

## Online Appendix

for

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*Paradoxes of Liberal Democracy:*

*Islam, Western Europe, and the Danish Cartoon Crisis*

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In this Online Appendix we provide additional details on some issues raised in the main manuscript:

1. The representativeness of our main study samples.
2. The Group Categorization Study.
3. The study of party leaders' framing of the cartoon crisis.
4. Details on measurement of the variables in the replication of results from Chapter 4 on the Danish Election Study 1998-2007.

### 1. The representativeness of our main study samples

This section examines the representativeness of the samples from our main study to ensure that the results are not based on a sample that grossly over- or under-represents parts of the target population. Population data have been used to examine representativeness on the following three variables: gender, age and county. Only valid answers are included in the following analyses.

Table A.1 provides a breakdown of the sample and the population across gender. The table shows a high of degree symmetry with only minor differences between the sample in Round 3 and the population.

Table A.1. Distribution of the sample and population across gender. Percent.

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Population
Men	49,2	49.4	48,1*	50.4
Women	50,8	50.6	51,9*	49.6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1919	1967	2043	

Note: Population data for 2006 obtained from Statistics Denmark, ([www.statistikbanken.dk](http://www.statistikbanken.dk)) 'BEF3: Folketal 1. januar efter kommune/amt, alder, køn, herkomst, statsborgerskab og oprindelsesland'. \*: Difference between sample and population significant at the 0.05-level.

Table A.2 shows the distribution of the samples and population across age (mostly) using five-year intervals. The table shows a few deviations between the samples and the population. The pattern is that the samples tend to underrepresent the youngest age groups while the middle-aged groups are slightly overrepresented. However, none of the differences were deemed substantively significant.

Table A.2. Distribution of the sample and population across age. Percent.

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Population
18-20 years	2.8*	4.0	3.8*	4.8
21-25 years	5.3*	5.5*	6.0*	7.7
26-30 years	7.6*	8.8	6.2*	9.1
31-35 years	10.6	9.9	9.5	10.1
36-40 years	11.0	10.7	11.8	11.1
41-45 years	10.9	11.4	11.9	10.9
46-50 years	11.4	11.1	10.4	10.1
51-55 years	11.6*	11.4*	11.8*	9.9
56-60 years	10.5	11.0	10.8	10.8
61-65 years	10.5*	9.7	10.6*	8.8
66-70 years	7.8*	6.6	7.1	6.6
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1919	1967	2043	

Note: Population data for 2006 obtained from Statistics Denmark, ([www.statistikbanken.dk](http://www.statistikbanken.dk)) 'BEF3: Folketal 1. januar efter kommune/amt, alder, køn, herkomst, statsborgerskab og oprindelsesland'. \*: Difference between sample and population significant at the 0.05-level.

Table A.3 displays the distribution of the samples and the population across counties. A comparison of the distributions shows no systematic differences between the samples and the population. Only Ringkjøbing County is significantly overrepresented in Round 2. Given the very minor deviations between the samples and the population we have decided to treat the samples as representative of the Danish population (aged 18-70). We have not, therefore, applied any weighting to the data from our main study.

Table A.3. Distribution of the sample and population across county. Percent.

	Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Population
Copenhagen city	9.2	8.8	9.1	9.5
Frederiksberg city	1.5	1.2	1.8	1.7
Copenhagen County	11.1	11.0	10.4	10.9
Frederiksborg County	7.8	7.6	7.7	6.8
Roskilde County	4.8	3.9	4.5	4.5
West Zealand County	5.1	4.9	5.8	5.7
Storstrøm County	4.5	4.8	4.6	4.9
Bornholm County	1.1	1.0	1.2	.8
Funen County	8.5	9.2	8.4	8.9
South Jutland County	4.2	5.1	4.5	4.5
Ribe County	4.3	3.9	4.3	4.1
Vejle County	5.8	7.2	6.8	6.6
Ringkjøbing County	5.7	6.3*	4.9	5.0
Aarhus County	12.5	12.3	12.3	12.4
Viborg County	4.9	3.9	4.1	4.3
North Jutland County	9.0	8.8	9.5	9.2
Total	100	100	100	100
N	1919	1967	2043	

Note: Population data for 2006 obtained from Statistics Denmark, (www.statistikbanken.dk) 'BEF3: Folketal 1. januar efter kommune/amt, alder, køn, herkomst, statsborgerskab og oprindelsesland'. \*: Difference between sample and population significant at the 0.05-level.

