Appendix to "Women Leading the Opposition: Gender and Rhetoric in the European Parliament"

Table A.1: Overview of party group abbreviations

Abbreviation	Party Group Name
ALDE/Renew	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Group/Renew Europe Group
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Group
EFDD/EFD/ENF	Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy Group/Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group/Europe of Nations and Freedom Group
EPP	European People's Party Group
Greens/EFA	Greens/European Free Alliance
GUE/NGL	European United Left/Nordic Green Left
ID	Identity and Democracy
S&D	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats

Table A.2: Diction 7 formulas for positive and negative evaluation

Indicator	DICTION 7 variables	Description and sample terms[1]
Positive evaluation	Praise	Affirmations of some person, group, or abstract entity. Included are terms isolating important social qualities (dear, delightful, witty), physical qualities (mighty, handsome, beautiful), intellectual qualities (shrewd, bright, vigilant, reasonable), entrepreneurial qualities (successful, conscientious, renowned), and moral qualities (faithful, good, noble). All terms in this dictionary are adjectives.
	+ Satisfaction	Terms associated with positive affective states (cheerful, passionate, happiness), with moments of undiminished joy (thanks, smile, welcome) and pleasurable diversion (excited, fun, lucky), or with moments of triumph (celebrating, pride, auspicious). Also included are words of nurturance: healing, encourage, secure, relieved.
	+ Inspiration	Abstract virtues deserving of universal respect. Most of the terms in this dictionary are nouns isolating desirable moral qualities (faith, honesty, self-sacrifice, virtue) as well as attractive personal qualities (courage, dedication, wisdom, mercy). Social and political ideals are also included: patriotism, success, education, justice.
Negative evaluation	Blame	Terms designating social inappropriateness (mean, naive, sloppy, stupid) as well as downright evil (fascist, blood-

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[1] See also, Hart & Carroll, 2015.

		thirsty, repugnant, malicious) compose this dictionary. In addition, adjectives describing unfortunate circumstances (bankrupt, rash, morbid, embarrassing) or unplanned vicissitudes (weary, nervous, painful, detrimental) are included. The dictionary also contains outright denigrations: cruel, illegitimate, offensive, miserly.
	+ Hardship	This dictionary contains natural disasters (earthquake, starvation, tornado, pollution), hostile actions (killers, bankruptcy, enemies, vices) and censurable human behavior (infidelity, despots, betrayal). It also includes unsavory political outcomes (injustice, slavery, exploitation, rebellion) as well as normal human fears (grief, unemployment, died, apprehension) and in capacities (error, cop-outs, weakness).
	+ Denial	A dictionary consisting of standard negative contractions (aren't, shouldn't, don't), negative functions words (nor, not, nay), and terms designating null sets (nothing, nobody, none).

Table A.3: Political group chairs' positive and negative evaluations by group and gender

		Positive		Negative		
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	N
EPP		16.187	6.674	11.247	6.386	13
	Male	16.187	6.674	11.247	6.386	13
	Female	-	-	-	-	0
S&D		13.595	4.953	13.588	4.208	13
	Male	13.182	5.333	13.499	4.369	10
	Female	14.973	3.940	13.887	4.492	3
ALDE/Renew		14.113	6.629	15.155	5.238	13
	Male	14.113	6.629	15.155	5.238	13
	Female	-	-	-	-	0
Greens		14.051	4.032	15.034	4.675	13
	Male	12.427	3.842	15.647	5.685	7
	Female	15.945	3.647	14.318	3.540	6
GUE/NGL		13.892	3.972	16.609	4.322	10
	Male	17.290	1.301	17.218	6.337	4
	Female	11.627	3.462	16.203	3.006	6
ECR		15.507	7.096	15.080	6.116	13
	Male	15.507	7.096	15.080	6.116	13
	Female	-	-	-	-	0
EFDD/EFD/ENF		12.852	4.184	15.611	5.587	12

	Male	12.534	4.233	14.865	5.195	11
	Female	16.350	16.350	23.820	-	1

Table A.4: The seven charismatic constructs and operationalization in DICTION 7[2]

Construct	DICTION 7 variables	Sample Terms	Stereotypical Gender Connotation
Collective focus: charismatic leaders show a collective orientation and describe their actions and goals as directed towards common achievements and interests.	Collectives + People references - Self-reference	Assembly, cabinet, humanity, mankind, nation. Crowd, residents, constituencies, majority, citizenry, population Crowd, residents, constituencies, majority, citizenry, population	Feminine
Followers' worth: charismatic leaders highlight the positive aspects of the followers and reinforce their sense of awareness vis-à-vis the achievement of collective goals (collective self-efficacy).	Praise + Inspiration + Satisfaction	Admirable, brave, delightful, intelligent, kind, lovely, respected Ambition, devotion, ideals, leadership, merit, optimism, promise, reassurance Comfort, cherish, delight, fascinate, gratify, laugh, love, pleasure, rejoice	Feminine
Similarity to followers: charismatic leaders highlight their own similarity to followers by describing themselves as "one of them."	Levelling + Familiarity + Human interest	Anybody, everybody, fully, obvious, permanent, totally, unquestionably About, between, for, on, past, than, who, with Children, family, friends, parents, relatives, widows, yours, charity, blessing, eternal, faith, hope, mercy	Feminine

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[2] Cited in Müller and Pansardi, 2022, pp. 137-138; adapted from Tortola and Pansardi (2019), Table 1, pp. 105-106.

