

The Financial Crises of the 21st Century

Workshop of the Austrian Research Association
(Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft)

18. - 19. 10. 2012

'Crisis'- 'Democracy'-'Europe': terms of contract? Framing public debates of the crisis

*Univ. Prof. Dr. Katharine Sarikakis
Institut für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
Universität Wien
katharine.sarikakis@univie.ac.at*

European democracies and societies are under pressure, socially, financially, even politically. Several characteristics indicate that what we name 'crisis' is not a single, isolated event, but rather a process, even a chain of events at different levels and in various spaces. Crisis is symptomatic of a paradigm change in crucial domains of social activity, such as markets, politics and culture. This paper reports on the preliminary findings of frame analysis of the coverage of crisis in European presses, during the pre-election week of the Greek elections in June 2012. The discussion begins with a definition of crisis etymologically, but also as a process present by now in a significant number of western European countries. The paper contextualises the economic crisis within the parameters and consequences of other crises 'coloured' with a social and political character. The last section offers some 'moments' where various frames as identified from the analysis of selected texts express the variation and limitation of representations of and narratives about the crisis.

Crisis as an exceptional moment and as a state of affairs

Crisis derives etymologically from the Greek verb *κρίνειν*, which means to be able to distinguish, to discriminate or to make a decision, and which is closer to our current understandings of the process of 'judging'. The process and 'moment' of judgement however, is also referred to for its potential impact for change, or, the turning point in a condition. The term is also used to signify imbalance of a current state of affairs but also an opportunity for change. This meaning was largely implied by Aristotle's use of the term to discuss the ways in which public participation in a democracy brings about change in situations that are imbalanced and in need of a solution. The positive elements of a crisis point to the re-constructive potential that the emergence of a space of power, previously occupied, re/presents. Crises are "structurally inherent contradictions" that can occur in both system and life-world (Habermas, 1975, 1987), they are born from within a system and express its internal conflicts. For others, crises are "processes in which the structure of the system is called into question" (Offe, 1976,1984). This more critical perspective of crisis represents the idea not only of an internal form of disconnect, but also a question about the legitimacy of a system. Indeed, for Agamben (2005), a crisis, which is inherent in a state of exception or state of emergency, signifies a place devoid of law. A state of emergency brings with it the suspension of established democratic processes, the application of emergency 'law' and the re-arrangement in the role of institutions and actors (Sarikakis 2006). Moreover, a state of emergency is one of a 'temporary' character, and a return to normalcy is the considered the aim.

These changes are cascading into further transformations in the nature and character of communicative action, in its many facets. On the one hand, Europe is experiencing, albeit in different degrees, a financial and economic crisis that is acute in the periphery of the EU: Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the UK have all been seriously affected by debt, austerity measures, high unemployment rates, loss of income their positions having become vulnerable in

many instances in the space of 'global markets. Although the severity of the financial crisis is not the same across countries, there are common consequences deriving from a European-wide agenda of dealing with it: the lowering of living standards as they are connected to the welfare state, across Europe; the increase of work and social precarity as a result of the loss of rights; vulnerability of marginalised groups, the worsening of the status and fate of undocumented citizens and other migrant populations and in the case of Greece, in particular, the near-destruction of the middle classes.

At the same time, closely connected to the challenges imposed by the markets and economic crisis, a sense of political crisis emerges. This is articulated in the ways in which European and national governance institutions are put under question as to their approach to the crisis, but also their role in making decisions. On the one hand, in terms of the legitimacy of governance institutions and policy-making processes at a European level, critiques question jurisdiction, direction, and process. On the national level, it is widely agreed that nation states are restricted in their range of action options, which in some cases is highly polarised and determined by international and supranational actors, such as the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. This loss of national sovereignty is a crucial element in the development of the crisis and its political consequences. One of those are importantly the trust and connection of citizens towards social and political institutions: crisis is an element in the changes taking place with respect to the communicative spaces within which people in Europe circumvent established media practices, and media institutions, communicate and construct public spheres through social media.

