The Role of Print and Broadcast Media in the articulation of the European Public Sphere:

Qualitative Case Studies: Reform Treaty & Constructing Europe and the EU

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Qualitative Case Studies:
Reform Treaty & Constructing Europe and the EU

Diana Bakalova and Yolanda Zografova

1 Journalism and Significant Cases in the Articulation of European Public Sphere

Media and media influence are amongst the concepts most frequently used in linguistic studies and also amongst the phenomena most frequently met in communication. People obtain a large part of meanings through the mass media communication. By these meanings people shape their representations, attitudes, opinions of current issues concerning their personality, their groups, their nation, their country, etc. Our symbolic surrounding is bearing today the heavy burden of innumerable media meanings and attributed significance to information, which is channeled and shaped by the media. Gergen illustrates how words and phrases in most cases do not have direct ontological grounds, but indirect or linguistic grounds that often premises complicatedness of analysis in social sciences, since multistage “unwrapping” of terms is necessary in order to reach the most direct meaning of an object (Gergen, 1985, 1984). However, it is hardly a coincidence that this circumstance is consciously and sometimes unconsciously used by politicians and journalists to bring forward one or another suggestion as guaranteed by their own presence, but not as dependent on a set of other circumstances and factors. This misleading in some cases standpoint may result in either negative or positive consequences – depending on whether it coincides or contrasts the objective social conditions in national, European or international aspect.

At first glance, positioning specific topics under the focus of scientific interest, facilitates the research process, because of their definiteness but taking into consideration the pattern of the two cases that are being discussed here, it is obvious that this is quite a serious challenge within the framework of WP.5.4. When speaking about European media, European sphere, EU and so on, one's reflections may easily go into direction of the well-known and underlined in multiple analytical publications treating the role of media, “legendary

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communication deficit”. Usually this term is presented in publications as a characteristic, intrinsic for the informational milieu that the European Commission works in and circulates its decisions, events, relations in diverse spheres; and as an obstacle when raising the legitimacy and openness to the EU citizens (Trenz, 2008). Of course, besides that polities differ by Member states, which was clearly expressed with the rejection of RT in Ireland on the first referendum, the very insufficiency of light and flexibility in communication mediated by journalists, is apparently a serious problem on the way to a European public sphere; or at least to a sufficiently advanced communication between the different levels of the European Union. But even if this conclusion, maybe too often repeated in some cases, is to an extent overtaken and getting old due to the uneven development of the European community and dynamics of the development of a given topic. Researchers who support longitude studies in an unaffected social context can benefit especially from the development of one of the most important and continued for quite a long time “cases” - the process of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. This is indeed a whole process and not a single case, that represents a large scale indicator of how is perceived the European Union “project” by journalists, commentators, by scientists and citizens. During the years lasting process of acceptance of the Treaty in different countries, a number of skeptical assessments, analyzes and expectations have been accumulated both in press and scientific publications – valid for the whole EU and not only for the Lisbon Treaty. Majone points out that EU “moves away” from its citizens and they show fear of “EU without borders and limits” (Majone, 2009). To an extent it seems unexplicable why an event, a case of a process is capable to quickly and definitively provoke attitudes and representations that no positive development and outcome can be expected; in this case, that Lisbon Treaty will remain unratified, which are the public feelings of analyzers, journalists, commentators. It is unexplicable because it happens in the context of a progressively developing and enlarging EU, in which countries have been integrated, for which skeptical arguments dominated that they would not manage to meet the requirements and would not “close” all the chapters of the EU accession negotiations in 2007. Such acts should normally build cognitive schemes, expectations, categorizations and models according to which the acceptance and ratification of the Treaty is to happen. If this is obvious for someone not seduced by political activities, means that a single explanation is possible (excluding the other existing one, because journalists and editors are not supposed to be incompetent). The second explanation remains – of the people who participate in the formation of the public opinion and lead the public debates, those who find the EU enlargement inadequate, useless or threatening some values, as they are not a few. Several
authors claim that the European initiatives are mainly directed towards the elites; moreover, Majone points out that for affiliation, the same cultural techniques are used in 19 century for reinforcement of the national identities. These techniques, the author states, are no more influential among the European publics. The political actions showing that “the hope that European elections could transform permissive consensus into a more positive stance towards the integration process has been bitterly disappointed” (Majone, 2009, p.4). This statement has been written several months before the Lisbon Treaty becomes effective, signed by all Member states. In fact, a number of research studies confirm the fact that media direct the public attention systematically towards negative news. Trenz points out that “journalism contributes to the erosion of the legitimacy of politics” (Trenz, 2008, p.57). These statements are supported by a research – a content analysis which proves that media content presents mainly power characteristics of politics and this gives rise to cynicism and provokes a decreasing support for EU. The politicians in the "old" EU Member states are often presented as "macchiavelists", uninterested in the common good. Examining the research of the relation between media and EPS, the vision of certain media directly connected to the support of the EPS formation, is becoming obvious. However, the general impression is that the issues are being outlined on a national level and even important key questions such as constitutional, are reflected briefly and superficially (Metykova & Preston, 2009). The inclusion in EPS and the enlargement of its range are important aspects but it is also significant as a way of distinction between it and what surrounds it (Salovaara, 2009, p.70). In fact, when one or several processes of European integration or EU development are being examined, usually the question of a collective European identity is posed. According to some authors we all possess a Euro-identity by birth, as well as because of some similar institutions, practices, education, socialization factors.

“Most existing studies on European journalism emphasise factors within news production that are barriers to effective coverage of European governance”. The focus is set on factors such as “resource limitations for news gathering and research; journalists' poor linkages to EU institutions; the obscure nature of European politics and its lack of 'news values'; editors' low prioritisation of European stories; journalists' poor language skills and knowledge deficits; their overuse of 'nationalised' interpretative frameworks; and news organisations following their proprietor's alleged political line over Europe” (Statham, 2010, p. 130). A number of publications and research studies on the journalist culture and in general the role of media, result in the conclusion that maybe one of the important factors causing deficits in communication, is that news are presented in the light of the national
interpretative schemes and models of thinking, of actuality in a given socio-economical and political context in a certain country. As Statham puts it: “the emergence of a European sphere of publics' requires the dissemination of a European news agenda, that becomes part of the every-day news-consuming habits of European audiences, to an extent that publics come to understand citizenship and belonging as at least in part transcending the nation-state (Statham, 2010, p.117).

Unfortunately, as Statham points out, the number of studies on journalism and Europe, is not sufficient, studies on the mutual relationships between integration and the media presence on a national and transnational level. Though these studies are currently increasing, “however, understandably, given resource limitations, these have often been small 'n' case studies located in one or two countries, and focused on one type of journalism, which places limits on the possibility to generalise from their findings.” (ibid. p.118).

Besides the multiple evaluations of the media presence in the European communication space, as insufficiently precise and reflecting the EU processes on time, no one denies the autonomy of media – which normally gives birth to the following question: Who or what might hinder the accurate (accuracy is pointed out in a study on the culture of journalism as the most important value) reflections of the process of Construction of Europe/EU or of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. It is put here just as an important for Eurosohere example or as significant event (case) that should be reflected, commented, analyzed and used for Europeanization of media, transnational mediatization between EU and its citizens, in the most exact, regular, adequate and actual way. But the impression and also the fact that a number of researchers confirm that the range of issues that occupy journalists' attention, is quite narrow and most often national. It is an indirect proof that in the problematic field of Lisbon Treaty, no reason exists that the nature of mediatization would not be similar to other processes; namely – subaltern to national topics and problems and reflected in brief when some significant events such as elections, referendums etc., occur. In fact, Trenz emphasized on this trend, stating that quite a few journalists stand firmly the position of promoting the Treaty (Trenz, 2007). These are in brief the main steps to the signing and ratification of this important legislative document, which contains the rights, the obligations and relations among all the Member states and between them and the EU.

After IGC gathered in 2000, the Nice Treaty was accepted. Later, in 2002 the Convention decided to elaborate a new contract, replacing the previous one – it was signed in 2004 after certain changes. After a continuous process of communication between the
Council of Europe and the Member States and several more changes later, an International Intergovernmental Conference was organized and within a few months, the Treaty was elaborated, finished and signed in Lisbon on 18.12.2007. Then it was necessary the Treaty to be ratified by all Member States. The Czech Republic was the last to sign the Treaty on 03.11.2009. Before that, the Lisbon Treaty faced dramatic difficulties in Ireland, where people rejected it via referendum but then accept it in the following year (2009). And days after the Irish electors voted for the Lisbon Treaty, the Czech president Waclaw Klaus posed the requirement of exceptions from the Harte of human rights. These are important dates for the present analysis of the cases investigated in EUROSPHERE, which in the “mirror” of media could show where the communication flowed smoothly and in correspondence with the processes and where the communication between EC, media and citizens of different Member states was slowing down. Ireland and the Czech Republic accepted the Treaty because they succeeded in receiving some important exceptions concerning military neutrality, taxes politics, etc. Great Britain also accepted the Treaty due to some exceptions.

If the long process of ratification of the Treaty in the different Member States normally provoked the interest of media and the skepticism of observers, editors, politicians, as well as citizens, its acceptance consecutively by the Irish people, Polish and Czech presidents, should have evoked a much more serious reverberation in all countries, followed by dozens of publications regarding the new perspectives the EU project faces. However, we could prognosticate that the study of media and their role in the articulation of the EPS would show a significantly lower and occasional extent of reflection of the positive development of the processes and its influence, compared to the negative reflection. What consequences and permanent influences this fact exerted on the social representations and what was the force that regulated them, in connection to the social behavior and activeness of large layers of citizens?

This continuous tension for the countries both from EU and Western Balkans led to the persuasion of some elite politicians, for instance Sarkozy, who, after the rejection of the Treaty by Ireland, was convinced that the enlargement question was “closed” and no more countries could be accepted. The Treaty brought important institutional changes, which met the disapproval of some European partners. More important, it was connected to the EU enlargement.
2 Research design, methods and procedure

By analysis of media thematic cases in their role of components intrinsic of the European processes, we got closer to one of the Eurosphere’s objectives – to analyze the media as an actor and as a communicative public space by measuring their contribution to articulation of the EPS.

As the Eurosphere’s media content data collection in all 16 partner countries was carried out from 9 May – 10 October 2008, including piloting in April 2008, the Eurosphere’s media content database contained data for this period from 77 media actors from all partner countries. They complied with the respective media coding rules and were quite rich in their content (with a total of 20648 cases - 8497 NIs and 12151 sources coded). And still, there were large differences among the countries with regard to the number of coded cases. This resulted in an unequal representation of European issues and actors in particular national public spheres (For detailed information See “The Comparative Content Analisys of Mass Media in Europe”). Nevertheless, the database provided various opportunities for combination of approaches and methods for secondary data processing and analysis – both qualitative and quantitative.

