



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Informing Europe

How news media shape political trust in the European Union

Brosius, A.

[Link to publication](#)

Creative Commons License (see <https://creativecommons.org/use-remix/cc-licenses/>):

Other

Citation for published version (APA):

Brosius, A. (2020). *Informing Europe: How news media shape political trust in the European Union*.

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

Literature

A

- Abramson, P. R., & Finifter, A. W. (1981). On the meaning of political trust: New evidence from items introduced in 1978. *American Journal of Political Science*, 25(2), 297-307.
- Alt, J. E., Lassen, D. D., & Marshall, J. (2016). Credible sources and sophisticated voters: When does new information induce economic voting? *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2), 327-342.
- Anderson, C. J. (1998). When in doubt, use proxies: Attitudes toward domestic politics and support for European integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(5), 569-601.
- Araujo, T., Wonneberger, A., Neijens, P., & de Vreese, C. H. (2017). How much time do you spend online? Understanding and improving the accuracy of self-reported measures of Internet use. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 11(3), 173-190.
- Ares, M., & Hernández, E. (2017). The corrosive effect of corruption on trust in politicians: Evidence from a natural experiment. *Research & Politics*, 4(2), 1-8.
- Armingeon, K., & Ceka, B. (2014). The loss of trust in the European Union during the Great Recession since 2007: The role of heuristics from the national political system. *European Union Politics*, 15(1), 82-107.
- Armingeon, K., & Guthmann, K. (2014). Democracy in crisis? The declining support for national democracy in European countries, 2007-2011. *European Journal of Political Research*, 53(3), 423-442.
- Avery, J. M. (2009). Videomalaise or virtuous circle? The influence of the news media on political trust. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 14(4), 410-433.
- Azrou, R., van Spanje, J., & de Vreese, C. H. (2012). When news matters: Media effects on public support for European Union enlargement in 21 countries. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(5), 691-708.

B

- Baier, A. (1986). Trust and Antitrust. *Ethics*, 96, 231-260.
- Balmas, M., & Sheafer, T. (2010). Candidate image in election campaigns: Attribute agenda setting, affective priming, and voting intentions. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 22(2), 204-229.
- Bansak, K., Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2016). How economic, humanitarian, and religious concerns shape European attitudes toward asylum seekers. *Science*, 354(6309), 217-222.
- Bates, D., Mächler, M., Bolker, B., & Walker, S. (2015). Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 67(1), 1-48.
- Bennett, W. L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of Political Communication. *Journal of Communication*, 58(4), 707-731.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., de Vreese, C. H., Schuck, A. R. T., Azrou, R., Elenbaas, M., Van Spanje, J. H. P., & Vliegthart, R. (2013). Across time and space: Explaining variation in news coverage of the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research*, 52(5), 608-629.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., Schuck, A. R. T., Elenbaas, M., & de Vreese, C. H. (2011). Mapping EU attitudes: Conceptual and empirical dimensions of Euroscepticism and EU support. *European Union Politics*, 12(2), 241-266.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegthart, R. (2007). Explaining the rise of anti-immigrant parties: The role of news media content. *Electoral Studies*, 26(2), 404-417.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., & Vliegthart, R. (2009). How news content influences anti-immigration attitudes: Germany, 1993-2005. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(4), 516-542.
- Boomgaarden, H. G., Vliegthart, R., de Vreese, C. H., & Schuck, A. R. T. (2010). News on the move: Exogenous events and news coverage of the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(4), 506-526.

- Boukes, M., van de Velde, B., Araujo, T., & Vliegenthart, R. (2018). The good and bad in economic news: Comparing (automatic) measurements of sentiment in Dutch economic news. Presented at the International Communication Association 68th Annual Conference, Prague, Czech Republic.
- Browne, W. J., Subramanian, S. V., Jones, K., & Goldstein, H. (2005). Variance partitioning in multilevel logistic models that exhibit overdispersion. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society)*, 168(3), 599-613.
- Bryan, M. L., & Jenkins, S. P. (2016). Multilevel modelling of country effects: A cautionary tale. *European Sociological Review*, 32(1), 3-22.

C

- Capelos, T., & Exadaktylos, T. (2015). 'The good, the bad and the ugly': Stereotypes, prejudices and emotions on Greek media representation of the EU financial crisis. In G. Karyotis & R. Gerodimos (Eds.), *The Politics of Extreme Austerity* (pp. 46-68). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cappella, J. N. (2002). Cynicism and social trust in the new media environment. *Journal of Communication*, 52(1), 229-241.
- Casey, G. P., & Owen, A. L. (2013). Good news, bad news, and consumer confidence: Economic news and consumer confidence. *Social Science Quarterly*, 94(1), 292-315.
- Ceron, A. (2015). Internet, news, and political trust: The difference between social media and online media outlets. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(5), 487-503.
- Ceron, A., & Memoli, V. (2015). Trust in government and media slant: A cross-sectional analysis of media effects in twenty-seven European countries. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 20(3), 339-359.
- Choi, E., & Woo, J. (2016). The origins of political trust in East Asian democracies: Psychological, cultural, and institutional arguments. *Japanese Journal of Political Science*, 17(03), 410-426.
- Christensen, T., & Læg Reid, P. (2005). Trust in government: The relative importance of service satisfaction, political factors, and demography. *Public Performance & Management Review*, 28(4), 487-511.
- Citrin, J. (1974). The political relevance of trust in government. *American Political Science Review*, 68(3), 973-988.
- Citrin, J., & Green, D. P. (1986). Presidential leadership and the resurgence of trust in government. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(4), 431-453.
- Clark, N. (2014). The EU's information deficit: Comparing political knowledge across levels of governance. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 15(4), 445-463.
- Cole, R. L. (1973). Toward a model of political trust: A causal analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 17(4), 809-817.
- Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Combs, D. J. Y., & Keller, P. S. (2010). Politicians and trustworthiness: Acting contrary to self-interest enhances trustworthiness. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 32(4), 328-339.
- Conti, N., & Memoli, V. (2017). How the media make European citizens more Eurosceptical. In M. Caiani & S. Guerra (Eds.), *Euroscepticism, democracy and the media. Communicating Europe, contesting Europe* (pp. 121-140). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Converse, P. E. (1962). Information flow and the stability of partisan attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 26, 578-589.
- Cordero, G., & Simón, P. (2016). Economic crisis and support for democracy in Europe. *West European Politics*, 39(2), 305-325.
- Croissant, Y., & Milla, G. (2008). Panel data econometrics in R: The plm Package. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 27(2), 1-43.
- Cross, M. K. D., & Ma, X. (2015). EU crises and integrational panic: The role of the media. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 22(8), 1053-1070.

