MASTER THESIS

The Impersonated Politician

The Influence of Satirical Impersonations on the Evaluations of Politicians

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"Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery"

- Charles Caleb Colton

Summary

The main aim of this research was to investigate if satirical impersonations on television influence viewers' evaluations of the impersonated politician. The research studied the influence on overall evaluations and on the evaluations of ten traits (leadership, knowledgeable, intelligent, cares, inspiring, honest, trustworthy, compassionate, arrogant, and moral). A possible moderating effect of political knowledge was studied as well. An experiment was conducted at a high school in the Netherlands using four experimental groups. Three satirical clips of an impersonation of the Dutch Prime-Minister Mark Rutte were used as stimulus material and a clip of the real Mark Rutte was used as control material. Although there was little significant evidence, the evidence did support the expectation that exposure to a satirical impersonation results in lower overall and trait evaluations of Mark Rutte. Like previous research, this research did find trait dimensions as well: integrity and competence. Exposure to a satirical impersonation significantly influenced the ratings of these dimensions. The research did not find a moderating effect of political knowledge.

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1. Introduction

The listing of the American political satirist Stephen Colbert in TIME's 100 most influential people[1] exemplifies the perceived influence political satire might have on politics and public opinion. Over recent years, several events underpinned satire's perceived influence on politics. One such an event was the prosecution Colbert's Egyptian counterpart Bassem Youssef for insulting the Islam and president Morsi in his satirical show (Kingsley, April 1ste, 2013). This prosecution shows Youssef's perceived influence, mainly on the more than 30 million weakly viewers of his show. If the prosecutors did not attribute any (political) influence to Bassem, they would probably not be bothered to prosecute him. Another example of how satire can result in controversy were worldwide protests after twelve satirical cartoons of Muhammad were published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*.

Although most of the time satire is not discussed in the Dutch political arena, political satire has been a controversial issue in the Netherlands as well. In 2003 former Prime-Minister Jan Peter Balkenende criticized satiric playwrights and satirical TV shows. This criticism was heavily discussed in politics and is now known as 'satire-gate' (Hoederman 2005: 164). The above-mentioned examples show that political satire is perceived to have an influence on politics, politician, policy and public opinion. Although this is an interesting consideration, are more interesting question is whether the influence of political satire is *real* or if political satire only has a *perceived* influence. This research will provide a first answer on this question by studying the effect of political satire on the evaluation of politicians.

Political satire is not a new phenomenon; it is a literary technique which dates back to ancient Greece. Since the first comic playwright, Aristophanes, satire has undergone considerable development. Especially with the emergence of electronic media, the modes

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[1] Garry Trudeau, "Stephen Colbert - 2012 TIME 100: The Most Influential People in the World ", *TIME, April 16th, 2012*
<http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2111975_2111976_2111953,00.html> (retrieved on May 5th, 2013)

of satire have become more various. The increasing amount of satire shown on television resulted in scientific attentiveness in the 1990s. Communication and political science scholars have focused on television-based political humor ever since (Baumgartner 2007).

Scholars have found that watching late night satirical shows can increase political knowledge for young and more educated viewers and that it can influence viewers' ratings of candidate traits, when mediated by partisanship and prior political knowledge (Cao 2008, Young 2004). Moreover, Moy et al. (2005) found that the appearance of a presidential candidate in a late night comedy show can shape the evaluation of that candidate.

Although scholarship focusing on political satire still increases, less attention has been paid to a particular form of satire: impersonations. While impersonations were the earliest attempt at presidential satire (Jones 2009: 39), the literature on the influence of this specific type of satire is still scarce. Nevertheless, satirical impersonations are interesting subjects of study because a politician is satirized by a person who sounds and/or looks like the politician. Because the audience sees someone who looks like the politician, they might interpret the jokes differently since the jokes are audio-visual expressions. Impersonations make it easier to satirize the politician's appearance and his characterizing movements. Moreover, Becker (2012) found that after exposure to satirical jokes of late night comedy shows viewers' feelings towards the satirized politician were more negative. However, exposure to self-satire of the politician did not have any effect on the evaluation of the politician. Therefore, it is highly likely that the effect of impersonations differs from the effects of other forms of satire as well. This research will study the perceived effect of satirical impersonations by answering the question: *how does a satirical impersonation of a politician on television influence viewers' evaluations of the impersonated politician?*

Answering this question will expand the knowledge on satirical impersonation to parliamentary systems since contemporary scholarship has been dominated by research within the United States. The United States have a presidential system which makes politics more politician-centered instead of party-centered. As a result, the influence of satirical impersonations might be different in a parliamentary system where politics is more party-centered. Furthermore, examining how satirical impersonations influence people's evaluations of real politicians contributes to a better understanding of which factors play a role when people form their opinions about politicians.

The research question was tested in an experimental setting. The research used four clips to study the influence of satirical impersonations. Three of the clips were impersonations of the Dutch Prime-Minister Mark Rutte and one clip was real coverage of him. In the experiment high school students were exposed to either a satirical clip or to real coverage of Mark Rutte. After the participants had seen the clip a questionnaire asked them to evaluate Mark Rutte.

The statistical analysis of the data revealed that it is highly likely that satirical impersonations have a negative influence on the evaluation of the impersonated politician. This effect is most evident on evaluations on the competence-dimension. Unlike previous research, no moderating effect of political knowledge was found.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Evaluation of Politicians and the Media

The reputation of a politician can be seen as an interaction of two processes: impression forming and impression management. Impression forming is the construction of reputation of a politician in the mind of each individual voter. Impression management is an attempt of the politician to influence this reputation by controlling the information flow about him or herself. By emphasizing and deemphasizing different characteristics the politician is able

to control trait perceptions of voters (McGraw 2003: 405). However, politicians cannot control all information about themselves. Satirical impersonations are one of the information sources that are very hard to control by politicians. Satirical impersonations might even do the opposite of what politicians want; emphasizing characteristics which politicians want to deemphasize. Because in a satirical impersonation the politician is not able to manage its impression, the focus of this research is on impression forming and the influence of satirical impersonations on this process.

According to Miller et al. (1986) voters use a presidential prototype, or schema, to evaluate presidential candidates. A schema can be seen as the product of impression forming as discussed by McGraw (2003). Miller et al. define schemata about political candidates as:

> "[…] organized cognitions about them in their political role. Candidate schemas thus reduce the complexity of our impressions by enabling us to categorize and label an individual politician according to certain abstract of representative features. These categories then serve as a set of cues from which we can draw further inferences about the candidate's future behavior" (Miller et al. 1986: 524).

Miller et al. distinguish four general categories within the presidential schema: issue positions, partisanship, group-related beliefs and personal attributes. The latter category consists of appearance, traits, and background information. Miller et al. (1986) conclude that the perceptions of politicians are most of the time focused on the latter category, especially for higher educated (p. 527). Of these personal characteristics, traits can be seen as the main component of the impression forming of politicians and might even influence vote choice, at least in the United States (McGraw 2003: 400).

Because traits have great influence on the evaluations of politicians, trait inferences might lead to a change of one's schema of a politician. The trait inferences process has

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three steps. First, observed behavior is categorized in one's schema. Depending on the existing schema, the behavior will be placed in one of the categories of that schema. The second step is the actual trait inference; the politician is evaluated on the traits which agree with the politician's behavior. The last step is the adjustment for situational constraints. In this step the behavior will be placed within the context in which it occurs, this might lead to different interpretations by different individuals (McGraw 2003: 399).

The above-discussed trait inference does not have to be based on the actual behavior of the politician it might also be caused by a projection of his behavior by others. The projection of a politician's behavior is mainly done via the media, in this case satirical impersonations. That the media have this 'power' is exemplified by the research of Weaver et al. (1981). They studied the agenda setting of candidates' images in a newspaper and argue that: "[…] the relative salience of certain attributes of a candidate is basic to that candidate's image. By concentrating on certain attributes of a candidate and downplaying or ignoring other attributes, the mass media play an important agenda-setting role with regard to that candidate's image" (Weaver et al. 1981: 161-162).

2.2 Media Effects: Agenda Setting, Priming, and Framing

Agenda setting is one of the three media effects which are extensively studied by political communication scholars. Two other two are priming and framing. The three effects are related to each other and all involve the relationship between the messenger, the message, and the audience. In the case of satire the *satirist* is the messenger, the *satiree* is the receiver and *satire* is the message. Furthermore, the *satirized* is what or who is being and ridiculed in the satire (Simpson 2003: 8). Scholars who study one of these effects are mainly interested in the influence of the media on public opinion. Many of these scholars agree with Cohen (1963), who states: "the press may not be successful much of the time in

telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13).

By giving priority to certain issues in the news, the media are able to influence the issue priorities of citizens, this is known as agenda setting by the media. The agenda-setting thesis holds that the most salient issues in the news will become the most salient issues in public opinion (Semetko 2007: 131). With this mechanism the media are able to influence what citizens talk or think about.

The study of framing looks at the relationship between (the construction of) the message and public's perceptions of this message. The difference between agenda setting and framing is that framing scholars study *how* the public interprets the message whereas agenda-setting research focuses on *what* the public thinks about (Semetko 2007: 133). When an issue is framed, certain aspects of a perceived reality are selected to increase their prominence, which results in a specific interpretation of that issue. In this way the use of language and the selection of images can influence the perception of the issue.

The priming thesis holds that the media can influence the standards by which political information is evaluated. "By calling attention to some matters while ignoring others, television news influences the standards by which governments, presidents, policies and candidates for public office are judged" (Iyengar and Kinder 2010: 63). For example, if the news focuses its coverage on a particular problem related to a politician, citizens will weigh their ratings of that politician's performance more heavily on that problem.

Because the research on the evaluations of politicians focuses on how politicians are evaluated, it seems to fit best within the framework of priming or framing. Moreover, because satirical impersonations often exaggerate traits, one can interpret this as the priming of these traits. For example, when a politician is satirized as being unintelligent,

the trait (un)intelligence is primed. Consequently, this research will use the framework of priming to study the influence of satirical impersonation on the evaluations of politicians.

2.2.1. The Mechanism of Priming

The mechanism of priming enables a change in the people's standards when evaluating politics. The mechanism is based on the fact that people cannot pay attention to everything. As a consequence of this selective attention the impressions we form of others are organized around a few central categories, for example around the presidential schema as discussed by Miller et al. (1986). Because people cannot pay attention to everything, they prefer to use heuristics (Iyengar and Kinder 2010: 64).

When processing information about others we use mental shortcuts, or heuristics. Of main interest for priming is the heuristic that relies on the information which is accessible at the moment. When somebody is asked to evaluate something or somebody he will not use all his knowledge for this evaluation but only the knowledge that happens to come in mind at the moment (Iyengar and Kinder 2010: 64). Which information is used for the evaluation depends heavily on the preexisting mental schema one has. However, when circumstances change, the used knowledge which comes into mind most readily will also change (Ibid.: 65). As a result, trait inferences can change the knowledge that comes into one's mind and as a result it can also change the evaluation of a politician.

Based on the mechanism of information processing and impression forming, the standards people use to judge a politician, might heavily be influenced by which the focus of the media on certain aspects. By focusing on certain aspects the media may be able to influence the accessible information in people's mind. Or as Iyengar and Kinder (2010) state: "the more attention television news pays to a particular problem – the more frequently a problem area is primed – the more viewers should incorporate what they know about that problem into their overall judgment of the president" (p. 65).

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The central argument of this research is that satirical impersonations prime certain traits of a politician and thereby they alter the viewers' schemas of the politician. Consequently, the evaluation of the politician by the viewer might change since the accessible information of the schema has changed. For example, weak leadership of a certain politician is primed in the impersonation, as a result people will incorporate this information in their schema of this politician and will most probably evaluate this politician as a weaker leader.

In order to generate more specific hypotheses, a closer look will be taken at political satire. Subsequently, previous research on the relation between political satire, media and the evaluation of politicians will be discussed which results in the generating of the hypotheses.

2.3. Political Satire on Television

Satire is originally a literary technique, which offers its audience meaningful political critiques in a playful manner. Fletcher (1987) defines satire as: "verbal aggression in which some aspect of historical reality is exposed to ridicule. It is a mode of aesthetic expression that relates to historical reality, involves at least implied norms against which a target can be exposed as ridiculous, and demands the pre-existence or creation of shared comprehensions and evaluation between satirist and audience" (p. ix).

This definition includes the notion of *aggression* and *judgment*, two of the four characteristics of satire. The other two characteristics are *play* and *laughter.* The aggression or attack is towards the perceived wrongs within society. These wrongs can be found within people, institutions or processes (Caufield 2008: 7). The attack of a target goes hand in hand with the judgment of that target since the target is intentionally criticized. Essential for satire is the combination of attack and judgment with play and laughter by the audience. Play is the interaction between the satirist and the audience,

which in its turn generated laughter among the audience. The generating of laughter is important because it makes the attack more accessible to the audience (Caufield 2008: 8)

Because satire needs to generate laughter among its audience, its most important feature is to ridicule: "Satire's calling card is the ability to produce social scorn or damning indictments through playful means and, in the process, transform the aggressive act of ridicule into the more socially acceptable act of rendering something ridiculous." (Gray et al. 2009: 12-13). Although satire ridicules its target in a negative way, the purpose of satire is not a negative but a positive change.

