Master of Arts Thesis
Euroculture

University of: Uppsala, Sweden   (Home)

University of: Palackeho, Czech Republic (Host)

Submitted in April 2010

Visualization of Europe: visual representation of European community in the discourse of the EU cultural policy

Submitted by:

Yuliya Chayka
E-mail: julia.chayka@gmail.com

Supervised by:

Magnus Rodell (Uppsala University)

Petr Bilik (Palackeho University)

MA Programme Euroculture
Declaration

I, (**Yuliya Chayka**) hereby declare that this thesis, entitled **"Visualization of Europe: visual representation of European community in the discourse of the EU cultural policy"**, submitted as partial requirement for the MA Programme Euroculture, is my own original work and expressed in my own words. Any use made within it of works of other authors in any form (e.g. ideas, figures, texts, tables, etc.) are properly acknowledged in the text as well as in the List of References. I hereby also acknowledge that I was informed about the regulations pertaining to the assessment of the MA thesis Euroculture and about the general completion rules for the Master of Arts Programme Euroculture.

Signed

Date

Table of contents

Introduction

Visual symbols function as a form of identification and thereby integrate or exclude individuals into or from a collective, whether a state, an ethnic or religious group or a social movement. In recent years the visibility of the European Union poses an interesting example of how symbols and images define an important dimension of political integration. Sixteen EU member states have declared that the flag with a circle of twelve golden stars on a blue background, the anthem based on the 'Ode to Joy' from the Ninth Symphony by Ludwig van Beethoven, the motto 'United in diversity', the euro as the currency of the European Union and Europe Day on 9 May express the sense of community of the people in the European Union and their allegiance to it. The role that visual symbols play in the articulation and formation of patterns of consciousness and identity is crucial to understanding how Europe is being constructed as a community. It is mainly through visual images that the meanings and reality of ideas such as state, nation, citizenship and Europe itself can be rendered tangible and comprehensible. Visual symbols do not simply represent political reality, they actively create it. As Mary Foster (1994) argues, symbols are the foundation of culture for without symbolism there could be no culture.

The main question of this paper is to discover the way- how the new European identity is being visualized. The more precise empirical question this paper poses is how the EU represents itself, its politicians and institutions as well as its policies through EUTube channel, launched by the European Commission in 2006 as a video sharing web-site. In examining the "making" of Europe through the visual practices underpinning the EUTube channel, we may open up a space for discussion about the production of cultural narratives that characterize today's Europe as an identity project.

In the context of this research video clips provided through EUTube are considered as short films which implies that the analysis of the project's visual performativity totally corresponds to the question of film and image analysis. Hence certain concepts developed in film studies, such as the effects and the power of cinematic image, will be of a special significance in my argumentation.

The more precise purpose of this thesis is two-fold. The first aim is to explore what role visual forms of communication (film in particular) play in the context of the EU cultural

policy. In order to achieve this, I will try to investigate how the concept "European" is constructed in the discourse contained within official European Union policy documents. Generally, I am interested in analyzing the various structures, in the form of ideas and norms, which define who 'the European' is; with a special attention paid to the myths and symbols in the visual discourse of the process defined by Cris Shore as "Europeanization of Europe".

The second aim is to investigate the implementation of the EU visual strategy on the example of the short films provided through EUTube web-site as my main argument is that cinema is the ideal vehicle chosen by the Commission for communication and reflection on Europe and its future.

Thus my line of reasoning has 4 steps. At the beginning, I sketch the EU initiatives in the domain of culture to find out what role culture plays in the political discourse of the European Commission. For the purpose of my research a special emphasis is made on the communicative strategies as incorporated into cultural policy of the EU. In me second step I approach the audiovisual sector embodied into general cultural agenda of the EU in order to define the place film occupies in the process of the building and promotion of the ideals of European consciousness.

Further, in relation to these aims, this study is concerned with the nature of power of visual representation in the context of the EU identity-building.

To give a more comprehensive insight into the role of film a brief introduction to the theories of cinematic narration is given in the 3rd chapter. This is followed by a discussion on the normative power contained within the art of modern government, i.e. governmentality, a concept which was introduced by French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault. I argue that this theory can help to explain the "truths" about who the Europeans are in the official political discourse and how they are visualized. From a Foucauldian perspective on power, knowledge and visual techniques of government I want to find out how the EU is constituted as an actor through its visibility and how it governs through images.

Finally, in the last chapter of this thesis I investigate the visual performativity of EUTube video sharing web-site. In this research the videos of EUTube are considered as official audiovisual "texts" that are produced and distributed by the European Commission. The aim here is to find out what is the Commission's general strategy of representing the idea of European identity and integration.

Content analysis is used as an empirical research tool to define main thematic areas and main visual symbols of EUTube clips. Whereas the elements of semiotics and cultural

analysis, allow me to reach a broader theoretical level in the discussion concerning the meaning of the images in the context of the EU political discourse.

Finally I would like to note that a critical approach of this research developed under the influence of two brilliant authors, namely Cris Shore and Michele Foucault. Shore's profound analysis of the EU cultural policy contributed much to my way of argumentation, while the ideas of Michele Foucault regarding the essence and practices of modern governmentality greatly influenced my understanding of political discourse.

1. Cultural construction of the European Union

Although it can be argued that the idea of Europe and the identification with the European continent had existed for centuries, the concept of "a common European culture" started to be explored only after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 – blurring the distinction between the notion of a cultural identity within the broader European context and that of the European Union (EU). By some of the authors it is argued that despite frequent references to the issues of common European identity, in fact little attention was paid to the cultural dimension of European integration. The idiosyncratic behavior of real people was largely ignored by the architects of European integration and appeared to have little connection with the integration process. Building Europe was perceived primarily in terms of dismantling barriers to the free movement of capitals, goods and labor, and it was a task for economists and lawyers (Shore, 2000).

Nevertheless, first significant step towards defining a cultural unification for the European Commission traced back to 1973 when the leaders of the nine EC member states signed the Copenhagen Declaration on European Identity. This document proclaimed that member states shared "the same attitudes to life, respect for human rights, are determined to defend the principles of representative democracy". A much-disputed formulation of European identity and European culture began to take shape in the text of the Declaration, which was an attempt to define the identity of the community. The "unity in diversity" motto that has, since then, been the foundation of European culture, was clearly stated at this early stage, and is best illustrated by the following sentence:

> The diversity of cultures within the framework of a common European civilization, (but, at the same time) the attachment to common values and principles, the increasing convergence of attitudes to life, the awareness of having specific interests in common and the determination to take part in the construction of a United Europe, all give the European identity its originality and its own dynamism.
>
> (As cited in Craig, & De Burca, 2007)

According to Pavel Karolewski (2006), the Copenhagen Declaration on European Identity articulated a crudely functionalist view of identity-building, which was seen not as a pre-requisite for, but rather as a by-product of, economic integration. In the final analysis, however, it was the very absence of such a by-product that prompted the EC to take an interest in the subject and indeed to propose various "identity policies" (Karolewski, 2006). In the subsequent decades, the discussion about European identity assumed a great importance on the political level, becoming an increasingly pertinent debate as the EU welcomes new members and works on a Constitution that was facing serious criticism. Beyond institutional or political aspects of identity, defined by concepts such as territory, citizenship and borders, there was a focus on cultural aspects of the idea of Europe. Because, as Karolewski (2006) puts it, "identity becomes a problem when there is no common culture", this re-focus obviously stems from the wish for greater integration, as well as simultaneous concerns over its effectiveness" (p. 35).

The subsequent Report on European Union in 1975 recommended a specific policy for forging a "People's of Europe" through "concrete manifestation of European solidarity in everyday life" (as cited in Shore, 2000, p. 120). This was followed in 1983 by the Declaration on European Union signed in Stuttgart, which invited to "promote European awareness and to undertake joint actions in various cultural spheres" (notably, information, education, audio-visual policy and the arts). The emphasis on consciousness-raising as a strategy for bringing Europe closer to its people and creating "Europeans" thus signaled a new departure in EU approaches to culture, which can be summarized by the words quoted from Television Without Frontiers Directive:

> Information is a decisive, perhaps the most decisive, factor in European unification. It will be achieved only if Europeans want it. Europeans will only want it if there is such a thing as European identity. A European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed.
>
> (EC, 1989)

Information and the idea of pan-European dissemination of information were thus singled out as two key agents of European consciousness.

In 1984 the European Council established an ad hoc Committee for a People's Europe (also known, from the name of its chairman, as the Adonnino Committee) whose task was to suggest measures to strengthen and promote the Community identity and its image. As De Witte (1987) argues, the centering of European policies around the topic of culture became particularly relevant after the publication of the Committee's report. In this report submitted to the Council, the Committee listed 13 pages of proposals for bringing about a "People's Europe". The report stressed that "it was through areas of culture and communication that the community's image in the minds of its people, that support for the advancement of Europe can and must be sought" and concluded that "action is needed in the cultural sector to make the people more aware of their European identity in anticipation of creation of a European cultural area" (As cited in de Witte, 1987, p. 138). Thus stimulation of public interest in Europe was recognized as a necessary step to elicit the "direct involvement of the people in their own destiny".

Several areas perceived to possess power for promoting the European idea. These included proposals for a Europe-wide audio-visual area ("in order to bring peoples of Europe closer together"), a European Academy of Science, Technology and Art (to "highlight the achievements of European science"), for stronger "European dimension" in education. However, the Committee went further and argued that to transform the European Community into a "people's Europe" also required a new set of symbols for communicating the principles and values of the Community. In the words of the Commissions: "(…) symbols play a key role in consciousness-raising but there is also a need to make Europeans aware of the different elements that go to make European identity" (De Witte, 1987).

The Committee recommended various "symbolic measures" for enhancing the Community's profile. Among these was the creation of a new EC emblem and flag, which was hoisted for the 1st time at a formal ceremony on 29 May 1986. The rationale for this emblem, as the Council of Europe described it, was that:

> Twelve was a symbol of perfection and plenitude, associated equally with the apostles, the sons of Jacob, the tables of Roman legislator, the labours of Hercules, the hours of the day, the month of the year, or the signs of the Zodiac. Lastly, the circular layout denoted union.

(As cited in Bellier, 2000)

Among the other symbolic vehicles for communicating the European idea, the Committee also proposed the creation of the harmonized European passport, driving license, car-number plates and a European anthem, taken from the fourth movement of Beethoven's Ninth symphony – The Ode to Joy. Other cultural initiatives to boost the EC image included public awareness campaigns, EC-sponsored sport competitions and awards, the formation of an "EC Youth Orchestra" and "Opera Center".

Two reasons for the emphasis on culture in the political acts of the 1980s are typically cited. First, because culture became a major area of commercial activity, and therefore fell increasingly within the Community's sphere of legal competence over economic and industrial policies (Collins). Secondly, and more significantly, because it was a time when the notion of culture itself was introduced as a key dimension of European integration (Shore, Sarikakis, Bellier). As the European Parliament report stated, "the cultural dimension is becoming an increasingly crucial means of giving effect to policies seeking to foster a union of the European peoples, founded on the consciousness of sharing a common heritage of ideas and values" (As cited in Bellier, 2000, p. 38).

The adoption of The Maastricht Treaty (1992) is considered to be the most important step in the discourse of the EU cultural policy. The text of the document introduced a new culture article (Article 128 now 151 in the amended Treaty of Amsterdam) into the treaties, thereby providing a specific legal basis for Community intervention into the cultural field. Title IX, Article 128 sets out the Community's objectives towards the cultural field:

> The community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore(…)The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its actions under the provisions of this Treaty.
>
> (EC, 1992)

Katharine Sarikakis (2007) argues that the Maastricht Treaty is the first official evidence that culture is seen by the Commission to lie at the basis of the formation of European identity (p. 160). It transpires that according to this discourse, if the corpus of European

culture is sufficiently promoted and protected, a European consciousness will eventually emerge.

A year later, in 1993, the group, called the "Committee of Wise Men" was composed by the Commission to explore and improve the EU image. The report of the committee stated that Europeans are not sufficiently aware of their common cultural values and shared European heritage and there is a little feeling of belonging to Europe and to improve this Europe should be treated as a "*brand product*" and promoted under the slogan "Together for Europe to the Benefits of Us All". It argued that governments should concentrate on presenting the Union as a "good product" with an emphasis on beneficial effects "for me". The Commission should be "positioned as a guarantor of well-being. It must be presented with a human face: sympathetic, warm and caring" (as cited in Shore, 2000, p. 55).