The qualitative case study analysis covered two of the eight themes studied under the Eurosphere Project – Constructing Europe and the EU (CEU) and Reform Treaty (RT) containing a total of 2645 cases of both themes (only NIs since the coded sources were not assigned themes).

One of the challenges was to study both themes not only by themselves but also in the context of all other themes studied under Eurosphere, so as to outline their role and place in the articulation of EPS in relation to the other EU-related themes.

Another challenge was to analyse the wide range of CEU and RT sub-themes, as long as communication about these current and constantly developing themes has flown along a number of channels with diverse content and respective social practices, reactions, and events (Macnamara, 2006).

Particularly crucial for the qualitative analysis of data was the question of whether and to what extent and light the themes were reflected by the media in the different partner countries and whether negative / positive / neutral / ambivalent attitudes to the EU and to diversity were channeled via their reflection. What are the lights and shades of definitions and attitudes towards citizens with diverse identities, with European identity? "It is in the public sphere, and mainly via the media, that citizens learn and form an opinion about
European Union (EU). At the same time, by observing the European public sphere, European policy-makers find out what Europeans think and expect of the EU." (Meyer, 2009: p.110)

Another crucial point of the analysis was to study whether and how the media actors in the different countries provided for involvement of their audience/readers and of ordinary citizens in the media discussions on both CEU and RT, whether they ensured opportunities for citizen representation, and whether they voiced public and/or individual citizens’ opinions on the important EU issues.

The challenges for obtaining a high-quality qualitative analysis were not few, particularly having in mind the fact that we tried to carry out comparative study based on analysis of the location of both themes (as both first and second most important themes) in the space of different countries, in the space of print and electronic media and to conduct cross-country comparisons in all of the abovementioned aspects.

In order to make part of the cross-country analysis easier to narrate and to comprehend we provided for grouping of the participating countries into 3 groups: old, new and non EU members\(^2\), regarding the legal criteria as per the year of EU accession (See Table 1).

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\(^2\) As per the legal criterion the group of non EU members consisted of only two countries (Turkey and Norway), which were characterized by: 1. quite different historic, sociocultural, religious, economic, etc. background and 2. sometimes quite insufficient and different amount of media content data provided, and hence special attention was paid in order to take into account and correctly analyse (where applicable) all existing significant differences between these two countries with regard to both CEU and RT themes/subthemes. More specifically this refers to CEU case and the summary of CEU subthemes, comments, the analysis of preferences on CEU as first important theme, analysis of attitude towards diversity in the reflection of CEU as 1st MIT of the media in the non EU member countries was based mainly on the data provided for the Turkish media reflections, since the number of CEU cases of the Norwegian media studied was quite insufficient to correctly summarize. Therefore, the analysis of the major CEU subthemes, comments was assumed to be representative and comprehensive enough only with regard to the Turkish media studied.
Table 1. Type of country: old, new and non EU member countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old member countries</th>
<th>New member countries</th>
<th>Non-member countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Norway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of EU accession: 1973</td>
<td>Year of EU accession: 2007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding member</td>
<td>Year of EU accession: 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding member</td>
<td>Year of EU accession: 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of EU accession: 1986</td>
<td>Year of EU accession: 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of EU accession: 1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Founding member</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of EU accession: 1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Year of EU accession: 1973</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Founding member</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Based on the theoretical considerations above and also on data from ESS, Eurobarometer, etc. we had the following expectations (hypotheses):

- Media reflection of the theme of Construction of Europe and the EU was much more varied in subthemes, compared to the reflection of Reform Treaty.
- The theme of Reform Treaty was reflected mainly by the media in the old member states.
- The theme of Constructing Europe and the EU was reflected mainly by the media in the new member states.
- Both RT and CEU were more frequently found in the print media spaces than in the broadcast media spaces.
- Media actors in the new EU member countries channeled mainly criticism (negative attitudes) with regard to national and local issues of European development and positive information and attitudes with regard to the EU (incl. CEU and RT issues).
- The opposite is hypothesized for the old EU member countries, i.e. positive information and attitudes about the national realms, but relatively negative information and skeptic attitudes about the EU (incl. CEU and RT).
- Media actors in the old EU members countries were much more concerned about citizens’ involvement and representation in the media reflections of CEU and RT, compared to the media actors in the new and non EU member.
- Media actors in all countries contributed much or less to the articulation of an EPS by (relatively) frequent reflection of both CEU and RT themes, by being much more impartial or positive rather than ambivalent or negative in their reflections of both themes (incl. attitudes towards diversity and EU), by reflecting facts, rather than attitudes and/or by providing space for public/citizen involvement and representation.

To carry out the studies on CEU and RT themes we employed both qualitative and quantitative methods. We grounded on the argument that qualitative analysis does not reject any form of quantification (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). On one hand, qualitative-quantitative analysis ensured a possibility to make cross-country comparisons on the media reflection of both themes studied. On the other hand, the quantitative presence of the topics as important components of the public attention contributed to the investigation of the extent to which mediatization could have an important role and is its direction negative, constructive or neutral in regard to the EU project development and to the articulation of EPS. Our analysis encompassed the following steps (tasks):

1. Recoding of some media content data that had been initially coded by numeric variables (such as V1_Country, V6.1_First Theme, and V6.2_Second Theme):
   A. the numeric variable V1_Country was recoded as “Type of country” variable (See Table 1 above), as the old EU member countries were indicated with the value 1, new EU member countries - with the value 2, and the non-members – with the value
3. Recoding of this variable enabled comparisons among the three types of countries (old, new and non EU member countries), as it should be stressed once again that although Turkey and Norway belong to the same legal category of non EU members, special attention was paid to the differences between their media content data of CEU and RT regarding the abovementioned considerations.

B. The numeric variables V6.1_First Theme and V6.2_Second Theme were recoded respectively as V6.1_FT_gr and V6.2_ST_gr, as each theme was combined with its respective “Please add sub-themes, if any” in order to obtain unified values for all eight themes studied as either first or second most important theme, particularly for CEU and RT.

2. Correspondence analysis (incl. multiple correspondence analysis and Chi-square analysis), using the recoded variables for first and second most important theme:

A. Correspondence analysis of CEU and RT as first and second most important themes in the context of the other themes and in the national media spaces (all countries).

B. Correspondence analysis of CEU and RT as first and second most important themes in the context of the other themes and in the spaces of the media in the old, new and non EU members.

C. Multiple correspondence analysis of CEU and RT as first and second most important themes in the context of other themes and in the spaces of the both print and broadcast media in the old, new and non EU members.

3. Content analysis (hierarchical clusterization, Chi-square analysis) of the string variables for subthemes and comments: V6.1_Sub1_Theme1, V6.1_Sub1_Theme3, V6.2_Sub2_Theme1, V6.2_Sub2_Theme3, and Comments for CEU and RT cases (only for their NIs cases\(^3\)). The analysis of the media textual data was carried out as an automated procedure using an application for automated qualitative content analysis (Alceste).

A. Hierarchical clusterization, extraction of semantic classes and summarizing the subthemes of both CEU and RT.

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\(^3\) Source cases were excluded from analysis, since themes/subthemes were assigned only to the NIs (but not to the sources) into the online registration system. Hence, correspondence between sources and NIs concerning CEU and RT subthemes was missing within the media content dataset and it was unobtainable by statistical application analysis.
B. Hierarchical clusterization and extraction of semantic classes for both subthemes and comments on CEU and RT with regard to the 3 country types (old, new and non EU member countries);

4. Cross-tabulation and Chi-square analysis of preferences (i.e. attitudes coded as variables V19_Preferences_1 (preferences for the first most important theme) and V19_Preferences_2 (preferences for the second most important theme) towards both CEU and RT in the different country types: old, new and non EU members. Specifying whether positive/negative/ambivalent or neutral attitudes prevailed across countries.

5. Grounding on the assumption that the mass media contribute to articulation of EU public spaces if they reflect citizens’ opinions, positive attitude toward diversity and the EU, the media content data for both CEU and RT were analysed (crosstabs, Chi-square analysis) for the different country type with regard to V13 (attitude towards diversity), V14 (attitude towards the EU), V15 (representation of citizens).

6. Summary and comparative cross-country analysis of the reflections of CEU and RT by the media actors (both print and broadcast) in the different countries/country types and their role for the articulation of EPS.
3 Results

*CEU and RT in the context of the other EU-related themes reflected by the media: cross-national comparison*

3.1 CEU and RT as first most important themes

Correspondence analysis results for the first most important theme (1st MIT) reflected in the national media revealed a significant relation between country and 1st MIT ($\chi^2=5957.95$; Sig.=.000). Furthermore, the correlation between the variables proved to be considerably strong (Inertia=.708, i.e. the yielded dimensions explained 70.8% of the variance). The results also showed that the first two dimensions explained considerably large percentage - 69.8% of the 70.8% variance explained by the model (first dimension - 39.9%; second dimension - 29.9%) and hence, some convincing generalizations could be made about the association of categories (See Annex 1).

The biplot correspondence map shown below reveals the inter-category distances among countries and 1st MIT in the space of both yielded dimensions (See Figure 1).

*Fig.1 First most important themes in the national media spaces*
The biplot correspondence map above shows that at the time of media data collection (April – October 2008) “Construction of Europe and EU” (CEU) as 1st MIT was an issue of prior importance, i.e. most frequently discussed by the French, Dutch and UK media and less frequently reflected by the other national media.

“Reform Treaty” (RT) as 1st MIT was most frequently found in the spaces of Danish, Czech and Norwegian media and least - in the spaces of Turkish, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Dutch media. Generally, RT was among the most prominent EU-related themes, together with the issues of EU institutions, Minorities and Migration Policy and EU enlargement.

Italian, Finnish and German media were much more concerned with the issues of Minorities and Migration Policy; Hungary – with Minorities/Minority Policy; Turkish and Bulgarian media – with EU Enlargement; and Austrian, Spanish, UK and Estonian media – with the EU institutions theme, rather than with CEU and RT.

Although both CEU and RT as first most important themes were present in all national media spaces, they were discussed with varying frequency in the context of other EU-related issues. Obviously, the current and common sociopolitical circumstances in the process of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty premised more frequent media reflections of the RT issue in most European countries at the time of media data collection. Still, country-specific patterns with regard to the frequency dimension of media reporting on both themes were also prominent. Similar were de Vreese’s findings in a study, which suggested the existence of cross-national differences in media reflection of EU issues and also higher frequency of reporting on current events – EP elections in this case (de Vreese 2008, 140). It is also applicable to our results, as long as the RT issue concerned a set of certain integration events, while CEU was a combination of subthemes as most of them were continual and not so prominent as current events.

3.2 CEU and RT as second most important themes

Results of correspondence analysis of the second most important theme (2nd MIT) reflected by the media studied in the different countries showed that there was a significant relation between country and 2nd MIT ($\chi^2=590.18$; Sig.=.000) and also that the correlation between the variables was moderate (Inertia=.440, i.e. the yielded dimensions explained 44.0% of the variance). The results also showed that the first two dimensions explained considerably large percentage – 62.2% of the 44.0% variance explained by the model (first dimension - 40.2%; second dimension - 21.9%) and hence, some assumptions could be made about the association of categories (See Annex 2).
The biplot correspondence map shown below reveals the inter-category distances among countries and 2nd MIT in the space of both dimensions (See Figure 2).

