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'Let's Talk about Europe'

Why Europeanization Shows a Different Face in Different Newspapers

■ *Michael Brüggemann and Katharina Kleinen-von Königsłow*

ABSTRACT

■ This article contributes to the ongoing quest for a European public sphere understood as a structural transformation of national public debates. This process of Europeanization of national public spheres has a vertical and a horizontal dimension: an increased focus on the EU as well as more attention to other European countries. A content analysis of quality newspapers in five EU member states covering a period of 20 years reveals common trends across different countries but no convergence over time. Four different patterns of Europeanization can be identified: comprehensive Europeanization, segmented Europeanization, Europeanization aloof from the EU and a parochial public sphere. This article pushes research in this area ahead by identifying and testing factors that explain these differences in newspaper coverage. In-depth case analysis as well as regression analysis show that the editorial mission of a newspaper and the size of the member state it is situated in have a significant effect on patterns of Europeanization. Contrary to common expectations, the number of correspondents in Brussels and the degree of popular identification with Europe did not significantly affect patterns of Europeanization. ■

Key Words content analysis, Europeanization, European public sphere, journalism, newspapers

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Introduction

The process of political integration in the European Union suffers from a communication deficit (Meyer, 1999) between citizens and the political elites. This is often attributed to the lack of a European public sphere: political power has moved to Brussels but this has not been accompanied by an opening up of national public spheres for Europe (Gerhards, 2001).

Following Habermas (1998: 436), the idea of a public sphere denotes a network of public discussion forums mediating between the political centre and its periphery. The lack of a Europeanized public sphere deprives citizens of the chance to inform themselves, reason about and eventually influence policy-making (Habermas, 2001: 7). In our view, a European public sphere cannot be conceptualized as some kind of unified public sphere constituted by transnational media. A European public sphere is the result of a process of structural transformation of the existing national public spheres, a 'Europeanization of national public spheres' (Gerhards, 2001). The quest for the European public sphere has already inspired a number of fruitful studies that give insights into the status quo of this process of reorientation of national forums of public communication.¹

The aim of this article is to push research in this area to a new stage by focusing on the factors that explain different patterns of Europeanization in leading national quality newspapers. Whereas most research, so far, has concentrated on assessing the overall degree of Europeanization of public debate, our focus lies on identifying different patterns of Europeanization and explaining these differences. We explore why some newspapers are more Europeanized than others, and which factors are most relevant to the development of a Europeanization of public spheres. Ultimately, the analysis leads us to conclusions about why national media coverage might converge to a certain degree but will ultimately remain distinct regarding its patterns of Europeanization. This study's contribution to the ongoing 'quest for a European public sphere' is two-fold. (1) We develop a theoretical model for (a) identifying and (b) explaining different patterns of Europeanization of newspaper content. (2) We test this model on the newspaper coverage over 20 years in five European countries.

Towards a theoretical explanation of differential Europeanization of public spheres

We conceive the transnationalization of public spheres in Europe as a multi-dimensional long-term process (see Wessler et al., 2007). Following Deutsch (1953), *transnationalization* is a process of intensified interaction across borders

as opposed to interaction within national borders. *Europeanization* is a form of transnationalization limited to the European continent, or more specifically to the member states of the EU. While Deutsch's concept of transnationalization looks at horizontal exchange across borders, Europeanization also has a vertical dimension (Koopmans and Erbe, 2004).

Vertical and horizontal Europeanization

Vertical Europeanization denotes the process of paying closer attention to Brussels. As more and more political power has been transferred to the EU level, enhanced coverage and debate about the EU can be expected to take place. At least with the introduction of the euro, European integration has quite obviously begun to touch the everyday lives of citizens and will therefore also arouse the interest of the media.

Horizontal Europeanization means increasingly taking account of what happens in other member states of the EU. Media coverage would not only mention other European countries but actually focus more strongly on the events and debates in these neighbouring countries. In addition, journalists would give speakers from other countries a voice in interviews, guest pieces or extended quotations. We expect this type of Europeanization to occur as nation-states are increasingly interdependent in the framework of the EU.

While vertical and horizontal Europeanization are plausible developments, analytically we have to take into account the possibility of intervening variables that filter and eventually slow down these trends. Differences between specific media in different political contexts are likely to cause different ways of talking about Europe. Newspaper content is produced in the context of different media systems (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). Therefore journalistic output will also remain different in newspapers situated in different political settings. The homogenizing force of political integration in the EU will be channelled by the influence of characteristics of the respective media system and the specifics of the individual media outlet. It seems conceivable that these intervening factors might actually be stronger than the forces of Europeanization set off by the process of political integration.

