

43

QUADERNS DEL CAC

**Diversity and cultural
industries**



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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 The section "Articles" consists of original and unpublished articles accepted after their submission to a double-blind peer review process, after an initial assessment of quality by the Editorial board.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.

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mail: quadernsdelcac@gencat.cat



**Consell
de l'Audiovisual
de Catalunya**

c. dels Vergós, 36-42 - 08017 Barcelona
Tel. 93 557 50 00 - Fax 93 557 00 01
www.cac.cat - audiovisual@gencat.cat



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Contents

Introduction	3	
Monographic: Diversity and cultural industries	5	
MARÍA TRINIDAD GARCÍA LEIVA AND LUÍS A. ALBORNOZ Cultural industries and diversity: old debates and new challenges	5	JOAN FERRÉS PRATS, MÒNICA FIGUERAS-MAZ, MARIA-JOSÉ MASANET AND AMALIA HAFNER TÁBOAS Why do young people consume TV reality shows? A case study of Mujeres y Hombres y Viceversa and the implications for Media Education 117
KATHARINA HOELCK AND HERITIANA RANAIVOSON Threat or opportunity? Cultural diversity in the era of digital platforms in the EU	17	RAMON GALINDO CALDÉS, MARC VILALTA REIXACH AND AIDA MARTORI MUNTSANT Legal forms of cooperation in managing municipal public service radio and television 129
JACQUES GUYOT The 2005 UNESCO Convention or the lack of thought concerning linguistic diversity	29	CÉSAR BÁRCENAS The Digital Switchover in Mexico: opportunities and risks for public service communication policies in the transition to digital terrestrial television 139
ALEJANDRO PERALES The promotion and protection of diversity in European communication legislation	37	TONI SELLAS AND MONTSE BONET Online radio and native projects in Catalonia. The risk and appeal of uncertainty 151
ANTONIOS VLASSIS Building a Digital Agenda for the Diversity of Cultural Expressions: UNESCO, new governance norms for culture and power dynamics	47	Critical Book Reviews 161
PILAR TORRE VILLAVERDE Cultural operators on the internet and the practices that contribute to their diversity	55	CELINA NAVARRO ARMBRUSTER, S. <i>Watching nostalgia: An analysis of nostalgic television fiction and its reception</i> 161
JOSÉ MARCIO BARROS AND JOSÉ OLIVEIRA JUNIOR Notes and methodological studies on diversity indicators in audiovisual production: the case of a regional "audiovisual pole"	63	GEMMA GÓMEZ BERNAL FERNÁNDEZ, E. P. <i>Big Data. Eje estratégico de la industria audiovisual</i> 163
EMILIA ZBORALSKA, CHARLES H. DAVIS, JEREMY SHTERN AND VANESSA CICCONE Cultural diversity reporting in the Canadian audiovisual industry: Making monitoring meaningful	73	TONI SELLAS BONET, M. (COORD.). <i>El imperio del aire. Espectro radioeléctrico y radiodifusión.</i> 165
Articles 87		NÚRIA GAROLERA BONAMUSA COSTA, LL.; PUNTÍ, M. (EDS.). <i>Comunicació, educació i compromís social</i> 167
IGNACIO BERGILLOS Invitations to Audience Participation through Television in Spain: analysis of general interest channel prime time in 2010 and 2014	87	Agenda 169
LOLA COSTA GÁLVEZ Music radio and public service: who cares? The CCMA does	101	Books Review 169 Journals Review 173 Websites Review 177 Manuscript submission guidelines 179 Book reviews guidelines 181

Introduction

We present the latest issue of *Quaderns del CAC*, this time devoted to diversity in cultural industries. The articles focusing on radio and OTT services in the last two issues have revealed the extent of the changes currently occurring in communication systems that affect how the cultural industry's goods and services are produced, distributed, consumed and monetised. All these changes raise a lot of questions about the consequences for diversity.

In spite of being a recurring theme in political and academic discussion, the concept *per se* is still highly polysemic, although everyone accepts that it plays a crucial role in public policy. Obviously there is no consensus on the orientation of such policies since, apart from the shared general principles, there are many conflicts of interest between the different parties involved in the cultural and communication industries.

Thanks to the guidelines provided by UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) and its Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), it is now easier for countries to establish policies to guarantee diversity. However, the huge risks and challenges resulting from the current changes mean that today's situation is far from ideal.

The aim of these *Quaderns del CAC* is to help explore this complex issue by inviting relevant studies. We have benefited from the advice of two eminent specialists in the field, Professor **María Trinidad García Leiva** and Professor **Luis A. Albornoz**, who have helped us to define the area of study and focus our attention. They are also our guest writers in this issue, although by express request their article has been submitted, as all the others, to a blind peer review.

María Trinidad García Leiva and **Luis A. Albornoz** begin the monographic section with *Cultural industries and diversity: old debates and new challenges*, providing a framework for the central theme of this issue. They analyse the key role of the concept of diversity in cultural industries. This contribution helps to interpret challenges faced today when establishing public policy in the field of cultural goods and services transformed by digitalisation, without losing sight of the history of discussion regarding the role of the state in culture and communication.

Katharina Hoelck and **Heritiana Ranaivoson**, in their study *Threat or opportunity? Cultural diversity in the era of digital platforms in the EU*, tackle one of the main concerns resulting from digitalisation, namely the effect of over-the-top (OTT) platforms on the diversity of cultural goods in Europe, as well as providing recommendations to protect diversity given the changes occurring in the value chain.

Jacques Guyot, in his work entitled *The 2005 UNESCO Convention or the lack of thought concerning linguistic diversity*, focuses on linguistic diversity in the 2005 UNESCO Convention. He explores the way in which this issue is addressed, which entails a retraction regarding the state of the discussions contained in the texts, reports and declarations by the institution itself.

In *The promotion and protection of diversity in European communication legislation*, **Alejandro Perales** reviews how the issue of diversity is addressed by European and Spanish legislation. The article highlights the different regulatory treatment of audiovisual communication services and electronic communications. While, both at a European and Spanish level, audiovisual regulations establish certain conditions for operators, in the case of electronic communications provisions regarding diversity are in much shorter supply in the European directive and missing entirely from Spanish law.

Antonios Vlassis, in *Building a digital agenda for the diversity of cultural expressions: UNESCO, new governance norms for culture and power dynamics*, provides the keys to interpreting the interplay between the different interests of the various parties involved in developing the new rules of governance for diversity in cultural expressions within the digital context, resulting from UNESCO's 2005 Declaration.

Pilar Torre Villaverde, in her article entitled *Cultural operators on the internet and the practices that contribute to their diversity*, dissects the changes in the role played by cultural agents given the transformations taking place in artistic creation and the dissemination of cultural content caused by digital technologies and the internet. She detects the emergence of new figures whose activity is directly related to defending cultural diversity.

José Márcio Barros and **José Oliveira Junior**, in their article *Notes and methodological studies on diversity indicators in audiovisual production: the case of a regional “audiovisual pole”*, question the difficulty of measuring cultural diversity in the phase of audiovisual production. They propose variables and models and apply them to a case in Brazil during the production stage.

Emilia Zboralska, **Charles H. Davis**, **Jeremy Shtern** and **Vanessa Ciccone**, in their article *Cultural diversity reporting in the Canadian audiovisual industry: making monitoring meaningful*, tackle the problems of measuring and monitoring diversity on television. Even when measures are established to monitor how diversity is handled by operators, as carried out by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), an analysis of the reports reveals that these measures are very uneven and insufficient, highlighting the need for standardisation and establishment of units of measurement.

In the articles section we have included a piece by **Ignacio Bergillos** entitled *Invitations to audience participation through television in Spain: analysis of general interest channel prime time in 2010 and 2014* which looks at the result of the repeated appeal for TV audience participation by operators. Based on an original conceptualisation of the different forms taken by participation, he examines how these relate with the owners of the channel and different TV genres.

Lola Costa Gálvez, in her article entitled *Music radio and public service: who cares? The CCMA does*, addresses the relationships between music and public radio by studying the case of CCMA broadcasters. By analysing the programming and digital strategies, she identifies two ways in which public service has responded.

Joan Ferrés Prats, **Mònica Figueras-Maz**, **Maria-Jose Masanet** and **Amalia Hafner Táboas** analyse, in *Why do young people consume TV reality shows? A case study of Mujeres y Hombres y Vicesversa and the implications for Media Education*, the complex interaction between reason and emotion as an explanatory factor for the consumption of TV reality shows by young people, based on a case study.

In *Legal forms of cooperation in managing municipal public service radio and television*, **Ramon Galindo Caldés**, **Marc Vilalta Reixach** and **Aida Martori Muntsant** review the different formulas for cooperation established by law and the potential benefits for the sustainability of local audiovisual public services.

César Bárcenas identifies, in *The digital switchover in Mexico: opportunities and risks for public service communication policies in the transition to digital terrestrial television*, the characteristics of the digital switchover in Mexico and its impact on public service and communication policies.

Toni Sellas and **Montse Bonet**, in their article entitled *Online radio and native projects in Catalonia. The risk and appeal of uncertainty*, analyse developments in the radio market, defining the difficulties and highlighting the responses provided by new entrants exploring the potential of the internet, comparing these with the activities of traditional operators.

Emili Prado
Director

Cultural industries and diversity: old debates and new challenges

MARÍA TRINIDAD GARCÍA LEIVA

Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

mtgleiva@hum.uc3m.es

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0001-8572-0565

LUIS A. ALBORNOZ

Researcher at the Gino Germani Research Institute of the Universidad de Buenos Aires, CONICET and tenured professor at Universidad Carlos III in Madrid.

luisalfonso.albornoz@uc3m.es

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-0079-3317

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Abstract

This article reflects on the centrality that, in recent decades, the notion of diversity has acquired linked to the functioning of cultural industries; a verifiable fact, for example, in the approval of the UNESCO Convention on Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005. It also offers an approach on how to understand the diversity in/of cultural industries. It ends by registering the old debates that gave rise to the action of the states in matters of culture and communication, as well as the new challenges faced today by public policies with respect to the integral digitalisation of cultural goods and services.

Keywords

Diversity, cultural industries, culture and communication policies, digitalisation, Convention on Diversity of Cultural Expressions.

Resum

Aquest article reflexiona sobre la centralitat que en les últimes dècades ha adquirit la noció de diversitat vinculada al funcionament de les indústries culturals; fet constatable, per exemple, en l'aprovació de la Convenció de la UNESCO sobre la Diversitat Cultural el 2005. Així mateix, ofereix una aproximació sobre com s'ha d'entendre la diversitat en/de les indústries culturals. I conclou amb un registre tant dels vells debats que van donar lloc a l'actuació dels estats en matèria de cultura i comunicació, com dels nous desafiaments als quals s'enfronten avui les polítiques públiques de cara a la digitalització integral de béns i serveis culturals.

Paraules clau

Diversitat, indústries culturals, polítiques de cultura i comunicació, digitalització, Convenció sobre la Diversitat.

Introduction

More than 15 years ago, *Quaderns del CAC* published its monograph entitled *Globalisation, audiovisual industry and cultural diversity* (CAC 2002). That number of the magazine saw the light of day at the beginning of a new millennium, at a time when the community of nations attended the debate on the liberalisation of the international trade of audiovisual products within the framework of the General Agreement on Trade in Services, GATS, and the belligerent position of the US delegation in the heart of the World Trade Organization (WTO). An international debate and a US position that threatened to

do away with policies in culture and communication matters that numerous states had constructed throughout the 20th century. That special edition of the magazine of the Catalan Audiovisual Council (CAC) was published at a time when the notion of cultural exception started to coexist with cultural diversity, a few months after the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, more commonly known as UNESCO, approved the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO 2001).

Currently, the debate on cultural diversity holds a central place in the reflections of disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, political sciences, law and, obviously, studies on social

communication. Inside it, more specifically, a great deal of the analyses related to the economy, politics and the regulation of cultural industries have, in one way or another, dealt with its configuration as a guiding principle of the initiatives undertaken by many states. This article¹ adheres to this tradition and initially reflects on the similarities and differences of the term 'diversity' with respect to the notions of media pluralism and of cultural exception, and then, in keeping with the tradition of studies on media diversity, explains which elements should be considered in order to analyse the diversity of/in any cultural industry. It then looks at the reactions of the states and the concerns of academics and cultural managers regarding the internationalisation of the circulation of symbolic contents by transnational companies (old debates). Finally, it deals with the opportunities and threats the new environment developed by the networks and digital devices has on the diversity of/in cultural industries (new challenges).

Diversity and cultural industries

Answering the questions about what diversity is and why it is desirable is not simple, not just because the presence of the notion of diversity covers highly different areas, but because it feeds discourses that often head in opposite directions (Albornoz & García Leiva 2017a). Despite the popularity this notion has nowadays in political, regulatory, university and entrepreneurial discourses, "it is an evasive principle due to its complex nature and polysemy" (Albornoz 2014: 16). In addition, the positive assessment of diversity is a recent phenomenon in Western history, as the most modern meaning of the concept, and its relationship with public expressions, was consolidated throughout the 19th century (McQuail 2013). Therefore, we coincide with Honorio Velasco (2017) in that it is highly useful to analyse, not only the notion of diversity, but also its uses and the various implied social subjects, as diversity has had (and still has) a varied social and political use that is not entirely evident.

According to Denis McQuail (2013: 21), when the concept of diversity started to be considered a principle in itself in the 20th century, this notion would start to show two opposing versions in the area of the mass media: a "negative" one in which diversity is the result of the functioning of the media markets and their complex systems of production and distribution; and a "positive" one that bears relationship with the establishment and compliance of regulations in the social and cultural area, thereby opening the doors to public intervention. Following this "positive" version of diversity, it arose as a guiding principle for the communication and culture policies of many states. We should remember that the cultural industries,² a focus of special attention of policies in matters of culture and communication — together with heritage and fine arts — are one of the channels for materialising cultural diversity in the contemporary world. Due to their presence and social scope, cultural industries constitute a notable space of production and of circulating symbolic contents

with the ability to influence, through narrations and elaborated metaphors, our perception of the world and of others.

In its recent historic evolution, the principle of diversity was organised, not always in an easy way, with other notions including that of pluralism, relative to the functioning of the mass media in democracy, and that of cultural exception, typical of the international negotiations of free trade of audiovisual goods and services.³

Diversity and pluralism in the media

With respect to the notions of media diversity and media pluralism applied to the functioning of the mass media, it should first be noted that often and in different countries, these polysystemic, multi-dimensional concepts have been (and still are) used by academics, politicians, journalists and institutions as synonyms. Therefore, whether in communication studies or in the area of making communication policies, they are used interchangeably. As Marlène Loicq & Franck Rebillard (2013: 7) point out, "the focus of pluralism and of diversity has followed several paths conditioned by the sociocultural and political contexts in which they are developed". Therefore, in their use, these two notions have been declined in communication studies depending on the various national contexts and epistemological traditions.

Beyond the general use of the notions of diversity and pluralism as synonyms, in the case of Latin languages, it is possible to establish some difference between them. The pluralism referred to in the mass media is usually related to the concept of democracy; therefore, the existence of a plurality of voices which, at the same time, express a plurality of points of views on public matters, is a necessary condition to achieve an informed public and, consequently, the correct functioning of the democratic system (Albornoz 2014: 16). However, the notion of diversity has a direct relation on the universe of cultural expressions, including industrialised and commercialised goods and services by cultural industries as a whole. In keeping with this differentiation, Loicq & Rebillard (2013: 8) uphold that the question of pluralism is closely related to freedom of expression (and to the right to information, we would add) and refers to a public problem, whilst the question of diversity is linked to the visibility of the diversity of political and social cultural statements in the name of equality and refers to a cultural problem.

In the opinion of McQuail, one of the theorists who first reflected on diversity and pluralism applied to the mass media, these notions "conceal differences of emphasis and of implementation between different systems of media". To this author:

"Diversity is linked in several ways to a progressive social change. It is improbable that there will be innovation, creativity and originality in all the spheres of social and cultural life if there is no diversity in society and over time. Equality also presupposes diversity (and vice versa), as diversity is a playing down concept, opposed to any aspiration of domain or cultural superiority. In a pluralist society, all the groups must have the same rights, if not the

same status. There are many legitimate forms of conflict that can contribute to change and to progress and that can demand a considerable degree of tolerance towards diversity of expression so as not to lead to instability" (McQuail 1995: 214 and 216).

Juan Carlos Miguel de Bustos (2004) differentiates between pluralism, understood as the multiplicity of opinions, social groups, points of view and attitudes expressed through the mass media, and diversity (or plurality), in other words, the set of factors found in a given society. In such a way that media pluralism is a channel to ensure the diversity of a society. This researcher concludes that:

- a. Pluralism presupposes diversity.
- b. Pluralism is a principle that justifies diversity, in such a way that it can be said that pluralism is a meta-diversity
- c. And that therefore, diversity is descriptive and pluralism is normative. Therefore, media pluralism through regulation is perfectible, and entrepreneur concentration, for example, is a hindrance against media pluralism reflecting the characteristic diversity of contemporary societies.

For authors such as Martí Petit (2012: 69), pluralism and diversity "are two related concepts, although they have notable differences and require differentiated conceptual and regulatory treatment". In keeping with bodies such as the European Council or the CAC, this author differentiates between pluralism, a concept that can be decomposed into external pluralism (composition of the characteristic structure of the media) and internal (voices expressed through a determined media), and diversity, a notion which, together with that of quality, is used to value the content produced and distributed by one or more stakeholders in a certain market. Those who establish this distinction express that "contrary to what may be believed, the existence of various operators in a given market —external pluralism— does not guarantee the diversity of contents (...). To this end, we can affirm that external pluralism is a condition that is necessary but not sufficient for the diversity of contents" (Albornoz 2014: 17-18).

In short: UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity clearly synthesises this relationship on expressing that media pluralism —together with freedom of expression; multilingualism; equal access to art and to scientific and technological knowledge; and the possibility for all cultures to have access to the means of expression and dissemination— is one of the guarantees of cultural diversity (UNESCO 2001: article 6).

Cultural diversity and cultural exception

With respect to the notion of cultural exception, the first thing to be mentioned is that it is in direct relation with the products that result from the functioning of the cultural industries. It is upheld in the idea that these industries, by contributing to the

formation of individual and collective consciences and to the diverse local, regional and national identities, are not goods like others and that they should therefore not be subject to the rules of the free market. With its origin in the area of cultural public policies (see Polo 2003), cultural exception is nowadays a specific term in International Law found in numerous valid international commercial agreements. As Jesús Prieto de Pedro (2005: 57) says, this notion "has its linguistic mould in the technical language of the GATT and of the GATS, articles 20 and 14 of which, respectively, envisage 'general exceptions' to those that the states can embrace to safeguard certain essential values such as those relating to public morality or the protection of the environment". Through a specific legal treatment of the cultural sector based on the double cultural (symbolic and identity giving) and economic nature of the cultural goods and services, the cultural exception formula allows the signatories of these treaties to prevent vernacular cultural productions from becoming integrated in the list of goods and services to be liberalised, thereby being able to maintain or adopt public policies aimed at fostering their cultural industries.

In the area of cultural industries, the discussion on the liberalisation of the audiovisual sector took on special relevance in the Uruguay Round of the GATT (the 8th round of negotiations that were held between 1986 and 1995), which gave rise to the adoption of the GATS and the creation of the WTO. In this context, the vindication of the cultural exception formula was that television films and series should be included in the list of general exceptions. The compromise reached at that moment led to gaining time but it did not close the conflict: the audiovisual sector was excluded from the offers submitted to the liberation negotiations, but was not eliminated from the GATS.

This episode, infuriated by the debate about the international trade of cultural goods and services, mobilised numerous states, international organisations and stakeholders in civil society, who were willing to face the threats aimed at eliminating public policy initiatives in favour of preserving the specificity of culture. Among them, French-speaking countries stood out due to their activism, led by Canada and France, UNESCO and professional associations and non-governmental organisations who decided to organise themselves into the so-called coalitions for cultural diversity. In this way, a discourse was started which, with its starting point in the notion of cultural exception, developed to the encounter of the concept of cultural diversity and favoured the idea of initially counting on a universal declaration celebrating cultural diversity (UNESCO 2001) and, later, with an international legal instrument to promote it and protect it: the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005).

It is true that the expression "cultural diversity", formulated for the first time at the end of the 1990s by the French authorities and established by international organisations (UNESCO), large companies (such as the Vivendi-Universal group)⁴ and organisations in the cultural sector (in particular the International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity), has eclipsed the notion of cultural exception in debates on culture

and communication. Some academics and politicians delight in this eclipse hurrying to condemn cultural exception⁵, while other analysts perceive a positive advance in the progress from cultural exception to cultural diversity (see Frau-Meigs 2002: 14): if the first of these notions has a defensive (and negative) connotation against the rules of free exchange of goods and services at an international scale, the second has a positive nature in which the protection and the promotion of diverse cultural expressions coexist. To this end, Jean Musitelli, on comparing cultural exception and diversity explains that the idea of diversity is based on three premises:

“(...) in the first place, renouncing the defensive posture symbolised by exception, and resuming the initiative substituting commercial logic for a cultural approach. In second place, removing the question of the framework of transatlantic rivalry and giving it a universal dimension. And, in third place, going from the exception to the rule, making a pillar of the construction of a new international legal order destined to regulate globalisation, out of the cultural/commercial rebalance” (Musitelli 2006: 13).

Nevertheless, for scholars such as Armand Mattelart (2005: 90) this terminological change could involve danger for the effective specifications of the principle of diversity in the area of cultural industries. Along the same lines of thought, Philippe Bouquillion, Bernard Miège & Pierre Moeglin (2013: 186) state that “Cultural diversity does not legally represent the same guarantees as [cultural] exception. Particularly, the reference to cultural exception shows a clear desire to remove the general principles of the market from the cultural industries, while the reference to diversity suggests that the normal organisation of the market should help to preserve this diversity, which facts tend to contradict”.

In any case, currently, the notions of cultural diversity and of cultural exception coexist, and the latter is—in our opinion—not just a legal formula used to safeguard the established principle of cultural diversity⁶, but also an argument frequently used by certain professional sectors and in some countries, such as France.

Diversity of/in cultural industries

In order to understand the complex relation that exists between the notions of diversity and cultural industries, there needs to be a comprehensive vision in keeping with the tradition of studies on media diversity (see McQuail & van Cuilenburg 1983; McQuail 1992; Napoli 1999; Bustamante 2002; Bouquillion & Combès 2011). So that it is not a question of just inspecting diversity by analysing the characteristics of the contents to put into circulation—such as the language used, the format used or the ethnic or gender representations included— or of not reducing the diversity of the cultural industries to the number and type of stakeholders linked to the production of goods and services that have a strong influence on our vision of the world. To the contrary, a comprehensive perspective must cover the

various phases of functioning of the cultural industries: from the creation-production of contents through to their enjoyment by the public.

Therefore, thinking about the diversity of and in cultural industries depends on a whole host of factors. Adapting our considerations on the diversity of the audiovisual industry (Albornoz & García Leiva 2017a: 32), it is possible to state that with the aim of analysing the diversity of/in any cultural industry one must take into consideration, as a minimum, that:

- The production, distribution, promotion and exhibition/broadcast capacity of contents is not concentrated into a reduced number of stakeholders and that these should be characterised by having different types of ownership, size and geographical origin.
- The contents should show differences of variety, balance and disparity⁷ in terms of values, identities and looks. These contents should reflect the multiplicity of groups that coexist in a given society (internal diversity) as well as reflect the cosmogonies and the foreign expressions of culture (external diversity).
- Citizens and social groups should be able to access and choose from a high number of contents and even create them and disseminate them.

This way of understanding diversity does not only aim to reaffirm a holistic perspective on the functioning of the cultural industries in the context of dynamic, changing societies, but also of focusing on the question of power in the controversy of the diversity/cultural industry tandem. Therefore, we need to deal with the multiple inequalities, differences and conflicts—between generations, classes and genders—that exist between societies and inside them (internal heterogeneity). Thus, the controversy of the diversity of and in cultural industries should not only consider the study of the ideological dimension of the available symbolic goods, but should also cover the analysis of the ownership of the material infrastructures of production, distribution and intermediation of symbolic goods, and the study of the possibilities that the subordinate social stakeholders can elaborate and put their own contents into circulation, as well as consuming them. Based on this focus, any policy that intervenes on the functioning of cultural industries to protect and/or promote diversity should inexorably be registered in the cultural recognition plan of “the others” and therefore, in the plan of the fights for equality and social justice.

Old debates: culture and communication policies

If one accepts the thesis that diversity in the functioning of cultural industries is not something that comes naturally and that therefore safeguarding it is a matter of general interest, then the public powers have the obligation to promote and protect diversity. The regulation of the cultural industries in keeping with the safeguarding of this principle is, therefore, one of the most visible aspects of the relationship between diversity

and cultural industries.

The development of cultural industries throughout the 20th century had, as one of its most visible consequences, the entrepreneurial concentration and the internationalisation of technologies and of the production of symbolic contents by powerful transnational companies whose head offices were set up in industrialised Western countries. This awoke the reactions of various nations and also the concerns of academics and scholars. Therefore, for example, in the area of the cinematographic industry, in 1927, the British authorities established the screen quota system, which guaranteed the screening of national films in the cinemas of the United Kingdom, with the idea of defending itself from the deluge of films from the United States. France set up a system to support local cinematographic production in 1948, through a tax included in the price of each cinema ticket, administered by what is now called the *Centre national du cinéma et de l'image animée* (CNC).

