

News Media Representations of a Common EU Foreign and Security Policy. A Cross-National Content Analysis of CFSP Coverage in National Quality Newspapers

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Abstract:

This study is a cross-national comparative content analysis of the broadsheet press coverage of EU Common Foreign and Security issues in Britain, Germany, Greece, Spain and Poland between January 2001 and December 2005. We focused on the visibility of CFSP news, the degree of Europeanization of coverage, explicit evaluations of CFSP, and the presence of 'risk' and 'opportunity' frames. Our results show considerable variation both among countries and between broadsheets in the amount of attention to CFSP issues. We identified that, overall, CFSP was more visible in the news during key events. Coverage was primarily Europeanized in character, both at the level of featuring actors and geographical placement. When evaluative, CFSP news had a distinctive positive dimension, especially with reference to the EU as an entity. Coverage in most countries was significantly more frequently framed in terms of 'opportunity' rather than 'risk'. These findings suggest that the news coverage of CFSP is rather exceptional, compared to the coverage of EU in general. Implications for the formation of public opinion and the legitimacy of CFSP are discussed.

Introduction

Since the establishment of the European Economic Community the project of European integration has been mainly seen as an elite-driven process (Hallstein, 1972). However, as the focus of EU has moved to more political issues, on the one hand, and the use of referenda for deciding on EU developments and policy steps, on the other hand, is becoming a common practice, the importance of public involvement in EU political processes is increasingly acknowledged. The broad institutional developments within the third EU pillar, that of a EU Common EU Foreign and Security Policy, introduced in the Amsterdam Treaty, signify an important step towards further integration. Through the establishment of a *common* foreign security and defense policy among EU member states, the EU can acquire ‘considerable structure, salience and legitimacy in the process of international politics’ (Allen and Smith 1991: 116).¹

Thus, recently, scholars have started to focus on the need for democratic legitimacy within CFSP issues by considering the relevance of national discourses to the success of the entire project whose scope is still in the making (see Hoffman 2000, Meyer M. 2005). Under this perspective, several factors provide the rationale for formal and systematic investigation of the type of information people receive about CFSP issues. Yet, scientific knowledge about media representations of CFSP is virtually non-existent. European citizens consistently identify their national news media as their most important and preferred source of information about the EU and its policies (Eurobarometer 1999-2005). At the same time, it has been argued that mass mediated political communication is a prerequisite for the emergence of a ‘European Public Sphere’, playing a key role in ‘reducing’ the EU’s democratic deficit and stimulating public debate on the issue (Meyer, 1999; Schlesinger, 1997). Previous research has forcefully demonstrated that the media are more likely to shape public perceptions of international and foreign policy issues than those of domestic politics (Mutz, 1998; Iyengar, 1994; Page and Shapiro, 1992), also in the case of perceptions of EU legitimacy, democratic participation and public support for the EU (de Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2006; de Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2003; De Vreese and Semetko, 2001; Norris, 2000).

¹ All issues that fall under the auspices of a European Foreign, Security and Defence policy are the focus of our investigation. Nevertheless, for the sake of brevity we refer to that as ‘CFSP’.

Recognizing the centrality of mass media to a Europeanized public sphere within CFSP issues, the present study addresses the gap in empirical research. Drawing on cross-national quality newspaper content analyses, our aim is to investigate how much and what type of communication about CFSP issues is presented to the public. The period of study includes important EU and global events which gave rise to arguments on the desired direction of EU Foreign and Defence policy cooperation and transfer of national decision making processes to EU diplomacy. We examine the presence of characteristics of ‘Europeanization of national public spheres’ by identifying, in a comparative perspective, the patterns of visibility of CFSP stories in the news, the visibility of EU actors in CFSP stories, the degree of domesticity of CFSP stories and the evaluative dimensions of CFSP coverage.²

EU Public Sphere: Theoretical Considerations

Much has been written in recent years about the political legitimacy deficit of the EU. Despite differences in conceptualization, the alleged ‘democratic deficit’ of the EU mainly focuses on the fact that the continuous transfer of competences from the national to the EU level has not been accompanied by institutional reforms which would make the EU democratically accountable (see Folledstal and Hix, 2006; Crombez, 2003; Moravcsik, 2002, Coultrap, 1999). Instead, ‘citizen’s participation in the policy process still seem mainly situated at the nation state level and directed at national political authorities’ (Koopmans and Erbe, 2004: 97). Under this perspective, discussions about the importance of a *European Public Sphere* to the democratization of EU governance merit attention.

The idea of a public sphere, defined as ‘*an arena which enables citizens to interact and talk about (the same) political issues*’ (De Vreese, 2007: 6, italics in the original) is considered an indispensable means of sustaining democracy within the nation-state, a channel of interaction between the political elites and the public.³ While EU economic and political integration processes make the issue of a *European Public*

² The study was funded by Riksbankens research foundation

³ For reasons of brevity we are not going to engage in a wide-discussion of the concept of a ‘Public Sphere’ and connection to the sustainability of democratic processes. For an introduction see: Habermas, Jürgen, 1989).

Sphere, with similar functions to the national one, even more relevant to the effectiveness and legitimacy of EU governance as a democratic polity what actually constitutes a ‘European Public Sphere’ remains vague (for a discussion see, Risse, 2003, 2002).

In its ideal form, a ‘European Public Sphere’ is conceptualized as a common communicative space beyond the nation-state. Nevertheless, crucial ingredients of a public sphere at the national level, such as cultural and linguistic homogeneity and common media cannot be found at a supranational level (Kielmansegg, 1996). Thus, instead, it has been suggested, what we need to take into account is ‘the Europeanization of national publicized debates as an indispensable means of connecting multi-level governance with opinion formation processes among its predominantly nationally rooted constituents (Meyer C., 2005: 122).⁴ If we are to consider that Europeanization refers to the process of national adaptation to EU developments (see Olsen 2002), then European political communication within the nation state can be ‘loosely defined as any form of communication which refers to European governance in the wider sense, expressing consensus or dissent with regard to particular issues and debates in a European decision-making context’ (Trenz, 2004:293). Within this perspective, a distinction needs to be made between two different forms of Europeanization of national discourses. The one refers to news that make direct communicative reference to EU themes and institutions (*vertical Europeanization*), and the other to news that refer to developments and political actors in other EU member-states (*horizontal Europeanization*) (see Koopmans and Erbe, 2004).

CFSP and the need for legitimacy

As in any other EU policy areas, discussions of a public sphere very relevant to the project of a Common EU Foreign Security and Defence policy. During the last decade, advances in the institutional structure, the resources and the scope of CFSP have been impressive, with the inclusion of a Common Defence policy within the overall framework of CFSP, the designation of Javier Solana as the High-Representative and the launching of operational capabilities. If ratified, in one way or another, the EU Constitutional Treaty would also provide for the creation of the post of the Union

⁴ For a discussion see: Gerhards, 1993

Minister of Foreign Affairs as the diplomatic representative of the EU. Nevertheless, the repeated failures of the EU to formulate a coherent reaction to international crises (Bosnia-Herzegovina Iraq, Afghanistan) clearly indicate that the acceleration of steps towards advanced EU foreign and defence cooperation is problematic. The particularities of CFSP extend beyond its institutional structure at the EU level (policies *across* all the pillars) to the way decision making within CFSP is structured. Thus, many studies have sought to analyze how CFSP could work more effectively at the institutional or state level (Tonra, 2003; Clarbo, 1991) while recently, scholars have started to recognize that ‘to some extent the success of the entire project will depend on finding a means to conferring upon it democratic legitimacy’ (Howorth, 2001:779) which should come through the involvement of national parliaments and attention to public opinion (Cameron, 2002; Manigard, 2001; Sinnott, 1997).

On normative grounds, the ability of a political system to respond to the preferences of its citizens is central to democratic theory and there is an extensive body of literature stressing the importance of affective public deliberation even in the previously considered areas of ‘high-office politics’ such as foreign and defense issues (see Holsti, 1992). Consequently, if the EU as a democratic policy ‘is to take collectively binding decisions that intervene in the lives of people, not just in Europe but also elsewhere, the public needs to have a general voice in the foreign policy and a realistic chance of influencing the course of events (Meyer F. 2005: 2). On pragmatic grounds, it has been argued ‘that democratic control of foreign policy improves the quality of the latter...The level of democracy is also positively related to levels of international trade, levels of participation in multilateral institutions, and capacity to commit credibly to international agreements’ (Koenig-Archibugi, 2002: 69). Considering that the degree and the direction of CFSP integration have raised debates about the balance of sovereignty as well as economic and military interests of domestic, EU and international actors (Major, 2005), questions about the nature of national public spheres within CFSP become even more impeccable. Thus, the EU’s success in becoming more of a political union and evolving as an important player in the international arena is highly dependent on the extent to and the manner in which CFSP affairs are communicated to the public (Patterson, 1998).

