**THE EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERE:
EUROPEAN COMMISSION INITIATIVES ON CREATING
TRANSNATIONAL MEDIA NETWORKS**

by

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Abstract

The results of the European Parliament Elections 2014 demonstrated a rise of Euroscepticism in the EU. The reasons of this are a lack of information about the EU in the Member States and insufficient mechanisms for debate and citizens' engagement in decision making. The analysts explain it also by the weakness of providing a forum for the development of common identity and legitimacy of the European public sphere.

This thesis looks at media as mechanisms of the European public sphere. The thesis examines institutional models of two transnational audiovisual media on European affairs supported by the European Commission: the Euronews television and the Euranet Plus radio network. The author considers the roles of Euronews and Euranet Plus in the European public sphere and in attempting to reduce Euroscepticism. The thesis contains a comparative analysis of the two models and shows how the experience with Euronews has affected the development of Euranet Plus.

The thesis makes use of interviews with representatives of the European Commission, media in Belgium and France and a field study at the editorial office of Euronews in Lyon-Ecully and at the editorial offices of Euranet Plus in Paris and Brussels that took place in May 2014.

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Introduction

The development of the European public sphere became crucial in the era of Euroscepticism as it has a potential to decrease the raise of Euroscepticism and to influence the perception of the EU by its citizens.

Euroscepticism first appeared in the UK as early as in the 1970s, and according to Turner (2010), it “became a climate of opinion in the UK politics”. Since then it became a much more widespread phenomenon. As Turner puts it, “the real Euroscepticism across Europe is not so simply a matter of voting preferences but of the preference not to vote at all”. Despite the fact that Eurosceptics are represented in almost all Member States, their victory in several EU Member States became a sensation of the 2014 European Parliament Elections. The issue of Euroscepticism was a central topic of the Elections Night in the European Parliament. The Prime Minister of France Manuel Valls called the victory of Eurosceptics a “European earthquake”. This expression was afterwards repeated numerous times by European news broadcasters such as Euronews television, the EU national television channels, *The Economist* magazine, BBC news and Reuters. A socialist MEP Edouard Martin warned during the first session of the European Parliament that took place on July 2, 2014 that “if there is no real economic and social progress, it will be difficult to stop the rise of the National Front. This can be applied to all Eurosceptic parties, as they continue to gather momentum” (Barbiere, 2014). The number of Eurosceptics seats in the new European Parliament 2014-2018 has increased. In total, 130 out of 751 seats now belong to Eurosceptic parties. The EU Member States with the highest vote for Eurosceptics are: the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Finland, Greece, Germany, and Italy.¹

¹ As of May 26, 2014. Source: European Parliament and Statista.eu

A number of sources² present Eurosceptics as ordinary European citizens who have their concerns or disagreements with the EU policy. These disagreements may go as far as requesting their countries to opt out of the EU or criticize particular EU policies (cuts in public service, decreasing salaries, migration policy, etc.).

The European public sphere mechanisms providing an opportunity for citizens to debate their concerns and disagreements can help to reduce the rise of Euroscepticism in Europe and lead to strengthening of the EU as a political unity. The media is an important element of generating the European public sphere. It has a potential for citizens' engagement in decision making.

The European Commission has made steps towards creating a European public sphere through audiovisual media with a European agenda. The European Commission co-finances the Euronews television since 1993, and the European radio network Euranet since 2008. Both of them have been broadcasting news on European affairs since their very creation.

The purpose of the present study is to consider the models of audiovisual media on European affairs supported by the European Commission presented by the Euronews television and the Euranet Plus radio network as well as their roles in the European public sphere and in the fighting Euroscepticism.

The main research question of the project explores the purpose of Euronews and Euranet in relation to creation of the European public sphere, and how the Euronews experience could affect the development of Euranet Plus, which is yet another transnational media on European affairs. More specifically, I address the following research questions:

² These sources include: Abbarno & Zapryanova, 2013; Brack, 2013; Fitzgibbon, 2013; Piedrafita & Renman, 2014; Price, 2009; Spanje & Vreese, 2014.

Does Euronews represent, in part, an effort to foster the development of the public sphere? What kinds of answers are given to this question by European observers and by EU institutions? Was fostering of a public sphere a motivation for the creation of Euranet Plus? Does Euranet represent, in part, an effort to foster the development of a public sphere? What kinds of answers are given to this question by European observers and by EU institutions? How did the experience with Euronews affect the development of Euranet? Was there institutional learning?

The hypothesis. The main hypothesis of this study is that Euronews was created as a vehicle of the development of the European public sphere. Another part of the hypothesis is that Euronews became a predecessor of Euranet Plus with its institutional learning. The experience with Euronews affected the development of Euranet Plus. The institutional learning became possible through the European Commission.

The objectives. The present study has five key objectives. The first objective is to summarize and to analyze scholarly sources on the European public sphere and the role of media and transnational media networks in the European public sphere (chpt. 1). The second objective is to provide an overview of the European Union legislative documents related to the creation of the European public sphere and transnational media networks with a European agenda (chpt. 2). The third objective is to provide an overview of Euronews and Euranet Plus institutional models and their functionality in the European public sphere based on interviews and field studies (chpt. 3 and 4). The fourth objective is to analyze how Euronews produces news in different languages for internal and external audiences, more specifically in English and in Russian languages, in order to compare the content of news (chpt. 5). The fifth objective is to provide a

comparative analysis of two models of transnational media and identification of institutional learning (chpt. 6).

Novelty of the study. This study is an attempt to collect and to summarize information on the European Commission initiatives on creation of transnational audiovisual media networks with a European agenda. It includes an evaluation and a comparative analysis of two initiatives. It is the first attempt to subject the radio network Euranet Plus to a scholarly study. The thesis applies a new approach to consider the EU initiatives, which is based on theoretical framing - the European public sphere theory and the European Commission policy.

Scope. The study covers the period of the development of the European public sphere from the Maastricht Treaty (1992) to the present day. The Euronews development trends are considered from 1993 and Euranet Plus trends are reviewed from 2007. I attempt to analyze the concept of a European public sphere and the role of media which provides an insight on the role of media networks in the creation of a European public sphere.

Methodology. The theoretical framing of the issue relies on the theory of the European public sphere, and an analysis of primary and secondary sources. The results of this analysis are fundamental for assessment of the European Commission initiatives on creating media networks with a European agenda.

The primary sources include the European Commission policy documents, directives and rationales related to the European public sphere and the creation of audiovisual media on European affairs, as well as Eurobarometer public opinion surveys. The qualitative research is the main method applied in this study. Research interviews conducted in Belgium and France with members of Euronews television

and Euranet Plus radio are the main empirical material of this thesis. The method of comparative studies is applied to analyze the similarities, advantages and disadvantages of television and radio initiatives.

Bibliography. There is a large body of scholarly literature on the European public sphere. There are sources on TV and radio media, but usually they are not considered from the perspective of creating media networks with a European agenda. However, the review shows that radio, as a tool of helping to create a public sphere, is apparently understudied. Some works³ consider the Euronews project as an example of transnational European media. While there are other works⁴ devoted to Euronews, they are dated and consider it without referring to the public sphere concept. I base my study on the European Commission policy documents, an analysis of the EU legislative documents in terms of the European communication policy, recent news, reports and surveys.

Approbation. The results of this study were presented at the 10th Annual Graduate Student Conference on the European Union of the University of Pittsburgh, USA on 27 March 2015 and at the International annual conference "Journalism-2014. Media as a factor of public dialogue" held by Lomonosov Moscow State University in Moscow, Russia on 6-7 February 2015.

³ For example, works of Brüggemann, 2008; Garcia-Blanco, 2010; Eriksen, 2007.

⁴ For example, works of Machill, 1998 and Baisnee, 2006.

Chapter 1

The European public sphere: the role of media and of the European Commission

This chapter presents a review of contemporary literature on the European public sphere and the role of media. I formulate a definition of the contemporary European public sphere and explain why it is important for the EU and why it has been researched by scholars. Yet another objective is to create a theoretical platform for a further assessment of the transnational media networks with a European agenda based on the scholarly concept of the European public sphere. The chapter also considers the role of the European Commission in the development of the European public sphere and the place of media networks in the concept of the EU network governance.

The European public sphere is a communicative space

A large number of scholarly publications discuss the European public sphere and the role of media.¹

In particular, all scholars agree that the pioneer researcher of the European public sphere was Habermas who “made the principal assumptions on the concept of the public sphere” (Harrison & Wessels, 2009, p. 131). Habermas stated in 1960 that the public sphere is “a sphere between civil society and the state” (McCarthy, 1989). Habermas (1989, I am referring here to the 1989 edition of his classical 1960 publication) also concluded that “the usage of the words 'public' and 'public sphere'

¹ The following authors discuss the European public sphere and the role of media: Baisnee, 2007; Bentele & Nothhaft, 2010; Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2008; Butsch, 2007; Chalaby, 2002; Eriksen, 2005 and 2007; Firmstone, 2008; Fraser, 2007; Garcia-Blanco & Cushion, 2010; Gripsrud, 2007; Grundmann, 1999; Harrison & Wessels, 2009; Heller & Renyi, 2007; Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2007; Kantner, 2006; Lauristin, 2007; Lecheler, 2008; Machill & Beller, 2006; Metykova & Preston, 2009; Papathanassopoulos & Negrine, 2011a and 2011b; Peters et al., 2005; Raupp, 2004; Statham, 2011; Trenz, 2007 and 2008; Veltri, 2012; Venturelli, 1993; Volkmer, 2008; Wessler & Brüggemann, 2007.

betrays a multiplicity of concurrent meanings... Events and occasions are public when they are open to all..." (p. 1). So, from this perspective it is possible to conclude that one of the mechanisms to make events open for everyone is to ensure their publicity and to provide opportunities for ordinary citizens to participate in discussions and decision-making.

The investigation of published sources shows a wide variety of points of view on the development of the European public sphere, the role of media and institutions. While there are numerous definitions of the European public sphere in the literature, a key common point is that the public sphere is a communicative space that provides equal opportunities for all actors in the process of sharing public opinion. This communicative space can be "social", "European", and "transnational".² The communications can be organized in the form of a network, of a media network, of a forum, of a public debate (Eriksen, 2007, p. 23; Harrison, 2009, p. 9), and of a discussion (Heller & Renyi, 2007, p. 173). The structures of the European public sphere are political and social clubs (Eriksen, 2007), think tanks, media, national and transnational NGOs which organize debates, forums, discussions, including on the Internet, marches of protests, writing letters, communiques and other resolutions. Based on the definition of the European public sphere and the ability of media to involve a large audience of Europeans in the process of sharing public opinion, the media can be considered an important element of the European public sphere.

The European public sphere has been researched by scholars because it is significant for European integration. I consider it in more detail in the next section.

² For example, the European public sphere is described by various scholars as "a social room" (Eriksen, 2007, p. 23), "a socio-spatial extension" (Wessler & Brüggemann, 2007, p. 96), "a European transnational communication space" (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2008, p. 78), "a communicative space within which conversations and discussions ('democratic deliberations') take place" (Papathanassopoulos & Negrine, 2011a, p. 128), "a truly inter- or transnational shared space where those holding political and bureaucratic power confront a well-informed, critical public" (Gripsrud, 2007, p. 480).

The role of the European public sphere in the European integration project

For the last fifteen years scholars have been examining the development of the European public sphere. Scholars have studied different approaches based on possible reasons of the importance of the European public sphere. Despite a large array of scholarly literature examining the European public sphere, it is possible to agree with Nieminen (2008) that there is no clear explanation why the European public sphere is an important topic and why scholars have been addressing this topic and “what kind of value-based expectations they (researchers) have invested” in the concept of the European public sphere (p. 14). Harrison and Wessels (2009) stated that the concept of the European public sphere plays the central role in discussions about European integration (p. 74). The scholars point out the role of the European public sphere in the relation to creation of a European identity, economic security of the European Union as a strategic political and economical entity and creation of a European “demos” to reinforce democratic legitimacy.

An analysis of the European public sphere essentially has the goal of assessing the fulfillment of the democratic norms of the European Community by the European Union. These norms are being improved by the European Commission based on citizens’ participation in the legislative processes and on an analysis of the public opinion.

A goal aforementioned in relation to the European public sphere is creation of a unified and strong European Community. Nowadays the EU faces several problems that are connected with the lack of the feeling of togetherness of European citizens which is characterized by scholars as a lack of European identity.

The first problem is that European citizens do not feel that they share a common sense of belonging to the European Union. These results were reflected in the

Eurobarometer surveys EB 73-80 from May 2010 to December 2013. According to the Eurobarometer-survey in May 2012, “citizens of the different Member States feel very differently about the European Union” (PoliPedia.eu, 2014). According to Statham (2011), public information on the creation of a European society is essential as many Europeans, unfortunately do not feel themselves to be part of a European society. The majority of citizens place European identity on the second position after the national identity (Statham, 2011, p. 79). In the viewpoint of Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011b), the main obstacle on the path to strengthening the common European identity is the dominance of “the local, regional and national identities” (p. 158).

The second issue is that the EU citizens’ knowledge about the EU is very basic. Grundmann (1999) noted that “the broad public in the Member States knows little or nothing about the public debates in the other member countries”. Preston (2009) quotes a Spanish journalist who said that “Europe sells in the media when there is a crisis,.. we know Europe through clichés” (p. 122).

The third issue is that after the latest European Union enlargements the topic of the European identity became important for the new Member States who are interested in being integrated to the European information space. “They see in this process their chance to be included in the European communication space as equal members” (Lauristin, 2007, p. 397).

A number of scholars³ consider the concept of the European public sphere through the importance of the achievement of the European identity. Bee (2008) believes that creation of the European public sphere became a necessity in the 2000s for generating a sense of belonging to Europe. According to Gripsrud (2007), the

³ This statement is supported by Bee (2008), Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg (2008), Eriksen (2007), Gripsrud (2007), Grundmann (1999), Harrison and Wessels (2009), Heller and Renyi (2007), Kantner (2006), Lauristin (2007), Nieminen (2008), Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a), Preston (2009), Statham (2011), Thiel (2008), Wessler and Brüggemann (2007).

public sphere is “a solution and an instrument for producing a European identity that might motivate more participation” (p. 479). “A European identity becomes essential for legitimizing European governance” (Kantner, 2006, p. 503).

Another question is how the European identity can be achieved? There are some models that were identified in the scholarly literature:

The media with a European agenda can impact on the public perception of themselves as Europeans.⁴ In the viewpoint of Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg (2008), the media can help in strengthening the concept of the collective identity. Some media are actively involved in this process, e.g. Euronews, the *European Voice*.

In Eriksen’s (2005) point of view collective identity is “a homogeneous culture and a united people, which come together in public spaces to deliberate and decide about common concerns” (2005, p. 343).

Analyzing the terminology used for talking about European identity, one can further subdivide this notion into: social identity (sense of the belonging to the EU, common culture, values and traditions); economic identity (aimed at strengthening of economical growth); and political identity (support of the EU political decisions on the political arena).

Scholars mostly discuss social identity. It has been considered by Eriksen (2007), Heller and Renyi (2007), Kantner (2006), and usually connected with achieving a feeling of belonging to the EU, and with sharing European values.

Wessler and Brüggemann (2007), Bee (2008), and Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011b) have drawn attention to the economic and political motivation for the creation of a European identity. Bee (2008) has argued that the motivation for development of European identity is creation of the European economic community.

⁴ This statement is supported by Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a), Wessler and Brüggemann (2007), Eriksen (2007), Bee (2008).

Based on an analysis of publications on the European public sphere and Euroscepticism, one can conclude that a weak common identity leads to Euroscepticism. In its turn, according to several scholars, Euroscepticism might be considered a threat to European integration.⁵ Piedrafita and Renman (2014), Brack (2013) argued that Eurosceptics presence in the European Parliament should not be underestimated and it can impact drafting and amending committee reports and opinions, and finally impact European integration processes.

The European public sphere contributes to creation of a European “demos” to reinforce democratic legitimacy. A number of scholars⁶ point out the role of the European public sphere in ensuring the democratic legitimacy. Grundmann (1999) has observed that the emergence of a European public is “an important requirement for a European democracy” (p. 125). Nitoiu (2013) believes that since 1990 “the notion of the public sphere has been seen as a central feature of European democracies, shaping the coherence of political systems and decision making processes” (p. 26).

The citizens’ participation in the European project is a necessity for the functioning of the European Union unity. According to Eriksen (2007), the democratic legitimacy can be achieved by public debates. In the point of view of Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007), European citizens have to be heard, to express opinions, “to fulfill their active information/‘communication rights’”. According to Bee (2008), “communication is... considered as essential in order to improve the democratic bases of the EU project” (p. 447). Lauristin (2007) believes that it is impossible to achieve the European public sphere without dialogue, debate and democracy (p. 400). The

⁵ This point of view is supported by Abbarno and Zapryanova (2013), Brack (2013), Piedrafita and Renman (2014).

⁶ For example, the role of the European public sphere in ensuring the democratic legitimacy considered by Baisnee (2007), Bee (2008), Grundmann (1999), Eriksen (2007), Harrison and Wessels (2009), Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007), Lauristin (2007), Nieminen (2008), Nitoiu (2013), Statham (2011), Wessler and Brüggemann (2007).

most important mission of the European public sphere is providing a “dialogue with citizens” (Thiel, 2008, p. 349).

Thereby, scholars and practitioners are united in the point of view that it is important to work with citizens at different levels of European institutions. It can be implementing through the European Citizens’ Initiative, and other communications tools such as Europe Direct call centre, and European Commission information centres and offices of European media in Brussels.

The European public sphere is important for providing information on the European integration project. Thiel (2008) believes that the European public sphere is a necessity for providing information about the European Union’s institutions and policies “to the citizens since they suffer from a communication deficit” (p. 344). “Citizens of the new Member States have to be informed about the importance of EU accession and the impact that the policies and institutions of the Unions exert on their lives” (Thiel, 2008, p. 346). In the conditions of a “communication deficit” (Thiel, 2008), “minimal coverage [of European affairs] combined with negative coverage in terms of quality epitomizes the worst possible scenario for the communication of Europolitics to EU citizens” (Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2007, p. 692). Abbarno and Zapryanova (2013) point out that “European public opinion research consistently finds that Eurosceptic messages depress citizen support for deeper and wider European integration” (p. 582).

European citizens are experiencing the pressure of the organized streams of information with the anti-EU agenda. Firmstone (2010) shares the doubts that “the Eurosceptic press in particular does all of Europe and the world a disservice by inventing stories and distracting people from the things that ought to get covered in Brussels” (p. 429).

In summary, the European public sphere is important for identity, democratic legitimacy, support of the EU and European integration, and solidarity. Finally, the European public sphere is aimed at helping in solidarity of citizens in creating a supranational political community.

From Statham's perspective, the key criterion of the democratic society and "transnational politics" dictates the creation of the European public sphere that will include different players as well as non-government representatives or international organizations (2011, p. 78). News media as the main actor of the European public sphere form citizens' beliefs about a political order and participatory behavior (Wessler and Brüggemann, 2007). In Gripsrud's (2007) point of view, the European Commission "does feel a need for a more lively conversation with its citizens across the Continent" (p. 480).

The European media in creating the European public sphere

Based on an analysis of publications on the European public sphere, one can conclude that the actors of the European public sphere are the EU institutions, civil society organizations and the public at large.

Baisnee (2007) thinks that two institutions are central to European public sphere theories and research: the press service of the EU Commission and the Eurobarometer as a tool of the reflection of public opinion (p. 496). Jacques-René Rabier (a creator and the head of the EC press-service in 1955-1970) in the interview in 2003 replying to the question about the reasons for creation of the Eurobarometer, answered that "it was a matter not only of knowing public opinion but also of informing that public opinion about what citizens from other countries thought about common topics" (Baisnee, 2007, p. 499). Bentele (2010) believes that the public

sphere presents by itself a “kind of a supra-institution. The supra-institution emerges and is sustained by a lot of individuals, organizations, institutions interacting in a certain way, pursuing certain strategies, with certain arguments” (p. 106).

In Neidhardt’ point of view there are three actors in the European public sphere: “the public, collective political actors and the media” (Neidhardt et al., 2000 in Firmstone, 2010).

Harrison and Wessels (2009), stated that a networked structure of the European public sphere “composed by different actors such as civil-society organizations, relays, media infrastructures which interact with different institutions not only within the EU but also on national, regional and local levels” (p. 131).

There are different institutions of the European public sphere, including Eurobarometer, civil society organizations, identified by other authors, but I am going to focus on media as a very important one.

Although the media by itself might not be necessarily an initiator of debates, media can play a passive role in the form of a one-way provider of information without receiving any feedback from citizens, scholars nonetheless pointed out the central role of media in the European public sphere. Media are institutional infrastructures of the European public sphere (Harrison & Wessels, 2009; Metykova & Preston, 2009; Nieminen, 2008; Trenz, 2008). In point of view of Raupp (2004), media is a large arena of the European public sphere. According to Trenz (2008), “an emerging European public sphere will have to rely on the capabilities of the mass media” (p. 60).

The functions of media

What is the functionality of media in the European public sphere? What do they actually do and in what ways? As I identified, five functions seem key in the role of media in the European public sphere.

The first function of media in the European public sphere is a formation of a European identity. This point of view is supported by Kantner (2006) who stated that “the transnational mass media agenda of common European policy issues reinforces the awareness of ‘being in the same boat’” (p. 512). Eriksen believes that the creation of a collective identity can be achieved “through pan-European press and media based on English as lingua franca” (2005, p. 350). According to Papathanassopoulos (2011b), media creates the European identity and emphasizes the “European ideals” (p. 159).

The second function is forming the public opinion. According to Trenz (2007), media is a generator of ideologies. Papathanassopoulos and Negrine believe that “the media do play a significant role in creating the context for the development of perceptions about things European” (2011a, p. 124). Raupp (2004) pointed out that the mass media is a “large arena of the European public sphere” where “individual messages can become issues only when they have been taken up by the mass media” (p. 312).

The third function is a fulfillment of democratic norms, citizens’ engagement. Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a) believe that media plays a dual role by covering a democratic deficit, considering that “the EU’s mechanisms operate at a bureaucratic and policy level with minimal citizens engagement” and at the same time it creates the environment that “makes citizens in Europe become citizens of Europe”. In the point of view of Eriksen (2007), media is a provider of the freedom to

express ideas publicly, and “some media operate as a motor for Europeanization and the European debate is catching on” (Eriksen, 2007, p. 32). Wessler and Brüggemann (2007) present media as a creator of a political platform, a mediator of public discussion and its participants. This function can be implemented through the publications or participation in the television or radio programs. In the point of view of Cardoso media is an “instrument of democracy” (2008, p. 595). Media works as “a facilitator of a connection between EU institutions and their publics” (Kevin, 2003; Neidhardt et al., 2000; Schlesinger, 1999; Schlesinger & Kevin, 2000 in Firmstone, 2008, p. 424). As it was pointed out by Nitoiu (2013), journalists have a central role in creating the European public sphere and “media could drive forward public debate and hold decision makers accountable” (p. 32). Harrison (2009) stated that “the media are seen as being able to stimulate involvement in the EU generally and its projects particularly, which means that the media are viewed as part of the machinery that enables democratic politics and participative citizenship to occur” (p. 6).

The fourth function of media in the European public sphere is ensuring transparency of EU-institutions’ decision-making. Harrison and Wessels (2009) called the mass media “the main venue for public representation of a public sphere functioning at the European level” (p. 74). Eriksen, (2005) called the media “a motor for Europeanization” (p. 350). Firmstone (2008) can not imagine the European public sphere without the “media coverage of the EU” (p. 424). From Statham’s perspective, the main interpreter of the European content making is the fact that the “European decision-making has to be visible to citizens” (Statham, 2011, p. 80).

The fifth function of media in the European public sphere is informing the public on European affairs. Trenz (2007, p. 89) stated that the media of the European public sphere could be identified as a European news cover. Moreover, he

believes that the development of the European public sphere depends on the media coverage of the European Union (p. 89). Media in the European public sphere has a function of interpreting European decision making (Statham, 2011) and sometimes takes of the function of a translator of news and of EU decisions from the language of origin into the national language (Eriksen, 2007). According to this scholar, “the function of mass media is seen as selecting, translating, and supplying relevant aspects of European decision-making to ordinary people in a language and idiom they are able to understand”, which plays “the vital roles” (Statham, 2011, p. 79).

For purposes of European integration, transnational media do play a significant role.

The place of transnational media and transnational media networks in the European public sphere and their functionality

There are numerous definitions and discussions of what should be called a transnational media in the European public sphere. The key notion of this definition is that it is a media that simultaneously covers the EU affairs in several Member States and broadcasts in different languages.⁷ Scholars debate what should be called the transnationalization of media and what should be called the Europeanization of media. The typical answer is that it becomes transnational when it broadcasts or distributes in more than one Member State. Any national or global media can be “Europeanized”. It means that this media devotes more time and space for news on European affairs (Garcia-Blanco – on example of Euronews, 2010).

In the point of view of Statham (2011) the Europeanization of mass media depends on the topic. If the topic is relevant to the discussion at the EU level, for

⁷ The author formulated this definition based on descriptions of a transnational media in the European public sphere given by Bee (2008), Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg (2008), Chalaby (2002), Eriksen (2007), Firmstone (2010), Gardoso (2008), Gripsrud (2007), Harrison and Wessels (2009), Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007), Lecheler (2008), Nieminen (2008), Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a), Statham (2011), Thiel (2008), Veltri (2012).

example the monetary and agricultural policies, it is covered more widely, and these topics become more Europeanized. If the topic is of a narrower nature and is relevant to a single state, it is not represented in media widely, for example “immigration, troop deployment, pensions, education” (Statham, 2011, p. 81).

Transnational media can be national media with transnational mission, international with European agenda, pan-regional, global media (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2008, p. 78). Some of them, such as Euronews and BBC, broadcast beyond the European public sphere, but remain transnational media in terms of the EU due to their coverage of the Member States.

The scholars point out that transnational media play a significant role in the European public sphere and European integration. Garcia-Blanco (2010), based on the analysis of the scholarly literature could conclude that “a European public sphere could emerge from transnational media” (p. 395). Firmstone considers the transnational media within the European public sphere (2008, p. 423). The main role of transnational media in the European public sphere is in “bridging the gap in communications between EU institutions and their citizens” (Firmstone, 2010, p. 424). Grundmann (1999) believes that a transnational European public sphere is due to a homogenization of the national public spheres and can be achieved through the transnational communication processes and the “common European media system” (p. 136).

