

SUB Hamburg



A/541583

**The Making of a European Public Sphere**  
*Media Discourse and Political Contention*

Edited by

**RUUD KOOPMANS**

*Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung*

**PAUL STATHAM**

*University of Bristol*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# Contents

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <i>Tables</i>   | <i>page</i> ix |
| <i>Figures</i>  | xiii           |
| <i>Contributors</i>   | xv             |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i>  | xvii           |
| Introduction: Europe's Search for a Public<br><i>Paul Statham</i>   | I              |
| PART I: A EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE: QUESTIONS AND APPROACH  |                |
| 1 The European Union and the Public Sphere: Conceptual Issues,<br>Political Tensions, Moral Concerns, and Empirical Questions<br><i>Jos de Beus</i>   | 13             |
| 2 Theoretical Framework, Research Design, and Methods<br><i>Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham</i>  | 34             |
| PART II: EUROPEAN PUBLIC DEBATES: VISIBILITY AND INCLUSIVENESS  |                |
| 3 The Europeanization of Public Spheres: Comparisons across<br>Issues, Time, and Countries<br><i>Ruud Koopmans, Jessica Erbe, and Martin F. Meyer</i> | 63             |
| 4 Winners and Losers, Supporters and Opponents in Europeanized<br>Public Debates<br><i>Ruud Koopmans</i>  | 97             |
| PART III: MASS MEDIA: PERFORMANCE, CLAIM MAKING,<br>AND FRAMING   |                |
| 5 Making Europe News: Journalism and Media Performance<br><i>Paul Statham</i>   | 125            |

|  |  |     |
|--|--|-----|
| 6  | The Media's Voice over Europe: Issue Salience, Openness, and Conflict Lines in Editorials<br><i>Barbara Pfetsch, Silke Adam, and Barbara Eschner</i>               | 151 |
| 7  | Transnational Political Communication on the Internet: Search Engine Results and Hyperlink Networks<br><i>Ruud Koopmans and Ann Zimmermann</i>                     | 171 |
| 8  | Framing the European Union in National Public Spheres<br><i>Juan Díez Medrano and Emily Gray</i>   | 195 |
| PART IV: POLITICAL ACTORS: COLLECTIVE ACTION AND PARTY COMPETITION |  |     |
| 9  | Going Public in the European Union: Action Repertoires of Collective Political Actors<br><i>Hanspeter Kriesi, Anke Tresch, and Margit Jochum</i>                   | 223 |
| 10   | Political Party Contestation: Emerging Euroskepticism or a Normalization of Eurocriticism?<br><i>Paul Statham, Ruud Koopmans, Anke Tresch, and Julie Firmstone</i> | 245 |
| PART V: CONCLUSION   |  |     |
| 11   | What Kind of Europeanized Public Politics?<br><i>Paul Statham</i>  | 277 |
|  | <i>References</i>  | 307 |
|  | <i>Index</i>   | 327 |