This discussion here is concerned with communicative action as an umbrella term that characterises social processes of communication: first, it includes direct citizen expression, such as demonstration, protest, assembly, which can be both in virtual media spaces and in physical spaces. Second, it involves mediated debates and a mediated public sphere, which is largely expressed through established media, although 'new' and 'social' media are gaining ground as mediators. The juxtaposition of the physicality of communication (protest, graffiti) and virtuality (blogs, comments) next to mainstream media and communication avenues and institutions is an intriguing one, when examining their role in crisis. Communicative spaces are becoming more or equally important to media spaces as citizens clash with other institutions of the state and society in these spaces: they disconnect from established media and media reports, clash with the police, the state and international organisations involved in one role or another in the 'management' of the crisis.

Governance of communicative through coverage of the crisis

The following discusses one aspect of communicative action and mediated public sphere, namely the coverage of the crisis by the mainstream European press in a specific moment in time: this is the pre-election period of the Greek national elections of June 2012. It is part of a larger research project into the mediation of ideas and discourses about the crisis and asks the following questions:

How is the governance of communication is conditioned in the context of crisis:

What is the role of media generating narratives about the crisis and its solution?

What is the role of citizens and public opinion?

What is the role of institutions?

As a brief reminder, communication governance refers to a political *process*, through which decisions are made about the media and which is "located" in procedures, formal and informal structures, and spatio-temporal dispersions. The process of governance takes place beyond the clearly defined spaces of "government". Media and communication governance describes a political direction, in which representations of interests – diffused or concentrated – and thus ideas and their representation are core elements. Therefore, the ways in certain understandings of 'responsibility', policy direction, as well as the role of interests in interpreting and understanding social processes is represented in the public domain contributes to the formation of dominant cultural milieus and ideas about the crisis. Media as major facilitators of public

debate and core actors in the public sphere, impact on the varieties and ways in which opinions are formed and democratic practice is exercised. Furthermore, political institutions are “normative vessels” within which ideas occupy a very important position in policy-making actors that “perform a guidance function” and construct social reality (Rosamond 2000). As such, also media as social institutions are part of governance structure and indeed their function is predominantly to shape and generate ideas. In that respect, and within the context of governing crisis and – for this paper- governing communication about and in crisis, the question is

What does (mediatised) public debate look like? What does the public sphere address? How is crisis discussed?

What are the narratives generated about the crisis? What are dominant frames? What are absences?

The research analysed articles from the week 11-17 June, 2012, the week where Greece was preparing for elections. This is also the same week in which Spain requested financial support from the European Union, but which it does not wish to call a ‘bailout’. This week is an important period in the crisis, as it represents attempts of two countries to regain national sovereignty and to re-stabilise their economies. Given the wide public debate across central and North European presses about ‘naughty and good Europeans’ and the tone of the political discourse of blame and humiliation, the week exemplifies the action of resistance to dominant public spheres. In the case of Greece, the process by which national sovereignty is to be enacted is through the elections, clearly the epitome of democratic praxis by any means. This is a bottom-up process which also obtains a highly symbolic dimension, as it is one taking place in the ‘birthplace’ of western civilisation and European democracy; it is the first elections ever since the crisis began and after the failed attempt to carry out a referendum, under the Papandreou government and it is finally the first time where the politics in Greece appear to be moving away from the historical bi-party domination. The process is a top down attempt for Spain to gain sovereignty by attempting to reframe the conditions of its help-seeking as well as in defining the problem.

The project is studying daily newspapers and weekly magazines with high circulation in four countries and includes a good representation of the mainstream political spectrum of opinion in each country: each sample contains a right-of-centre newspaper, a left-of-centre newspaper and a centre newspaper. Through an exhaustive list of keywords articles were tracked down via the databases Lexis Nexis, WISO Praxis and APA DeFacto. In addition, the online archives of the selected newspapers were investigated and triangulated with Google search engine functions. The keywords used were: Europe, European Public Sphere, European Union, Euro, crisis, finance, financial crisis, Tsipras, Merkel, European Central Bank, eurozone, bailout, budget cuts, austerity Greece, Spain, debt, elections, Troika, bankruptcy, memorandum, IMF (International monetary fund), Greek exit, Grexit. No sports pages or letters to the editor were included. The texts were organised in editorial, analysis, news item, interviews/other.