By aspiring positive change, satire serves important different roles in a democratic society: it encourages a critical debate, points out hypocrisy, criticizes wrongs with society and government, and makes this criticism accessible to average citizens (Caufield 2008: 4). However, satire makes criticism not accessible to all citizens because preexistent knowledge is needed to understand satire's intertextual humor (Norrick 1989).

This is also the case for the specific type of satire this research looks into: impersonations. Impersonations can be placed within a broader category of satire, namely parody. Although not all parody is satiric, *political* parodies are satirical most of the time. The difference between satire and parody is that parody is based on aesthetic conventions while satire draws on social ones (Gray et al. 2009). This means that satire ridicules its targets based on society's present social conventions and parody ridicules its targets by a critical imitation of the target. The purpose of parody is to stimulate a reflection and re-evaluation of the target by the audience. Impersonations are a form of parody because impersonations depend heavily on the comedian's ability to look and/or sound like the impersonated politician (Jones 2009). Thus, an impersonation is a parody of the impersonated person.

2.4. Satire and the Evaluation of Politicians

Recent studies on the effects of watching (satirical) late-night comedy shows have concluded that exposure to these shows can increase political knowledge, particularly among young and more educated viewers and can stimulate forms political engagement and involvement (Cao 2008, Hoffman and Thomson 2009). Other scholars have studied political cynicism after being exposed to late-night comedy and counterarguing of satirical messages (Baumgartner and Morris 2006, Holbert et al. 2011).

Of main interest for this research is the influence of satire on public opinion. Like other media genres, televised satire might be able to influence public since it "[…] provides valuable means through which citizens can analyze and interrogate power and the realm of politics rather than remain simple subjects of it" (Gray et al. 2009: 17). This quote also uncovers how priming is related to satire. Satire can also ignore some matters and calling attention to others and thereby influencing the kind of means people use when analyzing and interrogating power and the realm of politics.

Moy et al. (2005) found that presidential candidates who appeared in The Late Show with David Letterman were more likely to be evaluated on character traits by viewers than non-viewers of the show. The effects were even stronger for lesser known candidates. Although The Late Show is a talk show, it uncovers how entertainment shows might influence candidate evaluations. Moreover, when a politician does not appear in person in late-night comedy shows, viewers' evaluation of the politician can be influenced by satirical jokes made in the show. Baumgartner and Morris (2006) have shown that citizens who are exposed to jokes about presidential candidates in The Daily Show, rate both candidates more negative even when controlled for partisanship.

But what are the effects of the appearance of a fake politician in a satirical show? A famous example of such an impersonation is that of Sarah Palin by Tina Fey on Saturday Night Live. Baumgartner et al. (2012) examined the influence of this impersonation using

an online survey panel asking respondents what shows they had watched. The researchers concluded that exposure to the impersonation was associated with a drop in approval of McCain's selection of Palin as running mate and a drop in the probability of voting for McCain. These findings suggest that being a subject of satire on television will have negative consequences for the evaluation of politicians. This reasoning results in the first hypothesis:

> H1: People who are exposed to a satirical impersonation of a politician will evaluate the impersonated politician more negative than people who are not exposed to the impersonation.

2.5. Satire and Trait Evaluations

Among others, Funk (1996) found that trait inference could influence the overall evaluations of politicians. Therefore, this study will not only study overall evaluations but also specific traits because these traits might be the building blocks of the overall evaluations. When only looking at the overall evaluations one cannot uncover which specific trait or category has changed a person's schema of a politician.

Previous research studying the priming of traits has found that media's messages influence people's willingness to rate politicians on trait dimensions, which trait dimensions are more important for the overall evaluation, and that priming certain issues will result in a change in trait ratings (Fridkin and Kenney 2011; Stevens and Karp 2012; Iyengar and Kinder 2010).

Scholars have used a broad range of dimensions of traits when studying politicians' traits, but the most common are competence and integrity. Traits within the competence-dimensions are for example: strong leadership, intelligent and knowledgeable. Within the integrity-dimension the traits are: honest, trustworthy and caring (Bittner 2011).

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Because the priming-mechanism can also apply for satirical impersonations, impersonations might be able to prime certain trait and as a result change the evaluations of the impersonated politician's traits. Scientific findings with regard to satire's priming of certain traits of politicians are less convincing as the findings for the overall evaluation of politicians. Young (2004, 2006) found only a small effect of satire; when late-night comedy exposure for low knowledgeable was high, no effect was found. While for those low in political knowledge who were not exposed to late-night comedy, Gore was perceived as more inspiring. This might point towards a negative effect on the trait 'inspiring'.

For the priming of traits resulting from satirical impersonations is neither much evidence. Esralew and Young (2012) examined Fey's impersonation of Palin by conducting an online survey in which a clip of the parody was the stimulus. They found that certain traits were more salient in respondents' ratings of Palin after being exposed to the impersonation. However, the saliency of the traits did not significantly differ from the saliency of the traits after being exposed to coverage of the real Palin, with the exception of the trait that characterized Palin as rural.

The fact that the priming of Palin's traits did not differ between the impersonation and the real coverage might be caused by the fact that the impersonation was a 'copy' of the real coverage (an interview). It might be the case that the traits were already visible in the real coverage but were exaggerated by the impersonation. Therefore, it could be that no significant difference occurred by posing open-ended question. If the authors had used closed-ended (scaling) questions, they might had found significant differences in the rating of traits. Moreover, Esralew and Young (2012) did not ask the respondents if they had ever seen Fey's impersonation. Respondents which were exposed to the real coverage might have seen the impersonation; consequently their evaluation might be influenced by this impersonation.

Research on the effect of light-night comedy on the evaluation of politicians is mainly conducted in the United States. The research by Matthes et al. (2011) is a notable exception as it was conducted in Switzerland. The authors examined how the parody of a conversation of a Swiss minister with Muammar Gadhafi influences the competence ratings of the minister. They conclude that the competence ratings of the minister only decrease for individuals with substantial political knowledge. People with less political knowledge see the minister as more competent but this effect is much smaller than the negative effect among the high knowledgeable people. The authors' explanation for these findings is that one should be knowledgeable to understand a satirical joke. When the joke is not understood one might think the whole setting is silly and are in a positive mood when evaluating the minister. Although this might be a plausible explanation one could wonder if this is the only explanation.

Another explanation could be the choice of the clip, which is used as stimulus. The respondents were exposed to a clip in which they saw Gadhafi shouting in a language which is incomprehensible. Compared to this 'angry man', the Swiss minister might be perceived as normal and doing a good job, therefore he might be rated more positive. If the minister was the only one in the clip the results might have been more nuanced.

When looking at the above-discussed studies on impersonations it seems plausible that the clip selected for a study might have a significant impact on the result of the study. A study which uses only one clip as stimulus can only draw conclusions for that clip and has limited generalizability. Therefore this research included more clips and examined if the effects of an impersonation on the evaluation of the politician will differ between impersonations. By using impersonations in which different traits are caricaturized, this research was able to examine if the influence of impersonations on viewers' trait evaluations were trait-specific.

Based on the above-mentioned research and because impersonations focus on the flaws of politicians, it was expected that exposure to a satirical impersonation would lead to more negative trait evaluations on the traits which were being ridiculed by the impersonator. By priming the flawed traits, these traits become more salient in the viewer's mind and therefore it might be expected that the politician will be rated more negative on traits which are being ridiculed by the impersonation. This expectation is phrased in the second hypothesis.

> H2: Viewers' will evaluate a politician's trait more negative after exposure to an impersonation in which this trait is being ridiculed compared to no exposure to this impersonation.

Because satirical impersonations might expose negative characteristics of politicians, it seems highly likely that the effects on the ridiculed traits are also negative. However, it might also be the case that positive traits are being ridiculed which might result in more positive evaluations. Although this is not supported scientifically, a statement of the Dutch politician Frank de Grave might point towards a confirmation of a positive effect. He said that he got the most preferential votes during the period that he was being impersonated in the show *Kopspijkers* (Schumacher 2003). Therefore, when analyzing the effects of impersonations, this research will consider a possible positive effect.

2.6. The Moderating Effect of Political Knowledge

When looking at precious research, one can conclude that scholars are not unequivocal with regard to the influence of political knowledge on the effects of political satire. Some scholars argue that less knowledgeable are more susceptible to the satirical message because they do not have well-formed belief systems and therefore are not able to

counterague a dissonant message (Baum 2005; Young 2004, 2006). However, this reasoning seems not to concur with the findings of Matthes et al. (2011) that less knowledgeable rate the politician more positive after seeing an impersonation while high knowledgeable rate the politician more negative.

Although the conclusions of different studies go into opposite directions, they both acknowledge that people low in political knowledge might have trouble counterarguing a satirical message. From this point of view, one can reason in two directions. The first is that because those low in political cannot counterargue the satirical message, they take the satirical message for granted. As a result, they might think that the message covers reality and rate the politician more negative than those who can counterargue. The other logic of reasoning comes to a different conclusion: low knowledgeable will rate the impersonated politician more positive. Although they cannot counterargue the satirical message, they might believe that the whole content of the satirical message is a joke. As a result they will rate the politician in the opposite direction; more positive. To clarify the relation between political knowledge and political satire, this research tested two competing hypotheses:

> H3: Less knowledgeable viewers will evaluate the impersonated politician more negative than high knowledgeable viewers after seeing the impersonation.
>
> H4: High knowledgeable viewers will evaluate the impersonated politician more negative than less knowledgeable viewers after seeing the impersonation.

3. Methodology

To answer the general question and test the hypotheses, the experimental method was used. This method is well suited for this research because an experiment can be seen as the most appropriate method to uncover causal relationships among variables (Spector 1981: 20). Moreover, in an experiment the independent variable's impact can be isolated

by keeping other contextual factors constant. More specifically, the experiment was conducted in a laboratory-like setting. Using a laboratory setting has the advantage of the ability to control contextual factors. A weakness of a laboratory experiment is that it is artificial and will probably not occur in the real world (Babbie 2007: 249). For this research this was also the case but by using real clips, which were broadcasted on television, the experiment was as close as possible to a real situation. However, when drawing conclusions one should keep in mind that the impersonation is not the only information the viewers are exposed to in real life.

3.1. Stimulus Material[2]

Dutch prime-minister Mark Rutte was chosen as the *satirized* because as prime-minister he is probably the most well-known politician of the Netherlands. Choosing the prime-minister limits the chance that participants do not know the politician. If they do not know the politician they are probably not able to rate this politician on specific traits. Four clips of Rutte were selected for the research; three clips of an impersonation of him and one clip which covers a part of a speech of the real Mark Rutte.

All the satirical impersonations were shown during a broadcast of *De Wereld Draait Door* ("The World keeps turning" or "The World is going crazy"). The show has been broadcasted since 2005 every weekday. It attracts up to one million viewers each day and it has won the most important Dutch television-award in 2007. The show combines news, information, and entertainment. Several forms of satire have been part of the entertainment of the show. However, it never had a prominent role in the show.

The clips were made by the comedians of the show's satirical magazine *Je Mist Meer Dan Je Ziet* ("You miss more than you see"). *Je Mist Meer Dan Je Ziet* has been part of *De Wereld Draait Door* since 2012. In this part of the show comedians impersonate mostly

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[2] The transcripts of all clips can be found in the appendix

politicians. In *Je Mist Meer Dan Je Ziet* fictive situations, which might have happened and were not broadcasted on television, are shown in a satirical skit.

The three clips were chosen because by selecting these clips the chances were limited that the findings were caused by other factors than the difference in trait priming in the impersonations. First of all because in each clip the impersonator was the same comedian, Remko Vrijdag. Secondly, in all clips Rutte is the only politician being impersonated which limits the chances that the possible effects are caused by other factors than the impersonation. Finally, none of the clips were policy related, this avoided an evaluation of the politician based on his policy stance.

The first satirical clip was broadcasted on 11 September 2012, the day before the Dutch general elections.[3] The clip is cut out of a video in which more impersonated political leaders 'rehearse' their victory speech in *De Wereld Draait Door*. In the clip Rutte is projected as a laughing politician who makes silly jokes and confesses that things he said during the campaign were nonsense. 'Victory Speech' or just 'Speech' are used to refer to this clip.

The second satirical clip provides the viewers with 'a backstage view' of the election debate of 4 September.[4] In the original clip an impersonation of Diederik Samsom (leading candidate Labor Party) is the cameraman and shows different politicians which are practicing for the debate in their changing rooms. Only the parts that cover Rutte were used for the experiment. In these fragments Rutte is projected as a mother's child who makes silly jokes. As reference to this clip 'Backstage Carré' or 'Backstage' are used.

