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Between Schengen and security: border controls at the Polish-German border through the eyes of selected Polish and German media

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Abstract
This article presents the analysis of the reaction of selected Polish and German media to enhanced border controls between 2023 and 2025. The author examines four key stages: the 2023 visa scandal, Germany's introduction of controls (October 2023), the discursive normalisation of border controls (2024), and Poland's implementation of controls (July 2025). The study explores how the analysed media interpret identical facts through different socio-political lenses, managing the contradiction between supporting European integration and endorsing restrictive border policies. A qualitative critical discourse analysis of 81 articles indicates a systematic application of "double standards". The selected media construct competing security visions, legitimising their own government's actions via national security narratives, while criticising similar steps taken by the neighbouring state. This mechanism of selective rationalisation deepens mutual distrust and complicates joint European responses to illegal migration, highlighting the media's active role in co-constructing the rebordering process and eroding the Schengen Area's security community.
Keywords: discourse analysis, security, European integration, constructivism, border controls, media, migration, securitisation, Polish-German relations, Schengen Area

Między Schengen a bezpieczeństwem: kontrole graniczne na granicy polsko-niemieckiej oczami wybranych polskich i niemieckich mediów

Streszczenie
Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia analizę reakcji wybranych polskich i niemieckich mediów na wprowadzenie wzmożonych kontroli na granicy polsko-niemieckiej w latach 2023–2025. Badanie obejmuje

cztery kluczowe etapy: tzw. aferę wizową (2023), wprowadzenie kontroli przez Niemcy (październik 2023), dyskursywną normalizację kontroli granicznych (2024) oraz wdrożenie kontroli przez Polskę (lipiec 2025). Celem jest zrozumienie, w jaki sposób analizowane tytuły prasowe interpretują te same fakty przez pryzmat odmiennych priorytetów społeczno-politycznych, zarządzając opinią publiczną między poparciem dla integracji a akceptacją restrykcyjnych polityk. Jakościowa krytyczna analiza dyskursu 81 artykułów ujawnia systematyczne stosowanie „podwójnych standardów". Badane media konstruują konkurencyjne wizje bezpieczeństwa: działania własnego państwa legitymizowane są narracją o bezpieczeństwie narodowym, podczas gdy identyczne kroki państwa sąsiadującego spotykają się z krytyką. Taki mechanizm selektywnej racjonalizacji pogłębia wzajemną nieufność i utrudnia wspólne europejskie odpowiedzi na wyzwania migracyjne, ukazując aktywną rolę prasy we współtworzeniu procesu reborderyzacji oraz erozji wspólnoty bezpieczeństwa strefy Schengen.
Słowa kluczowe: analiza dyskursu, bezpieczeństwo, integracja europejska, konstruktywizm, kontrole graniczne, media, migracja, sekurytyzacja, relacje polsko-niemieckie, strefa Schengen

The Schengen Area, constituting one of the foundational pillars of the European integration project, is currently facing significant challenges. Since 2015, when Europe experienced a significant increase in migration flows, the largest since World War II, the concept of a control-free space at internal borders has come under increasing pressure. EU Member States are increasingly using mechanisms for temporarily reinstating border controls, which were originally intended to be exceptional and short-term measures. The measures that were designed as extraordinary crisis response are transforming into a permanent practice of renationalising security policies.

In October 2023, Germany unilaterally introduced controls at its border with Poland, justifying this decision by increasing illegal migration pressure and the need to protect internal security. The selected German media presented this decision as a rational and responsible reaction to real threats. Simultaneously, the analysed Polish media criticised these actions as a violation of European principles of free movement and a manifestation of double standards.

The situation changed dramatically in 2025. When Prime Minister Donald Tusk announced in June and actually implemented analogous border controls in July, the examined German media perceived this decision with understanding, while the selected Polish press enthusiastically supported it. This fundamental asymmetry in interpreting identical actions indicates a key problem in contemporary Europe: media not only report on border policy events, but actively shape competing visions of European security. The same border controls can be presented as justified protection against threats or as a troubling departure from European integration standards – depending on which state takes action and what political context accompanies them.