D

- Damstra, A., & Boukes, M. (2018). The economy, the news, and the public: A longitudinal study of the impact of economic news on economic evaluations and expectations. *Communication Research*, 0(0), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650217750971>
- Damstra, A., Jacobs, L., Boukes, M., & Vliegthart, R. (2019). The impact of immigration news on anti-immigrant party support: Unpacking agenda-setting and issue ownership effects over time. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 0(0), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2019.1607863>
- De Poli, S., Jakobsson, N., & Schüller, S. (2017). The drowning-refugee effect: Media salience and xenophobic attitudes. *Applied Economics Letters*, 24(16), 1167-1172.
- de Ruiter, R., & Vliegthart, R. (2018). Understanding media attention paid to negotiations on EU legislative acts: A cross-national study of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. *Comparative European Politics*, 16(4), 649-668.
- de Vreese, C. H. (2007). A spiral of Euroscepticism: The media's fault? *Acta Politica*, 42(2-3), 271-286.
- de Vreese, C. H., & Azrout, R. (2019). The 2014 European Parliamentary Elections in the news: Report, data, and documentation. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- de Vreese, C. H., Azrout, R., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2019). One size fits all? Testing the dimensional structure of EU attitudes in 21 countries. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 31(2), 195-219.
- de Vreese, C. H., Banducci, S. A., Semetko, H. A., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2006). The news coverage of the 2004 European Parliamentary Election Campaign in 25 countries. *European Union Politics*, 7(4), 477-504.
- de Vreese, C. H., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2005). Projecting EU referendums: Fear of immigration and support for European integration. *European Union Politics*, 6(1), 59-82.
- de Vreese, C. H., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2006). News, political knowledge and participation: The differential effects of news media exposure on political knowledge and participation. *Acta Politica*, 41(4), 317-341.
- de Vreese, C. H., Boomgaarden, H. G., & Semetko, H. A. (2008). Hard and soft: Public support for Turkish membership in the EU. *European Union Politics*, 9(4), 511-530.
- de Vreese, C. H., Boukes, M., Schuck, A., Vliegthart, R., Bos, L., & Lelkes, Y. (2017). Linking survey and media content data: Opportunities, considerations, and pitfalls. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 11(4), 221-244.
- de Vreese, C. H., & Neijens, P. (2016). Measuring media exposure in a changing communications environment. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 10(2-3), 69-80.
- De Vries, C. E. (2018). *Euroscepticism and the future of European integration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Vries, C. E., & Edwards, E. E. (2009). Taking Europe to its extremes: Extremist parties and public Euroscepticism. *Party Politics*, 15(1), 5-28.
- De Vries, C. E., Hobolt, S. B., & Tilley, J. (2018). Facing up to the facts: What causes economic perceptions? *Electoral Studies*, 51, 115-122.
- De Vries, C. E., van der Brug, W., van Egmond, M. H., & van der Eijk, C. (2011). Individual and contextual variation in EU issue voting: The role of political information. *Electoral Studies*, 30(1), 16-28.
- de Vries, E., Schoonvelde, M., & Schumacher, G. (2018). No longer lost in translation: Evidence that Google Translate works for comparative bag-of-words text applications. *Political Analysis*, 26(4), 417-430.
- Desmet, P., van Spanje, J., & de Vreese, C. H. (2015). Discussing the Democratic Deficit: Effects of media and interpersonal communication on satisfaction with democracy in the European Union. *International Journal of Communication*, 9, 3178-3198.

E

- Easton, D. (1965). *A systems analysis of political life*. New York: Wiley.
- Easton, D. (1975). A re-assessment of the concept of political support. *British Journal of Political Science*, 5(4), 435-457.
- Edelman, R. (2017). An implosion of trust. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2JioRtQ>
- Eichenberg, R. C., & Dalton, R. J. (1993). Europeans and the European community: The dynamics of public support for European integration. *International Organization*, 47(4), 507-534.
- Eichenberg, R. C., & Dalton, R. J. (2007). Post-Maastricht blues: The transformation of citizen support for European integration, 1973-2004. *Acta Politica*, 42(2-3), 128-152.
- Enders, C. K., & Tofighi, D. (2007). Centering predictor variables in cross-sectional multilevel models: A new look at an old issue. *Psychological Methods*, 12(2), 121-138.
- European Commission. (2017). Standard Eurobarometer 86 Public opinion in the European Union. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2JZXIT8>
- European Commission. (2018). Standard Eurobarometer 89.
- European Commission. (2019, June). Action plan against disinformation. Report on progress. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/factsheet_disinfo_elix_140619_final.pdf
- European Parliament. (2014). Results of the 2014 European elections. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/1OK06oG>
- European Parliament. (2019a, October 10). EU to take action against fake news and foreign electoral interference. Retrieved from <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20191007IPR63550/eu-to-take-action-against-fake-news-and-foreign-electoral-interference>
- European Parliament. (2019b). 2019 European elections: Record turnout driven by young people. Retrieved from <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20190923IPR61602/2019-european-elections-record-turnout-driven-by-young-people>
- European Social Survey. (2016). *Coding Media Claims in the European Social Survey, Round 8*. London: ESS ERIC Headquarters, Centre for Comparative Social Surveys, City University London.