This short overview of the EU initiatives in the sphere of culture clearly demonstrates that long before the Maastricht Treaty (1992) the EU had embarked upon various initiatives in the fields of culture, media and information policy to promote integration in the sphere of culture by enhancing what it saw as the European identity. Some of the authors (e.g. Monica Sassatelli) argue that in the discourse of the EU politics culture is seen as a rather static and bounded whole that lies at the basis of the formation of identity, without, however, being exclusively connected to a particular community, as a more classical 'anthropological' concept of culture would suggest. Therefore, the assumption is that if the corpus of European culture is sufficiently promoted and protected, a European consciousness will naturally emerge (Sassatelli, 2002). The focus is made on the promotion (branding) of the image the united Europe with a particular emphasis on a creation of a new symbolic platform. In the words of the Commission: "The success of various symbolical initiatives has demonstrated that Europe's cultural dimension is there in the collective consciousness of its people. The European Union which is being constructed cannot have economic and social objectives as its only aim. It also involves new kinds of solidarity based on belonging to European culture" (as cited in Sarikakis, 2007).

As Collins notes, the frequently cited statement by Jean Monnet: "If I were to begin again, I would start with culture" (as cited in Collins, 2002, p. 81), seems to have provoked a turn in the interests of policymakers officially empowered in cultural issues. Curiously, although found in many texts, there is no original source for this quotation, which is not present in the Memoirs of Monnet. Indeed, according to Isabel Capeloa Gil, this sentence was misquoted

from a speech by Hélène Ahrweiler. Ahrweiler herself explained the error in an article in Le Monde, in June 1998, as is also referred to by Gil: "I would like, nevertheless, to make something clear about the erroneous attribution of this formula to one of the fathers of Europe, since I am responsible for its diffusion. In fact, when at the official meeting more than ten years ago, I was the principal of the Paris Academy, and in my opening speech, I quoted that sentence, attributing it to Jean Monnet, in the conditional form – "Jean Monnet could have said". This essential nuance was disregarded from the redactor of the minutes of this meeting, and the quotation has had the destiny we know of today" (as cited in Collins, 2002).

In the words of Sassatelli, this sentence has been widely quoted since it is "clearly filling a gap in legitimacy for the emerging European cultural policy and providing a revisionist narrative after the not so total success of monetary union in making Europe a new socio-political unity" (Sassatelli, 2002, p 442). The fact that the mistake was only made in 1998 denotes a change in the conception of European identity and culture. Monnet "could have said so" two decades ago, but it seems less plausible today. The sentence was useful in setting in motion programmes in support of European culture.

In 1987 Edward Wellenstein, a member of the Committee for the Citizen's Europe said: "In the 21st century, I think, there can only be a European future if there also turn out to be a Europe from cultural perspective. In this church building I may permit myself to quote from the Bible: "Man cannot live by bread alone". Europe, likewise, cannot live by common market alone, however perfect it may be" (Wellenstein, 1987, p. 28). This prediction proved correct. Indeed, what we see now is a clear re-focusing of the EU's interest in culture issues and the growing number of the EU initiatives in the domain of culture. In 2004, a broader political debate on European culture arose in connection to the writing of the Constitutional Text. The Constitutional Treaty lists some of the values already mentioned in the Declaration of 1973. These are identified by Karolewski (2006) as: respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, human rights, pluralism, and non-discrimination. Furthermore, the Constitutional text adds to these values the symbols of the Union, now officially listed as: the flag with the 12 stars, the anthem based on the Ode to Joy by Beethoven, the Euro, Europe Day on the 9th May. Although abandoned, the Constitutional Treaty is an important reference for the understanding of how culture is being defined by the European institutions. In fact, despite not having been ratified until 2009, the Lisbon Treaty signed in 2007 re-states the values mentioned above, as it defends the creation of a Europe of rights and values. A month after the signing of the Constitutional text, Emanuel Barroso, the current President of the

European Commission, was invited to give a speech for the opening of a new initiative called "A Soul for Europe". Referring to the enlargement process of the EU he affirmed that the role of culture in the construction of Europe had acquired "a new sense of urgency" (As cited in Karoweski, 2006, p. 56). He also suggested that some "soul-searching" was necessary in order to find a "common ground" for the development of a cultural Europe.

Despite the references to European values in the Constitutional Text of 2004 and the Lisbon Treaty of 2007, recent EU official documents present identity as a fluid and shifting concept. As Barroso claimed in a conference in 2004, "one recognizes identity, one does not define it. Europe can be recognized, but it is hardly defined" (as cited in Karolewski, 2006, p. 21). This double positioning of the EU on cultural matters underpins the political investment in the idea of a European identity: although there is no definition for this concept, there is a strong political will to promote it. The interest in defining European identity and the budgets of programmes in the cultural domain have been considerably increasing in the last decades.

2. Mediating Europe: audiovisual policy of the EU

As it was stated in the previous chapter culture issues occupy an important place in the political discourse of the European Union. The argument in this chapter is the following: the cultural strategy of the Commission has strong communicative and audiovisual dimension, which is being actively developed for several reason, including economical. In the context of my research on the EU's visual self-representation, the most important assumption is that the audio-visual sector is used not only to disseminate information about the Union, but to create the image of the Union in the minds of its citizens.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 set out the Commissions' cultural policy (Article 128), stipulating that cultural action should contribute to the flowering of national and regional cultural identities, whilst at the same time reinforcing the feeling that Europeans share a common cultural heritage and common values. Indeed, as we will see EC regards the media as a crucial tool in this realization of a European identity. Already in the 1984 Green Paper "Television Without Frontiers" it was projected that audiovisual sector would play both en economic role (by opening up the advertisement market and creating jobs) and a cultural one (by fostering a European identity). The Green Paper argues that:" European unification will only be achieved if Europeans want it. Europeans will only want it if there is such a thing as European Identity. A European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed. At present, information via the mass media is controlled at national level" (As cited in Wintle, 1996, p. 181). In its essence the "Television Without Frontiers" is more than a single political act, but a long-term intergovernmental initiative involving some 30 European countries (including Central and Eastern Europe) aimed at creation of a pan-European audio-visual area.

In 1988 the European Cinema and Television Year brought the range of audiovisual problems to the attention of political leaders, professionals and the public in the 12 Member States, and encouraged the European Commission in its efforts. In 1989 the following developments took place: an audiovisual conference was held jointly by the French Government and the Commission which enabled professionals to contribute to the market analysis and to the definition of a European cinema and television policy. As a result, in 1990

a programme "Audiovisual Eureka" was launched. "Eureka" was established as a pan-European intergovernmental organization that has 35 member-countries, as well as the European Commission and the Council of Europe, with a main mission to contribute to the development of a vast European area for co-operation and exchanges in the audiovisual sector.

In the following year the European Commission, following a proposal of the European Parliament, launched an experimental phase of the Media Programme, aimed at promotion, funding and support of the European films and film festivals, which was officially inaugurated in 1991 and is now in its fourth phase. Over the past 16 years Media has supported the development and distribution of thousands of films as well as training activities, festivals and promotion projects throughout the continent. From 2001-2006, more than half a billion EUR were injected into projects from over 30 countries. The new Media programme will run from 2007 to 2013 with a clear priority in distribution and promotion of European audio-visual products outside their originating country, across Europe and worldwide (almost 65% of the total budget) (EC, 2007).

Obviously, EU policy recognizes that culture is at the heart of the European project, and has identified the audiovisual and communications industries as key instruments in creating a sense of European cultural identity. The creation of a pan-European market in the audiovisual sector is largely motivated by the Commission's ambition to promote a 'European audiovisual space'. In fact, through initiatives such as the Media programme and Eureka programme, and by means of legislative and regulatory liberalization and harmonization, the Commission has clearly sought to lay the foundations of what Collins dubbed "a post-national audiovisual territory" (Collins, 2002). On the basis of a "Europe Without Frontiers", European media interests are intended to become global players alongside their American and Japanese counterparts.

On the other hand, the European audiovisual agenda had a significant cultural dimension through improving mutual knowledge among European peoples and increasing their awareness of what they share in common. As Katharina Sarikakis argues, the Commission has hitherto encouraged programme-makers to appeal to a broad European audience in order to help develop a sense of cultural belonging to the EU (Sarikakis, 2007, p. 160). In February 2003 the European Commission launched a web portal Your Voice in Europe[1], to make it

---

[1] http://europe.eu.int/yourvoice

easier for European citizens to make their voice heard in EU policy making. Internal Market Commissioner F. Bolkstein commented on the launch of the programme with the words: "We need to listen closely to the business and citizens who are affected by our policies. By keeping our ear to the ground, we help ensure that our new policy initiatives have a solid basis". The portal was a continuation of an EU- initiative started in October 2001 as a part of Commissions Interactive Policy Making Initiative, and in the press-release announcing this earlier version of the site the Commission boasts of 3 million users. This European media initiative is one of many examples of the role of media in shaping of a new Europe.

In the following years the EUTube channel[2], Audio-Visual Library[3] and Europe By Satellite[4] were launched as the guarantors of the audiovisual presence of the Union.

The simultaneous launching of these interactive measures testified to the will to implement an overall, consistent and long-term policy. Collins (2002) believes that in this very particular area embracing both industry and culture Community action is designed to achieve three inseparable and interdependent objectives: to establish a proper statutory framework for the free movement of audiovisual material throughout the Community; to adopt a common approach to meet the challenge of new technologies; to strengthen the programme making industry so that it can respond to growing demand in a competitive market where European culture must maintain its presence. As noted in the conclusions of the Lisbon European Council of 2000, the audio-visual industry creates added value by exploiting and networking European cultural diversity. Because of its strength as a vector for communication, and its specific characteristic, having both economic and cultural features, audiovisual is a powerful tool for international relations and an essential component of actions to foster and improve international cultural cooperation and promote European culture. As such it is set to play a key role for the strategic objectives of the European Agenda for Culture as set out in the Commission Communication of 2007. In particular, its contribution is highly relevant for the third strategic objective of the Agenda related to promoting culture as a vital element in the EU's international relation (as cited in Sarikakis, 2002). Because of the two dimensional nature (economic/cultural) of the audiovisual sector, and the inherent characteristics of audiovisual products, cooperation with third countries in

---

[2] http://www.youtube.com/eutube
[3] http://www.europarltv.europa.eu/videolibrary.aspx
[4] http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/index_en.cfm

the audiovisual field constitutes one of the most powerful tools to fulfill the objectives of the European Agenda for Culture. In the words of the Commission:

> In practice it is impossible to dissociate the economic impact of these activities from the effects obtained on furthering intercultural dialogue, promoting cultural diversity or the improvement on mutual knowledge between the peoples, as indeed all these factors are touched by audiovisual type of cultural cooperation activity.

(EC, 2009, p.3)

In the purposes of my research a special attention should be paid to those audiovisual initiatives aimed at the support of the European cinema production. At the outset, the policies for the support of European cinema had a clear economic nature, partly because the European Union, at that time European Community, did not have any power on cultural matters. Hence, in 1985, Jacques Delors, the president of the Commission at that moment, highlighted the economic aspects of the film industry (such as the creation of jobs), in an attempt to, according to Collins (2002), bring "the cultural industries within the Commission's realm of authority". However, we can find evidence of a cultural conception of film already in 1988, in the conclusions of a European Council meeting in Rhodes, which stated that the policies in the film area "contribute to a substantial strengthening of a European cultural identity" (As cited in Sarikakis, 2007, p. 85). The above mentioned Media programme, designed specifically for the support of the European film area, was established in the same year. The positive outcome of the experimental Media phase led the Council of Ministers to go further and in December 1990 it adopted a five-year programme (1991-95) with an appropriation of EUR 200 million. Since European culture has no frontiers the Media programme is not limited to the member-countries and may be extended to most Central and East European countries. The significance of the programme is clearly illustrated by a European Commission report on MEDIA, from 1990, which states: "In addition to its potential for economic growth, the film sector is important because of its socio-cultural dimension: as a vehicle for the wealth and diversity of European cultures, its development gives expression to the very essence of the Community. It helps to shape public opinion and to establish references for both behavior and consumption". In Wendy Everett's (2005) opinion, while the programme's responsibilities and levels of success have fluctuated, it has undoubtedly helped to establish a climate of closer co-operation between different European countries, and has gone some way to improving traditionally weak areas such as film training and distribution. Indeed, according to the programme's factsheet, thanks to the Media initiatives the number of

European films distributed outside their countries of origin has steadily increased, and financial support has been given to a range of both new and established directors including Terence Davies, Fridrik Thór Fridriksson, Damien Old, Istvan Szabo, and Lars Von Trier. It is also argued that Euroimages, the Council of Europe's fund for co-production (set up in the same 1988), which is a structural part of the Media programme, has been almost unique in prioritizing film as expression of cultural identity. Between 1989 and the early 1990s Euroimages supported a large number of films whose cultural importance has been widely recognized, including , for example, "Journey of Hope" (Xavier Koller, 1990, Switzerland/ UK), "Toto the Hero" (Jaco van Dormael, 1991, France/ Belgium/ Germany), and "Three Colors: Blue"(Krzysztof Kieslowski, 1993, France/ Poland/ Switzerland)(EC, 2007c).