## 2. The Group Categorization Study

The Group Categorization Study was conducted as a web survey by the Zapera polling agency in December 2008. The respondents were recruited from 18-70 year-olds in Zapera's standing, the so-called 'Denmark Panel'. Out of the 2,766 respondents contacted answers were obtained from 1,023 yielding a response rate (AAPOR RR1) of 37%. To gauge the representativeness of the sample we have examined the distribution of the sample on gender (Table A.4), age (Table A.5), and region of origin (Table A.6); due to the major Danish local government reform of 2007 that abolished the counties we were not able to examine the distribution across counties in 2008, since neither the polling agency nor Statistics Denmark provided a breakdown on the now non-existent counties) and compared the sample with the actual distribution of the population as recorded by Statistics Denmark. The results are presented below.

Table A.4. Distribution of the sample and population across gender. Percent.

	Survey	Population
Men	50.0	50.3
Women	50.0	49.7
N	1023	

Note: Population data for 2008 obtained from Statistics Denmark, ([www.statistikbanken.dk](http://www.statistikbanken.dk)) 'BEF1A07: Folketal 1. januar efter kommune/region, køn, civilstand og alder'. \*: Difference between sample and population significant at the 0.05-level.

Table A.5. Distribution of the sample and population across age. Percent.

	Survey	Population
18-20 years	2.2*	5.3
21-25 years	6.6*	8.3
26-30 years	6.9*	8.6
31-35 years	8.3	9.9
36-40 years	8.0*	10.4
41-45 years	9.2*	11.5
46-50 years	9.2	10.1
51-55 years	11.3	9.6
56-60 years	14.4*	9.4
61-65 years	15.1*	9.9
66-70 years	8.8*	7.0
N	1023	

Note: Population data for 2008 obtained from Statistics Denmark, ([www.statistikbanken.dk](http://www.statistikbanken.dk)) 'BEF1A07: Folketal 1. januar efter kommune/region, køn, civilstand og alder'. \*: Difference between sample and population significant at the 0.05-level.

Table A.6. Distribution of the sample and population across region. Percent.

	Survey	Population
Capital	30.0	30.9
Zealand	15.2	14.7
South Denmark	22.7	21.4
Central Jutland	22.5	22.5
Northern Jutland	9.7	10.4
N	1023	

Note: Population data for 2008 obtained from Statistics Denmark, ([www.statistikbanken.dk](http://www.statistikbanken.dk)) 'BEF1A07: Folketal 1. januar efter kommune/region, køn, civilstand og alder'. \*: Difference between sample and population significant at the 0.05-level.

As can be seen in the tables, the sample is clearly representative of the population on gender and region of origin. However, the age distribution of the sample diverges significantly – and much more so than those from our main study – from that of the population, in the sense that the younger cohorts are underrepresented while the older cohorts are overrepresented. To correct for this problem, the analyses of the web survey have been carried out on a data set weighted on gender, age, and region of origin.

### 3. The study of party leaders' framing of the cartoon crisis

We argue that the Cartoon crisis, in terms of values at stake, first and foremost was debated as a question about the right to free speech. Of course, other perspectives on the Cartoons were advanced, most notably the importance of tolerance of cultural and religious differences, but the main message sent from political and media elites to the public was a framing of the Cartoon crisis as a matter of defending freedom of speech. Importantly, this framing was a consensus message; it was the dominant message from across the political spectrum.

To see if this argument could be empirically validated, we conducted a quantitative content analysis of two leading national newspapers, each leaning to a different side of the political spectrum: the right-of-center *Jyllands-Posten*, which published the cartoons; and the left-of-center *Politiken*. Because we were interested in the degree of partisan elite consensus in framing the crisis as a question of free speech, our analysis was specifically designed to illuminate how leaders of the political parties framed the issue. First, for each party leader we identified articles in the relevant time period where the party leader was directly quoted with a statement on the crisis. Next, we coded each of these articles for the presence of one or more specified frames (e.g., free speech frame, tolerance frame). Thus, the unit of analysis is each article, as assigned to a party leader. Thus, some articles were coded in relation two or more party leaders (and are thus counted two or more times in the content analysis). This procedure provides a precise mapping of how each party attempted to frame the Cartoon crisis (see details in the methods section in the end of the memo).

