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Media and Performance Research Master Thesis

National and European identity on public service television: the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall as a media event

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Introduction

Television studies have brought, over a period of half a century, a considerable contribution towards the broader field of media studies. Television, from both a technological and cultural perspective, has proven revolutionary to individuals' perception of their (immediate) surrounding reality. From the first televised political debate preceding national elections, to live televised state revolutions, television challenged previous media by offering audiences a viewing experience, otherwise known as "seeing by electricity" (Bignell and Fickers 2008).

The changes brought about via the new technology translate into new audience attitudes towards the media – a result of both technological and cultural premises; television historiography takes both premises in consideration, since media archaeologists have researched television from a twofold perspective: one concerning the new communication technology and the other dealing with "a new mode of aesthetic expression" (Bignell and Fickers: 5). The most recent stage in the history of television studies has to deal with the relationship between the medium, its messages and audiences, one that is particularly relevant at the level of cultural identity construction (*id.*: 6). This focus has defined the field of media studies over the last decades, especially with the advent of digitalization that has lead to a number of changes in how individuals relate to the products they come across on a daily basis.

Bearing in mind the long history of television studies, discussions on such a matter should not neglect the contemporary issue of globalization (Schiller 1993), which has indeed dominated academic debates over the last decades. Globalization has seen television cross borders, as transnational broadcasting and deterritorialized programming (Chalaby 2005) have become key concepts for referring to both technical and cultural development of television. Moreover, the unidirectional flow of Western media products and practices penetrating the media landscapes worldwide is a form of cultural imperialism. Herbert Schiller's theory proved flawed to the extent that it discards the possibility of national, cultural specificities to contribute to a diversified national media landscape. Such theoretical views have developed around the same global – local dichotomy, which is also prevalent in the present discussion.

The purpose of this thesis lies in addressing television from a cultural perspective, by constructing a contextualized view on public broadcasting in several European countries. What this effort does not imply is a historical approach towards television studies, but an insight in the mechanisms of European public television, seen within a cultural context.

This thesis will attempt to construct a picture of public service broadcasting in the context of the "New Europe", twenty years after the fall of the Berlin wall, a moment that became synonymous with the crumbling of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe. The twenty years' anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall – conceptualized as a media event – will ensure a case study analysis meant to shed light on any type of media narrative that can set up a Europe-oriented discourse. Therefore, all focus will fall on identifying whether European public television today has seen a turn towards a Europe - centred discourse, as seen through the special programmes dedicated to the anniversary.

Taking into consideration the socio-political realities of the 21st century Europe, television – be it represented by either public or private channels – is one of the most relevant

media worth discussing in terms of depicting political and social change. All of the democratic states in question are now part of the union that evolved from the idea of a "New Europe". In spite of the fact that the idea has come a long way, having been originally introduced in the 1950s, it is only recently that the Union has expressed probably its most important aim: becoming the world's most competitive economic area, as stated within the Lisbon Treaty. This renders the role of new member countries ever more important.

Television as a celebrating medium. Reasons for choosing public broadcasting and the uses of commercial television in defining PBS characteristics

The relevance of this television-centred research also finds justification from a historical perspective. Studies related to television audiences have come a long way, mainly guided by communication research findings starting in the early 1960s. As television grew to become the main medium reaching millions of households all over the world due to technological breakthrough such as cable and satellite, studies faced an increased focus on the audience effects and the type of relationship television established with viewers. Conclusions relate to the impact of televised violence on children, hierarchy in newscasts, all of these referring to audiences' needs of information and entertainment. History has seen television used as a tool for installing totalitarian regimes, for addressing the "masses", even though the concept of "mass" has been improperly employed, since watching television is per se a medium "consumed" in a private space. Studies on public television as a public institution are mainly focused on a historical overview of its characteristics over the decades, most of which rely on the type of programming encountered throughout their broadcast. This also includes, although to a lesser extent, audience research. However, interest in audience studies has risen, due to a redefinition of their relationship towards media content.

The institutionalized character of public television as it evolved in the European space makes for another justification of this research. Public television before the Second World War was approached as a national symbol, especially in countries like Germany, where the political system settled a propagandistic function for its public broadcasting system. Britain, on the other hand, was developing its trademark public television as an institution by offering its audience news, entertainment and educational programmes. The BBC standards meant that political bias would not find a place within any of the household productions. Considering the institutional character public television across Europe developed throughout the post-war years, a certain claim has been made about a type of European public television: the emphasis on the three landmark components representing public service broadcasting – information, education and entertainment – has turned them into the three main characteristics of public broadcasting.

Two decades after the abovementioned events, television as a medium has had to face considerable change, as technological development led to new ways of media product consumption and, consequently, to new viewing patterns among audiences. Lately, public broadcasters have had to readjust their offer according to their national audiences' increasingly diversified preferences, and at the same time remain faithful to their own founding principles, such as quality programming. This has proven to be a difficult task for broadcasters, and it has given way to questions regarding the institutional character of public service media.

Having addressed the importance of researching (public) television from both technological and institutional perspectives, the emphasis now moves on to the media event in question. Identifying it as a case study for the present research is meant to stress the role of public television under the special historic circumstances of the aforementioned ceremony. Coverage of a media event at European level is characteristic as well as relevant for European public broadcasters to begin with; such a ceremonial occasion, built on a highly important historical event is even a greater chance of emphasizing the fashion in which public television reveals its place within the European public sphere. Focus will thus be placed on the type of discourse that both private and public broadcasters develop throughout the anniversary.

In the midst of economic and political talks, the issue of European cultural citizenship arises as a vital factor in achieving the purpose of a united Europe. This is where the media become most visible, as their role of producing and conveying meaning is central to the creation of what has been called a European identity. Public service media –alongside private channels – in different countries around the continent would present interesting case studies, since the commemorative programmes feature an approach constructed around a "then and now" discourse. The main hypothesis this research refers to the difference in media discourse that reveals when looking at private and public service channels. More precisely, the former are expected to develop a rather national discourse, focusing on domestic affairs; moreover, their role as broadcasters is depicted as central to the emerging democratic regime, since they were the first media that "empowered" citizens by promoting freedom of thought. On the other hand, the hypothesis relies on the discourse featured in public television programmes, which stands out due to its European approach to the event: placing historical events and changes into a broader context is thus characteristic for state-owned media. Given this hypothesis, the following central research question will be addressed: *is European public television today adding a new role to its core values, by developing a European discourse and promoting what it is academically referred to as European identity?*

The hypothesis relies on analyzing the commemoration as a media event, a rather striking presence within commercial media, but a solemn ceremony illustrating a common European history as it is depicted via public television. The aforementioned common European history brings about the issue of mediated memories, which sets the ground for the thesis hypothesis: a new, Europe-oriented discourse kind of media rhetoric is made possible through the help of mediated memories, which come in the form of "then-and-now" commentaries or television archives of programmes produced around the time of the event or right after 1989. The way audiences remember European history has largely to do with the type of media coverage at the time the events occurred and at the time of remembering the significance of such historical landmarks. What audiences refer to as the Berlin wall are numerous representations of a single reality, which now, after 20 years, can prove to have been translated into a single, unitary discourse about Europe. What must be mentioned in relation to the central research question is that mediated memories keep on constructing one of the main characteristics of public television: educating by providing unbiased information to their informed audiences; in this case, educating in the spirit of a common, European history.

Research will target discourse and content analysis, both aiming at identifying the type of emphasis of each broadcaster. Whether narratives indicate a dominant national perspective on the anniversary, or a tendency towards the international (European) consequences of both the 1989 events and the 2009 celebrations, they twofold analysis will seek to illustrate either of the two by carefully monitoring the specific language used in the chosen material.

Discourse analysis will indicate how the media products to be analyzed make sense as narratives. It will focus on media language and semiotics, in order to follow the media function of meaning construction (Gillespie and Toynbee 2006). Content analysis, a quantitative method, will focus on the repeatability or recurrence of words and phrases, particular structures related to nationality or European identity, timing and scheduling. Combined, these methods will help clarify whether there is a certain discourse that relates to European identity and cultural citizenship, and where it is prevalent.

Structure

The chapters this thesis is divided in mark the necessity of contextualizing public broadcasting from several points of view. One represents the European media landscape as part of the larger, encompassing European public sphere, as the other ushers in the (still) unsettled issue of European identity.

The initial chapter focuses on European public television and its institutional role, attempting to clarify the difficulties in finding a clear-cut definition of what public broadcasting is. The reason behind placing this discussion in the very beginning is the need to place public television in context, from both national and European perspectives. On the other hand, a discussion on what public broadcasting *ought to* represent in the 21st century comes in as explanatory of the reasons why a strict definition is hard to achieve.

The view on public service broadcasting developing into public service media is also relevant in the sense that it brings forward the twenty-first century challenges that public broadcasting is facing. The reasons behind difficulties in defining public broadcasting come into further discussion here: understanding the consequences of media convergence and digitalization is crucial in stating the need to redefine public broadcasting, so as its services can continue to meet audiences' expectations. The contrast with emergent commercial television content has become so striking that Therefore, this chapter contains a debate on the type of strategies that such institutions have developed, as well as an insight on the European regulations that national broadcasters have been subjected to. Papers such as Television without Frontiers and organizations such as the European Broadcasting Union stand out as examples of efforts to create a common European media landscape. Regulations regarding content are especially relevant

here, since they impose community broadcasters a certain ratio of "European works[1]" within the overall broadcasting schedule (Donaldson 1996). This could be regarded as a contribution to the role of media in the overall construction of a European identity.

Such a discussion creates the link with the second chapter, which focuses on the issue of European identity and the contribution of public service media to a European public sphere. The key matter lies in analyzing the role of public broadcasting in developing what is academically considered "European identity". In order to do so, the concepts of national identity and cultural citizenship will act as tools that help contextualize the more relevant issue of identity.

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[1] Council Directive No. 89/552, sopra note 2, art 6(1) (a), O.J. L. 298/23 at 27 (1989). European works include "works originating from Member States of the Community" as well as: "works originating from European third States party to the European Convention on Transfrontier Television of the Council of Europe", provided that:

    a)   they are made by one or more producers established in one or more of those States; or

    b)   production of the works is supervised and actually controlled by one or more producers established in one or more of those States; or

    c)   the contribution of co-producers of those States to the total co-production costs is preponderant and the co-production is not controlled by one or more producers established outside those States.

Chapter 1

European Public television: 21ˢᵗ century audiences and their expectations

This chapter deals with the concept of European public broadcasting, in particular public television and the manners of defining such media service. The aim here is to identify the relationship between, on the one hand, public service and commercial television and, on the other hand, the national public spheres as well as the larger, European one. Given the recent transformations in terms of media use and technological development, the public sphere debate will also cover the newly emerging role(s) that public broadcasting has been attributed. What follows is a detailed discussion on the case of European public sphere: its emergence, components in relation to public broadcasting institutions, with a focus on contemporary challenges that have requested their redefinition.

Defining the object of study

The concept of "public service broadcasting" still stands out as a rather problematic one, since neither governing bodies nor media professionals have fully agreed on a definition (Collins et al. 2001). However, Western public broadcasting systems agree on dissimilarities with the ones in Eastern European countries, since public radio and television started out as propaganda channels for the communist regimes, especially during the 1970s and 1980s. There is agreement on the fact that differences in ideology, which is unanimously accepted as springing from the British broadcasting model, are obvious when comparing the Western and Eastern cases. It has been claimed that the difficulty in finding common ground considering this definition lies in the fact that there is disagreement on the real, actual properties of public broadcasting and its desired characteristics: what PBS "is", compared to what it "ought to be" (Collins et al. 2001: 65). What public service media actually represent is diversity pluralism and range, cultural roles, places in politics and non-commercialism (Blumler 1992). Moreover, what public broadcasting does is to cater informative and educational programmes that are accessible to all audiences from both a technological and a cultural perspective, not disregarding minorities and their specific interests (Foster 1992: 12). It offers programmes encompassing news, documentaries, and programmes of cultural and educational value. On the other hand, there is the "desired" manner which public broadcasting ought to work in. One that has been called for throughout the last years, this new "vision" consists of innovation and new operational methods that need to be placed forward in order to face the challenges new technologies represent for the general media landscape. According to Collins, the most comprehensive definition for what public service media should represent belongs to critics of Jurgen Habermas, widely known as "neo-habermasians", who explain public service media in terms of "ought's" (Allen and Hill 2004). The relationship between public broadcasting and the public sphere becomes evident. Neo-habermasians portray PBS as having a protective role within the public sphere and call for innovation that would lead to increased resistance to market pressure. The market is particularly viewed as highly detrimental to the principles of public broadcasting, since the former does not regard audiences in terms of equality and universal reach. As their main aim remains sustaining profits, markets do

not adhere to public broadcasters' mission of creating "informed audiences" (Livingstone 1998); audiences play the role of consumers providing revenues for advertisers and thus supporting commercial media outlets.

Public broadcasting stands out chiefly as a product of Western Europe, emerging and developing in democratic states, where concepts such as public opinion, public sphere and public interest create the pillars of such a highly valued institution. Founded in the United Kingdom, as early as 1927, public service television was positioned as an institution that would "inform, educate and entertain", according to Lord Reith's classic definition of BBC's principles. These three main concepts have built the grounds for public television broadcasting in all the other Western democracies, which followed suit in constructing a media landscape that would include what is now referred to "quality broadcasting".

