Online Appendix

**Going in circles? The influence of the electoral cycle on the party behaviour in parliament[[1]](#footnote-1)**

This online appendix contains all regression models for the robustness test conducted for the article. All models include country fixed effects. The numbering of the models corresponds to the models from the main text. Additionally, the appendix contains speech examples of very positive and very negative speeches per country very positive and very negative speeches per country.

Models with different specification of time 2-4

Models including agenda capacity 5

OLS regression model 6

Models with full terms 7

Models with country omission 8-13

Most positive and negative speeches per country 14-15

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Year Before Election Dummy Models | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | *Dependent variable:* | | | | | | | | | |
|  | |  | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | tone | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | Model 1 | | Model 2a | | Model 2b | | Model 3a | | Model 3b | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Year Before | | 0.033\*\*\* | | 0.072\*\*\* | | 0.030\*\* | | 0.022 | | 0.021 | |
|  | | (0.007) | | (0.014) | | (0.011) | | (0.012) | | (0.012) | |
| Manifesto Difference | | -0.013\*\*\* | | -0.010 | | -0.009 | | -0.016\*\*\* | | -0.016\*\*\* | |
|  | | (0.001) | | (0.006) | | (0.006) | | (0.002) | | (0.002) | |
| Support Party | |  | |  | |  | | 0.030\*\*\* | | 0.030\*\*\* | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Mainstream Party | | 0.001 | | -0.011 | | -0.023\*\* | | 0.001 | | 0.001 | |
|  | | (0.004) | | (0.008) | | (0.009) | | (0.005) | | (0.005) | |
| Minority | |  | |  | |  | | 0.058\*\* | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.019) | |  | |
| Opp. Power | |  | |  | |  | |  | | -0.147\*\* | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.046) | |
| Challenger Party | | -0.002 | | -0.125\*\* | | -0.136\*\*\* | | 0.004 | | 0.004 | |
|  | | (0.006) | | (0.039) | | (0.037) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Opposition | | -0.195\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | | (0.005) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Coalition | |  | | 0.037 | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | | (0.024) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Strong Institutions | |  | |  | | -0.059 | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | | (0.046) | |  | |  | |
| Year Before\*Opposition | | -0.027\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | | (0.007) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Year Before\*Coalition | |  | | -0.057\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | | (0.016) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Year Before\* Not PM Party | |  | |  | | -0.038\* | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | | (0.015) | |  | |  | |
| Year Before\*Minority | |  | |  | |  | | -0.020 | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.013) | |  | |
| Year Before\* Opp. Power | |  | |  | |  | |  | | -0.016 | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.013) | |
| Constant | | 0.695\*\*\* | | 0.716\*\*\* | | 0.819\*\*\* | | 0.476\*\*\* | | 0.480\*\*\* | |
|  | | (0.036) | | (0.053) | | (0.035) | | (0.031) | | (0.035) | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Observations | | 112,708 | | 35,535 | | 24,950 | | 77,173 | | 77,173 | |
| Log Likelihood | | -93,118.990 | | -30,277.950 | | -20,965.330 | | -64,245.390 | | -64,246.470 | |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | | 186,268.000 | | 60,585.900 | | 41,956.650 | | 128,522.800 | | 128,522.900 | |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | | 186,412.500 | | 60,713.080 | | 42,062.270 | | 128,670.800 | | 128,661.800 | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Note:* | | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | | | | | | |
|  | |  | | | | | | | | | |
|  | |  | | | | | | | | | |
| Days Before Election Models | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | | | | | | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | | | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | | Model 2a | | Model 2b | | Model 3a | | Model 3b | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Days Before | -0.00005\*\*\* | | -0.0001\*\*\* | | -0.00002 | | -0.00003\* | | -0.00003\* | |
|  | (0.00001) | | (0.00002) | | (0.00001) | | (0.00001) | | (0.00001) | |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.013\*\*\* | | -0.011 | | -0.008 | | -0.016\*\*\* | | -0.016\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.001) | | (0.006) | | (0.006) | | (0.002) | | (0.002) | |
| Support Party |  | |  | |  | | 0.030\*\*\* | | 0.030\*\*\* | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Mainstream Party | 0.001 | | -0.011 | | 0.002 | | 0.001 | | 0.001 | |
|  | (0.004) | | (0.008) | | (0.014) | | (0.005) | | (0.005) | |
| Minority |  | |  | |  | | 0.033 | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | (0.020) | |  | |
| Opp. Power |  | |  | |  | |  | | -0.173\*\*\* | |
|  |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.046) | |
| Challenger Party | -0.002 | | -0.125\*\* | | -0.135\*\*\* | | 0.004 | | 0.004 | |