**Fig.2 Second most important themes in the national media spaces**

![Biplot Correspondence Map](image)

*Figure 2* illustrates that at the time of media data collection CEU as 2nd MIT in the context of other EU-related themes was most often found in the spaces of UK media. It was also frequently reflected by the Turkish, German, Spanish and Austrian media and least frequently discussed by the Bulgarian, Danish and Estonian media. RT as 2nd MIT was reflected most frequently by the Hungarian, Estonian and Norwegian media and its reflection was considerably less prominent on the other national media, particularly in Turkey.

Turkey appeared to be more concerned with the Enlargement theme; Bulgarian, Danish and Belgian media – with EU institutions; Finnish media – with Minorities/Minority Policies theme, rather than with CEU and RT.

In contrast to the findings for the 1st MIT above, CEU as 2nd MIT seemed to be more prominent than RT in most national media spaces. Furthermore, although RT was rarely among the 1st MITs of the media studied in some countries such as Hungary, it appeared to be among the 2nd MITs of highest priority along with Minorities/Minority Policy.
In summary, both CEU and RT had far more humble presence in most national media spaces as 2nd MIT than as 1st MIT (which perhaps stands for the other EU-related themes as well). It could be explained by the fact that 2nd MIT (as it was not always required as per the coding rules) was coded less frequently than 1st MIT by the coders and it often appeared to be just complementary to the theme of a NI’s greatest importance. These findings, similarly to the findings for the 1st MIT, suggested a country-specific frequency of media reporting on key EU-related issues. Various combinations of countries’ media with similar attitudes towards these issues were outlined. These findings suggest the existence of some prerequisites for development either of a nationally fragmented EPS or of a dynamically changing EPS, composed of sub-communicative public spaces.

**CEU and RT in the context of the other EU-related themes: comparison of media reflections among the old, new and non EU member countries**

Results of the correspondence analysis of the 1st MIT reflected in the media in the old, new and non EU member countries showed that the recoded variable, which grouped the countries into 3 types: old, new and non EU members was significantly related to the 1st MIT (χ²=1793.82; Sig.=.000), but also that the correlation between the three country types and the 1st MIT was relatively weak (Inertia=.213, i.e. the yielded dimensions explained only 21.3% of the variance). The results also showed that the first dimension explained 83.7% and the second dimension - 16.3% of the 21.3% variance explained by the model (See Annex 3). Similar were the results for CEU and RT as 2nd MIT. Hence, only some tendencies could be outlined regarding the association of categories, still keeping firmly in mind that the low percentage of explanation of the variance in the correspondence table did not assume convincing generalizations to be made.

The biplot correspondence map shown below reveals the inter-category distances among the 3 types of country and 1st MITs in the space of both dimensions (See Figure 3).
As obvious from the biplot correspondence map above, in the context of other EU-related themes CEU and RT as both 1st and 2nd MIT seemed to be reflected more frequently by the media in the old member countries and less frequently by the media in the new and non-members. While RT as 1st MIT appeared to be among the most prominent themes mediated in the old member countries, together with EU institutions, CEU as 1st MIT was not among the most prominent themes for any country type. The non-members’ media seemed to be concerned mostly with the Enlargement theme (Turkey) and with the Reform Treaty (Norway), the new members’ media – with EU institutions, and those in the old members – with Migration and Minority Policies and EU Institutions (together with the Reform Treaty theme). Still, CEU as 2nd MIT was among the most prominent themes for the media in the old and in the non-member countries, particularly in Turkey (together with the Enlargement theme), while the media in the new member countries were again more concerned with “EU institutions”.

It is important to note that although both Turkey and Norway were included in the analysis as non-members, the results of cross-national comparisons (See the previous paragraph) reveal important differences between these two countries with regard to the media.
reflection of RT. While RT as 1st and 2nd MIT proved to be a theme of prior importance for the Norwegian media, it was not among the prominent themes for the Turkish media studied. The latter result was an important insight, revealing the closeness of Norwegian media concerns with RT to those of the old members. Furthermore, although CEU and RT as either 1st or 2nd MIT were found mainly in media spaces of the old member countries, still media actors in some new and non member countries were also found among those highly concerned with RT as either 1st or 2nd MIT (See paragraph above). For example, Czech and Norwegian media were found among those most frequently discussing RT as 1st MIT, and Hungarian, Norwegian and Estonian media – RT as 2nd MIT.

On one hand, our findings revealed that the media actors’ classification by country type (old, new and non EU members) proved to be a weaker predictor of the thematic interest structure of the mediated EPS in comparison with the country of origin of the media. On the other hand, classification of the national media by country type also proved to play an important role for differentiation within the thematic interest structure of the mediated EPS.

**CEU and RT in the context of the other EU-related themes: comparison of print and broadcast media reflections in the old, new and non EU member countries**

Results of the multiple correspondence analysis of the 1st MIT with regard to the type of media (print or broadcast) in the old, new and non EU member countries showed that the type of country, the type of media and the 1st MIT were significantly related (Fit=.979; Goodness of fit=.000), and also that the correlation between the 3 variables was very strong (Fit/Inertia=.979, i.e. the yielded dimensions explained 97.9% of the variance). The results also showed that the first dimension explained 51.9% and the second dimension - 46.1% of the 97.9% variance explained by the model (See Annex 4) and hence, convincing generalizations could be outlined with regard to the association of categories. Furthermore, the result showed that the type of country variable had larger contribution for yielding both dimensions, compared to the type of media and the first most important theme, as its contribution was relatively larger for the second dimension (1.057), than for the first one (.821). Meanwhile, both the 1st MIT and the type of medium variables contributed rather to yielding the first dimension (with respectively .308 and .427) than the second one (with respectively .205 and .119). Very similar proved to be the results for the 2nd MIT and its location in the space of both media and country types (See Annex 5).
The multiple correspondence map shown below reveals the inter-category distances among the 1st MIT, the type of medium and the country types in the space of both yielded dimensions (See Figure 4).

*Fig.4 Print and broadcast media reflections of the first most important themes in the old, new and non EU member countries*

![Quantifications](image)

Obviously, at the time of media data collection CEU and RT as both 1st and 2nd MIT were among the priority themes of the print media in the old EU member countries and one of the non EU members (Norway). At the same time their reflection was not so prominent on the broadcasts as those of Free Movement and Mobility, Gender and EU Institutions. Furthermore, CEU and RT were not the most frequently reflected themes of utmost importance by the media actors in the new and in one of the non EU member countries (Turkey), as the media studied in the new EU members were mostly concerned with the issues of Free Movement and Mobility,
Gender and EU Institutions, particularly reflected by their broadcast, rather than by their papers, and the media studied in Turkey were most interested in the Enlargement subject, reflected in either medium type (as papers dominated this reflection). In general, the print media seemed to be the preferred for reflection of most 1st and 2nd MITs in the old and non EU member countries, while broadcasts were dominating the scene in this regard for the new EU members.

Major CEU and RT subthemes reflected by the media actors

3.2 Major CEU subthemes

Results of the content analysis of Construction of Europe and EU (CEU) as both 1st and 2nd MIT reflected by the media in all countries revealed a great variety of subthemes. 5 classes of contextual units were automatically extracted with the following percentage distribution: Class 1: 31.78%; Class: 2: 10.85%; Class 3: 11.63%; Class 4: 10.08% and Class 5: 35.66% (See Annex 6). The major subthemes grouped into different thematic classes were as follows:

Class 1: Financial stability/instability of the EU

1. Coordinated/consolidated EU measures against the financial crisis / for financial stability / the EU against poverty: raising bank guarantees for citizens’ deposits / tax evasion practices
2. Economic stability followed by financial crisis in the EU
3. EU financial instability in dependence on the US instability
4. Common EU emergency system: phone 112

Class 2: Europe as a cultural, religious and political community/project

1. Imperialist / capitalist / colonialist Europe / European civilization imperialist west
2. Europe as a federal state
3. Future of Europe
4. Europe vs Islam / West vs Muslims
5. Europeaness of Turkey / Turkey as a part of Europe
6. Frenchness
7. Secular Europe / European secularism
8. Two faced Europe
9. Heritage of Islamic world on Christian Europe / Influence of Islam on European history / Turkey as a cultural bridge / as a link between Christianity and Islam
11. EU as the motherland of globalization
12. Europe as a civilization process / project
13. EU campaigns against racism
14. Spanishism
15. Eurovision

Class 3: *Cultural heritage and European identity, transborder cooperation, exchange and policies*
- Cultural heritage and European identity
- Constructing EU
- EU foreign policy
- Europe of freedom / of defence
- Consolidated fight against racism and discrimination
- Cultural events in Europe: arts
- Transborder EU cooperation
- The Day of Europe
- Cultural/educational/employment exchange and policy in the EU
- Institutional reforms in favor of citizens
- Union for mediterranees
- French Presidency (launch, priorities)
- Human rights in the EU
- European future of the Balkans

Class 4: *The EU – Russia relations & Measures against corruption in the EU*
1. Attitude of the EU member countries toward Russia (Russian invasion) and the Russia-Georgia conflict
2. Corruption practices and measures against corruption in the EU

Class 5: *pro-EU attitudes, political and cultural efforts vs EU skepticism*
- Citizens’ EU skepticism (particularly in Austrian and French media studied): information and communication deficit reasons
- European football team / championship
- Two speed Europe
- Democratic deficit / legitimacy of the EU
- Consequences of the Irish referendum for the European integration / democracy
- European identity
- Future of the EU
- Common EU policy instead of national solutions
- Nationalist tendencies: from integration to national interests (particularly in Hungarian and Slovakian media studied)
- EU symbols
- The EU as a supranational postimperial superpower
- Consequences of national elections/referenda for the EU
- Pro-EU attitudes in the West Balkans

3.4 Major RT subthemes
By means of automated content analysis of RT as both 1st and 2nd MIT reflected by the media only 2 classes of contextual units were extracted with the following percentage distribution: Class 1: 58.82%; Class: 2: 41.18% (See Annex 7). The major subthemes present in both classes are summarized below:

1) Lisbon Treaty ratification
2) Consequences of the Irish referendum for the EU integration
3) Future of the EU
4) (Increasing) skepticism toward the EU (particularly in the Austrian media studied)
5) Toward a more democratic EU through the RT
6) EU as a supra national project / Europe of the nations / Federal Europe
7) the EU project/idea: enhancing citizens’ enthusiasm towards the project
8) Direction of EU politics
9) European integration
10) French EU Presidency
11) Two/multi-speed EU
12) EU justice, security and defence policy
13) Unified EU currency
In summary, as per our initial expectations the CEU subthemes reflected in the media (regardless of the country) were much more varied than the RT subthemes. Furthermore, it seemed that some of the CEU and RT subthemes overlapped, that most of the RT subthemes were discussed as CEU subthemes as well, and also that both themes included subthemes concerning other EU-related themes studied under the Eurosphere’s project. The content analysis results were explicable having in mind that the process of Reform Treaty ratification was perceived as closely related to the future of Europe and to the perspectives of construction of the EU. Obviously, through its subthemes the CEU theme was revealed as a complex multidimensional topic, incl. social, cultural, religious, economic and political issues at national, trans-national, European and international (global) level and it was related to a larger number and more varied scope of events, compared to the RT theme.

