## Look into my eyes - A representative claim analysis of the European Commission

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In this second paper of my PhD project, I analyse the representative claim-making of the European Commission (EC) following representative claim theory by Michael Saward. First, I am having a general look at representative claims made by Commissioners from 1986 to 2021 in 11,906 speeches which were published in English in the European Commission's speech repository. Speeches in other languages will be added to the dataset at a later stage after automatic translation. The European Commission is engaging extensively in representative claim making as one of the most direct ways of communicating with their quasi constituencies in the member states. However, their audience is often located within the "Brussels bubble" of European Union (EU) actors, officials, interest groups, and to a smaller extend the interested public. Second, I am engaging more closely with the representative claim making on behalf of women. The European Commission claims to follow a gender mainstreaming approach in all its policies, which I can partly confirm based on the topical context of claims regarding the representation of women in the data. Yet, my linear logistic regression model for explaining the probability of claim-making does not yield statistically significant effects for speech contexts, length, or year the speech was given. I also tested the weight Commissioners assign to women's representation by a count variable, that turned out to be largely affected by the speech context. My first exploration of the data advances our understanding of representative claim-making by the European Commission and thereby of the effectiveness of its gender mainstreaming approach. It also generates further research questions on personal and institutional predictors of claim making by European Commissioners.

### The representative challenges of the European Union

The European Union's political system is a complex structure of different competences, legitimacy sources, and interests. Through its complexity, people and even politically interested citizen often struggle with understanding its rules and procedures (van Middelaar 2021). This has led to a widespread dissatisfaction with the functionality of the political system and a renationalised focus (Schäfer and Zürn 2021). It seems easier to deal with the national system one grew up in, than to work one's head around a political system in the making, which changes regularly, has high levels of "unusable transparency" in some, and closed-door practices like the trialogues in other policy areas (Norris 1999). Especially in times of crises — and the EU was already placed in a poly-crisis before the COVID-19 pandemic shook the political landscape — citizen try to claim an active role in the political processes, voice their interests, and request active representation by actors within the system (Grimmel 2020). If these demands are not fulfilled by a system recurring to the intergovernmental union method rather than European representatives (Kröger and Friedrich 2013), the system risks losing support and plays in the hands of radical oppositions on the populist right.

The complexity of the system includes different pathways for these interests to be represented in the decision-making processes. Member state's head of state or government execute their influence through the European Council – especially in crises often perceived as the ultimate decision maker – being bolstered with the legitimacy of their electorates at home. This intergovernmental side of decision making in day-to-day politics is further taken up by the national ministers in the Council of the European Union, finding common ground based on national interests and government positions (Müller Gómez, Wessels, and Wolters 2019).

Their counterpart in EU policy making is the European Parliament, which gains its legitimacy directly from EU wide elections. The members of parliament regularly take integration-friendly positions and encourage reform debates to strengthen their institutions in the inter-institutional balance. Regarding their representation of people and interests, these institutions are regularly investigated and under national and international scrutiny (Kröger and Friedrich 2016; Pukelsheim 2016; Murdoch, Connolly, and Kassim 2018).

Representation research has long side-lined the European Commission, despite its central role in the ordinary legislative procedure. The European Commission is the closest the European Union has to a government, with important functions in agenda setting, the policy making process, and the implementation of the Union's policies with strong governance claims (Shore 2011). The relation of this institution to Parliament and especially the European Council is theorised differently depending on the institutional focus and ranges between the guardian of the treaties and a neutral mediating role in the ordinary legislative procedure to an agent of its principal, the European Council (Majone 2005; Eckhardt and Wessels 2018). In recent years, members of the European Commission have additionally claimed a more political or strategic role for their institution (Kassim and Laffan 2019). This falls in line with institutionalist analyses describing the own agenda of this former technocratic institution, and the trend of politicisation of European Union politics (Rauh 2019) – leaving the permissive consensus of the early years of integration (Hooghe and Marks 2009).

