



Aristotle University of Thessaloniki  
School of Journalism and Mass Communications  
Master of Arts in Digital Media, Communication and  
Journalism

Pathway 2: European Journalism

Master Dissertation

Theme:

How Mass Media in different European countries have covered  
the Euro Crisis

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## Pathway 2: European Journalism

Dissertation Thesis of Simou Konstantina (A.M 50033) with the theme:

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## How Mass Media in different European countries have covered the Euro Crisis

### Abstract

It is a common wisdom that 2015 was the year when the European migrant crisis is becoming the central European concern. This is highlighted both through political debates and media coverage. Europe is currently witnessing a mixed-migration phenomenon, in which economic migrants and asylum seekers travel together. Political decisions are confronted with the constant production of news, which makes media a very important chapter in the European political agenda. The present study examines the impact of migration crisis on national news and the Europeanization of the national agenda. In addition the research attempt to identify the differences of Migration Crisis coverage as an EU issue through national media. In order to find out if European journalism and by extent European Integration has been established or not we were doing a comparative newspapers' research examining if the EU issue of Migration crisis are covered from European or national perspective. Moreover we focus our comparative investigation on journalistic practices of two EU member states, Great Britain and Greece. Finally main findings of this study suggest that European journalism is a process that is shaped however a rising Euroscepticism is present through the national press.

Keywords: migration crisis, EU, press, European Integration

## **INTRODUCTION**

Nowadays there is an intensive world-wide debate on whether the mass media contribute to the integration of Europe or to the disintegration of European Union. According to that debate most of the social scientists

divide mass media of member states of European Union to Europhile, if they tend to support European Integration, or to Eurosceptic, if they tend to undermine the idea of European Integration. Most of the writers agree that Media especially national mass media play important role to publics' opinion about European Union, European Institutions, Legitimacy of Europe and European Integration. As Lloyd and Marconi write (2014:1) a debate on the legitimacy of the EU's action has always existed and has been quite trenchant in the past, but it has never reached the current level. The EU public has never been so engaged with and opinionated about the EU project as it is now: news media have to take this into account. It is clearly important that citizens from the 28 EU countries understand what effect the EU Commission, the Parliament, and the Council of Ministers have on their lives – what policies they discuss and approve, what relationship they have with national governments, what assistance they offer to the member states, how much they pay to them, what power they have and what powers they seek to have. Moreover Lloyd and Marconi distinguish (2014: 1-2) that most national media covered the EU much less than their own political centres of power, which in some cases meant that they covered it very little. News editors and producers came to view European stories as boring for readerships and viewers. Even after the crisis broke, the coverage remained patchy, and in some cases suffered from a lack of understanding of the issues and mechanisms under discussion, and/or a lack of sufficient staff to give more than a sketch of even critically important issues. On the other hand, the amount published about and by the European Union is vast. The Union's institutions are lavish with news announcements, with briefings, with prepackaged but often detail-rich interviews with commissioners; think tanks in Brussels and in all the main capitals pour out analyses and advice; the many specialised journals and websites are knowledgeable, up-to-the-minute, and distant enough from their subject to be critical; the global newspapers and wire services continue to support relatively large and active bureaux, whose output enjoys a high reputation. Another effective note from Lloyd and Marconi (2014:2) is that in times of crisis or of important decisions, the attention reaches a peak, but in good times news coming from Brussels is the first to disappear from newspaper pages and from TV programmes. This seems to us the largest problem facing the news media which have the responsibility of covering the EU.

In this paper we tried to approach the issue of European Journalism and to compare the EU media coverage through different European countries examining the press coverage of the phenomenon of Migration crisis in European Union, which emerge during the recent years at the Union. The Mass Media of European Member States have extensively covered the Migration Crisis from the first year of this phenomenon emergence. In recent year there is a global discussion about the impact of the phenomenon of Migration Crisis in stability of European Union as a whole. The present study will examine how the Migration Crisis has been presented from Mass Media of different European Member States and how journalistic practices have affected perceptions of the Refugee Crisis and Europe. Moreover the research will attempt to investigate the differences in Refugee Crisis coverage between the leading European countries and regions in the south and east Europe central to migration crisis problem. This comparison emerge the possibility of significant differences in coverage and opinions of the Refugee Crisis aspects and will give us the opportunity to identify how far the understanding of Migration Crisis differ among the EU countries. Also this research aspires to give us more information about the influence of domestic Mass Media on Europeans citizen's beliefs about Migration Crisis, EU Parliament Members and EU Institutions. Finally this project will address if and how the European Integration and the European Union as a whole have been affected from different perspectives of the European citizens and of differences in Migration Crisis coverage from Mass Media of the different EU member states.

## **PART: ONE**

### **CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **1.1 European Union**

Europe is a widely used geographical term, which refers to the western part of Eurasia. The Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and the Arctic Ocean are its clear sea boundaries towards the West, the South and the North respectively. This peninsula has no clear boundaries in the east, which is still a source of controversy to date, as uncertainty surrounding Europe's borders means uncertainty about which countries can become

members of the European Union. Therefore, who and what is considered as European is being questioned, especially in the case of Russia and Turkey, countries with soils in Asia and Europe. The idea that Europe is a geographical and cultural entity distinct from Asia has already been formulated by the ancient Greeks. The very word "Europe" comes from a Greek legend that tells Zeus, the father of the gods, to kidnap a princess called Europe. Thus, as a continent, Europe is a concept used to explain and justify something distinct. Historically, political understanding of Europe has gradually emerged with proposals for the unification of the continent. Early ideas and pioneers of integration were aimed at cooperating between rival states through the creation and operation of a political system that would ensure the security of not only states but also citizens. States have often resorted to war to defend their territory, the dynastic claims of their prince leaders, or the freedom of religious expression (Glencross 2014: 59).

## **1.2 European Union: A Peace Project**

In the first half of the 20th century, Europe was at the heart of global policy, because it was the theater of the two conflicts which evolved into world wars (Fragonikolopoulos & Papanastasopoulos 2015:44). As war was a common phenomenon among the sovereign states of Europe, thinkers of philosophy and law analyzed and examined the conditions under which a lasting peace could be established. This objective had to be reconciled with the need to preserve individual freedoms, in particular the freedom of religious worship. Therefore, the target of important thinkers, such as William Penn, Abbot Saint-Pierre and Immanuel Kant, was to improve Europe's political system by finding a mechanism to avoid war. They did not want unity to be imposed by force or by returning to a common religious identity (Glencross 2014:65). Historically, peace was the main motivation for European unity; this justification was an even greater moral dimension in response to flagrant violations of human rights, including the genocide committed during the Second World War ( Glencross 2014: 72).

It is a common wisdom that our century is the era of globalization. Nowadays one of the most successful examples of a political system which work according to globalization functions is European Union.

According to Lloyd & Marconi (2014:1) the European Union occupies a central position in the politics and economic life of its 28 members and an important one in much of the rest of the world. European Union was designed to end European war: and the moral force of that gave the project wide support (Lloyd & Marconi 2014:69). Adam (2012) agrees that the European Union is an unprecedented political experiment that has achieved an historic success. It has avoided war, it has brought stability and progress to European society, and it has become a model which can help to resolve tensions and conflicts worldwide. The success of the European Union, therefore, cannot be questioned.

### **1.3 Major Theories**

#### **The idea of European Integration**

Many theories have emerged which attempt to explain the process and outcome of integration in Europe. They try to clarify how and why the European Union came about and how it is today. Theories are important as they help us to understand how the EU works, and having a better understanding of how the EU has developed allows us to hypothesise about what the EU might be like in the future. It is also important to be familiar with the different approaches people take when explaining European integration, as whatever is written is always grounded in a particular set of assumptions which should be taken into account when reflecting on what has been said. (CIVITAS Institute for the Study of Civil Society 2015)

Overall there are two ratings of European integration some of the writers define it as a process and others as condition. As Lindberg suggests (1963), integration is the process whereby nations seek to make joint decisions (interdependence) or to delegate the decision making process to new central organs and the national political actors shift their political actions and expectations to a new center. While Deutsch (1957) writes that integration refers to the probability that conflicts will be resolved without violence. Broadly, there are two major theories of integration the intergovernmentalism and the neofunctionalism. According to Civitas Institution Neo-functionalism was a popular theory of European integration in the 1950s and 1960s. The most prominent neofunctionalist writer was Ernst Haas in his book 'The Uniting of Europe' in 1958. The important question that neofunctionalists attempt to ask is: how does

cooperation in specific economic policy sectors lead to greater economic integration in Europe and then to wider political integration? The question is answered with the concept of spillover, which takes two forms. Firstly, functional spillover is used to explain the way in which integration in one policy area, for example coal and steel, creates pressure for integration in further areas, such as currency exchange rates. Secondly, political spillover is used to explain the importance of supranational and subnational actors in the integration process, as they create further pressure for more integration to pursue their interests. Pressure groups and political parties are also considered to be important actors. As a result of these processes of spillover, neo-functionalists see European integration as a self-sustaining process which will culminate in the creation of a new polity with its centre in Brussels. On the other hand Intergovernmentalism is described as an idea which emphasises the role of the nation state in integration, and argues that the nation state is not becoming obsolete due to European integration. Alan Milward, an intergovernmentalist writer, argued that the national governments of the member states were the primary actors in the process of European integration, and rather than being weakened by it as some of their sovereignty was delegated to the EU, they became strengthened by the process. This is because in some policy areas it is in the member states' interest to pool sovereignty. Intergovernmentalists argue that they are able to explain periods of radical change in the EU as when the interests of the member states governments converge and they have shared goals, and periods of slower integration as when the governments' preferences diverge and they cannot agree. They continually emphasise the role of national governments and the bargaining between them in the integration process (CIVITAS Institute for the Study of Civil Society 2015). Moreover Eriksen and Fossum (2002) highlight three types of integration: 1) integration through functional adaptation 2) integration through interest-accommodation and 3) integration through deliberation (convincing opponents of the correct course of action). As they also suggest the third mode of integration is related with the existence of a viable public sphere as it forces the decision makers to justify the decisions to the ones affected by them.

The claim of economic prosperity- Common Currency

As Glencross (2014) writes one of the most powerful and successful justifications of the European Integration is the claim that this is a unique process, which have as a goal to increase prosperity across Europe. The politicians of the European states turned to Integration to provide opportunities for improving the economic Growth through participation in a larger free-Market. The idea of creating a continental-sized economy let us with the abolition of national customs barriers already in place Briand's plan for the European Union. The single European currency, the euro, used by 17 member states of European Union in 2013(Today it is the official currency in 18 of the 28 Member States of the European Union, Including overseas departments, territories and islands which are either part of a euro area country or are linked to it The countries that have adopted the euro form the eurozone) is probably the best practical example of this idea that integration can stimulate the Euro-economy to become more and more competitive in global field. The justification for prosperity behind the euro was that one audience currency would promote growth by subtracting transaction costs related to currency convertibility in trade goods or services, and to stimulate competition between in an integrated market. In turn, this would help him controlling inflation, allowing for lower interest rates and stimulating investment. In addition, the new currency was accompanied from a Stability and Growth Pact to prevent from the creation of large budget deficits forces them to control their public spending.

On the other hand scepticism has been developed with regard to the common currency. According to Glencross (2014:78) justification based on prosperity is further complicated by the fact that participation in European integration can in fact, have great costs for governments. All member states contribute to a common budget, which is used to finance common policies. This expense, in particular subsidies to farmers and the amounts spent on infrastructure in the poorer regions do not spread evenly throughout Europe. Consequently, some countries are net beneficiaries of European Union spending, while others are purely contributors. As a result a debate has been developed on the value of participation in the European Union. The notion that Union money is not spent rationally makes the citizens of the countries that are the only contributors wary of financing integration through their taxes. Hence, while there is a common desire for economic growth through integration, this attitude has not yet been translated into solid financial solidarity between countries. Citizens and

governments seek the benefits of integration, but - especially in the rich countries - remain cautious about redistributing prosperity from richer to poorer regions.