	Austria	Germany	Greece	Spain
Newspapers	Kroner-Zeitung Kurier Die Presse Profil Standard	Der Spiegel Welt Bildzeitung Online Taz	Ethnos Kathimerini Proto Thema Avgi Eleutheros Typos Ta Nea	ABC El Mundo El Pais Tiempo
Number of articles	313	417	573	691

Table 1: Text yield from national presses week 11-17 June 2012

The study identified with the software Atlas.ti the 20 most frequently used terms in each national press and with World software produced four wordclouds. They provide a visualisation of the most prominent lexical terms and concepts of the ways in which national public spheres attempt to treat a story which is clearly not a nationally confined one, but rather one that transcends borders and one that the European 'dimension' is clearly strong. The following wordclouds provide some interesting clues as to the dominant features of national presses-irrespectively of political position:



Figure 1: the Austrian Press

The Austrian press is focused on Greece, the land, as the locality of issue covered and with some distance. The country is clearly the protagonist in the journalistic stories, but not the crisis per se. In other words, a localisation process is taking place, which is used to refer to the national event of elections within the context of crisis, but also to provide a sense of safe distance from the 'evils' associated with this. Equal to each other, but clearly in an auxiliary role, are Europe, Spain, Banks and even smaller are the spaces devoted to discussion of the elections. Intuitively, the prominence of the name of the land opposed to the reduced size of the terms associated to the election suggests that the construction of the case from the Austrian press is more related to the consideration of Greece as an issue involving Finance (Banks) rather than the particular democratic event taking place in the days surrounding the sample of press analysed. In other words, the actor 'Greece' has more protagonism than the actor 'Election'; and this implies also the particular 'play' that is being staged by the Austrian press.

Tsipras or Merkel, but more with actors, such as SYRIZA and the government and less still with the other political parties. In these Greek elections, the breaking up with the established political elites is manifest in the preoccupation of the press with the left wing party, a preoccupation that does not necessarily appear in positive terms: whether in supportive or oppositional terms, the central issue is the 'threat' posed by SYRIZA to the domestic political 'order'. In the Greek press, we find the most references to other European countries, such as France, Germany, Spain in contrast to other presses. Moreover, it is in this press that a wider variety of international reporting takes place, in that a great volume of articles make references to the ways in which a national issue is viewed from other (European) national angles.

Finally the Spanish press is the one most preoccupied with internal domestic affairs. The week analysed was also significant for the Spanish public sphere. The press staged a major discussion about the legitimacy of the (Spanish) Government in secretly negotiating the conditions for the bailout and about the attempts by the executive representatives to avoid terms such as "rescue" to refer to their actions. The acute case of the bank loan occupied the public debate as another symptom and battleground of the crisis. Within this debate, the institutions are central: government, president or Rajoy take a notable prominence either as responsible or as victims of the situation; either as problem solvers or as part of the cause. In this context, the insisting comparison with the Greek case could help explain the presence of the state without references to the elections.



Figure 4 The Spanish press

The study looks at the frames utilised in news stories about the crisis in the pre-election period. Framing an issue is about the ways in which it is presented. "A frame is an emphasis in salience of different aspects of a topic. While agenda-setting theory deals with the salience of issues, framing is concerned with the presentation of issues." (De Vreese 2005) Or, in other words, "To frame is to explain" (Dirikx and Gelders 2010). Hence, even where the press covers the same issues, it should be expected that the presentation of the same issue is not identical across different newspapers. For example, the coverage of the Greek elections would not necessarily mean that it is identical across all presses, even though the elections in the situation of the crisis is the issue. There are two kinds of frames in the news, those generated due to the specific issue at hand, hence issue specific frames and generic frames. However, in spite of the particularities of the Spanish case, the switch of focus from the Greek election to the Spanish situation, the major picture of the crisis as portrayed by the press will show that the major frames identified in the analysis of the European press still apply. This confirms the initial validity of the theoretical frame: two scenario, one single model of analysis.

