election to the year of the election.<sup>25</sup> All macroeconomic variables are drawn from the OECD (supplemented where unavailable by World Bank data).

**Unemployment Rate.** Percent of the civilian labor force unemployed (OECD).

**Inflation Rate.** CPI inflation rate (OECD).

Table S1: Summary Statistics: National-Level Analysis

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Cabinet Vote Share	139	43.22	9.5	16.85	74.3
PM Party Vote Share	136	32.31	9.4	10.1	51.6
Life Satisfaction	139	3.1	.31	2.12	3.65
Per Capita GDP Growth Rate	139	1.85	2.63	-6.8	9.7
Unemployment Rate	139	7.94	4.07	.04	24.49
Inflation Rate	139	4.8	4.89	-.9	24.51
Turnout	139	78.79	9.55	57.22	95.09
Number of Parties in Government	139	2.21	1.21	1	6
Cabinet Seat Share	139	.53	.11	.12	.89
Cabinet Ideological Disparity	139	.84	.82	0	2.57
Effective Number of Parties	139	4.56	1.7	2.46	10.28

## 2. Individual-Level Eurobarometer Analysis

**Intends to Vote for Government.** Equal to 1 if intends to vote for a governing party. Derived from the question “*If there were a general election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?*” I match these responses to the parties in government (using the ParlGov database) during the month of the survey.

Prior to 1989, this question was phrased slightly differently as: “If there were a general election tomorrow, which party would you support?” I treat this as equivalent to the main question above. However, in a few countries (Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland) in the early rounds of the survey an alternative question that simply asked “*Generally speaking, which political party do you feel closer to?*” was included. I drop these surveys since this is not a voting intention question.

**Life Satisfaction.** “*On the whole, are you i) very satisfied, ii) fairly satisfied, iii) not very satisfied, or iv) not at all satisfied with the life you lead?*”

**Demographics.** 1 if female; age in years; age<sup>2</sup>; Education (dummies for left education at: 0-15 years old, 16-19 years old, 20+ years old, still studying, missing); Marital status (dummies for single, married, divorced/separated, widowed, missing).

**Household Finances.** “*Compared to 12 months ago, do you think the financial situation of your household, now is ... ?*” The response categories are ‘a lot worse’, ‘a little worse’, ‘about the same’, ‘a little better’, and ‘a lot better’. Included in subset of surveys only. Ceased to be asked before Austria, Finland, Sweden joined the survey.

**National Political Controls.** As in the aggregate analysis.

**Previous Vote.** “*Which party did you vote for at the last General Election of [year of last general election in respective country]?*”

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<sup>25</sup>Results using lags of the main macroeconomic indicators are available upon request, and do not alter the results.

**Ideological Distance.** i) Individual's ideology is taken from survey question: “*In political matters people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale?*” 1 to 10 scale, on which 1 is far left and 10 far right. ii) Government ideological position is taken as the mean of the four main “expert” left-right scales in the literature (Benoit and Laver, 2006; Castles and Mair, 1984; Hooghe et al., 2010; Huber and Inglehart, 1995). This is calculated by the ParlGov database for each party, and lies on a 0-10 scale. I create a government ideological position by taking the mean of all of the parties in government, weighted by their respective vote shares at the previous election. iii) Both scales are normalized to sit between 0 and 1. iv) The absolute distance between the two scales is the ideological distance between voter and government.

**Life Next Year.** “*So far as you are concerned, do you think that [1981] will be better or worse than [1980]?*”

Table S2: Descriptive Statistics: Micro-Level Eurobarometer

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Likely Voter	411989	.708	.455	0	1
Vote Intention: Governing party	411989	.313	.464	0	1
Vote Intention: PM party	395903	.24	.427	0	1
Life Satisfaction	411989	3.057	.762	1	4
Vote Intention: Gov (likely voters only)	291523	.442	.497	0	1
Vote Intention: PM (likely voters only)	280462	.339	.473	0	1
Life Satisfaction (likely voters only)	291523	3.094	.75	1	4
Financial Situation: A lot better	94276	.032	.175	0	1
A little better	94276	.164	.371	0	1
Stayed the same	94276	.481	.5	0	1
A little worse	94276	.234	.424	0	1
A lot worse	94276	.089	.284	0	1
Life Next Year: Better	129723	.348	.476	0	1
Same	129723	.403	.49	0	1
Worse	129723	.249	.433	0	1
Num. of Government Parties	411989	2.293	1.395	1	6
Government Seat Share	411989	.549	.098	.296	.99
Effective Number of Parties	411989	4.506	1.714	2.46	10.28
Gov. Ideological Disparity	411989	.8	.768	0	2.806
Female	411989	.519	.5	0	1
Age	411989	44.307	17.314	18	99
Education: until 16-19 years old	411989	.354	.478	0	1
Education: until 20+ years old	411989	.184	.387	0	1
Education: still studying	411989	.058	.234	0	1
Married/Live as Married	411989	.647	.478	0	1
Divorced/Separated	411989	.044	.204	0	1
Widow/Widower	411989	.078	.269	0	1

### 3. Individual-Level Panel Analysis

Note: Two important caveats on comparisons. First, political support is asked in a different manner in the SOEP and the BHPS, making exact comparison between the two datasets difficult. Second, although the BHPS comes relatively close, neither panel dataset can be fully described as having a “voting intention” question such as that used in the Eurobarometer (as well as elsewhere

in other election studies).