F

- Fietkau, S., & Hansen, K. M. (2018). How perceptions of immigrants trigger feelings of economic and cultural threats in two welfare states. *European Union Politics*, 19(1), 119-139.
- Foster, C., & Frieden, J. (2017). Crisis of trust: Socio-economic determinants of Europeans' confidence in government. *European Union Politics*, 18(4), 511-535.
- Fox, J., & Hong, J. (2006). Effect displays for multinomial and proportional-odds logit models. *Sociological Methodology*, 36, 225-255.
- Fox, J., & Hong, J. (2009). Effect displays in R for multinomial and proportional-odds logit models: Extensions to the effects package. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 32(1), 1-24.
- Fryberg, S. A., Stephens, N. M., Covarrubias, R., Markus, H. R., Carter, E. D., Laiduc, G. A., & Salido, A. J. (2012). How the media frames the immigration debate: The critical role of location and politics. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 12(1), 96-112.

G

- Gabel, M., & Palmer, H. D. (1995). Understanding variation in public support for European integration. *European Journal of Political Research*, 27(1), 3-19.
- Gabel, M., & Whitten, G. D. (1997). Economic conditions, economic perceptions, and public support for European integration. *Political Behavior*, 19(1), 81-96.
- Gattermann, K. (2013). News about the European Parliament: Patterns and external drivers of broadsheet coverage. *European Union Politics*, 14(3), 436-457.
- Gattermann, K., & deVreese, C. H. (2017). The role of candidate evaluations in the 2014 European Parliament elections: Towards the personalization of voting behaviour? *European Union Politics*, 18(3), 447-468.

- Geiß, S., & Schäfer, S. (2017). Any publicity or good publicity? A competitive test of visibility- and tonality-based media effects on voting behavior. *Political Communication*, 34(3), 444-467.
- Golan, G. (2006). Inter-media agenda setting and global news coverage: Assessing the influence of the New York Times on three network television evening news programs. *Journalism Studies*, 7(2), 323-333.
- Goldberg, A. C., Brosius, A., de Vreese, C. H. (2019). Policy responsibility in the multilevel EU structure. The (non-)effect of media reporting on citizens' responsibility attribution across four policy areas. Presented at the ECREA Political Communication Interim Conference, Poznań, Poland.
- Goldberg, A. C., van Elsas, E. J., Marquart, F., Brosius, A., de Boer, D., de Vreese, C. H. (2019). EUROPINIONS: Public opinion survey data and documentation. ASCoR: University of Amsterdam.
- Gomez, R. (2015). The economy strikes back: Support for the EU during the Great Recession. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(3), 577-592.
- Grande, E., & Hutter, S. (2016). Introduction: European integration and the challenge of politicization. In S. Hutter, E. Grande, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *Politicizing Europe. Integration and mass politics* (pp. 3-31). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gross, K., Aday, S., & Brewer, P. R. (2004). A panel study of media effects on political and social trust after September 11, 2001. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 9(4), 49-73.

H

- Hainmueller, J., & Hiscox, M. J. (2010). Attitudes toward highly skilled and low-skilled immigration: Evidence from a survey experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1), 61-84.
- Hainmueller, J., Hiscox, M. J., & Margalit, Y. (2015). Do concerns about labor market competition shape attitudes toward immigration? New evidence. *Journal of International Economics*, 97(1), 193-207.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hopkins, D. J. (2014). Public attitudes toward immigration. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17(1), 225-249.
- Hakhverdian, A., & Mayne, Q. (2012). Institutional trust, education, and corruption: A micro-macro interactive approach. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(3), 739-750.
- Hameleers, M., & van der Meer, G. L. A. (2019). Misinformation and polarization in a high-choice media environment: How effective are political fact-checkers? *Communication Research*, 0(0), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650218819671>
- Harteveld, E., Schaper, J., De Lange, S. L., & Van Der Brug, W. (2018). Blaming Brussels? The impact of (news about) the refugee crisis on attitudes towards the EU and national politics. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 56(1), 157-177.
- Harteveld, E., van der Meer, T. W. G., & De Vries, C. E. (2013). In Europe we trust? Exploring three logics of trust in the European Union. *European Union Politics*, 14(4), 542-565.
- Haverland, M., de Ruiter, M., & Van de Walle, S. (2015). Producing salience or keeping silence? An exploration of topics and non-topics of Special Eurobarometers. 'Europe in Question' Discussion Paper Series.
- Hester, J. B., & Gibson, R. (2003). The economy and second-level agenda setting: A time-series analysis of economic news and public opinion about the economy. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80(1), 73-90.
- Hetherington, M. J. (1998). The political relevance of political trust. *American Political Science Review*, 92(4), 791-808.
- Hlavac, M. (2018). stargazer: Well-formatted regression and summary statistics tables. Retrieved from <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=stargazer>
- Hobolt, S. B. (2007). Taking cues on Europe? Voter competence and party endorsements in referendums on European integration. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(2), 151-182.
- Hobolt, S. B. (2012). Citizen satisfaction with democracy in the European Union. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50(1), 88-105.

