

## **Rights without Resources: The Impact of Constitutional Social Rights on Social Spending**

### **Supplementary Materials**

These materials provide information that supplements the analysis and results presented in the body of our paper. The supplementary materials are broken down into six parts. Those parts present: (1) information on the 87 constitutional rights used for our ideal point analysis and a graph that shows their trajectory over time; (2) additional information on the four social rights that feature in our analysis; (3) summary statistics for the dependent, treatment, and control variables used in our primary analysis; (4) additional information on the matched samples used in our primary analysis; (5) robustness checks using the percent of government spending on education and healthcare (as opposed to public spending as a percent of GDP) as the dependent variable; and (6) complete regression results for all the tables presented in the body of the paper.

## **1. Constitutional Rights Data**

This part provides information on our data on countries constitutional rights. This information is divided into two parts: (A) a table listing the 87 constitutional rights that we used to conduct our ideal point estimation; and (B) a figure depicting the average number of these 87 rights in the world's constitutions for the period 1946-2012.

## *A. Rights Used in Ideal Point Estimation*

### **87 Rights Used in Ideal Point Estimation**

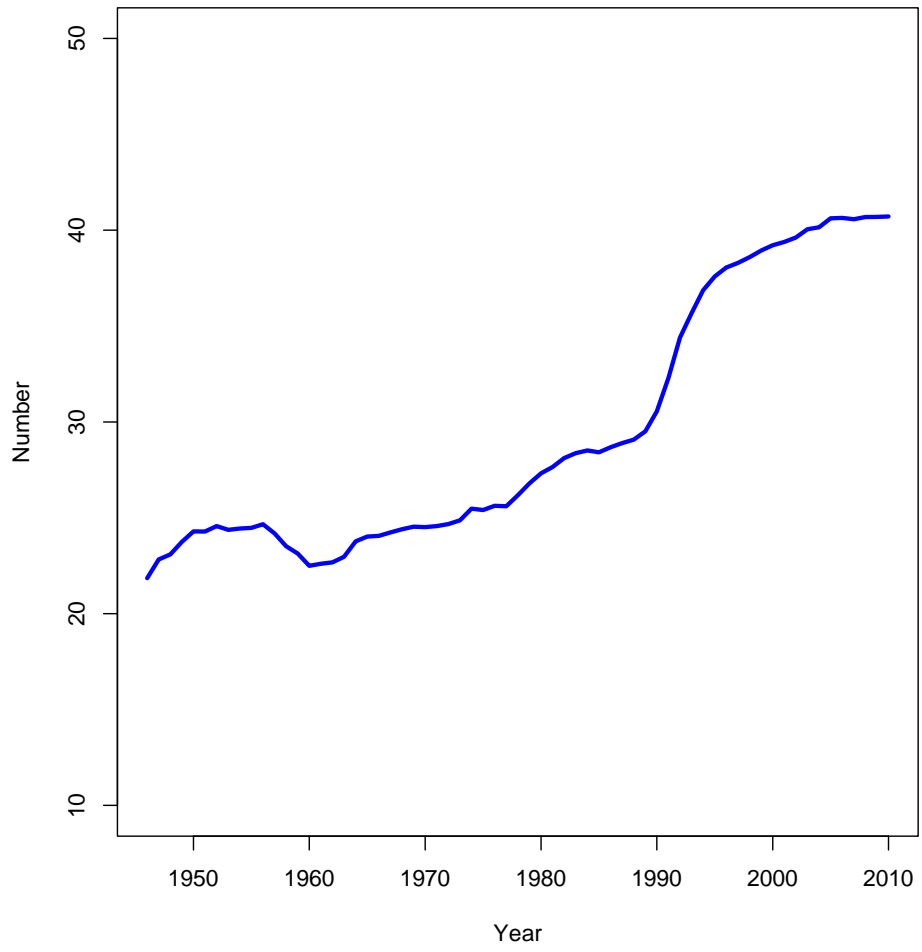
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Right to freedom of religion	Rights for prisoners
Freedom of press and/or expression	Right to due process
Right to assembly and/ or association	Right to equality
Right to strike and/ or unionize	Right to private property
Right to vote	Right to education
Freedom to form political parties	Right to work
Right to a remedy when rights are violated	Right to health
Right to petition	Right to social security
Right to information about government	Freedom of enterprise
Right to compensation	Right to rest
Right to resist when rights are violated	Right to minimum wage
Right to “petition for amparo”	Right to housing
Right to establish private schools	Right to work for the government
Freedom of education	Right to favorable working conditions
Right to privacy of family life	Intellectual property
Right to protection of one’s reputation or honor	Right to sport
Prohibition of death penalty	Right to adequate standard of living
Right to privacy of personal data	Prohibition of child labor
Free development of personality	Prohibition of confiscation
Protection of rights for unborn children	Right to food
Right to bear arms	Right to water
Prohibition of arbitrary arrest and detention	Right to establish a family
Right to privacy of the home	Rights for children
Right to privacy of communication	Special protection of mothers
Freedom of movement	Right to get married
Prohibition of torture	Equality husband and wife within the family
Right to life	Rights for elderly people
Right not to be expelled from home territory	Special protection of women
Prohibition of slavery	Women empowerment in labor relations
Right to personal privacy	Right to maternity leave
Artistic freedom	Right to a healthy environment
Right of access to court (habeas corpus)	Right to culture
Prohibition of ex post facto laws	Protection of minority language
Presumption of innocence	Right to preserve traditional ways
Right to present a defense	Right to asylum
Right to counsel	Special protection of minorities
Right to public trial	Rights for handicapped people
Prohibition of double jeopardy	Schooling right for minorities
Right to remain silent	Rights for consumers
Right to a timely trial	Right for minorities to use indigenous lands
Right to an interpreter	Rights for victims of crimes
Right to fair trial	
Right to appeal to higher court	
Representation right for minorities	
Autonomy for minorities	

