| Image that matters: News media consumption and party leader effects on voting behavior |
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| ONLINE APPENDIX  |
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 Table A1. Detailed list of included National Election Studies

| Country     | Year | Principal investigator(s)   | Study description   |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| Austria     | 2013 | Sylvia Kritzinger, Eva Zeglovits, Julian Aichholzer, Christian<br>Glantschnigg, Konstantin Glinitzer, David Johann, Kathrin<br>Thomas & Markus Wagner | Austrian National Election Study, Pre- and Post Panel Study 2013                      |
| Denmark     | 2005 | Jørgen Goul Andersen  | Danish National Election Study 2005   |
|             | 2007 | Jørgen Goul Andersen and Kasper Møller Hansen   | Danish National Election Study 2007   |
|             | 2011 | Rune Stubager, Kasper Møller Hansen and Jørgen Goul Andersen  | Danish National Election Study 2011   |
| Finland     | 2003 | Lauri Karvonen and Heikki Paloheimo   | Finnish National Election Study 2003  |
|             | 2007 | Heikki Paloheimo  | Finnish National Election Study 2007  |
|             | 2011 | Sami Borg and Kimmo Grönlund  | Finnish National Election Study 2011  |
| Germany     | 2002 | Jurgen Falter, Oscard Gabriel, and Hans Rattinger   | Political Attitudes, Political Participation and Voter Conduct in United Germany 2002 |
|             | 2009 | Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck,<br>Bernhard Weßels, Aiko Wagner  | German Longitudinal Election Study 2009, Post-election Cross Section                  |
|             | 2013 | Hans Rattinger, Sigrid Roßteutscher, Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck,<br>Bernhard Weßels, Christof Wolf, Aiko Wagner and Heiko<br>Giebler                        | German Longitudinal Election Study 2013, Post-election Cross-Section                  |
| Greece      | 1996 | Nikiforos Diamandouros  | Comparative National Elections Project: Module 2                                      |
| Ireland     | 2007 | Michael Marsh and Richard Sinnot  | Irish National Election Study 2002-2007   |
| Italy       | 1990 | Arturo Parisi and Hans Schadee  | ITANES 1990: Italian National Election Study 1990                                     |
|             | 1996 | Piergiorgio Corbetta and Arturo Parisi  | ITANES 1996: Italian National Election Study 1996                                     |
|             | 2001 | Mario Caciagli and Piergiorgio Corbetta   | ITANES 2001: Italian National Election Study 2001                                     |
|             | 2006 | Paolo Bellucci and Paolo Segatti  | ITANES 2006: Italian National Election Study 2006                                     |
|             | 2008 | Paolo Bellucci and Paolo Segatti  | ITANES 2008: Italian National Election Study 2008                                     |
|             | 2013 | Paolo Bellucci and Paolo Segatti  | ITANES 2013: Italian National Election Study 2013                                     |
| Netherlands | 1986 | Cees van der Eijk, Kees Niemoeller, Galen Irwin   | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 1986   |
|             | 1989 | Hans Anker and Erik Oppenhuis   | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 1989   |
|             | 1994 | Hans Anker and Erik Oppenhuis   | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 1994   |
|             | 1998 | Kees Aarts, Henk van der Kolk and M. Kamp   | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 1998   |

| Country           | Year   | Principal investigator(s)  | Study description   |
|-------------------|--|--|---|
| Netherlands       | 2002   | Galen Irwin, Joop van Holsteyn and Jan den Ridder  | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2002/3   |
|                   | 2006   | Kees Aarts, Henk van der Kolk, Martin Rosema and Hans<br>Schmeets  | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006   |
|                   | 2010   | Henk van der Kolk, Kees Aarts and Jean N. Tillie   | Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2010   |
| Portugal          | 2002   | António Barreto, Marina Costa Lobo, Pedro Magalhães  | Portuguese Election Study 2002  |
| _                 | 2005   | António Barreto, Marina Costa Lobo, Pedro Magalhães  | Portuguese Election Study 2005  |
|                   | 2009   | Marina Costa Lobo, Pedro Magalhães   | Portuguese Election Study 2009  |
|                   | 2015   | Marina Costa Lobo, Pedro Magalhães, João Tiago Gaspar  | Portuguese Election Study 2015  |
| Spain             | 2000   | Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas   | Preelectoral y Postelectoral Elecciones Generales y Autonomicas de Andalucia, 2000  |
|                   | 2008   | Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas   | Preelectoral y Postelectoral Elecciones Generales y Autonomicas de Andalucia, 2008  |
|                   | 2011   | Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas   | Preelectoral y Postelectoral Elecciones Generales, 2011   |
|                   | 2015   | Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas   | Preelectoral y Postelectoral Elecciones Generales, 2015   |
|                   | 2016   | Centro de Investigaciones Sociologicas   | Postelectoral Elecciones Generales, 2016  |
| Sweden            | 1982<br>1985<br>1988<br>1991<br>1994<br>1998 | Johannes Andersen, Jörgen Goul Andersen, Hans-Dieter<br>Klingemann, Hermann Schmitt, Bernhard Wessels, Tanja Binder,<br>John Curtice, Jacques Thomassen, Kees Aarts, Cees van der Eijk | The European Voter Database. Continuity File of National Election studies in Sweden   |
|                   | 2002   | Sören Holmberg and Henrik Oscarsson  | Swedish Election Study 2002   |
|                   | 2006   | Sören Holmberg, Henrik Oscarsson and Per Hedberg   | Swedish Election Study 2006   |
|                   | 2010   | Sören Holmberg, Henrik Oscarsson and Per Hedberg   | Swedish Election Study 2010   |
| Switzerland       | 2003<br>2007                                 | Georg Lutz Peter Selb, Georg Lutz, Marc Buehlmann, Marco Steenbergen, Philipp Leimgruber, Sarah Nicolet, Alexander Widmer, Dominique Joye, Florence Passy, Daniele Caramani            | Swiss National Election Studies, Cumulated File 1971-2011 Swiss National Electoral Studies (Selects) 2007: Post-Election Survey |
|                   | 2011   | Georg Lutz   | Swiss National Electoral Studies (Selects) 2011: Post-Election Survey   |
|                   | 2015   | Georg Lutz   | Swiss National Electoral Studies (Selects) 2015: Post-Election Survey   |
| United<br>Kingdom | 2015   |  | British Election Study, 2015 (Face-to-Face Survey)  |

