Framing Turkey: Identities, public opinion and Turkey's potential accession into the EU
Azrout, R.

Citation for published version (APA):
Azrout, R. (2013). Framing Turkey: Identities, public opinion and Turkey’s potential accession into the EU

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive/negative development</th>
<th>In-group/out-group</th>
<th>Opportunities/threats</th>
<th>Other arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Democracy – undetermined</td>
<td>- In-group/out-group – undetermined</td>
<td>- Opportunities/threats – undetermined</td>
<td>- Undetermined opportunities/threats for Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Human rights – undetermined</td>
<td>- Undetermined – culture</td>
<td>- Undetermined – economy</td>
<td>- Economic opportunities/threats for Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Undetermined – development</td>
<td>- Undetermined – religion</td>
<td>- Economic opportunities/threats for EU/NL</td>
<td>- Democratic opportunities/threats for Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Economic development</td>
<td>- Orientation of Turkey</td>
<td>- Costs for EU/NL</td>
<td>- Opportunities/threats for human rights in Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Democratic development</td>
<td>- Ties through migration</td>
<td>- Religious opportunities/threats</td>
<td>- Preventing Islamic state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Role of the army</td>
<td>- Economic in-group/out-group</td>
<td>- Cultural opportunities/threats</td>
<td>- Multiple nationalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Corruption</td>
<td>- NATO member</td>
<td>- Immigration opportunities/threats</td>
<td>- Number of people in Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Position/equality of women</td>
<td>- Geographical in-group/out-group</td>
<td>- Crime opportunities/threats</td>
<td>- Because of Turks in the NL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Development human rights</td>
<td>- Historical in-group/out-group</td>
<td>- Strategic opportunities/threats</td>
<td>- Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Rule of law</td>
<td>- Cultural in-group/out-group</td>
<td>- Connection to Middle East opportunities/threats</td>
<td>- Holocaust denial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Development Islam</td>
<td>- Religious in-group/out-group</td>
<td>- EU-arguments – undetermined</td>
<td>- Armenian genocide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Separation of state and religion</td>
<td>- In-group/out-group in ideas/mentality</td>
<td>- Size of the EU</td>
<td>- Cooperation without membership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Freedom of religion</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Ability to govern the EU</td>
<td>- Cyprus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Respect for minorities</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Readiness of the EU</td>
<td>- Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Stability</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Strength of the EU</td>
<td>- Nice people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kurdish issue</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Trust in Turkey</td>
<td>- Vacation country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Internal divisions</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Turkish/Islamic domination</td>
<td>- Hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Violence – terrorism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- EU criteria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Some respondents only replied with one or two words. With ‘human rights’ or ‘democracy’ we can assume that this relates to the state of Turkish democracy and human rights. When respondents only mention ‘economy’, ‘culture’ or ‘religion’ there is much less certainty to which category this relates. Hence, these are only coded in the development, in-group/out-group or opportunity/threat category when the statement of the respondent was clear about this.
Appendix 1B

Table 1.B1

*Reliability of coding*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Percentage agreement</th>
<th>Krippendorff’s alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>92.4%</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>95.0%</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian</td>
<td>99.1%</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First frame</td>
<td>88.7%</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arguments</th>
<th>Percentage agreement</th>
<th>Krippendorff’s alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development - Positive</td>
<td>99.4%</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development - Negative</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity - In-group</td>
<td>97.6%</td>
<td>.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity - Out-group</td>
<td>95.9%</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences - Opportunity</td>
<td>98.4%</td>
<td>.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences - Threat</td>
<td>94.4%</td>
<td>.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other argument</td>
<td>96.9%</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No argument</td>
<td>98.9%</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First argument</td>
<td>89.1%</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: N = 700*
Appendix 3

Descriptives of coded items open-ended question

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Krippendorff’s alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explicit out-group mentioning</td>
<td>.354</td>
<td>.479</td>
<td>.886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit threat mentioning</td>
<td>.182</td>
<td>.387</td>
<td>.864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit in-group mentioning (reversly coded)</td>
<td>.914</td>
<td>.280</td>
<td>.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explicit opportunity mentioning (reversly coded)</td>
<td>.892</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td>.824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Framing in terms of out-group</td>
<td>2.343</td>
<td>.873</td>
<td>.888</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptives of indices and translations of closed-ended questions

**Support for Turkish membership (1-7)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 = very much in favour</td>
<td>2.741</td>
<td>1.782</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Een aantal landen zou op termijn kunnen toetreden tot de Europese Unie. Kunt u aangeven voor elk van de onderstaande landen in hoeverre u voor of tegen toetreding tot de EU bent? Turkije.