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*B. Average Number of Constitutional Rights Over Time*

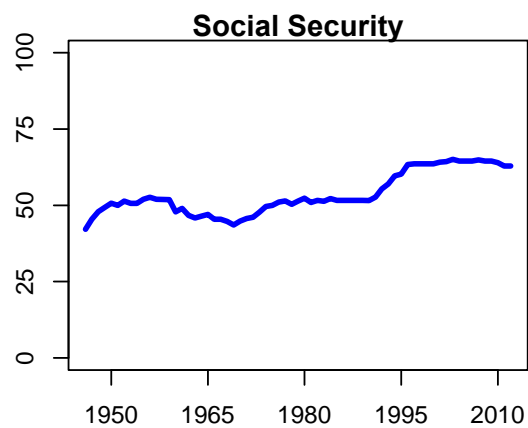
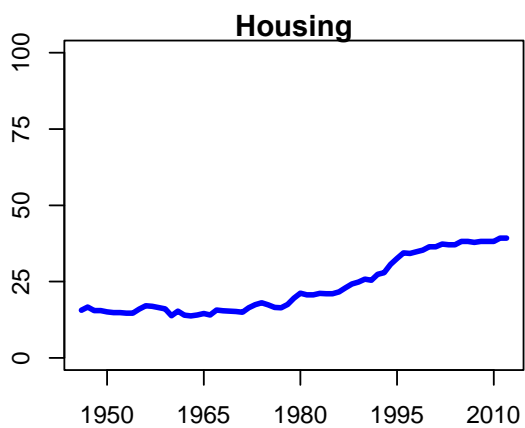
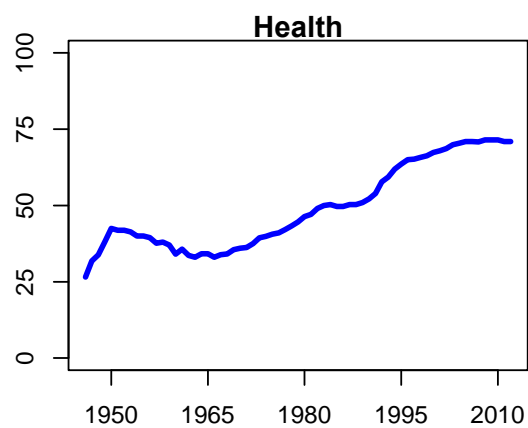
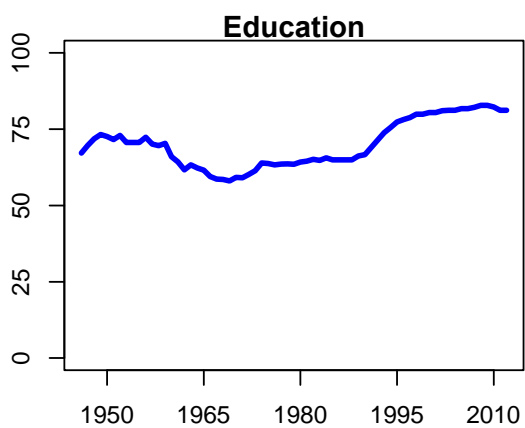
**Average Number of All 87 Rights over Time**



## 2. Constitutional Social Rights Data

This part presents more information on the four social rights that are analyzed in this paper. This information is divided into two sections: (A) the percent of countries that have each right from 1946 to 2012; and (B) maps showing which countries have each right in 2012.

### *A. Percent of Countries with Social Rights in Their Constitutions Over Time*



*B. Countries with Social Rights in Their Constitutions in 2012*

**Countries with the Right to Education in 2012**



**Countries with the Right to Healthcare in 2012**



**Countries with the Right to Housing in 2012**



**Countries with the Right to Social Security in 2012**



### 3. Summary Statistics

This Part provides summary statistics for the dependent, treatment, and control variables used to study the right to education and the right to healthcare. Although the same control variables were used to study each right, the summary statistics are presented separately because the possible samples vary due to limitations on the dependent variables. For the control variables, we present information on the samples with and without the use of Amelia to input missing values of the control variables.

<b>Summary Statistics for Right to Education</b>					
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Obs.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>St. Dev.</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<b><i>Dependent Variable</i></b>					
Education Spending (% of GDP)	3,042	4.54	2.02	0	44.33
<b><i>Treatment Variable</i></b>					
Right to Education	3,042	0.75	0.43	0	1
<b><i>Control Variables (with Imputation)</i></b>					
Probability of Right	3,042	0.76	0.41	0	1
Urban Population	3,042	54.83	23.60	4.11	100.00
Population Over 65	3,042	7.71	4.90	0.59	24.40
Inflation	3,042	16.29	86.64	-357.94	3057.63
GDP Per Capita (ln)	3,042	8.79	1.17	5.95	12.57
GDP Growth	3,042	2.33	4.79	-31.18	58.36
Polity Score	3,042	3.39	6.92	-10.00	10.00
Interstate War	3,042	0.06	0.24	0	1
Civil War	3,042	0.02	0.15	0	1
<b><i>Control Variables (without Imputation)</i></b>					
Urban Population	3,042	54.83	23.60	4.11	100.00
Population Over 65	3,012	7.72	4.91	1.00	24.40
Inflation	3,000	15.41	82.79	-31.57	3057.63
GDP Per Capita (ln)	2,855	8.78	1.18	5.95	11.73
GDP Growth	2,995	2.32	4.81	-31.18	58.36
Polity Score	2,817	3.47	7.12	-10.00	10.00
Interstate War	3,042	0.06	0.24	0	1
Civil War	3,042	0.02	0.15	0	1



