

**Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca**  
**Faculty of History and Philosophy**

**Summary of the Doctoral Thesis**  
**The Promotion through Mass Media**  
**of the European Societal Model**

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### **Keywords**

European Societal Model, European public sphere, European integration, European Union, mass media, European cultural policies, ARTE - a European cultural television channel

## **Introductory remarks**

This doctoral thesis consists in a fructification of the concerns and achievements of a long period of time in my professional activities, and also in my scientific research activities. As a journalist, I was concerned since the early '90s of all the developments and problems subsumed to what today is called the "European construction". When I outlined the proposal for the thesis I have considered a broad comprehensive theme of the European construction process focused on what I call "media promotion of the European societal model".

In its substance, this Ph.D. thesis intends to provide a coherently articulated conceptual-theoretical perspective on the issues addressed, followed by an illustration of the conceptual framework through an empirical research structured in four comprehensive and representative dimensions focused on the idea of capturing and "measuring" within the communicational reality the way the media is promoting the European model of society. Moreover, this doctoral thesis aims to answer the question of what is and what could be Europe / EU in the contemporary world in terms of its own dynamic building, and also from the perspective of what European perennial axiological model represents for the European idea.

Within the Romanian space, the research associated with the doctoral thesis intends to bring additional value to what the European area currently means. Geographically, Romania is, and has always been, a part of Europe. As representation, however, Romania has emerged as modern in many aspects, both through internal representation of actors, and through those outside, and as an aspiration in relation to the European space and values. From the 19th century until today in Romanian culture and Romanian politics were discussed in association with the European cultural space and civilization. After 1989, it took several years for the Romanian society to clarify its direction of evolution, to understand that Romania belonged to the spatial structure of the European civilization, that European integration was best for the affirmation of the Romanian values<sup>1</sup>. It should also be noted here the significant role of the Romanian civil society and academia in bringing the European idea to the public sphere and in promoting the need for strong options in this direction. Beyond the symbolic moment of accessing the Union, the integration process is lengthy, requiring a step-by-step evolution, therefore the exploration of European construction in strategic terms, from a Romanian vantage point can bring added value.

### **I. Promotion through media of the European societal model; a theoretical and methodological foundation of the applied research**

In this paper, the theoretical and methodological foundation, outlines a unitary space containing the main elements of the media promoting the European societal model.

#### **1. Europe - past, present and future perspectives in the European construction process, the EU as an entity and as a process.**

Before tackling directly the media, I have set up a theoretical-conceptual framework of thematic development (chapter 1.1.). This chapter contains substantive elements of the premises

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<sup>1</sup> Georgiu, Grigore. (2004). *Filosofia culturii. Cultură și comunicare*. București: Editura Comunicare.ro, p. 119.

of European integration and shows how idea of European space, coordinated the axiological substantive model of European society.

It is an idea that has become widespread in recent decades, that the pillars of Europe as a cultural-spiritual model of society came from classical heritage - Greek philosophy, Roman law and Christianity (with its roots from Judaism), and from the Western European modernity, which is based on humanism, the Renaissance and Enlightenment philosophy and comes with separation between church and state, with the affirmation of individual freedom, with modern political democracy, the emergence of nation states, the economic organization of capitalism, the rule of law and human rights.

In the context of defining achievements that are the foundation of Europe were forged defining specific values for any human society. European culture has proposed concepts as truth, knowledge, rationality, law, public sphere, individual autonomy<sup>2</sup>.

Europe has the specific social valuing of truth, of knowledge, scientific, philosophical, artistic, religious, which comes from Greek philosophy. And all there is forging the idea of beauty, aesthetic value, from sculpture, architecture, mythology, Greek tragedy, which will then superimpose over the Roman heritage.

Science as we understand it today, and education, mainly at university, are a creation and a European model<sup>3</sup>. And what is characteristic of European societies in their historical evolution is precisely the ability to link scientific discoveries and technological innovations to exploit them for economic, social and military. Furthermore, technological changes were not only accepted by European elites, but have been supported by the creation of institutions for the production and dissemination of knowledge<sup>4</sup>.

The idea of justice - as it appears in Europe and how legislative and regulatory systems are established in this area - originates in Greek philosophy, but is accomplished in Roman law. Justice in the contemporary world is built on the foundation of Roman law.

Christian heritage offers a specific approach that comes from the idea that you must love your neighbor, from compassion for others, the sacrifice in the service of others, from some content referring to the idea of equality, democracy present in early Christianity. Developing a culture of secular humanist is an essential element of Western modernity, but culture and religion are related to the significance of human activities and relationships so that modernity was shaped by values, ideals, beliefs and myths<sup>5</sup>.

Economic value, effectiveness and usefulness, it originates in Greek science, and is gaining a specific configuration in the rational pursuit of economic gain, the "spirit of capitalism" (Max Weber<sup>6</sup>), the specific economic organization based on Protestant ethic.

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<sup>2</sup> Marga, Andrei. (1997). *Filosofia unificării europene*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Apostrof, pp. 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> Gadamer, Hans Georg. [1983] (1999). *Elogiul teoriei. Moștenirea Europei*. Iași: Editura Polirom, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Martinelli, Alberto. (2007b). The European Union and the United states as two variants of Western Modernity. În A. Martinelli (ed.). *Transatlantic Divide. Comparing American and European Society* (pp. 1-28). Oxford și New York: Oxford University Press, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Parekh, Bhikhu. (2000). *Rethinking Multiculturalism. Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Hampshire: Macmillan Press, pp. 146-147.

<sup>6</sup> Weber, Max. [1920] (1993). *Etica protestantă și spiritul capitalismului*. București: Editura Humanitas, *pass*.

Therborn<sup>7</sup> argues location of basic human rights to life and dignity at the heart of European values, above any social or political system construction. This emphasis on human rights is the result of lessons learned during the 20th century.

Democracy is a model of societal organization which is the foundation of Europe, not a recent one, but older than 2,000 years. The Greeks thought it was the city (polis) and "politics" which distinguished them from the barbarians, not artistic achievements<sup>8</sup>.

Democracy is about the existence of a public sphere as a space of political deliberation, and in the modern sense, they are necessary for the existence of a minimum of speeches which are in a political debate through the media<sup>9</sup>. The public sphere is developed today mainly through the media, but not only, as the place of mediation in which citizens and various organizations do observe each other.

Fundamentals of anthropological cultural-historical, social experiences that have shaped particular the local, regional and national level have not lost the substance, so that contemporary European construction has adopted a model of polyphonic unification<sup>10</sup>. The official approach is the "unity in diversity"<sup>11</sup>, a reference to the many and diverse members of the Union, trying to reconcile a corporate identity vision with the individual-liberal vision, in a speech recognizing individual identity and integrating the social dimension.

What we call today "European construction", "European integration", has a long prehistory, carried on several coordinates. Always, Europe had many coagulant elements beyond dispute and even destructive confrontation, enough common elements, values, interests. The dispute between the federal Europe and the Europe of nations is an issue that is not just an issue of the present. We have shown that even in the 19th century, when Victor Hugo was launching the idea of the "United States of Europe" and Giuseppe Mazzini proposed a "Holy Alliance of peoples", already we can see manifesting ideas at the core of this debate. I pointed out that this issue was in the attention of Romanian thinkers and politicians, including Ion C. Bratianu, I.G. Duca or Dimitrie Gusti.

European construction always stayed into the debate on how the national may be embedded in supranational. In the political structure emphasis is on "national legitimacy"<sup>12</sup>, even if it is clear that integration requires recognition of supranational institutions<sup>13</sup>, and a strong solidarity between the constituent nations of the Union, which must be manifested in several dimensions: political, social, cultural, economic.

Cold War was par excellence a period of chronic confrontation with various elements of acuity exhibited in Europe, but the substrate has a number of achievements of what is considered

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<sup>7</sup> Therborn, Göran. (2007). 'Europe' as issues of sociology. În T.P. Boje, B. van Steenberghe și S. Walby (eds.). *European Societies. Fusion or Fission?* (pp. 19-32). Londra și New York: Routledge, pp. 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> Arendt, Hannah. (1961). *Between Past and Future. Six Exercises in Political Thought*. New York: The Viking Press. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/7169057/Hannah-Arendt-Between-Past-and-Future>, p. 214.

<sup>9</sup> Medrano, Juan Díez. (2009). The public sphere and the European Union's political identity. În C.T. Jeffrey și P.J. Katzenstein (eds.). *European Identity* (pp. 81-110). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 91.