At the same time, creation of transnational media networks can be explained by the “worldwide communicational globalization processes” (Gardoso, 2008, p. 618). According to Gardoso (2008), creation of media networks and other forms of transnationalization is a irreversible process. Nowadays we live in the “informational

society, where the network is the central organizational feature” (Gardoso, 2008, p. 619).

I think that another explanation of the creation of transnational media networks is simply an economic motivation aimed at the expansion of viewership and at the attraction of additional financial resources.

The role of transnational television and radio in the European public sphere

Transnational audiovisual media are considered in the literature as a powerful tool to reach a large audience, to influence the public opinion, to create a common information space, to form a European identity, and to establish dialogue with citizens.

As it was stated by Rowland (2006), “television is not a ‘passive’ medium at all. It engages us by the millions, and brings us back for more” (p. 228). According to Eriksen (2005), “..the polylingual television channel Euronews operates on a large scale” (p. 350). Gripsrud (2007) argued that “in Europe broadcast television has been one of if not the most important institution in the national public spheres (outside parliaments) for the last 50 years or so, delivering essential information and a broad cultural repertoire to citizens and also providing central, common forums for entire nation-states” (p. 483). In Gripsrud’ point of view, “no other medium is better suited to the task of informing hundreds of millions of European citizens about the views of their fellow citizens in other member states than broadcast television.” (2007, p. 485). Chalaby (2005) remarked that “TV channels began to cross borders as satellites gained more bandwidth, more power and a larger footprint” (p. 29). Since television and radio can reach a large audience, they can be used as instruments of propaganda of certain values, political ideas and institutions. As concerns radio, Rowland (2006) quoted President Woodrow Wilson who classified “the enormous power of broadcasting as an

instrument of propaganda” (p. 243). According to Butsch (2007), radio and television have “great propaganda potential to truncate the range of ideas in the public sphere and restrict debates” (p. 1). It also has the capacity to influence public opinion and to create a feeling of being integrated in the European project. Veltri (2012) stated that transnational audiovisual space is aimed “to support the principal of economic, social and political harmonization”.

Establishing a common European public sphere. Garcia-Blanco (2010) concluded that in Gripsrud' point of view, transnational TV channel Euronews contributes “to a Europeanization of national public spheres and the minds of citizens” (2007, p. 489), and has “established *in practice* a common European public sphere” (2007, p. 491, his italics)” (p. 406). According to Eriksen (2005), “..Euronews,.. BBC World, ARTE, Deutsche Welle (broadcasting in English)... and certainly not least the Internet create communicative spaces in Europe” (p. 350).

A tool for formation of a European identity. Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007), Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a) made connection between the role of transnational television and the creation of a European identity. Papathanassopoulos and Negrine expressed the idea that “the absence of a European press (or television) is undoubtedly a significant consideration in the construction of an all-inclusive, familiar, common Europe” (2011a, p. 125). Garcia-Blanco (2010) believes that the transnational Euronews was set up to unite linguistic and cultural differences among European citizens and help towards shaping a more inclusive European identity” (p. 393). The television contributes to formation of a European identity. It can be achieved through public information. Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007) quoted the 1989 the European Parliament Television Without Frontiers Directive to say that ‘a European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed’” (p. 699).

A tool for initiating debates, establishing dialogue. Transnational television and radio are able to stimulate debates. Kaitatzi-Whitlock (2007) believes that the main task of television in the European public sphere is “to receive, impart and share information, and to participate in transnational, broad forums beyond frontiers” (p. 689). In Kaitatzi-Whitlock' point of view, “a modern pan-European televised public space should pursue two different functions: first, to disseminate political information of a broad scope (passive information rights), and second, to accommodate participation in the exchange of citizens' opinions and messages in public deliberation and dialogue (active communication rights)”(p. 689).

The European Commission role in the development of the European public sphere and networks in Europe

In particular, all authors⁸ point out efforts of the European Union (the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and of the European Commission) towards the creation of the European public sphere. The European Commission produced the major European Union legislative normative documents that included efforts to contribute to a communicative space where citizens participate in decision making.

Lauristin (2007) believes that the European Commission is making efforts “to promote dialogue, debate and democracy in order to enhance the formation of an European public sphere” (p. 400). Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg (2008) have confirmed that the EU makes good efforts toward the creation of a common space of communications (p. 93).

⁸ The following authors discuss the role of the EU institutions in the development of the European public sphere: Baisnee, 2007; Bee, 2008; Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, 2011; Chalaby, 2002; Eriksen, 2007; Fraser, 2007; Garcia-Blanco and Cushion, 2010; Gardoso, 2008; Harrison and Wessels, 2009; Heller and Renyi, 2007; Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999; Lauristin, 2007; Metykova and Preston, 2009; Nitoiu, 2013; Papathanassopoulos and Negrine, 2011a and 2011b; Raupp, 2004; Statham, 2011; Thiel, 2008; Trenz, 2007 and 2008; Veltri, 2012; Venturelli, 1993; Volkmer, 2008; Wessler and Brüggemann, 2007.

Raupp (2004) favours the supranational nature of the European public sphere and considers the EU as a normative power. Nieminen (2008), Harrison and Wessels (2009), Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a and 2011b), Venturelli (1993), Bee (2008) pointed out the role of the European Commission in the development of the European public sphere through the EC Communication policy and other policy documents. Heller and Renyi (2007) stated that the EU is a supranational power where “the EU institutions and decision-making bodies define the agenda and the necessary legal framework for the existence of a common area” (p. 183).

At the same time the European Commission is considered as a main producer and a distributor of news with a European agenda to the regions. Thiel (2008) assigned the European Commission the central role in the global coverage of the EU-institutions and their policies. Trenz (2008), on the one hand, believes that the “European actors and institutions” are the “initiators of debates on Europe”, and on the other hand, he states that institutions, including media, fulfill the tasks of the common EU communication strategy and act based on the common EU ideology of public communication management (pp. 50-51).

The EU governance. Kohler-Koch, Eising and others (1999) stated that the European Union applies a model of network governance. According to Nieminen (2008), “Europe has always existed in the form of multiple social and cultural networks: long before the birth of European nation states there were local, regional, transnational, trans-regional, and global networks that connected different people in different parts of Europe both between themselves and with the rest of the world” (p. 19). Veltri (2012) cited the Castells’ statement (1997) that “the emergent Euro-state not only as a political-economic zone but, by virtue of privileging its network

character (the so-called Euro-matrix), also as a specific kind of communicative space” (p. 354).

The European Commission creation of the European transnational media and transnational media networks is an important action towards the development of the European public sphere. Wessler and Brüggemann (2007) pointed out the role of transnational media in this process that leads to “a pan-European media system with a pan-European audience” (p. 96).

The concept of creating European media networks is within the transnational framework of the EU governance. The European Commission tries to unify and to strengthen media institutions of the Member States in order to broadcast more European news, to provide more information about the EU.

A networked structure of the European public sphere. The European public sphere has a networked structure which includes media networks, forums, civil society organizations presented in several Member States. Harrison and Wessels (2009) stated that a networked structure of the European public sphere has been developed by the European Commission in order to create a communicative space (p. 131). Statham’s concept of public sphere is based on the consideration that the EU is “the world’s most advanced case of institutional cooperation across borders and political levels”, “multilevel political architecture” (Statham, 2011, p. 77). Papathanassopoulos and Negrine (2011a) assign a significant role to the media in the EU governance (p. 139). It is possible to find a fragmentary analysis and mentions of the individual projects of the European Commission such as Euronews (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2008, p. 87, p. 94; Papathanassopoulos & Negrine, 2011b) or the creation of the European citizens’ initiative (Fitzgibbon, 2013) that can also be considered as one of the

elements of a EU network governance, where citizens, civil organizations and EU institutions interact.

Conclusion

In this chapter I considered what is the European public sphere. The literature under review provided different definitions of the European public sphere but the key notion is that it is a communicative space. Media are institutional infrastructures of the European public sphere. I explained why media play an important role in the European public sphere and considered what is a transnational media. The key notion of the definition of transnational media is that it is a media that simultaneously covers the EU affairs in several Member States and broadcasts in different languages. Transnational television and radio are considered as powerful tools for influence on the public opinion and creation of a European identity. They help to create a common European communicative space, to deliver messages, to release news on European affairs for large audience of Europeans. I considered the role of the European Commission in the development of the European public sphere and in creating transnational media networks on European affairs. The European Union by itself can be considered as a network model of the social, economical and political unity. The realization of the initial idea of the creation of the European public sphere presumes a development of transnational networks.

The next chapter is devoted to an identification and analysis of the EU normative documents and policies related to the creation of a common communications space and the development of transnational media networks with a European agenda within the European public sphere.

Chapter Two

European Commission strategies, initiatives on creating the European public sphere and media networks with European agenda

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the creation of the European public sphere by using the European Union legislative documents and regulations as well as interviews with the European Union officials and journalists working with the European institutions in Brussels. It presents an overview of the European Union legislative documents such as Treaties, Directives, communication policies related to the creation of the European public sphere, and transnational media networks with the European agenda.

Departing from an analysis of Treaties and the European Commission policy documents for this field, the author arrives at the conclusion that since 1992 the European public sphere has been on the agenda of policy documents. As it was stated in the White Paper on a European Communication Policy (2006a), the communications gap between the EU and its citizens has been a subject of discussion in EU circles at least since the referenda that preceded the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. It is at that time that the EU took actions towards transparency of its institutions, improvements of the collaboration of EU institutions in public information, providing more opportunities for citizens' debates, creation of a closer union of people, and creation of a political union. By 2014 the EU achieved significant progress in these directions.

“Everything related to the public sphere comes from the European Parliament decision-making. The creation of the European public sphere is very political. The

European Commission is only on the technical level of its implementation,” said a European Commission source (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

An analysis of the main policy documents from 1992 to 2009¹ identified that the main tendencies in the development of the European public sphere are aimed at strengthening the inter-institutional cooperation between the Member States in communications and ensuring transparency of the EU institutions; strengthening the European identity; providing opportunities for citizens’ debates; and highlighting an important role of media and transnational media networks in the European public sphere.

The main impression from familiarization with the policy documents is that efforts to develop the European public sphere happened gradually and all intermediate steps towards its creation were made based on public opinion surveys. An analysis of the policy documents for the European public sphere demonstrates that they rely on public opinion surveys (such as Eurobarometer).

The Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty) (1992a) opened a new stage in the process of the European integration and construction of the future Europe.

The main contributions of this Treaty in the area examined here consist in emphasizing the importance of the following actions: creation of a closer Union among the people of Europe²; provision of transparency of decision-making and the role of EU institutions in ensuring transparency³; reinforcement of a European

¹ There are no new policy documents for the creation of the European public sphere and transnational media networks appeared after 2009, the current activity being concentrated on implementation of the existing action plans.

² "This Treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the Citizen" (Article A). This statement drew attention to the importance of the togetherness of people of Europe.

³ "This Treaty initiated activities towards the transparency of decision-making process through public access to information available to the EU institutions" (EC, 1992a, Declaration on the Right to access to information, p. 229).

identity; establishment and development of trans-European networks “including in the areas of telecommunications” (article 3).

According to Euractiv (2009), “the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 was not ratified by all Member States at the first time of asking, with Denmark accepting it only at a later date and France only approving it by a tiny margin. This started a debate about the “democratic deficit” of the EU project. In response, the EU institutions took a series of measures to make their work more transparent and to bring themselves closer to the public. These were confirmed in an inter-institutional declaration of October 1993 on democracy, transparency and subsidiarity. The European Commission adopted a communication, in June 2001, on a new framework for co-operation on activities related to the EU's information and communication policy”.

The Spokesperson of the Commission of the Regions, a former BBC correspondent Shirin Wheeler, connected the development of the European public sphere with the goal of the creation of a European identity, and said that “the European public sphere is our shared interest, shared anxieties, ideals and values. We should be more than the Union for business, more than just a single market. We are talking about people, interests, concerns. It is never going to be easy doing that” (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

The Treaty of 1992 opened new opportunities and set new priorities for the European public sphere. In 1993 Euronews, a transnational TV channel, was established. Since 1993 the European Commission co-finances Euronews in order to support the digital video broadcasting services in Europe. According to Loktev (2008), the European Community saw in the new television channel a realization of the project of European television started at the late 1980s. According to *the European Community Audiovisual Policy* (EC, 1992b), “in the space of a few years, the

Community has placed audiovisual policy in the front line of its concerns” (p. 10). Levy (1999) mentioned that many of the EU interventions in the TV industry at that time were justified in terms of the creation a “genuinely European audio-visual industry” (p. 59). The primary goal of the European Commission at that time was to provide digital video broadcasting services to Europeans and to develop broadcasting technologies.

The *Treaty of Amsterdam* (EC, 1997) was the first document that emphasized the importance of the system of public broadcasting in the Member States as a part of democratic, social and cultural needs of the European society. The Protocol on the system of public broadcasting in the Member States (which is a part of the Treaty) is aimed at preserving media pluralism.

The main contribution of the *Treaty of Nice* (EC, 2001a) is the inclusion of the statements aimed at the development of a stronger cooperation between the EU institutions in the following particular areas: exchanges of information, experience and good practice; more enhanced cooperation on internal and external arena; opportunities for the conclusion of inter-institutional agreements. This Treaty highlighted “the need to improve and to monitor the democratic legitimacy and transparency of the Union and its institutions, in order to bring them closer to the citizens of the Member States” (EC, 2001a, p. 23).

After the ratification of the Treaty of Nice, the European Commission adopted in 2001 *the White Paper on European Governance* (EC, 2001b). This policy document laid a foundation of the European public sphere development and the use of communication strategies. It also qualified more efficient communication and generation of the sense of belonging to Europe as a precondition for creating a European identity. The *White Paper on European Governance* became a foundation

for the creation of a trans-national ‘space’ “where citizens from different countries can discuss what they perceive as being the important challenges for the Union. This should help policy makers to stay in touch with European public opinion, and could guide them in identifying European projects which mobilize public support” (EC, 2001b, p. 11; Bee, 2008).

In August 2004, the European Commission strengthened the main directions of the 2001 *White Paper on European Governance* by establishing a position of the Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communications Strategy. Thiel (2008, p. 348) called it an attempt “to put an emphasis on the much-needed transparency in delivering information about EU politics”.

The role of the 2005 Plan-D and the Action plan

The Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate (EC, 2005a) became the first working document that was aimed to stimulate the development of dialogue and debates on the future of Europe. The European Commission's *Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate* sets out a process aimed at encouraging wider debate on the future of the EU, between the EU institutions and citizens. According to this document, “the Commission will work with national Governments to help organize and fund events promoting the debate” (EC, 2005a). As it is stated, mass media, and, in particular, television have to be engaged in the process of debates. The role of the European Commission is to “stimulate this debate and seek recognition for the added value that the European Union can provide” (EC, 2005a). The topics of debates according to this document are: the future of Europe, the added value and the concrete benefits of Community action, focus on how Europe is addressing issues such as jobs, the economy, transport, the fight against terrorism, the environment, oil prices, natural disasters or poverty reduction in Africa and elsewhere.

Topics that involve citizens in debates

Since *Plan-D* the European Commission has been focusing their communications on the three main themes:

1. Economic and social development of Europe;
2. The daily life issues of Europeans;
3. Europe's borders, Neighborhood policy, International Affairs and Enlargement issues.

Singling out these themes brings the EU policy closer to the concerns of European citizens.

Table 1 (source: EC, 2005a)⁴

Three focuses		
Europe's economic and social development	Daily life issues	Europe's borders, neighborhood policy, International Affairs and enlargement issues
Examples of topics for coverage		
Economical growth and jobs creation, the common values on which the economic and social models in Europe are based	Food safety, Erasmus, single currency, consumer protection, internal market	The prospect of new enlargements, Union's capacity to take in new members, overall safety of the continent, Europe's relations with its neighbors and with other large blocs in the world
Topics for debates		
Further reforms in order to face global competition and conditions for sustainable development	What people think should be done at the local level and what they see as a future role for the Union, including developments in the areas of justice, freedom and security or dealing with climate change and natural disasters	What people expect from Europe in a globalized world - from trade (e.g. textiles), to the environment (e.g. climate change), mobility (e.g. trans-European networks), security (e.g. participation in peace-keeping operations), and development (e.g. help to developing countries, Third World's debt relief)

⁴ The author developed this Table based on information from the European Commission document "Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate" (EC, 2005a).

Improvement of communications with citizens and stimulation of public debates have to be implemented through certain actions including: work with civil society groups in regions (emphasising work with young people); usage of Europe Direct information centres and generation of a network of Europe Direct centres; establishment of European Round Table for Democracy that enhances cross-border debates; improvement of existing tools for collecting feedback directly from citizens, consumers and business in cooperation with the European Parliament and other institutions.

In order to implement objectives listed in *the Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debates* a special *Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission* (further – the Action Plan) was developed in July 2005 and it presents a detailed plan of measures that have “to improve the way the EC communicates with citizens” (White Paper, EC, 2006a, p. 2).

In general the *Action Plan* (EC, 2005b) is aimed at the development of transnational TV and radio networks on European affairs (actions 28-29). This can be achieved through a cooperation on news and programme exchange with international associations of broadcasters such as the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), the Association of Commercial TVs, the associations of regional and local TVs (CIRCOM international), the association of international TVs (group of Bruges), City-TVs (EC, 2005b). At that time, the European Commission continued to support Euronews television. According to Kurpas, Clerck-Sachsse and Brüggemann (2006), the Commission shifted EU funding for Euronews from co-financing to a fully-financed set of service contracts in 2004.

If the *Plan-D* declared the possibility of financial assistance of projects and initiatives aimed at ensuring the wide range debates, the *Action Plan* provided a

concrete budget which increased from 10 mln Euro in 2006 to 231 mln Euro in 2013. This budget supports such activities as media market research and analyses, work with European citizens in regions, seminars for public, support of communications projects, development of Internet, Europe Direct, trainings of journalists, promotion of the EU contact centres, etc. Point 3.1 of the *Action Plan* budget “Audiovisual services” describes financing of TV and radio projects.

As a result of the *Action Plan*, the role of communications within the European Commission and European institutions has increased. These new conditions led to the Commission internal reformation focusing on a new model of various communication sectors. More positions and responsibilities related to communications were added in the European Commission. Since that time, all structures of the European Commission have to participate in communications. The responsibilities for communications were shared within the Commission between Directorate-General for Press and Communication (now – Directorate of General Communications), Spokesperson's Service, Commission Representations in the Member States (implementation of the Action Plan at local level). Also, the *Action Plan* pointed out that existence of a special Vice-President responsible for Institutional Affairs and Communications Strategy “has emphasized the European Commission’s desire to achieve results in this sphere” (EC, 2005b).

The new EU inter-institutional model of communications

The following table shows who are responsible for communications (based on the 2005 *Action Plan*).

Table 2 (source: EC, 2005b)⁵

Directorate-General for Press and Communication (currently – Directorate General Communications)	<i>Target audience:</i> general public <i>Roles:</i> communication policy, planning and coordination, preparation of the communication agenda, implementation of the Action Plan; evaluation of the impact of the actions taken - public opinion surveys (Eurobarometer, media monitor, public consultations, feedback from the Commission Representations in the Member States, from contact points)
Spokesperson's Service	<i>Target audience:</i> the media <i>Roles:</i> relations with media, creation of news, press-releases, works with rumors
Commission Representations in the Member States	<i>Target audience:</i> regional public, Member States, regional and local media <i>Roles:</i> act as spokespeople on behalf of the Commission and to refute false information, in national languages, develop their own activities adapting them to national needs, spread the Commission' messages at local level

The most innovative feature in the new structure was a creation of the EU institutional communication network in the regions. It was aimed to cover a deficit of news on European affairs in the regions and respond to the rise of Eurosceptics' voices.

According to Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarnji List* bureau in Brussels (personal communication, May 26, 2014), “the European institutions have thousands and thousands of people doing communication and are involved in the development of communication strategies because you hear Eurosceptics' voices, especially in the UK...”.

Concerning the inter-institutional relations he says that

all institutions play an important role in the development of the European public sphere separately and together. Because, first, together they want to

⁵ The author developed this Table based on information from the European Commission document “Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission” (EC, 2005b).

promote the European idea and to tell the citizens that Europe is here to serve them. Then each institution works separately, the European Commission, the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.
(Augustin Palokaj, personal communication, May 26, 2014)

The Spokesperson of the Commission of the Regions, former BBC correspondent (Brussels), Shirin Wheeler explained how the current regional communication structure of the European Commission works in the Member States (personal communication, May 26, 2014): each Member States has a Commission representation, and there are spokespersons in the Member States. Some countries have more than one office like France that has one office in Paris and another one in Marseille. The same is in Germany, Spain, the UK. “There, not here in Brussels, we can explain what is going on in institutions that actually affect people's lives”, said Wheeler.

Explaining the responsibilities of the Commission Representations in the regions, Wheeler said that it is “a mixture of wider communications and also locally tailored communications, visiting and producing messages that are a little bit tailored for countries”. They work with representations of the Commission in the Regions. “We visit regions a lot, also with MEPs, we try to spread messages about what Europe is doing at the local level for you, a citizen of Europe”, said Wheeler. She also explained their coordination of communications with the European Commission Directorate General for Communications and pointed out their communication independence from the DG Communication of the European Commission:

It is a very healthy kind of balance. We know very well what key priorities of messages are. We have regular meetings, weekly meetings for overview of what is going on for the week, we know what the other people portfolio are. We have daily meeting in terms of what is coming up in news this day.
(Shirin Wheeler, personal communication, May 26, 2014)

Based on the Action Plan of 2005, the Commission listed the prioritized communication tools to inform public that include improvement of the EU website Europa, producing European Commission publications, support of citizens' contact and information centres, media relations, trainings for journalists on EU affairs, organization of events and seminars, and also the task of creation of a network of TV channels and broadcasters in Europe.

Prioritization of creation of the European public sphere

The European public sphere has become the most prioritized topic since 2005 as a number of concrete strategies for creating a common information field appeared at that time. In 2005, the Action Plan suggests a series of measures aimed at professionalizing and modernizing Commission's communication methods. As stated in the *Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission* (EC, 2005b), "the Commission has made communication one of the strategic objectives". This objective was also further detailed by saying that "politicians and institutional stakeholders at all levels have to gain Europeans trust through good policies and good communication about those policies" (Action Plan, EC, 2005b, p. 3).

The European Commission could feel a necessity to have a functioning European public sphere for several reasons. Mostly, these feelings came from Eurobarometer surveys. The Commission could feel that citizens need to know more about the European project and do not receive information about the EU, only information on national affairs (White Paper, 2006a). Euroscepticism was fully formed at that time. The Eurobarometer surveys from 2004-2005 indicated that the public approval of the European Union had decreased. "Trust in the European Union has dropped from 50% of citizens trusting the EU in Autumn 2004 to 44% in Spring

2005” (Plan-D, EC, 2005a). “Plan D seeks to facilitate this process of national debate by putting in place a framework for dialogue and debate” (EUROPA, 2007).

Following the French and Dutch rejections of the draft of the EU Constitutional Treaty, a dialogue with European citizens has become a Commission priority. According to Europa.eu website (2007), “after the rejection of the European Constitution by French and Dutch voters in June 2005, the Heads of State and Government called for a "period of reflection" in order to enable Member States to initiate national debates on the future of Europe”.

At this time the European Union could feel the desire of citizens to be more involved to the decision-making process. “Citizens’ expectations of the EU have grown over 50 years. That is both a recognition of EU’s increased relevance and a challenge to all European leaders. EU citizens want a greater understanding of, and say in, what the EU does and how it does it” (A Citizens' Agenda - Delivering results for Europe, EC, 2006c, p. 2).

In 2006 the European Commission stated that the European public sphere is not still achieved: there is no European public sphere, only national public spheres (White Paper, 2006a). They also recognized the insufficiency of media coverage and that media are mostly national, “media coverage of European issues remains limited and fragmented” (White Paper, 2006a, p. 9).

White Paper of 2006 on Communication as an extensive information strategy

After the *Plan-D* and the *Action Plan* were adopted, the Commission found that to have only these two initiatives was not enough to solve communications problems. It was clear that there was a need of interpretation, explanation of other actions that should be taken towards the construction of a new communication reality and debates across all Member States on European affairs. The real nature of this

document is to provide a follow-up to the *Plan-D* and the *Action Plan on Communications*.

The *White Paper on a European Communication Policy* of 2006 is aimed to stimulate discussion on this issue with the EU citizens and to involve more European institutions of all Member States in the process of communication. The role of EU institutions such as the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions to encourage regional and local discussion of European issues is also pointed out in the *White Paper* (EC, 2006a).

As it was pointed out in the *White Paper on Communication*, the *Plan-D* and the *Action Plan* could succeed only if all key players such as other EU institutions and bodies would be involved (national, regional and local authorities in the Member States, European political parties and the civil society). The *White Paper* advised more deep cooperation between Member States in informing on public affairs. And it was stated that “a working European “public sphere” cannot be shaped” only in Brussels (EC, 2006a, p. 11).

The *White Paper* encourages a more detailed consideration of how the *Plan-D* and the *Action Plan* can be realized and the “communication gap” between the EU and its citizens be decreased. The *White Paper on Communication* is focused on providing the tools and facilities – the forums for debate and the channels of public communication – to provide an access to information and the opportunity to make citizens’ voices heard (EC, 2006a, p. 6). The key role of media in the European communication policy is also pointed out in this Commission' document (White Paper, 2006a, p. 8). It was noted in this paper that the time devoted to political information and to European issues on television and radio due to the competition for 'television space' and air time. (White Paper, EC, 2006a, p. 9).

In 2006, the European Commission issued three more policy documents for the European public sphere: *Green Paper on the European Transparency Initiative* (EC, 2006b), *A Citizens' Agenda - Delivering results for Europe* (EC, 2006c) and *The Europe for Citizens Programme* (EC, 2006d).

The *Green Paper* (EC, 2006b) was written a year after the European Transparency Initiative had been launched and had the objective to consult with the public on how this initiative is being implemented and what are the opportunities for improvements. It consists of the explanation of the public consultations process, the role of lobbies, public access to information and the EU documents. It is noted in this document that stakeholders' participation in EU policy making is one of the "Strategic Objectives 2005–2009" of the European Union (2006b, p. 2). The Commission created a database on European civil society organizations in order to work more efficiently with civil society organizations.

