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## Positive sentiment in the 2017 Dutch General Election:

A Study on Emotive Language in Televised and Radio Debates



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## 1. Introduction

In the contemporary era, political communication increasingly contains emotional language (Brader, 2006, p. 2). This is the case with party manifestos and other types of campaign messages (Crabtree, Golder, Gschwend, Indričason, 2016, p. 3). In this thesis, I will look at emotive language during the 2017 Dutch general election debates. I will use the article by Crabtree et al. (2016) as my main reference. In this article, Crabtree et al. (2016) review the strategic use of emotive language in European political parties' campaign manifestos.

The article suggests that political parties make use of strategic emotive language in their campaign messages according to their incumbency status (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 1).<sup>1</sup> The *incumbent party hypothesis* entails that incumbent parties 'use higher levels of positive sentiment in their campaign messages than opposition parties'. In other words, parties in government frame the world in a positive light in order to 'evoke optimism' in the voter (p. 5). Governing parties use such positive sentiment to a greater extent than do opposition parties. Reviewing 422 different party manifestos from eight European countries, the authors find that the hypothesis correctly predicts the use of emotive language by political parties in their campaign messages according to their incumbency status (p. 13). Furthermore, prime ministerial parties use even higher levels of positive emotive language than their coalition partners, as predicted by the *prime ministerial party hypothesis*. Lastly, the *extreme ideology hypothesis* predicts that ideologically extreme parties have the lowest levels of positive emotive words in their speech when compared to moderate parties (pp. 6, 13).

One shortcoming in the article by Crabtree et al. (2016) lies with the dataset used for the research. For example, due to the existence of multi-party coalition governments, the

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<sup>1</sup> In reference to elections, this term is used to indicate whether a party is in the government at the time of elections. Dutch ministers Asscher and Rutte, for instance, were incumbent during the 2017 general elections as they had formed a government in 2012. Naturally, opposition parties are referred to as non-incumbent.

political situation in every European country (e.g. party dominance (one, two or multi-party dominance)) is unique. As parties have to form alliances with other parties in order to form a coalition government, they will be less likely to express their full opinion on matters in their party programs, knowing that their future coalition partners will be able to take this into account. It is therefore relevant to look at other expressions made by political parties during election campaigns. For this reason, the dataset in this thesis comprises televised and radio election debates. During these debates, the party leaders have to interact with one another. The expectation is that this interaction produces results different from those found in the research on party manifestos.

### **Research question**

In this thesis, I continue the research conducted by Crabtree et al. (2016) and look at the relationship between emotive language and election performances. I want to ascertain whether the incumbent, prime ministerial, and extreme ideology party hypotheses are able to predict the use of emotive language of Dutch political parties during the 2017 election debates (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 7). The findings of this research will provide insight into Dutch parties' linguistic choices in relation to their incumbency status. I attempt to answer the following question: **Can the emotive language used in the Dutch 2017 election debates be predicted according to the incumbent, prime ministerial, and extreme ideology party hypotheses?** In other words, I analyse whether parties make more or less use of emotive language depending on their position in Dutch politics. I specifically look at the 2017 Dutch political debates, as these have not yet been analysed using the Linguistic Inquiry Word Count Program (LIWC). This is a text analysis program that is able to register 'various emotional, cognitive, and structural components present in ... speech samples (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015, p. 1). The program has a default English dictionary installed to

which it compares the texts which are analysed. I will review the Dutch dictionary in order to use it for my research.<sup>2</sup>

First, I look at the research method in the article by Crabtree et al. (2016). In this research, Dutch party manifestos, along with other European party manifestos from 1920 to 2011 are analysed for the presence of emotive language. I will discuss the hypotheses and I will explain their relevance to my research. In addition, I will look at the 2004 Dutch translation of the English LIWC dictionary. Zijlstra, Meerveld, Middendorp, Pennebaker & Geenen (2004) claim that the dictionary is valid; however, my qualitative analysis will have to test this.

As do Crabtree et al. (2016), I employ LIWC, a program that allows electronic texts to be analysed for 66 word categories, including emotive language (Zijlstra et al., 2004 p. 273). The software simply counts the number of words expressing positive and negative emotions in a given text and expresses them as a percentage. When the number of words for positive emotions is higher than those for negative emotions, the text is considered to exhibit a positive sentiment. I compare the results for positive and negative emotive language for all the 2017 televised and radio election debates for the parties concerned. My corpus consists of self-transcribed speech samples from all the 2017 Dutch election debates. The results will reveal whether the abovementioned hypotheses accurately predict the use of emotive words in these types of political communication. The *Results, Analysis and Discussion* chapter provides an overview of the scores for positive sentiment for every party leader across the debates. In that chapter I provide tables with the party leaders' scores for positive sentiment, from high to low, for each debate. Additionally, I review the scores for each topic, which was

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<sup>2</sup> I have obtained the raw dictionary file from Professor Geenen, one of the translators of the Dutch LIWC dictionary. This enables me to edit certain words which are translated inaccurately.

not undertaken by Crabtree et al. (2016). The results will indicate whether the LIWC program is able to produce unique results for polarisation (i.e. differing opinions) during topics.

As indicated, I analyse both the 2017 Dutch televised and radio election debates. The following parties have joined these debates: PvdA, D66, 50PLUS, SGP, VVD, ChristenUnie, SP, GroenLinks, DENK, PVV and CDA. The raw data for this research is easily accessible as videos of all the debates have been posted online, either on Facebook or YouTube. I downloaded these files in order to transcribe the speech of each debate. In addition, I compiled separate documents according to party, topic, party leader, political position, and incumbency status in order to generate a variety of results using the LIWC program.

This thesis consists of five chapters including the introduction and conclusion. Following this introduction, I discuss the existing theories on emotive language and the operation of LIWC in chapter 2. Chapter 3 contains the corpus of this thesis. Here, I describe the debates and the participants. The results, analysis and discussion is found in chapter 4, which serves as the main body of this research. Finally, I end this thesis with a conclusion section where I reveal whether emotive language in the Dutch 2017 election debates can be predicted according to the incumbent, prime ministerial, and extreme ideology hypotheses. I also make suggestions for further research.

## **2. Theoretical Methodological Framework**

### **2.1 Campaign sentiment**

Crabtree et al. (2016) claim that ‘the level of positive sentiment parties include in their campaign messages varies in an interactive way with their incumbency status and objective conditions (such as the state of the economy)’ (p. 1). This means that positive sentiment in campaign messages strongly depends on the relevant party’s position in politics and the general economic conditions of a country. In order to understand whether positive sentiment is influenced by incumbency status, the authors collected over ‘400 party manifestos across eight European countries from 1980 to 2011’ (p. 1). They formulate six hypotheses: the incumbent party hypothesis, the prime ministerial party hypothesis, the extreme ideology hypothesis, the economic performance hypothesis, the conditional economic performance hypothesis, and the conditional incumbent party hypothesis (more detail in section 2.1.2) (pp. 6–7). The level of sentiment is measured using LIWC. As language contains both positive and negative emotive words, the percentage of negative emotive words is subtracted from the percentage of positive emotive words to generate the level of positive sentiment. The general results from the research by Crabtree et al (2016) point to the conclusion that ‘incumbent parties use more positive sentiment in their manifestos than opposition parties’ (p. 1).

In this chapter, I look at the existing models of research on electoral campaigns as found in the article by Crabtree et al. (2016). I explain the abovementioned hypotheses and their relevance to this thesis.

#### **2.1.1 Existing models of research on electoral campaigns**

The existing theory has ‘conceptualized electoral campaigns along two dimensions’, namely ‘(i) policy and valence, and (ii) positive and negative’ (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 3). The policy models entail that voters generally decide who to vote for on basis of the policies presented by the parties in question. It follows that these models assume that individuals make



‘prospective evaluations of political parties’ and carefully read into parties’ policies before deciding on their vote (p. 3). Valence models, on the other hand, assume that ‘voters have little incentive’ to gather all the relevant ‘information necessary to evaluate political parties in terms of their proposed policies and that individuals tend to use information short-cuts and heuristics’ when they have to decide which party or person to vote for (p. 3). Naturally, these models assume that voters make ‘retrospective evaluations of parties’ on certain issues that individuals ‘deeply care about’ (pp. 3–4). In terms of both the policy and valence models, a campaign can be positive or negative. This strongly depends on the ‘target’ of the messages: political parties generally speak positively about themselves and negatively about other parties. This negativity can be directed at both the policy and the valence of the opposing party.

According to the authors:

One aspect of electoral campaigns that is overlooked in the above-mentioned two-dimensional framework is campaign sentiment. Existing studies in both linguistics and psychology have shown that language can “engender different types of sentiment”.

Also, language has proved to be an instrument which “influences the frame through which one observes and understand the world”. (Crabtree et al., 2016, pp. 4–5)

It is important to take this into consideration as valence models assume that voters tend to use information shortcuts in order to decide which party to vote for. Incumbent parties are able to frame the world in a positive light by highlighting their parties’ achievements during their term of office. According to Crabtree et al. (2016), parties influence voters’ perceptions of the world through ‘positive emotive language’. This type of language can ‘evoke optimism’ in voters, and is additionally able to ‘encourage individuals to adopt a positive frame when evaluating the state of the world. Similarly, negative emotive language encourages individuals to evaluate the state of the world in a negative frame’ (p. 5). With this in mind, the authors

expect that incumbent parties would use higher levels of positive sentiment in their campaign messages as, in order to be re-elected, their aim is to convince individuals that the state of the country or the world is stable or has improved. Based on these arguments, Crabtree et al. (2016) formulate six hypotheses that can be tested using the LIWC program.

### **2.1.2 The hypotheses**

In this thesis, I use only the first three hypotheses mentioned above. I explain below why I do not consider the last three.

#### *The incumbent party hypothesis*

As mentioned above, Crabtree et al. (2016) predict that, compared to opposition parties, incumbent parties make greater use of positive sentiment in their campaign messages in order to ‘encourage individuals to adopt a positive frame of the world’ (p. 5). For the purpose of this thesis, I am concerned with the VVD and the PvdA, as these parties were incumbent (in the Rutte-Asscher cabinet) at the time of the 2017 general elections. The hypothesis predicts that these parties, and therefore their party leaders, use higher levels of positive sentiment in their speeches than do opposition parties.

#### *The prime ministerial party hypothesis*

Crabtree et al. (2016) argue that voters generally hold the prime ministerial party more responsible for the state of the country than they do their coalition partners. For this reason, other incumbent parties in a coalition attempt to distinguish themselves from the prime ministerial party, and to encourage voters to think that things could have been better if they had more influence in the government (pp. 5–6). Following from this, Crabtree et al. (2016) predict that the highest levels of positive sentiment are found in prime ministerial parties’ campaign messages: ‘Prime ministerial parties use higher levels of positive sentiment in their campaign messages than their coalition partners’ (p. 6). In relation to my research, this

hypothesis predicts that the prime ministerial party in the Netherlands, the VVD, would have used higher levels of positive sentiment than its coalition partner, the PvdA.

*The extreme ideology hypothesis*

Over the past decade, many studies have argued that the ‘populism of populist right-wing parties is attractive to people who hold negative attitudes toward the political system (political resentment)’ (Mudde, 2007, p. 221). Crabtree et al. (2016) argue that individuals are more likely in general to vote for populist parties when the economy is in a poor condition (p. 8). In order to convince voters that the economy is in poor shape, populist parties often strongly oppose the establishment and mainstream politics (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 8). For this reason, the expectation is that populist parties would have used lower levels of positive sentiment in their speeches compared to moderate parties. This is outlined in the following hypothesis formulated by Crabtree et al. (2016): ‘Extreme ideology hypothesis: Ideologically extreme parties use lower levels of positive emotive words in their campaign messages than ideologically moderate parties’ (p. 7).

At present, the PVV is the principal right-wing populist party in the Netherlands. The expectation is therefore that this party had the lowest levels of positive sentiment in the 2017 Dutch election debates. As many sources consider the SP in the Netherlands to have populist characteristics, the expectation is that this party would also have used less positive emotive language than the moderate parties (Kuipers, 2011, pp. 16–17).

*Economic hypotheses*

Crabtree et al. (2016) predict that economic developments in a country have a direct influence on the levels of sentiment in the campaign messages of both incumbent and opposition parties. The basic assumption is that the ‘economic reality’ limits party leaders’ levels of positive sentiment to a certain extent (pp. 6–7) For example, an incumbent party is unable to encourage individuals to perceive the world in a positive frame when the economy is

performing extremely poorly. The campaign messages would be unconvincing and parties might lose the trust of the voters.

Crabtree et al. (2016) propose three other hypotheses related to economic conditions in their study: the economic performance hypothesis, the conditional incumbent party hypothesis, and the conditional economic performance hypothesis (p. 8). As indicated, the data analysed in Crabtree et al. (2016) comprises over 400 party manifestos from 1980 to 2011. Given this time span, the authors are able to undertake the necessary comparison of economies from year to year in order to discover whether the levels of sentiment in campaign messages are driven by economic influences. I do not take these hypotheses into consideration in this thesis as the focus is solely on the last Dutch general elections of 2017 rather than previous ones. Taking economic factors into account would require additional analysis of the previous election campaign (2012), something that is unachievable due to time limitations. For this reason, I do not include the economy of the Netherlands as a variable.

## **2.2 The Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count Program**

In the LIWC manual, the developers explain that prior to the 1990s, due to technological deficiencies, it was difficult to analyse texts digitally. The rise of the internet combined with ‘improved data storage technology’ has allowed for ‘the easy collection of books, conversations, and other digitized text samples’. This led to the development of the LIWC program as a means for ‘studying various emotional, cognitive, and structural components present in individuals’ verbal and written speech samples’. The software was developed by two linguistics; Francis and Pennebaker (Pennebaker et al., 2015, p. 1).

### **2.2.1 The operation of LIWC**

The program uses an internal default dictionary file with which target words are compared. All the words in the dictionary are classified into one or multiple categories. Basically, the program compares a target text to its reference text file and codes the target

words according to its internal dictionary. For example, the word ‘laughed’ belongs to the following word categories: happiness, positive emotion, overall affect, verbs, and past focus. Consequently, if this word is found in the target text, ‘each of these five subdictionary scale scores will be incremented’ (Pennebaker et al., 2015, p. 2). Appendix A contains an example of the operation of LIWC.

### **2.2.2 Relevant categories**

In this study, we are primarily interested in the word category *psychological processes*. This category is divided into the following sub-categories: *affective processes*, *positive emotion*, *negative emotion*, and *social processes*. The sub-categories *positive emotion* and *negative emotion* are both part of the category *affective processes*. The former sub-category contains 620 words and the latter 744 words, providing a total of 1,364 emotive words in the English dictionary.

### **2.2.3 Results for the various text types**

The developers have been collecting text samples since 1986 in order to ‘get a sense of the degree to which language varies across text types’ (Pennebaker et al., 2015, p. 9). These different text types have been analysed by Crabtree et al. (2016) using both the earliest version of the LIWC and the updated LIWC2015 dictionary. The following sources and text types are included in the analysis: blogs, expressive writing, novel, natural speech, *New York Times*, and Twitter. For the purpose of this investigation, I consider the results for the subcategories *positive emotion and negative emotion* in detail. Figure 1 below is a simplified version of Table 3 from the LIWC2015 manual. In the full version of this table, output variable information (percentages) is provided for all the categories in the LIWC dictionary.

Category	Blogs	Expressive writing	Novels	Natural Speech	NY Times	Twitter
Positive emotion	3.66	2.57	2.67	5.31	2.32	5.48
Negative emotion	2.06	2.12	2.08	1.19	1.45	2.14

Figure 1. Simplified version of Table 3 from the LIWC2015 manual. Retrieved from the LIWC manual.<sup>3</sup>

Twitter contains most instances of emotive words (7.62%). The use of positive emotion is significantly more frequent than that of negative emotion in this text type (5.48% vs. 2.14%). Natural speech contains the second most instances of emotive words (6.5%). This is unsurprising, as natural speech is mostly informal. As with the results from Twitter, the difference between the use of positive emotion (5.31%) and negative emotion (1.19%) is striking in natural speech. This is followed by blogs (5.72%), where positive emotion (3.66%) is also more frequent than negative emotion (2.06%). In novels (4.75%), there is a more equal distribution of positive and negative emotions (2.67% vs. 2.08%). The same applies to expressive writing (4.69%), where instances of positive emotion (2.57) are slightly more frequent than instances of negative emotion (2.12%). As expected, the smallest percentage of emotive language is found in the *New York Times*. Newspapers generally contain more formal language, something which explains the relatively low score (3.77%) for emotive words compared to the other five text types. Again, the use of positive emotion (2.32%) is higher than that of negative emotion (1.45%).