## **Euroscepticism**

Since the establishment of the European Economic Community, the project of European integration has mainly been seen as an elite-driven project (Hallstein, 1972 from Kandyla & Vreese 2011). While the integration project has been described an elite project, it has become obvious in the past years that the gap between citizens and EU governance is wider than expected and cannot be ignored (Hooghe, 2003 from Claes de Vreese 2007).

As Glencross (2014: 453) highlights Euro-scepticism, the political ideology that opposes European integration mainly in the current Union system is a diverse and complex phenomenon. The very word seems to have come from British politics in the mid-1980s and spread more after the British Prime Minister Thatcher's speech in 1988 in Bruges, which attacked the bureaucratic and institutional weaknesses of European integration. Today, however, Euro-skepticism is a pan-European case manifested in different ways depending on the different criticisms of integration that are supported by various political parties.

Claes de Vreese (2007:276) writes for Euroscepticism that it is a notion relatively new and not yet conceptually demarked. Many studies operationalize Euroscepticism simply as lack of support for further EU integration. Moreover he (2007:280) characterizes Euroscepticism, at least partially, as a function of the diet of information that citizens consume about European affairs.

**Definition of Euroscepticism:** Glencross (2014) define as euroscepticism the political ideology that opposes European integration and the current system of the European Union. Euroscepticism emerges in different forms. Extreme anti-European hostility is called "strong" euroscepticism in relation to the "mild" euroscepticism type, which only criticizes certain problematic or failed aspects of European integration.

More precisely Glencross (2014) divide Euroscepticism into two categories, Mild and Strong Euroscepticism. According to Glencross' point of view (2014:455) criticisms about European union can be divided into mild and tough variations of Euroscepticism depending on how hostile they are to the current European system and therefore depending on whether they support withdrawal from it or not. Different types of political parties have articulated different kinds of Euroscepticism. At the same time, this political ideology is expressed in various political areas, based on political opportunities that allow parties to benefit from the opposition to European integration. These opportunities arise during the European elections, the ratification of the Treaties and the national elections.

### **A) Strong Euroscepticism**

Glencross (2014:461) suggests that strong Euroscepticism, as manifested in monotheistic parties such as the UK Independence Party or the Danish Citizens' Movement against the Union, is based on a mix of economic and democratic entrepreneurs against integration. The economic operator is that the cost of Integration - the contributions to the Union budget, and the burden of applying EU rules - necessarily compensates for the benefits. This alone is considered to be an immediate reason for not continuing the further integration, but to seek a possible exit from the Union. However, this type of hostility is aggravated by the rivalry of the European Union's democratic deficit. The principle here is that national governments, elected and representing their peoples, should not be forced to apply a law on which they have little reason. Strong Euroscepticism in this way strongly defends national sovereignty, which is best served by obstructing new transfers of competences (for example new treaties) and through the effort to build a national mandate for retirement. As rigid Euro-skeptic parties question the type of formal electoral consensus of their citizens given to the present Union, they are often in the forefront of voices for referendums on the conditions and exit from the European Union.

### **B) Mild Euroscepticism**

On the other hand Glencross (2014:463) recognizes as mild euroscepticism the critique, which puts to light the elements of the European Union which for some reason are considered problematic or unsuccessful. This kind of criticism is about the reality of two of the main pillars of tough Euro-skepticism: the economic benefits of the integration and quality of democratic decision-making. This position reflects the concerns of citizens that the Union's policies sometimes restrict national autonomy, or exercise in a transparent manner, indifferent to the preferences of the citizens. Mild Euroscepticism is located between two extremes, each of which neither faces union and increasing integration as a means of solving all the contemporary problems of politics, nor does it support its categorical rejection. Consequently, mild Euroscepticism is linked to measures such as the negotiation of voluntary participation (Some Member States choose not to participate in common European Union policies) on the basis of the national interest, in order to do more to protect national interests in general and to limit the tendency towards integration simply for the sake of European integration.

#### **1.4 Analysis of relevant bibliography**

A review on previous researches proves that most of the scientists try to identify the variations in EU news coverage. Researchers tend to focus on specific Factors that shape the way that EU news is covered. More precisely Claes H. de Vreese (2007) highlights as a factor, which shapes the coverage of EU news, strategic framing news. Moreover previous studies have extensively analyzed the role of national media and national press at EU issues coverage. John Price (2009) examines EU news coverage across the national UK press. To put it more specifically Price (2009) tried to examine the eurosceptic/europhile division in relation with the differences between tabloid and quality titles UK press and between Brussels based and national based journalists. Trying to identify the role of mass media on EU news coverage, most researchers observe two ideological parties of mass media, journalists who support the idea of European Integration and journalists who fuel cynicism about EU. Moreover John Price (2009) tried to identify the complexities of EU news coverage. As he highlights the current Eurosceptic / Europhile classification needs to be developed for two main reasons. First, it is misleading in that it fails to accurately map the landscape of EU news

reporting across the press. Second, it is too simplistic in that it ignores important variations in EU news production – in particular, differences between tabloid and quality titles, and between Brussels based and national based journalists.

In addition according to Hurrelmann (2008) there are debates about possible legitimacy deficit of the EU, from these debates have come up two variants. Firstly normative variant: Normatively, they tend to focus on the democratic quality of EU institutions. Secondly empirical variants: empirically, they discuss whether these institutions are viewed as acceptable in the European population. As he points debates about the EU's normative legitimacy have reached a relatively high level of sophistication, and most remaining points of contention can be traced back to ultimately irreconcilable differences between various views of democracy on the other hand Union's empirical legitimacy has not been extensively covered. Hurrelmann (2008) focused on political communication to help to alleviate some of the deficiencies of existing legitimacy research. The main point of his survey is the construction of legitimating and delegitimizing assessments of EU institutions, as well as into the ways in which these are related to evaluations of the member states. As Hurrelmann (2008) observes empirical Legitimacy has not reached a level of sophistication firstly because the model of a permissive consensus appear in large part on European population because of the lack of sufficient information and interest to perform judgments about EU affairs and policies. Secondly because opinion surveys are a reactive method offering a pre-selection of institutions to be assessed and evaluative benchmarks to be used. Finally because public opinion research about the EU concerns its ability to come to terms with various types of multilevel legitimacy.

As Hurrelmann (2008) points legitimacy evaluation depending on the objects of legitimation, which are the EU institutions, and on patterns of legitimation, which are the criteria used to support legitimacy evaluation. Moreover Hurrelmann (2008) divided patterns of legitimation to input oriented evaluations namely processes by which political decisions in the EU are made, as democratic, legal and popular support decisions and to output oriented evaluations namely contents and outcomes of EU

governance, as effectiveness, unity, human rights, social solidarity, European and national identities and the role in the world.

### **EU Support - Euroscepticism**

Previous literature examines the issue of media coverage in relationship with shaping public opinion about European Integration and legitimacy of that EU project. As Hewstone, 1986; Meyer, 1999; Risse-Kappen et al., (1999, from Claes H. de Vreese 2007) suggest media play a key role in legitimating and shaping public opinion about European Integration. According to Claes H. de Vreese (2007) previous research about citizen's attitudes towards European integration has shown firstly that exposure to specific and news media content leads to differential changes in individual attitudes. Secondly news media play an important role in affecting public's cynicism for European Integration. Claes de Vreese(2007) addresses the role played by the news media in shaping public opinion about European integration and in particular the relationship between strategy framing of Euro-politics on the one hand and Euroscepticism and cynicism towards European integration on the other.

In addition Kandyla & Vreese (2011) suggest that EU integration processes require the increasing transfer of decision-making competences from the national to the EU level as a result the importance of public involvement in EU developments is increasingly acknowledged. Thus, scholars have started to recognize the need for the emergence of a 'European Public Sphere' that would stimulate public debate on EU affairs (Schlesinger, 1999 from Kandyla & Vreese 2011). As Kandyla & Vreese (2011) highlight the institutional developments around a common EU Foreign and Security Policy could be interpreted as important steps toward a more political Union. Patterson (1998, from Kandyla & Vreese) recognize that the relevance of public discourses to the success of the entire process an investigation of the nature of mass-mediated communication about Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) merits attention. The centrality of mass-mediated political communication to the Europeanization of public discourses is twofold. First, European citizens rely on their national news media for information about EU affairs (Euro barometer 1999–2005, from Kandyla & Vreese 2011). Second the news media have the potential to shape public

perceptions of EU legitimacy, participation and public support for the European Union (Norris, 2000; De Vreese and Semetko, 2004; De Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2003; Vliegenthart et al, 2008 from Kandyla & Vreese 2011). Kandyla & Vreese (2011) examine the presence of characteristics of 'Europeanization' of national public spheres by identifying, in a comparative perspective, the patterns of visibility of CFSP stories in the news, the visibility of EU actors and the evaluative dimensions of CFSP coverage. As they point CFSP news had a distinctive, positive dimension, especially with reference to the European Union (EU) as an entity. Also their findings suggest that the news coverage of CFSP is truly different from the coverage of EU affairs in general. As they conclude the degree of Europeanization of national discourses might differ across policy issues. Thus as each of the EU policy areas poses specific demands and points to specific goals, research needs to focus on specific policy fields rather than making generalizations.

According to Hurrelmann (2008), we know less about the European Union's legitimacy in an empirical sense, namely about the ways in which its institutions are assessed in the population. In his survey Hurrelmann try to addresses public's opinion about European Union Legitimacy. As he points there is a debate on the construction of legitimating and delegitimizing assessments of EU institutions, on the criteria used in them, as well as on the ways in which evaluations of the EU are related to evaluations of its member states. As Hurrelmann (2008) highlights the problem for empirical legitimacy research, then, is how to gain access to the citizens' genuine legitimacy assessments, and how to distinguish them from other motivations of support. According to Barker (2003, from Hurrelmann 2007) the clearest indicator of empirical legitimacy, arguably, lies in the citizens' activities towards political institutions, like their (dis-)obedience with explicit commands or their (un-)willingness to pay taxes.

Rising Euroscepticism interests a large part of the scientific community. As Claes de Vreese (2007) observes public tend to be more eurosceptic as nowadays Eurosceptic parties are gaining support. It has been established that however there is a positive relationship between government support and EU support opposition there are negative relationships between EU

support and feelings of national identity, hostility towards other cultures and fear of immigration (Claes de Vreese 2007). According to Claes de Vreese (2007) euroscepticism is on the increase in a number of countries and is mobilized by political entrepreneurs due to public political alienation and cynicism and the decline in trust in government and political institutions. In his research Claes de Vreese (2007) focuses on a specific element of Euroscepticism, namely political cynicism about European politics. Cynicism may reflect negativism at the level of the quality of a political debate and political leaders (Citrin, 1974 from Claes de Vreese 2007) or the absence of confidence at the level of institutions (Miller (1974) and Erber and Lau (1990) from Claes de Vreese 2007). Claes de Vreese (2007) is interested in cynicism about political debates, including its main political protagonists. As he suggests Cynicism at the level of the political debate and political elites may help to understand why citizens do not support or even reject specific policy proposals, such as those put forward in national referendums. John Price (2009) observes that the term Euroscepticism has been usefully deconstructed into more nuanced and complex categories by researchers studying political parties and public opinion.