A Citizens' Agenda - Delivering results for Europe (2006c) stated the most actual topics for citizens that are creating jobs, managing globalization, fighting terrorism and organized crime, promoting sustainable development and solidarity (p. 2). The *Green Paper* and *A Citizens' Agenda* pointed out the importance of the collaboration of all EU institutions in communication with citizens on the EU project. *A Citizens' Agenda* made an accent on the importance of the reformulation of new citizens' agenda taking into account the new modern realities and meeting "the needs and wishes of new generations of Europeans" (EC, 2006c, p. 10).

In 2007, the year of the adoption of the Treaty of Lisbon (EC, 2007a), the most significant policy document of the European Community, the European Commission issued two other policy documents for the European public sphere: *Communicating Europe in Partnership* (EC, 2007c) and *Communicating about Europe via the Internet*

engaging the citizens (EC, 2007b). Their main focus is on strengthening the cooperation in communication between all European institutions and the Member States. They proposed concrete actions and expanded the previous intentions and previous attempts to create the European public sphere.

In June 2007, the President of the European Parliament Hans-Gert Pöttering concluded that “the European Council emphasizes the crucial importance of reinforcing communication with the European citizens, providing full and comprehensive information on the European Union and involving them in a permanent dialogue. This will be particularly important during the upcoming Intergovernmental Conference and ratification process” (European Council, 2007, point 7, p. 2).

The Treaty of Lisbon (2007a) is one of the more significant Treaties for the development of the European public sphere. It ensures freedom of media and lays groundwork for free media pluralism. It continues the intentions of the Treaty of Nice aimed at strengthening the cooperation between EU institution in the area of transparency and public access to information. “The institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue with representative associations and civil society” (EC, 2007a, p. 41). It is stated that “decisions shall be taken as openly and as closely as possible to the citizen” (p. 40). The institutions have to provide citizens the opportunity “to make known and publicly exchange their views in all areas of Union action” (EC, 2007a).

The *Treaty of Lisbon* promotes principles of transparency: the Union institutions, bodies, offices and agencies shall conduct their work as openly as possible; the European Parliament discusses with public considering and voting on a draft legislative act (article I-50). Article II-71 of the Treaty reinforces the freedom of

expression and information. “The freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected” (EC, 2007a, p. 50).

As a European Commission source stated: “The Lisbon Treaty has an article talking about the freedom of media. It means you can develop European media but they should be independent. The European Commission can not impose or ask them what they should cover” (personal communication, May 26, 2014). The importance of this Treaty and the independence of the EU media was confirmed by the Spokesperson of the Commission of the Regions, Shirin Wheeler.

According to the aforementioned European Commission source, all recent strategies of the Commission and the Parliament related to transnational networks are based on the two policy documents: *Communicating Europe in Partnership* (EC, 2007c) and *Communicating Europe through Audiovisual Media* (EC, 2008a).

A discussion of this topic goes back to much earlier times than previously discussed documents. Already in the early 90s Venturelli (1993), pointed out that since 1988 transnational communications were considered as a significant element of European Community’s cultural policy (a European cultural policy is “intended to promote cultural understanding and better social relations among member states” (p. 492). It led to several initiatives including the initiative of the Commission of the European Communities on creation of a European University network for cultural integration in the teaching and training of broadcast production and journalistic skills (p. 493). Venturelli further noted that the 1989 European Community’s “Television without Frontiers” (TVWF) Directive was a foundation of the creation of transnational communications (p. 513).

The current European Commission policy documents for the European public sphere

The *Communicating Europe in Partnership* strategy is one of the most important policy documents of the European Commission. As it was noted in *Communicating about Europe via the Internet engaging the citizens* this document “is one of many ways of helping to ensure that citizen’s right to be informed on EU issues becomes a reality” (EC, 2007b, p. 3).

It was noted in *Communicating Europe in Partnership* that, as of 2007, “citizens’ knowledge of the EU, its institutions and policies is rather limited” (EC, 2007c, p. 4). The Commission has taken a responsibility to reinforce “its communication activities by providing information and engaging in debate and discussion with citizens in national, regional and local contexts, thus promoting active European citizenship and contributing to the development of a European public sphere” (EC, 2007c, p. 4).

Who should communicate on European affairs? According to this document of 2007, it is those who are involved in the EU decision-making process: EU institutions; Member States; all interested stakeholders (EC, 2007c, p. 4). This document reinforced the partnership approach and proposed an inter-institutional agreement “to structure the EU communication process” (EC, 2007c, p. 4). As the aforementioned European Commission source pointed out, “all European institutions should come together to coordinate message and check how to develop a public participation.”

The EC inter-institutional agreement. According to the EC document (EC, 2007c, p. 4), the inter-institutional agreement with the European Parliament and the Council has an objective to encourage Member States to cooperate in the field of public communication, in the joint events, and “to achieve a convergence of views on

the main communications priorities of the EU as a whole”. What it has brought is engagement in the communication process of all EU institutions, Member States, regional and local authorities across Europe; the European Commission cooperates with the Member States on communicating EU action in various policy areas; the development of a common annual work plan around selected EU communication priorities.

This document emphasizes the necessity to communicate with stakeholders at national, regional and local level. By 2007, four hundred Europe Direct information relays operated and provided EU information locally and regionally, including in rural areas. This document ensured opening of new information relays in Bulgaria and Romania in the beginning of 2009. The European Commission had a common pilot project with the European Parliament to create European public spaces to host European activities in Member States. (EC, 2007c, p. 8). It included activities aimed to support an active European citizenship (programs Europe for Citizens, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, Youth in Action). This policy document (EC, 2007c) stated that “audiovisual media continue to be the preferred source of information on European affairs. TV and radio present European issues in the context of news and debates when important European policies are being decided” (p. 11).

This document contains a European Commission decision which finds its further implementation in the ensuing documents:

The Commission will contribute to greater and more sustainable coverage of EU affairs on existing audiovisual channels, and encourage European networking by broadcasters. (EC, 2007c, p. 11)

In general, this 2007 document brought new opportunities in sponsoring radio and TV programs on European affairs (EC, 2007c, p. 11).⁶

⁶ For more details, see Chapter 6.

The role of Internet in the system of transnational communications

The EU Commission policy document *Communicating about Europe via the Internet engaging the citizens* (EC, 2007b) is a follow-up to Commission's Communication strategy *Communicating Europe in Partnership*. "The Internet can help EU institutions to understand public opinion by supporting a genuinely European public debate with common themes, discussed openly and in real time by people from different countries" (EC, 2007b, p. 3).

The Internet is considered as a cost-effective tool of communicating with citizens across Europe. It is also a popular and most accessible tool of communication with citizens. Nowadays, every one uses Internet or listens news podcasts of radio or TV programs. It was stated that "in 2001 the Commission adopted the EUROPA II Communication, which gave the Internet a central place in communication activities under the e-Commission program" (2007b, p. 3).

According to this document, the cross-media communication combines Internet, radio, TV, print, video, music and mobile services (EC, 2007b, p. 10). Internet provides opportunities to host a huge range of discussions every day through forums and blogs on all kinds of topics and online versions of newspapers, TV channels and radio.

As it is stated in this document, "many of the topics discussed on the Internet are of interest to the Commission: climate change, energy, research, science, information technology, immigration, social affairs, economics and globalization, to name but a few. The EU itself is also a frequent topic of discussion, sometimes eurosceptic-driven" (EC, 2007b, p. 12).

Increased role of radio and television

In 2008, the paper *Communicating Europe through Audiovisual Media* was adopted by the European Commission as a follow-up to *Communicating Europe in*

Partnership. This document pointed out a key role of television and radio in the European public sphere that are “the primary media used by citizens of the European Union”(EC, 2008a, p. 3).

This paper *Communicating Europe through Audiovisual Media* of 2008 together with the Internet Strategy of 2007 is aimed to realize the Commission decision stated in the “Communicating Europe in Partnership” strategy to support networks of EU-content broadcasters. It is aimed at the support of existing networks of EU-content broadcasters and on the creation of new networks. The future broadcasters’ networks will aim to cover the whole range and spectrum of EU related news, including activities of all EU institutions” (EC, 2008a, p. 3). The creation of this communications are supposed to be implemented within the existing multi-annual financial programming. This EC document (2008a) stated that “a European public sphere exists only to the extent that traditional radio broadcasters have international, multilingual programs and that broadcasters such as Euronews, BBC World, Deutsche Welle, France 24 and Arte can offer pan-European programmes covering news items from several Member States. Increasing EU-related cross-border programmes will contribute to the development of a European public sphere as well as to mutual understanding” (p. 4).

Since establishing new broadcasters is costly and time-consuming, the Commission decided to promote the EU content on networks of the existing TV and radio channels by taking into account the Council of Europe rules on freedom of expression and on the editorial freedom of press, as well as the provisions of the Amsterdam Treaty.

According to the Action plan of *Communicating Europe through Audiovisual Media* (2008a), the European Commission role is: to provide free of charge quality

raw broadcast material on EU affairs; to develop and to improve its policy of creating networks of TV channels; to offer financial assistance to networks through contracts; to offer a EbS⁷ inter-institutional service that provides “broadcast-quality up-to-the-minute free-of-charge audiovisual coverage of EU news to media professional around the world” (p. 5); to propose services of existing radio and TV studios in the Berlaymont building⁸ that can be used free of charge by accredited journalists; to offer services of the audiovisual library.

As stated in the document (EC, 2008a), the European Commission’ objective is “to increase coverage of EU affairs and thus help people to engage in a properly informed and democratic debates on EU policies” (p. 11).

The Spokesperson of the Commission of the Regions Shirin Wheeler said (personal communication, May 26, 2014) that she feels very strongly that institutions have to help the media networks not by telling them what they must broadcast but by giving them information that is interesting, accurate, quick and well expressed. The European Commission can expect them to be honest and accurate but at the end they may choose to be critical. “That is fine. The importance is enough debates on the project of the European Union”, pointed out Wheeler.

Creation of transnational media networks in the European Community

Concerning the role of the transnational media networks in the European public sphere Wheeler (see above) said that “the media networks do play an important role in the development of a public sphere because this is the way how people get

⁷ Europe by Satellite (EbS), the European Commission service for audiovisual coverage of EU affairs (EC, 2007c, p. 11). EbS provides news, updates from the European Commission. It can be watched through cable television and videos online.

⁸ The Directorate General for Communication is located in this European Commission headquarters building in Brussels.

most of information”. The former (2004-2010) European Commission Vice-President and Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy Margot Wallstrom contributed a lot to the development of this agenda. Having a background in media relations and in management of television network in 1993-1999 in Sweden and Sri Lanka, she took part in establishing the Euranet radio consortium in 2007. A European Commission source said in the personal interview that

under the Commissioner Margaret Wallstrom the European arena and this initiative were developed. It is true she developed a sort of framework strategy including debates to expand democracy or a European sphere dimension. All 2007-2008 documents on public sphere came from her.
(personal communication, May 26, 2014)

Wallstrom developed a framework strategy expanding democracy. According to the European Commission source, Wallstrom contributed to the documents such as the Article II of the Treaty of Lisbon (2007a) which guarantees the freedom of media and sets ground for free media pluralism. The Treaty of Lisbon also provided a base for the further development of the European Citizens’ Initiative (launched by the European Commission in 2011). Thiel (2008) also emphasizes the role of the Commission Vice President and ‘communications’ Commissioner Margot Wallstrom in the development of the European public sphere and transnational media networks.

So far I have been analyzing the European Commission policy documents related to the European public sphere and transnational media networks. The latest European Commission policy documents set new tasks for the Euranet radio network and the Euronews television which will be discussed later on.

Conclusion

The European public sphere has appeared in all EU policy agendas since 1992. The Treaties of the European Union of 1992, 1997, 2001 and 2007 provided a framework for further processes aimed at strengthening the inter-institutional

cooperation of the Member States including area of communications, ensuring of the EU institutions' transparency, the promotion of a EU identity, providing opportunities for citizens' debates, and opportunities for creation of transnational media networks.

In 1993 the purpose of the European Commission support of Euronews was different from today's one. At the beginning the European Commission's goal was to foster the development of European digital video services, whereas since 2005 the Commission's goal is the support of broadcasting news with a European agenda.

The Plan-D (EC, 2005a) became the first working document that was aimed at promoting wide-range debates and provided financial opportunities for the development of transnational TV and radio networks on European affairs.

The implementation of the EU communication strategies brought up the necessity of developing a new model of inter-institutional cooperation in the area of communication and transparency, and of new communication structures of the European Commission and Representatives of the EU in the Member States. The communications became a part of the EU's regional policy.

In 2005 the European public sphere becomes more prioritized topic because of the decrease of trust in European institutions and rise of Euroscepticism. The creation of transnational media networks had begun since 2007, since the Lisbon Treaty. The European Commission projects on Euranet and Euronews became possible due to the conception of creating media networks with European agenda based on existing European media.

Since 2009 there are no new policy documents; everything is in the process of implementation of the existing Actions plans that periodically renewal. The latest European Commission policy documents are mostly focused on more active citizens' participation in European decision-making (The European Citizens' Initiative).

Chapter Three

An analysis of the model of the European transnational television project Euronews

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the Euronews institutional model and its functionality in the European public sphere. The author looks at what Euronews presents and whether this television channel adjusts its work and institutional model to a new reality in the era of Euroscepticism. This objective serves a broader goal, which is to compare two institutional models of transnational media with a European agenda – Euronews television and Euranet radio.

After a brief description of the work of Euronews and an analysis of its broadcasts the author arrives at the conclusion that the European Commission initiatives related to extending opportunities for citizens' participation and to providing more information on European affairs have had an effect on Euronews functioning. The European public sphere is changing and Euronews is also undergoing a transformation. This chapter consists of an overview of Euronews based on the author's research, first hand contacts with representatives of the European Commission, media in Belgium and France and field study at the editorial office of Euronews in Lyon-Ecully that took place in May 2014.

This chapter contains reflections on the philosophy and mission of Euronews, an analysis of the work of the editorial office, the structure of this news channel and the role of the new Brussels bureau. Further, it contains an analysis of the place of Euronews in the European public sphere and in the creation of a European identity, discusses the role of Euronews in attempting to reduce Euroscepticism and also examines the main trends made by this channels towards the raising of debate and

involvement of youth audience in European affairs. Finally, I illustrate this analysis by considering in more detail the Euronews coverage of the 2014 European Parliament elections.

The philosophy of Euronews

The Euronews television channel was established by broadcasters from 10 European countries in 1992 and started broadcasting in 1993. Its shareholder structure has changed over the last twenty years, and in 2012 it included 21 public and government organizations, among which the major shareholders are: France Televisions - 24,05% of shares; RAI, Italy - 21,65%; RTVE, Spain - 18,81%; VGTRK, Russia - 16,06%; and SSR, Switzerland - 9,20%. Euronews has European shareholders and those that are outside of Europe. As a European Commission source mentioned (personal communication, May 30, 2014), “Euronews broadcasts not only for Europe but also beyond the European public sphere”.

The mission of Euronews as stated in the official media kit (Euronews, 2014) is formulated in a rather vague way, and does not really say anything about Euronews' mission and its philosophy. As is stated, the mission of Euronews is in providing to viewers “the right amount of information” so that a viewer “can form its own opinion about the world” and also in broadcasting “reliable news, real news, pure news”. This does not mean that Euronews covers news, including the news on European affairs, without any editorial concept. Indeed, first of all, Euronews tries to present news from a supranational point of view. The second point is that, according to my analysis of news coverage at Euronews, even world news is usually presented through its relation to Europe, for example, it answers the question why Europeans should know this information and how it might be related to the EU or influence the lives of citizens of

Europe. The content analysis of some European news and external news in two Euronews languages (English and Russian) will be provided in the later chapters.

Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews who joined the team of the television channel in 2001 and the author of publications about Euronews, pointed out (personal communication, May 30, 2014) that coverage of global news agenda from the European view point was the initial goal of Euronews when it was created in 1992. Loktev also noted that “Euronews, as a news channel, served as an alternative to CNN international channel. European countries wanted to have an alternative to that because it was clear that transnational TV channels are becoming an important part of an information sphere. The lack of a European channel was perceived as a potential problem”.

Dominique D'Olne, Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF, Brussels (personal communication, May 20, 2014), remembers how Euronews was presented twenty years ago when the new TV channel was created and the idea was to have a new European CNN, not only a TV channel dedicated to European policy or a European agenda, but a TV channel presenting world news as seen by European journalists. A Danish radio broadcaster Jan Simmen (personal communication, May 21, 2014) said that “the basic idea of Euronews was a creation of kind of CNN platform that will be a voice of a European view on world news including European news that there was a lack of”. CNN, BBC channel and Euronews are often compared. According to Albina Lir, the Euronews forward planning editor (personal communication, May 30, 2014), nowadays BBC and CNN could be considered as competitors to the Euronews channel but they have a different philosophy. As a European Commission source stated (personal communication, May 26, 2014) “Euronews is a pan-European TV channel”; nowadays Euronews “behaves as a typical international news channel”.

Stéphane Parizot, Deputy editor in chief of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014), believes that Euronews is on the way to becoming a global channel: “we are a global channel. We were more European in the past but we became really global”.

Based on the Euronews global distribution, it is possible to conclude that Euronews is a global, international news channel but I would like to agree with the opinion of Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarhji List* bureau in Brussels, who argues that Euronews is not a typical international TV channel and it is still developing its philosophy (personal interview, May 26, 2014). He supported this statement by facts. Euronews often presents material on behalf of EU institutions, “for example, a press-conference of the President of the European Commission will be broadcast for sure. Probably BBC or CNN or Russia Today or Al Jazeera do not broadcast it unless it is very important for the entire world. Plus Euronews provides a translation in many languages.”

According to Denis Loktev, the main difference between Euronews and other international TV channels is in its model: “there is an international news room, many different nationalities are working together” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

The role of Euronews in creating a European identity

The statement of Garcia-Blanco (2010, p. 393 – see chapter 1) about the Euronews channel contribution to the shaping of a more inclusive European identity by uniting “linguistic and cultural differences” is practically confirmed by the Euronews representatives and corresponds to my observations of work of Euronews editorial office. According to Denis Loktev, “Euronews was created to cover global news, primary European news from common European viewpoint as a counterpoint to the national viewpoint” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Several Euronews employees (Albina Lir, Stéphane Parizot, Denis Loktev) told me how the creation of a supranational point of view became possible to achieve (personal communications, May 30, 2014). Euronews has 13 news teams. In average 3-4 news teams work daily and cover 24 hours of broadcasting. Each news team has 13 journalists in 13 languages. Editors of the news room monitor the picture of the day and do the first scenario of the news together with the team of 13 journalists jointly with the journalists who work for Euronews bureaus in Athens, Brussels, Hungary, and Kiev. Every morning Euronews editors have briefings to discuss how to present news, based on the editors' personal experience. As Albina Lir explained, they create “the European point of view, we try to see different events using the European culture, European values”. According to Loktev (personal communication, May 30, 2014), how the work of different language teams is organized can be considered as “a guarantee that the channel forms not a national point of view but a supranational view point”. Euronews has partners, and editors can take national news and videos to include in a story.

Denis Loktev, Stéphane Parizot, and Albina Lir pointed out that Euronews is able to create a unified point of view due to way in which the work of the editorial office is organized. Journalists work at Euronews not as separate language teams; they are not isolated by their languages. They work “together, they exchange ideas, they select and treat information gently, so that actually is what makes a European point of view when it cover a news” (Denis Loktev, personal communication, May 30, 2014). As Stéphane Parizot pointed out, the strength of Euronews is explained by the fact that the TV channel has representatives of 27 nationalities who are working together at Euronews. It is helpful that “when you are working on a story you always can find a journalist who knows better what is going on. It is a kind of melting experience. It is a

really rich working environment at Euronews” (Stéphane Parizot, personal communication, May 30, 2014). At the same time the deputy editor in chief of Euronews Stéphane Parizot pointed out that they are “not a team of translators but a team of journalists. Even if it is one picture for 13 languages, we have 13 journalists who are writing their own scripts. It is a real journalistic work. On the ground they are doing a great job” (personal communication, May 30, 2014). According to Euronews (2014), “beyond Euronews’ own production, the channel has access to uniquely rich and varied information streams through the Eurovision Exchange, its shareholders and major press and TV news agencies. Access to this wide range of sources enables Euronews’ team of journalists to compare, sort, analyse and report with balance, maintaining impartiality and avoiding any national viewpoint”. Different Euronews partner channels are broadcast in the Euronews news room 24 hours. Euronews can use videos of EBU (two channels: the aired stream and the editors' stream), EbS (Parliament TV), Reuters, CNN, BBC, Sky News, Eurovision, RTP, RA1, RTR, APTD, national and local TV stations, France 2, Spanish channel, Italian RAI, Russia 24.

Nowadays Euronews broadcasts in 13 languages: Arabic, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Turkish, Ukrainian. Stéphane Parizot mentioned that Euronews has been growing starting from broadcasting in 5 languages, now they work in 13 languages. “That is a huge development. As a deputy editor he had been working with just five journalists, whereas now he has to work with 13 journalists and also with national bureaus. We managed to become global and to compete with the BBC World and CNN”.

Euronews as a transnational TV channel

As was mentioned by Euronews representatives, and is stated in Euronews official documents, Euronews has a global coverage. It is possible to watch Euronews using satellite antennas in 155 countries around the world. Most of the countries on the globe are covered by Euronews.

Analyzing the model of Euronews, Loktev pointed out that it is not a network, it is a transnational TV channel that has editorial offices (personal communication, May 30, 2014). The main headquarters is in Lyon, France; it also has bureaus and journalists working in Brussels (a small team of journalists), national bureaus in Kiev (Ukraine), Budapest (Hungary) and also in Athens (Greece). These national bureaus cover local national news in addition to international news covered here. But it is still the same channel; it is not a network in the exact sense of this word. So far there are the same programs for the whole world plus some nation specific stories in Ukraine, in Greece and in Hungary.

Albina Lir mentioned that “the idea of Euronews is to expand broadcast languages up to 24. Euronews presents many cultures, it gives an opportunity to viewers to learn about different countries and in some sense it plays an educational role” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

The Euronews editorial office

Stéphane Parizot, the deputy editor in chief, is dealing with more or less everything that Euronews puts on air in terms of news and also business and analysis. Practically he decides what to broadcast in consent with the Editor-in-Chief, Peter Barabas. Parizot prepares the daily morning program. He pointed out that “of course it can be evaluated during the afternoon, it depends on the news. I prepare the program,

we discussed, we agreed. After that I decide what the team will be doing and when and how we will put it on air. It would be a short story or a longer one plus an analysis to give more background” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Albina Lir explained that Euronews has a kind of editorial line implemented by duty editors. Every morning they have a meeting to discuss what has been prepared before. Albina Lir represents the forward planning unit. They prepare topics on weekly and monthly basis what Euronews has to cover in coming weeks, days or months. Albina Lir explained that Euronews prepares some materials in advance: “We try to look forward and to feel what will be the news of tomorrow; that requires a kind of talent and we try to do that. Every day in the morning we do a kind of meeting to decide what we have to talk about today. A lot of things are going on in the world; we have to chose really on what we will be focusing. And then during the day we have different meetings to continue this kind of strategy until the end of the day and then for the night shift because Euronews works 24 hours” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Denis Loktev noticed that editorial management decides what goes on air. “News stories to cover are being selected by the editor in chief working in the news room” (personal communication, May 30, 2014). Loktev also stated that the journalists team is independent from shareholders. They can not influence the choice of the editorial politics, they take joint decisions only on the strategic development of the channel (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

News with a European agenda

According to the Euronews media kit, television Euronews news blocks include a News edition, “News plus” (an in depth coverage and analysis of the day’s

main event with duplexes, interviews and local expertise), “No comment” (the most striking images from around the world, unedited, with original sound), interviews (face-to-face interviews with leading figures of the news), and flashback (a roundup of the major news stories of the last seven days) (Euronews, 2014). Aside from news blocks Euronews has a variety of programs.

The deputy editor in chief of Euronews Stéphane Parizot, giving an example of what a typical news with a European agenda is, stated that it could be news related to the European foreign policy or European policies on fisheries, agriculture or any of the big dossiers on the European affairs (personal communication, 30 May 2014). He said that there are no rules on how many news on European affairs should be among those on air. For instance, for two days before and two days after the European Parliament elections, this topic was the top story. 50 percent of Euronews news bulletins was on the European elections and on the reactions on the Elections' vote results. Sometimes, the central topic of news bulletin can be Middle East, or South America (personal communication, 30 May 2014).

Augustin Palokaj, the Brussels bureau chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarhji List* told me (personal communication, May 26, 2014) that “the problem with Euronews is that they re-transmit news during the day”. In reply to that, Stéphane Parizot explained that they do updates of news bulletin every hour. They “kill the old news” and they put on air the new ones. “Sometimes they are the same news but you got a new picture, you got small information to add, so we re-do it by changing more or less the picture. Then it becomes a new story with a new commentary to it” (personal communication, 30 May 2014).

The role of Euronews in the European public sphere

Albina Lir pointed out that the role of Euronews is “to be objective, to try to inform Europeans on what is going on not only in Brussels and European institutions as well as in the European countries. European countries are very concentrated on what is going on in their own countries. Euronews tries to inform about what is going on around. I mean closer to their countries, in the neighbouring ones and so on. We try to inform, to open their eyes to help to understand Europe”.

Stéphane Parizot explained that the Euronews goal is to give some news but also to explain what Europe is, to make it easier to understand. Sometimes coverage of news on European affairs, the press-conferences, the meeting of the EU officials can be boring. Euronews tries “to translate it in European language in simple words”. He also pointed out that “if we manage to explain what is the real Europe, if we manage to make people understanding what it is, this type of media could be considered as helpful for the European integration” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

According to Loktev, the role of Euronews as a transnational media in creating the European public sphere is to help citizens “living in different countries to communicate with each other, because they need to know what happens in other countries than theirs. Transnational media likes Euronews allows for this transnational public sphere to exist” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Collaboration with European institutions

Financial support. As a European Commission source said, the Euronews TV channel is managed by European Commission grants. The European Commission “does not fund shareholders, but finances programs in European languages and those that have a view of a pan-European perspective”. “The Commission decided to fund

there because they fulfill the conditions providing a pan-European view.” At the same time the channel can extend its broadcasting, they are free to go wherever they want because they satisfy the European Commission condition that consists in a coverage of at least 10 European Union countries (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

Provision of news. According to the EU policy document the *Communicating Europe through Audiovisual Media* (2008a), the European Commission provides information to Euronews and provides an access to the European Commission broadcast material on EU affairs. Europe by Satellite (EbS) is the Commission’s service for audiovisual coverage of EU affairs – it is also a channel with which Euronews cooperates.