<sup>10</sup> Marga, 1997, p. 293.

<sup>11</sup> Sassatelli, Monica. (2009). *Becoming Europeans. Cultural Identity and Cultural Policies*. New York: Macmillan, p. 42.

<sup>12</sup> Zăpârțan, Liviu-Petru. (2000). *Construcția europeană*. Oradea: Editura Imprimeriei de Vest., p. 202.

<sup>13</sup> Marga, 1997, p. 178.

today to be the European construction<sup>14</sup>. The beginnings of European link to the European Coal and Steel Community, an organization which enjoys supranational powers, as mainly an economic dimension, but related, no doubt, and security issues<sup>15</sup>. Then, on 25 March 1957, representatives of the six member states of the ECSC signed the Treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community. EEC was proposing the establishment of a zone of free movement (of goods, services, capital and persons), legislation to establish a common economic policy coordination, establishment of common institutions. Starting here, the process of building the new European architecture was held in two basic coordinates, ready to welcome new members, and that deeper integration by tackling new areas such as monetary union (manifested by the appearance of the euro), political integration and military and domestic policy-making and social security policy. The model adopted assumes a step-by-step evolution<sup>16</sup>, making two parallel objectives: the expansion and deepening integration. This process is carried out on spatial coordinates, economic, political and coordinates related to European security.

After this segment of research that has approached the premises of European and axiological background details of the European idea, in Chapter 1.2. I approached the topic of "European integration: the EU as an entity and as a process". I referred in the first part of the problem of the European Union as a model of legislative policy and regulatory design (chapter 1.2.1.).

The EU is a political system characterized by complex interdependence, where the capacity of Member States to take unilateral action has been greatly reduced<sup>17</sup>. Europe is an original political structure<sup>18</sup>, rather than a confederation but less than a federation, is an association of sovereign states that have pooled sovereignty in certain clearly defined areas.

Addressing integration issues I brought up the process of supranational institutions replacing national ones in certain areas<sup>19</sup>, a gradual shift of sovereignty from nation states to regional structures, showing that the immediate problem of high tension between national and supranational loyalties and then the difficulties of building a sense of community (sense of "us") and issues of democratic legitimacy. To succeed in their efforts, supranational institutions can not attack the front nationalities - "supranationality will support national foundations", said Robert Schuman<sup>20</sup>. To resolve the constant tension, while being a functional body, the Union built the supranational institutions with guidance and intergovernmental organizations, and the implementation of European subsidiarity was the adopted formula, which allows multiple levels of decision<sup>21</sup>. European institutions are designed to be interdependent and no important decision can be imagined today without an agreement between the European Council (intergovernmental

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<sup>14</sup> Archer, Clive. (2008). *The European Union*. Londra și New York: Routledge, pp. 5-7.

<sup>15</sup> Strange, Susan. [1994] (1997). *State și piețe*. Iași: Institutul European, p. 244.

<sup>16</sup> Pecican, Ovidiu. (1997). *Europa, o idee în mers*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, p. 75.

<sup>17</sup> Keohane, Robert O. și Nye, Joseph S. [1977] (2009). *Putere și interdependență*. Iași: Editura Polirom, p. 355.

<sup>18</sup> Priban, Jiri. (2009). The Self-Referential European Polity, its Legal Context and Systemic Differentiation: Theoretical Reflections on the Emergence of the EU's Political and Legal Autopoiesis. *European Law Journal*, July 2009, Vol. 15 Issue 4, pp. 442-461.

<sup>19</sup> Watts, Duncan. (2008). *The European Union*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 280-281.

<sup>20</sup> Schuman, Robert. [1963] (2003). *Pentru Europa*. București: R.A. Monitorul Oficial, p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> Marga, 1997, p. 183.



oriented), the European Commission and European Parliament (with supranational orientation)<sup>22</sup>. And within these institutions, dual identity, national and European actors, creates tensions that will continue to exist within the foreseeable future.

Political legitimacy of the European construction is done through the institutions and procedures within each nation. For intergovernmental institutions, Habermas<sup>23</sup> believes that the level of legitimacy is satisfactory, but not for supranational decisions that are taken in the institutional framework of the Union, as EU directives are affecting and national legislation, yet missing a real debate in front of the citizens. From there a democratic deficit, which is felt by citizens, which produces distrust, which can be interpreted both as a cause of failure in referenda, because people do not vote for things that do not feel involved, which is built "over their heads"<sup>24</sup> but also one of the reasons that creates danger for Europe to relapse below the already achieved integration<sup>25</sup>. Habermas is concerned about the gap between political elites and citizens, requiring a relocation of European construction on democratic grounds.

When the decision is depoliticized and taken away, citizens reject what they perceive as distant, we need politicians and mass media efforts to support the construction of Europe as a political society<sup>26</sup>. In this context, we addressed the issue of "constitutional patriotism" proposed by Habermas. German thinker sees the post-national Union a vehicle that is able to maintain and build on the achievements of liberal and social democratic European countries, considering that the deepening of European integration is necessary and possible as a civic communities based on shared political culture, a democratic identity based on legal procedures that recognize the diversity of European cultures, "constitutional patriotism"<sup>27</sup>. Union citizenship thus means, first, joining civic and political norms, civic responsibility and trust that derives from a sense of belonging to a political community<sup>28</sup>.

The question is whether it can constitute a new identity through social communication, whether it is possible to produce a process of "social learning"<sup>29</sup>, leading to a new form of multiple identity, to form a political community beyond the national level. From the history of European nation-state formation, we can deduce what are the conditions for extending the process of forming national identity beyond: "the emergence of a European civil society, building a public sphere (pan)European and shaping a political culture that can be shared by all European citizens"<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Păun, Nicolae și Albu-Comănescu, Radu. (2004). Instituțiile Uniunii Europene - un survol în 2003. În N. Păun (coord.), *Instituțiile Uniunii Europene* (pp. 9-38). Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene.

<sup>23</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. (2001). Why Europe Needs a Constitution. *New Left Review*, 11, September-October 2001, <http://www.newleftreview.org/A2343>.

<sup>24</sup> Habermas, Jürgen (2007b). Erste Hilfe für Europa. *Die Zeit*, 29.11.2007, <http://www.zeit.de/2007/49/Europa>.

<sup>25</sup> Medrano, 2009, pp. 81-82.

<sup>26</sup> Touraine, Alain. (2007). European sociologists between economic globalization and cultural fragmentation. În T.P. Boje, B. van Steenberghe și S. Walby (eds.). *European Societies. Fusion or Fission?* (pp. 249-262). Londra și New York: Routledge, p. 261.

<sup>27</sup> McCormick, John P. (2007). *Weber, Habermas, and Transformations of the European State. Constitutional, Social, and Supranational Democracy*. Cambridge și New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 179.

<sup>28</sup> McGuigan, Jim. (2004). *Rethinking Cultural Policy. Maidenhead*: Open University Press, pp. 168-169.

<sup>29</sup> Deutsch, Karl. (1953). *Nationalism and Social Communication*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 81-86.

<sup>30</sup> Habermas, 2001, <http://www.newleftreview.org/A2343>.

Habermas believes that a community of citizens should not be confused with an ethnic and insists on the voluntary nature of civic citizenship, pointing out that collective identity is desirable that resulting from a democratic process. The European nation states, the emergence of modern democracy and the very formation of states have gone hand in hand and produced that "civic solidarity" we can observe today, "national consciousness" is the result of mass communication and mobilization of voters in the democratic processes and national army soldiers enrollment, finally, a process spread over hundreds of years<sup>31</sup>.

A particular interest presents the relationship between civil society and the issue of European construction (discussed in Chapter 1.2.2.). Civil society is composed of associations, organizations and social movements, which related to how societal problems are perceived in the private sphere, react and transmit to the public answers to these problems<sup>32</sup>. These associations form an organizational substrate of "public citizens", an audience of people looking for "acceptable interpretations of their social interests" and want to have a say in shaping the will. Network of civil society associations assert their autonomy based on a plurality of forms of life.

In most approaches to public deliberation is an assumption, namely that public opinion is formed based on accurate information and that citizens have access. This condition, however, largely depends on civil society<sup>33</sup>, the network of associations that institutionalizes speeches of the general framework of a public sphere.

