



**EURYKA:**

**Reinventing Democracy in Europe: Youth Doing Politics  
in Times of Increasing Inequalities**

**Integrated Report**

**WP2: Political Claims Analysis**

**Work Package Leading Institution: University of Crete**

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## Table of Contents

<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Chapter 1: The Method: Political Claims Analysis.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<i>The Sources .....</i>	11
<i>Article Selection and Coding.....</i>	12
<b>Chapter 2. Actors making Claims on Youth: a cross-national comparison.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<i>Introduction .....</i>	15
<i>The Actors: Who makes the claim? .....</i>	17
<i>The Issue: What was the claim about? .....</i>	20
<i>The Addressees: To whom was the claim directed? .....</i>	22
<i>The Forms: How was the claim made? .....</i>	26
<i>The Object: Who was affected by the claim? .....</i>	27
<i>The Position towards the rights and the interests of the Object.....</i>	28
<i>The Inequality Frames: How was the claim defined and interpreted? .....</i>	29
<i>Diagnostic Inequality Frames .....</i>	30
<i>Prognostic Inequality Frames .....</i>	31
<b>Chapter 3. Youth Actors making Claims in the public sphere: a cross-national comparison .....</b>	<b>32</b>
<i>Introduction .....</i>	32
<i>Youth Actors: Who makes the claims? .....</i>	34
<i>The Issue: What was the claim about? .....</i>	36
<i>The Addressees: At whom was the claim directed?.....</i>	38
<i>The Forms: How was the claim made? .....</i>	39
<i>The Object: Who was affected by the claim? .....</i>	40
<i>The Position towards the rights and interests of the Object.....</i>	42
<i>The Inequality Frames: How was the claim defined and interpreted? .....</i>	43
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Annex.....</b>	<b>50</b>

## List of Figures

<i>Figure 2.1 Timeline of all claims</i>	15
<i>Figure 2.2 Timelines of claims by country</i>	16
<i>Figure 2.3 Actors by type and country</i>	18
<i>Figure 2.4 Scope of actors by type</i>	19
<i>Figure 2.5 Scope of actors by country</i>	19
<i>Figure 2.6 Type of actors by type of issues</i>	20
<i>Figure 2.7 Issues of claims by country</i>	21
<i>Figure 2.8 Scope of issues by issue type</i>	22
<i>Figure 2.9 Addressees of actors by country</i>	23
<i>Figure 2.10 Forms of claim by country</i>	26
<i>Figure 2.11 Object of claim by actor type</i>	27
<i>Figure 2.12 Object of claim by country</i>	28
<i>Figure 2.13 Position of actors towards the object, by country</i>	29
<i>Figure 2.14 Inequality frames of actors by country (claims with inequality frame only)</i>	30
<i>Figure 2.15 Diagnostic inequality frames of actors by country (claims with inequality frame only)</i>	31
<i>Figure 2.16 Prognostic inequality frames of actors by country (claims with inequality frame only)</i>	31
<i>Figure 3.1 Timelines of claims, non-youth and youth actors</i>	32
<i>Figure 3.2 Timelines of claims by country, for non-youth and youth actors</i>	33
<i>Figure 3.3 Youth actors by actor type and country</i>	34
<i>Figure 3.4 Scope of youth actors by actor type</i>	35
<i>Figure 3.5 Scope of youth actors by country</i>	35
<i>Figure 3.6 Issues in youth actor claims</i>	36
<i>Figure 3.7 Issues of youth actor claims by country</i>	37
<i>Figure 3.8 Scope of youth actors by type of issue</i>	37
<i>Figure 3.9 Addressees of youth actors by country</i>	38
<i>Figure 3.10 Evaluation of addressees in the claims of youth actors</i>	39
<i>Figure 3.11 Forms of youth actors by country</i>	40
<i>Figure 3.12 Position towards the object by country</i>	42
<i>Figure 3.13 Position towards the object by object type and by country</i>	43
<i>Figure 3.14 Inequality frames of youth actors by country</i>	44

## List of Tables

<i>Table 1.1 Newspaper selection by Country</i>	11
<i>Table 2.1 Blamed addressees of actors by country, %, (number of cases)</i>	24
<i>Table 2.2 Overall evaluation of addressees</i>	255
<i>Table 2.3 Request addressees of actors by country, %, (number of cases)</i>	255
<i>Table 3.1 Objects of youth actors by type of group</i>	41
<i>Table 3.2 Objects of youth actors by country</i>	41

*Annex Tables*

<i>Table I France</i>	<i>50</i>
<i>Table II Germany</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Table III Greece</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>Table IV Italy</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Table V Spain</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>Table VI Poland</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>Table VII Sweden</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>Table VIII Switzerland</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Table IX UK</i>	<i>60</i>

## Executive Summary

This report offers a crossnational overview of findings produced by political claims analysis on youth-related claims in France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK for the 2010-16 period, using five newspaper from each country.

Our data show that although youth-related claims by all actors in the public sphere are more widely prevalent in 2013 and 2016, claims raised by youth actors are higher in 2012, 2013 and 2015. Furthermore, when it comes to youth-related claims by all actors in the public sphere, state actors are more prevalent in all countries except France, where youth actors prevail (35.3%) and Germany, where state actors raise almost as many claims as youth actors. Focusing on those claims raised only by youth actors, the data reveal the dominance of political youth groups (highest in Sweden) and university students/young adults, except for the UK.

When looking at the spatial profile of the claimants, the importance of the subnational level is evident since education-related actors, youth actors and youth-related civil society organisations are more active at the local or regional level compared to other actors who have a national scope. Countries with decentralised or federal governance structures, i.e. Switzerland, Italy, Germany and Spain, are those countries in which most actors have subnational scope. Only rarely (3%) in the national press are claims raised by actors who are active at the supranational level.

Regarding which issues are addressed by all actors, these relate mostly to education, welfare, social benefits and socioeconomic issues, as well as employment. When it comes to all actors, French and Swedish claimants are primarily interested in employment and socio-economic issues, while German ones are overwhelmingly interested in education. Compared to claimants in the other countries, Swiss and British claimants score higher in social-welfare related issues, Greek and Polish actors show highest scores in political issues, whereas Italy scores particularly high in law and order issues.

However, turning to youth actors specifically, although they also focus primarily on education, for them political issues come second in frequency and they are raised by political youth groups. Reflecting austerity and inequality concerns, youth claimants in Greece score particularly highly in political issues while those in Spain and Italy show the highest score in education-related issues. Spanish youth also score highest in socio-economic and employment issues.

The findings on addressees of all claims reveal the prevalence of state actors in France, Greece, Spain and the UK. Youth actors are also addressees of claims, especially in Greece Italy and Switzerland. Request addressees make up almost half (45%) of the addressees and are more frequently met in the UK and Switzerland. Blamed addressees appear in about one third (34%) of all claims, with France showing the highest share of blaming addresses, while Sweden the lowest. It is

noteworthy that political parties are the highest blamed addressee, followed by state actors.

When it comes to the form of youth-related claims by all actors, these are mostly verbal statements (60 to 80% national averages). Switzerland leads in conventional political actions, France and Italy score highest in contentious actions and Germany is first in solidarity actions. This pattern changes when looking at claims by youth actors, with verbal statements being of lower frequency while much higher frequencies are noted in protest actions. Together with the higher rates of political participation issues raised by youth actors, these findings document that young Europeans are indeed more politically alert and active compared to the average claimant across the nine national public spheres.

As regards the object of claims, the findings show that when it comes to all claimants, the main objects are teenagers and school students (highest in Germany and lowest in Spain and France). However, for youth claimants, university students and young adults are the main objects of their claims. Group-specific youth are more frequently the object of the claims raised by civil society organizations (especially in Sweden), whereas disadvantaged or marginalized youth are the objects of 'other actors' and youth-related civil society organisations (particularly in the UK).

Most claims by all actors portray a positive evaluation towards the object, with France, Germany and Greece showing highest pro-object claims, but Sweden and the UK showing highest anti-object claims. Reflecting the experiences of the economic crisis but also the migration crisis, the majority of claims by youth actors also reveal a pro-object position, with variations across-national contexts, i.e. highest scores in Spain (82%), but lowest in Germany (42.3%). Furthermore, it is only in Sweden and Germany that more claims raised by young actors concern non-youth actors.

Inequality frames appear in about one quarter of all claims made in the public sphere - with Switzerland and France recording the highest frequencies, while diagnostic and prognostic frames are of lower frequency. Reflecting the North-South divide, especially in the past decade, South European countries (i.e. Italy, Spain and Greece) come first in socio-economic and political inequality frames, whereas North European countries (i.e. the UK, Sweden and Poland) lead in discriminatory inequality frames.

## Introduction

This integrated report summarizes the findings of WP2, which focuses on the representation of young people and youth-related issues in the media across nine countries: France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK. Centering on meso-level factors related to youth social and political engagement, we examined the claims of collective actors, the presence of organized youth in the public domain and claims on new democratic models and social and political change.

Our aim was to study the positions of collective actors regarding issues relating to youth, austerity and inequalities; how such actors frame these issues; as well as the origins of (diagnostic) and potential solutions to (prognostic) youth-related problems, such as social and political exclusion. We also aimed to evaluate how policy-makers perceive and frame issues of democracy and political representation relating to the youth in a context of austerity and crisis, so as to ultimately appraise the consistency between actual policies responses and policy rhetoric. Moreover, we looked at the extent to which young people from diverse backgrounds and national polities position themselves in each national public sphere, how they raise issues in the media and what forms of political participation they choose.

The absence of research on youth representation in the mainstream media and their presence as collective actors in the public sphere led us to deal with questions of youth agency and the politics on youth issues through the lens of political claim analysis. Our research is thus descriptive and exploratory; it aims to contribute to the understanding of the ways in which young people are doing politics through their engagement in dialogue and contestation in the public sphere.

Recent studies discuss youth disengagement from mainstream politics, since this is reflected in the decreasing participation of young people in elections (Cammaerts et al. 2015). At the same time, youth participation in contentious politics is evidenced by their leading role in the Indignados and Occupy movements and their aspiration for social and political change (Banaji and Buckingham, 2013). Thus, despite abstaining from institutional politics, young people are politically active in the broader sense (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007). This is manifest in their participation in contemporary social movements (Flesher Fominaya, 2012) as evidenced by their protest mobilization in the context of the economic crisis and austerity (Lima and Artiles, 2013), their adoption of digital innovative media in the service of political activism (Kahne and Middaugh, 2012), but also by the promotion of a transformative ‘anti-politics’ agenda (Farthing, 2010).

We hypothesize that what youth say in the media is a means to communicate their affirmation of or discontent with existing policies, national governments, and the EU and thus to express themselves politically. Young people’s political claims are their vehicles to bring about political change and to tackle inequalities, but at the same time they can serve as indicators of unequal access of young groups to the public sphere. Our research design was also based on the acknowledgment that policy-makers’ rhetoric, their responses to youth demands as well as their



unresponsiveness are shaping the political life and affecting the prospects of the youth's social and political participation.

The first chapter presents the method, sources and sampling approach. Chapter 2 centers on all *Actors making Claims on Youth* through a cross-national perspective, while Chapter 3 focuses exclusively on *Youth Actors making Claims* in the public sphere in a cross-national comparative view. Finally, the conclusion offers an overview of the findings and discusses their implications for future research.

## Chapter 1: The Method: Political Claims Analysis

This WP investigates how young people raise claims in the media against inequalities and social and political exclusion in a context of austerity, how young people's ways of doing politics are dealt with in the media as well as to what extent organized youth and contestation are visible in the public domain.

Applying the method of political claims analysis (Koopmans and Statham, 1999), we systematically studied the actors intervening in public debates, the issues they address, their policy positions and the frames they advance. Political Claims Analysis (PCA) is an 'offspring' of protest event analysis, as it extends the contentious claims repertoire to include all political claims made by the multiplicity of actors addressing a specific policy/political topic in the public sphere, where social issues are defined; it captures the relational aspect of political contention better than traditional protest event analysis (Hutter 2014).

PCA has been increasingly adopted to study social movements and other actors in the public domain, through the use of newspapers. The method goes beyond more traditional protest event analysis by: taking into account other actors than social movement ones, (including state actors); looking both at protest forms and more conventional forms such as verbal statements; and including policy decisions; examining in more detail the content of what is claimed by the actor, in terms of a subject-action-addressee-action-object sequence: an actor, the subject, undertakes some sort of action in the public sphere to get another actor, the addressee, to do something regarding a third actor, the object (Kousis, Giugni, Lahusen, 2018).

Our national random samples of about 500 claims in each country enabled us to focus not only on atypical events (usually most visible in the media), but also to include the everyday debate about youth and related issues. At the same time, our period of study, 2010-16, allowed us to assess diachronic changes in terms of public reactions to these issues.

Under the coordination of the leading team, an integrated methodological approach has been adopted in all participating countries with respect to the criteria of newspaper selection, the sampling process, the codebook as the instrument of data collection and finally the analysis of the codified data, in which the single claim has been the unit of analysis<sup>1</sup>. Media particularities in the countries under investigation, with respect to the traits of press media (e.g. geographical level of coverage, balance in ideological orientations and reporting style) have been taken into consideration. All coders have been trained in order to establish a common coding practice based on a coders' training workshop and subsequent sessions, as well as successive

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<sup>1</sup> We gratefully acknowledge the collaborative spirit, the hard work and the diligence of all coders in the production of this data set: Valentina Holecz, Anik Fischbach, Katherine Smith, Ewan Munro, Stefania Voli, Anna Lavizzari, Ludvig Stendahl, Maximilian Wollek, Max Walter, Pamela Torres, Chara Kokkinou, Piotr Michalski, Mariusz Piotrowski, Bogna Kietlińska, Marcin Sińczuch, Núria Ferran Ferrer, Ludovic Terren, Patricia Castellanos, and Nikos Kapelonis of the leading team for all his support with the online coding tool.

pretesting exercises and continuous communication between the coders and the leading team throughout the coding period.

### *The Sources*

The sources used in WP2 are daily newspapers (and when necessary, tabloids), of as high circulation as possible and of different political orientations, during the period of interest, with continuous coverage of the whole study period – i.e. from 1 January 2010 to 31 December 2016. Five newspapers/tabloids were selected per country, aiming at a representative and unbiased sample.

If newspapers were not available in LexisNexis, the national teams investigated and took into account in their selection the operation of newspapers' electronic archives and issues of availability, accessibility and article retrieval.

The five newspapers/tabloids selected for each country are depicted in Table 1.1 below.

Table1.1 Newspaper selection by Country

<b>France</b>	<b>Germany</b>	<b>Greece</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>Poland</b>
L'Humanité	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Kathimerini	Il Corriere della Sera	Gazeta Wyborcza
Le Figaro	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Ta Nea	La Repubblica	Super Express
Libération	Die Welt	Rizospastis	La Stampa	Rzeczpospolita
Le Monde	die tageszeitung	Proto Thema	Il Giornale	Dziennik Gazeta Prawna
Le Parisien	Bild	Makedonia	La Nazione	Gazeta Polska Codziennie
<b>Spain</b>	<b>Sweden</b>	<b>Switzerland</b>	<b>UK</b>	
ABC	Aftonbladet	La Regione	The Daily Mail	
El Mundo	Dagens Nyheter	Neue Zürcher Zeitung	The Daily Mirror	

La Vanguardia	Göteborgs Posten	Tages Anzeiger	The Guardian	
El Periodico de Catalunya	Västerbottens-Kuriren	Le Temps	The Sun	
El Pais	Sydsvenskan	Le Matin	The Times	

### *Article Selection and Coding*

The articles were sampled from all sections of the selected newspapers, excluding the editorials and sports sections, through key words searches. All articles containing any word derivative of the words <young> or <student> or <teenage> were selected in the home language. This means that the linguistic roots of these three key words were used, thus including all grammatical variants (singular/plural, feminine/masculine, etc.), suggesting for example that the words youth, students, teenager and teenagers are also included as key words for the English sample. In addition, as raised by some teams in their pretest feedback, there was a need in some languages to use an extra word which is linguistically equivalent with any of the three keywords – e.g. two different words for ‘students’ in Greek and Polish, two different words used for ‘young people’ in Italian. In such cases, national teams added these relevant extra words to their key word search.

#### Teams using four keywords (or their roots)

IT: <giovani> or <adolescent> or <student> or <ragazzi>

DE: <jugendlich> or <jung> or <student> or <schüler>

GR: <νέο> or <φοιτητ> or <μαθητ> or <εφηβ>

PL: <młodzież>, or <uczeń/uczni/uczennic>, or <student>, or <nastolatek>

SP: <joven> or <estudiante> or <adolescente> or <millennial>

UK: <young> or <student> or <teenage> or <youth>

#### Teams using three keywords (or their roots)

FR: <jeune> or <adolescen> or <étudiant>

SE: <ung> or <student> or <tonåring>

#### Team using three and four keywords (or their roots)

CH German: <jugendlich> or <jung> or <student> or <schüler>

Italian: <giovan> or <adolescent> or <student>

French: <jeune> or <adolescen> or <étudiant>

Claims were located following random sampling and cleaning of 500 claims selected from the five newspapers/tabloids in each country and covering the period from 2010 to 2016. Quotas are only calculated for sources: 100 claims per newspaper.

The unit of analysis is the single political claim. A political claim is a strategic intervention, either verbal or non-verbal, in public space made by a given actor on behalf of a group or collectivity and which bears on the interests or rights of other groups or collectivities. In other words, a claim is the expression of a political opinion by verbal or physical action in the public space, addressed to a specific actor (e.g. the government), or to the public in general.

Claims can take the following main *forms*: political decisions (law, governmental guideline, implementation measure, etc.); verbal statements (public speech, press conference, parliamentary intervention, etc.); protest actions (demonstration, occupation, violent action, etc.); and non-protest, civic engagement/empowerment actions (education and counseling actions or programmes/projects, solidarity economy actions/initiatives, etc.).

All claims taking one of these forms were coded, provided that they explicitly refer to youth-related claims and claims about young people (11-years of age or older) and their ways of doing politics (including civil society participation). In addition, claims are by definition politically and strategically oriented, i.e. they relate to collective problems and imply a political evaluation.<sup>2</sup>

A claim is considered to be political if it relates to any policy-making field or politics and if it has a relevance to public interest. Commercial advertisement is usually not a political claim unless there is explicit evidence that its realization bears on the interests of young people (or any related subcategory).

To be included, a claim must be made in one of the nine countries of coding. Claims however are also included if: (a) they are made by, or addressed at a supranational actor of which the country of coding is a member (e.g., the UN, the EU), on the condition that the claim is substantively relevant for the country of coding; (b) they are made by claimants of the country of coding in another country on the condition that the claim is substantively relevant for the country of coding (e.g. claims on transnational issues directly involving country of coding; e.g. German youth participating in *Blockupy* or *Alter Summit* with claims involving Germany).

