Do Leader Evaluations (De)mobilize Voter Turnout? Lessons from Presidential Elections in the US

Online Appendix

Table A1. The effect of candidate evaluations on turnout

Lukewarm & Lukewarm	-1.298***
	(0.075)
Dislike & Lukewarm	-0.758***
	(0.075)
Like & Lukewarm	-0.518***
	(0.043)
Like & Like	-0.358***
	(0.039)
Dislike & Dislike	-0.568***
	(0.068)
1972	-0.235**
	(0.075)
1976	-0.267***
	(0.075)
1980	-0.378***
	(0.075)
1984	-0.281***
	(0.076)
1988	-0.510***
	(0.075)
1992	-0.199**
	(0.077)
1996	-0.434***
	(0.076)
2000	-0.382***
	(0.080)
2004	-0.259**
	(0.081)
2008	-0.166*
	(0.078)
2012	-0.288***
	(0.079)
2016	-0.543***
	(0.082)
2020	-0.072
	(0.088)
Age 31-50	0.651***

	(0.037)
Age 51 and above	1.261***
	(0.039)
Female	0.087**
	(0.030)
Not white	-0.130***
	(0.036)
College degree	0.926***
	(0.033)
Low income	-0.566***
	(0.035)
High income	0.447***
	(0.040)
Democrat	0.945***
	(0.043)
Republican	0.938***
	(0.046)
Constant	0.372***
	(0.081)
N	32118

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. Thermometers groups: Like & dislike. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Partisanship: Independents. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A2. The effect of affection towards presidential candidates on turnout 1968-2020

	(1) Democrats	(2) Republicans	(3) Independents
Democratic candidate thermometer	0.102***	-0.036	-0.085
	(0.027)	(0.043)	(0.061)
1972	0.542	1.210	-0.164
	(0.381)	(0.724)	(0.750)
1976	0.242	-0.001	0.511
	(0.431)	(0.696)	(0.772)
1980	0.332	0.150	0.294
	(0.386)	(0.639)	(0.715)
1984	0.218	0.275	-1.047
	(0.445)	(0.736)	(0.828)
1988	-0.210	-0.863	-1.768*
	(0.388)	(0.640)	(0.803)
1992	0.617	0.322	0.806
	(0.433)	(0.626)	(0.749)
1996	-0.867*	0.018	-1.514
	(0.426)	(0.630)	(0.812)
2000	0.853	-0.153	-0.563
	(0.451)	(0.657)	(0.754)
2004	0.704	-0.100	0.036
	(0.448)	(0.704)	(0.836)
2008	-0.690	-0.348	-1.176
	(0.396)	(0.678)	(0.784)
2012	-0.778	0.276	-0.603
	(0.425)	(0.662)	(0.694)
2016	0.176	0.194	-0.655
	(0.370)	(0.555)	(0.655)
2020	0.385	0.900	-0.507
	(0.451)	(0.661)	(0.696)
1972 x Dem.therm	-0.069	-0.042	0.086
	(0.038)	(0.058)	(0.079)
1976 x Dem.therm	-0.072	0.065	0.046
	(0.044)	(0.058)	(0.081)
1980 x Dem.therm	-0.049	-0.042	-0.009
	(0.042)	(0.058)	(0.079)
1984 x Dem.therm	-0.026	-0.102	0.120
	(0.047)	(0.062)	(0.094)
1988 x Dem.therm	0.022	0.011	0.184*
	(0.043)	(0.057)	(0.087)
1992 x Dem.therm	-0.014	-0.075	0.044
	(0.049)	(0.060)	(0.092)
1996 x Dem.therm	0.079	-0.044	0.140