In the last satirical clip the impersonation of Rutte takes part in *DWDD Recordings*.[5] In *DWDD Recordings* artists are guest in *De Wereld Draait Door* and sing a song of their

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[3] 'De Wereld Draait Door – 11 September 2012'
< *http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1288116*> (retrieved on March 2nd, 2013)
[4] 'De Wereld Draait Door – 7 September 2012'
< http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1287214> (24 February 2013)
[5] 'De Wereld Draait Door – 25 May 2012'
< http://www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1260997> (6 March 2013)

favorite artist. In this clip, an impersonation of Mark Rutte performs the song *'Zo Vrolijk'* ('So Happy') of the Dutch artist Herman van Veen but the text has been changed in a way that it makes fun of Rutte and his first cabinet without referring to any policy. References to this clip are 'DWDD Recordings' and 'Song'.

The real coverage is a part of Mark Rutte his speech at the party council on 29 September 2012.[6] The general elections of September 12th, 2012 were won by his liberal party (VVD) and as a result his speech contained general statements regarding the elections. This clip was chosen because it was as neutral as possible and did not refer to policy-related issues. As a result this clip could be used as a comparison group in order to look at the effect of the satirical impersonations. The clip of the real Rutte will be referred to as 'real'.

In order to check whether the three satirical clips emphasized different traits a pre-test was conducted. This test was necessary because if there was no difference in the emphasis on traits, the three satirical clips were not suitable to test trait-specific effects of impersonations.

3.2. Pre-test

The pre-test consisted of an online questionnaire in which the respondents were exposed to all four above-mentioned clips. The sample of this test (N= 43) was a convenience sample of family and friend, recruited via e-mail and Facebook. Although this sample is obviously not representative for the whole population, for the purpose of determining the emphasized traits by the impersonations, these 'experts' were presumably sufficient. The rating of the emphasized traits by the respondents was measured by asking the question: *'Can you indicate to what extent traits of Rutte, as mentioned in the sentences below, are emphasized in the clip?'* Ten traits were included in the research: *leadership, cares,*

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[6] 'Speech Rutte op partijraad VVD'
< http://nos.nl/video/424017-speech-rutte-op-partijraad-vvd.html > (12 March 2013)

knowledgeable, inspiring, honest, intelligent, trustworthy, compassionate, arrogant, and moral. These traits were included because they are the ten most frequently used traits in other research (Bittner 2011: 38). The respondents were asked to rate short sentences on a 5-point scale (extremely positive (4), quite positive (3), neutral or not emphasized (2), quite negative (1), and extremely negative (0)). A complete overview of the questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

The respondents of the questionnaire were exposed to all four clips. The clips were shown in the same order: Speech, Backstage, Song, and real. The three satirical clips had 43 respondents; the real clip was rated by 41. This was probably caused by respondents who stopped after the satirical clips or forgot to send the last question.

3.2.1. Results

In table 1 the descriptive statistics of the pre-test can be found. When comparing the means of the real clip with those of the satirical clips, it is interesting to see that the means of the real clip are considerable higher than the means of the satirical clips. This could support that impersonations emphasize traits in a negative way. However, the difference might partly be caused by the order in which the clips were presented to the respondents. The last clip to which the respondents were exposed was the real clip. Therefore, they might have compared the real clip with the satirical clips. Consequently, they might rate the emphasize of trait within the real clip higher because they were first exposed to the satirical clip. As a result nearly all the ratings of the traits in the real clip were higher than the midpoint (2) of the scale. This means that the respondents perceived these traits as positively emphasized in the real clip. Arrogance was the only exception but this might be caused by the fact that this is the only negative trait.

The findings that all traits might be positively emphasized in the real clip should be taken into consideration when drawing final conclusions. Based on this findings it could be

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that differences between real and satirical clips in the experiment are caused by the positive emphasize on traits in the real clip instead of the negative emphasize in the satirical clips.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics pre-test per clip

| | Clip | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Real | | | Victory Speech | | | Backstage Carré | | | DWDD Recordings | | |
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.
Leadership	2.88	41	0.84	1.26	43	1.18	0.63	43	0.87	1.09	43	1.06
Knowledgeable	2.80	41	0.68	1.37	43	1.20	1.16	43	0.81	1.12	43	1.03
Intelligent	2.71	41	0.84	1.44	43	0.98	1.12	43	0.91	1.05	43	1.02
Cares	2.88	41	0.93	1.33	43	1.04	1.51	43	0.80	1.93	43	1.06
Inspiring	2.80	41	1.10	1.58	43	1.16	1.30	43	1.10	1.37	43	1.31
Honest	2.90	41	0.86	1.60	43	1.29	1.09	43	1.00	2.00	43	1.13
Trustworthy	2.71	41	0.81	0.88	43	0.96	0.95	43	0.90	1.33	43	1.25
Compassionate	3.07	41	0.75	1.42	43	1.45	1.77	43	1.21	2.00	43	1.29
Arrogant	1.63	41	1.11	2.26	43	1.45	2.00	43	1.13	1.77	43	0.90
Moral	2.85	41	0.73	1.30	43	1.06	1.07	43	0.91	1.51	43	1.20

A dependent t-test was used to compare the means of the perceived emphasize on the ten selected traits. The test revealed that difference between the real clips and all the satirical clips was significant for all traits. Furthermore, the test indicated that each satirical clip differed significantly from another satirical clip on at least one trait. Therefore, all satirical clips were included in the experiment.

Table 2. Significant results satirical clips dependent t-test

	Pair	t	df
Leadership	Speech - Backstage	3.23*	45
Leadership	Backstage - Song	-2.95*	45
Intelligent	Speech - Backstage	2.29**	45
Intelligent	Song - Speech	-2.60**	45
Cares	Backstage - Song	-2.57**	45
Cares	Song - Speech	3.39*	45
Honest	Speech - Backstage	2.39**	45
Honest	Backstage - Song	-3.69*	45
Trustworthy	Song - Speech	2.06**	45
Compassionate	Song - Speech	2.38**	45
Arrogant	Song - Speech	-2.25**	45
Moral	Backstage - Song	-2.11**	45

$* p < .01, ** p < .05$

In the pre-test the respondents were also asked how they thought the clip would influence the overall evaluations of Mark Rutte by the respondents in the experiment. This was tested in order to phrase expectations for the experiment. The test indicated that the respondents expected that the evaluations would be significantly more negative after being exposed to a satirical clip compared to being exposed to the real clip (Real – Speech t=9.75, p < .001; Real – Backstage t=12.14, p < .001; Real – Song t=14.33, p < .001). However, the respondents expected no significant differences between the satirical clips.

3.2.2. Expectations for Experiment

The expectations for experiment where determined based on the significant results of the dependent t-test (see table 2). A positive t-value indicates that the evaluations after being exposed to the first clip will be more positive than the evaluations after being exposed to the second clip. A negative t-value indicates the opposite. For the traits listed in table 2 it was expected that their evaluations after exposure to a satirical impersonation would be different between at least two satirical clips.

Based on the mean scores listed in table 1 it was expected that exposure to the Speech clip would result in the most negative evaluations on three traits: cares, trustworthy, and compassionate. It was expected that of the ten traits trustworthiness was evaluated most negative after exposure to this clip. For the Backstage clip it was expected that four traits would be evaluated most negative compared to the other clips (leadership, inspiring, honest, and moral). Leadership was expected to be evaluated the most negative among the ten traits after exposure to this clip. Exposure to the Song clip compared to other clips was expected to have the most negative effect on knowledgeable, intelligent, and arrogant. The participants who were exposed to this clip were expected to evaluate intelligence the most negative among the ten traits.

3.3. Main Study

Based on the results of the pre-test all clip were used in the experiment, which resulted in four experimental groups. For the experiment a convenience sample was used as well. It consisted of students at a high school in Breda. They were all fourth graders attending senior general secondary school (HAVO). Although the external validity of this sample is low, there seem to be no major reasons to believe that the causal relationship that could be detected in the sample would be systematically different from the relationship that could be found among the general population (Druckman and Kam 2011). However, there are some factors that one should be aware of when drawing conclusions from a sample of adolescents. Their information level might be lower and the strengths of their political beliefs might be weaker. As a result they might be more susceptible to the stimulus material.

3.3.1. Operationalization of Variables

The most important independent variable for the experiment was the exposure to one of the clips. In the experiment the respondents were exposed to either one of the satirical clips or the real clip (1= real, 2= Speech, 3= Backstage, 4= Song). Each experimental group consisted of 20 to 29 respondents.[7]

The moderating variable, political knowledge, was tested by asking a set of five politics-related questions (see appendix). The difficulty of the questions varied in order to be able to distinguish between the respectively high and low levels of political knowledge. For every correct answer one point was given. Therefore the possible values of political range from zero to five (M= 4.09, SD=.99, α=.42).

The main depended variables were the same ten traits as used in the pre-test. In the experiment the respondents were asked how well the traits described Rutte on a 4-point

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[7] Real clip N= 20; Speech N= 29; Backstage N= 23; Song N= 29

scale. (extremely well (3), quite well (2), not too well (1), and not well at all (0)). In the experiment a 4-point scale was used because the majority of previous research has done the same. A 'don't know'- option was provided in order to avoid respondents 'guessing' the answers if they did not know Mark Rutte (see appendix for questionnaire).

The overall evaluation of the candidate was measured by asking: '*On a scale of zero to ten, how would you rate Mark Rutte? Zero means very unfavorable and ten means very favorable'*. This scale was used because Dutch students get graded on a scale from zero to ten therefore they are familiar with this scale and are able to know the meaning of a numeral.

The research included three control variables: gender, party preference, and political interest. Gender was in included because voting behavior can be partly explained by gender (Inglehart and Norris 2000). Therefore, it might that the evaluations of politicians are influenced by gender as well. Party preference was included because supporters of the politician's party might be positively biased when evaluating the politician. The last control variable, political interest, was included because those who are interested in politics might know the politician better and consequently the evaluations of the politician might be influenced by more factors.

The operationalization of the control variables was similar to de operationalization of these variables used by the Dutch Parliamentary Election Study (see appendix). The level of education and age were not included because all the respondents were fourth graders attending senior general secondary education. Therefore, the respondents did not have different levels of education and the range of age was relatively small (15-18, M= 16.20, SD= .76).

As manipulation check the questionnaire included a question on perceived funniness of the clip on a 10-point scale (10 was very funny and 0 not funny at all). This question was included because Matthes et al. (2011) give perceived funniness as possible

explanation for their findings that less knowledgeable evaluate the impersonated politician more positive. Moreover, respondents were asked if they had seen the clip before and if they had ever seen a satirical impersonation of Rutte. The complete questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

3.3.2. The Experiment

For the experiment the existing composition of high school classes of 20-30 students was used. To make sure that the experimental groups did not significantly differ from each other the experiment was conducted during equivalent English classes, which is a compulsory subject. The experiment did not use random assignment at the individual level, but classes were randomly assigned to a one of the impersonated clips or to the clip of the real politician. The research did not use a control group without a clip because participants need to see coverage of the politician to be able to evaluate a politician on specific traits. Therefore the group which was exposed to the real clip was used as the control group.

The experiment was conducted on Wednesday April 10th at 8:30, 9:20, 10:10, and 13:30. The first group was exposed to the real clip, the second to the Victory Speech clip, the third to the Backstage Carré clip, and the final group to the DWDD Recordings clip.

For some of the participants one of the knowledge questions was not clear. This question was: 'Who preceded Mark Rutte as prime-minister?' The respondents were not sure if they needed to answer Jan Peter Balkenende, who was prime-minister before Rutte's first term, or Rutte since he is currently in his second term. Because in essence both answers are correct, they were both coded as the correct answer.

Other questions were participants struggled with, were two questions on traits. A few respondents did not know what the definition of compassionate or moral was. Although a short definition was given after they asked for it, one should be cautious when

drawing conclusions for these two traits because there might have been some disagreement about the interpretation of the trait.

The last thing which was unclear for some respondents was the meaning of the word 'parody'. To clarify this, the clip they just had seen was given as an example. The group which had seen the real clip was told it was a funny imitation of somebody. Furthermore, one of the most famous satirical shows of the Netherlands, Koefnoen, was given as an example.

Another notable thing was that in most of the groups the participants were conversing with each other while they were repeatedly asked not to do so. Most of the conversations started when the participants started with the knowledge questions. Therefore, the knowledge scores might be higher than they would have been if there had been no conversations.

3.3.3. Characteristics of Experimental Groups

The age of the respondents ranged from fifteen to eighteen years old. The mean age was nearly similar for the four groups. This was not the case for gender. Sixty percent of the respondents in the 'real-group' were women while the 'Speech-group' and the 'Song-group' consisted for 45% of women. In the 'Backstage-group' this percentage 65% was. These differences should be taken into account when analyzing the relation between exposure to a satirical impersonation and the evaluations of the impersonated politician.

In order to measure political interest the questionnaire included questions concerning, for example, reading newspapers and watching news. The questions were asked on a four-point scale and a three-point scale. The total amount of points one could 'score' in seven question was nineteen and therefore the index ranged from zero to 19/7 (=2.71) (M=1.01, SD: .54, α= .69). The means per clip ranged from .94 to 1.15 (Real: 1.15; Victory Speech: .94; Backstage Carré: 1.02; DWDD Recordings: .96).

