

# **Are you talking to me? Political dialogue in the media**

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## **ABSTRACT:**

Do politicians talk to each other or talk past each other? In the last few years there has been renewed interest in the strategic thinking that drive politicians to engage in political dialogue with peers from a different political color. Most of this research, however, has been limited to understanding political dialogue in the campaign trail or in Congress. The dynamics of daily political dialogue in the written media, by contrast, have received limited attention. This research explores the dynamics of political dialogue through a statistical analysis of op-ed articles written by over 400 politicians in Venezuela. Using more than 6,000 articles published in the Venezuelan media in 2004, I analyze the degree to which politicians engage in political dialogue.

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Do politicians talk *to each other* or talk *past each other*? In the last few years there has been renewed interest in the strategic thinking that drives politicians to engage in political dialogue with peers from a different political color. Most of this research, however, has been limited to understanding political dialogue in the campaign trail or in Congress. The dynamics of daily political dialogue in the written media, by contrast, have received limited attention. This research aims to explain the dynamics of routine political dialogue and to explore the degree to which issue salience and issue ownership shape the decision to engage their peers through op-ed articles in Venezuela's main media outlets.

The implications of this study are of both normative and theoretical importance. From a normative perspective, politicians that engage each other inform the decision making process of citizens to a much larger degree than the selective disclosure of information on issues own by actors of only one political faction. Dialogue signals voters that issues are subject to capture and interpretation, facilitates the flow of information, and enhances the visibility of issues important to voters. At a more theoretical level, the issue of why politicians would ever engage in dialogue is very problematic. Prior research, for example, has argued that rational politicians should only talk on issues that will provide them with some electoral benefits. Therefore, a politician that is at a disadvantage on an issue should neither initiate nor respond to discourses that increase the salience of those issues. Politicians, therefore, should *never talk to each other*. As this research shows, however, politicians do engage in political dialogue, providing voters with competing cues and interpretations of the political process.

The organization of this paper is the following: in the next section I present two contrasting views of political dialogue that dominate the current literature. I highlight the different theoretical implications of the literatures that emphasize issue salience or issue

ownership when explaining dialogue. In the third section, I provide a brief overview of Venezuela's current political environment, highlighting the increasing polarization that characterizes government and opposition political actors. Venezuela is a particularly promising case to explore political dialogue, given that parties' ideological polarization has enhanced the sensitivity of voters to political discourses and increase the level of activity of political actors in the written media. In the fourth section I describe a unique dataset that will allow me to track political dialogue for over twenty issues and four hundred political actors. The results highlight interesting asymmetries in political dialogue, where the different parties are selective about the issues chosen to engage in political dialogue.

## 1. Dialogue

Normatively speaking, dialogue is considered an essential ingredient of the democratic process.<sup>1</sup> Dialogue amongst political opponents, in particular, relays information that enhances democratic accountability. At the center of the responsible *party government model*, for example, we have politicians that not only need to communicate consistent ideological messages to voters but that, more importantly, inform voters about the ideological location of issues and policies. Of particular importance in the literature has been to understand political dialogue in campaigns, where prior perceptions of issue ownership and salience are juggled by politicians that strive to be (re)elected to office (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994; Kaplan et al. 2005; Kelley 1960; Petrocik 1996; Sides 2006; Simon 2002). To a lesser degree, political dialogue has also been

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<sup>1</sup> Procedural definitions of democracy include among its many necessary characteristics freedom of speech and freedom of information (Rueschemeyer et al. 1992); both of which allow for the free exchange of ideas amongst the people. These discussions will eventually lead to rational decision making which in itself is considered essential to democracy (Bessette 1994; Page 1996). Political dialogue amongst opposing groups bases its premises on these exchanges and aids those listening in making rational political decisions. In essence, the existence of political dialogue is necessary for democracy.

studied in regards to Congress, emphasizing mc's strategic talk to get re-elected (Mayhew 1974) or the evolution of topic discussion in the legislative chambers (Quinn et al. 2007). Political dialogue in the media, however, has not received enough attention. It is in the arena of the mass media, I argue, where theories of political dialogue can be most effectively tested.

Let me begin with a simple working definition of political dialogue: First, political dialogue requires for an individual to publicly communicate its policy preferences in response to a prior message by a politician from a different political color (Government-Opposition; Republican-Democrat; Left-Right; Extreme Right-Right; etc). Second, dialogue only exists if the response communicates ideological positions on the same issue or issues.

The presumption that at least two individuals engage each other should require very little justification. Political dialogue is important not because it relays information to voters but because it is done with the purposeful intention of providing an alternative interpretation. Different political color, on the other hand, indicates that the two individuals in dialogue are not reinforcing the same message. Therefore, politicians of the same political color are not considered to be in dialogue since it is assumed they hold similar views on issues and are just finding new ways of communicating the same position or attempting to set the agenda.

Second, for politicians to engage in dialogue requires that they talk on the same issue or issues rather than attempting to increase the visibility of issues not raised by their opponent. Politicians that talk to each other, therefore, are politicians that talk in response to a prior message and discuss the same issue or issues. Politicians that respond to a previous message from a political opponent but do not engage on the same issue are presumed to talk past each other and, therefore, not to engage in dialogue. The nature of this issues is a central concern and, it is

my presumption here, that the topic needs to be policy related or relate to political institutions and or mechanisms (Kaplan et al. 2005) i.e. courts, parliament, elections, etc.

For methodological reasons, I will add a third component to my definition of dialogue: dialogue will also be modeled as a continuous, iterative, and interactive process (Simon 2002), where positions expressed by an individual A increase the likelihood of response on that issue by an individual B. Dialogues continue if the probability of individual A addressing that issue increases in response to B's response. Dialogue, as shown in Figure 1, may be continuously observed for long periods of time, observed over a limited period of time, or it may not exist at all. In the modeling strategy proposed ahead, dialogue is therefore open to response by an actor B until this actor decides to speak on this or any other topic. This dynamic property of dialogue needs to be represented in the theoretical and methodological mechanisms used for the analysis.

[Figure 1 About here]

As already indicated, prior analyses of political dialogue have focused on legislative speeches (Mayhew 1974; Quinn et al. 2007), or the dynamics of the campaign trail (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994; Kaplan et al. 2005; Kelley 1960; Petrocik 1996; Sides 2006; Simon 2002). However, these focuses ignore the continuous, or routine, debate that takes place in the media between political actors. The purposeful dismissal of debate outside of the legislature or the campaign trail is justified in the immediateness of the evaluations of results. Campaigns have a clear ending and a clear winner the days the votes are cast. Legislatures have also a clear time frame and a clear outcome with regards to debate. On the contrary, daily dialogue in the media does not have this immediateness of results. Instead, it provides useful

information and gives us insight into what political elites are saying outside the institutional features of the state, and how they are interacting with each other. This dialogue, which could very well be just like that of the campaign trail, or like that in the legislature, sets the pace of the divergent interactions between the actors of the system.

Given the unrestricted number of political actors that exist in democracies, of particular interest to this study is who is ‘talking’ with whom, and on what issue or issues are they doing so. These interactions give insight into what issues are raised between same constituency competitors and also between different constituency competitors. For instance, two leftist actors could discuss social expenditures, while at the same time one of these actors is dialoguing with another actor on the right regarding taxes.

## **2. Why should politicians engage in dialogue?**

There are currently two competing frameworks explaining political dialogue among political actors: the issue dominance and the issue salience theories. In the first framework, there is a theoretical presumption that politicians will only talk about issues they dominate or that nobody dominates (Budge and Farlie 1983; Petrocik 1996; Riker 1986). Domination of an issue, in turn, comes either from expertise in that particular area or from the identification or attachment to a particular constituency convinced about the higher performance of a politician on a given area (Petrocik 1996). Because a politician that does not dominate an issue sees no gain in spending time and resources for no electoral gain, politicians from different political colors specialize in different issues and talk past each other. Therefore, under the issue dominance framework, we should only find dialogue on issues in which no one has an advantage (dispersed issues). For example, democrats should presumably avoid issues of defense and crime while

republicans should not talk about health and education. There is plenty of evidence, however, that parties talk to each other on issues which are *prima facie* dominated.

To answer this question, Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1994) propose an alternative framework based on issue salience. Their theory, ‘riding the wave’, proposes that when issues are high in the priority list of citizens candidate will engage in dialogue. Issues that lack salience, on the other hand, will not foster dialogue among political actors. Candidates, within this theoretical framework, are motivated “to appear responsive to the public’s concerns...salient issues are likely to motivate voter decision making, and a party that has not made an effort to speak to that issue may be perceived as indifferent” (Sides 2006 412) .

Although both theoretical frameworks are logically consistent, they have divergent theoretical expectations. The evidence in support of each approach, moreover, has been limited both in terms of the number of issues analyzed and the time frame explored.

In testing the competing claims of issue dominance and issue salience, I also provide a richer political environment in which politicians address multiple issues in each speech and engage each other with a different probability  $p$ . Using the flow of op-ed articles written over the course of a year in major news media en Venezuela, I provide evidence of significant political dialogue which increases with the salience of the issues and is more restricted by dominance. I model the type of strategic interactions that facilitate these two different incentives. The result of this research is to show that politicians are both responsive to the public and sensitive to the strategy of their opponents.

### **3. Case Selection, Data and Model**

#### Case Selection

Once considered an exemplary democracy, Venezuela has become since the mid 1990's a case study of how static institutions can imperil the democratic experiment.

Having had a legitimacy crisis due to the failure of the system to adapt to the demands of citizenry, political elites tried unsuccessfully to repair the damage done to the institutions of the state by the 1989 popular revolt and the 1992 failed coups. These events triggered a discontent with the state of affairs that reached its climax in 1998 with the election of Hugo Chavez to the presidency (Alvarez 2003; Ellner 2003; Hellinger 2003). Since then, successions of events have altered the traditional institutions of society, the groups holding power, and the level of societal polarization (Maya 2006; Roberts 2003).