Decades later, to guarantee the “cultural sovereignty” of each nation, the need to plan national communication policies (Beltrán-S. 1976), to guarantee access and participation of the various social groups (UNESCO 1978), to set up cultural policies (UNESCO 1982) and to opt for international cooperation in matters of culture was established. In addition, the functioning of the cultural industries favoured a rich international debate of a political and sociological nature that can be followed in the publication of the first monographs of the UNESCO on national cultural policies during the 1970s and in the MacBride report (UNESCO 1980), as well as the holding of the First World Conference on Cultural Policies MONDIACULT (Mexico D.F., 1982). Later, the need to protect and promote cultural production of an industrial nature gave rise to the strengthening of international cooperation in matters of culture through the activation of international programmes such as the MEDIA Programme (now reconverted into Creative Europe), set up by the European Union in 1991, or the Ibermedia Programme, created in 1998.

The evolution of all these measures and reflections with an epicentre in the cultural industries rather than focusing on the defence of the diversity of/in cultural industries, as defined above, mainly sought the defence of the supposed “national culture” through the construction of a state guarantee of “cultural sovereignty” in its territory. However, neither the defensive measures nor the international corporation strategies (often covering up cultural projection to the exterior) managed to deactivate on the one hand, the liberal wave that was threatening (Uruguay Round of GATT) and that is still threatening (GATS and WTO) the sovereignty of the states in matters of culture and communication, nor, on the other hand, the acute imbalances characteristic of the international commercialisation of cultural goods and services.⁸

In this context, the international community reactivated the debates and activities of the UNESCO giving rise, after two years of intense negotiations marked by numerous meetings of independent and governmental experts (Barreiro Carril 2011), to

the approval of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO 2005). The text of the convention is highlighted among other considerations by:

- a. Reaffirming the principle of sovereignty in the states in cultural material.
- b. Advocating a special treatment for goods and services originating in developing countries to express the need to grant a preferential treatment to these countries.
- c. Encouraging international cooperation (North-South and South-South) in matters of culture on highlighting the need to reinforce international cooperation in the area of cultural expressions.
- d. Highlighting the need to count on information regarding the actions undertaken by the various stakeholders — public, private and civil society— to safeguard and promote cultural diversity.

Ten years after the coming into effect of this agreement, it should be said that it has been taken on by 144 member states plus an organisation of regional economic integration (the European Union). This has converted the 2005 convention into the UNESCO cultural treaty that has gained the greatest number of adhesions in such a short time. Nevertheless, this alleged “success” should not be allowed to trick us: it is a text with few obligations for its signatories which has an ambiguous status with respect to other international legal instruments (see article 20). Neither has it been ratified by powers such as the United States, Japan or Russia, which have significant cultural industries.

In any case, it should be noted that the Convention has had the merit of legally reinsuring the sovereign right of states to have policies and measures in the field of culture: encouraging international cooperation through the setting up of the International Fund for Cultural Diversity, one of the tangible derivatives of the treaty (Albornoz 2016b and 2016c); obliging the governmental authorities to prepare reports every four years that offer accountability of compliance with the objectives of the Convention, that detect and make visible good practices aimed at protecting and promoting cultural diversity and that supply statistical information about the cultural sector (Val Cubero 2017); and at the same time, promoting the attempt to measure the diversity of cultural expressions through the setting up of a programme established between 2007 and 2011 by UNESCO's Institute for Statistics (Albornoz 2017).

New challenges, culture in the digital environment

Safeguarding the principle of diversity of/in cultural industries has been disrupted by the appearance and expansion of networks and digital devices in recent decades. It is not easy to answer the question about whether digitalisation offers an opportunity for cultural diversity in terms of democratisation, creativity and socialisation or, whether, to the contrary, this

process represents a leap ahead in existing threats such as that of entrepreneurial concentration in the area of production and distribution of cultural products. This is because the digital era offers, at the same time, possibilities for cultural enrichment but also unfolds new challenges (see Frau-Meigs & Kiyindou 2014) by condensing a series of logics that are developed with multiple tensions. Among these logics, one should highlight, following Michèle Rioux and his colleagues (2015), the following five Ds that characterise the new digital environment:

- **Dematerialisation:** due to the progressive abandoning of physical supports, it is increasingly more difficult to distinguish between cultural goods and services; therefore, many contents previously considered goods are starting to be called services. This is reinforced by the growing trend to pay for access to content by means of a service, which directly influences the drop in the acquisition of specific goods. Having said this, it is necessary to reflect on the materiality of what is virtual: although files and messages may not necessarily be stored in personal devices, they are physically stored somewhere. There is a global expansion of data centres in the network, controlled by a handful of companies known as cloud companies, which are not only constituted by the so-called native Internet companies (Amazon, Google, Apple and Facebook), but which also include historic technological companies (IBM, Oracle and Cisco) and new niche undertakings (such as Rackspace, Salesforce and VMware) (Mosco 2014: 7).
- **Disintermediation:** citizens can access content and share it online without the need to depend on mediators. This ability questions the role of traditional intermediaries. Nevertheless, the highly publicised disintermediation does not happen “purely” but through a process of re-intermediation and/or displacement. One use of re-intermediation in the digital environment is provided by the so-called multi-channel networks in YouTube, companies dedicated to packaging musical channels and offering artists, in exchange for a percentage of the income generated by the platform, different services such as assessment in production, programming and promotion, managing rights and sales, and developing audiences.
- **Decomartmentalization:** digital technologies favour the disappearance of borders between sectors; therefore, cultural, telecommunications and computer industries converge and a wide range of contents tend to be offered through multifunction devices. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that there is not an easy coexistence between open standards and systems, on the one hand, and proprietary standards and systems, on the other; which gives rise, respectively, to open networks and codes and to closed (and mainly opaque) ecosystems. One revealing example of a “walled garden” is Apple:

through the integration between software, hardware and contents, the company controls which applications, productions and media can be used on their devices and which cannot.

- **Delinearization:** with the technical means and suitable connection it is possible to access a given content anywhere, anytime and on any device. However, the flexibility of this on-demand use must be placed in relation with phenomena of online prescriptions and recommendations, which configure lists of contents and packaging proposals that give rise to different, new forms of programming and editorialization. The consumption of audiovisual content offered by OTT platforms is revealing about this matter. Companies such as Netflix use content recommendation systems which function with mathematical formulae (algorithms) based on the data provided by their clients in order to meet the objectives of the platform: to retain users and to order the catalogue of contents in an attractive way.
- **Deterritorialization:** the cultural industries get around in a growing way in a global space which goes beyond the borders of any state-nation. Therefore, the flows and interactions cannot only be understood from the perspective of regulations and national public policies. Nevertheless, one should not forget that production and cultural consumption in a digital environment are still irrevocably linked to “territories of experience” based, for example, on identities, languages and values. Therefore, it is not surprising that the rankings of most visited websites from computers located in the richest countries in the world show the popularity of locally produced sites for mainly national audiences —although the role of Google as a portal and shop window for contents is firmly grounded (Ofcom 2015). Having said this, it should also be mentioned that most local websites belong to large communication groups such as the BBC in the United Kingdom, the Grupo Prisa in Spain or NewsCorp in Australia.

This new scenario marked by the comings and goings around the five Ds must be viewed with respect to the emergence of powerful transnational platforms commercialising cultural goods and services online —often in alliance with traditional media-cultural conglomerates— which favour processes of re-intermediation in the digital ecosystem, strong entrepreneurial concentration on an international scale, strategies of tax evasion, processing big data for commercial purposes or detouring national support devices to independent productions (Albornoz 2016).

In the face of this complex scenario, the attention of the public authorities currently seems to focus on the action of online platforms, favouring two-way movements: valuing their activities at a local level, on the one hand, and demanding the

inclusion and visibility of vernacular productions, on the other hand. To this end, some US cities (Chicago, Pennsylvania and Pasadena, CA) have taken the first steps to start charging taxes to video-on-demand platforms (financed by subscription, pay-per-view or advertising) and to other electronic services offered via cloud (Byrne & Elahi 2015; Grabar 2016); and in the same way, the European Commission, through the modification of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, proposes that the catalogues of the platforms acting in the European space should offer locally produced contents and that these should have sufficient visibility (EC 2016).

With respect to the international arena, most of the efforts are concentrated on adapting the 2005 Convention to the environment outlined by the digital technologies. After more than four years of debates held in the heart of the governmental bodies of the Convention (the Conference of the Parties and the Intergovernmental Committee) on the impact of the new technologies (Canada/Quebec 2013; France 2013; Guèvremont et al. 2013; Jaabouti & Pool 2013; UKCCD 2013; ULEPICC 2013; UNESCO 2014; Albornoz & García Leiva 2017b), the Draft operational guidelines on the implementation of the Convention in the digital environment was conceived (UNESCO 2016: 5-12). This document, to be discussed and approved by the Conference of the Parties at its next ordinary session (headquarters of UNESCO in Paris, June 2017), presents a series of “practical guidelines” with the aim of adapting the Convention to the digital environment and was conceived to be interpreted and applied in relation to the international treaty as a whole, in other words, promoting a transversal approach. In its considerations, the text states “The distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values and meaning does not change in the digital environment. Consequently, the recognition of the dual nature of cultural goods and services (cultural and economic) extends to digitised cultural expressions or those produced with digital tools” (UNESCO 2016: 5).

In the same way, in the explanation of its guiding principles, the text confirms the sovereign right of the states to implement “policies and measures for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions in the digital environment”; and the need to “promote equitable access and balance in the flow of digital cultural goods and services, in particular through the application of preferential treatment provisions for works created or produced by artists and cultural professions from developing countries”. It urges countries that are part of the Convention to “update their legislative and regulatory frameworks for public services”, private and community media, as well as independent media organisations to stimulate the diversity of cultural expressions as well as the “diversity of the media” in the digital environment. In addition, and in keeping with article 16 of the Convention it encourages countries to establish “preferential treatment provisions to ensure more balanced flows of digital cultural goods and services from developing countries” (UNESCO 2016: 6, 7 & 9).

Final considerations

An initial verification that arises from this article is the centrality that the concept “diversity” has reached in the area of culture and communication in the first two decades of the 21st century, as well as its conceptual proximity to other expressions such as “media pluralism” and “cultural exception”. However, the centrality of this notion, which is polysystemic and polyhedral, causes us to be aware of the intentionality with which it is used in different contexts. Suffice to say that it is necessary to be aware as the invocation of diversity can entail the celebration of free play of the market forces, the claim of an increase of public intervention favourable to exhibiting internal and external cultural heterogeneity, or the justification of cultural endogamy. Neither should we forget that the current vindication for diversity — expressed at an international level in a UNESCO Convention — is, in part, the result of the serious threats hanging over the policies and measures established by the public powers for the cultural field.

Secondly, and given the central place that cultural industries occupy today in complex, dynamic contemporary societies, it is essential to advance in a proposal about how the diversity of/in cultural industries can be understood. As we have mentioned, to understand the controversy of this tandem it is necessary to have a holistic vision of the functioning of the cultural industries and to register the protection and promotion of the diversity in the fights for the recognition of “others”, equality and social justice. This, therefore, implies vindicating public intervention and activating the multiple interested parties in pursuit of the democratisation of the field of culture and communication.

Thirdly, it should not be forgotten that the networks and digital devices have given rise to a new environment of production, circulation and consumption of dematerialised cultural content, which coexists with the traditional channels of access to cultural goods and services. This new environment, marked by opportunities and threats to be discovered and critically analysed (such as the multiplication of content available or the re-intermediation of the cultural field in the hands of powerful online platforms), is an essential scenario in which the power of communication and of moulding perceptions about what is social are resolved. As we mentioned in another piece of work, “the development of the various digital networks, with Internet at their head, is offered as a new “battlefield” in which to re-edit some of the controversies typical of the cultural industries in their analogical career; public service versus commercial interest, political control versus freedom of information, normative regulation versus laissez-faire, standardisation and homogeneity versus cultural diversity, mercantile control versus privacy” (Albornoz 2011a: 223).

Far from the promotional discourses of digital technology, which predicted that it would be a source of diversity leaving the role of the states as cultural policy makers meaningless, it is seen that beyond some studies on linguistic diversity in Internet, the specific reflections on diversity in the network of networks are unstable (Napoli & Karppinen 2013). Therefore, it

is pressing to study the dynamics of the digital environment that affect information, communication and culture and to reflect on which public policies are necessary today to make the principle of diversity a reality in the area of cultural industries.

To finish up, and as an example, we would like to mention a couple of challenges to be dealt with to be able to advance with the promotion and protection of diversity of/in cultural industries.

It is essential to understand the performance of the new stakeholders that occupy a notable place in the digital environment. Investigating the role of transnational online platforms is fundamental as they do not only stand out as intermediaries in transactions of a very different nature and scope, but they show complex, not always transparent, relations with very different kinds of stakeholders — whether linked to the informative and cultural production (traditional means of communication) or to the economic activity in general and financial in particular. To this end, for example, the analysis of the ten major shareholders of the five main technological companies —Alphabet (whose main subsidiary is Google), Facebook, Apple, Amazon and Microsoft— reveals the presence of six US investment fund managers that control the sector in the shadows: BlackRock, Vanguard, State Street, Fidelity, Capital Group and T. Rowe Price (Trincado 2017). This fact highlights the necessary research and reflection on the relationships between financial capital and cultural diversity.

This, in turn, obliges us to rethink the possibilities and limitations of the action of the states. The legitimacy and use of the initiatives developed with the evolution and consolidation of cultural industries throughout the 20th century is increasingly questioned in the digital environment. The reconversion of screen quotas into “catalogue quotas” to assure a minimum presence of national audiovisual productions in online transnational platforms, for example, becomes tricky, as being part of a catalogue does not guarantee promotion and visibility to a work. In addition, the states are facing the difficult task of penalising tax evasion when the object of the tax and the subjects obliged to pay it cannot easily be defined or explicitly questioned from the existing legal-administrative structures. Therefore, national policies should necessarily be organised with international cooperation strategies: for transnational problems, shared solutions should be tried out.

Notes

1. The execution context of this article is the research project “*Diversidad de la industria audiovisual en la era digital*” [Diversity of the audiovisual industry in the digital era] (CSO2014-52354-R), financed by the State Research, Development and Innovation Programme Aimed at the Challenges of Society of the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. This project has been developed by the Audiovisual Diversity group based in the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid and directed by the authors of this article (see: www.diversidadaudiovisual.org).
2. Cultural industries may be defined as “the constant evolution of a system of activities of production and cultural exchange subject to rules of commercialisation, in which the techniques of industrial production are only reasonably well developed, but in which work is increasingly organised by the capitalist mode that operates through a double separation: between the producers and their products, and between the tasks of creation and those of execution” (Tremblay 1990: 44).
3. It should also be noted that since the decade of 2000, the notion of creative industries —accompanied by those of “creative city, “creative class” or “creative economy— has come to complement and compete against cultural industries. Although numerous organisations linked to the United Nations, including UNESCO, have adopted this new notion, extending its dissemination at an international scale, the aim of this work is not to deal with the direction of the term “creative industries”. We will simply point out that it awakens mistrust in academic sectors due to its vague (and sometimes contradictory) limits as well as its intentions. To this end, you can consult the collective works published by Alborno (2011b) and Bustamante (2011).
4. In 2003, the Vivendi-Universal Group incorporated the promotion of cultural diversity into the production and the distribution of contents as one of its strategic pillars. Since 2010, this theme has been part of the criteria of corporate social responsibility included in the variable retribution of the top management of the group. In 2012, it published the website “Culture(s) with Vivendi” dedicated to cultural diversity.
5. Remember the declarations of the former president of Vivendi-Universal, Jean-Marie Messier (New York, 17 December 2001): “The Franco-French cultural exception is dead, long live cultural diversity!”. Or those of the former president of Spain, José María Aznar, at the headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States (Washington, January 2004): “Cultural exception is the refuge of cultures in decadence”. Mario Vargas Llosa published his controversial opinion article “*Razones contra la excepción cultural*” (Reasons against cultural exception) in the newspaper *El País* (Madrid, 25 July 2004).
6. This was the position of the European Union when signing the commercial agreements, upheld by various legal techniques: a) the establishing of a general exception to the agreement, b) the establishing of a specific chapter within the agreement (for example, in the chapter on the trading of services), c) the absence of liberalisation commitments for explicitly listed goods and services (“positive lists”) or, d) the introduction of specific limitations on liberalisation reserve lists (“negative lists”). This final option, for example, was that chosen for the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, signed between the European Union and Canada (García Leiva, 2015).
7. With respect to the differences of variety, balance and disparity that cultural content may offer, the definition of Andrew Stirling

(1998, 2007) on diversity is considered, which contemplates the combination of these three components. The variety has a relation to the number of different types of existing elements; the balance considers the different degrees in which the types defined are represented as a whole; and the disparity is related to the degree of dissimilitude or dissimilarity of the different previously defined types. Therefore, the greater number of categories a system possesses, the more balanced they are and the more dissimilar they are from each other, the greater the diversity.

8. Although the international trade of cultural goods and services almost doubled between 1994 and 2002, going from 38.3 to 59.2 thousand million dollars, this market was concentrated in a limited number of nations in 2002: countries with high income economies (the United Kingdom, the United States, for example) were the greatest producers and consumers of cultural goods, while the so-called developing countries represented less than one per cent of the exportations of cultural goods (UNESCO-UIS 2005: 9). A decade later, one can still see acute imbalances. In 2012, 128.5 thousand million dollars were registered for exportations of cultural services, with the developing countries responsible for only 1.66 per cent of the exportation figure (Deloumeaux 2015: 125). In 2012, the commercialisation of cultural services, in which the Audiovisual and Interactive Media domain (audiovisual services and licences to reproduce and/or distribute audiovisual products) played a marked protagonist role, showed that ten countries represented 87.8% of worldwide exportations: the United States was responsible for more than half the exportations (52.4%), followed by the United Kingdom, France, Canada, the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Luxembourg, Ireland and Belgium (Deloumeaux 2015: 129-130).

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Threat or opportunity? Cultural diversity in the era of digital platforms in the EU¹

KATHARINA HOELCK

Researcher of the imec-SMIT at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Katharina.Hoelck@vub.ac.be

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-0033-7642

HERITIANA RANAIVOSON

Senior Researcher at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Heritiana.Renaud.Ranaivoson@vub.ac.be

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-3909-0440

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Abstract

Digitization results in decisive changes in the value chains of the cultural sectors. The provision and distribution of cultural goods is increasingly organized through over-the-top (OTT) platforms. This leads to the question of how the increasing dominance of platforms impacts the diversity of cultural goods. In interviews with industry experts the tensions arising from the increasing domination of platforms in the sector are explored and its potential impact on the diversity of produced and consumed cultural goods outlined. The paper concludes that additional regulatory measures are needed to protect cultural diversity in the age of digital platforms.

Keywords

Platforms, two-sided markets, cultural diversity, cultural goods, cultural industries.

Resum

La digitalització comporta canvis decisius en les cadenes de valor dels sectors culturals. La provisió i distribució dels béns culturals s'organitza cada vegada més a través de plataformes de lliure transmissió (OTT, per les seves sigles en anglès). Això ens porta a qüestionar-nos l'impacte que té la dominació creixent de les plataformes sobre la diversitat dels béns culturals. En les entrevistes amb els experts de la indústria, s'exploren les tensions que sorgeixen a causa de la dominació creixent de les plataformes dins del sector i es resumeixen els efectes potencials sobre la diversitat dels béns culturals produïts i consumits. L'article conclou que es necessiten mesures reguladores addicionals per tal de protegir la diversitat cultural a l'era de les plataformes digitals.

Paraules clau

Plataformes, mercats bilaterals, diversitat cultural, béns culturals, indústria cultural.

Introduction: a digital cultural economy

In the past ten years the cultural sectors have undergone a decisive transformation. The provision and distribution of cultural goods is increasingly organized through Internet-based over-the-top (OTT) platforms. Platforms mediate between different groups of users in two- or multi-sided markets (e.g. advertisers and readers) (Rochet & Tirole 2006, Parker et al. 2016). Prominent digital platforms include for example Netflix in the broadcasting industry, Spotify in the music sector, Amazon in publishing, and Steam in multimedia, i.e. the gaming industry. OTT platforms are now active in several functions of cultural value chains in addition to the distribution of content.²

The impact of the rise of these platforms is fiercely debated in academia and politics (see e.g. Bauer 2013). In the context of

cultural sectors one question in particular has to be asked which has so far been overlooked: How is an increasing dominance of platforms impacting the diversity of cultural goods?

Hopes are frequently expressed that digital technology could improve the current situation of creators and the availability of their works to create more cultural diversity. Indeed, content distribution via online platforms has the potential to significantly reduce marginal costs of reproduction and distribution and to lower physical constraints and market barriers. Yet although traditional players in the creative sectors have reacted to the development of online platforms by providing their own platforms, most popular online platforms originate from outside the creative sectors leading to fears of a commercialized mainstream offer. As Evans & Gawer (2016) highlight, only a few EU platforms have a global scale (e.g. Spotify), and the

EU context is one of competition between US platforms (e.g. Netflix, iTunes) and their local EU counterparts.

The relevance of investigating the effect of platforms on cultural diversity lies in the fact that the development of OTT platforms is a pervasive trend in the cultural sectors in the European Union (EU). These online companies are playing a greater and greater role in the economy and in particular in the creative sectors, contributing significantly and increasingly to economic growth in the EU27 (Nielsen, Basalisco, & Thelle 2013). Besides their contribution to GDP, there is political recognition of the growing importance of online platforms for European social and economic wellbeing (EC 2016a). As the European Commission (EC) (2016) outlined, Europe has the chance to be a leading digital player in the world, benefitting from well-developed digital infrastructure, a well-educated population which increasingly uses the Internet, a culture of creativity and innovation, as well as a solid industrial base (EC 2016b).

In order to explore the impact of the rise of digital platforms on the provision and consumption of cultural goods in the EU, the remainder of this paper is structured as follows. First, a theoretical foundation is laid by introducing the paper's understanding of cultural diversity and the concept of platforms. Second, the effect of increasing platformization of the cultural sector and its implications for cultural diversity are discussed theoretically. Third, the insights gained are explored empirically through interviews with industry experts from various branches of the cultural sector. Finally, the results are discussed and a conclusion is drawn.

Theoretical foundation: cultural diversity and platforms

In order to create a theoretical basis for discussion, the following sections look at the paper's two central concepts. First, our understanding of cultural diversity is presented. Subsequently, a brief introduction into platform theory is given.

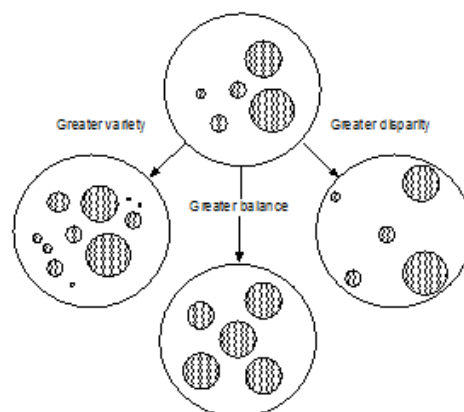
Cultural diversity

It is difficult to assess diversity per se and there is no clearly agreed specific definition of diversity of production or consumption in the media sector (Ranaivoson 2005).

However, the Stirling Model (Stirling 2007) provides interesting insights into how to measure and describe diversity. Accordingly, cultural products can be regarded as elements of a larger system and the system's diversity can be assessed using three basic properties: Variety, Balance, and Disparity.

Individually these properties would be insufficient to describe diversity as all of them are needed to cater for the needs of a full assessment of diversity: 'Variety' refers to the number of categories the elements can be placed in, 'Balance' to the distribution across those categories, and 'Disparity' to the

Figure 1. The relation between diversity and its three components



Source: Farchy and Rainaivoson (2011)

elements' manner and degree of differentiation (cf. Figure 1).

It is often argued that diversity is in the public's interest since it ensures the satisfaction of a wide range of preferences and supports the individual's right to have a choice (Ranaivoson 2012). A higher degree of differentiation would increase the overall satisfaction of consumers (Gabszewicz, Laussel, & Sonnac 2002). This results in an argument for the promotion of content diversity, choice, cultural diversity, and heritage, especially in regard to media content (Van Cuilenburg & McQuail 2003).

Nevertheless, Hotelling's (1929) model, often called the 'principle of minimum differentiation', is a popular way of illustrating why it is rational for corporations to provide a 'mainstream' offer instead. As Hotelling (1929) points out, customers will choose the product which is closest to their preferences. As a result, "when a new merchant or manufacturer sets up a new shop [...] there is an incentive to make the new product very much like the old [...] in order to have for the new commodity as many buyers of the old as possible, to get, so to speak, between one's competitors and a mass of customers" (p. 54).

Platforms

Over the past ten years the concept of platforms has received significant attention in design, economics, and strategic management literature. In the meantime, literature on platform theory has become a well-developed and well-accepted part of industrial organization literature (see e.g. Evans, 2014).

Digital platforms

There is no such thing as "a unified theory of [two-sided] markets" and platforms (Bounie & Bourreau 2008, 477). Instead, various definitions and understandings of platforms

exist which are usually either technologically or economically motivated.

Technologically-based platform theory when related to the ICT industries conceptualizes platforms as a particular structuring element within an 'industry architecture' (Jacobides, Knudsen, & Augier 2006). Accordingly, a platform may refer to a hardware configuration, an operating system, a software framework or any other common entity on which a number of associated components or services run.

Economically, platforms and their providers mediate and coordinate between various stakeholder constituencies. Platforms differ with their triangular set-up from merchant companies that follow the rationale of linear bilateral exchange. Merchants acquire the necessary complements from an upstream seller and sell the finalized product to a downstream consumer, thus operating in a linear fashion (Hagiu 2007, cf. Figure 2). In contrast, platforms work as mediating entities between upstream and downstream agents such as sellers and consumers. Nowadays platforms are even often multi-sided, mediating between more than two user groups (Evans, Hagiu & Schmalensee 2005).

