Europe – lead story or sidenote?

The Europeanization of the climate change media discourse in German and pan-European newspapers

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Abstract

Climate change is a topic high on the public agenda, and it plays an important role in European politics. In this context, it is of special interest how the media report on climate-related topics in Europe, and how the reporting creates a Europeanized discourse on climate change. However, the discursive aspect of climate change as a topic has so far received little attention in Europeanization research. This thesis aims to fill that gap and investigates how German and pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change discourse.

Since the Europeanization of media discourses is a multidimensional phenomenon, the researchers Brüggemann, Kleinen- von Königslöw, Peters, Sifft, and Wimmel have created a typology that distinguishes four dimensions of Europeanization: Monitoring governance describes attention to EU politics, mutual observation encompasses references to other European countries, discursive exchange entails quotes and contributions from actors from other European countries, and collective identification refers to textual elements that create a sense of community in Europe. These four dimensions were used as a theoretical and analytical lens throughout the thesis.

Articles from the pan-European newspapers EUobserver and EURACTIV and the German newspapers Die ZEIT and the Süddeutsche Zeitung that were published between August 2018 and December 2019 were analyzed with the help of a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA followed Norman Fairclough's understanding and helped establish a connection between the texts and the context. While previous studies have mostly neglected the contribution of pan-European newspapers, this thesis intends to gain knowledge based on the differences and similarities between German and pan-European media.

The analysis uncovered patterns of Europeanization that point to the specific influence of climate change as a topic. Both the pan-European and German media express a positive view of climate action, scrutinize EU climate policies, draw attention to the effects of climate change in Europe, and thematize the climate protests that gained prominence in 2018 and 2019. These similar patterns show how the German and pan-European climate discourses overlap and shape a common Europeanized climate change discourse. Despite the similarities, the national orientation of the German newspapers and the inherently European coverage of the pan-European ones lead to certain differences. On the one hand, the national focus of the German newspapers becomes apparent in few quotes from foreign speakers, very weak collective identification, and a less intense focus on the EU and other EU Member States. The dimensions of monitoring governance and mutual observation are more pronounced than discursive exchange and collective identification in the German data. Consequently, the reporting in German media shapes a more segmented climate change discourse that observes the EU and other European countries but does not create a strong common discourse. On the other hand, the pan-European newspapers contribute to a more integrated Europeanized climate change discourse because discursive exchange and collective identification are stronger than in the German articles. It can be concluded from these observations that it is important to study not only national media but pan-European media, too because the latter contribute to Europeanization in a more intense way.

Contents

List of abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EC	European Commission
ECB	European Central Bank
EP	European Parliament
EPS	European Public Sphere
ETS	European Emission Trading System
EU	European Union
FAZ	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MS	Member State of the European Union
NGO	Non-governmental organization
RQ	Research Question
SZ	Süddeutsche Zeitung

1. Introduction

Several countries in Europe experienced extraordinary heat and droughts in the summer 2018 (McSweeney 2018). Floods and intense wind brought damage and death to several Southern European countries in October the same year (Cereceda & Graham 2019). Climate change makes extreme weather events like these more common. And with the effects of climate change coming closer to many Europeans' lives, the awareness of climate change as a serious problem rises as well. In the end of 2018 and throughout 2019, the global youth movement, Fridays for Future, spread around the world. Eurobarometer surveys show that after economic issues, climate change was the second most named reason for voting in the European Parliament (EP) elections 2019 across the EU, and it was the top priority in several countries (European Parliament 2019b).

For a long time, climate change has been a policy area in which the EU has presented itself as a first mover, and it has adopted some innovative policies (Oberthür & Groen 2017). However, the ambitions are increasingly criticized for not being enough. In a speech to the EP in April 2019, Greta Thunberg urged the EU to increase climate action: "Our house is falling apart, and our leaders need to act accordingly because they are not doing so currently" (Banks 2019).

The global youth climate movement and the EP elections in 2019 seemed to induce some new dynamics in the climate change politics of the EU. In November 2019, the EP declared a climate and environmental emergency. With that declaration, Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) urged the EU to commit to zero net emissions by 2050 and align all policy proposals with the goal of reducing global warming to maximum 1.5° (European Parliament News 2019). The new European Commission (EC) worked out the European Green Deal which entails a series of climate friendly policy proposals and the goal to reach net emissions by 2050 (European Commission n.d.-a).

In this context, the question arises if the climate change ambitions and actions on the EU level have been accompanied by respective media coverage. For the EU, as for any political system, media coverage is essential for communication with the citizens (Trenz 2005). Without media coverage, few European citizens would know about the EU's policies on climate change. Fewer calls for climate action would reach the EU level, and the EU's climate action would lack democratic legitimization.

The theory of a European Public Sphere (EPS) aims to capture this ideal that EU policies, politics, and polity are accompanied by a Europeanized media discourse that reports on the EU and other Member States (MS). Many studies on the Europeanization of media coverage exist but they mostly find weak indications of an EPS (Brüggemann et al. 2005, 2006; De la Porte & van Dalen 2016; Galpin & Trenz 2019; Hepp et al. 2016; Koopmans, Erbe & Meyer 2010; Segesten & Bosetta 2019a, 2019b). Recent studies on the Europeanization of media discourse have mostly focused on the Euro debt crisis (Bee & Chrona 2020; Bourne & Chatzopoulou 2015; Hepp et al. 2016; Kaiser & Kleinen – von Königslöw 2017) or Euroscepticism (Galpin & Trenz 2019; Segesten & Bosetta 2019a, 2019b). Only Olausson (2010, 2014) has analyzed the European perspective in Swedish climate change reporting, but more recent studies do not exist.

This thesis aims to fill this gap by analyzing the Europeanization of the climate change media discourse in the years 2018 and 2019 when, as shown above, the topic gained increased relevance. This thesis departs from the contradiction that the overall media discourse seems to be marginally Europeanized while climate change is a topic with a strong European dimension. On the one hand, the EU's importance as a climate actor, the public demand for European climate politics, and the media's role in connecting the EU and the citizens could lead to expectations of a strongly Europeanized climate change media discourse. On the other hand, studies have shown how media discourses tend to be limited to a national perspective due to various factors such as language, communicative culture, and journalistic routines. This thesis is, therefore, concerned with the

puzzle how Europeanization in climate media change discourse unfolds between those two opposite poles.

Pan-European media could ideally contribute to pushing the climate change discourse away from the national perspective to a more Europeanized discourse. However, Europeanization scholars have predominantly focused on the role of national media because they considered pan-European media to have a too little influence (Trenz 2009, Koopmans & Erbe 2014). Since this is a rather one-dimensional approach, the two perspectives are combined in this thesis, and the media discourses in German and pan-European media will be compared to make more nuanced observations about how the climate change discourse unfolds between the national and European pole.

A central theoretical and analytical lens of this thesis is a typology by Brüggemann, Sifft, Kleinen-von Königslöw, Peters and Wimmel (Brüggemann et al. 2006) who identify four dimensions of a Europeanized media discourse. They describe the different kinds of Europeanized references that either point to the EU-level (monitoring governance), other Member States (MS) (mutual observation and discursive exchange) or a European identity (collective identification). The four dimensions will help conceptualize how reporting overcomes the national focus to include a more European perspective.

Consequently, the research question (RQ) of this thesis reads as follows:

"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?"

The RQ will be answered by analyzing news articles on climate change in two German (Süddeutsche Zeitung and Die ZEIT) and two pan-European (EURACTIV and EUobserver) newspapers. The theoretical understanding of discourse and the discourse analytical tools are derived from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because CDA combines a text-near analysis with a contextual analysis which is important when comparing articles from two fundamentally different media environments.

Following this introduction, the background of EU climate policies will be introduced, and the literature review will present existing research on the EPS. The theory section will then elaborate on theories of Europeanization and present how the four dimensions monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification are conceptualized. A short subchapter elaborates on the understanding of discourse that CDA is based on. Choices regarding the method and research design will be explained and defended in the following methodology chapter. Special emphasis is put on the explanation of CDA as a framework and its contribution to the research goal. The subsequent chapter is dedicated to presenting the results of the analysis. A discussion chapter will then summarize and conceptualize the findings. The conclusion rounds up the paper with an evaluation of the research design and discusses a possible application of the results.

2. Background: The EU's climate policies

This chapter will give a very short overview of climate action in the EU, both internally and on the international stage.

Climate change policy in the EU evolved from environmental policy which had gained traction in the 1970s, but over the years climate policy increased in relevance due to international negotiations, treaty revisions, and the public awareness of climate change (Dupont 2016, p.33). From the 1990s on, EU climate policies focused on energy policies and later the European

Emission Trading System (ETS), but recently the discussion of a socially fair transition has gained importance, too (Skjærseth 2021). EU climate policies evolved from narrow and separate initiatives to coordinated packages, and emission reduction targets were constantly revised (Skjærseth 2021, p.26). This is exemplified by the Green Deal which the EC presented in December 2019. It is the first comprehensive package that focuses on climate and sustainability, and it mandates climate-neutrality for the EU by 2050 (Skjærseth 2021, p.36). The implementation of the Green Deal was overshadowed by the Covid-19 pandemic starting in 2020, but Dupont et al. (2020, p.1107) observe that due to the previous salience of climate change and the firm embeddedness of the topic in EU politics, climate action was not completely side-lined.

On the international stage, the EU has from the beginning shown the ambition to *lead by example* as it adopted unilateral climate policies in the run-up of international negotiations to proof its ambitions (Fischer & Geden 2015, p.1). The Copenhagen summit in 2009 is often defined as a turning point in the EU's leadership strategy as the EU was side-lined in the final negotiations (Bäckstrand & Elgström 2013; Fischer & Geden 2015; Torney 2014). Internally, opposition to ambitious climate action grew because the Eastern enlargement had brought more climate-sceptic countries into the Union, and previously supportive countries that were hit hard by the economic crisis shifted their priorities away from climate action (Fischer & Geden 2015). The EU emerged from the crisis with a more pragmatic *leadiator* strategy combining coalition-building and a leadership role (Bäckstrand & Elgström 2013; Oberthür & Groen 2017). Torney (2014) argues that despite the dent in the EU's climate image after the Copenhagen summit, "the field of climate change (and environmental protection more generally) is one in which internal and external perceptions of the EU correspond – at least to a greater extent than in many other policy areas" (p.1359).

3. Literature review

The RQ **"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?"** is located at the intersection of various research fields in political and media studies. Therefore, this literature review is structured along the different elements of the RQ to ground this thesis in existing results and explain why this specific focus was chosen.

3.1. Europeanization of media discourse

Research on the Europeanization of media discourse has often been guided by different typologies of Europeanization. The typologies vary, but they generally distinguish between references to EU politics (vertical Europeanization or monitoring governance), references to other MS (horizontal Europeanization or mutual observation and discursive exchange), and to a European identity (supranational Europeanization or collective identification). When presenting the results of a study, the terms employed in the respective text are adopted in this literature review.

The various studies present contradictory findings regarding the presence of the different dimensions. Kleinen- von Königslöw (2012) and De la Porte and van Dalen (2016) found that reporting on the EU dominates over reporting on other European countries. Brüggemann et al. (2006) observed "a trend towards Europeanization in the sense of EU institutions and politics gaining more importance in public debates, but no increasingly transnational observation and discourse and only very weak identification with Europe" (p.19).

Contrarily, Kaiser and Kleinen- von Königslöw (2017) detected higher levels of horizontal than vertical Europeanization in German and Spanish reporting on the Euro crisis, and Bee and Chrona (2020) identified significant convergence of narratives on the Euro-crisis in Greek and Italian media (discursive exchange). Segesten and Bosetta (2019) found both horizontal and vertical

Europeanization in media discourse on Euroscepticism in six MS but did not quantify the results. They observed that references to other MS were concentrated on a few influential MS like the UK or Germany while references to Eastern European countries were nearly absent in the dataset (p.1062).

Across all studies, references to a European identity play a marginal role. National media continue to frame news from a national perspective, and a common sense of identity is rarely extended beyond the national border. Brüggemann et al. (2005) conclude that "'the Europeans' as a collective identity label barely appears in the national discussions" (p.149).

The reasons for these diverse findings are twofold: Firstly, de Vreese (2007) criticized the "incompatibility and lack of comparability across studies" (p.13). Existing research applies indeed different approaches from qualitative (Bee & Chrona 2020) over quantitative research designs (Brüggemann et al. 2005; de la Porte & van Dalen 2016; Koopmans, Erbe & Meyer 2010) to combinations of both (Bourne & Chatzopoulou 2015; Liebert 2007; Meyer 2005). This thesis aims to contribute to the qualitative branch of Europeanization research because attempts to measure the EPS quantitatively have already been widely applied. Forthcoming research in the qualitative spectrum can build on those insights and explain them in-depth.

Secondly, studies show that the scope and dimensions of Europeanization are largely dependent on various factors such as the country of a media outlet, the outlet's editorial orientation, the issue area reported on, or the occurrence of important EU-events (Brüggemann & Kleinen- von Königslöw 2009; Galpin & Trenz 2019; Segesten & Bosetta 2019a, 2019b). The composition of the research material has therefore great influence on the results.

Although research on the dimensions has yielded inconsistent results, the studies that apply them show that they are a helpful lens to understand Europeanization because they uncover the different processes that contribute to Europeanization.

3.2.   Pan-European media and German media

Existing research on the Europeanization of media discourse focuses almost exclusively on the contribution by national media (Brüggemann et al. 2005; De la Porte & van Dalen 2016; Kaiser & Kleinen- von Königslöw 2017; Koopmans, Erbe & Meyer 2010; Segesten & Bosetta 2019a, 2019b). However, some researchers show how pan-European media begin to challenge the national perspective. Chalaby (2005) observed that pan-European TV channels succeed to fuse a local with a transnational perspective. Varga (2011) analyzed how pan-European newspapers overcome language barriers by translating articles into several languages or by reaching a growing English-speaking audience. He also demonstrated that online publications solve the logistical problems of Europe-wide distribution. Contrarily, Garcia-Blanco and Cushion (2010) argue that Euronews is rather a conglomeration of nationally focused news than a truly supranational television channel. These examples show that research into pan-European reporting can be fruitful and help expand the perspective on Europeanization.

Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg (2009) contribute to a conceptualization of pan-European media: Pan-European media have a "deliberate European perspective" and "the commitment to cater for a European audience" (600f) and are therefore distinguishable from global media, international media, and national media with an international perspective.

In contrast, Germany is a country that is featured in many studies on the Europeanization of media discourses. Studies have observed a moderate, or compared to other MS, relatively high level of Europeanization in German media (de Vreese 2007; Kaiser & Kleinen- von Königslöw 2017; Koopmans, Erbe & Meyer 2010; Hepp et al. 2016; Meyer 2005; Trenz 2004). Hepp et al. (2016) detected a constant increase of vertical Europeanization in German media discourse between 1982 and 2003 while the horizontal dimension stagnated at a lower level. In both dimensions,

however, they found that Germany has rather high levels of Europeanization compared to other countries. A study by Koopmans (2014) confirmed that Germany has a relatively well-developed Europeanized media coverage, but they emphasize that Europeanization is stronger in policy areas that are not highly federalized.

One German newspaper that was included in several studies and that shows a distinct pattern of Europeanization is the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ). Kleinen- von Königslöw (2012) describe the FAZ as "by far the most horizontally Europeanized of all quality papers" (p.454) which confirms the findings by Brüggemann & Kleinen- von Königslöw (2009) that the FAZ shows a pattern of "Europeanization aloof from the EU" with high horizontal and low vertical Europeanization. Trenz (2004), who did not distinguish between the dimensions, found that 35.2% of political news in the FAZ have a European perspective. This is the highest percentage of all eleven newspapers he analyzed (p.297).

3.3. Media discourse on climate change

Koopmans, Erbe and Meyer (2010) found that European actors are more visible in reporting about policy areas that are highly Europeanized. This corresponds with the argument that "only in those issue fields in which European integration has advanced is there a need for strong horizontal and vertical communicative integration" (Koopmans 2014, p.81). These observations suggest a considerable Europeanization in climate change discourse because the EU is an active actor in climate action, and environmental policy has become a "well-established field of European Union (EU) engagement" (Lenschow 2010, p.307).