Political knowledge was measured by asking five open-ended questions about politics. For each correct answer the political knowledge index increased with 1. Therefore the possible scores were: 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. These values were recoded so that they would range from 0 to 1 (M= .82, SD= .20 α=.42). The mean scores per clip ranged from .79 to .88 (Real: .88; Victory Speech: .81; Backstage Carré: .82; DWDD Recordings: .79).

Less than half of the sample reported a party preference (48,5%). Most of the respondents preferred either VVD (N= 19) or PvdA (N= 13). Other party preferences included D66 (N= 9), PVV (N= 4), SP (N= 3), and CDA (N= 1). These numbers make clear that party preference might not be very useful as a control variable. However, it was still used because party preferences might systematically affect ratings of a participant and thereby be a predictor of the evaluation of the politician.

In order to check if previous exposure to the clip could influence the change in the evaluations of the impersonated politician, the respondents were asked if they had seen the clip before. None of the respondents had seen the real clip. The Victory Speech and the DWDD Recordings were already seen by approximately 30 percent of the respondents. The percentage that had seen Backstage Carré was remarkably high; 61 percent. During the elections in September 2012 this video was shown in the social studies class, which is probably the explanation for the high percentage. These findings should be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions in the further analysis of this research.

To be able the check if the manipulation was successful the respondents were asked to give their opinion about the funniness of the clip they had seen on a scale from zero to ten. Looking at the means for each video, it seems evident that the stimulation was successful because the means of the satirical clips were at least twice as big as the mean of the real clip. This was confirmed by a statistical analysis, $F(3, 97) = 14.96$, $p <.001$. Of the satirical clips, DWDD Recordings was perceived as most funny (M = 6.48) and Victory Speech as the least funny clip(M= 5.03).

4. Results

4.1. Overall Evaluations

It was hypothesized that exposure to a satirical impersonation would result in more negative evaluations of the impersonated politician. The mean scores of the overall ratings for each experimental group are in line with the hypothesis: the mean scores after exposure to a satirical clip were lower than the mean scores after exposure to the real clip (see figure 1). However, the measured differences were rather small. Moreover, it is better to label the difference as less positive instead of more negative because all the mean scores were on the positive side of the scale.

Figure 1. Mean scores overall evaluations

Error Bars: 95% CI
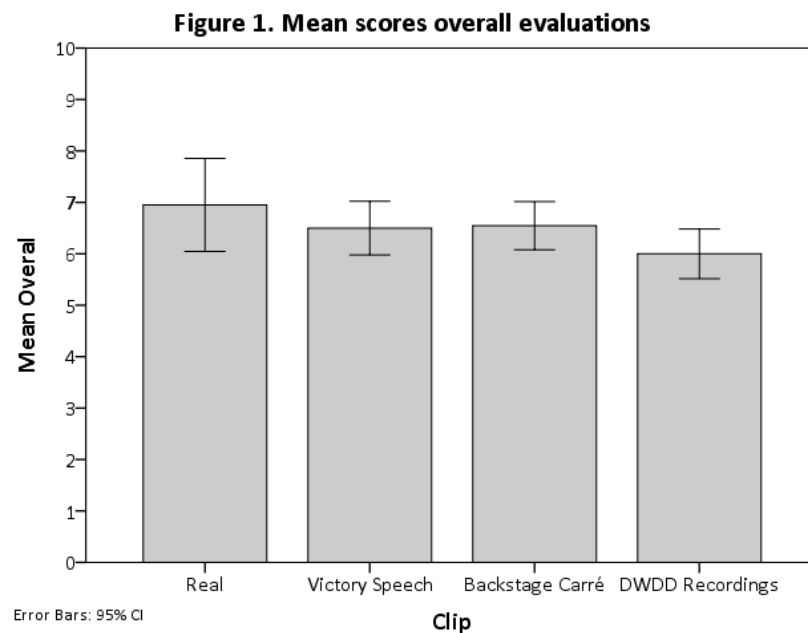
An ANOVA test was conducted to statistically analyze differences between the mean scores. The ANOVA test was not significant (p = .144) which tells us that the means of the overall evaluations of the four groups did not significantly differ from each other.[8] However,

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[8] When outliers were recoded into the next lowest value plus one the results were significant. The planned contrasts showed that the overall evaluations of Rutte were significant lower after seeing a satirical clip than after a seeing a clip of the real Rutte $t(95) = 4.14$, $p < .05$. The results of the Bonferonni *post hoc* test showed that the evaluations after seeing the real clip significantly differ from after seeing the Backstage Carré clip and the DWDD Recordings clip. Furthermore, the overall evaluations were significantly higher after seeing the Victory Speech clip than after seeing the DWDD Recordings clip.

further analysis revealed that the contrast between the real clip and the Song clip was significant, p = .02. Moreover, the same results were found when controlled for gender, party preference, political knowledge and political interest as covariates. Moreover, the level of significance for the ANOVA test was higher with p= .08.

The analyses do not support the first hypothesis. However, because the mean scores of overall evaluations were smaller for *all* three satirical, there is some evidence to support the hypothesis. Moreover, the planned contrast suggests that more negative evaluations depend on which kind of satirical impersonation one is exposed to.

4.2. Trait Evaluations

When looking at the means of the trait ratings divided by experimental group, the first thing which is remarkable is that most of the mean scores are on the positive side of the scale (see table 3). Since the data were collected on a four-point scale (0 to 3); the midpoint of the scale is 1.5 and therefore all scores smaller than 1.5 are negative evaluations. Because 'arrogant' is a negative trait the negative means for all clips for this trait should be seen as a positive evaluation. Consequently, only the means for 'inspiring' and 'honest' are negative for all the satirical clips. Furthermore, except for the trait 'arrogant', all means of the traits are lower for the satirical clips than for the real clip. As a result, one can already conclude that exposure to a satirical clip did not change an evaluation on the positive-side of the scale to an evaluation on negative-side of the scale.

When comparing the means of the trait-ratings between the clips, preliminary conclusions can be drawn about the confirmation or the rejection of the expectations about the differences between satirical clips based on the pre-test. Of the twelve expectations, only three still hold when looking at the means. The three expectations are: lower evaluations of 'intelligent' and 'arrogant' after being exposed to the Song clip

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compared to being exposed to the Speech clip, and higher 'compassionate'-evaluations after the Song clip compared to the Speech clip.

A point of caution is the high level of missing data per trait. These high levels are caused by the way of coding the 'don't know' answers, they were code as 'missing'. Most of the respondents answered 'don't know' on at least one question. This should be taken in consideration when analyzing the data.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics trait-rating per clip

| | Clip | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Real (N= 20) | | | Victory Speech (N= 29) | | | Backstage Carré (N= 23) | | | DWDD Recordings (N= 29) | | |
	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.	Mean	N	S.D.
Leadership	2.11	18	0.47	1.66	29	0.67	1.74	23	0.54	1.62	24	0.65
Knowledgeable	2.45	20	0.51	2.04	26	0.72	2.13	23	0.46	1.93	28	0.60
Intelligent	2.42	19	0.51	2.18	22	0.59	2.33	21	0.58	1.96	25	0.74
Cares	1.89	18	1.02	1.58	24	0.72	1.77	22	0.43	1.58	24	0.65
Inspiring	1.83	18	0.62	1.35	23	1.07	1.32	22	0.57	0.80	25	0.96
Honest	1.89	18	0.68	1.42	24	0.88	1.47	19	0.61	1.36	25	0.91
Trustworthy	1.78	18	0.88	1.75	24	1.03	1.53	19	0.70	1.54	24	0.83
Compassionate	1.83	18	0.92	1.61	23	0.58	1.56	16	0.73	1.65	23	0.65
Arrogant	0.84	19	0.96	1.04	24	0.91	0.48	21	0.68	0.70	20	0.87
Moral	1.89	19	0.88	1.54	24	0.88	1.65	17	0.61	1.55	22	0.60

Table 4 shows that most of the traits are correlated with each other traits. This finding seems plausible as one would expect that if a politician is evaluated as honest, he will probably also be evaluated as trustworthy. Because most of the traits are correlated a factorial analysis was conducted to examine if there were underlying dimensions. Moreover, other research found that the single traits can be placed within broader dimensions, therefore it seems plausible that this would be the same in this research.

4.2.1. Trait Dimensions

For the purpose of the factorial analysis the evaluations of the trait 'arrogant' were recoded because arrogance should be understood as negative. Arrogant was recoded so that 0 would mean 'totally agree' and 3 as 'totally disagree'.

Table 4. Correlations of Traits

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Leadership	1	.350**	.214	.338**	.428**	.372**	.405**	.393**	-.199	.245*
2. Knowledgeable	.350**	1	.459**	.341**	.282**	.472**	0.143	.079	-.286**	.242*
3. Intelligent	.214	.459**	1	.044	.397**	.279*	.264*	.118	-.294*	.319**
4. Cares	.338**	.341**	.044	1	.184	.547**	.361**	.217	-.395**	.209
5. Inspiring	.428**	.282**	.397**	.184	1	.392**	.392**	.241*	-.125	.241*
6. Honest	.372**	.472**	.279*	.547**	.392**	1	.493**	.188	-.437**	.497**
7. Trustworthy	.405**	.143	.264*	.361**	.392**	.493**	1	.332**	-.269*	.192
8. Compassionate	.393**	.079	.118	.217	.241*	.188	.332**	1	-.234*	.180
9. Arrogant	-.199	-.286**	-.294*	-.395**	-.125	-.437**	-.269*	-.234*	1	-.147
10. Moral	.245*	.242*	.319**	.209	.241*	.497**	.192	.180	-0.147	1

** p < .01, * p < .05

It was expected that the factors were not independent from each other because all ten items for this factorial analysis are traits related to the politician. Therefore an oblique rotation was used. The results of the pattern matrix matched the results of the structure matrix. An overview of results of the factorial analysis can be found in table 5.

The factorial analysis found two dimensions, labeled 'integrity' and 'competence'. Seven of the traits fell within the 'integrity'-dimension (cares, trustworthy, honest, compassionate, moral, and arrogant) and three traits fell within the 'competence'-dimension (leadership, knowledgeable, and intelligent). The dimensions found in this research matched with those found in previous research. In an extensive research covering 35 election studies, Bittner (2011) explored the dimensions of traits as asked in the election studies. She concluded that most of the traits could be placed in the dimensions 'competence' and 'character'. The traits which fell within the 'character'-dimension of Bittner are approximately the same as the traits which fall in the 'integrity'-dimension of this research. Although the dimensions found in this research were similar to those in previous research, they did not match the dimensions of the traits in the pre-test. Hence, the further analysis of the factors cannot be compared to the results of the pretest.

Bittner (2011) also found that individuals connected traits both across and within dimensions. This pattern can also be found when looking at the correlations of the trait evaluations of this research (see table 4). As can be seen, the traits within the integrity-dimension are higher correlated than the traits within the competence-dimension. This seems plausible because when somebody is seen as honest he will probably also be seen as trustworthy. However, when somebody is seen as intelligent this does not directly mean that he is a strong leader.

Table 5. Obliquely rotated component loadings for 10 survey items

	Components	
Items	Integrity	Competence
Leadership	0.31	**-0.38**
Knowledgeable	-0.15	**-0.96**
Intelligent	0.17	**-0.50**
Cares	**0.67**	0.02
Trustworthy	**0.67**	-0.01
Honest	**0.61**	-0.27
Compassionate	**0.61**	0.07
Arrogant	**0.56**	0.01
Inspiring	**0.31**	-0.30
Moral	**0.30**	-0.28
Eigenvalues	3.63	0.63
% of total variance	36.33	6.35

KMO = 0.80

Barlett's test of sphericity X^2 (45) = 171.81, p < .001

In order to test whether the dimensions would be reliable for further analysis, a reliability test was conducted. The test showed that for neither dimension an item had to be deleted to increase Cronbach's α. Therefore all traits were included in the dimensions (integrity: α= .60; competence: α= .78). For the dimensions two new variables were created using the means of the available scores of the traits in order not to lose too many cases because of the 'don't know' answers. For the competence dimension the mean was calculated if the respondent gave a trait-rating on at least two out of the three questions (N= 96, M= 2.03, SD= .45). Because the integrity dimension included more traits, the means

were calculated if a trait-rating was given on at least five out of seven questions (N= 83, M= 1.65, SD= .51). This resulted in 81 valid cases useable for a MANOVA analysis.

4.2.2. Competence and Integrity

After exposure to one of the satirical clips the competence-ratings of Rutte were lower than after exposure to the real clip. Although the differences are not large, figure 2 clearly shows that exposure to a satirical clip might result in more negative evaluations of Rutte on the competence-dimension compared to exposure to the real clip. However, the means for the satirical are still higher than the midpoint of the scale (1.5) and thus still positive. This is not surprising because all the individual traits falling within the competence-dimension were also positive (see table 3). When looking at the confidence intervals it is clear that the satirical clips do not significantly differ from each other. The differences between the satirical clips and the real clips might be significant but this is not completely clear in the figure. A statistical test is needed to determine whether the differences are significant.

The ratings of the integrity-dimension have a similar pattern as the competence-dimension: the real clip has the highest means, followed by Backstage Carré, Victory Speech and DWDD Recordings. This findings together with the correlations of the individual traits make it not surprising that the two dimensions are strongly correlated as well (Pearson r(81)= .57, p < .01).