The role of the media in communicating CFSP issues.

Empirical indicators and research questions.

By definition, the existence of a public sphere relies upon multiple channels of intermediation between and within different societal spaces. Under this perspective, the media have long been considered to constitute one of the most important links between political elites, interest groups and the broad public (see Dahlgren, 1995). Especially when it comes to EU politics, that are located at a level somewhat beyond the realm of personal experience, the role of the media in providing the platform where issues are discussed and communicated to the public acquires special significance, motivating scholars to investigate the news media coverage of EU themes. ‘By giving visibility to an issue, an opinion or a process, the media foster opinion formation, draw in new intermediary groups and individual citizens, attribute reputational costs and gains (Meyer C., 2005: 125). Indeed, European citizens consistently identify their national media as their most important and preferred source of information about the EU and its policies (Eurobarometer 1999-2006). The present study is located within this perspective, having as a central starting point that mass mediated political communication is a crucial ingredient of a legitimate Common EU Foreign and Security Policy. Our aim is not to examine whether individual public opinion correlates with the way CFSP is covered in national media, but to provide a descriptive account of CFSP coverage in a cross-national perspective. Given that our study explores a novel issue, in our examination of its characteristics we focus on the indicators of ‘Europeanization’ of national public spheres as they have been identified in European integration studies and conceptualized in previous research in EU political communication.

Amount of CFSP coverage:

Given that EU issues are mainly communicated to the public through the mass media, the degree to which they are visible signifies the ‘size of Europe in the landscape of political news’ (Peter and de Vreese, 2003: 5). ‘A minimum degree of adaptation in political communications patterns is needed to ensure that citizens have access to adequate political information about the existence and functioning of these new modi and fora of political authority, to scrutinize the performance of national representatives and

European actors and to enable cross-border opinion formation on problems of collective-problem solving in Europe' (Meyer, 2005: 124). While the visibility of the EU in national news is a necessary requirement, overall, previous research has demonstrated that news media coverage of the EU is still quite low (de Vreese et al. 2006; Norris 2000). However, when talking about news coverage of the EU, we need to distinguish between news dealing explicitly with the EU (such as summits, European elections) and stories that are not specifically about the EU, but where EU actors and policies are also covered. The first category has been found to prevail in share of the total news coverage of the EU (Trenz, 2004). Here, studies focusing on media attention to prescheduled key EU events, such as European Parliament elections (Blumler, 1983; De Vreese *et al.*, 2006; Kevin, 2001) or Referendums (De Vreese and Semetko, 2004; Siune *et al.*, 1994) have shown that the visibility EU events is low and cyclical: the EU is marginally visible prior to the start of those events and disappears completely soon after the event is over (de Vreese et al. 2006; de Vreese et al. 2001; Norris 2000, Leroy, and Siune, 1994). There also seems to be considerable variation in visibility depending on the *type* of the event or issue. Specifically, following journalistic practices and news values, themes that involve tension and conflict, such as summits, are covered more frequently and intensively than others (Vreese 2001). With respect to the second category, scholarly research has shown that there has been an increase in the salience of the EU in news coverage of the national economy (Meyer, 2005; Gavin, 2000) and national election campaigns (Norris et al. 1999) so that, even if media users do not seek information about the EU in the media, they are now slightly more likely to encounter it as part of the everyday news coverage.

As to country differences in the amount of EU news in general, the low and cyclical pattern of EU coverage seems to be rather homogenous (de Vreese et al. 2006; Norris 2000), but, overall, when differences in the frequency of reporting are present they can be 'justified with reference to *national* events or debates concerning the particular EU topic' (Machill *et al.* 2006). Differences in the visibility of EU among newspapers can also be explained with reference to their EU or domestic editorial lines (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999) and the structure of specific outlets (Kevin, 2000: 60-70).

When it comes to CFSP, we would rather expect to find a similar pattern to EU coverage in general. Nevertheless, previous research has shown that CFSP attracted a

considerable share of the total EU coverage during the crisis in Bosnia Herzegovina (Norris, 2000) and considerable salience in the coverage of the war itself (Kevin, 2003). Thus, one might assume that CFSP becomes more visible in the news during periods of 'international' events. To gain an idea about these characteristics of CFSP coverage in a comparative perspective we formulated the following questions:

RQ1: How visible is CFSP in German, British, Greek, Spanish and Polish broadsheets?

RQ2: Are there differences in visibility of CFSP issues between broadsheets in each country?

RQ3: Are there differences in the time and patterns of attention to CFSP stories between broadsheets?

Visibility of EU and other actors in CFSP coverage.

Greater emphasis on EU actors has been conceptualized as an indicator of the Europeanization of national public spheres (see Risse, 2002). Nevertheless, both the alleged communication deficit of the EU and news selection values are considered to impact the visibility of EU actors (institutions, EU officials) in EU coverage (e.g. Meyer). Previous research has shown that EU officials are hardly present in EU political news. Specifically, during key EU events, such as EP election campaigns EU officials have been found to be outnumbered by domestic political actors, suggesting that EU democratic procedures are contested over national than European issues (de Vreese et al. 2006). EU actors have been found to feature much more frequently during routine than during summit periods, but their visibility is still low compared to that of other actors (Peter and de Vreese, 2003). Additionally, a distinction needs to be made between direct communicative reference to EU institutional actors (*vertical Europeanization*) and reference to political actors in other EU member states (*horizontal Europeanization*). Thus, Europeanization of EU public spheres would require communicative reference to the EU as a collective but 'vertical Europeanization through closed door meetings of the council of Ministers... would be clearly insufficient in many of the policy fields currently dealt with by the EU (Meyer, 2005: 124)

Unlike the coverage of EU events which focus on domestic actors, CFSP is a mix of intergovernmentalism and EU activity. Additionally, events such as the initiative of the

Four and the British-Spanish alliance to the U.S. in the Iraq war clearly show that EU governments have different foreign policy outlooks and enjoy a great degree of autonomy in deciding on the level and the direction of integration. Thus, we might expect that EU actors in general feature frequently. Additionally, given the nature of foreign policy issues, we also might need to consider the presence of international political actors in CFSP coverage.

RQ4: How visible are EU actors in CFSP coverage?

RQ5: How visible are domestic and international actors in CFSP coverage?

Domesticity of EU stories

Previous research on media coverage of key EU events suggests that their character is primarily domestic. Specifically, McQuail and Bergsma's (1983) analysis showed that EP election campaigns were primarily domestic, not only in terms of actors depicted but also in terms of location where related events took place and number of references to the own country. While this can be true for EP elections which focus primarily on domestic issues, research on the coverage of the EU in general has showed that EU coverage is more Europeanized than domestic with reference to its geographic references, but can this can depend also on national variables, such as the level of support for the EU in a given country (Peter et al. 2003).

RQ5: Is the coverage of CFSP predominantly domestic or European?

Evaluation of the CFSP-tone of coverage

A third characteristic of EU communication Europeanization is the tone of news media evaluation of EU issues. Even if the EU is sufficiently and equally present in the media, the way the EU and its policies are evaluated in the news can be reflective of the nature of publicized discourses on those issues. As Norris states, 'if more news about the community is overwhelmingly negative...and the public takes its cues from the news media, then that can plausibly contribute towards a growing disconnect between EU leaders and the public' (Norris, 2000: 184). Drawing on the Monitoring Euromedia monthly reports during the period 1995 to 1997, she observed a common negative tone in the coverage of the EU in general and EU Foreign policy issues, especially regarding the

Bosnian Policy, in particular, despite variations among member-states (Norris, 2000). Recently, research on the coverage of EP elections (de Vreese et al. 2006) and of the EU in general (Peter *et al.* 2003) showed that the EU is mainly depicted neutrally, but when evaluations were present, they were usually negative. However, in all the aforementioned studies the conceptualization of the valence of EU news (positive or negative slant) does not allow for a distinction with respect to *for whom* the information is positive or negative per se. Given that EU correspondents and national media (Gleissner and de Vreese, 2005) often use the nation-state as a vehicle for evaluations of the EU, we would expect that CFSP can be portrayed as something positive or negative for the nation state. Additionally, an integrated CFSP as a basic element of EU integration can be viewed as serving or threatening common European interests. Thus, we want to know:

RQ6: How is CFSP depicted in the national media with reference to the EU and the nation state?