**Summary Statistics for Right to Healthcare**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Obs.</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>St. Dev.</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<b><i>Dependent Variable</i></b>					
Healthcare Spending (% of GDP)	3,227	3.63	2.23	0.01	19.81
<b><i>Treatment Variable</i></b>					
Right to Healthcare	3,227	0.69	0.46	0.00	1.00
<b><i>Control Variables (with Imputation)</i></b>					
Probability of Right	3,227	0.65	0.44	0	1
Urban Population	3,227	53.65	23.15	7.21	100.00
Population Over 65	3,227	7.15	4.84	0.33	24.40
Inflation	3,227	16.42	137.85	-357.94	5399.53
GDP Per Capita (ln)	3,227	8.78	1.24	5.42	12.57
GDP Growth	3,227	2.63	6.04	-62.47	142.07
Polity Score	3,227	3.39	6.12	-10.00	10.00
Interstate War	3,227	0.03	0.16	0	1
Civil War	3,227	0.00	0.07	0	1
<b><i>Control Variables (without Imputation)</i></b>					
Urban Population	3,227	53.65	23.15	7.21	100.00
Population Over 65	3,155	7.11	4.89	0.33	24.40
Inflation	3,173	15.58	136.79	-32.81	5399.53
GDP Per Capita (ln)	2,705	8.68	1.25	5.42	11.81
GDP Growth	3,166	2.63	6.08	-62.47	142.07
Polity Score	2,780	3.49	6.44	-10.00	10.00
Interstate War	3,227	0.03	0.16	0	1
Civil War	3,227	0.00	0.07	0	1

#### 4. Matching Results

This Part provides additional information on the matched samples used in the primary analysis of the paper. This information is divided into four sections: (A) reports the balance statistics for the two matched samples used in the primary regressions; (B) includes information on the number of countries included in each of the two matched samples used in the main analysis; (C) provides maps illustrating which countries are included in the matched samples (countries are shaded in increasingly darker shades of gray as they appear in the sample in more years); (D) presents figures that show the distribution of the frequencies that different countries appeared in our matched samples.

##### *A. Balance Statistics*

	<b>Education</b>		<b>Healthcare</b>	
	Full Sample	Matched Sample	Full Sample	Matched Sample
Sample Size	2,356	540	3,045	886
Treatment Units	1,792	270	2,095	443
Control Units	564	270	950	443
Mean Distance – Treatment Group	0.893	0.688	0.850	0.608
Mean Distance – Control Group	0.341	0.573	0.331	0.520
Improvement in Balance		79%		83%

##### *B. Number of Countries in the Matched Samples*

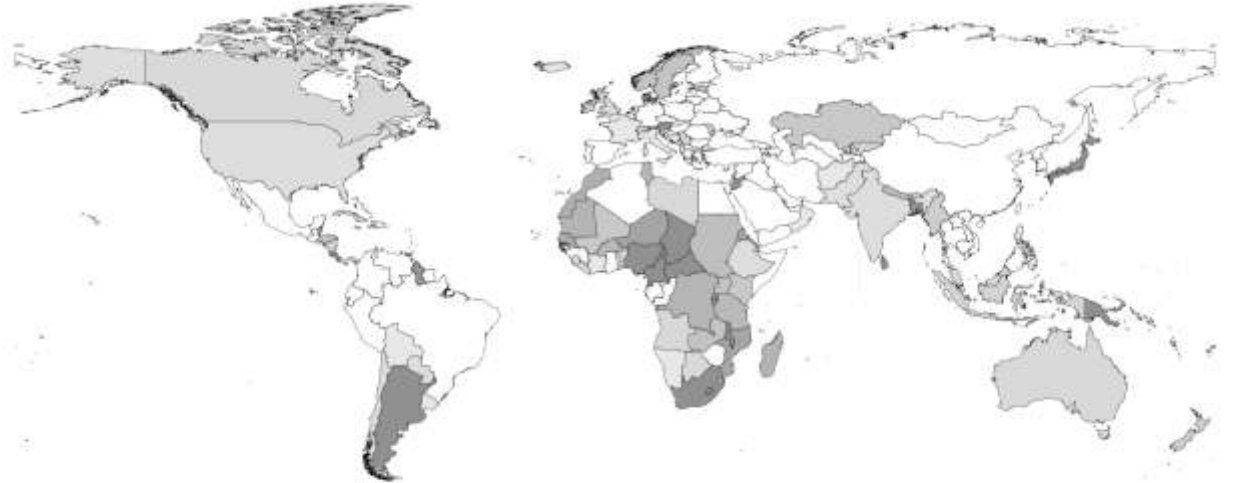
	<b>Education</b>	<b>Healthcare</b>
Control	41	64
Treated	76	68
Overall	107	107