*Media reflection of the major CEU subthemes:*

*comparison among old, new and non EU member countries*

The hierarchical clusterization procedure on the subthemes of CEU as both 1st and 2nd MIT for the 3 country types (old, new and non EU members) extracted six classes. The results showed that 74.84% of all elementary contextual units belonged to one or more of the six classes and 25.16% remained unclassified (See Annex 8).

The results are mapped in *Figure 5*. 
Fig. 5 Classes of elementary contextual units of CEU subthemes reflected in the media of the old, new and non EU member countries (presented by coordinates)

The following major CEU subthemes discussed in media of the old EU members were summarized from Class 1, Class 2 and Class 4: 1. EU as challenging national sovereignty; 2. EU as wasteful of public/taxpayer money and needlessly bureaucratic; 3. Democratic character/deficit of the EU; 4. Consumer protection policy of the EU; 5. Increasing Euroskepticism (particularly Austria’s media); 6. Europe of people; 7. European public holiday; 8. Cultural exchange programmes and transborder relations and cooperation; 9. Fight against discrimination and racism in the EU; 10. Information about Europe and European traditions in schools; 11. Constructing EU/Europeanness – identification with Europe; 12. Lisbon Treaty ratification; 13. Europe of freedom/defence policy; 14. Senior employment policy; 15. Diversity in the EU; 16. European future of the Balkans; 17. Priorities of the French EU

CEU subthemes of the media in the new EU member countries’ belonging mainly to Class 3 and Class 6 were summarized as follows: 1. The EU against poverty: coordinated/consolidated EU measures against the financial crisis; 2. Economic/financial/bank stability/instability in the EU; 3. Living standard/quality of life in the EU (in Bulgaria); 4. Corruption practices; 5. Bulgaria-Romania relations; 6. Bulgarian/Czech national identity; 7. EU foreign, security and defence policy (role in global issues, policy to the Georgian conflict; relations with Russia; anti-terrorist measures; cultural cooperations); 8. The Day of Europe; 9. Strategic partnerships within the EU (France-Czech Republic; France-Poland); 10. The French EU presidency (programme, priorities); 11. Two/multi-speed Europe; 12. National/European identity; 13. EU citizenship/integration/symbols.

The hierarchical clusterization of contextual units belonging to Class 5, in which most CEU subthemes of the media in the non EU member countries (particularly of the Turkish media) were classified, revealed the following major topics: 1. Imperialist EU/west; 2. Europe as a cultural/religious/political community; 3. Turkey as a cultural bridge/heritage of Islamic world on Christian Europe; 4. Turkey as not being a part of Europe; 5. Two faced Europe; 6. EU West vs muslims; 7. Europe as civilization process project.

Again, analysis of the results revealed that the major CEU subthemes reflected by the media in the old EU members were considerably more varied than those reflected by the media in the new EU members, and much more varied than those reflected in the media in the non EU member countries. Perhaps, one of the reasons was the greater number of old EU countries’ media studied and respectively of subthemes analysed. Another reason would be the greater experience, knowledge and ease of the old EU member countries with discussions of common EU issues. The results provided an overall impression of much more polarized reflection of CEU issues across the media in the old EU members, featuring the positive spirit of EU close cooperation among EU nation countries in the name of the common EU project on one hand, and the fear of national sovereignty threat, followed by an increasing EU skepticism, on the other hand. Besides, the common EU issues, the media actors in the new EU members seemed to be much more concerned with quality of live, living standard and financial issues. They appeared to be more upset about whether their countries would be able to catch up with the well-developed old members mostly in economic aspect. At the foreground for the non EU
members’ media (represented mainly by the Turkish media) came the issue of EU as a homogeneous cultural and religious community project and the challenge of accession of Islam countries to the predominantly Christian community in Europe. Both new EU members’ and Turkish media seemed to be much more concerned with the issue of two/multi-speed Europe than the old EU members’ media, which came to prove that they reflected the position of their countries as underprivileged to some extent, compared to the old member countries. Although the media actors in the 3 different country types had some similar reflections with regard to CEU issues, obviously most CEU issues were quite varied comprising a vast range of topics across the media of different country types.

Comments on the media reflection of CEU: Comparison among old, new and non EU member countries

The hierarchical classification (clusterization) procedure for the media comments (i.e. one sentence summary of the story) on the Construction of Europe and the EU as both 1st and 2nd MIT for the 3 country types (old, new and non EU members) extracted five classes. The results showed that 64.14% of all elementary contextual units belonged to one or more of the five classes and 35.86% remained unclassified (See Annex 9).

The results are illustrated in Figure 6.
The major topics discussed in the *old EU members’ comments* on CEU were summarized from Class 1 and Class 4 as follows: 1. Questioning the democratic politics in the EU (a need for referenda; much bureaucracy and lack of transparency); 3. EU citizens’ democratic rights concerns (a need for referenda, more information on EU goals, policies and positives); 2. Increasing EU-skepticism and risks of anti-EU populism (particularly in Austria’s media); 3. Eurovision song contest – voting by ethno-national interests; 4. Information and communication problems in the EU; 5. Immigration policies in Spain and Italy; 6. Election campaigns issues (Serbia, Austria, Netherlands; instrumentalization of the EU to win national elections) 7. The Irish “No” vote to the Reform Treaty (reasons, reactions, consequences for the EU future, for EU citizens and for democratic principles; ideology and complicatedness of the Treaty); 8. Future and diversity of the EU.
CEU comments of the new EU member countries’ media belonging mainly to Class 3 and Class 5 were summarized as follows: 1. EU – Russia relations and negotiations; 2. Estonian EU perspectives; 3. Hungarian cultural heritage; 4. European Day celebrations; 4. EU symbols (flags); 5. Exhausting working schedule of Bulgarians and Romanians: lack of labour agreements and hidden economy practices; 6. Financial/Bank crisis in Europe and coordinated measures against it (incl. guarantees for citizens’ deposits); 7. Corruption practices/index and perception of corruption in the EU; 8. European chart of healthy heart; 9. EU subsidies for agriculture in the new member countries (particularly Bulgaria).

The hierarchical clusterization of contextual units belonging to Class 2, in which most CEU comments of the non EU member countries’ media were classified, revealed the following major topics: 1. Discussion on Turkey’s EU membership perspectives (weakening the nation state; process of democratization; cultural bridges); 2. Discussion on Serbia’s EU membership perspectives (in the context of the capture of Karadzic); 3. The EU as a “Christian club”: the issue of secularism; 4. Interference of EU representatives in the AKP trial.

Analysis of the results showed that the major topics of CEU comments were quite varied and different for the media in the old, new and non EU member countries. Furthermore, the media actors in the new and the old EU members reflected more diverse topics than those in the non EU members. Perhaps, one of the reasons was the considerably smaller number of non EU member’s media studied and respectively of NIs coded (particularly for the Norwegian media studied). While both old and new EU members’ media actors focused on sociocultural dimensions of Construction of Europe and the EU, it seemed that the non EU members’ media (represented particularly by the Turkish media) were more concerned with its religious and political aspects in view of national interests. Besides, the sociocultural issues (EU symbols, events, etc.) the media actors in the new member countries were preoccupied with financial issues of either national or European scope. It is also worth mentioning that the media in the old EU members were more focused on the EU citizens’ rights and the process of EU democratization as path for further construction of Europe in comparison to the media in the new EU member countries and in Turkey. In other words, new EU members’ and Turkish media seemed to be stuck to the present and more oriented towards the EU state-of-art, while the old members’ media focused on Europe’s future and on what should be done in view of successful future EU construction, where citizens and diversity would play an important part.
Media reflection of the major RT subthemes: Comparison among old, new and non EU member countries

The hierarchical clusterization procedure on the Reform Treaty subthemes as both 1st and 2nd MIT for the different country types (old, new and non EU members) extracted five classes. The results showed that 63.89% of all elementary contextual units belonged to one or more of the six classes and 36.11% remained unclassified (See Annex 10).

The results are shown in Figure 7.

Fig. 7 Classes of elementary contextual units of RT subthemes reflected in the media of the old, new and non EU member countries (presented by coordinates)

The following major RT subthemes discussed in media of the old EU members were summarized from Class 1 and Class 4: 1. Danish opt outs (on justice and home affairs, on Euro currency, monetary union, EU citizenship, EU immigration policy); 2. Lisbon Treaty – first

RT subthemes of the non EU member countries’ media belonging mainly to Class 5 and Class 2 were summarized as follows: 1. The Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty;

The hierarchical clusterization of contextual units belonging to Class 5, in which most RT subthemes of the new EU member countries’ were classified, revealed the following major topics: 1. The Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty; 2. Continuation of the Lisbon Treaty ratification process: second referendum in Ireland. 3. Latest EU legislation (waste management, healthcare, power saving).

Obviously, during the media data collection period most media studied in the old, new and non EU member countries were preoccupied with the first Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty, with the second Irish referendum and with continuation of the ratification process: analysis and prognoses. Besides, the RT subthemes were most varied in the media of the old EU member countries, followed by those in the new EU members and least diverse in their reflection in the non EU members (perhaps, due to abnormal media content data distribution across countries and particularly insufficient data for the non members’ media – both Turkish and Norwegian). Both old and new EU member countries’ media reflected as RT subthemes latest EU legislation issues although with different concerns. While the media actors in the old members were more interested in issues of justice and home affairs, Euro currency, monetary union, EU citizenship and EU immigration policy, the media actors in the new members were focused on reflection of waste management, healthcare, power saving legislation issues. With regard to the RT subthemes all media actors seemed to reflect the institutional, rather than the citizens’ view on the issues.

*Comments on the media reflection of RT: Comparison among the old, new and non EU member countries*

The hierarchical clusterization procedure for the media comments (i.e. one sentence summary of the story) on the Reform Treaty subtheme as both 1st and 2nd MIT for the 3 types of country (old, new and non EU members) extracted six classes. The results showed that 78.52% of all
elementary contextual units belonged to one or more of the six classes and 21.48% remained unclassified (See Annex 11).

The results are illustrated in Figure 8.