Action: charismatic leaders use an action-oriented language to mobilize followers and describe themselves as "proactive."	Aggression	Attack, challenge, combat, dominate, furious, hurt, kill, oppose, pre-empt	Masculine
	+ Accomplishment	Achieve, aspire, create, finish, motivate, pursuit, resolution, succeed	
	- Passivity	Accept, acquiesce, complacent, disinterested, hesitate, lackadaisical	
	- Ambivalence	Blur, confound, hesitate, puzzle, quandary, vacillate, wonder	
Adversity: charismatic leaders describe the situation as intolerable with the aim of supporting the proposed alternative "visionary future" and moving to action.	Blame	Contemptible, desperate, guilty, incompetent, mediocre, rash, senile	Masculine
	+ Hardship	Conflict, crisis, death, fear, insecurity, loss, outrage, sorrow, tension	
	+ Denial	Didn't, hadn't, never, wasn't, wouldn't	
Temporal orientation: charismatic leaders use more temporal references and tend to highlight continuity between the past and the present.	Present concern	Become, care, desire, make, need, request, take	Gender-neutral
	+ Past concern	Became, cared, desired, made, needed, requested, took, wanted want	
Tangibility: charismatic leaders devote less attention to concrete and short-term goals, and are more prone to discuss their expectations and goals in abstract and general terms.	Concreteness	Animal, baseball, cancer, factory, household, movie, school, silk, sugar	Gender-neutral
	+ Insistence	Score calculated on the basis of repetition of key terms.	
	- Variety	Score calculated by dividing the number of different	

		words in a passage by the total words.	

Table A.5: Political groups chairs' linguistic charisma by group and gender

		Mean Charisma	SD	N
EPP		173.548	32.235	13
	Male	173.548	32.235	13
	Female	-	-	0
S&D		169.008	20.466	13
	Male	164.554	18.861	10
	Female	183.853	21.968	3
ALDE/Renew		160.945	26.735	13
	Male	160.945	26.735	13
	Female	-	-	0
Greens		169.803	29.075	13
	Male	161.580	36.349	7
	Female	179.397	15.435	6
GUE/NGL		163.365	23.746	10
	Male	154.447	23.535	4
	Female	169.310	24.013	6
ECR		169.403	40.840	13
	Male	169.403	40.840	13
	Female	-	-	0
EFDD/EFD/ENF		161.114	35.457	12
	Male	156.656	33.475	11
	Female	210.150	34.343	1

Table A.6: Political groups chairs' linguistic charisma by gender – ANCOVA results for single constructs

	Mean	SD	Univariate $F_{(2, 84)}$
Collective focus			
Male	2.269	5.249	.092ns
Female	2.662	4.501	
Temporal orientation			
Male	14.838	5.016	2.113ns
Female	16.840	3.576	
Followers' worth			

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	Mean	SD	
Male	14.385	5.815	.014ns
Female	14.169	3.846	
Similarity to followers			
Male	177.080	13.678	.483ns
Female	179.559	11.731	
Tangibility			
Male	54.729	21.133	5.233*
Female	41.806	14.824	
Action			
Male	-0.594	9.432	2.592ns
Female	-4.484	5.792	
Adversity			
Male	11.091	5.563	.085ns
Female	11.431	3.486	

Notes: Male N=71; Female N=16. *=p <0.05; ns=non significant.

Table A.7: Female political groups chairs' linguistic charisma by speaker – ANCOVA and MANCOVA results

	Mean	SD	Univariate F(6, 9)
Charisma			
Gabriele Zimmer	174.434	22.888	1.599ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	183.853	21.968	
Manon Aubry	143.690	-	
Marine Le Pen	210.150	-	
Rebecca Harms	171.550	11.029	
Ska Keller	195.090	9.348	
Single constructs:			
Collective focus			
Gabriele Zimmer	2.826	4.142	1.821ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	1.223	3.084	
Manon Aubry	7.480	-	
Marine Le Pen	4.140	-	

Rebecca Harms	-0.960	4.137	
Ska Keller	8.505	3.528	
Temporal orientation			
Gabriele Zimmer	17.484	2.415	0.868ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	16.413	6.857	
Manon Aubry	10.950	-	
Marine Le Pen	13.970	-	
Rebecca Harms	18.548	1.997	
Ska Keller	16.835	2.298	
Followers' worth			
Gabriele Zimmer	10.968	3.425	2.015ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	14.973	3.940	
Manon Aubry	14.920	-	
Marine Le Pen	16.350	-	
Rebecca Harms	14.193	2.987	
Ska Keller	19.450	1.697	
Similarity to followers			
Gabriele Zimmer	183.410	10.732	3.681*
Iratxe Garcia Perez	175.750	8.355	
Manon Aubry	162.670	-	
Marine Le Pen	199.790	-	
Rebecca Harms	172.283	9.139	
Ska Keller	188.530	5.346	
Tangibility			
Gabriele Zimmer	44.182	17.408	0.407ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	36.307	16.385	
Manon Aubry	62.630	-	
Marine Le Pen	36.540	-	
Rebecca Harms	39.183	16.757	
Ska Keller	41.580	9.843	
Action			

Gabriele Zimmer	-8.078	4.132	1.809ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	1.867	3.360	
Manon Aubry	0.150	-	
Marine Le Pen	-3.910	-	
Rebecca Harms	-5.000	6.946	
Ska Keller	-6.595	7.092	
Adversity			
Gabriele Zimmer	12.006	3.727	0.329ns
Iratxe Garcia Perez	9.933	3.887	
Manon Aubry	10.150	-	
Marine Le Pen	16.350	-	
Rebecca Harms	11.670	2.459	
Ska Keller	9.945	6.286	

Notes: MANCOVA results for charisma: Wilks's Lambda = 0.003, $F_{(7, 3)}$ = 1.332 ns; Gabriele Zimmer N=5; Iratxe Garcia Perez N=3; Manon Aubry N=1; Marine Le Pen N=1; Rebecca Harms N=4; Ska Keller N=2. * $p < 0.05$; ns=non significant.