*C. Maps of Frequencies of Countries Included in the Matched Samples*

**Education**



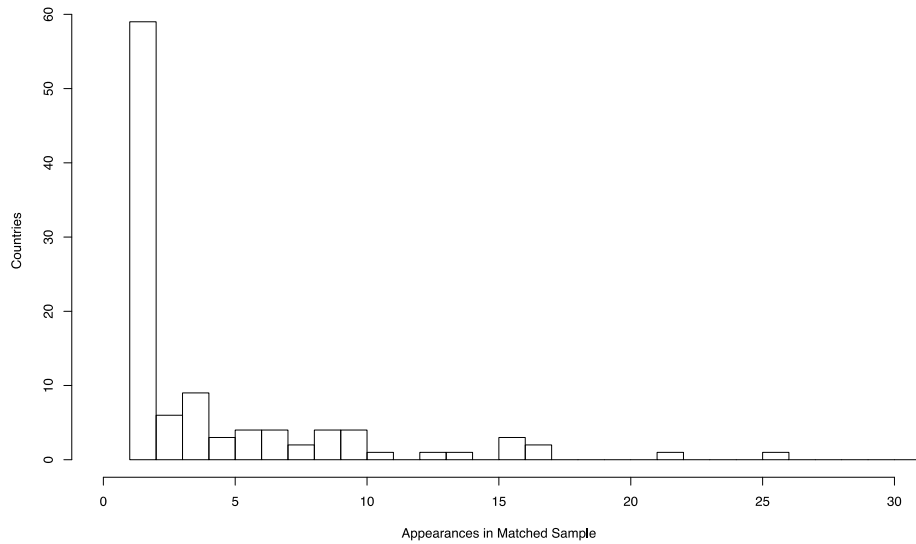
*Healthcare*



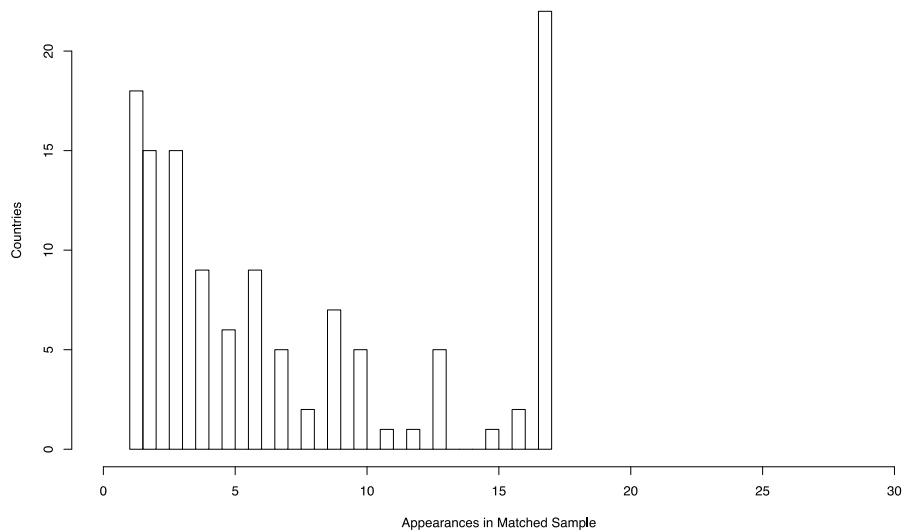
### ***D. Frequency of Countries Appearing in the Matched Samples***

These bar graphs show the number of countries that appear in the matched samples at different frequencies. The x-axis represents the number of observations that come from a single country in a matched sample. The y-axis presents the number of countries that appear at that frequency.

#### **Education**



#### **Healthcare**



## 5. Alternative Dependent Variable

This part reports the results from the regressions in Part 5.1 and 5.2 of the paper when using an alternative version of the dependent variable. Instead of using public spending on education and healthcare as a percent of GDP as the dependent variables, these regressions use the percent of public spending on education and healthcare as the dependent variables.

<b>Panel A: Baseline Specifications</b>		
	Education	Health
Right	0.357 (0.226)	-0.010 (0.138)
Probability of Right	-0.128 (0.294)	-0.226 (0.262)
Urban Population	0.003 (0.007)	0.012 (0.010)
Population Over 65	-0.038 (0.046)	-0.002 (0.018)
Inflation	0.006*** (0.002)	-0.001** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.127 (0.201)	-0.176 (0.158)
GDP Growth	-0.019 (0.039)	-0.051*** (0.018)
Polity Score	0.027 (0.038)	0.009 (0.021)
Interstate War	-2.454 (1.931)	-0.360 (0.353)
Civil War	--	-1.096* (0.584)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.910*** (0.038)	0.950*** (0.027)
Year	0.008 (0.023)	-0.076 (0.075)
Observations	350	844
R-squared	0.850	0.809

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.  
- All models include year fixed effects.  
- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel B: Without Matching**

	Education	Health
Right	0.061 (0.212)	-0.031 (0.161)
Probability of Right	-0.391 (0.255)	-0.167 (0.173)
Urban Population	0.001 (0.005)	0.002 (0.003)
Population Over 65	-0.032* (0.018)	0.028** (0.013)
Inflation	0.003 (0.004)	-0.001** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.053 (0.117)	-0.048 (0.051)
GDP Growth	-0.005 (0.015)	-0.015** (0.008)
Polity Score	0.003 (0.015)	0.030** (0.012)
Interstate War	-0.048 (0.256)	-0.066 (0.191)
Civil War	-0.046 (0.252)	-1.055*** (0.322)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.875*** (0.041)	0.872*** (0.048)
Year	0.016 (0.015)	-0.026 (0.018)
Observations	1,482	3,045
R-squared	0.840	0.805

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel C: Without Nominate**

	Education	Health
Right	-0.157 (0.208)	-0.135 (0.102)
Probability of Right		
Urban Population	-0.000 (0.005)	0.002 (0.003)
Population Over 65	-0.040** (0.017)	0.025** (0.012)
Inflation	0.003 (0.004)	-0.001** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.014 (0.108)	-0.030 (0.051)
GDP Growth	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.016** (0.008)
Polity Score	0.006 (0.014)	0.031*** (0.012)
Interstate War	0.001 (0.245)	-0.066 (0.189)
Civil War	0.020 (0.252)	-1.048*** (0.322)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.879*** (0.040)	0.872*** (0.047)
Year	0.018 (0.016)	-0.027 (0.018)
Observations	1,482	3,045
R-squared	0.840	0.805

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel D: Without Amelia**

	Education	Health
Right	-0.294 (0.224)	-0.143 (0.131)
Probability of Right		
Urban Population	-0.004 (0.005)	0.004 (0.004)
Population Over 65	-0.060*** (0.020)	0.034* (0.019)
Inflation	-0.014 (0.009)	-0.001** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.010 (0.112)	-0.081 (0.076)
GDP Growth	-0.008 (0.015)	-0.009 (0.007)
Polity Score	0.010 (0.015)	0.033** (0.014)
Interstate War	-0.125 (0.224)	-0.039 (0.229)
Civil War	0.015 (0.241)	-1.165** (0.447)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.854*** (0.047)	0.851*** (0.070)
Year	0.021 (0.015)	-0.043** (0.021)
Observations	1,303	2,264
R-squared	0.849	0.778

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



**Panel E: Without Controls**

	Education	Health
Right	0.518 (1.217)	0.426 (0.534)
Observations	1,920	3,227
R-squared	0.809	0.852

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects, country fixed effects, and country specific time trends.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

## 6. Complete Regression Results

This part reports the complete regression results for the results reported in the body of the paper.

