

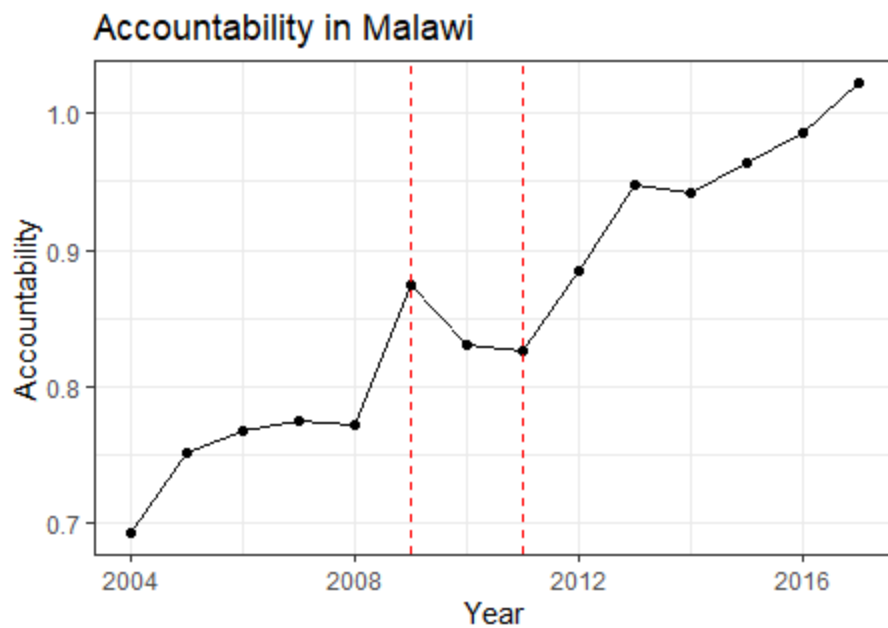
**Online Appendix for Cheerleaders for Autocracy: Parliamentary Speech  
Making During Democratic Backsliding in Malawi and Zambia**

### **A. Case Selection – Identifying Backsliding in Malawi and Zambia**

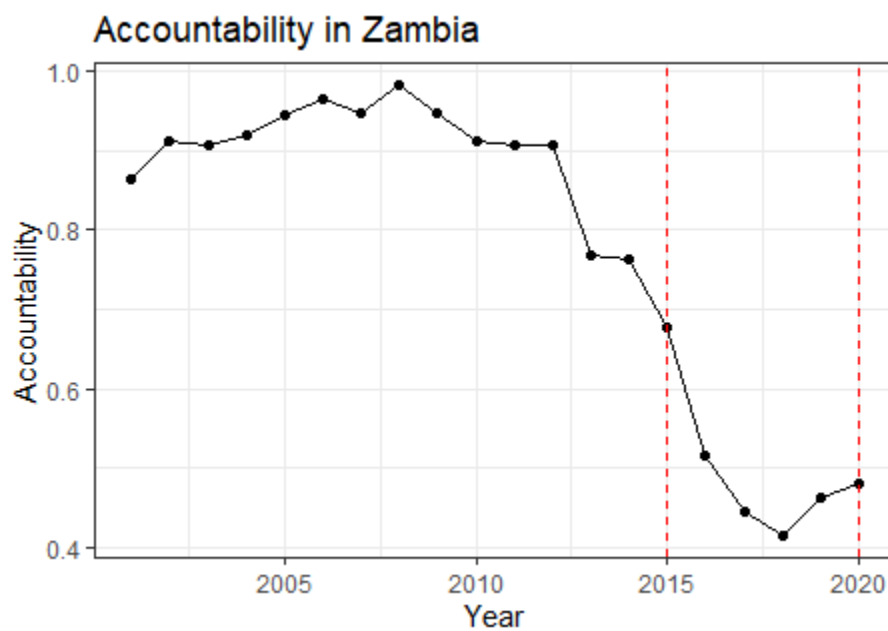
We rely on Waldner and Lust's (2018) rule of identification of backsliding episodes to identify democratic backsliding in Malawi and Zambia. According to Waldner and Lust, backsliding can be identified when two out of these three aspects of democracy are threatened: accountability, participation, and competition. Below we use V-Dem indicators to map change in these three dimensions. Note that V-Dem indicators are coded as of the last day of each year. We find that in both Malawi and Zambia, all three spheres of democracy were threatened during the Mutharika and Lungu governments.

In terms of accountability, Figures A1 and A2 show V-Dem's Accountability Index from 2004-2019 in Malawi and 2001-2021 in Zambia. The Accountability Index examines the extent to which the ideal of government accountability is achieved. Essentially, it is useful to measure whether the government is constrained on its use of power, either by the population (through elections) or by institutional checks and balances (Coppedge et al., 2024). Decreases in accountability usually signal democratic backsliding, since this means that the executive has loosened the constraints they are subject to and they no longer face negative consequences for their actions (Waldner and Lust, 2018). In both figures, the red dashed lines mark the beginning and the end of the backsliding episodes in our samples (since we do not have monthly data, we end the backsliding period in the visuals on the last year of the penultimate backsliding year). Figure A1 shows that in Malawi, there is a decline in accountability during Mutharika's government. Figure A2 shows how in Zambia there was a sharp decline in accountability after the election of Lungu that lasted throughout his government.

*Figure A1: Accountability Index in Malawi*



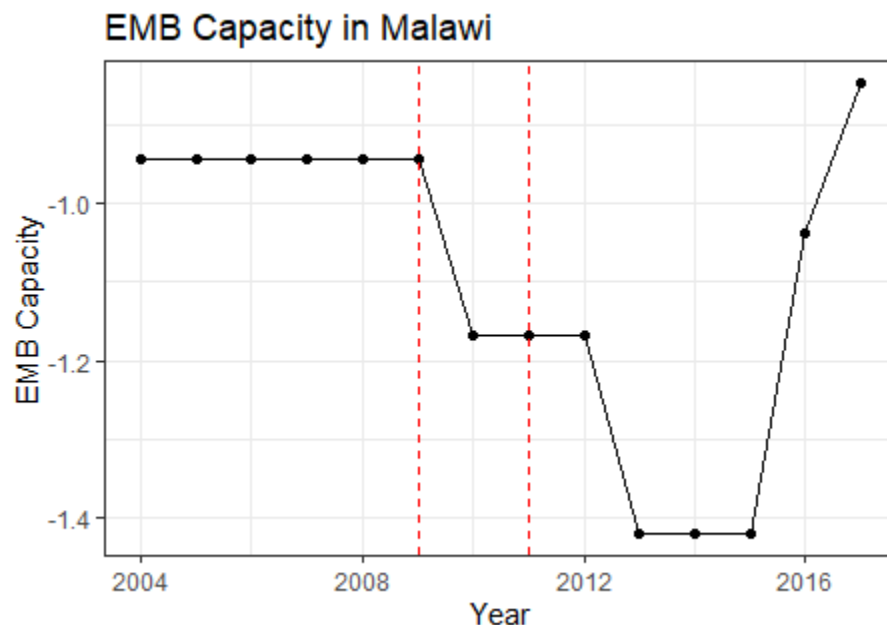
*Figure A2: Accountability Index in Malawi*