Through these changes the institutions of the state, namely the legislature, have shifted from having a highly divided representation of the different sectors of the country in 1999 to having a completely pro-government body after the withdrawal of opposition actors from the legislative elections in 2005.

These institutional adjustments and representative changes, such as the shifting pattern of opposition representation in the legislative body and other institutions; the discrediting of the party system as agents of representation (Molina and Alvarez 2004; Roberts 2003); and, the emergence of the media as new representatives of society (Diaz Rangel 2007), have left the media as the only arena where opposition actors can communicate with broad sectors of society and with the institutions of the state.

These changes in Venezuela and their effects on extra-governmental actors, exemplifies an extreme case of why we need to understand daily political dialogue both inside and outside the institutions of the state.

### Data

The building blocks for the data this study will look at are the opinion articles written in Venezuela during 2004. The articles come from the three most important newspapers of national circulation: *El Universal*, *El Nacional* and *Ultimas Noticias*. Key in these articles is their authoring by active politicians. Because of the large size of the dataset (more than 6,000 articles) these articles will be processed through automated mechanisms of analysis to obtain the different pieces of information necessary for this study. These mechanisms will be grouped in two sets, first, a content analysis, and second, an ideal point estimation. After these processes are executed the dependent and independent variables can be created.

- Word-Count Matrix

Before the Content Analysis and the Ideal Point Estimation processes can be executed the data needs to be taken from its raw form (articles) into a manageable dataset. To do so the texts are parsed by using Perl into a word count matrix. The parser reads every article from a text file and obtains all the words, and then for each it creates a count of the number of times the word was mentioned in the article<sup>2</sup>. Finally, the parser also returns information about the article such as its author, the date of publication, and the source where it was published.

Because the few mentioning of certain words adds noises in the analysis, since it doesn't allow for appropriate comparisons between units of analysis a second step consisting of deleting unnecessary words was done. In this stage all the words that were absent from 0.05% of the articles were deleted. By doing so the number of words in the analysis diminishes from 90,708 to 440<sup>3</sup>, leaving the dataset with 990,000 total observations.

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<sup>2</sup> Through this analysis all the words with a length smaller than 3 characters were ignored, so that a wide range of connectors (“y”, “o”) and personal pronouns (“el”, “tu”, “yo”) unnecessary for the analysis were effectively removed.

<sup>3</sup> There were 797 words in more than 0.05% of the articles however 357 of these were deleted for they were meaningless altogether. Some of the words deleted include words such as: cualquier (*any*), tambien (*also*), decir (*say*). The cluster analysis done in latter stages is robust to the exclusion of these words.

- Content Analysis

Once the word count matrix is generated the next step is to construct a measure for the issues being dialogued in the op-eds. Quinn et al. (2007) suggest the appropriateness of using fully automated mechanisms for coding documents, given the nature of the data and the objective of the analysis a clustering algorithm which infers relationships from the data itself is fully appropriate and will be used (Kaufman and Rousseeuw 1990) (Rudra, 2007).

Using the `agnes` algorithm from the `cluster` library in R we were able to observe a highly structured clustering with an agglomerative coefficient of 0.62. The results are further analyzed in two simultaneous steps: (1) determine the number of cluster groups in existence; and (2) find out which words fall into which cluster.

To obtain the number of clusters and simultaneously classify the words into these clusters the natural breaks and hierarchy provided in the results were used. This analysis provided a list of 22 categories which group from 5 to 50 words (the list of categories and a sample of the words from each can be found in Appendix 1); Figure 2 shows how the categories are related to one another.

[Figure 2 About here]

Once the different clusters or topics of dialogue were found, the probability that an article would mention a particular issue was estimated. To do so a measure for the number of words ( $w_i$ ) mentioned in each article for each topic ( $i$ ) was generated and divided over the total number of words in the article.

$$y_i = \frac{w_i}{\sum_{v \in I} w_i}$$

Based on this measure articles can either be clearly assigned to one category or are mixtures of different issues. As a result of this analysis each article has 22 measures which

represent the probability that the article will belong to a given topic. Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics for each issue.

[Table 1 About here]

The last step of the pre-analysis stage consists of generating a measure for each issue by groups of actors. To do so, each actor was identified with one of three contemporaneous political positions of the current Venezuelan elite. Actors could either be Government, Opposition or Neither one, nor the other (Ni-Ni). Table 2 shows the division of actors by group and printed source.

[Table 2 About here]

Finally with this information measures of group discussions were created. First a measure of group speech by day was needed. In it all the words of the different actors for each group were added, per topic, and divided by the total number of words per day group (a process similar to the above mentioned for individual actors). With this information a moving average was created for the mention of each topic by the group in the previous five days. Figure 3 shows the evolution of dialogue on the topic of ‘elections’ during the year in general and for the three groups individually.

[Figure 3 About here]

- Ideal Point Estimation

To finish the construction of the dataset a measure of ideological positioning for the actors was needed beyond the threefold classification. To do so, the same dataset of word counts per actor was used to generate Ideal Point Estimates for each speaker. The only alteration was that for each author the word count went from being per article to being per year since it's believed that actor will maintain a relatively static ideological position within a year. With this

matrix of author-words, an affiliation matrix was created to determine the distances between the different actors. These distances were analyzed using a simple principal component mechanism and its three main estimates were kept and normalized. These measures will serve as control variables for the different authors. Figure 4 shows the results for the Principal Component analysis, where the existence of groups of authors by political affiliation can be identified, yet with some overlapping.

[Figure 4 About here]

### Methods

Once the dataset was concluded it included information about the author (Ideal Point Estimates, group affiliation, and media affiliation), information about the frequency of discussion for each topic by groups, and a measure of issue salience consisting on the probability of a topic being raised the day before. Given this information a linear regression was used to understand the nature of the dialogue. To do so the dataset was divided into 66 individual datasets one for each topic and group, this will allow for an analysis for each topic and group differently identifying the interactions for each individually. The regression followed the formula:

$$y = \alpha + \beta_{GOB} GOB + \beta_{OPO} OPO + \beta_{NINI} NINI + \beta_{IS} salience + \gamma_1 pc1 + \gamma_2 pc2 + \gamma_3 pc3 + \delta media + \varepsilon$$

In this regression the dependent variable  $y$  is the probability of a topic being addressed in a particular article. The main independent variables  $GOB$ ,  $OPO$ , and  $NINI$  are the 5 day moving averages for the probabilities of a topic being raised by actors of the given groups; and  $salience$  is the probability of an issue being raised the day before. Of particular interest in the analysis of the results will be whether the variables, of the two groups to which the actor doesn't belong and the measure for issue salience, are statistically significant and their direction.

The control variables used are the first three components of the Principal Component analysis (*pc1*, *pc2*, *pc3*) and the newspaper where the article was published (*media*). There are no major expectations with these variables except to control for variance across actors.

#### 4. Results

Due to volume of discourse five topics were chosen to be represented in this section, however, the full results can be found in Appendix 3. The five topics chosen were: *Change & Future*, *Corruption*, *Elections*, *Institutions* and *Negotiation*.

As described above, three regressions were run for each topic. In each regression one group of actors was used for the dependent variable. The purpose behind this was to account for the differences across the three groups of actors individually. Each of these regressions is identified by the group chosen. Table 3 shows the results for these five regressions. As it can be seen from a first glimpse different topics indicate different mechanisms at work. Of main interest in analyzing the results is which of the four past mentioned variables are significant and what are the signs of the coefficient.

[Table 3 About Here]

At a first glance Table 3 shows that the issue salience variable is only statistically significant for all the actors in the topics of *Elections* and *Corruption* meaning that the more salient the issue the more actors will talk about it. For the other three topics this measure is not statistically significant, except for Opposition actors talking about *Institutions*, implying that compared to the other two groups (Government and Ni-Ni) the Opposition is more responsive to salience on this issue.

Moving to the analysis of dialogue across the different issues it can be observed how political dialogue is issue dependent, as discussed above. In a topic such as *Corruption* actors are only responding to those of their same color and not engaging in dialogue, and when actors of other affiliation talk on the issue the coefficient is in fact negative. This result shows that corruption cases are not an issue where political actors will like to engage in dialogue with opponents since specially Government and Opposition since they'll be probably attacking each other.

A topic where actors are actually engaging in dialogue, even when controlling for issue salience, is Elections. In this topic is where we actually see more dialogue happening. The Opposition engages when persons from every group discuss the topic and the Ni-Ni talk when either Opposition or Ni-Ni actors talk. Although the Government actors are not engaging in dialogue in this topic they are the most responsive to the salience of the issue.

[Figure 5 About Here]

[Figure 6 About Here]

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the predictions for each of the five topics and each of the three actors. As it can be seen it corroborates the results discussed above. The main findings are that the opposition on three of the five topics replies mainly to itself. While on the last two it switches and one replies to the Ni-Ni and the other one to the Government. On a different note, the government actors reply in two instances to the opposition, in two to the Ni-ni, and in the other one to themselves. Finally, the Ni-Ni reply in most of the cases to the opposition, in one to themselves, and in another one to both the opposition and the government. Figure 7 shows how Issue Salience affects differently actors and issues. It can be seen that the Government seems more responsive to changes in Issue Salience, yet reacting to salience in issues differently.

[Figure 7 About Here]

Overall, the results show varying instances of political dialogue, Appendix 3, shows the results for the regressions for all 22 topics. In these we can find differences across issues. For instance with regards to talking about the *coup d'état*, the more the Government mentions this topic the less the Opposition discusses it, but the more the Ni-Ni talk about it too, only as salience of this topic increases is the Opposition talking; this implies that because the topic clearly benefits the Government, the Opposition actors are ignoring it as much as they can. On *Political Parties* the more the Government speaks or the more salient the issue is the more the Opposition speaks. Understanding the dynamics of these processes is at the core of this project, however as far as the results go so far we can be optimistic to have found differentiated instances of dialogue.

