

41

QUADERNS DEL CAC

Radio, thus far



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The issues opens with the invited article, followed by the monographic section that analyzes a subject from different approaches. The section "Articles" consists of original and unpublished articles accepted after their submission to a double-blind peer review process, after an initial assessment of quality by the Editorial board. The journal undertakes to respond the authors of the positive or negative result of the process in less than a month and a half after the submission of the article.

The manuscript submission guidelines for articles and book reviews are at the final pages of every issue.

The opinions expressed in the articles published in *Quaderns del CAC* are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflected the journal position.

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**Generalitat
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Contents

Introduction	3	Agenda	79
Guest author:	5	Books Review	79
PETER LEWIS		Journal Review	81
Discursive absence: the case for community radio	5	Website Review	83
Monographic: Radio, thus far	11	Manuscript submission guidelines	85
		Book reviews guidelines	87
JOSEP MARIA MARTÍ, BELÉN MONCLÚS, MARIA GUTIÉRREZ AND XAVIER RIBES		List of reviewers of <i>Quaderns del CAC</i> . 2010-2015	89
Radio, a business model in transition: supply and sales strategies in the digital context	11		
TIZIANO BONINI			
The 'Second Age' of Podcasting: reframing Podcasting as a New Digital Mass Medium	21		
TERESA PIÑEIRO-OTERO			
The mediamorphosis of local radio. A perspective from the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region setting	31		
MANUEL FERNÁNDEZ SANDE AND J. IGNACIO GALLEGÓ			
Crowdfunding as a source of financing for radio and audio content in Spain	43		
SÍLVIA ESPINOSA AND LIDIA BORRERO			
Children's radio programmes in Catalonia: a chronological examination of the type of radio programmes for children	53		
Articles	65		
AIDA MARTORI			
News decentralisation in the Scottish television model	65		
Critical Book Reviews	75		
JOAN MANUEL TRESSERRAS			
GIFREU, J. <i>El català a l'espai de comunicació. El procés de nor- malització de la llengua als mitjans (1976-2013)</i>	75		
JOSÉ LUIS ROJAS			
PHILLIPS, A. <i>Journalism in Context. Practice and Theory for the Digital Age</i>	77		

Introduction

Welcome to the latest issue of *Quaderns del CAC*, produced with a renewed desire to increase the impact of this publication and, for this reason, we have once again started to publish the *Quaderns* in English, in addition to the versions in Catalan and Spanish.

In issue 41 our aim has been to examine the situation of radio and the challenges it faces at a time when the communication ecosystem is changing. Radio is a medium that played a leading role in the communication system of the 20th century. Its emergence resulted in the democratisation of access to information and to culture on an unprecedented scale. Based on sound only, radio could be used for free communication between all the speakers of a language and, consequently, millions of citizens around the world who were illiterate or semi-literate had access to information and culture; an access not provided by printed media. It was a revolution and radio's supremacy in the mass communication universe was undeniable. It played a central role in constituting modern states as a cultural and educational tool but also as a political tool and even as a weapon in wartime. It made a vital contribution to the creation of public opinion, to social cohesion, to the creation of consensus. In terms of democratisation it was also a means of promoting popular communication: free, community and municipal radio stations allowed communication processes that we would describe today as true technological empowerment. In spite of its rivals appearing first in the electronic universe (television) and then in the digital universe (internet), radio has managed to adapt and find its place in each new ecosystem. It did so when faced with the innovations of the 20th century and is certainly doing so now, faced with those of the 21st century. This issue of *Quaderns del CAC* aims to explain the situation of a medium that's looking very much alive and that still plays a leading role in the communication ecosystem.

This issue's guest writer was chosen because of his relation to a feature of radio that actually anticipated one of the outstanding hallmarks of digital communication; namely citizen participation in producing content. No-one better than **Peter Lewis**, Senior Lecturer at London Metropolitan University, a leading international researcher into community media, to tackle this subject with a historical perspective, as he does in his article *Discursive absence: the case for community radio*. The monograph begins with **Josep Maria Martí**, **Belén Monclús**, **Maria Gutiérrez** and **Xavier Ribes** with their contribution *Radio, a business model in transition: supply and sales strategies in the digital context*, dealing with a key issue in radio's adaptation to the new media scenario, namely the search for a new business model when facing a crisis in which advertising revenue has plummeted in spite of larger audiences. The article also explores the strategies employed by radio broadcasters to incorporate online formats into their new business model. **Tiziano Bonini** tackles one of the most relevant phenomena in this new online environment in his article *The 'Second Age' of Podcasting: reframing Podcasting as a New Digital Mass Medium*, focusing on the evolution of this new radio broadcasting tool from its amateur status through to its professionalisation and great capacity to 'engage'. **Teresa Piñeiro-Otero** explores the adaptation of proximity radio to the internet in her article *The mediamorphosis of local radio. A perspective from the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region setting*, examining comparative practices in two markets to observe how far the internet has been taken on board, the adaptation of these practices at a local level, the degree of interactivity and encouragement of participation, as well as the formal aspects of the messages. **Manuel Fernández Sande** and **Ignacio Gallego** study the possibilities of one of the new types of financing, crowdfunding, which provides opportunities that can serve both as an antidote to the crisis and also as a means of financing innovative proposals, as illustrated in their article *Crowdfunding as a source of financing for radio and audio content in Spain*. Finally, **Sílvia Espinosa** and **Lidia Borrero** analyse how far radio has neglected children in their article *Children's radio programmes in Catalonia: a chronological examination of the type of radio programmes for children*. They highlight the paradox of a medium that ignores future listeners when what it precisely needs is to renovate its broadcasting to rejuvenate its audience. In the 'Articles' section **Aida Martori** tackles the issue of communication spaces of stateless nations in her contribution *News decentralisation in the Scottish television model*, studying the relationship between proximity and identity in communication spaces and exploring the latest transformations observed in the Scottish model.

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Director

Discursive absence: the case for community radio

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Abstract

The case for community radio must address a range of different areas - legislation, frequencies, regulatory structures, finance, public demand and political will – which, taken together, may be regarded as the discursive field of dominant mainstream broadcasting. Without campaigning pressure there is no discursive space for a notion which challenges the established norms. The article illustrates this with the example of the British campaign for community radio which had to overcome obstacles that can still be found in many settings today. In the early 1980s British activists faced the additional problem that radio received little attention within academic media studies.

Keywords

Discourse, community radio, activism, media studies.

Resum

El tema de la ràdio comunitària ha d'abordar tot un seguit d'àrees diferents —legislació, freqüències, estructures de regulació, finances, demanda pública i voluntat política— que, si s'agafen en conjunt, es poden entendre com el terreny discursiu de la radiodifusió generalista dominant. Sense campanyes de pressió no hi ha espai discursiu per a un concepte que desafia les normes establertes. L'article ho il·lustra amb l'exemple de la campanya per la ràdio comunitària al Regne Unit, que va haver de superar obstacles que avui encara es poden trobar en molts contextos. A principis dels anys vuitanta activistes britànics es van encarar amb el problema afegit que la ràdio rebia molt poca atenció dels estudis acadèmics sobre comunicació.

Paraules clau

Discurs, ràdio comunitària, activisme, estudis de la comunicació

When the case for community radio is being advanced, its proponents usually have to confront what might be called the discursive field of mainstream media. Michel Foucault has described discourse as a dense and complex set of practices, following rules, often unspoken, supported by links to neighbouring practices, with relations to power and articulated over a period of time (Foucault 1969/2008: 230). The nineteenth century classical scholar, Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol College, Oxford and known for what at the time was a definitive series of texts of Plato, was satirised in rhyme that succinctly expresses the idea of discourse:

First come I, my name is Jowett
There is no knowledge but I know it.
I am the Master of this College.
What I don't know isn't knowledge

Beyond the boundary of a discourse, certain ideas are literally unspeakable: history, and contemporary times as well, provide many instances where, for example, the dominant discourses

on gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation make it extremely difficult for the oppressed to challenge the *status quo*.

Although this article draws on the British experience of campaigning for community radio over the period of the last four decades (the 2004 legislation came later in the UK than in most Western European countries), the issues faced then are still relevant in countries where similar campaigns have to be fought. Back in the early 1980s, British campaigners had to overcome a double obstacle. Not only was there no discursive space for the idea of community radio but radio itself had yet to be developed as a subject within academic media studies.

The opening argument in, and rationale for, *The Invisible Medium*, written at the end of the 1980s, makes the point:

"Radio is hardly noticed in academic literature [and] as a result, radio practice and policy lack a language for critical reflection and analysis. Why we have the radio we do, what radio we could have if things were different – these questions are as difficult to debate as the hidden histories are to uncover or the alternative practices to publicise". (Lewis & Booth 1989: xiii)

Radio within media studies

To understand, first, this discursive absence in media studies, a comparison with well-established academic fields such as science and history shows how an infrastructure of a subject association, conferences, a journal, research grants and a strand of book publishing are needed to support study and research and, importantly, as will be discussed in a moment, provide a source of “experts” on which mainstream media can draw. That such an infrastructure had never supported the study of sound and radio was an inheritance of the transition from orality to a predominantly visual culture (Ong 1982) and a strong academic literary tradition. British media studies at this time were focussed on the press, television and film. Radio appeared as a mere chapter in media history.

This was to change: partly in the UK due to the work of the Radio Studies Network (a subject association for lecturers and researchers of radio within media studies formed in 1998)¹ and similar organisations across Europe, including the international radio research network, *IREN*, which helped raise the profile of radio within media studies.² The attention paid from the turn of the millennium to community and alternative media by the “new wave” of academic work was partly the result of the state reached by media studies at that point: theoretical connections were being made with work in sociology, anthropology and aesthetics, to name the major importations. Atton and Couldry, writing in 2003, offered an explanation for ‘why alternative media might now be emerging from the margins of scholarly attention’. They pointed to the revival of social activism, often on a global scale and using non-mainstream media production linked to the Internet, the apathy towards, or commercial appropriation of, conventional democratic processes and an increased interest by international agencies in local empowerment within development projects (Atton & Couldry 2003:579-580, cited in Lewis & Jones 2006:29).

Obstacles to community radio

Where community radio is concerned, a circle of obstacles has to be confronted and overcome: these have to do with legislation, frequencies, regulatory structures, finance, public demand and political will. The gatekeepers in each of these areas have to be weaned from positions which accept the *status quo* and allow no room, no discursive space, for alternatives. While the arguments of each particular group of professionals have to be addressed, each ultimately depends, like the stones which sustain an arch, on the keystone of political will. It is pressure from public opinion that can force political change and, in this, the media play an important agenda-setting role. Winning over mainstream media support is therefore the task that must be undertaken by campaigners for community radio but this is difficult since community media’s very *raison d’être*

is critical opposition to the mainstream, its shortcomings, distortions and silences.

The British campaign for community radio arose out of the experience of community television on cable in the 1970s. The initiative, which licensed programming on cable networks in a few cities, came from a Conservative government and was intended to support the commercial cable industry. But despite the commercial motive and ownership, the programming of several of the stations, strongly influenced by American public access and Canadian community video philosophy, was participatory and challenged contemporary mainstream conventions. The stations’ ability to engage with communities at a local level attracted favourable notice from a government committee on the future of broadcasting (Annan 1977) but, on the return of a Labour government in 1974, most of the stations were abruptly closed by their commercial owners. This outcome had two different consequences.

In their public statements, Rediffusion ‘claimed, in closing their station in Bristol, that the experiment had served its purpose and had provided them with the experience and information they required’ (Halloran 1975:26) but the cable industry as a whole propagated the view of the episode as a failure and their interpretation was the one accepted by the mainstream media and successive governments: local programming had failed to stem the haemorrhage of subscribers as terrestrial broadcast transmissions improved in quality, and the cable companies failed to persuade the Labour governments of 1974 to allow pay-TV.

But for those in the five pilot cabled areas who had experienced the access offered, and for those who had assisted them, the episode was anything but a failure. The frustrations, as well as the positive discoveries that followed, sustained quarter of a century of activism and policy intervention. In the first instance it led to the formation of the Community Communications Group, COMCOM. Formed in February 1977, COMCOM, besides acting as an information exchange, campaigned for adequate funding for community media and for the statutory right to local community ownership of broadcast stations.

COMCOM published Comments on the Annan Report (COMCOM 1977), critical of the mainstream “duopoly” (BBC and commercial radio) and calling for a sector of community radio. COMCOM’s evidence to a Parliamentary Committee can be traced in the Committee’s report which included the recommendation that ‘future plans for broadcasting in the UK should encompass the possibility of frequency assignments to provide very low-power transmission facilities for voluntary community radio services within small communities’ (SCNI 1978a: xlix). This put the idea onto the agenda of the Home Office (the government department then responsible for broadcasting) and although the item remained low down in the in-tray of Ministers for a long time, it provided the focus for subsequent campaigns.

Courting officialdom

We can therefore see that, up to this point, a very small foothold had been won in official discourse; one which, however, had not yet accepted the activists' name for the medium in question. The careful cultivation of officials in the Home Office Broadcasting Department and attention to the bureaucracy of consultation and its deadlines that was continued in later years by COMCOM's successor, the Community Radio Association,³ was an example of the policy intervention that Raboy lists as a necessary component in his 'strategies for democratic communication' – but one that is often, he comments, neglected by activists (Raboy 1991:171).

Recognition by officials, whether in the IBA or the Home Office, was far from being sufficient to trigger political response and several Australian veterans of community radio, resident in Britain at this time, expressed their exasperation with the slow pace of reform. Australian community radio (then known as "public radio") was well developed. One of the founders of the Public Broadcasting Association of Australia (PBAA) had brought over the first few numbers of its journal, *Broadcasting Australia*, from which examples of successful stations were cited in *Different Keepers* (Lewis 1977) and in COMCOM's *Comments*. The Australian Liberal Party, equivalent to the British Conservative party, was in power when, in 1978, the Minister Tony Staley gave strong positive endorsement for public broadcasting: 'It is accepted that public broadcasters have a better appreciation of the interests, hence needs, of their broadcasting communities than anyone else, including government' (Staley 1978). This was a quote often brandished in subsequent years by the British community radio lobby.

But the presence of Australian colleagues pushing for initiatives was their most important and stimulating contribution. From them the campaign learned how the regulator openly publishing a frequency plan could stimulate demand for local coverage; it learned of the broadcasters' wasteful practice of simulcasting, a term till then unknown to British activists, referring to the doubling up of transmission on both AM and FM; of short-term experimental licences, an idea which COMCOM put forward to the Home Office over a decade before their transformation to Restrictive Service Licences (RSLs) by the Radio Authority (Home Office 1980: 7.36).

Foreign experience

Foreign experience and examples were important to the British campaigners even if less so to traditionally xenophobic officialdom. COMCOM obtained advice from the USA's National Federation of Community Broadcasters and, in the second half of the 1970s, reports on community media were commissioned by the Council of Europe through its Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development. The programme resulted in reports on a range of European projects, available in English

and French,⁴ intended as Jankowski notes, 'as materials for policy debate and decision-making by European governments' (Jankowski 1991:166). The Council of Europe had yet to acquire the weight of influence in media matters it later gained but what it did achieve, since the reports' authors were brought together in meetings to discuss them, was the creation across Europe of a community of interest in the subject, although it was too soon to call it a research community. Unfortunately the Council of Europe's distribution policy was, and still is, woefully ineffective and archival access is almost impossible. The result is that works are little known in the UK. Yet the repeated refusal of British publishers at the time to recognise the field of community media meant that recourse to these international outlets was the only available publishing strategy.

The founding conference of AMARC⁵ in Montreal in 1983 was important in establishing global connections between community radio practitioners and activists in different parts of the world, as well as for academic researchers. During the 1990s AMARC-Europe made several submissions to EU policy consultations as well as being active in securing funding for support in Central and Eastern Europe. The Local Radio and Television Group, formed at the IAMCR⁶ Paris conference in 1982, became an important base for the development of theory and its first published outcome, *The People's Voice* (Jankowski et al. 1992), was edited by researchers from the Netherlands, where Jankowski and colleagues had been carrying out qualitative research since the mid-1970s, and from Denmark where government policy on community media was enlightened and well developed. In the same year Girard's *A Passion for Radio*, an AMARC project, provided a useful collection of case studies (Girard 1992). UNESCO'S interest also brought a global dimension to the nascent field. At a time when it was deeply engaged in the debate surrounding the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) at a global level, UNESCO's seminars in Belgrade in 1977 and in Quito the following year, as well as its commissioning of studies on community media, promoted ideas and examples from Europe and Latin America.

Allies in the mainstream

Another of Raboy's "strategies" was 'support for critical initiatives coming from within the dominant media institutions' (Raboy 1991:171). The mainstream is not a monolith and, in this early period, the occasional article sympathetic to the campaign appeared in the press while, in mainstream broadcasting, some spaces had already appeared in which non-professional voices were allowed to express themselves. Access broadcasting was part of the contemporary *zeitgeist* and at least one member of the Annan Committee, a Labour MP and former broadcaster, understood the activists' philosophy. In retrospect the phrase "access" accurately conveys the guarded condescension of the gatekeepers but the actual presence of dissidents within the mainstream must not be ignored. An editor of the BBC's

Community Programme Unit, set up to broadcast non-professional contributions, once described his section as being 'as far to the edge of the BBC as it is possible to be without falling off'. These individuals, because of their sympathy with alternative approaches, were at odds with those of their trade union colleagues whose high technical standards led them to dismiss anything "amateur" on the grounds of "poor technical quality".

The engineering divisions at the BBC and its counterpart in commercial broadcasting, located in the regulatory agency or Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), had always maintained what one might call a "Rolls Royce" standard where frequencies were concerned. Community radio campaigners were met, like Alice in her attempt to join the Mad Hatter's tea party, with cries of 'No room! No room!' The broadcasters' transmission planning was based on the expectation of a very high level of reach for broadcast signals. COMCOM was fortunate in finding a former Head of Network and Service Planning at the IBA who now worked as a technical consultant and, commissioned to report on frequency space in the London area, demonstrated that a dozen community radio stations with coverage areas of three to four kilometres were possible.

Unmasking objectivity

In the early 1980s a keynote speech is being delivered to a conference of British radio broadcasters and a handful of academics interested in radio. The speaker is Richard Hoggart, distinguished author, broadcaster and academic and the co-founder, with Stuart Hall, of the field of cultural studies. The audience is more representative of the commercial industry than the BBC but must now endure a staunch defence of the BBC, especially its Radio 4 channel of speech, news and drama. Hoggart has not changed his mind much since, two decades previously, he dismissed the teenage enjoyment of commercial pop music in milk bars as 'a peculiarly thin and pallid form of dissipation, a sort of spiritual dry rot amid the odour of boiled milk' (Hoggart 1957/1984:248). In the course of his address now, he slips in a commendation of community radio and in the questions that follow he's asked 'what exactly is this sort of radio?' Hoggart looks confused, turns to where I'm sitting in the audience and, to my embarrassment, proceeds to "out" me as the author of this section of his speech, expecting me to supply the answer. At this time he was Warden of the University of London's Goldsmiths College where I taught and had asked me to brief him on the topic – not well enough, evidently, and the result was exposure as an activist, one of the "usual suspects" as far as this audience was concerned.

This anecdote illustrates another tactic in the battle for discursive presence. If journalists and broadcasters who are sympathetic to the community media cause are to run a story, they need to back it up with expert opinion – enter the academic. But this academic has to be careful. Advancing a

cause must not be seen as also abandoning the objectivity and balance that rules in academia. Getting Hoggart's *gravitas* to sell the argument was a reasonable idea but it misfired. On another occasion two years later I had better success.

I'm in the hospitality room of Capital Radio waiting to take part in a live discussion about broadcast access. I refuse a drink and fend off the questions of a researcher whose job is to find out what line I'm going to take. The programme producers have invited me as an academic, the expert to lend balance, since also on the show are members of the Local Radio Workshop (LRW) whose interventions at public meetings have cast them in the role of extremists. The LRW has been pressing London radio stations to accept programmes it's been producing with campaigning groups (anti-nuclear, feminist, minority ethnic), the kinds of productions that don't fit easily into mainstream radio that practise what Mattelart and Piemme called a 'soggy pluralism based on self-castrating notions of balance' (Mattelart & Piemme 1980:337). On air I expound reasons why the LRW's work should be supported and I don't mention they are allies of COMCOM.

Academic engagement with community media followed a sequence of overlapping stages as the field took shape. First came practice; a form of direct action which challenged the assumptions, values and practices of mainstream media and in which, as in all practice, theory was implicit. Next came description; sometimes in the form of a rescue operation to place on record a project whose ephemeral existence and lack of funds to carry out research meant that the experience risked oblivion. At the same time demarcation was also necessary. Here the need was to classify adjacent types of media practice in order to establish the boundaries of the community media field. For example, the claim by BBC local radio to be 'serving neighbourhood and nation' needed to be challenged, the relationship to "access broadcasting" clarified and pirate origins explored.

Public demand

'How the public could be expected to demand something of which it had no concept, no model and no experience, was not explained.' The question was asked by the founder of BBC radio, Frank Gillard, when, in 1962, the government blocked the plans for local radio on the grounds that there was no demand for it (BBC 1977). Gillard and the BBC got their way five years later and the success of local radio justified his foresight. In fact, the popularity of BBC local radio may be one reason why the idea of community radio did not at first appeal. Only when budgetary pressures led the BBC to cut and dilute its local radio services did the case for community radio become compelling (Lewis & Booth 1989).

Three moments allowed the demand for community radio to be tested. The first was in 1985/86 when a Conservative Minister proposed a pilot trial of community radio in 21

locations in the UK. 286 applications were received, a strong indicator of demand, but the government changed its mind and the pilot was cancelled. A few years later (the second moment) the IBA introduced a scheme of “incremental franchises” which would be available in areas served by commercial radio where there was frequency space and where the applicant could offer a service different from the area’s main licence holder. Again, the number of applications exceeded the licences on offer. A few community groups gained licences but did not survive long before being converted into conventional commercial stations via collaborations or takeovers. Thereafter, short term licences (RSLs) became a popular way for communities to mark cultural or religious festivals and to rehearse the administrative and programming arrangements needed for broadcasting.

The third and finally successful moment came at the turn of the millennium as an initiative by the Radio Authority before handing over its regulatory role to Ofcom. In 2001 a pilot scheme for “access radio” was announced, the name chosen in preference to “community radio” so as not to offend the BBC/commercial duopoly which claimed their local radio was entitled to that name. Nearly 200 licence applications were received, again illustrating the strength of demand, and 16 were chosen. The one-year pilot period was extended, an independent evaluation gave a positive judgement (Everitt 2003a & b) and the evaluator’s recommendations became the basis for the 2004 Community Radio Order which launched an official sector of community radio that now includes more than 200 licensed stations.

Conclusion

For the notion of community radio to be accepted into the mainstream media discourse a number of discrete areas were identified at the start of this discussion which might be said to be the separate battlefields where dominant views had to be contested. These were legislation, frequencies, regulatory structures, finance, public demand and political will. Regarding the last area, endorsement by a Labour government in 2004 was largely due to a senior official’s vision, that of the Chief Executive of the Radio Authority and a former Head of Radio at the IBA. Although Tony Stoller gives little credit to the community radio lobby in his account (Stoller 2010), he can justly claim to have played an important role in securing the passage from incremental franchises and RSLs to the access pilot scheme which ultimately led to the Community Radio Order of 2004. By that time, however, a considerable amount of pressure had been built up at a local level by community radio campaigners where Members of Parliament, always naturally attentive to local media, had taken note of the possibilities of local and community radio. Patient lobbying by the Community Media Association over decades had its effect. Academic authentication for this form of media also played a part in persuading the mainstream media to take seriously what it began

grudgingly to accept as “user-generated content”. In a very short time, the arrival of social media changed the landscape but that takes the story beyond the scope of this study. Once political will is won over, the separate battlefields take on a different appearance: frequencies are found, regulatory arrangements made, legislative formulas agreed. What has not been solved in the UK is the funding aspect. The two hundred community radio stations are, as one station manager put it, ‘running on empty’: the original £0.5m available to support the sixteen pilot stations now has to be eked out for the 200. A letter to *The Guardian* newspaper from a conference in 2007 pleaded for the government to ‘adopt an interdepartmental approach’ and claimed that ‘there is not the understanding at the highest levels of what this local form of public-service broadcasting involves, nor the political will to place it within agendas dealing with housing, health, crime prevention, employment, education, regeneration and community development - the very areas in which community media have a proven record’ (http://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/sep/26/radio.media#article_continue). That battle has yet to be won.

Endnotes

1. <<http://www.meccsa.org.uk/networks/radio-studies-network/>>
2. IREN, an international radio research network funded between 2004-2006 by the EC FP6 within thematic priority 7 “*Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge Society*”, and in the research domain: “*New forms of citizenship and cultural identities*”. After the end of the project, IREN partners formed the Radio Research Section in ECREA, the European Communications and Research in Education Association. <<http://www.ecrea.eu/divisions/section/id/13>>.
3. Now the Community Media Association <<http://www.commedia.org.uk/>>
4. Beaud 1980 provides a summary of the reports and includes a complete bibliographical list but the listed publications and Beaud’s report are rarely to be found in public library collections and perhaps can only be successfully accessed through contact with the Council of Europe’s archivist in Strasbourg.
5. AMARC is the French acronym now generally used for the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters <<http://www.amarc.org>>.
6. The acronym now stands for International Association for Media and Communication Research but at that time “Mass Communication” were the words in the title, revealingly indicative of an emphasis which left little room for interest in small-scale media.

References

Four entries in the list below are followed by LC and a reference number. This refers to the Collection in the Archives in the library of the London School of Economics, named as the Lewis Collection. Documents in the Collection can be viewed by arrangement with the library (<http://www.lse.ac.uk/library/home.aspx>) and the table of contents is accessible at <http://archives.lse.ac.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=LEWIS>

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Radio, a business model in transition: supply and sales strategies in the digital context

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Abstract

Today's complex situation is a source of concern for radio broadcasters who, although their audiences are growing, are witnessing a drop in advertising revenue, the basis of their business model. Given these adverse circumstances, their human and economic resources have been allocated to providing a presence on a range of digital platforms. In order to ensure a return from their efforts, radio production aimed at online supports is mostly generated from content produced for conventional broadcasting. This paper looks at the challenges posed for broadcasters by the economic crisis and how they are attempting to develop solutions in the digital era.

Keywords

Radio, digital platforms, crisis, advertising, business strategies.

Resum

La complexa situació actual preocupa els operadors radiofònics, que, tot i que veuen augmentar les seves audiències, experimenten una reducció de la inversió publicitària, base del seu model de negoci. En aquestes circumstàncies poc favorables, han dedicat recursos humans i econòmics a desplegar la seva presència en diferents plataformes digitals. Per rendibilitzar esforços, la producció radiofònica adreçada als suports online es genera, majoritàriament, a partir dels continguts emesos per l'antena convencional. Aquest treball s'apropa als operadors per esbrinar com fan front als reptes que la crisi econòmica els planteja i per presentar les solucions que estan assajant en l'era digital.

Paraules clau

Ràdio, plataformes digitals, crisi, publicitat, estratègies empresarials.

1. Introduction

Radio is currently undergoing a transition (Ofcom 2007, 2014; Winseck 2010). The oldest communication medium must tackle various challenges in the current context of convergence that endanger its very essence and evolution as a means of mass communication. The new ways to transmit radio signals, new types of radio consumption, audience fragmentation and disaggregation, new internet environment, the co-existence of analogue and digital, reduction in advertising revenue, economic crisis and radio's obsolete business model represent the main internal challenges faced by radio broadcasters on a daily basis, in addition to competition from the digital ecosystem.

As claimed by Zallo (2010), digital technologies have shaken up the very foundations, relations and equilibrium of culture and

social communication and the current economic and financial crisis has aggravated this situation in several ways. The radio sector is aware that the days are numbered for radio as we know it (Hertz waves via a transistor), involving a transformation in radio communication both in terms of production and also consumption (Venzo 2008). Consequently broadcasters must redesign their business model¹ and define practicable business strategies that ensure the survival of the medium and its role in society. Within the digital environment, identifying viable business models has become a primordial and controversial but necessary question especially for the traditional media (Macnamara 2010).

In evolutionary terms, the survival of radio (and that of any species) depends on its capacity to adapt and specialise and thereby outdo its rivals. Radio broadcasters must start taking

decisions with a clear business vision for the future. Obviously this is no easy task when there are no apparent examples of success and the trial and error formula is not suitable given the dearth of resources.

2. The current situation of the radio sector

This section aims to provide an overview of the current situation of the Spanish and Catalan radio industry by means of three aspects that affect the design of its business model and could determine its evolutionary transition. The first, is the notable drop in advertising revenue since 2008 as a consequence of the global economic crisis; secondly, although the number of radio listeners seems to be stable and may have even risen slightly, the digital environment allows for new forms of asynchronous and also archived consumption with the consequent audience fragmentation; and, last but by no means least, the implementation of different types of digital devices has altered how people listen to and consume radio content. All three factors give rise to new ways for radio to do business.

2.1 The drop in advertising revenue

In the traditional business model for radio in Spain and Catalonia, commercial broadcasters rely on advertising revenue (CNMC, 2014) while public broadcasters are supported by government contracts, although Catalunya Ràdio combines public financing with advertising. Over the last few years, the world economic crisis starting in September 2007 and the emergence of new

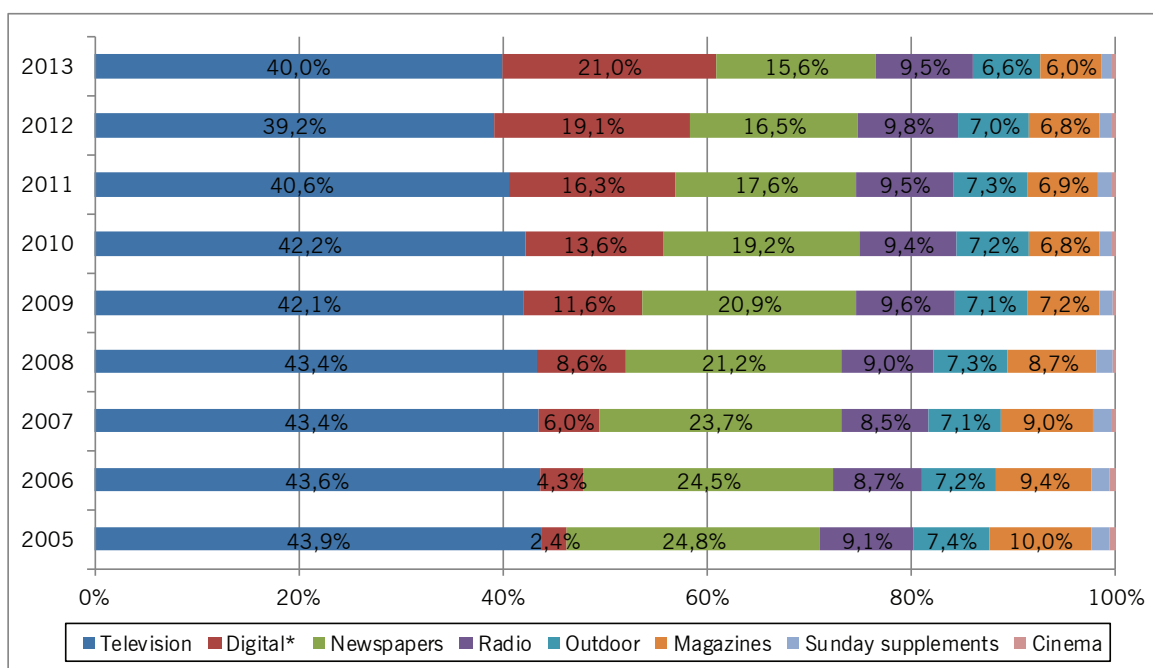
media have resulted in cutbacks in the advertising budget of advertisers, this investment being redistributed among the existing media. In addition to this situation, part of the overall investment has also migrated towards digital media in detriment to conventional media. These two facts have considerably reduced the revenue received by the radio industry as a whole in the last few years.

Figure 1 shows how advertising revenue has been redistributed among conventional and digital media in Spain during the period before the crisis and during, and how investment in digital media is exponentially increasing its share. Television and press have been hardest hit by this redistribution while radio seems to be performing slightly better, albeit losing some investment.

Although it seems that advertisers still have faith in radio, another issue is the volume of revenue this actually brings. The amount of advertising may not have fallen but the average price of an insert has (Infoadex 2014). Between 2007 and 2013 revenue fell by 40.5% for Spain as a whole, with a market share of around 9.5%. In the same period the revenue for Spanish-wide radio dropped from 678 million euros to 403.6 million (Infoadex 2014).