Since climate change has global effects and its causes can only be successfully mitigated with global efforts, it is an inherently global topic (Schäfer et al. 2018, p.214f). Based on this global perspective, most research focuses more on a global transnationalization than on a Europeanization of the climate change discourse. Ivanova et al. (2014), who limited their study on the dimension of discursive exchange, showed that media attention to climate change in 27 countries worldwide continues to transnationalize. They found the biggest resemblance in climate reporting between the five European countries they studied and explain the comparably strong Europeanization as follows:

> It is possible that there is a strong trend of Europeanization on climate change because the EU (which is outspoken on the subject of climate change, and especially the reduction of C02 emissions and emission-certificate trading) is a particularly strong transnational actor that regulates the attention paid to the topic. (Ivanoca et al. 2014, p.222)

Schäfer et al. (2018) studied transnationalization of climate reporting in print media in 14 countries. They observed that links to the EU are by far the most common form of vertical references in Spain and Germany while Portuguese media refer to more actors from the UN than actors from the EU. They found that more foreign actors than national ones are mentioned in reporting, but, reversely, more national than foreign actors appear as active speakers. Schäfer et al. (2018) conclude that the penetration of EU politics into the national sphere is unparalleled to other regions (p.329). The transferability of the results to generalized statements about Europeanization of climate reporting is limited because only three MS were studied, and because the results showed that references to non-EU actors, especially the US, make up a great part of links.

Kleinen-von Königslöw et al. (2019) studied how the media constructs legitimacy for climate policies on the national and international level. The only EU country in their sample is Germany, but these partial results show that claims about legitimacy in German media are with 49% mostly directed at international regimes, including the EU, and with 11% directed at other countries. Although this points to a higher vertical than horizontal Europeanization, this conclusion can only be drawn for the specific case of legitimacy claims in German media.

Some studies focus on European countries. Olausson finds traces of a European identity in climate change reporting in Sweden because some articles construct a sense of "we Europeans" in opposition to "them" in the US (Olausson 2010, p.443). In a study of Lithuanian climate change news, Rabitz et al. (2020) found a connection of local and global perspectives in roughly half their material while reporting without a national focus made up roughly one third of their corpus (p.7). Horta et al. (2017), who studied climate change coverage in Portugal, conclude that "the Portuguese press tends to reproduce the global political agenda on climate change, mainly focusing on international events associated with global political decision-making processes […]" (p.1246).

4. Theory

This chapter will outline the theoretical basis of this thesis. First, general Europeanization literature will be introduced. Chapter 4.2 will then explain the more specific conceptions of the EPS and present how the understanding of an EPS is organized into a typology with the four dimensions monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification. Lastly, the conception of discourse that CDA is based on will be explained.

4.1. The concept of Europeanization

Europeanization is a contested concept as scholars express different views regarding the definition and scope of Europeanization, its normative implications, and how to study it (Olsen 2002, Featherstone 2003). The definition closest to the understanding of this thesis is Radaelli's concept of Europeanization[1]:

> "Processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion, and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, 'ways of doing things', and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU public policy and politics and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, identities, political structures, and public policies." (2003, p.30)

Based on this definition, chapter 4.2.3. will present how Europeanization theory is applied to the media sphere and suggest a media-specific definition of Europeanization.

Approaches to study Europeanization can generally be distinguished into bottom-up, top-down, and cross-border approaches. This section will briefly present the approaches and their orientation. However, since the theoretical background of this thesis is anchored in more specialized literature on the EPS, the political theories will not be explained in detail.

Studies on *bottom-up Europeanization* analyze "how states upload their domestic preferences to the EU level" (Börzel & Panke 2016, p.116). This phenomenon is referred to as *uploading*. Preferences can concern EU policies, polity, or politics (Börzel & Panke 2016). Some authors refer to this branch of study as European integration rather than Europeanization. Reversely*, top-down Europeanization* studies "the conditions and causal mechanism through which the European Union triggers domestic change in its member states and in third countries" (Börzel & Panke 2016, p.114).

Both bottom-up and top-down approaches can be characterized as *vertical Europeanization* because they clearly distinguish the EU and the domestic level in a hierarchical relation and focus on adaptational pressure (Radaelli 2003, p.41). Contrarily, *horizontal Europeanization* mechanisms are based on the market, patterns of socialization, or "the diffusion of ideas and

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[1] For more definitions of Europeanization see Ladrech (1994, p.69), Lawton (1999), Hértier et al. (2001, p.3) or Risse, Cowles & Caporaso (2001, p.3).

discourses about the notion of good policy and best practice" (Radaelli 2003, p.41). This horizontal, or cross-border perspective, assumes that the dissemination of EU-related political, social, and cultural ideas do not have to involve the EU institutions but can also occur between countries (Scott & Liikanen 2010, p.430).

The different perspectives can be combined into a model of *circular Europeanization*. This understanding perceives Europeanization not as a linear process but focuses on the interdependent relationship between the European and the national level (Saurugger 2014). In this sense, circular Europeanization encompasses both horizontal and vertical processes. Therefore, this thesis is best placed within an understanding of circular Europeanization because it analyzes the interplay between horizontal and vertical dimensions of Europeanization.

Another categorization of Europeanization research was elaborated by Börzel and Risse (2006), who address the question "What can be Europeanized?" by distinguishing four dimensions of EU influence: policy change, institutional change, change of politics, and public discourse and identity change. This thesis conducts research within the fourth dimension – the Europeanization of public discourses and identity change. The EU and discourses are related in a twofold way: Firstly, the EU increasingly permeates national discourses. Secondly, national discourses and identities can scrutinize political decisions, alter policy preferences, and give or revoke legitimacy to the EU (Radaelli 2003, p.36). Most of these interrelations are of intermediary nature because citizens usually have no direct access to EU politics. Instead, the media act as an intermediary sphere where discourses are shaped, transformed, and discussed. Consequently, the emergence of Europeanized identities and discourses is closely linked to a Europeanization of the media (Börzel & Risse 2006, p.490). The following chapter will elaborate how this Europeanization of the media is conceptualized.

4.2.   European Public Sphere

While the previous chapter has presented the wide field of Europeanization studies, this chapter will elaborate on the more specific theories and concepts of Europeanization from a media perspective.

The central concept in this field of studies is that of the EPS. First, as Van de Steeg (2002) has pointed out, it is essential to consider the distinction between the EPS and Europeanized media. Van de Steeg (2002) describes the media as an "actor" and "container" of the public sphere while she defines the public sphere as the resulting public debate (p.503). Although there are other fora for a public sphere, including social media or face-to-face communication, the media have traditionally been the focus of public sphere research. Van de Steeg argues for concentrating on the media because "in the end, what the general public gets to see of the public debate is that which is reported by the media, and, especially, as it is reported by the media" (2002, p.107). Consequently, the Europeanization of the media leads to the emergence of the EPS.

Based on these considerations, this thesis studies the media discourse as the central container for the EPS. This chapter will present how the EPS is theoretically conceptualized and which dimensions help understand it.

4.2.1. The conception of an ideal public sphere by Habermas

Since much of the literature on the EPS is based on the conceptions of a public sphere by Habermas, the following section will provide an introduction into his theory.

Habermas shapes the discussion about public spheres with his conception of the public sphere which is based on observations of Western societies in the 17th and 18th century. In

these early capitalist societies, the so-called bourgeois public sphere[2] emerged as an intermediary sphere between the private real and public authority (Habermas 1989, p.19). Habermas elaborates:

> The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor. (Habermas 1989, p.27)

Habermas envisions an ideal of egalitarian dialogue in the bourgeois public sphere based on reasoned argumentation and equal access: "Discourse should remain open to the equally valid claims of new participants and arguments; each site of discourse should see itself as part of a wider discursive environment" (Goode 2005, p.23). In consequence, Habermas expects the public sphere to produce a public interest that is based on the common good rather than individual interests. He argues that the law translates this communicative power into administrative power by empowering the administrative bodies to make collectively binding decisions (Habermas 1996, p.150).

The literary sphere (print publications) allowed for the connection of arguments beyond a single encounter and fostered the politization of the bourgeois public sphere. The transformation into a consumption orientated mass media, however, constituted a departure from the ideal role of the media for Habermas. Instead of providing equal access, capitalist mass media grant privileged access to influential actors, and the rational reasoning of the people transformed into mostly passive consumption (Habermas 1989, p.188f).

Habermas is often criticized for his idealistic and partly historically inaccurate conceptions. He neglects the role of the household and the economy and downplays the early impact of a capitalist system on the media. Moreover, he neglects the existence of divisive positions and the need for compromise. Lastly, Habermas does not account for the development of a public sphere inside institutions (Graham 1992, p.359f).

Despite the valid points of criticism of Habermas's theory, his work still serves as a reference point for various contemporary works on the EPS because of its valuable conceptual insights. Habermas directs attention to the link between the media and democratic politics while he upholds a conceptually important distinction between the media, the state, and the market (Frazer 1992, p.110f; Graham 1992, p.361). In this thesis, his theory should therefore be treated as an idealistic conception that other scholars build upon and amend. In this capacity, the theory of a public sphere by Habermas is still valuable for modern-day research as it guides the attention to the public sphere's desired openness, its democratic function, and rational, critical discursivity.

4.2.2. The European Public Sphere and the EU's democratic deficit

To adequately apply the EPS theory, it is important to elaborate on its normative foundations. Part of this work has been done by introducing the theory of a public sphere by Habermas. However, to include the EU aspect, this section will elaborate on how the EPS is linked to the perceived democratic deficit of the EU.

The literature on the EPS perceives the communicative gap between the EU and its citizens as a central democratic problem. Fossum and Schlesinger (2007) argue that

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[2] The translation of the German „Bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit" bears some conceptual difficulties but is commonly translated to "bourgeois public sphere." (Habermas 1989, p.xv)

a central precondition for a democratic order is a viable public sphere – namely, a communicative space (or spaces) in which relatively unconstrained debate, analysis and criticism of the political order can take place. This precondition applies as much to the EU as it does to any nation state. (p.1)

In this logic, the democratic deficit stems from the paradox that while political and economic integration is increasing, the European-public sphere remains under-developed, and political discourse stays nationally orientated (Fossum & Schlesinger 2007; Gerhards 1999, 2002; Trenz 2005). Gerhards (1993, 2002) calls this phenomenon the *deficit of the public sphere*[3]. He explains the relation between the deficit of a public sphere and the democratic legitimacy of the EU in relation to two basic functions of the public sphere. The first function is of informative nature because the media is an intermediary system between citizens and political decision makers (Gerhards 1993, p.107). Fossum and Schlesinger (2007) describe this relation as follows: "It is the communicative context in which problems are discovered, thematized and dramatized. Here, they are also formed into opinions and wills on the bases of which formal decision-making agencies are empowered to act" (p.5). This process relates to Habermas's ideal of deliberation in the public sphere.

By reporting on EU topics, the media make the EU visible and understandable for citizens. The media hold political decision-makers accountable, channel diverse arguments for or against political decisions, and reveal abuses of power (Trenz 2009, p.294). This is of political relevance because knowledge about EU policies, politics, and polity is essential for voters to take informed decisions. Journalistic working routines and editorial decisions create a certain discourse about the EU. The readers then interpret this discourse based on their personal experiences and form electoral preferences (Trenz 2005, 2008).

In its second function, the public sphere contributes to identity formation because it creates an exchange forum through which citizens perceive social issues, participate in society, and feel part of a social group (Gerhards 1993, p.107). A feeling of community is created through a specific form of presenting the EU in public discourse. Such specific representations of the EU are grounded in the historical development of communication within a collective (Trenz 2005, p.413). This means that if Europe is only marginally thematized in reporting or mostly presented in a national perspective, a true European identity formation is hindered because the common and specific reference point is not given (Gerhards 1993, p.108).

4.2.3. Conceptions of a European Public Sphere

So far, this chapter was dedicated to the normative aspect of the EPS. As Trenz (2009) observed, the normative aspect is central in research about the EPS: "The EPS has been mainly addressed as something imperfect but desirable, as something that does not yet exist but that should be normatively constructed" (p.16). Based on the normative understanding, conceptions of the EPS have been worked out. This chapter will present them.

Scholars studying the EPS have refined Europeanization definitions like the one presented in chapter 4.1. to fit to the media sphere. The research group Brügemann et al. (2006) conceptualizes Europeanization as "a multidimensional and gradual process that in one way or another extends public discourse beyond national spaces" (p.4). This definition is more suitable for this thesis because the media is not only an intermediary system between the EU institutions and the national political actors but also between European countries and citizens.

Koopmans and Erbe (2004) furthermore point out that Europeanization must be distinguished from transnationalization:

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[3] "Öffentlichkeitsdefizit" in the German original

> We can speak of a Europeanized public sphere to the extent that a substantial—and over time increasing—part of public contestation neither stays confined to one national political space (the European public sphere's inner boundary) nor extends beyond Europe without referring to it (the outer boundary of the European public sphere). (p.105)

In this thesis, Europe is defined as the EU, its MS, and neighboring countries on the European continent.

Most scholars (Brüggeman et al. 2006; Koopmans & Statham 2010, Trenz 2009) agree with Gerhards (1993, 2002), who claims that an encompassing EPS shaped after the blueprint of a national public sphere is impossible to achieve. Language barriers, cultural differences in the consumption of media content, and nation-centered reporting routines reinforce the dominance of national news reporting (Trenz 2009, p.18). Instead of expecting a singular EPS, scholars therefore focus on the Europeanization of the various national spheres. They assume that national media outlets continue to dominate, but that their content increasingly extends beyond the nation state to incorporate a European perspective (Koopmans & Erbe 2004, p.100). This thesis aims to contribute to this debate with a more integrative view. While it is acknowledged that an encompassing EPS is unlikely to evolve, the analysis aims to map out how both pan-European and national media can shape an EPS. This approach responds to criticism by Trenz (2009, 2005) that the existing focus on the national spheres as the point of reference is unsatisfactory.

The question of how Europeanization in the media can be conceptualized is contested. Gerhards (2002) focuses on references to EU actors, debates, and policies as the essential factors. However, he is criticized for a too narrow focus by Eder and Kantner (2002), who argue that a Europeanized media sphere emerges through common European themes in reporting and the interdependence of national media spheres. Yet another focus is advocated by Risse (2002), whose research focuses on the creation of a "common European moral community" (p.14).

Defining Europeanization as a "multidimensional process", Brüggeman et al. take an inclusive position in this ongoing discussion about what makes up the EPS. Brüggeman et al. (2005) have identified three elements in media discourse that can be Europeanized:

- **Europeanization of contents** refers to topics and ways of reporting these topics which become more European in focus. This includes references to EU institutions, reports about issues in other MS, and the similarity of public agendas across various national public spheres.
- **Europeanization of public identities** captures the orientation of public debate. This dimension is concerned with the participants and addressees of communication and the collective European perspective of communication.
- **Europeanization of communication flows** points towards the exchange of opinions and ideas across national public spheres which goes beyond pure references of events and actors (p.141f).

This categorization breaks down the "discourse and identity" category of Börzel and Risse (2006) that was introduced in chapter 4.1. These two categorizations are concerned with the question "What can be Europeanized?", contrary to vertical and horizontal Europeanization which refers to the direction of Europeanization.

In conclusion, this thesis follows closely the understanding of a Europeanized public sphere as proposed by Brüggemann et al. (2005, 2006) because their conception is compatible with other important works on Europeanization in the media (Trenz 2005, 2009, Koopmans & Erbe 2014) and integrates the different perspectives into a theoretically sound entity. Moreover, Brüggemann et al. propose a system of dimensions that will be helpful for the analysis in this thesis. These dimensions will be presented in the following chapter.

4.2.4. Dimensions of Europeanization in media discourse

Based on the different conceptions of the EPS elaborated in the previous chapters, various authors have suggested dimensions of Europeanization that can serve as a basis for empirical research. Most of these typologies are similar but differ in category names or refer to slightly different dimensions. This chapter will present the differences of four typologies, discuss their advantages and drawbacks, and explain the final choice.