The main hypothesis of this study assumes that the analysed German and Polish media apply double standards in evaluating border measures, legitimising their own governments' decisions, while simultaneously criticising analogous steps taken by their neighbour. This mechanism of selective rationalisation deepens distrust between countries and complicates the development of common solutions for migration challenges in the European Union.

The aim of the study is to identify and analyse the mechanisms, through which media construct competing security narratives. The analysis is focused on answering the following **research questions:**

1) How did the selected Polish and German press interpret Germany's introduction of border controls in October 2023, and subsequently the analogous announcements and implementation of controls by the Polish government in 2025?
2) What linguistic and narrative mechanisms were employed in both countries' media to legitimise their own actions while simultaneously criticising the neighbouring state's actions?
3) How was the security context related to the Polish-Belarusian border presented in the analysed German *versus* Polish media?
4) What role did statistics and empirical data play in constructing media narratives, and did their presentation differ depending on national context?
5) What potential implications for the functioning of the Schengen Area and the European security community can be derived from the observed mechanisms of media rationalisation?

Theoretical framework

The analysis of double standards mechanisms in media narratives requires an integrated theoretical framework combining three complementary perspectives: securitisation theory explaining the process of constructing threats, critical discourse analysis revealing the mechanisms of this construction, and the concept of border dynamics showing the consequences of these processes for European integration.

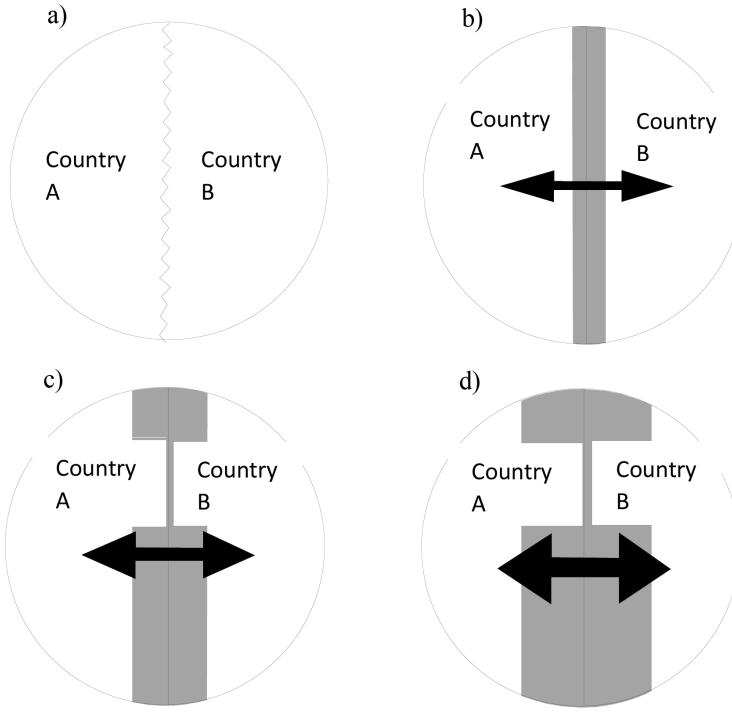
Media play a significant role in securitisation processes – the transformation of ordinary political issues into security threats (Buzan et al. 1998). According to the Copenhagen School approach, securitisation occurs through "speech acts" – statements, in which a specific issue is presented as an existential threat requiring extraordinary measures. In the context of migration and border controls, media are functioning as key securitising actors, producing threat narratives and legitimising deviations from normal political procedures (Huysmans 2006; Bigo 2002). This approach assumes a constructivist understanding of security – not as an objective state of affairs, but as a socially constructed category. Security does not exist "in itself", but is produced through discursive practices, in which media play a primary role. What is recognised as a threat depends on how it is presented and by whom. The concept of the securitisation "audience" is also crucial (Balzacq 2005) – securitisation processes are effective only when they find acceptance among society, which media simultaneously shape and appeal to. In the context of this study, it is essential to understand that the same facts – the introduction of border controls – can be simultaneously securitised when done by a neighbour, or desecuritised when done by one's own state.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) allows the identification of specific linguistic mechanisms, through which media construct these different interpretations. CDA treats discourse

