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**CITY UNIVERSITY  
LONDON**

**PhD in Sociology**

**European integration through the press 2004–2013:  
Constructing European public sphere and citizenship in  
Cyprus**

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**October 2021**

*Dedicated to my family for all their support*

*Αφιερωμένο στην οικογένεια μου για όλη τους την στήριξη*

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## ABSTRACT

The Cypriot press has historically shaped the perceptions and relations between the European Union (EU) and the Cypriot community. The establishment of a common European public space, integration and citizenship in EU countries is partly influenced by national media. Therefore, this thesis examines the role of Cypriot press in the construction of the European Public Sphere and Citizenship, within the European social integration framework.

The research focuses on a specific period (2004-2013) and examines four historical EU-related events with social, economic and political significance concerning the Republic of Cyprus. The project looks at how the two most popular newspapers in Cyprus (*Phileleftheros* and *Politis*) covered the following events: the EU accession of 2004, which saw the admission of a divided and economically strong Cyprus into the EU, the 2008 introduction of the Euro, which pushed the country towards full integration to qualify for eurozone membership, the 2012 European Council presidency and how it influenced the integration process, the 2012-2013 Cypriot financial crises, which saw the country seek assistance from the EU leaders. The project investigates the coverage through an examination of newspaper articles in a replicable and systematic manner. Therefore, a quantitative analysis was chosen as the most appropriate research design.

The key findings identify the perceptions of the Cypriot journalists in reporting EU affairs. Cypriot journalists felt that news should undergo a national angle to apply to local readership. Through the domestication of news, Cypriot journalists address an audience in a homogeneous national sphere. Subsequently, the absence of a European

public sphere increases the initial journalistic opinion to report on EU news on a national angle.

**Keywords:** Cyprus, media, press, European integration, European public sphere, European citizenship.

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Overview**

This project deals with the concepts of European integration, citizenship, and the European public sphere in the Republic of Cyprus (hereafter Cyprus). Focusing on the Cypriot national press, the thesis examines specific EU-oriented socio-political developments in Cyprus (the 2004 EU accession, the 2008 introduction of the euro, the 2012 European Council Presidency and the 2012–13 financial crises) and analyses the role and importance of the national press in the European integration process.

These events mark the beginning of Cyprus's European era, as they have exposed the nation to a larger transnational organisation. 2004 saw the admission of a divided Cyprus into the EU, while the 2008 introduction of the euro pushed the country towards full integration to qualify for eurozone membership. The country's European Council presidency in 2012 created a strong political and economic image of Cyprus in Europe, despite claims from some other member states that it should not assume the seat. These claims were based on the division between the Turkish north and Greek-dominated southern parts of the country.

The thesis fills an existing gap in the literature by examining the part played by the Cypriot press in constructing a particular view of the country's role in the European integration process. The research seeks to examine how the Cypriot press covers EU-related events, and the methods used to present them to its readers. What makes this project unique is that it seeks to remedy the inadequacy of existing scholarly research into the role of the Cypriot press in creating the perception of these events and of the entire European integration process.

## 1.2 Methodological approach

According to Coxall et al. (2013), the media have the potential to assist the functioning of a democratic system by facilitating free speech and unrestricted public debate. This means the press has the potential to influence society and it is on the basis of this argument that this thesis examines the particular influence of the Cypriot press on issues concerning the European public sphere, citizenship and integration. The project looks at the nature of Cypriot press coverage and reporting of EU-related matters and how this has influenced the perceptions of Cypriot citizens. This focus aims to provide answers to a series of questions regarding the role of the Cypriot press in forming a European public sphere and an EU citizenship:

- What is the overall approach of the Cypriot press towards European news?
- Does the Cypriot press cover all European news efficiently?
- Should newspapers dedicate more space to reporting EU news?
- In what ways does the Cypriot press help to form public opinion on EU-related matters?
- What is the role of the media, and the press in particular, in the formation of a European public sphere?
- Do Cypriot readers feel closer to Europe or not through newspaper reporting?

To address these questions, the project focuses on the coverage and reporting of the four case studies (the 2004 EU accession, the 2008 introduction of the euro, the 2012 European Council Presidency and the 2012–13 financial crises) by the two most read newspapers in Cyprus, *Phileleftheros* and *Politis*. The case studies are analysed quantitatively through a close focus on measures and statistical analysis of verbal,

textual and visual materials. Analysis of both the empirical and theoretical examples was carried out with the formation of a coding sheet for each case study, with 27 closed-ended questions.

### **1.3 Literature review**

Considering the commitment of European leaders to ‘a safe and secure Europe, a prosperous and sustainable Europe, a social Europe and a stronger Europe on the global scene’ (European Commission, 2017), there should be at least a degree of integration, and the nature of the European integration process has been researched by various scholars. Moussis ([2015](#)) defined integration as ‘the voluntary establishment by treaty, concluded between independent states, of common institutions and the gradual development by them of common policies pursuing common goals and serving common interests’. Pelkmans (2013) and Balassa (2013) defined, analysed and identified the importance of the EU as an international organisation, and offered a clearer understanding of the process of integration and its different aspects.

Delhey (2012 in Recchi, 2014:129) investigated the social aspect of integration and defined it as ‘the mutual relevance between and cohesion among the different EU nationalities which are the component parts of this European social space’, while Bellier and Wilson (2012) identified the cultural elements of social integration. Pelkmans (2013:3) offered a definition of economic integration as the ‘elimination of economic frontiers between two or more economies’, where ‘an economic frontier is any demarcation over which actual and potential mobilities of goods, services and production factors, as well as communication flows, are relatively low’. In addition, the works of McCormick (2013) and Molle (2006) in linking economic with political integration led to further discussion on European integration.

In democratic societies, like the European ones, the integration of citizens takes place through exchange of views occurring within the public sphere. German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1989:15) defined the public sphere as ‘a space or arena for (broad, public) deliberation, discussion, and engagement in societal issues’. In that context, the media and publicity have a role to play in promoting engagement and forming public opinion.

The existing discourses within the national public sphere may operate in favour of the formation of European citizenship among Europeans. Marshal (1950) defined citizenship as a ‘status bestowed on those who are full members of a community’, adding that ‘those who possess this status are equal with respect and duties that come with it’ (1950:15). This definition triggered a scholarly discussion with Meehan (2009:4) who argued that citizenship is ‘a practice or a form of belonging, resting on a set of legal, social and participatory entitlements, which may be conferred and sometimes are, irrespective of nationality, or denied, as in the case of women and some religious and ethnic minorities, regardless of nationality’. This work also investigates the meaning of European citizenship in relation to national citizenship and its importance to the European integration process. This is achieved through a focus on the development of citizenship and the work of Wiener and Tilly (1997:39), who declared that, whereas citizenship emerged as a feature of strong, centralised states, today the EU’s form of citizenship attaches its members to an institution rather than a state.

### *Initial findings*

The initial findings of the project revealed that Cypriot journalists domesticate the European news as a way of making it more appealing to their homogeneous national audience. The domestication of news is associated with the ways in which the press



presents Europe to the readers; it may assist in preserving the homogeneity, national pride and self-esteem within the nation state, but it may act against the European integration process, as readers may operate more as ‘Cypriots’ and less as ‘Europeans’. Moreover, Cypriot journalists consider European news to be ‘second-order’ compared to the national news, and this affects their reporting as they give it less gravity in the agenda-setting process.

## **1.4 Structure**

The project is organised into two distinct parts. The first part contains three theoretical chapters while the second part comprises three empirical chapters. The first three chapters provide the theoretical background of the three key subjects (European public sphere, European citizenship and European integration) and form the basis for the empirical research chapters.

The first chapter introduces readers to the aims and scope of this project and highlights the key topics discussed in each chapter. Chapter 2, the first theoretical chapter, discusses the different aspects of European integration (social, political, economic and cultural) and provides the necessary theoretical background for the relevant empirical research chapter. The aim of this chapter is to allow readers to familiarise themselves with the different aspects of European integration and to understand the operational framework of the EU.

In Chapter 3, there is a theoretical discussion about the formation of the public sphere from both its national and European angles, and its association with the media. This chapter aims to investigate the fundamental theories regarding the public sphere, such as the landmark work of German philosopher Jürgen Habermas, and identify it with the media theories concerning publicity. Chapter 4 explores the notions of

citizenship and identity in their European context, highlighting the key theories of the subject and including an extensive discussion about the role of the media in shaping citizenship and identity, at both a national and a European level. The fifth chapter deals with the methodological approach of the project and explains each step taken in the analysis of the coverage of the European news by the two newspapers being examined.

Looking at the empirical part of the thesis, Chapter 6 investigates the coverage of the country's accession process through a social lens. The chapter also focuses on the ways in which news coverage affected the European integration process of Cypriot society.

The second empirical chapter, Chapter 7, considers the importance of the press in the construction of a European public sphere. This part of the thesis aims to investigate the *modus operandi* of the national public sphere as well as the formation of a European public sphere through the news coverage of the examined newspapers.

The third empirical chapter, Chapter 8, discusses European citizenship and the role of the press in the construction of a common European citizenship. The findings of the relevant theoretical chapter (Chapter 4) help in examining the significance of news reporting in relation to the development of European citizenship. Lastly, Chapter 9 provides the conclusions and identifies the key findings of the thesis.

The research for this project identified that there have been no similar scholarly studies on the Cypriot press in relation to the key subjects of the thesis (European integration, the European public sphere and European citizenship). This 'academic gap' (Günther & Domahidi, 2017:10) presented an opportunity to investigate the role of the Cypriot press in its European context. The absence of previous research material on Cyprus led to the selection of a specific time frame (2004–13) and the examination of

historical EU-related events that could prove useful not only for future researchers and journalists, but also for historians and other media studies experts.

## **CHAPTER 2: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

### **2.1 Introduction**

European integration is a multidimensional, evolving process with political, economic and social elements (Nye, 1968). From the European Coal and Steel Community and the economic union of six European countries (Belgium, Italy, West Germany, Luxemburg, France and the Netherlands) to the European Community with the political and economic integration of twelve member states to today's European Union of social, political and economic integration, the European Union (EU) has made many steps in finding the common values that unite the countries of the continent.

Each of the three main forms of integration (economic, social, political) is discussed in this chapter. The examination of theories of political integration provides the background to better understand how the EU operates today and how it is achieving integration while, from a sociological angle, the chapter investigates trends such as populism and the EU's democratic deficit that influence society's perception of the EU. In addition, the chapter will examine the role played by the media in shaping public opinion in relation to the EU.

### **2.2 European integration: an overview**

The official EU website declares the EU to be 'a unique economic and political union between 27 European countries that together cover much of the continent'. The notable point here is the reference to economic and political union between the member states, two elements that were fundamental to the Union's launch. The Oxford English Dictionary defines European integration as 'the process of industrial, political, legal, economic, social, and cultural integration of European countries', while Moussis

(2015) refers to it as a ‘multinational integration process which is defined as the voluntary establishment by treaty, concluded between independent states, of common institutions and the gradual development by them of common policies pursuing common goals and serving common interests’.

The EU is not legally (*de jure*) a federation, although various academics, such as Weiler (2003:47), have argued that it contains some federal characteristics. Many EU policy areas are federalised into common institutions with legislative authorities; where it diverges from a federation is that the EU does not control foreign policy, defence policy or the majority of direct taxation policies, apart from the VAT variation level. There is, however, a certain amount of structured cooperation and coordination between the EU and member states in all policy areas, while the EU cannot take substantial actions without the consent of the member states (Rosamond, 2009). Thus, the EU operates within a blend of intergovernmental and supranational (similar to federal) aspects. In order to understand how this is achieved, it is useful to examine the different aspects of integration (economic, political and social) and the related theories.

### **2.2.1 Economic integration**

Pelkmans (2013:3) defined the economic aspect of integration as the ‘elimination of economic frontiers between two or more economies’, where ‘an economic frontier is any demarcation over which actual and potential mobilities of goods, services and production factors, as well as communication flows, are relatively low’. For Balassa (2013:1) economic integration is a ‘process’, which ‘encompasses measures designed to abolish discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states’, and ‘viewed as a state of affairs, that can be represented by

the absence of various forms of discrimination between national economies’. Putting this view in a European context, European economic integration has five stages that can be summarised as follows:

**Table 2.1: Levels of economic integration**

| Levels of economic integration                | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Free trade area (FTA)</b>                  | Formed when at least two or more countries partially or fully abolish customs tariffs on internal borders, following a mutual agreement. No common external tariff exists (e.g., Central European Free Trade Agreement [CEFTA], North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA]).                                                                                                                          |
| <b>Customs union</b>                          | A type of trade block where the participant countries set up a common external trade policy.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Single market</b>                          | Unification of economic policies (tax, social welfare benefits and so on) through customs union with common policies on product regulation and freedom of movement of the factors of production (capital and labour) and enterprise. Goal: to free the movement of capital, labour, goods and services between the market’s members. Single market increases competitiveness and decreases monopolies. |
| <b>Economic and monetary union</b>            | The existence of a single market with a common currency (e.g. Eurozone).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>Complete integration (political union)</b> | The final stage of economic integration; member states have no individual control of economic policy; full monetary union and complete (or near-complete) fiscal policy harmonisation.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

Source: [European Commission](#)

In practice, the single market has boosted trade flows within the EU through the elimination of trade tariffs and reduction in non-tariff barriers, and so has raised output and domestic demand. The opening of domestic economies has also increased competition, reduced mark-ups and lowered prices (t’ Veld, 2019).

The emergence of a common market is an excellent instance of the effective use of integration. The reduction of barriers to economic exchanges was in the general interest of European populations, even though specific sectors within each country benefited from protectionism (Guiso, Sapienza & Zingales, 2014). Stable integration is more likely to succeed in areas such as trade, where heterogeneity costs across populations are relatively low and are partly offset by benefits from diversity.

Simultaneously, reduced heterogeneity may lead to conflict if different individuals and groups share very similar preferences towards specific territories and resources (Spolaore & Wacziarg, 2012). For instance, the 27-year dispute (1991–2018) between Greece and North Macedonia over the naming of the small Balkan country (formerly known as the Republic of Macedonia, shortened to Macedonia) has caused disputes and political and economic sanctions between the two countries. In 2018, both countries signed the ‘Prespa Agreement’ which resolved this issue but only partially (Rohdewald, 2018:580) as there are voices that still appear opposed to it, mostly from the northern part of Greece ([BBC, 2019](#)).

European integration supported post-war economic reconstruction, which was based on a de facto solidarity (Coeure, 2013) and on the pooling of coal and steel production, and the gradual creation of a single market, subsequently complemented by cohesion policies and the creation of the euro.

Coordination between member states in economic and fiscal policies, in a common monetary policy and common currency and economic policymaking within the euro area, increases the possibilities for integration among the countries involved. Monetary integration means in its highest form that each member of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) is free to use its currency for any kind of payment to partners (Jovanovic, 1997:44). The introduction of the euro in 19 countries and the banking union as an ongoing process represent major steps in the integration of EU economies in the EMU.

**Image 2.1: The Euro as symbol of European integration (Source: [ESM](#))**

## THE EURO – SYMBOL OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION



Economic integration is not an *end* in itself; its *rationale* is to serve higher objectives, of both an economic and political nature, such as the aims described in the table below.

**Table 2.2: Economic integration objectives**

| Objectives                | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Economic welfare</b>   | The prosperity of all participating countries is enhanced by overcoming the inefficiencies of nationally segmented economies through specialisation of production and through cooperation in policymaking, the two basic elements of economic integration.                    |
| <b>Peace and security</b> | When countries become dependent upon each other as a result of economic integration this reduces the chance of armed conflicts between them.                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Democracy</b>          | If participation in a group that brings benefits through integration is made conditional on the existence of a parliamentary form of democracy, it is less likely that attempts to overthrow this system of government in a member country will stand much chance of success. |
| <b>Human rights</b>       | In much the same way, the respect for human rights may be safeguarded if this is set as a precondition for participation in a scheme for economic integration.                                                                                                                |

Source: Molle (2006:4)

The introduction of a common currency in the EU, according to Coeure (2013), affected the daily lives of citizens, as it created *price stability* which preserves the value



of incomes and savings, especially for the most fragile parts of society, who hold their savings as cash or bank deposits and cannot protect themselves against inflation; it is notable that, since the creation of the euro, inflation has risen on average almost exactly 2% per year in the euro area.

At the same time, the common currency simplifies price comparisons and bank transfers, eliminating currency risks in intra-euro area trade and investment; lastly, the interdependence and shared responsibility implied by the euro create a European solidarity imperative in the event of a crisis (Coeure, 2013). This solidarity in economic affairs supports the idea of member states being able to have different views or different interests, but it also creates a duty to overcome these differences and act together. From an economic perspective, heterogeneity can be a source of both benefits and costs for societies. Individuals and groups living in diverse communities can benefit from this coexistence by specialising in the production of different goods and services and by exchanging new ideas with each other (Spolaore, 2015).

For instance, Cyprus joining the EU in 2004 and joining the eurozone in 2008 were two events of ‘high political and historic importance because they changed the way that governance and fiscal affairs operated and brought Cyprus into a wider “amalgamation” of countries, namely the EU, along with the implementation of additional new laws, regulations, institutions and the decision-making bodies that resulted in the process’ (Papaioannou & Hadjimichael, 2015:21). There was a widespread belief that there was much to ‘gain’ from these historic events by which Cypriots would be able to engage in EU-funded initiatives and programmes following the replacement of the Cyprus pound by a stronger and more stable currency, the euro ([EB70, Autumn 2008](#)), and that generally the inhabitants of Cyprus would feel more secure, stable and prosperous through belonging to an EU member state (Papaioannou

& Hadjimichael, 2015:21). This perception on the part of Cypriot citizens was changed by the European economic crisis (2009–13) which negatively affected the eurozone and Cyprus. As former Minister of Finance and former EU commissioner Markos Kyprianou highlighted:

The citizens' views have been influenced negatively by the economic crisis of 2013 and the bail-in imposed on Cyprus. They felt, rather justifiably, that they were unfairly treated by the EU; this feeling was not unfounded given that the bail-in approach was only implemented in Cyprus and in no other Member State. Despite the various economic rescue programmes granted to a number of member states the 'Cyprus experiment' was never repeated. This has left a bitter taste for the Cypriots. Nevertheless, they still support Cyprus's membership in the EU and the European project but through a more critical lens. The honeymoon is over.

The economic crisis sparked a public debate on the economic integration of the Union, while terms like 'Grexit' (i.e., the idea of Greece leaving the eurozone) were introduced in the broader discussion. At the same time, there were voices, mostly from creditor countries, speaking of economic disintegration while people were for the first time openly discussing possible withdrawals of individual member states from the eurozone, bringing the status quo of the EU's systemic integration into question (Scheller & Eppler, 2014:28). As became evident during the critical stage of the euro crisis, there was no consensus about the causes of and the adequate measures to contain this crisis. On the contrary, the frames in the public discourses in creditor and debtor countries differed markedly (Eppler, Anders & Tunchew, 2016:16).

The need for decisive political action to avoid the deepening of a future economic crisis, and any possible disintegration attempts, demonstrates the connection between economic and political integration. Referring to the EMU, Merch (2018) argued that there must be European democratic control over every economic process that involves European taxpayers' money, which means the direct involvement of elected EU bodies, such as the Parliament. The association of economic integration with goals of socio-political integration (portrayed in Table 2.2) reveals a 'political structure within the European economy' (Martin & Ross, 2004:1). Thus, the Union's economic integration had political and social incentives leading to further integration of the European continent. For instance, in 1991 German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said: 'It is absurd to expect in the long run that you can maintain economic and monetary union without political union' (Marsh, 2011:301).

According to the *functional* integration theory (for analysis see later in the chapter), integration that 'start[s] within specific and relatively narrow economic functions (coal and steel, trade) is expected to move to broader and more "political" areas. In the long run, economic integration is expected to lead to political integration – either to a fully-fledged sovereign federation ("the United States of Europe") or to a "post-modern" political community in which traditional sovereign states have become much less powerful or even obsolete' (Spolaore, 2015:7).

In short, economic integration within the EU is a process that may lead to financial convergence among member states which, as a result, benefit from the abolition of levies and customs tariffs. Economic integration is also one of the elements of convergence, helping to unite heterogeneous populations through the trading of goods, services and ideas. It also indirectly promotes elements of social and political integration, such as democracy, peace and security.

The final step, beyond economic union, is a political union and this is part of a broader debate taking place in the member states concerning the extent of European integration, especially after some of the developments that have taken place in EU countries (such as the rise of far-right political movements, economic crises and the refugee crisis).

### 2.2.2 Political integration

An initial definition of **political integration** describes it as ‘the process by which political leaders and citizens in separate countries are encouraged to create a new set of common governing institutions and jurisdictional powers and to shift some of their loyalties and expectations to that new level of government’ (Bache et al., 2014:45). European integration is primarily a political and secondly a social process. Political actions and decisions related to European integration have an immediate impact on the societies of member states and, therefore, there is a social importance to this process.

**Table 2.3: Major theoretical approaches to integration**

| Phase/Approach                                                  | Main Themes                                                                             | Integrative dynamic                                                                               | End product                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Phase I: Normative pre-integration theories 1920s–1960s</b>  |                                                                                         |                                                                                                   |                                                        |
| Federalism                                                      |                                                                                         | Intergovernmental constitutional bargaining or convention of a constituent assembly               | Federal state                                          |
| Functionalism                                                   | Why is integration desirable?<br>How can it best be designed and promoted?              | Creation of international functional organizations which take over key functions of nation states | International web of depoliticized functional agencies |
| Transactionalism                                                |                                                                                         | Learning and socialization through communication                                                  | International security community                       |
| <b>Phase II: Explanatory integration theories 1950s onwards</b> |                                                                                         |                                                                                                   |                                                        |
| Neofunctionalism                                                |                                                                                         | Spillover of cooperation from purely technical to increasingly political sectors                  | Supranational political community                      |
| Intergovernmentalism                                            | Why does integration take place?<br>How can specific integration outcomes be explained? | Converging national interests form basis for intergovernmental treaty bargains                    | International organization                             |

Source: Rosamond (2000:4)

There are five key theories of governance that have affected how the EU has developed and integrated over the years: *functionalism*, *federalism*, *transactionalism*, *neofunctionalism* and *intergovernmentalism*.

## *Functionalism*

Functionalism is the “‘intellectual ancestor” of both neofunctionalist theory and the diverse recent approaches of interdependence theory, world society, linkage politics and regime theory’ (Taylor, 1994a:125). Examples of the functional approach in operation are specialised agencies of the United Nations (UN) such as the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), both of which have nearly global membership.

The role of a union of countries, or as Mitrany declared it, ‘part of an evolutionary process of achieving functionally specific objectives and not of a deterministic situation leading towards a federal state or even a state-like entity’ (Chrysochoou, 2001:39), is at the core of the functionalism theory. The functionalist approach allows the view that there is no point at which the state would necessarily lose its sovereignty, in the sense that ‘power would now need to be finally transferred, or that the State would lose its legal right to act, if it so wished, against the wishes of the functional agency’ (Taylor, 1990:132).

Putting this approach into the European context, functionalism is opposed to the creation of a European superstate and to the loss of power, responsibilities and authority on the part of member states. At the same time, the theory encourages the countries’ collaboration in certain (or even all) areas of everyday life through international organisations (such as the EU) without losing their political and social sovereignty. This means that EU member states would have a role to play in drawing up, accepting, ratifying and implementing the various common policies and share common values through this implementation, leading to further integration.

## *Federalism*

An initial definition of ‘federalism’ refers to the ‘polity compounded of strong constituent entities and a strong government, each possessing powers delegated to it by the people and empowered to deal directly with the citizenry in the exercise of those powers’ (Chrysochoou, 2001:43). Robinson (1961:2 in Murphy, 1995:75) declared that ‘federalism is based on the existence of regional differences and recognises the claims of the component areas to perpetuate their individual characters’, indicating that ‘regional differences’ and ‘component areas’ preserve diversity at the regional and national level.

Spinelli and Rossi (1943) made an appeal for a ‘European Federation’, declaring that ‘the division of Europe into separate nation states was a key cause of war’ (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006:20). They also argued that the most privileged classes of the old national systems should make efforts to reconstruct the order of the countries and appeared in favour of the abolition of the division of Europe into nation states (2009:7), an action that would lead to the creation of a federal European state.

Spinelli and Albertini argued that ‘integration must be cultivated as a popular, indeed a revolutionary, movement’ (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006:20; Levi, 1991:222; Pistone, 1991:351–4; Spinelli & Rossi, 1944), a view predicated on the existence of a popular movement which would urge the elites to give more power to a higher authority, leading to better representation of citizens within a federal system.

A third approach referred to ‘incremental’ or ‘functional’ federalism (or ‘federal-functionalism’, according to Mitrany), the key representative of this approach being Jean Monnet. He saw political integration as ‘a gradual process of reciprocal adaptation of national institutions’. The establishment of special links between national governments would not jeopardise national sovereignty and would thus make the

introduction of federalism much easier for the nations (Burgess, 2000; Pinder, 1986; Spinelli, 1968). For Monnet, supranational institutions act as the basis for the creation of an authentic economic community with common economic policies and rational planning procedures.

The view that the EU is unlikely to evolve into a unified federal state has been supported by scholars such as Kelemen and Tarrant (2007:55) who have stated that ‘widespread political opposition to the creation of anything approximating a large, unified executive bureaucracy in Brussels has long-since ended hopes, for the few who harboured them, of creating a European super state’.

The EU has nevertheless developed into a political community with comprehensive regulatory powers and shares most features of what the literature defines as a *federation* (Burgess, 2000; Wheare, 1963):

- Its system of governance has at least two orders of government, each existing under its own right and exercising direct influence on the people
- There are provisions for ‘shared government’ in areas where the jurisdiction of the EU and of the member states overlaps; community law enjoys supremacy over national law
- European legislation is increasingly made by majority decision, obliging individual member states against their will
- At the same time, the composition and procedures of the European institutions are based not solely on principles of majoritarian representation, but guarantee the representation of ‘minority’ views
- The European Court of Justice serves as an umpire to adjudicate conflicts between the European institutions and the member states
- Finally, the EU has a directly elected parliament (since 1979).

### *Transactionalism*

Transactionalism or ‘communication theory’ focuses on the social rather than political or economic dimensions of integration and refers to the creation and preservation of the appropriate conditions to make a sense of community between the populations of different countries (Pentland, 1975:36). Deutsch believed that ‘transactionalism comes through cultural assimilation, leading to the emergence of international “security communities”’. As Eilstrup-Sangiovanni (2006:29) declares:

Simply stated, Deutsch’s vision of integration as the formation of security communities relies on the notion that international transactions – communication, migration, mutual services, military collaboration, even tourism – trigger processes of social-psychological learning which in turn produce common identities and trust among social actors.

There are two aspects of transactionalism, relating to *social* and *political* integration. *Social* integration leads to the creation of ‘*pluralistic communities*’, where communities preserve their legal independence. Interactions are guided by feelings of sovereignty and by ‘dependable expectations of peaceful change’ (Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2006:30; Deutsch 1969:122; van Wageningen, 1965). Advocates of *political* integration argue that, as soon as a pluralistic community is created, the political elites need to establish common supranational institutions and create amalgamated ‘security communities’ – an advanced form of political community – and mostly federal unions (Deutsch et al., 1957:6; Puchala, 1970a:184). This form of association encourages mutual responsive relations under the condition that the people form a ‘sense of



community’ that makes them overcome any divisive issues that may arise during the integration process (Chrysochoou, 2001:50–1; Rosamond, 2000:44; Deutsch, 1964:54).

### *Neofunctionalism*

Neofunctionalism is a theory of regional integration which downplays globalisation and reintroduces territory into its governance. The aim of neofunctionalist theory is to explain ‘how and why they [nation states] voluntarily mingle, merge, and mix with their neighbours to lose the factual attributes of sovereignty while acquiring new techniques for resolving conflict between themselves’ (Haas, 1970:610; Bache & George, 2009:9).

Neofunctionalism is based on four arguments: a) that the concept of the ‘state’ is more complex than realists suggest; b) the activities of interest groups and bureaucratic actors are not confined to the domestic political arena; c) non-state actors are important in international politics; and d) European integration is advanced through ‘spillover’ pressures (Bache & George, 2009:9). ‘Spillover’ refers to ‘the mechanism by which integration in one area creates the conditions and incentives for integration in another related policy area’ (Rosamond, 2000:50). The most important element of ‘spillover’ that makes it easier to understand is mutual reinforcement in functionally or politically related policy sectors. Neofunctionalists have argued that the spillover effect can take one of three forms, as set out in Table 2.4.

**Table 2.4: Forms of spillover**

| Forms of spillover | Characteristics                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Functional</b>  | Political pressures leading to further sector integration; contemporary industrial economies were created from interconnected parts; impossible to isolate one sector from the other. If member states face more political pressures from a supranational organisation in a certain sector, this would eventually lead to further integration in other related sectors, acting like a chain reaction. ‘Technical pressures would prompt integration in those related sectors, and the integration of one sector would only work if other functionally related sectors were also integrated’ (Bache & George, 2009:10). |
| <b>Political</b>   | Intensive levels of elite socialisation and gradual convergence of interests/expectations. It is ‘the build-up of political pressures in order to achieve further integration within the involving states’. Once one sector of the economy gets under pressure by a supranational organisation, then the interest groups need to put more pressure on this organisation, to achieve further integration. Once interest groups become involved in the EU, they could integrate in their sector and understand the barriers that have prevented them from accessing those benefits.                                      |
| <b>Cultivated</b>  | Active role of the central bureaucracy as agent of integration. ‘The Commission, representing the “general interest”, is well placed to mediate among national viewpoints by advancing impartial compromise proposals’ (Lindberg, 1963:210, 278). Successive spillovers can integrate previously unconnected policy sectors and eventually seek a change in the behaviour and operational attitude of the ‘relevant elites’, enabling the Commission to act on the European policy change and to move towards European integration.                                                                                    |

**Source: (Chrysochoou, 2001:54)**

Neofunctionalism has been linked with ‘integration theory’, the ‘Monnet method’ and the propositions expressed by theorists such as Ernst Haas (Rosamond, 2000:51). The ‘Monnet method’ is based on the perception that the integration process is mostly supported by concrete projects in contrast to general declarations of basic principles. The main argument of the method comes from the Schuman Plan which stressed ‘concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity’ and applies to the discussions regarding the constitutional drafts (EU website). Monnet and Schuman

directly rejected the idealism of a federal movement and appeared in favour of sectoral functional organisations such as the European Coal and Steel Community and EURATOM (European Atomic Energy Agency). They supported the idea of political unity and of peace through economic integration as well as the emergence of a supranational organisation which would set goals and have as its main aim the integration process between member states.

In brief, neofunctionalism focuses on the relationship between economic and political integration, assuming that integration in the economic and functional sectors will lead to pressure for political integration, especially when states realise that integration in one functional area impacts upon their interdependent activities in other areas. At the same time, the spillover effect will enhance this process, leading to further integration between member states.

### *Intergovernmentalism*

Intergovernmentalism is based on the idea that key cooperative decisions are made as a result of negotiations among representatives of the states involved (McCormick, 2015:22). The theory treats national governments as primary actors in the integration process (Richardson, 2001:53), arguing that the nation state is not becoming obsolete as a result of European integration.

Hoffmann (1966), one of the key proponents of the theory, declared that governments control the level and speed of European integration and that any increase in power at the supranational level is derived from a direct decision by governments and their domestic agendas (Rosamond, 2009:136). The theory is underpinned by realism and sees the EU primarily as a forum where member states' representatives negotiate with each other in order to achieve consensus, while pursuing state interests

by paying less attention to the broader interests of the community of states (McCormick, 2015:22).

Mitrany (1970:103) argued that cooperation between governments was ‘not a matter of surrendering sovereignty, not in transferring it from states to supranational institutions. The processes of intergovernmental bargaining at the European level also strengthen states and enhance the domestic autonomy of governments. National governments are able to take initiatives and conflicting interests are resolved within the EU bodies.’

Moravcsik (1993) developed a model to explain European integration which combined a liberal theory of national preference formation with an intergovernmentalist account of strategic bargaining between states. *Liberal intergovernmentalism* sees states as the main actors and the EU as an international institution where each EU member state achieves its goal through negotiation and bargaining. Moravcsik (1998:18) defined the process of European integration as ‘a series of rational choices made by national leaders, which responded to constraints and opportunities stemming from the economic interests of powerful domestic constituents, the relative power of each state in the international system, and the role of institutions in bolstering the credibility of interstate commitments’. The issue arising from this process is that asymmetrical interdependence among states shapes intergovernmental bargains. The EU member states that are the least in need of an agreement are best positioned to determine the terms of the bargain, especially in cases of unanimous decision ruling (Moravcsik & Schimmelfennig, 2009: 71).

Wessels (1997:17–18) argued that European integration is ‘the logical product’ of important choices made by European governments, claiming that ‘Member States consent to invest competencies and resources in the EU because of package deals’,

highlighting the economic relationship between member states and the European Union. In the face of growing dependencies, member states need shared ‘problem-solving instruments’ through supranational institutions at the EU level, while simultaneously making a great effort to keep ‘the ultimate say’ (Milward, 1992:2).

Focusing on the theory of grand bargaining and major decisions, critics have pointed out that liberal intergovernmentalism focuses exclusively on the treaty-amending moments and member states’ economic interests, overlooking the everyday agendas that represent the majority of EU policies.

### **2.2.3 Cultural integration**

In the EU of 27 member states, there is diversity among the population that is not only political or economic but also cultural. The role of culture is ‘to strengthen European identity and increase legitimacy by transcending the idea of shared values and a common cultural heritage’ (Lähdesmäki, 2016). Pascale Fontaine (2015:10) argued that ‘cultural policy forms part of the European enterprise and, in this respect, is an integration factor within an ever-closer union between the peoples of Europe’.

The cultural values of the various European countries differ considerably, and each expansion of the EU further increases its diversity (Gerhards, 2007a). These cultural values are relatively stable societal characteristics (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Schwartz, 2006). The Union’s cross-national cultural differences are associated with social differences such as the quality of democracy, effective governance, civic activism and generalised trust (Welzel, 2013). Wide cultural differences have been described as a barrier to European integration (Gerhards, 2007a). Recognising that European integration is a multi-levelled process, it is important to explore ‘cultural integration’, ‘a form of cultural exchange in which one group assumes the beliefs,

practices and rituals of another group without sacrificing the characteristics of its own culture' (Shore, 2013: 18). The cultural transformation of the EU involves two phases, cultural convergence and cultural divergence.

The theory of cultural convergence considers the EU as a *value entrepreneur* that implements a particular image of the ideal European society among its member states and its candidates for membership (Gerhards, 2008, 2010; Gerhards & Lengfeld, 2006; Gerhards et al., 2009) as well as a *normative power* which promotes political principles and values (e.g., democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, peace and tolerance) (Manners, 2002). As the last stage, the population is exposed to the media and thereby internalises these norms and values. There are also circumstances where cultural diffusion can occur between societies. The *Acquis Communautaire* (the freedoms of movement – of goods, workers, services and capital) operates in favour of cultural exchange among European cultures, by encouraging close economic and social interactions.

The theory of cultural divergence claims that 'societies change their values as they develop economically' (Inglehart & Baker, 2000), leading old and new member states to fail to comply fully with the EU's cultural blueprint. The theory identifies the different geopolitical alliances, divergent patterns of cooperation (e.g., trade) within and outside of Europe, and strong ties to former colonies as reasons for EU countries taking different cultural pathways. It also refers to 'political elites' and their relationship with the Union that operate as a crucial factor in facilitating or impeding the transformative impact of the EU (Vasilev, 2016).

Based on the above, we can assume that convergence is likely among EU member states because they are continuously exposed to the EU's normative script, and their shared identity facilitates diffusional processes. Symbols like the EU flag, anthem

(Beethoven's 'Ode to Joy') and motto ('United in Diversity') are considered to be 'symbols par excellence of European identity and unification' (CEC, 1988b:5), aimed at enhancing the Union's profile and representing significant moves towards European social integration. These symbols operate as cultural representations aimed at uniting European citizens and promoting the virtues and values of a 'common cultural heritage' (European Commission, 2019). The motto 'United in Diversity' has been recognised as a symbol of Europeanness as 'it signifies how Europeans have come together, in the form of the EU, to work for peace and prosperity, while at the same time being enriched by the continent's many different cultures, traditions and languages' (Shore, 2013: 22). A common cultural heritage is also an important resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion as it helps to revitalise urban and rural areas and promote sustainable tourism. Borneman and Fowler (1997:174–85) defined some of the factors that facilitate unity within the EU, as set out in Table 2.5.

**Table 2.5: Socio-cultural integration factors**

| Factor                                                                       | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>The teaching of European languages</b>                                    | English remains the <i>lingua franca</i> of Europe from the three (English, German and French) 'working' languages (i.e., the official languages used in the everyday work of the EU's public bodies). European language learning promotes cultural interaction among Europeans, leading to exchange of ideas. |
| <b>Increase in exchanges at all levels (educational, cultural and so on)</b> | Participation in EU exchange programmes (e.g., Erasmus, Cultural capital of Europe, Media+) allow the exchange of ideas and help the formation of a common European culture.                                                                                                                                   |
| <b>Teaching of EU history agreed curriculum</b>                              | Common historical grounds lead to familiarisation with European history and increase integration among Europeans.                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>The development of European 'communities'</b>                             | A community of destiny (avoiding wars, preserving the environment and so on); a community of values (tolerance, human rights and so on); and a community of life (the active participation of individuals in the making of Europe).                                                                            |
| <b>The presence of Europe in the world arena</b>                             | The EU as a superpower; the build-up of common defence, common foreign policy and so on enhance the presence of the EU in the global political scene.                                                                                                                                                          |

|                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>The encouragement of cultural tourism</b>                     | It helps to dismantle prejudices and contributes to the creation of genuine respect and appreciation for other cultures and languages.                    |
| <b>The Europeanisation of sport</b>                              | Despite national aspects, sport can help to create unity; the increased Europeanisation of sport will promote a certain amount of European consciousness. |
| <b>Inter-marriage</b>                                            | Marriage and other unions across European nations, where the family becomes a microcosm of diversity.                                                     |
| <b>The promotion of European culture in every shape and form</b> | European culture contributes to the convergence of culturally and linguistically diverse countries.                                                       |

Source: Borneman and Fowler (1997)

Linguistic diversity in Europe is an integral part of European identity and is recognised and protected by the EU (Article 22, Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union). Such diversity, however, presents a major challenge for further cultural integration, with the Union having thirty-six official languages, three of which (English, German and French) are used by the European institutions for their daily operations. Language can be an obstacle in the integration process as ‘a difference in the language makes for a different way of seeing the world, where the perception of meanings might change during the process of translation’ (Van de Steeg, 2002:503).

The solution to linguistic diversity is the promotion of a European education through programmes that lead to mutual respect. For instance, EU-funded projects like Erasmus+, one of the long-running educational exchange programmes, further the increase of ideas, knowledge, cooperation and culture among European citizens, offering opportunities to young people to hone their language skills by engaging in learning and training abroad, and by supporting vocational and educational mobility.

Learning about the EU’s history through an agreed curriculum helps students to understand how the EU has evolved over the years, not only geographically, but also economically and politically (Rosamond, 2013:76). Through knowledge of and



familiarisation with European history, not only is cultural integration advanced but the presence of Europe in the national arena is recognised.

The EU has been referred to by scholars as ‘an emerging superpower’ on the global scene (e.g., Reid, 2004; Reding, 2002; Moravcsik, 2014; Leonard, 2010; McCormick, 2007; Rifkin, 2004) and has been identified as a soft power with ‘the ability to attract and co-opt, rather than coerce’ (Nye, 1990). McCormick (2007) asserted that the EU has already achieved superpower status, on account of its size, global financial reach and global political influence. He argued that military power is no longer essential to great power, declaring the control of the means of production to be a more important factor than control of means of destruction.

In the process of European integration, culture is considered to be a significant tool and tourism the most important process to provide its transmission (Niray, 2002). According to the European Commission, tourism is the third largest socio-economic activity in the EU (after trade and distribution, and the construction sectors) and has an overall positive impact on economic growth and employment. Borneman and Fowler (1997) argued that tourism is ‘a privileged domain in which European identifications are created, for it is abroad that nationals find opportunities to vacation with other nationals and where they are identified by others as either nationals or Europeans’.

Cultural tourism and cultural attractions have also become central to much of the regional economic development activity financed by the European Commission (Richards, 1999), the dedicated website on cultural tourism of the European Commission stating that ‘the EU recognises the importance of culture as part of the European tourism experience and as an element that can enhance the profile of Europe as a global destination and supports the areas of cultural tourism that have the greatest potential for growth’ (European Commission, 2019). Cultural tourism assists the

European integration process by contributing to the export of the cultures of the member states while respecting national and regional variety and emphasising the cultural heritage and promotes cooperation between member states and third countries through international organisations (Richards, 2001b).

As the intense interaction within the EU generates shared values and culture, sport is also seen as a factor for cultural integration and for the formation of EU identity (sharing 'European values' through sport) by the EU institutions (Roche, 2004). EU intervention in sport has many applications and this is reflected in the 2007 White Paper on Sport where the EU recommends its member states to take action on the social dimension of sport (European Commission, 2007e), such as public health and physical activity, the fight against doping, education and training, volunteering in sport, active citizenship and non-profit sports organisations, social inclusion in and through sport and the fight against violence and racism in sport. Such actions correlate sport with culture and with European integration. Through competitions, recreational activities, exchanges of ideas and experiences, sport contributes to the emergence of a European identity and European citizenship.

Summing up, the use of culture as a tool to reduce the social diversity that exists between the European nations is described as cultural integration and is one of the elements of the multi-levelled European integration process. Sharing common cultural European values and norms, through language, education, cultural tourism and sport, helps the cultural convergence of European societies and enhances engagement between heterogeneous populations. The institutional development of common values, symbolised by a European flag, anthem and motto, is a positive addition to the process of European cultural integration.

### **2.3 Democratic deficit in the EU**

The term ‘democratic deficit’, in the context of the EU, refers to ‘the belief that the EU does not have sufficient parliamentary and democratic supervision, with its complex method of decision making resulting in it appearing inaccessible to ordinary citizens’ (Blair, 2006:144).

The characteristics of the EU’s democratic deficit have been widely discussed by scholars. For example, Lord (1998:11) defined these characteristics as ‘the unelected character of the European Commission, the alleged weakness of the European Parliament, the withdrawal of powers from national parliaments, lack of a European political identity or “demos”, low voter participation in European elections, the absence of strong democratic intermediaries such as political parties, the remoteness of the Union’s decision-making procedures and doubtless much else besides’. What all these elements identified by Lord share is the lack of citizens’ participation in the EU’s democratic processes.

The citizens of the EU member states are becoming increasingly aware of the impact of the Union on their daily lives and consider the EU ‘an unintelligible, unaccountable, remote and secretive’ organisation (Schmitter, 2003). The notion of the EU as an unpopular institution was examined by Leonard (1998:61–6) who identified three interconnected reasons for this unpopularity: a) the EU’s institutions are detached from people’s everyday life and routine; b) the EU’s policymaking priorities are not those of most voters; and c) the benefits of EU membership are spread unevenly within the member states and this leads to the general belief that the EU is a ‘club for the few’, an educated elite. These perceptions were reflected, for example, in the referendum over the European constitution in 2005 when the French and Dutch rejected this step towards further integration.

The phenomenon of democratic deficit within the EU is not new. Since the 1992 Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty), support for and trust in European institutions have declined (Koopmans & Erbe, 2004). Although the EU was formed with good intentions of expanding commercial and geopolitical space, there has been an increasing divergence between the EU and individual citizens. The absence of open communication channels between the EU bodies responsible for policymaking may mean that, during a crisis, citizens from member states sense a lack of leadership as there is no EU body they can easily approach (Koopmans & Erbe, 2004). For example, the existence of representations of the EU bodies (e.g., European Commission, European Parliament) in the member states and the presence of other EU-related information centres (e.g., Europe Direct, European Documentation Centre for Businesses) are part of a broader European mechanism aimed at informing the public, but citizens remain at a distance from the decision-making headquarters.

Another issue that can have an impact on the increase of the EU democratic deficit is the issue of journalistic education in European affairs. According to Vasilendiuc & Sutu (2020:2),

‘Journalism education influences the development of the profession and society by improving the professional quality of journalists’ abilities and journalism in general (Josephi, 2019). At the contextual level, everything depends on the education support programmes of each country that regards journalism as one of the pillars contributing to the development of the informed society.’

In other words, better education about the EU will lead to a better understanding of its operations and to the collapse of the perception that the EU is a distant and bureaucratic organisation.

Focusing on education, targeted initiatives, such as Youth4Regions, a European Commission programme helping journalism students and young journalists to discover what the EU is doing in their region, help to educate and inform the new generation of journalists about the Union. The formation of a common European culture through the media can be formed through cultural convergence between member states and its citizens that could lead to decrease of the EU democratic deficit.

Firmstone (2018) identified the importance of the media in bridging the perceived democratic deficit between the EU and its public while she identified that ‘newspapers have been more successful in establishing a media whose remit transcends the usual boundaries of national borders’. Firmstone’s suggestions for solutions for the EU’s perceived democratic deficit most typically relate to reform of EU institutions or simplifying decision-making processes, and rarely address any issues relating to the communication of EU politics.

Despite this, discussions of democratic deficit are often synonymous with criticisms levelled at media coverage of EU affairs in member states, or at the failure of EU institutions to communicate effectively with its citizens. Hence, news editors believe that the EU is more likely to be accepted by domestically based news editors if it has a clear link to the nation state (Baisnée, 2002; de Vreese, 2001; Gleissner and de Vreese, 2005; Morgan, 1995), and national journalists tend to relocate EU news into national frameworks of meaning (Heikkilä & Kunelius, 2006; Kunelius & Sparks, 2001).

However, the absence of specialised journalists in the EU, along with the newspapers’ financial interests and political affiliations (Papathanassopoulos, 2010a),

makes the national press incapable of fulfilling its democratic role because it does not dedicate enough resources to report on the EU. Firmstone (2013:46) supports the view that ‘national papers should play an important role in bridging the democratic deficit, but they are stuck in a national rut and above all, the top editors have not understood the degree of European integration’. Moreover, she stressed that ‘some countries are more aware of the European context because their media cover it in more depth while other countries are less aware because the EU is not covered in great depth, such as in the British newspapers, even in broadsheets’ (2013:48).

This distance between EU institutions and its citizens may create a communication gap and eventually lead to phenomena of disintegration such as ‘Brexit’, the withdrawal of the UK from the EU. Being given promises of ‘saving £350 million per week’ from the country’s contribution to the EU to benefit the UK’s own National Health System (NHS) or ‘being in charge of its own borders’ so that ‘immigration could be controlled’, a majority of UK citizens showed a deep desire to get back all powers given to the EU and were discontented with the way the EU was governed. As a result, 52% of UK citizens voted to leave the EU in a referendum that took place in June 2016.

In the case of Cyprus, during the country’s economic crisis, the government’s decision to follow the ‘Greek path’ left the citizens feeling poorly represented by the mainstream political parties and disempowered (Scicluna, 2014). Thus, the EU technocrats maintained their dominance in the policymaking process while Cyprus’s political leaders demonstrated little influence even over their own domestic policies (Theophanous, 2016).

A key example is that of Cyprus’s 2013 bailout disagreement. Cyprus requested financial aid from the ‘troika’ (the decision-making group formed by the European

Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund), following an agreement between Eurogroup and the Cypriot government. Cyprus would receive a bailout of 10 billion euros on condition that it would raise 6 billion euros through unprecedented means such as implementing a one-off levy on all bank deposits above 20,000 euros. The Cypriot parliament voted down the deal on 19 March 2013 through fears that this would cause bankruptcy. However, an ultimatum was issued by the European Central Bank (ECB), indicating that Cyprus should seek a bailout from the EU or IMF by 25 March or risk the bank withdrawing its emergency financial aid that would lead to the collapse of Cyprus's banking system (Jack & Cassels, 2013).

### *Populism in Europe*

In times of crisis, populist voices in Europe tend to increase. Populism has attracted considerable interest from social scientists and political commentators (Panizza, 2005; Bale et al., 2011; Mudde, 2004; Berezin, 2013; Rovira Kaltwasser, 2013) and has been defined according to political, economic, social and discursive features (Weyland, 2001:1). Having as its main factors the 'people', the 'elite' and the 'general will', populism refers to a range of political stances that emphasise the idea of 'the people' and often juxtapose this group against 'the elite' (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017: 90).

The 'people' tend to be presented as 'homogenous' (Bang & Marsh, 2018: 353), 'virtuous' and 'sovereign' (Albertazzi & McDonnell, 2008:96), with populists encouraging a sense of shared identity among different groups within society and facilitating their mobilisation toward a common cause (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017: 9). In addition, 'the people' are said to represent a common social and economic

category which involves certain cultural traditions and values, and populists target their sense of dignity against oppression by a dominant *elite*. A third use of ‘the people’ links it with ‘the nation’, with all individuals being regarded as ‘native’ to a particular state, either by birth or ethnicity.

The ‘fundamental distinguishing feature’ of the so-called elite, referring to the economic, cultural media elite, presented as one homogeneous, corrupt group is its ‘adversarial relationship’ with ‘the people’ (Stanley, 2008:103). Populists tend to accuse dominant political parties of being part of ‘the elite’ but at the same time do not reject the political system altogether, by claiming to be a new kind of party, different from the others. When in government, they preserve their anti-establishment rhetoric by making changes to their concept of the elite by opposing those holding economic power.

Concerning the general will, populists claim that the preferences of ‘the people’ should take precedence over those of ‘the elite’ (Stanley, 2008:104). This approach regards representative governance as an aristocratic and elitist system in which a country’s citizens are regarded as passive entities. The use of direct democratic measures such as referenda (Stanley, 2008: 104) reveals ‘an elective affinity that exists between populism and direct democracy’ (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017:17).

Populism can be found in both left-wing and right-wing political sections. Far-right populism (also known as national populism or right-wing nationalism) combines right-wing politics with populist rhetoric and themes. The rhetoric often consists of anti-elitist sentiments, speaking to the ‘common people’ and supporting strong controls on immigration (Akkerman, 2003:157).

Some examples of contemporary far-right movements include Jean-Marie Le Pen’s National Rally in France, Golden Dawn from Greece, the League of the North in



Italy, ELAM from Cyprus, the Freedom Party of Austria, and the Brexit Party in the UK. Their popularity is based on anti-immigration ideology, an increase in Euroscepticism and discontent with the economic policies of the EU (Norris, 2005:43).

**Table 2.6: Populist radical right ideology components**

| <b>*Nativism*</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                               | <b>*Authoritarianism*</b>                                                                            | <b>*Populism*</b>                                                                                                              |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Nativism feeds upon the feeling of endangered or threatened ethnic or national identity, linked most notably to (perceptions of) the process of European integration, mass immigration, and the mechanics of "multiculturalism" | Authoritarianism attracts people who are worried about crime and the wavering of traditional values. | Populism speaks to dissatisfaction with political representation as well as the increased sense of [the] individual's efficacy |
| Macro-level explanations                                                                                                                                                                                                        | Micro-level explanations                                                                             | Meso-level explanations                                                                                                        |

**Source: Mudde (2007)**

The 2008 economic crisis in Europe led to a rise of left-wing populism (Mouffe, 2018) and to significant realignments that changed the rules of the political game (Roodujin & Akkerman, 2015). The Mediterranean countries of Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal were affected most, leading to the implementation of austerity measures. Bertoncini (2017) argued about the financial crisis that 'major economic and social repercussions have triggered intense waves of anger and resentment' leading to 'a feeling of dissatisfaction that more or less radical protest parties have been able to harness'. He stressed that the rise of such parties had been furthered by two, more structural, phenomena related to Europe's fate in globalisation: a) the increasing economic and social polarisation between the winners and losers of the opening of international trade; and b) the 'generally positive' impact which is felt by Europeans to very different degrees according to their level of education, profession and region of origin. At the same time, the opening of immigration channels in European and Western countries led to different responses which are often negative, heightened by the 'refugee crisis' for citizens who are wary of a multicultural model of society.

Hence, the combination of these two phenomena led to an identity crisis, which further exacerbates the feeling of loss of control regarding the development of the world with Europe no longer at its centre: it may foster a preference for authoritarian powers claiming to be the protectors of the old order (Bertoncini, 2017:4).

At the same time, this was a first-class opportunity for left-wing populist movements, such as the Greek SYRIZA, the Spanish Podemos and the Italian Five Star Movement, to gain electoral ground (Zaslave, 2008:319). The electoral successes of these populist parties were based on the rhetoric of *economic inequality* and *cultural backlash* which suggests that support for populist parties is not a purely economic phenomenon but is in large part a reaction against progressive cultural shifts (Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Iosifidis & Nicoli, 2020:4). Algan, Giurev, Papaioannou and Passari (2017) suggested that the cultural backlash and economic insecurity explanations are connected, and that economic insecurity has a direct impact on values and beliefs.

During the economic crisis in Greece, two populist groups emerged – Golden Dawn from the far right and SYRIZA from the far left. Golden Dawn, a party that emerged from Nazi admirers (Agnantopoulos & Lambiri, 2015), developed an anti-immigration, nationalist rhetoric at a time when the country was facing an economic crisis and a dramatic increase in illegal immigration (Djajić & Michael, 2014), as well as a perceived loss of European border control and immigration policy (Wright et al., 2016). Their ideology was expressed through the motto ‘Greece belongs to the Greeks’ (a motto used by former socialist prime minister Andreas Papandreou in the 1980s).

Their anti-migration rhetoric was accompanied by violent activities against immigrants, with Golden Dawn’s members and leaders trying to force them to leave the country (Papathanasopoulos et al., 2017). The party’s popularity, and their entry into the Greek Parliament in 2012, was based on the exploitation of citizens’ fears in

areas where there was a high concentration of immigrants and on the preservation of the Greek national identity. One of the party's actions was to 'help' the economically vulnerable social classes by providing them with food – but only if they were able to prove that they were Greek (Papathanasopoulos et al, 2017). Thus, Golden Dawn managed to revitalise xenophobic nationalism and its social connotations in a remarkable way (Doxiadis & Matsaganis, 2012).

At the other end of the populist spectrum, SYRIZA, a 'populist danger' for the EU (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014:120), developed a narrative built on an antagonistic schema that offered a portrait of society as divided into two parts: us ('the people') against them ('the establishment') (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2014:130). The party's popularity was nurtured by 'the acute geo-economic and social crisis in Greece' (Agnantopoulos & Lambiri, 2015; Hatgioannides et al., 2018), its left-wing rhetoric being 'driven by the growth of wide-reaching anti-austerity movements' (Corbeta & Larkin, 2019).

While in opposition, SYRIZA developed a '21<sup>st</sup> century socialism' ideology with its key point being the socialisation of the means of production and the state operating in accordance with the rules of participatory democracy (Pantazopoulos, 2013). SYRIZA used to hold a strong anti-German position and this was expressed through mottos like 'Go Back Madame Merkel' (referring to the German Chancellor and Germany's role in the Greek financial crisis) and 'Pay us back our reparations' (referring to the WWII German reparations), while its leader Alexis Tsipras called for a 'fight of the enemies: the establishment, local, and foreign interests; the troika; the pro-Memorandum parties; the oligarchy; and the rich' (Pantazopoulos, 2013:120). Being in opposition during the emergence of the economic crisis, the party stood out

against the Memorandum (the loan agreement between Greece and its emergency lenders signed in April 2010) and the politics of austerity.

At the same time, SYRIZA appeared in favour of the country's place within the eurozone (but 'not at all social costs'), a rise in taxation on big business and public control of the banking sector, while they called for a moratorium on debt repayment until Greek society got back on its feet, and an end to salary cuts and emergency taxes (Stavrakakis & Katsambekis, 2019). This ideology found favour among the electoral body and, as a result, SYRIZA, together with the Independent Greeks (ANEL), formed a common national populist movement that accused the political elites of working against the interests of Greece (Pantazopoulos, 2013:150). ANEL was another right-wing populist party that managed to establish its position in the Greek Parliament during the financial crisis. Its ideology includes conservative right-wing elements with an emphasis on the important role of the family and the Greek Orthodox Church, while accepting a limited percentage of immigrants into Greece.

In short, SYRIZA and ANEL managed to unite their supporters against a common enemy (the troika and the external elites) by making use of the popular feelings of resentment caused by the Memorandum and the austerity measures. The battle against 'them' (the elites) and their views in defence of 'us' (the people) and their populist rhetoric brought them to power, their having taken advantage of the social and economic situation in the country and the voters' sentiments.

The discontent in the EU and in its politics requires a broader response to restore trust in the European project (Corbeta & Larkin, 2019). With populism able to flourish in times of crisis, the need for a positive EU narrative is critical in any post-crisis era. In this context, Buti and Pichelmann (2015) provide the principles that can operate

against populist rhetoric and potentially lead to a reduction of the democratic deficit (see Table 2.7).

**Table 2.7: Guiding principles for a new positive EU narrative**

| Principle                                                                                             | Characteristics                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Focus on delivering the common public goods in need of well-defined EU value-added</b>             | Strengthening security at Europe's external borders, by enhanced neighbourhood policies and addressing the internal security and societal challenge posed by terrorism. Examples include the creation of European Border and Coast Guard, the creation of a European Defence Action Plan, the EU common migration, asylum and refugee policy. The EU played collective decisive role in the adoption of the 2015 Paris Agreement. International cooperation fends off protectionist tendencies and defends European interests in the global economy; safeguarding and extending the single market achievements, completing the banking union and taking the necessary steps to ensure the sustainability of EMU.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <b>Re-establish the core values of the European social model as a joint response to globalisation</b> | The EU's <i>acquis</i> gives ground for social rights, protecting workers' health and safety, equal treatment and job security. The development of a further digital/robotic/artificial intelligence divide will require new forms of flexicurity (2.0) to empower and protect workers. The launch of the 2016 European Pillar of Social Rights provides support in three main categories in the field of employment and social policies, notably i) equal opportunities and access to the labour market, ii) fair working conditions, and iii) adequate and sustainable social protection.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>Mainstream distributional considerations into EU policy designs</b>                                | Social fairness is primarily a domestic challenge. To renew focus in the mutual economic surveillance of the European semester, policy efforts should be geared in affecting the pre-market and the post-market distribution to avoid excessive inequality and to cushion against the social implications of abrupt shocks and ensuing large adjustment needs. The banking union and Capital Market Union could help in this direction through a joint strategy in the euro area.<br>Emphasising the quality of public finances in the EU's monitoring and surveillance processes contributes to higher intergenerational fairness and more tangible and intangible investments towards a prosperous future. Coordinated action at European and global level could help generate synergies and internalise negative spillovers.<br>The EU has made steps in becoming a strong actor in fairer taxation systems by current efforts to tackle profit shifting, tax evasion and the erosion of tax bases, and the use of competition policy instruments to address tax benefits granted selectively to companies. |
| <b>Embody the new requirements derived from the subsidiarity principle in the EU budget</b>           | Take advantage of the EU budget as one of the main tools to achieve EU objectives. The recent crises have put extra pressure on the EU budget and pointed to areas where EU action is most valuable and most relevant: internal and external security, the fight against climate change and the move towards a low carbon economy, and tangible and intangible investment to support growth and jobs. A dedicated fiscal capacity for the euro area could add to the macroeconomic stability properties of EMU and serve distributional functions, in support of pre-market fairness via social investment or post-market cohesion in form of unemployment benefit funds.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <b>Ensure transparency and accountability over the course of decision making</b>                      | EU decisions that have an effect on citizens must be taken as openly as possible. The widespread perception of EU decisions as driven by lobbying activities and backroom deals can be reduced with transparency from European institutions in the policymaking and decision-making processes, including naming all stakeholders. All stakeholders should provide access to documents produced and adoption of legal acts, and make their views known, either directly or indirectly, through intermediaries that represent them. The responsibilities of 'Brussels' and the national legislators need to be clearly identified, so that accountability – i.e. ultimately the decision of citizens to re-elect officials – can be exercised at the right levels.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

Source: Buti & Pichelmann (2015)

## 2.4 European integration and the media

The European integration process has been profoundly influenced by the triangle of media, politics and the public, the media influencing the way political messages concerning the EU are perceived by audiences in different countries. McNair (2007:18–20) identified the ‘ideal-type’ of functions in democratic societies, which should a) inform citizens of what is happening around them (media monitoring functions); b) educate as to the meaning and significance of the ‘facts’ (to protect the journalists’ objectivity); c) provide a platform for public political discourse, facilitating the formation of ‘public opinion’, and feeding that opinion back to the public from whence it came (this must include the provision of space for the expression of *dissent*, without which the notion of democratic consensus would be meaningless); d) give publicity to governmental and political institutions (act as ‘watchdogs’ of the society) where there must be a degree of ‘openness’ to the activities of the political class if the ‘public opinions’ of the people are to have any bearing on decision making; and e) serve as a channel for the *advocacy* of political viewpoints where political parties must have access to the media to express their views.