Like for the competence-dimensions, the mean scores for the integrity-dimensions were on the positive side of the scale as well. However, the scores are far more close to the midpoint. This is not surprising because the mean scores of the individual traits are for two traits (honest and inspiring) on the negative side of the scale.

It seems obvious that the mean scores of the satirical clips do not significantly differ from each other when looking at the confidence intervals in figure 3. Moreover, the satirical clips seem not to significantly differ from the real clip as well. However, a statistical test is needed to confirm this statement
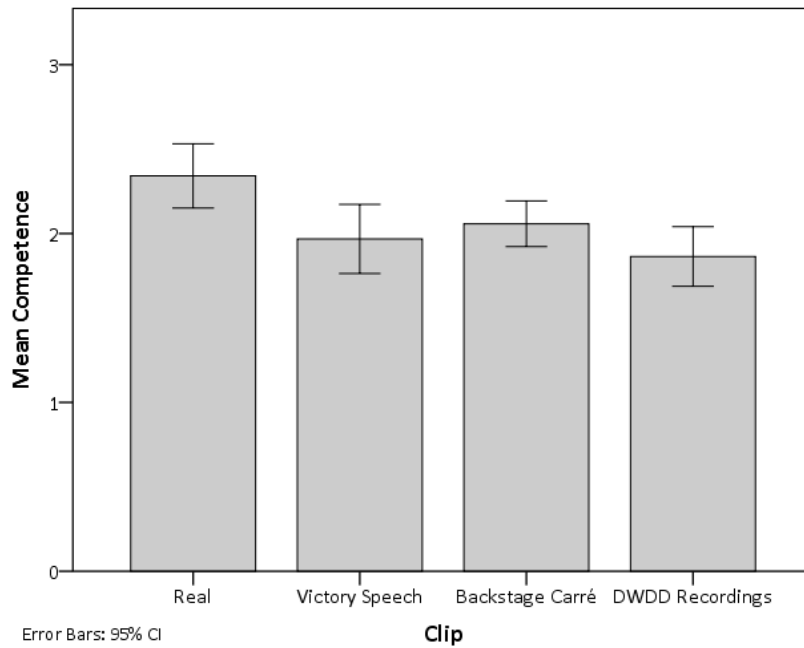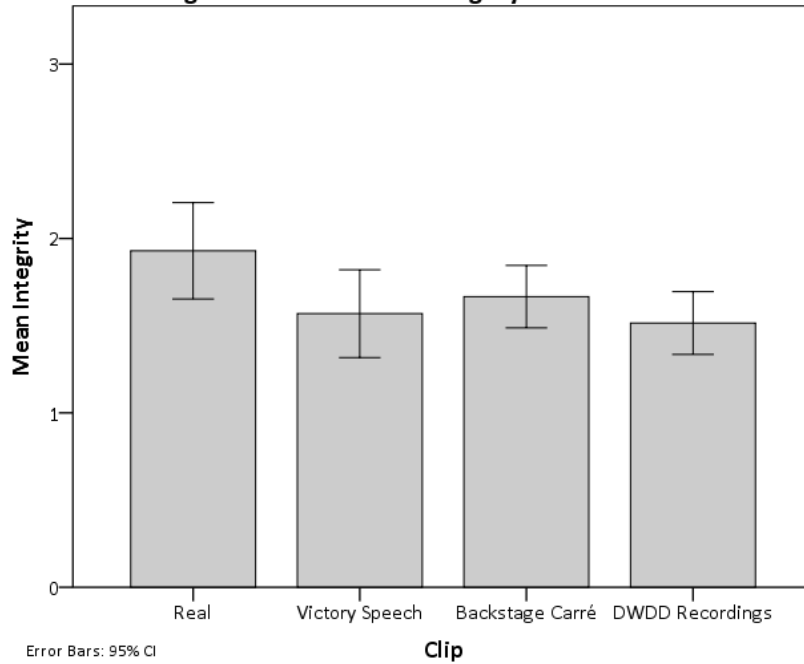
Figure 2. Mean scores competence-dimension

Error Bars: 95% CI

Figure 3. Mean scores integrity-dimension


Error Bars: 95% CI

In order to test the above-mentioned findings a MANOVA test was conducted. The test revealed that there is a significant effect of clip-exposure on the two trait-dimensions, $V = 0.16$, $F(6, 154) = 2.24$, $p < .05$. However, separate univariate ANOVAs on the two dimensions turned out to be non-significant for the integrity dimension while it was

significant for the competence dimension. Although the treatment did not have a significant influence on the integrity dimension, it was close to significant, $F(3, 77) = 2.63$, $p = .056$. Moreover, the competence dimension had a high level of significance, $F(3,77) = 4.59$, $p < .005$.

Simple contrasts with the real clip as reference category revealed that all satirical clips significantly differed from the real clip (Real – Victory Speech $p = .01$; Real – Backstage Carré $p = .03$; Real – DWDD Recordings $p = .00$). For the integrity dimension the contrast between Real and DWDD Recordings was the only significant contrast ($p=.01$). This is not striking since the univariate ANOVA was not significant for this dimension.

When controlling for gender, party preference and political knowledge, the above mentioned results were still significant, $V = .18$, $F(6, 148) = 2.40$, $p < .05$. Interestingly, the ANOVA for party preference was significant on the integrity-dimension ($p = .09$). When looking at figure 4a and 4b one might suspect that this finding is due to the ratings of VVD and D66 supporters and the non-partisans because they tend to rate Rutte more positive, especially on the integrity dimension.

Figure 4(a). Mean scores integrity-dimension per party preference

Figure 4(a). Mean scores integrity-dimension per party preference
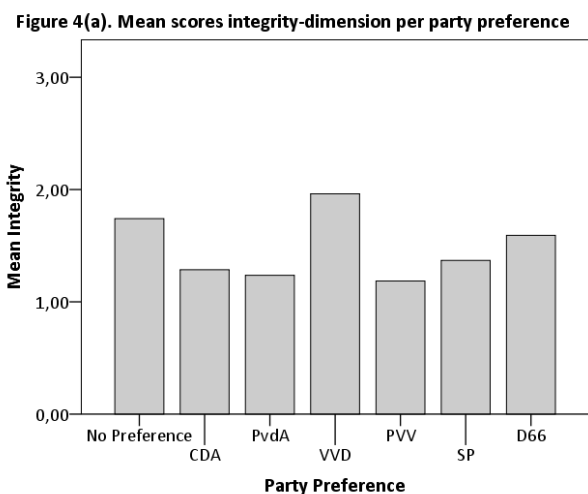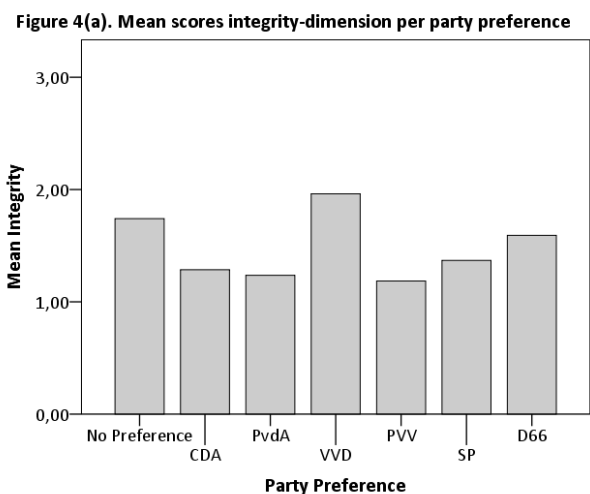
When political interest was included as a control variable, the model's level of significance decreased ($p = .10$). However, since the research had specific expectations, the test can be seen as one-tailed and therefore it was still significant ($p = .05$). A possible

explanation for the decrease in level of significance might be that that political interest was negatively related to the integrity-dimension and positively related to the competence dimension (see figure 5a and 5b).

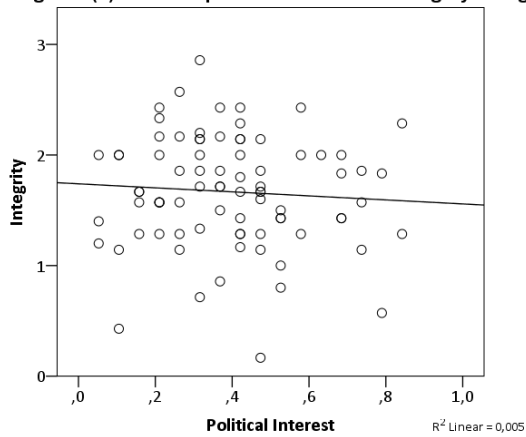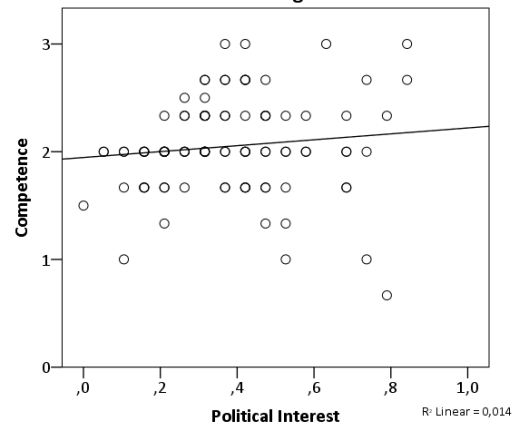Figure 5(a). Relation political interest with integrity-ratings

Figure 5(b). Relation political interest with competence-ratings

4.2.3. Traits-specific Effects

Looking at the figure of the mean scores of the individual traits (see figure 6) it is interesting to see that in nearly all cases the satirical clips have lower scores than the real clip. Furthermore, for most of the traits the Backstage Carré clip has the highest mean. If this was caused by the high level of participants who already saw the clip (65%), this might imply that repeated exposure to a satirical impersonation decreases the negative effect of a satirical impersonation. However, there was only one group with a high level of previous exposure. Therefore there is insufficient data to draw this conclusion. The higher mean scores might also be caused by the type of satirical impersonation in which the traits are less ridiculed.

Based on the charts in figure 6, one would expect to find significant differences between the clips for a few traits: leadership, knowledgeable, intelligent, inspiring, and honest. Ten ANOVA tests were conducted to statistically analyze the differences between the real and satirical clips.

The ANOVA test for leadership confirmed that there was a difference between the experimental groups, $F(3, 90)= 2.76$, $p < .05$. Moreover, simple contrasts revealed that all satirical clips differed significantly from the real clip. As expected, the ANOVA test was significant for the trait knowledgeable $F(3, 93)= 3.23$, $p < .05$. Moreover, the simple contrasts were also significant or close to significant. The test for intelligent was close to significant ($p= .07$), thus the kind of clip had an influence on the evaluations of the intelligence of Rutte, $F(3, 83)= 2.41$. However, the simple contrast revealed a significant difference only between the real clip and the DWDD Recordings clip. This is not strange when looking at the confidence intervals of figure 6c. Not surprisingly, no significant differences between the satirical clips were found in the post-hoc test.

'Inspiring' was the only trait within the integrity-dimension of which the ANOVA test had significant results, $F(3, 84)= 5.28$, $p < .005$. The contrast analysis revealed that this was mainly caused by the difference between the real and the DWDD Recordings clip ($p < .001$). The significance levels of the difference between the real clip and the other two satirical clips were somewhat smaller (real – Speech: $p= .07$; real – Backstage: $p= .06$). The post-hoc test did not reveal any significant differences between the satirical clips. Interestingly, the ANOVA test was not significant for honest ($p= .16$). However, as could be expected, two of the three satirical clips significantly from the real clip (Speech: $p= .06$ and Song: $p= .02$).

Striking in the analyses of the individual traits is that all traits within the competence-dimension have significant results while for the integrity-dimension only one trait had a significant ANOVA test. Therefore, one might conclude that the significant contrast between the real and the Song clip on the integrity-dimension in the previous analysis was mainly caused by the evaluations of inspiring.

In order to test the second hypothesis the results of the test of the individual traits were compared with the findings of the pre-test. Although some findings of the tests matched the findings of the pre-test, not all did. This implies that not *all* traits, which are

being ridiculed in the impersonation, are more negatively evaluated after exposure to the impersonation. However, because exposure to an impersonation did not result in more negative evaluations for all traits, it might be that effects of impersonation are trait-specific. An interesting question is if this is caused by specific traits that are being ridiculed or by the impersonation in general. It might be that impersonations always have a negative influence on the competence-traits, no matter which traits are being purposely ridiculed.