All national teams carried out the work on source identification, data collection, codebook construction, sampling, pretesting and coding under a common set of guidelines provided by the leading team. These included two coders' training online-sessions, a two-day coders' training workshop with the participation of all teams that provided significant training on the coding process and responses to coders' questions and comments on coding inquiries, in addition to further clarifications on the coding instructions and the Codebook's variables. Furthermore, pretests but also a pre-reliability test were carried out before coding began. Based on their results, the Codebook was improved, related instructions were sent to the coders and targeted coaching was carried out with teams of coders. A reliability test was carried out in November 2017, successfully, with highly satisfactory or

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<sup>2</sup> For more details, see D2.1, the Codebook at, [https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/euryka/files/9315/2363/9891/Codebook\\_for\\_the\\_Political\\_Claims\\_Analysis.pdf](https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/euryka/files/9315/2363/9891/Codebook_for_the_Political_Claims_Analysis.pdf)

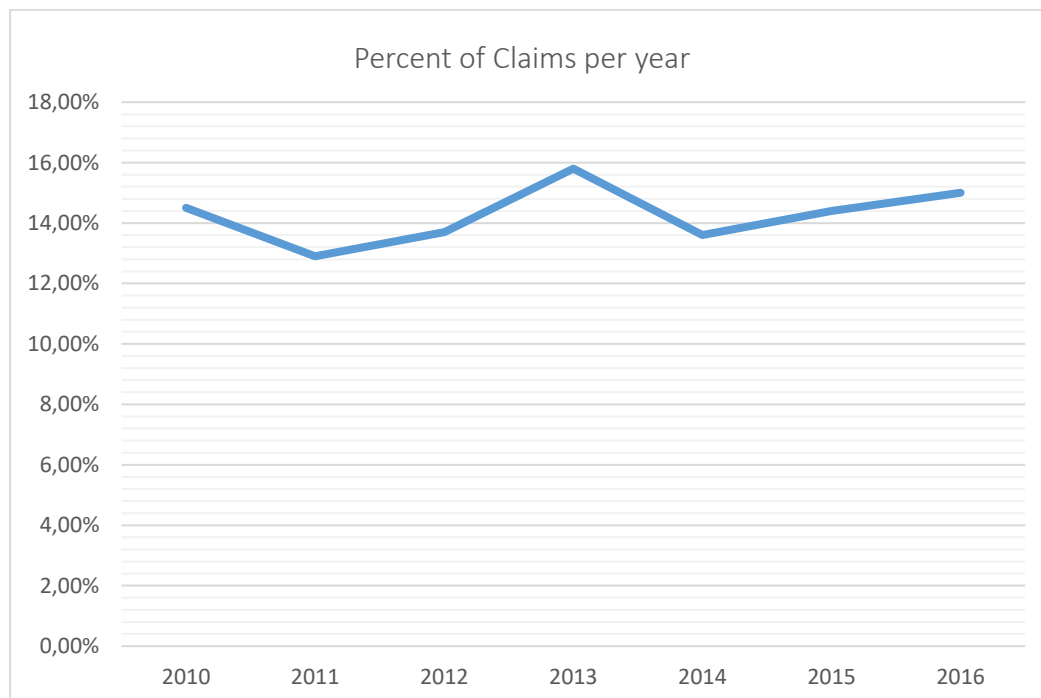
satisfactory results. Subsequently, the Codebook as well as the online coding tool were finalized and coding began.

## Chapter 2. Actors making Claims on Youth: a cross-national comparison

### *Introduction*

Looking at the overall distribution of the 4,525 claims coded throughout the period 2010-2016 in all nine countries, we can notice that youth issues are more widely discussed in the years 2013 and 2016, while the opposite holds for the years 2011 and 2014.<sup>3</sup>

Figure 2.1 Timeline of all claims

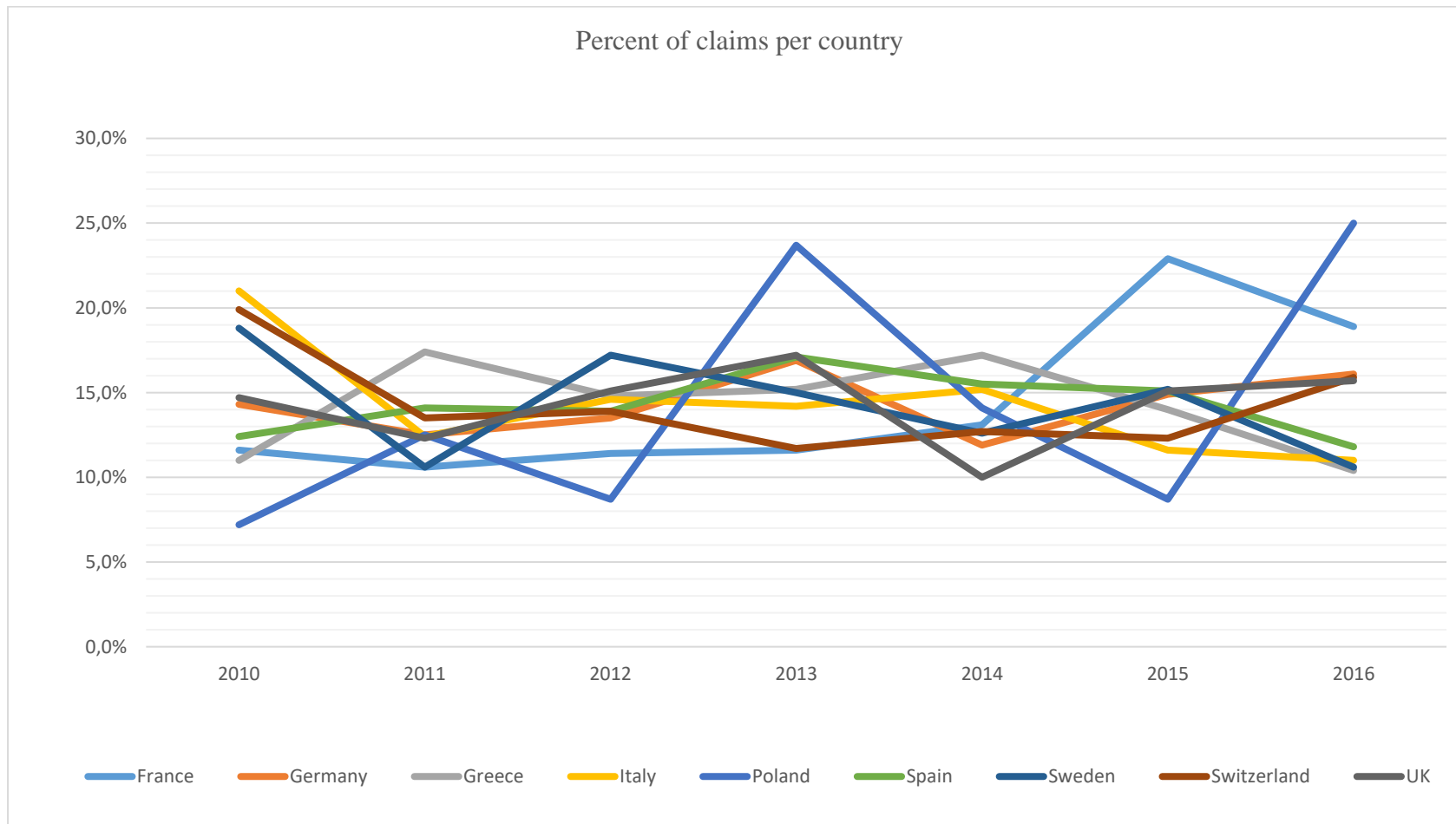


This pattern is largely due to the sharply unbalanced distribution of the Polish sample, and to a lesser extent of the French sample, while the other countries present a smoother distribution of claims throughout the period under study, with a share of about 11-18% of claims per year. A more detailed examination of the period covered shows that press media coverage on youth claims was significantly above the average in Sweden, Switzerland and Italy in 2010, in Greece in 2011, in Sweden in 2012, in Poland in 2013, in Greece in 2014, in France in 2015 and in Poland in 2016.

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<sup>3</sup> The aggregate sample of 4,525 coded claims consists of approximately 500 randomly selected claims coded per country (100 for each of the five newspapers).

Figure 2.2 Timelines of claims by country





### *The Actors: Who makes the claim?*

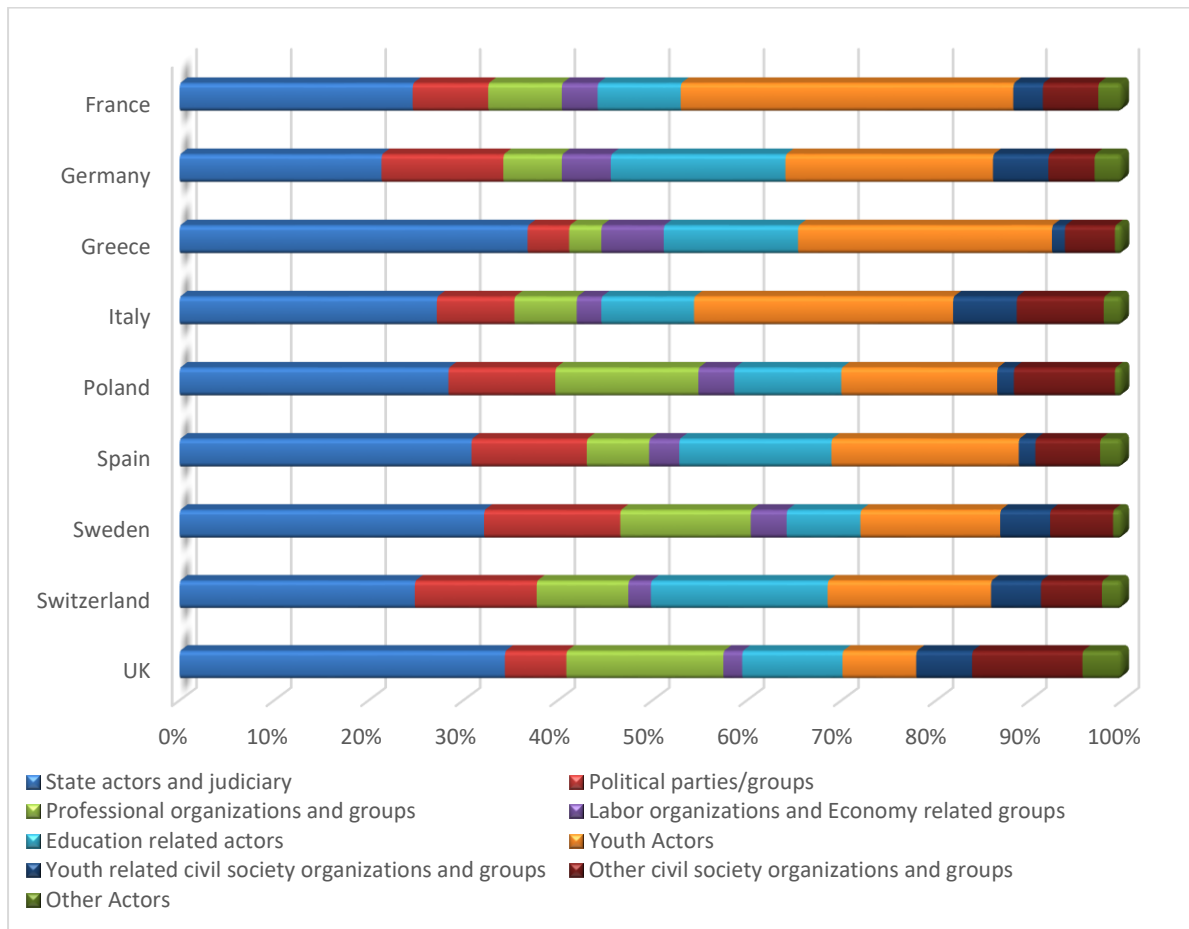
The actor of a claim, as the agent who makes a political statement in the public sphere, plays a central role in political claim analysis. Aiming to understand how youth issues are debated and negotiated in the mass media, this chapter looks at youth-related claims by both youth and non-youth actors. The claimants include formal organizations and institutions, as well as unorganized collectivities and groups.

Our analysis<sup>4</sup> demonstrates that state actors, such as government, parliament and judiciary, appear most frequently as claimants of youth-related issues in most countries, with a mean score of 29%, occupying between about 25% (Switzerland) and 37% (Greece) of the total number of claims. Youth actors follow at the aggregate level with 20.9% and with a much higher cross-national variance, ranging between 35.3% in France, where youth actors gain the highest visibility and 7.8% in the UK, where young people are underrepresented as claimants in the press. Youth agency, as reflected in the salience of youth actors in the public sphere, is apparently highest in France, Greece, Germany and Italy where they score above the cross-national average of 20.9%, whereas Spain follows with 19.9%. Education-related actors attract on average 12.9%, with Switzerland and Germany reaching almost 19%, while France, Italy and Sweden recording less than 10%. Political parties and professional organisations represent 10.1% and 9.5% of the total number of claims respectively, with the former being more salient in Sweden and the latter in Poland and in the UK. Civil society organisations score on average 7.7%, ranging from 5% in Germany to 11.9% in the UK. Youth-related civil society organisations score less than 5% on average, similarly to labour organisations and economy related groups.

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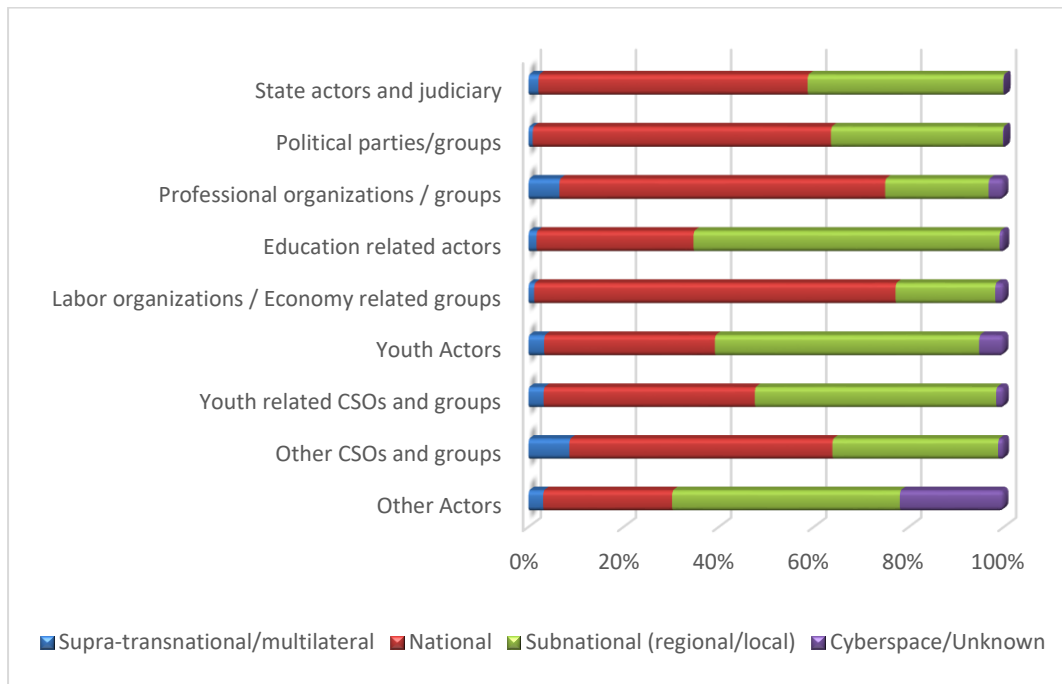
<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this report the variable ‘country’, which refers to the ‘country of coding’, was used as the variable for the analyses presented in chapters 1 and 2; it shows all the claims that relate to the country, including the few that were made abroad (i.e. 33 out of 4,525 claims).

Figure 2.3 Actors by type and country



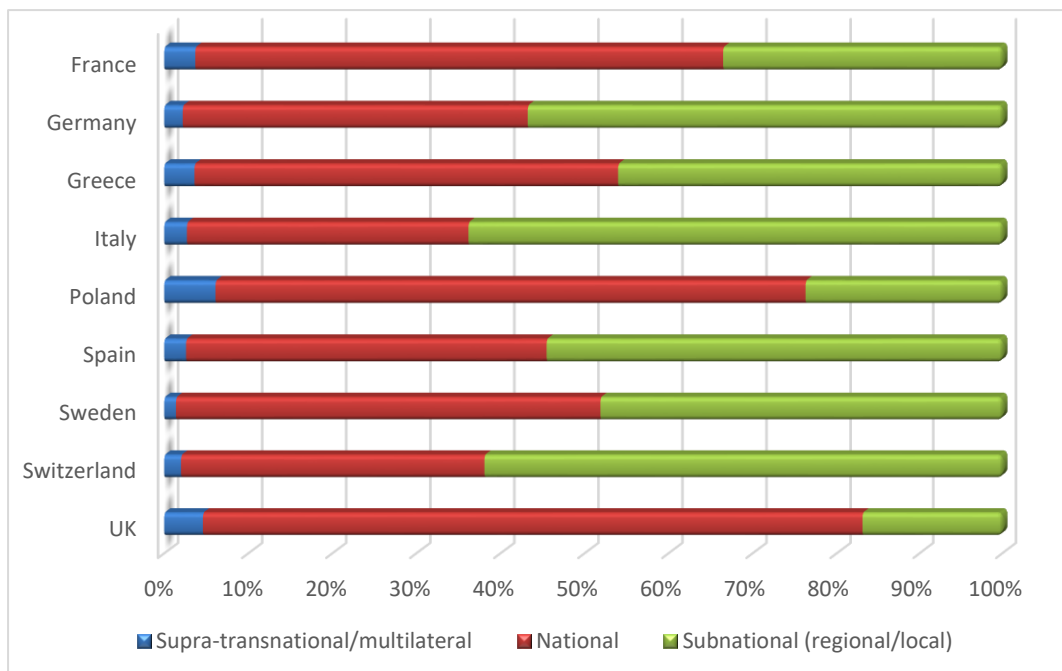
As regards the scope of the actors, half of them are active at the national level with the subnational level following with 44.1%. State actors, political parties, professional organisations, labour organisations and other civil society actors (except youth-related civil society organisations) have overwhelmingly national scope, whereas education-related actors, youth actors, youth-related civil society organisations and other actors are in their majority active at the subnational level. The supranational/ European or multilateral level is met in less than 3.5% of the sample, with professional organisations and other civil society organisations recording the highest percentages (6.5% and 8.6% respectively).

Figure 2.4 Scope of actors by type



The cross-national comparison demonstrates that the actors in France, Greece, Poland, Sweden and the UK have predominantly national scope, while the actors in Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland have most of the times subnational scope. Italy and Switzerland are the countries where the subnational scope of the actors reaches the highest level, while in Poland and in the UK one meets actors with national scope most frequently.

