

Online appendix

Article: Do *Spitzenkandidaten* really make a difference? An experiment on the effectiveness of personalized European Parliament election campaigns

Authors: Katjana Gattermann & Franziska Marquart

Journal: European Union Politics

| | |
|---|----|
| Appendix A: Examples of the stimulus material | 2 |
| Appendix B: Factsheet and informed consent..... | 5 |
| Appendix C: Debriefing | 7 |
| Appendix D: Outliers | 9 |
| Appendix E: Demographics | 9 |
| Appendix F: Pre-exposure questionnaire | 13 |
| Appendix G: Post-exposure questionnaire | 14 |
| Appendix H: Descriptive statistics of the main variables | 16 |
| Appendix I: ANOVAs testing hypothesis H1a | 18 |
| Appendix J: PROCESS analysis testing hypothesis H1b..... | 19 |
| Appendix K: OLS regressions, controlling for candidate gender | 20 |
| Appendix L: ANOVAs testing hypothesis H2a | 20 |
| Appendix M: PROCESS analysis testing hypothesis H2b | 21 |
| Appendix N: ANOVAs testing H3..... | 22 |
| Appendix O: Post-hoc analyses..... | 24 |

Appendix A: Examples of the stimulus material

Note: Given copyright regulations, we only provide examples here. All posters were provided during the review process and are available from the authors upon request.

Condition 1 – the national *Spitzenkandidat*

German sample



Dutch sample



Image sources:

Ska Keller: © JC Claveria / European Greens

(<https://www.flickr.com/photos/europeangreens/albums/72157704267217415>; last accessed 25 May 2020)

Bas Eickhout: © Bas Eickhout (https://groenlinks.nl/mensen/bas-eickhout_1; last accessed 25 May 2020)

Condition 2 – the other European *Spitzenkandidat*

German sample



Dutch sample



Image sources:

Bas Eickhout: © Bas Eickhout (https://groenlinks.nl/mensen/bas-eickhout_1; last accessed 25 May 2020)

Ska Keller: © JC Claveria / European Greens (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/europeangreens/albums/72157704267217415>; last accessed 25 May 2020)

Condition 3 – another national Green candidate

German sample



Dutch sample



Image sources:

Sven Giegold: © Sven Giegold (<https://sven-giegold.de/dusseldorfer-fuhrt-bundes-grune-in-den-europawahlkampf/>; last accessed 25 May 2020)

Veroni Vergeer: © Stefan Hennis (<http://jeronivergeer.nl/>; last accessed 20 November 2018)

Condition 4 – the party only

German sample



Dutch sample



Image source: Green European Foundation (<https://gef.eu/de/gef-cover-2/>; last accessed 25 May 2020)

Appendix B: Factsheet and informed consent

Note: All text was translated into Dutch and German, respectively. The translated versions can be provided by the authors upon request.

Dear participant,

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted under the auspices of the Amsterdam School of Communication Research (ASCoR), a part of the University of Amsterdam. ASCoR conducts research on media and communication in society. The aim of this study is to investigate the appeal of political campaign poster for the 2019 European Elections. In the following, we will first ask you to give us some information about yourself. Afterwards, we will show you a number of campaign posters and ask you to give your opinion on the advertisements, before requesting some additional information about your person.

Answering this questionnaire will take you no more than 10 minutes. Your participation should be fully voluntary. As this research is being carried out under the responsibility of The Amsterdam School of Communication Research, we can guarantee that:

1. Your anonymity will be safeguarded, and that your personal information will not be passed on to third parties under any conditions, unless you first give your clear permission for this.
2. You can refuse to participate in the research or cut short your participation without having to give a reason for doing so. You can also withdraw your permission to allow your answers or data to be used in the research, until 7 days after you completed the survey.
3. Participation in the research will not entail you to any appreciable risk or discomfort, and you will not be exposed to any explicitly offensive material.

If there are any questions regarding this research, now or in the future, please contact Franziska Marquart, ASCoR, University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Achtergracht 166, WV te Amsterdam [f.marquart[at]uva.nl].

Should you have any complaints or comments about the course of the research and the procedures it involves as a consequence of your participation in this research, you can contact the designated member of the Ethics Committee representing ASCoR, at the following address: ASCoR Secretariat, Ethics Committee - University of Amsterdam, Postbus 15793, 1001 NG Amsterdam, 020-525 3680, ascor-secr-fmg[at]uva.nl. Any complaints or comments will be treated in the strictest confidence.

We hope to have provided you with sufficient information and would like to take this opportunity to thank you in advance for your assistance with this research, which we greatly appreciate.

Franziska Marquart

Informed consent

I hereby declare that:

- ∠ I am 18 years or older.
- ∠ I have read and understood the information presented above.
- ∠ I fully and voluntarily agree to participate in the research and give permission to use the data obtained from it.
- ∠ I reserve the right to withdraw this consent without giving any reason within 7 days of the end of this investigation.
- ∠ I reserve the right to halt my participation in this study at any time.

- ∠ Should I have any complaints about this research, I can contact the designated member of the Ethics Committee representing the ASCoR, at the following address: ASCoR secretariat, Ethics Committee, University of Amsterdam, Postbus 15793, 1001 NG Amsterdam; 020-525 3680; ascor-secr-fmg[at]uva.nl.

I understand the text presented above, and I agree to participate in the study.

☐ No ☐ Yes

Appendix C: Debriefing

Note: All text was translated into Dutch and German, respectively. The translated versions can be provided by the authors upon request. Texts were the same across all conditions, with the exception of the respective highlighted paragraphs.