Figure 6. Means scores for individual traits specified by clip[9]
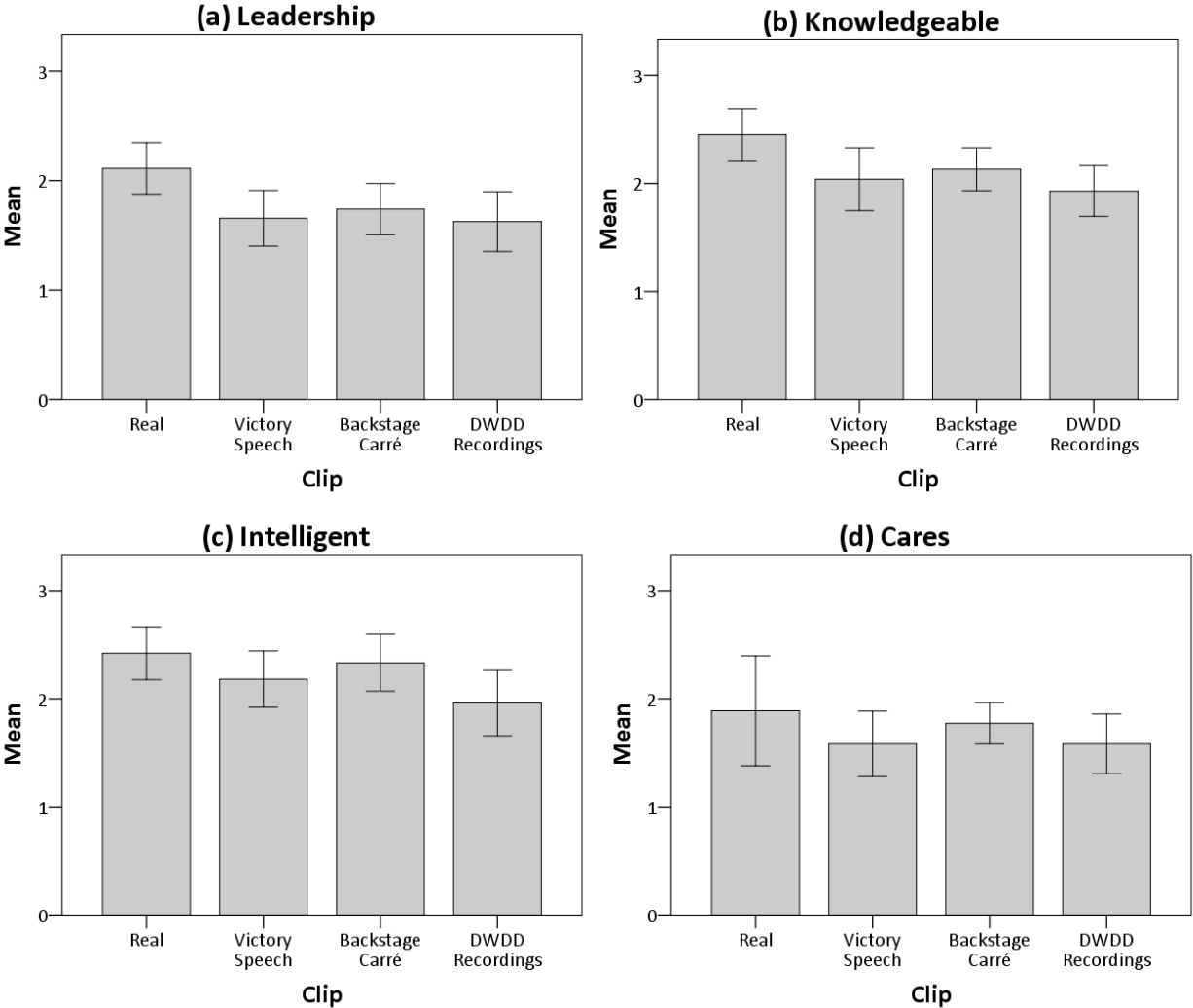
Figure 6. Means scores for individual traits specified by clip[10]
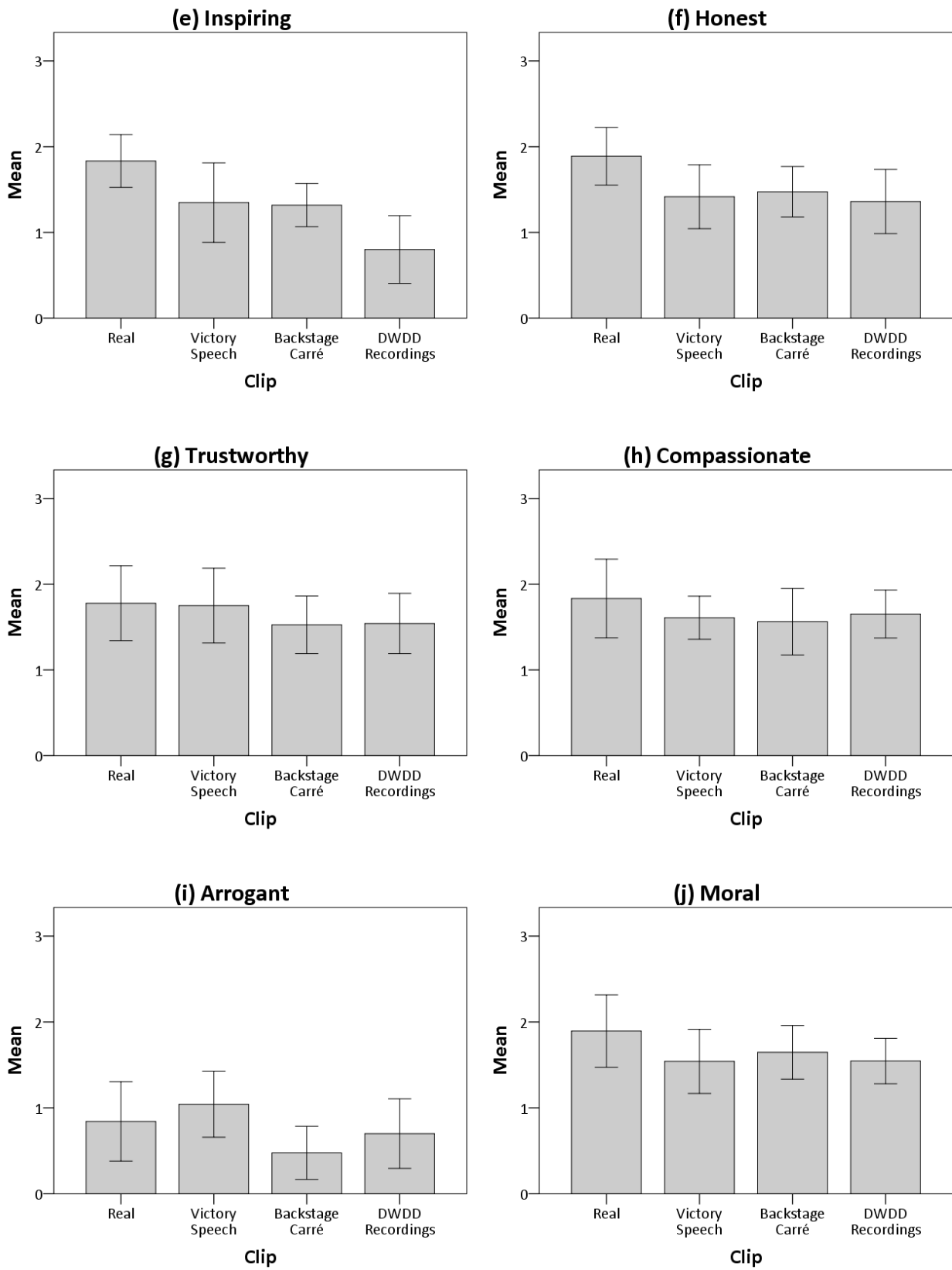
4.3. The Moderating Effect of Political Knowledge

For all the above-mentioned analyses, another analysis was run which included political knowledge as a moderating variable. For none of the analyses a significant moderating effect of political knowledge was found. When looking at the mean scores of the overall evaluations per clip and per level political knowledge in figure 7, one can conclude that it is not striking that no moderating effects were found. Only the mean scores of the knowledge level of .80 are higher for the satirical clips.

Figure 7. Moderating effect of political knowledge
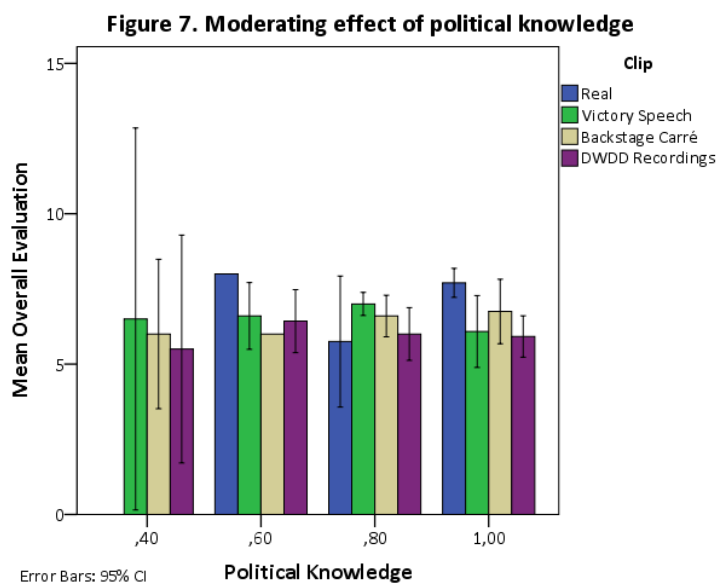
All the respondents answered at least two questions correct. As a result the lowest measurement of knowledge was .40. In the group which was exposed to the real clip no respondent had a score of .40 and therefore all knowledge scores were higher than the midpoint of the scale. Consequently, the comparison of the lower level of political knowledge between the real and the satirical clips is not possible. However, for the next lowest score (.60) are the means of the overall evaluations for the satirical clips lower than the mean of the real clip.

This research did not find evidence for a moderating effect of political knowledge on the evaluations of impersonated politicians. Therefore, the competing hypotheses which

hold that either higher or lower knowledgeable will evaluate the impersonated politician more negative were not supported.

5. Discussion

Overall Evaluations

For the overall evaluation no significant differences were found between the experimental groups. This might lead to the conclusion that the evaluations after being exposed to a satirical impersonation are not significantly different from the evaluations after being exposed to coverage of the real candidate. However, when looking more closely at the results one might find evidence which might lead to conclusions in the other direction. First of all the contrast between the Real clip and the DWDD Recordings clip is significant. Secondly, when outliers are recoded into the next lowest value plus on, as suggested by Andy Field (2009), the differences between the real and satirical clips turn out to be significant.

In the group exposed to real clip (N=20), two negative outliers were detected in the overall evaluations. This means that 10% of the scores were outliers. These two scores have a substantial impact on the results of the statistical tests. When looking at previous research, the results of the statistical analysis when the outliers are recoded seem to be more logical (e.g. Baumgartner et al. 2012). To confirm this, more research is required with larger samples.

Trait Dimensions

This research used factorial analysis for the ten traits because most of them were correlated and because previous research had found broader underlying dimensions for the traits. The factorial analysis resulted in two dimensions: competence (leadership, knowledgeable, and intelligent) and integrity (cares, inspiring, honest trustworthy,

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compassionate, moral, and arrogant). These dimensions were similar to those used in previous research on trait dimension (Bittner 2011).

The MANOVA with the two dimensions as depended variables turned out to be significant. Therefore, it is highly likely that exposure to a satirical impersonation results in more negative evaluations of the impersonated politician on the two dimensions. The planned contrasts showed that on the competence-dimension exposure to any of the three satirical impersonations resulted in more negative evaluations compared to exposure to the real clip. However, on the integrity-dimension the evaluations after exposure to the real clip were only significantly different from the evaluations after exposure to the DWDD Recordings clip.

From these findings we might conclude that it is highly likely that satirical impersonations have a negative influence on the competence-dimension while it is impersonation-specific for the integrity-dimension. This finding is in contrast with the research by Matthes et al. (2011). Matthes et al. tested the competence evaluations by asking to rate some statements about the leadership- and negotiation skills of a Swiss minister. Some of these statements were related to the setting of the satirical impersonation, for example "Hans-Rudolf Merz behaved naively during the Swiss-Libyan crisis" (Matthes et al. 2011: 29). This kind of statements make that their research is clip-specific and make comparison impossible. Therefore, future research should study a broader range of impersonations and ask for the evaluations of the competence-dimension by including the traits that belong to this dimension.

Individual Traits

Out of the ten ANOVA tests for the individual traits four (close to) significant. Interestingly, three of the four significant tests were for the three traits that fall within the competence-dimension. Moreover, simple contrast revealed that for two of the three traits (leadership

and knowledgeable), all three satirical clips differed significantly from the real clip. This is an interesting finding since it might imply that satirical impersonations in general have mainly a negative influence on the traits within the competence-dimension. The negative influence on the traits within the integrity-dimension is less supported by this research, the ANOVA test was only significant for the inspiring-ratings. Future research should study whether satirical impersonations *always* influence the traits within competence-dimension negatively in order to conclude that satirical impersonations per se have a negative influence on these traits.

Although the individual ANOVA tests resulted in some significant findings, the second hypothesis could not be supported for all traits when comparing the ANOVA tests with the pre-test. For example, it was expected that the trustworthiness evaluations of Rutte would be the lowest after exposure to the Victory Speech compared to the evaluations after exposure of the other clips. However, the results of the experiment were in the opposite direction: the evaluations after exposure to the Victory Speech were only slightly lower than the evaluations after exposure to the real clip. This example might imply that not all traits which are being ridiculed in the impersonation are more negative evaluated after exposure to the impersonation. Another explanation might be the different samples which were used in the pre-test and the experiment. Moreover, the high school students might not have noticed that the trustworthiness of Rutte was being ridiculed while the sample of the pre-test did notice this. Therefore, it might be that the 'experts' (pre-test) characterized trustworthiness as being ridiculed but the high school students would not if they would have been asked in the same way as the participants of the pre-test.

