

## Online appendix

### **Understanding leader evaluations in European Parliament elections**

Katjana Gattermann and Claes H. de Vreese

Appendix A: Information about the survey.....	2
Appendix B: Information about the main variables .....	3
Appendix C: Patterns and antecedents of EU leader evaluations (RQ1 and RQ2).....	8
Appendix D: Consequences of EU leader evaluations (RQ3) .....	18

*Appendix A: Information about the survey*

**Table A1.** Dates of survey waves.

	Netherlands	Denmark	Germany	Hungary	Spain	Czechia	France	Greece	Poland	Sweden
Wave 1	13 Sep – 2 Oct 2017	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 2	16–29 Jan 2018	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 3	12–24 Jun 2018	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 4	10–27 Dec 2018	7 Dec 2018 – 14 Jan 2019	7 Dec 2018 – 2 Jan 2019	7 Dec 2018 – 3 Jan 2019	7 Dec 2018 – 7 Jan 2019	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 5	5–18 Apr 2019	5–24 Apr 2019	5–22 Apr 2019	5–22 Apr 2019	5–22 Apr 2019	5–23 Apr 2019	5–24 Apr 2019	5–24 Apr 2019	5–24 Apr 2019	5–23 Apr 2019

**Table A2.** N respondents per survey wave.

	Netherlands	Denmark	Germany	Hungary	Spain	Czechia	France	Greece	Poland	Sweden
Wave 1	3026	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 2	2648	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 3	2236	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 4	1942	2678	2895	2746	2867	--	--	--	--	--
Wave 5	1637	1631	1749	1289	1579	1507	1984	2083	2253	1315

*Appendix B: Information about the main variables*

**Table A3.** Overview of waves considered for the independent variables in each country sample.

	Netherlands	Denmark	Germany	Hungary	Spain	Czechia	France	Greece	Poland	Sweden
Age	w5	w4	w4	w4	w4	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
Education	w1	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
Female	w5	w4	w4	w4	w4	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
PTVs	w4	w4	w4	w4	w4	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
Political knowledge (stable)	w1	w4	w4	w4	w4	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
Political knowledge (specific)	w4	w4	w4	w4	w4	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
Political interest (EU)	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5
News exposure	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5	w5

**Table A4.** Number of values for PTVs per country.

	Netherlands	Denmark	Germany	Hungary	Spain	Czechia	France	Greece	Poland	Sweden
PES (Timmermans)	1942	2638	2804	2629	2673	1507	1984	2083	2253	1315
EPP (Weber)	1942	2638	2804	2629	2673	1507	1984	2083	2253	1315
RE (Verhofstadt & Vestager)	1942	2638	2804	2629	2673	1507	1984	0	0	1315
Greens (Eickhout & Keller)	1942	2638	2804	2629	2673	1507	1984	0	0	1315
ECR (Zahradil)	1942	2638	0	0	2673	1507	0	2083	2253	1315

**Table A5.** Descriptive statistics of relevant variables (December 2018; sample selected on non-missing values in Juncker evaluations).

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
PTV (EPP)	12,686	4.10	3.26	1	11
EU attitude: identity	13,128	-0.03	1.45	-3	3
EU attitude: trust	13,128	-0.33	1.50	-3	3
EU attitude: strengthening	13,128	-0.44	1.43	-3	3
EU attitude: utilitarianism	13,128	0.57	1.50	-3	3
EU attitude: performance	13,128	-0.24	1.30	-3	3
Knowledge (specific)	13,128	0.49	0.50	0	1
Knowledge (stable)	13,128	2.52	1.11	0	4
Political interest (EU)	13,128	4.08	1.72	1	7
Female	13,128	0.49	0.50	0	1
Age	13,128	48.44	15.56	17	99
Education	12,975	4.27	1.85	1	7

*Note:* Education has missing values for Denmark, Germany, Hungary and Spain due to an error in the soft launch of the survey. There were originally 442 missing values. The survey question was repeated in the next wave, so the number of missing values is down to 153 due to panel attrition.