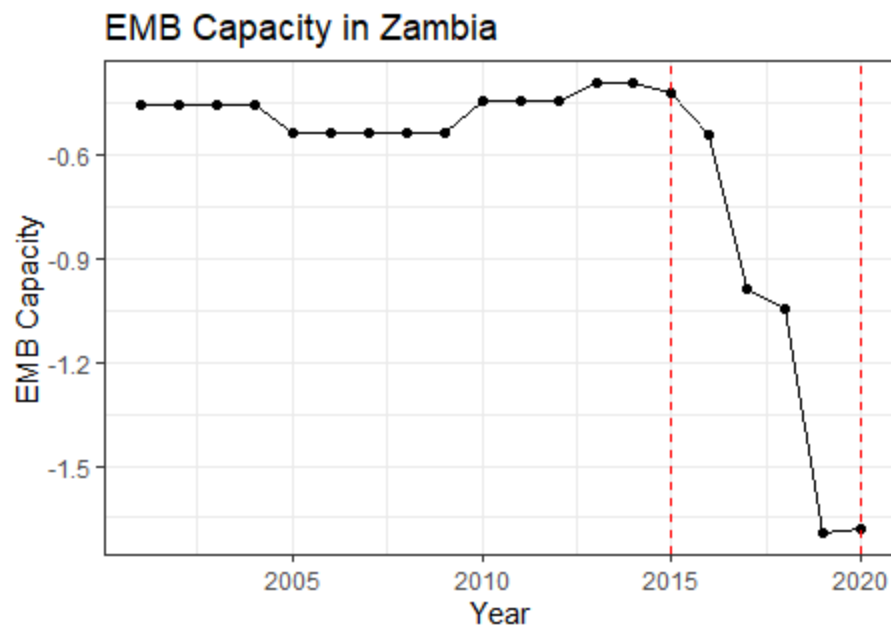
To identify threats to competition, we consider aspects that threaten the likelihood of parties to participate in free and fair elections in an equal standing. Figures A3 and A4 show

decreases in the Capacity of the Electoral Monitoring Body (EMB) as measured by V-Dem. This measure captures the extent to which the EMB is equipped to run a national election in terms of staffing, financing, or other required resources (Coppedge et al., 2024). Deficiencies in this realm signal that competition is threatened as free and fair elections are not being carried out. In both figures, the red dashed lines indicate the beginning and end of the backsliding episodes. Figure A3 shows that in Malawi, EMB capacity began to decrease from the onset of Mutharika's government. After his government ended in 2012, EMB capacity continued to decrease until it bounced back by the end of 2016. In Zambia, Figure 4 shows how EMB capacity had a sharp decline during Lungu's presidency. Interestingly, threats to competition are harder to observe in non-electoral years, thus having these declines present during the backsliding periods shows how democracy was under threat.

*Figure A3: EMB Capacity in Malawi*

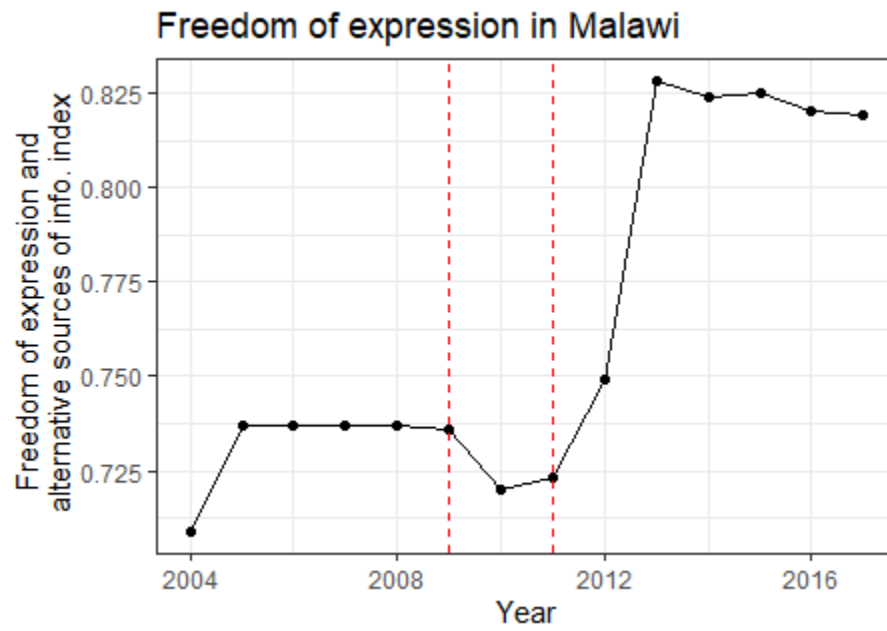


*Figure A4: EMB Capacity in Zambia*

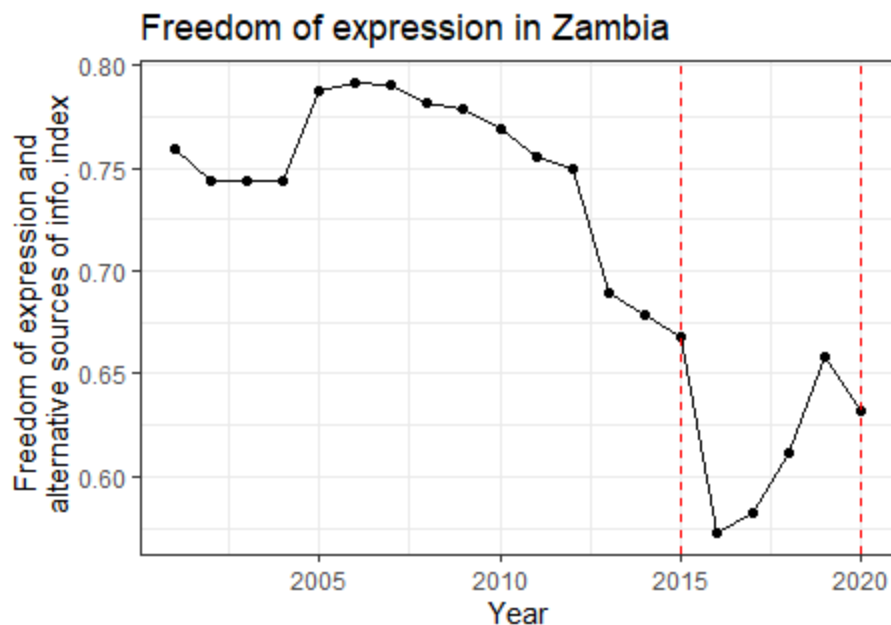


Figures A5 and A6 tap into an aspect that affects both competition and participation, that of freedom of expression. V-Dem's Freedom of Expression and Alternative Sources of Information Index captures the extent to which the government respects freedom of expression, broadly speaking. It includes press and media freedom, people's ability to discuss political issues, and academic and cultural freedom (Coppedge et al., 2024). Threats to freedom of expression can alter competition because the government may have a more positive media coverage than they would have otherwise, effectively threatening free and fair elections. Participation can also be threatened with attacks on freedom of expression because it signals that dissidents are being silenced. In both figures, the red dashed lines represent the beginning and the end of the backsliding episodes. Figure A5 shows that during the Mutharika government, freedom of expression decreased to its lowest levels. During the Banda government (a period of democratic stability), freedom of expression was the highest. Figure A6 shows a sharp drop in freedom of expression in Zambia after the ascension of Lungu.

