

Mediated personalization of executive European Union politics: Examining patterns in the broadsheet coverage of the European Commission, 1992-2016

Online Appendix

This appendix is divided into three sections:

Section A provides information about the sample and the descriptive statistics of the dependent, independent and control variables.

Section B provides information related to the results reported in the paper.

Section C provides robustness checks.

A more detailed overview of the respective tables is provided at the beginning of each section.

Section A: Sample information and descriptive statistics

The following pages provide information about:

- The sample selection
 - **Table A1** comprises the Boolean search terms for each newspaper
 - **Table A2** provides the data overview
 - **Figure A1** shows the distribution of the coverage of domestic and EU affairs in *Gazeta Wyborcza*
 - **Table A3** provides a data overview in terms of the number of months included in the final sample per newspaper and year (with respect to individualization and presidentialization)
- Descriptive statistics
 - **Table A4** provides the descriptive statistics of the dependent variables
 - **Figure A2 and A3** provide the histograms of individualization and presidentialization, respectively
 - **Table A5** provides the descriptive statistics of the independent variables
 - The number of observations for the categorical variables are provided in **Table A6** (Treaty period), **Table A7** (Commission Presidents), and **Table A8** (Eurozone)

Table A1. Boolean search terms by newspaper, 1992-2016

	Irish Times	The Guardian	Le Monde	De Volkskrant	Politiken	La Stampa	Gazeta Wyborcza
Main keywords used during the entire period*	("European Parliament") OR ("Euro-Parliament") OR ("Strasbourg Assembly") OR ("EU Parliament") OR ("EU Legislature") OR ("Parliament w/5 Brussels OR (Parliament w/5 Strasbourg) OR ("European Parliamentarian!") OR ("EU Parliamentarian!") OR (Euro-MP!) OR (MEP!) OR ("European Commission!") OR (Commission w/5 Brussels OR ("EU Commission!") OR ("EU") OR ("European Union") OR ("European Communit!") OR ("European Council") OR ("Council of Ministers"))	("European Parliament") OR ("Euro-Parliament") OR ("Strasbourg Assembly") OR ("EU Parliament") OR ("EU Legislature") OR ("Parliament w/5 Brussels OR (Parliament w/5 Strasbourg) OR ("European Parliamentarian!") OR ("EU Parliamentarian!") OR (Euro-MP!) OR (MEP!) OR ("European Commission!") OR (Commission w/5 Brussels OR ("EU Commission!") OR ("EU") OR ("European Union") OR ("European Communit!") OR ("European Council") OR ("Council of Ministers"))	(Europarlement) OR ("Parlement Européen") OR (Parlement w/5 Bruxelles AND Europ!) OR (Parlement w/5 Strasbourg AND Europ!) OR ("Assemblée de Strasbourg") OR ("hémicycle européen") OR (Eurodeputé!) OR (Euro-parlementaire!) OR ("député! européen!") OR ("Union européenne") OR ("Commission européenne") OR ("commissaire! européen!") OR ("Communauté! européenne!") OR (Commission w/5 Bruxelles OR ("TUE") OR ("Conseil européen") OR ("Conseil de l'Union européenne")	("EU-Parlement") OR ("Europarlement") OR ("Europees Parlement") OR (Brussel w/5 Parlement) OR (Straatsburg w/5 Parlement) OR ("Euro-parlementarier!") OR ("Europese Parlementarier!") OR ("EP-lid") OR ("EP-leden") OR ("EU-Parlementarier!") OR ("Europese afgevaardigde!") OR ("EU afgevaardigde!") OR ("Europese Gemeenschap!") OR ("Europese Commiss!") OR (Commissie w/5 Brussel) OR ("Europese Unie") OR ("EU") OR ("EU-Commiss!") OR ("Europees Commissaris") OR ("Eurocommiss!") OR ("Europese	("EU-parlament!") OR ("Europæisk! Parlament!") OR ("Europa-Parlament!") OR ("Europa-parlament!") OR (Parlament! w/5 Bruxelles) OR (Parlament! w/5 Strasbourg) OR ("MEP") OR ("EU-Kommiss!") OR ("Europa-Kommiss!") OR ("Europa-kommiss!") OR ("Europæisk! Kommiss!") OR ("Europæiske Union") OR ("EU") OR ("europæiske fællesskab!") OR ("Europæiske Råd") OR ("Ministerrådet") OR ("EU-Rådet")	("Parlamento europeo") OR ("Europarlamento") OR (Parlamento w/5 Strasburgo) OR (Parlamento w/5 Bruxelles) OR ("Assemblea europea") OR ("euro-parlamentar!") OR ("parlamentare europeo") OR ("parlamentari europei") OR ("parlamentare europea") OR ("eurodeputat!") OR ("deputato europeo") OR ("deputata europea") OR ("deputati europei") OR ("Commissione europea") OR ("commissario europeo") OR ("commissari europei") OR ("Euro-commissar!") OR ("Comunità europea") OR ("Unione europea")	("Parlament! Europejsk!") OR ("europarlament!") OR ("Euro-parlancie") OR ("Parlancie Europejskim") OR (Parlament! w/5 Strasburg!) OR (Parlament! w/5 Bruksel!) OR ("eurodeputowan!") OR ("euro-parlamentarzys!") OR ("poseł! do Parlamentu Europejskiego") OR ("poslan! do Parlamentu Europejskiego") OR ("człon! Parlamentu Europejskiego") OR ("europoseł!") OR ("europoslan!") OR ("deputowan! europejsk!") OR ("Komisj! Europejsk!") OR ("europejski komisarz") OR ("Eurokomis!") OR ("Uni! Europejsk!") OR ("UE") OR