Public broadcasters around Europe face difficulty in adhering to a clear-cut, specific definition also due to the different sources of funding that they rely on. The degree of (in)dependence on state financing determines models of public broadcasting that are to be found in several European countries. First of all, the BBC sets the standards for independent television, revealing a greater degree of distance between broadcaster and government than in any other European country. The German public broadcasting system is the one that features most similarities to the British model. Scandinavian states stand out due to their fully government-financed broadcasting institutions, which are also supervised by an independent external controlling body (Bardoel and d'Haenens 2008). The French and Wallon models present more similarities to the Scandinavian typology, whilst the Dutch and Flemish broadcasters feature external regulation of programme output. These characteristics have been placed into three categories that Hallin and Mancini (2004) refer to as "ideal types": the liberal model, specific for the United Kingdom; the polarized pluralist model, which includes a higher degree of politicization and state intervention, mainly characteristic for the Mediterranean countries and finally, the democratic corporatist model, encompassing Scandinavia, The Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany, the cases of which are defined by a greater stress on organized social groups that control the decision making process.

In spite of the convenient broadcasting models classification, public television in Europe has been subjected, throughout its development, to different roles, some of which have seen public broadcasters reduced to mere propagandistic tools that lay at the core of state regimes. The countries belonging to the former Soviet Bloc are instances of such media uses. These cases bring forward the relationship between the state and public service media, which has defined the nature of such broadcast in European countries from the very beginning. This chapter will enlarge upon the aforementioned relationship, in order to provide a better understanding of the present day European public broadcasting.

Additionally, discussing European public television evidently includes stressing both the past and present of such national – and European – institutions, and an overview of the similarities and differences that lie between the private and public broadcasting entities[2]. The timeline that lays the ground for such a comprehensive overlook is the reason for taking into consideration both commercial and public broadcasting, since the step towards commercial television channels was made after decades of public institutions' monopoly over broadcasting.

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[2] This is not applicable in the case of British media landscape, as it set the standards for public service broadcasting.

Technological development and new perspectives on audience behaviour have set forth challenges for public broadcasters, who have had no choice but to join in the competition for audiences, seemingly placing their core values at risk. The main cause for this lies in the ways audiences are perceived: either as consumers or informed citizens. As public broadcasting has been trying to adapt to new trends in audience preferences, claims have been made with regard to their general address towards viewers, who have gradually become most of all consumers of media products, rather than citizens with a critical eye. Moreover, commercialization – before, as well as after its occurrence – was said to overturn the balance between entertainment and informational programmes in favour of the former, thus leading to "an impoverished public sphere" (Holtz-Bacha and Norris 2001). This is precisely why the case of public television should be approached in relation to private channels. This competition has also had its impact on the viewing experience itself, as programming has been redefined according to the increasingly fragmented audiences' needs. Commercialization has also been linked to a decrease in quality programming, as more entertainment products tend to overshadow the "quality" programming put forward to the audience.

General assessment of contemporary public broadcasting institutions has raised several points in relation to the fashion broadcasting institutions should tackle contemporary challenges such as digitalization and media convergence. A relevant argument is the one demanding a complementary approach towards commercial channels broadcast (Blumler 1992). Such a position towards competition requires that public programming follow two paths: one regarding its content and another focused on audiences; the former implies providing a similarly qualitative array of products, equally informative and intellectually stimulating as settled beforehand as part of the core functions of public broadcasting. The latter involves catering for smaller audience, with a rather constant type of preferences. This take on what has become a fierce competition brings forward the imperative of maintaining the core premises, meaning that public broadcasting cannot construct a new identity on fragile ground. The following step described as part of this approach is for public television to emphasize their programme potential. Reinforcing the attributes that broadcasting institutions pride on most, audiences are more likely to restate their interest and loyalty towards such programmes that they will recognize as unique to public service media. Therefore, a "rebranding" of television products that have earned their own place in the overall schedule due to a long run broadcast and a constant audience would lead to a stronger positioning of public service programming within the national media landscape, as well as to an improved institutional image for public television.

1.1. *The institution of public broadcasting. Introducing public service media*

Recent European discussion at both political and academic level has led to a common conclusion as far as the mission of twenty-first-century public broadcasting is concerned. Not only did European policy makers reflect on the need for such media service to continue its role at national and European levels, but they also stated the most important factor that should define public broadcasting at the present moment. The draft Audiovisual Media Services Directive, adopted in 2007, urges that public media use technological development at its full capacity: "The Resolution concerning public service broadcasting's mission must continue to benefit from technological process. The co-existence of private and public audiovisual media service providers

is a feature which distinguishes the European audiovisual media market."[3] Moreover, a Committee of Ministers recommendation (2007) states that "the public service remit is all the more relevant in the information society and (…) can be discharged by public service organisations via diverse platforms and an offer of various services, resulting in the emergence of public service media"; "public service media should be able to offer both generalist and specialised contents and services, as well as personalized interactive and on-demand services."[4]

The new term[5] that has been proposed as a replacement for public service broadcasting summarizes the main requirements that need to be fulfilled as part of redefining such institutions. The stress on public service media is one of the main calls for reformulating public broadcasting as an institution and its relationship with its audiences. These changes have been called upon as vital for the future of public broadcasting (Jakubowitcz 2006a). Among the few requirements with regard to the changes that need implementing, drafted by the EBU Digital Strategy Group, there is the necessity of proving public broadcasting is still valuable at societal level. Such a fact is directly correlated with the flourishing of private media providers, which are said to have rendered public service media redundant. One of the most challenging tasks public broadcasters implies facing this hierarchy and overcoming the apparent handicap. Apart from this, replacing "broadcasting" with "media" or "content" indicated the role digital technology plays in the process. Media inevitably refers to "multimedia", given the impressive amount of platforms and outlets that content can be stored and transferred through. Naturally, as digitalization has become synonymous with audience fragmentation, multimedia services are expected to provide "personalized public service" (Wiio 2004).

Having mentioned the personalised public service, a further discussion on audiences is therefore required in order to continue the outlook on public service media transformations. The kind of attitude public service media need to adopt with respect to their audiences is based, to a high extent, on the old media – new media dichotomy. Accordingly, the issue of property arises: viewers need to develop a sense of ownership towards the products public service media place forward (Collins et al. 2001).

The previous patronizing attitude of public media producers has already been labelled as outdated, since viewers have become familiar with the new media platforms and have thus changed the "traditional" type of relationship with media content providers. Otherwise knows as "the journalist knows best" attitude (Küng 2002), this kind of approach also proves a suitable manner of expressing the abovementioned dichotomy, where old media support media producers' upper hand in content distribution and overall management. Indeed, this dissolution of hierarchies that developed throughout the emergence of new media outlets cannot be underestimated, as they must implement the use of such technologies and restate their position towards audiences. As hierarchies are tossed, or better yet reformulated, in the sense that viewers are the ones not only providing feedback but also creating their own content, public broadcasting is called upon to turn this reality to its advantage. Such radical transformations at the very core of

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[3] This directive features rules relating to the proper functioning of what has been named "the single European TV market", and controls the European-wide coordination of national audiovsual media regulations.

[4] Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)16 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on measures to promote the public service value of the Internet (Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on November 7, 2007 at the 1010th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies)

[5] public service media

public broadcasting have been generally agreed upon as vital to the future of public service media.

Another task that public service media has come upon in recent years, given transformations within the European media market, deals with the inequalities concerning audiences. With the advent of commercial television, the market seems to have been focusing its products on certain audience profile featuring a higher economic status and educational level[6]. This has undoubtedly led to a considerable gap as far as the type of programming is concerned, and it is public service media that are expected to tackle this issue that has been widely recognised as a market failure (Collins 1998). Indeed, the plethora of commercial channels dominating media landscapes across Europe have led to an imbalance in audience programming, since marginal groups – precisely the ones with lower incomes and educational level – are no longer included. PSB needs to tackle this issue, since it is its duty to ensure " a sense of social cohesion and belonging" (Harrison and Woods 2001).

1.2. Public vs. private in the public sphere

Along with the emergence of the European Union, national broadcasters across the continent decided on a common scheme that would encourage communication in terms of programming, ideology and resources. This scheme was implemented in the form of the European Broadcasting Union, currently featuring non-European members alike. This organization aims at establishing contact between national broadcasters, in order to facilitate audiovisual content exchange. Moreover, the Union also ensures broadcasters' visibility with respect to role within the public sphere, as far as their relationship with decision makers is concerned. As a result, public broadcasters remain a key topic on the agenda of regulating bodies. Another issue is thus the type of regulation that state governments enforce in order to maintain a market balance. The relationship between the state and public broadcasters becomes, once again, obvious, as it reveals fundamental characteristics of public broadcasting systems around Europe. First, there is the British model, fully independent from the government, with funding coming exclusively from the licence fee. Another model is the one featuring co-financed institutions, thus partly owned by the state; one relevant example of this is the French public broadcasting system, at the moment on the verge of becoming completely dependent on state financing. Last, but not least, is the one system that stands out due to the complete state control. Here, one of the most relevant examples is Greece.

Broadcast media, and public broadcasting in particular, are inherently linked to the public sphere as Jurgen Habermas defines it in the early 1960s: "the sphere of private people coming together as a public" (1974: 27), and a public that would express its "*raisonnement*" initially via literary circles, printed press and, lately, broadcast outlets. Public service media offer, just as

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[6] To illustrate the concept behind commercial television's framework, a quote from CBS executive Arnold Becker is suffice: I'm not interested in pro-social values. I have only one interest. That's whether people watch the program. That's my definition of good, that's my definition of bad." (Ang 1991).

printed press, an overview of cultural and political issues that constitute the public sphere. Raymond Williams (1990) positioned television at the very core of the abovementioned public sphere, thus fulfilling the vital role of creating and promoting a sense of social coherence and belonging (Dalghren 1995). Accordingly, broadcast media provide the necessary input that lays the ground for citizenship, since audiences relate to the social, economic and political background that is conveyed through television programmes and similar media products. Arguments have gone as far as to claim that television in the European space has been the most influential institution – outside state parliaments – over the last five decades (Gripsrud 2007: 483).

Considering the European public sphere, several prerequisites need to be fulfilled in order for such a space to surpass the level of abstraction. Swantje Lingenberg mentions three such main conditions, which feature, among others, a common language, a European-wide media system, citizens with European identity and, last but not least, reporting and discussion of European issues placed in the required perspective (Lingenberg, 2006: 123). The necessity of regarding European matters as embedded within the national public sphere is one crucial step in the creation of the European public sphere. It is here that the media hold a noteworthy position, since broadcast reports and analysis is what audiences refer to when it comes to both domestic and international (European) issues.

When discussing the European public sphere from the perspective of broadcasting, an overlook of the European media landscape deserves proper attention. One of the representative bodies of transnational public television in Europe is the European Broadcasting Union. Founded in 1950, it now manages the relationships between European public broadcasters, promotes their interests at political level, generally creating a communication network that ensures the efficient economic and cultural functioning of broadcasting bodies across Europe.

The EBU represents – evidently, in terms of broadcasting – the European public sphere Jurgen Habermas described as a space belonging to private people "assembled into a public body" (Habermas 1974: 52). Connecting all public broadcasting institutions in across Europe and extending beyond the European Union borders, the EBU has had a central role in promoting transnational television. The launch of Euronews in particular brought public broadcasting closer to commercial territory, as television audiences across the continent witnessed the presence of a genuine contender for CNN. What is more, the EBU has strengthened the European space thus created by promoting live, transnational coverage of ceremonies such as Queen Elisabeth II's coronation in countries such as France, The Netherlands, Germany and Denmark (Bignell and Fickers 2008). The main function of the EBU, alongside the European Audiovisual Observatory, is to ensure a transnational flow of programmes, which undoubtedly requires an efficient functioning of the national institutions. This is precisely what the organisations embarked upon: facilitating and managing cooperation among national public broadcasting institutions, at both legal and market levels.

1.3.   New challenges for European PBS

When discussing European regulation, there is one aspect that stands out in relation to the abovementioned European public sphere. It is precisely the initiative that led to European broadcasters' redefinition of programming. The "Television Without Frontiers" directive

increased the amount of Europe-oriented content, in the form of television productions. Regarded as an interventionist measure, this regulation steered the manner in which national broadcasting systems defined their (im)balance between national and Europe-centred programmes. Consequently, not only did the directive function towards creating and regulating a single European audiovisual market, but it also stated the importance of a common cultural background for European audiences, thus helping towards constructing a "clear quota of European works across EU member states" (Wheeler 2009). This directive also featured an attempt at defining what was meant by "European" programmes, thus differentiating between American products from European programmes that would promote cultural diversity, particularly in relation to preserving national identities. Moreover, the directive defined European content as originating from a EU member country or from European third states party to the Transfrontier convention. Again, ownership, control and supervision of such programmes belong to any of the abovementioned countries.

One notable aspect that evolves from the issue of regulation, control and financial independence is the relationship with the national and regional markets. Recent decades have brought newer challenges that public service broadcasters have to cope with, in a manner that would not jeopardize the core values such institutions have been built on. Digitalization and, consequently, media convergence have seen public television facing difficulty in keeping a steady pace with market requirements, which inevitably translate into audience demands.