With its growing politicisation the EC is also becoming more visible and active in the representative functions of the EU (De Wilde 2011). As such, this former technocratic EU institution can possibly contribute to better perceptions of representation for EU citizen and contribute to the transition of EU polity from an intergovernmental to a supranational dominated body. Assessing the European Commission's representative performance, however, has proven to be difficult in many regards. In the following section I will therefore quickly summarise the state of the art of research on representation in and through the European Commission on the one, and on representative claim-making on the other hand. I argue that by analysing the European Commission through this performative viewpoint of representation, new opportunities arise, and the representative claim analysis methodology helps with examining trends, which cannot be grasped by focussing on e.g., descriptive, and substantive representation alone. Therefore, I describe the representative claim-making by the European Commission in this paper. Further, I want to answer the research question: Is the representative claim making on behalf of women a cross-cutting issue, or limited to "women's issues"?

### The European Commission and Representative Claims

The constructivist turn in representative politics (Guasti and Geissel 2019a) holds potential for representation in supranational settings. By conceptualising the idea of the representative claim as a non-static, but performative element of representation (Saward 2006, 2010, 2020), representation can be "performed" independently from structural competences, democratic

mandates, or inter-institutional competences. Thus, representation is not only acting for others (Sintomer 2013), say in Council or Parliament, but also making groups visible in the process by claiming to represent them and their interest. Thereby, it solves the problem of first, defining interest of a group which is represented – the group is constructed by the claim-making – and secondly, to measure if enacted policies play out in the interests of constituencies. In settings like the European Union, where interests are spread across 27 national societies and even more regions, this can further reduce oversimplification and thereby forceful marginalisation of less influential groups (as for example critizised by Streeck 2021).

The approach of representative claim analysis (De Wilde 2013), combines Saward's theory with the method of claims analysis (Koopmans and Statham 1999) to develop a methodological toolset for descriptive analysis of representative claim making (Erzeel 2011; De Wilde 2012). Guasti and Geissel further develop a "framework [...] that can be applied for systematic empirical analysis of real-life cases" (Guasti and Geissel 2019b: 98) by adding a new typology of assessable claims and comparing representative claims to claims of misrepresentation and claims of interest.

The discursive judgement on the acceptance or rejection of representative claims by the constructed constituency is left out of analysis in this study (for a problematisation see Bellamy and Castiglione 2011), but I will briefly present patterns of claims of (mis-)representation, counterclaims, and conflicting claims (Saward 2020). The European Commission is in fact offering these representative claims in contrast to the member states (institutions) and actors in the political system of the Union like (European) Council and Parliament. Thereby, this discursive approach is especially fruitful for the analysis of this institution, which functions upon confirmation rather than election. Without elections, classical ways of accepting claims of representation are not available to observe decisions by the relevant constituencies (Pitkin 1967; Mansbridge, Castiglione, and Pollak 2019).

Until now, there is no large-n assessment of representative claim making by the European Commission, albeit it can help us understand the representative functions Commissioners fulfil and assign themselves, which representative claims are present in the EU system and the Brussels bubble, and how representative claim-making is used to influence the interinstitutional balance. Due to its position outside the electoral framework of the Union and the member states, the European Commission has only a "weak" claim for the representation of peoples interest (Bellamy and Castiglione 2011). However, its importance for the representation of civil-society organisation interests is stressed as integral part of the democratisation of the European Union's political system (Johansson 2012; Kröger 2012, 2013). The European Commission is using these umbrella organisations as proxies to get closer to people's interests. It relies on the connection with civil society interest groups, which through the extensive work with the Commission in turn professionalise and loose their descriptive representation of marginalised voices to some extend (Buth 2012).

The access to Commissioner is also strictly limited, which makes the context of speeches an important feature (Kröger and Friedrich 2012), the audiences with access to Commissioners are themself privileged. The European representative system further functions as a "mediatized communicative act" (Michailidou and Trenz 2013) between European Commission, European Institutions, actors, and the European public. This systems effectiveness beyond the "Brussels bubble" and few broader discussions remains disputed. It's nevertheless an important part of the EU's and the European Commission's self-image to be strengthening democratic representation (Fiedlschuster 2018), and to have an authentic connection to the relevant constituencies through the used proxies (Johansson 2012). This narrative realises through the making of representative claims on behalf of various groups by the Commissioners. Thereby,

they contribute to the administrative legitimacy (Murdoch, Connolly, and Kassim 2018) of the whole EU system.