This information is divided into four sections: (A) the results reported in Part 5.2; (B) the results reported in Part 6.1; (C) the results reported in Part 6.2; and (D) the results reported in Part 6.3.

### *A. Results Reported in Part 5.2—Alternative Specifications*

<b>Panel A: Baseline Specifications</b>		
	Education	Health
Right	0.031 (0.056)	0.023 (0.030)
Probability of Right	-0.045 (0.056)	-0.066* (0.037)
Urban Population	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.007 (0.009)	0.004 (0.005)
Inflation	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.073 (0.051)	-0.017 (0.020)
GDP Growth	-0.012** (0.006)	-0.010*** (0.003)
Polity Score	0.012** (0.006)	0.004 (0.003)
Interstate War	0.320** (0.149)	-0.049 (0.057)
Civil War	-0.367* (0.210)	-0.115 (0.071)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.934*** (0.016)	0.986*** (0.009)
Year	-0.003 (0.004)	0.002 (0.007)
Observations	540	886
R-squared	0.930	0.962
- Robust standard errors in parentheses.		
- All models include year fixed effects.		
- *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1		

**Panel B: Without Matching**

	Education	Health
Right	0.028 (0.037)	0.025 (0.025)
Probability of Right	-0.045 (0.042)	-0.074** (0.029)
Urban Population	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)
Population Over 65	-0.001 (0.004)	0.008*** (0.002)
Inflation	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.035 (0.024)	-0.011 (0.010)
GDP Growth	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.002)
Polity Score	0.001 (0.003)	0.003** (0.001)
Interstate War	0.017 (0.046)	-0.012 (0.041)
Civil War	0.015 (0.085)	-0.093* (0.048)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.947*** (0.010)	0.971*** (0.006)
Year	-0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
Observations	2,356	3,045
R-squared	0.909	0.960

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel C: Without Nominate**

	Education	Health
Right	-0.000 (0.031)	-0.021 (0.016)
Probability of Right		
Urban Population	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)
Population Over 65	-0.002 (0.004)	0.007*** (0.002)
Inflation	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.037 (0.023)	-0.005 (0.010)
GDP Growth	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.002)
Polity Score	0.002 (0.003)	0.003** (0.001)
Interstate War	0.018 (0.045)	-0.012 (0.040)
Civil War	0.013 (0.084)	-0.088* (0.046)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.948*** (0.010)	0.974*** (0.006)
Year	-0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)
Observations	2,356	3,045
R-squared	0.909	0.960

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel D: Without Amelia**

	Education	Health
Right	-0.015 (0.032)	-0.027 (0.018)
Probability of Right		
Urban Population	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.001 (0.003)	0.008*** (0.003)
Inflation	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.030 (0.025)	-0.002 (0.012)
GDP Growth	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.001)
Polity Score	0.004 (0.003)	0.004*** (0.001)
Interstate War	0.034 (0.049)	0.006 (0.044)
Civil War	-0.006 (0.091)	-0.127*** (0.037)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.944*** (0.008)	0.967*** (0.009)
Year	0.000 (0.003)	-0.005* (0.003)
Observations	2,104	2,264
R-squared	0.913	0.963

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel E: Without Controls**

	Education	Health
Right	-0.076 (0.280)	0.162 (0.115)
Observations	3,042	3,227
R-squared	0.762	0.958

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.  
- All models include year fixed effects, country fixed effects, and country specific time trends.  
- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

*B. Results Reported in Part 6.1—Alternative Definition of Rights*

**Panel A: Baseline Specification**

	Excluding Policy Goals		Excluding Non-Judiciable Rights		Including Guarantees of Free Services	
	(1) Education	(2) Health	(3) Education	(4) Health	(5) Education	(6) Health
Right	0.060*	0.003	0.054*	0.006	0.018	-0.023
	(0.033)	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.023)	(0.036)	(0.022)
Probability of Right	0.030	-0.006	0.002	-0.007	0.010	0.044
	(0.036)	(0.029)	(0.043)	(0.029)	(0.043)	(0.044)
Urban Population	-0.000	-0.001	0.000	0.000	-0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Population Over 65	0.001	0.004	0.002	-0.001	0.003	0.009**
	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.004)
Inflation	-0.000	-0.001	-0.000	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.024	0.017	0.035	0.017	0.038	0.006
	(0.033)	(0.017)	(0.033)	(0.022)	(0.033)	(0.023)
GDP Growth	-0.009**	-0.016***	-0.007*	-0.008***	-0.006*	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Polity Score	0.007*	0.005**	0.001	0.004	0.004	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Interstate War	0.048	-0.017	0.084	0.108	-0.041	0.065
	(0.085)	(0.076)	(0.081)	(0.134)	(0.069)	(0.077)
Civil War	0.077		0.010	-0.070	0.033	
	(0.169)		(0.108)	(0.061)	(0.145)	
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.946***	0.966***	0.938***	0.978***	0.922***	0.949***
	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.016)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.019)
Year	-0.003	-0.005	0.001	-0.008	0.000	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Observations	1,204	1,418	1,010	1,148	1,050	1,184
R-squared	0.916	0.960	0.921	0.973	0.921	0.950