Digitalization and convergence have, through market, redefined the ways public broadcasters relate to audiences. The late 1980s and mid-1990s brought end of public broadcasting monopoly, as private channels attracted audiences in search for entertainment rather than politicized content. As commoditized content became the rule rather than the exception (Bardoel & D'Haenens 2008), public service institutions had to restate their strategies in order to mitigate the effects of a growing market. This attitude initially raised fears that the two sectors would merge and public broadcasting would eventually resign its place within the public sphere. Although some scholars have gone to such lengths as to claim that the concept of public broadcasting itself is "eroding, vanishing and almost collapsing" (Trappel 2008), several such broadcasting institutions have managed to pave a way through the difficulties they have come across in terms of audiences. For instance, there is the "compensation strategy", which, according to Hultén and Brants, represents a balance that public broadcasters have found between "their traditional values and the necessity to act successfully in a market dominated by commercial forces" (Hultén and Brants 1992: 118).

The abovementioned claims regarding the diminishing quality in public broadcasting due to market constraints apparently stand in contradiction with the initial concept of media diversity, defined as a step towards catering for public interest. Developed as a media policy goal in Western European states during the early 1970s and continuing towards the late 1980s, media diversity aimed at catering for all kinds of audiences. This particular initiative was a consequence of one of the four main trends that redefined media diversity (van Cuilenburg 1998): diversification in channels and content. Such a matter portrays one of the paths public broadcasting has been taken towards transforming, as its efforts have been concentrated on managing competition coming from emerging private channels.

Together with changes at the level of public television fundamentals, transformations have become visible with regard to audiences. New challenges have brought modifications to the way audiences refer to public broadcasting. In spite of the core values that have defined public television, there is one aspect that has recently been overlooked, not only as a result of new strategies dictated by the market, but also due to societal changes.

Public television as an institution is bound to "audience universality", a concept defined by Collis et al. and referring to "serving all, the poor and the rich, with a range of programmes, including those which may be unprofitable (2001: 8). Public television has always striven to cater for all kinds of audiences, particularly minorities. However, an increasingly individualized society and a decreasing audience interest in the mechanisms of politics and overall institutions have seen public television distancing itself from its public. Drawing closer to political grounds, mainly due to financing issues, European public broadcasters have been accused of a negligent attitude towards their audience, thus underperforming in the case of "problematic groups": these consist of younger generations, migrants and the audiences with a lower education level (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, broadcasters have found approaches towards coping with such societal circumstances and seem to have regained their initial "*raison d'être*" by addressing their audiences as individuals and representatives of social change. The likes of British, Austrian, Flemish, Irish, Portuguese and Dutch are amongst the broadcasting institutions that have refocused their programming in the aim of advocating new ways of legitimization, accountability and transparency towards citizens and society (Bardoel and d'Haenes, 2004a, 2004b). Moreover, broadcasters are adhering to the BBC initiative regarding emphasis on audience reach, which translates into providing content for all audiences, instead of continuous coverage for only some parts of national audiences. The stress on reach rather than share stands out as another attempt at redirecting public service broadcasting on the initial track (Bardoel and d'Haenes 2008). These changes indicate the importance of internal, national regulations that need revision in order to produce favorable results at European level. The Television without Frontiers Green Paper (1989) and the Amsterdam Protocol on Public Broadcasting (1997), ensuring a higher degree of protection against government control for national public broadcasters are steps forward to maintaining the role PBS holds within democracy and civil society.

Discussing audiences, public and commercial broadcasters hold different perspectives on how viewers are to engage with the content provided via programmes and the overall broadcast schedule. One of the most striking differences between the fashion audiences are perceived in is the approach towards programme content. Commercial broadcasters are expected to rely extensively on a higher degree of entertainment in, for instance, news reports. The concept of "infotainment" has been attached to this particular type of content production, meaning that media content has been subjected to tabloidization, the prevalence of "soft" news focusing on the human interest.

Tabloidization remains one of the main factors differentiating the two types of broadcasting, along with the distinct attitude towards audiences. The latter presents a strong relationship with the type of content offered to the public, since tabloidization is intended towards audiences seen as consumers, whilst public broadcasters value viewers from their position as citizens of a society and their involvement in critically processing the type of media products they

are confronted with. This separation is not necessarily a result of an active/passive audience dichotomy, since consumers are regarded – to a certain extent – as active consumers, able to provide critical judgement on the actual content provided via broadcasting. However, the difference lies in viewers' overall societal position: public broadcasting relates to its audience as part of the public sphere, involved in the democratic decision making process, and featuring a notable interest in the issues debated at institutional level. Their affinity towards understanding political mechanisms places them in the category of involved citizens, in contrast with consumers whose need for entertainment has to be fulfilled.

This pronounced gap between the two approaches towards audiences also emphasizes other kinds of dissimilarities. Research on viewers' preferences – be they public or commercial channels – has shown that interest in newscasts or general politically oriented programmes is directly related to an overall higher awareness and better understanding of ongoing political processes at both national and international (European) level (Holtz- Bacha and Norris 2001). Public broadcasting features increased informational media products that address audiences as citizens rather than viewers that are concentrated on consuming solely entertainment.

Of course, denying the role of public broadcasting entertainment would not offer a proper overview of what public television actually represents. Entertainment is a highly valuable component of public service media themselves, because audiences need to be "served" in order to perform their democratic rights and duties (Ang 1991). Television dramas stand out indeed as a social factor that encourages escapism and promotes social values and codes that individuals relate to. Other forms of entertainment would definitely include game shows or talk shows.

The question of "audience-as-public" and "audience-as-market" (Ang 1991) brings on commercial television as an equally important component within the European public sphere. Occupying a completely different position both conceptually and market-wise, commercial broadcasters managed to break down public service media monopoly on audiences, leading to a radical change within the worldwide media landscape. The main difference separating the two types of broadcasting at conceptual level is, indeed, ownership. The profit-oriented mechanism of private television stands out most clearly when discussing audiences and their needs for escapism through entertainment. The need for discussing commercial broadcasters within the context of a media event is that conceptually, media events are characteristic for private television. This will definitely provide a consistent view on how conceptual differences reflect in the anniversary coverage, also adding to the national-European discursive dichotomy.

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Chapter 2

European and national identities

The previous chapter outlined the status of public service television within the European public sphere, as it is perceived in relation with commercial broadcasters. Discussing the difficulties in defining public broadcasting, alongside its challenges as new phenomena have entered the global media landscape, it is now time to address both types of television from the perspective of identity and construction of cultural citizenship. The following chapter will constitute an approach towards the concepts of national and European identities and the role of various media in constructing the latter, which is yet to be defined as a theoretical concept within the academia. This will mark the final step towards the case study, which will reflect upon all previously discussed matters.

2.1. Defining identity

In order to begin the discussion on Europe and the European idea, an introduction into the notion of identity is required so as to provide a better overview of the subject matter. Identity is generally perceived as a single, "symbolic structure" (Jacobs and Maier 1998), covering multiple time frames. Its constituents are all of equal relevance, and this directly relates to the fact that identity is an artificial construct: individuals develop their identity in a constantly interactive environment, and the types of influences shaping individuality have a strong say in one's becoming within a social habitat. No variables are to be taken separately, as Balibar explains: "…it is not a question of collective identity against individual identities. All identity is individual (…), constructed within a field of social values, norms of behavior and collective symbols. The real question is how the dominant reference points of individual identity change over time and with the changing institutional environment" (1991: 94). This is precisely the reason why psychological factors cannot be separated from the idea of identity. Therefore, the idea of European identity is to be grasped as a construct, part of which has evolved as a media product.

The closest concepts in relation to identity have been clearly categorized and thus clearly differentiated, although they are, indeed, interconnected. Despite the clear lines that have been set between ethnicity, nationality and citizenship, there are certain relationships that require attention. According to Marshall (1998), the issue of citizenship features three main component: first, there is civil citizenship, by which individuals are entitled to property or can claim the right to a fair trial. The relationship with the political confers citizens the right to express their vote, while social citizenship ensures rights such as protection against poverty, illness or unemployment. However, Stevenson (1997) brings forward the discussion on cultural citizenship, which, in his view, should find its place alongside the other three components. While political, civil or social citizenship are granted through the state institutions, cultural citizenship is the result of an ongoing process, as it is no longer attributed to oneself, but earned throughout the individual's development in a given society. Stevenson adds that this component functions in terms of inclusion and exclusion, because individuals may or may not feel culturally as part of a given community.

Since the definition of national identity appears to be more encompassing, it is fair to argue that cultural citizenship is part of the larger, more comprehensive concept. Benedict Anderson's idea of "imagined communities" is precisely the result of a "centralizing process" that lays the grounds for the nation-state as it is known today. These communities are "imagined" through the development print media, as it is the media that create experiences shared among citizens (Anderson 1991). These communities are, however, limited, in the sense that their "imagined" character refers to the fact that citizens cannot be aware of all their other peers' existence. Such experiences can only be shared to a certain extent, and this is rendered possible through the use of media.

This argument could be taken several steps forward, as printed media were the first media outlets triggering the creation of imagined communities or nation states, taking a centuries-long historical leap and dating back to illuminist ideologies in the time of the French Revolution. Technological advances gave way to deterministic views on the media shaping the abovementioned, imagined communities. Marshall McLuhan's view on media shaping our senses and abilities to interact with the world seen as a global village (1994) is one of the most recognizable theories with respect to media development. The emergence of popular culture as a media discourse was, again, possible due to media products developed particularly for media such as television. Popular culture, another strong indicator of such imagined communities, found its initial support in television, with the advent of series, motion pictures and other similar media products. Even if popular culture does not make the object of this thesis, it is important to mention its part in the developing semiotics of a global media landscape. The digital age has brought an increase in media outlets, which also resulted into the emergence of online communities.

Returning to the issue of national identity seen as cultural citizenship, one important aspect that separates it from all other types of citizenship through its "earned" character, which stands out rather as a result of a long-lasting process of assimilating cultural traits that define a specific social space. National identity could, therefore, be understood as the product of an imagined community, which is itself a construct of the media.

This is precisely the focus of this chapter – examining the role of media in defining imagined communities, and, respectively, national and European identities. This effort requires an insight into the conceptual differences between the double nature of identity: the national, on the one hand and European, on the other.

The issue of European identity has yet to be clearly defined. Academic views on European identity have not come to an agreement on what the concept should represent. Nevertheless, there are views that juxtapose national and European identities, in order to emphasize what the latter does not imply. This compare-and-contrast approach to defining this particular type of cultural identity has inevitably lead to divergent views upon the subject matter.

Grundy and Jamieson consider European identity an "unsettled matter", as social scientists are still debating its meaning in relation to social cohesion and everyday life (Grundy and Jamieson 2007). Be it a "stepping stone" from "divisive nationalism to an inclusive global citizenship", or an undefined category with "little consequence for social integration" (*id.*, 664), the issue is now generating more discussions that ever before. A more sceptical view comes from Zygmunt Bauman, who favours a rather utopian vision of Europe, envisaged as "a hospitable

user-friendly planet determined to attain and secure a sustainable life for all its residents" (Bauman 2007).

As the idea of national identity is inherently related to nationality, it bares the same label of artificial construction. Martiniello sees national identity as encompassing culture, language, historical past and traditions, also including attempts of (re)stating fundamental relationships (Martiniello 1995). Taking the matter forward, to a larger scale, it would be interesting to examine the relationship between national and European identities, as well as to look into the particular characteristics of what is referred to as European identity – all of this, needless to say, within the context of our selected media coverage. An intensely debated issue on the EU agenda, it has not yet been clearly defined in other terms except for political and economic ones. What stands out as a difficulty in defining the term outside its main applicability is its *cultural* relation to a certain "feeling" of being European or of "belonging to a common European home" (Morley and Robins 1995). Marco Martiniello claims that European identity has so far been considered as complementary and not a substitute to national identity (Martiniello 1995: 35).

What may appear as closest to the idea of a European identity is the issue of European citizenship, also drawing from cultural citizenship, which does not transcend national identity (Jacobs and Maier 1998). The 5th Framework project entitled "Citizenship and Democratic Legitimacy in the European Union" refers to three different meanings of the term, one of which represents the cultural citizenship. What matters here is the cultural implications of being an European citizen, implying a common set of values that would establish the "basis for societal membership, reflecting the notion of the EU as a value-based community" (Bondebjerg and Golding 2004). This is how European identity is also referred to, bearing in mind, however, the importance of diversity at a national level.

The cultural nature of citizenship – in the case of a "united" Europe – is relevant within our discussion, since citizenship si placed in relationship with nationality and, most of all, ethnicity. Cultural citizenship refers to cultural empowerment, as Turner claims. This empowerment is described as "the capacity to participate effectively, creatively and sucesssfully within a national culture" (Turner 2001:12). As the right to citizenship is either given or fought for – in the case of emancipatory citizenship movements – , the right to cultural citizenship implies having a community membership, that is, sharing and passing on to other generations the moral behavior[7], social practices and cultural beliefs characteristic for that given cultural space (Turner 2001:11).

2.2. European vs. national identities: constructing the nation

One of the most recognizable approaches towards the relationship between national and European identities places nationalism on a central position. Studies have shown that, despite the emerging idea of European identity, cultures have shown opposition towards globalizing trends (Smith 1993). Academic research has shown particular interest in what apparently is a conceptual contradiction between the two terms (*id.*: 56). Just as previously discussed, the case of a

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[7] Implying the necessary customs and social norms that make up "a good citizen" showing "civic values".

contradiction does not come across as supported through solid argumentation, since the relationship has evolved in a complementary fashion.