### 3.1 British Household Panel Survey (BHPS)

The BHPS ceased to exist in 2008, but in 2010 its participants were subsumed into the UKHLS. I join together the two surveys, and follow the BHPS sample only, through until 2014.

I drop respondents in Northern Ireland from the analysis, since the party political landscape is very different to the rest of the United Kingdom.

**Life Satisfaction.** “*How satisfied are you with ... life overall?*” Responses are given on a 1 to 7 scale, on which 1 means “not at all satisfied” and 7 “completely satisfied”. In the UKHLS, the response categories remain on a 1 to 7 scale but change slightly to run from “completely dissatisfied” to “completely satisfied”. The question was first included in 1996 and repeated annually since, apart from in 2001.

**Supports Government.** Information is elicited in stages. Individuals are first asked whether they think of themselves as a supporter of any one political party (and if so which). If they say they do not, then they are asked whether they think of themselves as a little closer to one political party (and if so which). If they again say they do not, then they are asked: “*If there were to be a General Election tomorrow, which political party do you think you would be most likely to support?*” Combining this information, I create an indicator variable equal to 1 if the respondent is a supporter of a governing party.

**Demographics.** Age in years; age<sup>2</sup>; Marital status (dummies for single married, divorced/separated, widowed); region. OLS models (pooled cross-section) also include: 1 if female; dummies for highest level of education achieved.

**Household Finances.** “*How well would you say you yourself are managing financially these days? Would you say you are... living comfortably; doing alright; just about getting by; finding it quite<sup>26</sup> difficult; finding it very difficult?*”

Table S3: Descriptive Statistics: BHPS

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Supports Government Party	162069	.33	.47	0	1
Life Satisfaction	162069	5.19	1.33	1	7
HH Finances: Finding it Very Difficult	162069	.02	.14	0	1
Finding it Quite Difficult	162069	.05	.22	0	1
Just About Getting By	162069	.24	.43	0	1
Doing Alright	162069	.38	.48	0	1
Living Comfortably	162069	.31	.46	0	1
Household Income (ln)	162069	7.12	.75	-4.61	10.68
Age	162069	47.29	17.87	18	100
Married	162069	.68	.47	0	1
Divorced/Separated	162069	.08	.26	0	1
Widowed	162069	.07	.26	0	1

<sup>26</sup>In British usage, “quite” is similar to “fairly” (as opposed to a synonym of “very”, as in US usage).

Table S4: Descriptive Statistics: SOEP

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Supports Government Party	475888	.23	.42	0	1
Life Satisfaction	475888	7.07	1.78	0	10
Life Satisfaction in 5 Years	274767	7.03	1.93	0	10
HH Finances: Very Concerned	475888	.2	.4	0	1
Somewhat Concerned	475888	.5	.5	0	1
Not Concerned At All	475888	.31	.46	0	1
Log Income	475888	9.83	1.84	0	15.43
Age	475888	46.33	17.04	18	104
Married	475888	.64	.48	0	1
Divorced/Separated	475888	.08	.27	0	1
Widowed	475888	.06	.23	0	1

### 3.2 German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP)

**Life Satisfaction.** “*How satisfied are you with your life, all things considered?*” Responses are measured on an 11-point scale, on which 0 corresponds to “completely dissatisfied” and 10 to “completely satisfied”.

**Future Life Satisfaction.** “*And how do you think you will feel in five years?*” Responses are measured on an 11-point scale, on which 0 corresponds to “completely dissatisfied” and 10 to “completely satisfied”.

**Supports Government.** Respondents are asked if they have a general preference for a political party, and if so, which. Equal to 1 if responds with a party that is in the governing coalition during the month of the survey.

**Demographics.** Age in years; age<sup>2</sup>; Marital status (dummies for single married, divorced/separated, widowed); region. OLS models (pooled cross-section) also include: 1 if female; dummies for highest level of education achieved.

**Household Finances.** Respondents are asked about their worries/concerns (*Sorge*) about their economic situation. 3 response categories: Very concerned, somewhat concerned, not concerned at all.