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1. Introduction

In 2009 a practical research class of the Political Science department at the University of Vienna took part in the European-wide PIREDEU[1] Media Study. The study was conducted during the three weeks leading up to the European Parliament Elections (EPE). The main objective was to gather data from all the major (daily) news outlets with a standardised coding scheme. Being part of this class, I was given the task to code the news outlet "Neue Kronen Zeitung" (in Austria usually referred to simply as the "Kronen Zeitung") and became interested in the critical voices directed at the European Union in the media. The pre-electoral coverage in Austria on the EU was dominated in the " Neue Kronen Zeitung" by their support of the independent candidate Hans-Peter Martin, a strongly eurosceptical Member of European Parliament (MEP). A daily column was offered by Martin where he, in essence, accused the EP, the EC and the EU in general of working inefficiently, misappropriating and wildly spending public money and legislating useless policies. The conclusion is drawn easily that this campaign would have to be categorised as conveying a eurosceptic point of view. The news coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung" became the impulse for me to engage myself more closely with the topic of Euroscepticism. My aim in this thesis will be to gain knowledge on the characteristics of Euroscepticism in the Austrian media. Concretely, this means that I will first assess which concerns and evaluations lead to eurosceptic attitudes and second, whether critique is mainly directed at the EU in general or merely at specific policies. In the course of my research it became clear very soon that one of the main tasks within this field of research and this specific topic would be, to assess what Euroscepticism actually is. The fact that the term Euroscepticism stems from journalistic jargon makes it even harder to decide upon a scientific definition. In its daily and popular use, Euroscepticism can be employed to describe very different attitudes

[1] Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union

towards the EU. It is of no use to speak about Euroscepticism in a not clearly defined way, leaving the assumption that one draws from scientific research in a subjective, blurry space. What matters is what hides behind the term of Euroscepticism. It might imply un-qualified as well as qualified critique of the EU, the critique might be directed at different institutional components of the EU or at further European integration. In turn, these eurosceptic stances might be caused by different concerns. I will first have to focus on questions concerning the definition of Euroscepticism and, furthermore, the development of an appropriate conceptualisation to guide my empirical research.

My engagement in the study of Euroscepticism has on several occasions been met with the assumption that by doing research in this area, one would automatically disapprove of eurosceptic stances. It is not my intention to do so. Sceptical attitudes might be ingredients of a healthy democracy; even the more so in a political system such as the EU is where most decisions are not taken solely by the only directly elected institution, the European Parliament. The reference to Euroscepticism does not have to bring with itself a tone of disapproval of the phenomenon in question. As concluded by Harmsen after his research on 'Euroscepticism in the Netherlands': "The Dutch will also continue to exhibit what Milner (2000) has termed a 'healthy scepticism', questioning the levels of democratic accountability provided by EU institutions relative to pre-existing national standards." (Harmsen, 2005: 17). Scepticism, which in its original sense means "to be thoughtful and inquiring in a general sense" (Tiersky, 2001: 3), can present a valuable ingredient to every healthy democracy as a control mechanism. But when scepticism reaches as far as to not fully accept the democratic political entity that is in power, then these sceptical tendencies might have a negative impact on the political legitimacy of the political system. When citizens no longer accept decisions taken at the EU-level because they no longer identify themselves with the Union, the future of the whole project of European integration might be at risk. By learning more about the concerns underlying criticism directed at the EU or parts of the EU, it will become possible to address these concerns and to take them into account when planning the future of the European integration project.

Citizens' opinions can be influenced by various socio-structural factors, such as their economic background or their education. Amongst others, citizens rely on cues from elites, political parties and the media to form their opinion of the often-complex political processes (Steenbergen, Edwards et al., 2007: 33; Lubbers and Scheepers, 2010). By reverting to this information, it becomes easier to assess the impact these will have on their personal lives and to learn about the context of political decisions. In my research, I will focus on the attitudes conveyed by the Austrian media towards the EU and draw on the quantitative data collected in the PIREDEU Media Study to conduct my empirical analysis on the aspects of the EU which are in the focus of critique. I will evaluate the data according to the prior definition and concept of Euroscepticism. Special attention will be paid to the coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung" which takes up an important role in the Austrian media landscape due to its broad range of coverage. Proportionally to the population of Austria, this dominance is unique in the whole of Europe. Through the empirical analysis, I hope to gain knowledge on the eurosceptical coverage the Austrian population is exposed to. What aspects of the EU are actually in the focus of critique in the media and which eurosceptic concerns can be found in the Austrian media? My goal will also be to provide a picture on Euroscepticism in the different news outlets.

2. Public support and the EU

2.1 The decline of the permissive consensus

It has become more and more apparent that the European integration project will not succeed if the European public does not support it. During the past few years, one of the biggest problems for the EU has been the lack of public support for the European integration project. For a long time, the elite-driven decision-making in the EU functioned with the approval of its citizens. A change has occured in the attitudes of the European public concerning the decision-making process and European integration after the Treaty of Maastricht. An increasing dissatisfaction with the European integration process has become perceivable in the population of the European Union. This tendency has resulted in the decline of the permissive consensus which allowed the European elites to rule without direct legitimation for a long time (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002; Kritzinger, 2003; Steenbergen, Edwards et al., 2007). "In some Member States Euroscepticism has become a visible and stable, albeit minority, seam running through public opinion. Across Member States, a whole 13 per cent think that their country's membership of the EU is a bad thing according to the most recent Eurobarometer." (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 5). Most clearly this has been proven by the downturn of the constitution of the EU by the citizens of two of the Member States, namely France and the Netherlands (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2008: 1; Heidenreich, 2009: 55).

For various reasons attitudes towards the EU have been changing. In the early days of the European Union, no democratic deficit was detected by the population, neither did the scientific community discuss such a phenomenon. This was due to mainly two things as Holzinger suggests: First, the goals of European integration were clearly defined; the project should mainly ensure the peace in the region, and improve the economic situation. As long as these two goals seemed to be achieved by the political elite, no concerns about a legitimacy problem were brought forward (Holzinger, 2005: 90). But since the founding of the European Community (EC) the concerns of the population have changed and more

importantly, the main goals of the EU have too. With the Treaty of Maastricht the development of a common economic and monetary union and the joining of the Eastern European Member States, the European population did not agree anymore with the pace at which European integration was developing. Eurosceptic attitudes began to grow (in literature this has been referred to as the "Post-Maastricht Blues" (Eichenberg and Dalton, 2007)). Secondly, though some other democratic structures of the European Union, such as the European Parliament, were not as developed as they are now, in the Council of Ministers most of the decisions were taken unanimously until the "Single European Act" in 1986. Additionally, most new legislative proposals had to be passed by the different national parliaments. Legitimacy thus was based directly on the governments, national parliaments and national elections. With further integration this system was no longer feasible. A more effective decision-making process had to be employed and with further integration EU issues could not be discussed, mainly in national parliaments within a national reference framework. Due to this, structures were changed, but the voices detecting a democratic deficit only began to rise then (Graf Kielmansegg, 2003: 50 ff; Holzinger, 2005: 94 ff).

The functioning of the decision-making process of the EU was based for a long time on output legitimation, which is based on the success of the policies and the acceptance of the population (Holzinger, 2005: 94) (for further information on output legitimation: (Scharpf, 1999: 6)). The political elite was sure to know the answer to what the integration process should look like and what the population wanted. In recent research on public opinion and elites in the EU, it was found that there is a gap between the perceptions of the population and the elites on what the future of the EU should be. One of the effects public opposition towards the EU has, is that "it has normative implications for the democratic credentials of the European integration project if a significant and growing section of the EU populace does not buy into the European project." (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2008: 1). In the course of the integration process new policy areas have been put under the legal system of the EU. Majority voting has been strengthened in the ministerial Council and the European Parliament has gained power through the Treaty of Lisbon (though it has to be mentioned

that, in the treaty, national parliaments have also been strengthened). This all leads to the fact that the acceptance and the support of European integration has to be present within the population of the EU to legitimate decisions taken at the EU-level and to guarantee the unobstructed functioning of the Union. In the EU, direct legitimacy of the decision-making process is only given partially through the EP. Most decisions concerning European issues are made by not directly elected officials, additionally the only directly elected entity, the European Parliament, is elected in national contexts and in campaigns dominated by national issues (Reif, Schmitt et al., 1997). As long as the state of democracy in the EU is not improved, to know more about the wishes and concerns of the European population is a question of legitimacy (while it has to be clear that the question of legitimacy does not solve the problem of a lack of democratic mechanisms (Katz, 2001: 54)). The discrepancy concerning attitudes towards the future of the EU not only exists between citizens and the elites. Due to different and individual situations and developments, the way in which European integration is seen in every Member State has not been homogenous. This makes it important to assess the attitudes the European public has towards the EU and the integration process for each country individually.

2.2 Support and Identity

A problem strongly related to the lack of support the EU is suffering, is the lack of a common identity throughout the citizens of the European Union (Holzinger, Knill et al., 2005). Similar to the lack of support, the lack of a common identity also has implications for the legitimacy of the political system. A single European demos is an indispensable factor to the idea of popular sovereignty, which is the key to democratic legitimacy. To establish a functioning democracy, it is necessary to build on a previous common identity. The idea of being part of a community is what leads to the acceptance of the rule of the majority, which constitutes the basic democratic principle (Holzinger, 2005: 98) (for further information on the demos and democracy in the EU see: (Weiler, Haltern et al., 1995)). Also in the face of new challenges that the European Union is confronting, identity plays a significant role. One of the most recent challenges for the EU has been the

economic crisis and its consequences. A financial rescue plan to avoid Greece's national insolvency has had the EU Member States making available billions of Euros. To tackle these problems "it is widely agreed that an European identity is necessary to ensure the legitimacy of the EU and to foster solidarity among the citizens of the EU" and that a " "we" feeling is necessary for the acceptance of the individual disposition to cooperate, to support the regime and to accept the decisions of the majority." (Fuchs, Guinaudeau et al., 2009: 91). Heidenreich mentions other problems the future integration of the EU could face, if there is no common sense of a community between the citizens of the EU. Amongst others, the future possibilities to develop a common foreign security are strongly obstructed with the need for soldiers to feel European to fight for the EU (Heidenreich, 2009: 55), though this last concern still seems a long way off. The development of a common identity is crucial for the EU for the various reasons stated. The legitimacy of the political system of the EU is at stake, as well as the solidarity between its citizens, which is necessary for a common economic system.

2.3 An attempt to foster support

The growing danger coming from stronger eurosceptic tendencies within the public has not gone unnoticed by the authorities of the EU. As a reaction to the growing Euroscepticism within the EU population and the negative outcomes of the referenda on the constitution treaty, the EU launched "Plan D" in 2005. The principle goal was to win back the faith of the EU citizens in the integration project. The main approach was emphasised by the name of the project, where the "D" stood for "Democracy, Dialogue and Discussion" (Bernhardt, Hadji-Abdou et al., 2009). Though the EU tried to learn through this project more about the concerns and needs of the population, Sørensen doubts the success of the project due to the fact, that "Plan D" was apparently developed without the knowledge of what actually made the EU populations sceptic and without paying attention to possible national differences of eurosceptic attitudes and concerns. The focus of "Plan D" was put on the democratic concerns of the European population, other types of Euroscepticism stayed unaddressed. The success of the project was thus already limited by

its concept, as Sørensen states (Sørensen, 2008: 17 ff). To develop concepts to strengthen the EU and the support of its citizens, we first have to know what Euroscepticism actually is and which attitudes towards the EU are brought forward within the opposition to the EU. ”Yet, going through the numerous studies on Euro-scepticism the reader is confronted with the question: ‘What kind of skepticism towards Europe are we talking about?’” (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005: 224).

2.4 The need to investigate Euroscepticism

Euroscepticism has been an often-used term since it first was mentioned in “The Economist” in 1992 (Hooghe and Marks, 2007: 120). Others claim that the term was already used in the mid-1980s in “The Times” (Spiering, 2005: 125). This increased concern with the topic of Euroscepticism includes both, the media, but also political science research (Weßels, 2009: 50 ff). In the past decade, a multitude of publications in journals, books and conferences have been focusing on the topic of Euroscepticism. The amount of literature available is vast. Amongst many others, the “Opposing Europe Research Network” and its successor the “European Parties, Elections and Referendums Network”, both based at the Sussex European Institute”, have contributed various publications to the topic (Kaniok and Arató provide in their publication “Euroscepticism and European Integration” a comprehensive overview of the state of the art on Euroscepticism (Arató and Kaniok, 2009)). Still, the concepts and definitions of Euroscepticism have not been able to draw a coherent picture of the phenomenon. Even at the most basic, but often also most difficult task in political science research, the development of a generally accepted definition for the phenomenon in question, the scientific community has failed until now. The deeper investigation on what is actually critiqued and which motives drive Euroscepticism, are the key points to understanding the phenomenon and to develop strategies to increase public support for the EU. “What one population wants from integration may be what another population fears will happen.” (Sørensen, 2008: 15). This means that there is a necessity to learn more about the directions

Euroscepticism takes in every country, apart from knowing whether that country is euroscepticistic to a certain degree or not.

2.5 Euroscepticism in Austria

Austrian Euroscepticism has often been mentioned in public debates, as well as in political science research (Pelinka, 2004; Fallend, 2008). One would think that the advantages of the Austrian membership in the European Union are apparent. Austria lies in the heart of Europe, it does not have particular natural resources, which would make it independent from the European economic market, and neither is its cultural tradition different from other European countries (as it is the case with Great Britain, which always felt more connected to the U.S., though this is only one of the things which explains Euroscepticism in Great Britain). Especially in the beginning of the EU, smaller countries were given a stronger voice through specific decision-making mechanism in the EU; where decisions often had to be taken unanimously in a one-country one-vote fashion. Still, Euroscepticism has been very present in Austria since the beginning of the negotiations of a possible membership of Austria in the European Union. Enthusiasm for the European integration project has been low (Baryli, 1992; Pelinka, 2004; Fallend, 2008) and according to Fallend "a majority of people may be classified as Eurosceptics" in Austria (Fallend, 2008: 201).

Austria's relationship with the EU has been a sceptical one since the beginnings of the EC. This was linked to the position Austria took in the international political system after the ending of World War II. In 1955, Austria was able to sign its independence after declaring its permanent neutrality, following the Swiss example. Since then, the 'Austrian Neutrality' has been deeply integrated in the Austrian identity. This was a reason for the late membership of Austria in the EU, as becoming a member of the EC was considered incompatible with the status of permanent neutrality (Fallend, 2008: 205). In a "Le monde" article in 1992, Waltraud Barily outlined the various reasons which led the Austrian public to meet the accession to the EU with a sceptical attitude. As the major factor, Barily mentioned what she called the "sacro-sainte neutralité", alluding to the symbolic meaning

of the neutrality for the Austrian public. But apparently this has not been the only concern bothering public opinion in Austria. The Green Party mainly criticised liberal market tendencies in the EU and that transit traffic might become incontrollable with accession to the EU. Austrian identity, or the past Austrian identity, also played a role in the debates surrounding a possible membership of Austria in the EU. Acknowledging the once important role Austria played in the political order of Europe, the concern was present that Austria would not play a role worthy of its historical past in the political system of the EU. On an economic or utilitarian basis, though the advantages of the accession to the EU could not be doubted, most of Austrian trade was dependent on countries of the European Economic Community; it could be predicted that the membership in the EU would foster the economic growth in Austria (Baryli, 1992). In the end, a majority of 66% voted for the accession to the EU (Austrian Parliament n.d.). In later developments, the right party spectrum became increasingly eurosceptic, as a result to the sanctions the European Union imposed on Austria. The FPÖ has been generally anti-EU, but distinctively adopted this position in the years from 1999 to 2003. Such a general anti-EU position implies not only critique directed towards specific policy areas but also the adoption of an anti-polity position, criticising the institution of the EU as such (Lefkofridi and Kritzinger, 2008).

Eurosceptic tendencies have been detectable in Austria since the discussion of a possible membership in the EU. With some changes in terms of the content and the parties forwarding eurosceptic concerns, they have remained present. The topic of transit traffic has still been very present in debates of the EP election campaign of 2004 and the perception of the EU being a political institution closely linked to the misappropriation of public funds and seen as a mainly bureaucratic entity is widespread in Austria. Recent data has shown that 71% of the Austrian population does not trust the EU as a political institution. Also the question whether Austrian felt that their interests are protected through the EU, was assessed negatively in 50% of the cases (Picker and Zeglovits, 2005: 237). Whilst it may be clear that the most radical case of Euroscepticism exists in the UK and a lot of researchers have focused on ‘British Euroscepticism‘ (Forster, 2002; Spiering, 2005), eurosceptic tendencies in other Member States are still equally important for the

future of the EU and should be objects of research. The case of Austria also presents an especially interesting case of research. Austrian citizens have been continuously more sceptical about the EU than the Europan Union citizens on average. Recent Eurobarometer data has once again supported this picture (Hausensteiner-Obermayr, 2009). As mentioned above, in Austria the reasons for adopting eurosceptic stances have been various. Through my empirical analysis I would like to classify the type of Euroscepticism found in the Austrian media.

2.6 Why the Media matters

2.6.1 Mass media – an under-researched topic

Most publications on Euroscepticism have been focusing on Euroscepticism in party systems (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2008) or on public opinion research. Little is currently known on the component of Euroscepticism in the media. The word Euroscepticism actually stems from the media, so it seems curious that most analyses have ignored the phenomenon in the same. Euroscepticism in the media has been a fairly under-researched area, though there have been some attempts to investigate (De Vreese, 2007; Scharkow and Vogelgesang, 2007; Adam, 2009). The focus of most researchers though has been to find concepts to analyse Euroscepticism at the "micro level of citizens as well as to the macro level of party systems" (Fuchs, Magni-Berton et al., 2009: 20). The macro level of the mass media should be added to this general research focus. Thus, we will have to find a concept which enables us to analyse Euroscepticism in the media. Concepts that have been adapted to investigate Euroscepticism in party systems or within the population of the EU, are not necessarily adequate to employ in a study on mass media.

2.6.2 The role of mass media in political communication

Nowadays, mass media plays a central role in the communication process between political parties and the public, and so constitutes an important variable in the puzzle of the opposition to the European integration project. In Austria, only two out of ten citizens

claim not to follow up political media reports at all or only occasionally (Plasser and Ulram, 2002, p. 33). In many ways, the media not only offers a platform for the opinion of political parties but also acts as a control mechanism of the same. In the case of Austria a fact sticks out: the biggest newspaper, the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" chose to support the independent candidate Hans-Peter Martin with his list in the EP election campaign of 2009, thus having had a major influence on the outcome. Already for the EP election campaign in 2004, Hans-Peter Martin strongly featured in the "Kronen Zeitung", who offered a platform for his critique of the EU Institutions (Picker and Zeglovits, 2005: 243). This means, that it is not enough to analyse Euroscepticism in party systems or through voter questionnaires, but that the middle piece in public communication also has to be looked at more closely.

When the questions arises which factors lead citizens and political parties to oppose European integration, mass media is considered a vital ingredient (Hooghe and Marks, 2007: 119). The role mass media plays in democratic political systems has been analysed by Katrin Voltmer. In the democratic process, the task of mass media is to deliver information to the voters for them to rationally evaluate political processes. The function of the media thereby is to simplify complex political processes in order for the citizens to be able to process the information, so they can make up their opinions with the least of efforts. This way, the media can also act as a control mechanism when criticising the actions taken by the political elites. Public communication exclusively happens through mass media. Political actors transfer their stances through the media which conveys their messages. Therefore, mass media constitutes the main source through which citizens perceive political information (Voltmer, 2002: 384).

2.6.3 Mass media and Euroscepticism

Menno Spiering states, with regard to his analysis of Euroscepticism in the British Media, that most newspapers in the UK convey the opinion that the only option for the UK is to get out of the EU (Spiering, 2005: 133). This may be due to the fact that the media tends to

simplify processes. Is it not easier to claim that the whole membership in the EU is at odds with national interest than to depict which policy areas exactly have been developing in favour of the nation and which have not? Another reason for this kind of news coverage of the EU in the UK is that the media tends to go for the most attention seeking stories; More so in recent years, with growing pressure for newspapers and TV news outlets to sell. On the other hand, the opinion of the media cannot depart too much from citizens' attitudes: as a consequence such a radical type of Euroscepticism, as Spiering detects in the UK, might not be present in news outlets of other Member States. The media has to write what the readership wants to hear, but also influences citizens' opinions with their sometimes provocative statements. In both cases the analysis of the media can bring valuable knowledge.

Spiering claims when talking about the British press that "Euroscepticism is a resource to be exploited by politicians and the press alike. Many of the tabloids routinely carry reports about nation-threatening directives which are dreamt up not just by 'Brussels' but by 'the Europeans' (Spiering, 2005: 145). The opportunity is embraced by mass media to produce attention-calling articles. The claim that foreigners are forcing decisions made at the EU-level on British citizens, apparently works even better, since the knowledge-level of the EU within the British population is lowest according to the Eurobarometer, says Spiering (Spiering, 2005: 139). Chong and Druckman support this line of thought, mentioning that citizens without sufficiently developed attitudes can be manipulated more easily and are thus more vulnerable to framing in the media (Chong and Druckman, 2007: 121). The general level of knowledge concerning political processes in the EU is relatively low in the rest of Europe as well (Anderson, 1998); the assumption that mass media can have a stronger influence on citizens' attitudes when reporting about EU issues will thus very probably not only apply to the UK.