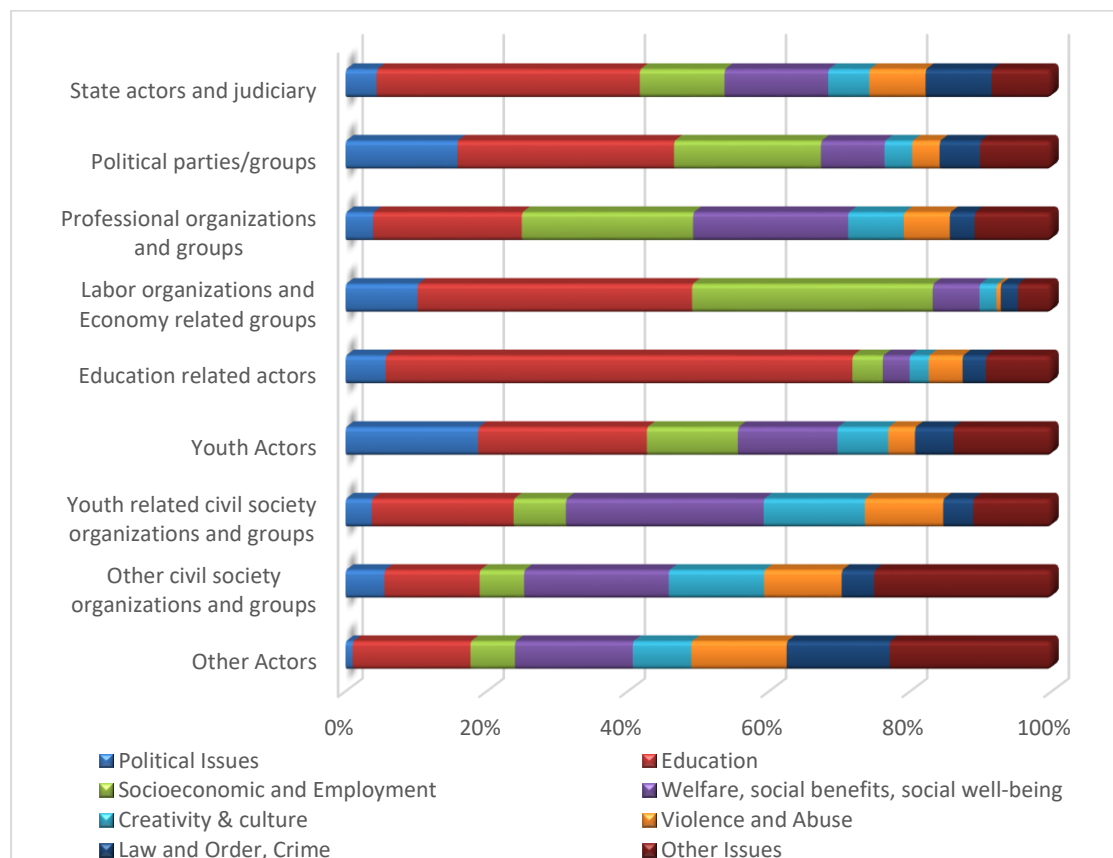
Figure 2.5 Scope of actors by country



*The Issue: What was the claim about?*

Concerning the issues of interest in mediated public debates on youth, education prevails with 33.1% at the aggregate (i.e. cross-national and cross-actor) level, followed by welfare/social benefits and socioeconomic/ employment with 14% and 13.3% respectively. What differentiates youth actors from other actors is their decreased interest in education and increased interest in issues of political participation, recording a difference of around 10% below and above the average in each issue category respectively. Political parties, labour organisations and professional organisations prioritize socio-economic and employment over social welfare, while the former also records increased interest in political issues as well. Youth- and other civil society organisations present a quite similar pattern of frequency distribution across issue categories, which is characterized by increased interest in social welfare, creativity and culture, violence and abuse as well as other issues compared to the average actor percentages.

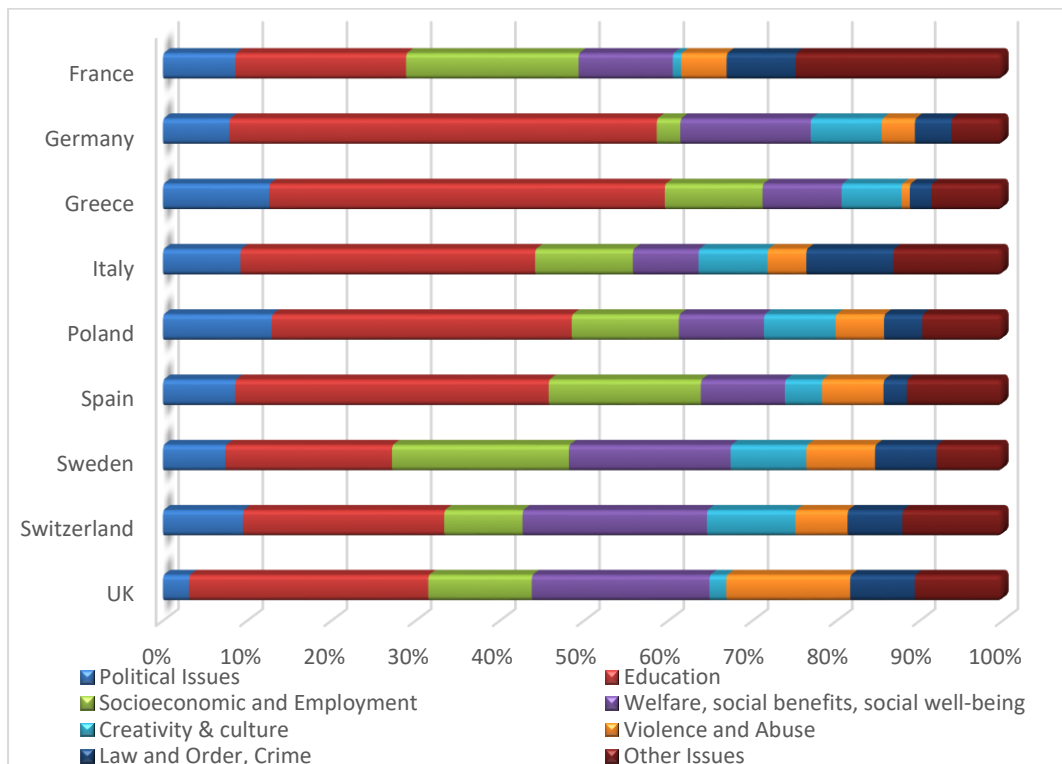
Figure 2.6 Type of actors by type of issues



A country comparison of youth-related issues raised in the public sphere demonstrates remarkable differences: education attracts much less attention in the French and Swedish press (with 20.3% and 19.8% respectively) contrary to the

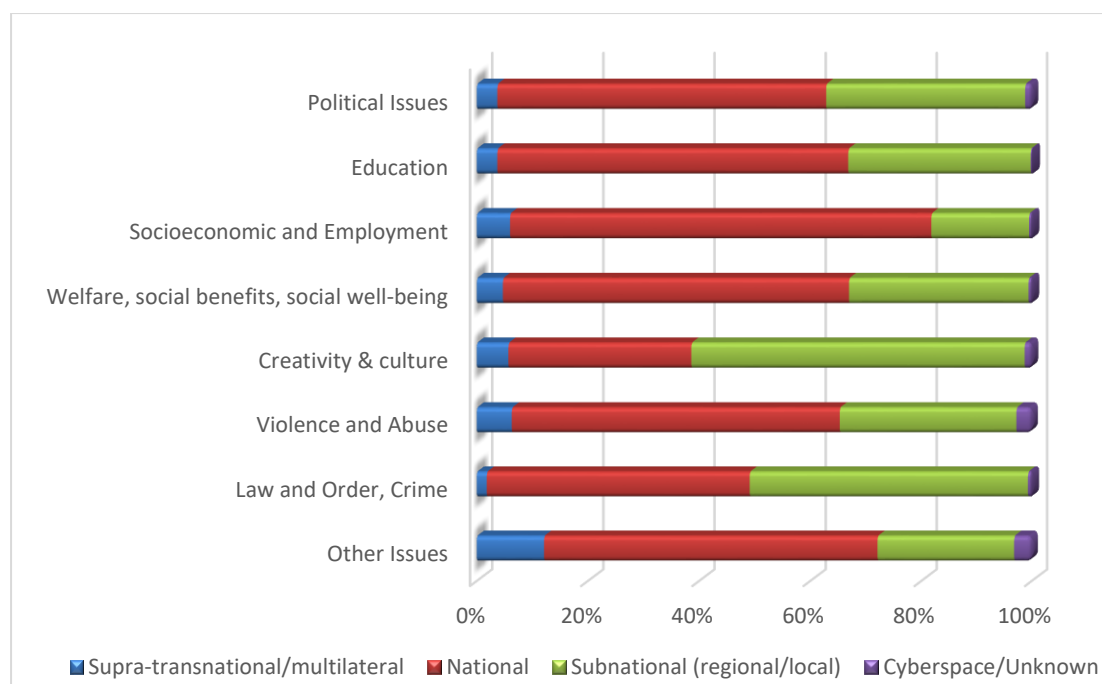
German press (50.8%), while the reverse pattern is observed as regards employment and socio-economic issues for the same countries. Welfare and social benefits are particularly emphasized in Sweden, Switzerland and the UK, which score more than 5% above the average. Very few claims have been raised in Greece concerning violence and abuse (1%) contrary to the UK (with 14.7%). In addition, law and order are apparently less important in Greece and in Spain compared to Italy (with 2.6% in Greece and 2.8% in Spain and 10.4% in Italy). Greek actors together with Polish ones pay particular attention in political issues (12.6% and 12.9% respectively compared to a mean of 8.9%). Creativity and culture are more widely discussed in Switzerland and much less so in the UK (10.5% and 2% respectively).

Figure 2.7 Issues of claims by country



With respect to the scope of the issue, the national level is once again predominant for all issues – with an aggregated average 60.8% – except for ‘creativity and culture’ and ‘law, order and crime’, which refer most of the times to the subnational level (60.1% and 50.2% respectively).

Figure 2.8 Scope of issues by issue type

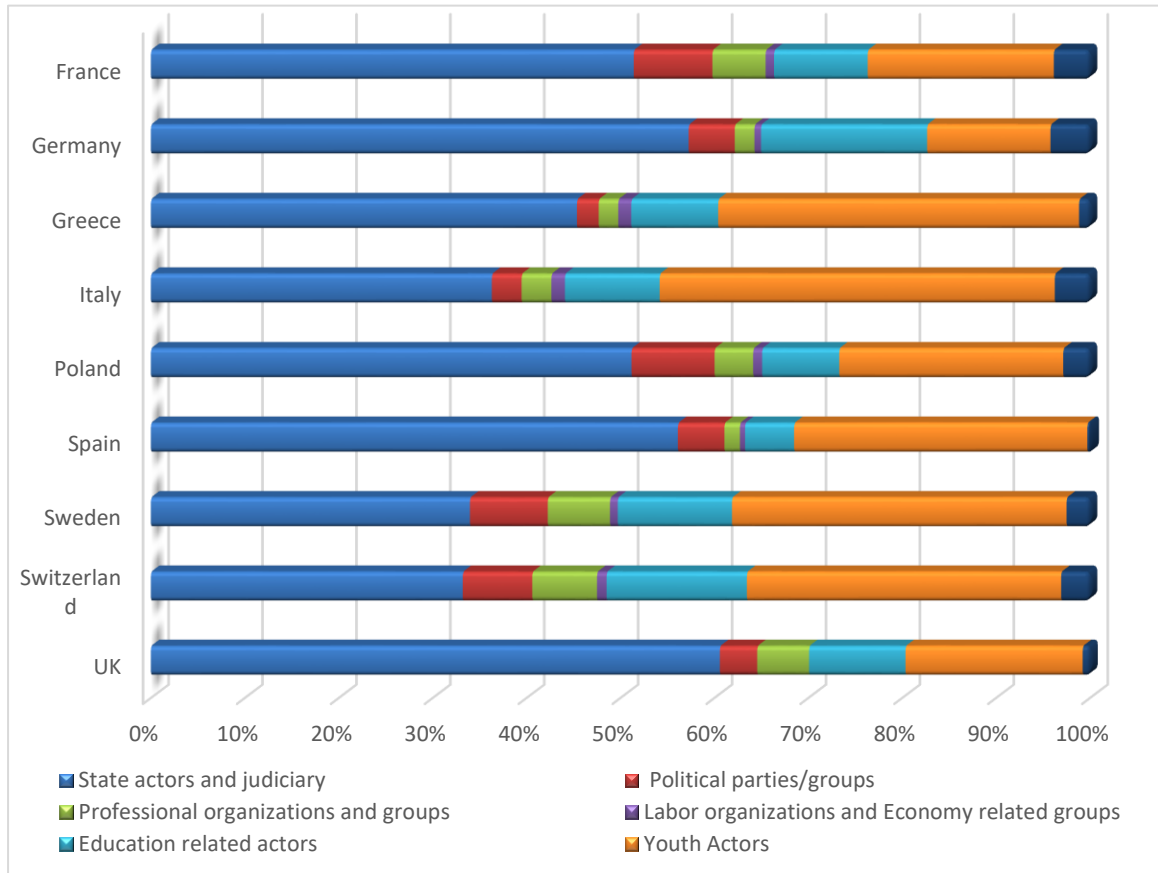


*The Addressees: To whom was the claim directed?*

The addressee of a claim is the actor to which the claims-maker refers, explicitly or implicitly, in their claims. The addressee narrowly defined is the actor who is held responsible for acting with regard to the claim, or to whom the claim is directly addressed as a call to act. In other words, this is the actor to whom a demand is explicitly addressed: either as a call to action or as a criticism.

The government, together with other state actors and the judiciary, is the addressee to whom most of the claims are directed (with a cross-national mean of 34.9%), either as a call to act or as a criticism. Exceptions to this are Germany, Italy, Poland and Sweden, where the general category ‘other actors’ appears more frequently as an addressee compared to state actors. Youth actors are the second most frequently met addresses, with Greece and Italy recording frequencies significantly above the average (33.2% and 29.2% compared to the cross-national average of 21.3%) and with Switzerland portraying them as the leading category in its national sample (26.2%). Concerning the remaining categories of addressees, education related actors follow with an average of 7.9% and all others score lowest than 5% on average.

Figure 2.9 Addressees of actors by country



Our analysis also examined the attribution of responsibility and the evaluation of the actors addressed in claims by coding for each claim whether the addressee was blamed, praised and requested to act in response to the claim.

In our cross-national sample of youth-related claims, blaming is met in only 1,532 out of 4,525 claims, i.e. at a rate of 0.34. The following table presents blaming scores for each country, both in frequency and in percentage of blamed addressees in the total number of addressees by their type. Blaming is most rare in the Swedish press, with 21.2%, while the French press lies at the other extreme with 52.8%. All other countries score much closer to the cross-national mean of 34%. Comparing across addressee type, it is noticed that political parties are blamed the most with 62.7% and state actors follow with 56.2%. It should be noticed, however, that due to the low frequencies of most addressee types, as well as the low rate of blaming, a cross-national comparison by addressee type is statistically insignificant.

Table 2.1 Blamed addressees of actors by country, % (number of cases)

Addressees categories	country of coding %									Total
	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	UK	
State actors and judiciary	61,8 (141)	64,8 (107)	63,8 (125)	56,3 (71)	54,0 (88)	62,4 (128)	31,7 (39)	52,7 (69)	49,4 (119)	56,2 (887)
Political parties/groups	56,8 (21)	57,1 (8)	50,0 (5)	54,5 (6)	53,6 (15)	88,9 (16)	73,3 (22)	62,1 (18)	62,5 (10)	62,7 (121)
Professional organizations and groups	48,0 (12)	66,7 (4)	11,1 (1)	27,3 (3)	30,8 (4)	50,0 (3)	20,8 (5)	63,0 (17)	59,1 (13)	43,4 (62)
Labour organizations and Economy related groups	50,0 (2)	0,0 (0)	0,0 (0)	60,0 (3)	100,0 (3)	0,0 (0)	33,3 (1)	50,0 (2)	43,9 (18)	37,9 (11)
Education related actors	43,2 (19)	56,9 (29)	30,0 (12)	62,9 (22)	42,3 (11)	47,4 (9)	31,8 (14)	33,9 (20)	0,0 (0)	42,9 (154)
Youth Actors	37,5 (33)	26,3 (10)	2,4 (4)	21,9 (32)	11,8 (9)	7,0 (8)	14,0 (18)	24,2 (32)	22,7 (17)	16,9 (163)
Other civil society organizations and groups	41,2 (7)	50,0 (6)	0,0 (0)	30,8 (4)	44,4 (4)	0,0 (0)	44,4 (4)	25,0 (3)	33,3 (1)	35,8 (29)
Other Actors	50,8 (30)	9,7 (21)	1,5 (1)	7,2 (11)	3,8 (7)	7,4 (10)	2,2 (3)	8,3 (9)	11,5 (13)	8,9 (105)
<b>Total</b>	52,8 (265)	36,7 (185)	29,6 (148)	30,4 (152)	28,0 (141)	34,7 (174)	21,2 (106)	33,8 (170)	37,4 (191)	33,9 (1.532)

**Note:** Each cell displays the ratio of blamed addressee to the total number of addressees for each category. Total also refers to this ratio, either by country or by addressee type, and this is why they do not add up to 100.

Praising the addressee of the claim is even rarer compared to blaming, which therefore leaves no room for cross-national comparison. Thus, instead of examining praising patterns in isolation, we used this information to estimate the evaluation for each addressee type, which can take three values: -1 if the addressee is blamed, 1 if the addressee is praised and 0 if both occur, which has been assumed to reflect ambivalent evaluations. Table 2.2 indicates that blaming outweighs praising to the extent that all actors have negative scores. However, it is state actors and judiciary followed by education related actors and political parties that attract the most negative evaluations, while the opposite is true for youth actors. Thus, despite the prevalence of state actors as claimants, they are more negatively evaluated as addressees in the sample as a whole, in contrast to youth addressees who are more neutrally evaluated.



Table 2.2 Overall evaluation of addressees

Addressees	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
State actors and judiciary	-0.85	0.51	947
Political parties/groups	-0.70	0.66	136
Education related actors	-0.74	0.66	175
Youth Actors	-0.16	0.98	278
Labour and civil society organisations	-0.60	0.77	124
Other Actors	-0.43	0.88	143
<b>Total</b>	<b>-0.67</b>	<b>0.72</b>	<b>1.803</b>

Claims with requests are more frequent compared to claims with blaming with 2,036 claims overall, which corresponds to a rate of 0.45. Requests are more frequently met in the UK at a rate of 0.68 and Switzerland follows at a rate of 0.65. Requests are more rare in Sweden, where the rate of requests is as low as 0.21.