In the same vein, Clausen (2014:22–3) stressed that ‘news media essentially link together people and actors across vast areas of geographical space. The actors in news are important carriers of international political discourse. News media, in this sense, provide an important forum for the enactment of international as well as domestic politics.’ The media’s influence on society, and specifically on the behaviour of politicians and the functioning of political and administrative institutions, is defined as a process of ‘mediatization’ (Strömbäck, 2008; Hajer, 2009). Dekker and Melenhorst (2016) commented on this process:

Administrators and politicians' responsiveness to media coverage is often considered to be important for enhancing democratic legitimacy. Vice versa, the media provide a means to increase transparency and indirectly accountability, by reporting on decision-making processes and policy outcomes. In addition, the media are actively used by political and administrative institutions as outlets to inform the general public, and sometimes to indirectly influence decision-making processes. In the latter case, communication via the media can be considered a political strategy.

The media's role is also influenced by regional politics and democracy. Europe presents a case where political integration has been advancing at a faster rate than has cultural and social integration. For example, during the Brexit campaign, the 'Leave' team deployed a coordinated and extensive discourse over the media, based on the idea of regaining policymaking control from the EU back to the national level. Thus, they used the media to shape public opinion and sway the voters towards their ideas. On the other hand, the pro-EU groups did not effectively use the media to make citizens understand that the benefits of EU membership are not only financial (Coutto & Matkovic, 2016). Hence, the media played a crucial role in influencing the success of the Brexit vote and set the agenda during the campaign. This was achieved by focusing attention on certain politicians and issues and giving more airtime in terms of reporting to issues that supported the Leave camp.

The tone that the media adopt in covering news related to EU integration and framing EU policies in terms of opportunities and risks affects the support that EU integration receives. For example, the COVID-19 pandemic has had an effect on EU institutions, especially in the areas of finance, civil liberties and relations between



member states. The ongoing outbreak of the novel coronavirus has put the health systems of the Union's member states and of the world to an unprecedented test. In this challenge, the media coverage sets the agenda for public debate and the news signals which issues merit our attention (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020).

In this situation, news, journalism and the media systems, and their reporting of current events and public affairs, have been affected, along with other domains (Casero-Ripollés, 2020). As the primary purpose of journalism is to provide quality information to citizens that allows them to form an opinion and participate politically (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007), journalism is an essential element 'for the articulation of the public sphere, which functions as an independent and intermediary system between the State and society in liberal democracies, guaranteeing the principle of general access to information for all citizens' (Habermas, 2006:44).

Furthermore, the journalistic concerns about the problems that may arise in respect of the access to information of EU public bodies can also affect what is reported from Brussels. In his examination of the media coverage of the EU Parliament, Morgan (in Bond 2013:39–40) referred to the issue of access to information and stressed that the 'EU institutions have become much more accessible to interested parties and to the general public, and they believe their efforts are eroding the capacities of member governments to doctor EU information for their own domestic advantage.' Focusing on the sources of information, there are many sources from which journalists can obtain information, such as 'spokespersons for Commissioners, the Office of the President, the national delegations in Brussels, MEPs, Party groups and European Parliament officials, all provide useful information if it suits their purposes (Morgan, 2013:42)'.

Regarding the presentation of European news, 'journalists appear to have a problem dealing with the amount of information concerning the EU because of the

increase of the “additional sources” (e.g., interest groups) that have “proliferated in Brussels” (Morgan, in Bond, 2013:53). This phenomenon has had two consequences in that a) Commissioners and Directorates have become more concerned with presentation and some have grown more notably secretive and b) journalists, in something of a reaction to this, have become even more sceptical and are more prepared to go outside official sources in the Commission and Council to look more to interest groups and lobbyists. Thus, Morgan notes that ‘the “real news” for good reporters is increasingly sought in a multiplicity of sources and not simply from official spokespersons and institutions’ (Morgan, in Bond, 2013:53).

Although journalists appear to encounter certain internal and external problems in reporting European news, ‘the national media systems have minimal attention paid to the EU, which many see as a product of the inability of the EU to communicate effectively’ (Williams, 2005:146). This has an impact on the image of Europe, Williams stressing that ‘much of the coverage of the EU is about “bad” news, conflict and scandals. Reporting what the EU does for individuals and nation-states is less apparent’ (Williams, 2005:146). Nevertheless, ‘any negative points or comments made about European Union affairs do not necessarily translate as hostility to European integration or the European ideal’ (Williams, 2005:146).

The COVID-19 pandemic has strongly impacted the journalism industry and affected journalists’ work; the loss of advertising revenues has led to the closure of newspapers and to unemployment for many journalists (Hsu & Tracy, 2020). In this fluid environment, journalists have worked to produce coverage of the pandemic, combating misinformation, providing public health updates, and supplying entertainment to help people cope with the virus’s impact (Natividad, 2020). Misinformation may create divisions between informed and misinformed citizens,

leading to inequalities and imbalances that affect the principle of fundamental equality, which is a premise for democracy (Dahl, 2006).

During the pandemic, the EU has been negatively affected by disinformation campaigns about COVID-19 disseminated by Russia and domestic nationalist actors (e.g., Sputnik Armenia, RT France, Russia-Insider Global Research, Unz Review, Veterans Today, The Alt World, and more) ([EUvsdisinfo](#), 2020). This phenomenon has revealed the systemic challenges in the information ecosystem (Kovalcikova, 2020) and efforts have been made to mobilise Eurosceptic discourse. Stories such as ‘the EU is dead, it abandoned Italy, only Russia, China and Cuba gave a helping hand’ (RT France) and ‘Schengen is dead; it is the main victim of the coronavirus’ (Sputnik Czech, 1 April 2020) aimed to actively disrupt trust among EU member states and in the EU as a whole by spreading false narratives about the handling of the crisis (Kovalcikova, 2020), as well as to negatively influence public opinion throughout the EU.

Responding to the disinformation challenge, the EU and its European External Action Service (EEAS) created the *EUvsDisinfo* project ‘to increase public awareness and understanding of the Kremlin’s disinformation operations’ ([European Council](#), 2020) by gathering more than 400 corona-related disinformation articles from Russian-funded sources. At the same time, the emergence of transnational cross-media engagement in favour of the EU in national public spheres was observed (Berman, April 2020). The interview of Eurogroup’s president and the Portuguese finance minister, Mário Centeno, by the Dutch NRC during the period when there was a debate between Southern European countries and the Netherlands on eurobonds, or the solidarity with Italy’s pandemic crisis expressed by *Bild*, Germany’s largest newspaper, with the use of powerful images and text in both German and Italian are two examples that epitomised this transnational trend.

Kovalcikova (2020:47) has argued that ‘the EU needs a truly transnational European public sphere to build resilience against disinformation on EU affairs in a way that matters to and resonates with national audiences’. Further discussion and examination of the construction of the European public sphere is offered in Chapter 3. In short, disinformation manipulates citizens’ minds, propagates discord and undermines the democratic system. While cross-national media engagement on its own will not replace the EU’s economic, political and other societal responses to multiple real-world challenges, it represents a necessary complement to sustainable policy efforts.

Summing up, the media influence integration attempts by being a watchdog in respect of political institutions. The independence of the media is important in public engagement as the media influence the political choices that the citizens eventually make. Portraying the EU agenda in the media increases its importance in the eyes of the public. When citizens are exposed to news and policy analysis, they are likely to support certain ideas. It is therefore clear that the media can influence the integration process by improving the visibility and analysis of integration policies.

## **2.5 News domestication and European integration**

The findings from the empirical research revealed the tendency of the Cypriot media to domesticate the European news (see sections 6.2.1, 7.2.1 and 8.2.1). Gurevitch et al. (1991:206) referred to ‘domestication’ in news production as exemplifying an approach to ‘features in international news production that enhance processes of both globalisation and localisation, using the term as a counter-conceptualisation to globalisation’. Gleisser and de Vreese (2015) identified news domestication as a method being used by journalists to promote European news to their audience. In a study which involved interviews with correspondents from Brussels, Gleisser and De Vreese (2015:44) noted that ‘EU news is not regarded as being overly newsworthy. Correspondents have mentioned that a link to the nation-state is beneficial to sell a story to the newsroom.’

Indeed, the ‘media maintain both global and culturally specific orientations – such as by casting faraway events in frameworks that render these events comprehensible, appealing and relevant to domestic audiences; and second, by constructing the meanings of these events in ways that are compatible with the culture and the dominant ideology of societies they serve’ (Gurevitch et al., 1991:206). To achieve this, journalists tend to take events that are distant from their audiences, like an EU-related event in the case of this project, and give them a national angle to make them more appealing to their audiences (Gurevitch et al, 1991). This action can serve as a means of preserving the nation’s cultural roots and self-esteem. Ito (1990:441) pointed out that the ‘excessive inflows of information and cultural products from foreign countries can endanger cultural identity. Every nation, like every individual, has contradictory desires. They want to learn from and imitate others, but at the same time they want to be different from others. Just as every individual wants to create and

maintain his or her individuality, every nation wants to create and maintain its cultural identity.’

Discussing news domestication as a method to increase the notion of identity (i.e., the sense of belonging to a group which has national characteristics such as common language, culture and customs) among Cypriot citizens leads to the ‘banal nationalism’ phenomenon, described by Billig (1995:6) and defined as ‘the everyday representations of the nation which build an imagined sense of national solidarity and belonging amongst humans’. Billig argued that scholars often assume that people forget their nationalism when they are not directly involved in a crisis, and he suggested that nationalism exists at all times in less visible forms which he defines as ‘banal nationalism’. Moreover, he argued that nationalism is always present, even in the ‘developed’ West, and that people do not forget their nationalism but it is routinely ‘flagged’ in the media through symbols like flags and language involving phrases like ‘national interest’. According to Zuelow (2007:141–4), Billig argued that ‘it is very important to recognize these symbols if we want to understand the continuing importance of nationalism. Ultimately, Billig demonstrates the central role that nationalism plays in the modern world, even if not always recognized as nationalism.’

The national angle in a commentary leads to the conclusion that there is a linking point between nationalism and the media and that is what Oishi (2008) defined as ‘media-nationalism’. For Oishi (2008:6), ‘national consciousness has been historically cultivated and accumulated in the context of each country and society. It has often been visible in newspaper, radio and television news and other mass media, and more recently on the internet which is often treated as “participatory media”.’ Hence, ‘media-nationalism is a concept reconsidering nationalism by placing critical emphasis on the linkage between media and nationalism’. Oishi identified that ‘mass communication is

a necessary condition for the development of nation-state and vice versa', declaring that 'media-nationalism is not caused only by the development and diffusion of different kinds of media and their contents. When it is born and grows there must be a base for accepting it within the nation-state' (2008:6).

The reflection on the 'domestication of the foreign', the approach that explains information about foreign events in a way that is familiar to national audiences (Gurevitch et al., 2014), may lead the present study, as the thesis's interest is in identifying a) whether domestication operates within the public sphere; b) its significance for the European integration process; and c) how European integration is being achieved, a question which is examined through content analysis of Cypriot newspapers.

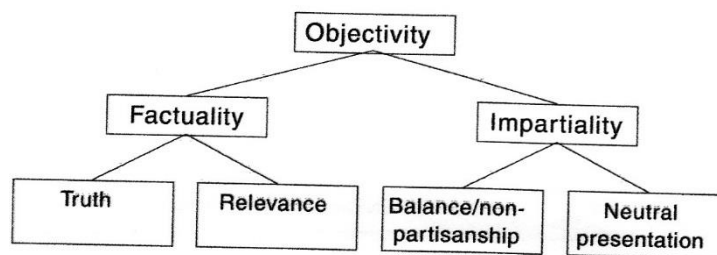
## **2.6 European news reporting and European integration**

Reporting and objectivity in the presentation of European news are issues that have been examined by many academics, who have attempted to link the roles of these two elements. A better understanding can be gained by looking at the various academic definitions of journalistic objectivity, starting from Alston's view that it is 'an achievable ideal of representative truth' (in Allan, 1997:74) while Dunleavy (1998:68) and Ward (2004:110–3) argued that objectivity 'provides a consensual professional norm rather than a positivist truth-claim, a position reflected in journalism literature'.

However, Stuart Allan's argument (1999:27) that objectivity and impartiality are elements of 'news culture' proves to be very important, especially if journalistic objectivity is perceived as a set of professional norms which is specific to particular historical periods, institutional contexts and professional and regulatory cultures (Schudson, 2011:48; Allan, 1997:121–3; Harvey, 1998:87).

News objectivity has been considered by news people and audiences as the ‘hallmark’ of good journalism, or as a criterion for testing the reliability of news. Objectivity has been called the ‘defining norm of modern journalism’ (Patterson, 1998: 28) and ‘the key legitimating professional ethics of liberal journalism’ (McNair, 1998: 65). Furthermore, adherence to objectivity is a highly treasured feature of the journalistic profession’s self-image (e.g., Deuze, 2005; Schudson, 1978, 2001; Tuchmann, 1972; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005). To identify the key elements of objectivity, Westerståhl (1983:405) referred to the concepts of *truth*, *relevance*, *balance* and *neutral presentation* as factors that have mutual weighting.

**Graph 2.1: Westerståhl’s objectivity concept**



The above description of objectivity appears to capture the key elements of this notion while at the same time placing factuality and impartiality on the same level of importance. Moreover, according to Westerståhl’s definition, factuality consists of truth and relevance while impartiality consists of balanced reporting and neutral presentation of the news. In addition, objectivity is a norm which includes a) *detachment* (use of neutral language); b) *non-partisanship* (inclusion of all relevant sides of a story, fairness); c) *the inverted pyramid style of writing* (presentation of facts in order of importance); d) *naive empiricism* (factual accuracy); and e) *balance* (lack of distortion, such as by omission of relevant facts) (Ward, 2011:14–22). But how do these elements affect the newsroom?



Zhao (2018:114) argued that ‘objectivity provides a way in public discourse of evaluating press performance – that is how far news media stray from fairness and balance towards bias and partisanship’. Zhao’s statement identifies objectivity and fairness as being synonymous and the same approach was made by Shaw et al. (1997:303), who saw the operational aspect of objectivity, arguing that ‘when writing a story, journalists often balance the opposing sides of an issue as if their story is the only one that the public will see’. Journalists do this because they want to be objective, or if that seems impossible, to be fair and balanced. This is true even though most journalists and editors have concluded that objectivity is impossible and, like magazine magnate Henry Luce, know they can only *aim* for fairness. Fairness and objectivity go together. Scholar Jay Rosen writes: ‘Objectivity is about informing the public; it tells us to worry about things like accuracy, balance and fairness.’

The above statement notes the need for journalistic fairness in the treatment of news, rather than objectivity, which is hard to achieve in practice. Today, ‘the principle of objectivity is regarded by most journalists not as an absolute but as a relative norm; something towards which professional journalists should aspire and work but, in the knowledge that absolute objectivity, like absolute zero in the world of physics, is in practical terms impossible to attain’ (McNair, 2013:36).

This perception that objectivity is a relative norm and that journalists are unable to achieve absolute objectivity has led to the conclusion that journalists try to be fair in their coverage as a way of reporting the news objectively. This phenomenon is very common within the public spheres of Western democratic societies where journalists, through objectivity, have been perceived by the public as the gatekeepers of democracy. In addition, journalists derive substantial professional legitimacy from their claim to serve the public in democracy (e.g., Deuze, 2005; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005), although

‘different conceptions of democracy imply different normative expectations on journalism and journalists and lead to different journalistic role perceptions’ (Strömbäck, 2005). Skovsgaard et al. (2013:22–42) identified the four journalistic roles within a democratic society:

**Table 2.8: Journalistic roles in a democratic society**

| <b>Role</b>             | <b>Description</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Passive mirror</b>   | Journalists merely function as disseminators of information, based on the notion that journalists are able to exclude their own beliefs from their reports and report reality instead of constructing the news (e.g., Entman, 1989; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 30–33). In this role it is possible to exclude subjectivity and merely reflect reality in the journalistic accounts.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <b>Watchdog</b>         | Journalists adopt a critical stance towards the powerful and provide analyses of complex problems that almost unavoidably offend different individuals or groups in society. This role increases the incentive to base news coverage on mere facts rather than claims and this creates a balance between all sides and protects the journalist from criticism from people under scrutiny. This makes the function of objectivity as a protective shield even more important for journalists adhering more to the watchdog role than for other journalists. |
| <b>Public forum</b>     | Journalists take a more passive approach, with an emphasis on allowing ordinary people to voice their opinions and on trying to engage them in public debate on common problems.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Public mobiliser</b> | Journalists takes a more active approach and are focused on leading the public towards distinct solutions to societal problems. Through this role, public debate is facilitated on equal terms based on factual information and in this context balance and factual reporting are the most important aspects of objectivity.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

Source: Skovsgaard et al. (2013:22–42)

With all the above taken into consideration, it should be discussed how news reporting helps towards the construction of a European political culture. To begin with, ‘in the European Union policy context, culture in the first sense is normally identified with “national culture”, namely the body of values, practices and identities deemed to

make particular nations different from others. Culture in this first sense may be thought of as “thick”, as “dense”, as exercising special demands on the affects and loyalties of those who live within it. [...] Indeed, in the European Union, the national state has been, and remains, the principal building block of political and economic integration’ (Schlesinger, 1997:372).

Furthermore, and concerning the role of the political culture, Habermas (1994:27) proposed that ‘the political culture must serve as the common denominator for a constitutional patriotism which simultaneously sharpens an awareness of the multiplicity and integrity of the different forms of life which exist in a multicultural society’. Hence, the term *political culture* refers to a set of legal principles, institutions, and political norms and practices diffused throughout a given polity and tends more toward a notion of the principles and rules of the political game than toward the broader anthropological notion of culture as a way of life (Schlesinger, 1999: 265).

Concerning the development of a European political culture, Habermas stressed that there should be a ‘political culture which is a liberal and egalitarian European order, in which decision-making bodies are open to scrutiny’, while he assumed that there will be intensified networking across national boundaries and sets out an ideal interplay between ‘institutionalized processes of opinion and will formation’ and ‘informal networks of public communication’ (1994: 31). In that sphere, Pfetsch (2014:25) argued that ‘from a democratic theory point of view, the most basic functions of political communication in a democracy relate to the maintenance of a constant flow of information between citizens and political elites and groups in society, and this requires that a political communication system of any kind must ensure the free and unrestricted production of political messages’. The flow of political messages is thought to stimulate

public debate, the creation of public opinion and political participation, which must be observable for everybody in the political community.

Summing up, news objectivity is considered by news people and audiences as a criterion for testing the reliability of news and it is a highly treasured feature of the journalistic profession's self-image. The journalistic effort to report the news in a fair, balanced and objective way appears to be a goal within the media's role in a democratic society. Regarding the European news, there is a need to develop a European political culture among journalists and their audiences so that it can help public opinion to think beyond its national borders.

## **2.7 Conclusions**

This chapter has presented an overview of the economic, socio-cultural and political aspects of European integration. In doing so, it has uncovered several significant challenges to the attainment of EU integration, which can be summarised as follows:

- the possibility of conflict between individuals and groups as a result of reduced heterogeneity (perceived or actual)
- the diversity of language and other cultural differences between member states
- the effects of economic crisis leading to disaffection of individual member states, rather than to consensus
- the perception of a democratic deficit at the heart of the EU, arising from a lack of citizens' participation in the EU's democratic processes
- the perception, often fostered by populist politicians, that the project of EU integration, particularly in its political aspect, is an affair of 'the élite' rather than of 'the people'

- there is a strong need for a new positive EU narrative to be devised and disseminated
- the domestication of European news as a journalistic method to make this kind of news more appealing to national audiences
- the effort of journalists to report the European news in an objective manner so that their national audiences feel closer to the EU.

The discussion on how the media confront and portray these challenges and thereby influence how they are perceived by the citizens of the EU's member states is particularly pertinent to the concerns of this thesis. The part played by the UK media during the Brexit campaign, for instance, provides part of the backdrop against which the performance of the Cypriot press in relation to the EU can be examined, as it demonstrates the way in which the media can both itself manipulate, and be manipulated by other actors, in the shaping of public opinion. Likewise, the challenge presented to journalists when faced with disinformation surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic can inform the debate when considering the reporting of EU-related matters.

The material presented in this chapter has therefore provided a useful background to the research questions addressed in this thesis and has helped lay a foundation for interpreting the empirical data which is presented in subsequent chapters.

## **CHAPTER 3: THE PUBLIC SPHERE**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The public sphere operates as a field for broader discussion and debate (Fraser, 1990:67) concerning issues affecting society (Habermas, 1989). Considering that the core of the public sphere is the idea of sharing information and common values with which different people from diverse backgrounds can identify (Habermas, 1989), the chapter aims to shed light on the operation of the public sphere and the emergence of a European public sphere in particular.

To achieve this, there is an analysis of the fundamental theories of the public sphere and an investigation of the European public sphere and its contribution to the European integration process. The chapter offers a discussion on the role of the media, and the press in particular, within both national and European public spheres.

Making use of the work of Habermas (1989) on the public sphere, along with other theorists such as Eriksen (2013), as well as the theories of Bentham (1791) on publicity, the chapter lays the foundations for the empirical examination of the role of the Cypriot press in the construction of a European public sphere.

The chapter consists of four sections: the first discusses theories of the public sphere; the second examines the formation of a European public sphere and the scholarly discussion around this subject; the third analyses the role of the media in the public sphere; while the final part summarises the points made in the chapter by offering an insight into the importance of the public sphere in a democratic society.

### 3.2 Introducing the public sphere

The concept of the public sphere has been associated with the fundamental work of Habermas (1989) who defined it as ‘a virtual or imaginary community which does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space’ while ideally it is ‘made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state’ (1989:176). What Habermas argued here is that the public sphere cannot be considered as something visual but as a meeting of people exchanging ideas and thoughts.

The public sphere is most commonly referred to as ‘a space or arena for (broad, public) deliberation, discussion, and engagement in societal issues’ (Habermas, 1989:4). The ‘public’ refers to events and occasions that are open to all, while Habermas also stressed that ‘the state is the “public authority”’ and ‘its task is to promote the public or common welfare of its rightful citizens’ (Habermas, 1989: 2). He argued that the aim of the ‘public’ (i.e., the citizens) is to become involved in a broader discussion of political issues in order to be able, through the conclusions, to exercise an influence on political affairs. Thus, what Habermas set out to establish is the idea of ‘public’ as a *culturally embedded practice*, asserting that there is ‘a portion of the public sphere in every conversation in which private persons come together to form a public’ (Marris & Thornham, 2000:92).

Eriksen (2013) argued that the public sphere is part of the democracy theory of normative politics, and, in this regard, citizens are able to influence political decisions and hold those in power accountable at any given moment. The issue is also explored by Susen who noted that the ‘success of public sphere is the recognition that individuals are interconnected and hence they can share about the common life challenges which they face and the strategies they can take to resolve them’ (2011:43).

Investigating the public sphere from a sociological angle, Seidman (1989:54) argued that it is ‘an area of social life, where people can get together, discuss openly any problems that concern the society and, through this discussion, citizens can affect the politics and the political actions’. This definition informs Susen’s (2011:43) argument that ‘the public sphere is nothing but the socialized expression of individuals’ reciprocally constituted autonomy: individuals are autonomous not in isolation from but in relation to one another, that is, in relation to a public of autonomous beings’.

The sociological value of the public sphere was also highlighted by Eriksen (2005:344) who argued that ‘in modern times this concept of the public sphere is closely associated with the rise of nation-state democracies either based on primordial collective identity’ (defined by Eriksen (2005:344) as an ‘identity based on a common origin, heritage, language, memory or remembrance [and] goes together with the conception of citizenship-based government in which the sovereign people via law can form a collective will and rule themselves autonomously’) or in the form of the active moulding of a ‘community of fate’, while its basic criterion is the homogeneity between its participants. This element can be achieved within ‘a state, which can ensure the rights of the citizens, and a society that can make for allegiance and a common “we” feel a collective identity’ (Eriksen, 2005: 342). The role of collective identity and its association with European citizenship is discussed in the next chapter. At this point, a discussion on the national, European and global public spheres will help us to understand the importance of this concept in the integration process of citizens.



### **3.2.1 Global Public Sphere**

The theoretical background of the global public sphere arises from the work of Jeremy Bentham (1791), who argued that public spheres are significant platforms for the democratic curtailment of improper and illegal behaviour of individuals in positions of power. Bentham (1791) drew attention to the role of the press, claiming that the public sphere could ensure leaders are held accountable for their actions through the media which cannot be easily controlled by the traditional arms of government, including judiciary, executive and legislative. Globalised communication is no longer influenced only by media structures themselves but also by the way that organisations and individuals communicate on diverse platforms from social media to mainstream media (Dahlgren, 2015). The parameters of the global political space are the result of the extension and internationalisation of national public spheres.

The idea of the global public sphere can be illustrated through the so-called Arab Spring which began in Tunisia but quickly spread to countries as far away as Syria. The opposition of citizens towards bad governance and their determination to force changes in leadership were reflected on social media networks through the sharing of information. To achieve the independence of the public sphere it is crucial for it to shape the views of those who engage in it (Kraidy & Krikorian, 2017). Kraidy and Krikorian add that the formation of Al-Jazeera media provided Arabs with a genuine public space where they could discuss contentious political issues, while the privately owned Arabic media led by Al-Jazeera began to criticise governance in different countries in the Arabic world, triggering a series of revolutions across the region (Kraidy & Krikorian, 2017).

### 3.2.2 National Public Sphere

A national public sphere is defined as the public sphere that operates within the framework of a nation state (Habermas, 1989) and can be divided into three levels: *the everyday public sphere*, *the mediated public sphere*, and *the core public sphere* (Nieminen, 2006:8).

The *everyday public sphere* refers to ‘all such things and situations that unite people to each other in their everyday life or that people share in one way or another’ (Nieminen, 2006:8) and is elemental in making and sustaining communities. In the *fora* of the everyday public sphere (e.g., occasional meetings, discussions, events) the topics are related to shared events or experiences, while conversations are spontaneous. The significance of this sphere is that, through participation in the discussion, people try to make sense of the world (Nieminen, 2006:8). In addition, Nieminen identified the importance of the media (press, television, radio, advertisements, recorded music, videos, etc.) as an *indispensable source for the topics* of the everyday public sphere.

*The mediated public sphere* refers to the institutions that stand as publicly representing something, i.e., they mediate between those represented and those to whom the representations are produced (Nieminen, 2006:8), such as the mass media, educational institutions and churches. The mediated public sphere includes semi-autonomous, thematic *arenas*, (e.g., economy, politics, culture, social life, public (official) information, entertainment, advertisements) that continually influence each other (Nieminen, 2006:8). The mediated public sphere is divided into four main categories: instrumental (functions that deliver information of a technical character, such as educational institutions), strategic (functions related to attempts to influence and persuade people), communicative (functions that enhance the feelings of communality and togetherness) and expressive (functions serving aesthetic and artistic intentions) (Habermas; 1984, 1987; Nieminen, 2006:9).

These categories incorporate a number of functions such as competition and negotiation of particular interests (e.g., politics, PR work, advertising), social coordination and resource allocation (e.g., politics, economy, news delivery), will formation and expression of public opinion (e.g., politics, opinion polls), promotion of social integration (e.g., educative and instructive publicity), critique and pressure against the power holders (advocacy, programmatic publicity), promotion of communality and solidarity (human interests, diversion), artistic creativity and personal expression (arts, culture), technical and administrative information (official announcements, governmental information) (Nieminen, 2006:9). Within these public spheres, there is critical assessment of the different aspects of social life which varies among different individuals and social groups depending on the educational level of the participants (people with a higher level of education are more critical than those of lower educational level).

The *core public spheres*, according to Nieminen (2006:9), appear in many different forms, such as closed (where no public record of their function is available, like, for instance, ministerial councils) or secret (where no public knowledge about their existence is available, like lobbying networks between industry and politicians). There are also core public spheres that are open in principle but closed in practice, due to their intangible language that is largely incomprehensible to outsiders (e.g., expert groups and academic communities) as well as core public spheres whose action can be witnessed and analysed, such as sports clubs and neighbourhood associations.

A characteristic of core public spheres is the existence of normative communities operating in areas of the mediated public sphere that have better access to it than others (Nieminen, 2006:9), a phenomenon that may lead to an increase in the influence of normative communities within the mediated public sphere and

subsequently to an increase of coordinated regulative power over several arenas simultaneously and, consequently, to a totalitarian public sphere (Nieminen, 2006:9). The regime of Turkish president Recep Erdoğan, for example, has managed to influence and control the different dominant communities within the national public sphere (e.g. journalists, military officers, media groups, politicians opposed to his views) whose participants were restricted through various means (including imprisonment) because they expressed opposition to the president's rule.

### **3.2.3 European Public Sphere**

The formation of a European public sphere has been the subject of many scholarly discussions. Specifically, Habermas (1989) acknowledged the need for the creation of a European public sphere, arguing that it should be formed from the national public spheres of each member state. Calhoun (2001:109) identified a strong relationship between political culture and the public sphere, noting that 'political culture was situated within the public space of the nation-state and it was significant in shaping conceptions of national identity'. This reveals that the public sphere helps to reinforce the ideas of national identity so that individuals are recognised not just as Europeans but as Europeans from a specific state (see further discussion on citizenship in Chapter 4).

In the context of European integration, an underlying assumption is that a shared European public sphere may contribute to the public legitimacy of the EU polity and its policies, in much the same way as has been suggested for national public spheres (Koopmans, 2007). This assumption lies behind Habermas's advocacy of the creation of a European public sphere as a means of overcoming the democratic deficit discussed in the preceding chapter of this thesis, Habermas arguing that 'the pan-European

political public (sphere) is the solution to the problem of insufficient integration in the processes of Europeanisation' (2001:65). The importance of a European public sphere for addressing the democratic deficit is also emphasised by Silke (2015:3) who asserts that 'a democratic Union requires an arena of public deliberation and discussion of those issues that are dealt with at a supra- or intergovernmental level. Without such an arena, institutional reforms of the EU that seek to make the Union more democratic (e.g., strengthening of the European Parliament), are doomed to fail.'

Various expectations have been expressed concerning how a European public sphere might evolve (Latzer & Sauerwein, 2006:16). These concepts are usually three, though the first two are the most common: a) the development of a common European-wide public sphere; b) the Europeanisation of national public spheres; and c) the segmented transnational and issue-specific spheres of European publics (Fischer, 2004:18; Gerhards, 1993:100; 2002:142; Latzer & Sauerwein, 2006:16).

The development of a common European-wide public sphere refers to a common media system, with a common language and the reception of European media by people in all EU member states. Scholars have argued that this model is 'unlikely' to be achieved (Eilders & Voltmer, 2003:251–2; Gerhards, 2000:288–92; 2002:142). However, there have been many cases of European media that have access to all EU member states. The example of Euronews is evidence of an effort to create a pan-European public sphere easily accessible at national level via free-to-air television in all member states and – most importantly – in 12 languages. The channel is available in 430 million households in 166 countries worldwide, reaching more than 170 million European households by cable, satellite and terrestrial while also being available on multimedia platforms such as IPTV and digital media (Euronews, 2019).

The Europeanisation of national public spheres refers to the coverage and criticism of EU affairs and actors in national public spheres from a European rather than a national point of view (Gerhards, 2000:293–6; Eilders & Voltmer, 2003:253–4). This phenomenon is examined in this project and explored as a common practice of the Cypriot media in order to make European news more appealing to the national audience.

The third concept is the development of segmented transnational and issue-specific spheres of European publics which stresses that there is a formulation of media structures (a pan-European media system), media attention (coverage) and media contents (the European perspective), which leads to the emergence of new criteria like transnational interaction and discourses. Koopmans and Erbe (2004) refer to interlinked communicative spaces to explain the European public sphere. According to their theory, the European public sphere can be shaped in two ways. The first involves national actors informing the European institutions of the interests of a specific nation (2004:112). This strategy is often employed in response to concerns about particular policies that undermine the interests of a country. The second strategy involves specific national actors, such as major companies appealing to government to promote the interests of brands at a European level. For instance, multinational UK-based companies have appealed to the national government to remain in the EU in order to ensure they have a larger consumer base and access to the European single market.

Summing up, the European public sphere can be derived from the national public spheres of each EU member state and needs to have a transnational character. Its aim should be to bridge the gap between national public spheres and operate as a unified process within the EU. The three concepts of operation of the European public sphere – the development of a common European-wide public sphere, the Europeanisation of national public spheres, and the segmented transnational and issue-specific spheres of

European publics – are part of the broader process of engagement of communities with different collective identities in relation to issues of European concern.

### 3.3 The public sphere and the media

The theory that the public sphere operates as a field for broader discussion and debate (Fraser, 1990) means that citizens in a democratic society see themselves as the regulators of the authority of the state. Habermas names this principle of control *publicness* (or *publicity* if we translate it accurately from German) where the bourgeois public is opposed to the principle of established authority, aiming at the transformation of authority. In this process, the media has always had an important role to play, from the early stages of the public sphere. Splichal (2006:14) identified the characteristics of publicness, based on Bentham and Kant, as detailed in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1: Alternative conceptualisations of publicness by Bentham and Kant**

|                                                                   | Bentham                                                                           | Kant                                                      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| Supreme principle                                                 | Utility                                                                           | Justice                                                   |
| Criterion of rightfulness                                         | Happiness (pleasure and pain) of people                                           | Publicity                                                 |
| Preferred model of communication                                  | The press                                                                         | Public use of reason/ construction of shared meanings     |
| Privileged form of institutionalisation of freedom of publication | Freedom of the press                                                              | Right to communicate                                      |
| Purpose of institutionalisation                                   | Social reforms                                                                    | Individuals' independent reasoning and legal order        |
| Conceptualisation of the public                                   | Public opinion tribunal – 'the body of the curious at large'                      | Imagined intellectual community based on collective sense |
| Principal social functions of public opinion                      | Effective check on the legislature based on people's distrust and moral sanctions | Moral force binding legislators and influencing citizens  |

**Source: Splichal (2006:14)**

Kant's model of the 'transcendental principle of publicity' (1784: n.p) aims to resolve conflicts between morality and politics and substantiates the view for a *strong* public sphere. Kant (1784: n.p.) argued that publicity is a 'transcendental concept of

public right', based on citizens' 'fundamental dignity and moral sovereignty', while he stressed that the first condition for a transnational public sphere where each person 'considers himself as a member of a complete commonwealth or even of cosmopolitan society' is that human actions should be fully compatible with the 'principle of publicity'. Publicity should be used as a means to create a legal maxim which all people should accept and obey, and anything that does not comply with this condition should be considered unlawful and unethical. Thus, publicity is a condition of right and a condition of rationality because the right must not contradict reason and the rational must be publicly communicable (Kant, 1795:135).

Bentham's theory conceived publicity as a form of democratic curtailment of the improper behaviour of individuals and groups in power, and of public opinion as a 'system of distrust', making political actions available to the public. He developed the idea of the press as a 'fourth estate', focusing on the *control* over the traditional (legislative, executive, judiciary) powers by the press. Bentham referred to the principle of publicity, declaring that it was derived from the general principle of utility because, according to him, any principle that differed from the principle of utility would be a wrong one. Bentham's views on publicity aimed at the maximisation of human happiness, with publicity being used as a 'standard of right and wrong' (1994 [1791]: n.p.).

Concerning publicity, Kant argued that it is not directly linked to public opinion but mostly to the reconciliation of morals, although it did come close to the notion of public opinion when he referred to the mutual 'agreement of all judgements with each other'. In Bentham's understanding of publicity, rational debate was not seen as a primary priority and thus the critical character of publicity is almost non-existent.



Moreover, Kant supported the view that the legitimacy of the state should rest on the principle of publicity, under the condition that the government has authority only when it represents the general will of the public. If this condition does not apply and governments do not act in the public interest, they will obviously fear independent and public thought (Kant, 1983 [1795]). Bentham, on the other hand, did not expect each citizen to express his/her opinion publicly, but only where necessary so as to influence the judgement of his/her fellow citizens and to reach some conclusions regarding public opinion (Bentham, 1994 [1791]:n.p.).

Concerning citizens' contribution to the public sphere, this can be achieved through the media and 'the category of the public sphere can help to order these media patterns (alternative, establishment, public, private and so on) in terms of the normative notions of citizen access and participation in the political process' (Gillwald, 1993). Thus, citizens through their public discussions of politics and issues of social concern and the conclusions they draw, can have a greater impact on the political stage. These issues are discussed in the different fora that exist within the public sphere. Gerhards and Neidhart (1993:112–17) identified three types of fora, as set out in Table 3.2.

**Table 3.2: Types of fora**

| Fora type                                                           | Characteristics                                                                                                                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>The encounter public sphere</b>                                  | Consists of everyday, face-to-face communication between citizens, takes place on streets, in parks and so on, and citizens can discuss a wide diversity of issues. |
| <b>Public events (incl. public lectures, protest rallies, etc.)</b> | Many citizens participate, among them specialists and opinion leaders.                                                                                              |
| <b>The mass media</b>                                               | Dominated by specialists (e.g., journalists, experts and so on), while citizens have the passive role of receivers.                                                 |

Source: Gerhards and Neidhart (1993:112–17)

The media are considered as actors in the public sphere that legitimately contribute to the political discourse (Koopmans & Erbe, 2004) and appear to have a dual function. Firstly, they act as mediators of information from external sources, where

they can transmit information flows based on democratic legitimacy, accountability, participation and responsiveness. Secondly, they act as actors in their own right, contributing to the formation of opinion by commenting on political issues and events (Koopmans & Erbe, 2004). Hence, the public sphere is a social and communicative infrastructure of democracy and acts as the engine of democratisation.

Curran (1991:30) argued that the basic requirements of a democratic media system are that: i) it encourages accessibility to public information for all; ii) it reflects the diversity of interests in society; iii) it assists other political organs of democracy through scrutiny and debate; and iv) it allows citizens to participate equally in the processes of public policymaking. But ‘the media should do more than reflect the prevailing balances of forces in society. It should redress imbalances of power through broadening access to the public domain [by] compensating for inferior resources and skills.’

Curran (2000:141) also asserted that democratic media can bridge the gap between fragmented social groups and the universally shared arena of general discourse. Within this framework, the media should cater for different audiences and enable them to debate issues of ‘social identity, group interest, political strategy and normative understanding on their own terms’ (2000:140). These media should foster discussion within multiple and mutually overlapping public spheres. In addition, the media sector should reach the general, heterogeneous public in such a way that ‘different groups in society come together and engage in reciprocal debate’ (Curran, 2000:141).

This spatial notion of the public sphere provides the blueprint for the classical, representative liberal notion of the public sphere (Arendt, 1958) as well as for discursive theories (Benhabib, 1992; Habermas, 1991; Ferree et al., 2002), and it was eventually

assigned to the mass media as well. The liberal theory of mass media declares that media coverage is assumed to represent the pluralist voices within a society, much as public opinion was formed in the idealised Greek agora (Raupp, 2011).

Examining the role of newspapers in democratic societies, Habermas's view that 'newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere' (Habermas, 1984:49) is key to discussion. In relation to the press, Bronner and Kellner (1989:136–42) stressed that 'the daily political newspapers assumed an important role. The press remained an institution of the public itself, effective in the manner of a mediator and intensifier of public discussion and was no longer a mere organ for the spreading of news but not yet the medium of the consumer culture.'

Adding to that point and identifying the role of the newspaper as mediator, McQuail (2000) argued that 'journalism functions as democracy's watchdog and as mediator for citizenship. This relation between the media, citizens and governments, embodied primarily by the newspaper existed from the mid-18th century onwards.' The fate and quality of democracy from such a perspective is in the hands of the reading public. Speaking about audiences, Sparks (1991:45) identified a problem for democratic theory in audience segmentation. Focusing on the newspaper market, he stressed that 'newspapers have different balances between public information and other material; for instance, elite media carry more of the serious information that are necessary for informed citizens'. Sparks's argument appears to be in line with Habermas's view of the bourgeois public sphere 'which almost immediately laid claim to the officially regulated "intellectual newspapers" for use against the public authority itself' (Habermas, 1984:52).

### 3.3.1 European public sphere and the media

The visibility of European issues in the mass media has always been part of the focus of empirical research on the European public sphere. Mass media debates on European integration issues are often driven mainly by elites, with the general public in the position of an observer (Pfetsch & Heft, 2015). Regarding the role of the press in the European integration process, there is constant reference to the ‘Europeanisation’ approach (e.g., Green, Cowles et al., 2001; Hix & Goetz, 2000; Radaelli, 2000; Ledrach, 2001) that focuses on the domestic impacts of European integration and on the ways in which European integration affects public debates in the national press (Gerhards, 1993; 2000). According to Imig and Tarrow (2001), ‘the social movement mobilization on European issues only rarely takes the form of full-fledged European-wide campaigns and is more often of the “domesticated” variant in which national social movements make claims within the national public sphere, but do so referring to European institutions, norms or legislation’. In this context, Koopmans (2007:186) observed that press coverage may increasingly include European actors and issues and identified three forms of the Europeanisation of public debates, as set out in Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3: Europeanisation of public debates forms**

| Form                        | Description                                                                                                     |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b><i>Supranational</i></b> | An increased role for actors and institutions from the European level in public debates in national press.      |
| <b><i>Vertical</i></b>      | When national actors address or refer to European institutions, issues, legal frameworks, norms and identities. |
| <b><i>Horizontal</i></b>    | Increased attention for actors and institutions from other European countries in national press.                |

Source: Koopmans (2007: 186)

Grimm (1995) stated that there can only be one European public and one European discourse ‘if there are newspapers and periodicals, radio and television programmes, offered and demanded on a European market’, or the idea of a ‘multilingual rendition of a single given European news agenda’ (Schlesinger, 2008).

De Vreese (2007:9) referred to three different forms of research concerning the European public sphere and the media, as shown in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4: European public sphere and media research forms**

| Public sphere form | Characteristics                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Utopian</b>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• From a ‘public sphere heavy’ notion of a singular, pan-European public sphere to a ‘public sphere light’ notion of co-existing national public spheres regarding European politics.</li> <li>• Singular, supranational, pan-European public sphere was conceptualised as communicative space requiring a common language, a shared identity and a transnational media system (Kielmansegg, 1996; Habermas, 2001; Grimm, 2004).</li> <li>• A European public sphere is close to impossible due to communication barriers imposed by e.g., the different languages.</li> <li>• The ‘utopian’ notion of European public sphere would imply a supranational public space, EU-level actors dominating, truly European themes being addressed, ideally in (pan) European media.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Elitist</b>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The ‘distinguished segmented transnational public spheres, conceptualised as issue-specific communicative spaces, largely dominated by political and economic elites’ (Eder, 2000).</li> <li>• Communication is perceived at the national level, but concentrates on specific topics and in specific segments, typically elite quality newspapers.</li> <li>• Elitist national newspapers with global outreach that apply to a broader European audience (e.g., <i>Financial Times</i> and <i>Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung</i>), have limited, elite readership that is difficult to refer to as public sphere (de Vreese, 2002; 2003a; Koopmans, 2007).</li> </ul>                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Realist</b>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A ‘non-genuine supranational European public sphere in the singular and monolithic sense derives from the Europeanization of national public spheres’ (Gerhards, 1993; 2000:293).</li> <li>• Europeanisation of national public spheres (2000:293) occur through the (increased) proportion of coverage of European themes and actors, and evaluation of these themes and actors from a perspective that extends beyond a country and its interests.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

Source: De Vreese (2007:9)

Trenz (2004:76) also identified three types of ‘European’ news: those with a shared meaning of European events and issues; Europeanised news, characterised by the secondary impact of European events and issues on national news coverage; and national news on domestic events and issues characterised by evolving forms of European monitoring and rhetoric.

Regarding the media coverage of European affairs, the coverage of key events, such as national referenda on EU issues and European Parliament elections, can be a substantial part of the news (de Vreese et al., 2006; Maier & Maier, 2008; Schuck et al., 2014). However, most of the news is seen through the prism of the nation state (de Vreese & Semetko, 2004; Hobolt, 2009) and this is what this research aims to investigate empirically. This finding leads to the conclusion that there should be a Europeanisation of the national public spheres in order to engage their participants further in European affairs or, as Koopmans and Statham (2010) concluded, by ‘normalizing’ and getting European politics into national politics, we are most likely to see a ‘legitimate Europeanized public politics’ develop (Statham, 2010: 305). At the very least, they argue that a European public sphere should involve national media reporting on the same topic using common sources, including EU sources and sources from other EU countries.

As the new technologies develop further, the network form is not simply one important element among many but the organising principle of the emerging global system (Friedland, Hove & Rojas, 2006:13). In this context, Reese and Shoemaker (2016:404) argue that ‘certain components of a journalistic field – such as television, and increasingly online news – may converge toward a more global standard, whereas the printed press, more firmly rooted in historical styles, may resist this change’.

Newspapers are trying to keep up with the pace of technological developments by entering the online world, most newspapers now having an online presence. Major newspaper titles (e.g., *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, *El Pais*, *Corriere Della Sera*) offer premium online material to registered subscribers while, unlike the printed form, online newspapers are enhanced with other audiovisual material (e.g., statistical interactive slideshows, videos, live streaming with ad hoc discussion forums).

To sum up, the media has always had an important role to play from the early stages of the public sphere. Publicity is a significant element in the operation of the public sphere as it helps in the formation of opinion among its participants. The media are considered as actors in the public sphere that legitimately contribute to the political discourse and act as mediators of information from external sources and as actors, contributing to the formation of opinion by commenting on political issues and events. The media in a democracy can bridge the gap between fragmented social groups and the universally shared arena of general discourse. Regarding the media coverage of European affairs, these are restricted to major EU events, such as national referenda on EU issues and European Parliament elections, but news is seen through the prism of the nation state.

### **3.3.2 News domestication and the European public sphere**

The domestication of news is a common journalistic phenomenon used to make European news more appealing to national audiences. Domestication refers to the process of making information fit into a frame of reference for audiences within nation-state boundaries (Clausen 2003:8). It is elaborated and understood as a process of *framing*: recognising, defining, selecting and organising information as news, for instance, and actors in a certain national context (ibid).

In this project, the categorisation of news is an important element in the construction of a European public sphere. The categorisation of newspaper articles – a) the *European* ones, which discuss European topics as dominant issues; b) the *Europeanised* ones, which discuss national topics as dominant issues regarding one or several European sub-issues; and c) articles with a *European referential frame*, which discuss non-European issues but make different rhetorical references to Europe (Trenz, 2004:296).

With the existence of homogeneity in the national public spheres within the EU taken as a de facto occurrence by journalists and the absence of a European public sphere, the latter becomes dependent on the former (Schifirnet, 2010). In the national public spheres, the media address national, homogeneous audiences that share common values and customs, while the diversity that exists in the EU and in the public spheres imposes a challenge for media to report the EU to transnational audiences. Thus, journalists report European news from a national angle to become more appealing to their national audiences; nevertheless, the ways in which the domestication of news helps towards the formation of a European public sphere and assists the European integration process should be discussed.

A solution that has been mentioned by scholars (e.g., Gerhards, 2000:293–6; Eilders & Voltmer, 2003: 253–4) is the Europeanisation of national public spheres, where the coverage and criticism would not be restricted to a national level but would have a European angle. In this context, the media have a role to play in communicating the EU and its developments not through their national eyes but through a Europeanised prism. Considering the Europeanisation of national public spheres as a process, there is a role for the media in influencing and forming public opinion.



Considering that the public sphere is a social and communicative infrastructure of democracy and acts as the engine of democratisation, it could be argued that ‘the “European public sphere” is the prerequisite for better governance, legitimacy and citizen’s participation in the emerging European polity’ (Trenz, 2008:46–7). In this context, it can be assumed that publicity secures debate and broader discussion on EU-related issues between citizens and to ‘overcome the EU’s lack of legitimacy and public involvement, then the European integration from above must be accompanied by a Europeanization of public communication’ (Koopmans, 2003:3).

In order for public involvement to be achieved, citizens must become more interested in the EU. The general notion that the EU is an unpopular institution is discussed by Leonard (1998) who identified three interconnected causes for this unpopularity: a) the EU institutions are detached from people’s everyday lives and routines; b) the EU’s policymaking priorities are not those of most voters; and c) the benefits of EU membership are spread unevenly within the member states and that leads citizens to believe that the EU is a ‘club for the few’, for educated people. In order to change this environment and for citizens to become more interested in the EU, the media need to play their role as mediators of the public sphere between the public and the EU.

As Gerhards (1992, 1993) argued, there are certain factors that affect the media’s ability to report EU affairs. Firstly, the institutional structure of the EU, along with the nature of the European decision-making process and the absence of citizens’ involvement in that process, does not have any newsworthy stories for journalists to report that will include conflict, prominence or drama. In addition, the European actors do not depend on public legitimacy and support of the European citizenry and, hence, there is no reason to go to the public. This phenomenon reduces the media’s chances of

personalising European politics. Secondly, the media are accountable for the indifference regarding EU politics. As they try to address large audiences and there is no public involvement (i.e., no newsworthiness), the media cannot become attractive to the masses and, therefore, they do not report EU affairs news.

In addition to the two reasons given above, it is worth mentioning that media organisations do not dedicate great infrastructure to Brussels, while the competition between journalists is fierce because of the limited time in the international news (Gerhards, 1992, 2000). As the media follow patterns of political preferences within national public spheres, taking at the same time a political stance, the media reports from Brussels either take no political side but prefer to follow the views expressed by the political elite or other interests (such as civil society organisations) or take the side of public opinion (Eilders/Voltmer, 2003:11).

In the same vein, the role of national political actors is to give far-distant Europe a face and show the relevance for the national level, thereby making Europe newsworthy (Auel & Tiemann, 2020:256). The common characteristic of Europeanised articles (including those in the news coverage of the case studies) is that they ‘were directed at a national public and remained attached to national viewpoints and communication habits’ (Grimm, 1995:294–5). The domestication of news is a phenomenon that can be found not only in the Cypriot press but in the newspapers of other countries as well. Van der Eijk and Franklin (1996:123) argued that European Parliamentary elections tend to be treated by the media as ‘second-order elections’ and of less importance than national ones, rather than contests in which alternative visions of Europe are debated and decided upon by voters.

The gap between the institutionalised debates and the public is created because citizens are ‘lacking the ability to link, filter, and synthesize themes and topics in a

general European public sphere, so that the citizens can form positions and express opinions about problems and solutions aired in the civil society’ (Eriksen, 2005:355). In Eriksen’s words, there must be a single, common European public space, accessible to all, so that public opinion can be expressed freely and openly. To achieve that, there should be ‘dissemination of a European news agenda’ that ‘becomes an integral part of citizens’ daily or routine media consumption’ and ‘enables them to define their citizenship [see Chapter 4] beyond the national level and in European terms’ (Schlesinger, 1999:277).

The media could be the driving force of this process, whereby citizens would acquire a better knowledge of the institutions and a stronger feeling of belonging to the European project. Wessels stressed that ‘an ideal pan-European public sphere through which citizens can be informed, discuss and contribute to the EU policymaking beyond physical borders and language barriers can only be conceived in the context of a more federalist European Union’. In order to frame and develop a view of the European public sphere (EPS), Wessels (2016:46) developed the ALIS (Assumptions, Logics, Institutions, Strategies) theoretical scheme, which describes the dynamics behind the EU's evolution process.

**Table 3.5: The ALIS scheme**

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Assumptions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• EPS as the basis of constitutional patriotism</li> <li>• Need for a strengthened EPS to reduce the democratic deficit</li> <li>• The EPS stimulates the process of self-understanding of Europeans</li> </ul>                        | <b>Logics</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shared identity</li> <li>• Common symbols</li> <li>• Exchanges (learning about differences)</li> <li>• Pan-European media</li> </ul>                                                                                                                      |
| <b>Institutions</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stronger supranational institutions</li> <li>• European parties</li> <li>• Transnational lists and harmonized elections</li> <li>• Direct election of European government</li> <li>• Council of E.U. as a second chamber</li> </ul> | <b>Strategies → Focus on media</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Funding pan-European media</li> <li>• Europeanization of local and national media</li> <li>• Pan-European advertising market</li> <li>• English as lingua franca</li> <li>• Multilingualism</li> <li>• EU media authority</li> </ul> |

Concerning the ‘Assumptions’, Wessels referred to the European public sphere as a basis of constitutional patriotism, a term defined by Habermas (2001) as ‘a commitment to the universalistic constitutional principles’, while he stressed that a strong and solid European public sphere would help to reduce the democratic deficit. As a last remark, Wessels highlighted the process of the self-understanding of Europeans through the European public sphere, whereby the European public sphere would engage European citizens with different cultures, languages and traditions, into a process of awareness and of understanding the differences; then efforts could be made to bridge the gaps, to identify the common values that unite them.

By ‘Logics’, Wessels referred to the development of a common identity as a driving force in bringing together Europeans which would form the basis of shared institutions and rules and of a space for encounter and dialogue. The ‘cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law’ (Habermas, 1989) are recalled in the preamble of the Treaty of the EU.

Moreover, common state-like symbols are also part of the European demos (e.g., the blue flag of the EU with its 12 gold stars, Beethoven’s ‘Ode to Joy’ as the European anthem, the tagline ‘United in Diversity’ and so on) that promote homogeneity within the EU. Furthermore, Habermas also stressed that ‘programmes of exchanges such as “Erasmus” and “Erasmus +” are the greatest achievements of the EU in supporting mobility and the process of mutual “self-understanding”’ (1989:147), as these assist towards the homogenisation of Europeans through education and development of language skills and cultural awareness. In this process, the presence

and role of the pan-European media was identified by Wessels, who considers them as ‘capable of forming a trans-national wide European public sphere’ (ibid).

Under the heading ‘Institutions’, Wessels highlighted the deepening of EU institutions toward the development of the European public sphere, where political parties could exist in a manner that would encourage homogeneity. For Wessels, the existence of transnational lists and harmonised elections operates in favour of a European public sphere while a ‘state-like institutional setting would allow the creation of platforms and mechanisms for a functioning pan-European public sphere’ (Wessels, 2016:49). In addition, Wessels stressed that ‘the creation of a European government, which would replace the Commission and the mutation of the Council into a second chamber, with representatives from national and even regional parliaments could operate in favour of the European public sphere’ (ibid).

In the ‘Strategies’ section, there is a focus on pan-European media as a tool to raise awareness of European topics and issues among citizens, in a public sphere where institutions would gain greater democratic legitimacy. Furthermore, the Europeanisation of the local and national media was identified as a process to enhance the engagement of the participants of the public sphere, while the emergence of a pan-European digital and non-digital advertising market could assist pan-European media to have easy access to financial resources from all over the EU. In such an environment, a common language is needed to ensure the operations of the European public sphere, where English could operate as a lingua franca without neglecting the existence of diversity and multilingualism in the Union. As a final factor, Wessels referred to the existence of an EU media authority which would supervise the operations of the European public sphere.

Putting the above within the context of European integration, it can be said that an increase in the visibility of European issues in public debates requires the media to attribute salience to topics of EU integration on their agenda; the media may enhance Europeanisation by highlighting the issue of EU integration prior to other issues (Pfetsch, Adam & Eschner, 2010). This can be achieved ‘by providing editorial space for the European and EU member-state actors’, which will lead the media to ‘prevent the closure of the debate and contribute to overcoming purely national perspectives’ (Pfetsch, Adam & Eschner, 2010:78).

The ability of national media to ‘provide with direct responsibility, support, or criticism to actors outside the national realm defines whether debates can be described as national, transnational, or European’ (Pfetsch, Adam & Eschner, 2010:153). Along the same lines, the three models of media systems (the Mediterranean or Polarised Pluralist model, the Northern European or Democratic Corporatist model, and the North Atlantic or Liberal model) identified by Hallin & Mancini (2004:39) highlight the role of the reporting of the European news in the member states.

**Table 3.6: Media system characteristics models**

|                                   | Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model<br>France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain                                                                                           | Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model<br>Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland                                         | North Atlantic or Liberal Model<br>Britain, United States, Canada, Ireland                                                                                                                 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Newspaper Industry                | Low newspaper circulation; elite politically oriented press                                                                                                                    | High newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation press                                                                                                            | Medium newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation commercial press                                                                                                       |
| Political Parallelism             | High political parallelism; external pluralism, commentary-oriented journalism; parliamentary or government model of broadcast governance – politics-over-broadcasting systems | External pluralism especially in national press; historically strong party press; shift toward neutral commercial press; politics-in-broadcasting system with substantial autonomy | Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism in Britain); professional model of broadcast governance – formally autonomous system |
| Professionalization               | Weaker professionalization; instrumentalization                                                                                                                                | Strong professionalization; institutionalized self-regulation                                                                                                                      | Strong professionalization; noninstitutionalized self-regulation                                                                                                                           |
| Role of the State in Media System | Strong state intervention; press subsidies in France and Italy; periods of censorship; “savage deregulation” (except France)                                                   | Strong state intervention but with protection for press freedom; press subsidies, particularly strong in Scandinavia; strong public-service broadcasting                           | Market dominated (except strong public broadcasting in Britain, Ireland)                                                                                                                   |

The Northern European or Democratic Corporatist model is characterised by an early development of press freedom and high newspaper circulation. This model has a history of strong party newspapers and other media connected with social groups and a high degree of political parallelism (where media are still differentiated politically and are affiliated with political tendencies). Moreover, there is also a high degree of journalistic professionalism (the journalists' right to have shared standards of professional practice, which give them the autonomy to express their views freely and act as objective observers of events) and the media are seen as social institutions in which the state has responsibility for their role in a democratic society. At the same time, press freedom coexists with strong state support for, and regulation of, the media.

The North Atlantic or Liberal model is characterised by an early development of press freedom and a mass-circulation press. There is dominance of commercial newspapers, political parallelism is low and there is a predominant internal pluralism (pluralism achieved within each individual medium or organisation). In addition, there is strong professionalisation of journalism, while journalistic autonomy is restricted more by commercial pressures than by 'political instrumentalisation' (defined as 'the control of the media by outside factors such as the government, politicians, social groups or movements or economic actors seeking political influence who use them to intervene in the world of politics' (Hallin & Mancini, 2004:37)).

The Mediterranean model is characterised by an elite-oriented small-circulation press, and political parallelism in the sense that the press is affiliated with political views, as expressed by the country's political parties. Moreover, there is external pluralism (a number and a variety of contents mainly on social, political and cultural issues that are supplied in a media market) while the audiovisual media are centralised in terms of ownership and geographical proximity. Press freedom and the emergence

of commercial media occurred at a late stage in the Mediterranean countries, and prior to this, newspapers needed state subsidies. The political instrumentalisation of the media is a common phenomenon, while journalism is dependent on political activism, thus leading to limited autonomy in terms of what is reported and published.