Cultural identities have been conceptualized as the result of multiple components, which is why scholars in the field of cultural studies stress the importance of analyzing multiple identities. Defined by class allegiances and gendered perceptions, these identities are only to some extent resistant to external pressure, which defines their individual and collective character; the former feature a situational, ephemeral character, whilst the latter is more likely to remain unchanged over time (*id.:* 60). These concepts set forth the more comprehensive one known as a nation, which is *per se* a cultural construct.

Bearing in mind the central role media perform in this type of relationship, it is necessary that public service media be looked into from the perspective of their contribution towards cultural identities. A given cultural identity cannot be conceived in the absence of shared, collective memories, histories, ideas and values representative for a national space or, more simply put, a people. This said, an insight in the mechanisms of constructing such shared memories follows naturally as part of the discussion. Media outlets, at a rather general level, and public service broadcasting in particular, play a considerable part in defining cultural identities. It is via media platforms that such common memories and myths are passed on throughout generations, a process that leads to the creation of national identities. Programmes become associated with the local or national specificities, precisely because they convey the content needed for the common bond of a mass, standardized culture (*ibid.*).

Taking a step forward in the direction of European identity, national media landscapes are now part of the European Broadcasting Union, an organization that requires a certain amount of programming featuring European issues related content. This is to show that European regulations have influenced the manner in which national public broadcasters work, thus directing the workflow towards the European idea. The fact that the concept of a nation is offered the upper hand in relation to European identity – again, at conceptual level – is now one issue that national broadcasters around Europe need to tackle in order to rearrange the hierarchies. It has been argued that a nation is a considerably better constructed concept in comparison to European identity, since a nation's particularities have developed a history, thus have occupied a place a population's collective memory; what is more, it has been promoted via various kinds of methods, of which some of the most notable ones remain the media. Lastly, these specificities are still considered genuine by the vast majority of the people in question, thus are still "widely believed." (Smith 1993: 70). However, national media have been handed the task to reformulate these hierarchies. Again, the launch of Europe-oriented channels such as Euronews or Eurosport is another instance of such efforts to restate the relevance of bringing forward the idea of European (current) issues as part of the continent's cultural unity and shared histories.

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Chapter 3

Celebrating the media event

Having outlined the characteristics of public service broadcasting and its institutional role in the European public sphere, it is now time to move towards the case study analysis; this will prove an appropriate occasion to better understand the concept of European identity as it is reflected through the coverage to be analyzed.

The following chapter tackles European public service television from the perspective of its ceremonial character. The first part will cover a discussion about the theoretical background of a media event, which stands out as the main focus here for the overall case study. This initial section aims at approaching the concept of media events as it is explained within the academic field. Moreover, this concept particularly relates to the chosen case study, since the content to be analyzed tells of a specific ceremonial event.

The second and final part of this chapter is meant to enlarge upon the case study analysis by going into in-depth research concerning discourse and content analysis of the selected coverage. This will finally expose a conclusion and enable further debate on the impact of such media events on European public broadcasting systems seen as institutions.

Since the very beginning of this academic effort, the focus has been kept on the socio-cultural role of public television stations across European countries as they are known to be functioning at the present time. This research will take into consideration commemorations of the 1989 event, broadcast in several European Union member countries. Through their programming, television channels have expressed a great interest in this event, largely considered of extraordinary importance in contemporary history. The impressive amount of broadcast concerning the commemoration only goes to show the event received the first position on the agenda, thus labelling it as one requiring immediate and extensive attention from media producers and audiences alike.

The concept of agenda setting was formulated within the field of media studies as a result of observations concerning the impact of news coverage during political campaigns. Broadcasters and print media professionals hold a position that enables them to identify multiple levels of relevance concerning news stories, which is the case with political leaders. McCombs and Shaw (1977) have worked towards theoretically defining this media function, particularly focusing on political elections as a main example. The fact that political representatives rely on the media to a notably large extent in order to convey their messages to the voting public is the argument that lays the ground for this media function. In this respect, broadcasters establish levels of news relevance by indicating audiences which issues to focus on; just as Lang and Lang observe, the media direct public interest towards certain issues (Land and Lang 1981) and suggest not what audiences should think, but what they should think *about* (Cohen 1963).

The case study chosen shows illustrative in this sense, since its coverage was on the top of the agenda around the time of broadcast. The 20 years' commemoration was one of the most newsworthy events of the year 2009, judging by the amount of coverage it received and its overall historical importance. Such grand commemorations stand out also because of their socio-political consequences up until the present day, as the fall of dictatorial regimes led to the unification of a democratic Europe. In this sense, the broadcasts offer a historical retrospective on recent

European history, which stresses the relevance of such an event at European level. The media coverage takes on the historical landmark and turns it into a media event on top of the public agenda, considering the effects of the agenda setting function.

3.1. Reasons behind coverage choice

Ceremony coverage has been chosen taking into consideration a few prerequisites. Firstly, there is the historical background of the nations involved, which justifies the British and French broadcasters as representatives of democratic political regimes. On the other hand, the German and Romanian coverage take on the positions of states on the other side of the Iron curtain, which will offer a distinct view on the same 1989 event. Moreover, Spain is again a relevant choice, since their history features a similar dictatorial leadership. In order to emphasise any striking differences in approach, nation –wide commercial broadcasters will also contribute to a major part of the overall analysis.

Apart from historical motives, other interpretations of such choices relate to journalistic reasons. The BBC has, ever since its foundation, stood out as the main reference point regarding quality programming and an overall example of what public broadcasting should always strive to achieve, be it in relation to their audiences or with respect to the national and international public spheres. The German ARD[8], ZDF[9], Deutsche Welle and Tele France 1 follow suit, as Television Española brought in the first reporters to cover live the 1989 events. Romanian television will bring a distinct perspective to the foreground, given the historical background and its relationship with the symbolic 1989 event.

An overview of Euronews content will help stress the type of approach that may occur in public service coverage, thus serving as a reference point throughout the analysis.

Commercial broadcasters will follow as a counterpart of public service coverage, in order to mark any differences that may appear in terms of discourse and general approach. As a result, their analysis will prove equally important in comparison with public service broadcasts, since any contrasts will lead towards a conclusion regarding the initial hypothesis. French, Spanish, Romanian and German private channels will be the main content providers.

Last, but not least, there are the cultural and political reasons that render this choice relevant and, to a certain extent, necessary. The new political order recently established portrays a political and economic union whose member states – be they founders or newly admitted members – play distinct, yet highly relevant roles in relation to the emergence of a cultural union. Germany and France are historically the founding fathers of the European Union, while Romania is one of the last countries to have joined in. Spain, on the other hand, comes as a relevant choice due to its own former communist regime, a fact that will provide valuable data for the analysis.

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[8] Full name: Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, an organisation of all the nation's regional public service broadcasters founded in 1950. It began broadcasting nation-wide in 1952, going by the name of "Das Erste", in relation to "Das Zewite" (ZDF).
[9] Full name: Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen, "Second German Television", broadcasting since 1963.

The concept of "media event" has developed quite recently in the field of media studies following increasing attention from media researchers and scholars alike. The aim here is to explain the characteristics, taking the framework set up by Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz as a starting point. The three actors that the authors take into consideration are the organizers, broadcasters and audiences. Each of them plays a carefully defined role in constructing what has been named a "festive viewing of television" (Dayan and Katz 1992). Organizers cooperate with broadcasters in order to provide audiences with an opportunity of escaping daily routine, as media events are, more often than not, extraordinary occasions. Apart from escapism, such celebrations require a certain type of viewing, as far as audiences are concerned. In this sense, media events also feature sense of communion, since the viewing experience is a shared one, rather than individual. This explains the extraordinary character of such occurrences at both national and global levels: bringing the nation together requires a proper ritual, the result of which audiences are meant to celebrate in the comfort of their own home.

To begin with, finding a category that would perfectly fit this media event is a difficult task, just as Dayan and Katz admit. However, from the three categories the two authors place forward, the most appropriate one considering its description is the "conquest"[10] category. This is mainly due to the celebrations marking a peaceful revolution that ended in people's victory over a highly restrictive regime.

Regardless of the circumstances, such occurrences are interruptions of routine (Dayan & Katz 1992) that monopolize attention through the coverage they receive. This instance is one of the most relevant examples of pre-planned events, given the historical impact of the 1989 Berlin occurrences and their highly anticipated commemoration. Taking on the remote/live – pre-planned/interrupted dichotomy, this is type of pre-planned coverage broadcast live on both public and private television stations, both featuring a specific approach to the celebrations. The construction of such media hype is indicative of an entire media ritual reflected in the accident coverage. Nick Couldry's definition of a media ritual is strongly related to Emile Durkheim's anthropologic approach of rituals, who addresses the question of how members of a society become conscientious of the very fact they form up a society[11]. Couldry defines a media ritual as "formalized actions organized around key media – related categories and boundaries, whose performance frames, or suggests a connection with, wider media-related values." (Couldry 2003: 29) As a result, what matters here is the relation between the event and the values that the media hint at. Moreover, a media ritual draws attention to the time and place it is constructed in, as the two become the main pillars holding the entire ritualistic artefact.

Timing is another factor requiring careful analysis. Ceremonial characteristics of this media event also relate to its symbolism, as the pre-planning resembles preparations before any symbolic, ritualized performance. The present moment becomes a time of remembrance, as time is halted in order to another past instance when history "stopped" (Dayan and Katz 1992: 120).

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[10] Coronations, following the initial classification that includes Contests and Conquests.
[11] Emile Durkheim explains this process by stating "the upholding and reaffirming of the collective ideas make up [a society's] unity and its personality.", cited in *Durkheimian Sociology: Cultural Studies*, edited by Jeffrey C. Alexander, pp. 162

The live broadcasts themselves are thus constructed following a ritual, as prime time scheduling is adamant to the unfolding of the overall media event. Livecasts scheduled in prime time stress the ceremonial character, since audiences need to witness the ritual as a shared experience.

Some instances of broadcast history, as Dayan and Katz have named media events, deal with transformations or "new historical realities" (*id.*: 123), referring once more to the relationship between time and ritual. Particular events are able to convey a proposal for change, which is the case of the present case study. The ceremonies surrounding the November 2009 commemoration are such an example, since, on the one hand, they refer to a historical moment when time was brought to a halt – again, via another media event, as there were live broadcasts of the first Berliners passing through on the other side of the city – and on the other hand, they offer new meaning to a historical reality (*id.*: 124). That is to say, the change brought here via the new political context that is now reaffirmed: the fact that such celebrations refer to a past state of conflict, the need to brig about change is even more carefully stressed at the present moment, twenty years after the 1989 event. The country leaders who attended celebrations in Berlin underlined the role of remembering, or, as Dayan and Katz put it, "a reflexive perception of what came before the ceremonial event."

This ritual also influences the sense of place, since the actual spot where the media event is organized is filled with geographical symbolism. Apart form historical connections with other past moments, there are transformations regarding the ideas of space and social immutability (*id.*: 165). Berlin commemorations address the former understanding of geographical symbolism, meaning that two decades ago, Berlin could not be imagined without the physical and symbolic separation. The media event readdresses this former status quo, and brings to attention the fact that geography can change, even at a symbolic level: a united, free capital that has brought its contribution to what is now a democratic European space. Along with the renewed symbolic space, there is an immediate connection with a past state of conflict, also characteristic for media events. In this case, emphasis falls on the contrasting political regimes symbolized through the separating wall. Dayan and Katz also argue that such media events attach meanings to historic moments that can still be negotiated. This implies the fact that such past events still hold a place in collective memory, and that is the reason for commemorating two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Moreover, the fact that emphasis is placed on the nation leaders attending ceremonies in Berlin establishes another relation with the past moment. The political figures leading some of the most powerful European countries in 1989 were present at the 2009 ceremonies, alongside the actual ones, as they become protagonists commissioned mythic roles. One example would be Angela Merkel, whose position within the socio-political structure at the time of the 1989 events is mentioned in one Romanian broadcast.[12]

It has been argued that media events are hegemonic (Dayan and Katz 1992: 147), in that they redirect individuals' attention towards the "established values". Otherwise said, these events ask for a renewed commitment to the values, ideas and cultural realities that define a national space. What the present case studies refer to is the historical relevance behind the crumbling of the wall, along with the freedom and ideals attached to democracy. Such restated values act as reminders of the price a nation had to pay in order to gain its freedom; it is thus not surprising to

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[12] Angela Merkel was reportedly working as a researcher in the federal Republic of Germany.

witness an objectified past moment, as media coverage features the famous "wall of shame"[13] phrase in order to refer to the event as well as the implications of this landmark event in European history.

Private and public television alike have approached the anniversary occasion underlining what is arguably one of the most important historical moments in recent European history. The type of media attention this anniversary has received will be the main interest of this analysis, which will attempt to bring forward any differences between the coverage featured by public and private channels. The research will consist of discourse and content analysis within different coverage, specifically looking at instances referring to the construction of a united Europe at any given level. Coverage will be addressed from a compare and contrast perspective, which will help prove the (in)validity of the initial hypothesis.