Our analysis leads to the following conclusions:

1. Saliency of the Cartoon crisis in political debate: Consistent with our previous analysis, this content analysis shows that the intensity of the debate over the cartoons culminated in February and March of 2006. Figure A.1 presents the number of articles selected in the first step of analysis by month. Recall that articles were selected and counted at the level of each party leader, such that an article featuring, e.g., three party leaders is counted three times (see methods section). In effect, Figure A.1 shows the number of party leader appearances in relation to the Cartoon issue by month. The partisan elites were clearly most visible in relation to the Cartoons during February and March.

2. The “loudness” of the “free speech frame”: How did the party leaders talk about the Cartoons, then? Figure A.2 presents the raw number of articles (i.e., party leader statements) where the “free speech frame” and the “tolerance frame”, respectively, were present. These two frames were the most frequently used substantive frames. A large amount of articles framed the Cartoon crisis in terms of government responsibility (see below) but this is a less substantive frame and, moreover, should be related to other aspects of public opinion than tolerance judgments (e.g., evaluations of government performance). Given the coding of the data, “loudness” refers to number of times a party leader makes a statement on free speech (tolerance). Figure A.2 shows the free speech frame is clearly salient in February and March and much less from April on. At the same time, the rival “tolerance frame” is much less salient, indicating that the free speech frame was the most prevalent of the substantive frames.
3. The dominance of the free speech frame: Figure A.2 showed that the free speech frame was more frequently used than the tolerance frame, suggesting free speech considerations dominated the debate. Figure A.3 reports the results of a direct coding of which frame was the dominant one in each article. The results clearly support that, among articles with a substantive frame, the free speech frame was the dominant one in more instances than the tolerance frame or mixed framing added together. The only exceptions are in May and June where the other framing situations are just as frequent, but, as was clear in Figures A.1 and A.2, only very few articles appeared in May and June.
4. The changing salience of the free speech frame: Not only was the free speech frame generally dominant, it was even more dominant in the early phases of the crisis where the media coverage of the crisis was most intensive—that is, the free speech frame was particularly dominant, and loud, in the period of time where our survey respondents were most supportive of extending rights such as freedom of speech to Muslims.
5. The broad political consensus on the free speech frame: The free speech frame is dominant across almost the full range of the political spectrum. The Left-Wing party is the only exception, but even this party places a substantial amount of emphasis on free speech considerations (i.e., the sum of free speech frame and balanced framing equals the amount of tolerance framing). Thus, all major parties talked about the Cartoon

crisis first and foremost in terms of free speech (to the extent they talked about the cartoons in substantive terms, and not as a matter of government responsibility etc.). Notably, in statements from the prime minister (Liberals) the free speech frame (and to some degree tolerance and a mix of tolerance and free speech) was even more salient, probably reflecting that he was particularly involved in the debate and to a large extent was probably the driving force in framing the Cartoon crisis as a matter of free speech. The dominance of free speech in the public debate of the issue is further emphasized by the fact that the prime minister (Liberal party leader) by far was the most cited party leader (see Table A.7). The same overall pattern is evident in Figures A5 and A6, presenting proportion and raw numbers, respectively, of articles containing the free speech frame and tolerance frame. (Figure A.6 perhaps provides a more accurate picture by also taking into account the number [i.e., loudness] of statements from each party.)

6. The widespread support of free speech and tolerance: Finally, we coded the valence or direction of each statement framed in terms of free speech or tolerance. In almost all cases the presence of a given frame means support for free speech or tolerance, respectively. (The only exceptions to the unconditional support for free speech are two statements by the Left-Wing party and from unconditional support of tolerance are three statements from Danish People's Party). Thus, the framing of the Cartoon crisis in terms of free speech or tolerance in almost all cases can be taken as equivalent to support of these values.