- Hobolt, S. B. (2016). The Brexit vote: A divided nation, a divided continent. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23(9), 1259-1277.
- Hobolt, S. B., & De Vries, C. E. (2016). Turning against the Union? The impact of the crisis on the Eurosceptic vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections. *Electoral Studies*, 44, 504-514.
- Hobolt, S. B., & Tilley, J. (2014). *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without accountability in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoeglinger, D. (2016). The politicisation of European integration in domestic election campaigns. *West European Politics*, 39(1), 44-63.
- Hoewe, J. (2018). Coverage of a crisis: The effects of international news portrayals of refugees and misuse of the term "immigrant." *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62(4), 478-492.
- Hollanders, D., & Vliegthart, R. (2011). The influence of negative newspaper coverage on consumer confidence: The Dutch case. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 32(3), 367-373.
- Holmes, S. M., & Castañeda, H. (2016). Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death. *American Ethnologist*, 43(1), 12-24.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2004). Does identity or economic rationality drive public opinion on European integration? *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 37(3), 415-420.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2005). Calculation, community and cues: Public opinion on European integration. *European Union Politics*, 6(4), 419-443.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2009). A postfunctionalist theory of European integration: From permissive consensus to constraining dissensus. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(1), 1-23.
- Hopmann, D. N., Vliegthart, R., de Vreese, C. H., & Albæk, E. (2010). Effects of election news coverage: How visibility and tone influence party choice. *Political Communication*, 27(4), 389-405.
- Höpner, M., & Jurczyk, B. (2015). How the Eurobarometer blurs the line between research and propaganda. *MPIfG Discussion Paper*, 15/6, 1-22.
- Hox, J. (2010). *Multilevel analysis: Techniques and applications*. New York: Routledge.
- Hutter, S., & Grande, E. (2014). Politicizing Europe in the national electoral arena: A comparative analysis of five West European countries, 1970-2010. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 52(5), 1002-1018.

I

- Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

J

- Jacobs, L., Damstra, A., Boukes, M., & De Swert, K. (2018). Back to reality: The complex relationship between patterns in immigration news coverage and real-world developments in Dutch and Flemish newspapers (1999-2015). *Mass Communication and Society*, 21(4), 473-497.
- Jonkman, J., Boukes, M., & Vliegthart, R. (2019). When do media matter most? A study on the relationship between negative economic news and consumer confidence across the twenty-eight EU states. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 0(0), 1-24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161219858704>

K

- Kalogeropoulos, A., Albæk, E., de Vreese, C. H., & van Dalen, A. (2016). News priming and the changing economy: How economic news influences government evaluations. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 29(2), 269-290.
- Karp, J. A., Banducci, S. A., & Bowler, S. (2003). To know it is to love it? Satisfaction with democracy in the European Union. *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(3), 271-292.
- Kasperson, R. E., Golding, D., & Tuler, S. (1992). Social distrust as a factor in siting hazardous facilities and communicating risks. *Journal of Social Issues*, 48(4), 161-187.

- Kentmen-Cin, C., & Erisen, C. (2017). Anti-immigration attitudes and the opposition to European integration: A critical assessment. *European Union Politics*, 18(1), 3-25.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., Hoof, A. M. J., & Oegema, D. (2006). Negative news and the sleeper effect of distrust. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 11(2), 86-104.
- Kleinnijenhuis, J., & Van Atteveldt, W. (2016). The impact of the explosion of EU news on voter choice in the 2014 EU Elections. *Politics and Governance*, 4(1), 104-115.
- Koehler, C., Weber, M., & Quiring, O. (2019). I want a savior, not a victim. The impact of media representations of the EU and economic shocks on citizens' supportive attitudes on the European integration. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 31(1), 45-69.
- Kreft, I. G. G., de Leeuw, J., & Aiken, L. S. (1995). The effect of different forms of centering in hierarchical linear models. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 30(1), 1-21.
- Kriesi, H. (2016). The politicization of European integration. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 54, 32-47.
- Kruikemeier, S., Gattermann, K., & Vliegenthart, R. (2018). Understanding the dynamics of politicians' visibility in traditional and social media. *The Information Society*, 34(4), 215-228.

L

- Lachat, R. (2007). *A heterogeneous electorate: Political sophistication, predisposition strength, and the voting decision process*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Lau, R. R., & Redlawsk, D. P. (2001). Advantages and disadvantages of cognitive heuristics in political decision making. *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(4), 951-971.
- Levi, M., & Stoker, L. (2000). Political trust and trustworthiness. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1), 475-507.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S., & Stegmaier, M. (2000). Economic determinants of electoral outcomes. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3(1), 183-219.
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., & Bracken, C. C. (2002). Content analysis in mass communication: Assessment and reporting of intercoder reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28(4), 587-604.
- Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2007). Explanations of political Euroscepticism at the individual, regional and national levels. *European Societies*, 9(4), 643-669.
- Luedtke, A. (2005). European integration, public opinion and immigration policy: Testing the impact of national identity. *European Union Politics*, 6(1), 83-112.