There are two kinds of frames in the news, those generated due to the specific issue at hand, hence issue specific frames (episodic) and generic frames (thematic).

Literature on framing describes the process of *Frame-building* as the factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Some of them are internal to the professional practice of journalism. These factors determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Equally important, however, are factors external to journalism. The frame-building process takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978) and social movements (e.g., Cooper, 2002; Snow & Benford, 1992). The outcomes of the frame- building process are the frames manifest in the text.

The tradition of frame analysis has settled around the identification of five generic frames in the journalistic production. They are products of a thorough double process of comparative analysis and deductive frame analysis: in short, the systematic comparison of published news and the systematic process of applying the hypothesis to further analysis in order to test it. As Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) stated, the five usual frames for journalistic production are *Responsibility* in which the story is presented by attributing responsibility for the cause or the solution of an issue or problem; *Conflict*, in which a confrontation is put at the centre of the story with the intention of appealing to the audience attention; the frame of *Economic Consequences*, refers to the focus of the story on the implications, in terms of value, of a particular event. The frame of *Human Interest* refers to the cases in which the news is presented with an effort to personalize, dramatize or “emotionalize” the event, and so winning the public’s attention. Finally, if the story includes religious tenets or moral prescription, it is considered that is arranged through the *Morality* frame. It seems that the latter is more likely to be found in the minds of the audience rather than the text (Semelko and Valkenburg 2000: 96).

Aside from the amount of literature involved in the definition of these generic journalistic frames, the particularities of the object of our research and the corpus of analysis collected, we have defined several episodic frames that help to better identify the articulation of the narratives and discourses related to the crisis at an international level.

The episodic frames identified after several analytic tests of international news also consider the main centres of gravity around which the stories develop. Defined in terms of opposed pairs, the specific frames defined an axis that orientate the several forms of treating the information used in the international press analysed. The frames are: individualisation vs contextualisation; localisation vs systemic; economy vs political; renationalisation and/or restatisation vs destatisation and urgency vs fear.

The *individualisation vs contextualisation* frame refers to the cases where the events are personalised and presented as depending on particular individuals: in this frame, the names or the individual post are considered meaningful indicators because they tend to stress e.g. the role of the president constructing her/him as a hero or martyr of the wider process. Opposite to the emphasis on the individual, the narration of the events as a properly contextualised complex process provides a different understanding of what the crisis means and how it is/can be managed.

The frame of *localisation vs systemic* refers to the geographies of the crisis. How are the placements of the crisis organized along the stories published by the press? On the one hand, there are cases of concrete localisation that present the crisis as localised or as emerging from very concrete spots in the European Geography. In contrast, there are understandings of global economy as a complex network of factors that cross national borders and the usual administrative or political mappings. The question is whether the framing of the crisis is based on a tendency towards localisation of issues or to a systemic understanding of its complexity.

The frame of *renationalisation or restatisation vs de/statisation* refers to the distribution of the political structures and processes. Considering that the state is both, the referential entity for the legitimate exercise of public policies and an entity challenged by international, supranational or global trends, this axis refers to the cases that emphasise the crisis either as a story on the sovereignty of the state (renationalisation or restatisation) or as a process of displacing decisionmaking centre away from the state (de-statisation).

Examples of these oppositions can be found across countries and presses:

„Die Kanzlerin sieht Haushaltsdisziplin als besten Weg zur Beendigung der Euro-Krise an.“ (Die Welt (D), 14.06.12) „The Chancellor sees domestic discipline as the best way to finishing with the crisis“

The quote shows how Angela Merkel's individual opinion (*to see*) is considered a referent for the policies that will be undertaken and even if she assumes that there are other ways, her belief of which one is best is significant. The quote shows how the press individualises by merging the political direction with the individual opinion of the state representative.

Similarly, the Spanish press considers the personal effort of the Prime Ministers (the former and the current) as assets to avoid the 'rescue of the country'. The operation consists in identifying continuities in the intentions of both governments and assimilating the executive processes – and action- to the representatives.