**Table A6.** Descriptive statistics of relevant variables (April 2019; sample selected on non-missing values in political interest (EU)).

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Vote (PES)	17,027	0.15	0.36	0	1
Vote (EPP)	17,027	0.12	0.32	0	1
Vote (RE)	17,027	0.10	0.30	0	1
Vote (Greens)	17,027	0.06	0.23	0	1
Vote (ECR)	17,027	0.08	0.27	0	1
Age	17,027	46.55	15.40	17	99
Education	17,027	4.47	1.81	1	7
Female	17,027	0.50	0.50	0	1
PTV (PES)	16,738	4.21	3.07	1	11
PTV (EPP)	16,738	4.27	3.25	1	11
PTV (RE)	12,402	4.26	3.10	1	11
PTV (Greens)	12,402	4.08	3.13	1	11
PTV (ECR)	11,864	3.46	3.28	1	11
Knowledge (stable)	17,027	2.47	1.14	0	4
Knowledge (specific)	17,027	0.27	0.44	0	1
Political interest (EU)	17,027	4.11	1.73	1	7
Average news exposure	17,027	3.79	0.91	1	7
EU attitude: identity	17,027	-0.02	1.46	-3	3
EU attitude: trust	17,027	-0.39	1.51	-3	3
EU attitude: strengthening	17,027	-0.47	1.42	-3	3
EU attitude: utilitarianism	17,027	0.61	1.53	-3	3
EU attitude: performance	17,027	-0.22	1.35	-3	3
Weber evaluation	4376	4.29	1.14	1	7
Timmermans evaluation	5779	4.40	1.33	1	7
Verhofstadt evaluation	2638	4.13	1.33	1	7
Vestager evaluation	2994	4.95	1.29	1	7
Eickhout evaluation	668	4.22	1.00	1	7
Keller evaluation	924	4.31	1.05	1	7
Zahradil evaluation	1458	4.25	1.13	1	7

**Table A7.** Items considered for political knowledge.

Variable	Wave	Question wording	Answer options
Knowledge (specific)	4	Which country's budget plan has recently been rejected by the European Commission?	1. Italy [correct answer]; 2. Greece; 3. Poland; 4. Portugal; 5. Estonia; 6. Don't know (random order of categories 1-5)
	5	Which policy area is addressed in an article that has been passed by the European Parliament at the end of March [2019]?	1. Parties' campaign spending for the upcoming EP elections; 2. Protection and use of copyrighted material on online platforms [correct answer]; 3. Labelling of nutrition facts on breakfast cereals; 4. Obligatory separation of plastic and paper garbage across the EU; 5. Lifting restrictions for the use of streaming services across EU member states; 6. Don't know (random order of categories 1-5)
Knowledge (stable)	1, 4 or 5 (first wave in each country sample, see Table A1)	Which party came out as the largest in the last national elections?	5 options in random order, don't know last
		How long is a government term in [COUNTRY]?	3, 4, 5, 6, 8, don't know
		How many member states does the European Union have?	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, don't know
		Who is currently the president of the European Commission?	Jean-Claude Juncker, Martin Schulz, Donald Tusk, José Manuel Barroso, Frans Timmermans (random order), don't know

*Note:* For stable political knowledge, there was originally a fifth item (Who is the current minister of finance of [COUNTRY]? 5 options in random order, don't know last). But in the Spanish sample, this question was faulty in wave 4. While it has been asked again in the following wave, this item was removed from all analyses. Otherwise, there would have been a large chunk of missing cases in the fourth wave (December 2018).