The spokesperson of the Committee of the Regions Shirin Wheeler spoke about the scheme of providing materials to Euronews (personal communication, May 26, 2014). As a spokesperson she communicates with all the media. The Committee of the Regions also has a communication unit which works with Euronews more than she does. They work with Euronews to help them to do 5 or 6 programs on Regional policy. The department would like them to do stories about the regional policy. Euronews may always do it in a way they want to do it. That is a part of the agreement (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

The deputy editor in chief of Euronews Stéphane Parizot pointed out that Euronews is really independent, also from the European institutions (personal communication, May 26, 2014). Albina Lir also brought up this issue: “the European Commission does not advise on how our news should look like”. She also said that “Euronews is a bridge and a very useful structure for the European Commission and the EU. The project of Euronews was a genial idea and the participation of Brussels has allowed us to be independent. We have participants, shareholders. We do not have

any interests to boost, to defend, we are really free” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Euronews collaborates with civil society forums such as the European Citizens' Initiative, Europolitics, and the Permanent Forum of European civil society (The Citizens Agora¹) by inviting their representatives to speak out.

Euronews and Euroscepticism

Explanation of what is going on in Europe. According to Denis Loktev, the lack of information on the European integration project and specifically the fact that the citizens only get news from national media that are not particularly interested in the European Union and other integration projects, leads to the situation when citizens start feeling that “something is happening behind their backs”. “They do not really understand the European Union, they do not get a clear idea of what it is and why do they need to support it” (personal communication, May 30, 2014). All these circumstances lead to Euroscepticism. “People are disappointed with the European Union because they probably perceive it just as a bureaucratic structure that has no real meaning for them”. In order to change this situation, “what needs to be done is better informing people and better interaction. People need to be able to learn more about the European integration project and to participate more, to talk directly to people living in other countries, to discuss different topics of integration and to feel this is something what they want and what they need” (Loktev, personal communication, May 30, 2014).

¹ The Citizens' Agora represents a link between the European Parliament and European civil society. It is a unique tool, in both structure and breadth, for discussing issues on Parliament's legislative agenda with citizens. See more at <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/00567de5f7/Agora.html>

As Denis Loktev stated “Euronews is the only TV channel that broadcasts news on Europe from the European view point in 13 languages, most European languages, is a good example of how it can be done” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Albina Lir pointed out that the role of Euronews is in explaining what is going on in Europe. The problem that citizens face is “everything that European institutions decide is very difficult to understand because European citizens are really far from that. They have their own lives, but decisions made in Brussels affect them. Euronews is a kind of bridge to talk with European institutions to understand the results of what they decide and how it will impact Europe and people living in Europe” (personal communication, May 30, 2014). According to her, Euronews produces two types of news: one of them explains news, events to Europeans and the other one tells what Europe already thinks about various events.

The role of debates. Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarhji List* bureau in Brussels (personal communication, 26 May, 2014) also noticed that Euronews recently started organizing debates to invite analysts to discuss the issues they present. The deputy editor in chief of Euronews Stéphane Parizot pointed out that Euronews changed few years ago an editorial line to become “the first channel starting to broadcast debates of the European Commission candidates”.

In 2014, for the first time in the history of the European Parliament elections European voters could directly elect the President of the European Commission. Euronews had live debates broadcast in 13 languages.

Concerning the role of debates that Euronews introduced to their editorial line, Denis Loktev said that Euronews can contribute to the awareness of people, that they can talk together about the common issues, decide what they want to do together. It

leads to acquisition of confidence that such a transnational body as the European Union and other transnational projects are legitimate because they are based on the real will of citizens. Politicians also “can debate political issues on transnational TV channels like Euronews”. During the debates organized by Euronews during the 2014 European Parliament Elections, “the future of the European Union was being debated, discussed openly by citizens from all countries of the European area via live satellite television”.

The studios of the new Euronews bureau in Brussels can produce talk-shows with participation of representatives of the key EU institutions and civil society organizations.

The new Euronews bureau in Brussels

In June 2011 the Euronews TV channel opened an office in Brussels. The opening ceremony was well attended by the representatives of the major EU institutions in Brussels. The EU Commission Vice President Viviane Reding² gave a speech at this ceremony³.

As Euronews employees (Albina Lir, Denis Loktev, Stéphane Parizot) pointed out the Brussels bureau includes around 30 journalists. They work in teams of 13 editors on duty representing all Euronews languages. As Denis Loktev noted “it is like any team of journalists that can be found here, in Lyon, but it is based in Brussels where the main European Union agencies are located”. They have a TV crew, they

² Viviane Reding is the Vice-President of the European Commission for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship. From 1999 to 2004 she was the Commissioner for Media, Education, Culture, Youth, Media and Sport. From 2004 to 2009 she was the Commissioner for Information Society and Media.

³ The video in French about the opening ceremony of Euronews bureau in Brussels on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0N6a3xEovJI>

produce news stories and programs related to the EU affairs. There is also a studio where talk-shows and live shows can be produced.

As Loktev noted their location in Brussels makes “it is easy for them to work with the European institutions”. As the deputy editor in chief Stéphane Parizot pointed out Euronews bureau in Brussels “produces news to integrate in the daily news bulletin. They are also working on specific programs in partnership with the European Commission on European affairs institutional ones”. The Brussels bureau manages a rubric *Europe* that consists of the European view on European happenings. Euronews journalists stationed in Brussels participate in all European meetings, press-conferences, ask their own questions “to be really closer to European structures and as well to be understandable for the audience” (Albina Lir, personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Albina Lir stated that “this new Brussels office is very helpful”. Now Euronews can produce its own videos as well as various exclusive footage. Before Euronews had to broadcast what they were given by others television channels. Nowadays Euronews videos and news produced by Brussels office are broadcast in neighboring countries. As Albina Lir concluded “they are doing well. They do strictly European stories and they try to film them, to make post-production how it was at the beginning of the TV channel. She further stated that the Brussels team gives Euronews television an opportunity to have their own pictures and their own media content, their own experts and also to offer Euronews media content to colleagues via the EBU channel.

Albina Lir pointed out that with the opening of the Brussels office the European content of the news has become more interesting. Euronews can do live shows because the Brussels bureau has studios and hosts. They produce on average 1-

2 stories per day but also “the content of news has become more interesting”. All of them agree that opening of the bureau in Brussels brought many innovations to Euronews functioning. The Brussels bureau works in coordination with the headquarter in Lyon, they send their plans to Lyon.

The Euronews’ coverage of the 2014 European Parliament elections

The large neon-lit studio of Euronews was placed at the central hallway of the European Parliament at the Election night on May 26, 2014. The Euronews studio was covering the European elections live. I was interested to learn the opinion of a professional journalist specializing on European affairs about the Euronews' coverage of the European Parliament elections. I met Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarnji List* bureau in Brussels at the European Commission press-conference in the Berlaymont building the morning after the Elections night.

Augustin Palokaj said that he had been watching the Euronews television throughout the European elections night concluded that

Euronews was only TV channel to cover European elections from a European point of view. For example, if we could turn on the BBC channel, it was a coverage of the European Elections only reporting from the British angle: how a UK party won most of the votes, what will be the role of the UK in the future of the European Union, how will these results reflect relations of the UK with the rest of the European Union and so on. It was the same with the German and Spanish TV channels and other national television channels. Euronews was the only channel to provide a broader European picture.
(personal communication, May 26, 2014)

Augustin Palokaj also stated that “Euronews combined what was produced by the European Parliament itself with presentations and debates organized by Euronews” (personal communication, May 26, 2014). Albina Lir, the Euronews forward planning editor, stated (personal communication, May 30, 2014) that “during the European

Parliament Elections night they had 8 hours non-stop coverage coordinated between Lyon and Brussels. This coverage was dubbed in all Euronews languages”.

The coverage of the European Elections exit polls by Euronews started on May 25, 2014 at 6 pm. At the beginning of the Elections night journalists from Lyon were introducing German and Greek exit polls. Then the Lyon studio switched to the German TV ARD showing German exit polls. They were familiarizing viewers with the poll results and with guests and European citizens forecasts throughout the night alternately giving air to Lyon journalists, to journalists in the Brussels studio interacting with their colleagues via duplex and triplex links (double or triple pictures simultaneously) into live broadcast.

Brussels journalists of Euronews in a special studio organized in the European Parliament had in total six inclusions in air for conversations with guests in the framework of the project Citizens' Agora. They had discussions with journalists and bloggers (a EU affairs journalist of DPA German Press Agency Craig Willy, and the editor of the European voice Dave Keating; a journalist of *La Stampa* Marco Zatterin and a blogger Sean Klein), with representatives of civil society and especially forums for youth citizens (the Director of Carnegie Europe Jan Techau and Jenny de Nijs, European Youth Forum / League of Young Voters), and also with MEPs (a Belgian green MEP Philippe Lamberts, a British conservative MEP Struan Stevenson, and after the final results were announced with Hannes Swoboda, an Austrian centre - left MEP).

The studio in Brussels, in addition to organizing follow-ups to exit polls with journalists in Athens, Berlin, Budapest, Paris, London, and Rome, conducted live conversations with guests in studio. The Brussels bureau broadcast live conversations in the studio with the Head of the French Research institute on international relations

in Brussels (IFRI) Vivien Pertusot, a Dutch leftist MEP Kartika Tamara Liotard and the Editor-in-chief of Europolitics Christophe Garach.

The studio in Lyon broadcast live the journalists round up polls results from Greece, Germany, Cyprus, France, Spain, Portugal, Netherlands, and UK. During the European Parliament Elections Euronews was covering the results of the Presidential elections in Ukraine connecting the Euronews bureau in Kiev and journalists in Donetsk every hour.

The coverage of the 2014 European Parliament elections was a real novelty, according to several sources (journalists, representatives of the European Commission). Augustin Palokaj concluded that this time was different because “during the debates on the European Parliament elections night Euronews was pretty balanced because they had in the studio different analysts, they had interviews with the main presidential candidates representing various political parties. They also interviewed people from different parties and even were publishing feeds from the viewers” (personal communication, May 26, 2014). As was pointed out by Albina Lir (personal communication, May 30, 2014), this was the first time when Euronews was so well represented in Brussels (a studio in the Brussels office and a studio in the European Parliament). The choice of speakers showed that Euronews gave an opportunity to speak out mostly to representatives of civil society, journalists and bloggers, independent analysts. They also made accent on the coverage of youth voters' choice.

The Euronews viewers

According to the deputy editor in chief of Euronews Stéphane Parizot (personal communication, May 30, 2014), the Euronews audience is worldwide.

However, he believes that this TV channel is “more for business, managers, social high level people, more for intellectuals”.

Augustin Palokaj, analyzing the audience of Euronews based on the content of the European Parliament elections, was wondering who might be interested in watching TV with European angle rather than a national one. Palokaj in particular said that he doesn't know how many people in Germany or in Spain, for example, would be interested in a European, rather than a national angle (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

According to Euronews (2014), the channel is viewed at homes/households, at hotels (1.5 mln hotel rooms worldwide), on board of major airlines, on the Euronews displays in busy places, in colleges and universities, and at various other public places. Among many public places, Euronews broadcasts its latest news at the NATO, EU and European Commission headquarters in Brussels and Strasbourg, at the Brussels train stations, at the French Parliament in Paris, at international airports in Kiev, Tunis, Bucharest, Istanbul and at media companies like Le Figaro Newspaper in France or the OMD media agency in London (Euronews, 2014).

Based on a Euronews distribution report (Q1 2014 in Euronews, 2014), the largest number of household viewers is in Germany (30.532 mln), followed by France (23.283 mln), and the UK (16.540 mln). There are nearly the same number of household viewers in Russia (17.052 mln). On the other hand, there are 4 mln household viewers in Belgium, 1.352 mln in Greece, and 1.045 in Ireland. The numbers in the Netherlands and in Italy are approximately the same - 7 mln per country. As it was claimed by Euronews in 2014, “Euronews’ worldwide distribution has nearly doubled in the last 5 years and the channel continues its global expansion, now covering all 5 continents”.

Euronews reaches 3.4 million cable and satellite viewers every day, more than CNN International and BBC World News combined. The channel also delivers a further 3.4 million daily viewers through its national windows broadcasting. In addition to cable & satellite, Euronews is also broadcast via exclusive national windows in 38 countries. 48 national broadcasters take Euronews' signal and broadcast it live on their national networks, bringing an extra 259 million homes to Euronews cable & satellite coverage.

Euronews in France. Euronews in France broadcasts every morning on the third national channel of French television (France 3). Every day early in the morning people can watch Euronews even if they do not have satellite television. People who have satellite television, cable or ADSL television can watch Euronews around the clock.

According to Denis Loktev (personal communication, May 30, 2014), France was chosen for the Euronews headquarters as a result of a discussion and a compromise between the founding countries of Euronews. In 1992 when the project was being discussed, several countries agreed to establish Euronews from national broadcasters and several alternatives were proposed including headquarters in Germany or in Spain (Euronews members). France and the city of Lyon were chosen as something geographically in the middle of the founding countries. Locating Euronews in the building in Ecully neighbourhood in Lyon was considered to be better economically. At the same time it resulted in Germany leaving the project. Denis Loktev said that "Germany is not a part of Euronews because it was decided to put Euronews in Lyon; it was a kind of competition between these two countries especially at the beginning of 1990s".

Denis Loktev said that “most people in France know about Euronews being based in France”. Some people may not know about the channel. One of the reasons is that “headquarters like here in a suburb of Lyon is not very visible to the public”. In 2015 Euronews has to move to a new headquarters in the Lyon conference area. Denis Loktev thinks that “people will be more informed about where Euronews is located. This building is very interesting by itself and will get a lot of publicity when we will move there. People who come to Lyon will probably see the Euronews headquarter immediately when they arrive by car or by train, it is very visible” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Euronews for universities and youth

As the main audience of Euronews always was top managers and businessmen, after the European Commission initiatives on the creation of a European public sphere the priority of Euronews has been extended. It is aimed to reach as much as possible the audience of the European Union. The new trend in expanding the Euronews audience is that the youth and universities have become a prioritized category of viewers. Even during the coverage of the European Parliament elections the youth votes were given a special attention. The European Parliament Elections 2014 showed that Eurosceptics in Germany, Netherlands, France are mostly young people who are unemployed and do not believe in the European integration project.⁴ They are a large audience of Europeans. According to a Eurostat news release (Eurostat, 2014), in May 2014, 5.187 million of youth people (under 25) in the EU were unemployed and according to the post-elections survey of 2014, “unemployment was the main issue for

⁴ Kraats (2014) believes that “Euroscpticism relates to sceptic or oppositional feelings towards Europe and the European Union and is clearly present among the EU’s younger citizens due to the severe austerity measures and high unemployment levels that currently affect this generation throughout the continent». 12 June 2014.

those who went to the polls in the European elections” (EC & TNS Opinion, p. 5). Eurosceptic parties are supported by the young people who are affected the most by the European crisis.⁵

In February 2014 Euronews launched the Euronews Campus. This program is aimed to organize its live broadcasting in prestigious universities worldwide. Euronews has concluded partnerships with several universities in Europe – Belgium (Vesalius College, Brussels School of Journalism and Communications), Cyprus (Cyprus University of Technology), France (EnLyon Business school) and also in Egypt (Future University in Egypt), New Zealand (the University of Auckland) and Turkey (Marmara University) with more than 130,000 students in total. Through its offer of Euronews Campus, Euronews allows partner universities to broadcast live its international news coverage and the use of Euronews’ magazines, which serve as course material in the classes of journalism, communication, business, international relations, politics, science and language studies.

Euronews online production

Euronews expanded its modern technologies that mostly involve the internet and other modern technologies: iPhone, iPad; on-line: websites, YouTube (in December 2013 Euronews is the most watched news channel on YouTube in the world – Euronews, 2014), Euronews online radio and also social media.

This television channel conducts in online spaces the same multilingual policy and editorial line. According to Natalia Marshalkovich, a Senior Business Journalist of Russian Service of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014), Euronews is

⁵ For example, the author Mark Bergfeld reported on RT News and TV website about the youth protests from Athens to London in July 2014. Accessed at <http://rt.com/op-edge/173540-eu-financial-system-youth-unemployment/> on 17 April 2015.

presented in social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The Euronews corporate Facebook is managed as 13 pages in 13 languages.

Euronews examines the new technologies that can be attractive for the young audience. For example, as is stated in the 2014 Euronews media kit, Euronews became the first European media that is available on Google Glass, in partnership with a start-up Watchup. Since October 2013, when Watchup for Glass has been presented at the annual conference of the Online News Association in Atlanta, the 8,000 early testers of Google Glass in the United States had high-quality access to the news produced by Euronews (videos and text) in English (Euronews, 2014).

In spite of all these opportunities, not everything from the Euronews content can be viewed on internet, social media and devices and even through Euronews official website. The TV broadcast and that online are still different. For example, the rubric “no comment” has become available on YouTube only since 2007 and via Dailymotion since 2009. Euronews online radio for today is available only in six languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian. (Euronews, 2014).

Conclusions

The broad goal of Euronews is to be a global news channel. At the same time Euronews wants to be the only channel exclusively covering European news and news of the EU institutions for all Member States and beyond the European public sphere.

Euronews is not a network, it is a transnational TV channel, but it expands its presence in the Member States through creating bureaus. Offices and staff in different countries also help to produce the exclusive Euronews content that could promote the channel worldwide. Opening a bureau in Brussels has allowed Euronews to strengthen

the cooperation with the EU institutions and to produce more news on European affairs.

The role of Euronews in the European public sphere is to create a supranational point of view, to explain to Europeans what is going on in neighbour countries, to develop the feeling among Europeans that the EU is their common cause, to discuss different topics about the European integration, to raise discussion and to explain relations of various news to the EU.

The results of this analysis will be applied to test our main research hypothesis that Euronews indirectly became a predecessor of Euranet Plus with its institutional learning. As can be seen, Euronews has been functioning for over 20 years and it is a dynamic structure. Euronews changes its priorities following the new challenges, new priorities of the European public sphere. It is visible that Euronews makes more steps towards initiating debates on European affairs with the involvement of the civil society and the youths of the European Union.

Chapter Four

An analysis of the model of the European transnational radio project Euranet

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the institutional model of the Euranet radio network. This new European media project became possible as a result of adoption of the European Commission regulatory documents of 2005-2009 on the development of European public sphere and of European audiovisual media. Euranet is the second large project to create a transnational media on European affairs implemented with the participation of the European Commission. Overall the main findings presented in this chapter will be applied later on to testing the research hypothesis that Euronews indirectly became a predecessor of Euranet with its institutional learning.

After a historical overview of Euranet and an analysis of its philosophy, editorial policy and broadcasts, the author arrives at the conclusion that this project of the European Commission shows how the priorities of the European Commission have been changing based on the changes of the priorities of the European public sphere. This chapter consists of an overview of Euranet, based on author's research, first hand contacts with representatives of the European Commission, Euranet Plus and journalists, and also a field trip to Euranet Plus news agency and RTBF radio office that took place in May 2014 in Brussels and Paris. This chapter contains reflections on the philosophy and the mission of Euranet, analyses of the structure of this radio network and the role of the Euranet Plus news agency in Brussels and the administrative office in Paris, and the role of member radio stations. Further, it contains an analysis of the place of Euranet in the European public sphere, in the creation of a European identity, discusses the role of Euranet in attempting to decrease

Euroscepticism and also the main trends made by this radio network towards raising debates and involvement a youth audience in European affairs. Finally, I illustrate this analysis by considering in more detail the increased role of debate in Euranet activities.

History of Euranet projects

The institutional model of the Euranet radio network changed several times due to changing requirements of the European Commission relating to the transnational radio network on European affairs. In general, Euranet and Euranet Plus radio network are two projects that were awarded contracts by the European Commission in 2008 and in 2013.

Euranet – from 2008 to 2012 (the European Commission first tender, contract of DG Communications)

Euranet Plus – from 2013 to the present time (the European Commission second tender, contract of DG Communications)

Euranet Connect (Universities' radio) – from 2008 to 2012 (contract of DG Education and Culture)

Euranet Plus Connect (Universities' radio) – from 2013 to the present time (partly supported by the grant of DG Education and Culture and by the Euranet Plus news agency - webpage)

Euranet and Euranet Plus

According to the Warsaw Declaration of Pan-European cooperation and communication (Polskie radio, 2009), the Euranet Consortium (Euranet is a short name of the European radio network) was founded on 25 July 2007. From April 1, 2008 the Euranet network began broadcasting programs on European affairs in languages of the countries belonging to the European Union; this was the first time the European Commission awarded a five year contract to the Euranet Consortium. As a source in the European Commission pointed out (personal communication, May 26,

2014), “Euranet did not exist before the Commission call for tenders. Euranet is a private contractor but it is also a part of the Commission initiative”.

As was pointed out by Jan Simmen, a member of the Euranet Consortium from 2008 to 2012, who is a Danish radio broadcaster (personal communication, May 21, 2014), the initial idea of Euranet came from the European Commission Vice-President and Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy Margaret Wallstrom. In April 2008 she launched the Euranet radio network and a shared Internet portal of this network, www.euranet.eu.

A second project in this effort is Euranet Plus. At the end of 2012 the European Commission decided not to renew the first service contract with Euranet but to launch a new tender for a new contract. The purpose of the call for tenders was “to develop the production and broadcast of regular, specifically dedicated radio programmes in different official EU languages, at peak listening times by each member of a network of professional EU radio broadcasters” (Euroalert, 2013)¹. As a source in the European Commission mentioned, it was “a tender to renew not the project but the concept of the pan-European network of radios”. In 2013 the contract based on the tender PO/2012-09/A6 “Production and broadcast of radio programmes on EU affairs, on air and on digital platforms, by a network of EU radio broadcasters” was awarded to Euranet Plus (Euroalert, 2013). Euranet Plus included the old Euranet members and new members and they brought together private and public radio which broadcast throughout Europe. The conditions of the contract were changed.

As a source in the European Commission pointed out (personal communication, May 26, 2014), according to this second call for tenders, to join the network a radio has to satisfy the criteria that are included in technical specification of

¹ Euroalert.net is a website publishing European Union grants and calls for proposals for funding projects.

the contract: to have 300,000 listeners per day or to a 5 percent share of national market and to broadcast news with European perspective no less than 75 minutes per week (the initial Euranet had no conditions). Nowadays Euranet Plus claims that they have 20 million listeners per day. The initial Euranet network had a weekly audience of 19 million listeners within the European Union and a further 30 million beyond the EU's borders (EC, 2008b).

As was explained by Dominique D'Olne, Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF in Belgium (a member of Euranet from 2008 to 2012 and currently a member of Euranet Plus network) (personal communication, May 20, 2014), "certain conditions made some previous Euranet radio members ineligible to join the network. Some old members joined the Euranet Plus, some of them disappeared; especially this affected the international radio channels that were not able to prove that they reach the audience of 300,000 listeners per day". As Dominique D'Olne said "some historical partners such as Skai radio in Greece, Radio 24 in Italy, AMS in Germany, Bulgarian National radio, Romanian radio, RTBF, Belgium are still there, and some initial partners are not with us any more and we also have some new partners, for example, Croatian radio HRT and Portuguese radio Renascenca".

The next main change of the new contract affected the editorial line that was redesigned by the Commission and it became "more narrow" (Dominique D'Olne, personal communication, May 20, 2014). Dominique D'Olne concluded that since 2013 and for four years to come they now have Euranet Plus with a new editorial line and with a new composition of old and new partners.

The Euranet philosophy

As was mentioned by several interviewees, the idea of launching a network of radio channels on European affairs came from the European Commission. As Jan

Simmen, the Management/Strategy Chief of Euranet Plus, member of the Euranet Consortium from 2008 to 2012 pointed out (personal communication, May 21, 2014), the creation of Euranet is the idea that was developed prior the European Parliament elections of 2009 with some learning on citizens' awareness about the European integration gained from the previous elections. EU Commissioner Margaret Wallstrom realized that the EU had several problems: citizens of the EU were not able to see the results of the European project and the European public sphere had not been developed. At the beginning of Euranet project the idea of Margaret Wallstrom was to have free journalistic work about European affairs. The idea was to take leading private, public or mixture radios and to make them broadcast on European affairs according to the editorial line.

The mission of the network stated on the official website (www.euranetplus-inside.eu) and in other promotion materials is to create awareness about European affairs, to strength the understanding of European affairs, to better inform citizens, to stimulate exchange of opinions and debates of European citizens on EU affairs.

Euranet as a transnational radio network

Euranet Plus is a transnational media network that covers news on European affairs in several Member States. A transnational nature of the radio network was always among its basic concepts.

The network was built on the ground of existing cooperation between radio stations in two Member States. According to Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014), when they started in 2008 there was already some cooperation between different stations, for example, between Polskie radio and Czech radio. However, in 2008 Germany and France took a lead in creating Euranet and formed up a network which is

dedicated to European information and a coverage of European affairs. Other partners were invited to join in. The network was open to radio broadcasters of any kind (national, regional, local, public and private), provided that they complied with the rules laid down by the consortium.