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<sup>3</sup> This figure is retrieved from [https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/31333/LIWC2015\\_LanguageManual.pdf](https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/31333/LIWC2015_LanguageManual.pdf)

## 2.3 Development and analysis of the Dutch LIWC dictionary

The dictionary comprises of 6,568 words in 66 word categories. It was translated into Dutch by two translators working independently though both using *Kramers' Woordenboek*. This is a suitable approach as translation can be a subjective procedure. In addition, English words that have multiple Dutch translations have all been added to the same word (Zijlstra et al., 2004, p. 273).<sup>4</sup> The Dutch LIWC dictionary contains 880 positive emotive words and 1533 negative emotive words, including different verb forms of the same word. Appendix B contains the full list of positive and negative emotive words.

### 2.3.1 Selection of emotive words

In their article, Pennebaker et al. (2007) mention that emotive words were initially selected from several sources. 'Emotion rating scales' were drawn from common sources such as 'the PANAS (Positive and Negative Affect Schedule), *Roget's Thesaurus*, as well as ... standard English dictionaries' (p. 7). That is, the initial selection of emotive words was generally based on reliable sources. As the names of the dictionaries used for the LIWC are not listed, I take a closer look at the PANAS. The PANAS scale is primarily used as a research tool in group studies in which participants' emotional experiences are assessed; participants complete questionnaires on their experiences, rating them on a scale from one to five.<sup>5</sup> Emotional experience is measured through 'two broad, general factors', namely 'Positive Affect (PA) and Negative Affect' (Watson & Clark, 1994, p. 1). Naturally, the questionnaire consists of many emotive words, such as 'cheerful', 'disgusted', and the like. The selection of terms for the PANAS scale went through questionnaires containing '57 to 65

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<sup>4</sup> E.g., the English word trickery has multiple translations in Dutch: *foeffje, kneep, kunstgreep, streek, stunt and toer* (Mijnwoordenboek, 2018). All these words are sorted into the same relevant categories in the LIWC dictionary.

<sup>5</sup> The scale goes from (1) very slightly or not at all, to (5) extremely. Participants describe their feelings by judging listed words on a scale from 1 to 5.

mood terms'. Voluntary participants judged the category to which a term belonged, either Positive Affect (PA) or Negative Affect (NA).<sup>6</sup> The greatest obstacle for Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988) was to select terms that are 'pure markers of either PA or NA' (p. 1064). After all, many words can be perceived as being either positively and negatively loaded. To ensure that the selection for the questionnaire contained only terms that are relatively pure markers of either PA or NA, the authors decided that a term should have an 'average loading of .40 or greater on the relevant factor (PA or NA) across the analysis reported in Zevon & Tellegen (1982)'. Additionally, a term was included in the relevant factor if its 'secondary loading' (for either PA or NA) is greater than 0.25 (Watson & Clark, 1994, p. 1064). These criteria ensure that the terms are relatively pure markers of PA or NA. The high success rate of the PANAS scale in assessing participants' emotional experience made its content useful for the LIWC dictionary.

The selection of terms for the categories of emotive words in the LIWC dictionary involved a similar process. Human judges were asked to evaluate the proper category for each word (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2009, p. 27). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, word lists of several categories were initially sourced from 'dictionaries, thesauruses, questionnaires, and lists made by research assistants'. Several groups of three judges reviewed the word lists and decided whether a word should be included in or deleted from a particular list. The procedure was fairly simple: If two out of three judges agreed that a word should be included in the category, then it remained in that category. In order to maximise the accuracy

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<sup>6</sup> Affect is a term which has various definitions depending on the field of study. In this context, it refers to 'something's effect or someone's internal state without specifying exactly what kind of an effect or state it is'. This enables researchers to 'talk about emotion in a theory-neutral way' (Barrett & Bliss-Moreau, 2009, p. 1). In various fields of research, Positive Affect and Negative Affect are 'two broad factors that have emerged reliably as the dominant dimensions of emotional experience' (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988, p. 1).



of the word lists, another separate group of three judges reviewed the words a final time (Tausczik & Pennebaker, 2009, p. 28).

### **2.3.2 Research on success rate of the LIWC**

The validity of the word lists in the English LIWC dictionary has been tested in previous studies. Kahn, Tobin, Massey & Anderson (2007) questioned the ‘validity of the LIWC emotions counts’ as previous research was unclear on ‘the measurement of emotional experience’ (p. 264).<sup>7</sup> For this reason, Kahn et al. (2007) conducted three experiments in their investigation in order to ‘determine whether disclosures about specific, discrete emotions can be accurately measured by the LIWC (p. 265). They asked college students to reveal their past experiences in the course of interviews and in essays. The task involved both writing and speaking about happy and sad experiences. In order to invoke positive and negative emotions, the participants were shown film clips that induced the desired emotional experience. The expectation was that happy and sad experiences would yield high scores for positive and negative emotion words, respectively (Kahn et al., 2007, pp. 265; 270). The results from the three experiments conducted by Kahn et al. (2007, suggest that the LIWC accurately measures positive and negative affect. The program is able to measure ‘one’s verbal expression of amusement and sadness’ (p. 280). The article concludes that an individual’s word choice is a ‘meaningful indicator of emotion’ (Kahn et al., 2007, p. 280).

### **2.3.3 Critical analysis of the Dutch dictionary file**

A first glance at the Dutch dictionary file reveals that terms that are related to success and positivity are all marked as ‘posemo’ (positive emotive words). Words marked ‘negemo’ (negative emotive words) are generally related to negativity and violence.

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<sup>7</sup> Previous research, according to Kahn et al. (2007), has been unable to demonstrate that the LIWC accurately measures emotional experience. For instance, emotional experience can be both positive and negative when one is writing about his or her college life or any other personal experiences (p. 264).

In this thesis, I specifically look at the categories ‘posemo’, and ‘negemo’. There are 66 categories into which words can be sorted. The LIWC counts the number of words in each of the categories. The following categories are included: ‘Syntactic categories (e.g. pronouns), psychological processes (affective, cognitive, perceptual and biological) and personal concerns, such as work and death’ (Boot et. al., 2017, pp. 65–66). Because of their emotive nature, all words that are either ‘posemo’ or ‘negemo’ also belong to the ‘affect’ category. ‘Affect’ is coded 125, and ‘posemo’ and ‘negemo’ are coded 126 and 127, respectively in the dictionary.<sup>8</sup> Terms that are pure markers of positive emotion, such as, *blij*, *geluk*, and *liefde* (happy, joy, and love) are all coded 125 and 126. Terms that are pure markers of negative emotion, such as *verdriet*, *ongelukkig*, and *haat* (sadness, unhappy and hate) are all coded 125 and 127.

As the dictionary has been translated from English to Dutch, I look at the words which are problematically categorised. One of these words is *aanhankelijk* (clingy/devoted), which is coded 125 and 126, meaning that it is an emotionally positive word. This word can be perceived as either positive or negative, as both devoted (positive) and clingy (negative) are possible translations. In this case, the word should be in both the ‘posemo’ and ‘negemo’ categories so as to avoid misunderstandings when analysing a text. Interestingly, the word devoted is not categorised as an affective and is therefore not categorised as a positive or negative emotion in the English dictionary.

The word *opgesodemieterd* (get lost) is not coded 125, meaning that it is not considered an affective word. This seems odd, as it is a highly informal word which has negative connotations. A similar term, *besodemieterd* (cheated), however, has been

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<sup>8</sup> Even though there are only 66 categories in the dictionary, they are numbered inconsistently from 1 to 502 in the .dlc file.

categorised as a negative emotive word.

Apart from these minor issues, the remainder of the dictionary appears to be accurate.

I have retranslated the abovementioned words in the dictionary in order to use it in my research.

### 3. Corpus

The corpus contains all the major 2017 Dutch televised and radio election debates.<sup>9</sup> I have left out the child-friendly Youth News election debate (Het Jeugdjournaal Verkiezingsdebat) as the party leaders did not go into serious discussions.

#### 3.1 Debate at the Royal Theatre Carré (Carrédebat)

BNR Nieuwsradio, RTL Nieuws, and Elsevier organised this debate at the Royal Theatre Carré on March 5, 2017. The leaders of the eight largest parties were invited to participate: Klaver (GroenLinks), Rutte (VVD), Buma (CDA), Krol (50Plus), Marianne Thieme (Partij voor de Dieren), Pechtold (D66), Asscher (PvdA), and Roemer (SP). Wilders refused to attend the debate. This debate concerned the followings four theses: *‘Own risk (amount of money to be paid until the insurance company covers the medical costs) in healthcare needs to be abolished’*, *‘The Netherlands has not done enough to protect its culture’*, *‘The pension age has to revert to 65 years’*, and *‘A stronger European Union is more necessary than ever’*.

#### 3.2 The Southern Debate (Debat van het Zuiden)

Two weeks prior to election day, six parties competed in the southern debate. The following party leaders were sent to represent their respective political parties: Rutte (VVD), Asscher (PvdA), Pechtold (D66), Buma (CDA), Roemer (SP), and Klaver (GroenLinks). As was the case with most of the televised debates during the general elections, Wilders was absent and had sent no substitute to represent the PVV. The following topics, all of which are

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<sup>9</sup> The televised and radio election debates were downloaded and transcribed by myself. The transcriptions are available on request. Send an e-mail to [danyal1990@gmail.com](mailto:danyal1990@gmail.com) for any questions.

relevant to the south, were discussed: crime (drug issues), the economy (business climate and infrastructure), and the quality of life in rural areas (farmers versus villagers, and aging).

### **3.3 The Northern Party Leaders' Debate (Het Noorderlijk Lijsttrekkersdebat)**

The first major television debate prior to the general elections was the northern party leaders' debate held in Groningen on February 8, 2017. The debate was organised by three northern broadcasters. The participants were the leaders of most of the major political parties: Lodewijk Asscher (PvdA), Sybrand Buma (CDA), Jesse Klaver (GroenLinks), Henk Krol (50-plus), Alexander Pechtold (D66), Gert-Jan Segers (Christen Unie), Emile Roemer (SP), and Halbe Zijlstra (VVD). Neither the prime minister, Mark Rutte, nor the PVV party leader, Geert Wilders, attended the debate. Rutte, however, sent minister Zijlstra to represent the VVD. The following themes were discussed: the extraction of national gas, refugees and immigration, employment, and the unsatisfied voter.

### **3.4 The Rode Hoed Debate**

This debate was held on February, 26, 2017. Five parties sent their political leaders to participate: Buma (CDA), Pechtold (D66), Klaver (GroenLinks), Asscher (PvdA) and Roemer (SP). The longest televised debate of all contained six topics: Islam, assisted-suicide, healthcare, traffic, immigration, and the economy. During every topic, the debaters were allowed to challenge one of the party leaders to a one-on-one face in order to ask questions on the topic in question. Each debater had one opportunity to do this.

### **3.5 FunX radio debate**

Broadcaster FunX organised this debate at their radio station on March 8, 2017. The following party leaders represent their parties in this debate: Vera Bergkamp (D66), Asscher (PvdA), Klaver (GroenLinks), and Kuzu (DENK). The politicians discussed the following topics: education, the job market, housing, identity, and ethnic profiling. This debate was unique compared to the others as the audience was allowed to participate on many occasions.

### **3.6 NPO 1 radio debate**

The public service broadcaster, NPO 1, organised this debate at their radio station on February 24, 2017. The debate was attended by Asscher (PvdA), Pechtold (D66), Krol (50PLUS), Rutte (VVD), Bryan van der Staaij (SGP), Roemer (SP), Klaver (GroenLinks), Buma (CDA), and Segers (ChristenUnie). The main topics discussed were as follows: the legal retirement age, identity, assisted suicide, employment, defence, foreign affairs, and conscription.

### **3.7 The final debate (Het Slotdebat)**

On the eve of election day, the final debate between all major party leaders was held on the main Dutch public channel (NOS). This is perhaps the most useful debate for my thesis, as the fourteen major political parties were selected according to their number of seats in the House of Representatives. Additionally, party leaders from the eight largest parties competed against each other in one-on-one debates based on a draw. The following leaders participated: Klaver (GroenLinks), Buma (CDA), Segers (ChristenUnie), Rutte (VVD), Asscher (PvdA), Wilders (PVV), Kees van der Staaij (SGP), Krol (50PLUS), Jacques Monasch (Nieuwe Wegen), Thiemen (Partij voor de Dieren), and Jan Roos (VNL). Tunahan Kuzu (DENK) refused to join the debate as he considers Roos a xenophobe. The main topics for this debate were healthcare, the climate, and Islam.

### **3.8 Debate: Wilders vs. Rutte**

The Wilders vs. Rutte debate was held two days prior to election day and had only two participants: Rutte (VVD) and Wilders (PVV). The topics ranged from healthcare and the economy to immigration and identity. As the PVV was present at only the final debate and this debate, I have chosen to add the Wilders vs. Rutte debate to my corpus. This is necessary in order to have more data from the PVV in order to test the extreme ideology hypothesis. At the same time, this debate also adds to the speech data by the incumbent prime minister,

Rutte. Furthermore, this was the only debate in which Rutte's direct opponent was Wilders.

#### **4. Results, Analysis, and Discussion**

For each debate, I first present the positive sentiment, that is, the percentage of positive emotive words minus the percentage of negative emotive words, exhibited by each party leader for each topic separately. Second, I ascertain the overall results for positive sentiment for all topics and all party leaders in each debate. This will shed light on topic polarisation and the incumbent, prime ministerial, and extreme ideology party hypotheses. After presenting all the results for the eight debates separately, I show which party leaders have the greatest and the least levels of positive sentiment in their speech for all the debates on average. Finally, I review all the topics separately across the debates in order to ascertain which topic is most polarising.

##### **4.1 Debate at the Royal Theatre Carré**

Four topics were discussed at the Royal Theatre Carré, all of which were selected by the broadcaster RTL. In each session, four of the eight party leaders were in turn allowed to elaborate on and discuss the topic in question. The other four party leaders expressed their opinions in two or three sentences at the end of each round. In addition to the four topics, there were also individual one-minute question and answer sessions with the host, Diana Matroos.

For each topic, I mention only the scores for positive sentiment from the four main debaters, as the others were allowed to speak in two or three short sentences only. I have omitted the one-minute sessions with Diana Matroos, as the topics were different for each round. In addition, Matroos received heavy criticism in the press, who claimed that her approach with both Asscher and Krol was too aggressive. After the first two interviews, she became more lenient. It is for this reason that there are higher percentages of positive sentiment following the second session.



#### 4.1.1 Topics

*Topic: The own risk in healthcare costs needs to be abolished*

The four principal debaters were Pechtold (D66), Roemer (SP), Buma (CDA) and Asscher (PvdA). Roemer had the highest word count in this discussion, with 378 words. Buma had the highest levels of positive sentiment in his speech among the principal debaters, at 2.65. He is followed by Asscher (0.27), Pechtold (-0.54), and finally Roemer (-0.78). For this topic, Roemer used the fewest positive emotive words.

*Topic: The Netherlands as a country has failed to protect its unique culture*

Asscher (PvdA), Krol (50PLUS), Klaver (GroenLinks), and Buma were the principal debaters in this session. The highest word count came from CDA chairman Buma, with 476 words. The highest levels of positive sentiment came from Krol (2.79). Asscher (2.34) was not far behind, followed by Buma (-0.21) and Klaver (-0.68).

*Topic: The legal retirement age of 67 must revert to 65 years*

The principal debaters on this topic were Klaver (GroenLinks), Rutte (VVD), Thieme (PvdD), and Krol. Prime Minister Mark Rutte had the highest word count, at 620, almost double the number of each of the other three party leaders. The leader of 50PLUS, Henk Krol had the highest levels of positive sentiment in his speech, with a score of 3.65. In second place is Klaver (2.02), followed by Rutte (0.97) and finally Thieme (0.72).

*Topic: A stronger European Union is more necessary than ever*

The principal debaters were Roemer (SP), Pechtold (D66), Thieme (PvdD), and Rutte (VVD). The highest word count, 530 words, again came from Rutte, who also had the highest levels of positive sentiment (3.38) in his speech. The other three party leaders have relatively lower scores: Pechtold (0.2), Roemer (0.0), and Thieme (0.0).