In fact, advertising revenue is going through the biggest reduction in its history at an international level (Pfeiffer & Zinnbauer 2010), a situation also seen in the Spanish and Catalan markets. In Catalonia advertising revenue fell by 42.9% between 2007 and 2013, 2.4 points more than in Spain. Catalan radio has gone from receiving 75.3 million euros in 2007 to 43 million in 2013 (Media Hotline 2014). Consequently Catalan radio's share of advertising revenue on conventional media has

Figure 1. Distribution of advertising revenue in the media in Spain, 2005-2013 (as a percentage)



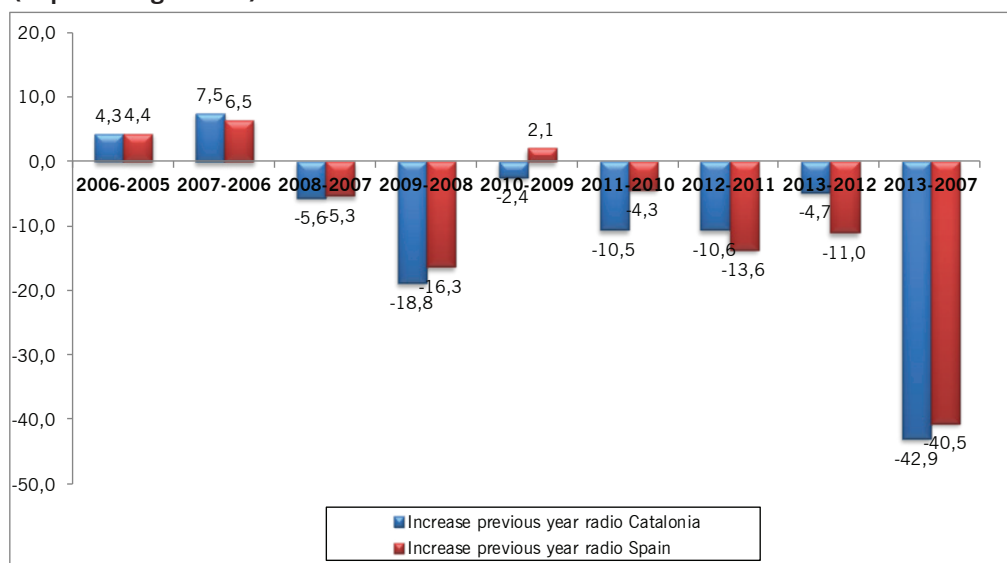
*The Digital data include Internet and Mobiles.

Source: Infoadex (2014).

Table 1. Trend in advertising revenue on the radio in Spain and Catalonia, 2005-2013 (in millions of euros)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Spain	609.9	636.7	678.0	641.9	537.3	548.5	524.9	435.5	403.6
Catalonia	67.2	70.1	75.3	71.1	57.7	56.3	50.4	45.1	43.0

Source: Author, based on data from Infoadex (2014) and Media Hotline (2014).

Figure 2. Comparison of the drop in advertising revenue on radio in Spain and Catalonia, 2005-2013 (in percentage terms)

Source: Author, based on data from Infoadex (2014) and Media Hotline (2014).

gone from 10.6% in 2007 to 14.5% in 2013. Although radio seemed to be the best medium in terms of withstanding the initial drop in advertising revenue in both Spain and Catalonia, as from 2009 it has seen a notable reduction in its turnover with an even greater drop in Catalonia, as can be seen in Table 1.

We can therefore see that the drop in advertising revenue was greatest in the Catalan market in the early years of the crisis (2008-2011) while in the last two years this situation reversed and the Spanish market underwent the sharpest fall, as shown in Figure 2. The improvement seen by radio compared with the other media is essentially thanks to the good performance by local advertisers. Nevertheless this stronger local market started to break up as from 2009, when the unrelenting slump in consumption meant that these advertisers could no longer withstand the economic crisis (Yarza 2011, 123).

Broadcasters think this situation will continue until the economic situation improves and consumption increases, as well as believing that the volumes of business seen before the crisis are unlikely to be repeated. In this respect advertiser confidence in radio for their advertising does not offset the substantial cutbacks suffered constantly by broadcasters every month in their advertising revenue, resulting in reductions in the broadcaster's workforce, more outsourcing and the shelving of

growth or improvement plans that entail any kind of investment.

This initial analysis of the radio industry paints a complex scenario in terms of guaranteeing the medium's financial viability, one which requires the development of business strategies to lessen radio's dependence on conventional advertising as a key source of revenue. In other words we must shift, as soon as possible, from the confines of the classic model of media to one of platform since radio needs to be not only online but also on mobile devices, whose use is already widespread.

2.2 Audience sustainability and growth

According to the *Estudio General de Medios* (AIMC 2014) and the *EGM Baròmetre Catalunya* (AIMC & Fundacc 2014), 61.0% of Spain's population and 63.6% of Catalonia's population listen to the radio every day. The number of listeners in both has increased steadily and notably since the start of the economic crisis and today's numbers are much higher than those seen at the end of the analogue era when there was much less media competition. Nonetheless, except in specific periods, radio's rate of penetration in Spain as a whole has been, and continues to be, one of the lowest in Europe; paradoxically its prestige has risen in parallel with its level of influence. There are different interpretations of this state of affairs, one being that it might

be related to shortcomings in demoscopic research given the extraordinary fragmentation in the number of broadcasters and the disparate market supply in different geographical areas (Martí 2004).

Figure 3 shows this trend in radio's penetration in Spain and Catalonia and also includes that of the internet. In this respect, radio is the second medium with the highest penetration after television in Spain (AIMC 2014) while in Catalonia the internet is second and radio relegated to third (AIMC & Fundacc 2014), a situation that may also occur in the rest of Spain in the near future.

Music radio is currently the favourite among Spanish (57.2%) and Catalan (56.4%) listeners, followed by general interest radio (47.0% in Spain, 49.3% in Catalonia) and, to a lesser degree, news radio (4.9% in Spain, 6.3% in Catalonia) (AIMC 2014; AIMC & Fundacc 2014). One factor to bear in mind, pointed out by previous studies covering Catalonia, is that there's been a significant increase in young listeners of music radio since 2009 (Llorens 2014), thereby gradually reducing the average age of Catalan listeners. Regarding listening quality, in the case of young Catalans this is sporadic with limited exposure time and essentially concentrated in prime time (Martí et al. 2010, 74-75), a circumstance that could be extrapolated to other population segments and geographical areas.

2.3 The new paradigm of the internet and portable devices

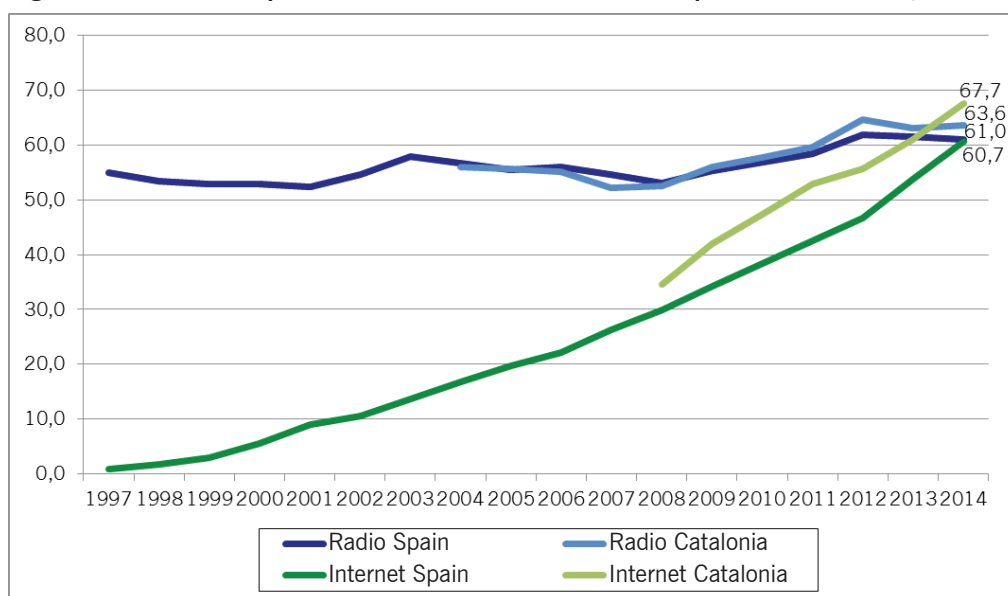
The spread of the internet has led to a revolution at a technological and social level, among others, shaking up the traditional postulates of how radio should be carried out and perceived. As claimed by Franquet, perhaps 'the changes are

not inherent to the medium of radio' (2008, 10) but radio may be most affected. New consumption habits (multi-platform and on mobile devices) 'could endanger the idyll sustained for decades between radio and this young audience' (Franquet 2008, 10). The report *Spain's Digital Future in Focus 2013* (comScore 2013) showed that, in 2012, Spain had become the European country with the highest penetration of smartphones (66%), above the European average (57%). Regarding digital consumption, the study *From Platforms to People, Spain 2014* (comScore 2015) points out that the mobile audience aged over 18 already totals about 23 million users, also noting the quite strong emergence of the so-called "multi-platform user".

According to the studies *La radio: tradicional vs online* (AIMC 2012) and *Navegantes en la Red* (AIMC 2015), online radio consumption is growing in Spain. 22% of internet users listen to the radio every day online and 19.3% via their mobile phone (AIMC 2015). In weekly consumption terms, these figures reach 42.8% and 36.5%, respectively (AIMC 2015). However, 17.2% of Spanish internet users download radio programmes to listen to them at a later time. Although the mobile has been proposed as the preferred portable device to listen to online radio, 18.4% of Spanish users state they have listened to the radio on their tablet in the last month (AIMC 2015). Studies also show that live streaming prevails over podcasts suggesting that, for online listeners, the internet is just another means of listening to analogue content (AIMC 2012). In the case of young Spanish and Catalan listeners aged from 14 to 24, internet consumption exceeded TV consumption for the first time in 2014 and is still much higher than radio consumption (AIMC 2014; AIMC & Fundacc 2014).

Considering that digital advertising revenue totals 878.4

Figure 3. Trend in the penetration of radio and internet in Spain and Catalonia, 1997-2014 (in percentage terms)



Data: radio listeners/day; internet/yesterday.

Source: Author, based on data from *Estudio General de Medios* (AIMC 2014) and from *EGM Baròmetre Catalunya* (AIMC & Fundacc 2014).

million euros in Spain, of which 39.9 million is spent on mobile devices (IAB Spain 2014), the internet and portable devices have become a new commercial opportunity for the radio industry.

A review of the literature reveals a lack of consensus regarding what should be conventional media's business model in the digital environment (Collins 2011; Pavlik 2008; Winseck 2010; among others). According to Chan-Olmsted and Ha (2003), the key to success lies in improving the product by increasing its efficiency and establishing new ways to relate to clients. In any case the leading radio broadcasters have decided to provide free rather than subscriber content while added value services are limited mostly to sound files and archives (Rojo et al. 2008). Traditional radio broadcasters are online more as insurance against the future than with any clear idea of exploiting their potential with new types of content and new distribution methods (Nguyen 2008).

3. Methodology

This study aims to investigate the causes of the crisis affecting the radio industry over several decades and to define the business strategies adopted by conventional radio broadcasters to tackle this situation. The methodology used is based on an exhaustive review of scientific publications focusing on several factors which, one way or another, form part of the root cause of the crisis. Professional reports on the sector have also been examined and, finally, semi-structured interviews have been carried out with management from the Broadcasters Group of Catalunya Ràdio, RAC1, Cadena SER and RNE. Their positions and the company they work for will be specified throughout the text.

The following criteria were applied in creating the sample:

- Public/commercial ownership. The former insofar as public service aims to encourage innovation, creation, attention to culture and also audience participation.²
- State/autonomous community ecosystem.
- Audience share in each ecosystem.

A cross-analysis of these criteria allowed us to analyse different situations and detect the presence of particular features related to ownership, the ecosystem and/or audience. The research was carried out by the Radio Observatory of Catalonia (GRISS³-UAB) during the period 2012-2014.

4. Looking for new sales strategies

When conventional broadcasters started on the internet they found themselves in a new scenario where their rivals were multiplying, where the radio brand had become diluted and where, moreover, it was and still is difficult to find a profitable model of business. Given these circumstances, "post-radio"

management (Ortiz 2012) could not continue to apply the traditional broadcasting parameters.

As a result of the uncertainty produced by the digital world, each broadcaster applied heuristic policies in order to reproduce, in the digital environment, the positioning they already enjoyed in the conventional radio broadcasting ecosystem. An analysis of the interviews carried out reveals that each broadcaster/channel has followed a particular route map in line with its own interests irrespective of its type of ownership and/or reach.

For most of the interviewees, the first issue to be resolved was the profitability of content or, in other words, finding the best way to exploit content in the digital sphere. The social impact of digital media is a key factor for public radio and most particularly for RNE, the only broadcaster of those analysed that is financed exclusively without advertising, as "we benefit from new technologies insofar as the multiplication of the medium also multiplies the possibilities of listening to radio" (director-programming-RNE). For commercial broadcasters, and also for Catalunya Ràdio with mixed financing, the interrelationship between audience share and advertising revenue continues to form the basis of their approach. The difficulty of agreeing a commonly accepted standard to examine online audiences⁴ means that it's taking longer to transform the commercial system in which it's essential to distinguish between listener and user.

One of the effects of the economic crisis is related to advertising, "... as a lot of the brands that used to invest especially in media that are more expensive from a profit point of view [...] are going to look for safe media [...] and radio was one of the conventional media, the most economical medium" (head-marketing-Publipressmedia-RAC1). Although this circumstance helped to sustain the radio broadcasting industry in economic terms it has also slowed up the exploration of more innovative forms of advertising and commercial strategies. Although there's been a rise in pre-roll ads on radio channel websites, in addition to banners, interstitials and pop-ups, radio ads still head the ranking for advertising on radio broadcasts.

In fact, the main concern of broadcasters has been to resolve the transfer of analogue content to digital "without realising that this migration, without an adequate exploitation model, was an incomplete migration" (director-Catalunya Ràdio). In this respect sponsorship, first via streaming and then podcasts, was the formula initially used by the online radio business although essentially this is merely "prioritising sales associated with analogue" (director-RAC1).

Although advertisers are still seduced by a channel's audience share they increasingly realise the importance of the online environment which, in the words of the director of RAC1, becomes "another booster station", in this case digital. However, the conditioning factors are significantly different because "figures aren't published quarterly anymore but rather daily and even overnight" (director-strategic area-Catalunya Ràdio). And broadcasters can even measure the impact of the number of podcast downloads and of the activities taking place on social

media at any given time. There's still a long way to go, however, as the channel's potential is not necessarily reflected directly in the online environment: "although we have over 10 million listeners on six radio channels, we can't get 300,000 followers on Facebook" (Prisa Brand Solutions-director-advertising-Cadena SER).

Most of the interviewees acknowledge a lack of experience in the new digital environment and the need to adopt clear strategies. Although the case of RNE is different, the world economic crisis and development of the online environment has accentuated financing concerns. In principle "the budget has had to be shared out [...] we don't have any other sources of financing [...] another thing is that, traditionally, we see certain kinds of cultural sponsorship much more on television than on radio and Interactive department⁵ hasn't started working on this formula yet" (director-programmes-RNE), a circumstance that slows up the adaptation of a new model to exploit radio content.

4.1 Profiting from content

The 2.0 environment broadens the concept of radio consumption, this no longer being exclusively lineal. But it also alters the object to be consumed which, in addition to sound, can also be complemented with text and/or image. Adding value to content is one of the key aims of broadcasters who believe this will help to reinforce the digital brand.

In conventional broadcasting content was supplied by using low risk formulas⁶ that ensured the largest number of listeners would be attracted as advertising revenue depended on their volume. However, this quantitative principle cannot be transferred to the online environment where specialisation is fundamental for a channel to differentiate itself in a highly competitive market. From this perspective, broadcasters must reconcile the production of analogue radio with the construction of digital radio.

Transferring conventional broadcast content to corporate sites, either as a programme or section or via audio downloads and their subsequent consumption on mobile devices, has been the most widely used method by broadcasters taking part in the study. At the beginning, the absence of an agreed tool to measure and compare the different consumption rates for each channel encouraged broadcasters to design their own measures which each has used as it sees fit when negotiating with advertisers. Apart from the number of listeners, broadcasters' discourse has been extended with comments such as "in May we had 1,764,000 downloads" (director-RAC1); "brands will be reflected beyond the aerial" (area-audience-Catalunya Ràdio); or "we have close to 1,300,000 unique users on cadenaser.com" (head of digital-Cadena SER). From a less tense perspective regarding audience figures, RNE points out that "normally the programmes with the most download [...] are also the ones with the largest audiences. But that doesn't mean there aren't programmes with more downloads than others because of programme timings" (director-programmes-RNE).

Marketing and sales must start by making the most of radio

content, a strategy which, apart from financial results, must also have social impact. For Catalunya Ràdio this means concentrating on projects associated with brands that generate values similar to those of the broadcaster/channel. iCat.cat works along these lines, "the emerging music and culture portal",⁷ the result of converting iCat FM, the first experience in Catalonia and Spain to unite the concepts of radio and internet which, among its initial actions, became the radio broadcaster for the Sónar festival in 2013,⁸ one of the most important creative, independent music festivals, values shared by the channel. This alliance has allowed it to stream concerts,⁹ projecting itself towards an international audience¹⁰ interested in such content. This strategy forms part of what the director of Catalunya Ràdio defines as "collaborative publicity"; in other words "common strategies with the commercial company itself". An analysis of the interviews shows that this formula has now become a widespread trend followed by a large number of broadcasters. However, in the case of RNE this is limited to just cultural content "because we're allowed cultural financing via the Foundations"¹¹ (director-programmes-RNE).

The link between values and brands is constructed by Cadena SER via "Brand Day" and "Brand Week", devoting one day or week of programming to a specific brand. "It's in the interview format, in ads positioned together with the pips on the hour, in mentions by commercial voices on each of the programmes" (Prisa Brand Solutions-director-advertising-Cadena SER). Sometimes it's the channel itself that creates a concept developed in the form of content on the main programmes broadcast, such as "El congreso de la vida buena"¹² [The congress of the good life]. In this way the brand is associated to the city hosting the congress, reinforcing its visibility by broadcasting live one of the channel's significant programmes.

Operators of radio channels with advertising revenue generally agree that such actions are more feasible when the market positioning of the radio broadcaster's brand is accompanied by good audience figures. Nevertheless this kind of communication also appears as a widespread trend among advertisers looking to "get away from the conventional radio ad and move towards special endorsements and actions" (director-RAC1). From the advertiser's point of view, supporting certain activities by the broadcaster/channel can clearly differentiate their brand from the programme's usual ones. From the broadcaster's point of view, this formula is possible provided it doesn't contravene or conflict with the broadcaster's brand ideology, represented mainly by the content within the programming. On the one hand it's a question of "establishing joint strategies" and, on the other, encouraging the "adaptation of advertising models to the new environment" (director-Catalunya Ràdio).

4.2 Thinking online

In spite of the high costs entailed in developing the online environment, the sector has looked enthusiastically towards the internet. Firstly because it allows them to enhance their distribution of content and audience interaction. Secondly

because it could be a good opportunity to stop young people from becoming disinterested in the medium (Gutiérrez *et al.* 2011). This segment of the population is so important that, for example, RNE has developed the platform “Radio 3 Extra [...] because it’s the young channel” (director-RNE) which also has its own App as a strategy to attract young audiences. But apart from this particular feature, mobile applications are becoming windows for broadcasters to increase the exposure time and consumption of their content and thereby improve the brand’s positioning in the mind of the consumer.

After going through the phase of websites being used as digital displays for a broadcaster’s production, the supply of content has now undergone modifications of different kinds depending on the synergy between the content provided via conventional broadcasting and the products created for the internet, with a direct effect on the profitability of online radio content production. One example of this strategy is *MeteoMauri*¹³, a programme set up in mid-December 2012 by *catradio.cat*¹⁴ with sections focusing on meteorology which has ended up occupying a place on the conventional broadcaster. This process can also occur in the opposite direction, from conventional broadcasting to the internet, as “there are spaces within programmes which are now short but could be made much bigger once they’re moved online” (assistant director-Catalunya Ràdio).

Profitable content is also interpreted as providing a sustainable supply, entailing the careful management of production resources. Adapting to the digital environment has forced broadcasters to resize their programming to some extent, with a slight increase in repeats during early morning programming. For Cadena SER, moreover, this has led to cuts in local programmes “that are not profitable or at least cost us to maintain. We lose a lot of money on some channels but put up with it because we know we need market penetration and they’ll never stop being local¹⁵” (director-Cadena SER).

But irrespective of any readjustment in content to make this synergy successful, the idiosyncratic nature of production is essential. While some of the interviewees state that their teams personally make use of digital tools and have taken them on board, others confess that some producers and/or writers are reluctant to alter their professional routines. This could affect the synergy between the conventional broadcaster and social media. Although everyone accepts such social media are commercial in nature, ultimately used to disseminate radio content, they also realise they entail a different kind of audience communication.

Through social media “what we do is provide content precisely for all those people who’ve perhaps missed the programme that day” (director-programmes-Catalunya Ràdio). But while the broadcast programme is limited by a specific timetable, in the online environment both the programme and its profiles are present 24/7. That’s why “we’ve really stressed that they’re not only active during the programme” (head digital writer-Cadena SER). It also means they have to be aware of what the audience say, as “they tell you you’re wrong, they propose new focuses or

suggest questions in the case of an interview” (director-RAC1). These three factors are key to designing strategies focusing on the profiles of programmes on the main social media but some studies (Sellas 2013; Gutiérrez *et al.* 2014) reveal all three are still being implemented unevenly.

5. Future perspectives

The need to change the business model of Catalan and Spanish radio has already been acknowledged. For several years now all radio broadcasters, including our own, have been forced to devise supply and sales strategies aimed at integrating new platforms to disseminate their products. Our research highlights the fact that this process is quite difficult. During the years when the economic tide was favourable (rising advertising revenue, exponential development of ADSL and mobile telephones, increase in internet consumption, etc.), the radio broadcasting industry did take the opportunity to enter the scenario being created by new media.

To date, the radio industry’s hegemonic business model has focused on exchanging listeners for advertising revenue, the so-called “media” model. The economic crisis, drop in consumption and reduction in investment by advertisers has considerably reduced radio’s advertising revenue, raising doubts as to whether such a model can ensure the medium’s survival. The substantial change in the radio industry’s environment has had an almost paralysing effect on the short and medium-term strategies of radio broadcasters, both public and commercial. In this study we’ve seen how directors of the main organisations generally express a certain fear due to the uncertain scenario facing them, something which, in practice, tends to make them take a conservative stance towards the digital issue.

In practical terms, the new context of an online society is not only being tackled somewhat blindly but also with all kinds of precautions and the fact is that, given the crisis in advertising revenue, there’s little room to manoeuvre. At the time of carrying out the fieldwork for this study, the predominant policy was to make the most of content from conventional channels which, with the necessary adaptation, were then distributed on the new platforms, basically internet portals and mobile devices, smartphones and tablets.

A second perception of the radio broadcasters interviewed has been that, in spite of the current difficulties, they are aware the aforementioned devices provide them with a huge chance to get rid of the strategic impasse encountered by most radio broadcasting groups regarding the digital world. For instance, universal reception is inherent in the concept of radio. If we also add the mobility and user-friendliness of new audio devices, primarily owned by the younger segments of the population, then the disinterest shown towards the medium detected among these listeners could be reversed.

Once a multi-platform supply strategy has been established, the radio broadcasting industry will need to achieve the financial

returns required to maintain the production of content and its adaptation and distribution via different media. At present the only source of revenue considered by broadcasters is advertising. The path marked out by the economic crisis, not only in terms of lost revenue but also having to spread a single budget among all channels, must necessarily result in the development of new specific content that takes into consideration the growing fragmentation of media audiences and consumption, as well as the new possibilities offered by social media.

Notes

1. We define the business model as “how a company structures its activity and generates the necessary returns or income. The different formulations share, as a common denominator, an analysis of the sources of revenue and a description of the main strength of the business” (Cea, 2009, 943). But also “the way in which a company functions (...), strategic decisions, sometimes taken by a network of organisations, that explain the creation of value and the capture of value” (Casadesús-Massanell & Ricart, 2008, quoted in Guimerà & Bonet, 2008, 23-24).
2. For Catalunya Ràdio, see <http://www.ccma.cat/corporatiu/ca/missio-i-principis/> and <http://www.ccma.cat/lilibredetil/guia-editorial/innovacio/>.
For RNE, see http://www.rtve.es/contenidos/corporacion/MEMORIA_SP_Y_RSC_2013.pdf
3. The GRISS is a consolidated research group of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, set up in 1980, recognised by the Catalan government (Grup2014SGR1674) and belonging to the Department of Audiovisual Communication and Advertising.
4. Since 2012, comScore has designed a standard protocol to study digital audiences.
5. Interactivos RTVE is the department in charge of the digital environment at Corporació RTVE.
6. This strategy is widely documented by M. Gutiérrez in “Informes sobre la Ràdio a Catalunya”, published by the Observatori de la Ràdio a Catalunya (Radio Observatory in Catalonia) since 2006.
7. <http://catradio.cat/icat/quisom/que-es-icat.html>.
8. http://sonar.es/ca/nw/retransmissions-en-directo-de-s%C3%B3nar-2014-a-trav%C3%A9s-de-medios-oficiales_134. Radio 3 and Rai 2 as associated broadcasters transmit programmes or some concerts. In 2014 “icat.cat started the *Sónar Experience*, a space shared with the festival and Canal 33.
9. Until this edition broadcast by the BBC.
10. One consequence of this agreement is the broadcasting of advertising in English.
11. The radio recording of Don Quixote is possible thanks to financing from Fundació BBVA.

12. <http://www.congresosdelbienestar.es/> Nerja (Malaga) was the first municipality to take on this project (March 2014). In March 2015 it's Tudela (Navarra). http://cadenaser.com/ser/2015/02/23/sociedad/1424694485_180880.html.
13. <http://www.ccma.cat/catradio/meteo-mauri/>.
14. The Catalunya Ràdio site has now become part of the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals website. (<http://www.ccma.cat/catradio/>).
15. In fact, the app allows the consumption of local news and programmes.

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The 'Second Age' of Podcasting: reframing Podcasting as a New Digital Mass Medium

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Abstract

This article will attempt to analyze the history of podcasting as a cultural practice of producing and consuming digital sound content. After a review of previous studies examining this technology, the case will be made that podcasting has entered a new phase of its evolution, one where it is beginning to generate a market that is no longer simply complementary to radio, but an alternative; one that is moving towards the professionalisation of production and the normalisation of consumption. This phase, which I will call "the second age of podcasting", is distinguished by the transformation of podcasting into a commercial productive practice and a medium for mass consumption, and began in the United States in 2012, with the launch of the first business models that were able to support the independent production and consumption of sound content distributed through podcasting.

Keywords

Radio, podcasting, public radio, political economy, broadcasting

Resum

En aquest article es tractarà d'analitzar la història del podcàsting com una pràctica cultural de la producció i consum de contingut de so digital. Després d'una revisió d'estudis anteriors que van examinar aquesta tecnologia, es plantejarà que el podcàsting ha entrat en una nova fase de la seva evolució, una en què es comença a generar un mercat que ja no és simplement complementari a la ràdio, sinó una alternativa; un mercat que s'està movent cap a la professionalització de la producció i la normalització del consum. Aquesta fase, que anomenaré "la segona edat de podcàsting", es distingeix per la transformació cap a una pràctica productiva comercial i un mitjà per al consum massiu, i es va iniciar als Estats Units el 2012, amb el llançament dels primers models de negoci que van ser capaços de donar suport a la producció independent i al consum de continguts de so distribuït per mitjà del podcàsting.

Paraules clau

Ràdio, podcèsting, ràdio pública, economia política, radiodifusió

1. Introduction

Podcasting is a technology used to distribute, receive and listen, on-demand, to sound content produced by traditional editors such as radio, publishing houses, journalists and educational institutions (schools, professional training centres) as well as content created by independent radio producers, artists and radio amateurs.

It is a technology with a considerable history. The term "podcasting" was originally coined in February 2004 by the British journalist Ben Hammersley in an article for *The Guardian* (Bonini 2006). It is a neologism that combines "broadcast" and "pod" which refers to the Apple device iPod and to the widespread practice of listening to audio podcasts on portable media players.

The German podcast scholar Nele Heise recently gave the following definition of podcasting, which takes into account both its technical and social dimensions:

"Technically, podcasting is a method for delivering audio –and/

or video– files via so-called RSS feeds for download and later playback on various devices (Markman/Sawyer 2014). The term podcast not only refers to a single media file but also to a (music or talk) program, typically consisting of a series of episodes, "new instalments of which can be received by subscribers automatically" (Oxford Dictionaries Online). Podcasts are considered [as] converged media that bring together audio, web-based infrastructure and portable media devices (Berry 2006). As Dubber (2013: 58) points out, one of the innovative characteristic of podcasts is the way they are distributed and consumed: "What makes it function specifically as a podcast [...] rather than simply as a downloadable piece of audio is the method of distribution: a media enclosure within an RSS feed. Subscribers to the podcast will receive it automatically and listen to it –or not– at their own convenience and discretion. Some podcasts can be classified as user-generated content which is voluntarily produced by individuals or groups of enthusiastic, skilled amateurs who are not affiliated with traditional media organizations and who are now empowered to become their

own “independent DIY radio” stations (cf. Madsen 2009)” (Heise 2014: 1-2)

This article will attempt to analyse the history of podcasting as a cultural practice of producing and consuming digital sound content. After a review of previous studies examining this technology, the case will be made that podcasting has entered a new phase in its evolution in which it's beginning to generate a market that's no longer simply complementary to radio but an alternative, with increasingly professionalised production and widespread consumption. This phase, which I will call “the second age of podcasting”, is characterised by the transformation of podcasting into a commercial productive practice and a medium for mass consumption, and it began in the United States in 2012 with the launch of the first business models that were able to support the independent production and consumption of sound content distributed through podcasting.

2. Literature Review: from the rhetoric of podcasting as a liberating technology to podcasting as a new broadcasting tool

Many academics have studied the emergence of this new medium since its inception but most have investigated the potential of podcasting as an educational tool for teaching and learning in high schools and universities (Campbell 2005; Harris & Park 2008; McGarr 2009). Contrary to what we might believe, podcasting as an issue for media studies has not received much attention apart from some notable and often cited exceptions. *The Radio Journal*, an academic journal devoted to the publication of works in broadcast and audio media, published only four articles whose main focus was podcasting between 2004 and 2014, while three articles were published on podcasting in the American academic *Journal of Radio and Audio Media*. Three other articles were published in *New Media & Society* in the same period. In general, a search using the keyword “podcasting” carried out in the online archives of international academic journals dealing with media studies has only produced four other occurrences beyond those already cited.¹

If we examine the most-cited articles on this topic published by radio and media scholars in academic journals up to 2014, we only find a limited number of studies, most of them concentrating on the democratization of radio production brought about by the emergence of podcasting, as well as on the transformation of the audience into producers.

Crofts *et al.* (2005) wrote that podcasting “represents a shift from mass broadcasting to on-demand personalized media”. Dearman & Galloway (2005) focused their attention on the disruptive power of podcasting, describing it as a “bypass technology”, one that people can embrace in order to publish content without passing through the traditional centres of communication (public and commercial radio/TV stations).

Gallego (2005) claimed that podcasting was resurrecting an “artisan” model of doing radio. Berry (2006) focused his research on the portability, intimacy and accessibility of this new medium, which he felt contributed to building “a scenario where audiences are producers” (2006: 143). Bonini (2006) claimed that podcasting was an evolution in the streaming technology (or “bitcasting”, as Ribes, 2001, called it), representing the next step in the de-institutionalisation of radio that had begun with the free and pirate radio stations in the 1960s and the 1970s. Massarelli & Perrotta (2006) looked at podcasting as a challenging technology for traditional broadcasters, allowing listeners to create their own radio content, but also as a change in the listening habits of traditional radio listeners. They showed how asynchronous listening was the main driver for Italian radio listeners to download podcasts. Menduni (2007) presented podcasting both as the last step in the digitisation of sound that began in the 1990s and also the missing link between traditional radio and the internet that online radio stations haven't been able to establish, providing users with a more democratic tool to produce sound-based content. Lüders (2008) framed it as a new type of personal media while Madsen (2009) focused on two new features of podcasting: “Podcasting, which emerged with unexpected rapidity in 2005, has achieved wide popularity due to two of its characteristics: time-shifting and portability” (2009: 1191). Madsen also found podcasting technology to be a fundamental driver behind the transformation of public service radio: “In less than four years the adoption of this new internet-hosted, audio production and distribution platform has resulted in the marked transformation of much of public service broadcast radio, at least in terms of when and how we access and listen to it. I'd argue this transformation has been greater than for commercial or community radio” (2009: 1193). Murray (2009) investigated what she calls the “self-scheduling consumers” of podcasting. Millette (2011) proposes that independent audio podcasting is a specific form of online participation with its own subcultural logic and a unique ‘style’ that's completely different from the institutional and traditional radio model. McHugh (2012) claimed that podcasting has reinvigorated long-form radio narratives. Gallego Perez (2012) and Sellas (2012) showed how podcasting had a great yet undeveloped potential for Spanish radio stations. Gallego Perez also underlined “a certain scepticism towards podcasting and, even if during the first two years it received a lot of attention in the media, later its importance faded within the context of contemporary technology” (2012: 25). Markman (2012) too noticed that “research on podcasting is still uncommon” (2012: 547) and showed, through empirical investigation, that podcasters fit the profile of Pro-Ams (older, educated, professional males) working primarily in the niche markets of long tail podcasting, while Bonini (2015) claimed that podcasters have inherited the spirit of the free radio producers of the 1970s and act as a ‘recursive public’, a concept developed by Kelty (2008):

“There is a thin red line that ties together the communities of amateur broadcasters of the 1920s, the radio pirates of the

1960s, free radio activists, the phone phreakers and computer hackers of the 1970s, the netcasters of the 1990s and the bloggers and podcasters of the 00's: they were all both producers and listeners, and were all linked together in networks. Most of them could fit into the category of "recursive publics" created by social anthropologist Christopher Kelty (2008) for the more recent open source communities. A recursive public "is constituted by a shared concern for maintaining the means of association through which they come together as a public. This kind of public includes the activities of making, maintaining, and modifying software and networks and represents the subject of this making, maintaining, and modifying" (Kelty 2008, 27-28). Amateur broadcasters, radio pirates, free radio activists, phone phreakers, netcasters, podcasters and bloggers, all demanded autonomy and free self-expression in media use and communication tools. Streaming and blogging technologies represented the opportunity for the revival of this spirit of creative conviviality (Illich 1973), as opposed to passive reception (Bonini 2015: 12-13)."

