

# The Media

Europeanisation/German Politics

# Outline

## Intro

Recap

Intro

"Obstacles or motors?"

Theory

Data & methods

Findings

## Summary

Summary

Your turn



## Last week: Europeanisation of German parties

- ▶ No European parties
- ▶ Europeanisation strengthens party elites (PM, ministers) vis-a-vis party organisation
- ▶ Party organisation try to control elites but cannot
- ▶ May contribute to fragmented German bargaining position

## German parties and Europe

- ▶ Most relevant German parties very pro-integration
- ▶ Course of European integration (i.e. market liberalisation) presents left parties with dilemma
- ▶ So: *what* kind of integration → potential left-right conflict

## Today: Europe and the (German) media

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  - ▶ Few European identities
  - ▶ No European parties
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  - ▶ Private media operate in linguistically separated markets (Language barriers)
  - ▶ Nation state is and remains frame of reference for citizens/journalists

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- ▶ Non-Europeanised (and Euro-sceptic?) media contribute to problem
- ▶ Media really bad?



# Two faces of media Europeanisation

1. Emergence of truly European media/media system unlikely  
(But:
  - ▶ Resurrection of the 'European', other websites
  - ▶ Bi-/multi-lateral newspaper co-operations
  - ▶ CNN Europe, France 24, Euronews . . . )
2. Europeanisation of national media

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- ▶ Because media focus on
  - ▶ Personalities
  - ▶ Conflict
  - ▶ Emotions
- ▶ European politics
  - ▶ Normally involves none of the above
  - ▶ Actors do not seek/avoid publicity
  - ▶ Does not easily fit into left-right schema

# How German see 'Europe'



# The media and politics

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- ▶ Political effects



# The media and politics

- ▶ 'Conveyors of external information'
- ▶ 'Political actors in their own right'
- ▶ Political effects
  1. Agenda setting and priming (what is newsworthy)
  2. 'Second-order agenda setting' (context, framing)
  3. Explicit opinion making (comments, editorials)

## Research question

- ▶ How Europeanised are the German (print) media ...
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- ▶ Compared to other actors?
- ▶ Sub-dimensions
  1. Attention to policy domains
  2. Attention to European institutions
  3. Attention to actors in other countries
  4. Evaluation

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  1. Claimant (who?)
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- ▶ Can be made by
  - ▶ Politicians/parties
  - ▶ Interest groups/civil society actors
  - ▶ Media
- ▶ Reported by ...

## Study design

- ▶ Sample from (mostly national) print media
  - ▶ SZ, FAZ, Bild
  - ▶ plus Leipziger Volkszeitung
- ▶ News coverage and editorials 2000-2002
- ▶ 2184 issues in total
- ▶ Coded: elements of claim as above plus geographical/polity level

# Policy domains

- ▶ Not all domains created equal
- ▶ Seven domains/dimensions
  1. EU integration (meta)
  2. Monetary policies
  3. Agriculture
  4. Immigration
  5. Security policies
  6. Pensions
  7. Education



# Salience of European issues

Table 1. *Issue agenda in claim-making of German news media and political actors, 2000 and 2002 (percent).*

	SZ	FAZ	LVZ	Bild	Total German media actors <sup>15</sup>	German state and party actors	German civil society actors	All German non- media actors	All German actors
Monetary politics	23.7	20.7	16.9	39.4	22.2	6.5	31.2	13.2	17.2
Agriculture	5.9	4.9	11.3	9.1	6.0	9.4	6.1	8.7	7.5
Immigration	8.7	7.9	9.9	18.2	10.4	18.3	13.9	17.0	14.1
Troop deployment	19.0	6.8	8.5	3.0	11.8	10.0	1.3	7.9	9.6
Pensions/ retirement	9.9	10.5	15.5	18.2	11.8	22.4	20.3	21.7	17.3
Education	4.3	15.0	9.9	0.0	9.2	17.3	20.3	18.1	14.1
EU integration	28.5	34.2	28.2	12.1	28.5	16.0	6.9	13.5	20.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	253	266	71	33	684	617	231	853	1,537

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- ▶ Media make proportionally more claims on European integration
- ▶ So ...

# Vertical Europeanisation

- ▶ Press more likely to make claims w ref to European actors
- ▶ (In some domains where the EU is active)
- ▶ Media are *not* ignoring Europe (troop deployment)

# Horizontal Europeanisation

Table 3. *Percentage of claims by German actors with a horizontal European frame of reference, by actor and issue field, 2000 and 2002 (percent)<sup>15</sup>.*

	SZ	FAZ	LVZ	Bild	Total German media actors	German state and party actors	German civil society actors	All German non- media actors	All German actors
Monetary politics	20.0	23.6	25.0	0.0	20.4	17.5	4.2	8.9	15.5
Agriculture	33.3	15.4	0.0	(33.3)	19.5	19.0	21.4	21.6	20.9
Immigration	13.6	14.3	14.3	0.0	9.9	4.4	3.1	4.1	6.6
Troop deployment	16.7	16.7	16.7	(0.0)	16.1	11.3	(33.3)	11.9	14.2
Pensions/ retirement	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	2.5	0.7	0.0	0.5	1.1
Education	18.2	5.0	0.0	–	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
EU integration	59.7	56.0	60.0	(50.0)	58.5	46.5	31.3	44.4	53.2
Total	28.9	28.2	23.9	11.9	26.2	12.5	5.6	10.8	17.6
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*Note.* Percentages based on less than five cases are in brackets.