Analytically speaking, there are four patterns of transnationalization of national public spheres in Europe (see Figure 1):

1. *Comprehensive Europeanization*: this pattern combines high levels of vertical and horizontal Europeanization.
2. *Segmented Europeanization*: this means vertical, but no horizontal Europeanization. Nationally segmented public spheres would pay more attention to Brussels but not to each other.

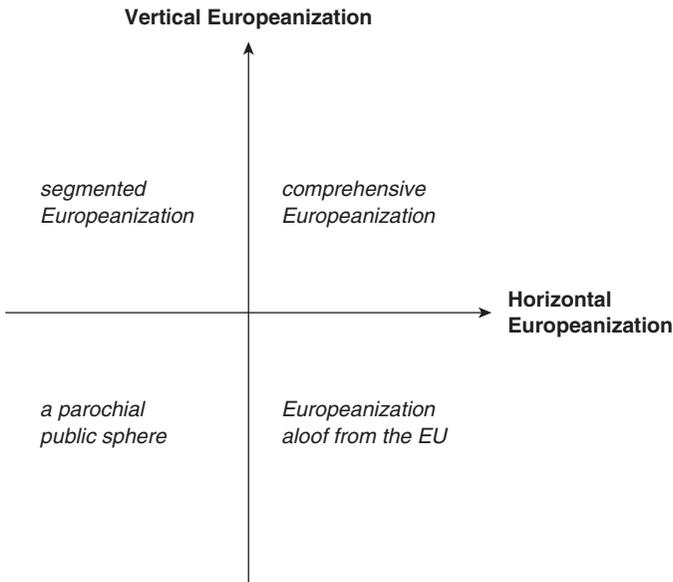


Figure 1 Four patterns of Europeanization

3. *Europeanization aloof from the EU*: this would mean horizontal without vertical Europeanization. There would be an increasingly intensive communicative exchange between European neighbours but not more attention being paid to the EU as such.
4. *A parochial public sphere*: if there is neither vertical nor horizontal Europeanization, national media will not adapt in any way to the fact that political competences have been shifted away from national governments and capitals.²

What kind of development of the public sphere is likely to occur in different newspapers? An all-encompassing theory leading to hypotheses that predict patterns of Europeanization is not yet available and probably never will be. The number of factors that influence the focus and shape of debates in the media is enormous and will lead to a large degree of contingency. Therefore, any theory consisting of a limited set of hypotheses will only be able to explain a limited amount of variance.

Drawing on the relatively scarce literature on this topic³ and theories about news selection, we have identified two bundles of factors that can plausibly be expected to explain differences in levels of horizontal and vertical Europeanization between different newspapers. The first bundle comprises political factors related to characteristics of the country in which the

respective newspaper is situated. The second bundle concerns media factors related to the profile of the individual newspaper under analysis. Some factors tend to explain the level of vertical Europeanization, while others are more likely to affect horizontal Europeanization. These factors lead to the following hypotheses.

Political factors

Hypothesis 1: The more sceptical the public is about European integration in general, the more media coverage will be given to the contested issue of EU politics (vertical Europeanization).

This hypothesis is derived from news value theory. The theory, dating back to Östgaard (1965) and Galtung and Ruge (1965), assumes that there is a set of criteria (news factors) that guides the selection of topics by journalists. In line with the popular wisdom that 'only bad news is good news', negativism is identified as one important news factor (for more extensive research on negativism, see, for example, Bohle, 1986). We assume that in countries in which the EU is seen as threatening or negative, news about the EU will arouse more attention as it constitutes 'bad news'. Consequently, public scepticism may actually enhance vertical Europeanization.

Hypothesis 2: The earlier the accession of a country to the EU, the more established is reporting and debating EU policy (vertical Europeanization).

Theories of path dependence (Pierson, 2000) stress self-enforcing cycles of positive feedback mechanisms that develop over time and constitute the framework for future action. This idea can be easily applied to media production and consumption. Working routines of journalists take time to develop, and the audience only slowly gets used to new topics of discussion like the EU. Over time, audience expectations and journalistic selection criteria might converge towards accepting that the EU is a topic suited for continuous in-depth discussion in newspapers. Thus, 'old' member states might have a more elaborated coverage of EU affairs than new member states. This hypothesis has to take into account the fact that around the accession date itself, the EU is inevitably a prominent topic on the national news agenda. Following our hypothesis, we would nevertheless assume that this is only a temporary peak in the attention paid to the EU and that it will take much longer to make the EU a genuine part of national debates.

Hypothesis 3: The smaller and less powerful a country is, the more attention it will pay to its neighbouring countries (horizontal Europeanization).