Apart from the role mass media plays in shaping public opinion in general, it is also of importance to keep in mind the varying level of influence news outlets have in a country. It is necessary to have a look at the range of coverage of the news outlets of the country in

question. In Austria we are facing a very particular landscape of the mass media, with a yellow press paper nearly covering half of the readership in Austria, the "Neue Kronen Zeitung". To name specific figures, the range of coverage of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" reached 41.9% in 2008. In comparison, the three biggest quality newspapers "Der Standard", "Salzburger Nachrichten" and "Die Presse" only reached between 3.4% and 5.5% (Statistik Austria, 2009). My aim in this thesis on Euroscepticism in the Austrian media is not to analyse the effect the media has on the Austrian population. I will therefore not weight my empirical results according to the ranges of coverage. Still, it can be of interest to have the structure of this special media landscape in mind when interpreting the results. Taking into account though, the special position of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" with respect to its range of coverage and to the strong support of the "Liste Hans-Peter Martin", I will lay a special focus in my empirical analysis on the eurosceptical content of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung". This will reveal the eurosceptic tendencies a majority of the Austrian readership of newspapers is exposed to. The analysis will also detect whether it can be verified or not that the "Kronen Zeitung" conveyed more critical stances towards the EU during the weeks preceding the EPE 2009 than other news outlets. This last assumption is based on a mere observation of the news coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung" and the support of the news outlet for a eurosceptic candidate.

Another factor which influences my research and which will influence possible future research on Euroscepticism in the media is, that one can only analyse the media for an individual Member States. This is due to the fact that currently no common Europe-wide media outlets exist. Only a minority consumes the TV Channel "Euronews" and, within print news, the "Financial Times" is the only Europe-wide outlet, which is also only read by an elite. The public discourse concerning European issues is limited to the national languages and seen from national perspectives (Holzinger, 2005: 102). As already mentioned, the interesting thing to learn about Euroscepticism is which differences can be found in the EU Member States. It is, I assume, also the lack of common media outlets, which leads to such distinct perspectives about the EU within the Member States. In this respect, it only makes sense to concentrate upon national media landscapes, not only as a

logical consequence to the fact that there are nearly no Europe-wide newspapers or TV channels.

3. Defining Euroscepticism

A lot of literature has been focusing on explaining why a certain country or certain parties are more eurosceptic than others, therefore trying to find explanations for Euroscepticism, but without first assessing what Euroscepticism is and what defines it. The value of an adequate definition cannot be estimated high enough in the social sciences, as "one's results are heavily colored by one's definition of key terms" (Gerring, 1999: 359). A multitude of definitions of Euroscepticism have been put on the table, but there has been no agreement on one basic definition of the term Euroscepticism. "... no coherent theory exists that details what Euroscepticism is, or why, when, and how it occurs and develops." (Sørensen, 2008: 6) or as Harmsen and Spierieng put it: "… there is clearly no single, accepted usage of the term 'Euroscepticism'." (Harmsen and Spiering, 2005: 20). In their research, Harmsen and Spiering also mention that this, at the same time, is proof and a direct result of the vivid debate which has surged in the last years on the topic, "the debates surrounding questions of definition are largely the reflection of an increasingly vigorous scholarly interest in the nature, origins and prospects of Euroscepticism." (Harmsen and Spiering, 2005: 20). Still, in any scientific research tackling the issue of Euroscepticism, the lack of a common agreement in literature concerning the definition of the term has to be mentioned. Many authors have tried to find the right definition, but it has to be discussed whether one of the existing definitions actually grasps most precisely the meaning of Euroscepticism or if a new definition should be developed.

The origin of the term Euroscepticism which, as already mentioned earlier, stems from the journalistic sphere, makes it hard to grasp the precise usage of the word Euroscepticism. In mass media, Euroscepticism has been used in a lot of different ways, covering a wide range of attitudes towards the EU. The difficulty raised by this, lies in the fact that one of the key factors in coming up with a valuable definition is to grasp the meaning the term has in its popular use. Ronald Tiersky states in his introduction to the reader "Euro-skepticism" that one should not make the mistake of trying to be over precise about the term Euroscepticism as the concept stems from the journalistic sphere and constitutes an

informal label rather than a formal political theory (Tiersky, 2001: 3). In a paper on the development of concepts, Gerring raises the concern that a concept or a definition should neither depart from the common usage of the term, nor should a scientific work restrict itself to ordinary meanings (Gerring, 1999: 362). For the validity of the scientific research, I will resort to definitions which have already been developed in research on the topic, and see whether they seem adequate or whether alterations should be made to create a better definition. Basing a scientific analysis on a loose definition of the term, as Tiersky suggest, would render the results less significant.

3.1 Considerations on terminology

Before getting to the task of presenting the definitions currently available in the literature and the problems related to these definitions, the components of the word "Euro-scepticism" are worth taking a look at.

"Problems involved with defining the positive concept are readily apparent and emerge at all three components of the term: euro, sceptic and ism. From its popular usage in the press and in political and academic discourse, it is clear that 'euro' is not restricted to scepticism towards the Euro (single currency), nor to anything that has to do with 'euro'; however, it is not straightforward to replace the term with the slightly more concrete version 'EU-scepticism'. While sometimes denoting sceptics of the EU as a whole, Euroscepticism is more frequently used in relation to specific areas of concern, such as the Common Agricultural Policy, or the Constitutional Treaty. 'Sceptic', according to dictionaries, refers to 'doubt in the truth of something' … a non-negligible part of Euroscepticism, for instance, aims for the complete breakdown of the Union. 'Ism' is the suffix attached to most ideology labels, lending the term to be incorporated into the domain of political belief systems (Flood: 3). However, whether or not Euroscepticism can be seen as an ideology in its own right is a topic of on-going debate (Flood & Usherwood)." (Sørensen, 2005: 2 ff.).

As Sørensen points out the component 'Euro' in the word Euroscepticism can be a misleading term, as Euroscepticism does not refer to the opposition to the single currency of the European Union. But the term Euroscepticism has been established in mass media, the political sphere and public discourse without being restrained to the single currency. Coining a new term would lead more to confusion than it would help to depict the phenomenon more precisely.

The point that one should not depart from the common usage of a term is underlined by my objection to an alternative terminology of the opposition to European integration, as Kopecky and Mudde have developed. In their concept, principled opposition to the European integration project is tagged with the label of "Europhobes". Eurosceptics, in contrast, are only people or parties who: "support the general ideas of European integration, but are pessimistic about the EU's current and/or future reflection of these ideas." (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: 302) (Kopecky and Muddes' concept divided into 4 ideal types of attitudes towards European integration and towards the EU, which I will outline later in the chapter treating the conceptualisations of Euroscepticism). A critique from Szczerbiak and Taggart on Kopecky and Muddes' concept is that it departs from common usage of the term Euroscepticism. In a popular sense, Euroscepticism generally encompasses both, contingent and principled opposition to the European integration project. Departing from these terminology-based considerations, I will proceed by giving an overview of the basic definitions of Euroscepticism which have been developed.

3.2 Euroscepticism: The opposition to European integration or to the EU in general?

The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary offers the following definition for the term Eurosceptic: "A Person who is not enthusiastic about increasing the powers of the European Union." This definition has not been used in any of the scientific papers trying to assess what Euroscepticism is, as the definition is too broad and focuses on the lack of enthusiasm for European integration instead of the opposition to it. Taggart developed a

definition, which in comparison is much more detailed and is an often-cited definition of Euroscepticism in research. „Euroscepticism expresses the idea of contingent or qualified opposition, as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration.“ (Taggart, 1998: 366). The latter definition seems more elaborate than the first one and has been much used in scientific research; still they both have some common ground. In both the Oxford English Dictionaries and Taggart's definition, the phenomenon of Euroscepticism is being related to the opposition to European integration and not to the EU in general. This leads us to one of the main discussions concerning the basic definition of Euroscepticism. The distinction between Euroscepticism standing for opposition to European integration or whether it also includes opposition to the EU in general and membership in the EU. Ronald Tiersky, in line with the two definitions mentioned above, tries to visualise the fact that, for him, Euroscepticism is the opposition to European integration but not Europe by outlining what would be the positive programme of Euroscepticism: the vision of an intergovernmental and confederal Europe but not national isolation. "The minimum necessary integration for peace and prosperity coupled with the maximum preservation of national sovereignty." (Tiersky, 2001: 4)

The alternative way of defining Euroscepticism was taken, among others, by Forster and Sørensen. Both not only see the opposition towards European integration as a eurosceptic attitude, but also the opposition to the EU in general. For Forster "generally the term Euroscepticism has been employed as a generic label that defines a negative point of view towards the European Union (EU)" (Forster, 2002: 2). This view is also supported by Sørensen who defines Euroscepticism "as a sentiment of disapproval – reaching a certain degree and durability – directed towards the EU in its entirety or towards particular policy areas or developments" (Sørensen, 2008: 6).

Though Taggart's definition from 1998 restrains itself to the opposition to European integration, Szczerbiak and Taggart in a subsequent paper developed a concept of Euroscepticism, which also included the opposition to the EU in general and to the membership in the EU. They proceeded by distinguishing two dimensions: Soft

Euroscepticism, which concerns one or a number of policy areas and displays qualified opposition, and Hard Euroscepticism, the latter including principled objections to the EU, to European integration and in consequence to the membership in the EU (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 7). It thus seems clear, that the term Euroscepticism has often not been used in a coherent way.

To give insight into the vivid discussion on the matter of the definition of Euroscepticism, I will shortly outline a critique of the concept proposed by Taggart and Szczerbiak and their consequent alteration of the concept. Kopecky and Mudde mentioned regarding the concept of Taggart and Szczerbiak that, in their opinion, the opposition to the Membership in the EU or the request to withdraw from the EU does not form part of Euroscepticism (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: 300). As a reaction to this critique, Taggart and Szczerbiak reformulated their concept in the following way: "our original Hard-Soft formulation, we would re-formulate it as follows. Hard Euroscepticism (what Kopecky and Mudde term Eurorejectionism) might be defined as principled opposition to the project of European integration, in other words, based on the ceding or transfer of powers to supranational institution such as the EU. Soft Euroscepticism (what they term simply Euroscepticism) might be re-defined as when there is not a principled objection to the European integration project transferring powers to a supranational body such as the EU, but there is opposition to the EU's current or future planned trajectory based on the *further* extension of competencies that the EU is planning to make." (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003: 8).

In conclusion, one could say that the opposition to European integration is usually what is captured by the term Euroscepticism. However in extreme cases the opposition to the EU and to membership of the EU can also be included in the meaning of the term Euroscepticism. In its widest sense, Euroscepticism can be defined as critical opposition to the European Union in general. It is true that the future of the EU will depend on the commitment of the European public to the integration process and one can assume that most eurosceptical attitudes concern the objection to further European integration. Usually, the question whether a country should think of leaving the EU is not even

seriously considered in public discourse, still it could be a possible issue in Member States and more so in candidate countries. (The question was also raised by Taggart and Szczerbiak as to whether Euroscepticism could only exist in EU Member States and their answer do this was negative, stressing, that Eurosceptic forces have also emerged in EU candidate states (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 6).) As outlined earlier, most definitions of Euroscepticism have therefore been limited to a critique of European integration and not to the European Union as a whole, often using Taggart's definition of 1998 (Tiersky, 2001: 1; Hooghe and Marks, 2007: 120). But the approach to draw classifications which divide between more radical and softer variations - where the more radical types encompass the opposition to the EU in its entity and the membership of the EU, as in Taggarts and Szczerbiaks initial concept - makes sense to be able to get more precise knowledge and results on the research of Euroscepticism.

3.3 Attitudes qualifying as euroscepic stances

Another important issue, when trying to set limits to the phenomenon in terms of a definition, is to consider what these attitudes, be it towards EU integration or the EU in general, include. Which attitudes can be regarded as constituting an oppositional stance to the EU or to European integration? Common conclusions on which positions towards the European Union can be branded as euroscepticistic are hard to find. Harmsen and Spiering denote that the intensity of Euroscepticism can range from "fundamental rejections of European integration in its present form through to mild reformist critiques" (Harmsen and Spiering, 2005: 13). Guido Tiemann outlines in the introduction of his article on eurosceptic parties that in a provisional way Euroscepticism can be seen as the opposition to the ideas of the EU, its institutional structure or specific policies decided upon at the European level (Tiemann, 2006: 171). It is important to assess which attitudes actually fit the description of opposing the EU or European integration. Franz Fallend mentions in his contribution to Taggart and Szczerbiak that in his article "opposition to non-fundamental aspects of European integration will not be understood as evidence of Euroscepticism." (Fallend, 2008: 202). This is a valid point, as otherwise every small critique on some aspect

of the EU would be categorised as a eurosceptic stance, which would render the concept meaningless. In the same sense, Kopecky and Mudde criticised Taggart and Szczerbiak's afore mentioned definition of Soft Euroscepticism saying, that it includes nearly every disagreement with a policy decision made in the EU and thus is over encompassing (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: 300). Discussing Anthony Forsters research on British Euroscepticism (Forster, 2002), Menno Spiering mentions in her own article on British Euroscepticism that "Forster, together with many others, employs the term in a non-specific way, as a portmanteau for every British reservation ever expressed about postwar European cooperation or integration." (Spiering, 2005: 128). Though Forster's approach and that of other researchers might be valuable nation-specific and historical contributions to the debate, I would like to avoid such a non-specific analysis of Euroscepticism. At the same time, I want to refrain from a rigorous limitation of the term, which would exclude determining characteristics of the phenomenon. Only this way will we get information on characteristics of Euroscepticism that will be of value for cross-national analysis. It will also avoid the danger of speaking of totally different phenomena altogether; a problem which Sørensen has observed in the literature on Euroscepticism (Sørensen, 2008: 7).

The question remains: if a party, the citizens of the EU or mass media is not against European integration in general and the EU's general trajectory, but opposed to one particular transfer of sovereignty, this does not have to mean that this necessarily is the adoption of a eurosceptic stance. Where should one draw the line? How many oppositional stances to the extension of the EU's powers are enough to speak about Euroscepticism? To solve this problem, Taggart and Szczerbiak decided to divide between the opposition to core and to peripheral policy areas of the EU (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003: 9). Euroscepticism should be limited to a broader opposition to the EU or European integration. This notion should include attitudes opposing major institutions, the democratic pillars of the political system or major policy areas (where admittedly one can fight about which policy areas should be considered as being major).

Continuing with the question, which attitudes count as an oppositional stance to the EU or European integration, Taggart and Szczerbiak brought forward another concern. What if parties (this can be extended to citizens or mass media) criticise that there is too little European integration? This could hardly be seen as a eurosceptic stance in their opinion. An example would be the case where the EU is criticised for being undemocratic or a call for democratisation is forwarded. Parties who call for the transfer of more competences to the EU-level (e.g. to strengthen the EP) cannot really be defined as eurosceptic (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003: 10). But if the democratic status of the EU is criticised, this could also be a call to draw competences back to the national level, which could again be categorised as Euroscepticism. The same problem poses itself when the critique is made that allegedly there is "too little social Europe". But the critique of "too little social Europe" or the statement that the democratic status of the EU is in bad shape, in my opinion, also means that you oppose the current trajectory of the EU, which again can be classified as a eurosceptic stance. Weßels has discussed this definition problem of Euroscepticism by questioning whether scepticism can only mean absolute rejection of something or if it can include reasoned critique. The latter actually constitutes an important clue to the development of the democracy in the EU. In his concept critique related to the call for improvement of the European integration process actually constitutes one main type of Euroscepticism (Weßels, 2007). The truth is that this problem cannot be solved 100 percent. If the main critique is that further integration should be pushed for, this would rather present a euro-enthusiast attitude; if further integration is not objected to in general but certain aspects of integration are criticised, this would present a eurosceptic attitude. The data, which would be required to differentiate between such slight nuances, is usually not available.

3.4 The definition of Euroscepticism in national contexts

Various researchers have focused on finding differences in the eurosceptic attitudes of the Member States of the EU (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002; Sørensen, 2008; Lubbers and

Scheepers, 2010) or focused on the specific characteristics of Euroscepticism in one country (Forster, 2002; Lubbers, 2008). Different contextual factors have lead to these changes in public attitudes towards the EU.[2] According to Harmsen and Spiering the meaning of the term 'Euroscepticism' is therefore often adopted in the context of national political debates. Historical, political and geographic differences have shaped the attitudes towards the EU, which have to be understood by taking these circumstances into account. Concretely, they refer to the 'British Case' of Euroscepticism, which has proved to be broader and more radical than in the rest of Europe (Spiering, 2005). In the UK, many who advocate for the withdrawal from the European Union gather under the umbrella of the term Euroscepticism as Menno Spiering states. As an example he lists the Homepage www.euro-sceptic.org which features supporters of the departure of the UK from the EU (Spiering, 2005: 129). In this spirit, British supporters of the EU membership who oppose further European integration, try hard not to be seen as eurosceptics. „Instead of the word Eurosceptic, these and similar minded activists prefer other compounds, such as 'Eurorealist' or 'Europragmatist', to mark their position, while claiming that those who call themselves Eurosceptic are in fact 'Europhobes'." (Spiering, 2005: 130). In Britain, Spiering states that Euroscepticism is more radical than in other EU countries, thus it would be labelled in line with the concept of Taggart and Szczerbiak as Hard Euroscepticism (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 4). A country-dependent differentiation as Menno Spiering uses, makes it even more difficult to agree to a basic definition of Euroscepticism, which can be employed universally. It is actually one of the main challenges in research on Euroscepticism to find a definition, which can be employed in all Member State and candidate countries of the EU, having one and the same meaning. I therefore have to object to the development of definitions of Euroscepticism, which only apply to one specific country or type of Euroscepticism. In the following chapters I will outline some concepts developed to be able to divide a general definition of Euroscepticism into specific types of Euroscepticism. This approach seems more adequate to foster comparative research in the area than Spiering's approach. A common basic definition of Euroscepticism is core to

[2] I will elaborate these factors more precisely in the chapter on the contextual factors leading to the adoption of eurosceptic stances.

future research done in this area. Further discern within the phenomenon of Euroscepticism are equally important to be able to differentiate degrees and directions of the opposition to the EU or European integration. In that case, it will not be necessary to restrict the definition of Euroscepticism to the opposition to further integration, as it is done in some cases in the literature I mentioned before. By creating further distinctions within Euroscepticism the different dimensions can be held apart.

3.5 How Euroscepticism is defined in the present research

When comparing some of the basic definitions developed in scientific research by Sørensen, Forster, Taggart and Tiersky, Taggart's attempt to describe the phenomenon seems the most elaborate (Taggart, 1998: 366). To a great extent, I agree with his definition. The fact though, that the definition is limited to the opposition to European integration seems less viable. The popular use of the term Euroscepticism also includes oppositional attitudes towards the EU in general and towards the membership in the EU, as displayed by Spiering's analysis of Euroscepticism in Great Britain. In radical cases, the meaning of Euroscepticism might indeed include these attitudes. As long as an accompanying concept provides the necessary categories to clearly divide between the different (and more or less radical) attitudes within Euroscepticism, I find it logical to include this aspect in my definition. Also some researchers argued that one could either oppose further integration or oppose the direction European integration has been taking in the past. The latter, for me, counts as opposing to the European Union in general, as the EU as a whole consists of measures of past integration steps. Thus, I will reformulate the definition Taggart proposed as follows:

Euroscepticism expresses the idea of contingent or qualified opposition, as well as incorporating outright and unqualified opposition to the process of European integration, the European Union in general or the membership in the European Union.

Having decided upon this basic definition, I repeat that the definition of Euroscepticism should be limited to a broad opposition to the EU or European integration. This includes attitudes opposing major institutions, the democratic pillars of the political system or major policy areas (or as Taggart and Szczerbiak put it, the opposition to core areas of the EU (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003: 9)).

4. Conceptualisations of Euroscepticism

Once the problems of defining the term "Euroscepticism" have been analysed and a conclusion about which definition best suits the term has been decided upon, the next difficulties for a researcher on the topic of Euroscepticism arise: Conceptualisation. Apart from deciding whether Euroscepticism should encompass critique towards the EU or the opposition to European integration, more specific conceptualisations have to be elaborated to be able to denote specific dimensions of Euroscepticism. It has been stated by researchers that there is no such thing as one kind of Euroscepticism, but the phenomenon encompasses different dimensions and levels of intensity. Apart from the necessity to agree upon a basic definition of the term in question, the task of a good concept is to enable the concrete analysis of the issue at hand.

Similar to the quantity of different definitions of Euroscepticism, a lot of different concepts concerning Euroscepticism are available in current research on the topic. In past studies, there has been huge diversity in conceptualisations of Euroscepticism, to the point that in a lot of studies different phenomena have been surveyed altogether (Sørensen, 2008: 7). In different theoretical approaches it has been shown, that Euroscepticism has a multifaceted nature, which is hard to grasp. The possible explanations for opposition to the EU and to European integration have been searched for in economic considerations, identity based concerns, or the mistrust of both national and European institutions, just to mention a few of the approaches. The task now is to find a concept which includes all these different types of attitudes towards the European Union, but also differentiates between them, so that we can see what drives Euroscepticism and to what extent the EU or European integration are opposed by these attitudes.

In this chapter, I will give an overview of the concepts developed and will evaluate whether one of them meets my objective of finding a framework for my analysis of Euroscepticism in the Austrian media. The question is whether an already developed

concept can meet my expectations of a good concept to analyse Euroscepticism in the media or if a new concept would fit the analysis more adequately. In scientific research it should be avoided to develop a new concept if this is not necessary, as it would only add to the general confusion about what Euroscepticism is and which factors indicate the presence of Euroscepticism. The same applies to the development of definitions. But if a better definition or a better concept can be drafted, which either combines some of the already known points or adds some valid information, then one should not be afraid to do so. In this case, a valuable definition could be found in current literature on Euroscepticism, though I opted to submit it to some alterations. In this chapter I will give an overview of the state of the art concerning different conceptualisations of Euroscepticism. My own conceptualisation of Euroscepticism, as I will employ it in this thesis, will be presented in the following chapter after having provided an overview of existing concepts.

Some of the concepts have already been discussed in parts of the chapter on the definition of Euroscepticism, due to the fact that the boundaries between the definitions and the concepts cannot be clearly marked. The definition forms part of the broader concept and the concept often influences the definition chosen. At the risk of repeating some aspects already mentioned, I will outline the concepts developed in the literature on Euroscepticism with their adjacent definitions in the following chapter.