**Immigration attitude index (1-7)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 = negative</td>
<td>4.662</td>
<td>1.178</td>
<td>.884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Index of 8 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.*

Op scholen met veel kinderen van immigranten is de kwaliteit van het onderwijs slecht.
Immigranten maken misbruik van sociale voorzieningen.
Immigranten zijn een bedreiging voor de veiligheid in Nederland.
Immigranten krijgen een nadelige behandeling van de overheid.
De aanwezigheid van immigranten doet de werkloosheid in Nederland groeien.
Immigranten zijn een belangrijke oorzaak voor criminaliteit in Nederland.
Immigranten zijn een verrijking voor de Nederlandse cultuur.
De religieuze praktijken van immigranten vormen een bedreiging voor de Nederlandse levensstijl en tradities.

**Economic evaluations index (1-7)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 = very much better</td>
<td>3.215</td>
<td>0.917</td>
<td>.818</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Index of 3 items, answers on 7-point worse-better scale.*

Hoe denkt u dat de economische situatie in Nederland zich de komende twaalf maanden zal ontwikkelen?
Hoe denkt u dat de economische situatie in Europese Unie zich de komende twaalf maanden zal ontwikkelen?
Hoe denkt u dat uw persoonlijke financiële situatie zich de komende twaalf maanden zal ontwikkelen?
**Government satisfaction index (1-7)**  
7 = very satisfied  
Index of 5 items, answers on 7-point dissatisfied-satisfied scale.  
Kunt u aangeven hoe tevreden of ontevreden u in het algemeen bent met wat de huidige regering <bestaande uit CDA, PvdA en ChristenUnie> doet ?  
Kunt u aangeven hoe tevreden of ontevreden u bent met de manier waarop de regering handelt op het gebied van ...  
... Europese integratie?  
... de economie?  
... het milieu?  
... immigratie?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.888</td>
<td>0.990</td>
<td>.823</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**National identity index (1-7)**  
7 = strong identity  
Index of 5 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.  
Ik ben er trots op een Nederlands burger te zijn.  
Nederlander zijn betekent veel voor me.  
De Nederlandse vlag betekent veel voor me.  
Nederlanders delen een gemeenschappelijke traditie, cultuur en geschiedenis.  
Ik voel mij verwant met andere Nederlanders.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.182</td>
<td>1.172</td>
<td>.909</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**European identity index (1-7)**  
7 = strong identity  
Index of 5 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.  
Ik ben er trots op Europees burger te zijn.  
Europeaan zijn betekent veel voor me.  
De Europese vlag betekent veel voor me.  
Europeanen delen een gemeenschappelijke traditie, cultuur en geschiedenis.  
Ik voel mij verwant met andere Europeanen.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.702</td>
<td>1.144</td>
<td>.868</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exclusive national identity (1-7)**  
7 = exclusive identity  
Based on national identity index and on EU identity index, with:  
If natID < euID  \(\rightarrow\) Exclusive national identity = 0;  
Else exclusive national identity = |natID - euID| + 1.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.594</td>
<td>1.251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender (dich.)</th>
<th>1 = female</th>
<th>.518</th>
<th>.500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (20-83)</td>
<td>50.147</td>
<td>16.394</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education (1-6)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Primary school (LO-LBO)</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td>.419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lower general secondary education (MAVO)</td>
<td>.088</td>
<td>.283</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Intermediate vocational education (MBO)</td>
<td>.328</td>
<td>.470</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Higher general secondary education (HAVO-VWO)</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.266</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Higher vocational education (HBO-WO-kand)</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>.380</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 University degree (WO-DOCT)</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4

Individual level variables

Support for Turkey's EU membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For each of the following countries, to what extent are you in favour of or against it becoming a member of the EU?

- Turkey

[1. Strongly against ...................... 7.Strongly in favour]

Anti-immigrant attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index of 5 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.

Immigrants abuse [COUNTRY]'s social welfare system, because they take more out than they put in.
Immigrants are a threat to the security of [NATIONALITY] people.
The religious practices of immigrants are a threat to the [NATIONALITY] way of life and its traditions.
Immigrants are an important cause of crime in [COUNTRY].
Immigration is good for the [NATIONALITY] labour market. <Reversely coded>

[0. Strongly disagree ...................... 6.Strongly agree]

National identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index of 4 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.

I am proud to be a [NATIONALITY] citizen.
Being [NATIONALITY] means a lot to me.
I feel close to fellow [NATIONALS].
I feel more [NATIONALITY] then European.