As indicated above, there was also a one-minute question and answer session with the host, Diana Matroos, who posed questions on various topics to all eight party leaders. The

sentiment. It is noteworthy that the prime minister did not shy away from engaging in big arguments during the 2017 election debates. The best example of this was during the final debate, where his overall score for positive results for positive sentiment from high to low are as follows: Thieme (4.02), Buma (3.01), Klaver (3), Krol (1.93), Pechtold (1.79), Rutte (1.17), Asscher (1.12), and finally Roemer (0.74).

#### 4.1.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 1.1.** Positive Sentiment Among All Politicians in the Carré debate

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Krol	3.33	0.83	2.50	848
Rutte	2.59	0.79	1.80	1,270
Asscher	4.08	2.58	1.50	935
Pechtold	2.80	1.74	1.06	1,040
Buma	2.77	1.98	0.79	1,010
Roemer	2.36	1.83	0.53	774
Klaver	1.95	1.44	0.51	976
Thieme	2.12	2.27	-0.50	662

Table 1.1 confirms that Krol of 50PLUS has the highest percentage of positive sentiment in his speech. However, Prime Minister Rutte used fewer negative emotive words (0.79%) in his speech than did Krol (0.83%). It is due to the high percentage of positive emotive words (3.33%) that Krol has the highest positive sentiment score of all the party leaders. Asscher (4.08%) had the highest percentage of positive emotive words in his speech. However, he also used the most negative emotive words (2.58%). As Rutte and Asscher here

rank second and third, respectively, the incumbent party hypothesis does not stand during this debate. Other debates in this chapter illustrate how Krol usually has a high score for positive sentiment. The prime ministerial party hypothesis is also not confirmed, as Krol has a higher score for positive sentiment than Prime Minister Rutte.

#### 4.1.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

Emiel Roemer's score for positive sentiment (0.53) is among the three lowest in the course of this debate. Klaver (0.51%) has a similar score, whereas Thieme has a negative score (-0.15). The hypothesis is partially confirmed, as Thieme had a significantly lower word count compared to both Klaver and Roemer. Second, Klaver and Roemer have a very similar score, meaning that Klaver's absence would have made Roemer the principal debater with the lowest levels of positive sentiment in his speech.

#### 4.1.4 Topic polarisation

**Table 1.2.** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics at the Carré Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Legal retirement age	2.49	0.75	1.74	2,020
European Union	2.71	1.33	1.38	1,878
Culture	3.02	1.81	1.21	1,818
Healthcare	2.75	2.70	0.05	1,796

Table 1.2 illustrates that it is concerning the legal retirement age that party leaders have the highest levels of positive sentiment (1.74) in their speech. In second place is the topic of the European Union (1.38), followed by culture (1.21). In last place is healthcare

(0.05) with a score close to zero.

The party leaders are most divided on the topic on healthcare (2.75 and 2.70). It is striking that the prime minister had the highest percentage of negative emotive words in his speech on this topic (4.84%). In addition, both Pechtold and Roemer have a negative score for positive sentiment. The value for positive sentiment (0.05) is the result of intense discussion between the party leaders on the own risk in healthcare.<sup>10</sup> The topic itself explains the high polarisation: *The own risk in healthcare needs to be abolished*. Evidently, most party leaders in this debate were against this proposition, including Prime Minister Rutte. It was the intense discussion that resulted in this topic having a high percentage of both positive and negative emotive words.

## **4.2 The Southern Debate**

There were three main topics at the southern debate. The regional public service broadcasters of Brabant selected all of the topics. Every debater spoke for 30 seconds at the beginning of every session to express his general opinion. Following this, all party leaders debated freely, with the hosts ensuring that everyone had an equal amount of time to speak. In addition to the four topics, there was also a one-minute message to the south from each party leader. All the debaters had carefully prepared their messages. The debate commenced with a brief session on diplomatic issues with Turkey, on which only Rutte expressed an opinion. I include Rutte's opening statement in his percentage of overall positive sentiment for the debate as a whole.

### **4.2.1 Topics**

*Topic: How will the six biggest parties battle drug crime in the provinces of Brabant*

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<sup>10</sup> In this context and in the remainder of this thesis, 'intense discussion' refers to heated arguments between party leaders as perceived by myself whilst watching the debates. I have paid attention to the relation between intense discussions and the results in LIWC.

*and Limburg?*

Roemer had the highest word count, with 474 words. The scores for positive sentiment, from high to low, for each speaker are as follows: Pechtold (1.62), Roemer (1.27), Asscher (0.73), Klaver (0.3), Rutte (0.23), and finally Buma with a negative score of -1.24. It is noteworthy that Asscher had both the highest percentage of both positive (2.93%) and negative emotive words (2.20%) in his speech.

*Topic: Who gets priority in the countryside, farmer or villager?*

Rutte, had the highest word count, 654 words. The greatest positive sentiment, however, is found in the speech of Roemer (2.95). He is followed by Pechtold (1.76), Asscher (1.28), Klaver (-0.57), and finally Buma (-0.85). In this session, Roemer's speech contained the highest percentage of positive emotive words (3.44%) and the lowest percentage of negative emotive words (0.49%).

*Topic: How will you stimulate the economy in the south?*

This time Roemer had the highest word count, with 564 words. Pechtold's speech contains the highest percentage of positive sentiment (2.32). Rutte (1.64) follows him, after whom come Klaver (1.54), Asscher (1.37), Roemer (0.89) and Buma (0.70). It is noteworthy that Asscher used the most positive emotive words (-2.74%) in the course of the debate on this topic compared to his entire session. He ranks third because he had the second highest percentage of negative emotive words (1.37%) in his speech.

The results for the one-minute messages are described next. GroenLinks chairman Klaver has the highest score for positive sentiment in this session (4.03). He is followed by Buma (3.63), Asscher (3.15), Roemer (2.29), and Pechtold (0.79). The prime minister ranks last with 0.56.

#### 4.2.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 2.1.** Positive sentiment Among the Politicians at the Southern Debate

<b>Politician</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Pechtold	2.60	0.81	1.79	1,238
Roemer	2.92	1.24	1.68	1,614
Asscher	2.76	1.38	1.38	1,228
Rutte	2.44	1.58	0.86	1,964
Klaver	1.63	1.11	0.52	1,172
Buma	1.45	1.54	0.09	1,103

Table 2.1 shows that the chairman of D66, Pechtold, has the highest overall score for positive sentiment (1.79) at the southern debate. It is noteworthy that Roemer had a higher overall percentage of positive emotive words (2.92%) in his speech than Pechtold (2.60%). It is because Pechtold had the lowest percentage of negative emotive words (0.81%) that he is ranked first.

As Pechtold and Roemer rank first and second, respectively, both the incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses are not confirmed for the southern debate. It is striking that the highest percentage of negative emotive words came from Rutte (1.58%) Another striking result is that Buma's speech contained both the lowest percentage of positive emotive words (1.45%) and second highest percentage of negative emotive words (1.54%).

#### 4.2.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Roemer has the second highest score for positive sentiment in this debate. It is therefore unsurprising that this hypothesis is not

confirmed. The lowest levels of positive sentiment come from Buma (-0.09), followed by Klaver (0.52).

**4.2.4 Topic polarisation:**

**Table 2.2** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics at the Southern Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Economy	2.37	0.93	1.44	2,165
Drugs/drug-related crime	2.37	1.54	0.83	1,944
Employment	2.05	1.24	0.81	2,730

The topic that ranks highest when it comes to positive sentiment is the economy, with 1.44. The other topics have a lower but similar score: drug crime (0.83) and employment (0.81).

Of the three topics discussed at the southern debate, it is employment (0.81) on which the party leaders are most divided. Drugs (0.83%) follows closely, whereas the economy (1.44) has a much more positive score. It stands out that the percentages for positive sentiment for the topics of drugs and the economy are identical (2.37). It is because the former contained the highest percentage of negative emotive words (1.54%) that the score for positive sentiment is below 1.0%. The high prevalence of negative emotive words is partially explained by the intense discussion between Rutte, Klaver, and Buma on this topic; each a score above 2.0%.

**4.3 The Northern Party Leaders’ Debate**

There were five main topics at the northern party leaders’ debate. The northern

broadcasters selected all of the topics. The debaters all received an equal amount of time to speak on every topic. The host was required to regulate this. The debate ended with a question for all eight party leaders: which party is your favorite when it comes to governing? I do not include the individual answers to this question below, as these are only one or two sentences. However, I include them in the total overall measure of positive sentiment for the debate as a whole for each party leader.

#### **4.3.1 Topics**

*Topic: Trump constitutes a threat to the world*

Asscher had the highest word count with 368 words. Krol attempted to stay out of the discussion and spoke only 55 words. Pechtold had the highest score for positive sentiment in his speech (5.06). Krol (3.63), Roemer (2.86), Zijlstra (2.73) and Asscher (2.45) all have similar values for positive sentiment. The bottom three are Klaver (0.0), Segers (0.0) and Buma (-3.94). Buma's relatively low score is a result of the high percentage of negative emotive words in his speech (6.30%).

*Topic: Gas extraction has to revert to 12 million cubic metres a year*

On this topic, Klaver had the highest word count, with 644 words. Again, Krol did not speak much, only 76 words. The chairmen of the incumbent parties, Asscher (2.99) and Zijlstra (2.26), have the highest score for positive sentiment in their speeches. Buma (2.11) and Segers (1.31), who both have positive scores, rank third and fourth. The remainder of the scores are negative: Pechtold (-0.2), Roemer (-0.44), Klaver (-0.47) and Krol (-1.31). It is noteworthy that Asscher's speech contains no instances of negative emotive words.

*Topic: Politics has failed when a civil guard needs to be introduced*

Asscher spoke the most, with a word count of 371 words. There are only two positive scores for positive sentiment for this topic: Segers (3.23) and Zijlstra (3.11). The other scores are either zero or below: Buma (0.0), Klaver (0.0), Pechtold (0.0), Asscher (-0.27) and Krol



(-0.43). Krol's score is the result of his frequent use of negative emotive words (3.03%). His use of positive emotive words (2.60%) is third highest.

*Topic: More money needs to be invested in employment of the north*

On this topic, Pechtold spoke the most, with 452 words. Again, Krol (108 words) did not say much, and Segers said even less (104 words). Asscher has the highest score for positive sentiment (4.48). He is followed by Buma (4.46), Klaver (3.03), Zijlstra (2.73), Roemer (2.29), Pechtold (1.54), Krol (0.92), and finally Segers (0.0). The speeches of Buma and Asscher had the lowest frequencies of negative emotive words, 0.0% and 0.50% respectively.

*Topic: The voter is unsatisfied for good reasons*

Asscher again spoke the most, with a word count of 595 during this session. Krol, again, did not have much to say, merely 125 words. The results for positive sentiment vary from very high to negative scores: Asscher (4.88), Roemer (2.60), Pechtold (2.25), Krol (1.64), Zijlstra (1.54), Buma (-0.79), Klaver (-2.27), and Segers (-3.45). Two scores are noteworthy. Asscher had a very high percentage of positive emotive words (6.22%) in his speech compared to the other party leaders; and Segers had the highest percentage of negative emotive words in his speech (5.75%). This results in his score for positive sentiment being the lowest.

### 4.3.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 3.1.** Positive Sentiment Among All politicians at the Northern Party Leaders' Debate

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Asscher	4.26	1.19	3.07	2,018
Zijlstra	3.52	1.15	2.37	1,308
Pechtold	3.50	1.69	1.81	1,832
Roemer	2.74	1.03	1.71	1,476
Segers	2.89	1.79	1.10	1,454
Krol	2.44	1.98	0.46	659
Buma	2.66	2.26	0.40	1,251
Klaver	1.83	1.83	0.00	1,756

Table 3.1 illustrates that the incumbent party leaders in 2017, Asscher and Zijlstra, had the highest levels of positive sentiment in their speech in the northern party leaders' debate. It stands out that Asscher had the highest percentage of positive emotive words (4.26) and the third lowest percentage of negative emotive words (1.19%) in his speech. Klaver ranks last because of the identical percentages of positive and negative words (1.89%) in his speech, whereas Buma's relatively lower score can be explained by the frequent use of negative emotive words (2.26%) during this debate.

It is fair to say that the incumbent party hypothesis is confirmed for the northern party leaders' debate. The prime ministerial hypothesis, however, is not confirmed, as Zijlstra (a minister of the VVD) has the second highest score. It should be noted that Zijlstra is a substitute for Rutte and, thus, is not the Prime Minister.

### 4.3.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

This hypothesis is not confirmed, as the party leader of the far-left party, SP, Emiel Roemer, has the fourth highest score for positive sentiment (1.71). The lowest scores come from Buma (0.40) and Klaver (0.0). Again, a left-wing party leader has the lowest value for positive sentiment in his speech over the course of the entire debate.

### 4.3.4 Topic polarisation

**Table 3.2** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics at the Northern Party Leaders' Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Employment	3.31	0.84	2.47	1,907
Trump/foreign affairs	3.77	1.84	1.93	1,142
Voter's dissatisfaction	3.83	2.40	1.43	2,385
Civil guard	2.35	1.56	0.79	2,644
Gas extraction	2.27	1.50	0.77	2,354

Table 3.2 shows that most positive sentiment is found for the topic on employment in the north (2.47), whereas gas extraction and the civil guard are the most polarising topics. The party leaders use relatively higher percentages of positive emotive words in their speeches on the other topics. The polarisation occurring during the debate on gas extraction results from an intense discussion between incumbent party leaders Asscher and Zijlstra on one side and the other party leaders on the other. The incumbent ministers made attempts to defend their policies on gas extraction, while the other party leaders complained about the negative

consequences of gas extraction for the citizens of the north. The similar percentages for positive and negative emotive words during the debate on the topic of the civil guard are more difficult to explain. Varying opinions on the establishment of a civil guard make this a topic where party leaders have relatively lower levels positive sentiment in their speech.

#### **4.4 The Rode Hoed Debate**

The leaders of the six biggest parties, according to polls, discussed six topics during the election debate held at the Rode Hoed centre. All party leaders were allowed to express their opinion on every topic. The host ensured that everyone received an equal amount of speaking time. Apart from the six topics, there were also two individual sessions: one minute to name the party the leaders preferred to govern with and a final word to the voters. I take this speech data into account in calculating the overall score for positive sentiment for each party leader.

##### **4.4.1 Topics**

*Topic: The own risk needs to be abolished, even if insurance contributions have to rise as a result*

Asscher had the highest word count, 784 words, whereas Pechtold uttered only 293 words. Roemer (1.61) has the highest score for positive sentiment. He is followed by Klaver (1.11), Asscher (0.64), Buma (0.31), and Pechtold (-1.03).

*Topic: When someone has a death wish, he or she needs to be assisted*

The highest word count comes from conservative CDA's chairman, Buma, with 477 words. From high to low, these are the scores for positive sentiment: Pechtold (3.42), Klaver (1.27), Asscher (0.3), Roemer (0.28) and, finally, Buma with a negative score of -1.25.

*Topic: Islam is a threat to Dutch identity*

Asscher had most to say on this nationalist/religious topic, with 508 words. Klaver was more reluctant to speak, only 195 words. On this topic, Asscher had the highest levels of

positive sentiment in his speech, with a score of 1.97. He is closely followed by Pechtold (1.54). The other party leaders achieve a score of zero or below: Klaver (0.0), Roemer (−0.66) and Buma (−1.12).

*Topic: More refugees should be allowed into the Netherlands*

Again, it is Asscher who spoke the most, with 663 words during this session. The minister also has the highest value for positive sentiment in his speech (2.72). The other positive score comes from Pechtold (1.73). Again, the other party leaders have a score of zero or below: Roemer (−0.30), Buma (−0.56) and Klaver (−2.66). Klaver's high percentage of negative emotive words (4.14%) during this session stands out.

*Topic: Employers should use more lenient procedures to terminate employee contract*

PvdA's chairman Lodewijk Asscher again had the most to say, with 541 words. This is double the number of words of the other debaters considered individually. This time it is Roemer who has the highest levels of positive sentiment in his speech, with a score of 2.31. Pechtold has a similar score, 1.97. The other scores are closer to zero: Asscher (0.78), Buma (0.19), and Klaver (−0.39).

*Topic: Driving during rush hour needs to be more expensive in order to prevent traffic jams*

Klaver, the chairman of a party that is a big supporter of road pricing, has the highest word count, 426 words. Roemer's score for positive sentiment (3.72) stands out. He is followed by Klaver, who has a positive score of 1.43. The other scores are closer to zero or below: Buma (0.63), Asscher (0.53), and Pechtold (−0.33%).