The European Commission is thus drawn between its institutional functions, representative expectations, and participatory governance approach (Trenz 2009). The use of representative claims have therefore been a tactic regularly employed by Commissioners in the named context of public speeches, reports, and statements. Studies have already addressed these for specialised fields, such as justice and home affairs (Maricut-Akbik 2018). I will give special attention to the representative claim-making regarding women by the European Commission.

Women are still marginalised in many political systems and also in the member states of the European Union (EIGE 2022). The European Commission has addressed this issue regularly and implemented its own "gender mainstreaming approach" (Schmidt 2005) in 1996 to reflect on the implications of its actions across policy fields. If this approach was successfully implemented, representative claims should be made regardless of the topical speech context.

Therefore, I expect no influence of speech topics on the likelihood of claims being made on the representation of women (H1).

The European Union claims for itself to be a champion of gender equality and strengthens a gender equality narrative (MacRae 2010) based on the advances in labour policies, equal pay, maternity leave, or anti-discrimination in the labour-market. In fact, the European Union has decided upon different contested equality policies over time (Kantola and Lombardo 2018). Despite its high standard of gender mainstreaming, the most substantial advances were clearly made in line with EU competences regarding the single market, education, and their interaction with a social dimension.

I therefore expect to find representative claims on behalf of women especially in speeches that deal with the labour- and the internal-market (H2).

More broadly, these issues together with childcare, health, family, and anti-discrimination are labelled soft policies, which are seen as classical women's issues (Krook and O'Brien 2012: 846). The portfolio assignment in the early colleges of the European Commission followed these gendered patterns. Not surprisingly, the way European Union works is still a stereotypical power game between men-designed practices and assumptions about women-behaviour (Kronsell 2005). The institutional practices of the Union remain "male-centred" (Lovenduski 2005: 27), which in turn constitute the European political sphere (Haastrup and Kenny 2015).

If the political system is thus reinforcing power asymmetries, I assume that representative claims on behalf of women are more likely to be made in relation to women's issues. (H3)<sup>1</sup>

The performative approach to representative politics allows me to focus on representative claims made by Commissioners, rather than descriptive or substantive representation. This makes the EC more accessible to representation research and enables me to analyse direct actions rather than proxies watered down in the complex policy-making structures of the EU.

### **Research Design**

To test my hypotheses, I am applying a representative claim analysis to a dataset of speeches made by European Commissioners between 1986 and 2021. The speeches are scraped from the European Commission's speech repository following the methods used by Rauh (2021). This initial dataset contains over 15,000 speeches. For this first assessment of the data only speeches

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A table of expected effects depending on identified issues (LDA topic model) is provided in Annex A, Table 2.

available in English were kept in the dataset, which leaves 11,906 speeches for the analysis, which do not constitute a random sample. This issue will be addressed in later versions of this paper, through automated translation and the respective quality checks.

To give an overview of the general claim-making activity of the European Commission, I drew a random sample from these English speeches (n=300) and hand-coded the representative claims following the code-book from the Reconnect Project (Gora and De Wilde 2019). The European Commissioners do use representative claims regularly to justify their political agendas, or to make interests visible towards other actors in the political system. Most notably, Commissioners use institutional representative claims (Salvati 2021) with the European Commission acts as subject of the claims, constructed by "we". More than 60% of representative claims in the sample were made in name of the whole college or the institution, thereby Commissioners are devoting less attention to political conflict within the Commission, rather than to institutional effectiveness and their place in the inter-institutional balance of power.

This argument can be further strengthened by examining claims of misrepresentation (Guasti and de Almeida 2019) in conflict with other institutions like the European Parliament, or the member states governments. For the later, claims were explicitly made against the representation of marginalised EU-citizen by eurosceptic governments. If those colliding claims of representation strengthen or weaken the democratic system, is debated (Lord and Pollak 2010). The European Commission is trying to strengthen its position via the member states by claiming a decisive role in representing those interests overlooked at national level, or which are transnational by nature (e.g., for border regions, minorities, and actors in the single market).