**Table A8.** Domestic parties considered per leader/party family.

	<b>Netherlands</b>	<b>Denmark</b>	<b>Germany</b>
PES (Timmermans)	PvDA	A	SPD
EPP (Weber)	CDA*, 50 Plus	KF	CDU (outside Bavaria), CSU (Bavaria)
RE (Verhofstadt & Vestager)	D66, VVD^	B*, V	FDP
Greens (Eickhout & Keller)	GroenLinks	SF	B'90/Die Grünen
ECR (Zahradil)	FvD	DF	---
	<b>Hungary</b>	<b>Spain</b>	<b>Czechia</b>
PES (Timmermans)	MSZP, PM, DK^	PSOE	CSSD
EPP (Weber)	Fidesz-KDNP	PP	KDU-CSL, TOP09^
RE (Verhofstadt & Vestager)	Momentum	Cs	ANO 2011
Greens (Eickhout & Keller)	LMP	ERC	Pirates
ECR (Zahradil)	---	Vox	ODS
	<b>France</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Poland</b>
PES (Timmermans)	PS	KINAL	SLD*, Wiosna
EPP (Weber)	LR	ND	PO (KE)
RE (Verhofstadt & Vestager)	LREM	---	---
Greens (Eickhout & Keller)	EELV	---	---
ECR (Zahradil)	---	ANEL	PiS
	<b>Sweden</b>		
PES (Timmermans)	SAP		
EPP (Weber)	M*, KD		
RE (Verhofstadt & Vestager)	C*, L		
Greens (Eickhout & Keller)	MP		
ECR (Zahradil)	SD		

*Note:* All listed parties have been considered as part of the respective vote choice (DV). The Dutch electoral coalition SGP-CU has been ignored as one of two MEPs joined the EPP and the other one ECR in the EP. However, for the PTVs, the following decisions have been taken: \*only the PTV of this party has been considered for the PTV: in the Dutch case, the CDA is the larger and more mainstream party, in the Danish case, it aligns with Vestager's own party, in the Polish case, SLD is larger and more established; ^ the mean was taken of the PTVs, although in the Hungarian case, the PTV for DK has been ignored as it was a new party that was not previously affiliated with S&D. The Polish case is not clear-cut: the PTVs have been recorded separately for SLD and PO, but both parties are part of KE.

*Appendix C: Patterns and antecedents of EU leader evaluations (RQ1 and RQ2)*



**Table A9.** Factor analysis and reliability of leader evaluations, April 2019.

<b>Netherlands</b>			<b>Denmark</b>			<b>Germany</b>			<b>Hungary</b>			
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	250	69.16	0.887	316	72.79	0.906	654	81.15	0.941 <sup>a</sup>	822	81.31	0.942
Timmermans	1246	83.69	0.951	362	75.37	0.918 <sup>a</sup>	414	80.99	0.940 <sup>a</sup>	695	86.31	0.960
Verhofstadt	805	79.66	0.936	151	78.68	0.932	147	82.71	0.948	332	86.78	0.962
Vestager	99	77.96	0.928 <sup>a</sup>	1443	80.25	0.937	155	79.86	0.936 <sup>a</sup>	150	84.96	0.955
Eickhout	97	72.50	0.905	34	80.16	0.937 <sup>b</sup>	53	74.50	0.914 <sup>b</sup>	44	55.55	0.791 <sup>c</sup>
Keller	17	80.96	0.940 <sup>b</sup>	20	76.80	0.918	145	81.90	0.944	56	69.76	0.890
Zahradil	17	66.85	0.860 <sup>b</sup>	24	79.47	0.932 <sup>b</sup>	63	69.11	0.886	54	69.08	0.887
Juncker <sup>d</sup>	1942	79.65	0.936	2678	72.64	0.905	2895	83.75	0.951	2756	81.45	0.943
<b>Spain</b>			<b>Czechia</b>			<b>France</b>			<b>Greece</b>			
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	316	75.56	0.919	331	68.47	0.884	195	67.86	0.880 <sup>b</sup>	624	74.03	0.912
Timmermans	387	80.05	0.937	178	61.33	0.840	275	76.92	0.925	509	71.21	0.899
Verhofstadt	99	75.71	0.919	92	67.80	0.879	123	81.62	0.944	302	71.78	0.902
Vestager	168	67.81	0.878	133	69.46	0.890	151	70.78	0.895	257	67.59	0.880
Eickhout	46	54.80	0.786 <sup>b</sup>	62	70.78	0.896	50	63.42	0.849 <sup>b</sup>	108	72.88	0.906
Keller	92	67.45	0.879	94	65.35	0.867	82	70.02	0.892	188	57.25	0.813
Zahradil	71	63.58	0.856	731	76.78	0.924	72	75.45	0.918	144	65.03	0.864
Juncker <sup>d</sup>	2867	80.52	0.939	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<b>Poland</b>			<b>Sweden</b>									
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha						
Weber	693	75.93	0.921	175	60.44	0.832						
Timmermans	1449	84.97	0.956	264	73.62	0.910 <sup>a</sup>						
Verhofstadt	500	87.14	0.963	87	78.97	0.933 <sup>a</sup>						
Vestager	328	73.82	0.911	110	71.25	0.897						
Eickhout	158	65.79	0.869	16	62.89	0.849 <sup>a</sup>						
Keller	210	65.29	0.865	20	60.51	0.834 <sup>c</sup>						
Zahradil	259	70.18	0.894	23	82.93	0.948						

