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### Negative campaigning in Western Europe: beyond the vote-seeking perspective

Walter, A.S.

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# Appendix

**Table A.1.** Distribution of Party Election Broadcasts included for Great Britain 1983-2005

Political Party	1983	1987	1992	1997	2001	2005
Conservatives (CON)	5	5	5	5	5	4
Labour (LAB)	5	5	5	5	5	5
Liberal Democrats (LDP)	3	5	4	5	4	4
Total	13	15	14	15	14	13

*Note: Total of 84 party election broadcasts. Source: Leeds University Election Broadcast Archive, British Film Institute, private collection of Dr. Margaret Scammell (London School of Economics) and transcripts of Dr. Michael Pearce (University of Sunderland)*

**Table A.2.** Distribution of Party Election Broadcasts included for Germany 1980-2005

Political Party	1980	1983	1987	1990	1994	1998	2002	2005
Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	8	7	5	3	3	2	1	1
Christian Social Union (CSU)	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	3
Free Democratic Party (FDP)	5	6	3	1	5	5	6	2
The Greens (Die Grünen)	3	4	3	10	5	1	3	5
Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1
Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)	4	8	7	4	6	5	2	5
Total	23	26	19	20	22	15	14	17

*Note: Total of 156 party election broadcasts. - Party did not exist at that time. Source: Archive of Social Democracy of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Archive of Liberalism of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation, the Green Memory Archive of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the Archive of Christian Democratic Politics of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Archive of Democratic Socialism of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Archive for Christian Social Politics of the Hanns Seidel Foundation and production company Trialon.*

**Table A.3.** Distribution of Party Election Broadcasts included for the Netherlands 1981-2010

Political Party	1981	1982	1986	1989	1994	1998	2002	2003	2006	2010
General Old People Party (AOV)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Centre Party (CP) /Centre Democrats (CD)	1	1	N/A	5	3	4	-	-	-	-
Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	N/A	1	1	2	4	2	1	2	2	1
Communist Party in the Netherlands (CPN)	N/A	N/A	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Union (CU)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	1
Democrats'66 (D66)	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1
Democratic Socialists '70 (DS'70)	1	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Evangelical People's Party (EVP)	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Green Left (GL)	-	-	-	2	3	1	1	1	1	1
Reformed Political League (GPV)	1	1	1	4	3	1	-	-	-	-
List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) / List Five Fortuyn (LVF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-
Liveable Netherlands (LN)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Radical Party (PPR)	N/A	N/A	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pacifist Socialist Party (PSP)	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Labour Party (PvdA)	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	5	1
Animal Party (PvdD)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
Freedom Party (PVV)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Reformed Political Federation (RPF)	N/A	N/A	3	5	4	N/A	-	-	-	-
Socialist Party (SP)	N/A	N/A	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Liberal Party (VVD)	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1
Union 55+	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Total	6	6	17	24	26	13	11	15	19	9

*Note: Total of 146 party election broadcasts, several party election broadcasts have not been saved in archives. N/A = Not available. - Party did not exist at that time. The Political Reformed Party (SGP) that is represented in the Dutch Parliament does not make use of the free allocated broadcast time, due to religious objections. In 2002 the campaign ended prematurely due to the assassination of LPF first candidate Pim Fortuyn, thereby reducing the number of different party election broadcasts aired. Source: The Netherlands Institute of Sound and Vision, Documentation Centre Dutch Political Parties, collection Communication Sciences University of Nijmegen, The Historical Documentation Centre for Dutch Protestantism, International Institute of Social History, The Archives and Documentation Center of the Reformed Churches (liberated) in the Netherlands, Archive Socialist Party (SP), YouTube channel Christian Democrats (CDA), YouTube channel GreenLeft (GL).*

**Table A.4.** Election Debates included for Germany 1980-2005

<b>Election campaign</b>	<b>Airdate</b>	<b>Broadcast</b>	<b>Participants</b>
2005	04.09.2005	ARD/ZDF	Merkel (CDU) & Schröder (SPD)
2002	08.09.2002	ARD/ZDF	Stoiber (CSU) & Schröder (SPD)
	25.08.2002	Sat 1/RTL	Stoiber (CSU) & Schröder (SPD)
1998	-	-	-
1994	-	-	-
1990	-	-	-
1987	22.01.1987	ARD/ZDF	Kohl (CDU), Diefurth (Die Grünen), Bangemann (FDP) & Rau (SPD)
1983	03.03.1983	ARD/ZDF	Dietrich-Genscher (FDP), Strauß (CSU), Kohl (CDU) & Jochen-Vogel (SPD)
1980	02.10.1980	ARD/ZDF	Schmidt (SPD), Kohl (CDU), Dietrich-Genscher (FDP) & Strauß (CSU)