*Figure A5: Freedom of Expression in Malawi*

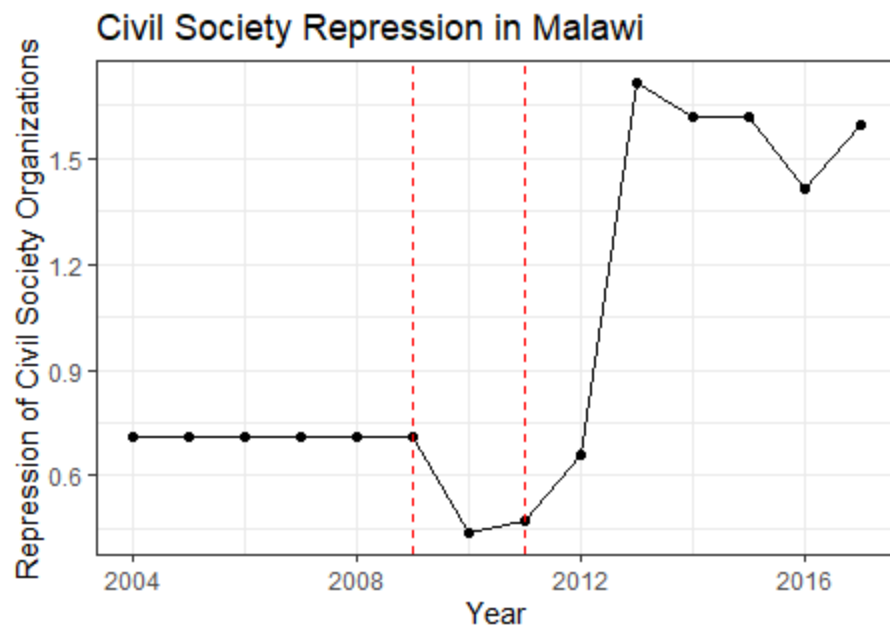


*Figure A6: Freedom of Expression in Zambia*

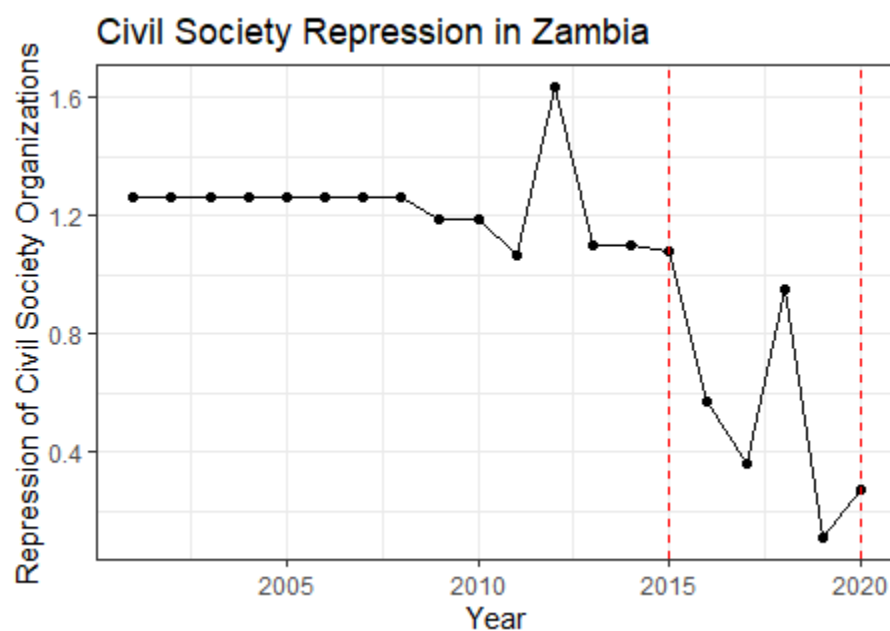


Figures A7 and A8 examine political participation by looking into changes in the repression of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) as measured by V-Dem. At its lowest levels, this indicator suggests that the government is repressing members of civil society organizations in a violent and active manner, with the ultimate goal of liquidating them. Higher values indicate less repression (Coppedge et al., 2024). Consistent with Waldner and Lust (2018), this measure reflects backsliding because executives who want to erode democracy try to restrict participation without explicitly attacking universal franchise. Figure A7 shows how in Malawi, CSOs didn't operate freely from 2004-2009. Once Mutharika came into power, however, CSOs were more heavily repressed. After the Mutharika government, CSOs were allowed to freely operate. Figure A8 shows how in Zambia, CSOs were weakly repressed before the Lungu government. Once he came into power, repression increased considerably.

*Figure A7: Repression of Civil Society Organizations in Malawi*



*Figure A8: Repression of Civil Society Organizations in Zambia*



Overall, we find that there was successful democratic backsliding in Malawi from 2009-2012 and in Zambia from 2015-2021, as there was a considerable degradation in all three spheres of



democracy. Mutharika and Lungu took active steps to undermine accountability, contestation, and participation, showing that their attacks on democracy were severe.

## **B. Examples of passages from speeches and their sentiment**

In this section, we provide examples and discussion on the coding of a speech's tone and direction towards the government. The following speech was coded as being directed toward the government and as being positive:

“Sir, allow me to congratulate His Excellency the President, Mr. Levy Mwanawasa, on being elected during the tripartite elections. Sir, I would like to thank our President for his speech to this House which, for the first time in ten years, has again given the majority of poor Zambians a source of hope for a better life. Sir, this hope has been further strengthened by the Finance and National Planning Minister, Hon. Emmanuel Kasonde who has given a lot of weight to agriculture which is the only source of hope for the poorest people in Zambia. I thank the hon. Minister for having used his experience to interpret the Presidential Speech into a possible reality. However, we have to wait and see, as you cannot count chicks before they are hatched.”

Timothy K. Nyirenda, 03.21.2022

(Government MP, Zambia)

While taking the floor, Hon. Nyirenda spoke about the newly elected president and about the minister of Finance and National Planning, which means that this speech is directed towards the government. Specifically, he praised them for their vision for the country, which gave a positive tone to the speech. An example of a positive speech not directed towards the government is the following:

“Thank you very much Mr. Speaker, Sir for recognizing me at last. I rise to support the national registration exercise. Mr. Speaker, Sir. This exercise is good and very important because it will have all the people in Malawi registered and, in the process, we will know who is a Malawian and who is not. And as a concerned mother, I would be very happy to see all the children registered at birth so that we have a very good record of children born and for obvious reasons; we know how many children are being taken out of the country.”

Philomena Mononga Kasambwe, 11.19.2009

(Opposition MP, Malawi)

In this speech, Hon. Kasambwe is speaking in a positive manner in regard to the national registration exercise, therefore, the speech is coded as positive. However, as it is not discussing

the government or any of its members, this speech is coded as not being directed toward the government. Additional examples of speeches and their coding are provided below.

## **Positive Speeches**

Timothy K. Nyirenda, 03.21.2002 (Government MP, Zambia)

Sir, allow me to congratulate His Excellency the President, Mr Levy Mwanawasa, on being elected during the tripartite elections. Sir, I would like to thank our President for his speech to this House which, for the first time in ten years, has again given the majority of poor Zambians a source of hope for a better life. Sir, this hope has been further strengthened by the Finance and National Planning Minister, Hon. Emmanuel Kasonde who has given a lot of weight to agriculture which is the only source of hope for the poorest people in Zambia. I thank the hon. Minister for having used his experience to interpret the Presidential Speech into a possible reality. However, we have to wait and see, as you cannot count chicks before they are hatched.

Zizwa Edward Munthali, 06.26.2006 (Opposition MP, Malawi)

I wish to thank Government that ADMARC is going through reform and that this year, it is purchasing crops from our farmers. I would, therefore, ask Government to open up several markets in my constituency at the following areas; Chikwawa, Bowe, Kamphenda, Chirambo, Kawaza, Jumbi, Nkhoso, Mwachanda, Bembe, Thazima, Chankhalamu, Zolokere, Chisimuka. These, Mr. Speaker, Sir, should not only be for buying maize. We also need these markets to be used for selling farm inputs like the subsidised fertilizer. On Irrigation and Water, Mr. Speaker Sir, I wish to also commend Government for allocating a substantial amount of funds towards the development of irrigation and water in this country. We have water resources in Malawi which if well developed, can effectively contribute to a meaningful life for all of us. I am again happy to hear that Government will continue providing people with treadle and motorised pumps, so that irrigation is properly enhanced. In the same vein, Mr Speaker Sir, I want to commend our cooperating partner such as the EU, for the distinguished role they always play in assisting us, as a Nation, in promoting irrigation. On this one, Mr. Speaker Sir, EU has actually assisted one of the irrigation schemes in my constituency at Chankhama. Chankhama Irrigation Scheme, Mr. Speaker Sir, grows maize almost three times a year. People at this scheme, need assistance of farm inputs like fertilizer and seed.

Sosten Gwengwe, 11.19.2009 (Opposition MP, Malawi)

Mr. First Deputy Speaker, Sir, let me take a moment to extend a vote of thanks to the Honourable Minister of Transport and Public Infrastructure for the work that is being done on Dedza-Linthipe One to Thete road. This is a road which is being upgraded to gravel level at the meantime and I thought it wise that we are looking at the road construction for me to convey the thanks on behalf of the people of Dedza Central Constituency as it is.

