Processing Crisis News

Media Coverage on the Economy in Light of the Euro-Stability Crisis
– von Senja Post und Matthias Vollbracht

14 Seiten
Sprache: English
Keywords: European integration, content analysis, Euro-crisis, Europäische Integration, Inhaltsanalyse, Eurokrise

Zusammenfassung

Die Bildung einer Europäischen Öffentlichkeit setzt voraus, dass die nationalen Medien über die Probleme der EU sowie der Mitgliedstaaten berichten und dass es unter den Mitgliedstaaten ein gemeinsames Verständnis politischer Probleme gibt. Eine quantitative Inhaltsanalyse der Fernsehnachrichten über die Euro-Krise in Frankreich, Deutschland, Italien, Spanien und dem Vereinigten Königreich zeigt, dass die nationalen Nachrichten zunehmend über die Wirtschaftslage der Europäischen Union und der Mitgliedstaaten berichtet haben. Allerdings zeigt sich eine starke Diskrepanz zwischen der Darstellung der wirtschaftlichen Lage eines Landes in den nationalen Fernsehnachrichten und den Fernsehnachrichten anderer Mitgliedstaaten.

Abstract

The creation of a European public sphere requires that the national media report on political issues concerning the EU or fellow member states and that problems are defined along the same lines. A quantitative content analysis of TV news coverage on the Euro-stability crisis in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK shows that while the domestic news have increasingly paid attention to the economic situation of the EU and the member states, there are large discrepancies between how the national TV news assess the state of the domestic economies and how they are assessed in TV news abroad.

Introduction

Greece's revelation of its large state deficit in October 2009 marks the beginning of the Euro-stability crisis during which a number of member-states called on the European Union for help to refinance their public debts or banking sectors. The stability crisis has not only posed a serious challenge to the EU and its member-states in terms of economic policies but also in terms of maintaining public support for the European integration. The following paper investigates how the media in five EU member states – Spain, Italy, the UK, France and Germany – have portrayed the state of the European economy. Specifically, it seeks to clarify (1) how far the Euro-stability crisis has shifted the media's focus of attention from national economic issues to issues concerning the EU or the member states, and (2) if there has been a common perception of the EU's and its member-states' economic situations.

Europeanization of media coverage

Crucial requirements for the functioning and the legitimacy of the European Union have been seen in the creation of a European public sphere and the formation of a European identity (Habermas, 1998; cf. Kantner, 2006). Citizens' attitudes toward and the member states' public opinions on the EU have been found to depend largely on the contents of the national media coverage (e.g. de Vreese, 2004; de Vreese & Boomgarden, 2006; Vliegenthart et al., 2008). This is why much research efforts have flown into the nature of the national media's coverage on the EU in general (e.g. Kevin, 2003; Peter & deVreese, 2004), on European integration (e.g. Pfetsch et al. 2008), European parliamentary elections (e.g. Peter, Lauf & Semetko, 2004) or on other specific issues of EU or member states' politics (e.g. deVreese, 2001; Berkel, 2006).

The process of opening the European national public debates for the issues of the EU or the member states has been called "Europeanization". Several dimensions of Europeanization have been assessed – the synchronization of the national debates as well as vertical and horizontal processes (cf. Koopmans & Erbe, 2004; Brüggemannet al., 2009; Brüggemann & Kleinen von Königslöw, 2009; Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2012). The synchronization of the national debates with respect to EU processes and issues refers to discussions of common issues and the use of similar political frames in EU member states (Pfetsch et al., 2008: 468). An analysis of the debate on European integration has shown that the press in continental European countries is largely synchronized, that "there is consensus not only on the questions that need to be answered but also on the positions to be advocated." (Pfetsch et al., 2008: 484).

Vertical Europeanization refers to the level of attention that the national media give to actors, issues and processes at the EU-level. Horizontal Europeanization refers to the reciprocal attention that the national media of the member states give to other EU-member states. While the level of vertical Europeanization has steadily increased since the 1980s (Brüggemann et al 2009: 400), horizontal Europeanization has been weak in the EU-member states' media coverage up till 2008 (Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2012). This is why various authors speak of "segmented Europeanization" – a tendency of the national states' media referring to the EU's politics but not the problems and debates of the other member-states (cf. Brüggemann & Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2009; Kleinen-von Königslöw, 2012).

Up till now, research on the horizontal Europeanization of media debates has focused on the references to other member states' or the shares of voice given to other member states' actors. No research exists on the self-images of individual member states and their images in other member countries' media. Congruence between the national self-images of individual states and their images in other member states' media can be seen as an indicator of mutual understanding and thus hint at a particularly high degree of horizontal Europeanization. In contrast, differences between the national self-images of individual countries and their images in other member states' media may indicate a relationship of distrust and prejudice.