3.2. The anniversary - a media event itself?

Looking back at the 1989 televised event, the connection with the 2009 ceremony asks for special interest, since both are instances of live broadcasts, although the circumstances are essentially distinct. Theories of television relate "liveness" to authenticity and truth, as the time and space synchronize, providing viewers with a feeling of participation within the televised event (Bourdon 2004). Such live broadcasts place viewers in a position that has seen them "overcome the limitations of time and space" (*id.*: 49); the type of "live" that is implied here, following Borudon's classification of live television, is the "fully live" coverage, which Dayan and Katz identify as "holes" or "windows" in the normal everyday broadcast schedule. The main difference between the 2009 ceremony and the 1989 events lies in the pre-planned character of media events at a general level: as the former is laid out as a highly anticipated televised celebration, the latter's specificity is its spontaneous nature. Both instances, however, fall in the category of live media events, despite their contrasting nature. Television broadcast is claimed to be live in both instances, although the opposite case, when producers do not claim to be broadcasting live, is quite rare, if not inexistent (Bourdon 2004). Identifying the live character of both events leads to another similarity between the two. This is related to the festive manner in which both events are broadcast. The live events of 1989, portraying citizens of East Berlin passing through on to the other side of the wall for the first time, are celebrated as a victory of people's will power and free spirit. The same celebratory approach is visible in the case of 2009 anniversary. However, the reason for celebration reveals a different purpose, as well as one of the main arguments in favour of categorizing this coverage as a media event, in the terms explained by Dayan and Katz. The Berlin ceremonies mainly act as an empowering occasion, one that is meant to maintain and restate the importance of events occurring two decades ago. Restating the importance of a past moment in history – at all levels – is one of the defining traits of media events; the social function of television, translated into a shared viewing experience, becomes visible once again as the narrative contains clear references to audiences witnessing the live televised ceremony. The 2009 media event is meant to revive the memory of a former festive occasion, one that lacked a ceremonial character. The pausing of present time is thus justified through the use of technical

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[13] This is featured in coverage from all public broadcasters: "el muro de la vergüenza", "zidul ruinii", "le mur de la honte", "die Mauer der Schande".

preparations and the attached symbolical connotation building up such a distinctive occasion. References made to the 1989 events are thus crucial, since they represent the very core of Berlin celebrations. Highlighting the need to cherish the meaning of 1989 events at all levels – political, social and cultural – expose the main characteristic that classifies such live broadcast as a media event. Just as Dayan and Katz point out, media events do not only represent breaks within the daily routine, but they require special consideration especially due to their role of marking a "particular moment of transition" (Dayan and Katz 1992: 140). Indeed, transition is precisely the core of such celebrations: the crumbling of communist regimes brought along the freedom that people had craved for; the manner in which freedom was won is also the reason why the 1989 events should be remembered in festive fashion. It is a moment of remembrance, stated as such by organizers and broadcasters alike, each following in their script.

3.3. Analysis

Content analysis will assess at the possibility of encountering repetitive discourses or rhetorical patterns occurring in the coverage, either live or broadcast off air. This will help define whether there is any common ground uniting media reports, and if this relates in any manner to Europe as a cultural, political and economic union. Analyzing the chosen coverage, I offered particular attention to timing – whether the material was scheduled before, live, or after the event –, scheduling – what kind of coverage was broadcast in prime time or earlier in the schedule – and commonalities such as material composition, narrative structure, characteristics of live and edited reports and main ideas addressed within the coverage. Differences will also add to the overall research, helping create a clearer picture of the commercial and public broadcasters' coverage.

Discourse analysis will indicate how the discovered patterns make sense as narratives. It will focus on media language and semiotics, in order to follow the media function of meaning construction (Gillespie and Toynbee 2006). As a result, both types of analysis will appear interrelated. Since the overall analysis comprises of both live and off air broadcasts, it is necessary that the two types be approached separately, given their distinctive defining features, in order to adequately assess the results of this research.

3.3.1. Live and reported in content analysis

Live material

First of all, there is a clear-cut difference between live and off air coverage, as far as focus is concerned. Live coverage, irrespective of the channel type, tends to stress one particular moment or component of the entire ceremony. The figurative significance of the Berlin Wall, alongside its fall, appears as a *leitmotif* throughout the coverage, as all the broadcasters chose to stress the symbolism behind the 1989 events, as well as the one surrounding the 2009 anniversary. The latter celebrations develop, as far as the media event script is concerned, around a

performance that is meant to illustrate Berliners' power of bringing down the border; people's desire for freedom is thus translated into the hundred meters-long domino game and it is – again, symbolically – Lech Valesa's[14] role to push the first tile in order to produce the anticipated domino effect. Preparations were indeed a hugely important part of the event, since the overall success of this event is ensured through a perfect synchronisation of all the elements involved. Therefore, successful celebrations justify the organizers' struggle to perform at their best abilities, especially since the event is witnessed live by millions of viewers worldwide.

The event thus becomes engaging from a highly symbolical perspective, which remains the main reference point of the media event discussion. All broadcasts mention the importance of such an integrated event within the overall ceremony; the precise scheduling - 20:00 pm., Berlin time, reveals a hierarchy in the order of celebrations, with the domino-like crumbling of tiles symbolizing the former wall standing out as the ritual climax.

Another similarity in coverage stands out when looking at the anniversary live cast. All broadcasters have sent media teams to cover the preparations and the actual evening of ceremonies. Live reports have been broadcast around the time of the domino game, anticipating the most enthralling moment of the evening. What comes as striking for this research is that all live coverage focuses on the same component, as this common aspect is the one that also defines the approach towards the symbolism surrounding the anniversary occasion.

References to the implications of the 1989 events at international level stand out as common for both live and off air coverage. The emphasis falls, to a great extent, on the symbolic presence of past and present state leaders, political figures who earned their place in history via their own contributions to the emergence of democratic regimes within the Eastern bloc. These leaders' presence adds to the extraordinary nature of such an event, as it is the likes of Lech Walesa and Mihail Gorbaciov that help the audience and the media alike to repaint the picture of a once separated Berlin. The media make constant use of this mythological side of the ceremony, one that establishes the event as a discontinuity within the daily routine, one that is needed in order to restate the importance of individuals' remembering of recent history.

The role of media in re-mediating history is thus clear here, given the multiple references to the European historical background and the younger generations' awareness of the price paid for the current democratic regime across the European Union. This recurrent return to the 1989 events, and to the implications this event had worldwide, not only at European level.

The emphasis on a then-and-now perspective towards the event uncovers an interest in rediscovering a past moment that defined the course of events for the decades to come. References to the symbolic domino game include messages about "where we should be going in the world"[15].

A similar amount of references to the idea of a united Europe features in coverage from both private and public channels. The striking aspect is that such references are quite limited, because most of the coverage relates to the changes the event brought worldwide, and not so

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[14] Lech Walesa, the former Polish president who initiated the "Solidarity" movement, leading the country on the path towards democracy in times of communist rule.
[15] Gordon Brown's ceremonial speech, on Deutsche Welle

often at a European level. The most part of the media narrative points at the freedom the Western world was brought via the fall of the Berlin wall, with emphasis on a united city that stood out as an example of human will power, able to tear down other walls as well.

Live broadcasts mainly concentrate on the domino game, considering their timing and script, with the latter revealing several particularities. The script reveals a strong emphasis on ritual, as the following pattern is characteristic to all live broadcasts: the anchor introduces the lead, followed by reporters' live intervention around the time of the domino game. This focus on "live" coverage originates from early television studies, as "live" television was brought to the public in the 1950-1960 period. Other emphasis is laid on the actual storytellers: the anchors or the reporters who are directly addressing the audience, contributing to the feeling of "authenticity" created around the event, but also to the overall confidence in media professionals, who need to deliver a credible performance (Bourdon 2004: 188).

What separates this media event from a news report is the level of audience involvement. News reports "distance the event" (*id*: 114), by not offering it an extraordinary approach. Media events, by contrast, are occasions to be celebrated accordingly. Dayan and Katz argue that audiences' role in attending a media event such as the one described here is stressed through the fact that viewers are addressed in the same manner as though they were following a fictional depiction of reality. However, despite the fact that this characteristic opposes media events and news reports, this could not qualify as a fiction, for several reasons. Firstly, media professionals still address the public directly, as reporters and anchors alike do not abandon their roles in performing the script; anchors and reporters do address the public directly, thus meeting the condition of having a "spectator" audience, one that is invited to witness the event "from within", as part of the people gathered in the streets of Berlin.

Edited material

The other type of data that proves of interest here falls in the category of edited coverage. Bourdon makes a clear distinction between live and edited, non-fictional television, naming the former "fully live" or continuous". Documentaries and news reports are the most common genres that fall into the "edited" category, and mainly differ from live broadcast material in terms of timing.

All of the edited material covered here consists of news reports, a genre that is particular, however, for live broadcasting. Nevertheless, this kind of material is subject to editing and recording; commentator's voice may be live, as the report may be broadcast live on non-stop news channels. Still, the news report features contrasting specificities, since the actual story is not unfolding live, from the scene of the event, just as in the case of live broadcasting of coronations, conquests or contests. Apart from providing the public with a feeling of "authenticity" and "truth" (Bourdon 2004), "liveness" stands out as a way of overcoming time and distance, apart from fulfilling all the prerequisites for an   audience-shared experience.

Materials to be presented here were broadcast in such a manner that they would capture public attention to the events on November 9th 2009, the official twenty years' anniversary. The

ones planned beforehand have the role of evaluating this event's status, thus setting the public agenda. This media function is, therefore, visible from the very beginning, portraying the relevance audience should be aware of, as soon as the event appears as subject for discussion within the public sphere. Reports continue to be broadcast even after the anniversary date, which features most live broadcasts. Consequently, the major difference in the relationship between scheduling and the type of material presented is that live broadcasts dominate the November 9th schedule, whilst edited reports tend to close the same circle they started before the anniversary.

Irrespective of the broadcaster type, reports feature a general focus on the event preparations, including key moments of the anniversary, guests to be expected and the overall pre-event atmosphere. Moreover, reports scheduled during the following days highlight the same topics pointed out in the very beginning, a trait that again underlines the circular construction of the overall coverage.

One observation related to the presence of world leaders in Berlin is the fact that there are very few references to European institution leaders. The Spanish Telecinco and, perhaps unsurprisingly, Euronews, are the only two channels that mention and stress, respectively, the presence of EU officials at the ceremonies. The emphasis mainly falls on the other political figures that either delivered inaugural speeches or attended the anniversary due to their role in the 1989 events.

A spatial reference related to leaders' presence features Gethsemane church in Berlin (TVR), where the German chancellor attended a sermon in the early morning of ceremonies. The church – whose symbolism is thus restated – had been used as a base for the GDR dissidents at the time, and it is Merkel's duty as a leader to remind the public about their sacrifice in the aim of German reunification.

Moving forward to other similarities, all broadcasts, with no exception, display particular interest in covering stories of ordinary people who shared their experiences of November 1989. Be they German or Berliners of foreign origin, these individuals' stories contribute to the overall *leitmotif* present in the anniversary coverage: a then-and-now dichotomy, one that unveils through the use of such stories. A reunited Germany needs, according to media producers, to take a closer look at Berliners' testimonials, and appreciate them at their true symbolic value.

The stories bring together an image of a ruptured past, one that stands in stark contrast with twenty-first century realities. The Spanish public television concentrates on the testimonial of a former Spanish-born citizen of East Berlin whose brother – alike many others – had fallen victim of an attempt to cross the Wall on to the West side. Another Spanish expatriate living in Berlin at the time confesses never to have tried escalating the border, as he considered the consequences of his actions; he goes on reminiscing general disbelief upon hearing the November 9th news[16]. One example brought by TV5 portrays a young German couple that still needed to endure prejudice and social stigma once they became employed in West Germany, after the fall of the Wall. Deutsche Welle presents the acount of another, this time reunited German couple who had lived apart due to the East-West separation. Deutsche Welle and France 24 tell the stories of a rather still disputed issue of German reunification; this time around, focus falls on

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[16] The Spaniard had been exiled in France, and after a short repatriation during Franco's regime, he found home in East Berlin. His vehement opposition against the communist rule led to a two-and-a-half-year-long imprisonment.

families still living in former East Germany, who have found it difficult to cope with the changes brought along with the new free market system, which has brought about higher unemployment rates, in spite of political freedom. The contrast covers all age categories, with emphasis on the working class. Reports also feature experts' opinion on the political change twenty years on, in an attempt to explain the nostalgia felt by numerous East Germans and to offer a positive view on the capitalist reform. What is more, Deutsche Welle viewers are invited to contribute with their own testimonials regarding their lives around that historical event. As a result, responses from viewers all over the world (United States, Greece, Australia or New Zealand) make up for an international picture of overall experiences.

3.3.2. Symbolism in discourse analysis

Special interest also falls on the event symbolism. All preparations regard the anniversary as an instance of remembrance and festivity, intertwined and emphasized via the different temporal segments that mark up the event. It is important to mention that media events relate to audiences in terms of preferred readings, meaning that the manner viewers decode the narrative in is similar to the encoding one. Stuart Hall's theory unmistakably explains the specific type of narrative construction defining media events and ceremonies in particular. What these preferred readings imply is keeping the audience within the borders of the same ideological context: ceremonies bring forward rituals containing a vast array of shared cultural capital receiving unanimous audience recognition. As Hall describes it, the audience "operates in the same code" (Hall 2001), by relating to and accepting that the occasion is symbolic in both meaning and form. In this case, the message (seen here as the media event itself) has already been transmitted in a hegemonic manner. Firstly, the anniversary marks the 1989 events; their symbolic importance is now the subject of public attention once again, leading to a restatement of their entire meaning within collective memory. What was then a symbolic gesture – that is, bringing down the wall through human willpower – is now a recollection and celebration of freedom of speech that triggered change not only at a national level, but on a global scale as well. This is exactly where the analysis will find its purpose, aiming at which kind of discourse is prevalent for both types of broadcasters.