Mohammend Sidik Mia, 05.28.2013 (Government MP, Malawi)

When that happened, the issue of Nsanje Inland Port and Shire-Zambezi Waterway had stalled. It was until Her Excellency the President, Dr. Joyce Banda came into power, and restored the relationship with Mozambique. (Applause) It was at a leadership level, I was a minister not responsible for the relationship at that leadership level. (Applause) The President, Her Excellency Dr. Joyce Banda restored the relationship with Mozambique and we have a fantastic relationship. Today the relationship is restored and have had discussions. One of the areas that we discussed when we had a state visit to Mozambique was the Beira Corridor, which is a rail line through Mozambique.

## **Negative Speeches**

Chrispin Uyi Sibetta, 03.21.2002 (Opposition MP, Zambia)

Today, there is no industry. You have a hon. Minister and two Deputy Ministers who are stepping on each other's feet. We brought privatisation which we handed over to MMD. When you came in, you scrapped that Act and provided your own privatisation and investment, your Investment Act which you brought in to replace the one we left for you. You have not been able to give the Zambian people an investor who is here to pay tax and to provide employment and give our people management skills. The people you brought in, like Shoprite, up to now, are not paying tax. You gave them exemption from paying tax. They have not built even one building. In all the buildings where they are, they are renting. You have not been able to create an industry for the ten years you have been in power. You found employment in this country. There were over 500,000 to 600,000 Zambians working. You, Gentlemen and Ladies, today we have 240,000, two-thirds gone because of your liberalisation policies. The country is no longer even on its knees. It is in the grave. You have killed this country. What has happened to the money for which you sold companies, which was supposed to provide facility for Zambians to borrow and go in business? Where is the money for the companies you privatised?

Obius C. Chisala, 03.20.12 (Government MP, Zambia)

Mr Speaker, we have been reliably informed that the Government clinics in Kankoyo Parliamentary Constituency do not operate on Sunday. To my knowledge, a Government worker is on duty 24 hours everyday. May I know why the Government has failed to check this kind of unbecoming behaviour in Kankoyo Parliamentary Constituency.

George T. Chaponda, 05.28.2013 (Opposition MP, Malawi)

Madam Second Deputy Speaker, I am raising on a point of Order against the Minister Energy because the response that he was giving, was unexpected in the manner that he was delivering as a Minister of this nation. The words that were coming from his mouth were unexpected of an Honourable Minister of this country. And therefore whatever he was saying and the behaviour he depicted in this House was unexpected of a Minister.

Alexander Kusamba Dzonzi, 06.22.2015 (Opposition MP, Malawi)

Mr Speaker, Sir, my reading of the annual budget and recollection of all proceedings, events to hitherto clearly show that the Honourable Minister of Finance has not and has never laid before this august House an economic and fiscal policy that speaks to Malawians as to which direction our economy is going to go as required by Section 14 of the Public Finance Management Act.

Going through the draft financial estimates tabled before this House, it is clear that the Minister has neither provided the economic fiscal policy that underlie the present budget nor any policy objectives to be addressed by the budget in the 2015/2016 Fiscal Year. While the Minister acknowledges on page 1 of the Budget Statement that it is unlikely that our bilateral donors will ever resume budget assistance, no attempt has been made by the government to present before this august House a realigned economic and fiscal policy deliberately designed to respond to this economic reality. The budget documents presented by the Minister of Finance, Economic Planning and Development, neither provide any known economic philosophy capable of giving anyone any indication of where the DPP-led government wants to take Malawi to, nor does it give any realisation that the government fiscal powers are not meant to simply allow the government levy taxes on its citizens and draw monies from the consolidated fund but that government must also chart and prosecute an economic journey into the future with precisions and decisiveness.

**Neutral Speeches** (either refer to the government in a neutral tone, or are not directed towards the government)

Nelson F.S. Chuthi, 06.26.2006 (Opposition MP, Malawi)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have noted that there is lack of concentration on Animal Health and Livestock Production. This is one of the areas Government should seriously develop in order to reduce poverty. In my constituency, Land O Lakes have assisted the smallholder farmers in Magomero area, with Dairy Cattle, and they are doing well. May I take this opportunity to thank Land O Lakes for their assistance and appeal for further assistance. The smallholder farmers at Magomero under Chafumbwa EPA and Kabwazi EPA, request Government to continue to develop dairy cattle farming in the constituency because most of the farmers have already undergone training.

Philomena Mononga Kasambwe, 11.19.2009 (Opposition MP, Malawi)

Thank you very much Mr Speaker, Sir for recognizing me at last. I rise to support the national registration exercise. Mr Speaker, Sir. This exercise is good and very important because it will have all the people in Malawi registered and in the process, we will know who is a Malawi an and who is not. And as a concerned mother, I would be very happy to see all the children registered at birth so that we have a very good record of children born and for obvious reasons; we know how many children are being taken out of the country.

Andrew Mwali, 03.20.2012 (Government MP, Zambia)

Mr Speaker, the situation on the ground is that the state of the Pedicle Road has been deteriorating over the years. As a result of the current state of the road, it now takes an average of two to three hours to travel on the Pedicle Road from one border to another between the two countries. This has, therefore, posed great challenges on the operations of Chembe and Mokambo Border posts in Zambia and Mwenda and Mokambo Border posts in the DRC owing to the fact that the two borders on both sides are supposed to operate up to 1800 hours. The implication is that traffic on either side must be cleared leaving reasonable time to reach the other side before the border officially closes at 1800 hours. To this effect, officers have always

reasoned with the travellers to ensure that they pass through the border in reasonably good time to allow for passage on the Pedicle Road so that they find the other side 9/17 of the border, in this case, Chembe and Mokambo Border Post in Zambia and Mwenda and Mokambo Border Post in the DRC still open. So, from the ministry's point of view, it is the poor state of the road that is causing the problem.