Findings of John Price (2009) survey reveal that Eurosceptic titles are responsible for nearly three-quarters of negative EU news coverage in the UK press. However, that means that more than a quarter of the negative coverage of the EU is produced by so-called Europhile titles. Hostile coverage of the EU is far from confined to traditionally Eurosceptic titles and makes up a significant proportion of Europhile coverage.

### **Press –TV**

In general previous literature focuses on press and TV as mass media samples. For example to demonstrate strategic news coverage of European politics fuels Euroscepticism Claes de Vreese (2007) reports the results of an experiment. As he writes the experiment focuses on television because television is repeatedly identified as the most important source of political information. The majority of the authors focus mainly on national press. John Price (2009) investigates the Eurosceptic/ Europhile nature of EU news coverage focusing on UK press. Moreover John Price (2009) suggests four categories of UK press instead of two traditional Eurosceptic/ Europhile, describing better

variations in EU news when market sector and location of journalist are added to the influence of editorial agenda. These four categories are according to Price (2009) 1) first Euro-neutral news: comprises news produced by Brussels based journalists working for Europhile titles in the quality sector. It acknowledges that news produced by these journalists tends to be the most favourable to the EU and is overwhelmingly objective in nature. The term Euro-neutral is more accurate than Europhile due to the lack of positive portrayals of the EU. 2) Second Euro-critical news: includes reports produced by Brussels based journalists working for the Eurosceptic qualities, and by UK based journalists working for the Europhile qualities. Unlike the Euro-neutral category above, this category has a key negative influence news production (either a Eurosceptic agenda or UK based location). As a result, although the majority of news is still objective in nature, around a quarter of reports contain explicitly negative portrayals of the EU. It recognizes that copy produced by Brussels based reporters for The Times and Daily Telegraph, although influenced in subtle ways by a Eurosceptic agenda, is substantially different in character from their UK based journalists (see category below) – containing less than half the negative coverage of that of their homeland colleagues. 3) Third Euro-hostile news: comprises reports produced by UK based journalists working for the quality Eurosceptic titles, and by UK based journalists working for a Europhile tabloid. Between a third and half of news texts produced by journalists in this category contain negative EU news. It is striking that the Daily Mirror appears in this category which, despite its Europhile agenda, is encouraged towards negative reporting by its tabloid nature and exclusive reliance on UK based journalists. 4) Fourth Euro-phobic news: comprises news produced by UK based journalists working for the Eurosceptic tabloid press. Copy produced by journalists in this category is the most hostile towards the EU, containing a majority of negative coverage. The terminology here reflects the often zealous and emotional nature of reporting, which frequently involves an explicitly coherent and polemic mix of news, comment and imagery designed to undermine and attack the EU. It also reflects interview findings in which many journalists identified news coverage of this kind as being a breed apart from the rest. Hurrelmann (2008) selects national press to investigate the level of legitimacy evaluations of the European Union. As samples he

uses the relatively Euro-friendly British quality daily, Guardian. Articles from the Guardian were compared to a German paper of a similar political orientation, the *Suddeutsche Zeitung*.

Kandyla & Vreese (2011) focus on national press to identify the difference of Common Foreign Security Policy issues coverage between Fifteen EU countries. More precisely they focus on quality newspapers, two leading, high circulation, national daily 'quality' newspapers that have different political profiles, representing the major political ideologies in each country. Some of the samples that they use were the Guardian and Times from Great Britain, Politiken and Borsen from Denmark, Le Monde and Le Figaro from France, FAZ and SZ from

### **Specific Factors that shape the way that EU news is covered**

Previous Literature suggests that there are Specific Factors that shape the way that EU news is covered, as strategic framing news. Claes de Vreese (2007) found that strategic framing news plays their role. It is now widely assumed that the media, under certain circumstances, may not only influence what citizens think about (agenda-setting), but also how they think about these issues (framing). Claes de Vreese (2007) observes that news frames can affect, for example, cognitive responses, support for welfare plans and free speech enforcement. News frames can also affect support for EU issues according to Schuck and De Vreese (2006 cited in Claes de Vreese 2007). Studies have shown that news can be divided into strategic news and issue driven news. Claes de Vreese (2007) found that individuals exposed to strategic news displayed higher levels of political cynicism than individuals exposed to issue driven-news.

Claes de Vreese (2007) considers the relationship between news media framing and public cynicism about European integration. Expectations about a 'of Euroscepticism' based on the original 'spiral of cynicism hypothesis' that states that strategic news about politics fuels public distrust in and cynicism about politics and politicians that in turn erodes civic engagement and depresses electoral participation (Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, 1995; Cappella and Jamieson, 1997 from Claes de Vreese 2007). Strategic news reporting is defined as news that focuses on winning and losing, is driven by 'war and games' language, emphasizes 'performers, critics and audiences', focuses on candidate style and

perceptions, and gives weight to opinion polls (Jamieson, 1992 from Claes de Vreese 2007).

According to Claes de Vreese (2007:274) studies found that individuals exposed to strategic news displayed higher levels of political cynicism than individuals exposed to issue-driven news. Other studies have linked exposure to strategic news to both interpretations of election campaigns and to turnout, trust in government, and civic duty. Claes de Vreese (2007) concludes that the exposure to higher level of strategic news reporting show an increase in political cynicism, while the exposure to less strategic news media reporting showed a decrease in political cynicism. As Claes de Vreese (2007) writes the effect of the media is conditional upon two factors: the pervasiveness of strategically framed news reporting and individual level characteristics, such as the level of political sophistication. As he suggests there is a the positive relationship between political sophistication and cynicism as citizens have the capacity to be both interested and knowledgeable about politics while at the same time critical and rather demeaning about politicians and their performance. He finds that in a situation where the news media did not report strategically about European affairs, exposure to news contributed to a decrease in cynicism. The relationship between news and cynicism is generally so that news consumption causes and augments feelings of cynicism. The relevance of cynicism seems to lie in its consequences. As Claes de Vreese (2007) low political sophistication group show an increase in cynicism while political efficacy contributed to a decrease in cynicism. Positive evaluations of incumbent government were related to lower levels of cynicism.

Kandyla and Vreese (2011) investigate the presence of “risk” and “opportunity” news media frames in Common Foreign Security Policy coverage. De Vreese and Boomgaarden (2003) Schuck and de Vreese, (2006, from Kandyla & Vreese 2011) agree that framing issues in terms of ‘gains’ or ‘losses’ from the current state is highly relevant to the concept of EU integration and national news media make frequent use of such frames. As a result CFSP can be easily conceptualized as a ‘risk’ versus ‘opportunity’ situation (Kandyla & Vreese 2011). Finally the research question is CFSP framed as a ‘risk’ or as an “opportunity” has an answer according to Kandyla & Vreese (2011). As they found Common Foreign

Security issues overall were more frequently framed in terms of opportunity rather than in terms of risk. As they point out only British newspapers framed CFSP issues more frequently in terms of 'risk' rather than in terms of 'opportunity'. According to Schuck and de Vreese (2006 from Kandyla & Vreese 2011) the examination of the presence of 'risk' and 'opportunity' frames in CFSP coverage was justified not only by their theoretical relevance to EU foreign and security policy cooperation, but also because it has been demonstrated that they can impact public support for EU policies such as the enlargement. Even though as Schneider et al (2001 from Kandyla & Vreese 2011) write opportunity framing is generally less influential than risk framing on peoples' attitudes, the observed prominence of opportunity frames in CFSP coverage can have a significant positive impact on peoples' perceptions of CFSP legitimacy and support for further policy steps. This adds more importance to the point of view that specific factors and specific affairs as Common Foreign Security Policy can play a key role on EU news coverage.

Another Specific factor that shape the way that EU news are covered according to John Price is the location of journalists. The findings of John Price (2009) content analysis and interviews suggest that the location of journalists is as important in shaping the nature of EU news as the editorial agenda from which it emerges. Whether an EU news report is filed from Brussels or the UK is as crucial in influencing content as whether it is produced for a Europhile or Eurosceptic newspaper. As Price (2009) observes there are crucial differences in how news is produced by Brussels based and UK based journalists. News produced by UK based journalists is far more likely negative towards the EU than that produced by Brussels based reporter. As he concludes there are crucial factors shaping different forms of EU news, these factors are whether a title belongs to the tabloid or quality sector, and whether the news is produced by Brussels or UK based journalists (John Price 2009).

Moreover Kandyla and Vreese (2011) results of CFSP coverage in national quality press suggesting that quality newspapers can be actors themselves in defining the attention devoted to CFSP issues.

## **The role of national media and national press at EU issues coverage**

The role of national media has been extensively investigated.

Comparative study cross national media of EU member states is the most representative research method, which authors use to research differences on media coverage cross EU countries. Claes de Vreese investigates the role of strategic framing news on public's cynicism comparing two traditionally eurosceptic countries Netherlands and Denmark. As Claes de Vreese (2007) found there was much more news about EU politics in Denmark (where the EU summit took place) than in the Netherlands.<sup>20</sup> While news about European affairs was much more visible in Denmark, the level of strategic news framing was consistently higher in the Netherlands. Half of the news stories in the Netherlands, compared to about one-fourth in Denmark discussed how politicians were handling an issue, whether it was competently, successfully, and/or forcefully addressed. In about one-fifth of the news in both countries, there were references to politicians' actions as instrumental to either consolidating or improving their stance in public opinion. In about one-third of the news in the Netherlands, and about 10% in Denmark, the news focused on politicians either gaining or losing. Similarly, there were twice as many references to specific polls or public opinion in Dutch news as there were in Danish news. Finally, Dutch news utilized expressions from war and game situations in 39% of the stories, while this was 27% in Denmark. According to Claes De Vreese (2007) the Netherlands show an increase in cynicism, while Denmark shows a decrease in cynicism.

John Price (2009) investigates the Eurosceptic Eurohile division of UK press and proposes a new classification of EU news Coverage in the UK press. As he recognizes the most commonly used form of categorization is to divide the UK press in to Eurosceptic and Europhile camps. As he writes this is done by studies focusing on EU news coverage (for example Anderson and Weymouth 1999; Anderson 2004; Daddow 2006, 2007; Gavin 2001; McLeod 2003 from John Price 2009) and by wider political studies relating to European issues (see for example, Baker 2001; Carey and Burton 2004; Wallace 2005 from John Price 2009). John Price inform us that the categorization is not only used by academics, but also by politicians, pressure groups and journalists themselves, as in the following example written by Steven Glover in the Independent (July 2, 2007): "*Europe is nonetheless bound to be a bone of contention for the*

*Mail unless Mr Brown calls a referendum, though so far it has been less worked-up than The Sun. Mr Brown might do himself a great favour if he did change his mind. The Europhile press will make much less of a din if he calls a referendum than the Eurosceptic press will if he did not”.*

According to John Price the common categorization of UK national daily titles is as follows:

Eurosceptic press: The Daily Telegraph, The Times, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Star, The Sun

Europhile press: The Independent, The Guardian, Financial Times, The Daily Mirror.

Hurrelmann (2008) maps constructions of multilevel legitimacy: assessments that establish linkages between the legitimacy of the EU and that of its member states by examining media debates in Great Britain and Germany. As he points UK and Germany can be considered opposite extremes: while UK has high levels of Euroscepticism in the opposite Germany has wholeheartedly embraced the European project at least at the elite level. As he points a comparison of the UK and Germany uncover substantial national differences concerning the ways in which the EU and its core institutions are being legitimated and/or delegitimated. As Hurrelmann (2008) found the majority of the British statements were delegitimizing (56.7% negative evaluations as opposed to 43.3% positive ones), while most German statements were legitimating (44.9% negative evaluations, 55.1% positive ones). The study deliberately focused on EU-friendly newspapers.