I have tried to summarize the most important claims made by media scholars on podcasting in the last ten years but not all media scholars agree with this positive, and possibly slightly romanticized, view of podcasting as an emancipating cultural practice. Sterne et al. (2008), for example, stressed that the "development of the term 'podcasting' followed the pattern set out in Richard Barbrook and Andy Cameron's essay 'The Californian Ideology' (1995), where new information technologies are uncritically championed as embodying a Jeffersonian democratic ideal". According to Sterne et al. (2008), the contemporary rhetorical discourse that presents podcasting as a cultural practice as opposed to broadcasting, as being intrinsically more democratic, accessible and independent than the programmes broadcast by corporate and public service media, is a false one. Podcasting is itself a continuation of broadcasting:

"If we free the term broadcasting from its corporate connotations and remember its longer history, then podcasting is not simply an outgrowth of blogger culture but rather part of a much longer history of dissemination. Podcasting is not an alternative to broadcasting but a realisation of broadcasting that ought to exist alongside and compete with other models. If broadcasting were a more generally available term, then perhaps we could begin to speak of our own broadcasts without sounding grandiose or pretentious. The point is not endless celebrations of individuality in computer culture. It is not enough to add 'My Broadcasts' to 'My Documents', 'My Music' and 'My Photos.' Rather, we would like to see broadcasting reopened as a political and cultural question. In some small way, and in spite of its preposterously branded name, podcasting might contribute to that project. At its best, it has certainly already contributed to the weird diversity of audio out there in the world." (2008)

History seems to repeat itself: the democratic rhetoric surrounding the emergence of podcasting reminds us of previous rhetoric accompanying the early stages in the life of other electronic media emerging before podcasting. American scholar Martin Spinelli (2000) has already debunked the similar discourse that sprang up around the rise of radio as a mass broadcasting medium in the 1920s and the internet in the early 1990s.

For ten years podcasting has been under-investigated and overemphasized as a liberating technology by media scholars with the exception of Jonathan Sterne. Now that it seems to be entering a new and more mainstream phase of its brief life, this paper argues that podcasting should be viewed as a digital mass media *per se*, not merely as an alternative to broadcasting but as a renewed form of it, with emerging new markets and business models as well as a growing number of listeners and practitioners. We should dedicate as much attention to it as we pay to other sound-based media, framing it within the well-established categories of media, cultural and critical political economic studies.

3. From independent amateur podcasters to the professionalization of podcasting

As we have seen, podcasting has received little attention from media studies but a great amount of recognition from journals, tech bloggers and technological magazines. Between 2004, when podcasting was born, and 2008 the number of articles mentioning podcasting in important newspapers has multiplied while the use of the word on millions of websites has increased markedly (Berry 2006; Sterne *et al.* 2008). In 2005 "podcast" was added to the Oxford English American Dictionary and pronounced "Word of the Year"; in the same year a survey carried out by the Pew Internet and American Life Research Center (Rainie and Madden 2005) claimed that approximately 6 million of the 22 million U.S. adults who owned a portable audio player had downloaded a podcast.

While media studies scholars have focused on the potentially liberating aspect of podcasting as a tool for independent communication that's independent and accessible even to non-professionals, podcasting was immediately adopted by corporate and traditional public media (radio, TV, newspapers) and by professional producers for commercial aims. Since its creation podcasting has evolved in two directions: amateur, non-profit use and commercial, for-profit use (a profit which, as we will see, is almost always non-existent, at least until 2012). Among those using podcasting for non-profit activity are independent and amateur producers of radio programmes whose only distribution channel is podcasting: as with radio enthusiasts before the emergence of radio broadcasting, the pirates of European free radio in the 1960s and 70s and the aficionados of streaming in the mid-90s, podcasting is also embraced by thousands of individual citizens and geeks around

the (mostly Western and internet-connected) world who are curious to experiment with this medium and use it as a means of personal expression (Bonini 2015). In addition to independent and amateur producers, this category also includes educators, professors and activists as well as members of circles, cultural associations and religious groups who all embrace podcasting as a means of distributing and exchanging knowledge and wisdom. Secondary schools, individual professors and universities have been among the most active producers of podcasts in the last decade. For example, in 2013 the University of Oxford provided 245 free podcasts of entire courses and lessons on iTunes.

Parallel to the educational use of podcasting geared towards self-expression and recreation, a commercial use has also quickly developed, with at least two different categories:

1) Professional producers and celebrities from the world of show business who have taken advantage of podcasts to free themselves from the traditional media by distributing their own sound content for a fee. One example is the British comic Ricky Gervais, who distributed the second season of his podcast *The Ricky Gervais Show* on iTunes for a fee in 2006.

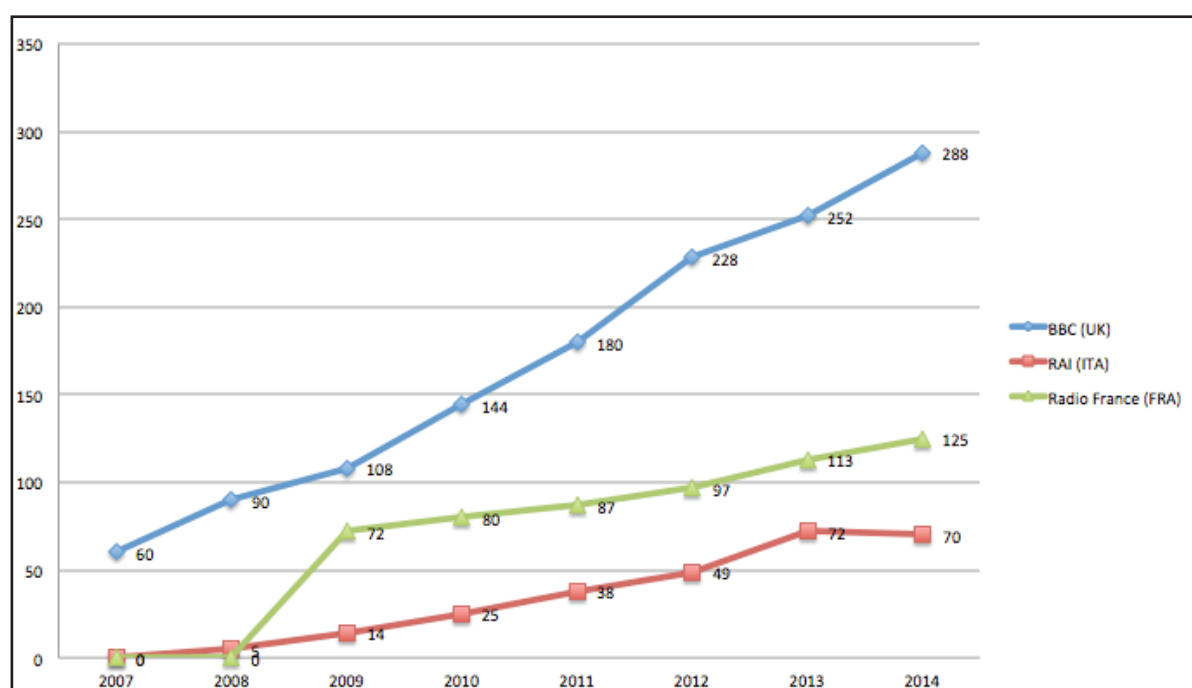
2) Radio and television stations, newspapers and companies. *The Word* (broadcast by *Public Radio International* in Minneapolis) became the first radio programme available as a podcast as well as on air. In May 2005 KYCY, a radio broadcaster in San Francisco, changed its name to KYOU Radio and became the first station to experiment with an *all-podcast* format (transmitted on AM and online). Its programming was based exclusively on independently produced podcasts (Caldwell 2005). However, the experience proved to be economically unviable and the format was abandoned in 2007.

In general, the first radio broadcasters to turn their programmes into podcasts were publicly owned, believing that this tool had the potential to better serve their listeners and legitimise license fees in a historical period of slow but constant FM audience decline. The BBC was one of the first big public broadcasters to take this step (in 2013 it produced 263 podcasts from a total of 977 programmes, cf. Delucia 2013). The first experiments began in April 2004 when the *Reith Lectures* were made available and downloadable on its website: in ten weeks they were downloaded more than 50,000 times. In October 2004 this experimentation was expanded to other programmes such as *In Our Time*, a history programme on Radio 4, and the interviews from the morning programme *Today*, also on Radio 4. The BBC inaugurated a regular podcasting service in 2007. In the United States NPR is the leader: its podcasting service, launched in August 2005, registered a total of 26 million downloads in April 2006 (Jaffe 2006). After two years monthly downloads amounted to 5 million.

As we can see in Figure 1, the download of radio programme podcasts produced by the main European public radio broadcasters has been constantly increasing since 2007, with a persistent increase since 2010, probably due to the expanded use of smartphones.

Talk shows are among the most frequently downloaded programmes from these broadcasters. The programme most downloaded by BBC listeners is the endless Radio 4 soap opera *The Archers*, downloaded 63.4m times since it was launched as a podcast in 2007 (Plunkett 2014) and 2.2m times just in August 2014 (BBC 2014).

Figure 1. Podcast downloads (in millions) per year for the BBC, RAI and Radio France



Sources: Mediametrie, BBC, RAI Pubblicità.²

The most downloaded programmes from Italian public radio are those produced by the cultural channel RAI Radio 3. For example, episodes of its *Ad Alta voce*, a programme on literary classics, were downloaded more than 3 million times in 2014 (RAI Radio 2015). When asked about the success of the programme, Lorenzo Pavolini, one of the programme's producers, claimed that since the podcast began "the programme has come back to life and we're receiving many requests we aren't able to follow up on. In the last two years, especially, podcast requests have literally exploded".³ The programmes that are most often downloaded as podcasts by no means correspond to those most listened to on FM, which proves that not all programmes are suitable for podcast listening. Research carried out by EBU in 2011 reported the case of a programme, *L'ofici de la Viure*, produced and broadcast by the Catalan regional public radio Catalunya Ràdio: downloads of its podcast (54,000 per episode) far exceeded its low listening rates on FM (33,000 per episode).

As for newspapers, in 2005 the *Daily Telegraph* in the UK was the first newspaper to launch a daily podcast with the proposed reading of three of its articles. In the same period the magazine *New Scientist* introduced a 9-week trial period of podcasts with news and interviews. In March 2006 the *Guardian* also began offering a series of podcasts: one for daily news, a weekly appointment with politics, one dedicated to the world of media, one to science and technology, one to the arts and performance and another to music. In Italy the most important experience with audio podcasts linked to a national newspaper is *Repubblica Radio*, a part of *Repubblica TV*, whose podcasts were active until June 2011. In the United States the *New York Times* is among the leading newspapers for original podcast production. It boasted ten podcasts until 2011 but, since 2012, has only featured two: *Book Review* (literary criticism) and *Science Times* (science-related news items). This seems due to a policy of cutting costs deemed to be useless, in favour of diverting funds towards other digital projects; podcasts, which require a great amount of production time and reach a rather limited audience, were subject to numerous cuts. Despite the growth in podcast listening, many newspapers, including giants such as the *New York Times* and the *Guardian*, began to reduce investment in their production because they do not produce the hoped-for returns in terms of traffic and advertising sales (Randall, 2011). Although the downloading of podcasts produced by public radio broadcasters is constantly growing, until now podcasting has remained a marginal part of the radio and editorial market, without a stable, independent business model. Audiences are still too small to be attractive for advertising and, above all, the ways in which podcasting is used, which are not so immediate or intuitive, have relegated it to tech-savvy niche consumption.

However, just when podcasting seemed to have stopped being a "new medium" and lost its innovative appeal, a combination of factors, including the more widespread use of smartphones, the popularity of new crowdfunding sites and the artistic and

creative growth of a legion of professional radio producers trained in public radio have brought about a new phase for podcasting. As we will see in the following section, podcasting is now more popular, more mainstream and more appealing to the media market, in a new phase driven by the producers of American public service radio and by crowdfunding.

4. From public service podcasting to crowdfunding and podcasting networks

What we will call the "second age" of podcasting began in the United States in 2012 when some of the most famous podcasts on American public radio decided to become independent from public radio funding and finance themselves entirely through their listeners, via new crowdfunding platforms such as *Kickstarter*. This is the case of 99% *Invisible*, a podcast on design and architecture produced by Roman Mars for KALW public radio of San Francisco, which raised \$170,000 donated by 5,661 backers in August 2012⁴ and went on to raise \$375,000 the following year. In 2012 two South American authors and writers, Daniel Alarcón and Carolina Guerrero, also gathered \$46,000 through *Kickstarter* in order to produce *Radio Ambulante*, a series of radio features on Latin America via podcast (Fernández Sande 2015). In 2014, once again through *Kickstarter*, the documentary programme *Radio Diaries* raised \$61,000 while Roman Mars launched the project *Radiotopia*, a network of narrative podcasts receiving \$620,000 from 21,000 backers (Steuer 2015). In the month of March 2015 alone, 35 podcast projects could be found on *Kickstarter's* crowdfunding platform, 15 of which (57%) had reached or exceeded 75% of their goal halfway through their campaigns. But *Kickstarter* is not the only crowdfunding platform where you can find campaigns for funding radio podcasts, nor is the United States the only country where these campaigns are successful. Fernández Sande (2015) has shown how this practice has become increasingly popular in other countries such as Italy and Spain, where a number of former national radio personalities have abandoned radio in order to finance their own programmes through these platforms.

Since 2012, through the use of crowdfunding and with the advantage of audiences that already know programmes and radio personalities, a growing number of programmes have abandoned traditional radio distribution and embraced listener-funded podcasting as a way to distribute and support their work. In some cases, such as 99% *Invisible*, *Radio Ambulante* and *Radio Diaries*, programmes continue to be distributed and sold to traditional radio companies while for others, such as a number of podcasts found on *Radiotopia*, podcasting is their only distribution channel.

This article aims to advocate the fundamental role of producers in this professionalization and commercialization of podcasting, producers who have been brought up and trained in public radio. Public radio in both America and

Europe has raised a generation of producers of radio formats based on storytelling who are currently moving away to create independent programmes. American public radio producers include Roman Mars and the producers of *Radio Diaries* (on air since 1996) and all profess to have been inspired by other famous storytelling radio programmes such as *Radiolab* (on air since 2002, Eckstein 2013) and *This American Life* (on air since 1995) hosted by the radio storytelling star Ira Glass, both of which are broadcast by NPR. An increasing number of producers are emerging from this initial core group of storytelling radio producers working with American public radio: the most popular case is represented by *Serial*, the series of 12 episodes hosted by Sarah Koenig, a former producer of *This American Life*. Although it was only distributed via podcast in 2014, it had already been downloaded 72 million times by January 2015 (Sebastian 2015). *Serial* was launched by Ira Glass in an episode of *This American Life* and, from that moment on, it gained in popularity. The importance of an endorsement from Ira Glass for the success of a new podcasting series is explicitly recognised by Ann Friedman in the *Columbia Journalism Review* (2015): “if your show is featured on *This American Life* you can expect a massive increase in listeners, or what several podcasters call ‘the Ira Glass bump’”. Cross-promotion, says Mullin (2015) in *Poynter*, became a common strategy within NPR offices to launch its new radio storytelling series. In January 2015 NPR presented an original and “sophisticated storytelling show, which combined storytelling with cultural and scientific reporting” (Larson 2015), called *Invisibilia*, and cross-promoted previews of the show on podcasting staples such as *This American Life* and *Radiolab*. It paid off: since *Invisibilia* launched on January 6, its episodes have been downloaded more than 33 million times, briefly eclipsing *Serial* on the iTunes charts of March 2015.

Public radio, at least in the US, has played a fundamental role in creating an ecosystem within which podcasting could finally start to flourish.

Serial is not only one of the greatest successes of public radio storytelling but also represents the turning point for the second age of podcasting: it's the programme that has made this distribution technology go mainstream and transformed it into a 'mass medium'. According to Chafin:

“Today, podcasting has put public radio— usually one of the sleeper corners of media—at the white-hot epicenter of pop culture. This is mostly thanks to one thing: *Serial*. The real-life murder mystery podcast produced by *This American Life* became a national obsession last year, amassing well above 20 million downloads in just a few months and along the way making podcasts one of the most exciting areas of emerging media. (2015)”

American public radio, in its national (NPR) and regional/local formats, has produced storytelling programmes that have attracted niche listeners for decades but thanks to podcasting and the expanded use of smartphones and social networks,

these programmes have moved beyond the geographical borders of the radio stations broadcasting them to be enjoyed by millions of people all over the world. In just a few years downloads of these programmes have grown exponentially in the Anglophone world, becoming mass consumer content. With this mix of new technologies for distribution (podcasting) and for listening (smartphones) combined with sound-based social networks (*Soundcloud*, *Mixcloud*, *Spreaker* and the *Deezer*-belonging *Stitcher*) and new crowdfunding platforms (*Kickstarter*, *Indie Go Go*), the foundations have been laid to create an independent market for podcasting. New business models have emerged within this new market based on a mix of donations, crowdfunding, sponsors and advertising. According to figures from the media analysts at Edison Research (Chafin 2015), more than 15% of Americans are now regular podcast listeners, a total of 40 million people while interest in podcasts (and therefore money potential) is growing fast. Monthly podcast listening has grown by two percentage points to 17% in the last year, now totalling about 46 million Americans aged 12 and older according to Edison Research.

This new market is the result of decades of investment by public service media in a narrative format (features, documentaries, radio storytelling in general) that is costly to produce and not very appealing to investors in commercial radio advertising. Without these investments, regardless of the availability of technology, there would be no content to distribute.

Radiotopia represents the latest phase in this evolution: in addition to raising funds from potential listeners and being supported by a foundation, it also allows its programmes to be sponsored. *Radiotopia* presents itself as a commercial radio station that aggregates content in order to attract audiences to be sold to advertising but this is not its only purpose. In 2014 five other similar networks were created in the United States: *PodcastOne*, *Gimlet media* (a project by former *This American Life* producer Alex Blumberg), *Infinite Guest*, *Earwolf* and *Panoply*. *Panoply* was founded by an American media company, *Slate*, and in March 2015 was the home of 15 podcasts with more than 6.5 million monthly downloads. According to Sebastian (2015) it aims to produce and promote podcasts for other media companies, celebrities and authors. It will also sell ads against those podcasts and share a cut of the revenue. The *New York Times*, *Huffington Post*, *Real Simple* magazine, WBUR in Boston and several others have signed up for *Panoply*. One podcast network, *Earwolf* (who only produces original comedy programmes starring popular American comedians), created *Midroll*, an ad-sales network to sell sponsorships for both its own podcasts and those that aren't on the network. *Midroll* sells ads on behalf of about 200 podcasts.

The ability to make money by selling ads against podcasts is gaining ground. According to Friedman (2015), “ACast, a Swedish podcast-hosting company, has an app that runs short ads at the beginning and end of each podcast. They sell ads against podcasts of all audience sizes, and offer podcasters a 50-50 revenue split—which means that even podcasters with

a few thousand listeners could make a little cash. The app is popular in Sweden, and they're planning to launch in America soon".

In just three years this has radically changed the economics behind the production of podcasts. Whereas, in their first ten years, the most downloaded podcasts with the greatest following were produced by European and American public radio broadcasters, today many of these same podcasts, in addition to new products, are starting to be funded through economic systems that are alternative to public services such as crowdfunding, sponsors and advertising. The economic models (sponsorship, advertising, listener donations, infomercials, paid subscriptions) envisioned by Crofts et al. (2005) and by Glaser (2005) are beginning to work, ten years after they were first predicted.

5. Conclusions: from toll broadcasting to "toll podcasting"

This article has reassessed the historical evolution of podcasting as a cultural practice, analysing the state of academic research regarding this relatively new technology and its evolution from an amateur medium to a new channel to distribute for-profit sound content.

The exponential increase in podcast downloads in the Western world (especially Anglophone but also Latin, see Blanco 2006 and Pérez Alaejos and López Merayo, 2013) is due to the increase in quality of the podcasts available, the widespread use of smartphones and the growing popularity of crowdfunding and sound-based social networks, all of which have set the stage for a new market and seem to be the reason for the increased emphasis on podcasting's "resurgence" by American journalists who are experts in the field:

"Podcasts have been around for 10 years —the medium and its adoring fans aren't new. What is new is the renewed interest in podcasts as a lucrative business and, with that, the consolidation into formalized networks. Around three years ago, both the *New York Times* and the *Boston Globe* gave up on most of their audio programming citing a lack of interest and revenue. Now, Blumberg and Lieber are betting their careers on podcasts. What happened? Money and technology, but mostly money." (Greenfield 2014)

"Mostly money" is the key phrase in the media's renewed emphasis on podcasting. The creation of networks that aggregate podcasts is motivated by purely economic reasons: aggregate content in order to aggregate audiences to be sold to advertising. Audiences aggregated by these networks, which were once marginal, began to expand markedly after the onset of *Serial*. Although they have not yet reached the large numbers achieved by the mass audiences of traditional radio they still number several million, as we have seen. The value of these audiences for the market has therefore rocketed. Furthermore,

advertising embedded in podcasts has a much greater value than advertising broadcast on air:

"People really pay attention to the ads," *Slate's* podcasting guru Andy Bowers says. That's partly because they have to: The hosts are often right in your ear, and there's no quick way to change the station, like on a radio. Even scrolling past an ad takes more effort than it's worth. What if you skip ahead too far? (O'Donovan 2014)"

Podcast ads seem to generate high levels of engagement. According to Greenfield (2014), Internal Midroll surveys of 300,000 listeners found that 63% of people bought something a host had peddled on his show. Because of that leverage, Midroll charges a lot for podcast ads. This is exactly what American journalist Kevin Roose (2014) discovered:

"Another reason that podcasts may be growing is that the economics are compelling. Producing an average podcast costs far less than producing a TV show or a radio show and the advertising rates on a successful podcast are big enough to pay for the costs many times over. Several top podcasters told me that their CPM (the cost to an advertiser per thousand impressions, a standard ad-industry unit) was between \$20 and \$45. Compare that to a typical radio CPM (roughly \$1 to \$18) or network TV (\$5 to \$20) or even a regular old web ad (\$1 to \$20), and the podcast wins. "

What is happening to podcasting, 11 years after its invention, is its transformation from a do-it-yourself, amateur niche medium to a commercial mass medium: from narrowcasting to broadcasting. This invention, which has been adopted by citizens as a tool for self-expression and by public services as an additional channel for serving its license-fee payers and donors, has now definitively entered the market, following the same history as radio when broadcasting over the airwaves was adopted by American corporations and transformed into a commercial activity. The commercialization of broadcasting implemented by AT&T and RCA is now being reproduced in the podcasting domain by individual radio producers/entrepreneurs such as Roman Mars and media companies such as *Slate*.

In 1922 AT&T announced they would sell "toll broadcasting", where companies would finance the broadcast in exchange for being mentioned on air. The first credited toll broadcast was by New York's WEAJ on August 28, 1922 (Barnouw 1970). Radio thus became a profitable enterprise and broadcasting as a cultural and social practice started to be commodified and commercialised.

Podcasting networks like *Radiotopia* and *Panoply* are the contemporary versions of AT&T and RCA: they're attempting to finance podcast production by selling time slots inside their podcasts to advertisers. Today we could call this model "toll podcasting". The podcast has embarked on a new commercial age. Just as when radio was standardised, radio amateurs and amateur podcast producers will still continue to exist but podcasting has now become another commercial market where

it may sell itself (through crowdfunding) or audiences (through embedded advertising or “toll podcasting”). The fears of Sterne et al. (2008) have finally come true. Podcasting *is* broadcasting but not in the wider and more democratic sense envisioned by Sterne et al. On the contrary, podcasting *is becoming* (commercial) broadcasting.

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Notes

1. This search, carried out on the March 18, 2015, included all articles with the word “podcasting” in their abstracts, found in the online archives of Google Scholar and the publishing group Taylor & Francis. All articles whose main research aim was not podcasting, or which did not deal with podcasting from a media-studies perspective, were excluded from this search.
2. The collection of data regarding podcast downloads initially included the 5 biggest European public broadcasters: BBC (UK), RAI (ITA), Radio France (FRA), RNE (SPAIN) and ARD (GER), which the EBU (European Broadcasting Union) calls the “Big Five”, but neither RNE nor ARD provided the requested data.
3. Lorenzo Pavolini, November 6, 2014, key note speech at *Radiophonica*, a radio art festival held in Milan, Italy, 5-6 November 2014. Speech recorded by the author.
4. <https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/1748303376/99-invisible-season-3?ref=nav_search>

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The mediamorphosis of local radio. A perspective from the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region¹ setting

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Abstract

This article focuses on the expansion of proximity radio to the internet from the perspective of the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region. Starting from both sides of local radio, namely local content and a medium for community participation, a content analysis was carried out of the websites of 65 traditional radio stations, 37 of them Galician and 28 Portuguese. This study has verified the limited adaptation of local radio to the internet in terms of multimedia and interactivity of its content, as well as the possibilities for its listeners-users to interact.

Keywords

Mediamorphosis, local radio, content, interaction, Euro-Region.

Resum

Aquest article tracta l'expansió de la ràdio de proximitat a internet des de la perspectiva de l'Euroregió Galícia – Nord de Portugal. A partir de les dues vessants de la ràdio local, continguts de proximitat i mitjà comunitari-participatiu, s'ha realitzat una anàlisi de contingut dels llocs web de 65 emissores convencionals, 37 de gallegues i 28 de portugueses. Un estudi que ens ha permès constatar la limitada adaptació de la ràdio local a la xarxa pel que fa a la multimedialitat i la interactivitat dels seus continguts, així com a les possibilitats d'interacció dels seus oïdors-usuaris

Paraules clau

Mediamorfosi, ràdio local, continguts, interacció, Euroregió.

1. Introduction

In July 2014 Radio Valga became the online audience leader in the *radios.net* application and its website. With over 1,500 visits² the municipal radio station in Valga (a municipality in the Põlva area with a population of 6,000) topped the list of 427 Spanish radio stations of different types and ranges.³

The airing of *Palco de Estrelas*, a musical show on Galician bands, put Radio Valga among the twenty most popular stations in a daily worldwide ranking on several occasions.⁴

This municipal station's bid to broadcast its signal live over this website made it a spontaneous example of *glocalization* from both market and cultural standpoints (Castells 2005).

If, as Fornet-Betancourt points out (2002), *glocalization* represents a unique chance to universalise the local sphere and localise the universal sphere, the internet is the context within which this phenomenon takes shape (Terol 2014). On the internet media can extend the scope of their local content to a worldwide community, at the same time as allowing their users to follow up global issues without leaving their website.

The emergence of the internet within the media ecosystem triggered a process involving the transformation of the media and their professionals to adapt to the potentials of the web. This mediamorphosis (Fidler 1997), a process that still continues

today, has led radio to seek new communication formulas to adapt to this new context and develop its own language and expression.

Although radio stations first used websites to gain an online presence and put out their broadcasts live or simulcast (Franquet 1999), they soon started to experiment with the possibilities of the digital medium, different conceptions of time and technological devices (Alves 2003).

2. From the sound medium to R@dio

On the internet radio has lost the ephemeral quality that once characterised it through the emergence of new on-demand distribution formulas which mean the listening experience can be personalised, as well as the time, place and device on which its products are consumed. Although podcasting made the medium flexible for a personal and mobile experience in offline settings too (Gallego 2012; Sellas 2012), the development of broadband and connectivity of portable devices have made streaming the dynamic core of online radio (Cordeiro 2012).

Radio stations combine technologies and distribution platforms to extend their range and impact, both from a perspective of public service and also economic benefits (Bonet and Quijada

2011). On the internet radio has broken some of the bounds of the traditional medium such as the geographical restrictions⁵ determined by the broadcasting range and the occupation and regulation of the radio spectrum.

The technological aspect in this case depends on the actual medium's capacity to develop its communication potential with sound as the anchor point (Cebrián Herreros 2008, Reis 2014b).

Beyond new formulas for distributing online content, the shift from traditional to online radio has also entailed the adoption of its multimedia and interactive potential, both in the message and in the relations established with listeners-users (Nyre and Ala-Fossi 2008, Priestman 2002).

The digital medium gives radio an ideal scenario to interact and generate new dynamics with its radio listeners, especially in the field of social platforms (Monclús and others 2014). In this setting listeners can take on an active role and become involved both in creating the medium's content (*User Generated Content*) and its distribution via their personal networks (*User Distributed Content*).

Interactivity, convergence and cloud computing are giving rise to a new concept of radio or R@dio, as this is called by Cordeiro (2012, 503), which combines "sound and image, is [more] interactive, [more] participative, shareable, asynchronous, repeatable, reproducible, inspectable, personalisable, discontinuous, hypertextual, non-linear, convergent and on demand".

In the age of portability (Kischinhevsky 2009) this R@dio becomes mobile as its universe expands to smartphones, tablets and other multimedia devices through applications which optimise access to its contents and services. With the leap to mobile devices radio gains in connectivity, adds flexibility and intensity to the consumption of the medium, multiplies options for personalisation and integrates new functions based on geo-location technology in a unique and perfectly interwoven experience.

Aware of these potentials, traditional radio broadcasters are showing a growing interest in the internet, its range of channels, platforms and content, as a strategic medium for attracting and consolidating communities of listeners-users (Martínez Costa, Moreno and Amoedo 2012).

Within this framework, several different authors have studied the transposition of the sound-based medium to a web-based and, to a lesser extent, mobile platform, as well as its impact on traditional radio stations. These approaches have tackled different aspects of mediamorphosis (the transformation of the communicative paradigm, distribution of content or audience participation, among others) from the standpoint of the main radio broadcasters with a range that covers the whole state or autonomous community.

But what's happening to local radio? What impact is mediamorphosis having on "proximity radio"?

This study set out to examine the transposition of local radio stations in the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region

to web-based and mobile platforms, especially as regards the multimedia quality of content and interaction-participation of their audiences.

We started out from the concept of the Euro-Region as a cross-border cooperation structure covering two regions belonging to different states with common characteristics which require the more or less institutionalised cooperation of both regions.

The Galicia-Northern Portugal⁶ cooperation area encourages economic, social and cultural cooperation between organisations, companies and citizens on both sides of the border.

The geographical proximity of these areas is favourable for receiving the signal from radio stations in the neighbouring country. Although this overspill stimulates cultural familiarity and brings both territories closer together, it can also give rise to cross-border conflict with a limited radio spectrum, a conflict that disappears with online broadcasting.

3. A brief overview of local radio in Spain and Portugal

When we talk about local radio we're referring to a heterogeneous set of stations with differing management, structure and content, including municipal, associational, free, educational and other stations. All these radio broadcasters have one common denominator: a limited range, which restricts their sphere of action from a geographical standpoint although it boosts their potential as regards social interaction (Bonet 2004). As Flichy (1981) points, out, these stations play an important role in stimulating local social life and initiatives and, by extension, in the cohesion of the community and in encouraging a feeling of belonging.

In this respect Bonet (2004) proposes the use of the term "proximity radio", a term which refers to one of the key aspects of this type of station: the rationale implemented in broadcasting their content and its influence on programme planning and information. Local radios stations focus on local information and bring up specific issues and angles of interest for the community they serve (Bonixé 2006).

The other aspect is that of local radio as a community or participatory medium. Such radio stations are conceived as a pluralist platform, alternative to the mainstream media, which gives citizens a voice in social and political debate, integrating different groups (Buendía and Pino 2008). According to Del Barco (2014) proximity radio represents a force for empowering the people and contributes to territorial structure and the construction of a participatory community.

Local radio stations tend to be the result of dynamic processes of civic development or specific initiatives within the community. The structure and development of such initiatives are nevertheless disparate in terms of objectives and context. A study of local radio in the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region therefore requires a brief examination of the particular aspects of the Spanish and Portuguese radio sector.