*Fig. 8 Classes of elementary contextual units of RT comments reflected in the media of the old, new and non EU member countries (presented by coordinates)*

The analysis of elementary contextual units belonging to Class 3, Class 2 and Class 5, in which most of the *old EU member countries’ media comments* on RT, revealed by the following major topics: 1. Opt outs for EU countries - Europe of many different “speeds”; 2. Adoption of EUR and Danish membership in/influence on the monetary union; 3. Approval of the Irish “no” vote – The Irish “no” vote was welcome; 4. EU criticism and skepticism of EU citizens (industrial interests dominated those of EU citizens and politicians failed to explain Reform Treaty to citizens); 5. Dissatisfaction with the Lisbon Treaty ratification; 6. Suspension of ratification; 7. The Reform Treaty as a threat to nation states’ sovereignty (promotion of US
interests in the EU); 8. Dissatisfaction with bureaucracy in the EU; 9. Lack of democratic legitimacy of the ratification process.

The results of the hierarchical clusterization of elementary contextual units present in Class 4 and Class 1, in which most of the new EU member’ media comments on RT were classified, revealed that the major topics: 1. Consequences and measures against the EU crisis after the Irish “no” vote on Lisbon Treaty; 2. Further ratification of the Lisbon Treaty after the Irish “no” vote; 3. Ratification of the Lisbon Treaty as one of French EU Presidency’s priorities; 4. Polish and Czech Presidents’ hesitations, attitudes and stances with concern to Lisbon Treaty ratification.

And finally, three major topics discussed in the non EU members’ media comments on RT, belonging mainly to Class 6, were summarized: 1. Apprehensions and expectations concerning the outcome of Irish referendum on the Lisbon Treaty – “yes” vs. “no” vote 2. Consequences of the Irish referendum for the EU (political crisis and future of EU) (discussed by both Norwegian and Turkish media) 3. Consequences of the Irish referendum for EU membership of Turkey (discussed by the Turkish media).

In summary, comparison of the media comments on RT among the three country types showed considerably strong reflection, but also criticism and skepticism toward the Reform Treaty ratification of the media actors in the old EU member countries. In contrast the media actors in the new and non EU members appeared to be far more sparing and neutral in the RT theme reflection. Media reflection of RT in the old member states seemed to be much more concerned with the issues of democracy, citizens’ opinions, interests and awareness of RT, than that in the new and in one of the non EU members (Turkey), where the RT theme was reflected mainly at the level of diplomacy and bureaucracy.

**Attitudes towards CEU and RT: comparison among the media actors in the old, new and non EU member countries**

Results of descriptive statistical and Chi-square analysis ascertained that the media actors’ preferences (attitudes) on the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} MIT were significantly related to the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} MIT themselves (respectively with $\chi^2=521.87; \text{Sig}=.000$ and $\chi^2=72.28; \text{Sig}=.000$) (See Fig. 9 and Fig. 10).
Fig. 9 Preferences of the media actors on the 1st MIT

Bar Chart

Fig. 10 Preferences of the media actors on the 2nd MIT

Bar Chart
The figures above show that the “none/not applicable” preference, i.e. neutral attitude dominated the media reflections of all 1st and 2nd MITs, particularly of CEU and RT (regardless of countries/country types). This result was rather explicable having in mind the claim for impartial reflection of reality of most media actors. Furthermore, with regard to CEU and RT as 1st MITs, while the “positive” preferences were dominating the reflection of CEU, the “negative” preferences were more outstanding for RT. But in their reflection as second most important themes both featured similar media preferences: highest “more negative than positive” preferences, but overall rather “positive” preferences for RT, while rather “negative” - for CEU. The latter result was quite confusing and was subjected to further analysis including a country type layer in order clarify the relation of variables.

Further indepth analysis revealed that media actors’ preferences/attitudes towards both CEU and RT as 1st MITs were significantly related to the country type (respectively with $\chi^2=78.19; \text{Sig}.=.000$ and $\chi^2=96.13; \text{Sig}.=.000$) (See Fig. 11 and Fig. 12).

*Fig. 11 Attitudes towards CEU as 1st MIT of the media actors in the old, new and non EU member countries*
Fig. 12 Attitudes towards RT as 1st MIT of the media actors in the old, new and non EU member countries

Obviously, in all country types the “none/not applicable” preference dominated the reflection of both CEU and RT. Besides the neutral attitude, the attention was drawn on the prevailing positive attitude toward CEU of the media in the old and in the new members and also on the “more negative” preferences of the media in the non-members. Generally, the media actors in the old and in the new members appeared to be (besides neutral) much more pro-integration in comparison with the media actors studied in the non-members - Turkey and Norway, although the media reflections in the old and in the new members were also far from being only neutral and positive about CEU as some ambivalence and negative attitude was also observed in this regard. It is worth noting that the prevailing positive attitudes towards CEU of the old members’ media are mostly due to Finnish, German, French and media’s preferences and those of the new members – mostly due to Bulgarian and Czech, and less - to Hungarian media.
With regard to Reform Treaty (RT) while the “more positive than negative” attitude dominated the scene in the new EU members, negative preferences dominated the media actors’ attitudes toward RT in the old and non-members.

While analyzing data on reported media attitudes one should not miss the fact that the media actors still reflect actual events and governmental policies.

...news organizations usually have a clear relationship to institutional politics, identifying to a greater or lesser extent with left or right political parties, and addressing readerships with identifiable political leanings (Blumber and Gurevich 1995, quoted by Statham 2010, 118).

Hence, it is not only about the influence of EPS and not even about current issues of transnational concern, which is of key importance for both print and broadcast media actors, but it is also about the whole configuration of factors at information-political level (ibid.).

Attitudes toward diversity in the media reflection of CEU and RT: comparison among the old, new and non EU member countries

The crosstabulation results combined with a Chi-square analysis ascertained that the media actors’ attitudes towards diversity were significantly related to the 1st and 2nd MIT studied (respectively with $\chi^2=1175.36; \text{Sig}=.000$ and $\chi^2=78.27; \text{Sig}=.000$). Furthermore, the results showed that the media actors’ attitudes towards diversity were significantly related to the country type with regard to CEU as 1st MIT ($\chi^2=67.68; \text{Sig}=.000$) and $\chi^2=96.13; \text{Sig}=.000$), but not related to the country type with regard to RT as 1st MIT. In other words, there were significant differences in attitudes towards diversity among the media actors studied in the old, new and non EU member countries, when discussing Construction of Europe and the EU as 1st MIT, while such differences were not ascertained as long as the reflections of RT were concerned. Besides, no significant differences were ascertained among the media actors in the old, new and non EU member countries with concern to their attitudes towards diversity when reflecting CEU and RT as 2nd MITs. Only significant results were analysed and illustrated below (See Figure 13).
Again, the results showed that the “not applicable/not clear”, i.e. neutral attitude towards diversity dominated the media reflections of CEU and RT as either 1st or 2nd MIT. Furthermore, the pro-diversity perspective in the media reflections of both themes was generally dominating the anti-diversity attitudes.

The figure above shows that with regard to the country type, besides the neutral attitude, both old and new EU members’ media actors demonstrated considerably higher pro-diversity attitudes in their reflection of CEU as 1st MIT, while the media actors in one of the non EU member countries (Turkey) were more “anti-diversity”, rather than “pro-diversity” disposed when discussing CEU as 1st MIT. Hence, the media actors in the old and in the new EU member countries appeared to mediate considerably more diversified perspectives in reflection of CEU, compared to the media studied in Turkey.
Attitudes toward EU in the media reflection of CEU and RT: Comparison among the old, new and non EU member countries

Crosstabulation combined with a Chi-square analysis ascertained that the media actors’ attitudes towards EU were significantly related to the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} MITs studied (respectively with $\chi^2=746.48$; Sig=.000 and $\chi^2=134.48$; Sig=.000). Furthermore, the results suggested that the media actors’ attitudes towards EU were significantly related to the country type with regard to both CEU and RT as 1\textsuperscript{st} MITs (respectively with $\chi^2=92.61$; Sig=.000 and $\chi^2=60.60$; Sig=.000). Hence, there were significant differences in the media actors’ attitudes towards the EU in the old, new and non EU member countries when discussing both CEU and RT as 1\textsuperscript{st} MITs. Meanwhile, no significant differences were proved among the old, new and non EU member countries with concern to their media actors’ attitudes towards the EU when reflecting both CEU and RT as 2\textsuperscript{nd} MITs.

Results concerning the media reflections of CEU and RT as 1\textsuperscript{st} MITs were analysed and presented below (See Fig. 14 and Fig. 15).

\textit{Fig. 14 Attitudes towards the EU in the media reflection of CEU as 1\textsuperscript{st} MIT in the old, new and non EU member countries}
Again, the “not applicable/not clear”, i.e. neutral attitude towards EU dominated the media reflections of Construction of Europe and EU (CEU) as both 1st and 2nd MIT, regardless of countries/country type. Furthermore, the pro-EU attitudes in the CEU media reflections were generally dominating over the anti-EU attitudes.

With regard to the country type, the figure above shows that besides the neutral attitude both old and new EU members’ media actors demonstrated generally more pro-EU attitudes in their reflection of CEU as 1st MIT, while the media actors in the non EU member countries (both Turkey and Norway) were (besides neutral) relatively more “anti-EU”, rather than “pro-EU” disposed when discussing CEU as 1st MIT.

*Fig. 15 Attitudes towards the EU in the media reflection of RT as 1st MIT in the old, new and non EU member countries*

Again, with regard to Reform Treaty (RT) the “none/not applicable”, i.e. neutral attitude toward EU dominated the media reflections of RT as both 1st and 2nd MIT, regardless of countries/country type. Furthermore, the pro-EU attitudes in the RT media reflections were generally dominating the anti-EU attitudes.
The figure above shows that with regard to the country type however, besides the neutral attitudes, the pro-EU attitudes significantly dominated the media reflection of RT only in the new EU members, while these attitudes were more ambivalent in the media reflections of RT in the old and in the non EU member countries. As in the old EU members a tendency of prevalence of pro-EU attitudes was observed, while in the non EU member countries – there was such a tendency of prevalence of the anti-EU attitudes concerning the RT reflection. This result suggested that the media reflections of RT in the new EU member countries were related to far more positive attitudes to EU, compared to those in the old and in the non EU member countries.

*Representation of citizens in the media reflection of CEU and RT: comparison among the old, new and non EU member countries*

The results of crosstabulation and Chi-square analysis for representation of citizens in the media reflections of CEU and RT as both 1st and 2nd MITs revealed some significant relations between the different options for citizen representation and the types of country studied (old, new and non EU members). Only the significant results were analysed and shown in the charts below.

1. *Vox pop/direct quotation of citizens* proved to be significantly related to the country type for the media reflection of CEU as 1st MIT ($\chi^2=8.23; \text{Sig}=0.016$) (See *Figure 16*).
Generally speaking, vox pop/direct quotation of citizens was not among the priorities for CEU reflection of the media actors in any country type, as the frequency of unchecked options was much higher than that of checked ones. Nevertheless, in the media reflection of CEU as 1st MIT citizens were represented by vox pop/direct quotation mainly in some of the old EU member countries (particularly France and the Netherlands, and less - Austria and Belgium), while there were only a few vox pops/direct quotation of citizens with concern to CEU in the other old, new and non EU members’ media. These results suggested that although it was not a preferred media approach to citizen representation, the media actors in some of the old EU member countries still provided for some involvement and direct representation of citizen opinions on the CEU theme, while the media actors in most countries (incl. some other old, the new and the non EU members) somehow ignored citizen views on CEU and left their opinion out of reflection.
3. Citizen representation by opinion poll or survey was ascertained to be significantly related to the country type for the media reflection of RT as 1st MIT ($\chi^2=79.65$; Sig=.000) (See Figure 17).