Liebert (2007) and Bee and Chrona (2020) suggest similar typologies of Europeanization. Both use the categories vertical, horizontal, supranational, and segmented Europeanization, but Liebert adds the category of European transnationalism. There are logical problems with the category segmented Europeanization because it conflates the analysis of different processes of Europeanization in the media with the types of resulting public spheres. As it refers to "references of EU events, actors, etc. but exchange limited to MS communication community" (Liebert 2007, p.247), it refers to a public sphere where vertical Europeanization is present but no or only weak horizontal Europeanization. This understanding of segmented Europeanization as a combined category is also advocated by the researchers around Brüggemann (Brüggeman et al. 2006; Brüggemann & Kleinen- von Königslöw 2009), who argue that segmented forms of Europeanization "contribute to a de-borderization of public discourse, but do not necessarily involve the emergence of a new, extended communicative space across territorial states" (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.6). Figure 1 visualizes how they understand segmented Europeanization in relation to vertical and horizontal Europeanization.
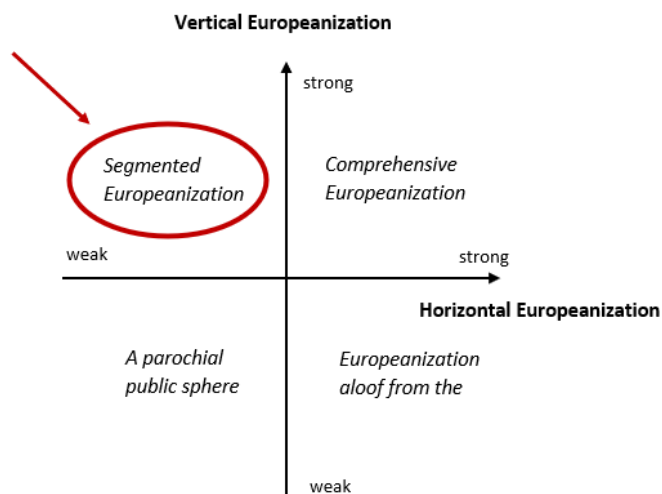
Figure 1: Segmented Europeanization as combination of weak horizontal Europeanization and strong vertical Europeanization. Own adaption of Brüggemann & Kleinen- von Königslöw (2009, p.30)

The research group around Koopmans (Koopmans & Erbe 2004; Koopmans & Statham 2010) suggests a sounder threefold typology of Europeanization:

1. A *supranational European public sphere* entails the interactions between European-level institutions and actors and ideally the development of European-wide mass media.
2. *Vertical Europeanization* is conceptualized as "communicative linkages between the national and European level" (Koopmans & Statham 2010, p.38). The bottom-up variant refers to national actors making claims about the European. Reversely, top-down Europeanization indicates that claims of European actors are directed at national debates.

3. *Horizontal Europeanization* indicates connections between different European countries. While in its weak variant, national media only refer to topics in other MS, the strong variant encompasses communicative exchange of claim-making structures and arguments between actors of different nations (Koopmans & Statham 2010, p.38; see also Koopmans & Erbe 2004, p.101).

This typology has a straight-forward conceptual logic that is based on the direction of communication. The biggest drawback of this typology, however, is that it does not mention references to a collective European identity. As previous chapters have shown, identity formation is a crucial element of a Europeanized public sphere and can enhance democratic support of European integration (Gerhards 1993; Risse 2002; Trenz 2005).

The typology that was deemed most helpful for the purpose of this thesis is suggested by the research group Brüggemann et al. (2006). The typology is based on the integrative understanding that Europeanization enlarges communication across national borders within Europe. Since the RQ **"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?"** was worked out with the aim to capture the diverse processes that lead to a Europeanized media discourse, it is important to choose an integrative typology.

Firstly, **monitoring governance** points to the growing attention to European institutions and policies in the media discourse. It analyzes how decision-making at the EU level is vertically exposed to public scrutiny. This dimension is therefore related to the ideal of communicative power for the citizens by Habermas because the media opens a forum in which citizens can inform themselves, discuss, and scrutinize decision-making on the EU-level. Normatively, the discussion of EU-topics in the media is consequently a precondition for the democratic legitimacy of the EU.

The second dimension, **mutual observation**, focuses on horizontal media attention to topics in other MS. National media might report on political decisions, major events, or domestic developments in other MS if they are of international significance or influence the own country. European integration deepens the interdependence of MS and therefore increases the importance of mutual observation. Since intergovernmental processes are an important pillar of EU decision-making, the outcome of national elections influences cooperation at the EU level. The implementation of domestic policies can promote policy integration by setting a topic on the agenda or hinder EU action when European and domestic policies are incompatible.

As explained above, Brüggemann et al. understand these first two dimensions as segmented forms of Europeanization because they do not create an extended, cross-border communicative space. While the national communicative spaces observe each other, they are not discursively connected. **Discursive exchange** is a more integrative form of horizontal Europeanization. While mutual observation describes references to topics in other MS, discursive exchange entails the exchange of ideas, arguments, and opinions. Brüggemann et al. argue that the parallelization of public discourses – the simultaneous discussion of the same topics with the same relevance in different countries – is not sufficient to constitute discursive exchange because it requires discursive contributions from foreign actors in the form of quotations, arguments, or whole texts.

Finally, **collective identification** is closely related to Gerhard's (1993) second function of a Europeanized public sphere that emphasizes the importance of a collective identity for the legitimacy of the EU. The ideal of strong European identification and unconditional support for the EU's political system seems unattainable in the culturally and politically heterogeneous EU. Low levels of trust in EU institutions in Eurobarometer surveys (European Union 2020) confirm that. Therefore, a sense of belonging to the same European community and an approval of common goals constitute a more realistic form of collective identification. In media discourse, this

form of collective identification becomes visible by examining the perspective of discourse: "If speakers in public discourse argue from a participant's perspective, they acknowledge that the issue discussed concerns 'us' as members of a common community" (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.7).

The typology refines the distinction into the three aspects of discursive Europeanization – contents, communication flows, and identities – by adding a component of horizontal or vertical direction. This combination captures the reality that Europeanization is not a one-dimensional process but a combination of different communicative processes.

The typology is a helpful scheme to understand the Europeanization of the media discourse, but it is elaborated for the analysis of national public spheres and must be adapted to pan-European media. Empirically, the four dimensions can be applied to the discourse in pan-European media because pan-European media refer to EU politics, mention national politics, adapt national discourses, or contribute to a European identity just like national media do. There is, however, a theoretical adaption that needs to be explained: The direction of monitoring governance, mutual observation, and discursive exchange reverses. Since pan-European media are located at the European level, mutual observation and discursive exchange are becoming vertical processes of Europeanization because they link the European level with the national one. Monitoring governance, on the other hand, takes on a horizontal direction because references are made within the European level. Collective identification is not subjected to a change of direction.

The choice to equally apply the dimensions to the pan-European media can be justified because the respective functions of the dimensions for the national publics remain the same. Monitoring governance still informs citizens about EU-topics and scrutinizes European level politics. Mutual observation and discursive exchange continue to expose readers from one MS to topics and discourses from other MS (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg 2009). Since the RQ treats the media discourse as the object of analysis and aims at comparison of its effects, it is important to coherently apply the dimensions to the elements of media discourse.

In conclusion, the RQ places this thesis in the branch of Europeanization that analyzes discourses and identities. Brüggemann et al. (2005) have broken down this category into three elements that can become Europeanized in the media discourse: contents, communication flows, and public identities. Combined with the relational notion of horizontal and vertical Europeanization, Brüggemann et al. (2006) have elaborated a typology of four dimensions of Europeanization: monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification.

4.3. The theoretical understanding of discourse

CDA is not only a method in the narrow sense but a theoretical and methodological framework. Therefore, it is important to elaborate on the theoretical understanding of discourse that CDA is based on.

CDA understands discourse as a purposeful and active act of language use, and CDA researchers aim to understand what and how this act of language use communicates. "Research which adopts this definition of discourse assumes that language is used to *mean* [emphasis in the original] something and *do* something, and that this 'meaning' and 'doing' are linked to the context of its usage" (Richardson 2007, p.24).

The relation between discourse and context is mutually constitutive. Discourse can both consolidate structures of the context or contribute to their transformation. Reversely, the historical and social context influences how discourse unfolds (Fairclough 1995, p.55). Fairclough uses the term *order of discourse* to describe the discursive practices of a certain social sphere which shape the use of language. An order of discourse is constituted by discourses (presentation of knowledge from a particular perspective) and genres (language use associated with a certain situation, e.g. a newspaper article or an interview). Within a social sphere, for example a school,

different types of discourse and genres can exist (e.g. the classroom discourse and the playground discourse) and they are distinguished by more or less rigid borders. Within a process of social or cultural change, the overlaps and boundaries of orders of discourse can change and thereby alter the conditions of discursive practices. Within an order of discourse, a communicative event is the single use of language such as a text, speech, or conversation (Fairclough 1995, pp.55f). "Discourse analysis means, therefore, the analysis of relationships between concrete language use [communicative events in Fairclough's terminology] and the wider social and cultural structures" (Titscher et al. 2000, p.149).

CDA aims to uncover power relations that are frequently hidden but influence the dominance of certain discourses over others (Titscher et al. 2000, p.165). Fairclough understands power as not only oppressive but also as productive force that constitutes discourse, knowledge, and subjectivities. For Fairclough, power is not deterministic but negotiable in different social settings, and to a certain degree, actors have the possibility to reject the exercise of power (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002).

5. Methodology

5.1. Social constructivism and the research

This thesis combines Europeanization theories with the theoretical and methodological framework of CDA. This chapter elaborates on the epistemological and ontological perspectives of this thesis, and how they fit both CDA and Europeanization theories.

CDA takes a social constructivist position as it assumes that discourses are embedded in a mutually constitutive relationship with the social practices. Media discourses inform citizens and influence their believes while being produced in certain circumstances and by certain people who themselves have been influenced by discourse (Richardson 2007, p.37). To understand the relationship between the discursive and social sphere, "the focus of the theory and practice of critical discourse analysis is on structures of text and talk" (Mogashoa 2014, p.105). CDA aims to analyze meaning that is transported through language. This social constructivist worldview can be applied to the Europeanization theories in this project because they, too, focus on the power of communication and the dialectic relationship between media and society.

Contrary to Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory, which theorizes both real objects and perceptions of reality as mediated entirely by discourse, CDA distinguishes between discursive and non-discursive practices (Rear 2013, pp.12f). This means that CDA is more receptive to the idea of a pre-existing material reality that constrains individual agency and creates unequal access to resources for shaping discourses (Bryman 2015, p.541). Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) emphasize that in discourse analysis most theories must be "translated" to discursive terms. The acceptance of non-discursive elements reduces the translation work needed for embedding Europeanization theories into CDA. Moreover, since both the EPS conceptions and CDA are based on Habermas's ideals of communication (see chapter 4.2.1.; Titscher et al. 2000, p.144), the combination is relatively straightforward. The CDA framework guides attention to the general elements of discourse while the Europeanization perspective helps identify and interpret those elements that are significant for Europeanization.

Epistemologically, CDA rejects the goal of finding an absolute, objective truth. Instead, the researcher takes a reflective position in the research process and acknowledges that he or she is part of an interpretative context in which one cannot be neutral (Mogashoa 2014, p.111). Just like the audience interprets texts, a researcher understands them with a certain political or theoretical lens. Therefore, one cannot find the "true meaning" of a text, but meaning is always open to interpretation and negotiation (Mogashoa 2014, p.112). In this thesis, the theoretical lens are Europeanization theories and especially the four dimensions by Brüggemann et al. (2006).

## 5.2.	Research strategy

In Chapter 4.2.3. it has been shown that scholars identify two possibilities of the emergence of the EPS: the Europeanization of national public spheres and the development of a pan-European media system. This thesis is located at the intersection of those perspectives and aims to contribute to the discussion of how both processes can shape an EPS. This goal leads to a comparative research design.

The research strategy in this project can be defined as a comparative case study because the comparison is done by studying two cases in depth and aims to reveal the unique features of both cases (Bryman 2015, p.61). The case of climate change articles in German newspapers is compared to the case of climate change articles in pan-European newspapers. The comparison is conducted along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification.

Since Yin (2009) suggests that case studies are preferable to answer how and why RQs, applying a case study approach is a suitable decision for this thesis. Definitions of case studies are diverse, but Gerring (2007) refers to the common core that a case study is "an intensive study of a single unit or a small number of units" (p.37). Yin (2016) offers a more refined definition of a case study describing a case study as an analysis of a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context where the researcher defines the boundaries between the case and the context, and multiple sources of evidence are used (p.123). It can reasonably be argued that the research in this thesis fits with Yin's definition because it studies recent, naturally occurring media discourse by looking at multiple articles of four media outlets.

A major point of criticism of case studies is that they are not suitable for generalization (Flick 2014). While this is true in the sense of statistical inferences, Flyvbjerg (2011) points out how the in-depth knowledge generated in case studies can contribute to the falsification of theories. Moreover, he emphasizes the value of practical, in-depth knowledge for scientific development because case studies allow for a more nuanced view of reality that can be more appropriate to describe social reality than predictive theories and universal rules. Following Flyvbjerg's line of argumentation, this thesis aims to gain a nuanced understanding of the dimensions in comparison between German and pan-European media.

Consequently, a qualitative approach was chosen because the goal of the RQ is not to quantify the appearance of the four dimensions of Europeanization but to understand how they manifest and shape Europeanization. Although a case study does not imply the use of certain methods, the goal to study the phenomenon in-depth points towards a research strategy that at least involves some qualitative aspects (Bryman 2015, pp.60f). Existing research on the Europeanization of media discourse that has predominantly applied a quantitative approach has led to noticeable observations but also had two major shortcomings: Firstly, depending on the sample size and composition, different studies have yielded contradictory results. Secondly, the quantitative results allowed for conclusions on the scope of Europeanization but lacked the depth to explain patterns in media discourse. Therefore, Brüggemann et al. (2006) argue that

> for future empirical research on the transnationalization of the public sphere, however, it will be more rewarding to analyze in detail the driving forces behind this kind of Europeanization and the constraints inhibiting a more fully developed transnational public sphere in Europe. (p.21)

This thesis aims to address this gap by conducting a qualitative research into the media discourse on climate change.

## 5.3.	Choice of material

Bryman (2015) points towards the fact that sampling often takes place on different levels (pp.408-410). The first step was the case selection of German and pan-European media. The strategy behind this decision was to choose maximum variation cases to "obtain information about the

significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome" (Flyvbjerg 2011, p.307). Maximum variation case studies are helpful to, firstly, provide detailed description of the uniqueness of cases and, secondly, identify common patterns that emerge across cases (Patton 2015, p.283). Tying this decision back to the RQ: **"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?"** maximum variation case selection aligns with the goal of identifying different and similar patterns of Europeanization in national and pan-European media discourse.

The language competences of the researcher limited the choice of cases to English-language and German-language news outlets. Germany was chosen because the Europeanization of the German media sphere has been well researched. Firstly, this allows for a more informed choice regarding the purposeful sampling of the material which will be explained in the following paragraph. Secondly, comparing the results of this thesis with existing studies will help to put the findings into context.

Within the two cases of German and pan-European media, the specific material for analysis was identified in two steps. Firstly, the newspapers and timeframe were chosen based on intensity sampling. Purposeful sampling strategies like intensity sampling help identifying the material that is relevant for the RQ (Bryman 2015, pp.407f). Intensity sampling aims to identify information-rich but not extreme examples of the phenomenon of interest (Patton 2002, p.234).

Looking for material that manifests Europeanization intensely, tabloid newspapers were removed from consideration because previous studies have shown that tabloid newspapers devote less attention to European topics and report in a less Europeanized way (Hepp et al. 2016; Kleinen-von Königslöw 2012; Pfetsch et al. 2010; Segesten & Bosetta 2019b). This decision also enhances the comparability to pan-European newspapers because those can be characterized as quality newspapers.

Based on the interest to analyze the media discourse that impacts upon a wider public, the selection process aimed for newspapers with a big readership. In Germany, the quality newspapers with the highest circulation are Die ZEIT, the Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) (IVW 2020). Their importance is reinforced because as leading German newspapers they influence the reporting by other German media. Since the FAZ can be characterized as an extreme case due to high levels of horizontal Europeanization shown in previous studies, Die ZEIT and SZ were selected. The EUobserver and EURACTIV were chosen as hybrid pan-European media outlets that cover both EU politics and national politics in Europe (Accardo 2016) to avoid a bias regarding the horizontal-vertical differentiation of Europeanization. Both outlets cater to a mostly European readership, are not only limited to expert readers, and have a comparably big audience for pan-European media (Varga 2011, EURACTIV 2019a, EUobserver 2021) which underlines their impact for the EPS.

