



Master of Arts Thesis

Euroculture

Palacký University in Olomouc, Czech Republic (Home University)

20 May, 2010

EuroNews: How does “Pure News” sound? Managing Objectivity in
Multilingual Broadcasting

(English and Russian Versions of EuroNews)

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Olomouc, 20 May, 2010



MA Programme Euroculture

Declaration

I, Palina Mahilina, hereby declare that this thesis, entitled “EuroNews: How does “Pure News” Sound? Managing Objectivity in Multilingual Broadcasting (English and Russian Versions of EuroNews)” submitted as partial requirement for the Euroculture MA Program, 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.

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Abstract

EuroNews: How does “Pure News” Sound? Managing Objectivity in Multilingual Broadcasting (English and Russian Versions of EuroNews)

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Maintaining of the European Public Sphere has been viewed as a long term aim of the Council of Europe and the European Union, where media are seen as one of the most important instruments. After several attempts, finally EuroNews TV channel has claimed to take the place of pan-European media. However, there are two main questions to take into consideration: how to manage journalistic values and how to manage linguistic diversity of Europe and beyond? The answer of EuroNews is to speak people’s language and give them “pure news,” so the viewer can form his own opinion. Now the channel is available in 10 languages, and two more will be added soon.

Nevertheless, there are accusations of bias heard, depending on the language. We try to respond to them by evaluating the coverage of Presidential Election in Belarus in December, 2010. For this purpose we employ the elements of hard news marked out by Stuart Allan and see how it influences the reports done in Russian and English.

Key words: European public Sphere, EuroNews, Objectivity, Multilingual broadcasting

Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
DW	Deutsche Welle
EBU	European Broadcasting Union
EEC	European Economic Community
EPS	European Public Sphere
EU	European Union
EV	news text written in English
EVN	Eurovision News Exchange
ITN	Independent Television News
N	news item/text
RV	news text written in Russian
TVwF	Television without Frontiers Directive
USA	United States of America
WWI	World War I
ZDF	Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen

Acknowledgement

I'm grateful to International Visegrad Fund for helping me to realize my dream to study Euroculture, and Palacky University Euroculture team for all the support provided during studies.

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Vladimir P. Polach for the advice, my friend Evgenia Mazannik for a peer-review, and everyone who inspired me these days.

I'm particularly thankful to my parents for letting me go my way.

Introduction

Today's Europe speaks hundreds languages, including those, brought by immigrants from other parts of the World. The EU works in 23 official languages. Though the information nowadays doesn't have borders or walls firm enough to keep information inside only, it still has a language barrier to overcome. There is a tradition of international broadcasting in Europe, when a particular country aims at disseminating information in several languages outside its borders as well as at stating and promoting the country's position. The most known examples of such companies in Europe are British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Deutsche Welle (DW). Starting first as radio-service, they now have more than half a century experience in broadcasting beyond the borders. Besides these most obvious aims (though national dominance is not always stated openly in the documents), there is a number of other reasons, too.

So, if a particular country managed to establish its influential broadcasting network outside the country, can Europe or the EU in particular, compete on broadcasting market? The launch of a European alternative to national international channels has also one more purpose: Europe is in need of common public sphere, to create "Europeans out of nations". The Europeanisation project is a complicated construct, which we will not touch in this work, but we will examine the place of media in the construction of the European public sphere (EPS). Here comes another question, how to create the news, using EU terminology, which will represent "united in diversity" point of view, but still will be objective? Therefore, the first chapter is dedicated to researching on the EPS and attempts to create "media" for Europe (TV). We will be guided by the works of Baisnée, Statham Corcoran, and Fahy. The second chapter is devoted to examining objectivity as the most common demand from the viewers (nowadays *users* may be more relevant, since the contents of the international channels and radio stations is consumed more and more often online), and as the basis of the channel's promotion. The attention will also be given to the role of the journalist in this process. The concept of objectivity will be of a central importance for evaluating the news coverage in English and in Russian about the same event at EuroNews Channel. The framework,

introduced by Allan and composed out nine characteristics of the *hard news*, will be used for the interpretation of the media coverage of the presidential election in Belarus in December 2010 and successive months. This analysis is the core idea of the third chapter.

The topic chosen is the result of the long-term accusation of unfair and biased reporting at the EuroNews about situation in Belarus by governmental and non-governmental media in Belarus, where bias and the language of the report is the most discussed issue.¹² Due to the fact that most of the research available about the channel is focused on EuroNews as a part of media market (Bourdon, Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg) we are trying to draw attention to the content of the news as a part of journalists' work. So far the most helpful in revealing the news-formation were ethnographical research of Baisnée and Marchetti, research on transnational journalism by Machill, and the syllabus for a University course prepared by Russian journalist Loktev, who is currently working for EuroNews

Thereby, we will formulate the research question in the following way:

Taking into account declared objectivity of a pan-European TV Channel EuroNews, how is the same news-story covered within this channel, depending on the language used?

These are the questions and statements that we will consider in the course of this work:

- How is European public sphere understood in the framework of the EU and what is the role of media in it?
- How did news gain its place as a value
- How are relations between a state and a journalist regulated and how does it influence news construction?
- What does objectivity consist of?

The thesis is also an idealistic attempt to give the answer to the question “what to do and whom to blame.” It’s also an attempt to become “useful.” As Jay Rosen puts it:

¹ “Licence for Truth,” *Kontyry* (Belarus: ONT, December 27, 2010), <http://www.ont.by/programs/programs/kontyry/topics/0063650/> (accessed on April 20, 2010)

² Charter 97 “Russia Will not recognize the results of Presidential Election?”, <<http://charter97.org/ru/news/2010/9/15/32131/comments/>> (accessed on March 29, 2010)

The most important thing journalists can teach scholars, researchers, academic critics (and even public philosophers) is how to be useful - useful to journalism, but also to communities, publics, and nations.³

The outcomes of the research then should become a competent part of the discussion among other media, and prepare for thorough research of EuroNews content.

³ Jay Rosen, "Foreword," in *Qualitative research in journalism: taking it to the streets*, ed. Sharon Iorio, LEA's Communication Series (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), xi.

Chapter I

First, we will have a closer look at the definition of the European public sphere (EPS), and its needs. Then we will move to European Audiovisual Policy as the legal basis for audio-visual exchange among EU member-states and beyond in order to create awareness of the situation across the region and facilitate cross-cultural production. Knowing which political decisions and which circumstances have influenced the EuroNews creation, its legal and financial ground, may later be useful for analyzing the objectivity. Comparing it to more famous national broadcasters aiming at wider public, such as BBC and DW, will help to see the peculiarities of the EuroNews, and explain the appearance of a pan-European channel, the ownership of which is now shared among 21 broadcasting companies.

1.1. Public Sphere for Europe: Definition, Range of Problems, Solutions

The development of the EPS is seen as reflection on the state of communication between EU institutions and citizens, which is now seen as problematic. Such factors as low participation in the European Parliament Elections, growing nationalistic moods in the societies indirectly prove the urgent need in changing strategies for a common public sphere for the Europeans.

The EU has gone through the process of becoming not only economic, but also a political union. The culture was not a priority and not something that European politicians were prepared to work on as it was believed that common European heritage somehow can bring people together. Thus economy was a good basis to unite Europe of the second half of XX century that was torn apart by two World Wars. However the common strategy in economy did not automatically meant cultural closeness for people, who even don't have a common language to speak. Recent situation, worsened by global financial crisis, shows that European values, and probably the EPS, still have not emerged: countries are seeking to protect their own capital while Europe's participation in global crisis is not a part of public debates. The EU now often refers to the EPS as a must to sustain political stability of the Union.

1.1.1. In Searches for European Public Sphere Definition

The ideal view on the EPS is still perceived and defined in Habermasian way by the EU institutions. If we compare his definition of the ideal bourgeois public sphere, he gives in 1989 -

The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor⁴

And the one, that the European Parliament gives in its resolution as on September 7, 2010 –

(...) public sphere can be understood as a space in which public policies may be better understood by, and discussed with, all EU citizens and all sections of the population, in all its diversity, with a view to meeting their expectations more effectively, and whereas it must be a venue both for the provision of information and for wide-ranging consultations transcending national borders and fostering the development of a sense of shared public interest throughout the EU, (...).⁵

We can see a few things in common.

Both definitions require all the citizens to come together to reflect on governmental issues, however the definition from the European Parliament is complicated by its cross-border challenge. If to take into consideration the usage of the EPS as a term in legal documents, we may come to the conclusion that EPS existence has already been legitimated through them. Keeping in mind both definitions, Baisnée's four assumptions about the EPS⁶, which are used within academia and which circulate in the society, seems logical:

- the EPS is needed for the EU to achieve its political dimension
- Every EU citizen is a member of EPS
- the lack of EPS creates “democratic deficit”, and prevents the development of European public opinion

⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere : an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1989), 27.

⁵ European Parliament, “European Parliament resolution of 7 September 2010 on journalism and new media – creating a public sphere in Europe”, <<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P7-TA-2010-0307+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN>> .

⁶ Olivier Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...)”, *European Journal of Communication* 22, no. 4 (December 1, 2007): 495.

- EPS consists of national media

The last assumption will be very useful when starting the discussion about pan-European media, as there are several ideas of how and where EPS can function.

1.1.2. European Public Sphere as a Stimulated Political and Cultural Construct

With regard to the basic assumptions of EPS existence, for many researchers the fact is no more than a theory. The EPS is viewed as necessary political and cultural construct, needed for smooth functioning of the EU as democratic institution.

As the EU as a project was not the mere wish of European countries, but economic decisions as well as the idea of two men - De Gaulle and Adenauer to create Common Europe, the EU, or the concept of European Community first, needed to be promoted among those who are to participate in it, namely among the citizens of the countries that signed the agreement. The long-term vision was to create “Europeans out of nations”. The EPS as a political construct has to be brought into existence to ensure that European Community concept works. The urge for it has been often expressed in public speeches. For instance, Bourdon cites Leo Tindemans, Belgian prime minister in 1975, that Europe is “not only collaboration between States, but also rapprochement of people”.⁷ So, officials took the leading role in creating the EPS, starting the “top-down” process.

Attributed to Monnet, often quoted "If we had to do everything again, we would have to start with culture" proves the need of constructing European culture as well. The idea of bringing different peoples together to public discussion that will lead to the support of the EU institutions is crucially important for democratic functioning of supranational state. Political contention integrated into emerging public sphere in Statham's opinion, is “an important case of transformation beyond the nation-state”.⁸ The communication was important from the very beginning as the part of EU project, and therefore is much discussed (see Baisnée 2007). Though the EU has a good visibility, the transformation

⁷ Jérôme Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” *International Communication Gazette* 69, no. 3 (June 1, 2007): 268.

⁸ Paul Statham, “Europe’s Search for an Attentive Public: What Prospects?” (presented at the Communicating European Citizenship, Lancaster House, Stable Yard, St James’s, London SW1A 1BB, 2010), 16, <http://www.uaces.org/pdf/papers/1002/Statham.pdf>. (accessed on January 10, 2011)

process to the EPS might be perceived as problematic. More policy competences are now under the EU level of jurisdiction, and as a result, debates are much less intense as they used to be on the national level, and therefore, exclude the voices of civil society.⁹

Thus, the EPS is viewed and needed as a democratic approval of the EU as an open institution. Well-established communication between the EU institutions and EU citizens is seen as a prerequisite of democratic functioning. Only the visibility to European public itself doesn't necessarily create inclusiveness of the EU citizens into decisions showing their importance to the citizens. In general, media are the medium of bringing EU information to citizens; however, the question is, if communication goes two ways.

This terminology confusion of what should be understood under the EPS was created by strong promotion of the EPS concept by the EU institutions from the early times of the Community, and the EPS was included into research designs as an EU-institutionalized definition borrowed from the EU without questioning. Eurobarometer is a good example of such a construct, as it measures something that does not exist. Being an important part of Directorate General Communication of the European Commission, it produces public opinion on certain issues related to the EU by combining opinions from the member states. Its mission is to know the opinion better - to identify and analyze citizens' expectations and needs, to become "ears" of European Institutions in order to know how to form communication policy as well as how to present citizens to each other.¹⁰ Thus, Baisnée concludes, the effort and the task of Eurobarometer was to create public opinion, and by measuring and publicizing the results¹¹ Eurobarometer has become part of the policy and moreover, its tool.

Now the EU is in need of democratic legitimacy, as so far citizens are not active participants of this dialog, but more passive listeners or even indifferent to it. According to Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, who agree with Habermas, the EPS should be represented by a network of forums, which are constituted by different interconnected arenas of public communication.¹² It is believed that media may play the role of the

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Margot Wallström, "35 YEARS OF EUROBAROMETER: Welcome to the EUROBAROMETER conference 2008", November 21, 2008, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/paris/paris_en/home.htm.

¹¹ Baisnée, "The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It's Worth Wondering...)" 499.

¹² Michael Brüggemann and Hagen Schulz-Forberg, "Becoming Pan-European?," *International Communication Gazette* 71, no. 8 (December 1, 2009): 694.

platforms where discussions may take place. So far, and Europeans, and common European media are more myths than reality.

1.1.3. Critical Look. In need of Communication

The phrase “Europe has been created. Now we must create Europeans¹³” has been attributed to several key men of the European Institutions over the contemporary history of Europe. One of the founding fathers of European Unity Jean Monnet¹⁴ is also in the list of possible ‘authors’, proving that the future challenge of a long-term process was identified from the beginning. Monnet turns to be an anchor for establishing communication within the EU. At first informing public was not among priorities of highest authorities, as aide to Monnet, Jacques-René Rabier recalls.¹⁵ The press–service has become one of the most important services inside the EU as its aim is to communicate political change in order to have support and get the approval on the national level, too. As the result of intensive work of the EU related media structures we have now the overrepresentation of information from the EU institutions¹⁶, but there is a clear lack of the feedback and information coming from civil society.¹⁷

We have already paid attention to Baisnée’s doubts about using the EPS as well established concept in academia and media.¹⁸ And from these doubts another one - does Europe have a unified media voice – arises. Statham points out non-existence of supranational media, meaning that national media play the role of doing communication, informing/not informing citizens about the events or concern of the EU or a particular country.¹⁹

¹³ by analogy with “We have made Italy. Now we must make Italians” by Massimo d’Azeglio

¹⁴ Statham, “Europe’s Search for an Attentive Public: What Prospects?,” 2.

¹⁵ Cited in Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...),” 497.

¹⁶ Ruud Koopmans, “Who inhabits the European public sphere? Winners and losers, supporters and opponents in Europeanised political debates,” *Blackwell Publishing Ltd* 46, no. 2 (2007): 205.

¹⁷ Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, eds., *The making of a European public sphere: media discourse and political contention*, Communication, Society and Politics (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁸ Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...),” 493.

¹⁹ Statham, “Europe’s Search for an Attentive Public: What Prospects?,” 3.

Statham is also ‘looking for’ the public the EU addresses to. Communication between the EU and its citizens is seen as problematic due to a number of reasons. For him, the problem is that the EU institutions still address non-existing groups. He describes it as a both directions problem, especially visible at the early times of the European Community:

Policy makers at the supranational level acted as if citizens with national loyalties no longer existed, whereas the citizens of member states acted as if the European-level of governance and administration had not come into being.²⁰

Baisnée also cites the interview with one of the press officials, and it becomes clear that unified communication does not exist even for the institution that spread the idea, as they always have to take into account national discourse when communicating information.²¹ He also suggests seeing the EPS as social groups actively involved in the debates over the EU and EU policies.²² (This point of view is very close to the idea of Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, being inspired by Habermas, of the EPS as a network of forums.) As for now, there are several groups who are particularly interested in the EU debates like businessmen, farmers and the study of media dedicated to this group might be of a real worth. Media produce a European public debate, even if, for the most part, it elicits little public interest.²³ Statham also sticks to the idea of Almond’s “attentive elite” that is very small in number (even smaller than national one), but valuable for politics, and calls it “Europeanized public”.²⁴ Then Baisnée also assumes that inclusion of all EU citizens to public debates is unnecessary and probably should not be the aim of communication policy.²⁵

Statham sees the solution also in providing different kind of information to the European public: the information coming top-down is more sufficient, but not enough time and space is devoted to the actions of civic society. Thus, communication within the society here should be intensified to cause debates within one group as well as intensify other direction of communication. Baisnée supports him in thinking that media have the potential bear the palm for creating Europe-wide debates. The group for the communication should be meaningfully formed around the issues which are important

²⁰ Ibid., 2.

