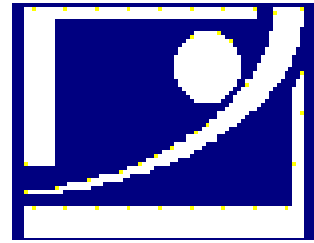


HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN



GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES



Europäische Akademie Berlin

Berlin, June 26, 2003

International, interdisciplinary Conference
for PhD students and young academics on:

The European Public Sphere

Organizing team: Cornelia Dereje, Jan-Henrik Meyer, Michael Brüggemann
with the support of Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences, the Graduate Programme
"The New Europe" at Humboldt-University, Berlin and the European Academy Berlin

Introduction: Topic of the conference

During the past two decades European integration has made great progress. Yet this progress came at the price of a growing democratic deficit, as many critics highlighted. The main charges were that European decision-making was not transparent, information for the general public was scarce, and the opportunities for citizen's participation were lacking, while at the same time the influence of the EU on people's everyday lives was constantly growing. Thus a major aspect of the EU's democratic deficit can be attributed to the lack of a public sphere, for it is the role of a public sphere to inform the citizens, to ensure scrutiny and to act as a forum for civic participation.

As we are heading for a European constitution the question of a European public sphere has become ever more urgent: Is there something like a European public sphere? How does it manifest itself? How does it work? How does it contribute to European democracy? Various research projects have been started to inquire into the European public sphere. Moreover, all over Europe a growing number of PhD students and young academics from the disciplines of communications, sociology, political science and history are working on this topic. The goal of the proposed conference is to convene for the first time all those who are interested in the European public sphere for an international and interdisciplinary exchange.

In order to inquire into the European public sphere, its emergence, its core characteristics, and most of all, how and if it fulfils its role in European democracy, it is crucial to have a clear concept. We propose to divide the current approaches into two perspectives:

1. The *vertical* perspective: Publics referring to the EU in one or many nation-states. These publics serve as a forum for the emergence of public opinion and participation, which may be characterised by top-down or bottom-up processes.
2. The *horizontal* perspective: A European public sphere through the transnational interconnection and the interweaving of networks of communication.

1. The vertical perspective: Publics referring to the EU

The vertical perspective is mainly interested in processes of building public opinion. Public opinion may be dominated by vertical top-down processes. Governments' spin-doctoring, PR-activities by the EU or government agencies serves this purpose. Alternatively, however, civic

participation may be strong in the formation of public opinion in a vertical bottom-up process. Inquiring into the European public sphere from this perspective, researchers focus on how public opinion on European politics emerges and who participates in the shaping of public opinion. Normatively, the quality of a European public sphere from a vertical perspective is assessed according to how open the access to the public sphere is, and how broad is the participation of civil society organisations. These criteria are considered to strengthen the legitimacy of a democratic European polity.

Empirically, the formation of public opinion on EU policy-making does not necessarily have to take place everywhere in Europe at the same time, but may be limited to a few national publics. The vertical perspective has been a guideline for many case studies of national public debates on EU-policies. These may range from the national perception of e.g. Eastern enlargement to "anti-European" campaigns by Eurosceptic movements. Public debates on how EU policies interfere with regional self-determination have been examined. Research from the vertical perspective thus focuses on changing patterns of protest and participation in the EU multilevel polity.

2. The horizontal perspective: A transnational European public sphere

A European public sphere consisting of transnational media like the Financial Times is limited to very elite publics. However, national publics are not completely sealed off from one another. Rather, there are manifold similarities and exchanges of information between national media from different countries. Therefore it is possible to inquire into a European public sphere through the research on national media.

This perspective may be called horizontal, for it compares national publics trying to elicit European commonalities, which are the result of horizontal exchanges between national public spheres. The process of the transnational interconnection and interweaving of communication in an emergent "European sphere of communication" greatly interests the adherents of this perspective. While examining the perception of European policy-making, they are more generally interested in the "intensification of communication" within Europe.

The horizontal perspective rests on the assumption that a shared polity will bring about intensified and increasingly more similar patterns of communication. Rather than looking for actors participating in a European public sphere, emphasis is placed on the diffusion of topics, frames and patterns of perception, which are fundamental for thinking about the EU in an ever more similar way, and for identifying with Europe.

Planned conference

Conference for PhD students and young researchers

For the first time we want to convene the young researchers who are working on this topic in various European countries. During the conference participants will be able to discuss their approaches and present their (preliminary) results, so as to gain insights and inspiration for their own research. Our goal is to enable the international and interdisciplinary exchange between this group of researchers, which we hope will eventually lead to an enduring scientific network on European integration and the question of a shared public sphere. A mailing list will be set up in the planning and preparation phase of the project, which will help with the communication.