M

- Mahrt, M., & Scharrow, M. (2013). The value of Big Data in digital media research. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 57(1), 20-33.
- Maier, J., & Rittberger, B. (2008). Shifting Europe's boundaries: Mass media, public opinion and the enlargement of the EU. *European Union Politics*, 9(2), 243-267.
- Marien, S. (2011). Measuring political trust across time and space. In *Political Trust. Why Context Matters* (pp. 13-46). Colchester: ECPR Press.
- Marquart, F., Goldberg, A. C., van Elsas, E. J., Brosius, A., & de Vreese, C. H. (2019). Knowing is not loving: Media effects on knowledge about and attitudes toward the EU. *Journal of European Integration*, 41(5), 641-655.
- Mazzoleni, G. (2014). Mediatization and political populism. In F. Esser & J. Strömbäck (Eds.), *Mediatization of Politics. Understanding the Transformation of Western Democracies* (pp. 42-56). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McLaren, L. M. (2002). Public support for the European Union: Cost/benefit analysis or perceived cultural threat? *The Journal of Politics*, 64(2), 551-566.
- McLaren, L. M. (2007). Explaining mass-level Euroscepticism: Identity, interests, and institutional distrust. *Acta Politica*, 42(2-3), 233-251.

- Miller, A. H. (1974). Political issues and trust in government: 1964-1970. *American Political Science Review*, 68(3), 951-972.
- Miller, A. H., & Listhaug, O. (1990). Political parties and confidence in government: A comparison of Norway, Sweden and the United States. *British Journal of Political Science*, 20(3), 357.
- Mishler, W., & Rose, R. (2001). What are the origins of political trust? Testing institutional and cultural theories in post-communist societies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(1), 30-62.
- Morris, S. D., & Klesner, J. L. (2010). Corruption and trust: Theoretical considerations and evidence from Mexico. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(10), 1258-1285.
- Moy, P., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). Media influences on political trust and engagement. In G. C. Edwards, L. R. Jacobs, & R. Y. Shapiro (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media* (pp. 1-21). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moy, P., & Scheufele, D. A. (2000). Media effects on political and social trust. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(4), 744-759.
- Muñoz, J. (2017). Political trust and multilevel government. In S. Zmerli & T. W. G. van der Meer (Eds.), *Handbook on Political Trust* (pp. 69-88). Cheltenham: Elgar.
- Muñoz, J., Torcal, M., & Bonet, E. (2011). Institutional trust and multilevel government in the European Union: Congruence or compensation? *European Union Politics*, 12(4), 551-574.
- Mutz, D. C., & Reeves, B. (2005). The new Videomalaise: Effects of televised incivility on political trust. *American Political Science Review*, 99(1), 1-15.

N

- Norris, P. (1999). *Critical citizens: Global support for democratic government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (2001). *Digital divide. Civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nyhan, B., Porter, E., Reifler, J., & Wood, T. (2017). Taking corrections literally but not seriously? The effects of information on factual beliefs and candidate favorability. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2995128>.
- Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2010). When corrections fail: The persistence of political misperceptions. *Political Behavior*, 32(2), 303-330.

O

- Ohme, J., Albaek, E., & de Vreese, C. H. (2016). Exposure research going mobile: A smartphone-based measurement of media exposure to political information in a convergent media environment. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 10(2-3), 135-148.
- Otjes, S., & Katsanidou, A. (2017). Beyond Kriesiland: EU integration as a super issue after the Eurocrisis. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56(2), 201-319.

P

- Peter, J. (2004). Our long 'return to the concept of powerful mass media'. A cross-national comparative investigation of the effects of consonant media coverage. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 16(2), 144-168.
- Peter, J., & de Vreese, C. H. (2004). In search of Europe: A cross-national comparative study of the European Union in national television news. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 9(4), 3-24.
- Peter, J., Semetko, H. A., & de Vreese, C. H. (2003). EU politics on television news: A cross-national comparative study. *European Union Politics*, 4(3), 305-327.
- Picard, R. G. (2015). Understanding the crisis. In R. G. Picard (Ed.), *The Euro crisis in the media. Journalistic coverage of economic crisis and European institutions* (pp. 1-18). London: I. B. Tauris.

- Pietsch, J., & Martin, A. (2011). Media use and its effect on trust in politicians, parties and democracy. *Australasian Parliamentary Review*, 26(1), 131-141.
- Price, V., & Zaller, J. (1993). Who gets the news? Alternative measures of news reception and their implications for research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 57(2), 133-164.
- Prior, M. (2009a). Improving media effects research through better measurement of news exposure. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(3), 893-908.
- Prior, M. (2009b). The immensely inflated news audience: Assessing bias in self-reported news exposure. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73(1), 130-143.
- Prior, M. (2012). Who watches presidential debates? Measurement problems in campaign effects research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(2), 350-363.

R

- R Core Team. (2016). R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved from <https://www.R-project.org/>
- Rahn, W. M., & Rudolph, T. J. (2005). A tale of political trust in American cities. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 69(4), 530-560.
- Reif, K., & Schmitt, H. (1980). Nine second-order national elections: A conceptual framework for the analysis of European election results. *European Journal of Political Research*, 8(1), 3-44.
- Ringlerova, Z. (2015). Weathering the crisis: Evidence of diffuse support for the EU from a six-wave Dutch panel. *European Union Politics*, 16(4), 558-576.
- Robinson, J. P., Rusk, J. G., Head, K. B., Athanasiou, R., & Shaver, P. R. (1968). Measures of political attitudes. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research.
- Robinson, M. J. (1976). Public affairs television and the growth of political malaise: The case of "the selling of the Pentagon." *American Political Science Review*, 70(2), 409-432.
- Roggeband, C., & Vliegthart, R. (2007). Divergent framing: The public debate on migration in the Dutch parliament and media, 1995-2004. *West European Politics*, 30(3), 524-548.
- Rohrschneider, R. (2002). The democracy deficit and mass support for an EU-wide government. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(2), 463-475.