²¹ Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...)” 495.

²² Ibid., 501.

²³ Statham, “Europe’s Search for an Attentive Public: What Prospects?,” 12.

²⁴ Ibid., 5.

²⁵ Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...)” 501.

to national public. He also points that the EU is visible in the areas like national politics, but not its influence on everyday life.²⁶ According to his research, government and executive powers are overrepresented:

So the deficit does not consist of a lack of communication about Europe, but in the relative over-visibility and dominance of European and national executive elites in mediated political discourse.²⁷

To sum up, the solution is the provision of adequate information as well as links between politics and citizens must be established. Intensification of two-ways communication is the way to create a working EPS. Nevertheless, the message sent by the EU institutions should be carefully designed in accordance to the needs of a particular group. Otherwise, information “one size fits all” contributes to misunderstanding the ideas of common Europe.

1.1.4. Media for the European Public Sphere: National or European?

Many researches, no matter which vision of the EPS they stick to, speak about media as an important factor that participates in creating the EPS. Until now most of the attention is given to national media, as they still continue to be the main source of information for the people in the countries. Though the way they present European issues differs from country to country.

It is Baisnée who points out that the media EPS tends to be replaced by national media (press in particular). Their lie of the land is very biased when presenting European events. If a demonstration or a debate in Brussels has not appeared in national media, does it mean it did not happen?²⁸ Brussels life is full of events that may influence the citizens, but they don't always find the way to national media – and through that never occur to EU citizens in other countries. And if we call such coverage “biased”, very selective, we must keep in mind several factors that control a story and a journalist itself, according to Preston, – individual, media routines and norms, organizational influences, cultural and ideological power, political and economical factors.²⁹ Thus, any European event has to come through the process of “nationalization”, when it is edited,

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Statham, “Europe’s Search for an Attentive Public: What Prospects?,” 11.

²⁸ Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...),” 500.

²⁹ Paschal Preston, “Journalism in a state of flux? Explanatory perspectives,” in *Making the news: journalism and news cultures in Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), 7.

interpreted, reported in accord with the specifics of the public. While the EU addresses to “Europeans-to-be-created”, national media have to work with real people.

In addition to deconstructing the EPS, Baisnée questions its borders. His thesis is that the EPS does not necessarily end by borders of the EU.³⁰ And, in the case of the modern media, the borders have not been existing already for a long time (first with radio waves, then with satellite TV). One of the most important problems that still create borders is the language issue. English is not yet a lingua franca for Europeans as well viewing habits vary from region to region.³¹ As of today, the engineering of Europeanism, as nationalism before, with the help of media (TV in case of Europe) has failed,³² Bourdon thinks. Thus, TV cannot be a tool by itself; it can just reinforce the effects of the existing order.

In contrast, the example of Financial Times – a national British media – shows how one can become popular and needed: they address European elite in Brussels, where the main decisions are made, and the newspaper has become a symbol of being kept informed about the most important issues. It stands out for choosing and caring about their readers, which belong to a specific group.³³

As we showed in previous section, media anyway are an important tool for creating the debates in common Europe, support the democracy, and can help to certain extent to pull such different countries together if the process has already been started. However, schemes where information is just available for the citizens do not make them interested in the European issues. The adjustment of information and media itself to the context requires craftsmanship from journalists, and politicians. Thus, creating pan-European media to find solution union-wide, where Europe does have the face, is a big challenge.

1.2. Regulation of TV-broadcasting in Europe

With the development of technology and intensified connections among European countries, be it political or economic unions, the incipient EPS needed to find solution for two practical problems 1) how to make national news available on the daily basis to broadcasters outside the country 2) how to regulate and protect inner market from

³⁰ Baisnée, “The European Public Sphere Does Not Exist (At Least It’s Worth Wondering...)” 501.

³¹ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 274.

³² *Ibid.*, 263.

³³ Farrel Corcoran and Declan Fahy, “Exploring the European Elite Sphere - The role of the Financial Times,” *Journalism Studies* 10, no. 1 (2009): 103.

external actors. The EBU (European Broadcasting Union) was a solution for the first, while the EU was taking care of the second

Both European Commission and the Council of Europe sought for the opportunity to participate in regulation of the system.

1.2.1. EBU solution for news exchange within Europe and beyond

Launched in 1982, satellite TV opened possibilities that were not known before: TV broadcasting has had no borders since that time. It has created new possibilities but also new threats, which for Europe in whole were American audiovisual products – programs and films were menacing not only culturally, but economically, too.³⁴ The satellite has become a challenge for public services in face of commercial programs. Collins also describes the possibility satellite television had for Europe:

Satellite television appealed to those who wished to introduce more competition into national broadcasting markets or wished to use satellite television to create genuinely transnational, European, publics bound into a European collective identity through their consumption of common European programming.³⁵

Over the years, there are more challenges to cope with: the European Broadcast Union (EBU) Secretary General has recently named the following concerns for the members – increasing competition, calling the public service into question, financial crisis, and the new technological revolution.³⁶ The creation of the EBU over 60 years ago was also the attempt to come together in searches for better performance across Europe.

So what is the EBU? It is a complex cooperative and a multinational enterprise, with several aims, notably technical and legal.³⁷ So it has been involved into the process of creating the basis, the proxy for common TV-nation. The EBU was founded in 1950 first by 23 broadcasters: the participants were from a broader number of countries than any economic union in Europe. Now it has 74 members from 56 countries³⁸, situated in Europe and beyond, and is the largest association of national broadcasters. The EBU is a key player in the story of attempts for Europe-wide broadcasting, as it has been deeply

³⁴ Richard Collins, *From satellite to single market: new communication technology and European Public Service television*, Routledge Research in Cultural and Media Studies (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁷ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 264.

³⁸ “EBU Profile,” *European Broadcasting Union*, February 1, 2011, <http://www.ebu.ch/en/about/index.php>.

involved in the politics of European identity.³⁹ The initiative of its establishing belongs to Swiss public service. The demand to create association of broadcasters, according to the words of the EBU president, Jean-Paul Philippot, was dictated by the time, because “they needed to join forces to face up to the changing environment and the challenges posed at the time by the global spread of radio.”⁴⁰

However, the concern about radio is no longer valid – new technologies, as well as Internet as a technology and the ground for cooperation bring the Union to rethinking their future and the possibilities that are opening. In the latest report the role of public service is restated under the new circumstances:

As they respond to the technological and social challenges that are leading to a convergence of media platforms while at the same time, paradoxically, producing an increasing fragmentation of media audiences, public service media institutions must not lose sight of their role as an instrument of social cohesion, a figurehead or common reference point for society as a whole.

That is why the EBU will go through a number of restructuring reforms. The Union also claims that 75% of EU citizens watch EBU Members’ main channels.⁴¹ The interaction between the members of the EBU goes through offering 15-minute news bulletin of national news produced by active members to active and approved participants (for instance, EuroNews is an approved participant, as the channel does not produce national and has its specifics, but its participation in EBU activities is considered useful).⁴² Thus, the first aim stated as “promoting public service media in Europe and around the world”⁴³ goes well with it. Interesting, that they report about increasing numbers of people watching EBU channels in connection with global financial crisis and still the main challenge is attraction of young generation to EBU programs.⁴⁴

The EBU is not a known structure for a regular viewer, but one of the Union’s earliest product – the Eurovision Song Contest as an attempt of creating and sharing something within whole Europe – is the best known to general public. Thus, the first attempts to connect Europe were dealing with culture. Eurovision, football matches, Pope’s

³⁹ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 266.

⁴⁰ “EBU Annual Report 2010” (European Broadcasting Union, 2010), http://www.ebu.ch/CMSimages/en/Rapport_UER_2010_EN_FINAL_tcm6-68194.pdf.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁴² “EBU: Admission,” *European Broadcasting Union*, March 7, 2011, http://www.ebu.ch/en/ebu_members/admission/index.php.

⁴³ “EBU Annual Report 2010,” 7.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

speeches broadcasted life to different countries should bring the sense of community and shared experience⁴⁵ as if living together the same things across the countries. There was a European cultural-theatrical effort as well in the framework of the EBU. From 1962 to 1971, under the title ‘The Biggest Theatre in the World’, the EBU broadcast a series of plays by well-known European playwrights in Eurovision.⁴⁶ But it did not reach the same success as entertaining song contest. Unfortunately, present situation with the Song contest also can be described as “The operation was successful but the patient died.”⁴⁷ It has become more popular in the countries outside the EU as well as recent years show that it is liked more by migrants inside participating countries or is strongly connected with general attitude towards a particular country. As an example, Germany votes for Turkey and vice a versa, or Belarus always giving points to Russia. The geography of Eurovision now includes a broader Europe and countries outside Europe, and thus particular European spirit is no longer there: it is more about willingness to be connected with Europe.

Eurovision News Exchange (EVN) launched in 1959 is one of the main achievements of the EBU which every viewer is experiencing daily. Easy and cheap, it has soon become a part of life of every channel; especially it opened new horizons for small channels with limited budget. Still, as Bourdon writes, the news selected represents the domestication (nationalization) of the stories chosen (through editing and commenting). The proximity is achieved by several practices, where the most common are these:

- 1) stories must be commented by national leaders;
- 2) foreign events framing national policy;
- 3) non-national leaders, but who can add national flavor (pope) or significant for this particular nation;
- 4) events taken place in former colonies;⁴⁸

Though EVN had positive effect at the very beginning, it’s no longer that noticeable due to technological development, and access to international events is easier as never before.

To sum up, the EBU has become a connecting institution, and has started the battle for common European news earlier than any political decisions were made. It has always

⁴⁵ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 265.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 267.

included a wider range of countries than political treaties did. Thus the EBU may be called a true supporter of the EPS.

1.2.2. Green Papers and Directives

From mid 1970s talks about culture in the European Community has been renewed: more countries were “in”, and as we have seen in previous sections, common strategy in economy is not enough to make people from different countries to feel themselves being “Europeans”. Legal framework for European Television was also needed to regulate the movement of broadcasting services and to preserve public service values. There have been several attempts on dealing with media. The EC adopted Green Paper “Television without borders” in 1984, which by 1989 turned into “The Television without Frontiers Directive” (TVwF). In 2007 it was considerably revised, as designed for television broadcast only, it was no longer up to date with present forms of video and audio dissemination. It was renamed and reworked to Audiovisual Media Services Directive.⁴⁹ Present policy document deals with four areas – 1) regulatory framework 2) funding programs 3) other measures (eg. promoting media literacy) 4) actions outside the EU (especially defending European cultural interests in the World Trade Organization).⁵⁰

The 1984 document was of declarative character, where special emphasis was put on information as decisive factor in building common Europe:

European unification will only be achieved if Europeans want. (...) A European identity will only develop if Europeans are adequately informed. At present, information via the mass media is controlled at the national level.⁵¹

The document outlined the need in information about Europe, however, not defining in particular its form. The worthiness of the document lies in the idea of free program circulation from country to country.⁵² Also it set liberalizing rules that could stimulate production, so that European audiovisual market could be harmonized into a single, and thus is strong enough to compete with US imports.⁵³ Thus, the main question addressed was how TV can function in the system of free trade. Under the French influence the

⁴⁹ “EU audiovisual and media policies - History of TVwF| Europa,” http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/reg/history/historytvwf/index_en.htm.

⁵⁰ “Audiovisual and Media Policies | Europa”, n.d., http://ec.europa.eu/avpolicy/index_en.htm.

⁵¹ Cited in Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 268.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Wheeler, “Whither Cultural Diversity: The European Union’s Market Vision for the Review of Television Without Frontiers Directive,” in *Media and cultural policy in the European Union*, ed. Katharine Sarikakis, vol. 24, An Interdisciplinary Series in European Culture, History and Politics (Amsterdam; New York NY: Rodopi, 2007), 227.

quota scheme for reserving time for European issues⁵⁴ was introduced and discussed in order to protect European market and make a European tool out of TV.

In 1989 TVwF Directive advocated several positions, like free circulation of European programs, majority of airtime should be devoted to European productions. In 1993 television and cinema became “cultural exceptions“, when discussion in General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT) (later will become WTO) in the USA.⁵⁵ Europe, though not anonymously, claimed that culture is not a product and shouldn't be threatened by free trade.

After first revision of TVwF in 1997 it became slightly more liberal. Heated discussions whether European quotas should be regulated, as well the idea of reinforcing European audiovisual industry for better production (encouraging cooperation, training, and distribution among European partners) received the support. So European media makers could receive money, as well national projects got a chance for becoming popular outside the country (practically implemented through MEDIA program run from 1991 and aiming at giving support production in the European audiovisual sector).

To conclude, the main achievements of common European legislation efforts are that transnational television was made legal, copyright law was harmonized and practices in collective rights management were clarified.⁵⁶ The legislation has been shaping the attempts of creating media for Europe.

1.3. Television for Europe or in Europe

Europe was not the first region to introduce satellite – Soviets were the first.⁵⁷ Satellite opened new possibilities and idea of a common channel could become reality. Bourdon describes them in the following way: “communication satellites have generated powerful technological utopias.”⁵⁸ Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg see the importance of Europeanization process through transnational broadcasters, too.⁵⁹ Before satellite

⁵⁴ James Coleman and Brigitte Rollet, “Television in Europe: issues and developments,” in *Television in Europe*, European Studies (Exeter England: Intellect Books, 1997), 14.

⁵⁵ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 269.

⁵⁶ Jean Chalaby, *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁸ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 271.

⁵⁹ Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, “Becoming Pan-European?,” 694.

only terrestrial networks were available: The national channels started to overlap other territories, but copyright regulation was not introduced until 1984.⁶⁰ The absence of pan-European regulation complicated the launch of the transnational channels that stumbled on prevalence of state monopolies, commercialization ban.⁶¹ New technology made European broadcasters believe in the possibility to disseminate the best European information. But there was also the threat of commercialization. Satellite allowed crossing the border for national companies, but they still remained within confines of the linguistic region.⁶²

1.3.1. From Ideas to Attempts: European Channels

In 1982 there were two attempts to start broadcasting, inspired by European ideas.

First attempt of European broadcasting appeared even before Eurikon (often addressed to as the first attempt) was commercial. The channel Sky targeted cable networks and hotels. The language of this experiment was English, chosen as a lingua franca. But it failed due to little knowledge about preferences of national audiences: though prime-time was the same for a number of countries, different nationalities prefer watching different programs during it.⁶³

Eurikon programs were launched in 1982. Each of five EBU members – the IBA (UK), RAI (Italy), ORF (Austria), NOS (Netherlands) and ARD (West Germany) – transmitted to 15 countries for a week in turn. This was done in order to see the interest in pan-European programming, discover what is ‘pan-national editorial viewpoint’ for their news services, and conduct an experiment with different methods of communicating simultaneously with a multi-lingual audience.⁶⁴ So it was only 5-week long experience.

Europa, launched in October 1985, was another experiment of the EBU with establishing pan-European channel, innovative in its technology, organization and delivery, but traditional in its programming. It was an expensive learning about the fact

⁶⁰ Jean Chalaby, “Pioneers in Satellite Television, 1982-4,” in *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶² Collins, *From satellite to single market: new communication technology and European Public Service television*, 6.

⁶³ Bourdon, “Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul,” 271.

⁶⁴ Jean Chalaby, “The Difficult Expansion of Europe’s Satellite TV Market, 1985-9,” in *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 25.

that European public is much more varied, that unionists had imagined. Five EBU broadcasters participated in this project. However, heavy weighted broadcasters, such as BBC, ZDF refused participation, as they were not sure about success.⁶⁵ And these broadcasters were right: Europa existed 13 months only.

In 1989 Eurimages were launched where at least 33 countries took part.⁶⁶ The idea of project belongs to the Council of Europe. Its aim was and is to promote the European film industry by encouraging the production and distribution of films and fostering co-operation between professionals. Basically, it is the program that gives funds for producing, but the program does not own a channel.