## C. Coding Process and Validation

Figure C1: Flowchart of the Data Processing Pipeline

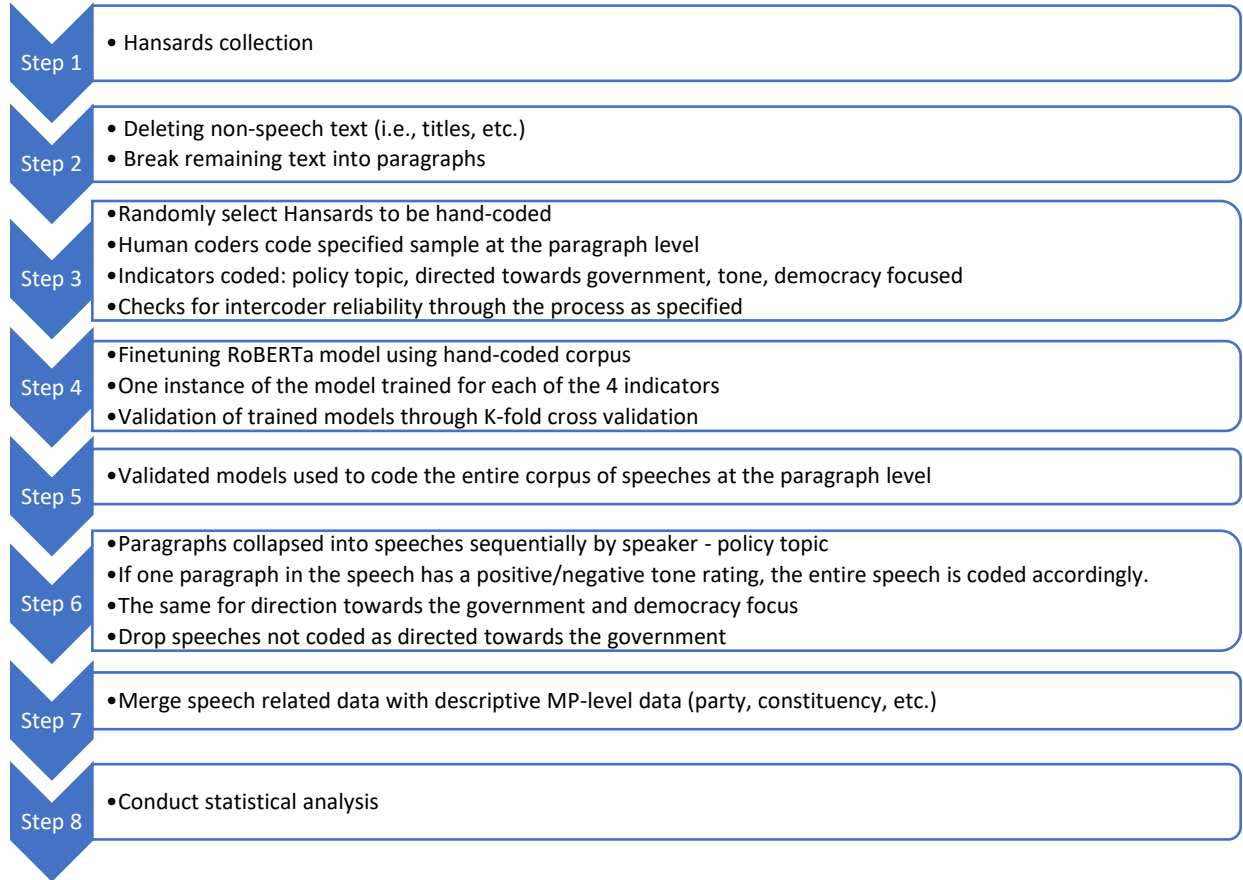


Table C1: Tone 10-Fold Cross Validation Report

Fold 1	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.75	0.76	0.75	181
	0	0.88	0.88	0.88	664
	1	0.77	0.75	0.76	173
	Micro Avg.	0.84	0.84	0.84	1018
	Macro Avg.	0.80	0.80	0.80	1018
	Weighted Avg.	0.84	0.84	0.84	1018

Fold 2	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.84	0.79	0.81	181
	0	0.91	0.91	0.91	664
	1	0.79	0.83	0.81	172
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.85	0.84	0.84	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 3	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.80	0.70	0.74	181
	0	0.87	0.88	0.88	663
	1	0.72	0.77	0.74	173
	Micro Avg.	0.83	0.83	0.83	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.79	0.78	0.79	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.83	0.83	0.83	1017

Fold 4	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.73	0.77	0.75	181
	0	0.89	0.87	0.88	663
	1	0.76	0.81	0.78	173
	Micro Avg.	0.84	0.84	0.84	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.80	0.81	0.80	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.84	0.84	0.84	1017

Fold 5	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.79	0.72	0.76	181
	0	0.89	0.92	0.90	663
	1	0.79	0.76	0.78	173
	Micro Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.82	0.80	0.81	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.85	0.86	0.85	1017

Fold 6	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.78	0.74	0.76	181
	0	0.90	0.91	0.90	663
	1	0.80	0.81	0.80	173
	Micro Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.83	0.82	0.82	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017

Fold 7	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.82	0.77	0.79	181
	0	0.91	0.89	0.90	663



1	0.73	0.86	0.79	173
Micro Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017
Macro Avg.	0.82	0.84	0.83	1017
Weighted Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017

Fold 8	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.74	0.77	0.75	181
	0	0.89	0.86	0.88	663
	1	0.75	0.81	0.78	173
	Micro Avg.	0.84	0.84	0.84	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.79	0.81	0.80	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.84	0.84	0.84	1017

Fold 9	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.83	0.79	0.81	180
	0	0.91	0.92	0.91	664
	1	0.81	0.83	0.82	173
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.85	0.85	0.85	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 10	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	-1	0.78	0.78	0.78	180
	0	0.90	0.88	0.89	664
	1	0.77	0.82	0.79	173
	Micro Avg.	0.85	0.85	0.85	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.82	0.83	0.82	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.86	0.85	0.86	1017

Table C2: Government 10-Fold Cross Validation Report

Fold 1	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.92	0.90	0.91	682
	1	0.80	0.83	0.82	335
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.86	0.87	0.86	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 2	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.93	0.91	0.92	682

1	0.83	0.87	0.85	335
Micro Avg.	0.90	0.90	0.90	1017
Macro Avg.	0.88	0.89	0.88	1017
Weighted Avg.	0.90	0.90	0.90	1017

Fold 3	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.94	0.89	0.91	682
	1	0.80	0.89	0.84	335
	Micro Avg.	0.89	0.89	0.89	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.87	0.89	0.88	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.89	0.89	0.89	1017

Fold 4	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.93	0.91	0.92	682
	1	0.82	0.86	0.84	335
	Micro Avg.	0.89	0.89	0.89	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.87	0.88	0.88	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.89	0.89	0.89	1017

Fold 5	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.93	0.89	0.91	681
	1	0.79	0.86	0.82	336
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.86	0.87	0.87	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 6	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.91	0.90	0.91	681
	1	0.81	0.83	0.82	336
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 7	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.91	0.91	0.91	681
	1	0.82	0.82	0.82	336
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.86	0.86	0.86	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 8	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.92	0.90	0.91	681

1	0.80	0.85	0.82	336
Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
Macro Avg.	0.86	0.87	0.87	1017
Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 9	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.92	0.89	0.91	681
	1	0.79	0.85	0.82	336
	Micro Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.86	0.87	0.86	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.88	0.88	0.88	1017

Fold 10	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.93	0.91	0.92	681
	1	0.82	0.87	0.84	335
	Micro Avg.	0.89	0.89	0.89	1016
	Macro Avg.	0.88	0.89	0.88	1016
	Weighted Avg.	0.90	0.89	0.89	1016

Table C3: Democracy 10-Fold Cross Validation Report

Fold 1	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.99	0.99	968
	1	0.83	0.80	0.82	50
	Micro Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1018
	Macro Avg.	0.91	0.90	0.90	1018
	Weighted Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1018

Fold 2	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.98	0.99	968
	1	0.70	0.71	0.71	49
	Micro Avg.	0.97	0.97	0.97	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.84	0.85	0.85	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.97	0.97	0.97	1017

Fold 3	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.99	0.99	968
	1	0.73	0.76	0.74	49
	Micro Avg.	0.97	0.97	0.97	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.86	0.87	0.86	1017

Weighted Avg.	0.97	0.97	0.97	1017
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Fold 4	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.98	0.99	968
	1	0.71	0.82	0.76	49
	Micro Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.85	0.90	0.87	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017

Fold 5	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	1.00	0.99	968
	1	0.91	0.82	0.86	49
	Micro Avg.	0.99	0.99	0.99	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.95	0.91	0.93	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.99	0.99	0.99	1017

Fold 6	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.99	0.99	968
	1	0.82	0.84	0.83	49
	Micro Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.91	0.91	0.91	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017

Fold 7	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	1.00	0.99	967
	1	0.93	0.78	0.85	50
	Micro Avg.	0.99	0.99	0.99	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.96	0.89	0.92	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.99	0.99	0.99	1017

Fold 8	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.99	0.99	967
	1	0.76	0.76	0.76	50
	Micro Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.87	0.87	0.87	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017

Fold 9	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.99	0.99	967
	1	0.79	0.84	0.82	50
	Micro Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.89	0.91	0.90	1017

Weighted Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017
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Fold 10	Category	Precision	Recall	F1-Score	Support
	0	0.99	0.99	0.99	967
	1	0.80	0.88	0.84	50
	Micro Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017
	Macro Avg.	0.90	0.93	0.91	1017
	Weighted Avg.	0.98	0.98	0.98	1017

## D. Tables and Figures used in the Analysis

*Table D1: Descriptive Statistics*

<b>Dependent Variables</b>	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
Tone	-1	1	-0.11	0.72
Sentiment	-7.9	771.6	10.6	19.06

<b>Independent Variables</b>	Min	Max	Mean	Standard Deviation
Government	0	1	0.42	0.49
Backsliding	0	1	0.26	0.44
Minister	0	1	0.23	0.42
Newcomer	0	1	0.56	0.50
Independent	0	1	0.06	0.24
Female	0	1	0.14	0.35