*Fig. 17 Opinion poll or survey in the media reflection of RT as 1st MIT in the old, new and non EU member countries*

The figure above shows that regarding RT as 1st MIT, representation of citizens by opinion poll/surveys was a preferred approach mostly by the non EU members’ media (incl. both Turkish and Norwegian media studied), as the frequency of checked options was very close to that of unchecked ones.

3. Citizen representation by protest/demonstration appeared to be insignificantly related to the country type for the media reflection of both CEU and RT. This approach to citizen representation was not preferred by the media of any country type.

4. Citizen representation by letter to the editor proved to be significantly related to the country type for the media reflections of both CEU and RT as 1st MIT (with respectively $\chi^2=6.85$; Sig=.033 and $\chi^2=55.68$; Sig=.000) (See Fig. 18 and Fig. 19).
Fig. 18 Representation of citizens by letter to the editor in the media reflection of CEU as 1st MIT in the old, new and non EU member countries

Obviously, in the media reflections of both CEU and RT as 1st MITs there was some representation of citizens by letter to the editor mostly in the old EU members (particularly Austria and United Kingdom), although it also appeared not to be among the prior approaches to citizen representation, as the frequencies of checked options were much lower than those of unchecked ones for all country types. Furthermore, the media actors studied in the new and non EU member countries had not any such citizens’ letters in their reflections of CEU and had only a few in their reflection of RT as 1st MIT. These results definitely suggested considerably higher citizens’ involvement through letters in media discussions on Construction of Europe and the EU in the old EU members and their low involvement – in the new and non EU members. This could be explained by the citizens’ involvement opportunities suggested by the media actors in the old EU members and by the citizens’ interest in the CEU issue reflected in the media. Some of these results were also replicated for CEU as 2nd MIT.
5. *Citizen representation by inference* proved to be significantly related to the country type for the media reflections of both CEU and RT as 1st MITs (with respectively $\chi^2=15.41$; Sig=.000 and $\chi^2=23.22$; Sig=.000) (See Fig. 20 and Fig. 21).

*Fig. 20 Representation of citizens by inference in the media reflections of CEU as 1st MIT in the old, new and non EU member countries*
The figures above show that inferences for public opinion on both CEU and RT as 1st MITs, which were not based on systematic evidences, polls, surveys or other research, were made mainly by media in old EU members (particularly in France, Austria, Germany, Netherlands) and in Turkey and far less – by those in the new EU members. Some of these results were also replicated for the CEU as second most important theme.

6. *Citizen representation by impersonation* was significantly related to the country type for the media reflection of RT as 1st MIT ($\chi^2=26.07$; Sig=.000) (See Figure 22).
Fig. 22 Representation of citizens by impersonation in the media reflections of RT as 1st MIT in the old, new and non EU member countries

Although the impersonation approach to citizen representation was not preferred by the media actors in reflections of the RT theme, it was considerably more employed by the media in some old and non EU member countries (particularly in Austria, Denmark, UK and Norway) than by those in the new EU members and in Turkey. Hence, the first were more likely to voice of their readers/the society as a whole.
4 Discussion on the media reflections of CEU and RT: how the media actors in different European countries articulated the European Public Sphere/s

If we are to speculate on did and to what extent the EU national media spaces reflected the themes of Construction of Europe and EU (CEU) and the Reform Treaty (RT) in the context of other themes studied under the Eurosphere Project it turned out that at the time of media data collection (April – October 2008) both of them as first most important theme (1st MIT) were present in all national media spaces, as they were discussed with varying frequency in the context of other EU-related issues. Obviously, the current and common sociopolitical circumstances in the process of ratification of the Lisbon Treaty premised more frequent media reflections of the RT issue in most European countries at the time of media data collection. Still, country-specific patterns with regard to the frequency dimension of media reporting on both themes were also prominent. CEU as 1st MIT was most frequently discussed by the French, Dutch and UK media, while RT as 1st MIT was most frequently found in the spaces of Danish, Czech and Norwegian media. Generally, RT was among the most prominent EU-related themes, together with the issues of EU institutions, Minorities and Migration Policy and EU enlargement. The results also came to distinguish between Norwegian and Turkish media, although both countries were (and still are) non EU members. The media studied in most countries seemed to be more interested in other themes, rather than in CEU and RT. Italian, Finnish and German media were much more concerned with the issues of Minorities and Migration Policy; Hungary – with Minorities/Minority Policy; Turkish and Bulgarian media – with EU Enlargement; and Austrian, Spanish, UK and Estonian media – with the EU institutions theme, rather than with CEU and RT.

Similar were de Vreese’s findings in a study, which suggested the existence of cross-national differences in media reflection of EU issues and also higher frequency of reporting on current events – EP elections in this case (de Vreese 2008, 140). It is also applicable to our results, as long as the RT issue concerned a set of certain integration events, while CEU was a combination of subthemes as most of them were continual and not so prominent as current events.

Both CEU and RT as second most important theme (2nd MIT) had far more humble presence in most national media spaces than as 1st MIT, since their indication was complementary and not always required as per the coding rules. CEU as 2nd MIT in the context of other EU-related themes was most often found in the spaces of UK media. It was also frequently reflected by the Turkish, German, Spanish and Austrian media. RT as 2nd MIT was
reflected most frequently by the Hungarian, Estonian and Norwegian media. Turkey appeared to be more concerned with the Enlargement theme; Bulgarian, Danish and Belgian media – with EU institutions; Finnish media – with Minorities/Minority Policies theme, rather than with CEU and RT.

In contrast to the findings for the 1st MIT above, CEU as 2nd MIT seemed to be more prominent than RT in most national media spaces. Furthermore, although RT was rarely among the 1st MITs of the media studied in some countries such as Hungary, it appeared to be among the 2nd MITs of highest priority along with Minorities/Minority Policy.

These findings, similarly to the findings for the 1st MIT, suggested a country-specific frequency of media reporting on key EU-related issues and the existence of some prerequisites for development either of a nationally fragmented EPS or of a dynamically changing EPS, composed of sub-communicative public spaces. The results showing that some national media were focused on at least one of both themes studied was still a reflection of the major policies carried out by those countries.

Obviously, the correspondence analysis concerning the national media reflections of CEU and RT as either 1st or 2nd MITs suggested interesting but also quite numerous results, which were difficult to comprehensibly analyse and summarize. Therefore, we tried to make our analysis easier to grasp and narrate by investigating the location of CEU and RT in the media spaces of the countries according to their type, as we distinguished among old, new and non EU members (See Paragraph “Research Design, Methods and Procedure”). Of course, in view of our considerations concerning the different background and amount of media content data provided from the non EU members (Turkey and Norway), their data was subjected to further analysis and separately analysed, where applicable.

In the perspective of countries as old, new and non EU members and in the context of other EU-related themes CEU and RT as both 1st and 2nd MIT seemed to be reflected more frequently by the media in the old member countries and less frequently by the media in the new and non-members. While RT as 1st MIT appeared to be among the most prominent themes mediated in the old member countries, together with EU institutions, CEU as 1st MIT was not among the most prominent themes for any country type. The non-members’ media seemed to be concerned mostly with the Enlargement theme (Turkey) and with the Reform Treaty (Norway), the new members’ media – with EU institutions, and those in the old members – with Migration and Minority Policies and EU Institutions (together with the Reform Treaty theme). Still, CEU as 2nd MIT was among the most prominent themes for the media in the old and in the non-member countries, particularly in Turkey (together with the Enlargement
theme), while the media in the new member countries were again more concerned with “EU institutions”.

It is important to note that although both Turkey and Norway were included in the analysis as non-members, the results of cross-national comparisons (See the previous paragraph) reveal important differences between these two countries with regard to the media reflection of RT. While RT as 1st and 2nd MIT proved to be a theme of prior importance for the Norwegian media, it was not among the prominent themes for the Turkish media studied. The latter result was an important insight, revealing the closeness of Norwegian media concerns with RT to those of the old members. Obviously, although its non-member status, Norway is characterized with media which reflect, comment, mediate the two themes we are commenting upon here – all things considered, the political orientation of the country toward a respect for principal accepted laws, procedures, international relations and agreements, is producing a greater interest in RT.

Furthermore, although CEU and RT as either 1st or 2nd MIT were found mainly in media spaces of the old member countries, still media actors in some new and non member countries were also found among those highly concerned with RT as either 1st or 2nd MIT. For example, Czech and Norwegian media were found among those most frequently discussing RT as 1st MIT, and Hungarian, Norwegian and Estonian media – RT as 2nd MIT.

On one hand, our findings revealed that the media actors’ classification by country type (old, new and non EU members) proved to be a weaker predictor of the articulation of the EPS in comparison with the country of origin of the media. On the other hand, classification of the national media by country type also proved to play an important role for differentiation within the thematic interest structure of the mediated EPS.

In summary, frequent reflection of both CEU and RT themes might be regarded as particularly high involvement in and good knowledge of the media actors about the EU family’s primary concerns and traditions. On the other hand, their contribution to the mediation of a common EPS still depended on the attitudes they channeled through this reflection. On the third hand, it was still hard to make any further convincing generalizations and inferences about the contribution of the media actors with regard to the country/country type since the data provided by the different countries varied largely in quantity.

We took one step further with the analysis trying to investigate the role of medium type. CEU and RT as both 1st and 2nd MITs were among the priority themes of the print media in the old EU member countries and Norway. At the same time their reflection was not so prominent on the broadcasts as those of Free Movement and Mobility, Gender and EU Institutions.
Furthermore, CEU and RT were not among the most frequently reflected themes of utmost importance by the media actors in the new members and in Turkey, as the media in the new EU members were mostly concerned with the issues of Free Movement and Mobility, Gender and EU Institutions, particularly reflected by their broadcast, rather than by their papers, and the media studied in Turkey were most interested in the Enlargement subject, reflected in either medium type (as papers dominated this reflection). In general, the print media seemed to be the preferred for reflection of most 1st and 2nd MITs in the old and non EU member countries, while broadcasts were dominating the scene in this regard for the new EU members. And as far as the CEU and RT themes were concerned they were definitely more often discussed by the newspapers than by the broadcasts. The latter seemed to stem from the features of the media actors themselves, having in mind that the broadcasters have a lot to present in a shorter of time/space, focusing on the hottest news and events of large public interest. Print media actors, on the other hand, dispose of much more space for featured articles, discussions and analysis, and hence, they can afford themselves to spread issued in greater details. Perhaps, on one hand the themes of CEU and RT required much more time/space to comprehensively focus on regarding their complicatedness and diversity. On the other hand, they were related to a smaller number of ongoing events/changes of state-of-the-art at the time of research in comparison with the themes of Free Movement and Mobility, Gender and EU Institutions, as the latter were and still are characterized by constant changes. On the third hand, obviously CEU and RT were not regarded by the broadcast media actors as themes of utmost interest for the largest public, so that to provide the due time/space for them on the account of other hot issues. This confirms the media actors’ inclination to stay close to ordinary EU citizens, keeping in touch with their daily problems and immediate interests and environment (local and national rather than European/global). Going deep in details into less complicated topics, into those understandable and connected to everyday concerns, decreases the general knowledge and information on actual big problems in a macro-plan amongst large publics in all EU members. Consequences could (and probably do) seriously affect the articulation of the European public sphere and even its development. Moreover, as younger generations keep their interest focused more on electronic media, the fact that there topics around RT or CEU presupposes the formation of serious barriers before the spread of social representations of EPS among youth, as well as the engagement of these civic groups in EPS.

