



# ***Constructing the European Union in Canadian News***

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## ***Abstract***

*This paper analyses the representation of the EU in Canadian print media focusing in particular on the EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in March 2007. Assuming that the ways by which the European Union (EU) is being construed by the world media co-determines the EU's role and, probably, its effectiveness as an international actor, we apply this hypothesis to the case of Canada. By utilising Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as our methodological tool, this paper analyses the reception and representation of the EU in Canadian print media, and further unveils the discursive strategies employed by different media outlets.*

## ***1. Introduction***

The identification and analyses of linguistic means used to represent the EU in Canadian print media are central objectives of our study: In this paper, we are particularly interested in the ways by which the EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary (March 25, 2007) has been covered by media sources. This event has provided a unique opportunity for the media to report on the EU in broader terms, in ways somewhat detached from day-to-day business. Furthermore, it also presents a distinctive occasion to contemplate the pros and cons of the European project.

Our central argument maintains that the presence and effectiveness of the EU on the world stage are dependent on the ways by which it is being recognised and construed as a political entity. Thus, media influence the ways public expectations are being generated *vis-à-vis* the European Union and its capabilities to deliver tangible results as a 'global actor'.<sup>1</sup> While our argument focuses on the external dimension of how the EU is represented, it is nonetheless important to also observe from an EU-internal vantage point. Taken from the perspective of democratic theory, it has been noted that the existence of a 'public sphere', which is shared amongst the members of the EU, constitutes a necessary condition for the 'democratisation' of the complex system of EU governance in general (e.g. Majone 1998; Moravcsik 2002). The lack of a public sphere within the EU is considered to be amongst the root causes of the alleged 'democratic deficit'. Media play a critical role in both respects as part of the problem and the solution, ultimately depending upon the ways it reports EU-related issues. While the importance of an internal EU public sphere has been emphasised in the literature, it is interesting to note

that academic research has rather ignored the roles assumed by the media in creating the EU's image abroad. Yet, only very recently have some academics launched research projects to examine the EU's perception in third countries (Rogahn, Chaban, Bain and Stats 2006; Chaban, Bain and Stats 2007; Croci and Tossutti 2007).

Canada is a particularly interesting case as it is among the few countries that have not stationed a permanent media correspondent in Brussels. Issues relating to the EU, or Europe in general, are most often covered from London or Paris. It has only been since September 2007 that CanWest News Service allocated one Paris-based European correspondent to cover Europe for CanWest's 10 major daily newspapers and 4.1 million readers.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, journalists are likely to draw from sources which are available to them at their site. Especially – if reporting from London – foreign correspondents attempt to duplicate the Euro-sceptic views characterising British media.<sup>3</sup> The steady flow of newspaper texts of this British-framed style gives continuity to a negative Euro-sceptical discourse which will be accepted and, due to a lack of a positive counter-discourse, may ultimately become the attitude towards Europe and the EU, which can potentially shape and influence public opinion and decision-making.

This paper is divided into five parts: The first describes our methodology, i.e. the basic conception of discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis. We then present our corpus and EU-related topics in seven Canadian newspapers from January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2007. This is followed by an overview of the history of the relationship between Canada and the EU. Next, we provide an example of a discursive analysis of one of the topics that we have identified in our corpus. Selected media representations of the EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary on March 25, 2007 are examined within the framework of CDA. Finally, the conclusion summarises the results of our analyses.

## ***2. Critical Discourse Analysis, concepts of discourse and literature review***

CDA has demonstrated rather successfully the many ways in which language use is linked to wider social and cultural processes (e.g. van Dijk 1993, 1998; Jäger 1996; Wodak et al 1999; Wodak and Chilton 2005). Scholars of CDA depart from the assumption that language and human society are inextricable, and that much of the life and experience that people share broadly occur through language. They agree that discourse is a practical and social activity reflecting and reproducing culture; therefore, it can only be fully understood and analysed in relation to the situations, institutions and socio-political/socio-cultural structures which frame a particular discursive event.

Discourse describes a complex system of texts and utterances of all kinds (written and spoken) through which knowledge, power and control is (re-)produced. This system is continuously constructed and reflected upon through speaking and writing, thus it is in constant progress. Consequently, discourse cannot be equated with the traditional notion of 'text', 'conversation', or 'speech', due to its interconnectedness with socio-political, cultural and historical variables. Discourse has roots in the past, impact on the present, and influences the future. As Foucault (1989; 1991) argues, texts should not be studied as documents which are isolated entities discussing

something, but rather as discourse which is part of a network of relations of power and identity—as discourse that is part of ongoing societal struggles.

Fundamental to CDA, too, is the assumption that people, as social subjects, interactively partake in discourses and resultantly contribute to the maintenance, transformation and/or replacement of such discourses. One can say, then, that language is indeed socially shaped; but it is also socially shaping, i.e. discourse is dialectical.

Our linguistic analysis is complemented by a contextualisation of the articles. When texts are put into their socio-political and socio-cultural contexts, their ideology is uncovered. Thus, another, though interdependent, dimension of discourse is taken into consideration: the transmission of beliefs and ideas. This can be quite explicit. Often, however, ideologies are rather implicit or implied components of a text. According to van Dijk (1995; 1998), ideologies are ‘interpretation frameworks’; as they provide the cognitive foundation for attitudes of various groups in society. Fowler (1996: 165) also notes that ideologies are not essentially ‘false’ or ‘bad’ forms of consciousness:

I do not mean the derogatory sense of the word (‘false consciousness’ or ‘delusion’), but simply the system of beliefs, values, and categories by reference to which a person or a society comprehends the world. As we have seen, language performs a crucial role in stabilizing, reproducing, and changing ideology.

This approach to discourse implies that in modern societies power relations are often reproduced and legitimised at the ideological level. Hence, ideologies are replicated in discourse and may often become ‘internalised’.

Since the 1980s CDA has produced the majority of the research into media discourse including newspaper, television and radio broadcasts. Since CDA is specifically interested in revealing the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging socio-political dominance, media are a particular subject of CDA analysis. News representations are crucial in representing cultures, people, politics and social life.

[N]ews representations contribute to ways in which people see themselves, their own identity and that of others, and the relations between ‘us’ and ‘them’. For any group [...] news coverage is a means of gaining wider attention for their agenda, of making their voices heard, and of possibly making a difference on issues important to them (Pietikäinen 2003: 583).