*Table D2: t-tests*

	Diff.	Std. Error
Malawi 2004	-0.03**	0.01
Malawi 2009	-0.13**	0.01
Malawi 2012	-0.10**	0.01
Malawi 2014	-0.37**	0.01
Zambia 2001	-0.27**	0.01
Zambia 2006	-0.43**	0.01
Zambia 2011	-0.26**	0.01
Zambia 2015	-0.40**	0.01

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table D3: Main models

	(1) Tone	(2) Tone
Government MPs	1.05** (0.07)	1.05** (0.07)
Backsliding	0.21** (0.05)	0.20** (0.07)
Government MPs * Backsliding		0.02 (0.10)
Minister	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)
Newcomer	0.17** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
Independent	0.61** (0.12)	0.61** (0.12)
Female	0.014 (0.07)	0.014 (0.07)
Parliament	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Year	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Zambia	-0.46** (0.05)	-0.46** (0.05)
Cut 1	3.47 (11.7)	3.52 (11.8)
Cut 2	5.69 (11.8)	5.74 (11.8)
<i>BIC</i>	304750.0	304761.2
Observations	152149	152149

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Table D4: Main models with dictionary sentiment DV

	(3) Sentiment (OLS)	(4) Sentiment (OLS)
Government MPs	1.10** (0.37)	0.68 (0.40)
Backsliding	1.43** (0.26)	0.67 (0.37)
Government MPs # Backsliding		1.53* (0.60)
Minister	2.97** (0.54)	2.99** (0.54)
Newcomer	-0.58 (0.36)	-0.63 (0.36)
Independent	0.69* (0.33)	0.75* (0.34)
Female	0.88 (0.54)	0.87 (0.54)
Parliament	-0.30** (0.07)	-0.30** (0.07)
Year	0.10 (0.06)	0.11 (0.06)
Zambia	5.71** (0.40)	5.75** (0.40)
Constant	404.6** (71.9)	403.0** (71.3)
<i>BIC</i>	1323525.8	1323490.2
Observations	152149	152149

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$



Figure D1: Sentiment Analysis on Speeches made by Government and Opposition MPs

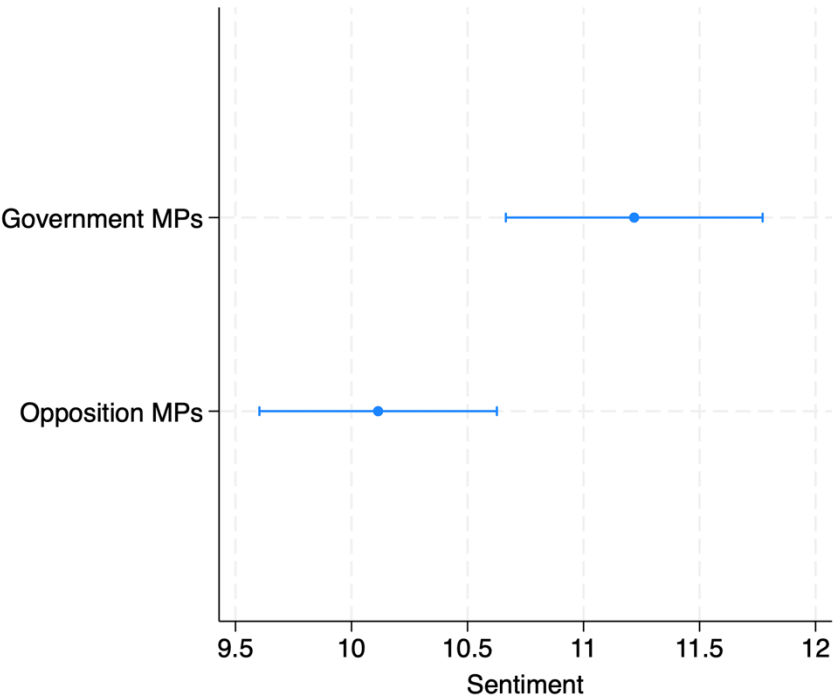
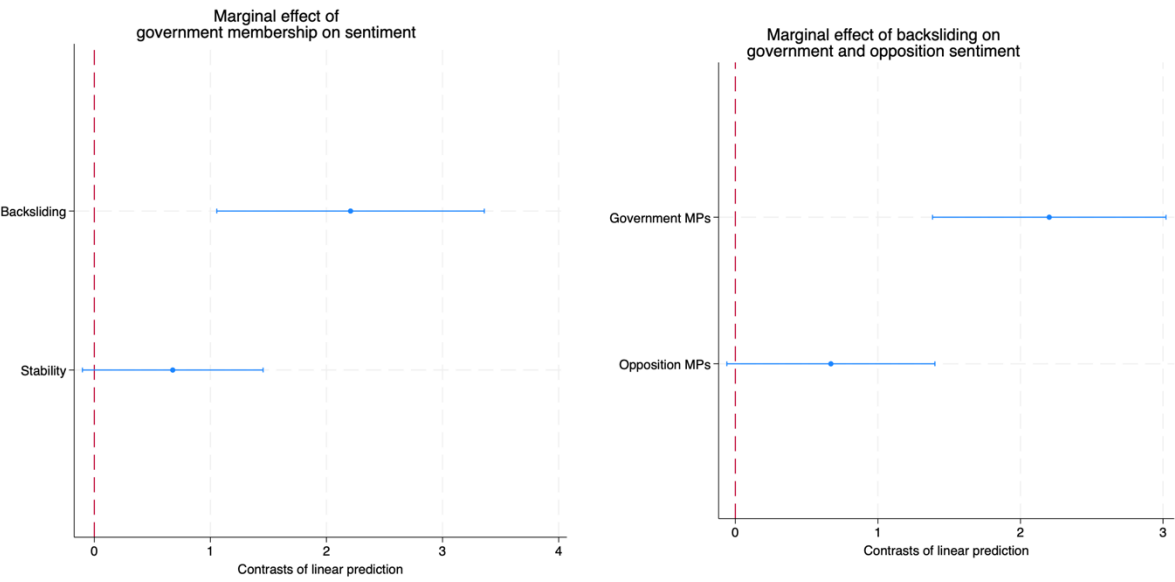


Figure D2: Marginal Effects Analysis on Speeches made by Government and Opposition MPs



Note: The 95% confidence intervals are included

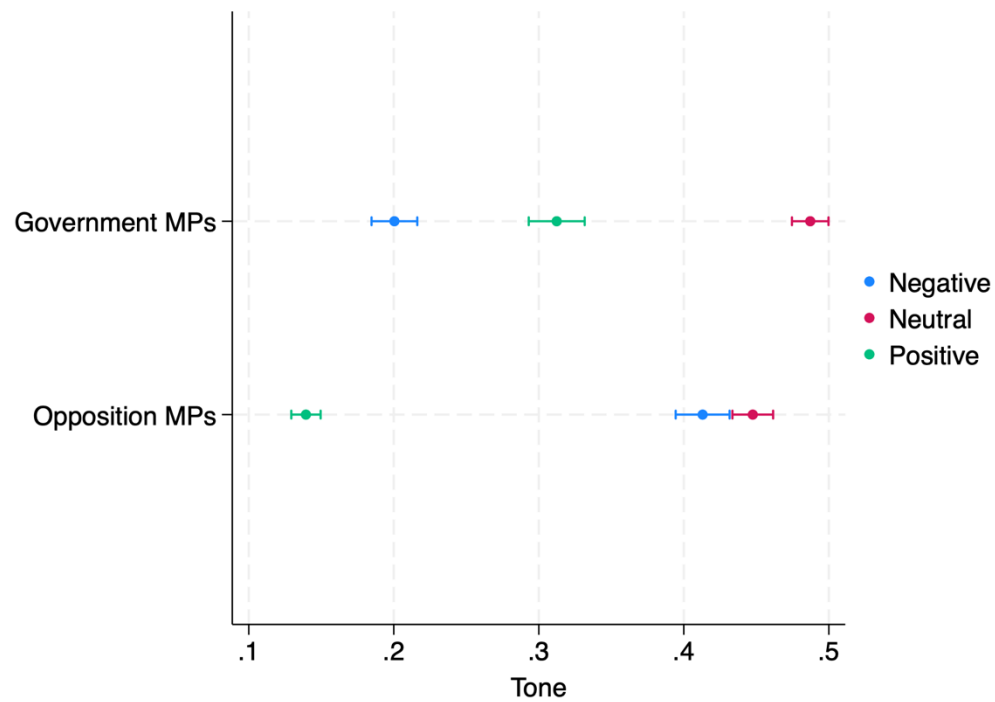
Table D5: Main models with MP-level fixed effects