Table A2. Detailed list of question wording, answer categories and recoding strategy for newspapers items

| Country | Year                 | Question wording  | Answer scale   | Recoding strategy  | Notes  |
|---------|----------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Austria | 2013                 | How often do you read newspapers to learn about political events in Austria?  | <ol> <li>Almost every day</li> <li>Several times a week</li> <li>Several times a month</li> <li>Less frequently</li> <li>Never</li> </ol>                | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |  |
| Denmark | 2005                 | How often: reading newspaper  | 1. Every day 2. 5-6 times a week 3. 3-4 times a week 4. 1-2 times a week 5. Less than once a week 6. Never   | Always: 1, 2<br>Often: 3<br>Rarely: 4<br>Never: 5, 6       |  |
|         | 2007<br>2011         | How often: reading newspaper  | Number of days per week  | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 |  |
| Finland | 2003<br>2007<br>2011 | How much attention did you pay to media coverage of the parliamentary elections in newspaper articles?  | <ol> <li>A great deal of attention</li> <li>A fair amount of attention</li> <li>Only a little</li> <li>Paid no attention at all</li> </ol>               | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4             |  |
| Germany | 2002<br>2009<br>2013 | Here on this list you can see different newspapers. On how many days of the week on average do you read reports on political events in Germany in [NEWSPAPER] during the election campaign? | Number of days per week  | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 | Respondents were asked how often they read news on different newspapers. We have taken the value of the respondent's most often read newspaper |
| Greece  | 1996                 | During the electoral campaign, how frequently did you follow political news through newspapers?   | <ol> <li>Every day/almost every day</li> <li>3-4 days a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>Less frequently</li> <li>Never or almost never</li> </ol> | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |  |

| Country     | Year                                 | Question wording  | Answer scale   | Recoding Notes strategy                                    |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Ireland     | 2007                                 | On a scale 0 - 7, where 0 means never and 7 means every day, how often do you do the following? Read the newspaper            | Number of days per week  | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 |
| Italy       | 1990<br>1996<br>2001<br>2006<br>2008 | Do you usually read a newspaper? If so, how frequently?   | <ol> <li>Don't read</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>3-5 days a week</li> <li>(Almost) Every day</li> </ol>  | Always: 5 Often: 4 Rarely: 3 Never: 2, 1                   |
|             | 2013                                 | Do you usually read a newspaper – physically or online, excluding sports' news? If so, how frequently?                        | <ol> <li>No, never</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>1 day a week</li> <li>2 days a week</li> <li>3 days a week</li> <li>4 days a week</li> <li>5 days a week</li> <li>6 days a week</li> <li>Every day</li> </ol> | Always: 9, 8 Often: 7, 6, 5 Rarely: 4, 3 Never: 2, 1       |
| Netherlands | 1986<br>1989<br>1994<br>1998<br>2002 | When there is domestic news in the newspapers, for example news about governmental problems, how often do you read such news? | <ol> <li>(Nearly) Always</li> <li>Often</li> <li>Now and then</li> <li>Seldom or never</li> <li>Does not read newspaper</li> </ol>   | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |
|             | 2006<br>2010                         | How often do you read a newspaper?  | <ol> <li>(Almost) daily</li> <li>A few times a week</li> <li>A few times a month</li> <li>Seldom or never</li> </ol>   | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4             |
| Portugal    | 2002                                 | Frequency of readership of political news in the newspaper  | <ol> <li>Every day</li> <li>Several times a week</li> <li>Once a week</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>Never</li> </ol>   | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |

| Country     | Year   | Question wording  | Answer scale  | Recoding strategy  | Notes |
|-------------|--|---|---|--|-------|
| Portugal    | 2005   | During the electoral campaign, how often did you follow political news in newspapers?   | 1. Daily/almost every day 2. 3-4 days a week 3. 1-2 days a week 4. Less frequently 5. Never   | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |       |
|             | 2009<br>2015   | During the electoral campaign, how often did you follow political news in newspapers or magazines, in paper or online?                            | <ol> <li>Daily/almost every day</li> <li>3-4 days a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>Less frequently</li> <li>Never</li> </ol>  | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |       |
| Spain       | 2000<br>2008<br>2011<br>2015<br>2016                                 | During this electoral campaign, could you tell me how frequently have you followed electoral and political information in the general newspapers? | <ol> <li>Every day/almost every day</li> <li>4-5 days a week</li> <li>2-3 days a week</li> <li>Only on the weekends</li> <li>Rarely</li> <li>Never or almost never</li> </ol> | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 4, 5<br>Never: 6          |       |
| Sweden      | 1982<br>1985<br>1988<br>1991<br>1994<br>1998<br>2002<br>2006<br>2010 | How often do you read news and articles about politics in the daily press?  | <ol> <li>Never</li> <li>Occasionally</li> <li>Often</li> <li>Every day</li> </ol>   | Always: 4<br>Often: 3<br>Rarely: 2<br>Never: 1             |       |
| Switzerland | 2003<br>2007<br>2011   | How many days/week does R read news in the newspaper  | Number of days per week   | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 |       |
|             | 2015   | I would like to know how attentively have you followed, over the last days, political affairs on [newspapers]                                     | <ol> <li>Not at all attentive</li> <li>Not very attentive</li> <li>Rather attentive</li> <li>Very attentive</li> </ol>  | Always: 4<br>Often: 3<br>Rarely: 2<br>Never: 1             |       |

| Country | Year | Question wording                                       | Answer scale | Recoding    | Notes |
|---------|------|--|--------------|-------------|-------|
|         |      |  |              | strategy    |       |
| United  | 2015 | Do you regularly read about politics or current        | 1. Yes       | Always: n/a | _     |
| Kingdom |      | affairs in one or more newspapers (either online or in | 2. No        | Often: 1    |       |
| -       |      | print)?  |              | Rarely: n/a |       |
|         |      |  |              | Never: 2    |       |

**Table A3.** Detailed list of question wording, answer categories and recoding strategy for television items

| Country | Year         | Question wording  | Answer scale  | Recoding<br>strategy                                       | Notes   |
|---------|--------------|---|---|--|---|
| Austria | 2013         | How often do you use the television to learn about political events in Austria?   | <ol> <li>Almost every day</li> <li>Several times a week</li> <li>Several times a month</li> <li>Less frequently</li> <li>Never</li> </ol>                 | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |   |
| Denmark | 2005         | How often: news on [CHANNEL]  | <ol> <li>Every day</li> <li>5-6 times a week</li> <li>3-4 times a week</li> <li>1-2 times a week</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>Never</li> </ol> | Always: 1, 2<br>Often: 3<br>Rarely: 4<br>Never: 5, 6       | Respondents were asked how often they watched TV news on 3 different channels (TV2 News; DR1; DR2). We have taken the value of the respondent's most watched news channel |
|         | 2007<br>2011 | How often: TV news  | Number of days per week   | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 |   |
| Finland | 2003<br>2011 | How much attention did you pay to media coverage of the parliamentary elections in television news and current affairs programmes?  | <ol> <li>A great deal of attention</li> <li>A fair amount of attention</li> <li>Only a little</li> <li>Paid no attention at all</li> </ol>                | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4             |   |
|         | 2007         | How much important information did you get for your voting choice from news and current affairs programmes on television?   | <ol> <li>A great deal of attention</li> <li>A fair amount of attention</li> <li>Only a little</li> <li>Paid no attention at all</li> </ol>                | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4             |   |
| Germany | 2002         | How often do you watch news casts on the first or second channel? What is meant here are the news casts of ARD or ZDF, namely Tagesschau, Tagesthemen, Heute and Heute-Journal. | Number of days per week   | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 | Respondents were asked how often they watched TV news on different channels. We have taken the value of the respondent's most watched news channel                        |

| Country     | Year                                 | Question wording  | Answer scale   | Recoding strategy  | Notes  |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Germany     | 2009<br>2013                         | On average, on how many days of the week did you watch Tagesschau or Tagesthemen on ARD during the election campaign? | Number of days per week  | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 | Respondents were asked how often they watched TV news on different channels. We have taken the value of the respondent's most watched news channel |
| Greece      | 1996                                 | During the electoral campaign, how frequently did you follow political news through television?                       | <ol> <li>(Almost) Every day</li> <li>3-4 days a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>Less frequently</li> <li>Never or almost never</li> </ol> | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          |  |
| Ireland     | 2007                                 | On a scale 0 - 7, where 0 means never and 7 means every day, how often do you do the following? Watch TV news         | Number of days per week  | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 |  |
| taly        | 1990<br>2001<br>2006<br>2008<br>2013 | Do you usually watch news programs? If so, how frequently?  | <ol> <li>Never</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>3-5 days a week</li> <li>(Almost) Every day</li> </ol>           | Always: 5<br>Often: 4<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 2, 1          |  |
|             | 1996                                 | During the election campaign did you happen to see any TV news programmes? If so, how often?                          | <ol> <li>Never</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>3-5 days a week</li> <li>(Almost) Every day</li> </ol>           | Always: 5<br>Often: 4<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 2, 1          |  |
| Netherlands | 1986<br>1989<br>1994<br>1998<br>2002 | Could you indicate on this showcard how often you generally watch the [CHANNEL] television newscast?                  | 1. (Almost) daily 2. 3-4 times per week 3. 1-2 times per week 4. Less than once a week 5. Does not own a TV set                                  | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5          | Respondents were asked how often they watched TV news on different channels. We have taken the value of the respondent's most watched news channel |