In addition, up till now, research on media coverage on the EU has focused on political and social issues of the European Union. In the current Euro-stability crisis, however, research on the media's coverage on economic issues has become pressing. The European transnational unions preceding the EU were intended to encourage economic cooperation and foster economic growth within Europe. Thus, the EU has emerged out of a collection of states pursuing common material interests. According to Kantner (2006) such a cooperative union does not necessarily require deep social and political integration or a collective identity. Kantner argues that a collective identity only becomes necessary in times of extraordinary crisis. Surely, the Euro-stability crisis has been an extraordinary challenge to the European Union where former purely economic interests have translated into vital ethical questions concerning trust and the distribution of wealth among the member states. Against this backdrop, the Europeanization of the national media coverage on the EU's economy will be assessed. After a short chronology of the Euro-crisis the assumptions and research questions of this study will be presented. Following this, the Europeanization of economic coverage will be assessed based on a content analysis of the national TV news of five EU member states.

A short chronology of the Euro-stability crisis

The beginning of the Euro-stability crisis was marked by the Greek government's correction of its estimated budget deficit from 6 to more than 12 percent of Greek's GDP in the fall of 2009. In May 2010, the European Central

Bank announced to buy state loans from states with low capacities to serve their state debts. At the same time, the European Central Bank, the European Commission and the International Monetary Fund agreed to provide credits of 110 billion Euros to Greece in order to prevent destabilization of the Euro. In turn, the so-called "Troika" announced to control the Greece's efforts to cut down state-spending on a steady base. As a consequence of these events, major rating agencies lowered Greece's credibility rank. In the following months, the European Union took measures to help member-states with financial problems. On June 7th, the European Financial Stabilization Facility (EFSF) was founded by the EU ministers of finance. Its purpose was to support states in financial emergencies by buying credits on the capital markets. Germany was supposed to guarantee for these credits for up to 148 Billion Euros.

In the summer of 2010, after Ireland had sought EU help and Spain's and Portugal's financial problems had become obvious, the EU member-states agreed to found a permanent European Stability Mechanism (ESM) to give loans to states in emergencies and to replace the EFSF in 2013. In the spring of 2011, Portugal asked to be helped under the EFSF and received 78 Billion Euros. While in summer 2011, worries about Italy's state debts of almost 120 percent of its GDP arose, the EU accepted to give another credit of 109 Billion Euros to Greece. A month later, the European Central Bank decided to buy Italian and Spanish state loans in order to prevent rising interest rates. In the summer of 2012, the financial problems of Spain and Italy aggravated. In Spain, Bankia, the country's fourth largest bank needed state-help to survive. Spain and Italy appealed to the EU to receive quick help and succeeded in receiving financial help with more flexible and less strict controls than before. On June, 25th, Cyprus sought financial help from the EU. In March 2013, it was provided a package of financial support to help restructure the banking system. For the first time, domestic depositors' money was used to contribute to refinance Cyprus. After several years of economic decline, in early 2013, Slovenia's president voiced concerns about the Slovenian economy. In March 2013, the country's national bank corrected its expectations of economic growth to minus 1.9 percent.

The events during the crisis have lead to debates on common EU-wide financial policies such as the financial pact, which requires the member-states to include upper-limits of the state debts in their national constitutions, or the foundation of a common system of banking-control. Another consequence of the Euro-crisis has been the destabilization of national governments and an increase of mistrust between the member-states' publics.

Assumptions and research questions

Previous research has shown that before the Euro-stability crisis, the national media of the EU-member states have hardly paid attention to EU-decision-making processes or to debates on EU-policies in other member states. It has been argued that especially in times of crisis, however, it will be crucial for the member states to develop a common understanding of the problems at stake and to form a collective view on how to solve them through debate and conflict (Kantner, 2006). In the current Euro-crisis, this requires first and foremost that the national media provide their national audiences with sufficient information about the economic situations in the EU and in other member states. It will therefore be investigated if and how far

1. The national media have increasingly paid attention to the economic situation of the EU and its member states.

Another prerequisite for developing a common understanding of and finding commonly supported solutions to the Euro-stability crisis is that the national publics are given the same impressions of it. It will therefore be asked if

2. The member states' TV news programs assess and define the economic problems of the crisis states along the same lines.

The development of publicly supported solutions and compromises also requires that the member states' publics are informed adequately about the problems, concerns and interests of other member states. As the national publics' impressions of the member states' economic situations depend largely on national news coverage it seems crucial to ask how far

3. The assessment of a country's national economy in its domestic TV news (self-perception) corresponds with how it is assessed in other member states' TV news (perception by others).