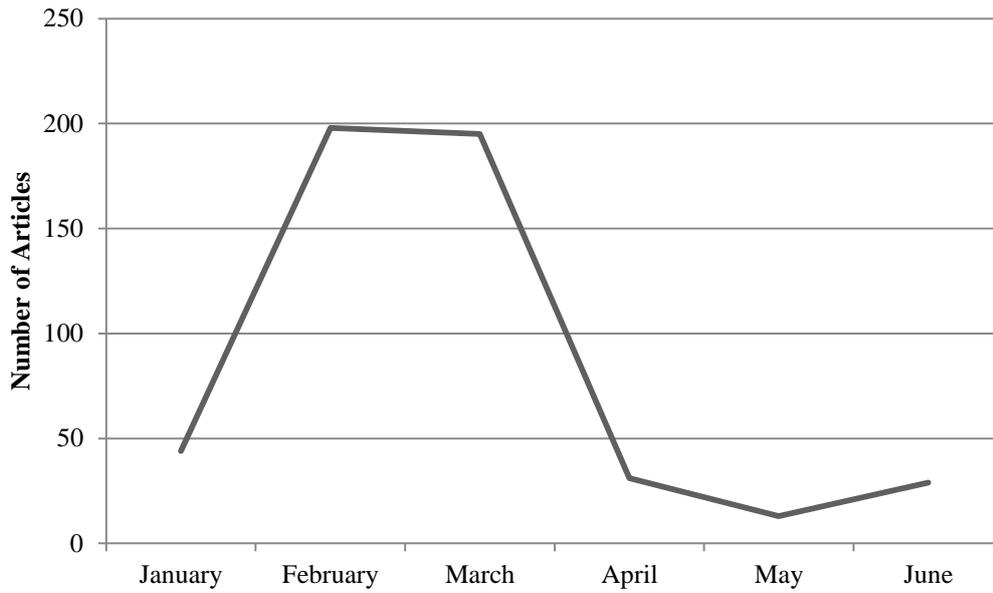


Figure A.1. Salience of Cartoon Crisis in Political Debate. Number of Coded Articles