[A] NL, personalized, national Spitzenkandidat (Eickhout)

[B] NL, personalized, foreign Spitzenkandidat (Keller)

[C] NL, personalized, national candidate other (Vergeer)

[D] NL, non-personalized

[E] DE, personalized, national Spitzenkandidat (Keller)

[F] DE, personalized, foreign Spitzenkandidat (Eickhout)

[G] DE, personalized, national candidate other (Giegold)

[H] DE, non-personalized

Dear Participant,

Thank you for participating in this study.

Please click “Finish” below to register your answers once you have read the following information.

The questions you just answered were part of a study that investigates the effects of candidate characteristics on political attitudes and voting intentions. As a participant of this study, you were randomly assigned to see poster advertisements by the *European Greens*, a federation of political parties across Europe.

[A] The posters you saw advertised Bas Eickhout, one of the two Spitzenkandidaten (leading candidates) for the *European Greens* for the 2019 European Parliament elections. In other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that showed other political candidates or the party alone.

[B] The posters you saw advertised Ska Keller, one of the two Spitzenkandidaten (leading candidates) for the *European Greens* for the 2019 European Parliament elections. In other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that showed other political candidates or the party alone.

[C] The posters you saw advertised Jeroni Vergeer, who is a member of the Dutch party *GroenLinks* and running for the European Parliamentary Elections this year. You can find out more about her here: <http://jeronivergeer.nl/>. In other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that showed other political candidates or the party alone.

[D] The posters you saw advertised the party and did not present a particular candidate, but in other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that also showed political candidates.

[E] The posters you saw advertised Ska Keller, one of the two Spitzenkandidaten (leading candidates) for the *European Greens* for the 2019 European Parliament elections. In other versions of this

questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that showed other political candidates or the party alone.

[F] The posters you saw advertised Bas Eickhout, one of the two Spitzenkandidaten (leading candidates) for the *European Greens* for the 2019 European Parliament elections. In other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that showed other political candidates or the party alone.

[G] The posters you saw advertised Sven Giegold, who is a member of the German party *Die Grünen* and running for the European Parliamentary Elections this year. You can find out more about her here: <https://sven-giegold.de/>. In other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that showed other political candidates or the party alone.

[H] The posters you saw advertised the party and did not present a particular candidate, but in other versions of this questionnaire, we asked participants to rate political posters that also showed political candidates.

This setup allows us to investigate the influence of political advertisements for citizens' intention to turn out to vote at the elections for the European Parliament in May this year and their attitudes towards the political system. Furthermore, we can assess posters' impact on citizens' intention to vote for the *European Greens* based on whether or not the advertisements include a politician. While we also asked you to rate the different posters, this was mostly done to increase your awareness for their content.

The poster advertisements that you saw were fictional, and created exclusively for the purpose of this particular study. However, they closely resemble ads that have been published by Green parties across Europe or their politicians in the past. The *European Greens* have announced that both Bas Eickhout (from the Netherlands) and Ska Keller (from Germany) represent their party as Spitzenkandidaten for the position of the president of the European Commission in the 2019 European Parliamentary elections.

You can find more information on the two candidates here: <https://vote.europeangreens.eu/leading-candidates>

The slogans on the posters were designed to match the *European Greens*' priority list for the elections this year. More information on this program can be found here: <https://vote.europeangreens.eu/priorities>

The responses we collected from you in this study remain confidential, and we do not collect any identifying information such as your name, ID number, email address or telephone number. None of the researchers working in this project are affiliated with the *European Greens* or the respective national parties, and we will not share your personal information with any third party. To help protect your confidentiality, the stored information will not contain information that will identify you, and all the data will be analysed collectively. Should you have any questions or concerns about this research, you can contact Franziska Marquart (f.marquart[at]juva.nl; 0621-602006).

We wish you a pleasant day!

I have read and understood the above information

Finish

☐

Appendix D: Outliers

Table A1. Overview of exclusions per sample.

| Criterion | No of exclusions in the... | | |
|-----------|----------------------------|--------------|-------|
| | German sample | Dutch sample | Total |
| Too short | 10 | 12 | 22 |
| Too long | 9 | 12 | 21 |
| Total | 19 | 24 | 43 |

Appendix E: Demographics

Table A2. Comparing distributions by region in the Dutch population and the sample

| Region | Population* | | Sample | |
|---------------|-------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Total | % | Total | % |
| Drenthe | 492,100 | 2.86 | 17 | 3.11 |
| Flevoland | 411,670 | 2.40 | 12 | 2.20 |
| Friesland | 647,268 | 3.77 | 25 | 4.58 |
| Gelderland | 2,060,103 | 11.99 | 69 | 12.64 |
| Groningen | 582,944 | 3.39 | 21 | 3.85 |
| Limburg | 1,117,198 | 6.50 | 39 | 7.14 |
| Noord-Brabant | 2,528,286 | 14.72 | 70 | 12.82 |
| Noord-Holland | 2,831,182 | 16.48 | 84 | 15.38 |
| Overijssel | 1,151,501 | 6.70 | 32 | 5.86 |
| Utrecht | 1,295,484 | 7.54 | 42 | 7.69 |
| Zeeland | 382,304 | 2.23 | 15 | 2.75 |
| Zuid-Holland | 3,681,044 | 21.42 | 120 | 21.98 |
| Total | 17,181,084 | 100.00 | 546 | 100.00 |

Note: *Source: Eurostat for the year 2018, last updated: 18.03.2019, extracted: 16.04.2019