Various research projects using the broad approach of CDA have been launched over the past years which examine EU related media coverage in its member states. Oberhuber et al (2005), for example, looked at how the debate surrounding the European constitution at the Brussels Summit in December 2003 was represented in different European countries highlighting the similarities and differences. Bärenreuther (2005) examined the European identity constructions in the Swedish press focusing on the Haider debate (the political situation in Austria in 2000 when the right-wing populist Jörg Haider and his FPÖ entered the cabinet). Furthermore, CDA has also been used to investigate virtual communication. Wodak and Wright (2006), for example, analysed the EU’s Futurum online discussion forum to determine if such debate forums could have a socio-political impact, i.e. the potential to narrow the gap between the EU and the citizens it is supposed to serve. Other

projects on ‘internal’ European media reporting assess the possible emergence of a European Public Sphere/Space through the analysis of national media coverage of transnational issues (e.g. EMEDIATE or Koopmans and Erbes’ (2003) model of the Europeanisation of the public sphere<sup>4</sup>). In terms of ‘outsider’ perspectives towards the EU, however, there have not been many studies to date.<sup>5</sup> We hope this article can contribute towards filling that gap.

### **3. Corpus and topics**

Our ongoing study examines various articles from seven Canadian news outlets and their potential to construct an effective or less-than-effective EU or/and European discourse abroad. Our database includes the two national Canadian newspapers, *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*. The latter is published by CanWest MediaWorks Publications Inc., which is Canada’s largest newspaper publisher with 10 major metro dailies and 23 smaller daily, weekly, and community papers. Moreover, to account for a more regional distribution, the following newspapers were also selected for analysis: *The Vancouver Sun* and *Calgary Herald* for Western Canada and the *Ottawa Citizen*, *Montreal Gazette* and *Chronicle Herald* for Central and Eastern Canada. ‘FPinfomart.ca’, Canada’s largest provider of media monitoring as well as the electronic version of the ‘Canadian Periodical Index’, CPI.Q, were used as search facilities. The search key words “EU” and “European Union” refined the area. Table 1 summarises the results of our quantitative analysis.<sup>6</sup> Articles were classified into very broad categories including domestic and international as well as political and economic issues. For example, one macro-category we identified was ‘human rights’. Subsumed under this label are articles on the violation and promotion of human rights such as the EU lobby to ban the death penalty. Other macro-categories include a rather diverse and unrelated mix of macro-topics; under ‘EU proposals and policies’ we subsumed, for example, macro-topics such as climate change and global warming as well as articles on the EU constitution/treaty (see Table 2). Where necessary, these macro-topics were then broken down into even smaller topic categories. In the climate change debate, for example, we defined the following sub-topics: a) EU’s proposed plan for emission cuts b) proposals of individual countries, e.g. England, Finland, Canada c) actions/measures taken or introduced to reduce emissions, e.g. speed limit on autobahn, light bulb conversion, shipping and aviation industry to be included in emission trading scheme. This division mainly provides structure. Various categories, topics and sub-topics necessarily overlap due to intertextual communicative linkages or flows between and within EU institutions, EU-member states and non-EU members/world. For example, sub-topic c (action/measures) in the climate change debate often refer back to the original proposals (i.e. sub-topic a) as introduced by the EU in February and March 2007.

We define (macro) topics as the most obvious properties of discourse, since they are, generally speaking, what is talked or written about.

The quantitative results were complemented by qualitative analyses. So far, three macro-topics have been chosen for detailed linguistics analysis representing (as is the case for the entire corpus) various newspaper genres such as ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ news as well as opinion, e.g. columns and editorials.<sup>7</sup>

The three topics are: the EU's 50th anniversary, the climate change debate and EU-Canada relations.

**Table 1** Number of EU articles according to macro-category

EU & EU member states (including topics on enlargement)	EU & non-EU countries which are currently aspiring EU membership	EU's role in countries of (former) crisis	EU & human rights	EU – Canada relations	EU & non-EU countries which are not aspiring membership	EU proposals and policies	Other issues
50	14	35	17	43	45	103	84

**Table 2** Macro-categories and macro-topics

<p><b>EU and EU member states</b> (including topics on enlargement), e.g. The EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary; <i>Poland</i>: blocks EU initiatives; <i>Germany</i>: wants EU-wide law against denying the Holocaust</p>	<p><b>EU – Canada relations</b>, e.g. proposed Canada - EU free trade agreement; EU ban on Canadian seal products; EU threatens Canada over Canadian visa rules</p>
<p><b>EU and non-EU countries which are currently aspiring EU membership</b>, e.g. <i>Turkey</i>: discussions of Turkey's EU membership; <i>Montenegro</i>: introduction of EU free trade zone for Montenegro</p>	<p><b>EU and non-EU countries which are not aspiring membership</b>, e.g. <i>Russia</i>: energy resources / dependence; <i>EU, Russia, USA</i>: missile shield debate EU-Africa Summit</p>
<p><b>EU's role in countries of (former) crisis</b>, e.g. <i>Iran</i>: nuclear program; <i>Kosovo</i>: autonomy / supervised statehood for Kosovo; <i>Libya</i>: Bulgarian medics freed by EU</p>	<p><b>EU proposals and policies</b>, e.g. Climate change and global warming; protection of endangered species; EU constitution / EU treaty</p>
<p><b>EU and human rights</b>, e.g. violation of human rights (secret CIA flights in Europe); EU urged to take human rights lead; EU lobbies for ban on death penalty</p>	<p><b>Other issues</b>, almost all article in this category report on the EU's anti-trust regulations (e.g. EU versus Microsoft and iTunes ); Currency: The Euro and other currencies</p>

In this paper, we examine the constructed image of the EU as represented in articles covering its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary on March 25, 2007. The articles under analysis have appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Montreal Gazette*. Regarding distribution, the regional *Montreal Gazette* has a circulation of 142,000. The two leading national newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, have a weekday circulation of 330,000 and 224,000 respectively.

Since CDA regards discourse as a ‘flow’ of text and talk through time historical background information is necessary in order to fully appreciate the significance of the linguistic data analysis. Thus, the following chapter gives a brief overview of the history of EU-Canada relations.