Hallin and Mancini (2004:73) argued that ‘the Mediterranean countries were characterised by particularly explicit conflicts over the autonomy of journalists’ power and authority within news organisations and this has been more openly contested in the Polarised Media Systems. The State plays a large role as an owner, regulator, and funder of the media, though its capacity to regulate effectively is often limited.’ State intervention gradually began to diminish and there has been a move towards a more liberal model, leading to the Northern European model.

Considering that the media help to form public opinion and that journalists are expected to be the gatekeepers of the public interest (Habermas, 1989), it can be stated that journalists need to act as observers of the social and political developments that take place in a democratic society. Citizens expect journalists to be critical towards politicians and to serve the public interest and the journalistic ethos (e.g., Deuze, 2005; Tumber & Prentoulis, 2005). The public interest, ‘broad, vague and loosely constructed’ that ‘changes over time and from different perspectives, so that defining it is notoriously difficult’ (Iosifidis, 2011: 25) remains (Sills, 1968, cited in McQuail, 1992a: 20) ‘elastic and relative [and] has no a priori content waiting to be revealed’ and ‘[It] serves to remind parties immediately concerned that there are considerations extending beyond their goals’.

Downs (1962:143–62) mentioned three main schools of public interest, the first being related to ‘the will of the people’ and constructed on the basis of what the majority wants. The equation of ‘public interest’ with ‘popular interests’ has been criticised on



several grounds. According to Held (1970:119), there is a conflict between a particular means of identifying the public interest and the broader notion that it means something more than the sum of individual preferences. The second school declares that the public interest involves some values which do not take into consideration what citizens want. In this case, the interests of the public override the interests of individuals in order to establish a common value. The third, 'realist' or 'pragmatic', school declares that the public interest is 'what political institutions arrive at by their decision-making' (Iosifidis, 2011:27–8). Here the common interest refers to views expressed, shared and agreed upon by society as a whole.

Within this framework, journalists are considered as 'gatekeepers in affecting particularly how the original foreign news events are covered and interpreted in the national media, but those other actors often turn ideas or themes evoked by the event into domestic politics. Such domestication of global news in a broad sense is particularly interesting because it contributes to the travel of ideas across national and regional borders' (Alasuutari et al., 2013:695). Through the domestication technique in their reporting, journalists are 'travelling' the ideas of global (as well as European) news within the national public sphere. Following a study made by Gurevitch et al. (1991:207), it was concluded primarily that 'although global news services provide the same set of stories for different audiences, this does not necessarily lead to a homogenization of news around the world because the "same" events are told in divergent ways, geared to the social and political frameworks and sensibilities of diverse domestic audiences'. Secondly, Gurevitch assumed that 'seeing revolution or other global events on "live" television provides the possibility of constituting a global audience and global citizenship and points out that while the images may have

global currency, the meanings given to them will not necessarily be shared globally' (ibid).

Along the same lines, Clausen (2004:8) identified news 'domestication' as a *universal* phenomenon and that global news is *particular* to each country, claiming that 'international news is presented within frames of interpretation of local audiences in each nation, which makes global news particular to each country' (2004:8). Concerning the identity of nations, Ito (1990:441) highlighted that the domestication of news is related to the preservation of cultural identity which includes the sense of continuity and pride or self-esteem and concluded that "'domestication" strategies as a means of protection of national identity may be at work in the international newsrooms'.

Moreover, Ito identified that news domestication 'relies to a great extent on the national media organizations' financial resources' where media organisations use this technique as a solution to the financial problems they encounter. Clausen (2004:171) referred to this issue and stressed that 'the ability to gain access to local sources through their own offices and correspondence around the world is determined by the financial situation and policy of the news media. In this case, the investigative media have financial means and connections worldwide to develop their own stories.'

Hence, it can be said that, depending on the financial status, the media will dedicate more resources to reporting the international and European news, while the domestication of news appears more often during times of economic difficulties or of crisis. For instance, the importance of the reporting on Brexit has been identified in the work of Khabaz (2018) who highlighted the term *undemocratic EU* in most of the newspaper articles of the 'Leave' campaign, increasing the negative reporting of the EU and, in a sense, requesting readers/voters to go against the 'dysfunctional Super-State' and to regain the UK's national sovereignty. Hence, the negative representation

of the EU affects public opinion negatively and has an adverse impact on the European integration process.

However, any negative portrayal of the EU is associated with the impact of the development on the public; for events with an adverse impact on the society (e.g., economic crisis, Covid-19 pandemic and so on), the reporting is expected to be negative, while on occasions with a beneficial impact on society, the media reporting has a positive angle. With this in mind, it can be argued that the construction of a European public sphere through the national press can be achieved ‘by emphasizing existing transnational linkages or positively portraying them and they can also constrain the development of Europeanization by constraining public debate within national perspectives’ (Harcourt, 2015:23). Thus, national newspapers need to identify and highlight the common areas that integrate Cypriots with other Europeans in order to achieve public discourse on European affairs amongst their readerships.

Citizens’ political participation through the media is a vital process in a democratic society, as they can react to the political decisions made by politicians. In this direction, the press makes a significant contribution by providing coverage that helps to form such attitudes, thereby assisting in the construction of a European public sphere through the national public spheres. The empirical work on the European public sphere was focused on mediated deliberation about European issues in national and transnational media (e.g. Schlesinger & Kevin, 2000:89–96; Kunelius & Sparks, 2001:64; Pfetsch, 2004:132; Wodak & Wright, 2016:64, to name a few) and has acknowledged that ‘citizens in mass societies cannot rely solely on face-to-face interaction, but rather need to participate in political deliberation and gain the vast majority of their information from the media’ (Kunelius & Sparks, 2001:66; Peter, 2017).

The public sphere is not just ‘the media or the socio-spatial sites of public interaction but the cultural/informational repository of the ideas and projects that feed public debate. It is through the public sphere that diverse forms of civil society enact this public debate, ultimately influencing the decisions of the state’ (Stewart, 2011:103). The interaction between citizens and the state through the public sphere ensures a balance between stability and social change as part of public affairs. If citizens, civil society, or the state fail to fulfil the demands of this interaction, or if the channels of communication between two or more of the key components of the process are blocked, the whole system of representation and decision making reaches deadlock. In this process, it is the media’s role to ensure that the public sphere operates within the framework of a democratic society, where citizens are able to express themselves within that sphere.

In sum, news domestication is being used by the media as a method of attracting audiences to read news that is considered secondary. News domestication is a universal phenomenon and the process of bringing information home (‘domestication’) is ingrained in the professional strategies of news producers in their effort to target news output to their local audiences (Clausen, 2004).

### **3.3.3 European news reporting and the European public sphere**

Reporting the European news is not only about the content but also about the person who is writing it and how news is being presented to audiences. Most people form their opinions based on opinion leaders that influence the media. Initially, opinion leaders are exposed to specific media content, and interpret it based on their own opinion. Then they infiltrate these opinions through the public, and this process gives them the title of ‘opinion leaders’, defined as the ‘individuals who exert an unequal

amount of influence on the decisions of others' (Rogers & Catano, 1962:435) or as the 'opinion brokers who carry information across the social boundaries between groups' (Burt, 1999:37). In this process, social influence is being created and adjusted by the opinions of each specific 'elite media' group, and by these media groups' opposing ideals and opinions and in combination with popular mass media sources.

Therefore, the leading influence in these opinions is primarily one of social persuasion. Newspaper commentaries play an important role in promoting public discussion and forming public opinion (Christodoulides, 1998:47). As was discussed in subchapter 2.3, citizens' participation in the media is essential to the construction of the public sphere, as it enhances political engagement within the borders of the member state and assists the integration process (Castells, 2000).

Public engagement with European affairs takes place in the public sphere and is encouraged by the journalistic coverage of the developments. Atikcan (2015:250–5) identified 'three interrelated problems that block the Union from being a better communicator'. First, there is the problem of political complexity and technical terminology, where the language used within the EU and the nature of the policies themselves have resulted in policy-oriented documents written in technocratic jargon and with little explanation. This leads to the public interest getting lost in the communication process, which makes the work of journalists even harder.

The second problem Atikcan identified was the public's low level of knowledge and understanding of the EU. As he commented, 'EU decisions affect approximately 75% of national legislation today, [but] the public does not debate these decisions on a daily basis [... This] leads back into the first problem, generating low general readership demand for EU news and decreasing incentives for the national media to cover the EU sufficiently' (ibid.). As a third problem, the EU often gets negative attention in the

domestic sphere, a part of this problem being the relatively negative media coverage. For instance, whenever there is a breach of an EU regulation by a member state and the country is about to face penalties or be taken to the European Court of Justice, journalists reflect negatively on the EU.

Even though the European Commission is ‘quite elaborate about its role in and the development of the policy process’, there is the ‘national politicians’ habit of scapegoating the Union, in other words the “blame game” (Bijsmans & Altides, 2018:337). This tendency by national politicians to blame the EU for policymaking has been researched by Hobolt and Tilley (2014) who identified three types of blame game that national politicians utilise towards the EU.

**Table 3.5: Blame-avoidance models**

|                 | Strategy                  | Approach                                                              | EU example                                                         |
|-----------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Blame-avoiding  | <i>Find a scapegoat</i>   | Deflect blame by blaming others                                       | Blame EU institutions or other member state governments            |
|                 | <i>Redefine the issue</i> | Distance oneself from the problem                                     | Present the issue as an EU problem rather than a domestic issue    |
|                 | <i>Circle the wagons</i>  | Diffuse blame by spreading it among as many policymakers as possible. | Spread the responsibility among EU nations and institutions        |
| Credit-claiming | <i>I did it my way</i>    | Take sole credit for positive outcomes                                | Take credit for positive EU-level decisions or outcomes            |
|                 | <i>We made it happen</i>  | Claim association with positive outcomes of collective responsibility | Highlight association with positive EU-level decisions or outcomes |

**Source: Hobolt & Tilley (2014)**

Looking at the three blame-avoidance strategies, the authors refer to *find a scapegoat*, as the ‘most direct method of blame avoidance is to claim that the fault lies elsewhere and to blame someone else’ (2014:144), which can be the EU institutions or other member states for their policies or even the previous incumbent of a political office, something that can be done in multilevel political systems and supranational levels of government in the first place (Fiorina, 1981; Weaver, 1986). In the EU context, the delegation of power to supranational institutions allows national governments to

shift blame to the EU for unpopular reforms or policy outcomes at home (Daugbjerg & Swinbank, 2007). For Hanska (2013) ‘scapegoating is a familiar political strategy in electoral politics: blaming someone else to distract from your own failures’, and he cites the example of Germany with, in 2012, the UK’s *New Statesman* magazine calling Angela Merkel ‘Europe’s Most Dangerous Leader’, a negative narrative that was also found in other countries (e.g. in Greece with Tsipras’s motto *Go Back Madame Merkel*) where the European press seemed to ‘name Merkel and Schäuble as primary culprits for a bailout characterised by some as “robbery, plain and simple”’ (ibid.). For Hanska ‘the political imperative is to blame someone else and deflect blame from oneself. Enforcing the narrative that brutish Germans are selfishly punishing other European states remains politically more convenient in the short term’ (ibid.).

The second type of blame avoidance, namely *redefine the issue*, refers to the approach to stay at a distance from a problem and present it as a European, rather than a domestic, problem. An example of such a stance can be found in the presentation of the Greece-Turkey tensions concerning the influx of migrants into the Evros territory. In May 2020, Turkey tried to put pressure on the EU by sending migrants to the borders with Greece, and Prime Minister Mitsotakis addressed his EU counterparts, claiming that this action of Turkey’s was against European solidarity, as Greece was protecting the European borders. The third type of blame avoidance refers to the *circle the wagons* strategy and is based on the principle of safety in numbers, where ‘everyone provides political cover for everyone else’ (Weaver, 1986: 389). In this type, politicians are aware that they cannot avoid blame or pass it to someone else, so they complicate the blame by sharing the responsibility across numerous political actors (see Schmidt, 2002a, 2002b; Zohlnhofer, 2007). An example is the migration crisis in the EU and the discussions on the acceptance of migrants by member states as a way of showing

solidarity among the Mediterranean countries who were accepting an influx of migrants.

By contrast, the *I did it my way* method of credit-claiming provides credit to national politicians for any positive outcomes that may occur at an EU level. For example, when Greece complained to the European Council about Turkey's illegal actions in its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), the EU member states ratified sanctions against Turkey. Another strategy is that of *We made it happen* which claims association in areas of collective responsibility and in situations where common action is needed between member states. Examples are the decisions taking place in the European Council in relation to critical issues concerning the EU, such as its future.

The blame game affects not only politicians but also the media coverage and citizens. For Hobolt and Tilley (2014:82) 'the media's coverage of political news may help citizens to decide how different levels of governments are involved in shaping policy outcomes and whether they have had a positive or negative effect'. On occasions with social and political significance, for instance (e.g., the European elections, the eurozone developments and so on) readers and viewers will suppose that the EU is actively involved in their daily lives, and this takes place in a positive (or negative) manner. Through their empirical work, Hobolt and Tilley concluded that 'the media rarely assign responsibility to the EU and when it comes to the EU, media coverage on the whole engages a lot less with credit and blame. The media tend to assign responsibility to the national government, and they do not engage in coverage of EU institutions' (2014: 82). Referring to the framing, defined as 'an interpretative presentation that a speaker uses, such as a media outlet' (2014:77), Hobolt and Tilley stressed that this process 'should shape citizens' attribution of responsibility to the EU



most directly, regardless of whether it involves direct credit or blame for an issue, or merely the clear assignment of responsibility for a policy area’.

From a media perspective, it should be stressed that ‘the media's own voice can be derived from editorials and press commentaries which constitute the institutionalised and legitimate format for journalists and editors to explicitly take stands in actual controversies’ (Koopmans & Pfetsch, 2005:221). The Europeanisation of the national public spheres, where ‘EU affairs, actors and institutions become increasingly important in the political discourses of the different EU member states’ (Meyer, 2005: 20) and actors are viewed from a European angle and not from a national point of view (e.g., Gerhards, 2000: 293–6; Eilders/Voltmer, 2013:253–4), can prove beneficial for public engagement with EU affairs through the national public sphere.

According to McNair (2017), the provision of facts by the media within a platform for public political discourse facilitates the formation of public opinion where governmental and political institutions could enjoy publicity with a degree of ‘openness’ by the media. However, the media should not forget their democratic role to act as watchdogs of the society (Curran, 2007) and intervene, where necessary, in order to influence public opinion.

In sum, citizens’ participation is an essential element in the construction of the public sphere, as it enhances political engagement within the borders of the member state and assists the integration process. In this context, the media play a key role in promoting public engagement with European affairs in the public sphere and this is being achieved through the coverage of European news.

### 3.4 Conclusions

The identification of the public sphere as a virtual or imaginary community that does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space, but can operate as an area of social life, where people can get together and discuss openly anything that concerns society, shows an apparent need for interaction between citizens. The public sphere serves as political self-interpretation and legal institutionalisation of public views. According to Habermas, the idea of 'public' as a culturally embedded practice is effective in a population which is culturally homogenous. Thus, at the core of the public sphere are the ideas of information sharing and common values that different people from diverse backgrounds identify with. Europeanisation has an influence on supranational economic and political dynamics so that decisions made at the top level of the EU influence domestic politics.

Citizens' contribution to the public sphere can be achieved through the media and the different parts of the public sphere (global, national and European) where they can access information and participate in the political process. Concerning the role of the media in the public sphere, there is a view that democratic media can bridge the gap between fragmented social groups and the universally shared arena of general discourse.

The domestication of European news and its analysis through a national prism as a method adopted by journalists as they support the view that readers consider European news to be less important than national news. Thus, they domesticate the European news in order to make it more appealing to national audiences, to encourage public engagement within the national public sphere and increase their readership. The domestication of news has led Cypriots to think mainly as nationals and less as members of the European family.

Public engagement in the construction of the public sphere through the media is perhaps one of the most democratic elements in a society, as it encourages public political discussion. This can be described as a positive step towards the formation of a European public sphere as it enables readers to express their views on EU-related issues while the press accomplishes its role as mediator in the society.

## **CHAPTER 4: EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The construction of European citizenship is a challenging process which is part of the broader European integration effort. Meehan (2009) argued that citizenship is a form of belonging, based on legal and social rights and responsibilities, including the right to participate, and that it is not always based on nationality. Citizenship may be denied in some cases, based on gender, religion or ethnic orientation, regardless of nationality.

Citizens can influence policies and regulations, using a set of approaches that are distinct in different states. The EU declared that citizenship under its umbrella is complementary to national rights and does not revoke any rights held by the said citizens. This means that European citizenship is derived from the nationalities of its different member states and that in no case should European citizenship become a substitute for national citizenship, but rather be complementary to the latter.

This part of the thesis undertakes a scholarly investigation into the formation of European citizenship and its significance to the European integration process. Focusing on the media, the chapter explores their role in shaping European citizenship and the ability of citizens to have an informed public debate on EU-related issues. To achieve this, there are five subchapters, with the first one exploring citizenship and European citizenship, followed by the establishment of European citizenship in the EU treaties. The second subchapter further discusses European citizenship and, as the thesis deals with the social aspect of the term, the chapter goes on to examine cultural citizenship and collective identity as two existing elements in the formation of an EU citizenship, while also discussing the role of the media in the European integration process and the formation of citizenship.

## 4.2 Citizenship and European citizenship contextualisation

### 4.2.1 Citizenship

Marshall identified citizenship as ‘a status [that] applies to those who are full members of a community’ (1950:149), highlighting a need for belonging to larger groups of society. He defined citizenship from a rights-based viewpoint, indicating that it involves political, civic and social rights. For Marshall (1950:10) ‘the civil element is composed of the rights necessary for personal freedom [...] By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political power or as an elector of such a body. [...] By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society’.

The definition offered by Marshall has been expanded, transitioning from the focus on class struggle and universal suffrage, with social aspects added to the conceptualisation whereby a social welfare state is introduced with the modern understanding of citizenship (Esping-Andersen, 1990:21). For Marshall, *civil* rights (equality before the law, the right to own property and sign binding contracts, as well as freedom of speech and religion) led to *political* rights (passive and active franchise), which in turn led to *social* rights (the right to a minimum level of social and economic welfare) (Esping-Andersen, 1996:88–93). Marshall also identified three major factors for the evolution of social rights: namely, the lessening of the income gap, a major extension of the area of common culture and common experience, and an enlargement of citizenship with more rights being granted to the citizens.

Moving a step ahead, Hay (1996:77–8) presents a ‘re-worked neo-Marshallian’ conception of citizenship, including more on outcomes, the distinction between formal

and substantive rights, the constantly changing and renegotiated nature of citizenship, and its obligations and duties, as well as focusing on civil and social rights and the gendered basis of the Marshall framework. Hay abandons rather than extends Marshall and moves ‘beyond citizenship’. Hay (1996:73) considers Marshall’s remark that ‘equality of status is more important than equality of outcome’ to be ‘a deeply condescending suggestion’, arguing that ‘this remark [...] could perhaps only have been made by someone with both status and income. Equality of status does not buy many loaves of bread, or care for many children’ (Hay, 1996:73).

The contextualisation of citizenship has been expanded with perspectives from multiple dimensions, which refer to citizens’ obligations (Bart, 2007:1). Citizenship involves individuals having various rights and obligations in connection with their participation in democratic activities such as voting (Bellamy, 2008:560). For Closa (1992:1139), ‘the defining and primordial element of citizenship is the enjoyment of political rights. In domestic law, the term “citizen” applies only to persons in possession of full political rights. Political citizenship guarantees the possibility to influence state policy, which is exclusively reserved to nationals.’

Closa’s approach refers to the enjoyment of political rights within a sovereign state while many like-minded scholars have identified the link between citizenship and nationality. Atchison (2018:24) critiques this rights-based concept of citizenship, asserting that ‘citizenship goes beyond democratic processes with the need to also conceptualise citizenship outside the institutional and often temporal boundaries of participating in elections and law making in parliaments’.

Urry (1999:318) defined citizenship within the realm of the public sphere, declaring ‘it involves a process which results in acquisition of certain rights that are established through societal consensus on the extent as well as nature of the rights and

obligation acquired'. Dahlgren and Sparks (1991:23) agree that the 'public sphere becomes a critical and central element in the development and understanding of citizenship'. This inclusion of citizenship within the public sphere allows for a particular society to develop a balance between various conflicting rights. Coleman and Blumer (2009:66) argue that conceptions of citizenship are inherently pluralistic and contestable and thus continue to evolve. Oosterom-Staples (2018:432) agrees, stating that citizenship is a multilayered process and complex, with its understanding based on various dimensions and on how it is socialised in the society, thus stressing the importance of the public sphere dimension.

A notable definition of citizenship comes from Maas (2013:2) who identified citizenship as a 'single pattern of membership: to be a citizen is to be a member of a legally homogeneous (usually national) group of people, with attendant rights and duties'. Fetoshi (2017: 338) states that 'citizenship is an implication of having members to a particular political community and internally involves definitions based on rights, duties, identity, and participation'. In a European context, it can be argued that citizens of an EU member state are considered simultaneously citizens of the European Union and citizens of their own country, due to their country's participation in the alliance of countries of the continent. Delanty (1997:288) identified that 'citizenship in the western world involves both civic and cultural dimensions' and highlighted the existence of four models of citizenship which 'emphasize different dimensions of what membership of a political community entails: rights, duties, participation and identity' (ibid.).

**Table 4.1: Four models of citizenship**

| Model                | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Rights</b>        | Rights is a dimension of citizenship and refers to the rights citizens hold in relation to the state (Delanty, 1997:188).<br>The state is obliged to protect the civil rights (the right to free speech and assembly and the right to enter into a contract), the political rights (the extension of suffrage) and social citizenship (the right to social goods such as health, education and social security) that are properties of individuals (Marshall, 1992).                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Conservative</b>  | Duties and responsibilities are the primary characteristics of the conservative model. It emphasises the duties of citizens toward the state (Selbourne, 1994), whereby citizens do not ask what the state can do for them but what citizens can do for the state (Delanty, 1997:189). The classic duties of citizens toward the state are taxation, military service and education.<br>Citizenship is divided into active and passive, in relation to the state; <i>active</i> implies that citizens must actually do something and not act as recipients of the state's services; <i>passive</i> implies that citizens should not engage in critical discourse (Delanty, 1997:189). |
| <b>Participatory</b> | This stresses the active dimension of citizenship, portraying participation as 'an active process and something which cannot be reduced to duty' (Delanty, 1997:190) while emphasising the involvement of citizens in the building of society. Civic community equates citizenship with public roles; the private world is excluded from the political world and there is a focus on the value systems of a culturally dominant group (Delanty, 1997:190).                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>Communitarian</b> | This involves the question of identity; citizenship is more than rights and duties but also involves issues of identification (Delanty, 1997:191). The key element is its conception of the 'polity of citizens as a national community' (Delanty, 1997:191). The political community incorporates membership of a cultural community with existing cultural ties and historical traditions prior to the state, which is merely a cultural community. The citizens who comprise civil society can maintain their strict rules on who belongs to the polity and therefore who is entitled to its privileges.                                                                           |

**Source: Delanty (1997:189–95)**

These four conceptions provide a clear view on the actual models of citizenship in modern societies. Specifically, the rights model focuses on the social rights of the individuals regarding the state, and the obligation of the latter to protect civil and political rights as part of the social justice the state should provide for its citizens. Delanty (1997:186) stressed that 'these rights and their conceptions of social justice are primarily formal' and this is understandable as it refers to the rights of the citizens in relation to the state; thus, a certain level of formality is expected by the state to secure the citizens' rights. In Western democracies these rights (civil, political, social) are mentioned in the constitution and secured through the state's fundamental legal principle.



The conservative model can be summarised in J.F. Kennedy's well-known exhortation: 'Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country' (1961). In fact, these words reflect the need for citizens to work for the public good and relate to 'the tradition of civic responsibility which is itself an older tradition than conservatism' (Delanty, 1997:196). In general, the conservative idea requests citizens to take an active approach toward their rights in relation to the state and become less critical as members of society. For example, during the euro financial crisis in the EU (2008–13), the governments of the countries of the Mediterranean (Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Spain) were asked to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the *troika* (European Commission, International Monetary Fund, European Central Bank) for the rescue of their economies. The national leaders were in effect asking their nationals to support their policy; for example, former Greek minister George Papandreou stated in his address to the nation about the activation of the MoU:

It is a national necessity and priority to officially ask our partners to activate the mechanism that was created by all of us. [...] In other words, we were hoping to have the necessary calmness to concentrate on the big changes that our country needs: To build an economy that is viable and competitive and to make the Greeks feel proud again. [...] Our final target, our final destination, is to liberate Greece from surveillance and guardianship. To liberate the forces of the Greek nation, every Greek, from rigid practices and mentalities which have created obstacles for many decades.

In his speech, Papandreou appealed to the patriotic feeling of Greeks to 'liberate Greece', as he declared, and work collectively for the public good by supporting the

government's decision to request financial help, without prior consent by the citizens (e.g., referendum, elections and so on). Thus, the state played an active role by requesting citizens to operate for the public good, while citizens were passive actors on whom austerity measures were imposed without the opportunity to express their opinion against this action.

Delanty (1997:198) argues that, in the participatory model, 'participation differs from dutifulness in that it emphasizes agency while the conservative notions of duty suggest passivity and obedience'. Delanty refers to the movement for the environment and climate change, where 'environmentalists have argued for the inclusion of the notion of collective responsibility, raising the question whether nature has rights, and the concept of responsibility cannot be exhausted by reference to the notion of duties to the state, for it is held we have duties to nature as well as society' (1997:286).

Lastly, the communitarian model associates citizenship with culture and national identity. The incorporation of culture as an element for social citizenship and the need for cultural cohesion in communitarian discourse is an element identified in the previous chapter where it was associated with the social integration of societies. In this model, Delanty raises the issue of identity through a national perspective where citizens belong to a national community with common historical and cultural ties that exist prior to the state; these persons can be part of the society without losing their cultural ties and identity (see discussion on identity and citizenship later in the chapter). One example is the Pontic Greeks in Greece who have strong cultural identity and ties and are part of Greek society.

In sum, citizenship involves, on the one hand, political, civic and social rights on the part of the state towards the citizens and, on the other, obligations and duties on the part of the citizens towards the state. In this multilayered process, the sense of

belonging to a homogeneous community with rights, duties, participation and identity is essential to the formation of citizenship. The next subchapter discusses citizenship in a European context.

#### **4.2.2 European citizenship**

European citizenship has been a critical issue for the development of the EU. The EU acknowledges the existence of national citizenship, while European citizenship is a ‘privilege’ for Europeans. This ‘privilege’ is a result of the social and economic integration that emerged through the treaties of the EU. For Wiener and Tilly (1997:39), ‘European citizenship is a dynamic process that heralds the end of the nation-state. Citizenship grew up as a feature of strong, centralised states, yet today the EU’s form of citizenship attaches its members to an institution that is not a state and may undermine states as Europe has hitherto known them.’

Thus, member states are at the core of European citizenship because the EU is not a sovereign state and cannot grant rights to persons directly, but only to citizens from each member state. For instance, a Maltese citizen has obtained his country’s citizenship and, since Malta is a member state of the EU, this person is considered a European citizen. Thus, the idea of citizenship is based on the structure of the member state (Giesen & Eder, 2001).

Considering the four models of citizenship in a European (postnational) context, Delanty stressed that citizenship should not be restricted to a national community and ‘cannot be taken as a self-evident model for the Union’ (1997:292) but should be extended to include transnational rights; thus, the duties and responsibilities of citizenship should be expanded beyond the state level. In Delanty’s models, identity plays a role as a cultural resource in a complete model of citizenship; however, in the

European context, citizenship cannot be reduced to nationality as there are many nationalities and, hence, multicultural communities. He also stressed that ‘the first conception of European citizenship as a postnational citizenship is primarily a formal citizenship’ (1997:295) as described in the Maastricht Treaty (for details see next subchapter), claiming that European citizenship can be complementary to the national one and is by no means an alternative citizenship.

Soysal (1994) associates postnational citizenship with the universal rights of the individual, which go beyond the nation state by referring to global problems. Global movements – for example, the ‘anti-GMO’ movement, which is opposed to genetically modified organisms in the food and farming industry, or the ‘Human Rights Movement’, a social activism movement related to the issues of human rights which involves ‘resistance to colonialism, imperialism, slavery, racism, segregation, patriarchy, and oppression of indigenous peoples’ (Clapham, 2007:19) – have involved the participation of citizens from all over the world.

Summing up, European citizenship is a status that defines citizens of the member states of the EU, which is complementary to national citizenship. European citizenship goes beyond the national borders and involves the interaction of multicultural communities with different national backgrounds. The next subchapter examines the treaties that laid the foundations of European citizenship.

#### **4.2.3 European citizenship in the EU treaties**

The meaning of European citizenship has not only been a point of scholarly discussion but also a key issue for European institutions. The EU’s need to establish its citizenship by incorporating it into the various treaties demonstrates the significance given to setting the tone on this matter. In the historic context of European citizenship,

the Treaties of Rome, Maastricht and Lisbon were milestones in the formation of a common citizenship among Europeans.

**Table 4.2: European citizenship articles**

| Treaty                                                  | Year | Article               | Definition                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Lisbon Treaty (Reform Treaty)</b>                    | 2007 | Art. 8                | <i>In all its activities, the Union shall observe the principle of the equality of its citizens, who shall receive equal attention from its institutions, bodies, offices and agencies. Every national of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to national citizenship and shall not replace it.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <b>Lisbon Treaty (Reform Treaty)</b>                    | 2007 | Art. 8(A)             | <i>The functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy.<br/>Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament.<br/>Member States are represented in the European Council by their Heads of State or Government and in the Council by their governments, themselves democratically accountable either to their national Parliaments, or to their citizens.<br/>Every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union. Decisions shall be taken as openly and as closely as possible to the citizen.<br/>Political parties at European level contribute to forming European political awareness and to expressing the will of citizens of the Union.</i> |
| <b>Maastricht Treaty</b>                                | 1992 | Art. 8                | <i>Citizenship of the Union is hereby established. Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship. Citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaty.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <b>Maastricht Treaty</b>                                | 1992 | Art. 8 (A)            | <i>1. Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty and by the measures adopted to give it effect.<br/>2. The Council may adopt provisions with a view to facilitating the exercise of the rights referred to in paragraph 1; save as otherwise provided in this Treaty, the Council shall act unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after obtaining the assent of the European Parliament.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Maastricht Treaty</b>                                | 1992 | Art. 8 (B)            | <i>Every citizen of the Union residing in a Member State of which he is not a national shall have the right to vote and to stand as a candidate at municipal elections in the Member State in which he resides, under the same conditions as nationals of that State.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <b>Maastricht Treaty</b>                                | 1992 | Art. 2                | <i>...To strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <b>Maastricht Treaty (Treaty of the European Union)</b> | 1992 | Art. 11<br>Art. 11(4) | <i>Institutions shall maintain an open transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society [...]<br/>Not less than one million citizens who are nationals of a significant number of Member States may take the initiative of inviting the European Commission, within the framework of its powers, to submit any appropriate proposal on matters where citizens consider that a legal act of the Union is required for the purpose of implementing the Treaties.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |

|                                                         |      |                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Treaty of Rome (Treaty on the Functioning of EU)</b> | 1957 | Art. 48<br>Cl. 1 | <i>Free movement of workers shall be ensured within the Community no later than at the date of the expiry of the transitional period.<br/>This shall involve the abolition of any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the Member States, as regards employment, remuneration, and other working conditions.</i> |
|                                                         |      | Art. 48<br>Cl. 2 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |

Source: EUR-LEX (2019)

The initial reference to the meaning of European citizenship described in the Treaty of Rome refers to the financial aspect, where the strengthening of economic activity would lead to an ‘ever-closer Union between the peoples of Europe’ (Art. 48). For Vasiljevic (2006:118), ‘this freedom did not appear bound to any citizenship concept but rather it was closely linked to the conduct of an economic activity. In consequence, the right of residence was accorded to workers and their families, linked to the right to exercise a labour activity in another Member State of the EEC.’

Furthermore, the Treaty of Rome raised the question of whether EU member states’ citizens had any actual rights or whether it concerned only the governments. According to Marias (1994: 27), ‘the Treaty, most member governments argued, was simply a contract between fully sovereign entities and, as such, had no application to individual citizens or other groups’. However, Maas (1999:3) argued that the treaty included some rights for the citizens of the member states by allowing them to work within the Community and therefore, primarily through economic integration, there would be social integration – at least to a degree.

As is apparent, Maas’s view is reflected in the Maastricht Treaty (see Art. 8 (B)) where social integration is envisaged as being achieved through participation in a political process such as local and EU elections. Freedom of movement and the right to vote as well as to participate in local and EU elections, with the same rules for all nationals of member states, is enjoyed today by all Europeans who reside in a different country from the one in which they are nationals.

While the Treaty of Rome opened the discussion on the definition of European citizenship, the 1992 Treaty of the European Union (Maastricht Treaty) established European citizenship by incorporating it in European legislation. The treaty included some rights for the citizens of member states in relation to labour; specifically, by allowing them to work anywhere within the Community, and therefore, primarily through economic integration, there would be social integration, at least to a degree. This social approach in regard to European citizenship was developed in the treaty (Art. 2) with reference to the freedoms of movement, labour and residence, as well as an approach being taken to participation in the electoral process within the European Parliament and the protection of citizens' rights which differed from the approach set out in the Treaty of Rome. In addition, the preamble to the Maastricht Treaty provides for the establishment of citizenship for the citizens of member states while Article 9 explains that European citizenship is complementary and not a replacement of national citizenship.

The Maastricht Treaty thus clearly differentiates between citizenship and the citizens' nationality from their own countries resulting in the acquisition of EU citizenship whereby it is additional and not a replacement of national citizenship (d' Oliveira, 2018:203). Based on this stipulation in the treaty, nationality can be interpreted as legal between the state and the individual, while citizenship is considered as the rights and duties that arise from one's nationality (Vonk, 2016:57).

The appearance of the notion of European citizenship in the Maastricht Treaty has been described by researchers and political analysts as a pivotal moment in the construction of European citizenship. The treaty seems to be primarily concerned with defining and implementing European citizenship. Shore (2013:77–8) referred to three key points of the treaty that appeared to be problematic. Primarily, he stressed that 'the

EU concept of citizenship focuses exclusively on rights without outlining a set of corresponding duties' and stated that it was unclear what the duties of European citizens towards their Union were.

The treaty allows EU citizens to enjoy the privileges of being citizens of a member state, setting EU citizenship at a complementary level, mainly because the EU is not a country. As regards the duties of European citizens, these are restricted to the national level. For Miller (in Maas, 1999:21), citizenship is correctly viewed as the hard core of state sovereignty; moreover, he argued that 'people have two sets of meaningful relationships with two centres of authority or levels of government, in effect, two citizenships'.

In addition, Shore declared that 'it is still unclear whether Union citizenship is meant to codify existing practice or be a catalyst for further integration', especially after the introduction of the European Charter of Citizens' Rights. Shore argued that European citizenship is controversial because, for instance, European citizens are restricted in the implementation of *acquis Communautaire*, the basic freedoms of the EU (freedom of goods, freedom of movement and services, and freedom of persons) as they can vote in European and municipal elections but cannot vote in the national elections of the country in which they reside (if this country is not their country of origin). This point is related mostly to the process of European citizenship and the power of the residents (but not citizens) of member states to participate in democratic processes, at least at a minimal level.

Thirdly, Shore believed that the idea of 'citizenship was criticised for perpetuating the conflation of nationality and citizenship' and considered European citizenship as a 'paradox' because a 'European citizen' was said to be a national of a



member state and therefore the notion of citizenship depended on the framework of the nation state (Giesen & Eder, 2001:264).

Shore's final criticism concerned the discrimination involved in European citizenship toward non-EU nationals and the creation of a 'Fortress Europe'. The concept of 'Fortress Europe' first appeared during World War II and was associated with the notion of European identity because it referred to the protection of Europe's external borders and the prevention of illegal immigration from non-EU countries (ibid.).

The Maastricht Treaty laid the foundations for European citizenship through the establishment of the rights of European citizens, but it was the Lisbon Treaty that set the framework regarding European institutions. The treaty became the legal basis for establishing the Citizens' Initiative (Vonk, 2016:56) while it introduced additional social rights for European citizens such as reciprocal health care, non-discrimination and consular protection (Shaw, 2019:33).

With the Lisbon Treaty in 2009 European citizenship moved one step forward with the 'European Citizens' Initiative', whereby Europeans would have the opportunity to call on the European Commission to introduce new legislation and clarify any problems that the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty might have in the future. Under this new proposal, European citizens can publicly discuss their views and thoughts on the future policies of the EU, and the Commission is compelled to consider any comments made by Europeans on how they believe the citizens' initiative should work in practice. However, in order for any influence to be exerted on policies established by the Commission, there must be at least one million signatories from all over the member states in order to create a 'pan-European' movement.

Unlike other intergovernmental organisations, the distinct point concerning the EU is that it offers the citizens of its member states a citizenship status. Shaw (2019:35) indicates that the EU is a unique establishment and cannot be categorised as a state, while stressing that the legal framework for EU citizenship has evolved with treaties, regulations, policies, directives and case law guiding the development of the European project.

All in all, European citizenship was initially included in the Treaty of Rome and effectively placed on the agenda in the Maastricht Treaty. It secured the fundamental rights of European citizens such as the free movement of people and services, as well as the right to elect and be elected at municipal and European elections. The ratification of the Lisbon Treaty at the end of 2009 has empowered European citizens with the ability to participate directly in the policymaking process. European citizenship has always been a key issue for the development of the EU as it has evolved through changes in laws, policies and regulations, while ‘a sense of belonging and identity of the citizens is still a significant element of the EU and a focus of its integration’ (Shaw, 2019:34). Any member state national is considered to have EU citizenship but it is not a replacement for nationality.

The treaties identified the social aspect of European citizenship, one of the elements of European integration (see section on social integration in Chapter 2). The social rights mentioned in the Maastricht and Lisbon Treaties highlight the importance of social integration among EU member states and their citizens. Nationals of member states of the EU are instantly considered to be EU citizens and enjoy certain social rights, while the tendency to define European citizenship either as supplementary to national citizenship, derivative or formal, on the basis of citizens’ rights, is based on the exclusivity of national identity within the EU (Delanty, 1997:286).

### 4.3 National and European identity contextualisation

#### 4.3.1 National identity

The notion of identity is closely linked with that of citizenship, and this is clearly portrayed in Delanty's communitarian model of citizenship (see Table 4.1). National identity can be defined as 'a person's identity or sense of belonging to one state or nation' (Ashmore, Jussim & Wilder, 2001:74–5) or as 'a set of cognitions and emotions that express an individual's relationship with a nation' (Barrett & Davis, 2008; Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Tartakovsky (2010:1850) notes that "national identity" is a subjective construct, differing from the concept of "nationality", which is an objective marker of an individual's belonging to a nation. Nationality is usually prescribed by the nation through official registration and issuing of relevant documents.'

As there is no theory exclusively dedicated to national identity (Cornford, 1991) there are two general theories that are commonly used to discuss national identity: the social identity and group attachment theories. According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals become part of a group identity to increase their self-esteem. As members of a group, they form a group identity, which becomes part of their personal identity (Tartakovsky, 2010).

According to group attachment theory, socio-economic circumstances (e.g., financial crisis, a pandemic and so on) affect the individuals' national identity. As individuals develop bonds through groups as a way to have 'a sense of security and to satisfy their survival and developmental needs' (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007), these may be considered to be attachment objects (Davis, 1999; Kim, 1999). Citizens' needs to belong and survive physically are met through the nations (Mack, 1983); this bonding can be either *instrumental* where individuals reflect on the performance of the state and participate in national organisations as a way to enhance their personal status within the

system and satisfy their survival and developmental needs (DeLamater et al., 1969); or *symbolic* (or sentimental) which is expressed as identification of individuals with the nation (Tartakovsky, 2010) through their personal values and being recognised by others who also belong to the nation.

Concerning the concept of the nation, the fundamental scholarly work of Anderson on the ‘imagined community’, defined as ‘a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group’ (1991:6–7), provided a political and social angle to identity. Specifically, he defined a nation as ‘an imagined political community’ (1991: 7) or, as he puts it, a nation ‘is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’ (1991:7) and the members may have similar interests or identify as part of the same nation. For instance, when Greece won the 2004 European Cup, nationals of the country celebrated this victory in a glorious way as part of the nation.

The imagined community theory has been one of the fundamental concepts for nationalism (for discussion, see Chapter 2). For Anderson (2016:7), nationalism prevailed as a result of the ‘increasing importance of mass vernacular literacy, the movement to abolish the ideas of rule by divine right and hereditary monarchy (the concept that destroyed the legitimacy of the divinely ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm [...] nations dream of being free [...] The gage and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state) and the emergence of printing press capitalism (the convergence of capitalism and print technology [...] standardization of national calendars, clocks and language was embodied in books and the publication of daily newspapers).’

The notable point from this argument is the role of the print media or, as Anderson terms it, ‘printing press capitalism’, where capitalist entrepreneurs printed

their books and media in various local dialects, leading to a mutual understanding and to the creation of a common discourse. For Calhoun (2016:12) the production of common news content to inform the discussions of a nation acts as a ritual demonstration of a kind of belonging.

#### **4.3.2 European identity**

One of the clearly stated political objectives of the EU is the deepening of the feeling of European identity (DG Culture, 2012). The notion of European identity does not have a clear definition, though it can be argued that a European is a citizen of an EU member state and that European citizenship is complementary to national citizenship. Thus, the question that arises is: Who is a European and what are the key characteristics of being European? Bryder (2005:38–9) discusses the notion of ‘Europeanness’ and underlines the key elements a European should have:

- be a citizen of a state and be geographically within Europe
- speak a language which is officially accepted as one of the official languages of that state
- share an historical destiny with other people, within that state, speaking the aforementioned language
- share a cultural pattern with other such people, where the cultural pattern is seen as consisting of similar cognitive, evaluative and emotional elements.

The above factors share the common element of adherence to national culture. National cultures include values, such as common religion, language, national traditions, ancestry and membership, that are bases for national membership (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz, 2016:111). Considering the ethnic and civic elements of

nationalism (see Chapter 2), Fligstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz (ibid.) stressed that ‘both civic and ethnic conceptions of nationalism imply that a person has one and only one national identity, while the civic conception allows that people who were not born and raised in a particular place can assume its national identity by agreeing to become a member of that society’.

In the European context, the existence of more than one national culture in Europe gives a transnational (cosmopolitan) angle to the development of European identity. Within this framework, Recchi (2012:142) presented two contrasting models for the adoption of a European identity.

**Table 4.3: European identity adoption models**

| Model                | Characteristics                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Culturalist</b>   | An orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from established European values and their expression in public practices, most notably in governance and the operation of the legal system. This viewpoint emphasises the essentialism of Europe and posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place ‘top down’ or in which identity is internalised and comes about through the exposure to influential discourses and symbols. If the internalisation has taken place in childhood or adolescence, the primary mechanism is socialisation. If the internalisation is taking place during adulthood, the primary mechanism is persuasion or indoctrination. |
| <b>Structuralist</b> | An orientation to Europe derives fundamentally from association with other Europeans. This viewpoint emphasises the importance of social interaction and posits mechanisms in which identification with Europe takes place ‘from the bottom up’. Identity arises from interacting or associating with others and coming to the realisation that one has much in common with them. It is most persuasive if the person is an adult or at least an adolescent old enough to conceive themselves as placed within a social nexus with other like-situated persons.                                                                                                                |

As the cultural meaning of ‘European’ tends to follow the civic conception (Green, 2007; Kufer, 2009; Risse, 2010) and ‘people who identify as European view themselves as in favour of peace, tolerance, democracy and cultural diversity while they

perceive their national identities in such civic terms' (Fligstein, Polyakova & Sandholtz, 2016:112), the culturalist approach refers to governance, focusing on cultural discourses and symbols that help the formation of a European identity. The European anthem ('Ode to Joy') or the EU flag, for instance, are two of the elements that Europeans associate with their Union while, concerning discourse, the role of socialisation in a pan-European environment during childhood through programmes such as Erasmus+ or through exchange of views about the EU has been highlighted. There is further discussion on the formation of cultural citizenship in the next subchapter.

The structuralist approach focuses on the common social elements Europeans share which can include 'any form of common history; moral, religious, or ethnic traditions; philosophical, political, and moral norms and values' (Bruter, 2003:1156). It is 'an identity shared by fellow Europeans forming a distinct civilization with its own history, culture, tradition and religion' (Maier & Rittberger, 2008:250).

In sum, the European identity has its basis in the national identity of citizens from each member state. The common cultural, historical and social values in each country, such as religion, language, national traditions, ancestry and membership, may be bases for national membership; however, the cultural blending that takes place within the European context gives a transnational cultural element within the Union. The two models of European identity see the term through a civic and social perspective, without neglecting the importance of culture as a connecting factor.

## **4.4 Cultural citizenship and collective identity contextualisation**

### **4.4.1 Cultural citizenship**

Traditional conceptions of citizenship are based on the existence of common culture. For Beaman (2015:849) culture is related to ‘the norms, values, practices, and behaviours that are seen as normative’ while ‘for citizenship, culture is understood as cultural difference so that individuals outside of the cultural norm are seen as different’. In the context of EU policy, ‘culture in the first sense is normally identified with national culture, namely, the body of values, practices and identities deemed to make particular nations different from others. Culture in this sense may be thought of as thick, as dense, as exercising special demands on the affects and loyalties of those who live within it’ (Schlesinger, in Ederman, 2011:95).

The concept of ‘cultural citizenship’ describes a form of citizenship associated with multicultural societies, comprising a cultural community that regards itself as the majority, and minority cultural communities. The term has been used to describe the right of the minority or marginalised cultural community to be different without their rights of belonging to that society being revoked (Rosaldo, 1994). Furthermore, cultural citizenship considers citizenship beyond its legislative status and acknowledges the relationship between culture and citizenship (Delanty, 2002; Vega & van Hensbroek, 2010; Beaman, 2015). Cultural citizenship distinguishes between the legal and cultural elements of national belonging and reveals how citizenship is socially and culturally constructed (Ong, 1996).

In another conception, cultural citizenship is defined as ‘cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish criteria of belonging, within a national population or territory. Cultural citizenship, then, is both about “self-making” – what



an individual or community believe themselves to be – and “being made” by the state – what kind of citizen the state wants or tries to construct of a person or community’ (Ong et al., 1996:225). Within this view of cultural citizenship, cultural heritage is the key point, defining what aspect of a person’s or community’s heritage is deemed important or acceptable both by the community itself and by the state to ensure all the rights of full citizenship.

Thus, cultural citizenship is viewed as a way of enforcing boundaries on a structured society where citizens are the registered and official inhabitants of a geographical territory (Cammaerts, 2007). Ong emphasises the cultural processes in creating citizens and defines cultural citizenship as a ‘dual process of self - making and being - made within webs of power linked to the nation - state’ (Ong, 1996: 738). In other words, one cannot consider citizenship without considering culture.

Stevenson, on the other hand, supported the view that ‘cultural citizenship is mostly about the ability in a shared cosmopolitan context to participate in the polity while being respected and not reduced to another’ (2011:220). He identified it as ‘a large-scale cultural shift to a global and technological society, the reconfiguring of practices and meanings of citizenship’ (2011:220) and pointed out the need for education ‘to engage with more worldly contexts while connecting with the need to foster respectful, democratic, engaged and learning societies’. In a broader sense, Giroux (2006a, in Stevenson, 2011) argues that education should be a ‘concern not only for schools but also on the ways in which people think of themselves, their sense of identity and the possibility of imagining a different world’. Considering the above, it could be argued that education in a society provides the space to share and critically discuss experiences and practices and make sense of contemporary transformations.

Hence, cultural citizenship in a democratic society enables the citizens' diversity, respecting at the same time the formation of complex hybrid identities, while broader education 'seeks to explore the possibility of living in a future that is free from domination and oppression' (Stevenson, 2011:198). Cultural citizens in a democratic society engage in arguments with local, national and transnational contexts. In these arguments the role of the media in democratic societies is to 'revitalise democratic principles and reinforce the national identities of the European nation-states' (Weymouth & Lamizer, 1995:13). The role of the media is discussed later in the chapter.

#### **4.4.2 Collective identity**

The concept of collective identity is perceived as more than 'a repertoire of shared ideas, values, and expectations' in that 'social groups need distinguishing themselves from other collectives' (Thiel, 2011:32). Such social groups hold 'multiple individual identities and act according to the needs of the group or the situation', collective identity incorporating 'a core of shared attitudes, which members have in common, mentally and behaviour-wise' (Thiel, 2011:32). Another definition asserts that collective identity is 'an interactive, shared definition of the field of opportunities and constraints offered to collective action produced by several individuals that must be conceived as a process because it is constructed and negotiated by repeated activation of the relationships that link individuals to groups' (Melucci, 1996:75). The notion of identity involves interaction such as agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation (Jenkins, 2004).

Identifying the importance of social networks to the formation and politicisation of collective identities, Taylor and Whittier (1992:175) discovered the existence of

*boundaries* within ‘a challenging and a dominant group’ and the presence of *consciousness* in the sense of raising awareness of group membership and its position within society. *Negotiation* is seen as another element between groups where people negotiate the symbolic meanings and act ‘the politicisation of daily life’, an action that transforms the group’s relationship with its social environment and leads to the alteration of collective identities. Along the same lines, Reicher (1996:45) concluded that ‘identities should be understood not simply as a set of cognitions but as practical projects’ and that ‘collective identities are constantly “under construction” as one of the factors that shape collective identity (Reicher, 1996 in Van Stekelenburg, 2013)’.

Another approach concerning collective identity was developed by Eder (2007:78) who stressed that ‘it is a metaphor for a specific type of social relations that are embedded in the last instance in a narrative network that is as dynamic as the stories are that are produced and reproduced in ongoing social communication mediated by these social relations’. These relations ‘use psychological needs and motives to provide an answer to the questions “who do I belong to?” or “who do we belong to?”’ (2009:159), a common phenomenon in social relations and interactions. The psychological perspective was noted by Bloom’s ‘identification theory’ which states that ‘in order to achieve psychological security, every individual possesses an inherent drive to internalize – to identify with – the behaviour, mores and attitudes of significant figures in her/his social environment [...] i.e., people actively seek to enhance and protect identity’ (Bloom, 1990:23, in Thiel 2011:56).

For Eder, the *narratives*, the generalised emotions ‘such as the sense of pride and shame’ (Eder, 2009:154) that are built into the object, into images or texts are important mechanisms for reproducing collective identities within citizens’ interactions. At the same time, he argues that the domestic political cultures ‘may determine the values,

norms, and expectations of each national community' (2009:154). Focusing on the EU, EU citizenship is still dependent on national citizenship and 'delivers few rights as an extension of the national citizenship' (Eder, 2009:154).

#### **4.5 European citizenship and the media**

In the process of bringing about Jean Monnet's vision of a strengthening of the bonds between the countries of the European continent, through an integration that would be not only political but also social and economic, the role of the media would be vital. In their efforts to build a unified Europe, the EU Commission have identified the media as a crucial tool in the realisation of a European identity. Pan-European media are necessary to foster European integration and unification (Bakir, 1996:177). The *media*, 'the channels used for mass communication', includes, firstly, the mechanical devices that transmit and store messages (e.g., television cameras, radio microphones, printing presses) and, secondly, the institutions that use these machines to transmit messages (Dominick, 2011:12). Along the same lines, one of the roles of the media in relation to society concerns the formation of public opinion and the encouragement of citizens to become politically involved in their democratic society; this forms a political identity which cannot be separated from political involvement at a national level. Kevin (2010:168) stated that 'a consideration of a European political identity as a type of add-on element to national citizenship does, however, require some compromise of loyalties and an ability to see the world in a manner that functions beyond national perspectives'. She also stressed that, in order to increase the prospects of developing a European identity in the member states, the media should think outside their national norms and approach the European news through a broader perspective. On the same theme, Trenz (2014:2) referred to the press being responsible for

preserving national values, declaring that ‘quality newspapers must raise the “European voice” against the undecided, hesitant and particularistic attitudes of the national governments and sometimes even against the Euro-scepticism of their own readers’.

The media (and, in the case of this thesis, the press), through their news coverage, play their role in the formation of public discourse within the public sphere. Thus, the European media, the European element of ‘people, policies, organisations and technologies that go into producing and distributing mass communication’ (Kevin, 2010:168), play a significant role in the European integration process and in the formation of European citizenship.

#### **4.5.1 News domestication and European citizenship**

The need of European citizens for transnational interactions beyond the physical borders of member states is achieved through various ways, among them through the media. Indeed, ‘liberal democracies developed as political entities intrinsically linked to a free press and related media systems and were also distinguished by their evolution into nation states’ (Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2007:687).

The media play an important role in the construction and dissemination of citizenship (see, for example, Bakir, 1996), while the national media systems are responsible for the formation of European citizenship. Concerning the role of publicity, Gerbner (cited in Beardsworth, 1980:371) argued that ‘publication is the basis of community consciousness. The truly revolutionary significance of modern mass communication is its “public making” ability ... The terms of broadest interaction are those available in the most widely shared message systems of a culture. Increasingly these are mass-produced message systems. That is why mass media have been called the “agenda setters” of modern society.’

The role of the media as *agenda setters* of discourses in a democratic society and the importance of publicity within the public sphere (Habermas, 1989) engage citizens in public discourse. In national public spheres, these public discussions usually take place between homogeneous audiences and, considering the discussion about the emergence of collective identity (see subchapter 4.4.2), it could be said that publicity helps the formation of collective identity in cases where there is no homogeneous public, as in today's culturally diverse societies. In these societies, such as European ones, collective identity is being structured through negotiation, where citizens engage in public discussions within the national public sphere, and by preserving their cultural and social identities, which leads to further societal integration. Besides, the formation of collective identity involves interaction such as agreement and disagreement, convention and innovation, communication and negotiation (Jenkins, 2004). These elements are fundamental to the construction of citizenship as they can ensure homogeneity among citizens (see Shore, 2014).

In the EU, the national press operates within this national framework, addressing a homogeneous readership. Hence, it is difficult for newspapers to promote a European cultural identity for two main reasons: firstly, because they are 'culturally imbued with their own nation's practices' and, secondly, because of the diversity in the daily consumption of newspapers around Europe (Bakir, in Wintle, 1996:191–2).

One of the findings of this research reveals that national media either consider EU political affairs of less importance than national ones or misinterpret them. Thus, we see phenomena such as reduced visibility of general EU political issues and coverage of EU news with a national angle. Overall, it emerges that for national media the EU per se and its policies do not constitute a newsworthy topic (Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2009). Moreover, the framing of news items uniquely from national perspectives

(Neverla, 2006) and the systematic disregard of the European common interest have an impact on the increase of the democratic deficit. Hence, while issues originate or link directly with supranational policymaking, media coverage presents them as national in character (Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2007). ‘Whenever the problem of inadequate coverage of EU affairs is raised, media owners and news editors tend to claim that such issues are sidelined because the public does not care about them’ (Stangos, 2004).

The emergence and development of new satellite and digital technologies led to the creation of transnational channels in Europe that vary in their scope, language, type of programming output, type of ownership (private versus public) and indirect or direct commodification (advertising versus subscription channels) (Chalaby, 2001). The extent of their transnationality can be identified by (a) the range in territory of transmission and geopolitical or geolinguistic scope; (b) the type of ownership and management; (c) the language of content, i.e., *lingua franca*, local languages or both; (d) the profile and strategy (business or public service strategy); and (e) programming and the type of content, notably whether this comprises current public affairs and political communication more broadly (Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2007).

Though the English language remained the *lingua franca* of communication between journalists and for some pan-European media, a changing attitude was observed among the latter, with some media reporting the European news in national languages. An example of such a medium is Euronews, which operates in 13 languages that are on air 24/7, including non-EU languages such as Arabic and Russian, to make European news appealing to national audiences, both within and outside the EU (Valdeon, 2009). Concerning the press, there are many European, non-English newspapers (such as Italy’s *Corriere Della Sera*, Spain’s *El País* or Cyprus’s *Phileleftheros*) that have developed an English version to reach transnational audiences

and increase media pluralism, defined as ‘the state of having a plurality of voices, opinions and analyses on media system (internal pluralism) or the coexistence of different and diverse types of medias and media support (external pluralism)’ (Doyle, 2002:14), within the European public space.

Moreover, there are differences in language and culture that influence the media landscape. At present, on the European continent there are four different areas of cultural and linguistic power: first is the German one, which influences Central and Eastern Europe; second is the UK, whose influence extends beyond the British Isles mainly because English is considered to be the *lingua franca* of the European continent; third, there is the Mediterranean media cultural area, which includes Spain, Portugal and Italy; and fourth, there is the Nordic influence, which extends over the Scandinavian countries. Last, but not least, there is an economic difference, empirical research having shown that the wealthier countries have more newspapers, a higher readership and more advanced television delivery systems (Williams, 2005:34).

However, the absence of a pan-European media system to support any possible European symbolic and discursive domains negatively influences the idea of European citizenship; thus, these notions are submerged into a collateral identity next to feelings of national identity and citizenship. The argument that ‘a European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed’ (Hahn Report, 1983:7) identifies the significance of the media to the formation of European identity. Habermas has argued that the fact that citizens do not participate in the decision-making processes at the European level leads to ‘mutual mistrust among citizens’ (Habermas, 2001:14–15). Indeed, trust and the democratic legitimisation of the EU can affect political turnout or participation (Levi & Stoker, 2000) and the media coverage can influence the formation of European citizenship, depending on their positive or negative portrayal of



the EU. To achieve the formation of European citizenship, it is important to have media pluralism (Levi & Stroker, 2000) through which citizens can be better informed about the advantages and disadvantages of citizenship of the EU.

#### **4.5.2 News reporting and European citizenship**

The press is ‘a major contributor to those pictures in our heads, our mental conceptions of the larger world of public affairs that we never directly experience’ (Lippmann, 1922 in McCombs, 2005b:157) and it has been stressed that people ‘do not respond directly to events in the real world but instead live in a pseudo-environment composed of “the pictures in our heads” where the media play an important part in the furnishing of these pictures and shaping of this pseudo-environment’. With this in mind, the question that arises is related to the news reporting of the EU affairs and how it is being presented from the media and the press in particular, so that it would assist the formation of European citizenship.

Referring to the agenda-setting theory, McCombs & Shaw (1968:161) stressed that the ‘news media’s ability to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda’ is a phenomenon that occurs in those cases where a news item is covered frequently, and the audience regards the issue as more important. They also identified three phases in the agenda-setting process: a) the media agenda (issues discussed in the media); b) the public agenda (issues discussed and personally relevant to the public); and c) the policy agenda (issues that policymakers consider important).

As was previously mentioned, the European news is considered as ‘second-order’ news and, as a result, is not extensively covered by the media. Considering that the media address national audiences within a national public sphere, it is expected that

EU news should have a national angle so that it would be more appealing to local audiences.

The European integration project mainly depends on the public sphere, which is the link between the politicians, media and citizens. Gerhards (1993a, 1993b) stressed the fact that ‘in advanced modern nation-states, the public sphere, predominantly media-mediated, constitutes the arena in which actors – namely citizens, interest groups and political decision-makers – observe each other and the society at large’. Despite the efforts to create a pan-European media system, no pan-European media (such as Euronews and Eurosports which have a pan-European transmission) can be considered as substitutes for national media, and they play a limited role in the formation of European integration (McNair, 2014).

Therborn (in Boje, Steenbergen & Walby, 2013:59) declared that the public sphere ‘helps to build a collective identity’. He emphasised that ‘by continuously observing society through the media, citizens [...] develop a sense of belonging and feelings of solidarity’ and ‘this is essential for the social integration in society’ (ibid:58). Taking these points into consideration, it can be assumed that a European public sphere can assist in the construction of a collective identity among Europeans, while the emergence of a pan-European media system may lead to the creation of social integration. Sicakkan (2016: 212) argued that ‘the European Union has not yet been able to create what we may call the basic media institutions of a general European public sphere’.