## **5. Discussion and Conclusion**

Both normatively and theoretically political dialogue is important. Theoretically the literature has created opposing expectations as to whether political dialogue should exist or not. This paper explores political dialogue as a dynamic issue dependent process, and finds proofs for these propositions.

As the results discussed above show political actors do engage in dialogue with others. In certain instances this dialogue seems to be continued by all the actors, while in others it doesn't seem to be followed once the issue is responded to at least once. Furthermore, issue salience affects different issues as well as different actors differently. In this sense, this paper provides reasons and proofs that political dialogue is a dynamic process where actors engage in, and ignore, dialogue for various reasons. Further advance in this line of research would require the

development of a formal model for understanding the nature of political dialogue and the strategic decisions political actors make. Furthermore, in a country with such a polarized society it would be interesting to analyze how (or why) this polarization seems to be carrying over to political elites in some issues areas while in others they are dialoguing with each other.

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Table 1. Summary statistics for the Probability of an article being of a certain issue

Topic	GOVERNMENT			NINI			OPPOSITION			ALL		
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max
Change - Future	472	0.105	0.071	0.409	2311	0.114	0.075	0.500	3337	0.108	0.069	0.700
Corruption	472	0.005	0.015	0.129	2311	0.008	0.021	0.500	3337	0.007	0.015	0.200
Elections	472	0.141	0.135	0.667	2311	0.116	0.120	1.000	3337	0.157	0.132	0.667
Institutions	472	0.098	0.082	0.500	2311	0.103	0.077	0.500	3337	0.108	0.076	0.625
Negotiation	472	0.117	0.072	0.379	2311	0.118	0.071	0.583	3337	0.134	0.066	0.571

Table 2. Number and Frequency of Actors by Group and Source

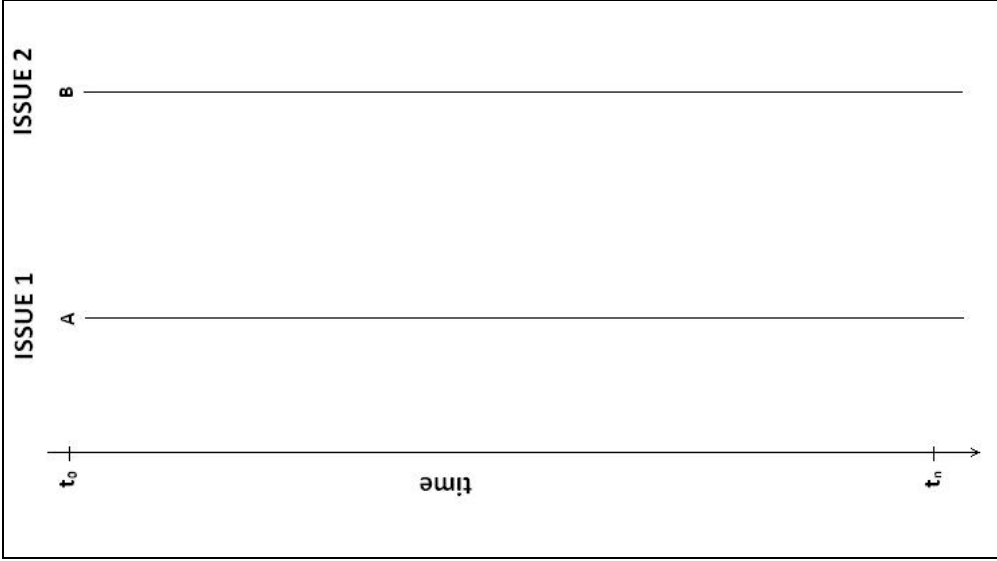
Group	Source			Total
	El Nacional	El Universal	Ultimas Noticias	
GOB	<b>3</b> 3.95	<b>3</b> 2.19	<b>9</b> 42.86	<b>15</b> 6.41
NINI	<b>36</b> 47.37	<b>59</b> 43.07	<b>4</b> 19.05	<b>99</b> 42.31
OPO	<b>37</b> 48.68	<b>75</b> 54.74	<b>8</b> 38.1	<b>120</b> 51.28
Total	<b>76</b> 100	<b>137</b> 100	<b>21</b> 100	<b>234</b> 100

Table 3. Regression Results for 5 Issues

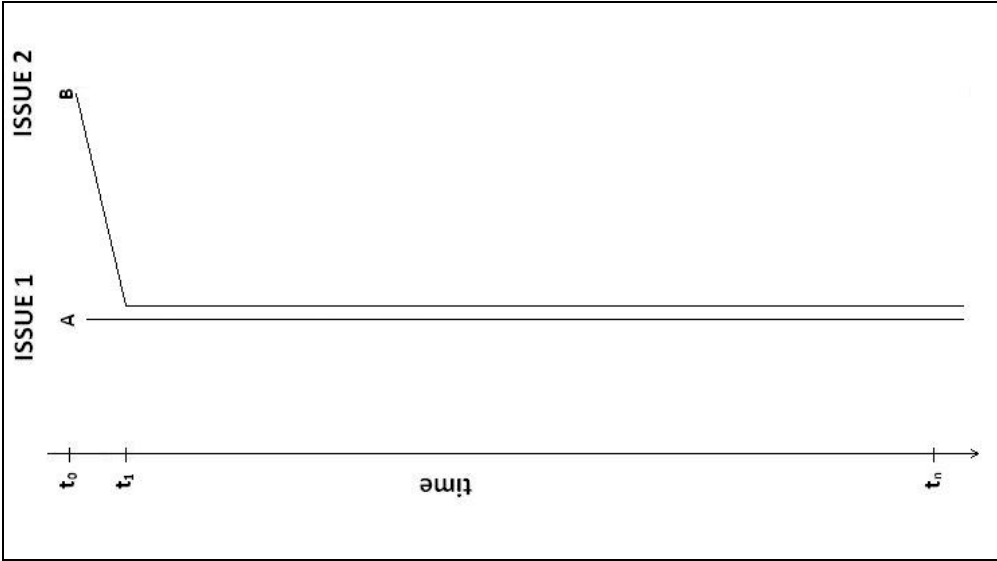
	CHANGE - FUTURE			CORRUPTION			ELECTIONS			INSTITUTIONS			NEGOTIATION		
	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI
Government Spoke <sub>t-1/5</sub>	-0.101 (0.101)	0.042 (0.033)	-0.045 (0.040)	<b>0.252*</b> (0.077)	-0.032 (0.032)	<b>-0.088**</b> (0.041)	0.016 (0.096)	<b>0.057+</b> (0.029)	0.029 (0.029)	0.065 (0.100)	-0.014 (0.033)	<b>0.065**</b> (0.031)	-0.115 (0.109)	0.000 (0.034)	0.037 (0.036)
Opposition Spoke <sub>t-1/5</sub>	0.182 (0.266)	<b>0.240*</b> (0.090)	<b>0.222**</b> (0.110)	0.028 (0.223)	<b>0.288*</b> (0.080)	0.161 (0.104)	-0.018 (0.219)	<b>0.384*</b> (0.069)	<b>0.171**</b> (0.068)	0.142 (0.259)	-0.016 (0.087)	0.112 (0.083)	<b>0.623+</b> (0.326)	0.018 (0.099)	0.081 (0.101)
NINI Spoke <sub>t-1/5</sub>	0.473 (0.354)	0.107 (0.112)	-0.025 (0.129)	<b>-0.350+</b> (0.185)	-0.111 (0.067)	-0.021 (0.087)	0.255 (0.239)	<b>0.177**</b> (0.073)	<b>0.320*</b> (0.068)	-0.017 (0.321)	<b>0.226**</b> (0.109)	0.056 (0.099)	-0.497 (0.322)	-0.014 (0.101)	-0.150 (0.102)
Issue Saliency <sub>t-1</sub>	-0.344 (0.211)	0.067 (0.071)	0.011 (0.085)	<b>0.386**</b> (0.176)	<b>0.299*</b> (0.066)	<b>0.168**</b> (0.084)	<b>0.767*</b> (0.199)	<b>0.155*</b> (0.060)	<b>0.146**</b> (0.057)	-0.014 (0.204)	<b>0.265*</b> (0.069)	0.016 (0.064)	-0.065 (0.249)	0.031 (0.075)	-0.009 (0.075)
Author IPE - PCI	0.109* (0.019)	0.013* (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)	-0.020* (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.052 (0.038)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.002 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.023)	0.062* (0.006)	-0.016* (0.006)	0.018 (0.022)	0.039* (0.005)	0.068* (0.006)
Author IPE - PC2	-0.007 (0.016)	0.033* (0.004)	0.057* (0.005)	0.010* (0.004)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.008 (0.032)	-0.149* (0.008)	-0.137* (0.008)	-0.099* (0.020)	-0.073* (0.005)	-0.036* (0.005)	-0.033+ (0.019)	-0.053* (0.005)	-0.065* (0.005)
Author IPE - PC3	0.048* (0.011)	0.025* (0.004)	0.017* (0.004)	0.002 (0.003)	<b>0.003**</b> (0.001)	0.006* (0.001)	-0.041+ (0.022)	-0.059* (0.008)	-0.046* (0.006)	0.011 (0.014)	-0.014* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.013)	0.012* (0.005)	0.004 (0.004)
Newspaper Source	0.008 (0.006)	-0.008* (0.002)	0.009* (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.011 (0.011)	0.003 (0.004)	-0.006+ (0.003)	-0.008 (0.007)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.011* (0.002)	0.000 (0.006)	-0.006* (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)
Constant	0.095** (0.041)	0.084* (0.013)	0.092* (0.015)	0.003 (0.003)	0.005* (0.001)	0.006* (0.001)	-0.061+ (0.034)	-0.017 (0.010)	0.021** (0.009)	0.099** (0.040)	0.041* (0.014)	0.092* (0.012)	0.123** (0.055)	0.131* (0.017)	0.132* (0.016)
Observations	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853
R-squared	0.250	0.104	0.142	0.109	0.021	0.022	0.181	0.318	0.307	0.130	0.079	0.093	0.032	0.051	0.060