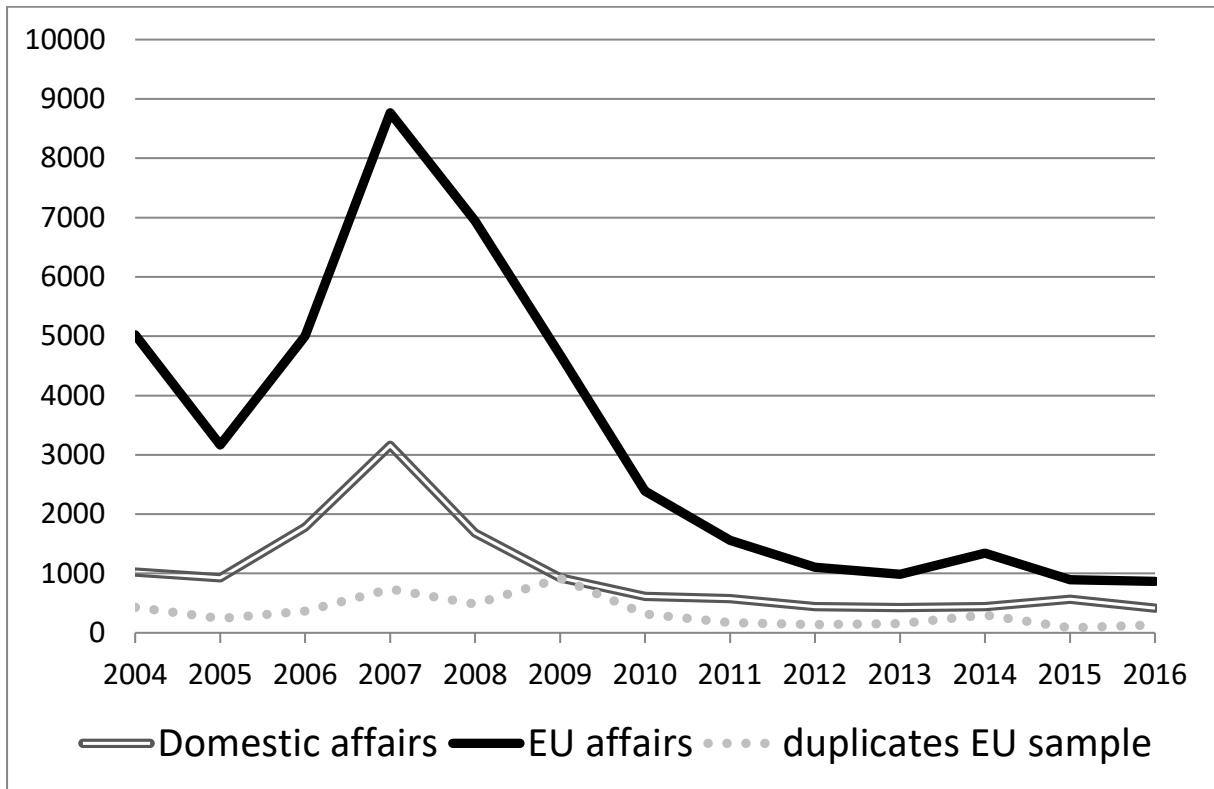
				Raad") OR ("Raad van Ministers")		OR ("UE") OR ("Consiglio europeo") OR ("Consiglio dei ministri europei")	("Wspólnot! europejsk!") OR ("Rad! Europejsk!") OR ("Rad! Uni! Europejsk!") OR ("Rad! Ministrów")
Temporarily added keywords	("European Economic Community"), ("European Convention")	("European Economic Community"), ("European Convention")	("Communauté économique européenne"), ("Convention européenne")	("Europese Economische Gemeenschap!"), ("Europese Conventie")	("Europæiske Økonomiske Fællesskab!"), ("Europæiske Konvent!")	("Comunità economica europea"), ("Convenzione europea")	("Konwent Europejski")
References to EU elections	("European elections") OR ("EU elections") OR ("Euro elections")	("European elections") OR ("EU elections") OR ("Euro elections")	("élections européennes")	("Europese verkiezingen") OR ("EU verkiezingen") OR ("Europese Parlements-verkiezingen")	("EU-valg!")	("elezioni europee")	("Europejsk! Wybor!") OR ("Wybor! Europejsk!") OR ("Wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego")
Other keywords consecutively added over the years	("eurogroup") OR ("Economic and Monetary Union") OR ("EMU") or ("eurozone") OR ("European Stability Mechanism")	("eurogroup") OR ("Economic and Monetary Union") OR ("EMU") or ("eurozone") OR ("European Stability Mechanism")	("Eurogroupe") OR ("Union économique et monétaire") OR ("UEM") OR ("zone euro") OR ("mécanisme européen de stabilité")	("eurogroep") OR ("Economische en Monetaire Unie") OR ("EMU") OR ("eurozone") OR ("Europees Stabiliteits-mechanisme")	("eurogruppen") OR ("Økonomiske og Monetære Union") OR ("ØMU") OR ("Eurozonen") OR ("Europæiske stabilitets-mekanisme")	("Eurogruppo") OR ("Zona euro") OR ("eurozona") OR ("Unione economica e monetaria") OR ("UEM") OR ("Meccanismo europeo di stabilità")	("Eurogrupa") OR ("stref! euro") OR ("Euroland") OR ("Uni! Gospodarcz! i Walutow!") OR ("UGiW") OR ("UGW") OR ("europejsk! Mechanism! stabilności")

Note: * The search period for the Volkskrant and Politiken starts in January 1995 and in January 1997, respectively; the search period for Gazeta Wyborcza starts in May 2004.

Table A2. Data overview

	Irish Times	The Guardian	Le Monde	De Volkskrant	Politiken	La Stampa	Gazeta Wyborcza	Total
Collected	122,564	115,826	175,296	44,501	75,241	50,420	42,724	626,572
Identified by Python	122,564	115,825	175,296	44,500	75,240	50,420	42,724	626,569
>10,000 words	-2	-211	-30	0	-4	0	-35	-282
Duplicates	-3,001	-13,525	-44,446	-291	-2,345	-694	-4,478	-68,780
>16% numbers	-27	-375	-1,156	-41	-218	-26	-47	-1,890
Online articles	0	-10,713	0	0	0	0	0	-10,713
Missing publication dates	0	0	-4	0	-2	0	0	-6
Analysis sample	119,534	91,001	129,660	44,168	72,671	49,700	38,164	544,898
Not about EU Commission/ Commissioners	-92,967	-72,638	-106,032	-31,060	-58,766	-34,848	-29,517	-425,828
Total remaining	26,567	18,363	23,628	13,108	13,905	14,852	8,647	119,070

Figure A1. Comparing the coverage of domestic and EU affairs by *Gazeta Wyborcza* over time



Note: The figure shows the total number of articles available for the search terms provided in Table A1 (EU affairs) and attention to domestic affairs, which was measured as the number of articles mentioning the *Sejm* or the respective Prime Minister in each year since 1 May 2004. The duplicates in the EU affairs coverage are shown separately.

Table A3. Number of months included in the final sample, per newspaper and year (related to the samples of individualization and presidentialization)

Year	Irish Times	The Guardian	Le Monde	De Volkskrant	Politiken	La Stampa	Gazeta Wyborcza
1992	7	12	11			7	
1993	11	12	11			4	
1994	12	12	11			6	
1995	12	12	12	11		11	
1996	12	12	12	12		12	
1997	12	12	12	11	9	12	
1998	12	12	11	11	12	12	
1999	12	12	11	12	10	12	
2000	12	12	12	12	12	12	
2001	12	12	12	12	12	12	
2002	12	12	12	12	12	12	
2003	12	12	12	12	12	12	
2004	12	12	12	12	12	12	8
2005	12	12	12	12	12	9	6
2006	12	12	12	12	12	12	9
2007	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
2008	12	12	12	12	12	11	12
2009	12	11	12	12	11	11	12
2010	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
2011	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
2012	12	10	12	12	12	11	4
2013	12	12	12	12	12	12	2
2014	12	12	12	12	12	12	5
2015	12	12	12	12	12	12	1
2016	12	12	12	12	12	12	4
Total	294	297	295	261	234	274	99

Table A4. Descriptive Statistics of the dependent variables

Variable	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Individualization	1754	.00	.89	.3367	.13513
Presidentialization	1754	.00	.72	.1146	.10729