as a form of social action shaping social reality (van Dijk 2018; Fairclough 2015). It assumes that language is not a neutral carrier of information, but a tool of power and ideology. Media, through their choice of terminology, framing of events (Entman 1993), and argumentative strategies, actively model the perception of political reality. In the context of border controls, this means that the choice between the terms "security controls" and "Schengen violation" determines whether a given action will be perceived as legitimate protection or unjustified aggression. Central to this analysis is CDA's assumption that the same facts can be presented within different interpretive frames, leading to different political conclusions. Comparative analysis of the selected Polish and German press demonstrates how identical actions (introducing border controls) are embedded in different national discourses, leading to a mechanism of double standards.

Securitisation processes and discursive construction of reality do not occur in a vacuum but in the specific context of the historical dynamics of the Polish-German border. Martinez (1994) distinguished four types of borderlands depending on the degree of border permeability: from alienated, through coexistent and interdependent, to integrated – representing the highest degree of cross-border cooperation (*Figure 1*).

Figure 1: Types of cross-border relations according to Martinez (1994).



Source: Martinez (1994: p. 3), after: Leśniak-Johann (2023: p. 132).

Martinez's model illustrates static border typologies, while the bordering-debordering-rebordering concept (Jones 2009; Newman 2006; van Houtum 2005; Kolosov, Więckowski 2018) describes their temporal dynamics. Borders are constantly produced and reproduced through acts of closing (bordering), opening (debordering), and re-closing (rebordering). Bordering means establishing and forming borders through spatial demarcation, construction, and maintenance (Rumford 2008). Debordering is a process related to border permeability that supports cooperation, integration, and enables greater freedom of movement and trade (Więckowski, Timothy 2021). It is essential to understand that borders undergo cycles of opening and closing. The Polish-German border underwent a structural transformation from a completely closed border during the Cold War (*Type A* in Martinez's model), through gradual opening after 1989, to achieving fully integrated border status after Poland's entry into the Schengen Area in 2007 (*Type D*), to the current re-closing process visible in the 2023–2025 controls. Media not only describe these changes but actively participate in creating them – by justifying the restoration of controls through threat narratives, they become co-creators of the border rebuilding process.

This leads to the fundamental question about the future of the European security community. The concept of a security community, formulated by Karl Deutsch and colleagues, assumes that between states a lasting community can develop, based on mutual trust, in which conflicts are resolved peacefully, and the use of force becomes unimaginable. Deutsch et al. (1957) distinguished two types of such communities: amalgamated (with formal unification) and pluralistic (maintaining state sovereignty). The European Union, and particularly the Schengen Area, represents an example of a pluralistic security community, in which the abolition of border controls symbolised the highest degree of mutual trust and integration. The return of border controls undermines the foundations of this community, signalling the renationalisation of security policies. When states again perceive neighbours as potential sources of threats rather than partners in managing common challenges, the security community erodes. Media facilitate this process – by producing narratives about threats from across the border, they undermine mutual trust and legitimise unilateral actions. Instead of performing an integrative function and building a common European identity, media may contribute to the erosion of it, returning to the logic of interstate rivalry. As recent scholarship on European integration highlights, the politicisation of the Schengen regime and the collective securitisation of free movement have transformed internal borders into central arenas for identity politics and national crisis management (Börzel, Risse 2018; Ceccorulli 2019). Within this framework, the concept of "double standards" is operationalised as a systematic discursive asymmetry. It occurs when identical political actions (e.g., introducing border controls) are legitimised through national security frames when undertaken by the domestic government, while being delegitimised or securitised as a threat when undertaken by a neighbouring state. Furthermore, this study proposes the concept of "double securitisation", which refers to the process, where not only migrants are securitised as a threat, but the neighbouring state's border policies are also constructed as an existential threat to domestic security.