Similarities in terms of symbolism between the two types of broadcasters feature when looking at both discourse and content. Broadcasts insist on the symbolic meaning attached to this anniversary, triggered with the help of two instances. First, there is the welcoming of world leaders: political figures whose presence at the anniversary is meant to underline the importance of remembering the course of events that lead to the fall of the Wall. Mihail Gorbaciov, the former Soviet leader, Lech Valesa, the founder of "Solidarity" movement, Henry Kissinger, the former secretary of state during United States president George Bush's office, all attended the festivities, their roles carefully emphasised in all the chosen broadcasts. The leaders of today – Angela Merkel, the British Prime Minister (at the time) Gordon Brown, US secretary of state, Hillary Clinton, and the French president, Nikolas Sarkozy, to name a few present – help build up the "then and now" perspective that dominates all scripts, thus adding to the overall symbolism. This is also clear through the fact that most broadcasters (TVR, BBC, TVE, TF1, ProTV) refer to the actual leaders' past, especially around the date of the events. Angela Merkel's

position as a researcher in the former German Democratic Republic comes out as relevant in the context of recreating a link with the past moment, at the same time underlining the interesting course of events that saw country's twenty-first century leader originate from East Germany. Furthermore, any attempt of rewriting the past is carefully downplayed. Euronews, TVE and Deutsche Welle all call for an accurate remembrance of the 1989 events, as Nikolas Sarkozy had claimed to have been present as the wall gates opened on November 9th. Records reportedly contradict his statement, thus accusing him of an attempt to "position himself at the centre of world events" (Euronews).

Apart from testimonials regarding temporal indicators, there is common emphasis in terms of place. The main deixis here is the Wall as a physical and symbolical border that marks rupture at both national and international levels. Reports refer to the victims who attempted to surpass the physical frontier, simultaneously describing its history in terms of measurements and position within the capital. Its checkpoints, marking the three sectors, are added symbolic value as reports mention Angela Merkel passing through Checkpoint Charlie at the 2009 festivities - the first point to have opened its gates for free passage on November 9th 1989 (TVR). Reports refer to the Wall's symbolic reconstruction as a metaphor of remaining walls that need tearing down: the "wall of shame" sets an example for other (figurative) borders, such as the wall of poverty" (Deutsche Welle) or the ones marking all the remaining totalitarian regimes[17]. ZDF, the German public broadcaster presents a parallel between the Berlin Wall and the Korean border separating North and South, as an artist and a university professor of arts, both of Korean origin, explain the relevance of the 1989 events within their national public sphere.[18] To continue on the same note, one TVE reporter, stepping on the wall traces on the anniversary day, is keen to mention that, despite people's apparent manner of crossing the city from one side to the other, the former barrier's (historical) importance must not be understated. The metaphor thus marks another attempt at reconstructing the Wall's symbolic status.

Deriving from the emphasis on symbolism – and emphasising dicscourse analysis once again – is the common semantics that appears in all coverage: broadcasters use the same construction to define the wall, this being the correspondent of "the wall of shame" in all languages: "el muro de la vergüenza", "zidul ruşinii", "le mur de la honte", "die Mauer der Schande". Other choices include "el muro de la desconfianza"[19] (TVE), "zidul terorii"[20] (ProTV). This linguistic pattern is particularly relevant in terms of semantics, since it once again points at a hegemonic lecture, according to Stuart Hall's definition (Hall 2001).

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[17] Deutsche Welle stresses this topic by inserting an edited interview with Manfred Gerboth, a former East German civil rights activist, in one part of the anniversary coverage. The interviewee suggests North Korea and Cuba as destinations for nostalgic individuals who are thus offered the possibility of reliving past times.

[18] The interview featuring the two Koreans is part of the "Mauerfall: Dominosteine aus aller Welt", a report scheduled before the anniversary, focusing on the domino-like reconstruction of the wall. The two had been among the many to paint the domino blocks.

[19] Spanish for: "The wall of distrust"

[20] Romanian for: "the wall of terror"

3.3.3. Content and discourse: in-depth analysis of broadcasters

Continuing to identify commonalities and differences concerning these reports will provide a link with the institutional role public television and the main hypothesis. Both content and discourse analysis will go on addressing the institutional role of public television in reporting the anniversary from the perspective of a united Europe.

Germany

Deutsche Welle the two public service broadcasters, ARD and ZDF, hold a particular position, since the event marks, first of all, a national landmark: the unification of a country, that eventually led to the crumbling of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Consequently, it is to be expected that the broadcaster prepare a different type of coverage in comparison to the other broadcasters. The first aspect that this media event reveals, as far as DW coverage is concerned, is that German public television stands among the few public broadcasters to stress the idea of a united Europe as a direct consequence of the 1989 events.

Coverage proves original by addressing the major project put together especially for this anniversary: the result of smooth collaboration between DW and the Berlin Wall Foundation, "Walled In!" is an animated depiction of the border separating East and West Germany at the time. It is an attempt at constructing a picture of a past reality, placing emphasis on spatial coordinates, given its high definition televised production.

Apart from this, there is, undoubtedly, a national perspective on the consequences of 1989 events. Deutsche Welle, ARD and ZDF broadcasts – both live and reported – have a rather justified position in describing the ceremonies from a national point of view, since Germany had a central position within the political circumstances. Indeed, numerous reports rely on material dating back to the event: live broadcasts from the moment the announcement was made or stories of Berliners that stress the past-present dichotomy. The same approach is applicable to the commercial RTL.

Notable differences revealed in discourse analysis set the German international broadcaster apart from the other public television coverage. Former relates the global implications of 1989 events with the idea of a united Europe. Deutsche Welle reveals constructions such as "the day that changed European history", "events that changed Europe, if not the world" and the "wall that rumbled thorough Eastern Europe". The 2009 celebrations act as a call for "a new global order", as the "barrier between East and Wet falls again, twenty years later." In this case, it is Deutsche Welle, Germany's international broadcaster, which features most references to the European Union. This may not come as a surprise, since its main coverage focuses on Germany and the European Union; its mission statement is to "promote understanding of Germany as an independent nation with its roots in European culture and as a liberal, democratic, constitutional state based on the rule of law".[21] ARD and ZDF, the two main public service broadcasters, do not show particular interest in discussing the ceremony from a

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European perspective, only briefly mentioning Angela Merkel and Gordon Brown's speeches, which did feature European unity as a consequence of the peaceful revolution. One minor reference lies in the "pan-European picnic": the now symbolic place where group of East Germans and Hungarian dissidents held a peaceful demonstration, near the former Austro-Hungarian border at Sopron.

Coverage is generally organised in categories mainly consisting of public broadcasting footage and material dating back to 1989, produced very soon after the gates of the wall first opened, or the days following the event; other reports feature testimonials and further political debates about the completion of German reunification: "Germany is busy celebrating twenty years as a unified country". Therefore, the focus on a national perspective seems to predominate. Global implications are also considered and especially pointed out through discourses such as "November 9th was Germany's – and the world's – lucky day" (Deutsche Welle). Live coverage also comprises of keywords as "guests", "spectacle" and "domino", all of which to be found in most international coverage.

Spain

Spanish public television holds a special position, especially because of its similar historical past: the former communist rule dating from the 1939 to 1975 thus acts as a reminder of the importance democracy in a country that lived a long history of dictatorial regime. It comes not as a surprise, thus, to find links between the 1989 events and Spanish political turmoil. By stressing Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's "heavy wall of Franco years", TVE invites the audience to have a closer look at the historical similarities that brought the two countries closer on this occasion.

Similar to Deutsche Welle, TVE brought the public extended coverage of the 2009 anniversary, setting the event high up on the public agenda. The pre-festivities reports touch local and temporal deixes, all relating to the wall's symbolism as well as to several landmark places around the city centre. Reports follow the same pattern as most coverage, but one aspect sets Spanish television apart from all the rest. One material preceding the 2009 celebrations stands out as constructed around the institutional role of public television in Spain. The fact that TVE was the first broadcaster to provide live coverage of the very moment when the gates opened at checkpoint Charlie stresses the relevance of television as a medium in representing a historical moment – especially in the case of media censure and general restriction of free speech[22]; it does, however, also point directly at Spanish public television's contribution to historical facts.

TVE's material does concentrate on the consequences of November 9th 1989 at a national level, as far as modern-day Germany is concerned. Naturally mentioning all the political figures' presence at the anniversary, the Spanish coverage also refers to implications from a European viewpoint. "La fiesta de la libertad y de hoy"[23] translates into a grand occasion to commemorate the "twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, a historic gesture that put an end to the

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[22] As the Spanish journalist depicts the experience of reporting live from East Berlin, meters away from checkpoint Charlie, she mentions people's obvious surprise when faced with the chance to express their reaction live on camera. The reporter goes on to justify Berliners' unfamiliarity with media mechanisms by mentioning the strong media censure that set West and East Germany apart.

[23] Spanish for: "today's freedom festivities"

Cold War and to a divided Europe".[24] Reports also openly express the need to remember November 9th as a day of celebration in world's history, as twenty years after Europeans and citizens of the world cherish the moment to restore the festive attributes attached to this event. Therefore, by justifying their relevance, reports openly refer to the 2009 celebrations as a media event:

"A thousand gigantic domino pieces symbolize the chain reaction that fall of the Wall triggered in Europe and across the world. It is the climax of an entire day of festivities, just like twenty years ago."[25]

One other intriguing observation related, however, to the commercial Telecinco is that the broadcaster and the French TF1 are the only ones (disregarding the commercial – public specificities and Euronews) mentioning the EU officials' presence at the anniversary. Coverage from Telecinco stresses former German president Horst Köhler's speech referring to European integration and "the gift of peace" as strong reasons for the countries involved in the 1989 events to assume "special responsibilities" towards the rest of the world.[26]

Furthermore, another report follows Vicente Álvarez Areces'[27] speech upon awarding Berlin the "Principe de Asturias de la Concordia 2009" award as a symbol of understanding, togetherness, justice, peace and freedom in the world." This report stresses parts of the speech including the "construction of a United Europe" as well as Berlin defining Europe as an example of world leadership in terms of progress, innovation, freedom and justice."[28]

Great Britain

BBC offers a rather distant perspective, since it does not particularly link any of the anniversary with domestic political or social issues. Coverage organized under the "Europe's Revolution" category is limited to the extent of the ever-present 1989/2009 angle, offering footage dating back to the hours of the event and analysis of walls that are "still standing". Former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown's anniversary speech opens one of the reports entitled "Berlin marks the demise of the Wall"; however, the rhetoric stressed in the edited material clearly states the outcome as follows:

"You tore down the Wall and you changed the world. You tore down the Wall that for a third of a century half a city, half a country, half a continent and half the World. And because of your courage, to Berlins are one, two Germanies are one, and now, two Europes are one." (BBC, November 9th 2009).

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[24] Con esta gran fiesta, se ha puesto final a la commemoración del 20 aniversario de la caída del Muro de Berlin, un hecho historico que puso fin a la Guerra Fria y a la división de Europa." (TVE, November 3rd 2009)

[25] "Mil piezas de un domino gigante simbolizan la reaccion en cadena que aquella caida provoco en toda Europa y en el mundo. Es el momento culminante de un dia que, como hace veinte anos, ha vuelto a ser un dia de fiesta" (TVE, 10 November 2009)

[26] "Creo que la suerte de la integración europea y el regalo de la paz nos obligan a asumir responsabilidades especiales para con el resto del mundo" (Telecinco, November 9th 2009).

[27] governor of Asturias province, Spain.

[28] "Berlin representa la capacidad de Europa de liderar en el mundo ideas inovadoras de progreso, libertad y justicia." (Telecinco, 10 November 2009).

The emphasis on Europe as a Union becomes noticeable; in "Looking back on 20 years ", BBC reporter Brian Hanrahan also comments the impact of November 1989 events on the continent, convincingly stating that the fall of communism would have taken place with or without the crumbling of the Wall. Following the archival live Berlin correspondence on the evening of November 8th 1989, the reporter explains citizens are celebrating an end of "Europe's division"; later on, more precisely twenty years on, the same reporter states: "what people ask is, did it change history? I suppose the honest answer to that has to be no, because communism was always going to collapse, and Europe was probably going to end up where it is now – maybe a bit different, but, essentially, in the same path." This is another indirect reference to the European Union. As BBC places the commemoration within a larger perspective – the demise of communist regimes throughout Europe –, the message is thus clear: the commemoration must be understood in the overall context of events that marked the end of 1989.

Romania

Romanian television positions the event in a completely different manner. Given the recent, historically defining moments in the country's becoming, coverage intends to present the ceremony as a constant reminder a communist regime that ended little after the series of events in countries like Hungary, Poland or former Czechoslovakia. The 9th of November 1989 thus becomes associated with Romania's December 1989. These are overall observations of general coverage, as specificities will, to a limited extent, set public and commercial broadcasts apart.