S

- Sánchez-Cuenca, I. (2000). The political basis of support for European integration. *European Union Politics*, 1(2), 147-171.
- Saris, W. E., & Kaase, M. (Eds.). (1997). *Eurobarometer: Measurement instruments for opinions in Europe*. Mannheim: ZUMA.
- Scharkow, M., & Bachl, M. (2017). How measurement error in content analysis and self-reported media use leads to minimal media effect findings in linkage analyses: A simulation study. *Political Communication*, 34(3), 323-343.
- Scharkow, M., & Vogelgesang, J. (2010). Effects of domestic media use on European integration. *Communications*, 35(1), 73-91.
- Scherpenzeel, A. C., & Das, M. (2010). "True" longitudinal and probability-based Internet panels: Evidence from the Netherlands. In M. Das, P. Ester, & L. Kaczmirek (Eds.), *Social and Behavioral Research and the Internet: Advances in Applied Methods and Research Strategies* (pp. 77-104). Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis.
- Schlueter, E., & Davidov, E. (2013). Contextual sources of perceived group threat: Negative immigration-related news reports, immigrant group size and their interaction, Spain 1996-2007. *European Sociological Review*, 29(2), 179-191.
- Schuman, H., & Presser, S. (1996). *Questions and answers in attitude surveys: Experiments on question form, wording, and context*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Schyns, P., & Koop, C. (2010). Political distrust and social capital in Europe and the USA. *Social Indicators Research*, 96(1), 145-167.

- Semetko, H. A., Van Der Brug, W., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2003). The influence of political events on attitudes towards the European Union. *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(4), 621-634.
- Shah, D. V., Watts, M. D., Domke, D., Fan, D. P., & Fibison, M. (1999). News coverage, economic cues, and the public's presidential preferences, 1984-1996. *The Journal of Politics*, 61(4), 914-943.
- Sheafer, T. (2008). The media and economic voting in Israel. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 20(1), 33-51.
- Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2011). A matter of context: A comparative study of media environments and news consumption gaps in Europe. *Political Communication*, 28(1), 110-134.
- Slater, M. D. (2007). Reinforcing spirals: The mutual influence of media selectivity and media effects and their impact on individual behavior and social identity. *Communication Theory*, 17(3), 281-303.
- Slater, M. D. (2015). Reinforcing spirals model: Conceptualizing the relationship between media content exposure and the development and maintenance of attitudes. *Media Psychology*, 18(3), 370-395.
- Soroka, S. N. (2006). Good news and bad news: Asymmetric responses to economic information. *The Journal of Politics*, 68(2), 372-385.
- Soroka, S. N. (2012). The gatekeeping function: Distributions of information in media and the real world. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(2), 514-528.
- Soroka, S. N., & McAdams, S. (2015). News, politics, and negativity. *Political Communication*, 32(1), 1-22.
- Special Eurobarometer 461. (2017). Designing Europe's future: Trust in institutions, globalisation, support for the euro, opinions about free trade and solidarity.
- Strömbäck, J., Djerf-Pierre, M., & Shehata, A. (2016). A Question of time? A longitudinal analysis of the relationship between news media consumption and political trust. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 21(1), 88-110.
- Svensson, H. M., Albæk, E., van Dalen, A., & de Vreese, C. H. (2017). Good news in bad news: How negativity enhances economic efficacy. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 1431-1447.

T

- Tambuscio, M., Ruffo, G., Flammini, A., & Menczer, F. (2015). Fact-checking effect on viral hoaxes: A model of misinformation spread in social networks. *Proceedings of the 24th International Conference on World Wide Web - WWW '15 Companion*, 977-982.
- Thelwall, M., Buckley, K., & Paltoglou, G. (2012). Sentiment strength detection for the social web. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 63(1), 163-173.
- Thorson, K., Cotter, K., Medeiros, M., & Pak, C. (2019). Algorithmic inference, political interest, and exposure to news and politics on Facebook. *Information, Communication & Society* 0(0), 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2019.1642934>
- Torcal, M. (2014). The decline of political trust in Spain and Portugal: Economic performance or political responsiveness? *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(12), 1542-1567.
- Toshkov, D., & Kortenska, E. (2015). Does immigration undermine public support for integration in the European Union? *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 53(4), 910-925.
- Tourangeau, R. (2004). Spacing, position, and order: Interpretive heuristics for visual features of survey questions. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 68(3), 368-393.
- Tourangeau, R., Rips, L. J., & Rasinski, K. A. (2000). *The psychology of survey response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turper, S., Iyengar, S., Aarts, K., & van Gerven, M. (2015). Who is less welcome? The impact of individuating cues on attitudes towards immigrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(2), 239-259.