Here the line of reasoning is that weaker countries depend more heavily on their neighbours politically and economically, and thus their media outlets will pay more attention to what is going on abroad as well (for a

related line of thought, see Berkel, 2006). Furthermore, it is possible that in small countries there is a perceived lack of cultural resources: journalists might feel that a discourse is incomplete if there is only a small ensemble of national speakers involved. For very specific questions there might even be no national expert, so one would have to rely on a foreign source.

Hypothesis 4: The more open citizens of a country are to identify with communities beyond the nation-state, the more the national media will be interested in coverage and discussion of the affairs of other European countries (horizontal Europeanization).

Here, again, we might fall back on the theory of news values, which considers identification an important news factor. Journalists assume that people will be more interested in news about issues and countries they can identify with (Östgaard, 1965). Furthermore, theories and research on collective identity formation have identified national differences in the construction of nationalism, distinguishing a more exclusive form of nationalism in some European countries from a more open kind of nationalism that allows the incorporation of transnational identification in others. Thus, European integration resonates better with some national identity traditions than with others (Laffan, 2001; Marcussen et al., 1999). We therefore assume that people who are more likely to be able to incorporate the idea of European integration into their own collective identity construction will tend to pay more attention to other European countries.

Media factors

Following the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1986), the hypotheses related to media factors distinguish between actors, resources and rules. Editors (actors) engage in reporting practices such as referring to EU institutions, quoting speakers from abroad, debating EU issues or other European countries' affairs. The number of journalists available for EU coverage or the coverage of foreign countries can be identified as a resource for the transnationalization of newspaper content. Among the rules that shape reporting, there are of course news values, which we have discussed already. Often, there is also a more or less explicit editorial mission of the individual paper that influences the daily work routines of those in charge of selecting the content for the paper. This mission might include a focus on international affairs or EU politics.

Hypothesis 5: A higher share of correspondents in Brussels makes coverage of EU affairs more likely (vertical Europeanization).

If there are more people available for covering EU topics, it is more likely that there would be more coverage. The only journalists who are usually able

to devote all their time to EU issues are, of course, the correspondents in Brussels (as Belgian affairs and the NATO will normally not demand that much of their time). So the number of Brussels correspondents in proportion to the entire journalistic staff of a paper might determine the degree of vertical Europeanization.

Hypothesis 6: A higher share of correspondents in other European capitals makes coverage of other European countries' affairs more likely (horizontal Europeanization).

The equivalent reasoning applies to the influence of correspondents in other European capitals on the level of horizontal Europeanization.

Hypothesis 7: The stronger and more explicit the commitment of a newspaper to Europe, the more extensive the coverage of EU affairs will be (vertical Europeanization).

Formal or informal rules in a newspaper organization influence the choices that journalists make. One way of finding explicit evidence of these rules is by looking at the mission statements as published, for example, on the websites of the respective papers. Do they mention EU coverage, or stress that national debates should be aware that a large degree of political power has been shifted to the decision-making machinery in Brussels and Strasbourg? The result of this kind of mission to cover the EU could be the introduction of editorial space reserved for the coverage of EU affairs, for example a daily page on EU issues. So this would be an obvious indicator of the commitment of a newspaper to covering the EU.

The overall design of the study

Our study comprises (1) a content analysis of quality newspapers that allows us to identify different patterns of Europeanization and (2) a regression analysis that tests our hypotheses explaining different patterns of Europeanization.

Design of the content analysis: measuring Europeanization

As our normative concept of the public sphere stresses the importance of public *debate*, i.e. the exchange of opinions backed up by arguments, as a prerequisite for the functioning of a democracy (Peters, 2005), we focus on the quality press where this demanding form of public discourse is more likely to occur. Our sample consists of the most influential quality dailies of five different European countries: *Die Presse* (Austria), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* (Germany), *The Times* (Great Britain), *Le Monde* (France) and *Politiken* (Denmark). This selection provides us with enough variance concerning the factors we assume to be relevant for explaining differences in the

Table 1 Dimensions of Europeanization

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Operationalization</i>
Vertical	Visibility of EU institutions Focus on EU politics	Are EU institutions mentioned in the text? Are EU politics the main subject of an article?
Horizontal	Focus on other EU countries Extended quotations from speakers from other EU countries	Are other EU member states the main subject of an article? Are speakers from other EU countries quoted in more than one sentence within an article?