[0. Strongly disagree ...................... 6.Strongly agree]

European identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Index of 4 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.

I am proud to be a European citizen.
Being a citizen of the European Union means a lot to me.
I feel close to fellow Europeans.
The European flag means a lot to me.

[0. Strongly disagree ...................... 6.Strongly agree]

Exclusive national identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar as in chapter 3, exclusive national identity is based on national identity index and on index of European identity, with:

If natID < euID à Exclusive national identity = 0;
Else exclusive national identity = |natID - euID|.

[0. No exclusive national identity 6.Strong exclusive nation]
Government satisfaction  
\[ M = 2.26 \quad SD = 1.38 \quad \alpha = .90 \]
\textit{Index of 5 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.}
In general, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement? ->
The current national government is doing a good job.
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
0. \text{Strongly disagree} & 6. \text{Strongly agree}
\end{array} \]
And how well do you think the government is handling the issue of ... -> ... European integration?
-> ... the economy?
-> ... the environment?
-> ... immigration?
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
0. \text{Very poorly} & 6. \text{Very well}
\end{array} \]

Economic evaluations  
\[ M = 2.85 \quad SD = 1.28 \quad \alpha = .81 \]
\textit{Index of 3 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.}
Looking at the economic situation in [COUNTRY], do you think the situation will be better or worse twelve months from now?
How about if you think of the European Union, do you think that twelve months from now the economic situation in the EU will be better or worse?
How about your personal situation: Do you think that twelve months from now your personal economic situation will be better or worse?
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
0. \text{Much worse} & 6. \text{Much better}
\end{array} \]

Political ideology  
\[ M = 5.22 \quad SD = 2.70 \]
In political matters, people talk about “the left” and “the right”. What is your position?
Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “left” and 10 means “right”. Which number best describes your position?
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
0. \text{Left} & 10. \text{Right}
\end{array} \]

Political interest  
\[ M = 3.85 \quad SD = 1.15 \quad \alpha = .79 \]
\textit{Index of 5 items, answers on 7-point disagree-agree scale.}
How interested are you in politics?
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
0. \text{Not at all interested} & 6. \text{Very interested}
\end{array} \]
And how interested are you in ... -> ... economic issues?
-> ... immigration issues?
-> ... European Union issues?
-> ... environmental issues?
\[ \begin{array}{ll}
0. \text{Not at all interested} & 6. \text{Very interested}
\end{array} \]

Age  
\[ M = 39.52 \quad SD = 13.40 \]
\textit{From TNS database.}

Gender  
\textit{From TNS database.}
\textit{Dummy with male as reference category.}
Gender male  
\[ M = .48 \quad SD = .50 \]
Gender female  
\[ M = .52 \quad SD = .50 \]
### Education

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

*Country specific educational levels recoded into low, medium and high education. Dummies with medium level education as reference category.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education low</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education medium</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education high</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ethnicity

Do you consider yourself to be a member of an ethnic minority group?

*Dummy with not member of an ethnic minority as reference category.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not member ethnic minority</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member ethnic minority</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Country level variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Data Source</th>
<th>Country level (N = 20)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Turkish migrants (%)</td>
<td>Retrieved from Eurostat.</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Muslims (%)</td>
<td>Retrieved from Pew Forum on Religion &amp; Public Life (2009).</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Importance of immigration issue: general public

Data from own own survey.

In your opinion, how important are the following problems in [COUNTRY]?
- Immigration problems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Individual level (N = 26,344)</th>
<th>Country level (N = 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M = 3.85</td>
<td>M = 3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 1.75</td>
<td>SD = 1.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Importance of immigration issue: political parties

Data retrieved from 2006 Chapel Hill Expert Survey.

On each dimension, we ask you to assess the position of the party leadership, and then to assess the importance/salience of this dimension for a party’s public stance.

- Importance/salience of immigration policy for each of the following parties.
- Importance/salience of integration of immigrants and asylum seekers for each of the following parties.
- Importance/salience of ethnic minorities for each of the following parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Party level (N = 156)</th>
<th>Country level (N = 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alpha = .88</td>
<td>M = 5.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 1.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Importance of immigration issue: media salience (%)

Data retrieved from media dataset of 2009 European Election Study.

Primary topic of the story (i.e. major subject of the story = taking the most space or time – often mentioned in the headline). Topics have to be referred to/mentioned at least twice in the article or newscast and not just mentioned in passing.

Secondary topic of the story (i.e. second most important subject of the story)

Tertiary topic of the story (i.e. third most important subject of the story)

Note: If there is more than one appropriate category, always choose the most specific one.