| Country     | Year   | Question wording  | Answer scale  | Recoding strategy                                 | Notes  |
|-------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| Netherlands | 2006<br>2010   | How often do you watch a newscast?  | 1. (Almost) daily 2. 3-4 times per week 3. 1-2 times per week 4. Less than once a week  | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5 | Respondents were asked how often they watched TV news on different channels. We have taken the value of the respondent's most watched news channel |
| Portugal    | 2002   | Frequency watching news or programs about politics on television  | <ol> <li>Every day</li> <li>Several times a week</li> <li>Once a week</li> <li>Less than once a week</li> <li>Never</li> </ol>  | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5 |  |
|             | 2005<br>2009<br>2015   | During the electoral campaign, how often did you follow political news on television?   | <ol> <li>Daily/almost every day</li> <li>3-4 days a week</li> <li>1-2 days a week</li> <li>Less frequently</li> <li>Never</li> </ol>                                  | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5 |  |
| Spain       | 2000<br>2008<br>2011<br>2015<br>2016                                 | During this electoral campaign, could you tell me how frequently have you followed electoral and political information on the television? | <ol> <li>(Almost) Every day</li> <li>4-5 days a week</li> <li>2-3 days a week</li> <li>Only on the weekends</li> <li>Rarely</li> <li>Never or almost never</li> </ol> | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 4, 5<br>Never: 6 |  |
| Sweden      | 1982<br>1985<br>1988<br>1991<br>1994<br>1998<br>2002<br>2006<br>2010 | How often do you watch Rapport (TV, national channel 2)?  | 1. 6-7 days a week 2. 3-5 days a week 3. 1-2 days a week 4. More seldom 5. Never  | Always: 1<br>Often: 2<br>Rarely: 3<br>Never: 4, 5 |  |

| Country           | Year                 | Question wording  | Answer scale   | Recoding strategy  | Notes |
|-------------------|----------------------|---|--|--|-------|
| Switzerland       | 2003<br>2007<br>2011 | How many days/week does R watch news on TV  | Number of days per week  | Always: 7, 6<br>Often: 5, 4, 3<br>Rarely: 2, 1<br>Never: 0 |       |
|                   | 2015                 | I would like to know how attentively have you followed, over<br>the last days, political affairs on [television]        | <ol> <li>Not at all attentive</li> <li>Not very attentive</li> <li>Rather attentive</li> <li>Very attentive</li> </ol> | Always: 4<br>Often: 3<br>Rarely: 2<br>Never: 1             |       |
| United<br>Kingdom | 2015                 | On a typical day, how much time do you spend watching television news or programmes about politics and current affairs? | 1. None, no time at all 2. Less than 1/2 hour 3. 1/2 hour to 1 hour 4. 1 to 2 hours 5. More than 2 hours               | Always: 5, 4<br>Often: 3<br>Rarely: 2<br>Never: 1          |       |

**Table A4.** Detailed list of leader evaluation items

| Country | Year                 | Question wording  | Answer scale   | Recoding strategy  |
|---------|----------------------|---|--|--|
| Austria | 2013                 | How much do you like the following politicians? Please rate each politician on a scale from 0 to 10. 0 means you strongly dislike that politician and 10 means that you strongly like that politician.  | 0. Strongly dislike 10. Strongly like                                  | none   |
| Denmark | 2005<br>2007<br>2011 | I would like to ask you how well or bad you think of some of our political leaders when 0 means you think very bad about the person and 10 means you think really well about the person.  | 0. Very bad<br>10. Very good   | None   |
| Finland | 2003<br>2007<br>2011 | Rate the following leaders on a scale from 0 (strongly dislike) to 10 (strongly like).  | 0. Strongly dislike<br>10. Strongly like                               | None   |
| Germany | 2002                 | Generally speaking, what do you think of [LEADER]? Please use the following scale. "+5" means that you have a very positive view of this politician, whereas "-5" means that you have a very negative view of this politician.  | <ul><li>-5. Very negative view</li><li>5. Very positive view</li></ul> | 5-points were added to<br>the original scale, so that<br>the recoded scale ranges<br>from 0 to 10  |
|         |                      | Please tell me what you think about some leading politicians. Please use the scale from - $5$ to + $5$ for this purpose.  | <ul><li>-5. Strongly dislike</li><li>5. Strongly like</li></ul>        | 5-points were added to<br>the original scale, so that<br>the recoded scale ranges<br>from 0 to 10  |
| Greece  | 1996                 | We would like to know your feelings towards some persons and social organization on a scale from 0-10. If you feel very favorable towards this person, you can give him the highest score of 10; if you feel hostile towards this person you can give him a 0 (zero); if you feel absolutely neutral towards this person, you can give him a 5. | 1. Hostile<br>10. Favorable  | Values from 1 to 5 in the original scale were recoded by substracting 1-point, so that the recoded scale ranges from 0 to 10 with no observations in the middle point of the scale |
| Ireland | 2007                 | And what do you think of the party leaders? After I read the name of a party leader, please rate them on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that candidate and 10 means that you strongly like that candidate.  | 0. Strongly dislike<br>10. Strongly like                               | none   |