Table 2.3 Request addressees of actors by country, % (number of cases)

Addressees Types	Country of Coding %									Total
	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	UK	
State actors and judiciary	47,3 (121)	55,7 (127)	43,8 (89)	43,6 (82)	57,3 (110)	64,0 (121)	52,9 (55)	35,3 (116)	54,5 (189)	49,6 (1.010)
Political parties/groups	7,0 (18)	4,4 (10)	1,5 (3)	3,2 (6)	8,3 (16)	6,9 (13)	5,8 (6)	6,4 (21)	2,0 (7)	4,9 (100)
Professional organizations and groups	3,9 (10)	1,8 (4)	3,0 (6)	1,6 (3)	1,0 (2)	1,6 (3)	2,9 (3)	6,1 (20)	4,9 (17)	3,3 (68)
Labour organizations and Economy related groups	0,8 (2)	0,0 (0)	1,0 (2)	1,1 (2)	0,0 (0)	1,1 (2)	0,0 (0)	0,6 (2)	0,0 (0)	0,5 (10)
Education related actors	9,0 (23)	13,6 (31)	9,9 (20)	10,1 (19)	9,4 (18)	7,4 (14)	16,3 (17)	12,8 (42)	7,2 (25)	10,3 (209)
Youth Actors	21,9 (56)	6,1 (14)	30,5 (62)	21,3 (40)	14,1 (27)	11,1 (21)	6,7 (7)	22,2 (73)	16,1 (56)	17,5 (356)
Other civil society organizations and groups	3,5 (9)	2,2 (5)	2,5 (5)	4,3 (8)	2,6 (5)	0,0 (0)	0,0 (0)	1,5 (5)	0,6 (2)	1,9 (39)
Other Actors	6,6 (17)	16,2 (37)	7,9 (16)	14,9 (28)	7,3 (14)	7,9 (15)	15,4 (16)	15,2 (50)	14,7 (51)	12,0 (244)
<b>Total</b>	<b>51,0 (256)</b>	<b>45,2 (228)</b>	<b>40,6 (203)</b>	<b>37,6 (188)</b>	<b>38,2 (192)</b>	<b>37,6 (189)</b>	<b>20,8 (104)</b>	<b>65,4 (329)</b>	<b>67,9 (347)</b>	<b>45,0 (2.036)</b>

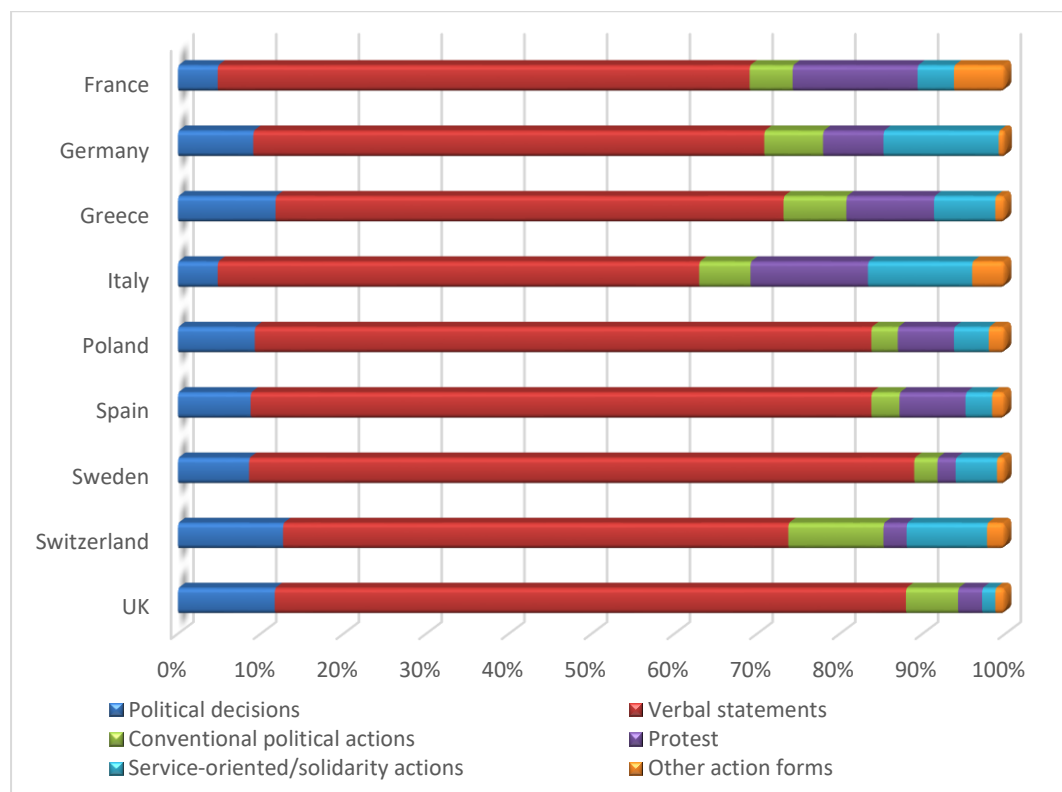
Note: Each cell displays the ratio of requested addressee to the total number of addressees for each category. Total percentages also refer to this ratio, either by country or by addressee type, and this is why they do not add up to 100.

### *The Forms: How was the claim made?*

Our methodological design assumed that all political claims raised in the public sphere can take one of the following main forms: political decisions (law, governmental guideline, implementation measure, etc.), verbal statements (public speech, press conference, parliamentary intervention, etc.), protest actions (demonstration, occupation, violent action, etc.), non-protest, civic engagement/empowerment actions (education and counseling actions or programmes/projects, solidarity economy actions/initiatives, etc.) other actions.

Verbal statements occupy the lion's share in the distribution of claims across forms, with national percentages ranging from about 61 to 80%. Political decisions follow with a cross-national average of 9.1%, protest with 7.8% and service-oriented solidarity actions with 6.9%. Switzerland comes first in conventional political actions (11.5%), France and Italy in protest (15.1% and 14.2% respectively) and Germany in solidarity actions (13.9%), recording a percentage twice as high as the average.

Figure 2.10 Forms of claim by country



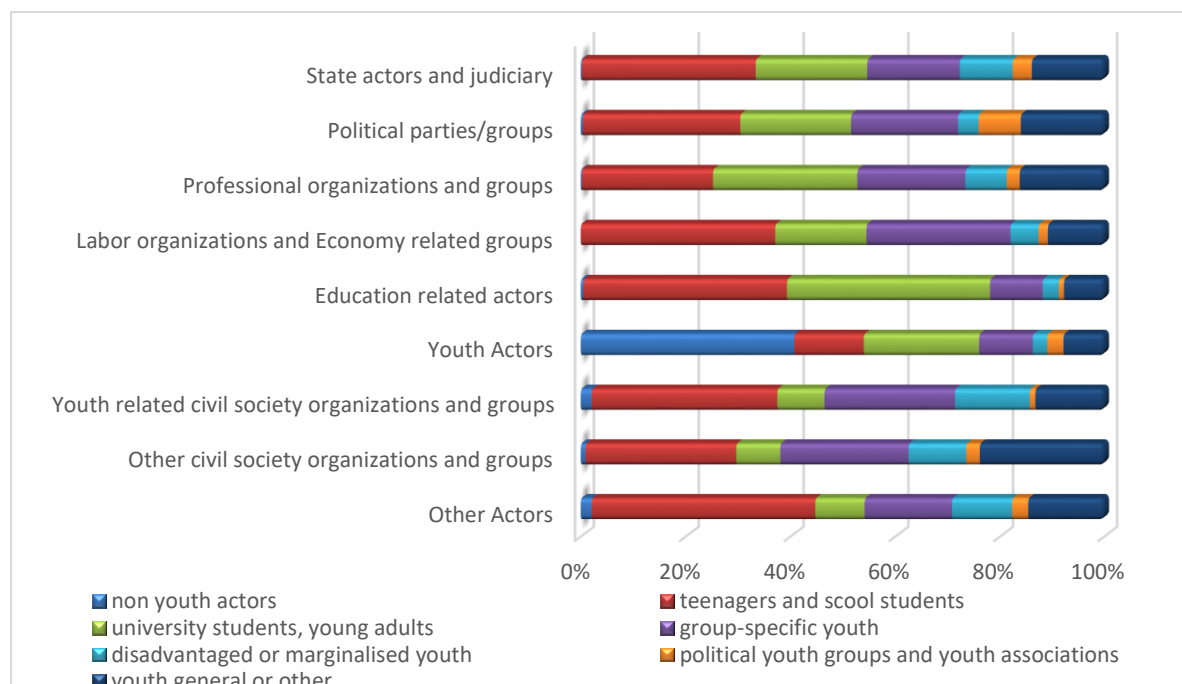
### *The Object: Who was affected by the claim?*

This study has defined as the object of a claim the actor whose interests are affected by the claim, which should be young people, either youth-led organisations or youth in general – and non-youth objects (actors) as well only when the claimant is a youth actor. This section presents the portrayal of the objects of youth-related claims by actor type and by country.

Teenagers and secondary level school students are the predominant object, with 28.8%, while university students and young adults follow with 22.3% and group-specific youth (i.e. groups formed on the basis of gender, employment status or religion) come third with 16.9%.

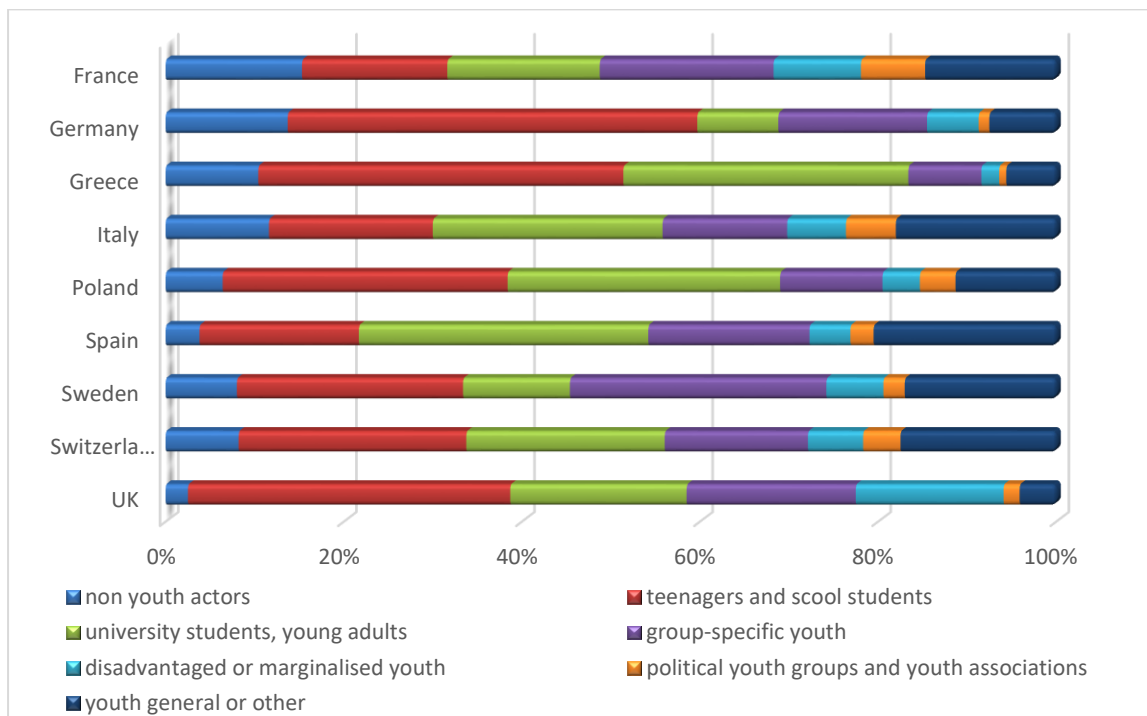
Comparing across claimants, it is noticed that state actors, political parties, professional organisations, youth-related or other civil society organisations and other actors most frequently raise claims which concern the youngest group of teenagers and school students, while young people as actors together with professional organizations raise most frequently claims concerning the more mature group of university students and young adults. Education-related actors seem to be equally concerned for these two major youth categories based on age and educational level. Civil society organisations – including labour organisations, youth-related civil society and other civil society organisations – record high percentages in claims which bear on the interests of group-specific youth. Youth-related civil society organisations define disadvantaged or marginalized youth as the object of their claim much more frequently, compared to other actors, while civil society organisations do the same for ‘youth in general or other youth’.

Figure 2.11 Object of claim by actor type



Across-country comparison displays notable differences, which are at some extent due to the effect of the actor variable, i.e. the most salient claimants in each country. Spain and France portray teenagers/school students as the objects of claims at the lowest rate whereas the opposite holds for Germany. Greece and Spain which portray university students/young adults most frequently, while Germany scores lowest in this object category. Group-specific youth are the most salient object among the Swedish claims and least so among the Greek claims. Disadvantaged or marginalized youth as the object of a claim are met most frequently in the UK and most rarely in Greece, which demonstrates that the public sphere in Greece is predominantly occupied with the main young groups based on age and education level and much less concerned with youth groups based on more refined criteria.

Figure 2.12 Object of claim by country

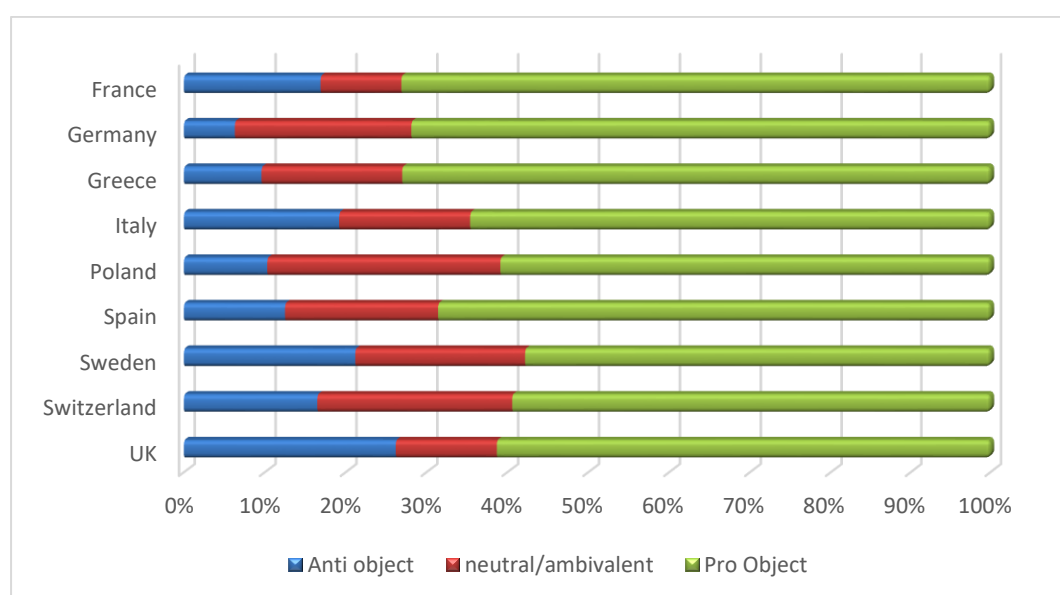


### *The Position towards the rights and the interests of the Object*

Political claims are not value free as long as they convey opinions and recommendations towards their object, the realization of which implies the improvement or the deterioration of its overall position. Our study examined the evaluation of the object as expressed in the positions of the claims not from the perspective of the claimant, but with regard to the rights and interests of the object. Such rights include economic, social, cultural, disability, migrant, civil and political rights and youth rights.

Pro-object claims outweigh neutral and anti-object claims with a total cross-national percentage of 65.6%. Neutral or ambivalent claims follow with 19% and anti-object claims are most rare with 15.4%. Regarding the claims which are positively disposed towards the object, France, Germany and Greece record percentages which lie above the mean by more than 5% and the opposite is recorded in Sweden and in Switzerland. Germany and Greece record percentages lower than 5% below the average when it comes to anti-object claims, whereas the UK lies at the other extreme, with a percentage higher than 10% above the cross-national mean of claims which are negative for the object. With respect to neutral claims or claims which reflect ambivalent attitudes towards the object, Poland comes first with 28.8% and France comes last with 10%.

Figure 2.13 Position of actors towards the object, by country



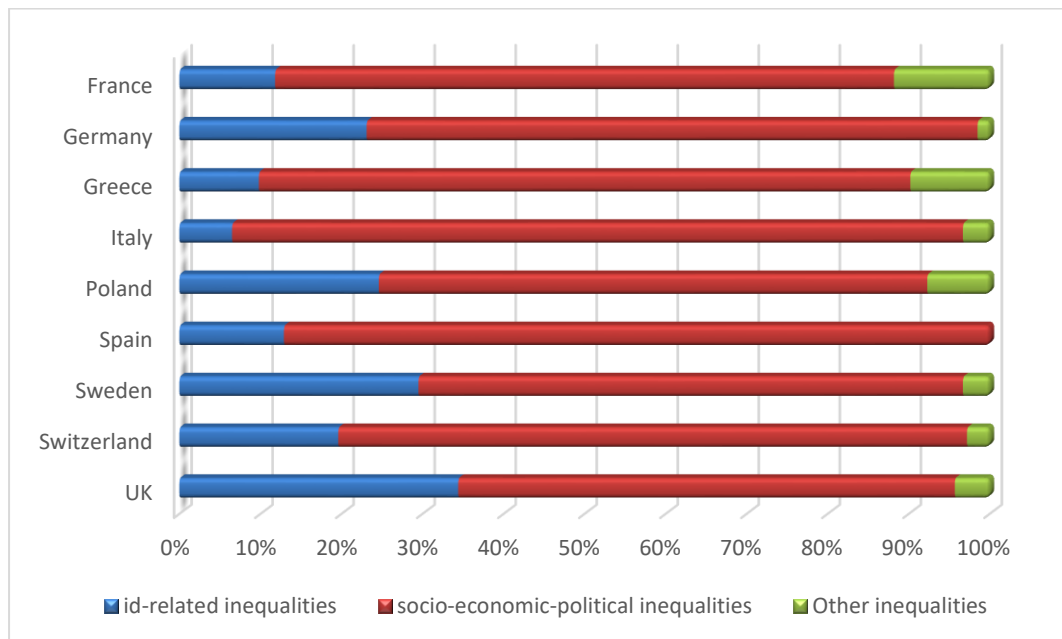
### *The Inequality Frames: How was the claim defined and interpreted?*

As well as the main elements of youth-related claims, our study also examined the framing of the claims, i.e. the ways in which the claims are defined, evaluated, and interpreted by the actors, when this is explicitly mentioned in the claim, or enough information is provided to discern it. We distinguished between three types of frames: (a) inequality frames, which refer to the way in which the actor-claimant evaluates the inequalities in their claim; (b) diagnostic frames, which deal with the type of causes of the evaluated inequalities (political participation, educational, etc.); (c) prognostic frames, which propose solutions to the particular aspect of the assessed inequalities (gender related solutions, etc.), thus offering prescription and perspective.

Inequality frames, as the interpretative frames reflecting the claimant's view on the inequalities that impact on youth, are found in an overall cross-national percentage of claims which does not exceed 25%. Inequality frames are found most frequently

in the Swiss and French media, while their appearance is most rare in the Swedish and Polish media. A comparison based on the type of inequality demonstrates that socio-economic and political inequalities prevail over discriminatory (identity-related) inequalities (with 77.1% and 17.8% respectively at the aggregate level). A cross-national comparison of the claims with inequality frames reveals that the countries of the European South (i.e. Italy, Spain and Greece) come first in socio-economic and political inequalities whereas North European countries (and specifically the UK, Sweden and Poland) precede in discriminatory inequalities.

