**APPENDIX A: Methodological Explanations**

The chi-square test assesses the existence of statistically significant differences between two distributions (Field, 2005). It stems from the null hypothesis that no significant differences exist between the compared distributions. The null hypothesis is rejected when the value α, also called the p-value, is lower than 0.05 (Field, 2005). The adjusted standardized residuals allow us to identify the expressive concentration or absence of cases in the comparison. At a 95% confidence level, the cutoff value to determine statistical significance is ±1.96. In turn, Crámer's V test indicates the magnitude or strength of the identified association. The test result ranges from 0 to 1. The closer to 1, the stronger the association (Field, 2005).

**APPENDIX B: Distribution of editorials on pension reforms over time (in each presidential administration)**

The OESP showed greater interest in the first months of the congressional analysis of Lula's pension reform bill, with the main peak occurring in August 2003. In the following months, there was a substantial decrease in editorials addressing the subject, followed by a slight increase between November and December 2003. In August, Lula's reform plan was approved in Congress, while between November and December of that same year, the project went through the final procedures for its approval and enactment in Parliament. These factors underlie the peak moments identified in Graph 1.

 GRAPH 1 – DISTRIBUTION OF EDITORIALS BY PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION

Regarding Michel Temer's pension reform bill, we find several oscillations in the number of editorials published during the period in which the project was being discussed in the Legislative Houses. Nonetheless, we may identify four moments in which the newspaper showed a particular interest in the subject: between March and May 2017; in August 2017; between October and December 2017; and finally in February 2018.

The Temer administration was particularly troubled in Brazilian politics – partly because of how the president rose to power. He served as Dilma Rousseff's vice president, ousted from office in 2016 through a controversial impeachment trial. One must also mention the scandals that remained prominent in public debate amid Operation Car Wash (the largest operation against corruption in public management in Brazilian history).

The parliamentary debates on Temer's pension reform bill were thus greatly affected by publicly disclosed information regarding the involvement of Temer and allies in cases of misconduct. These emerging facts were responsible for delaying the parliamentary vote on the pension reform bill in the appropriate special commission when, for example, in May 2017, an audio recording emerged in which Michel Temer allegedly offered an "allowance" to a former imprisoned ally to keep him silent – a circumstance that underlies the first peak identified in Graph 1.

The opposition used the scandal to file two legal complaints against Temer, both of which were rejected by the majority in Congress. The pension reform issue only returned to the government's agenda in August 2017, the second peak moment.

Between October and December 2017, in turn, the Temer administration focused its efforts on designing a new reform proposal for Brazil's pension system, which propelled the debate on the subject, likely leading to the third peak moment. Finally, in February 2018, there was hope on the part of the OESP that the project would finally be put to the vote in Congress, which did not happen due to a federal intervention in the state of Rio de Janeiro ordered by Temer, which, according to Brazilian constitutional rules required the suspension any future changes to the country's Constitution.

Regarding the pension reform bill introduced by Jair Bolsonaro, during the first months of the congressional debates on the bill, especially in April and May 2019, the OESP allocated a significant number of editorials devoted to this issue at the top of page A3. From June 2019 onwards, however, the publication considerably reduced the number of leading editorials on the subject.

The animosity may explain this publication pattern in the early stages of the debates on Bolsonaro's reform in Congress, a period marked by several confrontations between the president, his allies, and congressional leaders (above all opposition politicians and the then President of Congress, Rodrigo Maia, at the time a member of the DEM). From June onwards, the relationship between the Executive and Legislative branches cooled off, and Congress approved the reform bill in the first voting round in the following month, on July 10, 2019. Once approved in the first voting round, the final enactment of the bill seemed more likely, which may explain the drop in the number of editorials addressing the topic in Graph 1.