level of Europeanization. In line with our normative focus, we selected only articles on *any topic of political discourse* that were likely to contain some form of exchange of opinions, i.e. editorials, commentaries, interviews, guest contributions from external authors and longer news analysis or debate-style articles. In order to trace the *process* of Europeanization, our analysis covers the years 1982, 1989, 1996 and 2003. By building *two ‘constructed weeks’*⁴ per year of analysis, we were able to obtain a representative sample of routine coverage avoiding any potential biases from exceptional events that draw attention towards or away from Europe.⁵

We measure vertical and horizontal Europeanization by using two indicators for each dimension (see Table 1). Vertical Europeanization is analysed in terms of (1) the visibility of EU institutions and (2) the focus of articles on EU politics. Horizontal Europeanization is measured by looking for articles (1) focusing on other EU countries and (2) featuring extended quotes of voices from other EU countries. A reliability test preceded the content analysis and proved the framework to be reliable.⁶

Design of the regression analysis: explaining Europeanization

In order to test our hypotheses concerning the factors that potentially influence the level of vertical and horizontal Europeanization, we first had to establish comparative index values for all independent variables for each newspaper. To determine these values, we conducted short telephone interviews with journalists from all the newspapers in our sample. In addition, we used data gathered from the existing literature and from Eurobarometer surveys⁷ (see Table 2).

Table 2 Possible influence factors

<i>Type</i>	<i>Factor</i>	<i>Comparative index value based on</i>	<i>Europeanization</i>
Political	Popular EU scepticism (H1)	Average net support for EU membership (Eurobarometer)	Vertical
	Date of accession (H2)	Date of accession	Vertical
	Power/size (H3)	GDP and population ¹	Horizontal
	Europeanized identity (H4)	Average percentage of people identifying not with 'nation only', but at least partly with Europe (Eurobarometer)	Horizontal
Media	Brussels correspondents (H5)	Share of Brussels correspondents in proportion to full-time journalists (interviews)	Vertical
	Foreign correspondents (H6)	Share of foreign correspondents in EU countries in proportion to full-time journalists (interviews)	Horizontal
	Editorial mission to cover EU (H7)	Whether the newspaper understands itself as only national or claims any European mandate and whether regular sections of the newspaper are devoted to EU coverage (and since when) (information material from newspapers, interviews, secondary analysis)	Vertical

¹ The figures are taken from Weidenfeld and Wessels (2006: 458) and are based on data provided by the Federal Statistical Office in Germany.

A regression analysis was used to test the explanatory power of the different potential influence factors on each of our indicators of Europeanization. As our dependent variables are dichotomous variables (e.g. an article either focuses on EU politics or it does not), we had to employ logistic regression analysis.

The results of our analysis are presented in two steps. First we present the findings of our content analysis as well as a more qualitative discussion of the influence the different factors may have had on the particular pattern of Europeanization. In a second section, we discuss the results of the systematic test of our hypotheses across all the newspapers in our sample.

Distinct patterns of Europeanization

Our content analysis finds different patterns of Europeanization in different newspapers. A distinct pattern of Europeanization has evolved for each newspaper, and there is no evidence that these patterns are converging over time.

Le Monde: segmented Europeanization

The coverage of *Le Monde* is a clear-cut example of the pattern that we have called 'segmented Europeanization': it has an outstanding level of vertical monitoring of EU governance and a relatively low level of attention paid and editorial space dedicated to speakers and politics in other EU countries (see Table 3). The high level of vertical Europeanization concerns the mere mentioning of EU institutions as well as devoting whole articles to the EU. It is worth noting that, until 2001, *Le Monde* used to have only one correspondent in Brussels, but now has an office of four correspondents. In Paris, there is a European editor responsible for channelling the input from Brussels into the newspaper (Guiraudon et al., 2004: 2). In 2002, an EU page was introduced, which appears several times a week. All these measures have apparently contributed to the establishment of routine coverage of EU events that ranks solidly above the levels reached by other European newspapers. EU coverage is clearly part of *Le Monde's* editorial mission. The newspaper has stressed in a description of its aims: 'La plupart des événements, ne peuvent se comprendre à l'intérieur du seul cadre national' [Most events cannot be understood from the perspective of a national frame alone] (*Le Monde*, 2003). In research interviews, journalists from *Le Monde* outrightly acknowledge: 'The newspaper is pro-European' (Baisnée and Frinault, 2006: 49).

FAZ: Europeanization aloof from the EU

While *Le Monde* showed much vertical and not much horizontal Europeanization, the German *FAZ* shows the opposite pattern: relatively low levels of vertical and relatively high levels of horizontal Europeanization. The EU is mentioned less frequently than in other newspapers and there is a lower

average number of articles focusing on the EU. Nevertheless, *FAZ* pays more attention to international affairs and foreign countries. So, in the case of *FAZ*, we find a high degree of transnationalization, in which Europeanization is embedded. This might explain the somewhat puzzling pattern of high levels of 'Europeanization' aloof from the EU.