Trenz<sup>34</sup> believes that civil society organizations that have multiple functions is achieved through discourse and interaction in the public sphere. Civil society organizations bring people in decision-making interests, contributes to the legitimacy of decision-making. Civil society provides societal infrastructure for public deliberation that Habermas considers essential to democracy. In the communicative approach, civil society organizations must respond to societal changes and always bring topics of deliberation in the public sphere<sup>35</sup>.

There are three periods in the development of European civil society: '50s-'60s, the emergence of movements in Europe, supporting European integration, especially on the side of economic integration, the late 60s and mid 80s, to expand and open a direct dialogue with European institutions, and namely the recent period. The expansion and deepening integration and communication approaches more developed established by European institutions are elements that provide the backdrop for growth and diversification of European civil society. The debate on the Constitution, and then the Irish referenda are arguments for a European civil society that is now a dialogue partner for EU institutions and has been shown to play an important role in influencing EU policy, although is more decentralized than civil society acting

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<sup>31</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. [1998] (2001). *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, pp. 102-103 *apud* Marga, Andrei. (2006). *Filosofia lui Habermas*. Iași: Editura Polirom., pp. 373-374.

<sup>32</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. [1992] (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, pp. 367-368.

<sup>33</sup> Hooghe, Marc și Stolle, Dietlind. (2003). *Generating Social Capital. Civil Society And Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 2-4.

<sup>34</sup> Trenz, Hans Jörg. (2009). European civil society: between participation, representation and discourse. *Policy and Society*, Vol. 28, Issue 1, pp. 35-46.

<sup>35</sup> Kohler-Koch, Beate. (2010). Civil society and EU democracy: 'astroturf' representation?. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Jan. 2010, Vol. 17, Issue 1, pp. 100-116.

in national spaces. European civil society manifests itself in matters of economic issues traditionally, by virtue of a historical legacy, but more recently manifested in the cultural and social. An important gain of recent years is considered to be structured dialogue with civil society<sup>36</sup>, the idea of restoring civil society participation and decentralized connected at the same time, giving concrete form to create links between citizens and the Union<sup>37</sup>.

For now, civil society is present, but relatively poorly involved in debates on European future<sup>38</sup>, with moments of emergence due to events, but European civil society is developing long-term steps, like the whole Union, as Europe is built as a body of citizens who are capable of joint action, with a set of goals that are derived from a common ethos, core values and ideals of rights and obligations translated. I discussed why the EU institutions encourage public dialogue with civil society organizations<sup>39</sup>: membership in an association is a way for citizens to participate in decision otherwise than by political parties, civil society associations can reach the disadvantaged, those who usually have no other ways to make their voices heard, organizations can provide expertise for the EU institutions, associations may carry out, evaluate and monitor projects financed by the EU, encouraging associations national activities to work and act at European level means the creation of those debates that shape European public sphere. It can be said that the dialogue between EU institutions and civil society was started, that EU recognized the need that the European construction feels closer to civil society to improve policies and governance model.

I have dedicated a chapter to the relationship between media, market and civil society, a relationship with elements of inclusion and complementarity<sup>40</sup>. Regarding the relationship between media and civil society established in Europe<sup>41</sup>, in an analysis that takes into account the size of the access and participation of civil society, but also the media coverage, to have public policies are necessary and inclusive civil society participation and a decision process supported by the media debate.

In another chapter, I approached the European economic model (Chapter 1.2.3.), coagulation of economic regions based on a common market, assuming a customs union and free movement of labor, capital, goods and services. Even if these objectives were only partially met this model, without having dimensions of European integration, is now followed worldwide, because, under the pressure of globalization, nation states, even the strongest, can not cope alone with problems.

The euro is a clear expression of political will to deepen the Union, to build a European identity, perhaps the most visible and constant expression in the public space of this will. Money

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<sup>36</sup> Platform for Intercultural Europe. (2008). *The Rainbow Paper. Intercultural Dialogue: From Practice to Policy and Back*. [http://ec.europa.eu/culture/key-documents/doc/forum/rainbowpaper\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/culture/key-documents/doc/forum/rainbowpaper_en.pdf).

<sup>37</sup> Eisele, Gudrun. (2005). *European Civil Society*. Münster: Nachwuchsgruppe „Europäische Zivilgesellschaft und Multilevel Governance”, p. 14.

<sup>38</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. (2006c). *Time of Transitions*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, p. 302.

<sup>39</sup> Smismans, Stijn. (2003). European Civil Society: Shaped by Discourses and Institutional Interests. *European Law Journal*, Sep. 2003, Vol. 9, Issue 4, pp. 473-495.

<sup>40</sup> Hadl, Gabriele. (2004). Civil Society Media Theory: Tools for Decolonizing the Lifeworld. *Ritsumeikan Social Sciences Review*, Volume 40, Issue 3, pp. 77-96.

<sup>41</sup> Statham, Paul. (2010b). What Kind of Europeanized Public Politics? În R. Koopmans și P. Statham (eds.). *The Making of a European Public Sphere. Media Discourse and Political Contention* (pp. 277-306). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2010, pp. 278-281.

is a means of communication, and from this perspective, the euro is mutual trust and contains within itself the promise of future confidence.

I addressed two specific issues which were brought to the forefront of economic and financial crisis. The crisis will only move the important questions and forces us to find answers, meaning and an opportunity for reflection, removing the facades and prejudices<sup>42</sup>. The first debate to which I referred is linked to the Keynesian model of state intervention in the economy, the beginnings of European construction are deeply rooted, and second, the expression of EU solidarity. The economic crisis has brought in the present the ideas of Keynes<sup>43</sup>, who said, back in 1936, the absolute market freedom is an illusion. Return these ideas to the fore signifies a call to reason, economic freedom and entrepreneurship remain a condition of economic progress, but unregulated market fundamentalism can be as destructive as that of the communist over-regulation<sup>44</sup>. Also in economic and financial crisis, was shaped the political to sustain the weakest members.

As a social model (chapter 1.2.4.), in Europe, the tradition of labor movements, social-democratic parties, the social doctrines of Christian democracy and social liberalism is a manifestation of social solidarity background. And post-war Europe is so linked to the social model (of course, there are specific approaches) that they are not just institutions, but a genuine "social contract"<sup>45</sup>. Since the Treaty of Rome, European integration has considered setting social policy objectives, "social progress" and "a high level of labor use," encouraging cooperation to improve living and working conditions, the obligation to ensure an equal pay between women and men, the right to work and enjoy social insurance in another country. A relief document is the Community Charter of Fundamental Rights of Workers (1989), which later inspired the entire legislation on this subject, focusing on the social dimension of the single market and showing how the work should be seen in society Europe. It can be equated with that dignity given to physical work by St. Benedict<sup>46</sup> („laborare est orare” - work is prayer), which changed the long-term perspective on how the work is seen in Western societies.

Union documents have repeatedly stressed the importance of social dimensions and have imposed a common law, but national authorities are those who preserve to establish each specific policies. What has developed in the EU cohesion policy, however, consistently funded, designed to reduce existing disparities within the EU.

An acute current problem is related to the possibility of states to ensure sufficient resources to continue supporting the social models in the context of globalization and monetary integration, even if good governance and administrative capacity. Demographic situation requires changes in public pension system, but Europeans remain attached to an extensive social

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<sup>42</sup> Arendt, 1961, pp. 174-175.

<sup>43</sup> Keynes, John Maynard. [1936] (1970). *Teoria generală a folosirii mâinii de lucru, a dobânzii și a banilor*. București: Editura Științifică, p. 14.

<sup>44</sup> Dăianu, Daniel. (2008). Keynes, nu Marx, revine, *Ziarul Financiar*, 27 octombrie 2008. <http://www.zf.ro/opinii/keynes-nu-marx-revine-3380546>.

<sup>45</sup> Martin, Andrew și Ross, George (eds.). (2004). *Euros and Europeans. Monetary Integration and the European Model of Society*. Cambridge și New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 325.

<sup>46</sup> Toynbee, Arnold. [1957] (1997). *Studiu asupra istoriei. Sinteză a volumelor VII-VIII de D.C. Somervell*. București: Editura Humanitas, p. 121.

protection of labor laws that protect employee and to negotiations between the social partners. Basic structures of welfare states exist and are functional<sup>47</sup>. It is a fundamental question whether the Union can be a political system able to provide redistributive social policies<sup>48</sup>. Collection models and patterns of redistribution of resources used remain significantly different, not only in composition but also in performance. Countries that have high standards are afraid to lose, other countries fear losing investments attracted by low wages and taxes. This problem can be overcome by making the integration effort for the harmonization of tax and social policy. Inability to maintain social solidarity brings the danger of disintegration upon Europe<sup>49</sup>.