Impersonation-Specific Effects

An important finding of this research is that in some tests the contrast between the real and the satirical clips was not significant for all satirical clips. This implies that the effects of political impersonations on the evaluations of politicians are impersonation-specific. This finding has important consequences for other research looking at satirical impersonations. If only one clip is included in a research, the conclusions of that research do only apply for that clip and cannot be generalized. Therefore (the generalizability of) the conclusions of previous research on satirical impersonations should be questioned (Baumgartner et al. 2012; Esralew and Young 2012; Matthes et al. 2011).

The research by Baumgartner et al. (2012) covered several clips in which Sarah Palin was impersonated by Tina Fey. Moreover, the conclusions of the research were focused on the influence of Tina Fey's impersonation on the evaluation of Sarah Palin and the authors only state that "this analysis supports earlier contentions that comedic impersonations can change how a political figure is perceived among younger adults"(Baumgartner et al. 2012: 102). Therefore, this research can still be seen as a valuable contribution for the knowledge on satirical personalization but cannot be generalized.

Esralew and Young (2012) also looked at Tina Fey's impersonation of Sarah Palin but focused on the priming of certain traits. The researchers only used one satirical clip, which was the parody of the real clip that was shown. Furthermore, they had included a control group that had seen a documentary of Peru. The participants of their research were asked to name the first five words or phrases that came into their minds when they thought of Sarah Palin. The researchers concluded that both clips featuring 'Sarah Palin' did prime the same traits. Consequently, they argue that it is better to speak of a 'Palin Effect' instead of a 'Fey Effect'.

Looking at Esralew and Young's research from the perspective of this research, one can question their conclusions. First of all, the inclusion of only one clip might bias the

conclusions. If another clip would have been included as well, the findings might have been completely different. Secondly, the method to examine the traits did not capture whether the evaluations of Palin on these traits had changed. This research has shown that the evaluations were more negative after being exposed to a satirical impersonation but they were still positive. In the same way, when mentioning a word or phrase describing Palin, the participants which saw the impersonation might have had more negative interpretations of this word.

The Moderating Effect of Political Knowledge

As has already been said, the selection of the clip and the measurement of competence in the research by Matthes et al. (2011) can be criticized. Matthes et al. tested the influence of political impersonation by exposing one group to a satirical clip and another group to a science magazine. They concluded that "political parody can decrease competence ratings of the politician only for individuals high in political knowledge" (Matthes et al. 2011). Their conclusion can be questioned when looking at the results of this research. First of all, this research did not find any moderating effect of political knowledge. Second, this research used high school students of which the political knowledge levels might even be lower than the participants of the research by Matthes et al. (2011). When following the argument of Matthes et al. one would expect to find no effects of satirical impersonations since the levels of knowledge might be lower. However, although the effects were limited, this research points towards the rejection of the findings by Matthes et al. that effects only occur when political knowledge is high.

Moreover, Matthes et al. (2011) stated that low knowledgeable participants evaluated the impersonated slightly more positive after being exposed to his impersonation and explain this by the funniness of the impersonation. Based on this research, their conclusions seem highly unlikely since the most significant results were

found for the impersonation which was perceived as most funny (DWDD Recordings). If funniness would result in better evaluations of the politician by low knowledgeable, the findings of this research should be completely different.

A critical note on the method of testing political knowledge in this research might be the kind of questions asked. The asked questions tested the knowledge about politics in general. However, for evaluating a politician the knowledge about this specific politician might be more relevant. Future research should therefore include political knowledge in general and knowledge about the impersonated politician.

Considerations for Future Research

This research has shown that the changes in evaluations of politician after being exposed to a satirical impersonation might be impersonation-specific. On top of that, the findings by Esralew and Young (2012) indicate that the effects of satirical impersonations might be politician-specific. It seems plausible that the effects of impersonations depend on the actions of the real politician. For example, the Backstage Carré impersonation projects Mark Rutte as a mother's child, this would have been pointless if this was not an issue already. As Jamieson and Waldman (2003) state: "The stance of late-night humor is fundamentally cynical; each politician is defined only by his or her most glaring weaknesses" (p. 68). Consequently, impersonations, and thereby their effects, depend on the weaknesses of the politicians. This is confirmed by an interview with two comics of the most popular satirical show of the Netherlands, Koefnoen. They stated that it is hard to impersonate contemporary Dutch politicians since most of them have no distinctive characteristics (Althuisius, *De Volkskrant*, August 15th, 2012).

Future research should look at different impersonations of different politicians. Looking at the differences between impersonations more thoroughly might help to find

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underlying predictors of the effects of satirical impersonations. Such a research might find conditions under which an impersonation influences the evaluations of the impersonated politician most. If this kind of research is conducted more closely to the broadcasting date of the satirical impersonation. It would be interesting to ask the participants which references to real-world news they recognized in the impersonation. Among others, Matthes et al. (2012) argue that satire activates previously established negative knowledge structures but this negative information must be available and accessible. Asking participants which references to real-world news they recognized, will enable the testing of activation of previously established negative information.

Although this research has found some evidence for the change in evaluations of impersonated politician, it cannot tell anything about the longevity of the effects, as most of the experiments within social science. Future research should try to test for how long the effects of exposure to a satirical impersonation will last. When testing this it might also be interesting to include the reaction of the impersonated politician on is impersonation. It might be that a negative reaction will result in a lasting effect while a positive reaction might fade away the negative effect or might even turn the negative effect into a positive effect. It is a long-lived belief of politicians that the best strategy to cope with satire is "to make the same jokes about themselves when appearing in an entertainment show" (Jamieson and Waldman 2003: 70).

Moreover, one could question what the influence of a single satirical impersonation would be on voting behavior. First of all, the influence of satirical impersonation on the evaluations of politicians might in real-life be smaller because satirical impersonations are a marginal part of the total media exposure of a voter. Therefore, there evaluations are probably also influenced by other media exposure. Secondly, when one assumes satirical impersonation do influence the evaluations of politicians, one can still question how the evaluations of a politician influence actual voting behavior.

6. Conclusion

All the evaluations of Mark Rutte in this research were more negative after exposure to a satirical clips compared with exposure to the real clip.[11] However, not all negative effects were statistically supported. The effects on the overall evaluations of the impersonated politician were not significant but further analysis showed that the effect was significant when exposure to the real clip was compared with exposure to DWDD Recordings. Exposure to any of the three satirical clips resulted in significant less positive evaluations on the competence-dimension whereas only the DWDD Recordings clip resulted in less positive evaluations on the integrity-dimension. The question is if all satirical impersonations will results in less positive evaluations on the competence-dimension while it is impersonation-specific for the integrity-dimension. The fact that not all traits were significantly influenced by the satirical impersonations implies that the influence is trait-specific. However, this research did not find evidence that an impersonation has a significant influence on all ridiculed traits.

Unlike previous research, this research did not find evidence for a moderating effect of political knowledge. A final interesting finding is that most of the significant effects are between the real clip and the DWDD Recordings clip, which was perceived as the funniest impersonation. This might raise the question whether there is a relationship between the perceived funniness of an impersonation and the negative effect on the evaluations of the impersonated politician.

To sum up, this research found that: all evaluations were more negative after exposure to a satirical impersonation, the effects were traits-specific and they were impersonation-specific. The results imply that the perceived influence of satire and satirical impersonation actually exists. This research's main question was: how does a satirical impersonation of a politician on television influence viewers' evaluations of the

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[11] The only exception was arrogance but this was also the only negative trait

impersonated politician? The answer found by the research is that *some* satirical impersonations significantly influence the overall evaluation and *some* traits evaluations of the impersonated politician. Moreover, *all* satirical impersonations had a negative effect on the evaluation of the competence of the politician.

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APPENDIX A - Transcript clip 1 impersonated Rutte -Victory Speech

Ik wil beginnen natuurlijk met het feliciteren met alle winnaars van vandaag. Dus, de SP, gefeliciteerd. PvdA, gefeliciteerd. En natuurlijk een koekje en een poot voor de Partij van de Dieren. Haha! Een woordgrap, haha. Lieve vrienden, vriendinnen, we waren de grootste en we zijn nog steeds de grootste! We zijn zelfs nóg groter dan toen we al de grootste waren dus dan ben je toch wel echt de aller-aller-aller-aller-áller grootste! Haa-haa! En ik moet Diederik Samson, he, meegeven, toch, eh, hij heeft ons het éven moeilijk gemaakt. Hij zat ons, ja, écht wel een beetje op de hielen. Maar ik kan toch uiteindelijk wel tegen hem zeggen eh, als huidig én toekomstig premier, he: Diederik, een héle, lánge, neus. Lekker puh! Ha! Soms moest ik toch ook wel zelf enorm lachen hoor, van wat ik allemaal zei daar, ik zei natuurlijk dat Griekenland geen geld meer krijgt maar daar ga ik natuurlijk helemaal niet over, dus ha, wat een onzin! En dat ik absoluut tegen paars ben, terwijl, naja, ik zie natuurlijk ook geen enkele andere mogelijkheid. Maar goed, morgen gaan we lekker aan de slag met z'n allen als de grootste partij. En nu is het tijd voor lekker feest, lekker swingen, ik geef de vloer aan het Jan van Blaaspijp Dixieland Quartet met hun knotsgekke feestmuziek! Reken maar van jazz!

Translation *(approximate)*

Of course I would like to start with congratulating the winners of today. So, SP, congratulations. PvdA, congratulations. And of course, a cookie and a paw for the Party for the Animals. Friends, we were the biggest and still are the biggest! We are even bigger than when we were already were the biggest so then you really are most-most-most-most-most biggest! I need to acknowledge Diederik Samson that for a moment he had made it hard for us. He was right on our tail. But in the end I can thump my nose at him, as current and as future prime-minister. Serves you right! Ha! Sometimes I needed to laugh at myself, because of what I was saying there. I said Greece would not get more money but obviously I can't decide that. So, what a load of rubbish! And I've said that I absolute don't want a coalition with Labor, while I obviously know there is no other option! Tomorrow we will get back to work as the biggest party. Now it is time to

party, to dance. I give the floor to the Jan van Blaaspijp Dixieland Quartet with their wacky party music!

APPENDIX B – Transcript clip 2 impersonated Rutte – Carré Backstage

SAMSOM: Ja Matthijs, ik kom nu aan bij Koninklijk Theater Carré

BEVEILIGING: Dag meneer Samsom

SAMSOM: Ook goede avond

Remgeluid

SAMSOM: Daar zal je de collega's hebben

RUTTE: Hé Diederik Hi

SAMSOM: Hi

RUTTE: Ging snel joh! 130 Km per uur he naar Amsterdam. Haha! Den Haag – Amsterdam precies 24 minuten.

SAMSOM: Nou doe je het weer he; klopt niet wat je zegt. Je mag niet overal 130. Hier op de ring mag je op bepaalde stukken maar 80

RUTTE: Oh, Vandaar dat ik zo vaak gefotografeerd ben, haha! Wat ben je nou aan het doen man? Filmpje aan het maken? He? Leuk!

SAMSON: Hier in de catacombe van Carré, de kleedkamers. Hier zit Haersma. Hier zit Buma. Hier zit Wilders en die is natuurlijk niet alleen, die heeft ook z'n beveiliging. En z'n beveiliging, en z'n bevei…..

BEVEILIGING WILDERS: Hé Samsom, wegwezen! Hup!

RUTTE AAN DE TELEFOON: Nee natuurlijk, Tuurlijk, Mam. Nee mama, dat snap ik, ja. Ik zal. Ok. Ik. Ja, ik ga iedereen. Ja. Laten uitpraten. Ja. Dat. Heb ik van jou. Ge-leerd. Ja. Ok. Ja, is goed, dag mam!

RUTTE TEGEN DE SPIEGEL: Rutte, king of the story!

RUTTE TEGEN SAMSOM: Haaa , hé Diederik, ja, nee ik was even in gesprek met het Witte Huis, The Oval Office.

SAMSOM: Mark, pas op, achter je, Freek!

RUTTE: Ooh haa foto van Freek! Nouja ik ga maar eens even back to work. Zou je eigenlijk ook eens moeten doen Diederik.