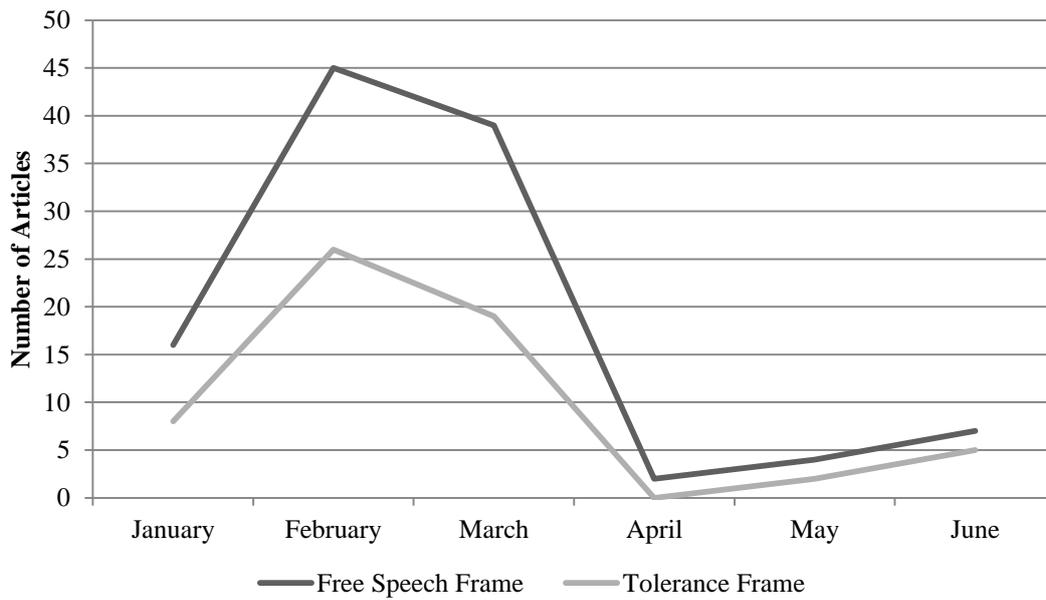


Figure A.2. Salience of Free Speech Frame and Tolerance Frame

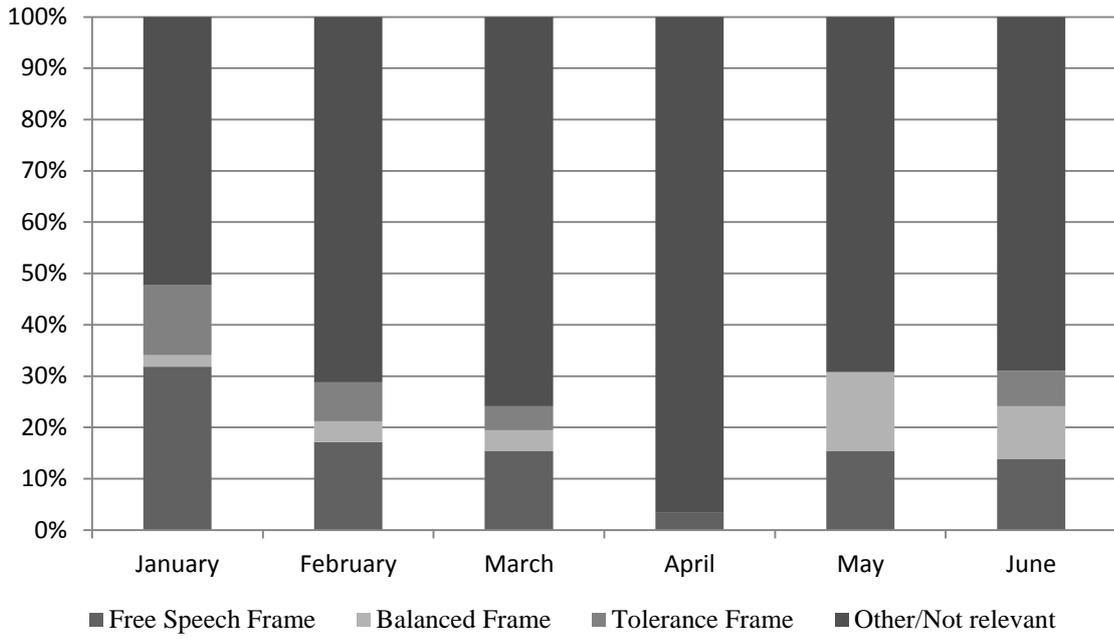


Figure A.3. Dominant Frame in Party Leader Quotations on Cartoon Crisis. Percent.