As European integration has been achieved in the early decades of the process on the economic size, EU as a distinct shape on the international scene occurred more slowly (chapter 1.2.5.). In fact, the manifestation of the EU as global player on the international scene is limited. Especially in the last decade, however, can speak more clearly outline a profile of the EU as a global player in the international arena.

Based on Habermas arguments, articulating a common voice in the Union is not only a chance to influence world politics that small and medium-sized countries can not be otherwise, and an opportunity that Europe needs to use it to impose its approach to international security, energy and environmental issues, climate change threat approach (a specifically European), strengthening of human rights and global poverty reduction.

In most cases, the relevant European actors, and the Union as a whole, have tended to believe they can achieve the desired results in international relations based on admiration that others have for their values, because they aspire to prosperity, because European model provides a powerful attraction. The "soft power"<sup>50</sup> involves a great power of seduction.

The EU has shown the ability to generate stability using economic, cultural and political means rather than military force. The EU is developing numerous programs to implement this approach, but is still perceived as a marginal player in global security<sup>51</sup>. Globally, the EU "appears as a civil power"<sup>52</sup> built on rule of law and negotiations. EU has developed a network of external relationships that spans globally by a worldview based on human rights and democracy. The EU is today the largest provider of aid, financial assistance and development solutions worldwide, provides support for institutional capacity building and good governance and encourage economic regional integration.

Europe is a "normative power" to promote global governance standards, standards related to democracy and human rights. Normative dimension is essential to European identity today. It is required by multiple cooperation agreements aimed at long-term goals, influencing partners through civil means, not military, which can act only gradually. Coercive dimension is given by

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<sup>47</sup> Bonnet, Florence, Ehmke, Ellen și Hagemeyer, Krzysztof. (2010). Social security in times of crisis. *International Social Security Review*, April-June 2010, Vol. 63 Issue 2, pp. 47-70.

<sup>48</sup> Habermas, 1998/2001, pp. 95-98.

<sup>49</sup> Therborn, 2007, pp. 26-28.

<sup>50</sup> Nye, Joseph S. (2004). *The Benefits of Soft Power*. Harvard Business School, <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/4290.html>.

<sup>51</sup> Cantalapiedra, David Garcia și Gonzalez, Javier Garcia. (2010). *The changing nature of NATO: Towards a regional security organization?*, UNISCI Discussion Papers, nr. 22, January 2010, pp. 130-141.

<sup>52</sup> Zăpârțan, Liviu-Petru. (2009). *Geopolitica în actualitate*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Eikon, p. 255.

the absence of cooperation with Europe (the benefits that it offers on multiple levels), not the threat of force<sup>53</sup>. Normative power of ideas and principles are the basis of European influence in world politics. In this context, we discussed how the European Union is emerging as a global actor (chapter 1.2.5.2.). First, the relationship with its neighborhood, with candidates, referring to Turkey and the Balkan countries and other regions, in particular with Russia and that the Eastern and Southern areas included in "Neighborhood Policy", Mediterranean countries included in the Barcelona process, but also in other areas, with China, India and Japan, Latin America and the Caribbean, to Africa.

I also dedicated a chapter to the relationship with the United States of America (1.2.5.3.). Euro-Atlantic partnership is an essential component of the European idea coagulation after the Second World War and then eastward expansion since the end of the Cold War.

After outlining the process of building the timeliness of European architecture, we discussed briefly the perspective of European integration in the chances and risks, namely the tension between expansion and deepening (chapter 1.3.). We particularly emphasized that political will can provide consistent power to respond to pressing issues on the European model, both related and different views inside Union and those related to the global context.

As regards the Union's strategic planning and long term, Agenda 2020 proposes five objectives: employment, research and innovation, climate change and energy, education and fighting poverty in a specific European approach in that economic development is seen as possible only in close relation to investment in education, confidence in the consistency of the social model and commitment to conservation.

We also emphasized societal emergence of Europe as the reference model. Given that there is de facto a global chaotic governance system<sup>54</sup>, a network of institutions that try to solve various problems, without solving the problems necessary to ensure coherence, the EU is now a model for global governance<sup>55</sup> as the way decisions are made in the Union to relate network of representatives of national states and non-state actors, linking together national and international levels of governance.

## **2. Cultural and communication and media policies of the EU: configuration, content and dynamic**

Another major segment of the theoretical and methodological grounding (Chapter 2) refers to the layout, content and dynamics of European cultural policies, European policies related to mass media and the role the media plays in building a European public sphere.

Jack Mathieu Émile Lang released the myth that Jean Monnet, one of the "founding fathers", had said that if they take it from the start, would start with culture<sup>56</sup>. Predominant

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<sup>53</sup> Telò, Mario. (2009). *International relations: a European perspective*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 164-165.

<sup>54</sup> Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2006). *Making globalization work*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, p. 21.

<sup>55</sup> National Intelligence Council și European Union's Institute for Security Studies. (2010). *Global Governance 2025: at a Critical Juncture*. [http://www.acus.org/files/publication\\_pdfs/403/Global\\_Governance\\_2025.pdf](http://www.acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/403/Global_Governance_2025.pdf), p. 46.

<sup>56</sup> Sassatelli, Monica. (2006). The logic of Europeanizing Cultural Policy. În U.H. Meinhof și A. Triandafyllidou (eds.). *Transcultural Europe Cultural policy in a Changing Europe* (pp. 24-42). New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 26.

"neofunctionalist" approach of European construction through economic and political institutions may need to enshrine the importance of a cultural compensation coming through a voice of a "founding father"<sup>57</sup>.

In this paper I presented how the European cultural policies have been developed (chapter 2.1.), starting from the "Declaration on European identity", made after a summit in Copenhagen in December 1973, passing through major changes with the Maastricht Treaty, which gave the EU powers to take action in the cultural field<sup>58</sup>, the "European agenda for culture in a globalizing world" (2007), which recognizes the role of cultural operators and raise the issue of the structured dialogue with civil society<sup>59</sup>, and to the Lisbon Treaty, which affirms the role of civil society, including representatives of the cultural area in the European construction.

In fact, Europe has increased continuously in the cultural action, targeting several major strategic directions: to facilitate citizens' access to culture (in a vision that considers this as an important factor of social integration), promotion of culture (cultures) in the European world, but seeing this as a vehicle promoting the Union's external relations, encouraging diversity and intercultural dialogue and foster a sense of belonging to a European community, in other words, diversity is encouraged, but unless they obstruct the unity and integration<sup>60</sup>.

Cultural policies are a tool for a holistic approach to promoting the European societal model. Cultural objectives are subsumed itself concerning European integration<sup>61</sup> of the broader economic and industrial-economic objectives<sup>62</sup>. For the audiovisual sector, there is a strong objective to promote European culture as an essential element of international relations of the Union. This approach is consistent with social vision of the European model that emphasizes cohesion and solidarity, and the need to create a sense of European identity. We have thus a socio-economic approach of cultural activities. European cultural policies are the tools by which culture and art are participating in the European political project<sup>63</sup> (chapter 2.1.3.).

Decision 508/2000 of Parliament and the Council establishing the "Culture 2000", in its very first paragraph, is addressing culture as "an essential element of European integration" that "contribute to the affirmation and vitality of the European social model", for as in the second paragraph to resume the theme of culture as an economic factor and as a social factor.

In these frameworks were developed prominent cultural activities, noting the attempt to maintain a balance in the funding of cultural operators in various sectoral areas, I reviewed the

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<sup>57</sup> Shore, Cris. (2001). The cultural policies of the European Union and cultural diversity. În T. Bennett (ed.). *Differing Diversities – Transversal Study on the Theme of Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity, Followed by Seven Research Position Papers* (pp. 107-123). Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, p. 108.

<sup>58</sup> Gordon, Christopher. (2010). Great expectations - the European Union and cultural policy: fact or fiction?. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, May 2010, Vol. 16 Issue 2, pp. 101-120.

<sup>59</sup> Psychogiopoulou, Evangelia. (2008). *The Integration of Cultural Considerations in EU Law and Policies*. Leiden și Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, p. 325.