Finally, representative claims are issued on behalf of various groups in the sample dataset, pointing at the possible richness of the full dataset. At first glance unexpected were representative claims on behalf of businesses and corporations, which only constitute less than 4% in the dataset and are highly context dependent. We know from work on parliamentary representation, that business interests have more influence in changing policies than public interests (Cross et al. 2021), but representative claims are often rare. In the European Commission, such claims were only issued towards audiences of relevant group representatives. This hints at variable styles of representative claim making by the European Commission. I will address this variation in later versions of this study as possible controls in the regression analysis. For now, this analysis will be limited to the data available for the population.

Dependent Variable: Representative Claims on behalf of women

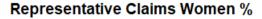
For the second part of this study, I identified speeches in the English dataset in which European Commissioners claimed to represent women and hand-coded them, following the Reconnect Handbook for Representative Claim Analysis (Gora and De Wilde 2019).

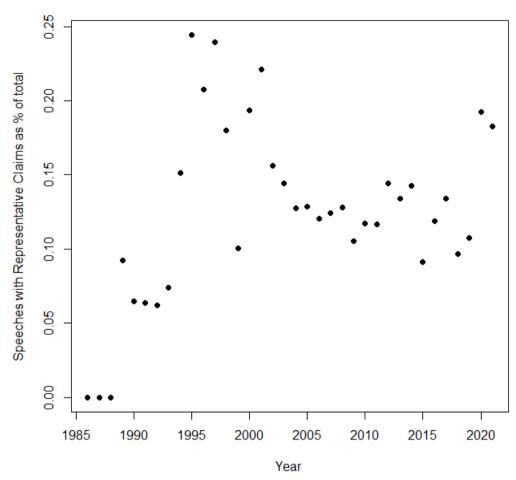
For the first data assessment in this study, I will aggregate the data of the claim-making on behalf of women to a count and a dichotomous variable, which allows me to analyse claim-making patterns despite some problems in the coding of the issue and justification variables of the representative claims.<sup>2</sup> Figure 1 shows the distribution of speeches with at least one representative claim on behalf of women in relation to all speeches in the dataset per year.

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 $<sup>^2</sup>$  I will solve those problems by recoding these variables with the topic categories of the topic model for later versions of this study.

Fig. 1: Representative Claims (dichotomous) in %





I found that 1,653 (or about 14%) of all speeches in the dataset contained a claim on the representation of women by European Commissioners. Most speeches contained up to two representative claims (75%) with 99% covering the range from 1 to 9 and some outliers in which up to 23 representative claims were made in a single speech.

#### *Independent Variable: Speech Topics*

To identify the speech issue, I decided not to rely on the assigned portfolios of the Commissioner giving the speech for two reasons. First, portfolios are defined based on the number of member states in the Union for each member state to be represented in the college of Commissioners. This arbitrary distribution results in portfolios that share responsibilities or at least have close relation to one another. As the number of member states did also rise during the years of the speeches in my dataset (and has recently declined), topics were split and newly assigned. To compare across legislative cycles of European Commissions, it is therefore necessary to identify speech issues differently. Secondly, European Commissioners are representatives of the European political system and their institution, which requires them to speak about cross cutting issues, general political developments, and the inter-institutional

balance (for example). I therefore applied a Latent Dirichlet Allocation topic model on the speech corpus to identify overreaching issues.

To apply the topic model, I cleaned the text-data by removing English stop words, stemmed every word and transferred it to lower cases, to avoid noise in the LDA topic model (Schweinberger 2022). I then relied on Cao et al. (2009) and Deveaud, SanJuan, and Bellot (2014) metrics to find a satisfactory number of topics between 2 and 28, as the maximum of member states in the European Union in the time frame of analysis. Results are shown in Annex A, Fig. 1. The LDA topic model returned satisfactory results for 28 topics, which are shown in Annex A, Table 1. I did inspect a random sample of 10 speeches per topic to confirm to topic association. A visualisation of the topic distribution in speeches aggregated to the yearly averages can be found in Annex A, Figure 2. This figure reveals the changes in issue emphasis the Commissioners made over the years and is in line with real world events. As the European integration progressed and the European Union came to be, the references to the European Communities declined sharply, whereas crisis, finance, and tax issues were rising during the financial and state debt crisis from 2008 onwards. As no topic is dominant (except maybe the institutional issues around the European Communities in the early 90s), the topic model reflects the variety of issues the European Commission is addressing in its political activities.