Discrepancies between a country's self-perception of its national economy and the perception of its economy by other countries may be an expression of mutual mistrust. Therefore it will be tested if

4. The larger the discrepancy between the self-perception of a domestic economy and its perception by other countries, the more the domestic public generally distrusts the EU.

Method

The data of this study was provided by Media Tenor, a commercial research institute that conducts media content analysis of international media on a continuous base. For this study, the content analysis data of the most widely-watched TV evening news in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK were used – i.e. Le Journal (TF 1) in France, Tagesschau (ARD) and Heute (ZDF) in Germany, TG 1 (RAI) in Italy, Telediario (TVE 1) in Spain, Ten o'clock news (BBC 1) and Newsnight (BBC 2) in the UK. From January 2008 through March 2013, all reports referring to the state of the economy in the EU or in EU-member states were analyzed. Each of these reports was coded with regard to the aspect of the economy mentioned (such as "unemployment", "inflation" etc.), the region of reference (such as "EU", "Austria", "Greece" etc.) and with regard to the tone of the information ("negative", "positive" or "neutral"). Overall, 3029 French, 13.394 German, 4470 Italian, 5120 Spanish and 7057 British TV news reports were coded.

Native speakers who were trained for several weeks coded the news reports. Only coders that achieved a minimum reliability of .85 were cleared for coding. The reliability of the coding is checked on an ongoing basis, both with quarterly standard tests and random spot checks. Coders scoring lower than .80 are removed from the coding process. Average inter-coder reliability was .88 in the first quarter of 2013. For each month and coder, three analyzed reports were selected randomly and compared to the trainers' master-versions. In none of the months the mean deviation was above 15 %.

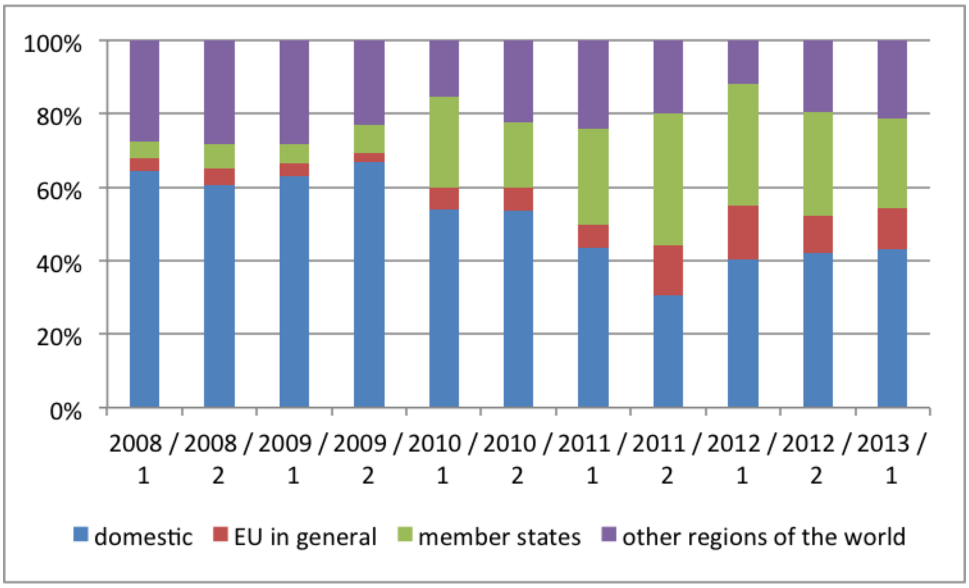
In order to check how far media coverage in the countries analyzed affect or reflect public opinion in these countries, the results of the content analysis were complemented with results of the Euro-barometer – an EU-wide opinion poll that has been conducted twice a year in each of the EU-member countries since the 1970s.

Findings

1. Attention to national and EU-wide economic news

In order to test if the national TV news casts have shifted their attention from domestic to EU-wide economic issues, the share of coverage on domestic economic news was compared with the share of news on the economy in the EU, in other member-states, and in regions outside the EU for each half-year from 2008 through 2013. The results confirm the assumption that during the crisis, the national news casts have given increasing attention to the state of the economy in the EU and its member states at the cost of domestic economic news and news from other regions of the world (Figure 1). A peak of coverage on the economies of the EU-member states and the EU was reached in 2011 and 2012, shortly after Ireland and Portugal accepted EU-help and when the budget deficits of Spain and Cyprus were becoming more and more pressing. While the share of coverage on economic news from the EU and the member states has increased in all the countries analyzed, this is particularly true for German, Italian and British TV news. The French and Spanish TV news have maintained a relatively high share of domestic economic news and thus have increased their economic news from the EU and the member states to a comparatively low degree. Overall, however, it can be said that by providing their national audiences with a growing share of economic news from the EU in general as well as from individual member-states during the crisis, European TV news has increasingly fulfilled the most basic condition for the formation of a transnational European public. As it has been found that the level of Europeanization is generally higher in the news coverage of quality newspapers than of TV news (Lauf & Peter, 2004) one can assume that the process of Europeanization of economic news has been even higher in the national quality papers.