#### 4.4.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 4.1.** Positive Sentiment Among All Politicians at the Rode Hoed Debate

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Asscher	3.13	1.61	1.52	4,099
Pechtold	2.55	1.08	1.47	3,069
Roemer	2.92	1.96	0.96	2,919
Klaver	2.28	1.66	0.62	3,256
Buma	1.91	1.80	0.09	3,718

The results in Table 4.1 show that the Minister of Social Affairs and Employment in 2017, Lodewijk Asscher, has the highest levels of positive sentiment in his speech during this debate. This is due to the highest frequency of positive emotive words found in his speech (3.13%). It is noteworthy that Roemer had the second highest percentage of positive emotive words in his speech (2.92%), yet he also uses most negative emotive words (1.96%). Another striking fact is that Buma used the fewest positive emotive words (1.91%) and the second highest percentage of negative emotive words (1.80%).

The incumbent party hypothesis is confirmed as a result of Asscher's higher score for positive sentiment (1.52) when compared to the other party leaders. There are no results for the prime ministerial party hypothesis because of the absence of a representative from the VVD.

#### 4.4.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

Again, this hypothesis is not confirmed, as Emiel Roemer has the third highest score for positive sentiment among the five debaters (0.96). It is noteworthy, however, that he has

the highest percentage of negative emotive words (1.96%) in his speech. It is due to the percentages of positive emotive words (above 3.0% across four topics) during the debate that his score for positive sentiment is close to 1.0.

**4.4.4 Topic polarisation**

**Table 4.2.** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics at the Rode Hoed Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Traffic	2.12	0.84	1.28	1,805
Assisted suicide	2.92	2.12	0.80	1,745
Healthcare	2.42	1.68	0.74	2,563
Immigration/refugees	2.26	1.67	0.58	2,046
Islam	3.33	2.86	0.47	1,682
Employment	1.94	1.49	0.45	1,342

Table 4.2 shows that traffic (1.28) is the topic where the highest levels of positive sentiment are found, compared to the other sessions. The values for the other topics are similar to each other, all between 0.45 and 0.80.

The party leaders were divided on most of the topics that were discussed at the Rode Hoed centre. The party leaders were most divided on three topics in particular: employment (0.45), Islam (0.47), and immigration (0.58). The only topic which has a score above 1.0 is traffic (1.28), yet this is a minor discussion. The polarisation could be the result of the setup of this debate. Every topic during this debate came with a statement. The party leaders had to vote in favor of or against this statement prior to the discussion. The statements had been selected strategically by the broadcaster to spark a discussion. It is for this reason that there is

not one statement on which all the party leaders agreed. Consequently, the intense discussions resulted in relatively high percentages for negative emotive words.

#### **4.5 The FunX radio debate**

The debate, organised by radio broadcaster FunX, was different from the other debates as the audience was allowed to join the discussion on multiple occasions. The audience comprised mostly teenagers and young adults. Still, six general topics could be identified. Every debater was allowed to speak freely, with the host regulating the speaking time. The overall percentage of positive sentiment is calculated by adding up all the speech data from this debate separately for every party leader.

##### **4.5.1 Topics**

*Topic: What does your party do to stop ethnic profiling?*

Asscher spoke the most, with 610 words. Kuzu (DENK) had the least to say with only 386 words. All scores for positive sentiment are lower when compared to the other topics, with Asscher having the highest score, 0.33. The other scores from high to low are: Bergkamp (0.22), Klaver (0.17) and Kuzu (-1.04).

*Topic: How does your party keep education accessible for everyone?*

Again, Asscher had the highest word count (619). This is almost double the number of the other debaters considered individually. In addition, it is again minister Asscher who has the highest score for positive sentiment in his speech (2.45). He is followed by Bergkamp (1.83), Klaver (1.34) and, finally, Kuzu with a score of 0.47. It is noteworthy that Kuzu had the lowest percentage of positive emotive words (1.17%) and highest percentage of negative emotive words (0.70%) in his speech.

*Topic: How does your party provide greater security for young adults in the job market?*

It is noticeable that both Asscher (667) and Bergkamp (537) had a significantly higher



word count than either Klaver (282) and Kuzu (223) for this topic. This time, it is D66 party member Bergkamp who has the highest score for positive sentiment (1.31). She is closely followed by Asscher, with a score of 1.20. Finally, Kuzu (0.89) and Klaver (0.71) both have a score below 1.0%.

*Topic: How does your party provide affordable housing for young adults?*

Klaver had most to say on this topic, with the highest word count yet in this debate (753). Kuzu has far less to say, and ended with 243 words. Klaver has the highest levels of positive sentiment in his speech, with a score of 1.86. He is followed by Bergkamp (1.25) and Kuzu (0.0). Finally, Asscher had a negative score for this topic (-0.26).

*Topic: Some people feel as if they are considered terrorists, whilst others feel unsafe in the Netherlands*

Kuzu spoke the most on this topic, with 635 words, whereas Asscher has less to say, with only 286 words. Bergkamp has the highest value for positive sentiment, with a score of 2.61. She is followed by another positive score from Klaver (1.64). The other party leaders have a score of close to zero or below: Asscher (0.35) and Kuzu (-0.64).

*Topic: How do we connect with each other (politicians among themselves) in politics?*

Klaver spoke almost double the number of words on this final topic compared to the other party leaders, with a word count of 499. Bergkamp ranks first for positive sentiment (3.25). The other relatively higher score comes from Kuzu, 2.41. Asscher (0.45) and Klaver (0.20) both have much lower scores close to zero.

### 4.5.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 5.1** Positive Sentiment Among All Politicians at the FunX Radio Debate

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Bergkamp	2.65	0.97	1.68	2,682
Klaver	1.84	0.77	1.07	2,878
Asscher	2.61	1.56	1.05	2,880
Kuzu	1.80	1.58	0.22	2,278

Table 5.1 shows that Bergkamp ranks first with a score of 1.68 for positive sentiment. She is closely followed by both Klaver (1.07) and Asscher (1.05). Finally, Kuzu's score stands out, as it is much lower than that of the other party leaders (0.22). It is because of Bergkamp's consistency in having a higher number of positive emotive words in her speech, compared to Asscher, that she ranks on top. Consequently, the incumbent party hypothesis is not confirmed for the FunX radio debate. Again, there are no results for the prime ministerial party hypothesis due to the absence of a representative from the VVD.

### 4.5.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

This is the only debate for which there was no representative from either the PVV or SP. As a result of this, there are no results for the extreme ideology hypothesis for the FunX radio debate.

**4.5.4 Topic polarisation**

**Table 5.2.** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics at the FunX Radio Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Education	1.98	0.36	1.62	1,681
Connecting in politics	2.77	1.47	1.30	1,227
Employment	2.29	1.17	1.12	1,709
Housing	1.71	0.67	1.04	1,934
Identity	2.92	2.08	0.84	1,681
Ethnic profiling	1.80	1.80	0.00	2,051

Table 5.2 confirms that education ranks highest when it comes to positive sentiment (1.62). It is noteworthy that both the highest percentage of positive emotive words (2.92%) and the highest percentage of negative emotive words (2.08%) are found during the topic on identity.

The scores closest to zero for positive sentiment are found for the topics of ethnic profiling (0.0) and identity (0.84). It is striking that the percentages of both positive and negative emotive words (1.80%) for the session on ethnic profiling are identical. On closer examination, it is noticeable that the debaters were not arguing with each other on this topic. As mentioned before, this debate is unique compared to the others because of the substantial audience participation. The audience was allowed to ask critical questions on many occasions for every topic. As a result, many people engaged in intense discussion with the party leaders,

especially with minister Asscher. The discussion with the audience resulted in the score for positive sentiment being 0.0 for the session on ethnic profiling.

#### **4.6 NPO 1 radio debate**

The NPO 1 radio debate consisted of nine topics. These had all been proposed by the party leaders themselves. I have combined the topics of the VVD and PvdA, as they are both concerned with employment and the job market. Similarly, I have combined the topics of 50PLUS and SP, as they are both concerned with lowering the legal retirement age from 67 to 65 years old. This results in a total of seven analyses. Apart from the topics, all party leaders also mentioned their favoured party to govern with. I take these results into account when I calculate the overall score for positive sentiment for each party leader for this debate as a whole.

##### **4.6.1 Topics**

*Topics: Destroying one hundred thousand jobs is not socially responsible (VVD); and: In order to have well-paid jobs in the Netherlands, we need more education instead of labor migration (PvdA)*

Asscher had most to say on this topic, with 646 words. The scores for positive sentiment vary from above two, to just above or below zero: Asscher (2.63), Van der Staaij (2.54) Rutte (0.26), Krol (0.0), Roemer (0.0), and Klaver (−0.51). It is noticeable that Asscher had the highest proportion of positive emotive words in his speech (3.72%).

*Topics: The legal retirement age of 65 years old is ideal for young and old alike (SP); and: The legal retirement age has to revert to 65 years (50PLUS)*

Roemer has the highest word count in this discussion, with 724 words. When it comes to the highest score for positive sentiment, it is SP chairman Roemer with a score of 3.0. He is followed by Rutte (1.99), Asscher (1.58), Krol (1.50), and Van der Staaij (1.08), all of whom have similar scores of around 1.0. Klaver (−0.45) is the only debater who has a negative score

during this discussion.

*Topic: There have been too many cuts in the military. The Netherlands has to reach the NATO standard within the next ten years (SGP)*

Prime Minister Rutte had most to say, with a word count of 660 words. The results for positive sentiment show that Rutte (1.96) has a significantly higher score than both Van der Staaij (-0.25) and Roemer (-1.65). Roemer's relatively low score is a result of the higher percentage of negative emotive words in his speech (3.07%).

*Topic: Conscription needs to be reintroduced (CDA)*

Topic proposer Buma had the highest word count in this discussion, with 683 words. Segers is left far behind, as he only utters 144 words on this topic. All party leaders have a positive sentiment score below 1.0 for this session. Pechtold has the highest value with 0.67. Both Buma (-0.44) and Segers (-2.09) have a negative score.

*Topic: The unpredictability of Trump and the aggression of Putin require close co-operation within Europe (D66)*

All speakers had approximately the same word count during this topic, with Pechtold (475) having the highest. All three party leaders have very similar positive sentiment scores close to zero for this topic: Segers (0.32), Buma (0.20), and Pechtold (0.0). It is noteworthy that all the party leaders have a similar percentage close to 2.0% for both positive and negative emotive words.

*Topic: We have to help people grow old with dignity instead of allowing physician-assisted suicide (ChristenUnie)*

Pechtold had the highest word count in this session, with 624 words. The D66 chairman also has the highest score for positive sentiment (3.33). This is far higher than that of his colleagues Buma (0.75) and Segers (-0.24). Pechtold's high score is a result of the relatively high positive sentiment score for his speech (3.97).

*Topic: The next government needs to eliminate all contradictions in our society*

(GroenLinks)

It is noteworthy that both Asscher (938) and Klaver (752) have a much higher word count than Krol (178). This is due to the fact that the discussion turned out to be a face-off between these two party leaders. In terms of positive sentiment, the results from high to low are: Krol (3.39), Asscher (3.30), and Klaver (1.34). It should be noted that Krol's score is not of great significance because of his low word count.

#### 4.6.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 6.1** Positive Sentiment Among All Politicians in the NPO 1 Radio Debate

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Asscher	3.74	0.98	2.76	2,036
Pechtold	2.71	1.11	1.60	1,623
Krol	2.16	0.72	1.44	705
Rutte	2.16	0.80	1.36	2,002
Van der Staaij	2.23	1.16	1.07	1,036
Roemer	2.49	1.60	0.89	1,721
Klaver	2.25	1.74	0.51	1,381
Buma	2.00	1.74	0.26	1,552
Segers	2.02	2.24	-0.22	892

Table 6.1 illustrates how Asscher's frequent use of positive emotive words during this debate on multiple topics causes him to have the highest score for positive sentiment (2.76).

The results, however, show that the incumbent party hypothesis does not stand for the NPO 1

radio debate. This is due to the fact that incumbent minister Rutte's score for positive sentiment ranks fourth. Similarly, the prime ministerial hypothesis is also not confirmed, as Rutte does not score the most for positive sentiment during this debate. It should be noted that excluding Rutte's score would confirm the hypothesis, as incumbent minister Asscher scores best for positive sentiment in his speech.

#### 4.6.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

As Roemer has the third lowest score for positive sentiment (0.89) in the NPO1 radio debate, this hypothesis is not confirmed.

#### 4.6.4 Topic polarisation

**Table 6.2.** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics in the NPO 1 Radio Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Legal retirement age	2.55	0.69	1.86	2,509
Identity	3.54	1.02	1.80	1,868
Assisted suicide	2.92	1.32	1.60	1,428
Employment	2.41	1.33	1.08	2,338
Defence	2.07	1.74	0.33	1,488
Foreign affairs	2.27	2.10	0.17	1,194
Conscription	1.41	1.65	-0.24	1,274

The discussion on the legal retirement age contains the highest score for positive sentiment (1.86), whereas the party leaders are most divided on foreign affairs (0.17). During this session, all debaters have percentages close to 2.0% for both positive and negative

emotive words. On closer examination, it is noteworthy that the party leaders engage in intense discussion during this session. It should be noted, however, that each topic was discussed in a three-way session. The results might have been different if all party leaders had been allowed to participate with every topic. The polarisation during the sessions on conscription ( $-0.24$ ) and defence ( $0.33$ ) are similar. Again, it is noticeable that the percentages for positive and negative emotive words are similar when the debaters engaged in intense discussion.

#### **4.7 The final debate**

The leaders of eight biggest parties competed in the final debate for which they all selected their own topic. Seven different topics were discussed in one-on-one debates during which both speakers received an equal amount of speaking time. In addition to these one-on-one sessions, there were also short sessions on various topics among the smaller parties. I take this data into account when I calculate the overall positive sentiment for each party leader separately.

##### **4.7.1 Topics**

*Topic: The differences between poor and rich must be reduced (GroenLinks)*

Klaver has a higher word count (964) than Buma (648). Klaver ( $1.25$ ) also has a significantly higher score for positive sentiment than Buma ( $-0.62$ ). This is due to Buma's speech containing a high percentage of negative emotive words (1.71%).

*Topic: The dominance of Trump and Putin call for a stronger European Union (D66)*

In this session, Pechtold and Roemer both had a word count of 857. In terms of positive sentiment, Pechtold ( $1.75$ ) has a slightly higher score than Roemer ( $1.40$ ).

*Topic: Our dependence on gas and oil needs to be eliminated within one generation (ChristenUnie)*

The prime minister had almost double the number of words in his speech (1,072) than



his colleague Segers (690). However, Segers' speech has a higher positive sentiment rating, with a score of 2.31. Rutte has a score just below 1.0: 0.84.

*Topic: The Netherlands belongs to all of us (PvdA)*

Wilders (964 words) had more to say than his colleague Asscher (669 words). Asscher (2.54) has a positive sentiment score more than two percentage points higher than that of Wilders (-0.20). Asscher's score is the result of the relatively higher percentage of positive emotive words found in his speech (3.44).

*Topic: Hard measures are necessary in order to improve our security (CDA)*

Pechtold (905) and Buma (832) uttered approximately the same amount of words. However, the results for positive sentiment are very different, as Buma has a score of -1.09 while Pechtold's score of 1.66. This is a result of the presence of a higher percentage of negative emotive words in Buma's speech (3.02%).

*Topic: Dental care belongs in the primary healthcare package (SP)*

Asscher (1,091) has only a slightly higher word count than his colleague Roemer (971). Both politicians have a positive sentiment score above 1.0 on this topic: Roemer (1.96) and Asscher (1.11).

*Topic: The Turkey deal has been positive and successful as it has caused fewer migrants to come to the Netherlands (VVD)*

The prime minister (1,026 words) has more to say than his colleague Klaver (730 words) during this session. The results for positive sentiment are very low when compared to the other topics: Rutte (0.19) and Klaver (-0.27). It is noteworthy that the party leaders have percentages between 2% and 3% for both positive and negative emotive words. The percentages cancel each other out, resulting in a score close to zero.

*Topic: Islam is the biggest threat to the Netherlands (PVV)*

On this topic, Wilders (1,106) had the highest word count of all the politicians over the

course of the entire debate. It is double the word count of his colleague Segers (568). In terms of positive sentiment, Segers (2.99) has a score that is almost three points higher than that of Wilders (0.18). This is partly due to Segers' speech containing the highest percentage of positive emotive words over the course of the entire debate (6.52%).