V

- Van Aelst, P., Strömbäck, J., Aalberg, T., Esser, F., de Vreese, C. H., Matthes, J., ... Stanyer, J. (2017). Political communication in a high-choice media environment: A challenge for democracy? *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 41(1), 3-27.
- van Dalen, A., de Vreese, C. H., & Albæk, E. (2017). Economic news through the magnifying glass: How the media cover economic boom and bust. *Journalism Studies*, 18(7), 890-909.
- van Dalen, A., Svensson, H., Kalogeropoulos, A., Albæk, E., & de Vreese, C. H. (2018). *Economic news: Informing the inattentive audience*. New York: Routledge.
- Van de Walle, S., Van Roosbroek, S., & Bouckaert, G. (2008). Trust in the public sector: Is there any evidence for a long-term decline? *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 74(1), 47-64.
- van der Meer, T. W. G. (2010). In what we trust? A multi-level study into trust in parliament as an evaluation of state characteristics. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 76(3), 517-536.
- van der Meer, T. W. G. (2017). Economic performance and political trust. In E. M. Uslaner (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- van der Meer, T. W. G., & Dekker, P. (2011). Trustworthy states, trusting citizens? A multi-level study into objective and subjective determinants of political trust. In *Political trust: Why context matters* (pp. 95-116). Colchester: ECPR Press.
- van der Meer, T. W. G., & Hakhverdian, A. (2017). Political trust as the evaluation of process and performance: A cross-national study of 42 European countries. *Political Studies*, 65(1), 81-102.
- van Elsas, E. (2015). Political trust as a rational attitude: A comparison of the nature of political trust across different levels of education. *Political Studies*, 63(5), 1158-1178.
- van Elsas, E. J., Brosius, A., Marquart, F., & de Vreese, C. H. (2019). How political malpractice affects trust in EU institutions. *West European Politics*, 0(0), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2019.1667654>
- van Elsas, E. J., & van der Brug, W. (2015). The changing relationship between left-right ideology and Euroscepticism, 1973-2010. *European Union Politics*, 16(2), 194-215.
- Van Erkel, P. F. A., & van der Meer, T. W. G. (2016). Macroeconomic performance, political trust and the Great Recession: A multilevel analysis of the effects of within-country fluctuations in macroeconomic performance on political trust in 15 EU countries, 1999-2011. *European Journal of Political Research*, 55(1), 177-197.
- van Klingeren, M., Boomgaarden, H. G., & de Vreese, C. H. (2013). Going soft or staying soft: Have identity factors become more important than economic rationale when explaining Euroscepticism? *Journal of European Integration*, 35(6), 689-704.
- van Klingeren, M., Boomgaarden, H. G., & de Vreese, C. H. (2017). Will conflict tear us apart? The effects of conflict and valenced media messages on polarizing attitudes toward EU immigration and border control. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 81(2), 543-563.
- van Klingeren, M., Boomgaarden, H. G., Vliegenthart, R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2015). Real world is not enough: The media as an additional source of negative attitudes toward immigration, comparing Denmark and the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 31(3), 268-283.
- van Noije, L. (2010). The European paradox: A communication deficit as long as European integration steals the headlines. *European Journal of Communication*, 25(3), 259-272.
- van Spanje, J., & de Vreese, C. H. (2014). Europhile media and Eurosceptic voting: Effects of news media coverage on Eurosceptic voting in the 2009 European Parliamentary Elections. *Political Communication*, 31(2), 325-354.
- Vliegenthart, R., Schuck, A. R. T., Boomgaarden, H. G., & de Vreese, C. H. (2008). News coverage and support for European integration, 1990-2006. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 20(4), 415-439.
- von der Leyen, U. (2019, July). Opening statement in the European Parliament Plenary Session. Strasbourg. Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-19-4230_en.htm

W

- Webster, J., Phalen, P., & Lichty, L. (2013). *Ratings analysis: Audience measurement and analytics* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Wessels, B. (2009). Trust in political institutions. In J. Thomassen (Ed.), *The legitimacy of the European Union after enlargement* (pp. 165-183). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wickham, H. (2016). *ggplot2: Elegant graphics for data analysis*. New York: Springer.
- Wojcieszak, M., Azrout, R., & de Vreese, C. (2018). Waving the red cloth. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 82(1), 87-109.
- Wong, T. K., Wan, P., & Hsiao, H.-H. M. (2011). The bases of political trust in six Asian societies: Institutional and cultural explanations compared. *International Political Science Review*, 32(3), 263-281.

Z

- Zajonc, R. B. (2001). Mere exposure: A gateway to the subliminal. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 10(6), 224-228.
- Zaller, J. (1992). *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zmerli, S., & Newton, K. (2008). Social trust and attitudes toward democracy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72(4), 706-724.

Data sources

- ESS Round 6: European Social Survey Round 6 Data (2012) Data file edition 2.3. NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.
- ESS Round 6: Media Landscape Media Claims (2012) Data file edition 4.0 NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.
- ESS Round 7: European Social Survey Round 7 Data (2014) Data file edition 2.1. NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.
- ESS Round 7: Media Landscape Media Claims (2014) Data file edition 1.0 NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.
- ESS Round 8: European Social Survey Round 8 Data (2016) Data file edition 1.0. NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.
- ESS Round 8: Media Landscape Media Claims (2016) Data file edition 1.0 NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 61, February – March 2004. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4056, dataset version 1.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 62, October – November 2004. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4229, dataset version 1.1.0
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 63.4, May – June 2005. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4411, dataset version 1.1.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 64.2, October – November 2005. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4414, dataset version 1.1.0
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 65.2, March – May 2006. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4506, dataset version 1.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 66.1, September – October 2006. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4526, dataset version 1.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 67.2, April – May 2007. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4530, dataset version 2.1.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 68.1, September – November 2007. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4565, dataset version 4.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 69.2, March – May 2008. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4744, dataset version 5.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 70.1, October – November 2008. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4819, dataset version 3.0.2.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 71.3, June – July 2009. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4937, dataset version 3.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 72.4, October – November 2009. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA4994, dataset version 3.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 73.4, May 2010. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5234, dataset version 2.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 74.2, November – December 2010. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5449, dataset version 2.2.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 75.3, May 2011. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5481, dataset version 2.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 76.3, November 2011. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5567, dataset version 2.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 77.3, May 2012. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5612, dataset version 2.0.0.