The frequent discussions around cultural and economical aspects of the EU's cinema policies, as well as the recurrent comparison with American cinema, have been under scrutiny for almost two decades. The latter can be explained by the fact that the audio-visual policy of the Commission was designed to sustain and develop a European identity, in the face of the onslaught from communication empires – in particular American. Thus in its ontological content European cinema is meant to resist the visual and symbolic expansion of the Hollywood industry. For some, European cinema should be closer to Hollywood in economic terms, but still clearly distinguished in cultural terms. As Wendy Everett (2005) has written American cinema has been characterized by its economic and market-orientated nature, in opposition with the European conception of film, at least at the art cinema end of the market, which has a strong nation-building pivot: "For the United States, audiovisual trade is just a business whereas for Europeans it is both a business and (when convenient) a cultural matter" (p. 45). This duality was identified by the European Commission already in 1988, which, in a booklet entitled "The audiovisual media in the single European market", stated that the policies developed "are designed either to make the audio-visual industry more competitive or to give a specifically European character to the sector's cultural dimension" (As cited in Sarikakis, 2002, p. 23).

Indeed, as Peter Burke has written Europe is not so much a place as an idea. The unity of Europe is a mental construct, and its identity a collective social fabrication over time. If there is no such thing as Europe, then the only reality is perhaps the idea of Europe, which certainly is real in the sense that it has exercised writers, politicians and perhaps large numbers of ordinary people. "And all these ideas of Europe - cultural, political, economic, geographical - can and often do have images, either set down in concreto by a draughtsman,

cartographer or artist, in the mind's eye of writers and politicians". Many argue that audio-visual media plays an important role in the construction and dissemination of these images. The cinema by its mode of operation provides its audience with symbolic messages, summarizing and condensing information rather than explaining. Though , as Michal Wintle (1996) argues, the obstacles of using audio-visual sector to create European identity are that there are few EU symbols to choose from which are relevant to all people; that whatever symbol is chosen, the audience may interpret it differently from what the producers intended; and that the mechanisms for producing a unified media output either don't exist or are not used (as in the case of broadcasting, where national self-interests win over promotion of European image) (p 192). Added to the problem of choosing appropriate and relevant symbols is the lack of guarantee that the audience will interpret any European message in the manner intended by the producers. It may be interpreted by the audiences in ethnic and national terms, as is the case with a great number of cultural products.

Nevertheless, there are no doubts that in the audio-visual discourse of the European identity-building process, film is given one of the central places as cinematic images attract us because they can simultaneously be a window on the world and a mirror of our own lifestyles and concerns. They can be a powerful instrument of integration and dialogue within a wider Europe and for the spread of our culture outside the continent.

In his critical research on the cultural dimension of the EU policy Cris Shore (2000) introduced a concept of the "agents of European consciousness". By this term he doesn't mean simply those institutions and actors at the center stage of the EU affairs. He refers to "those forces and objects through which knowledge of the European Union is embodied and communicated as a socio-cultural phenomenon: in other words, all those actors, actions, artefacts, bodies, representations which, singularly or collectively, promote the idea of Europe" (Shore, 2000, p 26-28). Shore argues that all of these elements contribute in one way or another to the way people perceive and experience Europe in relation to themselves; all contribute to creating the conceptual symbolic foundations that make it possible to imagine the new Europe as a political entity and community, and to conceive oneself as a part of this community. As it was assumed cinema lies at the heart of the European cultural model; and the role that is given to the film in the cultural discourse of the EU allowed us to conclude that film industry may be theorized as one of the most effective "agents of European consciousness". The significance of the film production is based on the need to create a comprehensible and attractive image for the European identity.

The words of Marcelino Oreja, the member of the European Commission responsible for culture and audiovisual media, prove our assumption fully:

> Cinema and audiovisual images are no ordinary product. They convey values and life-styles, patterns of behavior and ethical questions, cultural models and an artistic heritage. They leave an impression on the minds and imaginations of those who see them. As the construction of Europe continues apace these images that represent unity and diversity are principle vehicles in the establishment of the European style.
>
> (Le Magazin, 2002)

The EU and its initiatives for the promotion of the audiovisual industries have indeed created a European cinematic space that allows films to travel within its territory and thus guarantees a stronger and more effective (also controllable) visual presence of the EU. In line with Wim Wenders' claim that "there has been no better expression of European identity in this century than European cinema" (As cited in Everett, 2005, p. 51), film, for the EU, clearly plays the essential role in the construction and promotion of a European identity.

To summarize the conclusions of the chapter I would like to quote the words said by Odile Quintin the Commission's Director-General for Culture at the opening ceremony of the Lux Prize for European Cinema[5], introduced in 2007 as a prize given to a competing film by the European Parliament:

> Cinema is a medium that is accessible to a very large number of people of all ages. Marrying sound and image, it has always been a medium that appeals to the individual at an emotional rather than a cognitive level. At a time when text as a medium is at a crossroads, cinema is the ideal vehicle for communication – or reflection – on Europe and its future.

---

[5] http://www.lux-prize.eu

3. Visual (cinematic) image and the question of power

While all forms of cultural production have a role to play in the reconstruction of identity in Europe, the production of audiovisual fictions can occupy a particularly significant position in this process. The creation of images is a complex process of making visible, of forcing an audience to look, to question and to reassess reality of the world around them. Consequently, on the one hand, the medium of cinema provides unique means by which the cultural heterogeneity and diversity characterizing united Europe can be rendered visible. On the other hand, cinematic image may be used to create a visible form of something that doesn't exist yet that is for the European identity, which is legitimized by the official texts of the EU political institutions but, according to the conclusions of numerous academic works has no empirical weight (Shore, Witte, Karolewski, Collins and others).

On the opening ceremony of the European Parliament Film Prize[6] it was said that: "Cinema lies at the heart of the European cultural model. Cinema is also a medium that is accessible to a very large number of people of all ages. Marrying sound and image, it has always been a medium that appeals to the individual at an emotional rather than a cognitive level. At a time when text as a medium is at a crossroads, cinema is the ideal vehicle for communication – or reflection – on Europe and its future". The question that suggests itself is why cinema has such significance in the cultural discourse of the EU? As the EU avoids concrete definitions of European identity, why is it that cinema and the audiovisual industries are supposed to fulfill this role? What is so powerful in the cinematic representation that the Commission lays such big expectations on it?

My main argument here is that cinema as a tool of visual self-representation of the European Community, not only interrogates European identity but helps to build it, thus it may be considered as a key nation-building vehicle.

Beliefs about the origins and evolution of nations often crystallize in the form of stories. The cinema as the world's storyteller par excellence is ideally suited to relay the projected narratives of nations and empires. As Ella Shohat assumes, national self-consciousness, generally seen as a precondition for nationhood, became broadly linked to cinematic fictions.

---

[6] http://www.lux-prize.eu/prize/index_en.htm

Just as nationalist literary fictions inscribe on to multitude events the notion of a linear, comprehensible destiny, so films arrange events and actions in a temporal narrative that moves toward fulfillment, and thus shape thinking about historical time and national history (Shonat, 2000, p 102). Thus narrative models in film are not simply reflective microcosms of historical processes, they are also templates through which history can be written and national identity figured.

Prior to the cinema, the novel and the newspaper fostered imagined communities through their integrative relations to time and space. Like novels, films can convey what Mikhail Bakhtin calls "chronotopes", materializing time in space, mediating between the historical and the discursive, providing fictional environments where historically specific constellations of power are made visible. In both film and novel time takes on flash, while space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot and history. There is nothing sinister in this process, except to the extent that it is deployed asymmetrically, to the advantage of some national imaginaries and to the detriment of others.

We may conclude that cinema partly inherited the functions of a written text, but it also transformed it. Whereas written text plays itself within a virtual lexical space, the cinematic chronotope is literal, splayed out across the screen and unfold in the literal time of 24-frames per second. In this sense the cinema can more efficiently mobilize desire in ways responsive to the notions of images. Wintle (1996) argues that the cinema's institutional ritual of gathering a community – spectators who share region, language – homologizes the symbolic gathering of a nation. We may say that movie audience is a provisional "nation" forged by spectatorship. While in most of the cases written text is consumed in solitude, the film is enjoyed in a gregarious space, where the ephemeral community of spectatorship can take on imperial thrust. Moreover, unlike the novel, the cinema is not premised on literacy. As a popular entertainment it is more accessible than a written text.

The power of the cinematic image also lays in the fact that cinema cannot just be reduced to a simple reflection of some external concrete "reality". As Wayne has written, it can also interrogate the more subjective and inaccessible realms of identity, such as questions of desire (and the negative and destructive consequences of repressed desire) and fantasy (Wayne, 2002). While a written text could play with words and narrative to breathe life into imagined objects, the cinema entailed a new and powerful apparatus of gaze. The cinematic apparatus, that is to say the cinematic machine as including not only the instrumental base of

camera, projector and screen, but also a spectator as a desiring subject. For Christian Metz, "the cinematic apparatus fosters narcissism, as the spectator identifies with him/herself as a kind of transcendental subject. Prosthetically extending human perception, the apparatus grants the spectator the illusory ubiquity of the all-perceiving subject enjoying infinite visual power" (As cited in Shohat, 2000, p. 103).

Thus, on the one hand, there is the prime aim of cinema to attract and hold an audience, and to give that audience pleasure for the duration of the film. On the other hand, there is the undoubted ability of cinema to carry and to communicate to large numbers of people a set of values and priorities, a certain way of imagining society. Such concepts of cultural relations, which underlie a social system and thus help to sustain it, may be referred to as a field of ideology. Stuart Hall (1997) has written that practically any visual image intends to encode its products in the interests of dominant hegemonic forces, such as governments: "The professional code can only operate within the ''hegemony'' of the dominant cultural code" (p. 136). Indeed, even if audio-visual institutions do not intend to collude with the forces of hegemony that operate in their countries or regions, they are likely to do so unwittingly because hegemony is a function of existing social structures and practices, not an intention of individuals. Moreover, Hall would argue that visuals are ideological in the sense that they present "a way of seeing and understanding the world which favors some interests over others" (ibid).

The ability of cinema to disseminate ideological codes makes it possible to consider it as a tool of propaganda. In this context we are talking about a film, either a documentary-style production or a fictional screenplay, which is produced to convince the viewer of a certain political point or influence the opinions or behavior of people, often by providing deliberately misleading, propagandistic content. Vladimir Lenin considered the cinema as the most important of all the arts, and in 1919 the new Soviet government sent film-trains around the country to inculcate the virtues of public hygiene and Communist society. If some films were straightforwardly educational, the majority took care to attract and hold their audience using the cinema's power to thrill, make cry or laugh. In Hitler's Germany Goebbels (Patron of the German Films, as he appointed himself), equally aware of the penetrative power of cinema, sponsored many films which incorporated Nazi values in eye-catching historical epics and dramas. Generally, in most of the totalitarian states of the 20th century cinema production served to the promotion of the hegemonic political doctrines.

In his article devoted to the history of European cinema, Diana Holmes dares to ask if cinema could ever escape the condition of propaganda for something. Her argument is that to the extent that a film incorporates some sort of value system, it would tend to assume in an audience to whom it gave pleasure a similar set of priorities. The values system will tend to be shared among a large number of films from the similar sources, the cinema draws large numbers of people who must react in some way or another to the values which the films assume them to have. Therefore het answer is that even most apolitical films can and are likely to be imbued with ideological propaganda (Holmes, Smith, 2000, p.10).

Though I will not apply the term "ideology" or "propaganda" to the visual discourse of the European Consciousness, still I assume that in contemporary society the power of the image is such that the audiovisual media play a fundamental role in the actual construction of realities. It is through images that most of us learn to understand and comprehend the world. Furthermore, we are talking about the realm of the imaginary where not only are old identities interrogated, deconstructed and in some cases discarded, but new identities, new images and new social possibilities are being created and played out. Thus I would like to continue investigation of the cinematic image in relation to the question of power and governmentality.

3.1   Discourse of power, knowledge and visual in the philosophy of Michele Foucault.

The findings of the previous chapters regarding the role cinema production plays in the cultural dimension of the EU political discourse allow us to conclude that cinematic image is considered by the Commission as powerful meaning-makers. Thus (in the framework of this paper) it is possible to theorize audio-visual texts (especially visual) as one of the key "agents of European consciousness", in the words of Cris Shore.

I argue that the principles of the EU visual communication with the world and the forms of its visual self-representation may be viewed in the light of the theory of a "disciplinary society", introduced by a prominent French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault.