	(0.047)	(0.057)	(0.094)
2000 x Dem.therm	-0.079	-0.022	0.071
	(0.049)	(0.062)	(0.090)
2004 x Dem.therm	0.001	-0.003	0.155
	(0.052)	(0.066)	(0.104)
2008 x Dem.therm	0.111**	0.023	0.126
	(0.042)	(0.062)	(0.086)
2012 x Dem.therm	0.115*	-0.055	0.116
	(0.045)	(0.061)	(0.076)
2016 x Dem.therm	-0.014	-0.055	0.101
	(0.043)	(0.060)	(0.078)
2020 x Dem.therm	0.055	-0.029	0.185*
	(0.055)	(0.067)	(0.082)
Republican candidate thermometer	0.012	0.135*	0.167*
	(0.030)	(0.058)	(0.069)
1972 x Rep.therm	-0.030	-0.145	-0.129
	(0.041)	(0.083)	(0.088)
1976 x Rep.therm	0.014	-0.061	-0.184*
	(0.043)	(0.082)	(0.093)
1980 x Rep.therm	-0.065	-0.009	-0.105
	(0.043)	(0.077)	(0.088)
1984 x Rep.therm	-0.044	-0.004	-0.005
	(0.043)	(0.082)	(0.096)
1988 x Rep.therm	-0.087*	0.052	-0.001
	(0.042)	(0.075)	(0.092)
1992 x Rep.therm	-0.115*	-0.020	-0.252**
	(0.045)	(0.074)	(0.093)
1996 x Rep.therm	-0.019	0.021	0.033
	(0.046)	(0.077)	(0.104)
2000 x Rep.therm	-0.111*	0.005	-0.102
	(0.049)	(0.078)	(0.094)
2004 x Rep.therm	-0.197***	0.018	-0.296**
	(0.044)	(0.077)	(0.093)
2008 x Rep.therm	-0.019	0.051	-0.038
	(0.044)	(0.082)	(0.095)
2012 x Rep.therm	-0.047	-0.013	-0.090
	(0.046)	(0.079)	(0.085)
2016 x Rep.therm	-0.110*	-0.048	-0.108
	(0.046)	(0.068)	(0.082)
2020 x Rep.therm	-0.158**	-0.121	-0.117
	(0.057)	(0.075)	(0.085)
Age 31-50	0.579***	0.753***	0.684***
	(0.052)	(0.065)	(0.091)
Age 51 and above	1.134***	1.344***	1.360***
	(0.054)	(0.068)	(0.103)
Female	0.061	0.121*	0.033

	(0.042)	(0.053)	(0.074)
Not white	-0.071	-0.571***	-0.294**
	(0.047)	(0.079)	(0.094)
College degree	0.961***	0.930***	1.018***
	(0.047)	(0.057)	(0.081)
Low income	-0.595***	-0.565***	-0.555***
	(0.048)	(0.063)	(0.087)
High income	0.436***	0.460***	0.435***
	(0.060)	(0.067)	(0.098)
Constant	0.161	0.046	-0.331
	(0.267)	(0.488)	(0.590)
N	16172	12193	3753

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A3. The interacted effect of in/out party candidate affection on turnout

In-party candidate thermometer	0.011
	(0.015)
Out-party candidate thermometer (reversed)	-0.061***
	(0.017)
In-party therm x Out-party therm (rev)	0.018***
	(0.002)
1972	-0.140
	(0.081)
1976	-0.233**
	(0.081)
1980	-0.320***
	(0.081)
1984	-0.296***
	(0.082)
1988	-0.542***
	(0.080)
1992	-0.167*
	(0.083)
1996	-0.363***
	(0.081)
2000	-0.318***
	(0.086)
2004	-0.180*
	(0.088)
2008	-0.083
	(0.085)
2012	-0.246**
	(0.088)
2016	-0.399***
	(0.092)
2020	-0.041
	(0.100)
Age 31-50	0.640***
	(0.040)
Age 51 and above	1.195***
	(0.042)
Female	0.086**
	(0.033)
Not white	-0.192***
	(0.040)
College degree	0.962***
	(0.036)
Low income	-0.583***

	(0.038)
High income	0.458***
	(0.044)
Democrat	0.031
	(0.035)
Constant	0.091
	(0.127)
N	28365

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Partisanship: Republican (Independents are excluded from the analysis). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A4. The interacted effect of in/out party candidate affection on turnout by categories

Dislike in-party candidate	0.575**
	(0.183)
Like in-party candidate	0.908***
	(0.095)
Dislike out-party candidate	0.586***
	(0.127)
Like out-party candidate	0.558***
	(0.120)
Dislike in-party x dislike out-party	-0.468*
	(0.219)
Dislike in-party x like out-party	-0.208
	(0.212)
Like in-party x dislike out-party	-0.102
	(0.137)
Like in-party x Like out-party	-0.536***
	(0.132)
1972	-0.129
	(0.080)
1976	-0.233**
	(0.081)
1980	-0.347***
	(0.080)
1984	-0.268***
	(0.081)
1988	-0.463***
	(0.079)
1992	-0.178*
	(0.082)
1996	-0.377***
	(0.081)
2000	-0.306***
	(0.086)
2004	-0.196*
	(0.086)
2008	-0.060
	(0.084)
2012	-0.210*
	(0.087)
2016	-0.448***
	(0.089)
2020	0.015
	(0.097)
Age 31-50	0.658***

	(0.040)
Age 51 and above	1.244***
	(0.042)
Female	0.095**
	(0.032)
Not white	-0.118**
	(0.039)
College degree	0.913***
	(0.036)
Low income	-0.561***
	(0.038)
High income	0.462***
	(0.044)
Constant	-0.525***
	(0.108)
N	28482