The period for the analysis was set to capture how climate change as a topic gained importance on the political agenda, especially in relation to the EU. Therefore, the timeframe for the analysis begins in August 2018 with the first weekly strikes by Greta Thunberg in front of the Swedish parliament (Gould 2019) because the resulting global youth climate movement Fridays for Future brought climate change high up on the political agenda worldwide. By the time of the European elections in May 2019, citizens considered climate change as the top priority for the EP (European Parliament 2019a). The timeframe ends in December 2019 after the Commission had presented the European Green Deal (European Commission n.d.-a). Consequently, the timeframe covers the issue circle from the rise of climate change as a topic until a major political reaction on the EU level and includes the politically significant period of the European elections. Studying media reporting to the time of the 2019 European elections promises rich insight because Galpin and

Trenz (2019) found that the media played a key role in elevating the priority of European elections (p.670). Consequently, it will be interesting to look at the role of climate change specifically.

The articles were retrieved through a keyword search on LexisNexis for the SZ, Die ZEIT and EURACTIV. Articles by the EUobserver, which were not available on LexisNexis, were retrieved through a search with the same conditions on the EUobserver website. The terms used for the keyword search were "climate change", "climate", "global warming", "emissions" and "Green Deal" for the English publications and "Klimawandel", "Klima*", "Erderwärmung", "Emissionen" and "Grün* Deal" for the German ones.

Applying the intensity sampling strategy, articles that had climate change as a main topic and that showed traces of at least one dimension of Europeanization were chosen. Although this limitation of material contains a certain bias as it has purposefully chosen articles that involve European references, it was necessary. As the qualitative analysis in this thesis is based on a limited number of articles, applying an intensity sampling strategy secures that the conclusions about the dimensions are based on a sufficient base. This choice is justifiable because the RQ does not aim to quantify the share of Europeanized reporting but aims to analyze the different dimensions of Europeanization in-depth.

However, the sample size was still too big for a meaningful CDA with the resources and time available. Therefore, a third step was introduced into the sampling process. Patton (2015) suggests a purposeful random sample if "the potential number of cases within a purposeful category is more than what can be studied with the available time and resources" (p.268). Randomly selecting one article per newspaper per month that fulfilled the above-mentioned criteria enhances the credibility of results and the manageability of the sample, but it is important to underline that the sampling is not aimed at full representativeness (Patton 2015, p.286). In total, 68 articles[4] were analyzed.

5.4. Critical Discourse Analysis

The term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) does not refer to a unified method but a conglomerate of approaches by different authors that share a common understanding of discourse. The main characteristic that distinguishes CDA from other approaches of textual analysis such as Conversation Analysis, Content Analysis, or Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory is that it combines the analysis of textual features with a contextual analysis. Since discourses are understood to be embedded in a cultural, ideological, and historical setting and are interlinked with other discourses, CDA analyzes the social context and discursive practices in addition to the textual level (van Dijk 2001, p.352). Consequently, CDA "is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures" (Titscher at al. 2000, p.146).

The term "critical" refers to two basic principles CDA is based on. Firstly, critical scientific research must be reflective of the interests it is based on and reveal the historical context of discourse. Secondly, following the tradition of critical linguistics, discourse cannot be studied detached from social meanings, and CDA combines the analysis of both (Titscher at al. 2000, p.145). Specifically, CDA focuses on how discourse reflects, reproduces, or challenges relations of power and dominance in society (Van Dijk 2001, p.352).

Despite the similarities between the different CDA approaches, they are based on slightly diverging conceptualization of discourse and propose different methodological strategies. In this thesis, Fairclough's approach was chosen as the preferred approach because it has been elaborated for the analysis of media texts specifically and therefore provides appropriate analytical tools and perspectives (Fairclough 1995). Fairclough's work was selected instead of Van

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[4] The articles are of varying lengths but are roughly two text pages long on average.

Dijk's (1988a, 1988b) approach which was also adapted to media studies because van Dijk's focus on cognitive processes does not align with the purpose of this thesis. Furthermore, Richardson (2007) argues for the methodological strengths of Fairclough's approach: "Fairclough's model of CDA, in my view, provides a more accessible method of doing CDA than alternative theoretical approaches" (p.37). The author of this thesis agrees with Richardson's argument because Fairclough provides a three-dimensional framework with analytical instructions that facilitate systematic analysis. Lastly, "Fairclough's approach has explored the discursive aspect of contemporary processes of social transformation" (Fairclough, Muldering & Wodak 2006, p.362). Since the theory of Europeanization utilized in this thesis inherently focuses on processes of change, Fairclough's focus on social change contributes to the successful application of the theory.

Fairclough proposes an analysis along the three tiers textual analysis, discursive practice, and social practice:

1. **Textual analysis** focuses on macro- and microelements of the text. This can for example be the vocabulary, grammar, semantics of textual elements, or the cohesion of an entire text.[5] Fairclough (1995) emphasizes that meaning and form cannot be separated because different meanings can demand for different forms (p.57). Since every aspect of content is a choice, the researcher does not only look at what elements can be found, but also what elements or information could have been in the text but are not (Richardson 2007, p.38).

2. **Discursive practice** is concerned with the conditions of production and consumption of a text (Richardson 2007, p.39). For the analysis of news media outputs, production concerns all stages which a text goes through before it is published and where changes occur (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.19). Professional practices such as ethics and news selection criteria play a role as well as the institutional practices of workflows and editorial guidelines of a publication. On the consumption side, the target group of a publication and the actual composition of the audience are important factors to consider (Richardson 2007, pp.75-113). Fairclough (1995) understands discursive practice as the mediation between the text and the social practice. Social practices shape a text through influencing the circumstances of its production. Reversely, by shaping discourse, a text can induce social change. This is especially true for the media: "The media play a significant role in reflecting and stimulating more general processes of change, and the practices of the media are correspondingly in constant flux" (Fairclough 1995, p.61). An important part of analyzing discursive practice that distinguishes Fairclough's approach from other CDA approaches is looking at intertextuality. Intertextuality entails comparing texts to other text to uncover traces of genres and discourses that a text draws upon (Fairclough 1995).

3. **Social practice** entails the immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices, and the frame of society and culture of a particular text (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.62). Applied to the media context, "social practices cover the structures, the institutions, and values that, while residing outside of the newsroom, permeate and structure the activities and outputs of journalism" (Richardson 2007, p.114). The relation between social practices and journalism is perceived as a dialectical but not a deterministic one. They influence each other, but either side has the possibility to resist, reduce, or alter the influence (Richardson 2007, p.114). The researcher analyzes how discourse contributes to change or reproduction of social practices by studying power relations that shape and get shaped by discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p.23). The study of social practices is trans-disciplinary and includes the study of non-discursive structures. This means that the study of social

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[5] A comprehensive overview of signifiers would be too extensive but can be looked up in Richardson (2007, chapter 3) and Fairclough (1995, chapters 6 & 7). Both texts elaborate on textual analysis of media outputs and closely guided the analysis in this thesis.

practices can be extensive, and the researcher might decide to focus on an aspect of social practice that is of particular interest for the researcher (Richardson 2007, pp.114f).

Fairclough (1995) himself has argued that his CDA approach is "compatible with various different emphases" (p.62), and that the researcher can choose to focus on one or two of the tiers. This thesis does so by putting emphasis on the textual practice and complementing it with the discursive and social practice.

The decision to utilize CDA entails a research process that focuses on interpretation and the context of discourse. The following section will show why CDA was chosen and what advantages and disadvantages it entails.

The RQ **"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?"** points to a method that analyzes *how* Europeanization is communicated instead of looking at *what* is communicated. A Qualitative Content Analysis was therefore excluded from consideration. The possibility of studying discourse with Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory was rejected because they introduce few analytical tools, focus on discourse in more abstract terms, and neglect the textual analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). Additionally, Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory understands all social practices as discursively constructed which would have complicated the combination with Europeanization theories because theories must be translated completely into discursive terms when combined with Discourse Theory (Jørgensen & Phillips, pp.160-162).

CDA is not only an established method of studying media discourse (Bryman 2015; Kelsey 2018; Richardson 2007) but provides certain advantages regarding the aim and RQ of this thesis. Most importantly, CDA as a context-sensitive research method was chosen because this thesis analyzes articles from two fundamentally different media environments. Therefore, it would be inappropriate to neglect the context in the analysis. Van Dijk (1988b) argues for the use of CDA in media studies:

> "[...] it is this wider, contextual perspective on discourse that makes it particularly relevant for the study of media discourse. In this way, discourse analysis can also yield new insights into the processes of production and uses that are justifiably found to be of paramount importance in mass communication research." (p.2)

The ideological aspect of CDA is often where opinions differ. On the one hand, Critical Discourse Analysts call for an explicit political stance and use research to uncover social inequalities. On the other hand, critics argue that CDA does not tie conclusions to the data because it is too ideological and subjective (Mogashoa 2014). In this debate, this thesis strikes a balance between the two sides. To avoid excessive subjectivity and because the research should not exist for ideological reasons, this thesis does not pursue ideological critique of inequalities through CDA. This departure from the ideal of CDA can be justified because the methodological approach and theoretical framework remain applicable considering that the analysis still explains the relation between discourse and social reality. Furthermore, the understanding of critical in CDA is fluid and can be interpreted in different ways. This thesis is still critical in the sense that it reflects on the subjectivity of the researcher and interprets its findings in the light of normative aspects of Europeanization theory (Titscher et al. 2000).

This modification leads to a narrower understanding of power relations in this thesis. It focuses on the role of power relations in the struggle over meaning in media discourse and not a critique of political, ideological, or economic power monopolies. Specifically, the RQ aims to understand how national and Europeanized perspectives dominate or are subordinated. Richardson (2007) clarifies the role of power in the three tiers of media discourse: "Central to each of these discourse

processes is power: the power of social practices on production; the power of texts to shape understandings; the power of readers to resist such management; and the power of people to reproduce or transform society" (p.45).

Everything considered, the advantages of CDA's context-sensitivity, Fairclough's systematic and nuanced analytical framework and the well-developed literature on CDA in the study of media outputs made CDA the preferred choice of method despite its challenges. It is argued that the minor adaptions regarding power, ideology, and critique do not negate the applicability of CDA and help to make it feasible for this thesis.

5.5. Operationalization

Brüggemann et al. (2006, pp.4-8) suggest an operationalization of the four dimensions for quantitative research which is expanded in this thesis to include other indicators which were identified in the qualitative analysis. Monitoring governance is concerned with the questions "To what degree are EU policies subject to public scrutiny?", indicated by EU policies as subjects of articles and "Is the EU regarded as a relevant actor in public debates?", indicated by references to EU institutions. The analysis showed, however, that references to EU-level individual actors and their quotes also contribute to enhancing the visibility and scrutiny of the EU. Brüggemann et al. understand mutual observation to manifest in references to political developments in other countries, but the qualitative analysis uncovered patterns of actors and events that were not tied to certain countries, but are relevant for expanding the communicative space across borders. Therefore, mutual observation is analyzed regarding countries, actors, and events. Discursive exchange manifests in indirect and direct quotes and contributions from foreign actors. These indicators are analyzed regarding the country of origin, the role of speakers, and the contents of their claims. Lastly, collective identification is concerned with how a sense of collective entity and a feeling of belonging are shaped. This can become apparent in phrases such as "the Europeans", "we"-references, and references to a common European past, future, or culture.

In the textual analysis, significant parts of the articles were assigned to the dimensions with the help of the qualitative research program NVivo to organize the considerable amount of data. The interpretation of textual elements on both macro- and microlevels drew significantly on insights from Richardson (2007, pp.46-74) and Fairclough (1995, pp.103-150), who explain construction of meaning and form in media reporting. An overview of the most important elements can be seen in Figure 2. The textual analysis aimed at identifying patterns that manifest through frequent occurrence, intense elaboration, or emphasis in titles or teasers. As this thesis applies a qualitative approach and sampling strategy, frequency is understood as a tendency within the material rather than numerical claims about the total population.

Structuring of propositions	Words (lexis)	Micro-textual analysis
	Sentences 1 (syntax and transitivity)	
	Sentences 2 (modality)	
	Presupposition	
Combining propositions	Rhetoric	
	Narrative	Macro-textual analysis

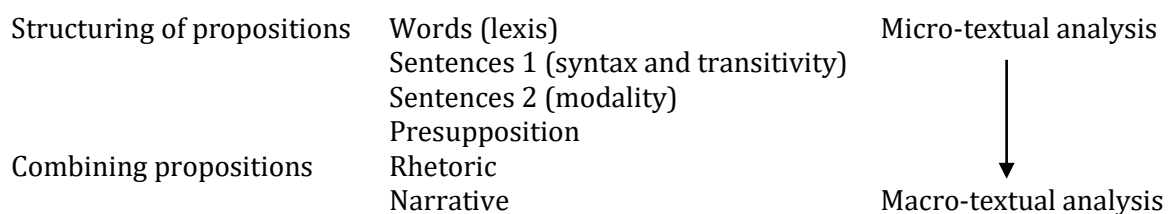**Figure 2**: The aspects of textual analysis as suggested by Richardson. Own reproduction of a scheme by Richardson (2007, p.47).

As mentioned earlier and in line with Fairclough (1995), this thesis focuses on a textual analysis while the analysis of discursive and social practice is applied to strengthen and contextualize the interpretations made. Richardson (2007, pp.75-177) and Fairclough (1995, pp.75-102) suggest

elements of discursive and social practice that are especially relevant for media discourse. Following their suggestions, the analysis of the discursive practice included secondary analyses of the newspapers (scientific research or readership statistics) and their own mission statements or editorial guidelines. Intertextual analysis was conducted between the texts in the data set. In the analysis of the social practice, focus was put on the aspects of the social practice that are of relevance for the RQ. Consequently, climate policies in the EU and the MS, climate protests, and the debate around the European elections were drawn in and put in relation to the textual and discursive practice. For that purpose, research papers, information by institutions and organizations, and other media texts were used.

5.6.   Evaluation of the research design

As has been elaborated in chapter 5.1., this thesis is based on a social constructivist worldview which stipulates a research design that focuses on interpretation. While social constructivism rejects the notion of an absolute and universal truth, traditional, realist quality criteria are fundamentally based on the understanding of absolute accounts of social reality (Bryman 2015, p.384). Guba and Lincoln addressed this contradiction and elaborated a set of quality criteria that is based on the traditional ones but adapts them to the social constructivist worldview (see Patton 2015, pp.684f).

Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest the four quality criteria *credibility, transferability, dependability,* and *confirmability* which all contribute to the overall category of *trustworthiness:*

The criterium credibility is derived from the traditional criterium of internal validity that measures how the findings fit an objective reality. Since social constructivism rejects the idea of objective reality, credibility relates instead to how well a researcher can document that one's construction of reality is the credible one. This can be done by emerging deeply into the object of analysis and by using various sources. The use of respected and established theories of Europeanization and CDA as well as the analysis of articles from different newspapers over the course of 18 months help ensure credibility in this thesis.

Transferability is related to external validity and refers to the question if the findings hold in another context. Guba and Lincoln (1989) argue that transferability can be achieved by providing a thick description of the object of inquiry "in order to facilitate transferability judgements on the part of others who may wish to apply the study" (p.242). In this thesis, a thick description is given through the qualitative case-study design and the CDA methodology which illuminates on the context of the data.

Dependability (parallel to reliability) indicates a logical and traceable research process and can be ensured by thorough documentation of the research process. Therefore, attention was paid to explaining research decisions and theoretical understandings.

Since constructivist research rejects the notion of complete objectivity, Guba and Lincoln introduced confirmability which aims to ensure that interpretations are rooted in the data and not the researchers' imagination. To ensure confirmability, the analysis in this thesis is closely guided by the theoretical framework and CDA method to minimize the influence of personal judgements. Inferences in the analysis are explained and tied to the data by using examples (Guba & Lincoln 1989).

5.7.   Delimitation of the research design

The methodology and theory chapters have so far shown how the research topic and approach have been narrowed down with the help of theoretical and methodological considerations. This subchapter will explain how these conscious decisions and the circumstances of the research have led to certain delimitations.