Table A3. Comparing distributions by region in the German population and the sample

| Region | Population* | | Sample | |
|------------------------|-------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | Total | % | Total | % |
| Baden-Württemberg | 11,023,425 | 13.31 | 61 | 11.09 |
| Bayern | 12,997,204 | 15.70 | 76 | 13.82 |
| Berlin | 3,613,495 | 4.36 | 32 | 5.82 |
| Brandenburg | 2,504,040 | 3.02 | 19 | 3.45 |
| Bremen | 681,032 | 0.82 | 2 | 0.36 |
| Hamburg | 1,830,584 | 2.21 | 19 | 3.45 |
| Hessen | 6,243,262 | 7.54 | 49 | 8.91 |
| Mecklenburg-Vorpommern | 1,611,119 | 1.95 | 7 | 1.27 |
| Niedersachsen | 7,962,775 | 9.62 | 47 | 8.55 |
| Nordrhein-Westfalen | 17,912,134 | 21.64 | 118 | 21.45 |
| Rheinland-Pfalz | 4,073,679 | 4.92 | 36 | 6.55 |
| Saarland | 994,187 | 1.20 | 10 | 1.82 |
| Sachsen | 4,081,308 | 4.93 | 32 | 5.82 |
| Sachsen-Anhalt | 2,223,081 | 2.69 | 15 | 2.73 |
| Schleswig-Holstein | 2,889,821 | 3.49 | 16 | 2.91 |
| Thüringen | 2,151,205 | 2.60 | 11 | 2.00 |
| Total | 82,792,351 | 100.00 | 550 | 100.00 |

Note: *Source: Eurostat for the year 2018, last updated: 18.03.2019, extracted: 16.04.2019

Table A4. Comparing distributions of gender and age in the Dutch population and the original sample (n=544)

| Age | Population (%)* | | | Sample (%) | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------|--------|------------|--------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| 18-24 | 50.92 | 49.08 | 10.83 | 50.00 | 50.00 | 10.29 |
| 25-34 | 50.53 | 49.47 | 15.65 | 48.81 | 51.19 | 15.44 |
| 35-44 | 49.89 | 50.11 | 14.96 | 48.10 | 51.90 | 14.52 |
| 45-54 | 50.16 | 49.84 | 18.48 | 50.50 | 49.50 | 18.57 |
| 55-64 | 49.91 | 50.09 | 16.61 | 48.91 | 51.09 | 16.91 |
| 65+ | 46.01 | 53.99 | 23.47 | 45.45 | 54.55 | 24.26 |
| Total | 49.25 | 50.75 | 100.00 | 48.35 | 51.65 | 100.00 |

Note: *Source: Eurostat for the year 2018, last updated: 02.04.2019, extracted: 04.04.2019; sample excludes one individual who identifies as other, and one who did not provide their age.

Table A5. Comparing distributions of gender and age in the German population and the original sample (n=549)

| Age | Population (%)* | | | Sample (%) | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------|--------|------------|--------|--------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| 18-24 | 52.51 | 47.49 | 9.12 | 52.94 | 47.06 | 9.29 |
| 25-34 | 51.63 | 48.37 | 15.29 | 50.00 | 50.00 | 15.30 |
| 35-44 | 50.48 | 49.52 | 14.37 | 50.62 | 49.38 | 14.75 |
| 45-54 | 50.48 | 49.52 | 18.65 | 50.48 | 49.52 | 19.13 |
| 55-64 | 49.46 | 50.54 | 17.01 | 50.00 | 50.00 | 17.85 |
| 65+ | 43.65 | 56.35 | 25.56 | 48.46 | 51.54 | 23.68 |
| Total | 48.92 | 51.08 | 100.00 | 50.09 | 49.91 | 100.00 |

Note: *Source: Eurostat for the year 2018, last updated: 02.04.2019, extracted: 04.04.2019; sample excludes one individual who identifies as other.

Table A6. Vote in last general election (15 March 2017), in the Netherlands

| | Our sample | | | Actual results |
|---|------------|-------|-------|----------------|
| | N | % | %* | %^ |
| Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) | 61 | 11.2 | 13.0 | 21.29 |
| Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV) | 58 | 10.6 | 12.3 | 13.06 |
| Christen-Democratisch Appel (CDA) | 28 | 5.1 | 6.0 | 12.38 |
| Democraten '66 (D66) | 40 | 7.3 | 8.5 | 12.23 |
| GroenLinks (GL) | 48 | 8.8 | 10.2 | 9.13 |
| Socialistische Partij (SP) | 45 | 8.2 | 9.6 | 9.09 |
| Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) | 35 | 6.4 | 7.4 | 5.70 |
| ChristenUnie (CU) | 20 | 3.7 | 4.3 | 3.39 |
| Partij voor de Dieren (PvdD) | 18 | 3.3 | 3.8 | 3.19 |
| 50Plus | 22 | 4 | 4.7 | 3.11 |
| Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij (SGP) | 9 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 2.08 |
| DENK | 3 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 2.06 |
| Forum voor Democratie (FvD) | 64 | 11.7 | 13.6 | 1.78 |
| Andere partij, namelijk | 4 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 1.51 |
| Weet ik niet | 15 | 2.7 | 3.2 | - |
| Ik heb niet gestemd | 69 | 12.6 | - | - |
| Blanco | 7 | 1.3 | - | - |
| Total | 546 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: *excluding non-voters and invalid votes; ^ percentage of all valid votes (source: <https://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/verkiezingen/detail/TK20170315>)