The (at least) triangular architecture enables platforms to exploit cross-sided network effects: Increasing the number of buyers on one side attracts an increasing number of sellers on the other side and vice-versa (Rochet & Tirole 2006). Cross-sided network effects are a defining feature of two-sided markets (Hoelck & Ballon 2015). These effects enable platforms to pursue a pricing strategy which is not feasible for merchant firms, i.e. cross-subsidization. Concretely, platform companies can charge prices on one side below marginal cost and make a profit on the other side(s) of the market. With this pricing structure platforms can attract additional participants on the

subsidized side of the market to foster participation on the profit-making side (Evans & Schmalensee 2007).

In the digital sphere platforms unite elements of both economic and technological understandings. These OTT platforms rely on a technical infrastructure (i.e. the Internet) while they embrace a business model based on a two- or multi-sided market logic, e.g. users, content producers, and advertisers on Facebook (Hoelck 2016).

Importantly, cross-sided network effects can play out in a digital space to an extreme extent. In particular two prominent effects enable OTT platforms to achieve massive market power: First, it is difficult to introduce a new competing platform in a given market since one market side is needed to attract the other side ('chicken-and-egg'). Second, once a platform is successful in this given market, the chances are high that it will dominate the market due to the size of its market share ('winner-takes-all') (Parker et al. 2016). This leads to a tendency towards high entry barriers and concentration in digital platform markets.

Following from this, we conceptualize OTT platforms in this paper as mediating entities that create value through the exploitation of cross-sided network effects by facilitating interactions between actors that operate on different sides of a two- or multi-sided digital market.

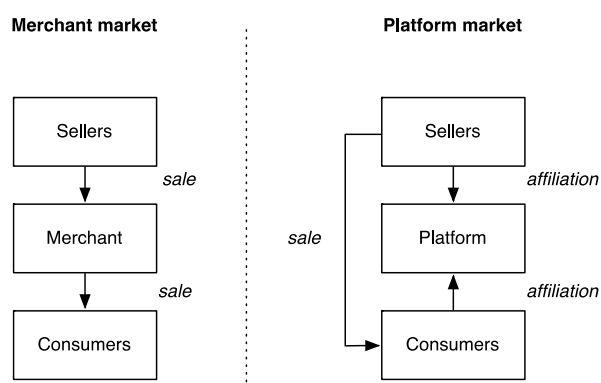
Platforms in the creative sectors

The most common case of two-sided markets in the creative sectors is advertising, in particular for broadcasting, publishing or mobile applications.

Taking television as an example, the two categories of users in the two-sided market are on the one hand viewers (but it could be newspaper readers, radio listeners or users) and on the other hand advertisers. Broadcasters act as platforms whose role is to connect both categories of users. The edited and broadcasted content is a joint product, i.e. on the one hand it is content for the viewers and on the other hand it is these viewers' attention for the advertisers. As an example of multi-sided markets, the video-sharing website YouTube is mediating between not two but (at least) three market sides: Users, video providers, and advertisers.

The main peculiarity of two- and multi-sided markets organized around advertising – compared to other two-sided markets – consists in the fact that cross-sided network externalities are not necessarily positive contrarily to the founding example of credit cards. Actually, such externalities are positive for advertisers but can be negative for viewers (Bounie & Bourreau 2008): The higher the number of viewers, the higher the number of advertisers ready to pay to have an ad, yet the higher the level of advertising, the less satisfied consumers may become. There can be differences according to the kind of content (advertising on radio or on television might be considered more disturbing than on the Internet or in newspapers) or the market segment (advertising might be considered as more interesting

Figure 2. The diverging business logic of merchants and two-sided companies



Source: Hagiu and Wright (2015).

in specialized media like newspapers directed towards professionals).

This example shows that it is sufficient if one market side experiences positive externalities from joining the platform as long as the benefits of the exchange outweigh the costs of the other market side. As long as the advertiser benefits outweigh the consumers' costs of being confronted with advertisements, the platform will use the possibility of a value-creating exchange (Evans 2014). As a result they have to manage the tension between these actors' contradictory interests. The theory of two-sided markets analyzes this role and the resulting tension (S.P. Anderson & Gabszewicz 2006).

Theoretical discussion: platforms vs. cultural diversity?

The increasing presence of OTT platforms in the cultural sector gives rise to tensions. On the one hand, as intermediaries with the Internet as infrastructure they can provide unprecedented opportunities for making cultural content available. On the other hand, they foster tendencies towards market concentration and high entry barriers. Both claims are investigated in depth in the following sections.

Intermediation: two-sidedness and supply-side economies of scale

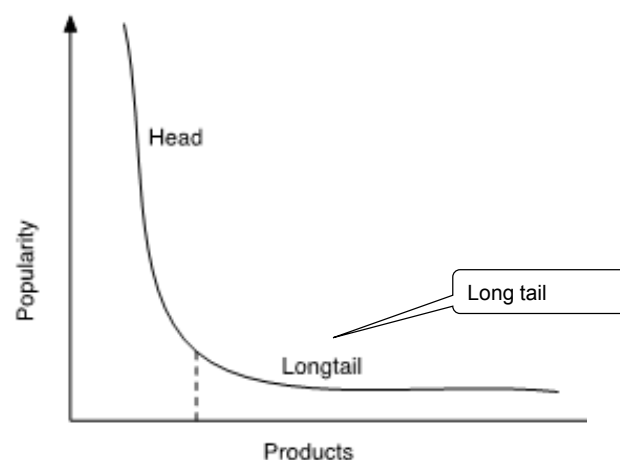
One particular area of investigation of the theory of two-sided markets as applied to the media industries has been the impact of their architecture on content diversity, in particular applied to advertising (Lindstädt 2010).

It can be shown that as soon as advertising represents an important share of a platform's revenues, its contents tend to be homogeneous (Bounie and Bourreau 2008). In the same way Gabszewicz et al. (2001) show that two competing newspapers tend to provide the same political view. Indeed, in this line of thinking it can be assumed that two-sided markets provide a more homogeneous offer than merchant markets (Farchy & Ranaivoson 2011).

These results are only mitigated by the nature of the externality that advertising constitutes for viewers. When viewers are averse to advertising, broadcasters tend to increase the differentiation of their program offer to increase viewer satisfaction (see e.g. Gabszewicz, Laussel, & Sonnac 2004; Peitz & Valletti 2008).

Furthermore, as alluded to in the introduction, digital platforms typically profit from supply-side economies of scale in their market, albeit not in the common sense that their costs fall with increasing output. Rather, due to the peculiar characteristics of digital media products and services, costs are 'spread more widely, thus reducing per-consumer production costs for all participants in the network' (Doyle 2013, 74). Thus, technology platforms dealing with digital products and services have high up-front fixed and low or zero marginal costs: Although it might

Figure 3. Graphical depiction of head and long tail



Source: C. Anderson, 2006.

be costly to produce digital goods and services in the first place, their reproduction and spreading involve no or few additional costs (Hagiu & Wright 2015). Indeed, negligible marginal costs help platform companies to serve and, if necessary, to subsidize huge markets (Parker & Van Alstyne 2005).

However, in this context it is essential to distinguish between supplied diversity and consumed diversity, i.e. diversity as it is supplied by suppliers and diversity as it is accepted by consumers (Van Cuilenburg & Van der Wurff 2001). The analysis of the links between supplied and consumed diversities has been revived with the advent of the 'long tail' theory (C. Anderson 2006). The theory states that digital technology, by promoting a greater supplied diversity, leads to a higher consumed diversity. Empirical applications of this theory, however, focus on Variety and Balance and rarely consider Disparity (Ranaivoson 2016).

Nevertheless, as Ranaivoson (2016) notes there is a clear lack of recent research applied to the EU and ambiguous results regarding whether the long tail effect exists. Indeed, critical voices such as Goel et al. (2010) believe that there is a risk that online platforms' increasing control over access to cultural works may threaten instead the visibility and promotion of marginal cultural works even more compared to the current situation. Others fear limited competition, a claim which is examined in more depth in the following section.

Concentration: the ambiguous impact of market structure

The impact of market structure on content diversity in general is highly ambiguous even before platformization (Van Cuilenburg & Van der Wurff 2001).

On the one hand, there is indeed an opposition between economies of scale and diversity (Dixit & Stiglitz 1977;

Lancaster 1979). Economies of scale exist when fixed costs are large relative to variable costs. This is the case for many creative products. For example, this phenomenon induces video games publishers to focus their efforts on a few games since an increase in their consumption will decrease their average production costs (by unit sold). The opposition between diversity and cost reduction is a standard result in the literature on monopolistic competition, starting with Chamberlin (1933). Findings of this strand of research suggest that in order to reduce production costs, producers tend to provide less diverse products than consumers want. In addition, as alluded to above, economic models show a tendency for competing producers to end up offering standardized products (Hotelling 1929), thus reducing the Disparity of the products. Indeed, producers want to obtain the greatest market share, and to do so they aim to produce the product that best fits the tastes of the average consumer. As such, they fail to cater for consumers with more marginal tastes. As a result, although there may seem to be an increasing variety of cultural goods and services, even more of them target the average consumer and are therefore even more alike. Thus in the case of media, Assogba (2015) argues that having several media companies does not necessarily lead to diversity of news, notably because each media outlet then lacks sufficient means to produce quality content.

On the other hand, economies of scope can also encourage producers and distributors to offer a diverse range of products. Economies of scope can be realized in those sectors where product diversification can be based on the common and recurrent use of proprietary know-how or on an indivisible physical asset (Teece 1980). A diversified catalogue has several assets. It firstly allows companies to follow a portfolio, akin to financial assets (Markowitz 1952). It is also a way to reduce competition: Saturation of the market allows erecting barriers to entry (Curien & Moreau 2005; Lancaster 1979). For instance, museums diversify their activities to face budgetary restrictions; sales galleries and art dealers diversify their portfolio in order to reduce risks. Also for example in the book sector, retailers can benefit from economies of scope which tend to favor the biggest stores, i.e. the ones with the largest, and potentially most diverse, catalogues.

Digitization and the rise of platforms do not make the relationship between market structure and diversity of products less ambiguous.

On the one hand, there is a much greater amount of content available to citizens thanks to democratization of content production, reduction of distribution to an audience that is potentially global, and the constant emergence of new services relying on innovative business models (Masnick & Ho 2014). Such services or new activities are at all steps in the value chain from creation to distribution. A consequence would be greater diversity also at the user level (C. Anderson 2006; Cowen 2002; Peltier & Moreau 2012).

However, digital technologies are likely to threaten traditional

media players (creators, intermediaries) to the benefit of players who are not traditional media players (i.e. Google, Amazon, Facebook, and Apple or GAFA as well as smaller players). What is the impact of such concentration? Some authors point out that online platforms' commercial strategies are likely to lead to more homogeneity in content supply and consumption (Guèvremont et al. 2013).

Empirical assessment

The potentially tense relationship between platforms and cultural diversity in the creative sector was further assessed empirically.

Methodology

Our analysis was based on desk research which was complemented by expert interviews. The desk research entailed a review of relevant industry reports, information material, and academic literature. On this basis, the value creation process was mapped. The stages were chosen with reference to the European Commission's Creative Europe Programme and include the whole cycle of creation, i.e. creation, presentation, distribution, and consumption.

The expert interviews were conducted between March 17, 2016, and April 14, 2016. There is no clear guideline for sample sizes of expert interviews; as Baker and Edwards (2012) suggest, the size should depend on the research questions asked, analysis performed, as well as possible practical constraints. In this context, this paper updates and adds to the findings of our desk research with current and first-hand expert knowledge. It relied on pragmatic sampling aiming at an informationally representative sample rather than a statistically representative one. The experts were chosen according to the following criteria:

1. The experts should represent the three main cultural sectors of publishing, broadcasting (TV and radio), and multimedia, i.e. mobile, console, and PC gaming. The experts should be incumbents able to report long-term industry changes.
2. The experts should be active in the three main value-creating stages in the value chains or represent such actors: Creation, presentation, and distribution.
3. The interviews should not be biased towards a certain EU region but should involve experts from the northern, central, southern, eastern, and western countries of the EU.

In total, ten expert interviews were conducted. While the expertise of some experts was overlapping, for each sector at least three expert opinions were recorded (Table 1). The interviews were part of the project 'An Updated Study on the

Table 1. Interview respondents

Function	Sector	Expertise	Date	Interaction
Anne Bergmann-Tahon, director & enrico Turin, deputy director/economist, Federation of European Publishers	Books	Publisher	24.3.2016	Face-to-face
Frédéric Martel – writer, researcher and journalist/radio moderator, France	Books & Broadcasting (Radio)	Creator	25.3 & 4.4.16	Telephone
Lucia Miklasová, head of the licensing department, and Ms Tímea Virágová, interim head of the collective management and international relations department LITA, Slovakia	Books & Broadcasting (TV)	Creators & Rights	30.3.2016	Telephone
Ross Biggam, ex-director general ACT, Belgium, now Discovery, UK	Broadcasting (TV)	Commercial Broadcasters	5.4.2016	Face-to-face
Vincent Sneed, director regulatory affairs & manager, association of European Radio, Belgium	Broadcasting (Radio)	Commercial Radio	18.3.2016	Face-to-face
Wouter Gekiere, deputy head of Brussels office, and Karen Mazzoli, media officer, European Broadcasting Union, Belgium	Broadcasting (TV)	Public Broadcaster	21.3.2016	Face-to-face
Mariebeth Aquino, founder & executive director at Central European Games Conference, Austria	Multimedia	Support network	31.3.2016	Skype
Johanna Nylander, policy affairs, Swedish Games Industry association, Sweden	Multimedia	Developers	23.3.2016	Skype
Jari-Pekka Kaleva, COO European Games Developers Federation, Belgium, and senior policy analyst neogames, Finland	Multimedia	Developers	17.3.2016	Skype
Stan Just, R&D manager, CD project, Poland	Multimedia	Developer, Publisher and Distributor	14.4.2016	Skype

Source: Authors' own.

Economy of Culture – Creative Value Chains' (EAC/04/2015) for the European Commission, DG Education and Culture.

Results

The results from the three investigated sectors are discussed according to the different stages of the value chain. The stages were chosen with reference to the European Commission's Creative Europe Programme and include the whole cycle of creation, i.e. creation, presentation, distribution, and consumption.

Step 1: Creation

In this first step within the value chain of cultural production, the initial product or service offering is created.

In publishing, the author supplies content, which may be written and/or illustrations (e.g. in the case of children's books or comic books). As outlined by the interviewees, while incumbent publishers remain essential for e-publishing, with the rise of two-sided platforms the possibility of self-publishing has become prominent. However, even though self-publishing creates new opportunities for creators, the industry experts emphasized that writers still aim to sign a 'traditional' deal,

which involves support beyond distribution such as marketing and financial support. Indeed, traditional players often exploit self-publishing services as talent pools.

In broadcasting, through the rise of two-sided platforms, content producers have gotten access to new opportunities by newly entering content platforms such as Netflix or Amazon Instant Video, which also produce their own content. However, as the experts pointed out, visibility is a major issue just as it is in the publishing industry. As a report of the European Audiovisual Observatory on the visibility of films on VOD in the French, German, and British markets shows, only a small minority (under 10%) of the catalogue is actually promoted, only one-third being European (Fontaine 2015). Most of these films (between 65% and 80%, depending on the country) are recent films (produced in 2014 or 2015). Among these recent films, a limited number benefited from the most visibility: At national levels, the 10 most promoted films account for between 37% and 43% of all the promotional spots. Furthermore, as the interviewees pointed out, creators in broadcasting have also entered into competition with new 'non-professional' creators in the online sphere. Especially on YouTube, it is possible to observe the emergence of channels with massive popularity, mainly among the younger generations.

In multimedia, in this stage the product, i.e. an application or game, is developed. According to the interviewees, creators have gained new opportunities through the availability of a range of new tools and many engines are available almost for free. It has become easier to become a developer; even programming skills are not necessarily required. Additionally, new opportunities have arisen with the possibility to self-publish games. According to the interviewees, crowd-funding websites have made it possible to finance certain types of games and software, thus avoiding dependence on big publishing companies. However, as in publishing many independent developers struggle in this set-up, thus ultimately relying on publishers for marketing and financial aspects. While the sector has therefore become more competitive for developers, the market has also grown in general through the evolution of mobile phone technology and as a consequence provides new employment opportunities. At the same time, games have emerged that require players to be constantly connected due to real-time updates or multi-player features. These applications usually need to be upgraded throughout their lifespan and their development is not finished upon delivery, e.g. Pokémon Go. Creators stay involved with their products for an extended period of time. This sector also has the problem of reaching out to consumers. As indicated by the interviewees, it is, for example, possible to pay for services which increase the probability that consumers will discover certain games through in-platform promotion.

Hence in the end two-sided platforms provide new possibilities to publish content and thus enhance diversity, but only a fraction of this new content becomes visible. In other words, platforms lead to a greater Variety of content producers but with

the risk of a lower Balance between these content producers. This leads to a situation where most creators prefer a traditional deal which includes help with financing and marketing.

Step 2: Presentation

In the second step, usually a publisher or content aggregator further processes the product.

In the publishing industry, as emphasized by the interviewees, in addition to the commissioning of books and acquisition of new authors, publishers perform editorial tasks, marketing tasks, and the management of financials. As alluded to above, through digitization authors may bypass the 'publishing' step altogether via direct publishing. Most prominently, Amazon and Apple offer self-publishing services with their digital OTT platforms, namely 'Kindle Direct Publishing' (KDP) and 'iBook Author' in this layer. In addition, as outlined by the interviewees, new digital vanity presses or self-publishing companies like Lulu, JePublie, and BiblioCrunch are sprouting. Interestingly, incumbents, namely retailers (and not publishers), also offer self-publishing services e.g. Barnes & Noble ('NOOK Press') and Borders ('Kobo Writing Life'). As mentioned above, traditional publishers themselves remain highly relevant but largely miss out on this opportunity.

In broadcasting, as the interviewees pointed out, many incumbent TV stations struggle in the new platform set-up. They have started to try to offer their services online by creating their own two-sided platforms. As the interviewees confirmed, these are usually 'catch-up' TV or TV live streams, but also VOD services. Additionally, as the interviewed experts added, these services are often aggregated again. These aggregation offers are often initiated by broadcasters themselves. Examples of such services for television include the platform 'Stevie' initiated by the major Flemish broadcasters in Belgium and '7TV', a platform initiated by the ProSiebenSat.1 media group by bundling its channels in Germany. However, third-party OTT players have also entered the aggregation business. These third-party players earn revenue with additional advertising on these aggregation pages and are often in conflict with broadcasters due to rights issues. An example for such a third-party aggregator in the television sector is 'Schöner Fernsehen', a popular third-party aggregator bundling all German-speaking TV channel streams. Interestingly and as in the publishing industry, distributors such as Telenet in Belgium have also started to provide their own content channels, e.g. sports or children's programs, thus entering into competition with broadcasters.

In multimedia, and similar to book publishing as outlined above, today's developers are not always reliant on publishers. As the industry experts confirmed, the emergence of digital distribution platforms has enabled developers to circumvent publishers and publish their product directly. To give an example, Apple, as the 'founder' of the mobile multimedia revolution, and the current-market leader Google have made direct publishing for applications possible. While in the console domain traditional

publishers remain center stage due to the popularity of their proprietary platforms (e.g. Nintendo), for personal computer games it is again a distributor and not a publisher, namely Steam, who is the major player.

All in all, it becomes apparent that new self-services are either offered by OTT platforms or by platforms of distributors which operate further down the value chain and not the incumbent publishers and content aggregators, thus taking the matter of offered cultural diversity away from traditional players and leading to a possible domination of private international OTT platforms with no public duties. Balance between players in this step is at risk with this domination.

Step 3: Distribution

Subsequently, in the distribution step the cultural goods are disseminated.

In publishing, before digitization retail was localized. According to the interviewees, next to some big retailer chains such as Barnes & Noble, this also made it possible for smaller independent bookshops to survive. With digitization and by being able to provide an infrastructure for digital access technology, platforms such as Amazon and Apple have entered the digital distribution of e-books. There are several examples where platforms use their new cross-sided network effect-fueled power position in distribution to limit the diversity of the contents they make available. Notably, Apple pulled 1,500 comic strips from a French digital comic publisher. Comics are a major part of French culture, but the nudity pictured in them collided with Apple's American guidelines.

Also in broadcasting, it is finally again the distribution stage that has started to play an important role in the wake of digitization. Digitization has provided digital TV distributors with a direct customer interface in the form of the Electronic Program Guide (EPG). As in publishing, this has enabled distributors, whose business models up to that point had resembled that of utility providers, to start playing a platform role themselves, thus gaining market power through the exploitation of cross-sided network effects. In Belgium, the distributor Telenet, for example, has introduced its own digital platform 'Yelo TV', while the distributor Belgacom has created 'Proximus TV'. Also, pure OTT players have entered the market. The VOD landscape is dominated by the big three of Amazon, Netflix, and Apple. While players exist covering niche content, multi-homing several platforms comes with a price tag. This becomes significant when users replace their cable licenses with an online service as observed in the USA, which has high cable prices compared to Europe. There already exists a selection of guides on how to 'cut the cord' as well as services at sites like 'The Verge' and 'Slate' which help users to pick services and calculate their savings. Supporting this tendency, live news is increasingly consumed by users via online outlets or via social media instead of broadcasters.

In multimedia, the interviewed experts emphasized that in the wake of digitization, distribution has been totally remodeled. For personal computer games, Steam set a new distribution standard becoming through the chicken-and-egg and winner-takes-all dynamic the de facto monopolistic platform provider for games online. In mobile, platform companies have not only entered the industry but also transformed it profoundly by enhancing the previous standard of operating systems and devices. To give an example, Apple's iPhone with its iOS and App store and Google's Android and its Google Play store are the most popular distribution channels. Also, incumbents have launched their software and app stores, albeit far less successfully, e.g. BlackBerry and Nokia. Indeed, after the failure of its own OS Nokia relies on Google and Windows solutions. As emphasized by the interviewed experts, it is often overlooked that the mobile multimedia industry transitioned into a content industry with digitization. The emergence of app stores led to a massive effort to create mobile games, which are also culturally tailored and often feature certain national characteristics. As in publishing, examples can be found that show how these changes in distribution limit cultural diversity. The interviewees emphasized that while platforms such as Steam allow all kinds of developers and publishers to sell their games, some developers censor themselves following rumored guidelines to ensure acceptance and promotion of their games.

Hence distribution has been most strongly affected by the rise of digital platforms. Indeed, the logic of the supply of cultural goods has been decisively transformed. Distributors played previously only a marginal and passive role in the value chain. Through digital distribution via platforms, which is associated with high entry barriers and concentration tendencies, distributors gained massive market power and became gatekeepers of content. There is a risk in terms of Variety and Disparity of content distributed by these gatekeepers. It is, however, even more crucial in terms of Balance, with these players having much more power and being able to favor some types of content over others. Indeed, in the cultural sectors their bargaining power is not only economic but also enables them to impose their own ethical guidelines for distribution of media content, which in the case of US platforms might not be consistent with European standards.

Step 4: Consumption

Finally, the product reaches the consumer.

In publishing, as outlined in the interviews, the situation has changed significantly for consumers. Digitization has enabled the industry to produce e-books for the visually impaired. Also, streaming for books has started to become a popular solution. As the industry experts stated, next to the prominent streaming service of Amazon, many other players have introduced national solutions such as in Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, and Spain.

In broadcasting, the main trend that can be detected is an increased use of subscription VOD services. Indeed, subscription revenues have almost doubled since 2003 and consumer spending on digital video and VOD of television content increased to €2.7 billion in 2014 (Gröne & Acker 2015). The increase in revenue comes from new OTT platform services as well as from the (digital) TV subscriptions and VOD services of broadcasters and distributors.

For both publishing and broadcasting, streaming via OTT platforms usually means relying on a country-specific differentiation of their service: Depending on the territory, the consumers of these services will access a different set of films. Often, such services will further localize the presence of their different 'branches' by setting up distinct marketing and distribution strategies (De Vinck, Ranaivoson, & Van Rompuy 2014).

In multimedia, the user is more integrated in the process of value creation (Abadie, Maghiros, & Pascu 2008). Digital distribution has made it easy for developers to involve users in the early stages of the value creation process and to receive feedback. As the industry stakeholders outlined in the interviews, the innovation process has become 'viral': Users are constantly engaged and give feedback, which is very different from the traditional 'blindness' to market distribution. The community itself has therefore become an important asset in the digital world that has to be catered for, whether for development or business reasons (e. g. subscription).

All in all the trend is towards a more tailored offer for consumers, e.g. via unlimited subscription offers or an increasing involvement of users. It is questionable, however, whether this can be equated with more diversity. While studies suggest that the offering is in theory broader (with more Variety and Disparity in supplied diversity), consumers tend to stick to a large extent to mainstream products (i.e. consumed diversity remains at best Unbalanced, and possibly gets even more Unbalanced). Hongfei (2016), for example, shows that Netflix's catalogue has in theory more diversity with a greater Variety of titles and genres available compared to traditional players, while a study by Dodson (2016) suggests that the online music streaming platform Spotify does not really lead to more diverse consumption when compared to music purchase (especially in terms of Balance). In this line, Champion (2015) finds that the emergence of multiple platforms for content distribution is increasing the Variety of content being produced by media organizations but leads to high levels of concentration and repetition, hence lower Balance and Disparity. Also, it is questionable whether the diversity 'desired' by customers is offered. The parallel illegal circuit of cultural goods consumption that does not adhere to borders may point towards still underserved audience segments (Ranaivoson, De Vinck, & Van Rompuy 2014). Indeed, often content is made nationally in disregard of potential demand outside the home market due to lacking incentives - the cost and regulatory hurdles of

expanding the offer might indeed outweigh the benefits offered to the platform in terms of the cross-sided network effect-based growth of market sides.