If we are to summarize how the studied media spaces reflected the themes of Construction of Europe and EU and the Reform Treaty, i.e. what were the major subthemes and comments (one sentence summary of the story) coded for both themes, again in line with our
expectations, the CEU subthemes reflected by the media were much more varied than the RT subthemes (See Paragraph “Major CEU and RT subthemes reflected by the media actors”). Furthermore, it turned out that some CEU and RT subthemes overlapped, that most RT subthemes were also discussed as CEU subthemes, and also that both themes included subthemes concerning other EU-related themes studied under the Eurosphere’s project. The content analysis results were explicable having in mind that the process of Reform Treaty ratification was perceived as closely related to the future of Europe and to the perspectives of construction of the EU. Obviously, through its subthemes the CEU theme was revealed as a complex multidimensional topic, incl. social, cultural, religious, economic and political issues at national, trans-national, European and international (global) level and it was related to a larger number and more varied scope of events, compared to the RT theme.

Further analysis in the perspective of the country type (old, new and non EU members) revealed that the major CEU subthemes reflected by the media in the old EU members were considerably more varied than those reflected by the media in the new EU members, and much more varied than those reflected in the media in the non EU member countries. Perhaps, one of the reasons was the larger number of old EU countries’ media studied, which provided space for a greater variety of subthemes and the small number of CEU subthemes provided by Norway. Another reason could be the greater experience, knowledge and comfort of the old EU members’ media with discussions of common EU issues. The results provided an overall impression of much more polarized reflection of CEU issues across the media in the old EU members, featuring the positive spirit of close cooperation among the EU nation countries in the name of the common EU project on one hand, and the fear of national sovereignty threat, followed by an increasing EU skepticism, on the other hand. Besides, the common EU issues, the media actors in the new EU members seemed to be much more concerned with quality of live, living standard and financial issues. They appeared to be more upset about whether their countries would be able to catch up with the well-developed old members mostly in economic aspect. At the foreground for the non EU members’ media (particularly of Turkish media, see the explanation above) came the issue of EU as a homogeneous cultural and religious community project and the challenge of accession of Islam countries to the predominantly Christian community in Europe. Both new EU members’ and Turkish media seemed to be much more concerned with the issue of two/multi-speed Europe than the old EU members’ media, which came to prove that they reflected the position of their countries as underprivileged to some extent, compared to the old member countries. Although the media actors in the 3 different country types had some similar reflections with regard to CEU issues,
obviously most CEU issues were quite varied across the media of different countries/country types encompassing a vast range of topics.

The major topics of CEU comments were quite varied and different for the media in the old, new and non EU member countries. Furthermore, the media actors in the new and the old EU members reflected more diverse topics than those in the non EU members. Perhaps, one of the reasons was the considerably smaller number of non EU member’s media studied. While both old and new EU members’ media actors focused on sociocultural dimensions of Construction of Europe and the EU, it seemed that the non EU members’ media (represented particularly by the Turkish media) were more concerned with its religious and political aspects in view of national interests. Besides, the sociocultural issues (EU symbols, events, etc.) the media actors in the new member countries were preoccupied with financial issues of either national or European scope. It is also worth mentioning that the media in the old EU members were more focused on the EU citizens’ rights and the process of EU democratization as path for further construction of Europe in comparison to the media in the new EU member countries and in Turkey. In other words, new EU members’ and Turkish media seemed to be stuck to the present and more oriented towards the EU state-of-art, while the old members’ media focused on Europe’s future and on what should be done in view of successful future EU construction, where citizens and diversity would play an important part.

With regard to the major RT subthemes, obviously, during the media data collection period most media studied in the old, new and non EU member countries were preoccupied with the first Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty, with the second Irish referendum and with continuation of the ratification process: analysis and prognoses. Besides, the RT subthemes were most varied in the media of the old EU member countries, followed by those in the new EU members and least diverse in their reflection in the non EU members (perhaps, due to abnormal media content data distribution across countries and particularly insufficient data for the non members’ media – both Turkish and Norwegian). Both old and new EU member countries’ media reflected as RT subthemes latest EU legislation issues although with different concerns. While the media actors in the old members were more interested in issues of justice and home affairs, Euro currency, monetary union, EU citizenship and EU immigration policy, the media actors in the new members were focused on reflection of waste management, healthcare, power saving legislation issues. With regard to the RT subthemes all media actors seemed to reflect the institutional, rather than the citizens’ view on the issues. At first glance, this seemingly high relevance in the media content of actual social-economical and political problems in all types of states – for instance, the immigration policy of old member states,
tough financial issues before some of the new EU member states, or the processes ongoing in a country which has claimed its will to get accepted in the EU.

Comparison of the media comments on RT among the three country types showed considerably strong reflection, but also criticism and skepticism toward the Reform Treaty ratification of the media actors in the old EU member countries. In contrast the media actors in the new and non EU members appeared to be far more sparing and neutral in the RT theme reflection, which, to an extent, is in contradiction with the fact that precisely some of the new member states like the Czech Republic were the last to sign the RT. Media reflection of RT in the old member states seemed to be much more concerned with the issues of democracy, citizens’ opinions, interests and awareness of RT, than that in the new EU members and in Turkey, where the RT theme was reflected mainly at the level of institutions and diplomacy. One of the reasons could be poor dissemination of the RT conception among the general public in a simple (intelligible) form, which on its behalf premised lower citizens’ involvement in the EPS. Furthermore, the comments for the old members’ media reflection of RT contained considerably more assumptions and indepth analyses with regard to both reasons and possible future outcomes of the ratification process, compared to the new and non EU members.

Specific features and large differences between Norway and Turkey, although both of them were included in the general “non EU members” category, bound us to consider different possible explanations for an otherwise similar phenomenology in both countries’ media actors. For instance, in this case, speculation might take place, considering the social-political and social-psychological character of both countries that in Norwegian citizens remain more distanced from the issues of the ratification of RT, due to crossing of the state's interests and to its traditionally high social-economical status. Given high social-economical standards, undertaking serious changes seems quite complicated, both on the level of leadership and of citizenship. To the contrary, the other non-EU state – Turkey is to a great extent engaged in solving other processes, new and important for the citizens, that the country would like to participate in, and they shift the discussion on a specific pattern like the RT from the public space.

If we are to summarize what attitudes towards Construction of Europe and EU (CEU) and Reform Treaty (RT), incl. towards diversity and EU with regard to both themes were channeled by the media the results showed that the neutral attitudes dominated the reflection of CEU and RT as both 1st and 2nd MITs. This was rather explicable having in mind the claim for impartial reflection of reality of most media actors. Besides, pro-diversity and pro-EU attitudes
in the media reflections of both themes were generally dominating over the anti-diversity and anti-EU attitudes.

Further analysis of attitudes towards CEU and RT, incl. attitudes towards diversity and EU, with regard to the country type just partially supported our hypotheses as it showed that generally, besides neutral, the media actors in the old and in the new EU members turned out to be more positive about the issue of Construction of Europe and the EU and channeled mostly pro-diversity and pro-EU attitudes with regard to CEU in comparison with the media actors in the non EU members (particularly in Turkey). Still, the media reflection of CEU in the old and new EU member countries was far from being only positive, as some kind of ambivalence and negative attitudes were also observed. Our initial expectations for positive reflection of CEU were related to the new EU members, rather than to the old EU members. Nevertheless, it seemed that the media actors in most old and new members mediated the construction of Europe considerably more positively, incl. more diversified perspectives and pro-EU attitudes and hence, contributed more to articulate a common EPS, compared to the media actors in the non EU members (particularly in Turkey). Perhaps, we should also consider that it is not binding for one or more EPS to be perfectly synchronous and internally consistent, but quite the contrary, the EU needs space for articulation and voicing different attitudes, standpoints and opinions that in the Europublic discourse eventually lead to defining principles, which meet the interests and requirements of an increasing number of social actors.

With regard to attitudes channeled towards the Reform Treaty, incl. attitudes towards EU, the results suggested that the media reflection of RT in the new EU member countries, besides neutral, was more positive, incl. more pro-EU attitudes, compared to the old and non EU member countries. And hence, the media actors in the new EU members communicated more positively a common EPS with regard to the Reform Treaty, compared to the media actors in the old and in the non EU members. Attitudes to EU channeled through the media reflection of RT could be described as more ambivalent in the old and in the non EU member countries. As in the old EU members a tendency of prevalence of pro-EU attitudes was observed, while in the non EU member countries – there was such a tendency of prevalence of the anti-EU attitudes concerning the RT reflection. With regard to attitudes towards diversity mediated through reflection of RT, no significant differences among the different types of country were found. And hence, in line with our expectations, the media actors in the new EU members were comparatively more positive in the mediation of a common EPS with concern to the Reform Treaty, compared to the media actors in the old and non EU member countries.
The results for *representation of citizens* and their involvement in the media stories (NIs) suggested that it was generally not among the preferred media approaches to reflection of both CEU and RT, as the number of unchecked options for each type of citizen representation was much larger than the number of checked ones. An exception was the option: “No citizens in the story”, for which the number of checked options was larger than the number of unchecked ones (since it was opposite sense), thus supporting the result that in the media reflections of both CEU and RT citizens were less frequently presented than left out of presentation in the coded stories.

Nevertheless, in line with our expectations the media actors in some of the old EU member countries (particularly France, Netherlands; less - Austria and Belgium) still provided for some involvement and direct representation of vox pops/citizens’ opinions on the CEU theme, while the media actors in the other old, new and non EU members somehow were more likely to ignore citizens’ views on CEU. Further results also revealed considerably higher citizens’ involvement and representation by letters to the editor in media discussions on CEU and RT in some of the old EU members (particularly Austria and UK), as well as their considerably lower involvement – in the new and non EU members. This could be explained by the citizens’ involvement opportunities suggested by the media actors themselves, by the citizens’ interest in the CEU issue reflected by the media, or perhaps - by both quantity and quality of media data in the different countries/country type. Hence, the media actors in the old EU members either provided more opportunities for citizens’ involvement in media discussions or old EU members’ citizens were more highly involved due to personal interest in the CEU issue.