Table A7. Vote in last general election (24. September 2017), in Germany

| | Our sample | | | Actual results |
|--|------------|------|-------|----------------|
| | N | % | % * | % ^ |
| CDU | 86 | 15.6 | 17.6 | 26.8 |
| CSU | 21 | 3.8 | 4.3 | 6.2 |
| SPD | 114 | 20.7 | 23.4 | 20.5 |
| AfD | 51 | 9.3 | 10.5 | 12.6 |
| FDP | 50 | 9.1 | 10.2 | 10.7 |
| Die Linke | 61 | 11.1 | 12.5 | 9.2 |
| Bündnis 90/Die Grünen | 50 | 9.1 | 10.2 | 8.9 |
| PIRATEN | 2 | 0.4 | 0.4 | - |
| Freie Wähler | 7 | 1.3 | 1.4 | - |
| Tierschutzpartei | 11 | 2 | 2.3 | - |
| Andere Partei, nämlich... | 8 | 1.5 | 1.6 | 5.0 |
| Ich weiß es nicht | 27 | 4.9 | 5.5 | - |
| Ich habe nicht gewählt | 53 | 9.6 | - | - |
| Ich habe meinen Stimmzettel ungültig gemacht | 9 | 1.6 | - | - |
| Total | 550 | 100 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Notes: *excluding non-voters and invalid votes; ^ percentage of all valid votes on the second ballot (source: https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/info/presse/mitteilungen/bundestagswahl-2017/34_17_endgueltiges_ergebnis.html)

Table A8. Highest level of education completed, in the Dutch sample

| | N | % |
|--|-----|------|
| Geen onderwijs | 1 | 0.2 |
| Basisonderwijs | 8 | 1.5 |
| Lager beroepsonderwijs (LBO/VBO/VMBO niveau 1 t/m 3) | 52 | 9.5 |
| Middelbaar Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs (MAVO) of Vorbereidend Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (VMBO) niveau 4 | 64 | 11.7 |
| Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs (MBO) | 164 | 30 |
| Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs (HAVO) | 51 | 9.3 |
| Vorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (VWO) | 19 | 3.5 |
| Hoger Beroepsonderwijs (HBO) | 141 | 25.8 |
| Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (WO) | 46 | 8.4 |
| Total | 546 | 100 |

Table A9. Highest level of education completed, in the German sample

| | N | % |
|---|-----|------|
| Kein Abschluss | 6 | 1.1 |
| Volks- oder Hauptschulabschluss | 45 | 8.2 |
| Mittlere Reife | 101 | 18.4 |
| Fachhochschulreife | 38 | 6.9 |
| Abitur bzw. Erweiterte Fachhochschulreife | 75 | 13.6 |
| Abgeschlossene Lehre oder Abschluss eines Berufsfachkollegs | 156 | 28.4 |
| Universitätsabschluss, z.B. Bachelor/Master/Doktorat | 129 | 23.5 |
| Total | 550 | 100 |

Appendix F: Pre-exposure questionnaire

Note: All questions were translated into Dutch and German, respectively. The translated versions can be provided by the authors upon request.

Age

How old are you? [six age categories provided]

Gender

Are you (male, female, other)?

Education

What is the highest level of education that you have completed? [various categories provided]

Region

In which region do you live? [list of all respective regions provided]

Left-right position

When talking about politics, the terms "left" and "right" are often used. What is your position? Use a scale from 0 to 10, where "0" stands for "left" and "10" stands for "right". Which number best describes your position?

Pro-anti EU position

Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion? Which number on this scale best describes your position? [Can you give your opinion on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 = unification "must be pushed further" and 10 = unification "has already gone too far".]

Political interest

How interested are you in politics? [1=not at all interested; 7= very interested]

Vote in last general election

Which party did you vote for in the elections of 15 March 2017/24 September 2017?

Stimulus introduction

On the following pages you will see some political posters in connection with the European elections in May 2019. The posters promote the Europese Groenen/Europäische Grünen (*European Greens*), a party alliance at European level that also includes GroenLinks in the Netherlands/ Bündnis 90/Die Grünen in Germany.

Please take the time to carefully examine each poster and use the scale below to let us know how much you like the poster. You can then click to the next page.

Poster ratings

Please tell us how much you like this poster. [0 - I don't like it at all; 10- I really like it]

Appendix G: Post-exposure questionnaire

Note: all questions were translated into Dutch and German, respectively.

Campaign evaluation (mediator 1)

Now that you have seen the posters, how did you find the poster campaign of the Europese Groenen/Europäische Grünen (*European Greens*) in general? Please give us your opinion about the following statements. [1 - Totally disagree; 7 - Strongly agree; randomized order of statements]

- The campaign is informative.
- The campaign is well done.
- The posters give me important information about the programme of the European Greens.

- The posters have an attractive design.
- The campaign is relevant.
- The campaign is interesting.
- The campaign made me think about the upcoming European elections.

Turnout intention (dependent variable 1)

The next European elections will be held on 23 May 2019/26 May 2019. Many people will not vote in these elections, others will. When you think of the upcoming European elections in May 2019, will you vote? [1 - I will certainly not vote; 7 - I will certainly vote]

Candidate evaluation (mediator 2; question included a small picture of all three posters; not given in party condition)

Now that you have seen the posters of the Europese Groenen/Europäische Grünen (*European Greens*), to what extent do you agree with the following statements regarding [CANDIDATE X]? [1 - Strongly disagree; 7 – Strongly agree; randomized order of statements]

- He / she is inspiring
- He / she is charismatic
- He / she seems reliable
- He / she seems to care about European citizens
- He / she seems competent

Vote intention for the Greens (dependent variable 2)

If you are going to participate in the European elections in May 2019, how likely are you to vote for GroenLinks/ Bündnis 90/Die Grünen / the European Greens? [0 - Not likely at all; 10 - Very likely]