#### 4.7.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

**Table 7.1.** Positive sentiment Among All Politicians During the Final Debate

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Segers	4.28	1.66	2.62	1,258
Pechtold	2.84	1.14	1.70	1,762
Roemer	2.69	0.99	1.70	1,828
Asscher	2.57	0.91	1.66	1,760
Klaver	1.94	1.35	0.59	1,694
Rutte	1.96	1.44	0.52	2,098
Wilders	1.67	1.67	0.00	2,102
Buma	1.56	2.44	-0.88	1,480

Segers' speech contains the highest value for positive sentiment, with a score of 2.62. This is mainly due to his final debate with Wilders. Second place is shared by Pechtold and Roemer, both of whom have a score of 1.70. Asscher is not far behind, with a score of 1.66. Klaver (0.59) and Rutte (0.52) both have a score below 1.0. Wilders' score is exactly 0.0, whereas Buma is the only politician who has a negative score, -0.88.

Table 7.1 shows that the incumbent party hypothesis is not confirmed for the final debate. It should be noted, however, that Segers' score for positive sentiment is a result of the

relatively high percentage of positive emotive words in his speech during the session on Islam (6.52). Asscher would have had the second highest score if this topic had been omitted. In addition, the prime ministerial hypothesis is not confirmed, as Rutte had the third lowest score for positive sentiment.

#### 4.7.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis

The results above show that Roemer had the second highest score for positive emotive words in his speech during this debate. It is noteworthy that Roemer has the second lowest percentage of negative emotive words in his speech (0.99%). Wilders has the second lowest score for positive sentiment (0.0). Still, it is CDA chairman Buma who has the least positive sentiment in his speech, with a score of 0.88. It is therefore that the extreme ideology hypothesis is not confirmed.

#### 4.7.4 Topic polarisation

**Table 7.2.** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics During the Final Debate

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Foreign affairs	2.57	0.99	1.58	1,714
Gas extraction	1.98	0.57	1.41	1,762
Economy	2.57	1.27	1.30	3,554
Islam	3.59	2.45	1.14	1,674
Identity	2.11	1.20	0.90	1,665
Safety	2.19	1.85	0.34	1,737
Immigration/refugees	2.16	2.16	0.00	1,756

Table 7.2 indicates that the party leaders were most divided during the session on

immigration, as the percentages for positive and negative emotive words (2.16%) are identical. Another polarised topic is safety (2.19% vs. 1.85%). A relatively higher percentage of positive emotive words is found in the other five topics. It should be noted that all of the topics of the final debate were discussed in one-on-one sessions. This entails that simple disagreements result in great variation in the use of positive and negative emotive words. The session on immigration, for example, was a discussion between Prime Minister Rutte and opposition leader Jesse Klaver. Klaver opposed the statement proposed by Rutte: *The Turkey deal has been positive and successful as it has resulted in fewer migrants coming to the Netherlands*. This disagreement, along with the party leaders' opposing incumbency statuses results in a score of 0.0 for the session on immigration.

#### **4.8 Debate: Wilders vs. Rutte**

The public service broadcaster NPO 1 selected all four topics for the two biggest candidates running for the position of prime minister. The host ensured that both politicians received an equal amount of speaking time. For the positive sentiment value, all the speech data is taken into account as it is all related to a particular topic. The only exception is near the end of the debate, when the prime minister clarifies whether he will co-operate with Wilders. This speech data is taken into account for the calculation of overall positive sentiment over the entire debate for both party leaders.

##### **4.8.1 Topics**

*Topic: The diplomatic crisis with Turkey*

During this short introductory topic, Wilders (243) uttered slightly more words than Rutte (213). Both politicians have a relatively low score for positive sentiment, with Rutte's score being slightly above zero (0.47) and Wilders' score below (-0.41). The scores are the result of a relatively higher percentage of negative emotive words (above 2.0%) in both debaters' speeches.

*Topic: Can the economic recovery be attributed to the current government?*

Rutte (812) had a slightly higher word count than Wilders (734). The value for positive sentiment in Rutte's speech is above 1.0 (1.12), whereas Wilders has a score close to zero (0.27). The percentages of both positive and negative emotive words in Wilders' speech are close to 2.0%.

*Topic: Are the elderly and those who suffer from long-term illnesses the main victims of the cuts in healthcare?*

Rutte (922) had almost double the word count compared to PVV chairman Wilders (591). Both the debaters have a score above 2.0 for positive sentiment in their speech: Rutte (3.60) and Wilders (2.50). It is noticeable that both politicians have a very similar percentage of positive emotive words in their speech during this session: Rutte (4.25%) and Wilders (4.24%).

*Topic: Is Dutch identity threatened by immigration?*

Wilders (831) and Rutte (817) have approximately the same word count during this topic. Rutte has a higher value for positive sentiment, with a score of 0.36. Wilders' score (-0.49) is similarly close to zero. It is striking that Rutte has both a higher percentage of positive emotive words (2.45% vs. 0.84%) and negative emotive words (2.09% vs 1.33%) in his speech compared to Wilders.

**4.8.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses**

**Table 8.1** Positive Sentiment at Debate: Wilders vs. Rutte

<b>Politician</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Rutte	3.00	1.46	1.54	2,878
Wilders	2.08	1.88	0.20	2,604

Table 8.1 confirms that Rutte’s speech contains the highest value for positive sentiment over the course of the entire debate, with a score of 1.54. Wilders has a score which is barely above zero (0.20) because of the similar percentages of positive and negative emotive words in his speech (2.08% and 1.88% respectively). The results confirm both the incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses. Wilders scores significantly less for positive sentiment than does Rutte for all three major topics.

**4.8.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis**

It follows from the previous paragraph that the extreme ideology hypothesis is confirmed during this one-on-one debate. Far-right party leader Wilders indeed scores significantly less for positive sentiment than does his colleague Rutte.

#### 4.8.4 Topic polarisation

**Table 8.2** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics at Debate: Wilders vs. Rutte

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Healthcare	4.24	1.52	3.00	1,513
Economy	2.40	1.69	0.71	1,546
Foreign affairs	2.19	2.19	0.00	456
Immigration/refugees	1.64	1.70	-0.06	1,648

The session on healthcare (3.0) produces the highest value for positive sentiment compared to the other topics: economy (0.71), foreign affairs (0.0), and immigration (-0.06). As mentioned earlier, the relatively high score for healthcare is a result of both Rutte and Wilders using a relatively high percentage of positive emotive words in their speech (4.24%).

The results in table 8.2 demonstrate how Wilders' frequent use of negative emotive words often cancels out his own and Rutte's frequent use of positive emotive words. As a result, the scores for positive sentiment for two major topics are close to zero: immigration (-0.06) and economy (0.71). It is in the session on immigration that the party leaders are most divided. This is unsurprising, as the PVV is quite outspoken about their strict immigration policies. The results for the topic on healthcare are entirely different, as the score for positive sentiment is 3.0. On closer examination, it is noticeable that the party leaders agree on many points for this topic.

#### 4.9 Overall positive sentiment score for all party leaders during the 2017 elections

Table 9.1 below provides an overview of the positive sentiment values for all the debaters ahead of the 2017 elections. These have been sorted from high to low. Scores below 1.0 are marked in red.

##### 4.9.1 Scores

**Table 9.1** Positive Sentiment Among Dutch Politicians During the 2017 Election Debates

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Zijlstra	3.52	1.15	2.37	1,308
Asscher	3.23	1.42	1.81	14,956
Bergkamp	2.65	0.97	1.68	2,682
Pechtold	2.88	1.23	1.65	10,564
Krol	2.74	1.12	1.62	2,697
Van der Staaij	2.81	1.28	1.53	1,642
Segers	3.16	1.86	1.30	3,604
Roemer	2.74	1.47	1.27	10,332
Rutte	2.46	1.27	1.19	10,212
Klaver	1.99	1.39	0.60	13,113
Kuzu	1.95	1.50	0.45	2,467
Wilders	1.90	1.79	0.11	4,706
Buma	2.00	1.93	0.07	10,115

Table 9.1 illustrates that the incumbent ministers of the VVD and PvdA rank on top



when it comes to positive sentiment in their speeches. They are followed by two politicians who are both members of D66. At the bottom of this list, we find Wilders and Buma who have scores close to zero.

As some debaters have a much higher word count over the course of all debates, I have made a separate list for these politicians. Table 9.2 below shows the results for positive sentiment, ranked from high to low, for every debater who uttered at least 10,000 words.

**Table 9.2** Positive Sentiment Among Dutch Politicians Who Spoke More Than 10,000 words During the 2017 Election Debates

Politician	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Asscher	3.23	1.42	1.81	14,956
Pechtold	2.88	1.23	1.65	10,564
Roemer	2.74	1.47	1.27	10,332
Rutte	2.46	1.27	1.19	10,212
Klaver	1.99	1.39	0.60	13,113
Buma	2.00	1.93	0.07	10,115

It is evident that former Minister of Social Affairs and Employment, Lodewijk Asscher, has the highest score for positive sentiment during the 2017 election debates. It is mainly due to him having the highest percentage of positive emotive words in his speeches (3.23%). Finally, the lowest score comes from Buma, who managed to obtain a score of 0.07 for more than 10,000 words. The chairman of the CDA has the highest percentage of negative emotive words in his speeches (1.83%).

Halbe Zijlstra and Vera Bergkamp were sent as substitutes during the northern party

leaders' debate and the FunX radio debate, respectively. I have added the results for these party leaders to that of their respective parties. Table 9.3 below displays the results of positive sentiment analysis for each party.

**Table 9.3** Positive Sentiment Across All Parties During the 2017 Election Debates

<b>Party</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
PvdA	3.23	1.42	1.81	14,956
D66	2.78	1.18	1.60	13,246
50PLUS	2.74	1.12	1.62	2,697
SGP	2.81	1.28	1.53	1,642
VVD	2.58	1.25	1.33	11,520
ChristenUnie	3.16	1.86	1.30	3,604
SP	2.74	1.47	1.27	10,332
GroenLinks	1.99	1.39	0.60	13,113
DENK	1.95	1.50	0.45	2,467
PVV	1.90	1.79	0.11	4,706
CDA	2.00	1.93	0.07	10,115

Table 9.3 illustrates that omitting the individual results for Zijlstra, means that it is D66 that has the second highest score for positive sentiment among all parties in the 2017 election debates. The combination of speech data from Zijlstra and Rutte causes the VVD to rank one spot higher than ChristenUnie.

Finally, I have made a separate table in which I have listed the speech data from the

prime ministerial, incumbent, opposing, and ideological parties separately. This entails that the speech data from PvdA and VVD are combined into one text file to represent the incumbent parties. The opposing parties file contains the speech data from all the other parties. The prime ministerial party file contains data from Zijlstra and Rutte, while the SP and PVV are grouped together as *extreme*. Finally, all the parties excluding SP and PVV are grouped together under *mainstream*.

**Table 9.4** Positive Sentiment of Parties According to Incumbency Status or Political Position During the 2017 Election Debates

Status or political position	Positive emotive words (%)	Negative emotive words (%)	Positive sentiment	Word count
Non-prime ministerial incumbent	3.23	1.42	1.81	14,956
Incumbent	2.95	1.35	1.60	26,476
Prime ministerial	2.58	1.25	1.33	11,520
Opposing	2.40	1.49	0.91	61,922
Ideologically extreme	2.47	1.57	0.90	15,038
Moderate	2.36	1.48	0.88	45,242

#### 4.9.2 The incumbent and prime ministerial party hypotheses

Table 9.4 shows that the incumbent party hypothesis has been confirmed over the

course of all 2017 television and radio debates. In the party manifesto research by Crabtree et al. (2016), incumbent parties employ levels of positive sentiment 34% higher than the opposition parties (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 16). In my research, the speech data of Asscher, Zijlstra, and Rutte combined has a value for positive sentiment that is 76% higher than that of the opposing parties. The prime ministerial party hypothesis predicts that the prime ministerial party expresses the highest levels of positive sentiment in its campaign messages. In line with this hypothesis, prime ministerial parties employ 18% more positive sentiment than non-prime ministerial incumbent parties in European party manifestos (Crabtree et al., 2016 p. 18). Following from this, the prime ministerial party hypothesis is not confirmed in this research, as non-prime ministerial incumbent minister Asscher scores 34% higher for positive sentiment speech compared to Rutte and Zijlstra. Without Rutte's score, however, the hypothesis is confirmed. Table 9.1 illustrates that Zijlstra (an incumbent member of prime ministerial party) and Asscher (an incumbent minister) score the highest and second highest, respectively, for levels of positive sentiment. Rutte's relatively low score for positive sentiment may be the result of strategic use of emotive words. It is noticeable, for example, that Buma has a low score for positive sentiment across most 2017 election debates when compared to the other moderate party leaders. This might be a strategy to reach out to a specific group in the audience. Similarly, Asscher has the highest levels of positive sentiment in his speech in many of the debates. I further explain this strategic use of emotive words below.

#### **4.9.3 Extreme ideology hypothesis**

In the party manifesto research by Crabtree et al., (2016), 'extremist opposition parties employ 29.3% less positive sentiment than moderate opposition parties' (p. 19). In this research however, Roemer and Wilders (both ideologically extremist) score 2.27 % more for positive sentiment than do the moderate parties. As a result, the extreme ideology

hypothesis does not stand across all 2017 Dutch election debates. This is primarily due to the fact that Roemer's more or less average score (1.27) is combined with Wilders' relatively low score (0.11). Below I explain why Roemer's speech contains significantly higher levels of positive sentiment than does Wilders. In addition, I explain why the extreme ideology hypothesis is not confirmed.

#### **4.9.4 Asscher's use of strategic language**

The results above confirm the incumbent party hypothesis. This is mainly due to the fact that Asscher's use of relatively higher levels of positive sentiment in his speeches is consistent compared to the other party leaders. There are several reasons for this. First of all, it follows from the research by Crabtree et al. (2016) that incumbent parties generally express higher levels of positive sentiment in their speech than do opposing parties (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 5). As Asscher's party was incumbent during the 2017 election debates, it is only natural that Asscher is making an attempt to convince the voter that his party has done well in office.

There are other factors which have had an influence on Asscher's use of emotive language during the election debates. In January 2017, prior to the election debates, the polls predicted that the PvdA would only get 11 seats in the House of Representatives. The reason for this dramatically low prediction can be traced back to the 2012 government crisis, when the first Rutte cabinet resigned because of differing opinions on the government budget (Van Holsteyn, 2014, p. 322). The PvdA and the VVD engaged in a neck-and-neck race to become the largest parties in the House of Representatives during the dissolution elections. The VVD became the largest party and, ironically, formed a government with its largest competitor, the PvdA. It is during this time that the latter party's seats in polls kept dropping annually at a consistent rate (Alle peilingen, 2018). According to many sources, this was not only due to their collaboration with a neoliberal party, but also because of internal dissatisfaction with

Diderik Samsom (PvdA-chairman from 2012 to 2016) (Van Holsteyn, 2018, p. 8). Even during Asscher's term, the PvdA's constituency kept shrinking at a consistent rate. Following this, Asscher made an attempt to highlight all the achievements and ideals of the PvdA during the 2017 election debates. This is evident in the party leader's relatively high use of positive emotive words during the debates. In addition, Asscher speaks most of all, and uses a high percentage of negative emotive words in his speeches only during intense discussions.

Whether Asscher's relatively highest use of positive emotive words was intended or not, it did not pay off, as the PvdA dropped from 38 seats in 2012 to only 9 seats in 2017.

#### **4.9.5 Rutte's use of strategic language**

The results in this thesis show that Rutte's use of emotive words does not conform to the prime ministerial party hypothesis. It is striking that Rutte's levels of positive sentiment are ranked ninth in Table 9.1. The expectation was that Rutte would rank first, as debates present the ideal opportunity for the prime ministerial party to highlight all the achievements that were made during its time in office. Instead, it seems that Rutte, unlike Asscher, had a different strategy altogether. Several reasons explain why the prime minister's speech does not contain the highest levels of positive sentiment.

The first reason lies in the polls prior to the 2017 election debates. According to polls in January 2017, the VVD would gain 23 seats in the House of Representatives (Alle peilingen, 2018). It was expected that either the VVD or PVV would become the largest after the elections. Following from this, an explanation might be that Rutte used a more realistic tone in his speech compared to the other party leaders. As the polls had already predicted that the VVD would become the largest party of the country, Rutte did not constantly need to emphasise all the achievements that are made during his party's time in office. Asscher's results show that praising will yield a high value for positive sentiment.