The focus on the media entails the limitation that the EPS is only understood in terms of the media discourse and neglects other fora for a public sphere. It has been argued in chapter 4.2 that the emphasis on the media is justified because the media is the main connector between politics and citizens (van de Steeg 2002). However, the increasing importance of social media in political communication has attracted the attention of Europeanization scholars with first studies analyzing the Europeanization of Twitter communication (Hänska & Bauchowitz 2019) or comparing the communication on the EP elections 2014 between print media, Facebook, and Twitter (Segesten & Bosetta 2019b). Since both studies emphasize that social media communication can contribute to an emerging EPS, another fruitful perspective of studying Europeanized climate change discourse could have been to include social media communication in the analysis.

For providing an in-depth analysis with the limited resources available for this thesis, it was necessary to restrict the analysis to one European country, namely Germany. The generalizability of the results to fit other European countries remains limited because media reporting is highly culturally specific and volatile to domestic circumstances (Varga 2011). In the specific field of Europeanization of media discourse, various studies have already shown that different countries exhibit different patterns and intensities of Europeanization (Brüggemann et al. 2006; Kleinen-von Königslöw 2012; Koopmans, Erbe & Meyer 2010). Instead of speaking of generalizability, it seems therefore more appropriate to aim for the transferability of the results. This means that the thick description of the Europeanization dimensions is meant to yield insights into the processes of Europeanization which can then be verified in studies of other countries.

Lastly, this thesis is deliberately limited to the study of Europeanization in contrast to the global process of transnationalization. A continuing transnationalization worldwide and the centrality of international climate change agreements certainly influence the national reporting on climate change, but this thesis is not concerned with these processes per se. Instead, the emphasis lies on the process of Europeanization because this allows for conclusions on the EU as a political system and the European community. With the topic of climate change in the media, a gap was identified in the otherwise well-developed body of Europeanization literature which this thesis aims to fill.

6. Analysis

This chapter will present how monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification shape the Europeanization of the climate change media discourse. It will present patterns in the reporting and contrast the findings of the pan-European and German newspapers.

The analysis combined the textual analysis of 68 articles in German and pan-European newspapers with an analysis of the relevant discursive and social practice. The results of the three tiers are presented in combination because they mutually influence each other, and the analysis of discursive and social practice helps interpret the texts. For better clarity and readability, the analysis section is structured along the four dimensions of Europeanization. The first time an article is referred to, the author and year of publication will be named, all subsequent references include the newspaper and the number of the article.

6.1. Monitoring governance

The chapter on monitoring governance will present how the articles enhance visibility and scrutiny of the EU (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.8).

6.1.1. Highlighting the EU-perspective

Journalists are important gatekeepers of information because they decide which topics make it into articles and as such reach the people (Richardson 2007). Therefore, it is important to analyze

in a first step how the EU perspective is reflected in the choice of topics. In the pan-European newspapers, approximately half of the articles have EU politics as their main topic. Articles were counted as having the EU as a main topic if some reference to the EU was evident in the headline or teaser. Several articles were for example initiated by speeches from EU-level actors (EUobserver 16: Sánchez Nicolás 2019b; EUobserver 17: Sánchez Nicolás 2019c; EURACTIV 4: Simon 2018), decision on the EU-level (EUobserver 3: Teffer 2018a; EUobserver 8: Teffer 2019b; EURACTIV 1: Stam 2018; EURACTIV 16: EU Worried by fossil fuel funding 2019), or other recent events on the EU level (EUobserver 7: Rettman 2019; EUobserver 11: Teffer 2019d, EURACTIV 11: Stam 2019; EURACTIV 13: Keating 2019).

The EU perspective is also incorporated in articles with a national or international focus. For example, in an article about the German Nord Stream 2 project, a gas pipeline that should connect Russia and Germany, the author quotes the assessment of the EC: "The European Commission also has serious reservations about the project" (EUobserver 6: Teffer 2019a). An article about the role of cities in reducing emissions dedicates the last few paragraphs to presenting the idea of a European Green Deal (EURACTIV 15: Schulz 2019).

In the German articles, the EU appears in just under a third of the articles as the main topic. Topics are for example the importance of climate change in the European elections (Die ZEIT 9: Böhm 2019; Die ZEIT 10: Timm 2019), the climate action plans in the new EC including the Green Deal (SZ 5: Götze 2018; SZ 12: Hagelüken 2019; SZ 16: Meta Beisel 2019), or a climate court case against the EU (Die ZEIT 1: Ramsel 2018, Die ZEIT 11: Hartwig 2019). It must be highlighted that the share of EU-articles among all German climate articles is considerably lower because the articles in the dataset were purposefully selected to include some dimension of Europeanization.

However, an EU-perspective is also incorporated in articles with national or international perspectives. A connection is for example made between a proposed German climate tax and EU politicis (Die ZEIT 4: Grefe 2018) or the international movement of climate sceptics and their presence in the EP (SZ 5; SZ 7: Schulte von Drach 2019). Another strategy of incorporating an EU perspective is the use of studies by EU institutions or agencies (Die ZEIT 3: Pättner 2018; SZ 7). Considering that "the major constraint on Europeanisation is that nationally confined media markets are already saturated, with only small niches left that can be occupied by European political communication" (Trenz 2009, p.27), this incorporation of the EU-perspective reflects a way of moderate Europeanization in the national media.

Additionally, calls for action are directed at the EU, for example the demand to set a minimum prize for emission certificates in the ETS (SZ 1: Bauchmüller 2018), the call for more ambitious emission reduction targets (Die ZEIT 1; EUobserver 14: Sánchez Nicolás 2019a), or the argument that the EU should mobilize and regulate the MS more intensely (Die ZEIT 9; EUobserver 11). That the EU is mentioned as the target of claims underlines that it is considered as a significant actor in climate policies.

In line with expectations, the pan-European newspapers have more explicitly EU-focused articles while the German newspapers often weave in the EU-perspective into articles with different main topics. This reflects the discursive practice as the EUobserver and EURACTIV highlight their commitment to the EU in their mission statements while the SZ and Die ZEIT do not refer to the EU in their editorial guidelines. The EUobserver writes that it aims to fill the gap between decision-makers in Brussels and citizens by "reporting on how decisions are made in the European Union" (EUobserver n.d.). EURACTIV describes its perspective as "focusing on EU policy and politics" and repeatedly mentions EU policies and EU actors in its mission statement and editorial charter (EURACTIV n.d.; Papastolopoulous 2020).

This difference in close attention to EU-topics is also apparent in the incorporation of quotes by EU actors. Most articles on EU-topics in the pan-European newspapers quote EU-level officials

(e.g. EUobserver 4: Teffer 2018b; EUobserver 13: Nielsen 2019; EUobserver 17; EURACTIV 4, EURACTIV 13; EURACTIV 15), MEPs (EUobserver 2; EUobserver 16; EURACTIV 8: Pietikäinen et al. 2019) or quote from official EU statements or reports (e.g. EUobserver 6; EURACTIV 7: Simon 2019; EURACTIV 16). Contrarily, the German media rely more on national politicians or experts and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that contextualize EU politics. Among the 34 German articles, only three include a direct quote from an EU-level actor. European Central Bank (ECB) president Christine Lagarde (SZ 17: Zydra 2019), EC Vice-president Frans Timmermans (SZ 15: Finke & Kohle 2019), and a German MEP (SZ 4: Bauchmüller & Kirchner 2019) comment on climate-related EU issues. Ursula von der Leyen, who was elected EC president in 2019, is only quoted indirectly on the Green Deal while assessments of the Green Deal are made by a German expert (SZ 12) and a Greenpeace representative (SZ 6: Weiss 2019a).

Europeanization researchers argue that discursive exchange in the form of quoting foreign actors is a stronger form of Europeanization than mutual observation because discursive exchange links the communicative spaces (Brüggemann et al. 2006; Koopmans & Statham 2010). This argumentation can also be applied to references in monitoring governance because more visibility of claims by EU-actors would foster the communicative exchange with the citizens and expand the EU communication to national readers (Trenz 2008). The fact that the German newspapers tend to quote national actors and give little room to statements from the EU level shows that the Europeanization of the national media discourse remains deficient.

Both German and pan-European newspaper contribute to the informative function of an EPS because they provide the readers with information about EU policies, politics, and polity which enables the readers to make informed political decisions (Trenz 2009). The articles explain for example how the EU Emission Trading System (ETS) works (EUobserver 10: Finnson 2019; SZ 1), or that every citizen worldwide has the right to go to a European court for the violation of his or her human rights (Die ZEIT 1). Some articles add explanatory sentences on the EU institutions, for example outlining the EC's inner structure (EURACTIV 13), introducing the co-decision process of the EP and the Council (SZ 4), or explaining that the EP is the only directly elected institution of the EU (Die ZEIT 9). Articles in the run-up to the EP elections 2019 convey particularly relevant information for voting behavior, for example presenting the different climate standpoints of the EP political groups (EURACTIV 10: Guannelli 2019), interviewing former actress Pamela Anderson about her campaigning in the elections (Die ZEIT 10), or exploring the importance of climate change in the elections (Die ZEIT 9).

The European elections are often described *as second-order elections* due to their low turnout, little media attention, nationally orientated campaigns, and the indirect election of the EC and Council (Bright et al. 2016; Corbett 2014). Therefore, it is highly relevant for the democratic function of the EPS when both national and pan-European media report on them. The analysis indicated that climate change as a topic played a special role in putting the focus on the EP elections because the elections are repeatedly presented to reflect increased public awareness of climate change (Die ZEIT 9; Die ZEIT 15: Finke & Kohle 2019; EUobserver 11; EURACTIV 8; EURACTIV 10; SZ 10: Balser 2019). Both before and after the elections, the importance of climate topics in the elections is thematized. EURACTIV predicts that "in this week's EU elections, climate change is now a top priority for voters" (EURACTIV 10: Guannelli 2019). One German article published a few days after the elections in May concludes that "Die Europawahlen haben gezeigt, wie sehr der Klimawandel die Menschen bewegt"[6] (SZ 10) and deduces that the German government should become more active on climate change, too. The latter sentence shows how Europeanized reporting can link the national and EU level.

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[6] Translation: „The European elections have shown how much climate change moves people."

This section has shown how different strategies contribute to the visibility of the EU as a relevant actor, and the next section will present how the personification of Ursula von der Leyen enhances the EU's visibility.

6.1.2. Personification of Ursula von der Leyen

A pattern that could be identified in both the pan-European and German articles is a personification of Ursula von der Leyen. In the pan-European newspapers, von der Leyen is frequently quoted with her ambition to make the EU climate neutral by 2050 and her vision for the Green Deal (EUobserver 17; EURACTIV 13; EURACTIV 15). Although the German articles only quote her indirectly, her actions are put in the foreground by active sentence constructions, such as: "Bereits in den ersten 100 Tagen ihrer Amtszeit, die an diesem Sonntag beginnt, will sie [von der Leyen] einen 'Grünen Deal für Europa' vorschlagen"[7] (SZ 16). The same strategy with active constructions was found in the pan-European articles: "The incoming President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, is preparing a 'Green Deal' team that may be led by Vice-President Frans Timmermans" (EURACTIV13). These sentences with von der Leyen as a subject present her as the active actor rather than the EC as a collective. Furthermore, the Green Deal or new climate policies are attributed to von der Leyen's as her personal projects: "the ambitious targets set by EU commission president-elect Ursula von der Leyen" (EUobserver 16) or "wie von der Leyens 'Grüner Deal' aussehen könnte"[8] (SZ 16).

This strategy to focus on von der Leyen can be explained with a look at the discursive practice of journalistic routines and the social practice of the EP elections 2019. Journalistic texts apply the strategy of personalization because personalized content delivery makes texts more attractive to the readers (Richardson 2007). The personalization of von der Leyen therefore contributes to bringing EU politics closer to the readers. When journalists decide which topics make it on the media agenda and in which configuration, they are guided by news values. News values are properties of a topic that influence its relevancy for the audience of a publication (Richardson 2007, pp.91-93). Since the discussion about the EC presidency, the election of von der Leyen, and the presentation of her vision fall within the timeframe of this analysis, a focus on her person corresponds to the important criterium of being a current event. Considering that the appointment of an EC president was a controversial process in 2019 because MS and the EP struggled to agree on a candidate, the news factor controversy is also addressed. A focus on the EC president is aligned with the news value of prominence because the EC president is one of the most visible EU-level actors. In the German articles, the factor proximity could also play a role because von der Leyen is a German politician. However, her nationality is only mentioned once (SZ 12) while more frequently she is described as designated or new EU commission president (Die ZEIT 17: Pinzler 2019; SZ 12; SZ 15). This weak domestication indicates that her role as EC president is considered more important than her nationality which in turn substantiates the claim that the personification of von der Leyen strengthens the visibility of the EU.

6.1.3. Positive reporting about EU climate actions

So far, this chapter has shown how the EU's visibility is shaped. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to the second aspect of monitoring governance, namely the question of how the EU is exposed to public scrutiny. It will start with positive evaluations of the EU's climate actions.

Climate actions on the EU-level are presented in a positive light in both pan-European and German articles. A decision by the EP on car emissions is for example evaluated by an MEP as a "Erfolg auf ganzer Linie"[9] (SZ 4), and an article mentions that "green activists hailed the EU Council's draft conclusions" which laid out the EU's ambition for a UN summit in New York (EURACTIV 7).

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[7] Translation: "Already in the first 100 days of her term, which begins this Sunday, she [von der Leyen] wants to propose a 'Green Deal for Europe' "
[8] Translation: „How von der Leyen's Green Deal could look"
[9] Translation: „success all along the line"

Authors describe the Green Deal as "ambitious" (Die ZEIT 17), the past EU policies on energy and emission reductions as "wichtige Pflöcke"[10] (Die Zeit 9), and recent EU climate plans and policies as "seeds of hope" (EURACTIV 6: Lübbeke 2019).

The EU has often been looked at and presented itself as a first mover in climate action (Fischer & Geden 2015; Manners & Murray 2016). This self-perception and international image of the EU is reflected in the media discourse. The pan-European media give voice to actors that describe the EU as "the global leader in renewables" (EURACTIV 2: Simon 2018a) or "a leader in climate change preparedness" (EUobserver 12: Zeilina 2019). Other articles make the connection by highlighting the achievements of the EU: "Over the last decade, EU countries have led a global shift towards renewable energy" (EURACTIV 14: Germany expects tough talks 2019), or "And the European Commission committed to reach net-zero emissions by 2050, a major step forward and a first on the global level" (EURACTIV6). The EU's leadership role also becomes apparent in how the EU's relations to other countries are described. An article by EURACTIV describes how "Europe wants to use the opportunity [a global climate summit in New York] to spur world nations into action on climate change" (EURACTIV 7). The choice of the verb "spurs" puts the EU in a leadership position and paints other nations as reluctant.

The first-mover framing appears less frequent and less explicit in the German data, but it can be identified in the way EU is contrasted with other countries. One article argues that Europe must lead the way to a climate-friendly economy (Die ZEIT 13: Heuser 2019). Another article presents the EU as a pioneer in climate action by describing how it could support China in becoming more sustainable (SZ 9: Grzanna 2019). These are examples of how a framing which was mostly born out of the EU's self-presentation and its attempts to lead climate action (Manners & Murray 2016; Oberthür & Roche Kelly 2008) expands to the national spheres.

6.1.4. Critical evaluation of EU climate actions

In contrast, some articles refer to another frame that emerged after the Copenhagen summit in 2001 and during the economic crisis when the EU's leadership ambitions temporarily declined. During this time, the EU was increasingly criticized for talking too much and doing too little (Fischer & Geden 2015). This element of the social practice is most visible in the reporting by pan-European media. Some articles explicitly criticize the talk-action gap, for example claiming that "there is a failure to match actions with words" (EURACTIV 3: Morgan 2018), or that "the word 'ambitious' is of course important, but meaningless if it is not accompanied by explicit figures" (EUobserver 8). Further articles make the connection between high ambitions and actual impact implicitly. They juxtapose the claim of being ambitious to the lack of concrete targets (EUobserver 3) or contrast the EU's climate targets for 2030 with Greta Thunberg's criticism (EUobserver7).

