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*How news media shape political trust in the European Union*

Brosius, A.

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# Appendix

## Appendix 1A Newspapers

<b>Country</b>	<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Number of articles on EU</b>	<b>Number of articles on Euro</b>
Austria	Die Presse	7,797	4,843
Denmark	Politiken	5,755	188
Germany	Die Welt	9,856	13,486
Great Britain	The Daily Telegraph	5,207	4,207
France	Le Figaro	2,566	2,528
Ireland	The Irish Times	7,486	1,601
Italy	La Stampa	2,900	6,810
The Netherlands	De Volkskrant	2,925	2,659
Poland	Gazeta Wyborcza	2,731	4,779
Spain	El Pais	6,155	11,040



**Appendix 1B** Robustness check, excluding data from Denmark

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Trust in nat. gov't.		2.37*** (0.01)	2.38*** (0.04)	2.37*** (0.05)	2.38*** (0.04)	2.36*** (0.05)
Education		0.06*** (0.00)	0.06*** (0.00)	0.06*** (0.00)	0.06*** (0.00)	0.06*** (0.00)
Gender (male)		0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Age		-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
EU visibility			0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)		
EU positivity			-0.01 (0.15)	0.11 (0.15)		
EU negativity			-0.08 (0.06)	-0.16** (0.06)		
Trust (nat.) * EU visibility				0.00* (0.00)		
Trust (nat.) * EU positivity				1.52*** (0.18)		
Trust (nat.) * EU negativity				-0.73*** (0.07)		
Euro visibility					0.00*** (0.00)	0.00*** (0.00)
Euro positivity					-0.15 (0.14)	-0.07 (0.15)
Euro negativity					-0.15** (0.05)	-0.17*** (0.05)
Trust (nat.) * Euro visibility						0.00*** (0.00)
Trust (nat.) * Euro positivity						0.64*** (0.17)
Trust (nat.) * Euro negativity						-0.53*** (0.06)
Constant	-0.25** (0.08)	-1.55*** (0.11)	-1.63*** (0.11)	-1.71*** (0.11)	-1.62*** (0.11)	-1.64*** (0.11)
Log Likelihood	-117, 288.92	-92, 902.24	-92, 777.25	-92, 645.00	-92, 769.57	-92, 692.12
Akaike Inf. Crit.	234, 581.83	185, 832.48	185, 592.51	185, 334.00	185, 577.14	185, 428.25
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	234, 601.99	185, 973.54	185, 783.95	185, 555.67	185, 769.59	185, 649.92
Variance: Survey (Intercept)	0.15	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
Variance: Survey (Slope)			0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05
N (individuals; surveys)	175,581; 23	175,581; 23	175,581; 23	175,581; 23	175,581; 23	175,581; 23

Note: \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ . SEs are in parentheses. For clarity, country dummies were excluded in the table.

**Appendix 2A** Results from robustness check for newspaper exposure

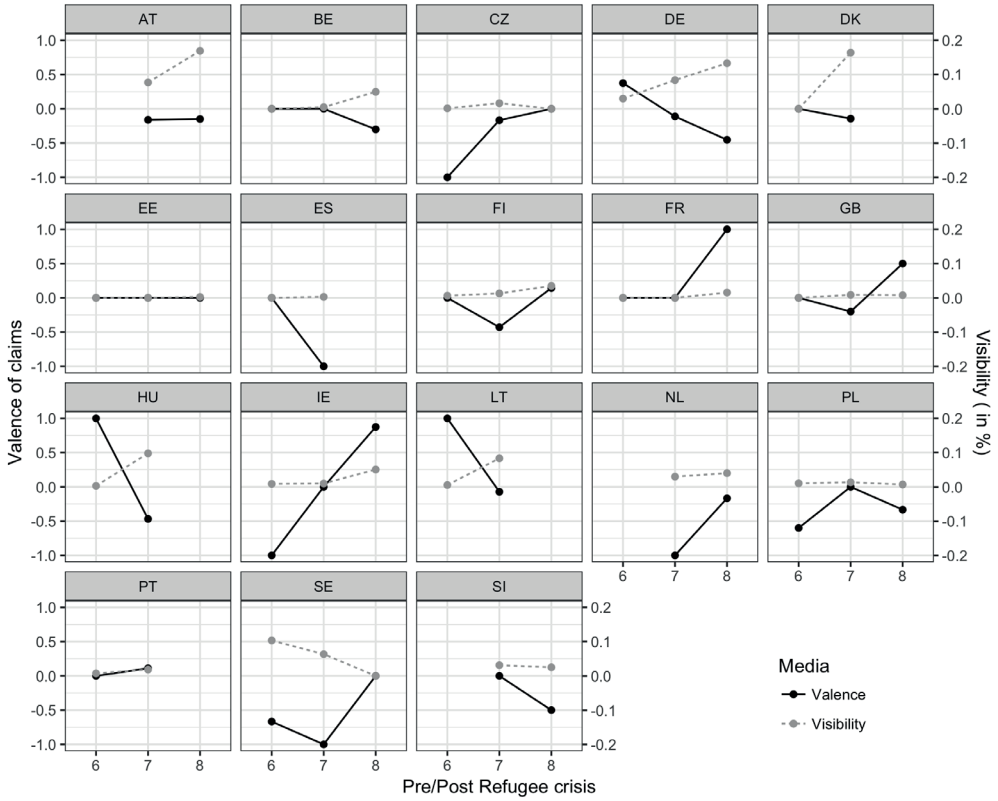
	<b>Dependent variable</b>	
	<b>EU trust</b>	<b>Economy trust</b>
	(1)	(2)
Media visibility	-0.001*** (0.0001)	-0.003*** (0.0001)
Positivity	-0.15*** (0.04)	0.96*** (0.04)
Negativity	0.21*** (0.03)	-0.45*** (0.03)
Observations	50,198	51,901
R <sup>2</sup>	0.004	0.05
F Statistic	54.34*** (df = 3; 38037)	715.72*** (df = 3; 39573)