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel B: Without Matching**

	Excluding Policy Goals		Excluding Non-Judiciable Rights		Including Guarantees of Free Services	
	(1) Education	(2) Health	(3) Education	(4) Health	(5) Education	(6) Health
Right	0.035 (0.026)	-0.007 (0.019)	0.029 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.020)	0.013 (0.027)	-0.028** (0.014)
Probability of Right	-0.024 (0.030)	-0.034 (0.022)	-0.022 (0.027)	-0.033 (0.021)	-0.020 (0.033)	0.023 (0.029)
Urban Population	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)
Population Over 65	-0.002 (0.004)	0.007*** (0.002)	-0.002 (0.004)	0.007*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.007*** (0.002)
Inflation	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.039 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.011)	0.038* (0.023)	-0.009 (0.010)	0.036 (0.023)	-0.002 (0.011)
GDP Growth	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.002)
Polity Score	0.001 (0.003)	0.004** (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.003** (0.001)	0.001 (0.003)	0.004** (0.001)
Interstate War	0.020 (0.045)	-0.015 (0.041)	0.021 (0.046)	-0.015 (0.041)	0.018 (0.045)	-0.009 (0.041)
Civil War	0.014 (0.082)	-0.102** (0.048)	0.012 (0.084)	-0.101** (0.049)	0.016 (0.085)	-0.096** (0.046)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.948*** (0.010)	0.973*** (0.006)	0.948*** (0.010)	0.973*** (0.006)	0.947*** (0.010)	0.974*** (0.006)
Year	-0.002 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)
Observations	2,356	3,045	2,356	3,045	2,356	3,045
R-squared	0.909	0.960	0.909	0.960	0.909	0.960

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



**Panel C: Without Nominate**

	<b>Excluding Policy Goals</b>		<b>Excluding Non-Judiciable Rights</b>		<b>Including Guarantees of Free Services</b>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Education	Health	Education	Health	Education	Health
Right	0.025	-0.022	0.018	-0.028*	0.004	-0.024
	(0.026)	(0.015)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.025)	(0.015)
Probability of Right						
Urban Population	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Population Over 65	-0.002	0.007***	-0.002	0.007***	-0.002	0.007***
	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.002)
Inflation	-0.000	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000***	-0.000	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.041*	-0.005	0.039*	-0.006	0.037	-0.003
	(0.024)	(0.010)	(0.023)	(0.010)	(0.023)	(0.010)
GDP Growth	-0.009***	-0.008***	-0.009***	-0.008***	-0.009***	-0.008***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Polity Score	0.002	0.004**	0.002	0.003**	0.002	0.004**
	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.003)	(0.001)
Interstate War	0.021	-0.015	0.022	-0.016	0.018	-0.011
	(0.044)	(0.041)	(0.046)	(0.041)	(0.044)	(0.041)
Civil War	0.010	-0.101**	0.010	-0.094*	0.013	-0.097**
	(0.084)	(0.046)	(0.084)	(0.049)	(0.085)	(0.046)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.949***	0.974***	0.949***	0.974***	0.948***	0.974***
	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.006)
Year	-0.002	0.000	-0.001	0.001	-0.001	0.000
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Observations	2,356	3,045	2,356	3,045	2,356	3,045
R-squared	0.909	0.960	0.909	0.960	0.909	0.960

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel D: Without Amelia**

	<b>Excluding Policy Goals</b>		<b>Excluding Non-Judiciable Rights</b>		<b>Including Guarantees of Free Services</b>	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Education	Health	Education	Health	Education	Health
Right	0.010 (0.024)	-0.037** (0.015)	-0.003 (0.024)	-0.043** (0.017)	-0.005 (0.023)	-0.038*** (0.015)
Probability of Right						
Urban Population	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.002 (0.004)	0.009*** (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)
Inflation	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000*** (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.033 (0.026)	-0.005 (0.012)	0.031 (0.025)	-0.005 (0.011)	0.031 (0.026)	-0.003 (0.012)
GDP Growth	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.001)
Polity Score	0.004 (0.002)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.004 (0.002)	0.004*** (0.001)
Interstate War	0.038 (0.048)	-0.001 (0.045)	0.036 (0.049)	-0.000 (0.045)	0.036 (0.048)	0.010 (0.045)
Civil War	-0.011 (0.091)	-0.146*** (0.037)	-0.008 (0.091)	-0.141*** (0.043)	-0.009 (0.092)	-0.140*** (0.037)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.946*** (0.009)	0.967*** (0.009)	0.945*** (0.009)	0.966*** (0.009)	0.945*** (0.009)	0.966*** (0.009)
Year	0.000 (0.003)	-0.005* (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.005* (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.005* (0.003)
Observations	2,104	2,264	2,104	2,264	2,104	2,264
R-squared	0.913	0.963	0.913	0.963	0.913	0.963

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel E: Without Controls**

	<b>Excluding Policy Goals</b>		<b>Excluding Non-Judiciable Rights</b>		<b>Including Guarantees of Free Services</b>	
	(1) Education	(2) Health	(3) Education	(4) Health	(5) Education	(6) Health
Right	0.053 (0.225)	0.148 (0.096)	-0.300 (0.292)	0.055 (0.128)	0.043 (0.267)	0.001 (0.178)
Observations	3,042	3,227	3,042	3,227	3,042	3,227
R-squared	0.762	0.958	0.763	0.958	0.762	0.958

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects, country fixed effects, and country specific time trends.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