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- ▶ Press more likely to make claim w ref to foreign actors (in some domains)
- ▶ Civil society more parochial than media, contra neo-func (?)

# Evaluation: Integration and actors

Table 4. Average position of German actors regarding European Integration and European institutions and actors 2000–2002 (Means).

	General position regarding European integration	General position regarding European institutions and actors
Green Party	.44	-.11
Süddeutsche Zeitung	.44	-.11
FDP (Liberal Democrats)	.43	-.14
Bild-Zeitung	.38	-.38
Leipziger Volkszeitung	.38	-.18
SPD (Social Democrats)	.38	-.15
All media actors	.38	-.19
Federal government	.37	-.14
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	.35	-.24
CDU (Christian Democrats)	.31	-.48
All state and party actors	.30	-.20
Bundesbank (Federal Bank)	.26	.50
All non-media actors	.25	-.19
Experts and professionals	.20	-.13
Bundestag (Federal Parliament)	.17	-.21
All civil society actors	.14	-.17
Employers	.14	-.03
Regional and local governments	.05	-.61
CSU (Bavarian Christian Democrats)	.02	-.47
Farmers	.00	-.70
Labour unions	-.14	-.80
Overall average	.31	-.19
N	1,358	674

Note. The scale ranges from +1 very positive to -1 very negative.

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- ▶ Press more pro-integration and less sceptic than many other actors

# Frames

- ▶ Frames provide context for argument ('integration is good because it promotes our shared values')
- ▶ Two broad classes
  - ▶ Identity frames (principles, norms, values, governance) (ends)
  - ▶ Instrumental frames (political/economic advantages) (means)
- ▶ Press uses (proportionally) fewer instrumental frames than interest groups



# Summary

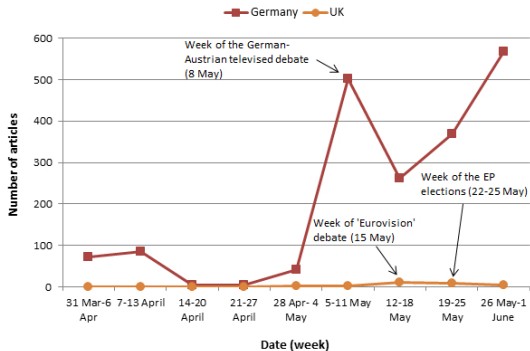
- ▶ Assumptions:
  - ▶ European politics does not fit media selection criteria
  - ▶ Media play to national audiences
  - ▶ Media euro-sceptic

# Summary

- ▶ Assumptions:
  - ▶ European politics does not fit media selection criteria
  - ▶ Media play to national audiences
  - ▶ Media euro-sceptic
- ▶ No evidence for that
  - ▶ Put more emphasis on EU integration in general
  - ▶ Refer more often to European/foreign players than other actors
  - ▶ Are rather pro-European
  - ▶ Are less instrumental than civil society actors

# Meanwhile: Spitzencandidating: UK vs. German Media

Chart 1: Number of articles in German and UK press citing both "Juncker" and "Schulz", weekly from 31 March 2014



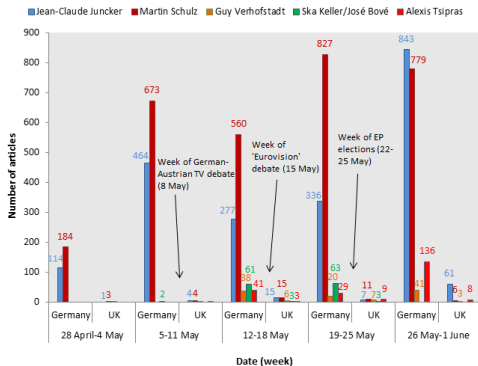
Note: Derived from Library Press Display searches.

Full story by Simon Hix and Stuart Wilks-Heeg <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2014/06/09/>

media-coverage-in-germany-and-the-uk-shows-why-both-countries-have-radically-different-views-over-who-s

# Meanwhile: Spitzencandidating: UK vs. German Media

Chart 2: Number of articles in German and UK press citing each candidate for EU Commission President by name, weekly from 28 April 2014



Note: Derived from Library Press Display searches.

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## Class questions

- ▶ In pairs: Can you identify any claims in the Spiegel International text?
- ▶ In groups of five students, discuss the following questions
  - ▶ Twelve years on, is Koopmans'/Pfetsch's description still valid?
  - ▶ How do electronic media differ from that image?