Conclusion

The promotion of cultural diversity is of immediate relevance if platforms deal with cultural goods. On the one hand, cultural goods can be regarded as an expression of and a means to transfer culture. On the other hand, a diversity of many expressions is considered something desirable.

Through digitization, cultural content became disconnected from its carrier. The Internet started to become the major infrastructure of the cultural sectors. Although physical carriers in some industries such as publishing continue to exist, the value of content lies nowadays predominantly in the content itself irrespective of its carrier. Thus, while high up-front costs for the production of cultural goods remain, the costs of reproduction decrease significantly to almost zero. As a result, today's cultural goods can be sold online on a large scale at low cost.

Hence it was the value chain step of distribution which became especially prone to platformization. While digitization has favored an increase in the 'Variety' of cultural goods made available online in the value chain creation step, cultural diversity heavily collides with the concentration tendencies and high entry barriers generated by platforms in the distribution step. Digital distributors can quickly gain tremendous market dominance which enables them to act as gatekeepers for content. While national incumbent players are also building their own distribution platforms in this value creating step, new international players in particular are starting to achieve powerful positions. These new OTT players did not previously deal with cultural content and are often private US-enterprises whose foremost aim is profit maximization.

In the end the crucial question is therefore to what extent platforms are willing to ensure that marginal cultural works (e.g. created by young creators, produced by independent producers, or originating from small countries) not only are available but are also promoted in a way that can compensate for their initial lack of visibility. In other words, we have a risk in terms of Disparity (i.e. are marginal works available?) and Balance (i.e. do all types of works get equal availability and promotion?). The platforms' willingness cannot be taken for granted, and this leads to concerns about the representation of culturally relevant and diverse content online. Hence the regulators' approach to platforms is crucial for the cultural sector.

After a long time when there was no platform regulation, the EU is now starting to adopt policy frameworks for the sector and is working on the development of a regulation for platform companies. It is important in this context that policymakers design regulation not only to create an innovative and economically sustainable cultural sector but also to create

incentives to protect values such as the preservation of cultural diversity and local or national heritage. In this respect it would be very interesting to analyze how these policy frameworks take cultural diversity into account and to assess their impact.

This paper also leaves open a number of research avenues. One consists in linking questions addressed here with other important aspects in the regulation of cultural industries such as copyright. Our analysis has been performed at the EU level but comparative analysis of some Member States could give insights into how local, established media have so far been able to respond to the development of platforms, and the impact in terms of cultural diversity. In the same way, platforms differ, notably in terms of their business models, and it would be useful to see how their different features may impact cultural diversity.

Notes

1. Acknowledgments: This paper has been written in the context of the study "Mapping the Creative Value Chains; A study on the economy of culture in the digital age" produced for the European Commission, DG EAC.
2. While this paper focuses on digital OTT platforms in the cultural sectors which have not been widely recognized among media and communication scholars, within the cultural sectors there have always been companies that have the characteristics of economic platforms. Although not operating via the Internet, i.e. OTT, which considerably limits their power, these proto-platforms also "mediate" between two market sides. For example, broadcasters create value by mediating between advertisers and viewers.

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The 2005 UNESCO Convention or the lack of thought concerning linguistic diversity

JACQUES GUYOT

Professor at the Université Paris 8 Vincennes

ja.guyot@laposte.net

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-3624-8035

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Abstract

The article analyses how the issue of linguistic diversity, despite being present in many of UNESCO's texts, reports and declarations, was sidestepped in the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Although reflections on the safeguarding of the world's languages have contributed to the realisation that linguistic wealth is a precious common good, they are not reflected in the Convention, translating de facto as a major climbdown from the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, a text that is supposed to shape the guidelines of the 2005 Convention.

Keywords

Cultural diversity, linguistic plurality, minority languages, multilingualism, linguistic policies.

Resum

L'article analitza la manera com la qüestió de la diversitat lingüística, tot i que present en un gran nombre de textos, informes i declaracions de la UNESCO, va ser escamotejada a la Convenció de 2005 sobre la protecció i la promoció de la diversitat de les expressions culturals. Si bé les reflexions sobre la salvaguarda de les llengües del món van contribuir a fer prendre consciència que la riquesa lingüística és un bé comú preciós, no apareixen a la Convenció, que tradueix de facto una retracció important respecte de la Declaració universal sobre la diversitat cultural, un text amb vocació de guiar les orientacions de la Convenció de 2005.

Paraules clau

Diversitat cultural, pluralitat lingüística, llengües minoritàries, multilingüisme, polítiques lingüístiques.

The preamble to the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions states that "linguistic diversity is a fundamental element of cultural diversity" and emphasises the vital role of education in promoting the languages of the world.

This reminder is surely beneficial and would be even more so if the recommendation in question (which on the whole seems rather laconic, since it is never once repeated in the 100-page document) was on the one hand explicitly defined (what is meant by "linguistic diversity"?) and, on the other hand, led to concrete measures.

This marginal reference to the diversity of languages spoken around the world, especially regarding what some linguists analyse as the linguistic effects of globalisation [Calvet 2002], is strange, especially since UNESCO produces a number of texts on the future of the world's languages, including the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*, published in 1996 and regularly enriched and updated (Wurm 1996, 2001; Moseley 1996, 2010), the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity [UNESCO 2001], and the post-Convention worldwide report

entitled, *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, a chapter of which is devoted to multilingualism and linguistic revitalisation [UNESCO 2009]. It discusses the international institution's concern for the disappearance of the world's languages, with, in the case of the *Atlas*, a well-documented and accurate record of languages that are at risk or have disappeared. But these texts do not have the force of a convention enshrined in the international legal frameworks that are supposed to inspire the nation-states.

Therefore, one is entitled to question the silence of the Convention regarding the issue of protecting and promoting linguistic diversity, the absence of precise definitions and recommendations, and the fact that the linguistic issue is considered a mere subcomponent of cultural diversity without explaining the organic correlation between language and culture. There is a real problem that arises from marginalising the cultural, political and economic stakes of the linguistic issue, which seems to me to be central to cultural debates. It is this lack of proper consideration that I would like to address here via the following three points:

1. Some comments regarding how UNESCO is approaching cultural diversity and the theme of linguistic diversity in this general context.
2. A reasoned assessment of the notion of linguistic diversity in order to show how fundamental it is to take it into account in international and national policies as an element contributing to peace and security in the world.
3. A critical analysis of the shortcomings and limitations of the 2005 Convention.

Cultural diversity and language issues

It must be stated at the outset that this essay does not seek to comment on the numerous debates on the question of cultural exchanges as it has been posed within UNESCO, both regarding NOMIC and regarding the notions of cultural exemptions or, more recently, cultural diversity. Critical appraisals and reviews establish the origins of reflections among the various Member States of UNESCO and analyse, for example, the political economy of communication [Mattelart, 2005a and 2005b] or the law [Neuwirth 2006], tensions over how to deal with imbalances in the production and circulation of cultural goods, the difficulty of positioning themselves against the doctrine of free flow of information promoted by the United States or against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in order to exempt cultural and symbolic goods from the logic of a globalised market, and of which semantic shift from the notion of exemption to that of diversity is one of the indicators.

At the outset, it is important to emphasise that the term diversity is polysemic, “a catch-all that embraces contradictory realities and positions, ready for all contextual compromises” [Mattelart 2005a: 3]. The interpretation is so broad that a general consensus arises: an expression derived from a sort of diplomatic language with shifting and fuzzy semantic contours [Huyghe 1991], which could indeed be opposed to the promotion of this diversity, whether it be the international institutions or states, communication groups, companies working in the cultural industries sector, artists, cultural actors or associations? However, there exists a range of opposing interests amongst those who advocate the need to protect cultural productions or the need for public policies, those who wish to promote the mingling of cultures and see it as a new democratic principle, those who envisage culture as a marker of identity and those who rely on the rules of a deregulated world market addressed to solvent audiences whose tastes must be conditioned. This expression, which is lax and systematically connoted in a positive way, has thus gradually replaced the notion of cultural exemption, which is more demanding with regard to protecting cinematographic or audiovisual works, both within the agenda of the UNESCO debates and that of the European Union [Mattelart 2005a].

Polysemic when applied to culture, the notion becomes contradictory when it comes to languages, insofar as the term, implying that there is a wide variety of languages in the world,

puts them (to a certain extent) all on an equal footing, while the reality is quite different. Never before has the spectrum of languages used on the planet been so threatened, with a drastic reduction during the 20th century which is rapidly increasing in the 21st century. A few figures will allow us to get an idea of the scope of the phenomenon, which has been widely studied and documented on an academic level. In this manner, linguists evoke the programmed death of a large number of languages [Crystal 2000; Hagège 2000; Wurm 2001; Moseley 2010]; 96% of 5000 languages are spoken by only 4% of the world's population [Grimes 2000] indicating how they are practised by a limited number of speakers; 50% of them do not have a writing system, which condemns them to die irretrievably along with their last speakers and leaving no traces, in the process taking away the wisdom and knowledge that they express; 25 languages disappear each year [Hagège 2000] and this movement is accelerating in the era of globalisation, information and communication technologies and the development of cultural industries: the UNESCO project *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* estimates that over the 21st century more than 3,000 languages will have disappeared, accounting for nearly 50% of the total [Wurm 2001: 14].

This also translates into a drastic reduction in the number of languages into which books are being translated: 20 languages, of which 16 are used in Europe, account for 90% of translations, again with English reigning supreme, since 55% of the works in question are translated from English, while only 6.5% are translated into that Anglo-Saxon language. [UNESCO 2001: 81-82] These figures show how the existence and visibility of non-hegemonic languages are threatened by new forms of cultural imperialism.

In other words, the notion of cultural diversity seems to be wishful thinking when linguistic practices are reduced to next to nothing, an endangered language ranking as one that is no longer learned by 30% of children because they no longer learn their mother tongue at home with their families [Wurm 2001: 14]. In short, these observations are pessimistic when the process of revitalisation is hampered by the absence of transmission to the younger generations, when languages “lack economic power and independence [...] a stable infrastructure and, in most cases [...] literacy.” This is emphasised in the latest version of the UNESCO Atlas, which hopes that review work can lead towards “the common awareness of humankind and the common good of its Member States” [Moseley 2010: 10].

In this context, it is not certain that we can speak of a “linguistic diversity” that would involve protection and promotion at best. If we agree to define linguistic diversity as the variety of possibilities to which a human being has access - for example, the option consisting of immersing oneself in a community to learn to speak, or undergoing a school curriculum to learn to read, or even the proliferation, the multitude, the abundance of languages considered to be on an equal footing on the cultural, political and legal level, as a kind of pool from which a person sensitised to polyglotism can draw freely according to his or her interests and expectations, it must be recognised that the

choice is reduced in favour of a few international languages, ones which are well established in specific territories, virtual networks and cultural properties, benefiting from educational or media structures, valued on a political, cultural and economic level. Contrary to figures regarding the extreme fragmentation of so-called minority linguistic practices (see above), 3% of major languages are spoken by 96% of the world's population [Bernard 1996: 142]. As for the Internet, it mirrors these inequalities with only slightly over 500 languages present online [Crystal 2000: 142].

UNESCO has been aware of this very worrying situation since the International Congress of Linguistics held in Quebec City in 1992, prompting the international institution to launch the Red Book for Endangered Languages Project in 1993. The first report was published in 1996 and is regularly updated [Wurm 1996, 2001; Moseley, 1996, 2010]. In the wake of the 31st session of the 2001 General Conference on the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity [UNESCO 2001], let us also reference the work of the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages of March 2003, that is attempting to fight threats to the most vulnerable languages.

It can be clearly seen that when specifically addressing the international challenges of linguistic diversity, UNESCO is giving priority to those measures that aim to rescue endangered languages - half of those used on the planet - and to revitalise them, especially via education and plurilingualism: it is time for awareness and mobilisation in a situation of major linguistic crisis [Krauss, 1992]. In other words, the linguistic issue is not entirely foreign to the concerns of UNESCO, which has largely contributed to the promotion of a set of recommendations to defend multilingualism in the States.

So what of linguistic diversity?

In a time of globalisation of trade, whether it be economic or cultural, whether it concerns tourists, migrants, refugees, students, merchants or entrepreneurs, the linguistic question is a paradox. Indeed, the more people trot the globe, merrily skipping over borders thanks to the speed of communications media, the more they must share the same auxiliary language to understand each other: this shared language does not need to be mastered perfectly in terms of its semantic, phonological and syntactic subtleties, as in the case of Globish, a simplified version of American English which serves as a vehicular language for executives, traders, entrepreneurs and researchers worldwide [Nerrière & Mellot 2010]. Over the centuries, several languages of this type have served international trade, such as the *lingua franca*, a mixture of Italian, French, Venetian, Turkish, Greek used in the Empire of the Levant and which helped to forge Mediterranean unity [Kahane & Tietze 1958; Dakhli 2008].

In this context, why exactly should we defend the variety of languages spoken on our planet, when many agree that trade globalisation represents a chance to end the 'curse of Babel'?

After all, it would be simpler to retain a few languages to better communicate and converse: this was the project of Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, which he sought to promote as a universal language from 1887 onwards. Through the internationalisation of communication systems, this trend is already present with the pervasive presence of the American English in cultural products (books, translations, films and TV programmes) and on the Internet.

However, in an educational system open to linguistic plurality and interculturality, the two options are by no means contradictory. Indeed, while nobody denies the merit of mastering one or two major international languages of communication - such as English or even Spanish - there is nothing that bars the teaching and practice of vernacular languages whose territorial sovereignty, however limited it may be, must not jeopardise the cultural heritage upon which it capitalises. The question is one of hegemony, and how to envisage the creation and dissemination of knowledge through languages, some of which are more vulnerable than others.

In this regard, those UNESCO texts that deal with language issues are very explicit as to the reasons for protecting and defending languages, and give strong arguments against those who believe that the hegemony of a few international languages is normal, that languages have always historically disappeared because of cultural mingling or imperial and colonial ventures (in the case of the Romans), that certain cultures are not adapted to the new challenges of globalisation, or that persist in thinking about languages and cultures in the terms of evolutionary hierarchies. In this manner, approaching this issue, the *Atlas* states that

"Each language reflects a unique world-view and culture complex, mirroring the manner in which a speech community has resolved its problems in dealing with the world, and has formulated its thinking, its system of philosophy and understanding of the world around it. In this, each language is the means of expression of the intangible cultural heritage of a people, and it remains a reflection of this culture for some time even after the culture which underlies it decays and crumbles, often under the impact of an intrusive, powerful, usually metropolitan, different culture." [Wurm 2001: 13]

The end of the quotation also illustrates the linguistic tensions in a very competitive market where some are better rated than others [Calvet 2002], but also where the disappearance of languages is not compensated by the appearance of new ones: in this way, in the course of the 20th century, an infinitesimal number of languages emerged: Hebrew, for example [Crystal 2010: 127], as well as various creoles and sign languages.

A language also expresses knowledge, as is the case in many indigenous societies which have a long empirical knowledge of so-called traditional pharmacopoeias (Boumediene, 2016), biotopes, and sophisticated and diverse techniques for agriculture, hunting, fishing and tool-making. Not to mention literary or poetic expressions, tales and legends. This is

expressed in the 2009 international report in another form:

“Languages mediate our experiences, our intellectual and cultural environments, our modes of encounter with others, our value systems, social codes and sense of belonging, both collectively and individually. From the perspective of cultural diversity, linguistic diversity reflects the creative adaptation of groups to their changing physical and social environments. In this sense, languages are not just a means of communication but represent the very fabric of cultural expressions; they are the carriers of identity, values and worldviews.” [UNESCO 2009: 71].

Or, echoing the remarks of the American sociolinguist Joshua Fishman:

“A language’s vocabulary is an organized catalogue of a given culture’s essential concepts and elements. Taking the case of indigenous cultures, the requirements of Pacific Island cultures differ from those of Siberian reindeer-herding cultures. The language traditionally associated with a culture is in general the language that relates to that culture’s environment and local ecosystem, the plants and animals it uses for food, medicine and other purposes, and expresses local value systems and worldviews.” [UNESCO 2009: 79]

The same Atlas expresses astonishment that one can be concerned about the extinction of animal or plant species, without the threat to biodiversity taking into account the disappearance of “one of humanity’s most precious commodities – language diversity” [Wurm 2001: 19], especially since the lifestyles of the people who speak these languages very much depend on the balances they have built with their natural environment. We find the same comparison in the 2009 report, where linguistic diversity is considered an indicator of biodiversity:

“To exhibit such a correlation between the richness of some groups of organisms and the number of languages worldwide, an Index of Biocultural Diversity (IBCD) was created. It represents the first attempt to quantify global biocultural diversity by means of a country-level index. The IBCD uses five indicators: the number of languages, religions and ethnic groups (for cultural diversity), and the number of bird/mammal and plant species (for biological diversity). The application of this index revealed three ‘core regions’ of exceptional biocultural diversity.” [UNESCO 2009: 78]

Lastly, we should mention other remarks that echo the theses of anthropologists for whom nature and culture constitute the two essential components of the construction of the human being:

“While biological and cultural diversity may have evolved differently, they have nonetheless constantly interacted to produce human and environmental diversity as we know it today.” [UNESCO 2009: 217]

Even if one can be somewhat circumspect about the presuppositions of such an association between the biological

and the cultural (Latin American countries use it to build their tourist communication, essentialising the natives in the process), this does not prevent this index from illustrating the correlation between the fragility of the communities’ lifestyles and that of their biotope.

This succinct review shows, if proof were necessary, that the way in which linguistic diversity has been defined or theorised within UNESCO’s various bodies and working groups demonstrates an acute awareness that the disappearance of languages, which all express and mediate new cultural forms, would lead to the irremediable loss of wisdom and knowledge. Just as the Malian writer Amadou Hampaté Bâ pointed out about the disappearance of the former custodians of Africa’s oral cultural heritage, “When an old man dies, a library burns to the ground”.

The limits of the 2005 Convention

In the first analysis, the adoption of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in October 2005 is a positive step forward: the vote of the 154 countries that attended the 33rd UNESCO General Conference was unanimous, with the exception of four abstentions and the two negative votes of the United States and Israel. The text thus endorsed constitutes a “symbolic step [since] by recognising the specific nature of cultural activities, goods and services, it establishes the premises of a supranational right which runs counter to the plan for the excessive liberalisation of culture, reduced to one commodity among others”¹ [Mattelart 2005b - 3]. Furthermore, the choice to talk about “diversity of cultural expressions” opens the field far beyond cinema, audiovisual and cultural industries to all cultural forms of human groups and societies.

However, on closer inspection, the text of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions falls short of the 2001 Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, which is supposed to prepare the ground for the drafting of the 2005 text. It was true that the declaration was drawn up when the Americans were not members of UNESCO, only observers; it was not until 2003 that they were able to influence debates and water down the elements of reflection contained in the declaration. “Vague concepts” and “shadowy areas”² in the drafting of the Convention [Mattelart, 2005b: 25], when we approach linguistic issues, references are rare and vague: in addition to the mere occurrence of the term “linguistic diversity” in the preamble, there is a reference in Article 6 to “measures relating to the language used for such activities, goods and services”. The role assigned to cultural diversity is so insignificant that certain analysts believe it is not just a mere oversight but a genuine attempt at marginalisation in a context of globalisation where, following the quarrel over cultural exceptions regarding audiovisual and cinematographic productions, textual information would have lost ground and “[focusing] on the audio-visual aspect of culture would ensure

better control of the effects of globalisation than focusing on languages via writing”³ [Ben Henda 2006: 46].

This is a far cry from the statement of 2001, which stated more precisely the importance of “safeguarding the linguistic heritage of humanity” (Article 5), “encouraging linguistic diversity – while respecting the mother tongue – at all levels of education, wherever possible, and fostering the learning of several languages from the earliest age” (Article 6), or “promoting linguistic diversity in cyberspace and encouraging universal access through the global network to all information in the public domain.” (Article 10). Similarly, the relationships between cultures and identities are clearly explained, most notably for minority languages, and cultural rights are considered as a factor in social and political cohesion:

“In recent years, there has been a growing understanding that the full implementation of cultural rights is a prerequisite to peace and security. The safeguarding of cultural diversity is inseparably linked to the preservation of the much-cherished cultural identity of nations or ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities and indigenous peoples; and it is crucial to the unhindered development of human personality.” [UNESCO 2001: 24]

In addition to the education sector and the Internet, other recommendations advocate encouraging translations, continuing the work of mapping endangered languages, developing an intercultural approach to indigenous peoples, dubbing and subtitling films and audiovisual productions, promoting multilingualism systematically in schools as a “psycholinguistic and political challenge” or allowing everyone to have linguistic tools enabling him or her to move from one world to another. Specific solutions are proposed to achieve these objectives: immersive studies, class exchanges (UNESCO wishes to sponsor a scholarship system), the establishment of clubs or the development of international research into pedagogical linguistics and intercultural communication. Linguistic diversity is defined therein as a necessity and not a luxury, given that with the multilingual skills acquired, everyone can access all information available in the public domain: the Declaration even specifies that mastery of a “universal” language such as English is not the best way to encourage access to the wealth of cultural content available. Multilingualism is widely promoted at all levels of human activity, from primary, secondary and higher education to the training of web masters, as well as journalists, media professionals and true polyglot teachers.

The text of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity is certainly ambitious and comprehensive for those interested in minority languages. It is completely in line with the concerns of ethnolinguists, who are alerting countries and international institutions to the disappearance of the world’s languages. It is militant in advocating a humanist approach to the plurality of languages, striving to rebalance their place in public space, viewing the linguistic mosaic as a wealth to be defended and valued, working towards the training of polyglot individuals open to otherness and curious about the world.

Ultimately, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions seems to have been totally redacted from that which formed the focus of the discussions at the 31st Conference in 2001. There is no doubt that this represents opposition from many countries, not only the United States, who have difficulty in defending and promoting disparaged and devalued languages on their own territory for reasons linked to historically conflicted relations with their minorities [Guyot 2015]. As such, migrants arriving on the American continent have for a long time never claimed special treatment on a linguistic level, with mother tongues remaining confined to the private or community sphere; the progressive spreading of Spanish as the country’s second language is undermining a state that had never envisaged including an article in its Constitution stipulating that English is the only official language. This is not the case in France, which since the French Revolution has been built on a Jacobin tradition based on the principle that linguistic plurality constituted an obstacle to political unity: as such, when France signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in June 1992, it voted in the same month for a constitutional amendment specifying that French is the official language of the Republic, which then allowed the government to not ratify the European Charter. We can also recognise the implicit role played by the Member States in international or supra-national discussions where linguistic issues primarily affect the appreciation of official languages in debates or as working languages. The minimalist mention of linguistic diversity ultimately leaves the field open to the broadest interpretation.

Among those sectors that definitely remain in the shadows, let us return to the promotion of *petites cinématographies* (in French, ‘small films’), a field of productions carried out by and / or dedicated to subordinate groups: women, speakers of minority languages, and minority peoples. [Ledo, 2013] Due to their distribution within confined linguistic spheres, these film productions are vulnerable and without proactive policies to aid production and distribution, they are doomed to disappear. Indeed, it is unprofitable niche markets such as these that tend to be shunned by the cultural industries, which by the nature of their vocation work on a large scale in standardised, globalised markets. For the cultural industries, the major problem when an audiovisual product needs to be produced in a minority language is, of course, the limited size of the audience on behalf of whom they must pay additional costs for dubbing or subtitling.

There is another issue that is not considered in the 2005 Convention: communication policy oversights. This fact is however essential to the linguistic expression of minority groups and peoples who, in terms of the media sector (another issue not considered by the Convention) and the Internet, are subjected to the dominance of the major international languages of communication, with English in particular still accounting for 45% of online content in 2007 [Pimienta et al. 2009]. The place of languages in audiovisual media reveals, in general terms, a demand to instate a “right to communicate”, the only alternative for safeguarding spaces for the expression of social

groups, associations and artist collectives; as for the Internet, as has happened with NOMIC, it is undoubtedly time to think about a new world order for networks [Mattelart 2005a: 99]

In this respect, other international and supranational texts are more long-winded on linguistic issues. This is the case with ILO Convention 169, which is more prescriptive even though, strictly speaking, it only concerns indigenous and tribal peoples [ILO 1992]. However, it is the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of 1992 which provides the most ambitious framework for defence, with a set of very precise provisions concerning the various fields of human activities: education (Article 8), justice (Article 9), administrative and public services (Article 10), media (Article 11), cultural activities and facilities (Article 12), economic and social life (Article 13) and cross-border trade, with the obligation for those countries which have ratified it to “apply a minimum of thirty-five paragraphs or sub paragraphs chosen from among the provisions of Part III of the Charter, including at least three chosen from each of the Articles 8 and 12 and one from each of the Articles 9, 10, 11 and 13.” [European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 1992] Admittedly, it only concerns the so-called historical languages of the European continent, of which there are a small number when compared to other continents. Nevertheless, the Charter is the most successful example of the Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which should have been used to document linguistic issues.

When analysed from the viewpoint of protecting and promoting the world's languages, especially those which are in danger, the UNESCO Convention can only lead to disappointment, since no concrete measures affect the process of linguistic revitalisation or the implementation of measures encouraging the development of multilingual policies at the level of the member countries, nor is there anything to ensure a balanced and fair presence in public space, the education sector, the media or in cultural exchanges.

In this context, the linguistic issue, considered as a component of cultural diversity, is in a way the ‘poor child’ of UNESCO's reflections, despite the essential role that languages play as vectors for the diversity of cultural expressions within the context of global symbolic exchanges.