|  | (0.006) | | (0.039) | | (0.037) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Opposition | -0.237\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | (0.007) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Coalition |  | | -0.044 | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  | | (0.027) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Strong Institutions |  | |  | | -0.057 | |  | |  | |
|  |  | |  | | (0.046) | |  | |  | |
| Days Before\*Opposition | 0.0001\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | (0.00001) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Days Before\*Coalition |  | | 0.0001\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  | | (0.00002) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Days Before\*Not PM Party |  | |  | | 0.00002 | |  | |  | |
|  |  | |  | | (0.00002) | |  | |  | |
| Days Before\*Minority |  | |  | |  | | 0.00004\* | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | (0.00001) | |  | |
| Days Before\*Opp. Power |  | |  | |  | |  | | 0.00003\* | |
|  |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.00001) | |
| Constant | 0.736\*\*\* | | 0.810\*\*\* | | 0.815\*\*\* | | 0.502\*\*\* | | 0.505\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.036) | | (0.054) | | (0.036) | | (0.031) | | (0.035) | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Observations | 112,708 | | 35,535 | | 24,950 | | 77,173 | | 77,173 | |
| Log Likelihood | -93,123.930 | | -30,288.460 | | -20,981.750 | | -64,257.640 | | -64,259.210 | |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 186,277.900 | | 60,606.930 | | 41,989.500 | | 128,547.300 | | 128,548.400 | |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 186,422.300 | | 60,734.100 | | 42,095.120 | | 128,695.300 | | 128,687.200 | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | | | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Cycle Models | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Cycle | -0.057\*\*\* | -0.142\*\*\* | -0.038\* | -0.043\* | -0.049\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.023) | (0.018) | (0.019) | (0.020) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.013\*\*\* | -0.010 | -0.008 | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.030\*\*\* | 0.030\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Mainstream Party | 0.001 | -0.011 | 0.008 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.014) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | 0.029 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.021) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.176\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.047) |
| Challenger Party | -0.003 | -0.125\*\* | -0.135\*\*\* | 0.004 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.039) | (0.037) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Opposition | -0.230\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.007) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.046 |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.027) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | -0.059 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.046) |  |  |
| Cycle\*Opposition | 0.057\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.012) |  |  |  |  |
| Cycle\*Coalition |  | 0.121\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.027) |  |  |  |
| Cycle\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.042 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.025) |  |  |
| Cycle\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.052\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.021) |  |
| Cycle\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.053\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.022) |
| Constant | 0.733\*\*\* | 0.814\*\*\* | 0.816\*\*\* | 0.503\*\*\* | 0.509\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.054) | (0.036) | (0.032) | (0.035) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 112,708 | 35,535 | 24,950 | 77,173 | 77,173 |
| Log Likelihood | -93,116.110 | -30,271.930 | -20,966.250 | -64,243.240 | -64,244.350 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 186,262.200 | 60,573.850 | 41,958.510 | 128,518.500 | 128,518.700 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 186,406.700 | 60,701.030 | 42,064.130 | 128,666.500 | 128,657.500 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Agenda Capacity Models | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.018\*\*\* | -0.046\*\*\* | -0.017\*\* | -0.018\*\* | -0.016\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.011 | -0.009 | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.023\*\*\* | 0.024\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Mainstream Party | 0.024\*\*\* | -0.028\*\* | 0.017 | 0.029\*\*\* | 0.029\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.009) | (0.053) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.110\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.047) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.224\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.061) |
| Challenger Party | 0.005 | -0.141\*\*\* | -0.170\*\*\* | 0.011 | 0.011 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.039) | (0.037) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Opposition | -0.329\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.026) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.203\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.062) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | 0.063 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.051) |  |  |