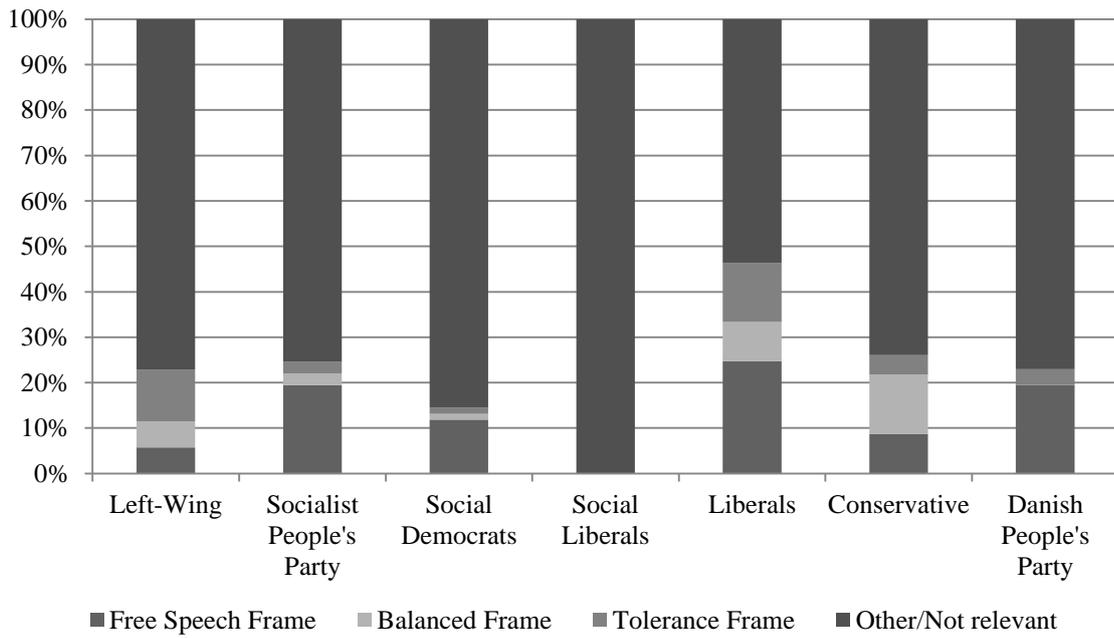


Figure A.4. Dominant Frame by Party Leader

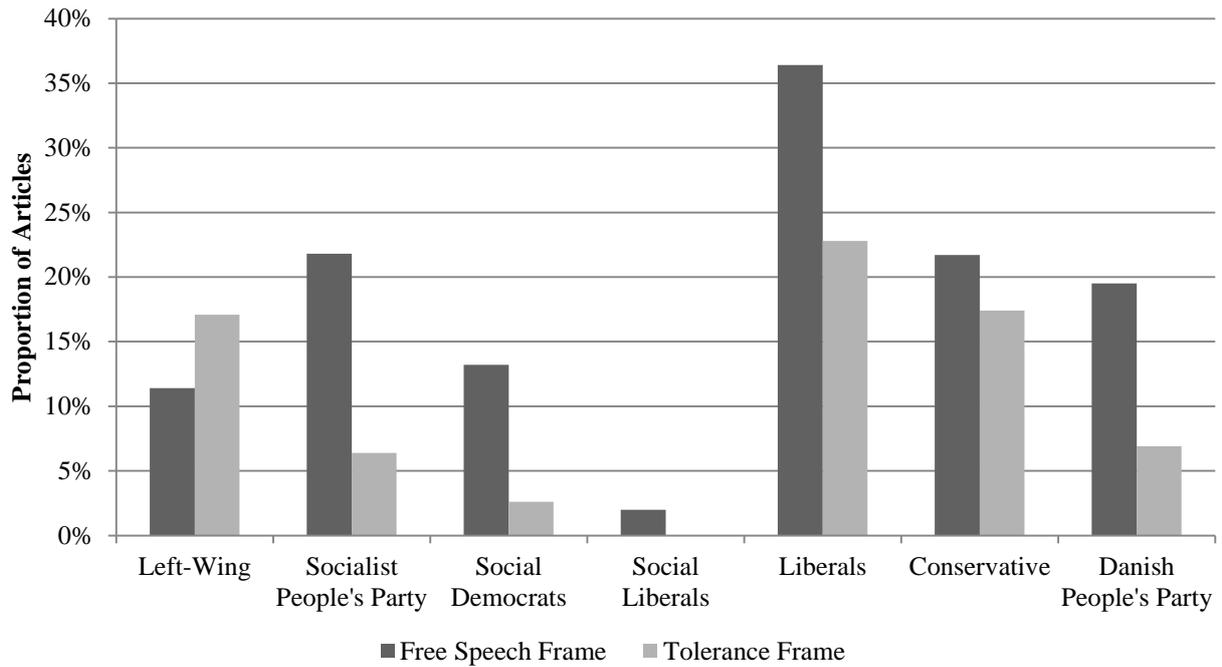


Figure A.5. Proportion of Articles Containing Frame by Party. Per cent

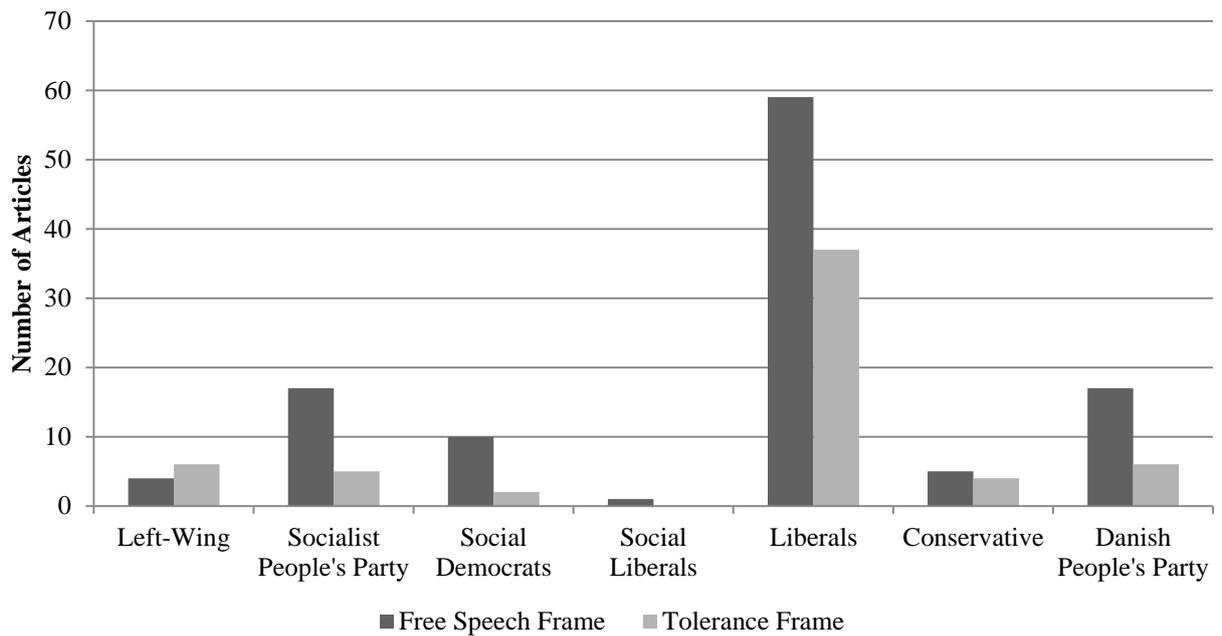


Figure A.6. Number of Articles Containing Frame by Party

Table A.7. Number of Articles by Party

	Free Speech Frame	Balanced Frame	Tolerance Frame	Other/Not relevant	Total	N
Left-Wing	5.7%	5.7%	11.4%	77.1%	100.0%	35
Socialist People's Party	19.5%	2.6%	2.6%	75.3%	100.0%	77
Social Democrats	11.8%	1.3%	1.3%	85.5%	100.0%	76
Social Liberals	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%	100.0%	49
Liberals	24.7%	8.6%	13.0%	53.7%	100.0%	162
Conservative	8.7%	13.0%	4.3%	73.9%	100.0%	23
Danish People's Party	19.5%	.0%	3.4%	77.0%	100.0%	87
Total	16.7%	4.3%	6.3%	72.7%	100.0%	509

## Research Design and Measures

We conducted a quantitative content analysis to illuminate how partisan elites framed the Cartoon crisis.

### Selection of articles

1. Two national newspapers, one right-of-center (*Jyllands-Posten*), another left-of-center (*Politiken*).
2. The time frame of the analysis in January through June 2006 (i.e., 01.01.2006 - 30.06.2006). Thus, we cover a period of time beginning in the month where the dramatic events in the Middle East started (and the month before our survey was fielded) and ending at a time where media coverage and public debate has almost returned to everyday levels (and our survey was completed).
3. Relevant articles from these newspapers were found through the *Infomedia* database ([www.informedia.dk](http://www.informedia.dk)) using the following keywords: Muhammed\* AND Enhedslisten\* [Left-Wing party] / Villy Søvndal / Helle Thorning-Schmidt / Marianne Jelved / Anders Fogh Rasmussen / Bendt Bendtsen / Pia Kjaersgaard. A search was made for each party leader. Thus, an article was selected more than once if more than one party leader was quoted in the article. The implication is that an article might be coded more than once, though categorized under a different party leader. The searches returned a total of 1,474 articles for further analysis.