EuroSport TV channel, launched in 1989 is considered to be the first successful European broadcasting attempt. The proposals of sports broadcasting were there from 1981 when first European projects were discussed Jean-Pierre Julien, the EBU executive, who advocated that Eurikon to be a sports channel.⁶⁷ However, the difficulties lay in sports rights. The federations were increasingly reluctant to give or sell rights to broadcasters who would not schedule their competitions, because advertisers will not commit to sports without exposure.⁶⁸ The channel was supported by many members of the EBU (16 broadcasters). The EBU, though, later was accused of violating the rights. (EuroSport had a commercial broadcaster among its shareholders, but the Union was not giving access to EBU events to other commercial players).⁶⁹ The ownership was changed, but it was still a commercial channel which managed to be an EBU member due to its previous activities.⁷⁰ By the mid 1990s EuroSport had become the leading pan-European thematic channel with multilingual voice-over. Now they claim to be for the 13th year the leading pan-European TV among all the categories.⁷¹

Arte is an example of cross-national channel; it is a Franco-German attempt of satellite channel, as a result of wide-range collaboration between the countries from 1969. The idea belongs to French president François Mitterrand, who suggested German

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ “Council of Europe - Eurimages - Fund for European cinematographic works”, n.d., http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/eurimages/default_en.asp.

⁶⁷ Chalaby, “The Difficult Expansion of Europe’s Satellite TV Market, 1985-9,” 33.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 34.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “EuroSport: Facts”, n.d., <http://www.eurosportcorporate.com/index.php?target=12>.

chancellor Helmut Kohl to create a cultural channel,⁷² which potentially can become European. France was experiencing the launch of two commercial channels, and this initiative should be the answer to them.

It's bilingual by its nature, but one of the main clashes is different understanding of culture. While culture is associated with High culture in France, German language is more open to perception of culture as an ordinary concept.⁷³ The most popular of its programs is the news. However, their national share of audience is very small. Anyway, the result is well-summed by this phrase, 'Arte has many more supporters than viewers.'

There have been several tries both by the European Community and the Council of Europe, to put life into common European broadcasting idea, where the EBU was of central node, bringing the wider understanding of Europe.

We will now look at three channels based in Europe. Challaby introduces his typology based on broadcasters' degree of transnationality, which we will use for the rest of the chapter. He distinguishes between the 'Big Three' that tell stories beyond their borders (ex. BBC World News), networks that tell stories within their borders (ex. EuroNews), and those that tell stories about their borders (ex. Deutsche Welle-TV).

1.3.2. The channel that tells the stories within borders: EuroNews

The EBU put into EuroNews much more resources than into EuroSport, as well as previous attempts gave necessary knowledge on how to avoid the failure. So by 1993, France has become home for a new channel, rivaling Anglo-Saxon broadcaster. Presented as "Multilingual system of distribution of images",⁷⁴ the channel was launched in the environment of competing with CNN influence, which had just asserted its role as a global channel after Gulf War in 1991.

In 2001 47 % citizens of the European Union claimed they knew English⁷⁵, but the percentage of people being able to consume information in English on daily basis is definitely smaller. Thus the language is still an obstacle for deep penetration of the

⁷² Jean Chalaby, "Key Entertainment Genres and Channels in Transnational Television," in *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 102.

⁷³ Cited in Bourdon, "Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul," 273.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁷⁵ European Commission Directorate General Press and Communication, "Many tongues, one family Languages in the European Union", n.d., 6, ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/move/45/en.pdf.

European news into national cultures, though it may change with new generations. As previous attempts of global channels were based on translation, EuroNews tries a different strategy: writing news simultaneously now in 11 languages for the same video, in order to preserve the feeling of transparency of the news and the feeling of current affairs. While the problem of translation doesn't exist for movies or shows, it's extremely important for the news to have the feeling of fresh and new information. Also the channel should take into consideration the fact that "European" is rather something they still have to create, than address now. Bourdon describes it in the following way:

The project became less the integration of a truly European news channel than the creation of a multilingual system of distribution of images, having to take into account an increasingly competitive commercial environment with news channels being launched in different countries.⁷⁶

The channel has come through several stages of the development. Starting from five languages, in a year, it was very close to being shut down, as there was no common editorial policy, and thus the product was incoherent: everything depended on the nationality of the editor-on-duty, as everyone considered the news from his country is a priority.⁷⁷

Year 1998 brought changes in design and ownership, much more consistency was introduced. In 2003, about 160 journalists was working for producing 6-languages broadcasting were in Lyon, and only 3 were based in Brussels.⁷⁸ The channel shows the example of "sedentary journalism," as there were no really field journalists, making however, the channel less spectacular. Also it was the channel without "talking heads" – only video and the voiceover. Presenters were only used for such programs as *Agora* and *Europinion*, but then they required translation.

EuroNews adopted a new strategy, and a different branding by the year 2008, but the changes in the programming are still going on. It first came with the change of the design: the designing agency was working for about a year before they come to the idea of "pure news – EuroNews." "Pure is the only word which defines all of the channel's values: honesty, integrity and neutrality. These values are acknowledged within the

⁷⁶ Bourdon, "Unhappy Engineers of the European Soul," 272.

⁷⁷ Denis Loktev, "Организация работы европейского информационного канала euronews", 2008, <http://ru.loktev.net/euronews.shtml>.

⁷⁸ David Lowen, "Pan-European TV News", 2003, 2, http://www.ebu.ch/CMSimages/en/online_27_e_pan-europ_tcm6-4079.pdf.

industry, but, even more importantly, by our viewers.”⁷⁹ Recently EuroNews is number one in reaching households in Europe. It also claims to reach 2.7 million cable and satellite viewers every day: it is more than CNN International and BBC World News combined.⁸⁰

Thus, the mission of EuroNews as transnational channel is complicated and has been shaky for years. However it gave start for opening national communication system and making them operate on several levels – local, national, regional and global.⁸¹

1.3.3. The channel that tells the stories beyond its borders: BBC

BBC is one of the oldest broadcasters on international market. Starting from radio service in 1922 on the national level, it launched TV service in 1932 that was interrupted with the WW2 and then reopened.⁸² The idea of independent service was very simple – each listener should pay a small fee, so that the broadcast will be free from the government or advertising. The first foreign language service radio was launched in 1938.

By the end of the war, the BBC was broadcasting in 40 languages, and even the Nazis’ dark wizard of propaganda, Josef Goebbels, was forced to admit that the corporation had won ‘the intellectual invasion of Europe’.⁸³

This was an important victory for the corporation that still lasts. BBC set the standards of reporting, as its journalists around the world were ready to report live about the events. Allan points out, that newscasts started to appear daily only in 1954. In 1938, 6 years after the first program transmission, news feature appeared (a recording of radio news presented without pictures).⁸⁴

In February 1950 BBC has become one of the founding members of the EBU; however the corporation stayed away from EBU ambitious pan-European attempts for broadcasting. By the end of 1980s BBC was also raising money through doing commercial production of books, films and etc.

⁷⁹ EuroNews, “Mediapack: New Dimension 2011”, 2011, http://www.euronews.net/media/download/mediapack/euronews_mediapack_en_2011.pdf.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Chalaby, *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks*, 3.

⁸² “BBC World Service | 75 Years”, n.d., http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/1122_75_years/index.shtml.

⁸³ Mark Tungate, *Media monoliths: how great media brands thrive and survive* (London; Sterling VA: Kogan Page, 2004), 28.

⁸⁴ Stuart Allan, *News culture*, 2nd ed., Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 34-35.

In March 1991 BBC World Service Television was launched prior to EuroNews, also longing to become a competitor of CNN International (European BBC content was available from 1987). The channel is designed for the audience outside UK, so it is the language used for the channel is free from cultural references. It could have been launched even before, in 1987, when BBC applied for governmental grant extension, but the idea was turned down.⁸⁵

Though it was the first international TV broadcasting, BBC had long term experience in radio world service. In 1995 the channel was renamed to BBC World and was launched in its present form, being available in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. In 2008 the channel got its present name BBC World News. The official page of the channel states that estimated weekly audience of 74 million makes BBC World News the BBC's biggest television service.⁸⁶

There are some important differences between Radio World Service and BBC World News that should be taken into consideration because of common confusion:

- Radio is using British government grant, which is now cut, and the restructure of the company is taking place, meaning some language offices have been recently closed or will appear completely only online (as Russian service).⁸⁷ According to new release upon optimizing BBC radio broadcast, more and more services are closed; a lot is done for optimizing internet broadcast and communication with listeners.⁸⁸
- BBC WN is funded commercially by advertising, not like radio.
- TV programs are available with several languages subtitles, but broadcasts are done in English. The most important news takes first 30 minutes of each hour; the other half of the hour is regionalized.

The greatest value of the company is information. BBC Charter is a document that every journalist working for BBC needs to consult. The corporation is one of the strongest brands presented online and developing its Internet services. Editorial staff has

⁸⁵ Tungate, *Media monoliths: how great media brands thrive and survive*, 29.

⁸⁶ "BBC News - About BBC World News TV", April 7, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-radio-and-tv-12957296>.

⁸⁷ "BBC News - BBC World Service to cut five language services", January 26, 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-12277413>.

⁸⁸ "BBC Russian - Полезная информация - История Русской службы Би-би-си", February 22, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/institutional/2011/02/000000_g_rs_history.shtml.

to take into account several questions – what is relevant to global audience, background, differences in tastes and tendencies, time issue (always the date).⁸⁹

BBC and CNN are equal competitors, struggling for elite public. Gorard says, that national attribute, be it CNN international or BBC World News, try to become rootless, without boundaries, and accessible to all.”⁹⁰ Jane Gorard, the channel’s marketing director, comments:

“People turn to us for accuracy and impartiality, and because we are a trusted source of information. They know that we work with a professionalism and rigor that ensures reliability. We have the image of being unallied with any outside influence or partnership. We invest more in news than any other organization, we have people on the ground for any given event, and we are likely to be closer to the story and understand it better.”⁹¹

Chalaby describes them as homogenous, speaking English as a second language, good level of education, cosmopolitan outlook.⁹²

BBC now puts a lot of efforts working with its audience special treatment for advertisers, asking people to participate in news making. Marketing is as important part – they want to look welcoming in order to establish good relationship with the audience. They try to stress lack of bias, as they presume their viewers are intelligent enough to decide on their own. The only thing they need is several angles.

1.3.4. The channel that tells the stories about its borders: DW - TV

Deutsche Welle is Germany’s international broadcaster: online, on-screen and over the air. It first appeared in early 50s, and was aiming at international public. And it is one of the main competitors of British Broadcasting Corporation in Europe. It is a public broadcaster and is funded by the government from tax revenue.

The international broadcaster’s services are targeted to people around the world who are interested in Germany and Europe, particularly to current and future opinion leaders and decision makers.⁹³ DW addresses its programs to people who are interested in manifold points of view and use media information to a large extent (information seekers). This includes, in particular, people who significantly influence the public opinion of a country due to their social position, or will have such influence in the future, and who

⁸⁹ Chalaby, *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks*, 176.

⁹⁰ Tungate, *Media monoliths: how great media brands thrive and survive*, 33.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹² Chalaby, *Transnational television in Europe: reconfiguring global communications networks*, 177.

⁹³ “ABOUT US | Deutsche Welle,” *dw-world.de*, 2011, <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/0,,3325,00.html>.

commit themselves actively to democracy, freedom rights and progress in authoritarian states though they understand that English is still a lingua franca for such people. DW as well as BBC is now undergoing reorganization in terms of optimizing their service in performing as TV: some broadcasts in foreign languages have been closed, however the webpage is available in 33 languages.⁹⁴

DW-TV began as a television station launched by the West Berlin broadcaster in August 1988. On 1 April 1992, Deutsche Welle inherited TV broadcast facilities, and started to use them for a German and English language television channel broadcast via satellite. A short Spanish broadcast segment was soon added. In 1995, it was broadcasting 24 hours (12 hours in German, 10 hours in English, and 2 hours in Spanish). In 2003, the German government passed a new "Deutsche Welle Law", which defined DW as a three-media organization—making the Deutsche Welle website an equal partner with DW-TV and DW-Radio.⁹⁵

The aim of the company is not to become leaders international news market, but to ensure Germany's international media presence⁹⁶ and, thereby, the global recognition of the country's position". Thus, they stand for promoting German language and culture as well as German economy, but providing independent and credible information.

Among its competitors DW names not only well known BBC, CNN, France 24, but also China Central Television.

Conclusions

There are many voices, saying that the existence of the EPS is questionable. The present state of affairs, if we look at how much of promotional activity is done in Brussels, may be related to "the absence of a genuine EPS and the relative weakness of pan-European civil society networks that operate in the public interest."⁹⁷ Having a common sphere means much more than being able to understand each other, it also means sharing common values.

⁹⁴ "2000 - 2005 | Chronology | Deutsche Welle", n.d., <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,326583,00.html>.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ "DW-TV - Focus on News and Information | Press Kit | Deutsche Welle", n.d., <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,3333025,00.html>.

⁹⁷ Corcoran and Fahy, "Exploring the European Elite Sphere - The role of the Financial Times," 103.

So, the creation of the EPS is regarded as an important part of building the EU as democratic institution, which they think is possible through the access to media. Audiovisual policy has created the basis for video exchange which influences the quality of news all over Europe, as well as it has protected European media market. However, special attention should be given to text when evaluating even video media, as commentaries are most important and reflect the interest of public in European topics if images shown are the same.

The EuroNews' appearance is the result of need in creating a media that will participate in the EPS as a full and active member. The channel is the result of unsuccessful, but still experience-bringing attempts over decades. Recently, its impact goes beyond EU borders, as well as the channel itself is not the idea of the EU only, which makes EuroNews a competitor on global media market, too.

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Chapter II

*If American Journalism were a religion [...], its supreme deity would be “objectivity”*⁹⁸

Journalism is sometimes called an Anglo-American invention⁹⁹. More than ten years after Mindlich named the god of journalism; the question now is even more radical: is it still possible to believe in journalism? For instance, Americans themselves do not believe in objective journalism anymore: Two-thirds (67.9 percent) of those surveyed think that “objective and fair journalism is dead,” but 89.3 percent believe the news media played a role in the election of President Barack Obama.¹⁰⁰ Thus, this small example proves the need of revising objectivity in journalism and at the same time still shows the power of media, even in the state they are now.

However, the statement, in our opinion, can also be applied to European Journalism, which is now a lot under the influence of Anglo-American model. Robert Thomson, former editor of *The Times* (London), says that, “Objectivity in a newspaper is in and of itself a journalistic philosophy that should be cherished”¹⁰¹, and then, commenting the challenges of the future of journalism and pessimistic moods among journalists and readers, “The negative navel-gazing in journalistic circles is unhealthy for the industry and for individuals. Fatalism tends to be fatal.”¹⁰²

In this chapter we are setting the framework we will use in the following chapter for examining the objectivity of EuroNews. It is the result of naming non/objectivity in the debates about the channel, as well as the channel itself implies the meaning of objective reporting through the slogan “EuroNews – Pure News”. We also do not claim to be able to present an objective view on this issue, as well as give the place to

⁹⁸ David Mindich, *Just the facts: how “objectivity” came to define American journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 1.

⁹⁹ Jean K. Chalaby, “Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention,” *European Journal of Communication* 11, no. 3 (1996): 303 -326.

¹⁰⁰ The Sacred Heart University Polling Institute, *SHU National Poll: Trust and Satisfaction With the National News Media - Sacred Heart University*, September 2009, http://www.sacredheart.edu/pages/30046_shu_national_poll_trust_and_satisfaction_with_the_national_news_media.cfm.

¹⁰¹ Roy Greenslade, “Exclusive interview with the new editor of the Times: Don’t mention the euro,” *The Guardian / Media*, May 20, 2002, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2002/may/20/mondaymediasection.thetimes>.

¹⁰² Patrick Phillips, “Robert Thomson: ‘The Web Is Now Mainstream’,” *I Want Media*, July 18, 2006, <http://www.iwantmedia.com/people/people59.html>.

every point. We also limit the discussion on objectivity to textual part of newspaper/TV message.

The chapter analyzes the establishing objectivity as a *must* in journalism culture through five practices, which Mindlich uses in order to look at objectivity.¹⁰³ These practices, in his opinion, are also the result of historical development of journalism practices. Also we will evaluate references to objectivity in mission statements of BBC, DW and EuroNews.

2.1. News and Objectivity

As we proved in previous chapter, media have been given one of the central roles in establishing the EPS, where ideological and market regulations play an important role. Also, objectivity, impartiality and avoidance of bias are declared to be important for strategic planning of national, pan-European and international broadcasters.¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵¹⁰⁶ Especially it turns to be important for those who work with elite, who recognize or understand possible bias in the story. As for today, the possibility for an individual to get information from several sources is really easy, it is vital not to make mistakes. In the latest motto of EuroNews channel “EuroNews - Pure News”, we see how communicating just the facts becomes central in the ideology of the channel, and endorses Anglo-American way of reporting. And probably the most famous format of the channel is “no comment TV”, where roughly edited video is shown without any comment, only the place and date information is given. It is up to viewers to interpret what they see. First born as a result of economical constraints, it has become its face and been copied now by other channels.