*C. Results Reported in Part 6.2—Alternative Social Rights*

<b>Panel A: Baseline Specifications</b>		
	Housing	Social Security
Right	0.002 (0.029)	0.051 (0.058)
Probability of Right	-0.048 (0.038)	0.072 (0.065)
Urban Population	0.000 (0.001)	0.003 (0.002)
Population Over 65	-0.006 (0.005)	0.022 (0.018)
Inflation	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.012 (0.025)	0.007 (0.073)
GDP Growth	0.001 (0.006)	-0.037*** (0.011)
Polity Score	0.003 (0.002)	0.008 (0.006)
Interstate War	-0.038 (0.037)	-0.026 (0.094)
Civil War	-0.036 (0.040)	-0.089 (0.121)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.878*** (0.052)	0.986*** (0.010)
Year	0.006 (0.004)	0.004 (0.008)
Observations	598	610
R-squared	0.741	0.986

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.  
- All models include year fixed effects.  
- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel B: Without Matching**

	Housing	Social Security
Right	-0.003 (0.025)	-0.041 (0.060)
Probability of Right	-0.088*** (0.030)	0.059 (0.064)
Urban Population	-0.000 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)
Population Over 65	-0.010** (0.004)	0.050*** (0.012)
Inflation	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.050* (0.030)	0.026 (0.042)
GDP Growth	0.003 (0.003)	-0.024*** (0.006)
Polity Score	0.000 (0.002)	0.003 (0.004)
Interstate War	-0.008 (0.028)	-0.076 (0.084)
Civil War	-0.059* (0.030)	-0.025 (0.077)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.858*** (0.024)	0.960*** (0.009)
Year	0.005 (0.003)	0.016* (0.008)
Observations	1,560	1,548
R-squared	0.757	0.982

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.  
- All models include year fixed effects.  
- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel C: Without Nominate**

	Housing	Social Security
Right	-0.038 (0.024)	-0.008 (0.045)
Probability of Right		
Urban Population	-0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)
Population Over 65	-0.010** (0.005)	0.049*** (0.012)
Inflation	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.052* (0.030)	0.024 (0.042)
GDP Growth	0.004 (0.003)	-0.024*** (0.006)
Polity Score	-0.000 (0.002)	0.003 (0.004)
Interstate War	-0.009 (0.028)	-0.074 (0.083)
Civil War	-0.052* (0.031)	-0.015 (0.077)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.862*** (0.023)	0.962*** (0.009)
Year	0.005 (0.004)	0.016* (0.008)
Observations	1,560	1,548
R-squared	0.757	0.982

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel D: Without Amelia**

	Housing	Social Security
Right	-0.027 (0.021)	-0.009 (0.050)
Probability of Right		
Urban Population	-0.000 (0.001)	0.003 (0.002)
Population Over 65	-0.006* (0.004)	0.053*** (0.014)
Inflation	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	0.036 (0.023)	0.031 (0.050)
GDP Growth	0.003 (0.003)	-0.027*** (0.007)
Polity Score	0.001 (0.002)	0.002 (0.004)
Interstate War	0.023 (0.021)	-0.087 (0.101)
Civil War	-0.052* (0.029)	0.007 (0.080)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.865*** (0.022)	0.958*** (0.010)
Year	0.005 (0.003)	0.018* (0.009)
Observations	1,339	1,322
R-squared	0.772	0.983

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Model E: Without Controls**

	Housing	Social Security
Right	0.197 (0.213)	0.525 (0.433)
Observations	1,716	1,695
R-squared	0.706	0.970

- Robust standard errors in parentheses.  
- All models include year fixed effects, country fixed effects, and country specific time trends.  
- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1



*D. Results Reported in Part 6.3—The Effect on Education and Health Outcomes*

**Panel A: Baseline Specification**

	Educational Outcomes			Health Outcomes		
	(1) Education Intake	(2) Education Persistence	(3) Youth Literacy	(4) Total Physicians	(5) Hospital Beds	(6) Life Expectancy
Right	0.052 (0.520)	-0.404 (0.592)	--	-0.006 (0.020)	0.104 (0.099)	0.004 (0.040)
Probability of Right	0.598 (0.760)	-1.701 (1.046)	--	0.017 (0.040)	0.050 (0.124)	0.062* (0.037)
Urban Population	-0.006 (0.017)	0.026 (0.028)	--	0.000 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.051 (0.094)	0.136 (0.129)	--	0.010 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.005)
Inflation	-0.000** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	--	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.691 (0.473)	0.430 (0.595)	--	-0.017 (0.026)	0.148* (0.074)	-0.004 (0.029)
GDP Growth	-0.003 (0.096)	0.060 (0.077)	--	0.001 (0.002)	0.011 (0.008)	0.002 (0.002)
Polity Score	0.148** (0.059)	0.052 (0.071)	--	0.001 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.009)	-0.002 (0.003)
Interstate War	0.127 (1.130)	-1.534 (1.194)	--	-0.006 (0.025)	0.061 (0.082)	0.013 (0.078)
Civil War	-0.328 (0.988)	2.757** (1.387)	--	0.056 (0.040)	0.088 (0.149)	0.164** (0.069)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.959*** (0.017)	0.911*** (0.038)	--	0.966*** (0.011)	0.967*** (0.012)	1.000*** (0.002)
Year	0.149 (0.119)	0.022 (0.038)	--	0.004 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.005*** (0.002)
Observations	630	332		290	232	2,404
R-squared	0.936	0.962		0.984	0.986	0.999

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

- The Regression for “Youth Literacy” is omitted because of insufficient sample size.