Figure A2. Histogram of Individualization

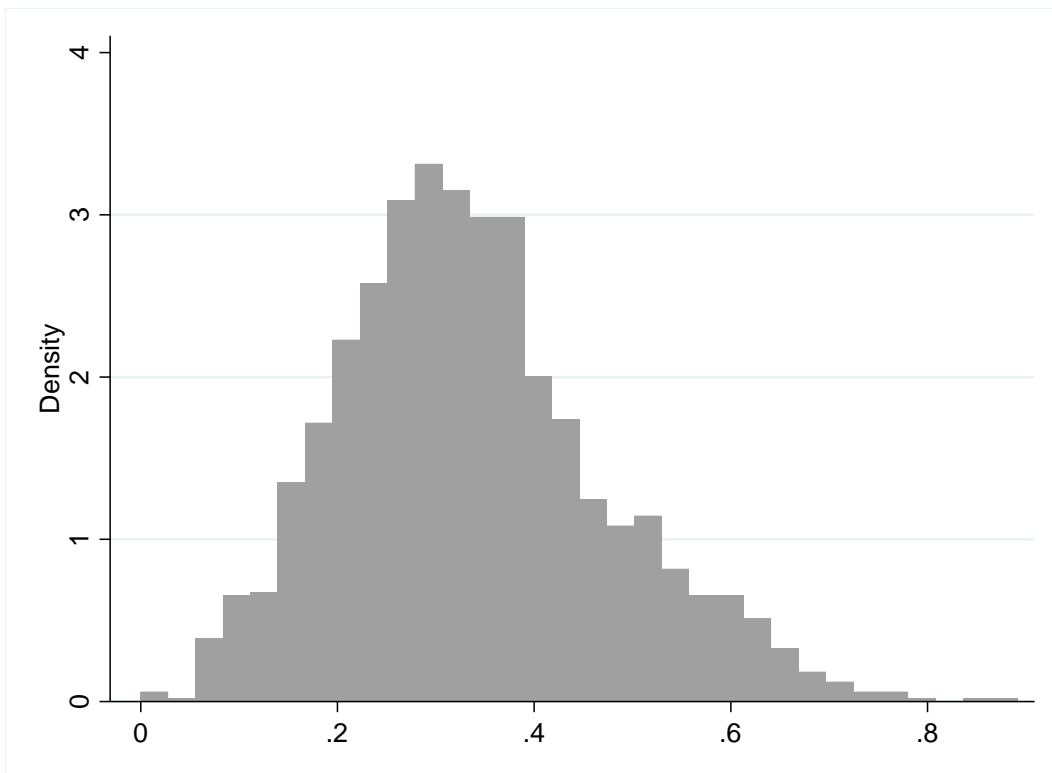


Figure A3. Histogram of Presidentialization

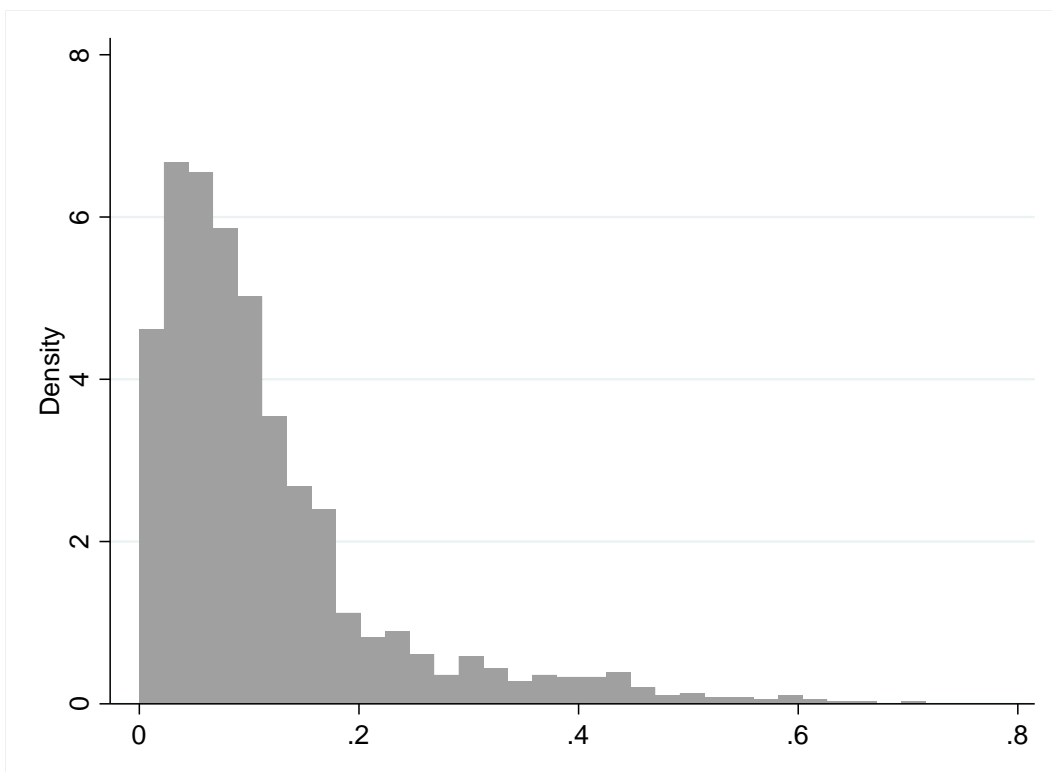


Table A5. Descriptive statistics of the independent variables

Variable	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
New Commission (H1.2)	1754	0.00	1.00	.0217	.1456
EU summits (H2.2)	1754	0.00	3.00	.5034	.6285
Financial crisis (H2.4)	1754	0.00	1.00	.3706	.4831
Eurozone (H2.5)	1754	0.00	1.00	.4886	.5000
Unemployment rate (H2.6)	1754	2.1200	19.0700	7.8732	3.2129
GDP growth (H2.7)	1754	0.00	1.00	.8848	.3193
Post-election period	1754	0.00	1.00	.0758	.2648
Commission size	1754	17.00	30.00	23.8090	3.9051
Council Presidency	1754	0.00	1.00	.0616	.2405
National general election	1754	0.00	1.00	.0291	.1681
EU election	1754	0.00	1.00	.0177	.1318

Table A6. Number of observations by Treaty period (H1.1, H2, and H2.1)

Period	Frequency	Percent	Cum. percent
Pre-Maastricht	67	3.8	3.8
Maastricht	329	18.8	22.6
Amsterdam	267	15.2	37.8
Nice	544	31.0	68.8
Lisbon	547	31.2	100.0
N	1754	100.0	

Table A7. Number of observations by Commission Presidents (H2.3)

Period	Frequency	Percent	Cum. percent
Delors	116	6.6	6.6
Santer	292	16.6	23.3
Marin	9	.5	23.8
Prodi	378	21.6	45.3
Barroso	798	45.5	90.8
Juncker	161	9.2	100.0
N	1754	100.0	

Table A8. Number of observations by Eurozone after 1999 (H2.5)

Period	Frequency	Percent	Cum. percent
Non-Eurozone	525	38.0	38.0
Eurozone	857	62.0	100.0
N	1754	100.0	