Standard errors in parentheses

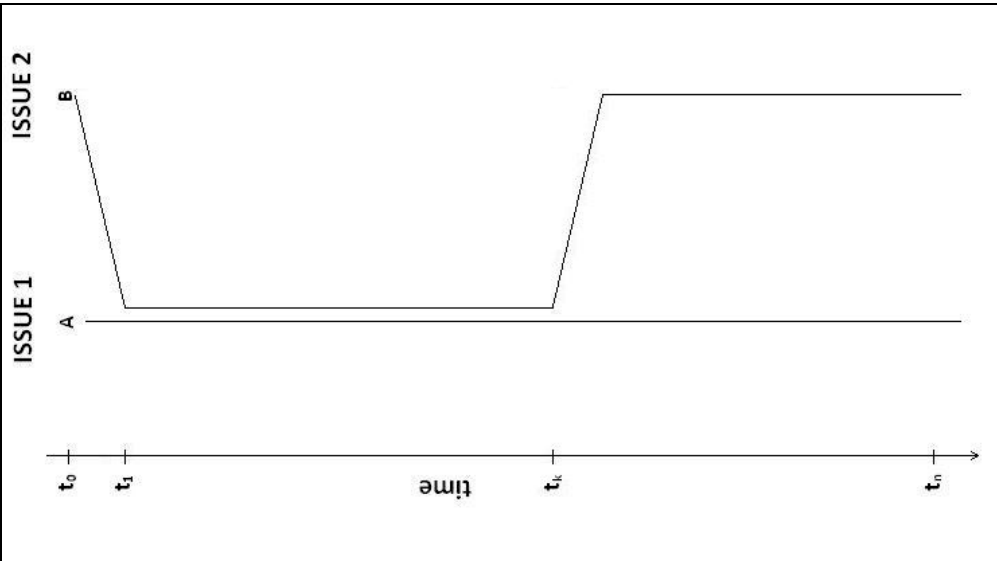
+ significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \* significant at 1%



(a)



(b)



(c)

**Figure 1**  
 (a) Instance of Non-dialogue; (b) Instance of dialogue on issue 1; (c) Instance of Interrupted Dialogue

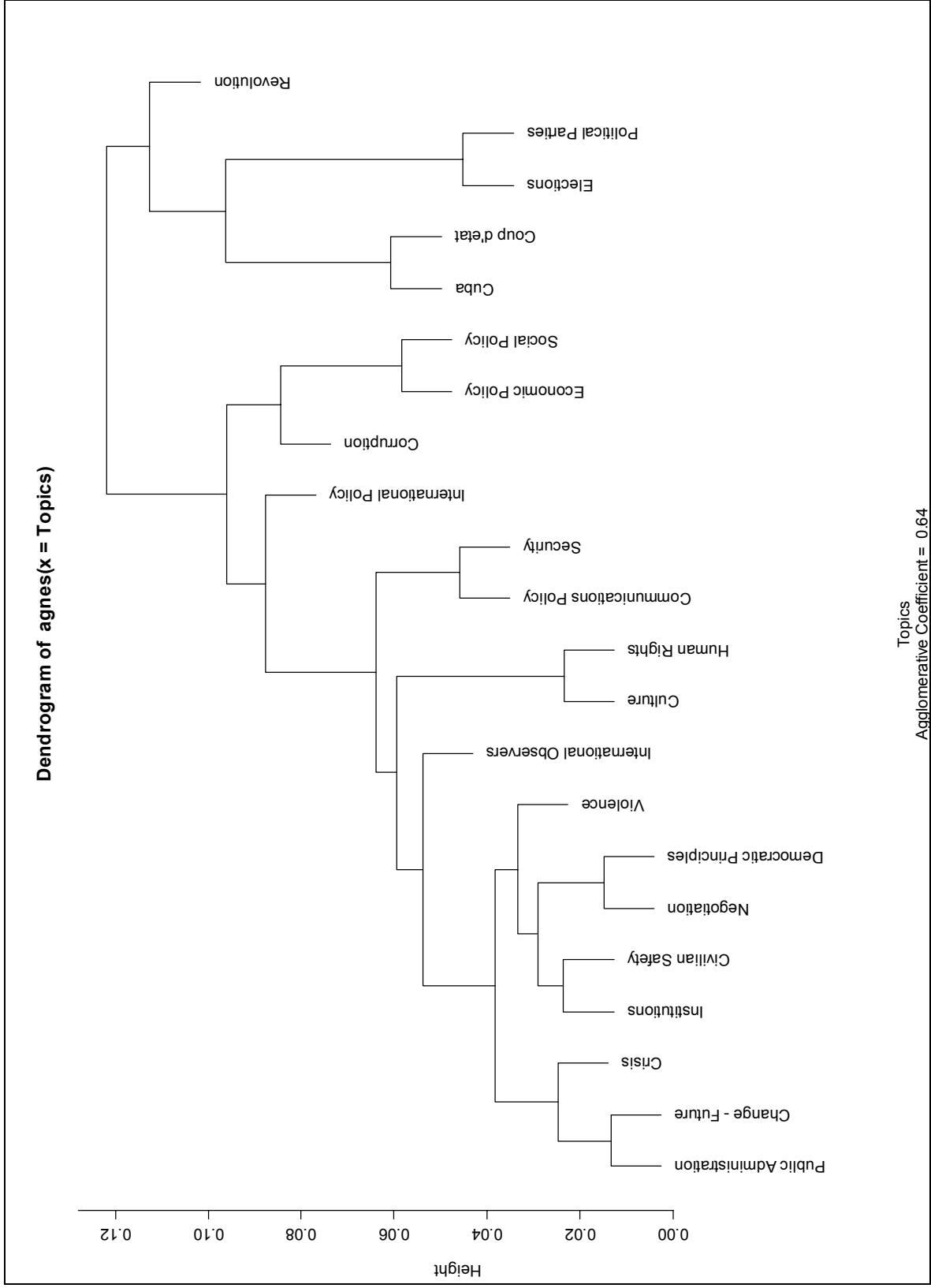
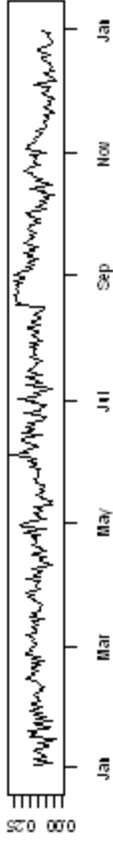