'Risk' and 'Opportunity' (generic) frames in CFSP coverage

Another important element of media evaluations can come through the concept of news *framing* of CFSP issues, which takes as a starting point that news media portray the same topic in very different ways by emphasizing certain aspects of an issue at the expense of others. Based on a conceptualization of a news frame as consisting 'of specific elements, also called the framing devices which define the news frame as distinct from other elements in the news...while other elements may be referred to as core news facts' (De Vreese, 2004: 37), researchers have identified certain types of frames to be present in routine news coverage of political issues. A distinction can be made between studies that investigate generic or issue-specific frames. *Issue-specific* frames emphasize a subset of relevant considerations and are sensitive to particular issues or events, while '*generic* frames can be applied to a broad range of topics, hereby exceeding thematic, cultural or time limitations (de Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2003: 363).⁵ The presence of both frames in national news media news coverage of EU related issues has been well demonstrated by empirical research (de Vreese *et al.* 2001; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

⁵ For an overview see Reese *et al.*, 2001.

Given that our study is exploratory, we investigate the presence of a certain type of generic news frames, namely ‘risk’ and ‘opportunity’ frames in CFSP coverage. Framing issues and situations in terms of ‘gains’ or ‘losses’ from a current state of affairs is highly relevant to the concept of EU integration and national news media make frequent use of such frames in their coverage of EU issues (De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003; Schuck and De Vreese 2006). As one of the most integrative among EU policies, CFSP can be easily conceptualized as a ‘risk’ versus ‘opportunity’ situation. ‘Risk-framing’ can be perceived as putting emphasis on the negative aspects and unwanted consequences of an integrated CFSP, whereas ‘opportunity’ framing focuses on the future benefits.

RQ7: Is CFSP framed as a ‘risk’ or ‘opportunity’ in national broadsheets?

Research design and methodology

Country Sample

Due to limited resources, we had to limit our investigation to a sample of EU member states.⁶ Given the scope of our study we deliberately selected Germany, Britain, Greece, Spain and Poland. The choice of countries is justified by varying degree of importance in political decision-making in the European Union. What is more, considerable variations between these countries in terms of the key characteristics of their political systems, their outlooks and interests in EU foreign and defence cooperation and their length of membership in the EU are expected to provide interesting insights on how CFSP issues are debated across member states.⁷

Newspaper Sample

Following previous research on EU public sphere, in this study we focus on quality newspapers (see Trezn, 2004; Meyer, 2005). We analyzed two leading and high circulation, national daily ‘quality’ newspapers (broadsheets) that have different political

⁶ It should be noted that the data for this study come from a bigger project that also investigates France, the Netherlands and Germany. However, as these factors share similar important characteristics (length of membership, power in Council) with other countries in the sample, for the sake of brevity, we have excluded them from the analysis.

⁷ Country differences in the length of membership have been found to be associated with variations in aggregate support for the EU in general (Anderson and Kaltenthaler, 1996) and variations in the coverage of the EU in general (de Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2007)

profiles, representing the major political ideologies in each country. The selected newspapers were the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (conservative-right) and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (left) for Germany, *To Vima* (centre-left) and the *Kathimerini* (conservative) for Greece; the *Guardian* (Left-pro EU) and *The Times* (originally centre-left, anti EU) for Britain, *El Pais* (Left) and *El Mundo* (conservative) for Spain, the *Gazeta Wyborcza* (centre-left) and the *Rzeczpospolita* (concernervative) for Poland.

Data Collection:

Common EU Foreign, Security and Defence Policy includes a variety of issues and policies. Thus, we developed specific keywords that would capture most of the CFSP related coverage, and applied those terms to retrieve all possibly relevant articles.⁸ As the mentioning of each of those keywords could not necessarily guarantee that all news items collected were in fact relevant, we had to apply additional selection criteria. Coders were instructed to read each news item quickly and only proceed to coding if at least one of the specific search terms were mentioned (1) at least once in the headline, sub-headline (2) and/or in at least one independent sentence in the entire article.⁹

Coding

Coding was conducted manually by groups of native and fluent speakers of the respective languages, graduate students, enrolled at international Master's programs at the University of Amsterdam. Coders were trained both all together and in country groups over a period of six weeks before actual coding started and were supervised frequently throughout the coding period. During training, questions on the operational definitions of the items included in the codebook were resolved.¹⁰ Training was done in

⁸ We retrieved all articles that contained at least one of the following terms that cover various aspects of CFSP-EDSP (in translation): EU (Common) Foreign and Security Policy, EU Security and Defence Policy, EU (Common) Foreign Policy, EU (Common) Defence Policy, EU (Common) Security Policy, Petersberg Tasks, European (EU) battle groups, European (EU) army. Keywords were translated by native speakers. Articles were collected using online archives, LexisNexis and Factiva. The authors would like to thank 'Factiva' for providing access to the content of Polish newspapers and Spanish 'El Pais' for the period December 2001-June 2002. Given that none of the high circulation quality Greek Newspapers were available via online archives, articles were collected with the use of the newspapers' online archive. The same applies for Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. Articles in our selection which were either duplicates or were not sufficiently relevant were excluded from the analysis.

⁹ Coder's agreement on the applicability of the articles for coding tested with a sub-sample of 25 articles (20 for Poland) was: Greece: 100% , Britain: 88% , Germany: 92%, Poland: 80%, Spain: 92%.

¹⁰ All training took part at the University of Amsterdam.

English. A reliability test in a sub-sample of 25 articles between pairs of coders for each for each language yielded satisfactory results for the individual items (reported below).¹¹ The unit of coding and analysis is the distinct news story defined as an item in a newspaper. For the analysis of actors, the actor and not the news story is the unit of analysis.

Period of study:

We analyzed all articles that fitted the selection criteria between January 1, 2001 and January 1, 2006. The time span of the study starts with the period surrounding the signing of the Nice Treaty and includes key events relevant to CFSP.¹²

Measures:

Visibility of CFSP stories

CFSP stories were operationalized as stories in which one of the specified keywords were mentioned (1) at least once in the headline, sub-headline (2) and/or in at least one independent sentence in the entire article. Visibility is measured by the number of coded articles.¹³

Visibility of EU actors

Our second question refers the visibility of EU actors in CFSP stories. For that, we relied on the coding of the *actors* in the news items (see also De Vreese *et al.*, 2006; Peter and de Vreese, 2004). Actors were defined as persons, groups, political parties institutions or organizations that were mentioned at least once or quoted. Up to 5 actors per story were coded with the same actor coded only once. The main actor of the story was identified by his importance.¹⁴ All other 4 actors were coded in their order of

¹¹ The reliability for the Polish newspapers was tested with a sample 20 articles instead of 25 because of the small sample retrieved for Poland.

¹² Events include: the Laeken Summit in December 2001, September 11, the approval of the European Security Strategy policy document on 12th December 2003, the Enlargement, national referenda on EU issues etc. For a complete list see: www.europa.eu

¹³The time of visibility is measured by the day of publication of the story

¹⁴ Indicators of importance were 1: duration, space of information about the actor 2. Frequency of being quoted 3. Quotes, statements of the actor. Inter-coder reliability was calculated for the main actor (Cohen's Kappa in parentheses): Greece 84% (0.72), Britain: 88% (0.62), Germany: 92% (0.8), Poland: 80% (0.71), Spain: 80% (0.65).

appearance in the news story. Actors were classified as: (1) EU institutional actors; (2) politicians of EU member states; (3) Domestic political actors; (4) International political actors; (5) non-political actors.¹⁵

Domesticity of CFSP stories

As an indicator of the degree of Domesticity of CFSP stories we used (1) the location where the story *takes place* in terms of prominence or length (2) the location that is *most affected* by what the story is about, the actions that the story depicts (Peter et al., 2003).¹⁶ We recoded the locations into (1) own country, (2) other EU country/EU as a whole, (3) remaining European countries (not EU), (4) other country.¹⁷

Evaluations of CFSP: the tone of coverage

The tone of CFSP coverage was assessed through evaluations of CFSP in the story. Each story was classified as portraying CFSP issues, policies and developments as advantageous, disadvantageous, neutral or balanced in their relation with the EU (as an entity) and the nation-state. This was done using a scale ranging from very advantageous to disadvantageous as well as no evaluation/no valence. In the presentation of the results we collapsed the ends of the scale so that we have the following evaluative dimensions (1) advantageous; (2) balanced; (3) disadvantageous; (4) no valence/neutral.¹⁸

Evaluations of CFSP: 'risk' and 'opportunity' frames in CFSP coverage

¹⁵ Please note that category (1) includes EU leaders and EU Ministers at Council level (e.g. EU Council, External affairs Council). However, when EU representatives were referred to with their national function (e.g. Prime Minister of Poland,) they were coded as category (2). The reliability measures for the main actor were (Cohen's Kappa in parentheses): Greece: 84% (0.72); Germany: 92% (0.8); Great Britain: 88% (0.62); Poland: 80% (0.71); Spain: 80% (0.65).

