Valence Attacks in Multi-Party Systems

Daniel Weitzel

May 20, 2020

Department of Government
University of Texas at Austin

Research Question

Under what conditions do political parties in multi-party systems attack each other in elections?

What does attacking mean?

“Sánchez suffers harsh attacks from PP, Podemos during investiture debate.” Link to El País story.

What does attacking mean?

The PP leader described the bid for power by the Socialists, who reaped one of their worst election results ever at the December polls, as a “farce.” Iglesias, meanwhile, described the prime ministerial hopeful as someone who had “surrendered to the oligarchs and the powers that be.”

Figure 1: Quote from the 2015 El País story about the investiture vote.

What does attacking mean?

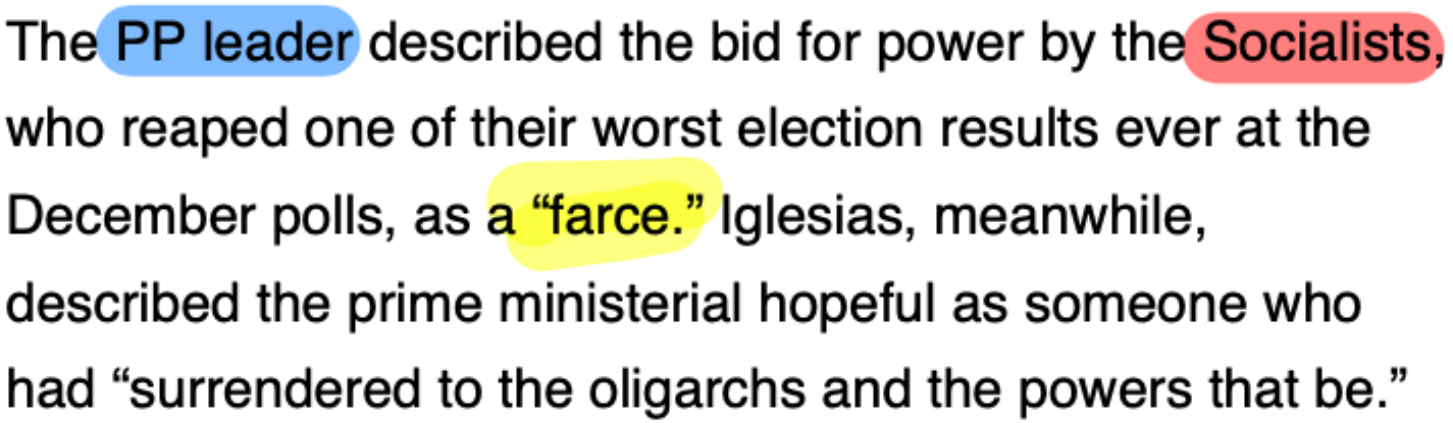


Figure 2: Rajoy attacks the PSOE with a valence statement about its integrity.

What does attacking mean?

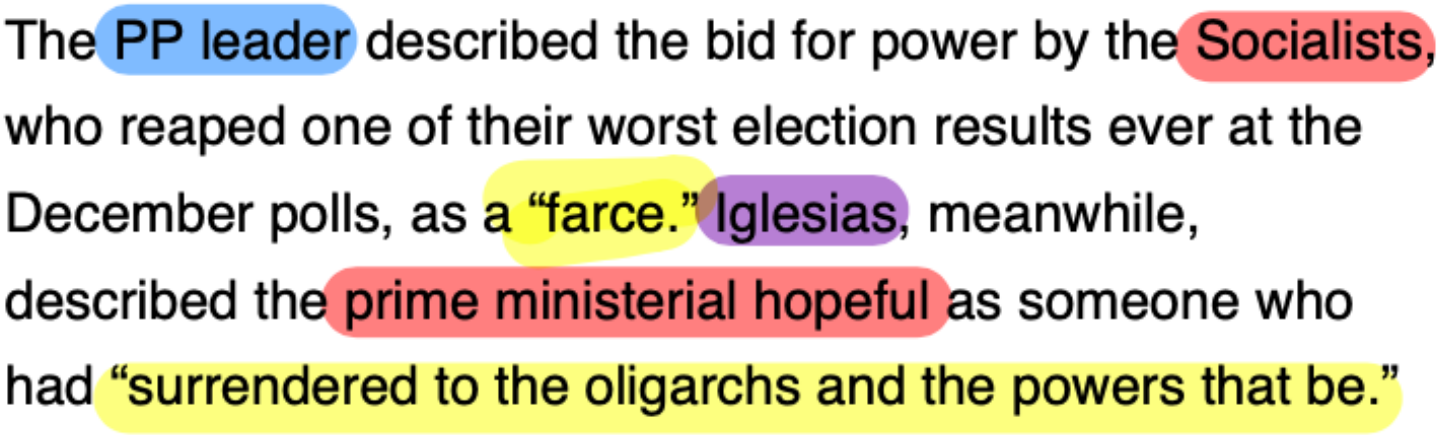


Figure 3: Iglesias attacks Sánchez with a valence statement about his honesty.

When are parties attacking and why does this matter?

- Finding: In multi-party systems character-based attacks and policies/issues appear strongly connected.
- Data: New data set with 5,053 valence statements by 60 parties in 18 campaigns in 10 countries.
- Social Science: Focus on intra-election party behavior.
- Social Science: Focus on non-programmatic aspects of party behavior.
- Normative implications about the perception of democratic actors, processes, and attitudes.

When are parties attacking and why does this matter?

- Finding: In multi-party systems character-based attacks and policies/issues appear strongly connected.
- Data: New data set with 5,053 valence statements by 60 parties in 18 campaigns in 10 countries.
- Social Science: Focus on intra-election party behavior.
- Social Science: Focus on non-programmatic aspects of party behavior.
- Normative implications about the perception of democratic actors, processes, and attitudes.

When are parties attacking and why does this matter?

- Finding: In multi-party systems character-based attacks and policies/issues appear strongly connected.
- Data: New data set with 5,053 valence statements by 60 parties in 18 campaigns in 10 countries.
- Social Science: Focus on intra-election party behavior.
- Social Science: Focus on non-programmatic aspects of party behavior.
- Normative implications about the perception of democratic actors, processes, and attitudes.

When are parties attacking and why does this matter?

- Finding: In multi-party systems character-based attacks and policies/issues appear strongly connected.
- Data: New data set with 5,053 valence statements by 60 parties in 18 campaigns in 10 countries.
- Social Science: Focus on intra-election party behavior.
- Social Science: Focus on non-programmatic aspects of party behavior.
- Normative implications about the perception of democratic actors, processes, and attitudes.

When are parties attacking and why does this matter?

- Finding: In multi-party systems character-based attacks and policies/issues appear strongly connected.
- Data: New data set with 5,053 valence statements by 60 parties in 18 campaigns in 10 countries.
- Social Science: Focus on intra-election party behavior.
- Social Science: Focus on non-programmatic aspects of party behavior.
- Normative implications about the perception of democratic actors, processes, and attitudes.

Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

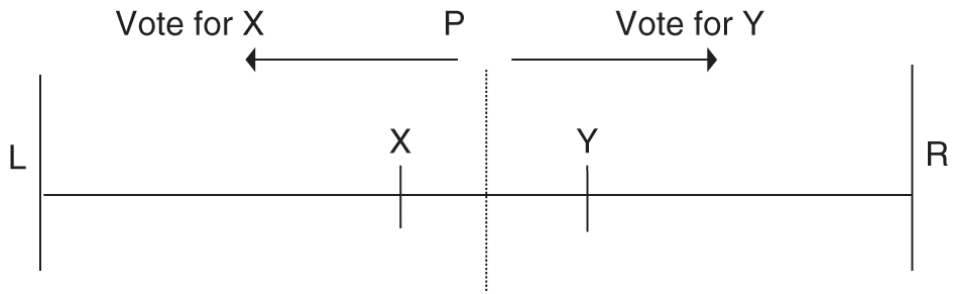
Roadmap

- Theory and Hypotheses
  - How do parties compete against each other?
  - Incumbency, issues, and issue ownership explain variation in valence attack occurrence and frequency.
- Research Design and Data
  - Campaign discussions in 18 European elections.
  - Examining valence attacks in weekly party pairs.
- Analysis and Results
  - Valence attacks on incumbents are systematically tied to issues.
- Next Steps, Broader Work

Theory and Hypotheses

How parties compete in elections: Spatial

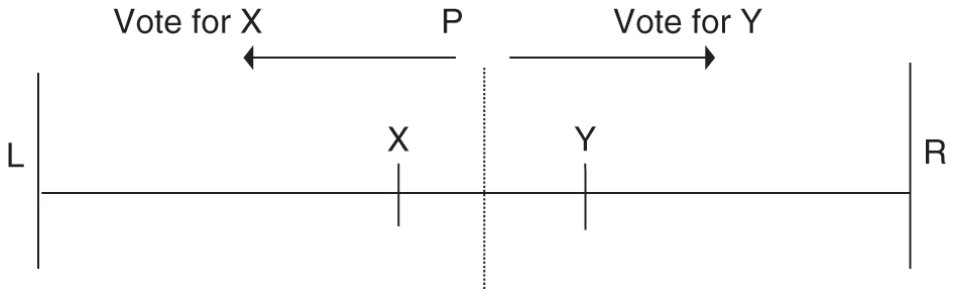
- Electoral competition between parties has predominantly been studied in terms of strategic programmatic behavior.



- Spatial competition models by Hoteling (1929) and Downs (1957) started an enormously productive research agenda focusing on the two-party system of the U.S. and multi-party systems in Europe (e.g. Adams, Merrill III and Grofman, 2005; Adams and Somer-Topcu, 2009; Pereira, 2019; Fernandez Vazquez 2020).

How parties compete in elections: Spatial

- Electoral competition between parties has predominantly been studied in terms of strategic programmatic behavior.



- Spatial competition models by Hoteling (1929) and Downs (1957) started an enormously productive research agenda focusing on the two-party system of the U.S. and multi-party systems in Europe (e.g. Adams, Merrill III and Grofman, 2005; Adams and Somer-Topcu, 2009; Pereira, 2019; Fernandez Vazquez 2020).