Methodology and corpus selection

To investigate the hypothesis, **the research methodology** employed in this study consists of a qualitative approach based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the mechanisms of double standards in media narratives. The empirical corpus consists of 81 press articles published between September 2023 and July 2025.

To ensure a focused comparative perspective, three major outlets were selected from each country. The German corpus includes 12 articles from *Bild* (representing the tabloid press), 15 articles from *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (*FAZ*), and 11 articles from *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (representing quality broadsheets). The Polish corpus includes 20 articles from *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 12 articles from *Rzeczpospolita*, and 11 articles from *Gazeta Polska Codziennie*, representing diverse editorial stances from the quality press. It should be noted that the inclusion of *Bild* introduces a specific tabloid rhetoric; however, its high circulation and agenda-setting power justify its qualitative analysis alongside the quality press to capture the full spectrum of security narratives.

The articles were retrieved via digital media archives using targeted keywords (e.g., "Schengen", "border controls", "Grenzkontrollen", "visa scandal"). The analytical procedure was conducted manually and involved identifying specific CDA elements: lexical choices, framing strategies, argumentative schemes, and the attribution of responsibility. The findings are based on a qualitative interpretation of recurring patterns within the analysed corpus and do not claim statistical representativeness for the entire Polish or German media landscapes.

Construction of competing security narratives

The following section traces the evolution of media narratives through four key chronological stages: the visa scandal, Germany's introduction of controls, the normalisation of the control discourse, and Poland's implementation of controls in 2025.

The revelation of irregularities in visa issuance by Polish consulates in September 2023 became a turning point in shaping media narratives about border security. Although the scandal concerned Poland's internal administrative procedures, the examined German press quickly used it as one of the main arguments for introducing border controls, transforming a local administrative problem into a matter of European security. The selected German press presented the visa scandal in the language of existential threat. The analysed tabloid employed highly alarmist rhetoric. *Bild* titled its material *Corruption! Poland's Government Under Smuggling Suspicion* (18 September 2023), describing it as a scandal "shaking the entire Schengen Area" (see: Vehlewald 2023). On 23 September 2023, *FAZ* warned about an "avalanche" of hundreds of thousands of potentially improperly issued visas (see: Gnauck 2023).

A key mechanism in the German narrative was linking the visa scandal to threats to Germany's internal security. On 27 September 2023, *FAZ* reported: "The Interior Ministry emphasises, however, that the Federal Police has already significantly increased border

protection measures at the [Polish – author's note] border with Germany due to the current migration situation" (see: Bubrowski, Marschall 2023). This discursive strategy effectively transformed a Polish administrative problem into German justification for extraordinary security measures. Polish media adopted a defensive stance. On 16 September 2023, *Gazeta Wyborcza* reported: "The visa scandal is being described by news agencies and media worldwide, from Europe and the USA through Turkey to Hong Kong. Reports invariably emphasise that the scandal may harm Law and Justice" (see: Skarżyński 2023).

In October 2023, Germany introduced controls at its border with Poland, citing increasing migration pressure and the visa scandal. Media reactions in both countries revealed a fundamental asymmetry in evaluating the same security actions. The analysed German media outlets presented the introduction of controls as a rational, responsible response to real threats. *Bild*, which had previously warned about "corruption" in Poland, declared after a month of controls: "43 percent of illegal immigrants turned back: Huge success of stationary border controls!" (18 November 2023). The article detailed the achievements: "266 human traffickers and 329 drug smugglers caught, 670 arrest warrants executed" (see: Schneider, Uhlenbroich 2023).