Note: \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001

### Appendix 3A Newspapers per county

<b>Country</b>	<b>Newspapers</b>
Austria	Der Standard Die Presse
Belgium	Het Laatste Nieuws De Morgen De Standaard (2012) L'Echo La Libre
Czech Republic	Mladá fronta DNES (2012) Hospodářské noviny (2014) Právo
Denmark	Berlingske Politiken
Estonia	Eesti Päevaleht Postimees
Finland	Helsingin Sanomat
France	Libération Le Figaro
Germany	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung Süddeutsche Zeitung
Great Britain	The Guardian The Times
Hungary	Magyar Nemzet Népszabadság
Ireland	Irish Times Irish Independent
Lithuania	Lietuvos rytas Respublika (2012) Lietuvos žinios (2014)
The Netherlands	De Volkskrant NRC Handelsblad
Poland	Gazeta Wyborcza Rzeczpospolita
Portugal	Público Correio da Manhã (2012) Diário de Notícias (2014)
Slovenia	Delo Dnevnik (2012) Finance (2014)
Spain	ABC El País
Sweden	Dagens nyheter Svenska dagbladet

**Appendix 3B** Development of media visibility and valence of refugee related coverage



Appendix 3C Model with country- and wave-fixed effects

	Dependent variable						
	Trust in EP						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Government satisfaction	0.40*** (0.004)	0.40*** (0.004)	0.40*** (0.004)	0.40*** (0.004)	0.40*** (0.004)	0.40*** (0.004)	0.40*** (0.004)
Pro-immigration attitudes	0.23*** (0.004)	0.23*** (0.004)	0.22*** (0.004)	0.22*** (0.004)	0.22*** (0.01)	0.22*** (0.005)	0.18*** (0.01)
Left-right ideology	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)
Age	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)
Gender	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)
Education	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)
ESS round 7	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.36*** (0.05)
ESS round 8	-0.11*** (0.02)	0.005 (0.03)	-0.11*** (0.02)	0.003 (0.03)	-0.10*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.52*** (0.06)
Belgium	0.96*** (0.06)	0.77*** (0.06)	0.98*** (0.06)	0.78*** (0.06)	0.97*** (0.06)	0.76*** (0.06)	0.84*** (0.06)
Czech Republic	0.57*** (0.06)	0.35*** (0.06)	0.58*** (0.06)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.58*** (0.06)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.36*** (0.06)
Germany	-0.69*** (0.14)	-0.81*** (0.11)	-0.67*** (0.14)	-0.80*** (0.11)	-0.70*** (0.14)	-0.81*** (0.11)	-0.31* (0.14)
Denmark	0.80*** (0.06)	0.74*** (0.06)	0.81*** (0.06)	0.75*** (0.06)	0.79*** (0.06)	0.73*** (0.06)	0.83*** (0.06)
Estonia	0.99*** (0.06)	0.81*** (0.06)	1.00*** (0.06)	0.82*** (0.06)	1.00*** (0.06)	0.80*** (0.06)	0.93*** (0.07)
Spain	0.73*** (0.07)	0.49*** (0.07)	0.75*** (0.07)	0.50*** (0.07)	0.73*** (0.07)	0.49*** (0.07)	0.65*** (0.07)
Finland	0.77*** (0.06)	0.56*** (0.06)	0.79*** (0.06)	0.57*** (0.06)	0.78*** (0.06)	0.55*** (0.06)	0.66*** (0.06)
France	0.47*** (0.07)	0.35*** (0.07)	0.48*** (0.07)	0.36*** (0.07)	0.46*** (0.07)	0.34*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.08)
Great Britain	-0.57*** (0.07)	-0.76*** (0.07)	-0.55*** (0.07)	-0.75*** (0.07)	-0.58*** (0.07)	-0.76*** (0.07)	-0.61*** (0.08)
Hungary	1.01*** (0.07)	0.94*** (0.08)	1.03*** (0.07)	0.94*** (0.08)	1.02*** (0.07)	0.94*** (0.08)	0.87*** (0.08)
Ireland	0.90*** (0.06)	0.68*** (0.06)	0.92*** (0.06)	0.69*** (0.06)	0.92*** (0.06)	0.66*** (0.06)	0.82*** (0.07)
Lithuania	1.29*** (0.07)	1.24*** (0.06)	1.31*** (0.07)	1.25*** (0.06)	1.29*** (0.07)	1.24*** (0.06)	1.34*** (0.07)
Netherlands	0.47*** (0.07)	0.19** (0.07)	0.48*** (0.07)	0.20** (0.07)	0.47*** (0.07)	0.18* (0.07)	0.30*** (0.07)