Concerned with the increased governmental control of individual lives Foucault argued that there is neither knowledge without power, nor power without knowledge (Foucault, 1995). Consequently, what is considered as truth cannot be separated from power. Systems of knowledge and their institutions are saturated with power relations, and power produces knowledge in order to control, command, discipline and rule. Thus a proper knowledge, or the knowledge of the proper things, enables disciplinary institutions to impose precise norms ("normalization") upon a person. In his works Foucault contemplated mainly about the disciplinary essence of schools, hospitals and prisons, but the concept of a "disciplinary space" may be applied to all the institutions exercising power, including the agencies of the EU in our case. In this context the lines from the Television Without Frontiers Directive saying that "a European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed" (see chapter 2), take on a special significance. These words may be considered as a clear manifestation of the EU official intention to construct a society of *proper* informed citizens.

Dominating or hegemonic discourse of knowledge constitutes what Foucault would call a "regime of truth" (Foucault, 1980) which decides whether statements are "true" or "false", as well as whether they have a meaning at all or can be dismissed as nonsense. Within the "regime of truth" it is decides which actions and identities which are possible and which subjects are authorized to speak and act. It means that individuals are supposed to internalize the norms laid down by the power institutions and to monitor themselves in an effort to conform to these norms. Thus, they are controlled not only as objects of discipline practices but also as self-scrutinizing and self-forming subjects:

> Our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance; under the surface of images, one invests bodies in depth; behind the great abstraction of exchange, there continues the meticulous, concrete training of useful forces; the circuits of communication are the supports of an accumulation and a centralization of knowledge; the play of signs defines the anchorages of power; it is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social

order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it, according to a whole technique of forces and bodies.

(Foucault, 1995, p. 211)

Therefore, not only is there control exercised via others' knowledge of individuals, but there is also control via individuals' knowledge of themselves. This refers us to the concept "Europeanization", introduced by Shore (2000). He argues that the process of creation of European consciousness, or "Europeanization", should include legitimization of such notions like "European citizen", "good European", "European problem", "common European values", "European culture" and "Europeanness" itself. These issues strike at the heart of the question of European identity. He continues by saying that constructing Europe requires the creation of "Europeans", not simply as an objectified category of EU passport-holders and citizens, but, more fundamentally, as a category of subjectivity (a "self-constructed individual" in the terms of Foucault). As he argues, in a broad cultural perspective "Europeanization works as a strategy of self-representation and a device of power." That would appear to be the purpose: to reconfigure not only the political map of Europe but the terms and processes by which people in Europe perceive themselves and construct their identities.

Coming closer to the visual forms of representation, it now can be said that, although Foucault focused mainly on discursive practices, his argument works very well for visuals. As a special genre of knowledge, visuals make the world knowledgeable in order to control it. Foucault's focus on practices of governance enables us to reconsider visuals as a disciplining technique. The use of images to legitimize politics poses a technology of power that acts on the minds of a person and visual representation may be understood as the heart of the question of knowledge. Images reproduce a system of knowledge not by inscribing what is true or false but through the difference of being visualized/ non visualized. What we can see must be true, thus what is considered to be "not true" is marginalized and taken out one's field of vision. Whose culture shall be official and whose shall be subordinated? Whose history shall be remembered and whose forgotten? What images of social life shall be projected and which shall be marginalized? Who is representing whom and on what basis? In the context of a Foucault "disciplinary society" this is the realm of visual practices.

Understanding the power of visuals as a disciplining technique stresses the powerful dimension of images and visual symbols: "Power has its principle not so much in a person as in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, images and symbols; in an

arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up" (Foucault 1995, p 200).

In this context we may conclude that visual discourse of Europeanness is one of the main instruments used by the Commission to construct the individual of the EU, a proper European citizen. If we assume that cultural life of a European citizen is structured by powerful agents of the EU system, then we may argue that the way in which the image of Europe is perceive is shaped to a great extent. And if we take into consideration that, as Shore demonstrated in his research (Shore, 2000), then there is no doubts that the official portrait of Europe will display nothing but peace and prosperity. Perhaps, the strongest visual illustration of the EU self-representation strategy is the Commission's award winning 1995 film "The Passion to Be Free". As the film narrator declares: "For all the diversity and conflicts in our history we share today, as Europeans, these freedoms and there is an intellectual and cultural unity in Europe that has evolved from this past". To complete this heroic image of itself, the EU has produced a series of films and videos for distributions on schools, colleges and local authorities. These include "Jean Monnet, Father of Europe", "A European Journey" (patriotic history of the various stages, achievements and future of European integration), "The Tree of Europe" and "After Twenty Centuries", which surveys 2000 years of European history and feature Europeans shared experiences at political, intellectual and cultural levels.

As Foucault wrote, compared to older forms of disciplining power, modern government largely depends on a softer form of power where the individual is convinced that a specific behavior is in her/his own best interest. European cinema also exists at a policy level and as a power category it has important roles to play in the EU's promotion of itself to its citizens in order that its ambitions for European economic and social integration be realized. The EU's audiovisual policies are synthesized in the Media programme which currently supports development, distribution and promotion of 'European audiovisual works' under Media Plus (2001-2006). Media Plus aims to dedicate almost 60% of its funds to distribution, which includes the objective to 'stimulate transnational distribution and exhibition of European films", which clearly implies distribution of European images throughout the world. The European Commission goes even further. The EU resolution on the first century of the cinema encourages citizens to engage with the, often contentious, role of European cinema as a bridge between art and enterprise. In describing cinematographic works as both artistic legacy and "witness to the history of humankind", the resolution legitimates the preservation of cinematographic material in archives. Films are cultural documents and, thus, heritage.

Additionally, the resolution asks that the "cultural, technical and economic exchange" made possible by cinema production in Europe be recognized as significant achievements and that enterprise be celebrated (as cited in Munro, 2004). Thus the proper image of the EU is legitimized to be the one to be preserved for the future generation, which is a guarantee that a proper knowledge will be disseminated.

The EU's interest in a stronger and more effective (also controllable) visual presence is most obviously expressed by Margot Wallström, the recently appointed Commissioner for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, who emphasized the crucial importance of reinforcing visual communication with the European citizens, providing full and comprehensive information on the European Union and involving them in a permanent dialogue: "Television, as the primary media used by citizens of the European Union, have a key role to play"(EC, 2008).

In line with the above mention statement, the Commission's White Paper on a European Communication policy assumes that better use of the audiovisual media should aim at supplying information in a form that is attractive to users, promotes active European citizenship and contributes to the development of a European public sphere. In practice, the commissions policy on public relations and communication includes for example the day of Europe campaign , a digital media centre (preliminary for journalists) to distribute photos of EU politicians, institutions and events, and the EU channel EUTube on YouTube channel which will be the subject of a case-study in the following chapter. All the initiatives clearly demonstrate the intention of the Commission to guarantee the visual presence of the EU in everyday life of European countries.

4. Case-study: visual performativity of the EUTube channel

As it was argued in the previous chapters, audiovisual representation contributes to creating a sense of belonging and consciousness, resulting in a collective European identity (Everett, Collins, Hall and Shore). Moreover, in the context of the theory of a "disciplinary society" (Foucault), visual representation may be placed in the heart of the question of knowledge and power. Understanding the power of visuals as a disciplining technique stresses the powerful dimension of images and visual symbols as the agents of a dominant political system. Since the early 90s the government of the EU was pretty much concerned about building the new European identity in a broad cultural perspective as formal citizenship does not provide any social and cultural integration (Shore, Sarikakis). It was demonstrated earlier in the text that in the context of the EU cultural policies audiovisual sector is considered as a powerful tool for the creation of the Community's image in the minds of its people. Thus, the analysis of visual language of such a project as EUTube, will allow us to investigate what are symbols used to portrait the European Union and what is the official way the European Union represents itself.

This case-study has two main objectives. At first, I will try to gather and summarise all the information on the EUTube project. It is important as there is no overview or analysis of the project at the moment. As a second step, the visual content of the selected EUTube videos will be analyzed in order to indicate the most impressive and recurring visual images. Subsequently, I will try to find out in what forms the sense of being a European is visually performed, in other words, what is a visual (cinematic) realization of the European identity in the discourse of the EU official cultural and audio-visual policy.

The main question of the case-study is how the ideals of European consciousness are visualized and popularized by the European Commission. Thus the aim of the analysis will be to discover certain parallels between the intentions of the official EU identity-building policies, highlighted in the previous chapters, and EUTube visual material. To prove one of the main arguments of this research, that is that the EU channels of visual (cinematic) representation should be considered as powerful agents of the European consciousness.

4.1 Background of EUTube project

In 2007 the European Commission launched EUTube[7] channel on a well-known YouTube in order to make its audiovisual material more widely available to the public. This goal is being implemented under the official slogan of the project: "Sharing the Sights and Sounds of Europe".

According to the words of Margot Wallström, Vice-President for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy, this initiative reflects the Commission's commitment to better explain its policies and actions on issues which concern citizens across the EU such as climate change, energy or immigration: "It is very important for the Commission to use all the means at its disposal when it comes to communicating with European citizens. We can't ignore the developments which have taken place on the internet in the past few years, in particular the popularity of video sharing sites such as YouTube" (EC, 2007a).

It is stated in the text of the Commission's Press Release that EUTube is one of the most successful channels on YouTube. EUTube as has received over one million hits on its homepage and almost 7 million video views just 3 months after it was launched (EC, 2007 b). However, it should be noticed that EUTube is not the only one channel that the EU uses for communicating audiovisual material with the public. Other channels are the Audio-Visual library and Europe by Satellite, launched in 2005 and 2006, respectively. Though none of them was promoted with such pathos and energy as EUTube.

There are 3 language versions on the channel: English, French and German. Most of the material produced is made in these 3 working languages of the EU. However, there is not as much material in German and French. At the time this study was carried out there was 191 video clips on the channel, on a wide-range of topics - from the EU's first post-war historical steps to today's need to combat climate change. The most watched video, with an astonishing 4.2 million views, is the clip "Love" ("Film lovers will love this"), promoting the EU's MEDIA programme Other successful (most viewed) clips include a public health clip "AIDS:

---

[7] http://www.youtube.com/eutube

Remember me" and a clip which illustrated EU efforts to combat the forest fires in Greece. The latter received over 180.000 views in three weeks.

When it comes to the funds of the project, the official information states that EUTube as well as Debate Europe and web blogs require no particular budget (EC, 2007 b), which is quite hard to believe. The same document informs us that the production cost of any clip uploaded on the channel varies between € 15.000 and €250.000, depending on production method, copy-rights and duration. Nevertheless, it is clear that implementation and maintaining of the project do of course require quite some time and human resources to do it right, concentrated mostly within The Commission's Directorate General on Communication and within 3 services in particular (the web team, the AV team and spokespersons/cabinets of the Commission). The production of video material for EUTube is done by the policy departments of the European Commission.

Finally, the main of the project's goal is to reach an audience that otherwise would not be interested/or look at video material about the EU, or European affairs (EC, 2007 a). Looking at the number of views (over 12.000.000[8]) and the number of subscribers (over 7.000) it easy to notice that there is indeed an audience for the message. All material on EUTube is free of rights, i.e. the copyright of the images and music, belongs to the European Commission. The images can therefore be used freely by others, which is quite in line with the Commission intention to promote the brand of the EU as much as it is possible.

There is, however, a crucial difference between the YouTube channel and the Commission's affiliated channel, which, I believe, gives an insight into the EU audio-visual and communication strategies. The non-exclusive arrangement between the European Commission and YouTube aims to present new and innovative ways of informing people on the activities of the European Union through video clips that illustrate the main issues facing citizens from across the 27 member states. In its structure the EUTube is very similar to YouTube, but, and this is very important, it is not a two way communication channel, but a sharing channel, as viewers are not allowed to upload videos. Registered users can leave their comments, create their own playlists, vote for the clips they like, but, unlike the YouTube, the creation of the video content does not depend on the viewers. Though are other internet channels better suited for two-way communication, like blogs and debate forums,

---

[8] Data obtained on July 26, 2009.

nevertheless the clips on the EUTube receive thousands of comments from users, the vast majority of them positive; many of the clips have ratings of 4 stars or higher.

By using the YouTube as a framework for its own visual communication, the Commission gains a powerful performative tool, because on a deeper ontological level YouTube stands among some of the major traditions of narrative. As Thomas Elsaesser argues, YouTube, close to cinema in its use of visual segments extracted from different media (narrative or performative), gives the illusion of a kind of totality, a full universe .With the difference that a novel suggests one world (among many), while Google suggests the world (Elsaesser, 2009, p. 171). In other words, if you cannot find it on YouTube, many people now seem to believe that it either doesn't exist, or is not worth knowing or having. In the light of this assumption, the fact that the Commission eliminates any possibility to influence the content of the EUTube from "outside" makes the channel even more powerful in the terms of visual manipulation.

