tionalkulturen und strategischen Interessen in Europa festmacht. Vor dieser nationalen Hintergrundfolie erscheinen sie entweder als „integrationsbefürwortend“ oder „-ablehnend“. Andere Differenzierungen, die sich für Identitäten durchaus als zentral erwiesen haben, wie zum Beispiel (transnational auftretende) politische Einstellungen, kommen nur am Rande zur Sprache. Damit ist auch der Bedarf für eine klarere Begründung der methodischen Entscheidungen verbunden. Gerade die Komplexität von Lichtensteins Konzept müsste zum Nachdenken über die kommunikative Auseinandersetzung um Identitäten jenseits journalistischer Berichterstattung führen.

Ein zweiter Beitrag, den Lichtenstein mit seiner Arbeit liefert, ist besonders lobend herauszustellen. Sein treffender Hinweis auf die mangelnde Berücksichtigung der Forschung von Fragen der Integration mittel- und osteuropäischer Partner setzt an zwei Aspekten an. Während 1) zahlreiche Konfliktlinien und innereuropäische Auseinandersetzungen breit untersucht worden sind, hat das Moment der EU-Osterweiterung tatsächlich kaum Beachtung gefunden. Es lohnt sich, auch daran zu erinnern, dass insbesondere polnische Akteure den (weitestgehend erfolglosen) Versuch unternommen haben, mit dem Begriff der Solidarität einen weiteren „leeren Signifikanten“ für den europäischen Diskurs zu etablieren; 2) bestätigen nicht zuletzt Lichtensteins empirische Ergebnisse, dass der Vergleich mit Polen und Lettland einen reichen und weiterführenden Vergleich ermöglicht.

Hier wäre es wünschenswert gewesen, der Autor hätte das Potenzial dieses Vergleiches noch umfangreicher genutzt. Lichtenstein stellt überzeugend heraus, dass Zugehörigkeit zu und Zusammengehörigkeit in Europa in einem komplexen dialektischen Zusammenhang stehen, kommt aber dann zu dem Schluss, dass sie „keineswegs als zwei Seiten einer Medaille zu konzipieren sind, sondern miteinander konfligieren“ (S. 337). Gerade diese konfligierenden Momente sind es aber doch, die die Konstruktionen von Identitäten lebendig halten und damit deren Entwicklung möglich machen. Das wird besonders am Vergleich mit den mittel- und osteuropäischen Nachbarn deutlich, die sich häufig auf ganz andere Weise als die „etablierten“ Mitglieder mit Europa auseinander setzen.

Insgesamt hat Dennis Lichtenstein trotz aller Vorbehalte zweifellos ein Buch vorgelegt, welches den scheinbar zu Ende gehenden Diskurs über Europäisierungsprozesse wieder neu aufgreift. Zugleich bleiben aber auch im Kontext der Fragen europäischer Identität viele Fragen offen.

Johanna Möller

Jan Müller
Mechanisms of Trust

News Media in Democratic and Authoritarian Regimes

Frankfurt a. M./New York: Campus, 2013. – 225 S.

ISBN 978-3-593-39859-4

Trust has been studied for many years, prompted mostly by fear that declining trust will destabilize the lifeblood of democracy (p. 8). The majority of studies focus on political institutions, giving less attention to the news media and the public sphere. Given the importance of the media for the functioning of the political system, this is surprising. The book by Jan Müller aims to fill this gap, and does so in a concise and well-structured manner. The author takes a difficult task of theorizing trust in the news media and simultaneously providing empirical evidence through secondary data analysis. The empirical data derives from the World Values Survey and Eurobarometer, including some small-scale studies from German university contexts. The author acknowledges the complexity of the news media system and analyses trust in print, radio, television and online news media where data was available for analysis.

The book is divided into three main parts: the introduction, the theoretical framework, and the analysis and findings. In the introductory part the author briefly discusses levels of trust; measurement of, and influences and impact on trust; as well as trust and institutions. He then defines the basic concepts related to trust and the news media. The loss of trust in news media has previously been explained through a dysfunctional democratic news media system, negative news reporting style and an emancipative value change.