#### ***4. Canada and the European Union – A Neglected Relationship***

Europe, the European Communities and, later, the European Union (EU), have always occupied a central place in Canadian foreign policy. For most of its history, Canada has retained a very close relationship with France and, in particular, the United Kingdom; both of which are the founding nations of Canada. Despite its formal independence gained in 1867, Canada was viewed and treated as Great Britain’s little North American cousin. When the Commonwealth was formed in 1931, the Statute of Westminster is usually seen as the turning point in terms of realised sovereignty. Canada entered the First World War as a British Dominion and created its sense of nationhood through its sacrifices there. It was with the Second World War that Canada started to fully realise its sovereignty declaring and in some measure even waging war as a fully sovereign nation-state. Hence, while Canada was often co-opted into Britain’s ambitions on the global stage before the making of the British Commonwealth, Canada started to fully realise its sovereignty after the end of the Second World War.

Canada started to establish close relations with the European Communities (EC) only one year after the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957. The EC, which consolidated three existing community treaties: the European Community for Steel and Coal (1951); the European Economic Community (1957); and the European Atomic Energy Community (1957), represented an effort by West European nations to overcome a vicious circle of war and aggression that scarred the European continent during the first half of the twentieth century.

Europe was not only important to Canada because of colonial past and place in the British Commonwealth. Canada and Europe share many interests and values – very often contrasting those of Canada’s immediate southern neighbour. It is no accident that the preamble to the European Economic Community (EEC)-Canada Framework Agreement emphasises the role of the ‘common heritage, special affinity and shared aspirations which unite Canada and the countries of the European Communities’ (Agreement 1976). Many facets of Canadian social policy bear more resemblance to European policies than that of US approaches. Economically, the EU is Canada’s second-largest partner in trade. Furthermore, as a middle power, Canada is a far more principled multilateralist with regard to international relations when compared to the US. Despite (or because of) its close political and economic relationship with the US, Canada views Europe as a helpful counterweight to

its dominant southern neighbour. Resnick has described Canada as a 'Euro-American state, situated on the doorstep of the most unabashedly American of New World states, a state that would fit remarkably well into the European Union, were it located on the European continent, but which finds itself instead on the North American' (Resnick 2005: 96f.).

Although NATO provided the most central link to Europe, it saw NATO equipped with only very limited capabilities as a politico-economic institution. For that reason Canada was eager to foster its relations with the EC and, consequently, welcomed the development of first a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP, since 1993) and later a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP, since 1999).

In the early 1970s, the Canadian government focused on reducing its growing trade and investment dependence on the US and expanding the number of other potential economic and political partners. At the same time, it was clear that the pending accession of the UK to the EC would increase the weight of this particular institution. Consequently, the Canadian government's 1970 review of external relations called for a 'more healthy balance within the North Atlantic community' (Barry 2004: 37). However, there were several obstacles to overcome: First, the EC seemed rather unable to differentiate sufficiently between the US and Canada. Second, Washington's attitude *vis-à-vis* a separate EC-Canada deal was rather sceptical. Third, the European Commission needed to overcome internal resistance, in particular from the UK and France, who feared losing influence to both the Commission and other Member States. After a lengthy process of negotiation, in 1976 Canada and the EEC signed a Framework Agreement on Economic Co-operation, the first formal agreement of its kind between the EEC and an industrialised third country. It afforded each party the most-favoured-nation treatment, and focused on commercial and economic cooperation.

In 1990 European and Canadian leaders adopted a Declaration on Transatlantic Relations, extending the scope of their contacts and establishing regular meetings at the Summit and Ministerial level. At the Ottawa Summit in 1996, a new Political Declaration on EU-Canada Relations was created; it adopted a joint Action Plan which identified additional specific areas for cooperation. At the Ottawa Summit in 2004, the EU and Canada adopted a Partnership Agenda which identifies various ways of working together to move forward on a number of current issues of mutual interest, such as a pledge to increase the 'frequency and level of contact between the Canadian International Development Agency and EU agencies responsible for development assistance' (EU-Canada Summit 2004: 3).

Major changes in 2005 and 2006 in terms of political leadership in both EU countries and Canada gave some room to reconsider the future development of the bilateral partnership. In contrast to its Canadian Liberal predecessors, the North-America-looking Stephen Harper government is perhaps somewhat less intent on promoting EU-Canada relations. Although EU and Canada agendas seem to hit some rocky waters, especially with regards to different assessments of environmental policy, the bilateral relationship exhibits no major issues of contention or conflict. Trade and investment issues still remain vital in the bilateral EU-Canada relationship. In January 2007, the Québec Premier Jean Charest launched an initiative to revitalise the

development of a free-trade agreement (FTA) to include the EU and Canada. While this project echoes initiatives of the 1990s, economists doubt its usefulness as barriers to trade are primarily non-tariff. Still, supporters of this idea refer to the political significance of such an endeavour which, as they claim, might prove to be a catalyst in the remaking of a (more politically-balanced) Atlantic community. Although many argue that the Canada-EU relationship is a neglected one today, many also assume that it will become increasingly more important in the foreseeable future.

### ***5. Discursive analysis***

After having spelled out some crucial factors relating to the historical context of EU-Canada relations, we now turn to the examination and representation of the EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in three Canadian newspapers. The *Montreal Gazette* reserved a very prominent spot for its stories on the EU – the front page. The coverage is then continued on page A4. The *Globe and Mail* displays a story on page A23 (and in a later edition on page A13, as well as a letter to the editor on page A20, and an on-line special on March 23). The *National Post* covers the topic on page A24 and in an on-line article.

Presumably, the EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary is a meaningful international event (i.e. newsworthy according to specific criteria in editorial practice) and should therefore be covered in the two national Canadian newspapers. Galtung and Ruge (1973) formulated a set of criteria to determine newsworthiness, which include, among others 'reference to elite nations' (Galtung and Ruge 1973: 62-72). Fowler, paraphrasing Galtung and Ruge, mentions that this reference to elite nations 'encodes a "superpowers" ideology of the dominating status of North America, Japan, Europe and Russia in world political and cultural affairs' (Fowler 1991: 15). This applies also to the coverage of the event in the *Montreal Gazette* in addition to its close(r) relationship with Europe in general and France in particular.

Now, when reporting on the EU, what frames do these three Canadian newspapers adopt? Do they take a stance on the Euro-sceptical/Euro-friendly continuum? As language users they can make choices from the linguistic systems that are available to them (e.g. lexical choices), and can thereby influence the audience's perception. Meaning is generated from the choices made, or not made, by text producers. What choices do Canadian media reporters and editors make and by what means? In the following we will look at the representation of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaty of Rome and the EU in the *National Post*, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Montreal Gazette*.