Following Aidan Crawley, ITN’s first editor, who once declared “News is human and alive”¹⁰⁷, we acknowledge the fact that it is impossible to do the news which will be recognized as “objective”, as even objectivity maybe called the form of bias.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Mindlich, *Just the facts*.

¹⁰⁴ EuroNews, “Mediapack: New Dimension 2011.”

¹⁰⁵ “Mission Statement | Deutsche Welle”, n.d., <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/0,,8852,00.html>.

¹⁰⁶ “BBC - Editorial Guidelines - Guidance - Conflicts of Interest - Introduction”, October 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/page/guidance-conflicts-introduction>.

¹⁰⁷ cited in Allan, *News culture*, 37.

¹⁰⁸ Kevin Williams, “Competing Models of Journalism? Anglo-American and European Reporting in the Information Age” (2006): 60.

2.1.1. News-saturated society and the role of journalism

Nowadays society is ‘news-saturated’.¹⁰⁹ Whatever we do, we are surrounded by news and information coming from TV, radio talk shows, and recently even social networks are nothing more, but a personal news agency. Information is not only for informing, but also for *infotaining*, turning even leisure time into news consuming. But probably it is still not the time for such radical headlines as “Journalism is Dead”, but it is true that so called European model of “journalism of expression, not observation” is reviving again,¹¹⁰ and then also getting into the news and news-production is no longer a destiny of the few. New media give several options to stand out.

The authors of the book *Ethical Issues in Journalism and Media*, Chadwick and Belsey consider that major problems arise from

(...) an unstable mixture of politics and science, using both these terms in a broad sense. First of all there is the global problem of environment, resources and population, (...). In addition, national rivalries, often over resources, but fuelled by chauvinistic, ideological and religious differences, threaten to bring permanent instability to international relations, together with the constant threat of war based on the mass availability of sophisticated weaponry, (...) So here is a great opportunity for the media to contribute to the advancement of peace, prosperity and progress. But can the media respond effectively?¹¹¹

Recent events in the World – in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya show how up-to-date information is important. New century romantics believe not just in the power of words, but in the power of words in media, where Facebook and Twitter are new means of expression available to many due to technology spread. It’s no longer guns, no bombs but the news that change the society.

However, Allan insists on speaking about news culture in the context, otherwise there is a tendency to exaggerate its influence.¹¹² Therefore, we first will try to see what is expected from journalism (keeping in mind that for the past years, quality journalism is mostly understood through Anglo-American model of communicating

¹⁰⁹ Allan, *News culture*, 1.

¹¹⁰ Williams, “Competing Models of Journalism? Anglo-American and European Reporting in the Information Age,” 61.

¹¹¹ Ruth Chadwick and Andrew Belsey, *Ethical Issues in Journalism and the Media*. (London: Routledge, 1992), 2.

¹¹² Stuart Allan, “Introduction. The culture of news,” in *News culture*, 2nd ed., Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 2.

just the facts). And then we will dip into the process of crystallizing objectivity out of propaganda in traditional media.

Allan identifies the fact that,

News media are embedded in specific relations of power and control, while, at the same time, recognizing the ways in which they are working to reinfect, transform and, if only infrequently, challenge these same relations over time.¹¹³

so, to sum up, media and journalist's position is ambiguous; though being dependant to the certain extent on power and control, their mission is still seen in questioning *raison d'être*.

The role of journalism is often seen in aiding and helping democracy¹¹⁴, that's why the discussions about journalism culture go beyond professional circles. Berry claims that objectivity as a method of news gathering and news production, as well as ethical value and means of achieving the truth.¹¹⁵

However, some have doubts about it. For instance, thinking of free press will bring the change for developing countries is mistake, as they easily become a part of transnational corporation¹¹⁶ as soon as the market is open. Also Williams does not see the solution in communicating just the data, and it feels like opinion journalism, which has a long tradition in Europe, but under the influence of Anglo-American model was perceived as second-rated.¹¹⁷

There is no surprise in appearing Media Ethics as an academic discipline, where journalism ethics is just a part of it. It deals with specific ethical principles and standards of media and opens up discussions about values and facts. Truth and Objectivity are in its core. However, as the discipline, quite often it is not perceived seriously for the lack of empirical experience, of which journalism is better defined.¹¹⁸

So, media are great opportunities and great problems, too.

¹¹³ Ibid., 3.

¹¹⁴ David Berry, *Journalism, ethics and society* (Farnham England; Burlington VT: Ashgate Pub., 2008), 111.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Chadwick and Belsey, *Ethical Issues in Journalism and the Media.*, 3.

¹¹⁷ Williams, "Competing Models of Journalism? Anglo-American and European Reporting in the Information Age," 60.

¹¹⁸ David Berry, "Truth and Objectivity," in *Journalism, ethics and society* (Farnham England; Burlington VT: Ashgate Pub., 2008), 111-112.

2.1.2. Journalists at Objectivity construction site.

Hallin divides journalist reporting into several spheres, which establish different standards of reporting, and consequently, there is different relation with objectivity in each of them:

- 1) Sphere of consensus: journalists don't need to report disputes; they need to celebrate the existing order. It is reporting about social issues and non-controversial topics;
- 2) Sphere of legitimate controversy: social issues discussed by legitimate powers, report about the debates. Here, as Hallin writes, is the reign of balance and objectivity as journalistic values;
- 3) Sphere of deviance: it marks the borders of what is accepted and what stays excluded, and thus, the journalist's role is visible.¹¹⁹

Looking at this classification, Allan makes the conclusion, that only news that fall into the sphere of legitimate controversy are most likely to be in the media, as they suggest "balanced and objective" reporting, and thus the credibility of the sources is politicized.¹²⁰ Most of the hard news appearing on the known channels belongs to this category. This, in fact, is a comfortable sphere for journalists, as with presenting information from two sides, there can be less blamed for bias.

The question is where journalist has to put himself, when presenting the story. Appearance of public journalism can be treated as leading to a healthier public sphere. Journalists should not use objectivity as a shield from being called an interested part in the event (and blamed for consequences of their writing). So there is a narrow line between being just a passive recipient or an aggressive fighter. Cunningham points out at four factors, playing against objectivity: economic (journalists need to produce news constantly, as well as there is great dependency on advertising), 24 news hour cycle (news need to be produced round-the-clock, and thus there is no time for good investigation), rise of point-of-view reporting (this

¹¹⁹ Daniel Hallin, *The Uncensored War: the Media and Vietnam*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 116-118.

¹²⁰ Stuart Allan, "The Cultural Politics of News Discourse," in *News culture*, 2nd ed., Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 65.

factor is controversial, but for Anglo-American view on journalism it belongs to negative), spread of public relations.¹²¹

Thus, besides demands of the media, a journalist should find answers for the questions himself.

2.1.3. Objectivity in codes of Ethics and Mission Statements at BBC, DW, and EuroNews

How media companies understand objectivity? What is the context in which this word is used? In documents, available to general public at BBC, DW and EuroNews websites, there are several references to objective reporting.

BBC has received its popularity as a pace-setter for objective reporting, yet the reporting itself is regulated by a lengthy document, also available for everyone – BBC Editorial Guidelines. There we can find several references to understanding of objectivity at the company:

The BBC's reputation for impartiality and objectivity is crucial. The public must be able to trust the integrity of BBC programmes and services. Our audiences need to be confident that the BBC's editorial decisions are not influenced by the outside activities or personal or commercial interests of programme makers or those who appear on air.¹²²

We should not adopt other people's language as our own; our responsibility is to remain objective and report in ways that enable our audiences to make their own assessments about who is doing what to whom.¹²³

Here objectivity is understood through impartiality, and the absence of commercial interests. Also, objective reporting is kept as a brand.

Nevertheless, objectivity is not used in the section the BBC's editorial values: instead there are "Truth and Accuracy", "Impartiality", "Editorial Integrity and Independence", "Fairness".¹²⁴

¹²¹ Brent Cunningham, "Re-thinking Objectivity," *Columbia Journalism Review* (August 2003), <http://www.cjr.org/issues/2003/4/objective-cunningham.asp>.

¹²² "BBC - Editorial Guidelines - Guidance - Conflicts of Interest - Introduction."

¹²³ "BBC - Editorial Guidelines - Guidelines - Section 11: War, Terror and Emergencies - Accuracy and Impartiality", October 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/page/guidelines-war-practices-accuracy>.

In DW Mission statement we read:

Deutsche Welle is Germany's international broadcaster. It carries out its legally defined mission while remaining journalistically independent(...). We communicate German points of view and global perspectives. We communicate the values of democracy and support human rights. We report independently, comprehensively, truthfully and on a pluralistic basis. We provide comprehensive and uncensored information to countries that lack free media, particularly crisis regions and war zones. We have a cultural mission and present the culture from Germany and Europe.¹²⁵

DW avoids using 'objectivity' at all. Instead of that, the emphasis is put on independence, comprehensiveness, and truth.

EuroNews has the document (Editorial Charter) that regulates its relations to the EU. Objectivity as a term is also not used there.

2. Programme Content.

The requirements (...) that EU Services:

(..) 3. Contain comprehensive, authoritative and impartial coverage of news and current affairs in the EU and throughout the world when having an EU dimension, as well as of informed debates at regional, national and EU levels;(...)

3. Programme Standards.

a. Provide a properly balanced service consisting of a wide range of topics;(...)

c. Treat controversial subjects with due accuracy and impartiality, both in the Contractor's news services and in other more general programmes dealing with topics of public policy or of political or industrial controversy; (...)

e. Do not involve improper exploitation of any susceptibilities of those watching or listening or any abusive treatment of the religious views and beliefs of those belonging to a particular religion or religious denomination;¹²⁶

Thus, the term objectivity is not popular for describing companies' policy nowadays. Instead easy-to-define terms are used, as impartiality, independence, and accuracy.

2.1.4. Defining Objectivity

One of the initial aims of objectivity was to serve the creation of a general public with diverse political or social orientations.

As we have seen, objectivity is not clearly stated in the media corporations' guides either. The most probable reason is the fact that *objectivity* belongs to that kind of

¹²⁴ "BBC - Editorial Guidelines - Guidelines - Section 1: The BBC's Editorial Values - Editorial Values", October 2010, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/page/guidelines-editorial-values-editorial-values/>.

¹²⁵ "Mission Statement | Deutsche Welle."

¹²⁶ EuroNews, "Editorial Charter for European Union Contract," *EuroNews*, n.d., <http://www.euronews.net/services-ue/>.

terms that everybody uses, but at the same time it doesn't have a clear definition or is often substituted by other terms.

Richard Sambrook, Director of BBC World Service and Global News Division (2004), gives his explanation of these terms:

It is not the same as impartiality or fairness or balance although all these words are often used as if they were interchangeable. Impartiality means acting fairly because you are not personally involved or have put to one side your personal views or feelings. The elimination of bias. Fairness means acting in a reasonable, just or right way. Balance means arranging things in equal or correct proportions to one another. But objectivity is different. Objectivity means based on facts or evidence, not feelings or opinion. Objectivity requires evidence and verification. It's more than just attempting to be neutral.¹²⁷

As Mindlich explains in his book "Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism", the defining qualities have been changing over the years, making objectivity a very unstable concept. This lead to confusion the term with a number of others in the journalism study books as well.

[...] citing the same five components of "objective reporting." The first component is *detachment*, "to make sure facts are doing the talking, not the reporter's own preconceived notions." The ethic of *nonpartisanship* is the second; reporters must offer "both sides" of each story. The third is a style of writing called the *inverted pyramid*, which gives readers the most important facts in the lead paragraph. *Naive empiricism*, or reliance on "facts" to "report accurately the truth or reality of the event," is the fourth quality. The fifth and the final component is *balance*, the impossible yet all-important goal that leads to "undistorted" reporting.¹²⁸

It leaves us with more questions than answers. So is objectivity a bane or a blessing? Probably, both, as discussion like that makes readers, viewers more concerned about the product they consume.

2.2. Information/objectivity qualities

In this section we are employing five historical practices named by Mindlich, and also add the theories, which might be useful when speaking about these practices. It must be noted that very often we use American theorists, as the question was addressed earlier, as well as American and British journalists are considered to be involved in disseminating "objective journalism."

¹²⁷ "BBC - Press Office - Richard Sambrook Poliak lecture", n.d., http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/speeches/stories/sambrook_poliak.shtml.

¹²⁸ Mindich, *Just the facts*, 8.

When speaking about the objectivity we have to keep in mind two major traditions of journalism, European and American, where the latter is characterized by more important role of the market than any kind of regulation coming from above. European Journalism from the very start is connected with authoritative regulation.

2.2.1. Non-partisanship

Nonpartisanship was the first practice to be connected with objectivity, meaning not belonging to any of the parties.

Objectivity as a characteristic has become important only in the early 19th century,¹²⁹ as a reaction to governmental power over media. Besides authorities, market was regulating the radicalism of a newspaper through advertising: to escape conflict with the government, customers wouldn't give the advertisement to radical newspaper.

Media in the USA which are more defined by market even today, than government and therefore, have become a pace-setter for Europe. Tradition of putting the facts before ideas was perceived as "Americanization".¹³⁰ BBC, now valued for the news-quality, had to struggle for the right to cover controversial topics earlier. As they were considered potentially dangerous for public opinion,¹³¹ BBC had to avoid controversy as it was stated in their license agreement. The example of such a ban was a 14 days rule, which meant prohibition of coverage the problem that will be discussed in the Parliament within 14 days.¹³²

It feels like the arrival of commercial broadcasters, set the BBC free from the governmental limitations. The ITN (commercial rival of BBC) editor Geoffrey Cox spoke also about different understanding of impartiality: not only try impartiality in voice and facts, but also the right not to be dependent on the governmental regulation should be mentioned.¹³³ By 1956 BBC had been following ITN trend too.

Here we think it's relevant to introduce the propaganda model by Herman and Chomsky, based on the US experience. They put forward the belief in existence of institution bias that helps to mobilize certain 'propaganda campaigns' on behalf elite

¹²⁹ Stuart Allan, "The Rise of 'Objective' Newspaper Reporting," in *News culture*, 2nd ed., Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 12.

¹³⁰ Williams, "Competing Models of Journalism? Anglo-American and European Reporting in the Information Age," 43.

¹³¹ Stuart Allan, "The Early Days of Radio and Television News," in *News culture*, 2nd ed., Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 26.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Cited in Ibid., 37.

consensus.¹³⁴As Allan advises, if we look at the news corporations and their ownership, we will see that they belong publicly or privately to ruling class. Thus media reduces the danger of protests, through spreading the ideas of the ruling class. Political economists restrict it to white male ownership, looking for news that will bring money via entertaining, thus leaving not so much space for controversial reporting.¹³⁵ These trends are continuing now, when journalism is moving online. The striking example of which is payment to journalist in accordance with the number of people, who clicked the article. It's clear that some pieces, which may be example of good reporting and needed investigation don't get popular.

Herman and Chomsky also question the function of media to perform a societal purpose, or which can be named only as to 'inculcate and defend the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state'¹³⁶ Their theory of 5 filters is intended to show how journalists can become a part of this:

- 1) commercial basis of media organization, where are strong ties between media and political elite. Media is expensive to produce and to own;
- 2) influence of advertisement as a major income for the media;
- 3) the news media's over-reliance on government and corporate 'expert' sources;
- 4) the role of 'flak' or negative responses to media content as a means of disciplining news organizations.
- 5)the role of the 'ideology of anti-communism' as a 'political-control mechanism'.¹³⁷

So whatever can go through five filters can be called news. Of course the model shouldn't be applied directly: news can't be reduced to the products of ideological machine, especially in present times when more and more people have access to news-production themselves. The main question now is how to make others read. Allan warns about confusion of journalist with propagandist, as the latter must have the intention to lie from the very start.¹³⁸ Editorial guidelines somehow not only protect the channel, but at the same filter and restrict the coverage. Thus here levels

¹³⁴ Stuart Allan, "Making News: Truth, Ideology and Newswork," in *News culture*, 2nd ed., Issues in Cultural and Media Studies (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004), 48.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 52.