The impersonation approach to citizen representation in reflections of the RT theme was considerably more employed by the media in some old (Austria, Denmark, UK) and non (Norway) EU member countries than by those in the new EU members. Hence, the media actors in the old and non EU member countries were more likely to voice their readers/the society as a whole in comparison with the media actors in the new EU member countries. This result was left without any interpretation as long as according to our opinion the definition of citizen representation by impersonation was rather vague and differently perceived by the media coders in the different countries.

The results also suggested that the media in the non EU members (both Norway and Turkey) employed more frequently opinion poll or survey (a considerably more impartial approach based on systematic evidence) as citizen representation approach to the RT issue, as well as inference approach (particularly Turkey) to citizen representation (which was not based
on systematic evidences) for both CEU and RT reflections and compared to the media in the old and new EU members. Although among the studied old EU members’ media those of France, Austria, Germany and Netherlands also provided more citizen representation by inference than the other old and new EU member’s media.

With regard to the lower citizen involvement in the new EU members’ media spaces discussing CEU and RT, we could talk about something like a “vicious circle”. Both weaker broadcast media reflection and rarer indepth discussions concerning the complicated issues of CEU and RT, which addressed the general public (See above), brought about lower levels of involvement and awareness of the civil society about the details of CEU and RT issues, and the latter resulted in weaker media reflections and lower involvement in the EPS.

On the basis of results discussed above, profiles of the media actors in the 3 different country types (old, new and non EU members) were summarized with regard to their role for the articulation of a common EPS through the mediation of EU-related issues and particularly of both CEU and RT cases. The media profiles were summarized by country type, as it was much easier to narrate and comprehend, compared to listing of all national media and special attention was paid to the differences between Norwegian and Turkish media (where applicable):

1. The media actors in the old EU members:
   - reflected the RT theme as one of utmost importance and more frequently than the media actors in most of the new and in one of the non EU members (Turkey);
   - mediated the CEU theme with varying medium to high frequency and were considerably more interested in Minorities/Minority Policies, Migration policy and EU institutions (besides the Reform Treaty);
   - reflected CEU and RT as priority themes mostly on the print, rather than on the broadcast media;
   - were characterized by more diverse, but also more polarized reflection of CEU issues,
   - communicated the positive spirit of close cooperation among the EU nation countries in the name of the common EU project on one hand, and the fear of national sovereignty threat, followed by an increasing EU skepticism, on the other hand;
   - focused on sociocultural dimensions of CEU, on EU citizens’ rights, on the process of EU democratization as path for further construction of Europe, on Europe’s future and on what should be done in view of successful future EU construction, where citizens and diversity would play an important part;
   - ensured strong reflection, but also some criticism and skepticism toward the Reform Treaty ratification (particularly Denmark, Italy, Spain and UK);
   - were preoccupied with the first Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty, with the second Irish referendum and with continuation of the ratification process: analysis and prognoses;
   - preferred to reflect institutional, rather than citizens’ view on the issues, but were more
concerned with the citizens’ opinions, interests and awareness of RT; - provided considerably more assumptions and indepth analyses with regard to both reasons and possible future outcomes of the ratification process; - besides neutral, together with the new members most of them channeled ambivalent-to-positive attitudes towards CEU and towards EU and diversity with regard to CEU, in comparison with the media actors in the non EU members, whose attitudes were more ambivalent-to-negative; - were generally ambivalent, rather than positive to RT and were less positive than the new members’ media, but more positive than non EU members’ media; - ensured direct citizen representation and involvement by opinion, letters to the editor, impersonation.

2. The media actors in the new EU members: - reflected the CEU theme less frequently (particularly Bulgaria and Estonia), compared to the media in the old EU members and were generally more interested in the theme of EU institutions; - mediated the RT theme less frequently than the media in the old members and in some of the non EU members (Norway); - reflected the themes of CEU and RT mainly in their print media, although their broadcasts were prefererred for mediation of most EU-related themes; - reflected less diverse CEU topics than the media in the old EU members, but more diverse than those in the non EU members; - together with the non EU members’ media (particularly the Turkish media) seemed to be much more concerned with the issue of two/multi-speed Europe than the old EU members’ media; - turned out to be much more concerned with quality of live, living standard and financial issues and more upset about whether their countries would be able to catch up with the well-developed old members mostly in economic aspect; - were focused on sociocultural dimensions of CEU, but also preoccupied with financial issues of both national and European scope, more stuck to the present, oriented towards the EU state-of-art than to the EU’s future, compared to the media in the old EU members; - reflected less diverse RT topics than the media in old EU members, but more diverse than the media in the non EU members; - were preoccupied with the first Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty, with the second Irish referendum and with continuation of the ratification process: analysis and prognoses; - preferred to reflect institutional, rather than citizens’ view on the issues; - appeared to be far more sparing and neutral in the RT theme reflection, less concerned with the citizens’ opinions, interests and awareness of RT and discussing it mainly at the level of institutions and diplomacy, providing less assumptions and indepth analyses with regard to both reasons and possible future outcomes of the ratification process, compared to the media in the old EU members; - besides neutral, together with the old EU members most of them channeled more ambivalent-to-positive attitudes towards CEU (with the exception of Estonia), and mostly pro-diversity and
pro-EU attitudes with regard to CEU, compared to the media actors in the non EU members; - besides neutral, mediated more positive attitudes to RT, incl. more pro-EU attitudes with regard to RT, compared to the old and non EU member countries; - seldom ensured citizen representation and involvement, i.e. less frequently than the media in the old and non EU members.

3. The media actors in the non EU members: - reflected the CEU theme with medium frequency; - Norwegian media were highly interested in the RT theme, while Turkish media focused mostly on the Enlargement theme; - reflected the themes of CEU and RT mainly on the print media; - reflected less diverse CEU topics than both old and new EU members and together with the new EU members’ Turkish media seemed to be much more concerned with the issue of two/multi-speed Europe than the old EU members’ media; - brought to the foreground of CEU the issue of EU as a homogeneous cultural and religious community project and the challenge of accession of Islam countries to the predominantly Christian community in Europe and were more concerned with CEU religious and political aspects in view of national interests (particularly the Turkish media); - were more stuck to the present, oriented towards the EU state-of-art than to the EU’s future (particularly the Turkish media), compared to the media in the old EU members; - reflected less diverse RT topics than the media in the old and new EU members; - were preoccupied with the first Irish “No” vote to the Lisbon Treaty, with the second Irish referendum and with continuation of the ratification process: analysis and prognoses; - preferred to reflect institutional, rather than citizen views on the issues; - appeared to be far more sparing and neutral in the RT theme reflection, less concerned with the citizens’ opinions, interests and awareness of RT and discussing it mainly at the level of institutions and diplomacy, providing less assumptions and indepth analyses with regard to both reasons and possible future outcomes of the ratification process (particularly the Turkish media), compared to the media in the old EU members; - besides neutral, channeled less positive attitudes to CEU, incl. to diversity and EU with regard to CEU (particularly the Turkish media), compared to the media actors in most old and new EU members; - besides neutral, channeled more ambivalent-to-negative attitudes to RT, incl. towards EU with regard to RT, compared to the media actors in the new EU members; - presented and involved citizens more frequently by opinion poll or survey and by inference (particularly Turkish media) for both CEU and RT reflections in comparison to the old and new EU members’ media; - employed the impersonation approach to citizen representation (particularly Norwegian media) and were more likely to voice their readers/the society as a whole in their reflection of the RT theme considerably more frequently than the media in the new EU members.
5 Conclusion
The discussion of results suggested that most of our expectations were fulfilled. It also revealed interesting and even unexpected further inferences on the role of media actors in different EU countries/country types in the mediation of a common EPS through reflection of important issues such as the Construction of Europe/EU (CEU) and the Reform Treaty (RT).

We grounded on the general assumption that the mass media contribute to articulation of a common EPS if they reflect relatively frequent the themes of CEU and RT (and also the other themes studied under the Eurosphere Project), if they channel positive or impartial, rather than negative or ambivalent attitudes toward CEU, RT, diversity and the EU and if they ensure opportunities for citizen involvement and opinions.

Based on this assumption we have all reasons to support our last hypothesis and to argue that at the time of media data collection (April – October 2008) the media actors in all countries/country types contributed much or less to the articulation of an EPS by (relatively) frequent reflection of both CEU and RT themes, by being much more impartial or positive rather than ambivalent or negative in their reflections of both themes (incl. attitudes towards diversity and EU), by reflecting facts, rather than attitudes or by providing some space for public/citizen involvement and representation.

Of course, the studied media actors employed different approaches to reflection of EU-related themes, particularly of CEU and RT and communicated them with varying frequency. It should also be stressed once again that this conclusion can serve as an assumption, rather than as a convincing generalization, since the number of media studied and news items coded in the different countries/country types was largely different, which inevitably reflected the lower indicators of the media in the new and particularly of non EU member countries. However, some general tendencies have been outlined quite clearly, so that conclusions, expectations and prognoses could be formulated. To avoid repeating the analysis placed above, we will outline the most typical and common characteristics of the European media. First of all, besides certain neutrality, characteristic for the most of the media, a general positive attitude towards the Construction of Europe, diversity and EU in general, is visible. Second, the bigger part of the media do not elaborate enough opportunities for citizens in the communication space, which restricts their involvement in EPS. Third, media in Europe draw much of attention on the ratification of RT, on the referenda in Ireland and the whole process of establishing this principle European agreement. Fourth, media reflect on the issues of CEU and RT mainly in printed press and less in electronic media. A conclusion is being outlined that compared to the
differences among the interviewed leaders on a national “internal” level, on a cross-national and in comparison based on the type of membership, more and more important directions and similarities in the behaviour of diverse national media. Given this, as well as the directions outlined above, a conclusion that media work towards the creation of one common EPS or several spheres, but not in a concentrated manner, in an unsufficient communication between the Euro-structures and institutions on an EU level, as well as with citizens.

Still, the Eurosphere media research encompassed some of the most representative and influential media actors in Europe. Both broadcast news items from the primetime news programmes and print news items from the news columns of the studied media actors were subjected to qualitative analysis. This came to support that the Eurosphere media database reliably mirrored the media reflections of the studied EU issues for the period of Eurosphere media research. Since the situation in Europe has been dynamically changing, it is quite possible that the features of mediation of EPS, of diversity, and of the themes discussed herein have been constantly changing too. This dynamically changing nature of the EU issues was well-illustrated by the fact of successful ratification of the Reform Treaty by the 27 EU member countries, in spite of the rather pessimistic expectations of politicians, journalists, academicians, etc. in this regard. Nowadays, after the RT ratification, new EU issues come to the fore and the EU project attains new dimensions.
Bibliography