Kandyla & Vreese (2011) investigate the role of quality national press at the EU issue of Common Foreign Security Policy coverage. They make a cross national comparison study within EU countries: Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Britain, Spain, Poland and the Netherlands. As they point the choice of countries is based on their varying degree of importance in political decision making in the EU and CFSP.

**There are differences between the national member states approach of EU affairs.**

Claes de Vreese (2007) observes that the interaction between low political sophistication and media exposure was a positive predictor of

increase in cynicism in Denmark. As he found general media exposure led to a decrease of cynicism in Denmark, but among the low political sophistication group, exposure to news media contributed to an increase in cynicism. In both countries, the logged measure of cynicism was the strongest predictor for the level of cynicism in the second wave suggesting a relative stability of this attitude. Also he found that in addition to news media coverage, political efficacy contributed to a decrease in cynicism. Positive evaluations of the incumbent government were related to lower levels of cynicism. Elderly respondents displayed a decrease, though this was significant only in Denmark. Finally, in the Netherlands, political sophistication was positively related to cynicism.

Hurrelmann (2008) investigates British and German Debates about the EU affair of EU institutions legitimacy. As he highlights multilevel of legitimacy constructions have two forms: Either the legitimacy of the EU and the legitimacy of one of its member states are explicitly related (Multiunit evaluation) or both levels of governance are amalgamated to form an integrated object of legitimation (Integrated evaluation). Integrated evaluations are an advanced form of multilevel legitimacy. Germany shows a higher percentage of integrated legitimacy assessments than all British legitimation statements. On the other hand multilevel assessments in which the national and the European level of governance are not amalgamated more frequently in Britain than in Germany.

Kandyla & Vreese (2011) found a number of differences in visibility of CFSP stories that comparing cross-nationally. As they suggest CFSP stories featured much more frequently in German broadsheets compared to other countries, which is compatible with previous research on the visibility of EU affairs in the German press. Among the other EU countries, visibility was comparatively high in France and low in Spain. More precisely German and French broadsheets appear to be the most 'Europeanized', having reported more frequently about CFSP issues also during non-routine periods, featuring high proportions of EU political actors and evaluating CFSP issues more frequently with reference to the EU as a whole than to the nation-state. As they well-comment this can be a result of the leading role of Germany and France in pushing forward CFSP cooperation, but also of a greater Europeanization of their national

discourses compared to the other EU countries. On the other hand in Greece and the Netherlands we found visibility to be moderate though with considerable newspaper-specific differences also in the prominence of negative over positive evaluations of CFSP issues with reference to the nation-state. In comparison Britain, Kandyla & Vreese's (2011) results confirmed both the traditional divisions between pro- and anti-EU broadsheets and the British Euroskepticism also over foreign and defense policy issues. Finally as Kandyla & Vreese (2011) point CFSP news reached the Spanish newspaper agenda less frequently but, when visible CFSP stories tended to be highly 'Europeanized'.

### **The EU coverage is Event-driven at a high percentage**

According to Kandyla & Vreese (2011) the visibility of Common Foreign Security Policy news is mainly event-driven. As they point CFSP was more frequent when we had event driven EU news. In addition quality newspapers reported more frequently on Common Foreign Security Policy issues during prescheduled EU events such as EU Summits but also during Common Foreign Security Policy specific events. CFSP news was more visible in the periods around EU Summits with strategic partners such the Berlin-Plus agreement between EU and NATO (December 2002).

### **Key events: Events about European Integration, EU Summits and European Parliament Elections**

Most of the authors choose as experimental news coverage key events, events about European Integration, EU Summits and European Parliament Elections. For example in strategic framing news Claes de Vreese (2007) take as experimental news bulletin a news story about the 2007 enlargement of the EU. Claes De Vreese (2007) surveys include a pre- and post-Council meeting wave with representative samples of the Danish and Dutch adult population. The surveys were fielded about 3 weeks ahead of the summit and immediately after the summit. Moreover Hurrelmann (2008) focus his study of British and German media debates surrounding EU enlargement, the Draft Constitution, and the 2004 election to the European Parliament. Kandyla & Vreese (2011) set as timetable of their study on CFSP coverage, the period between 1 January 2001 and 31 December 2005. During the investigated period they focus

on EU Councils, especially when CFSP issues were an important part of the summit agenda, such as the Laeken Summit (December 2001), the period surrounding the Summit in Thessaloniki (June 2003) and the European Council in Brussels in December 2003.

To sum up previous literature review proves that there are variations in EU news coverage and analyze the two mainly opposing teams, EU support and Euroscepticism. More precisely authors investigate the idea European Integration versus National cultures. As they found the gap between EU citizens and EU governance is wider than expected. Also previous literature brings light to specific factors and specific EU affairs that shape the way that EU news are covered, as strategic framing news, individual level characteristics (political sophistication, age) and Common Foreign Security issues. Moreover most of the writers focus on TV and press as sample of media coverage, national quality title press is the most frequently used sample. Main Countries that have been used as samples at the Press and TV were more frequently United Kingdom, Germany, Denmark and Netherland and less frequently France, Spain, Greece. UK was used as the traditional Eurosceptic eu member- state, Germany as the most supportive to European integration and Netherland, Denmark also as Eurosceptic but in a more neutral expression. National media and National press play a key role at EU issues coverage. There are differences between the national member states approach of EU affairs. Also EU citizens rely on their national news media for information about EU affairs. Finally the EU coverage is Event-driven at a high percentage; key events are events about European Integration, EU Summits and European Parliament Elections and EU crises. More precisely Claes de Vreese (2007) highlights the role of news media as a parameter which can affect public's opinion about the progress of EU Integration. He suggests that the effect of the media is conditional upon two factors. Firstly strategically framed news reporting and secondly the individual level characteristics, such as the level of political sophistication and age. His findings show that the exposure to higher level of strategic news reporting is connected with an increase in Euroscepticism while the exposure to less strategic news media reporting is connected with a decrease in Euroscepticism. In addition he identify that there are differences in political cynicism as a function of exposure to strategically framed news within the Netherlands and Denmark. According to his

results strategic framing news led to an increase of cynicism in the Netherlands on the other hand led to a decrease of cynicism in Denmark. In the field of individual level characteristics Claes de Vreese (2007) points that political sophistication was positively related to Euroscepticism in both countries while age was negatively related to Euroscepticism (as he writes elderly respondents displayed a decrease in political cynicism) in both countries with more significant levels of decrease in Denmark. John Price (2009) agrees that there are variations in EU coverage through national (UK) press and that there are specific factors, which shape EU news coverage. In brief he analyzes the traditional Eurosceptic/Europhile division of UK press and suggests a new more complex classification, which can better suits to UK press variations. Also he highlights as factors, which shaping the nature of EU news two crucial factors, the market sector and the location of journalists. Namely his findings suggest that there was positive EU reporting when news emerged from quality title newspaper and when the news is produced by Brussels based journalist. On the other hand there was negative EU reporting when news emerged from tabloid newspaper and when the news was produced by a UK based journalist. Because of these variations at UK press he proposes four new categories of UK press. The euro-neutral news when news comes from Brussels based journalists working for Europhile titles in the quality sector. The euro-critical news when news produced by Brussels based journalists working for the Eurosceptic qualities, and by UK based journalists working for the Europhile qualities. The euro-hostile news when news comes from UK based journalists working for the quality Eurosceptic titles, and by UK based journalists working for a Europhile tabloid. Finally euro-phobic news when news produced by UK based journalists working for the Eurosceptic tabloid press. Moreover Hurrelmann (2008) investigates the role of news media coverage at evaluations of EU Legitimacy, especially the evaluations of legitimation or delegitimation of EU and its core institutions. He focus on empirically variation of evaluation of EU legitimacy, namely on evaluations of EU member-states. He examines broadsheet quality title newspaper debates of Great Britain (Guardian) and Germany (Suddeutsche Zeitung) and he found that there are differences in their approach about legitimacy and delegitimacy of EU. As he observes the majority of British statements were delegitimizing while most of German statements were legitimating.

Finally he highlights two forms of multilevel of legitimacy constructions, the multiunit evaluation of EU legitimacy and the integrated evaluation of EU legitimacy. According to Hurrelmann (2008) multiunit evaluation support that the national and the European level of governance are not amalgamated, but explicitly related to each other. On the other hand integrated evaluation supports that both levels of governance are amalgamated to form an integrated object of legitimation. Last but not least Kandyla & Vreese (2011) focus on Common Foreign Security Policy coverage and the need for Legitimacy. They point the role of national media as they make a cross-national comparative content analysis of the broadsheets quality title press coverage of the visibility of CFSP issues. In shortly they observe that there are variations in CFSP visibility. Findings suggest that the news coverage of CFSP is truly different from the coverage of EU affairs in general. As they found the coverage of CFSP issues was primarily Europeanized. Visibility of CFSP was event driven, CFSP was more visible in broadsheets during key events, during EU Summits and CFSP specific events, moments in EU integration, periods of international events where EU has a say. CFSP news had a distinctive, positive dimension, especially with reference to the European Union (EU) as an entity. Also they found significant differences between the national member states approaches of the EU affair of Common Foreign Security Policy. Their results inform that CFSP stories are covered much more frequently in German and France press and they tend to be more Europeanized compared to other countries while Greece and Netherland visibility of CFSP news was moderate with neutral evaluation of CFSP affair. On comparison British press found to be traditionally eurosceptic with middle visibility of CFSP issues whereas Spanish press appears low visibility of CFSP stories but with tension to be highly Europeanized. Finally they conclude that Common Foreign Security Policy issues can be itself a factor of positive of EU news coverage.

## **PART: TWO**

### **CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY**

#### **2.1 Comparative study- methodology**

The work presented attempts in a comparative way to glean an idea about the practice of European media in covering European news. It looks at the impact of migration crisis on national news and the Europeanization of the national agenda (Kevin 2003). Migration crisis is a European problem and the news media are the central interpretative system of modern societies. Several studies have shown that the public draws most of its knowledge about European issues from the mass media. Moreover, mass media constitute a central forum for the discussion of European issues. Therefore, cross national comparison of media coverage and representation of political or cultural issues is an extremely useful exercise when dealing with transnational issues (Kevin 2003). The general value of comparative research is well established. Comparisons are central for assessing how universal certain findings are and for discovering relationships between social phenomena (Esser and Hanitzsch 2012). As Thomas Hanitzsch (2009) suggests, we may call a study comparative if two or more a priori defined cultural populations are compared according to at least one functionally equivalent concept. Content analysis has become an important method of journalism research as a principal tool for analyzing the products of journalist activity. The use of content analysis as a methodology research evolved notably after World War II. The hermeneutic or linguistic text analysis is labeled also as qualitative-content analysis. Media content can be analyzed on several levels defined in respect to the research targets they can relate to formal structures and the content of the material (Kolmer cited in Loffelholz M., Weaver D. & Schwarch A. 2008).

A classic taxonomy of comparative research strategies has been proposed by Przeworski and Teune (1970). They distinguished most similar systems designs from different systems designs. The former aims to

identify key features that are different among similar cultures (Hanitzsch cited in Loffelholz M., Weaver D. & Schwarch A. 2008) and is chosen by us as our comparative research strategy. For example the nations chosen for our research share some political, economic, social and culture similarities. This method keeps the number of variables relatively small thus making it easier to determine the factors that account for the observed outcome (Landman 2000).