<sup>60</sup> Shore, Cris. (2006). "In uno plures" (?). *EU Cultural Policy and the Governance of Europe*. Cultural Analysis, nr. 5/2006, pp. 7-26, *pass*.

<sup>61</sup> Dubois, Vincent. (2009). *Există o politică culturală europeană?*, conferință susținută la Institutul Francez din București. [http://www.observatorcultural.ro/Exista-o-politica-culturala-europeana\\*articleID\\_21203-articles\\_details.html](http://www.observatorcultural.ro/Exista-o-politica-culturala-europeana*articleID_21203-articles_details.html).

<sup>62</sup> Throsby, David. (2009). Explicit and implicit cultural policy: some economic aspects. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, May 2009, Vol. 15 Issue 2, pp. 179-185.

<sup>63</sup> Djjan, Jean-Michel. (2005). *Politici culturale: apusul unui mit*. Timișoara: Fundația Interart Triade, p. 75.

major programs funded by the Union. I ensured a special attention to European Cultural Capital program, for that is the most prominent European cultural action for the purposes of visibility through the media, and especially because in the nearly three decades of existence, it has developed, showing "logic, achievements and limits of Europeanization through cultural policies"<sup>64</sup>. European Capital of Culture program can be considered representative of the Union's cultural policy development and because it started as an initiative of the Council of Ministers, an intergovernmental body, to become the 2005 European Commission action. Significant documents are addressing the Cultural Capitals of culture as a factor of sustainable development as an important factor of social integration, social cohesion and at the same time, as an important economic factor. The cities that compete, the symbols and local events are redefined as "European"<sup>65</sup>, in the context in which this affirmation of European identity means moving from periphery to center, even a vaguely defined, and redefining the space does not conflict with the definition derived from the nation state, but is complementary.

I also addressed a substantive issue facing European cultural policies. The cultural policies of the national state implies a homogenization (at least one partial) and the Union and its institutions can not follow this model. The appeal to diversity as enrichment hide in it a problem that sometimes materializes in public, especially when we refer to culture using an anthropological sense linked to traditions and customs, values and reporting to various social values, identity in the end. Mass media can play an important role here because it can provide a platform for dialogue<sup>66</sup>. It provides transfer of the opinions and needs of different social groups and / or ethnic politicians to communicate decisions. Even if the integration of ethnic minorities with the media support have not yet found satisfactory solutions, using mass media can reach a multiethnic public sphere in which tensions and conflicts to be object of debate.

I have dedicated a specific chapter of EU policies in the mass media (chapter 2.2.) showing that EU's policies on media as "manifestations of cultural praxis that integrates questions about identity"<sup>67</sup>. Mass media and culture are the land that bears the battle for identity, whether European or otherwise<sup>68</sup>. Mass media are essential to acquire legitimacy in general, further European political integration in particular.

The media occupies a cultural industry with a specific problem with a particular importance. Protection of European audiovisual works ("cultural exception") sees them as belonging to culture, requiring a different approach from the strictly economic, which tends to reduce everything to trade and technology<sup>69</sup>. Media products can not be seen outside economic

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<sup>64</sup> Sassatelli, 2006, p. 25.

<sup>65</sup> Sassatelli, 2009, pp. 80-81.

<sup>66</sup> Kretzschmar, Sonja. (2007). Diverse Journalists in a Diverse Europe? Impulses for a Discussion on Media and Integration. In K. Sarikakis (ed.). *Media and cultural policy in the European Union* (pp. 203-226). Amsterdam, New York: Editions Rodopi B.V., p. 217.

<sup>67</sup> Sarikakis, Katharine (2007b). The Place of Media and Cultural Policy in the EU. In K. Sarikakis (ed.). *Media and cultural policy in the European Union* (pp. 13-22). Amsterdam, New York: Editions Rodopi B.V., p. 20.

<sup>68</sup> Sarikakis, Katharine. (2007c). Mediating Social Cohesion: Media and Cultural Policy in the European Union and Canada. In K. Sarikakis (ed.). *Media and cultural policy in the European Union* (pp. 65-90). Amsterdam, New York: Editions Rodopi B.V., p. 74.

<sup>69</sup> Sarikakis, 2007c, p. 76.



competition, as can not be neglected their symbolic role. In their case, their multiple functions can not dissociate, as wave and particle is simultaneously light. Defending European audiovisual productions, cultural diversity is protected, that is how the cultures of groups and societies find their specific expressions.

I discussed several items linked to media policies. First, the legal framework, mainly Audiovisual Media Services Directive of 2007, which replaced the "Television without Frontiers", a document asking the audiovisual liberalization and tryind to protect public interest objectives (protection of minors, the general public right to information and access to major political events, cultural or national or international sporting, cultural diversity<sup>70</sup>, etc.). Second, funding of programs that support the European audiovisual industry. Third, action to support European interests at regional and global levels<sup>71</sup>. The field is extremely sensitive, subject to many pressures and must maintain a balance between different views on the role of the media.

I addressed the issue of pressure on the audiovisual sector for a full liberalization (both coming from the media interests of trusts, but also from digital convergence)<sup>72</sup>. From historical point of view, we are in a paradox situation, because in the emergence of the press the market allowed them freedom of expression. But the free market can play this role as long as "economic principles do not harm the cultural and political content"<sup>73</sup>. Habermas shows that ensuring a commercial basis should not be equated with trade media. If we give exclusive control to market forces, the media will not allow critical understanding<sup>74</sup>. That is why there are public TV and radio, which were organized as public companies to protect "their journalistic force" against "their private capitalist power"<sup>75</sup>.

In this context, Habermas refers to the German public television<sup>76</sup>, a model in which the legislative and institutional structure of the television networks carried a balance between the influences of political parties, of various groups and organizations and private companies so that usually politic communication is balanced. Moreover, the public sector is a specifically European audiovisual. The public broadcaster serving for social, cultural and political (in the sense of democracy<sup>77</sup>, not in favor of certain political parties, but in the sense that it is serving the city and citizens), beyond trade objectives is specifically a European one<sup>78</sup>. Only in Europe public television is widespread and that the overall model in a setting ideal source of information uncorrupted by economic and political pressures.

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<sup>70</sup> Europe aims to promote the UNESCO Convention for cultural diversity.

<sup>71</sup> Almost all international agreements of the Union include a dimension of cooperation in the audiovisual field.

<sup>72</sup> Humphreys, Peter. (2007). *The EU, Communications Liberalisation and the Future of Public Service Broadcasting*. În K. Sarikakis (ed.). *Media and cultural policy in the European Union* (pp. 91-112). Amsterdam, New York: Editions Rodopi B.V., p. 98.

<sup>73</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. (2007a). Keine Demokratie kann sich das leisten. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 16.05.2007, <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/21/404799/text/5>.

<sup>74</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. [1962] (2005). *Sfera publică și transformarea ei structurală*. București: Editura Comunicare.ro, p. 270.

<sup>75</sup> Habermas, 1962/2005, p. 238.

<sup>76</sup> Habermas, 1992/1996, p. 376.

<sup>77</sup> Jenssen, Anders Todal. (2009). Does Public Broadcasting Make a Difference? Political Knowledge and Electoral Campaigns on Television. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Sept. 2009, Vol. 32 Issue 3, pp. 247-271.

<sup>78</sup> Harrison, Jackie și Woods, Lorna. (2007). *European Broadcasting Law and Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 315-328.

A chapter of the thesis (chapter 2.3.) is dedicated to the role of media in development of a European public sphere, starting from the conceptual-theoretical approaches in the field reference. Habermas believes that the recovery of political legitimacy deficit suffered by European construction needs "a pan-European public sphere," which it defines as "a network that enables all citizens of Member States" to participate in political communication, because today democratic legitimacy demands and inclusive process of mass communication<sup>79</sup>. Normative aspect of European public sphere implies the existence of two conditions: transparency at all levels of governance and access to all social groups<sup>80</sup>.

A model of development of a European public sphere requires gradual construction of a European public that is composed of citizens who have approximately the same level of communication skills involving the ability to understand issues related to EU debates and consistent access to media, while talking different languages and live in different countries. If these are European citizens, would have required the systematic dissemination of a European news agenda to become a significant part of their media consumption and also to perceive that these citizens as members of a community that is beyond the nation state (not to exclude or replace)<sup>81</sup>. But the European public sphere can not imagine just as a projection of existing national patterns merging into a European level, but rather as an opening and a mutual interpenetration of national communication staff, because Habermas says in several occasions, communicational infrastructure required is primarily in the national states. Habermas does not consider this a viable idea of centralized political communication at European level, preferring instead a transnational vision, and suggests that European issues, institutions agenda, discussions on various aspects of European construction, to be included in each national communication space and audiences of national spaces should be interrelated<sup>82</sup>.