- **Input by "Experts":** We will invite scholars from various disciplines, who specialise in questions of the European public sphere.
- **Place and date:** European Academy Berlin (www.eab-berlin.de), Nov. 28th-30th, 2003
- **Participants:** ca. 30 young academics / PhD students from the disciplines of Political Science, Sociology, Communications, and History; ca. 5 experts both academics and practitioners of the European public sphere.
- **Language:** English

- **Publication of the results:** It is planned to publish the contributions to and the results of the conference. As opposed to our earlier statements the **publication** will be **in English**.

Updated Provisional Schedule

Friday Nov. 28, 2003: Concepts of a European Public Sphere

14.00 - 16.30 hrs

Discussion on "Concepts of a European Public Sphere" with experts

(e.g. Prof. Dr. Bernhard Peters, Universität Bremen, Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Hartmut Kaelble, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Prof. Dr. Hans J. Kleinsteuber, Universität Hamburg, Prof. Colin Sparks PHD, University of Westminster)

Guiding questions: How can we define a European public sphere? Which are the normative and theoretical presuppositions that we assume? How can we operationalize these concepts?

16.30 - 17.00 hrs

Coffee Break

17.00 - 19.00 hrs

Participants' workshop on concepts (6 working groups):

On the basis of each participant's "statement" the participants' own concepts and definitions of the European public sphere shall be discussed in groups of 5 to 7 participants. The statement should be based on a one-page paper that has been prepared in advance. The goal is to be able to discuss and compare the different definitions of the European public sphere guiding our research. We suggest to state in bullet points the central aspects of (a) the definition, (b) normative presuppositions and (c) attempts at operationalization.

During these workshops, Christian Glossner, Anke Offerhaus and Julia DeClerck-Sachsse will present their respective research projects.

19.00 - 20.00 hrs

Dinner

20.00 - 21.00 hrs

Plenary session: Which concepts of the European public sphere are out there?

Summary of the results of the workshop on concepts: The results will be presented to the other groups in this plenary session. The experts' comments are most welcome.

Saturday / Sunday: The vertical and the horizontal perspective of the European public sphere**Saturday, Nov. 29, 2003****The horizontal perspective: A transnational European public sphere****9.30 - 11.00 hrs****Participants' papers in three parallel sessions:****Horizontal I: Networks and Transnational Communication**

1. Poehls, Kerstin: "We speak European". The Making of the Homo Europaeus.
2. Dereje, Cornelia: Normative integration in Europe? A case study on British policies towards cloning.

Horizontal II: Transnationalized Social Movements

1. Gray, Emily: Campaigning across borders: transnational networks and the UK's pro- and anti-EU campaigns
2. Hille, Jochen: Do Swiss and Norwegian Euroskeptics fight for the same goals? A comparison of arguments and ideologies.

Horizontal III: Structures of Transnational Media

1. Fickers, Andreas: National Barriers for an imagined European Identity: The technological frames of postwar television development in Europe.
2. Zimmermann, Ann: The Internet and the European Public Sphere

11.00 - 11.15**Coffee Break****11.15 - 12.45 hrs****Participants' papers in two parallel sessions:****Horizontal I: Networks and Transnational Communication Part II**

3. Erbe, Jessica: Do press reviews in the Mass Media Contribute to the Europeanisation of Public Spheres?
4. Knorr, Antje: Transatlantic and European Public Spheres

Horizontal II: Transnationalized Social Movements Part II

3. Wimmer, Jeffrey: Elements of a European counterpublic
4. Bredt, Stefan: Sectoral Publics and the Development of a European Principle of Democracy

Horizontal III: Structures of Transnational Media Part II

3. Baisnee, Olivier: EU correspondents (French and British) and the production of EU news
4. Nevenskaite, Laima: Media of the Baltic States in the European Networks of Communication.

12.45 - 13.45**Lunch**

The vertical perspective: Publics referring to the EU**13.45 - 15.15 hrs****Participants' papers in two parallel sessions:****Vertical I: Social Movements and Contention Part I**

1. Caiani, Manuela: Social Movements and other collective actors in the construction of the Public Sphere
2. Jochum, Margit: Communication and mobilization strategies and their "Europeanization" in the fields of European integration and agricultural policy in Switzerland

Vertical II: National Discourses Part I

1. Boos, Verena: Europeanisation of Press Discourse in stateless nations (Scotland, Catalonia)
2. Tresch, Anke: Towards a regionalisation of Europeanised political discourse in Swiss print media?

15.15 - 15.30 hrs**Coffee Break****15.30-17.00 hrs****Participants' papers in two parallel sessions:****Vertical I: Social Movements and Contention Part II**

3. Berkel, Barbara: Domestication or Europeanisation: Dimensions of Conflict Communication regarding European Agricultural Policy
4. Schulz-Forberg, Rolf-Hagen: The Meaning of Europe and the European Public Sphere after 1945. Crisis, negotiation and change.