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. In/out party thermometers: Lukewarm. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A5: Correlations between turnout levels and shares of leader evaluation combinations (N=14)

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(1) Turnout	1.000						
(2) Lukewarm & Lukewarm	-0.660**	1.000					
(3) Dislike & Lukewarm	0.258	0.248	1.000				
(4) Like & Lukewarm	-0.741***	0.725***	-0.177	1.000			
(5) Like & Dislike	0.817***	-0.608**	0.269	-0.893***	1.000		
(6) Like & Like	-0.721***	0.426	-0.488*	0.827***	-0.959***	1.000	
(7) Dislike & Dislike	0.349	-0.488*	0.372	-0.786***	0.544**	-0.605**	1.000

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table A6. The effect of candidate evaluations on turnout (with past vote)

Lukewarm & Lukewarm	-1.193***
	(0.096)
Dislike & Lukewarm	-0.696***
	(0.097)
Like & Lukewarm	-0.378***
	(0.054)
Like & Like	-0.318***
	(0.048)
Dislike & Dislike	-0.501***
	(0.088)
1972	-0.074
	(0.085)
1976	-0.184*
	(0.086)
1980	-0.355***
	(0.086)
1988	-0.419***
	(0.086)
1992	0.103
	(0.089)
1996	-0.435***
	(0.087)
2000	-0.258**
	(0.091)
2004	0.079
	(0.092)
2008	0.200*
	(0.090)
2016	-0.316***
	(0.093)
Age 31-50	-0.041
	(0.048)
Age 51 and above	0.210***
	(0.052)
Female	0.018
	(0.038)
Not white	0.017
	(0.048)
College degree	0.674***
	(0.042)
Low income	-0.394***
	(0.045)
High income	0.341***
	(0.051)

Democrat	0.672***
	(0.056)
Republican	0.688***
	(0.059)
Previously voted	2.454***
	(0.041)
Constant	-0.747***
	(0.094)
N	18185

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. Thermometers groups: Like & dislike. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Partisanship: Independents. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A7. The effect of affection towards presidential candidates on turnout (with past vote)

	(1) Democrats	(2) Republicans	(3) Independents
Democratic candidate thermometer	0.055	-0.108*	-0.137*
	(0.031)	(0.049)	(0.069)
1972	0.462	1.883*	0.263
	(0.438)	(0.852)	(0.842)
1976	-0.286	-0.288	0.806
	(0.495)	(0.807)	(0.858)
1980	0.400	-0.020	0.416
	(0.448)	(0.749)	(0.793)
1988	-0.450	-1.134	-1.519
	(0.454)	(0.757)	(0.894)
1992	0.783	0.515	1.176
	(0.501)	(0.748)	(0.835)
1996	-1.017*	-0.426	-2.384**
	(0.489)	(0.723)	(0.897)
2000	0.624	-0.345	-0.199
	(0.514)	(0.771)	(0.825)
2004	0.724	0.020	0.700
	(0.514)	(0.799)	(0.957)
2008	-0.511	-0.364	-0.498
	(0.456)	(0.782)	(0.892)
2016	0.378	-0.392	-0.404
	(0.423)	(0.643)	(0.718)
1972 x Dem.therm	-0.016	0.023	0.113
	(0.044)	(0.067)	(0.091)
1976 x Dem.therm	0.019	0.146*	0.123
	(0.051)	(0.066)	(0.093)
1980 x Dem.therm	-0.044	-0.030	0.091
	(0.049)	(0.066)	(0.090)
1988 x Dem.therm	0.052	0.110	0.230*
	(0.050)	(0.065)	(0.099)
1992 x Dem.therm	0.017	0.010	0.107
	(0.057)	(0.070)	(0.108)
1996 x Dem.therm	0.108*	0.043	0.303**
	(0.054)	(0.064)	(0.107)
2000 x Dem.therm	-0.049	0.025	0.158
	(0.056)	(0.071)	(0.101)
2004 x Dem.therm	0.024	0.102	0.181
	(0.059)	(0.074)	(0.121)
2008 x Dem.therm	0.137**	0.144*	0.185
	(0.049)	(0.070)	(0.100)
2016 x Dem.therm	-0.028	0.089	0.137
	(0.050)	(0.067)	(0.088)