In the ensuing part Müller discusses the theoretical framework in detail, finishing with a number of hypotheses derived and operationalized from theory. The first chapter simply entitled ‘Trust’ looks at different perspectives of this phenomenon and provides a definition of trust in institutions ‘...as the belief that the perceived institutional performance conforms to the expectations of the individuals’ (p. 40). In the following chapter entitled ‘Trust in the News Media’, Müller looks at cues of trust such

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as instrumental mastery, familiarity and distrust that steer audiences in their expectations of the news media institutions. He does so by looking at three different types of public sphere: market-oriented, deliberative, and hegemonic. Each type fosters the loss of trust in different ways. In the market-oriented public sphere the loss of trust can be explained as market failure to fulfil the audience information needs, as audience failure if the audience is not interested or lacks the cognitive capacity to evaluate the news media, or as societal differentiation where increased complexity brings about the loss of trust. In the context of a deliberative public sphere, the news media market can be increasingly oriented towards profit at the expense of normative foundations of good journalism; this can lead to a loss of trust (p. 83). Within the context of a hegemonic public sphere the loss of trust can be experienced when the dominant ideology promoted by the media is contested by the audience.

The second part of the book tests the hypotheses derived from the theory. Müller used Hallin and Mancini's well-known classification of media systems that includes the Mediterranean or polarized-pluralist model, North/Central European or democratic corporatist model, and the Atlantic or the liberal model to enable better comparisons across countries in the first chapter. The loss of trust is most evident in the countries that belong to the liberal model, while trust is highest in the countries that can be classified as authoritarian regimes. The author rejects the hypothesis that a free and efficiently working media market supports high trust in the media. Instead, increasing commercialization leads to a loss of trust. Among Western democracies the levels of trust are highest in countries that belong to the North/Central European model. However, the overall levels of trust are still highest among the authoritarian regimes. This supports the hypothesis of a hegemonic public sphere where the lack of alternative views leads to high levels of trust in the existing media.

In the following chapter the author looks more closely at trust and emancipative values that imply a greater distance from authorities, including more critical evaluation of news media institutions. The development of emancipative values in authoritarian regimes undermines the effectiveness of propaganda and lowers trust. However, the author finds evidence that in democratic countries the development of these values does not create a loss of trust, nor does it shift trust from 'traditional' to new media such as online forums and blogs.

The following chapter looks at trust and the processing of information. Cognitive resources and overall interest in politics seem to create a higher level of trust. This is explained through a market-oriented perspective since people choose the media that fit their interests, expectations and needs. In other words, people simply put more trust in the news media they use (p. 176). In light of previous conclusions about the generally lower levels of trust in democratic societies, Müller explains this loss as the inability of the audience to deal with the increasing complexity of the political and media system.

Consequences of trust on mobilization and political knowledge are discussed in the next chapter. The author finds no significant evidence to support the thesis that trust in news media affects political knowledge and political action. Contrary to normative theories of the public sphere, the author finds no statistical data to support the claim that news media perform functions of citizen mobilization and knowledge spreading.

In the concluding chapter the author reiterates the main points of this broad analysis. The strongest conclusion is that low levels of trust may not necessarily be harmful for democracy. There are no stable patterns connecting high levels of trust with democratic processes. On the contrary, the lack of trust, according to the author, points to a certain emancipation and critical distance on part of the citizenship (p. 203). Higher levels of trust were shown to be a characteristic of authoritarian regimes, where alternatives to ideological positions are hard to find. Also, the fact that countries with a stronger promotion of diversity in the media system via the public service media display higher levels of trust shows that the deliberative and normative approach performs better than the market-oriented approach.

This is a valuable book that fills a gap in theory and empirical research. As a multi-dimensional research topic it offers a very broad view of global trends of trust in the news media. With the internet and new media adding to the intricacy of news media systems, this promises to be an important topic in media studies and social sciences for some time in the future. The book may prove to be a solid starting point for all research venturing into this largely uncharted area.

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