*Note: Total of 6 election debates. - Election debates did not take place Source: Klein (1990), Maier et al. (2006), transcript of Dr. Maier (Technische Universität Kaiserslautern), Archive for Christian Social Politics of the Hanns-Seidel Foundation.*

**Table A.5.** Election Debates included for the Netherlands 1981-2006

<b>Election campaign</b>	<b>Airdate</b>	<b>Broadcast</b>	<b>Participants</b>
2006	21.11.2006	NOS	Balkenende (CDA), Bos (PvdA), Halsema (GL), Marijnissen (SP), Rouvoet (CU) & Rutte (VVD)
	3.11.2006	RTL	Balkenende(CDA) & Bos (PvdA)
2003	21.01.2003	NOS	Balkenende (CDA), Bos (PvdA), Halsema (GL), Herben (LPF), Zalm (VVD) & Marijnissen (SP)
	03.01.2003	RTL	Balkenende (CDA), Bos (PvdA), Marijnissen (SP), Zalm (VVD).
2002	27.04.2002	RTL	Fortuyn (LPF), Balkenende (CDA), Rosenmöller (GL), DeGraaf (D66), Melkert (PvdA) & Dijkstal (VVD)
1998	5.05.1998	NOS	De Hoop Scheffer (CDA), Bolkestein (VVD), Borst (D66) & Rosenmöller (GL)
	24.04.1998	RTL	Kok (PvdA) & Bolkestein (VVD)
1994	02.05.1994	NOS	Kok (PvdA), Bolkestein (VVD), Brouwer (GL), Brinkman (CDA) & Van Mierlo (D66)
	28.04.1994	RTL	Kok (PvdA), Bolkestein (VVD), Brinkman (CDA) & Van Mierlo (D66)
1989	05.09.1989	KRO	Lubbers (CDA), Kok (PvdA), Beckers (GL), Mierlo (D66) & Voorhoeve (VVD)
1986	20.05.1986	NCRV	Ruud Lubbers (CDA), Joop den Uyl (PvdA) & Ed Nijpers (VVD)
1982	07.09.1982	AVRO	Van Agt (CDA), Den Uyl (PvdA), Nijpels (VVD) & Terlouw (D66)
1981	24.05.1981	AVRO	Van Agt (CDA), Den Uyl (PvdA), Wiegel (VVD) & Terlouw (D66)

*Note: Total of 13 election debates. In 2002 only the commercial televised election debate took place, due to the assassination of LPF first candidate Pim Fortuyn. Source: Dutch Institute of Sound and Vision, broadcast company RTL, private collection of Dr. P. van Praag (University of Amsterdam) and Keet (1990).*

**Table A.6.** Descriptive Statistics Main Independent Variables

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
<b>Party x Election Level (N=141)</b>				
Opposition Party (dummy)	0.58	0.49	0	1
Party Loss in the Polls	1.89	0.48	0.00	3.36
Government Experience	0.39	0.31	0	1
Median Party Distance	1.58	0.82	0.04	3.75
<b>Election Level (N=23)</b>				
Size Electoral Market	10.60	7.49	2.00	31.10
Closeness Election	9.95	7.19	0.30	27.00
Continuation Government (dummy)	0.77	0.42	0	1
Coalition Loss (dummy)	0.37	0.48	0	1
Continuation Government* Coalition Loss	0.31	0.46	0	1

**Table A.7.** Overview Female Party Leaders of National Political Parties in Dutch, German, British Election Campaigns between 1980-2006

Country	Election	Female party leader	Political Party
Great Britain	1983	Margaret Thatcher	Conservative Party (CP)
	1987	Margaret Thatcher	Conservative Party (CP)
Germany	2005	Angela Merkel	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)/Christian Social Union (CSU)
Netherlands	1981	Ria Beckers-de Bruin*	Political Party Radicals (PPR)
		Ina Brouwer*	Communist Party Netherlands (CPN)
		Ria Beckers-de Bruin*	Political Party Radicals (PPR)
	1982	Cathy Ubels*	Evangelical People's Party (EVP)
		Ina Brouwer	Communist Party Netherlands (CPN)
		Ria Beckers-de Bruin	Political Party Radicals (PPR)
	1989	Ria Beckers- de Bruin	Political Party Radicals (PPR)
		1994	Ina Brouwer+
			Jet Nijpels-Hezemans
	1998	Els Borst- Eilers	Democrats 66 (D66)
2003		Femke Halsema	GreenLeft (GL)
2006		Femke Halsema	GreenLeft (GL)
		Marianne Thieme	Animal Party (PvdD)

*Note: \* Female party leader participated in this election, but no party election broadcasts including her have been recovered. + This was a combined party leadership, the other candidate was a male candidate called Mohammed Rabbah. However, female candidate Ina Brouwer was the most prominent one.*