In April 2008 the network included 16 broadcasters and 8 associate radio stations from 15 EU countries (EC, 2008b). At the end of 2012 there were already 26 radio stations broadcasting in 23 official EU languages supplemented by 10 campus radios. The Euranet members represented Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and the United Kingdom.²

Nowadays the Euranet Plus network includes 15 radio stations broadcasting in 15 countries in 14 languages (Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain).³ Each of these countries is represented by only one station. There are both private and public radio stations among the Euranet Plus members. For example, RTBF in Belgium, Polskie radio in Poland, Bulgarian national radio in Bulgaria, Romanian national radio in Romania, and MTVA Magyar radio in Hungary are public. On the other hand, there are several private member stations as well, for instance, Sky Radio in Estonia, AMS-

² The Euranet 2008-2012 members: Belgium (RTBF), Bulgaria (Bulgarian National Radio), Croatia (HRT – Croatian radio), Czech Republic (Czech radio), Cyprus (Cyprus 107.6), Denmark (Radio Mælkebøtten), Finland (Radio Moreeni), France (Radio France Internationale, BFM Business, France Inter), Germany (AMS-NET: Radio Bielefeld, Radio Gütersloh, Radio Herford, Radio Hochstift, Radio Lippe, Radio WAF, Radio Westfalica), Greece (Skai Radio), Hungary (Magyar Radio), Italy (Radio24 – Ilsole24Ore), Latvia (Latvijas Radio), Lithuania (Žinių radijas), Malta (Public Broadcasting Services Ltd (PBS)), The Netherlands (Radio Netherlands Wereldomroep), Poland (Polskie Radio SA), Portugal (Radio Nostalgia), Romania (Radio Romania International, RFI Romania), Slovakia (Radio SiTy), Slovenia (Radio Slovenia International), Spain (Punto Radio Castilla y León), United Kingdom (Community Media Association).

³ Euranet Plus members: Belgium – RTBF radio; Bulgaria - Bulgarian national radio; Croatia - HRT – Croatian radio; Estonia - Sky radio; France - BFM, Germany – AMS-NET; Greece – Skai radio, Hungary - MTVA Magyar radio, Italy - Radio24 – Ilsole24Ore; Latvia - Latvijas Radio; Poland - Polskie radio; Portugal - Renascença; Romania – Romanian national radio; Slovenia – radio Slovenia International; Spain - Castilla y León.

NET (which is a network of local radio stations) in Germany, Castilla y Leon in Spain, and BFM in France.

According to a source in the European Commission, in the light of the second European Commission contract the radio network has to have at least ten members and to cover at least ten EU Member States. At the same time there are no limitations on a maximum number of members. The Commission is interested in its extension; “from the Commission perspective it is always good to have more broadcasters in the network” (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

The common editorial line

The editorial line of Euranet Plus was changed by the second contract with the European Commission. The European Commission found that before there was no definition of European news. According to Dominique D’Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 20, 2014), previously reporting what was happening in other EU countries was considered acceptable. The main change from Euranet to Euranet Plus was that the Commission wanted to get rid of the stories about what happens in other countries unless they are directly connected to the EU policies and the EU agenda. The main goal of Euranet Plus is now is to cover stories which are related to the European agenda and European policies and to activities of EU institutions. The main point of the Euranet Plus new editorial line is stated as follows: “The goal of the network is to produce together European stories directly related to European policies and the European agenda”, as explained Dominique D’Olne, the Chief operating officer for Editorial content of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 20, 2014).

The institutional model of Euranet Plus

The network has an administrative and financial office in Paris. In March 2013 Euranet Plus opened a news agency in Brussels. Every radio station produces their own programs on European affairs and also uses the information materials and interviews produced by other Euranet Plus radios on European affairs and by the centralized news agency or uses materials from the Euranet Plus internal and external websites.

The role of Euranet Plus bureau in Brussels

The impression obtained from visiting the Euranet Plus News Agency in Brussels, conversations with RTBF (a partner radio station) employees, and a representative of the administrative office of Euranet Plus in Paris is that the News Agency located in Brussels plays the role of a central news agency through making news and providing content for the network members. The second pillar is that the News Agency fosters cooperation within the network. Yet another function of the News Agency is that it represents the network at the European institutions through establishing connections and participation in events and through representation of the network in the Internet.

The objective of the Euranet Plus News Agency is making news, providing content from Brussels. As Jean-Michel Bos, the Editor-in-Chief of Euranet News Agency said, “each network member has knowledge of the EU affairs. We just bring more content and more news from Brussels. This content is available to partners” (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

The Agency includes a small team of technical staff (an audio engineer), and a staff of journalists and freelancers who are working mainly in Brussels (and

sometimes in Strasbourg where the European Parliament organizes one week sessions once a month). These journalists cover news with a European agenda in Brussels and Strasbourg.

The Agency produces daily news, breaking news, a weekly press review, different types of interviews, and also a product called “*One week in Europe*”, which presents a summary of production made by Euranet Plus News Agency during a week and also a summary of production made by members. The Agency produces in Brussels news stories on European affairs for the whole network. Practically, Euranet Plus radio members broadcast weekly at least 10 minutes of news coming from Brussels. This is particularly important for the Euranet Plus radio members who do not have correspondents in Brussels or for those who, in spite of having correspondents in Brussels, want to complement their coverage.

The Euranet Plus News Agency collaborates with European institutions. Dominique D’Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, and Chef des Rédactions of Radio RTBF (personal communication, May 20, 2014), pointed out that the Brussels office of Euranet Plus works with the EU officials, MEPs and it makes the network visible. The Agency produces debates with the former and current candidates of the European Commission in a studio in Brussels. The News Agency also produces stories for television. According to him, one of the main roles of the News Agency is “to present the network, to give a face to Euranet Plus”.

Jean-Michel Bos, the Editor-in-Chief of Euranet Plus News Agency said that a News agency works on a daily basis with the three biggest European institutions namely the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Council. Euranet Plus journalists participate in daily media briefings for journalists organized by the European Commission.

Jean-Michel Bos said that

This is an opportunity to meet and to take an interview with a Commissioner. It is an easy first step to work. If Euranet Plus News Agency journalists need to take an interview they call the Cabinet, the spokespersons of the Commission. The Agency has a particular contact with the Directorate General for Education and Culture and DG Home Affairs. News Agency journalists contact them when an important document or a statement is coming.
(personal communication, May 21, 2014)

As he pointed out, a work with the European Parliament opens more perspectives, because there are more than 751 MEPs, and it means there are more potential interview partners. “The Agency does a lot of interviews in their studio with MEPs. This is a basic way to work with the Members of the European Parliament”, said Jean-Michel Bos. With the European Council the work is different, because they do not meet each day; big meetings of the Council of Foreign Affairs are held bi-monthly. Of course, Euranet Plus covers EU Summits and is represented there. Usually all journalists of the network are there and the Agency cover EU Summits four times a year. The Euranet Plus News Agency tries to find different angles to satisfy the expectations of member radio stations.

Euranet Plus covers events and news related to the Agricultural and Fisheries Council and to Home Affairs. However, they do not work a lot with other EU institutions such as the European Economic and Social Committee or the Committee of the Regions. They conduct interviews with experts but the Euranet Plus News Agency journalists do not cover their plenary sessions; the Editor-in-Chief believes that “it is too institutional” for the audience (personal communication, May 21, 2014). Jean-Michel Bos noticed that “if you want your story to be published, you have to find some catchy issues. Golden rules of our professionals: we want to be listened and to be watched”. Jean-Michel Bos said that it is important for them to be in Brussels for the visibility of the network. It brings a lot of advantages for the network. The Euranet

Plus network was represented at the European Parliament Election Night 2014 and there was a radio studio that was producing interviews for the network.

The Euranet Plus News Agency implements its coordination functions. The News Agency manages the internal website – Intranet. This website helps to organize an exchange of information. The Agency prepares and places materials on this website. This is a webpage of the network where partners can find the Euranet Plus News Agency production and can also see what other partners produced. It is called the *Best of...*. The Agency organizes the *Best of...*, which means that the News Agency employees contact partners trying to find out what was the best of their production in the last day or in the last week and put it on Intranet. “Mostly, there are interesting interviews with prime-ministers, ministers, commissioners. Mostly we cut records to avoid long audios, because they might be too long to broadcast, we organize their translation. It is a kind of platform, that we put not only what we produce, but also what other radio members produce. It is an important part of our work,” said Jean-Michel Bos, the Editor-in-Chief of Euranet Plus News Agency (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

The News Agency produces stories not only in English, but also in other languages (for instance, French, German, Spanish, or Italian). “Sometimes some important interviews are recorded in French, because we are in Brussels and some politicians would like to speak in French, and in this case we translate the interviews into English”, said Jean-Michel Bos (personal communication, May 21, 2014). The News Agency prepares press-reviews based on articles that member radio stations send to Brussels. It means that if they have news in original languages (e.g., in Italian, Polish, or Hungarian), they then forward the articles to a translation bureau to translate

them into English. “It is still complicated to make a press-review in all 15 languages”, pointed out Jean-Michel Bos (personal communication, May, 21 2014).

The role of local stations

The radio members use the Agency radio productions in their production. The Agency produces in Brussels; they do not send journalists to Spain or to Greece to make a report. As it was mentioned by Jean-Michel Bos, “for that part radio members do not need the Agency” (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

The News Agency gives material they prepared to partners who have the possibility to reformat it, to translate it if needed and to broadcast it in their own programs. Every Tuesday the News Agency holds a conference call with the network radio stations. “It is an important moment to coordinate our partners. During a conference firstly we talk about a common topic, because each week 15 radio partners produce news on a common topic. We decide this topic during the conference. Afterwards we talk about other issues like the clarification of what will be of interest for the *Best of..* section.⁴ And we talk about different events to organize”, said Jean-Michel Bos (personal communication, May 21, 2014). A part of their coordination is also to organize special events like sending a pool of journalists of the network to cover next plenary sessions. The Euranet Plus News Agency also organizes debates.

Dominique D’Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF (personal communication, May 20, 2014), pointed out that the most part of the radio materials are prepared by radios. The main part of the activity of Euranet Plus is not done by the Agency; the Agency is only one part of members' activities. The main activities are undertaken by the 15 partners who

⁴ The rubric *Best of..* includes audio and video productions, interviews in Euranet Plus studio in Brussels, in the European Parliament. Some of editions are placed on YouTube. It is a mix of radio and TV productions.

produce at least 75 minutes of European programs per a week. These programs are produced and broadcast by partners themselves. The main part of them is produced by radio stations but on top of their own activities the European Commission counts as a part of 75 minutes broadcasts of what the Agency provided in Brussels: interviews, short news, stories, press-reviews.

The radio members decide what to broadcast. Mareike Roewekamp also pointed out that the administrative office does not have any influence on the editorial choice of the topics. Network members can produce materials on what their listeners have more interest in. It is also important to produce materials that will be interesting for their national audience. Every country has their own most popular topics (personal communication, May 28, 2014).

The online production of the Euranet Plus News Agency is intended for radio members and for the broader public. It also presents a glimpse of the information exchange within the network (www.euranetplus-inside.eu). The files of all of the productions of the member stations and of the news agency are there to share. It means, for instance, that the Greek radio station can take materials from the Italian one and use them in their own programs. “It is a very collaborative spirit on what to promote and to broadcast from a transnational perspective” (Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus, personal communication, May 28, 2014).

The member radio stations can book the radio and video studios of Euranet Plus News Agency in Brussels if they would like to make interviews, debates, live audio or to establish video connection with a national radio station.

Managing the network. Administrative office in Paris

Each radio member plans their programming on European affairs according to the editorial line stated in the contract of services. According to Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus, every year each radio station proposes a list of programs with titles, description, and content. The description is validated by the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus who makes sure that the content complies with the editorial line. “Because the European Union affairs is a very broad topic, program descriptions can be broad as well. The Chief operating officer for editorial content makes suggestions on what to improve or to change” (Mareike Roewekamp, personal communication, May 28, 2014).

According to Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014), Euranet Plus has regular meetings, a general assembly once a year that is usually held in the first quarter of the year in Paris, and all issues and concerns of the network are discussed with the management there. Then Euranet Plus has a meeting of editorial committees which integrates the editorial staff of the media. They meet at least two-four times a year. Euranet Plus editors-in-chief meet and exchange on how topics are treated, what can be improved, what needs to be done for the editorial line, what are the expectations of the audience. The Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus chairs the Editorial Committees.

Content and productions

The News Agency produces on average 2-3 stories per day. On the day of the interview (21 May 2014), the Euranet Plus news agency produced a video report related to the youth voting preferences before and after the European Parliament

elections of 2014. The report consisted of two parts. The first part consisted of interviews with young Europeans from different European parties or young Europeans who are really interested in politics, on one hand, and young Europeans who are not interested in the European politics, on other hand, taken before the Elections. Euranet Plus journalists asked them how they were going to vote. The second part was the follow-up to the elections results and consisted of responses of the same group of young Europeans after the European Parliament elections.

Another production is a big dossier on the European migration policy. It is a radio story. It is a kind of fact checking about all things that the Candidates for the European Commission Presidency were saying during the EU campaign on the EU migration policy.

The network conducts a multimedia strategy. It means that they produce news, audio files and also videos, and typical online production. All radio production go online as well. Then they also add video. “Because a webpage without video nowadays is what we could see ten years ago. We need to produce video, we need to do everything simultaneously”, said Jean-Michel Bos (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

Local stations broadcast for Euranet Plus “similar kaleidoscopic programs at similar times” (EC, 2008a). For example, RTBF is one of the 15 radio members of Euranet Plus located in Belgium, and because of the general contract produces 75 minutes of European programs per week in the same way as the other members do. As the Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF Dominique D’Olne explained “it might be everything: short news, daily news, shows, short programs, or instead we can also have a one hour debate a single topic” (personal communication, May 20, 2014).

The RTBF 75 minutes weekly programming on European affairs is as follows: from Monday to Friday – 4 minutes current news; from Monday to Sunday – 10 minutes daily news; on Thursday – 4 minutes of weekly chronic; on Tuesday – 25 minutes of debates or interviews or a current Foreign affairs magazine; on Sunday – 25 minutes of a current Foreign affairs magazine.

Another example of programming is provided by BFM (France). Every week, Yann-Antony Noghès offers a one hour program called *500 million Europeans (500 millions d'Européens)* that consists of a debate on European affairs with the participation of policy makers, experts and lobbyists across Europe. The remaining 15-20 minutes BFM broadcasts current news on European affairs.

The Spanish member Castilla y Leon esRadio produces a weekly 75 minutes program “Europunto de Vista”.⁵ The program includes European news, direct live conversations with the audience (calls to the studio), conversations on the European topics (with the professors of the European University of Madrid). In Spain the Euranet Plus program is broadcast for 14 Spanish cities on different radio frequencies.

The Portugal member radio Renascenca has five programs on European affairs of different length: *Working without borders (Trabalho Sem Fronteiras)* consists of interviews – 20 minutes; *Brussels view (Visto de Bruxelas)* – 18-20 minutes, *Look at Europe (Olhar Europa)* – 3-5 minutes, *Outside the box (Fora da Caixa)* consists of debates – 30 minutes, *European press review (Revista de Imprensa Europeia)* – 2-3 minutes that are broadcast during a week, podcasts of programs are placed on the Renascenca radio Euranet page⁶.

⁵ For details, see Euranet Plus page of Castilla y Leon esRadio <http://www.castillayleonesradio.es/euranet-plus/>

⁶ For details, see Euranet Plus page of radio Portugal Renascenca <http://rr.sapo.pt/euranet.aspx>

Radio Slovenia International⁷ is an active member of the Euranet Plus network and places a lot of materials on European affairs on the web site including videos produced by Euranet News Agency in Brussels (for example, Big Crunch debates). The biggest portion of 75 minutes of weekly programming on European affairs consists of news and information broadcasts, and also a special weekly show of Euranet which airs every Saturday at 11:30 on Radio Si. There are also some shows that are broadcast on other radio waves like "Radio Tribune" on Radio Maribor.

The Croatian radio HRT broadcasts productions of Euranet Plus under the title Eurominute with the duration of 3-4 minutes. The podcasts of European news are placed on the webpage⁸.

The role of Euranet Plus in the European public sphere

According to Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, at the beginning of the contract the Euranet was supposed to be used for building the European public sphere. Telling the audience stories about what was happening in other EU countries was there the main contribution to the development of the European public sphere (personal communication, May 20, 2014).

This mandate is expressed in the European Commission document (EC, 2008b): "to bring the European Union and its citizens closer together". Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, believes that the Euranet Plus radio network contributes to building a feeling of a common membership. Euranet Plus journalists show that in many issues all of EU countries have common interests or difficulties.

⁷ For details, see Euranet Plus page of radio Slovenia International <http://radiosi.eu/shows/euranet-plus/>

⁸ Euranet Plus news on Croatian radio HRT available at <http://radio.hrt.hr/clanak/krece-strategija-za-jadransko-jonsku-makroregiju/75643/>

Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus and Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF, said:

We also cover difficulties. The more we show that all citizens of each of the 28 countries are the members of a common space and share common interests the more we make our audience aware of that. This is the way to have a moment of a common feeling as partners. The European Union common project can bring advantages and disadvantages and at the end the more our listeners will be informed of that, the more they will consider that they are parts of the same space. (personal communication, May 20, 2014)

Establishing a dialogue with European citizens. Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, believes that cooperation with partners from other countries makes listeners of radio network hear citizens of other countries. Euranet Plus members do many interviews with citizens from other EU countries, not only from the country of broadcasting. "It is important to make listeners aware that Europe is not only a question of national interest of 28 partners. It is a task of journalism to show that there are some European issues that are not of national interest" (Dominique D'Olne, Chef des Redactions Radio of RTBF, personal communication, May 20, 2014).

To address national audiences in their own languages. Multilingualism was the initial concept of Euranet. The initial goal of Euranet was to increase a number of languages to 23 EU official languages (EC, 2008b). The central office of Euranet Plus tries to increase the number of languages to translate news on European affairs produced by them. The goal of the multilingual conception is to explain what is going on in Europe and to provide a supranational point of view in national languages.

Towards a creation of a supranational view point. Since 2013 Euranet Plus has been taking efforts towards a coordination of editorial policy and creating a supranational point of view. The recently created Euranet Plus News Agency in Brussels is aimed to achieve this goal. One of the roles of the agency is to coordinate

the content of news produced by network partners. According to Jean-Michel Bos, Editor-in-Chief of Euranet Plus News Agency in Brussels (personal communication, May 21, 2014), the weekly conferences with network members are helpful in development of a common point of view and a common angle to present the European topics. Practically, the News Agency is working with 15 national public spheres because radios are broadcasting in their own countries in different languages and in different cultures. “We have to find a balance. For examples, let us look at the migration policy. We will have 15 different parts of it, 15 different angles, 15 different approaches. But being deeply in this issue we will find a common view, a common angle, a common issue, to work together on this angle. It is not about journalistic work, it is more about strategy”, pointed out Jean-Michel Bos, Editor-in-Chief of Euranet Plus News Agency in Brussels.

The periodic meetings of the editorial committees of Euranet Plus contribute to building a supranational point of view. As it was stated by Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus in Paris, the editorial committees improved their work and “now over the years they work as a group of people which are close to each other, better understand how things are covered in other countries, how from editorial prospective topics can be enriched from the prospective of another countries. It is a more European feeling in establishing other viewpoints which are not so exclusively national” (personal communication, May 28, 2014).

Euranet Plus mission in attempting to reduce Euroscepticism

One of the ways is to involve citizens in debates. Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus in Paris, stated that the promotion of the exchange of opinions and debates is a part of the mission of Euranet

Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014). In particular, each Euranet Plus radio station has programs that are called talk-shows which engage citizens in debates, ask for their opinions (French BFM radio' *500 million Europeans* is an example of a such talk-show). An interview with people on a street is also a way of asking opinions. Some members have online tools for the exchange of opinions. They try to engage citizens there. Euranet Plus conducts a monthly debate series, Citizens' Corner, which take place in the European Parliament in Brussels. It connects decision makers with European citizens. Euranet Plus has been implementing this project for a few years. Each month there is one hosting station. The guests are invited from the European institutional sphere – either from the European Commission or the European Parliament or both, and listeners from this specific station and students of that country can challenge the decision makers with their questions. It turned out to be interesting for both sides. As Mareike Roewekamp pointed out, for students and citizens it is interesting to see decision makers and to see what is going on in Brussels, which for many of them is quite abstract. Politicians are confronting real concerns of real people. All of the productions of the network are shared between all the stations. The topics of the Citizens' Corner are on fighting against corruption in the EU, on Europe's innovative potential, on freedom of movement in the EU, on the influence of economic crisis on consumer rights, on studying abroad in the EU.

The Euranet Plus News Agency organized presidential debates on April 29, 2014. They were called Big Crunch - *Euranet Plus Presidential Debate* with European Commission presidential candidates. There were the debates with the candidates, Jean-Claude Juncker (European People's Party), Ska Keller (The Greens – European Free Alliance), Martin Schulz (Socialists & Democrats) and Guy Verhofstadt (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe). The participating journalists contributed to the

debate from Euranet Plus partner radio stations in Athens, Bielefeld, Brussels, Bucharest, Budapest, Lisbon, Maribor, Milan, Paris, Riga, Sofia, Tallinn, Valladolid, Warsaw, and Zagreb. The Euranet Plus News Agency was coordinating these debates. 15 journalists from 15 countries participated in these debates. The second Euranet Plus Big Crunch TV debate entitled “EU investment plan: In Europe we trust?” took place on December 21, 2014 in the European Parliament. The guest was the first vice president of the European Commission Frans Timmermans.

The debates were broadcast live on RTBF radio, a member of the network; other members broadcast the debate recorded on radio or placed the video podcast on their websites (Estonia, Croatia, France). In part one of the debate, in English, Frans Timmermans faced off with six members of the Euranet Plus network at the European Parliament in Brussels. The moderator was Brian Maguire of the Euranet Plus News Agency. Via satellite or telephone, journalists based in Croatia, Germany, Slovenia, Italy, Greece and Poland asked the first vice president of the European Commission questions on issues ranging from investment funds and better regulation to the investment gap in the euro area. Part two of the debate, in French, saw Timmermans joined by a top industry executive from France, Marguerite Deprez-Audebert, general director of a printing company Leonce Deprez, and Tanja Struve, the head of the Brussels office of the German Country Association. The discussion focused on the daily challenges faced by the French industry and private investors and was hosted by BFM Business (a member of Euranet radio network) and moderated by Yann-Antony Noghes.⁹

The joint internet portal also has a function and tools to engage citizens in debates. The initial idea of Euranet of 2008-2012 and Euranet Plus internet portal was

⁹ For more details, see www.euranetplus-inside.eu.

to make the programmes more interactive by involving members of the public, to broaden the range of view points and enhance the quality of debates related to European affairs, and to use each individual's contribution as a source of insight into those affairs (EC, 2008b).

The Euranet Plus listeners

According to Mareike Roewekamp, the member stations receive some feedback from their audiences but it depends on the country, on the culture and on the type of show. Not all programs are assumed to have feedback. On the other hand, some feedback is interactive and based on an active participation of the listeners. The administrative office does market research on focus groups (personal communication, May 28, 2014).

As Dominique D’Olne, Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF said:

Radio listeners do not share their feelings and the tone of reactions with us. They contact us only if they are angry. People react the same all over the world. From time to time we open the air to public and they can comment news and interactions on the EU topics. People are very interested in such programs. Whatever we do people actively participate and give their opinion. (personal communication, May 20, 2014).

Euranet Plus and the youth audience – Euranet Plus Connect

The Euranet Plus Connect radio network was created at the time of Euranet. Euranet Connect was a contract concluded with the Directorate General for Education and Culture of the European Commission until 2012.

The DG Education and Culture was interested in debates, in organizing a coverage of the topic on education and culture and asked Euranet to organize such debates. What Euranet did was organizing debates with the participation of students.

The Euranet University radio Circle or “Connect with Europe” project has been implemented on the basis of the European universities and surrounding regions.

The project Connect Euranet included the participation from several European universities in Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Ireland, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden. These radio stations could also provide local coverage. For instance radio Moreeni in Finland which belongs to Radio University and is also a local radio station. Their frequency serves approximately 300.000 potential listeners in Tampere, Finland and the surrounding area.

The Euranet Plus Connect is a project independent from Euranet Plus, but, as Mareike Roewekamp said, that they “work under one brand”. Nowadays, Euranet Connect is an informal network. This network is not covered by the contract. “It is not in the frame of the contract but we provide help to this initiative” (personal communication, May 28, 2014). Euranet Plus manages the site of the Euranet Plus Connect as a second site of the network. “This webpage is targeted at young groups of students. This concept is aimed at engaging the youths to debate on European affairs. It invites students from universities. It has a huge success in involving students in debates”, said Mareike Roewekamp.

The Euranet Plus News Agency manages the webpage euranetplus-connect.eu. This news channel consists only of videos. The Euranet Plus News Agency developed four different products for this website: *News of a week* (it is a 2 minute report about particular event of the week on EU politics, EU affairs); *U talking to me?* (debate or interview that Euranet Plus News Agency organized on a current week, 10-15 minutes in length created in the studio in Brussels); *EU files* (10 minutes investigation magazine); *Euphoria* (90 seconds video about “the funny things we can find in Internet, Twits, videos, pictures with links to EU affairs”). “All products are youth

oriented, which means that we try to rise interest of young people to European affairs by choosing a particular angle of stories”, said Jean-Michel Bos (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

According to Dominique D’Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 20, 2014), the Euranet Plus still works with universities and plans to increase the presence of students in social media, for example, on behalf of Euranet Plus and to develop something in the academic field. Euranet Plus has some projects in developing Masters programs in European journalism.

Conclusion

Euranet Plus presents the institutional model of the transnational European radio network based on the concept of the European Commission. There are two projects of Euranet: Euranet 2008-2012 and Euranet Plus. The Euranet Plus model was adopted due to the new rules of the second contract with the European Commission. This contract will be in force until 2018.

Euranet Plus is a transnational media network broadcasting for 15 Member States of the European Union. The model of Euranet Plus differs from the previous model of Euranet 2008-2012 as concerns the editorial line and the requirements to the members of a network; in particular, their audiences must now be bigger. The members of the radio network broadcast in national languages. The content of programs and news is different but there is a common editorial line and prioritized topics to be covered.

The Euranet Plus since March 2013 is represented in Brussels and it plays the role of a centralized news agency on European affairs; it has an office with audio and

TV studios in Brussels. Since 2013, beginning of the implementation of the second contract with the European Commission, the content of European news is more concrete, the coverage of the European institutions is more systematic and organized. Since that time Euranet Plus network opened a new series of programs devoted to debates - a monthly debates series Citizens' Corner in the European Parliament in Brussels and the Big Crunch Debate in April and December 2014.