Notes: All respective items load into one single factor with an Eigenvalue >1 in each case; <sup>a</sup> Cronbach's alpha would be slightly higher if the charisma item was excluded; <sup>b</sup> Cronbach's alpha would be (slightly) higher if the leadership item was excluded; <sup>c</sup> Cronbach's alpha would be slightly higher if the empathy item was excluded; <sup>d</sup> Juncker was evaluated as Commission President, December 2018.

**Table A10.** Factor analysis and reliability of leader evaluations, by specific knowledge levels and low/high PTVs.

	<b>Netherlands</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Juncker	1180	78.95	.933 <sup>a</sup>	762	82.13	.945	809	74.60	.914	1133	81.83	.944 <sup>a</sup>
Weber	74	63.55	.852 <sup>a</sup>	176	72.69	.905	114	65.82	.868	136	70.46	.894 <sup>a</sup>
Timmermans	235	81.57	.943	1011	84.34	.953	582	80.70	.939	664	84.64	.954
	<b>Denmark</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Juncker	1234	73.86	.911	1444	71.36	.899	1231	70.99	.897	1407	73.86	.911
Weber	85	74.17	.909 <sup>a</sup>	231	72.57	.905	157	66.86	.875 <sup>a</sup>	155	76.87	.923 <sup>a</sup>
Timmermans	109	74.02	.910 <sup>a</sup>	253	77.17	.926	121	73.26	.909 <sup>a</sup>	235	74.52	.914 <sup>a</sup>
	<b>Germany</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Juncker	1702	83.83	.951	1193	83.33	.950	1293	80.53	.939	1511	84.69	.955
Weber	428	82.48	.946 <sup>a</sup>	226	78.49	.930	295	76.10	.918 <sup>a</sup>	330	81.18	.942 <sup>a</sup>
Timmermans	284	81.46	.941 <sup>a</sup>	130	79.85	.935 <sup>a</sup>	205	83.60	.950 <sup>a</sup>	186	77.22	.923 <sup>a</sup>
	<b>Hungary</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Juncker	775	82.47	.946	1971	80.91	.941	1259	81.91	.944	1370	78.77	.933
Weber	84	74.36	.913	738	82.02	.945	338	81.85	.944	441	77.49	.927
Timmermans	69	88.86	.968	626	86.04	.959	312	79.00	.933	314	84.91	.955
	<b>Spain</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Juncker	1594	82.03	.945	1273	77.69	.928	1256	77.05	.925	1417	80.49	.939
Weber	95	70.86	.896	221	77.65	.928	174	73.54	.910	125	73.45	.908 <sup>b</sup>
Timmermans	129	76.33	.921	258	81.87	.944	175	78.13	.929	186	81.07	.941