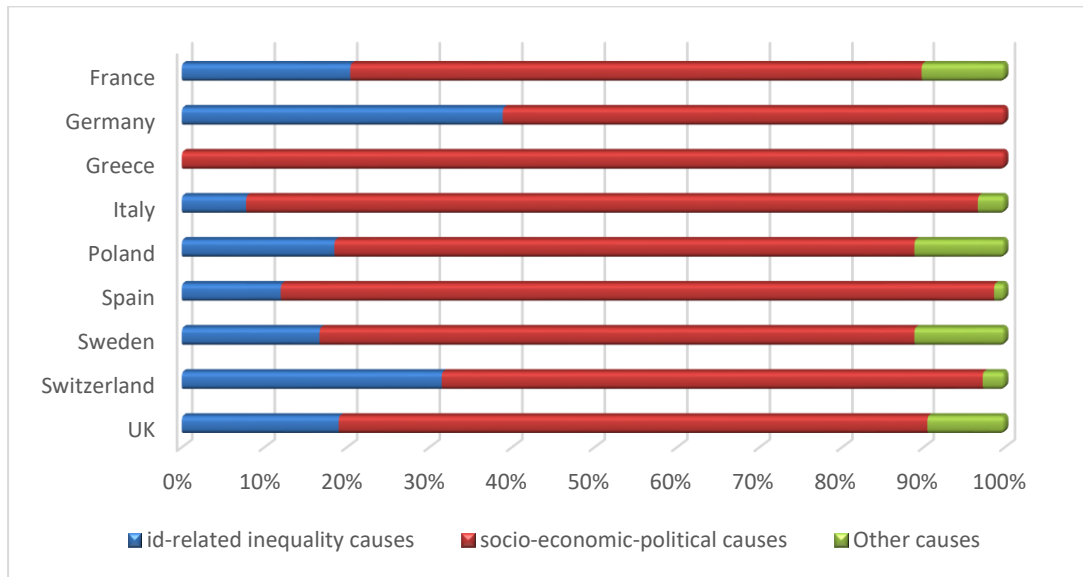
Figure 2.14 Inequality frames of actors by country (claims with inequality frame only)



### *Diagnostic Inequality Frames*

Diagnostic frames appear rarely in youth-related political claims, since fewer than half (i.e. 41%) of the claims which possess an inequality frame – and which cover only one quarter of the sample – provide such a frame. Among this small subsection of the claims (n=651), the cross-national patterns are quite similar to the appearance of inequality frames. The French and Swiss media most frequently include diagnostic frames in their claims compared to other countries, while the opposite holds for Poland and Sweden. Socio-economic and political causes are overall most usually mentioned by claimants. Greece and, at a lesser extent, Italy and Spain overemphasize socio-economic and political causes, while Germany and Switzerland score highest with respect to discriminatory causes.

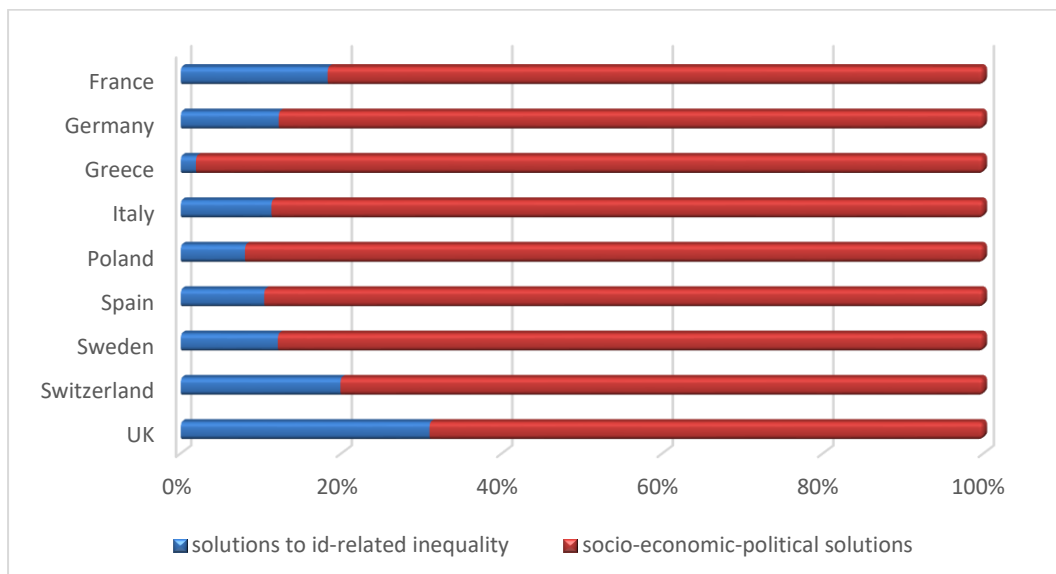
Figure 2.15 Diagnostic inequality frames of actors by country (claims with inequality frame only)



### Prognostic Inequality Frames

There are similar findings with respect to the appearance of prognostic frames, with a low overall frequency (n=628), and an overall prevalence of socio-economic and political solutions if one looks within those claims which provide a prognostic frame. The public discourse in Greece is seemingly once again overwhelmed by socio-economic and political solutions to the largest extent compared to all other countries, while Switzerland and the UK present the highest frequencies of claims which provide solutions based on the fight of discrimination.

Figure 2.16 Prognostic inequality frames of actors by country (claims with inequality frame only)

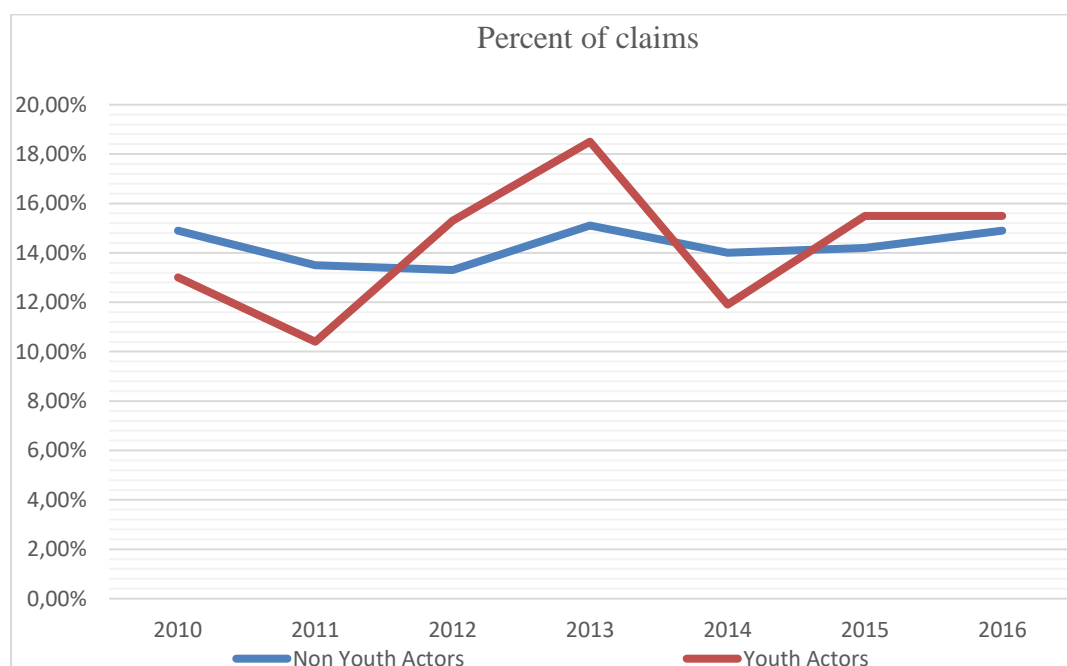


## Chapter 3. Youth Actors making Claims in the public sphere: a cross-national comparison

### *Introduction*

This chapter, which focuses on the claims raised by youth actors, aims to contribute to a better understanding of youth agency as reflected by young people's own voices in the mass media. Examining the evolution of their claims throughout the period under study, we notice a gradual increase in their presence as claimants in the media from 2011 – the year with the lowest frequency of youth-made claims – to 2013. Thus, in 2012 and 2013, youth-related claims raised by youth actors outweigh the claims raised by non-youth actors. The same is also observed in 2015, though to a lesser extent.

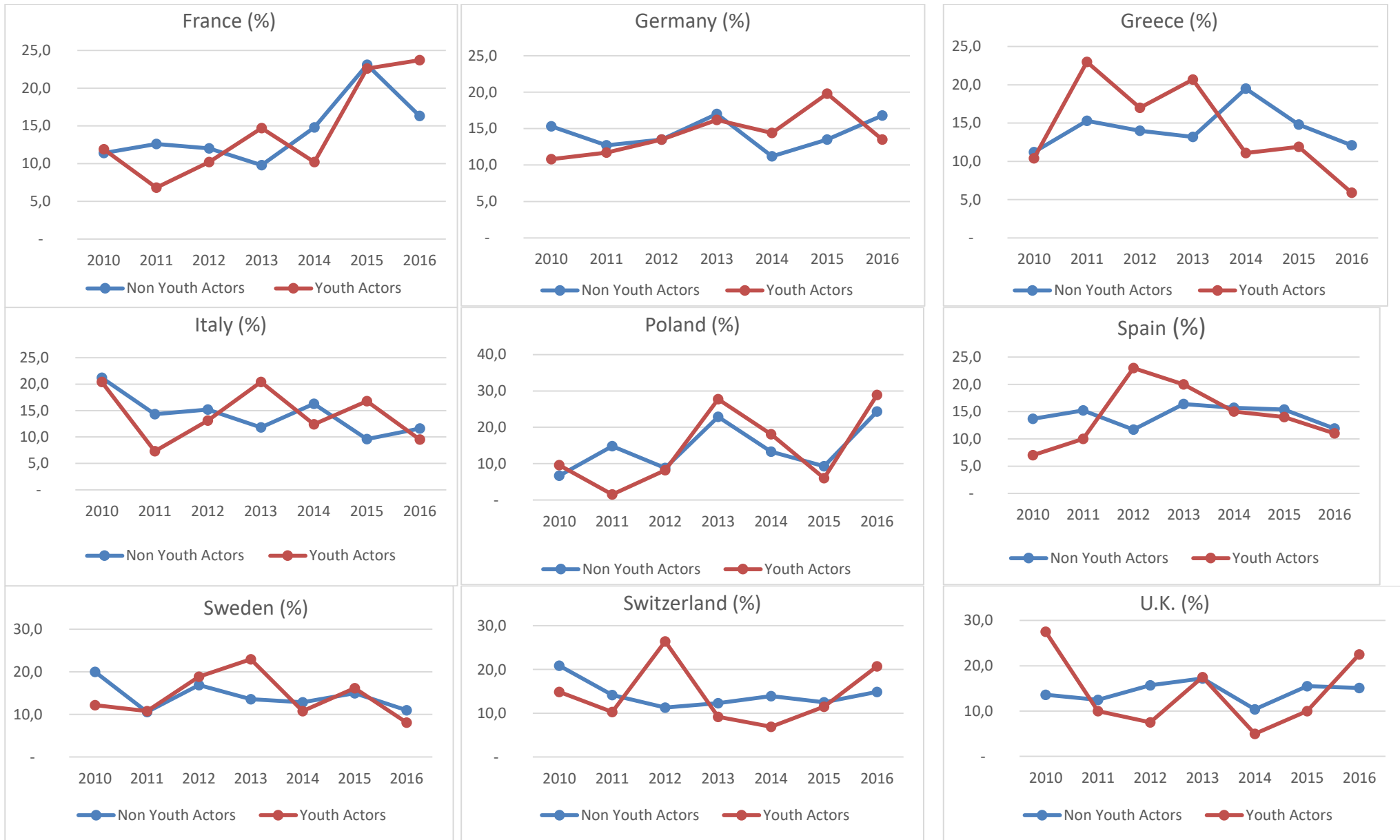
Figure 3.1 Timelines of claims, non-youth and youth actors



The predominance of claims made by youth actors in 2013 is observed to varying degrees (e.g. sometimes at their peak and other times in decline) in all countries apart from Switzerland and Germany. 2015 also seems to be a year of increased presence of youth as actors in the media, as observed in France, Germany, Italy and Sweden, while Poland, on the contrary, records a sharp decline of youth actors in 2015. 2011 and 2014 are for most countries years of very low salience of youth actors, with the exception of Greece in 2011 – the year with a high rate of youth appearance as claimants in the public sphere in this country – and of Poland in 2014. In addition, while in France and Germany the fluctuation of youth claimants over time is smooth, in Poland, Spain and Switzerland it shows more variance.



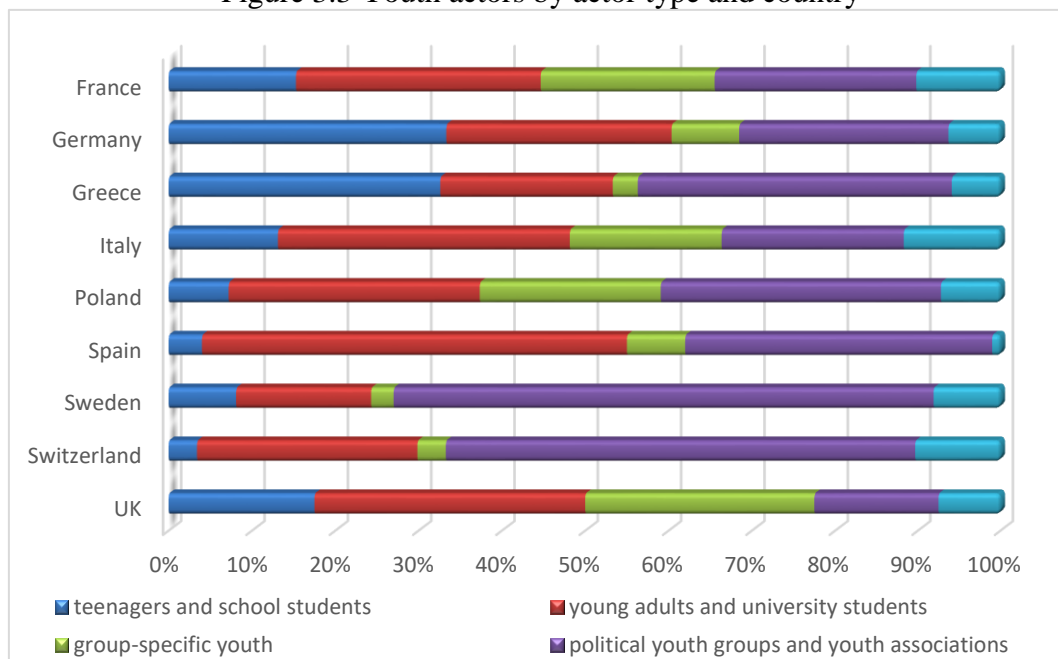
Figure 3.2 Timelines of claims by country, for non-youth and youth actors



### *Youth Actors: Who makes the claims?*

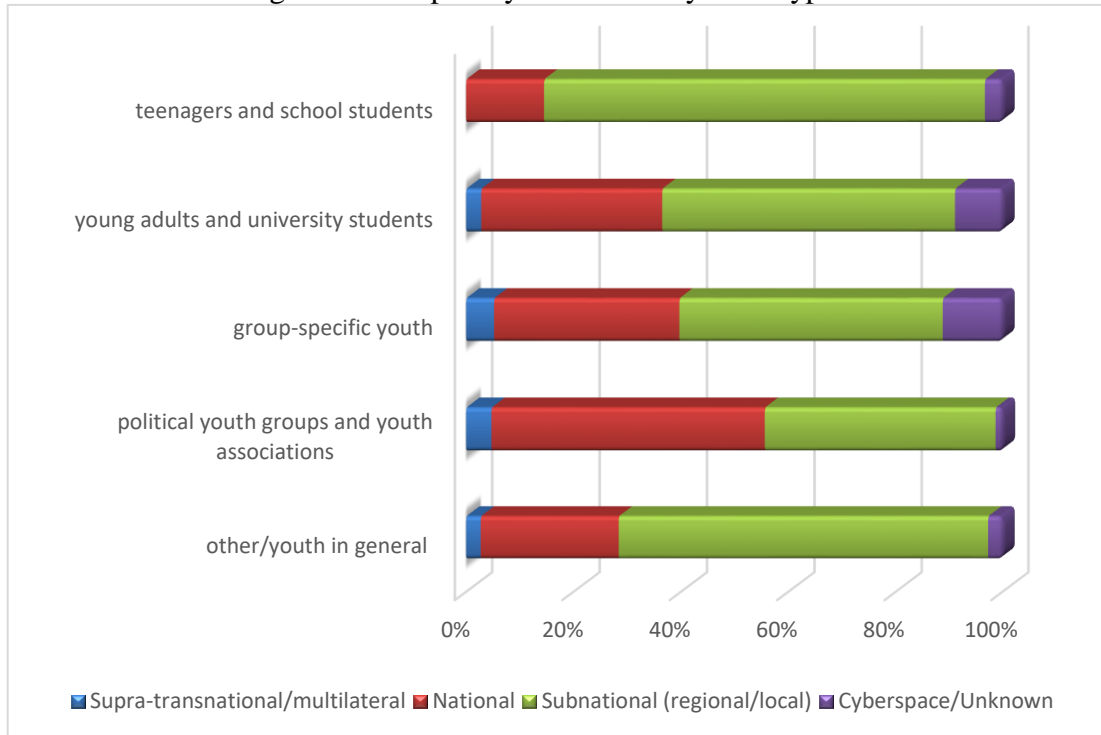
Looking at the distribution of the claims raised by young actors across their various groups, political youth groups and youth associations are overall the most visible claimants with 33.9%, whereas young adults and university students follow with 29.9%. These two categories are highly salient in most countries with some exceptions. In Germany and Greece, the media visibility of teenagers and school students is greater compared to the older group of young adults/ university students. The UK records the lowest percentage of political youth claimants (15%), contrary to Sweden which records the highest percentage of claims raised by political youth groups (64.9%).

Figure 3.3 Youth actors by actor type and country



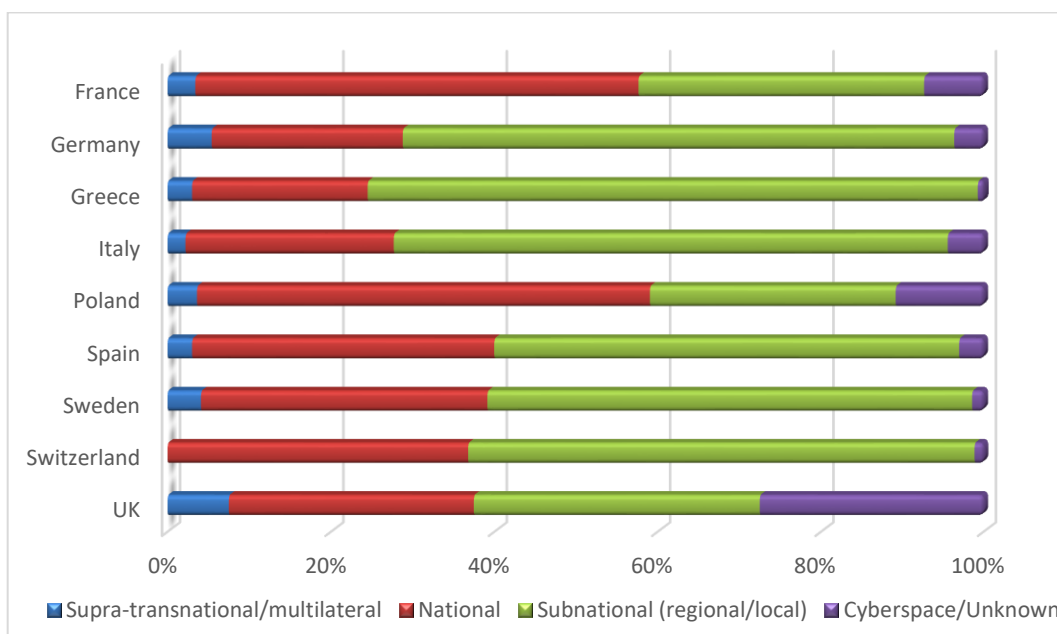
With respect to the scope of youth actors, this is predominantly subnational (55.6%), which differentiates youth actors from non-youth actors as seen in the previous chapter. The national scope follows with 35.9%, whereas the supranational/multilateral scope attracts only 3.3%. When comparing youth categories, it is noticed that political youth groups is the only actor category with national scope frequency higher than the subnational one. Comparing the different age groups/educational level students, reveals that the gap between the national and the subnational level is greater in the youngest group/lower educational level.