¹⁶ The reliability measures for *location where the story takes place* were (Cohen's Kappa in parentheses): Greece: 92% (0.83); Germany: 100% (1); Great Britain: 84% (0.63); Poland: 85% (0.62); Spain: 92% (0.8). The reliability measures for *location mainly affected by the story* were: Greece: 84% (0.72); Germany: 82% (0.83); Great Britain: 84% (0.58); Poland: 90% (0.67); Spain: 76% (0.64).

¹⁷ Here we could not distinguish between vertical and horizontal Europeanization because EU events also take place in different locations (rotations in presidencies, national referenda etc).

¹⁸ The reliability measures for evaluations of CFSP with reference to the EU were (Cohen's Kappa in parentheses): Greece 92% (0.84); Germany: 80% (0.64); Great Britain: 80% (0.72); Poland: 80% (0.73); Spain 96% (0.93). The reliability measures for evaluations of CFSP with reference to the nation-state were: Greece: 96% (0.92); Germany: 88% (0.52); Great Britain: 92% (0.76); Poland: 75% (0.58); Spain: 88% (0.75)

For the assessment of the presence of ‘risk’ and ‘opportunity’ generic news frames in CFSP coverage we used a set of items, developed by Schuck and de Vreese (2006), after adjustment to the thematic context of our study: (1) rational argument pro CFSP (against CFSP) (2) emotional argument pro CFSP (against CFSP) (3) positive quote towards CFSP (negative quote towards CFSP) (4) positive evaluation, praising the current state of CFSP (negative future outlook, criticism of current state of CFSP) (5) CFSP as something beneficial (something detrimental). Each item was coded yes (=1) when the item was present or no (=0) when the item was not present.¹⁹ Initially, the items that make up the frames were subject to PCA.²⁰ The analysis confirmed a loading on two components.²¹ The two frames produced reliable scales (Cronbach’s α for opportunity frame= 0.79; Cronbach’s α for risk frame= 0.63). Codes were summed up and then divided by the number of items so that the additive indexes referring to each frame range from 0 to 1.

Results:

Visibility of CFSP issues in the press.

We first turn to the *visibility* of CFSP stories in national quality newspapers in the selected countries (RQ1).²² Table 1 displays the number of CFSP stories and the share of total CFSP coverage for each of the selected countries and newspapers. We see that the German national quality press devoted the most attention to CFSP related issues (43 percent of the sample). Greece and Britain follow in terms of visibility, having devoted an equally high amount of attention to CFSP (20.4 percent), while there are relatively less stories in Spain and Poland. Overall, the results show that there is considerable variation in the amount of communication about CFSP between the *countries* in the sample (RQ1).

¹⁹ Intercoder reliability measures for ‘risk’ and ‘opportunity’ items are reported in the appendix.

²⁰ Unlike Schuck and De Vreese (2006) we had to exclude from the analysis the items ‘emotional argument pro CFSP’; ‘emotional argument against CFSP’ due to their low frequencies.

²¹ Prior to performing PCA the suitability of data for factor analysis was assessed. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin value was .75, equal to the minimum value (Kaiser, 1974) and Barlett’s Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance thus supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix. PCA revealed two components with eigenvalues more than 1 (eigenvalues 2.46 and 1.96 for the first and second factor respectively, explaining 55.3 per cent of the variance. First factor (opportunity frame): ‘positive quote’= 0.69, ‘rational pro’= 0.82, ‘CFSP beneficial’= 0.82, ‘positive evaluation’=0.79. Second factor (risk frame): ‘negative quote’= 0.70, ‘rational contra’= 0.69, ‘CFSP detrimental’= 0.69, ‘negative evaluation’=0.70.

²² Since we used selection criteria to identify the applicability of articles for coding, we will refer to all coded articles as *CFSP stories*.

Within Germany, CFSP stories were just slightly more visible in the ‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung’ (56 percent of German coverage) than in ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ (44 percent) while in all other countries we found considerable divergence between broadsheets (RQ2). Britain is the most striking case, where CFSP stories appeared much more frequently in ‘The Guardian’ (72 percent of coverage in Britain) than in ‘The Times’ (0.34 percent). Considerable differences in the amount of CFSP coverage were also found between ‘Kathimerini’ and ‘El Pais’ and their national counterparts.

Table 1: Visibility of CFSP stories (1 January 2001- 1 January 2006)

	Newspaper	n	%
Britain		196	20.4
	Guardian	141	14.7
	The Times	55	5.7
Germany		421	43.7
	FAZ	236	24.5
	SZ	185	19.2
Greece		197	20.4
	Kathimerini	135	14
	To Vima	62	6.4
Spain		116	12.1
	El Pais	78	8.1
	El Mundo	38	4
Poland		31	3.1
	Gazeta Wyborcza	22	2.3
	Rzeczpospolita	10	1

Note: n refers to number of CFSP stores. Percentage entries refer to the share of CFSP stories in the total sample of each country and individual newspaper.

Research question 3 referred to the time and patterns of visibility of CFSP stories in national quality newspapers. The distribution of CFSP stories per month during each of the five years (see the figures in the Appendix) shows that the visibility of CFSP did not increase from 2001 to 2005. Instead, it peaked during the years 2002, 2003, 2004 that involved lots of EU and CFSP related events such as accession negotiations and discussions about CFSP in the Constitutional Treaty. Overall, CFSP coverage rose during key EU events such as EU Summits, and CFSP specific events (e.g. agreement on the participation of Morocco in operation Althea in februar 2004) in all selected

newspapers. The only exception is the German press which devoted an almost equal amount of attention to CFSP between routine and non routine periods. However, it worth's noticing that coverage peaked not only during key EU events (such as summits) but also during events that involve EU security issues (September 11, G7/G8 Summit) and EU Summits with strategic partners (NATO, China). Outside key prescheduled events, CFSP has also been visible during extended periods of EU activity that involve relevant to the issue discussions, such the period surrounding enlargement negotiations between March and June 2003. Across the EU-15 countries in our sample, CFSP attention curves generally coincide. Nevertheless, even during key periods we found some divergence between in the visibility of CFSP issues between newspapers, most notably between 'The Times' and 'El Mundo' and their national counterparts. National 'factors' also seem to play a role in patterns of visibility. In Poland, CFSP stories became visible only in May 2003, shortly after EU decision on the country's accession and prior to a national referendum on membership. CFSP stories featured more frequently in Spanish broadsheet during the Spanish Referendum on the EU Constitution (February 2005), while in Greece attention to CFSP rose during the period surrounding the beginning of EU accession negotiations with Turkey.

Visibility of actors in CFSP stories

Graph 2 displays the proportions of actors featured in CFSP stories. It is clear that, at actors level, CFSP coverage is overall Europeanized, with the majority of actors in CFSP stories being either EU institutional actors (vertical dimension) or political actors from other EU countries (horizontal dimension). Across countries, EU actors in general feature more frequently in the German broadsheets, followed in sequence by Poland, Greece Spain and, last, Britain. With the exception of Greece we found convergence in the degree of Europeanization of national broadsheets. Within the group of EU actors, differences were also identifies in the proportional representation of EU institutional actors (vertical dimension) and actors from other EU countries. In Germany, the vertical dimension by far prevails, but in all other countries there is divergence between newspapers. International political actors featured more frequently than domestic political actors in all countries except in Poland. Overall, at actors level CFSP

coverage was more international than domestic, but it was primarily characterized by a high degree of Europeanization, also when examining the main actors.²³ The large number of references to international actors (such as NATO, other countries) suggests that CFSP news also had strong international orientations with Poland being the only exception. Domestic political actors feature as *main* actors more frequently than international, with only exception the Spanish ‘El Mundo’. The strongest presence of domestic actors as main actors in CFSP stories was found in the British and Greek newspapers, especially in ‘Kathimerini’. At actors’ level, CFSP news were primarily political in nature, featuring few non-political actors, less than any other actors category.