Article scored 1 if at least one of four topics mentioned above is primary, secondary or tertiary topic of the story, else 0.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Article level (N = 36979)</th>
<th>Country level (N = 20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M = 1.56</td>
<td>M = 1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SD = 12.39</td>
<td>SD = 0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emails</td>
<td>Did not</td>
</tr>
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Note: Differences between contact rates and response rates are due to incomplete interviews and respondents who wanted to participate but were excluded because they were from a demographic group that was already overrepresented in the sample.
Appendix 5B: Question and item wording

Survey

**Support Turkish membership wave 2.** To what extent are you in favour of or against Turkey becoming a member of the EU?

1. Strongly against ............................................ 7. Strongly in favour

**Support Turkish membership wave 1.** For each of the following countries, to what extent are you in favour of or against it becoming a member of the EU?

-> Turkey

1. Strongly against ............................................ 7. Strongly in favour

In the same question, support or opposition towards membership of Croatia and Switzerland was asked, with the order of the countries being rotated.

**Anti-immigrant attitudes.** Next we would like to ask for your opinion about immigrants in [COUNTRY]. Could you please indicate for every statement below to what extent you agree or disagree with it?

-> Immigrants abuse [COUNTRY]’s social welfare system, because they take more out than they put in.

-> Immigrants are a threat to the security of [NATIONALITY] people.

-> The religious practices of immigrants are a threat to the [NATIONALITY] way of life and its traditions.

-> Immigrants are an important cause of crime in [COUNTRY].

-> Immigration is good for the [NATIONALITY] labour market. (reversely coded)

1. Strongly disagree ............................................ 7. Strongly agree

**Exclusive national identity.** Similar as in chapter 3, we constructed our measure of exclusive national identity as follows: When EU identity was stronger than national identity, national identity was presumed non-exclusive (0). When national identity was stronger than EU identity, the exclusiveness of national identity was the difference of national and EU identity.
National identity: Please consider the following statements about [COUNTRY] and tell us for each of them to what extent you agree or disagree.

- I am proud to be a [NATIONALITY] citizen.
- Being [NATIONALITY] means a lot to me.
- I feel close to fellow [NATIONALS].
- I feel more [NATIONALITY] then European
  [1. Strongly disagree .................................................. 7.Strongly agree]

EU identity: In the following we present you several statements about the European Union. Please tell us to what extent you agree or disagree with each one of them.

- I am proud to be a European citizen.
- Being a citizen of the European Union means a lot to me.
- I feel close to fellow Europeans.
  [1. Strongly disagree .................................................. 7.Strongly agree]

Please also tell us to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

- The European flag means a lot to me.
  [1. Strongly disagree .................................................. 7.Strongly agree]

Government satisfaction. In general, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

- The current national government is doing a good job.
  [1. Strongly disagree .................................................. 7.Strongly agree]

And how well do you think the government is handling the issue of…

- ... European integration?
- ... the economy?
- ... the environment?
- ... immigration?
  [1. Very poorly ................................................................. 7.Very well]

Economic evaluations. Looking at the economic situation in [COUNTRY], do you think the situation will be better or worse twelve months from now?

[1. Much worse ................................................................. 7.Much better]
How about if you think of the European Union, do you think that twelve months from now the economic situation in the EU will be better or worse?

[1. Much worse .............................................................. 7. Much better]

How about your personal situation: Do you think that twelve months from now your personal economic situation will be better or worse?

[1. Much worse .............................................................. 7. Much better]

**Media analysis**

**Evaluation of Turkey’s membership in the media. Explicitly: Does the story evaluate the potential membership of TURKEY in the EU?**