Generally, doing EUTube can mean the following: one can simply watch one or a whole series of clips; one can rate, flag or comment on videos; one can categorize moving images. These operations imply different levels of activity on the part of the user, but even a simple watching leads to an invitation or a proposition to watch more. At the same moment you are proposed promoted, featured, voted videos. Viewing, in other words, is but a default aspect of navigation. In such a perspective the act of watching is only the practice of navigating through the database's content. This differs fundamentally for example from the activity of zapping from channel to channel on a traditional TV set, since various television programs are not linked one to another by any semantic relations. Viewing EUTube, as well as YouTube, actually consists of navigating from one video to another, semantically related ones; general structure of the site refers thus to some kind of overarching narrative, which can be successfully used in purpose to promote or create a the most preferable for the Commission narrative. In his research of principles of a web-based communication Frank Kessler argues that internet information management relies on machine-reliable meta-information describing the video clips that permits their retrieval according to key-terms (Kessler, 2009, p. 280). A video of a dog, in other words, can only be recognized as such when there is an explicit textual marker. The success of searching moving-image files and the way it will be perceived thus relies upon the different types of metadata provided by a person who uploads a clip. In the context of our research, the most important is the fact that this, so

called "meta-information", is initially generated by the users uploading the videos, by viewers in the case of YouTube and by the Commission in the case of EUTube.

4.2 Methodological implications

By the authors of the project all the videos are divided into categories (playlists), which obviously coincide with the strategic aims of the European Commission policy. The playlists are: "Agriculture, fishery and food", "Business"," Culture, Education and Youth", Economy, "Finance and Tax", "Employment and Social Rights", "Energy and Natural Recourses", "Environment", "Consumers and Health; External Relations and Foreign Affairs", "Science and Technology", "Regions and Local Development", "Transport and Travel", "Opportunities, Access and Solidarity", "Justice and Citizen's Rights". Plus two groups are put aside: Archives ("good but no longer fashionable"), My Greeting Videos and The EU Explained (compilation of the videos from the playlists mentioned above). All in all, 119[9] videos are available at the EUTube channel.

Twelve of 119 clips are animated videos which I am not going to analyse, 26 are official news clips. It means that the scope of material to be considered reduces to 81 videos. It should be noted that the choice of the videos depends totally on my decision, thus it is quite subjective and can be criticised. Nevertheless, only those clips that correspond to the academic discourse of the paper will be analyzed.

Content analysis will be used as the first step of the investigation of the visual material of the EUTube clips. Content analysis is an empirical (observational) and objective procedure for quantifying recorded audio-visual representation using reliable values (size, length, position, environment of the image). Typical research questions which may be addressed using content analysis are: questions of priority (how frequently, how large, how visible different kinds of images are represented); and the questions of "bias" (comparative questions about the duration, or of positive versus negative features of representation) (Jewitt, Van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 13). Due to the fact that content analysis provides only quantitative data

---

[9] This case-study was carried out in July 2009. At the moment the number of video clips may be different.

on the visual material, alone this form of analysis is seldom able to support statements about the significance, effects or interpreted meaning of a domain of representation. Thus, in order to identify which signs were used to signify or highlight European identity and which connotations these signs evoked we will have to turn to the means of semiotics.

There may be a question: "How does semiotics apply to video material?" If we consider media as an important – perhaps the most important – element within a social and cultural system of signs that are capable of generating myths, then clearly videos distributed through TV or internet channels and other mass communications can help to nurture some myths and not others. This refers us to the theory of myth of a prominent French semiotician Roland Barthes.

Barthes's best known example of myth-making derives from a medium. He analyses the front cover of an issue of Paris-Match, a French magazine, which depicts a black boy in military outfit looking upwards and saluting what is assumed to be the French? Barthes reads this image (i.e. sign) as language and myth. On the level of language, the image denotes a black boy giving a French salute. Far more can be read into what this image connotes though. As a myth, Barthes suggests, the image signifies "that France is a great Empire; that all her sons, without any color discrimination, faithfully serve under her flag" (As cited in Braudy, 2004, p. 45). The image of the proud black soldier connotes a myth that France is a multicultural land of opportunity far from an oppressive colonizer of foreign peoples. At the core of Barth's theory is the assumption that media (like language systems) are structured through a set of rules, codes and values that make them highly prone to the constructions of meaning, or what Barthes refers to as myths. As Stuart Hall argues, video may be considered as a primary myth-maker. Processes of editing, selection, camera operation and arrangement are all important aspects of encoding and endowing an image with various cultural connotations, in the sense of determining preferred meanings (Hall, 1997, p. 78). Thus semiotics analysis, with its concepts of denotative and connotative meanings may be applied to the research on any video "text".

By means of singling out the denotations and interpreting the connotations behind them, we I will try to see what kind of effects will be generated that would help to achieve the main aim of the case- study – that is to define what kind of culture is pictured in the videos under analysis. The analysis is done in the following way: first, a number of culture-defining categories are singled out. By the culture-defining categories I mean Barth's myths or

situational or associative realities that are represented in films and are used as signs to communicate meanings. Then the signifiers that fit the category are picked from the videos and their denotative meaning is defined. The next step is deciphering the connotations behind them, that is to say defining the messages that are communicated. As an alternative to semiotic ones, the iconographic analysis could have been used. Both Barthian visual semiotics and iconography are particularly useful for investigating the representational (denotative) and symbolic (connotative) meanings of the people, places, and things included in different kinds of images. Both methods provide explicit arguments for determining whether represented elements such as poses and objects, and elements of style such as angle, focus and lightning, can be interpreted as symbolic, and for distinguishing between conventionally accepted forms of symbolism and broader - iconological interpretations (Jewitt, Van Leeuwen, 2003, p. 117).

To summarize the methods of analysis to be used in this research, I decided to use content analysis and cultural semiotic analysis for the objectives of this research. Content analysis will be used as a subsidiary one.

4.3   EUTube clips : making Europe visible

The cultural categories singled out for the analysis are the following:

4.3.1 Age representation

The notable thing is that 30 of the clips considered (which is more than 1/3 of a whole number) feature young persons, including the longest EUTube clip on the lifelong learning programme (30 min). Due to the fact that it is not always easy to indicate the age of a person correctly, the category of clips featuring youth will contain only those videos titled with youth issues, also videos in which the sequences with young people (including children) take more than a half of overall time.

In this context I would like to pay special attention to the video "Portraits of 5 young Europeans"[10]. According to its title the video claims to show us a kind of a collective portrait of a young European. To put it more precisely, it offers us to see how the European Commission visualise its young citizens and therefore this is the perfect object for the research on the visual self-representation of the European Union. Apart from an obvious message of the video, namely that Europe supports young people in achieving and realization of their ambitions, there is a hidden layer in it. Actually, it is the EU talking "through" these guys. Here we are offered to look to the future of the Union which is supposed to be full of fresh ideas, projects and achievements.

The video is divided into 5 independent from each other stories, about 5 minutes each. Stories are about the following people (in the order of appearance): Leila (23), a British girl of Somalian origin, participating in a Conference on Racism; Marion, a participant of the European Voluntary Service from Germany; Luka, an Italian film director and producer; Niclas (23) from Sweden, director of advertising agency; Katarzyna (22), a representative of the European Student Association AEGEE. It is quite clear, even at first glance, that these are the stories of successful and enthusiastic guys. They either participate with other students in the programmes launched by the Commission (Commission's programme "Youth in Action") or act individually benefiting from one of the youth supporting schemes (e.g. from the European Film Commission). But what I am really interested in is not the details of their success but the way it is shown.

In his article on the effects of the on-line communication Piter Lange (2009) suggests to define a special category of videos that can be called as "videos of affiliation". Affiliation might be defined in several ways. It can include feelings of membership in social network, feelings of attraction to people, things or ideas, which is achieved through activities of social bonding in which people come to feel connected with one another. On a broad level, people might have affiliations to many types of things such as hobbies, institutions or ideologies that form the overt content of a video's subject matter. Lange argues Videos of affinity try to establish communicative connections to people, often members of a social network. These videos attempt to maintain feelings of connection with potential others who identify or interpellate themselves as intended viewers of the video. Fillings of affinity are normally promoted by communal eating and drinking, sharing an experience in a common space,

---

[10] Links to all the clips mentioned in the paper are listed in bibliography

conducting an informal conversation. Videos enable an interaction that gives viewers a feeling of being connected not to a video, but to a person who shares mutual beliefs or interests (Lange, 2009, p. 78). My argument here is that the "Portraits of 5 young Europeans" clip may, with no doubts, be defined as a "video of affiliation".

Practically all heroes of the clip are all (4 of 5) shown in an informal setting: in a bar, on a street, talking with a friend, 3 of them are interviewed in their own rooms in quite relaxed poses. Besides, all 5 videos contain at long-lasting close-ups of the heroes' faces, which takes about 1/3 of the average length of the clip. Using it the director of the video set an informal relationship and emotional connections between us and the heroes. We are offered to see their young faces as close as we would we would normally only see people with whom we are more or less acquainted. They are represented as though they belong or should belong to "our group", and the viewer is addressed as a certain kind of person (Monako, 2000, p. 36). These tricks are used in order to establish communicative connections to people who make the meaning of what we call Europeanness, thus to make the concept closer to us. We could expect official representatives of the European institutes in expensive suits explaining how good it is to be a citizen of the EU, but instead of this we are addressed in a friendly and rather informal manner by 5 students, who tell that "being a European means to be a part of a whole".

The notable fact is that 17 clips from the total 30 depict students (including the above mentioned "Portrait" clip). If we keep in mind a well-known citation from Jean Monnet's speech: "If I were to set the process of uniting Europe in motion once more, I would start with education" (as cited in Shore, 2000), this characteristic of the EUTube visual content may be considered a clear illustration for the Commission's attempt to fill the "gap".

In her brilliant critical analysis of the EU educational policy Johanna Johansson (2007) argues that the crucial brick of the EU identity-building strategy is the implication that being European means being highly educated: " Europeans have a long history of education to look back at and with the help of the Lisbon Strategy, and its aim of making the European Union the world's most competitive knowledge Economy by 2010, it is implied that the Europeans are destined to be well educated in the future as well" (Johansson, 2007, p. 120). In other words, in a broad cultural perspective of the EU education helps to create a sense of cultural continuity. It is no coincidence that the significance of the Erasmus Mundus, Leonardo and Socrates educational programmes is persistently emphasized in the cultural discourse of the

EU identity. In the words of Jan Figel, Commissioner of Education, Training, Culture, and Multilingualism:

> Europeans have always exchanged ideas across borders. I think of the academics, intellectuals and men and women of the Church who travelled around Europe in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. John the Scot in Ireland, France and England, Thomas Aquinas in Naples and Paris, Duns Scotus in Oxford, Paris and Cologne, Erasmus in Paris, Leuven, Brussels, England and Basel… Today's Erasmus programme takes up and amplifies that tradition.

(As cited in Johansson, 2007, p. 286)

Thus we may conclude that in the visual discourse of the European identity an image of a student contributes to shaping European ideals or a European awareness.

Generally, young Europeans, featured in the EUTube clips, study, build academic careers, carry out discussions with the EU officials ("Portrait of 5 young Europeans"), demonstrate the meaning of active citizenship ("Youth in Action"), fight with health diseases ("AIDS remember me?") and, of course, travel a lot across Europe without borders. Also they are on the top of fashion and art trends ("Can you hear me Europe?"). They are usually represented as a team, doesn't matter whether they are working together on a project or watch a football match. They are the Future that the Union what to see and they are the real children of the EU as they were born with the EU passports and citizenship; those who are 20-25 now are surrounded by symbols of the European Community since the moment of their birth and may be this is one of the reasons why the Commission see them as the main holders of the EU ideals. The image that is created by these videos emphasises that Europe has a young face; it is active, open-minded and mobile. It becomes even more striking if we remember that the demographic situation is such that the European society is ageing due to a lower birth rate and increased longevity. By the year 2020 the 65-90 age group would have increased from 16 to 21 % of the population of the Union, while the 15-24 age group will fall to 11 % (EC, 2007 d).