	<b>Czech Republic</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	110	66.33	.872	221	69.52	.889	178	65.95	.870	124	72.15	.902
Timmermans	72	54.46	.790	106	66.32	.870 <sup>a</sup>	95	58.26	.820	83	64.39	.856 <sup>a</sup>
	<b>France</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	50	61.17	.838 <sup>c</sup>	145	70.11	.891 <sup>c</sup>	122	60.96	.837 <sup>c</sup>	73	77.17	.925 <sup>c</sup>
Timmermans	75	72.99	.907	200	77.96	.929	154	72.30	.904	121	81.10	.941 <sup>c</sup>
	<b>Greece</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	212	77.57	.927	412	71.52	.899	323	68.88	.887	301	74.74	.915 <sup>b</sup>
Timmermans	165	71.51	.900	344	71.05	.898	249	69.56	.890	260	71.60	.900
	<b>Poland</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	289	77.97	.929	404	74.57	.913	375	73.65	.910	318	76.51	.923
Timmermans	626	86.18	.960	823	83.66	.951	622	79.24	.934	827	84.73	.955
	<b>Sweden</b>											
	High knowledge			Low knowledge			High PTV			Low PTV		
	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha	n	Explained variance (%)	Cronbach's alpha
Weber	111	62.95	.849	64	56.91	.799 <sup>a</sup>	95	61.35	.837 <sup>a</sup>	80	56.78	.808
Timmermans	184	74.76	.915	80	71.31	.895 <sup>a</sup>	112	73.17	.907 <sup>a</sup>	152	72.91	.907

Notes: All respective items load into one single factor with an Eigenvalue >1 in each case; <sup>a</sup> Cronbach's alpha would be slightly higher if the charisma item was excluded; <sup>b</sup> Cronbach's alpha would be (slightly) higher if the competence item was excluded; <sup>c</sup> Cronbach's alpha would be slightly higher if the leadership item was excluded; Juncker was evaluated as Commission President in December 2018, while Weber and Timmermans were evaluated in April 2019. For the high PTVs, all values above the respective median category are considered; for low PTVs all values below and including the median category.

**Table A11.** Determinants of leader evaluations for Jean-Claude Juncker (corresponding to Figure 1).

	Leadership	Empathy	Reliability	Competence	Charisma
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>
PTV (EPP)	0.01 <sup>***</sup>	0.00	0.01 <sup>***</sup>	0.00	0.01 <sup>**</sup>
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
EU attitude: identity	0.00	0.01	-0.01	-0.01	0.03 <sup>*</sup>
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
EU attitude: trust	0.22 <sup>***</sup>	0.27 <sup>***</sup>	0.32 <sup>***</sup>	0.20 <sup>***</sup>	0.20 <sup>***</sup>
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: strengthening	0.04 <sup>***</sup>	0.08 <sup>***</sup>	0.06 <sup>***</sup>	0.04 <sup>***</sup>	0.07 <sup>***</sup>
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
EU attitude: utilitarianism	0.07 <sup>***</sup>	0.10 <sup>***</sup>	0.08 <sup>***</sup>	0.17 <sup>***</sup>	0.03 <sup>**</sup>
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
EU attitude: performance	0.28 <sup>***</sup>	0.27 <sup>***</sup>	0.26 <sup>***</sup>	0.23 <sup>***</sup>	0.26 <sup>***</sup>
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Knowledge (specific)	-0.04	0.00	-0.01	0.01	-0.04
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03
Knowledge (stable)	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.07 <sup>***</sup>	0.01
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Political interest (EU)	-0.01 <sup>*</sup>	-0.00	-0.02 <sup>**</sup>	0.00	-0.02 <sup>*</sup>
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Female	0.15 <sup>***</sup>	0.10 <sup>***</sup>	0.09 <sup>***</sup>	0.07 <sup>***</sup>	0.08 <sup>***</sup>
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Age	0.00 <sup>*</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00 <sup>***</sup>	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Education	-0.03 <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 <sup>***</sup>	-0.02 <sup>***</sup>	-0.01 <sup>**</sup>	-0.03 <sup>***</sup>
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Denmark (ref. Netherlands)	0.23 <sup>***</sup>	0.12 <sup>***</sup>	0.17 <sup>***</sup>	0.25 <sup>***</sup>	0.27 <sup>***</sup>
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Germany	0.59 <sup>***</sup>	0.40 <sup>***</sup>	0.36 <sup>***</sup>	0.37 <sup>***</sup>	0.55 <sup>***</sup>
	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04
Hungary	-0.28 <sup>***</sup>	-0.33 <sup>***</sup>	-0.27 <sup>***</sup>	-0.11 <sup>***</sup>	-0.12 <sup>***</sup>
	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Spain	0.06	-0.16 <sup>***</sup>	0.00	-0.10 <sup>***</sup>	0.13 <sup>***</sup>
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04
Constant	3.91 <sup>***</sup>	3.91 <sup>***</sup>	3.89 <sup>***</sup>	3.85 <sup>***</sup>	3.90 <sup>***</sup>
	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
Observations	12686	12686	12686	12686	12686
$R^2$	0.34	0.43	0.41	0.34	0.29