| Country     | Year         | Question wording   | Answer scale   | Recoding strategy  |
|-------------|--------------|--|--|--|
| Italy       | 1996<br>2001 | I shall now read you a list of national politicians. For each of them tell me whether you have ever heard of them and, if so, give them a score from 1 to 10 according to your opinion of them: 1 means a totally negative judgment and 10 means a totally positive judgment.                                | 1. Totally negative 10. Totally positive                             | Values from 1 to 5 in the original scale were recoded by substracting 1-point, so that the recoded scale ranges from 0 to 10 with no observations in the middle point of the scale |
|             |              | I shall now read you a list of national politicians. For each of them tell me whether you have ever heard of them and, if so, give them a score from 0 to 10 according to your opinion of them: 0 means a totally negative judgment and 10 means a totally positive judgment.                                | 0. Totally negative 10. Totally positive                             | none   |
| Netherlands |              | See: Thomassen, J. (2005). The European Voter. Oxford: Oxford University Press   |  | none   |
|             | 2002         | I would also like to know how sympathetic you find the following politicians. You can give each [politician] a score between 0 and 100. The more sympathetic you find a [politician], the higher the score you give. A score of 50 means that you find a [politician] neither sympathetic nor unsympathetic. | 0. Very unsympathetic 100. Very sympathetic                          | The original values were divided by 10 and then rounded to the nearest integer value, so that the recoded scale ranges from 0 to 10  |
|             |              | I would like to know from you how sympathetic you find party leaders. To this end you can give points between 0 and 10 to the respective party leaders. 0 means that you find this party leader very unsympathetic and 10 means that you find this party leader very sympathetic.                            | <ul><li>0. Very unsympathetic</li><li>10. Very sympathetic</li></ul> | none   |
| Portugal    | 2002<br>2005 | Degree of sympathy for political leaders   | 0. Great antipathy<br>10. Great sympathy                             | none   |
|             |              | I would like to know what you think about each one of our political leaders, using a scale from 0 to 10, where ZERO means Great dislike for the political leader, TEN means that you fell Great sympathy for the leader and FIVE you feel indifference for the leader  | 0. Great dislike<br>10. Great sympathy                               | none   |

| Country        | Year | Question wording  | Answer scale  | Recoding strategy   |
|----------------|------|---|---|---|
| Spain          | 2000 | I'm going to read out a series of political leaders' names. Please tell me, for   | 0. Very bad   | none  |
|                | 2008 | each one, whether you know of them and how you value their political  | 10. Very good   |   |
|                | 2011 | performance. Grade them from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you value them   |   |   |
|                | 2015 | "very bad" and 10 means that you value them "very good".  |   |   |
|                | 2016 |   |   |   |
| Sweden         | 1982 | See: Thomassen, J. (2005). The European Voter. Oxford: Oxford University  |   | none  |
|                | 1985 | Press   |   |   |
|                | 1988 |   |   |   |
|                | 1991 |   |   |   |
|                | 1994 |   |   |   |
|                | 1998 |   |   |   |
|                | 2002 | On this card there is a kind of scale. I would like you to use it to illustrate how much you like or dislike the different [party leaders]. Use 'plus' figures for [party leaders] you like and 'minus' figures for [party leaders] parties you dislike.    | -5. Strongly dislike 5. Strongly like                           | 5-points were added to<br>the original scale, so that<br>the recoded scale ranges<br>from 0 to 10 |
|                | 2006 | I'd like to know what you think about each of our [political leaders]. Please rate the [political leaders] on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that [political leader] and 10 means that you strongly like that [political leader]. | <ul><li>0. Strongly dislike</li><li>10. Strongly like</li></ul> | none  |
|                | 2010 | On this card there is a kind of scale. I would like you to use it to illustrate how much you like or dislike the different [party leaders]. Use 'plus' figures for [party leaders] you like and 'minus' figures for [party leaders] parties you dislike.    | -5. Strongly dislike 5. Strongly like                           | 5-points were added to<br>the original scale, so that<br>the recoded scale ranges<br>from 0 to 10 |
| Switzerland    | 2003 | And can you tell me what sympathy you have for the following political  | 0. No sympathy  | none  |
|                | 2007 | figures on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "no sympathy" and 10 "very   | 10. Very strong sympathy  |   |
|                | 2011 | strong sympathy"?   | ·   |   |
|                | 2015 |   |   |   |
| United Kingdom | 2015 | Now, let's think more generally about the party leaders. Using a scale that runs from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly dislike and 10 means strongly like, how do you feel about   | 0. Strongly dislike<br>10. Strongly like                        | none  |