Other pan-European articles and the German articles criticize the EU's climate actions without linking them to the proclaimed ambitions. Criticism is for example given a platform by reporting on how European and international citizens filed a case against the EU for its insufficient climate policies (Die ZEIT 1; Die ZEIT 11; EURACTIV 8; EURACTIV 9: People's Climate Case 2019). In these articles, the current emission targets are presented as too low, and a connection between the EU's contribution to worldwide emissions and the effects of climate change on the plaintiffs is established. The demands are given credibility and urgency by describing the climate change effects in detailed, scenic language and with a personalized perspective. In other articles, criticism appears in the form of statements by actors such as MEPs (EUobserver 2: Valean 2018; EUobserver 14), Greta Thunberg (EUobserver 7), or policy experts (EUobserver 4).

The EU's shortcomings are furthermore highlighted through contrasts. Scientific studies and estimates are contrasted to the EU's failure to agree on stricter emission targets (EURACTIV 7; SZ 3: EU-Parlament fordert drastische Senkung 2018), or the fact that the EU remains the second

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[10] Translation: „important posts"

largest emitter of CO2 worldwide (Die ZEIT 9). In comparison to other countries, China's push for more charging stations for electric cars is contrasted with slow progress in Europe (SZ 12), or the EU's failure to agree on policies is compared to a pioneering climate action program in Denmark (EURACTIV 11).

This criticism remains topic-specific and does not lead to a general questioning of the EU's institutions and their legitimacy. Instead, both pan-European and German articles contribute to exposing the EU to scrutiny and present different arguments linked to EU climate policies. This is an important informative function of a Europeanized discourse. This mix of a positive presentation of EU climate policies and critical scrutiny is well aligned with the editorial missions of the two pan-European newspapers which can be characterized as pro-European. The EUobserver states in the section "About us" that they "aim to support European democracy [...] by giving people the information they need to hold the EU establishment to account" (EUobserver n.d.). EURACTIV writes that its articles "support fact-based and constructive policy-making for Europe". The editorial guidelines of the SZ and Die ZEIT do not mention the EU, but studies show that German opinion-leading daily newspapers, including the SZ, have a generally positive attitude towards the EU (Eilders & Voltmer 2003; Vetters 2007).

6.1.5. The relation between the EU and its Member States

The pan-European media thematize the relation between the EU and its MS in a two-sided way. On the one hand, some MS are identified as stop blocks for more ambitious EU climate action. In contexts that refer to unsuccessful negotiations or too vague goals, the resistance of MS is mentioned: "it was Germany which prevented a specific mention of a climate neutral 2050 in the conclusions" (EUobserver 8), or "The European Council failed to agree on Thursday (20 June) on a landmark climate strategy for 2050 as the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary and Poland baulked at the mention of a specific date" (EURACTIV 11). The MS resistance is often described with vocabulary such as "prevented" (EUobserver 8), "failed" (EUobserver 11; EURACTIV 11; EURACTIV 3), or "blocked" (EUobserver 12; EURACTIV 14) which shows that the opposition is perceived as a hurdle for EU climate action. The chapter on mutual observation will elaborate in more detail which countries are in focus, but for the dimension of monitoring governance it is important to conclude that in the pan-European articles, intergovernmental negotiations are scrutinized, and internal disagreements that shape the EU's overall climate policies are explained.

On the other hand, the pan-European articles mention the benefits of cooperation between the EU and MS. They quote for example EC vice-president Frans Timmermans on his vision of top-down Europeanization: "We need the European Union to lead [the ecological transition], but it will mean nothing if there are no concrete measures at the local level" (EUobserver 17) or refer to the mutual influence of both levels: "The increased support for tackling climate change in the next EU legislature runs parallel to support at the national level" (EURACTIV 10).

While no mention of the intergovernmental disagreements was found in the German articles, they do mention the interrelations between the EU and the national level, for example the pressure on Germany through more ambitious emission reduction goals for cars (SZ 4) or call for more top-down Europeanization: "Die EU [...] müsste ihre Mitgliedsländer viel starker mobilisieren und regulieren"[11] (Die ZEIT 9). This combination of monitoring governance with mutual observation shows how the Europeanization of the climate change media discourse is not occurring in isolation but in connection between the dimensions. It reflects how a Europeanized discourse must be studied across the dimensions.

This chapter has shown how German and pan-European media contribute both to the visibility and scrutiny of the EU. The pan-European media manifest monitoring governance more intensely as they report on the EU more frequently, more in-depth, with a focus on more aspects and with more attention to EU actors. The overall patterns of the reporting on the EU are, however, largely

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[11] Translation: „The EU should mobilise and regulate its MS a lot more."

similar between the two cases. Both use personifications of Ursula von der Leyen, connect the EU to the national level, portray the EU as a climate leader, but criticize its lack of ambition in specific climate policy areas.

6.2. Mutual observation

The analysis of mutual observation is concerned with comparing which countries, actors, and events German and pan-European media focus on to establish how Europe becomes a relevant unit of public attention (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.8).

6.2.1. The relation between MS and the EU

In the chapter on monitoring governance, it has already been shown that the diverging opinions of MS are presented as a cause for limited EU climate action. This paragraph will focus on how the MS are described.

It is usually the MS against more climate action that are portrayed as the outliers because they are described with words such as "reluctant" (EURACTIV 5: Durand 2018; EURACTIV 7), "unwillingness" (EUobserver 12), or "opposed" (EUobserver 8). Mostly the Eastern European countries, and in some cases Germany, are mentioned to resist EU climate ambitions. (EUobserver 3; EUobserver 8; EUobserver 12; EUobserver 17; EURACTIV 5; EURACTIV 7; EURACTIV 16).

The regressive image of those countries is reinforced in contrast to MS arguing for more climate action. Some articles describe how some countries are drafting a declaration expressing disappointment about a weak CO2 cars bill (EUobserver 3), "pushing for more climate ambition" (EUobserver), or "trying to have all leaders sign up to a long-term goal of a carbon neutral EU by 2050" (EUobserver 11). These countries or their politicians are described positively as "the more ambitious countries" (EUobserver 11) or "the more ambitious leaders" (EUobserver 8). These groups of countries are diverse but often include Nordic MS.

This contrasting depiction of reluctant and ambitious MS creates a division between the MS and highlights the EU's internal division on climate matters. The countries that are presented to resist (mostly Eastern MS) or support EU climate action (often Nordic countries) are mostly the same countries whose national climate actions are scrutinized. The focus on these countries will be presented in the following chapter.

6.2.2. Focus on a few EU countries

The analysis showed a clear tendency in both pan-European and German newspapers to report on the Eastern European MS, the Nordics, France, and Germany while other MS are hardly mentioned. The German newspapers additionally focus on the neighboring countries Austria and Switzerland.

The Eastern European countries are in both cases presented overwhelmingly in a negative light. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, it is repeatedly described in negative terms how the Eastern MS oppose the EU's climate ambitions. Additionally, both pan-European and German newspapers thematize how domestic climate action in the Eastern MS is insufficient. For example, one article in the EUobserver argues that the "Visegrad 4 need to get real about climate change" (EUobserver 12). It is reported how the Eastern European countries are not prepared for a sustainable energy transition, and how Poland adheres to coal energy (EUobserver 8; EUobserver 12; EURACTIV 16; SZ 3). The picture of Poland as a warning example is intensified by descriptions of how coal power is not only driving climate change but also making life in Polish cities unpleasant due to highly polluted air (Die ZEIT 3).

In contrast, policies and innovations from the Nordic countries are used as positive examples of encompassing climate programs (EURACTIV 11), regulations for the energy consumption of new buildings (Die ZEIT 13), the fade-out of fossil-fueled cars (SZ 4), sustainability cooperation

across borders (EUobserver 15: Kirk 2019), or the implementation of a CO2 tax (Die ZEIT 9; SZ 8: Weiss 2019b, SZ 9). The EUobserver features two guest articles by a communications advisor for the Nordic Council of Minsters which highlight the Nordic perspective (EUobserver 5: Finnson 2018; EUobserver 10: Finnson 2019). The EUobserver clearly disclaims that the articles are written by a guest author, but by publishing them, the EUobserver gives this perspective an arena. Both articles frame the Nordics as being able to help the world protect the climate.

In the German articles, the success of the Nordics is often highlighted through contrasts with Germany. After outlining the slow coal phase-out, the stagnating development of wind energy, and the high-emission traffic sector in Germany, Sweden's emission prizing system and Denmark's plans to reduce emissions by 70 percent in 2030 are introduced. The topics are linked by the sentence "Andere sind da schon weiter" [12](SZ 17) which underlines the Nordic's image as pioneers. The same structure can be found in another article that first outlines the struggle by Germany and the EU to reduce car emissions and then introduces Denmark's planned ban of fossil fuel powered cars by 2030 with the sentence "Einen Schritt weiter ist EU-Mitgliedsstaat Dänemark" [13](SZ 4).

Furthermore, France is frequently mentioned in articles of both cases. The yellow vest protests where workers went on the streets opposing higher taxes on diesel and petrol are mentioned as a reminder that climate measures need to be inclusive and socially balanced (Die ZEIT 5: Schieritz 2018; EURACTIV 6; SZ 8). In diverse contexts, French climate actions or inactions are mentioned, for example the proclamation of a climate emergency in June 2018 (SZ 9), plans to limit the use of diesel and gasoline cars (SZ 4), or France's failure to meet self-imposed climate targets (SZ 5). Quotes from speeches by French president Emmanuel Macron introduce the French perspective on climate policies (EUobserver 9: Teffer 2019c; EUobserver 13; SZ 14: Merkel, Macron und Johnson in New York 2019), and the success of domestic climate policies is evaluated in the light of the resignation of the French environment minister (EUobserver16).

The pan-European newspapers focus on Germany, too, but in the German newspapers, reporting about Germany is of domestic nature and therefore does not constitute mutual observation. Pan-European reporting on Germany is ambivalent. On the one hand, Germany's energy transition is mentioned as "an example of how national governments can collaborate with municipalities, businesses, and citizens to accelerate low-carbon cities and foster the energy transition" (EUobserver 14), its phasing out of coal is described as "a big step for Germany to reduce its CO2 emissions" (EUobserver 6), and it is mentioned that Germany supports certain EU climate decisions (EURACTIV 11; EURACTIV 14). On the other hand, Germany opposed emission reduction plans (EUobserver 3; EUobserver8; EURACTIV 7; EURACTIV 16), and domestically, the plans of the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline are exposed to diverse criticism (EUobserver 6), the German car industry is described to be "among the slowest to adapt to the energy transition" (EURACTIV 1), and Germany is mentioned as an example for "the lack of investment in our energy network" (EUobserver 2).

While the EUobserver and EURACTIV mention other countries than the above mentioned only sporadically and as minor matter, Die ZEIT has its own editorial departments for Austria and Switzerland. There are three articles with Austria or Switzerland as the main topic (Die Zeit 7: Daum & Jäggi 2019; Die ZEIT 12: Müller 2019; Die ZEIT 15). Additionally, references to a successful climate court case in Austria (Die ZEIT 1) and the climate sceptic Austrian party FPÖ (SZ 7) are incorporated in other German articles. This focus on Germany's neighboring countries, with Switzerland not being a MS, hints to a tendency of regionalization within

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[12] Translation: "Others are already further ahead."
[13] Translation: „EU Member State Denmark is one step ahead."

Europeanization. The geographical proximity and the use of German in both countries contribute to the attractiveness and simplicity of reporting on both countries.

The focus on Eastern MS, the Nordics, France, and Germany reflects attention to the MS that are influential in intergovernmental negotiations on EU climate policies. MS opposed to climate action have negotiation power because they can hold up or threaten to veto decisions. Despite their smaller size, the Nordic countries have issue-specific power in climate topics because of their strong ambitions, extensive knowledge, and national policies. Lastly, France and Germany have aggregate structural power due to their size and economic strength (Tallberg 2008). As founding members, France and Germany have been the center of power in the EU for many years, and this position has only been strengthened since the pro-Brexit vote in 2016 (Krotz & Schild 2018). According to the EU coalition explorer (European Council on Foreign Relations 2018), France and Germany are ranked amongst the most influential countries across several policy areas. In climate policy, it is not only France and Germany that exert central influence but also the smaller and affluent countries, including the Nordics, which push for action and the Visegrad countries which frequently oppose EU climate policies (Lessenski 2019).

6.2.3. Focus on the effects of climate change

Both the pan-European and German articles have a focus on the effects of climate change across the EU. Several articles mention the extraordinarily high temperatures that both in summer 2018 and summer 2019 occurred in Europe (Die ZEIT 13; EUobserver 12; EURACTIV 1; EURACTIV 6; EURACTIV 11; EURACTIV 12: Noone 2019; SZ 2: Beitzer et al. 2018). The heatwaves are presented as a sign of climate change by quoting studies that find a correlation between heat waves and climate change (EUobserver 12; SZ 2), or by stressing "the accumulation of extreme weather events and rising temperatures" (EURACTIV 1).

Another event that exemplifies the effects on Europeans is the lawsuit of European and international citizens affected by climate change who sued the EU for its insufficient efforts. Europe's vulnerability to climate change is personalized by describing the effects climate change has on the citizens, for example that a French farmer "lost 44% of his revenue […] due to consecutive droughts" (EURACTIV 9), or how a Romanian farmer is "at the risk of losing his family farm, livestock and livelihood" (EURACTIV 8: Pietikäinen et al. 2019). The descriptions repeatedly use the word *lose* which underlines the gravity of the problem. While the pan-European media personalize the court case against the EU in two opinionated guest articles, Die ZEIT published two features that describe the lives of two plaintiffs in more detail (Die ZEIT 1; Die ZEIT11).

Altogether, descriptions of the effects on European media are kept in a stricter informative, news-oriented style of journalism in the pan-European newspapers while the German newspapers write in a more narrative, personal style. Several German features describe the effects of climate change on vivid examples: how climate change makes it possible to grow wine in Norway (SZ 11: Haart Gaspar 2019), how a goat shepherd in Portugal fights wildfires that have happened more recently due to climate change (Die Zeit 16: Federl 2019), or how climate change affects the Netherlands and Romania (Die ZEIT 9). These articles use scenic descriptions, personalization, and a narrative structure to make the impact of climate change more relatable. They catch attention with surprising introductions like the question if climate change can be a tourist attraction (Die ZEIT 9) or with phrases comparing vineyards in Norway with the paradox of growing pineapples at the Rhine (SZ 11). These close-up stories are examples of how mutual observation can bring the lives of people in other European countries close to the reader and foster a better understanding of the diverse problems that climate change brings for Europeans.

6.2.4. Reporting on the growing climate protests

Reporting on the growing public awareness of climate change and the arising climate change protests was found in both pan-European and German media. The articles report on Fridays for

Future (Die ZEIT 6: Backhaus 2019; Die ZEIT 7; Die ZEIT 9; EUobserver 7; EUobserver 15) or Extinction Rebellion[14] (Die ZEIT 14: Cwiertnia 2019) and reflect how the youth movement "added some momentum around the fight against global warming" (EURACTIV 11). The German reporting on these transnational movements shows how Europeanized reporting can be interwoven with a national perspective. For example, one article on Fridays for Future features two protagonists: a German girl represents the national aspect; Greta Thunberg stands for the international scope of the movement (Die ZEIT 6).

The reporting on the Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion is a pattern that particularly contributes to the interconnection of public spheres because the object of reporting, the movements, is transnational itself. By giving the transnational movements attention in the media discourse, they can expand their reach and share their arguments with a wider public.

Reporting on Fridays for Future is highly personalized on Greta Thunberg. Starting in January 2019, the protests by Fridays for Future are frequently assigned with predications such as "initiated by Greta Thunberg" (EURACTIV 11; see also EUobserver 15; EURACTIV 6; EURACTIV 7; EURACTIV 11). Thunberg is assigned prominence by dedicating entire articles to her speeches and actions (EUobserver 7; EUobserver 15), by describing her as "a celebrity" (EUobserver 7), or by mentioning her in the same sentence with famous actor and former Californian governor Arnold Schwarzenegger (Die ZEIT 12). The articles also highlight her commitment to climate action when mentioning that she is vegan, travelled by train, reduced her use of plastic, refused the Nordic Council award to protest insufficient climate action, or was brought to the brink of tears in a speech about climate change (Die ZEIT 6; Die ZEIT 7; EUobserver 7; EUobserver 15; EURACTIV 9; SZ 14).