For each of the speeches, a topic distribution vector with 28 elements was calculated and forms the main independent variable for the first assessment in this study. For the time being, it is assumed that the elements of each vector are independent from one another and from previous speeches (which might form a set of special interests or expertise). For each single vector element, hypotheses for their influence on claim-making (dichotomous / count) can be formulated based on H3, which are presented individually in Annex A, Table 2.

### **Controls**

I further added control variables for the independent context of the speeches and the capacity for representative claim-making. I assigned each speech a year value, to be able to account for different general circumstances, for example the difference between 1990 and 2020. Further, I hypothesis that each speech can only contain a certain number of elements, one of which can be representative claims (on behalf of women). To first approach this possible saturation rate, I will also control for the speech length in words.

### **Empirical Analysis**

My empirical analysis is preliminary at this point, as I am not working with a random sample, nor a complete dataset. Rather only speeches given in English language, which can cause severe bias due to abilities and willingness of Commissioners to give speeches in English, possibly being an indicator for less liberal and trans-nationalist positions. In other contexts, scholars found conservatives to be less responsive and virtue in their claims to represent women (Celis and Childs 2018). Therefore, I am not going to interpret the causal effects found by my analysis, as they are not generalizable at this point, but rather present them as patterns and further puzzles for later versions of this study.

To test my first hypothesis on the likelihood of claims being made by European Commissioners based on the topics they address in their speeches, three simple logistic regression with controls being added consecutively did not yield effects beyond the 0.05 significance levels. However, many effect were close to this level of significance (see Table 1). Noteworthy are the different

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In later versions of this study this simplification will be replaced by more adequate models and interacting terms.

directions based on policy issues. The attention in speeches assigned to the inter-institutional balance (institutions 18) has a negative effect on the likelihood of representative claims on behalf of women are being made in these speeches, this effect seems to be time dependent. Especially noteworthy are the small negative effects of the hard politics issues internet, market, transport, and economy across all three models. On soft politics, the effects are positive and larger, yet do not reach significance either.

Table 1: Logistic Regression on Representative Claims in Speech (Y/N)

	Mod	lel 1	Mod	lel 2	Mod	lel 3
(Intercept)	-0.064	(0.036)	-0.171	(0.036)	6.646	(1.324)
social	1.200	(0.054)	1.188	(0.053)	1.212	(0.053)
debate	-0.145	(0.077)	-0.086	(0.076)	-0.100	(0.076)
finance	0.070	(0.053)	0.071	(0.053)	0.112	(0.053)
eduwom	1.257	(0.058)	1.341	(0.057)	1.371	(0.057)
development	0.453	(0.061)	0.535	(0.060)	0.557	(0.060)
polity	0.530	(0.057)	0.395	(0.057)	0.411	(0.057)
crisis	-0.146	(0.063)	-0.080	(0.062)	0.036	(0.066)
parlprop	0.093	(0.058)	0.137	(0.057)	0.154	(0.057)
trade	-0.002	(0.067)	-0.027	(0.066)	-0.031	(0.066)
policy	0.196	(0.079)	0.120	(0.078)	0.111	(0.078)
environment	-0.015	(0.054)	0.032	(0.054)	0.075	(0.054)
enlargement	0.020	(0.051)	0.080	(0.050)	0.109	(0.050)
people	0.869	(0.076)	0.801	(0.075)	0.889	(0.077)
industry	0.147	(0.053)	0.147	(0.052)	0.189	(0.053)
economy	-0.082	(0.065)	-0.147	(0.064)	-0.126	(0.064)
cohesion	0.038	(0.060)	0.041	(0.059)	0.064	(0.060)
institutions	-0.123	(0.063)	0.123	(0.064)	0.197	(0.065)
transport	-0.099	(0.060)	-0.052	(0.059)	-0.033	(0.059)
market	-0.053	(0.066)	-0.041	(0.065)	-0.025	(0.065)
competition	0.104	(0.054)	0.042	(0.053)	0.071	(0.054)
law	0.301	(0.053)	0.339	(0.052)	0.409	(0.054)
peace	0.559	(0.054)	0.617	(0.054)	0.637	(0.054)
community	0.154	(0.073)	-0.137	(0.074)	-0.344	(0.085)
internet	-0.054	(0.053)	-0.034	(0.053)	-0.008	(0.053)
energy	-0.041	(0.051)	-0.030	(0.051)	0.017	(0.051)
health	0.159	(0.056)	0.203	(0.056)	0.226	(0.056)
euro	0.130	(0.053)	0.094	(0.053)	0.104	(0.053)
length			0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)
yearn					-0.003	(0.001)
N		11,906		11,906		11,906
$\mathbb{R}^2$		0.174		0.194		0.196