This high level of transnationalization is reflected in the large number of foreign correspondents at *FAZ*. The paper has a total of 46 correspondents, which is twice as many as *Le Monde* employs. The relatively low level of attention for the EU is at odds with the total of six correspondents employed in Brussels: *FAZ* has more correspondents in Brussels than any other newspaper in our sample but this does not lead to more EU coverage in the newspaper. There exists a weekly EU page, but beyond that the EU does not appear to generate much interest. A possible intervening variable that might explain this specific case is the *FAZ* editorial mission. In contrast to *Le Monde*, the objective that the *FAZ* has undertaken to fulfil, as declared in its mission statement on the newspaper's website, is reflected in the motto 'Zeitung für Deutschland' [newspaper for Germany], which has been flagged on the front page since the paper's foundation in 1949.⁸

Die Presse: almost comprehensive Europeanization

Die Presse shows a pattern of Europeanization similar to the one in *FAZ*. We find a much higher level of horizontal than vertical Europeanization. Again this high level of observation of other countries and discursive exchange with other EU member states is embedded in a highly transnationalized coverage. As the level on both dimensions of Europeanization is higher than in *FAZ*, *Die Presse* comes closest to what we called a comprehensive pattern of Europeanization in our analytical framework. A closer look reveals, however, that 'almost comprehensive Europeanization' would be a more appropriate categorization. This is due to a specific pattern of Europeanization on the vertical dimension. *Die Presse* is just above average in mentioning EU institutions but it does not perform well on the more demanding criterion of focusing on EU politics (see Table 3). This indicates a rather superficial treatment of the EU. It is mentioned, but does not become an important topic in the national discourse.

The Times: a relatively parochial public sphere

The Times is more self-centred than any other newspaper under analysis and pays little attention to what is going on abroad. Its parochialism is not

confined to neglecting the other EU countries but foreign countries in general. Since we know from other research as well that the British press is the 'most parochial voice' in Europe (Pfetsch et al., 2004), it is surprising to see at least moderate levels of attention paid to EU politics. This is even more striking since *The Times* does not even have a single full-time correspondent in Brussels (only a 'super stringer') and there is no editorial space reserved for EU coverage in the form of a regular EU page. News values might be a powerful intervening variable: for *The Times* the EU constitutes a good source for bad news. Furthermore, relatively intense discussion of EU policies can be explained by the prominence of the issue of BSE (bovine spongiform encephalopathy), which triggered a good deal of discussion about the EU.

Politiken: a very modest middle-ground

Even though *Politiken* is in the same quadrant of our framework as *The Times*, it is located much further towards the centre of our graph (see Figure 2). This implies that the pattern of Europeanization found in *Politiken* forms some kind of middle-ground. However, this middle-ground is only very modestly Europeanized. *Politiken* shows a level of vertical Europeanization a little below average. The place of the EU in the coverage by *Politiken* has nevertheless increased over time. This rise is reflected in the introduction of a weekly Europe page in 2002 and the introduction of a rotation system in which journalists from the national newsroom rotate to Brussels for a couple of months at a time. In terms of horizontal Europeanization, *Politiken* shows relatively little interest in the coverage of other EU countries, which is in line with other findings that Danish political discourse is generally not very outward oriented (Branner, 2000).

As we have seen, each newspaper reveals its own peculiarities with respect to talking about Europe. Figure 2 shows where the five countries are located in our analytical framework. The data presented here have pointed to the relevance of some of the factors we expected to determine Europeanization. It remains to be seen whether the correlations found in specific cases prove to be valid as general factors influencing Europeanization across different newspapers. We, therefore, attempt to go beyond single cases and by testing our hypotheses in a more quantitative design.

Explaining differential Europeanization

How do the influence factors that we hypothesized help us to explain the different patterns of Europeanization? We have tested our hypotheses on