How parties compete in elections: Spatial

+ This research has given us key insights in strategic party behavior.
+ Government and opposition parties (Bawn and Somer-Topcu, 2012), mainstream and niche parties (Abou-Chadi, 2016), extreme parties (Cohen, 2019), electoral strategies of parties more generally (Somer-Topcu, 2015).
– This research predominantly examines behavior between elections and not during elections.
– This research ignores a second dimension of party competition and voter evaluation: **valence** (Stokes 1992).

How parties compete in elections: Spatial

+ This research has given us key insights in strategic party behavior.
+ Government and opposition parties (Bawn and Somer-Topcu, 2012), mainstream and niche parties (Abou-Chadi, 2016), extreme parties (Cohen, 2019), electoral strategies of parties more generally (Somer-Topcu, 2015).
– This research predominantly examines behavior between elections and not during elections.
– This research ignores a second dimension of party competition and voter evaluation: **valence** (Stokes 1992).

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- What is *valence*?
- An association with universally desirable traits, such as honesty, integrity, and competence (e.g. Stokes, 1992; Clark, 2009).

Figure 4: Quote from the 2015 El País story about the investiture vote.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- What is *valence*?
- An association with universally desirable traits, such as honesty, integrity, and competence (e.g. Stokes, 1992; Clark, 2009).

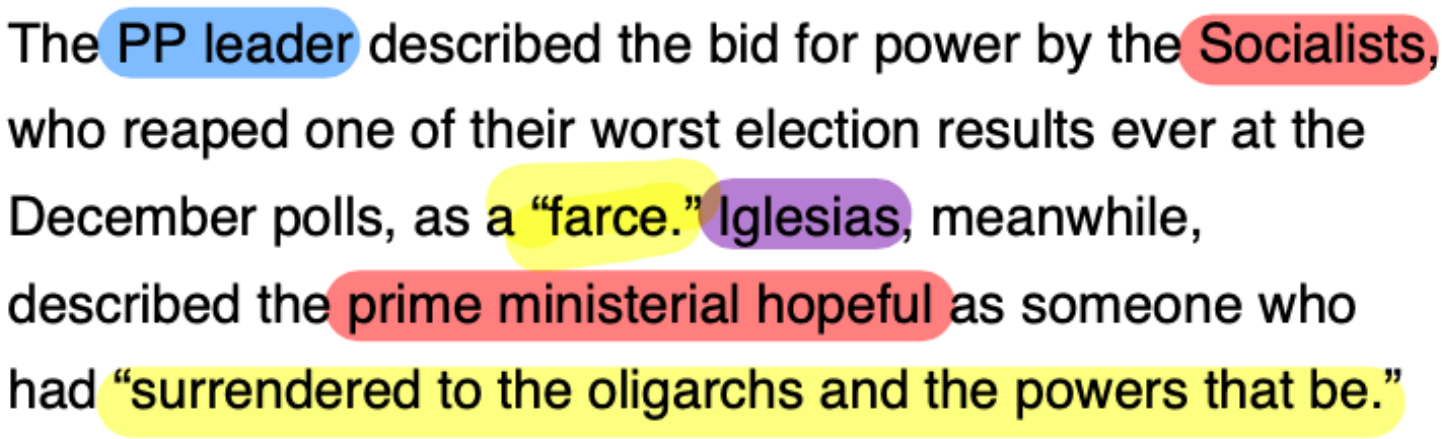


Figure 4: Quote from the 2015 El País story about the investiture vote.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

I build on Stokes (1992) but make a conceptual differentiation:

1. *nonissue-related valence*: “party i is dishonest”
2. *issue-related valence*: “party i is dishonest about the austerity plan”

How parties compete in elections: Valence

I build on Stokes (1992) but make a conceptual differentiation:

1. *nonissue-related valence*: “party i is dishonest”
2. *issue-related valence*: “party i is dishonest about the austerity plan”

What we know about the role of valence in elections?

Predominantly U.S. research has shown that the perception of party and candidate valence matters for:

- turnout (Ansolabehere, Iyengar and Simon, 1999; Brooks, 2006)
- voter efficacy (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995)
- trust in parties (Brader, 2005; Whiteley, Clarke, Sanders and Stewart, 2015) and the political system (Leiter, Clark and Clark, 2019).
- candidate evaluations and vote choice (Abney, Adams, Clark, Easton, Ezrow, Kosmidis and Neundorf, 2013; Green and Jennings, 2017; Jung and Tavits, 2018, Somer-Topcu and Weitzel 2020).

What we know about valence attacks in elections?

- Valence perceptions matter in elections!
- Cognitive psychology: negative messages are especially strong in their impact (Rozin, Berman and Royzman, 2010; Soroka and McAdams, 2010).
- Parties hence have a strong incentive to attack the valence image of competitors with negative messages.

What we know about valence attacks in elections?

- Valence perceptions matter in elections!
- Cognitive psychology: negative messages are especially strong in their impact (Rozin, Berman and Royzman, 2010; Soroka and McAdams, 2010).
- Parties hence have a strong incentive to attack the valence image of competitors with negative messages.

What we know about valence attacks in elections?

- Valence perceptions matter in elections!
- Cognitive psychology: negative messages are especially strong in their impact (Rozin, Berman and Royzman, 2010; Soroka and McAdams, 2010).
- Parties hence have a strong incentive to attack the valence image of competitors with negative messages.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- While valence attacks in multi-party systems are likely influential (Abney et al. 2013) they are also risky.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- While valence attacks in multi-party systems are likely influential (Abney et al. 2013) they are also risky.

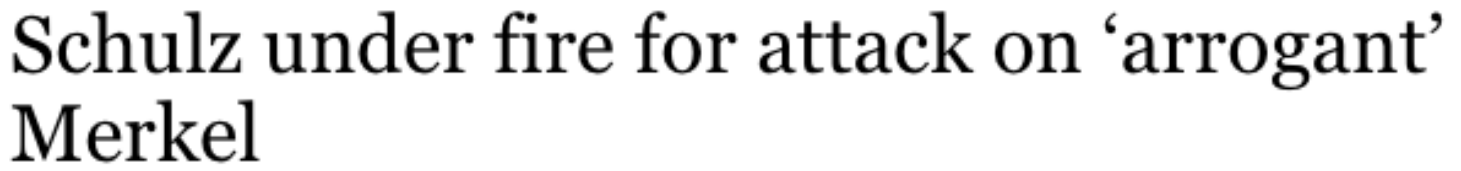


Figure 5: Headline from the Irish Times, 26 June 2017.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- More parties means more options for voters (Polk and Kölln, 2017).
- Coalition governments are required (Strom, Müller, and Bergman, 2008).
- Multi-party systems are hence more complex and uncertain than two-party systems.
- Cost-benefit analysis of valence attacks becomes a lot harder and riskier.
- Parties are more likely to attack competitors when they can minimize risk.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- More parties means more options for voters (Polk and Kölln, 2017).
- Coalition governments are required (Strom, Müller, and Bergman, 2008).
- Multi-party systems are hence more complex and uncertain than two-party systems.
- Cost-benefit analysis of valence attacks becomes a lot harder and riskier.
- Parties are more likely to attack competitors when they can minimize risk.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- More parties means more options for voters (Polk and Kölln, 2017).
- Coalition governments are required (Strom, Müller, and Bergman, 2008).
- Multi-party systems are hence more complex and uncertain than two-party systems.
- Cost-benefit analysis of valence attacks becomes a lot harder and riskier.
- Parties are more likely to attack competitors when they can minimize risk.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- More parties means more options for voters (Polk and Kölln, 2017).
- Coalition governments are required (Strom, Müller, and Bergman, 2008).
- Multi-party systems are hence more complex and uncertain than two-party systems.
- Cost-benefit analysis of valence attacks becomes a lot harder and riskier.
- Parties are more likely to attack competitors when they can minimize risk.

How parties compete in elections: Valence

- More parties means more options for voters (Polk and Kölln, 2017).
- Coalition governments are required (Strom, Müller, and Bergman, 2008).
- Multi-party systems are hence more complex and uncertain than two-party systems.
- Cost-benefit analysis of valence attacks becomes a lot harder and riskier.
- Parties are more likely to attack competitors when they can minimize risk.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

Argument: Valence attacks on incumbents are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Incumbents implement policies and set the agenda.
- They usually run on their track record in government.
- The literature on retrospective voting highlights these considerations (Fiorina, 1981; Duch and Stevenson 2008; Healy and Malhotra, 2013).
- Incumbents will therefore highlight their past achievements in campaigns.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

Argument: Valence attacks on incumbents are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Incumbents implement policies and set the agenda.
- They usually run on their track record in government.
- The literature on retrospective voting highlights these considerations (Fiorina, 1981; Duch and Stevenson 2008; Healy and Malhotra, 2013).
- Incumbents will therefore highlight their past achievements in campaigns.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

Argument: Valence attacks on incumbents are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Incumbents implement policies and set the agenda.
- They usually run on their track record in government.
- The literature on retrospective voting highlights these considerations (Fiorina, 1981; Duch and Stevenson 2008; Healy and Malhotra, 2013).
- Incumbents will therefore highlight their past achievements in campaigns.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

Argument: Valence attacks on incumbents are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Incumbents implement policies and set the agenda.
- They usually run on their track record in government.
- The literature on retrospective voting highlights these considerations (Fiorina, 1981; Duch and Stevenson 2008; Healy and Malhotra, 2013).
- Incumbents will therefore highlight their past achievements in campaigns.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

Argument: Valence attacks on incumbents are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Incumbents implement policies and set the agenda.
- They usually run on their track record in government.
- The literature on retrospective voting highlights these considerations (Fiorina, 1981; Duch and Stevenson 2008; Healy and Malhotra, 2013).
- Incumbents will therefore highlight their past achievements in campaigns.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

- Interest groups, opposition parties, experts, and the media will criticize incumbents when they implement policy and set the priorities of the government.
- Opposition parties will also highlight the shortcoming of the incumbent during the last legislature.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

- Interest groups, opposition parties, experts, and the media will criticize incumbents when they implement policy and set the priorities of the government.
- Opposition parties will also highlight the shortcoming of the incumbent during the last legislature.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

- Interest groups, opposition parties, experts, and the media will criticize incumbents when they implement policy and set the priorities of the government.
- Opposition parties will also highlight the shortcoming of the incumbent during the last legislature.