The youth audience, the most numerous among the Eurosceptics in the EU Member States, is a priority of the Euranet Plus radio network. Since 2013 Euranet Plus through its News Agency in Brussels produces materials and manages the web-page for the informal initiative of European universities radio network Euranet Plus Connect which is not covered by the contract of the EU. The Euranet Plus Connect helps to Euranet Plus to reach and to involve students in the debates.

In this chapter I considered the institutional model of Euranet Plus by treating it in the same way as Euronews was in Chapter 3. The results of this analysis will be applied in the final chapter to test the main research hypothesis that Euronews indirectly became a predecessor of Euranet Plus with its institutional learning. However, before doing that I will consider, in the next chapter, Euronews' approach of broadcasting news for internal and external audiences in order to understand the multilingual model of Euronews.

Chapter Five

Euronews in Russian: on air and in social media

The European public sphere is a communicative space, and its mechanisms such as transnational media in numerous European languages are aimed to reach a large audience of Europeans, to involve them into debates on European affairs. The multilingualism of the European Union “contributes to the key European values of democracy, equality, transparency and competitiveness” (Eurobarometer, 2006, p. 4). Therefore, one of the goals of Euronews is to expand the viewership through multilingual audiovisual services.

Since 2005 the Russian language has been officially recognized as one of the most spoken languages of the European Union “due to historical and geographical influence, especially in the Baltic States”; 6% of the EU citizens speak or understand the Russian language, which means that about 30 million EU citizens speak or understand Russian (Eurobarometer, 2006). There is a sizeable community of Russian speaking in Germany, above 3.5 million (Kamynin, 2007, May 28). According to the Web Technology Survey (Gelbmann, 2015), the number of written texts in the Russian language on the Internet is the second largest after English.

Because of Euronews, broadcasting in Russian (although primarily intended for the outside audience) becomes of importance for the European public sphere. This also makes a clear difference between Euronews and Euranet Plus (as the latter one only broadcasts in majority languages). This chapter is devoted to a study of this phenomenon.

This chapter consists of three parts. The first part considers the work of the Russian service of Euronews. It presents a typical model of how other national teams

operate within Euronews. The second part considers the content of news in English and in Russian languages which have been broadcast during approximately three months period from October 7th 2014 to January 20th 2015. The goal of this section is to analyze the role of explanation of events for the internal audience of Europeans and to analyze differences in the commentaries written by English and by Russian teams of editors on the identical video footage related to international or to European events. Since, the main audience of Euronews in the Russian language is located in Russia, I also try to look at the Euronews broadcast from the position of a Russian viewer. In this section I will provide a content analysis of some European and international news in two Euronews languages (English and Russian). The third part of this chapter consists of an analysis of the Euronews Facebook page in Russian as a model of Euronews Facebook pages. The objective here is to consider how a typical Euronews page in social media operates.

The Russian language audience of Euronews

Euronews television in the Russian language can be broadcast by national TV channels in any country of the world but nowadays the main audience is in Russia. The number of household viewers in Russia is 17.052 mln. The option to watch Euronews in Russian through the Internet is available to everyone in any country. Euronews was broadcast in Belarus in the Russian language until 2012 (Nasha Niva, 2011, December 31) when it was suspended due to commercial reasons. Nowadays Euronews broadcasts in Russian in Armenia (Melikyan, 2015), Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan (Reeves, 2014). So, to sum it up, Euronews can be watched in the Russian language by internal and external viewers, in and beyond the European public sphere.

The Euronews Russian team is a typical language team

On average 3-4 news groups work daily and cover 24 hours of broadcast. Each news brigade has 13 journalists and editors in 13 broadcasting languages¹. The Russian team of journalists and editors has worked at the headquarters in Lyon since 2001 when the All-Russia State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company (VGTRK) joined Euronews as a shareholder. Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014), pointed out that “the Russian team is just as any other language team which works for Euronews. Every news team has a journalist who writes a stream in Russian”. Euronews is a national and public TV company based on a shared participation. When Russian VGTRK joined the TV channel as a shareholder, Euronews started broadcasting also in Russian. Denis Loktev, a senior producer, pointed out that “VGTRK is a shareholder and like other shareholders it can not directly influence the choice of the editorial politics. Shareholders take joint decisions on the strategic development of the channel but the journalistic team here is independent from stakeholders. It is not a real matter who are shareholders and who are journalists”, said Denis Loktev. The Russian service staff is represented by professional journalists who came from Russia to Lyon 10-12 years ago and have an experience of working in the Russian media broadcasting sphere.²

Euronews does not have journalists working for Euronews in Moscow or in any Russian city. According to Denis Loktev, there is no Euronews bureau in Moscow even though it was considered at one point and Euronews ever had one journalist in

¹ Euronews broadcasts in the following languages: English, French, German, Italian, Spanish (since 1993); Portuguese (1997); Russian (2001); Arabic (2008-2009); Turkish (2010); Persian (2010); Ukrainian, Polish (2011, just selectable as an audio option but it is broadcasting in English); Greek (2012); Hungarian (2013).

² I visited the Euronews headquarters in Lyon-Ecully in May 2014.

Moscow who had been working for Euronews for a year but it was a temporary position. He said that

Euronews does not really need it that much because the TV channel has an access to a lot of sources of video and news from all around the world and to Russian ones in particular. Euronews gets a lot of Russia's coverage from all sources they can use. Many international agencies working in Russia – Reuters, EBTM, EBU TV channels. Euronews can send journalists from Lyon to Russia to cover something and they do not need to be based there. (Denis Loktev, personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Adapting stories to national languages

According to Stéphane Parizot, the Deputy editor in chief of Euronews, staff preparing news keep both international and national audiences in mind (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Several observers at Euronews, such as the aforementioned - Stéphane Parizot, Albina Lir (Forward planning editor), Natalia Marshalkovich (Senior Business Journalist of Russian Service), Denis Loktev (Senior producer) – pointed out that a commentary to the same visual material is not identical in different languages (personal communication, May 30, 2014). Every day the Euronews' team of over 400 journalists of 25 different nationalities work together reporting on relevant stories to serve the global audience, driven by a solid uncompromising journalism. According to them, usually national editors have the same picture but they write their commentary for the video by taking into account what their audiences already know about it. Sometimes, it depends on the preparedness of the audience to hear news on the certain topic.

The editors of the news room watch the picture of the day and do the first scenario of news together with a group of 13 journalists and with bureaus in Brussels, Hungary and Athens. The European bureau in Brussels has a team of 13 editors on

duty including a Russian language editor. The programmes are produced in the same way as news: initially in English and then they are voiced by members of the team of journalists in others 12 languages. Denis Loktev, a senior producer of programmes, explained how Euronews voicing works. As a programme producer he writes a text in English and presents the story and the video to the team of 13 journalists and editors, “whose tasks are to write the stories in their languages” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Content analysis

News bulletin in English and in Russian

We analyze here 44 news broadcast by Euronews TV channel from October 7, 2014 to January 20, 2015 in English and in Russian. The time frame was chosen randomly but the conception is to consider the news stories after the European Parliament elections, in the period of a relatively slow information activity, out of electoral campaigns. In total, I watched Euronews on Internet for 160 hours during the aforementioned period of time (90 minutes per day).

This section consists of an analysis of the role of Euronews explanation of events for the internal audience of Europeans based on news broadcast in English and in Russian and analysis of the role of Euronews explanation of events for the external audience based on news broadcast in Russian. The news in English and Russian are identical. I also analyze the differences identified in the broadcasting of the same news in English and Russian. One news bulletin includes on average 10 news broadcasting during the day. News with an international agenda and world news prevail. Usually about 6-7 news items are devoted to world news from the European perspective and 2-3 news are about European affairs. The impression gained from following the

Euronews broadcasting for three months is that the TV channel covers all main world events: from European Commission news, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Ebola threat, ISIS³ threat, terrorism in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

During this period, the main topics of Euronews were devoted to the EU economic and political situation (Greece economic crisis, France economics, Greek Parliamentary Elections, the European debt crisis, changes at the political level made in the EU Member States), EU migration policy and border control, transparency of EU institutions, actions of protests and Eurosceptics concerns, terrorism threat for Europe and in a global context, and events in the neighbourhood countries such as Georgia, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, Ukraine.⁴

The analysis identified that video footages were identical in both languages, in English and in Russian, but some commentaries were different. As Stéphane Parizot, Deputy editor in chief of Euronews, pointed out, there is no standard on how the news should look. No single language version dominates. Versions in all languages are equal. It is not a translation from English into Russian or from Russian into English or from any other language. The voiced stories are not supposed to be absolutely identical; it is a result of creative work of language groups⁵ (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Broadcast for the internal audience of Europeans

In this section I analyze the role of Euronews in explaining different events for the internal audience of Europeans. Also we consider what topics Euronews covers.

The goal of *transnational news* is to inform on the EU policy and on common topics and usually such stories have a European angle and show how an event impacts

³ ISIS is the name used by Islamic extremists in Iraq and Syria.

⁴ All TV-episodes considered in this Chapter are included in the Bibliography.

⁵ For details about the philosophy and editorial policy of Euronews, see Chapter 3.

on Europeans. It is achieved by adding to the news a European content. For example, the story of January 1, 2015 tells about the Lithuania transition to the Euro currency. The European angle is achieved by the discussion how this event will benefit Lithuania and the EU.

The migration policy is a hot topic for the EU. Stories on the migration policy are broadcast frequently both from a supranational point of view and a national point of view. For example, the news entitled “Court of Justice closes door on “benefit tourists” (Euronews, 2014, November 11) conveys to the viewers the message that the EU countries can avoid social benefits tourism without violating the free movement of citizens. It also has a goal to show that there is no necessity to withdraw from the EU because of disagreements with the EU migration policy, everything can be solved. Another story tells about the leader of the France’s Front National party who called to reinstate border controls in Europe in order to reduce migration waves and risk of terrorism (Euronews, 2015, January 13). Other stories describe the situation with illegal migrants in Sweden and Italy.

The news on EU institutions’ transparency is important for the European viewers. In the story of November 19, 2014 Euronews told about the EU policy on transparency of the EU institutions and about a setting of the Transparency register. The European Commission believes that the new rules on the registration of lobbying organizations and publication of records of all meetings between senior officials and lobbyists will improve transparency. The message of this story is to show to European citizens what the EU institutions do for them and how to ensure the democratic legitimacy.

A topic on terrorism is presented as a threat to Europe and to the whole world. Euronews broadcasts stories on European and international happenings related to

terrorism. For example, one of the stories tells about the MEPs' intentions to return to the consideration of the proposal on sharing passenger data. Eurosceptics argued that the EU would like to use the recent case of terrorism to strengthen the EU power (Euronews, 2015, January 12). The message that European viewers can get from this news is that the EU institutions take this issue seriously and the right decision will be found. The topic of terrorism sounds differently in different stories intersecting with other issues such as migration policy. One story tells about the Malian Muslim Bathily, who was granted the French citizenship for saving lives during a Kosher store attack in Paris in January 2015 (Euronews, 2015, January 15). It became possible due to a petition that had been going around France the week after the attack urging the government to grant Bathily citizenship as a result of his brave efforts. The story on the Belgium chocolate factory presents the topic of terrorism at a different angle. It covers a perception of terrorism in other countries and how terrorism influences business. One of the stories told is about the Belgium chocolate maker who has to change the brand of chocolate ISIS because the chocolate and the extremists' organization are under the same name. It says that the American and British customers are not willing to buy chocolate associated with the extremists' group (Euronews, 2014, November 7). The broadcast of the story about the terroristic attack in Canada could show to European viewers that terrorism is a global issue, no country is protected from extremists (Euronews, 2014, October 23).

The national news. Euronews covers national news, happenings in the EU Member States. As can be seen that the topics might be devoted to the changes in the political parties (for example, on the Angela Merkel's re-election as a leader of the Germany's conservative Christian Democrats party), on the Greek and Romanian

presidential elections), to appointments and resignations of the leading politicians (for example, on the retiring of the Italian President).

Euroscepticism. The Euronews TV channel frequently broadcasts news on actions of protest and disagreements of the European citizens taking place in Brussels and in the Member States. Stories tell about the activities of the Eurosceptic MEPs. We identified several news mentioning actions and the presence of Eurosceptics in the European Parliament. For example, according to a news from November 27, 2014 anti-European parties initiated in the European Parliament a vote to sack the President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker due to the LuxLeaks case made public by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists on tax avoidance in Luxembourg. However, the European Parliament rejected this proposal because a majority of MEPs did not support it. In January 2015 Euronews broadcast the story about the leader of France's Front National Marine Le Pen proposal to reinstate border controls in Europe. On October 24, 2014 Euronews broadcast news on the disagreement of the British Prime Minister David Cameron to pay an additional 2.1-billion-euro into 2014 European Union budget, calling the bloc's demand for extra funds "completely unacceptable" and promising to renegotiate Britain's EU relationship if he wins next May's election before holding a referendum on EU membership in 2017. On January 3, 2015 Euronews covered a march of protest and the resulting surrounding of the EU buildings in Brussels. Protesters were against the Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership and worried about the impact US competitors would have on key European businesses and institutions. Other news of this type covered marches of protest in France, Hungary and Greece. In France, small business companies complained of being restricted by high taxes and social charges, health and safety rules and other bureaucratic hindrances. On October 29, 2014

Euronews covered a march of protest in Hungary. On January 20 and 21, 2015 Euronews broadcast stories about the opposition party Syriza and concerns of youth on the bad situation with youth employment in Greece and on the importance of the youth citizens in the 2015 Greek Parliamentary elections.

Although the information broadcast on protests, citizens' disagreements with the policy of the EU and the Member State do not consist in live debates, this type of news fosters debates and raises discussions.

News on neighbouring countries. Neighbouring countries are covered by Euronews as well. There were 17 news related to the EU neighbouring countries – Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Turkey. Content of these news stories was more or less connected to Europe. Some brief news stories such as on the 62nd Birthday of the Russia's President Vladimir Putin were purely informative but were still partially connected with the situation in Europe and the EU-Russia relations. For example, the connection of news to Europe was achieved by the phrase “despite mounting international criticism, Putin still enjoys widespread support of voters in Russia” (Euronews, 2014, October 7). The current political and economical situation in Ukraine is also covered by Euronews. For example, news about the creation of a coalition and a new government, on the situation with heating of residential houses in Ukraine in winter in spite of scarcity of energy sources, on the life in Donetsk and school education in Russian language. In October 2014 Euronews covered Russia's President Vladimir Putin visit to Serbia. The coverage of this visit interested Euronews because Serbia is a EU candidate country and also a country that did not impose sanctions on Russia due to the crisis in Ukraine. The coverage of this visit was done from a European point of view. Everything that Russia's President said in regard of Europe (including the situation with the gas export) was covered by Euronews

(2014, October 16). The former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Berlin on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall was covered also in relation to EU-Russia relations. Euronews reported Gorbachev will take part in the festivities and will use the occasion to defend the policies of Russia's President Vladimir Putin and the policy on Ukraine. News on the Russian economics and life in Moscow were covered from the European perspective. The rise of prices and a high rate of dollar to rouble was presented as a result of the EU sanctions on Ukraine.

During the crisis in Ukraine, a lot of news stories were devoted to the Russian policy on Ukraine and to the EU position on the Ukrainian crisis. Euronews covered several speeches of the Russia's President Vladimir Putin related to the economy and to international relations. Euronews covered participation of the Russian President in the Asia-Europe (ASEM) summit in Milan, at the G20 summit in Brisbane, Australia, his the State of Nation address, his annual press conference where Putin answered press questions on Ukraine, NATO and the Russian economy, his new year address.

Euronews covers other neighbouring countries such as Georgia and Turkey also from a European point of view. In November 2014 Euronews broadcast news about the political instability in Georgia and a threat to the Georgian course on European integration. It was considered as a result of the resignation of the Foreign Minister of Georgia Maya Panjikidze followed the resignation of the pro-European Minister of defense Irakly Alasania (Euronews, 2014, November 5). The situation in Turkey in December 2014 was presented from the point of view of the EU Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The EU Minister of Foreign affairs said that the attack on the press goes against the European values and pointed out that it contradicts Turkey's intention to become a member of the European Union.

International news. Euronews broadcasts international news on global issues such as the climate change. One of the stories covered a protest of anti-globalists. In the news about the US and Russian astronauts, the situation when US astronauts had to be evacuated to the Russian segment is not related to Europe but it was broadcast because this news is interesting and related to global issues such as space exploration.

To sum it up, the content analysis indicates that the goal of news for the internal European audience is to show a meaning of news for Europe, to show how Europe deals with this, to raise discussion and to provide explanations/reflections. In the next section I compare the content of these news broadcasts in English and in Russian.

Comparing the news in English and in Russian

Comparing the content of news in English and in Russian, I found that for 10 news out of 44 the content is virtually for same in both languages⁶, whereas for the remaining 34 news (out of total of 44) the Russian and English versions are noticeably different in what concerns the details.

For instance, the story in Russian on the Klaus Iohannis' win in the Romanian presidential election (Euronews, 2014, November 17) consists of more details from the Iohannis' profile than in the English version. Also the story in the Russian version emphasizes changes in the foreign policy. Meanwhile, covering the story about Angela Merkel's re-election, Euronews provided the same details about her style, image and so on in English and in Russian.

⁶ The identical texts of news stories in both English and Russian are: "Date set for retirement of Italian President Giorgio Napolitano"; "Google shuts Spanish news service in row over copyright law"; "European Parliament rejects bid to sack Juncker Commission"; "Hungary: Internet tax draws thousands out in protest"; "French employers in red tape protest"; "European Court of Justice closes door on 'benefit tourists'"; "Le Pen seeks return to internal EU border controls"; "Italy finds second ghost ship with 450 migrants"; "Belgium chocolate maker pays for naming products after extremists"; "Crimea's 'return home' shows love for motherland, says Putin".

The news from October 16th about the speech of the Russia' President Vladimir Putin in Serbia in general is identical in Russian and in English. Only the last sentence has a different focus: in the English version it is focusing on the EU and in the Russian version it is focusing on Russia. So, the last sentence in English is "Serbia, which began negotiations this year on joining the 28-nation EU, has refused to join the West's Ukraine-linked sanctions imposed on Russia, despite EU pressure to align its foreign policy". In the Russian version, the story ends with "Serbia bases its economical development on the free access to the Russian market and investments from Russia".

The news about the visit of Russian President to Serbia in Russian is shorter than in English (Euronews, 2014, October 16). The English version consists of more explanations of what Russia and Serbia have in common. The Russian version of this news explains that Putin's visit to Serbia was held against the backdrop of tensions between Russia and the West because of the crisis in Ukraine. It is also mentioned that Serbia took a course on the European integration but as a candidate for accession to the EU did not support sanctions against Russia. The story in Russian on the Asia-Europe (ASEM) summit in Milan does not quote the Kremlin spokesman Dmitry Peskov who said that "certain participants" of the meeting have taken an "absolutely biased, non-flexible, non-diplomatic" approach to Ukraine (Euronews, 2014, October 17).

For example, the story on the World War One Armistice Day consists of more explanations than the same version in English. This news in Russian provides more historical background (Euronews, 2014, November 11). Some news stories have additional information. For example, the story in Russian about the US-Russian cooperation in space has an additional line that "NASA confirmed on Twitter that the

US crew relocated on the Russian segment of International Space Station” (Euronews, 2015, January 14).

I can now draw several conclusions. The content of news stories in English and in Russian is the same and versions do not contradict each other. I can assume that European citizens who watch both news stories in English and in Russian perceive them identically and do not see any difference. Nowadays, Euronews in English can be watched in the Member States on the national television channels and through other options described in chapter 3. European citizens can watch Euronews on satellite television channels, on cable TV and on the Internet.

Headlines to news stories on the website

Those who are interested in the latest news bulletins on the Euronews official website can access them live in 13 official languages. TV news stories as broadcast on air and their transcripts are published together on the website. The analysis shows that the content of the broadcast news and of those posted on the website is identical. So, a viewer is able to view and to read stories of the Euronews news bulletin simultaneously.

Table 3 shows headlines to the same news stories in English and in Russian versions published on the Euronews website.⁷ Usually, news stories go on air without headlines. Most of the headlines are phrased differently in English and in Russian.

Table 3

Headlines of news in English and in Russian broadcast by Euronews

News headlines in the English version (day of broadcast)	News headlines translated into English from the Russian version (the original headline in Russian is given in Latin script)
<i>The EU economic and political situation – supranational</i>	
European affairs Lithuania’s euro expectations	Lithuania officially joined the Eurozone.

⁷ The news stories published on the Euronews website have the same URLs as the corresponding TV-episodes included in the Bibliography. For the Russian versions one should chose the option “Russian” in the language bar.

(2015, January 1)	(Litva ofitsialno prisoedinilas k evrozone)
<i>The EU Migration policy / borders control – supranational news</i>	
Court of Justice closes door on “benefits tourists” (2014, November 11)	European Union: "Tourism for benefits" will not pass (Evrosoyuz: turizm za posobiayami ne proydet)
Le Pen seeks return to internal EU border controls (2015, January 13)	The European Parliament did not support the idea of the abolition of Schengen (V Evroparlamente ne podderzhali ideyu ob otmene shengena)
Italy finds second ghost ship with 450 Migrants (2015, January 2)	Ship with illegal migrants is heading to Italy (Sudno s nelegalnymi migrantami napravlyaetsya v italyanskiy port)
Mysterious vessel caught on camera as Sweden hunts for foreign submarine (2014, October 20)	Swedish military released photos of "foreign submarine activity" (Shvedskie voennye obnarodovali foto inostrannoy podvodnoy aktivnosti)
<i>Transparency of the EU institutions – supranational</i>	
EU Commission promises more transparency on lobbying (2014, November 19)	European Commission begins with transparency (Evrokomissiya nachinaet s glasnosti)
<i>Terrorism as an internal and external threat – supranational</i>	
Brussels bureau: European affairs MEPs honour France terror victims (January 12, 2015)	European news. Brussels bureau. MEPs debate measures against terrorism (Evrodeputaty sporyat o merah protiv terrorizma)
Malian Muslim honoured for saving lives during Kosher store attack (2015, January 15)	A Mali native Lassana Bathily became a national hero of France (Vykhodec iz Mali stal narodnym geroem Francii)
Canada ‘will never be intimidated says PM after Ottawa shootings (2014, October 23)	Ottawa. Stephen Harper: Canada will never be intimidated (Stiven Harper: Kanadu nevozmozhno zapugat)
Belgium chocolate maker pays the price for naming products after extremists (2014, November 7)	Terrorists and Belgium chocolate factory (Terroristy i shokoladnaya fabrika)
<i>EU Member States news</i>	
Surprise Victor Klaus Iohannis wins in Romanian presidential election (2014, November 17)	Romania's new president will have to work with his opponent (Novomu prezidentu Rumynii pridetsya rabotat s sopernikom)
Germany: Angela Merkel soars sky-high over party and country (2014, December 9)	Merkel: loneliness of a long distance runner (Merkel: odinochestvo beguna na dlinnuyu distanciyu)
Google shuts Spanish news service in row over copyright law (2014, December 11)	Google shuts down news service in Spain (Google zakroet svoy novostnoy servis v Ispanii)
Greek MP’s divided over austerity as crucial vote looms (2014, December 16)	Greece. The presidential election as a vote of confidence in the government of Samaras (Greciya. Vybory prezidenta kak votum doveriya pravitelstvu Samarasa)
Date set for retirement of Italian President Giorgio Napolitano (2015, January 13)	Italian President leaves his post ahead of time (Prezident Italii pokidaet svoy post)
<i>Protests/Eurosceptics</i>	
European Parliament rejects bid to sack Juncker Commission. A motion of no-confidence against the newly-installed European Commission has been rejected (2014, November 27)	MEPs rejected vote of no confidence on Juncker (Evrodeputaty ne vynesli votuma nedoveriya yunkeru)
Angry British PM Cameron says won’t pay “unjustified” EU bill (2014, October 24)	UK does not want to pay more to the treasury of the EU (Velikobritaniya ne hochet platit bolshe v kaznu ES)

