What did you just call me? A study on the demonization of political parties in the Netherlands between 1995 and 2011

van Heerden, S.C.

Citation for published version (APA):
APPENDICES

Appendix I

Search string for articles that refer to the Second World War:

(Achterhuis OR Anne Frank OR appeasement! OR Auschwitz OR Auswitz OR Ausweis OR Auswitz OR befehl OR de bevrijding OR bloed en bodem OR bruin! OR Chamberlain OR collaborat! OR concentratiekamp! OR davidstern! OR deport! OR derde rijk OR Eichmann OR Ein Reich OR Ein Führer OR Ein Volk OR Endlossung OR Eva Braun OR lasciv! OR final solution OR Führer OR gaskamer! OR gestapo OR gewuss OR Goebbels OR Göring OR hakenkreuz! OR Heydrich OR Holocaust OR Oloogerwinter OR Himmler OR Hitler OR jaren dertig OR jaren vierzig OR joden OR kampbeul! OR Kristallnacht OR Lebensraum OR Luftwaffe OR Mein Kampf OR Mengele OR Muffen OR Mussert OR Mussolini OR natioal-socialist! OR natioal-socialist! OR nazi! OR NSB OR NSDAP OR Nuremberg OR onderduiken! OR pogrom OR Ravensbrück OR razia! OR Ribbentrop OR Seyss-Inquart OR Shoah OR allcaps(SS) OR Sturmbteilung OR swastika OR Terti Imperii OR Tweede Wereldoorlog OR untermensch OR vergas! OR Waffen OR Wehrmacht OR Weimar OR Westerbork OR zes miljoen OR 6 miljoen)

Appendix II

A.1 Party position on left-right dimension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AOV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CD</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D66</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GL</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPV</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LN</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVDA</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVDD</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVV</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPF</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SGP</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TON</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIE55</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VVD</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chapel Hill Expert Surveys
Appendix III

A.3 Influence of demonization and media attention on party support for the PVV between September 2004 and November 2006 (variable demonization not logged).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Model 1a</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Model 1b</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Model 1c</th>
<th>T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR (t-12)</td>
<td>-0.42***</td>
<td>-5.00</td>
<td>-0.38***</td>
<td>-5.31</td>
<td>-0.28***</td>
<td>-3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party is demonized (t-1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.73**</td>
<td>-2.96</td>
<td>-0.69*</td>
<td>-2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party is demonized (t-2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.63***</td>
<td>-2.96</td>
<td>-0.50*</td>
<td>-2.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Attention (t-1)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.02**</td>
<td>-3.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Attention (t-2)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-1.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
<td>437.13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>408.78</td>
<td></td>
<td>403.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N (obs)</td>
<td>114</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p ≤ 0.05; **p ≤ 0.01; ***p ≤ 0.001 (two-tailed). • variable is not included in the model.

Appendix IV

A.4 Percentage of people that trust in Dutch Parliament.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Spring</th>
<th>Autumn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Eurobarometer, please see: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm

Respondents were asked the following question: I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?

Appendix V

A.5 Rounded up percentage of total demonization per party between February 2002 and October 2006.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VVD</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPF</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVV</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PVDA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *p ≤ 0.05; **p ≤ 0.01; ***p ≤ 0.001 (two-tailed). • variable is not included in the model.