Figure 6: Headline from the BBC, 22 March 2017.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

- Interest groups, opposition parties, experts, and the media will criticize incumbents when they implement policy and set the priorities of the government.
- Opposition parties will also highlight the shortcoming of the incumbent during the last legislature.
- Voters are therefore used to a continuous critical assessment of the incumbent

H1: Incumbents are more likely to receive valence attacks than opposition parties.

Hypothesis 1: Incumbency

- Interest groups, opposition parties, experts, and the media will criticize incumbents when they implement policy and set the priorities of the government.
- Opposition parties will also highlight the shortcoming of the incumbent during the last legislature.
- Voters are therefore used to a continuous critical assessment of the incumbent

H1: Incumbents are more likely to receive valence attacks than opposition parties.

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

Argument: Valence attacks related to issues are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- The electoral systems of Europe are rooted in the cleavages of the industrial revolution (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).
- This means that historically political parties have always placed an emphasis on developing ideologies and programmatic appeals (Przeworski, 1988).
- Even though elections are "presidentializing" more and more (Samuels and Shugart, 2010) individuals and their traits are not as central as in other systems.
- The public expectation of campaigns is one of policy discourse (Green, 2007).

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

Argument: Valence attacks related to issues are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- The electoral systems of Europe are rooted in the cleavages of the industrial revolution (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).
- This means that historically political parties have always placed an emphasis on developing ideologies and programmatic appeals (Przeworski, 1988).
- Even though elections are "presidentializing" more and more (Samuels and Shugart, 2010) individuals and their traits are not as central as in other systems.
- The public expectation of campaigns is one of policy discourse (Green, 2007).

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

Argument: Valence attacks related to issues are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- The electoral systems of Europe are rooted in the cleavages of the industrial revolution (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).
- This means that historically political parties have always placed an emphasis on developing ideologies and programmatic appeals (Przeworski, 1988).
- Even though elections are "presidentializing" more and more (Samuels and Shugart, 2010) individuals and their traits are not as central as in other systems.
- The public expectation of campaigns is one of policy discourse (Green, 2007).

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

Argument: Valence attacks related to issues are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- The electoral systems of Europe are rooted in the cleavages of the industrial revolution (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).
- This means that historically political parties have always placed an emphasis on developing ideologies and programmatic appeals (Przeworski, 1988).
- Even though elections are "presidentializing" more and more (Samuels and Shugart, 2010) individuals and their traits are not as central as in other systems.
- The public expectation of campaigns is one of policy discourse (Green, 2007).

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

Argument: Valence attacks related to issues are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- The electoral systems of Europe are rooted in the cleavages of the industrial revolution (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).
- This means that historically political parties have always placed an emphasis on developing ideologies and programmatic appeals (Przeworski, 1988).
- Even though elections are "presidentializing" more and more (Samuels and Shugart, 2010) individuals and their traits are not as central as in other systems.
- The public expectation of campaigns is one of policy discourse (Green, 2007).

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

- I hypothesized that parties attack incumbents more.
- However, parties are aware of the consequences they can face when they attack the person and not the person related to the content.
- Here my differentiation between issue-related and nonissue-related valence attacks comes into play.

H2: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked on *issue-related* than on *nonissue-related* valence.

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

- I hypothesized that parties attack incumbents more.
- However, parties are aware of the consequences they can face when they attack the person and not the person related to the content.
- Here my differentiation between issue-related and nonissue-related valence attacks comes into play.

H2: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked on *issue-related* than on *nonissue-related* valence.

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

- I hypothesized that parties attack incumbents more.
- However, parties are aware of the consequences they can face when they attack the person and not the person related to the content.
- Here my differentiation between issue-related and nonissue-related valence attacks comes into play.

H2: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked on *issue-related* than on *nonissue-related* valence.

Hypothesis 2: The role of issues

- I hypothesized that parties attack incumbents more.
- However, parties are aware of the consequences they can face when they attack the person and not the person related to the content.
- Here my differentiation between issue-related and nonissue-related valence attacks comes into play.

H2: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked on *issue-related* than on *nonissue-related* valence.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

Argument: Issue-related valence attacks where the attacker owns the issue are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Not all issues are equal for political parties
- Parties can establish issue-ownership through a history of attention and focus to a specific issue (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).
- This gives them more credibility and authority with that issue. They become a trusted advocate for the issue in the eyes of the electorate (Belluci, 2006; Nyhuis, 2016).
- A party can use this credibility and authority to legitimize an attack they are issuing on an opponent.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

Argument: Issue-related valence attacks where the attacker owns the issue are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Not all issues are equal for political parties
- Parties can establish issue-ownership through a history of attention and focus to a specific issue (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).
- This gives them more credibility and authority with that issue. They become a trusted advocate for the issue in the eyes of the electorate (Belluci, 2006; Nyhuis, 2016).
- A party can use this credibility and authority to legitimize an attack they are issuing on an opponent.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

Argument: Issue-related valence attacks where the attacker owns the issue are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Not all issues are equal for political parties
- Parties can establish issue-ownership through a history of attention and focus to a specific issue (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).
- This gives them more credibility and authority with that issue. They become a trusted advocate for the issue in the eyes of the electorate (Belluci, 2006; Nyhuis, 2016).
- A party can use this credibility and authority to legitimize an attack they are issuing on an opponent.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

Argument: Issue-related valence attacks where the attacker owns the issue are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Not all issues are equal for political parties
- Parties can establish issue-ownership through a history of attention and focus to a specific issue (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).
- This gives them more credibility and authority with that issue. They become a trusted advocate for the issue in the eyes of the electorate (Belluci, 2006; Nyhuis, 2016).
- A party can use this credibility and authority to legitimize an attack they are issuing on an opponent.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

Argument: Issue-related valence attacks where the attacker owns the issue are less likely to backfire or carry other unintended consequences.

- Not all issues are equal for political parties
- Parties can establish issue-ownership through a history of attention and focus to a specific issue (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).
- This gives them more credibility and authority with that issue. They become a trusted advocate for the issue in the eyes of the electorate (Belluci, 2006; Nyhuis, 2016).
- A party can use this credibility and authority to legitimize an attack they are issuing on an opponent.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

- Valence attacks related to issues that the opponent owns are riskier.
- Lack the authority and credibility and are more likely to sound unfamiliar to voters and be discounted (Holian 2004; Franchino and Zuchinni, 2014).

H3: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked with issue-related valence attacks *on issues that the attacking party owns*.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

- Valence attacks related to issues that the opponent owns are riskier.
- Lack the authority and credibility and are more likely to sound unfamiliar to voters and be discounted (Holian 2004; Franchino and Zuchinni, 2014).

H3: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked with issue-related valence attacks *on issues that the attacking party owns*.

Hypothesis 3: The role of issue ownership

- Valence attacks related to issues that the opponent owns are riskier.
- Lack the authority and credibility and are more likely to sound unfamiliar to voters and be discounted (Holian 2004; Franchino and Zuchinni, 2014).

H3: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked with issue-related valence attacks *on issues that the attacking party owns*.

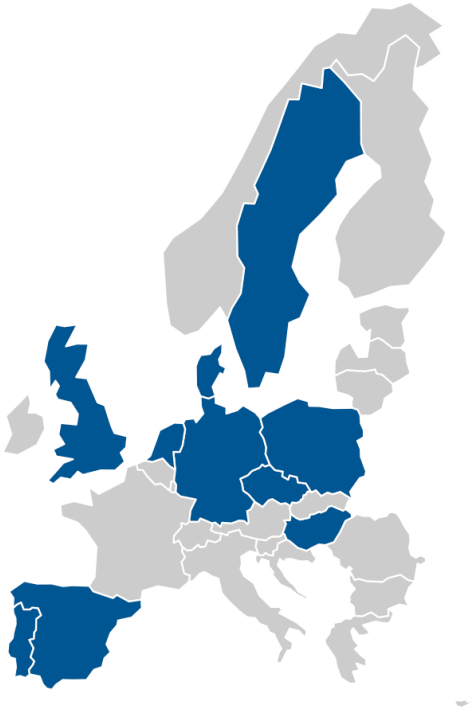
Data and Research Design

Data

- Campaign Discussions from the Comparative Campaign Dynamics Project (Debus, Somer-Topcu, and Tavits, 2018).
- 18 elections in ten European countries, 2005-2015.

Data

- Campaign Discussions from the Comparative Campaign Dynamics Project (Debus, Somer-Topcu, and Tavits, 2018).
- 18 elections in ten European countries, 2005-2015.



Data

- Party campaign discussions from the Comparative Campaign Dynamics Project (Debus, Somer-Topcu, and Tavits, 2018).
- 18 elections in ten European countries, 2005-2015.
- Unit of observation: *each* valence statement in every article.
- 60-100 articles from the largest center-left and center-right broadsheet newspaper each.
- Front-page articles and 5% of other election-relevant articles.

Data

- Party campaign discussions from the Comparative Campaign Dynamics Project (Debus, Somer-Topcu, and Tavits, 2018).
- 18 elections in ten European countries, 2005-2015.
- Unit of observation: *each* valence statement in every article.
- 60-100 articles from the largest center-left and center-right broadsheet newspaper each.
- Front-page articles and 5% of other election-relevant articles.

Data

- Party campaign discussions from the Comparative Campaign Dynamics Project (Debus, Somer-Topcu, and Tavits, 2018).
- 18 elections in ten European countries, 2005-2015.
- Unit of observation: *each* valence statement in every article.
- 60-100 articles from the largest center-left and center-right broadsheet newspaper each.
- Front-page articles and 5% of other election-relevant articles.