Figure 3.4 Scope of youth actors by actor type



A cross-national comparison demonstrates that France and Poland are the two exceptions to the rule of the predominant subnational scope of young claimants in the public sphere. Another interesting finding is that compared to the other countries, the scope of young actors is mentioned less often in the British newspapers.

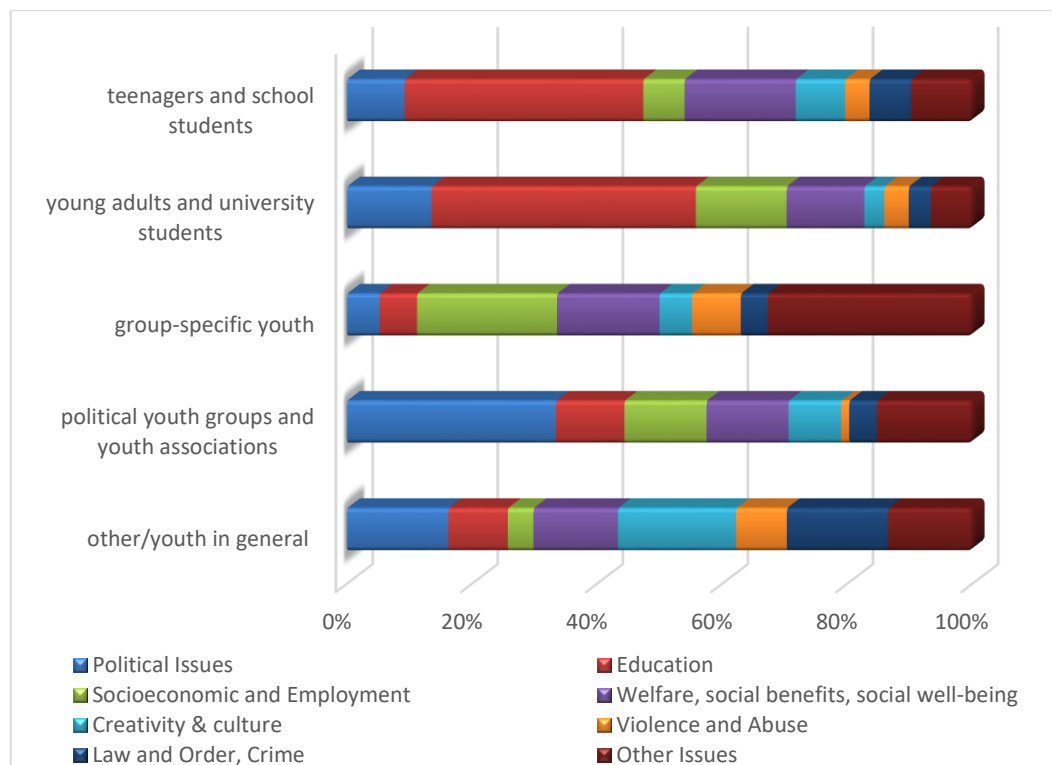
Figure 3.5 Scope of youth actors by country



*The Issue: What was the claim about?*

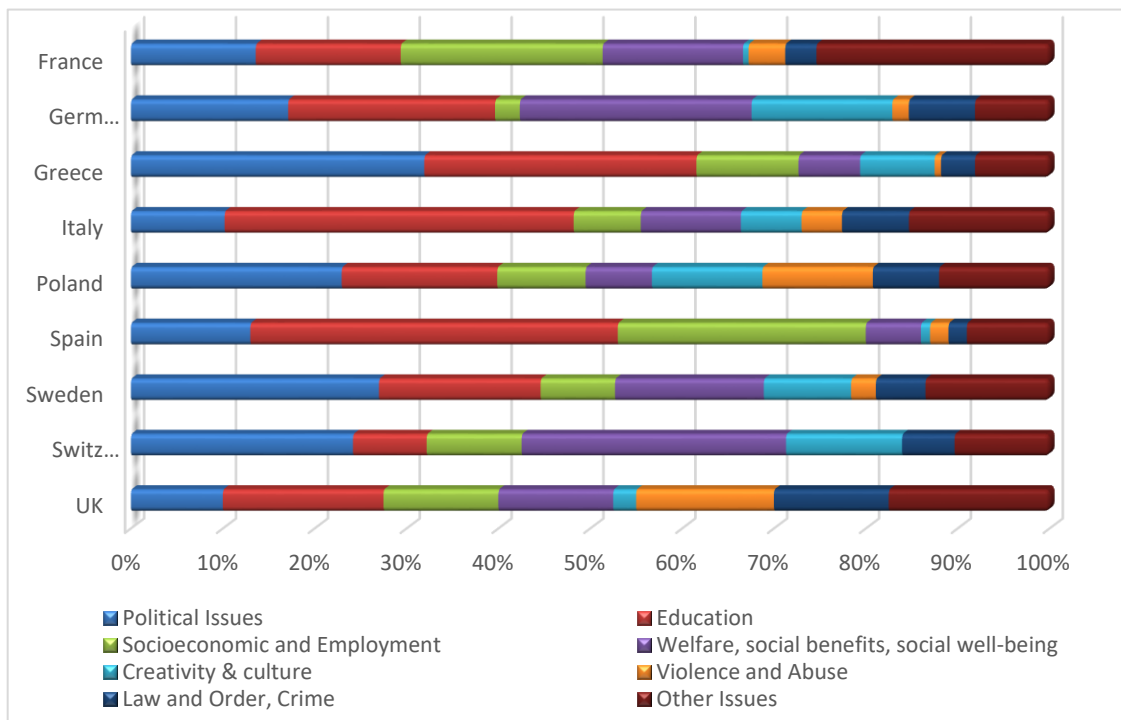
Youth actors, similarly to all other actors, focus primarily on education (23.9%), but unlike for non-youth actors, they next focus on political issues, i.e. issues concerning political participation, with 18.8%, instead of social welfare or socioeconomic issues and employment, which attract 14.1% and 12.9% respectively of the total number of claims raised by young actors. The broad category ‘other issues’ records a percentage as high as almost 14%, creativity and culture scores 7.2%, law and order 5.4% and violence and abuse is the least discussed issue by young actors with a percentage of lower than 4%. If one compares across the different youth categories of claimants, it is noticed that it is the politicized youth (i.e. political youth groups) who are in fact accountable for the visibility of political issues. The categories based on age and educational level highlight the prevalence of education, while a comparison between them shows an increased interest in welfare issues from the youngest socio-economic cohort and in labour issues from the oldest one.

Figure 3.6 Issues in youth actor claims



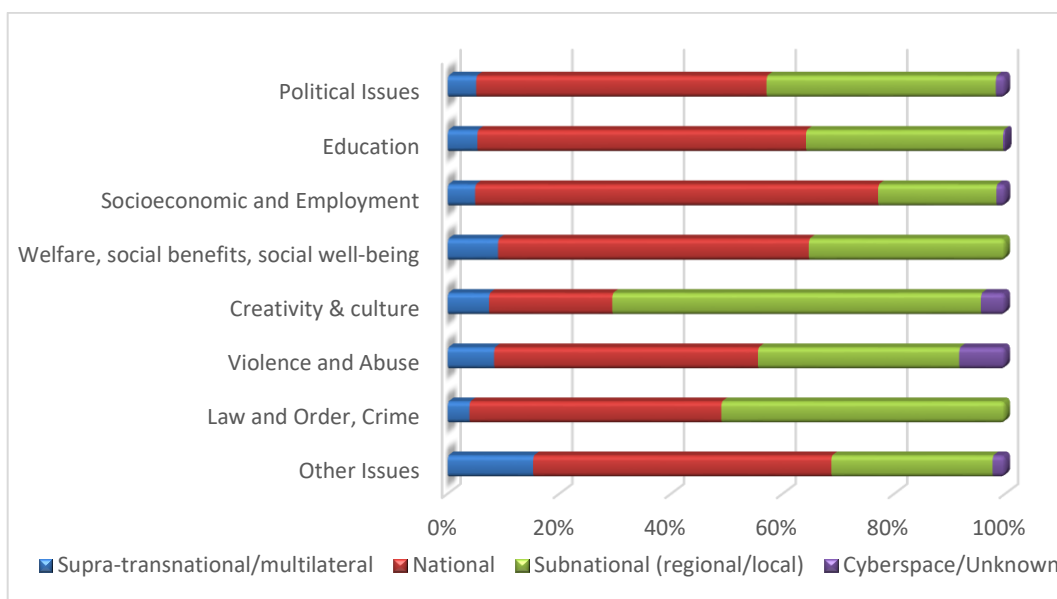
Looking at the visibility of different issues with a comparative perspective across the national youth subsamples, it is noticed that Greece scores particularly high in political issues with 31.9% and Sweden follows with 27 %, while Spain and Italy record the highest score in education issues (40% and 38%). The Spanish youth also scores highest than other national youth in socio-economic and employment issues (27%), whereas the Swiss youth score highest on welfare, social benefits and social well-being (28.7%).

Figure 3.7 Issues of youth actor claims by country



Regarding the scope in which these issues of public interest were discussed by young actors in the national print media, it is noticed that the majority of issues are dealt with at the national level, and next at the subnational level. Exceptions are creativity and culture, which most of the time is referred to at the subnational level (66.2%), together with law, order and crime (51%). Very little (7.3%) do issues concern the supra- or trans- national level, with the broad category ‘other issues’ recording the highest percentage 15.3%.

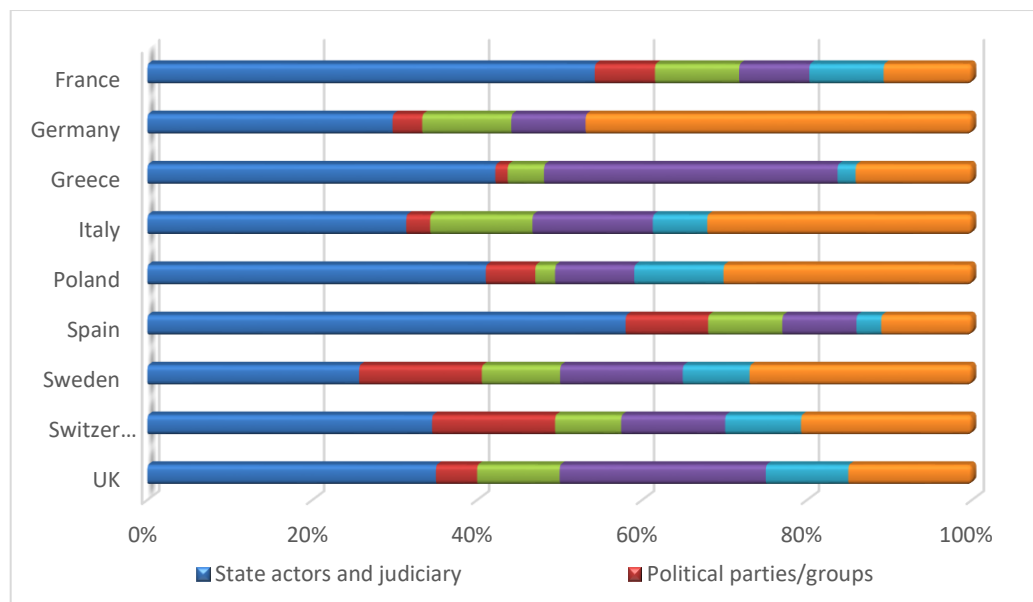
Figure 3.8 Scope of youth actors by type of issue



### *The Addressees: At whom was the claim directed?*

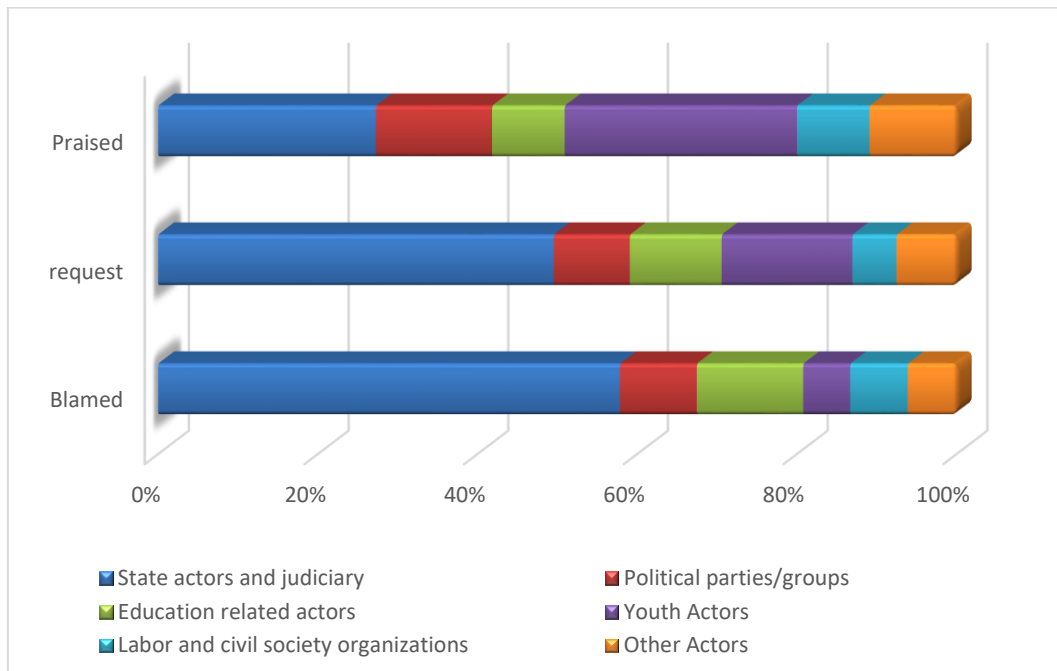
The claims made by young actors primarily address state actors (40.7%), and secondarily other actors (22.7%). This trend is observed at the aggregate level and only in some countries, while other countries record some remarkable differences. France scores lowest in other actors (10.7%) who seem to be as frequently addressed as education-related actors are. German youth, on the contrary, address other actors as frequently as almost one in two times they make a claim in the public sphere, while they more rarely address state actors, similarly to the Swedish youth, (29.7% and 25.7% respectively). Greece stands out for portraying most frequently youth actors themselves as the addressees of the claims raised by young actors (35.6%), followed by the UK (25 %).

Figure 3.9 Addressees of youth actors by country



With respect to the attribution of responsibility, Figure 3.10 below shows that for youth actors, blaming the addressee has the highest frequency (48.5%); this is especially revealing when compared to 34% of blamed addressees by all actors. The finding highlights the critical outlook of young Europeans, primarily towards state actors and the judiciary. Claims with requests are almost as many as blaming claims (48%), while praising is very rare, met in 5% only of all youth-made claims. If one compares across addressee types (i.e. looking only at the claims which received a blame, praise or request), state actors are those addressees most frequently blamed and requested to act in response to the claim, while youth actors as addressees of claims are most frequently praised.

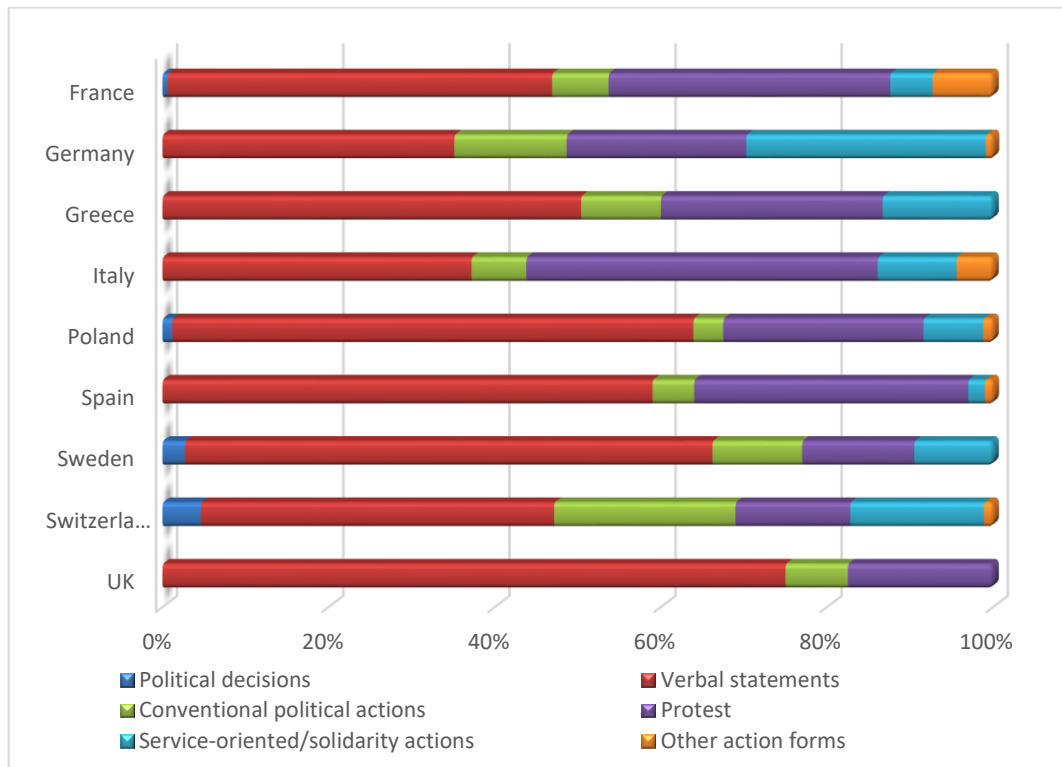
Figure 3.10 Evaluation of addressees in the claims of youth actors



*The Forms: How was the claim made?*

Regarding the forms of action, young actors' claims have the form of verbal statements at a rate of almost half of the time. This rate however varies across countries, with the UK recording the highest percentage of verbal statements by youth actors (75%) and Germany recording the lowest (35%). Protest actions, which are overall found in almost 27.5% of youth-made claims, do also fluctuate across countries, with Italy, France and Spain representing the most contentious youth (with 42.3%, 33.9% and 33% of total number of claims raised by young actors in each country respectively) and Sweden and Switzerland lying at the other extreme (with 13.5% and 13.8 respectively). Some noticeable differentiations from the average cross-national scores are the records of the Swiss youth on conventional political actions (21.8%) and the score of German youth on service oriented/solidarity actions (28.8%).

Figure 3.11 Forms of youth actors by country



*The Object: Who was affected by the claim?*

Our study examined the public claims raised by youth actors for a given period which concerned either young people or any other social group. Based on the findings, the object of their claims is most of the time a youth actor, with non-youth objects representing less than 41% of the sample. Comparing across the different youth subgroups, university students appear most frequently as the objects of claims raised by young actors (22%). It is also noticed that each subgroup predominantly raises claims which concern itself, i.e. teenagers' claims most of the time concern teenagers, whereas young adults' claims most of times concern young adults. The claims raised by political youth groups present a more balanced allocation across the different youth subgroups of objects with a slight precedence of young adults/university students.