¹³⁶ Cited Ibid., 53.

¹³⁷ Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing consent : the political economy of the mass media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 3-31.

¹³⁸ Allan, "Making News: Truth, Ideology and Newswork," 56.

of concentration, conglomeration, and integration of ownership should be paid attention to¹³⁹, as they perform a wider control over media content.

2.2.2. Detachment

After WWI objectivity as a tenet has been set among journalists and critics. For instance, in 1923 the American Society of Newspaper Editors announced their ‘canons’ of journalism, where it was stated that there should be a clear distinction between news reports and expressions of opinion in order to ensure impartiality. It was to be applied not only to the texts, but also to the sound practices.

Telegraph invention as well as rapid development of science those days, influenced the objectivity as the concept of communicating only facts. ‘Telegraphic journalism’, is believed transformed how newspaper readers perceived the world around them.¹⁴⁰

At BBC, faces of TV presenters wouldn’t appear until 1955 and the news would be read in impartial voice to secure impartibility and anonymity. But under commercial pressure everything had to change. Even EuroNews policy, reminding that of the beginning of the XX century, known for the absence of presenters and avoidance of the usage of journalists’ names is now changing, and from 2011 they started to appear on screen.

How far detachment can go? Isn’t it a good excuse for lazy reporting, when a journalist just communicates the fact, and he is not willing to get involved into the story more and to put the heart into it? The words of Clifford Levy, Pulitzer winner from “The New York Times” maybe a good words of inspiration for journalists:

"There is a bit of the reformer in anyone who enters journalism, and reformers are always going to make conservatives uncomfortable to an extent because conservatives, by and large, want to preserve the status quo."¹⁴¹

Thus, in our opinion, the attempts of presenting or doing reporting with detachment, does not contribute into the quality of the news, as well as may change the role of a journalist into simple interpreter instead of researcher of everyday concerns.

2.2.3. Inverted pyramid

At the very beginning of journalism, a story was told in chronologically, so the occasion in why the article was written could be closer to its end. “The inverted

¹³⁹ Ibid., 52.

¹⁴⁰ Allan, “The Rise of ‘Objective’ Newspaper Reporting,” 18.

¹⁴¹ Cited in Cunningham, “Re-thinking Objectivity,” 11.

pyramid” is a prevailing method of news-telling today. According to it, factual information receives the first place followed by commentaries from officials and later on by opinions of less important people or public, and background information. Officials are legitimized in this way, being mentioned at the very start of the article, due to common believe that they own facts, not opinions. It has become one of the practices of “strategic ritual” as Tuchman calls it,¹⁴² the government is mentioned first, and through that system journalists are legitimized, too. Objectivity here is understood as presenting a balanced view (as the news-item gives the floor for more than one institution). Also this shift in the way the story is told was a shift away from subjective point of view, as Mindich says, the author’s point of view was of importance, while present day journalism tries to diminish it.¹⁴³ This was the result of philosophical thought in the 19th century, when science has started to define everyday life. Thus, European tradition of journalism has declined under the influence of American standards.

Here the question of facts as opposed to beliefs comes, as sometimes one is substituted by the other. “Hierarchy of credibility”¹⁴⁴ is a term by Becker, which gives us the idea that the society is bureaucratically structured. It makes the reporter aware of who can have information on this or that subject, what is the circle of people he can address to receive different points of view and how to structure the story in accordance with career. It’s believed that people on the top know the most precise information. Any tale told should be regarded as a truth,¹⁴⁵ and therefore journalists are supposed to treat their thoughts as the factual information.

So, then it means that objective and authoritative information comes from legitimate institutions,¹⁴⁶ which is reestablished in the news-structure. Journalists have become providers of the ideas of a powerful people through that without questioning. There is problem of over-accessing to some of the structures for their opinion, as it underlines institutional order of the society. We have noted that, while speaking

¹⁴² Gaye Tuchman, “Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen’s Notions of Objectivity,” *The University of Chicago Press* 77, no. 4 (January 1972): 660-679.

¹⁴³ Mindich, *Just the facts*.

¹⁴⁴ Howard S. Becker, “Whose Side Are We On?,” *Social Problems* 14 (Winter 1967), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/799147>.

¹⁴⁵ Allan, “Making News: Truth, Ideology and Newswork,” 63.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

about the EPS, as there is over access of information from official structures, but not that much space is devoted to citizens.

Schlesinger and Tumber pick out contra-points about official sources:

1) Disputes within official structures should be taken into consideration, who is primary definer among them; 2) some official source share information, but it's not attributive to a particular person in charge (spin-doctoring); 3) Official structures sometimes compete within themselves to access the media field and rule them. Accredited source may become discredited; 4) the structure of access changes over time as new forces, and their representatives emerge. (For instance, environmental groups are now more influential as they used to be); 5) the way how journalists challenge campaigns should be also acknowledged; 6) the relationship between media and source.¹⁴⁷ The role of source in working on definition shouldn't be forgotten. Here we come again to the conclusion of interconnection between authoritative structures and journalism itself: though reporters look for the proof, to perform a "strategic ritual", the official structures look for access to media.

2.2.4. Naive empiricism (reality)

"Nose for news" is the result of experience in working with different organizations. Allan names it as "Vocabulary of precedents". Reporters try hard to avoid potential criticism for anchoring their account on 'biased' sources, so they look for opportunities to put the conflicts outside of the realm by foregrounding the interested perspectives of the sources.¹⁴⁸ Good journalistic job is "a celebration of the truth",¹⁴⁹ though here one must remember that true news does not mean truth. So journalists, being arbiters, are establishing the rules, which will have access to present their view to make the story balanced. "Will to facticity"¹⁵⁰ the term we find in Allan, it is where journalists aiming to and never reach. Journalists should know how to put questions to get the facts out. Journalist set the direction of the angle at which the story should be seen. Alan describes *how* to get into the news, how the sources have to adjust to become one of the credible sources. Due to the development of news network of 24/7 here, there is a need to cover events not issues, where the events possess more factual info, and therefore making journalists dependant on sources

¹⁴⁷ Philip Schlesinger and Howard Tumber, *Reporting crime: the media politics of criminal justice* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1994), 17-21.

¹⁴⁸ Allan, "Making News: Truth, Ideology and Newswork," 72.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

which produce events. News is the events selected. To do so, some values should be included. As a result, major channels would cover more or less the same stories as the most important, and the feeling of importance is added by fresh reporting.

Cunningham drives attention to changes in ethic code of Society of Professional where objectivity as a term was taken out, and "the truth" was changed to simply "truth",¹⁵¹ opening the floor for more interpretations of truthfulness. Since no one can take the whole responsibility of defining truth, the debate over "whether or not the news media 'reflect' social reality truthfully, or the extent to which journalists can produce a truthful news account."¹⁵² And what is the role of journalist, when knowing preferences of the society, he still presents everything in a balanced way, as if it was equal.

Journalists are shaping the world we see, what we think is important or what we should care about through their story-telling. Allan puts it nicely:

We are asked to believe, after all, that truly professional journalists are able to set aside their individual preconceptions, values and opinions in order to depict reality 'as it actually is' to us, their audience.¹⁵³

So we deal with representation, where the language of news codifies as 'common sense', which is a system of rules that we use for understanding social life. Language and the news structure both do their input into supporting power through persuasion by means of 'political and ideological leadership'¹⁵⁴ And following Gramsci in this thinking, any social group must exercise its power before becoming a political group.¹⁵⁵ Common sense is defined by this group, and everyday culture. Thus, common sense is larger than ideology, and the group having power should keep in mind it is also a process of constant negotiations, and to go on with ruling, the group should adapt to the changing interests of hegemony.

Something is reportable if a reporter can visualize it in the news discourse.¹⁵⁶ Text shows what should be counted as reality - is actually working to construct a codified definition of what should count as the reality of the event. Here language will play a crucial role in constructing.

¹⁵¹ Cunningham, "Re-thinking Objectivity," 2.

¹⁵² Allan, "Making News: Truth, Ideology and Newswork," 46.

¹⁵³ Allan, "The Cultural Politics of News Discourse," 77.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 79.

¹⁵⁵ Cited in Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 80.

There are a number of concerns to be thought about and that influence how reality is then depicted: the economic pressure to maintain a cost-efficient, profitable news organization (the expenses could be cut for avoiding cost-consuming investigative reporting, as expensive story doesn't mean good selling story. There is a need to conform to the news organization's daily production schedule. Being able to routinize the uncertainty of future happenings is considered to be of critical importance as the newsworker's obligation to produce sufficient copy to fulfil 'story quotas' must be met. This is a practical need to anticipate or pre-plan news-as-events.

¹⁵⁷ Schlesinger and Tumber defined conditions of successful message:

1) well-defined message to communicate 2) optimal locations for placing 3) fine – tuning timing for the “leak” 4) anticipating the strategies of the others which are built into media strategies. 5) monitoring and evaluating the effect of the message 6) some of the messages are put for being communicated on both private and public levels. Thus the bigger aim to establish a connection with the media and become the first point they will turn to, so be ready to supply them with the text ready. ¹⁵⁸

So the source and the media do the same work in the field, they both participate in creating the message. Dealing with reality is a sensitive issue, as it is transformed under different influences, the most important of which, in our opinion, is our habit to have new news every half an hour.

2.2.5. Balance

If objectivity is called deity by Mindlich, Ken Silverstein, treats balanced coverage as a plague. As for balanced reporting nowadays a journalist has just to “repeat spin from both sides”, and the sin would be fair access of the situation by journalist himself (empiricism we have been talking about in the previous subsection). Silverstein concludes, "Balanced" is not fair, it's just an easy way of avoiding real reporting...and shirking our responsibility to inform readers.”

Mindlich comes to questioning balanced reporting through the story of Ida B. Wells, who tried to open the eyes of the public, and therefore change its opinion about lynching at the end of XIX century in the USA.¹⁵⁹ The problem of many stories that they are framed within one cultural context, not taking other possible players or

¹⁵⁷ Allan, “Making News: Truth, Ideology and Newswork,” 61-62.

¹⁵⁸ Schlesinger and Tumber, *Reporting crime*, 39.

¹⁵⁹ Mindlich, *Just the facts*, 134.

victims from underrepresented groups. That's why Wells preferred to go and see herself, as well as report from herself – using pronouns “I”, “my.”

But what drives public to the media? Preston tries to draw rules of newsworthiness:¹⁶⁰

The stories, which become popular, should have conflict, relevance, timeliness, simplification, personalization, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons, cultural traits, and negativity. This varies, but these are the most common factors - depending on the culture inside organization. News frames the world and how we see it, bringing a certain subjective seeing, where conditional balancing will not help. That's why citizen journalism is viewed as an opportunity to depart from just comments from both sides to receiving information from less obvious sources, but those which can undermine the “clean” balanced journalism.

2.3. Euronews at Work

EuroNews introduced changes to its design and philosophy in 2008. Many even started to blame the new design for lacking any kind of identity, for just being “faceless”. The new motto became “EuroNews – Pure News”, changing “Many voices – one vision” that was from the start of the company. However their grey and white color design maybe explained also by Sarbook's reflection on reality and news role:

But research shows most of the audience aren't at the extremes of most issues - they are somewhere in the middle. (...) It strengthens divides - but most of the public prefer unity. They know their lives aren't defined by black and white issues - there are shades of grey. And they know that argument on TV is often a sham and doesn't deal with the world as they experience it.¹⁶¹

Thus, we can say that visually the channel tries to represent this merge. Their news is not going to extremes; the coverage touches only really important things to know.

What is understood by Pure News (for Russian version the motto was transformed into “news as they are”) initially in the company? A very short explanation is given in media press packs of years 2008 and 2011. In Brand positioning sections, we find “sufficient information” and “relevant information” to “to allow the viewer to form

¹⁶⁰ Paschal Preston, *Making the news: journalism and news cultures in Europe* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), 57.

¹⁶¹ “BBC - Press Office - Richard Sambrook Poliak lecture.”

his own opinion of the world.”¹⁶²¹⁶³ Pure reporting means supplying with “factually correct information in a non-superficial format”, and to have “courage to broadcast the truth.” And here we come to the central statement, which defines the company’s philosophy: “Pure is the only word which defines all of the channel’s values: honesty, integrity and neutrality. These values are acknowledged within the industry, but, even more importantly, by our viewers.” It also stresses the importance of information as a value: “EuroNews is giving information all the space it requires”¹⁶⁴

In “Corporate” section of both media packs we read about the way they want to present the news: as a leading International channel “covering world news with objectivity and neutrality” they are for being impartial (analyze and report with balance, maintaining impartiality and avoiding a national viewpoint). Independently, the linguistic diversity is stated under the title “Voice of the people”, where linguistic diversity of the channel is underlined.

There are some changes introduced in Press Pack 2011 (in comparison with the one in 2008). For instance, self-perception has been changed: the journalists of the channel look for “relevant stories to serve our global audience, driven by a solid uncompromising journalism”. It proves the positioning of the channel as a potential leader not only on the European market, but also on the international.

In new mission–statement internationalization of the channel is mentioned again, as well as the attempt to be up-to-date in using mobile technologies, which are the characteristics of their target audience – the elite:

In 2011, EuroNews will go one step further and reinvent itself as a state of art, powerful and efficient multimedia global news channel, by building on its unique strength, that of providing a multitude of world news and extra current affairs programmes in 10 language services while maintaining accuracy, balance and trustworthiness.¹⁶⁵

However, adequate coverage of breaking news becomes an important part in addition to human angle introduced - the journalist of EuroNews has started to appear on the screen: “EuroNews thorough reporting is now accompanied by visible human values

¹⁶² EuroNews, “Brand Positioning”, n.d., http://www.euronews.net/media/the-station/mediapackpress_EN.pdf.

¹⁶³ EuroNews, “New Dimension 2011”, n.d.

¹⁶⁴ EuroNews, “Brand Positioning.”

¹⁶⁵ EuroNews, “Mediapack: New Dimension 2011.”

on screen.” Now one can not only see them in reports, but also read their travel blogs, while they are off for production at EuroNews webpage. Though it is their first attempt to institutionalize the human aspect, the journalists have been using their private accounts on livejournal, blogger, twitter to discuss the channel and share their opinion on this or that thing. To sum up, it seems that EuroNews is moving towards the development of any other channel: bringing people to the center of their stories, adjusting Internet space for users, who may even no longer own a TV-set. However, objectivity still understood as a communicating the facts.

To see how the objectivity and the slogan of Euronews of providing pure news we will have a look at their newsrooms, schedule and the system of management, keeping in mind theoretical knowledge and problematic we have learnt. Unfortunately, there is not so much information available about present changes the channel undergoes, but in terms of organization there is ethnographical research¹⁶⁶ of the news room done by Baisnée and Marchetti, the case study conducted by Machill¹⁶⁷ as well as extremely helpful is the university course¹⁶⁸ by a Russian journalist, Denis Loktev, who works for Euronews, prepared for his students at Moscow University. Using these texts and the info available in the news about their recent changes, we will try to present the structure of the newsroom which is important for understanding the appearance of news in 11 foreign languages.

Thus, the channel, which has restricted financing, restricted number of journalists, and not really choosing the picture for the reports, has to put all the effort into proper management of news department, so the multilingual channel can compete with more expensive channels in covering current issues. Actually, increasing capacity to produce competitive breaking news is one of the new priorities of the channel.

2.3.1. Why to discuss news at EuroNews?

Why we want to discuss news culture, in particular news items at EuroNews? According to Allan, news is interesting for the research because it is the object of

¹⁶⁶ Olivier Baisnée and Dominique Marchetti, “The economy of just-in-time television newscasting,” *Ethnography* 7, no. 1 (March 1, 2006): 99 -123.

¹⁶⁷ Marcel Machill, “Euronews: the first European news channel as a case study for media industry development in Europe and for spectra of transnational journalism research,” *Media, Culture & Society* 20, no. 3 (July 1, 1998): 427 -450.

¹⁶⁸ Loktev, “Организация работы европейского информационного канала euronews.”

policy formation, of commodification, and of public opinion,¹⁶⁹ where News culture unites all these aspects. News participate in political debate, as well as help in reestablishing the importance of governmental opinion due to a special news structure, where opinion of officials it the first referred to. In the previous chapter we had the opportunity to see the place of the channel in the EPS and the role it is aspired to take among citizens. Discussion on the components of objectivity will help us to evaluate the news quality at the EuroNews channel. The questions of regulation and ownership (partisanship) has already been brought up in the previous chapter while discussing the origin and purpose of the channel creation as well as its desired position at the media market.