In Spain radio has a firmly-rooted local basis, albeit with

state-wide aspirations. Right from the start Spanish radio was characterised by its local spirit due to technological conditioning factors (the short range of the frequencies) and political aspects. The radio industry started becoming more concentrated in the 1980s, resulting in a state oligopoly supported by a network of local stations. Rather than through the licenses awarded, the main radio broadcasters have increased their range and influence through specific agreements with local stations. A system for broadcasting across the network with (local and regional) variation opt-outs for certain content was thus established.

In parallel to this, in the late 1970s proximity stations of different kinds emerged such as municipal, community, education and association-based broadcasters, taking on the role of service to the local community (Franquet 2008). Some of these stations, which *squatted* in the airwaves, were able to regularise their situation thanks to the creation of a specific legislative framework and the licenses granted. Others have nevertheless been discriminated against in the share-out of frequencies, as occurred in the tender put out by Galicia's regional authority from 2011 to 2013, which forced non-commercial stations into "piracy" (Calvo 2011).

In Portugal local radio went through three different phases of development. The first was the emergence of Portuguese radio, when local stations with small structural and financial volumes appeared (Reis, 2014a). This stage came to a close in 1975 with the decree for nationalising radio.⁷

From that time up to 1988, when the regularisation process started, different types of "pirate" radio stations were set up, backed by small companies, the church, local newspapers, sports clubs, cultural associations, local administrations, etc. (Bonixé 2014). In January 1989, after the pirate stations were closed down (24th December 1988), a new stage in Portuguese radio began with a major presence of proximity radio (Reis 2014a). In fact Portuguese radio has a strong "real" local base in which network broadcasting hardly comes into play.

Table 1. Type of local radio by content–range

Type of local radio by content – range
Genuinely local, by range and/or content
Local through opt-out
From the regional network
From the state network
Local through advertising opt-out
By opt-in
By purchasing or swapping programmes produced by other local radios

Source: Bonet 2004.

Beyond any differences in the structure of radio sectors, both Spanish and Portuguese contexts have the advantage of their proximity radio stations to alter "the local and public nature of communication and also the actions of social agents interacting with and via these" (Buendía and Pino 2008, 86). This function would stay with radio in its transfer to online broadcasting.

4. Materials and method

To analyse the transposition of proximity radio stations in the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region (hereinafter known as the Euro-Region) to the internet a quantitative exploratory study was carried out of the websites and Apps available using content analysis as our research method. This provides a systematic analysis of the 'signified' and 'signifier' aspects (analysis of procedures, of conventions, of formal features) of any text (Igartua Perosanz 2006).

As Mata (1993) claims, apart from being a means of communication, radio can also be considered as a signifying practice and cultural experience. This perspective was reflected in the choice of local radio from the Euro-Region as our subject for analysis. Apart from proximity to the sample examined and an interest in comparing two different states, the existence of a common culture [Galician-Portuguese] with a strong oral element was also involved in this choice.

4.1. Determining the sample

Setting the boundaries for the sample to be studied represented one of the most complex parts of this work due to the general nature of the term "local radio" and the particular aspects of the Spanish radio sector. Although the selection of Portuguese radios was based on data from the *Autoridade Nacional de Comunicações*,⁸ ruling out any stations that were inactive in October 2014, this process became more complicated in the case of Galician radio due to the limited correspondence between the assignation of frequencies and the real occupation of the radio spectrum.⁹

This lack of correspondence led us to compare data from the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism with information from the press, Council websites, state and regional radio chains, sites such as *Guía de la Radio* and *Info de la radio* and our own experience as radio listeners to determine which stations (with or without an assigned frequency) were regularly broadcasting in November 2014.

The next step involved in selecting the sample was to set the boundaries for the concept of "local". Although many of the radio stations that cover the state or autonomous community in Galicia offer local opt-outs for news bulletins and other content, we opted to restrict the subject being analysed to "proximity radio" *per se* for the sake of greater comparability (between these and Portuguese stations).

This limitation does not mean that all network broadcasting has been eliminated. In fact, we should highlight the *Radiofusión*

project, an initiative by the association of Galician Municipal Radio Stations (EMUGA) for the common, efficient development of locally-based content, which occupies a considerable part of its programme scheduling. We should also note the existence of two local stations, private initiatives, whose main sphere of action is the province of Pontevedra: *Si Radio* (broadcasting from the counties of Salnés, Condado, Paradanta and the *concellos* districts of Crecente and Arbo) and *Vía Radio* (with a presence in Vigo, Pontevedra, Pontearreas, A Guarda and Ourense). These radio chains have a single website for all their stations, which is why they are treated as a single radio station in this analysis.

In the case of *Radiodifusión*, its website has individual sections for the stations associated with EMUGA, which meant that, for those municipal stations without their own website, these individual sections were considered as a single unit of analysis.

After setting the limits for the sample of proximity radio stations in the Euro-Region active in October-November (Table 2), and in view of the subject being studied, we selected those stations with a space on the internet to distribute their audio content. We based this selection on the fact that audio constitutes the characteristic feature of radio, also on the internet (Reis 2014b).

Finally, the last step was to set out the limits for the sample in view of radio content. If, as Chantler and Harris (1997) assert, information constitutes the differentiating element of local radio in a context of media saturation, it was deemed more relevant to find out how talk proximity radio is adapting to the internet rather than its musical equivalent.

In short, this multiple demarcation process led to the selection of an analytical sample of 65 traditional talk radio stations (37 Galician and 28 Portuguese) which distribute their audio content on the internet.

4.2. Tools

To study the adaptation of proximity radio stations in the Euro-Region to online radio we produced a worksheet on the two key aspects of radiomorphosis (Prata 2008): the sphere of

genre and interactivity. As well as both these aspects, which correspond to the two facets of local radio (content and participation), the range of mobile applications available was also broadly included:

- Genre: dissemination of audio content (live, streaming, podcast), use of text, image, video, integration of plugins from other platforms, expansion to other platforms, etc.
- Interactivity: possibilities to interact with the medium's content (rating, voting, comments, forms), inclusion of participation mechanisms (User Generated Content), shareability (User Distributed Content), integration of social networks (plugin, icon), etc.
- Range of applications available or mobile devices.

In a second stage these stations were classified according to their degree of adaptation to online radio. Several authors have proposed a classification for traditional radio broadcasters based on their development in the online medium. Bulck and Hermans' work (the only one specifically on local radio) provides three possible phases in radio's evolution which do not entail the distribution of audio content.

The remaining classifications refer to the evolution of online radio in terms of its adaptation to the multimedia concept (genres) and the interactivity of the digital medium. These two variables are also included within our own classification.

To assess the degree of website appropriation by proximity radio a station, a dual evaluation scale was produced taking into account the genres and interactivity.

As regards genre, live broadcasting was considered as the basic form of radio communication on the internet. In this case the maximum degree of appropriation was established as the incorporation of different content in the image, text or video format apart from access to all, or practically all, programmes on demand.

As for interactivity, the study was based on the classification by Chung (2008), who suggests three categories of cybermedia: low interactivity (saving and downloading content); average (rating, replying to surveys, and other kinds of automated interaction) and high (passing on content, comments, chats, etc.). Moreover, based on the idea of participation as a step further in listener relations with the producers of the medium, requiring a greater level of commitment, the highest rating was given to radio websites with mechanisms for User Generated Content. This function becomes particularly important in the case of proximity radio in view of its community and participatory component.

Each of these categories is considered to be one level further towards the appropriation of website-based radio, integrating the previous level, but an intermediate rating (0.5) is nevertheless included for indicating distinctive features: for example, the radio websites with audio distribution via streaming but not live.

Table 2. Type of proximity radio stations in Galicia-Northern Portugal

Type of station	Galicia	Northern Portugal
Educational	3	2
Religious	1	0
Free	8	0
Municipal	28	0
Local	3	55
Musical	3	4
Local chain	2	0
Regional	0	2
Other	2	0
Total	50	63

Source: author.

Table 3. Classification of radio stations by degree of platform appropriation

Bulck and Hermans (2011)	Portela (2006)	Cordeiro (2004/2011)	Franquet (1999)	Cebrián Herreros (2008)
No website				
Website with limited content. Homepage or simple structure. No audio.	Minimum level. Does not broadcast or the broadcast is on an external platform	Token	Radio sites	
Website with advanced content. More advanced structure, content in different languages				
Live content	Basic level. Website with homepage or simple structure. Live streaming.	Multimedia	Live Bitcaster	Radio via the internet (only broadcast)
Streaming	Mid-level. Content multiplied in different languages (image, text, video, programme archive, contact by email and questionnaires)		Bitcaster on demand	Radio on the internet (including interaction tools and access to programming)
Podcast	Advanced level. Multimedia quality and complete interactivity.	R@dio	Full Bitcaster (live and on demand)	Cyber radio

Source: author.

Table 4. Categories to rate internet appropriation – genre and interactivity. By local station

	Genres	Interactivity-participation
0	Direct Autoplay	No
1	Direct connection	Rating, voting, “likes”
2	Content incorporated in text, image and video	Comments, forum, plugin RSS or shareability (interaction in the medium or participation in distributing content)
3	Access to audio via streaming	Comments, forum, plugin RSS and shareability (both)
4	Radio on demand (main programmes via streaming or podcast)	Participation in medium’s content

Source: author.

5. Proximity radio on the internet. Genres

Radio stations from the Euro-Region are heavily audio-based in their move onto the internet. All the stations analysed broadcast some type of audio content either live (a total of 57 radio websites, 27 in Galicia and 30 in Portugal) or on demand (49 stations, 28 Galician and 20 Portuguese).

Streaming appears to be the most usual format for distributing content on demand. 75% of the websites analysed (41 from the internet itself, 22 in Galicia and 19 in Portugal, and a further 7 through external plugins: 6 Galician and 1 Portuguese) include some type of content in this format, a usage which contrasts with the limited presence of podcasts (3 stations, 1 in Galicia and 2 in Portugal). The association of non-linear consumption with podcasting has nevertheless meant that another type of audio file has been identified as such, namely those which, although they can be downloaded, are not syndicated content (the salient trait of podcasting).

In spite of the major presence of content on demand, only eight of the websites analysed provide real “radio à la carte” by distributing both current affairs news and their main programmes on demand. The other stations simply act as vehicles for some content, either news, programmes, interviews, fragments of sports competitions or even municipal plenary sessions.

Apart from the types of distribution via their own websites, 33 of the stations analysed (22 in Galicia and 22 in Portugal) have extended their online universe to other audio internet platforms. Tools such as TuneIn (used by 6 Galician stations and 9 Portuguese ones) or iVox (used by 10 Galician stations) mean that radio stations can replicate their programme on the internet, generate a library with their content for consumption via streaming, have this content downloaded or automate the process through podcasts. The use of other audio services has been noted to a lesser extent, such as Livestream (4 Galician stations), MixCloud (2 Galician stations), SoundCloud, MySpace or Cotonete (each found at 1 Portuguese station) to distribute audio via streaming.

The fact that these tools are free, the ease with which they can be integrated within a specific website (as a plugin or embedded content) and their socialisation possibilities represent an opportunity for proximity radio stations on the internet from both the viewpoint of content and also the interactivity of their audiences.

As regards the use of other languages, there appears to be a major integration of text and image content on the websites analysed. 80% of the sample (52 stations, 24 Galician and 28 Portuguese) incorporate texts and images on their sites either as an introduction to audio content, the station or announcers (21 radio websites, 8 Galician and 13 Portuguese) or as independent content (31 stations, 16 Galician and 15 Portuguese).

We should stress the interdependent relationship established between texts and images. Introductory or summary texts tend to be accompanied by icon-style images to identify programmes, announcers, sections of the website, etc., while news or content of greater importance includes photographs to complement

said information. Audiovisual content is less conspicuous on proximity radio station websites, especially in Galician stations (2 websites as opposed to 14 Portuguese).

Lastly, the analysis of the range of applications available for portable devices has revealed scant implementation of mobile radio among proximity radio stations. Only 9 stations (6 Galician and 3 Portuguese) have extended their presence to mobile devices by offering an application of their own. These applications are extremely simple and more prevalent are internet Apps enabling access from different mobile operating systems to live radio broadcasts.

6. Proximity radio stations on the internet. Interactivity

As regards interactivity, the evidence indicates a limited use of the possibilities for interaction, participation in content and shareability offered by the digital medium.

Almost half the stations analysed (34 radio stations, 17 Galician and Portuguese respectively) provide some option for interaction with their content, automated options (rating, voting, likes) being more common than comments (possible on 13 Galician radio websites and 9 Portuguese).

The incorporation of social networks in the realm of online radio has provided a complement for the interactive possibilities of websites with the inclusion of social plugins or icons to provide access for listeners-users to social conversation. In this respect 44% of the radio websites analysed (29 stations, 12 Galician and 17 Portuguese) include access to their social channels on the website, especially as regards Facebook (12 Galician and 17 Portuguese websites) and, to a lesser extent Twitter (8 Galician and 9 Portuguese stations).

This number of stations drops considerably when we look at user participation in the medium's content. Only five stations, all Spanish, offer some kind of function to facilitate and prompt User Generated Content. Although incorporating a contact section with an online form or the station's email address enables listener/user participation, this does not tend to be associated with a ‘call to action’ to encourage them to send in their own content.

Including interaction formulas over the Internet, such as emails or online forms, has replaced telephone contact at 12 of the radio stations analysed (9 Galician and 3 Portuguese). This situation, whose explanation may lie in the limited infrastructure available at some of these stations, rules out the radio participation formula *par excellence*. Indeed, according to Tolson (2006) telephone calls constitute the most powerful form of participation since they limit how much the medium's producers can control and interfere with the listener's message.

In addition to interaction with radio content, 47% of the websites (31 radio websites, 14 Galician and 17 Portuguese) include shareability options which allow listeners-users to distribute their content via social media. The options for User Distributed Content provided by these stations are fairly

standard, mainly enabling the redistribution of text content via email, Facebook and Twitter.

7. The internet radiomorphosis of Galician and Portuguese stations

The data collected in the content analysis allow us to evaluate how far proximity radio stations have adapted to the website platform, revealing certain differences in the mediamorphosis of local Galician and Portuguese radio.

As regards the adaptation of Galician radio stations to the digital medium, some convergence between stations can be seen (Graph 1). Most of the websites analysed (25 stations) contain content in different formats (text, image and audio) and even offer different formulas for interaction or shareability (17 and 14 stations, respectively).

More specifically, 59% of Galician radio websites (a total of 19) get a rating above 2 in the area of genre, which only occurs in 30% of the stations (a total number of 11) in the case of interactivity-participation.

We can therefore state that there is a medium-high degree of appropriation of the digital platform by Galician stations, even though there are some discrepancies.

On the one hand, although three radio websites have the maximum adaptation from the point of view of genre (thereby revealing themselves to be real *à la carte* multimedia radio stations) and a further five stations provide formulas for User Generated Content, both perspectives do not manage to appear together. There is no Galician proximity radio station with the highest degree of internet development.

On the other hand, there are six Galician stations which, al-

though they have adapted their content to the digital medium (two of them even have medium-high adaptation in the field of genre), they have not considered the potential for interaction. These stations are disregarding one of proximity radio's opportunities to create and consolidate an active and participatory community of radio listeners.

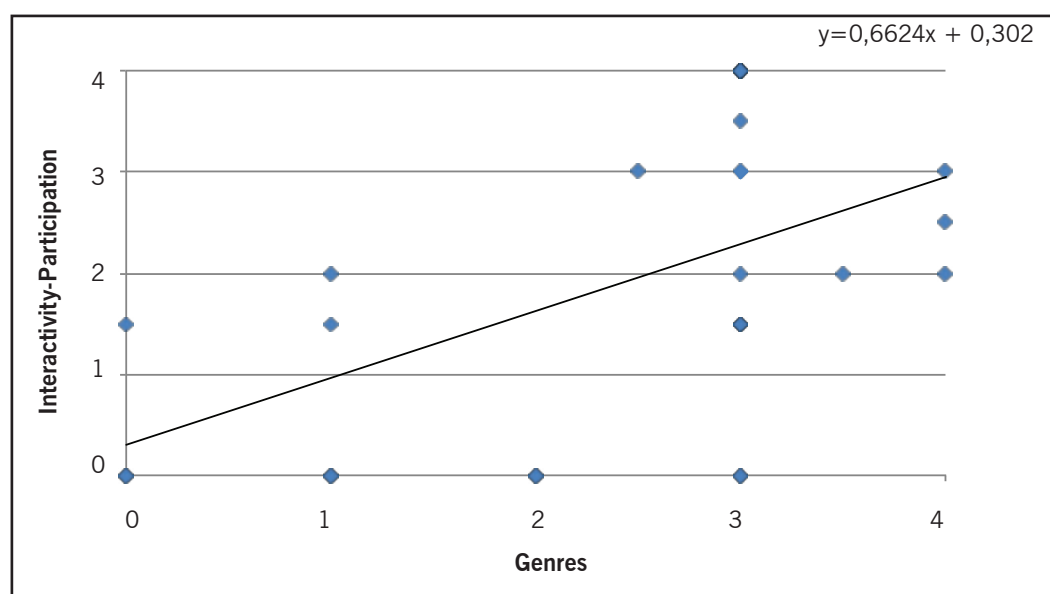
In their adaptation to the internet, Portuguese stations are seen to be more diverse than their Galician equivalents. Indeed, as shown in Graph 2, there are some major fluctuations as regards genre.

Portuguese proximity radio stations have a diverse morphology and structure ranging from very simple websites in which live broadcasts are provided via a plugin from another internet platform (2 radio websites) to genuine *à la carte* radio stations which not only incorporate content in text, image or video format but also enable access to all, or practically all broadcasts on demand (3 stations). In any event, the most commonly found pattern is that of a radio combining live broadcasts with some informative content in text, image or audio format via streaming (13 websites, representing 46%).

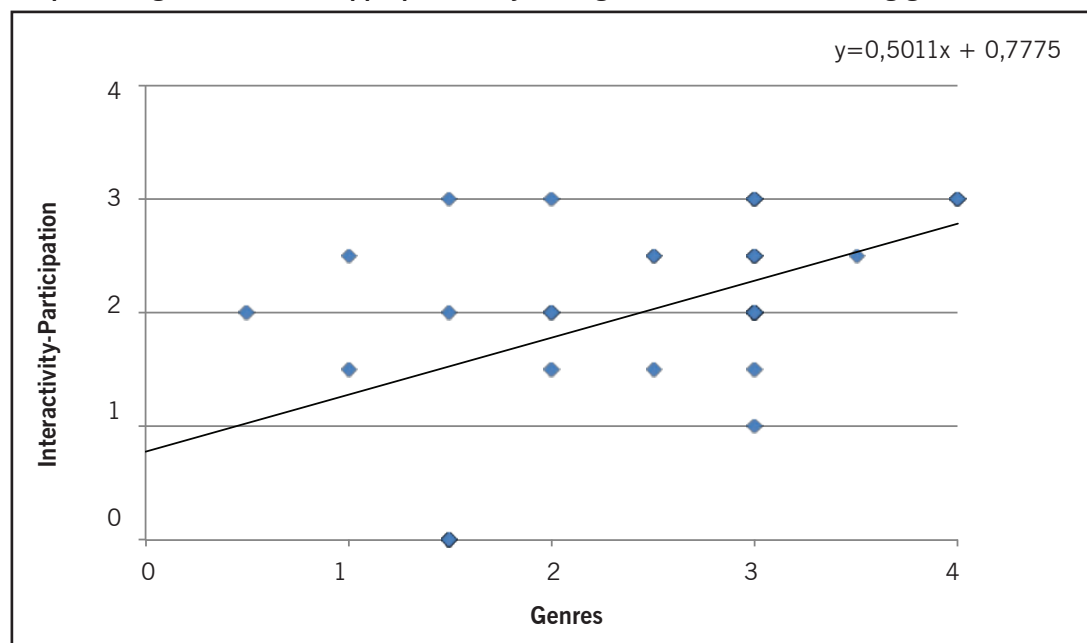
In the domain of interaction-participation, an intermediate phase in the appropriation of Portuguese radio stations of the internet platform should be noted, with 71% of the sample (20 stations) within the range of 1.5 to 2.5. None of the radio websites analysed offers formulas to encourage the interaction of listeners-users in the medium's content.

It is also significant that eleven stations (49%) make use of the website's own potential in terms of interactivity (ratings, surveys, comments) by integrating a social plugin or plugins. Although the inclusion of such a social screen represents a high level of interactivity (Chung 2008), it shifts the conversation to a platform that is external to the radio website itself.

Graph 1. Degree of internet appropriation by Galician stations considering genre-interactivity



Source: author.

Graph 2. Degree of internet appropriation by Portuguese stations considering genre-interactivity

Source: author.

8. Conclusions

The concentration in radio seen over the last few decades has placed the future of radio and its mediamorphosis in the hands of large multimedia groups. The same as with the big names in radio, proximity radio stations have developed in the digital medium by creating their own spaces on the internet. As regards the mobile platform, the development of local radio is still in a preliminary phase.

In the context of the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region, six out of every ten local traditional radio stations have extended their presence to the internet by setting up their own website. The leap from traditional to online radio has been greater in the Galician context where 80% of proximity radio stations have a place on the internet compared with 51% of Portuguese stations, although this difference lessens when we take into account the adaptation of these radio stations to their website platforms.

59% of Galician and 46% of Portuguese stations combine the distribution of a live signal on their websites with content in text, image and audio formats for personalised consumption. The study has discovered six (evenly distributed) radio websites which have succeeded in truly appropriating the internet in terms of content distribution. In spite of the stations analysed revealing a medium-high adaptation to the internet, there is still no genuine à la carte multimedia radio (cyber radio, full Bitcaster or R@dio) insofar as the multimedia quality is limited, as well as the type of on-demand content provided by these radio websites.

As regards interactivity-participation, proximity radio stations have incorporated different formulas for listeners-users to interact with the medium and content. These are nevertheless a long way from the real potential offered by the internet. 35% of Galician radio websites and 32% of Portuguese sites do not provide the opportunity to comment on their content, limiting themselves to other automated interaction formulas which require less commitment from and to listeners-users. As regards participation, only 8% of the stations analysed (all Galician) provide any option to intervene directly in the medium.

Along these lines, one out of every two local Portuguese stations have attempted to offset the shortage of mechanisms on their websites for interaction-participation by incorporating plugins from other social platforms.

The leap made by proximity radio stations in Galicia and Northern Portugal to the interactive medium *par excellence*, as well as the incorporation of multiple tools and social channels, has not resulted in more participatory radio. As pointed out by Willems (2013) and Tolson (2006), telephone intervention, a formula that has disappeared in 18% of the radio stations in the sample (9 Galician and 3 Portuguese), is the most immediate and spontaneous form of participation on the radio, a type of interaction which gives listeners greater control than email, social media or WhatsApp.

The 2.0 audio distribution services provided an opportunity for the mediamorphosis of proximity radio; the stations in Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region should now appropriate the tools for social interaction and use these strategically to achieve more participatory radio; ultimately to create radio for and by the local community.

Notes

1. A study carried out in October-November 2014 during a placement at the Centro de Estudos de Comunicação e Sociedade of the Universidade do Minho, financed by the IACOBUS Programme of the Galicia-Northern Portugal European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation.
2. These platforms count as visits any access to the broadcaster of a specific radio station lasting more than one minute.
3. Followed by Cadena SER Madrid AM and Radio Cadena COPE AM with 1,226 and 853 visits, respectively.
4. A ranking of 18,000 stations all over the world except for Brazil.
5. It has nevertheless been found that some online radio providers apply restrictions to access to certain content when detecting a foreign IP.
6. The NUTSIII (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) of Northern Portugal covers the regions of Minho-Lima, Cávado, Ave, Grande Porto, Tâmega, Entre Douro e Vouga, Douro and Alto Trás-os-Montes.
7. Decree-Law No. 674-C/75 of 2nd December 1975 which nationalised all radio stations except for Radio Renascença and local stations Rádio Altitude de Guarda and Rádio Pólo Norte in Caramulo. See <<http://www.gmcs.pt/ficheiros/pt/decreto-lei-n-674-c75-de-2-de-dezembro.pdf>>
8. Data on local stations with coverage in the NUTSIII for Northern Portugal. ANACOM Servicios de radiodifusión sonora. <<http://www.anacom.pt/render.jsp?categoryId=1646#.VTQeEmYxZJM>>
9. Radio spectrum. <<http://www.minetur.gob.es/telecomunicaciones/Espectro/RadioTV/FM/Paginas/radiodifusionFM.aspx>>. This page gives a total of 112 radio broadcasting frequencies in Galicia, with a total number of 261 active stations being recorded. This mismatch becomes more obvious if we start from the fact that some of the radios awarded in the frequency distribution of the Xunta de Galicia (2013) had not occupied these in November 2014.

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Crowdfunding as a source of financing for radio and audio content in Spain

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Abstract

The current crisis in traditional models of funding, the new role being played by audiences and the development of digital networks have transformed the production, distribution and consumption of cultural products including radio and audio content.

Changing the conventional model of risk and investment, crowdfunding involves listeners in the dissemination and funding of different projects. This paper analyses the viability and sustainability of such funding by looking at different projects related to radio content carried out in Spain in recent years.

Keywords

Crowdfunding, radio, innovation, microdonations.

Resum

La crisi dels models tradicionals de finançament, el nou rol de les audiències i el desenvolupament de les xarxes digitals han transformat la producció, la distribució i el consum de productes culturals, inclosos els continguts sonors i radiofònics.

A partir d'un canvi en el model tradicional de risc i d'inversió, el micromecenatge introdueix l'oïdor en la circulació i el finançament de diferents projectes. Així, aquest treball analitza la viabilitat i la sostenibilitat d'aquesta forma de finançament centrant l'atenció en diferents projectes desenvolupats a Espanya al voltant dels continguts radiofònics.

Paraules clau

Micromecenatge, ràdio, innovació, finançament col·lectiu..

1. Conceptualising crowdfunding: hypotheses and objectives

Crowdfunding can be seen as one of the trends that's most extensively transforming the production and distribution of cultural content. Although it cannot be considered as new, as we will see below, the reality is that the crisis in conventional funding methods, drop in revenue for the cultural industry, transformation of audiences and developments in digital formats have made crowdfunding a key formula for starting up and sustaining many projects. This alternative form of funding has grown exponentially since 2009 when the main digital platforms appeared to attract resources, providing a link-up between promoters and donors (Lambert & Schwenbacher 2010).

The concept of crowdfunding isn't hugely complex although some slight distinctions need to be made depending on the type. Authors such as Belleflamme believe that, today, crowdfunding involves an open appeal, essentially on the internet, for financial

resources in the form of a donation or via some kind of reward and/or voting rights. This is funding obtained via financial contributions from a group of people with the aim of starting up a certain project. Generally each participant contributes a small percentage of the total funding required (Belleflamme, Lambert, Schwenbacher 2014).

Recently Spain's Ministry of Finance and Competition (2014) launched a bill to encourage corporate financing that considers as crowdfunding projects as "appeals for funding aimed at a number of individuals or legal persons which expect to obtain a monetary return to their investment and are not investing professionally, carried out by promoters who request funding on their own behalf or when the funding is aimed at a specific project and not to finance third parties" (2014: 44).

This bill, which focuses on the equity version of crowdfunding, and other previous works (Cuesta et al., 2014:3) help to distinguish between four fundamental types of crowdfunding:

- Donation: users make a financial contribution towards the project without any other benefit than its enjoyment in

the case of cultural products or personal satisfaction in the case of social projects.

- **Reward:** in those cases where the project's financiers receive some kind of product or service in exchange for their financial contribution. This kind of crowdfunding is the most widespread for cultural and communication activities.
- **Loan:** participants advance the money required through contributions and this is returned once the project becomes a reality and they thereby recover their investment.
- **Equity:** the audience or clients finance the project and also become its investors with a stake in the share capital.

Reward crowdfunding is used in cultural publication sectors (recording, publishing and film industry) as audiences have systematically behaved as clients and not mere consumers or citizens. This reward model is also the most widely used to finance communication projects such as radio broadcasts and audio content, although in these cases it's more complex to establish a reward. In the area of the media we also find cases of the equity model being applied, in which clients become shareholders. This is the case of *El Español*, the online newspaper project by the journalist Pedro J. Ramírez, which ended its crowdfunding with 5,595 investors contributing 3,606,600 euros (*Elespañol.com* 2015). *El Español* has become one of the equity model campaigns achieving the largest volume of crowdfunding for a journalistic project worldwide.

We need to point out that, unlike the models coming from

a tradition of paid consumption for different media (books, records, DVDs, newspapers, magazines), radio is traditionally free, either because it's provided as a public service or financed via advertising. It's also essentially a flowing, ephemeral medium although this has now started to change with the digital era. In principle, its transformation into published products thanks to podcasting and radio on demand favours funding formulas in which listeners can listen to radio products on demand.

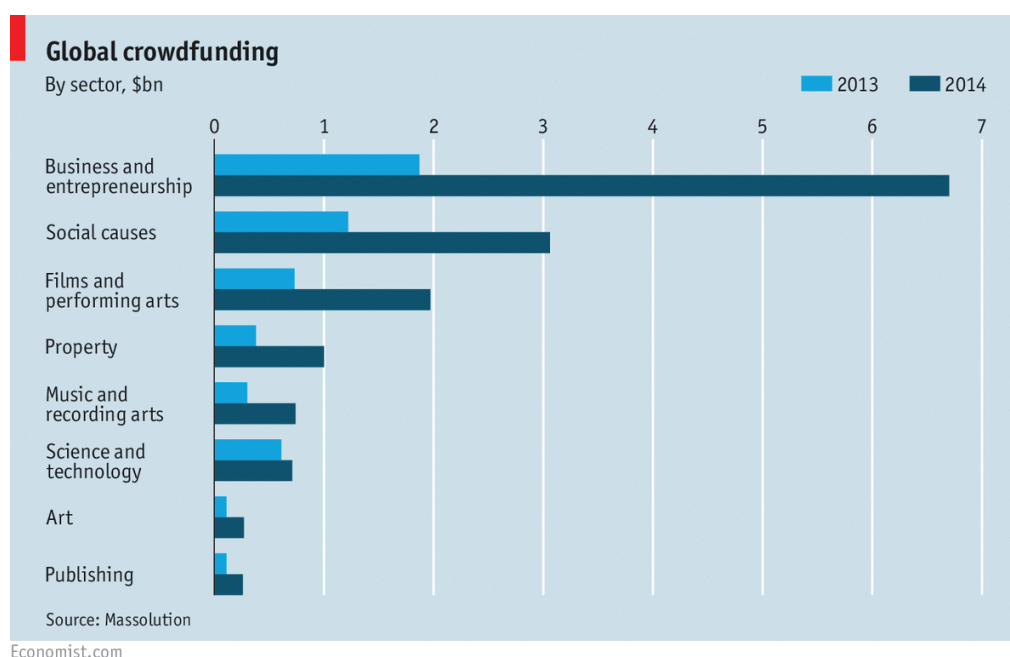
The reality is that crowdfunding has grown significantly over the last few years. According to recent data from *The Economist*, the sector totals around 16.2 billion dollars worldwide with considerable growth in the business sector in general and in the film and music industry in particular (see Figure 1).

According to *The Economist*, the development of favourable legislation and the search for investment niches have helped it develop. Moreover crowdfunding should not be seen merely as a financing formula since it's a powerful promotional tool, helps to test products and adapt them to clients' requirements (in a kind of mass customisation) and develops user-based innovation (Belleflamme, Lambert, Schwienbacher 2014).

For Bannerman, crowdfunding represents a new model supported by growth in the social economy, exchange networks and a new culture of participation (Bannerman 2013). From our point of view, projects for radio production and distribution and audio creation are starting to resort to this kind of funding for a number of reasons which we will list in the following initial hypotheses:

1. **Funding crisis.** This crisis is reflected in two ways: firstly in the evident budget cuts in public radio and television

Figure 1. Global crowdfunding by sector (in billion dollars)



Source: *The Economist*, 4 April 2015.

and, secondly, in the crisis in the advertising market which has gone from 641 million euros invested in 2008 to 403 million in 2013 (Infoadex 2014). In addition to these general problems in the market are specific ones such as the case of the PRISA Group, Spain's main radio group whose debt crisis has led it to substantially alter its shareholder structure with the incorporation of banks and vulture funds (*El Confidencial* 2014).

A transformation can also be seen, via crowdfunding, in traditional forms of investment and the assumption of risk. Whereas, in the traditional model of capitalist corporate financing, the risks were assumed by entrepreneurs and shareholders, this model shifts the risk to audiences (either as clients, investors or fans).