On the macro-level of analysis we have identified some overarching themes in the coverage of this topic in the Canadian newspapers:

- EU is at its crossroads
- EU is failing its peoples
- EU is deeply divided
- EU is anti-American
- EU has no real powers ('too much talk but no actions')
- EU is a bureaucratic regulator, a 'red-tape monster'



- EU's alliance is made up of countries that used to wage wars against each other
- EU's (Eastern European) enlargement is not good for Western Europe
- EU is an elite and government-driven project not a people's project
- EU citizens do not know what it means to be European (national vs. European identity)
- EU is a mentor and guide for poor and/or undemocratic countries
- EU promotes peace and freedom
- EU has been a success story, BUT....

Except for the last three points, the representation of the EU at its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary is not necessarily optimistic.

On the micro-level of analysis, our paper examines various linguistic means and forms of realisation involved in the representation of some of the above themes. Although our data offered numerous interesting discursive phenomena, we chose a sample for linguistic analysis to provide an initial insight to some of the strategies used in Canadian news coverage of the EU, such as the use of pronouns, repetition and parallelism, interrogative forms, lexical choices, categorisation and polarisation.

With respect to the *National Post* the discursive representation of the following two themes and the linguistic forms involved in their realisation will be scrutinised in greater detail: 'EU alliance is made up of countries that used to wage wars against each other' and 'EU is anti-American'.

## 5.1. National Post

The *National Post* is the only national newspaper in Canada besides the *Globe and Mail*. The former is very conservative in its orientation with interests in US media, and has even been described as relatively nationalistic. Thus, it may not be surprising to find a less favourable representation of the EU in that newspaper. On March 24, 2007 the following two opinion pieces appeared in the *National Post* on page A24: 'A miraculous project – derailed by statism' by David Frum; and 'Can the Euro-centre hold?' by George Jonas.

### 5.1.1 'Nations of eternal war'

Both articles use very emotional and loaded language including metaphor, analogy and the topos of history. Jonas starts his article by quoting Thomas Jefferson in a letter from 1823 where the countries of Europe are described as the 'nations of eternal war'. He continues to support this view by referring to World Wars I and II. Frum also begins his text by using the EU's pre-1957 past as an argument to pay apparent respect to the achievements of the EU after the European continent had 'waged humanity's most devastating wars':

(1) The EU traces its origins to the Treaty of Rome, signed March 25, 1957. The second World War had ended barely a dozen years before. A dozen years before – think of it! How long ago was 1995? Yesterday, right? Suppose somebody had killed your son, your father, your brother in 1995 – how ready would you be to

bury the hatchet today? Suppose you had emerged from a slave labour camp or been liberated from occupation a dozen years ago – how ready would you be to pledge perpetual union with your enslaver or occupier? (Frum 2007: A24)

To explore the ideological underpinnings, values and beliefs, we will examine some relevant discourse strategies which are employed in these opening paragraphs. It has been emphasised that the opening paragraph(s) function as a lens through which the readers are to view ('evaluate') the remainder of the text (Labov 1972). In the following, we will focus on selected linguistic features such as repetition, parallelism and interrogative forms as well as lexical choices.

'Are you ready to bury the hatchet?'

The general tone of excerpt (1) above is conversational and informal, including elements of a more oral mode such as repetition, (rhetorical) questions, ellipsis and personal address. Using personal reference to directly address the reader, such as use of the pronoun 'you', results in greater involvement of and solidarity with the audience and can thus lead to a better identification with the propositions in the text. Repetition also draws the audience in and focuses their attention. It is a local structuring device used to add force to particular parts of the text in order to be communicatively more effective, as can be demonstrated in the following examples:

'The second World War had ended barely *a dozen years before*. *A dozen years before*'

'*Suppose* somebody had killed...'; '*Suppose* you had emerged...'

'how ready would you be to bury...'; 'how ready would you be to pledge...'

More ideologically telling, however, is the 'wrapping' in which these repeated structures appear in the text, namely through parallelism. Parallel constructions such as the ones in Figure 1 below signify more than their propositions literally state. They carry additional social or extra (linguistic) meanings. Although repetition and parallelism have overlapping features and the latter is said to be a subtype of the former, it is useful to point out the difference between them. Repetition describes an exact correspondence between two or more elements (words, phrases, sentences), such as in the above examples 'suppose', or 'how ready would you be'. Parallelism, on the other hand, requires an element of identity and an element of contrast:

**Figure 1** Parallel constructions

<b>clause</b>		<b>clause</b>
Suppose somebody had killed your son, your father, your brother in 1995		how ready would you be to bury the hatchet today?
Suppose you had emerged from a slave labour camp or been liberated from occupation a dozen years ago		how ready would you be to pledge perpetual union with your enslaver or occupier?

The chosen linguistic representation is a syntactical parallelism. Parallelism contributes to the way a text is built and how it creates meaning in at least two ways: it has both a formal and a semantic component. As Leech notes, 'verbal

parallelism says the same thing twice over: the “expression hammers home the content”. To this quality [...] it owes its declamatory force, the power of emphasis which makes it a stock device of political oratory and of emotionally heightened language generally’ (Leech 1969: 85). It is quite possible that the questions in the parallel construction above (‘how ready would you be...’) are not for information but rather assume only one answer. They are rhetorical questions in that the answers are already expressed through the negation of their proposition: You would *not* be ready to bury the hatchet or to pledge perpetual union with your enslaver if a horrible, most devastating war had happened to you and your family only ‘a dozen years’ ago. Conversely, another interpretation allows for a more positive representation in the sense that the author actually pays a compliment to the EU and the fact that former war enemies as well as allies were able to negotiate and cooperate only twelve years after the Second World War. Yet, as the text progresses it seems the author’s general attitude of today’s EU is rather negative. The remaining text constructs the EU as, ‘badly failing the peoples’, and implicitly accuses it of being responsible for, or at least not taking actions against, ‘unemployment, economic stagnation [and] civil disorder’ in Europe:

(2) The same Euro-institutions that once achieved such great results are today badly failing the peoples of the continent. Unemployment, economic stagnation, civil disorder, unaffordable welfare systems, unpayable pensions – all haunt the continent (Frum 2007: A27).

The initial parallelism and rhetorical questions would thus function as scene setters, as a lens through which the remaining arguments are to be viewed and evaluated.

Finally, strongly connoted lexical items in (1) and (2) such as ‘killed’, ‘slave labour camp’, ‘occupation’, ‘occupier’ and ‘enslaver’, ‘unemployment’, ‘stagnation’, ‘civil disorder’ add to the emotionally charged language of the opening paragraphs and the remainder of the text.