2.3.2. Time planning

Loktev describes the time-organization at the channel, which is helpful in order to understand how a coherent program is built. There are three news-editions of special importance: 6.00, 13.00, and 19.00. They are followed by EuroNews journalists with special care and attention as it's time before prime-time, the news for which should be carefully selected.

European view, in Loktev's opinion, on the program is supported also through planning meetings, which take place at 11, the representatives of different departments and language edition present there.¹⁷⁰ He quotes Tsvik, "layouting" the information program - is a tool of information society, political influence, influencing the audience, mass consciousness through suggested structure of the program. This tool is ruling and guiding public opinion."¹⁷¹ (translation is mine – P.M.). Menu of the news is quite flexible during the day.

At 15.00, 15 minutes are devoted to the evaluation of morning broadcasts. During this meeting the 19 o'clock news release is also discussed. The specifications to it are also done by 17.00. 19.30-meeting is for editors, but before it, discussions among journalists takes place about priority and contents that may be questioned. After that meeting there is a list of advice for a night shift.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Allan, "Introduction. The culture of news," 3.

¹⁷⁰ Loktev, "Организация работы европейского информационного канала euronews."

¹⁷¹ Tsvik V.L. *TV-Journalism: History, Theory, Practice*. Moscow: 2004, 382 .

¹⁷² Loktev, "Организация работы европейского информационного канала euronews."

Time is of great importance at any news-channel, but in case of EuroNews it is also about coordinating journalists, who work independently, that are bounded only by video they have to write the text for.

2.3.3. Space organization

Editors of different languages - who also record voice for the news - work closely together in the same room. There are also many producers who are responsible for creating video. After the video is done, the editors are gathered together, and have to notice the main timing - for instance, whose interview or commentary is to be inside the news.

Loktev considers this way of production is the only possible for such a multilingual channel. It is also the way to liberate picture, as it becoming the most important as it becomes the main feature. It's not dependant on the text length, but vice versa. Although the editing should be done in the way, that it can be used for any language, and that's why the editing has long shots.

The producer also supplies journalists with printed material, covering the topic, which is mainly the information received from global news agencies - AFP, ANSA, DPA, EFE, ITAR-TASS, Lusa и Reuters. These materials are available as the result of the subscription. Multilingual background of all the journalists helps them to browse for information easily. When the text is ready, journalists go to record overvoice. When audio versions in all the languages are ready, the item is broadcasted. Normally, a journalist would prepare 6-10 items per working day.

For live-broadcasts there is a different scheme, when the journalists work as interpreters. Thus, it is one of the obvious advantages of the channel the access to key-moments straightaway – the live broadcasting events are available also for non-English speaking regions. So visually a map may appear and journalists have to read live short information.

Between 15.00 and 19.30 there are three brigades, consisting of language journalists. During other times there are one-two brigades. Thus, every journalist works day and night shifts, but as a bonus they have three-four days break. Coordination unit is responsible for watching video and entering short data about them. Simultaneously to

that, they can connect to EBU members to purchase certain video material to supplement news production at EuroNews.

In the article of Baisnée, people who work at Coordination Unit describe themselves:

it is the control tower of a fast airport for the take-off and landing of planes.[...] Here, it is almost the same thing, it is managing news but also combining news into images, knowing if it will happen, if it won't happen, at what time it won't happen while managing news on a daily basis just like every journalist does.¹⁷³

The Forward Planning Unit organizes regular functioning of the channel, checking in advance for big events. Thus, supervision of the language issues is complicated. Besides, there are several factors that everyone writing news should keep in mind, which are in a way similar to those that BBC International has – remembering that they are writing not for a particular country or geographical zone, but for people who know the language, so any national reference or idiomatic expressions should be eliminated.¹⁷⁴ When a new journalist comes, he must forget his national culture of news-production.

However those who do images editing, also have to remember about peculiarities of the language, so **that commentaries could be written for particular length of commentaries**. Thus, video editors present the structure for language journalists to make them aware of the most powerful images or commentaries from officials included. The sub-editors have a rough planning of pictures in length for planned news. “Sub-editor: We try to do a montage which can work - a montage which can work in as many situations as possible.”¹⁷⁵

In general, the work of the channel reminds Factory that makes news production. The absence of well - working scheme actually was bringing the channel:

Here when seated behind the sewing machine, you sew the whole day and then that's it . . . except if it's serious, you don't rack your brains too much to ask yourself existential questions. It must be done, it must be done and then we do it. (Interview with a chief editor of Euronews).It involves

¹⁷³ Baisnée and Marchetti, “The economy of just-in-time television newscasting,” 107.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 110.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 112.

producing news-stories in a chain. It is a little like in a factory but that's news networks. (Interview with a Euronews sub-editor)¹⁷⁶

Conclusions or Prologue

As we have seen in this chapter, there is casuistry: “Objectivity is subjectivity.” A good reporter is interested in finishing story, he is trying to discover what causes what, and as a result, we have his vision on the event. A journalist should try to become an expert, by presenting variety of views and presenting underlying assumptions.

Cunningham, in our opinion, expressed very well the need of journalism nowadays

Journalists (and journalism) must acknowledge, humbly and publicly, that what we do is far more subjective and far less detached than the aura of objectivity implies — and the public wants to believe. If we stop claiming to be mere objective observers, it will not end the charges of bias but will allow us to defend what we do from a more realistic, less hypocritical position.¹⁷⁷

Though objectivity has become an integral part in media discourse and ethics, its meaning has been changing, starting from non-partisanship as objectivity to dictating the way the news should be structured and written.

As we have seen the term “objectivity” has already disappearing from the codes of ethics of cross-national media companies, but at the same time, they still stay the same within chosen framework. The building and functioning of the framework we have seen on the example of EuroNews, where they are not involved into translation, but at the same time journalists are built into the system of production. In the next chapter we will try to evaluate if the news produced under these circumstances differ and which aspects of objectivity may still be relevant for present-day production.

Also the role of media in public life and its interconnection with political philosophy, lies in the fact that they also absorb political power. The news topic for the third chapter is connected with politics, which is a good example of looking at the media being power on its own.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Cunningham, “Re-thinking Objectivity,” 12.

Chapter III

3.1. News and its language

News is particularly interesting to look at as they “accept as natural, obvious or commonsensical certain preferred ways of classifying reality, and that these classifications have far-reaching implications for the cultural reproduction of power relations across society”.¹⁷⁸

Such methodologies as content analysis, semiotics, critical linguistics, social linguistics and critical discourse analysis have helped to get rid of the conception that language is ‘neutral’ instrument through which reality is expressed. On the contrary, the language codifies meanings (references to that can be found in researches by Hartley, Bell, Fowler) making news texts respectively meaningful. The news hides then the construction of definition of the news event which we perceive as reflection of the reality. Thus, news texts can be used “to unpack *the naturalness* of the ideological codes implicated in their representations of reality.”¹⁷⁹ The analysis of the language can show the means and the patterns particular media use to represent the world, as well as their common way to speak with the audience overtime. Allan, referring to Hall *et. al* argues that an event will “make sense” only “to the extent that it can be situated within ‘a range of known social and cultural identifications’ or ‘maps of meaning’ about the social world.”¹⁸⁰ He also suggests that there is always a prescribed form of narrative logic for hard or soft news, editorials, interviews, etc., which are built-in into hierarchical structure of newsworthiness.¹⁸¹

We will try to see if there are differences in the logics of presentation of a particular event in the news in different languages within EuroNews, in order to find out if there is some meaning transformation as the channel works simultaneously in several languages.

¹⁷⁸ Allan, “The Cultural Politics of News Discourse,” 80.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

3.2. Research design

We hope that if we look at news texts in detail, it will help us to identify the points - “painful spots” - words, ideas, that may be the causes of the disagreement of people about the reality the news has presented. “When something irritates you on television, it may be expressing an aspect of ideology with which you are not sympathetic: when it is expressing something with which you are sympathetic, you will not even notice it.”¹⁸² However, we are only working with the text itself, not taking into consideration the audience or visual part of the message, and thus the result will not present a full picture of objectivity construction.

3.2.1. Context of the research

In this chapter we would like to analyze the covering of Presidential election in Belarus in December 2010. Though the election at any European country is normally covered by EuroNews, this one had its specifics. The importance of political situation in Belarus attracts the attention of the whole Europe, as it has become a buffer zone between the EU and Russia, who are always struggling for the influence at this territory. Moreover, Condoleezza Rice put it on the map, calling it “the last dictatorship in Europe.” Though EuroNews proclaim objectivity and independence from cultural references, we are interested how the situation is presented to people, whose mother tongues are Russian and English. During the modern history, the EU and Russia would take opposite sides towards legitimizing the elections in Belarus. However before the latest election in December 2010, Brussels and Moscow had the united voice against Lukashenko. The EuroNews reports are of a great importance in the country’s elite, and people really treat it as objective source of information. However, few of them know about peculiarities of EuroNews production, and it is especially sad that some comments on ex. video material the channel uses, appeared at professional journalistic sources in Belarus.¹⁸³ Accusations in bias, wrong “translation” are also heard in Ukrainian and Russian media.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ina Bertrand and Hughes, Peter, *Media research methods: audiences, institutions, texts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 220.

¹⁸³ Прэс-служба ГА “Беларуская асацыяцыя журналістаў,” “‘Тэхнічныя праблемы’ ці цензура перашкодзілі расійскай службе ‘Еўраньюс’ ладзіць прамую трансляцыю? :: ГА «Беларуская асацыяцыя журналістаў» ::”, December 13, 2006, <http://baj.by/m-p-viewpub-tid-1-pid-569.html>.

¹⁸⁴ “Шустер Live : Что волнует Президента Януковича?,” *ТРК Украина* (Ukraine, n.d.), http://shuster.kanalukraina.tv/video/7819_что_волнует_президента_януковича/.

3.2.2. Data Collecting

The news-items we are taking appeared under the tag *Belarus* since September, 14 when the official date of elections was set. They returned to the topic 4 days before the election in December. The last one appeared on the 18th of February, 2011 with the announcement of the first sentence after the mass protests happened on December 19. 25 articles appeared during this period, of which 24 are the news, and one is an exclusive interview Lukashenko gave to EuroNews once reelected. The sampling is done with the help of the tag *Belarus*, used for this period. The other tags used during this period include: *presidential elections, Alexander Lukashenko, Dictatorship, Demonstration, Russia, European Union, EU Parliament, Ceremony, jail*.

As we have mentioned before, we are especially interested in the texts, not in the video used for describing the event. (Video the channel receives is rarely original and thus less important for those who seek objective information about the situation in Europe. Thus people come not for the pictures but for news interpretation).

There are many active Internet users, who write feedback for the channel, evaluating the “objectivity” of the weather forecast. Many responses question not only geographical position of weather sign and temperature, but also spelling used. We also would express our concern about geographical name of Belarus used by Russian editorial office. They prefer using the name Belorussia, which is in fact the name of the country during the time of the Soviet Union. The name the Republic of Belarus is now the official one, but many media in Russia still prefer to use old name.

3.3. Methodology and Research

Objectivity will be our framework within which we will analyze news-texts. Christians claims that neutrality of the research is not reached by pluralistic but imperialistic means a necessary prerequisite for the research. However, empiricism as well as neutrality is based upon the prevailing ideas in the society imposed by power. “A commitment to objectivity is not neutral but represents only one range of ideals, and is itself incompatible with other good ends.”¹⁸⁵ In our case, we will employ a number of methods to evaluate selected articles for the content analysis of

¹⁸⁵ Clifford G. Christians, “The Changing News Paradigm: From Objectivity to Interpretive Sufficiency,” in *Qualitative research in journalism: taking it to the streets*, ed. Sharon Iorio, LEA’s Communication Series (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004), 50.

the news. In his book “News Culture” Allan defines elements, which participate in constructing reality in hard news as well as what from them is expected by the audience.¹⁸⁶ Hard news is believed to be very close to depicting the real picture of the World, and journalists are supposed uphold to media standards. In the previous chapter we showed the evidence that even the standards are not clearly defined, where objectivity is one the most problematic notion.

Thus, we will evaluate news using the following methodology

- Headlines represent the key fact of the news item. However, the title of the news report doesn't appear at Euronews, every piece has its title, when online. Thus, we will still use this parameter to compare key facts suggested in Russian and English versions.
- Newsleads develop the idea of the key fact, and is in particular interesting to see if there are different beginnings for the same video report.
- *Narrative order and sequence* are closely connected with “inverted pyramid structure”, which is also included into the term “objectivity”. However, main points of the report a fixed due to the fact that video is finished before language journalists start their job, we will try to see if any shift occur.
- Vocabulary is one of the most discussible parts. We will define actors of the news, mainly organized in opposing pairs, and see what are the words and phrases used to describe this or that noun. Wrong word choice is among often used accusation for the channel.
- The evaluation of Forms of Address will be started already in vocabulary section.
- For Transitivity and Modality evaluation we will select the articles attached by the channel to the same topic, to make a comparison who/what takes the most of the attention.
- Relations to Time are connected to narrative order and consequences. We will check if it goes the same way, but most probably we will see how outcomes are more important than the causes, and therefore the ending of the story may appear at the beginning.

¹⁸⁶ Allan, “The Cultural Politics of News Discourse,” 83.

- Relations of Space section evaluates the way the space is used in the news. Place can serve several purposes, depending on the purpose of text: place as authority, place as actionable information, place as social connection, place as setting, place as subject. In the case of hard news, place mostly can be referred to as authority – it is the primary source for classifying information arriving, as one has to put it on the map first.
- Implied Reader (Viewer) – this category will not be discussed in our research as the implied reader is the same for both versions, as stated in the media pack: tend to be men (67%) aged 47. More than half of them belong to the top 10% wealthiest households. They occupy higher strata of management, frequently make business decisions and their position requires them to engage in opinion leading activities and to travel frequently: they took on average 7 business air trips in the last 12 months.¹⁸⁷ There is no address to the audience in the body of the text
- *Closure* – according to inverted pyramid structure teaches, the sentences can be cut from the end. For this reason hard news normally do not have a real closure, as interpretation is not included into this genre.

All the research data can be found in the appendices to this work.

3.3.1. Headlines

Headlines are useful for defining the key fact that prepares viewer/reader for the particular focus of information. In comparison to headlines of soft news, the readers of the hard news are expecting to find out more about the issue stated in the title. Also if we take a look at EuroNews website, we see that titles are the part of “Most viewed” section that reflects the interest of the public.

As we look at the data, we can divide the headlines into 3 main categories, as following (see Appendix xxiv):

- 1) the headlines that are identical in both versions;
- 2) the headlines that express the same idea, but also include the words, influencing the evaluation of information and those, who express relatively the same idea, but from the different angles;

¹⁸⁷ EuroNews, “New Dimension 2011.”

3) the headlines that have completely different focuses.

As expected, not many headlines are the same. That proves the fact, that news is not a literal translation, but a unique product by itself. The biggest group is the second one, where we have decided to have two subcategories. These two express the same idea, but in two different ways: either by adding additional meaning through the specific word choice or by looking at the same problematic from different perspective.

These are the examples we for the category A:

For instance, if to compare headlines in N2, they both have the meaning that Belarus is ready for the presidential campaign, but Russian version also adds more information: “well-chosen time for the election.” In N7 the EV headline contains an affirmative statement: “Belarus leader set to romp the victory.” RV questions it: “Will Lukashenko be chosen for the 4th term?”

We can identify different approach underlined in the following instances for the category B:

- N3 EV: “Belarus: Lukashenko confident of 4th term” and “Presidential election in Belarus: early election is going fast” in RV. Thus the personality confident of the result is in the opposition to RV idea of the course of the election campaign.
- N5: EV “Fourth term formality for Lukashenko” and RV “Belarusian opposition is getting ready for election and protests.” Again, as in the previous example, the personality is opposed to faceless opposition.
- N9 EV “West condemns violence in “flawed” Belarus election”, and RV “The EU demands set the detained in Belarus free.” However the headlines are different in terms of the word choice (West or the EU, violence or detained), in our opinion these two are very close to each other in the meaning, and therefore, can belong to this category.
- N10 EV “Lukashenko praises police as West slams Belarus vote”, and RV “Lukashenko: the election was at high level. OSCE thinks differently”. Lukashenko remains the central figure for both pieces, and both of them contain contraposition in the structure of the headlines, based on official statements. The first one Lukashenko praises – West slams, Lukasehenko at high level – OSCE differently. Such phrase building deepens the conflict already existing.