Newspapers used for data collection

Country	Years	Left-Leaning Daily	Right-Leaning Daily
Czech R.	2010, 2013	Právo	Mladá fronta Dnes
Denmark	2007, 2011	Politiken	Jyllands-Posten
Germany	2009, 2013	Süddeutsche	Frankfurter Allg.
Hungary	2006, 2010	Népszabadság	Magyar Nemze
Netherlands	2010, 2012	de Volkskrant	De Telegraaf
Poland	2007, 2011	Gazeta Wyborcza	Rzeczpospolita
Portugal	2009, 2011	Público	Jornal de Notícias
Spain	2008, 2011	El País	El Mundo
Sweden	2010, 2014	Dagens Nyheter	Aftonbladet
UK	‘05, ‘10, ‘15	Guardian	Daily Telegraph

Overview of elections and attack frequency

Election	Attacks	Election	Attacks	Election	Attacks
CZ 2010	166	ES 2008	283	PT 2011	499
CZ 2013	141	ES 2011	211	SV 2010	474
DE 2009	157	HU 2006	412	SV 2014	484
DE 2013	159	NL 2012	191	UK 2005	299
DK 2007	167	PL 2011	237	UK 2010	318
DK 2011	136	PT 2009	353	UK 2015	366

Note: Valence attacks totals in the campaigns. Overall 5,053 valence attacks with 2,301 issue-related valence attacks and 2,752 nonissue-related valence attacks occurred.

For comparison: In the same time parties used 8,422 issue statements about their competitors. Valence attacks constitute $\sim$37.5% of all targeted campaign discussions.

Overview of elections and attack frequency

Election	Attacks	Election	Attacks	Election	Attacks
CZ 2010	166	ES 2008	283	PT 2011	499
CZ 2013	141	ES 2011	211	SV 2010	474
DE 2009	157	HU 2006	412	SV 2014	484
DE 2013	159	NL 2012	191	UK 2005	299
DK 2007	167	PL 2011	237	UK 2010	318
DK 2011	136	PT 2009	353	UK 2015	366

Note: Valence attacks totals in the campaigns. Overall 5,053 valence attacks with 2,301 issue-related valence attacks and 2,752 nonissue-related valence attacks occurred.

For comparison: In the same time parties used 8,422 issue statements about their competitors. Valence attacks constitute $\sim$37.5% of all targeted campaign discussions.

Why these data?

- Newspaper articles are election outcome relevant party communication.
- Largest project that applied a unified coding standard to valence discussions in multiple countries.
- Avoids bias through use of left- and right-leaning newspaper.
- Not only valence attacks are coded but also whether or not these attacks were in relation to an issue.

Why these data?

- Newspaper articles are election outcome relevant party communication.
- Largest project that applied a unified coding standard to valence discussions in multiple countries.
- Avoids bias through use of left- and right-leaning newspaper.
- Not only valence attacks are coded but also whether or not these attacks were in relation to an issue.

Why these data?

- Newspaper articles are election outcome relevant party communication.
- Largest project that applied a unified coding standard to valence discussions in multiple countries.
- Avoids bias through use of left- and right-leaning newspaper.
- Not only valence attacks are coded but also whether or not these attacks were in relation to an issue.

Why these data?

- Newspaper articles are election outcome relevant party communication.
- Largest project that applied a unified coding standard to valence discussions in multiple countries.
- Avoids bias through use of left- and right-leaning newspaper.
- Not only valence attacks are coded but also whether or not these attacks were in relation to an issue.

Why these data?

- Data set mirrors attack behavior and it is inherently dyadic (Poast, 2016, 2018; Weschle 2018; Adams, Weschle, and Wlezien, 2020).
- Focuses on the crucial one month campaign period that shapes the valence image (Abney et al, 2013).
- Based on Seeberg (2017) I am able to assign the ownership of issues to political parties (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).

Why these data?

- Data set mirrors attack behavior and it is inherently dyadic (Poast, 2016, 2018; Weschle 2018; Adams, Weschle, and Wlezien, 2020).
- Focuses on the crucial one month campaign period that shapes the valence image (Abney et al, 2013).
- Based on Seeberg (2017) I am able to assign the ownership of issues to political parties (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).

Why these data?

- Data set mirrors attack behavior and it is inherently dyadic (Poast, 2016, 2018; Weschle 2018; Adams, Weschle, and Wlezien, 2020).
- Focuses on the crucial one month campaign period that shapes the valence image (Abney et al, 2013).
- Based on Seeberg (2017) I am able to assign the ownership of issues to political parties (Petrocik, 1996; Rikker 1996).

Data set structure

Election	Week	Sender	Receiver	Valence Attacks (DV)				Incumbent	
				Binary	Agg.	Issue Related	Nonissue Related	Sender	Receiver
UK 2015	2	Labour	Tories	1	25	12	13	0	1
UK 2015	3	Labour	Tories	1	16	3	13	0	1
UK 2015	2	Tories	Labour	1	30	12	18	1	0
UK 2015	3	Tories	Labour	1	28	12	16	1	0

Note: Data structure for two election weeks in the 2015 BGE. Shown are monadic and dyadic attributes of the directed dyad pair between Labour and Conservatives.

Figure 7: Dyadic data set structure with monadic and dyadic data attributes.

Data set structure

Election	Week	Sender	Receiver	Valence Attacks (DV)				Incumbent	
				Binary	Agg.	Issue Related	Nonissue Related	Sender	Receiver
UK 2015	2	Labour	Tories	1	25	12	13	0	1
UK 2015	3	Labour	Tories	1	16	3	13	0	1
UK 2015	2	Tories	Labour	1	30	12	18	1	0
UK 2015	3	Tories	Labour	1	28	12	16	1	0

Note: Data structure for two election weeks in the 2015 BGE. Shown are monadic and dyadic attributes of the directed dyad pair between Labour and Conservatives.

Figure 8: Dyadic data set structure with monadic and dyadic data attributes.

Data set structure

Election	Week	Sender	Receiver	Valence Attacks (DV)				Incumbent	
				Binary	Agg.	Issue Related	Nonissue Related	Sender	Receiver
UK 2015	2	Labour	Tories	1	25	12	13	0	1
UK 2015	3	Labour	Tories	1	16	3	13	0	1
UK 2015	2	Tories	Labour	1	30	12	18	1	0
UK 2015	3	Tories	Labour	1	28	12	16	1	0

Note: Data structure for two election weeks in the 2015 BGE. Shown are monadic and dyadic attributes of the directed dyad pair between Labour and Conservatives.

Figure 9: Dyadic data set structure with monadic and dyadic data attributes.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- y_{ijct}, the dependent variable, is a vector of dyadic valence attack outcomes: binary and weekly valence attack counts in directed party dyads.
  1. Binary variable indicating attack occurrence.
  2. *All* valence attacks, count.
  3. Issue-related valence attacks, count.
  4. Nonissue-related valence attacks, count.
  5. Sender-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.
  6. Receiver-owned issue-related valence attacks, count.

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- $\mathbf{Z}_{jct}$ is a matrix of characteristics of the receiving party: *Target is Incumbent* (Key IV) and Target is Niche
- $\mathbf{V}_{ict}$, a matrix of characteristics of the sender or attacking party: Ideology of Sender, Attacks Received$_{t-1}$
- $\mathbf{X}_{ijct}$ is a matrix with dyad specific characteristics: ΔPoll, ΔPoll Change, ΔIdeology, Coalition Potential

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- $\mathbf{Z}_{jct}$ is a matrix of characteristics of the receiving party: *Target is Incumbent* (Key IV) and Target is Niche
- $\mathbf{V}_{ict}$, a matrix of characteristics of the sender or attacking party: Ideology of Sender, Attacks Received$_{t-1}$
- $\mathbf{X}_{ijct}$ is a matrix with dyad specific characteristics: ΔPoll, ΔPoll Change, ΔIdeology, Coalition Potential

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- $\mathbf{Z}_{jct}$ is a matrix of characteristics of the receiving party: *Target is Incumbent* (Key IV) and Target is Niche
- $\mathbf{V}_{ict}$, a matrix of characteristics of the sender or attacking party: Ideology of Sender, Attacks Received$_{t-1}$
- $\mathbf{X}_{ijct}$ is a matrix with dyad specific characteristics: ΔPoll, ΔPoll Change, ΔIdeology, Coalition Potential

Model

$$y_{ijct} = \alpha + \beta \mathbf{Z}_{jct} + \gamma \mathbf{V}_{ict} + \delta \mathbf{X}_{ijct} + \epsilon_{ijct}$$

- $\mathbf{Z}_{jct}$ is a matrix of characteristics of the receiving party: *Target is Incumbent* (Key IV) and Target is Niche
- $\mathbf{V}_{ict}$, a matrix of characteristics of the sender or attacking party: Ideology of Sender, Attacks Received$_{t-1}$
- $\mathbf{X}_{ijct}$ is a matrix with dyad specific characteristics: ΔPoll, ΔPoll Change, ΔIdeology, Coalition Potential

Analysis and Results

Results: Testing Hypothesis 1

H1: Incumbents are more likely to receive valence attacks than opposition parties.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 1

H1: Incumbents are more likely to receive valence attacks than opposition parties.

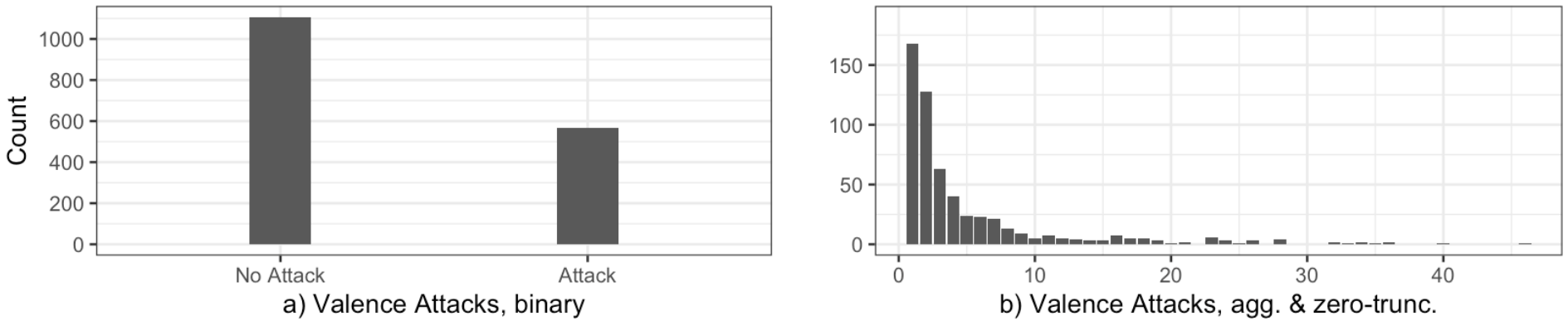


Figure 10: Distribution of the dependent variables for hypothesis 1.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 1

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Target is Incumbent		
Controls		
Country Fixed Effects		
Dyad Robust SE		
N		

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are odds ratios for model 1 and incident rate ratios for model 2.