The research on the concepts of Euroscepticism led me to the observation that one should be distinguish between two core aspects of Euroscepticism. First, which considerations can be detected that lead to eurosceptic attitudes; and secondly, which objects are in the focus of criticism. One the one hand, this two-fold structure will lead my own concept outlined a bit later. For another thing, I will already have allocated the concepts which have been developed in the literature according to their research focus and where they belong within this conceptual division.

4.1 Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations

A prominent line of research, when analysing motivations for Euroscepticism in party systems, has been to divide between strategic and ideological considerations. Other motivations underlying eurosceptic attitudes have been detected in public opinion research, which include rational choice approaches (e.g. cost-benefit calculations of the output of the EU), democratic considerations, sovereignty-based and identity-based concerns. Some of these, which will also in part be integrated into my own concept, will be outlined in greater detail in the following.

4.1.1 Strategic vs. ideological considerations

In party systems research the motivations underlying eurosceptic attitudes of parties have mostly been searched for in ideological or strategic considerations. (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: 319). Among others, Taggart and Szczerbiak have discussed such a dimension of "strategical" Euroscepticism (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003). The assumption is, that opposition parties could employ this eurosceptic attitude to underline their position in the national party system. Some political parties use euroscepticistic messages as mere tactical moves in order to fulfil their positions as opposition parties and to act contra to the agreements reached by the governing parties in Brussels. It has also been found that throughout Europe Euroscepticism prevails in the flanks of party systems (Aspinwall, 2002; Hix, 2007), be it either on the left or on the right side of the party systems in question. Mainstream and governing parties have usually shown no connection with euroscepticistic positions. "Voters and parties on the extreme left and extreme right are more likely to be Eurosceptic than are centrist voters and parties.... those who support European Integration tend to support moderate and centrist policies." (Hix, 2007: 136 ff). In other papers focusing on party research, it has been remarked that some parties choose to oppose European integration because of their nationalistic tendencies; others are ideologically opposed to the economic model the European Union is following (Sitter, 2002). In comparison to strategic Euroscepticism, it makes more sense to look for an ideologically rooted Euroscepticism when analysing mass media. Most news outlets prove to be

ideologically coloured in some kind of way. With strategically motivated Euroscepticism the division made between governmental and opposition parties cannot be directly transferred to the media in the sense that there are no governing media outlets or oppositional media outlets.

4.1.2 Rational choice approaches and political Euroscepticism

In Hix' rational choice institutionalist approach to Euroscepticism, citizens will evaluate whether European integration will bring them closer to their preferred policies or if European integration will work against their ideal position. Just by doing this calculation, citizens will determine whether they are Euro-enthusiastic or rather Eurosceptic (Hix, 2007). This assumes that citizens are able to evaluate policies developed by the European Union, to understand which effect they will have on their personal lives and whether they fit their general believes. Though Hix states, in advance to this critique, that as party leaders and interest groups are likely to be able to estimate the effects of policies taken at EU-level much better than citizens, citizens "are likely to rely on 'cues' from parties and interest groups about how EU actions relate to their own preferences..." (Hix, 2007: 136). Cost-benefit calculations driven by a rational-choice approach are very likely to be found in mass media. One of the tasks of the media is to disentangle complex political processes and to reveal the actual effects the policies decided upon will have for certain parts of society. The range of aspects and policy areas of the EU that could be affected by such an evaluation is very wide.

Lubbers and Scheepers differentiate between the dimensions of instrumental and political Euroscepticism. These two dimensions have already been proposed previously in literature on the topic.[3] The instrumental approach is linked to a cost-benefit calculation of the

[3] As initial researchers on the approach of instrumental Euroscepticism they indicate among others the works of: Anderson, C.J. "When in Doubt use Proxies: Attitudes toward Domestic Policies and Support for European Integration" Comparative Political Studies 31 (5): 569-601, 2005,
Eichenberg, R. and Dalton, R.J. "Europeans and European Community: The Dynamics of Public Support for" International Organization 47: 507-5034, 1993
And

membership of the Member State in question (the evaluation whether one's own country had been benefitting from membership in the EU or whether it was a good or a bad thing to be a member of the EU). This dimension displays similar characteristics as Hix' approach to Euroscepticism and is also based on rational choice theory. Political Euroscepticism, on the other hand, should indicate in which policy areas further European integration is not desired and, in their paper, is linked to the evaluation of whether decisions should be taken by the national government or at the level of the European Union. Allthough they found that indeed these two dimensions of Euroscepticism can be distinguished in their empirical analysis, they also showed, that in some cases correlations between instrumental and political Euroscepticism can be observed. Lubbers and Scheepers use this concept of political and instrumental Euroscepticism in their research on Euroscepticism among the general European public. Though Lubbers and Scheepers did not developed the concepts of instrumental and political Euroscepticism, or as they write it 'Euro-scepticism', they combined both approaches in their paper to present different motivations for Euroscepticism and to give an overview of these research branches (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005).

For Lubbers and Scheepers, one of the main conflicts in the process of European integration is how to deal with the distribution of national vs. EU-level responsibilities, which they deal with in the dimension of political Euroscepticism. Another prominent field of dissatisfaction they detected, is disagreement with the democratic process in the EU or, to be more concrete, the (lack of) democratic procedures. The question of political Euroscepticism, as outlined by Lubbers and Scheepers, rises interesting aspects, as it is strongly linked to the question of legitimacy of the decision making process in the EU. If public opinion is not satisfied with the policy areas in which decisions are taken at the EU-

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As initial researchers on the approach of political Euroscepticism they indicate among other the works of: Gabel, M.J "Public Support for European Integration: An Empirical Test of Five Theories", Journal of Politics 60 (2): 333-354, 1998,
De Winter and Swyngedouw "The Scope of EU Government in H. Schmitt and J. Thomassen (eds) "Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union, pp. 47-73. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
Dalton, R.J. and Eichenberg, R. "Citizen Support for Policy Integration" in W. Sandelholtz and A. Stone Sweet (eds) "European Integration and Supranational Governance, pp. 250-282. Oxford. Oxford Univeristy Press, 1998

level, this naturally makes it difficult for the citizens to accept the policies adopted in these areas.

This dissatisfaction with decisions taken at the EU-level is also connected to complaints surrounding the democratic process of the EU. When citizens feel that they cannot directly elect the representatives who make decisions at the EU-level, their decisions become less acceptable to the population. In a further step, one could pose the question of which aspects determine whether citizens of one country are more willing to accept the transfer of national sovereignty to the EU-level in a certain policy area than in other policy areas. Dalton and Eichenbergs theory of the "national difficulty" criterion suggests that if the problem is more likely to be solved at a supranational level, there will be less political Euroscepticism (Dalton and Eichenberg, 1998). Considering the theories of Dalton and Eichenberg and De Winter and Swyngedouw (De Winter and Swyngedouw, 1999), Lubbers and Scheepers stated that they would "expect that political Euroscepticism is lowest for international issues, because people would profit from cooperating to solve problems, and it is highest for sociocultural policy issues. Moreover, we would expect a cumulative structure to political Euroscpeticism. So if people are Euro-sceptic on international issues, we also expect them to be Euro-sceptic on joint European decision-making in sociocultural domains." (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005: 227).

Some questions concerning Lubbers and Scheepers' concept, however, seem to remain untackled: What actually defines Euroscepticism for them? Can the disapproval of the membership of one country in the EU really be classified as Euroscepticism? Where does the afore mentioned critique of the democratic procedures of the EU fit into their concept? And is the critique of a lack of European integration, when it comes to the democratic process, really to be classified as a euroscepticistic stance? These are questions, which I have in part raised and dealt with already earlier when talking about the definition of Euroscepticism.

Though Lubbers and Scheepers' concept has originally been designated to conduct research in the ambit of citizen's opinion research, these approaches could be transferred without many objections to research in mass media.

4.1.3 A four-dimensional model: utilitarian, democratic, sovereignty-based and ideological Euroscepticism

Sørensen developed a four-dimensional model of Euroscepticism dividing it into four ideal types of Euroscepticism that can be found according to her research: utilitarian, sovereignty based, democratic and social Euroscepticism (Sørensen, 2008). These types of Euroscepticism refer to considerations underlying eurosceptic attitudes. Sørensen's model defines the following types of opposition to the EU:

Utilitarian Euroscepticism	Euroscepticism can assume an economic character. This means that central to one's evaluation of the Union is (sic!) money-based calculations-whether or not one perceives of benefit (sic!) from cooperation (Sørensen, 2008: 8).
Sovereignity-based Euroscepticism	Euroscepticism can be sovereignity based. Citizens sharing this type of scepticism may experience the EU as an economically successful undertaking, but remain sceptical: what is decisive is that co-operation should not be experienced as a challenge to national sovereignity. Sovereignity-based eurosceptics, for instance, are thus likely to take issue with supranational elements of co-operation (Sørensen, 2008: 8).

Democratic Euroscepticism	A third type of euroscepticism does not predominantly take issue with economic calculations or sovereignity based concerns, instead, scepticism centres on what is perceived to be inadequate structures of the existent political 'set-up' – perhaps as the result of feelings that one's voice is not being heard, or that the European Parliament does not have sufficient weight. It may be labelled democratic euroscepticism (Sørensen, 2008: 8).
Social euroscepticism	Finally, a fourth type of scepticism is more political. Here, the EU is evaluated according to broadly the same cleavages that characterise national politics. In other words, if one is a socialist, one may be sceptical towards initiatives launched by a liberal Commission President, and reverse. Based on the existing literature, I expect, that the dominant form of 'political euroscepticism' today is 'social', that is the critique that there is too little Social Europe (Sørensen, 2008: 8).

Table 1: Sørensen's four-dimensional model

I will state in advance that Sørensen's model will lead the first part of my empirical analysis. The focus therein will lie on which evaluations and concerns can be found in mass media that lead to the adoption of eurosceptic attitudes. The main reason why I decided to employ Sørensens concept is, that it is comprehensive and includes most of the lines of thought dealing with eurosceptic concerns and evaluations from other concepts in the literature and the public discussion. To show where these discussions and concepts can be matched with one of Sørensens dimensions of Euroscepticism, I will outline them in the following according to the dimension of Sørensen's concept they are connected with. This will underline why these considerations should be part of a comprehensive concept of Euroscepticism.

Utilitarian Euroscepticism

The utilitarian research approach has been prominent when trying to detect possible evaluations and considerations, which can lead the European public to adopt eurosceptic stances. Hix' concept is entirely based on rational choice theory. Lubbers and Scheepers also provided a dimension of utilitarian Euroscepticism in their concept as the so-called utilitarian dimension; in Sørensen's model, it can be compared to the instrumental form of Euroscepticism. Supporting the utilitarian research approach, Hooghe stated that elites and citizens would desire Europeanisation if and when it was functional (Hooghe, 2003: 287). The question remains whether ordinary citizens can adopt such benefit-cost analysis. However in the case of media research, it has to be considered that it is exactly the task of the media to disentangle the complex political processes at the EU-level. The aim of the media is to provide their customers with simplified information. Through this process, citizens are supposed to be able to make up their minds about the political events with less effort. The utilitarian type of Euroscepticism might thus present an important part of the eurosceptic news coverage in the media.

Sovereignty-based Euroscepticism

The dimension of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism has been addressed in most of the general discussions surrounding Euroscepticism, but can also be found in concrete concepts of Euroscepticism. For one thing, sovereignty based Euroscepticism, as it is denoted in Sørensens research, has a very similar structure to the dimensions of political Euroscepticism in Lubbers and Scheepers research, as outlined previously. Furthermore, Lubbers and Scheepers themselves mentioned Gabel's scientific analysis (Gabel, 1998), which dealt with this same issue, concerning the reluctance to transfer power from the national-level to the EU-level. "Gabel (1998) investigated whether support for European integration (measured by membership evaluation) was associated with evaluation of four policy areas to be decided by the national government or jointly by the EU, i.e. political Euro-scepticism." (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005: 224). The mentioning of Lubbers and Scheepers concept and Gabels research alone would sufficiently prove that sovereignty-based concerns should be included in every comprehensive analysis of Euroscepticism. But also general observations of the developments concerning public opinion and the ceding of

responsibilities to the EU-level support this. Though, Lubbers and Scheepers suggested that sovereignty-based concerns have been present from the beginning of the integration project (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005: 224). In general sovereignty-based concerns were not the focus of critique in the European public in the early days of the EC. The main aim of the integration project, in those days, focused on the integration of a common market. The principle goal was not yet that of political integration. Therefore, the amount of policies which were submitted to the decision making process of the EU was clearly limited. Also the decision making process as such relied for the most part on the direct representatives of the Member States and the legitimisation of the national parliaments, so that political power remained for a big part in the hands of national entities. This has now changed drastically and European institutions and mechanisms have decided most of the legislation adopted at the national level. The integration process has also shifted from being merely market-oriented to always covering more policy areas, therefore offering a target for the concerns surrounding the questions of national sovereignty. Especially in Austria, sovereignty-based concerns were already the focus of sceptical attitudes towards the European Union since the debates about a possible membership of Austria in the EU. While in other countries the sovereignty based concerns had not been the focus of critique in the early days of the EU, in Austria this aspect was brought up very early through debates about the neutrality status of the Austrian state (Baryli, 1992; Pelinka, 2004). The concern was big that membership in the EU would contradict the neutrality status as decisions would no longer be taken solely by the Austrian state. The reasoning was that in a future development of the EU also as a political community could affect areas falling under the neutrality pact such as military defence. Thus, in many ways, sovereignty-based Euroscepticism has been the focus of research conducted on Euroscepticism and constitutes part of the debates of the future of the European integration process (integration meaning nothing else than the transfer of national sovereignty to the EU-level.)

Democratic Euroscepticism

The dissatisfaction with the state of democracy in the EU has been made responsible by some for the lack of support the EU is suffering. "Both systematic and social background explanations imply that there is a widespread crisis of legitimacy in the EU, there is little that pro-European leaders can do to overcome this phenomenon. In this regard, low support for the EU may reflect a general crisis of public confidence in governance…" (Norris, 1999: 84). Whether it might be due to the lack of knowledge about the EU institution and its democratic process or to qualified concerns, there is no doubt that some of the critique on the EU focuses on its institutional structure and the democratic process. As Felix Heidenreich puts it, "The EU officials themselves often describe the problem as a gap between the imagined undemocratic bureaucratic monster in Brussels on the one hand, and the actual EU-institutions working efficiently and on the basis of democratic legitimacy, on the other." (Heidenreich, 2009: 55). Some would not agree with the statement that the EU works efficiently and on the basis of democratic legitimacy. In effect, it seems like a miracle that such a community of 27 countries, which in principle all have their own legislature and governments, should be working. This gap between the citizens and the elites of the EU can result in two concerns related to democracy in the EU. Citizens might not feel informed enough of the decisions taken at the EU-level and thus do not feel that these decision should have an impact on their lives (Heidenreich, 2009: 55).

Similar to the doubts surrounding social Euroscepticism, also democratic Euroscepticism has been subjected to the critique that in fact the request for a stronger democratic set-up cannot be considered a eurosceptic stance. Nonetheless, I advocate the inclusion of this critique, as the objection to the democratic status of a political system is one of the major and crucial factors of support without which a political and democratic system cannot function. The call for a reform or a refinement of the democratic instruments might still go hand in hand with the call to withdraw from such a political system, to which one cannot give one's consent. At least, this could result in a call to not increase the powers of such a political system, which would equal the opposition to further European integration.

Ideological Euroscepticism

In Sørensen's concept, what is initially denoted as political Euroscepticism, concretely adopts the form of social Euroscepticism. In the following I will refer to this specific type of Euroscepticism also as ideological Euroscepticism. This term, for me, depicts more accurately its meaning than the term political Euroscepticism, which in my opinion is too imprecise and has also already been used in other ways (Lubbers and Scheeper, 2005). The basic suggestion of Sørensen is, however, accurate. It is very possible that the EU might also be evaluated by traditional ideological cleavages.

The EU has taken a rather (neo-) liberal turn and thus the main ideological critique would be that there is "too little social Europe". Since 2005 an even stronger neo-liberal tendency within the EU has been detectable. The constitutional treaty was opposed by a not so small part of the EU population. A closer investigation into the grounds on which this happened was not given enough attention by elites. The main chorus was that the results of the referenda were strongly connected to national political debates. A closer look in research, however, revealed that 2/3 of the people in France and in the Netherlands who opposed the adoption of an EU-wide constitutional treaty, came from the left side of the political spectrum. Their main concerns were that social politics did not find enough attention in the treaty. In an attempt of a revival of the constitutional treaty, Merkel even proposed to keep the original treaty text but to amplify it by a "declaration on the social dimension of the EU" (Klein and Kleiser, 2006: 7). Heidenreich discusses the issue of, why the approach of a social Europe has especially been brought forward by the French who wanted to extend their (social) economical model. "This position is very important in France and it was communicated in a very successful way by Pierre Bourdieu in the late 1990s already. "Donner un sens à l'union – Pour un mouvement social européen" was the title of an article in *Le Monde* by Bourdieu (1999). He claimed that the EU would only make sense as a model in opposition to the American neo-liberalism. … The core problem is that citizens in countries like the UK have completely different ideas concerning the role of the state in economic matters. The proposition is clearly a case of drawing an outside line and, in some cases, reifying the other, in this case the "neo-liberalism"." (Heidenreich, 2009: 67).

Apparently, citizens in France and in the Netherlands did not forget that, as Heidenreich suggests, Europe has been proposed as a model for social standards.

Not only in public opinion but also in party systems research, ideological considerations have been made responsible for eurosceptic attitudes. "According to one line of thought, political parties assimilate the new issue of European integration into their historically rooted ideologies. Social Democratic parties are, on the one hand, opposed to economic integration which intensifies competition, privileges mobile capital over immobile labour, and threatens the national welfare state; on the other hand, they favour political integration, which offers prospect of a kind of 'Euro-Keynsianism'." (Fallend, 2008: 203). Taggart, on the other hand, found no relation between the ideological roots of parties and eurosceptical positions. Instead, Taggarts conclusions were that Euroscepticism is a way for parties to express their dissatisfaction with the mainstream. These mostly opposition parties would revert to Euroscepticism as a strategic measure (Taggart, 1998). This would suggest that ideological concerns are no core motivations for the development of a eurosceptic profile for parties. Which ever way it may be, the dimension of ideological Euroscepticism has to be taken into account, so as not to oversee a possible concern directed at the European Union and the integration process.

Though ideological or social Euroscepticism has been an often-mentioned approach in party-system research, the same considerations could be found in news coverage in mass media. News outlets could focus on declaring that the EU in general, further integration or specific policies should be objected to as they represent the outcome of an ideologically coined political entity. That news outlets and journalists themselves are not always reporting free from any ideologically dispositions makes this a likely occurrence.

Concerning Social Euroscepticism, I will not fail to again mention the doubts forwarded in the scientific community whether this type of critique on the EU can, in fact, be considered as a eurosceptic stance. I have already done so, addressing the definition concerns on which attitudes can be regarded as eurosceptic stances. The question is whether the request

for a stronger presence of the EU concerning the task subjected traditionally to the social- or welfare state is, in fact, a request for stronger integration. This request might, however, often be less aimed at a stronger integration as to the realignment of the current economic integration. This stance might lead to the objection to further integration as long as neo-liberal tendencies can be discerned or to the objection to the EU as a whole, which can be clearly denoted as a eurosceptic stance.

4.1.4 Identity-based concerns

In the literature the fact has been outlined that in some cases the fear to lose ones national identity in the course of European integration has been a source for eurosceptic tendencies. Speaking, for example, of the 'why' of British Euroscepticism, Menno Spiering talks of the important role which national identity played for the development of anti-EU feelings within the British population. This alludes to the apparent 'otherness' felt by Britains, whether this is due to the closer cultural ties with the US or to historical events such as the former existence of GB as a major colonial power. But not only in the UK has the concern about national identity been a major topic in the public discourse about the EU. In some of the more recent Member States of the EU similar tendencies have been observable in the national campaigns of the governments to join the EU (Bernhardt, Hadji-Abdou et al., 2009). This dimension of identity-based concern admittedly exposes a weakness of Sørensen's concept, as it does not include a similar aspect. For me, these concerns cannot be ignored and might represent an important source for scepticism towards the EU.

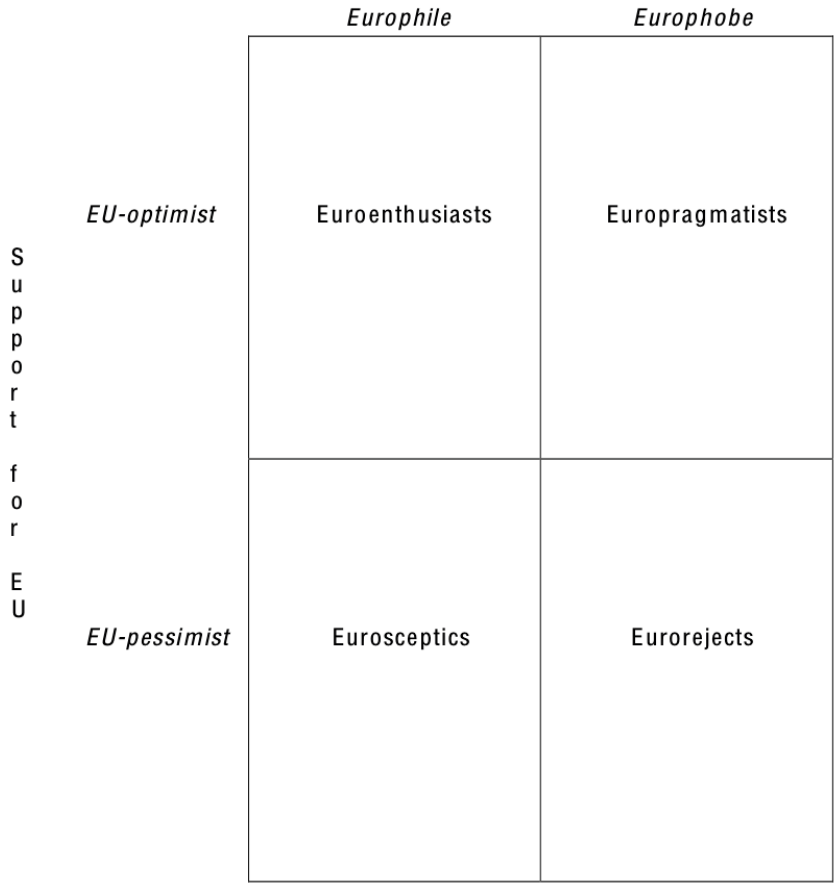
4.2 The objects of critique

In the following I will outline two lines of research, which both propose to distinguish between different types of Euroscepticism according to the object at which the critique is directed at. There is, on the hand, the opposition to fundamental aspects of the EU and the general rejection of European integration. On the other hand, there is the type of opposition towards the EU which focuses on rejecting further European integration and

critiquing specific policies of the EU. A third line of research developed by Weßels will be outlined in this chapter. This third approach is based on the existence of European identity as a dividing factor between different types of Euroscepticism. The types of Euroscepticism remain either more general and rejecting European integration altogether or only calling for improvement whilst being in general in favour of European integration.