- N20 EV “EU mulls response to political violence in Belarus”, and RV “Lukashenko may be banned from travel.” There is a different person/organization at the center of importance for EV and RV: the EU becomes the acting character, while Lukashenko’s possibility to travel is in the center of the second case.

The third group is also very limited as the first one. It might be explained by good work of management system which preliminary supplies journalist with more or less the same information:

- N8 EV “Belarus police crackdown on opposition”, and RV “For selecting the President of Belarus second tour may not be necessary”. EV is focused on the harm done, while RV is concerned about the procedure of the election.
- N11 EV “Europe’s ‘last dictator’ juggles East and West”, and RV “Alexander Lukashenko. Four times elected President”. EV gives a more critical judgment (also preferred naming of the president as the *Europe’s ‘last dictator’*), while RV reaffirms the fact, which may or may not contain criticism.
- N14 EV “600 jailed as Lukashenko vows ‘no revolution’ in Belarus”, and RV “Belarus: protesters received up to 15 days in prison.” EV describes the controversial situation after the elections – “no revolution”, but 600 jailed, while RV seems to be more neutral, saying only about punishment received.
- N15 EV “Belarus opposition condemns crackdown”, and RV “Belarus: opposition calls for solidarity.” Though the opposition takes the acting role in both cases, EV is concentrated on the negative result, but RV speaks about different action – about solidarity.
- N23 EV “Lukashenko sworn in as Belarus president”, and RV “The EU ambassadors boycotted Lukashenko’s inauguration.” The EV puts forward the official start of the new presidency term for Lukashenko, while RV shows a political behavior of the EU towards Belarus.
- N24 EV “Lukashenko sworn in, opponents locked up”, and RV “Protest of Lukashenko’s opposition in Minsk continued for a few minutes”. The first one uses again contraposition, while the second one shows absurdity of the situation driving attention to the fact that protest was only few minutes long.

Although there are some differences in language versions, it is hard to say that they follow any different trend from each other. The main focuses - as incumbent president or EU opinion - change from the example to the example, and therefore it is difficult to say they are biased to different aspects within one news report. The name of the president is slightly more often mentioned in EV, while the reaction of the West interests more RV. It proves the well co-ordinated work of the editors. The added value is expressed in words, punctuation, and word order that still make the titles different. The news drama is already expressed in the headline, as well as it suggests to have a balanced view, but those who have right to put forward their opinion, belong to an institutionalized group – the president, opposition, international observers.

3.3.2. Newsleads, Narrative Order and Sequence

For analyzing leads and narrative order we have limited our research to the articles appeared under the section “Politics.” For these articles such tags, as “Dictatorship”, “Lukashenko,” and ”Demonstration” were used, in addition to common tag “Belarus.” Three out of five news items have the headlines that we included into 3rd group, where we claim their difference, and the rest belong to different groups as well.

We have organized the results of this research into the table (see Appendix xxiv), where it is easy to compare the answers to the main questions which journalist should try to answer when writing the news – who/what?, why?, where?, what? when?, and how? – and in this way the most important information is defined. As we have discussed it before, the part of “inverted pyramid structure”, where the first sentences answer these questions and supply with the newest information, is embedded into Anglo-American journalism culture, which most of the biggest channels follow. There are several things common for all the articles selected. Firstly, there is no time reference almost in all of them. It may be explained by the fact that channel is supposed to cover current events, and additionally time is shown on the screen as well as the time of issue is stated on the webpage prior to the text of the news. Secondly, there is almost no place reference (the question Where?). As in case with the time, place – the country and the city is stated on the image. In case of Internet, all articles we have used had the geographical tag “Belarus”.

If we compare the actors – who/what is in the center of attention – in four cases in both languages they will be the same. Moreover, two news-items will state Lukashenko as the main actor, and two will choose opposition for that, representing tension, existed at the election. What we start to observe here and see later on, Lukashenko is the only one having the name, standing out as a personality, while for his opponents more general term “opposition” is used. The fifth article has a slight difference in the subject: one-day trial (EV) and the first sentence (RV). Though the topic is the same, the idea of the first one is the fast trial and judicial system in Belarus, while the second one implies the continuation, as it is the only first one in a row to follow.

The answers to the question What? are also interesting: for instance, the term “last dictator” is used in both languages, and proves that Russian version allows using such labels (in previous years this word combination was avoided). In N11, the word choice attracts attention: while EV says “has been in power”, Russian prefers “reign”, which seems the result of having unchallenged leader in the country for 16 years. In N 14 EV shows opposition as victims by using passive voice, but RV leaves opposition still in action and active for new challenges. The next one differs with the verb preferred: “called on” is more passive than “raise”. In the last news-item EV overwhelms with heavy sentence of the detained.

In N4 RV gives the answer why Lukashenko got his sobriquet – for repression of opposition and media. N11 is structured differently, but still the news item will provide the same factual information when answering why and how. In N14 the lead in RV responds to the question why protesters were jailed, while RV gives reasons why to go to protests again. In N15 “disputed reelection” named as the cause and in RV it is simply put as “the victory of Alexander Lukashenko,” the slight difference also sneaks in the last article - “anti-governmental rally” and “protests against Alexander Lukashenko’s reelection”, where in the latter, there is again referral to “the name” of the government. In N25 the question Who/What? have different answers, though they look the same in structure and purpose. Their subject difference also leads to different what? answer: EV speaks about the length of the sentence. Why?-reply reminds N15: EV uses “anti-government rally” as opposed to “protest meetings against Alexander Lukashenko’s reelection” in RV. And again we see that personality of the President is underlined.

The N4 gives a general overview about political situation in Belarus before the election. Immediately after the lead, we read about recent complicated relations between Belarus and the EU. As opposed to RV, EV immediately after that gives the commentary from analysts, who predict his victory. Then comes background information about latest election, which in case of EV also includes information about Lukashenko's opponents, and RV says, that neither Russia, nor Europe would insist on political changes in Belarus. After that both articles move to description of relations between Russia and Belarus that have gone complicated recently. But conclusions, the editors of two versions draw, are different (we will return to this topic later in *closure* subsection). In general, except the opinion of analysts, the structure of these items is the same.

N11 goes the similar way, changing the consequence: now relations with Russia take first place followed by the EU attempts to influence Belarus with donations. Then there is a reminder about bloodshed, which was ending every attempt to change regime. The closure in a way is left open as EU countries "have to decide" whether the election will be free and fair.

News of N14 are different from the start and these differences grow as we study their texts structures. EV after the lead gives additional information about the maximum terms in prison some protesters may have, as well as giving the EU and the USA reactions after the election was over. RV starts with the information about the fact that five former candidates are arrested. This factual information differs from that appearing in EV: they report about 7 imprisoned candidates. Then both items tell the detention story of Irina Khalip, who is a journalist and at the same time the wife of one of the arrested Lukashenko's rivals. RV also supplies with the data, how many Russian citizens were arrested. Comment from Lukashenko ends EV, while RV ends with registered election violation. Thus, this piece has different structure depending on the language, as well as we can see that RV has been more tailored for audience in Russia.

Items N15 are also different in their construction. After saying about seized demonstrators EV moves to commentary from Milinkevich, the former candidate from the united opposition in the presidential election 2006, and information about imprisoned candidates. The news about recent protests during the course of the week

precedes Milinkevich's commentary. The part with candidates arrested is supported with the words of Kastuseu, who was let out after tortures in prison. By the time these pieces were to appear, the Channel already had had an exclusive interview with Lukashenko, so his position was also inserted in the form of direct speech. RV ends with the most recent results from the courts and the information about solidarity action that has just started. In this case RV is really working with recent information, and gives much more information than its English version.

N25 are two small items, where the lead is followed by the closing paragraph. In the conclusion more detailed information about court decision is given in relation to Vasily Parfenkov, a member of one of the alternative candidate's team.

Thus, the video edited, also structures the news text, bringing coherency. It is easy to notice if there is an interview included, and then the news item has to be structured around it. In general, neither leads nor news structures provide with information that is different or comes from other source.

3.3.3. Vocabulary

We have chosen a number of key-words that mostly represents actors in these news-stories, where they are also in opposition to each other. We have chosen adjectives, where possible, or phrases, where key-word is a part of it.

These are: *Belarus* (to see the attributes, through what the country is defined for European viewer), *Elections* (as the main theme around which is everything is surrounded in the articles selected), *President* (attributes to the country) as to opposition to it we take category *Candidate* (In case of Belarus any other candidate. All 9 candidates are in opposition to the acting president) and also more general category *Opposition* to contrast governmental support is participating in the conflict. Two other country's authorities are represented by *Police*, and *Parliament*. We think it is important to mention them as the result of the election was not only pure victory of Lukashenko. Many people (different media estimate different numbers – from 10 thousand to 50 thousand) protested against participation of the incumbent president in the election that evening. The demonstration was suppressed by the police, imprisoning some of the candidates even before they reached the place of the protest. Besides, two more categories, that used to stand on the different sides, Russia and the

West (mostly meaning the EU under this term, but quite often it also covers common position of the EU and the USA) are included. On the basis of these categories we evaluated the contents of the articles in both languages, to see, what model of relations they present.

Belarus, for example is defined in English also as post-Soviet republic, while Russian version does it only once. As it will also happen with Russia/West category the country is referred to only by the capital – Minsk, Moscow, and Brussels. EV also when describing the situation after the election, uses phrase “authoritarian regime.” This last notion is closely connected to characteristic, which is given to Lukashenko quite often in EV - “last dictator in Europe”. But when used for description before the election, it is mostly used with justification *dubbed by Washington*, later it is used without any referrals to the source. Interesting fact that Russian version avoids using this cliché very often, as well as avoids giving any evaluation for his presidency, besides the articles, especially dedicated to that topic (see N11). But most often for both versions “incumbent president” is used, which is neutral, and detached.

Besides “long-time leader”, “leader seen as authoritarian,” “has been in office for 16 years” other attributes include “penchant for jailing his opponents and muzzling the media has drawn stern criticism from the West”, “abandoning ‘basic human decency’ in his hunger for more power” (N3 EV) “cunningly exploiting” (N4 EV) “56-year old” (N5 EV), “Iron fist” (N5 EV), ‘was accused of corruption and political repressions” (N4 RV). In general, there are less attributes to Lukashenko in RVs compared to EV.

If we compare the visibility of the president and referrals to any other candidate, they are definitely losing. Also because there are too many, it makes hard to define who is the most important and worthy of being covered. (Here we encounter a problem for balanced reporting and detachment, as excluding some names, leads to some bias, and it was true for this election – the importance of Nekliaev drops as soon as the election results are revealed.) In general more names are used after the election, due to the reasons, that 7 out of 9 oppositional candidates were arrested at least for some period. At the very beginning both versions also employ the image of Alexander Milinkevich (he was even named “the Head of opposition”), as at previous election

he was a pro-European candidate, often welcomed to European institutions and even received Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought.¹⁸⁸ (It was second time when the prize was given to a Belarusian.) He didn't participate in the last election, resulting in the lost of at least one recognizable face for Belarus. As the election date was set to December (though it could be postponed until March), candidates had really limited time for promotion. Those mentioned before the election are Vladimir Neklyayev, the head of "Tell the truth" campaign, which actually started promotion of the campaign before the elections date, and Andrei Sannikau, the leader of "European Belarus" movement. According to the data from Belarusian Central election committee, he came second with 2, 43 % of votes.¹⁸⁹ During post-election period the latter is referred to much more often, as his wife, who is a well known journalist was arrested with him. In English there is just one more candidate is recalled - Mikalai Statkevich, as one of the MEPs names him when discussing sanctions against Belarus. Russian news also mentions Alexander Michalevich and Vitaly Rymashevsky. Ryhor Kastuseu and Dmitry Us are in the news as released candidates. Thus, candidates are not mentioned according to their political views and aspirations, but as the result of the elections campaign when they turned into prisoners from the candidates. As expected, more names and up-to -date facts are in RV.

Through what is then the process of the election is described? The legitimacy of any the elections after 1996 is questioned in Belarus as the international observers did not recognize the referendum that changed the constitution. That is why it was one of the reasons inviting people to the streets - for many people participation for Lukashenka in the elections after 16 years of reign was already nonsense. On the day of the election the "vote-rigging" as a term appears with the reference to "Belarusian opposition" (N6 EV) and to "international observers (N8 EV), who consider Belarus to have never held a free and fair elections". In contrast, RV does not say so. Then voting is just called (almost certain) "Lukashenko's reelection", "in Minsk everyone knows who the next president will be" (N6 EV), or "flawed Belarus election". In N9, there is a discussion about legal result of this election – in both versions there is space for confirming/declining election by two different observers' missions to

¹⁸⁸ "Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought", n.d., <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/parliament/archive/staticDisplay.do?id=1003&language=EN>.

¹⁸⁹ "sved21.pdf", n.d., <http://www.rec.gov.by/pdf/prb2010/sved21.pdf>.

Belarus: International, that says Belarus had “flawed” election, and the Russian led CIS observation mission says they were “legitimate.” The reasons why international observers do not agree are “the counting process lack transparency”; “the disputed re-election of President Alexander Lukashenko,” “was officially re-elected with nearly 80 per cent of the vote.” (N15)

“Lack of transparency” in vote counting and the mistreatment of opposition activists”, “disputed presidential elections” - in such context the term *Election* appears, and thus *demonstration* can be the term opposite to it. The information about possible public protests appears the day before the election, on December 18, as the result of anticipation of and the answer to flawed election. The election without Lukashenko is one of the main demands, as it was his fourth campaign – this demand is the part of the interview with Neklyayev. “Post-poll protests”, “a demonstration against vote-rigging” are the most common words for describing the anticipated future. The demonstration and its consequences “sparked huge protests in the capital, Minsk, and hundreds of people were reportedly arrested.” It remains one of the major topics after the election day: “several thousand people had defied official warnings to protest”, as more than 600 people were affected, 7 candidates were taken (even if they didn’t make it to the square). Those in jail are the matter of trade now with the West (it is one of the requirements of Brussels to start dialog with Minsk, it also draws away attention from serious problems: “The judgment will raise doubts over potential EU aid”). The description of protest is also done in the following phrases: “Last attempt ended in bloodshed in 2006 when the leaders of the failed uprising were thrown in jail (N11) “Attempts of “revolution” in Belarus,” “a coup attempt.” The events were named as “barbarism and destruction” by the president. Even when the main demonstration is over, EuroNews still reports about solidarity actions afterwards finishing “Splintered opposition, opponents have been murdered or have simply disappeared. The US and EU leaders have condemned police violence.” In general there is not that much said about opposition as a specific group. *Police* and *Parliament* categories turn to be useless, and are not really presented in the news. The parliament is ‘dominated by supporters of the president’ (in fact there are no oppositional deputies there), afterwards its voice is never important enough to appear in news. The actions of the police (appear from N6) are never represented by the information from somebody in charge, only “official state

security forces in Belarus have broken up a march” “police crackdown on opposition”, the protesters are “reportedly beaten by police”, and there is “police violence”, “the police who’d vowed to crack down on any protests.” President’s position is quite clear: “Lukashenko praises police” (N9); “has defended the police,” “praised officers for standing firm against “barbarism and destruction.” The result of their actions is that one of the candidates is “forcibly removed from hospital,” and “Dozens were injured in the clashes and there were reports of mass arrests.” However, EuroNews reports that “police responded legitimately after demonstrators tried to storm government buildings,” and that “State-controlled media stressed injuries to police.” (N10)

The most interesting antipodes are *Russia* and the *USA/EU*. Due to geographical position, the EU and Russia use Belarus as a buffer zone, allowing taking advantage of this situation for Lukashenko. In the article appeared on the 14th of December, it is stated that Russian TV accused Lukashenko of “widespread corruption.” Or it is put clearly for now in RV that “there can’t be support from again from Russian colleagues.” But “frostiness with Europe has thawed” (N4) just before the election. The term *West* is often reduced to Brussels, Washington, and Russia consequently, to Moscow or Kremlin. Medvedev in comparison to Lukashenko, is mentioned very rarely. Though relations have become colder, EuroNews doesn’t reject the fact that Russia still has economic interest toward Belarus. But what has happened a week before the elections seems to throw into confusion the rhetoric that was used before. “President Medvedev said the election was an “internal matter“(N10) and Russian-led observer mission of CIS told “there was no violation”. Thoroughly description of Russian position or attitude is done mostly in the first articles, and later its position takes very little space, regardless of the language - English or Russian. The position of the EU and the USA in most cases is given and described together, “The West recent overtures” (N5). Very often it is even not really clear who journalists refer to – the EU or the USA.