The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 1

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Target is Incumbent	1.627*	
	(0.245)	
Controls	✓	
Country Fixed Effects	✓	
Dyad Robust SE	✓	
N	1,672	

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are odds ratios for model 1 and incident rate ratios for model 2.

The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 1

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Target is Incumbent	1.627*	1.322*
	(0.245)	(0.199)
Controls	✓	✓
Country Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Dyad Robust SE	✓	✓
N	1,672	566

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are odds ratios for model 1 and incident rate ratios for model 2.

The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 2

H2: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked on *issue-related* than on *nonissue-related* valence.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 2

H2: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked on *issue-related* than on *nonissue-related* valence.

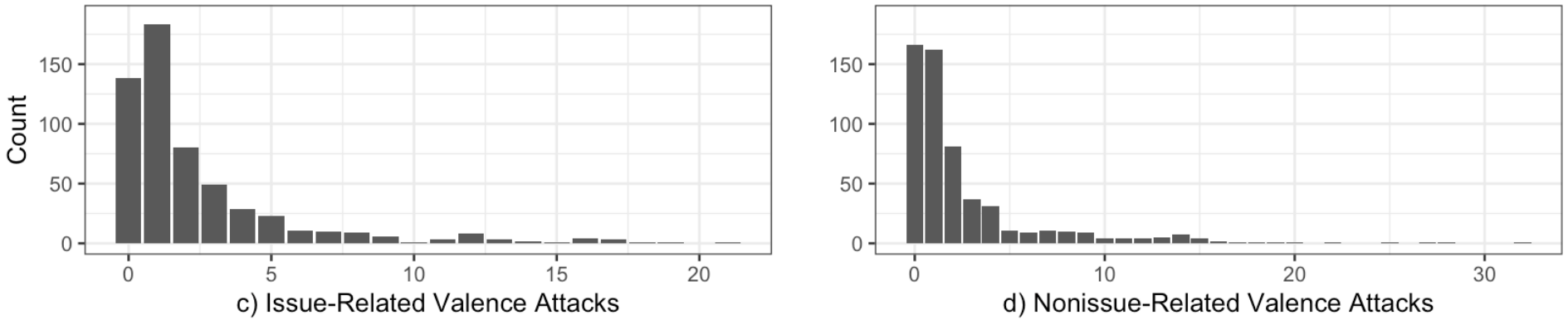


Figure 11: Distribution of the dependent variables for hypothesis 2.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 2

	(3) Issue-Related *Neg. Bin.*	(4) Nonissue Related *Neg. Bin.*
Target is Incumbent	1.372*	1.050
	(0.123)	(0.097)
Controls	✓	✓
Country Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Dyad Robust SE	✓	✓
N	566	566

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are incident rate ratios. The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks. The dependent variables are counts of weekly valence attacks in party dyads.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 3

H3: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked with issue-related valence attacks *on issues that the attacking party owns*.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 3

H3: Incumbents are more likely than opposition parties to get attacked with issue-related valence attacks *on issues that the attacking party owns*.

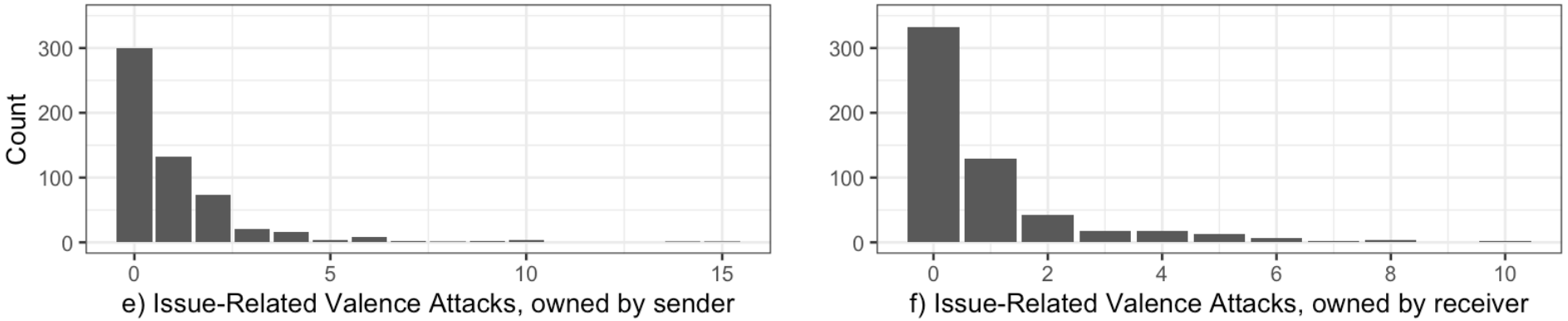


Figure 12: Distribution of the dependent variables for hypothesis 3.

Results: Testing Hypothesis 3

	(5) Sender Owned *Poisson*	(6) Receiver Owned *Poisson*
Target is Incumbent	1.714*	1.167
	(0.163)	(0.116)
Controls	✓	✓
Country Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Dyad Robust SE	✓	✓
N	566	566

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are incident rate ratios. The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks. The dependent variables are counts of weekly valence attacks in party dyads.

Conclusion

Conclusion

- **Important:** Connection between spatial competition and valence attacks.
- Valence attacks not necessarily bad - they can educate voters about the incumbents.
- Attack behavior is not driven by electoral performance or ideology.
- There is a strong element of retaliation in attack behavior.
- Niche parties and potential coalition partners are significantly less likely to receive an attack in the first place. If attacked, they receive fewer attacks.

Conclusion

- **Important:** Connection between spatial competition and valence attacks.
- Valence attacks not necessarily bad - they can educate voters about the incumbents.
- Attack behavior is not driven by electoral performance or ideology.
- There is a strong element of retaliation in attack behavior.
- Niche parties and potential coalition partners are significantly less likely to receive an attack in the first place. If attacked, they receive fewer attacks.

Conclusion

- **Important:** Connection between spatial competition and valence attacks.
- Valence attacks not necessarily bad - they can educate voters about the incumbents.
- Attack behavior is not driven by electoral performance or ideology.
- There is a strong element of retaliation in attack behavior.
- Niche parties and potential coalition partners are significantly less likely to receive an attack in the first place. If attacked, they receive fewer attacks.

Conclusion

- **Important:** Connection between spatial competition and valence attacks.
- Valence attacks not necessarily bad - they can educate voters about the incumbents.
- Attack behavior is not driven by electoral performance or ideology.
- There is a strong element of retaliation in attack behavior.
- Niche parties and potential coalition partners are significantly less likely to receive an attack in the first place. If attacked, they receive fewer attacks.

Conclusion

- **Important:** Connection between spatial competition and valence attacks.
- Valence attacks not necessarily bad - they can educate voters about the incumbents.
- Attack behavior is not driven by electoral performance or ideology.
- There is a strong element of retaliation in attack behavior.
- Niche parties and potential coalition partners are significantly less likely to receive an attack in the first place. If attacked, they receive fewer attacks.

Future Research

- How do coalition formation dynamics affect a party's decision to attack competitors?
- What is the effect of valence attacks on vote choice (Somer-Topcu and Weitzel 2020), but also turnout and satisfaction with democracy?
- New CCDP data release in August 2020.
- Theory: Developing a theory of legitimacy conditions across countries and time.
- Methods: Extend applicability of dyad robust standard error estimator.

Future Research

- How do coalition formation dynamics affect a party's decision to attack competitors?
- What is the effect of valence attacks on vote choice (Somer-Topcu and Weitzel 2020), but also turnout and satisfaction with democracy?
- New CCDP data release in August 2020.
- Theory: Developing a theory of legitimacy conditions across countries and time.
- Methods: Extend applicability of dyad robust standard error estimator.

Future Research

- How do coalition formation dynamics affect a party's decision to attack competitors?
- What is the effect of valence attacks on vote choice (Somer-Topcu and Weitzel 2020), but also turnout and satisfaction with democracy?
- New CCDP data release in August 2020.
- Theory: Developing a theory of legitimacy conditions across countries and time.
- Methods: Extend applicability of dyad robust standard error estimator.

Future Research

- How do coalition formation dynamics affect a party's decision to attack competitors?
- What is the effect of valence attacks on vote choice (Somer-Topcu and Weitzel 2020), but also turnout and satisfaction with democracy?
- New CCDP data release in August 2020.
- Theory: Developing a theory of legitimacy conditions across countries and time.
- Methods: Extend applicability of dyad robust standard error estimator.