4.2.1 Diffuse and Specific Support

In their analysis Kopecky and Mudde make a division between diffuse and specific support for the European Union. This conceptualisation is derived from Easton's theory of diffuse and specific support for political systems. Kopecky and Mudde adopted it to the European Union by building a matrix consisting of a europhile and a europhobe position as well as a EU-pessimist and a EU-optimist axis.



(Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: 303)

With this concept, Kopecky and Mudde claim that the definition of Euroscepticism will be less exclusive but more precise. They specifically emphasise the fact that it is important to distinguish between support for European integration in general and support for the way in which the EU is currently developing. In their paper (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002) the concept is extensively outlined. The approach for this model is actually based on support for the European Union, but through the europhobe axis, Euroscepticism can be measured and the concept has been used by Kopecky and Mudde to do so.

The attempt to employ Easton's theory of specific and diffuse support to conceptualise Euroscepticism should be appreciated, but I agree with Taggart and Szczerbiak's critique that Kopecky's and Mudde's terminology "departs from the existing common usage of the term Euroscepticism by confining it to a sub-set of what would generally be considered

Eurosceptic attitudes" (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003: 5). Again, I will relay on Gerring and his specifications on the basic characteristics a good concept should display. One of the main focuses when developing a concept and defining its key terms, should be the reliance upon the norms of established usage (Gerring, 1999: 362). Kopecky and Mudde state themselves that within the wide range of terms that have been used to describe negative attitudes towards EU integration, the term Euroscepticism is the most common one (Kopecky and Mudde, 2002: 299). Most of the negative attitudes towards the EU, Kopecky and Mudde describe, thus have been gathered usually under the umbrella of the term Euroscepticism. Additionally, such a typology differentiating very precisely between slightly different attitudes becomes very difficult to operationalise as Taggart and Szczerbiak outline (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003: 6). The data available often does not allow for such detail, even if one would decide to approve of this concept. This objection is supported by Gerring's general consideration on the quality of a concept in the social sciences, where he emphasises that the definition and the identification of attributes of the same phenomenon have to provide the conditions to locate examples of the term (Gerring, 1999: 363).

Weßels employs, similarly to Kopecky and Mudde, Easton's theory of specific and diffuse support. The interpretation of Easton's theory applied to the political system of the EU results for Weßels in three types of Euroscepticism: the adamant eurosceptics, the eurosceptics, and the critical Europeans (Weßels, 2007: 288). The deciding factor between the types of scepticism in this concept is whether there exists a European identity or not. Weßels argues that "European identity as a core element of political community could serve as such a buffer against scepticism"(Weßels, 2007: 288). Identity divides between eurosceptics, which are in principal in favour of European integration and identify with the EU but demand improvement, and eurosceptics objecting to further European integration or to European integration in general.[4]

[4] In the present study it will though not be possible to check for this independent variable, as the Codebook used in this media study does not provide the data to determine whether an article or news story conveys the idea of a European identity or not. It would have to be investigated whether this variable can be tested at all

4.2.2 Hard and Soft Euroscepticism

To distinguish between the types of Euroscepticism mentioned in the definition, Taggart and Szczerbiak developed a concept dividing into what they term as Hard and Soft Euroscepticism. Hard Euroscepticism is defined as a phenomenon "where there is a principled opposition to the EU and European integration. This may even include the opposition to the membership in the EU or the claim to withdraw from the EU in the case of Member States of the EU." (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 7). Soft Euroscepticism in contrast is defined as an attitude towards the EU which criticises specific EU policies or where " 'national interest' is currently at odds with the EU's trajectory" (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 7).

Taggart and Szczerbiaks' definition of Hard Euroscepticism and the concept as a whole is directly linked to party systems research. They stress that Hard Euroscepticism means that a party is a single issue anti-EU party and thus opposes to the EU in principle. As a possible explanation for these single-issue parties but also for other parties that might oppose to the EU in general, they mention ideology-based considerations. Though, their first condition to demonstrate Hard Euroscepticism (being a single issue anti-EU party) can only be seen in the context of party systems research, the underlying consideration could also be found in mass media. To detect a news outlet in mass media whose issues or contents are solely linked to an anti-EU attitude, as a pendant to a single-issue party, is unlikely. At least in Austria one can say without further analysis that no such news outlets can be found. In contrast, the suggestion that for some journalists or news outlets the EU might constitute an enemy a-priori due to ideological concerns could fit the coverage of mass media too. Soft Euroscepticism, in contrast, includes for Taggart and Szczerbiak the kind of opposition where scepticism is concerned with the way in which European integration is

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in mass media research, and if news stories explicitly convey that a European identity is either desirable or not.

developing. This would mean that a party (and, as I would suggest, a person or mass media) is displaying Soft Euroscepticism where further steps of integration are rejected, as well as the way in which European integration is developing.

In subsequent publications on the topic, Taggart and Szczerbiak adjusted their concept of Hard and Soft Euroscepticism. In their revised concept, Taggart and Szczerbiak decided to differentiate between the principle opposition to transferring power to a supranational institution and the opposition to further European integration (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003). They thus excluded opposition to the EU in general and to membership in the EU from their concept of Euroscepticism. Their argument to do so was that this kind of opposition usually only reflects a "conjunctural-opportunistic stance" which often is short-lived (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2003). We have to consider, however, that this concept has been developed mainly for research in party systems. Such radical points of view might indeed only be used by parties before referenda on EU subjects, before the accession of a state to the EU or in rare cases where single-issue anti-EU parties emerge. The same cannot, for the time being, be said for research in mass media, as no such research has yet been conducted and no results on the characteristics of Euroscepticism are available. In mass media, such radical views might be part of the coverage on the EU regularly. Also, I would consider the principle objection to ceding power to the EU as, in fact, being against the EU and the membership in the EU. The EU consists as such out of integrational steps, which have been taken in the past. Altogether, I will argue to include the more radical anti-EU attitudes in research on Euroscepticism for the various reasons stated. This requires, however, a strict differentiation between more radical and softer types of Euroscepticism. No possible dimension of the opposition to the EU should be excluded beforehand. Therefore, the original formulation of Hard and Soft Euroscepticism is more convincing.
The obvious conclusion of Taggart and Szczerbiak's concept would be that the attitudes counting as Hard Euroscepticism present a bigger menace to the integration project of the EU than Soft Euroscepticism. On a second glance though, it could also seem as if, in fact, the opposition to further European integration might present a bigger menace to the EU than the objection to the EU in general. The possibility that an EU Member State might

actually resign from the EU is very unlikely. An article in "The Economist" of September 2010 proposed: there was not even a legal way to depart from the EU before the more recent regulations in the Lisbon treaty and in practical terms it still is nearly impossible to leave the EU. Or as the same article cites a Eurocrat, the EU "is not a club but a family—a Maltese one, with no divorce."(Economist, 2010). In contrast, the future of the EU is actually very dependent on the support of the public for further European integration. The direction European integration might take in the future is indeed a matter of discussion and can come to a halt when objected to or proceed when supported. It has to be kept in mind nonetheless that if someone opposes to the EU in general, this usually includes the opposition to European integration and further integration as well. In contrast, if someone "only" opposes further integration this might be due to the current trajectory of the EU, therefore this attitude might change if the course the EU has been taking does too. Also, if only further integration is objected to, at least, this still legitimises the EU handling policy areas were the transfer of power to the EU-level already happened. In conclusion, the categorisation of Hard and Soft Euroscepticism seems adequate.

4.3 Contextual factors leading to the adoption of eurosceptic stances

In research on Euroscepticism, not only the concepts distinguishing between different kinds of Euroscepticism have been developed but also have been made efforts to match them with contextual factors.

Pippa Norris examined different explanations for variations in support for the EU "including the role of cultural, social background, performance- and leadership-based factors." (Norris, 1999: 74). At a cross-national level some focused on whether economic conditions determine alternative attitudes towards the EU (Eichenberg and Dalton, 1993), others analysed the correlation between a low opinion of the quality of national institutions as an incentive to transfer powers to the EU (Sánchez-Cuenca, 2000). When trying to assess the contextual factors which lead to different attitudes towards the EU, two

additional lines of research can be discerned. One proposes that citizens' attitudes towards the EU are directly shaped by the performance of the EU and the evaluation of the same by citizens. The second one argues that citizens use the nation-state as a proxy to determine their opinions on the EU, as their knowledge of the EU is insufficient. Both lines of research have been dealt with and analysed by Sylvia Kritzinger (Kritzinger, 2003). Other theories have suggested that lower classes would be more strongly opposed to market integration because they would e.g. fear international competition[5] or that these tendencies could be ascribed to the fact that lower social classes would not profit as much from the right to the free movement of people.

The principle reasons to adopt a certain style of news coverage can be multiple: economic considerations (by taking into account certain tendencies within the population and trying to secure a majority of the readership by reporting in their spirit), ideological considerations (news outlets might be, in principle, inclined either to the left or the right of the political spectrum) or moral considerations (as the intention to report in the most objective way possible, thus offering the reader the most objective ground to evaluate political events). Also, it is not clear whether mass media rather follows citizens' attitudes or whether it is the other way around (though probably the influence works both ways). Theories offering explanations for Euroscepticism in mass media, as well as the necessary data to conduct such analyses, have proved to be a missing ingredient. Thus, I will limit myself to conducting a descriptive analysis of the types of Euroscepticism displayed in the Austrian media. The knowledge of which attitudes are communicated by the media will still present an informative contribution to the puzzle of Euroscepticism in general and in the media in particular.

[5] References for this line of research can be found in Brinegar, Adam P. and Jolly, Seth K. (2005) "Location, Location, Location: National Contextual Factors and Public Support for European Integration." European Union Politics 6(2): 155-180.

4.4 A comprehensive concept of Euroscepticism

All the concepts presented in the previous chapter convey valuable points, which should be considered when conducting research on Euroscepticism. Euroscepticism appears to be a very broad phenomenon with various dimensions. In my empirical analysis I want to include as many facets of Euroscepticism as possible, to be able to draw a detailed picture of the characteristics of Euroscepticism in Austria. How does Euroscepticism present itself in the Austrian media? Which types of Euroscepticism dominate in the public discourse in Austria? The above outlined concepts have been used in scientific research individually, but should also be included in a bigger picture of Euroscepticism.

Two basic questions stood out for me while attempting to conduct research on the topic of Euroscepticism in mass media. First, which concerns and considerations underlie eurosceptic attitudes and thus constitute types of Euroscepticism? Secondly, which are the specific entities (such as Institutions or the EU in general) and political processes (specific policies or further European integration) the critique is directed at?

With the first question I want to investigate the eurosceptic considerations and concerns leading to opposition to the EU or to specific aspects of the EU. Which evaluations are the most dominant when eurosceptic attitudes are adopted? Which concerns and evaluations lead in the case of the EU to assume a critical stance? Sørensen's framework presents, for me, the most appropriate model to do so. Most other approaches, when it comes to the question "On what grounds is the EU being critiqued?", are included in Sørensen's comprehensive concept. Other concepts dealing with eurosceptic concerns, as Hix' rational choice model and Lubbers and Scheepers' model of instrumental and political Euroscepticism are included in Sørensen's concept. The utilitarian dimension of Sørensen can be compared to Hix' approach as well as to Lubbers and Scheepers' dimension of instrumental Euroscepticism. Sovereignty based Euroscepticism in Sørensen's research has a very similar structure to political Euroscepticism in Lubbers' and Scheepers' concept. The main considerations of each of the dimensions developed by Sørensen have been addressed also in general discussions on the public support of the EU and the EU

integration project. Where these discussions coincided with one of the dimensions of Sørensen, I outlined them in the previous chapter. Sørensen's model covers most of the characteristics of Euroscepticism which have been discussed in the literature. One aspect missing in Sørensen's concept are identity-based concerns.

A limit has to be put nonetheless on the analysis of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism. As cited earlier when discussing Lubbers and Scheepers' concept, Dalton and Eichenberg developed the theory of the national-difficulty criterion as one of the factors that determines whether citizens feel that issues should be decided at the national or at the EU-level. Whereas Lubbers and Scheepers state that they "expect that political Euro- scepticism is lowest for international issues, because people would profit from nations cooperating to solve problems" (Lubbers and Scheepers, 2005: p. 227), I think that the objection to further integration can only be denoted as conveying a eurosceptic stance if the issue in question is of international nature. The political-level at which certain issues should be decided is often not evaluated from a rational point of view. But it has been assessed that there are certain issues of international nature, which, from a rational point of view, should be handled at an international level. Thus, I will consider the opposition to cede power to the EU in issues of apparent international nature as a eurosceptic stance, in contrast, issues which are not of international character will not be included in my analysis of sovereignty-based Euroscpeticism. If, on a rationally based evaluation, issues are considered only of national concern, the desire to keep them at the national level cannot be considered as denoting a eurosceptic stance. It is debatable which issues should, from a rational point of view, be decided at the national level, but though there have been attempts to categorise the policy areas (Sinnott, 1995; De Winter and Swyngedouw, 1999), "there is no consensus on the range of problems that . . . belong to the remit of local, regional, national, European, or international governance" (De Winter and Swyngedouw, 1999: 51). In my analysis of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism, I still will only include issues of apparent international character (this also should be considered in Taggart's and Szczerbiak's concept and Kopecky's and Mudde's concept, which both include in their definition of Euroscepticism the objection to European integration).

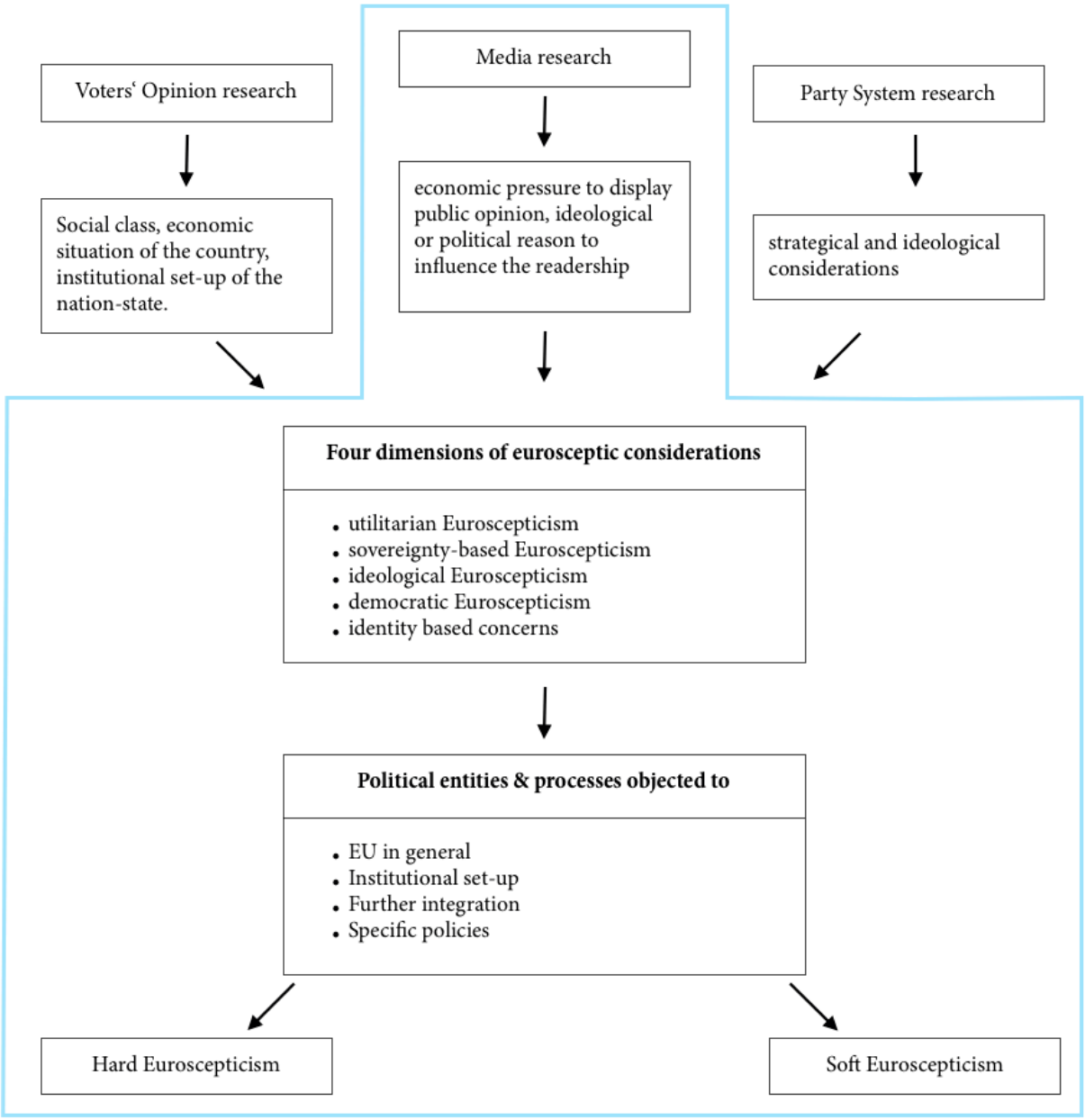
The second question is dealt with in Taggart and Szczerbiak's as well as in Kopecky and Mudde's concept. Which institutions or processes of the EU are in the focus of critique? I will use the approach of Taggart and Szczerbiak to analyse whether the EU in general, the institutions of the EU or specific EU policies and further European integration are subjected to critical attitudes. This will give us some insight on whether the basic principles and the pillars of the EU are rejected or 'merely' specific policy outcomes. The first two types of Euroscepticism fit into the category of Hard Euroscepticism, developed by the above-mentioned authors; the latter represent the category of Soft Euroscepticism. For reasons stated before when discussing Taggart and Szczerbiak's concept, Hard Euroscepticism presents a bigger threat to the future of European integration and the EU than Soft Euroscepticism.

Tough the principle considerations of Taggart and Szczerbiak's and those of Kopecky and Mudde's concept coincide, I will rely on the categories developed by the former for my analysis. The conceptualisation of Euroscepticism as Kopecky and Mudde sketched it, only categorises a small part of the oppositional attitudes towards the EU under the umbrella of the term Euroscepticism. The terminology they used introduced a whole range of other terms apparently representing such attitudes, as one can see in the previous outline of their concept. Apart from this more concrete embodiment of their ideas, the core intent also is to distinguish between attitudes objecting to the European Union or the integration process as such, or to ceding sovereignty in specific policy areas and the way in which the EU and the integration process are developing. Their basic efforts still form part of my research but the actual concept will not.

As stated in the chapter on the definitions of Euroscepticism, I will also include in the category of Hard Euroscepticism the opposition to the EU in general and to membership in the EU. In public discourse, this specific implementation is not excluded when talking

about Euroscepticism.[6] Still, we have to avoid mixing these attitudes when conceptualising Euroscepticism and the distinction between the rejections of the EU in general and opposing further European integration is important.

[6] Also, as already mentioned earlier: Additionally, the distinction which Taggart and Szczerbiak draw between the objections to European integration through the EU per se and to the membership as such or to the EU in general, is confusing. When someone is objecting to European integration this could mean that he is against every further integrational steps. In this case, the term would be limited in its meaning and would not necessarily lead to the objection of the EU as a whole. But in public discourse, the statement that European integration has already gone too far is also common. This would mean that also the past trajectory of the integration project is objected to and would, in effect, in its most radical form equal the objection to the EU in general, as the EU is the sum of the integrational steps already taken.



The concept drafted includes most of the aspects of Euroscepticism mentioned in relevant literature, as well as the three main fields of research: party systems research, research concerning citizen's attitudes and mass media research. The former two areas of research have already been dealt with more extensively, though no research has been conducted in any of these three lines considering all these different dimensions of Euroscepticism.

As one can see, the different types of Euroscepticism do not differ within in the main areas where research on Euroscepticism can be conducted. This has two reasons: the most important one is the fact that all of the dimensions actually fit into the three fields of research. Some dimensions of Euroscepticism might tend to be stronger in one of these research fields and weaker in another one, but all of these are considerations and attitudes that can be theoretically adopted either by parties, individual citizens or news outlets. Apart from this reasoning, with regard to contents, it presents a gain for the investigation in question when one coherent definition and concept can be agreed upon. I have already pointed this out previously speaking of the problematic situation in the research field of Euroscepticism, where a vast variety of definitions and concepts can be found. This has led to a situation where no comparative research is possible and, in the end, different phenomena have been surveyed altogether, as Sørensen states (Sørensen, 2008: 7). With this inclusive model, direct comparative research could be conducted between research in party systems, mass media and within the micro-level of the EU citizens, not to forget that this model can also be employed for every country in the focus of interest.

The, for my empirical analysis, relevant parts of the above drafted model are framed, as there are aspects which in this thesis will not be the focus of research. For one thing, I will limit myself to the analysis of the mass media in Austria, as every more broadly designed research including the attitudes of political parties or citizens' opinion would require a huge amount of data. The same applies for my restriction to the Austrian media. A cross-national view would indeed contribute valuable information to research of Euroscepticism in the media, but it would exceed the scope of this thesis. The circumstances and reasons which could lead the media to adopt eurosceptic stances, as economic necessities to sell, will not be included in my empirical research either. They would constitute a different research question and again require different data. In my theoretical concept I, however, wanted to include in my theoretical concept all of the considerations which have been made up to now in the research field of Euroscepticism. The concept outlines the factors that an analysis of Euroscepticism should take into account.