Notes

1. Translator's note: This is my own translation as the source text is not, to the best of my knowledge, available in English.
2. Translator's note: These are my own translations as the source text is not, to the best of my knowledge, available in English.
3. Translator's note: This is my own translation as the source text is not, to the best of my knowledge, available in English.

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The promotion and protection of diversity in European communication legislation

ALEJANDRO PERALES

Technical Advisor at Asociación de Usuarios de la Comunicación (AUC) (Association of Media Users)

aperales@auc.es

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-1221-5637

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Abstract

This article offers a look at European and Spanish legal regulations in the area of audiovisual media services and electronic communications, to establish what “use” is made of the concept “diversity”. It concludes that, as a keyword, it functions from the pragmatic point of view as an a priori concept that is recognised by society and that justifies the adoption of restrictive market measures in favour of general interest. In the community regulation on electronic communications, it goes no further than being a declaration of intentions, whilst the Spanish regulation does not contain a single reference to diversity. With respect to audiovisual media services, diversity is also handled in the European regulation as a restrictive criterion of freedom of action of providers, although its specification is left in the hands of the Member States.

Keywords

Diversity, audiovisual, electronic communications, regulation, European Union, Spain.

Resum

L'article ofereix un recorregut per la normativa legal europea i espanyola en l'àmbit de la comunicació audiovisual i de les comunicacions electròniques, amb la finalitat de constatar quin és l'ús que es fa del concepte de diversitat. Es conclou que aquest, com a paraula clau, funciona des del punt de vista pragmàtic com un a priori que es reconeix en la societat i que justifica l'adopció de mesures restrictives del mercat en favor de l'interès general. En la normativa comunitària sobre comunicacions electròniques no passa de ser una declaració d'intencions, mentre que en l'espanyola no hi ha ni una sola referència a la diversitat. Pel que respecta als serveis de comunicació audiovisual, la diversitat es maneja també en la normativa europea com un criteri restrictiu de la llibertat d'acció dels prestadors, si bé la concreció es deixa en mans dels estats membres.

Paraules clau

Diversitat, audiovisual, comunicacions electròniques, regulació, Unió Europea, Espanya.

“Today, everybody wants to be different from the rest. However, in this wish to be different, they are the same.”

Han Byung-Chul

Introduction

In the communication context, the concept of “diversity” (or to be more exact, of “diversity of offer”) is related to the multiplicity of stakeholders that intervene in the value chain (production, distribution, dissemination) from the point of view of its ownership, size or geographic origin. However, it is also related to the presence in the content of a multiplicity of

perspectives and social groups with criteria of variety, balance and disparity.¹

UNESCO, on the event of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions² defines “cultural diversity” as “the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on within and among groups and societies.” It also states that “Cultural diversity is made manifest not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is

expressed, augmented and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used”.

The convention also covers a fundamental aspect for the legitimization of diversity: that “cultural activities, goods and services have both an economic and a cultural nature, because they convey identities, values and meanings, and must therefore not be treated as solely having commercial value”.

In the European Union, community literature refers to “cultural and linguistic diversity” in a wide variety of documents, with the reference given in the European Union Treaty in the framework of establishing a single market, in article 3.3. being paradigmatic:³

“It [the Union] shall combat social exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child.

It shall promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States.

It shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe’s cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced.”

This article aims to take a look at the European legal regulation, as well as the Spanish one, in the area of audiovisual media services and electronic communications, to verify what “use” is made in this regulation of the concept “diversity”.

Diversity in the Directive on electronic communications

The updating, in 2009, of the so-called “Telecoms Package” and, more specifically, of the 2002 Framework Directive on electronic communications,⁴ represented a consolation of the taking into account of criteria of general interest in the regulation of the convergent society, such as the case of so-called “net neutrality”. Nevertheless, there is not a similar conceptual development with respect to diversity. As this regulatory framework carefully avoids extending the regulation of electronic communications to the field of content, the references to diversity show a clearly mechanistic label, in which this concept is clearly associated to technological development.

The 2009 Directive, in its recital 24, refers to the need to gradually withdraw the obstacles that prevent the efficient use of the radio spectrum from an economic and environmental point of view, as well as a social one, taking into account “the objectives of cultural diversity and media pluralism, and of social and territorial cohesion”.

These objectives to promote cultural and linguistic diversity and media pluralism, defined in keeping with Community Law, are also mentioned as suppositions that can justify the adoption of certain measures in the regulation of use of the radio spectrum and of access to certain services (recital 36). These measures, in any case, are at the discretion of the Member States (recital 37).

To the same end, article 9.4.d of the Directive refers to “the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity and media pluralism, for example by the provision of radio and television broadcasting services” as a reason of general interest to assign the providing of an electronic communications service on a specific available bandwidth.

Along the same lines, the Digital Single Market Strategy⁵ states, in part 2.4, that “Europe needs a more harmonised copyright regime which provides incentives to create and invest while allowing transmission and consumption of content across borders, building on our rich cultural diversity. To this end, the Commission will propose solutions which maximise the offers available to users and open up new opportunities for content creators, while preserving the financing of EU media and innovative content.”

However, it should be mentioned that the regulatory framework that governs electronic communications in Spain, the Information Society Services Law (LSSI,⁶ does not mention the term “diversity” at any time.

Diversity in the European audiovisual environment

The references to diversity found in a clear away in European legislation, specifically audiovisual or, better said, television.

The European Audiovisual Media Services Directive, in its 2010 consolidated version,⁷ states in its recitals:

- In the light of new technologies in the transmission of audiovisual media services respect for cultural and linguistic diversity should be guaranteed (4).
- In line with the UNESCO Convention and what is also established in community literature from its origins, audiovisual media services are economic services as well as cultural services and, as such, they are important to guarantee freedom of information, diversity of opinion and media pluralism (5).

Recital 6 refers to article 167, part 4 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union,⁸ which obliges the Union to take the cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of that Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of European cultures.

- That the Member States must watch over not just the free circulation of television broadcasts, but also prevent the creation of dominant positions which would lead to restrictions on pluralism and freedom of information (8).
- That European regulating policies in the audiovisual sector must safeguard certain public interests such as cultural diversity, the right to information, media pluralism, the protection of minors and consumer protection, and to increase media literacy (12).
- That the Directive does not affect the responsibility of the Member States and their authorities with regard to the content of programmes, so as to preserve the independence of cultural development in the Member

States, as well as cultural diversity of the Union (19).

- That it is essential to promote pluralism through the diversity of news production and programming across the Union and to respect the principles recognised in article 11 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union⁹ (48).
- That on-demand audiovisual media services should, when practicable, promote the production and distribution of European works and thus contributing actively to the promotion of cultural diversity (69).

In its enacting part, the Directive reiterates in article 13 that on-demand audiovisual media services must promote, where practicable, and by appropriate means, the production of and access to European works, with the aim of cultural diversity. More specific are article 16 and 17, which establish that, whenever possible, broadcasters shall reserve for European works a majority proportion of their transmission time of fiction and 10% for European works created by producers who are independent of broadcasters with a suitable proportion of recent works (five years).

After the impact studies ordered by the Commission, which include aspects regarding cultural diversity, the proposal for the modification of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive,¹⁰ which was in the processing phase when this article was written up, refers to recital 33 and article 30.2 in which activities of national regulatory bodies (a figure that it aims to notably boost with the new regulation) must guarantee respect for the objectives of media pluralism, consumer protection and cultural diversity.

Recital 38 mentions cultural diversity as an objective of general interest, together with media pluralism and freedom of speech.

And in article 13.1 of the proposed amendment, it specifies that on-demand audiovisual media service providers¹¹ should have at least 20% of European works in their catalogue, and ensure prominence of these works.¹²

In article 13.2, the Directive contemplates that Member States may require providers of on-demand audiovisual services to contribute financially to the production of European works, for example via direct investment in content and contribution to national funds, not only to the providers of on-demand audiovisual media services under their jurisdiction, but to on-demand audiovisual media service providers aimed at the public in their territory, even though they may be established in other Member States.

The diversity of television offer in Spanish legislation

The Spanish General Audiovisual Media Law (LGCA)¹³, which incorporates the previously mentioned Audiovisual Media Services Directive into Spanish law, proposes television, radio and interactive service diversity as a requirement of the content offered to satisfy the rights of the “public”, in other words, “the

diverse interests of society.”¹⁴

This diversity of offer is associated (article 4) to the multiplicity of models of provision of service; with ideological, political and cultural pluralism, fundamentally with respect to sources of information and of opinion regarding current affairs, and with the variety of contents from the point of view of genre and formats.

Therefore, in the regulations we find partially different ones for the distinct audiovisual media services, depending on whether they are television or radio: private, public or community; open or with conditional access; linear or on-demand. Different regulations which, from the diversity perspective, involve specific requirements, depending on whether we are talking about one or another technological-legal model of service provision.

Broadcasting and financing of content obligations

However, diversity is specified in the LGCA, not only as a generic right of the public that audiovisual communication should reflect their culture and own languages (article 5.1). A series of appraised obligations of support to the European and independent audiovisual industry are also established that already appeared in the previously-mentioned community regulations, but which in national legislation are detailed in a more exhaustive way (article 5.2).

With respect to open linear television:¹⁵

- 51% of the annual broadcasting time of each channel is reserved for European works.¹⁶
- Half this share (25.5%) is reserved for European works in any of the Spanish languages.
- 10% of the broadcasting time is reserved for contents from independent service provider producers.
- Half (5%) of this is for contents produced in the last five years.

With respect to nonlinear or on-demand television audiovisual media services,¹⁷ providers must reserve 30% of their catalogue for European works. Of this, half of them (15%) must be European works in any of the official languages of Spain.

It also contemplates another complementary measure to guarantee the diversity of offer through the strengthening of the audiovisual industry as a content provider: the obligation of economic contribution to the production of audiovisual works by television audiovisual media service providers, whether through direct participation in this production or through the acquisition of their exploitation rights.

In the case of private providers, whether of Autonomous Community or State coverage, this obligation refers to allotting 5% of the income yielded in the previous financial year in keeping with up its running account, corresponding to the channels on which these audiovisual products are broadcast and with less than seven years since their production date, to the European production of cinema films; films and series for television (including cartoons), and documentaries. At least 60%

of this amount must be dedicated to cinema films of any genre, and the remaining 40% to films, series or miniseries for TV.

In the case of state-owned audiovisual media service providers, with Autonomous Community or State coverage, this obligation increases up to 6% of the income, with 75% for cinema films. In keeping with what is mentioned for private channels, up to the 25% remaining must be allotted to films, series or miniseries for television, and at least half, specifically to films and miniseries.

In any case, 60% of this financial obligation shall be allotted to production in any of the official languages of Spain. Of this amount, at least 50% must be applied to works from independent production companies.

Diversity and accessibility

Article 8.5 of the LGCA refers to the diversity of offer from another point of view: from the rights of people with disabilities. In this article, there is express reference to the audiovisual treatment of disability “as an enriching statement of human diversity”, avoiding “disseminating stereotypical, biased perceptions or those that are the product of social prejudices that may exist” and ensuring that their presence in the programming should be “proportional to the weight and participation of these people in society as a whole.”

Diversity, variety of operators and concentration

Article 22 defines radio, television and related and interactive audiovisual media services as “general interest”. These services “are given in the exercise of the right of free speech, the right to communicate and receive information, the right to participate in political and social life and the right to freedom of enterprise and within the promotion of equality, plurality and democratic values”.

The same article (parts 2, 3 and 4) includes a criterion that can equally be associated to diversity: the limitations for local operators to broadcast on channel or through content syndication, in order to guarantee different broadcasts.

The plurality of offer also includes the so-called “must carry”, which aims to facilitate the broadcasting of open channels of a State area through conditional access to cable, satellite or IPTV platforms. Free of charge in the case of RTVE (state-owned public corporation), after negotiation to set an economic remuneration agreed between the parties in the case of private channels (article 31.3).

The LGCA also envisages, although since its approval it has not yet materialised, the obligation of the General State Administration to guarantee in all cases the availability of the necessary radio-electric public domain for providing non-profit community audiovisual media services (article 32.2).

One element that is directly related to the diversity of offer is the possible concentration of those responsible for the distribution or dissemination of contents; in other words, the existence or

not of monopolies or oligopolies that condition this diversity of offer. In article 36, the LGCA warns that, although natural and legal persons may simultaneously be holders of company shares or voting rights in different television audiovisual media service providers, none of them may acquire a significant participation in more than one state television audiovisual media service provider when the average audience of the providers’ set of channels considered is greater than 27% of the total audience during the twelve consecutive months before the acquisition. Nevertheless, if this 27% of total audience is exceeded after the acquisition of a new significant participation, this will have no effect on its ownership.

In the case of natural or legal persons of countries that are not members of the European Economic Area, the total percentage that may be held of the share capital of the television audiovisual media service provider must be, at all times, less than 50%.

In addition, no natural or legal person may acquire a significant participation or voting rights in more than one television audiovisual media service provider:

- When the audiovisual media service providers of a state area accumulate rights of use on the radio-electric public domain that are, as a whole, greater than the technical capacity corresponding to two multiplex channels.
- When the audiovisual media service providers of an Autonomous Community area accumulate rights of use on the radio-electric public domain that are, as a whole, greater than the technical capacity corresponding to two multiplex channels.
- When this implies preventing the existence of, at least, three different private television audiovisual media service providers in the state area, ensuring respect for informational pluralism.

In the case of radio audiovisual media services (article 37), one single natural or legal person may not, under any circumstances, control:

- More than 50% of the administrative licences of the terrestrial sound broadcasting service that substantially coincide in their area of coverage, whether directly or indirectly.
- More than five licences in a single area of coverage.
- More than 40% of the licences existing in areas in which a single license has coverage.
- More than a third of the terrestrial sound broadcasting service licences as a whole with total or partial coverage throughout Spain.

These limits do not count the radio broadcasting stations directly managed by public bodies. They are applied independently to licences for broadcasting with analogical technology and for the envisaged, but not immediate, licences for broadcasting in digital technology.

Cultural and linguistic diversity, in this case at a European level, is also the foundation for the freedom of reception of programming of bordering States, in the framework of the

European Convention on Cross-Border Television, according to article 38.1, with the limits and procedures stated in parts 2, 3 and 4 of this article.

Diversity in public media

With respect to publicly owned audiovisual media services, given their nature, the LGCA appears particularly concerned about the guarantee of diversity. The previously mentioned article 4.1 establishes this with respect to pluralism, the variety of genre and attention to the “diversity of social interests.” In article 4.3, it talks about its specific contribution to the promotion of the cultural industry, in particular to that of audiovisual creations linked to the various languages and cultures that exist in Spain.

We have already commented on the additional obligations that govern matters of funding and dissemination of audiovisual works for public televisions.

Article 40.1 entrusts the audiovisual media public service with the mission of “disseminating contents that promote constitutional principles and values; contribution to the forming of a plural public opinion; informing about the cultural and linguistic diversity of Spain and disseminating knowledge and the arts, with special emphasis on fostering an audiovisual culture.” The idea of diversity is reaffirmed with the obligation to attend “citizens and social groups that are not the targets of mainstream programming.”

Compliance with these objectives, according to the LGCA, involves producing and disseminating in a linear and open way, through the various radio, television and interactive services channels, “diverse, balanced programmes for all publics, covering all the genres, destined at meeting society’s needs for information, culture, education and entertainment and at preserving pluralism.”

The right to access

The public media also have a differential dimension that is closely related to diversity: the so-called “right to access”.

What is known *sensu stricto* as the “right to access” is the possibility of organised civil society, through the associations that represent it, to access the media to disseminate their ideas and opinions and their positions in the face of events that affect it.

In the case of Spain, this right is derived from part 3 of article 20 of the Spanish constitution, according to which “The law shall regulate the organisation and Parliamentary control of the social communications media under the control of the State or any public agency and shall guarantee access to such media to the main social and political groups, respecting the pluralism of society and of the various languages of Spain.”¹⁸

In the same way, Legislative Royal Decree 1/2007, of 16 November, which approves the amended text of the General Law for the Defence of Consumers and Users and other

complimentary laws, states in article 17 that “the social media that is publicly owned shall dedicate non-publicity spaces and programmes to information and education of consumers or users. In these spaces and programmes, depending on their content and purpose, access or participation of the Associations of Consumers and Users and other groups or interested sectors shall be facilitated in the way that is decided by the competent public powers in this matter.”

In the case of the *Corporación RTVE*, its current regulation concentrates the exercising of this right to access with greater practicality.¹⁹ Therefore, in the explanation of motives, Law 2006 states that “the activity of the publicly-owned media must be governed by a criteria of public service, which delimits its organisation and financing, the controls to which it is subject, as well as the contents of its broadcasting and the guarantees of right to access.”

To this end, it is clear (article 2.1) that the public service characteristics “essential for the community and the cohesion of democratic societies” include “the production, editing and dissemination of a set of radio and television channels with diverse, balanced programmes for all kinds of public, covering all the genres and aimed at satisfying Spanish society’s needs for information, culture, education and entertainment; at disseminating its identity and cultural diversities; at encouraging the information society; at promoting pluralism, participation and other constitutional values, guaranteeing access to significant social and political groups.” Furthermore, to “Promote the territorial cohesion, plurality and linguistic and cultural diversity of Spain (article 3.e) as well as “(...) to deal with the broadest audience, ensuring maximum continuity and geographical and social coverage, with a commitment of offering quality, diversity, innovation and ethical exigence” (article 3.p).

This right to access of the representative social and political groups must therefore be guaranteed (article 2.1)²⁰ to “promote democratic participation” through exercising it (article 3.2.d).

Article 28 of the regulation states that “The *Corporación RTVE* shall ensure in its programme the expression of the social, ideological, political and cultural plurality of Spanish society”, detailing that the right to access shall be applied in two ways:

- In an overall way through the participation of the significant social and political groups, as sources and carriers of information and opinion, and in the programming of RTVE.
- Directly, through specific spaces on the radio and the television with diverse formats, times and timeslots, set by the Board of Directors of the *Corporación* having heard the Advisory Board and in keeping with what is established in general audiovisual legislation.

This article also points out that the *Corporación RTVE* shall guarantee the availability of the technical and human means necessary for producing the spaces for providing right to access, and attributes the Board of Directors with the approval of the guidelines for exercising the right to access (on the favourable report of the audiovisual authority).

In other words, the right to access contemplated by this law combines two classic models of interpreting this right:

- The public interest model, according to which the media includes content of social interest and takes into consideration the point of view of civil society organised in the processing of themes (news, scripting in the fiction areas, etc.), highlighting its participation and contributing to its visibility. In this case, it is the media that decides on the content to be dealt with, disseminating it through its own and external production spaces.
- The public access model in which the media yield space/time to organised civil society to disseminate its contents. The organisations, associations and collectives, in a rotating way and/or with a criterion of representation, cover this space/time with their own resources or with resources provided by the operator, with them proposing the format and the content of the audiovisual productions.

The regulation of CRTVE expressly binds the Board of Directors as well as the Advisory Board, with the right to access, mentioning in its article 16.4.o), among its competences and functions, "To determine the internal procedure applicable by the *Corporación RTVE* and its companies that offer a public service for exercising the right of recognised access in article 20.3 of the constitution.

After this regulation, the Financing of CRTV ²¹ includes a series of additional public service obligations for the *Corporación*. Among these (article 9.1.a) "To dedicate at least 12 hours a week in non-residual timeslot among its various radio and television channels to broadcasting programmes and presence in interactive services in which it gives access to political, union and social groups." It also points out that "At an international level, the *Corporación* must assign a person responsible for carrying out this task through the Viewer, Listener and User of Interactive Media Ombudsman's Office or whomsoever they should deem fit from its Board of Directors."

In 2007, the Board of Directors of the *Corporación RTVE* approved some guidelines for the exercising of right to access, ratified by the Advisory Board, which are specified in the following way:

- The right to access is defined as an authority recognised to "significant social and political groups" to use the state-owned media so that, in exercise of their free speech and information, they may broadcast and disseminate their ideas and their doctrines to society as a whole.
- It states that the right to access favours internal pluralism in the media and the forming of a free, plural public opinion.
- Social and political groups that are validly constituted and with a legal character, that can accredit being "significant" are expressly legitimated as beneficiaries of the exercising of right to access: ²²in the case of political groups, State or Autonomous Community parliamentary representation; among the syndicates, specific electoral representation; for religious groups, the criteria of "established roots"; and for other social organisations aspects such as the number of members, the declaration of public use, belonging to Councils and Federations at a State and Autonomous Community level, the number of projects financed by the

public administration.

- Apart from the case of time dedicated to political forces in an electoral period, marked by its specific regulation, the time granted for exercising the right to access of significant political and social groups shall be approved by the Board of Directors on the proposal of the Management of TVE and RNE, with the criteria of proportionality and also of established roots, implantation and social recognition. With respect to the specific location of the spaces, this will be in the hands of the Management of TVE and RNE.
- The right to access shall have a State and Autonomous Community level, with attention paid to the diverse languages and cultures of Spain, including those Autonomous Communities in which there is specific territorial programming.
- It also contemplates the possibility of broadcasting spaces prepared by RTVE itself as external production.
- In the first case, it indicates that "the professionals of RTVE responsible for preparing access content shall work in collaboration with the social groups to coordinate the professional criteria with the social purposes sought by the Association."
- The production of yielded spaces must be carried out using professional criteria, quality production and with the aim of being informative and interesting at the same time for a broad sector of the public. RTVE must guarantee these minimums of professionalism quality and suitability to the above-mentioned objectives.
- Should the groups decides to contract, at their own expense, part or all of the access spaces, it is established that these spaces "should be made with professional criteria, quality production, and with the aim of being informative and interesting at the same time for a broad sector of the public", with RTVE itself being responsible for "guaranteeing these minimums of professionalism, quality and suitability to the above-mentioned objectives" and even being able to "reject the end product when it does not adapt to the professional criteria and quality standards set by the *Corporación*."
- In addition, to guarantee that the right to access is subject to the same limits to which the free speech and information are subject, the *Corporación RTVE* shall get to know, before they are broadcast, the contents proposed by the groups when they are external production, reserving the right not to disseminate them if they are contrary to constitutional values and principles or if they violate fundamental rights of third parties.
- With the above-mentioned exceptions, the costs derived for the *Corporación RTVE* of exercising the right to access must be met with state public funding.
- To guarantee a fair distribution of time, RTVE shall carry out an effective follow-up on the participation in programmes with content that is not limited to the satisfaction of right to access, but that is a vehicle for it.

The Board of Directors has also approved a regulation, according to which:

- It entrusts the exercise of right to access, in keeping with the guidelines approved by the Board of Directors of the *Corporación RTVE*, to the directors of TVE and RNE and to the committees created for this purpose by them, composed by directors of both media.²³
- Every semester, the presence and participation of significant social and political groups shall be evaluated, both in the general programming as well as the specific programming destined to them, as well as the request from significant social and political groups that have not exercised the right to access during the previous semester.
- At the end of each semester, a 15-day period will be opened, announced via the CRTVE website, so that significant social and political groups that have not had a presence during the previous semester in the general programming of TVE and RNE or in the specific programming destined to these groups, may present a request to exercise the right to access. The requests are to be directed to the director of each media, accrediting significance and activity, providing the required documentation.²⁴
- Resolutions rejecting applications must be justified and an appeal may be lodged against them before the Board of Directors of the *Corporación*, which shall adopt its resolution once it has heard the Advisory Board. This resolution may be appealed against before the Audiovisual Council within 15 days from the reception of the notification.
- In the case of IRTVE.es, the application ways of the right to access shall have to be established, in keeping with the Public Service Committee of the Board of Directors.

Conclusions

"Diversity", as a keyword in audiovisual community regulations and electronic communications, functions from the pragmatic point of view as an "a priori" concept that is recognised in society (the cultural and social multiplicity of which UNESCO speaks), and which justifies the adoption, in the area of communication offer, of a series of restrictive market measures in favour of the general interest.

Diversity is thereby correlated with other concepts such as pluralism, variety, the difference or identity that limit the dynamics of the market which, in keeping with the perception of the legislator, left to the dynamics of free competition, would throw us into the monopolistic or oligopolistic concentration of the operators; to the standardisation of the contents and to the construction of equally standard publics who would have the right to free, informed decision taken away from them.

To this end, it is worrying to observe that the use of the concept "diversity" in the regulation on electronic communications is nothing more than a declaration of intentions that justifies a certain organisation of the radiofrequency, but is not decisively

committed to boosting the values of the public service, of the variety of contents, of the support to local initiatives of independent production that may find added value in what is "glocal". The Spanish case is even more bloodsome if we take into account that in the reference legislation, the Information Society Services Law (the LSSI), there is not a single reference to diversity.

With respect to audiovisual communication services, diversity is also handled in the European regulation as a restrictive criteria of freedom of action of providers, although the specification of it is left in the hands of the Member States in keeping with the character "of minimums" of the corresponding directive: broadcasting fees of European and independent audiovisual works; financing obligations of audiovisual works; restrictions to the concentration, on occasions, of talking about diversity when in fact, it seeks to guarantee the sovereignty of the States, as happens with the actions in the case of contents of cross-border broadcasting. Therefore, it would be important that in the envisaged modification for the Audiovisual Media Services Directive, they were to effectively look in great depth at the meaning of diversity, making its defence a central feature of action of the European regulating authority that it aims to favour.

Thus, it would be necessary to strengthen the concept of diversity to consolidate and enhance, depending on the case, audiovisual public service as well as the offer of community and local media, which are found in the defence of this social and cultural diversity, which is precisely, one of the main justifications for its differential enhancement.