6.2.5. Articles about climate sceptics across the EU

One type of actor that only appears in the German articles is climate sceptics across the EU. The SZ reports about a study that examined the position of European right-wing populists on climate change (SZ 7). The article, like the study itself, analyzes the position of different European parties and has an explicit EU-perspective as it applies the influence of these parties to the ability to take climate-related decisions in the EP. The influence of European climate-sceptic parties is also discussed in an article on the European elections 2019 (Die ZEIT 9a) and an article on coal-lobbyists (SZ 5). The articles reflect how national politics and election results are connected through the need for cooperation at the EU level and through the emergence of European organizations denying climate change. The climate sceptics are presented in a negative light. Their positions are described as questionable by presenting extreme arguments for why climate change is not man-made (Die ZEIT 9a), or by criticizing European right-wing populists for their "teils objektiv falschen Argumente"[15] (SZ 7). The coal-lobbyists are denied credibility by mentioning that a scientist is funded by a lobby-organization, by describing inappropriate behavior such as pretending not to understand English, or by describing their goal as "Zerstörungsfantasien"[16] (SZ 5).

In conclusion, climate change policies in other MS are only in focus in connection to the influential countries France and Germany, the climate action pioneers in the Nordics, and the climate action laggards in the Eastern European countries. Further events that are repeatedly mentioned are the climate change protests across Europe and the effects of climate change on European countries. Greta Thunberg is an actor that stands out.

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[14] Extinction Rebellion is a global, environmental protest movement using non-violent civil disobedience.
[15] Translation: "partly objectively wrong arguments"
[16] Translation: "destruction phantasies"

6.3. Discursive exchange

Discursive exchange is concerned with how foreign actors are given a voice in the media discourse through quotes or guest articles. These indicators help establish how exchange between public spheres occurs (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.8).

6.3.1. Quoting politicians from a few countries

The country of origin of speakers quoted in the pan-European media mirrors the pattern in mutual observation. The data showed a tendency to quote national politicians from the Nordics, France, and Germany but no politicians from the Eastern European countries. For example, French president Macron is quoted with his assessment of the Amazon wildfires in Brazil (EUobserver 13), on French and European commitment to fighting climate change (EUobserver 1: Maurice 2018), or on climate change as a priority for the EU (EUobserver 9). German chancellor Merkel is quoted on Germany's coal exit (EUobserver 6), she speaks out against more ambitious EU targets (EURACTIV 1), and an article highlights the German perspective on EU energy talks with quotes from two German ministers and an advisory counsellor (EURACTIV 14). The vision and plans for the Nordic countries are presented through quotes from Nordic politicians (EUobserver 5; EUobserver 15; EURACTIV 15) or legislative texts (EURACTIV 11).

Although the total frequency of these quotes is not exceptionally high, the tendency becomes apparent in comparison to quotes from other national politicians who are only quoted occasionally. Apart from the Prime Ministers of Ireland and Greece (EUobserver 16; EURACTIV 17: EURACTIV Network 2019) no other national politicians than the above-mentioned appear as speakers.

Contrarily, the German media quote hardly any foreign politicians at all and rather rely on national politicians to comment. One article about the importance of climate action across Europe quotes two Dutch politicians (Die ZEIT 9), and an article about Copenhagen's climate ambition quotes the head mayor and the mayor for work and integration of Copenhagen on their success (Die ZEIT 13), but no other foreign actors appear as speakers.

6.3.2. Comments from experts and activists

Although the German media quote hardly any foreign politicians, quotes from foreign climate activists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (e.g. Die ZEIT 9; Die ZEIT 14; EUobserver 11; EURACTIV 6; EURACTIV 13; SZ 14,), or economic and political researchers (e.g. Die ZEIT 16; EUobserver 5; EUobserver 14; EURACTIV 5; SZ 2; SZ 6) are common in both cases.

Among the activists, a focus lies on Greta Thunberg, who is quoted in various articles and often with comparably long quotes or with several quotes in one article (Die ZEIT 6; Die ZEIT 8: von Randow 2019; EUobserver 7; EUobserver 15; SZ 14). Thunberg is predominantly quoted with criticism on climate inaction for example in the Nordics (EUobserver 15), in the EU (EUobserver 7), or in the international sphere (Die ZEIT 6; EURACTIV 6; SZ 14). As the icon of the international Fridays for Future protests, Thunberg speaks on the behalf of the young activists and people concerned about climate change, giving them a voice in the climate change discourse.

In the pan-European newspapers, NGOs or activists often comment on EU policies, plans, or debates (EUobserver 11; EUobserver 14; EURACTIV 6; EURACTIV 7; EURACTIV 13; EURACTIV 14) and usually do so with a critical view, for example demanding that "the EU needs to raise the bar if it's serious about driving global efforts to stop climate breakdown" (EUobserver 11) or underlining "the need to increase the EU's 2030 climate target" (EURACTIV 7). Additionally, they are consulted on regional issues like climate plans in Denmark (EURACTIV 11) or regional projects in Germany and Poland (EURACTIV 3) which they explain and evaluate. In the German newspapers, foreign NGOs and activists do not comment on EU issues but on specific contexts like the state of climate action in Romania (Die ZEIT 9) or call on the international community to step up climate action (Die ZEIT 6; Die ZEIT 14; SZ 14).

Experts are given a voice on EU policies (EUobserver 6; EURACTIV 5; EURACTIV 7) in pan-European media. In addition, both pan-European and German articles quote them on the meteorological impacts of climate change (Die ZEIT 12; SZ 2; EURACTIV 12), regional policies (Die ZEIT 16; EUobserver 5; EUobserver 10; EUobserver 14; EURACTIV 3), or on specific topics like the correlation between climate change and migration (SZ 6), or the strategies of climate sceptics (SZ 5). They give assessments and provide solutions on the diverse topics.

Both the EUobserver and EURACTIV publish other guest articles that let experts (EURACTIV 5, EURACTIV12), NGO representatives (EUobserver 12, EURACTIV 6, EURACTIV 10), or actors associated with foreign institutions (EUobserver 5, EUobserver 10) have a word. The big share of guest authors strengthens the dimension of discursive exchange as an article gives space to a detailed presentation of arguments. Guest writers are made visible with noticeable disclaimers at the end, the label "opinion" or "stakeholder" (EUobserver), or with an introduction of the writer in the beginning of the article (EURACTIV). This labelling is important to fulfil the journalistic standard of separating information from opinion, but by publishing the articles on their platforms, the EUobserver and EURACTIV made the decision to give these people a platform. Consequently, the audience who reads the articles is influenced in its opinion-building process by being exposed to the respective arguments. The guest authors tend to present solutions for climate action that range from suggestions for the Nordics or the Visegrad countries (EUobserver 5; EUobserver 10; EUobserver 12), for EU-China cooperation (EURACTIV 5), or for the EU and its MS (EURACTIV 6). No such guest articles are among the German articles.

The contributions by NGOs, activists, and experts are supporting opinion making in a Europeanized climate change discourse because the readers are brought in touch with diverse standpoints which enables them to form an opinion themselves. The quotes overwhelmingly advocate for ambitious climate action and propose diverse solutions. The comments help expose the EU to public scrutiny in pan-European articles and reflect thereby how the dimension of discursive exchange is linked to monitoring governance.

6.3.3. Giving citizens a voice

Some German articles let European citizens speak about their personal experiences with climate change. A Portuguese farmer leads as protagonist through an article, and he describes how climate change has destroyed his livelihood (SZ 16). A portrait of an Austrian weather anchor who campaigns for climate change documents a conversation with a participant of one of his speeches (Die Zeit 12). Other speakers on a specific context include a vintner commenting on the shift of cultivation areas due to climate change (SZ 11), a Warsaw citizen on the smog problem in her city (Die ZEIT 3), or entrepreneurs and the head of a waste-to-energy plant speaking about their experiences with climate-friendly projects in Copenhagen (Die ZEIT 13).

EURACTIV published an article by the plaintiffs of the court case against the EU in which they urge the EU to act. "We need all the European decision makers to understand that the impacts of climate [...] are happening to us today and in Europe," (EURACTIV 9) they emphasize on behalf of other Europeans impacted by climate change. The article is an example of publicizing the perspective of European citizens, but one article is not enough to call it a pattern in the pan-European newspapers.

Giving European people a voice in media reporting is an indication of the citizen-driven, informative function of Europeanized discourse that Gerhards (1993) identified. Demands and problems of EU-citizens are discussed and disseminated in the media. Through the media, these demands and problems reach decision-makers and the foundation for policy-making orientated on the public interest is laid. This function is closely related to Habermas's (1989, 1996) ideal of an open public sphere that grants access to discourse for everyone, and where ideas can be formed into public opinion. These few instances of citizens as speakers do not live up to the ideal of an open, Europeanized discourse, but they indicated that traces of it exist.

In conclusion, discursive exchange is stronger and more linked to assessments of the EU in the pan-European media. German media on the other hand, quote foreign actors less frequently and more on specific topics or personal experiences. Discursive exchange mirrors patterns of mutual observation because the pan-European articles tend to quote politicians from France, Germany, and the Nordics. Furthermore, people impacted by climate change and Greta Thunberg appear as actors in mutual observation and as speakers in discursive exchange.

6.4. Collective identification

The dimension of collective identification describes references to a European community.

6.4.1. "We"-references

References using "we" in relation to a European community are a strong indicator of collective identification because the pronoun "we" explicitly establishes a "sense of belonging to the same European public" (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.8). These references are rare, but some examples could be found in the pan-European articles. Two references to an identification of we were identified in quotes from EC Vice-president Frans Timmermans: "All levels of government will have to play their role if we want to succeed in shaping our collective future, this is not something that national governments can do alone" and "It is our duty as Europeans to protect our industry and economy against the unfair competition on the basis of a larger carbon footprint" (EUobserver 17). He speaks of "our future" and "if we want to succeed" to emphasize togetherness in the fight against climate change and underlines the unity between the national governments and the EU. In the second quote, "our duty as Europeans" establishes a sense of belonging to the collective of Europeans. This sense of community is reinforced in distinction to others, because "the unfair competition on the basis of a larger carbon footprint" refers to products manufactured in other countries that produce less sustainably than the EU, according to Timmermans.

Another instance of a "we"- reference is found in a guest contribution on EURACTIV by the plaintiffs of the court case against the EU (EURACTIV 9). With "we" they refer to the group of plaintiffs, but they underline that they want to represent all Europeans: "Today, on behalf of all Europeans impacted by climate change, we have sent letters to our governments and the presidents of the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Council." They also emphasize the feeling of togetherness and of being European citizens: "As European citizens, our future depends on the Future of Europe." MEPs who wrote a guest article about the court case emphasize "the moral responsibility to stand together with our citizens and demand much more ambitious and urgent climate action" (EURACTIV 8). These phrases reflect how collective identification is shaped to reflect the need for collective action and highlight that climate change is affecting people across the EU.

In contrast, "we"-references to Europe are almost not to be found in the German articles. The pronoun "we" is used to refer to climate protection as a task for mankind in general but not in relation to Europe, for example in sentences such as: "Können wir das Klima noch besänftigen und trotzdem den Wohlstand erhalten?"[17] (Die ZEIT 13) or "Wenn man das 1,5 Grad-Ziel ernst nimmt, müssen wir zur Mitte des Jahrhunderts bei netto null Emissionen stehen"[18] (SZ 3). „We" within a European context appears only in two quotes. Once, Timmermans refers to the EU's emission reductions: „Wir haben gezeigt, dass der Kampf gegen den Klimawandel der europäischen Wirtschaft nicht schadet"[19] (SZ 15). In another article, a German economic expert comments on investments for climate protection: „Wir brauchen statt einer schwarzen eine grüne Null"[20] (SZ

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[17] Translation: "Can we still mitigate climate change and yet maintain prosperity?"
[18] Translation: "If the target of limiting climate warming to 1.5 degree is taken seriously, we must reach net zero emissions by mid-century."
[19] Translation: „"We have shown that the fight against climate change does not harm the European economy."
[20] Translation: „Instead of a black zero, we need a green zero."

12). Since both quotes refer rather to decision-makers than to a community of Europeans, their contribution to collective identification is weak.

6.4.2. References to a collective entity

References to "Europeans", "EU-citizens", or "the bloc" indicate that Europe is perceived as a collective entity in public discourse (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.8).

The image of collective entity is supported in the pan-European newspapers by several instances of references to "Europeans" or "EU citizens". It is described how European citizens are impacted by climate change (EUobserver 14; EURACTIV 8; EURACTIV 14), that "92 percent of Europeans agree that greenhouse gas emission should be reduced to a minimum" (EUobserver 16), and EU-citizens are named as the target of a policy (EUobserver 2). One article (EURACTIV 5) claims that Europeans need to accelerate the energy transition. As this is not a task that can be done by citizens themselves and because the sentence following this claim refers to the EU and MS, "Europeans" seems to refer to decision-makers associated with the EU rather than a collective of citizens.

Another indicator of collective identification is the phrase "the bloc" when talking about the EU because the term implies that the EU is internally unified like a bloc and holds together. The plausibility of this interpretation is reinforced because it is used in contexts that refer to collective EU action, for example common paradigms (EUobserver 12), a joint statement by EU finance ministers (EURACTIV 16), a common decision by the EC, EP, and national parliaments (EUobserver 11), or successful negotiations on energy laws (EURACTIV 1; EURACTIV 7). The other uses of the term are in contexts of tough negotiations on energy taxes (EURACTIV 14) or divisions between countries on fossil fuel funding (EURACTIV 16). This second use also corresponds to the meaning of the EU as appearing unified to the outside because to present unity, internal disagreements must be solved.

In the German articles, the term "die Europäer" [the Europeans] does not contribute to a strong collective identification. One article uses „die Europäer" and "Europa" to describe how the people in Europe have the responsibility to lead the way to a more sustainable economic model which hints at a sense of community (Die ZEIT 13). The term is further used to describe decision-makers on the EU level: "Erst im Juni verabschiedeten die Europäer strengere Ziele für den Ausbau erneuerbarer Energien und der Energieeffizienz"[21] (SZ 1). The only use of the term "EU-Bürger" [EU citizens] explains that not only EU-citizens but all humans worldwide are covered by the right to work in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. This technical use does not elicit a feeling of community.

6.4.3. Reference to a common future and past

One single German article was identified that alludes to a common past and future (Die ZEIT 13). It describes how Europe has profited from an emission-extensive economy that damages the planet and has expanded its unsustainable production and consumption model to other countries. From this common past the article derives a moral responsibility for Europe. Furthermore, the author explains how a sustainable energy transition will be easier in Europe than in other regions because Europe already extracts little oil and gas. This article demonstrates how Europe is presented as a collective entity due to its common past and a demand for its common future.

Altogether, the analysis has shown that collective identification is a rather weak dimension in both the pan-European and German articles. While the German media create a general feeling of togetherness in the fight against climate change, this is not tied to Europe or the EU, and other references to a European community are very rare. In the pan-European articles, more references

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[21] Translation: "As recently as June, Europeans adopted stricter targets for the expansion of renewable energies and energy efficiency."

to a collective entity or sense of belonging were found than in the German ones but compared to the other dimensions, they remain sparse.

7. Discussion

This chapter will summarize and contextualize the findings from the analysis to answer the RQ: **"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?"**

It is in the nature of pan-European media outlets that they are Europeanized while in the German media, the European perspective stands in competition to the national perspective. The contribution of this thesis is, however, to show which patterns reflect this more European perspective in pan-European newspapers in comparison to German newspapers, which patterns are similar in both, and what role climate change as a topic plays.

Regarding monitoring governance, the pan-European articles differ from the German ones in their in-depth coverage of the EU. The pan-European newspapers focus on the EU more intensely with frequent quotes by EU-level actors and with EU topics frequently as main topics. On the contrary, the German ones quote few EU-level actors and tend to connect EU topics with national or regional topics. The German reporting reflects therefore two patterns found in most EPS research: the tendency to quote few foreign actors and the connection of local and global topics (Rabitz et al. 2020; Schäfer at al. 2018). Additionally, the pan-European articles shed more light on the decision-making processes, for example the role of the MS in the intergovernmental negotiations. This enhances the informative function (Gerhards 1993, 2002; Trenz 2009) of the Europeanized discourse as it familiarizes the readers with the decision-making processes and tasks of the EU institutions. Although the German media do not explain the EU system in that much detail, some explanations of EU politics and policies were found, and the factual reporting on EU-related topics extends EU knowledge, too. Consequently, the German newspapers play a role in informing a wider audience than people consuming the specialized pan-European newspapers.