	(5) Tone	(6) Tone
Government MPs	1.05** (0.07)	0.79** (0.09)
Backsliding	0.21** (0.05)	0.23** (0.07)
Government MPs * Backsliding		-0.05 (0.10)
Minister	-0.03 (0.08)	0.01 (0.01)
Newcomer	0.17** (0.05)	0.01 (0.09)
Independent	0.61** (0.12)	0.32 (0.18)
Female	0.01 (0.07)	0.91 (1.18)
Parliament	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Year	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)
Zambia	-0.46** (0.05)	-1.15** (0.13)
Cut 1	3.47 (11.7)	-19.8 (26.2)
Cut 2	5.69 (11.8)	-17.4 (26.2)
<i>BIC</i>	304750.0	291637.9
Observations	152149	152149

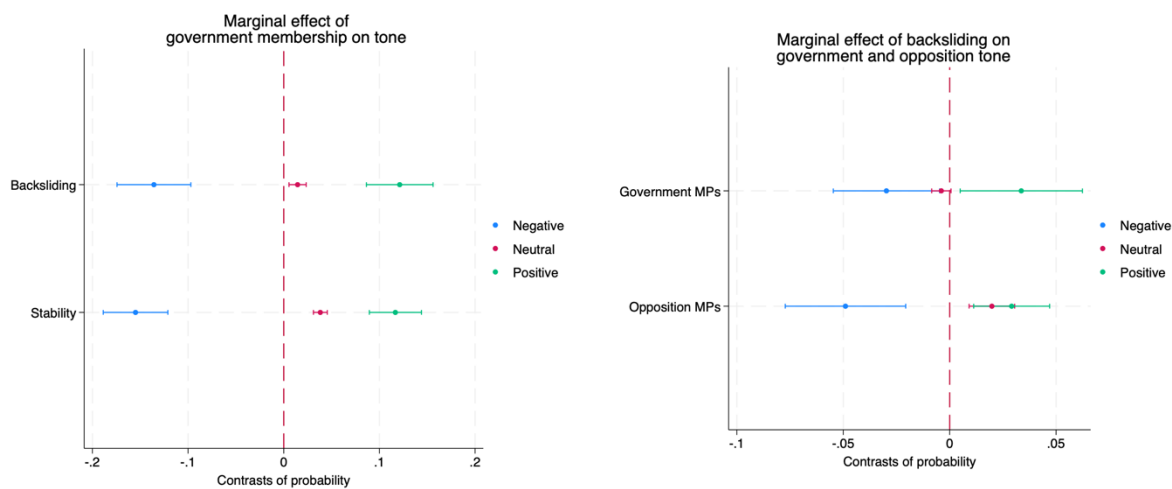
Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Figure D3: Analysis on the Tone of Government and Opposition MPs, MP-level fixed effects included*



*Figure D4: Marginal Effects Simulations on the Tone of Government and Opposition MPs, MP-level fixed effects included*



Note: The 95% confidence intervals are included

Table D6: Main models with year-level panel data

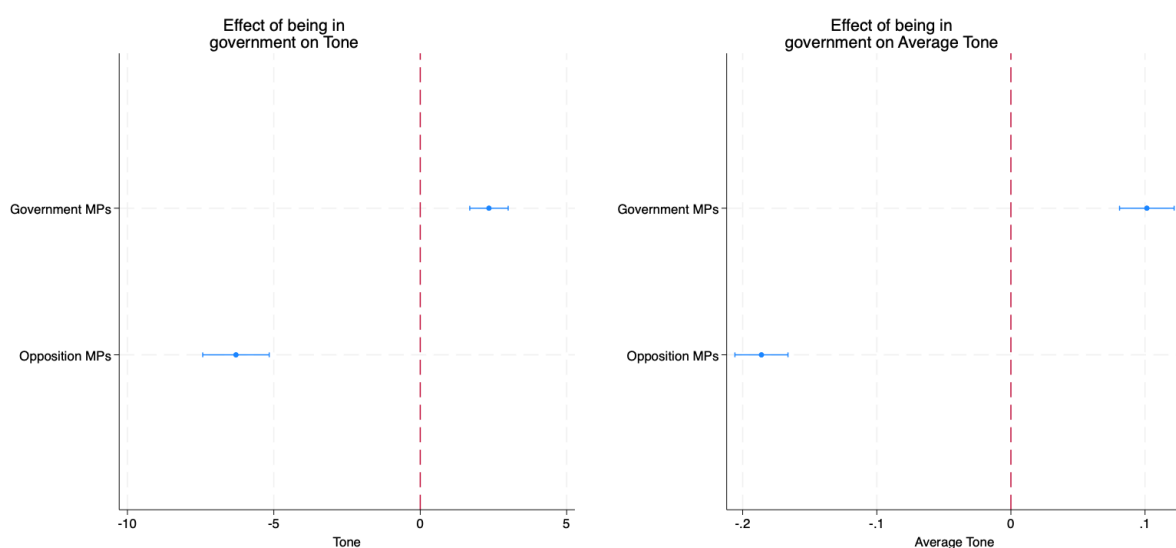
	(7) Overall Tone (OLS)	(8) Average Tone (OLS)	(9) Overall Tone (OLS)	(10) Average Tone (OLS)
Government MPs	8.64** (0.69)	0.29** (0.02)	8.97** (0.78)	0.28** (0.02)
Backsliding	2.02** (0.54)	0.07** (0.01)	2.61** (0.77)	0.05* (0.02)
Government MPs # Backsliding			-1.15 (1.02)	0.02 (0.03)
Minister	3.50** (0.92)	0.09 (0.02)	3.47** (0.92)	0.03 (0.02)
Newcomer	3.46** (0.84)	0.05** (0.02)	3.48** (0.84)	0.05** (0.02)
Independent	4.53** (0.80)	0.18** (0.03)	4.51** (0.80)	0.19** (0.03)
Female	0.12 (0.68)	0.02 (0.02)	0.15 (0.68)	0.02 (0.02)
Parliament	0.28** (0.10)	0.01** (0.00)	0.28** (0.10)	0.01** (0.00)
Year	-0.24** (0.07)	-0.01** (0.00)	-0.24** (0.07)	-0.01* (0.00)

Zambia	-5.65** (0.82)	-0.13** (0.01)	-5.72** (0.83)	-0.13** (0.02)
Constant	-100.7 (122.2)	5.58 (3.00)	-104.8 (123.3)	-4.70 (4.86)
<i>BIC</i>	54819.9	4230.6	54826.4	4258.3
Observations	6824	6184	6824	6184

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Figure D3: Analysis on the Tone of Government and Opposition MPs, panel-level dataset*



Note: The 95% confidence intervals are included

*Figure D4: Marginal Effects Simulations on the Tone of Government and Opposition MPs, panel-level dataset*