### 5.1.2 ‘If the EU were a dish, it would be served in an anti-American sauce’

The discourse strategies used to represent the EU and Europe internally and externally are reflective of specific attitudes and (public) opinions (Musolff 2000). It has been pointed out that the ‘EU is increasingly seen by its various international partners as a serious candidate for the role of the world’s pre-eminent superpower’ (Chaban, Bain and Stats 2007: 81). It seems that pro-American news outlets perceive this development as a threat to the United States’ ‘unipolar moment’ in international politics. In their discursive practice, both authors in the *National Post* draw upon the apparent EU’s anti-American discourse which has been identified as a core element of ‘the very essence of British Euro-scepticism’ (Teubert 2001: 79). According to Jonas, the EU is only held together by ideology. But what ideology?

(3) What ideology? Good question. If it were a dish, it would be called *Fantaisie à l’Europe* perhaps, a compote of benevolent statism, seasoned by a delusion of cultural superiority, served pragmatically lukewarm, in an anti-American sauce (Jonas 2007: A24).

Using a question format and figurative language here, this comparison not only represents the EU as being anti-American; it relies on images which depict the EU as not ready for leadership and informed decision-making, as in ‘many words but no action’ and as ‘delusional’. The lexical choices ‘statism’ (though somehow modified by the positive adjective ‘benevolent’), ‘delusion’, ‘lukewarm’ and ‘superiority’ are the main contributors for this interpretation. In addition, the latter evokes images of the ‘superstate’ (Jonas uses the term ‘superpower’ in the last paragraph) which is negatively connoted especially in Euro-sceptic discourses and implies a threat to the sovereignty of the nation-state.

*A promise is a promise is a promise*

Frum also calls on figurative imagery as he describes European elites as anti-American:

(4) European elites have tried to use the institutions of the EU to drive a wedge between Europe and North America (Frum 2007: A24).

European elites (whoever they may be) are the active actors here, clearly causing a (harmful) division between North America, that is, the US and its former allies. Frum continues on:

(5) The Treaty of Rome promised “to confirm the solidarity which binds” Europe and North America closer together. European politicians have spent a decade railing against “savage capitalism” and “Anglo-Saxon liberalism”. Yet it is their statism and bureaucracy that savagely deny opportunity to the continent’s young and its outsiders (Frum 2007: A24).

Treaties are a kind of contract; and at the core of any contract is the notion of ‘promise’. The lexical item ‘promise’ is one of the strongest illocutionary force-indicating devices for commitment provided by the English language (Searle 1969; 1979). By explicitly referring to particular treaty clauses as promises, Frum foregrounds and emphasises the degree of commitment of the EU. The essential feature of a promise is that the promiser undertakes an obligation to perform a certain act. Treaty obligations are legal obligations and if they are broken or not fulfilled, compensation can be claimed. Going beyond the stated propositions in quotations (4) and (5), the implication here seems to be that Europe has not held up its end of the bargain. By using emotional argumentation (‘young people in and outside Europe have to suffer from the statism and bureaucracy of European elites’) and no clear examples of how that statism denies opportunities to the young, Frum’s proposition are basically ideological and related to his Euro-sceptical attitude.

Looking at lexical items, reveals a systematic choice of words all carrying negative connotations: ‘rail’, ‘savage’ (and ‘savagely’), ‘statism’, ‘deny’, and ‘bureaucracy’. The words ‘bureaucracy’, ‘bureaucratic’ and ‘bureaucrats’ have been identified as ‘stigma words’, those which have a ‘negative deontological value: they signify something one should not be or have’ (Teubert 2001: 49). ‘[I]t has become an imperative in Euro-sceptic polemic to call the enemy in Brussels a bureaucrat’ (Teubert 2001: 53). In combination with the adjective ‘unelected’ it becomes even worse: unelected bureaucrats are not accountable.

‘The adjective *unelected* has been promoted to a ubiquitous stigma word, whoever and whatever is *unelected* is evil’ (Teubert 2001: 54). This can be nicely illustrated by another quotation from Frum’s article:

(6) Elites in France and Germany want to revive the rejected Euro constitution – a document that would move even more power to unelected bureaucracies (Frum 2007: A24).

European bureaucrats are not properly elected and thus not accountable to anybody.

In conclusion, the articles in the *National Post* do not paint a favourable picture of the EU in its fiftieth year. They reproduce linguistic elements and strategies that have been identified for a Euro-sceptic discourse which can enforces stereotypes and prejudices and can thus lead to a biased perception of reality.

## 5.2. Montreal Gazette

The *Montreal Gazette* is the only daily newspaper published in English in Montreal, Québec, and is part of the CanWest newspaper group. On March 25, 2007 the following three articles appeared on the front page and on page 4: ‘EU is having identity issues as it marks its 50<sup>th</sup>’ (by Jeffrey Fleishman of the *Los Angeles Times*), ‘Let’s try again on Constitution, Merkel urges’ (Associated Press), and ‘Ordinary folks find belonging to EU difficult to swallow’ (Agence France-Presse). As one can see, these articles are not produced by the *Gazette*’s own staff but originate from other agencies.

### 5.2.1 ‘Feeling European (or not)’ – The question of identity and identities

Identity is neither fixed nor stable, and people have multiple identities which are constantly negotiated, built, reaffirmed, constructed or deconstructed in discourse. Identity not only provides people with a sense of self and of their histories. The (re-)construction and (re-) affirmation of positive identities also has an ideological function: identity processes are strategies for present actions. In the case of a collective European identity, three factors seem to play an important role: a) ‘European’ means West European; b) EU (and an EU identity) is imposed upon the people from above; and c) national identity and European identity seem to be opposing forces. These factors correspond with three of our formerly identified themes: ‘EU’s (Eastern European) enlargement is not good for Western Europe’; ‘EU is an elite and government-driven project not a people’s project’; and ‘EU citizens do not know what it means to be European (national vs. European identity)’. In the following segment we will discuss each of these themes in turn and look at their discursive representation, i.e. at the topos of fear and threat, categorisation and polarisation, and national vs. collective identity constructions.