Admittedly, there are weaknesses in this broadly designed concept. There are some empirical and theoretical overlaps between the different types of Euroscepticism. When investigating whether critique is directed at further European Integration, this could be easily matched to sovereignty-based concerns, as the latter basically also means that no further transfer of powers to the EU is desired. Critique directed towards the institutions of the EU might be considered the same as democratic Euroscepticism. Due to these theoretical overlaps of some of the dimensions, in some cases the same variables will be analysed for different types of Euroscepticism. This problem will become apparent in the next chapter containing information on how Euroscepticism in the Austrian media will be operationalised in this paper. The theoretical as well as the empirical overlaps can be disregarded to some extent, due to the different questions underlying the different dimensions of Euroscepticism. Sovereignty-based Euroscepticism will probably lead to the attitude that no further integration is desired, but the attitude critiquing further integration might also be due to other considerations rather than a sovereignty-based one, as for example democratic, ideological or utilitarian considerations. One dimension does not equal the other one in its substance. Even if the dimensions will be analysed with the same variables, this does not lessen the need to theoretically maintain these dimensions apart from each other. The same applies to the similar sounding dimension of democratic Euroscepticism and the critique of the institutional set-up of the EU.

The idea to find a correlational pattern between eurosceptic considerations, as detected through Sørensen's concept, and the objection to specific political processes of the EU or entities of the EU, present an additional line of research. In this thesis I will prescind from the idea of conducting empirical analysis on these structures. Every consideration mentioned in Sørensen's model could lead to any of the objections to specific parts and processes of the EU. Therefore, I doubt that logical correlations between these eurosceptic attitudes could be found. Additionally, other data-related problems would become an issue when trying to do such a correlation analysis. It has become apparent through my empirical analysis that with some dimensions the cases available are few. This would make any correlation analysis insignificant, also through the before mentioned overlaps, that for

some dimensions I will have to use the same variables correlational analysis is rendered useless.

When talking about Kopecky's and Mudde's category of specific support and Taggart's and Szczerbiak's dimension of Soft Euroscepticism, it has to be mentioned again that only the opposition to the future integration of major policy areas and the critiquing of policies which belong to major policy areas should be taken into account. Otherwise the conceptualisation runs the risk of being over-inclusive.

5. Data and Methods

5.1 Media Survey PIREDEU

The need to employ research in the ambit of mass media is mentioned by Schmitt. He suggests that the best way to conduct investigations on the contents and mechanisms of European public opinion and political will formation is through research on the communication surrounding EP Elections. This way, he states, we will be able to see which contents are actually conveyed by the media and under which circumstances news coverage impacts the political opinion and political behaviour of the citizens. (Schmitt, 2002: 526). The same point of view is shared by Ekkehard Mochmann, who states in an article discussing international comparative election research, that he finds it important to include data of Media research when analysing citizens' opinions (Mochmann, 2002: 234). As already mentioned, most of the research on Euroscepticism up until now has focused on citizens' attitudes or party politics. Not only in the ambit of election research but also research in the area of public support for the EU and the integration process, media analysis is a vital ingredient to every investigation on public opinion.

With the creation of PIREDEU and their media survey, quantitative research has become an option to find out more about the dispersion and characteristics of Euroscepticism in the different Member States. The data gathered in the course of the PIREDEU project was collected in a time frame of three weeks preceding the European Parliament Elections (EPE) in 2009. The specific timeframe was chosen, as it is expected, that the amount of news concerning the EU reaches a peak shortly before important dates, such as the EPE. Using a common Codebook the same 60 variables were analysed for all major newspapers and newscast in all EU Countries. This way, comparative cross-national analysis will be possible as soon as the data will be released. The news outlets in Austria included the "Kronen Zeitung", "Der Standard", "Die Presse", "Salzburger Nachrichten", "Kleine Zeitung", "ORF Zib 1" and "ATV News".

Concerning the validity of data, one can differentiate between internal and external validity (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006: 27 ff). The internal validity of the data has not yet been confirmed by PIREDEU, but hopefully it will be possible to get some evidence on this until the end of 2010. Concerning the external validity of the data set I will be using, some limits have to be set. First, obviously the data only includes information gathered within the Austrian media. Second, the time frame of the three weeks preceding the EP election has influenced the data in such way, that the quantity of information given on EU-related topics is probably higher in the sample than under „normal" circumstances. This way, it was possible to gain some deeper knowledge on how the EU and the EP Election were reported on if they were. The quantity of stories which concerned these topics, cannot be generalised to be valid for the whole year of 2009, for example. For my analysis of Euroscepticism this will have no impact.

It will become clear with some of the variables analysed in my empirical research that the number of valid cases is sometimes really low. This gives, on first sight, the impression of not providing us with significant data. When public opinion research is conducted employing data gathered in questionnaires, it might be true that one cannot generalise the outcomes for all citizens of a country when only a minimum responded to a question. With the data gathered within the PIREDEU Media Study the context is different. The time frame obviously sets a specific limit to the generalisation of the data, as mentioned before, but for the rest it can be said that all articles in the newspapers and newscasts considered were coded. If the number of cases with some variables is low, this is due to the simple fact that there were only so many cases in the news outlets during these three weeks.

Obviously such a broadly designed data set as the PIREDEU Media Study cannot provide the perfect variables for every analysis focused on a specific phenomenon. In contrast, it very well provides the necessary data to enable the investigation in a lot of different areas of interest concerning the EU and European Parliament Elections. With regards to the analysis of Euroscepticism and the variables, I would like to suggest some improvements

for future media studies carried out with the same Codebook (the variables I will be using in my analysis will be outlined in detail in the next chapter).

First, the information on how the handling of the EU in economic issues was assessed in the stories, presents an important variable to every analysis of Euroscepticism. The same applies to the question whether the stories indicated who should be handling economic issues, the national governments or the EU. Unfortunately, in the Codebook both of these evaluations were only to be coded if the story had been labelled with the topic code "economic conditions". In reality though there were a lot of topic codes which were designed for topics falling under the category of economic issues but being more specific as the topics "interest rates", "SingleMarket/Common market", "Inflation", "Unemployment", "National employment policies", "Stock market and its developments (shares, bonds, AEX, DAX, Dow Jones etc.)", "Business (companies, banks, industry, mergers, manufacturing)", "Bankruptcy of business, companies, banks (specifically)", "Debt (public debt of a state, a community etc.)", "Taxes", "Trade (international trade), trade deficits", "Wages and Earnings", "Effect of Euro on the Economy", "Effects of financial crisis on domestic/ EU/ global economy (e.g. competitiveness, demand and supply, consumption, business climate)".[7] Coders were asked to always code the topics as specific as possible. So when the story in question handled some kind of economic issue but a more specific topic than "economic condition" could be found, it was not coded whether the story evaluated the EU handling of this issue negatively or not, and to whom the story contributed the responsibility of the economic issue in question. A lot of valid information was lost by the design of this question and the filter attached to it. Secondly, I miss a variable asking whether the story in question handled the topic of national identity and European identity. It would be of interest to know whether according to the article or story in question, one of these identities constitutes a threat to the other. Identity issues have caused a multitude of debates in the course of European integration and the enlargement process. This makes it,

[7] The Codebook of the PIREDEU Media Study and the corresponding Appendixes, which include a.o. a list of topic codes, can be accesed, after free registration, through the Homepage of PIREDEU: http://www.piredeu.eu/.

in my opinion, indispensible to include this aspect in a complete media study on the coverage of European issues. The third critique which I would have to mention, is that the only topic concerning the policy area of social politics in the Codebook, is the evaluation of health care in the media. The integration of policy areas traditionally under the control of the social welfare state is one of the big fields of debate in the discussions surrounding the future trajectory of European integration. Through the Codebook of the PIREDEU Media Study, no comprehensive analysis is possible to assess how the media reported on the EU handling of social issues and whether further integration in this policy area was desired or not. For future studies I would suggest to include topics such as pension systems and labour market policies to find out how the media reported on social policy issues.

5.2 Operationalisation of Euroscepticism in the media

Through several variables of the Codebook[7] I will be able to operationalise the possible theoretical dimensions of Euroscepticism. I will mention it in the following outline on the operationalisation of my concept, were I recoded or computed variables from the original data set to fit the purpose of my analysis.

5.2.1 Operationalisation of eurosceptic concerns

For the utilitarian approach I will use variables from the Codebook estimating whether the following things were mentioned in stories in the Austrian media.[8]

- "Does the author of or any kind of actor mentioned in the article express/argue that one's country has had any kind of disadvantages from the EU (generally or specific)

[8] For the dimension of utilitarian Euroscepticism "The question 'Did your country benefit from membership of the EU?' has prominently figured in this research (note from the author: of instrumental Euroscepticism); it is clearly linked to the cost-benefit research tradition or the so-called instrumental approach." (Lubbers and Scheepers 2005 p. 224).

or that the situation in one's country has been negatively affected or will (potentially) be negatively affected because of the EU?"

- "Does the author of or any kind of actor mentioned in the article express/argue that one's country has had any kind of benefits from the EU (generally or specific) or that the situation in one's country has improved or will (potentially) improve because of the EU?"

In the course of my empirical analysis of the data I merged the above-mentioned variables. The new variable can show us how the distribution of this evaluation was and where such an evaluation was included in the stories of the news outlets coded.

Democratic Euroscepticism in the Austrian media will be analysed through the following variables:

- "Does the story mention any aspect related to the state of democracy in the EU, and if so, how is it evaluated? E.g. does the story mention whether the European Union is democratic/transparent or undemocratic/in transparent?"[9]
- "Does the story evaluate the European Parliament and if so how?"[9]

As third variable to assess which impression the stories coded gave of the democratic state of the EU, I took into consideration the following evaluations:

- "Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story make any kind of negative reference to a particular distance or 'gap' between the EU and its citizens? Example: If a story refers to citizens feeling not represented/understood by the EU (also includes citizen indifference, disinterest towards the EU)."
- "Explicitly (only if the story or somebody in the story says so): Does the story make any kind of positive reference to he (sic!) responsiveness of the EU towards the citizens? Example: If a story mentions that the EU makes efforts to address

[9] I recoded the initial variable and eliminated the values "not applicable/not mentioned" and "mentioned but not evaluated", as for my analysis this variable will only be of interest if such an evaluation took place.

concerns of citizens (responding, reaching out, listening to EU citizens, etc.; also includes Plan D for Democracy initiative by European Commission)"

These two variables for me represent two opposites. I computed them into one variable, telling us whether stories mentioned that there is a gap between citizens and the EU or whether the EU actually takes in the concerns of the population and is aware of them. This new variable will include how often one of these stances was conveyed by the media.

In my sovereignty-based analysis I will evaluate the following variables:

- "Who, according to the story, if mentioned at all, should mainly be responsible for handling, working on or taking care of a topic?"

The answer possibilities included national governmental actors as well as EU-level actors. These questions were asked only if the first, the second or the third major topic of a news story was about European integration, globalisation or environment. I coded the three variables asking this question in each case for the first, the second and the third topic of the story into one variable. It is not important for my analysis of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism which prominence the topic in question had when such an evaluation took place.

The answer possibilities in the original variable included different kinds of national actors (governmental, non-governmental, non-political) and EU or EU-related actors. I recoded the categories to only divide between national actors in general, including all the different categories of national actors, and EU actors, as these are the main values which matter for the analysis of sovereignty-based Eurosceptcisim.

There were two further variables asking about the level at which certain issues should be handled:

- "Who according to the story, if mentioned at all, should mainly be responsible for handling, working on or taking care of the economic conditions?"
- "Who according to the story, if mentioned at all, should mainly be responsible for handling, working on or taking care of immigration?"

Again with the two latter variables I collapsed the answer possibilities to just include the information whether "national actors" or "EU-level actors" should handle the topic in question. To get a complete picture of the evaluation of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism I also collapsed in a second analysis the three above-mentioned variables concerning different topics into one variable. After having had a look at whether differences exist concerning the disposition to cede power to the EU-level between the different policy areas, I wanted to get an overall picture of this disposition concerning matters of international concern.

As mentioned earlier, it is important to choose topics for the evaluation of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism, which as such can be generally denoted as being of international nature. Otherwise, the objection to cede sovereignty to the EU-level might not be a sign for a eurosceptic stance but only present a logical evaluation of the level at which the issue in question should be handled. I therefore considered Dalton's and Eichenberg's national-difficulty criterion (Dalton and Eichenberg, 1998). For the variables I will analyse for sovereignty-based Euroscepticism, the difficulty the Austrian nation-state would find when trying to solve the issues at the national level, is quite high (though, as stated earlier, there is no clear consensus in the literature on which policy areas can be handled more effectively at an supranational level (De Winter and Swyngedouw, 1999: 61). The objection to cede power within these areas therefore constitutes, for me, one dimension of Euroscepticism.

And finally, the data set of the PIREDEU Media Study will enable me through this question to examine ideological or social Euroscepticism:

- "Does the story indicate whether the national government or EU-level government has had a positive or negative impact on health care?"

Unfortunately, this was the only variable in the Codebook concerning social issues and will be the only variable I can take into account for my analysis of ideological or more specifically social Euroscepticism. The picture I will get with this analysis of this type of Euroscepticism will therefore not be a complete one.

Data-related problems will also inhibit me from including the dimension of identity-based Euroscepticism in my empirical analysis. The PIREDEU Codebook does not contain the necessary information to operationalise this concrete dimension of Euroscepticism. No variable of the Codebook treated the question of whether news stories raised issues concerning European identity or about how European identity was reported about.

5.2.2 Operationalisation of the objects of critique

The objection to the EU in general will be assessed through the following variable:

- "Does the story evaluate the EU and if so how? 'The EU' here refers to the EU as a political institution as such, not to single, more specific institutions such as the EP or the EC."

Whether critique is directed at an institution of the EU will be operationalised as follows:

- " Does the story evaluate the European Parliament and if so how?"[10]

The critiquing of specific policies and policy areas will be addressed through the following variables:

- "Does the story indicate whether the national government or EU-level government has had a positive or negative impact on national economic conditions?"
- "Does the story indicate whether the national government or EU-level government has had a positive or negative impact on immigration?"
- "Does the story indicate whether the national government or EU-level government has had a positive or negative impact on interest rates?"

[10] This was the only variable of the Codebook asking how a specific EU institution had been evaluated in the media. Therefore, the knowledge of how the EP was evaluated will have to answer the purpose of knowing whether critique was directed towards main EU institutions.

- "Does the story indicate whether the national government or EU-level government has had a positive or negative impact on health care?"

I recoded the variables to get one variable telling me whether in any of these policy areas the EU was criticised for their impact on the topic in question. This will indicate whether specific policies were criticised. It will not matter for this analysis which policy area was the focus of critique.[11]

The last question which would lead me to find out at which entities and processes of the EU critique in the media was directed at, would be whether objections to further European integration were brought forward. At the same time, this would be the second question, after the analysis of whether specific EU policies had been criticised, that would constitute an indicator for Soft Euroscepticism in the media. Unfortunately, it will not be possible here to analyse the same variable as for the dimension of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism. The Codebook only provides the general information whether in specific policy areas (globalisation, environment, EU integration, immigration and economic issues) integration was desired or not according to the media. The broad character of these topics does not provide a clear enough structure to divide between policy areas that already have been integrated and those that have not. To gain knowledge on this second indicator for Soft Euroscepticism, it would be necessary to only consider the rejection of further integration. It is true that for the investigation on the objects of critique, the objection to European integration in general would provide valuable information. But at the same time I intent to employ the concept of Hard and Soft Euroscepticism throughout this analysis. Therefore, I refrain from analysing the objection to European integration in general in this part of my analysis and it will not be possible to operationalise part of my analysis on the objects of critique and Soft Euroscepticism. If someone, in another context, is interested in the objection to European integration in general, I can refer to the analysis of sovereignty-

11 I eliminated the answering possibilities asking how the impact of the national government was evaluated as this will not either affect the analysis of how the EU was evaluated.

based Euroscepticism. This analysis will be conducted in the first part of my empirical analysis concerning eurosceptic concerns and evaluations.

6. Empirical Analysis

In a first step I will analyse the above-mentioned variables, corresponding to the different dimension of Euroscepticism, for the Austrian ‚edia in general. In a second step I will evaluate the variables in cross tabulations with a variable telling us to which news outlet the content coded can be ascribed to.

There are two aspects which should be analysed to assess whether one type of Euroscepticism is represented more strongly in the media than another one. One is, how often negative impressions directed at the EU have been conveyed within the topic in question (in total numbers or the percentages relative to the total number of stories coded). A second one is, how often critical statements have been made in comparison to positive statements that would balance the impression given. Readers might have a more negative impression of a specific issue the more often it is criticised in the media. But this negative impression might be again weakened when a lot of positive statements are made too. I will first assess these two factors individually, as both ways to interpret the data are valid and will contribute different aspects to the analysis. To get comprehensive numbers that include both factors in one analysis, I will later compute an additive index to weigh the actual number of negative references with the positive ones. I will therefore subtract the positive from the negative statements in each dimension; this will result either in a number, which represents the surplus of negative or the surplus of positive statements for the dimension in question. Then these numbers will be put in relation to the whole of the balanced evaluations. The results will show how strong each dimensions has been represented in the media with regards to all relevant evaluations when the positive and negative statements have been weighed.

I will first offer a mere descriptive analysis when looking at the dimensions of Euroscepticism as they present themselves in the Austrian media. Later on, when it is discernable which dimensions of Euroscepticism are strongest and which were represented

only to a weaker degree, I will proceed by offering interpretations and explanatory information.

6.1 Euroscepticism in the Austrian media landscape

The following statistical outputs always have to be seen in relation to the number of cases in which the topics in question were addressed or evaluated. In the tables containing the statistical data concerning each of the dimensions, it will be shown how many valid cases were available. As a general frame of reference, I will indicate that 2151 stories were coded in all Austrian news outlets analysed in the PIREDEU Media Study. 1139 stories mentioned the EU during the three weeks preceding the EPE 2009 and within these, 600 mentioned the EP Elections concretely.

6.1.1 Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations in the Austrian media - a four-dimensional analysis

6.1.1.1 Utilitarian Euroscepticism

To assess the degree to which utilitarian Euroscepticism could be found in the Austrian news outlets, I will look at the variables telling me whether the stories coded gave the impression that Austria has had disadvantages or benefits from the EU.

Benefits/Disadvantages				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Benefits	62	2.9	31.2
	Disadvantages	119	5.5	59.8
	Both	18	0.8	9.0
	Total	199	9.3	100.0
Missing	System	1.952	90.7	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 2: Benefits/Disadvantages

Most articles did not contain a utilitarian evaluation of the costs and benefits of the membership in the EU. In 2151 stories such an evaluation took place 199 times. If assessing whether the EU brought more benefits or more disadvantages, the percentage of articles and newscasts saying that Austria has had disadvantages from the membership in the EU was, with 59.8%, twice as high as the percentage of articles mentioning benefits, with 31.2%. 9% of the stories, which contained a utilitarian evaluation, took a neutral position, mentioning both benefits and disadvantages. Taking only the negative references into account, in all 2151 articles and stories evaluated, 6.4% of all articles contained the utilitarian evaluation that Austria has had some kind of disadvantages from the membership in the EU. These are quite striking findings. Though it has been mentioned in public discussion that Austria is a rather eurosceptic country, one should expect the media to evaluate the membership rather positively in a cost-benefit calculation of the membership. For smaller countries it is usually an advantage to be a EU member. Austria has no specific natural resources and is dependent on the economic cooperation with

neighbouring countries. A utilitarian based evaluation by experts or journalists should tend to respond positively to the European Union.[12]

6.1.1.2 Democratic Euroscepticism

The dimension of Euroscepticism will first be analysed through the question how the state of democracy was evaluated in the news outlets coded.

State of democracy

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	negative	26	1.2	35.1
	rather negative	35	1.6	47.3
	balanced/mixed	8	0.4	10.8
	rather positive	4	0.2	5.4
	Positive	1	0.0	1.4
	Total	74	3.4	100.0
Missing	System	2.077	96.6	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 3: State of democracy

[12] Also concerning the more controversial topic of the advantages and disadvantages of the Eastern Enlargement for Austria researchers states that: "Despite higher net contributions to the EU, the expanded macroeconomic activity swells tax bases, allowing more generous transfers to households without increasing public depth." Keuschnigg, C. and Kohler, W. (2002) "Eastern Enlargement of the EU: How Much Is It Worth for Austria?" Review of International Economics **10**(2): 324-342.

The results show a clear tendency in the evaluation of the state of democracy in the media. If the state of democracy was evaluated, as happened in 74 articles, the evaluation was mostly negative. If we combine the articles saying that the state of democracy was negative or rather negative, we get a total of 82.4 %. In contrast, only 6.8% of the articles evaluating the state of democracy gave a favourable impression.

Later on, coders were asked to determine more specifically whether stories about the EU contained an evaluation of the European Parliament, one of the core democratic institutions of the EU.

Evaluation EP				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Negative	41	1.9	44.1
	rather negative	17	0.8	18.3
	balanced/mixed	15	0.7	16.1
	rather positive	17	0.8	18.3
	Positive	3	0.1	3.2
	Total	93	4.3	100.0
Missing	System	2.058	95.7	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 4: Evaluation EP

The same pattern as with the variable concerning the state of democracy is discernable. If there was an evaluation of the EP, it was negative in 62.4% of the cases. The number of articles evaluating the EP rather positively, 21.5%, was, however, higher than with the state of democracy in the EU. This may be due to the fact that the data gathered was collected three weeks previous to the EP Elections and some articles may have featured campaigns to remind citizens of the importance to vote and the importance of the EP. But apparently, if democracy in the EU and one of the main democratic components of the EU, the EP, were evaluated, the EP received better marks in the media than the general state of democracy. It seems that the role the EP plays in the decision-making mechanisms of the EU is thought of as being more democratic than other components of the decision-making process.