Translation *(approximate)*

SAMSOM: Yes Matthijs, I just arrived at Royal Theatre Carré
SECURITY: Hello mister Samsom
SAMSOM: Good evening
Sounds of a braking car
SAMSOM: There are the colleagues
RUTTE: Hey Diederik, Hi
SAMSOM: Hi
RUTTE: That was fast! 130 Km p/h to Amsterdam. Haha! Den Haag – Amsterdam exactly 24 minutes
SAMSOM: There you go again, it is not right what you are saying. You are not everywhere allowed to drive 130 km p/h. On certain parts around Amsterdam you may only drive 80 km p/h
RUTTE: Ah, that is why I have been photographed so often, haha! What are you doing? Making a video? He? Nice!
SAMSON: I'm now in the catacombs of Carré; the changing rooms. Here is the changing room of Haersma. Here you have Buma. Here of Wilders and of course he is not alone, he has his bodyguards. And his bodyguards, and his bodygua…
BEVEILIGING WILDERS: Hey Samsom, go away!
RUTTE AAN DE TELEFOON *trying to say to his mother that he will not interrupt his colleagues while is interrupted consistently by his mother*
RUTTE TALKING TO THE MIRROR: Rutte, king of the story!
RUTTE TALKING TO SAMSOM: Haaa , hey Diederik. Uhm yes, I was having a conversation with the White House, The Oval Office.
SAMSOM: Mark, be careful, Freek behind you!
RUTTE: Ooh haa it is a picture of Freek! Well, I should go back to work. You should do the same Diederik.

APPENDIX C – Transcript clip 3 impersonated Rutte - DWDD Recordings

(source: Uitzendinggemist.nl)

Presentator is Matthijs van Nieuwkerk

PRESENTATOR: Mark Rutte, welke artiest voegen wij toe aan onze catalogus?

RUTTE: Nou ik wilde graag ter gehore brengen van Herman van Veen

PRESENTATOR: Herman van Veen?

RUTTE: Ja, omdat die me altijd zo diep weet te raken. Vooral met die poëtische teksten. Nummer als Suzanne, Liefde voor Later, Ik hou van jou met heel m'n hart en ziel hou ik van jou, langs zon en maan tot aan het ochtendblauw, Matthijs, hou ik nog steeds van jou.

PRESENTATOR: Ja ja ja, maar voor het hele repertoire doorgaat, welk lied, welk specifiek lied van Herman van Veen gaat u zingen?

RUTTE: Ja, nouja de keuze was dus nogal moeilijk. Ik heb gekozen voor dit nummer omdat het mij zo persoonlijk raakte en het bij mij zo onder de huid komt altijd omdat ik het gevoeld heb dat het echt over mij gaat. Naja, lang verhaal.

PRESENTATOR: Zullen we het doen?

RUTTE: Ik ben zo zenuwachtig, ik heb naast Obama gezeten in het Witte Huis, ik schijt nu zeven kleuren in m'n broek, Hahaha! Dan ga ik altijd lachen!

PRESENTATOR: Een lied dat onder de huid gaat zitten van Herman van Veen.

RUTTE (zingend):
Ik ben vandaag zo vrolijk, zo vrolijk,
Ik ben behoorlijk vrolijk, zo vrolijk was ik nooit.
Soms is er wat commotie, tuurlijk, dan is er wat commotie,
Behoorlijk veel commotie, maar dan spring ik op de fiets.
Formuleer soms ongelukkig, een tikkie ongelukkig,
Dan lijk ik sikkenukkig maar eigenlijk voel ik niets.
Maar ik echt wil zeggen, wat ik inhoudelijk nou wil zeggen,
Wat ik nog even uit wil leggen, dat zeg ik heel graag nu:
Laaalalalala………
Ja, dit is echt mijn visie hé
Laaalalalala………
Een samenvatting van Rutte I,
Laaalalalala………

Is eigenlijk de hele Nederlandse politiek in een notendop.
Laaalalalala………
Crisis? Wat nou crisis? Haha!
Laaalalalala………
Crisis in je broek zal je bedoelen!
Laaalalalala………
Hatsikidee!

Translation *(approximate)*

Talkshow host is Matthijs van Nieuwkerk

<u>HOST:</u> Mark Rutte, which artist do we add to our catalogue?
<u>RUTTE:</u> Well, I would like to sing a song of Herman van Veen
<u>HOST:</u> Herman van Veen?
<u>RUTTE:</u> Yes, because I am always touched by his music. Especially with his poetic lyrics. Song like *Suzanne, Liefde voor Later, Ik hou van jou met heel m'n hart en ziel hou ik van jou, langs zon en maan tot aan het ochtendblauw, Matthijs, hou ik nog steeds van jou.*
<u>HOST:</u> Yes, but before you are going to discuss his whole repertoire; which specific song of Herman van Veen would you like to sing?
<u>RUTTE:</u> Well, it was a hard choice. I have chosen a song which touches me personally because I have the feeling that the song is about me. Well, long story.
<u>HOST:</u> Let's do it?
<u>RUTTE:</u> I am so nervous, I was next to Obama in the White House but now 'I shit seven colors in my pants', Hahaha! I always start laughing when I am nervous!
<u>HOST:</u> A song that really touches you by Herman van Veen.
<u>RUTTE (singing):</u>
Today I am so happy, so happy
I am quite happy, I was not so happy before
Sometimes there is commotion, of course, then there is commotion
Quite some commotion, but then I jump on my bike.
Sometimes I formulate unfortunate, a little unfortunate,
As a result I seem unhappy, but I do not feel anything
But what I want to say,
What I would like to explain, I will say that right now:
Laaalalalala………
This is my vision!
Laaalalalala………
A summary of Rutte-I,
Laaalalalala………
Dutch politics in a nutshell!

Laaalalalala………
Crisis? What crisis? Haha!
Laaalalalala………
Crisis in your pants!
Laaalalalala………
Hatsikidee!

APPENDIX D – Transcript clip 4 real Rutte – Speech Partijraad

Ja mensen, goedemorgen. Ik zou eigenlijk in een korte aftrap een paar dingen met jullie willen behandelen. Uiteraard uitvoerig ingaan op de stand van de formatie, we zijn onder elkaar, zonder journalisten. Nee, dat zal helaas niet gaan maar ik ga er wel iets over zeggen. Uiteraard ook iets over de uitslag en die uitslag is zo goed gegaan dat we inderdaad weer de grootste zijn, groter dan ooit en het weer mogen doen. Wat ik jullie wil vragen is om al die mensen in jullie omgeving ook die daar zo ontzettend hard aan gewerkt hebben om daar aan te blijven denken. Want het risico nu is, we hebben zo hard gewerkt, de aanloop naar 12 september, Jan Anthony Bruin met het verkiezingsprogramma, prachtige congres wat we daarover gehad hebben, daarna de campagne onder leiding van Stef Blok en dan vervolgens die prachtige uitslag. En nou is het risico dat we na 12 september weer terug gaan naar de zaken van de dag en dat vergeten. Dus mijn vraag aan jullie is: wil alsjeblieft ook, ik doe het zelf ook, wie je ook maar tegen komt; er is zo hard gewerkt door duizenden en duizenden mensen. Dit was echt iets wat van deur tot deur van straat tot straat ging.

Translation *(approximate)*

Good morning people. I would like to start with a few things. Of course I want to discuss the formation process thoroughly since we are here without journalists *(sarcastic)*. Unfortunately that will not be possible but I will say something about it. Of course I would like to say something about the election results, the election went well and we are again the biggest party. We are even bigger than ever before and we have the right to do it again *(the formation).* I would like to ask you not to forget those people who

have worked so hard to accomplish these results. We have worked so hard; the preparations for 12 September, Jan Anthonie Bruijn for the election programme, the congress about this programme and subsequently the campaign led by Stef Blok, and finally these terrific results. The risk is that we will go back to everyday life and forget to thank those people. I want to ask you, please, thank those people if you see them. Thousands of people have worked for this campaign. It was a campaign from door to door and street to street.

APPENDIX E – Questionnaire Pre-test

For each clip the respondent will be asked to fill in this questionnaire

Video "Overwinningsspeech" – *Video "Victory Speech"*

Zou u aan willen geven in hoeverre mogelijke eigenschappen van Rutte, zoals verwoord in de onderstaande zinnen, worden benadrukt in de video "Overwinningsspeech"?
Can you indicate to what extent possible traits of Rutte, as mentioned in the sentences below, are emphasized in video "Victory Speech"?

Mark Rutte:	Erg positief *Extremely positive*	Redelijk positief *Quite positive*	Redelijk negatief *Quite negative*	Erg negatief *Extremely negative*	Niet benadrukt of neutraal benadrukt *Neutral or not emphasized*
Is een sterk leider *Is a strong leader*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Geeft om mensen zoals ik *Cares for people like me*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Heeft kennis van zaken *Is knowledgeable*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is inspirerend *Is inspiring*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is eerlijk *Is honest*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is intelligent *Is intelligent*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is betrouwbaar *Is trustworthy*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is compassievol *Is compassionate*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is arrogant *Is arrogant*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Is deugdelijk *Is moral*	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

APPENDIX F - Questionnaire Experiment

1. Wat is je leeftijd?

[_][_]

2. Wat is je geslacht?

◯ Man   ◯ Vrouw

3. Zou je aan willen geven hoe goed volgens jou de onderstaande zinnen Mark Rutte beschrijven?

Mark Rutte:	Erg goed	Redelijk goed	Niet zo goed	Helemaal niet goed	Weet niet
is een sterk leider	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
geeft om mensen zoals ik	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
heeft kennis van zaken	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is inspirerend	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is eerlijk	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is intelligent	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is betrouwbaar	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is compassievol	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is arrogant	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
is deugdelijk	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

4. Hoe zou je Mark Rutte beoordelen op een schaal van nul tot tien? Nul is erg negatief en tien is erg positief.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Weet niet
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

5. Hoe vaak lees je een krant?
   - ◯ Vrijwel dagelijks
   - ◯ Een paar keer per week
   - ◯ Een paar keer per maand
   - ◯ Zelden of nooit

6. Als er in de krant binnenlands nieuws staat, bijvoorbeeld nieuws over regeringsproblemen, hoe vaak lees je dat dan?
   - ◯ Bijna altijd
   - ◯ Vaak
   - ◯ Zo nu en dan
   - ◯ Zelden of nooit

7. Als er in de krant buitenlands nieuws staat, bijvoorbeeld nieuws over spanningen of besprekingen tussen verschillende landen, hoe vaak lees je dat dan?
   - ◯ Bijna altijd
   - ◯ Vaak
   - ◯ Zo nu en dan
   - ◯ Zelden of nooit

8. Als er in gezelschap over binnenlands nieuws wordt gesproken, doe je dan meestal mee met het gesprek, luister je met belangstelling, luister je niet of heb je geen belangstelling?
   - ◯ Doe meestal mee
   - ◯ Luister met belangstelling

◯ Luister niet of geen belangstelling

9. Ben je zeer geïnteresseerd in politieke onderwerpen, tamelijk geïnteresseerd of niet geïnteresseerd?
    ◯ Zeer geïnteresseerd
    ◯ Tamelijk geïnteresseerd
    ◯ Niet geïnteresseerd

10. Hoe vaak in de week kijk je naar het journaal?
    ◯ (vrijwel) dagelijks
    ◯ 3 à 4 keer per week
    ◯ 1 à 2 keer per week
    ◯ Minder dan 1 keer per week

11. Hoe vaak bezoek je op het internet pagina's met informatie over politieke en maatschappelijke onderwerpen?
    ◯ (vrijwel) dagelijks
    ◯ 3 à 4 keer per week
    ◯ 1 à 2 keer per week
    ◯ Minder dan 1 keer per week

12. Heb je weleens een persiflage van Mark Rutte gezien op TV? Zo ja, weet je nog in welk programma? En wat het onderwerp was?
    ◯ Ja:

    _____

    _____
    ◯ Nee

13. Heb je het filmpje wat je zojuist zag eerder gezien?
    ◯ Ja
    ◯ Nee

14. Hoe grappig vond je het filmpje wat je zojuist zag op een schaal van nul tot tien? Nul is helemaal niet grappig en tien is erg grappig.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Weet niet
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

15. Vind je jezelf aanhanger van een bepaalde politieke partij?
    ◯ Ja
    ◯ Nee   → Ga verder met vraag 17

16. Zou je jezelf een zeer overtuigde aanhanger willen noemen, een overtuigde aanhanger of niet zo'n overtuigde aanhanger?
    ◯ Zeer overtuigde aanhanger   → Ga verder met vraag 18
    ◯ Overtuigde aanhanger   → Ga verder met vraag 18
    ◯ Niet zo'n overtuigde aanhanger   → Ga verder met vraag 18

17. Voel je jezelf meer aangetrokken tot één van de politieke partijen dan tot andere?
    ◯ Ja
    ◯ Nee   → Ga verder met vraag 19

18. Van welke politieke partij ben je een aanhanger of tot welke partij voel je je aangetrokken?
   - ○ CDA
   - ○ PvdA
   - ○ VVD
   - ○ PVV
   - ○ GroenLinks
   - ○ SP
   - ○ D66
   - ○ ChristenUnie
   - ○ SGP
   - ○ Partij voor de Dieren
   - ○ 50Plus
   - ○ Lokale partij
   - ○ Andere partij

19. Uit hoeveel zetels bestaat de Tweede Kamer?

   _____

20. Van welke partij is Emile Roemer de partijleider?

   _____

21. Uit welke partij(en) bestaat het huidige kabinet?

   _____

22. Vanaf welke leeftijd mag je stemmen bij de Tweede Kamerverkiezingen?

   _____

23. Wie was de voorganger van Mark Rutte als minister-president?

   _____