Appendix

Poland	0.51*** (0.07)	0.24*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.07)	0.25*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.07)	0.23** (0.07)	0.33*** (0.07)
Portugal	0.61*** (0.07)	0.40*** (0.07)	0.62*** (0.07)	0.41*** (0.07)	0.59*** (0.07)	0.39*** (0.07)	0.52*** (0.08)
Sweden	0.16** (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)
Slovenia	0.63*** (0.08)	0.39*** (0.08)	0.65*** (0.08)	0.40*** (0.08)	0.64*** (0.08)	0.37*** (0.08)	0.53*** (0.08)
Asylum applications	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.003)	0.01 (0.004)
Visibility EU	2.77*** (0.45)	2.94*** (0.32)	2.76*** (0.45)	2.97*** (0.32)	2.92*** (0.45)	2.87*** (0.33)	1.31** (0.48)
Valence EU	0.19*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.19*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.08* (0.04)
Visibility immigration	0.28 (0.34)		1.73*** (0.44)		-0.36 (0.43)		2.29*** (0.44)
Valence immigration	-0.10** (0.03)		-0.002 (0.06)		0.13* (0.06)		0.004 (0.04)
Visibility refugees		-1.58*** (0.36)		-0.55 (0.57)		-2.27*** (0.58)	-2.97*** (0.47)
Valence refugees		-0.16*** (0.02)		-0.20*** (0.05)		-0.29*** (0.05)	-0.16*** (0.03)
Visibility immigration * left-right			-0.28*** (0.06)				
Valence immigration * left-right			-0.02* (0.01)				
Visibility refugees * left-right				-0.19* (0.08)			
Valence refugees * left-right				0.01 (0.01)			
Visibility immigration * immigration attitudes					0.13* (0.06)		
Valence immigration * immigration attitudes					-0.04*** (0.01)		
Visibility refugees * immigration attitudes						0.13 (0.08)	
Valence refugees * immigration attitudes						0.02** (0.01)	

ESS round 7 * immigration attitudes							0.05*** (0.01)
ESS round 8 * immigration attitudes							0.09*** (0.01)
Constant	1.04*** (0.07)	1.22*** (0.08)	0.94*** (0.08)	1.18*** (0.08)	1.07*** (0.08)	1.24*** (0.08)	1.41*** (0.08)
Observations	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587
R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28
Residual Std. Error	2.07 (df = 73556)	2.07 (df = 73556)	2.07 (df = 73554)	2.07 (df = 73554)	2.07 (df = 73554)	2.07 (df = 73554)	2.07 (df = 73552)
F Statistic	936.75*** (df = 30; 73556)	938.61*** (df = 30; 73556)	879.34*** (df = 32; 73554)	880.25*** (df = 32; 73554)	879.55*** (df = 32; 73554)	880.39*** (df = 32; 73554)	833.19*** (df = 34; 73552)

Note: \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001

### Appendix 3D Model with country-wave clusters at second level and country- and wave fixed effects

	Dependent variable						
	Trust in EP						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Government satisfaction	0.41*** (0.004)	0.41*** (0.004)	0.42*** (0.004)	0.42*** (0.004)	0.41*** (0.004)	0.41*** (0.004)	0.41*** (0.004)
Pro-immigration attitudes	0.23*** (0.004)	0.23*** (0.004)	0.22*** (0.004)	0.22*** (0.004)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.22*** (0.02)	0.18*** (0.02)
Left-right ideology	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)	0.02*** (0.004)
Age	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)	-0.02*** (0.0004)
Gender	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.19*** (0.02)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.20*** (0.02)	0.20*** (0.02)
Education	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01** (0.002)	0.01* (0.002)	0.01* (0.002)	0.01* (0.002)
ESS round 7	-0.06 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.11)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.03 (0.10)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.11)
ESS round 8	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.12)	-0.08 (0.11)	0.01 (0.12)	0.01 (0.11)	0.08 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.13)
Asylum applications	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Visibility EU	2.24 (2.10)	2.38 (1.48)	2.84 (2.10)	2.61 (1.47)	3.25 (1.98)	2.73* (1.39)	2.00 (2.16)
Valence EU	0.19 (0.14)	0.15 (0.13)	0.21 (0.14)	0.16 (0.13)	0.25 (0.13)	0.18 (0.12)	0.14 (0.16)
Visibility immigration	0.19 (1.51)		-0.29 (1.52)		-0.64 (1.46)		0.90 (1.89)

