which the former connotes the direct, formal, readily observable consequences of EU membership and the latter focuses on indirect, diffuse or knock-on effects of EU membership.

Although the volume is a single-country study, in their introductory and concluding chapters the editors draw several insightful comparisons with a similar study of Germany by Dyson and Goetz (2003). This adds meaning to the British findings and the Europeanization process in general. For Europeanization scholarship to mature into adulthood, the completion of a full series of comparable studies per Member State, the one building on the other’s findings and theoretical contributions, as Bache and Jordan do, may just be the sufficient condition.

CASPAR VAN DEN BERG
Leiden University


This book will go straight to my working shelf on European integration and on to my reading lists for undergraduate and especially postgraduate students. Moving on from the thrust of the more polemical Weymouth and Anderson, Insulting the Public (1999), who by the way are not mentioned in an otherwise comprehensive and useful bibliography, this work focuses on news media content and how it reflects the development of the ‘European project’.

More than looking at just a national press, this publication looks comparatively across frontiers into different quality presses (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Le Monde, The Times, Die Presse and Politiken). Other media are mentioned with comments on television and radio and, most importantly in research terms, they research an extended period (1982–2003). The case studies ask the question of how to measure Europeanization in what they refer to as the possible making of a ‘Pan-European Public Sphere’. The studies include commentaries on press handling of military interventions and the public debate on genetically modified food. All of which is bountiful for student and researchers alike. Instead of being lost in a vague, undefined sense of ‘discourse’ analysis, they specify their research parameter through a careful juxtaposition between discourse and political alignment. They carefully argue that transnationalization is not only multidimensional but must be seen as a process where perhaps Europe is reaching a point where argument transcends frontiers. They distinctly point not just to ‘Europeanization’ but a more useful term ‘EU-ization’. They argue that the segmented nature of public discourse hampers the potential legitimacy of the EU, yet the signs and trends show movement and not just specifically in the realm of political commentary but in a wider concept which they embrace in the term ‘Differential Europeanization’.

The style and language are at times dense, but the work is powerful. Why it is powerful is due to the prolonged effort and concentration as much on method as evidential content. Moreover, the work has a striking quality of honesty and throughput, particularly in the conclusion, the difficulties of interpretation and approach are
fully questioned, illustrated and explored. I look forward to the next promised work which hopefully will extend and widen the argument into the local and regional presses. Equally, no matter the complexities this may represent to them, I hope they embrace even more than they already have the impact of growing technological media convergence in the EU that the new, 21st-century, digital communication age brings to this field of research.

RICHARD ROOKE
London South Bank University


EU membership has been good for Ireland, in both political and economic terms. Peter Brennan’s book is concerned with the economic benefits. It is a detailed examination, based on his doctoral thesis, of the evolution of EU cohesion policy as an essential component of the move to EMU, its delivery through the structural and cohesion funds and how Ireland succeeded in securing substantial receipts from those funds through skilled and determined negotiation, in the process of agreeing successive EU financial perspectives, from Delors I and II to Agenda 2000. (Brennan does not deal in detail with the negotiation of the 2007–13 financial perspective.) He shows how Ireland punched well above its weight in those negotiations and generally got what it wanted, though not always. In both Delors II (Albert Reynolds’ much trumpeted £8 billion) and Agenda 2000, Brennan argues that the Commission did not always deliver quite as much as it promised and concludes that Ireland, perhaps unwisely, gave too much credence to private Commission assurances. He brings out clearly the changing financial climate for Agenda 2000, compared with Delors I and II, with the net contributor states being much less disposed to be generous to the existing cohesion countries, given the imminent prospect of the accession of the central and east European countries. The tighter financial climate, combined with Ireland’s ‘Celtic Tiger’ transformation from one of the poorest, to one of the most prosperous Member States, will result in Ireland moving from net recipient to net contributor status, with as yet unknown consequences for Irish perceptions of EU membership.

In preparing his book, Brennan interviewed many of the key Irish and Commission officials involved in the negotiations. He has also been given access to unpublished papers of the Irish Departments of Finance and Enterprise, Trade and Employment, giving an unrivalled insight into how the Irish prepared for and conducted the negotiations. The result is a thorough, detailed and authoritative study of an important EU policy area. The detail does not make for easy reading, however, and as a result, the book will probably be of interest mainly to specialists in EU financing.

TED HALLETT
Foreign & Commonwealth Office