#### *‘Thousands of economic migrants will overrun western capitals’*

Chaban, Bain and Stats, who looked at the portrayal of the EU enlargement in 2004 in the Australasian media, conclude that the resulting imagery is problematic since it is negatively contextualised, i.e. the enlarging EU is represented as ‘an unstable, divided, and overcrowded entity’ and that

‘[i]mages of the enlargement, formed and reinforced by the Australian and New Zealand public discourses, could potentially influence the two countries’ attitudes and, as a result, engagement with the EU’ (Chaban, Bain and Stats 2007: 84 also see 88).

The *Montreal Gazette* also hints at images of a divided, ‘identity-less’, overstretched and overcrowded EU, which makes it difficult for (Western) Europeans to feel a sense of collective identity. A German professor of public law and politics, Ulrich Preuss, is quoted in the article ‘EU is having identity issues as it marks its 50<sup>th</sup>’, stating ‘[t]here is a feeling of overstretch that has emerged. And there’s a kind of alienation because Europe over the last 50 years has been western Europe’ (Fleishman 2007: A4). The new(est) members of the EU are perceived as a source of danger and threat and they are suspicious:

(7) Suspicion is also high over such struggling democracies as Bulgaria and Romania and the prospect that thousands of economic migrants will overrun western capitals (Fleishman 2007: A4).

In the past years, such metaphors have been transmitted by many European media outlets with respect to European integration, especially Eastern European integration, paving the way for prejudices and Euro-sceptics (Dragomir 2004). Far from being only a figure of speech, the combination of a ‘flood/war’ metaphor with the power to drown or demolish (thousands of migrants flood/invade/overrun rich Western countries) produces and sustains a negative public perception of East European countries such as Bulgaria and Romania.

The topos of fear and threat is also apparent in another article on the same page. In ‘Let’s try again on Constitution, Merkel urges’ the lexical items ‘threat’ and ‘fear’ are explicitly used and are thus a conscious linguistic choice:

(8) There is also public concern over the membership ambitions of Turkey, Albania and Ukraine, which many in the West see as a threat to wages and welfare systems. Ten former socialist countries joined over the last three years. Those fears have added to disillusionment with the EU among citizens [...] (Associated Press 2007: A4).

The division runs along Eastern vs. Western European lines, including countries that are currently aspiring EU membership (Turkey, Albania and Ukraine). A collective identity is created for West Europeans as the core in-group still, at least to some extent, side-lining the ten ‘former socialist countries’. Oberhuber et al (2005: 247) also mention that the EU is perceived as being divided into “core and periphery”.

Nominalisation such as ‘fears’ and ‘threat’ are important journalistic devices, used to both summarise stories and cope with practical space restrictions. However, a critical reading would emphasise nominalisations’ inherent tendency towards dehumanisation and abstraction. The process of, for example, ‘to fear’ has been turned into a nominal which omits agents and thus does not specify who exactly fears what or whom. Nominalisations seem to be a powerful and effective tool to express modal certainty. Subjective statements become a ‘thing’, i.e. the lexical item ‘fears’ becomes an entity that seems to be indisputable because it is represented, more or less, as a fact.

The repeated use and mediation of the topos of fear and threat in the media will have an affect on the perception of not only the readers but also on the cognitive framing of the journalists and will translate into other discourses and contexts.<sup>8</sup>

*‘EU is something for the elites and not for ordinary folks’*

The growth of a feeling of belonging in Europe, of feeling ‘European’ is not only hindered by a publicly mediated discourse of fear and threat that divides East and West but also by the perception that the EU is an elite-driven project and that these elites want to impose a collective identity upon the ‘ordinary’ people from above. In ‘Ordinary folks find belonging to EU difficult to swallow’, the author talks about the anniversary festivities in Berlin, which is realised by a semantically polarised representation:

(9) As Europe’s leaders celebrate the European Union’s 50<sup>th</sup> birthday with some of the finest ingredients the continent can offer here yesterday, ordinary Europeans were sampling simpler fare (Agence France-Press 2007: A4).

The first paragraph of the article sets the scene by contrasting the ‘European leader’ with the ‘ordinary citizen’, with the former enjoying the ‘finest ingredients’ while the latter eats ‘simpler fare.’ Moreover, looking at syntactic choices, both of the discourse participants occupy agent positions in the sentence. However, ‘Europe’s leaders’ are positioned first in the sentence and thus are in a semantically superior position. They also ‘celebrate’ whereas the ordinary Europeans do not.

The representation in (9) thus creates both distance and solidarity between two entities, i.e. between ordinary Europeans and EU elites. The whole article is built upon this discursively created dichotomy of simple/ordinary vs. rich/extravagant and represents the EU as something elitist - something to which the ordinary European citizen will never belong. Figure 2 displays the various categories and the linguistic realisations assigned either to the ‘ordinary’ European or the European elites as they are displayed in the article.

**Figure 2.** Contrasting structures

<b>Category</b>	<b>Linguistic realization Ordinary folk</b>	<b>Linguistic realization EU leaders</b>
Location	‘a multinational street restaurant’	‘the central Berlin residence, Bellevue Palace’
Location and ‘comfort’ (i.e. standing outside vs. sitting inside)	‘citizens stood outdoors at tables to eat their food’	‘... European leaders kicked off festivities with a gala concert at the Berliner Philharmonie.’
Beverages	Ouzo, sangria	‘one of Germany’s finest red wines, a heavy hitting pinot noir which can cost hundreds of euros a bottle’
Food	Crisp Belgian waffles, kebabs, smoked sausage, ‘paella	‘a sumptuous four course feast’

	which [...] was a bargain at 4.50 euros (about 7\$)	'A starter of pickled trout [...] creamed spinach soup and a main course of ox filet braised in Burgundy wine, [...] "semi-frozen" apple dessert.'
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This representation of 'reality' makes it hard for the ordinary citizen to identify with the EU since the polarisation works to maintain stereotypical notions of elitist behaviour which is exclusionary. Furthermore, in example (10), the perceived attitude of EU leaders is realised through linguistic means in terms of a relation of 'having' or 'belonging':

(10) As their citizens stood outdoors at tables to eat their food, European leaders kicked off festivities with a gala concert at the Berliner Philharmonie. (Agence France-Presse 2007: A4).

The expression 'As their citizens stood outdoors' denotes a dominant attitude according to which European citizens are represented as being ruled from above, as belonging to the EU leaders (in the sense of 'being owned'). Linguistically this is realised through the possessive pronoun 'their'.