Selected Polish media reacted with criticism and concern. *Gazeta Wyborcza* reported on 29 September 2023 the experiences of cross-border entrepreneurs who described controls as "a return to the 1990s" (see: Kraśnicki Jr 2023). Business representatives warned against losing the value of free trade and personnel exchange between countries. Similar concerns regarding the economic impact were raised by *Gazeta Polska Codziennie,* which headlined: "Germany's migration policy hits Polish firms" (30 September 2024) framing the German measures primarily as an economic threat to national interests (see: Urbanke 2024).

In media discourse, particularly in Germany, statistics on illegal border crossings played a crucial role in legitimising border controls. These statistics indicated a significant increase in migration pressure. The selected German media regularly cited alarming statistics from the Federal Police (germ. *Bundespolizei*) and Federal Ministry of the Interior – such as a dramatic increase in illegal crossings and asylum applications reaching their highest levels since 2016 – to build a sense of crisis urgency (Bundesministerium… 2023).

Minister Michael Stübgen systematically exerted pressure on public opinion, presenting statistics on the increase in illegal border crossings. According to data presented by the Federal Ministry of the Interior and cited in media, indicators reached an increase of almost 170% compared to the previous year (Bundesministerium… 2023). These alarming numbers were regularly repeated in the selected German press, creating a sense of crisis urgency. In contrast, the analysed Polish press emphasised that the main source of migrant influx to Germany comes from the Balkan route, not from the Polish-Belarusian border. This data presentation effectively laid the groundwork for legitimising extraordinary security measures. Public debate was shifted from nuanced discussion about migration management towards perceiving the situation as an urgent, existential threat to state security.

Between the introduction of German controls and the announcement of Polish controls, a gradual change occurred in the tone of the examined Polish press towards

border controls. This narrative evolution prepared the ground for later acceptance of their own actions. When Germany announced the extension of controls to all land borders, on 14 September 2024, *Gazeta Wyborcza* adopted a much more balanced tone: "From Monday, September 16, controls at all of Germany's land borders will be in effect. This decision was announced by Nancy Faeser (SPD), Interior Minister" (see: Kowalewska, Kraśnicki Jr 2024). Particularly telling was an article from 21 October 2024 titled *Tightened controls at German borders are fiction* (see: Kokot 2024). The newspaper reported: "Sometimes 46 people were crammed into a single cargo vehicle [...] But those times have changed." A police spokesperson in Ludwigsdorf assured: "Currently, it very rarely happens that we detect people who want to enter Germany illegally."

The normalisation process was gradual and multidimensional. Media not only stopped criticising controls, but actively built a narrative about their "pragmatism" and "necessity". *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which in September 2023 quoted entrepreneurs talking about a "return to the 1990s", a year later used language suggesting that controls are "fiction" – thereby minimising their significance and preparing the ground for accepting the Tusk government's own actions. This transformation proceeded in three stages: from presenting controls as a threat to Schengen to normalising them as "new reality", from criticising the fact of controls to criticising only "how they are conducted", from presenting controls as a violation of European values to accepting them as a "pragmatic response to crisis". This mechanism demonstrates how media gradually prepared society for a position change that would occur several months later.

Prime Minister Tusk's announcement in June 2025 about introducing controls at the border with Germany and Lithuania marked a turning point, when a significant shift of media narratives occurred. The analysis of reactions clearly illustrates the mechanism of double standards. Polish press perceived Tusk's decision with clear approval or at least neutrality. *Rzeczpospolita* informed about it on 1 July 2025 without critical tone: "We are restoring temporary control at the border with Germany and Lithuania – Prime Minister Donald Tusk announced" (see: Lewicki 2025). *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which a year earlier had dramatically described German controls, now legitimised the new policy by quoting the Border Guard commander's assurances in the article published on 7 July 2025: "We have no intention whatsoever to make life difficult for border communities, let alone hamper the flow of people" (see: Kraśnicki Jr, Szyliński 2025).