Rutte's readiness to engage in intense discussions also influences his score for positive

sentiment was as low as 0.52, compared to Asscher's 1.66. Another debate in which Rutte's score is low is at the southern debate. Here, the Prime Minister's score (0.86) contrasts with Asscher's (1.33). It is noteworthy that Rutte goes into further depth in discussions than his colleague from the PvdA. One might expect that Rutte's score for positive sentiment would be relatively low in the Wilders vs. Rutte debate too, yet the results prove otherwise. Even though this particular debate was between the two biggest competitors for the position of prime minister, Rutte's score is 1.54 compared to Wilders' 0.20. Looking at the debate more closely, it appears that the party leaders go into intense discussion on numerous topics, including immigration, foreign affairs, and the economy. It is also salient that Rutte uses this debate the most to highlight his party's achievements, as opposed to the PVV's reluctance to govern. The speech data (including the speech on the VVD's achievements) result in the prime minister having a score for positive sentiment that is 1.34 higher than his competitor Wilders.

#### **4.9.6 Buma's strategic use of emotive language**

The results show that Buma's score for positive sentiment is more or less consistently low during the 2017 election debates. The reason for this can be found in his political expressions. In an article published by Dutch newspaper, *Trouw*, Buma reveals his negative attitude by stating that the 'angry citizen' is the average citizen, and that politicians are refusing to acknowledge this (Trouw, 2017). Furthermore, the article mentions that the CDA's leader is more negative in person than his party's programme is. These facts are reflected in the results for Buma's use of emotive language in this research. Buma's strategy to intensively highlight all the faults in society and in the government cause him to have a low score for positive sentiment. This strategy of minimal positive sentiment did not, however, prevent the CDA from becoming the third largest party (19 seats) following the 2017 general elections. It is an open question whether this strategy was deliberately used by the CDA'

party leader.

#### **4.9.7 Wilders's strategic use of emotive language**

Wilders' situation is more clear-cut than Buma's, as the PVV is an ideologically extreme right-wing party. The former's situation is different in the sense that both the party and Wilders himself express more negativity relative to other parties in general. Wilders' most striking characteristic is his language use, as he often expresses negative sentiments about colleagues and groups in society (Jong, Pieter & Rademaker, 2015, p. 75). As the PVV has, since the formation of the party, gained many seats because of Wilders' negative political expression, the party leader has maintained this strategy. In the end, Wilders' relatively low score for positive sentiment during the 2017 election debates did not prevent the PVV from gaining a high number of seats in the House of Representatives (20), making it, in these terms, the second largest. The results of this study suggest that the strategic use of minimal positive sentiment can be advantageous to some party leaders, as this might appeal to the unsatisfied voter. It is therefore possible that both Buma and Wilders' employment of minimal positive sentiment during the 2017 election debates was undertaken consciously in order to gain as many votes as possible.

#### **4.9.8 Roemer and Pechtold's strategic use of emotive language**

The expectation was that Roemer's levels of positive sentiment during the 2017 election debates would be among the lowest of all party leaders, as the SP is considered an ideologically extreme left party by some sources (Flache & Venema, 2016, pp. 27–28). The other ideologically extreme party's leader, Wilders, has a positive sentiment of 0.11. The reason that Roemer's score is relatively higher (1.27), despite his party being ideologically extreme, is explained by reference to the political landscape of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands has a long tradition of multi-party politics, like many other European countries (Laver & Schofield, 2007, p. 1). This entails that parties have to govern along with



parties in order to enjoy a majority of seats in the House of Representatives. Naturally, the dominant parties want to collaborate with parties that have a similar political position. This is important to keep in mind if we consider what follows. Many left-wing parties competed in the 2017 Dutch general elections, including SP, PvdA, PvdD, and GroenLinks. On many occasions during the debates, Roemer expressed his desire to form a coalition government with either the PvdA and GroenLinks. Without a majority in the House of Representatives, the largest party is unable to form a government. Roemer's relatively high levels of positive sentiment are therefore partially a result of the political landscape in the Netherlands. In order to co-operate with other parties (that have similar ideals), Emiel Roemer made use of considerable positive sentiment during the election debates.

The situation for Pechtold is similar to that of Roemer, yet the former's party has been in power seven times since the 1970s, whereas the latter's has always been in the opposition (Kabinetten 1945–heden, 2017). Following from this, it appears that D66 is in a dominant position, as parties have often turned to this center-liberal party in order to achieve a majority in the House of Representatives. The fact that D66 is optimistic regarding joining a coalition can be read from Table 9.3, where D66 exhibits the second highest level of positive sentiment (1.60). In addition, a closer examination of the debates reveals that Pechtold stated his desire to co-operate with all party leaders except Wilders on numerous occasions. As D66 managed to join the third Rutte cabinet following the elections, Pechtold and Bergkamp's relatively high scores for positive sentiment, along with other factors, has had positive outcomes for the party.

#### **4.10 Overall positive sentiment score across all topics during the 2017 elections**

Various topics were discussed numerous times in the course of the 2017 election debates. For this reason, I calculated the positive sentiment score for each topic across all the

debates. The results have been sorted from high to low in Table 10.1 below. Scores below 1.0 are marked in red.

#### 4.10.1 Scores

**Table 10.1** Positive Sentiment Across All Topics During the 2017 Election Debates

<b>Topic</b>	<b>Positive emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Negative emotive words (%)</b>	<b>Positive sentiment</b>	<b>Word count</b>
Legal retirement age	2.53	0.72	1.81	4,559
Employment	2.53	1.20	1.33	5,587
Foreign affairs/EU	3.25	1.99	1.26	1,902
Assisted suicide	2.92	1.76	1.16	3,174
Dutch identity	2.73	1.58	1.15	7,298
Economy	2.36	1.25	1.11	9,995
Healthcare	2.99	1.95	1.04	5,872
Drugs/drug-related crime	2.37	1.54	0.83	1,944
Islam	3.46	2.65	0.81	3,356
Safety	2.19	1.85	0.34	1,737
Defence	2.07	1.74	0.33	1,488
Immigration/refugees	2.04	1.84	0.20	5,450
Conscription	1.41	1.65	-0.24	1,274

Most positive sentiment is exhibited for topics concerning the legal retirement age. The value (1.81) is almost half a point higher than the runner up, employment (1.33). It is noteworthy that the highest percentages of both positive (3.46%) and negative (2.65%)

emotive words are found for the topic of Islam. Still, the discussion has a positive tone to it, as the percentage of positive emotive words is almost an entire point higher. The only topic with a negative score is conscription ( $-0.24$ ), yet the word count is low for this topic.

#### **4.10.2 Topic polarisation**

The party leaders were most divided on immigration (0.20) in the course of all 2017 election debates. In second place comes conscription ( $-0.24$ ), yet the word count for this topic is only 1,274. This is closely followed by defence (0.33) and safety (0.34).

#### **4.10.3 Low positive sentiment during intense discussions**

Conscription, defence, safety, Islam and drug-related crime are topics that all have similarly low scores for positive sentiment when compared to the other topics. The most striking of these is for the topics of immigration and refugees, as the word count (5,450) is significantly higher than the others. It is noticeable that the relatively lower score for positive sentiment for the topics of immigration and refugees is partially caused by intense discussions. These take place during the Rode Hoed debate, the final debate, and the Wilders vs. Rutte debate. On closer inspection, the most intense discussion takes place during the Wilders vs. Rutte debate. Here, Wilders points out to the so-called failed-policies on immigration implemented by the incumbent parties, VVD and PvdA. Rutte attempts to defend these policies by highlighting the improvements made by his party in stopping the large influx of Syrian and other refugees. In addition, Rutte also mentions the lack of response from the PVV during the 2015 European migrant crisis.

The relatively lower scores for positive sentiment for both Rutte (0.36) and Wilders ( $-0.49$ ) for this topic indicate that the LIWC-program is an effective tool for analysing polarisation during debates. As mentioned before, the lowest scores for positive sentiment are found for topics that contain the most intense discussions. Consequently, the highest scores for positive sentiment are found for topics on which most party leaders agree. In the end, the

legal retirement age (1.81) is the topic on which the party leaders have the least intense discussions.

## Conclusion

In this study, I have attempted to understand whether emotive language in the Dutch 2017 election debates can be predicted according to the incumbent, prime ministerial, and extreme ideology hypotheses. The results presented in this thesis show that these hypotheses are unable to correctly predict emotive language in Dutch televised and radio election debates. The incumbent party hypothesis is confirmed in this research, whereas both the prime ministerial and extreme ideology hypotheses are not confirmed. Following from this, the theory, as proposed in Crabtree et al., 2016, does not stand in this thesis. Televised election debates in Germany have been analysed using the LIWC, and the results confirmed the hypotheses (Crabtree et al., 2016, p. 11). With this in mind, it may be the case that the Dutch political situation is the cause of the negative results.

In recent decades, the Netherlands has seen the CDA, PvdA, and VVD in a dominant political position. From the 1970s until the early 2000s, either the CDA or PvdA was the prime ministerial party. From 2010 on, the VVD has had the majority of votes (Kabinetten 1945-heden, 2018). The presence of multiple dominant parties in the Netherlands, as opposed to the two-party dominance in Germany, has a significant effect on party influence. Over the years, the three above-mentioned parties have formed coalitions either with parties that have a similar political position, or among themselves. Naturally, this makes it more difficult to predict which parties will join the cabinet. For instance, D66 has managed to join the cabinet on seven occasions (Kabinetten 1945-heden, 2017). The fact that parties often select D66 to get the majority of seats gives the party a dominant position. The different political situation in the Netherlands, as compared to Germany, yields unique results using the LIWC. Furthermore, as mentioned in chapter 4, politicians like Buma and Roemer exhibit levels of positive sentiment that are not in line with the expectations. The former minister repeatedly exhibits relatively low levels of positive sentiment during most of the debates despite being a

member of a moderate party. Roemer, on the other hand, exhibits average levels of positive sentiment though he is a member of an ideologically extreme party. These contradictory results suggest that the theory, as proposed by Crabtree et al. (2016), does not predict levels of positive sentiment in Dutch election debates.

The findings of this thesis contribute to the study of election campaigns and strategic language use. In my thesis, it is evident that the LIWC can efficiently detect positive sentiment in debates. This requires that politicians' linguistic strategies be measured instantaneously when transcriptions are easily available. In times of political turbulence in Europe, it is good to know whether politicians are attempting to influence voters' perceptions of the world using emotive words. In addition, this thesis demonstrates that the LIWC is a program that can be employed in a variety of ways. The findings of this research show that the program is able to produce unique results during intense discussions and topic polarisation. The program, however, still demands further improvement. Appendix A, for instance, shows that it is not possible to look at the specific words which are sorted according to their category. The results file is limited to only percentages of categories.

Research on the use of emotive language in politics is still in its early stages. Further research could look at election debates over a longer period of time. In recent years, technological advances have made it possible for academics to easily acquire political media in the form of video and audio. Even though historical research on Dutch televised and radio debates is not possible because of data that is difficult to obtain, future research is possible as election debates from recent years and in the future will be easily accessible online. In addition, the theory of emotive language proposed by Crabtree et al. (2016) could be extended by scholars, taking the Dutch political situation into account.

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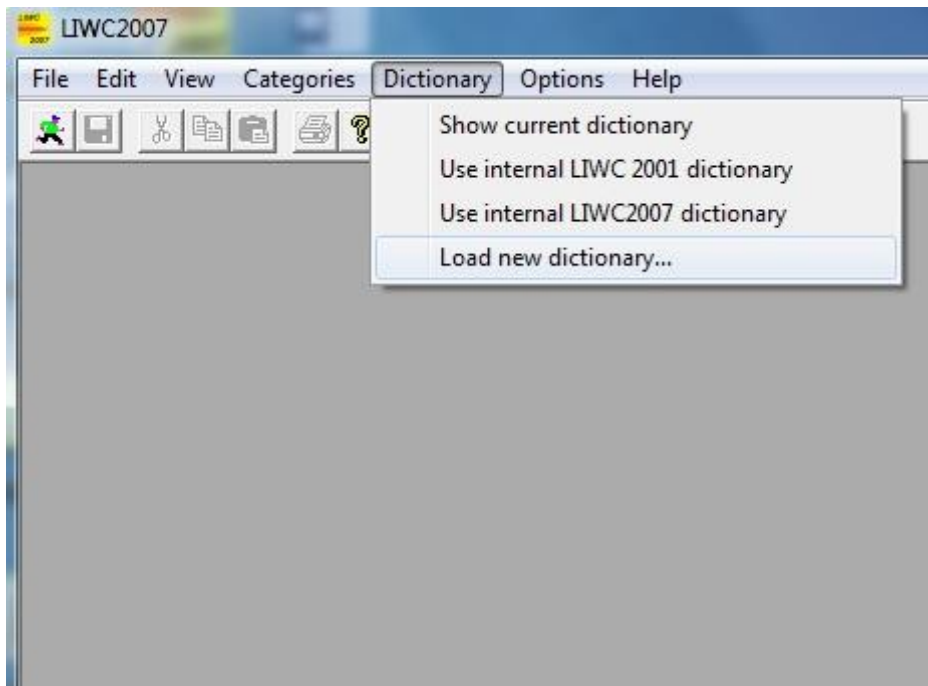


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## Appendix A

## Operation of the LIWC

Figure 1 below gives an overview of the main page of the program. It also shows that the user is able to load either the default English dictionary or any other .dlc file.



*Figure 1.* Main page of the LIWC program. Retrieved from LIWC2007.

Figure 2 below shows an example of the results file for an uploaded text. In this instance, the text file contains the speech data of Buma over the entire 2017 Dutch televised and radio debates. Buma's relatively low score for positive sentiment (0.07) is easily calculated by subtracting the percentage of 'negemo' (negative emotive words) (1.93%) from the percentage of 'posemo' (positive emotive words) (2.00%).

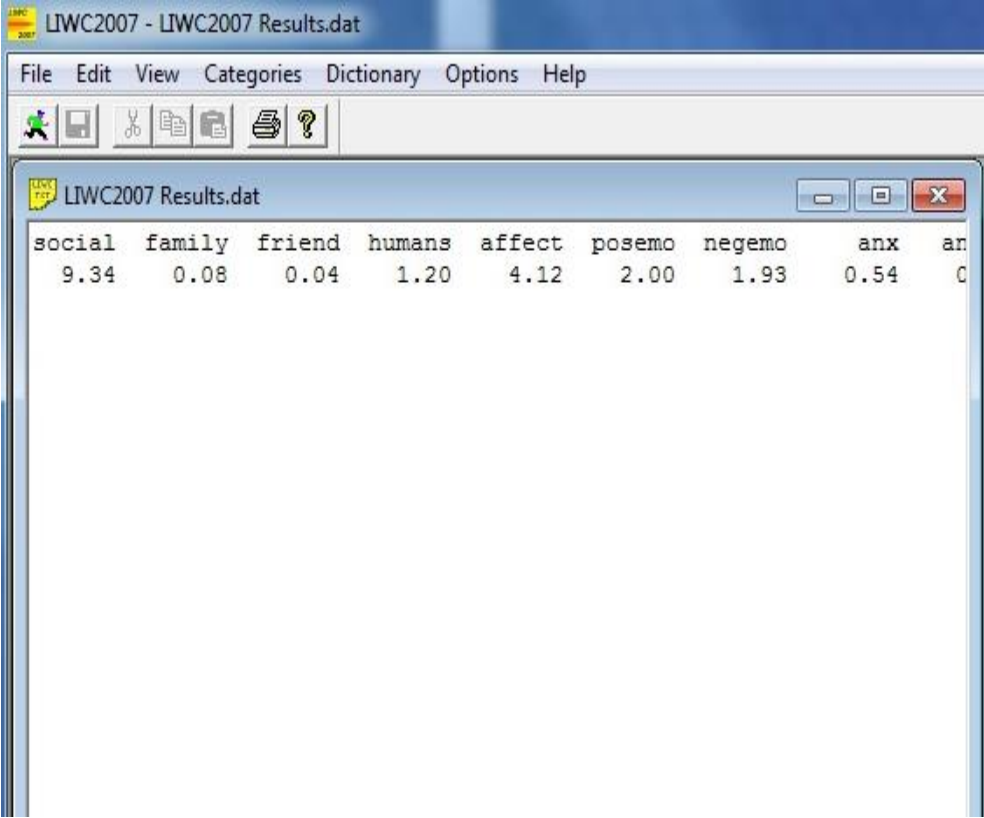


Figure 2. LIWC results file. Buma’s scores for all LIWC categories including posemo and negemo. Retrieved from LIWC2007.

