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978-0-521-19090-9 - The Making of a European Public Sphere: Media Discourse and Political Contention

Edited by Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham

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## The Making of a European Public Sphere

### *Media Discourse and Political Contention*

This book investigates an important source of the European Union's recent legitimacy problems. It shows how European integration is debated in mass media, and how this affects democratic inclusiveness. Advancing integration implies a shift in power between governments, parliaments, and civil society. Behind debates over Europe's "democratic deficit" is a deeper concern: whether democratic politics can perform effectively under conditions of Europeanization and globalization. This study is based on a wealth of unique data from seven European countries, combining newspaper content analyses, an innovative study of Internet communication structures, and hundreds of interviews with leading political and media representatives across Europe. It is by far the most far-reaching and empirically grounded study on the Europeanization of media discourse and political contention to date, and it is a must-read for anyone interested in how European integration changes democratic politics and why European integration has become increasingly contested.

Ruud Koopmans is Director of the Migration, Integration, and Transnationalization research unit at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB) and Professor of Sociology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. His research focuses on citizenship and immigration, European integration, social movements and collective action, and evolutionary sociology. He has authored and co-authored ten books, including *Democracy from Below*, *New Social Movements in Western Europe*, *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics*, and *Contested Citizenship*. His work has been published in leading journals such as *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Evolution and Human Behavior*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Mobilization*, *Social Problems*, *Theory and Society*, and *West European Politics*. He is a member of the Scientific Advisory Councils of the Institute for German Studies and the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, both in Amsterdam, and in 2004–2005 he was an invited Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University.

Paul Statham is Professor of Political Sociology and Director of EurPolCom, the Centre for European Political Communications, hosted by the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies at the University of Bristol. He was formerly a professor at the University of Leeds and a researcher at the Wissenschaftszentrum für Sozialforschung Berlin. His research focuses on political contention, media, and citizenship with regard to Europe, immigration, and ethnic minorities. He has published more than fifty articles in volumes and international scholarly journals, including the *American Journal of Sociology*, *Western European Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Harvard Journal of Press/Politics*, *European Journal of Communication*, *Ethnicities*, *Journalism*, *Mobilization*, and the *European Political Science Review*. He is co-author of *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe* and co-edited *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics*. His research has been supported by six major grant awards from the European Framework Programme and two from the British Economic and Social Research Council.

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# The Making of a European Public Sphere

## *Media Discourse and Political Contention*

Edited by

**RUUD KOOPMANS**

*Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung*

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Although it is nominally an edited volume, from the outset our aim in writing this book was to produce a collective statement that integrates the insights and findings derived from the discrete parts of the project. This has not always been an easy task. In some ways, our endeavor has mirrored the trials and tribulations but also some of the achievements of European integration. Along the way, we witnessed interdisciplinary learning processes and disagreements; national team differences and cross-country collaborations; supranational, intergovernmental and federal leadership models; a Europe of different speeds; and even on the odd occasion an “empty chair” policy. At the same time, we were able to collectively benefit as researchers by having access to a large body of original empirical evidence that none of us would have been able to produce alone. In the final analysis, like Europe, it will be for the public to judge whether it was worth the effort.

The production from the project has been prodigious and collective. Prior to this book, it has produced individual country case monographs and numerous scholarly articles and has provided the basis for several doctoral dissertations. There was a social side too: It launched new friendships and collegiate networks and in one case provided the opportunity for a now-married couple to meet. None of the research would have been possible without the support and commitment of the national team leaders: Jos de Beus, Donatella Della Porta, Juan Diez Medrano, Virginie Guiraudon, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Barbara Pfetsch. A significant acknowledgment is due also to the insight and dedication of the

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Ruud and Paul, March 2010