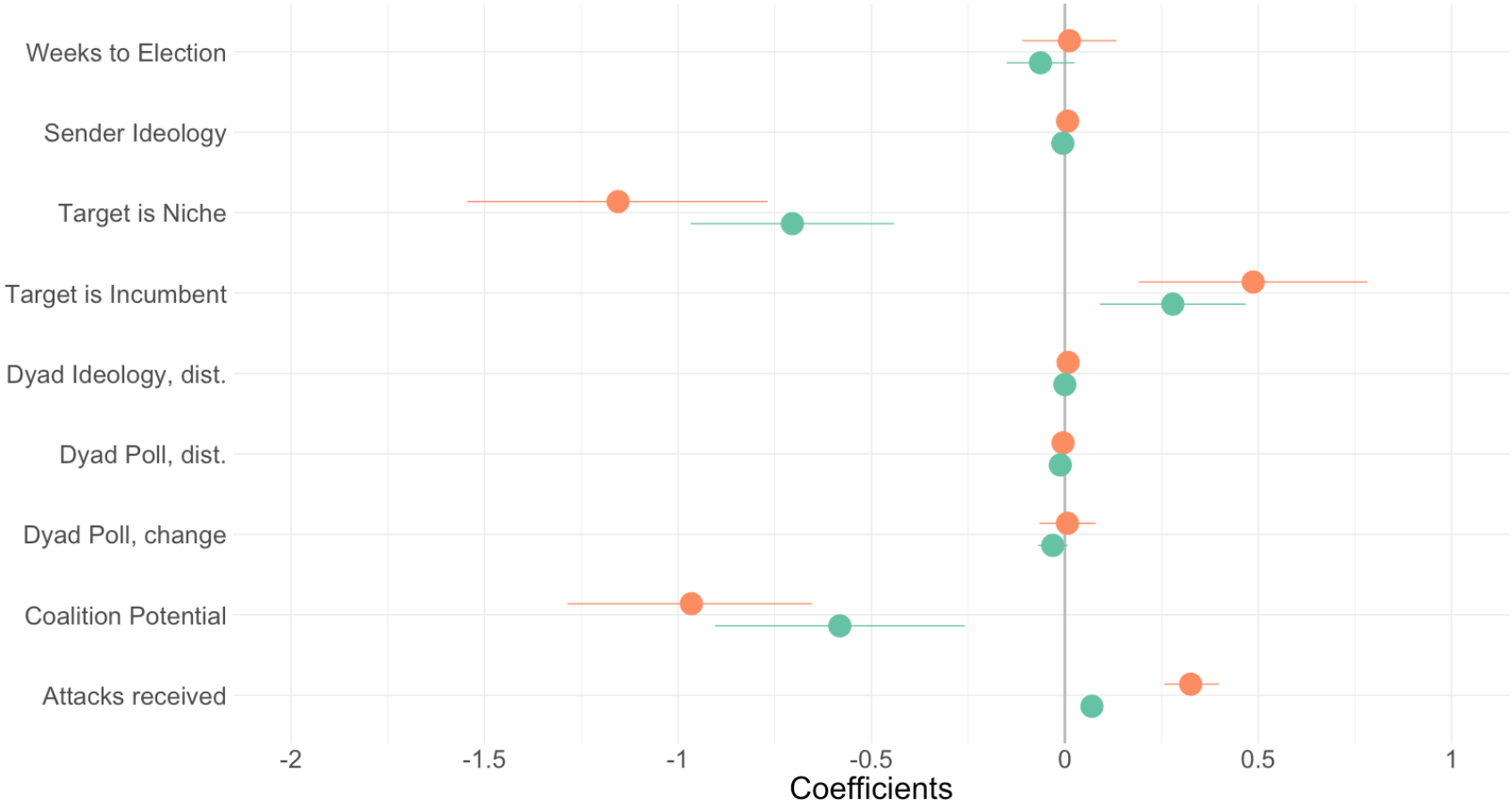
Future Research

- How do coalition formation dynamics affect a party's decision to attack competitors?
- What is the effect of valence attacks on vote choice (Somer-Topcu and Weitzel 2020), but also turnout and satisfaction with democracy?
- New CCDP data release in August 2020.
- Theory: Developing a theory of legitimacy conditions across countries and time.
- Methods: Extend applicability of dyad robust standard error estimator.

Appendix

Coefficient Plots

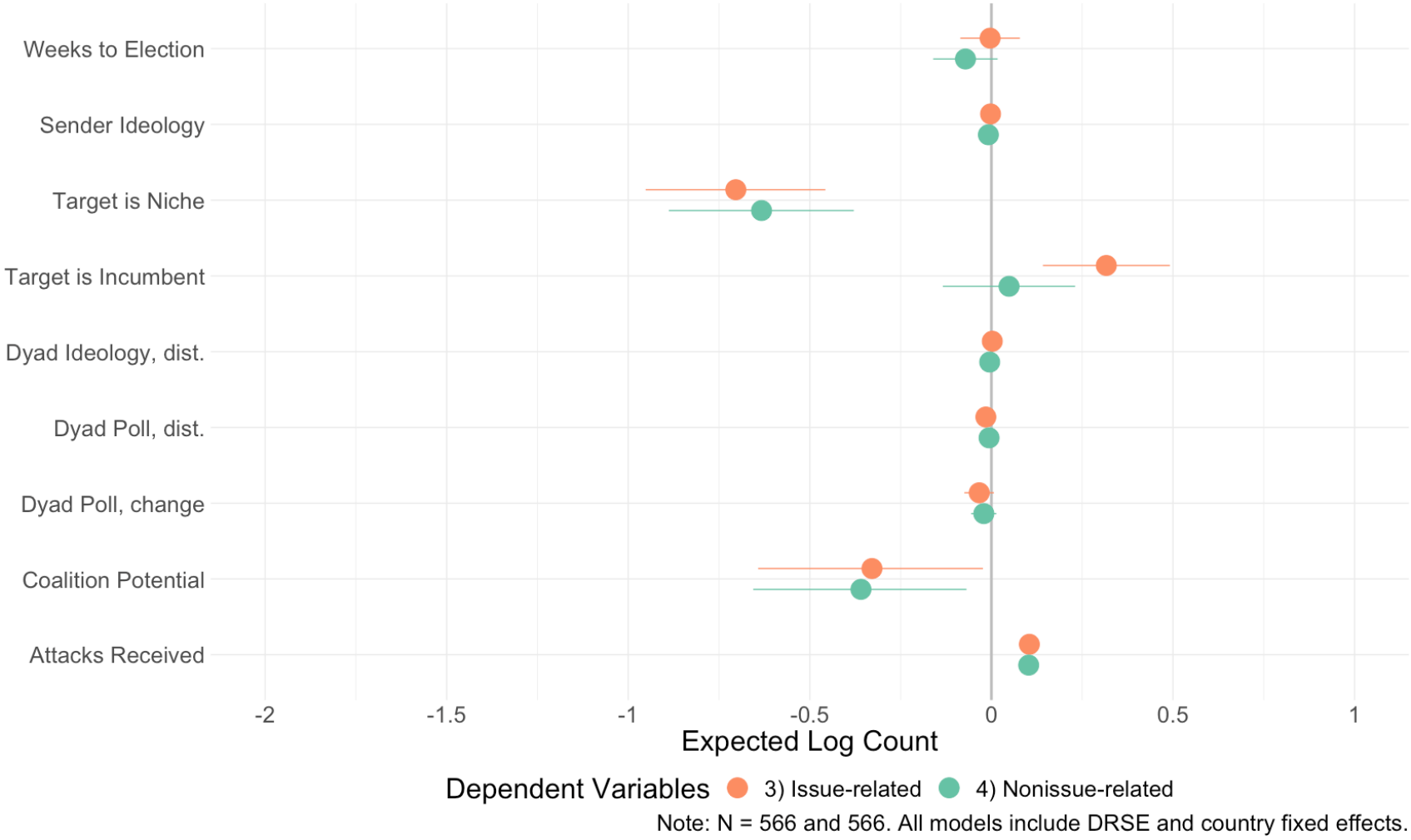
Results: Coefficient Plot for Hypothesis 1



Note: N = 1,672 and 566. All models include DRSE and country fixed effects.

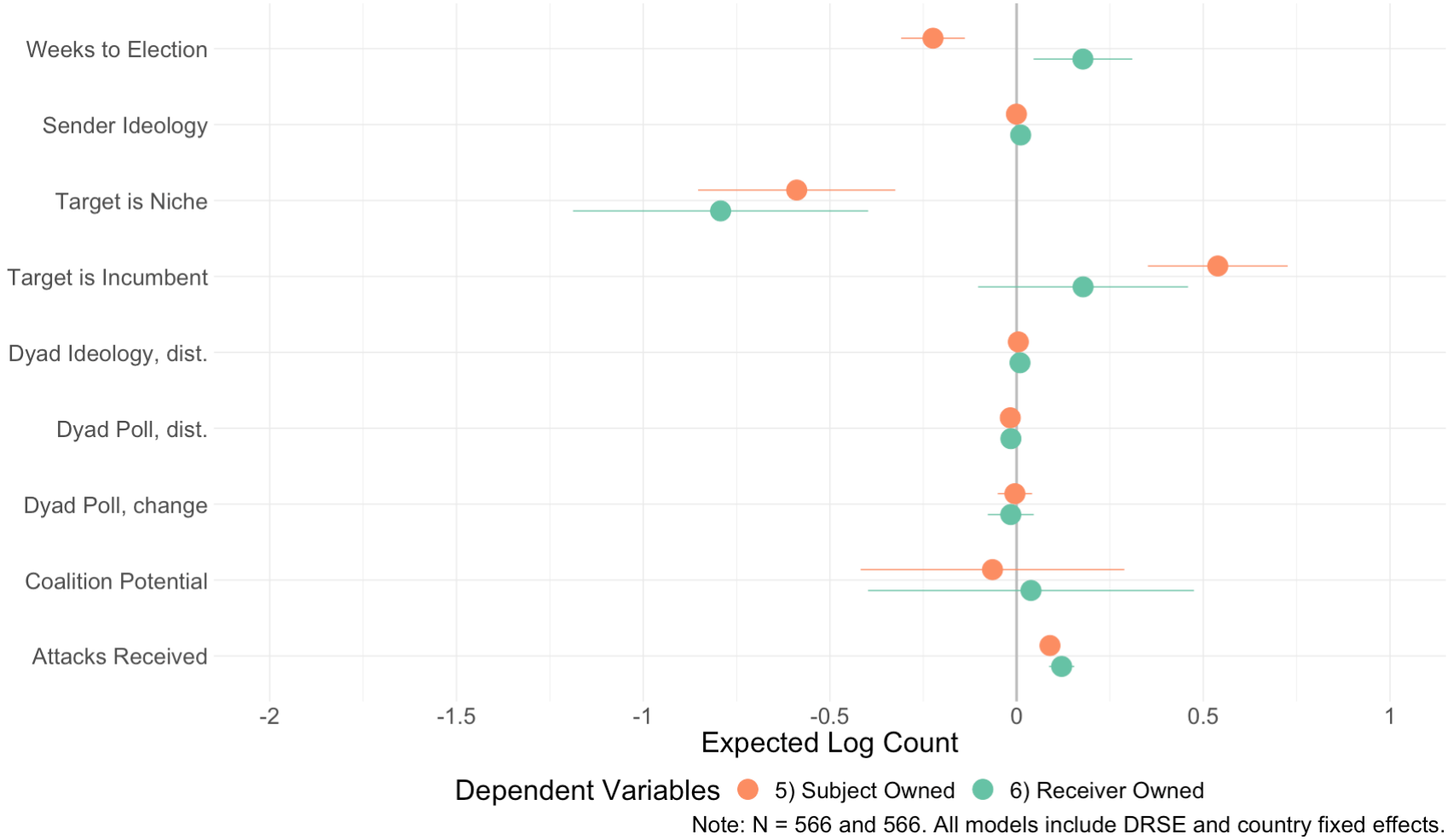
◂ return

Results: Coefficient Plot for Hypothesis 2



return

Results: Coefficient Plot for Hypothesis 3



Note: N = 566 and 566. All models include DRSE and country fixed effects.

return

CCDP Survey

CCDP Survey - Page 1

Does the subject of the article you identified discuss any issue positions or valence characteristics of another party, of the government or of the establishment?