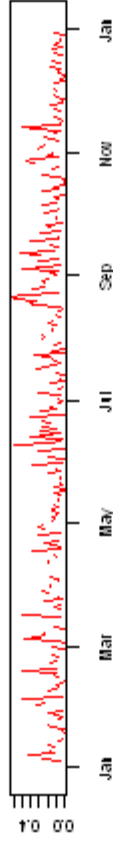
Figure 2. Agglomeration of Topics

# Elections

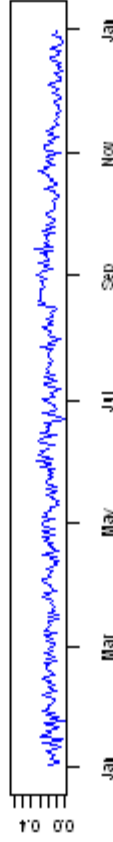
## All Speakers



## Government Speakers



## Opposition Speakers



## Ni-Ni Speakers

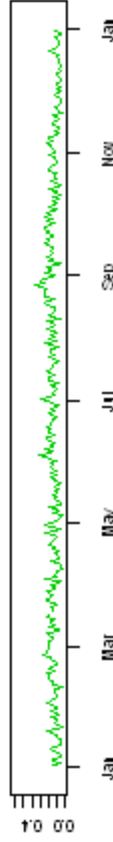


Figure 3. Talking about Elections

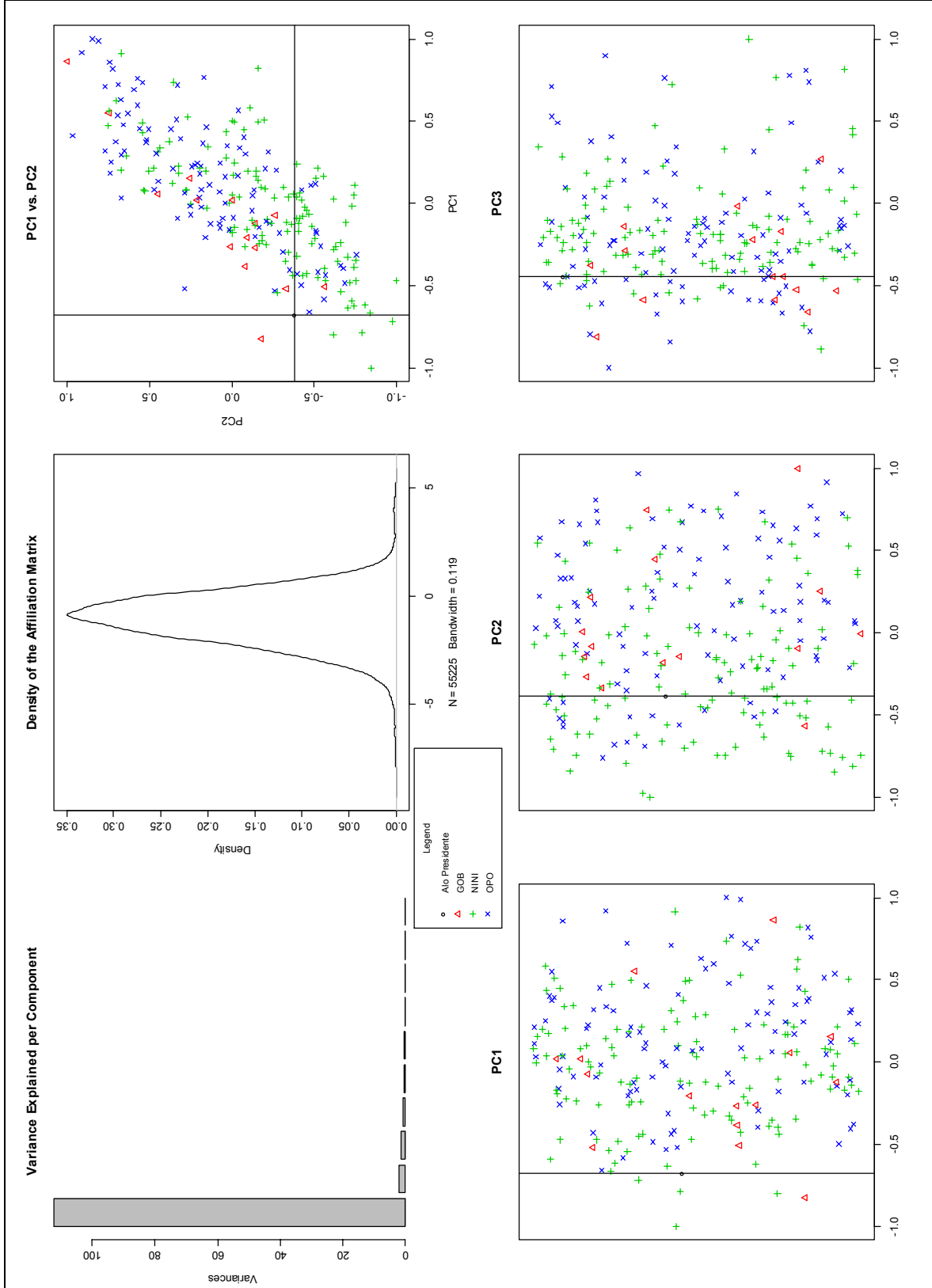


Figure 4. Ideal Point Estimation for Authors

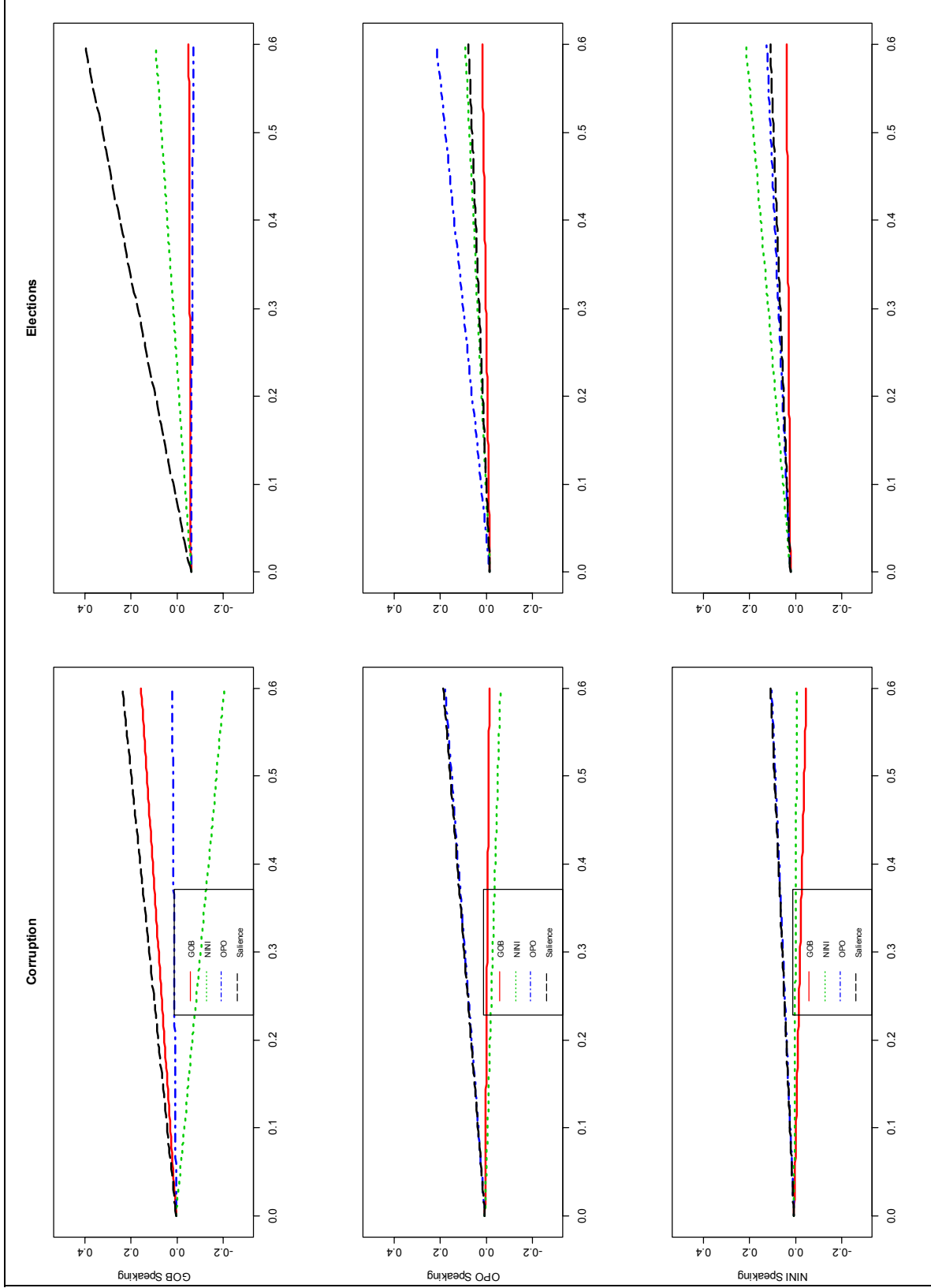


Figure 5. Regression Results for Corruption and Election Issues

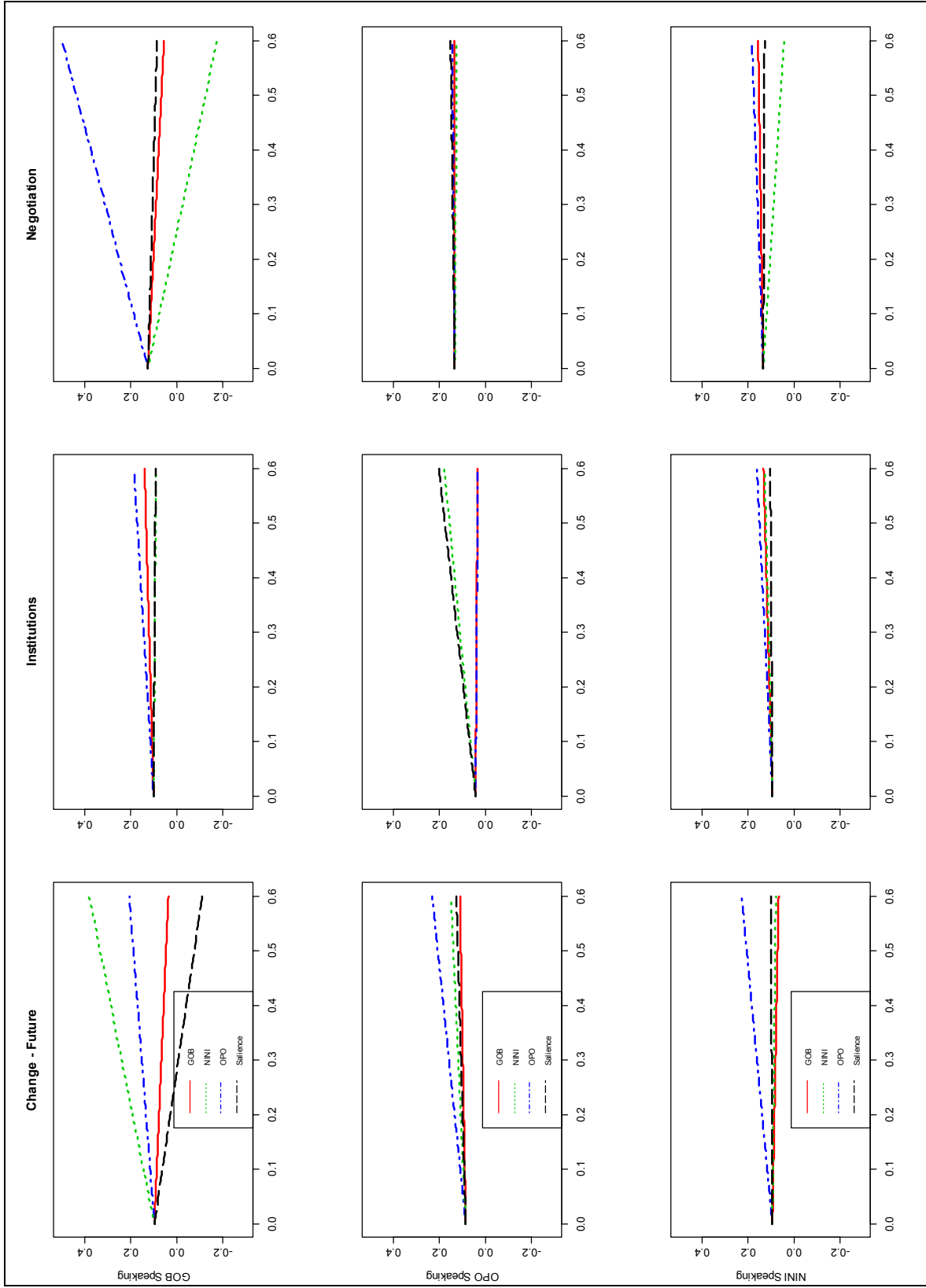


Figure 6. Regression Results for Change-Future, Institutions, and Negotiation Issues