Sicakkan (ibid.) also stated that ‘since these policies did not generate citizen interest in following the daily news from the pan-European media, the European Union opted for getting national media actors interested in European Union-related news and convincing them to adopt European perspectives when reporting news’. The academic

argument that the construction of a pan-European media system should come from the national media systems appears to apply in this thesis.

The absence of a European public sphere where Europeans would be able to negotiate controversial issues with each other is a neglected reason for the multiple crises that ‘damage[s] the functioning of the EU and distort[s] citizens’ perceptions about the union’ (Baerthelein, 2016:158). Taking as examples ‘Brexit’ and the Greek financial crisis (2009–18), Baerthelein argued that ‘at the height of the euro crisis, media coverage did not exactly help to find solutions, aggravating conflicts within the Eurozone instead’ and this was achieved by creating negative stereotypes. In support of this argument, he stressed that there are segmented European public spheres, which is apparent in European summits where journalists usually stick together in national groups and primarily attend their own government’s briefings, while the language differences between journalists contribute towards segmentation of the public sphere in Europe and make communication more difficult. Moreover, national media journalists have a strong incentive to frame their coverage of important European events as a struggle or competition between nation states.

Cyprus, for example, has several media outlets and freedom of expression is constitutionally safeguarded. According to the 2016 Media Pluralism Monitor on Cyprus ([Plurality Monitoring Report](#), 2016) the state of freedom of expression and media pluralism is fairly positive, while political control and interference with the media appear as a medium risk to pluralism. Concerning freedom of expression, the country has established constitutional and legal provisions to safeguard the protection of rights connected to freedom of expression, and this applies also to the freedom of information and media and journalists’ rights, which are protected by an independent media authority.

In this landscape, it can be stated that the press operates within a democracy with established regulations concerning the media and this environment enables freedom of expression. Although that editorial independence is, theoretically at least, ‘warranted by both regulatory and self-regulatory provisions, with no reference or connection to appointments and dismissal of editors in chief’, the main issue is related to the owners’ political agendas that affect the reported content and, to a greater extent, the public’s stance on politicised content ([Plurality Monitoring Report](#), 2016).

Lippmann (1922) stated that the path to improving journalism, and therefore public knowledge, lay through science and objectivity. Moreover, Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) noted that the ‘gathering, verification, and dissemination of facts are at the heart of most journalists’ ethical belief systems’. Journalists have the power to choose news stories ‘in exchange for leaving out their personal views’ (Gans, 1979:183) and to pursue balanced reporting of the facts (Soloski, 1997).

Journalists believe that they ‘know how to get a story that meets organizational needs and standards’ (Tuchman, 1978:66) as they are aware that they are working in a publishing organisation and there might be constraints in reporting while the need to accomplish work may trump norms of objectivity, accuracy and completeness (Fishman, 1982; Roshco, 1975; Tuchman, 1978). In that context, Reaves (1995b) has called for greater protection of the essential shared values of journalists: accuracy, balance, relevance and completeness.

These journalistic values do not always apply, as journalists may lack independence to report on every aspect of the news. This phenomenon is not new. It can be seen in the various calls by leading journalists to adopt principles of objective or neutral journalism, mostly related to the adoption of a media ethics code and the influence from their medium (Tzanetakos, 1985:150; Kominis, 2004:25). In other

words, while neutrality or objectivity is supposed to refer to political pluralism and fair play, in daily practice political neutrality is (or is forced to be) abandoned for the political position of their news organisation (Konstantinidou, 2012:248–52).

The national perspective in the reporting of the European news is also reflected in the daily reporting of the media correspondents in the capital of the Union. Specifically, the EU member states' media correspondents in Brussels 'predominantly interact with fellow people of their own country or, at least, of the same language culture. Because of the few interactions across nationalities, a transnational perspective on European Union matters is unlikely to develop among media people reporting from Brussels. Accordingly, people in the various member states seldom have the chance to learn about the European Union issues that transcend the national horizon (Gerhards, 1993a, 1993b)'.

The above phenomenon highlights the development of a trend between correspondents from member states who cover EU affairs and the effects on their audiences. For example, during the 2012 European Council presidency of the Republic of Cyprus, when the country was facing an economic crisis, there were references to and reports on the economic situation of the country, with statements from politicians and economic analysts, setting aside the more important decisions being taken during the European Council presidency.

Moreover, culture and language act as obstacles in the formation of European citizenship, with the public preferring the media that use their national language and share the same cultural norms. Guibernau (2001:219) argued that 'there is little reason to expect this to change, and a similar rule applies to news'. Hence, citizens continue to receive information in their national language from their national media while the angle of European news remains within a national perspective and citizens feel less part of a

multicultural Union. Hence, citizens in Cyprus and in other EU states need to feel like part of the EU, with a European identity as part of their own national identity.

#### **4.6 Conclusions**

Citizenship refers to those who are full members of a community where civil and social rights are safeguarded. In a democratic nation state, citizens have social responsibilities and political rights as well as duties and identity. In addition, European citizenship is a ‘privilege’ for Europeans as it complements national citizenship and is applicable to citizens of all EU member states. The Maastricht Treaty led to the establishment of European citizenship in a treaty safeguarding the rights of Europeans within the Union. The characteristics of a European citizen are that they are a citizen of an EU member state, speak one of the Union’s official languages and share common cultural, historical and emotional values with their nationals. National cultures include values such as common religion, language, national traditions, ancestry and membership, that are bases for national membership. In the European context, the existence of more than one national culture in Europe gives a transnational (cosmopolitan) angle to the development of European identity.

As culture plays an important role in the formation of citizenship, the concept of ‘cultural citizenship’ has been associated with multicultural societies and the need for a cultural community to preserve its identity without losing its rights within the society. In the case of the EU, the existing multiculturalism and diversity among member states and their societies can coexist under a European collective identity which has transnational elements but does not neglect national identities.

In this process, the role of the European media which apply to transnational audiences is to assist the integration of these diverse audiences by encouraging

transnational interactions on EU matters, beyond the physical borders of member states. The absence of a European public sphere means that discussions take place within the national public space and through the national media. However, the tendency of the media to present European news through a national angle raises doubts about the effectiveness of national media in the formation of a pan-European collective identity through the national public sphere in each member state. European citizenship can only be achieved if the coverage of European news is undertaken through a broader, EU prism which will enable citizens to consider their Union as part of their identity.

## **CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the methodological methods of the project in relation to the role of the Cypriot press in the construction of a European public sphere, and the development of European citizenship in Cyprus and its contribution to the European integration process.

The importance of the section lies in fulfilling the requirement set out by Silverman, i.e.: ‘a requirement for a methodology chapter is that the researcher must explain and justify their decisions by providing full descriptions of what is to be done and what techniques and strategies were used’ (Silverman, 2005:305). The thesis analyses four ‘case studies’, defined as the ‘analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more methods’ (Thomas, 2011:17). These case studies are Cyprus’ accession to the EU in 2004; the introduction of the euro to Cyprus in 2008; Cyprus’s Presidency of the European Council in 2012; and the economic crisis in Cyprus in 2012–13. Each case study is examined in relation to the formation of a European public sphere and European citizenship, reaching towards the final goal of European integration.

The first subchapter discusses the primary research methods of the thesis, with particular focus on the interviewing of journalists and politicians. The second subchapter is dedicated to the collection of data and the methods of analysis of the newspaper articles. Lastly, the final subchapter brings together all the points mentioned in the chapter.



## **5.2 Primary research**

### **5.2.1 Qualitative Research – Interviews**

To complement the discussion of the findings of the empirical research, interviews with journalists and politicians, who are considered to be opinion leaders – that is, ‘the influential members of a community, group, or society to whom others turn for advice, opinions, and views’ (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Katz, 1957:17) – have proven valuable. The interview sample comprised politicians, including current and former MEPs, and journalists, mainly political and financial editors, who played a direct role (as political personae) or an indirect role (as observers) in relation to the empirical examples in the thesis.

The research aims to add new insights to the European integration process through qualitative research and the interview method. Qualitative research appears suitable for the social sciences domain, as it seeks to analyse phenomena about which there is a dearth of knowledge and in regard to which new insights are required to expand the information available, in an attempt to acquire new understandings (Stern, 1980 as cited in Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Silverman, 2000; Flick, 2002).

The project’s primary research relies exclusively on interviews as its method of analysis (Berger, 2002) with the scope of the interviews being to collect data in terms of ideas and facts and using this as a method to acquire information as part of an oral conversation and as an exchange of views and opinions (Ruane, 2005). Interviewing enables light to be shed on situations in which an expanded discursive analysis is required, in subjects that have an array of different procedures of occurrence. Robson (1999), Kahn & Cannell (1957 as cited in Marshall & Rossman, 1999:108) described an interview as a ‘conversation with a purpose’ that aims to arrive at some conclusions and expand on certain ideas. Rubin & Rubin (2005:3) asserted that ‘qualitative

interviewing projects are especially good at describing social and political processes, that is, how and why things change’. According to Dillard (1982:47 as cited in Denzin, 2001:25) ‘the interview is a way of bringing the world into play [...] is a simulacrum, a perfectly miniature and coherent world in its own right’. Rapley (2001:304) has argued that it is important ‘to see interviewees’ talks as “accounts”, or “versions”, which offer up a window through which to view the various possible ways that the topic of the interview can be talked about’.

There are three well-known types of interviews – fully structured, semi-structured and unstructured – and the characteristics of each are set out in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: Interview types**

| Type                                                     | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Structured (or standardised) interviews</b>           | Used frequently in market research, quantitative research. Can be conducted face-to-face, online or over the telephone. Interviewer controls the interview and asks interviewees to respond to each question (Babbie, 1995:27).<br>Rationale: to offer each subject approximately the same stimulus so that responses to the questions will, ideally, be comparable (Denzin, 1978:114; Bremmen, 2012:28).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <b>Semi-structured (or semi-standardised) interviews</b> | The researcher is looking for comparable and contrastable information with other interviews. The same questions must be addressed to each interviewee without losing flexibility as some other important information may arise. The researcher produces an <i>interview schedule</i> (a list of specific questions or topics for discussion) for each interview, to ensure continuity (Dominick & Wimmer, 2013: 200).<br>Types of question: a) essential (or key questions); b) extra (any questions that can be derived from what the interviewees say); c) throw-away (questions that help to defuse tension); and d) probing (interviewees are asked to elaborate more on their views). |
| <b>Unstructured (or in-depth) interviews</b>             | The interviewer controls the interview but gives more freedom to the interviewee to express his/her views and provide more information. Interviewers must develop, adapt and generate questions and follow-up probes appropriate to the given situation and the central purpose of the investigation (Wimmer & Dominick, 2013:200).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

Source: Brennen (2012:27)

The interviewing method used in the project was mainly semi-structured, where interviewees were able to express their views with greater flexibility. The project includes interviews with journalists who reported on the empirical research examples, and politicians who played a role in the developments of the EU-related events. This group of people belong to the interviewing category of ‘influential, prominent, and/or well-informed people in an organization or community’ and were selected on the basis of their ‘expertise in areas relevant to research’ (Marshall & Rossman, 1999:113). Kezar (2003:397) asserts that the rationale for choosing elite interviews is that ‘the interviewee is known to have participated in a certain situation’, and therefore the information can be considered valid (Berry, 2002:679). One of the positive aspects with interviewing elites is ‘that they typically have a suitable space available in which to conduct the interview’ (Neil, 2007:205). All interviewees were contacted in advance by telephone to request their participation in the study and, during this initial contact, they were informed about the scholarly nature of the interview.

**Table 5.2: Interviewing methods**

|                     | Journalists | MEPs/ politicians |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| <b>Face-to-face</b> | 9           | 5                 |
| <b>Email</b>        | 4           | 2                 |
| <b>Total</b>        | 13          | 7                 |

The majority of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, except on occasions where time constraints or the pandemic restrictions led the interviewer to conduct the interview via email. The thesis hosts the views of MEPs representing Cyprus in the European Parliament, and of senior-level journalists and editors from *Phileleftheros* and *Politis*. For the face-to-face interviews, all the participants were informed in advance that the interview would be recorded using a digital recorder. They were also

constantly reminded that the purpose of the interview was strictly to generate knowledge for academic purposes and that the interview would not be used on any other occasion. All interviews were held in Greek, with the average length of the interviews being 20 minutes, with the longest lasting 1 hour. All face-to-face interviews were translated and transcribed.

In the case of email interviews, ‘there are no constraints on location and the participants can be widely geographically separated, including worldwide’ (Edwards & Holland, 2013:49). The email interview offers flexibility and ‘allows participants greater scope to think about any questions asked and, as such, often encourages more descriptive and well thought out replies’ (Lewis, 2006:5). However, there are limitations that are identified below (Table 5.3), along with ways to mitigate these problems.

**Table 5.3: Email interviews’ limitations and strategies to overcome them**

| Limitation                                                                                                  | Suggested Strategy to Overcome                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Research participants must have access to the internet and have sufficient computer literacy skills.</b> | Digital divide is increasingly shrinking as technologies become less expensive and more ubiquitous. Offer alternatives to email interviewing. |
| <b>Lack of social cues to demonstrate listening and understanding.</b>                                      | Actively engage in dialogue, not silence, to demonstrate listening and understanding (Mann & Stewart, 2002).                                  |
| <b>Researcher may need to wait several days to receive response from participant.</b>                       | Inform participants of the time frame for the actual interview. Send email reminders about answering interview questions (Meho, 2006).        |
| <b>Building rapport may be stifled.</b>                                                                     | Be deliberate in establishing rapport <i>before</i> asking interview questions (Illingworth, 2001; Kivits, 2005; Mann, & Stewart, 2002).      |
| <b>Uncertainty as to whether participants are who they say they are.</b>                                    | Evaluate how the story is constructed and consistency of story to ensure trustworthiness (James & Busher, 2009).                              |
| <b>More points of ‘loss’ from participant drop off/lack of interest.</b>                                    | Inform participants that research is bounded by specific length of time and/or number of sessions (Meho, 2006).                               |

Source: Bowden & Galindo-Gonzalez (2015:81)

For this research, the interviewees were informed electronically about the purpose of the interview and received in advance the questionnaire which they were asked to complete and email back with their answers. There were two time periods for interviewing (November–December 2019 and February–April 2020); in the first period

both face-to face and email interviews were conducted, while in the second there were only email interviews on account of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak that led the university to change its regulations.

In terms of content, the outcome of the interviews was satisfactory, with the majority of the interviewees holding the same views. In general, the interviewees agreed on the ways the media present the European news, the problems that emerge from the reporting, and the measures that need to be taken to enhance the European integration process.

### 5.2.2 Interviewing journalists

The project included interviews with journalists from *Phileleftheros* and *Politis* as well as from other newspapers who had reported on the empirical research examples. The thesis included the opinions of senior-level journalists (see Table 5.4) specialising in EU affairs, politics and economics who, as professionals who help to form public opinion, contributed to the project by reflecting not only on the role of the press in the construction of a European public sphere and the development of European citizenship but also on their own role as opinion leaders in Cypriot society.

**Table 5.4: Conducted interviews (per newspaper)**

|                        | <i>Politis</i> | <i>Phileleftheros</i> | Other media |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| <b>Editor-in-Chief</b> | 1              | 1                     | 1           |
| <b>Senior Editor</b>   | 4              | 2                     | 2           |
| <b>Editor</b>          | 2              | 0                     | 0           |
| <b>Total</b>           | 7              | 3                     | 3           |

The interviewing process provided information about the project that was used in the discussion presented in the empirical chapters. The scope of interviewing was connected to the overall effort made in the thesis to reflect – primarily – on the journalists’ role as observers of EU-related affairs and – secondarily – to highlight their

role in Cypriot society as opinion leaders. To achieve this, the journalists were asked to respond to a series of questions associated with the subjects fundamental to this thesis (the European public sphere, European citizenship and European integration) in relation to the press.

**Table 5.5: Interview questions (journalists)**

|                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| What subjects do you usually cover? Can you give me some examples of the issues being covered by your newspaper?                    | Is there further ground for more analysis of EU affairs? Please explain.                                                                                                                    |
| Does your newspaper efficiently cover European news? If so, in what ways?                                                           | Does your newspaper present European news in a neutral, positive or negative way? Can you give some examples?                                                                               |
| What sources does your newspaper use in order to obtain information on EU affairs? Why did you choose these sources of information? | Do you think that Cypriots are interested in European news? Please explain.                                                                                                                 |
| Do you think that your newspaper should dedicate more space to European news? Please explain.                                       | What does the average reader understand when reading an EU-related article in your newspaper? Why? Can you give me some examples from any feedback you may have received from your readers? |
| Do you think that your newspaper covers all areas of EU-related news in an efficient way? Please explain.                           | What is your newspaper's contribution to the formation of a 'European' public opinion? Can you give some examples which highlight this contribution?                                        |
| If there are obstacles, can these be overcome so that the newspaper could dedicate more space to European news? If so, how?         | Do you think that your readers feel closer to Europe or not? Can you please justify your answer?                                                                                            |
| How do your readers react to an EU-related article? Can you give me some examples of their reaction?                                |                                                                                                                                                                                             |

Source: Author

Throughout this process, the journalists, as opinion leaders, contributed with their views to the project's discussion on the role of the media in European integration.

### 5.2.3 Interviewing politicians

The interviews with politicians and Members of the European Parliament (former and current) aimed to discover the evaluation of the Cypriot press on the part of the political protagonists of the empirical examples and to reflect their views concerning the reporting of European news in Cyprus.

**Table 5.6: Conducted interviews (per political party)**

|                                | DISY | AKEL | Other |
|--------------------------------|------|------|-------|
| <b>MEP</b>                     | 0    | 0    | 1     |
| <b>Former MEP/Commissioner</b> | 1    | 1    | 0     |
| <b>Former Gvt official</b>     | 2    | 1    | 1     |
| <b>Total</b>                   | 3    | 2    | 2     |

Source: Author

Focusing mostly on Members of the European Parliament (former and current), there was some valuable information obtained on the subjects under discussion in the project. The interviewees were asked the following questions:

**Table 5.7: Interview questions (politicians)**

|                                                                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Can you identify the events you were involved in? (Cyprus joining the EU, Cyprus adopting the euro, Cyprus EU presidency, Cypriot economic crisis)                  | Do you think that Cypriot newspapers should dedicate more space to European news? Please explain.                                   |
| What was your role in the event(s)?                                                                                                                                 | Is there further ground for more analysis of EU affairs? Please explain.                                                            |
| In your role in the above events, did you have to work and collaborate with the media? At what level were you involved with the media?                              | Did the newspapers present the event in which you were involved in a neutral, positive or negative way? Can you give some examples? |
| What was your overall experience of the press during the event you were involved in? In your opinion, did the press cover all aspects of the event? Please explain. | Do you think that Cypriots are interested in the European news? Please explain.                                                     |
| Does the Greek Cypriot press cover the European news efficiently? Please explain.                                                                                   | Do you think that Cypriots feel closer to Europe or not? Please explain.                                                            |

These questions were aimed at providing answers concerning the politicians' role in the EU-related events as well as contributing a political aspect to the empirical discussion of the European public sphere, European citizenship and European integration.

Summing up, the interviewing process of politicians and journalists who played a role in the four empirical examples (the 2004 EU accession, the 2008 introduction of the euro, the 2012 European Council Presidency and the 2012–13 financial crisis) operated as complementary to the discussions for the development of a European public sphere and European citizenship and to the debate on European integration. While most

of the interviews were conducted on a face-to-face level, giving the opportunity to interviewees to contribute to the thesis by expressing their opinion, the emergence of the pandemic emerged led to some interviews being conducted by email.

### 5.3 Data collection

The compilation and critical analysis of data has framed the theoretical background of the research agenda. The ‘information gathered by someone other than the researcher’ (Sekaran, 2003:222) is retrieved from books, journal articles, electronic sources, magazines and newspapers (Bell, 2008). In this project, secondary data was found in a plethora of sources such as books, academic journals, newspapers, magazines, government documents and EU documents (see Table 5.8). All these data were used to identify the problems under investigation and to frame the literature review.

**Table 5.8: Indicative secondary sources**

| Secondary Sources Material        | Indicative Sources for the Study                 |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Books</b>                      | <b>European Studies and Media books</b>          |
| <b>Newspapers &amp; Magazines</b> | <b><i>Politis, Phileleftheros</i> (in Greek)</b> |
| <b>Internet Websites</b>          | <a href="http://www.europa.eu">www.europa.eu</a> |
| <b>Governmental Departments</b>   | <b>Cyprus Press Information Office (PIO)</b>     |
| <b>European Union</b>             | <b>Eurobarometer</b>                             |

The use of secondary material and, more specifically, of official statistics, is a common practice in academia, as scholars consider such statistics to be a reliable source of information or ‘an unobtrusive measure’, as mentioned by Webb et al. (1966:57). Henn et al. (2005:64) argued that official statistics in research offer ‘a great wealth of socio-political and economic information; the information a researcher might need is in a ready and available form, without cost’.



### *Coding newspaper articles: Questionnaires*

Newspaper articles form a considerable source of information for this project and, for this reason, newspaper articles from *Phileleftheros* and *Politis* were analysed and discussed. The thesis's unit of analysis includes news articles, reports, commentaries and analyses of over two inches in column length while the time framework of analysis is the actual month of the event. In one case (EU presidency) the time framework was focused on the beginning and end of the event (June and December 2012). In total, 1,004 articles were analysed from the four empirical examples (see Table 5.9).

**Table 5.9: Newspaper articles analysed**

| Case study                              | <i>Politis</i> | <i>Phileleftheros</i> |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Cyprus joins the European Union</b>  | 53             | 63                    |
| <b>Cyprus adopts the euro</b>           | 88             | 66                    |
| <b>European Council presidency</b>      | 114            | 290                   |
| <b>2012–13 European economic crisis</b> | 113            | 217                   |
| <b>Total</b>                            | 368            | 636                   |

The analysis of these articles was carried out through the formulation of a questionnaire for each case study (four in total). Each of these questionnaires comprised 27 closed-ended questions, defined as ‘any question for which a researcher provides research participants with options from which to choose a response. Closed-ended questions are sometimes phrased as a statement which requires a response’ (Worley, 2019). The development of a questionnaire ‘requires careful planning and preparation, and its effectiveness is largely determined by its design’ (Wheeler et al., 2004:42).

Prior to the development of the questionnaires, a pilot study took place which included a sample of ten articles per empirical example to identify the responses for each variable, as well as the keywords for each coding sheet (for instance, for the empirical example of the introduction of the euro in Cyprus, the keywords were ‘euro,

economy, Cyprus pound' and so on). A pilot study is vital so as 'to check the suitability of the questionnaire as a whole (pilot study) or some aspects of it, pre-test' (Sarantakos, 2005:255).

The most important dimension in the construction of a questionnaire is the inclusion of the pertinent variables, where 'a variable is defined as a characteristic of the participants or situations for a given study that has different values in that study' (Morgan et al., 2004:1). The homogeneity and the answers in the variables were adapted for each case study. For instance, in the euro-related case studies, the answers were related to the euro (e.g., European Central Bank, Cyprus Central Bank, the euro, Cypriots and so on), while in the political case studies, such as the Cypriot EU Council Presidency, the variables were related to the social and political aspects of this event (e.g., Cyprus government/presidency, European Council, European Commission and so on).

In order to ensure the validity of the results, SPSS was used as a computerised means of analysis. With SPSS, researchers can 'score and analyse quantitative data very quickly and in many different ways' (Bryman & Cramer, 1997:16) and can 'summarise and organise data in an effective and meaningful way' (Ghauri & Gronhaug, 2002:125; Davies, 2004b). The use of frequencies was appropriate for the identification of the number of people and the percentage of each answer (Pallant, 2003) and to measure central tendency (Davies, 2004b). At the end of the process, the author conducted a validity test, to determine whether all the content analysis stages had been followed.

Summing up, the project collected background information from various sources such as books, journals and websites dedicated to the key subjects of the thesis. In order to examine the coverage of European news in the Cypriot press, the thesis includes among its secondary data articles from the country's most popular newspapers,

*Phileleftheros* and *Politis*. The formulation of a questionnaire with 27 closed-ended questions/variables and the newspaper articles contributed to the analysis of the news coverage, while the computerised means made possible the codification and the extraction of results concerning the role of the Cypriot press in Cypriot society

**Table 5.10: Aim, objectives & research questions of the study**

| <p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>AIM</u></b></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>EXPLORE AND INTERRELATE THE CYPRIOT PRESS WITH THE CONSTRUCTION OF A EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE, EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP AND THE OVERALL EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESS</b></p> |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>OBJECTIVES 1-5</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | <b>RESEARCH QUESTIONS</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1. Examine the impact of European news reporting in the Cypriot press on the European integration process                                                                                                                                                     | 1.1 What is the overall approach of the Cypriot press towards European news?<br>1.2 Does the Cypriot press cover all European news efficiently?<br>1.3 Should newspapers dedicate more space to reporting EU news?<br>1.4 Is there further ground for more analysis of EU affairs?                                                                                                                                                   |
| 2. Understand how European news reporting in the Cypriot press assists in the construction of a European public sphere                                                                                                                                        | 2.1 In what ways does the Cypriot press help to form public opinion on EU-related matters?<br>2.2 Are Cypriots interested in European news?<br>2.3 Does the Cypriot press present European news in a neutral, positive or negative way?<br>2.4 What is the role of the media, and the press in particular, in the formation of a European public sphere?                                                                             |
| 3. Understand how European news reporting in the Cypriot press assists in the development of European citizenship                                                                                                                                             | 3.1 What is the role of the media, and the press in particular, in the formation of European citizenship?<br>3.2 Does the reporting of European news increase the sense of Europeanness among Cypriots? If so, how is this being achieved?<br>3.3 What does the average reader understand when they read an EU-related article in the newspaper?<br>3.4 Do Cypriot readers feel closer to Europe or not through newspaper reporting? |

## **5.4 Conclusions**

The above discussion has illustrated the methodological profile of the current study, analysed against the backdrop of the aims and objectives of the research agenda. As we have seen, the study has an exploratory and descriptive character because of its multidimensional subjects. It utilises both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection, using structured elite interviews and analysis of newspaper articles, respectively. The research samples are purposive and include interviewees from the political and journalistic fields, as well as 1,004 news articles.

The analysis and discussion of the construction of a European public sphere and European citizenship in the overall European integration process are undertaken through the press coverage of four empirical examples from Cyprus (the 2004 EU accession, the 2008 introduction of the euro, the 2012 European Council Presidency and the 2012–13 financial crisis). The thesis uses semi-structured interviews with politicians and journalists to complement the discussion, the interviewees providing their views on the empirical examples and on the subjects discussed. The thesis also uses quantitative content analysis as a research method to analyse and interpret the empirical research findings as well as other secondary research material, such as books, journals, and the Eurobarometer (as a source that was not statistically analysed by the author), to create arguments that will lead to further discussion.

## **CHAPTER 6: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE CYPRIOT PRESS**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter empirically discusses the news coverage of the Cypriot press in relation to the European integration process. Considering the theoretical discussion on European integration (see Ch. 2) and its findings, the chapter investigates the role of the press in the Cypriot society, through four EU-related empirical examples from the period 2008-2013.

As the European integration is a multidimensional, evolving process with political and social aspects (Nye, 1968), the media play their role for the enhancement of democratic legitimacy. The absence of a pan-European media system with transnational character that would enable European citizens to interact, despite their national, social and cultural diversity, leads to dependence to national media systems in each member state to send the message of unity within Europe. In practice, this creates an obstacle to the European integration process however this can be changed with the positive coverage of EU affairs that may lead to the reduction of the EU democratic deficit and to further integration of the European citizens.

The empirical research on the four case studies (Cyprus joins the EU, Cyprus adapts the Euro, the country's European Council Presidency and the 2012-2013 economic crisis) identified two thematic aspects of the reporting, the domestication of news (where journalists report EU-related events from a national angle) and issues concerning objectivity in the reporting of the European news.

## 6.2 European integration in the Cypriot press

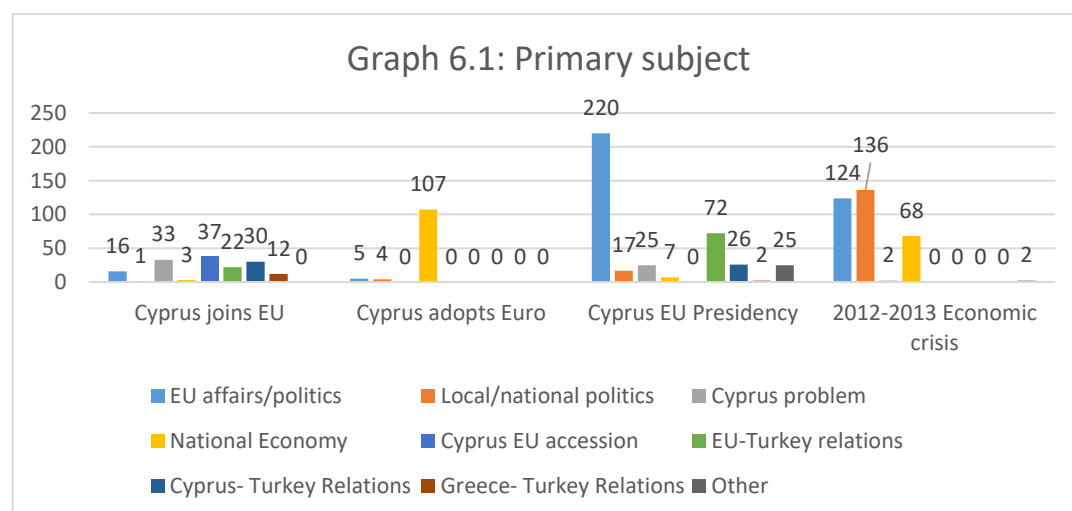
The empirical research identified two phenomena in the news coverage of the European news in the Cypriot press, the domestication of news and the issue of objective coverage while reporting the EU affairs.

### 6.2.1 News domestication and European integration

The investigation of the domestication of European news as a phenomenon and its impact to the European integration process can be discussed within the framework of the thesis' empirical research. As was mentioned in the relevant theoretical chapter (see subchapter 2.5), news domestication of the European news is a common journalistic practice which aims to make this kind of news more appealing to national audiences and make Cypriots, in this project's case, become more interested about the developments in their Union.

Looking at the news coverage in the Cypriot press, it could be argued that one of the issues that will help to achieve that is the 'primary subject' (i.e., the main topic mentioned in a news story) which will also help to determine the extent to which the above assumption applies for the purposes of the current study.

**Graph 6.1: Primary subject**



An initial observation from graph 6.1 reveals that journalists continue to report the European news from a national angle. For instance, in the introduction of the euro the focus was on the national economy or at the reporting of the economic crisis, all eyes were on the national political scene and to the developments. On the other hand, the European Council presidency created an interest in the EU politics in national audiences while on the country's accession in the Union the coverage was mainly related to the country's accession and to the impact on the relationship with Turkey, amid the unresolved Cyprus problem. Despite the national approach in the coverage of the case studies, there was a public belief that the country's accession could operate decisively in solving the longstanding political problem.

Indeed, 'Cypriots always faced the European Union from two focus points, the political and the economic. Politically speaking, they expected that a possible EU accession would contribute to Cyprus, while on the contrary from the financial aspect many citizens feared for negative consequences. The EU accession for the Cypriots meant above all solution to the Cyprus problem and implementation of the fundamental human right. The political aspect always superseded the financial one, that's why the people, in its majority, were in favour of the accession' (EB 2004:4).

Events with positive perspectives for the European integration, such as the accession of the country or the introduction of the common currency have a positive impact to citizens, while negative events that affect the society at large such as the economic crisis, are seen by Cypriots with negativism. This phenomenon was explained to the author by Christos Michael, a journalist covering European politics and economic issues who stressed that 'Cypriots are not interested in European news unless this causes them fear and are related to major events in current affairs. In addition, there is an ambivalent impression of citizens about the EU; they feel

Europeans because they can travel and study effectively, but they criticise it for the “haircut” and its lack of decisiveness on issues such as the migration crisis and the Cyprus problem’.

According to Michael, citizens are interested in their rights as Europeans while they remain critical on their Union when there is little or no progress on matters related to their daily lives. Along the same lines, former EU Commissioner Markos Kyprianou, in an interview to the author, stressed that the citizens’ attitude is nothing more than a reflection of how the Cypriot press covers the European news. As he declared:

With some exceptions, the Cypriot Press was interested only in issues that would have a direct effect on Cyprus. They tended to view EU policies through the narrow national lens. They do not show any particular interest in the general EU affairs unless these are related directly to Cyprus. It is true that this approach reflected the interests of the Cypriot public, but I believe that the media are missing the opportunity to educate their audience of the larger EU project. Unfortunately, the Cypriot ‘newsmakers’ and opinion leaders had the same attitude creating a vicious circle of very narrow coverage of the EU.

For Kyprianou, the domestication of news coverage of EU affairs is related to the narrow approach of the journalists, who do not report on the ‘big picture’, such as the developments that take place in other EU member states and remain within the coverage of European news related to Cyprus. This ‘narrow coverage’, in Kyprianou’s words, of the country’s journalists and editors can be associated with the lack of education in EU affairs on the part of journalists, as was stressed by Vasilendiuc & Sutu



(2020:2), who argued that the media need better-educated journalists in European affairs to inform citizens and reduce the European democratic deficit, bringing them closer to their Union.

The homogeneity of the Cypriot readership, which share common cultural and social values, gives the opportunity for journalists to provide their European news messages more easily to their national audiences; however, the absence of effective education of journalists, as per Kyprianou's statement, negatively affects the European integration process leaves the public uneducated about the European project and leads to an increase of the EU democratic deficit. In the same vein, it could be argued that journalists are addressing Cypriot citizens that have a common culture and as expected, they tend to take a national approach to their reporting.

The development of a common European culture within the EU is a challenge, due to the existing diversity between member states (Rosamond, 2017) and homogeneity can be found within the operation of a nation state. In that context, the press addresses national audiences easier as homogeneity is confirmed and, as they are addressing audiences in the case of EU affairs reporting, it is expected to report them primarily within the national content and secondarily within the EU framework. In other words, the EU news are 'second-order' news compared to the national ones. As Aristos Michaelides, editor-in-chief of *Phileleftheros*, explains:

As a small country with big problems, everything is a matter of prioritisation. We do pay attention to internal affairs and secondarily to European news that is not related to Cyprus. For instance, if there is a European news story that does not affect Cyprus, we might not cover it. And let me explain: if I have two news stories but there is no space for both, I

will choose the one that affects my readers, which is not the European development in another country.

Through this statement, Michaelides identifies news domestication in the Cypriot press and European news that does not have a national impact and is considered less important for the readers. With this in mind, it could be stated that the stance of the Cypriot press in their reporting of European news through a national angle operates against the possibility of citizens thinking more as Europeans and less as nationals of their country. In order to understand better this journalistic perception on European news, the following article from *Politis* covered the financial crisis in Cyprus as it was seen through the eyes of the international press:

‘The European Union is forcing savers of Cyprus to pay for half of the rescue’, is stated on the front page of El Pais in its Saturday edition.

‘Through this method for the first time, depositors will have to pay for rescue packages, even below the EU standard of 100,000 Euros.’

**Image 6.1: Cypriots in shock at the European media (Politis, 17/03/2013)**

### «Το νησί σωθηκε, οι καταθέσεις εξαφανίστηκαν», γράφει ο ξένος Τύπος για την Κύπρο **Σοκαρισμένοι Κύπριοι στα ευρωπαϊκά ΜΜΕ**

**Ο**ι φωτογραφίες με ATM σε κυπριακές τράπεζες κυκλοπνύ το Σάββατο τις ιστοσελίδες ευρωπαϊκών μέσων ενημέρωσης. Η επιβολή έκτακτης εσωτερικής, εν μία νυστά, στις καταθέσεις στις κυπριακές τράπεζες ως μέρος του πακέτου διάσωσης έχει προκαλέσει σοκ στο νησί και έχει ανέβει ψηλά στις προτεραιότητες των ξένων μέσων.

Σχεδόν όλα τα μέσα επικεντρώνονται στο πρωτόγνωρο μέτρο, σε σύγκριση με τα μέχρι τώρα πακέτα διάσωσης, στην κρίση στην ευρωζώνη, του «κοινοτικού» τις καταθέσεις. «Οι αποταμιεύσεις πληρώνουν το μισό του στο άμεσο προηγούμενο πακέτο διάσωσης της Κύπρου», γράφει το Reuters.

Το μέτρο, σημειώνει το πρακτορείο, είναι μια «ρευστοποιητική αλλαγή πλευσης» από την τακτική των προηγούμενων διασώσεων. Μεγάλο μέρος των καταθέσεων στο νησί, επιστημονίζει το πρακτορείο, είναι Ρώσος που δεν κατοικούν στην Κύπρο, αλλά οι περισσότεροι που συρμύτίζουν τις ουρές στα ATM το Σάββατο ήταν Κύπριοι.

Οι αποταμιεύσεις πλητύνονται με το κυπριακό σχέδιο διάσωσης, γράφει και το BBC. Επιπλέον Σάββατο, εκτός ο ανταγωνιστής του βρετανικού δικτύου στις Βρυξέλλες, είναι το εάν το μέτρο θα προκαλέσει ανησυχία στους καταθέτες των υπόλοιπων χωρών της ευρωζώνης που αντιμετωπίζουν δυσκολίες.

Αρκετότερος ο τίτλος της γερμανικής *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*. «Το νησί σωθηκε, οι αποταμιεύσεις εξαφανίστηκαν» γράφει η εφημερίδα, σημειώνοντας πως το μέτρο δεν διαφέρει μεταξύ συνταξιούχων Κυπρίων και Ρώσων με γυμνασιαστικά έτη, φυσικά, από τον ύψη- λοτερο συντελεστή για τα μεγάλα ποσά).

Το σοκ ήρθε νωρίς το πρωί του Σάββατου. Αρκετός κόσμος όρμησε στις τράπεζες και προσπάθησε να διασφαλίσει τις αποταμιεύσεις του, αλλά μάταια», γράφει.

Για «μην έφθια στις τράπεζες της Κύπρου» αλλά και η *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, που επίσης επιστημονίζει ότι ανάλογο μέτρο δεν έχει αναδοθείσει τα προηγούμενα πακέτα.

Ο πρωθυπουργός του Ευρωομάς, γράφει η γαλλική *Le Monde*, «μπορεί να ξεφύγει (souffler), αλλά οι Κύπριοι καταθέτες θα αποφέρουν (souffler)». Το πακέτο χτυπά και τους αποταμιεύτες με την «κοινότητα», γράφει, της επιβολής εσωτερικής στις καταθέσεις.

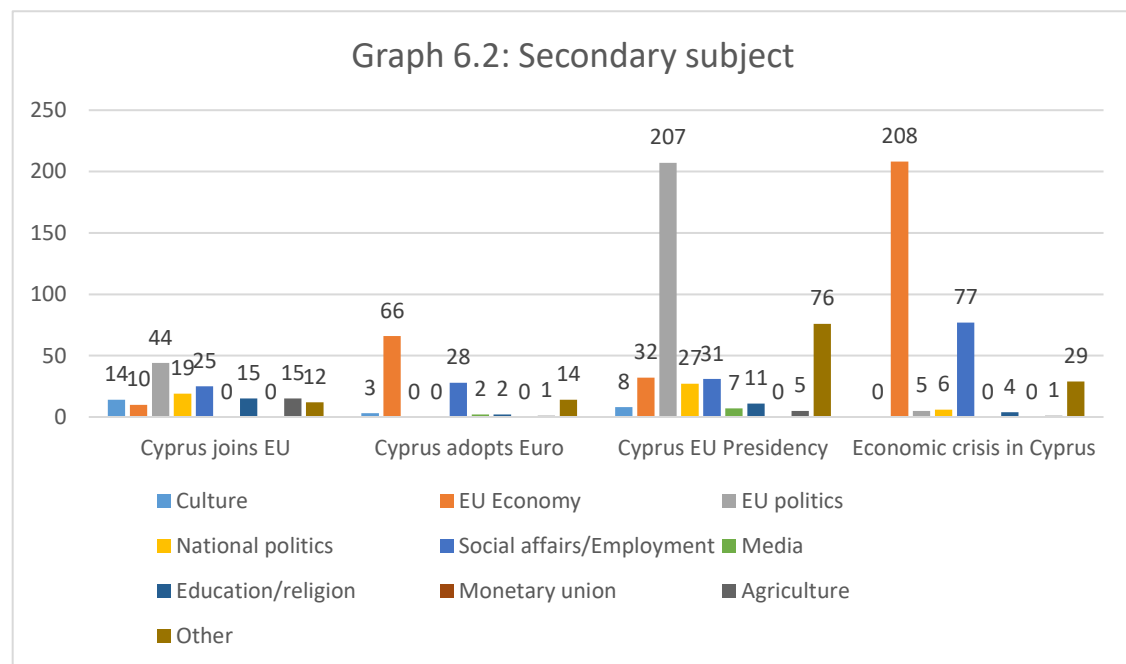
Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση αναγκάζει τους αποταμιεύτες της Κύπρου να πληρώσουν τη μισή διασώση», γράφει στο πρώτο θέμα της το μεσημέρι του Σάββατου η ιστοσελίδα της *El Pais*. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, σημειώνει, «για πρώτη φορά πρέπει να πληρώσουν και καταθέτες για πακέτο διάσωσης, ακόμη και κάτω των ευρωπαϊκών ορίων των 100.000 ευρώ».



Το «πρωτόγνωρο» μέτρο, βάσει των προηγούμενων πακέτων διάσωσης στην ευρωπαϊκή κρίση, έχει προκαλέσει το ενδιαφέρον των ευρωπαϊκών ΜΜΕ (φωτογραφία: ΑΠΕ).

This article puts the Cypriot citizens and their reaction to the economic crisis at the forefront. The report reflects what was stated above by journalists: that European news is ‘second-order’ news compared to national news. Speaking about the significance of European news in the Cypriot press, Graph 6.2 highlights the secondary subject – i.e., the second most important subject in the reporting of the case studies.

**Graph 6.2: Secondary subject**



A notable point from Graph 6.2 is the verification of the above statement on the European news. Specifically, observing all empirical examples, it can be seen that Europe is the second most important subject that is mentioned in the reporting. A closer look to each case studies reveal that the majority of the articles in each case studies incorporate EU-related subjects (e.g., ‘EU politics’ was the second main topic in the EU presidency case study and so on). With the above in mind, it can be stated that EU affairs remain the second most important subject in the journalistic agenda in Cyprus.

Taking the above into consideration, it can be argued that news domestication of European news exists in the Cypriot press, while journalists consider EU affairs less important than the national, political, social and financial developments.

As news domestication does exist in the Cypriot press coverage of EU affairs, its impact on society and on the European integration process should be discussed. To achieve this, news domestication should be discussed within the context of news coverage and in relation to the democratic deficit. Dimitris Papadakis (MEP) argued that ‘the creation of the democratic deficit is being caused by the lack of specialised journalists who do not have the educational background and knowledge to cover the European news, despite the efforts being made by the European institution offices in Cyprus’.

This opinion comes in support of Kyprianou’s statement who also referred to the absence of education by journalists who are not familiar with the European project. In the same vein, journalists consider the EU public bodies as ‘distant from the everyday problems of the Member States’ (Kevin, 2003:97) and for this reason they tend to ‘nationalise’ the European news, in order to make it more attractive to their readers, listeners and viewers.

Demetris Papadakis MEP (S&D) stated about the situation in the Cypriot media and the root causes of the European democratic deficit that ‘the press has covered the developments (i.e., case studies) in a satisfactory way. What was worrying was the reporting after these events, where it was noted a gap in the information provision to the citizens; the European Parliament office in Cyprus is doing its utmost to inform the media about the developments in the EP however due to the lack of EU-specialised staff, journalists who cover social affairs, politics and crimes end up covering the

European news. This leads to lack of information to the society who do not receive information efficiently’.

Putting education at the core of his main argument, Papadakis stresses that the lack of specialised journalists on EU affairs leads to an increase of the EU democratic deficit in the Cypriot press. Taking this view a step forward and associating it with the role of the media and the formation of public opinion (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007, see subchapter 2.4), it can be stated that the absence of education on EU affairs and the national coverage of European news show an epidermic coverage of EU affairs that is restricted to Cyprus-centric news stories. An example of such coverage came from the introduction of the euro in Cyprus and from an article of *Politis*, in which the journalist recorded the citizens’ first impressions of the new currency through face-to-face interviews with citizens. As reported:

Although yesterday most shops in Limassol were closed, the banks were working hard because many citizens preferred to make instant use of the Euro in their daily transactions instead of calculating the exchange rate. Many citizens were wondering why they should perform transactions in Cyprus pounds now that the Euro was the nation’s currency.

Image 6.2: 'Small panic for the Euro' (Politis, 3/1/2008 p.20)



The article refers to a pan-European development with social and economic extensions being reported with a national angle. The reference to the citizens' first transactions in the new currency at a local level highlights the journalistic method of domesticating an EU-related event to make it more accessible to the Cypriot society. Yet, the positive angle about the EU and the fact that the Euro is considered as mean for further European integration (Kaelberer, 2004) can help Cypriots feel closer to Europe and become more integrated with the citizens of other member states. Katia Savva from *Politis* newspaper, stated about the reporting of European news that

In our newspaper, there is always an EU story on the front page and overall, we try as a modern newspaper not to be so 'Cyprus-centric'. However, if we have a European affairs story, we make it more appealing by referring to the existing condition in Cyprus.

Cyprus' national newspapers were widely perceived as reporting the politics of the EU through a 'national filter' in a way that is detrimental to public knowledge of

important EU issues. Cypriot journalists identified faults in national newspapers' approaches to covering the EU, arguing that the economic crisis has negatively influenced the media reporting. Phileleftheros' editor-in-chief Aristos Michaelides identified the financial difficulties as one factor that obstructs the further reporting of EU-related news. As he declared:

Our newspaper could dedicate more analysis from journalists who would cover the European news in such way so that these would be more attractive to the Cypriot readers. Due to the financial crisis, it is a luxury to have specialised journalists on the EU affairs; we have our Brussels correspondent, our political and financial editors who deal with the European news and that is enough. Concerning broader issues which do not affect Cyprus, such as news from France for instance, these do not attract our attention at present however it would be good to be reported, so that Cypriot citizens would be able to know what is happening in Europe.

The absence of specialised journalists on the EU, along with the newspapers' financial interests and political affiliations (Papathanassopoulos, 2010a) makes the national press incapable of fulfilling its democratic role because it does not dedicate enough resources to report on the EU. Firmstone (2013:46) supports that 'national papers should play an important role in bridging the democratic deficit, but they are stuck in a national rut and above all, the top editors have not understood the degree of European integration'. Moreover, she stressed that 'some countries are more aware of the European context because their media cover it in more depth while other countries,

are less aware because the EU is not covered in great depth, such as in the British newspapers, even in broadsheets' (2013:48).

Media reporting can have a positive or negative impact to the formation of public opinion. Taking as an example the United Kingdom and 'Brexit', the media played a significant role in forming the public opinion. The Brexit referendum of June 2016, 52% voted in favour of leaving the European bloc ([Bloomberg on Brexit, 2017](#)) leading to a series of political developments in the country. In March 2017, Theresa May triggers Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which refers to the will of a member state to leave the EU. One of Brexit's key topics was the migration issue, and, in that context, there were voices opposed to labour migration of European citizens. The control over the flow of immigrants to the UK from the rest of the EU was a major argument of the Leave campaign with citizens to be concerned that high levels of immigration may have hurt their jobs, wages and quality of life. (Wadsworth et al. 2016:50)

In this environment, citizens were found to be supporting either to remain in the Union or to leave the EU and so did the media in the same respect. Two examples from the British national press, one from *The Sun* (in favour of the 'Leave' campaign) and the other from the *Daily Mirror* (in favour of the 'Remain' campaign) portray the polarisation of the society on the stance of the United Kingdom in the EU Referendum and, hence, of the citizens and public opinion.



Image 6.3: UK Newspaper coverage on Brexit



In this polarised environment, the pro-Leave newspapers used attractive headlines, (e.g., ‘Be-Leave in Britain’, ‘Getting our country back’, ‘EU: An undemocratic super state’, ‘Take control of our own destiny’ to name a few) to draw attention and earn as many votes as possible. As it was expected, the most notable campaign was the ‘Leave’ one and the role of the media was crucial to the formation of public opinion. Khabaz (2018:499) argued that ‘news media’s involvement was hugely influential in providing the people with relevant information; however, two studies (Oxford University and Loughborough University) have shown that the newspaper coverage of the campaign was “biased” towards “Leave”’, reaching at 82% daily newspaper readership and a link between national newspapers’ support.

The role of the media in this campaign was described by Richard Ashworth, MEP at the European Parliament: ‘for over 25 years now, no British Prime Minister has ever explained to the British people what Europe did, what are the benefits and why it matters. They never defended against the untruth that was spoken and they never took ownership of the decisions they took in council. And because of that, the British Press ran a 20-year campaign based on populist, mistruth, lies and deceit. And the

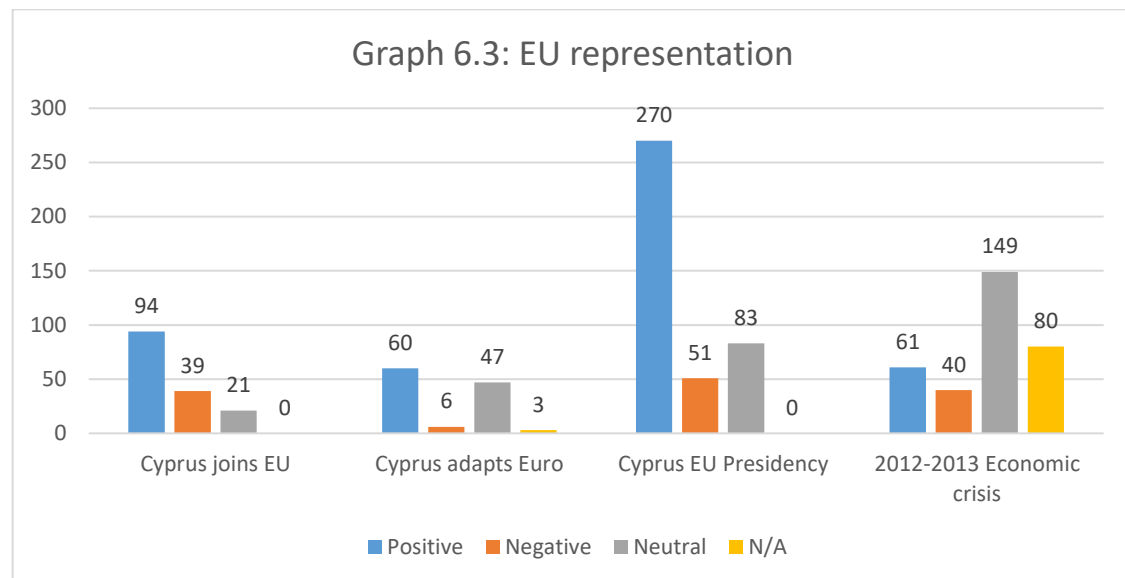
consequence of that we see today; in Britain, is a sad nation, divided like never before; and a House of Commons in crisis. So, let Brexit stand as a cautionary tale to the people of Europe' ([Ashworth, 2019](#)). Ashworth's statement described the current situation in Britain amidst Brexit developments, identifying the role of the press to the process which lasted for more than two decades. Similar campaigns such as 'Keep the pound' (when the member states adapted the Euro) or 'No to Schengen' (the country's denial to join the Schengen Area) drew attention to the media with the press to play a role in forming public opinion.

Hence, the role of the press in this context was crucial for the formation of the British public opinion and with implications to the European integration (or disintegration in the case of Brexit) process. The Brexit vote contributed to the emergence of 'Eurosceptic dissatisfaction' (Vollaard, 2014) as actors elsewhere in the EU draw inspiration from the Brexit experience and seek to replicate it in their national contexts. Following the Brexit vote, other EU member states were inspired to challenge their EU Membership however none of them proceeded to any actions (Rosamond, 2017).

The example of the coverage of Brexit highlights Billig's theory (see subchapter 2.5.1) on banal nationalism and on the need to create solidarity through symbols and through *an imagined sense of national solidarity*. In this environment, the press played a vital role in shaping public opinion and this is reflected in the above examples. In a very difficult political period for the EU due to the Eurozone economic crisis, the increase of Euroscepticism was a challenge for European integration as the voices against the Union and its policies were also increasing.

In Cyprus, the portrayal of the EU through the press reporting can influence the public opinion and, to a greater extent, the European integration process. In order to explore that, Graph 6.3 highlights the representation of the EU in the case studies.

**Graph 6.3: EU representation**



At first glance, it can be stated that most of the case studies included a positive angle of the EU except from the economic crisis that was neutral. The latter leads to the conclusion that there was a pro-European reporting in the Cypriot press which is significant for the continuation of the integration process. Another observation from the above table is that there is an increasing number in the neutral articles in all case studies, which shows a journalistic effort to be as factual as possible when reporting. Yet, domestication of news continued to exist in the reporting, and this is being reflected in an example from *Politis* newspaper, a comment of Yiannakis Omirou, Chairman of the Cyprus House of Representatives at the time of the economic crisis, where he linked the financial situation in Europe and Cyprus with the increase of the EU's democratic deficit. As he stated:

Insisting on exhausting demands that lead to mass poverty, marginalization of broader social classes, increase of unemployment, stalling of growth and deep recession. There is an unseen paradox that reveals in all its glory the deep crisis that is undergoing the EU institutional framework. It is more than obvious and apparent that the continuation of this enormous democratic deficit in the EU's daily operation will lead to continuous sliding to the financial perspectives and social cohesion as well as the Union's political cohesion.

**Image 6.4: 'The EU democratic deficit' Politis newspaper (21/10/2012 p.4)**



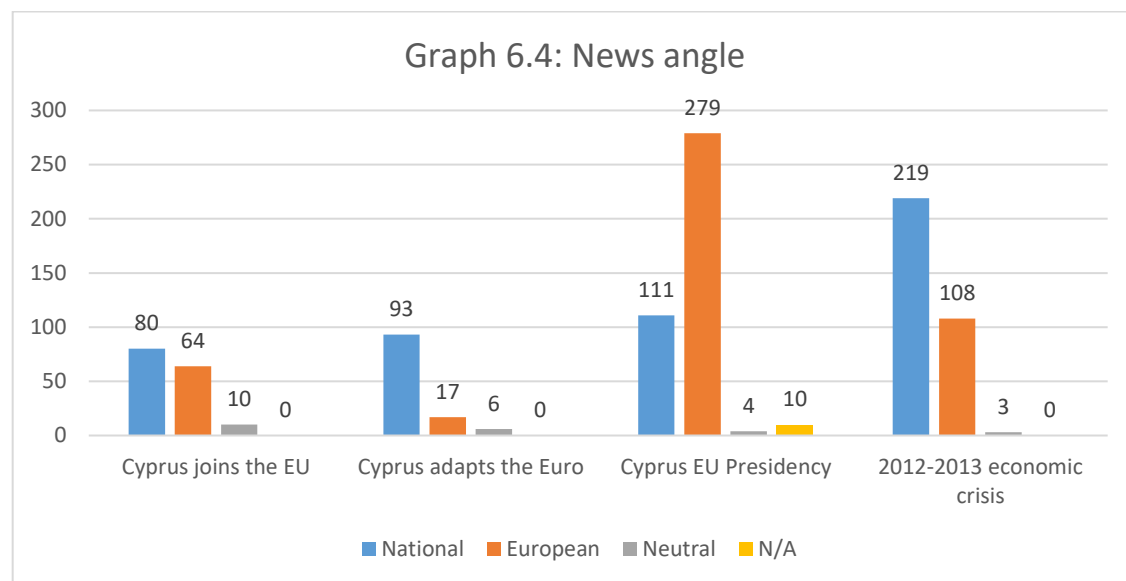
With the author of the article to be a politician and, hence an ‘opinion leader’, able to address a broader audience means that his views can have a greater impact compared to journalists. Considering that the author is the former Head of the House of Representatives can be translated as an ‘official’ governmental statement considering his political background. This comment revealed a need to cover the European news

through commentaries and reporting, to create engagement within the public sphere and form the public opinion both in a national and European level. From a political perspective the comment links the economic crisis with the multi-levelled deficit in the EU (economic, social, political), which can have an impact to the European integration process.

The construction of public discourse occurs through press coverage and the elements that are provided in a news story. Gurevitch et al. (1991:207) declared that stories in order to be judged newsworthy it should be ‘in a narrative framework that is already familiar and recognisable by newsmen as well as by audiences’. In this context, ‘domestication’ can be perceived as ‘a process of *framing*: recognising, defining, selecting, and organising news in a way judged to be appropriate for the intended audiences’ (Allan, 2009:132).

Journalists in Cyprus apply the news domestication technique as they follow due to the perception that was through the years in which a) their readers act and operate within a national framework and journalists must adapt their work accordingly and b) the readers find European news unappealing and therefore journalists domesticate it to make it more ‘reader-friendly’ to their readership and increase its public interest (Allan, 2012). Considering the view that the economic crisis increases the EU democratic deficit and if it will be linked this with the view that the EU news domestication make Cypriot readers think more as nationals and to a lesser extent as Europeans, then it can be stated that the economic crisis reporting may lead to the increase of the EU democratic deficit. Adding to the overall discussion on news domestication, the below graph refers to the angle of the news coverage and how the Cypriot press portray the EU.

**Graph 6.4: News angle**



At first glance, it can be seen the existence of news domestication in the reporting, except from the EU presidency empirical example. Concerning the latter, one explanation that can be provided is that, due to the nature of the case study, it was expected to have more news stories that would be related to the EU as these would correlate to the overall works of the government of Cyprus as a country in charge of the European Council.

During the recent years, Europe has seen an increase of voices from movements that represent extreme political views while it was noted an increase to the popularity of nationalist parties in the EU member states. In this context, former Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, in a Euronews interview ([Tsipras, 2018](#)), stated that ‘there was and there still is a democratic deficit which consists along with the fiscal fetishism, a neoliberal economical approach of crisis management, the main reasons for which Europe stopped being attractive to its citizens and the main reason for the rise of the far right. Well, if you ask me about Europe, Europe has been forced to adapt but it didn't do a lot and it did it too late.’ Tsipras has linked the rise of far-right movements with the economic

crisis which led to an increase of the EU democratic deficit. Furthermore, he identified that there is a structural issue of the EU during the economic crisis period which affected the image of the Union to its citizens.

**Image 6.5: Rise of nationalism in Europe, Source [BBC](#) (September 2018)**

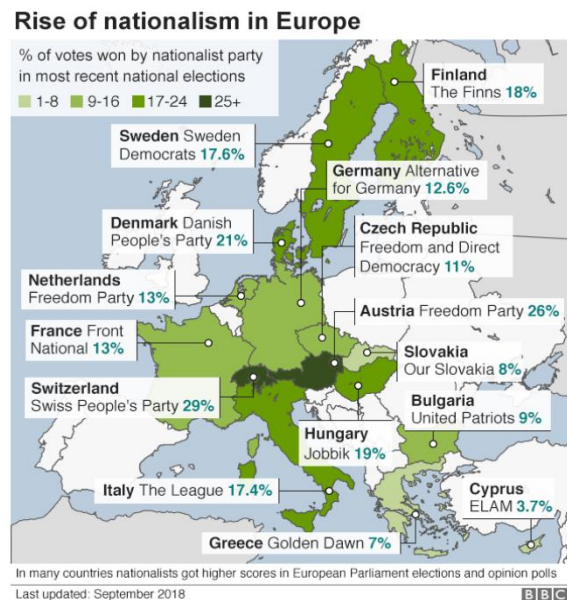


Image 6.5 portrays this increase of nationalism in Europe where it is apparent an overall trend that takes place in the continent. More specifically, Austria, Switzerland and Denmark have recorded the highest percentage of nationalist votes in Europe while Cyprus, Greece and Slovakia record the lowest rates of votes that headed to nationalist parties. In addition, a notable point from the above map is that the countries with the highest rates are countries which were not affected at great scale from the economic crisis in contrast to the Mediterranean countries which record lower numbers of nationalists' votes. The EU has been encountering a series of challenges such as the economic crisis, Brexit and the increased migration flows from Africa and the Middle East. Hence, the northern European countries saw a rise in nationalism because of the migration rhetoric used in the national public sphere. Taking advantage of the social and political situation in the EU following the Eurozone economic crisis, the overall political instability in the Union and the citizens' discontent about the austerity measures, the

populist movements across Europe increased their popularity in the European societies. At the same time, this phenomenon was perceived by politicians as an obstacle to the European integration process.