Luxembourg leaks: nation under spotlight over tax avoidance claims (2014, November 6)	Shadow of “LuxLeaks” lays down on the head of the European Commission (Ten Lyuksliks legla na glavu Evrokomissii)
French employers in red tape protest (2014, December 2)	France: small business against the economic policies of Hollande (Francia: maliy biznes protiv ekonomicheskoy politiki Olanda)
Greece passes 2015 budget plan against backdrop of protests (2014, December 8)	Greek Parliament adopted a historic budget – it is balanced (Parlament Grecii prinyal istoricheskij gosbudget - sbalansirovannij)
European affairs, Brussels bureau Protesters surround EU buildings as anti-TTIP anger voiced in Brussels (2015, January 3)	European news. Brussels bureau. In Brussels, a campaign against the EU-US deal goes on (V Brussele idet akcia protiv sdelki es s ssha)
Hungary: Internet tax draws thousands out in protest (2014, October 29)	In Budapest – a new manifestation of thousands against the Internet tax (Novaya mnogotyisyachnaya manifestatsiya v Budapeshte protiv naloga na internet)
European affairs 2015 Greek Parliamentary elections. Greece holds its breath as Syriza tops election polls (2015, January 20)	Will Greece leave the Eurozone after the Elections? (Pokinet li Gretsia posle vyborov evrozonu?)
Young Greeks who have never had a job ponder Sunday’s election (2015, January 21)	Elections in Greece: youth have their say (Vybory v Grecii: molodezh skazhet svoe slovo)
<i>Neighbourhood policy/countries: Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Serbia, Georgia</i>	
Putin fashion clothing a bit hit on his 62 nd birthday (2014, October 7)	Putin celebrated his Birthday in taiga (Putin vstretil den rozhdeniya v tayge)
Serbs share mixed feelings about Putin visit (2014, October 16)	Serbia: to drink “Putinka” in bohemian Putin-buffet (Serbiya: vypit putinki v bogemnom Putin-bufete)
Russia: Putin warns Europe over gas supplies (2014, October 16)	Putin "reassured" Europe: the gas will be available, but ... (Putin uspokoil Evropu: gaz budet no...)
Putin in symbolic visit to Serbia torn between EU and Russia (2014, October 16)	Putin visits Serbia torn between the EU and Russia (Putin poseshaet Serbiyu razrivayushuyusya mejdu ES i RF)
Kremlin: Ukraine talks ‘full of misunderstandings and disagreements’ (2014, October 17)	Search for a way out of the Ukrainian crisis at a breakfast in Milan (Vyhod iz ukrainskogo krizisa ishchut za zavtrakom v Milane)
Ukraine election: Pro-Europe parties ‘win’ (2014, October 27)	Poroshenko: elections showed a landslide victory of pro-European forces (Poroshenko: vybory prodemonstrovali uverennyuyu pobedu proevropeyskih sil)
Winter arrives in Ukraine as gas dispute with Russia sparks heating worries (2014, October 31)	Frosts are not waiting for Barroso (Morozy ne zhдут Barroso)
Ukraine’s rebels open school doors to Russian education (2014, November 2)	Donetsk school receives Russian textbooks (V shkoly Donecka postupayut rossiyskie uchebniki)
Georgia: Democrats leave ruling coalition (2014, November 5)	Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia: European integration under threat (Ministr inostrannyh del Gruzii: evrointegraciya pod ugrozoy)
Gorbachev set to use fall of Wall festivities to back President Putin (2014, November 7)	Gorbachev supports Putin in his Berlin speech (Gorbachev podderzhit Putina v svoei Berlinskoy rechi)
Gorbachev helps Germans mark 25 years since	Germany: approaching the culmination of

the fall of the Berlin Wall (2014, November 8)	celebration of the fall of the Berlin Wall (Germaniya priblizhaetsya k kulminacii prazdnovaniya padeniya Berlinskoy steny)
Putin attacks West and claims Russia can withstand any challenge in State of Nation speech (2014, December 4)	Putin: Russia respected and keeps respecting the sovereignty of Ukraine (Putin: Rossiya uvazhala i uvazhaet suverenitet Ukrainy)
Economic sanctions contradict international law, says Putin (2014, November 14)	Russian president: sanctions contradict international law (Prezident Rossii: sanktsii protivorechat mezhdunarodnomu pravu)
EU warns Turkey over dozens of media arrests (2014, December 15)	EU to Ankara: arrest of journalists contradicts our values (ES-Ankare: Arest zhurnalistov protivorechit nashim cennostyam)
Russian rouble rebounds slightly but remains volatile (2014, December 17)	Russian Finance Ministry starts selling leftover foreign-currency stock (Minfin pristupaet k prodazhe na rynke svoih valutyh ostatkov)
Putin answers press questions on Ukraine, NATO and the Russian economy (2014, December 18)	Putin: we do not want the hide of the Russian bear to be hung on the wall (Putin: my ne hotim chtoby shkuru russkogo medvedya povესili na stenu)
Crimea's 'return home' shows love for motherland, says Putin (2014, December 31)	"Familiar feeling" or "the right of the stronger"? (Vozvyshayushchee chuvstvo ili pravo silnogo?)
<i>International news – cosmos, climate change, global issues</i>	
Heads buried in sand in climate change protest ahead of Brisbane G20 summit (2014, November 14)	Summit G20: leaders of "Big Twenty" and anti- globalists arrive to Brisbane (Sammit g20: v Brisben pribyvayut lidery bolshoy dvadcatki i antiglobalisty)
US crew evacuated to Russian segment of International Space Station (2015, January 14)	American astronauts spend a night in the Russian segment of the ISS (Amerikanskie astronavy perenochuyut v rossiyskom segmente mks)
<i>Historical events of the EU linked to the World history</i>	
World War One Armistice Day ceremonial remembrance (2014, November 11)	Europe celebrates the end of the First World War (Evropa otmechaet den okonchaniya pervoi mirovoi voiny)

As one can see from Table 3, only 7 headlines out of 44 have a similar meaning⁸ and 37 out of 44 are formulated differently. The headline to the English version “Putin fashion clothing a bit hit on his 62nd birthday” looks intriguing and the headline to the Russian version “Putin celebrated his Birthday in taiga” looks more neutral. At the same time a mention of the Russian “taiga” in the Russian version

⁸The identical headlines are: “Canada ‘will never be intimidated says PM after Ottawa shootings” and “Stephen Harper: Canada will never be intimidated”; “Google shuts Spanish news service in row over copyright law” and “Google shuts down news service in Spain”; “European Parliament rejects bid to sack Juncker Commission. A motion of no-confidence against the newly-installed European Commission has been rejected” and “MEPs rejected vote of no confidence on Juncker”; “Hungary: Internet tax draws thousands out in protest” and “In Budapest – a new manifestation of thousands against the Internet tax”; “Putin in symbolic visit to Serbia torn between EU and Russia” and “Putin visits Serbia torn between the EU and Russia”; “Gorbachev set to use fall of Wall festivities to back President Putin” and “Gorbachev supports Putin in his Berlin speech”; “Economic sanctions contradict international law, says Putin” and “Russian president: sanctions contradict international law”.

makes the news catchy for the audience. News headlines in English contain English idioms such as “heads buried in sand”, “soar sky-high over party and country”, “pays the price” and so on. News headlines in Russian often consist of proverbs, expressions well familiar to the Russian speaking audience and are also based on the national traditions of journalism. For example, some headlines are based on proverbs such as a “Russian bear's hide hung on the wall” or on a consonant combination of words such as “morozy” (“frost” in English) and “Barroso” (the former President of the European Commission).

So, to sum it up, the differences in headlines of news in English and in Russian can be explained by an attempt to make news catchy, to reach the audience, and to expand the viewership.

The role of explanation of events for the external audience

I shall now try to look at the Euronews broadcast with the eyes of Russian viewers and to figure out what makes news interesting for the viewers in Russia. It should be also noticed that in Russia Euronews broadcasts both in English and in Russian.

After comparing the news story “Surprise Victor Klaus Iohannis wins in Romanian presidential election” in Russian with the English version it becomes clear that the main ‘message’ of this story for an external viewer is that Iohannis as a new Romanian President is not going to change anything in the foreign policy.

The main ‘message’ of the news about the Angela Merkel’s re-election for a Russian viewer was included in the phrase that Angela Merkel is a leader on the European scene (Euronews, 2014, December 9). The main message of the story about the resignation of the Italian President Giorgio Napolitano for a Russian viewer is that he was a main proponent of the European integration (Euronews, 2015, January 13).

The main message of news in Russian on the Georgian political crisis is that Georgian politicians who have resigned argued that the Euro-Atlantic course of the country is under threat (Euronews, 2014, November 5).

The goal of news about marches of protests and Eurosceptics concerns in the EU Member States is to show what is going on in the Member States. The Russian audience can view stories that are not always covered by Russian and international media. So, Russian viewers could watch news stories on protests in Hungary against the Internet tax, in France, in Belgium, in Greece. The information in Russian about the protest against the Transatlantic Trade & Investment Partnership consisted of farmer's concern that the European market of agricultural products affected by the embargo on the supply of agricultural products to Russia will be flooded by American products (Euronews, 2015, January 3).

The interest of Russian audience is also to watch stories on Russia from a European point of view, by the eyes of European journalists.

The purpose of an additional line to the story in Russian about the US-Russian cooperation in space, “NASA confirmed on Twitter that the US crew relocated on the Russian segment of International Space Station” (Euronews, 2015, January 14), is to support the evidence and also to confirm the open access to this information in social media especially in the period of tense Russia-US bilateral relations.

Euronews Facebook page in Russian

Euronews is presented in social media in 13 languages, on Facebook and on Twitter. Natalia Marshalkovich, a Senior Business Journalist of Russian Service of Euronews, is responsible for the Russian page of Euronews on Facebook⁹ and she said that they do it together with the chief of the Euronews Russian Service Sergey Dubin

⁹ For detail, see <https://www.facebook.com/ru.euronews>

(personal communication, May 30, 2014). The explanation of how the Euronews page in Russian is managed can answer the question why Euronews stories in Russian and in English differ on air and in social media. The main response is that Euronews focuses on the audience. According to Natalia Marshalkovich, every Euronews Facebook in every language is managed separately because each country has an interest in different topics. Some topics can be the same if they are interesting for these countries.

Because Euronews is the European news channel it has a focus on European news, such as the European Parliament Elections 2014. Though for Russian audience the European Parliament Elections is not so important as for the European audience because Russian people cannot vote. Therefore Facebook pages in English and in French were providing a lot of news related to the European Parliament Elections 2014 during the Elections campaign, Facebook in Russian was posting only the final results and the most important news at the world level such as the victory of the ultra right party. During the Elections night 2014 Euronews devoted even more attention to the situation in Ukraine than to the European Parliament elections on the Russian version of Facebook. (Natalia Marshalkovich, personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Facebook is the most active social media platform in Russia, the main social media, and more active than it is in France. Euronews uses this advantage. According to the representative of the Russian Service of Euronews, the Russian version of Euronews on Facebook is very popular. It has the second place after the English version (based on the number of visits and followers of the page). The French version of Euronews Facebook usually publishes only 1-2 news stories a day because they do not feel it is necessary. The Russian Service of Euronews puts on the Russian version of Facebook a variety of news stories, breaking news even before the news stories are broadcast on air. Due to technical constraints, the site can be up-dated more slowly but they would like to place news as soon as they have it. "It is very typical situation when we publish news illustrated by the photo from our photo bank before the news will appear on the Euronews website", according to Natalia Marshalkovich (personal

communication, May 30, 2014). The representative of the Russian Service of Euronews pointed out that the Euronews' Facebook version is very useful in case of broadcasting urgent news such as about a terroristic attack, a resignation of leading politician, for football updates it also works very well (personal communication, May 30, 2014). The content of Facebook in Russian is also not identical to the content of the Euronews website.

The analysis of the content of the Russian page of Euronews on Facebook identified that in general posts are devoted to current news and those not necessarily broadcast in the Euronews news bulletin. For example, on December 18, 2014 Euronews broadcast a story about the annual press conference of the Russian President where Putin answered press questions on Ukraine. Euronews published three posts concerning this event on Facebook. The first post announced that the press-conference would start in several minutes. This post had a comment that

[“the meeting with journalists held after a record fall of the ruble on Monday and Tuesday. However, at the opening of the Moscow stock exchange ruble's position against the dollar and the euro strengthened”]¹⁰.

A question of a journalist attending the press-conference and President Putin's answer were published next. The question was about “how many Russian troops have you sent to the East of Ukraine for punitive action?” and the answer of the President Putin was “the punitive operation is conducted there only by Kiev authorities”. The third post was a quote from the Russian President who said “what is happening in the economy (sanctions are responsible for 25 percent of economic problems) – is not a payment for Crimea but a payment for Russia's desire to survive as a state. Do we want to protect our sovereignty or we want Russian's bear hide to be hung on the wall

¹⁰ For details, see posts on Euronews page in Russian on 17 December 2014 at <https://www.facebook.com/ru.euronews>

above the fireplace?”¹¹. Based on the Facebook practice, the audience has opportunity to 'like', 'comment' or 'share' a post. These posts did not link to the Euronews story on the press-conference that was broadcast on December 18, 2014. On the other hand, another post about the Russian presidential address to the State of Nation was linked to the Euronews TV broadcast. The comment to this link on Euronews broadcast was “Sacral Crimea, Yugoslav scenario, Hitler and other political points of Putin's message to Parliament”.¹²

Most posts on the Russian page on Facebook are related to Russia, and it is not necessary that they were broadcast on the Euronews TV channel. Some news are on the most interesting events related to the Russian audience such as multilateral meetings, economics, tourism and etc. There are many interesting photos put on this page from Euronews archives such as the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel receiving flowers from the Belarus President Alexander Lukashenko before an important political meeting in Minsk on the Ukrainian conflict”.¹³ Euronews posts on Facebook also include some stories of general interest. For example, a post from December 26, 2014 presents a story on the puzzle maze on a playground in the Russian city of Kirov. The puzzle was build from ice and frozen fish. There is also a video from Euronews “No comment” section¹⁴ that shows the playground and visitors wondering how the fish ended up inside the ice.

The goal of Facebook page is not so much to promote a content as to promote Euronews as the most popular news channel in Europe.

¹¹ For details, see posts on Euronews page in Russian on 18 December 2014 at <https://www.facebook.com/ru.euronews>

¹² For more details, see Euronews page in Russian. 4 December 2014. Accessed on: <https://www.facebook.com/ru.euronews> and <http://www.euronews.com/2014/12/04/putin-defies-west-over-ukraine-and-sacred-crimea/>

¹³ For details, see Euronews Facebook in Russian. 11 February 2015.

¹⁴ Facebook in Russian. Euronews. 26 December 2014. For details, see <https://www.facebook.com/ru.euronews>

Twitter. Although, Facebook is a leading social media for Russia, Euronews also does a Twitter page. The Russian Service of Euronews uses Twitter to publish photos and other information, different from those on Facebook. Euronews tries to place more speculative, tabloid news taking into account Twitter's audience.

Conclusion

The content analysis identified that the main topics of news stories broadcast by Euronews are the themes prioritized by the European Commission for coverage and debates on European affairs.¹⁵ As can be seen, Euronews covers various topics including migration policy, terrorism issues, neighbourhood policy, Eurosceptics marches of protests, etc.

As a result of the EU enlargements, Europe becomes a more diverse, multicultural unity. Through multilingualism, the Euronews television involves more European citizens into debates, raises discussions, generates different points of view, attracts attention to European affairs of representatives of different multicultural communities. Considering the size of the Russian speaking population of the EU, I can assume that the audiovisual services on European affairs in the Russian language will be expanding through the Euronews television or/and any other European media.

In spite of the above specifics of Euronews broadcasting in Russian, the functioning of the Russian team of Euronews is the same as of any other language team. Therefore, the above discussion also illustrates an implementation of multilingualism in the institutional model of Euronews.

The main finding (also confirmed by the observers) is that the content of news broadcast by Euronews in English and in Russian (as well as in other broadcasting languages) is not absolutely identical, although the video footage is the same.

¹⁵ For details, see Table 1 and the European Commission Plan D, 2008.

Depending on the language and the country of broadcast, the same news can be voiced differently. The analysis identified that national editors and journalists (in Russian) know the audience and how to address the audience. It is achieved by adding to the content some phrases and details. Although it does not change a meaning of news, it makes them connected to the country of broadcast and presents news in clearer and easier for understanding way. Euronews relies on the team of national editors and journalists' knowledge of the national culture and journalistic traditions of the country of broadcast. The Russian team is not a team of translators but a team of professional journalists.

The Facebook page in Russian channel demonstrates the model of functionality of Euronews in social media. It also confirms the Euronews orientation at national audience. Again, Euronews promotes not the content of its news but the TV channel as the most popular in Europe.

As can be seen from Chapter 4, Euranet Plus programs broadcast by different radio members are not identical as well. Based on an analysis of the most recent European Commission documents on creating transnational media networks, I can conclude that the achievement of a “one size” information, or identical news on European affairs is not a goal of the European Commission. The observers opinions, presented in Chapters 3 and 4 and that will be discussed in the next Chapter 6, is that the content of news should be oriented at the audiences.

The findings of this chapter will be applied to an analysis of two models of transnational media on European affairs supported by the European Commission in the next chapter. In Chapter 6, based on the main research findings, I examine the main hypothesis of this thesis.

Chapter Six

Institutional learning: Euronews and Euranet Plus. Comparative analysis of two models of transnational media on European affairs

The purpose of this chapter is to consider two institutional models of transnational audiovisual media covering European affairs – Euronews television and Euranet Plus radio network and to discuss whether the development of the European public sphere fostered by the European Commission was a motivation for the creation of the Euranet radio network. The other objective is to consider how the experience with Euronews could affect the development of Euranet, whether there was institutional learning for Euranet Plus, or, in other words, what Euranet Plus could borrow from Euronews. Another point considered in this chapter is related to how the experience with Euranet Plus, following the requirements of the European Commission new contract of 2013-2018, could affect or enrich the Euronews practice of broadcasting news on European affairs. Although, most observers denied a connection between these two projects, I see a direct impact of Euronews practice on the institutional model of Euranet Plus. At the same time I can conclude that the implementation of the contract of Euranet Plus with the European Commission and the new communication policy for audiovisual media on European affairs influenced the Euronews model. The chapter considers similarities and differences between two models of transnational media on European affairs. Yet another goal is to discuss advantages and disadvantages of television and radio in the European public sphere and to predict the next steps that the European Commission should take towards the creation of transnational media and whether the requirements will be changed or will stay the same after the next call for tenders for a European radio network in 2018. The

chapter also contains an analysis of weaknesses (risks) of the current model of a European radio network.

Institutional learning

There is no direct connection between Euronews and Euranet Plus. They are two separate organizations. Their projects and their relations with the European Commission are also different. Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014) pointed out that Euronews is not linked to Euranet Plus. Dominique D'Olne, Chef des Rédactions Radio RTBF, Brussels (personal communication, May 20, 2014) also stated that there is no connection between Euronews and Euranet Plus. As a source in the European Commission pointed out, these two media have different philosophy (personal communication, May 26, 2014). Euronews is a company founded by different public broadcasters at the European level. It is a monopoly on the European market. The European Commission does not fund shareholders of Euronews, but finances its programs in European languages and those that have a view of pan-European perspective. In this sense Euronews is not a network, but a pan-European media (personal communication, May 26, 2014). Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus pointed out that both initiatives came from the European Commission. “The models are different, and the media are different. Euronews is a TV broadcaster which has been existing for 20 years with the same programs in different languages on a centralized frequency” (personal communication, May 28, 2014).

Institutional learning from Euronews to Euranet Plus through the European Commission regulations

If there is no direct connection between Euronews and Euranet Plus, there is still an institutional learning from Euronews practice to Euranet Plus. An analysis of

the previous practice of European media on European affairs has been taken by the European Commission as a basis for a further development of transnational media on European affairs. Already before the first call for tenders of the European Commission, radio stations of several Member States had a kind of informal cooperation. The paper *Communicating Europe in Partnership* adopted by the European Commission in October 2007 emphasizes that the European Commission “endeavours to boost coverage of EU-related features and news by inviting independent broadcasters to form networks” (EC, 2008a, p. 7). This became a stimulus for the creation of Euranet created in 2008. The second call for tenders in 2013 and the subsequent contract between the European Commission and Euranet Plus led to a modification of the institutional model of Euranet Plus. The contract conditions were changed because of the European Commission's new concept for the European audiovisual media networks.

The European Commission policy documents *Communicating Europe in Partnership* (EC, 2007c) and *Communicating Europe through audiovisual media* (EC, 2008a) had objectives to accelerate the creation of audiovisual media with a European agenda. Certainly, the European Commission could not discard the practice of such a giant on the European audiovisual market as the Euronews TV channel. At the same time there are not too many TV channels other than Euronews with a long and successful experience of broadcasting news and programmes on European affairs in Europe. In this document Euronews is referred to as “the principal international news TV channel on the main European market” (EC, 2008a, p. 9). It is very noticeable that the European Commission made use of the Euronews practice in these policy documents and finally came up with a new model of a European broadcaster.

Addressing the Euronews practice in European Commission policy documents

Based on existing practice, the European Commission formulated a set of proposals for audiovisual networks and in particular for a European radio network. The Euronews practice has been addressed directly and indirectly in the European media studies, and was involved in European citizens' surveys.

As it was concluded in the paper *Communicating Europe in Partnership* (2007c) based on European media studies, in 2007 audiovisual media continued to be a preferred source of information on European affairs for European citizens (p. 11). The role of the European Commission co-financing radio and TV programmes is mentioned in this document. As can be seen from this paper, the European Commission encouraged dozens of audiovisual channels to develop EU programmes and was going to switch from short term financing to offer multi-annual contracts for networks of broadcasters across Europe. The paper *Communicating Europe in Partnership* (2007c) provided a budget of 2007-2013 for co-financing “programmes on EU affairs produced and broadcast by network of broadcasters”¹ (EC, 2007c, p. 22).

As can be seen from the European Commission document *Communicating Europe through audiovisual media* (EC, 2008a), since 2007 the European Commission has been fostering, promoting a coverage of the European affairs through audiovisual media. From the Commission point of view, a future broadcasters' network should do what EbS, Euronews and EUTube “*already do*”: “to cover the whole range and spectrum of EU related news, including activities of all EU institutions as” (p. 3, italics of the original document). Concluding, the European Commission again addressed the Euronews model mentioning that future European radio and TV

¹ Operational objective No 2. Developing a European public sphere. Action category 2: The media and information services. Output 1.

networks will be covering the activities of all EU institutions “*much as Euronews does*” (EC, 2008a, p. 12).

Before fostering the creation of European radio network, the European Commission initiated several studies on audiovisual market of the Member States.

In April 2007 the European Commission published a study on how television channels in 27 Member States cover news on European affairs (EC, 2007c, p. 11; EC, 2009b; Fougier, 2009). The Euronews channel was indirectly involved in the study because Euronews broadcasts on different national channels in the Member States. For example, in France Euronews broadcasts on France 3 television channel. The quantity of news on European affairs, and the topics covered were the subjects of this study. This study was summarized in European Commission report *Communicating Europe in Partnership*, according to which, in particular, “two thirds of Europeans continue to believe that the EU-related information provided by national media is insufficient” (EC, 2007c, p. 11).

The European Commission paper *Communicating Europe through audiovisual media* (EC, 2008a) contains a strategy on how a further network of audiovisual broadcasters should look based on the existing practice (Euronews) and the new European Commission priorities (Action Plan-D).

The European Commission also noticed that the European public sphere owes its very existence to the international, multilingual programmes that broadcasters such as *Euronews*, BBC World, Deutsche Welle², France 24 and Arte can offer covering news items from several Member States (EC, 2008a, p. 4). Euronews is mentioned in the paper *Communicating Europe through audiovisual media* (EC, 2008a) as an example of: coverage of a whole range and spectrum of EU related news, including

² Deutsche Welle was one of the initial partners of Euranet radio Consortium in 2007.

activities of all EU institutions; offer of pan-European programmes; coverage of news items from several Member States.

The Euronews contribution to the European public sphere and to creation of audiovisual networks on European affairs is that citizens are aware, understand what supranational news are (as opposite to national ones) and would like to see more of this type of news. As a source in the European Commission (personal communication, May 26, 2014) pointed out, the European Commission could see from the Eurobarometer survey that the public would like to see more news on European affairs. And it is also an achievement of the Euronews project.

Citizens' attitude to media

As a source in the European Commission pointed out (personal communication, May 26, 2014), a number of Eurobarometers devoted to attitude towards media were done from 2007 (time of creation of Euranet radio network) to 2013 (the second contract with Euranet Plus). A source in the European Commission pointed out that the Commission could see that the public wants to have more European based news and to be better informed and have a higher degree of participation in information and in European news. "On the other hand, there is a consistent lack of European media. Local, regional and national media provide news based on the interest of audiences. Sometimes you can see that European dimension is lacking", said a source in the European Commission (personal communication, May 26, 2014).

As can be seen from Eurobarometers surveys on audiovisual communication, respondents were answering questions keeping in mind the Euronews channel as a broadcaster of news on European affairs.

According to Audio Visual Communications Eurobarometer survey of March 2007, the Euronews channel was among international channels that immediately spring to mind: in the EU and the US with 3 percent of recognition. Answering the question about which news channels broadcasting in several countries best deal with European affairs and the European Union 4 percent of respondents also placed Euronews second after the BBC channel (7 percent). At the same time a majority of EU residents (56%) could not or did not want to answer the question on which international news channel treats European issues the best (Eurobarometer, 2007, p. 30).

According to the Media Use in the European Union survey of 2013 (Eurobarometer, No. 80), “no matter what medium is tested, Europeans are more likely to complain that there is too little coverage of the European Union than too much (28% "too little" for television vs 11% "too much"; 27% vs 6% for radio; 19% vs 9% for the press; and 12% vs 6% for the Internet)” (p. 49).

The report of the Centre for European Policy Studies (Kurpas, Clerck-Sachsse & Brüggemann, 2006) provided a cost-benefit analysis of the European Commission Communication policy including their practice of cooperation with Euronews.

Based on the European Commission policy documents and from a comparative analysis of Euronews and Euranet Plus one can conclude that there is evidence of a contribution of the Euronews practice to the institutional model of Euranet Plus. Vice versa, Euranet Plus experience enriched the Euronews practice. Further I consider it in more detail.

The strengths, challenges and weaknesses of the Euranet Plus as a new media model on European affairs

Cooperation has been started from full contracts of services

The evaluation study conducted in 2006 by the Centre for European Policy Studies, and commissioned by the European Parliament Budget Committee indicated that the European Commission should finance audiovisual projects based on full contracts of services. The European Commission also practices financing by grants and other forms of media projects co-financing.

From 1993 to 2003 the European Commission was co-financing the Euronews. The Commission shifted EU funding for Euronews from co-financing to a fully-financed set of service contracts in 2004. As before, however, the Commission continued to finance only various programme formats and not any specific content. According to this evaluation report, “Euronews contributes to informing citizens on European issues and has the additional advantage of doing so from a pan-European perspective, a particular feature that national and regional media cannot provide in the same way. It thus has a special potential to foster mutual understanding between citizens from different national and linguistic backgrounds” (Kurpas et al., 2006). As it is stated, the framework contract provides Euronews with the necessary long-term financial stability to plan ahead (p. 7).

The authors of this evaluation gave a number of recommendations to the European Commission including further development of programmes in languages of the new Member States and that more money should be provided for audiovisual co-productions with television and radio stations and it should be put on a more stable financial basis to ensure better planning, which is of particular importance for the audiovisual sector.

In the case of Euranet Plus the European Commission took into account the practice used at the beginning of cooperation building relations with Euronews which was based on long term (5 year) contracts of services. The European Commission also stipulated that a radio network should include financially strong partners (at the second contract) that could help to reduce the financial burden on the European Commission. Radio is also a much less expensive media. As Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews, pointed out, “it takes much more resources, efforts to produce television channel than to produce a radio channel. In a bad economy a TV channel has less chances to survive. Radio station can be more economically flexible” (personal communication, May 30, 2014).

Euranet Plus network built on existing national radios

As a source in the European Commission pointed out (personal communication, May 26, 2014), since “it is expensive to create new media, the European Commission decided that it is better to rely on existing media. The logic behind of a network is to create a content on the common interest, expanding European news and of course to continue creating the European public sphere”.