Appendix H: Descriptive statistics of the main variables

Table A10. Descriptive statistics of the main variables

| | Dutch sample | | | | | German sample | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------|-------|----------|-----------|---------------|------|-------|----------|-----------|
| | N | Min | Max | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | N | Min | Max | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> |
| Voted <i>Green</i> in last GE | 546 | .00 | 1.00 | 0.09 | 0.28 | 550 | .00 | 1.00 | 0.09 | 0.29 |
| Left –right position | 546 | .00 | 10.00 | 5.33 | 2.13 | 550 | .00 | 10.00 | 4.74 | 1.88 |
| EU position | 546 | .00 | 10.00 | 4.32 | 2.37 | 550 | .00 | 10.00 | 5.62 | 2.67 |
| Political interest | 546 | 1.00 | 7.00 | 4.30 | 1.64 | 550 | 1.00 | 7.00 | 4.95 | 1.66 |
| Campaign evaluation | 546 | 7.00 | 49.00 | 27.66 | 9.27 | 550 | 7.00 | 49.00 | 28.62 | 11.01 |
| Turnout intention | 546 | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.41 | 1.78 | 550 | 1.00 | 7.00 | 5.75 | 1.73 |
| Candidate evaluation | 412 | .00 | 35.00 | 19.93 | 6.87 | 410 | 5.00 | 35.00 | 19.69 | 8.31 |
| <i>Green</i> vote intention | 546 | 1.00 | 11.00 | 4.43 | 2.96 | 550 | 1.00 | 11.00 | 4.82 | 3.17 |

Table A11. Distribution of low, average and high levels of political interest

| | Dutch sample | | | German sample | | |
|---------|--------------|--------|--------|---------------|--------|--------|
| | n | % | Cum. % | n | % | Cum. % |
| low | 81 | 14.84 | 14.84 | 110 | 20.00 | 20.00 |
| average | 331 | 60.62 | 75.46 | 321 | 58.36 | 78.36 |
| high | 134 | 24.54 | 100.00 | 119 | 21.64 | 100.00 |
| Total | 546 | 100.00 | | 550 | 100.00 | |

Table A12. Distribution of low, average and high levels of EU support

| | Dutch sample | | | German sample | | |
|---------|--------------|--------|--------|---------------|--------|--------|
| | n | % | Cum. % | n | % | Cum. % |
| low | 69 | 12.64 | 12.54 | 66 | 12.00 | 12.00 |
| average | 390 | 71.43 | 84.07 | 402 | 73.09 | 85.09 |
| high | 87 | 15.93 | 100.00 | 82 | 14.91 | 100.00 |
| Total | 546 | 100.00 | | 550 | 100.00 | |

Appendix I: ANOVAs testing hypothesis H1a

Table A13. Marginal mean comparisons of turnout intention in the Dutch sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | Min | Max |
| Non-personalized condition | 134 | 5.339 ^a | .152 | 5.040 | 5.638 | 1 | 7 |
| Personalized condition | 412 | 5.433 ^a | .087 | 5.263 | 5.604 | 1 | 7 |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Education_3 = .0952, Education_6 = .0934; $F(2, 542) = 3.845$, $p = .010$; $\eta^2 = .021$

Table A14. Marginal mean comparisons of turnout intention in the German sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | Min | Max |
| Non-personalized condition | 140 | 5.549 ^a | .146 | 5.263 | 5.835 | 1 | 7 |
| Personalized condition | 410 | 5.817 ^a | .085 | 5.651 | 6.984 | 1 | 7 |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Voted for Gruene in last elections = .0909; $F(2, 547) = 4.297$, $p = .014$; $\eta^2 = .015$

Table A15. Effects of personalized campaigns on campaign evaluation and turnout intention.

| | Campaign evaluation | | Turnout intention | |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| | <i>b</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>SE</i> |
| Personalized condition | -1.912*** | 0.683 | 0.142 | 0.108 |
| Netherlands | 0.746 | 0.633 | -0.047 | 0.100 |
| Female voter | 1.856*** | 0.606 | 0.179* | 0.096 |
| Higher Education | -0.730 | 0.687 | 0.355*** | 0.109 |
| Green vote | 2.921*** | 1.059 | 0.400** | 0.168 |
| Political interest | 0.854*** | 0.187 | 0.420*** | 0.030 |
| Left-right position | -0.383** | 0.162 | 0.054** | 0.026 |
| EU position | 0.690*** | 0.129 | 0.055*** | 0.021 |
| 18-24 (ref. 65+) | 0.927 | 1.124 | -0.632*** | 0.178 |
| 25-34 | 0.394 | 0.974 | -0.373** | 0.154 |
| 35-44 | -1.509 | 0.988 | -0.322* | 0.156 |
| 45-54 | -1.190 | 0.911 | -0.092 | 0.144 |
| 55-64 | -0.966 | 0.930 | -.0228 | 0.147 |
| Campaign evaluation | - | - | 0.020*** | 0.005 |
| Constant | 23.222*** | 1.735 | 2.433 | 0.296 |
| N | 1096 | | 1096 | |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.096 | | 0.243 | |
| F | 8.835 | | 24.758 | |
| Prob > F | <0.001 | | <0.001 | |

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$; *b* represent unstandardized coefficients.

Appendix K: OLS regressions, controlling for candidate gender

Table A16. OLS regressions explaining turnout intention, controlling for candidate gender

| | (1) | | (2) | |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | <i>b</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>SE</i> |
| Female candidate | 0.0178 | 0.127 | -0.00072 | 0.117 |
| Green vote | 0.570*** | 0.156 | 0.473*** | 0.151 |
| Higher Education | 0.658*** | 0.120 | 0.334*** | 0.118 |
| Netherlands | -0.453*** | 0.125 | -0.0831 | 0.123 |
| Political interest | | | 0.425*** | 0.040 |
| EU position | | | 0.0699*** | 0.024 |
| Left-right position | | | 0.0307 | 0.030 |
| Female voter | | | 0.278** | 0.114 |
| 18-24 (ref. 65+) | | | -0.733*** | 0.192 |
| 25-34 | | | -0.292 | 0.179 |
| 35-44 | | | -0.315* | 0.189 |
| 45-54 | | | -0.127 | 0.171 |
| 55-64 | | | -0.246 | 0.174 |
| Constant | 5.595*** | 0.106 | 3.134*** | 0.345 |
| N | 822 | | 822 | |
| R^2 | 0.0530 | | 0.2249 | |
| F | 17.72 | | 19.07 | |
| Prob > F | <0.001 | | <0.001 | |