**Table A5.** List of parties included in the conditional logit analysis, by party family

| Country              | Year         | Far Left   | Social-Democrat                         | Conservative/Christian                         | Conservative/Liberal                              |
|----------------------|--------------|--|---|--|---|
| Austria              | 2013         | Die Grünen   | Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs  | Österreichische Volkspartei                    | Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs                  |
| Denmark              | 2005         | Socialistisk Folkeparti  | Socialdemokraterne                      | Det Konservative Folkeparti                    | Venstre   |
| Denmark              | 2007         | Socialistisk Folkeparti  | Socialdemokraterne                      | Det Konservative Folkeparti                    | Venstre   |
| Denmark              | 2011         | Socialistisk Folkeparti  | Socialdemokraterne                      | Det Konservative Folkeparti                    | Venstre   |
| Finland              | 2003         | Vasemmistoliitto   | Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue     | Suomen Keskusta                                | Kansallinen Kokoomus                              |
| Finland              | 2007         | Vasemmistoliitto   | Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue     | Suomen Keskusta                                | Kansallinen Kokoomus                              |
| Finland              | 2011         | Vasemmistoliitto   | Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue     | Suomen Keskusta                                | Kansallinen Kokoomus                              |
| Germany              | 2002         | <u>-</u>   | Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands | Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands    | <u>-</u>  |
| Germany              | 2009         | Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus                            | Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands | Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands    | Freie Demokratische Partei                        |
| Germany              | 2013         | Die Linke  | Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands | Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands    | Freie Demokratische Partei                        |
| Greece               | 1996         | Synaspismos  | PASOK                                   | Nea Dimokratia                                 | <u>-</u>  |
| Ireland              | 2007         | Green Party  | Labour Party                            | Fianna Fail                                    | Progressive Democrats                             |
| Italy                | 1990         | Partito Comunista Italiano                                       | Partito Socialista Italiano             | Democrazia Cristiana                           | Partito Liberale Italiano                         |
| Italy                | 1996         | Rifondazione Comunista   | Partito Democratico della Sinistra      | Forza Italia                                   | <u>-</u>  |
| Italy                | 2001         | Rifondazione Comunista   | Democratici di Sinistra                 | Forza Italia                                   | Italia dei Valori                                 |
| Italy                | 2006         | Rifondazione Comunista   | Democratici di Sinistra                 | Forza Italia                                   | <u>-</u>  |
| Italy                | 2008         | Sinistra Arcobaleno  | Partito Democratico                     | Popolo delle Libertà                           | Italia dei Valori                                 |
| Italy                | 2013         | Sinistra Ecologia e Libertà                                      | Partito Democratico                     | Popolo delle Libertà                           | Scelta Civica                                     |
| Netherlands          | 1986         | -  | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Netherlands          | 1989         | -  | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Netherlands          | 1994         | Groenlinks   | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Netherlands          | 1998         | Groenlinks   | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Netherlands          | 2002         | Groenlinks   | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Netherlands          | 2006         | Groenlinks   | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Netherlands          | 2010         | Groenlinks   | Partij van de Arbeid                    | Christen-Democratisch Appèl                    | Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie           |
| Portugal<br>Portugal | 2002<br>2005 | Coligação Democrática Unitária<br>Coligação Democrática Unitária | Partido Socialista Partido Socialista   | CDS – Partido Popular<br>CDS – Partido Popular | Partido Social Democrata Partido Social Democrata |

| Country     | Year | Far Left                       | Social-Democrat                        | Conservative/Christian                          | Conservative/Liberal            |
|-------------|------|--------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| Portugal    | 2009 | Coligação Democrática Unitária | Partido Socialista                     | CDS – Partido Popular                           | Partido Social Democrata        |
| Portugal    | 2015 | Coligação Democrática Unitária | Partido Socialista                     | -   | Partido Social Democrata        |
| Spain       | 2000 | Izquierda Unida                | Partido Socialista Obrero Español      | Partido Popular                                 | -                               |
| Spain       | 2008 | Izquierda Unida                | Partido Socialista Obrero Español      | Partido Popular                                 | -                               |
| Spain       | 2011 | Izquierda Unida                | Partido Socialista Obrero Español      | Partido Popular                                 | Unión Progreso y Democracia     |
| Spain       | 2015 | Izquierda Unida                | Partido Socialista Obrero Español      | Partido Popular                                 | Ciudadanos                      |
| Spain       | 2016 | Podemos                        | Partido Socialista Obrero Español      | Partido Popular                                 | Ciudadanos                      |
| Sweden      | 1982 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 1985 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 1988 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 1991 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 1994 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 1998 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 2002 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 2006 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Sweden      | 2010 | Vänsterpartiet                 | Socialdemokraterna                     | Moderaterna                                     | Liberalerna                     |
| Switzerland | 2003 | -                              | Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz | Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz | Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei |
| Switzerland | 2007 | -                              | Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz | Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz | Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei |
| Switzerland | 2011 | <u>-</u>                       | Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz | Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz | Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei |
| Switzerland | 2015 | <u>-</u>                       | Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz | Christlichdemokratische Volkspartei der Schweiz | Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei |
| UK          | 2015 | Greens                         | Labour Party                           | Conservative Party                              | Liberal Democrats               |