According to Jean-Michel Bos, the Editor-in-Chief of Euranet News Agency, in terms of efficiency the impact is broader with Euranet Plus because they did not have to create any new European radio stations. According to Jean-Michel Bos, Euranet Plus just used the relatively big radio stations that have more than 15 years experience, like, for example, RTBF in Belgium or Radio 24 in Italy specialized in economy, Business FM in France, a Polish national broadcaster - Polskie radio. “We just put them together and improved the way we can work together. It was also economically efficient because to build media such as CNN, BBC, Radio France requires more financial resources” (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014) stated that Euranet Plus is based on radio stations that already existed.

Jan Simmen, the Management/Strategy Chief of Euranet Plus, a member of the Euranet Consortium from 2008 to 2012 (personal communication, May 21, 2014) pointed out that the advantage of Euranet Plus radio network is also in having strong partners and this is economically justified.

As Jan Simmen explained, out of the total cost of what Euranet Plus radio network broadcasts, approximately a half, sometimes only one third or less, is paid by the European Commission, whereas the rest is covered by radio stations. Salaries to journalists are paid by radio stations. The European Commission does not pay for radio equipment, transmission cost, license fees, editors, etc. It only covers the actual time spent by journalists producing and broadcasting news on European affairs. The European Commission does not pay the rest of it. “It is a more cheaper model than to create a radio station from zero. In this case you need to buy all of equipment, to build a studio and so on” (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

New audiovisual media network with existed audience

As Jan Simmen put it, “the Euranet Plus members are strong because they know how to reach the audience”.

Jean-Michel Bos pointed out that the 20 million audience of the Euranet Plus network has not been created from scratch. “We started with listeners of radio members”, and all those radio stations which are members of the network and work here already had their audience” (personal communication, May 21, 2014). Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014) said that “the advantages of Euranet are that it was

built on existing media, and they broadcast for audience that already was there. It is quite effective”.

According to Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus and the Editor-in-Chief of RTBF radio (personal communication, May 20, 2014), the main difference between Euranet Plus and Euronews is that Euranet Plus is well listened to by ordinary Europeans, whereas Euronews is mostly a TV for business people.

According to Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, “the biggest transnational media audience is still small” (2008, p. 80). This fact could be a stimuli for the European Commission to create a radio network with existent audience. According to Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, “transnational television channels in Europe have so far acquired no more than 2 per cent of the cumulated audience share in national market”, “Euronews reaches only 3.5 mln viewers per day” (2008, p. 80, p. 87). The audience of Euranet Plus radio network is 20 million listeners on a daily basis but it depends on radio. But the frequency of news on European affairs might be different. It could be a competitor of Euronews only if all Euranet Plus network radio members broadcast the same news simultaneously.

Yet another instance of institutional learning from the Euronews practice is that since 2013 in the framework of a full services contract of Euranet Plus, the European Commission would like to know the audience of each program on European affairs (Dominique D'Olne, personal communication, May 20, 2014).

Citizens of Europe trust national media

A Eurobarometer survey of 2013 shows that among the national audiences of the European Members States “radio remains the medium which Europeans trust the most (54%), whereas television follows (48%) (Eurobarometer, 2013, p. 20).

Therefore, one of the reasons for creation of a European radio network is to broadcast news on European affairs through the most trusted media channels.

Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014) pointed out that “listeners trust national media” and national media also know the cultural features of the audience.

Broadcasts in national languages and knowledge of national audience

As a source in the European Commission pointed out, the Commission decided that it is better to address national audiences in their own languages (personal communication, May 26, 2014). Another audio visual media which is the Euronews TV channel also uses a multilingual model of broadcasting. However, Euranet Plus has a different organizational model. According to Jean-Michel Bos, the Editor-in-Chief of Euranet News Agency, the main difference between Euranet Plus and Euronews is that Euronews has a central unit to produce in different languages. Euranet Plus has a complete opposite logic because it is a network which consists of 15 broadcasters rather than a single one. In this respect Euronews is a more classical media. (personal communication, May 21, 2014).

Another difference of the model of Euranet Plus and the Euronews one is that national media broadcasting for Euranet Plus in national European languages know the psychology of their audience and its culture. Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014) said that “producing the same news, five minute news and pushing it to the national stations would not work. Because there are different profiles of countries and different journalistic traditions”. Jan Simmen, the Management/Strategy Chief of Euranet Plus, a member of the Euranet Consortium from 2008 to 2012 (personal communication, May 21, 2014) also stressed this advantage of Euranet Plus. Euranet Plus national

radio stations broadcast in own languages and in the way that is “suitable for each country”.

As Mareike Roewekamp (personal communication, May 28, 2014) pointed out, even the format of programming and its duration is country dependent. For example, German private radio has a traditional talk-show format of 1,5 minutes or up to 3 minutes but no longer, whereas in Spain it is not a problem to talk for 60 minutes. Jan Simmen (personal communication, May 21, 2014) agreed that there is a big difference in journalism in the South and in the North of Europe. For example, it is normal for Spanish people to have five speakers at front of a microphone discussing things. He pointed out that “Spanish partners produce Euranet Plus programs in a way that Spanish people would like and Spanish audience likes a lot of voices having arguments”. In the North of Europe the audience does not like this format at all. As a Danish broadcaster Jan Simmen pointed out “if you could take a Spanish programs and to broadcast it in Denmark there would be no listeners of these shows”.

As Mareike Roewekamp, a Project Manager of the Administrative office of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 28, 2014) noticed, Euranet Plus stations have different approaches to journalism, different approaches to what is the European Union, different perception on what the European Union is about. The public in Romania is interested in the issues that are different than the public in Germany or in Spain are. “This makes it difficult, but the effect is that the Euranet Plus is quite a mirror of the European Union”, said Mareike Roewekamp.

News from a supranational point of view

Although the Euranet Plus network model and programming variety are different from those of Euronews, the Euranet Plus network is also aimed at the development of a supranational rather than national point of view. This policy is

realized through the Euranet Plus news agency in Brussels, which offers supranational European news, conducts regular conferences and meetings for network broadcasters in order to create a supranational point of view. According to Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014) “the idea of Euranet Plus was similar to Euronews to try to cover news on radio from a non-national view point, by means of joining national broadcasters”.

Definition of European news

In contrast to the Euronews model, Euranet Plus has an editorial line stated in the contract of services with the European Commission. According to Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, the Editor-in-Chief of RTBF radio (personal communication, May 20, 2014), “Euranet Plus is producing European stories that means exclusively stories which are in relations with the European agenda and European policies, nothing else”. Euronews is wider in its coverage of European affairs. For example, Euronews covered accidents in a coal mine in Turkey; Euranet Plus did not because there is no European connection and it does not fit a definition of what a European news is as stated in the Euranet Plus contract of services.

Ways of broadcasting European affairs

There are differences between Euronews and Euranet Plus in the way they broadcast news on European affairs, but there are also similarities in what concerns broadcasting programmes on European affairs. In contrast to Euronews, the content of Euranet Plus programs and news is different in all 15 Member States covered by the network. A significant difference is that Euronews broadcasts news in European affairs in the same flow with all the other news, whereas several Euranet Plus member stations, when broadcasting European news on behalf of the Euranet Plus network,

always explicitly specify that (e.g., Croatian radio HRT, Portugal radio Renascenca, Radio Slovenia International).

According to Dominique D'Olné, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus, the Editor-in-Chief of RTBF radio (personal communication, May 20, 2014), the difference between Euronews and Euranet Plus is that Euronews produces programs 24/7 around the year, whereas Euranet Plus only does 75 minutes per week.

As Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014), pointed out, there is a similarity in that some Euronews programmes are also sponsored by the European Commission or other European organizations.

Yet another similarity of Euranet Plus and Euronews is that the news on European affairs are not the main focus area for both Euranet Plus radio and Euronews. The mainstream of Euronews is the global coverage. The European happenings compose only 20-30 percent of a daily news bulletin.

Independence of journalistic work

The editorial line of Euronews is based on full journalistic independence that was pointed out by all observers. The editorial line stated in the Euranet Plus contract of services also implies journalistic independence for the network production. Commenting on the new editorial line of Euronews Plus, Jan Simmen pointed out that at the beginning of the Euranet project the idea of the EU Commissioner Margaret Wallstrom was to have a free journalistic work about European affairs, to take leading private, public or mixed radios and to make them broadcasting on European affairs according to their editorial line. It ensured a “full editorial freedom underpinned by an Editorial Charter” (EC, 2008b).

Similarities of Euranet Plus and Euronews as a result of the European Commission initiatives

Some similarities in actions and their timing between Euronews and Euranet Plus allow one to assume that the mutual enrichment of two projects could happen indirectly through the European Commission encouragement to produce more news on European affairs by transnational audiovisual media. These similarities include, for instance, establishing their bureaus in Brussels, introducing debates and talkative shows, reaching out to the youth audience, a multimedia strategy.

News agency in Brussels

The second contract of services with the European radio network started with the creation of a news agency in Brussels. The Euronews opened its Brussels bureau in 2011 only two years before the Euranet Plus did in 2013.

While one of observers (personal communication, May 26, 2014) mentioned that it would be good to have a European news agency in Brussels in a wider context, Euranet Plus already practices production of news on European affairs through its news agency in Brussels. Although this news agency produces news only for the radio network, this model is already in use and it can be considered as a trial for a new model of governance with supranational news on European affairs being distributed from a central office in Brussels to regions.

Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarhji List* bureau in Brussels (personal communication, 26 May, 2014) thinks that Euranet Plus radio network could have more global tasks. Yet another reason for its creation might be to keep a diversity of media and to help other radio stations outside Brussels. So like an agency, Euranet Plus produces news on European affairs and distributes it to other media in Europe. It might also be a wish of the European Commission. The European

Union also needs to better “sell their message”, especially in the light of the recent euroscepticism trends.

Both transnational media have special sections for news from their Brussels bureaux created in 2013-2014. Euranet Plus national broadcasters place news on the European affairs produced by their news agency in Brussels in the section *News Agency of Euranet Plus in Brussels*. As for Euronews, at the end of 2014 Euronews website created a special section *European Affairs – Brussels bureau*. News from Brussels are posted here and a part of these news are also broadcast on air in the TV news bulletin.

These changes in Euronews and Euranet Plus related to broadcasting news on European affairs were developed particular simultaneously and could be a result of a change of the European Commission strategy on the development of audiovisual media.

As it was pointed out by all observers Euronews has recently started broadcasting more debates and debates related programs. Euronews has been actively doing it since 2012-2013. Euranet Plus also produces more programs on citizens' debates since 2013. The reason for that is the representation of Euronews and Euranet Plus in Brussels and the advantage of having fully equipped studios there. Most debates are held in Brussels.

Involvement of the youth audience in European affairs

Both Euronews and Euranet Plus work with universities. However, they do it in a different way. Euronews and Euranet Plus started doing it practically simultaneously in 2012-2013. Euronews organizes live broadcasts from prestigious universities worldwide and introduces Euronews practice into universities courses. Euranet Plus works with the youth through Internet video and audio materials

(productions of the Euranet Plus News Agency) targeted at the audience of students. It also supports radio broadcasts on European affairs on campuses. Euranet Plus achieves it through their support of the radio network Euranet Plus Connect, which was created by the European Commission Directorate General for Education and Culture in 2007 and financed by the European Commission grant in 2007-2012. The Euranet Plus Connect consists of campus radio stations located in several EU Member States which broadcast programs on European affairs. Euranet Plus also organizes debates in Brussels with the participation of university students.

Multimedia strategy

Although the audience mostly considers Euronews as a TV channel, Euronews has also started a radio project additional to television. Euranet Plus produces radio and also video, it uses internet and other modern technologies. Everything produced by both Euronews and Euranet Plus goes online.

According to Albina Lir, a Euronews forward planning editor (personal communication, May 30, 2014), Euronews has to be competitive. “The Internet gives us a lot of opportunities and producing TV in the age of the Internet is different. Because producing TV stories is time consuming. Nowadays time works against us”. It might be considered as a reason why Euronews has to expand its substrate. Stéphane Parizot, the Deputy editor in chief of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014) argued that Euranet Plus is not really a rival for Euronews. “We do TV, they do radio. Even now we are supposed to do the Euronews radio. Some stories chosen for the radio will be translated automatically into 13 languages”, said Stéphane Parizot. Albina Lir explained that “the project with radio is a quite good project. Euronews is a digest of breaking news, of news what are going on in Europe and in the world. This kind of system and this kind of technology is very easy to adapt for

radio broadcasting. Currently, the main project of Euronews is still the TV project, whereas the radio project is a kind of back-up project. We took the TV project and try to adapt it to radio broadcasting. And we try to see how it will work. For the moment we do not have a lot of feedback on the radio project. I hope that it will help up to spread to hear Euronews everywhere, to expand our audience in Europe”.

Table 4

**Euronews and Euranet Plus:
Similarities and Differences in similarities**

Similarities	Differences in similarities
Media established by several European broadcasters	The <i>Euronews</i> model involves European and non-European broadcasters as shareholders. <i>Euranet Plus</i> is a network of European broadcasters working under the same brand.
Transnational European media	<i>Euronews</i> is a transnational television channel. <i>Euranet Plus</i> is a transnational network of national radios in 15 Member States.
Headquarters in France	<i>Euronews</i> headquarters is located in Lyon and Paris (advertising department). <i>Euranet Plus</i> headquarters is located in Paris.
Office in Brussels	<i>Euronews</i> opened its bureau in Brussels in June 2011. Euronews also has national bureaux in Athens, Budapest, and Kiev. <i>Euranet Plus</i> opened a bureau in Brussels in March 2013 including TV and radio studio but it operates as a news agency on European affairs.
Broadcasting news with a European point of view is not the main stream	<i>Euronews</i> is specialized in international news seen by European journalists. The Brussels bureau provides a European point of view. <i>Euranet Plus</i> radio members are national radio stations that broadcast 75 minutes of news with a European point of view.
Creation and broadcasting of news from a European point of view	<i>Euronews</i> broadcasts the EU institutional news, more frequently since the Brussels bureau was opened. <i>Euranet Plus</i> radio broadcasts European institutional news daily/weekly in various program formats.
Programming on European affairs: address national audiences in their own languages based on their	<i>Euronews</i> has daily current news on European affairs and also programs on regional policy, including “Perspectives”, “Europe weekly”,

preparedness to watch and to listen the news on a given topic. Content of European news	<p>“Reporter”, “Close up Europe”, “U talk”, “The network”, “Right on”. These programs are identical in all 13 languages. The content of the news in different European languages may vary depending on the preparedness of the audience. In general, there is an identical video in all languages and the same programmes in all languages.</p> <p><i>Euranet Plus</i> radio members have a variety of programs on European affairs titled differently and they have a different content. The national broadcasters produce news and programs based on the preparedness and national journalistic traditions. All programs are different. Some news produced by Brussels news agency can be identical.</p>
Existence of the internal and external editorial line	<p><i>Euronews</i> has an internal editorial line. There is no definition on what is a news on European affairs.</p> <p><i>Euranet Plus</i>: what is a news on European affairs is stated in the contract of the European Commission.</p>

Potential weaknesses of the European radio project

Based on an analysis of the European radio project, a comparative analysis of Euranet Plus and Euronews practices, a study of the European Commission policy documents for creating audiovisual media networks, as well as interviews with practitioners, I identified several potential weak points of the European radio network project. Euranet Plus is the latest and the most significant European Commission' project in this area.

Changing several points in the second contract with the Euranet Plus network in 2013, the European Commission was guided by the financial considerations and by the intention to clarify what is a news with European agenda, a supranational news to cover. At this point, I can conclude that the European Commission achieved the desired goals, which are currently being implemented by the Euranet Plus project.

The network was originally based on financially strong radio partners (with at least 300,000 listeners per day each), and, as a result, the target audience of 20 million of listeners was immediately reached. For creating the network, additional financial resources were not required. In general, this approach is not a new one. The idea of creating a media network on European affairs by using existing media was first stated in the European Commission' *Communicating Europe in Partnership* document (EC, 2007c, p. 11).

According to the new version of the contract the Commission now only supports broadcasting of the European news described in the contract of services. This change has also proved its efficiency.

However, these changes of the contract requirements first considered as advantages, carry a risk of becoming drawbacks in the future. As it was pointed out by one of the observers, some former network members complained that at the beginning, when the Euranet radio network had just been established, there were no rules. Now the Euranet Plus has a strict editorial line what radio members should cover and what they should not cover and it became a reason that the several old partners did not join the current Euranet Plus network. The member radios can feel a pressure not only from the European Commission but also from the European Parliament in an indirect way. The more pressure the media feel the higher is the risk that a radio can say “no more”. Jan Simmen, the Management/Strategy Chief of Euranet Plus, a member of the Euranet Consortium from 2008 to 2012 (personal communication, May 21, 2014) pointed out that in 2008-2012 Euranet had on board radio stations from all Member States. With the changes of the contract of services, Euranet Plus now represents only 15 Member States.

The requirement of a strict editorial line on European news can lead to an incomplete coverage of European affairs, loss of interest to European news and as a result withdrawing of citizens from media debates and a loss of trust in national media; a loss of journalistic interest to cover news on European affairs. The requirement of having an audience of 300,000 listeners per day for a radio network member can lead to a loss of radio members and a presence of network not in all EU Member States. The interference of the European Commission and the European Parliament can lead to a loss of freedom to express independent points of view by radio members on European affairs, and also to a loss of independence from the European institutions.

In the situation when these issues are aggravated with the other challenges described by Trenz (2008), which are “the entertainment value of EU is low”, “citizens do not accept news from Brussels seriously”, “cynical public requires more negative news” (pp. 57-58), the probability of the aforementioned risks can be higher and lead to more serious consequences.

One of the ways to lower the risk probabilities is to address the best practices. Shirin Wheeler, the Spokesperson of the Commissioner of the Regions (personal communication, May 26, 2014) addressed the practice of German radio ARD. In her point of view, this radio has an effective regional structure. They have Brussels correspondents and regional correspondents in Member States. According to Wheeler, a content of news is also important. She pointed out a need “to get a balance finding the effective means on what to communicate. It is not just about the reach, it is about tailoring what to communicate, to reflect the interests. There is a European public sphere in this sense”. Another way is to provide training for journalists who cover European affairs for understanding of what news on European affairs can be.

Advantages and disadvantages of television and of radio

The Spokesperson of the Commission of the Regions, a former BBC correspondent Shirin Wheeler (personal communication, May 26, 2014), believes that radio and television remain among the most important media. Stéphane Parizot, the Deputy editor in chief of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014), thinks that TV is on the first place in what concerns a real political game. Dominique D'Olne, the Chief operating officer for editorial content of Euranet Plus (personal communication, May 20, 2014) pointed out that radio is the most reliable media to inform. "If you ask people not about which is the most important media for getting news but which is the main reliable way for being informed? People will answer that it is radio. Such surveys have been conducted in France more than once and the answer was that the most reliable way for being informed is radio. The radio was put on the first place". According to this Eurobarometer survey of 2013, "radio is the second most popular medium accessed at least once a week by Europeans: half of them say that they listen to it every day or almost. This represents a three-point decline since the autumn 2012 Eurobarometer (EB78) which had recorded a slight increase of two points in autumn 2011. In all, 74% (-3) of Europeans say they listen to the radio at least once a week" (p. 9). As Dominique D'Olne pointed out, "many people today get news from Internet and smart phones and so on, but people do not necessarily trust journalists. European citizens believe that journalists from radio are the most worthy journalists". According to the Eurobarometer survey of 2013, radio remains the medium which Europeans trust the most (54%, unchanged, compared with 37% "tend not to trust", -1 percentage point); television follows, but with sharply mixed opinions (48% trust it, unchanged, compared with 48%, +1)" (p. 20). As Dominique D'Olne said, the fact that "European citizens trust radio journalists was one of the important reasons to make more European

news on radio and when they had an occasion to build a network it was normal that it was radio channels who constituted this network”.

Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarhji List* bureau in Brussels (personal communication, 26 May, 2014) believes that nowadays the impact of radio is not like it was before. People are mostly listening to radio while they are driving a car or if they have a particular need or when they are at home, or if they want some debates. The impact of Euranet Plus will not be bigger than of Euronews but it is a good initiative because “we need to keep this diversity of media. It is not good to leave everything to TV, because people are watching TV, so they do not need to read newspapers, to listen radio, they do not need to look at the news agencies. It is good to have a pan-European network also because here in Brussels all the journalists, including me, are mostly interested in their countries”. Augustin Palokaj as the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarhji List* bureau in Brussels is focused on what is important for Croatia, for Croatian readers. He tells that he will not report much about European news. However the top news are important, for example, such as who will be the president of the Commission. On the other hand, what the Commission thinks about the votes in the region of Spain is not of much interest for Croatian readers. This is why in his point of view there is a need to have a pan-European network.

Denis Loktev, a senior producer of Euronews (personal communication, May 30, 2014) thinks that in general “the main advantage of television is the opportunity for the audience to see what is happening. Many people actually prefer to get Euronews from television because a picture is more informative. Also many people like radio, because you can listen to the radio while driving and you can listen to the radio as a background. Radio does not demand that kind of attention from the audience as TV. Audience can listen to the radio as a background noise. Television wants

you to look on the screen. These are different ways of perceiving information. Radio is maybe less aggressive in that sense than television”.

Albina Lir, the Euronews forward planning editor (personal communication, May 30, 2014), believes that radio is the most important mass media and radio broadcasts are easier to produce than television.

Next steps

As it was concluded by a source in the European Commission (personal communication, May 26, 2014) yet it is not clear what will be other steps on the way of development of the European public sphere and audiovisual media.

Shirin Wheeler told that having been in the Commission for a few years, she can say that the Commission is asking right questions now, focusing on debates, rather than propaganda, but asking what people care about. She is sure that

in the coming weeks and months this will manifest itself in a new approach which I think could well involve a greater resource putting to the representations in the Member States less here in Brussels in fact. At the same time, keeping the connection between Brussels. One thing we could explore is some kind of European news agency which provides information to the media like we have Reuters, Associated Press.
(personal communication, May 26, 2014)

She thinks that something like a European Agency could be useful in terms of providing very short important news materials for journalists and it is something that could be developed in the future. Shirin Wheeler believes that “media networks do play the important role in the development of a public sphere because this is the way how people get most of the information. Like the EU itself the media networks need to reflect particular interests and particular cultures of the EU”.

Augustin Palokaj, the chief of Croatian newspaper *Jutarnji List* bureau in Brussels pointed out the importance of trainings for network journalists on European affairs such as Euronews and Euranet Plus:

In general, who covers the European institutions has to go through learning of institutional set up, how institutions relate to each other. Because they are media specializing in the EU and try to tell citizens what is going on with the EU they need to have very deep knowledge and they must go through a training. Some institutions such as the European Journalism Centre and Association of Foreign Journalists in Brussels provide some basic training on the EU coverage for newcomers.
(Augustin Palokaj, personal communication, May 26, 2014)

Jan Simmen, the Management/Strategy Chief of Euranet Plus, a member of the Euranet Consortium from 2008 to 2012 (personal communication, May 21, 2014) argued that “the idea to have one big public sphere is not realistic as not realistic to have a one European channel. Nothing is connected any more. No one subject that everyone could find interesting. It is possible to exchange views in democratic ways. If not now then in the future”.

Conclusion

Despite of the fact that Euronews and Euranet Plus are not connected and there is no exchange of practice between two, the institutional learning from Euronews contributed to shaping of the Euranet Plus model. It became possible through the European Commission policy documents for audiovisual networks on European affairs which are based on Euronews practice. Euranet Plus could gain through the institutional learning the following features: long time full services contract with the European Commission; creation of media network based on existed strong radio partners; reliance on existed audience of radio partners; broadcasting in national languages provided by national broadcasters whom Europeans trust more than international broadcasters; broadcasting news from a European point of view; definition of what is a European news to cover.

The Euranet Plus presents a model of a new transnational media on European affairs having a centralized news agency in Brussels.

Similarities in actions of Euronews and Euranet Plus and their timing allow one to assume that there is a mutual enrichment of the two projects. This fact can be explained by factors of concurrence and by the European Commission encouragement of producing more news on European affairs. An analysis of these two initiatives is helpful in the assessment of the European Commission strategy on creating transnational audiovisual media networks on European affairs.

Based on an analysis of the new European Commission rules for a European radio network, and on concerns of the observers it became possible to identify the weak points of a European radio project which can lead to a loss of interest to European news, loss of independence from the European institutions, and to a loss of members.

The next step of the European Commission on the further development of the conception for audiovisual media on European affairs should be built on institutional learning from Euronews and Euranet Plus practice and on the assessment of existing risks. The risks can be managed through the learning of the best practices, interests of citizens, and trainings for journalists of audiovisual media covering European affairs.

Conclusion

In this study, I have examined two transnational audiovisual media on European affairs which are supported by the European Commission. The analysis identified that transnational media Euronews and Euranet Plus have the same functions in the European public sphere as described in the literature and in the EU policy documents. Euronews and Euranet Plus are attempting to reduce Euroscepticism by providing information and opportunities for citizens' debate as well as a coverage of hot topics.

The main hypothesis of the thesis has been supported: Euronews was created as a vehicle of the development of the European public sphere and there was the institutional learning from Euronews practice to Euranet Plus. Similarities of two media and the fact that the Euronews practice was addressed in the EU policy documents indicate that an institutional learning indeed took place through the European Commission, its regulatory documents and tenders' requirements. The mutual enrichment of Euronews and Euranet Plus can be explained by the European Commission encouragement of audio visual broadcasters to produce more news on European affairs. It also shows how the goals of the European Commission aimed at the support of audiovisual media on European affairs were changing: from the development of European digital video services in 1993 to broadcasting news with European agenda since 2005.

The creation of transnational media networks can be attributed to the transnational scope of the EU governance. Transnational media on European affairs also solve the tasks of the European Commission Cohesion policy through establishing stronger ties with the regions.

Because of Euronews and Euranet Plus, European news became available not only for Europeans but also for the international community, especially through the Internet. The transnational media on European affairs are able to distribute European news both within and beyond the European public sphere. The latter is realizing by the Euronews TV channel which broadcasts European news for a global audience.

The case of creating transnational media networks demonstrates that the European public sphere is in its dynamic development.

Most likely the current policy on transnational audiovisual media will be revised by the European Commission around 2018. It is at this time that the second contract with Euranet Plus will be finalized and the elections campaign for the European Parliament Elections 2019 will be launched. By that time the topic of Euroscepticism can move to foreground and become a stimulus for a revision of the concept of audiovisual media on European affairs.

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