**Appendix**

Table A1: list of the debates

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Agreement | Date  | Title |
| TTIP | 22/05/13 | EU trade and investment agreement negotiation with the US |
| TTIP | 15/07/14 | Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) |
| TTIP | 07/07/15 | Negotiations for the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) |
| CETA | 06/06/11 | EU-Canada trade relations |
| CETA | 09/12/13 | Negotiations for EU-Canada strategic partnership agreement  |
| CETA | 16/09/14 | EU-Canada free trade agremeent (CETA) |
| CETA | 15/02/17 | EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) - Conclusion of the EU-Canada CETA |
| Japan | 09/05/11 | EU-Japan Trade relations |
| Japan | 11/06/12 | EU trade negotiations with Japan |
| Japan | 23/10/12 | EU trade negotiations with Japan |
| Japan | 17/04/14 | Negotiation of the EU-Japan strategic partnership agreement |
| Japan | 11/12/18 | EU-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement |
| Mercosur | 08/07/10 | Implication for the EU agriculture of the reopening negotiation with Mercosur with a view to concluding an Association Agreement |
| Mercosur | 17/01/13 | State of play EU-Mercosur trade relations |
| Mercosur | 10/05/16 | EU-MERCOSUR: the way forward in the Association Agreement's trade negotiations |
| Aus/NZ | 21/01/16 | Opening of FTA negotiations with Australia and New Zealand |
| Aus/NZ | 25/10/17 | Negotiating mandate for trade negotiations with Australia and New Zealand |
| South Korea | 14/09/09 | Free trade agreement with South Korea: impact on European industry |
| South Korea | 06/09/10 | Bilateral safeguard clause in the EU-Korea Free Trade Agreement |
| South Korea | 16/02/11 | Free trade agreement between the EU and the Republic of Korea |

Figure A1: textual analysis (categories)

Pro-Market Regulation

Pro- Protectionism

General criticism to the agreement

Issue-specific criticism to the agreement

Democratic Accountability

Market regulation

Expressing opposition

Pro-Market openness

General praise to the agreement

Issue- Specific praise to the agreement

Expressing support

Table A2: Examples of statements expressing opposition

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Specific category from open coding**  | **Description** | **Example**  |
| **General negative** | Statements expressing a hostile position towards the agreement under negotiation. Statements clearly against other parties who are in favour (with challenges, critiques, jokes etc)  | There is an urgent need now for united action by the European and Canadian trade union movement, with environmental and indigenous activists, to fight together and resist this proposed agreement. (Paul Murphy, CETA 1)  |
| **Issue-specific negative**  | Statements criticising the agreement for harm it can cause to specific issues and/or issue/country and or sector of economy  | Madam President, Commissioner, against the backdrop of the ongoing negotiations with Canada, the issue of seal hunting raises its head once again. You even made reference to it yourself. (Frida Brapoels, CETA 1) I am therefore certain that tomorrow's vote will confirm the vote in the committee on the exclusion of audiovisual and cultural productions.(Andrea Cozzolino, TTIP 1)  |
| **Protectionism** | Explicit calls to protectionism and strong opposition to free trade | We see in it the same logic. An infernal logic that puts the market above the sovereignty of states and peoples. (Miguel Viegas CETA 3)  |
| **Market regulation** | Statements stressing the importance/calling for consumer protection, ensuring fair competition; Defence of small businesses against disruptive powers of big businesses; social market economy. Statements criticising the agreement because they harm EU regulatory standards.  | We welcome this, but we must keep track of all its consequences, not just the benefits it will bring for certain economic sectors or certain major international investors. In particular, the agreement must respect the social and environmental models of both parties of the EU Member States and of Canada and their capacity to continue to legislate in what are sensitive areas for our societies. These are not mere details or points to be left for another day (Harlem Desir CETA1) “Any agreement must promote the highest standards of the environment, public health, food safety, social rights and fundamental rights; also preserve our public services and cultural diversity; and finally, exclude - but this has been said to you many times - the investor-state dispute settlement mechanism” ( Eric Andrieu, TTIP 3)“Japan must be aware of our concerns about their continued whaling operations and, despite their own forest protection, they remain the largest importer of illegal timber from Malaysia, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.” (Catherine Bearder, Japan 3)  |
| **Democratic Accountability**  | Statements stressing the importance of responding to voters’ preferences during the negotiations  | Madam President, we are the democratic arm of the EU institutions. Our job is to stand up for citizens and to tell you what they want, and I can tell you very clearly: they do not want TTIP.(Molly Scott, TTIP 4) |