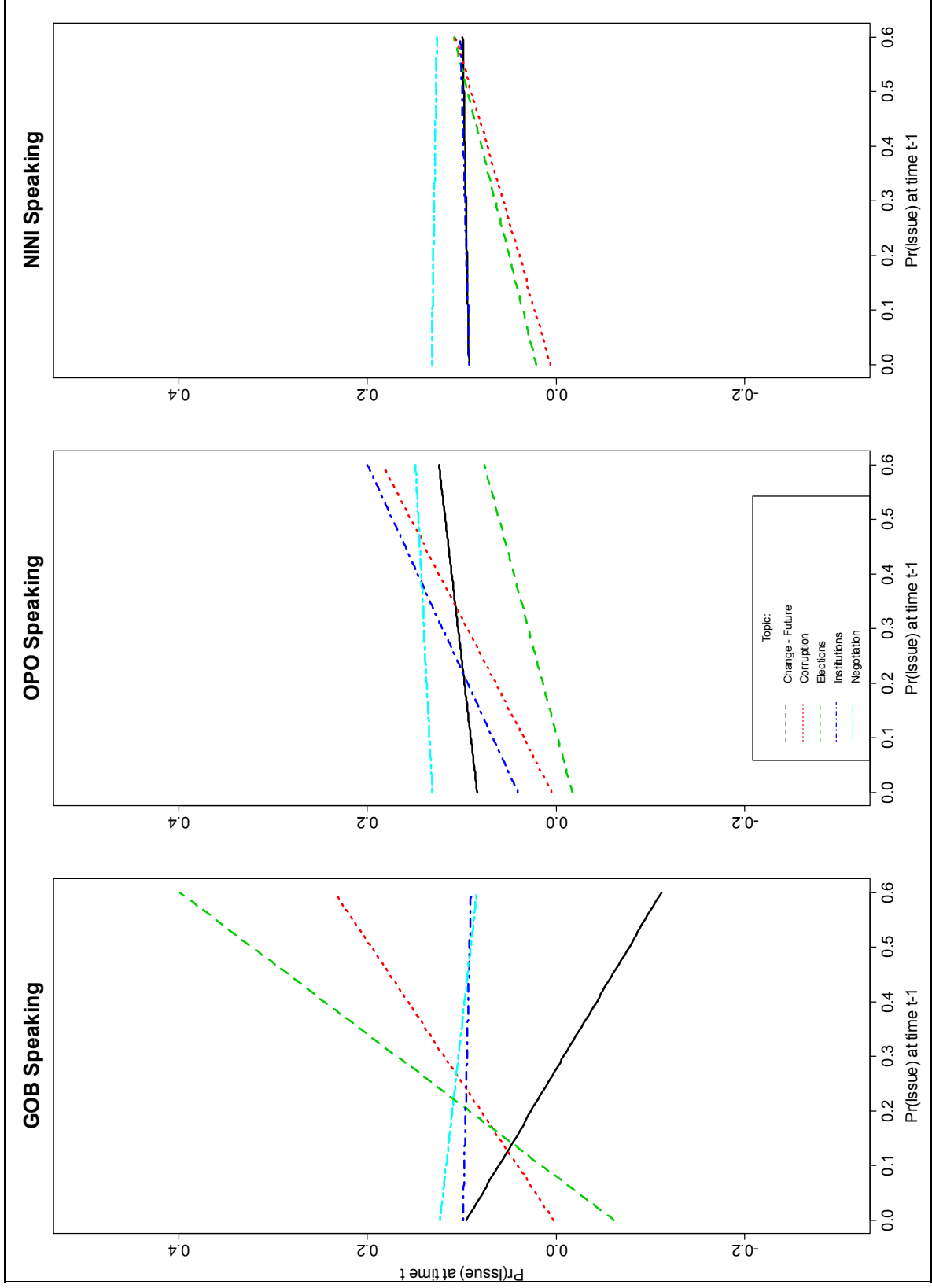


Figure 7. Effect of Issue Salience on Probability of Speaking

## Appendix 1. List of words per Topic

<b>Topic Name</b>	<b># words</b>	<b>List of words</b>
Public Administration	30	<i>administracion, analisis, anterior, compromiso, confianza, control, debate, factores, gestion, institucional, insitituciones, intereses, organizacion, organizaciones, participacion, plazo, politicas, programas, publica, publicas, publico, recursos, require, responsabilidad, sector, sectores, sistema, valores, vision</i>
Change - Future	54	<i>cambio, cambios, caracter, comun, condicion, constituyete, construir, crear, deberia, diferentes, embargo, esfuerzo, especialmente, existe, existen, existencia, falta, fondo, formas, fundamental, futuro, igualmente, importancia, importantes, marco, materia, mayor, mayores, naturaleza, necesario, necesidad, nuevas, nuevos, oportunidades, particular, permanente, poblacion, practica, precisamente, presente, principal, problema, problemas, producto, proyecto, reciente, relacion, respuesta, significa, sociedad, tales, terminos, traves, ultimas</i>
Corruption	4	<i>corrupcion, ejecutivo, fiscal, servicio</i>
Crisis	9	<i>actual, consecuencia, consecuencias, crisis, mantener, medida, riesgo, situacion, suficiente</i>
Cuba	5	<i>castro, dictadura, fidel, izquierda, partido</i>
Culture	18	<i>cultura, espacio, espiritu, experiencia, gracias, grandes, historia, humana, humanidad, humano, ideas, libro, mundo, patria, pensamiento, pueblos, siglo, tierra</i>
Human Rights	26	<i>ambiente, conciencia, cuerpo, derechos, dignidad, encuentra, expresion, familia, hijos, hombre, hombres, humanos, juvenes, libertad, libre, mejores, moral, muerte, mujeres, necesita, ninos, perdido, permite, persona, respeto, vivir</i>
Elections	48	<i>aceptar, agosto, campana, candidato, candidatos, carter, centro, chavez, chavismo, chavista, chavistas, consejo, coordinadora, decision, democratica, derrota, dudas, elecciones, electoral, electorales, fecha, firmas, fraude, ganar, gobernadores, impedir, mandato, oficialismo, oficialista, oposicion, opositores, perder, popular, presidencial, proceso, referendo, referendum, regionales, reparos, resultados, revocatorio, salida, trampa, triunfo, victoria, votar, votos</i>
Coup d'etat	9	<i>abril, carlos, diciembre, febrero, golpe, miraflores, Perez, rangel, vicente</i>
Institutions	31	<i>actos, apoyo, articulo, asamblea, carta, ciudadano, ciudadanos, conflicto, constitucion, constitucional, darle, derecho, ejercicio, espera, gobierno, judicial, justicia, leyes, meses, miembros, nacional, nacionales, periodo, poderes, presidente, pretende, proximo, republica, supremo, tribunal, voluntad</i>
International Observers	7	<i>comunidad, cumplir, internacional, internacionales, mediante, normas, procesos</i>
Negotiation	49	<i>acciones, acuerdo, asumir, camino, condiciones, cuales, deben, decisiones, definitiva, democracia, democratico, dificil, enfrentar, escenario, estrategia, evidente, evitar, facil, favor, final, habra, importante, imposible, juego, lograr, mayoria, objetivo, opinion, oportunidad, partes, podra, politica, politico, politicos, posibilidad, posicion, proposito, pueda, razones, reconocer, regimen, reglas, resultado, seran, simple, solucion, tarea, tendra, tomar</i>
Political Parties	9	<i>direccion, dirigencia, dirigentes, espacios, liderazgo, lideres, lucha, partidos, unidad</i>
Communications Policy	15	<i>autoridades, cargo, comunicacion, declaraciones, diario, funcionarios, informacion, medios, ministro, oficial, oficiales, periodista, prensa, programa, television</i>
Economic Policy	21	<i>capacidad, capital, central, crecimiento, desarrollo, dinero, dolares, economia, economica, empresa, empresas, mercado, millones, modelo, nivel, niveles, pdvsa, petroleo, precios, servicios</i>
International Policy	11	<i>america, decadas, exterior, gobiernos, intereses, latina, mundial, paises, relaciones, unidos, union</i>
Social Policy	11	<i>calidad, clase, creacion, educacion, media, misiones, pobres, pobreza, salud, social, sociales</i>
Democratic Principles	22	<i>actitud, actuar, cambiar, circunstancias, conducta, contar, debemos, defender, error, errores, esperar, inmediato, menor, muestra, numero, principio, principios, propios, prueba, respeto, total, tratar</i>
Revolution	3	<i>bolivariana, revolucion, revolucionario</i>
Security	18	<i>armada, armas, civil, civiles, comandante, defensa, ejercito, fuerza, fuerzas, guerra, hechos, militar, militares, muertos, policia, represion, victimas, violencia</i>
Civilian Safety	15	<i>asunto, asuntos, atencion, casos, cuestion, debido, especial, general, grave, juicio, llamado, nacion, orden, personal, seguridad</i>
Violence	25	<i>amenaza, autor, basta, batalla, busca, buscar, comentario, creen, crear, dicen, discurso, esperanza, fuerte, lider, mensaje, miedo, miles, mision, ocurrido, ocurrido, origen, queren, repetido, siguen, termino</i>