The perceived distance between the EU and its citizens can also be a marker for democratic Euroscepticism. Coders were asked to assess whether the article or story in question gave the impression that there was a perceived distance between the citizens and the EU.

Gap/Responsiveness				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Distance/Gap	110	5.1	85.3
	Responsiveness	16	0.7	12.4
	Both mentioned	3	0.1	2.3
	Total	129	6.0	100.0
Missing	System	2.022	94.0	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 5: Gap/Responsiveness

Around 10% of all articles about the EU (in total 1139 of the 2151 coded articles concerned EU issues) mentioned that there was 'gap' between the EU and its citizens. This would mean that every tenth article which concerned a topic related to the EU made a reference to some kind of mal-functioning of democracy, as citizens should be able to understand and be informed about the decision taken at EU-level. In contrast, 1.5% of all articles related to the EU mentioned that the EU made efforts to address the concerns of citizens.

Comparing the positive references (mentioning some kind of responsiveness of the EU towards its citizens) to the negative references (making a reference to a 'gap' between the EU and its citizens), the relation is 12.4% to 85.3% respectively.

When taking all of the variables together which were taken into account for the dimension of democratic Euroscepticism, 229 negative references concerning some aspect of democracy in the EU were made.

6.1.1.3 Sovereignty-based Euroscepticism

Should handle: Globalization, European integration, Environment				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	National level actor	6	0.3	33.3
	EU-level actor	12	0.6	66.7
	Total	18	0.8	100.0
Missing	System	2.133	99.2	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 6: Should handle: Globalization, European Integration, Environment

As one can see, the number of stories in the newspaper about globalisation, European integration or the environment mostly did not contain a specific indication towards who should be mainly handling the topics in question. But if we take into account the 18 stories that were evaluated in this way, most of these stories did not display sovereignty-based Euroscepticism. In around 2/3 of all cases, the stories stated that EU-level actors should be handling the topic in question. In contrast, only 1/3 of all stories attributed responsibility in the policy areas of EU integration, globalisation and environment to the national level. The results of this analysis show that a majority of the articles evaluated in this way did say that EU-level actors should handle these topics. This may not seem surprising taking into account the international character of the issues analysed. European integration and globalisation are per se issues of international concern and usually require some kind of supranational cooperation. With the topics concerning environmental issues, the problems to be discussed and decided upon could be of national relevance. In the case of Austria, e. g. the transit traffic is debated mainly on a national level, but even the issue of transit traffic requires an international solution and affects not only one nation. But exactly this is why we evaluate these topics. If stories displayed sovereignty-based concerns within these topics, these stories can be clearly denoted as conveying a eurosceptic stance. One third of

the stories including an evaluation of who should handle the topics of European integration, environment or globalisation can be in conclusion categorised as conveying sovereignty-based Euroscepticism.

Other policy areas, which in general can be categorised as being of international character, are economic conditions and immigration. Some might consider immigration as a national issue, as in public opinion immigration is mostly discussed in national and not in European terms. But national cooperation is necessary to handle immigration; even more so in the EU, where national borders do not exist anymore.

Should handle: Economic issues				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Any national actors	8	0.4	57.1
	EU or EU-related actors	6	0.3	42.9
	Total	14	0.7	100.0
Missing	System	2.137	99.3	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 7: Should handle: Economic issues

The stories discussing economic conditions and making a statement about who should be mainly handling economic conditions were rather balanced in saying that the national government or EU-level actors should do so (though only 14 stories conveyed such an opinion). Still, if such an evaluation took place, the decision-making competence was attributed in 8 stories to national level actors and in only 6 stories to EU-level actors.

Should handle: Immigration issues				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Any national actors	10	0.5	76.9
	EU-level actors	3	0.1	23.1
	Total	13	0.6	100.0
Missing	System	2.138	99.4	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 8: Should handle: Immigration issues

When there was an assessment about who should handle the topic of immigration, there is a tendency showing that national actors should do so. 10 stories gave the impression that national level actors should handle immigration issues. In only 3 of the media reports where such an evaluation was made, the story assessed that EU-level actors should be responsible for the policy area of immigration. The following assumption can be made considering the results: when issues are more important to the Austrian public, as it could very possibly be the case with immigration, the media stress more that sovereignty should be kept at a national level. With immigration there is a certain amount of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism showing. When economic issues are addressed, which usually are also very important to citizens, the opinion in the Austrian media seems to be divided. 8 stories say that national governmental actors should be mainly handling economic issues and 6 say that EU-level actors should do so. This may be due to the fact that, again, if issues are very important to the public, there is a tendency to say that the decision-making power should be kept at a national level. But especially with economic issues and the recent economic crisis, it should be clear that Austria would be worse off if decisions would be taken individually by Austrian governmental actors. With the topics of EU integration, globalisation and environment sovereignty-based Euroscepticism was lowest.

Should handle: Overall				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	National level actor	24	1.1	54.5
	EU-level actor	20	0.9	45.5
	Total	44	2.0	100.0
Missing	System	2.107	98.0	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 9: Should handle: Overall

In this table we can see that in an overall analysis of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism, disregarding the different issues and policy areas where the evaluations took place, the results show that the disposition conveyed by the media to transfer powers to the EU-level comes close to being 50%. The interpretation has to keep in mind though that we only took into consideration topics of international character, where it would not be surprising either if no sign of sovereignty-based Euroscepticism was showing.

6.1.1.4 Ideological (-Social) Euroscepticism

In this analysis I want to test whether the mentioning of "too little Social Europe" constituted a point of critique on the European Union. Therefore, I will have a look at a variable which asked whether the EU's impact on health care had been positive or negative.[13]

[13] I will only consider the cases were the EU was evaluated, therefore I eliminated the cases of stories were the national government was evaluated on terms of the health care system.

Health care				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	EU governance has had a negative effect	1	.0	100.0
Missing	System	2.150	100.0	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 10: Health care

If there was an evaluation in the media concerning the topic of health care, a negative effect of the EU was assessed in one case. The number of cases where a story in the news mentioned that EU governance has had a positive or no effect was nil. The health care system is one of the main components of a social system. If this topic was not mentioned very often in articles or stories having something to do with the EU, this also means that the health care system, and in consequence the social system, are not yet considered European issues. To have though a complete analysis of social Euroscepticism, one would have to be able to rely also on variables on how labour market policies, pension politics, social insurance policies and decisions concerning public services have been evaluated with regards to the EU.

6.1.1.5 Additive index and interpretation of results

When comparing the relation between "positive" and "negative" references in the above analysed dimensions of Euroscepticism, the pattern shows that, when evaluations were made on a utilitarian-, democratic-, sovereignty-, or ideological basis, the amount of negative references in comparison to positive ones was highest for democratic Euroscepticism. The tendency was even stronger with the variable concerning the topic of health care (negative references directed towards the EU were 100%), but I will have to prescind from giving these results a major significance. To really evaluate social or ideological Euroscepticism, the evaluation of other variables concerning social issues would

be necessary. Also when an evaluation took place only in one case, the results cannot be given a major importance. The next type of Euroscepticism where the negative tendency was strongest, was utilitarian-based Euroscepticism. The articles which assessed a negative effect of the EU on Austria were nearly twice as high (with 63%) as the ones assessing that Austria has had benefits from the EU (with 37%). With sovereignty-based Euroscepticism the evaluation was rather balanced. When we combine the results of all the policy areas where it was assessed whether national or EU-level actors should handle the topic in question (Environment, Globalisation, European integration, economy or immigration), in 55.6% of the cases the stories indicated that national actors should do so. In contrast 44.3% called for the EU to handle the issue in question. When only taking into account the total number of negative references, democratic Euroscepticism was strongest with 229 negative references. This was followed by the utilitarian evaluation of the cost and benefits of the EU with 119 stories assessing more disadvantages for Austria. The next dimension was sovereignty-based Euroscepticism with 24 negative evaluations, and last the evaluation of the EU's impact on health care which was practically non-existent with only one case. What is already observable at first glance, is that in both ways in which the results can be interpreted (once comparing the negative to the positive evaluations within the dimensions of Euroscepticism itself, and once by only taking into account the negative evaluations and comparing the numbers between the dimensions) the same pattern is discernable, with democratic Euroscepticism being highest, followed by utilitarian Euroscepticism, and last coming sovereignty-based concerns and social (or ideological) Euroscepticism.

To test for the accuracy of this mere observation, I will draw on an additive index to provide the numbers for an inclusive analysis. The additive index will take into account the balance of negative and positive evaluations within each dimension and the salience of the negative evaluations.[14] When the number in the table refers to negative references this will be marked with a "(n)", positive statements will be marked with a "(p)".

[14] The additive index will weigh the actual number of negative references with the positive ones. The positive statements are subtracted from the negative ones in each dimension; this will result either in a number which

Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations				
Utilitarian Euroscepticism	(n) 119 – (p) 62	= (n) 57	/2.49	= (n) 23%
Democratic Euroscepticism	(n) 229 – (p) 41	= (n) 188	/2.49	= (n) 75%
Sovereignty-based Euroscepticism	(n) 24 – (p) 21	= (n) 3	/2.49	= (n) 1%
Ideological/Social Euroscepticism	(n) 1	= (n) 1	/2.49	= (n) 0%
		Σ=249		

Table 11: Additive index: Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations

The numbers of the additive index support the observations made before. The strongest eurosceptic concern in the Austrian media was linked to democracy in the EU, both taking into account the balance of the negative and positive evaluations, as well as the salience of the negative evaluations. Democratic Euroscepticism presented ¾ of all eurosceptic concerns evaluated in this analysis. Second were utilitarian evaluations, presenting nearly ¼ of the eurosceptic concerns in the Austrian media. Far behind came sovereignty-based, as well as ideological (or social) Euroscepticism, the latter being practically none existent (though again I should like to point out that additional variables would be necessary to analyse this last dimension in a comprehensive way).

The results of my empirical analysis draw in many cases a different picture of the types of Euroscepticism dominating in the Austrian media than what would be expected when looking at the relationship between Austria and the EU.

Democratic Euroscepticism showed to be strongest when analysing which eurosceptic concerns dominated in the media. For this dimension no clear expectations could be formulated beforehand, concerning specifically the case of Austria. The strong presence of democratic Euroscepticism in the Austrian media might reflect the much-mentioned gap between the EU and its citizens in public discourse and scientific research in general. The

represents the surplus of negative or the surplus of positive statements for the dimension in question. These numbers will be put in relation to the whole of the balanced evaluations.

critique that the decision-making process in the EU is too intransparent to allow citizens to form an opinion about the decisions taken at the EU-level is popular. Additionally, the time frame of the media analysis (the three weeks leading up to the EPE 2009) might have led to the fact that the elections and the democratic state of the EU were especially in the focus of attention. One of the dimensions of Euroscepticism, where the actual results of my empirical analysis contradict my expectations, is the one regarding utilitarian-based Euroscepticism. The question whether Austria has had any kind of disadvantages from the EU figured in the media quite prominently with 12% of EU-related stories conveying such an impression. This actually stands contrary to what one might have expected taking into account the specific Austrian situation. As mentioned in my chapter on Euroscepticism in Austria, the advantages that arise for Austria from being a member of the European Union seem apparent from a rational point of view. Austria lies in the heart of Europe and profits strongly from the Economic and Monetary Union, especially now after the accession of the Eastern European Member States. Through the decision-making mechanism which dominated in the European Union for a long time, and the rotating Presidency of the European Council, Austria is given a stronger voice in the international system than a small country like Austria would have otherwise. However, it is true that decision-making mechanisms have been changing and thus the impression that Austria has a stronger voice through the EU might have been revised in the media. Still, taking the other reasons mentioned into account, one would expect utilitarian Euroscepticism to be low in the Austrian media. In contrast to utilitarian concerns, sovereignty-based and ideological Euroscepticism (or more concretely social Euroscepticism) proved to be practically non-existent in the media. In general, with these two dimensions the Austrian media conveyed neither positive, nor negative evaluations very often. This indicates that both topics were not at the centre of reporting on the EU. These too are unexpected findings. The initial debates surrounding the accession of Austria to the EU were dominated by the fear that the neutrality-status of Austria would be in danger. It was believed that Austria would no longer be able to determine autonomously in which actions it would participate and in which it would not. Also, the interference by the European Union in Austrian domestic political affairs, concretely the sanctions against the coalition government of the ÖVP and the FPÖ, raised reservations against the EU and was seen with indignation by many. This

historical background would rather speak for a strong than a weak dimension of sovereignty based Euroscepticism. For the dimension of social Euroscepticism on the one hand, having a long tradition of social welfare, Austrians might have reservations against the more neo-liberal politics of the European Union. On the other hand though, it is just until recently that integration of social policies has become an issue. Thus, this might still not be a relevant topic in public discussion. The results of the empirical analysis proved the second point to be accurate, at least for the topic of health care. Due to the lack of variables analysing news coverage on further social issues, the results do not display a comprehensive analysis of social Euroscepticism.

6.1.2 The objects of critique in the Austrian media

6.1.2.1 Critique directed at the EU in general

With V26 coders were asked to assess if the story in question contained an evaluation of the EU in general. I eliminated the possibilities to answer the answers, "mentioned but not evaluated" and "not mentioned".

Evaluation EU				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Negative	118	5.5	49.2
	rather negative	50	2.3	20.8
	balanced/mixed	29	1.3	12.1
	rather positive	31	1.4	12.9
	Positive	12	0.6	5.0
	Total	240	11.2	100.0
Missing	System	1.911	88.8	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 12: Evaluation EU

Such an evaluation was made in 240 cases of 2151 coded stories. If the EU was evaluated as a political institution in general. 70 % of all the stories gave a negative impression about it. The number of articles expressively saying that they thought negatively about the 'political institution EU'. was even higher than the number of articles articulating themselves more moderately giving a rather negative impression of the EU. This variable seems to indicate that. though the EU was only evaluated in 21% (240 stories out of 1139 EU related stories) of the stories talking about the EU. if such a thing happened. the general impression the stories gave of the EU was negative in a majority of the cases.

6.1.1.2 Critique directed at EU institutions

Concerning the question whether critique was directed at an EU institution. we will have to revert again to the variable asking if and how the EP was evaluated in the news outlets. This variable will not provide us with a full picture of how the institutions of the EU were evaluated. as we would have to have data on how the European Council. the Council of the European Union (the Council). the European Commission. the Court of Justice of the European Union. the European Central Bank and the Court of Auditors have been evaluated. Due to a partial overlap. with regards to content between the dimensions of democratic and institutional Euroscepticism. the same variable will be analysed and the results will provide the same pattern. If there was an evaluation of the EP. it was mostly negative. with 62.4% of the cases.

Evaluation EP				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Negative	41	1.9	44.1
	rather negative	17	0.8	18.3
	balanced/mixed	15	0.7	16.1
	rather positive	17	0.8	18.3
	Positive	3	0.1	3.2
	Total	93	4.3	100.0
Missing	System	2.058	95.7	
Total		2.151	100.0	

Table 13: Evaluation EP

6.1.2.3 Critique directed at specific policies

To see whether critique was directed towards the EU-handling of specific policy areas. I took into consideration variables asking how the story in question evaluated the handling of EU-level actors in the ambits of economic. immigration. health care or climate change issues.[15]

[15] For my analysis it is not of interest how the national government was evaluated, therefore I eliminated these evaluations from my statistical outputs.

Policy Effect of EU				
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	EU positive effect	4	.2	23.5
	EU negative effect	12	.6	70.6
	EU positive and negative effect	1	.0	5.9
	Total	17	.8	100.0
Missing	System	2134	99.2	
Total		2151	100.0	

Table 14: Policy effect of EU

The EU was assessed to having had a negative impact in one of these major policy areas in 12 of the stories. A positive evaluation was provided in 4 stories. Thus the number of articles criticising specific policies decided at the EU-level was higher than the number of stories making positive references to the effect the EU had in the policy areas of economy, immigration, health care or climate change.

6.1.2.4 Additive index and interpretation of results

The following conclusion can be drawn on the analysis of the objects of critique in the Austrian media when the balance between positive and negative evaluations is taken into account: The strongest tendency can be detected with the critique directed at the EU in general with 70% negative evaluations to around 18% positive evaluations. This would speak for a more radical type of Euroscepticism in the Austrian media. The next strongest dimension is the one critiquing specific policy areas. Here we can see that in 70.6% of the cases negative effects of the EU in specific policy areas was assessed. In comparison, there were more positive statements (23,5%), than with the relation between positive and negative evaluations of the EU in general. Critique directed towards the institutions of the EU, which would again present a more radical type of scepticism, followed with the relation of 62.4% negative evaluation versus 21.5% positive evaluations.

Again I will have to complete the comparative analysis by taking a look at the total numbers of negative references between the different types of Euroscepticism analysed in this section of my empirical research. Additionally I will interpret the results of the additive index, which combines both relevant factors. This will give us an additional notion of the dimension of the different eurosceptic stances and enable us to conclude finally whether Euroscepticism in the Austrian media can be categorised as being harder or softer.

Most negative references could be coded with the critique of the EU in general, 7.8% of the 2151 stories coded contained such a stance. Following this type of Euroscepticism, the EP was criticised in 2.7% of all articles. Finally, in only 0.6% of the stories, a negative effect of the EU's handling of specific policies was assessed. These results clearly indicate that Euroscepticism in the Austrian media is more of a radical type, critiquing either the EU in general or one of its major institutions and pillars, the EP.

The following additive index will take into account both the balance of the evaluations as well as the salience of the negative and positive statements.

Hard and Soft Euroscepticism				
Evaluation EU in general	(n) 168 – (p) 43	= (n) 125	/1.71	= (n) 73%
Evaluation EU institutions (EP)	(n) 58 – (p) 20	= (n) 38	/1.71	= (n) 22%
Critiquing specific policy outcomes	(n) 12 – (p) 4	= (n) 8	/1.71	= (n) 5%
		Σ=171		

Table 15: Additive index: Hard and Soft Euroscepticism

The additive index shows that by far the most unbalanced or most salient critique in the Austrian media was directed at the EU in general, holding a total of 73% of all weighed evaluations. Following this, there was critique directed at the EP which was represented in 22% of the stories. Critique directed at specific policy outcomes showed to be lowest with

5%. This tendency can present more of a threat to the EU. With the entities and processes the critique at the EU was directed at in the media, the data showed that the attitudes towards the EU in the Austrian media can be categorised as Hard Euroscepticism. The EU in general and one of its major institutions, the EP, were considerably more often criticised than specific policies the EU had been handling. This might seem harsh and unexpected considering the apparent advantages the membership in the EU has for Austria. At the same, time this actually fits the characteristics of media reporting which often opts for the more attention seeking headlines and contents. The low amount of Soft Euroscepticism in comparison to Hard Euroscepticism might be a sign that the critique of the media is usually not based on the discussion of specific policy outcomes but has a more general focus. The findings fit into the picture of the media being more polemic and simplifying without rationally evaluating specific outcomes. These characteristics of media reporting are usually even more strongly ascribed to yellow press news outlets. Therefore, the assumption can be made that the yellow press "Kronen Zeitung" could be a major contributor to the eurosceptic tendencies in the Austrian media in general. The analysis on this aspect will be conducted in the following chapter.

6.2 Euroscepticism in the different Austrian media outlets

For somebody acquainted with the Austrian media landscape and having followed the EPE campaign 2009 in the news, the connection between the eurosceptic contents in the Austrian media and the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" will be made easily. An empirical analysis of whether a majority of the stories conveying some sort of eurosceptic content can, in fact, be linked to the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" will follow in this chapter. As already mentioned, the Austrian media landscape is especially characterised by the significant role of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung", which in the following I will simply refer to as the "Kronen Zeitung". A vast majority of the population in Austria reverts to this specific outlet to obtain their information. The importance of the "Kronen Zeitung" concerning its range of coverage within the Austrian population is exceptional in the whole of Europe. When interpreting

my findings on Euroscepticism in the different media outlets, I will therefore put a special focus on the reporting of the "Kronen Zeitung". The "Kronen Zeitung" can be additionally described as a yellow press and tabloid news outlet. The most notable quality newspapers are "Der Standard" and "Die Presse", with the first one being more inclined to the left political spectrum and the latter one being considered close to the more conservative political forces. Both "ORF ZiB" and "ATV News" are news broadcast, "ORF ZiB" of the state-owned ORF channel, while ATV represents a private channel. As general information, I included tables showing the amount of articles in each newspaper or news broadcast mentioning EU related topics below. For the analysis of different types of Euroscepticism in the different media outlets, I will always provide a table that shows which news outlet was responsible for which percentage of a specific attitude towards the EU. Following this, I will provide individual tables for every news outlet, showing how the distribution concerning different attitudes towards the EU was within the news outlet.

