**Appendix A. Debates in sample**

**Education (Schools) Act 1997**: Provided for the phasing out of the Assisted Places Scheme in Great Britain (Department for Education and Employment 1997). The bill had first reading on 21.05.97 and received royal assent on 31.07.97

**Education and Inspections Act 2006:**Placed new duties on local education authorities to make children fulfil their potential, promote choice in their provision of schools, consider representation from parents about school provisions in the area, school organization, promoting sustainable modes of travel for pupils, and gave them new powers to tackle failing and underperforming schools more quickly. It also placed certain new duties on the governing bodies of foundation schools and maintain schools, gave school staff new disciplining powers, and changed the school admission law, including the banning of interviews (Department for Education and Skills 2006). The bill had first reading on 28.02.06 and received royal assent on 08.11.06.

**Education and Adoption Act 2015:** Focused on the schools eligible for intervention, or “coasting schools”, in England, and provided for easier intervention and their conversion into academies (Department for Education 2015). The bill had first reading on 03.06.2015 and received royal assent on 16.03.2016.

**Social Security Act 1998:**Changed the ways claimants provide information and are given information when they seek benefits, mainly through digital means. It was aimed to make the system easier and more efficient. The bill also focused on people’s responsibilities in relation to the welfare system, by for instance introducing measures to make sure employers pay national insurance contributions (Department for Social Security 1997). The bill had first reading on 09.07.97 and received royal assent on 21.05.98.

**Welfare Reform Act 2007:** Changed the provision of housing benefit, which gives the benefit to the tenant rather than landlords and sanction those found guilty of anti-social behavior. It also replaced the incapacity benefit with employment and support allowance to make more people take part in work (Department for Work and Pensions 2006). The bill had first reading on 16.11.06 and received royal assent on 03.05.07.

**Welfare Reform and Work 2016:**Aimed to increase employment, reduce the welfare budget, reduce child poverty and support working households. This was among other things done through amending the Child Poverty Act 2010, reducing the benefit cap in all areas except for London, freezing certain benefits and tax credits, changes to social housing rents, and removing the work-related activity component in employment and support allowance, and limited capability for work element in universal credit (Department for Work and Pensions 2015). The bill had first reading on 09.07.15 and received royal assent on 16.03.16.

**Immigration and Asylum Act 1999:**Included new provisions that addresses the conditions which applies to people before they come to the UK (e.g. at ports), and how they are dealt with once they are here. It contained provisions to ensure that genuine asylum seekers were dealt with quickly, whilst at the same time combating illegal entry (Home Office 1999). The bill had first reading on 09.02.99 and received royal assent on 11.11.99.

**Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006:**Replaced and amended several parts of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, dealing with appeal rights and asylum and human rights claims. It also introduced penalties for employers taking on people subject to immigration control and allow immigration officer to collect more data from immigration arrivals (Home Office 2006). The bill had first reading on 22.06.05 and received royal assent on 30.03.06.

**Immigration Act 2016:** Introduced measures to tackle illegal working, enhanced enforcement of labor market rules, denied illegal migrants access to services like housing and banking, gave immigration officers new powers, and it also introduced other measures to improve the security and operation of the immigration system (Home Office 2016). The bill has first reading on 17.09.15 and received royal assent on 12.05.16.

**Appendix B. Example of coded speech**

* 1. *Coded ‘Adversarial: Against Person(s)’*

‘Unlike the previous speaker, I am going to talk about the Bill. It shows the Conservative party and the Government full of head and heart. We care passionately about mobility and aspiration. We also care about security and solidarity, helping the vulnerable and the disabled. Our head says that we have to live within our means. Finally, we are grasping the nettle and recognizing that we have to live within our means. The welfare budget has to be sustainable. What the Chancellor has said has to be said again: we have 1% of the world’s population, 4% of the world’s GDP and 7% of the world’s welfare spend. We have to deal with that to make sure we can help the most vulnerable and ensure they have a sustainable future.’ (Hansard, 20 July 2015, vol. 598 col. 1284).