Section B: Information related to the results reported in the paper

The following tables and figures relate to the results reported in the paper, bar Figures 1 and 2. In particular, the following pages provide information about:

- Figure 3 (means of individualization over different Commission periods)
 - **Table A9** relates to Figure 3 in the paper and provides the ANOVAs for individualization and different Commission periods per newspaper
- Average marginal effects following the heteroskedastic fractional response models
 - **Table A10** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable individualization. It relates to Figure 4 in the paper.
 - **Table A11** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. It relates to Figure 5 (Model 1) in the paper.
 - **Table A12** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. It relates to Figure 5 (Model 2) in the paper.
 - **Table A13** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. It relates to Figure 6 (Model 3) in the paper.
 - **Table A14** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. It relates to Figure 6 (Model 4) in the paper.
 - **Figure A4** depicts the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization within the Eurozone. It relates to Table A15 below.
 - **Figure A5** depicts the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization outside of the Eurozone. It relates to Table A16 below.
 - **Table A15** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization within the Eurozone.
 - **Table A16** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization outside of the Eurozone.

Table A9. Comparing means of individualization over different Commission periods, per newspaper

	Irish Times			The Guardian			Le Monde			La Stampa		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Delors II	7	.4800	.08518	12	.3769	.09997	11	.5289	.10114	7	.7603	.10716
Delors III	23	.3712	.11249	24	.3356	.07833	22	.5140	.09323	10	.5064	.19628
Santer	54	.3220	.08871	54	.2791	.07008	53	.3533	.08819	53	.4682	.09632
Marin	2	.1963	.13717	2	.2016	.03399	1	.1769	.	2	.3546	.16756
Prodi	62	.3092	.06675	62	.3184	.06908	62	.4045	.07566	62	.5732	.06067
Barroso I	63	.3235	.05852	62	.3546	.09315	63	.3541	.07254	58	.4778	.10339
Barroso II	57	.2837	.08683	55	.3417	.08940	57	.3139	.06987	56	.5288	.11945
Juncker	26	.3976	.05892	26	.5298	.07780	26	.3308	.07096	26	.4851	.11353
ANOVA												
df	7			7			7			7		
F (between groups)	11.688			26.454			25.394			12.108		
<i>p</i>	<0.001			<0.001			<0.001			<0.001		
η^2	0.222			0.391			0.382			0.242		

	De Volkskrant			Politiken			Gazeta Wyborcza		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Santer	51	.1622	.06975	27	.2280	.07448			
Marin	2	.1013	.03276	-	-	-			
Prodi	62	.1734	.07105	62	.2444	.07055	6	.1475	.03906
Barroso I	63	.2445	.06643	62	.2778	.08304	54	.1736	.05936
Barroso II	57	.2339	.06682	57	.3372	.07563	34	.2528	.09323
Juncker	26	.2630	.06810	26	.3474	.08071	5	.1675	.06396
ANOVA									
df	5			4			3		
F (between groups)	17.278			19.036			9.802		
<i>p</i>	<0.001			<0.001			<0.001		
η^2	0.253			0.250			0.236		

Note: The respective Commission periods begin in the following months: Delors III: January 1993 (max. 24 months in these data); Santer: January 1995 (max. 54 months); Marin: July 1999 (max. 2 months); Prodi: September 1999 (mx. 62 months); Barroso I: November 2004 (max. 63 months); Barroso II: February 2010 (max. 57 months); Juncker: Nov 2014 (max. 26 months); a maximum of 12 months are included for the Delors II period.

Table A10. Average marginal effects on individualization

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Maastricht (<i>ref.</i> pre-Maastricht)	-0.02247	0.13994	-0.16	0.872	-0.29675	0.251808
Amsterdam	-0.01689	0.135916	-0.12	0.901	-0.28328	0.249497
Nice	0.008373	0.136432	0.06	0.951	-0.25903	0.275775
Lisbon	-0.04304	0.112632	-0.38	0.702	-0.2638	0.177712
New Commission	0.008182	0.013933	0.59	0.557	-0.01913	0.03549
Post-election period	-0.02357	0.010003	-2.36	0.018	-0.04317	-0.00396
Commission size	0.002498	0.001484	1.68	0.092	-0.00041	0.005406
Council Presidency	0.009265	0.007203	1.29	0.198	-0.00485	0.023382
National general election	0.016949	0.010346	1.64	0.101	-0.00333	0.037226
EU election month	-0.00901	0.014186	-0.64	0.525	-0.03681	0.018795
De Volkskrant (<i>ref.</i> Irish Times)	-0.10999	0.008826	-12.46	<0.001	-0.12729	-0.0927
La Stampa	0.186411	0.008944	20.84	<0.001	0.168881	0.203941
The Guardian	0.01932	0.008935	2.16	0.031	0.001807	0.036832
Politiken	-0.04493	0.011092	-4.05	<0.001	-0.06667	-0.02319
Le Monde	0.04199	0.007463	5.63	<0.001	0.027363	0.056617
Gazeta Wyborcza	-0.14663	0.011232	-13.05	<0.001	-0.16864	-0.12461

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A11. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 1)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Maastricht (<i>ref.</i> pre-Maastricht)	-0.8933629	0.0230418	-38.77	<0.001	-0.938524	-0.8482019
Amsterdam	-0.3210623	0.0224567	-14.3	<0.001	-0.3650765	-0.277048
Nice	-0.8107652	0.0243723	-33.27	<0.001	-0.8585339	-0.7629964
Lisbon	-0.8320536	0.0279942	-29.72	<0.001	-0.8869212	-0.777186
EU summits	0.015641	0.002328	6.72	<0.001	0.011079	0.020203
Unemployment	-0.00064	0.001023	-0.63	0.532	-0.00264	0.001365
GDP growth (dummy)	0.000728	0.011117	0.07	0.948	-0.02106	0.022516
Post-election period	-0.04218	0.020838	-2.02	0.043	-0.08302	-0.00134
Commission size	0.02671	0.00633	4.22	<0.001	0.014304	0.039116
Council Presidency	0.00986	0.005667	1.74	0.082	-0.00125	0.020967
National general election	0.00548	0.006918	0.79	0.428	-0.00808	0.019039
EU election month	-0.02149	0.047561	-0.45	0.651	-0.11471	0.071723
De Volkskrant (<i>ref.</i> Irish Times)	-0.03395	0.004482	-7.57	<0.001	-0.04273	-0.02516
La Stampa	0.135416	0.012553	10.79	<0.001	0.110813	0.160019
The Guardian	0.016294	0.004999	3.26	0.001	0.006496	0.026093
Politiken	0.004704	0.004944	0.95	0.341	-0.00499	0.014394
Le Monde	0.050705	0.006068	8.36	<0.001	0.038812	0.062599
Gazeta Wyborcza	-0.02251	0.014391	-1.56	0.118	-0.05072	0.005691