Republican candidate thermometer	0.022	0.151*	0.202**
	(0.035)	(0.068)	(0.074)
1972 x Rep.therm	-0.052	-0.257**	-0.183
	(0.047)	(0.098)	(0.098)
1976 x Rep.therm	0.014	-0.084	-0.267*
	(0.050)	(0.095)	(0.105)
1980 x Rep.therm	-0.089	-0.003	-0.175
	(0.049)	(0.089)	(0.098)
1988 x Rep.therm	-0.071	0.038	-0.052
	(0.048)	(0.087)	(0.103)
1992 x Rep.therm	-0.139**	-0.077	-0.279**
	(0.052)	(0.088)	(0.105)
1996 x Rep.therm	-0.022	0.018	0.017
	(0.052)	(0.087)	(0.115)
2000 x Rep.therm	-0.094	0.015	-0.184
	(0.055)	(0.091)	(0.103)
2004 x Rep.therm	-0.172***	-0.021	-0.334**
	(0.050)	(0.088)	(0.105)
2008 x Rep.therm	-0.022	0.006	-0.104
	(0.050)	(0.094)	(0.106)
2016 x Rep.therm	-0.110*	0.008	-0.116
	(0.052)	(0.078)	(0.090)
Age 31-50	-0.141*	0.031	0.229
	(0.068)	(0.088)	(0.119)
Age 51 and above	0.109	0.198*	0.509***
	(0.072)	(0.093)	(0.139)
Female	0.011	0.060	-0.096
	(0.053)	(0.068)	(0.097)
Not white	0.077	-0.355***	-0.118
	(0.060)	(0.106)	(0.128)
College degree	0.693***	0.706***	0.751***
	(0.059)	(0.073)	(0.107)
Low income	-0.418***	-0.460***	-0.247*
	(0.061)	(0.082)	(0.117)
High income	0.357***	0.294***	0.415**
	(0.074)	(0.086)	(0.127)
Previously voted	2.416***	2.556***	2.434***
	(0.056)	(0.075)	(0.106)
Constant	-0.849**	-1.012	-1.658**
	(0.308)	(0.575)	(0.639)
N	9205	6843	2137

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A8. The interacted effect of in/out party candidate affection on turnout (with past vote)

In-party candidate thermometer	0.005
	(0.019)
Out-party candidate thermometer (reversed)	-0.062**
	(0.022)
In-party therm x Out-party therm (rev)	0.016***
	(0.003)
1972	-0.009
	(0.093)
1976	-0.186*
	(0.093)
1980	-0.346***
	(0.093)
1988	-0.472***
	(0.092)
1992	0.089
	(0.096)
1996	-0.367***
	(0.093)
2000	-0.235*
	(0.098)
2004	0.116
	(0.099)
2008	0.234*
	(0.098)
2016	-0.217*
	(0.104)
Age 31-50	-0.089
	(0.053)
Age 51 and above	0.120*
	(0.057)
Female	0.027
	(0.041)
Not white	-0.029
	(0.052)
College degree	0.703***
	(0.046)
Low income	-0.431***
	(0.049)
High income	0.334***
	(0.055)
Democrat	0.004
	(0.044)
Previously voted	2.463***

	(0.045)
Constant	-0.617***
	(0.158)
N	16048

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Partisanship: Republican (Independents are excluded from the analysis). Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

A9. The interacted effect of in/out party candidate affection on turnout by categories (with past vote)

Dislike in-party candidate	0.627**
	(0.232)
Like in-party candidate	0.988***
	(0.120)
Dislike out-party candidate	0.591***
	(0.163)
Like out-party candidate	0.656***
	(0.152)
Dislike in-party x dislike out-party	-0.534
	(0.280)
Dislike in-party x like out-party	-0.268
	(0.269)
Like in-party x dislike out-party	-0.285
	(0.175)
Like in-party x Like out-party	-0.759***
	(0.167)
1972	-0.009
	(0.092)
1976	-0.180
	(0.093)
1980	-0.381***
	(0.092)
1988	-0.404***
	(0.092)
1992	0.070
	(0.095)
1996	-0.389***
	(0.093)
2000	-0.235*
	(0.097)
2004	0.092
	(0.098)
2008	0.251**
	(0.097)
2016	-0.260*
	(0.101)
Age 31-50	-0.085
	(0.053)
Age 51 and above	0.150**
	(0.057)
Female	0.035
	(0.041)
Not white	0.017

	(0.050)
College degree	0.662***
	(0.046)
Low income	-0.410***
	(0.048)
High income	0.341***
	(0.055)
Previously votes	2.487***
	(0.045)
Constant	-1.318***
	(0.135)
N	16129

Note. Source: ANES data 1968-2020. Logistic regression models in which the dependent variable is turnout (1=yes, 0=no). Reference categories are as follows. In/out party thermometers: Lukewarm. Election year: 1968. Age: 18-30. Income: Medium. Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$