4. Because we were interested in the degree of partisan elite consensus in framing the crisis as a question of free speech, our analysis focused on statements from party leaders, hence using their names as keywords in searching for articles. The Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) has no formal party leader and therefore the party name was

used in the initial search and only articles where one of the party's four members of parliament are quoted was analyzed further.

5. To gain a clear indication of the party leaders' attempt to frame the Cartoon crisis, only articles where the party leaders were directly quoted were analyzed further, leaving 510 articles for further analysis.

### Inductive Coding and Development of Codebook

1. To develop the codebook, two trained student coders conducted an inductive coding of articles from the period of January 16-22 and February 20-26 including all party leaders. The inductive coding was open to detect alternative frames but confirmed the initial intuition that the "free speech frame" and the "tolerance frame" were the present substantive frames and further identified a "process frame" relating to debate over the government's responsibility for the evolution of the crisis. Identification of frames was primarily made by looking at the quotations of party leaders and less often by looking at the journalistic text of the articles.
2. Based on the inductive coding, the codebook was developed and adjusted. As a next step, all articles from January 1 through February 1 quoting Anders Fogh Rasmussen or Helle Thorning-Schmidt (N = 106) were coded by both student coders. The coders disagreed in less than 10% of the cases; disagreements were solved by discussion. Based on this initial coding, the codebook was further minimally adjusted.

### Inter-coder Reliability

1. To assess inter-coder reliability, 10% of the coded articles (N = 144) were randomly selected to be coded by the other coder. As can be seen from the Cohen's Kappa reliability statistics in Table A.8, the reliability of the coding is sometimes high, but most of the time very high. Disagreements were solved by discussion among the two coders.