News outlets * Mention EU				
		no	yes	Total
Standard	Count	164	243	407
	% Mention EU	16.4%	21.3%	19.0%
Presse	Count	114	252	366
	% Mention EU	11.4%	22.1%	17.1%
Kronen Zeitung	Count	164	299	463
	% Mention EU	16.4%	26.3%	21.7%
Salzburger Nachrichten	Count	78	79	157
	% Mention EU	7.8%	6.9%	7.3%
Kleine Zeitung	Count	194	193	387
	% Mention EU	19.4%	16.9%	18.1%
ORF ZIB	Count	194	54	248
	% Mention EU	19.4%	4.7%	11.6%
ATV News	Count	91	19	110
	% Mention EU	9.1%	1.7%	5.1%
Total	Count	999	1139	2138
	% Mention EU	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 16: News Outlets * Mention EU

Standard * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	164	243	407
% Mention EU	40.3%	59.7%	100.0%

Table 17: Der Standard * Mention EU

Presse * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	114	252	366
% Mention EU	31.1%	68.9%	100.0%

Table 18: Presse * Mention EU

Kronen Zeitung * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	164	299	463
% Mention EU	35.4%	64.6%	100.0%

Table 19: Kronen Zeitung * Mention EU

Salzburger Nachrichten * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	78	79	157
% Mention EU	49.7%	50.3%	100.0%

Table 20: Salzburger Nachrichten * Mention EU

Kleine Zeitung * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	194	193	387
% Mention EU	50.1%	49.9%	100.0%

Table 21: Kleine Zeitung * Mention EU

ORF ZIB * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	194	54	248
% Mention EU	78.2%	21.8%	100.0%

Table 22: ORF ZIB * Mention EU

ATV News * Mention EU			
	no	yes	Total
Count	91	19	110
% Mention EU	82.7%	17.3%	100.0%

Table 23: ATV News * Mention EU

The special focus in my comparative analysis of eurosceptic contents in the different media outlets will lie on the "Kronen Zeitung", due to the special role it has in the Austrian media landscape and due to its eurosceptic stances. Ideally it would be possible to conduct an analysis of all the media outlets employing again the concept I used before when analysing Euroscepticism in the Austrian media landscape in general (first analysing the different dimension of eurosceptic concerns and secondly looking at which entities and processes the critique is directed at). After having analysed, in a first and more superficial attempt, the cross-tabulations related to each of the dimensions of Euroscepticism and to the news outlets, I soon came to the conclusion that no valid comparative analysis between the different types of Euroscepticism and the different media outlets is possible. Where cases were already low before, when attributed to the corresponding news outlets, the number of cases available for comparative analysis is lower still. This will have two consequences for my present empirical analyses. First, in the cases were the variables coded presented us with enough cases, I will still conduct my comparative analyses without it, however, being possible to give a complete analysis as outlined in my initially used concept and without the possibility to draw the conclusions related to it (whether the eurosceptic reporting of one or the other news outlet conveys a more radical or general objection to the EU and European integration or whether it concerns more specific aspects). It will still be possible to discern the general tendencies of each news outlet without presenting a comprehensive analysis according to the concept. Secondly, I will again draw on the computation of additive indices to get a comprehensive picture of the strength of different types of Euroscepticism in the different Austrian media outlets. I will mainly focus on the coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung", as the prior analysis of some variables has shown that the "Kronen Zeitung" seems to have the most eurosceptic potential. To be able to compare

these findings, I will also compute the additive indices for all other news outlets combined (excluding the "Kronen Zeitung"). This analysis will be conducted regarding once again all dimension of Euroscepticism, as presented in my concept. With the prior analysis of Euroscepticism in the different media outlets I refrained from analysing every dimension of Euroscepticism, as developed in my concept due to the low number of cases I could find with some dimension in some news outlets. As the number of cases corresponding to the different dimensions of Euroscepticism in the "Kronen Zeitung" has shown to be highest, it will make sense to conduct again a comprehensive analysis of all dimensions of my concept when focusing on the same. As the cases of all other news outlets will be combined in one analysis, this will also result in a number of cases higher than when looking at every news outlet individually and an analysis of all the dimensions will be possible.

I will first have a look at the dimension of utilitarian Euroscepticism and its distribution between the different media outlets. The variables referred to for this analysis focused on whether it was mentioned that Austria has had benefits or disadvantages from the EU. The variables were fitted together to provide a full picture of whether more disadvantages or more benefits were mentioned in the different news outlets (if such an evaluation was included in the stories).

News outlets * Benefits/Disadvantages					
		Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Standard	Count	26	14	8	48
	% Benefits/Disadv	41.9 %	11.8 %	44.4 %	24.1 %
Presse	Count	14	6	2	22
	% Benefits/Disadv	22.6 %	5.0 %	11.1 %	11.1 %
Kronen Zeitung	Count	8	91	2	101
	% Benefits/Disadv	12.9 %	76.5 %	11.1 %	50.8 %
Salzburger Nachrichten	Count	3	1	2	6
	% Benefits/Disadv	4.8 %	0.8 %	11.1 %	3.0 %
Kleine Zeitung	Count	9	5	4	18
	% Benefits/Disadv	14.5 %	4.2 %	22.2 %	9.0 %
ORF ZIB	Count	1	2	0	3
	% Benefits/Disadv	1.6 %	1.7 %	0.0 %	1.5 %
ATV News	Count	1	0	0	1
	% Benefits/Disadv	1.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.5 %
Total	Count	62	119	18	199
	% Benefits/Disadv	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Table 24: News outlets * Benefits/Disadvantages

Standard * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	26	14	8	48
% Benefits/Disadv	54.2 %	29.2 %	16.7 %	100.0 %

Table 25: Der Standard * Benefits/Disadvantages

Presse * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	14	6	2	22
% Benefits/Disadv	63.6 %	27.3 %	9.1 %	100.0 %

Table 26: Presse * Benefits/Disadvantages

Kronen Zeitung * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	8	91	2	101
% Benefits/Disadv	7.9 %	90.1 %	2.0 %	100.0 %

Table 27: Kronen Zeitung * Benefits/Disadvantages

Salzburger Nachrichten * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	3	1	2	6
% Benefits/Disadv	50.0 %	16.7 %	33.3 %	100.0 %

Table 28: Salzburger Nachrichten * Benefits/Disadvantages

Kleine Zeitung * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	9	5	4	18
% Benefits/Disadv	50.0 %	27.8 %	22.2 %	100.0 %

Table 29: Kleine Zeitung * Benefits/Disadvantages

ORF ZIB * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	1	2	0	3
% Benefits/Disadv	33.3 %	66.7 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 30: ORF ZIB * Benefits/Disadvantages

ATV News * Benefits/Disadvantages				
	Benefits	Disadvantages	Both	Total
Count	1	0	0	1
% Benefits/Disadv	100.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 31: ATV News * Benefits/Disadvantages

From the cross-tabulation it is discernable that the "Kronen Zeitung" was the news outlet which featured the majority of all articles mentioning that Austria has had disadvantages

from the EU with 76.5%. Also within the news outlet "Kronen Zeitung", the balance between benefits and disadvantages being mentioned was most inclined to mentioning disadvantages if compared to other news outlets. It can be concluded thus very quickly that here the "Kronen Zeitung" presented us with the most eurosceptical profile.

The most euroenthusiastic news outlets, when it came to giving the impression that Austria has had either benefits or disadvantages from the EU, were "Der Standard" and "Die Presse". "Der Standard" held the strongest percentage of articles mentioning benefits but "Die Presse" was the newspaper which, in relation to the negative statements, had the highest number of positive statements. This means that when it came to a utilitarian evaluation the tendency in "Die Presse" was most favourable for the EU, but in total numbers "Der Standard" mentioned more benefits. Additionally, it is easily observable that both TV newscasts prescinded mostly from evaluating the EU on a utilitarian basis.

The number of stories which included evaluations concerning some aspect of democracy in the EU was high enough to make comparative analysis between the different media outlets meaningful. Therefore, the variables asking how the state of democracy was evaluated, how the European Parliament was evaluated and whether the story assessed that there is a distance or a gap between the EU and its citizens, will be analysed in the following.

News outlets * State of democracy					
		negative/ rather negative	balanced/ mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Standard	Count	7	4	1	12
	% State of democracy	11.5%	50.0%	20.0%	16.2%
Presse	Count	6	3	4	13
	% State of democracy	9.8%	37.5%	80.0%	17.6%
Kronen Zeitung	Count	33	1	0	34
	% State of democracy	54.1%	12.5%	.0%	45.9%
Salzburger Nachrichten	Count	4	0	0	4
	% State of democracy	6.6%	.0%	.0%	5.4%
Kleine Zeitung	Count	4	0	0	4
	% State of democracy	6.6%	.0%	.0%	5.4%
ORF ZIB	Count	3	0	0	3
	% State of democracy	4.9%	.0%	.0%	4.1%
ATV News	Count	4	0	0	4
	% State of democracy	6.6%	.0%	.0%	5.4%
Total	Count	61	8	5	74
	% State of democracy	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 32: News outlets * State of democracy

Standard * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	7	4	1	12
% State of democracy	58.3%	33.3%	8.3%	100%

Table 33: Der Standard * State of democracy

Presse * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	6	3	4	13
% State of democracy	46.2%	23.1%	30.8%	100%

Table 34: Presse * State of democracy

Kronen Zeitung * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	33	1	0	34
% State of democracy	97.1%	2.9%	0.0%	100%

Table 35: Kronen Zeitung * State of democracy

Salzburger Nachrichten * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	4	0	0	4
% State of democracy	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100%

Table 36: Salzburger Nachrichten * State of democracy

Kleine Zeitung * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	4	0	0	4
% State of democracy	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100%

Table 37: Kleine Zeitung * State of democracy

ORF ZIB * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	3	0	0	3
% State of democracy	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100%

Table 38: ORF ZIB * State of democracy

ATV News * State of democracy				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	4	0	0	4
% State of democracy	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100%

Table 39: ATV News * State of democracy

The number of stories evaluating the state of democracy in the EU negatively or rather negatively was highest with the articles of the "Kronen Zeitung". Following the "Kronen Zeitung" was "Der Standard" and subsequently "Die Presse". In comparison, when we have a look at the positive evaluations of the state of democracy, we can see that this number was generally low throughout all news outlets. When the media conveyed a positive impression, this was the case either in "Der Standard" or "Die Presse". We can thus say that all news outlets tended to evaluate the EU badly with respect to the state of democracy, but again the "Kronen Zeitung" was most radical in doing so.

News outlets * Evaluation EP					
		negative/ rather negative	balanced/ mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Standard	Count	3	6	6	15
	% Evaluation EP	5.2%	40.0%	30.0%	16.1%
Presse	Count	4	6	5	15
	% Evaluation EP	6.9%	40.0%	25.0%	16.1%
Kronen Zeitung	Count	44	0	1	45
	% Evaluation EP	75.9%	.0%	2.2%	48.4%
Salzburger Nachrichten	Count	0	2	0	2
	% Evaluation EP	.0%	13.3%	.0%	2.2%
Kleine Zeitung	Count	4	0	6	10
	% Evaluation EP	6.9%	.0%	30.0%	10.8%
ORF ZIB	Count	1	0	2	3
	% Evaluation EP	1.7%	.0%	10.0%	3.2%
ATV News	Count	2	1	0	3
	% Evaluation EP	3.4%	6.7%	.0%	3.2%
Total	Count	58	15	20	93
	% Evaluation EP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 40: News outlets * Evaluation EP

Standard * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	3	6	6	15
% Evaluation EP	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100%

Table 41: Der Standard * Evaluation EP

Presse * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	4	6	5	15
% Evaluation EP	26.7%	40.0%	33.3%	100%

Table 42: Presse * Evaluation EP

Kronen Zeitung * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	44	0	1	45
% Evaluation EP	75.9%	.0%	5.0%	100%

Table 43: Kronen Zeitung * Evaluation EP

Salzburger Nachrichten * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	0	2	0	2
% Evaluation EP	.0%	100.0%	.0%	100%

Table 44: Salzburger Nachrichten * Evaluation EP

Kleine Zeitung * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	4	0	6	10
% Evaluation EP	40.0%	.0%	60.0%	100%

Table 45: Kleine Zeitung * Evaluation EP

ORF ZIB * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	1	0	2	3
% Evaluation EP	33.3%	.0%	66.7%	100%

Table 46: Kleine Zeitung * Evaluation EP

ATV News * Evaluation EP				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	2	1	0	3
% Evaluation EP	66.7%	33.3%	.0%	100%

Table 47: ATV News * Evaluation EP

Most negative references concerning the EP came from the "Kronen Zeitung" with 44 of stories conveying such an impression. In comparison, the rest of the negative evaluations towards the EP in the other outlets fluctuated between nil and four stories mentioning such a negative assessment of the EP. If we compare this to the positive evaluation of the EP, we can see that the "Kronen Zeitung" has the poorest balance between positive and negative evaluations of the EP and therefore seems to convey the most negative impression of the EP. Other news outlets seemed to give a more balanced impression of the performance of the European Parliament.

The last indicator of democratic Euroscepticism concerns the assessment whether there is a particular gap or a distance between the EU and its citizens or if the EU tries to reach out to its citizens.

News outlets * Gap/Responsiveness					
		Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Standard	Count	19	1	2	22
	% Gap/Responsiveness	17.3 %	6.3 %	66.7 %	17.1 %
Presse	Count	10	4	0	14
	% Gap/Responsiveness	9.1 %	25.0 %	0.0 %	10.9 %
Kronen Zeitung	Count	63	9	0	72
	% Gap/Responsiveness	57.3 %	56.3 %	0.0 %	55.8 %
Salzburger Nachrichten	Count	0	1	0	1
	% Gap/Responsiveness	0.0 %	6.3 %	0.0 %	0.8 %
Kleine Zeitung	Count	8	0	0	8
	% Gap/Responsiveness	7.3 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	6.2 %
ORF ZIB	Count	6	1	1	8
	% Gap/Responsiveness	5.5 %	6.3 %	33.3 %	6.2 %
ATV News	Count	4	0	0	4
	% Gap/Responsiveness	3.6 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	3.1 %
Total	Count	110	16	3	129
	% Gap/Responsiveness	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %

Table 48: News outlets * Gap/Responsiveness

Standard * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	19	1	2	22
% Gap/Responsiveness	86.4 %	4.5 %	9.1 %	100.0 %

Table 49: Der Standard * Gap/Responsiveness

Presse * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	10	4	0	14
% Gap/Responsiveness	71.4 %	28.6 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 50: Presse * Gap/Responsiveness

Kronen Zeitung * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	63	9	0	72
% Gap/Responsiveness	87.5 %	12.5 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 51: Kronen Zeitung * Gap/Responsiveness

Salzburger Nachrichten * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	0	1	0	1
% Gap/Responsiveness	0.0 %	100.0 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 52: Salzburger Nachrichten * Gap/Responsiveness

Kleine Zeitung * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	8	0	0	8
% Gap/Responsiveness	100.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 53: Kleine Zeitung * Gap/Responsiveness

ORF ZIB * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	6	1	1	8
% Gap/Responsiveness	75.0 %	12.5 %	12.5 %	100.0 %

Table 54: ORF ZIB * Gap/Responsiveness

ATV News * Gap/Responsiveness				
	Gap	Responsiveness	Both	Total
Count	4	0	0	4
% Gap/Responsiveness	100.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	100.0 %

Table 55: ATV News * Gap/Responsiveness

Within most news outlets, the tendency was that in a majority of the cases a gap was mentioned. Only in the "Salzburger Nachrichten" the balance was different, though only one story actually mentioned that the EU tries to reach out to its citizens. When we compare the amount of cases between the news outlets where such a distance or gap was mentioned, the "Kronen Zeitung" most often gave this impression to its readers. On the other hand, the same applies to the mentioning of responsiveness. Still we can say that the "Kronen Zeitung" conveyed the most negative evaluations concerning this issue and, within the news outlet itself, also the argument that there is a distance between the EU and the citizens dominated in comparison to its positive counterpart.

The final variable which presents us with enough cases to evaluate its eurosceptic potential in the different media outlets, is the assessment of how the EU in general was evaluated in the stories coded.

News outlets * Evaluation EU					
		negative/ rather negative	balanced/ mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Standard	Count	8	11	18	37
	% Evaluation EU	4.8%	37.9%	41.9%	15.4%
Presse	Count	11	8	13	32
	% Evaluation EU	6.5%	27.6%	30.2%	13.3%
Kronen Zeitung	Count	123	4	4	131
	% Evaluation EU	73.2%	13.8%	9.3%	54.6%
Salzburger Nachrichten	Count	7	1	1	9
	% Evaluation EU	4.2%	3.4%	2.3%	3.8%
Kleine Zeitung	Count	4	4	5	13
	% Evaluation EU	2.4%	13.8%	11.6%	5.4%
ORF ZIB	Count	7	0	2	9
	% Evaluation EU	4.2%	.0%	4.7%	3.8%
ATV News	Count	8	1	0	9
	% Evaluation EU	4.8%	3.4%	.0%	3.8%
Total	Count	168	29	43	240
	% Evaluation EU	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0 %

Table 56: News outlets * Evaluation EU

Standard * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	8	11	18	37
% Evaluation EU	21.6%	29.7%	48.6%	100%

Table 57: Der Standard * Evaluation EU

Presse * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	11	8	13	32
% Evaluation EU	34.4%	25.0%	40.6%	100%

Table 58: Presse * Evaluation EU

Kronen Zeitung * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	123	4	4	131
% Evaluation EU	93.9%	3.1%	3.1%	100%

Table 59: Kronen Zeitung * Evaluation EU

Salzburger Nachrichten * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	7	1	1	9
% Evaluation EU	77.8%	11.1%	11.1%	100%

Table 60: Salzburger Nachrichten * Evaluation EU

Kleine Zeitung * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	4	4	5	13
% Evaluation EU	30.8%	33.8%	38.5%	100%

Table 61: Kleine Zeitung * Evaluation EU

ORF ZIB * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	7	0	2	9
% Evaluation EU	77.8%	.0%	22.2%	100%

Table 62: ORF ZIB * Evaluation EU

ATV News * Evaluation EU				
	negative/ rather negative	balanced/mixed	positive/ rather positive	Total
Count	8	1	0	9
% Evaluation EU	88.9%	11.1%	.0%	100%

Table 63: ATV News * Evaluation EU

The preceding results are confirmed by the present cross-tabulation. The "Kronen Zeitung" contained 73,2% of all negative evaluations of the EU. Still, "The Kronen Zeitung" did not convey most positive evaluations to balance the impression given; only 3.1% of the stories in the "Kronen Zeitung" evaluating the EU in general gave some kind of positive impression. "Der Standard", followed by "Die Presse", gave the most positive impressions of the EU in general. All other news outlets mostly did not contain any evaluation of the EU in general and therefore cannot be categorised as conveying eurosceptic stances with regard to this aspect.

6.2.1 Additive indices and interpretation of results

The present empirical results of the analysis of Euroscepticism in the different media outlets do not give a full picture of different types of Euroscepticism according to my previously employed concept. It is still possible to give a summary of the general tendencies that can be discerned in the different media outlets. Both TV newscasts, as well as the "Kleine Zeitung" and the "Salzburger Nachrichten", generally did not contain a lot of

evaluations of the EU. "Der Standard" was usually most positively inclined towards the EU (except for the assessment of whether there was a distance or gap between the EU and its citizens, where the "Kronen Zeitung" contained the most positive statements), sometimes sharing this conviction with "Die Presse" or being followed closely by the latter. When evaluating the state of democracy in the EU, all news outlets tended to give a negative impression. The "Kronen Zeitung" mostly contained the highest percentage of all negative evaluations of the EU or aspects concerning the EU. Additionally, the "Kronen Zeitung" gave, in all cases, a significantly more negative impression of the EU and of aspects concerning the EU than a positive one. Therefore the "Kronen Zeitung" can be categorised as the most eurosceptic news outlet in Austria when the above-evaluated variables are taken into account. It is also perceivable from the empirical results that both TV newscasts did not contain a lot of evaluations concerning the EU. For the ORF news "ZiB" one could relate this with the fact that this is a state owned TV channel and both governing parties (SPÖ-ÖVP) currently have no specific eurosceptic profile. Also, governing parties in general tend to be rather euroenthusiastic than eurosceptic (Hix, 2007: 136 ff). Governing parties are usually inclined to defending decisions taken by the EU, as they themselves were involved in the decision-making process. That the same tendency can also be found in the news cast of the private ATV channel would suggest to relating the results to the characteristics of TV news reports in general, independently from the specific channel. A separate research would have to investigate the actual reasons for this low profile of euroscepticism (and of evaluations of the EU in general) in TV news outlets. One of the reasons could be the lower amount of content that can be embedded in TV newscasts.

It seems clear from this comparative analysis that, compared to other news outlets, the "Kronen Zeitung" held the strongest percentage of stories conveying eurosceptic stances. To give us additional information of the apparently most eurosceptic news outlet in the Austrian media, I will again rely on my additive index to see which dimensions of Euroscepticism dominated in the "Kronen Zeitung". With the additive index I will take into account both the balance between negative and positive evaluations and the salience of positive and negative evaluations. To be able to provide a comparative analysis, I will

compute an additive index for the news coverage of "The Kronen Zeitung" and subsequently for all other news outlets, this time excluding the stories of the "Kronen Zeitung". This way it will be possible to see whether the reporting in the "Kronen Zeitung" distinguishes itself in salience and balance from the rest of the Austrian news outlets. I will here again employ my concept, looking first for eurosceptic concerns and then at the process and entities the critique is directed at.

First we will have a look at the additive index of the eurosceptic concerns in all news outlets excluding the "Kronen Zeitung" and then conduct the same analysis for the "Kronen Zeitung".

All news outlets excluding Kronen Zeitung Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations				
Utilitarian Euroscepticism	(n) 28 – (p) 54	= (p) 26	/0.85	= (p) 30%
Democratic Euroscepticism	(n) 89 – (p) 31	= (n) 58	/0.85	= (n) 86%
Sovereignty-based Euroscepticism	(n) 19 – (p) 20	= (p) 1	/0.85	= (p) 1%
Ideological/Social Euroscepticism	0		/0.85	= 0%
		Σ=85		

Table 64: Additive index: All news outlets excl. Kronen Zeitung * Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations

Kronen Zeitung Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations				
	(n) 91 – (p) 8	= (n) 83	/2.18	= (n) 38%
Utilitarian Euroscepticism				
	(n) 140 – (p) 10	= (n) 130	/2.18	= (n) 60%
Democratic Euroscepticism				
	(n) 5 – (p) 1	= (n) 4	/2.18	= (n) 2%
Sovereignty-based Euroscepticism				
	(n) 1	= (n) 1	/2.18	= (n) 0%
Ideological/Social Euroscepticism				
		Σ=218		

Table 65: Additive index: Kronen Zeitung * Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations

We can see that when all news outlets are evaluated excluding the "Kronen Zeitung", the democratic dimension is the only one, which in balance and salience turns out to be eurosceptic. With utilitarian, sovereignty-based and ideological concerns the news outlets excluding the "Kronen Zeitung" seem to be euroenthusiastic to a stronger or weaker extent. All in all, we can see that in all news outlets excluding the "Kronen Zeitung", only democratic Euroscepticism is present in the sense that the negative statements exceeded the positive ones, and therefore represents also the strongest Eurosceptic dimension in this analysis.