Figure 1: Share of coverage on the national economy and the economies of the EU, the member states and other regions of the world



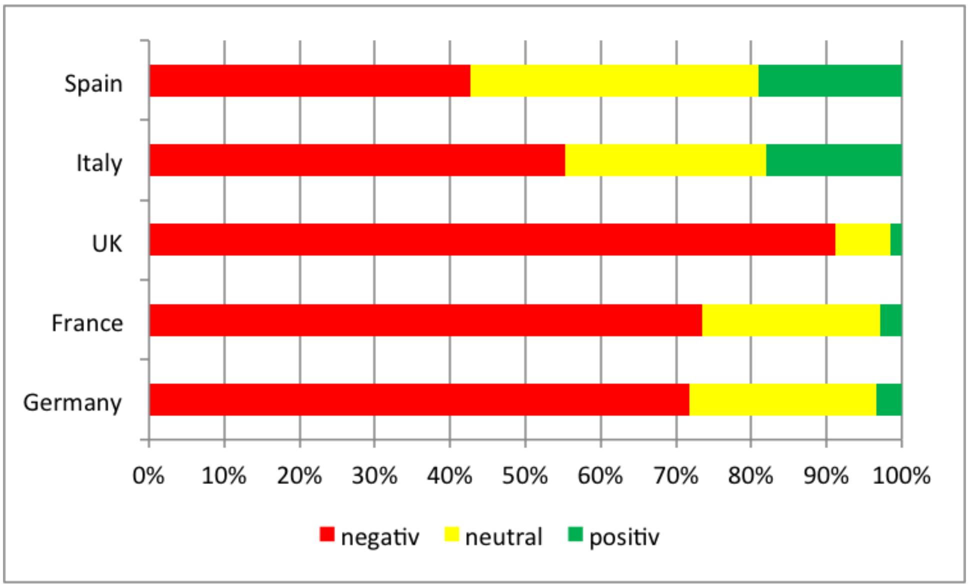
-share of all passages on the state of the economy (%)

Basis: *13.394 passages in German, 3.029 passages in French, 7.057 passages in British, 4.470 passages in Italian and 5.120 passages in Spanish TV-news from 1 / 2008 through 3 / 2013.*

2. Assessment of the economic situation of the crisis states

The formation of a European public does not only require that the national media dedicate at least some of their news coverage to the problems and processes in the EU and its member-states. It also requires that they enable the national publics to develop a common awareness of the EU's current problems and processes. But this condition is fulfilled only within constraints. The French, German, Italian, Spanish and British TV news on the crisis states was compared. Under crisis states we subsume all member states of the EU, which have received financial help of the EU (Greece, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Cyprus), or which, as of late, have been said to need financial help shortly (Slovenia). The comparison shows that the TV news of all the countries analyzed has rated the economic situations of the crisis-states overly negative. But there are striking differences (Figure 2). Spanish and Italian TV news have rated the crisis states' economic situations relatively mildly with about fifty percent of negative ratings. French and German TV news have been much more critical with about 70 percent of negative ratings. The TV news from the UK has been most critical with more than 90 percent of negative ratings of the crisis states' economies. With the Spanish and Italian TV news being less negative than the French, German and British TV news, the results may indicate a contrast between the crisis-states' and non-crisis-states' perceptions of the Euro-stability crisis.