1. not mentioned
2. mentioned but not evaluated
3. negative
4. rather negative
5. balanced/mixed
6. rather positive
7. positive
## Appendix 5C: List of media outlets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Television news</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria:</td>
<td>Der Standard</td>
<td>Aktuell 19h20 (ATV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Presse</td>
<td>ZiB 19h30 (ORF1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neue Kronen Zeitung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium:</td>
<td>De Morgen</td>
<td>Het Journaal 19h00 (VRT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>De Standaard</td>
<td>VTM-Nieuws 19h00 (VTM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Het Laatste Nieuws</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>La Derniere Heure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>La Libre Belgique</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Le Soir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 Chasa</td>
<td>bTV Новините 19h00 (bTV)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dnevnik</td>
<td>Πο χως ἐν τούς 20h00 (BNT kanal 1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Czech. Rep.:</td>
<td>Blesk</td>
<td>Udalosti 19h00 (Ceska televize)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mlada Fronta</td>
<td>Televizni noviny 19h30 (TV Nova)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Pravo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denmark:</td>
<td>Ekstra Bladet</td>
<td>Nyhederne 19h00 (TV2)</td>
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<td>Morgenavisen Jyllandsposten</td>
<td>TV-avisen 21h00 (DR1)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Politiken</td>
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<td>Kymmenen uutiset 22h00 (MTV3)</td>
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<td>Helsing Sanomat</td>
<td>Tv-uutiset ja sää 20h30 (YLE TV1)</td>
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<td>Iltasanomat</td>
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<td>France:</td>
<td>Le Figaro</td>
<td>Le Journal 20h00 (F2)</td>
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<td>Le Monde</td>
<td>Le Journal 20h00 (TF1)</td>
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<td>Libération</td>
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<td>Germany:</td>
<td>Bild</td>
<td>18h30 (SAT1)</td>
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<td>Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung</td>
<td>Heute 19h00 (ZDF)</td>
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<td>Sudddeutsche Zeitung</td>
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<td>Magyar Nemzet</td>
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<td>The Irish Times</td>
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<td>The (Daily) Star</td>
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<td>TG1 20h00 (RaiUno)</td>
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<td>Il Giornale</td>
<td>TG5 20h00 (Canale5)</td>
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<td>La Repubblica</td>
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<td>Vesti Segidnya</td>
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<td>Panorama 20h30 (LTV)</td>
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<td>Guardian (Sunday: The Observer) Sun</td>
<td>News at 10 22h00 (ITV)</td>
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Appendix 5D: Construction individual media exposure measure

For each respondent the value $x$ of the individual exposure variable is calculated using the following formula:

$$x = \sum_i a_ib_i$$

Where $a_i$ is the aggregated score of outlet $i$, and $b_i$ is the number of days the respondent reports using outlet $i$, with $i$ varying over all outlets (in the country of the respondent). To illustrate how the individual score is calculated, we look at a few imaginative respondents from Austria. In Austria we coded 3 newspapers (Der Standard, Die Presse and Neue Kronen Zeitung) and two television news programs (ZiB and Aktuell). With this information, we can write out the summation in the formula:

$$x = a_{DS}b_{DS} + a_{DP}b_{DP} + a_{NKZ}b_{NKZ} + a_{ZIB}b_{ZIB} + a_{Akt}b_{Akt}$$

From the EES data we calculate the aggregate scores of evaluation of Turkey’s potential accession between the panel waves for the five outlets from Austria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outlet</th>
<th>Score</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Der Standard</td>
<td>-0.0157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Die Presse</td>
<td>-0.0319</td>
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<td>Neue Kronen Zeitung</td>
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<td>ZiB 19h30 (ORF1)</td>
<td>-0.0173</td>
</tr>
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<td>Aktuell 19h20 (ATV)</td>
<td>-0.0556</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And we can than fill in the aggregate outlet scores in the formula:

$$x = -0.0157b_{DS} - 0.0319b_{DP} + 0.0000b_{NKZ} - 0.0173b_{ZIB} - 0.0556b_{Akt}$$

Now, imagine four respondents in panel survey. The respondents report to use the following outlets:

- Respondent 1 reports to read Neue Kronen Zeitung 6 days a week and uses none of the other outlets.
- Respondent 2 reports to watch Aktuell 5 days a week and uses none of the other outlets.
- Respondent 3 reports to read Der Standard 4 days a week and watches ZiB 5 days a week, and doesn’t use the other outlets.
- Respondent 4 reports to use all five outlets 7 days a week.

We insert this information in the formula, and thus calculate the individual exposure score for these respondents:

\[
\begin{align*}
    x_1 &= -0.0157 \times 0 - 0.0319 \times 0 + 0.0000 \times 6 - 0.0173 \times 0 - 0.0556 \times 0 = 0.0000 \\
    x_2 &= -0.0157 \times 0 - 0.0319 \times 0 + 0.0000 \times 0 - 0.0173 \times 0 - 0.0556 \times 5 = -0.2780 \\
    x_3 &= -0.0157 \times 4 - 0.0319 \times 0 + 0.0000 \times 0 - 0.0173 \times 5 - 0.0556 \times 0 = -0.1493 \\
    x_4 &= -0.0157 \times 7 - 0.0319 \times 7 + 0.0000 \times 7 - 0.0173 \times 7 - 0.0556 \times 7 = -0.8435
\end{align*}
\]