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$; standard errors are robust

Appendix L: ANOVAs testing hypothesis H2a

Table A17. Marginal mean comparisons of turnout intention in the Dutch sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | Min | Max |
| National | 138 | 5.449 ^a | .152 | 5.151 | 5.748 | 1 | 7 |
| <i>Spitzenkandidat</i> | | | | | | | |
| Foreign | 135 | 5.524 ^a | .152 | 5.225 | 5.823 | 1 | 7 |
| <i>Spitzenkandidat</i> | | | | | | | |
| Other national candidate | 139 | 5.330 ^a | .150 | 5.036 | 5.624 | 1 | 7 |
| Party | 134 | 5.339 ^a | .153 | 5.040 | 5.639 | 1 | 7 |
| Total | 546 | | | | | | |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Education_3 = .0952, Education_6 = .0934; $F(5, 540) = 2.471$, $p = .032$; $\eta^2 = .022$

Table A18. Marginal mean comparisons of turnout intention in the German sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | Min | Max |
| National | 137 | 5.859 ^a | .147 | 5.569 | 6.149 | 1 | 7 |
| <i>Spitzenkandidat</i> | | | | | | | |
| Foreign | 134 | 5.760 ^a | .149 | 5.468 | 6.053 | 1 | 7 |
| <i>Spitzenkandidat</i> | | | | | | | |
| Other national candidate | 139 | 5.831 ^a | .147 | 5.543 | 6.120 | 1 | 7 |
| Party | 140 | 5.549 ^a | .146 | 5.262 | 5.835 | 1 | 7 |
| Total | 550 | | | | | | |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Voted for Gruene in last elections = .0909; $F(5, 545) = 2.201$, $p = .068$; $\eta^2 = .016$

Appendix M: PROCESS analysis testing hypothesis H2b

Table A19. Effects of candidate nationality on campaign evaluation and turnout intention.

| | Campaign evaluation | | Turnout intention | |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| | <i>b</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>SE</i> |
| National candidate | 0.247 | 0.726 | 0.007 | 0.116 |
| Female candidate | 2.294*** | 0.723 | -0.043 | 0.116 |
| Netherlands | 0.298 | 0.768 | -0.088 | 0.123 |
| Female voter | 2.165*** | 0.700 | 0.238** | 0.112 |
| Higher Education | -1.133 | 0.781 | 0.355*** | 0.125 |
| Green vote | 3.506*** | 1.203 | 0.408** | 0.193 |
| Political interest | 1.051*** | 0.216 | 0.405*** | 0.035 |
| Left-right position | -0.312* | 0.186 | 0.036 | 0.030 |
| EU position | 0.664*** | 0.148 | 0.058** | 0.024 |
| 18-24 (ref. 65+) | 0.663 | 1.277 | -0.744*** | 0.204 |
| 25-34 | 0.691 | 1.134 | -0.304* | 0.181 |
| 35-44 | -2.034 | 1.142 | -0.276 | 0.183 |
| 45-54 | -1.282 | 1.046 | -0.102 | 0.167 |
| 55-64 | -0.446 | 1.086 | -0.237 | 0.173 |
| Campaign evaluation | - | - | 0.018*** | 0.006 |
| Constant | 16.678*** | 2.317 | 2.818*** | 0.381 |
| N | 822 | | 822 | |
| R^2 | 0.109 | | 0.235 | |
| F | 7.038 | | 16.514 | |
| Prob > F | <0.001 | | <0.001 | |

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$; *b* represent unstandardized coefficients.

Appendix N: ANOVAs testing H3

Table A20. Marginal mean comparisons of voting intention for the Greens in the Dutch sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | Min | Max |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | | |
| Non-personalized condition | 134 | 4.359 ^a | .256 | 3.856 | 4.862 | 1 | 11 |
| Personalized condition | 412 | 4.456 ^a | .146 | 4.169 | 4.743 | 1 | 11 |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Education_3 = .0952, Education_6 = .0934; $F(3, 542) = .805$, $p = .491$; $\eta^2 = .004$

Table A21. Marginal mean comparisons of voting intention for the Greens in the Dutch sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | Min | Max |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | | |
| National Spitzenkandidat | 138 | 4.343 ^a | .256 | 3.841 | 4.845 | 1 | 11 |
| Foreign Spitzenkandidat | 135 | 4.616 ^a | .256 | 4.114 | 5.119 | 1 | 11 |
| Other national candidate | 139 | 4.412 ^a | .252 | 3.917 | 4.906 | 1 | 11 |
| Party | 134 | 4.360 ^a | .256 | 3.856 | 4.864 | 1 | 11 |
| Total | 546 | | | | | | |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Education_3 = .0952, Education_6 = .0934; $F(5, 540) = .605$, $p = .696$; $\eta^2 = .006$

Table A22. Marginal mean comparisons of voting intention for the Greens in the German sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | Min | Max |
|----------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | | |
| Non-personalized condition | 140 | 4.726 ^a | .245 | 4.245 | 5.206 | 1 | 11 |
| Personalized condition | 410 | 5.817 ^a | .143 | 4.567 | 5.128 | 1 | 11 |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Voted for Gruene in last elections = .0909; $F(2, 547) = 57.211$, $p < .001$; $\eta^2 = .173$