A study of the Europeanization of public spheres implies a distinction between "vertical" and "horizontal" Europeanization<sup>83</sup>. "Vertical" Europeanization refers to national actors addressing through the media to European actors or to European actors intervening in national debates on European Union issues and "horizontal" Europeanization refers to national media coverage that offers problems from other member states or to national actors addressing issues and actors in other member states. Of course, the condition is that the actors involved to recognize each other's legitimacy to participate in the debate.

For Habermas's approach can be argued that there are two main barriers that hinder the construction of a European public sphere to follow a national model to another level: the lack of a common language and poor development of what might be called the European media. Then, in terms of political communication, geographical proximity is of great importance, and remote

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<sup>79</sup> Habermas, 2001, <http://www.newleftreview.org/A2343>.

<sup>80</sup> Medrano, 2009, p. 91.

<sup>81</sup> Golding, Peter. (2008). European Journalism and the European Public Sphere. În I. Bondebjerg și P. Madsen (eds.). *Media, Democracy and European Culture* (pp. 121-134). Bristol și Chicago: Intellect Books, pp. 127-129.

<sup>82</sup> In a sense, there is a European public sphere since Enlightenment.

<sup>83</sup> Vreese, Claes de, Boomgaarden, Hajo, Banducci, Susan și Semetko, Holli. (2009). Light at the End of the Tunnel: Towards a European Public Sphere? În J. Thomassen (ed.). *The Legitimacy of the European Union after Enlargement* (pp. 44-64). Oxford și New York: Oxford University Press, p. 48.

and complex debates are not appreciated even by readers or journalists who act as gatekeepers ("guardians of the communication barrier") and control the broadcast content, and how journalists perceive the European construction, it shows interest related to certain events, opinions, attitudes and representations of journalists from their jobs<sup>84</sup> are important milestones for how they transmit the European experience.

In this context, I traced the legislative regulations and programmatic documents establishing the EU<sup>85</sup> public communication, based on the idea that, in substance, the results below expectations of European public communication starts that he succeeded the European integration<sup>86</sup>. Although often the role of communication and mass media is neglected<sup>87</sup>, since the Danish rejection of the Maastricht Treaty (1992), researchers had discussed the issue of communication<sup>88</sup>, the crisis of legitimacy has been directly linked to lack of access to political information, to the malfunction construction of supranational political communication<sup>89</sup>.

I noticed that in recent years has been a change of approach, highlighting the importance of communication-media element in the European construction. Thus was brought to the fore the issue of "European public sphere" (and the need to build it), has revealed the importance of attracting citizens in debates about the future of Europe and participation in decision making<sup>90</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> Metykova, Monika și Preston, Paschal. (2009). An Elusive European Public Sphere: The Role of Shared Journalistic Cultures. În A. Charles (ed.). *Media in the Enlarged Europe. Politics, Policy and Industry* (pp. 61-68). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 66-67.

<sup>85</sup> „Planul D pentru Democrație, Dialog și Dezbatere” (2005), „Carta albă a politicilor europene de comunicare” (2006), „Comunicând Europa în parteneriat” (2007), Raportul de evaluare a „Planului D” (2009).

<sup>86</sup> Pușcaș, Vasile. (2009). Comunicarea europeană. În D. Luca (ed.). *Dilemele comunicării Uniunii Europene* (pp. 6-8). Cluj-Napoca: Qual Media, p. 6.

<sup>87</sup> Bondebjerg, Ib și Madsen, Peter (eds.). (2008). *Media, Democracy and European Culture*. Bristol și Chicago: Intellect Books, p. 19.

<sup>88</sup> De Clercq, Willy. (1993). *Réflexion Sur La Politique d'Information et de Communication de la Communauté Européenne, Annexes*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications.

<sup>89</sup> Kaitatzi-Whitlock, Sophia. (2008). The Political Economy of the Media at the Root of the EU's Democracy Deficit. În I. Bondebjerg și P. Madsen (eds.). *Media, Democracy and European Culture* (pp. 25-48). Bristol și Chicago: Intellect Books, pp. 25-26.

<sup>90</sup> Communication must ensure that citizens support the European project.

## **II. The issue of media promotion of the European social model illustrated by a comprehensive applied research**

To illustrate the conceptual-theoretical research I conducted an empirical research focused on three levels, opting to choose in this analysis four processes comprehensive and representative coverage of European construction, namely:

- The national state in the European Union, the functioning UBB Radio with its obligations to promote European integration, a local illustration of the process of building a European public sphere as it is explained by the habermasian model.

- Internally in the European Union, the event of the second referendum for the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland, a catalyst event for the construction of a public debate with a clear involvement of civil society in the national-supranational relationship in European integration, in the representation of five major TV news stations, namely BBC World News, France 24, Deutsche Welle TV Europe, Euronews and CNN International Europe.

- Internally in the European Union, promoting EU, European values, by a Franco-German TV station with a media profile and a special role, namely channel Arte.

- The EU's external relations plan, Europe as a global actor in the representation of the most important news TV channels worldwide (CNN, Al Jazeera, CCTV News, Russia Today and Euronews).

The design methodology of the applied research is presented in the first chapter of this section. Research methods used were the thematic analysis and the content analysis. For thematic analysis of selected news content, I used three thematic grid: grid thematic mapping content in the first instance, conceptual-theoretical theme grid in the second instance (built for this segment of research in order to capture the defining elements specific to each case), and that composite thematic grid obtained by corroborating the first two, which is ultimately used to interpret the results. I used the technique of counting iterations to determine the quantitative situation of broadcast news programs. The content analysis was used for Arte channel for identifying written, spoken or visual symbols of Europe. Were considered symbols of the European Union: flag, anthem and euro.

2.1. UBB Radio - an illustration of the process of building a European public sphere as it is explained by the model habermasian

Research conducted shows the functioning of UBB Radio is an illustration of building a European public sphere as it is explained by the model habermasian. UBB Radio is a way of europenization of communication frames and a way for prospective journalists to be aware of European issues. The idea of cultivating among opinion makers a sense of belonging to Europe is implemented consistently by supporting student radio networks at European level and constitutes a prerequisite for a change, on medium and long term, of the journalists attitude. This

course of action is desirable to be sustained and extended to other subfields in preparing future professionals in communication sciences. It is also a course of action in promoting institutional EU media that appears to be of proven utility.

What is noteworthy is that between UBB Radio news broadcast can be found all five conceptual thematic units used in the analysis, focusing on the role of the common economic space, as economic support for members; on educational and cultural dimension of European construction (space of knowledge and higher education); on construction and development of institutional and regulatory EU, and relatively less on Europe's role as an actor in international relations and social cohesion as a factor. UBB Radio plays an important role in informing students of Romanian about European standards agenda and substance in education, about concrete actions related to the institutions and mechanisms of functioning of the UE.

References to the European Commission are more numerous than all other European institutions together. This shows both how the institution equivalent to a coalition cabinet managing daily activities and implement EU policies, he can be heard, but also the political force that its members, many former ministers, bring in construction and assembly operation in other fields than the purely formal elements referred to in official documents. Noting that media coverage of the Commission we can understand why the Heads of State and Government decided in December 2008 that will act for the purposes of maintaining a state system - a commissioner for the Commission structure after 2014, removing the fear of small states that will be left out.

UBB Radio proposes content about local events and / or local actors who want to become "European" or to engage in "European" actions. "European"<sup>91</sup> representation is that participating communities have of themselves. "European" does not compete with "national" but is a process of reconceptualization of space (and time) as "European", the media play a key role here.

What is particularly relevant in this sequence of research, is that it validates the hypothesis of building a European public sphere by the Europeanisation of national public spheres, based on communicational infrastructure existing at this level (national).

2.2. Irish Referendum on Lisbon Treaty: a catalyst event to build a public debate with a clear involvement of civil society in the national-supranational relationship in the European construction

Internally the European Union, the event of the second referendum for the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland has highlighted the importance of adopting the new treaty to further European integration.

