

Table A.1. Distribution of Party Election Broadcasts included for Britain

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

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)	*	4	3	10	5	1	3	5
Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	-	-	-	*	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. *Party election broadcasts for this party were available, but are not included as the party was not represented in parliament during the election campaign. 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 Hans Seidel Foundation and production company Trialon.*

Table A.3. Distribution of Party Election Broadcasts included for the Netherlands

Political Party	1981	1982	1986	1989	1994	1998	2002	2003	2006
General Old People Party (AOV)	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-
Centre Party/Centre Democrats (CD)	*	*	N/A	5	3	4	-	-	-
Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	N/A	1	1	2	4	2	1	2	2
Communist Party in the Netherlands (CPN)	N/A	N/A	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christian Union (CU)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
Democrats'66 (D66)	N/A	N/A	2	2	2	1	1	1	2
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
Reformed Political League (GPV)	1	1	1	4	3	1	-	-	-
List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) / List Five Fortuyn (LVF)	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	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
Animal Party (PvdD)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*
Freedom Party (PVV)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*
Reformed Political Federation (RPF)	N/A	N/A	3	5	4	N/A	-	-	-
Socialist Party (SP)	N/A	N/A	*	*	*	1	1	1	1
Liberal Party (VVD)	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1
Union 55+	-	-	-	-	*	1	-	-	-
Total	6	6	17	24	26	13	11	15	19

Note: Total of 137 party election broadcast, several party election broadcasts have not been saved in archives. - Party did not exist at that time. N/A= Not available, as several party election broadcasts have not been saved. 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, The Archives and Documentation Center of the Reformed Churches (liberated) in the Netherlands, International Institute of Social History, Archive Socialist Party (SP), YouTube channel Christian Democrats (CDA), YouTube channel Green Left (GL).

Table A.4. Descriptive Statistics Main Independent Variables

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Party x Election Level (N=141)				
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
Election Level (N=23)				
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.5. The Effects of Party Characteristics on Negative Campaigning in Western Europe

	Base Model	Model 1 Party Characteristics	Model2 Britain Challenger Status	Model 3 Britain Loss in Polls	Model 4 Britain Gov. Experience	Model 5 Britain Median Party Distance
Intercept	28.569* (5.095)	16.396* (4.947)	6.694 (4.751)	20.878* (5.093)	17.780* (4.870)	12.945* (4.995)
Opposition Party		6.297* (0.397)	13.920* (0.474)	6.804* (0.396)	5.426* (0.421)	7.697* (0.451)
Loss in Polls		3.233* (0.375)	2.894* (0.360)	-0.092 (0.462)	3.265* (0.374)	3.039* (0.375)
Government Experience		-4.512* (1.690)	-3.446* (1.622)	-2.695 (1.683)	-9.957* (2.109)	-0.598 (1.790)
Median Party Distance		0.961* (0.399)	3.004* (0.390)	0.903* (0.396)	0.702 (0.402)	2.008* (0.429)
Opposition Party* United Kingdom			-19.603* (0.727)			
Loss in Polls* United Kingdom				8.846* (0.732)		
GovernmentExperience* United Kingdom					13.785* (3.202)	
Median Party Distance* United Kingdom						-7.117* (1.098)
United Kingdom	11.558 (10.964)	12.486 (10.311)	29.926* (9.913)	-5.264 (10.718)	9.533 (10.154)	19.229 (10.412)
Germany	-14.145 (9.469)	-11.394 (8.915)	-9.964 (8.550)	-11.517 (9.175)	-9.781 (8.766)	-12.418 (8.958)
σ² Party x Election	130.654* (2.011)	123.848* (1.906)	114.074* (1.756)	121.711* (1.873)	123.606* (1.903)	123.228* (1.897)
σ² Party	342.909* (95.053)	301.235* (83.438)	278.523* (77.380)	320.894* (8.883)	291.674* (81.042)	304.215* (84.245)
σ² Election	50.776* (16.220)	46.535* (12.322)	41.404* (13.209)	47.741* (15.274)	43.920* (14.015)	46.814* (14.998)
Deviance (-2LL)	65714.676	65257.794	64559.388	65113.114	65239.323	65215.878

*Note: Level 1: Parties in elections N=129 Level 2: Parties N=27/Elections N=23. Standard errors within parentheses. * means significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed). For the country dummies the reference category is the Netherlands.*

Table A.6. The Effects of Party and Election Characteristics on Negative Campaigning in Western Europe

	Model 1 Party Characteristics	Model6 Model 1 + Size Electoral Market	Model 7 Model 1 + Closeness	Model 8 Model 1 + Continuation Government	Model 9 Model 1 + Coalition Loss	Model 10 Model 1 + Interaction
Intercept	16.396* (4.947)	22.204 (5.733)	16.058* (5.043)	16.424* (5.201)	17.469* (5.087)	18.109* (5.526)
Opposition Party	6.297* (0.397)	6.284* (0.397)	6.298* (0.397)	6.297* (0.397)	6.295* (0.397)	6.295* (0.397)
Loss in Polls	3.233* (0.375)	3.215* (0.375)	3.237* (0.375)	3.233* (0.375)	3.232* (0.375)	3.228* (0.375)
Government Experience	-4.512* (1.690)	-4.625* (1.689)	-4.489* (1.691)	-4.512* (1.690)	-4.489* (1.689)	-4.503* (1.690)
Median Party Distance	0.961* (0.399)	0.944* (0.399)	0.961* (0.399)	0.961* (0.399)	0.965* (0.399)	0.961* (0.399)
Size Electoral Market		-0.350 (0.182)				
Closeness Election			0.085 (0.252)			
Continuation Government				-0.085 (4.853)		-0.628 (5.586)
Coalition Loss					-2.436 (2.862)	-5.037 (5.816)
Continuation Government * Coalition Loss						-0.628 (5.586)
United Kingdom	12.486 (10.311)	10.345 (10.273)	11.497 (10.715)	12.544 (10.807)	12.220 (10.290)	11.976 (10.811)
Germany	-11.394 (8.915)	-14.044 (8.925)	-11.983 (9.078)	-11.338 (9.480)	-11.269 (8.891)	-11.626 (9.443)
σ² Party x Election	123.848* (1.906)	123.847* (1.906)	123.848* (1.906)	123.848* (1.906)	123.848* (1.906)	123.847* (1.906)
σ² Party	301.235* (83.438)	300.957* (83.226)	300.960* (83.416)	301.115* (83.447)	300.911* (83.454)	300.876* (83.476)
σ² Election	46.535* (12.322)	39.488* (12.666)	46.266* (14.788)	46.536* (14.888)	44.954* (14.358)	44.391* (14.168)
Deviance (-2LL)	65257.794	65254.384	65257.684	65257.801	65257.080	6525.816

*Note: Level 1: Parties in elections N=129 Level 2: Parties N=27/Elections N=23. Standard errors within parentheses. * means significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed). For the country dummies the reference category is the Netherlands.*