In general, there are several other aims that can be achieved by maintaining the importance of this age group. First of all, young actors are always more attractive for a viewer. In the video "Imagine what you could do?" we see a model looking girl walking into a men shower room. Operator uses slow-motion shooting to make us follow movements of her hips while she passes one naked guy after another. When she finds Him under the shower, she kneeled

before him, to open her suitcase, of course. It appears that all she wants is to install a small thing into the shower. The final titles are: "Sarah, 23, entrepreneur. Her company invented a plastic ring which reduces water consumption by up to 50 %/. Imagine what *you* could do". The closing scene of the clip uses so called "billboard effect": the picture is shown on a white background and is divided in to two parts - a close-up shot of Sarah's face and the text on the right. The clip is made as a good erotic video: figures are shut in a soft focus, wet clothes, drops of water on a face, open lips etc. Still the meaning is far from erotic; it is in a girl herself. She is only 23 and she is irresistible – it is the trick to attract the attention during the first seconds of the clip. In her 23 she is successful in business and concerned about the EU environment - it is what we are made to think about. If there were not a sexy girl shut in the video, the clip would probably lose a considerable number of viewers. On a more theoretical level, we may assume that the idea manifested in the video is: "Even if you are young your participation and your ideas are necessary for the society you live in, for the whole Europe". As it is said in the Commission's White Paper on Youth, the debate on the future of Europe is up and running: "The European project is itself young, still forming. If it is to make progress, it needs ambition and enthusiasm, and commitment on the part of young people to the values on which it is based" (EC, 2001).

Even more, what the European Commission is trying to create is a "good European citizen", who in its opinion is an *active* individual. And as a result they also construct 'the Internal Other' in the form of 'the Deviant European' as someone who does not partake actively in civil society, which totally corresponds to the theory of power and knowledge in philosophy if Foucault. Indeed, by arguing that a "good European citizen" is an individual who behaves a certain way, EU decision-makers regulate how the individual views her/himself and others around her/him and this has effects on how the individual behaves in specific situations. And as a result they also construct the "Internal Other" in the form of "the Deviant European" as someone who does not partake actively in civil society. By arguing that a "good European citizen" is an individual who behaves a certain way European Union decision-makers regulate how the individual views him/herself.

In January 2004 the European Council issued a decision establishing an action programme to promote active citizenship, seen in terms of civic participation. The programme had five main objectives. First, it aimed at promoting and disseminating the values and objectives of the European Union. The second aim was to bring citizens closer to the European Union and its institutions and to encourage them to engage more frequently with its institutions. Thirdly,

citizens should be encouraged to "be involved closely in reflection and discussion on the construction of the European Union". Finally, the programme should aim at "stimulating initiatives by the bodies engaged in the promotion of active and participatory citizenship" (As cited in Johansson, 2007, p. 163). In other words, it is supposed that for a "good European" duties should not be seen simply as something constraining but also as positive bond between governing and governed. Rather, they should make citizens emotionally bond with the European Union integration idea. According to the Commission Active European Citizenship can be defined as "the involvement of citizens and civil society organizations in the process of European integration" (EC, 2001). Hence, that young heroes of the Commission's audiovisual communicative channel are actively engaged in different kinds of social, art and educational projects, maintaining an active position in their fictional, carefully directed lives.

Closely connected to the above mentioned forms of visual representation is the finding that children play a large part in EUTube videos. As it was stated in the previous paragraphs of the case-study, more than 1/3 of the entire channel's clips feature youth (students, young entrepreneurs, travelers, artists etc). About half (12 videos) of these "youth clips" feature children, which allows me to argue that an image of a child is an important visual symbol in the discourse of the visualization of the EU.

The EUTube video "1989-2009. Berlin Wall: Symbol of a divided Europe" (recently renamed to "Twentieth anniversary of democratic change in Central and Eastern Europe") can be considered as one of the most representative examples in this context. The scenes of the video are cut in the way that allows us to see the life of a boy in the light of the key events of the European integration. The most symbolic scene of the video is the opening sequence - the shots of a young woman giving a birth to her child are shown together with documentary pictures of the fall of Berlin Wall. It has clear and undeniable connotations to the idea of the beginning of a new era in the history of Europe. Here the child is associated directly with Europe, weak and unsecure as all newborn babies, Europe is growing stronger. The things that are simultaneously come to my mind are "new life", "purity", "happiness", and "beginning". There can hardly be more effective symbol for the initiatives of the European Union than a baby, born to enjoy freedom of travel, thoughts and beliefs.

Regarding some other clips in this category it should be said the image of a child is obviously misused. It is quite strange to see 4-5 year girls without front milk teeth saying: "Only where the unconditional protection of human dignity is guaranteed can you talk of

liberal society". Another one was asked to explain what environmental protection is, she said: "(it is) One of Europe's growing economic sector. I am aiming for a master's in integrated coastal management" ("European values: as easy as winking"). Or a child dealing with chemical substances in a hi-tech laboratory (only in the end of video "EU supports scientific research 1"we find out that it is a child), another video shows us children from different EU countries depicted as   little geniuses in doctor's smocks, with sophisticated   scientific equipment ("EU supports scientific research 2"). Child's spontaneity attracts attention but also the level of their maturity empresses - these children are ready for meaningful participation in   the EU projects and initiatives. Several ideas are manifested simultaneously: (again) Europe has a young face; EU launches long-term projects because it cares about the future; Europe considers children equally to adults and doesn't afraid to deal with them; European policy is so clear and transparent as it is comprehensible even for a child. One may say that the symbol of a new born child is applicable to the EU directly, as it is quite a new political union. It can be read from different points and used in different context. For example, at the website of the Commission, in the section of Europe Debate the EU emblem twelve gold stars which are associated with apostles, the sons of Jacob, the tables of the Roman legislation, the hours of day etc., are replaced by twelve babies wearing yellow crawlers[11].

On the other hand pictures of happy and talented children are opposed to the videos of suffering children: children suffering from poverty in Lithuania and South Wales ("Ending child poverty in Europe", which poses the question of the European center and periphery), working children in Cairo and children deprived of right to study in Georgia. This shows that the European Commission struggle for the implementation of children right not only in the territory of the Union , but what is more important is that a mere comparison of videos leads us to a conclusion that   Europe is a land of happy children who have access to education, healthcare, ecological food etc. This visualization of "other" children refers us to a concept of the "Other", which plays an important role in the process of the EU identity building.

---

[11] http://europa.eu/debateeurope/index_en.htm

4.3.2 Representation of the "Other"

As it was argued above there is a category of EUTube clips representing children of non-EU countries. My argument is that the visual patters of these clips highlight the role of an image of the "Other" in the visual discourse of the European identity.

Video "Back to School" features a 9-year old Muhammad going back to school in a poor region of Cairo with the support of funds from the European Commission (as a part of the EU's European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). The visual focus of the clip is done on the living environment of a boy and his relatives. What we see is a clear visual opposition to the images of European life: the clip starts showing a young man standing waist-deep in clay slush; camera goes on to focus on Muhammad talking about his job in a pottery. As a background of his interview we see the shots of walls covered with clay dust and ruined buildings. The environment is obviously rural and undeveloped; we see people lugging something that looks like sandbags are surrounded by dirty and exhausted domestic animals with no water supply, as children carry buckets full of water. The textual message of the clip is that the EU struggles for the rights of children to study, although the visual message obviously highlights the non-European landscape.

Next video, I would like to pay attention to is "Reaching out to lend a hand", a 30 second clip promoting the activities of the EU humanitarian aid department (ECHO). Though the EU specialists are left behind the camera, the text of the video states that: " (…) humanitarian aid offers a lifeline to crisis victims throughout the world. For millions, it is their only hope. That's why the EU helps people caught up in natural disasters and wars". In fact what we see is the pictures of the children of some African country in their casual environment, smiling, playing, (probably) greeting the EU humanitarian aid. The trick of the video is the emphasis made on the clothing of these children: the clip starts with a shot of a child's feet with odd slippers on it; the next shot shows a small girl wearing a dress way too big for her. The clothing of all the children we see is absolutely shabby and shapeless, which fits with the image of them that the director of the video was trying to present ("people caught up in natural disasters and wars").

Videos, as well as photos, make unknown situations knowledgeable by giving a sensual impression of it. For example, how successful the EU security and development assistance in Africa or Egypt may look like is constituted by the image of laughing children. Their

happiness as opposed to alternative images of starving children or child soldiers and thus these clips have a strong legitimizing effect visually justifying the intervention of the EU as a "power for good". Moreover, the visualization of the EU's security and defense policy, exemplified by the civilian and military missions of the EU in Eastern Europe, Central Africa, the Middle East or Asia, are striking examples of how the EU tries to make its foreign engagement visible through (self-produced) images.

On the other hand, the images constitute the body of the "other" children visually opposed to the images of well-dressed, well-educated young EU citizens. As Johansson (2007) argues, in the discourse of the EU identity-building policies an image of a "good European" is valid only if there is an image of the "Other". There always has to be an "Other", against which subjects can be related and defined. In addition, she continues, common identity is to a certain degree about sharing a common fear. This means that discourses are generally organized in binary oppositions, like for example Western/Eastern, with one of the constituents in the binary being seen as superior (p. 253). Generally, we may assume that the idea of "Othering" is used to justify the inequalities we see in society between different groups. First, by employing a positive representation of the own group, and secondly by portraying the "Other" in negative terms. However, it is important that the negative evaluation of "Other" seems credible and true. Arguments should be based on "facts" and emphasis should be put on "our" positive actions (and understate 'our' negative ones) while the actions of 'the "Other" are portrayed as negative. In this context the EUTube clips analyzed above are a perfectly implemented visual "Othering" of children who are considered by the EU as children from the outside.

Generally speaking, the role of the "Other" in the process of nation-building cannot be overestimated. The phenomenon of antagonistic pair-forming can also be observed on a supranational level. Just as there is no "me" without "you", there is no image of the "national self" without an image of the "other". In "Inventing Europe" Gerard Delanty (1995) has written that, in case of Europe, instead of identity being defined by a sense of belongingness and solidarity arising out of shared life-worlds, it became focused on opposition to an "Other": the "We" is defined by the negation of the "Other". Identification takes place through the imposition of otherness in the formation of a binary typology of "Us" and "Them". The purity and stability of "We" is guaranteed first in the naming, then in demonstration of the otherness. Thus the defining characteristic of a group is not what its

members have in common but what separates them from other groups and national self-identity is constructed by the recognition of otherness or by negation of otherness. He concludes by assuming that the dichotomy between "Self" and "Other" has been pivotal in the making of European identity (p. 5). "Our" western civilization is richer, better and more developed than "theirs". As Johansson (2007) contends, European Union policy makers, by trying to create a European identity through difference, i.e. 'we' versus 'them', suggest that there exists a European civilization that is superior to that in for example Eastern Europe and Anatolia and Africa. Thus, by speaking of a European civilization the official European Union discourse on European identity makes moral statements suggesting that Europeans are civilized while the "Other" is not.

Analyzing cultural discourse of the European colonial cinema, Ella Shohat suggests applying the term "Eurocentrism" to the European cinema production. She argues that generally Eurocentrism divides the world into "the West and the Rest" and organizes everyday language into binaristic hierarchies implicitly flattering to Europe: our nations, their tribes, our religion, their superstitions, our culture, their folklore, our defense, their terrorism (Shohat, Stam, 2000, p. 3). As an ideological substratum common to colonialist and imperialist discourse, Eurocentrism is a form of vestigial thinking which permeates and structures contemporary practices and representations even after formal end of colonialism. She continues by stating that in sum, Eurocentrism sensitizes Western history while patronizing and even demonizing the non-west; it thinks of itself in terms of its noblest achievements – science, progress, humanism – but of the non-West in terms of its deficiencies, real or imagined (p. 4).

So we may conclude that in the visual discourse of the European identity there are no protagonists without antagonists, or, in the terms of image studies, an auto image always coexists with hetero image. The "good Europeans" can only exist because there are supposed to be other nations who are not so "good". In the words of Spiering the image of identity cannot exist without an attendant image of alterity, an image of national identity invariably coexists with its own opposite (Spiering, 2002, p.114). Thus on the one pole we have a collective image of the Europeans on the other pole the image of the other world. Moreover, visualization of the nation's "Other" is at the same time the configuration of the hegemonic nation's power discourse.

4.3.3 Representation of a woman

The proportion of clips featuring women in the visual content of EUTube is considerable, moreover the official logo of the channel is an image of a young woman holding a camera.

It is quite common to contemplate on visual action creating Europeans without reference to gender differentiation. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the nature of official European culture is excessively patriarchal. In "The Great Museum" book, a book on the representation of European history in Europe's monuments, Donald Jorne observes that the legitimization of male authority is one of the most persistent dominant values by which European greatness has been celebrated and commemorated. He argues that with the exception of some virtuous female symbols such a as Virgin Mary and Jeanne d'Arc, or the use of the sexualized female image to represent and idea such as Liberty, women are simply excluded from Europe's official, high-cultural self representation (as cited in Ien, 1992, p. 24). In short, Jorne supposes that a profoundly masculine bias in the European public sphere, which was perpetuated and reinforced by the emancipator bourgeois movement of the French Revolution, still decisively shapes contemporary European sensibility.