Coding classification: Using NVivo’s classification of percentage of the total characters in this example from a section of a speech, the highlighted portion of text would have received a score of 8.75% coverage for ‘Adversarial: Against Person(s)’.

* 1. *Coded ‘Personal Experience’*

‘As one who went to school under the last Labour Government and saw the improvements that were made, I am proud of the fact that we transformed the fabric of our schools through Building Schools for the Future. The secondary school I attended is now unrecognizable. It is an academy and its results have improved enormously. I am proud of the programs the Labour Government introduced, such as the sponsored academies program, which has delivered investment and greater freedoms and autonomy for our schools, excellence in cities and the London Challenge, tackling poor school performance, increasing educational achievement and tackling the inequality and educational disadvantage that hold back too many people, in particular those from the most disadvantaged families. I am also proud of initiatives started when we were in government, such as fast-track teaching and the major recruitment campaigns such as “Those who can, teach”, as well as the introduction of routes such as Teach First. Not only did we improve the quality and quantity of people entering the teaching profession, but we raised the standards and status of the profession.’ (Hansard, 22 June 2015, vol. 597, col. 701).

Coding classification: Using Nvivo’s classification of percentage of the total characters in this example from a section of a speech, the highlighted portion of text would have received a score of 27.64% coverage for ‘Personal Experience’.

* 1. *Coded ‘Abstract’*

‘The House will be aware of the extensive current collaboration between the state and the independent sector. We want to build on that co-operation to open the enormous resource of the independent sector to the entire community, to their mutual benefit.

Our plans are intended to operate at local level with the local identification of educational needs. It is our intention that the independent sector should be used to help to meet those needs, especially when the state sector is either unable to meet them or can do so only at disproportionate cost.’ (Hansard, 2 June 1997, vol. 295, col. 42).

Coding classification: For ‘Orientation’ we provide the counts for each of the three subcategories: Concrete, Abstract and Mixed. In this example from a section of speech, ‘Abstract’ would have received a count of 6 references.

* 1. *Coded ‘Fact’*

‘The importance of the welfare system cannot be underestimated. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State put the system into a national perspective. When one considers, as I often do, that £93 billion—almost a third of public spending—is eaten up by the welfare budget, the national perspective is clear. Conservative Members ought to be very clear about it, because their policies created the circumstances that have caused the need for such spending to be devoted to providing a sometimes well-holed safety net for many of the most unfortunate people in our society.’ (Hansard, 22 July 1997, vol. 298, col. 817).

Coding classification: Using Nvivo’s classification of percentage of the total characters in this example from a section of a speech, the highlighted portion of text would have received a score of 27.39% coverage for ‘Fact’.

* 1. *Coded ‘Illustrating, Non-Personal Example’*

‘I have some questions about work-related activity. Is there a role for somebody to become a perpetual volunteer? Some hon. Members have said that there must somehow be an end to work-related activity, when somebody must enter a job—but that might not be the best solution for everybody. I think of someone who has a progressive condition who would not want to be written off completely and be on the support element alone, and who would want the employment support element of benefit. Volunteering could provide enough hours to keep them in a workplace of sorts. Volunteering is not necessarily less valuable than paid work, so there might be a case for allowing someone to remain on the higher level of benefit but continually to have a volunteering role. That would overcome the problem that some face of putting their benefit in jeopardy as a result of volunteering.’ (Hansard, 24 July 2006, vol. 449, col. 680).

Coding classification: Using Nvivo’s classification of percentage of the total characters in this example from a section of a speech, the highlighted portion of text would have received a score of 22.58% coverage for ‘Illustrating, Non-Personal Example’.