| Agenda Capacity | -0.001\*\*\* | 0.0004\*\*\* | 0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) | (0.0001) |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.020\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.004) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.035\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.009) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.011 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.026\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\* Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.022\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.007) |
| Constant | 0.840\*\*\* | 1.012\*\*\* | 0.712\*\*\* | 0.630\*\*\* | 0.626\*\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.074) | (0.057) | (0.048) | (0.050) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 112,708 | 35,535 | 24,950 | 77,173 | 77,173 |
| Log Likelihood | -93,070.700 | -30,278.810 | -20,958.160 | -64,193.690 | -64,195.420 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 186,173.400 | 60,589.630 | 41,944.320 | 128,421.400 | 128,422.800 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 186,327.500 | 60,725.280 | 42,058.060 | 128,578.700 | 128,570.900 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| OLS Models | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | | | | | | |
|  |  | | | | | | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | | | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | | Model 2a | | Model 2b | | Model 3a | | Model 3b | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.021\*\*\* | | -0.045\*\*\* | | -0.011 | | -0.017\*\*\* | | -0.018\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.004) | | (0.007) | | (0.006) | | (0.005) | | (0.005) | |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.011\*\*\* | | -0.011 | | -0.011 | | -0.012\*\*\* | | -0.012\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.001) | | (0.006) | | (0.006) | | (0.002) | | (0.002) | |
| Support Party |  | |  | |  | | 0.032\*\*\* | | 0.042\*\*\* | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Mainstream Party | -0.009\* | | -0.003 | | 0.094 | | -0.008 | | -0.012\* | |
|  | (0.004) | | (0.008) | | (0.056) | | (0.005) | | (0.005) | |
| Minority |  | |  | |  | | -0.039 | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | (0.037) | |  | |
| Opp. Power |  | |  | |  | |  | | -0.279\*\*\* | |
|  |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.036) | |
| Challenger Party | 0.001 | | -0.179\*\*\* | | -0.183\*\*\* | | 0.005 | | 0.006 | |
|  | (0.006) | | (0.036) | | (0.035) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Opposition | -0.313\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | (0.028) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Coalition |  | | -0.203\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  | | (0.053) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Not PM Party |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Strong Institutions |  | |  | | -0.052\*\* | |  | |  | |
|  |  | |  | | (0.016) | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.020\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | (0.004) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | | 0.041\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  |  | | (0.008) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  | |  | | 0.016 | |  | |  | |
|  |  | |  | | (0.009) | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  | |  | |  | | 0.021\*\*\* | |  | |
|  |  | |  | |  | | (0.006) | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  | |  | |  | |  | | 0.021\*\*\* | |
|  |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.006) | |
| Constant | 0.836\*\*\* | | 0.995\*\*\* | | 0.786\*\*\* | | 0.579\*\*\* | | 0.594\*\*\* | |
|  | (0.024) | | (0.048) | | (0.044) | | (0.033) | | (0.031) | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| Observations | 112,708 | | 35,535 | | 24,950 | | 77,173 | | 77,173 | |
| Adjusted R2 | 0.093 | | 0.098 | | 0.051 | | 0.064 | | 0.061 | |
| Residual Std. Error | 0.573 | | 0.577 | | 0.569 | | 0.568 | | 0.569 | |
| F Statistic | 1,051.532\*\*\* | | 353.918\*\*\* | | 148.948\*\*\* | | 438.578\*\*\* | | 458.989\*\*\* | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | | | | | | |
| Full Terms Models | | | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | *Dependent variable:* | | | | | | | | | |
|  | |  | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | tone | | | | | | | | | |
|  | | Model 1 | | Model 2a | | Model 2b | | Model 3a | | Model 3b | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | | -0.024\*\*\* | | -0.040\*\*\* | | -0.011 | | -0.015\* | | -0.010 | |
|  | | (0.004) | | (0.008) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Manifesto Difference | | -0.011\*\*\* | | -0.005 | | -0.001 | | -0.015\*\*\* | | -0.015\*\*\* | |
|  | | (0.002) | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | | (0.002) | | (0.002) | |
| Support Party | |  | |  | |  | | 0.035\*\*\* | | 0.035\*\*\* | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.007) | | (0.007) | |
| Mainstream Party | | -0.005 | | 0.027\* | | 0.092 | | -0.012\* | | -0.012\* | |
|  | | (0.005) | | (0.011) | | (0.064) | | (0.006) | | (0.006) | |
| minority | |  | |  | |  | | -0.005 | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.054) | |  | |
| Opp. Power | |  | |  | |  | |  | | -0.217\*\* | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.079) | |