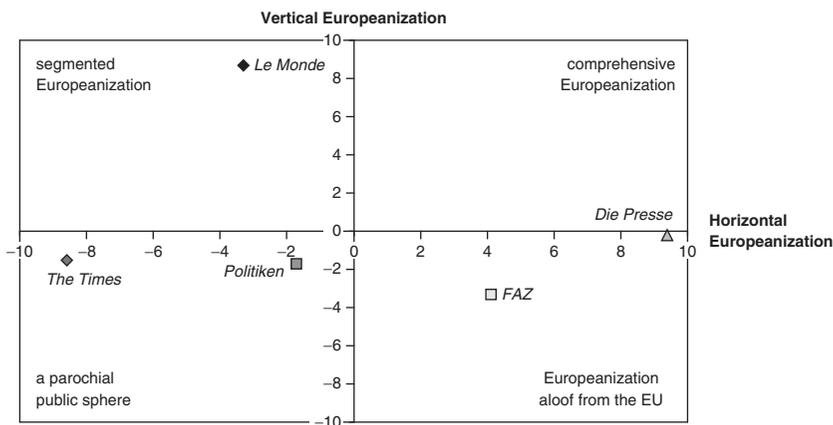


Figure 2 Different levels of Europeanization

Basis: Average deviation from mean for both indicators of vertical Europeanization (visibility of EU institutions/focus on EU politics) or horizontal Europeanization (focus on other EU countries/extended quotations of speakers from other EU countries).

two indicators for each dimension. We have used comparative index values as independent variables and our indicators of Europeanization as dependent variables in a logistic regression analysis. In the vertical dimension, two indicators of Europeanization (articles referring to EU institutions and articles with EU politics as the focus of the article) were regressed on four potential influence factors: 'popular EU scepticism', 'date of accession', 'correspondents in Brussels' and 'editorial mission' to cover the EU. The regression models for the levels of horizontal Europeanization tested three potential influence factors: 'power/size' of a country, 'Europeanized identity' and 'foreign correspondents'. Table 4 shows a rough overview of the results (please see the Appendix for the exact statistical data).

Three of our seven factors have proven to have a significant explanatory power on both indicators tested. (1) Vertical Europeanization is best explained by the editorial mission of a paper: the more a newspaper defines its mission as 'European' and the more editorial space it thus routinely dedicates to the coverage of the EU in the form of a regular EU page, the more likely it will mention EU institutions and discuss EU policies. (2) Horizontal Europeanization is influenced by two factors: (a) the leading quality newspapers are more likely to debate other EU countries and quote foreign speakers in small member states than in big member states; (b) more foreign correspondents also lead to an increased level of horizontal Europeanization.

Table 3 Levels of Europeanization – overall mean and deviations from mean

<i>Measuring Europeanization</i>	<i>Overall mean</i>	<i>Deviations from mean</i>				
		<i>Le Monde</i>	<i>FAZ</i>	<i>Die Presse</i>	<i>The Times</i>	<i>Politiken</i>
Visibility of EU institutions ^a	21.2	11.4	-5.2	1.7	-2.8	-2.3
Focus on EU politics ^a	5.5	6.0	-1.4	-2.1	-0.3	-1.1
<i>Mean vertical Europ.</i>	13.4	8.7	-3.3	-0.2	-1.5	-1.7
Focus on other EU countries ^b	18.0	-2.4	7.5	6.9	-8.9	-5.9
Extended quotations of speakers from other EU countries ^c	17.4	-4.2	0.7	11.9	-8.2	2.5
<i>Mean horizontal Europ.</i>	17.7	3.3	4.1	9.4	-8.6	-1.7

All values are percentages.

The table shows that for instance 21.2 percent of all articles mentioned EU institutions; the share in *Le Monde* was 11.4 percentage points above the overall mean (32.6 percent), the share in *FAZ* 5.2 percentage points below (16.0 percent).

^aAll articles in the sample (*N* = 2964).

^bAll articles incl. press reviews (*N* = 3059).

^cAll extensive quotations (*N* = 2640).

Two factors for vertical Europeanization have a significant impact on only one of the indicators tested. These are a large degree of popular Euroscepticism and an early date of accession. If public opinion shows scepticism towards the EU, the likelihood of articles mentioning the EU is greater – just as we expected. Euroscepticism does not enhance the likelihood of articles focusing on the EU, however. Scepticism, therefore, only goes hand in hand with a superficial interest in the EU. The EU is merely used as a rhetorical reference. Austria provides a good example of this phenomenon. Its population is highly Eurosceptic and *Die Presse* mentions the EU more often than the newspapers in the other countries, but its treatment of the EU as the main topic is way below average. Long-standing EU membership has just the opposite effect: the longer a country is a member of the EU, the greater are the chances of finding articles that focus on the EU, but there is no higher frequency of mentioning EU institutions. Newspapers in countries that have long been assimilated in the EU tend to discuss EU politics more often, as both journalists and readers have