Notes

1. For a systematic analysis of these concepts, see ALBORNOZ, L.A.; GARCÍA LEIVA, M. T. "Diversidad cultural, industria audiovisual y gobernanza". In: ALBORNOZ, L.A.; GARCÍA LEIVA, M. T. (eds.), *Diversidad e industria audiovisual: el desafío cultural del siglo XXI*. Mexico D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2017.
2. <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001429/142919s.pdf>>
3. Treaty on European Union. OJEU, C83/15, 30.03.2010.
4. Directive 2009/140/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council, of 25 November 2009 amending Directives 2002/21/EC on a common regulatory framework for electronic communications networks and services, 2002/19/EC on access to, and interconnection of, electronic communications networks and associated facilities, and 2002/20/EC on the authorisation of electronic communications networks and services. OJEU, L337/37, 18-12.2009.
5. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and to the Committee of the Regions. [A strategy for the European Digital Single Market](#). 28.10.2015 COM (2015) 550 final.
6. Spanish Law 34/2002, of 11 July, on Information Society Services and E-Commerce. Official State Gazette no. 166, 12/07/2002

7. Directive 2010/13/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March 2010 on the coordination of certain provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in Member States concerning the provision of audiovisual media services. OJEU, L 95/1, 15.04.2010.
8. Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. OJEU. C 326 /101, 26.10.212.
9. Article 22 of this Charter establishes the respect that must be upheld in the EU for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.
10. Proposal of European Parliament and of the Council of 10 March amending Directive 2010/13/EU, on the coordination of certain legal, regulatory and administrative provisions of the Member States, regarding the provision of audiovisual media services, in view of the development of the market realities. COM (2016) 287 final, 25.05.2016
11. See note 15.
12. Some amendments submitted by members of the European Parliament suggest raising the share of European works in the catalogue to 50%, and even that this obligation should affect not just on-demand services, but also the video distribution platforms (at least the ones with the largest turnover), which for the first time would be regulated by the Directive.
13. Law 7/2010, of 31 March, General on Audiovisual Media. Official State Gazette 79, 01.04.2010.
14. The diversity obligation in the contents could also be associated to people's right not to be discriminated against (made invisible or denigrated) for reasons of birth, race, gender, religion, opinion or any other condition or personal or social circumstance (article 14) and to be treated in the media in a dignified way (article 10). To this end, the LGCA states that audiovisual communication must respect human dignity and constitutional values (article 4). With respect to general interest service, "they are given in the exercise of the right of free speech, the right to communicate and receive information, the right to participate in political and social life and the right to freedom of enterprise and within the promotion of equality, plurality and democratic values" (article 22.1).
15. That which has free reception and offers a successive viewing of programs based on a programming timetable and in keeping with a schedule in which programmes are placed.
16. Excluding time allotted to news, sports events, games, advertising, teletext services and teleshopping.
17. That it offers the viewing of programmes and contents at the time chosen by the viewer and on their request and consent (in other words, à la carte), based on the catalogue of programmes selected by the audiovisual media service provider, and by means of economic compensation (subscription and/or payment by the viewer).
18. This is an "active" right to access (the right to generate contents and to express them in the media), as opposed to what we could call "passive" right to access to receive contents which, in the area of information, in addition to being plural, must also be truthful (article 20.2.d of the Constitution). Both access modalities, together with the possibility of participating in public decision-making through advisory or consulting boards, constitutes the basic line up of the citizen's rights in the audiovisual area.
19. Law 17/2006, of 5 June, on State-Owned Radio and Television. Official State Gazette 134, 06.06.2006.
20. The public service of State-owned radio and television is an essential service for the community and the cohesion of democratic societies (...) with diverse, balanced programmes for all kinds of public (...) aimed at (...) promoting pluralism, participation and other constitutional values, guaranteeing access to significant social and political groups.
21. Law 8/2009, of 28 August, on Financing *Corporación de Radio y Televisión Española*. Official State Gazette 210, 31.08.2009.
22. 1. Legitimation:
(...) Those significant social and political groups that accredit legal personality and social representation. Specifically, to determine this legitimation, they will be required to duly accredit the concurrence of the following requirements:
that their nature should be political or social
- Political groups.
- Unions implanted at a State or Autonomous Community level.
- Business associations.
- Religious faiths.
- Associations and entities of social interest that are non-profit, paying special attention to those that work in favour of the most disadvantaged collectives.
b) that are validly constituted and have a legal personality
(...) they must be registered in the corresponding Official Registry, whether they belong to the State or Autonomous Community in which they are found.
c) that they are worthy of the qualification of significant
(...) *Political groups* shall have the criteria of parliamentary representation applied.
Religious groups (...) shall have the criteria of "established roots" recognised by the Ministry of Justice as referred to in article 7 of Spanish Organic Law 7/1980, on 5 July, on Religious Freedom.
The *unions* (...), the conditions established in article 6 and 7 of Spanish Organic Law 1/1985, of 2 August, on Freedom of Association.
The *business associations*, (...) that form part of the Economic and Social Board.
For the rest of the social organisations, (...) demonstrated number of members, the declaration of public use, belonging to Councils and Federations of a State and Autonomous Community level (...) the number of projects financed by the public administration.
23. The Right of Access Committee in TVE /RNE shall have the following composition:
 - Presidents: the Director of TVE/RNE
 - Members: The Director of News of TVE/RNE; the Director of Contents/Programming/Programmes; the Director of Radio 1
 - Secretary: The Head of GESI / the Director of Radio 5
24. Articles of association, foundation or entity.
 - Certification of the registration in the corresponding

Public Register.

- If relevant, the declaration of public use or social interest.
- A short report of the entity's activities, which contains, at the very least, information about the number of members or associates, yearly budget —indicating public subventions received during the previous year— and the main programmes and activities of social interest that it develops.
- As many other documents as are considered relevant to accredit the significant nature of the applicant.

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Building a digital agenda for the diversity of cultural expressions: UNESCO, new governance norms for culture and power dynamics

ANTONIOS VLASSIS

Researcher and Lecturer at the Center for International Relations Studies (CEFIR), Fonds national de la Recherche Scientifique (FNRS), Liege University

antonios.vlassis@gmail.com

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-3787-4425

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Abstract

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (CDCE) adopted by UNESCO in 2005 is now a key international instrument in the global governance of culture. In December 2016, the CDCE's Committee adopted Operational Guidelines in order to align the CDCE with the development of digital technologies. In this respect, this article deals with the struggles between actors in the process for adopting new governance norms for the diversity of cultural expressions in the digital context and it seeks to understand how the interests and influence of the actors involved intersect in consensual and conflicting ways.

Keywords

Cultural diversity, digital shift, UNESCO, norms, governance.

Resum

La Convenció sobre la Protecció i la Promoció de la Diversitat de les Expressions Culturals (CDEC) adoptada per la UNESCO l'any 2005 és ara un instrument internacional clau per a la governança global de la cultura. El desembre de 2016, el Comitè de la CDEC va adoptar unes Directrius operatives per tal d'adaptar-la a l'evolució de les tecnologies digitals. En aquest sentit, l'article tracta de les lluites que hi ha entre els diversos actors del procés d'adoptar noves normes de governança per a la diversitat de les expressions culturals en el context digital, i vol entendre de quina manera els interessos i la influència dels actors implicats interactuen de manera consensual i conflictiva.

Paraules clau

Diversitat cultural, revolució digital, UNESCO, normes, governança.

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (hereafter 'the CDCE' or 'the Convention') adopted by UNESCO in 2005 –and in effect since 2007– is now a key international instrument in the global and multi-level governance of culture. As of March 2017, it has received the support of 144 Member States and the European Union (EU). The CDCE primarily recognizes the importance of cultural public policies for the diversity of cultural expressions as well as the specificity of cultural goods and services. The CDCE is also credited with integrating culture in development policies and with reinforcing international cultural cooperation (Vlassis 2015a).

Since the CDCE's adoption digital technologies have increasingly transformed the whole cultural value chain and they have represented an unprecedented change in creation, production, distribution, broadcasting and consumption of cultural goods and services as well as in the remuneration of creators. The reality of the dematerialization of cultural content, technological convergence and deterritorialisation of cultural goods and services raises tremendous challenges for the *raison d'être* of cultural policies and for international cultural

cooperation. In this respect, over the last five years the Parties to the CDCE, civil society groups, multilateral organizations and groups of experts have held a political dialogue on the opportunities and risks of the advent of the digital age and they have debated the perspective for aligning the CDCE with the development of digital technologies. Thus in December 2016, the CDCE's Intergovernmental Committee (hereafter 'the IGC') adopted 'Draft Operational Guidelines on the Implementation of the Convention in the Digital Environment' (UNESCO 2016a), which will be approved by the Conference of Parties in June 2017.¹

Recent academic and multidisciplinary research offers useful insights into the CDCE's implementation and its economic, legal and social implications: the link between the CDCE and multilateral and bilateral trade agreements (Gagné 2016), the interactions between the CDCE and development issues (De Beukelaer, Pyykkonen and Singh 2015; Stupples and Teaiwa 2016), the legal challenges around the CDCE's implementation (Burri 2014; Richieri Hanania 2014), the economic and legal links between the CDCE and digital technologies (Albornoz 2016; Guèvremont 2015), and the EU's role in promoting the

CDCE (Psychogiopoulou 2015).

Even though this growing body of research illustrates the importance of the CDCE as a major international instrument for multilateral regulation of cultural goods and services, it has not sufficiently explored the political aspects of the link between the CDCE and digital technologies, the political implications of updating the CDCE into the digital environment and the key cleavages shaping policy outcomes (Vlassis 2016a). As stressed by Jeffrey Hart (2010: 60), “political institutions can influence the way in which digital technology is introduced and deployed in a variety of ways”.

In this respect, the aim of this article is to treat the CDCE as process rather than structure and to make policymaking actors central to its analysis (Avant et al. 2010; Vlassis 2015b, 2016b). This process is filled with a wide variety of actors such as national governments, representatives of civil society, groups of experts and administrations of multilateral organizations. In this regard, this article deals with the struggles between actors in the process for adopting Operational Guidelines (hereafter OGs) on the implementation of the Convention in the digital age and it seeks to understand how the interests and influence of the actors involved intersect in consensual and conflicting ways. As argued by R. Mansell and M. Raboy (2014: 4), policymaking can be “regarded as a process of persuasion and argumentation that takes place within a complex system of actors and institutions”. In fact, through socio-political analysis on the process of adopting OGs on digital issues, my article seeks to explore three key questions: who were the key actors involved in the political process? Why did the actors engage in the process and which kind of interests did each actor promote? What restricted or facilitated the process?

This article – based on document analysis of grey literature (minutes, resolutions, working and information documents) produced by UNESCO and the actors involved as well as on participant observation in the sessions of the IGC and Conference of Parties – consists of three parts: first, it focuses on the interests and strategies of the actors which took the leadership for updating the CDCE in the digital environment. Second, it emphasizes the actors involved which assumed the role of followers in the policymaking process and it highlights their specific interests. Third, it focuses on reluctance expressed by some State Parties *vis-à-vis* the perspective to align the CDCE with the development of digital technologies.

1. Leading the mobilization of the CDCE in the digital age

The construction of transnational issues requires political entrepreneurs with the ability not only to move the debate forward, identify and promote new issues and suggest proposals, but also to pick and choose among the range of possible emerging claims, launching some issues to prominence and sidelining others (Carpenter 2010: 204). Moreover, leadership may be exercised by several stakeholders in multilateral arenas.

This section focuses on the political entrepreneurs of the CDCE's mobilization in the digital age, namely France, Canada-Quebec and Belgium, as well as on the major role played by several groups of experts.

National delegations as political entrepreneurs

The first State Party which mentioned the importance of digital technologies and the need to begin discussion on digital issues within the CDCE framework was Canada during the 6th session of the IGC in December 2012. In this respect, the Canadian delegation pointed out the need to develop further analysis about the modernization of cultural policies, emphasizing the importance of taking full advantage of new technologies and digital information and ensuring the protection and diversity of cultural expressions in the new context (UNESCO 2013: 7).

Although little substantive progress was made at the sessions of the IGC and the Conference of Parties in 2013, the Parties became more aware of each other's interests. In November 2014 the French and Canadian delegations requested the CDCE Secretariat to include a special point about digital technologies on the agenda of the 8th session of the Intergovernmental Committee held in December 2014. Thus during the 8th session the aim of France and Canada was to go beyond the step of political dialogue regarding digital technologies and to get concrete results. They sought not only to think about the issue but also to take action. Firstly, the Canadian delegation argued that “the Convention is technologically neutral and thus a relevant tool for all forms of creation” (UNESCO 2014: 66). In this respect, it is unnecessary to modify the CDCE's goals and scope. In other words, the objective is “neither to negotiate a new legally binding instrument nor to reopen the CDCE” (UNESCO 2014: 61). On the contrary, insofar as the CDCE is “overturned by” the development of digital technologies, it is necessary to “develop competencies in the field of digital technologies” (UNESCO 2014: 67). Secondly, the French delegation explicitly stressed “the need to have something more formal about the digital challenges which Canada and France attempted to analyse” (UNESCO 2014: 62). As a result, France, Canada - and Quebec - defined several objectives to be achieved, such as to mobilize the Convention on digital technologies, share best practices related to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions and strengthen developing countries' ability to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions in the digital age.

One year later, during the 9th session of the IGC, the Canadian, French and Belgian delegations submitted concrete proposals to the Parties for developing a cross-cutting OG framed around three streams: public policies, international cooperation and exchanges of digital cultural goods and services (UNESCO 2015a, 2015b). As a result, the three delegations aimed to define the conceptual framework which was the political basis through which the actors involved debated and negotiated in order to prepare draft OGs for digital issues. Clearly, the final text on OGs adopted by the IGC was strongly influenced by their

proposals. For the three delegations, the OGs should serve four purposes:

- a. Apply the Convention principles regardless of the technological means used for their implementation;
- b. Make UNESCO a central and legitimated multilateral forum in order to discuss issues related to cultural industries and digital technologies. As argued by the Canadian delegation, a new OG “allows UNESCO to impose itself in the debate *vis-à-vis* the competition of other international organizations” (5th session of Conference of Parties, participant observation);
- c. Allow the cultural exception to be updated to the digital age. As a result, the specificity of cultural goods and services and the sovereign right of States are at the core of the delegations’ priorities (Vlassis 2011). In this respect, the OGs should allow “States to create laws regulating the digital realms to protect their cultures”, acknowledging that “digital cultural goods and services are more than economic commodities for exchange” (UNESCO 2016b: 25). In addition, the OGs should aim to “guarantee some room for manoeuvre for States when signing trade agreements” (UNESCO 2013: 41) and when creating “laws regulating the digital realm to facilitate access to other forms of cultural expression and promote the fair remuneration of artists for their work” (UNESCO 2016b: 25);
- d. Share best practices concerning digital technologies and diversity of cultural expressions and reinforce international cooperation and capacity building in this field.

Furthermore, Canada, France and Belgium aimed at building several linkages between the process of updating the CDCE into the digital age and the agenda of other multilateral organizations and at disseminating this issue in other forums and institutional arenas.

First, during the Dakar Summit held in November 2014 the International Organization of La Francophonie (OIF) -at the initiative of Quebec and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation- adopted a resolution which recognized the importance of the Convention in the digital era. In addition, the Dakar declaration underlined “the impact of digital technologies on the cultural environment and the need to take this into account in national policies and cooperation activities in relation to the implementation of the CDCE based on technological neutrality” (OIF 2014: 6). It is worth noting that during the 7th session of the IGC and in order to acknowledge the need to mobilize the CDCE in the field of digital technologies, the French delegation stressed “it is not a coincidence that the Dakar Summit invited the Parties to the Convention to do so with the resolution just adopted”.²

Second, in October 2015 the Wallonia-Brussels Federation organized an international forum in Mons as part of the celebration of the CDCE’s 10th anniversary. The aim of the forum, entitled “Cultural exception facing the challenges of the digital world: how to put new technologies at the service of the

diversity of cultural expressions?”, was to reaffirm the principles of the CDCE in the context of digital technologies. Among the participants, it is worth mentioning Michaëlle Jean, OIF’s Secretary General, Irina Bokova, UNESCO’s Director General, as well as Joëlle Milquet, Minister of Culture of the Government of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation. It is revealing that during the 9th session of the IGC the Belgian delegation pointed out explicitly that the international forum was “a preparatory step and emphasized the need to be ambitious in the treatment of digital issues and the Convention” (UNESCO 2016b: 31).

Third, on the margins of the sessions of the IGC the French National Commission for UNESCO undertook two initiatives in order to raise awareness about digital issues and cultural diversity: in December 2014, the organization of an event for launching the collective book *Critical Glossary of Cultural Diversity in the Digital Era* with the participation of Divina Frau-Meigs (University of Paris III and UNESCO Chair *Savoir devenir dans le développement numérique durable*) and Alain Kiyindou (University of Bordeaux III-Montaigne and UNESCO Chair *Pratiques émergentes des technologies et communication pour le développement*), as well as of Jean Musitelli, former French ambassador to UNESCO; and in December 2015, an international conference entitled “Manufacturing Curiosity”³ and dealing with the impact of algorithms and social networks on the diversity of cultural expressions.

Lastly, in December 2016 the French and Canadian delegations – with the support of the UNESCO Secretariat – organized a ministerial panel at the 10th session of the IGC where it was intended to adopt the draft OGs. The panel entitled “Shaping digital policies for development” was to feature Mélanie Joly and Audrey Azoulay, Canadian and French Ministers of Culture respectively,⁴ Fernando Griffith, Paraguay’s Minister of Culture, and Irina Bokova, UNESCO’s Director General.

The role of the scientific community

Several issues on the CDCE’s agenda required scientific knowledge and expertise and many experts performed significant roles in the process of updating the CDCE into the digital age. Among them, the International Network of Lawyers for the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (*Réseau international de juristes pour la diversité des expressions culturelles* - RIJDEC) played a leading role in the process, revealing its strong link with the political entrepreneurs.

The RIJDEC was founded by Ivan Bernier (Professor Emeritus, Faculty of Law, Laval University-Quebec) and Véronique Guèvremont (Professor, Faculty of Law, Laval University-Quebec) in the context of the CDCE’s implementation. In this respect, the network produced three reports on digital technologies. In November 2013 – one month before the 7th session of the IGC – the network issued a report on the CDCE’s implementation in the digital age. Six legal experts and members of the RIJDEC drafted the report: V. Guèvremont (Laval University, Quebec/ UNESCO Chair in the Diversity of Cultural Expressions), Marie Cornu (CNRS Paris), Mira Burri (World Trade Institute-

Bern), I. Bernier (Laval University, Quebec), H  l  ne Ruiz Fabri (University Paris 1), and Lilian Richieri Hanania (University Paris 1).⁵ The report concluded with a set of 12 recommendations for the purpose of embarking on a discussion to mobilize the Convention in the digital world.⁶

Furthermore, in 2015 the RIJDEC released two more reports. The first, entitled “The operational guidelines and other techniques for the implementation of the Convention on diversity of cultural expression in the digital context”, concretely dealt with the legal ways through which the actors involved should mobilize the CDCE in the digital age and it was presented during the 5th Conference of the CDCE Parties. It is revealing that during the 4th Conference of Parties in 2013, V. Guèvremont had stated “the impact of digital technologies is a very important issue to which Parties to the Convention should pay particular attention, given the capacity of digital technology to bring radical change to cultural industries” (UNESCO 2015d: 49). The second report focusing on digital issues was entitled “The renewal of the cultural exception in the digital era”. It was drafted by seven members⁷ of the network and presented by V. Guèvremont at the international forum in Mons in October 2015.⁸ The report dealt with monitoring the evolution of regional and bilateral trade agreements and their effects on the treatment of cultural goods and services in the digital context.⁹

Clearly, even though the legal experts remain independent, the expertise produced by the RIJDEC has been a solid legal basis for policymakers in order to legitimate their claims regarding the mobilization of the CDCE in the digital age. In other words, the authority of legal experts and their advanced technical knowledge are a key resource for arguing in favour of adopting OGs and convincing stakeholders in the multilateral arena of UNESCO.

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the preliminary text on OGs was drafted by the CDCE Secretariat which worked together with two experts, namely V. Guèvremont and Octavio Kulesz.¹⁰ The latter, an expert from Argentina, also produced a significant number of studies which enhanced awareness of the importance of updating the CDCE into the digital age. Firstly, in 2015 O. Kulesz drew up a study about the impact of digital technologies on the diversity of cultural expressions in Spain and Hispanic America. The study was released by the UNESCO Secretariat and supported by Spain. Secondly, in 2014 and at the Secretariat's request he analyzed the periodic reports of the Parties in order to highlight contemporary digital trends, concluding that the Parties adopted a range of measures related to the diversity of cultural expressions and digital technologies. It is revealing that these studies enable the Parties to become familiarized with digital issues and the idea of updating the Convention. As argued by Canada, "a first step of reflection has already been taken during the session with the analysis of the periodic reports by the Secretariat and Mr. O. Kulesz. These analyses are very interesting, enabling the Committee to have a new perspective on global trends in the area of digital technologies" (UNESCO 2015c: 61).

To this it should be added that two other groups of experts

showed a real interest in the Convention and digital technologies. In 2015 the Center for Integration and Globalization Studies (*Centre d'études sur l'intégration et la mondialisation*-CEIM), based at Quebec University in Montreal (*Université du Québec à Montréal*-UQAM), drew up a report analysing the ways of bringing the CDCE into the digital age on behalf of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French Ministry of Culture and Communications (Rioux *et al.* 2015). The scope of the study dealt with the challenges that the CDCE Parties face in the digital era with the measures and policies created to implement the CDCE in the digital environment, as well as with the added value of writing up new OGs. In the context of disseminating the study, the Research Center also organized an international symposium on 'Cultures, societies and digital technology' at the UQAM in October 2015. Likewise, in December 2013 the international scientific association Latin Union of Political Economy of Information, Communication and Culture (*Unión Latina de Economía Política de la Información, la Comunicación y la Cultura* - ULEPICC) introduced a "Statement about the protection and promotion of cultural diversity in the digital era", including around 20 recommendations and considerations related to the link between the CDCE and digital technologies resulting from an international workshop organized in Madrid in October 2013. Henceforth the ULEPICC was present at the CDCE intergovernmental sessions and it proposed specific amendments to the draft OGs, seeking to include more references to micro, small and mid-size enterprises in the cultural sector and to independent organizations (UNESCO 2016c, 2016d).

2. Following the lead: specific interests and concerns

The OGs were created by compromise and consensus and they encompass a broad array of interests of the participating actors. The latter welcomed the incorporation of digital issues in the scope of the Convention, embraced the initiative to adopt OGs and gave strong support to the proposals of France, Canada-Quebec and Belgium. For the majority of participating actors, though, the OGs should also serve several specific purposes. It is worth identifying three issue areas stressed by multiple actors:

- a. Lithuania and Austria mentioned the preservation and development of local cultural content for worldwide distribution and the need to ensure that local content is made accessible and visible in the digital age. In the same vein, the Argentinean delegation underlined the need to have access to the algorithms of Internet players in order to give adequate visibility to cultural expressions. Finally, following Canada's proposals, the Finnish delegation and the International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity¹¹ insisted on the fact that the Convention should promote the 'discoverability' of cultural expressions.¹²
- b. Several actors, such as Austria, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, the International Music Council,¹³ and the World Intellectual Property Organization, explicitly underscored

the fair remuneration of creators as a main condition for the promotion of diversity of cultural expressions in the digital environment. More concretely, in December 2015 the Brazilian delegation, evoking its joint statement made with Argentina during the UNESCO General Conference on remuneration and artistic freedom, stated “remuneration is a challenge, especially in industries such as music and literature in which artists feel insecure about remuneration in the digital age” (UNESCO 2016b: 29). In a similar vein, the International Music Council highlighted the weak bargaining power of artists with the large corporations dominating distribution, which is further undermined in the digital environment (UNESCO 2016b: 33).

- c. Several national delegations, such as Morocco, Saint Lucia, Slovakia and Uruguay, highlighted the unbalanced environment in which many countries do not have advanced digital capacities and they emphasized the importance of technical assistance and the reinforcement of international cooperation. In this respect, the Slovakian delegation supported the inclusion of concrete examples of good practices in an Annex to the OGs.

More concretely, analysis of the amendments introduced by the Parties and civil society in the preliminary draft of the OGs (UNESCO 2016c, 2016d) illustrates the dynamic action of Brazil and UNESCO's Francophone Group, which added six main paragraphs to the final text: paragraph 12 related to the strengthening of the digital competencies of the cultural sector; paragraph 14.2 about the fair remuneration of creators and performers; paragraph 16.2 on transparency in the collection and use of data that generates algorithms and the creation of algorithms ensuring a greater diversity of cultural expressions; paragraph 16.7 about cooperation between online platforms and rights holders of these goods and services in order to improve the online distribution of cultural goods and services and to better find the content being disseminated; paragraph 22 (in collaboration with Nigeria) on the strengthening of national and international capacity-building activities, the transfer of know-how and sustainable technologies (hardware and software), and the development of infrastructure; and finally paragraph 23.1 related to the promotion of consumption of local cultural content.

3. Calling the OGs' scope and content into question

It would be naïve to think that all the participating actors were in favour of the initiative to update the CDCE to the digital context. In this respect, some Parties derive great benefits from changing the scope and orientations of the OGs. They signalled reluctance and requested several concessions in order to approve the final text.