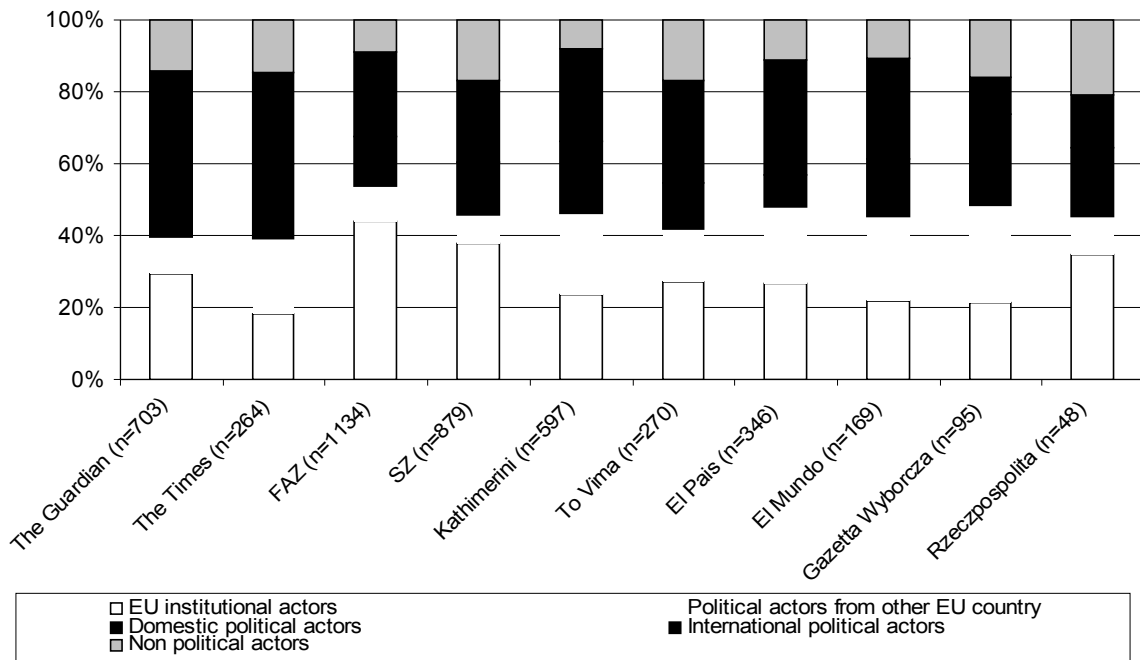


Figure 2. Actors in CFSP stories. Numbers refer to total number of coded actors.

Only the ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ and ‘To Vima’ feature more non-political than domestic actors.

As noted earlier, we also measure the degree of Europeanization of CFSP stories by the location *where the story takes place* and *location which is affected by the story*. Looking figure 3, we see that CFSP news in all EU 15 countries was slightly more Europeanized than domestic both in terms of location where it took place and location

²³ For reasons of simplicity and brevity the percentage representation of ‘main’ and other ‘actors’ is not presented here. They are available from the authors upon request.

being affected by what the story was about. Only in Poland and the British ‘Guardian’ the nation state featured more frequently as location where CFSP stories took place. Other than EU locations (European countries and other countries) featured less frequently in CFSP coverage. Other countries were primarily visible as being affected by CFSP stories in the German and Spanish broadsheets and the ‘Guardian’.

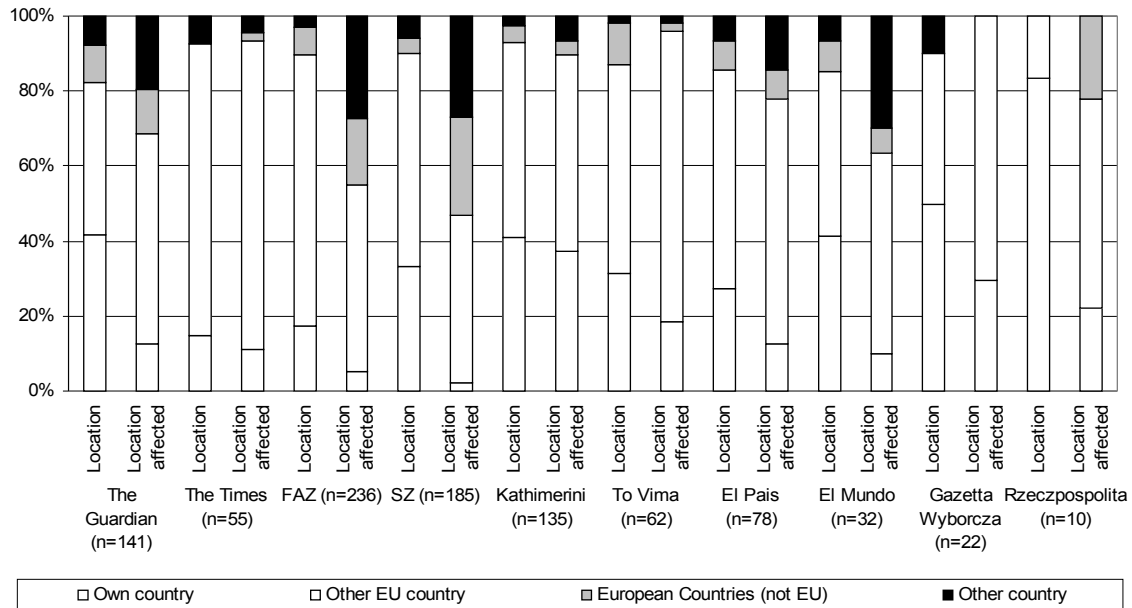


Figure 3. Domestic focus of CFSP coverage. Cell entries are rowise percentages. Articles whose location was coded as ‘not determinable’ were excluded from the analysis

Evaluations of CFSP: the tone of coverage

Research question 6 referred to the evaluations of CFSP in news coverage. Overall the majority of CFSP stories portrayed CFSP as something positive/good/favourable for the EU (41.5%), or were neutral (contained no evaluation, 40%). The most neutral news was found Britain, Greece and Poland. In total, only 11.9% of CFSP stories portrayed CFSP as something negative for the EU, while even less had mixed evaluations (6.5%). Looking only at the 40% of percent of the news that did contain an evaluation of CFSP with reference to the EU as a whole we created a mean score that ranged from -1 (negative evaluations) to +1 (positive evaluations). Figure 5 shows that the most positive evaluations were to be found in Greece and Germany. Positive evaluations were also frequent in Poland, but given the small sample we cannot draw conclusions similar to those for other countries. With the exception of Germany, we noticed between broadsheets differences in the prominence of positive evaluations of

CFSP with reference to the EU. ‘The Times’ were the only broadsheet where CFSP was mainly evaluated negatively with reference to the EU.

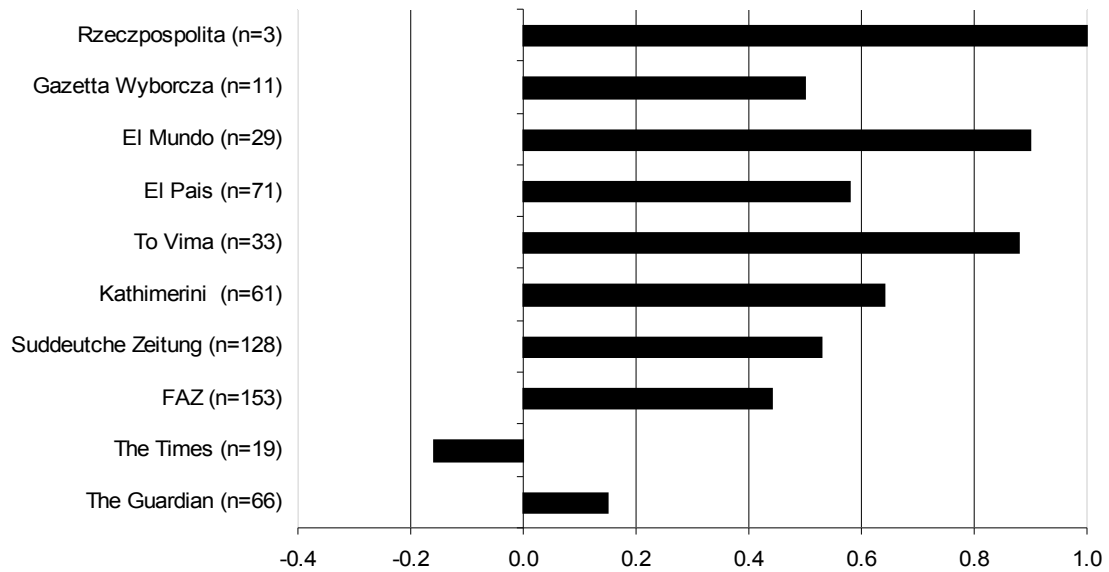


Figure 5. Tone of CFSP coverage with reference to the EU (ranging from -1 to +1 by outlet). Numbers refers to number of articles that were coded some evaluations

Overall CFSP was depicted neutrally with reference to the nation state. For this item, almost 77% of coded articles contained no evaluation of CFSP, suggesting that CFSP is seldom evaluated according to national interests. The most neutral news was found in Germany, Poland and Greece. Looking at news that did contain an evaluation of CFSP (figure 6) CFSP was primarily evaluated as positive for the nation-state across countries. Only in Britain, when CFSP stories had an evaluative dimension for the nation-state, that was more frequently unfavorable than favourable. Greece is the only country where we found divergence in the direction of evaluations between broadsheets.