| Challenger Party | | -0.034\*\*\* | | -0.071 | | -0.078 | | -0.019\* | | -0.018\* | |
|  | | (0.008) | | (0.053) | | (0.050) | | (0.008) | | (0.008) | |
| Opposition | | -0.368\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | | (0.030) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Coalition | |  | | -0.158\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | | (0.069) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Strong Institutions | |  | |  | | -0.069 | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | | (0.050) | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | | 0.026\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | | (0.005) | |  | |  | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition | |  | | 0.033\*\*\* | |  | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | | (0.010) | |  | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party | |  | |  | | 0.011 | |  | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | | (0.010) | |  | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority | |  | |  | |  | | 0.019\* | |  | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.008) | |  | |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power | |  | |  | |  | |  | | 0.010 | |
|  | |  | |  | |  | |  | | (0.008) | |
| Constant | | 0.872\*\*\* | | 0.932\*\*\* | | 0.801\*\*\* | | 0.569\*\*\* | | 0.553\*\*\* | |
|  | | (0.057) | | (0.088) | | (0.062) | | (0.058) | | (0.065) | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Observations | | 80,523 | | 25,677 | | 15,958 | | 54,846 | | 54,846 | |
| Log Likelihood | | -65,140.970 | | -21,544.250 | | -13,105.340 | | -44,450.550 | | -44,458.350 | |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | | 130,311.900 | | 43,118.500 | | 26,236.680 | | 88,933.100 | | 88,946.710 | |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | | 130,451.400 | | 43,240.800 | | 26,336.490 | | 89,075.700 | | 89,080.390 | |
|  | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Note:* | | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | | | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Models without Austria | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.043\*\*\* | -0.011 | -0.018\*\* | -0.017\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.013\*\*\* | -0.011 | -0.009 | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.031\*\*\* | 0.031\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Mainstream Party | -0.003 | -0.011 | 0.066 | 0.001 | 0.001 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.056) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.087 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.052) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.239\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.075) |
| Challenger Party | 0.002 |  |  | 0.0003 | 0.0002 |
|  | (0.006) |  |  | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Opposition | -0.348\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.027) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.215\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.063) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | -0.320\*\*\* |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.044) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.024\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.004) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.037\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.009) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.013 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.009) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.022\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.008) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.019\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.008) |
| Constant | 0.638\*\*\* | 0.751\*\*\* | 0.807\*\*\* | 0.365\*\*\* | 0.528\*\*\* |
|  | (0.046) | (0.075) | (0.054) | (0.059) | (0.061) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 106,223 | 32,771 | 22,186 | 73,452 | 73,452 |
| Log Likelihood | -88,422.540 | -28,293.350 | -18,999.480 | -61,442.280 | -61,443.160 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 176,873.100 | 56,612.710 | 38,020.950 | 122,914.600 | 122,914.300 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 177,007.100 | 56,721.870 | 38,109.030 | 123,052.600 | 123,043.200 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Models without Denmark | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.027\*\*\* | -0.045\*\*\* | -0.014\* | -0.019\*\* | -0.017\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.007) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.008\*\*\* | 0.009 | 0.009 | -0.012\*\*\* | -0.012\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.056\*\*\* | 0.056\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Mainstream Party | 0.001 | 0.045\*\*\* | 0.126 | -0.009 | -0.009 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.011) | (0.066) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.096\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.047) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.261\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.063) |
| Challenger Party | 0.006 | -0.068 | -0.076\* | 0.037\*\*\* | 0.038\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.040) | (0.037) | (0.009) | (0.009) |