Table A.8. Inter-coder Reliability by Variable

Relevance of Article	k = 0.93	N = 144
Free Speech Frame	k = 1.00	N = 53
Direction of Free Speech Frame	k = 1.00	N = 53
Tolerance Frame	k = 0.85	N = 53
Direction of Tolerance Frame	k = 0.86	N = 53
Process Frame	k = 0.84	N = 53
Dominant Frame	k = 0.91	N = 53

Codebook:

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Categories and Values</b>
Article number	-
Party leader	1 Enhedslisten (Left-Wing) 2 Villy Søvndal (Socialist People's Party) 3 Helle Thorning-Schmidt (Social Democrats) 4 Marianne Jelved (Social Liberals) 5 Anders Fogh Rasmussen (Liberals) 6 Bendt Bendtsen (Conservatives) 7 Pia Kjaersgaard (Danish People's Party)
Source	1 Jyllands-Posten 2 Politiken
Article type	1 <u>News story</u> (articles, notes, interviews) 2 <u>Editorial</u> (Editorials as well as some other opinion pieces) 3 <u>Opinion</u> (Letters to the Editor etc.) 4 <u>Letter to the editor or feature written by the party leader</u> 5 <u>Other</u> (news on birthdays, corrections etc.)
Date	yyyy.dd.mm
Relevance	1 If quote from the party leader is present in the article 0 If quote from the party leader is not present
Frame 1: Freedom of speech <i>Explicitly or implicitly highlighting the constitutional right to speak freely and express ones opinion</i>	1 Present 0 Not present
Direction Frame 1 <i>Pro: Maintain or expand the right of freedom of speech</i> <i>Con: Limit the right of freedom of speech</i>	1 Pro 2 Con 3 Pro AND con 4 Neither pro nor con 5 Unable to decide 6 Not relevant

<p>Frame 2: Religious (in)tolerance <i>Explicitly or implicitly highlighting mutual understanding and respect among people in spite of different religious views.</i></p>	<p>1 Present 0 Not present</p>
<p>Direction Frame 2 <u>Pro</u>: Maintain or expand the respect for religion and different religious views in society/societal debates <u>Con</u>: Limit the respect for religion and different religious views in society/societal debates</p>	<p>1 Pro 2 Con 3 Pro AND con 4 Neither pro nor con 5 Unable to decide 6 Not relevant</p>
<p>Frame 3: Process <i>Explicitly or implicitly highlighting the government's former and future handling of the crisis</i></p>	<p>1 Present 0 Not present</p>
<p>Dominant frame <u>Single frame</u>: One-sided frame will always be dominant when a frame is mentioned/more apparent than another <u>If multiple frames</u>: A frame is dominant when either a) when a frame is mentioned more/is more apparent than another or b) if one frame is explicitly made more important (weighted) than another</p>	<p>1 Freedom of speech 2 Religious tolerance 3 Balanced 4 Not relevant 5 Unable to decide</p>

#### **4. Details on measurement of the variables in the replication of results from Chapter 4 on the Danish Election Study 1998-2007**

Given that, unfortunately, not all items from our main survey are available in all election studies, the following scales were used (for all Likert-items the five-point response scales ran from 'Completely Agree' to 'Completely Disagree'):

Preferred anti-immigrant attitudes scale:

- Immigration poses a serious threat to our national character. (Likert)
- If there are not enough jobs, employers should hire Danes ahead of immigrants. (Likert)

Alternative anti-immigrant attitudes scale:

- Immigration poses a serious threat to our national character. (Likert)
- Refugees and immigrants should have the same right to social assistance as Danes, even though they are not Danish citizens. (Likert)

The preferred and alternative scales are both available in 2005 and 2007. The alternative scale is the only one available in 1998 and 2001. The correlation between the two scales in 2005 and 2007 is above .8.

Cultural ideology scale:

- Violent crimes ought to be punished much harder than is currently the case. (Likert)
- Economic growth should be ensured by expanding industry, even if this is at the cost of environmental interests. (Likert)
- Public expenditures: Does the state use too much money, a suitable amount, or too little money on aid for developing countries?
- Self-placement on 5-point scale ranging from 'Maintain law and order with severe punishments' to 'Focus on prevention.'

Economic ideology scale:

- The state has too little control over the business world. (Likert)
- High incomes should be taxed more than is currently the case. (Likert)

- In politics, one should strive to assure the same economic conditions for everyone, regardless of education and employment. (Likert)

Table A.9 contains Cronbach's Alpha for the scales in the four surveys used for the replication analysis.

Table A.9. Cronbach's Alpha for Scales in Replication Study on Danish Election Studies, 1998-2007.

	1998	2001	2005	2007
Preferred anti-immigrant attitudes scale	-	-	.685	.709
Alternative anti-immigrant attitudes scale	.649	.608	.617	.678
Cultural ideology scale	.696	.688	.695	.730
Economic ideology scale	.594	.589	.600	.631