The analysed German media's reaction to Polish controls stood in clear contrast to their earlier criticism of Polish "corruption and hypocrisy". *Bild,* which a year earlier had alarmed about a "scandal" in Poland, now calmly informed: "Poland is also controlling now", describing the situation in a neutral reportorial tone (see: Engelberg 2025). *FAZ* adopted an almost philosophical tone, explaining: "No freedom without control" (1 July 2025). The newspaper argued: "Freedom without control in the European Union is possible and sensible only when the EU's external borders are effectively controlled" (see: Müller 2025). *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* though critical of the idea of controls itself, directed criticism mainly at both governments simultaneously: "No, it's not just Dobrindt's fault [...] It's a stupid rebellion reaction – to equally stupid German border theatre" (see: Großmann 2025).

Systematic analysis of the media corpus indicates three key mechanisms, through which media constructed competing security narratives, applying double standards in evaluating identical actions. The first mechanism is linguistic differentiation. Identical actions were described with different terminology, depending on which state undertook them. German border controls were consistently presented by the selected German media as "border controls" (germ. *Grenzkontrollen*) aimed at "protection" (germ. *Schutz*) and "security" (germ. *Sicherheit*). On 18 November 2023, *Bild* wrote about "smart controls" (germ. *smarten Kontrollen*) that work (see: Schneider, Uhlenbroich 2023). Simultaneously, Polish actions at the border with Belarus were redefined pejoratively by the examined German media. Terms such as "suspension of asylum rights" or "militarisation of the border" were used.

The second mechanism is asymmetry in justifications. General statistics and demographic trends sufficed to justify own government's controls. German politicians and media operated with data about "increasing migration pressure" without in-depth contextual analysis. *FAZ* (citing *Bundespolizei's* data) reported: "In the first half of 2023, according to federal government information, 4,489 people were turned back at stationary border controls with Austria", presenting this as obvious justification for further controls. Meanwhile, Polish justifications, particularly those referring to hybrid warfare at the border with Belarus, were systematically questioned or frequently omitted. German press rarely mentioned the instrumentalisation of migration by the Lukashenko and Putin regimes, which was a central element of Polish argumentation. When Poland introduced controls in 2025, similar general justifications were already accepted without deeper verification. Minister Siemoniak could simply state (quoted by *FAZ*, 7 July 2025): "Controls are directed against those who participate in illegal migrant smuggling across the border", and this was treated as sufficient justification (see: Locke 2025).

The third mechanism is selective acceptance of security arguments. National security functioned as an accepted and overriding argument legitimising one's own actions. Nancy Faeser could argue (quoted by *FAZ*, 14 September 2023): "We want order and security within Europe" (see: Steppat, von Altenbockum 2023), and the selected German media accepted this as sufficient justification. Analogous arguments presented by Poland in the context of the border with Belarus were systematically depreciated. When the Polish government argued that actions at the eastern border were a response to hybrid warfare, the analysed German press focused on "suspension of asylum rights" instead of the security threat context. This mechanism of selective acceptance demonstrates the instrumental nature of using security arguments depending on political interests. Security ceases to be an objective category, becoming a tool for legitimising one's own actions and criticising the neighbour's actions.

Implications for the European Security Community

The conducted analysis of double standards mechanisms in the selected Polish and German press reveals an important paradox of contemporary Europe. Media outlets that declaratively support European integration, through their discourse, may contribute to

the erosion of the security community. Instead of building a common European narrative in face of the migration crisis, they consistently construct an image of threat originating not from external actors using migration as a tool of pressure, but from European neighbours implementing border controls. Mutual securitisation of the neighbour constitutes the antithesis of the security community concept. When the analysed German publications present the Polish visa scandal as an existential threat to the entire Schengen Area, and the examined Polish media interpret German controls as a return to the logic of dividing Europe, they undermine the fundamental assumption about the impossibility of conflict between community members. This mechanism is particularly destructive, because it redirects attention from real challenges – the instrumentalisation of migration by authoritarian regimes – to internal divisions within the European Union.

