



## UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

### Data & Democracy

*Political microtargeting: A threat to electoral integrity?*

Dobber, T.

#### Publication date

2020

#### Document Version

Other version

#### License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

#### Citation for published version (APA):

Dobber, T. (2020). *Data & Democracy: Political microtargeting: A threat to electoral integrity?* [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

#### General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

#### Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

An abstract graphic on the right side of the page consists of numerous thin, light blue wavy lines that create a sense of movement and depth. A single, slightly thicker red line follows a similar path, punctuated by three small red dots. The overall effect is that of a complex, flowing data visualization or a stylized representation of a signal.

Tom Dobber

# Data & Democracy

Political microtargeting:  
a threat to electoral integrity?

# **Data & Democracy**

**Political microtargeting: a threat to electoral integrity?**

## **Data & Democracy**

Political microtargeting: a threat to electoral integrity?

ISBN: 978-94-93184-47-3

Copyright © Tom Dobber, 2020

Cover design by Kees van Ardenne

Layout by Guus Gijben, Proefschrift-aio.nl

Printing by Proefschrift-aio.nl

# Data & Democracy

**Political microtargeting: a threat to electoral integrity?**

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor

aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam

op gezag van de Rector Magnificus

prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex

ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde commissie,

in het openbaar te verdedigen

op dinsdag 30 juni 2020, te 12.00 uur

door Tom Dobber

geboren te Haarlem

**Promotiecommissie:**

|                        |   |                            |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| <b>Promotor(es):</b>   | Prof. dr. C.H. de Vreese                            | Universiteit van Amsterdam |
|                        | Prof. dr. N. Helberger                              | Universiteit van Amsterdam |
| <b>Copromotor(es):</b> | Dr. D.C. Trilling                                   | Universiteit van Amsterdam |
| <b>Overige leden:</b>  | Prof. dr. G. van Noort                              | Universiteit van Amsterdam |
|                        | Prof. dr. P.C. Neijens                              | Universiteit van Amsterdam |
|                        | Prof. dr. mr. F.J. Zuiderveen Borgesius             | Radboud Universiteit       |
|                        | Dr. S. Kruikemeier                                  | Universiteit van Amsterdam |
|                        | Dr. K.T.E. Jacobs                                   | Radboud Universiteit       |
| <b>Faculteit:</b>      | Faculteit der Maatschappij- en Gedragswetenschappen |                            |

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. Introduction  | 7   |
| 2. Two crates of beer and 40 pizzas: the adoption of innovative political behavioral targeting techniques                            | 23  |
| 3. Spiraling downward: The reciprocal relation between attitude toward political behavioral targeting and privacy concerns           | 47  |
| 4. Measuring effects of issue-based microtargeted messages on vote likelihood: reporting a field experiment in a multi-party setting | 67  |
| 5. Do (microtargeted) deepfakes have real effects on political attitudes?  | 85  |
| 6. Conclusion  | 107 |
| References   | 118 |
| Summary  | 135 |
| Samenvatting   | 141 |
| Author contribution  | 146 |
| Acknowledgements (dankwoord)   | 149 |
| Appendices   | 153 |