Note: Standard errors in second row, \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A12.** Determinants of leader evaluations for Manfred Weber (corresponding to Figure 2).

	Leadership	Empathy	Reliability	Competence	Charisma
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>
PTV (EPP)	0.02***	0.01***	0.03***	0.01***	0.02***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
EU attitude: identity	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: trust	0.13***	0.19***	0.24***	0.14***	0.16***
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
EU attitude: strengthening	-0.00	0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.00
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: utilitarianism	-0.00	0.05**	0.03	0.07***	-0.05**
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: performance	0.22***	0.19***	0.19***	0.16***	0.26***
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Knowledge (specific)	-0.02	-0.03	-0.03	0.05	-0.04
	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Knowledge (stable)	0.07***	0.03	0.02	0.07***	0.02
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Political interest (EU)	0.02	-0.00	-0.01	0.02	-0.01
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Female	0.09**	0.08**	0.04	0.08**	0.04
	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Age	0.00**	0.00	0.00**	0.00*	-0.00***
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Education	-0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01	-0.04***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Netherlands (ref. Germany)	-0.07	-0.22***	-0.09	-0.11	0.19**
	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.08
Denmark	0.00	-0.19**	-0.06	-0.00	0.36***
	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08
Hungary	-0.18**	-0.11	-0.18**	0.09	0.34***
	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08
Spain	-0.13*	-0.32***	-0.24***	0.03	0.31***
	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08
Czech Republic	0.20**	-0.04	0.16*	0.31***	0.67***
	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.09
France	0.04	-0.16*	0.00	-0.04	0.38***
	0.10	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.10
Greece	-0.20***	-0.53***	-0.29***	0.04	0.14*
	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.08
Poland	-0.12*	-0.43***	-0.16**	-0.08	0.27***
	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
Sweden	-0.14	-0.22**	-0.12	-0.17*	0.23***
	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.09
Constant	3.79***	4.27***	3.96***	3.96***	4.19***
	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.12
Observations	4283	4283	4283	4283	4283
$R^2$	0.19	0.29	0.29	0.21	0.22

Note: Standard errors in second row, \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A13.** Determinants of leader evaluations for Frans Timmermans (corresponding to Figure 3).

	Leadership	Empathy	Reliability	Competence	Charisma
PTV (PES)	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
EU attitude: identity	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.02
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: trust	0.19***	0.26***	0.31***	0.18***	0.22***
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: strengthening	-0.01	0.03*	0.03*	-0.01	0.00
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: utilitarianism	0.07***	0.10***	0.06***	0.18***	0.07***
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
EU attitude: performance	0.18***	0.17***	0.17***	0.16***	0.16***
	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.03
Knowledge (specific)	-0.07*	-0.08**	-0.11***	-0.01	-0.11***
	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.04
Knowledge (stable)	0.05***	0.06***	0.05***	0.07***	0.04**
	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02
Political interest (EU)	0.00	0.01	-0.00	0.00	-0.01
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Female	0.11***	0.08**	0.09***	0.08**	0.09***
	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Age	0.01***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00***	0.00
	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Education	-0.02*	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Denmark (ref. Netherlands)	-0.79***	-1.02***	-0.97***	-1.10***	-0.92***
	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
Germany	-0.66***	-0.83***	-0.81***	-0.95***	-0.88***
	0.07	0.08	0.07	0.07	0.08
Hungary	-0.92***	-1.09***	-1.17***	-0.98***	-1.03***
	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07
Spain	-0.78***	-1.13***	-1.08***	-0.92***	-0.88***
	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
Czech Republic	-0.55***	-0.86***	-0.71***	-0.69***	-0.73***
	0.09	0.09	0.10	0.09	0.10
France	-0.57***	-0.82***	-0.78***	-0.86***	-0.76***
	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.08
Greece	-0.54***	-0.88***	-0.73***	-0.58***	-0.71***
	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
Poland	-0.71***	-1.22***	-1.16***	-0.98***	-0.87***
	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.06
Sweden	-0.87***	-0.90***	-0.92***	-1.16***	-0.99***
	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07
Constant	4.38***	4.52***	4.51***	4.62***	4.70***
	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.10
Observations	5687	5687	5687	5687	5687
$R^2$	0.28	0.39	0.40	0.33	0.29