However, the findings of the EUTube videos' analysis indicate the opposite. Among the already mentioned videos, such clips as "Imagine what you could do?", "Portraits of 5 young Europeans", "Youth in action" clearly demonstrate the intention to represent a European woman as an active, educated, independent and interested in politics person. Women of different ages and different social environments are depicted in various situations: they actively struggle with cancer ("A life for living"), fight for the rights of people exposed to violations ("Single marker award"), improve their own professional skills ("Study in Europe"). The striking thing is that most of the clips serve as an illustration for the Commission's concept of "active citizenship".

And this can be confirmed by the conclusions of Shore (2000), who assumes that there is an important gender dimension in EU cultural politics, exemplified most notably in the "Woman of Europe Award" (p. 60). This recently invented award offers a useful insight into

the way the Commission approaches targeting of women. Talking about Marit Paulsen who was awarded in 1996, he argues that she epitomes the ideal "Euro-woman": a down- to- earth woman of the people; a mother figure whose birth and childhood symbolize reconciliation between nation divided be nationalism and war – arguably the strongest, most enduring of the shared emotions that underlie popular pro-Europeanism. She is a transnational European worker who has taken up permanent residence in another member state; a farmer whose work experience symbolically traverses each of the major areas of common policy (fishing, iron ore and agriculture) that lie in the heart of integration project; a writer and a lover of children whose very lifestyle is an embodiment of the traditional Christian virtues associated with rural civilization. To quote from Paulsen's official biography: "She convinced the ordinary person in the street and the farmer in the countryside that the European Union is foremost a project for peace in Europe and , in spite of her own devotion to nature and animals, the one question above is peace "(As cited in Shore, 2000, p. 61).

In gender context the EUTube clip "Empowering women, ensuring stability" devoted to the conference organized by the Commission in March 2008 may be considered as the one setting the basic principles of depicting a woman in the EU cultural discourse. The video represents women leaders from different European countries having a discussion on critical contribution women make to solve the challenges of today's world. Literally, in the clip there are no men around. On the upper level of visual performativity of the clip we see these well-dressed, laughing women enjoy the right to speak and act freely under the umbrella of the EU "caring" policy. On a deeper level, we are offered to witness the EU self-affirming in gender equality issues. This clip (and a number of other videos devoted to the role of women in the EU political life) is an opposition to the images of "male" politics. Promoted in the framework of the EUTube channel these clips suggest that European culture may be redeemed by those who it has traditionally excluded.

Finally, considering the cinematic representation of women in the EU cultural discourse I would like to mention the Lux Prize for European Cinema, introduced in 2007 as prize given to a competing film by the European Parliament. If we trace the films awarded a first prize, we will find out that from the 1st year of the prize all the awarded works expose exclusively female characters. The film of 2007 "4 Months, 3 Weeks and 2 Days" (Cristian Mungiu), tells the story of a Romanian student Otilia who commits the ultimate act of selflessness, when she lets a doctor to rape her, to pay for the abortion of her friend. "Le silence de

Lorna" (Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne), awarded in 2008, depicts a young Albanian woman Lorna, facing a cruel world of mafia. Finally, film "Katalin Varga" by Peter Strickland was awarded in 2009. The film depicts a strong and determined young woman Katalin, who travels through the Carpathians to take revenge for what was done to her when she was young.

Taking into consideration that one of the main criteria in selecting the films nominated for the Lux Prize has been "their success in showing the process of building Europe in a different light", we may assume that an image of a woman is deeply settled in the solid of the EU self-representation.

4.3.4. Images of the past

Europe's culture has often been associated with a shared past. At the moment of the signing of the Constitutional Treaty, in Rome, the 29th October 2004, Barroso addressed the audience in the following terms:

> More than a century ago, at the opening of the Paris Peace Congress, the great French writer Victor Hugo pronounced a speech which called on the European nations to join in a superior unity, to constitute a 'European fraternity' without losing their distinctive qualities or their glorious individualities. These words appear as prophetic today. I hear their resonance is this room today.

(As cited in Karolewski, 2006, p. 37)

Barroso's reference to Victor Hugo illustrates this tendency to invoke great figures of the past or glorious moments in European history. Likewise, commenting on the importance of cultural icons, the European Commissioner for Education, Training and Culture Jan Figel has said: "(…) the further back in history the better because they are less controversial" (as cited in Craig, P., & De Burca, G, 2007). The representation of history and, in particular, the recent past, is also something that, as Elizabeth Ezra argues, distinguishes European cinema from Hollywood and Asian cinemas, and must therefore be seen as an "identity-building" trait. For

Ezra, European film provides its spectators with a historical imagery, as a "dispositive that constitutes, through an appeal to memory and identification, a special form of address, at once highly individual and capable of fostering a sense of belonging". (Ezra, 2004, p. 21) For Wendy Everett as well cinema is the ideal time machine, which closely links European films to memory and past, and denotes "an almost obsessive need to explore and interrogate memory and the process of remembering, apparently convinced that therein may be found the key to present identity" (Everett, 1996, p.14).

The analysis of the EUTube videos confirms that the visualization of European past in different forms and contexts is one of the main characteristic of the Commission's audiovisual communication.

For instance, a clip "50 years EU" is a short overview of the post-WW2 Europe, from a continent in ruins and a stirring Churchill's speech to the introduction of Euro. A mix of the European heritage symbols (Kant, Rembrandt, Einstein and Acropolis) is immediately followed by the documentary of Robert Shuman proposing Coal and Steel Community and scenes from the official meeting devoted to the acceptance of new EU members. The documentaries of demolition of the Berlin wall is followed by the pictures of today's Europe, which is as space exploration, science programmes, research and development and world-class fashion. The analysis of the video discovers that the achievements of European culture and the political key-events of the European Union are represented as forming a kind of historical continuity. The visual references to ancient Greece and classical German philosophy constitute the cultural inheritance of the EU. Thus the whole historical narration from ancient civilizations pre-phase for the flourishing state of the European Union. Karolewski (2006), who argues that generally EU historiography represents the last three thousand years of European history as a kind of moral success story: "a gradual "coming together" in the shape of the European Community and its institutions. According to this conception, European history is an evolutionary process that starts with prehistory before advancing the age of classical antiquity and beyond" (p. 68). The result is that European identity is portrayed as a kind of moral success story: the end product of a progressive ascent through history from ancient Greece, to the spread of Christianity, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the disasters of the 20th century and, finally, the triumph of liberal democracy. As Shore (2000) has written the key episodes that become palimpsests for an essential European cultural community are cultural continuity, moral ascendancy and "unity in

diversity" (p. 57). The result is that European history is represented as a genealogy of progress.

Video "20the anniversary of democratic change in Eastern and Central Europe" suggests the same EU- centered view on history, also based on the images of post - WW2 Europe. During the first seconds of the clip we see a short-cut of photos and documentaries in the following order: a warped tank (Hungary 1956), tanks on the street of Prague (1968), Polish Solidarity (1982), demonstrations in Romania (1989), demolition of the Berlin wall, democratic elections in Lithuania (1991), open borders (1995), "Europe Reunited" event (2005). The final scene takes place in front of the Brandenburg Gate, which was the main venue for the 20th anniversary celebrations of the fall of the Berlin Wall or "Festival of Freedom" and is one of the symbols of liberty. The consecutive montage used by the director of the clip creates a filling of inevitability of freedom and democratic liberties in Europe. Historical facts here are strung together on a thread, which is a "Europe a land of freedom".

It should be noted, that the Berlin wall is a recurring visual symbol of the EUTube clips, moreover there is a playlist "Berlin wall clips", with 5 clips in it. In the book "The symbolic use of politics" Murray Edelman introduced a concept of a "condensation" symbol, which evokes the emotions associated with the situation. They condense into one symbolic event, sign or act, such things as patriotic pride, anxieties, remembrances of past glory or humiliation, and promises of great future. It is very difficult, however, to create meaningful symbols out of air. It is generally argued that the most potent symbols are those that have historical roots, and so are not totally artificial. Thus the Wall may be considered as one of the European "condensation" symbols, used to stimulate the emotions based on a "common" tragedy and "common" liberation. On the 9th of March 2010, the European Commission has proposed to establish the "European Heritage Label" [12]as an EU-wide initiative. The aim of the Label is to highlight sites that celebrate and symbolize European integration, ideals and history. This proposition differs from other cultural heritage initiatives such as the UNESCO World Heritage List or the Council of Europe's 'European Cultural Routes' because it focuses on sites that have played a key role in the history of the EU and that shall be highlighted because of their European symbolic value – and not mainly for reasons like, for example, the architectural quality. This initiative clearly demonstrates the tendency of re-invention of the historical European symbols as legitimized in the context of EU cultural strategy.

---

[12] http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc2519_en.htm

The other example of the visual construction of European historical space is the video "Thank You!" devoted to the celebration of the 20th anniversary of free elections in Poland. The video takes place on the birthday of a Polish girl Marta who was born on the 4th of June 1989 - the date of the first elections in Poland after the fall of Communism. It documents key events and people in the recent history of Poland: the Solidarity movement with its leader Lech Walesa, Polish Round Table talks, integration with NATO and the EU. Parallel to this historical overview we see Marta riding her bicycle to visit the Commission's information center and then celebrate her birthday. In the final contains a text: "Marta was born on 4th of June 1989. 20 years ago at this very moment Polish polling stations were being closed and the vote began…" Then we see a nice Marta saying "Thank you" (obviously to the EU decision-makers, though it is not clear). Interesting detail is the song "New Year's Day" performed by U2 which is the soundtrack for the video. A strong cultural connotation emerges here as originally "New Year's Day" is a song from the U2 album "War" released in 1983, which was inspired by Polish Solidarity movement.

Summarizing the conclusions regarding the "images of the past" as found in the visual content of EUTube channel, we may assume that when discussing identity-building process within the context of European integration the EU tends to turn inwards, looking for European common roots. The history is investigated from past to present, in the search to the continuity in the inevitable changes in society. As Spiering (1996) has noted, images of national identity typically reach us through texts. In order to be understood text has to be "recognizable". In texts (and perhaps in human discourse in general) recognizability takes precedence over reality, therefore: "Images of national identity tend to be based on previous images in previous texts" (p. 120). We respond to an image not because we know it to be true, but simply because it is familiar. Hence, historical drama in the visual discourse of the EU represents an attempt to reconstruct new notion of belonging – precisely by going back to the recognizable images. Examples are visual narrations about monarchy, traumatic conflicts such as wars, about events that are dominant in collective memory such as moment of liberation or oppression, as well as art and scientific triumphs. Looking for stories in the past is a necessary condition for constructing notions of identity in the present.

Conclusion

The EU's interest in culture issues and the growing number of the EU initiatives in the domain of culture indicates that beyond institutional or political aspects of European identity, defined by concepts such as territory, citizenship and borders, there is a focus on cultural aspects of the idea of Europe.

The assumption is that culture is seen by the Commission to lie at the basis of the formation of European identity. As it was discovered, the emphasis of the EU cultural programmes is made on information and awareness-building campaigns. According to the ideas of the EU leaders, if the corpus of European culture is sufficiently promoted and protected, a European consciousness will eventually emerge. Thus in the cultural discourse if European integration the focus is made on the promotion (branding) of the image of the united Europe with a particular emphasis on a creation of a new symbolic platform which implies measures aimed at strengthening and promotion the Community's image. Europe must be presented with a human face - sympathetic, warm and caring as the emphasis should be done on presenting European Union to a public as a "good product". Image-building as a strategy for bringing Europe closer to its people and creating "Europeans" thus is dominant in EU approaches to culture.

Moreover, the EU regards the media as a key tool in creating a sense of European identity. The audio-visual policy of the Commission is designed to sustain and develop a positive image of Europe. While all forms of cultural production have a role to play in the reconstruction of identity in Europe, the production of audiovisual fictions can occupy a particularly significant position in this process. Because of the two dimensional nature (economic/cultural) of the audiovisual sector, and the inherent characteristics of audiovisual products it constitutes one of the most powerful tools to fulfill the objectives of the European Agenda for Culture.

It was discovered that cinema lies in the heart of the European audiovisual strategy and the role that is given to the film in the cultural discourse of the EU allows us to conclude that film industry may be theorized as one of the most effective agents of European consciousness. Cinematic images convey values and life-styles, patterns of behavior and

cultural models thus they contribute to creating the conceptual symbolic foundations that make it possible to imagine the new Europe as a political entity and community, and to conceive oneself as a part of this community. The significance of the film production is mainly based on the need to create a comprehensible and attractive image of a "European". Visualization of Europe contributes much to the way people perceive and experience Europe in relation to themselves, thus cinematic image is a principle vehicle in the establishment of "Europeanness". As it was argued, the creation of images is a complex process of making visible, of forcing an audience to look, to question and to reassess the nature of the world around them. Consequently, the medium of cinema provides a unique means by which the cultural heterogeneity, diversity and richness characterizing modern Europe can be rendered visible.