In the "Kronen Zeitung" all evaluations turn out to be negatively biased. Democratic Euroscepticism seems to be the strongest concern. This fits to the analysis of all other news outlets where democratic Euroscepticism was strongest, as well as the only dimension where eurosceptic concerns dominated the coverage. In contrast, concerning the dimension of utilitarian Euroscepticism, were the other news outlets turned out to be euroenthusiast, the "Kronen Zeitung" conveyed the second strongest eurosceptic stance. In the "Kronen Zeitung" all dimensions prove to convey Euroscepticism to some degree. With sovereignty-based and ideological Euroscepticism this tendency is as slight as the positive tendency concerning these dimensions in the other news outlets. Thus, the latter two types of Euroscepticism appear to be represented similarly in the Austrian media landscape in general.

It becomes apparent that the tendency in the Austrian media landscape in general is so similar to the one of the "Kronen Zeitung" individually, because the "Kronen Zeitung" actually is responsible for most negative evaluations of the EU in the Austrian media. If we take the results of the additive index where the "Kronen Zeitung" is excluded, we can see that in the other news outlets the news coverage seems to be most often either balanced or even euroenthusiastic, as it is the case with the utilitarian evaluation of the EU. The bigger amount of negative evaluations directed at the democratic status of the EU and the lack of positive evaluations balancing this impression can nevertheless also be found in the rest of the Austrian news outlets. A possible reason for the high presence of democratic Euroscepticism in the media might be the time period in which the data was collected, as I already mentioned earlier. It seems logical that, prior to EP elections, topics connected to the state of democracy in the EU could be more strongly at the centre of media coverage.

Secondly, the additive index will be employed to see at which entities or processes of the EU the critique was dominantly directed. This analysis will be conducted, firstly, for Austrian news outlets, excluding the "Kronen Zeitung" and, secondly, for the "Kronen Zeitung" individually. This will enable me to draw conclusions on whether Euroscepticism in the "Kronen Zeitung" can be categorised as being "harder" or "softer" and how the results differentiate themselves from the rest of the news outlets.

All news outlets excluding Kronen Zeitung Hard and Soft Euroscepticism				
	(n) 45 – (p) 39	= (n) 6	/0.13	= (n) 46%
Evaluation EU in general				
	(n) 14 – (p) 19	= (p) 5	/0.13	= (p) 38%
Evaluation EU institutions (EP)				
	(n) 2 – (p) 4	= (p) 2	/0.13	= (p) 15%
Critiquing specific policy outcomes				
		Σ=13		

Table 66: Additive index: All news outlets excl. Kronen Zeitung * Hard and Soft Euroscepticism

Kronen Zeitung Hard and Soft Euroscepticism				
	(n) 123 – (p) 4	= (n) 119	/1.72	= (n) 69%
Evaluation EU in general				
	(n) 44 – (p) 1	= (n) 43	/1.72	= (n) 25%
Evaluation EU institutions (EP)				
	(n) 10 – (p) 0	= (n) 10	/1.72	= (n) 5.8%
Critiquing specific policy outcomes				
		Σ=172		

Table 67: Additive index: Kronen Zeitung * Hard and Soft Euroscepticism

We can again observe that news outlets other than the "Kronen Zeitung" even reported mostly in a rather euroenthusiastic sense. This again excludes one dimension which concerns the evaluation of the EU in general. In this dimension all other news outlets dominantly conveyed a negative impression too. We can nonetheless see that, with a balanced index of 6 negative evaluations concerning the EU in general, to 119 balanced evaluations in the "Kronen Zeitung", this was still little. When we take into account all four dimensions, it seems that news outlets other than the "Kronen Zeitung" usually did not contain a lot of evaluations of the EU, and if, in most cases they seemed to be rather balanced or slightly positive.

Within the news coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung", the evaluation of the EU in general was most negative too, followed by the evaluation of the EP. Also the critique directed at specific policies turned out to be more frequent or least balanced in the "Kronen Zeitung". In the other news outlets, these evaluations in balance and amount turned out to be slightly positive. Looking at the coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung", it is clear that both types of Euroscepticism that would indicate a harder kind of Euroscepticism dominate. It seems striking though, that also in the rest of the media outlets the EU in general was evaluated mainly negatively.

Eurosceptic reporting mostly came from the "Kronen Zeitung", concerning both, eurosceptic concerns and evaluations, as well as the critique which was directed at specific

entities and processes of the EU. The fact that in every dimension of Euroscepticism, the "Kronen Zeitung" reported most critically, could be easily linked to the support of the eurosceptic MP Hans-Peter Martin. A daily column was featured by the same in the "Kronen Zeitung". In his campaign Hans-Peter Martin focused on criticising the European Parliament and its members by accusing them of misappropriating EU moneys and working ineffectively. This might have strongly influenced the very negative impression conveyed by the "Kronen Zeitung" concerning the European Parliament and the state of democracy in the EU. When trying to assess the consequences of this type of coverage for the EU, on one side, critique directed at the state of democracy in the EU could be considered a positive thing. The call to improve democratic mechanisms should always be seen as a positive contribution to the debate of European Union politics. With this profile of strong democratic Euroscepticism, the "Kronen Zeitung" seems to fulfil one of the roles of the media, which is to act as a control mechanism. On the other side, the findings also show that the trust in the democratic state of the EU could be low within the readership of the "Kronen Zeitung". A majority of the Austrian citizens revert to newspapers for political information is given the impression that the democratic mechanism of the EU cannot be trusted. This can have serious implication for the legitimacy of the EU. Ultimately, the EU is the political entity which is responsible for most of the legislation implemented in its Member States. Also when analysing utilitarian Euroscepticism, the "Kronen Zeitung" proved to report much more critically on the advantages and disadvantages of the EU for Austria than other news outlets. The latter actually proved to be rather euroenthusiastic than eurosceptic in balance and in salience. With sovereignty-based and social Euroscepticism the differences between the news outlets were not as distinctive. In the "Kronen Zeitung" negative references dominated, while in other news outlets positive statements presented a majority of the evaluations. In both cases though, these tendencies were very weak, resulting in a rather similar picture of sovereignty-based and social Euroscepticism. Another explanation for the stronger amount of Eurosceptic contents in the "Kronen Zeitung", apart from being a yellow press news outlet, could be that in general yellow press papers tend to be read more by citizens from lower social classes. In previous studies it was found that citizens from lower social classes tend to be more eurosceptic

(Lubbers and Scheepers 2010 p.3) and Austrian citizens have tended to have particularly eurosceptic attitudes in comparison to the citizens of other European Union Member States. The "Kronen Zeitung" might thus be inclined to report in a eurosceptic way to support their readers opinion.

The impact of eurosceptic news coverage on the Austrian citizens is strongly influenced by the range of coverage different news outlets reach. Having analysed both TV newscasts, they did not contain a significant amount of eurosceptical news coverage and compared to the print media more people get their information from TV news cast than from the print media. But when drawing on print media as a means to getting informed, a majority of the Austrian population chooses to read the "Kronen Zeitung". The readership of other news outlets as "Der Standard" and "Die Presse" have been subjected to very little eurosceptical reporting, which additionally has often been balanced by positive reporting. To know that most eurosceptical news coverage came from the "Kronen Zeitung" also means that most readers of newspapers were exposed to this kind of coverage, which gives the results an additional significance.

7. Final Conclusion

The importance to do research on Euroscepticism results from the need to know more about the wishes and concerns of the European population. This has various reasons: For one thing, the presence or absence of support for the European Union has an impact on the legitimacy of the political system of the EU. If citizens do not identify themselves with the political system that legislates most of the policies affecting their daily lives, they will tend to question these decisions. Also the acceptance of the principle of majority rule, one of the key mechanisms in every democracy, can be in danger if the there is no support for the political system in question. Secondly, the future of European integration has proven not to be solely in the hands of European elites anymore. The European population increasingly has objected to the elite-driven decision making process and to the pace with which European integration has been proceeding. The crisis of the EU, provoked by the ratification process of the Constitutional Treaty and its rejection in two of the European Union's countries, has become a strong sign of these recent developments. To gain knowledge about the types of Euroscepticism that dominate in public discourse, it will be possible for political players to address these concerns and to take them into account when the future of the EU is planned.

Most of the times when research attempted to learn more about Euroscepticism, this was done through the Eurobarometer or similar voter questionnaires. In my case, I chose to focus on the analysis of the media. Nowadays, mass media constitutes one of the main means through which political processes are communicated to citizens. This results in the fact that mass media is one of the most influential factors in political communication. The results that I gained from analysing Euroscepticism in the Austrian media will not necessarily reflect citizens' opinions, but it will add another piece to the puzzle of Euroscepticism in Austria.

My initial incentive to conduct research on Euroscpeticism in the Austrian media was inspired by the coding of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" in the three weeks preceding the EPE

2009. This actually proved to be the first clue to my actual findings. Analysing the data collected, the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" proved to be by far the most eurosceptical news outlet. Both of my analyses on Euroscepticism supported these findings. First, the analysis of which eurosceptic concerns were presented in the media, and second, the analysis at which entities and processes the critique was directed at. The "Kronen Zeitung" proved to be responsible for a major part of the eurosceptic news coverage in the Austrian media. Having analysed both TV newscast, they did most often not convey any evaluations concerning the EU. "Der Standard" and "Die Presse" proved to report in a rather balanced way, most often the euroenthusiastic impressions even exceeding the eurosceptic ones slightly. Only democratic Euroscepticism dominated in all news outlets, still with the "Kronen Zeitung" holding the highest percentage of negative references towards democracy in the EU. The fact that in all news outlets democracy in the EU was evaluated negatively could be linked to the time frame in which the media study was conducted. The forthcoming EP Elections probably lead the media to focus on democracy and democratic mechanisms in the EU. An additional analysis with data collected in a different period of the EPs election cycle could provide the information on whether a correlational pattern exists between democratic Euroscepticism and EP elections being close. Still, these are worrying findings as the legitimacy of the political system of the EU is being questioned by this kind of news coverage. The readership of Austrian news outlets was given the impression that something is wrong with how democracy works in the European Union. Other findings, which turned out to be similar across the Austrian media landscape, were the ones related to sovereignty-based and social Euroscepticism. Both of these dimensions were practically not present in the Austrian media. In the discussion surrounding the accession of Austria to the EU, the critique was prominent that the loss of sovereignty would impede to uphold the neutrality status of the country. Also, many saw the intervention of the EU in domestic political affairs, explicitly, the sanctions against the coalition government of ÖVP and FPÖ, critically. I would therefore have expected sovereignty-based Euroscepticism to be higher in the Austrian media than other types of Euroscepticism. Social Euroscepticism showed to be low in the media too, but could only be analysed with one variable regarding the topic of health care. On the one hand, this

might be due to the lack of variables that were available in the data set to analyse this specific dimension. On the other hand, the findings might be explained by the fact that the integration of social policy areas has still not progressed a lot and thus this topic might not yet be a much discussed issue. Utilitarian-based Euroscepticism proved to be second highest in the analysis of Eurosceptic concerns and evaluations. These findings, however, have to be mainly ascribed to the news coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung", as the analysis of Euroscepticism in the different media outlets showed. In the other news outlets, the amount of negative references concerning the benefits and disadvantages of the EU proved to be much lower and in most news outlets negative evaluations were even dominated by a higher amount of positive references (except for the ORF ZiB1 news).

The second analysis was the analysis enquiring after which entities and processes of the EU the critique was mainly directed at. Critique was mainly directed at the EU in general, and one of its major institutions, the EP, rather than at specific policy outcomes. These findings indicate that so-called Hard Euroscepticism (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2002: 7) dominated in the media, but, again, was especially strong in the "Kronen Zeitung". The "Kronen Zeitung" reported in balance and salience more negatively on all of the four dimensions determining whether we can speak of Soft or Hard Euroscepticism. But clearly the critique directed at the EU in general and the EP dominated. For the other news outlets, the only dimension where the negative coverage exceeded the positive one in salience and balance, was the critique directed at the EU in general. Already with the evaluation of the EP, positive references were stronger. Still, the coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung" and in part of the other news outlets indicated that critique was mainly directed at the EU in general and not so much at more specific aspects of the EU. This could be due to the characteristics of mass media and especially of yellow press news outlets. Mass media tends to simplify and go for the most attention seeking stories; even more so yellow press papers, which usually exhibit a more populist profile. This factor might constitute an important reason for eurosceptic news coverage in the media and could explain why the tendency apparently is to go directly for the critique of the EU in general rather than for specific policy outcomes. As I stated earlier in my chapter on why the media matters: Is it not easier for the media to

claim that the whole membership in the EU is at odds with national interest than to exactly depict which policy areas have been developing in favour of national interest and which have not? Some questions arise here as to what influences reporting of mass media. Interesting focuses of research could be to investigate whether the reporting of the media mirrors public opinion or whether the impressions conveyed by mass media are related to the special characteristics of modern journalism, as the necessity to produce attention-seeking articles.

In relation to the range of coverage of the news outlets, the coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung" has to be given special importance, as it is by far the most read newspaper in Austria. Most of the population, relying on newspapers to obtain information (Carmines and Huckfeldt, 1996: 241), is exposed to the coverage of the "Kronen Zeitung". The fact that specifically this news outlet proved to be the most eurosceptic one, might not come as a surprise to persons acquainted with the European Parliament election campaign in Austria of 2009. The support of the "Kronen Zeitung" for the eurosceptic candidate Hans-Peter Martin was not a subtle one. One of the questions which could not be assessed in this analysis, is to what extent the eurosceptic reporting of the "Kronen Zeitung" can be linked to the campaigning of Hans-Peter Martin or to the profile of the "Kronen Zeitung" as a yellow press news outlet.

The quantitative data used in this analysis made it possible to take a broad range of news outlets and stories into account and to be able to offer a comprehensive and encompassing view of the whole media landscape in Austria. In future research on Euroscepticism in the media one could go more into detail by employing qualitative analysis. This could bring further information on the table concerning the contexts in which eurosceptical attitudes were mentioned. As soon as the complete PIREDEU media data set will be available, it will be possible to conduct comparative research on Euroscepticism in news outlets across the whole of Europe.

Data can be interpreted in a lot of different ways and findings will always vary according to the concept one is using. Every critique on the concept and definition employed in this thesis is welcome and has the potential to add something to the research field of Euroscepticism. The analysis of Euroscepticism in the media still needs a lot of research. A first step is to conduct research on the concerns which drive Euroscepticism in the media and at what entities and processes of the EU the critique is directed at, which has been done in the present study for the case of Austria. A next step of analysis would be to conduct research on the contextual factors which influence mass media to find out the reason why some news outlets convey more eurosceptic stances than others and why some types of Euroscepticism are featured more strongly than others.

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Abstract (English)

Much has been discussed in the literature and in public about Euroscepticism. Often without the existence of a clear notion of what Euroscepticism actually is and which characteristics define the phenomenon. The present thesis, for one thing, is concerned with choosing an adequate definition of the term, as well as with developing a comprehensive concept of Euroscepticism. Previous research has shown that there is no such thing as 'one kind' of Euroscepticism. Critique concerning the EU might be directed at different aspects of the European Union. Also, different concerns and evaluations might lead to critiquing the EU. It is crucial to distinguish between the various types of Euroscepticism when research in the field of Euroscepticism is conducted. Without this, it will not be possible to learn what drives eurosceptic stances in the different Member States of the EU.

Up until now, citizens' opinions and the stances of political parties have been in the focus of research on Euroscepticism. Little is known by now on the attitudes mass media conveys concerning the EU. Mass media is the mean through which citizens register political events and with which they build their opinions concerning politics. It has been pointed out in literature that with the news coverage on the EU, the influence on public opinion is even bigger than in national contexts. This is due to the fact that knowledge on the decision-making processes and politics of the EU is lower than on national issues. To match an increase in research interest in mass media, a European-wide media study has been conducted in the three weeks preceding the European Parliament Elections (EPE) 2009 within PIREDEU (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union). The data collected in this study for Austria constitutes the basis for the empirical analysis of the present thesis.

The present thesis tries to give an insight on which critical voices were most frequent in the Austrian media concerning the EU. Which entities and processes were in the focus of critique in the Austrian media and which concerns and evaluations were the most dominant? In the first part of the analysis, results show that in contrast to utilitarian,

sovereignty-based and ideological Euroscepticism, the most frequent type of Euroscepticism in the Austrian media was democratic Euroscepticism. These results have to be seen though with the time frame in mind within which the data was collected. During this time the democratic state of the EU as well as the EP have been much in the focus of reporting. Still, when democracy in the EU and related topics were discussed, the media conveyed a mostly negative picture.

To assess whether Euroscepticism in the Austrian media can be described as being more of a harder or softer kind of Euroscepticism, I investigated whether critique was directed more at the EU in general or if 'only' specific policies were criticised. The empirical analysis indicates that the news coverage in the Austrian media mostly conveyed attitudes that can be categorised as Hard Euroscepticism. The main target of critique was the EU in general, in contrast, specific policies were only criticised very seldom. The latter findings might reflect specific characteristics of mass media reporting. Mass media tends to go for the most attention calling articles and to simplify complex processes. These characteristics of mass media reporting can often be found even more distinctively in yellow press news outlets. This assumption could be supported by the findings of this thesis. By far, most eurosceptic news coverage came from the only yellow press newspaper in Austria, the Kronen Zeitung.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Sowohl in der Öffentlichkeit als auch in der Literatur wurde viel über Euroskeptizismus gesprochen, jedoch hat man sich nie auf eine klare Definition des Terminus einigen können. Daher ist es Gegenstand dieser Diplomarbeit eine klare Definition von Euroskeptizismus herauszuarbeiten, sowie ein umfassendes Konzept von Euroskeptizismus zu entwickeln. Vorhergehende Studien zu diesem Phänomen haben gezeigt, dass es nicht nur eine Art von Euroskeptizismus gibt. Einerseits können verschiedene Aspekte der EU im Zentrum der Kritik stehen, andererseits können unterschiedliche Erwägungen und Bedenken dazu führen, dass euroskeptische Positionen angenommen werden. Um herauszufinden, warum in verschiedenen Ländern der EU euroskeptische Haltungen aufkommen, muss unabdingbar zwischen den verschiedenen Arten von Euroskeptizismus unterschieden werden.

Bis vor kurzem wurde Forschung zu Euroskeptizismus vornehmlich in den Bereichen der Parteien- und Meinungsforschung betrieben. Es ist noch wenig über die Art und Weise bekannt, wie Medien über die EU berichten. Für die Bevölkerung der EU sind Massenmedien die Hauptquelle um Informationen über das politische Geschehen zu erhalten und stellen damit das Medium dar, das maßgeblich für die Meinungsbildung bezüglich politischer Themen verantwortlich ist. Weiters wurde in einschlägiger Literatur darauf hingewiesen, dass bei EU-spezifischen Themen die Medien einen besonders großen Einfluss haben. Grund dafür ist, dass das Wissen der EU-Bürger über politische Geschehnisse auf EU-Ebene meist geringer ist als über politische Geschehnisse auf nationaler Ebene, weshalb die Medien bei Berichten über die EU mehr Einfluss auf den Meinungsbildungsprozess haben. Um dem gesteigerten Interesse an Massenmedien als Forschungsfeld gerecht zu werden, wurde in den drei Wochen vor den Europaparlamentswahlen (EPE) 2009 von PIREDEU (Providing an Infrastructure for Research on Electoral Democracy in the European Union) eine europaweite Medienstudie durchgeführt. Die daraus gewonnenen Daten dienen dieser Diplomarbeit als Grundlage für die empirische Analyse von Euroskeptizismus in den österreichischen Medien.

Im empirischen Teil der vorliegenden Diplomarbeit wird die Frage behandelt, welche Art von Kritik an der EU in den österreichischen Medien am häufigsten geäußert wurde. Dabei untersuche ich, welche Objekte und Prozesse der EU am häufigsten kritisiert wurden und welche Abwägungen dabei im Vordergrund standen. Der erste Teil der empirischen Analyse zeigt, dass im Gegensatz zum utilitaristischen, souveränitäts-bezogenen und ideologischen Euroskeptizismus, der demokratische Euroskeptizismus am dominantesten in den österreichischen Medien vertreten war. Allerdings muss bedacht werden, dass die analysierten Daten aus den drei Wochen vor den EPE 2009 stammen. Der demokratische Zustand der EU sowie das Europaparlament standen zu dieser Zeit besonders im Zentrum des öffentlichen Interesses. Nichtsdestotrotz war das Bild, das in den Medien über den Zustand der Demokratie vermittelt wurde, größtenteils negativ.

Um festzustellen, ob Euroskeptizismus in den österreichischen Medien als eher „härter" oder „weicher" einzustufen ist, habe ich mich mit der Frage befasst, ob Kritik häufiger gegen die EU generell oder „nur" gegen spezifische Richtlinien der EU gerichtet war. Die Ergebnisse der Analyse zeigen, dass man in den österreichischen Medien eher von "Hard Euroscepticism" als von "Soft Euroscepticism" sprechen kann, da die EU im generellen öfter kritisiert wurde als spezifische Richtlinien. Spezifische Charakteristika der Massenmedien mögen ebenfalls dazu beitragen, dass die österreichische Medienlandschaft ein solches Profil aufweist. Moderne Massenmedien tendieren dazu Berichte zu publizieren, die leicht Aufmerksamkeit erregen, sowie komplexe politische Zusammenhänge simplifiziert darzustellen. Oftmals sind diese Eigenschaften noch stärker in der Boulevardpresse gegeben, welches die Ergebnisse dieser Diplomarbeit bestätigen. Die einzige Tageszeitung Österreichs, die als Boulevardblatt angesehen wird, die „Kronen Zeitung", wies auch den mit Abstand höchsten Anteil an EU-kritischen und euroskeptischen Berichten auf.

Curriculum Vitae

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Werdegang

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Weitere akademische Aktivitäten:

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Sprachkenntnisse:

Deutsch	Muttersprache
Spanisch	Verhandlungssicher
Englisch	Verhandlungssicher
Luxemburgisch	Verhandlungssicher
Französisch	Fließend