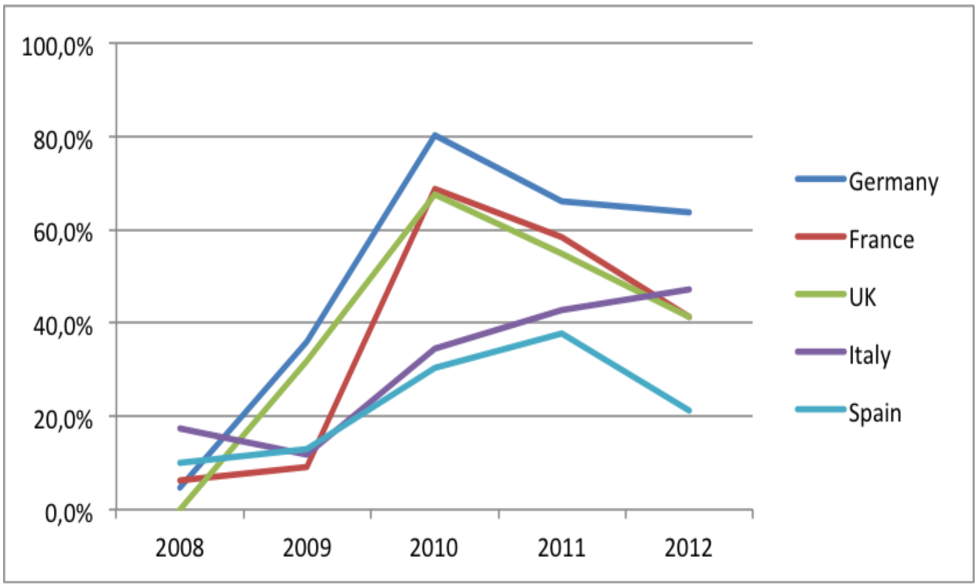
Figure 2: Ratings of the crisis states in British, French, German, Italian and Spanish TV news
- Share of positive, neutral and negative ratings (%) -



Basis: 2101 passages in German, 308 passages in French, 1265 passages in British, 3329 passages in Italian and 4072 passages in Spanish TV-news from 1 / 2008 through 3 / 2013.

The national TV news do not only differ with regard to the ratings of the crisis-states' economies but also with regard to the aspects mentioned. Since 2008, the British, French, German, Italian and Spanish TV news have mostly concentrated on three aspects when covering the economic situation of the crisis states: The budget (39 % of all the passages about the economy), the general state of the economy (23 %) and the labor market (10 %). In 2008, the TV news in none of the countries analyzed cared much about the budgets of the crisis-states to-be (Figure 3). By 2010, however, the budgets of the crisis-states had become a major issue in the German, French and British TV news, with 68 to 80 percent of all the news on the crisis-states' economies concentrating on this aspect. After 2010, their attention to the crisis-states' budgets decreased somewhat. But while in the French and British news attention has dropped to about 40 percent, it has remained on remarkably high level (60 percent) in the German TV news. Again, there is a remarkable contrast between the TV news in the crisis and the non-crisis states: In the Italian and Spanish news, the budget of the crisis-states has played a much smaller role than in the British, French and German TV news. In no year from 2008 through 2012, did their national TV news mention the budget in more than 50 percent of all the news on the crisis-states' economies.

Figure 3: Share of news on the crisis-states' budgets in British, French, German, Italian and Spanish TV news
- Share of all passages on the economy (%) -



Basis: 2101 passages in German, 308 passages in French, 1265 passages in British, 3329 passages in Italian and 4072 passages in Spanish TV-news from 1 / 2008 through 3 / 2013.

The differences may explain the differences between the member-states' awareness of the most pressing current issues of the EU. Since 2010, the Eurobarometer, a regular survey of the citizens of the EU-member states, has asked the respondents to name the two most pressing current issues of the EU from an extensive list of issues. From the fall 2010, to the fall 2012, 43 to 47 percent of the German citizens mentioned mentioned "the state of the member states public finances" as one of the two most pressing issues. In contrast to this, the share of the British, French, Italian and Spanish public mentioning the member-states' budgets the most important problem has consistently been much smaller (Eurobarometer, 2/2010; 1/2011; 2/2011; 1/2012; 2/2012). It seems plausible to assume that the Germans' overly large worries about the member states' finances are at least partly due to the German TV news' strong focus on the budgets of the crisis-states.

In sum, it can be said that there are remarkable differences with regard to how the TV news of the two crisis (Italy and Spain) and the non-crisis states (France, Germany, UK) assess and select news on the crisis states' economies. Against this backdrop it seems difficult for the national publics of the European Union to develop a common ground on which potential solutions of the economic crisis could be discussed.