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Valence immigration	-0.06 (0.15)		-0.06 (0.15)		-0.04 (0.15)		0.01 (0.17)
Visibility refugees		-1.24 (1.54)		-1.21 (1.55)		-1.74 (1.50)	-2.10 (1.98)
Valence refugees		-0.13 (0.11)		-0.14 (0.11)		-0.14 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.13)
Belgium	1.05*** (0.27)	0.90*** (0.27)	1.00*** (0.27)	0.88*** (0.27)	1.07*** (0.25)	0.95*** (0.25)	0.97*** (0.27)
Czech Republic	0.39 (0.25)	0.21 (0.27)	0.36 (0.25)	0.20 (0.27)	0.20 (0.24)	0.05 (0.26)	0.05 (0.27)
Germany	-0.36 (0.64)	-0.45 (0.49)	-0.49 (0.64)	-0.42 (0.48)	-0.63 (0.60)	-0.54 (0.46)	-0.32 (0.64)
Denmark	1.03*** (0.26)	0.99*** (0.24)	0.96*** (0.26)	0.94*** (0.24)	0.90*** (0.24)	0.89*** (0.23)	0.93*** (0.25)
Estonia	1.06*** (0.29)	0.92*** (0.27)	0.97*** (0.29)	0.87** (0.27)	0.85** (0.27)	0.77** (0.25)	0.82** (0.28)
Spain	0.91** (0.31)	0.73* (0.28)	0.89** (0.31)	0.75** (0.28)	0.68* (0.30)	0.56* (0.27)	0.63* (0.30)
Finland	1.08*** (0.27)	0.92*** (0.26)	1.01*** (0.27)	0.89*** (0.26)	1.02*** (0.26)	0.90*** (0.24)	0.93*** (0.27)
France	0.55 (0.34)	0.46 (0.30)	0.43 (0.34)	0.41 (0.30)	0.33 (0.32)	0.33 (0.28)	0.42 (0.34)
Great Britain	-0.43 (0.33)	-0.58 (0.30)	-0.37 (0.33)	-0.44 (0.30)	-0.43 (0.31)	-0.50 (0.28)	-0.44 (0.33)
Hungary	1.03*** (0.30)	0.98** (0.33)	1.09*** (0.30)	1.07** (0.33)	0.88** (0.28)	0.81** (0.31)	0.80* (0.33)
Ireland	1.07*** (0.29)	0.91*** (0.24)	0.97*** (0.29)	0.86*** (0.24)	0.79** (0.28)	0.68** (0.23)	0.76** (0.29)
Lithuania	1.39*** (0.28)	1.35*** (0.27)	1.28*** (0.28)	1.29*** (0.27)	1.23*** (0.27)	1.24*** (0.25)	1.29*** (0.28)
Netherlands	0.64* (0.30)	0.43 (0.30)	0.63* (0.30)	0.45 (0.30)	0.65* (0.29)	0.48 (0.28)	0.51 (0.31)
Poland	0.74** (0.28)	0.53 (0.29)	0.80** (0.28)	0.63* (0.29)	0.66* (0.27)	0.48 (0.28)	0.50 (0.30)
Portugal	0.57 (0.31)	0.43 (0.27)	0.54 (0.31)	0.45 (0.27)	0.38 (0.30)	0.26 (0.25)	0.33 (0.30)
Sweden	0.57* (0.25)	0.45 (0.24)	0.49* (0.25)	0.39 (0.24)	0.39 (0.24)	0.31 (0.22)	0.35 (0.24)
Slovenia	0.64* (0.32)	0.45 (0.32)	0.51 (0.32)	0.35 (0.31)	0.35 (0.31)	0.21 (0.30)	0.27 (0.32)
Visibility immigration * left-right			-0.29 (0.28)				
Valence immigration * left-right			-0.01 (0.05)				
Visibility refugees * left-right				-0.14 (0.44)			



Valence refugees * left-right				0.003 (0.04)				
Visibility immigration * immigration attitudes					0.10 (0.21)			
Valence immigration * immigration attitudes					-0.04 (0.04)			
Visibility refugees * immigration attitudes						0.19 (0.33)		
Valence refugees * immigration attitudes						0.01 (0.03)		
ESS round 7 * immigration attitudes								0.05 (0.03)
ESS round 8 * immigration attitudes								0.09** (0.03)
Constant	2.20*** (0.25)	2.34*** (0.25)	2.18*** (0.25)	2.28*** (0.25)	2.27*** (0.23)	2.38*** (0.23)	2.41*** (0.25)	
Observations	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587	73,587
Log Likelihood	-157, 924.50	-157, 924.00	-157, 475.70	-157, 475.30	-157, 710.40	-157, 710.30	-157, 708.60	
Akaike Inf. Crit.	315, 915.10	315, 914.10	315, 025.40	315, 024.50	315, 494.90	315, 494.70	315, 495.10	
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	316,218.90	316,217.90	315,366.10	315,365.20	315,835.50	315,835.30	315,854.20	
Variance (Intercept)	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	
Variance (Slope)			0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	