2. Technological advances and new intermediaries. The development of the internet means that crowdfunding initiatives which would have previously remained on the margins are now becoming more important. This space has also been taken up by new agents attempting to capture part of the capital generated by such projects. Crowdfunding platforms and online payment services are becoming the new intermediaries for such relations, taking advantage of the "long line" of projects being offered. The first crowdfunding platform to appear on the internet was *Kiva* (Flannery, 2006) and, after the appearance of *Indiegogo* in 2008, a large number of platforms were set up to manage and publicise projects looking for such funding. Some have achieved international significance such as *Kickstarter* while there are many other national platforms operating in their respective countries. In Spain *Verkami*, *Lanzanos*, *Goteo* and *Migranodearena* are the most widely used in campaigns related to radio projects.
3. Participatory culture. This emergence of digital networks has significantly developed a participatory culture that means certain audiences get very much involved in developing/altering cultural creations. For a culture to be considered as participatory, Jenkins (2006:7) establishes a framework where the fundamental features are low barriers to entry for creation and citizen commitment, important when creating and sharing creations with others, as well as the members of a community believing their contributions count. This framework encourages audiences to get involved in developing crowdfunding projects in which, in addition to consuming, receiving or accessing a final product, users also want to participate in creating and be more than just mere financiers or fans. Consequently, in many projects co-financers are often provided with participation codes, differentiating these products from those created top-down.
4. Lack of innovation in the sector. The lack of innovation in traditional radio (we're referring here to large networks with a strong presence on the airwaves) has been aggravated by the economic crisis mentioned in the first point. Innovation is lacking both in programming (Martínez

de la Casa 2012) and in aesthetic terms (Xoengas 2013) and online developments are happening at a snail's pace. The precarious situation of radio is also preventing daring policies, both in public and private radio, stopping projects such as *Carne Cruda* (Gallego 2012) which have been undergoing substantial renovation, both aesthetically and also in their use of social media and distribution.

This article presents the findings of a study whose aim was to examine the radio and audio projects which, over the last few years in Spain, have chosen crowdfunding as their source of financing. Among the objectives of our study was to identify the possible differences seen in crowdfunding for radio/audio projects compared with that for other cultural products, to determine the different types of initiatives used by crowdfunding campaigns in the area of radio production, establish the characteristic features these crowdfunding campaigns, especially the key elements that have been decisive in the success or failure of some of them, and to analyse the characteristics of the content generated via this kind of funding.

To carry out the analysis we examined the main Spanish crowdfunding platforms that host cultural projects, searching for initiatives to develop and/or distribute radio and audio content. The platforms forming part of our research were: *Verkami*, *Lanzanos*, *Goteo*, *Mymajorcompany*, *Migranodearena* and *Mola.fm*. Projects were not included in the sample if they used international platforms that do not have their main offices in Spain, as well as when the platforms might have erased their databases before the fieldwork was completed (February to April 2015).

We performed keyword searches on the aforementioned platforms: radio, podcast, audio content, FM and broadcasters. Only the *Verkami* platform has the category "Radio and podcasts" which makes it easier to find such projects.

Among the cases analysed we also included others choosing to be financed totally or partially by crowdfunding but which, nevertheless, have not resorted to this kind of platform to obtain their funds. The most important example is *Carne Cruda*.

In total we analysed forty-five radio projects carried out between 2012 and 2015. Information was gathered for each one on the following variables: aim of funding; amount collected; number of donors; campaign duration; campaign communication elements (description, video, use of social media); project background; type of reward offered; characteristics of the content, service or product to be developed; how content is distributed; identification of the organisation or people promoting the project.

Based on the relations between the different quantitative and qualitative variables studied, a number of critical factors were identified (donor community, communication plan, funding target, crowdfunding methods, campaign costs) that largely determine the viability of crowdfunding campaigns for this kind of radio and audio project.

Table 1. Crowdfunded radio projects 2012-2015

Title of the radio project	Target (€)	Amount collected (€)	No. of donors
Carne Cruda	40,000	85,137	2,200
La Isla FM 1st Campaign	12,000	14,929	324
La Isla FM 2nd Campaign	12,000	13,042	315
Arcadia Gamers/El Club Vintage	500	7,545	291
Alejandro, la mula y la radio	4,500	4,685	71
Cuac FM	3,800	4,632	160
El extrarradio	2,600	3,995	127
Celda	3,800	3,805	55
Inout radio, la radio lesbica	3,600	3,665	63
10 Festival Radio Almenara	2,500	3,054	92
Radio Bronka	2,500	3,046	77
La barandilla	30,000	3,019	17
El complejo lambda	775	2,725	111
Talleres Radio Enlace	2,500	2,513	42
Más voces	15,000	2,299	36
Punt Org, activisme social a Ràdio Estel	2,055	2,085	48
Retransmisiones del CD Castellón en VoxUji	1,200	2,060	75
Ok Liga Ona Codinenka	1,800	2,020	37
Radio, prensa y tv con mucha capacidad	2,000	2,000	27
Planeta tenis, la radio del tenis	4,800	1,750	23
12 Festival Radio Almenara	6,000	1,520	44
Nueva Web Los sonidos del planeta azul	2,500	1,410	39
Dedalo	50,000	1,365	29
La Mandrágora	1,800	1,251	27
Construim Radio Revolta	1,190	1,220	59
Onda Palmeras Córdoba	1,000	1,030	20
Democratiza las ondas	5,000	974	29
Bericid Sulfúric	800	960	38
Traemos la transformación social a las ondas FM de Barcelona	4,000	655	19
Normas de equivocación	350	644	36
Radio Battletoads	220	425	36
Emprende Radio	1,000	350	7
Ayuda al momento inútil a ir a Eurovisión	859	335	24
Radio Siberia	1,000	327	23
Radiocampito.com	1,500	215	11
Ondas de la costa	1,500	160	3
Radio Joven Comunitaria	1,500	130	4
Trufa Serie Radiofónica Infantil	750	120	5
Onda Color	15,000	25	2
Radio Iris 7	999	15	2
Radio para la integración MCI	1,800	10	1
Salva EDM Radio	245	2	2
Academia de las Ondas Formación Radiofónica	645	0	0
100.8 Elite Radio En verdiblanco	0	0	0
Expatriados	10,000	0	0

Note: Radio and sound projects that formed part of the fieldwork. Carried out between January 2012 and April 2015

Source: authors

2. Background and international framework of crowdfunding as a tool for financing radio

On looking at previous financing experiences we discovered that radio has used financial support from audiences since it started out as a mass medium. While the financing formulas that became fundamental (advertising and public funding) started to become established, in many countries the first radio broadcasting projects were sustained by direct donations from their listeners. On many occasions these initiatives were bottom-up thanks to the creation of associations or radio clubs that brought together radio enthusiasts who managed to collect enough money

to maintain the first programmes. In other cases it was the radio broadcasters themselves that looked to complement their advertising revenue with what we can consider to be the earliest examples of crowdfunding. These campaigns, held in the 1920s in American and European countries, shared the three characteristics of this kind of funding: a community particularly interested in the benefits of the project being proposed, financial contributions essentially made by individuals not corporations, and the use of different communication channels to publicise the fundraising campaign. Once advertising started to generate enough revenue this kind of practice started to be abandoned. With hindsight, the truth is that listeners had a marvellous,

novel device that needed content to really come into its own. This situation gradually weakened until reaching the current overabundance of free content that makes it difficult to achieve a critical mass of listeners prepared to pay. Moreover, audiences felt they were a part of the medium as, even during those years, their participation was vital in creating radio broadcasting (Jenkins 2015; McChesney 1990).

Listeners therefore found evident rewards in broadcasts that were shared by the whole audience, and companies and clubs used to offer a number of exclusive products that aimed to strengthen the perception of an exchange: sending listeners the station's official magazine, invitations to plays and shows, the chance to attend live recordings of programmes, giving away emblems of the broadcaster, etc. (Fernández Sande 2006: 108-112).

Compared with the private sector, which ended up meeting its funding requirements through advertising, public broadcasters in some European countries (United Kingdom, Italy and France) opted for collective funding by imposing a tax or duty on people with a receiver in their home, while a third kind of funding developed in the United States with a different view of public media, more community-focused and looking for support from audience contributions to take on the big private networks. The first experience of this type was the *Pacifica Foundation* promoted by Lewis Hill in 1946 and its first station, which has ended up with a network of five stations today, *KPFA* from Berkeley (Fernández Sande 2015: 179; Mitchell 2005).

This direct funding from listener contributions implemented in the US by *Pacifica Radio* would be repeated by other public broadcasting networks such as *National Public Radio* (NPR) which currently bases 34% of its revenue on individual donations (NPR 2014) although in this case it also has other sources of funding such as subsidies and institutional donations (Lasar 2000; Mitchell 2005; Gallego 2012).

If we focus on the current international context of collective funding we find a trend that's reflected in cross-border projects: Latin American general radio stations that have won the Gabriel García Márquez Prize for journalistic innovation such as *Radio Ambulante* (Fernández Sande 2015: 184) and the collective programme *Radiotopía* (Gallego & Segovia 2014) have centred their development on podcasting. This last platform is promoted by Roman Mars, creator of the architecture and design podcast *99% Invisible*, which via its *Kickstarter* crowdfunding campaign in 2012 collected a total of 170,477 dollars provided by 5,661 people. In November 2013, for the coming season and with a new campaign on the same platform, it attracted more than 375,000 dollars from 11,693 listeners (Kickstarter.com 2014).

3. Crowdfunding and setting up radio in Spain: case studies

3.1 Early experiences

The first initiatives for Spanish radio broadcasting projects

hoping to use this alternative source of revenue date back to 2013 with the appearance of crowdfunding platforms and the launch of crowdfunding campaigns on the internet. This is the year when we find the first radio and audio broadcasting projects that attempt to finance themselves via crowdfunding.

The pioneering initiative was the radio programme *Punt Org* by the Catalan Catholic broadcasting network Radio Estel. After receiving a Social Welfare award from Barcelona Council, in February 2012 its director Joan Ortiz i Serra started a crowdfunding campaign on the Verkami platform which reached its target figure of 2,085 euros to produce a programme, via 48 donations. In the next campaign the director claimed the independence of the programme (which had started broadcasting in September 2011) as the main reason for this kind of funding "To remain totally independent, free from any commercial or political interest".

Other projects that appeared in 2012 were: *Los sonidos del planeta azul*, a world music and culture programme that asked for resources to redesign its website but whose campaign didn't achieve its target amount; *La Mandrágora*, a programme broadcast by a community station in Malaga and in September La Pizarra-La Voz del Guadalhorce launched a crowdfunding campaign that also failed to reach its target.

After these pioneering experiences which had mixed results, three more projects emerged in the final months of the same year that did achieve their targets. Among these was Cuac FM, a community broadcaster from A Coruña that had been on air since 1996 and resorted to microdonations to finance its legal costs for an appeal against the FM licences given out by the Galician government which excluded community radio stations. This campaign collected 4,632 euros when the minimum target had been set at 3,800; the video game podcasts of *Arcadia Gamers* and *Club Vintage* which, in September, 2012, collected a total of 7,541 euros in funding (the initial target was 500) donated by a community of 291 sponsors who supported the project to buy technical equipment to be able to continue making both podcasts; and the audio project *El Extrarradio* which amassed almost 4,000 euros in December 2012 with 127 donors. Its communication campaign is particularly interesting, sending out the following message: "we want to take advantage of our positioning in the traditional media to involve our followers in this new, independent project". *El Extrarradio* has continued and has won various awards, including the 2013 Premio Ondas for journalistic innovation.

The projects of *Arcadia Gamers* and *Club Vintage* also represent one of the most successful cases in the study sample, in particular because of the large number of donors they managed to mobilise for their campaign, a figure that only two other radio crowdfunding projects have managed to outdo and both of them from commercial radio.

After analysing all the campaigns that form part of our study, it was observed that, depending on the proposed aim, there is a diverse range of radio and audio projects that have attempted to finance themselves in Spain via crowdfunding. Based on the

data we can classify the projects as follows:

- Initiatives to improve or acquire new technological equipment to be able to continue their radio activity or start future projects.
- Funding for community or local radio.
- Maintaining online radio.
- Producing podcasts and new formats.
- Sustaining audio creation projects.
- Training initiatives.
- Events and related creations.

3.2 Analysis of the critical factors in crowdfunding campaigns

a) Donor community

If we analyse all the radio project campaigns studied that achieved their funding target (excluding the case of *Carne Cruda* which, as we will see, has some special features due to its reach and large community of listeners coming from traditional radio), the figure we obtain for the average community of donors required for a successful campaign is 98. However, the average number of donors for campaigns that did not reach their target is 14. The capacity to mobilise a community of donors is therefore one of the most important keys to success, irrespective of the amount of funding requested. According to the data analysed, the ideal community to achieve the funding target of radio projects via crowdfunding is made up of at least 80 to 100 donors. This means that projects with a track record and therefore a community of listeners have a significant initial advantage to be able to carry out successful crowdfunding campaigns.

b) Communication plan

The other essential aspect to attract sufficient donors and their contributions is to plan and implement good communication. In the study, all the campaigns managing to achieve their financial target also invested a lot of effort in communication: firstly in terms of correctly handling all the information provided on the crowdfunding platform: project description, objectives, rewards, details to contact the promoters directly and deadlines. All the crowdfunding platforms that come under our area of study (Verkami, Lánzanos, Goteo, Mymajorcompany, Migranodearena.org) use a very similar structure to present this information: a progress bar for the campaign showing the percentage of the target achieved at any given time, a video or photograph of the campaign (the presence of an explanatory video is one of the most useful methods to persuade donors and most of the crowdfunding campaigns analysed included this tool); campaign indicators (number of sponsors, deadline); campaign description, which should always be as detailed as possible; and the rewards that will be given for each contribution. Almost all the radio projects in our study included all these elements (which are also established by the platforms' own templates). The only differences found were in the degree of precision and

quality of the information provided.

The other essential aspect in a campaign's communication is to make it go viral using social media and the circles closest to the campaign's followers or, if applicable, its existing community of listeners. Lastly, some actions also use the media to gain visibility as a larger number of hits helps them attract more funding. In the case of radio projects we can find examples such as *Carne Cruda*, *La IslaFM*, *Extrarradio*, and the campaign "Democratise the airwaves" run by various TV and radio communities to obtain resources in order to start a campaign to defend these media against public institutions.

c) Funding target

Out of the forty-five cases analysed, 50% (23) managed to achieve the target they'd set or even exceed it. These results place the success rate for projects on the Spanish platform Verkami (according to information on its own website) at 70%, with 40% for the Kickstarter platform (Acconcia 2014), and international leader of this market.

There are several reasons why a crowdfunding campaign for this kind of project might succeed or fail. In addition to the ability to mobilise a community of donors, among other key elements is the financial sum set as the target, which should be as low as possible to carry out the project. It's important to establish a well-justified target for funding which the community of people interested in the project will find reasonable and feasible, making the campaign more credible. For the cases in this study, the funding target most frequently requested ranged from 0 to 2,000 euros, in a total of 22 of the 41 crowdfunding campaigns that have already finished. Most radio projects looking for financial resources via crowdfunding therefore set quite low funding targets aimed at resolving specific issues rather than developing long-term projects.

It seems to be quite difficult to find any direct relationship between the amount of funding required and the likelihood of achieving the target. 46% of the projects requesting a maximum of 1,000 euros achieved their funding target, a success rate very close to the projects requesting between 1,000 and 2,000 euros, 44% of which also achieved or exceeded the target figure. It's significant that the projects ranging from 2,000 to 3,000 euros seem to be more credible and get more response from their communities as 86% of these campaigns achieved their target.

We've already highlighted the initial experiences emerging in this area in Spain and, in 2013, 2014 and 2015, a clear trend has appeared of audio projects looking for this kind of funding, as observed on the different platforms analysed. We're talking about a very small number of initiatives, especially when compared with the crowdfunding campaigns appearing in other cultural areas such as the recording and publishing industries, but slight growth can be seen.

d) Types of crowdfunding

Regarding the type of crowdfunding, all the experiences

analysed correspond to the reward-based model. For the moment no case of equity crowdfunding has been found for radio projects. Initiatives attempting to secure funding through microdonations try to get the necessary funds for the project based on the interest the community may have in the radio product or service itself and sometimes reinforce this by giving different rewards that may be material in nature. The small rewards or compensation given by radio projects to donors seek to increase the donor's perceived sense of gain. The most frequent kind of reward are mentioning donors in the programme or space, sending them records or DVDs, giving out different kinds of merchandising (mugs, tee shirts, sweatshirts, etc. with something identifying the programme) and access to premium content.

e) Campaign costs

When setting their funding target, promoters of this kind of initiative must also take into account all the costs incurred by the campaign. These are costs of the project *per se*: for designing the campaign and its communication, fees charged by the platforms (which in the case of the most popular platforms for radio projects are as follows: Verkami and Lánzanos 5% of the money collected and Goteo 8%) and costs incurred by the payment system - for example PayPal retains approximately 3.5% of each transaction. They also need to plan for production and shipping costs as a result of processing the rewards offered. We've already mentioned that almost all the radio crowdfunding initiatives analysed by this study have used platforms as their main means of publicising their campaigns. However, an interesting trend appeared in 2014 with some projects that, although they had initially started on platforms, once their community of followers had become established they attempted to avoid costs by choosing direct channels to receive contributions from their donors. This is the case of *La Isla FM* and *Carne Cruda*, experiences which, given their scope, are fundamental to understanding the evolution of this kind of funding applied to radio.

3.3 *La Isla FM* and *Carne Cruda*: two benchmark projects

In September 2012, Loca FM decided to pull its programme, *La Isla*, after six years. Its presenter DJ Tango, after fourteen years as a presenter and disc jockey on dance music radio stations in Spain, decided to start up a new online radio station: *La Isla FM*, run by its community of listeners. The project was launched early in 2013 via a crowdfunding campaign on the Mymajorcompany.com platform, partly owned by the PRISA Group, which managed to collect almost 15,000 euros provided by 324 people, exceeding the initial target of 12,000 euros to cover the approximate costs of maintaining programmes for one whole season. One year later, in its second crowdfunding campaign, the project demonstrated the loyalty of its community of listeners by collecting over 13,000 euros from 315 donors. On this occasion the crowdfunding platform chosen was Mola FM.

After two seasons applying the reward-based crowdfunding system via platforms and with an audience loyal to its online station, Tango decided to embark on a new phase by seeking funding via microdonations in an attempt to reduce the costs entailed by the reward-model, both economic and in terms of the work required. He decided to use a subscriber system in which listeners can make their donations in the form of membership fees. In exchange, subscribers receive premium content as well as being able to download programmes and access exclusive sessions by some DJs. Another novelty is that 5% of the money collected is used to finance *La Isla de los Sueños*, an NGO related to the project that carries out different social actions. In total, in the two previous seasons *La Isla FM* managed to collect 28,000 euros, not including the donations received via the new system, for which data are not yet available.

Platforms are vital for launching most projects but, when some of these projects achieve stability and consolidate a large enough number of followers, they try to maintain their funding via donations but not exclusively through platforms, looking for direct communication through their websites.

In Spain, the main radio crowdfunding project is *Carne Cruda*, the programme directed and presented by Javier Gallego. After three seasons on Radio 3 (2009-2012) and a period as a podcast by Cadena SER (January 2013 to July 2014), Gallego, not being able to reach an agreement to continue at the PRISA Group's radio station, decided to use crowdfunding to produce his own programme. This is an exceptional case among all those studied; partly because it doesn't use platforms but decided, right from the start, to go for direct donations via its website, and partly because of the large amount of funding collected. The campaign started on 9 September 2014 with a target of 40,000 euros to produce a weekly two-hour programme for ten months. The programme started was first distributed on the internet on 1 October. In four days the campaign achieved 41,771 euros from 800 donations. By March 2015 it had reached 85,137 euros from a total of 2,200 donations.

The subscription system offered listeners the chance to become the "programme's producers", establishing different fixed fees and an optional annual fee. The PayPal platform provides an annual, renewable subscription service.

The crowdfunding success of *Carne Cruda* can be explained by a series of exceptional circumstances occurring in this case when compared with other similar initiatives studied. *Carne Cruda* already had a solid community of fans from its time on Radio 3 and Cadena SER and had managed to maintain an editorial line and programme style that is highly recognisable by its public. Its capacity to mobilise its listeners had already been demonstrated when it left Radio 3 due to a decision by the management of Radio Nacional, leading to its fans mounting a protest on social media. A communication campaign was also run to attract donations via profiles on social media and taking advantage of synergy with digital media, especially with Eldiario.es, in which Gallego is also involved.

Javier Gallego has explained the reasons why he resorted to

crowdfunding: "After having tried our luck with a public and then a private broadcaster, we've reached the conclusion we should become independent from the large media and powerful groups to continue producing free, critical radio" (CarneCruda.es 2014).

Here we see common ground with other international radio projects that have discovered, in crowdfunding, a haven to be able to create a kind of radio that, due to its formal characteristics or subject matter, has found it increasingly difficult to find a home on commercial or even public radio.

4. Conclusions

The main conclusions lead us to confirm our four initial hypotheses. The crisis in funding and lack of innovation have created two broad areas where crowdfunding is applied: projects in which innovation is a key component and which look for support from their listeners as they are refused funding due to problems of risk or political criticism; and projects with a clear aim to serve society or the community, including those related to community and local radio. This last detail provides us with another element to add to our initial hypotheses, namely the lack of public policy in Spain to encourage the development and sustainability of community media. Moreover, the country's new legislation has laid the foundations for the development of equity crowdfunding where financiers can share in a project's success.

On the other hand, it has also been confirmed that a participatory culture and a variety of technological platforms create the necessary setting for crowdfunding. The most successful projects (such as *Carne Cruda* and *La Isla.FM*) are those that have previously been broadcast on traditional radio and have therefore built up a stable community of listeners, as well as encouraging audience participation via different means. Lastly, the number of technological platforms and new payment channels available makes it easier for listeners and creators of audio to have a direct relationship. These new intermediaries are used as a tool for initial communication and contact but, in many cases, a more direct relationship is established later on, with fewer agent fees.

This study has confirmed the existence of a series of factors we can classify as critical for success in this kind of campaign, especially the amount set as the funding target, the number of donors and the communication strategy.

The main challenge is to ensure this kind of funding remains sustainable. In its first few years crowdfunding has shown itself capable of promoting the start-up of projects but we'll have to monitor developments in how this kind of funding is used to determine whether radio crowdfunding is simply the result of the media funding crisis with the aim of including citizens within the circuit of risk, or whether it has truly become a tool for innovation, counter-power and new audience relations.

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Children's radio programmes in Catalonia: a chronological examination of the type of radio programmes for children

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the limited prevalence of children's radio programmes in Catalonia. In a context of recession, where radio broadcasting needs to reinvent itself and search for new models to renew its audience, it seems unusual to pay no attention to this kind of audience. Most children's programmes are hosted on municipal radio stations that choose a classic concept in order to reach their public –a public not included in audience measurement studies. This article explains the findings of exhaustive fieldwork (2013) describing how and where children's radio programmes can be heard, broadcast by both public and private general interest radio stations in Catalonia.

Keywords

Children's radio, programming, Catalonia.

Resum

Aquest article vol evidenciar la poca significació que tenen les programacions infantils de ràdio a Catalunya en el marc d'una conjuntura econòmica complicada i en un sector industrial que paradoxalment necessita reinventar-se i buscar nous models per rejuvenir la seva antena. Majoritàriament són programes patrimoni de les emissores municipals que aposten per una concepció clàssica per acostar-se a un públic apartat dels estudis d'audiència. En aquestes pàgines es revelaran les conclusions d'un exhaustiu treball de camp (2013) que descriu com són i on s'emeten els programes infantils que es poden escoltar, per aire, a les emissores generalistes públiques i privades de Catalunya.

Paraules clau

Ràdio infantil, programació, Catalunya.

1. Introduction

A study carried out in 2010 by the Observatori de la Ràdio a Catalunya (Radio Observatory of Catalonia) showed that radio's young audience had been decreasing for two years.¹ Nevertheless, it stated that young people consumed radio sporadically in the morning or evening at home, habits that were quite similar to other European consumption patterns. Music was their programming of choice but, as they were multitasking listeners, the time dedicated to active listening was increasingly limited. This profile of young listeners described by the Observatory is the one investigated by audience surveys: young people aged over fourteen. The general media survey for Catalonia (Estudi General de Mitjans (EGM)-Baròmetre Catalunya) does not include audiences younger than 14 in its fieldwork, something which is quite illogical from a consumption point of view, as criticised via Publi-radio by the authors of an interesting article entitled "The Hidden Radio Audience in

Spain: Study on Children's Relationship with the Radio" (2011). In fact, it's normal to find publications in the advertising field that focus on children as prescribers for family consumption. In this respect, Julia Coronas, on the economics portal *emprendedores.es*, states that children completely decide the family's leisure activity. In spite of such warnings, children under fourteen continue to be ignored in radio audience surveys and remain invisible for programmers present in audience studies, proving they don't take this listener profile into account when inventing, renewing or rescheduling their programmes season after season.

"Nowadays it seems advisable to admit that radio discarded children as an audience decades ago. For reasons halfway between child protection and rising costs of surveying children, audience studies only rate listeners aged over fourteen". (Cadena SER 2013).²

It's not true that young children don't listen to the radio. Primary age children listen to music and sports radio and programmes heard at home while the radio accompanies their parents in their domestic chores (Balsebre *et al.* 2011, 226).

This study therefore examines the radio offered to children in Catalonia on general interest channels. The aim is to present and categorise the kind of programmes for children and the stations that broadcast them based on an observation of the radio programmes supplied and broadcast over the airwaves in Catalonia aimed at listeners aged between three and twelve. Via exhaustive fieldwork, completed in December 2013,³ which turned out to be very laborious as the economic crisis has brought about structural changes to the Catalan radio broadcasting industry (Martí & Espinosa 2014, 486), the current situation of radio for children in Catalonia has now been mapped out.

2. Children's radio programmes, a historical overview

In its early days radio did cater for children in its limited programming. Children were present to some extent on the first channels to broadcast in Catalonia in the 20th century. Although he didn't actually make programmes aimed at children, Toresky on Ràdio Barcelona did choose a young boy, Miliu, as his *alter ego* to do his lessons and collect money for charity (Espinosa 2008, 149), earning him numerous institutional distinctions. And this was no isolated case. Faus (2007, 217) relates other, even earlier experiences of programmes or talks aimed at the target of children, such as the creation of the programme *Charlas para niños* (Talks for children) on Radio España in Madrid. According to Balsebre (2001, 158), in the 1920s on Unión Radio there were "children's programmes" run by Manuel Abril and, later on, with Luis Medina, there appeared *Quisicosas infantiles* and the stories of Pitúsín. During the Second Republic radio presenters would read stories, fables and poems for children on most Catalan stations, both from the network of Ràdio Associació and also Unión Radio, Ràdio Barcelona. Once a week Ràdio Lleida broadcast its "Emissió dedicada als Infants" (Programme dedicated to children). There were also singing competitions for small children, such as the one held by Núria Fraire on Ràdio Vilanova "the programme she liked the most was the one on Saturday afternoons, dedicated to children. It lasted two hours and the presenters would introduce young children who wanted to recite a poem or sing a song. Once they'd finished, as a prize, they were given sweets" (Espinosa 2014, 147). The informative programme *La Palabra* by Unión Radio had a section for small children, *Antoniorrobles* (the stage name of Antonio Robles) which consisted mainly of him reading his children's stories such as *El perro, el ratón y el gato* (1930-1931) (Borrero & Espinosa 2014, 12). "In the 1930s, on Ràdio Manresa's programmes were made for children: *Les Emissions infantils* (Children's Broadcasting), in which musical and literary compositions, stories and poems were read out, the readers

being the children themselves, directed by one of the channel's presenters" (Espinosa 2008, 376). Ràdio Terrassa broadcast *l'Hora dels infants* (Children's Hour) and on Ràdio Tarragona Josep Maria Tarrasa broadcast for the whole family with his *Maginet*. The legacy of this early programming are the stories that are still read or performed today on radio programmes for children, as we will see in this article.

Apart from stories on the radio, the history of the medium also shows us that although the government of the Second Republic was very keen on indoctrination, children's radio programmes did not give up entertainment entirely but did try to be more educational and a lot of formats linking radio and school were created. This format started out on radio with educational aims, something which had become widespread in some countries since the medium's birth in order to combat illiteracy. In the 1920s in the United States there were already a hundred and twenty educational radio stations related to universities while in Germany in 1928 almost all regional stations had educational programmes. "In 1924 and in 1928 congresses were held on the educational uses of radio in Germany and in 1931 and 1936 in the United States (the latter being international)" (Roldán Vera 2009, 14). They offered a range of programmes segmented by target and some were for children to encourage individual learning and self-sufficiency.

Children's education-related programming in Spain continued after the Civil War. In the 1940s on Ràdio Barcelona the pedagogue Arturo Martorell broadcast a radio programme aimed at children from Barcelona's schools which, in the form of a competition, encouraged youngsters to take part. This programme is seen as the embryo for school radio broadcasts, these being radio programmes that were (and still are) made by licensed broadcasters (private or public) and took the form of learning carried out via a school's workshop. Later on the other type of programme appeared that linked radio and school, namely school radio: extralegal stations broadcasting programmes that integrated radio into school work, as was the case of Ràdio Ràpia (Ventosa & Villalba 1996) which is still operational today and owned by the Sant Domènec de la Ràpita Infant and Primary School (Santa Margarida i els Monjos, Alt Penedès).

We can therefore see that young children's relationship with radio has changed throughout history. In Girona, after the Civil War, children would have guided tours of Ràdio Girona (Gil & Minobis 2003, 60) while on Radio Salamanca Fernández de Córdoba, the legendary presenter of Franco's last "war communiqué" to announce the end of the Spanish Civil War, also used to present a kind of war communiqué aimed at young children entitled *Cartas del Tío Fernández* (Letters from Uncle Fernández), while Radio Madrid broadcast its famous *Ondas animadas* (Animated Waves), a programme that was capable of combining clowning with "Vidas ilustres" (Illustrious lives) from the Nationalist party (Gómez García 2011, 140). In addition to the public shows of Soler Serrano were plays for children, such as the one directed by Bobby Deglané, *Teatro infantil Maravillas*,

on Radio Nacional and *El hada madrina* on Radio Madrid, the latter broadcast on Saturdays in front of a live audience at the Monumental Cinema (Faus 2007, 217). Radio Madrid used to broadcast *Empanadillo y Pirulo* and *Pototo y Boliche* with Luis Sánchez Polack, popularly known on television as the character "Tip" from "Tip y Coll". Ángel de Echenique also stood out for voicing the character "Esparadrappo", while charity programmes also became increasingly popular. Although these weren't aimed at children *per se* they did create children's fictional characters loved by the youngest audiences. Enric Casademont and Pilar Montero, including Toresky and his character Míliu, made their programmes with Pau Pi "the children's friend", first broadcast by Ràdio Barcelona and afterwards by Radio España de Barcelona with Paulinet during the 1950s and 60s.

Most of these programmes had to deal with the pro-Franco propaganda apparatus that took advantage of radio to teach children the new predominant ideas of the time. A document was drawn up entitled "Project to reorganise children's broadcasts to serve Spanish youth" (1942) that provided ideas for designing new children's programmes. It recommended talking about little heroes "from our war" or passages from Spanish or universal history, and preferred instrumental music or opera whenever the music compositions chosen by the programmes were foreign. (Gómez García 2011, 143-145).

Two programmes are particularly of note among important children's programming. A series that was broadcast for 17 years, namely *Tambor*, and also *Diego Valor*, the adventures of an intrepid astronaut who delighted all children in the 1950s on the Cadena Ser radio stations. This is another format that no longer exists, as will be seen in this article.

This chronological overview should note that, as the years progressed, the majority of children's programming consisted of two types of programme: those broadcasts for children as the target audience and others that, although they were also broadcast for children, also involved children in producing their content. As we've already mentioned, children took part by making radio programmes, first as contestants, readers, singers and reciters and afterwards via schools collaborating in different versions of school radio (Martí 2014, 2), and these were widespread and very popular throughout the country. The Girona provincial council promoted *Radio Escolar* from 1955 to 1979 and its content was typical of all such programmes: "Curiosities from the world, looking at the usual discoveries, inventions, cultures, etc. (...) *This is our province*, a journey around the towns and counties of Girona province; *The world of vegetables*, spaces related to natural sciences (...), *School competition* (...), *Ràdio Escolar* was undoubtedly a voice for young children via the radio and, for several years, filled a void in educational spheres" (Gil & Minobis 2003, 161).

These programmes have become well established and reproduce, for children, the typical structures of adult radio. However, according to Quintana Garzón (2001) they should take more risks in their production, "(...) it's necessary to go a bit further and propose new formulas for using and taking

advantage of our radio station (...). The aim is to restore radio as a magnificent instrument for awakening the imagination, encouraging creativity and consolidating musical and aesthetic talents" (Quintana Garzón 2001, 100-101).

Other historical radio programme formats did not continue. Spaces such as *A la rueda rueda* by Manolo Bermúdez, which won the Ondas prize as the best children's programme, *La incubadora* directed by Mariano de la Banda on Radio Peninsular and the competition *Operación Plus Ultra* by Joaquín Peláez, which rewarded children demonstrating their human value and was inspired by the film of the same name from 1966 (Borrero & Espinosa 2014, 16) have now totally disappeared from programming. But not the more typically magazine format shows which started to be broadcast in Catalan in the 1970s, such as *Jovenívol* and *Mainada* on Ràdio 4 directed by Joan Lluch, Enric Frigola, Jordi Roura and Pere Ribera. However, in the 1950s on Ràdio Berga, children's programming had already started using this language (Franquet 2001, 193).