Table 4 Explaining Europeanization – overview of tested hypotheses

<i>Vertical Europeanization</i>			
<i>Type</i>	<i>Hypotheses</i>	<i>Indicator 1 (Visibility of EU institutions)</i>	<i>Indicator 2 (Focus on EU politics)</i>
Political	Popular EU scepticism (H1)	True	False
	Date of accession (H2)	False	True
Media	Brussels correspondents (H5)	False	False
	Editorial mission to cover EU (H7)	True	True
<i>Horizontal Europeanization</i>			
<i>Type</i>	<i>Hypotheses</i>	<i>Indicator 1 (Focus on other European countries)</i>	<i>Indicator 2 (Ext. quotations from other Eur. countries)</i>
Political	Power/size (H3)	True	True
	Europeanized identity (H4)	False	False
Media	Foreign correspondents (H6)	True	True

become more accustomed to this subject. Long-standing EU membership thus promotes journalism that goes beyond mere mentioning of EU institutions and discusses EU policies.

Just as important in this research process is the falsification of a hypothesis that had hitherto seemed perfectly plausible. The share of Brussels correspondents relative to all full-time journalists working for a newspaper does not have the effects that we expected. A higher share of EU correspondents does not translate into more frequent mentioning of

the EU or into more in-depth coverage of the EU. This is striking as a large number of correspondents in other European countries did enhance the likelihood of horizontal Europeanization. Compared to their colleagues in Brussels, these correspondents seem to be more successful in getting their articles placed in their respective newspapers; if they were not there to cover their respective countries, the overall coverage of these countries would diminish.

How can we explain the different effects of Brussels correspondents and other foreign correspondents? We do not think that journalists in Brussels do not do their job properly. Having a number of correspondents in Brussels seems to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for broad in-depth discussion of EU issues. Other factors related to the home office such as the self-image of the newspaper, the news priorities of the editors-in-chief and the policies of the news desk at home seem to intervene. Brussels correspondents are having trouble placing EU topics in their papers to the extent that they decouple from the editorial culture of their respective paper. Studies show that there is this specific tendency among Brussels correspondents: they 'appear to be distinct group among journalists with a specific set of norms' (Statham, 2007: 471).

Conclusion

This article pursued two aims: (1) to develop a framework suited to identify and explain different patterns of Europeanization and (2) to test the influence factors put forward in our theory in order to seek a better explanation of the Europeanization of public debate in the national quality press.

In line with other research, the newspapers under analysis (*Le Monde*, *FAZ*, *The Times*, *Politiken*, *Die Presse*) showed different patterns of Europeanization. While it was plausible to expect the existence of differences, our analysis also showed that these differences do not diminish over time. Each newspaper has developed its own unique pattern of Europeanization that remains relatively stable over time.

Le Monde shows a pattern of segmented Europeanization. It is the forerunner in vertical Europeanization but shows below-average levels of horizontal Europeanization. At the other end of the analytical spectrum, *FAZ* revealed a pattern of Europeanization aloof from the EU, with high levels of attention paid to other EU countries and below-average levels of attention to the EU as such. The Austrian case is similar to the German one, albeit with much higher levels of horizontal Europeanization. Taking

all indicators together, this earns *Die Presse* the highest score of Europeanization. *The Times* and *Politiken*, on the other hand, are below average on both dimensions of Europeanization and therefore represent relatively parochial public spheres.

Our regression analysis has identified several factors that can explain the different patterns systematically. Some of these factors are very stable – and therefore unlikely to lead to a convergence of newspaper debates over time. Reporting from a big and powerful country, journalists pay less attention to other countries' affairs. Long-standing EU membership leads to a higher level of vertical Europeanization. Nevertheless, there are also variable explanatory factors that might bring about a closure of the gap between highly Europeanized newspapers such as *Le Monde* and almost parochial papers like *The Times*. For example, a change of editorial mission towards covering the EU could lead to editorial decisions such as introducing regular EU pages and thus to more EU coverage. The discussion of EU affairs offers far greater opportunities for speakers from other EU countries to be included than other topics. So, there is a link between levels of vertical and horizontal Europeanization with the former promoting the latter.⁹ However, so far, this link was weaker than the factors stabilizing *different* patterns of Europeanization. Differences in size and power of countries will persist and they will remain a brake block to convergence.

Is a hypothetical change of editorial missions towards Europe likely to happen under those conditions? Will journalists develop a 'cosmopolitan discourse' (Heikkilä and Kunelius, 2006)? This change is unlikely to occur in the newsroom alone, as journalists can hardly afford to completely undock their professional practices from public culture. If there is, as we observe in Great Britain, a general culture of disinterest in the EU and international affairs, editors-in-chief at *The Times* will not risk introducing newsroom policies that focus on frequent in-depth coverage of foreign countries and the EU. As editors fear to lose newspaper readers in times of a shrinking newspaper audience, they will not dare to introduce this kind of change. Only in situations where newspapers feel that they can afford to challenge their readers, will they do so. In times where editorial impetus is subordinated to the maximization of profits, the press will hardly become an agent of transnationalization. However, as the example of *Le Monde* has shown, it is not impossible for newsroom policies to change towards a deeper and more prominent discussion of European affairs. If this kind of change occurs anywhere, it is most likely to occur in the elite quality press.