Note: \*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01; \*\*\*p < 0.001

## Appendix 4A Question wording

<b>Political trust</b>	
English	Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements. [1 fully disagree - 4 neither agree nor disagree - 7 fully agree] I trust the government I trust the EU I trust the parliament
Danish	I hvilken grad er du enig eller uenig i følgende udsagn. [1 meget uenig - 4 hverken enig eller uenig - 7 meget enig] Jeg har tiltro til regeringen Jeg har tiltro til EU
Dutch	Zou u voor elk van de volgende stellingen kunnen aangeven in hoeverre u het ermee eens of oneens bent? [1 Helemaal mee oneens - 4 Niet eens, niet oneens - 7 Helemaal mee eens] Ik vertrouw de regering. Ik vertrouw de Europese Unie. Ik vertrouw de Tweede Kamer
German	Bitte geben Sie an, in welchem Umfang Sie den folgenden Aussagen zustimmen oder sie ablehnen. [1 Stimme überhaupt nicht zu - 4 Weder noch - 7 Stimme voll und ganz zu] Ich vertraue der Regierung Ich vertraue der EU
Hungarian	Kérjük, jelezze, mennyire ért egyet vagy nem ért egyet az állításokkal. [1 egyáltalán nem ért egyet - 4 egyet is értek meg nem is - 7 teljes mértékben egyetért] Bizom a kormányban Bizom az EU-ban
Spanish	Díganos hasta qué punto está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de las siguientes afirmaciones. [1 totalmente en desacuerdo - 4 ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo - 7 totalmente de acuerdo] Confío en el gobierno Confío en la UE
<b>Government satisfaction</b>	
English	Now thinking about the [NATIONALITY] government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job? [1 extremely dissatisfied - 7. extremely satisfied]
Danish	Hvor tilfreds er du med den måde, som regeringen i Danmark udfører deres job? [1 meget utilfreds - 7 meget tilfreds]
Dutch	Als u nu denkt aan de Nederlandse regering, hoe tevreden bent u over de manier waarop zij haar werk doet? [1 Zeer ontevreden - 7. Zeer tevreden]
German	Wenn Sie nun einmal an die Leistungen der Bundesregierung in Berlin denken, wie zufrieden sind Sie mit der Art und Weise, wie sie ihre Arbeit erledigt? [1 Äußerst unzufrieden - 7 Äußerst zufrieden]
Hungarian	Mennyire elégedett azzal ahogyan a Magyar kormány jelenleg a munkáját végzi? [1 nagyon elégedetlen - 7 nagyon elégedett]
Spanish	Ahora pensando en el gobierno español, ¿hasta qué punto tan satisfecho(a) con la forma en que está haciendo su trabajo? [1 totalmente insatisfecho(a) - 7 extremadamente satisfecho(a)]



## Summary

### **Informing Europe. How news media shape political trust in the European Union**

Over the past decade, the European Union had to face a range of obstacles and challenges. The economic crisis, immigration crisis, and electoral success of Eurosceptic parties have undermined political trust in the EU and its institutions. These challenges, to an extent, also reflect scholarship on the drivers of EU attitudes, which typically focuses on three main factors: utilitarian or economic attitudes, considerations about national identity and immigration, and cues from national politics. Typically, citizens learn about changes in the political landscape from the media. However, we know little about how news content and news consumption impact public support for political institutions, in particular EU institutions. The present dissertation studies how media coverage of the EU, media coverage of immigration and the economy, and cues from national politics inform the public's trust in the EU. Political trust is a fundamental and relatively stable measure of political support, reflecting changes in evaluations of political institutions. I explore this question in four empirical chapters, using a combination of methodological approaches.

Chapter 1 gives insight into how news coverage of the EU and of the shared currency, the Euro, influences the public's trust in the EU. By means of an automated content analysis, I identify the tone and visibility of EU and Euro news coverage in ten countries. The results illustrate how the news media environment in different countries has changed over time. Overall, the coverage proves to be rather negative towards the EU, and becomes slightly more negative over time. Subsequently, I connected these estimates of the media environment to survey data from the Eurobarometer to study how changes in the media environment relate to changes in public opinion. The findings underline that media effects are not universal: We cannot observe large consistent shifts of public opinion about the EU that are connected to media reporting about it. However, some citizens are more prone to change their views. Citizens that trust national political institutions, specifically their national government, lose trust in the EU when news coverage of the EU is more negative, but gain trust when news coverage is more positive. This means that citizens rely less on cues from national politics when there is more negative EU media coverage, but rely more on those cues when media coverage of the EU is more positive. On the other hand, there are a number of citizens that do not trust any political institutions and do not change their opinion, regardless of the type of information the media provides.