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A12. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 2)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Santer (ref. Delors)	-0.23319	0.046271	-5.04	<0.001	-0.32388	-0.1425
Marin	-0.28346	0.044419	-6.38	<0.001	-0.37052	-0.1964
Prodi	-0.1506	0.042626	-3.53	<0.001	-0.23414	-0.06705
Barroso	-0.21439	0.040538	-5.29	<0.001	-0.29384	-0.13494
Juncker	-0.1636	0.04152	-3.94	<0.001	-0.24498	-0.08222
EU summits	0.015676	0.003066	5.11	<0.001	0.009666	0.021685
Unemployment	3.62E-05	0.001806	0.02	0.984	-0.0035	0.003576
GDP growth (dummy)	-0.02162	0.010164	-2.13	0.033	-0.04154	-0.0017
Post-election period	-0.01303	0.010084	-1.29	0.196	-0.03279	0.006734
Commission size	-0.00045	0.001212	-0.37	0.713	-0.00282	0.001929
Council Presidency	0.013971	0.007581	1.84	0.065	-0.00089	0.028829
National general election	0.005551	0.007348	0.76	0.45	-0.00885	0.019952
EU election month	0.018947	0.013949	1.36	0.174	-0.00839	0.046286
De Volkskrant (ref. Irish Times)	-0.03516	0.004	-8.79	<0.001	-0.043	-0.02732
La Stampa	0.130288	0.021023	6.2	<0.001	0.089083	0.171492
The Guardian	0.014825	0.005561	2.67	0.008	0.003927	0.025724
Politiken	0.002778	0.005398	0.51	0.607	-0.0078	0.013358
Le Monde	0.050095	0.00712	7.04	<0.001	0.036141	0.064049
Gazeta Wyborcza	-0.03553	0.015381	-2.31	0.021	-0.06567	-0.00538

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A13. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 3)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Financial crisis	0.003345	0.0304	0.11	0.912	-0.05624	0.062927
EU summits	0.019908	0.002953	6.74	<0.001	0.01412	0.025696
Unemployment	-0.00206	0.000739	-2.79	0.005	-0.00351	-0.00061
GDP growth (dummy)	0.000483	0.006524	0.07	0.941	-0.0123	0.013271
Post-election period	-0.01996	0.008312	-2.4	0.016	-0.03625	-0.00367
Commission size	-0.01175	0.001356	-8.67	<0.001	-0.01441	-0.00909
Council Presidency	0.01235	0.006108	2.02	0.043	0.00038	0.024321
National general election	0.00472	0.007333	0.64	0.52	-0.00965	0.019092
EU election month	0.015425	0.015532	0.99	0.321	-0.01502	0.045867
De Volkskrant (ref. Irish Times)	-0.04687	0.004344	-10.79	<0.001	-0.05539	-0.03836
La Stampa	0.126659	0.008823	14.36	<0.001	0.109367	0.143951
The Guardian	0.008099	0.004868	1.66	0.096	-0.00144	0.01764
Politiken	-0.0108	0.00498	-2.17	0.03	-0.02056	-0.00104
Le Monde	0.053284	0.005322	10.01	<0.001	0.042853	0.063715
Gazeta Wyborcza	0.075884	0.065098	1.17	0.244	-0.0517	0.203473

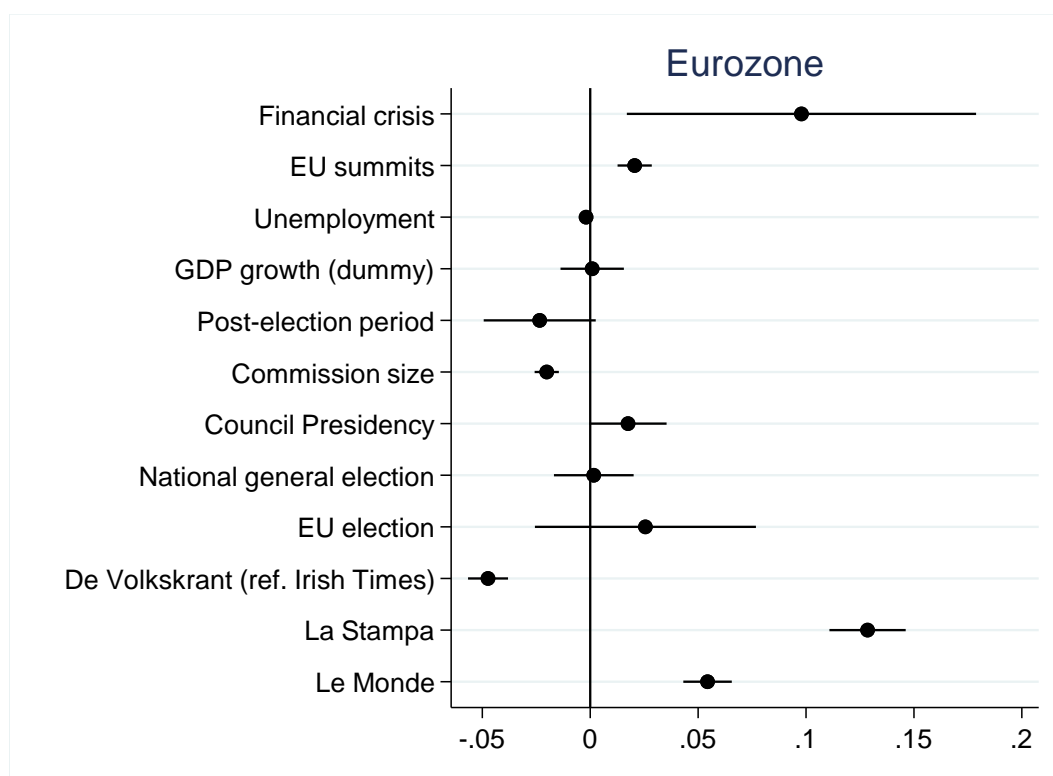
Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A14. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 4)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Eurozone	0.043277	0.005704	7.59	<0.001	0.032097	0.054457
EU summits	0.020646	0.003912	5.28	<0.001	0.012978	0.028314
Unemployment	0.007374	0.000822	8.97	<0.001	0.005763	0.008985
GDP growth (dummy)	-0.02499	0.007259	-3.44	0.001	-0.03921	-0.01076
Post-election period	-0.01839	0.011911	-1.54	0.123	-0.04174	0.004956
Commission size	-0.01202	0.001233	-9.75	<0.001	-0.01444	-0.0096
Council Presidency	0.009824	0.007675	1.28	0.201	-0.00522	0.024867
National general election	-0.00524	0.009136	-0.57	0.566	-0.02314	0.012667
EU election month	0.019815	0.02334	0.85	0.396	-0.02593	0.065561