**Panel B: Without Matching**

	Educational Outcomes			Health Outcomes		
	(1) Education Intake	(2) Education Persistence	(3) Youth Literacy	(4) Total Physicians	(5) Hospital Beds	(6) Life Expectancy
Right	0.127 (0.315)	0.109 (0.308)	0.327 (0.529)	-0.010 (0.010)	0.060 (0.068)	0.001 (0.036)
Probability of Right	0.278 (0.401)	-0.085 (0.409)	0.059 (0.378)	0.017 (0.014)	-0.013 (0.068)	0.106*** (0.038)
Urban Population	0.007 (0.008)	0.022** (0.010)	0.012* (0.007)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.074** (0.031)	0.035 (0.030)	-0.024 (0.046)	0.006*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.009*** (0.003)
Inflation	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.048** (0.019)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.389** (0.191)	0.458** (0.207)	-0.087 (0.166)	0.015** (0.007)	0.053** (0.026)	0.002 (0.020)
GDP Growth	0.063* (0.036)	0.020 (0.025)	-0.068 (0.054)	0.001 (0.001)	0.004* (0.002)	0.004*** (0.001)
Polity Score	0.035** (0.017)	-0.014 (0.019)	0.015 (0.038)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)
Interstate War	0.362 (0.679)	-0.603 (0.455)	0.965***	-0.006 (0.021)	0.037 (0.036)	0.040 (0.038)
Civil War	-0.652 (0.706)	0.668 (0.691)		-0.017* (0.009)	-0.044 (0.030)	0.090** (0.038)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.943*** (0.009)	0.921*** (0.012)		0.964*** (0.008)	0.963*** (0.006)	0.997*** (0.002)
Year	-0.057 (0.082)	0.107** (0.042)	-0.152* (0.082)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.003)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Observations	3,429	2,111	95	1,683	1,405	7,778
R-squared	0.907	0.955	0.993	0.982	0.989	0.999

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel C: Without Nominate**

	Educational Outcomes			Health Outcomes		
	(1) Education Intake	(2) Education Persistence	(3) Youth Literacy	(4) Total Physicians	(5) Hospital Beds	(6) Life Expectancy
Right	0.302 (0.273)	0.061 (0.259)	0.388 (0.237)	0.001 (0.008)	0.050 (0.031)	0.069*** (0.024)
Probability of Right						
Urban Population	0.007 (0.008)	0.021** (0.009)	0.012* (0.006)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.069** (0.030)	0.033 (0.028)	-0.023 (0.042)	0.006*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.008** (0.003)
Inflation	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000** (0.000)	-0.048** (0.019)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.404** (0.186)	0.463** (0.205)	-0.089 (0.153)	0.014** (0.007)	0.054** (0.026)	-0.008 (0.021)
GDP Growth	0.063* (0.036)	0.020 (0.025)	-0.068 (0.052)	0.001 (0.001)	0.004* (0.002)	0.004*** (0.001)
Polity Score	0.033* (0.017)	-0.013 (0.019)	0.015 (0.035)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)
Interstate War	0.379 (0.680)	-0.605 (0.454)	0.965***	-0.007 (0.021)	0.037 (0.037)	0.039 (0.039)
Civil War	-0.646 (0.708)	0.665 (0.689)		-0.016* (0.008)	-0.044 (0.029)	0.096** (0.038)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.943*** (0.009)	0.921*** (0.012)		0.965*** (0.008)	0.963*** (0.006)	0.997*** (0.002)
Year	-0.057 (0.082)	0.106** (0.042)	-0.152* (0.081)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.008*** (0.003)	-0.002*** (0.001)
Observations	3,429	2,111	95	1,683	1,405	7,778
R-squared	0.907	0.955	0.993	0.982	0.989	0.999

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel D: Without Amelia**

	Educational Outcomes			Health Outcomes		
	(1) Education Intake	(2) Education Persistence	(3) Youth Literacy	(4) Total Physicians	(5) Hospital Beds	(6) Life Expectancy
Right	0.229 (0.297)	0.042 (0.268)	0.435 (0.314)	0.004 (0.009)	0.071* (0.036)	0.078*** (0.025)
Probability of Right						
Urban Population	0.006 (0.009)	0.014 (0.010)	0.007 (0.008)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Population Over 65	-0.052 (0.035)	0.004 (0.030)	-0.023 (0.049)	0.006*** (0.002)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)
Inflation	-0.000*** (0.000)	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.052** (0.021)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
GDP Per Capita (ln)	-0.452** (0.228)	0.697*** (0.249)	-0.052 (0.187)	0.011 (0.008)	0.061** (0.030)	-0.045 (0.031)
GDP Growth	0.093** (0.038)	0.004 (0.026)	-0.069 (0.058)	0.001 (0.001)	0.004 (0.003)	0.004*** (0.001)
Polity Score	0.027 (0.019)	-0.002 (0.019)	0.018 (0.043)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)
Interstate War	0.657 (0.806)	-0.395 (0.584)	0.968***	-0.005 (0.022)	0.041 (0.042)	0.024 (0.044)
Civil War	-0.043 (0.673)	0.799 (0.736)		-0.012 (0.009)	-0.026 (0.029)	0.118*** (0.035)
Spending <sub>t-1</sub>	0.944*** (0.010)	0.920*** (0.013)	(0.013)	0.967*** (0.008)	0.965*** (0.006)	1.000*** (0.002)
Year	-0.070 (0.091)	0.081** (0.039)	-0.120 (0.081)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.009*** (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)
Observations	2,691	1,820	80	1,474	1,220	5,702
R-squared	0.913	0.957	0.993	0.981	0.989	0.999

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

**Panel E: Without Controls**

	Educational Outcomes			Health Outcomes		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Education Intake	Education Persistence	Youth Literacy	Total Physicians	Hospital Beds	Life Expectancy
Right	2.318 (4.239)	2.200 (2.188)	4.825 (3.517)	-0.087* (0.045)	-0.179 (0.158)	0.496 (0.548)
Observations	4,042	2,749	568	3,096	2,505	7,980
R-squared	0.834	0.945	0.991	0.948	0.960	0.979

- Robust standard errors clustered by country in parentheses.

- All models include year fixed effects, country fixed effects, and country specific time trends.

- \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1