Chapter 2 focuses on the impact of citizens' exposure to economic news on their trust in the European Union. Previous research shows that economic news coverage can influence a host of political attitudes, most notably political support. However, news coverage does not always accurately reflect reality. In the case of the economy, it tends to be rather negative, focusing on crises and recession as opposed to economic growth. Given this emphasis on negativity, I expected that citizens who are exposed to a higher volume of economic news, or more negative economic news, would lose trust in the EU. To test this assumption, I connected Dutch survey data from the nine-wave LISS panel to data from an automated content analysis of economic news from five main Dutch newspapers. The results confirm that when citizens are exposed to a larger amount of economic news coverage, they lose confidence in the economy as well as trust in the EU. However, the tone of the coverage has distinct, somewhat unexpected effects. Exposure to positive coverage leads to more economic confidence but barely has any effect on trust. Exposure to negative coverage decreases economic confidence but has a small positive effect on trust in the European Union. Even though this effect is small, it could indicate that some citizens place their trust in the EU in times of economic crises.

Chapter 3 focuses on news coverage of immigration and refugees and how variations in news coverage of these two topics are related to changes in public opinion. To that end, I connected European Social Survey (ESS) data from 18 countries between 2012 and 2016 with the results of a manual content analysis (carried out by the ESS) of the news coverage in these countries during the same time span. Overall, the amount of immigration-related media coverage increased during that period in most countries studied. The average evaluation of immigration in the coverage became more negative over time in some countries, but more positive in others. Increased visibility of refugees, but not of immigration in general, was related to somewhat reduced levels of trust in the European Union. This effect is considerably stronger for citizens with right-wing attitudes, and barely existent for citizens with left-wing attitudes. The results are in line with previous research, which shows that topics such as immigration are more important for the EU attitudes of right-wing than left-wing citizens. Finally, this chapter also shows that the relationship between citizens' attitudes towards immigration and their trust in the EU became stronger over time. This means that the issue of immigration became a more important factor for citizens in their evaluation of the EU.

Chapter 4 takes a closer look at the measurement of political trust. In most major surveys, such as the Eurobarometer or the ESS, political trust is measured in a block of questions. Within that block, multiple national and EU institutions are shown to the respondent at the same time. We know from survey research that displaying multiple questions at a time can influence respondents' response behavior. This dissertation, along with previous research, also shows that cues from national politics are an important predictor of opinions about the European Union. To test the effect of survey context on the measurement of political trust, I conducted six experiments in five countries, manipulating the order and distance between questions about political trust. This led to two main findings: First, presenting items about national political institutions and EU institutions in the same question block increases the correlation between levels of reported trust in those institutions. This means that surveys set up in this way are more likely to find that trust in national political institutions is a strong driver of trust in EU institutions. Second, I find that presenting questions about the national government before questions about the EU decreases trust in the EU quite consistently across all experiments, particularly for citizens with low trust in the government. This finding provides novel evidence for the extrapolation mechanism: When the national government is primed, it functions as a negative cue, and consequently reduces trust in the EU. The chapter also opens up new questions about how news coverage of the national government could potentially influence public opinion about the EU.

Overall, the dissertation shows that media coverage of the EU, immigration, and the economy, as well as cues from national politics affect the formation of political trust in the European Union. Even though effects sizes are limited, and effects depend on characteristics of both the content and the recipient, this is an important finding: Citizens make informed judgements. However, the results also raise questions about the quality and veracity of media information that citizens have access to. The European Union has become more contested and has increasingly become a topic of debate in the media. This dissertation shows that such changes in the media environment, to an extent, go hand in hand with changes in public opinion. Ultimately, the public determines the legitimacy of any democratic institution.



## Nederlandse samenvatting

### Europa informeren. Hoe nieuwsmedia het politiek vertrouwen in de Europese Unie vormen

Gedurende het afgelopen decennium heeft de Europese Unie te maken gehad met verschillende obstakels en uitdagingen. De economische crisis, de migratiecrisis en het electorale succes van eurosceptische partijen hebben het politiek vertrouwen in de EU en haar instituties ondermijnd. Deze uitdagingen weerspiegelen de bevindingen van wetenschappelijk onderzoek over de belangrijkste verklaringen voor de opvattingen van burgers jegens de EU. Bestaand onderzoek richt zich doorgaans op drie factoren: ten eerste utilitaristische of economische attitudes, ten tweede percepties ten opzichte van de nationale identiteit en immigratie, en ten derde signalen vanuit de nationale politiek. De meeste burgers leren over veranderingen in de politiek via berichtgeving in de media. Er is echter weinig bekend over de invloed van nieuwsconsumptie en -inhoud op steun voor politieke instanties, en nog minder over de invloed op steun voor de EU. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt hoe vertrouwen in de EU wordt beïnvloed door mediaberichtgeving over de EU, door mediaberichtgeving over immigratie en de economie, en ten slotte door signalen uit de nationale politiek. Politiek vertrouwen is een fundamentele en relatief stabiele graadmeter van politieke steun en reflecteert veranderingen in opvattingen over politieke instituties. Ik onderzoek deze vraag in vier empirische hoofdstukken en gebruik hiervoor een combinatie van methodologische benaderingen.