In this environment, the press is called to play a key role in engaging debate and discussion in the society and, on many occasions, to oppose to any authoritarian powers. The Cypriot press has been very critical in its reporting on ELAM (Nationalist Populist Front), Cyprus' nationalist party which is considered as the branch of Greece's Golden Dawn in the island. As previously mentioned, commentaries and articles that express an opinion promote discussions within the public sphere and operate in a catalytic way in shaping public opinion. An example of such article comes from Phileleftheros newspaper where, in a comment, it discusses the role of ELAM at schools and the rise of nationalism in Cyprus. As it was stated:

Fascism and racism are criminal offenses that, while we recognize them as such in legislation, we caress them with our tolerance every day. An ideology that separates children according to their ethnicity is not just something to condemn with a statement. ELAM, by exploiting the identity gap in young people, has launched 'pedagogy' in schools and has already created small, organized cores. They made a small bunch of well-guessed soldiers for future use. And feeding people with myths, ELAM managed to replenish the gap we left for them, planting rational hatred in its place. When you have no other means to identify yourself, to give meaning to your life, then you can easily find yourself with the wrong banners in your hands.



Image 6.6: The dog is barking, ELAM is ELAMing ([Phileleftheros](#), 22/12/2018)



In the comment, the editor identifies the role of ELAM at schools but also in the society without forgetting to refer to the tolerance being shown in such phenomena from the Cypriot citizens. The article remains critical on the party while the editor portrays the development from a national prism. ELAM's rhetoric is related to nativism (See Ch.2) where national identity is in jeopardy and refugees and migrants form a danger to the society and to its homogeneity. The economic crisis created a feeling of disappointment towards citizens which was translated into a rise in nationalism across Europe through the electoral process. Hence, the nationalist movements, despite the media's negative reporting and the domestication, had found prosperous ground for further growth within the EU member states.

This leads us to the conclusion that Tsipras' statement on the role of the economic crisis in the EU in helping nationalist parties and extreme movements

appeared to be correct and, although he was talking about Greece, it appears that this statement was relevant to the EU as a whole. Taking the above into consideration, it can be argued that the press in Cyprus, through the domestication of European news, are helping the preservation of national identity and homogeneity within their respective societies.

The recent developments Europe highlighted the deepening of the Union's democratic deficit and led to political voices with extreme views. The popularity of these parties was based on the citizens' discontent towards the EU and their national governments to provide solutions to the challenges EU was facing such as migration, Brexit and the financial crisis in the European Union. Furthermore, the absence of a pan-European media system and the dependence of the European integration process on national media reporting create the sense that this process is strewn with obstacles.

### **6.2.2. European news reporting and European integration**

As the domestication of European news affects the overall reporting in the Cypriot press and influences public opinion in the country, this part investigates the impact of reporting on the European integration process and discusses objectivity in the Cypriot press coverage.

The need for journalistic objectivity has been secured through the Code of Ethics established by the Cyprus National Union of Journalists. The Code states that the members of the Union must have 'respect for the truth and the citizen's right to objective, full and reliable information as an obligation of all media and journalists' ([Cyprus National Union of Journalists, 2019](#)). The notable point is that the Union regards objectivity as compulsory, with special importance in news reporting and in the daily operation of the newsroom.

The Code of Ethics in Cyprus identify the framework which journalists must conduct their reporting and raise some very important issues concerning objectivity. Firstly, the Cypriots regard objectivity as necessary to satisfy the ‘citizens’ need’ for fair, accurate and objective news reporting. Secondly, the clear political angle refers to the protection of democracy and identify their role as the gatekeepers of democracy. In this context, Lefteris Christophorou, MEP, stressed about the role of the media in reporting the EU affairs:

Cypriot newspapers portray different events and happenings in accordance with their own judgement and perception, and this is part of the freedom of expression of the Press in Cyprus. Every newspaper has its own touch to the European issues. For example, a Eurosceptic newspaper is criticising the European policies. Likewise, when we develop issues for the EURO, or for the further enhancement of the EU, there is a tendency for criticism. However, when the press is pro-European, there is a whole different approach.

However, one must note that the newspapers examined in this thesis belong to media groups, such as the *Phileleftheros* Media Group and the *Arktinos* Media Group (*Politis*), which include other media outlets (e.g., radio stations, magazines and so on), which means that large media groups are at the disposal of the entrepreneurs-media owners, who use their appeal to serve their own personal interests.

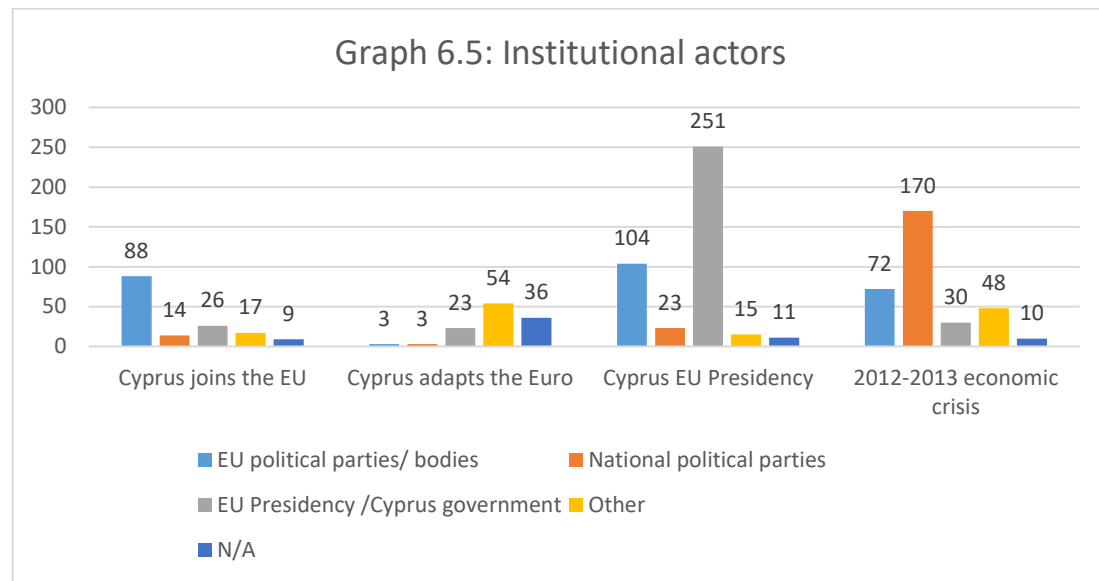
This affects the daily news reporting and Cypriot journalists are asked to be objective, impartial and independent in their coverage, although this is not always achievable. As various scholars argued (see, for example, Papathanassopoulos, 2007;

Kominis, 1996; Sophocleous, 2009; Roussou, 2010), journalists from all over the world perceive themselves as the ‘Fourth Estate’, the watchdogs and defenders of democracy (Komninou, 1996) and of the public interest. However, journalists believe that ‘they are dependent on the media owners because the media are exercising power and hence, they are unable to exercise their profession freely’ (Papathanassopoulos, 2007).

In this environment, there are many examples where journalists were dependant on media owners or on the State, with Cyprus to be among the countries which have issues in reporting the news. More specifically, the Press Freedom Index, the annual report of [Reporters Without Borders](#) on press freedom, ranked Cyprus on the 28<sup>th</sup> position declaring that press freedom is in a ‘fairly good’ level, however the overall description states that ‘political parties, the Orthodox Church and commercial interests have a great deal of influence over the media’([Reporter Without Borders, 2019](#)).

Moving on, there are other elements that influence the reporting and, to a greater extent, the European integration process. According to Shore (2013), European integration was orchestrated by politicians and civil servants suggests that the EU institutions play a significant role in the European integration process through their formation of political culture. The ways in which this formative process and its protagonists are presented in the press sheds light on journalists’ attitudes and the direction that public discourse is taking. Focusing on the construction of the political culture through the reporting of European institutions, the thesis explores the representation of European institutions at the Cypriot press to discuss how the political culture is being constructed through the news reporting of the case studies.

**Graph 6.5: Institutional actors**



Graph 6.5 reveals a variation of results concerning the portrayal of the institutional actors in the Cypriot press. Specifically, in the country's EU accession most of the articles referred to EU political parties while on the introduction of the Euro, most of the articles were related to the 'other' category where there was focus on the social aspect of the development, with reference to the citizens and not to the institutions. Furthermore, at the EU presidency most of the articles referred to the Cyprus government, as the leading country of the European Council, while at the economic crisis, the news coverage had mostly internal coverage with discussions over the political developments in the country.

With the Cypriot press to operate within the national context and form public opinion on European affairs, the formation of European political culture – and hence the European integration process – is dependent on the national political culture in each member state and on the representation of the EU in the news coverage. The close relationship between politics and the media has been under discussion in a previous chapter (see Chapter 2). In the same vein, it can be said that the development of a European political culture could lead to the reduction of the EU's democratic deficit and

to the formation of Europeanness among citizens while it could operate in favour of European integration. In this process, the media and, in this project's case, the press have a role to play in assisting the formation of a European political culture.

As has been seen in the project so far, the coverage of European news has a Cyprus-centric character, with the Cyprus problem and the relationship with Turkey being the most popular topic to be covered. Aristos Michaelides, Editor-in-Chief of *Phileleftheros* was asked whether Cypriot citizens feel closer to the EU as a result of the coverage of his newspaper. As he declared:

No, they do not. I think this happens due to the Cyprus problem and the distance from the mainland (i.e., Brussels). On the former, the people tend to believe that the EU has not helped them in resolving the Cyprus problem as well as with the Halloumi case, where the EU voted in favour of the interests of other countries and not those of Cyprus. These events take away the Cypriots who believe that the EU is here to support its member states.

Referring to the national news agenda, Michaelides identified two key elements that prevent the formation of a European political culture in Cypriot society: firstly, the lack of support for Cyprus concerning the longstanding political problem and, secondly, the Cyprus-centric news agenda that operates against the notion of Europeanness in the society.

Another example that was reported in all Cypriot media was an interview of President Anastasiades in the French newspaper *Le Figaro* where he stated that the EU had not stood in solidarity with and in support of his country. To the question 'in your

opinion, was the EU sufficiently present during this summer on this issue (i.e., Turkey's violations of the Cypriot EEZ)?', President Anastasiades replied that

Turkey has become a troublemaker in the region, endangering security and peace, as well as the EU. I regret to note that the EU has not acted in unity and decisively in tackling this situation. The position of France, of President Macron, was the most decisive, as it showed a clear and strong determination against the illegal methods of Turkey. We are grateful to him; he is a ray of hope to save the principles and values of the European Union and to defend the international law ([Politis, 24/09/20](#)).

The inability of the EU to protect the rights of its member states has been reflected on all media in Cyprus and in Europe. Anastasiades gave a message of disappointment on the EU stance towards his country and that could have a negative reflection to the image of the European Union in the public opinion in Cyprus, in France and in another member states this interview has been reproduced. As the goal of European integration is to unite the nation states of the EU politically, socially and economically, however when statements like these come from political leaders may have a negative impact to the image of the Union in the public opinion. Former MEP Eleni Theocharous stated that

People in Cyprus do not trust the European Union anymore. Only people with a professional relation with the Union and its Institutions are lobbying for the EU. And certain political leaders, but the vast majority of the population is ignorant. Unless the Government of Cyprus proceeds to

reforms which will help the population to take advantage for the benefits of being a citizen of a member state, on the one hand, and unless the Union changes its policies towards Cyprus, I believe that the situation will get even worse.

For Theocharous, there is an evident lack of communicating the benefits of the membership to Cypriot citizens and the European Union the information about its policies that can be benefited, leading to a ‘communication gap’ that may lead to an increase of EU democratic deficit and may operate as an obstacle in the European integration process. As a result, public opinion takes a negative stance towards Europe and citizens see their Union distant from their daily problems. As Theano Theopoulou, Financial Editor in *Phileleftheros* stated about Cypriot readers:

Readers feel close to Europe when Europe provides solutions to their problems through Community law or de facto forces Cyprus to comply with European directives. In the case of 2013 with the haircut of deposits, Cypriots felt that Europe was not close to their country and probably the institutions did not work in the spirit of European solidarity or equal treatment in relation to other European countries. Especially in countries that experienced problems in the banking system later and there were no extreme solutions such as haircuts.

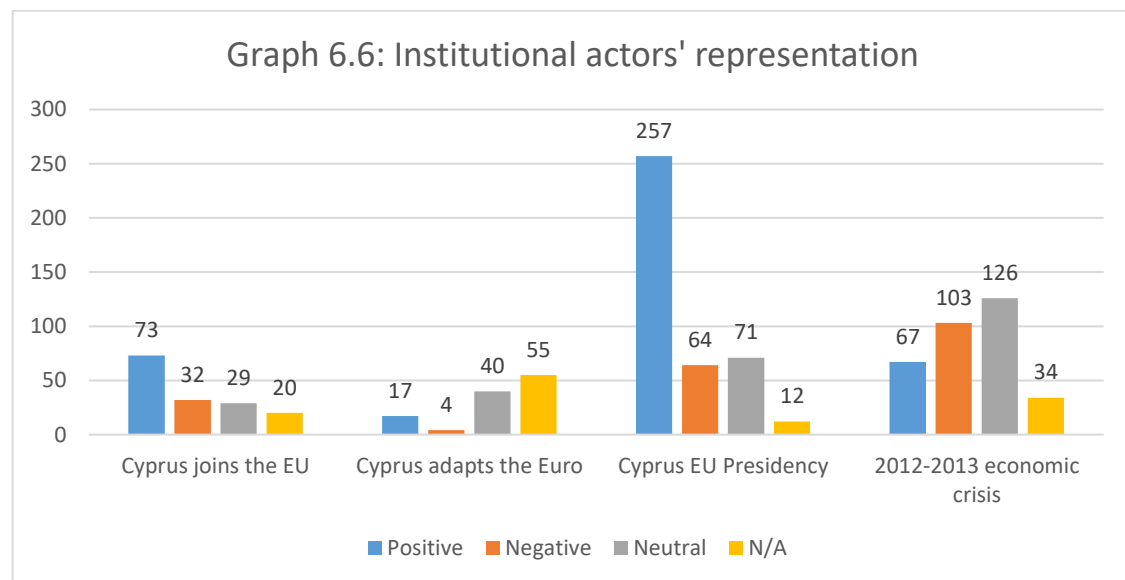
For Theopoulou, citizens expect from the EU to provide them with solutions to their problems and act in a manner of solidarity and unity so that they will feel part of the Union. As discussed in the relevant theoretical chapter (ch.2), any absence of this



process will lead eventually to a communication gap between European citizens and the EU institutions.

To reflect on the portrayal of the European institutions, the graph below shows the ways in which the European institutions (the European Commission, European Parliament and European Council, to name but a few) were presented in the examined news stories. The categories of ‘positive’, ‘negative’, ‘neutral’ and ‘not applicable’ emerged after careful analysis of each article, in which the author was interested in examining the journalistic representation of the EU institutions in the case studies. In order to better understand the categories, it is worth mentioning that when an article referring to a European institution displays a favourable attitude, then it is a ‘positive’ stance, and the opposite applies to the ‘negative’ category. As regards the ‘neutral’ and ‘not applicable’ categories, the journalists either mentioned the EU institutions in a neutral way or they made no reference to them at all.

**Graph 6.6: Institutional actors’ representation**



The first observation from Graph 6.6 is that the Cypriot press displayed different attitudes to the basic EU institutions. More specifically, in two of the case studies (‘EU presidency’ and ‘Cyprus joins EU’) there was a positive representation of the relevant

institutions, while there were also articles with a neutral stance. As for the other case studies, a generally neutral attitude was noted. In the case studies where a positive attitude was expressed, it can be said that such positive coverage was understandable because both events had a positive social and economic effect. On the one hand, Cyprus was the country in charge of the EU and a tendency to present the institutional bodies in a positive way was registered, while on the other hand, the accession of Cyprus to the Union was of considerable socio-political importance and thus it was logical for journalists to refer to the institutions in a positive way.

Concerning the other case studies that included a neutral coverage, it can be stated that such reporting can be perceived as a journalistic method of addressing the various organisations concerned (e.g., political parties, national government, EU institutions and so on) with neutrality. Furthermore, the introduction of the euro in Cyprus was an economic event with political and social importance. At the same time, it was scholarly noted (see, for instance, Bache & George, 2006; Shore: 2005) that the Euro was a mean of achieving further integration within the EU. An example from the newspaper coverage is related to the financial crisis and from *Phileleftheros* and it is a comment on the overall situation in the EU, regarding the financial crisis. Focusing on the EU institutions it was stated:

The crisis with the Spanish banks revealed the problematic role of the European Central Bank (ECB) which should, if acting within the framework of a federal system, to support the banks of the countries that are facing problems. Besides, the implemented restrictions, basically from the Germans to the ECB, prevent it from playing the role it was meant to play, for the economic growth of Eurozone.

## Image 6.7: 'An endless European crisis' (10.06.2012, Phileleftheros)

ΦΙΛΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ, 10.06.2012, Page 29, Size 337 cm<sup>2</sup>



Του Στέφανου Κωνσταντινίδη



### Ευρωπαϊκή κρίση χωρίς τέλος

**Κ**άθε μέρα που περνά η κατάσταση στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση χειροτερεύει. Το ευρώ έχει καταρρεύσει στα πιο χαμηλά επίπεδα των τελευταίων δύο χρόνων και οι τράπεζες κάποιων χωρών της Ευρωζώνης αντιμετωπίζουν τεράστια προβλήματα ανακεφαλalaίωσης. Η Ουδογκτον ανήσυχη πιέζει τους Ευρωπαίους να πάρουν μέτρα επειδή φοβάται η ευρωπαϊκή κρίση έχει αντίκτυπο και στις ΗΠΑ και κινδυνεύει να νιώσει στον αέρα την όποια ανάσχεση της αμερικανικής οικονομίας. Αντιστάει όμως εκφράζει και το Πεκίνο για την ευρωπαϊκή κρίση, καθώς τελευταία δεν φαίνεται να ηγούνται όλα ρόδινα με την κινεζική οικονομία. Αντιποικία θέβασα εκφράζουν και άλλες χώρες, ιδιαίτερα τα μέλη της G20. Λοιπότε ασφαλείας αν τα πράγματα χειροτερεύουν ακόμη περισσότερο στην Ευρώπη, υπάρχει κίνδυνος για σοβαρές αναταράξεις στο όλο πλανητικό οικονομικό σύστημα. Με την εικόνα αυτή παρουσιάζονται και διάφοροι «προφίτες» οικονομολόγοι που μιλούν για διάλυση της Ευρωζώνης, εγκατάλειψη του ευρώ και επάνοδο στα εθνικά νομίσματα.

Πέρα από τους «προφίτες» αυτούς κρύβονται κατά κανόνα οι επιδοκίμοι τραπεζοκόρων των αγορών που παρρησιάζονται για να αποκομίσουν τεράστια κέρδη από μια τυχόν κατάρρευση του ευρώ. Η κρίση με τις ιταλικές τράπεζες ανέδειξε το πρόβλημα του ρόλου της Ευρωπαϊκής Κεντρικής Τράπεζας (ΕΚΤ), η οποία θα έπρεπε, αν ενεργούσε στο πλαίσιο ενός ομοσπονδιακού συστήματος, να στήριζε τις τράπεζες των χωρών που αντιμετωπίζουν προβλήματα. Άλλωστε οι περιορισμοί που επιβλήθηκαν, ουσιαστικά από τους Γερμανούς, στην Ευρωπαϊκή Κεντρική Τράπεζα, την εμποδίζουν να διαδραματίσει τον ρόλο που της ανήκει για την οικονομική ανάπτυξη της Ευρωζώνης. Θα μπορούσε δηλαδή η ΕΚΤ να διαδραματίζει ανάλογο ρόλο που διαδραματίζει η αμερικανική κεντρική τράπεζα, η Federal Reserve, όπως και να προσωποεί στην δημοσίαια του ευρωοικονομίου για την αντιμετώπιση των κερδοσκοπών. Για να γίνει



όμως αυτό θα πρέπει το Βερολίνο να αποδεχτεί ότι η σκληρή δημοσιονομική πολιτική που επέβαλε έχει αποτύχει και κινδυνεύει να νιώσει στον αέρα ολόκληρο το ευρωπαϊκό οικοδόμημα. Η ιταλική κρίση, με την ιταλική οικονομία να αντιπροσωπεύει γύρω στο 10% της οικονομίας της Ευρωζώνης, δηλαδή δύο φορές μεγαλύτερη από αυτή της Ελλάδας, της Πορτογαλίας και της Ιρλανδίας μαζί, θέτει επί τάπητος δύο βασικά προβλήματα :

Το πρώτο είναι η διαχείριση του χρηματοπιστωτικού συστήματος της Ευρωζώνης που χρειάζεται μια κάποια μορφή ενσωμάτωσης, με την ΕΚΤ να συντονίζει και να ελέγχει ολόκληρο τον τραπεζικό τομέα της με τον τρόπο που το κάνει η κεντρική τράπεζα οποιασδήποτε χώρας για τις τράπεζες της χώρας αυτής. Το δεύτερο και ίσως το βασικότερο πρόβλημα της Ευρωζώνης είναι φυσικά πολιτικό. Γίνεται αισθητό στις μέρες μας όσο ποτέ άλλοτε η έλλειψη πολιτικού συντονισμού και η δυσκολία λήψης αποφάσεων. Οι μηχανισμοί που υπάρχουν έχουν ουσιαστικά σπαστεί, αφού τον τελευταίο καιρό σοβαρές πολιτικές αποφάσεις παίρνονται από το Βερολίνο και στην καλύτερη περίπτωση μετά από κάποια σύμφωνη με το Παρίσι, στους δε υπόλοιπους εταίρους

παρουσιάζονται ως τετελεσμένα γεγονότα. Δεν είναι λίγα οι Ευρωπαϊκές πολιτικές ηγέτες που παρουσιάζουν τον τελευταίο καιρό για τον αυτοκρατορικό αυτό τρόπο λήψης των πολιτικών αποφάσεων. Μια ουσιαστική πολιτική ενσωμάτωση της Ευρώπης θα αντιμετώπιζε, τουλάχιστον εν μέρει, τον γερμανικό αυτό ηγεμονισμό. Λοιπότε ασφαλείας θα εξημερουνότο μηχανισμοί λήψης αποφάσεων με περισσότερη δημοκρατική νομιμοποίηση.

Και ενώ όλα αυτά συμβαίνουν στην Ευρώπη, τόσο στην Ελλάδα όσο και την Κύπρο οι πολιτικές ελίτ ασχολούνται με τη μικροπολιτική και την επίθεση των κομματικών πελατειακών τους μηχανισμών, χωρίς να αντιλαμβάνονται την κρισιμότητα των καιρών. Ο κίνδυνος από μια τέτοια κοντόφθαλμη πολιτική είναι να οδηγηθούν Ελλάδα και Κύπρος στην περιθωριοποίηση και στην αδυναμία να εξυπηρετήσουν τα εθνικά τους συμφέροντα. Σίγουρα η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση δεν είναι πανάκεια. Από την στιγμή όμως που τρέμει σε ένα καταλυτικό σύστημα, συμμετέχει στο ερωτικό πλαίσιο με πολιτικές δυνάμεις που διατηρούν κάποιες κοινωνικές ευαισθησίες θα μας επιτρέψουν να αντιμετωπίσουμε καλύτερα τα προβλήματα της οικονομίας.

Ο Στέφανος Κωνσταντινίδης είναι καθηγητής Πολιτικών Επιστημών στο Κρατικό Πανεπιστήμιο της Κωνσταντίας και επιστημονικός συνεργάτης του Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης.

Page 1

Being critical on the role of ECB, the commentator identified its inability to support countries in need, as per instructions from the German politicians. In this context, this article raises two main topics, a) the lack of ECB to act as an independent actor during the financial crisis and b) the political involvement of the German government in a European organisation, a development that raises issues of credibility of the EU institutions in performing their assigned duties. Both issues are not subject of discussion in this thesis but can be further investigated in a different occasion.

When reported, such phenomena help to form public opinion and engage further to a discussion among citizens. Journalists, as the gatekeepers of the public interest (Habermas, 1989), need to be objective and act as observers of the social and political developments that take place in a democratic society. Bearing in mind the arguments raised earlier on news domestication, it can be said that objectivity is a key issue for the formation of public opinion and so it is worth examining the degree of objectivity in the

newsroom in the actual coverage of European news and its significance to the European integration process.

As seen earlier in the chapter (see Ch. 2), the media are influenced by national politics and democracy; hence, this can influence the news reporting and the country's political integration. For instance, the fact that once a newspaper, radio or television station has established its political ties and identification, it loses any resemblance of independent judgement whenever issues have political implications. In a deeply politicised society, even the most innocuous 'human interest' news item can be turned to political use, and often is. This phenomenon leads to lack of independence in news reporting. Hence, it can be seen in the various calls by leading journalists to adopt principles of objective or neutral journalism, mostly related to the adoption of a media ethics code and the creation of university faculties in journalism (Tzanetakos, 1985: 150; Kominis, 1985: 25). In other words, while neutrality or objectivity is supposed to refer to political pluralism and fair play, in daily practice political neutrality is (or is forced to be) abandoned for the political position of their news organisation (Konstantinidou, 1992:248–52).

Concerning European affairs, there is a journalistic perception that they are less significant than national news and thus EU-related news items are subjected to the 'domestication' process to make them more appealing to their readership. Chrysanthos Manoli, editor in *Politis* newspaper, declared about the coverage of EU affairs:

For most readers there is more interest in the stories that have a direct relation to Cyprus and can affect in any kind of way our daily lives. Most of the stories are related to politics mainly, while the stories that are

related to developments in the EU public bodies are omitted due to a lack of interest on the part of the readers.

Manoli raises the issue of news refinement, based on what opinion leaders think is in the public interest; as he claimed, the newspaper's readers are not interested in the European news and its developments. Hence, the journalistic perception of the public interest and newspaper's political affiliation or financial interests can influence the European news coverage and their effort to deal news with fairness and objectivity.

An example of journalistic coverage with a positive representation of the institutional factors can be seen in the *Phileleftheros* article entitled 'The dream has come true' (01/05/2004 p.16) concerning Cyprus' accession to the EU. This article was part of a special report concerning EU enlargement and the new member states. In this story, the journalist made a historical overview from the early days of the EU until the 2004 Enlargement, with a focus on the social and political changes that were about to occur in Cyprus. The article stated that:

From Saturday onwards, Cyprus will live the European dream. Part of its heart will beat in Brussels, the capital of the European Union. A long and painstaking road has come to its end. Many say that the worst is yet to come in terms of implementation and harmonisation of the way in which the State operates based on European rules and law, as well as on the political problem of Cyprus.

**Image 6.8: ‘The dream has come true’ (article in *Phileleftheros*)**



The article, a historic overview of the EU, takes a positive stance as seen in the title and subtitle ('Europe, after almost 60 years, has achieved its reunification') and from the text, which refers to the enlargement process and to the social and political effects of this development on the country. Thus, any positive or neutral coverage of EU-related news can operate in favour of the integration process, as this process takes place within the national press in the absence of a pan-European media system.

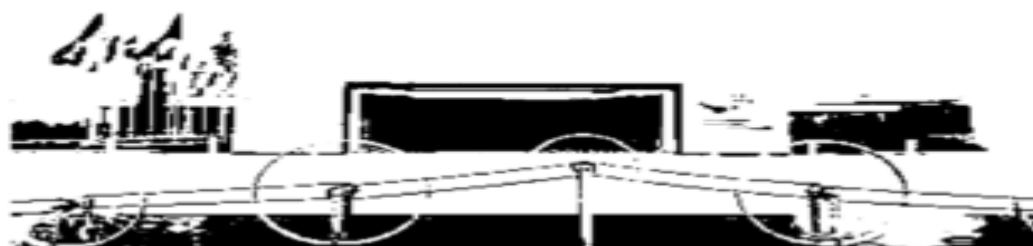
Pfetsch (2008:36) argued that 'the press is focused on national perspectives for those issues where the decision-making power rests with national institutions. This is not to say, however, that the media would not support EU integration'. Pfetsch's statement implied that, although the press covers some stories from a national angle because the decisions need to be taken at a national level, this does not obstruct the development of European integration. Schifirnet (2010:5), in his research on the Europeanisation of Romanian citizens through the media argued that the 'mass media operate in the context of historical and cultural diversity, because of the belonging to a

nation. The content and the transmission of the news on the Europeanisation requirements, depend mainly on the internal constitutional resources and on traditions, as well as on the stability of the internal institutional structures within a nation.'

The above argument highlights the importance of the media in this process and its role to the construction of collective identity (see, for example, Eder & Geisen: 2001), As it was argued, the media rely on homogeneity and common cultural identity of a nation as a way of promoting European news. An example of such coverage comes from *Phileleftheros* and is related to the EU presidency of the European Council by Cyprus. The article refers to a statement of former President Christofias about the takeover of the Presidency, where he claimed that Cyprus is the best of the small countries that implemented an EU presidency. As it was reported:

'From the Presidencies that small countries have hosted until now, we can be the best' President Christofias stated yesterday, highlighting that the start of the Cypriot EU Presidency of the European Council was successful. In a meeting that was hosted at the Presidential Palace, the President congratulated everyone for the inauguration of the Presidency and its success, he added that 'the comments we receive from the Commissioners, the President of the European Commission, the President of the Council, the President of the European Parliament and the Heads of the various Committees are positive and rewarding until now and for the content of our work and for the organisation'.

*Image 6.9: 'We are the best from the small States that hosted the EU presidency' (Phileleftheros, 19/07/2012)*



## «Είμαστε οι καλύτεροι από μικρά κράτη που άσκησαν Προεδρία»

*Έχει πείρα 40 χρόνια στην οργάνωση εκδηλώσεων, λέγει ο Πρόεδρος*

«ΑΠΟ τις Προεδρίες που άσκησαν μικρά κράτη ως τώρα μπορούμε να είμαστε οι καλύτεροι», δήλωσε χθες ο Πρόεδρος Χριστόφιας επισημαίνοντας ότι η έναρξη της Κυπριακής Προεδρίας του Συμβουλίου της ΕΕ στέφθηκε με μεγάλη επιτυχία.

Σε σύσκεψη που πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Προεδρικό Μέγαρο, υπό την προεδρία του, με τη συμμετοχή των μελών του Υπουργικού Συμβουλίου, γενικών διευθυντών Υπουργείων και λειτουργών που ασχολούνται με θέματα της Κυπριακής Προεδρίας, ο Πρόεδρος Χριστόφιας, αφού συνεχάρη όλους για την έναρξη της Προεδρίας με μεγάλη επιτυχία, πρόσθεσε ότι «τα σκάδια που ακούγονται από διάφορους Επιτρόπους, τον Πρόεδρο της Επιτροπής, τον Πρόεδρο του Συμβουλίου, τον Πρόεδρο του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου και από επικεφαλής διαφόρων Επιτροπών του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου είναι θετικά και επαινετικά μέχρι τώρα και για το περιεχόμενο της δουλειάς που κάνουμε και για την οργάνωση. Οργάνωση πάρα πολλές εκδηλώσεις στα 40 τόσα χρόνια της δράσης μου και είμαι λίγο απαιτητικός σε ό,τι αφορά την οργάνωση, διότι πολλές φορές μια μεγάλη εκδήλωση μπορεί να κριθεί από τις λεπτομέρειες και τις πιθανές μικρές οργανωτικές αδυναμίες. Για αυτό η παράκλησή μου μαζί με τα θερμά μου συγ-

χαρητήρια - τα οποία 'βγαίνουν' από την καρδιά μου - είναι να προσέξουμε τις λεπτομέρειες είτε είναι Άλιπα Συμβούλια είτε είναι Επιτροπές είτε είναι σκέψεις με το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο και συνάξεις είτε είναι σκέψεις με άλλα Όργανα της ΕΕ, νομικά, εκτελεστικά, δικαστικά και θα οργανώσουμε εκδηλώσεις και συνάξεις όλων αυτών των Οργάνων στην Κύπρο».

Πρόσθεσε, ωστόσο, ότι «μόλις ξεκινήσαμε και θα κριθούμε και από τα αποτελέσματα της δουλειάς. Θα μου πείτε 'τα αποτελέσματα εναπόκεινται στη δράση των προταγμένων και της Προεδρίας'. Αυτή είναι η μισή αλήθεια. Η άλλη μισή έχει να κάνει με τη σωστή οργάνωση και την προετοιμασία. Και η προετοιμασία δεν γίνεται απλώς από τους πολιτικούς προταγμένους, αλλά γίνεται από τους γενικούς διευθυντές, από τμηματάρχες, από εκείνους που θα ασχοληθούν με τη λεπτομέρεια διαφόρων θεμάτων για να προετοιμάσουν και το κλίμα για πολιτικές αποφάσεις».

Ο Πρόεδρος Χριστόφιας διαβεβαίωσε ότι «είμαι πάντοτε στο πλευρό σας αν υπάρχει οποιοδήποτε σοβαρό πρόβλημα να ασχοληθούμε από κοινού, διότι είμαστε στην ίδια 'βάρκα', στον 'ωκεανό' αυτή τη στιγμή και πρέπει να φτάσουμε σε απάνεμο λιμάνι».

### «Όλα κρίνονται από τις λεπτομέρειες»

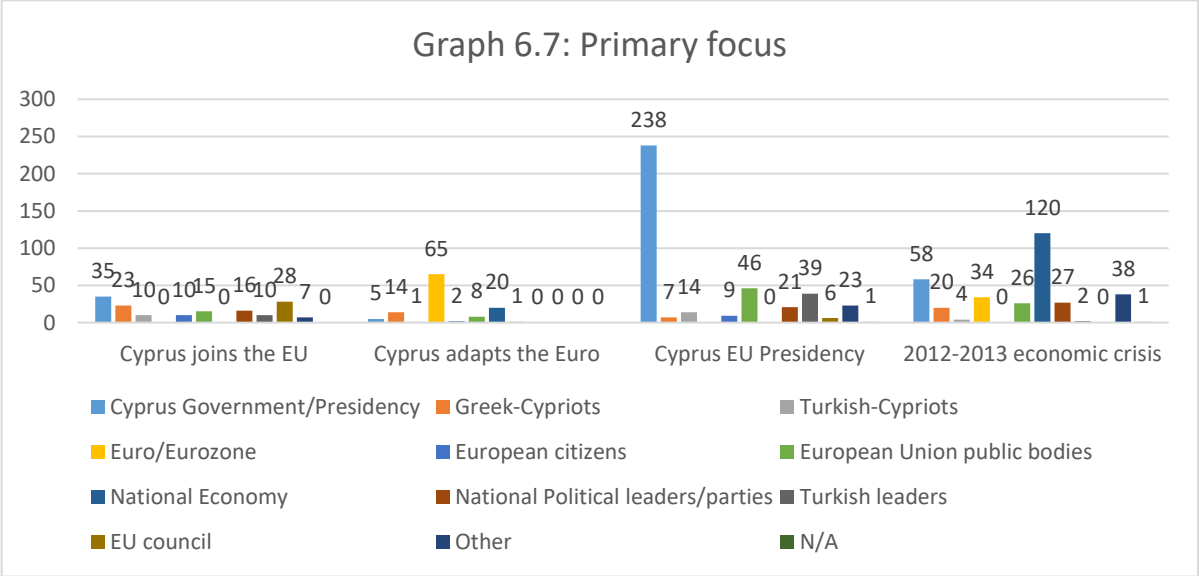
In an effort to raise the morale of Cypriot citizens, the newspaper focused on the long-term successful history in the organisation of events. By referring to the Cypriot pride, the article highlighted the significance of Cypriot identity that was recognised at pan-European level. A discussion on the formation of European citizenship and identity is available later in the thesis.

Moving forward to the discussion on the reporting of European news in the Cypriot press, it is interesting to explore the ways in which EU-related news stories have been presented which will provide useful information about the news coverage. In this respect, the below graph highlights the primary focus (i.e., the principal topic of



discussion) in each article and the ways these are being presented. This variable aims to observe the effect of the European integration process through the promotion of public discourse among citizens.

Graph 6.7: Primary focus

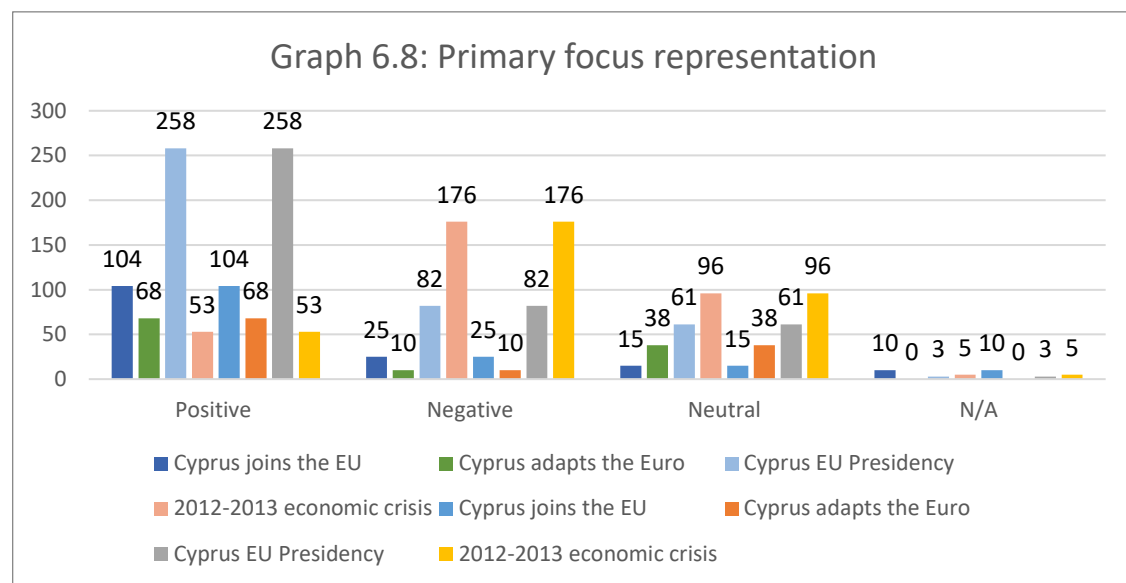


The graph reveals that the examined empirical examples have variations in primary focus categories. Specifically, the ‘Cyprus joins the European Union’ case study most articles were focused on the country’s government, while at the accession of the Euro, news stories were related to the common currency. Lastly, at the two remaining empirical examples, the EU presidency and the economic crisis, most reports referred to the European citizens and to the national economy, respectively. The primary focus should be discussed within the framework of its representation as it will provide a holistic approach on the variable and its association with the news coverage of European affairs.

As the framing and representation of events in the media (the press, in the thesis’ case) can affect the recipients of the news understand these events, there is a notion that the news should be ‘neutral’ or ‘objective’. For instance, Heidegger (1943:1) argued that

objectivity is a ‘correspondence, grounded in correctness, between thought and reality’ where ‘one can and should separate facts from values’ (Schudson 1990:2-3). The below graph reflects on the representation of the primary focus. Considering Bakir’s theory about the role of the media in the European integration process (see subchapter 2.4), it can be declared that the primary focus is the first key subject being raised in the reporting and the topic Cypriot readers note; thus, it has its significance because of the role it plays in shaping public opinion.

**Graph 6.8: Primary focus representation**



Looking at the research results and focusing on the graph presenting attitudes to the primary focus (i.e., the main focus-subject that was referred to in news stories) on what Cypriot journalists consider as ‘newsworthy’ when reporting European news. The first conclusion is the mainly positive view towards the primary focus of articles on the above EU-related events, except from the economic crisis where a neutral attitude was expressed. Another notable point is the high number of articles with negative angle in the ‘2012–2013 economic crisis in Cyprus’ case study, something that can be explained as the press’ discontent about the developments. Placing everything in the context of

European integration, it could be argued that positive reporting can operate in favour of the whole process and can motivate citizens to increase their interest in European affairs. The neutral coverage can be perceived as an attempt on the part of the journalists to preserve their ethos and code of conduct, focusing on 'impartiality, fairness and objectivity in reporting' (Christodoulides, 1997:7). Hall (1981:234) argued that 'journalists speak of 'the news' as if events select themselves. Furthermore, they speak as if this is the 'most significant' news story, and which 'news angles' are most salient, are divinely inspired. Yet of the millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny proportion ever becomes visible as 'potential news stories'; and of this proportion, only a small fraction is actually produced as the day's news in the news media.'

Despite the newsworthiness, journalists also try to consider the requirements of their medium, style, ideology and political affiliations. However, there are issues that affect the reporting of European affairs such as political ideology and the financial interests of newspapers, to name a few. As the media act as mediators between the citizens and the Union, their reporting can help the integration process by going beyond the national boundaries and, through their news coverage, make the citizens think more as 'Europeans' and less as nationals of a country that is part of the EU (Habermas, 1990). Although this appears as the ideal scenario, Cypriot journalists recognise that their reporting needs to be improved so as to change the image of the EU in its readers. Costas Constantinou from Politis newspaper stressed that

We create the view that the EU is not an institution to expect many things from it, but it is a situation that helps us to spread our messages to the world. We have made several stories on 'get to know Europe' or 'what is Europe?' etc. and that is our technique: to simplify the EU news so that it

can be understandable by our readers. And I think through this process, there is a construction of consciousness about Europe.

For Constantinou, the simplification of European news is a method that makes them more appealing to the newspaper's audience however such issues 'do not supply editors with personalities, arguments and headlines and fail to catch the public's interest' (Kevin, 2003:124). Moreover, the journalistic perception that the EU-related events are 'second-order' lead them to claim that European news are unappealing to readers. For instance, Angelos Nicolaou of *Phileleftheros* stated:

There are readers who are interested in EU news and some of them respond to a news story seeking more information or something else. I just believe that Cypriots do not have a particular interest in the European news.

This lack of interest in the media audience derives from the 'editors' resistance to EU news', which 'is a product of two factors, a) their perception of the audience's lack of interest in such stories and b) the problems of making the story more interesting and comprehensible. European integration is seen as a "dull" subject because of the difficulty in making somewhat abstract topics, such as tax harmonisation, structural funds, and the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), newsworthy' (Williams, 2005:142).

In the effort to make European news more appealing, the Cypriot press identifies the relevant stories that could have a national angle where readers would find interesting to read, such as stories with direct impact on Cyprus, to make them feel closer to the EU and engage further to the European integration process. An example which portrays the European news reporting, and the objectivity of Cypriot journalists was derived from

*Politis* and it is related to the introduction of the Euro in the country. Named ‘we can be even better’ the editorial article refers to the introduction of the common currency in Cyprus and the future of the economy. As it was stated:

There is no doubt that for our accession to the Eurozone it needed hard work, programming, and sacrifices. This does not mean in any way that we can now rest. To enjoy the crops of our efforts it needs hard work on permanent basis. Also, it needs immediately new and even greater sacrifices and changes. Our history has shown that as a nation we are ready to successfully face all challenges and dangers. We can adapt, by changing mentalities so that every threat to become an opportunity.

**Image 6.10: ‘We can become even better’ (*Politis*, 01/01/2008)**



The editorial is an example of positive representation of the event, focusing on the people and the efforts made by both the government and the Cypriots. In an effort to raise the morale of the nation, the story highlights the importance of the new currency while, at the same time, it stresses the need for further economic discipline and hard

work on behalf of the citizens and the State. Apart from the content, the news story has a positive angle on this new development for Cyprus yet its approach on the institutions is well-balanced.

Although that ‘the single currency presents a development of integration that goes beyond EU level policy making but that represents a political and economic reality’ (Kevin, 2003:101), in this respect, the familiarity with the Euro could have created a feeling of integration with other Europeans. Furthermore, the introduction of the Euro can be considered as a significant event not only for the European integration process but also for the development of a ‘European identity’. The circulation of Euro notes and coins in the member states that were participating in the single currency was ‘a step of both practical and symbolic significance. For the citizens of the participating states the Euro was physical evidence of a closer Europe. From a social constructivism perspective, this physical manifestation of European integration would serve to enhance citizens’ attachment and identity with Europe’ (Bache & George, 2006:208). In Cyprus, there is still the journalistic perception of newsworthiness in the Cypriot press, where journalists cover EU news from a national angle. As Manolis Kalatzis of *Politis* newspaper, declared:

We usually cover stories with a direct impact on Cyprus and that is a negative thing because there might be stories that do not have a direct effect on Cyprus but may nevertheless affect the country. In general, we cover the European affairs that affect our daily lives and the Cyprus problem.

Kalatzis refers to the domestication of European news and to the reporting of issues with national interest, identifying that it has negative impact on the integration process. The EU is an international organisation that enjoys press coverage from all member states, including Cyprus, while any reference to European actors in the national press promotes political discourse in society on European affairs and simultaneously provides further ground for further European integration. Moreover, the pro-European approach can help to diminish the existing democratic deficit between EU citizens and their Union and lay the foundations for the development of a European political culture, in which readers can discuss EU-related issues that concern them.

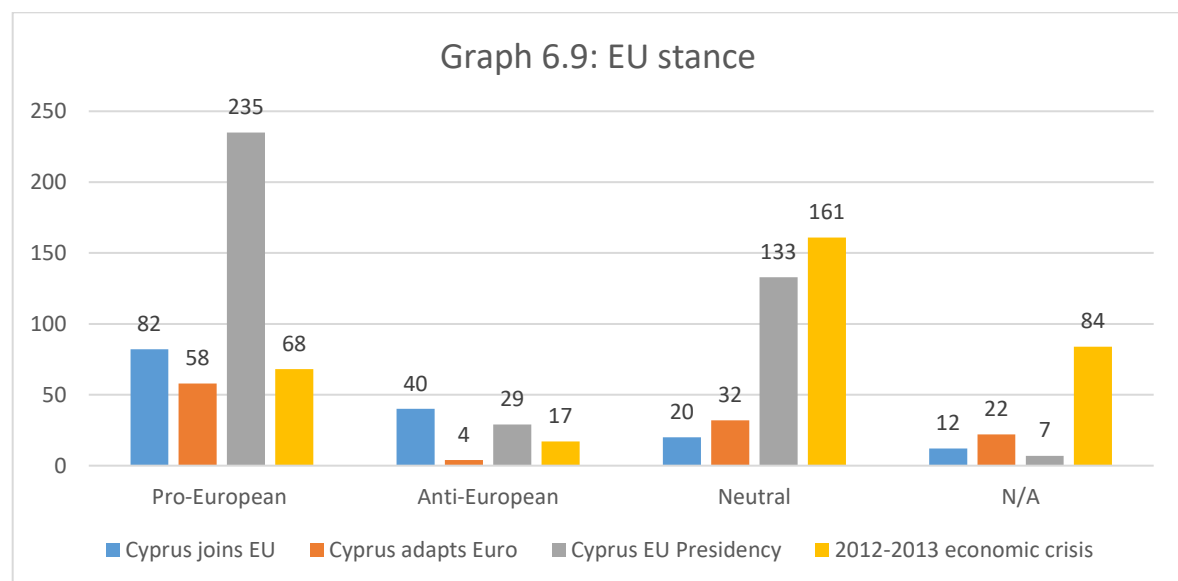
Although reporting is restricted to the national framework, adapting a European angle in the coverage of institutions may lead to a positive effect on the integration process, as reference to political actors in a news story can promote political discourse. To achieve this, European institutions should improve journalists' access to information about them; the research conducted by Morgan (2013), highlighted in subchapter 2.4, identified the issue of access to information on the part of journalists who consider that the EU does not communicate its activities effectively (Williams, 2005). Hence, the improvement of this process would assist journalists to report more easily on the EU to their media, leading to a reduction of the EU's democratic deficit and enhancing the European integration process.

In sum, the internal and external factors that create obstacles to the coverage of European news may affect what is reported from Brussels to the national media systems. The fact that the national media systems consider EU news less important than national news suggests that EU news stories are given less attention. These problems can have an impact on the image of Europe, which is presented in a negative way and not with a focus on the possibly beneficial developments that are taking place in the Union. In

addition, the close link between politics and the press in a democratic society to the development of public opinion, leads to the conclusion that, the Cypriot newspapers play a role in the formation of their readers' views of the EU and so assist the integration process in their member state.

Examining the stance of the Cypriot press towards the EU in the case studies, a generally pro-European attitude may be observed. Looking at the categories at the below graph, the 'pro-European' category refers to the articles that included a positive approach, while the opposite applies to the 'anti-European' classification. Concerning the 'neutral' category, it refers to the articles with neither a positive nor a negative approach, while the 'not applicable' category refers to the stories that did not display any stance towards the EU.

**Graph 6.9: EU stance**



The neutrality in the reporting of the economic crisis in Cyprus towards the EU can be explained as a method for journalists to report the European news instead of commenting them. Thus, 'the reality of ethical journalism is based on the idea of virtuous conduct, facilitating the democratic process and serving the public interest' (Belsey, 1998:11). At the same time, journalists are expected to be critical of politicians



and events to cope with the intentions of the political elites and serve the public interest, an action that is part of journalistic ethos.

To implement these media functions, there should be a homogeneous audience with common social, political and cultural values, seeking information with a national context while at the same time, it neglects or appears indifferent to the news that do not belong in that framework. Erbing et al. (1980: 24(1)) argued that ‘attention and perception operate selectively; people tend to seek out and attend to information which they anticipate will be relevant, casually bypassing or forgetting that which is not’. Cypriot journalists, in their effort to make citizens interested in the European news, adapt their reporting in such way so that citizens would feel closer to the EU. As Dionysis Dionysiou, editor-in-chief of Politis newspaper declared:

We cover the European news through a national approach. For example, if a decision will be taken in Brussels about the economy or any EU-related decision, the angle we take is related to the national interest and how this will affect the Cypriot citizens. We do want to be a pro-European newspaper because we believe that the EU is not something unfamiliar to us and we try to pass that message to our readers.

An example of a news story with a pro-European approach comes from *Phileleftheros* where, in respect of the introduction of the euro in Cyprus, the newspaper included an exclusive message from the former European Commission President, José Manuel Barroso, who welcomed Cyprus into the eurozone, stating the importance of the Monetary Union to the EU integration process and the benefits of this development in the Cypriots’ daily lives. As Barroso stated:

## Καλώς ήρθες, Κύπρος, στη ζώνη του ευρώ

Μήνυμα του Προέδρου της Κομισιόν, Μπαρόσο, προς τους Κυπρίους μέσω του «Φ»

**Μ**ΗΝΥΜΑ προς τους Κύπριους πολίτες, στέλνει μέσω του «Φ», ο Πρόεδρος της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής, José Manuel Barroso, με την ευκαιρία της ένταξης της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας στην ζώνη του ευρώ. Στο μήνυμά του, ο κ. Μπαρόσο σημειώνει πως, μόλις πριν από τέσσερα χρόνια, η Κύπρος προετοίμαζε για την προσχώρησή της στην ΕΕ και η πιθανότητα υιοθέτησης του ευρώ φαινόταν ένας μακρινός μόνος στόχος. Ωστόσο, τον Ιούλιο η Κύπρος άνοιξε με βήματα για την προσαρμογή της στην οικονομία των ανεπτυγμένων πολιτικών και την εφαρμογή των μέτρων μεταρρυθμίσεων. Έτσι, η Κύπρος εισέρχεται στη ζώνη του ευρώ ως ασταθής χώρα, με ένα ισχυρό οικονομικό μέλλον και

**Η ΕΕ θα συμβάλει στην επίλυση του Κυπριακού**

ρομπιστάκι μπροστά της. Σήμερα, οι προοπτικές προσιμότητας για τη μετάβαση στο ενιαίο νόμισμα έχουν προκαρτερήσει εντυπωσιακά. Λέγονται συγκεκριμένα σε όσους βοηθούν να φθάσει η Κύπρος, σ' αυτό το σημείο. Είναι βέβαιος ότι θα αποτελέσει το εφαλτήριο για ακόμη μεγαλύτερες επιτυχίες στο μέλλον. Αυτό το νόμιμο, θα πάλει να επεκταθεί την ευκαιρία για την εξέταση μιας γενικής λύσης που θα επέτρεπε σε ολόκληρη την Κύπρο και τους κατοίκους της να κερδίσουν χωρίς καμία αμφισβήτηση το οφέλη της συμμετοχής τους στην ΕΕ και στην ζώνη του ευρώ. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Επιτροπή θα συνεχίσει να κάνει κάθε τι που είναι ανθρώπινα δυνατό για να βοηθήσει στην εξεύρεση μιας λύσης για αυτό το πρόβλημα, το οποίο γνωρίζει ότι απασχολεί όλους τους πολίτες της Κύπρου.

Παραμένει η πρόκληση για μια πολύ σημαντική στην

Τιμάται ότι η Κύπρος μπορεί έτσι να νιώσει μεγάλη περηφάνια και εισέρχεται σε μια ισχυρή οικονομική περιοχή με περίπου 250 εκατομμύρια κατοίκους, όπου παράγεται το 55% του παγκόσμιου ΑΠΕ.

Το την Κύπρος, τα οικονομικά οφέλη που θα φέρει το ευρώ θα είναι σημαντικά.

Η ακόμη ο εδαφισμός που χαρακτηρίζει το ευρώ θα δώσει μια ισχυρή αίσθηση στις βιαιότητες, επενδύσεις, ενώ η εξοφλήση των οικονομικών υποχρεώσεων και του κόστους αναδόχων θα καταστήσει την Κύπρος πιο ελκυστικό εμπόριο ελπίο, πράγμα ιδιαίτερα ευχάριστο για τις επιχειρήσεις. Για την Κύπρος, αυτό αντιπροσωπεύει σημαντικό πλεονέκτημα δεδομένου ότι περισσότερο από το ήμισυ των επιχειρηματικών συναλλαγών σε εμπόρευμα της Κύπρου πραγματοποιείται με χρήση μέρη της ζώνης του ευρώ. Οι επιχειρηματικές συναλλαγές σε υπηρεσίες με τη ζώνη του ευρώ αναμένονται σε περίπου το 30% του συνόλου. Όπως και όλα

τα άλλα κράτη μέλη της ΕΕ, η Κύπρος αντιμετωπίζει τη στιγμή αυτή αυξανόμενες πιέσεις για την ενίσχυση και ανάπτυξη όλων των τομέων της οικονομίας. Ωστόσο, πιο μακροπρόθεσμα, η υιοθέτηση του ευρώ από την Κύπρος, εκτός από τη συμβολή της στη μεγαλύτερη ανάπτυξη και τη δημοκρατία θέσεων απασχόλησης, θα εξασφαλίσει καμιά ποσοστό πληρωσιμότητας που μπορούν να διατηρηθούν και να παραμείνουν με βιώσιμο τρόπο. Αυτό θα απαιτήσει σφοδρά τις σωστές οικονομικές πολιτικές, όπως μια ισχυρή δημοσιονομική πολιτική και την προαγωγή ανώτερων τεχνολογικών γνώσεων.



### Σημαντικά τα πολιτικά οφέλη από την ένταξη

**Η ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ** στην ζώνη του ευρώ προσφέρει επίσης σημαντικά πολιτικά οφέλη, σύμφωνα με τον κ. Μπαρόσο, ο οποίος σημειώνει τα εξής στη συνέχεια του μηνύματός του. Η Κύπρος θα έχει αναμνηστικό λόγο σε διεθνή χρηματοπιστωτικά δρώμενα και διεθνή πλαίσια διαπραγματεύσεων, «η μεγαλύτερη επιφορά εντός της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης. Επίσης, η συμμετοχή της Κύπρου στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση με μια φωνή στην οποία οι υποστηρικτές της ζώνης του ευρώ έχουν αυξανόμενη επιφορά στην «κρίση» της οικονομικής πολιτικής της ΕΕ.

Αυτά δεν είναι τα μόνο οφέλη που μπορεί να προσφέρει η Κύπρος. Οι Κύπριοι μπορούν να είναι περήφανοι για τον ρόλο τους στην ανάπτυξη της αλληλεγγύης και της κατάρτισης των «βασικών» που διακρίνουν το σύστημα, και έτσι καλύτερα σε θέση να ανακρίνουν τις τιμές δεδομένου ότι μπορούν να χρησιμοποιούν το δικό τους νόμισμα σε όλες τις χώρες της ζώνης του ευρώ. Αλλά και τα τελέδια εντός της ζώνης του ευρώ γίνονται ευκολότερα δεδομένου ότι το ευρώ είναι ένα διεθνές νόμισμα και, συνεπώς, γίνεται ευ-

κολότερο από ποτέ να παλέψει εντός της ζώνης του ευρώ, και όπως σε τουριστικές προαγωγές. Το ευρώ είναι το σύμβολο της κοινής μας ταυτότητας, των κοινών αξιών μας και της επιτυχίας της ευρωπαϊκής ολοκλήρωσης που ένωσε τους λαούς και το έδαφος της Ευρώπης. Αποτελεί το εργαλείο για ακόμη καλύτερη ολοκλήρωση διεκδικώντας ότι η ένωση των κρατών μιλών μπορεί να προσφέρει ανεκτίμητο οφέλη σε όλους τους συμμετέχοντες. Είναι καλό για όλη την Ευρώπη που η Κύπρος αποτελεί πλέον και αυτή μέλος αυτής της οικογένειας.

On the occasion of the country's introduction to the Euro, the President of the European Commission, José Barroso, addresses a message to all Cypriots through Phileleftheros. 'Cyprus has adopted a strong and stable currency which helps Europe to withstand global financial instability and high energy and commodity prices. Cyprus is today more than ever a proud and independent island. It has cemented its place in the heart of the EU, increased its economic potential and influence and made it easier for its businesses to trade and its people to travel', said Mr Barroso.

This direct statement incorporates a pro-European angle as Barroso refers to the introduction of the euro in Cyprus and its importance, while the publication of the whole statement adds to the point that this newspaper was creating a feeling of integration amongst its readers. A closer look of the article reveals a tendency on the journalist's part to domesticate the news and fit it into the Cypriot context. More specifically, the article-statement refers to the economic and political benefits that would be derived from the introduction of the euro in Cyprus and hence, this development appears to have a social, political and financial significance for the country.

Despite their political views and/or affiliations, ‘newspapers treat European news differently to the national news’ (Kevin, 2013:180). In this respect, Yiorgos Tzivas, political editor of *Politis* newspaper, declared the following about his newspaper’s coverage of European news:

Primarily we cover issues that have a direct impact on Cyprus and not those relating to the rest of the EU. Thus, we see news from a national angle and not spherically. If, for example, there is a story related to Ireland or France, we tend to overlook it, and this is not a European approach.

The journalist identified the domestication of news while also admitting to the absence of a spherical way of thinking and a more European angle in the reporting. This phenomenon raises the issue of what drives the news agenda in a newspaper; according to Wahl-Jorgensen and Lewis (2011: 101) ‘public opinion plays a minimal role in driving the news agenda. The agenda is set by politicians and other elites. As such, political news is usually about what politicians are doing and not necessarily about what people want them to do’.

In this sense, criticism is important for political events because it promotes discussion amongst citizens and form public opinion and consequently the European public sphere. The various types of commentary articles (e.g., commentaries, editorials, columns, letters to the editor and so on) operate in favour of public discussion, while other types of articles (e.g., reports, news stories and so on) that are factual, and objective provide the necessary information on, and background to, the latest developments for readers (Fleming, Hemingway et al.: 2006).