### 5.2.2 'You don't lose your identity by joining the EU – you gain another identity'

This final section on EU news coverage in the *Montreal Gazette* looks at the linguistic realisations of the previously identified theme 'EU citizens do not know what it means to be European (national vs. European identity).' A multitude of surveys have been conducted in Europe in an attempt to assess how European Europeans feel (e.g. the *Eurobarometer* which produces reports of public opinion of certain issues relating to the EU on a regular basis<sup>9</sup>). These surveys show very little evidence of European identity or a sense of European citizenship but rather support findings on the positive attachment to an individual's nation. The apparent incompatibility of national vs. European identity(ies) is illustrated in the following example from the article 'EU is having identity issues as it marks its 50<sup>th</sup>' opening with the proposed speed limit for German autobahns:

(11) Germany cherishes cheek-rippling speed; vast stretches of the autobahn are sacred ribbons of blacktop where how high you can rev an engine is bound only by the laws of physics. But Germany is also a member of the EU, which leads to the question: How does a country keep its identity while swearing allegiance to the spirit of something larger? (Fleishman 2007: A1)

The sentence following this quotation calls the question in (11) a 'dilemma'. In its strict etymological sense 'dilemma' refers to a situation in which a choice must be made between two (unfavourable) alternatives. This 'either/or' representation is also realised in the question itself: 'How does a country keep its identity while swearing allegiance to the spirit of something larger?' A representation such as this ignores the possibility of double or multiple allegiances (e.g. van Kersbergen 2000; Carey 2002).

A national identity, in this case German national identity, is discursively constructed in (11) by foregrounding national sameness and uniqueness using the rhetorical device of personification and hyperbole ("Germany cherishes



cheek-rippling speed ') and a (stereotypical) characteristic of 'German-ness': the 'sacred' autobahn and the German 'speed lovers'. This representation almost mystifies the Germans in their 'uniqueness' ("how high you can rev an engine is bound only by the laws of physics") and therefore creates a stark contrast to "the spirit of something larger", namely the EU. This national identity, is thus defined in opposition to 'others'. In this case the 'other' refers to 'something larger', namely the EU.

The same holds true for example (12) from the same article. Here the author constructs a French national identity by using the concept of French 'civilisation' as defining feature:

(12) 'I wouldn't say I feel European yet,' said Serge Michelson, owner of a wine shop near the Madeleine Church in Paris. "The French feel attached to their civilization, and I don't think they can feel really close to such a large Europe. There is no such thing in France as 'feeling European' (Fleishman 2007: A4).

The construction of French national identity emphasises an emotional attachment coupled with a common culture and history. Developing a European identity that involves various diverse 'civilisations' seems difficult for the French (though not utterly impossible: 'I wouldn't say I feel European *yet*'), especially since they have a strong national identity.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that the speaker starts off specifically – stating what he personally feels – but continues in a generalising way homogenising 'the French'. However, he does not include himself in that group.

Implied in the linguistic representations of examples (11), (12) and (13) below are notions that seem to be at stake whenever national identities are questioned or are in crisis: sovereignty and legitimacy.

(13) "People are afraid of losing their regional and national identities if too much is turned over to Brussels" (Werner Hoyer quoted in Fleishman 2007: A4)

The loss of national sovereignty through a common European currency, European institutions, developments toward a common European foreign and security policy, and generally the harmonisation of certain policy areas is a predominant factor in the public perception. National and regional cultures and identities are perceived as being under threat from Brussels, which in Euro-sceptic discourse cannot be held accountable because it is 'undemocratic' and a 'bureaucratic monster' (Teubert 2001: 56).

In sum, the discursive representation of the theme 'EU citizens do not know what it means to be European' explains the absence of a shared common European identity with the incompatibility of national and European identities and scepticism towards Brussels. However, a European collective identity should not and cannot be approached from premises of national identity that are based on the traditional nation-state. Rather, it ought to be conceptualised and represented as the development of a sense of and for co-existence of identities, as expressed by liberal German politician Werner Hoyer '[y]ou don't lose your identity by joining the EU – you gain another identity'(quoted in Fleishman 2007: A4).

### 5.3 Globe and Mail

The *Globe and Mail* is Canada's most-read national newspaper, and is generally considered to be more liberal/left-wing in its political orientation. The two *Globe and Mail* articles that covered the EU's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary were both published on March 23, 2007. British writer Timothy Garton Ash contributed the article titled, 'The EU's midlife crisis' on page 23, and Jeffrey Kopstein, a political scientist from the University of Toronto, featured 'Europe: Who and how' online. Both articles are opinion pieces.

#### 5.3.1 A new European narrative

We wish to conclude on a positive note by looking at the discursive representations of success stories that can be attributed partly and/or directly to the EU. The following two themes have been previously identified in this paper and are associated with a more encouraging image of the EU: 'EU is a mentor and guide for poor and/or undemocratic countries' and 'EU promotes peace and freedom'.

Although various pessimistic views on the EU comprise a portion of the picture painted by the *Globe and Mail's* articles, they also construct the EU as a peacemaker and -keeper, and as a mentor for poor and authoritarian countries:

(14) Beyond peace between Germany and France, Europe's biggest success may be in taking in poor or authoritarian states and helping them become rich democracies. Ireland, which joined Europe in 1973 as an economic basket case, is now known as the Celtic tiger. Spain and Portugal, which entered in 1986 as wobbly post-fascist democracies with Third World economies, are now the California and Oregon of Europe. (Kopstein 2007)

The end result of the implementation of the Treaty of Rome today is said to be 'impressive by any standard. [...] A European bloc [...] that is rich and at peace.' With respect to ideology, this representation constructs an optimistic and motivating reality by assigning positive values and characteristics to the EU and its achievements. Contrasting metaphors ("economic basket case" vs. "Celtic Tiger" and "wobbly post-fascist democracies" vs. "the California and Oregon of Europe") help to illustrate the advantages of being "taking in" by Europe/the EU. Recurring and balanced representations of the positive effects of European integration and the EU can lead to reinforcement not only of the bonds between the EU and European citizens, but also of the bonds within the European citizenship. The latter is truly needed and might lead to a 'new European narrative, told in terms of our progress from different pasts towards [...] shared goals' (Ash 2007: A23).

One way of creating a new European narrative is putting forward a blueprint for citizen participation which might have the potential to reduce the democratic deficit. Ash suggests to become pro-active. He involves the readership by building a platform with which Europeans can collectively affiliate. This is achieved, among other strategies, through the use of the pronominal system. This is illustrated in the following selection from Ash's article:

- ‘told in terms of *our* progress’
- ‘and for those of *us* generally supportive of the European project’
- ‘How do *we* influence this complex, volatile condition of 500 million minds?’
- ‘How do *we* make Europe feel better about itself?’