| Opposition | -0.390\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.030) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.196\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.063) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | -0.064 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.051) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.028\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.005) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.035\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.010) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.013 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.011) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.024\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.018\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.007) |
| Constant | 0.873\*\*\* | 0.951\*\*\* | 0.760\*\*\* | 0.586\*\*\* | 0.578\*\*\* |
|  | (0.046) | (0.074) | (0.065) | (0.048) | (0.050) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 81,549 | 26,340 | 16,008 | 55,209 | 55,209 |
| Log Likelihood | -65,365.440 | -21,863.510 | -12,744.150 | -44,221.510 | -44,223.800 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 130,758.900 | 43,755.020 | 25,512.300 | 88,473.020 | 88,475.600 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 130,889.200 | 43,869.530 | 25,604.470 | 88,606.810 | 88,600.460 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
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| Models without Spain | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.017\*\*\* | -0.040\*\*\* | -0.011 | -0.018\*\* | -0.015\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.009) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.007) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.013\*\*\* | -0.009 | -0.009 | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.014\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.032\*\*\* | 0.032\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Mainstream Party | 0.023\*\*\* | -0.013 | 0.060 | 0.033\*\*\* | 0.033\*\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.053) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.087 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.050) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.260\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.067) |
| Challenger Party | 0.008 | -0.127\*\*\* | -0.136\*\*\* | 0.014\* | 0.014\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.037) | (0.037) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Opposition | -0.315\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.027) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.190\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.067) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | -0.057 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.046) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.018\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.004) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.033\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.010) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.012 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.023\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.017\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.008) |
| Constant | 0.802\*\*\* | 0.992\*\*\* | 0.811\*\*\* | 0.583\*\*\* | 0.572\*\*\* |
|  | (0.044) | (0.078) | (0.054) | (0.051) | (0.056) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 99,346 | 31,416 | 24,950 | 67,930 | 67,930 |
| Log Likelihood | -80,138.540 | -26,400.830 | -20,969.050 | -55,176.750 | -55,179.980 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 160,305.100 | 52,829.650 | 41,964.100 | 110,383.500 | 110,388.000 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 160,438.200 | 52,946.620 | 42,069.720 | 110,520.400 | 110,515.700 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
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| Models without Ireland | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.023\*\*\* | -0.043\*\*\* | -0.012 | -0.014 | -0.019\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.007) | (0.008) | (0.009) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.014\*\*\* | -0.015\* | -0.013\* | -0.015\*\*\* | -0.015\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.029\*\*\* | 0.029\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Mainstream Party | -0.005 | -0.022\*\* | 0.062 | -0.002 | -0.002 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.056) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.053 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.056) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.280\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.073) |
| Challenger Party | -0.007 | -0.136\*\*\* | -0.149\*\*\* | 0.003 | 0.003 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.039) | (0.036) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Opposition | -0.356\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.027) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.211\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.063) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | -0.056 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.042) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.025\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.004) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.037\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.009) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.014 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.009) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.017\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.008) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.021\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.009) |