In a comparative cross- national research is essential to decide which nations should we include and which are the criteria upon our selection was based. Generally, mostly the selection of cultures is made in consideration of convenience: justified by availability, personal preferences and existing research networks, language skills, priorities of funding bodies, resources allocated for research and so forth. National societies are affected in very different ways by the migration crisis and the consequences of European policies dealing with this issue. (Schmidt, Ivanova & Schafer 2013). However, we chose to examine online press in 2 European countries which are: Greece and Great Britain. These countries were chosen because they represent different characteristics in terms of their relation to the EU and the degree they are affected by the migration crisis. More precisely, Great Britain was chosen due to the dominant Euroscepticism, and Greece because she is the host country of thousands migrants everyday wishing to reach European land. Moreover, the printed press in each country also operates within different systems and traditions. Despite the diversity in printed press traditions the selection of two major leading newspapers having online version in each country provided a sufficient snapshot of the information available to people on migration crisis as European issue (Kevin 2003). Online media

were selected since they offer a simpler means of methodologically collecting data.

The total period of 9 months in 2015 is split in 4 seasons. We take as a starting point the month where we have the first media coverage boost on the series of migrant vessel incidents in April 2015. Attention for one topic peaks for rather short periods of time after it which subsides. Media attention fluctuates and peaks around specific events in all countries. For the research of the articles we used as key words the following:

**migration crisis + EU.** Given the fact that the internet portals of both newspapers have many articles containing the above mentioned key words, we moved on with the selection of those articles which represent the ideas that tend to be repeated constantly. Following, we separated the selected articles in two categories. In the first category belong articles **with European Union orientation** and in the second category, articles **where the European Union is approached by a nationalist perspective.** We continued further, characterizing the articles in relation to the **existence of Eurosceptic or Europhile character.** As it was decided 20 articles were selected for each newspaper for each of the seasons. In total, 320 articles were chosen.

The visibility and tone constitute the main variables of the study. It is examined if migration is treated in the article as national or European (visibility). The tone refers to whether the article was presented with a Eurosceptic viewpoint or Europhile.

It is necessary to outline the complexities of attempting to examine the treatment of similar content and issues across a wide range of systems and traditions (Kevin 2003). More precisely, we expect that there will be differences in these variables across countries as there is a lack of a

homogeneous idea about what Europe is and what European integration involves. The continuing impact of national agendas and national interest debates on coverage of EU news highlights the way in which the integration progress is viewed in the media as more international than European. It is also outlined that in many countries a continued national relationship with Europe more frequently is based on issues of cost and benefit (Kevin 2003).

Our research question which we are trying to answer by conducting this comparative study is the how we can define European journalism through its role in the political debate on migration crisis. We expect that our analysis will demonstrate that EU journalism is clearly dominated by nationalism and that national journalists evaluate the process of the confrontation of migration crisis (as in other EU issues) using nationalistic filters. Given the fact that our analysis is restricted only to the coverage of migration crisis by European media during 9 months it would not be wise to extrapolate the results by making a statement on the existence or not of European journalism.

**2.2 Method Strategy:** Planning my methodology strategy I finally used both quantitative and qualitative approach which meets the needs of this study. The combination of these methods minimizes the chances of limitations during the research, increases the strength of evidence and imparts validity and the opportunity of a multilevel analysis of this topic. While I was planning my method strategy I eventually decided to separate it in two phases: Firstly I am going to select two dominant newspapers in each selected European country, two from a leading European country, traditionally Eurosceptic, Great Britain (Guardian and Independent) in comparison with a less developed European country, which is in the south

east borders of Europe being the core of migration crisis, Greece (Kathimerini and Vima). My research will identify the first year of migration crisis emerge 2015. This year has been strongly defined and characterized by multiple incidents like terrorist attacks in European countries (France) as well as the tragedy of the little migrant's death (Aylan). The examined year will be separated into four periods: spring, summer, autumn and winter of 2015. As data base searches will be used the terms Migration Crisis, European Union, European Integration, and Euroscepticism. Secondly I am going to focus on the most representative periods of time and the most representative articles of each country about its perceptions of Migration crisis. Then I will proceed by choosing 40 articles from every of the four periods of each of the two countries, 320 articles in total, as samples of the research. The selection of samples will be the basis for the next step of the study. During this step I shall analyze the samples data and make a comparison research between each country's perceptions about Migration Crisis and their aspects.

### **2.3 Method of article selection:**

Method of article selection: Originally I began selecting articles that I would consider using from the search engine using the key words that were set migration crisis, EU per 4 periods which were set (starting from spring, summer, autumn and winter of 2015). I isolated the most representative ones that showed a convergence of views in the four selected newspapers. Then the discerned depending on whether they have a more national or European character as well as a function of whether there is a tendency of Euroscepticism. Following this distinction I ended up in forty articles in both English Guardian and Independent newspapers and forty articles from the Greek newspapers Vima and Kathimerini on each of the 4 time periods chosen spring, summer, autumn, winter is on the whole 320 research articles. Then I examined them to see if they had a Eurosceptic or Europhile approach towards the immigration issue.

## **2.4 Newspaper Samples**

Press-Research Samples: Guardian (online version) and Independent (online version) Kathimerini (online version) Vima (online version)

### **British Press:**

- A. Guardian: British news journal. Available since 1821 and is based in the United Kingdom in London, Kings Place, 90 York Way. Published daily and seems to have a center-left political alignment. The official online version is theguardian.com, which is constantly updated with new news. The website of The Guardian was the 30th most visited website in the UK and first among news websites.
- B. Independent: Daily British newspaper based in Northcliffe House in the UK. Politically expresses the liberal radical center (liberal / radical centre). The official e-mail address is independent.co.uk, which is fed continuously with new articles. It is an authoritative newspaper with a wide readership.

### **Greek Press:**

- A. Kathimerini: Daily Greek newspaper. It is published in the Greek language, as well as in an abridged English-language edition. It was founded in 1919 by Georgios Vlachos. Issued by Kthimerini S.A. It has a political centrist to center-right orientation. The headquarters of the newspaper are in Athens, Falireos kai Makariou 2, 185-47. The official press website is Kathimerini.gr. The SimilarWeb classified the site as the 23th most visited among news websites in Greece.
- B. Vima: Daily Greek newspaper. Issued by Lambrakis Press SA. It has a political centrist to center-left orientation. The headquarters of the newspaper are in Athens Michalakopoulou 80, 115 28. The official website is Tovima.gr. The SimilarWeb classified the site as 24th most visited among news websites.

## **2.5 Research Questions**

We expect that through our analysis we will outline the main national and EU-oriented media tendencies. In addition we will examine how journalists evaluate the process of the confrontation of the migration crisis (as in other EU issues) using national filters. It is necessary to outline the complexities

of attempting to examine the treatment of similar content and issues across a wide range of systems and traditions. More precisely, we expect that there will be differences in these variables across countries (Great Britain-Greece) as there is a lack of a homogeneous idea about what Europe is and what European Integration involves. The continuing impact of national agendas and national interest debates on coverage of EU news highlights the way in which the integration progress is viewed in the media as international than European. It is also outlined that in many countries a continued national relationship with Europe too frequently based on issues of cost and benefit.

## **CHAPTER 3: THE STUDY**

### **3.1 RESULTS**

#### First Research Season

#### **Spring 2015 (April- May)**

UK Press: Guardian, Independent

General Impression: During the period April-May when virtually the refugee problem in the EU is beginning to take larger dimensions and refugee outflows are increasing, the British press is frequently holding a more detached approach and examines the problem of the refugee crisis in Europe from a European perspective. The national character is absent and considers the attitude of the EU institutions and the Heads of other member-states. Mainly those directly involved as Greece, Germany, Turkey, Macedonia, Hungary etc. Also partially poses and euro-skepticism on the part of England as to the attitude of the EU towards the problem of the refugee issue and the fact that it is unable to find and implement solutions. Migration crisis is testing the European value of solidarity between EU member states. The common denominator of the indicative articles is the problem of the circuit of smugglers transporting illegal refugees on the shores of the EU, the conditions under which they

arrive in the EU, the deaths of refugees in their attempt to reach Europe, the constantly growing number of refugees and finally the issue of the transport and distribution in the European member states.

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<b>Spring Season 2015</b>	<b>April-May</b>
<b>UK Press</b>	40 Articles European Oriented 0 Articles National Oriented
<b>UK Press</b>	30 Eurosceptic Articles 10 Europhile Articles

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Greek Press: Vima, Kathimerini

General Impression: On the other hand, the Greek press the particular period of time shows a more ethnocentric approach depending though on European policy and the control of EU agencies. There is almost absence of European coverage of news about the issue of migration crisis. Euroscepticism that maybe lurking is a national failure to address the problem and wait for help from the mechanisms of the EU that are not activated immediately. Most of the articles criticize European Institutions and European member states, which close their borders and deny sharing the burden of refugee crisis. The humanitarian element is still missing as the Greek press essentially focuses on politics and the need for an immediate solution and help from the EU.

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<b>Spring Season 2015</b>	<b>April- May</b>
<b>GR Press</b>	10 Articles European Oriented 30 Articles National oriented
<b>GR Press</b>	30 Eurosceptic Articles 10 Europhile Articles

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Second Research Season

**Summer 2015 (June-August)**

UK Press: Guardian, Independent

General Impression: During the summer months where the immigration problem is on the rise and refugee outflows have slipped completely out of control, the attitude of the British newspapers seem to change. Now England stops to examine the issue from a distance and holds a firm attitude on what is happening on European shores and on how EU operators decide to channel refugees in European countries as well as in England. In addition, another finding is that as we move towards the end of this period there are less articles examining the issue from the European point of view while there is a larger number of articles tending to a more ethnocentric approach to the refugee issue. In fact in the early summer months there is great concern about the rapid increase in the number of refugees arriving. As we move into the last summer month the concern of England becomes even more intense and starts a debate around the issue of open or closed borders and the issue of asylum on the part of refugees. During August the worry of England as to the attitude of the EU is at its peak. Fear for national interests is most evident and there is a discussion around the conditions and EU protocols. It is clearly shown that England refuses to follow the position of Europe and to accept refugees and has as principal claim the 1990 Protocol \*. As a consequence, a strong euro-skepticism is developed on the part of England about whether they should follow a separate path from the EU in order to protect its borders and its national interests. Euroscepticism is growing and on the divergence of views of the northern and southern EU member-States. Finally, the humanitarian approach to immigration is almost absent and the matter is dealt more from the political side.

\* Protocol 1990: It forces refugees to seek asylum and they are being recognized with the right to be offered asylum from the country where they first arrived and were recognized as refugees and to remain in it.

<b>Summer Season 2015</b>	<b>June-August</b>
<b>UK Press</b>	20 Articles European Oriented
	20 Articles National Oriented
<b>UK Press</b>	32 Eurosceptic Articles
	8 Europhile Articles

## Greek Press:

During the first summer months there is identification between Greek-English press and the Greek press during that period strongly expresses its concern over the rapid increase in the number of refugees arriving on Greek shores. During the last summer months, the debate lies in concerns about the already large accumulation of refugees in Greece and requests their equal distribution among the European countries. Also in the last month strongly discussions are made on the position of Germany and the countries that refuse to accept refugees like Hungary. Articles continue to have mainly ethnocentric orientation as well as Europe's position is examined in relation to the influence that its decisions will have upon Greece. Euroscepticism that exists during this period is the divergence of northern- southern EU member states about equal distribution of refugees (just like the English type). There is also strong criticism towards the northern European countries and closed borders policy putting into question though the **Schengen Treaty**\*. Finally Euroscepticism here is again about the weakness of the Greek state to face this crisis and the absence of substantial assistance from the EU. During this approach the migration is mainly humanitarian, but there is a political approach to the matter on the policy followed by other European countries to solve the refugee issue.

\***Schengen Treaty**: Its aim was the gradual abolition of checks at common borders, the establishment of free movement for all persons, citizens of the States which signed the agreement, as well as police and judicial cooperation.