Table A3: Examples of statements expressing support

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Specific category from open coding**  | **Description** | **Example**  |
|  |  |  |
| **General positive** | Statements expressing a favourable position towards the agreement under negotiation, and/or clearly defending the agreement from opponents  | Madam President, the CETA agreement marks an extremely important step towards a fruitful future for both the European Union and Canada. I support this project and am very pleased with the progress made so far. (Ioan Enciu, CETA 1)  |
| **Issue-specific positive**  | Statements praising the agreement for benefits it can bring to a specific issue/country and or sector of economy  | There are many historical ties between my constituency of Northern Ireland, and Canada, and we have significant economic ties today. For instance the Canadian company Bombardier has operations in Northern Ireland and I hope that once this deal is in place it will strengthen and deepen those ties. (James Nicholson CETA 4) As the EU member market has become an opportunity that is successfully exploited to increase employment in Croatia, this can be with the new large market that offers entry to the US market (Ivan Jacovcic, TTIP 4) |
|  |  |  |
| **Pro Free Trade** | Statements expressing a favourable position towards having a free market, statements openly in favour of de-regulation and against protectionism, statements against parties who focus on market regulation instead of free trade, statements defending liberal economy  | This agreement has the potential to create more extensive free trade and more free borders between Europe and Canada than currently exist between Canada and the United States.(Christofer Fjellener, CETA 1) “We have to oppose all protectionists: Protectionism has still destroyed jobs, while free trade has created jobs” (Elmar Brok, TTIP 3)Mr President, Commissioner, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to begin by underlining my support for free trade agreements as a fundamental means of stimulating the much longed for and much needed economic growth and the creation of job(Pablo Zalba, Japan 3)  |

Figure A2: frequency distribution of the variable Support FTAs



Figure A3: frequency distribution of the variable Left-right position



Figure A4: frequency distribution of the variable EU support



Table A4: Regression models with clustered standard error for MEP

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|   | Model A1 | Model A2 |
|  | Support FTA | Support FTA |
|   |   |   |
| Left-right position | 0.405\*\*\* | 0.297\*\*\* |
|  | (0.049) | (0.071) |
| Politicization x Left-right |  | 0.151\* |
|  |  | (0.080) |
| EU support | 0.278\*\*\* | 0.176\*\*\* |
|  | (0.035) | (0.052) |
| Politicization x EU support |  | 0.145\*\* |
|  |  | (0.059) |
| Politicization |  | -2.456\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.585) |
| Northern country | 0.635\*\* | 0.629\*\* |
|  | (0.257) | (0.257) |
| Eastern country | 1.719\*\*\* | 1.677\*\*\* |
|  | (0.317) | (0.318) |
| Group Speaker | 0.563\*\* | 0.280 |
|  | (0.256) | (0.256) |
| INTA member | 0.020 | 0.066 |
|  | (0.241) | (0.241) |
| Delegation member | 0.623\*\*\* | 0.629\*\*\* |
|  | (0.225) | (0.220) |
| Constant | -5.075\*\*\* | -3.344\*\*\* |
|  | (0.326) | (0.506) |
|  |  |  |
| Observations | 653 | 653 |
| Number of MEPs | 309 | 309 |
| R-squared | 0.297 | 0.318 |
| Robust standard errors in parentheses |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |

Table A5: Regression models with clustered standard error for national party

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|   | Model A3 | Model A4 |
|  | Support FTA | Support FTA |
|   |   |   |
| Left-right position | 0.405\*\*\* | 0.297\*\*\* |
|  | (0.068) | (0.084) |
| Politicization x Left-right position |  | 0.151\* |
|  |  | (0.079) |
| EU support | 0.278\*\*\* | 0.176\*\*\* |
|  | (0.046) | (0.058) |
| Politicization x EU support |  | 0.145\*\* |
|  |  | (0.059) |
| Politicization |  | -2.456\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.635) |
| Northern country | 0.635\* | 0.629 |
|  | (0.378) | (0.381) |
| Eastern country | 1.719\*\*\* | 1.677\*\*\* |
|  | (0.414) | (0.417) |
| Group speaker | 0.563\* | 0.280 |
|  | (0.287) | (0.284) |
| INTA member | 0.020 | 0.066 |
|  | (0.224) | (0.223) |
| Delegation member | 0.623\*\*\* | 0.629\*\*\* |
|  | (0.215) | (0.212) |
| Constant | -5.075\*\*\* | -3.344\*\*\* |
|  | (0.405) | (0.571) |
|  |  |  |
| Observations | 653 | 653 |
| Number of national parties  | 116 | 116 |
| R-squared | 0.297 | 0.318 |
| Robust standard errors in parentheses |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |

Table A6: regression models with country fixed effects and the omission of nationality control variables