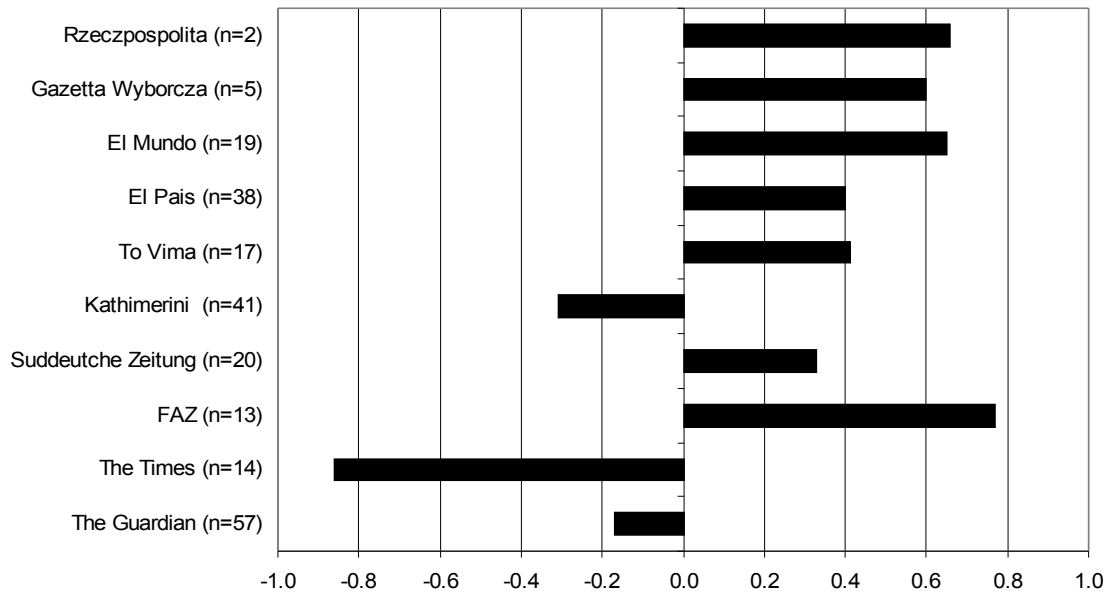


Figure 6. Tone of CFSP coverage with reference to the nation state (ranging from -1 to +1 by outlet). Numbers refer to number of articles that were coded as containing some evaluation.

Risk and Opportunity Frames:

The analysis gave a positive answer to our question regarding the presence of ‘risk’ and ‘opportunity’ frames in broadsheet coverage of CFSP issues. Overall the ‘opportunity’ and ‘risk’ scales received a mean score of 0.28 (SD= 0.35) and 1.7 (SD=0.25). The mean values clearly indicate the prominence of ‘opportunity’ framing in total coverage. An one-way ANOVA revealed significant between-group differences in the prominence of the ‘opportunity frame’ ($F(9, 951) = 17.99, p > .05$) and the ‘risk’ frame ($F(0, 951) = 6.32, p > 0.5$). Specifically, a dependent samples (paired samples *t*-test) revealed significant differences in the prominence of ‘opportunity frame’ in all newspapers of the EU-15 suggesting that CFSP stories have been consistently framed in terms of ‘opportunity’ rather than in terms of ‘risk’ in the national quality press.²⁴ The only exception is Britain, where the ‘risk frame’ significantly prevails for both outlets.²⁵ In Poland, there were no significant differences in the prominence of either of the frames. When looking at between mean scale score differences, Spanish media stand out. ‘Opportunity’ frames

²⁴ Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung ($t(235) = 4.55, p < 0.05, r = 0.28$); Suddeutsche Zeitung ($t(183) = 5.30, p < 0.05, r = 0.36$); Kathimerini ($t(134) = 2.05, p < 0.05, r = 0.17$); To Vima ($t(61) = 4.43, p < 0.05, r = 0.49$); El Pais ($t(77) = 5.32, p < 0.05, r = 0.52$); El Mundo ($t(37) = 3.12, p < 0.05, r = 0.46$)

²⁵ The Guardian ($t(140) = -2.31, p < 0.05, r = 0.91$); The Times ($t(53) = -2.163, p < 0.05, r = 0.28$)

were also much more frequently than ‘risk’ frames in the Greek and German broadsheets, despite small between newspaper differences.

Table 7. Prominence of Risk and Opportunity frames in CFSP stories

Newspaper	Opportunity Frame	Risk Frame	Difference
The Guardian (n=141)	0.14 (0.23) _a	0.21 (0.25) _b	- 0.7
The Times (n=55)	0.8 (0.20) _a	0.17 (0.21) _b	-0.9
FAZ (n=236)	0.23 (0.32) _a	0.12 (0.21) _b	+11
Suddeutsche Zeitung (n=184)	0.34 (0.35) _a	0.17 (0.25) _b	+17
Kathimerini (n=135)	0.25 (0.34) _a	0.17 (0.23) _b	+8
To Vima (n=62)	0.27 (0.34) _a	0.08 (0.16) _b	+19
El Pais (n=78)	0.62 (0.40) _a	0.30 (0.34) _b	+32
El Mundo (n=38)	0.51 (0.40) _a	0.25 (0.34) _b	+50
Gazetta Wyborcza (n=22)	0.19 (0.25) _a	0.11 (0.17) _b	+8
Rzeczpospolita (n=10)	0.20 (0.28) _a	0.25 (0.80) _b	-5
Total (n=962)	0.28 (0.35) _a	0.17 (0.25) _b	+9

Note: Cell entries are means (standard deviations in parentheses) and range from 0(frame not present) to 1(frame strongly present). Different subscripts _{a, b} indicate significant between condition difference with $p < 0.5$. Difference refers to ‘Opportunity’ scale – ‘Risk’ scale.

Discussion:

Our study of identified the key characteristics of publicized national debate over CFSP issues in the quality press and provided systematically generated insights about the nature of relevant news in Britain, Greece, Germany, Spain and Poland between the 1st of January 2001 and the 31st of December 2006. We focused on the visibility of CFSP news, the degree of Europeanization of coverage, explicit evaluations of CFSP, and the presence of ‘risk’ and ‘opportunity’ frames in relevant news. When comparing the visibility of CFSP issues across *countries*, we found considerable divergence (RQ1). German national quality press devoted the most attention to CFSP related issues, followed in sequence by Greece, Britain, Spain and, last, Poland. Cross-national differences could be the result of a variety of national factors, such as the salience of relevant issues in national agenda and the polarization of elite debate, most notably in the cases of Greece and Britain.²⁶ CFSP visibility was moderate in the Spanish broadsheets

²⁶ In Britain, a Eurosceptic country, that is documented to report extremely little on EU issues, the relatively high amount of CFSP articles, can be a reflection of the presence of the issue in the agenda with reference to post Saint-Malo processes and especially the challenges for the transatlantic relationship in the future (see Howorth, 2003). Along similar lines, the visibility of CFSP in the Greek broadsheets can be the result of serious controversy between Greek political actors and other EU actors, especially with reference to EU army issues.

(see also Kevin, 2003: 75). Polish broadsheets devoted the least attention to CFSP issues, which was somewhat expected by the short length of Polish membership in the EU. With the exception of Germany, we also identified considerable variation in CFSP visibility between broadsheets (RQ2), suggesting that coverage is not independent of newspaper-specific factors. In Britain, differences are compatible with the newspapers' editorial lines on EU issues, with the Pro-EU the 'Guardian' devoting almost three times more attention to CFSP issues than the 'Euro-sceptic' 'The Times' (see Anderson and Weymouth, 1999), while domestic political affiliations might have played a role to the high visibility of CFSP news in the 'Kathimerini', as an 'opposition' newspaper until 2004. The observed divergence between 'El Pais' and 'El Mundo' is surprising, given that both newspapers have traditionally been supportive of the EU. The quantity of CFSP coverage can also be related to the layout structure of the newspapers themselves, whether they carry a separate section for reporting on the EU (such as in the 'FAZ' and the 'Guardian')

With reference to the time and the patterns of visibility of CFSP coverage we found that CFSP coverage was, at a certain extent, event-driven. Along with previous research, CFSP was more visible in the news during key prescheduled EU events such as summits but also during CFSP specific events. Attention rose almost unanimously during EU Councils where CFSP issues were an important part of the summit agenda, such as the Laeken Summit (December 2001) and period surrounding the Summit in Thessaloniki (June 2003). What is more, CFSP was more visible not only during key EU events, but also during events that involved security issues and EU Summits with strategic partners. The event-driven nature of CFSP coverage is also reflected in amount of coded articles per year. Across the EU-15 countries in our sample, CFSP attention curves generally coincided. Nevertheless, even during event periods, we identified some divergence in patterns of visibility between broadsheets, most notably between 'The Times' and 'El Mundo' and their national counterparts. Overall, Germany was the only country in the sample where we could talk about, a more or less, steady diet of CFSP news. In Poland, CFSP stories became visible only shortly after EU decision on the country's accession and prior to a national referendum on membership.