As the effects follow largely the expected values, but do not reach sufficient levels of significance, I am adopting H1. Apparently, the European Commission does reflect on its own approach to make the interest of women a cross-cutting issue in its policies and makes women visible by issuing representative claims largely independently from the issues addressed. Revisiting Figure 1, the level-jump in percentages of speeches in the dataset, which contain at least one representative claim falls in line with the preparation and the introduction of the commissions gender-mainstreaming approach in 1996.

The number of representative claims on behalf of women in these speeches however does vary as described. To approach possible explanations of the intensity of which Commissioners address the interest of women by issuing representative claims, I conducted a second set of analyses. Using a Poisson regression with robust standard errors to address heteroscedasticity over time, I transposed the models to the count variable. Contrary to the linear logistic model, the found effects for hard- and soft-politics were confirmed and reached statistical significance this time.

Table 2: Poisson Regression – Number of Representative Claims in Speeches

	Mode	el 1	Mode	el 2	Mode	el 3
(Intercept)	-1.75822	***	-2.298	***	3.233	***
social	5.14984	***	4.961	***	5.130	***
debate	-4.89805	***	-4.394	***	-4.918	***
finance	-0.09977		0,907		1.284	
eduwom	9.23052	***	9.433	***	9.853	***
development	1.83288	***	2.087	***	2.357	***
polity	-0.13208		-2.751	*	-2.194	*
crisis	-8.10246	***	-7.971	***	-5.043	***
parlprop	2.86528	***	2.836	***	3.000	***
trade	-3.41515	***	-3.522	***	-3.956	***
policy	1.36586	***	1.024	**	2.424	
environment	-0.03792		0,792		2.750	*
enlargement	-0.25382		0.212		1.215	
people	6.95340	***	6.556	***	7.285	***
industry	0.52994		0,975		3.209	**
economy	-3.73472	***	-4.400	***	-4.057	***
cohesion	-0.71498		-2.254		1.582	
agriculture	NA		NA		NA	
institutions	-0.27009		1.007	**	2.094	***
transport	-17.27996	***	-0.475	***	0.510	***
market	-0.46272		-1.497		-1.557	
competition	-0.45851		-2.316		-1.062	
law	3.10468	***	3.160	***	3.862	***
peace	4.16974	***	4.319	***	4.492	***
community	0.60646		-1.792	***	-5.250	***
internet	-4.41901	***	-4.081		-3.683	***
energy	-1.63673	***	-1.410		2.516	
health	0.69737	*	3.319	**	1.216	***
euro	1.05978	**	2.409	*	2.108	
length			0.056	***	0.054	***
yearn					0.644	***
N		11,906		11,906		11,906
		24413		23948		23634

An increase in attention within speeches towards women's issues and education (eduwom 4) as well as the labour market (social 1) has the largest positive effect on the number of representative claims on the behalf of women being made by European Commissioners. This also falls in line with the substance of the gender equality narrative of the European Union, which is centred around advance in the labour-market regulation, access, and discrimination, and the expectations from the hard- vs. soft-politics cleavage. The largest negative effects were found for attention devoted to transportation, finance, and the crises of the European Union.

This might be an indicator, that women's interest are made visible in all policy field, but are not key priorities for the European Commission, when addressing hard-policy issues and crisis-politics. Given that the European Union is in a poly-crisis and that these moments of uncertainty and pressure are seen to bare special importance to the integration dynamics, these finding might be an indicator for deepening structural discrimination at the heart of the Union.