- European Commission: Eurobarometer 78.1, November 2012. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5685, dataset version 2.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 79.3, May 2013. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5689, dataset version 1.1.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 80.1, November 2013. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5876, dataset version 1.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 81.2, May 2014. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5931, dataset version 1.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 82.3, November 2014. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5932, dataset version 2.0.1.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 83.3, May 2015. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA5998, dataset version 1.0.0.
- European Commission: Eurobarometer 84.3, November 2015. TNS OPINION & SOCIAL, Brussels. GESIS Data Archive: ZA6643, dataset version 2.0.0.
- Goldberg, A. C., van Elsas, E.J., Marquart, F., Brosius, A., de Boer, D. C. & de Vreese, C. H. (2019). EUROINIONS: Public opinion survey data and documentation. ASCoR: University of Amsterdam.
- Scherpenzeel, A. C., and Das, M. (2010). "True" Longitudinal and Probability-Based Internet Panels: Evidence From the Netherlands. In Das, M., P. Ester, and L. Kaczmirek (Eds.), *Social and Behavioral Research and the Internet: Advances in Applied Methods and Research Strategies*. (pp. 77-104). Boca Raton: Taylor & Francis.

Appendix

Appendix 1A Newspapers

Country	Newspaper	Number of articles on EU	Number of articles on Euro
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

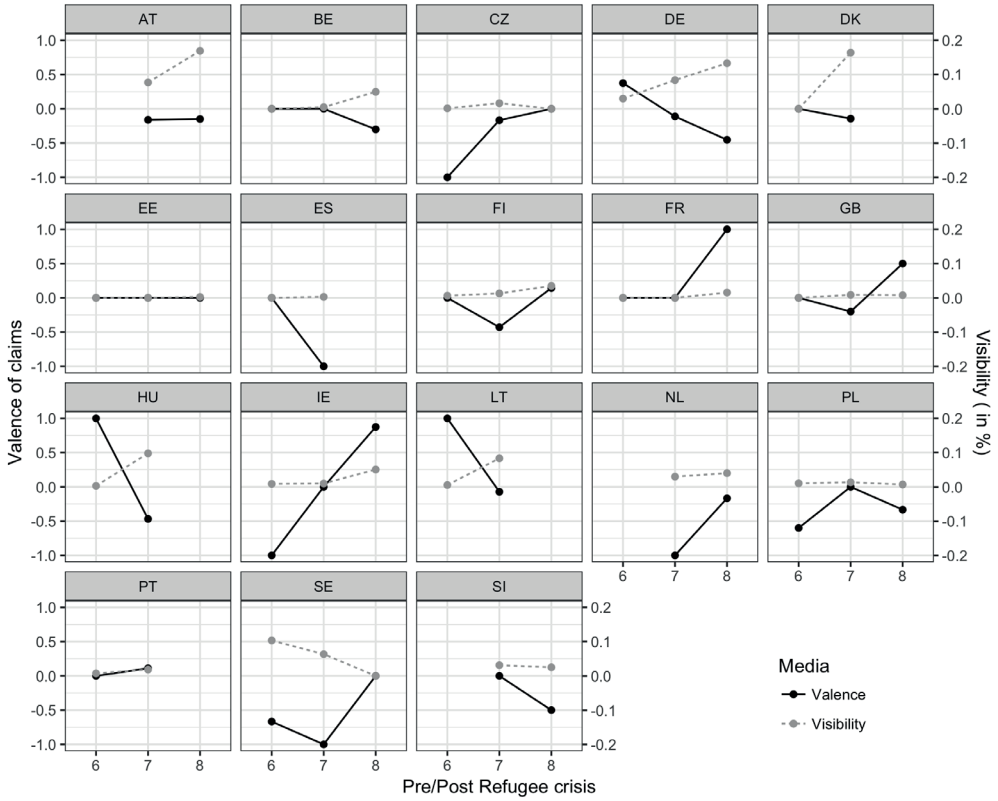
	Dependent variable	
	EU trust	Economy trust
	(1)	(2)
Media visibility	-0.001*** (0.0001)	-0.003*** (0.0001)
Positivity	-0.15*** (0.04)	0.96*** (0.04)
Negativity	0.21*** (0.03)	-0.45*** (0.03)
Observations	50,198	51,901
R ²	0.004	0.05
F Statistic	54.34*** (df = 3; 38037)	715.72*** (df = 3; 39573)

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

Appendix 3A Newspapers per county

Country	Newspapers
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 ²	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28	0.28
Adjusted R ²	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)

Appendix

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

Political trust	
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
Government satisfaction	
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

All chapters of this dissertation were written as part of the ERC-funded project “Europinions”, grant number 647316, which deals with media effects on public opinion about the European Union. The principal investigator of the project is Prof. Dr. Claes de Vreese.

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

Drafting of the manuscript: AB

Review and editing of manuscript: AB, EvE, CdV

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

Visualization: AB

Funding acquisition: CdV

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

Conceptualization: AB, EvE

Methodology: AB, EvE

Data collection: AB, EvE

Data analysis: AB

Drafting of the manuscript: AB, EvE

Review and editing of manuscript: AB, EvE, CdV

Visualization: AB

Funding acquisition: CdV