The observed rebordering process of the Polish-German border cannot be explained solely as a reaction to objective threats, but it is actively co-constructed through media discourse. The analysis demonstrated how the selected German media gradually built a crisis narrative through selective use of statistics and alarmist language, preparing the ground for accepting controls. Similarly, the examined Polish press evolved from criticising German actions to normalising controls as "new reality", creating a favourable context for their own government's actions. Media not only report on border closures, but actively legitimise them, functioning as actors in the gradual deconstruction of Schengen. A key result is the asymmetric nature of this process, which is not limited to the Polish-German border. Similar mechanisms have also been identified at other EU internal borders. Each state, legitimising its own controls and criticising neighbours' actions, contributes to a chain reaction leading to fragmentation of the Schengen Area. For example, French media justifying controls at the border with Italy while criticising Italian "negligence", Austrian press similarly reacting to controls with Germany – all these cases demonstrate the systemic nature of the problem.

The renationalisation of security policies observed in the analysis poses a major challenge to the future of the European project. When media construct competing security visions based on national priorities, they undermine the possibility of developing common standards and coordinated actions. Migration as a cross-border phenomenon requires supranational solutions based on solidarity and shared responsibility. Meanwhile, the double standards mechanism leads to a situation, where each state feels justified in taking unilateral actions while condemning analogous steps by neighbours. This process leads to a "tragedy of the commons" in the European context. The Schengen Area, being a common good of all members, erodes through uncoordinated unilateral actions. Paradoxically, media trying to protect national interests by legitimising their own border controls contribute in the long term to the collapse of a system, from which everyone benefits. When each state introduces controls in response to neighbours' actions, the final result is the suspension of the fundamental principle of free movement.

The analysis suggests that as long as internal borders are discursively transformed into demarcation lines between "us" and "them", the risk of further renationalisation of border policies and fragmentation of the integration project will persist.

Conclusions

Returning to the research questions, the analysis demonstrated how the selected outlets systematically employed linguistic differentiation, asymmetry of justifications, and selective acceptance of security arguments to frame identical border measures differently depending on the acting state.

The analysis of press articles from 2023–2025 confirmed the hypothesis about systematic application of double standards in the analysed Polish and German media outlets, when evaluating border controls. The identified rationalisation mechanisms demonstrate how identical actions are legitimised, when undertaken by one's own state and criticised, when introduced by a neighbour. These mechanisms are not accidental but result from structural conditions of national media functioning within market, political, and cultural logic. The study makes a significant contribution to securitisation theory by documenting the phenomenon of "double securitisation", in which not only migrants become threats, but primarily the neighbouring state's actions. It also extends the bordering-debordering-rebordering concept by adding a media dimension, showing media as active actors co-constructing the border closing process. In the context of European studies, the analysis demonstrates deep tension between declared ideals of integration and discursive practices that lead to the erosion of security community.

The study highlights the need for European institutions to understand how national media narratives can complicate cross-border trust. Further research should explore more systematically transnational media discourse, offering an alternative to fragmentation along national lines. Member States' governments must recognise that unilateral actions lead to long-term undermining of all parties' interests. Media, in turn, need critical reflection on their own practices and development of cross-border journalism competencies that transcend national interpretive frameworks.

The study's limitations include its temporal and geographical scope. Future analyses should cover a longer perspective, other pairs of the Member States, and examine how media narratives translate into social attitudes. It is also crucial to understand the structural conditions of news production – the role of media ownership, economic pressure, and relations with authorities in shaping the observed mechanisms.

The Schengen Area is at a critical point. The observed renationalisation of security policies and erosion of mutual trust are not merely technical reactions to migration challenges, but symptoms of a deeper crisis of European solidarity. Media and political elites face a choice between continuing the path of double standards or making efforts to reconstruct a common European narrative.

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