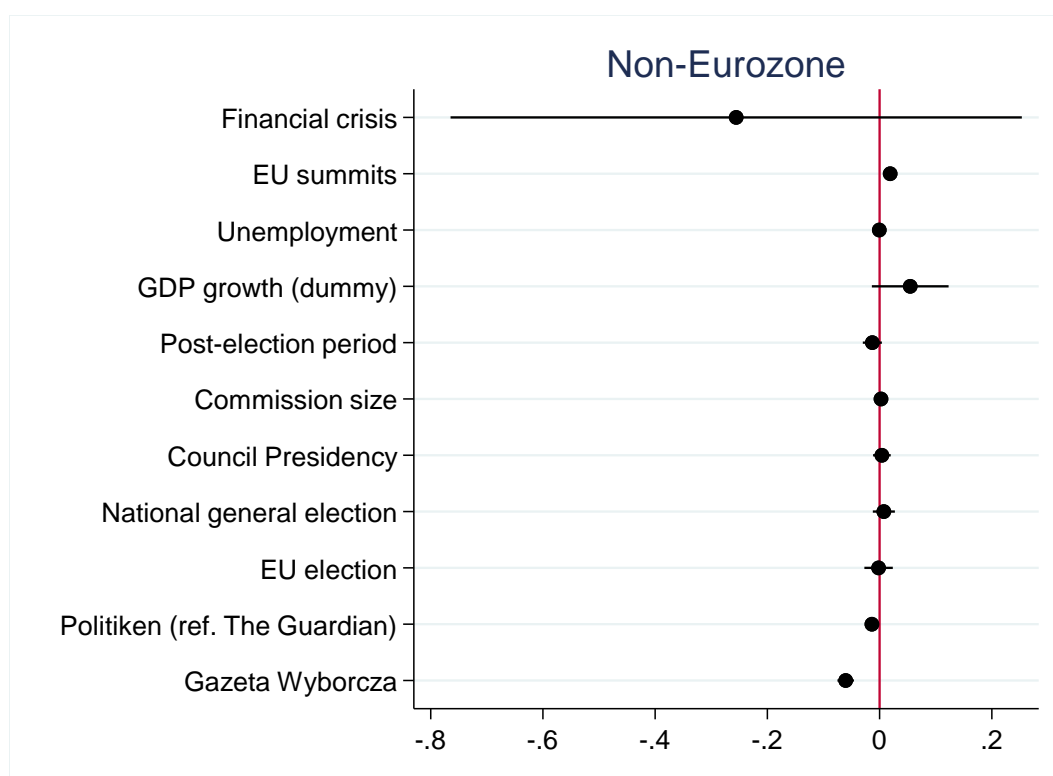
Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Figure A4. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Eurozone only)



Note: spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. Calculations based on Tables A15.

Figure A5. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Non-Eurozone only)



Note: spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. Calculations based on Tables A16.

Table A15. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Eurozone only)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Financial crisis	0.097888	0.041285	2.37	0.018	0.016971	0.178806
EU summits	0.020608	0.004044	5.1	<0.001	0.012681	0.028534
Unemployment	-0.00192	0.000919	-2.08	0.037	-0.00372	-0.00011
GDP growth (dummy)	0.000913	0.00749	0.12	0.903	-0.01377	0.015594
Post-election period	-0.0234	0.013242	-1.77	0.077	-0.04935	0.002554
Commission size	-0.02014	0.002865	-7.03	<0.001	-0.02576	-0.01453
Council Presidency	0.017539	0.009112	1.92	0.054	-0.00032	0.035397
National general election	0.001653	0.009422	0.18	0.861	-0.01681	0.020119
EU election month	0.02557	0.026123	0.98	0.328	-0.02563	0.07677
De Volkskrant (ref. Irish Times)	-0.04735	0.004726	-10.02	<0.001	-0.05661	-0.03809
La Stampa	0.12852	0.009016	14.26	<0.001	0.110849	0.14619
Le Monde	0.054371	0.005728	9.49	<0.001	0.043146	0.065597

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A16. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Non-Eurozone only)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Financial crisis	-0.25558	0.25974	-0.98	0.325	-0.76466	0.2535
EU summits	0.018856	0.003915	4.82	<0.001	0.011183	0.026529
Unemployment	-0.00054	0.001528	-0.36	0.722	-0.00354	0.00245
GDP growth (dummy)	0.0546	0.034887	1.57	0.118	-0.01378	0.122978
Post-election period	-0.01293	0.008658	-1.49	0.135	-0.0299	0.004041
Commission size	0.002527	0.001207	2.09	0.036	0.000161	0.004894
Council Presidency	0.004112	0.008031	0.51	0.609	-0.01163	0.019852
National general election	0.007576	0.010031	0.76	0.45	-0.01209	0.027237
EU election month	-0.00179	0.012927	-0.14	0.89	-0.02712	0.02355
Politiken (ref, The Guardian)	-0.01374	0.005398	-2.55	0.011	-0.02432	-0.00316
Gazeta Wyborcza	-0.06039	0.007513	-8.04	<0.001	-0.07511	-0.04566

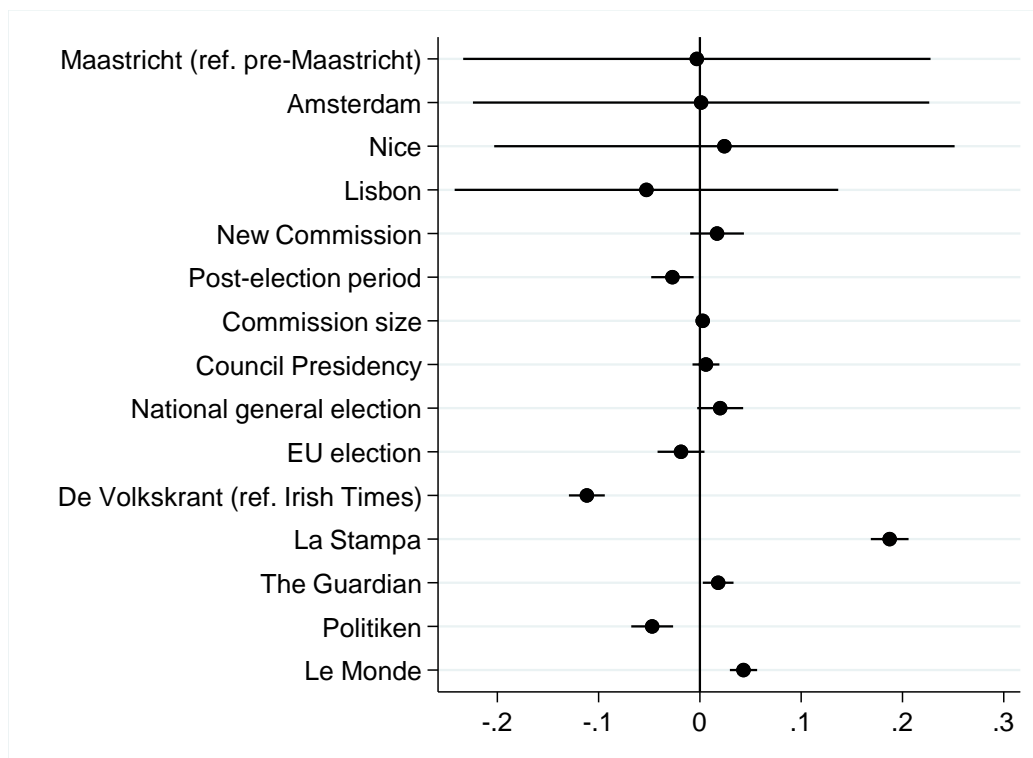
Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Section C: Robustness checks