* must provide value

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

reset

Note that if the subject discusses another party's leader or member of the parliament etc. you should still code this as "Yes" and code the party of that leader/member in the next question. If the subject refers to the "government" determine who was in government that year and code the party accordingly.

If the subject talks about another party or the government, identify the first (or the only) other actor it talks about?

- (•) Labour Party
- ( ) Liberal Democratic Party
- ( ) Conservative Party
- ( ) UKIP
- ( ) Scottish National Party
- ( ) Establishment

reset

Does the subject refer to an issue position of this other actor?

* must provide value

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

reset

What is the first (or the only) issue the subject refers to for the other actor?

- (•) Taxes
- ( ) Social Policy/Public Services
- ( ) Inflation
- ( ) Unemployment
- ( ) Other Economic Performance
- ( ) Centralization vs. Regional Autonomy
- ( ) Environment
- ( ) Immigration, Asylum
- ( ) Justice System
- ( ) Law and Order, Security, Terrorism
- ( ) National Way of Life, Patriotism
- ( ) Traditional Morality, Family Values, Religion
- ( ) Europe/European Union
- ( ) Internationalism (not EU)
- ( ) Foreign Intervention
- ( ) Agriculture/Rural Affairs
- ( ) Other Issue

reset

"Social policy/public services" is an umbrella category on welfare state related policies that includes (but is not limited to) sub-issues such as: Social services, Education, Social security, Health care, Public housing, Public transportation, Childcare, Family policies (e.g., maternity leave, Elderly care, Minimum wage

Issue direction

- (•) -1
- ( ) 0 (status quo; no clear position taken/vague; or just mentions the issue)
- ( ) 1
- ( ) 99 (takes a contradictory position)

reset

Refer to your notes to decide how to code this variable

How confident are you with your answer to the questions so far about the issue you identified above?

* must provide value

- (•) Fully confident
- ( ) Somewhat confident
- ( ) Not confident

reset

CCDP Survey - Page 2

When the subject discusses the other actor's position on the issue you identified above, does the subject refer to any valence characteristics of this other actor?

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

reset

Valence includes references to party/leader honesty, integrity, character, competence, performance; party unity; leader charisma. You should answer this question "yes" only if the subject is clearly and openly saying that they are the competent, unified, honest etc. party/leader to deal with that issue. If they do not clearly discuss their competence, integrity etc. when discussing this specific issue, say no.

What is the valence content?

- ( ) Party/Govt/Est honesty/integrity/character
- ( ) Party/Govt/Est (past, current, future) competence/performance
- ( ) Party/Govt/Est unity
- ( ) Party/Govt/Est other valence dimension
- (•) Leader honesty/integrity/character
- ( ) Leader (past, current, future) competence/performance
- ( ) Leader charisma
- ( ) Leader other valence dimension
- ( ) Other target actor (e.g., an MP of the party, the deputy leader, a minister etc.)

reset

Is the valence category referred to in a negative or positive light?

- (•) negative direction
- ( ) neutral
- ( ) positive direction

reset

When the subject discusses the position of the other actor on the issue you identified above, does the subject refer to a second valence characteristic of the party/government/establishment?

- ( ) Yes
- (•) No

reset

Valence includes references to party/leader honesty, integrity, character, competence, performance; party unity; leader charisma. You should answer this question "yes" only if the subject is clearly and openly saying that they are the competent, unified, honest etc. party/leader to deal with that issue. If they do not clearly discuss their competence, integrity etc. when discussing this specific issue, say no.

How confident are you with your answers to the issue-related valence questions?

* must provide value

- (•) Fully confident
- ( ) Somewhat confident
- ( ) Not confident

reset

◂ return

CCDP Survey - Page 3

Does the subject talk about the other actor's valence (the actor you identified above)
without any specific reference to an issue position?

* must provide value

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

reset

Note that if the subject is saying that the other party is (in)competent/(dis)unified etc. to deal with a particular issue, you should have already coded it above as an issue category. This question should be answered as "yes" only if the subject says that the other actor is (in)competent, (dis)unified, (dis)honest, (not) charismatic etc. WITHOUT a reference to any specific issue positions

First (or Only) Valence Content

- ( ) Party/Govt/Est honesty/integrity/character
- (•) Party/Govt/Est (past, current, future) competence/performance
- ( ) Party/Govt/Est unity
- ( ) Party/Govt/Est other valence dimension
- ( ) Leader honesty/integrity/character
- ( ) Leader (past, current, future) competence/performance
- ( ) Leader charisma
- ( ) Leader other valence dimension
- ( ) Other target actor (e.g., an MP of the party, the deputy leader, a minister etc.)

reset

Is the valence category referred to in a negative or positive light?

- (•) negative direction
- ( ) neutral
- ( ) positive direction

reset

How confident are you with your answer for identifying the questions related to this valence content?

* must provide value

- (•) Fully confident
- ( ) Somewhat confident
- ( ) Not confident

reset

◂ return

CCDP Issues

CCDP Issues

Variable	Identification
subject	Party making statements on its issue positions, issue-related valence, and general valence (country-specific party code, see Appendix, Table A1)
statement_type	Type of statement made - *SelfIssue* (purely issue-related standpoint) - *SelfIssueVal* (issue-related valence) - *SelfVal* (general valence) - additional country-specific values (*see 6.3*)
var_value[8]	Content of statement, dependent on statement_type. For *statement_type*== - ***(Self-/Other)Issue***: Policy area *1 – Taxes* *2 – Social Policy/Public Services* *3 – Inflation* *4 – Unemployment* *5 – Other Economic Performance* *6 – Centralization vs. Regional Autonomy* *7 – Environment* *8 – Immigration, Asylum* *9 – Justice System* *10 – Law and Order, Security, Terrorism* *11 – National Way of Life* *12 – Traditional Morality, Family Values, Religion* *13 – Europe/EU* *14 – Internationalism (not EU)* *15 – Foreign Intervention* *16 – Agriculture/Rural Affairs* *99 – Other Issue* *(for additional country-specific issue domains see Table 11)* - ***IssueVal***: (issue-related) Valence category *1 – Party/government honesty/integrity* *2 – Party/govt (past, current, future) competence/performance* *3 – Party/government unity* *4 – Leader honesty/integrity/character* *5 – Leader (past, current, future) competence/performance* *6 – Leader charisma* *7 – Other* - ***SelfVal:*** *Valence category* *1 – Party/government honesty/integrity* *2 – Party/govt (past, current, future) competence/performance* *3 – Party/government unity* *4 – Leader honesty/integrity/character* *5 – Leader (past, current, future) competence/performance* *6 – Leader charisma* *7 – Other* - additional country-specific values (*see 6.3*)
direction	Direction of statement made *-1 – negative* *0 – neutral* *1 – positive* *99 – contradictory statement*
valen_issue	Issue/policy area related to issue valence statements: See codes for var_value if *statement_type == Issue* (only applicable for *statement_type == IssueVal*)

CCDP Issues

Variable	Identification
socialPol	Social policy issue/area sub-code (only applicable for statements on social policy, i.e., *issue area==2*) - *1 – Education* - *2 – Health Care* - *3 – Elderly care/pensioners* - *4 – Public Housing* - *5 – Public Transportation* - *6 – Minimum Wage* - *7 – Social Security* - *8 – Childcare* - *9 – Youth* - *10 – Other family policies* - *99 – Other social policy/public services* *(for country-specific issue domains see Table 11)*
socialPol_spend_dir	Direction of social policy statement (only applicable for statements on social policy, i.e., *issue area==2*) - *-1* – decrease spending - *0* – neutral - *1* – increase spending - 99 – contradictory statement
dominant_issue	Dominant issue in the article, i.e., the issue an article focuses on. The issue categories are identical to those of the parties' statements; *see above*
dominant_issue_social	Dominant issue in the article, in the case of a social policy issue being the main issue (*dominant_issue==2)*; for issue categories, *see above*

◂ return

CCDP Issues classified to Seeberg (2017)

var_value[8]	Content of statement, dependent on statement_type. For *statement_type*==

- ***(Self-/Other)Issue**:* Policy area

1 – Taxes
2 – Social Policy/Public Services
3 – Inflation
4 – Unemployment
5 – Other Economic Performance
6 – Centralization vs. Regional Autonomy
7 – Environment
8 – Immigration, Asylum
9 – Justice System
10 – Law and Order, Security, Terrorism
11 – National Way of Life
12 – Traditional Morality, Family Values, Religion
13 – Europe/EU
14 – Internationalism (not EU)
15 – Foreign Intervention
16 – Agriculture/Rural Affairs
99 – Other Issue
(for additional country-specific issue domains see Table 11)

return

Overview of Issue Statements and Valence Statements

Overview of Issue Statements and Valence Statements - Part 1

Election	Issues	Valence Statements		
		Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
CZ10	116	166	29	137
CZ13	168	141	40	101
DE09	216	157	61	96
DE13	156	159	70	89
DK07	408	167	60	107
DK11	352	136	56	80
ES08	278	283	119	164
ES11	292	211	84	127
HU06	494	412	147	265