#### Conclusion

With these preliminary findings, this study makes way for more in-depth analysis of the representative claim-making of the European Commission on behalf of women: First, the analyses need to be redone with the completed dataset. Second, the statistical models need to better account for time dependencies and the interdependent distribution of topics within speeches, as well as to narrow down the context of claims to neighbouring sentences. Third, the analyses need to be widened to the Commissioner level to control for biographical predictors of claim-making.

Nevertheless, I can describe representative claim-making patterns in one of the EU's main-institutions with this large-n representative-claim analysis of the European Commission. The European Commission does use representative claims regularly to make different groups' interests visible in the context of EU policy-making, and (to a lesser extent) in the debates around the European Union's polity. Given its disputed role in the political system confronted with rising demands for politization by engaged citizen (van Middelaar 2021) and growing frustration with shortcomings in the degree of representation in the Union's globalised system (Schäfer and Zürn 2021), the European Commission is thus contributing to the limited representativeness of European politics.

The representation of women in this male-dominated system is from special importance for the functioning and quality of the European democracy. The European Commission has followed its own gender mainstreaming approach and implemented representative claims in speeches on all policy areas, to varying degrees. The likelihood of claim-making on behalf of women in a speech does not change with the distribution of topics in the speeches, however, the number of claims made differs significantly based on this distribution.

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# ANNEX A

Figure 1: LDA Topic Model Metrics for No. of Topics

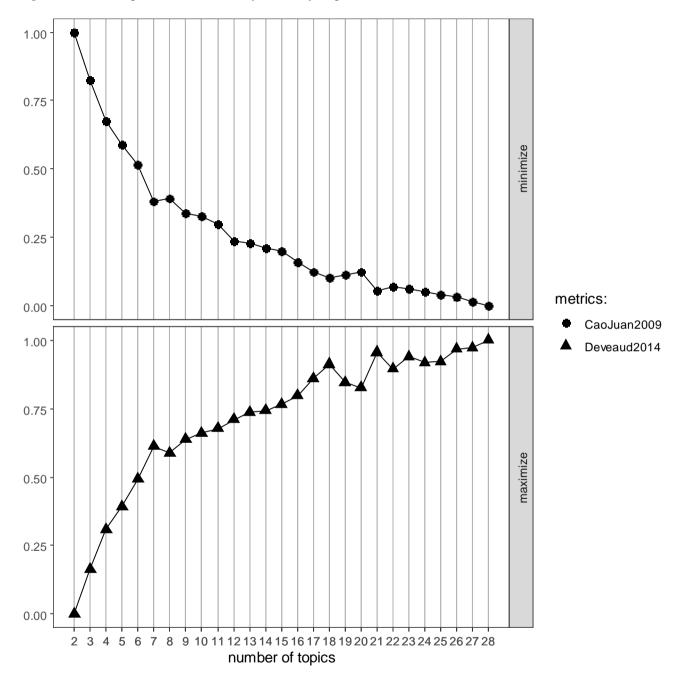


Table 1: 28 Topics and 10 most frequent word-stems in topic

	Social 1	Debate 2	Finance 3	Eduwom 4	Development 5	Polity 6
1	social	issu	financi	educ	develop	european
2	employ	discuss	bank	european	countri	europ
3	peopl	work	market	women	cooper	union
4	job	commiss	capit	cultur	partner	polit
5	labour	debat	fund	peopl	partnership	institut
6	work	paper	risk	societi	region	nation
7	european	organis	invest	learn	support	state
8	econom	inform	system	equal	africa	treati
9	worker	confer	investor	year	societi	citizen
10	unemploy	public	regul	train	commit	world
		•	S			
	Crisis	Parlprop	Trade	Policy	Environment	Enlarge
	7	8	9	10	11	12 ຶ
1	crisi	commiss	trade	polici	environment	countri
2	state	propos	countri	action	sustain	enlarg
3	member	member	negoti	strategi	maritim	reform
4	tax	state	develop	develop	resourc	european
5	growth	parliament	agreement	commiss	environ	union
6	reform	report	wto	area	sea	access
7	invest	council	round	implement	polici	process
8	european	legisl	export	object	water	negoti
9	europ	adopt	access	key	fisheri	turkey
10	propos	direct	market	prioriti	fish	polit
	People	Industry	<b>Economy</b>	Cohesion	Agriculture	Institutions
	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	make	research	global	region	agricultur	european
2	peopl	innov	world	polici	product	presid
3	work	europ	econom	fund	rural	commiss
4	time	european	europ	develop	farmer	council
5	year	industri	economi	local	polici	minist
6	chang	technolog	china	cohes	reform	union
7	thing	programm	trade	programm	develop	work
8	europ	invest	invest	project	market	import
9	good	busi	intern	european	support	discuss
10	-	fund	open	citi	farm	agreement