With respect to the indicators of ‘Europeanization’ of CFSP coverage, specifically *actors* featured in CFSP stories, *location where the story took place* and *location affected by the story*, we found that CFSP coverage constitutes an exceptional case compared to what is known about the news coverage of EU issues. First, unlike research in the coverage of EU in general (Peter et al. 2003) and EP elections in particular (de Vreese, 2006) we found that the actors featured in CFSP stories were primarily EU actors. Limiting our analysis to the main actors produced similar results. CFSP stories also featured more international than domestic actors in all EU-15 countries in our sample. The highest proportion of EU actors was found in the German national broadsheets that, overall, exhibit the greatest degree of ‘Europeanization’ across all measures. In Britain, EU actors were the least represented compared to the other countries, while even in Poland CFSP coverage focused more on EU than in domestic political actors. Second, CFSP stories were also more Europeanized than domestic in terms of locations. Only in the new member state, Poland, and the British ‘Guardian’, the nation state featured more frequently as location where CFSP stories took place. Taken together the result suggests that national discourses are, at a considerable extent, Europeanized when it comes to CFSP issues, rooted in references to EU policy makers and other EU member states.

Overall, the analysis of the tone of the coverage showed that CFSP news in broadsheet press is rather positive. CFSP was more frequently evaluated with reference to the EU as a collective entity than with reference to the nation state, suggesting that evaluations of EU Foreign and Security Policy usually focus on the EU rather than on national perspectives. In both cases, when stories contained an evaluation that evaluation was more frequently positive than negative across countries. British outlets and the ‘Kathimerini’ in Greece were the only notably exceptions. That can be partly justified by the well-known British Euroscepticism, also in the case of Common EU Foreign Policy. In Greece, the negative tone of CFSP coverage with reference to the nation-state might also have been explained by the newspaper’s political affiliation to the major opposition party, which was consistently critical of the government’s handling of EU Defence issues (see Tsakonas and Tournikiotis, 2003). In total, only 11.9% of CFSP stories evaluated CFSP issues and developments as negative for the EU, while even less, 9.5 %, evaluated

it as negative for the nation state. Overall, the results for the tone of CFSP news demonstrates, one more time, the exceptionality of CFSP as an area of EU activity.

Our analysis demonstrated that certain types of generic news frames, potentially relevant to the issue of integrated defence and security policy cooperation, have been consistently present in CFSP coverage in the national press, adding to previous research on generic frames in EU news (de Vreese *et al.* 2001; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).. Overall, in total coverage, CFSP was more frequently framed in terms of ‘opportunity’ rather than in terms of risk. Looking at individual outlets, we identified significant between-group differences in the prominence of the ‘opportunity’ frame. British broadsheets stand out as an exceptional case, also in this aspect, by framing CFSP more frequently in terms of ‘risk’ than as ‘opportunity’.

Due to the lack of previous empirical work, our conceptualization of important characteristics of CFSP coverage was based on indicators developed by research on EU news in general that might not be exactly appropriate for the investigation of a policy field where few competences have been transferred to the supranational level (see Meyer C. 2005). Observed variations in the amount of visibility of CFSP stories might have been an artifact of the selection of keywords rather than a result of less coverage per se. Nevertheless, given the use of an exhaustive list of keywords for retrieving the articles, we can be confident that here we have captured the majority of CFSP related communication in the national press. The convenience sample of national broadsheets used here may entail a selection bias. However, since our focus was an investigation of the characteristics of CFSP coverage rather than the drawing of generalizations about the publicized communication in the respective countries, such an omission is not such a problem here.

Limitations notwithstanding, the present study provided some empirical evidence about the characteristics of an understudied area of EU policy activity, that of EU Foreign and Security Policy. Our analysis of the characteristics of CFSP news in national broadsheets suggests that we have entered an exceptional area of EU news reporting. On the one hand, CFSP news followed similar patters of visibility to other EU events and patterns of visibility conformed to similar influences. On the other hand, CFSP news was found to feature more indicators of Europeanization than news about other EU issues and

events. Indicators refer to EU actors outnumbering domestic political actors, references to countries other than the own, positive evaluations of CFSP both with reference to the nation state and the EU, and the prominence of ‘opportunity’ frames in CFSP stories. Future research needs to investigate the specific effects of the characteristics of news media coverage of CFSP foreign and security policy issues on the emergence of a European public Sphere within those issues.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Inter-coder reliability measures for 'risk' and 'opportunity' items

Greece	Germany	Great Britain	Poland	Spain
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rational argument pro CFSP	92% (0.62)	88% (0.76)	100% (1)	85% (0.78)	88% (0.76)
emotional argument pro CFS	100% (1)	100% (1)	92 (0.63)	95% (0.77)	96% (0.83)
positive quote towards CFSP	96% (0.83)	92% (0.88)	92% (0.70)	95% (0.77)	92% (0.84)
positive outlook of CFSP	92% (0.70)	100% (1)	92(0.84)	85% (0.58)	92%(0.84)
CFSP beneficial	84% (63)	88% (0.78)	92% (0.72)	90% (0.76)	80% (0.71).
rational argument against CFSP	88% (0.63)	92% (0.80)	100%(1)	95% (0.65)	100% (1)
emotional argument against CFSP	88% (0.623)	96% (0.78)	100% (1)	95% (0,78)	100% (1)
negative quote towards CFSP	100% (1)	92% (0.63)	88% (0.69)	85% (0.63)	100(1)
negative outlook of CFSP	92% (0.91)	84% (0.61)	88% (0.76)	90% (0.8)	96% (0.83)
CFSP as something detrimental	92% (0.72)	88% (0.68)	95% (0.65)	100% (1)	96% (0.65)

Note: Entries in parentheses refer to Cohen's Kappa measures.

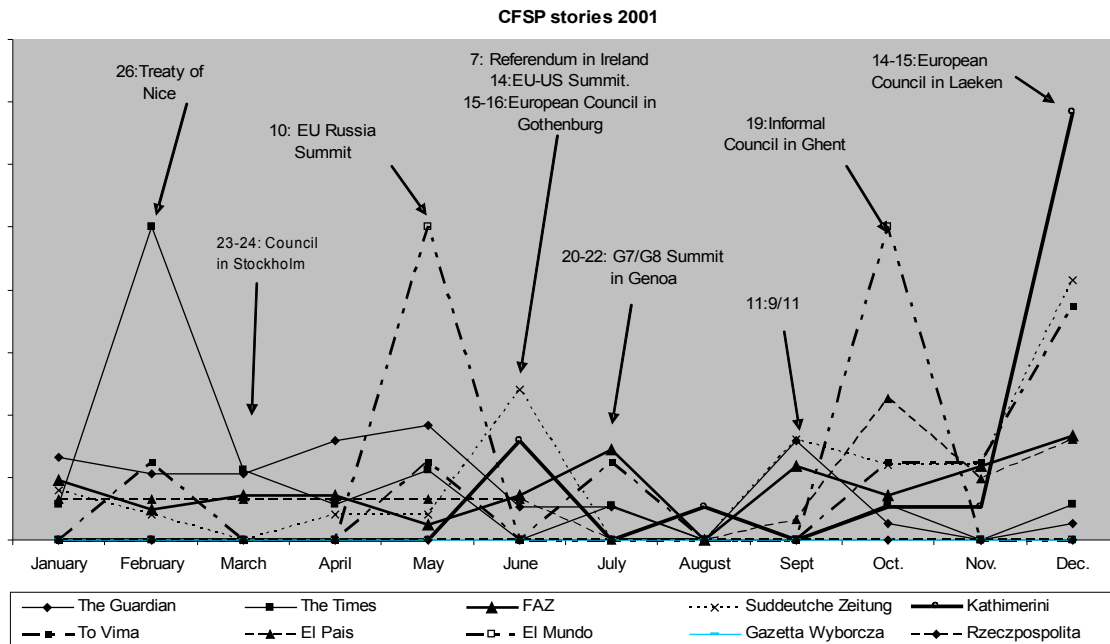


Figure 2. Visibility of CFSP stories for year 2001. Graph points are percentages refer to percentages of coded articles for 2001