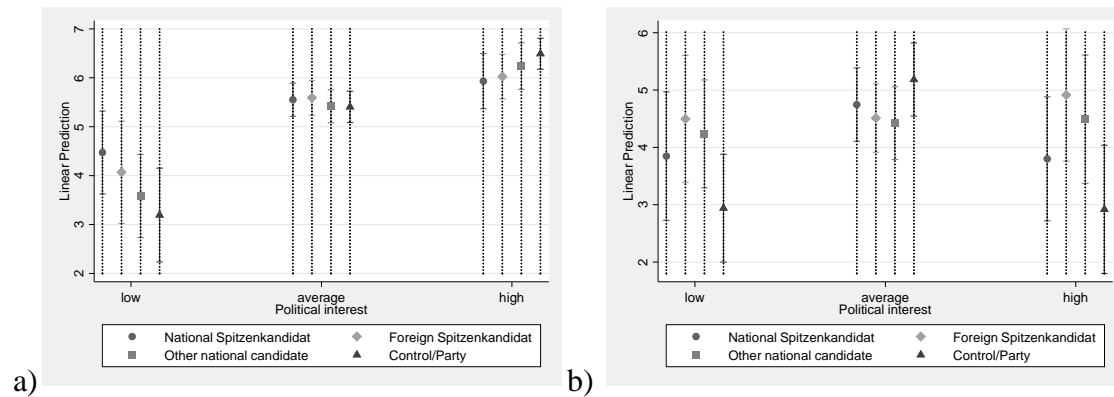
Table A23. Marginal mean comparisons of voting intention for the Greens in the German sample

| Condition | N | <i>M</i> | <i>SE</i> | 95% Confidence Interval for <i>M</i> | | Min | Max |
|--------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | | |
| National | 137 | 5.151 ^a | .247 | 4.666 | 5.636 | 1 | 11 |
| <i>Spitzenkandidat</i> | | | | | | | |
| Foreign | 134 | 4.840 ^a | .249 | 4.350 | 5.330 | 1 | 11 |
| <i>Spitzenkandidat</i> | | | | | | | |
| Other national candidate | 139 | 4.552 ^a | .246 | 4.069 | 5.035 | 1 | 11 |
| Party | 140 | 4.728 ^a | .244 | 4.248 | 5.208 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 550 | | | | | | |

Note: ^a Covariates appearing in the model are evaluated at the following values: Voted for Gruene in last elections = .0909; $F(5, 545) = 29.388, p < .001; \eta^2 = .177$

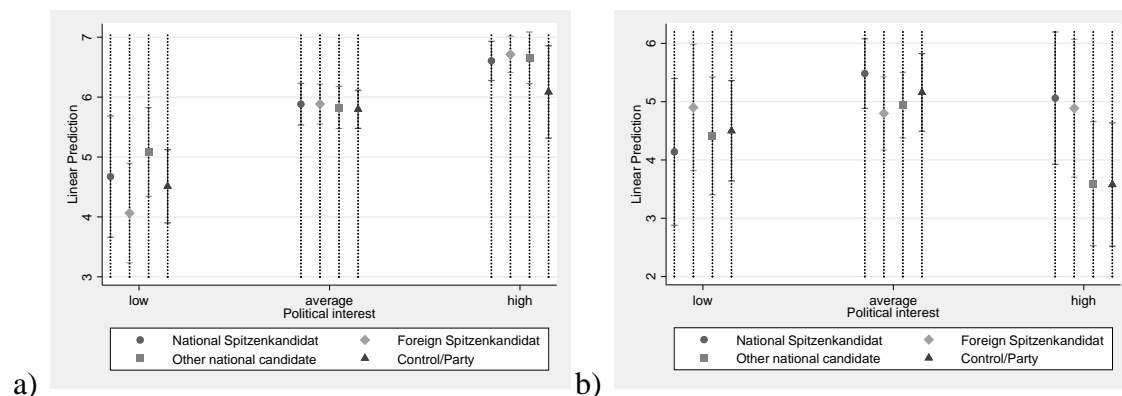
Appendix O: Post-hoc analyses

Figure A1. Adjusted predictions of condition for different levels of political interest on a) turnout intention and b) vote intention for the Greens in the Dutch sample



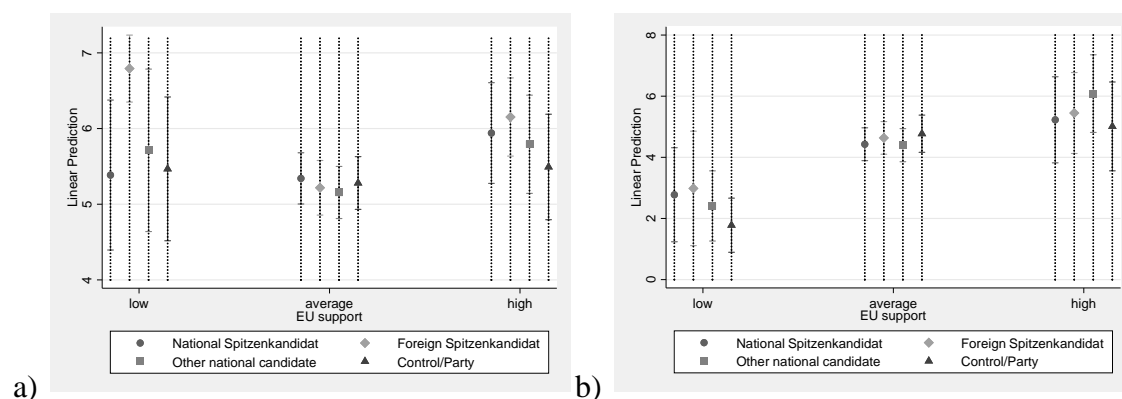
Note: Results based on OLS regression, including education as covariate; low, average and high levels of political interest are based on the mean distribution and standard deviation from the mean (see Appendix F)

Figure A2. Adjusted predictions of condition for different levels of political interest on a) turnout intention and b) vote intention for the Greens in the German sample