## Appendix B

## List of Positive and Negative Emotive Words in the Dutch LIWC Dictionary

Section 1.1 and 1.2 contain the positive and negative emotive words as found in the Dutch LIWC dictionary. A ‘\*’ behind an entry means that any longer version of the word belongs to the same category.

**1.1 Positive emotive words**

a.u.b.	aaien	aanbad
aanbaden	aanbeden	aanbevel*
aanbid	aanbidden	aanbidt
aangemoedigd	aangena*	aangespoord*
aanhankelijk	aanhankelijkheid	aanlokkelijk
aanmoedigen	aanmoediging	aansporen*
aansporing*	aantrekkelijk	aanvaardba*
aardig*	absolute	absoluut
accept*	accoord	achting
actief	affectie*	akkoord
alleraangenaamst*	alleraardigst	allerliefst*
alsjeblijft	alstublijft	amicaal
amusant*	amuse*	appreci*
argelo*	attent	aub
avontuur	avontuurlijk	baat
band	barm*	baten
bedaard	bedank	bedanken
bedankje*	bedankt	bedankte*

bedreven	begaafd*	beger*
begreep	begrepen	begrijp*
begrip*	begunstig*	behaag*
behaal*	behagen	behalen
behulpzaam	bejubelen	bekoorlijk
bekoren	bekroning*	bekroond*
bekwa*	belang	belangen
belangrijk*	belangstellend	belangstelling
beleefd*	belief*	believen
belofte*	belon*	beloof*
beloon*	beloven	bemin
bemind*	beminnelijk*	beminnen
bemint	bemoedig*	benefie*
bereidheid	bereidwillig	bereidwilligheid
beschermd*	beschut*	best
beste	beter	beterschap
betoverend	betrouwba*	bevallig
beveilig*	bevoordeel*	bevoordelen
bevoorrecht	bevorder*	bevredig*
bevriend*	bevrijd*	bewonder*
beziel*	blij	blijdschap
blijheid	blijmoedig	boeien
boeiend	boezemvriend*	bof
boffen	boft	bofte

boften	bonbon*	bonus*
braaf	briljant	casual
charita*	charmant*	charme
charmes	chic	chique*
choco*	comfort	comfortabel*
compassie	compliment*	confidentie*
consider*	copieus	creatie*
creëren	dank	dankba*
dankbetuiging*	danken*	dankje
dankjewel	dankt*	dankwoord*
dankzeggen*	dapper*	deelneming
deernis*	deugd*	dierba*
doeltreffen*	dol	dolgraag
doorsta	doorstaan	doorstaat
doorstond	doorstonden	doortastend*
dotje*	duidelijk*	durf
durfde	durfdn	durft
durven	dynamiek	dynamisch*
edel	edele	edelmoedig*
eensgezind*	eenstemmig*	eer
eerbied*	eergevoel	eerlijk
eerlijkheid	eervol*	elegan*
energie	energiek	engagement
enthousias*	erbarmen	erkenning*

erkentelijk*	extase	extraatje*
extravert*	fabelachtig*	fantastisch*
fatsoen*	feest*	fijn
fijne	fijngevoelig	flatteer*
flatteren*	flatteu*	flexib*
flink	flirten	flitsend*
fortuin*	foulo*	fraai
fuif	fuiven	gaaf
gaarne	gave	geaccepteerd*
geamuseerd	geaccepteerd*	geamuseerdheid
geapprecieerd*	geboeid	geboft
geborgen*	geconcentreerd	geconfronteerd
gecreëerd*	gedij*	gedurfd
geefster*	geestdrift*	geestig
geestkracht	geflirt	gegarandeerd*
gegiechel	gegiecheld	gegniffeld
gehecht	gehechtheid	geholpen*
gehoopt	geïmponeer*	geïnteresseerd*
geintje*	gejuicht	gekheid
geknuffel*	gekoester*	gekscheren*
gelachen	geliefd	geliefkoosd
geluk	gemak	gemakkelijk*
gemoedelijk*	gemoedsrust	genade
genadig*	genegen*	genereu*

genieten	genoegelijk*	genoegen
genot	genotrijk*	gepast*
geperfectioneerd*	gereedheid	geriefelijk
geroemd*	geromantiseerd	gerust*
geschikt*	geslaagd*	gespaard*
gesteund*	gestimuleerd*	gestreeld
getroost*	getrotseerd	getrouw
gevat	gever	gevers
geleid	gevoelvol*	gewaagd
gewaardeerd*	geweldig*	gewichtig*
gewiekst	gewijd	gewild*
gewonnen	gezegend	gezellig*
gezoend	geëngageerd*	geïmponeer*
geïnspireerd*	geïnteresseerd*	giechel
giechelde	giechelden	giechelen
giechelt	glans	glansrijk*
glanst	glanz*	glimlach*
gloedvol*	glori*	gniffel
gniffelde	gniffelden	gniffelen
gniffelt	goed	goedaardig*
goeddoen*	goede	goedertieren*
goedgekeurd	goedgezind*	goedgunstig*
goedheid	goedkeur*	graag
gracieu*	grap*	gratie



gratieu*	grijns	grootmoedig*
groots	grootse	gul
gulheid	gulle	gunst*
ha	haha	harmon*
hartelijk*	hartgrondig*	hartstocht*
hartsvriendin*	hartverwarmend*	heerlijk*
heilza*	held	helden*
heldhaftig	heldhaftigheid	heldin
helpen*	helpt	hemel*
heya	hielp*	hilarisch
hoera*	hoezee	hoffelijk*
hoop	hoopgevend*	hoopt
hoopte	hoopten	hoopvol*
hopelijk	hopen	hulp
hulpvaardig	humor	hup
hé	ideaal	ideale
idealen	idealis*	ijver*
illustrer*	imponeer*	imponeren
important*	imposant*	indrukwekkend
informeel	informele	ingestemd*
innemend*	innig*	inspir*
instem*	intellect	intellectueel
intellectuelen	intelligent	intelligentie
intens	interessant	interesse

interesseer	interesseerde	interesseerden
interesseert	interesseren	jolig*
jool	juicht*	juist*
kalm	kalme*	kalmte
kampioen*	kans	kansen
kansrijk	keurig*	knap*
knuffel*	koekje*	koester*
komediant*	komedie*	komiek*
komisch*	kostelijk*	kracht
krachtdadig*	drachten	krachtig*
kus	kussen	kwinkslag*
lach	lachen	lacht
lachte	lachten	lachten
lachwekkend	legendarisch*	lekker*
leuk	leuke*	levendig*
levenskracht*	lief	liefdadig*
liefde	liefdevol	liefhebben*
liefko*	lieftalig*	lieve
lieveling*	lieverd*	lof*
lol*	lonen	loof
looft	losgelaten	loven*
loyaal	loyaliteit	luisterrijk*
lust	magnifiek*	makkelijk*
mededogen	medeleven*	medelijden*

menslievend*	mild*	minnaar*
minnares*	moed	moedig*
moeitelo*	mooi*	mop
moppen*	netjes	nette
nobel	nobele	nut
nuttig*	ok	okay
oke	oké	omarm*
omhels*	omhelz*	onbekommerd
onberispelijk*	onbetwist*	onbevangen*
onbevooroordeeld*	onbevreesd*	onbezorgd
onderhoudend	ondersteun*	ondubbelzinnig*
ongedeerd*	ongedwongen*	onschatbaar
onschuld*	onthaal*	onthalen
ontlast	ontlasten	ontlastte
ontlastten	ontspan*	ontzag
ontzagwekkend*	onverschrokken*	onvervaard*
opbeuren	openheid	openmind*
opfleuren	opgebeurd	opgefleurd
opgehemeld*	opgelucht*	opgemonterd*
opgeruimd	opgetogenheid	opgevrolijkt
opgewekt*	ophemelen	oplucht*
opmonteren	oppermachtig	opportune
opportuun	oprecht*	optimaal
optimal*	optimis*	opvrolijk*

opwindend*	origineel	originele
overeengekomen	overtref*	overtrof*
overvloed*	overweldigend*	overwin*
paradijs	partijtje*	passie
perfect*	perfekt*	pienter
pijnlo*	plezier*	populair
populariteit	positief	positieve*
pracht	pret	pretje
prettig*	prijzend	prijzenswaardig*
prima	privilege	profijt
profijtelijk*	prominent*	proper*
raadzaam	rechtschapen	redd*
relax*	respect*	rieleks*
rijk	rijkdom*	rijke*
roem	roemen	rofl
romance	romanticus	romantiek
romantisch	romantiseer	romantiseerde
romantiseerden	romantiseert	romantiseren
royaal	royal*	ruimdenkend*
ruimhartig*	rust	rustig*
schalks*	schappelijk(	schat
schaterlach*	schatje*	schatten
schattig*	schappen*	scherts*
schitter*	schoonheid	schuldelo*

secure	secur	sereen
serene	sieren	sierlijk*
sjiek*	slagen	slimmerik
smaakvol*	smakelijk*	smettelo*
snoep*	snoes*	snoezepoe*
snoezig*	soulmate*	spannend*
sparen	speciaal	speels*
sponta*	standvastig*	stellig
sterk*	steun	steunde
steunden	steunen	steunend*
steunt	stimul*	stoutmoedig*
stralen*	streel	streeelde
streelden	streelt	strel*
succes*	super	sympathie
sympathiek*	talent*	teder*
teer	teergevoelig	tegemeetkomen*
tevreden*	thriller*	thrillseeker*
toegejuichd	toegejuicht	toegekend*
toegenegen	toegewijd*	toejuich*
toekennen	toekenning	toeschietelijk
toewijden	toewijding	tof
toffe	toffee*	tolerant*
traktatie*	tranquil*	triomf&
troost*	trots*	trouw

uitblink	uitdag*	uitgeblonken
uitgelaten	uitgemunt	uitmunten*
uitstekend*	vastberaden*	vastbesloten*
veelbelovend*	veilig*	verademing
verbeter*	verblijd*	verdiens*
verdraagza*	veredel*	vereer
vereerd*	vereert	vereren
verering	verfijnd*	vergaf
vergaven	vergeef	vergeeft
vergeven	vergeving*	vergiffenis
verheerlijk*	verheug*	verheven
verkikkerd*	verknocht	verknochtheid
verkwik*	verleid*	verloss*
vermaak*	vermake*	verras
verrass*	verrast	verraste
verrasten	verrukkelijk*	verrukking
verrukt	verstand	verstandelijk
verstandig*	versterk*	vertrouw
vertrouwd*	vertrouwelijk*	vertrouwen
vertrouwt	vervolma*	verwacht
verwachten	verwachting	verwachtingsvol*
verwachtte	verwachtten	verwelkom
verwelkomd*	verwelkomen	verwelkomt
verzeker	verzekerd	verzekerde

verzekerden	verzekeren	verzekert
verzorg*	vindingrijk*	virtuoos
virtuoze*	vitaal	vital*
vleien*	vlekkelo*	vlot
vlotte	voldoening	volmaakt*
vooraanstaand*	voordeel	voordelen
voorkomend	voorrecht*	voorspoed*
voortreffelijk*	vooruitgaan*	vooruitgegaan
voorzichtig*	vordering	vrede
vredelievend	vredig*	vreedzaam
vreugd*	vriendelijk*	vriendschappelijk
vrij	vrije	vrijer
vrijgelaten*	vrijgevig*	vrijheid*
vrijlaten	vrijmoedig*	vrijwillig*
vrolijk*	vurig*	waaghal*
waarachtig*	waarde	waardeer
waardeerde	waardeerden	waardeert
waarderen	waardering*	waardevol*
waardig	waardigheid	waarheid*
warm	warmbloedig*	warme
warmte	wauw	weelde
weladaad	weldadig*	weldoend*
welluidend*	welomlijnd*	welomschreven*
welslagen	welwillend*	wijden

wijs	wijsheid	wilskracht*
win	winna*	winnen
wint	won	wonderbaarlijk
wonnen	wow*	zachtaardig*
zachtmoedig	zalig	zalige
zege	zegen	zegenen
zegening	zeker*	zelfredza*
zelfvertrouwen	zelfverzekerd*	zielsverwant*
zoen	zoende	zoenden
zoenen	zoent	zoetheid
zonnenschijn	zonnetje*	zonnig*
zorg		



## 1.2 Negative emotive words

aangerand	aangericht	aangetast*
aangevallen	aanhankelijk*	aanranden
aanranding*	aanrichten	aanslag*
aansprakelijk*	aanstoot*	aantasten
aanval*	aarzel	aarzeld*
aarzelen*	aarzeling*	aarzelt
aasgier*	abnormaal	achteloos*
achterdocht*	achtergesteld*	achteroverdrukken
achterovergedrukt*	achterstellen	afgang
afgejakkerd	afgekeurd	afgekraakt
afgemat*	afgeschrikt	afgeschrok*
afgestompt*	afgestraft	afgewezen
afgezaagd*	afgezonderd*	afgrijselijk*
afgunst*	afkeer*	afkeren
afkerig*	afkeuren	afkeuring
afkraken	afmat*	afgeschrik*
afschuw	afschuwelijk*	afstraffen
afstraffing	aftakeling	afweer
afwijz*	afzonder*	ageer
ageerde	ageerden	ageert
ageren	agressie*	akelig*
alarmerend*	angst*	antipathi*
apati*	argwa*	arrogant

arrogantie	asocia*	aversie*
baatzucht	baatzuchtig	bah
banaal	banale	bang*
barbaar*	beangst	bedeesd*
bedenklijk	bederft	bederven
bedonder*	bedorven	bedot*
bedreig	bedreigd	bedreigde
bedreigden	bedreigen*	bedreiging*
bedreigd	bedremmeld	bedrieg
bedriegen	bedrieger*	bedrieglijk*
bedriegt	bedroef*	bedroeven
bedroevend	bedrog	bedrogen
bedroog	bedrukt	bedruktheid
bedwang	bedwing*	bedwong*
beef*	beestachtig*	beetgenomen
beetnemen	begaf	begaven
begeef	begeeft	begeer*
begeven	beheksen	behoefstig*
behuild*	beklaag	beklaagd
beklaagde	beklaagden	beklaagt
beklag	beklagen*	beklemmend
bekritiseer	bekritiseerde	bekritiseerden
bekritiseert	bekritiseren	bekrompen*
belachelijk	belast	belasten

belastte	belastten	belazer*
beledig*	belemmer*	benadeel*
benauw*	benijd*	berisp*
beroerd*	berokken*	beroof
berooft	berooftde	berooften
berooft	betrouw*	beroven
berust	berusten	berusting
berustte	berustten	beschaamd*
beschadig*	bescham*	beschroomd*
besluitelo*	besodemieter*	bespot*
bestraf	bestrafen	bestraffing
bestraft	bestrafte	bestraften
bestreden	bestrijd*	betreur*
bevecht*	beven	beverig*
bevocht	bevochten	bevreesd*
bewen*	bezeten*	bezorgd
bezorgdheid	bezwaar	bezwarend
bezweek	bezweken	bezwijk
bezwijken	bezwijkt	biets*
bitter	bizar	blasé
blut	boet	boette
boetten	boos	boosaardig*
boosdoener*	boosheid	booswicht*
bot	botte	brom*

brute	bruut*	bullshit
catastrofe*	chagrijnig*	cliché
conflict*	confront*	cru
crue	cynici	cynicus
cynisch*	debiel*	deernis*
defensief	defensiev*	del
depressi*	deprimeer	deprimeerde
deprimeerden	deprimeert	deprimeren
deren	desillusi*	despera*
destructief	dief	diepbedroefd*
dievegge	dieven	dodelijk*
doden	doemdenken	doetje*
dom	domhe	domineer
domineerde	domineerden	domineert
domineren	domkop*	domme
dommerd*	donderop	donders
doodgeslagen	doodsangst	doodsbang*
doodsbenauwd*	doodslaan	doodsstrijd
doordrammen	doortrapt*	dreig*
dreinen*	dreun	driftbui*
driftig	driftkop	droefgeestig*
droevig*	drommels	dronkaard*
dronkelap*	dronkenlap*	droplul*
druk	dub	dubben*