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Summer Season 2015	June-August
GR Press	10 Articles European Oriented 30 Articles National Oriented
GR Press	31 Eurosceptic Articles 9 Europhile Articles

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## Third Research Season

**Autumn Season 2015** (September- October)

UK press: Guardian, Independent

During this period the British press seems to be divided on the attitude that England has to keep towards the refugee crisis. The approach of the refugee issue becomes even more ethnocentric and British newspapers are getting a more open position. On the one hand there is a critical attitude towards the EU and its inability to resolve the refugee and contrasts between the northern and southern Member States. On the other hand there is a strong criticism towards the outside of the English government policy on the issue of the refugee crisis. Euroscepticism is currently at its peak. First as to the attitude of the northern Member States (Hungary) and the closed borders policy followed by questioning EU institutions such as the Schengen Treaty. Secondly Euroscepticism lies in the divergence of the northern and southern EU member states and their inability to deal with the problem. Thirdly it begins to intensely discuss the scenario of a Brexit because of the problems created by the refugee crisis in the EU. On the other hand, there is disagreement as to whether England should share the burden of refugees as a Member State of the EU (the open-closed border issue is set here as well). On this debate the foreign policy carried out by David Cameron \* on refugee matter is being criticized and the refusal to accept a share of immigrants when part of the British people ask him to accept refugees. The humanitarian element this time is not so intense and occurs mainly during the month of September (referring to children drowning in the Aegean Sea). Articles in the autumn months are in the majority of them political.

\* David Cameron: UK Prime Minister since 2010 and leader of the Conservative Party.

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<b>Autumn Season</b>	<b>September- October</b>
<b>2015</b>	
<b>UK Press</b>	10 Articles European Oriented
	30 Articles National Oriented
<b>UK Press</b>	36 Eurosceptic Articles
	4 Europhile Articles

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## Greek Press:

During this period, the Greek press continues approaching the refugee crisis mainly by ethnocentric watchtower. But the ethnocentric approach is examined through the attitude of the other Member States of the EU and through the decisions of the European sessions and the impact they have on the future of the refugees in Greece. Euroscepticism the autumn months extends to Greece. Main point of criticism is the extreme nationalist currents of the EU (Hungary-Slovenia) and the closure of border questioning institutions and traditional values of the EU. Moreover Euroscepticism of Greek press lies in the disagreements that take place between the Member States of the EU which also undermines its cohesion. End key feature of this period is the existence of a humanitarian element and of many articles (very often the reasons for refugees in migration are mentioned, drowning of young children and the treatment received by refugees from the police at the border of Hungary). In some articles, however, policies followed by the leaders of the member states of the EU in dealing with the refugee are reflected giving the political complexion of the crisis.

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### **Autumn Season      September- October**

**2015**

<b>GR Press</b>	15 Articles European Oriented
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	25 Articles National Oriented
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<b>GR Press</b>	33 Eurosceptic Articles
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	7 Europhile Articles
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## Fourth Research Season

Winter 2015 (November- December)

UK press: Guardian, Independent

During the month of November, the approach of the refugee crisis in the EU by the British press is becoming more Eurocentric again. It also appears a debate on the issue of asylum and human rights to be taking place in early November. While after the terrorist attack in Paris there seems to be a split as to the open-closed border issue and the position of Germany with an open border policy which allowed the access of refugees and to other member states of the EU. Here is precisely the point where it begins to discuss the issue of refugee or economic migrant discrimination. And during the month of December, the approach to migration crisis in the EU is mainly from a European perspective. Number one issue of the British journalistic agenda this month is the terrorist attack in Paris. Through this theme there is debate on fake passports, passports checks and Schengen checks. Also many articles mention the EU action to handle the refugee and funding program to address the issue. Euroscepticism is to core institutions and treaties which form the foundation of the EU and whether they can continue to apply under the pressure of the difficult situation of the migration crisis. Euroscepticism is developed also on the failure of the EU to control borders and false passports for refugees. During the month of November, the humanitarian factor exists, while respectively during the month of December the articles are mainly political news and have a more detached character.

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<b>Winter Season 2015</b>	<b>November- December</b>
<b>UK Press</b>	40 Articles European Oriented
	0 Articles National Oriented
<b>UK Press</b>	40 Eurosceptic Articles
	0 Europhile Articles

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### Examples of Eurosceptic Articles

1) Example of scepticism about Migration Crisis: As a skeptical article during winter period of 2015 (2<sup>nd</sup> November 2015, There's no perfect answer to the migrant crisis – and we must face that.) argues the refugee sceptics know better. They don't want to create a new, large and persistent underclass within their own societies. Even without social

benefit the numbers would be huge; and the populations on arrival would create new subgroups of penury and social dislocation. The sceptics judge rightly that this is a realistic risk. Nor are the new host countries able to commit large social transfers to an unending, and essentially unlimited, number of new arrivals. Withholding benefits would lead to a new underclass; paying benefits would lead to a fiscal crisis.

([www.guardian.com](http://www.guardian.com))

2) Euro-sceptic Example Article Winter Season after Terror Attack In Paris: As Guardian( 15<sup>th</sup> December 2015 , EU plans rapid reaction force to tackle migration crisis) comments **that many** of those who have carried out Islamist attacks in Europe in the past two years have been EU citizens, notably French and Belgians, who have fought in Syria and returned home. Concern that the Islamic State attack on Paris last month was carried out in part by militants who had travelled along the migration route from Syria via Turkey and Greece has also increased pressure for tighter checks on the frontiers. ([www.guardian.com](http://www.guardian.com))

### **Greek Press:**

The same period the Greek press approaches the evolution of the refugee crisis both nationally and from a European angle. Main subject on the Greek journalistic agenda this year is the terrorist attack in Paris. The Greek articles mainly express the fear of an even stiffer handling of the immigration crisis on the part of more conservative EU Member States owing to the terrorist attack, by closing borders and caging thousands of refugees in Greece. The phobia of the Greek press intensifies when the discussion on exclusion of Greece from the Schengen Treaty starts.

Euro-scepticism is shown to some member states of the EU closing the border with the argument of the terrorist attack in Paris and the lack of solidarity between all member states of the EU. Also the Greek press and questions the economic policy of the EU as it considers that if refugees were absorbed in workforce there would have been long-term benefits to the economy and perhaps moderate the problem of the economic crisis.

Finally this period the humanitarian element is not featuring in most articles which have primarily political or social nature.

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<b>Winter Season</b>	<b>November- October</b>
<b>2015</b>	
<b>GR Press</b>	20 Articles European Oriented
	20 Articles National Oriented
<b>GR Press</b>	40 Eurosceptic Articles
	0 Europhile Articles

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**For all seasons:**

In a general overview we can see that in total press approach the issue of immigration crisis in Europe primarily from a European perspective, however ethnocentric element is not removed, especially at certain times it strongly appears. In addition there are differences between two countries concerning their view, Great Britain's approach tend to be more frequently European oriented while Greek approach tend to be more frequently national oriented. Also throughout the majority of the articles dealing with the issue of immigration crisis are eurosceptic. The europhile element is true but the extent is limited. Finally Euroscepticism is the main feature in both the British and the Greek press. In both newspapers there are many articles referring to the tactic regarding the migration policy, which other member states follow and generally how they confront this big issue. The presentation of the articles regarding the EU rarely is limited to the national scope, but most of them tend to have a European orientation. Articles from Scandinavian countries, Greece, FYROM, Italy, Poland, Slovakia etc are presented in a way showing the interdependence between all EU States and the impact that EU's and States' decisions have to EU Institutions. From

autumn and beyond is clear that migration crisis is a crisis that concerns every State and only collectively (in the level of EU) may be solved although the strong euroscepticism appearance in both compared countries suggest that during an EU crisis national differences drive to a division rather than to integration.

### **3.2 RESULTS PROJECTION:**

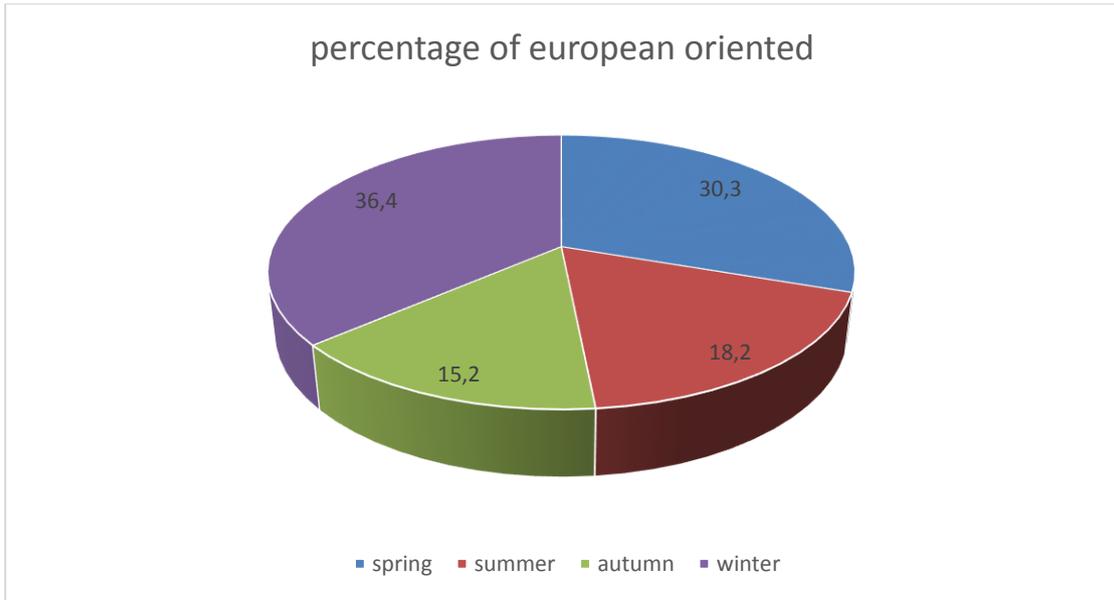


Figure 1: Percentage % of European oriented news coverage visibility within four seasons of 2015

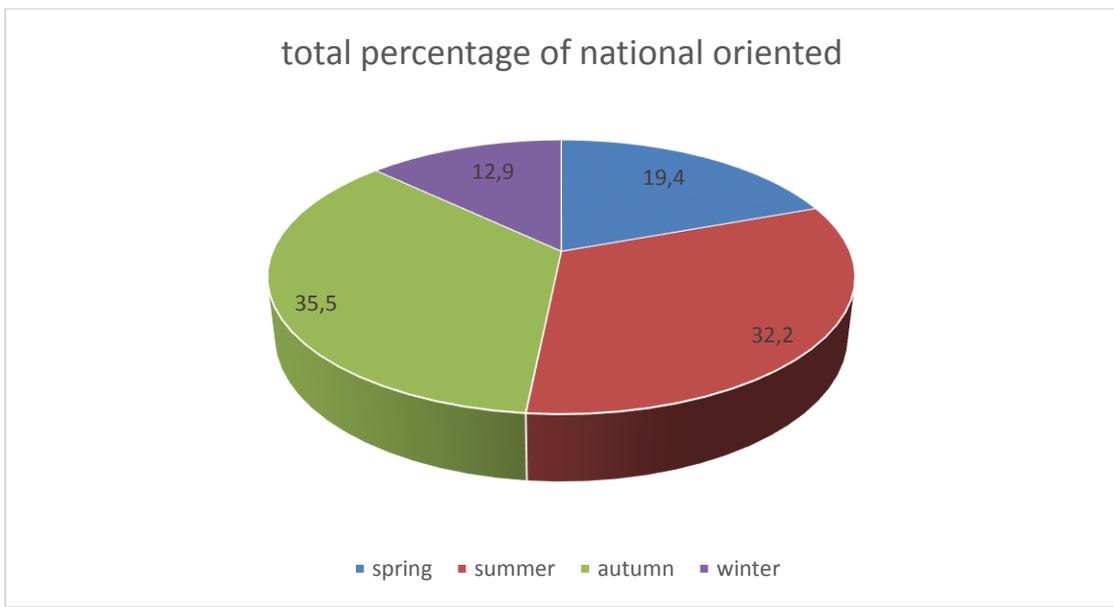


Figure 2: Percentage % of National oriented news coverage visibility within four seasons of 2015