In the following pages additional estimations of the heteroskedastic fractional response models are provided. As robustness checks the following models are calculated below:

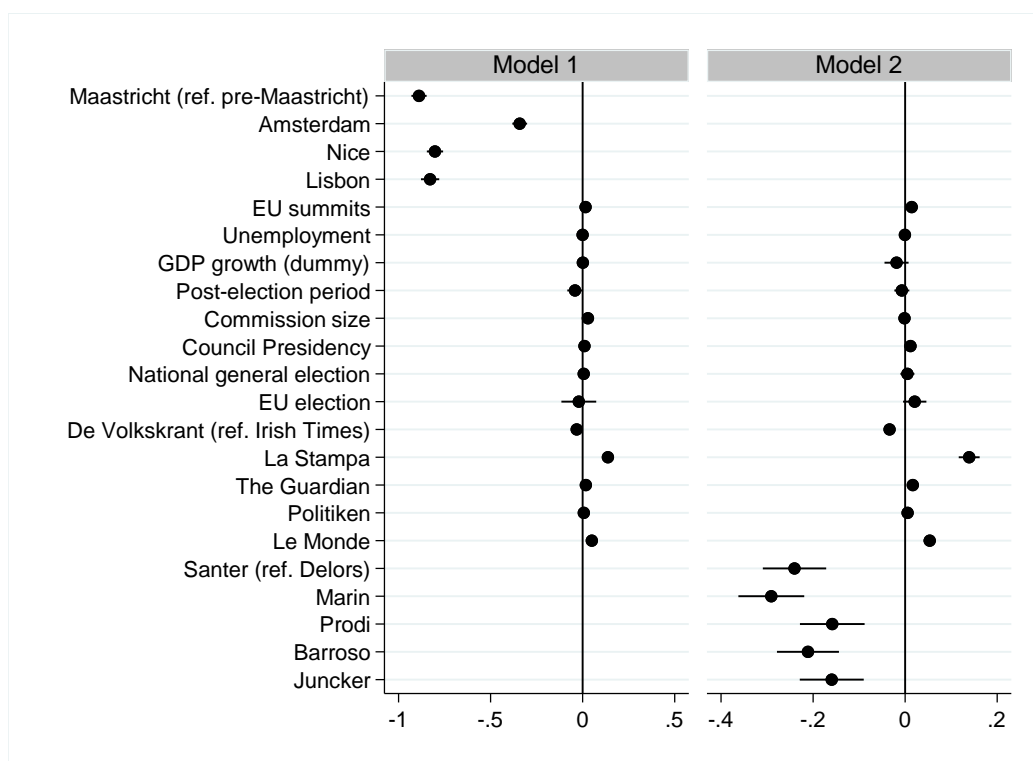
- The sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*
 - **Figure A6** depicts the average marginal effects for the dependent variable individualization– it is similar to Figure 4 reported in the paper, but the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Table A17 below.
 - **Figure A7** depicts the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. – it is similar to Figure 5 reported in the paper, but the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Tables A18 and A19 below.
 - **Figure A8** depicts the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. – it is similar to Figure 6 reported in the paper, but the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Table A20 and A21 below.
 - **Table A17** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable individualization– the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Figure A6.
 - **Table A18** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. – the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Figure A7 (Model 1).
 - **Table A19** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. – the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Figure A7 (Model 2).
 - **Table A20** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. – the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Figure A8 (Model 1).
 - **Table A21** provides the average marginal effects for the dependent variable presidentialization. – the sample excludes *Gazeta Wyborcza*. It relates to Figure A8 (Model 2).

Figure A6. Average marginal effects on individualization (excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)



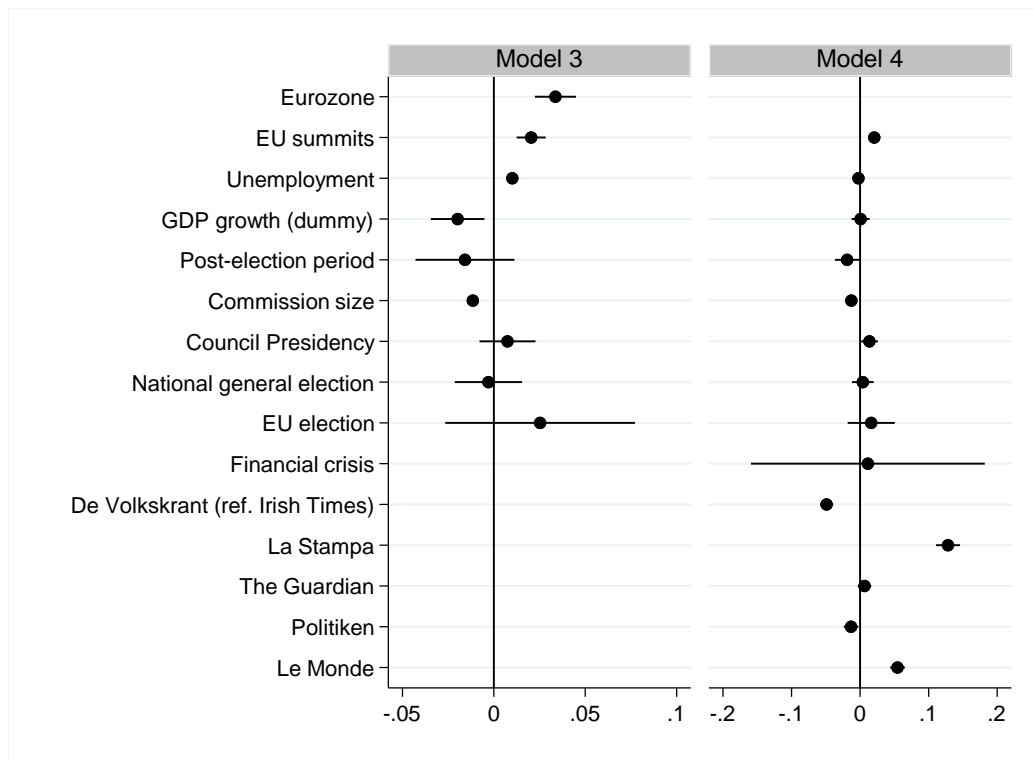
Note: spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. Calculations based on Table A17. The Maastricht Treaty came into force in Nov.1993; Amsterdam: May 1999; Nice: Feb. 2003; Lisbon: Dec. 2009.

Figure A7. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)



Note: spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. Calculations based on Tables A18 and A19. The Maastricht Treaty came into force in Nov.1993; Amsterdam: May 1999; Nice: Feb. 2003; Lisbon: Dec. 2009.

Figure A8. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)



Note: spikes represent 95% confidence intervals. Calculations based on Tables A20 and A21.