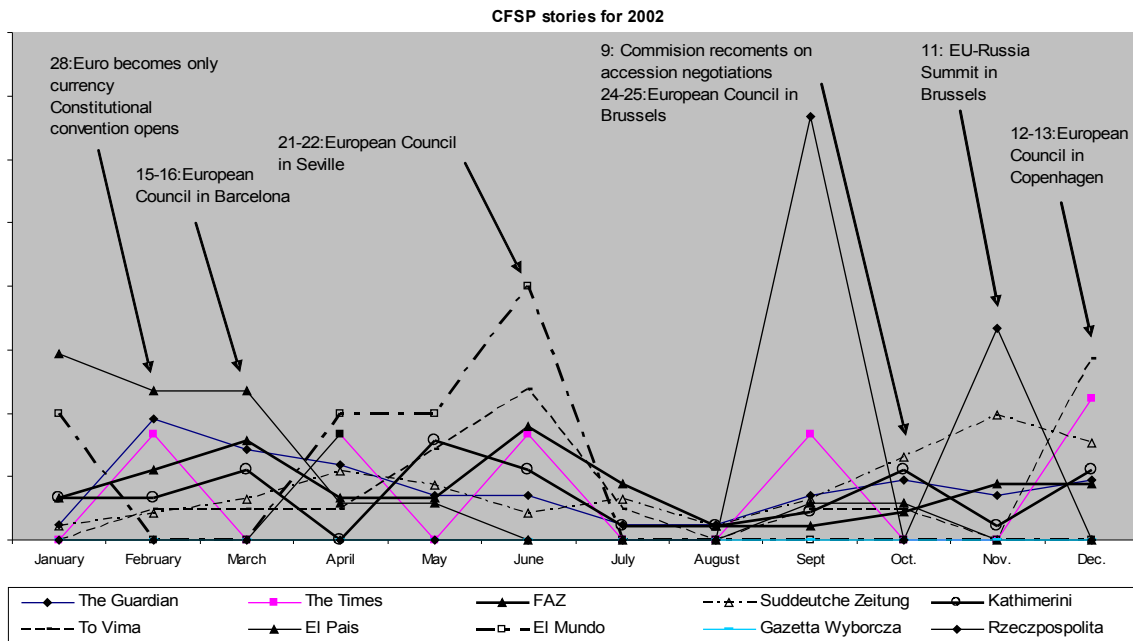


Figure 3: Visibility of CFSP stories for year 2001. Graph points are percentages refer to percentages of coded articles for 2002

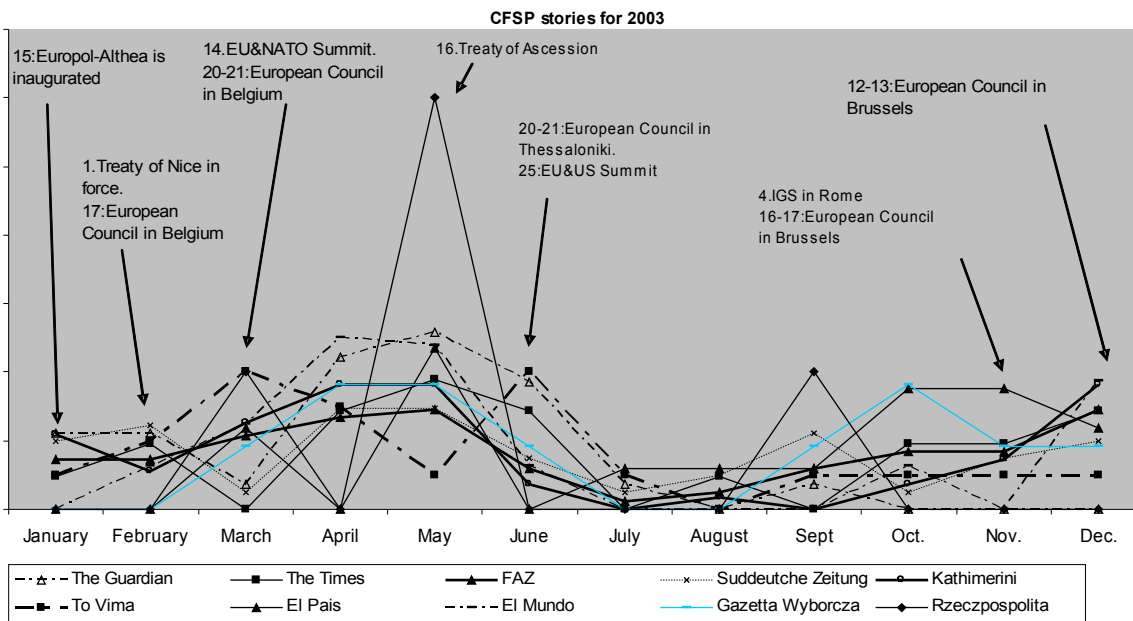


Figure 3: Visibility of CFSP stories for year 2001. Graph points are percentages refer to percentages of coded articles for 2003

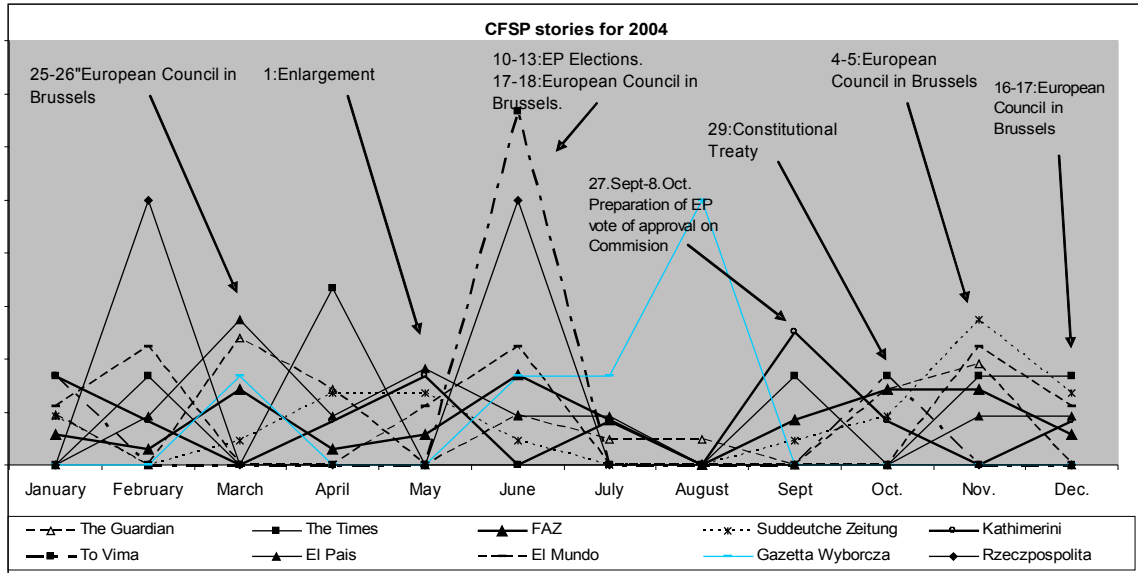


Figure 3: Visibility of CFSP stories for year 2001. Graph points are percentages refer to percentages of coded articles for 2004

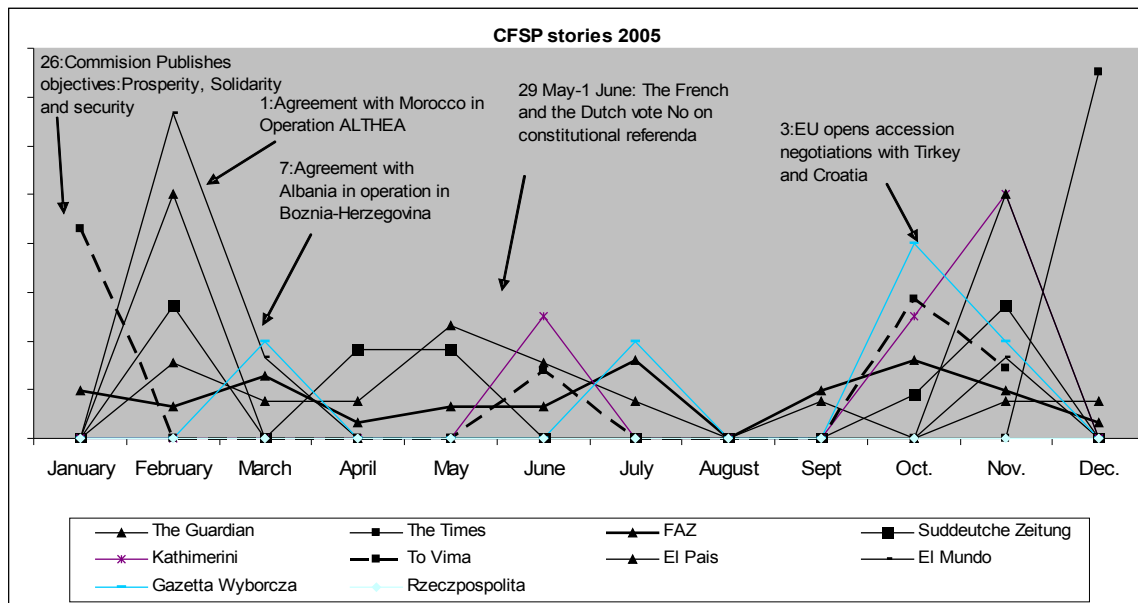


Figure 3: Visibility of CFSP stories for year 2001. Graph points are percentages refer to percentages of coded articles for 2004