### 6.3 Conclusions

The chapter examined empirically the Cypriot press coverage of EU-related events in relation to the constantly evolving process of European integration. Following the empirical research, the general conclusion is that in most of the case studies there was a ‘national angle’ in the coverage of EU affairs, influenced by the social, political and economic developments that were taking place in the country at the time. Moreover, the Cypriot journalists, with their notion of public interest, downgraded the European news on their agendas or presented EU affairs in terms of the impact to the country and to public opinion.

The Cypriot press remains in favour of the EU, despite the national angle in the news coverage. In the newsrooms of the Cypriot press, there is the belief that the news domestication of the European news makes the latter more appealing to readers. The domestication of news is associated with the ways in which the press presents Europe to the readers, may assist to preserve the homogeneity, the national pride and self-esteem within the nation state however it may act against the European integration process, as readers might think more as ‘Cypriots’ and less as ‘Europeans’.

For Cypriot journalists, readers are not interested in EU affairs, and in that context, they believe that they are aware of what the public wants to read and the ways in which they can facilitate this in their daily reporting. Although they consider that there is room for improvement in reporting EU affairs and that more space could be dedicated to EU news, the domestication of news as a common journalistic practice may lead citizens to think more as nationals and less as Europeans and consequently delay the European integration process. This phenomenon might lead to the creation of extreme political movements, such as nationalist groups and parties that have emerged in Europe during the recent years.

On the issue of objectivity, it was scholarly argued that journalists should be objective in their news presentation, with balanced reporting of news stories. However, the findings of this chapter suggest that this does not apply and that Cypriot journalists concentrate on simply reporting the European news than commenting them. Journalists in Western liberal democracies assigned objectivity with four different connotations: absence of personal subjectivity, fairness in presenting the relevant sides, scepticism toward all sides, and the provision of factual context (Donsbach and Klett, 1993).

In the pursuit of truth, objectivity can be said to encourage a worthy goal to the extent that journalists seek to be fair and thorough, use verifiable facts, and step back from their own personal and organisational interests. Interpreted more narrowly, objectivity has been less useful or even harmful when it simply reinforces prevailing power relationships and conceals underlying values that are taken for granted.

Lastly, the pro-European coverage of the news can have a positive impact to the formation of the Cypriot public opinion and to the enhancement of the European integration process leading to an increase of the notion of 'Europeanness' among the readership in Cyprus. In the process of European integration, the media play a key role in bringing Europeans closer together and making them feel more integrated with each other. Considering that there is no 'pan-European' media system that could serve all the citizens of the member states, the integration process needs to go through the national media, which tend to think more in national than in European terms.

## **CHAPTER 7: EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE CYPRIOT PRESS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter empirically investigates the construction of the European public sphere through the coverage of the Cypriot press. Considering the findings of the theoretical discussion on European integration (see Chapter 3) and considering that the public sphere is a field for broader discussion and exchange of ideas and information (Habermas, 1989), along with the presence of different national public spheres within the EU, the absence of a common European public sphere imposes a dependence on the national public spheres (Habermas, 1989).

The chapter aims to explore the role of the Cypriot press with the coverage by the press of four EU-related events (Cyprus joins the European Union, Cyprus adopts the Euro, the country's European Council Presidency, and the 2012–13 economic crisis) and its importance to the formation primarily of a public sphere within the national context and secondly to the construction of a European public sphere.

### **7.2 Discussing the European public sphere in Cyprus**

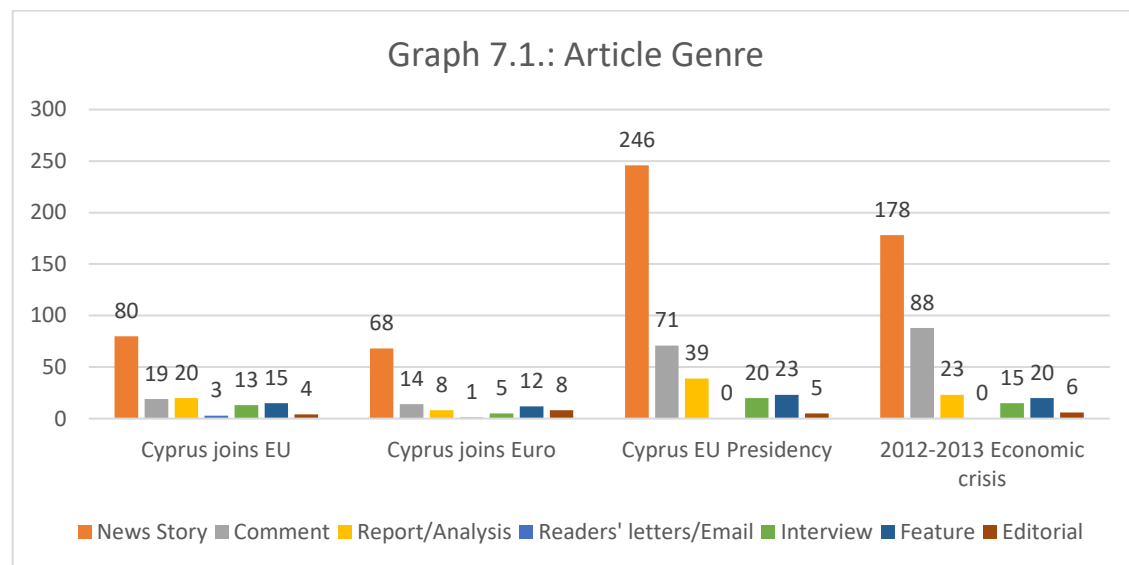
From the empirical research, two themes were identified: a) the domestication of news noted in all the case studies; b) the journalists' efforts to report EU news in such a way as to influence readers-citizens within the national public sphere, leading to the promotion of a public discourse.

#### **7.2.1 News domestication and the European public sphere**

The project has demonstrated a tendency for Cypriot journalists to domesticate the European news as a way of making it more appealing to their audiences. This part

aims to examine empirically the role of the Cypriot press in the formation of a European public sphere through the coverage of EU affairs. Graph 7.1 highlights the various article genres of the examined case studies. The examined newspapers tended to produce Europeanised articles, whereas the developments in the EU were included and seen from a national standpoint.

**Graph 7.1: Article genre**



The first thing one notices in Graph 7.1 is a tendency in the Cypriot press to include more news stories than any other genre, while comments are also included in the empirical examples. Specifically, both *Phileleftheros* and *Politis* included 572 news stories (out of 1,004 articles in total) with the majority from the Cyprus EU presidency and the economic crisis empirical examples, while there were 192 commentaries in which editors expressed their views on the European developments in Cyprus.

With the existence of homogeneity in the national public spheres within the EU taken as a *de facto* occurrence by journalists and the absence of a European public sphere, the latter becomes dependent on the former (Schifirnet, 2010). In the national public spheres, the media address national, homogeneous audiences that share common

values and customs, while the diversity that exists in the EU and in the public spheres imposes a challenge for media to report the EU to transnational audiences. Thus, journalists report European news from a national angle to become more appealing to their national audiences; nevertheless, the ways in which the domestication of news helps towards the formation of a European public sphere and assists the European integration process should be discussed.

As discussed in the relevant theoretical chapter (see Chapter 3), a solution that has been mentioned by scholars (e.g., Gerhards, 2000:293–6; Eilders & Voltmer, 2003: 253–4) is the Europeanisation of national public spheres, where the coverage and criticism would not be restricted to a national level but would have a European angle. In this context, the media have a role to play in communicating the EU and its developments not through their national eyes but through a Europeanised prism. Considering the Europeanisation of national public spheres as a process, there is a role for the media in influencing and forming public opinion. Furthermore, taking into account that the public sphere is a social and communicative infrastructure of democracy and acts as the engine of democratisation, it could be argued that ‘the “European public sphere” is the prerequisite for better governance, legitimacy and citizen’s participation in the emerging European polity’ (Trenz, 2008:46-7). In this context, it can be assumed that publicity secures debate and broader discussion on EU-related issues between citizens and to ‘overcome the EU’s lack of legitimacy and public involvement, then the European integration from above must be accompanied by a Europeanization of public communication’ (Koopmans, 2003:3).

In the case of the Cypriot press, the reporting of European news occurs through a national perspective, making any changes to EU news reporting a challenge. The formation of public opinion within the public sphere is a process in which the press can



be a driving force and citizens could engage in discussions on European affairs, in this thesis' case. The absence of a pan-European public sphere makes the formation dependent on the country's national public sphere while the domestication of European news may help the preservation of national identity, according to Ito (see subchapter 3.3.1). However, it influences Cypriot public opinion to think more within the borders of their own country and to forget that the country is part of a broader Union of European countries. In the same vein, there are other issues that affect the reporting of the European news, as identified by Katerina Zorba from *Politis*:

Emphasis is given to domestic news and issues that are rarely on the front page and, on the other hand, the economic crisis that hit Cyprus and the EU's stance, which was considered hostile by the society. In addition, several media made cuts for economic reasons, including their correspondents in Brussels.

According to Zorba, the focus on the national news reveals an interest on the part of readers in receiving information about what is happening in their region, while the domestication of news was due to the 'hostile' stance of the EU during developments that influenced the society negatively, such as the financial crisis.

In this case, it is expected that there would be a negative portrayal of the EU due to the impact the financial crisis had on Cypriot society. As a result, Cypriot public opinion was expected to be opposed to the EU's policies, despite any positive view that may have been expressed in the past (see Harcourt, 2015).

However, this is not always the case in the Cypriot press, as there are domesticated articles that incorporate a Europeanised angle. For example, in a

commentary regarding the beginning of the Cypriot EU presidency, former MEP Antigoni Papadopoulou gave a national angle on a pan-European event, focusing on the obligations of the Cyprus government. As she stated:

We are in the first days of the Cypriot EU presidency of the European Union. [...] The Cypriot presidency takes place unfortunately at a period where our country has asked for help from the European Stability Mechanism of the EU. During the next weeks, we will need to prove that this assistance will not affect the handling and credibility of a state that is leading the European Council. We will be dealing with issues of major national importance which need synergies, constructive facing and involvement from everyone: government, parliament, political parties, organised groups of the society, citizens, and mass media. Together we can make it.

Image 7.1: 'At the beat of the Presidency' (Phileleftheros 8/7/2012)

**Της Αντιγόνης Παπαδοπούλου**



**Με συλλογικό-τητα, σοβαρό-τητα και πλήρη επιγνώση του καθήκοντος και των υπο-χρεώσεών μας, ως εργαζούμε συλλογικά, τί-μη και αποφά-σιστικά**

### Στον αστερισμό της Προεδρίας

**ΔΙΑΝΥΟΥΜΕ** ήδη τις πρώτες μέρες της Κυπριακής Προεδρίας στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Όπως αναμενόταν, τα μάτια των Ευρωπαίων, και όχι μόνο, έχουν στραφεί προς τη Λευκωσία, η οποία καλείται να ανταποκριθεί στις σοβαρές ευθύνες και υποχρεώσεις που ανέλαβε, σε πραγματικά δύσκολες εποχές. Η Κυπριακή Προεδρία φιλοδοξεί να κινηθεί στο πλαίσιο που καθορίζουν οι τέσσερις βασικές της προτεραιότητες, οι οποίες έχουν εκ των προτέρων καθοριστεί και στοχεύουν σε μια Ευρώπη: πιο αποτελεσματική, ανταγωνιστική και δίκαιη, με αποδοτικότερη οικονομία, βασισμένη στην ανάπτυξη, με τη δημιουργία συνθηκών αλληλεγγύης και κοινωνικής συνοχής με επίκεντρο τον πολίτη, που βρίσκεται πιο κοντά στις γειτονές της και έχει σημαντικό ρόλο στον κόσμο.

Ο δεύτερος άξονας που αναφέρεται στην ανάγκη μιας πιο αποδοτικής οικονομίας βασισμένης στην ανάπτυξη, είναι αναπόφευκτο, ο πιο σημαντικός αν λάβουμε υπόψη τη συνεχιζόμενη οικονομική κρίση που πλήττει χώρες-μέλη της ΕΕ, συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της Κύπρου. Η οικονομική κρίση αντιδράει την ανάγκη για περισσότερη και καλύτερη Ευρώπη, μεγαλύτερη σόδα και αποτελεσματικότητα των πολιτικών της. Από τα αδιασφαγή και αρνητικά αποτελέσματα της κρίσης και των λανθασμένων πολιτικών μονόπλευρης λιτότητας και περικοπών. Κάτω από αυτές τις δραματικές συνθήκες, η Κύπρος, αναλαμβάνει για πρώτη φορά, την Προεδρία της ΕΕ. Παρά το μικρό μέγεθος και τη συνεχιζόμενη ημικατοχή της, η χώρα μας καλείται να συμβάλει στην αποτελεσματική διαχείριση κορυφαίων ζητημάτων που αφορούν το παρόν και το μέλλον της ΕΕ, με σημαντικότερο από αυτά, τη συνδιαλλαγή για συνοχή ενός πολυπολικού δημοκρατικού πλαισίου για τα επόμενα χρόνια 2014-2020. Στη βάση αυτού του πλαισίου, θα χρησιμοποιηθούν οι Ευρωπαϊκές πολιτικές για επίτευξη των επιβλητικών πρωτοβουλιών της Ευρωπαϊκής Στρατηγικής ΕΕ 2020. Με δεδομένη, ωστόσο, τη στάση κάποιων χωρών και τα αλληλοσυγκρουόμενα συμφέροντα, ο μεγαλύτερος αυτός στόχος, καθίσταται ιδιαίτερα δύσκολος. Οστόσο αν επιτευχθεί, θα θεωρηθεί μεγάλη συμβολή και επιτυχία της Κυπριακής προεδρίας. Η οικονομική κρίση και οι δραματικές της συνέπειες απαιτούν ορθολογιστική αντιμετώπιση και δημιουργία αναγκαίων μηχανισμών που να μπορούν να αντιμετωπίσουν τυχόν μελλοντικές κρίσεις αποτελεσματικότερα. Η Κυπριακή Προεδρία θα επιδιώκει την ανάκαμψη των ευρωπαϊκών οικονομιών με πολιτικές που να συνδυάζουν τόσο μέτρα δημοσιονομικής εξυγίανσης όσο και μέτρα για βιώσιμη οικονομική ανάπτυξη. Η ανάληψη της προεδρίας, συμπέμπει δεσφικώς και με την προκοπή της Κύπρου στο Μεσογειακό Ση-ρίως της ΕΕ. Τις επόμενες εβδομάδες θα πρέπει να αποδείξουμε πως αυτή η προκοπή, δεν θα επηρεάσει τους χειρισμούς και την αξιοπιστία ενός κράτους, που προεδρεύει του Ευρωπαϊκού Συμβουλίου.

Με συλλογικό-τητα, σοβαρότητα και πλήρη επιγνώση του καθήκοντος και των υποχρεώσεών μας, ως εργα-ζούμε συλλογικά, τίμη και αποφασιστικά, τους επόμε-νους έξι μήνες, θα διεκδικήσουμε διάφατο ανθρώπινο δυνα-μικό, γνώσεις και εμπειρίες. Ας δουλέψουμε ως ομάδα, για να αντιμετωπίσουμε με επιτυχία τόσο στις ανάγκες της Προεδρίας.

Πρόκειται για ζήτημα ύψιστης εθνικής σημασίας που για να ευδοκιμήσει χρειάζονται συνέργεια, εποικοδομη-τική αντιμετώπιση και εμπλοκή όλων, Κυβέρνησης, Βου-λής, πολιτικών κομμάτων, οργανωμένων συνόλων της κοινωνίας, των πολιτών και των ΜΜΕ. Μαζί μπορούμε.

\* Η Αντιγόνη Παπαδοπούλου είναι ευρωβουλευτί- (ΔΗΚΟ, Ε.Ε.). [www.antigonipapadopoulou.com](http://www.antigonipapadopoulou.com)

This commentary discusses a European event from a national angle, highlighting the importance of a nation state within a European environment. Following the same pattern with news domestication, the commentary makes a clear effort to raise the morale of the citizens during this pan-European event by taking a national angle in its statements, despite the fact that the writer belongs to a political party and is expected to reflect the views of that party. The interventions of politicians, considered as opinion leaders, help the engagement of citizens within the public sphere as their opinions are important within a democratic society. Silke's (2015) argument that Europeanised debates are strongly dominated by powerful actors referred to the elites (e.g., Koopmans, 2007) while he stressed that the 'media focus on the output side of politics' (Wessler et al., 2008).

Considering that EU referenda as well as European Parliament elections have been identified as triggering factors for the Europeanisation of national public spheres (e.g., Boomgaarden et al., 2010), the example of the 2019 European elections in Greece refers to the press coverage of a pan-European development with a national angle. The Greek press devoted its coverage to the outcomes of the European Parliamentary elections while the focus was on developments in the national political scene. On the next day of the elections, right-wing newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* (Liberal Press) devoted its front page to the national elections, stating that there had been a 'Blue [i.e., main colour of the right-wing party] triumph which demolished Tsipras', while centre-leaning newspaper *Democratia* (Democracy) had as its headline 'Finally they (i.e., SYRIZA) are leaving – national elections on June 30', declaring discontent with the governance of Tsipras' party.

Image 7.2: Greek newspapers front pages (Eleftheros Typos/ Democratia) 27/05/2019



The national mass media can be considered as the principal fora within which a Europeanised public sphere can be materialised (Gerhards, 1993:96–110) although they ‘tend to focus on EU issues from a national perspective and rarely reference other member states or non-national actors’ (Sifft, Brüggemann et al., 2007:140). In the same context, MEP Lefteris Christoforou referred to the coverage of EU affairs in the Cypriot press, stressing that

I believe that there could be a broader coverage of important news, developments, and happenings of the EU, from the press. There is a shortage of updates, which to a great extent is because of the EU who failed to become the centre of substantial information for the member states, and it does not make substantial efforts for the enhancement of information channels. At many times, European news are only referred to in just a column and are not given the attention they deserve by the majority of Cypriot citizens.

For Christoforou, the limited existence of European news in the media is related to the inability of the EU to sufficiently inform the media and, to a greater extent, the European citizens, about EU developments. The gap between the institutionalised debates and the general public is created because citizens are ‘lacking the ability to link, filter, and synthesize themes and topics in a general European public sphere, so that the citizens can form positions and express opinions about problems and solutions aired in the civil society’ (Eriksen, 2005:355). In Eriksen’s words, there must be a single, common European public space, accessible to all, so that public opinion can be expressed freely and openly. To achieve that, there should be ‘dissemination of a European news agenda’ that ‘becomes an integral part of citizens’ daily or routine media consumption’ and ‘enables them to define their citizenship [see Chapter 4] beyond the national level and in European terms’ (Schlesinger, 1999:277).

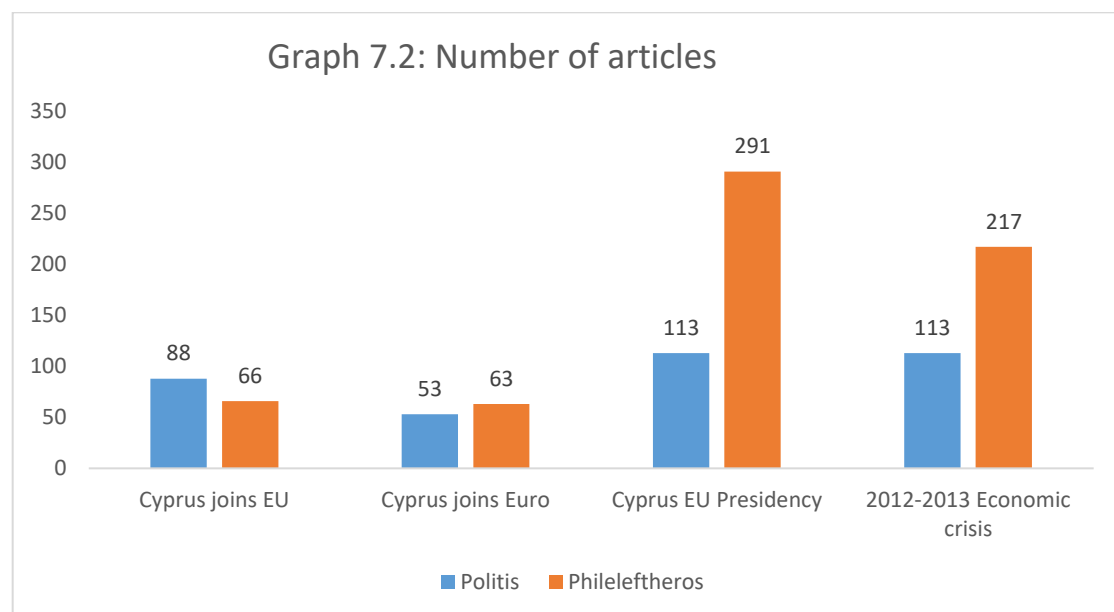
This European news agenda needs to become more appealing to the readership so that the formation of public opinion among Cypriots can be achieved. While news domestication appears as a common method in the media to attract readers to EU affairs, journalists consider EU news as less important than national news. In order to change the public’s views on Europe, the media should change the EU news coverage by taking a more European angle, so that Cypriot public opinion would feel closer to the EU.

Putting the above within the context of European integration, it can be said that an increase in the visibility of European issues in public debates requires the media to attribute salience to topics of EU integration on their agenda; the media may enhance Europeanisation by highlighting the issue of EU integration prior to other issues (Pfetsch, Adam, and Eschner, 2010). This can be achieved ‘by providing editorial space for the European and EU member-state actors’, which will lead the media to ‘prevent the closure of the debate and contribute to overcoming purely national perspectives’

(Pfetsch, Adam, and Eschner, 2010:78). The ability of national media to ‘provide with direct responsibility, support, or criticism to actors outside the national realm defines whether debates can be described as national, transnational, or European’ (Pfetsch, Adam, and Eschner, 2010:153).

In the case of Cyprus, both examined newspapers give space to the coverage of EU affairs, with *Phileleftheros* (broadsheet) including more articles than *Politis* (tabloid). As regards the press and the prevailing attitudes towards integration through the public sphere, Pfetsch, Adam, and Eschner (2010:223) revealed that ‘quality newspapers are not as distinct from regional, and tabloids as expected. Only in the continental European countries does the quality press give more relative weight to Europe than the regional and tabloid outlets.’

**Graph 7.2: Number of articles**



As can be observed, *Phileleftheros* overall included more articles on the case studies, while *Politis* included fewer stories but was at times more critical of EU developments. The notable point is that, in the case studies of the European Council Presidency and the 2012–13 economic crisis in Cyprus, *Phileleftheros*’s coverage was

double that of *Politis*. Thus, it can be argued that both newspapers report extensively on EU affairs but that the degree and form of Europeanisation differ according to the media analysed (Pfetsch & Heft, 2015).

In Cyprus, there is ‘a continuing shift towards online media with a gradual decline of the written press’ (Media Pluralism Report – Cyprus, 2020). According to the report, the readership surveys showed that the total readership of daily newspapers has slightly recovered to 12.3% (from 11.5% in 2017) on weekdays and there has been a marginal drop to 17.2% from 18% on Sundays.

The media regulatory framework for both commercial media and the Public Service Media remains the same since mid-2011 which saw the transition to digital television (IRIS Merlin, 2019), while the regulatory framework has not been adapted to the changing media landscape. Regarding freedom of expression in Cyprus, the report claims that it ‘remains strong and well protected but the risks for media pluralism remain unchanged due to the lack of adequate action to respond to challenges emerging in the digital environment’ (2020:109). The report refers to the political independence of the media showing a medium risk increase (from 45% in 2017 to 59%), while there are strong democratic credentials and fair election processes in Cyprus, though political interference in the media is also strong, especially in the state broadcaster CYBC (Cyprus Broadcasting Cooperation) and in the Cyprus News Agency.

In this media landscape, the European news are being reported in the Cypriot press through various perspectives, but in most cases with a national angle. This creation of European discourse within the national public sphere of Cyprus aims to increase interest in European news among Cypriots, so that they would feel closer to the EU by becoming interested in the political developments that take place beyond the borders of the nation state. Considering what was mentioned about news domestication

in the media and the public sphere (see subchapter 3.3.2), it can be argued that Cypriot journalists use the domestication of European news to make the EU more accessible to its readers while the positive representation may prove to be helpful to the European integration process.

An example of a news story with a positive angle comes from *Phileleftheros*; entitled 'Change of mentality', it refers to the introduction of the euro in Cyprus. The journalist emphasises the importance of the common currency in Cyprus, providing an overview of the key events in the country's history, including its 2004 EU accession. The article refers to the country's accession to the EU and argues that the country needs to go through radical changes to be a part of the European family. Among other things, the article stated

The new European environment demands a change in the ways in which we approach our daily lives. Harmonisation with the *acquis communautaire* (the inclusion of all EU treaties and laws) cannot be achieved only through the legislative process but needs to be implemented in our daily routines. There is a need for a change of mentality. It is important to overcome the logic of misery and the behaviour of losers.



Image 7.3: ‘Change of mentality’ (article in *Phileleftheros*: 3/1/08 p.5)

ΠΕΜΠΤΗ 3 ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ 2008 Ο ΦΙΛΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ

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ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΕΣΩ

## Αλλαγή νοοτροπίας

**Η ΕΝΤΑΞΗ** της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας στην ευρωζώνη, είναι ένα σημαντικό βήμα για τη χώρα, τόσο πολιτικά όσο και οικονομικά. Ήδη, οι ειδικοί έχουν αναλύσει τα πλεονεκτήματα αυτής της ιστορικής εξέλιξης και έχουν προδιαγράψει τα οφέλη, όπως και τα πιθανά προβλήματα που θα προκύψουν στη διάρκεια, κυρίως της μεταβατικής περιόδου. Της μετάβασης, δηλαδή, από τη λίρα στο ευρώ.

**Είναι** προφανές πως μετά που θα περάσει ο συνήθης ενθουσιασμός των πρωτάρηδων, θα αντιμετωπίσουμε τις πραγματικότητες. Είναι, όμως, αρκούτσως σημαντικό να δει κανείς, με μια ματιά προς τα πίσω, την πορεία προς τα νέα δεδομένα. Πέρασαν χρόνια δίσεκτα, πολυτάραχα με πολλά πωγυρίσματα. Η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, στάθηκε όρθια μετά την εισβολή του 1974 και οικοδόμησε μια οικονομία, η οποία της επέτρεψε να μην παραδοθεί στα επεκτατικά σχέδια της Τουρκίας. Απέρριψε σχέδια υποταγής σε ευρύτερους σχεδιασμούς, που δεν την εξυπηρετούσαν.

**Η ένταξη** στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση την πρωτομαγιά του 2004 και η προσχώρηση την πρωτοχρονιά, προχθές, στην ευρωζώνη, αποτελούν τα μεγαλύτερα επιτεύγματα των Κυπρίων, που εδώ και τέσσερα περίπου χρόνια, ζουν σε ένα νέο περιβάλλον, το ευρωπαϊκό.

**Το νέο ευρωπαϊκό** περιβάλλον, επιβάλλει και αλλαγή προσέγγισης για όλες τις εκφάνσεις της ζωής. Η εναρμόνιση με το κοινοτικό κεκτημένο, δεν μπορεί να γίνεται μόνο διά των νόμων αλλά να εφαρμόζεται στην καθημερινότητά μας. Υπάρχει ανάγκη αλλαγής νοοτροπίας. Να ξεπερασθεί εκείνη η λογική της μίζεριας, της πττοπαθούς προσέγγισης.

**Είμαστε** στην Ε.Ε., έχουμε κάνει σημαντικά βήματα, καλύπτουμε κριτήρια και προϋποθέσεις, γι' αυτό και θα πρέπει να αντιμετωπίζουμε το μέλλον, από αυτή την οπτική γωνία. Δεν είμαστε «κυνηγήμενοι», αλλά μέρος μιας οικογένειας στην οποία ενταχθήκαμε με το σπαθί μας. Δεν μας χαρίστηκε κανείς, ούτε και έγιναν εκπτώσεις για να ενταχθούμε. Ούτε και εμείς, ως Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία, συμμετέχουμε στο κλαπ αυτό μόνο και μόνο για να γλυτώσουμε από τους Τούρκους.

**Ενταχθήκαμε** γιατί όντως θα μας βοηθήσει η συμμετοχή μας αυτή, στην εξεύρεση λύσης του Κυπριακού, με ευρωπαϊκές προδιαγραφές. Όμως, επλέξαμε την Ένωση, καθώς το μέλλον μας είναι σε αυτή την οικογένεια και οφείλουμε τις στρατηγικές μας στοχεύσεις και τα οράματά μας, να τα εντάξουμε σε αυτή την κοινή πορεία.

**Του Κώστα Βενιζέλου**



Δεν μας χαρίστηκε κανείς

”

In this comment the journalist stresses the need for change in Cypriot society to meet EU values. There is an apparent instance of news domestication where the journalist sees the country's accession as a positive development that will increase the country's prosperity, while he raises his concerns of possible impact on the Cypriot national identity. This commentary was an example of a pro-European approach with a critical stance towards the national angle, amidst the country's accession to the EU, encouraging citizens to engage in a broader discussion within the framework of the national public sphere on the significance of being part of the EU family. Thus, engaging citizens into a broader dialogue on EU-related matters within the national public sphere can prove beneficial for the development of a European public sphere.

In the case of the Cypriot press, the newspapers reported on the public's views, while journalists claim to be aware of what is in the public interest and what their readers' interests are from the European news coverage. Concerning the interest of the Cypriot citizens in the European news, Theano Theopoulou from *Phileleftheros* stressed that

For the average Cypriot reader to be interested in EU affairs, the topic should either be close to his/her interests, or it should touch on the resolution or settlement of his/her own issues. Otherwise, I do not think that the average Cypriot reader will be interested in European affairs.

For Theopoulou, any European development that does not have immediacy to the daily lives of Cypriots creates a lack of interest. For example, a decision of the European Council against Turkey regarding the unresolved Cyprus problem would gain the interest of the Cypriots, while if there were news articles about other member states unrelated to Cyprus, then journalists might not include them in their daily reporting; and if they did, these developments might not get the necessary attention from the readers. Thus, journalists domesticate the European news to make them more attractive to their readership. Along the same lines, Charalambos Michael, editor of financial magazine *INBusiness*, argued that

I do not believe that Cypriots are interested in EU affairs. The EU seems a bit distant, a bureaucratic labyrinth that has difficulty communicating properly the role and purpose for which it was created, especially in times of crises where more disagreements and the attempt to serve each

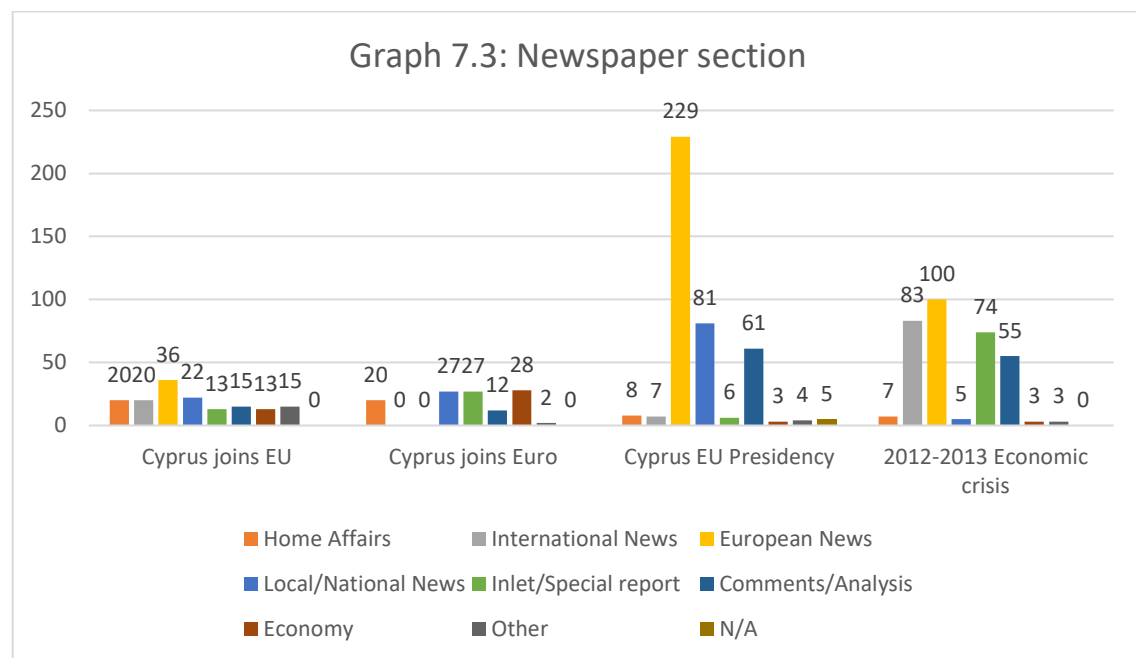
country's national interests the best possible way was portrayed instead of the solidarity between member states. During the recent economic crisis, it was reported that the same measures did not apply to all countries while no solidarity was shown to the member states that needed it.

Michael identified the EU as a bureaucratic organisation, distant from the citizens' problems, while he claims that the image of the EU has been affected negatively in times of crisis due to its lack of unity and solidarity among member states. This perception that the EU is a remote and unaccountable organisation supports Schmitter's (2003) theory, as well as Leonard's (1998:61–6) argument, as stated in Chapter 2, that, concerning the unpopularity of the Union, negative reporting may lead to an increase of the EU's democratic deficit. In order to reverse this, the EU should establish the necessary mechanism to inform citizens about the benefits of the country's membership and how the EU's decision-making process affects the daily lives of its citizens (Lee, 2014).

In order to achieve the formation of a European public sphere through the national public sphere in Cyprus, the media should report on the European news through a broader European angle and make efforts to reduce the news domestication phenomenon. This action could lead Cypriots to think more as Europeans and less as nationals of their country and, to a greater extent, feel more integrated with other Europeans.

Speaking about coverage of European news, Graph 7.3 portrays the types of articles being reported by journalists, and the sections in which these stories were placed, so as to gain a better understanding of the European news coverage.

**Graph 7.3: Newspaper section**



An initial observation is that, for the majority of the articles, there was a European approach, leading editors-in-chief to add them under the ‘European news’ section; specifically, for the EU presidency and financial crisis empirical examples, the majority of articles were reportedly under the ‘European news’ section. This can be translated as an effort by journalists to cover the policymaking areas and the decisions taken by the Cypriot government. Another notable point was the high number of comments and analyses included an element that may lead to further engagement of citizens within the public sphere.

The categorisation of the press coverage in the Cypriot press revealed that there is ground for the development of a European public sphere through the national one, as most of the news stories were included in the ‘European news’ category. Aristos Michaelides, editor-in-chief of *Phileleftheros*, argued that his newspaper reports the European news through a national perspective. As he stressed:

Whenever we deal with the European news and our readers read the way we do it, we report it as it is a national topic. For example,

if we report about the EU, we will not report on the matter through a different angle, but we will adapt it in our national context. This helps readers realise that the European news are their own news.

Michaelides makes clear reference to the domestication of the European news as a mean to attract more readers who will feel more familiar with this type of news. Although there is an interest from both journalists who report the European news, and from Cypriot citizens as recipients of the information about EU developments, the domestication of European news is seen by professionals to address the readership. Translating these results and putting them into the context of the public sphere, it can be argued in line with Michaelides' argument that news domestication is seen by journalists as a method of familiarisation of the European news within the national public sphere. Considering that the formation of a European public sphere is dependent on the national one, and Grimm's argument that a European public sphere can be constructed only if the media offer content in many languages to reach broader European audiences, it can be said that the formation of a European public sphere is a difficult process. The Eurozone financial crisis and the most recent Covid-19 pandemic negatively affected the global economy, including the Cypriot one. Panagiotis Gregoriou from *Simerini* newspaper in Cyprus declared about the financial situation in the Cypriot press that

Most newspapers in Cyprus are understaffed and this causes issues to the workload and to the coverage. The economic crisis has shrunk the capacity of the newspapers, and this has created a series of effects, such as the reduction of revenue, staff redundancies and expenses. In this climate, newspapers are making efforts to overcome these difficulties.

In this environment, the media in Cyprus need to cope with financial problems and the global economic stagnation. Clausen (2004:171) referred to this issue and stressed that ‘the ability to gain access to local sources through their own offices and correspondence around the world is determined by the financial situation and policy of the news media. In this case, the investigative media have financial means and connections worldwide to develop their own stories.’ Thus, it can be said that, depending on the financial status, the media will dedicate more resources to reporting the international and European news, while the domestication of news appears more often during times of economic difficulties or of crisis. For instance, the importance of the reporting on Brexit has been identified in the work of Khabaz (2018) who highlighted the term *undemocratic EU* in most of the newspaper articles of the ‘Leave’ campaign, increasing the negative reporting of the EU and, in a sense, requesting readers/voters to go against the ‘dysfunctional Super-State’ and to regain the UK’s national sovereignty. Hence, the negative representation of the EU affects public opinion negatively and has an adverse impact on the European integration process.

However, any negative portrayal of the EU is associated with the impact of the development on the public; for events with an adverse impact on the society (e.g., economic crisis, Covid-19 pandemic and so on), the reporting is expected to be negative, while on occasions with beneficial impact on society, the media reporting has a positive angle.

In Cyprus, the press takes an overall positive approach towards the EU. An example of such an article was found in *Politis* newspaper, which on 1 January 2008 (the first day of the euro’s circulation) dedicated almost its entire issue to this pan-European event. In this article, entitled ‘Euphoria and concern’, the journalist reflected

on the introduction of the euro to Cyprus and on the changes in the daily lives of the Cypriot people. The article takes a national angle, even though the euro was also being introduced in other countries. Amongst other things, the article stated:

The change of currency in our country has affected our daily lives and most of all the lives of elderly citizens. ‘We will end up in ... jail by the time we become familiar with the Euro’ joked the elderly car park attendant when he was given some Euro coins for the first time.

Image 7.4: ‘Euphoria and concern’ (article in Politis: 01/01/2008 p.24)



The article recorded the citizens’ reactions to the pan-European development of the introduction of the euro, which was covered by the Cypriot press from a national angle. This confirms the presence of the coverage of European news from ‘a national angle even if several of the included contributions gave broader perspectives and made comparisons with the other’ (Semetko et al. 2000:145). In addition to Semetko’s arguments, Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2016:115–23) declared that the media

constructed a ‘national filter perception of Europe’ within the national public spheres that are specific to particular national contexts and provide various sets of interpretations of Europe. Thus, there are two major elements concerning the public sphere: the first is the news domestication of a pan-European event and the second is the public reaction towards this stance in order to reduce the EU’s democratic deficit.

Taking into consideration the views on the democratic deficit and public communication expressed by Koopman (see subchapter 2.3) who stressed that public involvement is necessary for the European integration process and is a way to reduce the democratic deficit in the Union and, putting this into the context of the case studies, it can be stated that the Cypriot press, through news domestication, is trying to bring the Union closer to its readership. Hence, journalists operate as they do in a national public sphere by reporting the news from a national standpoint so as to address the nation’s public. Thus, the theory that was expressed by Eilders/Voltmer (see subchapter 2.3) on the reasoning behind news domestication applies in the case of the Cypriot press, which operates in ‘national’ rather than in ‘European’ terms.

The lack of a pan-European media system that could promote a common public sphere in the Union makes this process more difficult, and therefore any attempt to develop it needs to take place in the context of the national media systems. The question that arises, therefore, is how a European public sphere can be constructed within the national ones and to what extent this applies to the Cypriot press. Considering the daily coverage of European news, Cypriot newspapers domesticate their EU-related stories, so that these are appealing to their homogeneous readership.

An example of such coverage can be found in the financial edition of *Phileleftheros* and was related to the financial crisis in Europe. Focusing on the emergence of the economic crisis in Cyprus, the newspaper reported on the



developments of the MoU between the Republic of Cyprus and the Troika (European Commission, International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank) with a national angle in its reporting. As it reported:

In December 2011 it seemed that there was consensus for an eight-measures package which included the ‘freezing’ of salaries in the public sector, the contribution of the private sector, an increase in the taxation of companies’ shares, an increase in VAT and a reduction of social welfare. [...] So today we are at the point where we fear bankruptcy.

*Image 7.5: ‘Without obstacles the MoU fallout’ (Financial Phileleftheros 23/12/2012 p.6)*



The article negatively portrays the EU which, as part of the Troika, had implemented a series of austerity measures on the country. As regards the reporting, this remains factual and not critical, while the domestication of European affairs on a matter that affects the country remains a reality. In such a negative environment, it is expected to have similar reactions to the national public sphere and public opinion, while public engagement on European affairs is expected to take place within the public sphere. As

was previously mentioned, public engagement and political participation are valuable elements for the operation of a public sphere, as both elements can promote European integration and citizens can feel more active politically and socially.

In sum, the empirical research revealed that the Cypriot press domesticate EU affairs because journalists believe that this method can lead to an increase of citizens' interest in EU affairs and also, to a certain extent, to eradicate the existing democratic deficit. However, this process does not always appear to operate in favour of the development of a European public sphere and the European integration process, due to the fact that public opinion can be formed positively or negatively, depending on the reporting and on the journalistic stance towards the Union and the public engagement within the national public sphere.

In the same vein, it was noted that the media play a pivotal role in a democratic society and in encouraging the engagement of citizens in public discourses regarding the European news. The absence of a European public sphere makes it dependent on the national ones and the media help towards the formation of public opinion. The empirical studies showed that the Cypriot press helps the development of public opinion on EU-related matters, and through the news domestication process, they try to make those matters more appealing to their readers.

### **7.2.2. European news reporting and the European public sphere**

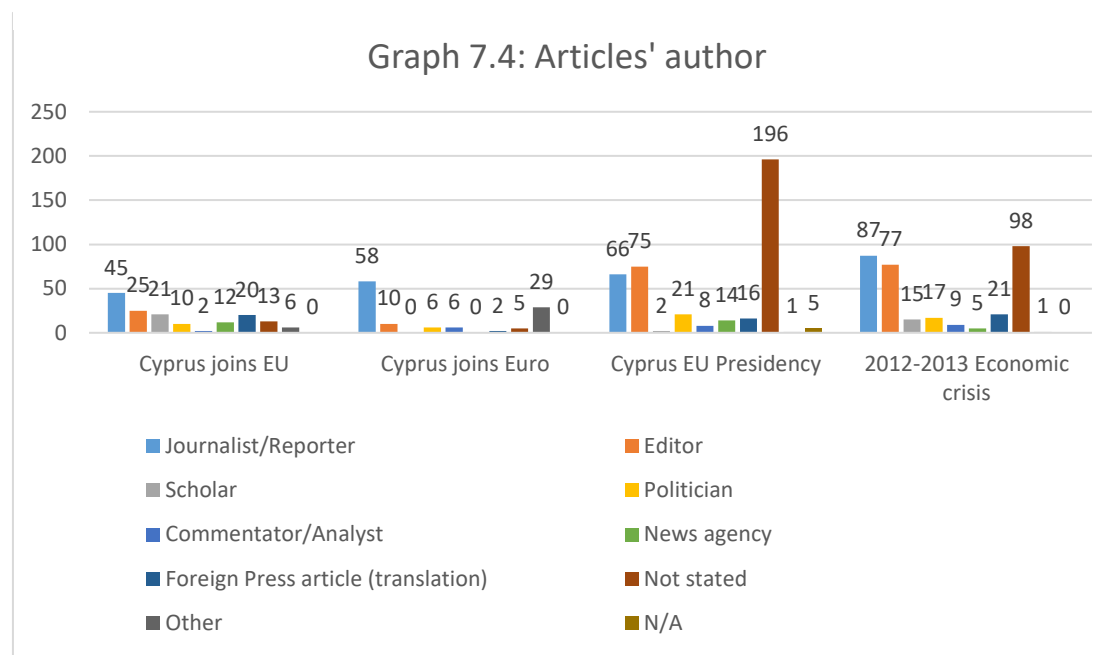
The reporting of the European news and the ways this contributes to the formation of a European public sphere is a topic that needs to be investigated at this point of the project.

Most people form their opinions based on opinion leaders that influence the media. Initially, opinion leaders are exposed to specific media content, and interpret it

based on their own opinion. Then they infiltrate these opinions through the general public and this process gives them the title of ‘opinion leaders’, defined as the ‘individuals who exert an unequal amount of influence on the decisions of others’ (Rogers & Catano, 1962:435) or as the ‘opinion brokers who carry information across the social boundaries between groups’ (Burt, 1999:37). In this process, social influence is being created and adjusted by the opinions of each specific ‘elite media’ group, and by these media groups’ opposing ideals and opinions and in combination with popular mass media sources. Therefore, the leading influence in these opinions is primarily a social persuasion.

Graph 7.4 provides information concerning the role of opinion leaders in the empirical examples where there is a reference to those people who can influence public opinion and assist in the European integration process in Cyprus. The above definition adds to what was mentioned earlier in the thesis concerning the construction of public opinion in the European public sphere (see Chapter 2) and especially to what was mentioned by Iosifidis (2011:25) about the ways in which public opinion emerges in the national public sphere.

**Graph 7.4: Articles' author**



A first conclusion is that, in all case studies, journalists and editors wrote the majority of articles while there were many news stories with undisclosed authors. In addition, a small number of articles were written by academics and scholars who are considered as ‘opinion leaders’ and have the ability to influence public opinion and help the formation of the public sphere through their comments, editorials and analyses that encourage public engagement.

Newspaper commentaries play an important role in promoting public discussion and forming public opinion (Christodoulides, 1998:47). As was discussed in subchapter 2.3, citizens’ participation in the media is essential to the construction of the public sphere, as it enhances political engagement within the borders of the member state and assists the integration process (Castells, 2000). The coverage of European news can help the engagement of political discourse within the public sphere as the reporting, either positive or negative, may influence readers and, to a greater extent, form public opinion.

An example came from *Time* magazine which dedicated an issue in September 2018 to the Italian Matteo Salvini, leader of the Eurosceptic party ‘Lega di Nord’ (League of the North). Entitled ‘The new face of Europe’, the magazine referred to Salvini’s battle against migration flows in Italy, stressing in its subtitle that ‘Matteo Salvini, the immigration czar, is on a mission to undo the EU’. The title frames Salvini as an anti-European and a leader opposed to migration from third countries that puts at risk the solidarity of the EU.

**Image 7.6: Salvini on Time magazine (24/09/2018)**



Salvini stated in the magazine that ‘we are working to recover the European spirit that has been betrayed by those who lead this union’, declaring at the same time his willingness to ‘change the European dynamics’. *Time*’s correspondent Vivienne Walt, in her interview with Salvini, highlighted that ‘as Europe began dealing with an unprecedented influx of migrants from the Middle East and Africa, Salvini sensed an opportunity, broadening the League’s message to encompass a trenchant nationalism (and in the process dropping the Northern from its name)’. According to Walt, ‘He (i.e., Salvini) seized on Italians’ frustrations over their debt-laden economy, sluggish growth

and a more than one-third youth unemployment rate and minted a new slogan with Trumpian echoes: Italians first.’ ([ANSA](#), 2018)

As discussed in Chapter 2 (see subchapter 2.2), populism in the EU has gained ground during times of crisis, such as the Eurozone economic crisis, expressing a dissatisfaction with the political parties and with an increased sense of the individual’s efficacy (Muddle, 2007). Speaking to the *common people*, populism takes advantage of social, political, and economic crises to express a rhetoric of discontent on the current situation and the need for a change. Topics such as economic inequality and cultural backlash are part of left-wing populism while illegal immigration and economic stagnation are included in right-wing rhetoric. The conflicts in Syria and the migration flows from the Eastern Mediterranean to Western European countries have been in the lens of right-wing populist parties in the EU, with some European leaders expressing a very unfriendly opinion about the migration problem the Union has been facing since the breakout of atrocities in Syria. Migration has been on the European public agenda from the emergence of the war in Syria and continues to be an important issue within national public spheres in the member states, especially for the countries of the Mediterranean (Greece, Italy, Cyprus, Malta, Spain) which face increasing migration flows.

Debomy & Tripier (2017:117), referring to Italian public opinion, highlighted that ‘Italy, though not far from the citizens of Greece and Cyprus, has more negative feelings and vision of immigrants’ contributions than average. Italy differs by being particularly poorly (a minority) disposed to the idea that refugees should be helped. The country follows the European average on the principle of a common European migration policy (although it calls slightly more for national action and slightly less for EU action to fight against illegal immigration); and, alongside Greece and Cyprus, it is

very much in favour of a better distribution of asylum-seekers among member states (although less inclined to allocate financial support to the most exposed countries). In short, with a considerably more negative vision of immigration than the citizens of the previous countries, Italians seem to be particularly expecting concrete European measures to help to solve the problems it causes for them’.

The Italian example reflects Atikcan’s views on the role of journalists on reporting, which may lead to the rise of anti-European movements and populist groups within the society. While these examples identified the ways in which journalists cover European news and how they help the formation of public opinion, it is essential to look at Cypriot journalists’ views concerning the feelings of their readers when reporting European news. Katia Savva, from *Politis* newspaper, stressed that ‘from the exit polls that our newspaper has conducted, our readers are young, highly educated people, who are in a position to understand the benefits from the accession to the EU as well as the negative issues that arise from this development’. Furthermore, Dorita Yiannakou of *Phileleftheros* stressed that ‘during the economic crisis there was negative portrayal of the EU while on other topics the reflection might have been positive’.

An example of a positive stance towards the Union comes from *Politis* newspaper at the introduction of the common European currency in Cyprus, a development that was welcomed with both enthusiasm and concern. The newspaper dedicated a series of articles about the benefits of the euro in the daily lives of citizens, as a way to inform and educate Cypriots about the currency. It reported:

The common currency offers new enhancements and opportunities, due to the integration and the size of the Eurozone economy, creating an efficient common market. With the common currency, exchanges

within the Eurozone have been more cost-effective and encounter less dangers.

Image 7.7: The benefits from the introduction of the euro (Politis, 01/01/2008 p.16)

Γιατί χρειαζόμαστε το ενιαίο νόμισμα

## Οφέλη από την εισαγωγή του ευρώ

**Όταν** ιδρύθηκε η ΕΕ το 1957, τα κράτη μέλη επικέντρωσαν τις προσπάθειές τους στη δημιουργία μιας "κοινής αγοράς" για το εμπόριο. Με τον καιρό έγινε, ωστόσο, σαφές ότι χρειαζόταν στενότερη οικονομική και νομισματική συνεργασία για να μπορέσει η εσωτερική αγορά να αναπτυχθεί και να λειτουργήσει αποδοτικότερα, ώστε το σύνολο της ευρωπαϊκής οικονομίας να σημειώνει καλύτερες επιδόσεις, με περισσότερες θέσεις απασχόλησης και μεγαλύτερη ευημερία για τους Ευρωπαίους. Το 1991, τα κράτη μέλη ενέκριναν τη συνθήκη της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης (συνθήκη του Μάαστριχτ) και αποφάσισαν ότι η Ευρώπη θα είχε ένα ισχυρό και σταθερό νόμισμα τον 21ο αιώνα.

Τα οφέλη που προκύπτουν από το ευρώ είναι πολλαπλά και γίνονται αισθητά σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα, στους ιδιώτες, τις επιχειρήσεις καθώς και στις οικονομίες ως σύνολο και συνίστανται μεταξύ άλλων στα εξής: • Περισσότερες επιλογές και σταθερές τιμές για τους καταναλωτές • Μεγαλύτερη ασφάλεια και περισσότερες ευκαιρίες για τις επιχειρήσεις και τις αγορές • Βελτίωση της οικονομικής σταθερότητας και ανάπτυξης • Βελτίωση της ενσωμάτωσης των χρηματοπιστωτικών αγορών • Ισχυρότερη παρουσία της ΕΕ στην παγκόσμια οικονομία • Από σημιά της ευρωπαϊκής ταυτότητας Πολλά από τα οφέλη αυτά είναι αλληλένδετα. Για παράδειγμα, η οικονομική σταθερότητα

τα ωφελεί την οικονομία ενός κράτους με τους επενδυτές διευκολύνει τον κυβερνητικό σχεδιασμό για το μέλλον, ωφελεί, όμως, και τις επιχειρήσεις διότι μειώνει την αβεβαιότητα και τις ενθαρρύνει να πραγματοποιούν επενδύσεις. Ταυτόχρονα ωφελεί και τους πολίτες καθώς δημιουργούνται περισσότερες και ποιοτικότερες θέσεις απασχόλησης.

### Πώς προκύπτουν;

Το ενιαίο νόμισμα προσφέρει νέα ώθηση και ευκαιρίες λόγω της ολοκλήρωσης και του μεγέθους της οικονομίας της ευρωζώνης, καθιστώντας αποτελεσματικότερη την ενιαία αγορά. Πριν από το ευρώ, η ανάγκη μετατροπής των νομισμάτων δημιουργούσε επιπλέον κόστος, κινδύνους και έλλειψη διαφάνειας στις διασυνοριακές συναλλαγές. Με το ενιαίο νόμισμα, οι συναλλαγές στην ευρωζώνη είναι αποτελεσματικότερες από πλευράς κόστους και εμπερικλείουν λιγότερους κινδύνους.

Στο μεταξύ, η δυνατότητα εύκολης σύγκρισης των τιμών ενθαρρύνει το διασυνοριακό εμπόριο και τις επενδύσεις κάθε είδους από μεμονωμένους καταναλωτές που αναζητούν προϊόντα χαμηλού κόστους, από επιχειρήσεις που αγοράζουν υπηρεσίες με την καλύτερη τιμή, καθώς και από μεγάλους θεσμικούς επενδυτές που επενδύουν αποτελεσματικότερα στην ευρωζώνη χωρίς τους κινδύνους που συνεπάγονται οι συναλλαγματικές διακυμάνσεις. Στο εσωτερικό της ευρωζώνης λειτουργεί σήμερα μια μεγάλη ολοκληρωμένη αγορά που χρησιμοποιεί το ίδιο νόμισμα.



ρωζώνης λειτουργεί σήμερα μια μεγάλη ολοκληρωμένη αγορά που χρησιμοποιεί το ίδιο νόμισμα.

### Παγκόσμια οφέλη

Η σημασία του ενιαίου νομίσματος και το μέγεθος της ευρωζώνης δημιουργούν επίσης νέες ευκαιρίες για την παγκόσμια οικονομία. Το ενιαίο νόμισμα καθιστά την ευρωζώνη περιοχή ελκυστική για επιχειρήσεις τρίτων χωρών με αποτέλεσμα την προώθηση του εμπορίου και των επενδύσεων. Η συνετή οικονομική διαχείριση καθιστά το ευρώ ελκυστικό αποθεματικό νόμισμα για τέτοιες χώρες και ενισχύει την παρουσία

σία της ευρωζώνης στην παγκόσμια οικονομία.

Το μέγεθος της ευρωζώνης και η συνετή διαχείριση εξασφαλίζουν, επίσης, οικονομική σταθερότητα, καθιστώντας την ευρωζώνη ανθεκτικότερη στους εξωτερικούς οικονομικούς κραδασμούς, όπως ενδεχόμενες ξαφνικές οικονομικές αλλαγές εκτός της ευρωζώνης, που διαταράσσουν τις εθνικές οικονομίες, π.χ. παγκόσμιες αυξήσεις της τιμής του πετρελαίου ή διαταραχές στις παγκόσμιες συναλλαγματικές αγορές. Το μέγεθος και η ισχύς της ευρωζώνης της επιτρέπουν να απορροφά καλύτερα απίους τους εξωτερικούς κραδασμούς χωρίς απώλειες θέσεων απασχόλησης και μείωση των ρυθμών ανάπτυξης.

### Κατανόηση

Η οικονομική σταθερότητα και η ανάπτυξη δεν επιτυγχάνονται μόνο με το ευρώ, αλλά και με τη συνετή διαχείριση της οικονομίας στην ευρωζώνη σύμφωνα με τους κανόνες της συνθήκης και του συμφώνου σταθερότητας και ανάπτυξης, του σπουδαιότερου στοιχείου της οικονομικής και νομισματικής ένωσης (ΟΝΕ). Δεύτερον, ως βασικός μηχανισμός για την ενίσχυση των πλεονεκτημάτων της ενιαίας αγοράς, της εμπορικής πολιτικής και της πολιτικής συνεργασίας, το ευρώ αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο μέρος της οικονομικής, κοινωνικής και πολιτικής δομής της σημερινής Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

As can be seen, there was a positive angle on the benefits of the euro, while the significance of the common currency to the European integration process was highlighted. With this in mind, one would expect that such coverage could influence positively the public sphere and could educate Cypriots in a way that would help them feel that they belong to a Union of countries of the European continent. However, it is essential to note that newspapers in Cyprus operate within a market-driven environment and report on issues that interest the readership. Following the interviews conducted for this project, senior editors mentioned their belief that their readers do not find EU affairs interesting compared to the news taking place within the country. In addition, editors-in-chief affirmed that this lack of interest in EU affairs leads to a reduction in newspaper sales and, hence, they are trying to cover other news derived from the national spectrum that would sell more newspapers. Costas Constantinou from *Politis* commented:



I must stress that newspapers need to ‘sell’ the European news. And that is because the EU news are difficult to be read even for the journalists, because when a news story comes from our sources, this comes in a very bureaucratic language and that is a problem. We do need to emphasise the European news but there is also a lack of staff to cover these issues, yet again it is essential to ‘sell’ the European news to the public and make sure that they read the news.

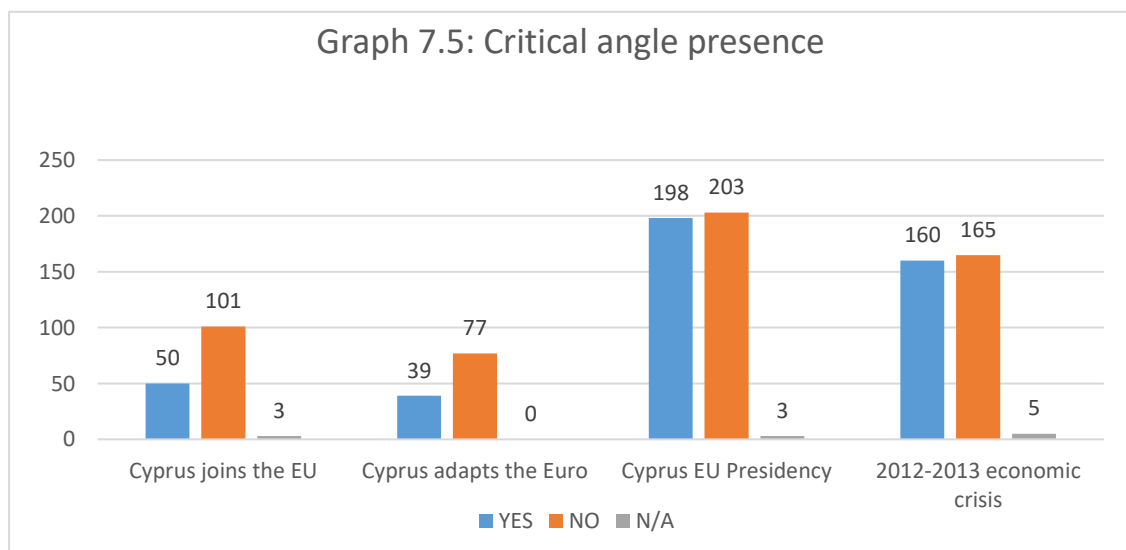
Regarding the journalist’s point about the lack of staff to cover European issues, this phenomenon has been observed in the Cypriot press in the past and was intensified during the financial crisis years, when newspapers encountered shortage of funds and had to struggle to survive. As a result, European news were treated as ‘second-order’ by journalists, who were focusing on the coverage of national developments. Hence, the national public sphere discussions are overwhelmed by the news concerning Cyprus and not the EU, a development that may operate as an obstacle to the construction of a European public sphere. Moreover, Lefteris Christoforou MEP commented about the construction of a European public opinion through the Cypriot press:

I believe that public opinion is educable and formattable. Interest in the European news from the citizens is directly connected to the European education, European perception and European culture that is developed in every country. Cypriot citizens have not realised that 90% of their lives, economy and everyday lives are affected by the decisions of the EU institutions. I believe that Cypriots will start to be interested in the

European news, if the media enact European news in the main news presented, if the state intensifies the updating of European news, if politicians are paying attention to European developments, and if society realises that Cyprus is a remote island; but at the same time a vital part of Europe, and what is decided in Brussels concerns everyone.