| Constant | 0.848\*\*\* | 1.023\*\*\* | 0.817\*\*\* | 0.568\*\*\* | 0.604\*\*\* |
|  | (0.045) | (0.072) | (0.053) | (0.057) | (0.063) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 103,578 | 32,843 | 22,258 | 70,735 | 70,735 |
| Log Likelihood | -84,737.820 | -27,722.860 | -18,400.230 | -58,175.290 | -58,175.220 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 169,503.600 | 55,473.730 | 36,824.470 | 116,380.600 | 116,378.400 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 169,637.300 | 55,591.320 | 36,920.590 | 116,518.100 | 116,506.800 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Models without New Zealand | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.009\* | -0.036\*\*\* | -0.004 | -0.018\*\* | -0.017\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.010) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.013\*\*\* | -0.018\*\* | -0.016\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* | -0.016\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.022\*\* | 0.022\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Mainstream Party | -0.009\* | -0.023\*\* | 0.009 | -0.009 | -0.009 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.008) | (0.054) | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.077 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.052) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.292\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.052) |
| Challenger Party | -0.033\*\*\* | -0.147\*\*\* | -0.148\*\*\* | -0.031\*\*\* | -0.031\*\*\* |
|  | (0.007) | (0.037) | (0.036) | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Opposition | -0.229\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.029) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.193\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.082) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | 0.086 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.045) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.009 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.005) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.034\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.011) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.005 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.009) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.022\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.007) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.022\*\* |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.007) |
| Constant | 0.759\*\*\* | 0.980\*\*\* | 0.684\*\*\* | 0.605\*\*\* | 0.607\*\*\* |
|  | (0.034) | (0.083) | (0.055) | (0.045) | (0.043) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 90,896 | 28,742 | 22,219 | 62,154 | 62,154 |
| Log Likelihood | -74,657.200 | -23,479.590 | -18,123.650 | -52,057.920 | -52,057.790 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 149,342.400 | 46,987.180 | 36,271.300 | 104,145.800 | 104,143.600 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 149,474.300 | 47,102.900 | 36,367.400 | 104,281.400 | 104,270.100 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Models without Sweden | | | | | |
|  | *Dependent variable:* | | | | |
|  |  | | | | |
|  | tone | | | | |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2a | Model 2b | Model 3a | Model 3b |
|  | | | | | |
| Log(Days Before) | -0.030\*\*\* | -0.051\*\*\* | -0.014\* | -0.025\*\*\* | -0.017\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.010) | (0.007) | (0.007) | (0.007) |
| Manifesto Difference | -0.018\*\*\* | -0.009 | -0.006 | -0.022\*\*\* | -0.022\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.008) | (0.008) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Support Party |  |  |  | 0.029\*\*\* | 0.030\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Mainstream Party | -0.002 | -0.020 | 0.055 | -0.006 | -0.006 |
|  | (0.005) | (0.010) | (0.069) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Minority |  |  |  | -0.123\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.057) |  |
| Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | -0.084 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.069) |
| Challenger Party | 0.010 | -0.133\*\* | -0.144\*\*\* | 0.014 | 0.014 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.042) | (0.039) | (0.008) | (0.008) |
| Opposition | -0.378\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.031) |  |  |  |  |
| Coalition |  | -0.234\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.078) |  |  |  |
| Strong Institutions |  |  | -0.056 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.051) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opposition | 0.024\*\*\* |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.005) |  |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Coalition |  | 0.039\*\*\* |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.012) |  |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Not PM Party |  |  | 0.012 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.011) |  |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Minority |  |  |  | 0.029\*\*\* |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.009) |  |