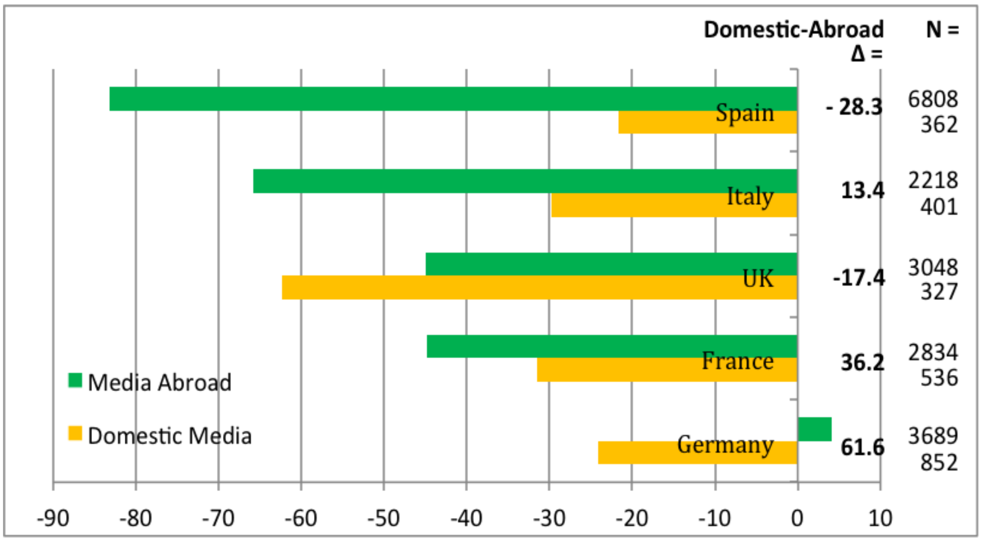
3. Assessments of member-states' economies in domestic and other member-states' TV news

Dealing with the Euro-stability crisis, the national political actors have to engage in EU-wide discussions while seeking support for their claims and concessions among their national publics. The political actors are thus wedged between the demands and expectations of their negotiating partners from other member states and the demands and expectations of their national publics. One can expect that in this constellation, the chances of reaching commonly supported agreements through debate and negotiation are the higher the more the self-perceptions of member-states' domestic issues are in line with how they are viewed abroad. *Congruence* between the self-perception of a member-state and its perception by other member states may be viewed to indicate a common ground of transnational communication between the parties. In contrast, *differences* between the self-perception of a member-state and its perception by other member-states may indicate a lack of a common ground of transnational communication.

In order to determine the degree of congruence between individual member-states' self-perceptions and their perception by other member-states, the national TV news' ratings of the domestic economy of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK each was contrasted with how it was rated in the TV news of the other member-states. The difference between all positive and negative ratings of the economy was used as a measure of the overall rating of the economy.

There are remarkable differences between how the national TV news has assessed the domestic economies and how the domestic economies have been assessed in the TV news of the other member states (Figure 4). The Spanish economy has been assessed with the largest discrepancies: While both the national Spanish TV news as well as the foreign news in France, Germany, Italy and the UK has rated the Spanish economy overly negative, the Spanish news has been much milder on the Spanish economy than the foreign news. The Italian economy has been assessed with the same tendency although the discrepancy is smaller than in the Spanish case: While both the national TV news of Italy as well as the foreign news in France, Germany, Spain and the UK has rated the Italian economy overly negative, the Italian news has been much milder on the Italian economy than the foreign news. The British and German economies have been assessed with the opposite tendency: While both the TV news of the UK as well as the foreign news in France, Germany, Italy and Spain has rated the British economy overly negative, the British TV news has been harsher on the British economy than the TV news in the foreign countries. The case of Germany is even more extreme: While the TV news in France, Italy, Spain and the UK has rated the German economy overly positive the German TV news has rated it slightly negative overall. Only in the French case there only a minor discrepancy between the French TV news accounts of the domestic economy and its presentation in the other countries' news.

Figure 4: Rating of the member-states' economic situations in domestic and foreign member-states' TV news
- Differences between the share of positive and negative ratings of the economy -



Basis: *21.076 passages about the economy in British, French, German, Italian and Spanish TV news from 1 / 2008 through 3 / 2013.*

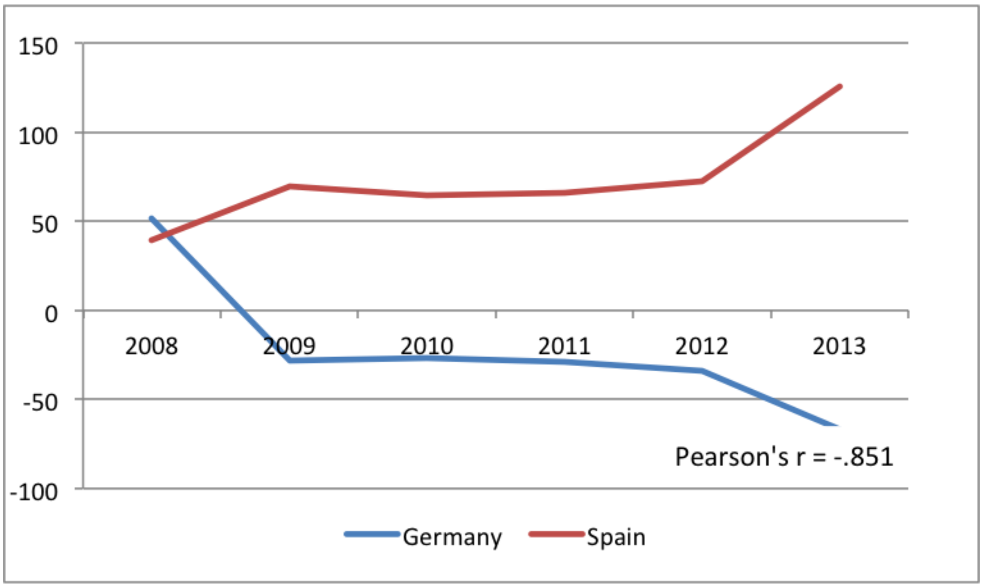
Again, a contrast emerges between coverage on the crisis-states' and the non-crisis-states' economies. The national TV news of Italy and Spain has assessed their domestic economies less negative than the TV news of the non-crisis states. Reversely, the British and German TV news have assessed their domestic economies more negative than the TV news of the other member-states.