These are several statements from the EU: “The EU has called for the freeing of seven opposition candidates who were reportedly detained” (N9),” “The EU has called for detained opposition candidates to be freed”; It presents a dilemma for the EU, as the deal was that Belarus can have “three billion euros of aid from Brussels”

if the election is free and transparent, but after Decemeber 19, the only thing left was “The US and the EU have called for the immediate release of all prisoners”(N14).

“The people of Belarus deserve better.” That is the message from the EU and the US today - “Washington and Brussels say they are now reviewing their relations,” “the US and the EU condemn what they call a disproportionate use of force.” (N17)

As the result, “Western countries agreed and the EU is reviewing its relations with Belarus,”(N18) Though “The EU in recent years has tried to encourage Belarus to develop democracy” and even “suspended a visa ban two years ago”, now “Several EU countries want sanctions; Germany, Sweden and Poland.” And “There is still a freeze on Belarus government assets in the EU.” There many references to reviewing relations in all the articles appear in post-election period. Poland seems to take the leading role, as Polish foreign ministry mentioned as well as Jacek Protasiewicz, a Polish MEP, who is one of the initiator of the sanctions. However, EuroNews gives the comments from Belarusian President: “Lukashenko has accused Germany and Poland of attempting to topple him,” and he “has a stormy relationship with the West, accusing Germany and Poland of instigating demonstrations”. The result of accusations from both sides turns to the fact that “EU and US ambassador declined to attend his [Alexander Lukashenko] inauguration.”(N22) Moreover, it will have consequences for him “souring of relations between Belarus means no more visits to Lithuania for President Alexander Lukashenko.”

To conclude we defined first the most important categories that are participating in the news coverage. As we can see, though we used English version as a leading one in defining categories, the categories stayed the same for both of them. English version gives labels easier, the usage of colored words are mostly belong to officials.

3.3.4. Forms of Address

As we have seen before, the importance of personality is one of the key-point in describing situation in Belarus during and after the election. Lukashenko, of course, has the most attention, being mentioned in almost every article, no matter in which language. Even if we look at the tags, the EuroNews uses for Belarus, the second popular after “Belarus” will be “Lukashenko”. Also keywords-table proves that using “dictator” is much more common for EV than for RV. In most cases it is just “incumbent president” or “long-time leader”.

The tone of representation of the two oppositional leaders – Neklyayev and Sannikov - is changing as the events are developing. Neklyayev appears in N5, after Lukashenko's statement, and is introduced as “a writer and leader of the *Tell the Truth* movement”, who is “the best placed to come in second”. All his political program is presented in one sentence: “He is critical of the West's recent overtures to the man who has ruled Belarus since 1994”, so Neklyayev given a chance to state his position publicly.

In N6, on the election day, we have one more comment from him, where he was calling on people to join him in the evening for the protest. That was his last triumphal speech. News will return to him next time, when he is defeated and beaten by police among “oppositional leaders” (however mentioning of this fact is skipped in Russian version), and it will be his wife taking the floor. RV will not separate him from other detained candidates, though. Later Neklyayev is no longer the leader of *Tell the Truth*, but a “detained opposition candidate”, and after two more mentionings as an issue of bargaining between West and Belarus, disappears from the news.

Andrei Sannikov, on the contrary, gets more attention after the election, when it was known that he came second, according to the election results reported. It might be also explained by the fact that unlike Neklyayev, he managed to be on the square and to speak. For instance, in N12 we read: “Andrei Sannikov is one of those accused of “barbarism and destruction” by the incumbent President.” Besides him, his wife, a famous journalist, also was mentioned being arrested. Sannikov's first appearance in the news was in N8 – it was the second piece produced by the channel on the election day that dealt with the topic of protests afterwards. So his only characteristic was “He is thought to have little chance of winning but earlier declared he was voting for a ‘free Belarus’. Rigged, say they plan to hold a rally in the capital Minsk after polls close.” Sannikov is still in the news as late as end of January, as he “was accused of espionage against the regime and imprisoned,” though RV skipping the usage of any names and restricts to “political prisoners.”

We have evaluated the role prescribed to the three main people, who have become “the faces” of the campaign – Lukashenko, Neklyayev and Sannikov. While Lukashenko's address does not changed during course of the election, Neklyayev

and Sannikov change their status from leaders to the victims of political regime. Again, there is no striking difference between two versions of the news, besides the fact that EV tries to personalize more than RV.

3.3.5. Transitivity and Modality

In this section we wanted to explore what are the processes key-figures of the news are involved into, and see if there is a change, when the processes are done in English and Russian languages

We will again use five articles appeared with the tag “Politics”, where for analysis we will use only two categories in opposition, previously described in vocabulary section – namely, Lukashenko and opposition (where opposition will include also individuals from opposition, as general number of references is very small and “faceless”) Discourse-analysis normally defines five processes, each of them having its subject (called differently, depending on the name of the process) and object. In everyday speech three processes are the primary - material, relational and mental ones, but if we have a look at hard news, the story might be different. The biggest group, according to our research, is behavioural in relations to *Lukashenko* category, where he is the Behaver (the subject). In our opinion it can be explained by the aim of the hard news, as they appear around the event, and the key governmental person is the one who is necessary for making a story. If we compare differences in the language, there are few, the meanings of these verbs are mostly negative: “exploiting,” “abolished,” “failure to recognize,” “irritated.” In contrast to it, *opposition* category has the most in material processes as an object, and also the verbs used have negative meanings – “murdered”, “disappeared”, “jailed”, “arrested”, “beaten.” As a subject opposition is more active in verbal processes – the verbs used, are connected with public speaking – “appeal,” “call on,” “speaking.” It must be noted, that verbal processes are well spread. It’s true for *Lukashenko* as subject and object, less relevant for opposition as an object. Again, it might be explained by the news structure and attempts to ensure detachment: journalist try to have the commentaries, as well as any official statement can become a news source on its own. Mental, relational, and existential process are rarely represented, as if preferred journalism model is data and fact- based, then there is no place for feelings.

To sum up, this part of the research did not identify deep differences,, but we can see that general directions of the channel are the same, and do not depend on the language. Thus the role of Lukashenko is the one of the last dictator, while opposition is seen as a goal and victim of the regime is verified by this research, too.

3.3.6. Relations to time

Most of the hard news does not follow logical timeline, which is also the consequence of the inverted pyramid structure, especially taking into account that they are supposed to be fresh and very perishable product. Generally in the corpus of the news-items we have selected for our research, there are two types of news:

- News, describing background information(context) of the planned event (for instance N4, appeared on December 15 2010 – four days before the election in Belarus - explains alignment of forces in the country.)
- News from the event in progress. (For instance N14 from December 21, 2010 – 2 days after the election was over: probably its incoherent structure in different languages also shows, that there is no common story agreed on, as well as the factual information differs.

Let's have a closer look at how time goes in N4: It starts from around 2005 when Condoleezza Rice named Belarus “the last dictatorship in Europe” then moves to recent relations with Europe (travel ban for Belarusian officials from 2006, invitation to participate in the Eastern Partnership in 2009, meeting with European Foreign ministers in 2010, and the opinion of the analysts that Lukashenko would win the next election). However after that, the situation with his opponents from 2006 is reminded, and then the story turns into exploring Belarus –Russia relations, therefore back to the 2000 until recently.

News structures of N14 are different in EV and RV, but in general they both start from recent developments. First, we find out about the results of the protest and the consequences it may have in future, and then the time goes back to the events of night after the election with the help of recorded interview, and finishes with the new comment from Lukashenko, as EuroNews channel filmed an interview (see N13) with him the day after the election.

These examples prove the odd timeline the hard news has. In most of the cases the background information is closer to the end and can be easily taken out of the report if necessary.

3.3.7. Relations of space

Reference to space is quite specific at EuroNews. Until recently the journalist was always invisible, so the channel has recognizable voices, but not the faces, thus there was no firm connection between place and presence. The information about the place is given at the beginning of the report. In the Internet it is reflected by the tag and very often the country reference or the key figure is mentioned in the headline. As we discussed before, referring to Belarus as a post-Soviet country is typical for EV. Another way to refer to the countries is capitals - Brussels, Moscow, Minsk (ex. N20 “EU ministers are reviewing policy, but Minsk warns that sanctions it calls ‘futile’ would be counterproductive;” N4 “EU ministers are reviewing policy, but Minsk warns that sanctions it calls ‘futile’ would be counterproductive”). Besides, the name of the square was also in the news: the full name of the square - Oktyabrskaya Square, where opposition planned protests, is mentioned first only on the day of the election, and moreover in the endings of the news in both languages. Thus, in the situation of limited information access in Belarus those days, EuroNews itself could be the source for those, who are looking for an opportunity to join.

3.3.8. Closure

The closures are an interesting part of the news-texts. Because of EuroNews organization of news production, the text written is defined by video length. It makes the text more flexible and it is possible to regulate how much information will be used, depending on the length of the most important information in lead, interviews added in the language. Perhaps, they are the most visibly different parts of the news texts at EuroNews.

There is a number of the news, which has more or less the same endings – N2, N4, N9 (see appendix)

Also, we must admit, that RV tends to site position of Russian Government at the end, as in for example, N2 RV “Lukashenko will not be able to enlist Russian colleagues’ support for this election anymore”, N4 RV “Despite visible disagreements, the majority of analysts agree that Russia has considerable economic

interest in Belarus, and Alexander Lukashenko remains the most suitable partner in the post-Soviet territory.” Compared to N4 EV “Perhaps both Moscow and Brussels have realized that Europe’s last dictator is not going anywhere just yet”, EV shows a unified position of the EU and Russia. Though in N2, it was EV giving the opinion of Medvedev, who criticized situation in Belarus. N9 have similar endings, the difference lies only in presenting Western International monitors as opposed to CIS observers’ opinion in RV. In N10 just before the closure there is a changed opinion of Russian President Medvedev that the election is “internal matter” of Belarus,” while RV on contrary, presents the USA and the EU position. The closures of N11 are both concentrated on the position of the West.

N14 EV ends with controversial statement from Lukashenko, while RV speaks about infringement of the election according to the opinion of OSCE observers, and Russian observers from independent organizations.

In N17 we again notice the different closure, depending on the language. EV presents united the EU and the US position: “But as the US and the EU condemn what they call a disproportionate use of force, authorities in Belarus say five presidential candidates may be charged in connection with the weekend demonstration.” While Russian presents concern of the Russian president about arrested citizens of Russia during the protests in order to protect them.

N18 EV is similar to N14 EV as it finishes with a controversial statement: This time “But Russian monitors backed the result and Lukashenko vowed there would be no more “senseless democracy”. This fact is not mentioned in this text, it ends with the number of people arrested during the protest.

Closure of N22 is dealing with Belarus – EU relations. EV regrets about the present state of relations: “Before the elections there had been signs of warmer relations between Belarus and Brussels, but recent events have dealt a setback to any improvement.” While RV gives the statement from Lukashenko: “nobody will be allowed to talk with Belarus from the position of strength using categorical language” (language of ultimatum”).

N22 – “Lukashenko has shrugged off threats of economic sanctions from the West if he refuses to release political detainees by promising tough countermeasures of his

own”, RV – “Immediate release of all political prisoners remains the main demand from the EU to Belarusian authorities. In this pair EV presents position of both sides the West and Belarus that is prepared to give to answer to any measure that will be taken against it.

N24: “For Lukashenko it is simply “the people have spoken, their choice is sacred and indisputable,” he said. RV “The EU Ambassadors ignored inauguration ceremony yesterday. The EU Foreign Ministers will discuss Belarusian question and possibility to impose sanctions towards Minsk” In both RV of N22 and N24, the stress is put on the position of the EU, where official.

To conclude, opinion of Russia is rarely used, most of the time position of EU and US expressed. Before elections the opinion from opposition appears in N1 RV. Also EV and RV in a way participate in the process of submitting information about planned demonstration on Oktyabrskaya square. - N5 RV, N6 RV and EV, As audio text is based also what will be remembered.

Quite often a background history of 16 years of Lukashenko’s presidency are mentioned in the end (as discussed N1 EV, N3 RV, N9 EV), as well as economy consequences. Economy consequences for Belarus and sanctions from the EU are the topic for the following items: N5 RV, N24 EV, N22 RV, N20 EV

International Observers’ critical opinion about the election results can be found in N2 EV, N7 EV, N8 EV, N9 EV, N14 RV (Russian observers who came to the same conclusion as their Western colleagues), N16 EV, N18 EV (opposite Russian observers’ opinion), N21 EV. Another quite popular topic for the closure is protest/demonstration.

There is a trick with the closure: though it’s always possible to reduce article by deleting sentences from the end, the last sentence has the potential to be remembered as the leading part, so the ending of the news at EuroNews are inviting more for discussion, especially if Lukashenko’s phrase is chosen for that. It may be explained that opposition’s opinion has a higher importance and legitimizing priority for the channel.

Conclusions

In this chapter we evaluating the news appeared at EuroNews channel using parameters of hard news allocated by Allan. Though expecting to find differences in the way different languages cover the political situation in Belarus, we found out more about similarities in news-construction, no matter which language is used. The aspects we have been evaluating in the previous chapter help in understanding the similarities of structural parts from Allan. Non-partisanship of the channel is assured through a number of shareholders, which should make its input into objective reporting. Detachment of the channel is expressed by the way the news are presented (no reporter usually appears) as well as the fact that news are simultaneously produced in a number of languages, the channel also provides opportunities for the events to happen: Forward planning Unit checks in advance the possibility of this or that event to occur as well as the channel's studio has recently become popular place for the country leaders, where they have a chance either to defend or promote their point of view. For instance, Lukashenko appeared on the screen the day after the election. He rarely comments situation in Belarus for international public, but here he was quick to react. Balanced reporting is basically done through introducing two sides in the news, but these voices mostly belong to political elite: there is very little interaction presented between country's general public and leaders.

Though we noted consistency and clichés there are still some points that differ one version from the other. EV stays stronger within its opinion as the word-choice reflects, RV gives more factual details and more up-to-date ones. It does not pick Russian position more often than the EU or the US, but can contain information specifically interesting for viewers in Russia. Also RV played the role of an independent TV for Belarusian audience, as the stations in Belarus are government-owned, and Russian cable TV channels are censored. Thus oppositional candidates had an additional chance to state their position and through the channel agitation was still on on the day of election.

Thus, if we call the channel biased, then more on general level of mission not on the level of news production, as the result of early in-building of journalist into the required format.

Conclusions

In our work we have looked at a range of problems, starting from the need in media for establishing communication within the EPS, where the EPS in its turn – a necessary prerequisite for democratic approval of the EU institutions. The launching of Pan-European channel was the answer for this need, that very soon overgrew into the channel covering not only EU countries, but beyond, adding the feeling of Europe. Though EuroNews is not completely financed through the Commission, it's also worth to see, how communication among different media in Europe is regulated. However, the EPS is broader than the EU borders, but the EU plays an important part and forms European media discourse around it.

As BBC, and DW, EuroNews is looking for its share of national elite. To ensure access to it, the objectivity is often mentioned or implied. It is especially vivid with EuroNews motto appeared after 2008. As we could see, objectivity is one of the problematic terms that has been changed its core over the years, as well as the core for debates between Anglo-American and European models of journalism. Discussing the workflow at the channel, we can see how the news production is organized, which is useful for evaluation the news situation. Thus, the thesis of strong meaning deviation was not supported by the research, but on the contrary showed strong editorial system established at the channel.

We have used the example the election in Belarus as the case for research to evaluate how the channel manages to assure unity in the situation when there is no direct translation employed.

However, we do not consider the topic of EuroNews enough discussed. Quite recently, the channel has started to shape differently its presence on the screen and in the Internet, and these leads to the changing the culture inside the company. Also, taking into consideration the fact, that the channel now presents news by journalists coming from different cultures and parts of the World, working under the same formal structure, it might be interesting to research how they still manage to find their audience, not breaking rules of “pure news” reporting at EuroNews.

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Appendices