“...Rodriguez-Zapatero earlier and Rajoy recently, have put effort in avoiding <an injection of money> ; it is not a bailout for the country but only a financial help for the bank that will have to be progressively cancelled in not that comfortable terms, as well as with more debt, more cutbacks and more sacrifice” (ABC (S), 12.06.12)

The frame of individualisation is not necessarily exerted by the press towards the representatives of the same country. Sometimes, operations of individualisation can be found referred to foreign countries, peoples or candidates. In this following example, the leader of the left wing party SYRIZA is attributed with a particular will (which makes his candidacy and the whole party he represents a dangerous option).

„Tsipras will das Kunststück fertig bringen, das Rettungspaket zu kippen und das Mutterland der Demokratie gleichzeitig in der Euro-Zone zu halten.“ (Bild (D), 15.06.12) „Tsipras wants to finish with the work, reject the rescue package and save the mother land of democracy while remaining inside the Eurozone“.

In the frame of *localisation vs systemic* the following example draws a map of the situation. The fragment falls clearly inside this frame because it identifies –and localises- the actors in the scene of the rescue packages.

„Italien ist auf dem besten Weg, Spanien als größter Euro-Krisenherd abzulösen: Während Anleger und Euro-Retter vor den Neuwahlen in Griechenland am Wochenende zittern, rückt Italien immer stärker ins Visier der Investoren. Die drittgrößte Volkswirtschaft im Währungsraum droht, in der Rezession zu versinken. Die Wirtschaft schrumpfte im ersten Quartal um 0,8 Prozent im Vergleich zum Schlussquartal 2011.“ (Der Standard (A), 13.06.2012)
„Italy is on the best track to relieve Spain as the largest centre of the Euro-crisis: while investors and Eurosaviours tremble before Greece's new election this weekend, Italy retrocedes more from the sight of the Investors. The third biggest economy of the monetary zone threatens to fall in recession. Business contracted in the 0.8 percent the first quarter in comparison with the closing quarter of 2011“.

The frame of *renationalisation or restatisation vs de/statisation* explores the distribution of the political structures and processes. For instance, clear cases of re-nationalisation can be seen in this quote:

Deutschland ist stark, ist Wirtschaftsmotor und Stabilitätsanker in Europa.“ Deutschland wolle diese Kraft auch im Dienste der europäischen Einigung und Weltwirtschaft einsetzen. Bild (D) 14.06.12. Germany is strong, it is the business-engine and the anchor of stability for Europe. Germany wants this strength also in the practice of European unity and global business

The central position that Germany receives inside the context of Europe maintains its internal capacity. Although the argument states that Germany's strength could be of use for the European Unity, it is expressed by reassuring Germany's unity and marking the distinction from the rest.

Probably a similar argument can be better seen in the following quote that shows how under the threat of consequences, Germany and its government closed lines by expressing that each country should solve its own problems. This protectionist move in front of the global uncertainty is a good example of re-nationalisation. The country (nation-state) re-appears as the referential actor.

The first step was taken by Germany when, after the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers in 2008, Angela Merkel declared that the extension of the virtual protection to other financial entities had to come from the action of every country separately, not for one Europe acting at one, together. El Mundo (S) 14.06.12

Following this line of argument implying the "we are first" assuming that the national-state works as the logic and compact unit, this third example of re-nationalisation makes the effect explicit:

Daher ist es fatal, in der Eurokrise ständig den europäischen Gedanken zu bemühen, weil dann beim deutschen Wähler sofort der Verdacht aufkommen muss, dass er nur zahlen soll und dass es für Deutschland ökonomisch am besten wäre, die Griechen fallen zu lassen. TAZ (D) 16.06.12 "Therefore it is fatal, to constantly insist in European thoughts during the Eurocrisis, because then, with the German voters the suspicion must emerge immediately, that they only have to pay and that for the German economy the best would be to let the Greeks fall"

Contrary to the process of 'closing the lines' around national identity or state institutions, there are some texts that insist in the progressive loss of capacity of decision of the national governments. This receding sovereignty is expressed in the following quote:

„De facto wird das Land seit Anfang 2010 nicht mehr von Athen aus regiert, es steht unter Kuratel der Troika, zusammengesetzt aus Europäischer Union, Europäischer Zentralbank und Internationalem Währungsfonds.“ Profil (A) 11.06.2012. „Actually, from the beginning of 2010 the country is not any more governed from Athens, it remains under the curation of the Troika, the collective work of the European Union, the Central European Bank and the International Monetary Fund“,

And in the same direction, the understanding that certain interests cross the borders of the national state allows some journalists to provide further interpretations that also fit within the frame of de-statisation:

"Days pass and suspicion grows that the Spanish bailout was an operation of preventive panic with Europe looking for a contention dam in front of the fear of a financial accident for the crisis in Greece and the doubts about the banks". El Pais (S) 13.06.2012

This belongs to this same frame, also, the expressions and texts that identify and point at the tension between both dynamics: renationalisation and de-statisation. In this particular case, the election appears as a form of discussing the interests governed from Brussels; as a form of resistance.

"What is good to win an election, such as the act of sovereignty in the case of the deficit staged in Brussels, if it makes you lose the confidence of your partners." EL Pais, (S) 12.06.12

Closely related to the previous specific frames but still with its particularities, the *Economy vs political frame* illuminates the tension between political actors and economic needs. It fits well one of the fundamental axis of the ways in which understandings develop of this financial crisis of debt entangled with the legitimate political institutions that have to manage it. The stories emphasising either one or the other aspects of this tension are marked as belonging to this frame.

"Ausgerechnet mitten in der Krise sollen die Beamten eines Landes, das selbst riesige Probleme hat, die Euro-Rettung managen", warnte ein hoher EU-Beamter" Die Welt (D), 15.06.12 „Just in the middle of the crisis are the public officials of a country that has enormous problems itself supposed also to manage the Euro-rescue“ warned a high officer of the EU“

This quote insists on the role of the officials (technicians) and their competences as executive force governing the crisis, there is no mention of the political context or any political aspects that might modify the technical decisions in one direction or the other. Presenting the crisis as a technical problem is part of the tension according to which the economic approach is more technical and the political more ideological.

The case can be also exemplified from the other side: the political resisting or negotiating the economic forces intervening either in the solution or in the definition of the problem. In this coming example, the different options for the Greek government are presented in relation to the space of (political) negotiation that they promise in front of the economic conditions:

Two antagonistic programmes face each other for the election: that of the conservative Europe-ist Antonis Samaras (New Democracy) intending to renegotiate the Hellenic austerity package in Brussels and that of the radical leftist Alexis Tsipras (Syriza) who pretends to cancel the cutbacks in his first day of government and nationalise the banks that receive European help." El Mundo (S), 17.06.12

Finally, one of the recurrent modes of expression and imagery evoked by speakers and representatives, journalists and analysts all along the corpus analysed in this project, is what has been identified as another frame: *urgency vs fear* that refers to the expressed tones of threat and the ultimatum, or utilising forms involving the need of fast answers and the menace of an uncontrolled denuement of the story; ie. the Greek elections ending with the stepping out of Greece from the European Union or the Eurozone; or the complete break of the Spanish economy. This is an example that points at how the fear of expulsion of Greece from the European Union becomes introduced and normalised:

"In Brussels they no longer hide the risk, depending on the outcome of the election, our country entering a process of isolation and marginalization, in case the proper response is not given, and ultimately, this will lead to the facilitation of those seeking pretexts to open the door for the exit of the euro". Ethnos (GR), 16.06.12

In occasions, fear is made explicit:

„Europas mächtigste Politiker haben Angst vor ihm – in Griechenland wird er schon jetzt als neuer Hoffnungsträger gefeiert!“ Bildzeitung (D) 15.06.2012 „The most powerful politicians of Europe fear him – in Greece he is already celebrated as the new hope!“

And in occasions, fear is used as a referent to react or is deconstructed as a strategic asset with election and campaign intentions. Such a reading gives room to other political actors (like Siriza, in this case) to engage in the same discourse of fear but from a diametric opposition:

"We will not be blackmailed by Troika in the name of a funding stop, we will go move on and we will deal even with withholding of funds. There will be difficulties but we'll survive and we will not step back in the name of a Memorandum which is destructive for the country, "said Panagiotis Lafazanis, revealing SIRIZA's plan to risk the European course of the country and the stay of Greece in Eurozone". Eleytheros Typos(GR), 13.06.12

Frames can provide thus further explanation of the particularities of how the public knowledge concerning the crisis the Greek election and the Spanish bailout is organized. And from this initial map further quantitative and qualitative enquiries can be engaged.