**Appendix C. Full regression results**

|  |
| --- |
| **Table A1.** Effect of gender on speech style, fixed-effect OLS regressions (standard errors in parentheses) |
|  | Argumentation | Orientation | Adversarial |
|  | Experience | Fact | Abstract | Mixed | Concrete | Overall |
| Female† | 6.58\*\*\* | 0.47 | -9.11\*\* | 4.94 | 4.18\*\* | -6.15\*\*\* |
| (1.36) | (1.92) | (2.89) | (2.95) | (1.49) | (1.83) |
| Years inParliament | 0.10 | -0.07 | -0.31\* | 0.05 | 0.26\*\*\* | 0.01 |
| (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.15) | (0.15) | (0.08) | (0.09) |
| Party: Labour‡ | -1.76 | 1.77 | -8.76\*\* | 7.32\* | 1.44 | 0.42 |
| (1.32) | (1.86) | (2.80) | (2.86) | (1.44) | (1.77) |
| Party: OtherParties‡ | -1.28 | -0.62 | -5.68 | 3.99 | 1.69 | 5.26\* |
| (1.82) | (2.56) | (3.86) | (3.94) | (1.99) | (2.44) |
| Opposition§ | -0.95 | 0.13 | -5.90\* | 6.21\* | -0.31 | 1.97 |
| (1.30) | (1.83) | (2.76) | (2.82) | (1.42) | (1.75) |
| R2 | 0.13 | 0.01 | 0.15 | 0.08 | 0.10 | 0.12 |
| Observations | 196 | 196 | 196 | 196 | 196 | 196 |
| *\*\*\*p<0.001, \*\*p<0.01, \*p<0.05*Dependent variables: 0-100 percentage coverage. † Coded 0 male and 1 female. ‡ Conservative Party is the reference category.§ Coded 0 government and 1 opposition.  |
|  |

|  |
| --- |
| **Table A2. ﻿**Effect of gender on experience,fixed-effect OLS regressions (standard errors in parentheses) |
|  | Argumentation: Experience |
|  | Personal Experience | Experience of Others | Illustrating Examples |
| Female† | 3.06\*\* | 2.04\*\* | 1.49\*\*\* |
| (1.06) | (0.74) | (0.39) |
| Years inParliament | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.02 |
| (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.02) |
| Party: Labour‡ | -1.58 | -0.37 | 0.19 |
| (1.02) | (0.72) | (0.38) |
| Party: Other Parties‡ | -1.03 | 0.06 | -0.31 |
| (1.41) | (0.99) | (0.52) |
| Opposition§ | -0.19 | -0.68 | -0.09 |
| (1.01) | (0.71) | (0.37) |
| R2 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.09 |
| Observations | 196 | 196 | 196 |
| *\*\*\*p<0.001, \*\*p<0.01, \*p<0.05*Dependent variables: 0-100 percentage coverage. † Coded 0 male and 1 female. ‡ Conservative Party is the reference category.§ Coded 0 government and 1 opposition. |

|  |
| --- |
| **Table A3.** Effect of gender on adversarial,fixed-effect OLS regressions (standard errors in parentheses) |
|  | Adversarial |
|  | Against Person | Against Party | Against Other |
| Female† | -1.02 | -4.68\*\* | -0.45 |
| (0.66) | (1.60) | (0.34) |
| Years inParliament | 0.10\*\* | -0.08 | -0.01 |
| (0.03) | (0.08) | (0.02) |
| Party: Labour‡ | 0.05 | 0.20 | 0.17 |
| (0.64) | (1.55) | (0.33) |
| Party: Other Parties‡ | 1.48 | 3.68 | 0.10 |
| (0.88) | (2.14) | (0.46) |
| Opposition§ | 0.99 | 0.81 | 0.17 |
| (0.63) | (1.53) | (0.33) |
| R2 | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.01 |
| Observations | 196 | 196 | 196 |
| *\*\*\*p<0.001, \*\*p<0.01, \*p<0.05*Dependent variables: 0-100 percentage coverage. † Coded 0 male and 1 female. ‡ Conservative Party is the reference category.§ Coded 0 government and 1 opposition. |