Research has shown that the referendum was a catalyst event for the emergence of a public debate involving civil society in the European construction. In the debate on the future of European Union, have been heard both politicians and the voices coming from civil society, polarized in two directions: one restoring the national-supranational relationship forefront in

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<sup>91</sup> Sassatelli, 2009, pp. 80-81.

conflicting terms, in terms of European threat to the identity (Irish mainly, but also Czech), which may be expressed in social, fiscal or security issue, and the other focusing on the relationship of complementarity, the common European identity, European solidarity with reference to financial and economic crisis.

Although the Irish campaign and that the images broadcast by the media were strongly represented instruments and actions of civil society in terms of characters brought to the fore by the media, there is under-representation of actors coming from civil society for politicians.

Regarding changes to the new treaty for the EU as a process of building and institutional development, rather we have a review but a consistent approach. European television prefers to direct attention to the potential elements of conflict on the latest two countries still had to ratify the treaty, the Czech Republic and Poland, or the position of British Conservatives. Note that a single television channel, CNN International Europe, the least concerned about the referendum, that brings into question the treaty guaranteeing human rights. We often forget to say important things, perhaps considering them as something self-evident. Unfortunately, human and civil rights as they manifest themselves at European level, with all limits and nuances that can be discussed, are an exception, not rule globally. CNN reminds us explicitly what are the values that Europe has validated in history and that they promote.

If all European stations perceive this crisis as a matter of utmost importance in the context of the referendum, France 24 and Euronews are talking about an "institutional crisis" and "internal political crisis", perceiving Europe as an entity in the making.

Some TV stations have raised issues regarding media coverage of the European Agenda. Thus, DW TV Europe and Euronews reveal the communication deficit linked to European integration. This lack of communication creates a difference between the European agenda and the media, which can be seen in the low attention given to the size of Europe as a global actor, referred explicitly to the new Treaty and superficial presentation about the process of institution building. The existence of this difference is not in favor of the Union as supranational legitimacy building is directly related to access to political information, to political communication<sup>92</sup>. Overall, the media highlighting risk prevailed in relation to highlighting the value and promise of European construction background.

### 2.3. Franco-German TV channel Arte - an example for highlighting and promoting European culture and values

Also internally the European Union, promoting EU, European values and European culture through a Franco-German TV station with a special profile, Arte, highlights the European agenda in light of its socio-cultural dimension. Europe seen by Arte is an area of cultural diversity, ideas and disputes of critical attitude, a bastion of human rights and freedom of expression. There is no other television program broadcast to transpose in representations of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue in the same manner systematic and full of content as does Arte. With a

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<sup>92</sup> Kaitatzi-Whitlock, 2008, pp. 25-26.

special profile and ways of expression, the channel can be considered as an excellent vehicle for the dissemination of the European Union agenda.

On a broader framework, we can see that Arte shows interest in immediate European neighborhood, in demonstrations taking place in Europe to support the "Arab Spring", in illegal immigration problem, elements that shape an even down overlap between Arte and European agenda. Arte is "a plausible model" (Habermas) for a European public sphere.

Arte, a collaboration between public broadcasters in France and Germany, is an additional argument for protection of public television in Europe. Europe needs more public broadcasting services because the field of journalism, which has so much influence on the political field, is subject to business logic rule<sup>93</sup>. Research conducted shows that must protect and promote public television, serving for social, cultural and democratic, beyond commercial objectives (without neglecting them).

Research conducted shows that Arte is relevant not only for the Franco-German area, but throughout the EU. EU could consider financial support and regulatory measures at European level for extension of Arte channel by versions for different areas, consider communication facilities in regional groups, following the Franco-German model, both to provide more funding sources and to build solidarity, supporting open communication and mutual interdependence. On this plan, Arte is joining UBB Radio in addressing national public spheres assuming Europeanization, even if acting on a different scale.

Also, mainly Arte, but also UBB Radio, provides space for the voices of civil society, supporting inclusive, democratic forms of communication. In particular, the Arte is an example of media tool that not only broadcasts news containing "civic" messages, but do more, offer systematic ways of communication to people who are normally excluded from media production process. Arte shows that there is a Europeanization of public spheres of two sizes, both "horizontal" and "vertical"<sup>94</sup>.

#### 2.4. Europe/EU as a global actor in the representation of the most important news TV channels worldwide

In the field of external relations, the way the EU is emerging as a global economic player, as a geopolitical, military and international security actor in the context of events known as the "Arab Spring", presents specific features according to each program. Media representations is a tool to impose certain values.

The American station CNN International Europe presents a Europe represented mainly by member states, important only as a economic entity, with a delayed reaction in terms of events in Egypt, where there appears to be playing any significant role, but with many voices that make it a landmark for democracy, freedom of expression and human rights. All political actors are identified as national, British, French, German, Spanish.

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<sup>93</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre. [1996] (2007). *Despre televiziune*. București: Grupul editorial Art, p. 134.

<sup>94</sup> Vreese *et al*, 2009, p. 48.

At Al Jazeera, the image of Europe is a nuanced, not without critical overtones, but here Europe is an entity that is manifested separately by the member states, with a relative balance between the positions of states (represented by governments or political figures of relief) and positions of the European Union as a whole. Al Jazeera EU representation is an entity that plays a role as global actor, which plays a role in Egypt, even if he has shaped more difficult the "language suited for this crisis." Note the importance of position shown by Catherine Ashton, High Representative for Foreign Affairs, whose statements show the Union as an active player, willing to engage immediately in the construction of new democracies in North Africa.

Russian channel Russia Today is very critical of Europe, presenting it as controversial as the social model, culturally or politically, both at the individual member states particularly as wide, with the notable exception of the Union seen as economic entity, which it is a desirable item. EU sanctions imposed on Belarus are presented as being abusive, and in the "Arab spring", Europe is portrayed as following the United States.

CCTV News China is a post where European issues presented is balanced, carefully showing both the member states, as well as the whole EU. Even if not many references, CCTV Europe News shows Europe as a global economic player and as a landmark, a model of culture and civilization.

Overall, mass media from other areas than Europe perceive Europe, both as a whole (EU), as the member states, as a global economic power, as a model of culture and civilization (even if they put this in the discussion), but as a key player in security.

Euronews is a very particular approach that not only presents an internationally active in Europe, but also subject to debate this presence, making it a controversy relevant to Union members. Euronews is the largest news on the issues examined and the more complex approach, presenting multiple points of view, bringing diverse voices on stage, both major political actors and civil society anonymous representatives, having, in addition, a strong symbolic scenography.

The representation of Euronews, Europe as a whole is a model of culture and civilization, a place of cultural diversity and an area of freedom of expression, a defender of human rights, as well as a leading economic actor. But the lowest Euronews presence is that of Europe as a geopolitical, military and international security actor, so that you can not put blame of Europe's profile only on the particular interests which certain media are promoting.

Without very special interest shown by Al Jazeera in the first place, and secondly CNN, Euronews has paid attention to events in Egypt, with special editions devoted to Egyptian news throughout the day, even changing its program for a few hours. Euronews also invited European experts in the studio area of the Arab issues specials. The views expressed by governments and European leaders about the segment of the Egyptian "Arab Spring" are consistent treated by news complex, with numerous references of interest, showing a balance between national approaches of member states and those attributable to Group (European Union). An example of "media works" action plan accurately reproduce the political leaders, as events take place.



Euronews channel (funded by the European Commission) validates the direct involvement in the media, but journalism as it was defined in Europe, remains based on the credibility and values that can not abdicate given that when messages are transmitted in the format of "news", the receptors assume and believe that it is relevant, that it is true of correspondence between media discourse and situation<sup>95</sup>. Therefore there is a responsibility of consistent communication from the European institutions in Brussels, as there is a responsibility of the States (each one) about what is communicated at the national level, at least through public television. The message can be transmitted not only from the center (the European model is a network), the core institutions, but also at national, regional and local levels.

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<sup>95</sup> Luhmann, Niklas. [1996] (2000). *The Reality of the Mass Media*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 25-27.

### **III. Promotion in the Media of the European Societal Model.**

#### **Overview of the synthetic conclusions and applicative recommendations**

In its substance, this Ph.D. thesis outlines an argument based on both theoretical and bibliographic research and on applied research on the role of the media dimension of European construction. Deficit issues and inconsistent communication are themes that have been restored to the attention of scientific research, politicians and ordinary citizens. Following the debates in the first decade of the new century, we can say that EU institutions have adopted a series of decisions that enable a major change of approach, highlighting the importance of media communication element in the European construction, bringing to the fore the importance given to the receiver in the communication process, but, implicitly, the quality and appropriateness of policies, institutions and European media productions.

