

# Contents

1	Introduction: Establishing Fundamentals	9
1.1	Starting Point and Research Interest: A Comparison of Public Debate in Media	9
1.1.1	Media as Civil Society Actors within the Public Sphere	11
1.1.2	Issue: European Integration	14
1.2	Methodology A: The Comparative Method and Choice of Cases	15
1.3	Methodology B: A Qualitative Research Design	18
1.4	Disciplinary Links and Gaps to Be Filled	19
1.5	Research Questions	22
1.6	Plan of the Book	24
2	Civil Society, the Public and the Media	26
2.1	Civil Society	26
2.2	Media and the Public Sphere	33
2.2.1	Media Functions	34
2.2.2	Media Influence on the Public: Framing Reality	37
2.2.3	Covering the EU: Characteristics of a Specific Issue Field	41
2.3	Civil Society and the Media	51
2.3.1	Journalists as Political Actors	55
2.3.2	Thus far: Theoretical Background and Assumptions for Analysis	59
3	Methods: Comparative Media Analysis	64
3.1	What Is Included: Time Frame and Issue	64
3.1.1	Newspapers: Readership and Composition	65
3.1.2	Languages	69
3.1.3	Data from Different Sources	70
3.2	Expert Interviews With EU Correspondents	70
3.2.1	The Interview Guidelines	71
3.2.2	The Interviews	74
3.2.3	Transcription	75
3.2.4	Analysis	75
3.3	Content Analysis: The Value of Comparing Content	77
3.3.1	Subject of Analysis	77
3.3.2	A Word on Databases	77
3.3.3	Approaches: Content and Frame Analysis	78
3.4	Literature Review and Survey Data	84
4	Country Reports I: Media Reporting in Germany and the Netherlands	85
4.1	Models of Media Culture	86
4.2	The Journalistic Culture: Role-definitions and Approaches	89
4.2.1	The Netherlands	90
4.2.2	Germany	95
4.3	Working “at the EU”: The Correspondents’ Perspective	100
4.4	The Overall Picture: Are We that Different?	111

5	Country Reports II: European Integration in Germany and the Netherlands	115
5.1	The Myth of Membership: “What is the EU to us?” – From the Beginnings of European Integration to the Maastricht Treaty	116
5.1.1	The Netherlands	116
5.1.2	Germany	121
5.2	Political Developments in European Politics after Maastricht	126
5.2.1	The Netherlands	126
5.2.2	Germany	128
5.3	German and Dutch Public Opinion on European Integration	130
5.3.1	General Agreement Figures	130
5.3.2	Issues: What Should the EU be Like?	136
5.4	The Overall Picture: “European Integration is ...”	140
6	A Characterisation: Europe’s Image in Germany and the Netherlands	144
6.1	A Final Word of Caution and How to Read this Chapter	144
6.2	What is Written About: Frames in EU Coverage	147
6.3	When Was it Written? EU Coverage and Frames Over Time	150
6.4	Same Importance, Same Focus? – Issues that Make the Agenda in Both Countries	154
6.4.1	Frames on the Decision-making Level	155
6.4.2	Frames on EU Efficiency	161
6.4.3	Frames on EU Financing	175
6.4.4	Frames on the Future of Europe	181
6.5	A Different Agenda – Issues that Are Either More Dutch or More German	186
6.5.1	Frames on Political Integration	186
6.5.2	Frames on Economic Integration ...	202
6.5.3	Frames on Geographical Integration (Enlargement and Partnerships)	209
6.5.4	Frames on Country Roles	217
6.5.5	Frames on Democracy and Citizen Participation	227
6.5.6	Frames on Public Support for European Integration	238
6.6	Synopsis	254
6.6.1	EU Coverage in German and Dutch Newspapers: Who, When, and About What?	255
6.6.2	Frames With a Clear Country Division	261
6.6.3	Frames With a Country and Newspaper Division	262
6.6.4	Frames With a Newspaper Division	263
6.6.5	Theoretical Links With Chapter 2	264
6.6.6	Frame Relations: the Even Bigger Picture	266
7	Conclusion	269
7.1	The Political Perspective Compared to Newspaper Frames	273
7.1.1	The Netherlands	273

7.1.2	Germany	275
7.2	The Public Perspective Compared to Newspaper Frames	277
7.3	Actors in Civil Society?	283
7.4	Reflection and Prospect	285
8	Tables, Figures and Abbreviations	287
8.1	Tables	287
8.2	Figures	287
8.3	Abbreviations	288
9	References	290
9.1	Newspaper Comments	290
9.2	Literature	296