The discrepancies between the foreign and domestic assessments may result from a process in which foreign judgments and national attempts to hold against these judgments lead to polarized views on a country's national economy. The cases of Germany and Spain are particularly contrary. The foreign media have perceived the Spanish situation much worse than the domestic media. The foreign media have perceived the German situation much better than the domestic media. In both cases, the discrepancies between the domestic and the foreign images have increased over time (Figure 5). There is a very strong relationship between the two developments. This becomes clear when correlating the long-term differences between how the economies of Germany and Spain have been presented in the national and in foreign TV news over time. The more the presentation of the Spanish situation in the foreign news deviates from the presentation in the domestic news the more the presentation of the German situation in the foreign news deviates from the presentation in the domestic news. Thus, relative to the national image, as the foreign image of the Spanish economy becomes worse, the foreign image of the German economy becomes better. The relationship indicates that two countering protagonists of the Euro-stability crisis – Germany as a non-crisis state giving financial help and Spain as a crisis-state receiving financial help – have one thing in common: Both are confronted with foreign images of their economic situations that deviate from their national images. It seems likely that this pattern also applies for other crisis and non-crisis states, too. In how far this is true, however, cannot be tested here.

The potential dangers of the discrepancies are obvious: Germany may see its capacities over-estimated by foreign actors and may be confronted with claims its public thinks is unrealistic. Spain, in turn, may see its capacities underestimated and may be confronted with a degree of skepticism its public thinks is exaggerated. In fact, the discrepancies between the countries' self-perceptions and their perceptions by other member-states may be a symptom of distrust. Data from the Euro-Barometer on the German and Spanish public's trust in the EU confirm this assumption. As the discrepancies between the national and foreign assessments of the German and Spanish TV news has grown since 2009, the German and Spanish publics have lost trust in the European Union. With Pearson's r = .400, the correlation is moderate and gives reason to assume that the discrepancies between national and foreign assessments of member-states' economies are a symptom of distrust in the European Union.

Figure 5: Discrepancies between assessments of the economic situations of Spain and Germany in domestic and foreign TV news.

- Difference between the overall rating of the economy (% of positive-negative ratings) in national and foreign TV news –



Remark: *Values around 0 indicate congruent assessments of the state of the economy in national and foreign TV news. Negative values indicate that the economy is rated more positive in the foreign than in the national TV news. Positive values indicate that the economy is rated more negative in the foreign than in national TV news.*

Basis: *7170 passages on the German and 4542 passage on the Spanish economy in German, British, French, Italian and Spanish TV news from 1 / 2008 through 3 / 2013.*

Summary and Discussion

The results of the analysis can be summarized in the following points:

In the course of the Euro-stability crisis, the TV news of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK have increasingly paid attention to the economic issues of the EU and the member states. They have thus shifted their focus of attention from domestic economic problems to the economic problems of the EU and its member states.

The national TV news programs of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK have given their national publics differing impressions on the Euro-stability crisis. While the TV news of all these countries have rated the economic situations of the crisis states – Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Italy and Cyprus – overly negative this is particularly true for the British, German and French TV news. The Spanish and Italian news programs have rated the economic situations of the crisis-sates considerably less negative.

The national TV news programs of France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK have also focused on differing aspects of the Euro-stability crisis. The budget has consistently been the far most important issue in German – and to a smaller degree in French and British TV news coverage on the crisis-states. In the TV news of Italy and Spain is has played a much smaller role.

There has been a discrepancy between how the national TV news programs of Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK have assessed the domestic economies and how they have been assessed abroad. The British and German TV news programs have assessed their domestic economies more negative than they have been assessed in other member-states' TV news. The Spanish and Italian news programs have assessed their domestic economies more positive than they have been assessed in other member-states' TV news.