dubd*	dubieu*	dubt
duivel*	duizel*	dupe
dwal*	dwang	dwangmatig
dwarsbomen	dwaze	dwing*
dwong*	eenzaam*	egoïsme
egoïst	egoïstisch	eigenaardig
eigengereid	eigenzinnig	eikel
ellend*	emotioneel	eng
enge	enggeestig*	erbarmelijk*
erger	ergerde	ergerden
ergeren	ergerlijk*	ergernis*
ergert	ergst*	ernst
ernstig*	faal	faalde
faalt	fake	falen
fanaat	fataal	fatale
fataliteit*	fel	fiasco*
flater*	flop	fobi*
folter	folteren	foltering
foltert	forceren	fout
fouten	foutje*	foutlo*
freak	frustratie	frustreer
frustreerde	frustreerden	frustreert
frustreren	furie*	gap
gappen	gapt*	geageerd

gebeefd	gebelgd	gebietst*
geblaseerd*	geboet	gebrek*
gedepimeerd	gedomineerd*	gedood
gedreigd	gedubt*	gedwarsboomd*
gedwongen	gefaald*	geforceerd
gefrustreerd	gegapt*	gegeneerd*
gegeild	gehaat	gehate
gehinderd	gehuild	gejammerd
gejankt	gejend	gejengel*
gek	gekanker	gekken
geklaag*	gekmaken*	gekrenkt
gekweld*	gekwetst*	gelaten
gelatenheid	geleden	gelogen
gelul	gemeden	gemeen
gemene	gemis*	gemolesteerd
gemor	genant*	geneer*
genegeerd*	generen	geobsedeerd
geouwehoer	gepest	gepijnigd*
geplaagd	geprikkeld	geprotesteerd
geradbraakt	geremd*	geringschatting
geroddel	geroddeld	gerouwd
geruïneerd	geschaad	geschaamd*
geschil	geschokt*	gescholden
geschonden	geschreeuwd	geschrokken

geschroomd*	geslagen	gespannen*
gestolen	gestonken*	gestoord
gestraft	gestreden	gestresst
geteisterd	getergd*	geterroriseerd
getier*	getikt	getobt
getreiterd	getreurd	gevaar
gevaarlijk*	gevaren	gevecht*
geveinsd*	gevit	gevochten
gevoello*	gevreesd	gewalgd
gewanhoopt	gewantrouwd	geweigerd*
geweld	geweldadig*	gewelddadig*
geworstel	gewroken	gezeur
gezeurd	gezondigd	geëmmer
geëmotioneerd	geërgerd	geërgerd
geïntimideerd	geïrriteerd	geïsoleerd
gil	gillen	gilt
goddomme	godverdomme	godverdorie
gotver	grief*	grieven*
griezel	griezelig	gril
grimmig	grof*	grove
grr*	gruwel	gruwelijk
gênant	gêne	haat
haatdragend*	haatte	haatten
hakkel*	halsstarrig*	halvegare*

hardleers*	hardnekkig	hardvochtig*
hartbrekend*	hartelo*	hartenbre*
hartverscheurend*	hartvochtig*	hartzeer
hartelijk*	harten	hater
hebzucht	hebzuchtig	hectisch
heftig	heks	hel
helaas	hels*	hetze
hevig	hinder*	honen*
hoon*	hopelo*	horror
hufter*	huichelachtig*	huil
hulde	huiden	huilen
huilend	huilerig	huilt
huiver*	hulpelo*	humeurig*
hunker*	hypernerveus	hypocriet*
idiot	idiotie*	ignoreren
ijdel	ijdelheid	imbeciel*
immoreel	immorele	inadequa*
inbreuk*	incapabel*	indolent*
ineffecti*	inefficiënt	inferieur*
inferior*	inhibe*	interruptie
intimidatie	intimideer	intimideerde
intimideerden	intimideert	intimideren
irratione*	irritant	irritatie
irriteer	irriteerde	irriteerden



irriteert	irriteren	irriterend*
isolement	isoleren	jaloers*
jaloerie	jammer*	jank*
jat*	jen	jende
jenden	jengel*	jennen
jent	kampen	kankeren
keihard*	kinderachtig	klaag*
klacht*	klagen*	klap
kleingeestig*	kleinzielig	klere
klojo	klootzak*	klote*
knoeiboel	knorrig*	koppig*
krankzinnig	krankzinnigheid	kregelig*
kreng*	krenk	krenken
krenkend	krenking	krenkt
krenkte	krenkten	kritiek*
kritisch*	kut*	kwaad
kwaadaardig*	kwade	kwelijk
kwel	kweld*	kwel*
kwelt	kwets	kwetsba*
kwetsen	kwetst	kwetste
kwetseten	kwijtgeraakt	kwijtraken
laagheid	laakbaar*	laakbare
labbekak*	last	lastig*
lastpost*	leden	leed

leedwezen	leeg*	lelijk*
lesbo	leugen*	liederlijk*
lieg*	lijd*	list
listig	logen	lomp*
loog	losgerukt	losrukken
lui	luie	lul
lulletje	lullig	lustelo*
machtelo*	maling	malloot
mallot*	maniak*	manie
martel	martela*	marteld*
marteling*	martelt	martelwerk
masochis*	mat	matig
mededogen	medelijden*	meden
meed	meedogenlo*	meelij*
melanchol*	mensonwaardig	mep*
mijd	mijden	mijdt
minachten*	minachting	minderwaardig*
mis	misbruik	misbruiken
misbruikt	misdadig	miserabel*
misgelopen	misgun*	mishandel
mishandeld	mishandelde	mishandelden
mishandelen	mishandelt	mislopen
mislukt*	mismoedig*	missen
misser	misstap*	mist

miste*	misten	mistig*
misère	moedeloos	moeilijk
moeilijke	moeilijkheid	mokkend*
molesteren	moord*	mopper*
mor	morren	mort
na-ijverig*	naargeestig*	nadeel
nadelen	nadelig	nalatig*
namaak	narigheid	nederlaag
neerslachtig*	negeer*	negeren
nep	nerd*	nerveu*
netelige	neuroot	neuroten
neuroti*	nietig*	nietswaardig*
nietszeggend*	nijd*	nonchalant
nood	nooddruftig*	noodlijdend*
noodlijdend*	noodlottig*	nuttelo*
obsedeer	obsedeerde	obsedeerden
obsedeert	obsederen	obsessie
oen	oenig*	offensie*
ombrengen	omgebracht*	opgelegd*
omleggen*	onaangena*	onaangepast*
onaantrekkelijk	onaanvaardbaar*	onaardig*
onachtza*	onappetijtelijk*	onbedwingba*
onbehaaglijk	onbehaaglijkheid	onbeheerst*
onbeholpen*	onbehouden*	onbekwa*

onbeleefd*	onbeschaafd*	onbeschermd*
onbeschoft	onbestendig*	onbetrouwba*
onbevredigend*	ondankba*	onderbrak
onderbraken	onderbreek	onderbreekt
onderbreken	onderbroken	onderdanig*
onderdruk*	onderhang	ondermijn*
onderworpen	ondeugdelijk*	ondraaglijk
ondubbelzinnig*	oneens	oneer
oneerlijkhe*	onenigheid	onfortuinlijk*
ongeduld	ongeduldig	ongeduldigheid
ongedurig	ongelikt*	ongeloofwaardigheid*
ongelukkig	ongelukkige	ongelukkigerwij*
ongemak	ongemakkelijk*	ongemanierd*
ongeneeslijk*	ongerust*	ongeschikt*
ongewenst*	ongewis*	ongunstig
onhandelba*	onhandig	onheil*
onheus*	onhoeffelijk*	oninteressant*
onkunde	onkundig*	onmenselijk*
onnozel*	onoprecht*	onplezierig*
onrecht	onrechtmatig	onrechtvaardig
onredelijk*	onredza*	onrust
onrustig	onruststoker	onsmakelijk*
onsucces*	ontbering	ontdaan*
onteer*	onteren	ontevreden*

ontgoochel*	ontheilig*	ontliep
ontliepen	ontloop	ontloopt
ontlopen	ontmoedig*	ontnam
ontnamen	ontneem	ontneemt
ontnemen	ontnomen	ontoereikend*
ontraad	ontraadde	ontraadden
ontraadt	ontraden	ontrouw
ontslagen	ontsteld*	ontstelt*
ontvreemd*	ontweek	ontweken
ontwijd*	ontwijk*	ontzetting
onuitstaanbaar	onveilig	onveiligheid
onvermogen	onverschillig*	onverzettelijk*
onvoldoende	onvolkomen*	onvoordelig
onvriendelijk*	onwaardig*	onwaarhe*
onwelkom*	onwellevend*	onwetend*
onwillig	onwrikba*	onzedelijk*
onzeker*	onzinnig*	oorlog*
opbreken	opbrengen	opdonderen
opgebracht*	opgebroken	opgedonderd
opgegeven	opgejaagd*	opgelaten*
opgeven	opjagen	oproer
opschudding	opgesodemieterd	opstand
opstandig	opvliegend*	overdreven
overheers*	overstelp	overstelpen

overstelpend	overstelpt	overstelpte
overstelpten	overstuur	overtrad*
overtred*	overval*	overweldig
overweldigd	overweldigde	overweldigden
overweldigen	overweldigt*	paniek
paniekerig	paniekzaaier	paranoia
paranoïde	pathetisch	pech*
penibel*	pervers*	pessimisme
pessimist	pessimistisch	pest
pesten	peste	pestten
pieker	piekerde	piekerden
piekeren	piekert	pijn
pijnig*	pijnlijk*	pikken
pissig	plaag	plaagde
plaagden	plaaggeest	plaagt
plagen*	plagerij*	platzak
plechtig*	plechtstating*	pressie
prikkelbaar	proble*	profiteur
protest	proteste*	puinhoop
raar	raast	radelo*
ramp*	randdebiel*	ranzig*
razend	razende	razernij
rebel	rebels	redeloos
rem	remmend	remming

ressentiment	rigide	risico*
riskeer*	riskeren*	roddel
roddelde	roddelden	roddelen
roddelt	rot	rotte
rotvent	rotzak*	rotzooi
rouw*	ruig	ruine
ruines	rusteloos	ruw
ruwe	ruwheid	ruzie*
ruïne	saai	saggerijinig*
sarcasme	sarcastisch	scepsis
scepti*	schaad	schaadde
schaadden	schaadt	schaam
schaamd*	schaamt	schaamte
schaamtelo*	schade	schadelijk
schaden	schamen	schandalig*
schande	schandelijk*	scheld
schelden	scheldt	schend*
schichtig	schijt	schoft*
schok	schokken	schokkend*
schokte*	schold	scholden
schond	schonden	schoorvoetend
schreeuw	schreeuwde*	schreeuwen*
schreeuwt*	schrei*	schrik
schrikaanjagend*	schrikachtig*	schrikbarend*

schrikbeeld*	schrokken	schrikt
schrikwekkend*	schrok	schrokken
schromen	schroom*	schuchter*
schuldgevoel	schuldig	schurk*
schuw*	shit	shock
sidder*	sjagrijnig*	slaan
slaat	slachtoffer*	slag
slap	slapjanus*	slecht
slechter	slechterik*	slechthumeurd*
slechtgezind*	slechtst*	slet
sletje*	sletten	sletterig*
sloerie*	sloome	slons
slonzig*	sloom	slordig
smaad	smacht*	smakelo*
smart*	smeerboek	smeerlap
snertding	snik*	snob
sodemieter	somber*	spanning*
spijt*	spot	spotte*
spuugzat	stamel*	stampij
stank	star	starheid
starre	steel	steelt
stelen	stink*	stom
stomkop*	stomme	stommeling*
stommerd*	stommerik	stommiteit*



stompzinnig*	stonk*	stoor
stoorde	stoorden	stoort
storen	stott*	straf
straffen	straft	strafte
strafte	streng*	stress
stribbel*	strijd*	stuitend
suf	sufferd*	sukkel*
sul*	suspicie*	teef
tegenstribbel*	tegennatuurlijk*	tegenspoed
tegenstand	tegenstander*	tegenstribbelen*
tegenvaller	tegenwerking	tegenzin*
teister	teisterde	teisterden
teisteren	teistert	tekeer*
tekortgeschoten	tekortkoming*	tekortschieten
teleur*	teneergeslagen*	teneerslaan
tenietdoen	tenietgedaan	terg*
terneergeslaegn*	terneerslaan	terreur
terroriseren	terugdein*	teruggedeinsd*
teruggeschrokken	terugschrikken	teugello*
tevergeefs	tier	tierd*
tieren&	tiert	tik
timide	tob	tobben
tobberig	tobde	tobden
tobt	toetakeld*	toetakelen

toorn	traan	trage
tragedie*	tragiek	tragisch*
tranen	trauma*	treiterden
treiteren	treitert	treur
treurde	treurden	treuren
treurend	treurende	treurig*
treurt	triest*	trillerig*
triviaal	triviale	trut
twijfel*	uitgeblust*	uitgeput*
uitgescholden	uitgevochten	uitput*
uitrazen*	uitschelden	uitvechten
uitwoeden	uitzichtlo*	vaag
vadzig*	vals	valshe*
vecht*	venijnig	veracht
verachtelijk*	verachten	verachting
verachtte	verachtten	verbeten
verbied*	verbijster*	verbijten
verbitterd	verbitteren*	verbod*
verbod	verbouwereerd*	verbrak
verbraken	verbreek	verbreekt
verbreken	verbroken	verdacht
verdedig*	verdenk*	verderf
verderfelijk*	verdom*	verdonderema*
verdorie	verdorven*	verdraag

verdraagt	verdraaid	verdraaiing*
verdragen	verdriet*	verdring*
verdroeg	verdroegen	verdrong
verdrongen	verdruk*	verdwaas*
verdwazen	vererger	verergerd*
verergeren	verergering	vererbert
verfoeilijk*	vergal	vergald
vergalde	vergalden	vergallen
vergalt	vergeefs*	vergiftig*
vergis*	vergrijp	verijdel*
verkeerd*	verknoei	verknoeid
verknoeide	verknoeiden	verknoeien
verknoeit	verkracht*	verkwist*
verlaag	verlaagd	verlaagde
verlaagden	verlaagt	verlaat
verlagen	verlaten*	verlegen*
verlies*	verliet	verlieten
verliezen	verliezer	verliezers
verloor*	verloren	vermeden
vermeed	vermijd*	vermoord*
verneder	vernederd	vernederde
vernederden	vernederen	vernederend
vernedering	vernedert	verniel
verniel	vernielde	vernielden

vernielen	vernieler	vernieling
vernielt	vernielzuchtig	vernietig
vernietigd	vernietigde	vernietigden
vernietigen	vernietigend	vernietigt
veronachtza*	verontachtza*	verontrust*
veroordeel	veroordeeld	veroordeelde
veroordeelden	veroordeelt	veroordelen
verpletter*	verrek	verschrik*
verslagenheid	verslechtering	verspeel*
verspelen	verspil*	verstar*
verstijf	verstijfd	verstijfde
verstijfden	verstijft	verstijven
verstik*	versuft*	vertwijfeld*
vertwijfeling	vervalst	verveel
verveeld	verveelde	verveelden
verveelt	vervelen	vervelend*
verveling	vervloek	vervloeken
vervloekt*	verwaarlo*	verwar
verward*	verwarren	verwarrend
verwarring*	verwart	verweer
verwerp*	verwierp	verwierpen
verwoest*	verworden	verworpen
vies	vieze	vijand*
vit	vitte	vitten

vocht	vochten	vooringenomen
vooroordeel	vreemd*	vrees*
vreselijk*	vrezen	vruchtelo*
waaninnig*	waardelo*	walg
walgde	walgden	walgelig*
walgen	walging	walgt
wanhoop	wanhoopt	wanhoopte
wanhoopten	wanhopen	wanhopig*
wanordelijk	wantrouw	wantrouwde
wantrouwden	wantrouwen	wantrouwig
wantrouwt	wapen*	warboel
waterlanders	wazig*	ween*
weerdhoud*	weerloos	weezin
weezinwekkend*	weifel*	weiger
weigerde	weigerden	weigeren
weigering	weigert	wenen*
wildheid	woedde	woede*
woest*	worstel*	wraak
wraakzucht	wraakzuchtig	wrang*
wrede	wreed*	wreek
wreekt	wreekte	wreekten
wreken	wrevel	wrevelig
wroeging	wrok	zakkenwasser*
zanik*	zedenkwetend*	zelfverdediging

zelfvolda*	zenuwachtig*	zenuwzinking
zenuwslopend*	zeur	zeurde
zeurden	zeuren	zeurt
ziedend*	zielig*	zonde
zonden	zondig	zondigde
zondigden	zondigen	zondigt
zot*	zucht*	zuiplap*
zuipschuit*	zwaarmoedig*	zwak