	Transport	Market	Competition	Law	Peace	Communities
	19	20	21	22	23	24
1	transport	market	competit	protect	secur	communiti
2	european	consum	market	right	intern	state
3	road	busi	case	law	support	member
4	system	singl	commiss	state	human	polici
5	industri	servic	aid	member	peac	problem
6	air	compani	state	data	humanitarian	intern
7	infrastructur	european	rule	secur	conflict	develop
8	car	competit	compani	european	peopl	countri
9	servic	regul	author	legal	assist	question
10	europ	direct	enforc	citizen	right	area

	Internet 25	Energy 26	Health 27	Euro 28
1	servic	energi	health	euro
2	digit	climat	food	econom
3	internet	chang	safeti	growth
4	inform	renew	product	countri
5	technolog	emiss	risk	rate
6	network	gas	public	year
7	access	suppli	european	area
8	europ	effici	consum	stabil
9	public	global	inform	monetari
10	sector	secur	import	market

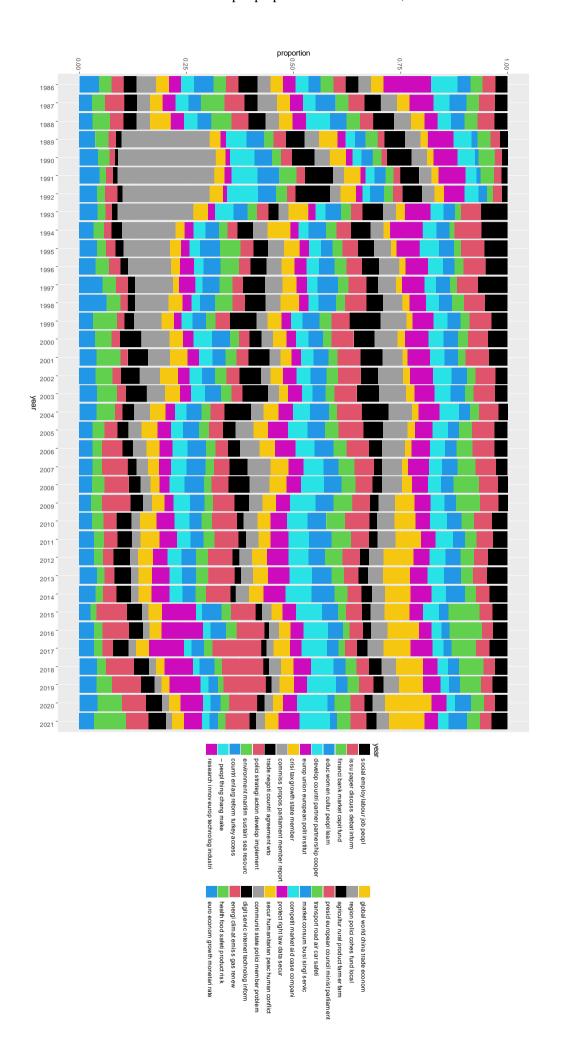


Table 2:Expected effects of policy issues on the making of representative claims on behalf of women, based on Krook and O'Brien 2012

Social 1	Debate 2			Development 5	Polity 6
	Neutral ()	_			-
7	Parlprop 8 Neutral ( )	9	10	11	12
13	Industry 14 Negative (-)	15	16	17	18
19	Market 20 Positive (+) <sup>5</sup>	21	22	23	24
25	Energy 26 Neutral ( )	27	28		

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Here I deviate from Krook and O'Brien (2012), because of the dominating gender equality narrative of the European Union, which is formed around labour and market-access.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Here I deviate from Krook and O'Brien (2012), because of the dominating gender equality narrative of the European Union, which is formed around labour and market-access.