Vertical II: National Discourses Part II

3. Firmstone, Julie: European Debates in national public spheres. the production of newspaper opinion on European integration in Britain
4. Adam, Silke: Power structures in the media discourse on Eastern Enlargement in Germany. First results of a network analysis of the public sphere.

17.00 - 17.15**Coffee Break****17.15-18.30 hrs****Participants' papers in two parallel sessions:****Vertical I: Social Movements and Contention Part III / Theory***

5. Steeg, Marianne van de: The public sphere in the EU: a media analysis of the debate on the Sanctions against Austria.
6. * Kantner, Cathleen: Waiting for a European Progressive Era.

Vertical II: National Discourses Part III

5. Mahmutoglu, Burcu: The Re-emergence of a Public Sphere in Cyprus.
6. Taseli, Bahar: The Turkish Cypriot Print Media as Political Actors in the Cyprus Conflict and their Role in Manufacturing the Europeanization of the Public Sphere

18.30 Dinner

Sunday, Nov. 30, 2003

9.30 - 11.15 hrs

Participants' papers in two parallel sessions:

Vertical III: Comparing the Europeanization of National Discourses

1. Meyer, Jan-Henrik: The Hague Summit of 1969 vs. Maastricht Summit of 1991/92 - Evolution or Continuity in the European Public Sphere?
2. Novy, Leonard: Reporting the Future of Europe: The EU's future as covered by German and British newspapers.
3. Seidendorf, Stefan: Europeanisation of Identity Discourses: community of communication vs. community of memory.

Vertical IV: Public Relations: Top-down Europeanization?

1. Brüggemann, Michael: Chances and limits to the top-down construction of a European Public.
2. Reinfeldt, Alexander: Influencing British Public Opinion on Europe (1952-69)
3. Mak, Jeannette: 'Dialogue as Rhetoric?'. An Analysis of the attempts of the European Commission to establish a European Public Sphere.

11.15 - 11.30 hrs

Coffee Break

11.30 - 13.00 hrs

Final discussion of the results

- Chairs presenting summaries of the results on:
 - Concepts of the European public sphere: Similarities and differences
 - Vertical perspective: Participation in the European public sphere - conclusions
 - Horizontal perspective: Transnationalisation of the European sphere - conclusions
- Comparison and final conclusions: What do we know about a European public sphere as of today?
- Discussion, Critique and Evaluation

13.00 - 14.00 hrs

Lunch

Conference papers solicited

We are inviting contributions on the European public sphere by young researchers and Ph.D. students working on the European public sphere in various disciplines.

In order to enhance the intense exchange of approaches and ideas, we expect the participants to prepare the following contributions (mandatory):

- 1) A one-page **"statement" for the "workshop on concepts"** on Friday: In this short statement the participants should outline very briefly their definition of a European public sphere, the normative and theoretical presuppositions and their operationalisation of the concept, i.e. how they go about in their research - with respect to the notion of the European public sphere.
- 2) A presentation on the approach and results of the respective research for the sections on Saturday and Sunday. Two formats are suggested, that can be chosen from:
 - a) Either: A **short ten-minutes presentation** in bullet-points.
 - b) Or: A **longer twenty-minutes presentation**. These presentations should explicitly address the question of a European public sphere, and refer to which of the two perspectives on the European public sphere (horizontal / vertical) is more prominent in the respective piece of research. Given the limitations of time and physical endurance, we encourage the participants to opt for the brief version of the presentation. A video beamer and a projector are available at the European academy for the participants to visualise their findings.

Cost

Currently we are applying for financial support to cover accommodation, food and travel (up to a certain limit). As we do not know as of now whether we will be successful, the participants are encouraged to ask for financial support from their own institutions. The conference fee will be at approximately EUR 25 for participants from Berlin who do not need accommodation, and at approximately EUR 50 for participants from other places in Germany and abroad.

Information we still need

By October 15 we need to receive the "statement" for the workshop on concepts, and the presentation, so we can finalise the schedule. Please send it to:

agenda_europa_public@yahoogroups.de

Updated information on the planned publication

As opposed to our earlier announcements we are now planning a publication in **English**. We are currently negotiating with publishers.

Format of the paper to be published

- 8 pages (incl. footnotes, bibliography)
- In English
- A file/style-sheet with more detailed description of the common format will be sent out after our negotiations with the publisher.

Schedule for those interested in the publication / Deadlines

By May 15:

Please submit title and a three-sentence description of your proposed paper (as mentioned above).

By October 15:

Please submit the final version of your article for publication. This is moreover helpful for the participants of the conference, so papers can be distributed well in advance to enhance the discussion.

Comments and suggestions on the agenda and format of the conference are welcome.

Organization committee: agenda_europa_public@yahoogroups.de

Cornelia Dereje, Jan-Henrik Meyer, Michael Brüggemann

Postal address: c/o BGSS, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Unter den Linden 6, D-10099 Berlin.