As the Spanish economy has been presented increasingly more negative in other member-states' TV news than in the Spanish news the German economy has been presented increasingly more positive in other member-states' economies than in the German news. The polarized discrepancies may be an expression of increasing distrust in the EU.

The increased attention to the economic issues of the EU and the member-states hints at a "Europeanization" of the media coverage in the EU-member-states. In the individual member-states, however, the Euro-stability is perceived in different ways. In particular, there seems to be a gulf between how the non-crisis and the crisis-states account for the economic situations of the crisis states. The British, German and French TV news have focused overly and much more on the budgets of the crisis states than the Italian and Spanish TV news. The Spanish and Italian news has also given considerable attention to other economic aspects such as the state of the economy in general, economic policy and the labor market. These differences may reflect different economic approaches in dealing with the crisis. Having their domestic economic problems – a large unemployment rate, lacking investments – the crisis-states may support a Keynesian approach and aim at stimulating economic growth through further state-investments. This approach, however, is contrary to the policies of austerity aiming at reducing the state-deficits that the non-crisis states demand in return for their financial help.

Lastly, the discrepancies between the crisis-states' and the non-crisis-states' perceptions of their economic situations may be an expression of growing distrust and a growing gulf between the members-states. At the heart of the discrepancies between how the German and Spanish TV news programs have accounted for their domestic economies may be mutual blames for causing the Euro-stability crisis, and differing views on who has profited and who has suffered from the European Union's economic regime (cf. Zufiaur & Lopez-Pina, 2013). For the European Union to regain support among the national publics it seems vital that the media do not only report about the economic problems of the EU and its member-states from a national perspective, but that they also provide insights into other member states' definitions of the current problems.

Literature

Berkel B (2006) Political Parallelism in News and Commentaries on the Haider Conflict: A Comparative Analyis of Austrian, British, German, and French Quality Newspapers. *Communications* 31 (2): 85-104.

Brüggemann M, Hepp A, Kleinen-von Königslöw K and Wessler H (2009): Transnationale Öffentlichkeit in Europa: Forschungsstand und Perspektiven. *Publizistik* 54: 391-414.

Brüggemann M and Kleinen-von Königslöw K (2009) ‚Let's Talk about Europe'. Why Europeanization Shows a Different Face in Different Newspapers. *European Journal of Communication* 24(1): 27-47

de Vreese CH (2004) *Framing Europe. Television News and European Integration.* Amsterdam: Aksant.

de Vresse CH and Boomgarden HG (2006) Media effects on Public Opinion about the Enlargement of the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies 44:* 419-436.

Habermas J (1998) *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

Kantner K (2006) Collective Identity as Shared Ethical Self-Understanding: The Case of the Emerging European Identity. *European Journal of Social Theory* 9(4): 501-523.

Kevin D (2003) *Europe in the Media. A Comparison of Reporting, Representation and Rhetoric in National Media Systems in Europe.* London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kleinen-von Königslöw K (2012) Europe in Crisis? Testing the Stability and Explanatory Factors of the Europeanization of National Public Spheres. *The International Communication Gazette* 74(5): 443-463.

Koopmans R and Erbe J (2004) Towards a European Public Phere? Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Europeanised Political Communication. *Innovation* 17 (2): 97-118.

Peter J and de Vreese CH (2004) In Search of Europe. A Cross-National Comparative Study of the European Union in National Television News. *The Harvard International Journal of Press / Politics* 8(3): 3-24

Peter J, Lauf E and Semetko H (2004) Television Coverage of the 1999 European Parliamentary Elections. *Political Communication* 21: 415-433.

Pfetsch B, Adam S and Escher B (2008) The Contribution of the Press to Europeanization of Public Debates. A Comparative Study of Issue Salience and Conflict Lines of European Integration. *Journalism* 9(4): 465-492.

Standard Eurobarometer 78 / Fall 2012, accessed in April, 2013 at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm

Standard Eurobarometer 77 / Spring 2012, accessed in April, 2013 at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm

Standard Eurobarometer 76 / Fall 2011, accessed in April, 2013 at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm

Standard Eurobarometer 75 / Spring 2011, accessed in April, 2013 at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm

Standard Eurobarometer 74 / Fall 2010, accessed in April, 2013 at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm

Standard Eurobarometer 73 / Spring 2010, accessed in April, 2013 at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm

Vliegenthart R, Schuck, ART, Boomgarden HG and de Vreese CH (2008) News Coverage and Support for European Integration, 1900-2006. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 20 (4): 415-439.

Zufiaur JM and Lopez-Pina A (2013) Nutznießer Deutschland. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 15th, 2013.