For Christoforou, the interest in European news arises from the creation of a common European mentality, which could operate within the national public sphere and be in favour of the EU, where all participants would be involved: citizens, politicians, media and educators. The citizens' engagement in public discourse can be beneficial for the construction of a European public sphere and for the European integration process. In the interactions concerning European news, it is expected there will be critical voices both in favour of and against the EU. In order to examine this phenomenon in the context of the Cypriot press, Graph 7.5 shows the presence or absence of a critical angle in all the articles analysed in the case studies. The categorisation of each article in relation to the existence of a critical approach towards

**Graph 7.5: Critical angle presence**



the EU was made following careful analysis of each article to identify any criticism concerning the examined EU-related events.

At first glance, there is a lack of critical thinking in European news in the first two empirical examples (Cyprus joins the EU, Cyprus adopts the euro), while there is more criticism in the other two events. This phenomenon can be translated in two ways: initially, the positive angle of these developments (Cyprus joins the EU, Cyprus adopts the euro) did not give ground for criticism and, secondly, the overall lack of interest of citizens concerning the European news, as discussed earlier in the chapter, which leads journalists to analyse them to a lesser extent.

Concerning the first point, the empirical examples relating to the accession of the country to the European family and the introduction of the euro in Cyprus were two developments with a positive impact on the society. As one might expect, events with a positive angle have an optimistic coverage, while news stories that have a negative impact on the society receive greater criticism from the media. Considering that ‘the media's own voice can be derived from editorials and press commentaries which constitute the institutionalised and legitimate format for journalists and editors to explicitly take stands in actual controversies’ (Koopmans & Pfetsch, 2005:221), it can be said that the critical stance of the empirical examples by the Cypriot press encourages citizens to engage further within the national public sphere, by reflecting on the publicity and expressing their views on it. The Europeanisation of the national public spheres, where ‘EU affairs, actors and institutions become increasingly important in the political discourses of the different EU member states’ (Meyer, 2005: 20) and actors are viewed from a European angle and not from a national point of view (e.g., Gerhards, 2000: 293–6; Eilders/Voltmer, 2013:253–4) can prove beneficial for public engagement with EU affairs through the national public sphere.

The general ‘commercialisation’ of the media leads to the point that news stories need a ‘national angle’, a ‘personality story’ or an ‘element of scandal or panic’ (Kevin, 2015:175). Kevin links news domestication with the Europeanisation of national public spheres and, at the same time, stresses that the market-driven media need a national angle. The Cypriot press share the same characteristics as other European newspapers in respect of the reporting and coverage of EU affairs; journalists are aware that their newspaper is ‘commercialised’ and profit-driven, and for that reason, they take a national angle in their reporting of EU news to make them more appealing to their readership. For instance, *Politis* (8/5/2004 p.4) presented the results of a Eurobarometer survey, as these were recorded prior to Cyprus’s accession to the EU. Among other things, the article stated:

The stance of the EU during the referendum, which was in opposition to the wishes of the Greek Cypriot leaders, had the effect of creating a ‘dramatic’ reduction in the percentage of people who supported the Cypriot EU accession. This is highlighted in the Spring Eurobarometer, which notes the reduced support for the accession process among the citizens of all the new member states, with the highest percentages being recorded in Cyprus (42%).

**Image 7.8: ‘Lack of trust’ (*Politis*: 8/5/2004, p. 4)**



The article is reporting on the attitude among the Cypriot society toward EU enlargement, a pan-European development with a positive impact on the EU and it remains critical about the reduction in the Cypriot supporters of this EU development. Although the article recorded an overall satisfaction of the public for the country's accession, there were voices in the society that were opposed to this development.

Considering that the media help to form public opinion within the public sphere and that journalists are considered to be the gatekeepers of the public interest (Habermas, 1989), the media, through their reporting, may have influenced Cypriot public opinion in such a way as to lead to this reduction in the number of supporters of the country's accession and to a possible lack of interest in the European news.

This lack of interest in EU affairs on the part of Cypriots is related to the second point made, an explanation being given by Aristos Michaelides, editor-in-chief of *Phileleftheros*, who stated: 'my instinct tells me that citizens prefer, in some cases, to get informed on the surface while in other news, they prefer more in-depth analysis. As regards EU news, one must have more knowledge so that he/she is able to comprehend the news.'

The above statement incorporates two noteworthy points, the first related to the journalistic instinct on matters that interest citizens, and the second on the lack of the citizens' education concerning the European news. In relation to the first point, the formation of public opinion takes place within the public sphere where the media tend to report news stories with a public interest. Journalists appeared to be interested in the public's views, although there were moments (and that was more apparent in the interviews conducted) when the journalists followed their instinct, claiming that they are aware of what is of interest to the public and what aspects of the European news readers want to read.

As the coverage of European news addresses citizens within public spheres, who will engage in discussions and form public opinion, the media should inform citizens about EU affairs and, if necessary, educate them so that they will be able to understand the EU better. Former EU Commissioner Markos Kyprianou stressed:

I believe that most Cypriots are interested in European news only if they feel that these affect them. They are not interested in the more general EU issues and debates. In my view this is natural, given that the average citizen must deal with so many challenges in their daily life. This is why I believe that the media have an educational role to play further to their strictly informational one. But I feel that this can be successful only if the opinion leaders follow the same approach.

For Kyprianou, the media should work collectively with opinion leaders for the education of citizens in European affairs. Informing citizens of what is happening around them (i.e., the ‘monitoring functions’ of the media) is part of the daily work of the media and can be beneficial for the public interest; however, educating citizens ‘as to the meaning and significance of the facts’ may operate as a way to protect the journalists’ objectivity (McNair, 2017:18–20).

In sum, the public tends to engage in discussions through the national public sphere but, due to the national approach, Cypriots perceive European news as ‘second-order’ and of less significance, compared to national developments. The empirical research showed that the overall approach of the examined newspapers toward the case studies was positive or neutral, leading to the conclusion that such an approach is likely

to have a positive impact on the construction of a European public sphere through the national public sphere.

### **7.3 Conclusions**

The construction of a European public sphere depends to a great extent on the national public sphere and on the media, which act as mediators between the European institutions and citizens. The media operate within the national framework of the public sphere, which includes homogeneity with shared values, culture and norms that can easily be addressed.

Public engagement in the construction of the public sphere through the media is perhaps one of the most democratic elements in a society, as it encourages public political discussion. This can be described as a positive step towards the formation of a European public sphere as it enables readers to express their views on EU-related issues while the press accomplishes its role as mediator in the society.

The dependence of the formation of a European public sphere on the national ones was shown in the empirical research which revealed that Cypriot journalists cover European news primarily through a national prism and only secondarily from a European aspect, as they support the view that readers consider European news to be less important than national news. Thus, they domesticate the European news in order to make them more appealing to national audiences, to encourage public engagement within the national public sphere and increase their readership. The domestication of news has led Cypriots to think mainly as nationals and less as members of the European family.

In the same vein and depending on the reporting and on the ways EU-related developments affect Cypriot society at large, citizens may have either a positive or negative stance towards the EU and this is reflected in the newspapers' coverage.



## **CHAPTER 8: EUROPEAN CITIZENSHIP AND THE CYPRIOT PRESS**

### **8.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the ways in which the Cypriot press have assisted in the construction of European citizenship through their EU-related news coverage. Adopting as a fundamental assumption Williams' view (2010:7) that the media have a key role to play in the political participation of citizens and therefore in the development of a European citizenship, this part of the thesis explores the ways in which the Cypriot press assists, or does not assist, the formation of that citizenship by reflecting on the press coverage of EU-related events.

The construction of European citizenship through the Cypriot press has been theoretically examined earlier in the thesis (in Chapter 4). With a particular focus on the empirical research, this part examines and analyses the news coverage in the Cypriot press and the ways in which it promotes the construction of European citizenship and assists the European integration process. In order to achieve this, the chapter discusses the findings of the empirical research concerning the formation of a European citizenship.

The results of the empirical research revealed two key points: the domestication of European news, where journalists present EU developments from a national angle, in order to attract readers who are expected to feel closer to the Union; and objectivity (or the lack of it) in reporting, which can influence the construction of European citizenship.

### **8.2 Discussing European citizenship in Cyprus**

This discussion is divided into two parts: in the first part the domestication of the European news in the Cypriot press is examined, while the second part deals with

the role of the reporting of EU affairs in the formation of European citizenship in Cypriot society. As was mentioned in the earlier empirical chapters, journalists in the country domesticate European news in order to make them more appealing to their readership. What is yet to be examined, however, is the impact of this reporting on the formation of European citizenship and identity.

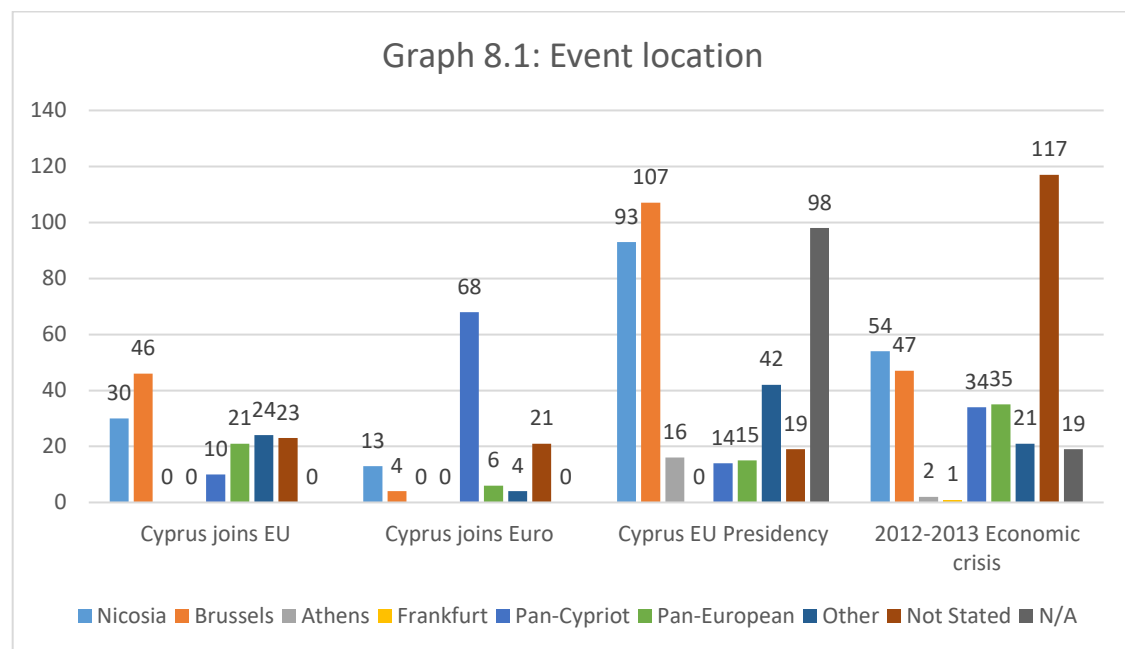
As regards the issue of objectivity in reporting and the critical journalistic evaluation of European news in Cyprus, the empirical research in the previous chapters revealed that the Cypriot press presented the European news mostly in a neutral or positive way and depending on the impact on the society, journalists take a critical stance towards the EU. These tendencies on the part of the press were seen as a method of helping the formation of public discourse on European issues and strengthening the notion of 'Europeanness' among Cypriots.

### **8.2.1 News domestication and European citizenship**

The finding that the domestication of news takes place as a journalistic method to attract more readers to European news reveals journalists' mentality on what is of interest to the public and on how to form public opinion. This phenomenon can have an impact on the development of the notion of European citizenship as well as on political and social integration within the EU.

Examining the domestication of European news through the reporting of the location may lead to better understanding on the domestication process (Graph 8.1) and the way this operates in creating a sense of Europeanness within Cypriot public opinion.

**Graph 8.1: Event location**



A first observation from Graph 8.1 is that, in most of the articles, the reported location is in Cyprus, while there were case studies where the exact location was either not stated or the events took place in Brussels. More specifically, at the country's accession to the EU, there was a distribution concerning the reported locations, with Brussels as the decision-making capital and Nicosia at the top of the list. As regards the introduction of the euro in Cyprus – an event of national significance – it was expected to have coverage all over the country, where the impact from the introduction of the euro on the daily lives of Cypriots was reported. Concerning the presidency of the European Council, the majority of the reported articles referred to developments from Nicosia and Brussels, while there were also news stories where the location was not named. Lastly, the news stories on the economic crisis included stories and reports from locations such as Brussels and Nicosia, while a high volume of news reports did not refer to the location of the event, due to the nature of the reports (e.g., commentaries and analyses).

Considering that ‘the primary function of media in political communication is the provision of useful political *information* which enhances the view that European citizenship can be constructed through the media’ (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008:164) and that ‘the media act as mediators between politicians and the public, which promotes political engagement’ (ibid), it can be argued that citizenship can be constructed through the national media (see, for example, Shore, 2000; Ederman, 2011). Expanding these views in a European context and in relation to the role of the media, Adam (2012:109) stated that ‘one should not overestimate the mass media’s potential to integrate Europe as their picture of Europe largely depends on the domestic adaptations of common European policies’.

For journalists, these adaptations of European policies to a national context help readers to understand better what is happening in the EU and to increase their interest in EU affairs. This phenomenon draws us to the previous chapter and to Kevin’s work on Europeanisation, where news domestication related to the Europeanisation of national public spheres and, at the same time, it was stressed that the market-driven media need a national angle in order to make European news more compatible with their readers. However, there have also been occasions when journalists proceed to the Europeanisation of national news as a way to gain the readers’ interest. An example of such an article comes from *Phileleftheros* which reported on an EU-related symposium that was taking place in The Hague as part of Cyprus’s EU Council presidency. As it was reported:

The first of a series of political-diplomatic symposiums was organised in The Hague on Monday, at the Embassy of Cyprus in The Netherlands, under the framework of the Cyprus presidency of the European Union.

Key speaker was the Dutch Minister of European Affairs and International Cooperation Ben Knapen [...] It is noted that these symposiums are traditionally organised in the presence of the ambassadors of the EU member states as well as of the European Commission representatives and other ministerial representatives from the hosting country, and that the speaker and the guests have the opportunity to exchange views on socioeconomical European developments.

*Image 8.1: Cypriot Symposium for EU in The Hague (Phileleftheros 19.09.2012)*

## Κυπριακό συμπόσιο για Ε.Ε. στη Χάγη

**ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟ** από σειρά πολιτικο-διπλωματικών συμποσίων διοργάνωσε στη Χάγη, τη Δευτέρα, η Πρεσβεία της Κύπρου στην Ολλανδία, στο πλαίσιο των εκδηλώσεων της κυπριακής Προεδρίας της Ε.Ε. Κύριος ομιλητής ήταν ο Ολλανδός υπουργός Ευρωπαϊκών Υποθέσεων και Διεθνούς Συνεργασίας Ben Knapen.

Παρουσιάζοντας τον ομιλητή, ο Κύπριος Πρέσβης Κυριάκος Κούρος αναφέρθηκε στον χαρακτήρα και τους στόχους της Κυπριακής Προεδρίας, καθώς και στην πορεία υλοποίησής τους μέ-

χρι στιγμής. Από την πλευρά του, ο κ. Knapen εξέφρασε τις απόψεις του για το πώς επηρεάζει την Ε.Ε. το πρόσφατο εκλογικό αποτέλεσμα στην Ολλανδία και παρουσίασε τις θέσεις της χώρας του για τις εν εξελίξει συζητήσεις για το Πολυετές Δημοσιονομικό Πλαίσιο και εν γένει τη χρηματοπιστωτική και οικονομική κρίση που μαστίζει την Ε.Ε. τα τελευταία χρόνια.

Αναφέρεται επίσης ότι, απαντώντας σε σχετική ερώτηση του Κύπριου Πρέσβη, ο Ολλανδός Υπουργός επαινέσε τη διοργάνωση της άτυπης υπουργικής συνάντησης στη Λευκωσία στις 30

Αυγούστου, τόσο από πλευράς οργάνωσης όσο και ουσίας. Σημειώνεται ότι τα συμπόσια αυτά διοργανώνονται, κατά παράδοση, στην παρουσία των Πρέσβων των κρατών μελών της Ε.Ε. και των υπό ένταξη κρατών, καθώς και εκπροσώπων της Ευρωπαϊκής Επιτροπής και αρμόδιων υπηρεσιακών παραγόντων του υπουργείου Εξωτερικών της χώρας φιλοξενίας, και στη διάρκεια τους ο ομιλητής και οι παρευρισκόμενοι έχουν την ευκαιρία να ανταλλάξουν απόψεις για τις πολιτικοοικονομικές εξελίξεις στα δρώμενα της Ε.Ε.

This article is a clear example of a Europeanised article, where national media can promote European citizenship ‘through their ability to communicate news about Europe as a community of all its citizens beyond existent differences, within the national framework and through the proper attitudes towards Europeanisation paths’ (Schifirnet, 2010:7). Although journalists consider that the domestication of European news can increase citizens’ interest on European affairs, it appears that inadequate coverage on the part of the national media on EU affairs is a factor that prevents citizens from feeling closer to their Union. Costas Constantinou, from *Politis* newspaper, stressed that

There is a weakness in connecting the Cypriot reality with the EU news and that leads to stories being omitted or to considered external and that they cannot affect us. This is an issue that all journalists encounter but all newspapers are trying [to deal with]. However, I believe that we do cover the basics, though we could have covered them more effectively.

Constantinou identifies the inability of the Cypriot press to cover European news that could have a possible impact on Cyprus but refer to other member states. For instance, if there is a press release from the European Court of Justice concerning a verdict on fisheries in Estonia, it is not expected to be reported by the Cypriot media because it involves a member state that is not in geographical proximity with Cyprus. On this occasion, journalists may consider that there is no newsworthiness in this press release, although its subject may be of interest to Cypriot fishermen and hence it should be reported.

The selective reporting of the European news and the coverage of news related to the country has been pinpointed by Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007, see Chapter 4) who identified a misinterpretation of European news by the national media while journalists consider it less important than the national news, arguing that this could lead to an increase in the EU's democratic deficit. The media, a crucial tool in the realisation of European identity (Bakir, 1996), can influence citizens and help the formation of public opinion through their reporting. The absence of a pan-European public sphere means that national media operate within a national framework and, hence, a national angle on European news is expected. Considering Delanty's communitarian model which associates culture with citizenship (see Chapter 4), this leads to the conclusion that citizenship can be constructed within a homogeneous audience with common cultural

and social ties. In a European context, this can be achieved through the national public sphere where the media operate and address citizens who are nationals of a member state. To achieve the formation of European citizenship, citizens need to have knowledge and be educated about the EU, its bodies, and developments to have a better understanding of the operation of the Union's bodies and to feel closer to Europe. Former MEP Eleni Theocharous referred to Cyprus and to the ways Cypriots can feel more European. As she emphasised:

if Cyprus really wants to invest in the education of Cypriot citizens and create European minds and a European way of thinking, I believe that the Cypriot press – in all its forms – has to dedicate more space to EU policies, news and developments, although I am convinced that, on the other side of the river, only a few – already well informed on these issues – will deal with this form of news provision.

Theocharous points out that European citizenship and identity can be achieved through the media and believes that education can be achieved through the media which will need to dedicate more space to EU news and policies. This reveals a close connection between the media and the formation of national or European citizenship. The media in the post-war period have played their part in giving expression to national identities across Europe (Scriven & Roberts, 2003:1) and continue to do so today (Habermas, 1998; Faulstich & Hickerthier, 2000, part II). The fact that the majority of the media address national audiences, apart from those which have a transnational character, and operate within the national public sphere, it is their role to preserve the homogeneity of the public along with their cultural and social identities (see subchapter

4.5.1). This phenomenon is becoming more apparent during difficult periods in the political history of the EU and the European integration process is slowing down.

For example, the Eurozone financial crisis (2008–13) and the migration crisis as a result of the conflicts in the Eastern Mediterranean basin led to an increase in populism in member states (Mouffe, 2018) such as Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Malta and Spain. These populist groups have managed to become popular among the societies of the member states by using a particular rhetoric concerning the protection of national identity (e.g., ‘Greece for the Greeks’ – Golden Dawn) and with an anti-migration rhetoric which has included, in some cases, violent attacks against migrants and refugees.

By the time these lines were written, Greece’s far-right party Golden Dawn has been declared by the Greek state to be a criminal group and its members have been convicted of a series of attacks against migrants and refugees as well as of the murder of singer-rapper Pavlos Fyssas. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 2), these groups based their rhetoric on the preservation of national citizenship and identity, economic inequality, and cultural backlash (Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Iosifidis & Nicholi, 2020:4).

In Cyprus, the National Populist Front (*Εθνικό Λαϊκό Μέτωπο*), which is Golden Dawn’s presence in the country, used the same rhetoric as its mother party and took advantage of the negative effects of the economic crisis to promote its nationalistic views to the society. An incident that was reported in *Politis* newspaper (18/12/2018) referred to the Party’s action of distributing only 12 jackets in a primary school in Paphos, only to children of Cypriot nationality, excluding the offspring of other nationalities who were attending the school. This event created an outcry within the



school and a series of reactions in the community and became an issue of discussion within the national public sphere. As it was reported:

Major reactions from the Parents' Union of the 1<sup>st</sup> Geroskipou Primary School brought the visit of ELAM members to the school a few days ago. According to ELAM, it was announced that its representatives distributed jackets for 'Greek children whose families are poor'. However, in an announcement, the Parents' Union of the school stated that it was misled by ELAM. 'There was no collaboration or discussion with any political party as was falsely stated in an announcement sent to the media by a political party concerning provision of assistance to the Parents' Union of our school.'

**Image 8.2: 'Reactions in Geroskipou over ELAM's jackets for Greek kids' (Politis, 18/12/2018)**

**Αντιδράσεις στη Γεροσκήπου για τα «μπουφάν για ελληνόπουλα» του ΕΛΑΜ**  
POLITIS NEWS, 18/12/2018 (τελευταία ενημέρωση 15:44)



0 SHARES | f Share | Tweet | LinkedIn | Εγγραφή

Έντονες αντιδράσεις, εκ μέρους του Συνδέσμου Γονέων και Κηδεμόνων του Α' Δημοτικού σχολείου Γεροσκήπου, προκάλεσε η επίσκεψη μελών του ΕΛΑΜ στο σχολείο προ ημερών.

Στην ανακοίνωσή του το ΕΛΑΜ ανέφερε ότι αντιπροσωπεύει του μοίρασε μπουφάν για τα ελληνόπουλα άπορων οικογενειών. Ωστόσο, με ανακοίνωσή του ο Σύνδεσμος Γονέων και Κηδεμόνων του σχολείου κάνει λόγο για παραπλάνησή του από το ΕΛΑΜ. «Καμία απολύτως συνεργασία ή συνεννόηση δεν είχαμε με μέλος οποιαδήποτε πολιτικού κόμματος, όπως φυσικάς έχει καταγραφεί στην σχετική ανακοίνωσή που είδε το φως της δημοσιότητας, για παροχή εισφοράς προς τον Σύνδεσμο Γονέων του σχολείου μας».

Διαβάστε επίσης: «Κατόψεις αμάσητα τα Έκτακτα τα ΕΛΑΜ

Συγκεκριμένα, όπως πληροφορείται το [politis.com.cy](http://politis.com.cy), μέλος του ΕΛΑΜ ενημέρωσε τη Διεύθυνση του σχολείου ότι ήθελε να μοιράσει μπουφάν σε άπορα παιδιά, χωρίς να διευκρινίσει από ότι ήταν από το ΕΛΑΜ. Σημειώνεται πως ο Σύνδεσμος Γονέων υπογράμμισε ότι δεν θα δεχόταν δωρεές από κανένα κόμμα.

Κατά την άφιξή τους στο σχολείο τα μέλη του ΕΛΑΜ άφησαν τα 12 μπουφάν μαζί με τα άλλα αντικείμενα που προορίζονταν για άπορα παιδιά, αναφέροντας αργότερα ότι τα έδωσαν σε «ελληνόπουλα άπορων οικογενειών». Όπως πληροφορούμαστε, περισσότερα από τα μισά μπουφάν πήγαν σε παιδιά οικογενειών μεταναστών και άλλων εθνικοτήτων...

Αυτοόσια η ανακοίνωση του Συνδέσμου Γονέων και Κηδεμόνων:

Είναι με λύπη που διαπιστώσαμε την παραπλανητική κίνηση εντυπωσιασμού και την δόλια πολιτική εκμετάλλευση που έχει τύχει η πάγια άγνοια και μέριμνα του Συνδέσμου Γονέων

This article portrays how Cyprus's nationalist party took advantage of the difficult economic situation to promote their rhetoric and political agenda. There is an overall discontent in the article about ELAM and their action in distributing jackets only to offspring of Greek Cypriot descent, while the reporter does not take any stance either in favour of or against this action but simply reports the news and the reaction of the school's Union of Parents and Spouses.

The reporting in the Cypriot press concerning EU news is not critical, the reasons for which were discussed and explained in Chapter 7. Quite apart from EU affairs, criticism in the news in general remains limited in the Cypriot press and, in cases where democratic values are being jeopardised, the media should have been more critical as acting regulators of democracy. In Cyprus, journalists are not very critical in their reporting and 'although press freedom in the Republic of Cyprus is guaranteed by the constitution, political parties, the Orthodox Church and commercial interests have a great deal of influence over the media' ([Press Freedom Index 2019](#) on Cyprus).

Referring to the Cypriot media, Christoforou stressed that 'true political forces have access to the media to voice their views and positions; however, the selection of news, or persons that speak or are invited, or excluded, all reveal that media follow agendas of their own, favouring persons or elite groups with similar or identical positions to theirs and/or including token opposition' (Christoforou et al., 2010:243). In this environment, most Cypriot journalists restrict themselves to the coverage of each development and the same appears in the case of European news. Maniou & Photiou (2017) noted that the Cypriot press exhibited a wide partisan behaviour during the coverage of major events (e.g., elections, Memorandum, Cyprus accession into the EU and so on); to reverse this phenomenon 'journalists in Cyprus should free themselves from partisan politics, avoid the tendency to deliver speeches instead of asking questions

and conduct thorough investigation before they present a news story' (Pavlou, 1995: 132).

Today's journalists face constantly changing conditions, before which they often feel demoralised and powerless, as they themselves have admitted (e.g., Fallows, 1997:98; Downie & Kaiser, 2003:38; Fenton, 2005:79). Bennett (2006:47–9) describes news journalism as 'a complex system that is increasingly detrimental to the needs of democracy', while Carpenter (2007:52) refers to 'the reluctance of journalists to promote participation and discussion among their audiences'. In these rather difficult circumstances, journalists try to serve the public interest and promote political participation among their readers as a way to increase their interest in European news and develop their notion of Europeanness. Indeed, it has been observed that Cypriots show an active interest in political affairs by reacting to the articles they read, and this is a positive element for the construction of discourse within the public sphere and even more so for the construction of the notion of European citizenship.

Regarding the reporting of European news, further investigation of EU affairs may lead to enhancement of knowledge by journalists and to the improvement of the education of citizens in relation to the EU. As a result, the coverage is expected to incorporate more information about the EU, and this may lead citizens to feel closer to the EU, increasing their sense of European citizenship. Speaking about European citizenship, the majority of Cypriots (68%) feel that they are citizens of the EU, while a significant percentage (31%) of the population feels more nationals of their country (EB 93 – Spring 2020). Thus, it can be argued that Cyprus may have reached a certain point concerning raising awareness, but they should be more informed and educated about the essence of being a European citizen. As former Foreign Minister Erato Kozakou-Markoullis emphasised:

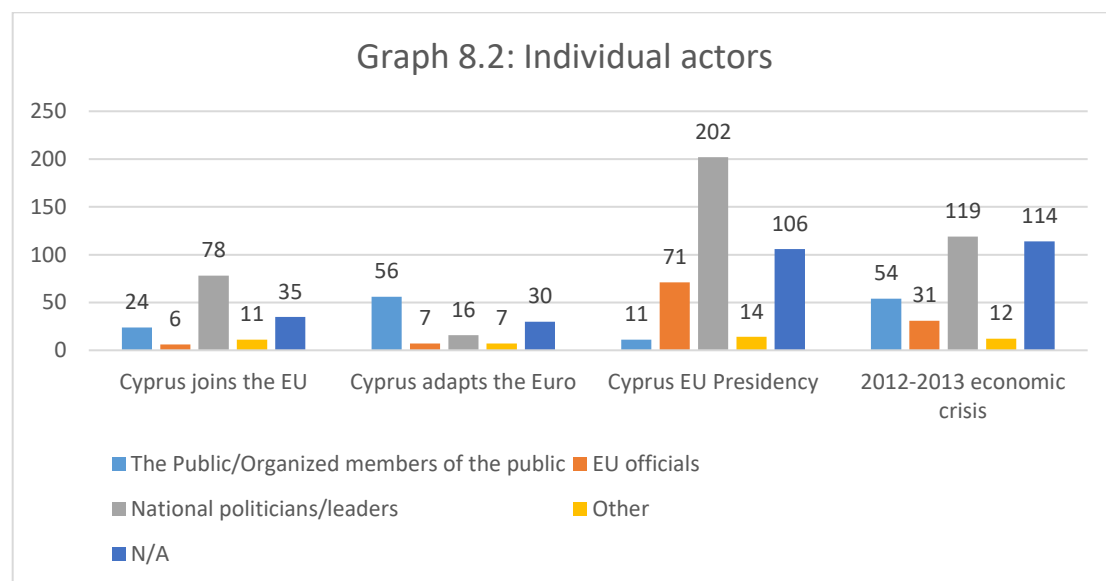
I genuinely believe that Cypriots would be interested to learn more about the European Union and especially to be informed of developments that would affect or improve their lives. Knowledge is ‘a protective shield’ for EU citizens against efforts to violate their rights and a very powerful ‘weapon’ empowering them towards finding ways to resolve problems. The fact that a majority of the Cypriot electorate (57.2%) abstained during the recent European Parliamentary elections is a proof of the distancing of the EU citizens of Cyprus from EU institutions, like the European Parliament. It is also disappointing that most of the debate centred around domestic and local issues, rather than genuinely European issues. All the above are indicative of a public that is not well informed and thus remains indifferent to the major EU topics and developments. This needs to change!

This change, as articulated by Kozakou-Markoullis, can be achieved by having citizens who are well-informed about European developments; in practice, this would mean that journalists and opinion leaders would need to be better informed about the EU and its operations, so that they could provide the full picture of European news to Cypriots. As the interviewees of this project pinpointed, the Cypriot media have encountered financial difficulties as a result of the Eurozone economic crisis and the most recent pandemic that affected economies around the world, including the Cypriot one. In this environment, the journalist-interviewees expressed the view that the country’s press is understaffed and there is an absence of specialised EU-affairs journalists who have a good knowledge of EU affairs and are able to report Europe to their audiences. In addition, Markoullis stated that the absence of knowledge creates

problems in the ways the EU is represented and, in a wider context, in the development of European citizenship among Cypriots.

Taking the above into consideration, Graphs 8.4 and 8.5 examine the individual actors and their representation in the news stories, referring to those actors mentioned in the empirical examples. The role of the individual actors – whether politicians, journalists or scholars – as opinion leaders (i.e., members of society who can influence and guide public opinion) can be to provide information concerning the domestication of European news and its meaning for the formation of European citizenship. In addition to the categories of specific individuals, the graph includes an ‘other’ section, to cover individuals who do not belong to the previous categories (e.g., religious leaders, civil servants and state officials).

**Graph 8.2: Individual actors**



An initial point that can be drawn from Graph 8.2 is that, in most of the empirical examples, the individual actors are national politicians and leaders. Thus, it can be argued that there was a national angle in the coverage, either in the form of national politicians and leaders or through the reference to the public. More specifically, in the

country's accession to the EU, the majority of articles referred to the national leaders, while there was a significant number of articles that referred to the public, as a way of investigating the reactions to the accession within the society. Furthermore, in the introduction of the common currency, the coverage was focused mainly on the public's reaction towards the euro, while on the EU presidency – a considerable political development – it was the key players of the national political scene who were mostly reported. Turning to the economic crisis, the Cypriot press reported primarily on the country's politicians.

The reporting of the national actors in the empirical examples identifies the domestication of European news, with reference to individuals that played a key role in the national political scene. In addition, there was a journalistic tendency to include the public's reactions towards these events in their coverage. An example is an article from *Politis* referring to the introduction of the euro in school canteens and the familiarisation of the students. As it was reported:

Chaos is expected to take place today in school canteens as the new catalogues have not been sent on time. [...] According to information from the Central Audit Committee of School canteens, the new catalogues will be sent to the canteens by fax. The problem, however, will be more intensive in the primary schools where pupils, due to their age, will be unable to manage the change if they pay in euros.

Image 8.3: 'Confusion with the euro at schools' (Politis, 07/01/2008)

Ανοίγουν οι καντίνες με βάρκα την ελπίδα

## Κομφούζιο με το ευρώ στα σχολεία

Το πρόβλημα θα είναι πιο έντονο στα δημοτικά σχολεία οι μαθητές των οποίων λόγω και ηλικίας δεν θα είναι σε θέση να ελέγξουν τα ρέστα που θα παίρνουν αν πληρώνουν σε ευρώ

ΓΡΑΦΕΙ  
ΚΩΣΤΑΣ ΝΑΝΟΣ

**Χ**αμός αναμένεται να επικρατήσει σήμερα στα σχολικά κυλικεία επειδή οι νέοι τιμοκατάλογοι δεν απεστάλησαν εγκαίρως. Παρότι είχε ληφθεί απόφαση πριν από ένα μήνα για την ετοιμασία των καταλόγων από την Κεντρική Επιτροπή Ελέγχου Σχολικών Κυλικείων αυτοί δεν απεστάλησαν με αποτέλεσμα σήμερα κανείς να μην γνωρίζει σε ποια τιμή θα πρέπει να πωλούν τα προϊόντα τους.

Ενδεικτικό στοιχείο του χάους που αναμένεται να επικρατήσει είναι η δήλωση του προέδρου των διαχειριστών σχολικών κυλικείων Ιωάννη Χαλαμπόπου ο οποίος ανέφερε στον "Π" ότι σήμερα θα ανοίξουν τις καντίνες με βάρκα την ελπίδα. Μέχρι χτες κανείς, όπως είπε, δεν τους ενημέρωσε τι θα γίνει με τους νέους τιμοκαταλόγους.



Σύμφωνα με πληροφορίες σήμερα η Κεντρική Επιτροπή Ελέγχου Σχολικών Κυλικείων προγραμματίζει να

αποστείλει τους νέους καταλόγους στις σχολικές εφορίες με fax. Το πρόβλημα θα είναι πιο έντονο

στα δημοτικά σχολεία οι μαθητές των οποίων λόγω και ηλικίας δεν θα είναι σε θέση να ελέγξουν τα ρέστα που

θα παίρνουν αν πληρώνουν σε ευρώ. Ο πρόεδρος των κυλικειαρχών διαβεβαίωσε ότι οι καντίνες θα δέχονται κυπριακές λίρες όμως είναι άγνωστο αν θα είναι όλοι σε θέση να δίνουν ρέστα σε ευρώ.

Εν τω μεταξύ σε εκκρεμότητα παραμένουν και τα θέματα υποδομής των σχολικών κυλικείων. Όπως διαπιστώθηκε από τους διάφορους ελεγχούς που έγιναν, πολλά κυλικεία δεν τηρούν τις προδιαγραφές που προβλέπει η νομοθεσία για τα υποστατικά παρασκευής και πώλησης τροφίμων.

Αυτό ισχύει ιδιαίτερα για τα παλαιά σχολικά κτήρια στα οποία θα πρέπει να γίνουν άμεσα εργασίες επέκτασης και συντήρησης των κυλικείων. Ο Σύστημα Διαχειριστών Σχολικών Κυλικείων είχε καταθέσει στο Υπουργείο Παιδείας πρόταση να επενδυθούν σε κτηριακές υποδομές τα ενοίκια για τις καντίνες που εισπράττονται από τις σχολικές εφορίες.

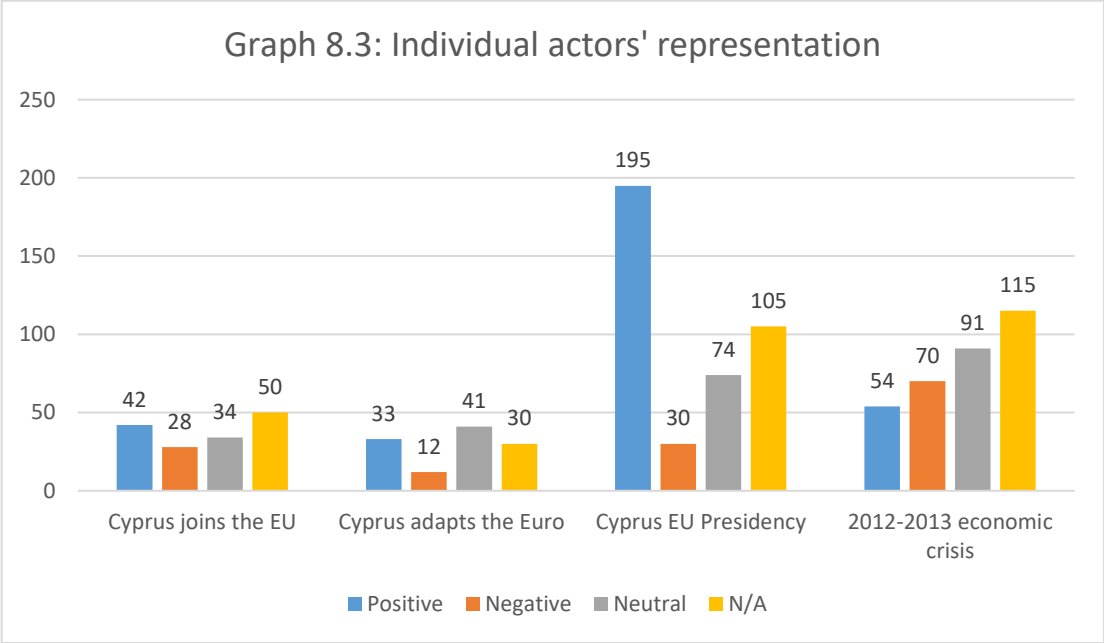
Παρότι είχε ληφθεί απόφαση πριν από ένα μήνα για την ετοιμασία των καταλόγων από την Κεντρική Επιτροπή Ελέγχου Σχολικών Κυλικείων αυτοί δεν απεστάλησαν με αποτέλεσμα σήμερα κανείς να μην γνωρίζει σε ποια τιμή θα πρέπει να πωλούν τα προϊόντα τους.

This example highlights the domestication of a pan-European development and its impact on the daily life of Cypriot society. The Cypriot journalists tried to report on the social changes occurring as a result of the introduction of the euro, while the reporting on the public's reaction towards this development supports Kevin's (2011) argument that the common currency operates in favour of European economic, political and social integration. Thus, it can be said that the introduction of the euro operated in favour of an increase of Europeanness, with the common currency operating as a factor for integration among Europeans.

In this context, the domestication of European news in the Cypriot press was expected, as newspapers address the country's readers. The reporting of such events with a positive impact may lead to positive reporting about the common currency and, consequently, to the improvement of the image of the EU. Positive coverage may also lead Cypriots to feel closer to their Union and encourage the formation of European citizenship in Cypriot society. Considering the representation of the individual actors

would enable the ways in which the opinion leaders are portrayed in the news coverage of the empirical examples to be understood.

**Graph 8.3: Individual actors representation**



Noting that in the majority of the empirical examples the individual actors were related to the domestic political scene of Cyprus, Graph 8.3 shows that opinion leaders have been portrayed in various ways in the examined EU-related events. Specifically, at the country's accession to the EU, in the reporting of the national leaders, journalists remained factual by restricting themselves to the coverage of the developments; additionally, at the introduction of the common currency in the island, there was extensive coverage of the public reaction towards this economic development with social extensions, with most of the articles taking a neutral stance. As regards the Cyprus EU presidency, most of the articles reflected national politicians and the public in a positive way, while in the economic crisis case study most of the articles presented the key actors in a factual way.

An example from *Phileleftheros* will assist better understanding of the news domestication phenomenon and the individual actors. Entitled ‘The EU Presidency ends



with applause’, it refers to the completion of the EU presidency by the Cypriot government and to the positive outcomes of this development. As it was reported:

In a joint press conference with Barroso and Van Rompuy, the president said that the Cypriot Presidency had emphasised the social aspect of various policies. At the same time, said President Christofias, there had been many efforts to promote important legislation under the framework of the eradication of the financial crisis which would lead to economic growth and the creation of jobs.

**Image 8.4: ‘The EU Presidency ends with applause’ (Phileleftheros, 15/12/2012)**



The article includes a positive image of the former Cypriot President Christofias in relation to the EU presidency while including no representation of the European political actors. Hence, the journalist preserves the national angle in the reporting and makes a simple reference to individual European actors, as a way of avoiding further engagement or feedback from their end. Lefteris Adeilinis from *Politis* newspaper said of Cypriots’ feelings towards the EU:

I would say that our readers are interested in the EU and especially in issues that concern them, and as time goes on, they feel equal to all other European citizens. Cypriots cannot feel European because the EU is not a federal state or anything similar, but they do feel ‘Cypriot’ and that their country belongs to a ‘club’ of countries which may or may not benefit them. If there are privileges and any kind of benefits, then there is a positive approach, otherwise it is negative.

According to this perception, the national citizenship overlaps European citizenship, with the latter being considered as a ‘privileged supplement’ (according to the Maastricht Treaty). This statement supports the ethos of the Maastricht Treaty, which states that ‘every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship’ (Art.20.1). It appears that the press in Cyprus acts the same way in their European news coverage regarding the creation of European citizenship. MEP Lefteris Christoforou commented as follows on the coverage of the Cypriot press concerning EU affairs:

The Greek Cypriot press covers the European news to a great extent. However, there is a lack of interaction update between the Greek Cypriot press and the EU. On many occasions, European affairs do not interest the majority of Cypriot citizens, leading the press not to devote a great deal of space and time in order to cover the latest European events. The EU must focus on the critical sector of information, in order to provide ways and incentives that will lead to a change of the Greek Cypriot press

towards a more European-oriented provision of information. Therefore, there is an improvement in the long run in the coverage of European news by the press, but there is really much room for improvement which it is possible to achieve through incentives and actions of the EU.

Christoforou raises some important issues concerning the role of the EU regarding the provision of information. Specifically, he stresses that there is room for improvement even though the Cypriot press covers European affairs extensively. Moreover, the absence of interaction between the EU and the press leads the latter to evince a lack of interest and not to provide space for EU affairs. What is notable in this statement is the need from the EU side to focus on the provision of information to the press and the media in general, as this would help reduce the democratic deficit, a point that has also been noted by scholars (e.g., Blair, 2016; Lord, 1998; Moravcsik, 2012). As a final remark, the MEP suggested as a solution that the EU should take further action concerning the improvement of information provision to the media, so that the press and the public would become more interested in European affairs.

In this connection, Jeffrey Jones's argument that the media 'provide the central means for citizens' understanding of and connection to the political world' (Jones cited in Wahl-Jorgensen, 2008:174) adds to the importance of the media in the construction of European citizenship and in the overall process of European integration. In this process, one of the issues that Europeans were concerned was the migration flows in the Mediterranean Sea. Among them is Greece where there have been many news reports with a critical approach concerning the influx of migrants coming from Turkey, as well as on the problems that the islands are facing with the arrival of migrants. The

Greek press appeared to be polarised regarding this development, depending on the political party each medium supports.

Image 8.5: Migration in the Greek newspapers (04/10/2019)



For example, *I efimerida ton syntakton* (The journalists' newspaper), a pro-SYRIZA newspaper, used as its headline 'Refugees under persecution', which refers to the problems occurring in the Greek islands as a result of the migration influx from the Turkish borders; the newspaper is indirectly accusing the New Democracy government over its handling of the problem. On the other hand, *Ta Nea*, a left-wing newspaper, used a more factual headline to describe the situation. Entitled '8 out of 10 in hotels and houses', the newspaper takes a pro-governmental position, highlighting their efficiency in coping with the development.

In the above examples, both newspapers view this pan-European development through a national lens to be more appealing to their audiences and form public opinion. However, it should be noted that the citizens' opinion on the matter is part of a broader

European public opinion that is being formed through the national ones. Hence, a pro-European approach is needed in the reporting in order to improve the people's image of the EU. This may lead to the formation of a positive European public opinion and to the reduction of the EU's democratic deficit and eventually to further integration between citizens of the Union. In Cyprus, most journalists argue that they work for a pro-European newspaper but tend to think and write in national terms. Vangelis Vasiliou, political editor of *Politis* newspaper, argued that his newspaper had helped the construction of European public opinion. Amongst other things he stated:

Just because the angle is based on what interests the Cypriot readers, I do not think that we have achieved many things in this area (of European public opinion). I think that all the national media have failed on this score. For example, if we had more European news that were not 'hot' (in the sense of being important), I think that this would help the Union come closer to the citizens.

For Vasiliou, the Cypriot media are unable to form European public opinion, as European news are not as important as the national ones; this explains the domestication of European news as a method to make them more appealing to the Cypriot readership. This phenomenon appears to influence Cypriot citizens, who consider themselves primarily as nationals of their own country and secondarily as Europeans. A reflection of this environment comes from an article from *Phileleftheros* newspaper in regard to the country's EU presidency, entitled 'We won the EU Presidency bet', and referring to an interview given by Cornelios Corneliou, Head of Cyprus's permanent representation

in the EU, who evaluated the importance of the development for the country. As he stated:

I believe that we have won the bet and we have achieved our mission. This is not my saying, but the EU officials' one five and half months after the takeover of the Presidency. Mr Barroso says it, Mrs Schultz says it, Mrs Ashton and all of the Commissioners with whom we have worked say the same thing. At the same time, we have won as a member state the respect and trust of our partners and they have recognised that the Republic of Cyprus, about which so many stories have been written and told, is a serious and reliable partner. In my opinion this is the most important benefit from this EU presidency: for the Europeans to recognise our value and success.

*Image 8.6: 'We won the EU Presidency bet' (Phileleftheros, 16/12/2012)*

## Κερδίσαμε το στοίχημα της Προεδρίας της ΕΕ

Ο πρόεδρος Κορνήλιος Κορνήλιους από την έδρα της Ευρώπης τονίζει ότι η Κύπρος πέτυχε στην αποστολή της

**Λ**ίγα ώρες πριν από την ολοκλήρωση της πρώτης κυπριακής Προεδρίας του Συμβουλίου της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης είναι η στιγμή που όλοι οι εμπλεκόμενοι κοιτάζουν προς τα πίσω για να δουν πόσα πέτυχαν μέσα σ' αυτό το εφάμινο στη διάρκεια του οποίου η Κύπρος κλήθηκε να περάσει ένα σημαντικό ευρωπαϊκό ταξί. Ο πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, Κορνήλιος Κορνήλιους, δηλώνει με απόλυτη σιγουριά ότι «κερδίσαμε το στοίχημα και έχουμε πετύχει στην αποστολή μας». Περαιτέρω υπογραμμίζει πως παρόλο που μεγάλο μέρος της εκάστοτε Προεδρίας αναλαμβάνει στην προώθηση μιας συγκεκριμένης ευρωπαϊκής ατζέντας, εντούτοις η Κύπρος μέσα στα διαμνημένα πλαίσια καταφέρει να προωθήσει τους δικούς της στόχους και να έχει ικανοποιητικό αποτέλεσμα. Ως μεγαλύτερη επιτυχία της κυπριακής Προεδρίας καταγράφεται η συμφωνία για την ίδρυση Ένωσης Επιστημολογικού Μετασχημά των Τεχνολογιών. Ο πρόεδρος Κορνήλιους σημειώνει ακόμα «ότι η Κύπρος άφησε τη συζήτηση της διότι είχαμε μια εφάμιση Προεδρία. Αυτό το οποίο πετύχαμε και πήγα στο οποίο μπορούμε να ιβανθώ να κέρσουμε είναι ότι διαπραγματεύαμε μια ιγνή συμφωνία με τους δασμούς της ΕΕ και αντάλλαξε κέρδη μέλη και αυτό σφραγίζει κυρίως στο γεγονός ότι συμφωνηθήκαμε έντονα και άρραστον διαφωνίες».

- Δύο εβδομάδες πριν από την ολοκλήρωση της Προεδρίας και θα ήθελα να σας ρωτήσω πώς είναι η πρώτη Κυπριακή Προεδρία της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης.

- Πιστεύω ότι κερδίσαμε το στοίχημα και έχουμε πετύχει στην αποστολή μας. Αυτό δεν το λέω για, αλλά οι ίδιοι οι Ευρωπαίοι αξιωματούχοι πενήντα μήνες μετά την ανάληψη της Προεδρίας. Το λέει ο κ. Μπαρόζο, το λέει ο κ. Σουλτς, η κ. Ασhton και όλοι οι επίτροποι με τους οποίους έχουμε συνεργαστεί. Ταυτόχρονα κερδίζουμε ως κράτος-μέλος τον σεβασμό και την εμπιστοσύνη των εταίρων μας και αναγνωρίζουν ότι η Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία για την οποία τόσο πολλά είναι επιθυμητά και γαστατεί, είναι ένας σοβαρός και αξιόπιστας εταίρος. Κατά τη γνώμη μου αυτό είναι το σημαντικότερο όφελος από την διακοπή της Προεδρίας να αναγνωριστεί η αξία και η επιτυχία μας από τους ίδιους τους Ευρωπαίους.

- Ποια ήταν οι στόχοι που είχαν τεθεί αρχικά και σε ποιο βαθμό έχουν υλοποιηθεί;

- Κατ' αρχάς πρέπει να θυμόμαστε ότι η ευρωπαϊκή ατζέντα δεν αλλοδίζει σε μεγάλο βαθμό με την ανάληψη της ευρωπαϊκής προεδρίας από ένα κράτος-μέλος. Οπότε το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των προαπο-

θετών μας έπρεπε να αναλυθεί στην προώθηση της ίδιας της ευρωπαϊκής ατζέντας. Θεβώς, είχαμε κι εμείς τους δικούς μας στόχους όπως, μεταξύ άλλων, το Πολιτικό Διατάκτισμα Επείγουσα, την ολοκλήρωση του κοινού ευρωπαϊκού συστήματος ασύλου και την προώθηση της Ολοκληρωμένης Θεώσεως Πολιτικής. Σε μεγάλο βαθμό έχουν προωθηθεί αυτά τα ζητήματα, θεβώς όσον αφορά το άσυλο είμαστε ήδη πολύ κοντά να κλείσουμε το πακέτο. Όμως να μην τα καταφέρουμε μέχρι την όλη εβδομάδα αλλά το μεγαλύτερο μέρος έχει ολοκληρωθεί. Στο γύρι διστάσεις οι οικονομικές συγκυρίες δεν επέτρεψαν την ολοκλήρωση των προαποθετών μας στο τελευταίο κομμάτι, αλλά να μην ξεχνούμε ότι με βάση τη Συνθήκη της Λισαβόνας τον τελικό λόγο είχε ο πρόεδρος του Ευρωπαϊκού Συμβουλίου. Θεβώς μας ικανοποιεί το γεγονός ότι ο κ. Van Rompuy, στην τελευταία πρόταση που παρουσίασε, ακολουθώντας τη φιλοσοφία και τη λογική της κυπριακής Προεδρίας, έλαβε βάσει προληπτικής απόφασης, λάβαμε υπόψη τη γενικότατη κατάσταση που επικρατεί στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση και προσπαθήσαμε ως έντιμοι μεριολάβητες να πετύχαμε σ' αυτούς τους στόχους και πιστεύω ότι σε πολύ μεγάλο βαθμό το έχουμε καταφέρει.

- Για συγκεκριμένα:

- Χαρακτηριστικά να αναφέρω τις συζητήσεις για τη διαίρεση, όπου υπήρξε η υποστήριξη και η αποδοτική ανάμειξη στους εταίρους μας για τις συζητήσεις που θα προηδύραμε η Κύπρος για τα συμπεράσματα για τη διαίρεση και ιδιαίτερα σε σχέση με την Τουρκία. Καταφέραμε για πρώτη φορά σε επίπεδο μόνιμων αντιπροσώπων, να συμφωνήσουμε τα συμπεράσματα για την Τουρκία τη στιγμή που η ίδια η Τουρκία προσπαθούσε να δημιουργήσει προβλήματα στην Κυπριακή Δημοκρατία. Και το τονίζω διότι τα συμπεράσματα είναι πολύ θετικά και καλύπτουν όλες τις σημαντικές μας. Αυτό το πετύχαμε διότι κερδίσαμε την εμπιστοσύνη των εταίρων μας, αποδεικνύοντας στην πράξη ότι η Κύπρος είναι ένας αξιόπιστας συνομιλητής και έχει κατά νουν το ευρωπαϊκό συμφέρον. Αυτή είναι και ο τρόπος λειτουργίας της ΕΕ. Μέσω διαλόγου επιδιώκεται ο συμβιβασμός των «αγ».

- Ποια θεωρείται ως η σημαντικότερη απόφαση που λήφθηκε επί κυπριακής Προεδρίας;

- Η απόφαση για ίδρυση Ένωσης Επιστημολογικού Μετασχημά των Τεχνολογιών. Επειδή για την Κυπριακή Προεδρία, διότι σε διαδοχικά μόλις τριών μηνών καταφέραμε να συμφωνήσουμε με σε ένα τόσο σημαντικό και επίκαιρο θέμα το οποίο θα είναι καθοριστικό για το μέλλον της ίδιας της Ευρώπης. Η συμφωνία επίσης για τον Πρωτο-

This statement concerns a pan-European event with national importance, and the positive stance can be translated as a way of increasing the national morale, following a successful EU presidency. As was expected, the interview (both questions and answers)

takes a national approach in order to make readers familiar with the government's achievements in this pan-European development, guiding public opinion in a particular direction. This leads to the conclusion that the press (and the media as a whole) are one of the factors that can play a key role in the construction of European citizenship, as citizens are influenced by what they read, see and hear in the media, a phenomenon that may influence the Union's further integration. Vangelis Vasileiou, political editor of *Politis*, pointed to the tendency of Cypriot readers to 'codify' the news:

Those who read newspapers are interested in reading the headline, sub-headline and a quote and if they think that the article will be useful to them, then they read it. As regards EU news, readers look only at the articles that concern them directly. For example, if we write a story about how expensive Cyprus is compared to the rest of the EU, then readers might find it useful and read it.

The above statement comments on the ways in which readers select the European news and the journalistic perception for the domestication of news. The evidence for readers selecting EU-related news stories that interest them personally and the fact that they select the stories directly related to their own country supports the argument that news domestication influences readers and their perceptions of the EU. In this sense and considering the existing trend of news domestication in the Cypriot press, it can be argued that European news is not the primary topic in the newsroom. Besides, 'previously the interests of Europe and national governments were represented as conflicting; they are now increasingly presented as complementary, possessing their

own operational realms which are characterised by the specific requirements, as opposed to a national order' (Weymouth & Lamizet, 1996:206).

This view suggests that Cypriot newspapers act decisively in favour of the European idea (and thus also in favour of the creation of a European citizenship) and, where necessary, combat any governmental attempt to create Euroscepticism in their readers. As for the point of view of the readers themselves, the citizens' belief that the press persists in providing 'national' news coverage, which partly explains the dual citizenship, which is primarily national and then European.

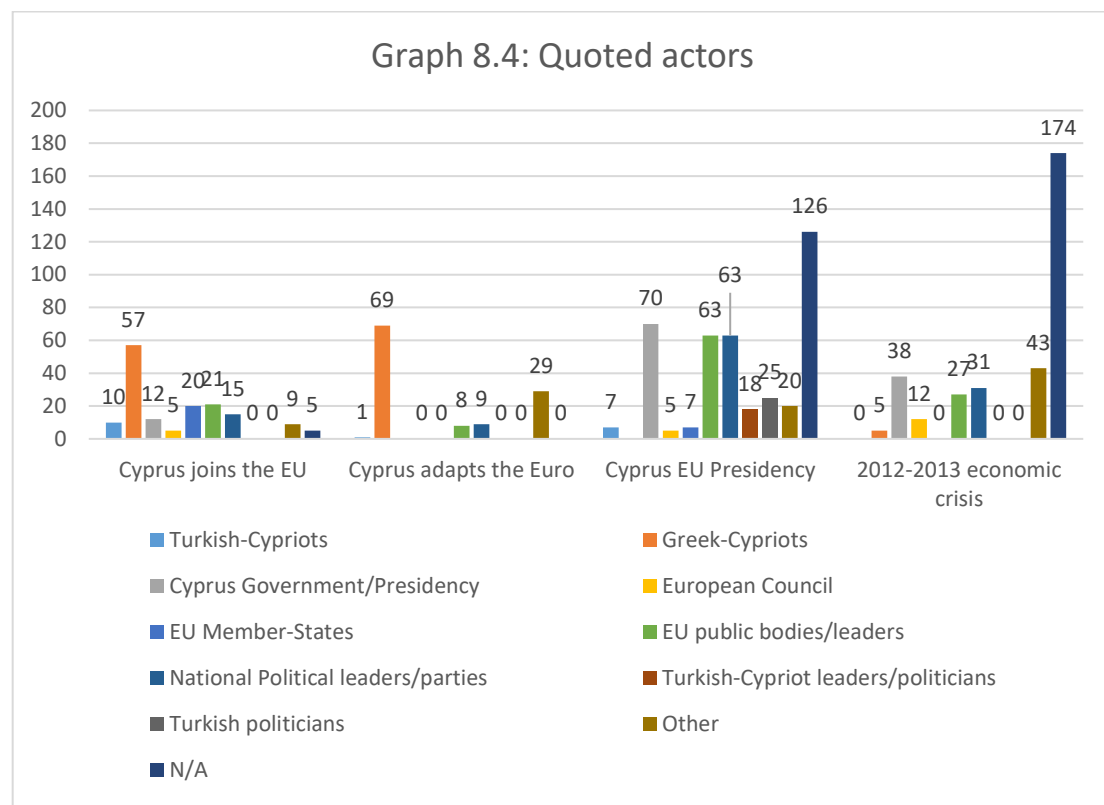
Summing up, the arguments in the empirical examples identified the close relationship between the media and the formation of European citizenship. The absence of a pan-European media system makes European citizenship and identity dependent on the national media systems, which domesticate European news in such a way as to make it more appealing to a national audience. This phenomenon creates problems for the creation of European citizenship, as Cypriots consider themselves to be primarily nationals of their own country and secondarily European citizens, an attitude that bears resemblance with the other EU member states.

### **8.2.2 European citizenship and news reporting**

As Cypriot journalists report European news from a national angle to increase the interest of their readership, this subchapter aims to investigate the ways the country's press help or hinder the formation of European citizenship. To achieve this, Graph 8.8 examines the quoted actors, i.e., the statements used in the coverage by opinion leaders or people influenced by EU-related developments, which aim to make European news more appealing to Cypriot readers.



**Graph 8.4: Quoted actors**



A first observation from Graph 8.4 shows a mostly national angle in two of the empirical examples (Cyprus joins the EU and the introduction of the euro in Cyprus) and an effort to report on the developments without any quotations from the key actors in the other two empirical examples (the EU presidency and the economic crisis). Another remarkable point is that in all the EU-related events there is reference to both the national leaders and EU officials and public bodies, showing an indication of Europeanised coverage despite the national angle that was empirically identified.