Similarly to all the other coverage, public broadcaster TVR stresses the symbolism unfolding during the ceremonies. Emphasis falls on preparations, guests and the most important moment of the event of the evening, when the domino blocks collapse, portraying a carefully constructed metaphor. Live coverage provides details regarding all of these factors, including the overall "atmosphere" in the capital's streets.

What is particular about TVR is the relatively little number of references concerning the European Union or the idea of European identity. Most of the coverage on the eve of November 9th 2009 is almost entirely linked to the Romanian 1989 revolution. The amount of coverage dedicated solely to the twenty years' anniversary does not match the Spanish or the German coverage, mainly due to the evident connection with events occurring within national borders.

Some reports, nevertheless, do approach the history of Berlin's wall, by offering a chronological perspective on the subject matter. It is, indeed, a general approach towards the build-up of Germany's reunification, focusing almost entirely on outlining the course of events, rather than commenting from a specific perspective.   One material does illustrate an attempt at opening a discussion related to the reunification effects at a European scale. The interview with presidential counsellor on security issues, Iulian Fota, reveals editorial interest in describing Europe nowadays, after twenty years and the reply follows economy-related lines. It is, indeed, Germany and France that play the main role in maintaining European Union's economic force, and this is precisely what the counsellor mentions:

TVR anchor: "One could say that Germany is today one of European Union's leaders; a very interesting nation that still features – as seen in the previous report – slight contrasts between East and West, but its role as a genuine economic force is one of the most obvious." Interviewee: "Indeed, Franco-German tandem has become Europe's economic engine, so to speak, as Germany has brought a remarkable

contribution to NATO's international acknowledgement; last but not least, it is a country that genuinely cherishes freedom."[29]

Another discussion dealing with European Union matters springs from the idea of free circulation. The anchor hints at the freedom gained now, as a result of bringing down the physical barrier that literally kept individuals apart. This is another instance that brings the debate back to European Union matters, since discussion continues in terms of free movement of people guaranteed through EU legislation.

Further into the interview, the discussion takes on the iterative aspect of remembering the meaning of Berlin 1989 events, especially for the younger generation who should be reminded not to take freedom for granted. A report about German youngsters living in Berlin discusses the matter in more detail [30]. Romanians who experienced the November 1989 moments are also the subjects of interviews. TVR material also features testimonials and can thus stand alongside the rest of reports dealing with personal experiences; the pattern remains the same, even though the temporal lag may define different content. Summing up, the little differences in coverage Romanian public television has to offer, compared to other broadcasters, are the few references to the European Union as a single economic region.

Leading nation-wide Romanian television ratings is the commercial ProTV[31]. This broadcaster arranged its anniversary-related content in a manner that reveals two main features. The 1989 events in Berlin received considerably less coverage than the December Romanian Revolution. As opposed to the French, German and Spanish broadcasters, the anniversary does not receive extended coverage represented through a special news category; this broadcaster does not place the media event as high on the agenda as the Romanian 1989 revolution. For the latter occasion, ProTV marks the commemoration through intensive live broadcasts, interviews, reports and documentaries. One interesting aspect is the manner of including the Berlin events into the greater perspective of December 1989. This reveals a strong focus on national history: commemorations in Berlin only stand as a mere instrument for explaining the ensuing events in Romania. Essentially, this inclusion sends a clear message to audiences, who are to grasp the meaning of Berlin events solely as a cause or a starting point for the demise of communist rule in Romania.

One example illustrating this inclusion is the special "Romania, I love you" special news edition, comprised of documentaries and interviews related to the twenty years' commemoration of the Romanian revolution. The five part - documentary "Twenty years of freedom" begins by very briefly outlining the order of events building up to Romania's December 1989. This short historical review also mentions the crumbling of the Berlin Wall; nevertheless, the striking feature

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[29]TVR Anchor: "Germania este astãzi, am putea spune, o tarã lider a Uniunii Europene, o tarã foarte interesantãã, în care, asa cum am vãzut in materialul anterior, se mai pastreazã câteva contraste între est si vest, dar, pe de altã parte, rolul de locomotivã pe care îl are, economic, cel putin, este unul dintre cele mai evidente." Iulian Fota: "Evident, Germania, impreunã cu Franta, constituie motorul franco-german al Uniunii Europene, o tarã care a avut o contributie remarcabilã la dezvoltarea Uniiunii Europene, o tarã cu o contributie foarte importantã si la afirmarea internationalã a Aliantei Nord-Atlantice (NATO) si o tarã care stie sa pretuiascã libertatea."

[30] "The Wall's children don't know their identity" (TVR, November 10th 2009)
[31] Both prime time (6.2%) and overall (2.7%) averages see ProTv as a leader in nation-wide ratings. For detailed data: http://www.paginademedia.ro/audiente-tv/

is the way this broadcaster positions itself as a "social phenomenon" and a way of "escaping" the internal political issues that still scarred the country, even after the fall of communism. Moreover, its well-known "Think free"[32] slogan enables the commercial channel to claim its contribution to people's freedom of speech. "The best television news" also enabled audiences to "experience events differently" in a "deprived society, led by careless politicians lacking vision"[33]. The escapist character of commercial television stands out as the most important defining feature of – at the time – newly founded ProTV. Its references to offering audiences a "door to the Western world", alongside the "Think free" slogan hints at the broadcaster's self-declared role in ushering in democracy.

Little emphasis falls on the Berlin ceremonies as a media event in itself; coverage is limited to edited reports, with no live broadcasts. All material does not stand apart from any other broadcasts, since it offers similar details about the guests, special moments within the ceremony and testimonials of Germans living in the former GDR. The national perspective this event appears in is precisely what defines ProTV coverage, and its attempt to place the meaning of a symbolic German reunification into a larger context resembles the BBC approach.

France

The French public broadcaster TF1 also distinguishes itself through the particular interest it has shown towards the anniversary. The "Berlin 1989-2009 dossier" consists of coverage around the "making of" idea, which sees French media producers place particular attention on the special edition production. "Making of" thus adds up to a series of reports following French citizens' experiences of today's cosmopolitan German capital, the issue of forced adoptions in the former East Germany and testimonials of several Berliners nostalgically reminiscing the former GDR lifestyle.

More coverage reveals clear interest in domestic issues, such as French president Nicolas Sarkozy's ceremonial speech and his controversial statement regarding his contribution to the 1989 Berlin events. Again, reports emphasize the importance of a Franco-German alliance within the French political landscape: after celebrating the twenty years' anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the two were once again present at yet another commemorative occasion, namely the commemoration of the first World War armistice:

"It was, actually, the first time when a German chancellor participated alongside a French president to commemorate the 1914-1918 was armistice, marking the defeat of German forces."[34]

Once more, the stress on national matters is omnipresent, as the only references regarding external effects of the 1989 events are mentioned at a global scale:

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[32] English for "Gândeste liber!"

[33] ProTV started broadcasting on December 1995, with the "You watch and win" adage. Voiceover: <The best television news>Romanians needed entertainment. In the post-revolutionary era, ProTV represented the largest ever foreign investment in a Romanian company. Provifing thousands of movies, news and entertainment, the channel immediately turned into a real phenomenon. 1995 ends with the launch of ProTV. In a deprived country, led by careless politicians lacking vision, ProTV was the way out and a door to the West." (ProTV, November 2009)

[34] "C'était la première fois en effet qu'un chef du gouvernement allemand participait aux côtés d'un président français à la commémoration de l'armistice de la guerre de 1914-1918, marquant la défaite de l'armée allemande." (TF1, November 11th 2009)

"The fall of the Wall was a baffling moment for the entire world – thus, the world returns here twenty years after, to celebrate the event."[35]

Live interventions depict the overall atmosphere, at the same time contextualizing the anniversary. Reporters focus, unsurprisingly, on the political figures to attend the ceremonies, as one correspondent comments "en direct" the metaphorical layer of the domino blocks, as they are collapsing in front of the television cameras. Live coverage also provides edited material of late afternoon, last minute preparations.

TV5 Monde, a commercial French broadcaster, develops a timeline of events, establishing a then-and-now approach to the anniversary. Testimonials are, again, an important part of the overall coverage: "Temoignages: où étiez-vous?"

Euronews

Euronews does not belong to any categories when it comes to public-private specificities, a fact that enables a clearer view on the type of coverage expected, as explained through the hypothesis.

The amount of material on the matter of Europe's becoming after the fall of the Berlin Wall is overwhelming. Its variety is in itself extraordinary, as reports follow a present-day perspective on the idea of a United Europe. First of all, there is a very well defined line separating the media event from all the other news categories or stories, regardless of their focus. The Berlin Wall anniversary is thus analyzed and treated as a media event separately from, say, the 1989 Romanian Revolution. Placed within the "World" news category, coverage related to the ceremony stands as a category of its own, as the media event is treated as such.

Apart from the usual coverage regarding the actual ceremonies, most material covers debates about new member states' integration, precisely Eastern European countries whose communist rule saw an end in 1989. The areas of interest covered extend from politics to arts. European filmmakers are called upon to depict their 1989 experiences, alongside former leaders, ambassadors or journalists. The likes of Ezio Mauro, former Moscow correspondent for "La Republica" and the actual newspaper editor in chief, Wojciech Jaruzelski, former Polish president at the time of reunification, Daniel-Cohn Bendit, Greens group, European Parliament and Jacques Delors, the former European Commission President, all reminisce their experiences on German reunification. The interview with Jacques Delors is particularly relevant in terms of media discourses touching European Union issues. Euronews reporter's set of questions follows after a short introduction on the "days and weeks that changed the face of Europe". One of the questions interestingly addresses the fear European Commission officials could probably have nurtured towards the consequences of German reunification. The interview follows a path leading to the European Union's present day, described as "the new chapter for Europe".

For "Agora", a talk show programme, Euronews producers prepared a special edition reviewing the year 2009 and featuring Denis MachShane, a British Labour MP exchanging views alongside La Repubblica director, Ezio Muro. The programme evolves around two main issues:

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[35] "La chute du mur, ç'a été un boulversement pour le monde entier – eh bien, le monde revient ici vingt ans après pour fêter l'événement."

European democracy and culture; the starting point is, indeed, the Berlin Wall anniversary, but the discussion soon takes a turn towards the present-day issues of the European Union, including the debate on European unity at a cultural level. One of the debate highlights sees the British MP claiming the existence of a rather national Europe. The reasons would be European Union member states' will to prioritize their national identity in favor of adhering to a culturally common, European background.

To conclude, Euronews takes matters further than solely stating the implications and symbolism of such a festive occasion, employing the anniversary as a platform for analyzing current European issues. This is not, however, a defining feature of   public – or private, for that matter – television coverage.

Conclusions

This thesis has looked at public European television in the twenty-first century, as it turned one of the most anticipated moments of the year 2009 into a media event. The twenty years' anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall stands out as a defining point in the history of one continent and the entire world, and television once again reveals both its technological and cultural attributes through extended broadcasts, creating the shared experience for audiences, along with positioning the commemoration as highly symbolic.

The overall effort comprised of ushering in a debate on public service television within the European public sphere. Initial attempts at defining public service broadcasting opened a path towards a view on its preferred or "ideal" character, thus giving way to constructions such as public service media. The main reasons for proposing a redefinition of public broadcasting lie in the challenges placed forth through technological development and consequently the outburst of new media outlets. This has also implied a radical change with regard to audience media use, which now defines the new media industry. Faced with such major calls on meeting increased expectations, public service television has struggled – and succeeded in several cases such the BBC – to maintain a balance between the defining core values of providing quality content at the same time making use of new technologies to their own advantage. Debates in academia as well as at a general level within the public sphere have questioned the future of public service broadcasting, considering its further existence only under certain circumstances (Bardoel and d'Haenes 2008).

New phenomena such as media convergence, digitalization and deterritoralization (Chalaby 2005) have seen public television lose its status within the media landscape it once dominated. These concepts appeared following the coming of commercial television, thus bringing along and gradually toughening competition between the two types of broadcasters. One of the main struggles public television was forced to face as the contrast with commercial television grew more evident is the type of funding it relies on. Ownership has become an even greater issue since commercial television started building its role within the market as leader of audience ratings. This is due to debates on public broadcasters' independence from political interests. Since one of the defining core values of public television is to ensure the proper functioning of a national political system (Blumler and Gurevitch 1995), the issue of state funding proves controversial, especially when commercial television has so often been linked with political bias originating from its private ownership. An overwhelming number of public broadcasters in the 1980s featured state control, with the exception of Italian and British dual systems; as soon as commercial broadcasters started outnumbering public ones during mid-1990s, a call for democratic values within public broadcasting was issued. Public service media are to work solely towards providing their audiences with unbiased, clear insights on political issues, thus strongly differentiating coverage of such matters from the entertainment-oriented approach characteristic for private television (McQuail, Golding and Bens 2005). The strive for quality content has seen public broadcasters pride on better informed audiences, with a higher preference for political issues; a higher degree of advertisement and entertainment intake equals a roughly lower interest in and consequently less knowledge about public affairs (Holtz-Bacha and Norris 2001). Both external and internal factors have thus placed public broadcasting in a difficulty, as it has been attempting to regain its audiences by providing quality infotaiment programming, at the same

time making use of new media platforms that have redefined audiences' media consumption habits and radically restated the broadcaster - audience hierarchies.