Some final conclusions

In brief, our preliminary analysis indicates that a number of journalistic frames as well as values, as identified in academic scholarship is confirmed and in particular in crisis reporting. Furthermore, the press coverage seems to suffer from short-term 'memory', while the terms of the debate as well as concepts quickly become conflated (crisis, Greeks, Europe).

Overall, there is a tendency to report in a way that accentuates and further generate polarisation, while a clear national specific built-up of news is evident. This is particularly important when considering the impact on understandings of Europe, the European Union, issues of legitimacy and the future of European integration, as a substantial project and not simply as an exercise in trade.

As expected, relation between the press and to elites is verified: news is dominated by elites, and so the press generates very similar discourses with little variation of scenarios and narratives of the crisis.

There is a clear and persistent process of othering 'us and them' across the board based on nation or nations group, with the 'other' being Greece or the Greeks, followed unsystematically by some other parts of Europe.

New communicative strategies taken up as institutions are seen as inadequate or with suspicion.

Cross national and international references in spaces

International dialogues and international social movements

How is European integration expressed, reflected upon and evaluated?

Diverging elites and clustering of countries and political parties

Converging citizenship as middle class disappears

Overlap of mediation and making of Europe

Note:

This project is carried out by the Media Governance and Media Industries Research Group at the Department of Communication, University of Vienna (mediagovernance.univie.ac.at). This paper benefitted from the assistantship and work of Dimitris Tsapogas, Sarah Ganter, Mina Koukou, Lisa Winter and in particular Ramon Rodriguez Amat.

References

Agamben, G. (2005) *State of exception*. Chicago: University Chicago Press

Cooper, A. H. (2002), Media framing and social movement mobilization: German peace protest against INF missiles, the Gulf War, and NATO peace enforcement in Bosnia. *European Journal of Political Research*, 41: 37-80. (<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1475-6765.00003/pdf> accessed November, 15th 2012)

de Vreese, C. H. (2005). *News framing: Theory and typology*. *Information Design Journal and Document Design* 13(1), 51-62 51.

Dirikx, A. and Dave Gelders (2010), To frame is to explain: A deductive frame-analysis of Dutch and French climate. *Public Understanding of Science*, 19: 732 (<http://pus.sagepub.com/content/19/6/732.full.pdf> accessed November, 15th 2012)

Gans, H. J. (1979) *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Northwestern University Press (2005).

Habermas, J. (1975) *Legitimation Crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press

Habermas, J. (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 2: Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Offe, C. (1976) "Political authority and class structure". In: Connerton, P. (Ed.), Critical sociology Harmondsworth: Penguin. pp. 388–421.

Offe, C. (1984) John B Keane (ed) *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. Cambridge: MIT Press

Rosamond, B. (2000) *Theories of European integration*, New York: Macmillan.

Sarikakis, K. (2006). Making Security: Citizenship, Public Sphere and the Condition of Symbolic Annihilation. CHALLENGE F6 programme, workpackage.

Semetko, H.A. and P.M. Valkenburg, (2000) Framing European politics: a content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*. 50(2) June: 93–109.

Snow, David A. and Robert D. Benford (1992) Master Frames and Cycles of Protest. In A. D. Morris and C. M. Mueller, Frontiers in Social Movement Theory, New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 133-155.

Shoemaker, P.J. and S.D. Reese (1996) Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content. White Plains, N.Y: Longman

Tuchman, G. (1978) Making News. A Study of the Construction of Reality, New York: Free Press.