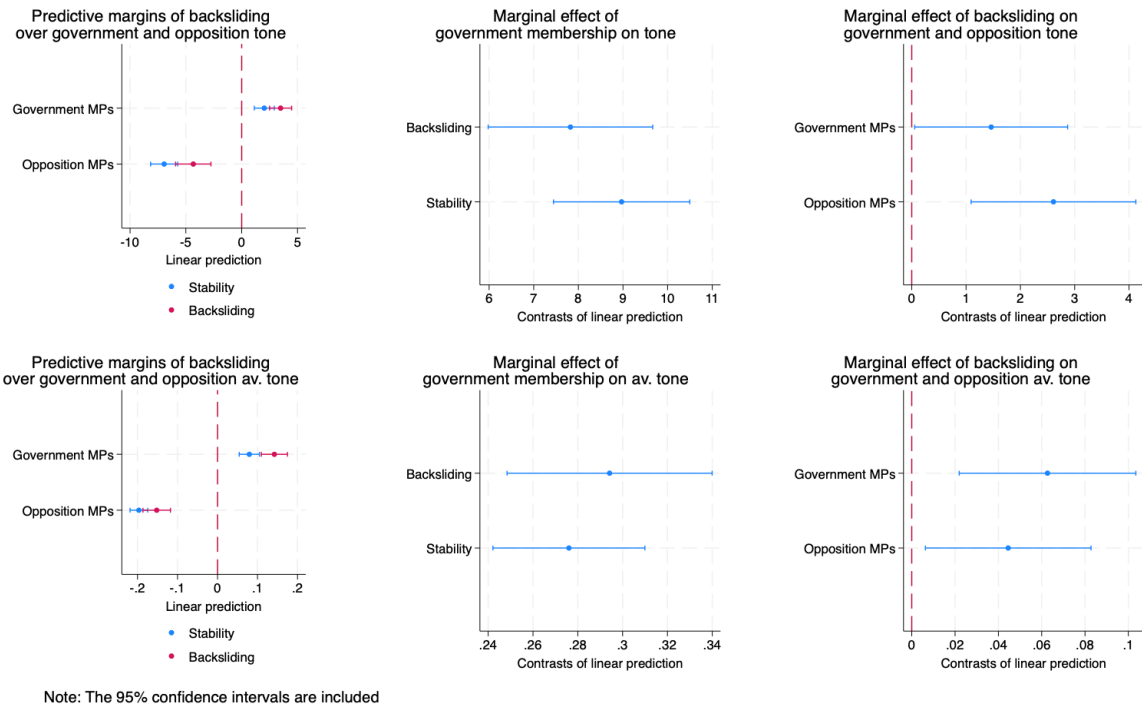


Table D7: The mediating effect of local support for the President

	(11)
	Tone
Government MPs	1.06**
	(0.18)
Backsliding	-0.08
	(0.10)
Government MPs * Backsliding	-0.11
	(0.28)
President Vote Share	0.68**
	(0.14)
Government MPs * President Vote Share	-0.39
	(0.28)
Backsliding * President Vote Share	0.72**
	(0.24)
Government MPs * Backsliding * President Vote Share	-0.28
	(0.43)

Minister	-0.03 (0.08)
Newcomer	0.12* (0.05)
Independent	0.39** (0.11)
Female	-0.00 (0.07)
Parliament	0.02 (0.01)
Year	-0.01 (0.01)
Zambia	-0.43** (0.05)
Cut 1	15.6 (11.6)
Cut 2	17.8 (11.6)
<i>BIC</i>	291183.4
Observations	145659

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

*Table D8: Speaking about Democracy*

	(12) Speech about Democracy	(13) Tone for Speeches about Democracy
Government MPs	-0.16 (0.09)	0.90** (0.10)
Backsliding	0.07 (0.10)	0.09 (0.12)
Government MPs # Backsliding	-0.06 (0.13)	0.11 (0.14)
Minister	-0.19 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.13)
Newcomer	-0.28** (0.07)	0.14 (0.09)
Independent	-0.09 (0.14)	0.34 (0.18)
Female	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.13)

Parliament	0.00 (0.01)	0.07** (0.02)
Year	0.00 (0.01)	-0.09** (0.02)
Zambia	0.68** (0.09)	-1.14** (0.10)
Cut 1	17.2 (19.4)	-35.3 (22.0)
Cut 2		-34.1 (22.0)
<i>BIC</i>	96242.9	26522.1
Observations	152149	15057

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$

Figure D5: Episodes of Deep Democratic Backsliding

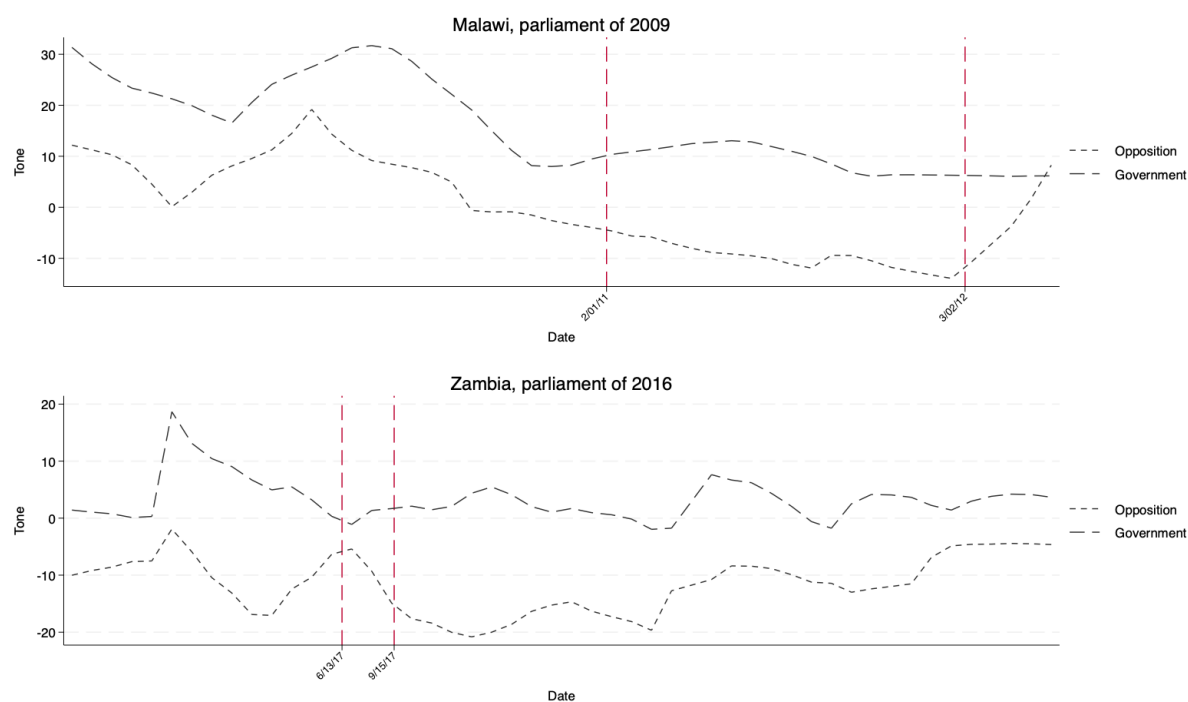


Table D9. Dropping 2016 Zambian Election Newcomers

	(14) Tone	(15) Tone
Opposition MPs	0.00	0.00



	(0.00)	(0.00)
Government MPs	1.06**	1.07**
	(0.071)	(0.075)
Stability	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Backsliding	0.25**	0.28**
	(0.061)	(0.084)
Minister	-0.062	-0.062
	(0.082)	(0.082)
Newcomer	0.19**	0.19**
	(0.058)	(0.057)
Independent	0.60**	0.60**
	(0.12)	(0.12)
Female	0.016	0.017
	(0.075)	(0.075)
Parliament	0.021	0.021
	(0.011)	(0.011)
Year	-0.015	-0.015
	(0.0098)	(0.0098)
Malawi	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Zambia	-0.44**	-0.44**
	(0.059)	(0.059)
Opposition MPs # Stability		0.00
		(0.00)
Opposition MPs # Backsliding		0.00
		(0.00)
Government MPs # Stability		0.00
		(0.00)
Government MPs # Backsliding		-0.043
		(0.12)
<hr/>		
Cut 1	11.4	11.3
	(13.0)	(13.0)
Cut 2	13.6	13.6
	(13.0)	(13.0)
<hr/>		
<i>BIC</i>	285591.6	285600.5

Observations	142834	142834
<hr/>		
Standard errors in parentheses		
* $p < 0.05$ , ** $p < 0.01$		

## References

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- Waldner, David, and Ellen Lust. 2018. "Unwelcome change: Coming to terms with democratic backsliding." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21(1), 93-113.