Cypriot journalists tried to be factual in their coverage, but there are times when this is not achieved. An example of such reporting comes from *Phileleftheros* newspaper which refers to the stance of Turkey towards the EU presidency. Turkey continues until today to refuse to recognise the Republic of Cyprus, following its military invasion in the island in 1974 and the declaration of the occupied areas as the

‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC)’ in 1983. As expected, the coverage of the Cypriot media towards Turkey remains mostly negative, due to the current situation in the island. As it was reported:

Ankara has officially informed international organisations concerning its willingness not to be aligned with any official decision taken concerning EU external relations, under the framework of the Cyprus EU presidency. The need for more severe responses towards Ankara for its stance against the EU presidency was stated by Nicosia to EU partners and the EU public bodies.

Image 8.7: ‘Turkey is taking it to the edge’ (Phileleftheros, 17/07/2012)



In the above article, the negative stance of Turkey towards the Republic of Cyprus is portrayed. References to the former Turkish minister for EU affairs, Egemen Bağış, and his negative manner towards the Cypriot EU presidency negatively affect public opinion in relation to Turkey and the unresolved Cyprus problem.

Putting this example in the framework of citizenship, it can be stated that the ongoing coverage in the Cypriot press strengthens the notion of national identity in Cypriot society. The media playing an important role in the construction and dissemination of citizenship (see, for example, Bakir, 1996), the national media systems are responsible for the formation of European citizenship. Concerning the role of publicity, Gerbner (cited in Beardsworth, 1980:371) argued that ‘publication is the basis of community consciousness. The truly revolutionary significance of modern mass communication is its “public making” ability ... The terms of broadest interaction are those available in the most widely shared message systems of a culture. Increasingly these are mass-produced message systems. That is why mass media have been called the “agenda setters” of modern society.’

In the case of European news, the Cypriot press addresses the country’s citizens who are part of a homogeneous audience, and this is reflected in the coverage of European news, as journalists tend to cover them from a national angle, adapting their reporting to the needs and interests of their readership. As a result, Cypriots continue to think as nationals and less as Europeans, despite their interest in learning more about the EU (EB 93, Spring 2020).

However, there were articles with a Europeanised angle, where news stories with a national context are covered from a European angle. An example of such reporting comes from *Phileleftheros* (07/10/2019) and was related to the Turkish incursion into the EEZ. The article, entitled ‘Tusk: the EU stands united with Cyprus’, refers to a

Twitter statement by the president of the EU on the solidarity of the Union with Cyprus and against the Turkish actions. As it was reported:

President Donald Tusk sent a clear message to Turkey via Twitter. More specifically, he reiterated that the continuous oil drillings by Turkey undermine the good neighbour relationships between the EU and Turkey. The EU stands united behind Cyprus.

**Image 8.8: ‘Tusk: the EU stands united with Cyprus’ (Phileleftheros, 07/10/2019)**



The above example portrays solidarity between member states, one of the Union’s fundamental values, while it enriches the notion of Europeaness among Cypriot citizens, by making them feel closer to Europe. The reporting of European developments remains factual, while it a negative angle is observed concerning Turkey, which is represented as a violator of the rights of the Republic of Cyprus.

This article highlights the strong link between politics and the press (and the media overall), which provides politicians with easy access to their citizen audiences, who, within the national public sphere, form public opinion. The fact that no newspapers are truly objective in their coverage (Bennett in Gurevitch et al., 1992:30–55) begs an examination of the political orientation of the European news in Cypriot newspapers. In order to understand how the categories in Graph 8.5 emerged and the process that was followed in its compilation, it is essential to define the terms ‘Left’, ‘Right’ and ‘Centre’.

**Table 8.1: Political affiliation**

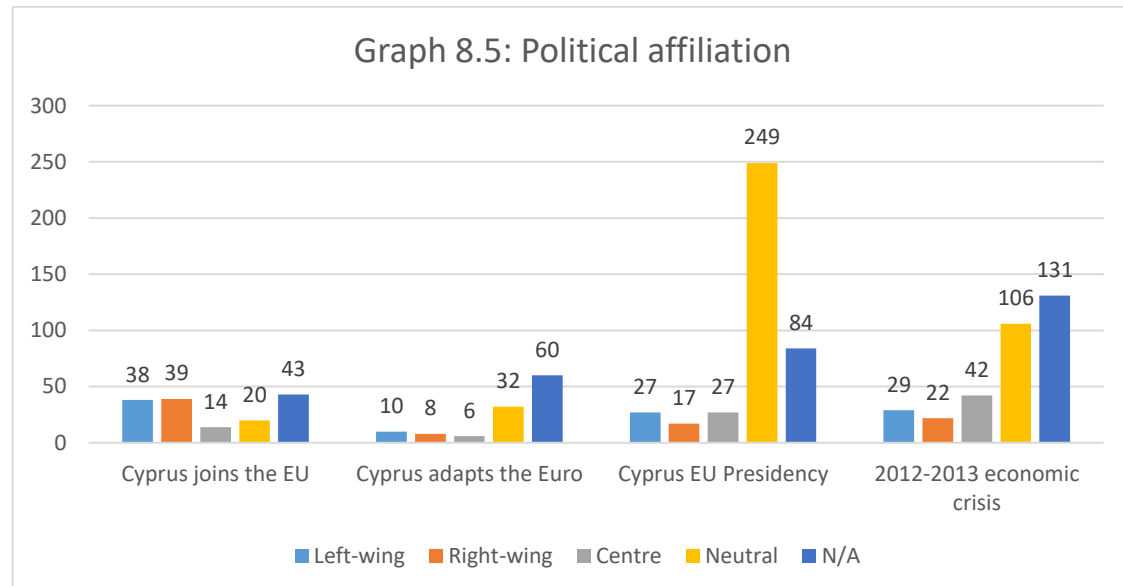
| Political affiliation | Description                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Left</b>           | ‘The political organisation whose aims and ideas are considered to be more socialist than the other members, for example because they believe that property, money, and power should be shared more equally’ (Bobbio & Cameron, 1997:37–40). Left-wing beliefs are usually progressive in nature, look to the future, aim to support those who cannot support themselves, are idealist and believe in equality. People who are left-wing believe in taxation as a means of redistributing opportunity and wealth – things like a national health service and job seekers’ allowances are fundamentally left-wing ideas. They believe in equality over the freedom to fail (Bobbio & Cameron, 1997:37–40). |
| <b>Right</b>          | ‘The group within a political party that is the most conservative’. Those who espouse right-wing beliefs value tradition and the survival of the fittest and believe in economic freedom. They believe in the freedom to succeed over equality (Bobbio & Cameron, 1997:57–62).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>Centre</b>         | ‘A political party, group of parties, or position that is not extreme because it is neither left-wing nor right-wing’ (Bobbio & Cameron, 1997:37–40). A centrist has ‘moderate political views, favours selective government intervention and emphasizes practical solutions to current problems’ (Woshinsky, 2008:141). The centre contains further political divisions (e.g., centre-left, centre-right) which are a combination of the two extremes of the political spectrum (for example, a ‘centre-right’ supporter shares the views of rightists but is closer to the centre).                                                                                                                     |

**Source:** Bobbio & Cameron (1997:57–62)

The different shades of ‘centre’ have been classified according to their key political values (for example, a centre-right article was classified under the ‘centre’ category and so on). As regards the categories ‘neutral’ and ‘not applicable’, these refer to articles which showed a neutral political approach towards the EU and to news stories with no political alignment. Graph 8.5 investigates the connection between media coverage and politics through the political affiliation of the news coverage of the

empirical examples, which include facts and background information about the member states and the EU.

**Graph 8.5: Political affiliation**



In Graph 8.5 a political neutrality is observed in two of the case studies (EU presidency and the economic crisis) and a high number of articles with no political attachment. This leads to an initial conclusion that the coverage of the European news was not linked to national political rhetoric and that Cypriot journalists treated these examples without any ideological intentions; on the contrary, it appears they were trying to be factual and objective. Specifically, regarding the accession to the EU case study, the majority of articles did not include any political stance, while there were news stories which included both left-wing and right-wing opinions. At the introduction of the common currency most of the articles had either no political stance or took a neutral approach, which led to the conclusion that European news reporting remained factual. The same conclusion applies to the other two case studies, where the majority of the articles did not include any political affiliation or there was neutrality in the coverage.

Neutrality and an absence of political orientation in the coverage of European news helps readers to form their opinion in an objective manner. With regard to the way

in which Cypriot journalists cover European news, Aristos Michaelides, editor-in-chief of *Phileleftheros*, stated that

We cover the news in an objective way. There are of course issues that were dealt with positively or negatively, depending on their subject, but in general *Phileleftheros* covers EU affairs in a positive way.

Thus, objectivity in the Cypriot press creates a news culture and public discussion among their readers and, in that respect, helps the formation of a sense of European citizenship. The newspapers help readers draw their own conclusions by providing them with information that leads to further public discussion and enhances the feeling they have of Europeanness. Thus, ‘journalists act as representatives of the public and transfer these values and norms to them, ensuring that their right for objective and free information is being secured’ (Alston in Allan, 1997:65).

The Cypriot newspapers take into consideration the current national social and economic environment before they publish a story, while newsworthiness and the presentation of current affairs are influenced by the developments that are taking place in the world and the country. The national angle in the reporting of European events may operate in favour of collective identity in homogeneous audiences (see subchapter 4.5); however, it should be noted that the ways European developments are reported can increase the notion of Europeanness among Cypriot citizens.

An example of such coverage was derived from the introduction of the euro in Cyprus case study and an article from *Politis* newspaper, which shows neutrality and an attempt on the part of the journalist to be objective about the topic of the case study. In this article, headlined ‘Pockets without Euros’, the journalist referred to the

introduction of the common currency in Cyprus and the transitional period. Despite the apparently negative headline, the article can be described as neutral and factual. The journalist acted as an observer in his reporting, and this enabled readers to draw their own conclusions about the topic. Amongst other things, the article stated:

The introduction of the euro into our country took place almost quietly since the celebrations of 1 January 2008 did not leave time for much talk. Even though transactions with the euro did not take place immediately after the official moment of the currency's introduction, the Cyprus pound has gradually begun to disappear.

Image 8.9: 'Pockets without Euros' (article in Politis: 3/1/2008, p.19)

**ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ** και τώρα... 

Με λίρες ακόμη οι πλείστες συναλλαγές

## Τσέπες χωρίς ευρώ

Δεν εντοπίζονται ουσιαστικά προβλήματα από τη μετάβαση στο ευρώ, αλλά τα Ευρωπαρωπατηρήρια τονίζουν ότι είναι πολύ νωρίς για εξαγωγικά συμπερασμάτων

**ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ ΚΥΠΡΟΥΛΑ ΠΑΠΑΧΡΗΣΤΟΔΟΥΛΟΥ**

**Σ**χεδόν αόρατα μπήκε την Τρίτη στη ζωή μας το ευρώ, αφού η κορτά-ση 1ου Ιανουαρίου 2008 δεν άφησε μεγάλο αποτύπωμα στους πολίτες. Ιδιαίτερα προβλήματα δεν έχουν αναφερθεί ούτε στην Κεντρική Τράπεζα, ούτε στο Υπουργείο Οικονομικών αλλά ούτε και στα Ευρωπαρωπατηρήρια. Τέλειο, το ευρώ μας απο-σάφηνε κυρίως ως αντικείμενο συζήτησης. Έτσι το επιδόκιμο, είτε όχι, μετά το εφημερίδα της πρωτογενούς και ιδιαιτε-ρώς στα γιορτινά τραπεζικά της Τρίτης είδαμε ήδη τις πρώτες κερματίδες με το νέο νόμισμα. Χαρακτηριστικό περι-στατικό από τη μετάβαση στο ευ-ρώ τα δύο προηγούμενες ημέ-ρες ήταν αυτή των περιηγητή-ρων και των υπαλλήλων σε ορ-τοτομεία. Ήταν οι πρώτοι που πήραν στις χερίδες τους τα νομίσματα, για εμπορικούς σκο-πούς, τους ευρώ-μετατροπείς. Η πραγματική εικόνα σε σχέση με τη διαδικασία εισαγωγής του ευρώ θα αρχίσει να διαφαίνε-ται από σήμερα, οπότε όλες οι υπηρεσίες και τα καταστή-ματα θα αρχίσουν να λειτούρ-γουν κανονικά.

**Σταδιακή απόσυρση**

Ας και οι συναλλαγές δεν διε-κδικήσουν ουσιαστικά με ευ-ρώ από την πρώτη στιγμή της επίσημης εισαγωγής του νέου νομίσματος, εντούτοις σταδια-κά φαίνεται ότι η λίρα αποσύ-ρει. Οι λιμενικές Τσέπες-τσέ-πες (ΑΤΠ) των τραπεζών πήραν φωτιά από αρχές το από-γευμα της Δευτέρας, ενώ, τα υποκαταστήματα των τραπεζών και των συνεργατικών πιστω-τικών ιδρυμάτων (ΣΠΙ), τα οποία συναντάς εύκολα για ανταλλαγή λίρας με ευρώ την 1η του χρό-νου, δεχόταν επισκεψίμες από αρκετές χιλιάδες πολίτες. Ηδη παρήλθει η μερίδα των χωρί-των υποκαταστήματα των χωρί-των κυκλοφορία ενώ εκκινούν τα σταθμά τα αυτοκίνητα του ευ-ρώ. Το Υπουργείο Οικονομικών δηλώνει ότι είναι προς τα πα-ρά πολύ νωρίς για να αποτι-μήσει συνολικά τη δυναμική της εισαγωγής του ευρώ, εντούτοις οι πρώτες ερωτήσεις των Ευρωπαρωπατηρίων δεν δέ-χον ότι υπάρχουν σοβαρά προ-βλήματα.

**Συναλλαγές**

Οι πρώτες ώρες της πρωτο-γενούς



Οι πρώτες ώρες της Πρωτογενούς βρίσκουν αρκετά πορτοφόλια χωρίς ευρώ. Γι' αυτό και η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία των πολιτών διενήργησαν τις αγορές τους σε κυπριακές λίρες.

**ΟΙ ΛΙΜΕΝΙΚΕΣ ΤΣΕΠΕΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΕΥΡΩ - ΗΜΕΡΑΣ**

- Έγιναν γύρω στις 15.000 αναλήψεις από τις Αυτόματες Ταμειακές Μηνιαίες αέρας πέραν των δύο εκατομμυρίων ευρώ σε κάρτες-απο-θήματα.
- Επισκεφθήκαν τα 42 υποκαταστήματα τραπεζών και συνεργατικών πιστωτικών ιδρυ-μάτων που άνοιξαν ειδικά για ανταλλαγή ευ-ρώ, γύρω στις 10.000 άτομα και ανταλλά-σαν κάρτες-αποθήματα λίρας με ευρώ αέρας 4 εκατομμυρίων ευρώ.
- Μεταβίβον τα κέρματα της λίρας (σεντ) που βρίσκονται σε κυκλοφορία στην αγορά. Συμ-φωνα με την Κεντρική Τράπεζα στο πρώτο στάδιο κυκλοφορούν κέρματα αέρας 35 εκατ. λίρων. Η κυκλοφορία των κερμάτων βρέ-θηκε στο πιο φιλό όφελος της στα €44,6 εκατ.
- Μεταβίβον παρουσιάζονται επίσης και η κυ-κλοφορία των κάρτων-αποθημάτων της λίρας.

Συγκεκριμένα, σύμφωνα και πάλι με την Κε-ντρική Τράπεζα, βρίσκονται σήμερα σε κυ-κλοφορία κάρτες-αποθήματα αέρας €37,0 εκατ. και υπολογίζεται ότι έχουν αποσυρθεί από την αγορά €14,0 εκατ., δηλαδή το 20% του ρευστού σε κυκλοφορία.

- Στην αγορά έχουν διακτεθεί κέρματα ευ-ρώ συνολικής αέρας 100 εκατ. ευρώ και καρ-τών-αποθημάτων ευρώ αέρας 350 εκατ. ευρώ.
- Υπολογίζεται ότι σταδιακά θα αποσυρθεί το 50 με 55% των κάρτων-αποθημάτων των λίρων που βρίσκονται σε κυκλοφορία και το 50 με 50% των κερμάτων.
- Τα κάρτα-αποθήματα της λίρας τα οποία θα αποσυρθούν θα καταστράφουν στο κέντρο πόλεως, ενώ τα νομίσματα θα μετατρά-νουν σε μέταλλο και θα πυλωθούν σε στα-θμούς που κερδίζει τον διαγωνισμό που προ-κήρυξε η Κεντρική Τράπεζα.

**Ευρωμετατροπείς**

Το μεγαλύτερο πρόβλημα που εντοπίζεται το Υπουργείο Οικονο-μικών είναι η προβληματική αποστολή των ευρωμετατροπεί-ων των μικρών υπολογιστικών μηχανών οι οποίες διακινούν τη μετατροπή των αέρας από λί-ρες σε ευρώ και αντίστροφα. Ο επικεφαλής της διεύθυνσης Οικονομικών Μέσων και Ευρω-νομικής Ενότητας του Υπουργείου Οικονομικών Ανδρέας Χαραλάμ-πος, μας ενημέρωσε ότι αυτό ήταν το κύριο πρόβλημα των πολιτών οι οποίοι επικοινωνή-σαν με τη διεύθυνση προβαίνον-τας για ενημέρωση του κοι-νικού για την επεξεργασία του Υπουργείου Οικονομικών έχει μεγάλο απόβημα μετατροπών

και οι πολίτες έχουν την επόνη- είτε να πάρουν μηχανές από το Υπουργείο, είτε να δοθούν τη δι-εύθυνση τους στους λειτουργούς της διεύθυνσης τρέφομενους γινώ-σκοντας επισκεψίμες τις τραπε-ζές της Τρίτης αλλά και χάρη με αποκαλυπτικό σκοπό την ανταλ-λαγή λίρας σε ευρώ ενώ, όπως είπα, δεν υπάρχει καμία αναφο-ρά στην προβληματική η οποία ορίστηκε Ευρωπαρωπα-τηρίων - Υπουργείου Οικονο-μικών προκειμένου το Υπουρ-γείο να ενημερωθεί για τα πρώ-τα εμπόδια των επεξεργατών από τις έρευνες τους στις αγο-ρές.

This commentary refers to the introduction of the euro in Cyprus. It makes no reference to individuals, while there is reference to the technical aspects of the currency changeover in the country. As was mentioned earlier in the thesis (Chapter 7), such



news stories encourage public discourse within the national public sphere and assist the integration process among citizens as well as the formation of European citizenship.

Considering the role of the press in democratic societies like Cyprus, it can be argued that the newspapers play a significant role in the European integration process through the construction of a sense of European citizenship, while citizens are influenced by the news coverage. The empirical research revealed that Cypriots participate in public discourse, a fact that helps the formation of common citizenship through the national public sphere.

Citizens are key actors in the formation of public opinion. From this empirical research, it was revealed that the press is aware of this and provides space for citizens to express themselves; this occurs through traditional columns (e.g., letters to the editor) or during the actual coverage of the event. The citizens' participation in the national public sphere through various communication channels can prove beneficial to the formation of public opinion, while their political participation can assist in the promotion of democratic values within the society.

For instance, in the coverage of the Turkish invasion in Syria that took place in October 2019, the Greek press appeared negative against the Islamic country. *Kathimerini*, one of Greece's most credible newspapers, referred to Erdoğan's threat to the EU in its title: 'Direct threat from Erdoğan to the European Union: I will open the Turkish borders to 3.6 million refugees'. At the other end, right-wing newspaper *Eleftheros Typos* (Free Press) took the same angle as *Kathimerini*, by referring to Erdoğan's threats using the title '*He bombs Syria, he threatens Europe with refugees*'.

Image 8.10: Turkey invades Syria. Greek press front pages (11/10/2019)



The influx of migrants in Europe is among the topics that European citizens were concerned about, expressing fear of any possible increase in the number of arrivals in the member states. Kathimerini's report on the direct threats of the Turkish president to send all migrants and refugees living in Turkey to the European mainland increased these concerns, especially in countries with geographic proximity like Cyprus and Greece.

To address this challenge, the European leaders identified the need for further integration and cooperation among member states. In response to the above reports was the stance of former Greek president Prokopis Pavlopoulos, as reported in [Proto Thema](#) newspaper, in a conference in Athens when, with other European leaders, he reiterated the need for further integration within the EU. In a joint statement, it was declared that

We must, without delay, move swiftly towards the completion of European unification so that the European Union can successfully meet the major challenges facing both its Member States and its peoples and its global role, as already mentioned. If we are to live up to the expectations of the fathers of the European association, this is the way of our responsibility and our accomplishment. In simple words: either we will proceed, here and now, or whatever stagnation will lead, fatal, to a setback.

This reported need for further integration between the EU member states to tackle the influx of migration flows highlights the need for solidarity and further integration as a response to the global challenges the EU is facing today. With Pavlopoulos' statement in mind, it can be stated that news reporting from this angle can lead to an increase of the feeling of 'Europeanness' among citizens and to a reduction in the democratic deficit.

Considering that the media operate as agenda setters within the public sphere (Habermas, 1989) it can be said that the agenda-setting process takes place because the press appears to be selective in reporting the news, which explains the correlation between media coverage and the degree of importance that people attach to it. But who sets the press agenda?

The answer to this question comes from the traditions and routines of journalism, where the press itself is the final arbiter of the press agenda, deciding what should be published and how. Besides, 'the predilections of journalists for conflict, negative news and political manoeuvring, among other news values, are well documented. Journalists routinely look over their shoulders to validate their sense of

news by observing the work of their colleagues, especially the work of those at elite organisations such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and national television networks' (McCombs, 2005b:164).

Thus, news agendas are constructed through joint evaluation of newsworthiness in the newsrooms, where journalists and their colleagues from the various media decide on the most important stories. As regards the coverage of EU news in Cyprus, Lefteris Adeilinis, senior political editor of *Politis*, provided a more detailed account about the coverage in the newspaper:

In the broader issues of the EU, my newspaper covers the 'big' ones: budgetary issues, stories concerning the broader European political spectrum such as security, European external relations and defence. However, I would say that there are no other EU-related issues covered, unless there is a 'Cypriot' aspect in them, i.e., something relevant to farmers, the business world of the country or the political problem of Cyprus.

The above statement reveals a number of issues concerning the ways editors assess the European news. The first observation is a reference, yet again, to the phenomenon of news domestication, in which European news needs to be related to the home country in order to make it palatable. The second observation concerns the classification of European news according to its content: due to the economic crisis in the country, there was an increase in the number of EU-related articles, although domestication appeared to be a key element of news reporting in the press.

In addition, the Cypriot journalists categorise the European news items according to their subject, with the ‘big’ stories being the ones that include political, economic and defence issues while the ‘small’ ones relate to society and the daily lives of the readers. This categorisation is a common phenomenon in the newsroom as it helps the processing of news and the filtering of incoming news in particular. Adding to the above statement, MEP Dimitris Papadakis reflected on the examined case studies’ press coverage and the overall media coverage of the European news by the Cypriot media. As he declared:

During these developments, the press has covered the developments in a satisfactory way. What was worrying was the reporting after these events, where a gap was noted in the information provision to the citizens and the European Parliament office in Cyprus is doing its utmost to inform the media about the developments in the EP. Due to the lack of EU-specialised staff, journalists who cover social affairs, politics and crime end up covering the European news. This leads to a lack of information to the society which does not receive information efficiently.

Being aligned with what was mentioned earlier on the press coverage, Papadakis identified the same issue as Aristos Michaelides of *Phileleftheros* concerning the absence of EU-specialised journalists in the Cypriot press; as he stated, this phenomenon creates a problematic situation concerning the misinformation of citizens about EU affairs and, to a greater extent, the increase in the democratic deficit and the limitation of the European integration process.

In addition to the technical aspect of the agenda-setting theory, there is the element of the impact of this process on the citizens and, in the thesis' case, the ways in which the coverage of European news by the Cypriot press helps to construct a sense of common citizenship. The role of the media in the process of European integration through the construction of common citizenship has been examined by scholars. In this project, however, there is a focus on the social aspect of this key element. Dahlgren's work on media and citizenship was based on the idea that the media are important because their representation provides resources through which both individual and collective identities are constituted. Thus, he declared that the media use their social and ideological power to influence the public.

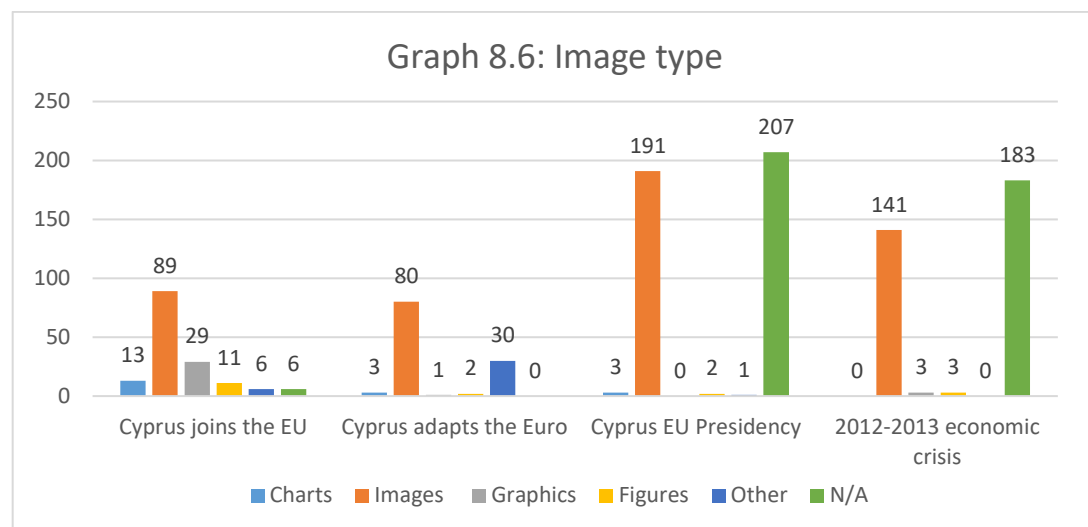
Dahlgren (1995:114) argues that 'classical journalism lays claim to impartial renderings of a reality that exists independently of its telling, and which is external to the institutions of journalism' and that 'it is aimed at a heterogeneous citizenry that basically shares the same public culture'. In other words, Dahlgren argues that citizens use journalism as a resource for participating in the politics and culture of society and therefore journalism is being transformed into a force of integration and public discussion.

Hence, it could be summed up that, through the press, Cypriot journalists are making efforts to create a feeling of *Europeanness* among citizens. The homogeneity of the readership assists in the creation of citizenship due to the shared social, political and cultural values that already exist within the society, making the integration process easier and helping the construction of a sense of European citizenship through the reporting of the European news.

Speaking about reporting, it is common practice in reporting the news to use visuals in order to make an article more attractive. This phenomenon has been identified

by scholars as ‘visual rhetoric’ which has been defined as ‘a large body of visual and material practices, from architecture to cartography and from interior design to public memorials’ (see Blair; Foss; Twigg; MacDonald; Mirzeoff; Stafford) or as ‘the speech created by the layout’, despite the content and the articles in a printed newspaper. At this stage, the thesis aims to discuss the role of the image in the coverage of European news and its significance to the news stories and to the construction of European citizenship.

**Graph 8.6: Image type**



A primary observation about Graph 8.6 is that the press prefers images as visuals, while there is a number of articles that did not include any visuals. Specifically, the news coverage of the EU presidency and the economic crisis examples included mainly images while the other two case studies included a variety of visuals with the most outstanding being the images.

In the thesis’ effort to investigate the role of the image in the formation of public opinion and, to a greater extent, the emergence of European citizenship through the reporting of European news, it can be stated that an image or visual operates in favour of the article as it alters its dynamic. Barnhurst (1994), for example, noted that

journalists acknowledge the power in presenting news through pictures while Domke et al. (2012) suggested the notion that ‘images drive public opinion is overly simplistic’, stressing that ‘images interact with individuals’ predisposition, experiences and values’. Seeing images as capturing moments that aim to last in history and, more specifically, looking at the work of photojournalists and photo editors concerning the significance of the image in the news, it can be stated that an image in a news story provides visualisation of the news and increases its newsworthiness.

Fahmy & Wanta (2017) referred to the assumptions that photojournalists work from the perspective that the vividness of their visual messages influence other people, leading to the result that ‘photojournalists and photo editors view the level of impact of their work to have a strong influence on decisions’. As regards the power of newspaper photography, images are particularly powerful in triggering a set of cognitive and affective responses, as individuals evaluate social and political environments (Domke et al., 2012). Hence, visuals can drive public opinion (Perlmutter, 1998; Fahmy et al., 2006) and can receive attention and provoke persuasion (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

For instance, German chancellor Angela Merkel has been spotted by photojournalists greeting global leaders with a kiss on the cheek. In their work, photojournalists were able to reflect on these moments, using these images to gain attention while the connotations identify Merkel in a positive way. This view of the German chancellor highlights her hegemonic role within the EU while it reveals the importance of Germany in the global political scene, a phenomenon that would have an impact on the public sphere and on the formation of public opinion. In that context, Messaris and Abraham (2001:217) write that visual imagery is an effective tool for ideological manipulation as images appear more natural and viewers tend to overlook them as artificial constructions.



*Image 8.11: Angela Merkel greets global leaders ([Daily Express](#), 26/04/2016)*



This phenomenon is what Hariman and Lucaites (2001) defined as ‘iconic photographs’ which are photographic images produced in print, electronic, or digital media that are (1) recognised by everyone within a public culture, (2) understood to be representations of historically significant events, (3) objects of strong emotional identification or response, and (4) regularly reproduced or copied across a range of media, genres and topics. With the above in mind, it can be argued that images can add value to the reporting of current affairs, as an image is a visual reflection of what is verbally described in a news story.

Iconic photographs have a dynamic that operates in favour of the news story and the visual rhetoric may differ between images. For instance, Hill & Helmers (2004: 27) stressed that in the traditional rhetoric, there are normally complex situations that involve commonly more than one speaker where ‘in many of these situations, the audience is faced with a bewildering array of elements to consider – elements that may include statistics, charts and graphs, anecdotes and other narratives, items of physical evidence, and abstract ethical and philosophical arguments’ (Hill & Helmers, 2004:27). As regards the press, journalists need to use the correct wording and the appropriate

visual in order to draw the readers' attention and 'sell' the newspaper article, highlighting its importance.

In Cyprus, journalists and photojournalists tend to follow their knowledge on what is in the public interest and use the appropriate image that could reflect the reality of each article. As regards the European news, most of the images were taken from international photo news agencies (e.g., Getty Image, Eurokinissis and so on) and were inserted into the related news stories. An example of the coverage of the European news in Cyprus was extracted from *Politis* newspaper and was related to the financial crisis in Europe. Entitled 'The EU's carrot and stick', the article refers to the role of the Germans in the financial crisis in Europe and the problems Greece was facing.

Image 8.12: 'The EU's carrot and stick' (*Politis*, 28/10/2012)



An initial observation of the three images in the news story efficiently portrays the situation that was taking place in Brussels; a decisive German chancellor, a concerned Greek prime minister, and cynical MEPs, reacting to the financial austerity measures imposed on certain member states. The images' connotations reveal the critical situation the EU was facing, and this was also portrayed in the text. As it was mentioned:

At last week's European Council, the Eurozone political elite agreed that it is necessary to create a budgetary union to complete the monetary union, which is facing a 3-year debt crisis. [...] The Germans are in favour of a solution that includes more stick and less carrot.

From this abstract the leading role of the German government in the financial crisis can be seen, while in other parts of the commentary there is a negative portrayal of the Greek government which was in a difficult economic and negotiating position due to its enormous debt. The depiction of traditional journalistic norms varies across the literature, but a common norm ascribed to journalism is objectivity.

In Cyprus, Roussou (2010: 113) identified two emerging yet opposing models of Cypriot journalism: a) one close to traditional journalism related more to print media and b) a more market-oriented journalism related to audiovisual and online media. With respect to the press, especially in relation to political coverage, newspapers remain an arena for confrontation between contrasting politics and ideology. Even though the media operate in a market framework, the Cypriot press offers information, analysis and comments produced by a few elite groups who address other political, cultural and economic elites in order to send messages to the public and form public opinion. As regards the European news, the overall impression in the Cypriot society is that the

press is trying to address European affairs in a factual way. MEP Dimitris Papadakis referred to the coverage of the EU in the press, stating that

The overall image is factual and objective though there were times where the media were against the EU. That is reasonable in some cases because some media like to accuse the EU for their own reason. Take for instance AKEL's *Haravgi* which was critical when we joined the European Union with a negative stance towards the EU, while the pro-European newspapers considered the EU as 'heaven on earth'. However, the overall coverage of the EU is objective.

The above statement refers to *Haravgi*, the official newspaper and voice of the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL), Cyprus's second largest political party, which espouses communist views, and its opposition towards the country's accession to the EU. Based on Papadakis' statement, it can be said that public opinion is not always reflected in what is written or broadcast by the media, but there is no doubt that the media do play a significant role in constructing public opinion and promoting dialogue within a democratic society. Costas Constantinou from *Politis* referred to the coverage of the European news by the Cypriot press, declaring that

I think we present them in a neutral and positive way. Usually, the stance is positive while there is neutrality in some stories, especially when some news is presented as news stories, without any analysis. Columnists and journalists tend to present the EU

news in a positive way in order to change the narrative that says, 'behind every problem or bad decision for Cyprus, it is the European Union's fault'. What we are trying to say through our reporting is that the European Union is not always the problem, but it can be the solution. I think the problem are the citizens and journalists who support these stereotypes, without of course being critical of the EU and its bodies where necessary.

Constantinou identified the positive effort that takes place in the Cypriot press through the EU news coverage and stressed that this phenomenon comes in response to a movement to change the anti-European rhetoric in the country's national sphere. Furthermore, he identified a lack in critical angle from both a group of journalists and citizens who express an anti-European attitude publicly. The question that arises is to what extent this attitude operates as an obstacle to the creation of European citizenship. As was mentioned in the literature review, the notion of a common citizenship is complementary to the national one; thus, it is expected for Cypriots to think and act primarily as part of their nation, with common values and homogeneity, and secondarily as part of a broader Union of member states.

In sum, the media's role in shaping public opinion and the extinction of the negative portrayal of the EU is vital to the overall process of European integration. The existing diversity between member states and the absence of homogeneity between Europeans make the construction of common citizenship a difficult process. The absence of a European public sphere leads to dependence on the national ones, and the media's role is to inform citizens with fairness, objectivity and accuracy about EU affairs.

### 8.3 Conclusions

The journalistic coverage of EU news in Cyprus included a national angle, while news domestication was apparent throughout the coverage of the empirical examples. The examined Cypriot newspapers appeared to present European news from a national angle in order to make it more appealing to their readers.

The sharing and exchange of knowledge on issues of concern to the Union's citizens such as political, economic, cultural or otherwise, assists the European integration process and the construction of European citizenship. The mass media can 'integrate otherwise highly fragmented markets or publics into more encompassing combinations of these segments for some enduring common knowledge' (Lude, 2004:223). Also, the media increase the democratic participation of the populace in a segmented society such as the European one, which influences the development of a common European identity (Lude, 2004:223). Thus, the media provide the central means for citizens' understanding of, and connection to, the political world (Nolan, 2008:45).

The lack of a pan-European media system which could promote a sense of European citizenship makes it dependent on the national media systems and spheres. The research findings revealed that publicity can assist in the construction of a collective identity and the same applies to the development of European citizenship. In this respect, the media (and in the project's case, the press) can play their role in forming public opinion. This is achieved through the news agenda-setting process, in which Cypriot journalists, through a joint evaluation of newsworthiness, select the news stories that will be covered. Despite the pan-European coverage in some case studies and the slight change in the news values, it was identified that reporting more stories from a 'European' angle can increase the readers' sense of *Europeanness* and make them feel

more European. This European coverage through the media can increase public political participation and provide more ground for active political engagement.

## CHAPTER 9: THE CYPRIOT PRESS AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

This project has examined the role of the news coverage of EU-related events (Cyprus joins the European Union, the introduction of the euro in the country, the Cyprus EU presidency and the eurozone economic crisis) in the Cypriot press and its contribution to the formation of a European public sphere, European citizenship and identity and its meaning for European integration. To achieve this, the thesis analysed the coverage of these events in *Phileleftheros* and *Politis*, and utilised both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection, using structured elite interviews and analysis of newspaper articles respectively to investigate the role of the press in the European integration process.

For over half a century, the EU has taken many steps towards the social, political, economic and cultural integration of its member states and towards bringing its citizens closer, without losing their existing social, cultural, political and economic diversity. In addition to be an amalgamation of neighbouring countries on the same continent, the EU is a supranational organisation designed to bring the member states closer economically, politically and socially. To achieve this, the EU uses its institutional bodies to construct common policies that are implemented by its member states.

This project has contributed to academic knowledge on three levels: theoretically, empirically and practically. Concerning the **theoretical contribution**, the project sheds light on the ways European integration is evolving within the formation of a European public sphere and the emergence of European citizenship.

Today, the attainment of **European integration** faces several significant challenges, such as the possibility of conflict between individuals and groups as a result of reduced heterogeneity (perceived or actual); the diversity of language and other



cultural differences between member states; the effects of economic crisis leading to disaffection of individual member states, rather than to consensus; the perception of a democratic deficit at the heart of the EU, arising from a lack of citizens' participation in the EU's democratic processes; the perception, often fostered by populist politicians, that the project of EU integration, particularly in its political aspect, is an affair of 'the elite' rather than of 'the people'. The project showed that there is a strong need for a new positive EU narrative to be devised and disseminated, and that this can be achieved through the media.

In addition, the project identified the significance of the **public sphere** as a virtual or imaginary community that does not necessarily exist in any identifiable space, which can operate as an area of social life, where people can get together and discuss openly issues that concern society. The citizens' contribution to the public sphere can be achieved through the media and the different parts of the public sphere (global, national and European) where they can access information and participate in the political process. The media in the public sphere can bridge the gap between fragmented social groups and the universally shared arena of general discourse.

Regarding the construction of a **European public sphere**, this operates within the framework of the national public sphere, where there is the ability to address homogeneous audiences with the same linguistic, cultural and socio-political norms. The absence of a pan-European media system, which could facilitate the promotion and development of a European public sphere, increases the dependency on the national sphere in the promotion of public discourse on European news. In addition, it was noted that the creation of a European public sphere has been impeded by the existing diversity of audiences in the EU, who do not share the same socio-political, cultural and linguistic norms. Hence, the development of a European public sphere was 'informally' assigned

to the national ones, which can ensure homogeneity in their audiences. The existence of homogeneity within the national public sphere is used by the media in a democratic society to promote public discourse amongst its citizens.

As has been noted in this project, the construction of **European citizenship** is developed within the national public spheres and through public political engagement in democratic society. As established in the Maastricht Treaty, European citizenship is considered a ‘privilege’ for Europeans, complementing national citizenship, and is applicable to citizens of all EU member states. The existing multiculturalism and diversity among member states and their societies can coexist under a European collective identity which has transnational elements but does not neglect national identity.

From an **empirical perspective**, communicating the EU and its works to its citizens, so that they may be better informed about the ways in which the EU contributes to their daily lives, is a significant element of the European integration process. In this context, the thesis has empirically examined the role of the Cypriot press in the European integration process and within the framework of a European public sphere and its role in the formation of European citizenship.

Concerning the coverage of European news by the Cypriot press, journalists and politicians have stressed that the press in Cyprus does not cover every aspect of European news effectively. This is partly the result of the financial problems that newspapers have been facing from the eurozone economic crisis until today’s Covid-19 pandemic, which have led them to reduce staff, including their Brussels correspondents, and their dedicated space for European news. This phenomenon reduces the amount of information provided to citizens and may lead to an increase of the EU’s democratic deficit.

The democratic deficit that exists in the Union may be increased and create a communication gap between citizens and the EU bodies which would have an impact on the European integration process. The absence of a pan-European media system which could bridge this gap makes the provision of information about the EU go through the national media. The media act as mediators between politicians and citizens and their role is to promote public discussion and citizens' political engagement through the news coverage they provide.

In response to the research questions and focusing on the empirical research of the project, it can be concluded that the overall European news coverage in the Cypriot press was positive; this was dependent, however, on the particular European development and its impact on Cypriot society. For example, at the introduction of the common currency in Cyprus, the reporting was positive, while on the eurozone financial crisis the coverage was mostly negative.

Although the project's interviewees argued that there is ground for further coverage of European news, they also stressed that there is a lack of interest on the part of Cypriot readers in this kind of news, arguing that it is not in the interest of the public and does not directly concern the readership; also, journalists claimed there is a wide lack of knowledge on EU affairs among Cypriot citizens. In order to make European news more appealing to their readers, newspapers tend to domesticate EU affairs by giving them a national angle.

The empirical research showed that news domestication is indeed used by Cypriot journalists as a method of catching the attention of a homogeneous national audience and making European news more appealing to readers. The domestication of news is associated with the ways in which the press presents Europe to the readers; it may assist in preserving homogeneity, national pride and self-esteem within the nation

state, but it may also act against the European integration process, as readers may continue to operate as ‘Cypriots’ rather than ‘Europeans’. By contrast, reporting more stories from a ‘European’ angle may increase the readers’ sense of *Europeanness* and make Cypriots feel more European.

The research findings concerning European integration revealed the domestication of European news by the Cypriot press as a technique to make it more appealing to the readers. The overall positive stance of the national press towards the EU operates in favour of the European integration process; however, the coverage of the case studies reflected the impact on society and, hence, affected positively or negatively the country’s public opinion.

The research findings concerning the development of a European public sphere revealed the absence of a European public sphere and its dependence on the national ones, which include collective identity and shared norms and values. Operating within the national public sphere, the Cypriot press covers the European news from a national angle in order to trigger the interest of its readers and assist the public discourse on issues affecting the Union as well as the European integration process.

The research findings concerning European citizenship revealed that publicity can assist in the construction of a collective identity and the same applies to the development of European citizenship. In this respect, the Cypriot press, through the news agenda-setting process, can form public opinion by evaluating the newsworthiness of European news and selecting the news stories that will be covered.

In **practical terms**, the project has put the Cypriot press in its European context, through an analysis on its contribution to the European integration process through the construction of a European public sphere and through the development of European citizenship. The absence of similar scholarly studies on the Cypriot press in relation to

the key subjects of the thesis operated in favour of this project which filled an *academic gap* by investigating the role of the Cypriot press in its European context.

Furthermore, the examination of four EU-related events (Cyprus joins the EU, Cyprus adapts the euro, the 2012–13 eurozone financial crisis and the 2012 Cypriot European Council Presidency) and their press coverage by two of the country's most read newspapers (*Phileleftheros* and *Politis*) through a selection of a specific time frame (2004–13) is expected to be an important resource not only for future researchers and journalists, but also for historians and other media studies experts, due to the absence of previous research material on Cyprus on such a scale.

## ANNEXES

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## **1. Questionnaire (interviews with journalists)**

Name:

Date of Interview:

Newspaper: Politis/ Phileleftheros

1. What subjects do you usually cover? Can you give me some examples of the issues being covered by your newspaper?
2. In your opinion, does your newspaper covers efficiently the European news? If so, in what ways?
3. What sources does your newspaper use in order to obtain information on EU affairs? Why did you choose these sources of information? Please explain.
4. Do you think that your newspaper covers all areas of EU-related news in an efficient way? Please explain.
5. Do you think that your newspaper should you dedicate more space in the newspaper for European news? Please explain.
6. In your opinion, can these obstacles be overcome so that the newspaper could dedicate more space for European news? If so, how?
7. Is there further ground for more analysis on EU affairs? Please explain.
8. To your mind, does your newspaper presented the European news in a neutral, positive or negative way? Can you give some examples?
9. To your mind, do you think that Cypriots are interested in the European news? Please explain.
10. In your opinion, what is the sense of the average readers when they read an EU-related article in your newspaper? Why? Can you give me some examples from any feedback you may have received from your readers?

11. To your mind, what is your newspaper's contribution to the formation of a 'European' public opinion? Can you give me some examples which highlight this contribution?
12. Do you think that your readers feel closer to Europe or not? Can you please justify your answer?
13. How does your readers react in an EU-related article? Can you give me some examples on their reaction?



## 2. Questionnaire (interviews with politicians)

Name:

Date:

Political Party:

- 1) Can you please identify the event you were involved? (tick all that applies)
  - Cyprus joined the EU
  - Cyprus joined the Euro
  - Cyprus EU presidency (2012)
  - Cypriot economic crisis
- 2) What was your role in the aforementioned event(s)?
- 3) In your role at the above events, did you had to work and collaborate with the media? In what level were you involved with the media?
- 4) What was your overall experience from the press during the event you were involved? In your opinion, did the press covered all aspect of the event? Please explain.
- 5) In your opinion, does the Greek Cypriot press covers efficiently the European news? Please explain.
- 6) Do you think that Cypriot newspapers should you dedicate more space in the newspaper for European news? Please explain.
- 7) Is there further ground for more analysis on EU affairs? Please explain.
- 8) To your mind, does the newspaper presented the event you were involved in a neutral, positive or negative way? Can you give some examples?
- 9) To your mind, do you think that Cypriots are interested in the European news? Please explain.
- 10) Do you think that Cypriots feel closer to Europe or not? Please explain.

### 3. Cyprus joins the European Union coding sheet

CODER:

CODING DATE:

**1. ARTICLE DATE:**

**2. NEWSPAPER:** POLITIS/ PHILELEFTHEROS

**3. COLUMNS:**

**4. PAGE NUMBER:**

**5. EVENT LOCATION:**

- a. Athens
- b. Nicosia
- c. Brussels
- d. Pan-Cypriot
- e. Pan-European
- f. Other
- g. Not Stated

**6. AUTHOR:**

- a. Journalist/Reporter
- b. Editor
- c. Scholar
- d. Politician
- e. Commentator/analyst
- f. News agency
- g. Foreign Press article (translation)
- h. Not stated
- i. Other

**7. GENRE:**

- a. News story

- b. Comment
- c. Report/Analysis
- d. Readers' letters/Email
- e. Interview
- f. Feature
- g. Editorial

**8. SECTION IN THE NEWSPAPER:**

- a. Home Affairs
- b. National Politics
- c. European Politics
- d. International News
- e. Local/National News
- f. Inlet/Special report
- g. Comments/ Analysis
- h. Letters to the Editor
- i. Economy
- j. Culture

**9. PRIMARY SUBJECT:**

- a. EU affairs/politics
- b. Cyprus EU accession
- c. Local/National politics
- d. Other

**10. SECONDARY SUBJECT:**

- a. Culture
- b. Economy
- c. Education/Religion
- d. Social Affairs
- e. EU politics

- f. National politics
- g. Media
- h. Monetary Union
- i. Other (specify)

**11. WHO IS QUOTED?**

- a. Greek Government
- b. Greeks
- c. Republic of Cyprus
- d. Greek Cypriots
- e. European Union
- f. European citizens
- g. Annan plan
- h. Cyprus problem
- i. European Parliament
- j. EU public bodies/leaders
- k. National Political leaders
- l. Other

**12. ANGLE:**

- a. National
- b. Local
- c. European

**13. PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Greek Government
- b. Annan Plan
- c. Media
- d. Cypriot Government
- e. Greek Cypriots
- f. European Union public bodies

- g. EU accession
- h. EU elections
- i. Turkey
- j. Cyprus problem
- k. National Political leaders/parties
- l. Other

**14. PRESENTATION OF PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**15. SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Greece
- b. Annan Plan
- c. Media
- d. Cyprus
- e. Greek Cypriots
- f. European Union public bodies/leaders
- g. EU accession
- h. EU elections
- i. Turkey
- j. Cyprus problem
- k. National Political leaders/parties

**16. PRESENTATION OF SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**17. EU REPRESENTATION:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**18. STANCE TOWARDS EU:**

- a. Pro-European
- b. Anti-European
- c. Neutral
- d. Not Applicable

**19. POLITICAL AFFILIATION:**

- a. Left-wing
- b. Right-wing
- c. Centre
- d. Neutral
- e. N/A

**20. KEY INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. The Public/Organised members of the public
- b. EU officials
- c. National politicians/leaders
- d. Other (specify)
- e. N/A

**21. PRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**22. KEY INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. EU political parties
- b. National political parties
- c. Republic of Cyprus
- d. EU public bodies
- e. Other
- f. N/A

**23. PRESENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**24. IS THERE A CRITICAL STANCE IN THE STORY (YES/NO)?**

**25. DOES THE STORY PROVIDE BACKGROUND INFORMATION (YES/NO)?**

**26. IMAGE INCLUDED (YES/NO)?**

**27. TYPE OF IMAGE:**

- a. Charts/ Graphics
- b. Images
- c. Figures
- d. Other

#### 4. Cyprus adapts the Euro coding sheet

CODER:

CODING DATE:

**1. ARTICLE DATE:**

**2. NEWSPAPER:** POLITIS/ PHILELEFTHEROS

**3. COLUMNS (inches):**

**4. PAGE NUMBER:**

**5. EVENT LOCATION:**

- a. Nicosia
- b. Brussels
- c. Pan-Cypriot
- d. Pan-European
- e. Other
- f. Not Stated

**6. AUTHOR:**

- a. Journalist/Reporter
- b. Editor
- c. Scholar
- d. Politician
- e. Commentator/analyst
- f. News agency
- g. Foreign Press article (translation)
- h. Not stated
- i. Other

**7. GENRE:**

- a. News story
- b. Comment
- c. Report/Analysis
- d. Readers' letters/Email
- e. Interview

f. Feature

g. Editorial

h. Other

**8. SECTION IN THE NEWSPAPER:**

- a. Home Affairs
- b. International News
- c. Local/National News
- d. Inlet/Special report
- e. Comments/ Analysis
- f. Letters to the Editor
- g. Economy
- h. Culture
- i. Other

**9. PRIMARY SUBJECT:**

- a. EU affairs/politics
- b. Economy
- c. Local/National politics
- d. Other

**10. SECONDARY SUBJECT:**

- a. Culture
- b. Economy
- c. Agriculture
- d. Education
- e. Social Affairs
- f. Media
- g. Other

**11. WHO IS QUOTED?**

- a. Greek Cypriots
- b. Turkish Cypriots
- c. EU public bodies/leaders
- d. Political leaders
- e. Other

**12. ANGLE:**

- a. National
- b. Local
- c. European

**13. PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Cyprus
- b. Greek Cypriots
- c. Turkish Cypriots
- d. European Union public bodies
- e. Euro
- f. Political leaders
- g. Cyprus problem
- h. National Economy
- i. Eurozone
- j. Other
- k. N/A

**14. PRESENTATION OF PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**15. SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Cypriot Government
- b. Greek Cypriots
- c. Turkish Cypriots
- d. European Union public bodies
- e. Euro
- f. Political leaders
- g. Cyprus problem
- h. National Economy
- i. Eurozone
- j. Other
- k. N/A

**16. PRESENTATION OF SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**17. EU REPRESENTATION:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**18. STANCE TOWARDS EU:**

- a. Pro-European
- b. Anti-European
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**19. POLITICAL AFFILIATION:**

- a. Left-wing
- b. Right-wing
- c. Centre
- d. Neutral
- e. N/A

**20. KEY INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. The Public/Organised members of the public
- b. EU officials
- c. National politicians/leaders
- d. Other
- e. N/A

**21. PRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**22. KEY INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. EU political parties
- b. National political parties
- c. Other
- d. N/A

**23. PRESENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**24. IS THERE A CRITICAL STANCE IN THE STORY (YES/NO)?**

**25. DOES THE STORY PROVIDE BACKGROUND INFORMATION (YES/NO)?**

**26. IMAGE INCLUDED (YES/NO)?**

**27. TYPE OF IMAGE:**

- a. Charts
- b. Images
- c. Graphics
- d. Figures
- e. Other

## 5. Cyprus EU presidency coding sheet

CODER:

CODING DATE:

**1. ARTICLE DATE:**

**2. NEWSPAPER:** POLITIS/ PHILELEFTHEROS

**3. COLUMNS:**

**4. PAGE NUMBER:**

**5. EVENT LOCATION:**

- a. Nicosia
- b. Limassol
- c. Larnaca
- d. Pafos
- e. Famagusta
- f. Brussels
- g. Pan-Cypriot
- h. Pan-European
- i. Turkey
- j. Other

**6. AUTHOR:**

- a. Journalist/Reporter
- b. Editor
- c. Scholar
- d. Politician
- e. Commentator/analyst
- f. News agency
- g. Foreign Press article (translation)
- h. Citizen

i. Not stated

j. Other

**7. GENRE:**

- a. News story
- b. Comment
- c. Report/Analysis
- d. Readers' letters/Email
- e. Interview
- f. Feature
- g. Editorial
- h. Other

**8. SECTION IN THE NEWSPAPER:**

- a. Home Affairs
- b. International News
- c. European News
- d. Local/National News
- e. Inlet/Special report
- f. Comments/ Analysis
- g. Letters to the Editor
- h. Economy
- i. Culture
- j. Other

**9. PRIMARY SUBJECT:**

- a. EU affairs/politics
- b. Economy



- c. Local/National politics
- d. Cyprus problem
- e. EU-Turkey relations
- f. Cyprus-Turkey relations
- g. Greece-Turkey relations
- h. Other

**10. SECONDARY SUBJECT:**

- a. Culture
- b. Economy
- c. National Politics
- d. Education/Religion
- e. Social Affairs
- f. Media
- g. EU politics
- h. Other

**11. WHO IS QUOTED?**

- a. Greek Cypriots
- b. Turkish Cypriots
- c. Cyprus Government /Presidency
- d. European Council
- e. EU member states
- f. EU public bodies/leaders
- g. National Political leaders/parties
- h. Turkish Cypriot leaders/ politicians
- i. Turkish politicians
- j. Other

**12. ANGLE:**

- a. National

- b. Local
- c. European
- d. Other

**13. PRIMARY FOCUS (tick where applicable):**

- a. Cyprus Government/Presidency
- b. Greek Cypriots
- c. Turkish Cypriots
- d. European citizens
- e. European Union public bodies
- f. National Political leaders/parties
- g. Turkish leaders
- h. EU council
- i. Other
- j. N/A

**14. PRESENTATION OF PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**15. SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Cypriot Government/Presidency
- b. Greek Cypriots
- c. Turkish Cypriots
- d. European citizens
- e. EU institutions & agencies
- f. National Political leaders/parties
- g. EU council
- h. Other
- i. N/A

**16. PRESENTATION OF SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**17. EU REPRESENTATION:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**18. STANCE TOWARDS EU:**

- a. Pro-European
- b. Anti-European
- c. Neutral

**19. POLITICAL AFFILIATION:**

- a. Left-wing
- b. Right-wing
- c. Centre
- d. Neutral
- e. N/A

**20. KEY INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. The Public/Organised members of the public
- b. EU officials
- c. National politicians/leaders
- d. Other

- e. N/A

**21. PRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**22. KEY INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. EU political parties
- b. National political parties
- c. Greek EU presidency
- d. EU public bodies
- e. Other
- f. N/A

**23. PRESENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**24. IS THERE A CRITICAL STANCE IN THE STORY (YES/NO)?**

**25. DOES THE STORY PROVIDE BACKGROUND INFORMATION (YES/NO)?**

**26. IMAGE INCLUDED (YES/NO)?**

**27. TYPE OF IMAGE:**

- a. Charts/ Graphics
- b. Images
- c. Figures
- d. Other

## 6. 2012–2013 economic crisis in Cyprus coding sheet

CODER:

CODING DATE:

**1. ARTICLE DATE:**

**2. NEWSPAPER:** POLITIS/ PHILELEFTHEROS

**3. COLUMNS:**

**4. PAGE NUMBER:**

**5. EVENT LOCATION:**

- a. Nicosia
- b. Brussels
- c. Athens
- d. Frankfurt
- e. Pan-Cypriot
- f. Pan-European
- g. Other
- h. Not Stated

**6. AUTHOR:**

- a. Journalist/Reporter
- b. Editor
- c. Scholar
- d. Politician
- e. Commentator/analyst
- f. News agency
- g. Foreign Press article (translation)
- h. Not stated
- i. Other

**7. GENRE:**

- a. News story
- b. Comment
- c. Report/Analysis
- d. Readers' letters/Email
- e. Interview
- f. Feature
- g. Editorial
- h. Other

**8. SECTION IN THE NEWSPAPER:**

- a. Home Affairs
- b. International News
- c. Local/National News
- d. Inlet/Special report
- e. Comments/ Analysis
- f. Letters to the Editor
- g. Economy
- h. Culture
- i. Other

**9. PRIMARY SUBJECT:**

- a. EU affairs/politics
- b. Economy
- c. Local/National politics
- d. Other

**10. SECONDARY SUBJECT:**

- a. Culture
- b. Economy
- c. Agriculture
- d. Education
- e. Social Affairs
- f. Media
- g. Other

**11. WHO IS QUOTED?**

- a. Greek Cypriots
- b. Turkish Cypriots
- c. Greek government
- d. Greeks
- e. Turkey
- f. Turkish citizens
- g. EU public bodies/leaders
- h. Political leaders
- i. Other

**12. ANGLE:**

- a. National
- b. Local
- c. European

**13. PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Cyprus
- b. Greek Cypriots
- c. Turkish Cypriots
- d. European Union public bodies
- e. Euro

- f. Political leaders
- g. Cyprus problem
- h. National Economy
- i. Eurozone
- j. Other
- k. N/A

**14. PRESENTATION OF PRIMARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**15. SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Cypriot Government
- b. Greek Cypriots
- c. Turkish Cypriots
- d. European Union public bodies
- e. Euro
- f. Political leaders
- g. Cyprus problem
- h. National Economy
- i. Eurozone
- j. Other
- k. N/A

**16. PRESENTATION OF SECONDARY FOCUS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**17. EU REPRESENTATION:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral

**18. STANCE TOWARDS EU:**

- a. Pro-European
- b. Anti-European
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**19. POLITICAL AFFILIATION:**

- a. Left-wing
- b. Right-wing
- c. Centre
- d. Neutral
- e. N/A

**20. KEY INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. The Public/Organised members of the public
- b. EU officials
- c. National politicians/leaders
- d. Other
- e. N/A

**21. PRESENTATION OF INDIVIDUAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**22. KEY INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. EU political parties
- b. National political parties
- c. Other
- d. N/A

**23. PRESENTATION OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS:**

- a. Positive
- b. Negative
- c. Neutral
- d. N/A

**24. IS THERE A CRITICAL STANCE IN THE STORY (YES/NO)?**

**25. DOES THE STORY PROVIDE BACKGROUND INFORMATION (YES/NO)?**

**26. IMAGE INCLUDED (YES/NO)?**

**27. TYPE OF IMAGE:**

- a. Charts
- b. Images
- c. Graphics
- d. Figures
- e. Other

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2. Interview with Aristos Michaelides, Editor-in-Chief, Phileleftheros newspaper.  
Interview date: 18/03/17
3. Interview with Costis Constantinou, Senior Editor, Politis newspaper. Interview date: 22/04/17.
4. Interview with Dorita Yiannakou, Editor, Phileleftheros newspaper. Interview date: 19/04/17
5. Interview with Erato Kozakou Marcoullis, Former Foreign Minister. Interview date: 22/09/20.
6. Interview with Panagiotis Gregoriou, Editor, Simerini newspaper. Interview date: 12/10/20.
7. Interview with Charalambos Michael, Editor-in-Chief, INBusiness online portal. Interview date: 02/11/20.
8. Interview with Demetris Papadakis MEP. Interview date: 11/05/19.
9. Interview with Ioannis Kasoulides, former Minister of Foreign Affairs.  
Interview date: 14/03/18
10. Interview with Katerina Zorpa, Editor, Politis newspaper. Interview date: 18/04/18
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12. Interview with Katia Savva, Editor, Politis newspaper. Interview date: 07/06/17.

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