Table A6. Conditional logit models: full estimation results

|  | (1)                   | (2)           |
|--|-----------------------|---------------|
| Leader evaluation  | 1.268***              | 1.273***      |
|  | (0.0183)              | (0.0184)      |
| Partisanship   | 0.927***              | $0.927^{***}$ |
| •  | (0.0125)              | (0.0125)      |
| Ideological proximity  | 0.974***              | 0.976***      |
|  | (0.0144)              | (0.0145)      |
| Leader evaluation*   | =                     | 0.0993***     |
| Newspaper/Television-Centrism  |                       | (0.0160)      |
| Far Left   |                       |               |
| Age  | -0.00784***           | -0.00792***   |
|  | (0.00180)             | (0.00180)     |
| Female   | -0.0241               | -0.0224       |
|  | (0.0525)              | (0.0526)      |
| Educational attainment   | 0.144***              | 0.143***      |
|  | (0.0363)              | (0.0363)      |
| Interest in politics   | 0.200***              | 0.200***      |
| Power  | (0.0604)              | (0.0606)      |
| Newspaper exposure   | -0.0285               | -0.0303       |
| The hopeper exposure   | (0.0527)              | (0.0532)      |
| Television exposure  | -0.0584               | -0.0574       |
| 1010 (1510) CAPOSUIC   | (0.0500)              | (0.0503)      |
| Newspaper/Television-Centrism  | -0.0291               | -0.0421       |
| Newspaper/Television-centrism  | (0.0536)              | (0.0539)      |
|  | (0.0330)              | (0.0337)      |
| Conservative/Christian   | 0.00520***            | 0.00511***    |
| Age  | 0.00520***            | 0.00511***    |
| F1.  | (0.00123)             | (0.00123)     |
| Female   | 0.0207                | 0.0194        |
| Educational attainment   | (0.0378)<br>0.0944*** | (0.0379)      |
| Educational attainment   |                       | 0.0939***     |
| The state of the s | (0.0267)              | (0.0268)      |
| Interest in politics   | 0.0846                | 0.0876*       |
| N  | (0.0443)              | (0.0444)      |
| Newspaper exposure   | 0.0228                | 0.0156        |
| m 1  | (0.0382)              | (0.0387)      |
| Television exposure  | -0.0546               | -0.0513       |
| N  | (0.0368)              | (0.0370)      |
| Newspaper/Television-Centrism  | 0.0453                | 0.0367        |
|  | (0.0392)              | (0.0394)      |
| Conservative/Liberal   |                       |               |
| Age  | $0.00509^{***}$       | 0.00514***    |
|  | (0.00134)             | (0.00134)     |
| Female   | $0.0836^{*}$          | $0.0818^{*}$  |
|  | (0.0415)              | (0.0415)      |
| Educational attainment   | $0.228^{***}$         | $0.228^{***}$ |
|  | (0.0289)              | (0.0289)      |
| Interest in politics   | 0.0174                | 0.0133        |
|  | (0.0486)              | (0.0485)      |
| Newspaper exposure   | 0.139**               | $0.137^{**}$  |
|  | (0.0423)              | (0.0426)      |
| Television exposure  | -0.0675               | -0.0680       |
|  | (0.0408)              | (0.0409)      |
| Newspaper/Television-Centrism  | 0.0784                | $0.0877^{*}$  |
|  | (0.0431)              | (0.0431)      |
|  | ` '                   | *             |

| Log-likelihood   | -22414.503 | -22391.159 |
|------------------|------------|------------|
| Wald chi-2       | 17063.37   | 17063.89   |
| AIC              | 45137.0    | 45092.3    |
| BIC              | 46714.3    | 46679.8    |
| N (respondents)  | 207322     | 207322     |
| N (observations) | 58945      | 58945      |

*Note:* Cell entries are standardized logistic regression estimates. Standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered robust at the respondent-level. All models include year and country fixed-effects. Reference category: Social-Democrats  $^*p < 0.05$ ,  $^{**}p < 0.01$ ,  $^{***}p < 0.001$ 

Table A7. Leave-One-Out Cross Validation (LOOCV) for interaction effect models

| Case(s) excluded     | Conditional logit | Stacked data matrix |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Austria              | 0.097***          | 0.075***            |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.007)             |
| Denmark              | $0.110^{***}$     | $0.089^{***}$       |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.008)             |
| Finland              | $0.100^{***}$     | $0.078^{***}$       |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.007)             |
| Germany              | $0.096^{***}$     | $0.079^{***}$       |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.007)             |
| Greece               | $0.106^{***}$     | 0.083***            |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.007)             |
| Ireland              | $0.100^{***}$     | $0.077^{***}$       |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.007)             |
| Italy                | $0.094^{***}$     | 0.082***            |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.008)             |
| Netherlands          | $0.097^{***}$     | $0.074^{***}$       |
|                      | (0.016)           | (0.008)             |
| Portugal             | $0.100^{***}$     | 0.074***            |
| -                    | (0.016)           | (0.007)             |
| Spain                | $0.078^{***}$     | $0.054^{***}$       |
| -                    | (0.016)           | (0.008)             |
| Sweden               | 0.101***          | $0.078^{***}$       |
|                      | (0.018)           | (0.008)             |
| Switzerland          | 0.093***          | 0.066***            |
|                      | (0.018)           | (0.008)             |
| United Kingdom       | $0.102^{***}$     | 0.082***            |
| C                    | (0.016)           | (0.008)             |
| Mediterranean        | 0.069***          | 0.056***            |
| EL-ES-IT-PT          | (0.017)           | (0.009)             |
| North/Central        | 0.032             | $0.078^{***}$       |
| AT-CH-DE-DK-FI-NL-SE | (0.037)           | (0.013)             |
| North Atlantic       | 0.103***          | 0.083***            |
| IE-UK                | (0.016)           | (0.008)             |