Appendix 2. Summary Statistics for All topics

Topic	GOVERNMENT			NINI			OPPOSITION			ALL		
	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max
Public Administration	472	0.048	0.046	0.259	2311	0.057	0.054	0.409	3337	0.054	0.045	0.304
Change - Future	472	0.105	0.071	0.409	2311	0.114	0.075	0.500	3337	0.108	0.069	0.700
Corruption	472	0.005	0.015	0.129	2311	0.008	0.021	0.500	3337	0.007	0.015	0.200
Crisis	472	0.015	0.023	0.160	2311	0.017	0.025	0.200	3337	0.017	0.022	0.200
Cuba	472	0.010	0.026	0.286	2311	0.008	0.023	0.400	3337	0.009	0.023	0.333
Culture	472	0.051	0.063	0.420	2311	0.056	0.067	0.500	3337	0.045	0.056	0.583
Human Rights	472	0.058	0.069	0.400	2311	0.064	0.070	0.500	3337	0.057	0.065	0.625
Elections	472	0.141	0.135	0.667	2311	0.116	0.120	1.000	3337	0.157	0.132	0.667
Coup d'etat	472	0.028	0.055	0.385	2311	0.018	0.036	0.571	3337	0.013	0.027	0.541
Institutions	472	0.098	0.082	0.500	2311	0.103	0.077	0.500	3337	0.108	0.076	0.625
International Observers	472	0.012	0.022	0.140	2311	0.013	0.024	0.286	3337	0.014	0.022	0.219
Negotiation	472	0.117	0.072	0.379	2311	0.118	0.071	0.583	3337	0.134	0.066	0.571
Political Parties	472	0.021	0.055	1.000	2311	0.013	0.025	0.263	3337	0.018	0.028	0.194
Communications Policy	472	0.044	0.054	0.320	2311	0.030	0.044	0.375	3337	0.024	0.036	0.400
Economic Policy	472	0.043	0.065	0.500	2311	0.056	0.083	1.000	3337	0.042	0.066	0.568
International Policy	472	0.031	0.052	0.314	2311	0.026	0.042	0.407	3337	0.020	0.036	0.344
Social Policy	472	0.026	0.044	0.363	2311	0.026	0.042	0.406	3337	0.022	0.037	0.463
Democratic Principles	472	0.030	0.032	0.189	2311	0.030	0.041	1.000	3337	0.032	0.032	0.300
Revolution	472	0.006	0.020	0.216	2311	0.010	0.022	0.250	3337	0.011	0.023	0.247
Security	472	0.036	0.055	0.432	2311	0.039	0.056	1.000	3337	0.038	0.051	0.464
Civilian Safety	472	0.027	0.031	0.143	2311	0.031	0.036	0.294	3337	0.029	0.030	0.321
Violence	472	0.050	0.052	0.344	2311	0.045	0.053	0.500	3337	0.040	0.043	0.500

Appendix 3. Regression Results

	Public Administration			Change - Future			Corruption			Crisis			Cuba		
	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI
<b>Government Spoke</b>	0.041 (0.106)	0.013 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.041)	-0.101 (0.101)	0.042 (0.033)	-0.045 (0.040)	0.252* (0.077)	-0.032 (0.032)	-0.088** (0.041)	0.060 (0.091)	-0.003 (0.030)	0.013 (0.035)	0.146+ (0.088)	0.028 (0.027)	0.010 (0.029)
<b>Opposition Spoke</b>	0.105 (0.265)	0.243* (0.094)	0.234** (0.106)	0.182 (0.266)	0.240* (0.090)	0.222** (0.110)	0.028 (0.223)	0.288* (0.080)	0.161 (0.104)	0.087 (0.350)	0.073 (0.115)	0.086 (0.138)	0.186 (0.366)	0.152 (0.107)	0.060 (0.109)
<b>NiNi Spoke</b>	-0.031 (0.258)	0.058 (0.088)	-0.008 (0.097)	0.473 (0.354)	0.107 (0.112)	-0.025 (0.129)	-0.350+ (0.185)	-0.111 (0.067)	-0.021 (0.087)	0.688** (0.306)	0.003 (0.100)	0.074 (0.118)	-0.147 (0.394)	0.187 (0.119)	0.097 (0.117)
<b>Issue Salience</b>	0.050 (0.187)	0.106 (0.067)	0.093 (0.076)	-0.344 (0.211)	0.067 (0.071)	0.011 (0.085)	<b>0.386**</b> (0.176)	<b>0.299*</b> (0.066)	<b>0.168**</b> (0.084)	-0.245 (0.254)	-0.003 (0.079)	0.096 (0.093)	-0.124 (0.244)	-0.083 (0.071)	-0.019 (0.074)
<b>Author IPE - PC1</b>	0.020 (0.013)	0.008** (0.003)	0.011* (0.004)	0.109* (0.019)	0.013* (0.005)	0.007 (0.006)	-0.020* (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.007 (0.007)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.010 (0.008)	-0.009* (0.002)	-0.011* (0.002)
<b>Author IPE - PC2</b>	-0.018 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.004)	-0.007 (0.016)	0.033* (0.004)	0.057* (0.005)	0.010* (0.004)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.010+ (0.006)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.004** (0.002)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.004* (0.002)	0.004** (0.002)
<b>Author IPE - PC3</b>	0.039* (0.008)	0.053* (0.003)	0.059* (0.003)	0.048* (0.011)	0.025* (0.004)	0.017* (0.004)	0.002 (0.003)	0.003** (0.001)	0.006* (0.001)	0.007 (0.004)	0.009* (0.001)	0.007* (0.001)	0.001 (0.005)	-0.009* (0.002)	-0.006* (0.001)
<b>Newspaper Source</b>	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.003** (0.001)	-0.004* (0.001)	0.008 (0.006)	-0.008* (0.002)	0.009* (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
<b>Constant</b>	0.066* (0.021)	0.047* (0.007)	0.057* (0.007)	0.095** (0.041)	0.084* (0.013)	0.092* (0.015)	0.003 (0.003)	0.005* (0.001)	0.006* (0.001)	0.012 (0.009)	0.019* (0.003)	0.011* (0.003)	0.004 (0.007)	0.007* (0.002)	0.005** (0.002)
<b>Observations</b>	352	2887	2831	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853
<b>R-squared</b>	0.121	0.104	0.151	0.250	0.104	0.142	0.109	0.021	0.022	0.038	0.016	0.015	0.039	0.025	0.023

Standard errors in parentheses

+ significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \* significant at 1%

	Culture			Human Rights			Elections			Coup d'etat			Institutions		
	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI
<b>Government Spoke</b>	0.100 (0.081)	-0.009 (0.028)	-0.029 (0.032)	0.057 (0.099)	<b>0.060**</b> (0.030)	0.015 (0.032)	0.016 (0.096)	0.057+ (0.029)	0.029 (0.029)	-0.034 (0.088)	-0.023 (0.018)	-0.030 (0.020)	0.065 (0.100)	-0.014 (0.033)	<b>0.065**</b> (0.031)
<b>Opposition Spoke</b>	-0.291 (0.345)	0.144 (0.108)	0.042 (0.122)	0.265 (0.324)	<b>0.391*</b> (0.099)	<b>0.380*</b> (0.104)	-0.018 (0.219)	<b>0.384*</b> (0.069)	<b>0.171**</b> (0.068)	<b>-1.124**</b> (0.546)	0.013 (0.100)	0.049 (0.111)	0.142 (0.259)	-0.016 (0.087)	0.112 (0.083)
<b>NiNi Spoke</b>	0.097 (0.363)	0.134 (0.117)	0.016 (0.133)	-0.312 (0.404)	0.194 (0.121)	-0.067 (0.128)	0.255 (0.239)	<b>0.177**</b> (0.073)	<b>0.320*</b> (0.068)	<b>0.890+</b> (0.512)	<b>0.189+</b> (0.097)	-0.054 (0.111)	-0.017 (0.321)	<b>0.226**</b> (0.109)	0.056 (0.099)
<b>Issue Salience</b>	0.413 (0.255)	0.018 (0.080)	<b>0.188**</b> (0.091)	0.048 (0.282)	<b>0.165**</b> (0.079)	-0.025 (0.084)	<b>0.767*</b> (0.199)	<b>0.155*</b> (0.060)	<b>0.146**</b> (0.057)	0.283 (0.396)	<b>0.156**</b> (0.072)	0.077 (0.080)	-0.014 (0.204)	<b>0.265*</b> (0.069)	0.016 (0.064)
<b>Author IPE - PC1</b>	0.008 (0.017)	-0.012* (0.004)	0.005 (0.005)	0.052** (0.021)	0.026* (0.005)	0.038* (0.005)	-0.052 (0.038)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.002 (0.009)	-0.145* (0.015)	-0.018* (0.002)	-0.034* (0.003)	-0.001 (0.023)	0.062* (0.006)	-0.016* (0.006)
<b>Author IPE - PC2</b>	0.092* (0.015)	0.070* (0.004)	0.050* (0.004)	-0.010 (0.018)	0.040* (0.004)	0.013* (0.005)	0.008 (0.032)	-0.149* (0.008)	-0.137* (0.008)	0.068* (0.013)	0.012* (0.002)	0.013* (0.002)	-0.099* (0.020)	-0.073* (0.005)	-0.036* (0.005)
<b>Author IPE - PC3</b>	-0.042* (0.010)	-0.036* (0.004)	-0.032* (0.003)	-0.075* (0.012)	-0.056* (0.004)	-0.046* (0.004)	-0.041+ (0.022)	-0.059* (0.008)	-0.046* (0.006)	-0.028* (0.009)	-0.016* (0.002)	-0.021* (0.002)	0.011 (0.014)	-0.014* (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)
<b>Newspaper Source</b>	-0.010** (0.005)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.010+ (0.006)	0.004** (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	0.011 (0.011)	0.003 (0.004)	-0.006+ (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.002** (0.001)	0.006* (0.001)	-0.008 (0.007)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.011* (0.002)
<b>Constant</b>	0.049** (0.022)	0.039* (0.006)	0.048* (0.007)	0.068* (0.024)	0.007 (0.007)	0.032* (0.007)	-0.061+ (0.034)	-0.017 (0.010)	0.021** (0.009)	0.005 (0.013)	0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)	0.099** (0.040)	0.041* (0.014)	0.092* (0.012)
<b>Observations</b>	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853
<b>R-squared</b>	0.266	0.215	0.183	0.110	0.188	0.147	0.181	0.318	0.307	0.317	0.057	0.111	0.130	0.079	0.093