First, the United Kingdom (UK) delegation focused on the absence of clear evidence about the impact of digital

technologies on the diversity of cultural expressions. In other words, the UK questioned the necessity of regulation related to digital issues, insofar as “there is no evidence so far that the situation of cultural diversity is worse as a result of these digital platforms” (UNESCO 2015c: 65). At the same time, the UK delegation expressed its fears that the French and Canadian initiative could be “a form of protectionism through the use of this Convention”, revealing a worrying tendency to package the big Internet companies as “some kind of ‘big internet evil’” (UNESCO 2015c: 64-65). In a similar vein, during the 9th session of the IGC in 2015 the UK underscored the inappropriate language of the guidelines, widely criticizing their prescriptive character through the use of words such as ‘shall’ and ‘guarantee’ in multiple paragraphs. In this respect it suggested “all of the words ‘shall’ and ‘guarantee’ be changed to appropriate conditional terms” (UNESCO 2016b: 27). To this it should be added that the draft text on the OGs included the proposal to create inter-ministerial groups on digital technologies and the Convention which would bring together representatives of the Ministries of Culture, Trade, Telecommunications and Competition. The UK delegation, however, expressed its strong reluctance to create inter-ministerial groups on digital technology, requesting “a cost-benefit analysis on the proposal in order to ensure the added value of such a group in the context of the austerity programmes in many governments” (UNESCO 2016b: 27).

Second, in support of the UK's suggestions the Australian delegation aimed to avoid the use of language potentially implying legal obligations. In this respect, during the 10th session of the IGC Australia introduced several amendments to the draft OGs (UNESCO 2016c, 2016d) in order to avoid mandatory verbs and give a less prescriptive content in the final text.

It is worth mentioning five amendments introduced by the Australian delegation: in paragraph 9 related to the policies to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions in the digital environment, the delegation proposed the term “shall aim to promote” instead of “shall adopt”; in paragraph 18 related to the introduction of preferential treatment provisions to ensure more balanced flows of digital cultural goods and services, Australia proposed the term “shall aim to introduce” in place of “shall introduce”; in paragraph 19 concerning the promotion of the Convention in other international forums, it suggested the term “Parties are encouraged to promote” in place of “requires Parties to promote”; in paragraph 19.4 about cultural clauses in international agreements, the Australian delegation proposed the softer term “the consideration of introducing” instead of “introduction”; and in paragraph 20 regarding policies and programmes which recognize the cultural aspects of development in the digital environment, Australia introduced the term “may elaborate” instead of “shall elaborate”.

Likewise, the OGs section entitled “Rebalancing the flow of cultural goods and services” gave rise to a contentious debate at the 10th session of the IGC. Whereas the Australian delegation suggested replacing the term “rebalancing” by the

term “promote”, France and UNESCO’s Francophone Group expressed their reluctance, pointing out that the Australian suggestion would change the specific purposes of this section. In the end the Parties kept the initial title.

Lastly, even though the United States (US) and Japan are not Parties to the CDCE, they participated as observers in the 8th session of the IGC and they signalled their concerns about the initiative to update the CDCE in the digital age. In this respect, the US delegation expressed its reservations about the French and Canadian initiative by stating “no cultural goods or services evolve or develop in isolation (...) and no cultural convention exists in a vacuum” (UNESCO 2015c: 66). In this respect, it acknowledged the relevance of the World Summit on the Information Society in order to discuss digital issues and it questioned the legitimacy of the CDCE forum for dealing with digital technologies. In the same vein, the Japanese delegation insisted on the fact that UNESCO should coordinate its efforts with the World Intellectual Property Organization and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) which “have the mandate to establish legal frameworks” related to digital issues. Clearly, the comments of the two delegations made reference to a paradigmatic distinction which dominates multilateral debates on the regulation of media and cultural industries. “Within the UNESCO logic, media are cultural institutions, part of the process of human development. Within the ITU logic, media are technical systems for information delivery” (Cammaerts 2014: 131). In other words, according to the US and Japanese approach audiovisual media goods and services have nothing to do with culture and any regulation must be the least restrictive possible, respecting an open market environment.

Concluding remarks: creating a digital agenda for the diversity of cultural expressions

The aim of the OGs has been to update the CDCE’s framework in order to take into account the new economic and industrial environment created by digital technologies and reaffirm the main principles of the Convention in the digital context. However, the existence of pressing issues related to digital technologies and cultural diversity does not automatically give rise to governance arrangements to meet them (Carpenter 2010: 236).

In this respect this article has identified a transnational network composed of three states parties (France, Canada and Belgium), subnational governments such as Quebec and the Wallonia-Brussels Federation and several groups of experts such as the RIJDEC which provided instrumental and intellectual leadership with a firm commitment to promptly addressing digital issues within the CDCE framework. With their dedication, multiple resources and diplomatic skill, these actors played an important role in all stages of the policymaking process and shifted the nature of the debate. They introduced new issues into the CDCE’s agenda, drew up draft OGs and provided concrete proposals about the CDCE and digital technologies. In short,

they were remarkably influential in discussions. They also raised awareness, building several linkages between the process of updating the CDCE into the digital age and the agenda of other multilateral forums and intergovernmental organizations such as the OIF.

However, it is important to recognize that the Parties to the CDCE by no means speak with one voice. I have argued that the initiative was supported by both developed and developing countries as well as civil society groups, which also expressed several pressing needs in the digital context such as promotion of local cultural content, fair remuneration of artists as a key policy pathway for the promotion of diversity of cultural expressions in the digital environment, and the importance of technical assistance. More specifically, Brazil and UNESCO’s Francophone Group came to the multilateral discussions with concrete solutions to the issue and played a highly dynamic role in extensively shaping the final OGs.

By contrast, two countries – the UK and Australia – were reticent about drawing up new guidelines on digital issues and explicitly stressed the fear of protectionism and of creating new obligations for the Parties to the CDCE. Firstly, they called into question the legitimacy of adopting OGs on digital issues, insofar as the evidence about the effects of online players on the diversity of cultural expressions is not clear. Secondly, they sought to ensure a more declaratory character for the OGs in order to allow complete freedom for the Parties to develop the content of the OGs and to implement them.

By way of conclusion, the adoption of the OGs revealed that UNESCO – and more specifically the CDCE – is an appropriate and legitimated multilateral forum to address the challenges raised by digital technologies. Even though the implementation of the OGs will be a contested process, requiring actors to exercise a great deal of political autonomy to translate them into concrete practices (Avant et al. 2010: 15), the final text of the OGs received full support from the majority of Parties to the CDCE and it could be perceived as a digital agenda for the diversity of cultural expressions by developing common ways for stakeholders to address cultural policies and international cultural cooperation in the digital context.

Notes

1. The Conference of Parties is the plenary and supreme body of the CDCE and it meets every two years in order to receive and examine reports sent by the IGC, approve operational guidelines drawn up at its request by the IGC and take whatever other measures it may consider necessary to further the objectives of the CDCE. The IGC is composed of 24 Parties who meet annually.
2. The Council of Europe is another multilateral organization which deals with digitization and culture. In February 2016, the Council of Europe Recommendation on the Internet of Citizens was issued making explicit reference to the CDCE. It focused on: a. the modernization of cultural institutions;

- b. the empowerment of citizens as consumers, creators and prosumers and c. fostering multi-literacy skills education for access to, creation and management of digital culture (Council of Europe 2016).
3. The organization of the conference was supported by the French Ministry of Culture and Communications, Vivendi, Google, SACEM (*Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Éditeurs de la Musique*), Yandex and Storycode.
4. In the end the French minister did not attend the panel. Instead, Laurent Stéfani, Ambassador and Permanent Delegate of France to UNESCO, did.
5. It is interesting to note that the legal expertise related to CDCE is characterized by strong continuity. In the late 1990s, Ivan Bernier and Hélène Ruiz Fabri set up the French-Quebecois group for cultural diversity (*Groupe franco-québécois sur la diversité culturelle*). In this respect, in 2002 the latter drew up a report analyzing the legal feasibility of an international instrument on cultural diversity which widely influenced the content of the CDCE's final text (Vlassis 2015a).
6. The preparation of the report was supported by the Government of Quebec.
7. V. Guèvremont (Laval University, Quebec), I. Bernier (Laval University, Quebec), Géraud de Lassus Saint-Geniès (Laval University, Quebec), Rostam J. Neuwirth (Macao University, China), L. Richieri Hanania (University Paris 1), Ivana Otasevic (Laval University, Quebec), H. Ruiz Fabri (University Paris 1).
8. The preparation of the report received financial support from the Wallonia-Brussels Federation.
9. In the context of this report and following the request of the CDCE IGC, V. Guèvremont and I. Otasevic also conducted a study highlighting the implementation of the CDCE, articles 16 and 21, in 51 bilateral and regional trade agreements concluded since 2005.
10. The two experts are part of the pool of experts established by the Expert Facility Project funded by the EU and the Swedish Agency for International Development Cooperation in order to put in place technical assistance missions.
11. Created in 2007, the Federation brings together 43 national coalitions for Cultural Diversity grouping in the aggregate more than 600 professional culture organizations representing creators, artists, producers, distributors, editors, etc. The Federation is based in Montreal, Canada.
12. Note that 'discoverability' has recently become a buzzword for Canadian media policymakers. In this respect, a Summit entitled 'Discoverability: content in the age of abundance' was held in Toronto in May 2016 and co-hosted by the National Film Board and the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. According to the Summit's program, discoverability is the key principle "in a world of choice and in the age of abundance". It is interesting to recall that in 2013 the Canadian Media Production Association produced a research study entitled "Discoverability: Strategies for Canada's Digital Content Producers in a Global Online Marketplace".
13. Founded in 1949, the International Music Council is a world membership-based professional organization dedicated

to developing sustainable music sectors worldwide and upholding music rights in all countries. It is based at UNESCO headquarters in Paris.

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Cultural operators on the internet and the practices that contribute to their diversity

PILAR TORRE VILLAVERDE

Assessora tècnica Technical advisor at the Secretary of State for Culture

pilar.torre@mecd.es

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-2886-6135

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Abstract

Digital technologies and Web 2.0 have shaken the foundations of artistic creation and of the dissemination of cultural content. From the point of view of cultural diversity, several of their characteristics potentially represent huge advantages and could further democratise culture: flexibility, deterritorialisation, the reduction in entry costs, the possibility for users to participate in creative processes, etc. But we must be aware of the dangers, the first being that the internet operates according to market logics that are difficult to avoid. Difficulties in access are another example, resulting from digital, cultural and knowledge divides.

In this context, the role of cultural operators necessarily changes. Just as new art forms have emerged in connection with technology (creative industries), new actors also appear and perform functions that were unnecessary in the past and that are very directly related to the defence of cultural diversity (e.g. curators). Whatever the activity or discipline operators work in, it is unthinkable for them to be removed from the digital world and the tools it offers, and which, moreover, the public demands.

Keywords

Creative industries, mediator, digital, curation, algorithm.

Resumen

Las tecnologías digitales y la web 2.0 han sacudido los cimientos de la creación artística y de la difusión de contenidos culturales. Desde el punto de vista de la diversidad cultural, varias de sus características representan enormes ventajas potenciales y podrían implicar una mayor democratización de la cultura: su gran flexibilidad, desterritorialización, caída de los costes de entrada, la posibilidad de que los usuarios participen en los procesos creativos, etc. Pero hay que estar atentos a los peligros, siendo el primero de ellos que Internet funciona bajo lógicas comerciales difíciles de sortear; por citar solo uno más, las dificultades de acceso derivadas de las brechas digital, cultural y de conocimiento.

En este contexto, el papel de los agentes culturales se modifica necesariamente. Al igual que han surgido nuevas artes al hilo de la tecnología (industrias creativas), aparecen nuevas figuras que realizan funciones que en el pasado no eran necesarias y que se relacionan de forma muy directa con la defensa de la diversidad cultural (como los curadores). Sea cual sea la actividad o disciplina para la que trabaje el agente, es impensable que lo haga al margen del mundo digital y las herramientas que ofrece, y que el público demanda.

Palabras clave

Industrias creativas, mediador, digital, curaduría, algoritmo.

McLuhan: the medium is the message
M. Castells: the network is the message
Aaron Koblin: the interface is the message

Introduction

Neither prophets nor visionaries nor the most active imaginations were capable of predicting what the digital revolution would look like. In *Blade Runner* (1982), the precursor to cyberpunk set in the future, cars fly and robots are like perfected humans; but when they need to make a phone call, they land and look for a booth.

Today, reality seems to surpass that fiction thanks to the development of digital technologies. While they appeared in the second half of the 20th century, it's in the 21st century that the use of the internet and new information and communication technologies has become a mass phenomenon, with an extraordinary upsurge in the last decade. Although now it may be difficult to remember because it seems like they have always been around, Apple's iPhone was launched in 2007, Facebook

was created in 2004 (and floated on the stock market in 2012), YouTube was founded in 2005 and Twitter in 2013. The oldest has barely been around for more than ten years.

Nicholas Negroponte, the great predictor of technological changes and founder of the MIT Media Lab in Massachusetts, said in 1980: "Computing is not about computing any more. It's about life",¹ and at the time elicited many ironic comments. It's undoubtedly true, but there's also room for other approaches: "Society is a multifaceted whole that cannot be reduced to technological reason" (Kiyindou 2014, 142).

The before and after of culture with internet

Something that invades all aspects of citizens' lives could not exclude culture, which has also undergone some unprecedented transformations. The internet is not only a technology; it's a medium that has changed and is changing our societies, introducing new ways of producing and of relating with others. It therefore has a significant effect on the development of new cultural forms, both in the broad sense as vehicles of identity and for the transmission of society's values and mindsets, and in the stricter sense, focusing on cultural and artistic creation.

Now there's not even room for analysis in analogue/digital terms. A revolution has taken place that has changed creation, reading and writing; it operates according to network logic, with actions that are increasingly hyperlinked and multiplatform, based on multimedia and interactive devices, resulting in a complex but at the same time exciting scenario.

Cultural operators now act in a world where new and old forms of expression coexist with a fully digitally created world, and with a combination of real and virtual elements. Traditional cultural manifestations have also undergone changes in how they are managed and how they communicate and relate with receivers or audiences, as well as in many other aspects that will be discussed below. In view of all of this, we cannot proceed to any analysis without first providing some context.

An essential feature of the changes that have occurred is that digital works are independent from their original format and now any product can be mixed, re-edited, changed or improved. The concept of a closed piece of work has disappeared and, related to this fact, new figures are emerging, such as the so-called "prosumer", a hybrid term combining "producer" and "consumer", because these functions are now not necessarily separate. Remixes have gained in importance. They may appear to be complex or conscious operations but that is not necessarily the case. Copying and pasting, including comments, adding photos, making collages and amusing alterations, etc. now constitute remixes because they transform the initial content and represent some of the most common actions in the "digital conversation". There is debate regarding the boundaries of the transformative appropriation of content and there is no unanimous opinion on their legality. It's also worth mentioning transmedia culture or transmedia storytelling (an expression coined by Henry Jenkins in 2003 to refer to the flow of content

through multiple channels), which "is a particular narrative form that spreads through different systems of signification (verbal, iconic, audiovisual, interactive, etc.) and media (cinema, comics, television, videogames, theatre, etc.)", according to Carlos Scolari's definition (Scolari 2013, 24). By using different media, it multiplies its communicative capacity and presence.

In terms of individual appropriation and interpretation, both remixing and transmedia involve undeniable advantages for cultural diversity and are also highly flexible narrative forms.

The piece of work is also decontextualised and, once it begins to flow online, loses its connection with its origin. Access of a cultural object or good becomes more important than possession and streaming is widespread for audio and video. Copyright issues have become complicated and concepts such as copyleft and Creative Commons licences are gaining ground.

Other relevant phenomena include the fact that geographical borders and references have lost importance and collaborative forms abound, from the so-called "wiki method", an ocean of voices creating something that's constantly changing, to collective production and funding (crowdsourcing and crowdfunding, respectively). In the new creative industries that have emerged in connection with the digital explosion which combine art, culture, trade and technology, the traditional top-down forms of generating and transmitting, from the elite to the consumer, are beginning to be replaced. We now have bottom-up forms and inputs from the margins, digitally based. The back end, which is the platform for creating and organising content, has been democratised and creative tools are now within everyone's reach. The front end, previously occupied by viewers and audiences, has been taken over by the prosumer who interacts and serves as co-author. The value chain of cultural products is shifting, as are the intermediaries, and barriers to entry are falling in many types of art. This presents an "opportunity for increased democratisation, and also the risk of increased commodification by reinforcing digital industry logics" (Frau-Meigs 2014, 158).

All the changes mentioned and many more have been possible thanks to "the Net", or the internet. Already in 2001, Manuel Castells said "The network is the message" (most certainly he was not referring to internet as we understand it now), and he compared the Internet Galaxy with the Gutenberg Galaxy. He also indicated that "volatility, insecurity, inequality and social exclusion go hand in hand with creativity, innovation, productivity and the creation of wealth in these first steps of the internet-based world" (Castells, 2001, 4). Years later, digital artist Aaron Koblin took this quote and adapted it to the new times: "The interface is the message"; "19th-century culture was defined by the novel, 20th-century culture by the cinema, and the culture of the 21st century will be defined by the interface".²

Manuel Castells writes that "Networks became the most efficient organizational forms as a result of three major features of networks that benefitted from the new technological environment: flexibility, scalability and survivability" (Castells 2004, 5). For Steven Johnson, their main characteristic is

that they form connections between peers or equals, and they constitute the true “native” social architecture of the online world (Johnson 2013, 73), in the same way that hierarchical structures are the dominant social architecture in the world of institutions, religion or business.

Information has multiplied and, thanks to portable devices, we're attentive and available at all times, and we demand that content also be available, at anytime and anywhere. Daniel Innerarity, at the opening ceremony of the 5th Ibero-American Culture Congress, *Digital Culture, Networked culture*³, provided a shrewd and critical perspective on the phenomenon. Among other observations, he noted that mass communication informs without guiding, that the excess of information makes having a view of the whole increasingly difficult, and that the accumulation of information creates submissive users. He also said that, in the digital world, creativity is not about adding up data, which machines do, but rather their meaningful organisation. He pointed to the management of information as essential and, going a little further, its deletion, praising the use of the digital bin. *S'informer fatigue* was how Ignacio Ramonet titled his 1993 article.⁴ These are issues worth reflecting on.

We connected and can find any information on the internet. Web 2.0 has changed the serendipity of Web 1.0, where searches were active and users moved on their own initiative from one place on the internet to another, through algorithmic intermediation. With Web 2.0, consumers' tastes are determined through prior behaviour, creating profiles and adding search engines that favour the most cited web pages or operate according to commercial logic. Big data is used to develop profiles, which can be good, but this is also combined with more questionable elements such as the use of personal data and control of private information, as well as being exploited as an opaque marketing tool. Users have access to all these conveniences without knowing very well in whose hands they are or how they work, because they're not transparent.

Cultural diversity in the digital context

The concept of cultural diversity emerged in the 1980s within a context of the early stages of globalisation and as a response by the cultural sector to trade policies led exclusively by commercial considerations. The UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005) defines the dual nature of cultural goods and services: their economic nature, on the one hand, and their nature as products of the spirit and bearers of symbolic value, on the other. Under this Convention, states are entitled to regulate and support their own cultural creation and a principle of cooperation is established between the most and least developed countries so the latter can improve the circulation of their cultural products.

Although this Convention is quite recent, it did not take the digital phenomenon into account at the time it was drafted. In the last two years, a huge effort has been made to integrate it, preceded by a reflection on the status quo. The first conclusion

was that cultural policies in general are very much anchored in the analogue model of creation, and that considering the internet is a place for creation, access and social participation, the freedom of expression, the right to privacy and human rights must be promoted.

Official UNESCO documents also highlight that the impact of the digital world cuts across the entire value chain, in turn influencing systems for governing culture. They also point to the North-South technological gap, which could destabilise the flow of cultural goods and services, as indicated earlier. Lastly, they claim that major platforms entail a certain threat and present a challenge to integrating culture within a sustainable development framework.

The digital world also presents economic problems in terms of products that affect cultural diversity and other management-related aspects. Françoise Benhamou identifies five key issues regarding the conservation, the characterisation of property (a product is similar to a service and it's a non-rival good), the limits of creators' rights (mechanisms for establishing payment have become more complex), the transformation of the value chain and the production of metadata (Benhamou 2014, 113).

There has also been a lot of talk about the digital divide, a concept often referred to as the cultural or knowledge divide (Alain Kiyindou); in other words, highlighting differences in culture and education. According to Kiyindou, the concept of the digital divide involves taking for granted “appropriation skills shared by all and focuses on the obstacles faced by certain individuals to turn technological opportunities into concrete practical advantages” (Kiyindou 2014, 142).

The internet has been described as a free and happy world with access to everything, where people socialise, share their opinions, visit museums and participate in cultural production, but not everyone has the same access. This was already reflected in the 2005 Convention:

“The processes of globalization [...] afford unprecedented conditions for enhanced interaction between cultures, they also represent a challenge for cultural diversity, namely in view of risks of imbalances between rich and poor countries.”

And as Castells claims:

“The differentiation between internet-haves and have-nots adds a fundamental divide to existing sources of inequality and social exclusion in a complex interaction that appears to increase the gap between the promise of the Information Age and its bleak reality for many people around the world” (Castells 2001, 247).

Karl Benedict Frey, expert in the so-called fourth industrial revolution, which goes beyond the digital to focus on nanotechnology and robotics, has ventured⁵ to talk about employment of the future when robots are fully developed. One of the few areas (specifically, three) where humans would be irreplaceable is creativity.

It's clear that the digital world offers great opportunities for creativity and sociability, and that it's an instrument for

democratising the tools of production and distribution. It has also generated previously unknown ways of participating and there are better instruments for facilitating personal and social inclusion and development, replacing the old role of the passive subject with a more active one. But it also presents a certain threat if the digital and cultural divides are not kept in check, and it could potentially cut off local creators in the absence of policies to increase their visibility and protection. The development of a more critical society could be promoted, one that experiences culture as an identity-building element, taking all variables into consideration and establishing policies and actions designed specifically for this end. The disappearance of location as an “admission” factor could also be taken advantage of, although two new conditions arise: access to technology and the skills to use it; once again, the digital and cultural divides.

Coexisting with cultural institutions, a virtual world has been created and informal manifestations have gained in importance. The barriers to accessing the world of culture, be it music, literature or cinema, have to some extent been lifted. These processes are extremely interesting because they allow for active participation and a direct relationship between producer or creator and consumer, but they're not risk-free. There's an international battle over content that is altering maps of exchange and phenomena are coinciding such as increased homogeneity and increased heterogeneity, both of which are essential for the study of cultural diversity.

Véronique Guèvremont, in “Réflexion préliminaire sur la mise en oeuvre de la Convention sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité des expressions culturelles à l'ère numérique”, describes the characteristics of this new order, which should be understood within the framework of cultural diversity:

- Increase and diversification of the cultural supply, with greater storage and access possibilities from anywhere and independently of where the content is generated.
- Transfer of the power of prescribers to the public, which no longer depends on traditional prescribers but freely accesses content. They transform from receivers/consumers into critics, promoters and even prescribers, and they also participate in creation.
- Changes to the structure of value chains due to the possibility of self-production and self-distribution. Certain intermediaries become less powerful and new actors appear, such as content aggregators, search engines, browsers, exploitation systems, etc.
- Accentuation of the power of the “major players”: the cultural supply constantly evolves and, in theory, this benefits everyone but the major players dominate and there is a very high risk of marginal players becoming even more marginal. The quantity of cultural material is huge but, in order to understand it in terms of the protection of cultural diversity and expressions, we have to consider its accessibility and visibility.
- We must avoid deepening the digital divide by investing in infrastructure and averting “the second digital divide” or “digital inequality”.

Some sectors argue that the best defence for diversity must come through “free culture”; that is, free access to and use of all content. This is linked to the “hacker ethic”, which combines a passion for innovation with the action of freely sharing, a collaborative spirit, and the promotion of free access to information and social equality, without any relation to the negative connotations that have lately accompanied the term “hacker”. There are innumerable movements in favour of free culture, even in some governments. In Brazil, for example, the Ministry of Culture, when Juca Ferreira was minister (2015), implemented different public policies supporting free culture.⁶ It's not clear which are still in place.

How cultural management and its operators adapt to the internet

Cultural operators have the means to participate in education and in the creation of a critical spirit among citizens accessing culture, with a wide range of instruments, formats and possibilities, although the context is also, as Innerarity says, one of infinite dissemination. Any action geared towards improving how cultural works are made available to citizens already operates in favour of cultural diversity. Although we must also consider, as Jean Musitelli argues, that “the much-praised abundance of the cultural supply does not guarantee the diversity of the expressions that form it” (Musitelli 2014, 308).

Cultural action has evolved from a vertical and unidirectional relationship focused on attracting audiences and based on the concept of dissemination, to a relationship with horizontal components that favours citizen participation and allows for inclusion policies, and which at times becomes a web where information flows in multiple directions. This evolution could certainly help strengthen diversity and it also supports the development of a more critical and aware society through culture.

“Now nobody seems to have a monopoly over public and cultural expression” (Carré 2014, 172). The major challenge today for cultural consumers is to intelligently manage the enormous quantity of information offered to them. This is where prescribers come in who, in their traditional version, included the concept of *auctoritas*; i.e. they were experts whose wisdom was recognised, sometimes people and sometimes media. On the participative social internet, many more actors have come into play, whether specialists or not. The internet, which has the capacity to amplify and multiply any action, has filled up with bloggers and vloggers, youtubers and booktubers; in short, digital influencers who share their opinions with the world and have thousands of followers. The game has changed and, as Frédéric Martel repeatedly says, the cards must be reshuffled and dealt.

On the participative internet, and through the combined phenomena of social media and content aggregators, two central figures have emerged in cultural management: content curators and community managers. The latter are well-known

because they work in all spheres, and with today's obligation to operate 24/7, unceasing service is expected as well as permanent communication. Content curators are not as widespread, emerging because of the need to organise all the information circulating, as well as serving as a counterweight to the recommendation systems already mentioned. Chloé Girard defines curators as experts that add and present their own sources, counteracting the noise generated by the “cold tools” of the internet: automated systems. She compares their work with museum curators: like them, they evaluate, select, buy, conserve and make artistic heritage available. Also like them, the goal is not to conserve everything but to select based on certain criteria, bringing to light the weakest but most fundamental aspects of their field of specialisation. This is where they are most relevant and they contribute to greater cultural diversity, although they must necessarily struggle with the “recommendation economy”: quality does not have an intrinsic existence, not in the pre-digital world either, and a source's authority comes from the number of times it is cited (Girard 2014, 95-96). It is, of course, up to internet users whether they take the first results found or explore further through their searchers (once again: *S'informer fatigue*).