Table A17. Average marginal effects on individualization (excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Maastricht (ref. pre-Maastricht)	-0.00303	0.117704	-0.03	0.979	-0.23372	0.227665
Amsterdam	0.001199	0.114933	0.01	0.992	-0.22407	0.226464
Nice	0.02418	0.115962	0.21	0.835	-0.2031	0.251461
Lisbon	-0.0528	0.096609	-0.55	0.585	-0.24215	0.136549
New Commission	0.016923	0.013528	1.25	0.211	-0.00959	0.043437
Post-election period	-0.02713	0.010683	-2.54	0.011	-0.04807	-0.00619
Commission size	0.002776	0.001707	1.63	0.104	-0.00057	0.006121
Council Presidency	0.005964	0.006767	0.88	0.378	-0.0073	0.019227
National general election	0.02002	0.011575	1.73	0.084	-0.00267	0.042707
EU election month	-0.01865	0.011817	-1.58	0.115	-0.04181	0.004516
De Volkskrant (ref. Irish Times)	-0.11159	0.009036	-12.35	<0.001	-0.1293	-0.09388
La Stampa	0.187369	0.009504	19.71	<0.001	0.168741	0.205996
The Guardian	0.018036	0.007723	2.34	0.02	0.002899	0.033172
Politiken	-0.04711	0.010543	-4.47	<0.001	-0.06777	-0.02644
Le Monde	0.043036	0.006861	6.27	<0.001	0.029588	0.056483

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A18. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 1, excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Maastricht (<i>ref. pre-Maastricht</i>)	-0.88894	0.021078	-42.17	<0.001	-0.93025	-0.84763
Amsterdam	-0.34172	0.020436	-16.72	<0.001	-0.38177	-0.30166
Nice	-0.80223	0.022524	-35.62	<0.001	-0.84638	-0.75809
Lisbon	-0.8286	0.025263	-32.8	<0.001	-0.87811	-0.77909
EU summits	0.015911	0.002503	6.36	<0.001	0.011006	0.020816
Unemployment	-9.3E-05	0.001113	-0.08	0.933	-0.00227	0.002089
GDP growth (dummy)	0.001247	0.01047	0.12	0.905	-0.01927	0.021767
Post-election period	-0.04129	0.02143	-1.93	0.054	-0.08329	0.000711
Commission size	0.028754	0.00677	4.25	<0.001	0.015485	0.042023
Council Presidency	0.009936	0.005996	1.66	0.098	-0.00182	0.021689
National general election	0.005872	0.007759	0.76	0.449	-0.00934	0.021078
EU election month	-0.0208	0.048247	-0.43	0.666	-0.11536	0.073762
De Volkskrant (<i>ref. Irish Times</i>)	-0.03211	0.004883	-6.58	<0.001	-0.04169	-0.02254
La Stampa	0.137385	0.013238	10.38	<0.001	0.111438	0.163332
The Guardian	0.017582	0.005149	3.42	0.001	0.007491	0.027673
Politiken	0.006464	0.005234	1.24	0.217	-0.00379	0.016721
Le Monde	0.049939	0.006136	8.14	<0.001	0.037912	0.061965

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A19. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 2, excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Santer (<i>ref. Delors</i>)	-0.24038	0.035119	-6.84	<0.001	-0.30921	-0.17155
Marin	-0.29085	0.036497	-7.97	<0.001	-0.36238	-0.21932
Prodi	-0.15836	0.035844	-4.42	<0.001	-0.22861	-0.08811
Barroso	-0.21117	0.034333	-6.15	<0.001	-0.27846	-0.14388
Juncker	-0.15948	0.035438	-4.5	<0.001	-0.22893	-0.09002
EU summits	0.014341	0.002544	5.64	<0.001	0.009354	0.019327
Unemployment	-0.00045	0.001268	-0.36	0.72	-0.00294	0.00203
GDP growth (dummy)	-0.01869	0.01334	-1.4	0.161	-0.04484	0.007455
Post-election period	-0.00717	0.008301	-0.86	0.388	-0.02344	0.0091
Commission size	-0.00137	0.00129	-1.06	0.29	-0.00389	0.001163
Council Presidency	0.011621	0.005613	2.07	0.038	0.00062	0.022622
National general election	0.004888	0.007744	0.63	0.528	-0.01029	0.020067
EU election month	0.020794	0.012917	1.61	0.107	-0.00452	0.04611
De Volkskrant (<i>ref. Irish Times</i>)	-0.03383	0.004024	-8.41	<0.001	-0.04172	-0.02595
La Stampa	0.139134	0.011603	11.99	<0.001	0.116393	0.161875
The Guardian	0.016649	0.00491	3.39	0.001	0.007025	0.026274
Politiken	0.005369	0.004745	1.13	0.258	-0.00393	0.014668
Le Monde	0.053446	0.006623	8.07	<0.001	0.040465	0.066427

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A20. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 3, excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Eurozone	0.033695	0.005729	5.88	<0.001	0.022465	0.044924
EU summits	0.020439	0.004051	5.05	<0.001	0.012499	0.028378
Unemployment	0.010115	0.000842	12.01	<0.001	0.008465	0.011766
GDP growth (dummy)	-0.01981	0.007477	-2.65	0.008	-0.03446	-0.00516
Post-election period	-0.0158	0.013816	-1.14	0.253	-0.04288	0.011277
Commission size	-0.01148	0.001403	-8.18	<0.001	-0.01423	-0.00873
Council Presidency	0.00747	0.007805	0.96	0.339	-0.00783	0.022768
National general election	-0.00296	0.009384	-0.32	0.753	-0.02135	0.015433
EU election month	0.025314	0.026479	0.96	0.339	-0.02658	0.077211

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.

Table A21. Average marginal effects on presidentialization (Model 4, excluding Gazeta Wyborcza)

	dy/dx	SE	z	P>z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Financial crisis	0.011358	0.087001	0.13	0.896	-0.15916	0.181878
EU summits	0.020661	0.003147	6.56	<0.001	0.014492	0.02683
Unemployment	-0.0024	0.000837	-2.87	0.004	-0.00404	-0.00076
GDP growth (dummy)	0.000792	0.006684	0.12	0.906	-0.01231	0.013893
Post-election period	-0.01893	0.009063	-2.09	0.037	-0.0367	-0.00117
Commission size	-0.01278	0.002653	-4.82	<0.001	-0.01798	-0.00758
Council Presidency	0.013566	0.006379	2.13	0.033	0.001063	0.02607
National general election	0.004001	0.008088	0.49	0.621	-0.01185	0.019854
EU election month	0.016197	0.017485	0.93	0.354	-0.01807	0.050467
De Volkskrant (ref. Irish Times)	-0.04887	0.004925	-9.92	<0.001	-0.05853	-0.03922
La Stampa	0.128259	0.008945	14.34	<0.001	0.110727	0.145792
The Guardian	0.006478	0.004995	1.3	0.195	-0.00331	0.016267
Politiken	-0.01318	0.005424	-2.43	0.015	-0.02381	-0.00254
Le Monde	0.054621	0.005473	9.98	<0.001	0.043893	0.065348
Gazeta Wyborcza	-0.04887	0.004925	-9.92	<0.001	-0.05853	-0.03922

Note: dy/dx for factor levels is the discrete change from the base level.