| Log(Days Before)\*Opp. Power |  |  |  |  | 0.015 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.008) |
| Constant | 0.911\*\*\* | 1.072\*\*\* | 0.834\*\*\* | 0.645\*\*\* | 0.599\*\*\* |
|  | (0.051) | (0.086) | (0.073) | (0.055) | (0.055) |
|  | | | | | |
| Observations | 81,948 | 25,563 | 17,129 | 56,385 | 56,385 |
| Log Likelihood | -71,599.870 | -23,401.130 | -15,457.820 | -49,727.020 | -49,730.880 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 143,227.700 | 46,830.250 | 30,939.650 | 99,484.040 | 99,489.760 |
| Bayesian Inf. Crit. | 143,358.100 | 46,944.340 | 31,032.630 | 99,618.150 | 99,614.920 |
|  | | | | | |
| *Note:* | \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 | | | | |

Most positive and negative speeches per country

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| Country | Very positive example | Very negative example |
| Austria | ich freue mich dass alle mittun im interesse der kolleginnen und kollegen die diese neue ausbildung genießen können und damit eine bessere berufschance haben aber vor allem in unserem interesse als patientinnen und patienten um ein bisschen mehr sicherheit zu haben  (ÖVP 2013) | es stört besonders dass in brüssel korruption herrscht und beitrittsgelder verschwendet werden das glauben laut dieser umfrage 60 prozent der österreichischen bürger weiters stört die bürgerinnen und bürger dass wir uns nach unsinnigen vorschriften aus brüssel richten müssen  (FPÖ 2008) |
| Denmark | viser sig at være et rigtig godt initiativ og derfor gøres det permanent socialdemokraterne er glade for det tiltag og støtter forslaget tak for den meget brede tilslutning til at permanentgøre kompetencebeviset for unge der er på produktionsskole det er et lille men vigtigt forslag for det betyder at man får den anerkendelse  (Social Democratic Party 2014) | jeg synes bare jeg på dette tidspunkt som ordfører vil meddele at dansk folkeparti stemmer imod bare for at der ikke skal være nogen tvivl jeg skal ikke komme med yderligere argumentation for jeg kan ikke finde mere argumentation men skal bare henvise til hvad jeg har sagt sidste gang og forrige gang og forrige gang og forrige gang og for lidt siden under debatten om  (Dansk Folkeparti 1998) |
| Ireland | on report stage amendment no 1 is in the name of deputy Richard Bruton I thank the deputies for a very constructive and enjoyable debate during which new insights were advanced I welcome the constructive ideas that came forward I look forward to the successful operation of this institute and hope it will have a fundamental impact on activity and performance elsewhere within the system question put and agreed to  (Fianna Fáil 1999) | it will be a job to bring that down - are they stupid outrageous - it is bad legislation, rubbish - it is a vicious attack on the poor and particularly on women the minister ought to be ashamed of himself it is an outrageous bill it is running away from the issue they are afraid of it (The Worker‘s Party 1992) |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Country | Very positive example | Very negative example |
| New Zealand | i think we are doing a good job to try to cover all the particular diverse environments (...) overall the government and the local government and environment committee are very happy with this bill and we support it passing as soon as possible (National Party 2014) | terrible government what have they done for the truancy service then that is shocking (New Zealand First 2016) |
| Spain | simplemente quiero agradecer a los portavoces de todos los grupos parlamentarios sus comentarios estoy convencido de que sus aportaciones enriquecerán el real decreto ley que traemos hoy a convalidación y que se va a tramitar como proyecto de ley asimismo quiero anunciar que hoy es un buen día porque según parece se ha llegado a un acuerdo entre el parlamento europeo el consejo y la comisión para avanzar en el mecanismo de resolución único  (Partido Popular 2014) | si no he dicho nada todavía rumores el señor aguirre ha acusado o mejor dicho ha comentado retiro lo de acusado porque no es una acusación el señor núñez pérez no ha habido réplica ya que no lo ha dicho el señor presidente lo digo yo el señor presidente me ha dado la palabra y no creo que sea usted señor núñez quien la quite o quien la de mantenga la cortesía parlamentaria le tenía que pedir respeto el señor presidente y no yo puedo seguir en el uso de la palabra señor presidente rumores  (PSOE 1997) |
| Sweden | jag tror att detta är en förutsättning för öppenhet och för fortsatt öppenhet och att eu relationen är garantin för en korrekt framtida historieskrivning i turkiet och för respekten för minoriteter tidigare lyssnade (Kristdemokraterna 2010) | frågan gällde avgifter för kartor som har nämnts här tidigare även då var regeringen snabb att föreslå att det var näringen dvs de enskilda lantbrukarna som skulle belastas med kostnaden något som vi även då motsatte oss det är inte rimligt att utökade kontrollformer som genomförs på ett ur näringens synvinkel ineffektivt sätt skall finansieras av lantbruket (Kristdemokraterna 1998) |

1. Data and replication script can be downloaded via the following link: https://osf.io/rzcxk/?view\_only=76f847f4f2f74268842fc79c23311ae4 [↑](#footnote-ref-1)