Hoofdstuk 1 onderzoekt hoe nieuwsberichtgeving over de EU en de gezamenlijke munteenheid, de euro, het vertrouwen in de EU beïnvloedt. Door middel van een geautomatiseerde inhoudsanalyse identificeer ik eerst de toon en zichtbaarheid van berichtgeving over de EU en de euro in tien landen. De resultaten laten zien hoe de mediaomgeving in verschillende landen in de loop der tijd is veranderd. Over het algemeen is de berichtgeving over de EU vrij negatief en deze werd over de tijd heen nog negatiever. Deze bevindingen werden vervolgens gekoppeld aan enquêtedata van de Eurobarometer, een openbare bron, om te onderzoeken hoe veranderingen in de mediaomgeving verband houden met veranderingen in de publieke opinie. De bevindingen ondersteunen dat media-effecten niet universeel zijn; er vinden geen grote consistente verschuivingen plaats in de publieke opinie in overeenstemming met nieuwsberichten. Voor sommige burgers zijn de opvattingen over de EU echter meer veranderlijk.



Specifieker houdt dit in dat burgers die vertrouwen hebben in nationale politieke instellingen – in dit geval de nationale overheid – het vertrouwen in de EU verliezen wanneer de berichtgeving over de EU negatiever is, maar meer vertrouwen krijgen wanneer de EU op een positievere manier wordt besproken. Dit betekent dat burgers minder afhankelijk zijn van signalen vanuit de nationale politiek wanneer er meer negatieve berichtgeving over de EU in de media is, en juist meer afhankelijk zijn wanneer de berichtgeving positief is. Tevens is er een groep burgers die geen enkele politieke institutie vertrouwt. Mediaberichtgeving speelt voor deze groep geen enkele rol in het vertrouwen ten opzichte van instituties.

Hoofdstuk 2 richt zich op de blootstelling van burgers aan economisch nieuws en de impact hiervan op het vertrouwen in de Europese Unie. Uit eerder onderzoek is gebleken dat berichtgeving over economisch nieuws een groot aantal politieke opvattingen kan beïnvloeden, met name politieke steun. Nieuwsberichtgeving is echter niet altijd een accurate weerspiegeling van de werkelijkheid. Wat betreft de economie is mediaberichtgeving doorgaans negatiever en meer gericht op crises en recessie dan op economische groei. Gezien deze nadruk op negativiteit voorspelde ik dat burgers die worden blootgesteld aan meer negatief economisch nieuws het vertrouwen in de EU zouden verliezen. Om deze veronderstelling te testen, heb ik Nederlandse enquêtegegevens van het LISS Panel, bestaande uit negen waves, gekoppeld aan data van een geautomatiseerde inhoudsanalyse van economisch nieuws gepubliceerd in vijf grote Nederlandse kranten. De resultaten laten zien dat wanneer burgers worden blootgesteld aan een grotere hoeveelheid berichtgeving over economisch nieuws, ze zowel economisch vertrouwen als vertrouwen in de EU verliezen. De toon van de berichtgeving is hierbij echter van belang. Positieve berichtgeving leidt tot meer economisch vertrouwen, maar heeft vrijwel geen effect op vertrouwen in de EU. Negatieve berichtgeving vermindert het economisch vertrouwen, maar heeft een licht positief effect op vertrouwen in de EU. Hoewel het om een klein effect gaat, lijkt dit erop te duiden dat sommige burgers de EU als een actor zien waar ze op kunnen vertrouwen in tijden van economische crisis.

Hoofdstuk 3 richt zich op nieuws over immigratie en vluchtelingen en hoe veranderingen in berichtgeving over deze twee onderwerpen verband houden met veranderingen in de publieke opinie over de EU. Om dit te onderzoeken heb ik gegevens van de European Social Survey (ESS) uit 18 landen tussen 2012 en 2016 gekoppeld aan de resultaten van een

handmatige inhoudsanalyse van de berichtgeving in deze landen gedurende dezelfde periode, uitgevoerd door een onderzoeksteam van de ESS. Voor de meerderheid van de onderzochte landen zien we een toename in de hoeveelheid berichtgeving over immigratie in de media. In sommige landen werd de gemiddelde positie ten opzichte van immigratie in de berichtgeving negatiever, maar in andere landen werd deze positiever. Een grotere zichtbaarheid van vluchtelingen, maar niet van immigratie in het algemeen, staat in verband met een enigszins verminderd vertrouwen in de Europese Unie. Dit effect is aanzienlijk sterker voor burgers aan de rechterkant van het politieke spectrum en nauwelijks aanwezig voor burgers aan de linkerkant. Dit is in lijn met eerder onderzoek waaruit bleek dat onderwerpen als immigratie een grotere rol spelen voor opvatting over de EU voor rechtse dan voor linkse stemmers. Ten slotte laat dit hoofdstuk zien dat de relatie tussen attitudes tegenover immigratie en vertrouwen in de EU in de loop der tijd sterker is geworden, wat impliceert dat deze kwestie een belangrijkere factor werd voor burgers in hun oordeel over de EU.