*Note:* \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

Table A8. Full estimation results for Hierarchical logit models (HLM), by party family

|                                | Far Left   | Social-<br>Democrats | Conservative/<br>Christian | Conservative/<br>Liberal |
|--------------------------------|------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Age                            | -0.0178*** | -0.00738***          | -0.000722                  | -0.00735***              |
|                                | (0.00149)  | (0.000866)           | (0.000957)                 | (0.00105)                |
| Gender (Female=1)              | -0.0317    | 0.0304               | 0.00565                    | 0.0375                   |
|                                | (0.0435)   | (0.0269)             | (0.0301)                   | (0.0329)                 |
| Educational attainment         | 0.238***   | -0.155***            | -0.0404                    | 0.197***                 |
|                                | (0.0297)   | (0.0189)             | (0.0214)                   | (0.0230)                 |
| Interest in politics           | -0.120*    | -0.319***            | -0.265***                  | -0.302***                |
|                                | (0.0484)   | (0.0306)             | (0.0341)                   | (0.0379)                 |
| Newspaper exposure             | -0.0591    | -0.0894**            | -0.0571                    | 0.0545                   |
|                                | (0.0444)   | (0.0272)             | (0.0309)                   | (0.0347)                 |
| Television exposure            | -0.190***  | -0.0465              | -0.120***                  | -0.115***                |
|                                | (0.0424)   | (0.0261)             | (0.0296)                   | (0.0329)                 |
| Newspaper/Television-Centrism  | -0.0580    | -0.0248              | -0.0142                    | 0.00204                  |
|                                | (0.0512)   | (0.0290)             | (0.0340)                   | (0.0367)                 |
| Ideological proximity          | 1.220***   | 1.112***             | 1.394***                   | -1.246***                |
|                                | (0.0364)   | (0.0190)             | (0.0241)                   | (0.0268)                 |
| Partisanship                   | 0.925***   | 1.772***             | 1.472***                   | 1.119***                 |
|                                | (0.0198)   | (0.0243)             | (0.0254)                   | (0.0215)                 |
| Leader evaluations             | 1.052***   | 0.994***             | 1.206***                   | 0.900***                 |
|                                | (0.0320)   | (0.0188)             | (0.0236)                   | (0.0228)                 |
| Leader evaluations             | 0.0783**   | 0.0738***            | 0.111***                   | 0.108***                 |
| *Newspaper/Television-Centrism | (0.0276)   | (0.0173)             | (0.0204)                   | (0.0197)                 |
| Constant                       | -2.967***  | 0.532***             | -1.198***                  | -1.939***                |
|                                | (0.169)    | (0.111)              | (0.177)                    | (0.197)                  |
| Random intercept (STUDYID)     | -0.494***  | -0.720***            | 0.00955                    | 0.0566                   |
|                                | (0.120)    | (0.108)              | (0.105)                    | (0.114)                  |
| Log-likelihood                 | -7929.4529 | -18446.589           | -15127.265                 | -12874.091               |
| Wald chi-2                     | 5289.91    | 12630.77             | 10817.28                   | 7262.52                  |
| AIC                            | 15884.9    | 36919.2              | 30280.5                    | 25774.2                  |
| BIC                            | 15998.2    | 37036.1              | 30397.3                    | 25888.1                  |
| N (respondents)                | 45040      | 59503                | 58611                      | 47397                    |
| N (parties)                    | 41         | 48                   | 47                         | 42                       |

*Note:* Cell entries are standardized logistic regression estimates. Standard errors (in parentheses). All models include random intercepts at the election study level (STUDYID). p < 0.05, p < 0.01, p < 0

**Table A9.** Interaction effects with 3-point vs. 7-point NP/TV-centrism index

|                                   | Conditional logit |           | Stacked de | ata matrix |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|------------|------------|
|                                   | (1)               | (2)       | (3)        | (4)        |
| Respondent*party-level covariates |                   |           |            |            |
| Leader evaluation                 | 1.273***          | 1.275***  | 1.047***   | 1.047***   |
|                                   | (0.0184)          | (0.0185)  | (0.0086)   | (0.0086)   |
| Partisanship                      | 0.927***          | 0.927***  | 0.748***   | 0.747***   |
|                                   | (0.0125)          | (0.0125)  | (0.0062)   | (0.0062)   |
| Ideological proximity             | $0.976^{***}$     | 0.976***  | 0.958***   | 0.958***   |
|                                   | (0.0145)          | (0.0145)  | (0.0093)   | (0.0093)   |
| Cross-level interaction           |                   |           |            |            |
| Leader evaluation*                | 0.0993***         | -         | 0.0772***  | -          |
| NP/TV-Centrism (3-points)         | (0.0160)          |           | (0.0077)   |            |
| Leader evaluation*                | -                 | 0.1161*** | -          | 0.0853***  |
| NP/TV-Centrism (7-points)         |                   | (0.0169)  |            | (0.0079)   |

*Note:* Cell entries are standardized logistic regression estimates. Standard errors (in parentheses) are clustered robust at the respondent-level. All models include year and country fixed-effects. Respondent-specific controls (age, gender, education, political interest, newspaper consumption, television consumption, and score on the Newspaper/Television-Centrism index) are included, but coefficients are not shown for parsimony. \*\*\* p < 0.001.