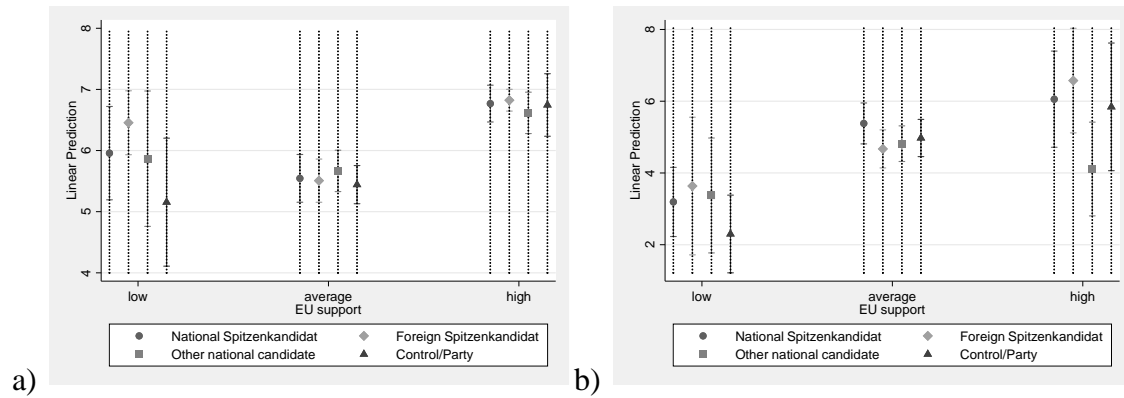
Note: Results based on OLS regression, including past Green vote as covariate; low, average and high levels of political interest are based on the mean distribution and standard deviation from the mean (see Appendix F)

Figure A3. Adjusted predictions of condition for different levels of EU support on a) turnout intention and b) vote intention for the Greens in the Dutch sample



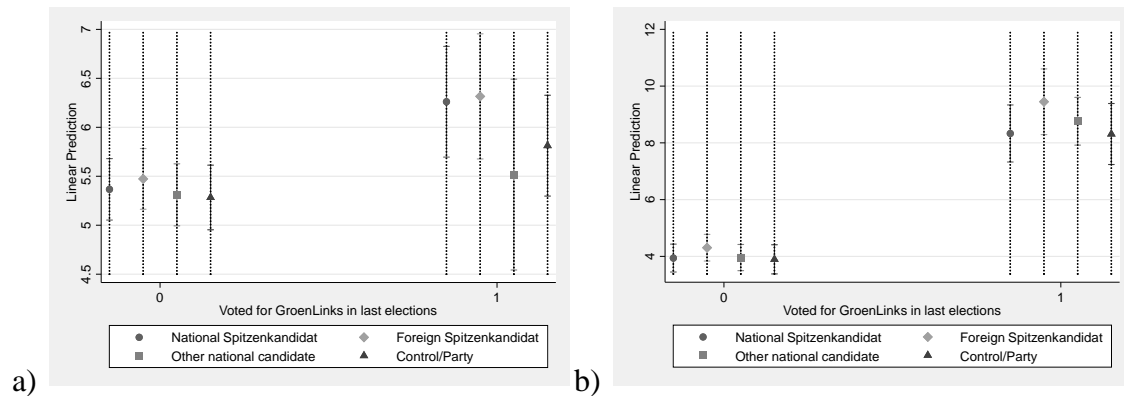
Note: Results based on OLS regression, including education as covariate; low, average and high levels of EU support are based on the mean distribution and standard deviation from the mean (see Appendix F)

Figure A4. Adjusted predictions of condition for different levels of EU support on a) turnout intention and b) vote intention for the Greens in the German sample



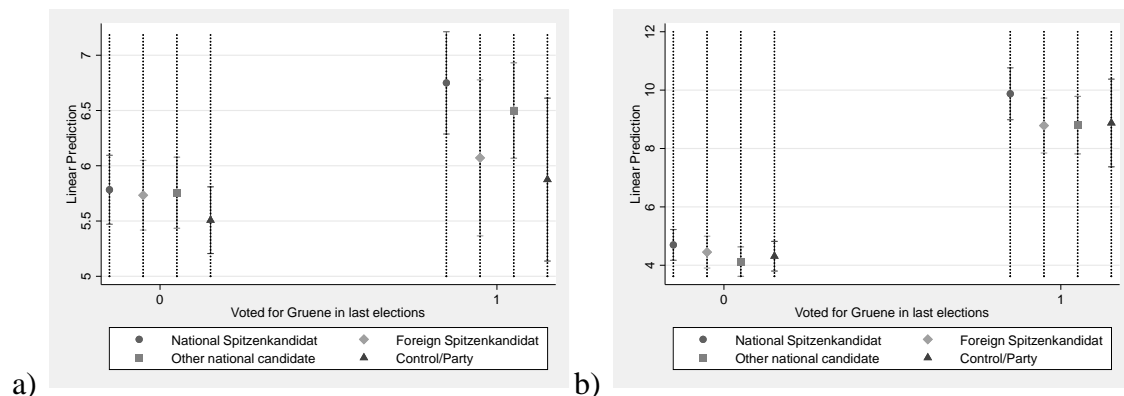
Note: Results based on OLS regression, including past Green vote as covariate; low, average and high levels of EU support are based on the mean distribution and standard deviation from the mean (see Appendix F)

Figure A5. Adjusted predictions of condition for Green and non-Green voters on a) turnout intention and b) vote intention for the Greens in the Dutch sample



Note: Results based on OLS regression, including education as covariate

Figure A6. Adjusted predictions of condition for Green and non-Green voters on a) turnout intention and b) vote intention for the Greens in the German sample



Note: Results based on OLS regression, including past Green vote as covariate