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat dieper in op de manier waarop politiek vertrouwen wordt gemeten. In de meeste grote enquêtes, zoals de Eurobarometer of de ESS, wordt politiek vertrouwen gemeten door middel van een reeks vragen waarin meerdere nationale politieke en EU-instituties tegelijkertijd of achtereenvolgens - in één vragenblok - aan de respondent worden voorgelegd. Enquête-onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat het zien van de antwoordopties en andere vragen uit de enquête het daaropvolgende antwoordgedrag van de respondent kan beïnvloeden. Uit eerder onderzoek en uit dit proefschrift blijkt bovendien dat signalen uit de nationale politiek een belangrijke voorspeller zijn van opvattingen over de Europese Unie. Om het effect van de opzet van de enquête op metingen van politiek vertrouwen te testen, manipuleerde ik de volgorde van, en afstand tussen, vragen over politiek vertrouwen in zes experimenten die in vijf landen zijn uitgevoerd. Dit resulteerde in twee belangrijke bevindingen: ten eerste verhoogt het presenteren van items over nationale politieke instituties en EU-instituties binnen hetzelfde vragenblok de samenhang tussen gerapporteerd vertrouwen in deze instituties. Dit betekent dat enquêtes die op deze manier zijn opgezet eerder zullen aantonen dat vertrouwen in nationale politieke instituties een sterke voorspeller van vertrouwen is in EU-instituties. Een tweede bevinding is dat het stellen van vragen over de nationale overheid voorafgaand aan vragen over de EU het vertrouwen in de EU in de meeste gevallen vermindert. Dit geldt met name voor burgers met weinig vertrouwen in de regering. Deze bevinding levert

nieuw bewijs voor het extrapolatiemechanisme: wanneer de aandacht wordt gevestigd op de nationale overheid, fungeert dit als een negatief signaal waardoor het vertrouwen van burgers in de EU vermindert. Het hoofdstuk levert daarnaast nieuwe vragen op over de manieren waarop de berichtgeving van de nationale overheid de publieke opinie over de EU kan beïnvloeden.

Samenvattend toont dit proefschrift aan dat berichtgeving vanuit de media over de EU, immigratie en de economie, evenals signalen vanuit de nationale politiek een rol spelen in politiek vertrouwen van burgers in de Europese Unie. Hoewel de grootte van media-effecten beperkt is en effecten afhankelijk zijn van de kenmerken van zowel de inhoud als de ontvanger, is dit een belangrijke bevinding: burgers vormen een weloverwogen en geïnformeerd oordeel. De resultaten roepen daarmee echter ook vragen op over de kwaliteit en het waarheidsgehalte van media-informatie die beschikbaar is voor burgers. De Europese Unie wordt door een groeiende groep burgers betwist en wordt in toenemende mate een onderwerp van verhitte discussies in de media. Dit proefschrift toont aan dat dergelijke veranderingen in de mediaomgeving, in zekere mate, hun weerslag kunnen hebben op de publieke opinie. Uiteindelijk bepaalt het vertrouwen van het publiek de legitimiteit van elke democratische instelling.

## Author contributions

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The LISS panel data (used in Chapter 2 of this dissertation) were collected by CentERdata (Tilburg University, The Netherlands) through its MESS project funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research. Furthermore, the dissertation also relied on data collected by the European Social Survey (Chapter 3) and the Eurobarometer (Chapter 1). See pp. 114 - 116 for details.

The following section contains specific author contributions to the individual chapters, in the order of contribution.

Authors’ initials: Anna Brosius (AB), Dr. Erika J. van Elsas (EvE), Prof. Dr. Claes H. de Vreese (CdV)

### **Chapter 1: Effects of the EU information environment on trust in the European Union and cue-taking**

Conceptualization: AB

Methodology: AB

Data collection: AB

Data analysis: AB

Drafting of the manuscript: AB

Review and editing of manuscript: AB, EvE, CdV

Visualization: AB

Funding acquisition: CdV

## **Chapter 2: Effects of exposure to economic news on trust in the European Union**

Conceptualization: AB

Methodology: AB

Data collection: AB

Data analysis: AB

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Visualization: AB

Funding acquisition: CdV

## **Chapter 3: News coverage of immigration and its effects on trust in the European Union**

Conceptualization: AB

Methodology: AB

Data collection: AB

Data analysis: AB, EvE

Drafting of the manuscript: AB

Review and editing of manuscript: AB, EvE, CdV

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## **Chapter 4: National heuristics and survey context effects on trust in the European Union**

Conceptualization: AB, EvE

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Data collection: AB, EvE

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