Table 3.1 Objects of youth actors by type of group

Objects Categories	Youth Actors, % (N)					Total
	Teenagers and school students	Young adults and university students	Group-specific youth	Political youth groups and youth associations	Other/youth in general	
Non-youth actors	39.5 (60)	29.8 (84)	34.5 (40)	51.9 (166)	45.9 (34)	40.7 (384)
Teenagers and school students	49.3 (75)	2.8 (8)	3.4 (4)	10.3 (33)	8.1 (6)	13.3 (126)
University students, young adults	1.3 (2)	55.0 (155)	4.3 (5)	12.5 (40)	8.1 (6)	22.0 (208)
Group-specific youth	2.0 (3)	6.0 (17)	44.0 (51)	6.9 (22)	5.4 (4)	10.3 (97)
Disadvantaged or marginalised youth	3.3 (5)	1.4 (4)	5.2 (6)	0.6 (2)	12.2 (9)	2.8 (26)
Political youth groups and youth associations	0.0 (0)	1.1 (3)	4.3 (5)	6.3 (20)	1.4 (1)	3.1 (29)
Youth general or other	4.6 (7)	3.9 (11)	4.3 (5)	11.6 (37)	18.9 (14)	7.8 (74)
<b>Total</b>	100.0 (152)	100.0 (282)	100.0 (116)	100.0 (320)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (944)

A cross-national comparison of the object of the claims made by youth actors shows that Spain scores highest on youth objects (82%), while Germany scores lowest (42.3%). In addition, Sweden and Germany are the only countries in which more claims raised by young actors concern non-youth actors than youth actors.

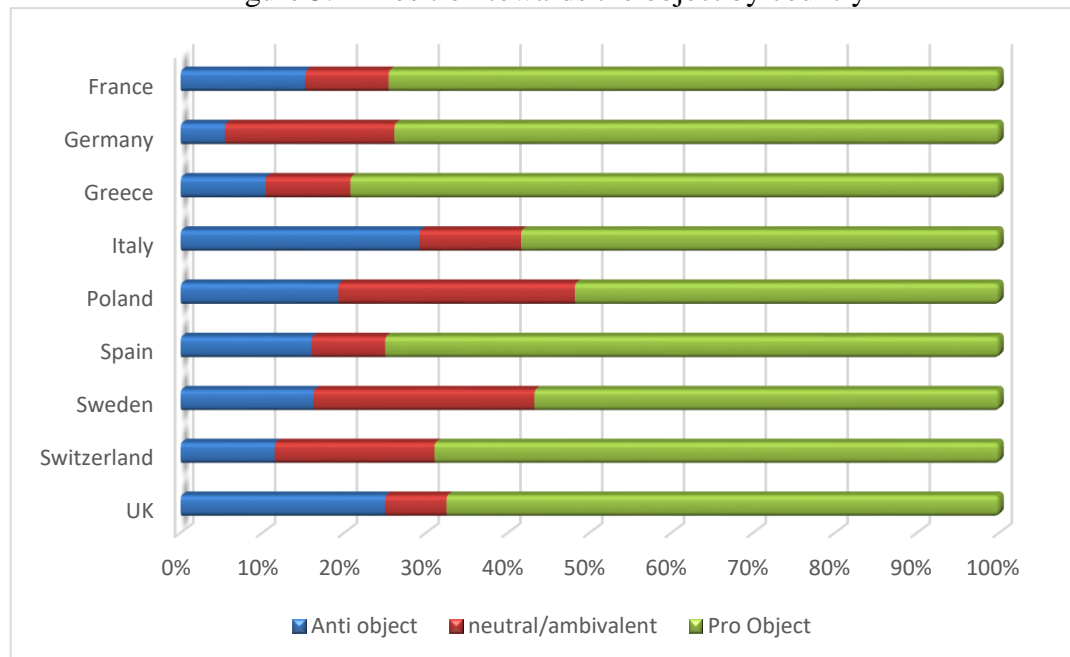
Table 3.2 Objects of youth actors by country

Type of Object	Country of coding, % (N)									Total
	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Poland	Spain	Sweden	Switzerland	UK	
Non-youth Actors	40,1 (71)	57,7 (64)	38,5 (52)	38,7 (53)	37,3 (31)	18,0 (18)	54,1 (40)	47,1 (41)	32,5 (13)	40,6 (383)
Youth Actors	59,9 (106)	42,3 (47)	61,5 (83)	61,3 (84)	62,7 (52)	82,0 (82)	45,9 (34)	52,9 (46)	67,5 (27)	59,4 (561)
<b>Total</b>	100,0 (177)	100,0 (111)	100,0 (135)	100,0 (137)	100,0 (83)	100,0 (100)	100,0 (74)	100,0 (87)	100,0 (40)	100,0 (944)

### *The Position towards the rights and interests of the Object*

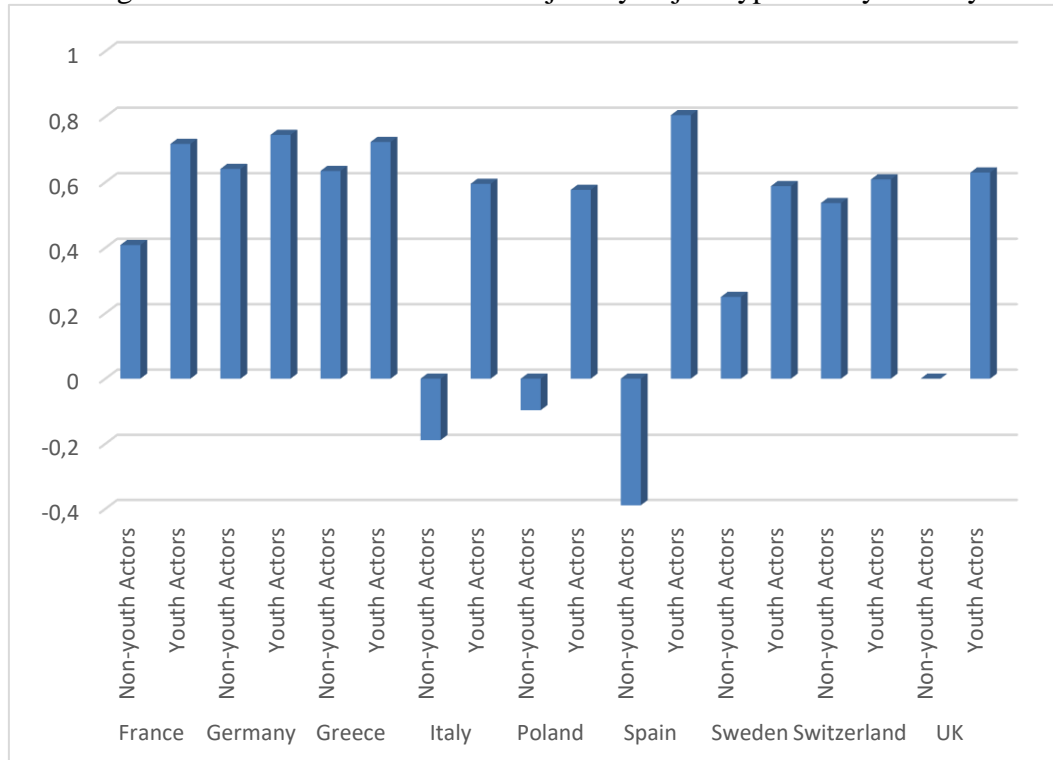
The claims of young Europeans are predominantly positively disposed toward the rights and the interests of their object, with Greece scoring highest in pro-object claims (79.3%) and Poland scoring lowest (51.8%). Anti-object claims are overall about as many as neutral or ambivalent claims. Italy records the highest percentage of anti-object claims (29.2%) while Poland scores highest in ambivalence (28.9%).

Figure 3.12 Position towards the object by country



The predominance of the pro-object evaluations in the claims raised by young actors is also seen when looking at the mean scores in figure 2.13, which are predominantly positive. It is also noticed that youth actors as objects of the claims raised by young actors have higher mean scores in the position towards the object compared to non-youth object in all countries. It is also noticed that, in Italy and Spain, non-youth objects have overall negative mean scores but also record high standard deviations around the mean, reflecting high variation most probably as a result of the different positions according to the particular actor type of non-youth object.

Figure 3.13 Position towards the object by object type and by country

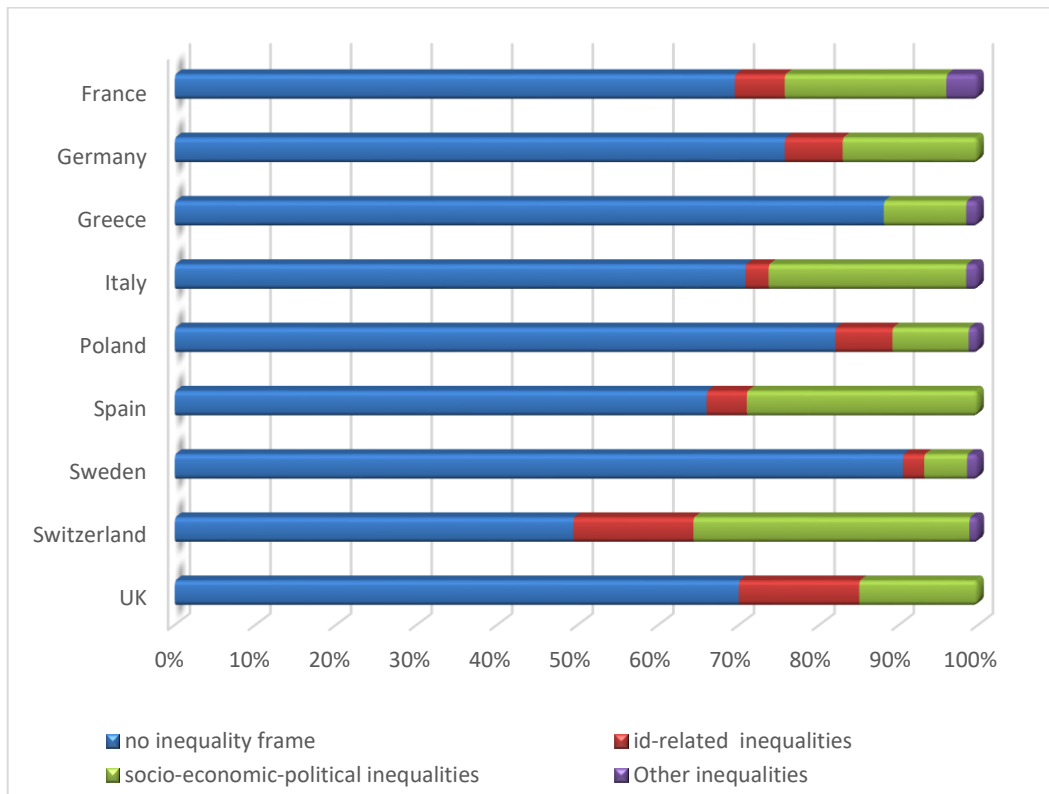


*The Inequality Frames: How was the claim defined and interpreted?*

Most claims raised by youth actors do not include inequality frames. Taking all countries into consideration, 249 out of 944 youth-made claims identify an inequality frame, 154 provide a diagnostic frame and 141 claims include a prognostic frame.

As shown in Figure 3.14, the cross-national comparison of framing practices among young claimants is quite similar to that observed regarding all actors: Swiss and Spanish claims (instead of French ones in the case of all actors) most frequently include a frame; Swedish and Greek claims do so most rarely. In most countries there are socio-economic and political inequalities mainly discussed, with the exception of the UK, where discriminatory inequalities appear as frequently as socio-economic and political inequalities. The same pattern is also observed when it comes to the diagnostic and the prognostic framing of the inequality raised.

Figure 3.14 Inequality frames of youth actors by country



## Conclusion

This report presents the findings of an integrated comparative study of youth-related political claims in the press media of nine countries: France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK. The analysis has focused on the main elements of political claims as they emerge in the public sphere following the tradition of political claim analysis, thus identifying the main actors of the claims, the issues of interest, the form of the claims, their addressees, the objects of claims and their positions and, finally, the framing of claims in terms of inequality, its identified cause and solution by claimants themselves.

As regards the distribution of claims throughout the period under study and when considering all participating countries, youth issues are more widely discussed in the years 2013 and 2016, while the opposite holds for the years 2011 and 2014. In 2012 and 2013, the claims raised by youth actors outweigh the claims raised by non-youth actors. The same is also observed in 2015, though to a lesser extent.

Based on our findings, state actors are overall the most salient claimants on youth matters, outweighing other actors in all countries except France, where youth actors prevail (35.3%) and Germany, where state actors have raised almost as many claims as youth actors have. Whereas, Greece and Italy, but also Germany, score above the cross-national average of 20.9% on youth-made claims, the UK scores lowest. Nevertheless, the ‘third sector’ appears to be well developed in the UK, since it scores much higher compared to the average when it comes to the claims raised by civil society (i.e. professional organisations and other civil society organisations). Education-related actors are the third most salient actors, attracting a total cross-national percentage of almost 13%. This actor category appears as a claimant most frequently in the Swiss and German media, where it reaches almost 19%, while the opposite is observed in France and Sweden, where education-related actors appear as claimants at a rate of less than 10% of their total number of claims.

Regarding the profile of claimants in terms of their geographical scope of action, education-related actors, youth actors and youth-related civil society organisations are most of the time active at the subnational level, while all other actors have a national scope. Thus, our findings tend to support studies which claim that youth politics are negotiated “through everyday, localized and relational networks” (Baczewska et al, 2018: 298); this is supported by that fact that youth actors and actors who lie closer to youth (education-related actors and youth-related civil society) have predominantly a local scope which distinguishes them from all other actors who raise claims on youth in the public sphere. Only a minority of about 3% of the total number of claims has been raised by actors who are active at the supranational level. Switzerland and Italy and Germany and Spain, though to a lesser extent, are the countries in which most actors have subnational scope. This finding is in accordance with our expectations since these countries have decentralised or federal governance.

With respect to the issue of claims, most actors focus on education, followed by welfare/social benefits and socioeconomics/employment, with 33.1%, 14% and

13.3% of the total number of claims respectively. Youth actors raise claims on education- related issues at a lower rate compared to other actors, while they emphasize political issues. Thus, young people seem to be interested in issues of political participation which contrasts contested literature on youth depoliticization and lack of political interests. Political parties, labour organisations and professional organisations prioritize socio-economic issues and employment, while youth- and other civil society organisations present an increased interest in social welfare, creativity and culture, violence and abuse as well as other issues. This deepens our understanding of the areas of political interest of young people and may indicate their orientation towards the politics of everyday life, which deserves further attention in future research. Adopting a cross-national comparative perspective, the following country specificities are noticed for all actors: French and Swedish actors are predominantly interested in employment and socio-economic issues, German ones are overwhelmingly interested in education, whereas Swiss and British actors score higher in social-welfare related issues compared to other national actors. Greek and Polish actors record an interest in political issues which is the highest above the cross-national average, while Italy scores particularly high on law and order issues.

According to the findings of our analysis, the claims related to youth address state actors most of the times in France, Greece, Spain and the UK, while the general category 'other actors' appears most frequently as an addressee in Germany, Italy, Poland and Sweden. Youth actors are also frequently met addressees of claims, with Greece recording the highest share of claims in this category, and with Italy and Switzerland portraying youth as a more salient addressee compared to state actors. In Italy and in Greece, youth actors are both protagonists as claimants and as addressees of claims, which indicates their relatively stronger role as participants in youth-related matters being discussed in the public sphere. This may be connected to the fact that both countries have passed through hard times of economic depression and harsh austerity, the effects of which may have triggered political interest and increased participation of the youth. This assumption could be further supported by the fact that in the South European countries [mainly in Italy and France] claims are expressed in the form of protest more frequently. All other actor categories occupy 10% at most of the total number of claims as addressees each in all countries, but Switzerland where education related actors are addressed in almost 12% of cases. As concerns blaming patterns, the overall (ie cross-national and cross-addressee) rate is as low as 34% of the total number of claims with France recording the highest share of blaming addressees, and Sweden recording the lowest one. Comparing across addressees type, it is noticed that political parties are blamed at most with state actors following. Regarding requests, the overall rate is 45%, suggesting that requests are more frequent than blaming in youth-related claims. Requests are more frequently met in the UK and Switzerland follows.

Furthermore, the political claims which relate to youth are publicly expressed through verbal statements most of the time with national percentages ranging from about 60% to 80%. Switzerland precedes in conventional political actions, France

and Italy score highest in protest actions and Germany comes first in solidarity actions.

As regards the object of the claim, the findings of our study demonstrate that while in the total number of claims examined teenagers and school students are most frequently portrayed as their object, in the claims raised by youth actors, university students and young adults tend to dominate. Group-specific youth are more frequently the object of the claims raised by civil society compared to claims raised by other actors and youth-related civil society organisations, which much more usually define disadvantaged or marginalized youth as the object of their claim. Comparing across the national samples, we notice that Spain and France record teenagers/school students lowest as objects of their claims, whereas Germany records them highest. This may reflect socio-economic and labour issues – which concern the oldest youth groups – and are predominant in France; this is similar for the UK, which scores particularly highly in social welfare-related issues. University students/young adults are more a salient object in Greece and Spain, group-specific youth are more salient in Sweden and disadvantaged or marginalized youth are most usually met as objects of claims in the UK.

With respect to the evaluation of the position of the claim towards the object, the overall picture shows a prevalence of the pro-object claims. France, Germany and Greece score highest in pro-object claims, whereas Sweden and the UK score highest in anti-object claims. Concerning ‘ambivalent object’ evaluations, Poland comes first and France comes last.

Fewer than 25% of the total number of claims include an inequality frame and even less include a diagnostic and a diagnostic frame. Switzerland and France record the highest rate of percentages of claims which provide inequality frames. A cross-national comparison of the claims with inequality frames reveals that the countries of the European South (i.e. Italy, Spain and Greece) come first in socio-economic and political inequality frames, whereas North European countries (and specifically the UK, Sweden and Poland) come first in discriminatory inequality frames. Such findings offer support to works emphasizing the North-South divide, especially over the past decade.

Focusing on the claims raised by young actors, our findings underline political youth groups and university students/young adults as the prevailing actor categories, with the UK being an exception with respect to the salience of political youth groups and with Sweden recording the lowest presence of university students as claimants and the highest presence of political youth groups.

Even though most other actors are national in scope, youth actors are more inclined to have a local or regional (i.e. subnational) scope. The only exception is that of political youth groups who have a predominantly national scope.

Youth actors, similarly to all other actors, address state actors most of the time and focus primarily on education. Notably, youth actors choose as the second most salient issue of their claims political issues, with political youth groups being primarily accountable for this trend. The cross-national comparison of the issues

raised by young actors shows that Greece scores particularly highly in political issues, while Spain and Italy record the highest score in education-related issues. The Spanish youth also scores higher than other national youth in socio-economic and employment issues. These findings appear to also be related to the impacts of austerity measures in those countries.