In the 1980s, with the proliferation of municipal channels, children's programming became very important in the local sphere (Ràdio Lleida produced *La ràdio a l'escola* (School Radio) which was broadcast for eleven years) and radio returned to the supra-municipal level; i.e. while there were numerous radio broadcasting experiences in the more local sphere, with Catalunya Ràdio broadcasting *Ui avui!!* (1983-1986), a children's programme in the afternoon aimed at young children, and subsequently *Micro obert a l'escola* and *Eduqueu les criatures* (2006-2010), they started to lose importance on state-wide channels. For example, in the evening on Radio Nacional, Elvira Lindo used his character Manolito Gafotas to observe life from a different perspective. This wasn't a programme for children but a fictional child was the star, while on the SER channel Gemma Nierga had a talk programme with children analysing issues of the day on *La ventana*. This situation was not restricted to Spain. In the 1980s children's radio programmes were almost non-existent in Latin America beyond adapted traditional stories, "most of them full of counter-messages and anti-values and the 'Novels' from the Transcription Service of Radio Nederland" (Rosario 1985, 31). In the summer of 2012, the legendary Spanish broadcasts of Radio Nederland disappeared and thereby the most creative programmes for children also disappeared, produced by Radionederland's Latin American Department and mentioned by Rosario (1985), sixty-five years after they had first been broadcast. The situation is different today although quantitatively there are still few programmes. Almost the only children's radio programme in South America is *Colorín Colorradio* on Prisa Radio (which in Spain has no children's programming), broadcasting children's music, stories and Latin pop from Bogotá.

This slump in the historically rich children's programming spread like an oil slick towards local broadcasters. Some radio stations that had programmed spaces for children in the 1980s or 90s stopped producing them. It's also true that this coincided, in the 1990s, with a deceleration in municipal radio stations

compared with the preceding decade as shown by Corominas *et al.* (1999, 53) in *Quaderns del CAC*. "It can be said that, in the mid-1990s, a new phase began which could be characterised as the fragmentation of the municipal broadcasting movement. The EMUC, although not formally dissolved, lost importance as a body bringing together many different experiences" (Corominas *et al.*, 1999, 52). Another study also published in *Quaderns del CAC* in 2005 noted the few children's programmes on Catalunya Ràdio, R4 and COM Ràdio. "From an analysis of the supply of children's programmes it can be inferred that this is an audience that has truly been ignored. Only one example has been found: the 'Dies de nens' section in the weekend magazine programme by COMRàdio entitled *Dies de ràdio*. Lasting thirty minutes, it essentially focuses on literature" (Gutiérrez & Huertas 2005, 105).

Niqui (2011, 9) warns in *l'Informe sobre la ràdio a Catalunya* that the public sector was more variable and that, since 2009, Catalonia had lost 10 municipal radio channels and their children's programmes. This is the case, for example, of Ràdio Molins de Rei with *La sopa de pedres* by the storyteller Oriol Toro (from 2009 to 2012) and the programme *lupi-ià* on Ràdio Pineda; until 2011 Ràdio Tàrrrega broadcast a programme called *Container*, a daily space of five minutes with stories and puzzles that included the magician Mag Lari. From September 2009 to June 2010 Vilassar Ràdio broadcast the programme *Dissabte articulat*, aimed at children aged 4 to 10 (Borrero & Espinosa 2014, 18).

With the appearance of the Internet, children's radio programmes are enjoying a resurgence and, although this does

not fall within the scope of this article, we should note some innovative initiatives such as Babyradio (Spain), Fun Kids (UK) and Radio Junior (France), all cut from the same cloth, as well as the elegant and also French Radio Barbouillots.

3. Methodology

This is basic, sectional research that obtains up-to-date data from two sources. Firstly, the programming grids were exhaustively examined to detect children's radio programmes from all those on offer, published on the network map-census made by La Xarxa and approved by the Catalan government. Personal interviews were then held with those in charge of general radio stations which broadcast on air children's content in Catalonia in order to obtain details on the programmes.

The sample consisted of 59 radio stations broadcasting in 2013 programmes aimed at the target in question; i.e. children in infant or primary education and therefore aged between three and twelve. Eight radio stations had to be omitted either because they were manifestly inaccessible or refused to take part in the study.

Below is a table with details of the sample analysed (Fig. 1). These are general interest radio stations divided into type: municipal, third sector, specialist and finally public stations from the RNE group.

In order to study the characteristics of all children's programmes a monitor sheet was established adapting the model by García Muñoz (1997, 72) for children's TV consumption habits. The

Figure 1. Children's radio programmes in Catalonia, 2013. Sample analysed
(figure continues on next page)

MUNICIPAL STATIONS		
<i>Aula dial</i>	Ràdio Sant Vicenç	Sant Vicenç dels Horts (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Barrufets</i>	Ràdio Sant Vicenç	Sant Vicenç dels Horts (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Bon dia menuts</i>	Ràdio Tordera	Tordera (Maresme)
<i>Les escoles a Ràdio Tordera</i>	Ràdio Tordera	Tordera (Maresme)
<i>L'escriptura del poeta</i>	Ràdio Tordera	Tordera (Maresme)
<i>Colla matinera</i>	Ràdio Canet	Canet de Mar (Maresme)
<i>Els brams del drac</i>	Ràdio Canet	Canet de Mar (Maresme)
<i>Contes pel bon rotllo</i>	Ràdio Abrera	Abrera (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Contes per somiar</i>	Punt 7 Ràdio Sant Celoni	Sant Celoni (Vallès Or.)
<i>El club dels matiners</i>	Ràdio Berga	Berga (Berguedà)
<i>El conte</i>	Ràdio Igualada	Igualada (Anoia)
<i>El gat petit</i>	Ràdio Voltregà	Sant Hipòlit de Voltregà (Osona)
<i>El gronxador</i>	Ràdio Santpedor	Santpedor (Bages)
<i>Pep Tort a cau d'orella</i>	Ràdio Santpedor	Santpedor (Bages)
<i>El laboratori</i>	Ràdio Sant Boi	Sant Boi de Llobregat (Baix Llobregat)
<i>El rebost dels contes</i>	Solsona FM	Solsona (Solsonès)
<i>El món dels petits</i>	Ràdio Banyeres	Banyeres del Penedès (Baix Penedès)
<i>Els menuts</i>	La veu de Navàs	Navàs (Bages)

Source: author.

Figure 1. Children's radio programmes in Catalonia, 2013. Sample analysed (continuation)

EMISSORES MUNICIPALS (continues)		
<i>Microfons a l'aula</i>	La veu de Navàs	Navàs (Bages)
<i>Entrevistem els polítics</i>	Ràdio Platja d'Aro	Platja d'Aro (Baix Empordà)
<i>Estevestiu</i>	Ràdio Sant Esteve RTV10	Sant Esteve Sesrovires (Baix Llobregat)
<i>La cantera</i>	Ràdio Sallent	Sallent (Bages)
<i>La tertúlia</i>	Ràdio Sallent	Sallent (Bages)
<i>Punt i coma</i>	Ràdio Sallent	Sallent (Bages)
<i>La capsa del contes</i>	Ràdio Nova	Vilanova del Camí (Anoia)
<i>Matinal amb el patge Makalí</i>	Ràdio Nova	Vilanova del Camí (Anoia)
<i>La llum del dia</i>	Bas Ràdio	La Vall d'en Bas (La Garrotxa)
<i>La moixiganga</i>	Ràdio Sant Quirze	Sant Quirze del Vallès (Vallès Oc.)
<i>La ràdio a l'escola</i>	Ràdio Balaguer	Balaguer (Noguera)
<i>La veu dels quatre vents</i>	Ràdio Domenys	Sant Jaume dels Domenys (Baix Penedès)
<i>L'arca</i>	Ràdio Begur	Begur (Baix Empordà)
<i>Les escoles a la ràdio</i>	Ràdio Cornellà	Cornellà de Llobregat (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Nit de Reis</i>	Ràdio Cornellà	Cornellà de Llobregat (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Les escoles a la ràdio</i>	Punt 7 Ràdio Sant Celoni	Sant Celoni (Vallès Or.)
<i>L'escola a la ràdio</i>	Ràdio Caldes	Caldes de Montbui (Vallès Or.)
<i>L'escola a la ràdio</i>	Ràdio Sant Andreu	Sant Andreu de la Barca (Baix Llobregat)
<i>L'escola a la ràdio</i>	Ràdio Les Planes	Les Planes d'Hostoles (La Garrotxa)
<i>L'hora del conte</i>	Mataró Ràdio	Mataró (Maresme)
<i>L'univers</i>	Ràdio Cap de Creus	Cap de Creus (Alt Empordà)
<i>Més content que un gínjol</i>	Canal Blau	Vilanova i la Geltrú (Garraf)
<i>M'expliques un conte?</i>	Olesa Ràdio	Olesa de Montserrat (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Picnicpins</i>	Ràdio Silenci	La Garriga (Vallès Or.)
<i>QKK!</i>	Ràdio Castellar	Castellar del Vallès (Vallès Oc.)
<i>Ràdio i escola</i>	Ràdio Castelldefels	Castelldefels (Baix Llobregat)
<i>Ràdio pati</i>	Ràdio Almacelles	Almacelles (Segrià)
<i>Radiofònics</i>	Ràdio Arenys de Munt	Arenys de Munt (Maresme)
<i>Ralet ralet</i>	Ona Codinenca	Sant Feliu de Codines (Vallès Or.)
<i>Rap 107.edu</i>	Rap 107	Parets del Vallès (Vallès or.)
<i>Sisè parla</i>	Ràdio Arenys	Arenys de Mar (Maresme)
<i>Tertúlies educatives</i>	Ràdio Cubelles	Cubelles (Garraf)
<i>Tic, tac, ring</i>	Ràdio Palafolls	Palafolls (Maresme)
THIRD SECTOR STATIONS		
<i>Ràdio Ràpia</i> Modalitat: ràdio escolar	Ràdio Ràpia	Santa Margarida i els Monjos (Alt Penedès)
<i>L'hora infantil</i> Modalitat: ràdio lliure	Ràdio Pinsania	Berga (Berguedà)
<i>Llegeix-me un conte</i> Modalitat: ràdio de barri	Ràdio Sant Pere i Sant Pau	Tarragona
<i>Radioescola</i> Modalitat: ràdio de barri	Sants 3 Ràdio	Barcelona
SPECIALIST STATIONS: RELIGIOUS (without administrative license)		
<i>Cinco panes y dos peces</i>	Onda Paz	Barcelona
STATIONS FROM THE RNE GROUP		
<i>El rincón de los niños</i>	Radio Clásica	RNE-Estatal
<i>Contando cuentos en R5</i>	R5	RNE-Estatal
<i>La estación azul de los niños</i>	R5	RNE-Estatal

Source: author.

initial focus was on identifying aspects: name, location and type of radio in terms of its administrative management and then categories classifying children's radio programmes in terms of the aim of the programme, the language it's broadcast in, the duration and transmission or retransmission details, the number of presenters for the programme and their ages, the target aimed at (in this case only differentiating whether the target is 100% children or children and adults), the format used, the type of content broadcast and how the programme interacts with the audience, if applicable.

Some of these categories were also used for questions in the questionnaire for the interviews with those in charge of the stations in the sample. Questionnaires were used to obtain more details regarding the information obtained via listening but also to discover programme details which would otherwise be impossible to obtain. It should be noted that most of the programmes are broadcast on municipal radio stations but we did not base our study on a census of existing children's programmes; rather we contacted, by email or telephone, 259 stations from different municipalities, the third sector and the RNE group to be able to determine, from this universe, those stations actually broadcasting and/or producing children's programmes in 2013. In total, data from 59 of the stations studied were amplified using qualitative information based on conversations with their managers.

4. Findings

Of the fifty-nine stations in the sample, only those belonging to the Radio Nacional de España (RNE) network are both public and non-local. There are three different programmes broadcast by two of the RNE channels. On Radio Clásica they have *El rincón de los niños* and on Radio 5 *Contando cuentos en R5* and *La estación azul de los niños*. These programmes, which

are produced in Madrid and can be heard throughout Spain, represent 3.9% of all programmes for children that could be heard in Catalonia in 2013.

The most programmes are produced by municipal stations. 84.3% of the programmes are produced by "proximity radio" stations and especially by stations in counties with a high population density such as Barcelona and its metropolitan area, towns in the Maresme and the two Vallès counties. While some of these locations broadcast more than one children's programme, Lleida and Girona are the two cities with no children's programming.

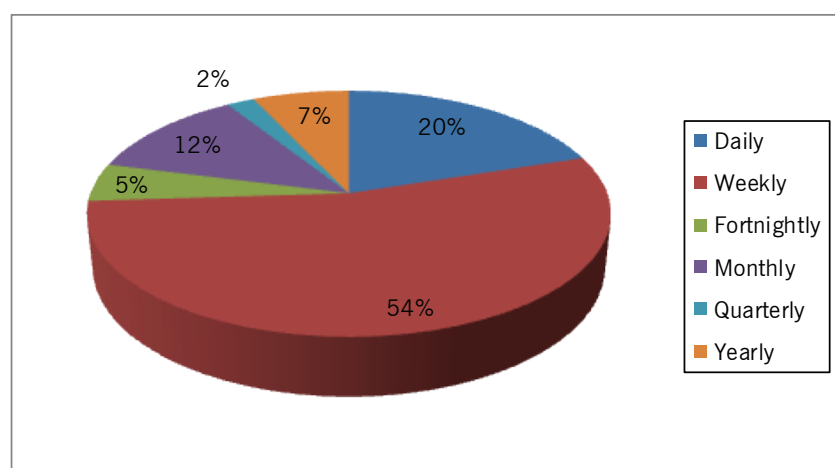
There's also children's programming on ten stations considered to be by the Third Sector with structures and programmes as different as school radio, neighbourhood radio, one free radio station with children's programmes and a district station (La Marina FM in Barcelona is excluded as it was impossible to contact the station).

Finally, there was also children's programming on three specialist radio stations that, curiously, all correspond to religious programming formulas and had no administrative licence at the time of the fieldwork. These are RKM, Radio María and Onda Paz, which emits *Cinco panes y dos peces*.

Based on the classifications made in the observation and the information obtained in the interviews, we also discovered that most programmes are broadcast once a week (Fig. 2), normally Saturday mornings between 9 and 12. Their content is particularly musical or with storytellers and, in third place, they cover various subjects related to didactic and educational experiences, often focusing on literary genres such as poetry. Interviews are the most widely used form of communication in the programmes made by or aimed at children and the most usual structure is either the magazine or storytelling format.

The programmes studied use Catalan in 83% of the cases as the language for communication, although 7% of the programmes made entirely in Spanish correspond to those broadcast by

Figure 2. Broadcasting frequency of programmes transmitted for children in Catalonia in 2013



Source: Borrero & Espinosa, 2014, 103.

RNE Group stations due to them being state-wide, as well as to religious stations. The same percentage of broadcast time is seen for Catalan and English in programmes, irrespective of the relative presence of English in the actual programme. In this case these are school radio formats such as, on the Les Planes d'Hostoles station, *L'escola a la ràdio*, the same name as the programme for Caldes de Montbui. English is also present in the form of music exclusively sung in this language in the programme *Llegeixem un conte*, on Ràdio Sant Pere i Sant Pau (Tarragona) and Ràdio Ràpia, explaining the time occupied by this language. The children's programmes with most broadcast time in English are *La Cantera*, by Ràdio Sallent and *Rap 107.edu*, by Parets del Vallès, which have English sections.

It should be noted that the aim of each programme is different (Fig. 3) and therefore not quantifiable but three broad principles have been observed in the aims of all of them: entertainment, didactic objectives using radio language to work on basic transversal skills (oral expression) and finally to attract young children to radio, familiarising them with the media through first-hand experience. Of course it's easy to find other reasons for creating programmes with a sample of fifty-nine stations. In this case we should note that there are children's programmes made with aims such as to encourage culture or an interest in knowledge and learning, promoting the imagination, educating or getting children interested in current affairs, such as *Colla matinera* by Ràdio Canet, made by a teenager in 2nd year secondary school from the town and aimed at young children, producing news items tailored to them. This unusual programme is the only one in the whole sample that offers listeners the chance to participate, providing a mobile unit to record the opinions of people in the street.

Among the findings obtained, of particular note is the disparity in the duration of children's programmes and their number of presenters (Fig. 4). Although 59% of the programmes are co-

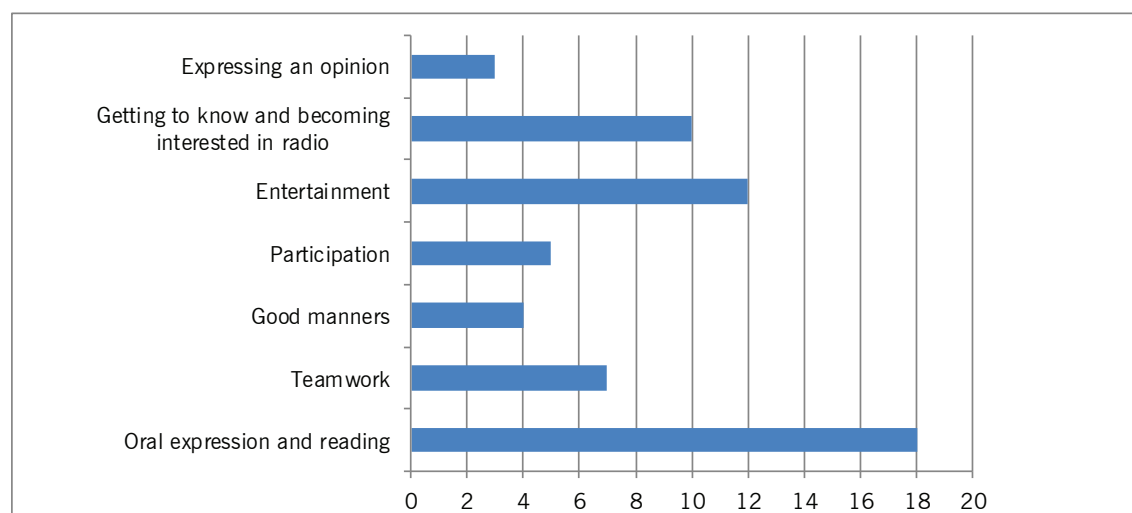
presented by a boy and a girl, the number of speakers can vary depending on the subject of the day or whether the programme is longer for any reason, as revealed in the interviews carried out. On Ràdio Les Planes, for example, the duration of *L'escola a la ràdio* differs with each broadcast depending on the content presented. Some programmes last 10 minutes but others, 8% of them, last more than 120 minutes, although the general trend is for programmes for young children to last between an hour and an hour and a half (60% of the sample). The shortest programmes, between 10 and 20 minutes, are usually based on storytelling while the longest correspond to special events such as *Nit de reis* on Ràdio Cornellà (a live broadcast of the Epiphany procession), the Ràdio Nova programme *Matinal amb el patge Makalí* (calls from listeners) and *Les escoles a la ràdio* by Ràdio Cornellà. These spaces are annual. This category of long programmes also includes the poetry space on Ràdio Tordera: *L'escriptura el poeta* and the competition by Ràdio Castellar, *QKK!*.

The longest programme, *Barrufets*, is cultural and broadcast by Ràdio Sant Vicenç. It usually lasts between 90 and 120 minutes.

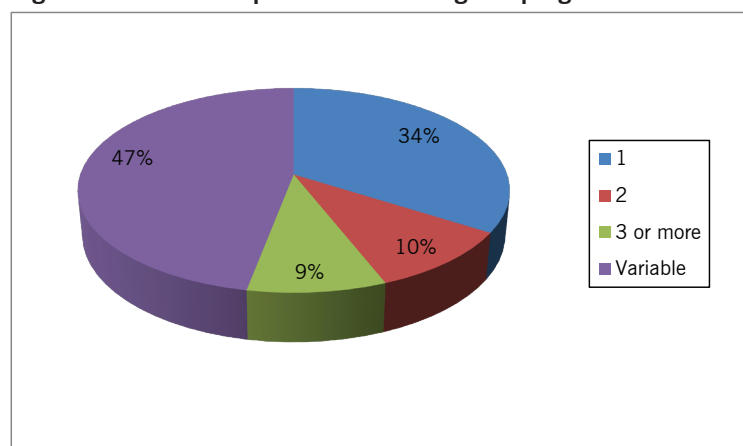
95% of these programmes are broadcast once while 5% can be heard more than once or on more than one station, in some cases because they form part of the stations belonging to La Xarxa,⁴ which is the case of *La moixiganga*, produced by Ràdio Sant Quirze and *Més content que un gínjol*, by Canal Blau. The other programme broadcast more than once is *Tic, tac, ring* by Ràdio Palafolls.

La moixiganga is the programme that can be heard on the most municipal radio stations in Catalonia as it is broadcast on seven: Ona Codinenca, 7 de Ràdio, La Veu de Navàs, Ràdio La Vall, Ràdio Sant Fruitós, Ràdio Bonmatí and Ràdio Balsareny. *Més content que un gínjol*, for its part, is repeated on La Xarxa but also on La Marina FM and Ràdio Cubelles. And lastly there

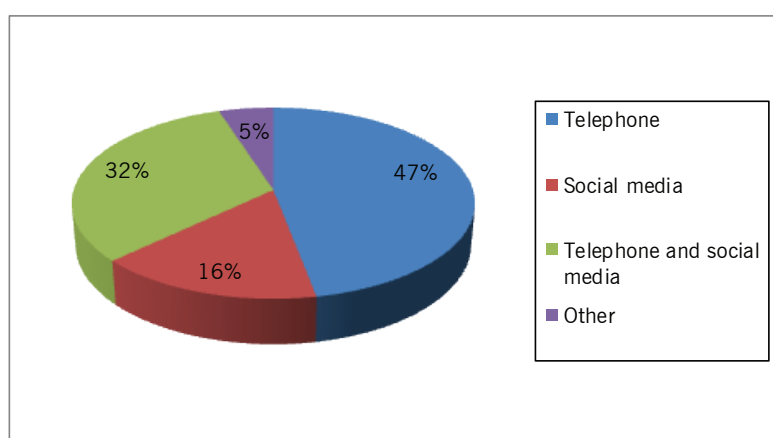
Figure 3. Aims shared by the different programmes analysed. Data obtained from personal interviews



Source: Borrero & Espinosa 2014, 111.

Figure 4. Number of presenters running the programme

Source: Borrero & Espinosa, 2014, 114.

Figure 5. Audience participation formulas

Note: Listeners can only participate in a minority of children's programmes (32%)

Source: Borrero & Espinosa, 2014, 117.

is *Tic, tac, ring* which, as it is co-produced by Ràdio Palafolls and Ràdio Blanes, can be heard on both stations.

68% of the programmes are designed for an audience including adults and children since, as we have already explained, they are school radio type formats but it has been observed that 32% of the projects are designed only for a young audience, especially for children aged 10, according to the opinions expressed by the programmers consulted. Both as producers of the programme, presenting everything or only a section, and also as listeners and participants in the programme, we have seen that most children's formats recorded involve primary school children, 5% secondary school children and 17% are radio programmes made both by primary and secondary school children. Although involvement in the production of programmes is very high, these programmes rarely give the audience the opportunity to interact with the producers. Only 32% of the programmes analysed provide channels for listener participation, as shown by the following graph (Fig. 5). The finding that 68% of the programmes made and designed for children refuse to allow

audience participation can only be explained by the fact that most programmes are recorded before they are transmitted.

5. Conclusions

This article began by asking where children's programmes are on the radio. According to the findings of this study, the answer is mostly on "proximity radio" stations. 84.3% of programmes for children are broadcast by municipal radio stations, 9.8% belong to third sector stations, i.e. broadcasts for schools, neighbourhoods, districts or a free radio station, 3.9% are produced by two stations within the RNE group and the remaining 2% are programmes corresponding to religious radio stations without an administrative licence.

According to the findings explained above, we can conclude that the children's programmes studied have a twofold objective: to entertain their audience and to familiarise children with radio as a means of communication. Nevertheless we can

clearly see that 68% of the programmes broadcast for children, whether they are made by adults or teenagers or primary school children, offer no means of audience participation as they are recorded before they are broadcast.

A significant proportion of these programmes, as has been explained in detail, belongs to the school radio format and, as part of the learning process, it's logical that they need to ensure a "good broadcast" and it's therefore more important for them to post-produce content than risk a live broadcast given their young target unfamiliar with radio broadcasting techniques. The audience therefore does not have the option of collaborating in the programmes. In the 32% of programmes that do include audience participation, this is mostly by telephone, a technology that may seem rather out-of-date for young children given the technologies available online, especially when they very often use laptops and tablets at school as learning tools for classroom work. This seems contradictory if we remember that both the programme's producers and especially all their target audience have very good technology skills from a generational point of view. The only programmes to use social media for their audiences to express their opinions are as follows: three on Ràdio Sallent, namely *La cantera*, *La tertúlia* and *Punt i coma*, *Radiofònics* on Arenys de Mar radio, *Radioescola* or school radio by the Barcelona neighbourhood station Sants 3 Ràdio, *El gat petit* by Ràdio Voltregà, *Rap 107.edu* by Parets del Vallès and *Contando cuentos en R5* by RNE.

Apart from the little interaction with listeners, 45% of the programmes for children aged between three and twelve have a magazine format and are broadcast as the result of a radio workshop at the school in question, promoted to work on basic skills in the curriculum such as improve children's oral expression and reading. An analysis of the programmes shows that these are also normally broadcast in Catalan, last an hour on average, are transmitted once a week and normally on Saturday mornings and are aimed at both parents and children. They are equally presented by boys and girls and only *El rebost dels contes*, on Solsona FM, is jointly made by children and adults. On the rest of the stations the presenters are either children of a similar age to their audience or adolescent or pre-adolescent producers.

There is a great diversity of content and genre. Nevertheless the most frequent are music, stories and didactic content, much more than competitions or religious content. In this respect it's worth noting that other subjects are also dealt with by children in their programmes but these do not appear on more than one station; for example there are comedy programmes, programmes about politics or the environment and others dedicated to solidarity or reviewing the lives of famous people.

Although there was a wide range of programmes for children in 2013, many of these did not last long. According to the historical data covered by this article, it's clear that it's difficult for municipal stations to maintain stability and this is the context within which most children's programmes are broadcast. This means the continuation of programmes depends on such diverse

factors as budget cuts and whether the programme's producers/promoters are professionals, as these are often enthusiastic volunteers. The oldest children's programme in Catalonia is *Nit de Reis* by Ràdio Cornellà, broadcast uninterruptedly since 1982.

The study's findings also suggest that the public broadcasters with the largest audiences, Catalunya Ràdio and Ràdio Nacional RNE, behave very differently towards this target audience ignored by audience surveys. While Catalunya Ràdio has spent the last 4 years without any children's programme, *Clica't* (2014) is now being broadcast on RNE, a space for infants and primary schoolchildren, continuing the programming of Radio Clásica and Radio 5, as has already been explained. On the other hand the private broadcasters creating general interest content in Catalonia, such as RAC1, Cadena SER-Catalunya, Onda Cero and COPE-Catalunya, no longer broadcast programmes for this age group although the history of radio shows that many of the pioneering programmes aimed at young children were precisely on these stations, and also in spite of the fact that some of these private broadcasters were the catalyst for the school radio formats that have, for many years, have attracted and turned young listeners into radio producers, a legacy which, thanks to municipal radio stations, still survives today.

Notes

1. This study was published in *Quaderns del CAC*, no. 34, vol. XIII (1), page 69, under the relevant title of "The crisis in youth radio consumption in Catalonia", highlighting the state of this issue right from the start.
2. <http://cadenaser.com/ser/2013/11/11/audios/1384139609_660215.html> [Consulted: 9-4-2015]
3. This fieldwork forms the basis of a very complete Final Dissertation, tutored by the author and produced by Lúdia Borrero at Universitat de Girona, 2014.
4. La Xarxa is a multimedia audiovisual platform which, in 2013, had 161 stations as members. Nevertheless, not all of them re-broadcast all the programmes as they select from the content available on the platform (Xarxa 2013).

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News decentralisation in the Scottish television model

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Abstract

Scotland is a stateless nation that has its own communication space. This research presents the intensification of decentralised territorial coverage in television news, both on public TV (BBC Scotland and BBC Alba) and on the commercial channel (STV). In the first case, the creation of BBC Alba improved territorial coverage on public television; in the second, STV has split Scotland into four areas of influence to offer local news opt-outs in each of these zones.

Keywords

Television, communication space, Scotland, decentralisation, news.

Resum

Escòcia és una nació sense Estat que disposa d'un espai comunicatiu propi. Aquesta és la premissa de l'estudi que es presenta, per abordar la intensificació de la cobertura territorial descentralitzada en els informatius de televisió, tant de la mà dels prestadors públics (BBC Scotland i BBC Alba) com del prestador comercial (STV). En el primer cas, la millora de la cobertura del territori ha vingut de la creació de la BBC Alba. En el segon, STV ha dividit el territori escocès en quatre àrees d'influència i ofereix desconexions informatives en cadascun dels territoris.

Paraules clau

Televisió, espai comunicatiu, Escòcia, descentralització, informació.

1. Introduction

Scotland is a stateless nation that has set up an active communication space underpinning the region's identity and cultural values. This is the largest regional centre of audiovisual production in the United Kingdom, with its capital in Glasgow. The role played by the public broadcasting service has been vital in its national construction, and television providers are agents of unquestionable importance for the competitive function of the creative and cultural industry. A prominent role has not only been played by the channels financed with public resources stemming from the licence fee (BBC Scotland and BBC Alba) but also by commercial television (STV) which acts as a public service under the strict supervision and control of the independent authority, Ofcom.

The concept of a stateless nation is, according to McCrone (1998), used for "territories in which the identification with the nation is greater than that with the State of which they are currently a part". This term has spread and been used by different authors, especially to refer to Scotland, Catalonia or Quebec. A communication space is understood as the existence of an area with a specific history, a cultural and linguistic community, the present of a specific political power and communication institutions supplying the area (Gifreu 2014).

The Scottish case forms part of the Europe-wide trend towards decentralising audiovisual spaces which was pointed out by Moragas, Garitaonandía and López (1999). In the last few years Scotland has increased its regional coverage, understood to mean the geographical supply of the news covered by a medium, both the public and the commercial service. On one hand the introduction of BBC Alba has led to a substantial improvement in the news coverage in the most rural zones: the highlands and islands; on the other hand the allocation of local channels for the first time in the region, controlled by the STV Group (the company that manages STV), raises the profile of local information for people in the television supplied.

The aim of this article is to provide a diagnosis on "proximity television" in Scotland, in terms of its establishment in the area. It considers proximity providers to be those which broadcast a committed scheduling intended to talk about news from the region itself. It seeks to find out the role that regional channels (the ones that broadcast their own content in the entire Scottish nation) are currently playing in terms of territorial representation and news decentralisation. To this end special attention will be paid to the news programmes of audiovisual providers and the coverage of the region given by them. It was chosen to focus the research on the news and news programmes, as the news has played a vital part in the relationship between civil society and

the State in Scotland (Schlesinger, Miller and Dinan 2001), and in the evolution of this transformation.

This research is based on fieldwork carried out in Scotland in October 2014 as part of a research placement at the Centre for Cultural Policy Research of Glasgow University. Dr. Philip Schlesinger was interviewed as an expert in the subject in the region, also talking to the main agents in the subject analysed (BBC Scotland, BBC Alba and STV): Margaret Mary, head of BBC Scotland's digital services in Gaelic; Norrie MacLennan, BBC Alba news editor; Paul Hughes, editor of STV Glasgow; Dave Rushton, director of the Institute for Local Television; and Alan Stewart, regulatory affairs manager of Ofcom Scotland. The planning of the fieldwork sought to collect information from the media in the geographical area being examined through the managers of the channels themselves, statements made by the regulatory body and also from the academic standpoint. The work done in the field was complemented with a bibliographic review and by consulting documents prepared by Ofcom and other institutions connected with the audiovisual medium, such as the Scottish Broadcasting Commission and the BBC Trust.¹

2. Communication space, identity and proximity

As part of the globalisation of communication, in which the major providers of information distribute audiovisual content on a worldwide scale, a complementary phenomenon is taking place: the regionalisation of communication. The traditional postulates that see social communication as an expression of the cultural geography of the Nation-State have had to be reconsidered in a setting in which a desire for global interconnection has not disregarded the strong bonds found between social communication on the airwaves and national political spaces, which continue to be vital for the collective identity (Schlesinger 2007).