Appendix

Table A1 Logistic regression of influence factors on indicators of vertical Europeanization

<i>Potential influence factors</i>	<i>Visibility EU institutions</i> (N = 2964)		<i>Focus on EU politics</i> (N = 2964)	
	e^β	$e^\beta_{stand.}$	e^β	$e^\beta_{stand.}$
Year of analysis	1.30***	1.35***	1.61***	1.72***
EU politics as focus of the article	177.62***	3.25***	n.a.	n.a.
Index EU mission and space	1.63***	1.80***	1.28**	1.34**
Popular EU scepticism	1.65***	1.56***	–	–
Date of accession	–	–	1.52**	1.37**
Correspondents in Brussels	–	–	0.56***	0.69***
Constant	0.01***	0.25***	0.01***	0.05***

Notes: Logistic regression: Nagelkerke R^2 adj. for EU institutions = .27, for EU politics = .07.
 e^β – logistic effect coefficient, $e^\beta_{stand.}$ – standardized logistic effect coefficient. n.a. not applicable
 $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$ (Wald).

Table A2 Logistic regression of influence factors on indicators of horizontal Europeanization

<i>Potential influence factors</i>	<i>Focus on other EU countries</i> (N = 3059)		<i>Ext. quotations of speakers from other EU countries</i> (N = 2640)	
	e^β	$e^\beta_{stand.}$	e^β	$e^\beta_{stand.}$
Year of analysis	0.89*	0.88*	0.84**	0.83**
EU politics as focus of the article	5.80***	1.49***	9.67***	1.78***
Size/power of a country	1.15***	1.27***	1.38***	1.61***
Correspondents in EU nations	1.88***	1.43***	1.82***	1.40***
Europeanized identity	–	–	–	–
Constant	0.06***	0.18***	0.04***	0.18***

Notes: Logistic regression: Nagelkerke R^2 adj. for focus on other EU countries = .07, for extended quotations of speakers from other EU countries = .14.
 e^β – logistic effect coefficient, $e^\beta_{stand.}$ – standardized logistic effect coefficient.
 $*p < .05$, $**p < .01$, $***p < .001$ (Wald).

Notes

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1. For a good overview of the most recent literature, please see of the *European Journal of Communication* (22(4) 2007), which has a number of contributions dedicated to this topic, and the recent compilation by Fossum and Schlesinger (2007).
2. While this article focuses on Europeanization, one also has to control for the possibility that Europeanization might be embedded in a more general trend of westernization (including Europe and North America) or globalization, something that was elaborated in more depth elsewhere (Brüggemann et al., 2006; Sifft et al., 2007).
3. Of the fast growing number of publications on the European public sphere, only very few are concerned with possible explanations for country differences: for example, the EUROPUB report by della Porta (2003) assembles an impressive list of hypotheses but then fails to test any of them. Other studies discussing possible explanations are mostly the work of other members of EUROPUB such as Adam and Berkel (2004), Berkel (2006) and Guiraudon et al. (2004).
4. For building constructed weeks, the sample dates are stratified by day of the week: i.e. for each year we sampled all newspaper articles of two randomly selected Mondays, two Tuesdays and so on. For an account of the effectiveness of this method see Riffe et al. (1993).
5. FAZ 769, *Le Monde* 534, *The Times* 598, *Die Presse* 604 and *Politiken* 554 articles.
6. The test showed satisfactory values for all variables relevant to the analysis: institutions (kappa 0.79), subject of article (kappa 0.75), geographical focus (kappa 0.80) and origin of extensive quotations (kappa 0.70).
7. We use the 'Mannheim Eurobarometer Trend File', which covers the years 1973–2002. We would like to thank the GESIS/ZA (Central Archive for Empirical Social Research) for preparing and providing the data.
8. The original wording of the text is: 'An der Absicht, das ganze Deutschland zu spiegeln, hat sich bis heute nichts geändert' [Our aim to mirror the whole of Germany has remained unchanged]; at: www.FAZ.net
9. This link was also confirmed by the logistic regression analysis where 'EU politics as focus of the article' had a significant impact on both indicators of horizontal Europeanization.

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