Note: Standard errors in second row, \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A14.** Bivariate correlations between EU attitudes and leader evaluations (Juncker).

	EU attitude: identity	EU attitude: trust	EU attitude: strengthening	EU attitude: utilitarianism	EU attitude: performance	Leadership	Empathy	Reliability	Competence	Charisma	Leader evaluation (overall)
EU attitude: identity	1.00										
EU attitude: trust	0.71	1.00									
EU attitude: strengthening	0.68	0.69	1.00								
EU attitude: utilitarianism	0.73	0.75	0.65	1.00							
EU attitude: performance	0.65	0.84	0.63	0.72	1.00						
Leadership	0.40	0.51	0.40	0.44	0.53	1.00					
Empathy	0.47	0.60	0.48	0.53	0.60	0.75	1.00				
Reliability	0.45	0.60	0.46	0.51	0.59	0.78	0.82	1.00			
Competence	0.43	0.53	0.40	0.50	0.53	0.76	0.76	0.78	1.00		
Charisma	0.38	0.48	0.39	0.40	0.49	0.77	0.71	0.73	0.71	1.00	
Leader evaluation (overall)	0.48	0.61	0.48	0.53	0.61	0.91	0.90	0.92	0.89	0.87	1.00

Note:  $p < 0.01$  in all cases.

**Table A15.** Bivariate correlations between EU attitudes and leader evaluations (Weber).

	EU attitude: identity	EU attitude: trust	EU attitude: strengthening	EU attitude: utilitarianism	EU attitude: performance	Leadership	Empathy	Reliability	Competence	Charisma	Leader evaluation (overall)
EU attitude: identity	1.00										
EU attitude: trust	0.71	1.00									
EU attitude: strengthening	0.68	0.69	1.00								
EU attitude: utilitarianism	0.73	0.75	0.65	1.00							
EU attitude: performance	0.65	0.84	0.63	0.72	1.00						
Leadership	0.33	0.40	0.29	0.33	0.41	1.00					
Empathy	0.42	0.49	0.37	0.44	0.47	0.72	1.00				
Reliability	0.42	0.52	0.38	0.44	0.49	0.70	0.79	1.00			
Competence	0.41	0.45	0.33	0.42	0.43	0.69	0.70	0.72	1.00		
Charisma	0.32	0.43	0.29	0.30	0.43	0.67	0.66	0.70	0.70	1.00	
Leader evaluation (overall)	0.43	0.52	0.37	0.43	0.50	0.86	0.89	0.90	0.87	0.85	1.00