The author’s use of ‘we’ is an instance of speaker-inclusive ‘we’ and addressee-inclusive ‘we’, in that it refers to the writer himself and to other Europeans. Pronouns used in this way can convey empathy, commitment and solidarity. Of course this ‘we’ could also be interpreted as the ‘we’ of op-ed writing, however, looking at the linguistic context in which these pronouns occur suggests the former reading. First of all, Ash mentions that he is among those who are ‘generally supportive of the European project’. He then talks about a website ([europeanstory.net](http://europeanstory.net)) ‘on which people can respond to a proposal for a new European narrative’ (Ash 2007: 23). He mentions a ‘multilingual group of students’ he is working with on this project, as well as the major limitation of English being the common language of trans-European debates on websites (see also Wodak’s and Wright’s (2006) analysis of the discussion on multilingualism at the EU’s Futurum debate forum). On Ash’s website someone had actually posted a comment in Portuguese to which others responded. Therefore, interpreting the author’s ‘we’ as addressee-inclusive ‘we’ is quite possible. It unites the author and the diverse European audience into one interest group, directing them towards solidarity, responsibility and collective action (which is also partly achieved by using a question format such as: ‘How do we influence this complex, volatile condition of 500 million minds?’ and ‘How do we make Europe feel better about itself?’).

Common media representations of the EU are often negative covering up the fact that the reality is actually better than the perception. Since the media do not merely represent but also help to construct ideas, beliefs and knowledge about the world, it is important for the readers to have a balanced coverage of EU related issues.

## **6. Conclusion**

An analysis of EU-related topics in Canadian newspapers can reveal not only differences in journalistic practices, but differences in ideology. The media are not ‘neutral’ agents, but rather hold a position in the ideological and political structure of a given society. The identification and analysis of external, i.e. Canadian media images of the EU, is vital not only for the construction of the EU’s internal identity but for future EU-Canada relations. The media are the primary source of information on the EU, its peoples, institutions and policies. It is therefore important to understand how beliefs about and attitudes towards the EU are constructed outside the EU.

The media’s role in affecting knowledge and beliefs is in part a matter of how language is used. The three Canadian newspapers under analysis in this article used different linguistic strategies to construct particular representations of the EU according to their own ideological affiliations (Similar results on EU media reporting within Europe have been shown in studies by Oberhuber et al 2005, Triandafyllidou 2002 and Triandafyllidou and Stråth 2003). While the

conservative pro-American *National Post* tends to report EU-related issues in Euro-sceptic ways, the *Globe and Mail* is less biased in its approach *vis-à-vis* the EU. For example, an opinion poll is mentioned in both the *Globe and Mail* and *National Post*, which assessed the 'state of mind' of Europeans. Whereas the *Post* calls it a poll that 'measured the continent's pessimism' (Frum 2007: A24), the *Globe* reports far more impartially: 'A recent Financial Times poll [...] revealed that [...]' (Ash 2007: 23). The *Montreal Gazette's* coverage of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the EU is characterised by polarisations (EU elites vs. 'ordinary' citizens) and images that perpetuate the topos of fear and threat with respect to EU enlargement ('thousands of migrants will flood western capitals'). It must be mentioned, though, that all three articles in the *Gazette* are not produced by the news outlet's staff but instead have been delivered by outside press agencies. However, they all have been approved for publication and can thus be considered as being on par with the newspaper's ideological stance.

Canadian news about the EU should neither amount to non-critical applause nor to biased conceptualisations, but newswriters should be aware of the power of discourse. How language is mediated in the Canadian print media is of utmost importance since it is socially shaped; but it is also socially shaping and will thus influence decision making regarding the EU.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The term capability-expectations gap has been coined by Chris Hill (1993).

<sup>2</sup> Email communication between Peter O'Neill, CanWest, and one of the authors, June 28, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Various external and diplomatic representations of the EU and its member states have become increasingly aware of the media's role emphasising the need to inform journalists and to improve on various outreach opportunities. In this vein, the European Commission Delegation in Ottawa offers a journalist award for excellent media coverage on a European topic.

<sup>4</sup> Koopmans and Erbe present a systematic approach for the investigation of EU related media coverage from inside the EU distinguishing what they refer to as 'three forms of Europeanisation of public political communication': supranationally, vertically and horizontally. The first refers to communication and interaction between European-level institutions and collective actors, e.g. between the European Parliament and the European Commission. The second addresses communicative linkages between the national and European level, such as that which is between a national actor (e.g. any representative of Germany, Italy, Spain, etc.) and a European institution like the European Court of Justice or the European Parliament. Finally, horizontal Europeanisation represents the direct or indirect communication between EU member states.

<sup>5</sup> For an exception: A survey on The External Image of the European Union was coordinated by Sonia Lucarelli at the Forum on the Problems of Peace and War (Florence) in the framework of the Network of Excellence Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: the Role of the EU – GARNET (EU 6th Framework Programme 2005–2010; call identifier: FP6-2002-Citizens-3). Its results are published in a special issue of the *European Foreign Affairs Review* 12(3).

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, there was much more news coverage and visibility of EU actors and issues in the first six months of 2007. Is this a reflection of the reputation and power of individual member states and the topics they put on their agenda? In the first half of 2007 Germany held the EU presidency, whereas in the second half Portugal served in this position.

<sup>7</sup> Bell (1991:14-15) notes that the boundaries between soft and hard news are often unclear and sometimes deliberately blurred. A writer's personal opinion is generally restricted to editorials, letters to the editor, reviews and columns, which make up the category 'opinion'. As with soft and hard news, opinion and news are supposed to be kept separate ('objectivity' of news reporting or 'facts'). Yet, fact and opinion are more often than not 'mixed' (Bell 1991:13).

<sup>8</sup> The following quote from a different macro-category (EU-Canada relations) attests to this (the article deals with the proposed Canada-EU free trade agreement: "Would the EU extend these [mobility] rights to Canada/Quebec) [...] We wouldn't get absolute European mobility rights; no r would we want them. A transatlantic swap of unrestricted rights could open Canada to casual entry by economic refugees and sophisticated criminal organizations." (Reynolds 2007: B2)

<sup>9</sup> Eurobarometer [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm)

<sup>10</sup> Carey (2002) has argued that a strong national identity leads to a decrease in support for the EU.

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