Deutsch (1953) claimed that nations are closely bound by their social structures for communication interaction and that peoples remain united from within through this communicative efficiency. Education and official celebrations play a significant role in consolidating national identities, both in the case of States and stateless nations. Even though institutions are key agents in maintaining identities, these are only consolidated if social agents internalise them (Castells 1997), taking into account that citizens often identify with identities through activities which come from the bottom up. National identity is thus maintained through the use of language and the repeated exposure of common symbols and, in many cases, both of these are found in the media (Billig 1995).

Through the interactions of daily life and the way these are presented in the media, people assimilate and perpetuate symbols and languages that reinforce their identity. Anderson (1983) claims that media communication is vitally important in forming national consciousness. A good deal of nationalist practice is rooted in daily practice and rituals and the pillars of

national identity are reproduced on an everyday basis through the flags constantly seen flying, sports heroes, the weather forecast which reinforces awareness of political geography and news which categorises certain events as "domestic affairs" and distinguishes these from foreign affairs (Billig 1995). These postulates therefore justify analysing the role of the media and, more specifically, the information they offer as they are responsible for part of these daily practices that are important for constructing identity.

When we speak of identity we should take into account the claims of Joseph Straubhaar (2008), who relates this concept with that of proximity. The author states that the population identifies itself on several levels; i.e. that there are several layers of identity depending on the relational framework to which we are referring. The public plays an active role when selecting and interpreting television programmes and channels and this audience is not uniform (Straubhaar 1991). According to the theory of cultural proximity, the audience has a preference for local and national productions based on different factors: the attractiveness of faces with similar ethnic traits, the familiarity of local styles, the appeal of their own subjects and concerns, the identification of the sense of humour, the recognition of local personalities and stars, etc. "The concept of proximity applied to television involves the idea that there is a context of shared experiences between the broadcaster and its receivers, which will ultimately be reflected in the content of the scheduling" (Moragas, Garitaonandía and López 1999: 19). This proximity will be mostly reflected, according to the authors, in the preferential focus of the providers of news content involving the region in question. Applied to the subject analysed in this research, we should take into account the channels that broadcast all over the Scottish territory, with interest focussed on the news closest to the area.

It is relevant to frame this research within the postulates of public service broadcasting (PSB) and how this is seen in the United Kingdom. We should note that, unlike other more decentralised models such as in Spain and Germany, television policies in Britain depend essentially on decisions made by the central government (Fernández Alonso, Capurro Robles, Sanmartín Navarro and Blasco Gil 2008). According to the Communications Act of 2003, which updated the legislation on the audiovisual sector in the United Kingdom, the public broadcasting service must comply with the following requisites: high quality in the production of programmes: originality of the content and predominance of in-house production; representation of and access for the different languages and social groups (multiculturalism); appealing productions to reach a broad majority of people (mass audience); innovation in programming; audience stimulation; neutrality in its production; and a wide range of themes in programming. The channels analysed in this research have to meet these requirements, which are complemented by the four values associated with the service: impartiality, quality, diversity and social values (BBC 2003).

Both public and private television stations are subject to their own specific obligations (Petit 2006). Hence, in the United Kingdom (unlike most European television models) the concept of public service is not connected to the public ownership of the operator or to the financing method of the channel but is inherent in audiovisual communication. Commercial television has subsidised access to frequencies while publicly-owned television has free access to them, so that greater demands are made in terms of scheduling and production.

3. Proximity news on the regional channels

Initiatives prior to any Scottish public channel

Although the British public television model has traditionally been centralised in England,² Scotland has wanted to have distinctive news coverage as it has its own information agenda (Schlesinger, Miller and Dinan 2001). BBC Scotland was the first channel to broadcast original content of its own in the region. This is the Scottish version of the BBC One channel, which shows common programmes throughout the United Kingdom and regional opt-out programmes only in Scotland.

Scotland's own news programming is based on a programme called Reporting Scotland, with regional news which is broadcast after the general interest news programme. This formula, started in 1968, has been kept after rejecting the option to produce its own television news programme which would also include mainstream news from a Scottish point of view, a claim which is known as The Scottish Six. From the months of October to December 1998, Scotland had an hour's news as an opt-out but the endeavour was not a success, revealing yet again the limitations of BBC Scotland's independence. The pattern is repeated three times a day, after BBC News at One (1 pm), BBC News at Six (6 pm) and BBC News at 10 (10 pm). The programme at six in the evening, during prime time, is the longest and most popular.

Demand for a news bulletin described as "integrated" became clear after the 1997 referendum which gave rise to the Scotland Act and to setting up the Scottish parliament in 1999, with the ensuing transfer of powers. The claim envisaged an alternative to the present pattern, using the BBC's network of resources to provide a personalised news programme with international, state, national and local news from a Scottish angle. This would show the public that the BBC in Scotland could serve its audience better given the strong position as a national provider gradually being acquired by the Scottish Media Group, managing the commercial channel Scottish Television (STV). "What BBC Scotland wanted was to come forward as more Scottish, and it thought that the news was the ideal place to show this" (Schlesinger, Miller and Dinan 2001: 40).

These goals were curbed since the news at six was considered to have a symbolic role in the United Kingdom and its most centrist critics were afraid that a totally disconnected news programme would indicate a separatist agenda. The BBC

communiqué (1998: 2) about these demands was quite clear: "It will be important to display a clear response to the transfer of powers but also to maintain the strength and unity of a BBC fully integrated in the United Kingdom". Even though the reply from the Broadcasting Council for Scotland stated that the starting point was to emphasise the different national identity of Scotland, it is nonetheless true that the proposal for The Scottish Six was rejected before the Scottish Parliament was set up. The half-hour of Scottish news by BBC Scotland, always preceded by the mainstream news, was thus the most direct antecedent to having a channel with its own news bulletin, which arrived in September 2008 when BBC Alba was started up.

Launching a Scottish channel, in Gaelic

BBC Alba is a channel managed by the Gaelic Media Service (MG Alba) in association with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Its establishment forms part of the framework laid down in the postulates of sections 208-210 of the Communications Act of 2003³, which stipulates that the service's functions must guarantee that a wide and diverse range of high quality programmes is broadcast in Gaelic and made available to Scottish people. Another forerunner can be seen in the Gaelic Language Act of 2005, which gave Gaelic the category of an official language for the first time. The number of Gaelic speakers had been dropping for centuries and new endeavours to preserve and invigorate Gaelic begun in the 1970s became more obvious as from the transfer of powers in the 90s. In spite of Gaelic and Scottish nationalism not necessarily being interconnected, "the "Gaelic renaissance" of recent decades is clearly connected to strengthening perceptions of Gaelic as a national language (...) and to the increasing emphasis on Scottish political and cultural distinctiveness in general" (McLeod 2006: 88). There have been two key elements to boosting the language: teaching Gaelic at some state schools from 1985 and the expansion of Gaelic to the audiovisual media.

The BBC's programming in Gaelic had been concentrated on the radio as the station had broadcast bulletins in this language since the 1980s. Television was also considered to be a necessary part of promoting the contemporary image of the language and learning about the lifestyles of Gaelic speakers. In spite of this, a few hours' programming on BBC Two were the only slot made available to the audience by the public audiovisual provider. 16 years ago the programme *Eòrpa* started to be produced, which has been continued by BBC Alba and is one of the "channel's flagships". Apart from the public channel's programming, Scottish Television (STV) also had a news bulletin that was started up in the 90s but ended prior to the creation of BBC Alba.

BBC Alba broadcasts content entirely in the Gaelic language from five in the afternoon to twelve at night with the aim of "serving Gaelic speakers, those learning the language, those that might wish to learn and those interested in the language and culture, as well as reflecting and supporting the Gaelic culture, identity and heritage" (BBC Trust 2010:1). The channel's target

audience is on the one hand made up of the 90,000 persons who understand and speak Gaelic in Scotland (1.8% of the population), bilingual with English, and on the other hand the Scottish population in general. In a personal interview given on BBC Scotland, Margaret Mary explained that both these objectives combine to help the Gaelic language and culture become standardised and more visible. We can nevertheless distinguish two strategies for reaching both stipulated potential audiences. Firstly, the daily programming is essentially made up of children's programmes, programmes for language learning, documentaries and daily news; secondly, to reach a broader Scottish public not necessarily limited to Gaelic speakers, the channel also includes music and sports content so that the proximity aspect is not necessarily bound to the linguistic side.

According to the appraisal made by the BBC Trust after the channel had been running for less than two years, the linguistic aim was satisfactory since three quarters of Gaelic speakers claimed they watched the channel daily or weekly. The quality of the original programmes was identified as the channel's strong point, especially as regards documentaries, which were subtitled in English. What's more, four out of every five viewers were not Gaelic speakers, so the aim of attracting new speakers or persons interested in the language was considered to have been achieved, this purpose being reinforced with the programming of specific language-learning content. The strategy of including sports and music programmes in the schedule means that viewers have content related to their own culture and identity, with no need to understand Gaelic.

BBC Alba is considered to improve the plurality of the public broadcasting service in Scotland and the channel is thought to be in a good position to deal with unattended niches in Scottish life. The Scottish government claims, in reply to the BBC Alba review⁴, that BBC Alba's area of influence spreads beyond its main audience of Gaelic speakers and students and declares that the channel adds value to other alternatives that are underway (and were already running before the channel was launched) to back and promote the language. They also state that the structures for operating BBC Alba are working efficiently, which means a wide range of producers can regularly launch projects and boost the Scottish audiovisual industry and specifically the companies in the sector which produce content in Gaelic.

The news is the most widely-watched programme through which the channel establishes a relationship with the region it represents, creating bonds with people and reinforcing the Gaelic identity. The daily news programme is not a version in Gaelic of the Reporting Scotland programme but a programme with its own editorial approach, as is argued by Norrie MacLennan (2014) in a personal interview held for this research. Even though the BBC Scotland channel and BBC Alba share their headquarters in Glasgow, the centre from which the information is coordinated and edited in Gaelic is located in Inverness. This city, 272 km from Glasgow, is the administrative centre for the highland region which, along with the islands, make up the main zones where Scottish Gaelic and

Gaelic culture in general still survive.⁵ This is a scattered area with low population density, meaning that there have to be different production centres working in coordination in order to offer a service with no exclusions. The fact of establishing the channel's news bulletin in Inverness is a key factor to be able to provide a decentralised coverage of the territory for the first time. We should bear in mind that the public provider went from having a single team located in Inverness to cover all the Highlands in English for BBC Scotland to having a channel, BBC Alba, with 29 professionals covering the information for the same size of territory and introducing Gaelic as the main language. At present the channel has 6 regional centres with journalists ready to report on matters from each of the following zones: Inverness, Isle of Lewis, Isle of Skye, Oban, Glasgow and Edinburgh. BBC Alba has thus moved far from the centrism hitherto existing in the most highly-populated cities, above all in Glasgow.

The coordination and editing of the news was set up in Inverness because of the desire to improve territorial coverage but it also stems from the notion of "identity proximity". In the case of BBC Alba this refers to the Gaelic community, mostly located in the Highlands and islands (even though there are inhabitants in Edinburgh and Glasgow), rather than the Scottish identity which is also reinforced insofar as the Gaelic identity forms part of it. That's why local news coverage is based on events that involve the Gaelic community. In this respect television establishes a powerful bond with speakers of the language, keeping in touch with associational, civic and educational communities (especially the few schools that use the Gaelic language). This kind of television requires a greater presence on location and, on opening up the medium, the interaction between the BBC and the community has intensified compared with radio. In the whole area the channel covers the information and activities related to the Gaelic community, more concentrated in the northern part but also those living in other zones. In Glasgow, for example, the activities organised by the only education centre in the city whose primary education is given in Gaelic provide news items (MacLennan 2014).

In spite of editorial independence, accentuated by the location of those in charge of news content at two different centres, the news rooms of BBC Scotland and BBC Alba work on an integrated basis and the two channels share information so as not to duplicate work (news items are only covered once). Forming part of the great BBC network provides the regional channel with more international and national news resources, but always from its own standpoint. The latest news at each of the regional centres is broadcast on BBC Alba but BBC Scotland (and, if required, also BBC One) has the graphic material and text at its disposal through a shared server. This means quality information can be provided at all levels (international, state, national and local) from its own standpoint, and the BBC can provide better cover of Scottish territory.

As regards the BBC Alba news programme, some believe this meets the traditional demands of Scottish Six by having a news

bulletin in Gaelic at 8.30 pm instead of the news in English at 6 pm. Although this news bulletin represents a valuable source of quality information for the Scots, potentially credible and clearly complying with the purpose of serving the Gaelic audience, it is nevertheless true that the linguistic aspect may also be a limitation in view of the small percentage of the population who speak Gaelic. While some documentaries are subtitled in English to be able to reach a wider audience, subtitles cannot be provided for daily news because of information routines and the budget. Each of the items is accompanied by three titles in English to give viewers who don't speak Gaelic the main ideas of the news item.

"Proximity news" (local or community news) is a priority on the channel's programme but the local sphere is not the only level of identity that makes television news representative. Four levels of information are differentiated, associated with the population's four levels of identity: local (referring in this case to the Gaelic community), national (referring to Scotland), State (referring to the United Kingdom) and international. The news bulletin combines items on the different layers of identity with a preference for its own content related to the Gaelic community but not exclusively referring to this. In the case of national and State news, an attempt is made to offer its own standpoint, placing the emphasis on the effects for local people. Depending on the local news for the day, international information is also given, particularly sensitive to what's happening in other parts of the world with minority languages or cultures. The structure and order of the bulletin are flexible: this may vary depending on the news agenda for each day, so that the different layers of identity are not assembled in structural blocks and the order may change from day to day.

On all four levels material is shared with other providers or with providers forming part of the same public media network. As regards the first level, the Gaelic community, BBC Alba has an agreement with TG4, the channel in Gaelic which carries out the same function in Ireland. This is an agreement for exchanging one news item a week, in which they change the voiceover to make it more understandable in each of the dialects. At this same level news is exchanged with BBC Scotland and BBC One, generally one-way; i.e. BBC Alba provides the BBC with the more local content referring to Gaelic speakers.

In the national, state and international cases, this one-way direction goes the other way since it is BBC Alba which tends to use content supplied by BBC Scotland (in the case of Scottish news) or from BBC One or News, in the case of State or international news. As regards this fourth level, the international scale, BBC Alba forms part of the World Indigenous Television Broadcasters Network (WITBN). This organisation, established in 2008, is the first worldwide alliance with the aim of unifying television broadcasters all over the world in preserving and nurturing local languages and cultures by creating communication networks and exchanging of content, especially news.

If we concentrate on the first level, the local facet, the channel

comes up against a difficulty caused by the low number of Gaelic speakers. This represents a challenge as regards audience size, which they attempt to get over by subtitling documentaries in English, incorporating programmes without any script (music and sport) and, in the case of news, by incorporating three titles for each news item conveying the main ideas of the piece in English, in view of the impossibility of subtitling the entire news bulletin on grounds of time (the speed of news routines) and budget.

The audience figures for BBC Alba are generally fairly low but the audience is significant if one takes into account the small number of people in the Gaelic community. The news is the most popular and widely-watched item on the channel. In 2014 the channel's watchers soared to a weekly ceiling of 17.6% (news getting 22%), and the weekly audience among the Gaelic community reached an average of 72%.⁶ The difficulties for increasing reception of the channel are not the only challenge which the provider comes up against as regards the minority Gaelic population. The intention is for local news stories to reach the Gaelic community but also to lend a voice to this community in order to establish a firm link with the group. The fact that there are few Gaelic speakers makes it harder to find information or to find people who can make statements in Gaelic (MacLennan, 2014). The strong bond with the territory and the fact that the identity community does not have political institutions to represent it means that proximity news continues quite regularly to be "soft news". Even though they try to ensure that the people involved can express themselves in Gaelic for making statements, they are allowed to make declarations in English when this is not possible.

Territorial coverage is no simple matter since this is an area with a low and scattered population, with a complex lie of the land (mountains and many islands). This means that the most efficient way to cover the territory is via electronic news gathering (ENG), in which a single professional can record, announce and edit the news. The channel's regional association is reinforced by the live connections broadcast every day in the news bulletin (from 1 to 3 pm) in order to show the journalist's presence in the local setting. The news bulletin also includes interviews in the studio in a space decorated with local landscapes. In spite of the lack of investigative journalism on the channel, BBC Alba offers thorough territorial coverage and a valuable source of current affairs, which makes it representative of Gaelic culture and language, and binds it to this community (both in terms of territorial coverage and audience).

Regional coverage of the commercial provider

The commercial provider Scottish Television (STV) aims to be the channel that provides proximity information for the Scots in English. It does so in a context in which BBC Scotland provides specific information about Scotland but not general information from a Scottish standpoint. The BBC Alba news bulletin is a relevant source of news, able to provide international, national and proximity news in Gaelic, but has not reached the position

of becoming a mainstream channel for the Scots.

STV is a longstanding television service which has run two channels since the 1960s: STV Central and STV North (which was known as Grampian Television until 2006). These two channels, managed in the past by different companies, make up the services in the Channel 3 network in the region. They therefore share programming and news content with the other channels in the network (particularly with ITV, which manages most of the licences). In the 1990s, when the licences were reviewed, the local production requirements rose contributing to the fact that proximity news is now one of the channel's strong points. The news consists of the same blocks as BBC Scotland but inversely distributed: 30 minutes of proximity news at 6 pm followed by general news from ITV (in the BBC's case, first they broadcast the BBC One general news and then the regional news programme produced by BBC Scotland).

As a result the channel does not have a general news bulletin with news affecting the different layers of identity from a Scottish standpoint. This provider nevertheless gives prominent presence to proximity news which is broadcast as an opt-out thanks to the regional centres. As regards the licence for central Scotland (STV Central), two separate news bulletins are broadcast: one for Glasgow and its area of influence, and one for Edinburgh and its area of influence. In the case of the licence for the north (North Scotland), this broadcasts a joint news bulletin with a 5-minute opt-out for the Aberdeen and Dundee areas. This news architecture ties in with the territorial layout, made up of four production centres with headquarters in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee.

The channel embarked on a strategy to provide more local content in 2007 when it opened regional centres which broadcast original content in each of their respective cities and outlying areas. Apart from having journalists in these regional centres, there is also a small team of reporters in Inverness and independent journalists on the islands who contribute to the channel when needed. STV also manages the two new local channels in Glasgow and Edinburgh, with which it has joint newsrooms and constantly exchanges news items. Since the channels are run as a network, items are only covered once and in some cases versions are given by the different regional news bulletins.

Television news is the most prominent part of the programming and, as the director of the channel, Bobby Hain, asserts "it is relevant to focus on news since this is the most important part of the local PSB in Scotland".⁷ Hain defines the channel as a community and local genre with a firm online strategy which consists of ensuring large amounts of feedback with audiences through social media and providing updated news on the website. The move towards providing more local content was consolidated through the management of local channels, this commercial provider being awarded, in June 2014, the licence to operate the two only channels that had been assigned until then in Scotland, in order to meet the needs resulting from a lack of providers at a local level.

4. Conclusions

The Scottish media are a vital element of the country's civil society (Schlesinger, Miller and Dinan 2001: 10) and the news is the most prominent aspect to ensure the territory and its citizens are represented. Scotland has two mainstream audiovisual providers playing a public service role, one financed through the licence fee (BBC Scotland) and the other based on a commercial model (STV), both of which form part of State television networks (BBC and ITV respectively). In the news model, both channels provide a regional television bulletin which is accompanied by a general interest news programme produced by the main channel of their respective network: their news programmes are based in London but with centres spread over the region to ensure more geographical representativeness. STV divides Scottish territory into four areas of influence and provides news opt-outs in each of the regions. In the BBC's case, the improvement in regional coverage stems from the creation of BBC's Alba channel which, although it is not its main mission (the channel was set up with the basic aim of empowering the Gaelic language and culture) has led to an improvement in representativeness and the coverage of proximity news on BBC Scotland, a channel with which it regularly shares content.

After the referendum for Scotland's independence, the nation's audiovisual scenario needs to be designed. Some are demanding the creation of Scotland's own public channel in English to take on the role of a general provider without forming part of the BBC network. In terms of news, this proposal would fill the gap that has been complained of for years, namely offering a general news bulletin from a Scottish standpoint that incorporates the four information levels: local, national, state and international. For the time being certain initiatives are being got underway to this end. This is the case of the Scottish News project (<http://scottishnews.scot/>) to offer a news bulletin of this type online, mainly financed by donations. Those furthering the web project argue that Scotland needs news from a Scottish angle to be disseminated throughout territory.

Debate is now focussing on how the national channel can be reworked, whether it should continue to form part of the state media system or to opt for its own regional public channel. The Smith commission, which negotiated the transfer of new powers after the referendum in September 2014, leaves the door open regarding this issue. In terms of broadcasting, the document states there will be a formal consultancy process in the review of the BBC Charter (the constitutional basis of the BBC), taking into account that the present one will be in force until 31 December 2016.

The possibilities that could be offered by a new channel are no different from the aims pursued by the new online project: broadcasting a general news bulletin in English from a Scottish standpoint, ranging from international news to "proximity" or local coverage. BBC Scotland and BBC Alba have substantially improved the nation's territorial coverage but have not managed to fill this information gap which can still found in Scotland.

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Notes

1. The Scottish Broadcasting Commission was established by the Scottish government in August 2007 with the aim of leading independent research into the production of television content and its broadcasting in Scotland, and to define a future strategy for the industry. The BBC Trust is the governing body of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), which works independently with the purpose of making decisions in the interest of its subscribers; that is, the citizens who pay the licence fee.
2. The production of content has traditionally been based in London, in spite of the tendency to become a decentralised model seen over the last few years, apparent with the transfer of productions to Manchester and more production of their own in other regions.
3. <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/21/section/208>, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/21/section/209>, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2003/21/section/210>
4. <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/Archive/Broadcasting/Broadcasting>
5. The term used for "Gaelic territory" is Gàidhealtachd. This is often used as a synonym for highlands but these are not interchangeable terms. The former is a linguistic term and the second refers to a geographical area where there are speakers of Gaelic and also of the Scottish dialect of English. Beyond the boundaries of the highlands there are also places that form part of the Gàidhealtachd, such as the Isle of Arran.
6. From data in the last Annual Report <<http://www.mgalba.com/downloads/reports/annual-report-13-14.pdf>>
7. This statement was made by Bobby Hain, the director of STV broadcasting, in the paper "Perspectives on local services" given as part of the Scottish Digital Network and Local Services Conference, on 16th November 2010 in Glasgow. Video available on: <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/ArtsCultureSport/arts/Archive/Broadcasting/SDNconference>>

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Critical book reviews

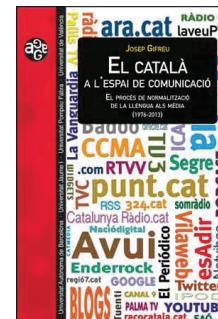
GIFREU, J. *El català a l'espai de comunicació. El procés de normalització de la llengua als mitjans (1976-2013)*.

Barcelona, Castelló de la Plana, Valencia: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat Jaume I, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Universitat de València, 2014, 272 p. Col·lecció Aldea Global, no. 29
ISBN 978-84-490-4349-9 (UAB), 978-84-15443-03-2 (UJI), 978-84-370-9292-8 (UV)

BY JOAN MANUEL TRESSERRAS

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The road towards the standardisation of Catalan in the media after the end of Franco's regime

Since the 1980s Josep Gifreu has been a leading author in examining communication in Catalonia and the Catalan-speaking areas (Països Catalans) as a genuine national system. In fact, we essentially owe the very concept of a *Catalan communication space*, or the equivalent of a *national communication space*, demarcated by the scope of historical ties established related to the Catalan language (in its different versions and names), to Josep Gifreu, currently professor emeritus in Communication Theory at Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona.

Very early in his long, renowned and influential university work, Gifreu started to emphasise the structural and systematic nature of the workings of the communication ecosystem and, consequently, the importance of policies affecting it. This was the focus of interest of his first important contribution in 1983, resulting from his doctoral thesis, in which he studied how the communication sphere developed during the last few years of Franco's dictatorship and the early years of the Transition towards democracy: *Sistema i polítiques de la comunicació a Catalunya. Premsa, ràdio, televisió i cinema (1970-1980)*. Barcelona: L'Avenç.

Such interest in communication policy has been a permanent focus that has provided Gifreu's writings with continuity and coherence, underlining the importance of all his work. He's concentrated on the more general aspects of the development of the Catalan communication system and the public policies involved such as the nature of the goals of public initiatives, investment in the industry, the extent of the business fabric, regulations implemented, the presence and coverage achieved by the media within the Catalan market in both geographical and language terms, the mission of public service, international distribution, policies by Spain against the Catalan system and the tools used to subordinate and weaken it. But the author's attention and interest have also focused on more specific and concrete aspects of the system and related policies: from the

terminology of analysis and conceptual frameworks to policies for dubbing and subtitling films; from support for fictional audiovisual products to measures to stimulate the presence of Catalan online; or from style books and the quality of the language used by the key media to the difficulties encountered by these media in accessing the language domain as a whole and the need to overcome the market's regional fragmentation.

This examination of the centrality of policy and Gifreu's desire to evaluate its intent and effect on everyday communication constitutes the starting point of thoroughly descriptive, analytical and propositional work that culminates in this recent and to some extent conclusive book: *El català a l'espai de comunicació*.

This book covers and largely summarises the author's whole career, incorporating an update of his contributions, lines of analysis and main proposals. And it offers a very complete summary of the situation with the inclusion of comparative information and references and a wealth of data and tables that illustrate the status of Catalan and justify each diagnosis and step of interpretation explained. All this forms the basis of the intellectual and political stance taken up by Josep Gifreu and its end result at the culmination of his academic career. In spite of the complexity of the subject being tackled, this book is very ordered, clear and simple in its presentation. The issues are described and approached with great precision and the arguments proposed undeniably solid and indisputable. The result of all his years of teaching, personal research, of directing research groups and actively taking part in academic and public debates on issues related to communication and language and their policies are condensed in this mature, insightful work full of ideas and inducements to take action.

In the introduction, Gifreu explicitly states his intention to write a book that's halfway between an "essay on cultural history" and a "political chronicle" so as to examine "the evolution of the overall standardisation of the Catalan language in the media ecosystem in the end of the 20th century and early 21st" (p. 18). The book starts with the first chapter exploring the relationship

between languages and power to explain the adoption of a perspective related to the ecology of languages and the central role played in this by the media. In this same initial block he also defines the emblematic concept of *communication space*.

The second section reviews the common threads running through research into the standardisation of Catalan in the media and the third notes the legal and political frameworks deployed by Spain and Catalan institutions.

The fourth chapter then describes the historical evolution of the presence of Catalan in the different traditional media and in audiovisual production as a whole while the fifth section is dedicated to evaluating the place of the Catalan language on the internet and new media and networks, seeing Catalan (and by extension any other language) as the factor most capable of marking out a specific territory in cyberspace. The sixth chapter tackles the question of standard language and the media's language models. And finally the seventh chapter is a kind of summarising and concluding essay, including a list of challenges and noting some proposals for action.

El català a l'espai de comunicació is a book that's accessible to anyone interested in a good historical overview of the ups and downs of the Catalan language in its own primordial medium, namely communication, since the end of Franco's dictatorship. And it is undoubtedly the first reference book that is essential for students of sociolinguistics, journalism, sociology, recent history or research into communication policy who wish to find out about the status of Catalan and the singular situation of its language in relation to the media. This book provides the keys to the paradoxical circumstance of a national communication system which is constantly being thwarted by the state that should be protecting it. And also of its distinctive language that, in spite of it being still an object of intense Spanish policy to reduce the status of Catalan and prevent it from becoming widespread (effective especially in the Balearic Islands and the autonomous community of Valencia), is showing such signs of life that, for certain uses and types of production and consumption, it is at the forefront of ecosystems and languages of similar size.

El català a l'espai de comunicació provides the academic community and public at large with the result of the efforts of an author who, thanks to his academic platform and his intellectual and political commitment, has been highly influential in the communication policies effectively implemented in Catalonia over the period in question. Within the concept of so-called "national communication policies", legitimised in 1980 with the dissemination of the doctrine by UNESCO (guidelines of the MacBride report), Gifreu was one of the most active people in formulating proposals for action in the Catalan area. And he was also personally both a collaborator and critic in asking successive Catalan governments to prioritise communication policies (including language policies) as much as possible because they represented, and still represent today, the cornerstone of cultural policy and the possibility, after Franco's attempt at eradicating Catalan culture, of a resurrection and a new completeness.

PHILLIPS, A. *Journalism in Context. Practice and Theory for the Digital Age*.

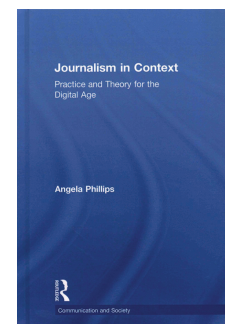
London: Routledge, 2015, 174 p.

ISBN 978-0-41553627-1

BY JOSÉ LUIS ROJAS TORRIJOS

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New relations, spaces and ways of carrying out journalism

Theory, the result of decades of research by journalism faculties, must not be seen as a corset or reproach but as a tool that helps professionals see and think about how to improve their work. As more and more journalists with years of experience go to universities to teach their profession and as more and more students who've been trained in faculties occupy positions on publications, the defensive barriers between professionals and academics of journalism will begin to crumble.

This is the initial premise of *Journalism in Context*, a book by Angela Phillips, journalist and lecturer for the last twenty years at the Media and Communications department of Goldsmiths in London. Author of *Good Writing for Journalists* (2007) and numerous articles in prestigious science journals on issues such as sources and verification, transparency and professional ethics, as well as journalistic quality in the new digital ecosystem, Phillips stresses the need to redefine the role of professional journalists to adapt to today's 2.0 media environment, as well as the importance of this adaptation being carried out via academic training and the transfer of research.

At a time when, even within the profession, there are doubts regarding the need for such studies, Phillips adds her voice to other authors (Patterson 2013) who've even gone further and claim that, for the first time in their history, Journalism Faculties are called upon to play a crucial role in the definitive implementation of quality standards for the profession at a time of transition for the journalism industry, which to date had been more concerned about finding a healthy business model than safeguarding the quality of the product offered to its audiences. According to Patterson, knowledge-based journalism will be decisive for the profession's future and there's no better place to develop this than university, noting that the professional skills required today are more difficult to acquire outside than within faculties.

In *Journalism in Context* Angela Phillips presents an

introduction to the theory and practice of journalism in today's context of structural and technological change affecting the industry. By reviewing the field theory of French sociologist Pierre Bordieu (1993), she analyses the key factors that determine not only how the structure of media organisations influences the processes of selecting, prioritising and treatment carried out by journalists of the subjects they present to their audiences but also the ways in which this structure interacts and participates in the production and distribution of informative content via different digital platforms.

To this end, Phillips divides her book into seven chapters: in the first she provides an updated definition of news (that which is presented to the audience as a combination of what we need to know, what is important, and what arouses our curiosity); in the second she focuses on the structures within which journalists operate and claims there's a need to create trustworthy channels to transmit news that represent all citizens (stating that the most powerful already have such channels as a consequence of the structure *per se*), and that these should become a "life force" of democratic society; in the third she deals with verification as the basis of the journalistic discipline (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2012; and Silverman 2015) and as a guarantee of credibility in the audience's eyes as opposed to rumour and the viral nature of Twitter, the click and SEO culture; in the fourth she covers how the digitalisation of publications has brought about the belief that new multi-tasking, cross-media profiles are required for journalists (García Avilés & Carvajal 2008); in the fifth she looks at interaction as the essence of the new relationship that needs to be established by the media with "emancipating audiences" and at hybrid or collaborative journalism as a valid formula to focus on a type of user that can generate content but can in no way replace the work of a professional journalist trained for the profession and who must receive a salary; in the sixth she explores the potential keys to the journalism business model of the future, online and mobile, which must continue to evolve through greater technological innovation and a search for alternative or complementary sources of income such as

microsites and subscriptions (although open sites will continue to exist, audiences will gradually realise that good journalism is something they have to pay for); and, lastly, in the seventh chapter she stresses that ethics must occupy a central role in the education and training of future journalists and claims there's a need to construct a new space where journalists are able to do their work without editorial or commercial pressure.

As stated by Kelly McBride and Tom Rosenstiel (2013), "the news has never belonged to journalists. It has always belonged to the public". The digital era has returned us to the Greek *agora*, a new space where the conversation that has always inspired the news is totally in the public domain, open to anyone who wants to take part, and has become what we call *prosumer*. In this new *agora*, journalism now faces the challenge of endorsing its professionalism by fulfilling the timeless ethical principles in order to serve the community it belongs to, become credible in the eyes of citizens and continue to be essential.

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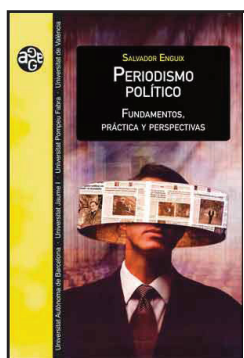
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<<http://verificationhandbook.com/downloads/verification-handbook.pdf>>

Books review

ENGUIX, S.