Thus brought to the fore issues related to the construction of a "European public sphere", seen as possible by encouraging active citizenship, which involves engaging in debates. Communication is seen as ensuring public support for the European project and the lack of interest of mass media for the European project is seen as an obstacle to the process itself. It is thus the context of European rediscovered the need for images as accessible maps<sup>96</sup>. It then rediscovered consubstantiality between politics and communication. Building a "public sphere" in Europe is seen as an effort involving government actors, European institutions, political parties, institutions of higher education, civil society and media, in a further reflection on this construction, while maintaining a "moral compass".

In this context, although the issue was debated by philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, experts in communication sciences, we were able to see a relative lack of scientific research related to applied researches, that could substantiate the construction of public policies.

Even if the new strategic approach initiated in the EU institutions since 2005 has generated a series of programs and led to the creation of new tools and communication networks, focusing on factual plan of public communication at EU level, the applicability of these strategies and programs seems to be limited because it only partially succeeded in influencing the decisions of action.

Public Communication, both directly to the citizens and from the institutions to the media, yet failed to overcome the difficulties arising from the particularities of the European model of coagulation, as the institutional structure is extremely complex. It requires attention that there is a lack of consistency in the communication network at EU level and also there is some communication centralism which has consequences in terms of messages.

European construction is visible in the media, but not in a coherent manner. It is visible in the supranational powers area and remain contradictory where national levels have preeminence, and this contradictory messages undermines efforts of communicational coherence<sup>97</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> Flusser, Vilém. [1983] (2005). *Towards a philosophy of photography*. Londra: Reaktion Books, p. 10.

<sup>97</sup> Habermas, 2006c, pp. 285-286.

At the same time, the Union - through its institutions - has a weak capacity to deliver media products. Although usually supplied information content can be considered relevant, shows a small way to achieve understanding of the journalistic culture. Editing and filming techniques are used to target products to the requirements of the media, but by expectations of a functioning bureaucracy as complicated and confusing procedures, and remote from ordinary people and journalists. Hence the "wooden language of Brussels" that journalists have complained often and one of the reasons why they consider that in terms of communicational capacity, European institutions are less effective than national ones. In addition, there is limited understanding of the ethical standards of journalism<sup>98</sup>. Trying to compensate for these shortcomings with a mass pro-European consistent positive messages proved a failure because it has not aroused media interest, nor to stimulate debate among citizens.

In this context, we can formulate a series of recommendations for a coherent promotion in the Media of the European Societal Model.

In the regulatory-legislative measures, I believe that it takes an effort through analysis and synthesis to increase the applicability of public communication strategy and programs on a few main directions.

Specifically European public broadcasting system is desirable as a strengthening of its relationship with the recognition of fundamental needs, democratic, social and cultural needs of each national communication space and the entire assembly. Its approach as a pillar of the coverage of European issues may be a prerequisite for a cohesive articulation of communication.

In addition, European regulations should promote not only European audiovisual productions, television programs, but also European institutions specialized in actuality, and require their inclusion in the mandatory programs redistribution.

I appreciate that EU needs to strengthen existing instruments for promoting the European construction. The models should be Euronews, Arte, Euranet, the creation of publications, radio and television networks for students, both in classical and online, an effort to link experts, including journalists, the European project.

It is also desirable to support media tools coming from civil society which provides communication possibilities of people who are not normally included in the media production process, supporting democratic forms of communication, inclusive, essential for social movements, to support civil rights and bringing public attention to disadvantaged groups. Media tools to ensure participation of civil society voices coming from the dialogue on European issues, to encourage interaction, because otherwise we are dealing rather with European policies made by the elite.

To improve communication services provided requires an effort to understand the needs of media institutions and to facilitate the growth of their contribution. In this sense, the model database "Mavi" made for television and could extend to all European institutions and the media

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<sup>98</sup> Statham, Paul. (2010a). Making Europe News Journalism and Media Performance. În R. Koopmans și P. Statham (eds.). *The Making of a European Public Sphere. Media Discourse and Political Contention* (pp. 125-150). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 135-137.

could be a platform for the systematic dissemination of journalistic materials (text, audio and video) based on specific needs. This database can represent a starting point for the proposal and supporting partnerships. Remember here that in the context of European unification, Habermas revalorizes media role, focusing on the positive role media can play in democratic debate on the possibilities for dissemination of critical messages, on the possibilities of attracting public attention to European issues.

Finally, improved communication services provided involves an effort came from European politicians, both nationally elected and those from the Union. Of their charisma and their political will depends on bringing European issues in the public space without transforming the EU into a "media democracy"<sup>99</sup> in which politicians are more concerned with talking on TV about the decisions to be taken.

Substantive issues of communication dimension of European construction is to present the Union as a politico-economic system that meets the immediate needs of citizens, focusing on long term, the idea of imposing the European model, both internationally and in the eyes of own citizens. A long-term image building is imposing European symbols, European values. For European policy action, the rate of flow of information encourages focus on short-term problems, while not losing sight of the other perspective, medium and long term, public communication requires an additional effort remains to be done. To be a power that shapes the world and itself requires the Union to communicate coherently and systematically.

Europeanization through mass communication in the first plan involves a process carried out on "horizontal" transfer of national public spheres speeches where there is debate to other national public spheres and the mutual recognition of the legitimacy of the actors involved. In a second plan involves a dimension of "vertical" distribution of the common views on European issues in the member states.

In this context, it is important to build a civic culture, the transparency of the institutions, access to debates<sup>100</sup>, an approach supported by public information should be made systematically and in an accessible language.

This complex research related to the thesis of how the European societal model is found in media production, namely the degree to which it is publicized and accuracy of his coverage, applied in a manner surprising complexity and difficulty of communication segment of the European construction, the importance of the media European construction and profile successes and failures in the media highlighting the process.

Background and summary manner, the major recommendation can be made under this research is about the need for further articulation in the direction of European policies to promote effectiveness of media and not just theoretical conceptual level, but especially building at institutional and powerful promotional tools. For this, however, requires not only bureaucratic approaches such as those who had mostly up lately, but a change of approach towards an

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<sup>99</sup> Trenz, Hans Jörg. (2008). *Media: the Unknown Player in European Integration*. În I. Bondebjerg și P. Madsen (eds.). *Media, Democracy and European Culture* (pp. 49-64). Bristol și Chicago: Intellect Books, p. 58.

<sup>100</sup> Rothacher, Albrecht. (2005). *Uniting Europe: journey between gloom and glory*. Londra: Imperial College Press, p. 231.

appropriate professional skills to the promotion of European media, and supported by sufficient research and careful evaluation to then be embodied in better articulated sectoral policies in an organization of this work based on performance criteria and communication continue to adapt to market requirements.

Finally, at the meta-analysis, conceptual analysis beyond the theoretical and applied research that can block a question: what is Europe, which is the EU, European integration is, in substance, with a view to understanding the strategic and comprehensive holistic? Europe is, of course, the most empirically represent a geographical reality. It is, at the same time, a long history starting thousands of years ago, is a civilization, a pattern axiological, a socio-cultural model. It is an achievement, but also a dynamic. A dynamic is especially if we refer to the contemporary process of European construction, which means not only an outline and a consolidation of what has been done and what it is, but also a redefinition, re-architecture opportunities and pressures in relation to this, with the will of (uneven) of the actors involved, but also differences in representation of future opportunities realized.

The whole world is today largely depending on the civilizing model set by the European history. Europe still has its value model representing this perspective, on the other continents, other civilizations were still respect due representation of European civilization, and European culture. In view of the overall dynamics of the contemporary world, in view of the international relations and the results of collision of interests on the international scene, Europe is still significant but less than the pride and historical self-consciousness. What does the European Union do, for European integration, in relation to this situation? By how can Europe now show the pride and the importance of the historical civilization? Of course, first by the success of European integration as such, the building of a unified and coherent area of European civilization and values, both in terms of extending and deepening the Union plan. And in this context, understanding that what is called European construction is communicational design and media in a significant part of it, not just economic, social, political and legislative and regulatory, through a more coherent and deeper articulation of policies, programs, communication and media institutions and practices. This is the area and the stakes of this doctoral thesis and this is the conceptual area framing the specific promoted argumentation.

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