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|   | Model A5 | Model A6 |
|  | Support FTA | Support FTA |
|   |   |   |
| Left-right position | 0.408\*\*\* | 0.267\*\*\* |
|  | (0.040) | (0.064) |
| Politicization x Left-right position |  | 0.198\*\* |
|  |  | (0.078) |
| EU\_support\_10 | 0.264\*\*\* | 0.148\*\*\* |
|  | (0.030) | (0.046) |
| Politicization x EU support  |  | 0.166\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.056) |
| Politicization |  | -2.806\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.657) |
| Group speaker | 0.439\* | 0.153 |
|  | (0.232) | (0.237) |
| INTA member | 0.115 | 0.169 |
|  | (0.180) | (0.178) |
| Delegation member | 0.420\* | 0.431\* |
|  | (0.225) | (0.222) |
| Constant | -5.644\*\*\* | -3.739\*\*\* |
|  | (0.497) | (0.654) |
|  |  |  |
| Observations | 653 | 653 |
| Number of countries | 28 | 28 |
| R-squared | 0.406 | 0.428 |
| Standard errors in parentheses |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |

Table A7: Regression models with EP groups fixed effects

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|   | Model A7 | Model A8 |
|  | Support FTA | Support FTA |
|   |   |   |
| Left-right position | 0.414\*\*\* | 0.294\*\*\* |
|  | (0.078) | (0.095) |
| Politicization x Left-right |  | 0.140\* |
|  |  | (0.079) |
| EU support | 0.441\*\*\* | 0.345\*\*\* |
|  | (0.070) | (0.079) |
| Politicization x EU support |  | 0.130\*\* |
|  |  | (0.057) |
| Politicization |  | -2.246\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.666) |
| Northern country | 0.625\*\*\* | 0.604\*\*\* |
|  | (0.202) | (0.200) |
| Eastern country | 1.544\*\*\* | 1.492\*\*\* |
|  | (0.238) | (0.236) |
| Group speaker | 0.547\*\* | 0.272 |
|  | (0.241) | (0.248) |
| INTA member | -0.015 | 0.043 |
|  | (0.183) | (0.182) |
| Delegation member | 0.493\*\* | 0.505\*\* |
|  | (0.223) | (0.221) |
| Constant | -5.993\*\*\* | -4.201\*\*\* |
|  | (0.854) | (0.981) |
|  |  |  |
| Observations | 653 | 653 |
| Number of EP groups | 8 | 8 |
| R-squared | 0.352 | 0.369 |
| Standard errors in parentheses |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |

Table A8: disaggregated regression models by agreement

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | Model A9 | Model A10 | Model A11 | Model A12  | Model A13 | Model A14 |
|  | Support TTIP | Support CETA | Support Japan | Support Mercosur | Support AUS/NZ | Support South Korea |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Left-right position | 0.388\*\*\* | 0.523\*\*\* | 0.387\*\*\* | 0.159\* | 0.408\*\* | 0.298\*\*\* |
|  | (0.052) | (0.082) | (0.132) | (0.095) | (0.157) | (0.090) |
| EU support | 0.295\*\*\* | 0.343\*\*\* | 0.084 | 0.310\*\*\* | 0.083 | 0.196\*\* |
|  | (0.038) | (0.066) | (0.088) | (0.085) | (0.098) | (0.084) |
| Group speaker | 0.249 | 0.050 | -0.150 | 0.728 | -0.831 | 0.032 |
|  | (0.399) | (0.404) | (0.606) | (0.678) | (0.748) | (0.447) |
| Northern country | 0.050 | 0.468 | 1.750\*\*\* | -0.192 | 1.449\* | 1.629\*\*\* |
|  | (0.269) | (0.405) | (0.651) | (0.634) | (0.828) | (0.519) |
| Eastern country | 1.366\*\*\* | 2.104\*\*\* | 2.478\*\*\* | 1.137 | 1.637\* | 0.444 |
|  | (0.354) | (0.585) | (0.636) | (0.809) | (0.946) | (0.636) |
| INTA member | -0.063 | -0.263 | 0.028 | 0.445 | 0.262 | -0.056 |
|  | (0.270) | (0.373) | (0.510) | (0.731) | (0.653) | (0.439) |
| Delegation member | 1.134\*\*\* | 0.529 | -0.564 | 0.956\* | 0.132 | 0.897 |
|  | (0.274) | (0.531) | (0.639) | (0.568) | (1.466) | (0.674) |
| Constant | -5.321\*\*\* | -5.762\*\*\* | -2.864\*\* | -4.165\*\*\* | -3.103\*\*\* | -4.157\*\*\* |
|  | (0.397) | (0.638) | (1.103) | (0.685) | (0.948) | (0.864) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Observations | 236 | 151 | 90 | 82 | 47 | 47 |
| R-squared | 0.417 | 0.407 | 0.215 | 0.209 | 0.312 | 0.429 |
| Robust standard errors in parentheses |  |  |  |  |  |
| \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1 |  |  |  |  |  |