*Note:*  $p < 0.01$  in all cases



**Table A16.** Bivariate correlations between EU attitudes and leader evaluations (Timmermans).

	EU attitude: identity	EU attitude: trust	EU attitude: strengthening	EU attitude: utilitarianism	EU attitude: performance	Leadership	Empathy	Reliability	Competence	Charisma	Leader evaluation (overall)
EU attitude: identity	1.00										
EU attitude: trust	0.71	1.00									
EU attitude: strengthening	0.68	0.69	1.00								
EU attitude: utilitarianism	0.73	0.75	0.65	1.00							
EU attitude: performance	0.65	0.84	0.63	0.72	1.00						
Leadership	0.23	0.38	0.28	0.32	0.37	1.00					
Empathy	0.29	0.43	0.33	0.40	0.40	0.78	1.00				
Reliability	0.28	0.46	0.34	0.39	0.44	0.78	0.87	1.00			
Competence	0.26	0.39	0.29	0.38	0.37	0.78	0.79	0.80	1.00		
Charisma	0.20	0.37	0.26	0.29	0.36	0.77	0.74	0.77	0.78	1.00	
Leader evaluation (overall)	0.28	0.45	0.33	0.39	0.43	0.90	0.92	0.93	0.91	0.89	1.00

Note:  $p < 0.01$  in all cases.

**Appendix D: Consequences of EU leader evaluations (RQ3)**

**Table A17.** The relationship between leader evaluations and vote choice, multilevel logistic regression.

	PES (Timmermans)	EPP (Weber)	RE (Verhofstadt)	RE (Vestager)
Leader evaluations	0.13 <sup>***</sup>	0.07	0.03	0.17 <sup>***</sup>
	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.06
Knowledge (stable)	-0.06	0.12 <sup>**</sup>	0.02	0.13 <sup>**</sup>
	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.06
Political interest (EU)	0.16 <sup>***</sup>	-0.00	0.11 <sup>*</sup>	0.08 <sup>*</sup>
	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.04
Average news exposure	-0.19 <sup>***</sup>	-0.09	-0.22 <sup>**</sup>	-0.14 <sup>*</sup>
	0.06	0.06	0.11	0.08
PTV	0.43 <sup>***</sup>	0.60 <sup>***</sup>	0.57 <sup>***</sup>	0.27 <sup>***</sup>
	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02
Age	0.01 <sup>***</sup>	0.02 <sup>***</sup>	-0.00	0.02 <sup>***</sup>
	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00
Education	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.04
	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.03
Female	0.13	-0.29 <sup>***</sup>	-0.19	-0.22 <sup>*</sup>
	0.09	0.11	0.16	0.12
Constant	-5.67 <sup>***</sup>	-6.43 <sup>***</sup>	-5.02 <sup>***</sup>	-4.95 <sup>***</sup>
	0.42	0.48	0.71	0.52
<i>Random effects, country level</i>				
Variance component	-0.45 <sup>*</sup>	-0.34	-0.24	-0.59 <sup>*</sup>
	0.25	0.25	0.29	0.31
N	5687	4283	1796	2352
Log likelihood	-1639.47	-1256.77	-566.17	-965.74
Wald $\chi^2$	756.71	937.46	277.42	243.28
Prob > $\chi^2$	<.001	<.001	<.001	<.001

Note: Standard errors in second row, \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

**Table A18.** The relationship between leader evaluations and vote choice, multilevel logistic regression.

	Greens (Eickhout)	Greens (Keller)	ECR (Zahradil)
Leader evaluations	0.30	-0.08	-0.05
	0.20	0.17	0.11
Knowledge (stable)	0.06	0.18	0.20*
	0.18	0.14	0.11
Political interest (EU)	0.04	0.05	-0.19**
	0.15	0.13	0.09
Average news exposure	-0.41*	0.01	-0.03
	0.23	0.19	0.15
PTV	0.58***	0.55***	0.65***
	0.09	0.08	0.05
Age	-0.00	-0.02	0.00
	0.01	0.01	0.01
Education	0.10	0.09	-0.06
	0.10	0.09	0.07
Female	-0.09	-0.04	-0.43*
	0.37	0.33	0.24
Constant	-6.28***	-5.94***	-5.11***
	1.52	1.19	0.95
<i>Random effects, country level</i>			
Variance component	-18.8	-26.5	-0.35
	1.04e+08	6.82e+10	0.33
N	394	508	1267
Log likelihood	-101.54	-131.69	-260.20
Wald $\chi^2$	58.06	58.08	183.84
Prob > $\chi^2$	<.001	<.001	<.001

Note: Standard errors in second row, \*  $p < 0.10$ , \*\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.01$ .