Both Countries	European oriented	Notational oriented	%european oriented per season	%national oriented per season	%european oriented	%national oriented
spring	50	30	30,3	19,4	15,63	9,38

summer	30	50	18,2	32,3	9,38	15,63
autumn	25	55	15,2	35,5	7,81	17,19
win	60	20	36,4	12,9	18,75	6,25
total	165	155	100	100	51,57	48,43

### Eurosceptic Approach

Figure 4: Percentage % of europhile articles visibility within four seasons of 2015

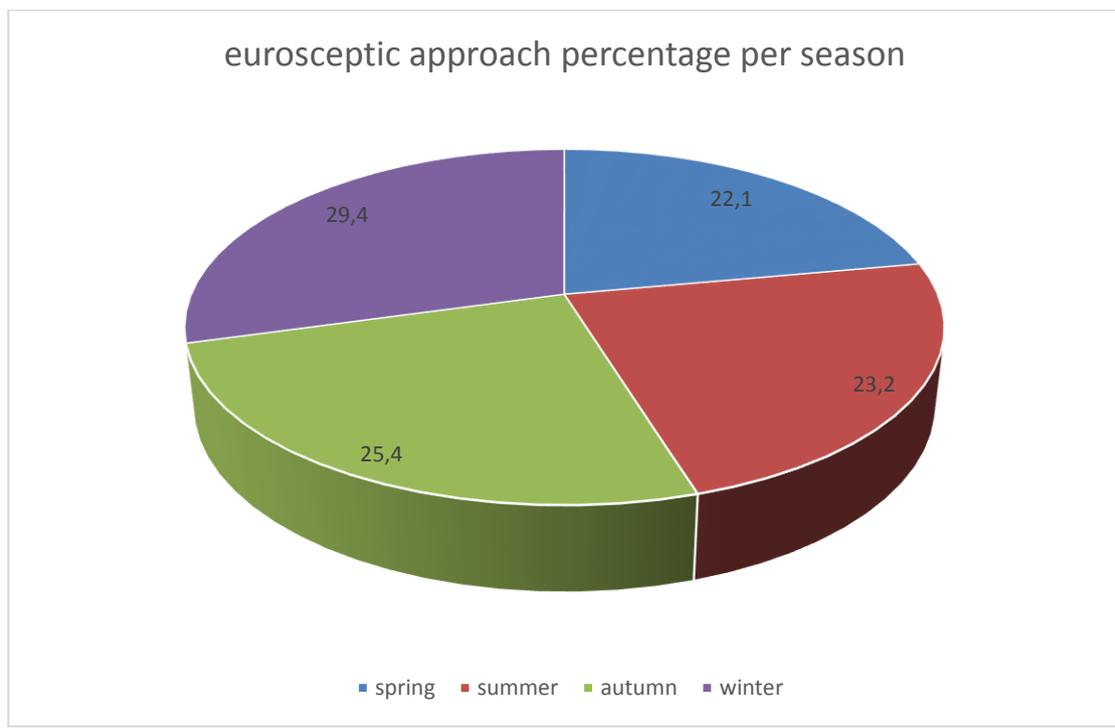


Figure 3 : Percentage % of Eurosceptic articles visibility within four seasons of 2015

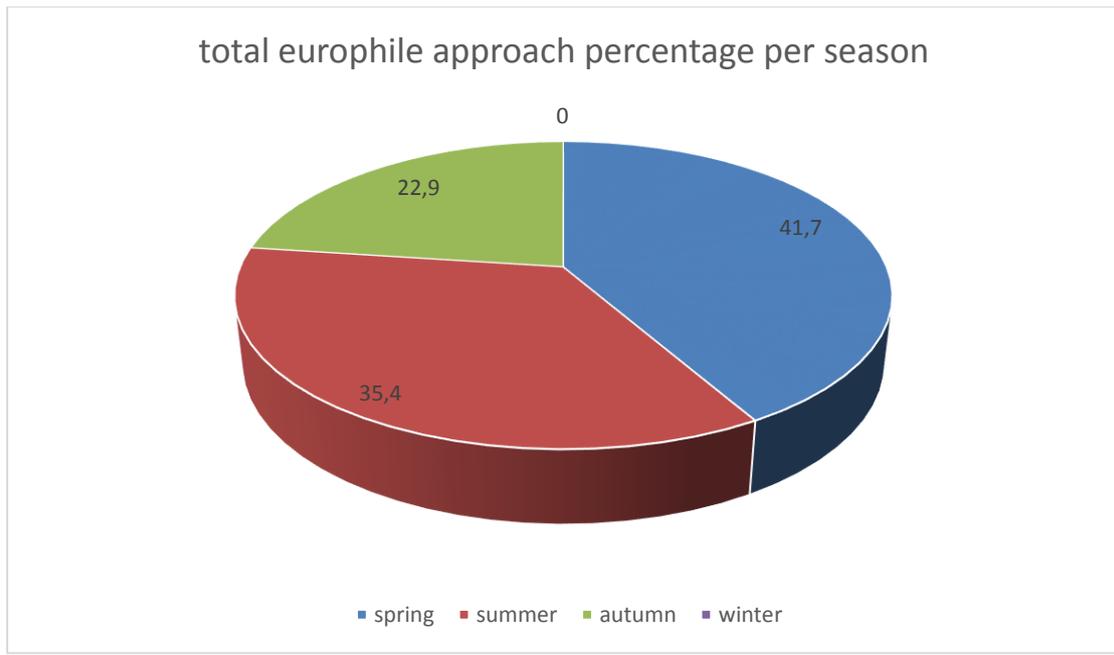


Figure 4 : Percentage % of Europhile articles visibility within four seasons of 2015

Both Countries	eursceptic	europhile	%europhile per season	%eursceptic per season	% total eursceptic	% total europhile
spring	60	20	41,7	22,1	18,75	6,25
summer	63	17	35,4	23,2	19,69	5,31
autumn	69	11	22,9	25,4	21,56	3,44
win	80	0	0	29,4	25	0
total	272	48	100	100	85	15

### 3.3 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

#### **The four Seasons of European Perspective 2015**

How often is the Migration Crisis approached by a European Perspective?

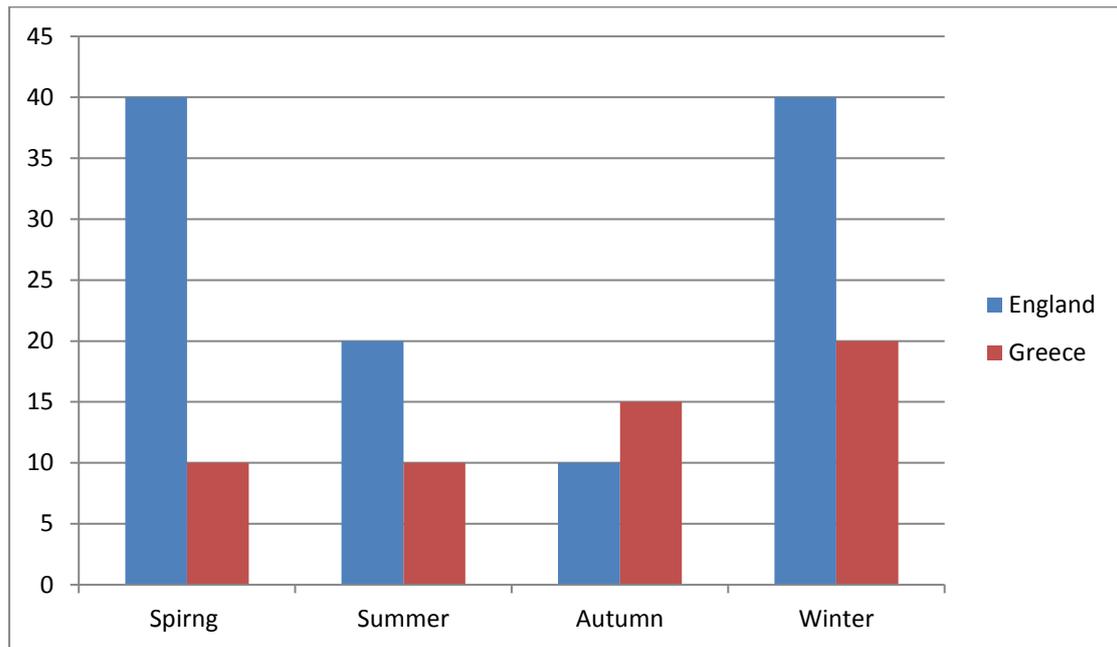


Table 1 shows us how often the Migration Crisis is approached by a European Perspective in the sample articles.

Samples	total	European oriented articles	%
Greece	160	55	34,375
England	160	110	68,75
total	320	165	51,5625

England 110/160 articles

Greece 55/160 articles

Total 165/320 articles

According to results Greece is the country that has the less European Perspective, with a coverage that contrasts the tendencies of England. With the European Perspective being stronger in the last season (winter) for both of two countries, we can support that EU-issues are covered mainly when the EU member states face problems such as terror attacks. England has almost the same amount on articles with EU-perspective during first season (spring) and last season (winter). While in Greece European perspective seems to grow gradually as we move to the end of 2015.

### The four Seasons of National Watchtower 2015

How often is the Migration Crisis approached by a National Orientation?

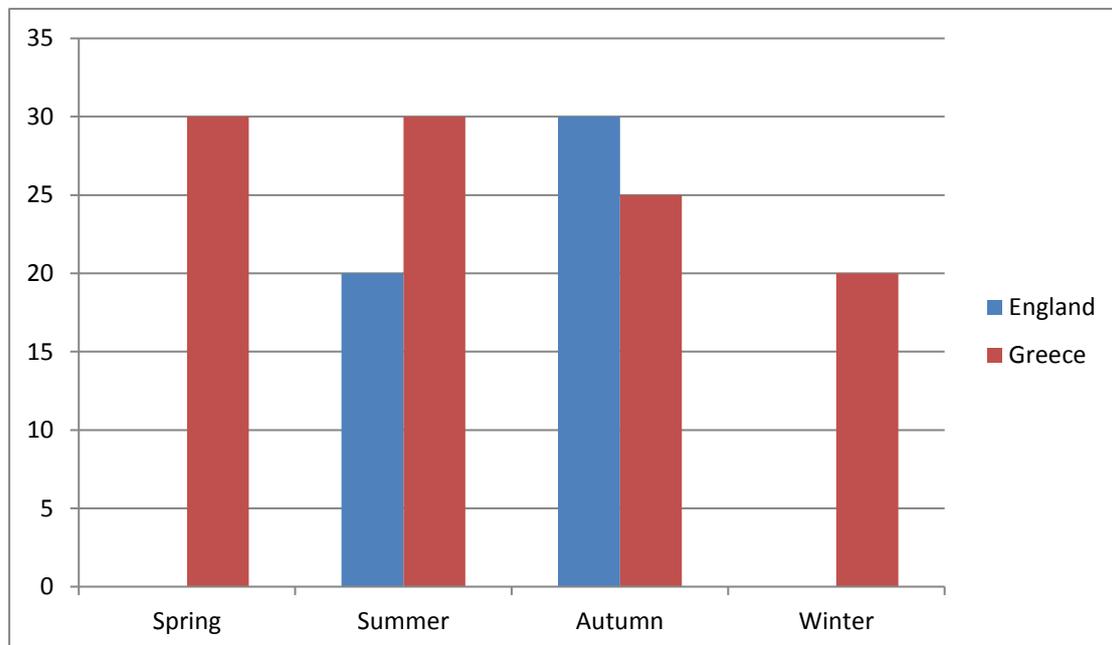


Table 2 shows us how often the Migration Crisis is approached by a National Watchtower in the sample articles.