Standard errors in parentheses

+ significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \* significant at 1%

	International Observers			Negotiation			Political Parties			Communications Policy		
	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI
<b>Government Spoke</b>	0.051 (0.095)	0.059+ (0.035)	0.078** (0.038)	-0.115 (0.109)	0.000 (0.034)	0.037 (0.036)	-0.021 (0.189)	0.086* (0.031)	0.038 (0.029)	-0.022 (0.095)	0.029 (0.025)	0.037 (0.029)
<b>Opposition Spoke</b>	0.296 (0.247)	0.000 (0.085)	0.030 (0.094)	0.623+ (0.326)	0.018 (0.099)	0.081 (0.101)	-0.258 (0.551)	0.042 (0.089)	0.146+ (0.081)	-0.106 (0.388)	0.086 (0.099)	0.081 (0.116)
<b>NiNi Spoke</b>	-0.113 (0.263)	0.065 (0.093)	-0.201+ (0.103)	-0.497 (0.322)	-0.014 (0.101)	-0.150 (0.102)	0.581 (0.513)	0.022 (0.085)	-0.042 (0.071)	1.593* (0.421)	0.443* (0.107)	0.238+ (0.126)
<b>Issue Salience</b>	0.048 (0.210)	0.110 (0.071)	-0.111 (0.078)	-0.065 (0.249)	0.031 (0.075)	-0.009 (0.075)	0.104 (0.436)	<b>0.167**</b> (0.068)	0.041 (0.062)	-0.057 (0.320)	-0.001 (0.080)	<b>0.243*</b> (0.091)
<b>Author IPE - PC1</b>	-0.005 (0.006)	0.002 (0.002)	0.007* (0.002)	0.018 (0.022)	0.039* (0.005)	0.068* (0.006)	0.024 (0.019)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.014* (0.002)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.026* (0.004)
<b>Author IPE - PC2</b>	0.006 (0.005)	-0.004* (0.001)	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.033+ (0.019)	-0.053* (0.005)	-0.065* (0.005)	-0.047* (0.016)	-0.009* (0.002)	-0.017* (0.002)	0.004 (0.013)	0.006** (0.003)	0.019* (0.003)
<b>Author IPE - PC3</b>	0.008** (0.004)	0.014* (0.002)	0.011* (0.001)	-0.007 (0.013)	0.012* (0.005)	0.004 (0.004)	0.010 (0.011)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.037* (0.009)	-0.018* (0.003)	-0.014* (0.002)
<b>Newspaper Source</b>	0.001 (0.002)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.006)	-0.006* (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.002 (0.005)	0.002* (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	0.010** (0.004)	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
<b>Constant</b>	0.008 (0.006)	0.016* (0.002)	0.020* (0.002)	0.123** (0.055)	0.131* (0.017)	0.132* (0.016)	0.018 (0.014)	0.005** (0.002)	0.006* (0.002)	-0.038* (0.015)	0.003 (0.004)	0.007+ (0.004)
<b>Observations</b>	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853
<b>R-squared</b>	0.029	0.038	0.029	0.032	0.051	0.060	0.039	0.040	0.038	0.183	0.034	0.043

Standard errors in parentheses

+ significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \* significant at 1%

	Economic Policy			International Policy			Social Policy			Democratic Principles		
	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI
<b>Government Spoke</b>	0.011 (0.107)	0.028 (0.033)	0.015 (0.038)	0.122 (0.115)	0.014 (0.028)	0.039 (0.031)	-0.011 (0.104)	0.034 (0.032)	0.056 (0.036)	0.002 (0.104)	-0.053 (0.037)	0.048 (0.046)
<b>Opposition Spoke</b>	0.328 (0.319)	0.140 (0.097)	0.387* (0.118)	0.450 (0.403)	-0.015 (0.106)	0.028 (0.116)	-0.184 (0.304)	0.370* (0.089)	0.203** (0.103)	-0.160 (0.359)	-0.055 (0.127)	0.036 (0.155)
<b>NiNi Spoke</b>	-0.208 (0.263)	0.182** (0.079)	0.062 (0.092)	0.518 (0.361)	0.082 (0.094)	0.184+ (0.109)	0.561 (0.390)	0.255** (0.106)	0.139 (0.123)	-0.569 (0.357)	0.084 (0.119)	0.162 (0.144)
<b>Issue Salience</b>	0.288 (0.220)	0.004 (0.066)	0.024 (0.082)	0.111 (0.266)	0.052 (0.067)	0.019 (0.082)	-0.028 (0.261)	-0.109 (0.075)	-0.029 (0.086)	0.046 (0.247)	<b>0.141+</b> (0.085)	<b>-0.199+</b> (0.108)
<b>Author IPE - PC1</b>	-0.058* (0.020)	-0.052* (0.005)	-0.058* (0.006)	-0.033** (0.014)	-0.023* (0.003)	-0.033* (0.003)	0.019 (0.013)	-0.000 (0.003)	0.004 (0.003)	0.027* (0.010)	0.016* (0.002)	0.013* (0.003)
<b>Author IPE - PC2</b>	0.083* (0.017)	0.073* (0.004)	0.067* (0.005)	0.040* (0.012)	0.025* (0.002)	0.034* (0.003)	0.011 (0.011)	0.016* (0.002)	0.011* (0.003)	-0.027* (0.008)	-0.006* (0.002)	-0.000 (0.003)
<b>Author IPE - PC3</b>	0.048* (0.012)	0.102* (0.004)	0.107* (0.004)	0.064* (0.008)	0.030* (0.002)	0.018* (0.002)	-0.011 (0.008)	0.021* (0.003)	0.015* (0.002)	0.000 (0.006)	-0.009* (0.002)	-0.013* (0.002)
<b>Newspaper Source</b>	0.011+ (0.006)	0.007* (0.002)	0.006* (0.002)	-0.008+ (0.004)	-0.004* (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
<b>Constant</b>	0.010 (0.019)	0.046* (0.006)	0.042* (0.006)	0.038* (0.014)	0.033* (0.003)	0.023* (0.004)	0.019 (0.013)	0.018* (0.004)	0.016* (0.004)	0.059* (0.017)	0.028* (0.006)	0.026* (0.007)
<b>Observations</b>	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853
<b>R-squared</b>	0.117	0.244	0.249	0.246	0.087	0.064	0.041	0.065	0.037	0.042	0.022	0.029

Standard errors in parentheses

+ significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \* significant at 1%

	Revolution			Security			Civilian Safety			Violence		
	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI	GOB	OPO	NINI
<b>Government Spoke</b>	0.058 (0.080)	-0.004 (0.036)	0.033 (0.034)	-0.121 (0.116)	0.023 (0.038)	0.017 (0.041)	-0.053 (0.110)	0.006 (0.038)	0.011 (0.047)	-0.111 (0.106)	0.008 (0.036)	0.009 (0.039)
<b>Opposition Spoke</b>	0.286 (0.261)	0.153 (0.105)	0.104 (0.093)	0.461 (0.304)	0.033 (0.095)	0.230** (0.101)	-0.031 (0.296)	0.034 (0.101)	-0.178 (0.123)	0.526 (0.443)	0.201 (0.146)	0.304+ (0.173)
<b>NiNi Spoke</b>	0.096 (0.275)	0.230** (0.115)	0.153 (0.102)	0.675** (0.295)	0.514* (0.096)	0.178+ (0.101)	0.361 (0.306)	0.050 (0.106)	-0.111 (0.126)	-0.085 (0.341)	0.303** (0.118)	0.187 (0.140)
<b>Issue Salience</b>	-0.138 (0.187)	-0.009 (0.073)	-0.089 (0.069)	<b>-0.358+</b> (0.206)	0.048 (0.066)	0.085 (0.072)	0.135 (0.208)	<b>0.144**</b> (0.073)	<b>0.168+</b> (0.087)	-0.162 (0.256)	0.040 (0.084)	<b>0.207**</b> (0.097)
<b>Author IPE - PC1</b>	0.008 (0.006)	-0.014* (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	0.022 (0.016)	-0.023* (0.004)	-0.006 (0.005)	0.009 (0.009)	-0.007* (0.002)	-0.009* (0.003)	0.008 (0.014)	0.010* (0.003)	0.026* (0.004)
<b>Author IPE - PC2</b>	-0.014* (0.005)	0.003** (0.002)	-0.008* (0.002)	-0.032** (0.014)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.008** (0.004)	-0.003 (0.008)	0.012* (0.002)	0.011* (0.003)	0.003 (0.012)	0.008** (0.003)	-0.006+ (0.004)
<b>Author IPE - PC3</b>	0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.010)	-0.015* (0.004)	-0.027* (0.003)	0.010+ (0.005)	-0.006* (0.002)	-0.009* (0.002)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.032* (0.003)	-0.020* (0.003)
<b>Newspaper Source</b>	-0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.007* (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.002+ (0.001)	0.005 (0.004)	0.005* (0.001)	0.007* (0.002)
<b>Constant</b>	0.006 (0.005)	0.005** (0.002)	0.010* (0.002)	0.025+ (0.015)	0.013* (0.005)	0.024* (0.005)	0.015 (0.013)	0.026* (0.004)	0.036* (0.005)	0.025 (0.016)	0.007 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)
<b>Observations</b>	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853	353	2900	2853
<b>R-squared</b>	0.027	0.033	0.032	0.051	0.055	0.055	0.028	0.021	0.018	0.019	0.060	0.058

Standard errors in parentheses

+ significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \* significant at 1%