Scrutiny of the EU is realized along similar patterns in the pan-European and German media. The combination of positive and negative assessments is tied to the informative function of an EPS because the presentation of diverse arguments and opinions allows the audience to form an opinion which can later be translated into voting preferences (Gerhards 2002; Trenz 2005, 2009). The audience is given *communicative power* in the EU system which traditionally tends to privilege national executives that can strategically manipulate domestic discourses (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.5). The Europeanized reporting on climate change that was found not only in pan-European but also German articles contributes to making citizens' access to EU information more direct and therefore enhances the democratic deficit (Trenz 2009).

The patterns of monitoring governance reflect how the topic of climate change augments the visibility and scrutiny of the EU in both pan-European and German newspapers. The emphasis on Ursula von der Leyen and her Green Deal indicates how the EU's climate actions lead to media attention. The growing awareness of climate change that was expressed in the EP elections helped get the elections which used to be of second order more media attention in both the national and pan-European newspapers. The positive evaluations of EU climate policies and the framing as *first-mover* contribute to a description of the EU as a relevant actor in climate policies. These findings are in line with previous research that found that Europeanization is stronger in policy areas where the EU is strong (Koopmans 2014; Koopmans, Erbe & Meyer 2010).

In the dimension of mutual observation, the analysis uncovered big similarities between the pan-European and German articles. Both cases focus on countries that are influential in climate change

policies (the Nordics, the Eastern MS, France, and Germany), give attention to climate change protests and especially Greta Thunberg, and report on the effects of climate change on Europeans.

The MS in focus are those with considerable influence on climate change decisions on the EU level. The finding is in line with previous research that found references to other countries to be concentrated on a few influential MS but contradicts the observation that references to the Eastern European countries are rarely made (Segesten & Bossetta 2019a). As elaborated in chapter 6.2.2., this deviation coincides with the fact that the Eastern MS are influential in climate change politics due to their opposition and the power of the veto. Furthermore, the Eastern MS, and sometimes Germany in the pan-European articles, are used to show where there is need for improvement in climate action while the Nordics, including Norway which is not a MS, are put forth as positive examples for how successful climate action could look like. This Europeanized climate discourse creates the preconditions for political, horizontal Europeanization as national politicians learn from other successful climate policies or policy failures, are encouraged by efforts in other countries, or strive for cooperation. These opposite descriptions of positive and negative examples could reinforce a division between MS. If the disparate reporting has these effects on the readership cannot be proven based on a CDA but would require a reception analysis.

It is notable that countries that are used as positive or negative domestic examples largely overlap with those mentioned in connection with hindering or advancing EU climate action. The connection between national climate change efforts or negligence and the role in EU negotiations showcases how "in an increasingly integrated Europe political problems might not just be a matter of domestic politics, but also of common concern" (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.6).

The claim that climate change is an inherently global topic because it impacts people worldwide and can only be successfully addressed with international cooperation (Schäfer et al. 2018, pp.214f) manifests in the patterns of mutual observation. This global nature is broken down to the European context in the reporting on the effects of climate change in Europe and the mutual observation of climate protection solutions in other European countries.

The patterns of discursive exchange mirror largely those of mutual observation because the actors appearing as speakers are impacted by climate change, are activists advocating for more climate action, or are politicians from the Nordics, the Eastern MS, France, and Germany. In both dimensions, a personal focus on Greta Thunberg was detected. These similarities depict the theoretical proximity of mutual observation and discursive exchange: Both are concerned with connections between public spheres, but while mutual observation observes other countries, only discursive exchange creates a common discourse (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.6). Since discursive exchange allows for the incorporation of ideas and arguments, it is of special interest to compare who appears in mutual observation but not in discursive exchange.

Firstly, it is striking that the Eastern European MS are discussed in mutual observation while politicians from these countries rarely appear as speakers in discursive exchange. Consequently, their positions and policies are scrutinized, but their opinions and arguments are not incorporated into the other public spheres. This observation correlates with the fact that the Eastern European politicians are expected to advocate a position against more climate action while the articles overall take a pro-climate protection stand, but a causation cannot be proven. The plausibility of the connection can however be strengthened with the observation that those few actors from the Eastern MS appearing as speakers are citizens impacted by climate change (Die ZEIT 3) or climate activists (Die ZEIT 3; Die ZEIT 9).

Secondly, within the German data it can be observed that although policies in other countries are subjects of reporting, hardly any foreign politicians are quoted. Among experts, activists, and citizens, more foreign actors are quoted, but national speakers continue to dominate. The preference of German media to quote national politicians points towards a continuing self-

centeredness because the points of reference for opinion formation are largely confined to the national sphere (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.6). On the contrary, the pan-European newspapers contribute to a common European opinion formation as they bundle opinions and arguments from different European countries (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.6).

The dimension of discursive exchange is closely related to Habermas's ideal of a public sphere with equal access for everybody and egalitarian dialogue (Habermas 1989). All four analyzed newspapers refer to this ideal in their editorial statements. They write that they aim to give a voice to diverse groups of society (Auer et al. n.d., EUobserver n.d.), make as many voices as possible heard (EURACTIV 2019b), or provide a forum for debate (Di Lorenzo & Wegner 2018). These ideals are not entirely fulfilled in neither the German nor pan-European articles because both cases prioritize quotes from powerful actors such as politicians, experts, or representatives of NGOs over normal citizens, privilege actors from certain countries and focus on pro-climate action speakers. However, it must also be acknowledged that Habermas's conception of a public sphere is very idealistic, and that journalistic routines favor the prioritization of influential or prominent actors and speakers (Richardson 2007). Therefore, the ambition outlined in editorial statements and the examples of quotes from citizens can at least be interpreted as traces of a Europeanized climate change discourse with citizen participation.

In the ideal of a public sphere by Habermas, problems are discussed and formed into a public interest that guides the administrative power in its decisions (Habermas 1996, p.150). The mass media's role is to expand the public sphere to more participants and beyond the single encounter (Habermas 1996, pp.188f). Having developed this ideal into a theory of the informative function of the EPS, scholars argue that problems are "discovered, thematized and dramatized" (Fossum & Schlesinger 2007, p.5) and formed into political wills in the media. In the analyzed data, the combination of mutual observation and discursive exchange dealing with impacted people and the climate protestors helps bring citizens' issues to the political agenda. The pan-European media connect the public interest even more directly to the EU because 8% of EURACTIV readers are political actors at the EU-level (EURACTIV 2018) and 15% of EUobserver readers are from the EU level (EUobserver 2021). For the German newspapers, no readership data in relation to the EU is available. Therefore, it can be concluded that the pan-European media are important in establishing a more direct connection to EU politics than agenda-setting through national politics. Gerhards (1993) argues that this process contributes to compensating the democratic deficit of the EU as decision makers are closer connected to the people, and interests are not filtered through national lenses.

Through the dimension of discursive exchange, climate change is presented as a topic that must be taken seriously and that requires more political action because the quotes overwhelmingly support or call for more climate action. The choice of speakers who work for environmental NGOs, are part of the Fridays for Future movement, or do research on the effects of climate change supports this climate-friendly perspective.

In line with previous research (Brüggemann et al. 2005; Brüggemann et al. 2006), the analysis found very low levels of collective identification. Nevertheless, a significant difference between the pan-European and German newspapers exists. In the pan-European newspapers, collective labels for the community of Europeans are used and some "we"-references to this community are applied. On the contrary, German articles rarely use terms like "Europäer", and "*we*" refers rather to the global community than Europe.

Although in the German articles this collective is not tied to Europe, it shows how common problems can lay the ground for collective identification. The same process is apparent in the instances of collective identification in the pan-European newspapers as references to "*we*" are tied to the obligation to act. Additionally, collective identification relates to the effects of climate

change that affect Europeans. These two aspects show how the pan-European newspapers translate the global nature of the climate threat into a reference point for a European identity.

Gerhards (2002, 1993) and Trenz (2005) conceptualize identity formation as the second function of the EPS besides the informative function. A collective European identity is a precondition of the democratic legitimacy of the EU because identification guarantees the citizens' loyalty to the EU (Brüggemann et al. 2006, p.7). Consequently, the dimension of collective identification displays how the pan-European newspapers contribute to a more integrated and profound Europeanization of the climate change discourse than the German newspaper which largely disregard a European identity.

It has been pointed out across all dimensions that the patterns of Europeanization reflect the influence of climate change as a topic. Firstly, the global effects and necessity of global cooperation led to pattern such as the focus on the climate change impact on European countries and the transnational climate change movement. Secondly, the patterns in monitoring governance reflect the EU's ambition and the importance of climate action because, in both cases, an EU perspective is fostered, the EU is scrutinized, and references to the EU as a global leader exist. This thesis therefore confirms the claim that Europeanization of reporting is more visible in policy areas where European integration has advanced (Koopmans 2014, p.81; Ivanova et al. 2014, p.22).

The patterns of Europeanization found in both cases substantiate previous research that has studied climate change reporting with a global perspective. The analysis confirmed that the EU is acknowledged as a meaningful actor in climate policies (Kleinen-von Königslöw et al. 2019; Ivanova et al. 2014; Schäfer at al. 2018), that climate policies in other countries are observed, and that foreigners appear rather as actors than as speakers in national media (Schäfer et al. 2018). Both German and pan-European media shape a Europeanized climate change discourse that advocates for more climate action, depicts small efforts as insufficient, and lets citizens and experts who underline this position come to speak.

The analysis uncovered the biggest differences between pan-European and German newspapers in the dimensions discursive exchange and collective identification where the Europeanized perspective was weak in German reporting. Additionally, within the German data, discursive exchange and collective identification were less pronounced than monitoring governance and mutual observation. Brüggemann et al. (2006) conceptualize the first two dimensions as *integrated* forms of Europeanization and the latter two as *segmented* forms because monitoring governance "generates parallel universes of EU-focused public discourses" (p.6), and mutual observation does not create a common discourse. The observation for the German newspapers coincides with the trend of segmented Europeanization that Brüggemann et al. (2006) find in their study of quality newspapers in five MS: "European governance is increasingly subject to public scrutiny, but neither does a common discourse in Europe develop nor a significant sense of belonging to the same community of communication" (p.19). Consequently, the biggest contribution by the pan-European newspapers in comparison to the German ones is that they foster a more integrated Europeanized climate change discourse.

While previous studies have often found that either monitoring governance or mutual observation dominated in reporting (e.g. Bee & Chrona 2020; De la Porte & van Dalen 2016; Kleinen- von Königslöw et al. 2019), this thesis found a rather balanced relation in both pan-European and German media where frequency, intensity, and prominence of topics showed no clear tendency towards either dimension. A quantitative analysis with a more representative sample could help verify this statement.

One important contribution of the CDA methodology and its incorporation of the discursive practice is the interpretation of the findings in connection to audience. The readership numbers show that the pan-European newspapers only reach a fragment of the readership of the German

newspapers. The SZ reached 12,93 million unique users monthly online and distributed around 345 000 papers per edition (IVW 2019b), Die Zeit reached 14,04 million unique users online and distributed around 524 000 papers per edition (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Onlineforschung 2019, IVW 2019a). Contrarily, the EUobserver reached 650 000 unique users monthly (EUobserver 2021) and EURACTIV just over 1 million unique users (EURACTIV 2019a).[22]

Scholars conceptualize the EPS not as one homogenous public sphere but as the combination of overlapping national spheres with a European perspective (Koopmans & Erbe 2004; Trenz 2009; van de Steeg 2002). In this sense, the analysis in this thesis showed that the reporting by pan-European newspapers is best understood as a public sphere with an intense and integrated focus on the EU but with a limited audience. On the contrary, the German newspapers show a pattern of more segmented and moderate Europeanization but reach a wider audience. The overlapping of the spheres is displayed in the similar patterns of Europeanization in the German and pan-European media.

In conclusion, the analysis showed how not only the Europeanization of national public spheres should be analyzed but also the contribution of pan-European newspapers because both types shape a Europeanized climate change discourse. On the one hand, German newspapers contribute to a more segmented form of a Europeanized climate change discourse because they focus on the dimensions of monitoring governance and mutual observation. The pan-European newspapers shape the Europeanized climate change discourse in a more integrated and intense way across all dimensions. On the other hand, similar patterns across the four dimensions show an overlap of the national and pan-European public spheres. Their common contribution to the Europeanized climate change discourse is a positive view of climate action, scrutiny of the EU, the focus on impactful European countries, and the attention to climate change impacts and protests.

8. Conclusion

This conclusion will first comment on the theoretical and methodological approach of this thesis and then conclude on the results of the analysis.

The analysis established patterns in reporting through frequency, intensity, and prominence. Although this qualitative approach was important to uncover hidden meanings and details in reporting, it would have been helpful to confirm the observations with a qualitative analysis based on a more representative sample. The choice to select German articles containing a reference to Europeanization was necessary for having enough material to make claims about patterns along the dimension, but it also meant that conclusions could only be drawn within the Europeanized German material or in comparison to the pan-European articles. Statements about the overall proportion of Europeanized reporting in the German newspapers were not possible. A quantitative second step could have helped resolve this limitation but was not possible due to time constraints.

The application of the four dimensions monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification proved to be helpful because the dimensions helped detect patterns in the material in a systematic way. They enhanced the confirmability and transferability of the results and laid the groundwork for further research. For instance, it would be desirable if further research expanded the analysis of the climate change discourse to more European countries or compared the reporting by pan-European newspapers in different policy areas. Furthermore, the typology was essential for uncovering the difference between segmented

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[22]To reflect the reach during the time frame of the study, the figures for the first quarter of 2019 were used for the German newspapers and the 2019 figures were used for EURACTIV, but only the 2021 figures were available for the EUobserver.

Europeanization in German newspapers and more integrated Europeanization in the pan-European newspapers.

This thesis aimed to close the gap of EPS research on climate change and dismiss the neglect of pan-European newspapers. Guided by the RQ: **"How does reporting in German newspapers compared to pan-European newspapers shape a Europeanized climate change media discourse along the dimensions of monitoring governance, mutual observation, discursive exchange, and collective identification?",** the analysis has uncovered a segmented Europeanization of the climate change discourse in German newspapers and a more integrated Europeanization in the pan-European newspapers. Both forms arose in the area of tension between nationally focused media and the preconditions for Europeanization that climate change creates. On the one hand, patterns in both German and pan-European media show how the topic of climate change initiated reporting on EU climate policies, climate policies in other European countries, the climate change protests, and the impacts of climate change on Europeans. On the other hand, it has been shown how a national orientation of the media leads to few foreign speakers, very weak collective identification, and a less intense focus on the EU in German media. The dominance of national media affects pan-European media because they are only consumed by a small, interested audience.

Consequently, the differences between German and pan-European newspapers have shown that it is worth studying pan-European media because they create a more integrated Europeanization of the climate change media discourse. Further research into the contribution of pan-European newspapers in other policy areas, at different times, or with different newspapers promises rich insights and could contribute to illuminating this neglected aspect of the EPS.

Since the discussion has illustrated how the Europeanized climate change discourse is linked to the democratic deficit of the EU, identifying patterns in the media discourse can be one first step towards strengthening the EPS and thereby mitigating the democratic deficit. The pattern of segmented Europeanization in the German newspapers indicates that initiatives trying to connect European public spheres have the potential to substantially improve the state of the EPS because they target current deficits. Some initiatives that connect European journalists already exist. The Youth4Regions project by the EC helps young journalist to discover what the EU is doing in their region and connects them with journalists from other countries (European Commission n.d.-b). The non-profit organization journalismfund.eu aims at "facilitating independent cross-border investigative journalism by connecting donors and journalists in order to promote democracy in Europe" (journalismfund.eu). And the Investigative Journalism for Europe (IJ4EU) project aims to strengthen collaborations between European journalists by proving funds and assistance for cross-border, investigative projects (Investigative Journalism for Europe n.d.). Supporting these initiatives, increasing their reach, or creating similar projects promise to be helpful approaches to connecting European journalists. Additionally, pan-European newspapers could extend the reach of their integrated European perspective to the national spheres by increasing cooperation with national media. Several national newspapers have already joined forces and have initiated research networks like for example Investigate Europe. This team of journalists from nine European countries has published several articles on climate change policies in Europe (Investigate Europe n.d.). Whether it is a small-scall cooperation between journalists, EU-wide support programs, or attempts to increase the reach of pan-European newspapers, these initiatives are examples of how the development of a stronger EPS can be supported.

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