When it comes to the form of the claim, while verbal statements attract the highest frequency in the claims made by young actors, this frequency is lower compared to the respective average frequency of all other actors. In addition, young claimants record much higher frequencies in contentious politics, with protest actions being met more frequently compared to the average frequency score of all actors by about 20%. This finding, together with the increased rates in which issues of political participation are discussed by young claimants provides evidence for the fact that young Europeans are indeed more politically alert and active, compared to the average claimant in the national public spheres.

The claims raised by young people do most of the time bear on their own interests rather than on the interests of other actors and social groups and they are largely pro-object. A cross-national comparison of the object of the claims raised by young actors, finally, shows that Spain scores highest on youth objects (82%), while Germany scores lowest (42.3%). In addition, Sweden and Germany are the only countries in which more claims raised by young actors concern non-youth actors than youth actors. Once more, this is very likely related to the economic crisis: countries which have not experienced its effects have youth who bring issues to the public sphere concerning other social/age groups instead of raising claims concerning themselves, compared to those in countries of economic hardship, high rates of youth unemployment, cuts in education and dim prospects for young people.

Future analyses of the PCA data produced in this work package aim to offer further exploratory as well as explanatory comparative analyses on youth-related claims in the public sphere<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> These analyses were initially presented in a workshop at the University of Geneva, in April 2018, by members of the consortium: 1. Youth Discourse in Its Context: Opportunities for Political Impact by Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso, 2. Youth in the News: Emerging Portrayals in Europe, by Lorenzo Bosi et al, 3. "Seen but not heard? The visibility and framing of young women in the media" by Katherine Smith and Valentina Holecz, 4. Another brick in the wall? Youth protest claims in nine European countries, by Angelos Loukakis and Martín Portos, 5. Social media and youth political participation in the press: A political claims analysis across 9 European countries by Ludovic Terren and Núria Ferran Ferrer, 6. Youth representation in media in comparative perspective by Katrin Uba and Ludvig Stendahl, 7. Constructing youth in public discourse: active, passive, tentative? By Christian Lahusen et al, 8. Youth-related claims in the public sphere: comparing the national and subnational dimension by Maria Paschou, Maria Kousis, Didier Chabanet, and Manlio Cinalli.



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## Annex

Article selection has been made from lists of articles identified through keyword searches, where the order of articles has been randomized. Articles irrelevant on youth have been excluded from coding. Claim selection has been based on the general coding guidelines for WP2, that were provided by the leading team to all national teams.

The tables below provide information on the population of the total number of articles identified per newspaper based on the keyword searches, the randomly retrieved articles with coded claims, and the number of coded claims from these articles.

**Table I. France**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>Le Figaro</b>			
<b>2010</b>	7,736	11	13
<b>2011</b>	8,322	9	9
<b>2012</b>	8,166	6	7
<b>2013</b>	8,217	10	12
<b>2014</b>	7,607	19	20
<b>2015</b>	7,567	17	18
<b>2016</b>	7,739	21	21
<b>total</b>	55,354	93	100
<b>L'Humanité</b>			
<b>2010</b>	3,820	11	13
<b>2011</b>	3,532	6	6
<b>2012</b>	3,279	11	12
<b>2013</b>	3,441	10	13
<b>2014</b>	3,124	12	12
<b>2015</b>	3,026	19	21
<b>2016</b>	3,142	17	23
<b>total</b>	23,364	86	100
<b>Le Monde</b>			
<b>2010</b>	8,110	1	2
<b>2011</b>	8,909	7	10
<b>2012</b>	9,189	6	8
<b>2013</b>	8,728	12	21

<b>2014</b>	13,834	5	8
<b>2015</b>	7,862	22	36
<b>2016</b>	8,291	10	15
<b>total</b>	64,923	63	100
<b>Le Parisien</b>			
<b>2010</b>	19,029	6	11
<b>2011</b>	24,107	10	15
<b>2012</b>	23,670	10	16
<b>2013</b>	21,994	3	4
<b>2014</b>	22,194	9	13
<b>2015</b>	20,519	16	26
<b>2016</b>	20,657	10	16
<b>total</b>	152,17	64	101
<b>Liberation</b>			
<b>2010</b>	5,143	13	19
<b>2011</b>	5,511	11	13
<b>2012</b>	5,350	11	14
<b>2013</b>	5,442	7	8
<b>2014</b>	5,640	11	13
<b>2015</b>	4,863	14	14
<b>2016</b>	4,719	14	20
<b>total</b>	36,668	81	101

**Table II. Germany**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>‘Bild’</b>			
<b>2010</b>	13,076	12	15
<b>2011</b>	12,023	5	8
<b>2012</b>	11,197	6	11
<b>2013</b>	13,324	6	9
<b>2014</b>	13,787	9	17
<b>2015</b>	24,382	13	20
<b>2016</b>	18,318	11	20
<b>total</b>	106,107	62	100
<b>‘Die Welt’</b>			
<b>2010</b>	3,949	9	14
<b>2011</b>	2,975	6	9

<b>2012</b>	2,661	5	11
<b>2013</b>	2,749	10	18
<b>2014</b>	2,522	9	19
<b>2015</b>	2,321	7	10
<b>2016</b>	1,929	9	19
<b>total</b>	18,651	55	100
<b>‘Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung’</b>			
<b>2010</b>	3,355	4	9
<b>2011</b>	3,292	13	15
<b>2012</b>	2,983	4	6
<b>2013</b>	3,071	9	23
<b>2014</b>	2,755	10	13
<b>2015</b>	2,699	12	15
<b>2016</b>	2,693	12	19
<b>total</b>	20,848	64	100
<b>‘die tageszeitung’</b>			
<b>2010</b>	2,776	11	17
<b>2011</b>	2,600	8	14
<b>2012</b>	2,487	14	22
<b>2013</b>	2,458	17	24
<b>2014</b>	2,277	2	2
<b>2015</b>	2,213	9	11
<b>2016</b>	2,111	8	10
<b>total</b>	16,992	69	100
<b>‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’</b>			
<b>2010</b>	15,162	10	13
<b>2011</b>	13,363	15	16
<b>2012</b>	13,569	14	20
<b>2013</b>	13,722	9	12
<b>2014</b>	13,114	7	9
<b>2015</b>	12,965	11	16
<b>2016</b>	12,143	10	14
<b>total</b>	94,038	76	100

**Table III. Greece**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>Makedonia</b>			
<b>2010</b>	1,578	1	2
<b>2011</b>	7,856	9	28

<b>2012</b>	9,072	10	16
<b>2013</b>	1,699	1	1
<b>2014</b>	9,231	16	27
<b>2015</b>	3,939	7	15
<b>2016</b>	3,506	5	11
<b>total</b>	36,881	49	100
<b>Rizospastis</b>			
<b>2010</b>	9,039	11	22
<b>2011</b>	9,059	10	17
<b>2012</b>	9,838	15	19
<b>2013</b>	8,775	14	23
<b>2014</b>	6,705	6	14
<b>2015</b>	6,754	2	2
<b>2016</b>	6,134	2	3
<b>total</b>	56,304	60	100
<b>Proto Thema</b>			
<b>2010</b>	9,324	4	6
<b>2011</b>	14,741	8	8
<b>2012</b>	16,534	9	10
<b>2013</b>	17,731	7	18
<b>2014</b>	17,378	6	7
<b>2015</b>	18,840	18	32
<b>2016</b>	17,752	10	19
<b>total</b>	112,300	62	100
<b>Kathimerini</b>			
<b>2010</b>	15,890	3	5
<b>2011</b>	16,327	8	20
<b>2012</b>	22,846	8	9
<b>2013</b>	28,206	11	26
<b>2014</b>	8,785	6	13
<b>2015</b>	17,238	8	15
<b>2016</b>	16,768	8	12
<b>total</b>	126,060	52	100
<b>Ta Nea</b>			
<b>2010</b>	13,336	11	20
<b>2011</b>	12,697	10	14
<b>2012</b>	12,963	10	19
<b>2013</b>	14,456	5	8
<b>2014</b>	14,603	14	24
<b>2015</b>	12,214	5	6

<b>2016</b>	9,908	4	9
<b>total</b>	90,177	59	100

**Table IV. Italy**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>La Repubblica</b>			
<b>2010</b>	22,946	16	44
<b>2011</b>	5,781	8	10
<b>2012</b>	4,502	3	7
<b>2013</b>	5,754	8	13
<b>2014</b>	5,627	10	15
<b>2015</b>	4,990	2	6
<b>2016</b>	4,979	4	5
<b>total</b>	54,579	51	100
<b>Il Corriere della Sera</b>			
<b>2010</b>	15,039	4	11
<b>2011</b>	13,920	13	16
<b>2012</b>	17,885	9	16
<b>2013</b>	17,407	9	19
<b>2014</b>	15,598	11	23
<b>2015</b>	14,255	4	4
<b>2016</b>	14,073	8	11
<b>total</b>	108,177	58	100
<b>Il Giornale</b>			
<b>2010</b>	9,781	13	26
<b>2011</b>	7,905	10	9
<b>2012</b>	7,698	14	24
<b>2013</b>	6,758	12	15
<b>2014</b>	5,325	2	9
<b>2015</b>	4,469	7	12
<b>2016</b>	5,407	5	5
<b>total</b>	47,343	63	100
<b>La Stampa</b>			
<b>2010</b>	5,671	7	13

<b>2011</b>	5,869	5	6
<b>2012</b>	7,894	12	23
<b>2013</b>	8,654	11	16
<b>2014</b>	7,221	7	9
<b>2015</b>	7,292	10	15
<b>2016</b>	6,787	14	18
<b>total</b>	49,388	66	100
<b>La Nazione</b>			
<b>2010</b>	34,772	10	13
<b>2011</b>	32,193	7	13
<b>2012</b>	31,892	8	9
<b>2013</b>	38,102	7	8
<b>2014</b>	45,031	15	25
<b>2015</b>	47,161	14	20
<b>2016</b>	42,501	10	12
<b>total</b>	271,652	71	100

**Table V. Spain**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>El Pais</b>			
<b>2010</b>	9,758	7	11
<b>2011</b>	11,236	5	9
<b>2012</b>	9,260	7	16
<b>2013</b>	7,892	8	25
<b>2014</b>	7,636	8	12
<b>2015</b>	8,105	10	16
<b>2016</b>	7,515	6	11
<b>total</b>	61,402	51	100
<b>ABC</b>			
<b>2010</b>	12,854	13	15
<b>2011</b>	9,207	10	12
<b>2012</b>	9,268	11	20
<b>2013</b>	12,165	10	14
<b>2014</b>	12,443	9	10
<b>2015</b>	13,909	14	17
<b>2016</b>	10,719	10	13
<b>total</b>	80,565	77	101

<b>El Periodico de Catalunya</b>			
<b>2010</b>	24,257	9	11
<b>2011</b>	25,239	13	21
<b>2012</b>	22,312	7	12
<b>2013</b>	23,540	8	17
<b>2014</b>	22,542	8	17
<b>2015</b>	22,292	7	9
<b>2016</b>	23,271	9	13
<b>total</b>	163,453	61	100
<b>La Vanguardia</b>			
<b>2010</b>	5,239	9	12
<b>2011</b>	5,986	9	11
<b>2012</b>	5,099	7	9
<b>2013</b>	5,550	12	19
<b>2014</b>	6,914	13	24
<b>2015</b>	6,590	13	20
<b>2016</b>	5,464	4	5
<b>total</b>	40,842	67	100
<b>El Mundo</b>			
<b>2010</b>	5,313	10	13
<b>2011</b>	5,558	15	18
<b>2012</b>	4,144	13	13
<b>2013</b>	4,073	11	11
<b>2014</b>	4,163	9	15
<b>2015</b>	4,247	12	14
<b>2016</b>	4,064	10	17
<b>total</b>	31,562	80	101

**Table VI. Poland**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>Super Express</b>			
<b>2010</b>	1,549	17	17
<b>2011</b>	1,817	6	8
<b>2012</b>	2,176	12	13
<b>2013</b>	3,210	8	14
<b>2014</b>	3,444	8	9
<b>2015</b>	3,099	7	9
<b>2016</b>	3,515	29	30
<b>total</b>	18,810	87	100



<b>Gazeta Prawna</b>			
<b>2010</b>	4,809	2	2
<b>2011</b>	5,135	13	23
<b>2012</b>	5,109	4	8
<b>2013</b>	5,677	13	22
<b>2014</b>	6,298	10	14
<b>2015</b>	6,132	4	6
<b>2016</b>	6,265	18	25
<b>total</b>	39,425	64	100
<b>Gazeta Wyborcza</b>			
<b>2010</b>	34,944	3	5
<b>2011</b>	42,288	7	12
<b>2012</b>	46,500	3	8
<b>2013</b>	47,956	17	27
<b>2014</b>	52,230	16	21
<b>2015</b>	51,982	2	2
<b>2016</b>	56,545	23	25
<b>total</b>	332,445	71	100
<b>Gazeta Polska</b>			
<b>2010</b>	887	0	0
<b>2011</b>	890	1	2
<b>2012</b>	1,217	12	15
<b>2013</b>	1,333	22	33
<b>2014</b>	1,643	13	15
<b>2015</b>	1,698	7	10
<b>2016</b>	1,965	23	25
<b>total</b>	9,633	78	1000
<b>Rzeczpospolita</b>			
<b>2010</b>	7,120	10	14
<b>2011</b>	7,709	7	11
<b>2012</b>	8,456	0	0
<b>2013</b>	9,109	20	25
<b>2014</b>	10,321	9	11
<b>2015</b>	11,093	9	14
<b>2016</b>	12,320	24	25
<b>total</b>	66,128	79	100

**Table VII. Sweden**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>Aftonbladet</b>			
<b>2010</b>	5,132	23	27
<b>2011</b>	1,036	1	5
<b>2012</b>	2,151	8	8
<b>2013</b>	2,822	9	11
<b>2014</b>	1,717	10	12
<b>2015</b>	3,957	18	30
<b>2016</b>	3,405	7	7
<b>total</b>	20,220	76	100
<b>Dagens Nyheter</b>			
<b>2010</b>	8,437	10	11
<b>2011</b>	8,604	5	6
<b>2012</b>	8,953	20	23
<b>2013</b>	6,522	12	17
<b>2014</b>	8,437	9	16
<b>2015</b>	5,351	6	11
<b>2016</b>	4,504	10	16
<b>total</b>	50,808	72	100
<b>Göteborgs Posten</b>			
<b>2010</b>	7,803	15	30
<b>2011</b>	7,577	11	19
<b>2012</b>	6,586	7	15
<b>2013</b>	6,389	6	7
<b>2014</b>	6,132	5	6
<b>2015</b>	6,057	9	11
<b>2016</b>	6,321	8	12
<b>total</b>	46,865	61	100
<b>Västerbottens Kuriren</b>			
<b>2010</b>	3,350	9	11
<b>2011</b>	3,650	11	12
<b>2012</b>	3,245	12	16
<b>2013</b>	4,211	15	20
<b>2014</b>	4,078	12	14
<b>2015</b>	3,944	10	12

<b>2016</b>	4,129	11	15
<b>total</b>	26,607	80	100
<b>Sydsvenskan</b>			
<b>2010</b>	9,320	11	15
<b>2011</b>	8,008	9	11
<b>2012</b>	8,616	20	24
<b>2013</b>	8,359	14	20
<b>2014</b>	6,508	12	15
<b>2015</b>	7,564	9	12
<b>2016</b>	7,353	3	3
<b>total</b>	55,728	78	100

**Table VIII. Switzerland**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</b>			
<b>2010</b>	8,845	11	18
<b>2011</b>	9,345	12	20
<b>2012</b>	9,167	8	10
<b>2013</b>	9,033	5	10
<b>2014</b>	9,121	7	17
<b>2015</b>	8,560	5	12
<b>2016</b>	8,506	8	13
<b>total</b>	62,577	56	100
<b>La Regione</b>			
<b>2010</b>	6,224	16	18
<b>2011</b>	6,266	7	10
<b>2012</b>	5,888	15	19
<b>2013</b>	5,804	11	13
<b>2014</b>	5,679	12	12
<b>2015</b>	5,327	6	7
<b>2016</b>	5,090	19	25
<b>total</b>	40,278	86	104
<b>Le Matin</b>			
<b>2010</b>	3,562	5	9
<b>2011</b>	4,662	7	15
<b>2012</b>	4,755	11	23
<b>2013</b>	4,786	3	6
<b>2014</b>	4,269	3	5

<b>2015</b>	3,890	14	27
<b>2016</b>	4,887	8	15
<b>total</b>	30,811	51	100
<b>Le Temps</b>			
<b>2010</b>	11,490	16	32
<b>2011</b>	8,806	8	16
<b>2012</b>	5,670	6	11
<b>2013</b>	4,940	6	11
<b>2014</b>	6,072	8	16
<b>2015</b>	4,367	3	5
<b>2016</b>	3,871	4	11
<b>total</b>	45,216	78	100
<b>Tages-Anzeiger</b>			
<b>2010</b>	9,186	19	27
<b>2011</b>	7,042	5	6
<b>2012</b>	5,990	6	6
<b>2013</b>	5,190	8	15
<b>2014</b>	1,193	10	17
<b>2015</b>	4,892	7	13
<b>2016</b>	4,892	7	16
<b>total</b>	38,385	62	100

**Table IX. UK**

	<b>Total number of identified articles</b>	<b>Number of Articles with claims</b>	<b>Number of Claims coded</b>
<b>The Guardian</b>			
<b>2010</b>	8,858	8	15
<b>2011</b>	8,821	4	4
<b>2012</b>	7,351	4	8
<b>2013</b>	7,839	5	8
<b>2014</b>	12,979	10	13
<b>2015</b>	27,327	9	20
<b>2016</b>	26,759	19	32
<b>total</b>	99,934	59	100
<b>The Times</b>			
<b>2010</b>	10,408	6	8
<b>2011</b>	9,208	10	15
<b>2012</b>	9,577	9	11

<b>2013</b>	9,949	12	23
<b>2014</b>	9,252	7	11
<b>2015</b>	8,604	9	17
<b>2016</b>	7,210	8	15
<b>total</b>	64,208	61	100
<b>The Mirror</b>			
<b>2010</b>	4,535	14	18
<b>2011</b>	4,942	10	19
<b>2012</b>	5,481	16	22
<b>2013</b>	3,775	14	17
<b>2014</b>	1,635	7	12
<b>2015</b>	1,659	4	4
<b>2016</b>	1,584	6	8
<b>total</b>	23,611	70	100
<b>The Sun</b>			
<b>2010</b>	3,533	13	19
<b>2011</b>	3,639	4	4
<b>2012</b>	4,723	12	16
<b>2013</b>	3,936	17	23
<b>2014</b>	2,254	4	4
<b>2015</b>	2,252	11	18
<b>2016</b>	2,415	11	16
<b>total</b>	22,752	72	100
<b>The Daily Mail</b>			
<b>2010</b>	8,223	10	15
<b>2011</b>	8,162	12	16
<b>2012</b>	7,693	11	18
<b>2013</b>	8,020	12	16
<b>2014</b>	7,047	5	9
<b>2015</b>	7,262	10	16
<b>2016</b>	7,632	9	10
<b>total</b>	54,039	69	100