It was also argued that film images are no ordinary product due to the fact that the cinema's institutional ritual of gathering a community (spectators who share region, language) homologizes the symbolic gathering of a nation. We may say that movie audience is a provisional "nation" forged by spectatorship. The power of the cinematic image also lays in the fact that cinema cannot just be reduced to a simple reflection of some external concrete "reality". In the light of Foucauldian views on governmentality, visuals, as a special genre of knowledge, make the world knowledgeable in order to control it. In this context we concluded that visual discourse of Europeanness is one of the main instruments used by the Commission to construct the individual of the EU, a proper European citizen. If we assume that cultural life of a European citizen is structured by powerful agents of the EU system, then we may argue that the way in which the image of Europe is perceive is shaped to a great extent through the channels of visualization.

Regarding the analysis of EUTube channel, it was discovered that there is a crucial difference between the YouTube channel and the Commission's affiliated web-site, which gives an insight into the EU audio-visual and communication strategies. In its structure the EUTube is quite similar to YouTube, but, and this is very important, it is not a two way communication channel, but a sharing channel, as viewers are not allowed to upload videos. Registered users can leave their comments, create their own playlists, vote for the clips they like, but, unlike the YouTube, the creation of the video content does not depend on the viewers. Thus, by using the YouTube as a framework for its own visual communication, the Commission gains a powerful performative tool, because on a deeper ontological level

YouTube stands among some of the major traditions of narrative. Viewing EUTube actually consists of navigating from one video to another, semantically related ones; general structure of the site refers thus to some kind of overarching narrative, which can be successfully used in purpose to promote or create the most preferable for the Commission narrative.

On the basis of the categories singled out for semiotic analysis of the clips certain conclusions can be drawn. In the research I came to a conclusion that the images of youth are the crucial bricks of the EU identity-building strategy. I found out that the implication that being European means being highly educated lies in the heart of the EU self-positioning; in the visual discourse of the European identity an image of a student contributes to shaping a European awareness. Generally, young Europeans, featured in the EUTube clips, study, build academic careers, carry out discussions with the EU officials, demonstrate the meaning of active citizenship, fight with health diseases and, of course, travel a lot across Europe without borders; they are on the top of fashion and art trends. It is worth mentioning, that they are usually represented as a team. With help of such visual patterns the European Commission is trying to create is a "good European citizen", who in its opinion is an active individual.

Closely connected to the above mentioned forms of visual representation is the finding that children play an important role in EUTube videos, which allows me to argue that an image of a child is an important visual symbol in the discourse of the visualization of the EU. One may say that the symbol of a new born child is applicable to the EU directly, as it is quite a new political union, though can be read from different points and used in different context.

Next, though it can be argued that the nature of official European culture is excessively patriarchal, the findings of the EUTube videos' analysis indicate the opposite as proportion of clips featuring women in the visual discourse of EUTube is notable. The intention is to represent a European woman as an active, educated, independent and interested in politics person. We assume that there is an important gender dimension to EU cultural politics and the image of a woman is deeply settled in the solid of the EU self-representation.

Then it was discovered, that in the discourse of the EU identity-building policies an image of a "good European" is valid only if there is an image of the "Other". There always has to be an "Other", against which subjects can be related and defined. Identification takes place through the imposition of otherness in the formation of a binary typology of "Us" and

"Them". The "good Europeans" can only exist because there are supposed to be other nations who are not so "good". Thus on the one pole we have a collective image of the Europeans on the other pole the image of the other world.

Finally, the analysis of the EUTube videos confirms that the visualization of European past in different forms and contexts is one of the main characteristic of the Commission's audiovisual communication. The visual references to ancient Greece and classical German philosophy constitute the cultural inheritance of the EU. Thus the whole historical narration from ancient civilizations is represented as a pre-phase for the flourishing state of the European Union "a gradual "coming together" in the shape of the European Community and its institutions. The result is that European identity is portrayed as a kind of moral success story: the end product of a progressive ascent through history. It should be noted, that the Berlin wall as a strong symbol of liberation process is a recurring image of the EUTube clips. It is generally argued that the most potent nation-building symbols are those that have historical roots. Hence, historical drama in the visual discourse of the EU represents an attempt to reconstruct new notion of belonging – precisely by going back to the recognizable images.

To summarize the EU-image reflected in visual content of EUTube channel, we may conclude that the European Union appears as:

– home of youth and future
– a world of creativity
– a land without borders
– a peaceful, merry world (as opposed to the "Other world")
– a land of modernity, technical and scientific development
– a "woman's" world
– a new historical period (as opposed to the communist past of Eastern Europe)
– a land of liberty
– a land of historical success and flourishing.

Bibliography

Aiello, G. (2006). Symbolic Capitals: Visual Discourse and Intercultural Exchange in the European Capital of Culture Scheme. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 6(2), 148-162.

Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London.

Bellier, I. (2000). *An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*. Amsterdam.

Bobker , L.(1989). *Elements of Film.* NY.

Bondebjerg, I., & Golding, P.(Eds.).(2004). *European Culture and the Media*. Bristol.

Braudy, L. (Ed.). (2004). *Film Theory and Criticism*, NY.

Collins, R. (2002). *Media and Identity in Contemporary Europe*. Bristol.

Craig, P., & De Burca, G. (Eds.). (2007). *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*. NY.

De Witte, B. (1987). Building Europe's Image and Identity. In A. Rijksbaron, & W. H. Roobol (Eds.), *Europe from a cultural perspective*(pp. 132-138). The Hague.

Delanty, G. (1995). *.Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality*. London.

Durham, M., & Kellner, M.(Eds.).(2001). *Media and Cultural Studies: Key Works*. Oxford.

Elsaesser, T. (2009). Tales of Epiphany and Entropy. In P. Snickars, & P. Vonderau (Eds.), *YuoTube Reader* (pp. 166-187). NY.

Everett, W. (2005). *European Identity in Cinema*. Bristol.

Ezra, E. (2004). *European Cinema*, NY.

Foster, M. (1994). Symbolism: The Foundation of Culture. In *Companion Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (pp. 366-380). London.

Foucault, M. (1980). Truth and Power. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power /Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* (pp. 109-133). NY.

Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. NY.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation*: *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. NY.

Hobsbawm, E. (Ed.). (1985). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge.

Hojbjerg, L., & Sondergaard, H. (Eds.). (2006).E*uropean Film and Media Culture*. Copenhagen.

Holmes, D. (Ed.). (2000). *100 Years of European Cinema: Entertainment or Ideology?* Manchester.

Ien, A. (1992) Hegemony in Trouble. In D. Petrie (Ed.), *Screening Europe* (pp. 21-32). London.

Izod, J. (2001). *Myth, Mind and the Screen*. London.

Jewitt, C., & Van Leeuwen, T.(Eds). (2003). *Handbook of Visual Analysis*. Melbourne.

Johansson, J. (2007). *Learning to Be (Come) a Good European: Critical Analysis of the Official European Union Discourse on European Identity*. Linkoping.

Kaelble, H. (1996). European Symbols, 1945-2000: Concept, meaning and historical change. In L. Passerini, L. (Ed.), *Images and Myths of Europe* (pp. 47-61). Brussels.

Kapitany, Ag. and Kapitany ,G.(2006). Symbols and Communication of Values in the Accession of the EU. *Semiotica* , 1(4), 111-141.

Karolewski, P. (2006). *European Identity: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Insights*. Berlin.

Kessler, F., & Schafer, M. (2009). Navigating YouTube. In P. Snickars, & P. Vonderau (Eds.), *YuoTube Reader* (pp.275-292). NY.

Lange, P. (2009).Videos of Affinity. In P. Snickars, & P. Vonderau (Eds.), *YuoTube Reader* (pp. 70-89). NY.

Le Magazine: The Fabulous Destiny of European Cinema, 17, (2002).

Lovnik, N. (Ed.). (2008). *Video Vortex Reader: Responses to YouTube*. Amsterdam.

McNay, L. (1994). *Foucault: a Critical Introduction*. Cambridge.

Monako, J. (2000). *How to Read a Film*. NY.

Petrie, D. (1992) Introduction. In D. Petrie (Ed.), *Screening Europe: Image and Identity in Contemporary European Cinema* (pp. 1-9). London.

Pribersky, A. (2006). Europe as a Symbol in Political Image Constructions. *Semiotica,* 1(4), 143-150.

Rijksbaron, A., & Roobol , W.H.(Eds.).(1987). *Europe from a Cultural Perspective: Historiography and Perceptions*. The Hague.

Sarikakis, K. (Ed.). (2007). *Media and Cultural Policy in the EU*. Amsterdam, NY.

Sassatelli, M. (2002). Imagined Europe: The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity Through EU Cultural Policy. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 5, 435-451.

Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (2000). *Unthinking Eurocentrism. Multiculturalism and the Media.* London.

Shore, C. (2000). *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. NY.

Shore, C. (Ed.). (1994).*The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict.* London.

Spiering, M. (1996). National identity and European unity. In M. Wintle (Ed.), *Culture and Identity in Europe* (pp. 98-13). London.

Wayne, M. (2002). *Politics of Contemporary European Cinema*. Bristol.

Wellenstein, E. P. (1987). The Cultural Dimension. In A. Rijksbaron, & W. H. Roobol (Eds.), *Europe from a cultural perspective* (pp. 25-30). The Hague.

Wintle, M. (1996). Europe's Image: Visual Representations of Europe from the Earliest Times to the Twentieth Century. In M. Wintle (Ed.), *Culture and Identity in Europe* (pp. 52-89). London.

Recourses accessed on-line

Munro, E. (2004). Telling Stories: European Union Cultural Policies and Institutional Narratives In the Audiovisual Sector.
Retrieved from   http://www.sharp.arts.gla.ac.uk/e-sharp/Emily_Munro_EU-Cinema.htm

The European Commission. (1989). Television Without Borders Directive.
Retrieved from
 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31989L0552:EN:NOT

The European Commission. (1992). Treaty on European Union.
Retrieved from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/11992M/htm/11992M.html

The European Commission. (2001). *The White Paper on Youth.*
Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-policies/doc26_en.htm

The European Commission. (2007 a). *Press Release IP/07/974.*
Retrieved from http://europa.eu/rapid/searchAction.do

The European Commission. (2007 b). *Press Release IP/07/1498.*22.
Retrieved from   http://europa.eu/rapid/searchAction.do

The European Commission. (2007c). Media (2007-2013): A Big Push for Europe's Film
Industry. Retrieved from
  http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/media/docs/overview/media_info_en.pdf

The European Commission. (2007 d). Key facts and figures about Europe and Europeans.
Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_glance/66/index_en.htm

The European Commission (2008). Communicating Europe Through Audiovisual Media.
Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/wallstrom/pdf/sec_2008_506-
2_en.pdf

The European Commission (2009). *Working Document on the External Dimension on
Audiovisual Policy.* Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/docs/ext/external_swp.pdf

Video clips

Afghanistan: a chronic crisis (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/search/0/4oSBkUSo59k

Back to school (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/u/185/cPy5FfU9p_M

Can you hear me Europe? (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=eutube#p/u/84/2gKckRB9Z1A

Chemical party (Video file). Retrieved from
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HDw4gk5pYl8

Destination Europe – discover European heritage with joy (Video file). Retrieved from
http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/FA652372AEE34AEF/1/5KD3RnSGDTY

EU supports scientific research 2 (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/F9BD4720A040D600/1/YvFUKiOccrM

European films-what a joy! (Video file).
Retrieved from
http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/B3B3FBF0496049C6/1/5WVV5OSnwYU

European values: as easy as winking (Video file).
Retrieved from
http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/B3B3FBF0496049C6/15/LFxznWCGa7M

Fifty years EU (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/29/UvRznNKYl08

Go on, get out of your armchair! (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/B3B3FBF0496049C6/11/24SI-9F1ZUc

Imagine what you could do? (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=eutube#p/u/80/gFsQPfazBx0

Make love, not CO2 (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=eutube#p/u/132/znJC_XnGvx0

Portraits of 5 young Europeans (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=eutube#p/u/257/UHYqJjwHh9c

Reaching out to lend a hand (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/u/216/OwlbvmvLCH0

Romanticism still alive in European cinema! (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/B3B3FBF0496049C6/2/3kHoHH-05yI

Thank You! (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/search/1/vvYtDeUaRuk
Twentieth anniversary of democratic change in Central and Eastern Europe (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/eutube#p/c/EC3B6BFD46E46EB3/3/nhS55x8J7pw

Youth in Action (Video file).
Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/profile?user=eutube#p/u/208/VE0mRmTRbfY