Periodismo político. Fundamentos, práctica y perspectivas Bellaterra; Castelló de la Plana; Barcelona; Valencia: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat Jaume I, Universitat Pompeu Fabra i Universitat de València, 2014, 160 pages. ISBN: 978-84-490-4856-2 / ISBN: 978-84-15444-66-4/ISBN: 978-84-370-9511-0



As explained by the author in the introduction, *Periodismo Político. Fundamentos, práctica y perspectivas* has arisen out of a personal need from his work as a teacher and journalist. The aim of Enguix is to help augment the limited academic bibliography on political journalism, a fact that contrasts with the great importance often given to the politics section

by the media, although the author focuses on the printed press. For the first time in Catalonia, this book provides a global, structured view of political journalism, its relationship with theoretical models, the practice of this speciality and the impact of the digital environment on it. There are equal parts of academic theory combined with the practice of journalism as a profession and concepts are also analysed such as political journalism and democratic quality, the difference between political communication and political journalism, the agents and spheres of political journalism and digital journalism and social politicisation after the appearance of social media.

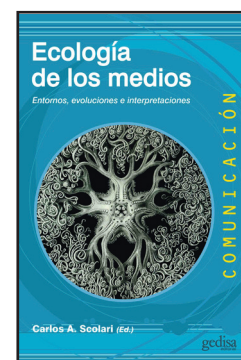
The book has been published jointly by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat Jaume I, Universitat Pompeu Fabra and Universitat de València and is divided into six chapters. The first differentiates between political journalism and political news while the second establishes the difference between political journalism and political communication. The focus of the third chapter is the relationship between journalism and democracy and the fourth reflects on political journalism as a speciality while the professional aspects of political journalism are studied in the fifth chapter. The sixth and last chapter deals with the issue of the new routines in political journalism via digital media. The book provides a pedagogical, academic and practical view of two spheres, politics and journalism which, as Enguix states, have a tense but also complicit relationship. The book's prologue, entitled 'Straw for horses', is written by the journalist Enric Juliana.

SCOLARI, C.A. (Ed.)

Ecología de los medios. Entornos, evoluciones e interpretaciones

Barcelona: Editorial Gedisa, February 2015, 297 pages
ISBN: 978-84-9784-826-8

Different authors analyse communication theories via Media Ecology Theory. A theory that, according to Scolari, the editor, is *transmedia* and does not focus on a specific period of time given that media ecology begins with the very appearance of language, followed by the oral tradition and then writing and up to the digital environment surrounding us, also proposing future scenarios.

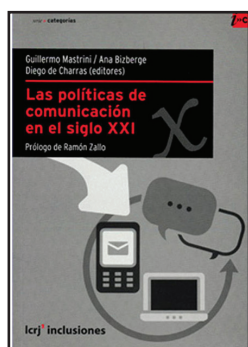


Ecología de los medios. Entornos, evoluciones e interpretaciones is divided into three parts. The first is entitled "Founding fathers" and opens with an interview with the now legendary Marshal McLuhan, published by *Playboy* magazine in March 1969. It also contains the inaugural speech given on 16 June 2000 by Neil Postman to the *Media Ecology Association* which represented a watershed in this area of study. This initial chapter also includes an article by Jesús Octavio Elizondo Martínez contextualising media ecology and providing a detailed description of the Toronto School within the McLuhan context, as well as an article by Thom Gencarelli relating media ecology and education.

"Disciples" is the title introducing the second part of the book, dedicated to the institutionalisation of media ecology. Here we can find texts by Lance Strate, one of the key people in placing media ecology within contemporary communication studies, as well as articles by Paul Levinson and Robert K. Logan. Levinson provides an evolutionary analysis while Logan tackles the multidisciplinary tradition of McLuhan's ideas and outlines different views of the future for media ecology.

The third part of the book is entitled "New frontiers" and explains the latest contributions in the field, characterised by a critical view of the theory as can be read in the articles by Indrek Ibrus, Denis Renó, Sergio Rocallo Dow and Diego Mazorra.

MASTRINI, G.; BIZBERGE, A.; DE CHARRAS, D. (ED)
Las políticas de comunicación en el siglo XXI. Nuevos y viejos desafíos
 Buenos Aires, Argentina: La Crujía Ediciones, April 2013,
 284 pages
 ISBN: 978-987-601-187-7



Ramón Zallo provides the prologue for this book which states that it's vital to rethink new models of social communication. In this publication the articles share a common goal, namely to thoroughly examine the key debates still raging today related to communication policies in the world. The authors form part of the team of the Chair of Communication Policy and Planning at the Universi-

dad de Buenos Aires. Each chapter conceptually analyses key aspects of the sector such as diversity, pluralism and deconcentration, and investigates issues that affect it directly and which, to date, have been little studied by the academic world. The book offers an examination across the board of all the elements of the communication ecosystem at a global level.

The first chapter analyses the relationship between the democratic system and media systems and reflects on the creation of a communication space from the perspective of citizen rights in the digital environment. The second describes the characteristics of public service broadcasting from a Latin American point of view, within the context of how such services have developed in Europe and the challenges now imposed by digitalisation. The third chapter explains how international organisations (WTO, UNESCO, ITU) have an increasing presence in communication policies and warns of the growing commodification of the criteria regulating such policies worldwide. The future of the management of radio waves, until now seen as a public good but now being classified using criteria of efficiency and profitability, is the focus of the fourth chapter. The fifth analyses the repercussions of growing media concentration from an economic and political perspective and how this affects pluralism and diversity. The sixth chapter looks at DTT, the digital dividend, its financing and new formats while the seventh covers regulation of the internet and the last chapter, the eighth, examines the management of intellectual copyright in cultural industries and the challenges posed in this area by technological convergence.

GÓMEZ PÉREZ, F.J. (COOR.)
Políticas de impulso a las industrias audiovisuales. Ley Audiovisual y Plan de Ordenación e Impulso del Sector Audiovisual en Andalucía
 Salamanca: Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones, 2015, 173 pages. ISBN: 978-84-15544-85-2

This book is the result of the seminar 'Promoting the Andalusian audiovisual sector' held by the Faculty of Communication and Documentation of the Universidad de Granada with the support of the government of Andalusia, which at the time set up the 'Board to Organise and Promote the Audiovisual Sector of Andalusia' (MOISA) in order to turn audiovisuals into a strategic, economic, political and social industry in this autonomous community. MOISA, via consensus, produced two master documents: the 'Plan to Organise and Promote the Audiovisual Sector' (POISA) and preliminary draft legislation that would serve as the backbone to draw up the Audiovisual Bill in the Andalusian parliament.



The participative nature of MOISA, made up of more than forty associations, companies and institutions and by nine representatives from different departments of Andalusia's government, has ensured a wide range of opinions, maximum representation and a high degree of involvement and collaboration on the part of many sectors in civil society.

The future Audiovisual Act and the Plan to promote the audiovisual sector in Andalusia will contain some of the initiatives arising from MOISA. As noted in the prologue to the book, this Act should guarantee public service, both at the level of Andalusia and more locally. Moreover, as proposed by MOISA, this Act will also contain aspects such as the working and professional conditions in the sector in order to encourage the hiring of technicians and specialists living in Andalusia and the drawing up of an up-to-date directory of companies. It also proposes setting up expert committees related to the Audiovisual Council of Andalusia.

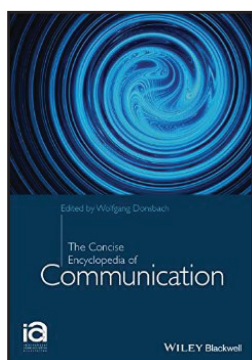
Donsbach, W. (ed.)

The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication

Chichester, West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2015,
704 pages

ISBN: 978-1-118-78930-8 (cloth-bound)

ISBN: 978-1-118-78932-2 (paperback)



The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication updates, condenses and summarises the entries of the *International Encyclopedia of Communication* (IEC) published in 2008 in a 12-volume edition.

The editor of this new concise edition of the IEC, Wolfgang Donsbach, states in the introduction that, at a time of initiatives such as Wikipedia, it might seem that

the time of encyclopedias is over but Donsbach claims that encyclopedias are important as an authority and proven source, guaranteed and thorough, of knowledge.

Wolfgang Donsbach has contacted the hundreds of authors who originally wrote entries for the IEC in 2008 in order to update and enhance their entries and the majority accepted the challenge. These are renowned experts of international prestige and benchmarks in their particular fields with scientific sources and references that ensure the high quality and thoroughness of the original publication is more than preserved.

The seven years separating the first edition of the *International Encyclopedia of Communication* from this new edition of *The Concise Encyclopedia of Communication* are a sign of the versatility, dynamism and interdisciplinary nature of communication science.

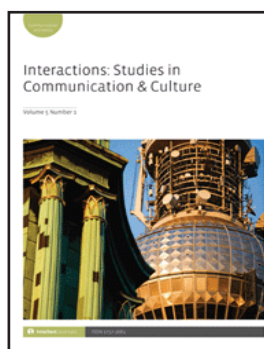
The first entry in this concise version of the IEC is *Accountability of Media* and the last entry is *Youth Culture*, an essential encyclopedia for all those interested in the field of Communication who are looking for the ultimate authority, consensus, plurality and expertise in the subject.

Journals review

Interactions: Studies in Communication and Culture

New York: Editorial & Advisory Boards. Volume 6. Issue 1, March 2015

ISSN 17572681; e-ISSN: 1757269X



Interactions: Studies in Communication and Culture dedicates issue 6 to university radio. In the editorial, the journal's editor, Salvatore Scifo, states that university radio stations have become a field of experimentation, new ideas and alternative content on the university campus of the USA, Canada, Australia and the UK. They've also been places

of technological convergence with web radio and podcasts. He notes that, in the last 20 years, this phenomenon has also spread to universities in Asia and Africa. The editorial claims that innovation and creativity and this open, inclusive, egalitarian and alternative concept that has become established as a model of university radio has been possible thanks, among others, to the fact that they're not driven by commercial obligations. The six articles contained in *Interactions* revolve around the phenomenon of university radio, analysed from different perspectives and also via case studies. Through the case of a commercial New Zealand radio station, Brendan Reilly and John Farnsworth analyse student radio in a deregulated media market. Brian Fauteux studies the construction of the 'alternativeness' of university radio in Canada, differentiating itself, for example, from other models such as local radio, very much rooted in the community it's aimed at. The development of the concept of US student broadcasting from the 1980s up to the present day is the area of analysis for Nick Rubin while, based on wireless transmission experiments, Jennifer C. Waits tells the secret history and changing role of college radio at Haverford College 1923-2014, the first university radio station in the USA. The article reviews more than 90 years of history with accounts from those involved and extends this analysis to developments in university radio in general. The issue ends with an article by Urszula Doliwa on the history of student radio in Poland.

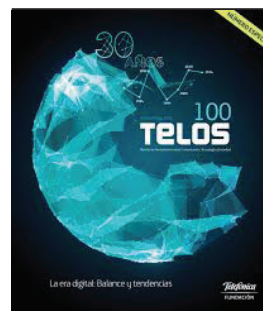
Issue available at:

<<http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/journals/view-issue,id=2861/>>

Telos. Revista de Pensamiento sobre Comunicación, Tecnología y Sociedad

Madrid: Fundación Telefónica. Issue 100. Special issue. February-May. 2015

ISSN: 0213-084X [online]



This is a special issue to commemorate a twofold celebration: the 30th anniversary of the *Telos* journal and the 100th issue of this publication. 28 internationally renowned experts from the Scientific Board of *Telos* have contributed to this monographic dossier entitled

The digital era: an appraisal and trends that analyses and summarises the situation after three decades of new information and communication technologies and their impact on society. The *Telos 100* dossier also outlines the scenarios and future challenges resulting from the technological convergence today's societies must face. This issue has a thematic, multidisciplinary structure that covers all facets of a constantly complex social reality. Its articles explain the areas of research and discussion regarding the agenda to start and further global debate. An analysis of the challenges of internet governance; technology as the driving force for a digital society; the impact of the digital environment on the collaborative economy, equality and the impact of ITCs on the world of administration and business; the relationship between democracy and social media; new leaderships; the construction of new narratives and the role of new journalism or the impact of the digital environment on culture and education are all examined in this special issue that includes writers such as Enrique Bustamante, Emilio Ontiveros, Díaz Nosty, Rosa Franquet and Miquel de Moragas.

This issue of *Telos* also contains other contributions on subjects such as new journalism and new technologies; different press strategies on Twitter and the transparency of public administrations with regard to citizen trust. The usual sections are also present such as book critiques, journal reviews and the regulation and agenda sections.

Issue available at:

<http://telos.fundaciontelefonica.com/Nmerosanteriores/Nmero97/seccion=1295&idioma=es_ES.do>

Pixel-Bit. Revista de Medios y Educación

Seville: La Editorial Universitat de Sevilla.

Issue 46, January 2015.

ISSN 1133-8482; e-ISSN 2171-7966 [online]



Pixel-Bit, the journal edited by Julio Cabero Almenara, specialises in learning applied to audiovisual media, computing and advanced technologies in the area of education and training in general. The editorial for this issue notes that teaching-learning needs to be rethought and redefined in this new digital context and given technological

convergence. A way of teaching and learning that, according to this issue's editorial, appears to be open, collaborative, social and personalised, giving as an example for this transformation the case of MOOC (mass open online courses) and the consequent de-location of knowledge.

This issue contains the article "Uses of technology for teaching and learning" by Antoni Badia, Julio Meneses and Consuelo Garcia Tamarit, analysing the use made of new technologies by teachers and students. The negative influence of misusing new technologies on school results is one of the conclusions of the article "Video games, television and academic performance" written by several authors. The issue also includes an educational experience in a support class for a primary school, focusing on developing mathematical and verbal reasoning via a personalised programme with ICTs, produced by María Victoria Aguiar, María Rosa Marchena and Héctor Cuesta. Cinema as a means of transmitting values is the main theme of "Cinema, a training resource. 18 years of research by the GIAD group" at the Universitat de Barcelona. José Palazón concludes that, in his experience in a primary school, musical learning and playing performance improves with the support of micro-content using mobile devices. Cristina Villalonga and Marta Lazo, who coin the term *aprenentatge* (app-learning) in this study, construct a theoretical framework for the subject of communication methodology and explore the educational possibilities of mobile applications.

Issue available at: <<http://acdc.sav.us.es/pixelbit/images/stories/p46/completo.pdf>>

Obra Digital. Revista de Comunicació.

Vic, Barcelona: Universitat de Vic.

Issue 8, February 2015

ISSN 2014-5039 [online]



Under the title '*Narratives of audiovisual, interactive and transmedia non-fiction*', the journal, published by the Universitat de Vic, focuses this issue on a single theme and provides a theoretical and practical examination of non-fiction genres or narratives such as documentaries, reports, essays, educational formats and institutional films to contextualise

them within the ecosystem of today's media. The editorial of this latest issue states that transmedia narrative represents the latest stage in the evolution of narrative forms and claims that technological convergence has helped different formats and genres of audiovisual non-fiction to evolve towards multi-platform narrative. In his article entitled "Evolution of the concept of non-fiction. Examination of three narrative models", Arnau Gifreu-Castells, who is the coordinator of this monograph and co-director of *Obra Digital*, proposes studying and defining the concept of 'non-fiction' and points out possible future trends in this field. The second article tackles the educational potential of digital narratives in terms of social change, Lidia Peralta and Tania Ouariachi examine the educational and communicative aspects of the transmedia project "Young People Against Climate Change" while Gloria Josefina Manrique analyses the presence and scope of interactive documentaries on the curricula of state universities. Then Jacobo Sucari contributes a study on how contemporary documentaries have extended their potential via new collaborative strategies with interactive and transmedia formats, with the emphasis on new documentary narrative in online format. Based on two case studies, Alvaro Liuzzi deals with the hybridisation of genres and new narrative codes. The issue ends with a study by Germán Llorca of users' attention span when consuming transmedia content within a context of information overload.

Issue available at: <<http://www.obradigital.com/>>

Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación (RAE-IC)

Santiago de Compostela: Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación.

Vol. 2, Issue 3 (2015)

ISSN: 2341-2690 [online]



This journal by the Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación (Spanish Association for Communication Research) has begun the second half of the year with a monographic issue entitled "Communication and cultural diversity". Néstor García Canclini and Carlo Sorrentino and Laura Solito, respectively, are the guest writers. García Canclini analyses the media constructors of diversity while Sorrentino and Solito have named their article "L'insostenibile leggerezza dell'esserci", paraphrasing the novel of the same name by Milan Kundera (The unbearable lightness of being). They suggest that communication processes are key in companies and institutions in order to construct brand identity, transmit values and regain citizen trust via corporate responsibility and reputation.

In the main part of the journal, Ainara Larrondo and Irati Agirreazkuenaga analyse the socio-cultural integration of the Latin group in the Basque Country via the radio. They describe a specific experience on Candela radio and theorise about the media's integrating role. Carmen del Rocío Monedero describes the work carried out by the international organisation *Youth4Media* regarding the training of young Europeans in audiovisuals and the importance of this kind of programme to build a tolerant Europe. The gender perspective in media audiences is the focus of the article by Belén Trigo, analysing if there has been a cultural change in audiences or whether gender stereotypes still persist.

The journal's miscellaneous section contains three articles on varied topics such as training infant teachers, the female imaginary in the satirical press between 1864 and 1902 and discrimination in access to information in Spanish legislation. The book review and agenda section complete this issue devoted to communication and cultural diversity.

Issue available at:

<<http://www.novosmedios.org/revista/index.php/AEICp/article/view/95/61>>

Vivat Academia. Revista de Comunicación

Madrid: Universidad Complutense y Fórum Internacional de Comunicación y Relaciones Públicas – FÓRUM XXI

Vol. 19. Year XVIII. Issue 130, March 2015.

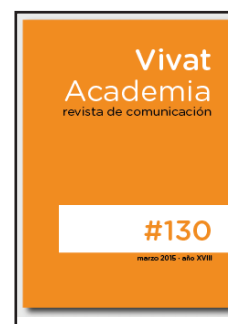
ISSN: 1575-2844

This communication journal starts its spring issue with an article by Jordi Alberich-Pascual and María Aguirre Salmerón on the changes and evolution of the discourse of documentaries produced in Spain in the period 1974-2011 and propose Félix Rodríguez de la Fuente and Frank Cuesta as a reference for this evolution, at each of the two extremes.

Two models of nature documentaries: one on public television and the other on private, commercial television. Also in the journal are two experiences, one in Valladolid and the other in Andalusia, analysing the impact of the information society on the elderly. The article by Mònica Matellanes-Lazo focuses on the use of new technologies by the elderly in a rural setting such as Cabezón de Pisuerga, in the province of Valladolid, while Agustín Olmo and José Antonio Navarro Moreno look at the dual relationship between the elderly and television. On the one hand TV consumption by the elderly is analysed and, on the other, the presence, topics and context of the elderly as a subject of the news on Canal Sur. Ricardo Adán Salas Rueda proposes different pedagogical strategies to integrate new technologies within learning processes, specifically explaining the application of data in the form of graphics to learn Boolean algebra. Mariona Visa studies the character development of the two stars in the film *Of Human Bondage* and particularly how the female star is presented, played by Bette Davis, and the resulting stereotypes, using a narrative methodology. Ruth de Frutos-García analyses, from a critical perspective, the audience ratings used by the media and stresses citizen participation and access to information. The issue ends with a study by Javier Carreón and Jorge Hernández Valdés on the theoretical frameworks that explain relations between those who design the socio-political agenda and a country's public policies.

Issue available at:

<<http://www.vivatacademia.net/index.php/vivat/issue/view/139/showToc>>



Websites review

REDAUVI. Red Iberoamericana de Patrimonio Sonoro y Audiovisual

<http://www.redauvi.com/p/blog-page.html>

The purpose of REDAUVI is to permanently provide and update information on the Iberian-American network of sound and audiovisual heritage in the media. This is a research project proposed, in its initial phase, within the context of the 2013 CYTED grants (Ibero-American Programme of Science and Technology for Development) of the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB). The main aim of the REDAUVI blog is to bring together repositories and archives of audio, audiovisual and film content plus their associated collections and documents. It includes themed sections, a section of links to the audio libraries and audiovisual archives of important institutions and an extensive directory of institutions, academic resources, professionals, theses and journals.

RTVE-lab

<http://lab.rtve.es/historia-rne/>

Coinciding with the 75th anniversary of Radio Nacional, this website has been created to provide a selection of audios of the most important historical events. The content is ordered by decade and each decade is accompanied by a background video and other videos illustrating, for example, how radio presenters used to work. For each year within a decade there are voice excerpts of speeches or news items that have gone down in history because of their importance. You can hear bulletins explaining how the Spanish Civil War is going and the words of President Lluís Companys urging Madrid to stand firm. In the sound library you can listen to radio reports on the Civil War, proclamations by General Franco, the announcement of the legalisation of the Spanish Communist Party and the attempted coup on 23 February, as well as other historic moments from recent history.

Asociación de Radios Universitarias de España (ARU)

<http://www.asociacionderadiosuniversitarias.es/>

Some of the objectives of this Association, founded in 2011, are: to bring together professionals working on university radio stations promoted by any Spanish university; to publicise issues related to university, culture, science and technology by using radio programmes broadcast via the airwaves, internet or any other means and to promote the presence of universities in society. From this website you can link to any of the 22 university radio sites and see and listen to their content online. The ARU promotes studies and experiments such as 'Semillas de Ciencia' (Seeds of Science) <http://semillasdeciencia.es/> which aims to promote scientific subjects via university radio.

European Broadcasting Union. EBU Radio Services

<http://www3.ebu.ch/about/radio>

The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) radio services section has the mission to improve public service radio by exchanging and distributing music, with strategic advice and professional networks. These goals can be seen in the different sections of its website. Members have access to the *Euroradio* music exchange facility (<http://www.euroradio.net/>) and to one of the largest repertoire of classical music in the world. A wide range of services is available, covering all genres of radio and the radio broadcasting business. You can also access online radio programmes and video streams of music festivals and events such as the *EuroradioConcert*, the heart of the *Eurosonic* festival, a platform for new talent in music. The website also offers a wide range of tools in artistic, financial, legal and technical areas related to radio and all its genres of music.

Associació Catalana de Ràdio (ACR)

<http://www.acradio.org>

The Catalan Radio Association (ACR) is made up of all the private commercial chains and stations operating in Catalonia and it helps to develop private commercial radio in Catalonia. Its website contains studies of the sector commissioned by the association as well as proposals it has made for new legislation. Among the studies that can be consulted on this website is the *Informe de la situació de la ràdio a Catalunya del període 2007–2014* (Report on the situation of radio in Catalonia in the period 2007–2014). Also notable is the section <http://www.radioeficacia.cat/> which includes a video explaining in detail, via different professionals, why radio is the medium that has adapted best to the internet and why it is a highly efficient means of reaching consumers and audiences. It also includes a list of the 'Ten benefits of radio'.

Federació de Mitjans de Comunicació Local de Catalunya

<http://www.radiolocal.cat/>

The Federation of Local Media of Catalonia (FMCLCat) brings together and represents around a hundred local broadcasters in Catalonia in order to take advantage of synergies and promote cooperation between proximity radio stations owned by municipalities and cultural associations in the Catalan area. Since 2012 it has also represented local audiovisual media. On the website you can consult the weekly newsletter *Antena local*, which has become a reference for the sector, as well as different frequencies and broadcasters on an interactive map. The 'news' section covers the broadcasters in the association and all the activity organised by the Federation to promote the local radio industry.

World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC)

[<http://www.amarc.org/?q=es>](http://www.amarc.org/?q=es)

AMARC is an international non-governmental organisation whose aim is to support and contribute to the development of community and participatory radio in accordance with the principles of solidarity and international cooperation. It has almost 4,000 members and associates in over 110 countries and is represented on the five continents. The website contains the annual report produced by AMARC on the sector. The report from 2014 is entitled 'Between transformation and continuity' and warns that new laws to guarantee the sector is recognised are not enough to ensure its survival. The report claims there is a need for a system that guarantees media diversity, pluralism and skill and the will to promote public debate to strengthen democratic systems.

Asociación Podcast

[<http://www.asociacionpodcast.es/>](http://www.asociacionpodcast.es/)

The Podcast Association was set up to share the interests of creators of content and consumers of audio, video and *a la carte* radio and to help to spread this format. The website aims to be a platform to support all those interested in this alternative form of communication. Every year the Association publishes the results of the Podcast Association General Survey which it carries out among listeners and podcasters, via a questionnaire that can be found and completed on the website. The results are presented at the annual seminar *Jornada de Podcasting*. The questionnaire includes questions such as the number of downloads, of supports and an assessment of the state of health of podcasts and whether it's possible to make money out of this format. In order to publicise podcasting, every year it also organises the Association Awards which reward the best content and formats and publicise newcomers the field as well as consolidating those from other years that have now become benchmarks.

Publiradio. Grup de Recerca en Publicitat i Comunicació radiofònica

[<http://www.publiradio.net>](http://www.publiradio.net)

Publiradio is the website of the Research Group into Radio Advertising and Communication, belonging to the Department of Audiovisual Communication Sciences and Advertising II at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) and recognised by the Catalan government. This research group carries out projects for companies and institutions related to improving teaching and creativity in audiovisuals and radio. The website has an audio library, a section for research, teaching, training and a virtual classroom. Publiradio also has a directory of presenters, agencies, advertisers and creatives from the radio sector, as well as an area for specialist publications and links of interest.

Manuscript submissions guidelines

Presentation of the articles

The article must be presented in electronic support (PC and Word format preferred). Every page must be 30 lines approx. and **body size 12**. The maximum length is about **6.000 words**.

The cover sheet has to be provided only giving the title, the name of the author(s) and position, postal and e-mail addresses. The article has to include an **abstract of 90-100 words and five keywords**.

Articles will be accepted in **Catalan, Spanish and English**.

Submission

Articles should be addressed at: quadernsdelcac@gencat.cat

Copyright clearance

Every author whose article has passed the blind review and has been accepted for publication must send to CAC a signed letter accepting the text publication by CAC in its journals and website (<<http://www.cac.cat>>) and confirming that the article is original, unpublished and is not assessed in other publications, being the author responsible of any reclaim due to the non-fulfilment of this warranty. .

Letters should be addressed at:

Quaderns del CAC

Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya

Carrer dels Vergós, 36-42

08017 Barcelona

References and notes

The list of references and end notes has to be placed at the end of every article. References in the text must appear into brackets with the name of the author, the year of edition and the pages. (Name year, pages).

The model used for citing the bibliography must follow the criteria given by TERM CAT, which may be consulted at:

<<http://www.termcat.cat/docs/docs/bibliografia.pdf>>

[in Catalan]

• Books

LAST NAME; INITIAL/INSTITUTION. TITLE. EDITION. PLACE OF EDITION: PUBLISHER, YEAR. VOLUME. (COLLECTION, NUMBER). ISBN NUMBER

• Articles in journals

LAST NAME; INITIAL. "TITLE OF THE ARTICLE". JOURNAL. VOLUME. (YEAR), ISSUE NUMBER, PAGES. ISSN (OPTIONAL)

• Contributions to books

LAST NAME; INITIAL/INSTITUTION. "TITLE OF THE CHAPTER". IN: LAST NAME; INITIAL/INSTITUTION. TITLE. EDITION. PLACE OF EDITION: PUBLISHER, YEAR. VOLUME. (COLLECTION, NUMBER). ISBN NUMBER

• Online documents

LAST NAME; INITIAL/INSTITUTION. TITLE [ONLINE]. EDITION/VERSION. PLACE OF EDITION: PUBLISHER, YEAR.
<URL ADDRESS>[CONSULTED: DATE]

Tables and figures

Tables and figures have to be provided with **short, descriptive titles** and also be numbered in Arabic numbers. All footnotes to tables and their source(s) should be placed under the tables. They must be inserted not as an image but in an **editable format** (e.g. in Excel).

Colour figures, tables and graphs are admitted and they all should have the **source well identified**.

Book reviews guidelines

1. The aim of the section 'Critical books review' is to review the most important new publications in the world of communication and particularly in the field of broadcasting.
2. Reviews must be original and previously unpublished.
3. Reviews must be adequate for readers to get a general idea of the content of the book under review, as well as providing a personal assessment of its interest. The review must therefore contain a description and analysis of the book, as well as some conclusions indicating its value and importance to readers.
4. The recommended length for reviews is around 1,000 words, not exceeding 1,300 words in any case.
5. Reviewed books must be contemporary, i.e. they must have been published during the last two full calendar years, although an earlier book may be included if duly justified.
6. The review must be given a title that summarises its content, with the bibliographical details and the author of the review below, including his or her position and the institution to which he or she belongs.
7. The model used for citing the bibliography must follow the criteria given by TERMCAT, which may be consulted at: <http://www.termcat.cat/docs/docs/bibliografia.pdf> [in Catalan]

LAST NAME; INITIAL/INSTITUTION. *Title*. Edition. Place of edition: Publisher, year. Volume. (Collection, number). ISBN number
8. The author should be introduced briefly by commenting on his or her background or most recent work.
9. The most important part of the review is the summary and analysis of the content. Here it is necessary to explain the field in which the book is placed, the perspective adopted by the author, the goals the author sets him or herself and the fundamental thesis of the book and how it is developed.
10. The critical evaluation should be generally positive but negative comments can also be included, in both cases suitable arguments being required. Readers must be informed regarding the value, interest and usefulness of the book under review. If relevant, other details can also be included, such as the use of sources, documentation, the bibliography used by the author, the book's formal presentation, etc.
11. Any possible references to text from the book under review must be written in inverted commas, with the page number afterwards, in brackets. "Quote" (p.XX)
12. Bibliographical references to third parties cited in the text of the book under review must use the following model: (Last name year, page number)
13. Bibliographical references from other works quoted in the review must be contained in full at the end, using the same format as the initial bibliographical reference but excluding the ISBN.
14. The review must be sent digitally, in Word or Word RTF, to the following email address: critica.cac@gencat.cat
15. The book review editor will evaluate every submitted review, in order to approve its publication or ask for some modification for its definitive publication
16. Reviews may be written in Catalan, Spanish or English and will be published on these three languages on the CAC website in PDF format.
17. After a review has been accepted, the author must authorise the CAC to publish his/her review in any of its written publications and on its website (<http://www.cac.cat>), by means of a signed letter sent by postal service. In the letter the author must confirm that the article is original, unpublished and is not assessed in other publications, being the author responsible of any reclaim due to the non-fulfilment of this warranty. Letters should be addressed at:
Quaderns del CAC
Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya
Carrer dels Vergós, 36-42
08017 Barcelona

List of reviewers of *Quaderns del CAC* 2010-2015

The journal appreciates the invaluable contribution of the reviewers that have evaluated the originals received during this period. Their participation was essential to improve the quality of the publication.

Ernest Abadal Falgueras	Maribel Fernández Alonso	Francesc Pallarès Porta
Jordi Alberich Pascual	Josep Fernández Cavia	Paul Capriotti
Núria Almiron Roig	Mònica Figueras Maz	Carmen Peñafiel Saiz
Salvador Alsius Clavera	Rosa Franquet Calvet	Óliver Pérez Latorre
Alba Ambròs Pallarès	Joana Gallego Ayala	Juan José Perona Sáez
Sue Aran Ramspott	Trinidad García Leiva	Carles Pont Sorribes
Elisenda Ardèvol Piera	Núria Garcia Muñoz	Xosé Ramón Pousa Estévez
Sònia Ballano Macías	Arnau Gifreu Castells	Félix Redondo Casado
Joan Barata Mir	Xavier Giró Martí	Joan Ignasi Ribas Torredadella
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Laura Bergès Saura	Maria Gutiérrez Garcia	Meritxell Roca Sales
Jordi Berrio Serrano	Amparo Huertas Bailén	Emma Roderó Antón
Montse Bonet Bagant	Mònika Jiménez Morales	Miquel Rodrigo Alsina
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Contents

Introduction	3
Guest author:	5
PETER LEWIS. Discursive absence: the case for community radio	5
Monographis: Radio, thus far	11
JOSEP MARIA MARTÍ, BELÉN MONCLÚS, MARIA GUTIÉRREZ AND XAVIER RIBES. Radio, a business model in transition: supply and sales strategies in the digital context	11
TIZIANO BONINI. The 'Second Age' of Podcasting: reframing Podcasting as a New Digital Mass Medium	21
TERESA PIÑEIRO-OTERO. The mediamorphosis of local radio. A perspective from the Galicia-Northern Portugal Euro-Region setting	31
MANUEL FERNÁNDEZ SANDE AND J. IGNACIO GALLEGU. Crowdfunding as a source of financing for radio and audio content in Spain	43
SÍLVIA ESPINOSA AND LIDIA BORRERO. Children's radio programmes in Catalonia: a chronological examination of the type of radio programmes for children	53
Articles	67
AIDA MARTORI. News decentralisation in the Scottish television model	67
Critical book reviews	75
- JOAN MANUEL TRESSERRAS. Gifreu, J. <i>El català a l'espai de comunicació. El procés de normalització de la llengua als mitjans (1976-2013)</i>	75
- JOSÉ LUIS ROJAS. Phillips, A. <i>Journalism in Context. Practice and Theory for the Digital Age</i>	77
Agenda	79



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