What is more, television, through its cultural role of identity construction holds a central position within this thesis. This relates to the main hypothesis, which links European public television to its role in defining European identity, an issue that previous chapters have focused on. In search of a possible new role for public television – that of helping to better illustrate the idea of European identity – the analysis covers a highly relevant occasion. The twenty years' anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall marks a turning point in the history of European countries and Europe as a political, economic and cultural union. This occasion was celebrated as a highly symbolic event, both by organizers and media producers. What this thesis aims at is answering the question whether this media event constitutes an occasion for public television to reveal the hypothesis validity: that is, whether coverage relies on a Europe-centered rhetoric that would help strengthen the idea of European identity.

Although this concept still remains an "unsettled matter" (Grundy and Jamieson 2007), as no precise definition has been settled on, there is general agreement on the idea that citizens relate to it in a complementary manner; that is to say, European identity does not exclude national identity and vice versa, since individuals are known to present multiple identities (Martiniello 1995: 35). The context of national and European identities also covers another significant concept, namely cultural citizenship; it is the relationship with national identity that triggered debate in previous chapters, mainly because of its specific nature. It could be argued that national identity includes cultural citizenship, as the former indicates a larger spectre encompassing several dimensions: "territorial boundedness" of populations sharing the same homeland, myths and local memories, the bond of a mass culture, so on and so forth (Smith 1993). In fact, cultural citizenship has been recently added to an older classification belonging to Humprey Marshall (1992), who only considers civil, political and social citizenship as the main components of the larger concept. Nick Stevenson (1997) claims that cultural citizenship, represented through education and mass communications, deserves its rightful place among the other three components. Indeed, the role mass media play in establishing such complex and abstract baggage of symbolic value cannot be underestimated. In this sense, television helps create the abovementioned components of national identity, especially through the shared viewing experience that it offers viewers on a nation-wide scale: it is precisely the case of a common homeland and the feeling of "togetherness" that unites members of a community at a highly symbolic level, leading up to Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" (1983).

Throughout its development, national identity has had to face external pressures. Such pressures emphasize the process behind national identity construction, as individuals adopt similar dispositions, conceptions and attitudes through socialization (Wodak, Cilia, Liebhart and Reisigl 2009). One major factor illustrating socialization is television, as part of the larger media sphere, and this is one example of external pressures threatening national identities.

Pressures particularly striking at global level are the ones brought along *via* media products as a result of Americanisation. They originate from what Herbert Schiller called cultural imperialism: a one-way flow of media products that penetrate national media landscapes, going as far as redefining the patterns to be found in the national sphere. Academia has dismissed this theory as narrow in scope, since it does not take into consideration local cultures' potential to resist media imperialism, thus underestimating the latter's ability to preserve national specificities.

Moving further to the European level, national identities have built their own defence against media products of a transnational nature, thus proving that "travelling cultures" are not entirely appropriated at a local or national scale (Barker 1997). Language is one of the strongest factors indicating the existence of exchange between local and external forces; transnational television channels need to adapt to national markets from a language perspective, in order to ensure profitability. In spite of ever-developing global, transnational corporations, the nation-state does not fall short of mechanisms preserving its cultural capital.

European countries have also reportedly called on European integration as a possible threat to their national identities and cultures (McLaren 2007). The media role in defending this identity that individuals fear lost as a consequence of the European project is thus highly relevant. Public service broadcasting can help defend the set of values, conceptions and attitudes amounting to what citizens refer to as national identity, whilst helping preserve European identity, at an upper level. Transnational institutions connecting public service broadcasters across Europe will thus work in a similar manner as national broadcasters in order to ensure a secure development of European identity (Stevenson 1997). The main conclusion following this argument is indeed the fact that public service television fulfils a double purpose: that of helping preserve both national and European identities. This is also to show how European media landscapes have tackled the media imperialism issue; differences between European and American public broadcasting systems once again prove striking.

The transnational collaboration Stevenson mentions is indeed the European Broadcasting Union, comprised of European public broadcasters that are thus encouraged to share audiovisual content in order to establish international communication leading up to cultural exchange. Other European regulations such as Television Without Frontiers also works towards creating the idea of European identity through enforcing a standard of Europe-related issues within the overall public service televised broadcast.

Media events marking anniversaries of landmark moments in European history provide an outlook on the Europe-centred programming that public television has been called on to produce. The one media event this thesis focuses on reveals itself as a tool in analyzing public service broadcasting and its assumed discourse on European Union issues, twenty years after both a country and a continent reunified. The role public television holds in constructing European identity through broadcast media events – celebrations that also bring national specificities to the foreground – is, thus, the starting point for discussion.

Focusing on the media event created around the festive occasion, I have tried to identify the types of discourses both public and commercial broadcasters displayed in their coverage, by applying content and discourse analysis. These two methods have indeed lead to interesting results concerning the overall coverage, despite their contradictory character in relation to the initial expectations.

The stress on commercial television, on the other hand, is just as important, firstly because it leads to interesting findings, apart from stating clear all conceptual differences between public and private broadcasting. The issue of ownership and the new phenomena defining media landscapes starting the late 1980s saw an increase in commercial broadcasting that gradually ended the public broadcasting monopoly. Commercial broadcasting has its well-defined position within the public sphere, which is indeed a valuable one: audiences are drawn to commercial

television productions mainly because of the escapist character of its programming. Entertainment, be it in the form of music, movies, sports or reality shows, is preferred to public issues debates characteristic of public broadcasting. This explains findings regarding the link between audiences consuming certain types of programming and their overall level of information regarding political debate.

Moreover, the assumptions stated in the hypothesis also took into account the type of discourse to be found in commercial television broadcasts surrounding the media event. In this case, I indicated an expected emphasis on the event's national contextualization, whilst public broadcasting would reflect more on the ceremony implications in relation to European Union matters.

With regard to the actual data chosen for research, taking on both public and commercial broadcasts ensured an in-depth view on the role of public broadcasting in the five countries. Given the differences in content variety drawing the line between the two types of broadcasters, what I looked for were patterns that would lead to a possible common ground for both commercial and public service television coverage. Patterns would refer to scheduling, narrative construction and semantics.

Choosing the appropriate research methods was key to answering the main research question regarding the Europe-centred discourse. Initially, the main aim was to discover general similarities between the two kinds of broadcast – more precisely, at the level of script construction and broadcast timing. This is part of the content analysis, which develops the analysis main body. Discourse analysis is meant to explain how these similarities come about and what exactly they represent, in terms of semantics.

Two general points spring from the findings based on both research methods. First of all, there is no sign of a clear-cut difference between public and commercial television in terms of a Europe-centred discourse: both refer sporadically to Europe as a united continent, rather than to European identity as a highly discursive, cultural product. To balance this aspect, public broadcasters rely on portraying the 1989 events through a national spectre.

This first observation following the analysis reveals the intriguing character of overall findings, which do not seem to confirm the hypothesis validity. What is striking about the results is that the few references to a European discourse are massively outnumbered when looking at the revealing content analysis. Both live and reported material consists of what appears to be a strictly national discourse, present at both levels of analysis. There are no clearly defined dissimilarities in either content or discourse that would separate broadcasts in the manner explained in the hypothesis. Research led to similar approaches towards European issues, which both public and commercial television channels address to a similar extent. Overall, there are extremely few instances where media producers, be they anchors, reporters or correspondents from Berlin, refer to the symbolic ceremony as a reminder of Europe as a union. Rarely does rhetoric go beyond the idea of a united Germany, except when media producers highlight the meaning of 1989 events at a global scale. Only two broadcasters remind audiences about the European Union officials' presence at the ceremony, one of which is, unsurprisingly, Euronews. This channel choice stands beyond any political or media reasons, due to its specifically Europe-oriented content and format. Its role is to emphasize the type of coverage public broadcasting in the European countries was initially thought or expected to follow. Indeed, Euronews does fulfill the

role of an example when it comes to relating the ceremony to European Union issues. As seen in the previous chapter, reports and talk shows were especially formatted so that they would fit the debate on European integration. The type of questions featured in the interview with the former European Commission president guide the interviewee to touch issues such as EU officials' fears over the German reunification.

The emphasis on national perspectives towards the anniversary event is not equally strong in all broadcasts. German public broadcasters, for instance, portray the media event as a landmark in their nation's history, as Berlin celebrations receive an exclusively nation-oriented approach. The consequences of German reunification clearly stand out as most important, as there are no references to the European Union.

Spain has a particular view on the anniversary, mainly because of its empathizing approach towards the fall of communism. This is precisely how the Spanish TVE links the anniversary with Spain's own recent history, particularly by stressing the Prime Minister's speech. What is striking in this case is the fact that Telecinco, the privately owned counterpart, linked its coverage to European issues to a greater extent than TVE. This aspect brings about a new perspective on the way public broadcasters in question contextualize the anniversary. The "then and now" approach, common for all of the chosen coverage, is, in fact, a pretext for explaining both German past and present realities, but most of all, for introducing a national historical retrospective.

French broadcasts focus even less on the European perspective, as they tend to express more interest in the Franco-German relations as they have developed since the end of the Second World War.

Romanian coverage is once again an example of strong national emphasis, this time to be found in commercial television material. ProTV links the anniversary with the 1989 Romanian revolution and sees the Berlin events as the triggering moment that defined history for the former communist countries. The documentaries and special reports following the Berlin 2009 ceremonies do not explain any consequences the anniversary or the actual fall of the Wall might have had at European level.

BBC, however, tends not to place the anniversary within a national context; analysis does not rely on a national discourse, preferring a slightly European approach. This only comes as a result of independently categorizing the news story, under the name of "Europe's revolution", which speaks for itself when discussing which direction BBC content takes audiences in. What comes as intriguing here is that BBC does not follow the pattern set forth through other public broadcast, preferring to keep a slightly Europe-centred view on the anniversary. This is, in fact, the only public broadcaster featuring the kind of approach suggested in the hypothesis.

What defines these research conclusions as interesting is the fact that there are no patterns in relating Europe-oriented discourses to public broadcasting. Indeed, there are a few instances when coverage is steered in this particular direction, but not enough in order to confirm the presence of a pattern within public broadcast. More surprisingly comes the fact that some commercial channels do take on what was supposedly the duty of public service television. It is Telecinco, the Spanish commercial channel, which links the anniversary to Europe as a cultural

union, as TVE does not show particular interest in explaining the consequences of German reunification as far as the European Union is concerned.

The second main conclusive point the analysis reveals is, apart from the unclear focus on the present-day European Union issues, the emphasis on Germany's reunification as a defining moment in world's history, and Europe in particular. Nevertheless, discussing consequences at European level does not imply discussing the European Union. The better choice to illustrate this would be the German public broadcasters themselves, alongside Spanish and British broadcasts. Their focus on the kind of change brought to the world also acts as a reminder of walls waiting to be crushed, thus using the peaceful revolution as an example of willpower and democratic thought.

Having marked the emergence of such findings, it is indeed important to reflect on their possible meaning within the present context. This media event is key to providing viewers with both an overview and an in-depth insight in the context surrounding events in Berlin and their consequences, be they mostly on a national level. This very focus on establishing, presenting and simultaneously reminding nation-wide audiences about their nation's becoming as a result of German reunification brings forward the issue of national identity once again. It could be argued that, in the context of national identities threatened within a multicultural union, public broadcasters take on a defensive approach by deciding to contribute solely to their national background. Explaining what the fall of the Wall has meant for a nation's becoming is, indeed, a pattern describing public service television. As far as German public broadcasting is concerned, there is an immediate connection with the national meaning of such an event. This is the only instance where public broadcasting coverage does not touch European Union matters, exclusively dealing with the factors leading up to November 1989 and the changes that followed the reunification. It is obvious that hierarchies constructed here place national symbolism and history on a leading position, and rightfully so. Germany does hold a special position within the entire anniversary media event, and thus it becomes entitled to this type of coverage, given the circumstances triggering what is now perceived as a world-changing event. Taking pride in the German people's peaceful revolution, their willpower and dedication towards a common goal can certainly justify the nationally oriented rhetoric. People's testimonials included in the reports are at the heart of this rhetoric, ideally serving it.

However, if Germany's case can stand as justified, a question arises concerning the remaining broadcasters. What could explain the choice for a general focus on national contexts? In the midst of European negotiations on expanding the political and economic union, there is growing concern with regard to the possible threats national identities have had to face as a result of newly issued European regulations. Although as national and European identities have been placed in a complementary relationship, adding to the idea of multiple identities, research has also concluded that strong feelings of national identity lead to decreased support towards the idea of European Union (Carey 2002). Indeed, this is to say that audiences share this feature. Yet, broadcasters seem to have taken on a similar attitude, and, considering the media function of constructing meaning, it could be claimed that European public broadcasters prioritize – on this commemorative occasion – national identity over European matters, including European identity; as a result, public television in European states seem to search for their own national identity in the midst of an event that radically changed world history.

Looking at this media event, the prospects of a contradicted hypothesis bring forward intriguing new findings, as well as new questions with regard to the role of public broadcasting at both national and European levels. On this particular occasion, public television has shown a tendency to preserve national symbolism by easily avoiding in-depth discussion about European issues and the meaning of German reunification within today's united Europe, from both political and economic perspectives. The cultural component is also a result of media products, especially originating from public broadcasting and its role of cultural institution. This research offers an insight on a particular occasion that may constitute the rule rather than the exception. However, this is still to be confirmed through further interdisciplinary research, combining the field of television and European studies.

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