◂ return

Overview of Issue Statements and Valence Statements - Part 2

Election	Issues	Valence Statements		
		Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
NL12	252	191	75	116
PL11	350	237	105	132
PO09	468	353	153	200
PO11	596	499	201	298
SV10	574	418	337	81
SV14	566	484	368	116
UK05	418	299	156	143
UK10	394	318	111	207
UK15	584	364	182	182

◂ return

Statements Received by Incumbents and Opposition

Overview of Statements Received by Incumbents and Opposition

Election	Gov./Opp.	Issues	Valence Statements, received		
			Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
CZ2010	Gov.	82	104	19	85
CZ2010	Opp.	34	62	10	52
CZ2013	Gov.	70	61	29	32
CZ2013	Opp.	98	80	11	69
ES2008	Gov.	122	151	64	87
ES2008	Opp.	156	132	55	77
ES2011	Gov.	131	116	48	68
ES2011	Opp.	161	95	36	59
UK2005	Gov.	195	177	94	83
UK2005	Opp.	223	122	62	60
UK2015	Gov.	261	99	44	55
UK2015	Opp.	323	265	138	127

◂ return

Spanish Parties in the data set

Spanish Parties in the data set

Election	Party
ES2008	PSOE (Socialist Workers' Party)
ES2008	PP (People's Party)
ES2008	IU (United Left)
ES2008	CiU (Convergence & Union)
ES2008	ERC (Republican Left of Catalonia)
ES2008	EAJ/PNV (Basque Nationalist Party)
ES2008	UPyD (Union, Progress, and Democracy)
ES2011	PSOE (Socialist Workers' Party)
ES2011	PP (People's Party)
ES2011	IU-LV (Plural Left)
ES2011	CiU (Convergence & Union)
ES2011	ERC (Republican Left of Catalonia)
ES2011	EAJ/PNV (Basque Nationalist Party)
ES2011	UPyD (Union, Progress, and Democracy)

◂ return

Statements in Spain 2008 and 2011

Number of statements about PSOE in 2008

Election	Party Pair	Issues	Valence Attacks (DV)		
			Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
ES-08	PSOE-PP	115	96	45	51
ES-08	PSOE-IU	9	0	0	0
ES-08	PSOE-CiU	0	0	0	0
ES-08	PSOE-ERC	2	0	0	0
ES-08	PSOE-EAJ/PNV	8	3	1	2
ES-08	PSOE-UPyD	2	0	0	0

return

Number of statements about PP in 2008

Election	Party Pair	Issues	Valence Attacks (DV)		
			Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
ES-08	PP-PSOE	109	115	63	52
ES-08	PP-IU	6	2	1	1
ES-08	PP-CiU	1	0	0	0
ES-08	PP-ERC	1	0	0	0
ES-08	PP-EAJ/PNV	7	3	1	2
ES-08	PP-UPyD	1	0	0	0

◂ return

Number of statements about PSOE in 2011

Election	Party Pair	Issues	Valence Attacks (DV)		
			Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
ES-11	PSOE-PP	134	59	26	33
ES-11	PSOE-IU	2	0	0	0
ES-11	PSOE-CiU	16	8	3	5
ES-11	PSOE-ERC	2	0	0	0
ES-11	PSOE-EAJ/PNV	5	4	2	2
ES-11	PSOE-UPyD	3	0	0	0

◂ return

Number of statements about PP in 2011

Election	Party Pair	Issues	Valence Attacks (DV)		
			Agg.	Issue-rel.	Nonissue-rel.
ES-11	PP-PSOE	101	78	36	42
ES-11	PP-IU	9	1	1	0
ES-11	PP-CiU	0	0	0	0
ES-11	PP-ERC	2	0	0	0
ES-11	PP-EAJ/PNV	8	4	2	2
ES-11	PP-UPyD	2	0	0	0

return

Legitimacy Mechanism

Testing the mechanism of legitimacy

	Change in polling performance			
	Issues	Nonissues	Sender Owns	Receiver Owns
Issue attacks	0.043*	0.011	0.044	−0.001
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.038)	(0.033)
Poll, lag	−0.023*	−0.017	−0.016	−0.015
	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Delta Poll, lag	0.110	0.124	0.133*	0.126
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.066)	(0.065)
Attacks received	0.004	0.006	0.005	0.008
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Weeks to Election	0.038	0.033	0.036	0.027
	(0.091)	(0.092)	(0.096)	(0.091)
Constant	0.372	0.290	0.333	0.325
	(0.478)	(0.486)	(0.489)	(0.483)
N	566	566	566	566
R^2	0.054	0.036	0.040	0.034

*$p < .05$, The DV is change in polling performance and estimated with OLS.

◂ return

PM/Chancellor Coding

Valence Attacks and Incumbency with PM coding

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Target is PM	0.647*	0.367*
	(0.281)	(0.151)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Country FE	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes
N	1,672	566
AIC	1,684.341	2,402.954

*p $<$ .05.

◂ return

Valence Attacks and Issue Ownership with PM coding

	(3) Issue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(4) Nonissue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(5) Sender Owns *Poisson*	(6) Receiver Owns *Poisson*
Target is PM	0.353*	0.208	0.527*	0.462
	(0.149)	(0.115)	(0.064)	(0.287)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	566	566	566	566
AIC	2,056.796	2,026.615	1,434.992	1,332.736

*$p < .05$.

◂ return

Different Issue Ownership classification

Valence Attacks and Issue Ownership With Different Issue Classifications

	Version 2	
	Sender Owned	Receiver Owned
	(1)	(2)
Incumbent	0.586*	0.120
	(0.061)	(0.214)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Country FE	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes
N	566	566
AIC	1,503.791	1,308.112

*p $<$ .05. Reported are expected log counts.

◂ return

Campaign Fixed Effects

Valence Attacks and Incumbency with Campaign Fixed Effects

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Incumbent	0.539*	0.285*
	(0.221)	(0.137)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Campaign FE	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes
N	1,672	566
AIC	1,673.576	2,396.150

*$p < .05$.

◂ return

Valence Attacks and Issue Ownership with Campaign Fixed Effects

	(3) Issue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(4) Nonissue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(5) Sender Owns *Poisson*	(6) Receiver Owns *Poisson*
Incumbent	0.306*	0.071	0.459*	0.117
	(0.126)	(0.129)	(0.080)	(0.233)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Campaign FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	566	566	566	566
AIC	2,055.053	2,017.679	1,407.271	1,395.083

*p $<$ .05, Reported are expected log counts.

◂ return

Receiver Ideology

Valence Attacks and Incumbency with Receiver Ideology

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Incumbent	0.487*	0.279*
	(0.227)	(0.132)
Ideology of Receiver	0.007	−0.005
	(0.006)	(0.007)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Country FE	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes
N	1,672	1,672
AIC	1,682.533	2,404.708

*p $<$ .05

return

Valence Attacks and Issue Ownership with Receiver Ideology

	(1) Issue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(2) Nonissue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(3) Sender Owns *Poisson*	(4) Receiver Owns *Poisson*
Incumbent	0.316*	0.049	0.539*	0.178
	(0.118)	(0.128)	(0.054)	(0.218)
Ideology	−0.002	−0.008	−0.001	0.011
(Target)	(0.004)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dyad RSE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	566	566	566	566
AIC	2,054.673	2,030.002	1,512.741	1,338.280

*p $<$ .05

return

Zero-inflated negative binomial model

Valence Attacks with zero-inflated negative binomial regression

	Attacks, number of
	(1)
Incumbent	0.315*
	(0.101)
Country FE	Yes
Dyad Robust SE	No
N	1,672
Log Likelihood	−1,983.567

*p $<$ .05. Reported are expected log counts.

◂ return

Multi-Level Models

Valence Attacks and Incumbency in Multi-Level Models

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Incumbent	0.656*	0.231*
	(0.171)	(0.099)
N	1,672	566
AIC	1,683.303	2,100.790

*p $<$ .05

◂ return

Valence Attacks and Issue Ownership in Multi-Level Models

	(3) Issue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(4) Nonissue Rel. *Neg. Bin.*	(5) Sender Owns *Poisson*	(6) Receiver Owns *Poisson*
Incumbent	0.317*	−0.021	0.610*	0.181
	(0.091)	(0.097)	(0.102)	(0.144)
N	566	566	566	566
AIC	2,100.790	2,090.237	1,504.347	1,332.803

*p < .05

return

Junior Partners

Results: Testing Hypothesis 1

	(1)	(2)
	Attacks (1 = yes)	Attacks, number of
	Logit	*Neg. Bin., trunc.*
Target is Junior	1.257	1.048
	(0.211)	(0.176)
Controls	✓	✓
Country Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Dyad Robust SE	✓	✓
N	1,672	566

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are odds ratios for model 1 and incident rate ratios for model 2.

The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks.

◂ return

Results: Testing Hypothesis 2

	(3) Issue-Related *Neg. Bin.*	(4) Nonissue Related *Neg. Bin.*
Target is Junior	1.179	0.786
	(0.147)	(0.113)
Controls	✓	✓
Country Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Dyad Robust SE	✓	✓
N	566	566

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are incident rate ratios. The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks. The dependent variables are counts of weekly valence attacks in party dyads.

◂ return

Results: Testing Hypothesis 3

	(5) Sender Owned *Poisson*	(6) Receiver Owned *Poisson*
Target is Junior	1.496*	0.754
	(0.203)	(0.113)
Controls	✓	✓
Country Fixed Effects	✓	✓
Dyad Robust SE	✓	✓
N	566	566

Note: *p $<$ .05, Reported are incident rate ratios. The unit of observation are directed party dyads in campaign weeks. The dependent variables are counts of weekly valence attacks in party dyads.

◂ return