Samples	total	National oriented articles	%
England	160	50	31,25
Greece	160	105	65,625
total	320	165	48,4375

England 50/160 articles

Greece 105/160 articles

Total 155/320 articles

Results of the above table confirm the differences between two countries concerning the perspective of migration crisis coverage. It is obvious that in total period England is the country with less national watchtower.

While the national watchtower is almost absent in English press during the spring and winter months. However British press seems to change its orientation to national during the summer and autumn season with the highest level of national approach to be recorded significantly only during the autumn months.

### The four Seasons of Eurosceptic Element 2015

How often Migration Crisis is approached Eurosceptical?

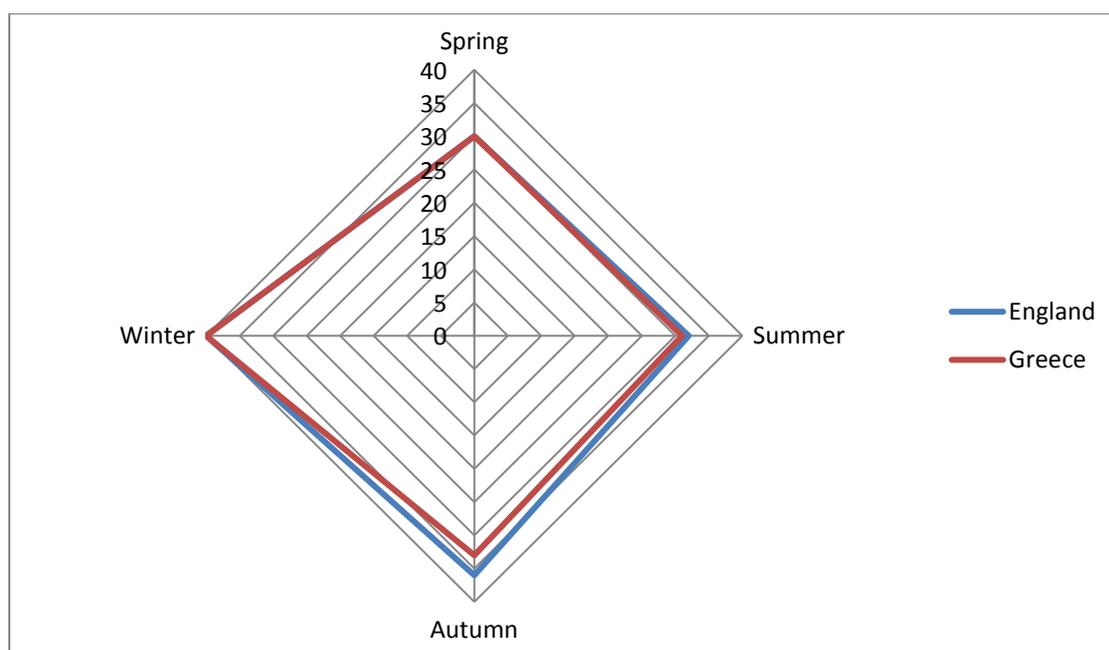


Table 3 shows us how often the Migration Crisis is approached eurosceptical in the sample articles.

Samples	total	Eurosceptical Articles	%
England	160	138	86,25
Greece	160	134	83,75
total	320	272	85

England: 138/160

Greece: 134/160

Total: 272/320

According to the above results the coverage of migration crisis is an EU issue related to Euroscepticism. As we move at the end month of 2015 the level of Eurosceptic articles is growing both in England and in Greece. In case of eurosceptic element we observe a convergence between two countries as to the amount of eurosceptic articles so to the periods of rising euroscepticism. As the findings show British and Greek press approach migration crisis eurosceptical significant close and synchronized during the whole period. In the beginning months (April-May) euroscepticism is already strong but as we move to the end months (November- December) euroscepticism is becoming the dominant characteristic of the articles in both countries. Euroscepticism is rising especially after the event of Paris terror attacks during the winter of 2015 (13 November).

### The four Seasons of Europhile Element 2015

How often the issue of Migration Crisis is approached EU supportively?

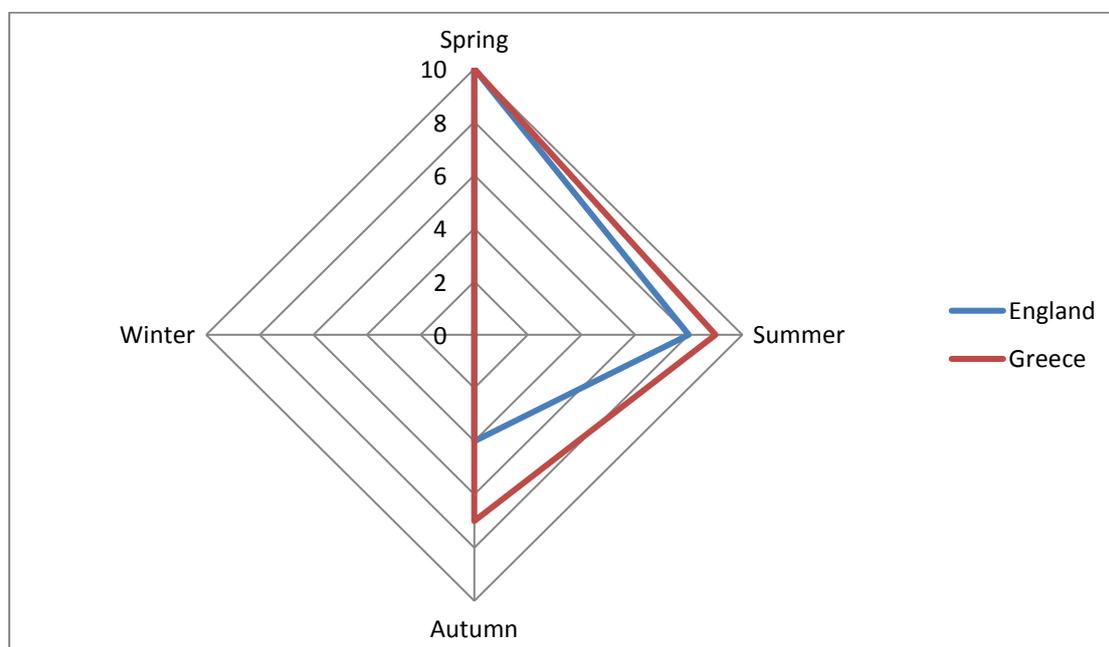


Table 4 shows us how often the Migration Crisis is approached EU supportively in the sample articles.

Samples	total	Europhile Articles	%
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England	160	22	13,75
Greece	160	26	16,25
total	320	48	15

England: 22/160

Greece: 26/160

Total: 48/320

As the above table show the visibility of Europhile articles is limited. We can't found a significant number of Europhile articles in any of four investigated seasons. In a similar way both countries present almost the same number of Europhile articles during each season of the whole period. It is remarkable that during the final season (winter) europhile element is absent. The low percentage of Europhile articles (just 15%) during the whole period suggest that migration crisis as an EU issue is not promoting the idea of European Integration and solidarity between EU member states opposite a crisis as migration seems to divided rather than to integrated.

#### **CHAPTER4: CONCLUSION**

The main objective of this research was to investigate the shades of Migration crisis coverage between two EU member states- Britain and Greece- over a period of 9 months during the year of refugee crisis emerge, 2015. Moreover our study focuses on the quality press debates. Concluding this study we recap the basic conclusions we draw from the analysis of the theory and our research through British and Greek press discourses. As survey's findings suggest there are variation in Migration crisis coverage between GR and UK national press. Comparing two countries we found significant differences but also important similarities. As we move forward migration crisis eurosceptic voices appearance becoming more and more frequent. Both countries approach Migration Crisis eurosceptical in a high percentage 85% diring the whole period. On the other hand the visibility of the idea of European Integration reached the percentage of 15% during the total season of migration crisis investigation. According to high levels of euroscepticism that were found, we can make

the conclusion that Crises in European Union drive to division rather than to integration at least in the case of migration crisis. Despite this similarity of eurosceptical approach in both countries we also find that there are differences between two countries regarding their migration coverage orientation. More precisely English press perspective of Migration Crisis tends to be more Europeanized than Greek press in total seasons but not in a significant percentage, we identify a difference of 3,15 units precedence of European Perspective in Britain. As findings suggest Greece which is the country which is in the south east borders of Europe being the core of migration crisis approach the issue by a more national perspective in total season. According to these results we can maybe claim that when the issue concerns closely internal issues of a country, journalists tend to abandon the European perspective of migration crisis coverage and move away from the idea of European Integration. Considering the visibility of European orientation of press journalism during the four seasons of investigation we found that the winter months of 2015 were the months with the highest levels of European watchtower in both countries. Connecting our finding with the major events in 2015, as the Paris terror attacks on 13 November, we support the idea that in some cases European journalism can be event driven.

It is very interesting to see how close and synchronized two countries are regarding their eurosceptic or Europhile approach through the 4 seasons. Perhaps the above conclusions support the idea that a common European journalistic attitude is slowly being shaped. While facing a common EU problem, the EU media do not always report about the possible common solutions with the other member states. But the fact that there is a synchronization concerning the tone and the visibility of the point of views validates the idea that European Journalism starts to take shape. The Migration Crisis, even though connected to some big humanitarian matters that are beyond the EU borders, is helping us develop and define the European Journalistic Cultures. It might not be possible to give a clear definition of European Journalism yet, but we can conclude that the Migration Crisis was what conducted European Journalism in the year of 2015. To sum up our study has reached the following conclusion. There is a tendency on EU journalism but EU journalism is a procedure that is being in shape yet. English press approaches Migration Crisis more Europeanized than Greek press but not in a significant level. In both

countries euroscepticism is growing as we move to the end of 2015. The present study provides limited information as we covered a limited period of nine months of EU news coverage and we focus only on a specific EU issue as the migration crisis. Moreover, we investigate only the quality press debates and we focus only on two EU member states' discourse, Great Britain and Greece. In other words, we cannot draw absolute and safe conclusions as European journalism is a project that has been in process. Future research may also test the relationship of European journalism shaping regarding other EU issues or crises and identify EU coverage levels not only of quality press but also of tabloids investigating more than two EU member states' discourses.

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22<sup>nd</sup> April 2015 Migrant Crisis: Smuggling or Trafficking? Politicians don't seem to know.

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8) <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=707521&wordsinarticle=%cf%80%cf%81%ce%bf%cf%83%cf%86%cf%85%ce%b3%ce%b9%ce%ba%ce%b7%3b%ce%ba%cf%81%ce%b9%cf%83%ce%b7%3b%cf%83%cf%84%ce%b7%ce%bd%3b%ce%b5%cf%85%cf%81%cf%89%cf%80%ce%b7>

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9) <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/01/migrant-crisis-mediterranean-numbers-nearly-double>

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16<sup>th</sup> August 2015 Christodouloupoulou: Under consideration of the creation of camps in areas of the country

National Watchtower, Eurosceptic

Vima:

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3rd July 2015 900 migrants were identified daily in the Aegean

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19th November 2015 And after the massacre in Paris Europe continuous to need migrants

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