In these changing circumstances, the role of cultural operators is constantly redefined. The classic quote stating that they are “carriers of everyday chatter” (Bassand, cited in Martinell 2013) has now altered slightly as, in the 21st century, this chatter comes from a multitude of voices that both address the operator and communicate among themselves. In the analogue world, cultural operators were defined as promoters of the cultural life of a community and “they represent a determining factor for the consolidation of social intervention and a guarantee for the defence of democratic principles. They can exist outside political structures and they change and evolve in accordance with the variables of space/territory-time/evolution-context” (Martinell 2013). Expanding upon the same idea, Martinell adds that this is the “result of a process from the individual to the collective through processes of social organisation and structuring according to the values, traditions and standards of their context”. Essentially there have been three kinds of operators: those implementing public policies, private operators and operators related to the third sector. The latter were the last to appear and they did so due to the increase in citizen participation, which has developed its own instruments for cultural management.

Although this definition is now fifteen years old, it's still fundamentally valid while the context it refers to is radically different. The deterritorialisation and disintermediation (which actually means the disappearance of some intermediary professions and the appearance of others more linked to the dissemination of works) that characterise the world of the internet also contribute to the change of function among cultural mediators.

From a theoretical perspective, the role of “digital mediators” could be addressed within the framework of a theory of communication or a sociology of action; i.e. from the point

of view of professional practices or of cultural policies. And when related to cultural diversity, they combine a theory of communication (what types of communication on which basis?) with political considerations (what access for which internet users?) (Dufrêne 2014, 209).

There are, of course, cultural operators linked to physical spaces or activities that involve concrete actions in real places. Nevertheless, how they operate is still affected by such changes in society's habits and those of their audience, often referred to now as their “public”. In any case, their essential tasks are to create communities, to use social media to encourage loyalty among their public and to try to make their proposals stand out by curating content or creating attractive discourses. Important actions must also be designed on the internet to launch proposals, position content ahead of the algorithms, and ensure the community accepts the proposals. In the English-speaking world, another profession has emerged: the public engagement manager. “Public engagement” is also a recent term that describes the participation of specialists in listening to, understanding and interacting with non-specialists. This is a reflection of the shift towards a more outward way of looking and towards understanding what potential audiences are looking for. Moreover, the internet pervades all society and creates new needs, and it's useful to help relate these needs to culture. As Amber Venz Box said in a talk at the SXSW Conference (2016)⁷, influencers establish consumers' tastes. Our relationship with cultural objects has changed in this world of the semantic internet, augmented reality and the Internet of Things, now Web 3.0.

These characteristics require a transformation on the supply side of cultural products because new models of exploitation and dissemination channels are being imposed, and the role of operators is being reconsidered. They come from all sectors, they're increasing their functions and it's now understood that value added must be created for cultural products, facilitating conversations, encouraging activities and generating contexts for the new “liquid creativity”. In 2016, for example, Matadero Madrid, a dynamic cultural centre funded by the City Council, made a call for “cultural operators, creators and researchers”, saying it “[...] sees artists and/or cultural operators as natural or legal persons that carry out work related to the creation, mediation or production of contemporary artistic discourses.”

The important thing is to accept that the scenario has changed and the first challenge is to stand out and make oneself heard in the ocean of content. There are many more tools now than in the past and the goal is to learn how to use them, designing a route on the basis of the resources available and the objectives pursued, and also taking into account that not all technological innovations suit all management models.

In order to reach young audiences, for example, it's important to use their codes, which can be found on social media: over 90 per cent of internet users between 16 and 24 years of age use them and, among students, 98 per cent.⁸ One related case is Radio3's efforts to “rejuvenate” its audience or to attract a younger segment: they designed a specific parallel service

that includes Radio3 Extra⁹, online, which has special content intended for a different audience, much more in line with current trends, and even with a more dynamic and notably more modern website than the official one, as well as the concerts on *La radio encendida*. Fundación Telefónica, for its part, organises regular activities with young people: one session a month with youtubers, which often becomes a trending topic, another with booktubers, including “digital natives” in other sessions, providing space for their voices and opinions. They have thereby managed to attract very young and very involved people.

Cultural management is very different in heritage centres such as museums, where it's based on significant investment in computerising collections to allow for virtual tours and other uses demanded by society. For these centres, the internet is basically a tool for dissemination; the digital world does not transform the objects.

In 2016, the NMC Horizon Project¹⁰ carried out a study and identified some key trends and advice related to the adoption of technology in museums: as a short-term trend, the concept of “visitors” is broadening and changing through global online connections and museums can benefit by focusing on the participative experiences of visitors, both online and in person. They also propose “gamification”, involving users through games, challenges and prizes and, from a more long-term perspective, expanding these activities to the Internet of Things. Better advantage could also be taken of tools such as mobile applications, incorporating augmented reality and facilitating interconnection between users.

And, of course, it's also important to become part of large global networks. Europeana has 54 million works of art, objects, videos and sounds online; Google Arts&Culture, created by the Google Cultural Institute, allows for visits to over 1,200 museums and contains applications to create itineraries that include urban art, landscapes, etc. and provides the possibility to “be your own curator”. In a similar way, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, which offers 210,000 freely accessible digitised works, provides the option to “create your own Rijksstudio”. These are examples of how to interact with users and get them involved in projects.

An interesting case of remix culture that serves as a good example of the above, but which stems from official bodies and encourages the social appropriation of heritage, is the contest *GIF IT UP*¹¹, organised by the DPLA (Digital Public Library of America) in collaboration with Europeana, Trone and Digital INZ. It proposes the creation of gifs using the DPLA's own material (digital video, images and text) which is in the public domain and openly licensed. Three editions have been celebrated so far, with surprising results.

All this combines elements of cultural management 2.0, based on social media, blogs, permanent communication, etc. with cultural management 3.0, which goes a few steps further and includes virtual worlds. In this type of management, operators are expected to generate online activities that are hybrids of the physical and the virtual, that connect and take advantage of networks and that, through a more participative

approach, collaborate in the creation of “collective intelligence”. Management 3.0 has some considerable assets: the lack of geographical and time limits; the cloud, which provides an unlimited storage capacity as well as the possibility to access any content from any device; augmented reality, which allows access to an invisible reality that exists alongside the real world; and the greater ease with which anything can be produced anywhere.

Today there is trend towards encouraging real participation by users, with efforts to develop open institutions and generate purely digital activities which are “born” on the internet. Other instruments have appeared that complement communication for the creation and attraction of audiences and that, although they come from the more commercial world, can be applied to and valid in the world of culture. These are the new marketing techniques that have been developed alongside the growth of the digital world; specifically, inbound marketing and content marketing. The Content Marketing Institute¹² defines this as “a way of creating and distributing valuable, relevant and consistent content to attract and acquire a clearly defined audience – with the objective of driving profitable customer action.” It's complemented by recommendation marketing, which is the traditional word-of-mouth approach.

Here, social media are an extremely useful instrument that allows cultural institutions to interact with users, learn from their comments and, ideally, generate large cultural communities to exchange experiences, with the cultural institution as catalyst. *Cultura inquieta* has over 200,000 followers on Facebook, making it “the artistic and cultural website with the most loyal followers in Spain and one of the most powerful in Europe”.¹³ Why might this be? Because of many factors but certainly the most important is that they knew how to create a community and listen to and interact with their audiences.

To conclude with some words from Jean Musitelli, who was one of the writers of the 2015 Convention, the digital world has an ambivalent effect on cultural diversity: on the one hand, it offers an unprecedented opportunity to stimulate creation and facilitate the public's access to cultural works, overcoming the obstacles of the physical world; while, on the other hand, the way the digital economy actually works tends to sterilise these positive potentialities and cannibalise cultural content for purely commercial ends. “Either the digital revolution is piloted and guided towards the common good through suitable cultural policies or its benefits will be confiscated in the name of a purely commercial and instrumental logic” (Musitelli 2014, 307).

Notes

1. <https://www.ted.com/talks/nicholas_negroponte_a_30_year_history_of_the_future?language=es> [Consulted on 07/03/2017]
2. <https://www.ted.com/talks/aaron_koblin?language=en> *Visualizing ourselves ... with crowd-sourced data*, Ted Talk, 2011.
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Notes and methodological studies on diversity indicators in audiovisual production: the case of a regional "audiovisual pole"

JOSÉ MÁRCIO BARROS

Doctor in Communication and Culture (UFRJ); coordinator of the Observatório da Diversidade Cultural (Brazil); Professor on the Communication Master at Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais and on the Master in Arts at Universidade del Estado de Minas Gerais.

josemarciobarros@gmail.com

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-3058-5236

JOSÉ OLIVEIRA JUNIOR

Master in Social Communication (PUC Minas); specialist in New Communication Technologies; Associate Researcher at the Observatório da Diversidade Cultural (Brazil).

josejunior@observatoriodadiversidade.org.br

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0001-7975-1517

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Abstract

Despite their importance, indicators for cultural diversity in the audiovisual field relate almost entirely to the general and structural size of the market or public policy. This article explores more specific aspects of cultural diversity from the point of view of what is produced and by whom. Our case study focuses on the production of feature films in 2015 by the "Audiovisual Pole" (Pol Audiovisual) of Zona da Mata in the Minas Gerais region of Brazil. As a result of the analysis we were able to establish elements that help to create a platform for the analysis of diversity in audiovisual production.

Keywords

Indicators, diversity, audiovisual production, content, regionalisation.

Resum

Malgrat la seva importància, els indicadors de diversitat cultural en l'àmbit audiovisual es refereixen gairebé exclusivament a una dimensió general i estructural del mercat o de la política pública. En aquest article ens proposem buscar els aspectes de la diversitat cultural més específics vinculats al punt de vista del qui produeix i del que produeix. Utilitzem com a estudi de cas la producció de llargmetratges l'any 2015 del Pol Audiovisual de la Zona da Mata de Minas Gerais, Brasil, per tal d'establir elements que contribueixin a crear una plataforma d'anàlisi de la diversitat en la producció audiovisual.

Paraules clau

Indicadors, diversitat, producció audiovisual, continguts, regionalització.

Introduction

Communication is one of the core issues in current discussions on the diversity of cultural expressions. Communicative aspects and content flows play a key role in affirming and negotiating identity and therefore have a direct impact on practices to promote intercultural dialogue and the diversity of cultural expressions.

The United Nations Human Development Report 2002, published by the UN Development Programme (UNDP), states

that "Only if accompanied by strong support to community groups can decentralization empower ordinary people [...] especially [...] people who are often marginalized" (UNDP 2002, 69, 74), establishing a close connection between democratic processes, citizens, empowerment and having a say.

According to an analysis by Knoblauch (2013, 305), culture and communication are spaces of objectivation that, to some extent, stabilise our experiences of the everyday. In turn, culture is capable of enabling communication and identification by means of "a collective, dynamic dimension that involves the

exchange of representations, values and interpretations of society" (Barros 1999, 31-32)¹.

When analysing culture, it is vital "to comprehend its communicative quality. In other words, culture as a process that produces meanings rather than merely disseminating information" (Martín-Barbero 2002, 287)². Based on the formulations of Raymond Williams, Hall (2003) states that culture can have two focuses, with particular emphasis on the structure of experience:

The first connects culture with all the descriptions available through which societies make sense of and reflect their common experiences [...] the second emphasis is more deliberately anthropological and stresses the aspect of "culture" in terms of social practices [...]. Culture is a way of life in general [...]. Some which intertwines with all social practices (Hall 2003, 134, 136)³.

Cultural experiences set up intersubjective relations and influence people's comprehension, of themselves and also of the collective settings they belong to since they configure subjectivity (Barros 2013, 8). Communicative actions make the world of experiences decipherable; i.e. "Culture can thus be considered as the construction of contexts by means of communicative action" (Knoblauch 2001, 3, 12).

Luhmann (2005, 20) believes that "each communication can be connected to another, so that there is only a context of meaning". What is important here is comprehension that the world would be constituted by communicative actions which, in turn, construct contexts as spaces of intelligibility.

According to this perspective, culture can be seen as a threefold system. As a system of representation, like a network of senses and meanings that spreads across the everyday, with all the tensions and conflicts entailed by the differences, or as Hall (2003, 181) notes: "Humans use a variety of systems of representation to experience, interpret and "make sense" of the conditions of their existence"⁴. As a system that classifies and orders reality, that attributes meanings and establishes references for similarities, differences and comparisons. And, lastly, as a system of communication; in other words, a complex system to exchange information and messages made up of singular informational universes (Barros 1993).

Communication as a process that enables circulation, that enables negotiation between what is imaginary, what is perceived as real and local rationality, according to Braga (2010b), means that it can be defined as an enabling process; an experience that makes interactions and negotiations between subjects viable, that continuously brings about alterations in languages, in codes and in institutions themselves:

Communication, as a phenomenon, is what allows humans in society to exchange their "unique" ideas or perceptions (of individuals or groups and social sectors), in principle "differentiated" perceptions, with the aim of a level of acceptability that allows the social space to function, be it to agree objectives, to prioritise some over others or to decide the right way to achieve them (Braga 2010b, 47)⁵.

The idea here is to highlight the importance of the social circulation of aesthetic experiences that appear in everyday communicational interactions, and of expressive materials to help subjects become aware of their own experiences. It is precisely in the desire and in the expressive efforts to share that comprehension, the objectivation of experiences, can operate, developing the capacity to "narrate one's own experience" and establish relations and interactions beyond "cold stories", enveloping feelings and sentiments, a process the author identifies as an "essential element of the aesthetic experience related to interaction processes" (Braga 2010a, 82)⁶.

The experiences of reflection, knowledge and recognition can help us to assume autonomous places of declaration, to construct one's own place in the world. Communicational processes and the attribution of meanings are important for social memory and therefore for identities, as a continual effort to discriminate between what should be forgotten and what one wishes to remember.

Communication, culture and diversity: approaching, distancing and tension

Tackling cultural diversity means looking at the processes of identity, of self-image, of perception of the other, of structured representations in interaction with the world. One of the key elements in promoting cultural diversity is the specific attention that should be paid to the conditions for communicating and producing cultural content.

The links between cultural diversity, citizens and media pluralism have been stressed in several texts but are most clearly explained in the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which encouraged member states of the United Nations to establish policies and measures aimed at, on the one hand, ensuring the "access of cultures to the means of expressions and dissemination" and, on the other, aimed at "enhancing diversity of the media" (UNESCO 2005, 4, 6). On the tenth anniversary of the Convention in 2014, UNESCO published a document that brought together a platform of indicators in seven dimensions of interconnected policies to promote cultural diversity, one of which is communication:

Communication allows individuals to express their ideas, knowledge and creativity and share with others, whether they are individuals or an audience, local or foreign. [...] Culture requires diverse forms of communication in order to flourish, to create, to be re-created and to be shared (UNESCO 2015, 118).

The so-called mediatisation of society has altered how meanings are produced, organised and shared and how society is represented. The potential of the media has grown with the consequent increased diversification in the dissemination of information. However, this diversification does not necessarily guarantee communication processes affected by diversity. In

this respect, Martín-Barbero warns about the post-modernism's "deceptive pluralism that confuses diversity with fragmentation" (Martín-Barbero 1995, 60-69).

The social discourses produced by the media, and specifically by audiovisual media, are central in our societies as well as offering us a way to perceive and be aware of aspects of our own, wider social reality:

Of the new ways of being together through which citizens experience the heterogeneous socio-cultural fabric of the city, the huge diversity of lifestyles, of ways of inhabiting, of structures of feeling and narration... The symbolic heterogeneity and vastness of the city, whose most accurate expression lies in the changes occurring to the ways in which people experience a feeling of belonging to the territory and how they experience identity (Martín-Barbero 2002, 276-277).

Hence the importance of mediatization processes, understood as a space for articulation and transition, for the production and dissemination of meanings but principally for operating "a route between the public sphere and the singular and individual space of the subjects" involved in "constituting the social space between the 'I' and the 'other'" (Barros 2013, 11).

Such movement and routes between the public sphere and singularities reconstruct new perspectives for the public sphere itself. Both communication and culture structure these transitions, spaces of co-existence, of exchange, of interaction, whose dynamism depends on the dynamism of the possibilities of social cohabitation, of new solidarities and of communication in process, in a "re-evaluation of the articulations and mediations of civil society" (Martín-Barbero 2002, 225).

Objectivations are socialised forms of meaning, interfaces between the subjective world and the objectivity of social reality. According to Knoblauch (2013), material objectivations are a way of stabilising objectivations and are therefore also communicative actions (p. 305). The author points to "mediators" linking what is local and territorialised with other spaces, bringing together situations that are displaced in time and in space; i.e. they are the link that connects different contexts.

It's vital to understand how, in practice, our awareness and recognition of singularities are processed and how the conditions come about for co-existence between subjects marked by their repertoires and by attempts at identification and comparison. Sodré (2006, 9-11) notes that we continuously compare our own repertoires with what is before us and that this has a direct effect on diversity. He even claims that the concept of diversity itself should be seen as a comparative concept:

If an object appears several times before our eyes with the same internal determining features (quality and quantity), we use comparison to check whether it is one thing and not different things [...]. But why do we say someone is the same or different from another? Because we compare. We compare in the same way as we identify objects. And we compare to wield power, to dominate. In reality, men

are not similar or dissimilar. Men, unique beings, co-exist in their diversity⁷.

Based on what has been found by the authors of this article, it is possible to identify the organic relationship between cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and communication processes in what are called intercultural competences or skills. These are partly acquired skills, communicative forms that provide the subject with the means to negotiate, to decipher references, conceptions and perspectives, in the same way as the contexts of Knoblauch (2013).

In the sense adopted here, with many different forms of expression, the guarantee of free access to communication is fundamental in the protection and promotion of cultural diversity. Not only access to diversified content but also access to the capacity to produce content which represents themselves, their singular logic systems and those of the groups they identify with. Cultural diversity is as much a space for expression as it is for the right to disseminate, for the desire to singularise, to present one's own culture and dialogue with the expression of others, to deal the "untranslatable" and express the universal.

To a certain extent, "communicative forms" (Knoblauch 2013) have an impact on the issue of cultural diversity since contexts can be limited by access to or the construction of cultural skills, either via stabilising objectivations which can be seen as consolidations of concepts or, in the words of Sodré (2006), via automatic knowledge.

Common sense can also be understood as a stabilised context, a kind of stabilising objectivation, as pointed out by Knoblauch (2013). This can be directly related to the issues presented by the report *Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue*, which notes that promoting diversity means thinking about our everyday practices and perspectives for interpreting the world; i.e. "Sensitizing people to cultural diversity is more a matter of approaches, methods and attitudes than of the assimilation of content." (UNESCO 2009, 17).

The same report highlights three challenges: local content in communication production, diversifying the possibility to express different points of view and a more balanced representation of different individual and regional perspectives. This effectively opens up the possibility of not falling into the trap of "automatically knowing" about the other. Something that is highly stabilised can act as a brake on the intercultural communication, interactions and dialogues that end up reinventing the contexts we live in.

A methodological proposal

Based on these conceptual considerations, we propose a combination of Stirling's model of diversity in culture (UNESCO 2011, 13) and the theoretical contribution made by Knoblauch and Tuma for audiovisual analysis (2011) with the aim of helping to define variables and methods to identify the protection and promotion of cultural diversity in audiovisual production.

Analyses and studies to define indicators of cultural diversity in the audiovisual field refer almost in their entirety to a general and structural dimension of the audiovisual market, of public policy, such as the number of films or tracks produced, the languages of production, the number of films screened, the origin of the films screened, the production values, number of screens per inhabitant, nationality of the owners of cinemas or other aspects of special sectors of artistic production, such as in Stirling's base study (UNESCO 2011).

Regarding Stirling's model of cultural diversity, developed by UNESCO's Institute for Statistics to measure cultural diversity, Ranaivoson, quoted by Albornoz (2014, 25), notes that "to evaluate the diversity of any system [...], firstly this system must be divided into types or categories (for example, titles, geographical origins, etc.)"⁸ (Albornoz 2014). Ranaivoson (2007) states that the Stirling method defines three dimensions for diversity: variety (number of different types or categories), balance (close to the concept of balanced distribution, more or less uniform) and disparity (degree of dissimilarity between the existing types). To understand these dimensions better, we will give the example of musical diversity on French radio channels, used by Ranaivoson, which is enlightening:

To increase variety we can, for example, increase the number of songs broadcast from 100 to 150. To increase balance, we can reduce the number of broadcasts of the most frequently played songs and increase broadcasts of others. To increase disparity, we can choose to replace some of the French pop songs with songs of other styles that didn't used to be broadcast, such as Brazilian bossa nova songs or qawwali from Pakistan (Ranaivoson 2007, 6).⁹

In a later work, the author notes that simply broadening the diversity of products offered, almost always by creating links between these products and their relationship with consumer preference from the perspective of market segmentation, is an approach that focuses on the productions available as a whole and not on the characteristics of what is available, as in the theories of Superstar or The Long Tail. She also states that, for these theories, availability, as a key concern, is seen as "the range of products that may be profitably available" (Ranaivoson 2016, 242)¹⁰. In this case "diversity of supply" is limited to what can be sold or not. This may be useful for an analysis of the audiovisual market but not for our focus, which is the guarantee of diversity of expressions irrespective of whether they are more or less lucrative, including here what the author calls "marginal works".

Our proposal is to look for more specific aspects related to audiovisual production *per se*; in other words, from the point of view of what is produced and by whom. This study was carried out based on elements related to the promotion of cultural diversity: perspectives, types of organisation and proposed content and programmes, using the Stirling model as our reference. Our aim was to examine the diversity of specific characteristics of cultural products, goods or services

and the diversity of agents involved in the different stages of production and distribution *per se*, and our study was from this perspective. The products themselves were therefore seen as systems *per se*, identifying several of their aspects as categories (the variables to be used), related to what Ranaivoson called the diversity of production: "the diversity of the subjects at each stage of the production process" (2007, 7)¹¹.

In turn, Knoblauch and Tuma (2011) proposed an analytical method involving the "ethnographic sampling" of audiovisual production that served as a reference to complement the approaches of Ranaivoson and Stirling. According to the authors, a coding/sampling basis must be defined and categories selected to analyse situations or aspects deemed relevant within the specific coding/sampling context in question. Subsequently, a general view is obtained of the data gathered in a table or something similar and, finally, a refined analysis is carried out of the elements for a better understanding of the cultural product in question. This analysis of internal elements of production and of the creative process involved in the production of certain artistic sectors may be applied to the production of video, audio and other sectors.

A case study: the *Fábrica do Futuro* in the municipality of Cataguases, Minas Gerais, Brazil

Since 2005 the *Fábrica do Futuro* – Residência Criativa do Audiovisual has been in operation in the town of Cataguases, in the state of Minas Gerais (Brazil), with almost 75,000 inhabitants. Its work focuses on culture, communication and youth, with regional production hubs of cultural content for television, film and the internet. Together with various public and private institutions from the area, it set up a regional audiovisual production "pole" or centre, bringing social agents from five towns together around this project (from Cataguases, Itamarati de Minas, Leopoldina, Mirai and Muriaé). The audiovisual production studio for this pole made it possible to analyse the relations between culture and communication and their possible impact on the promotion of diversity.

243 audiovisual festivals and exhibitions are currently held regularly in Brazil, according to Leal and Matos (2011), who believe that, in the past ten years, Brazil has developed a diversified and consistent circuit of audiovisual festivals. One difference inherent in the sample from the Audiovisual Pole of Zona da Mata is the screening of films produced the previous year in the Audiovisual Pole's own area, allowing us to analyse a perspective of audiovisual productions within the same specific sphere and compare them with each other, opening up the possibility of comparability across historical series.

To analyse the audiovisual content produced by the Pole and verify to what extent this reflects and promotes diversity, using the aforementioned theoretical reference, it was decided to work with the data available on the production of four films made in the Pole's region and presented at the *Mostra 2015 do Polo Audiovisual*, held in December the same year: *A família Dioni*,

Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você, Dois and *Introdução à música do sangue*. After interpretation and analysis, the main classification was defined as the cultural diversity expressed (or not) in the Pole's audiovisual products, taking the films of the Mostra 2015 as specific targets. The following diagram (Image 1) represents the combination of two references in the three groups of variables.

In order to show the power of the methodological exercise proposed, we studied three groups of variables:

- Origin of the direction and creative team, with the variables of the director's origin, the origin of the soundtrack's composer and the origin of the director of photography.
- Origin of the cast and technicians, with the variables of the percentage of local actors, number of towns of origin, number of actors from each town of origin, number of local actors coming through the Audiovisual Pole's own artistic or technical training.
- Locations and settings for filming, with the variables of towns used as locations and context and/or background settings.

We then produced the table of categories below, dividing the elements from the four films in the sample into three tables, totalling twelve columns of data. These data were used to compile the information obtained and subsequently analyse each of the elements, ranging from the artists and technicians involved to aspects related to the locations and settings for the Pole's audiovisual products. The aim of these tables is to develop elements that help us analyse some aspects of diversity of the actors and the references involved with audiovisual production which, gathered together and organised in this way, make it possible to construct a platform of analysis, as we will see later on.

In the first table, and although the prevalent place of origin was Rio de Janeiro, four directors were from three different towns and each of the four composers came from a different town, although the directors of photography were mostly from Rio de Janeiro.

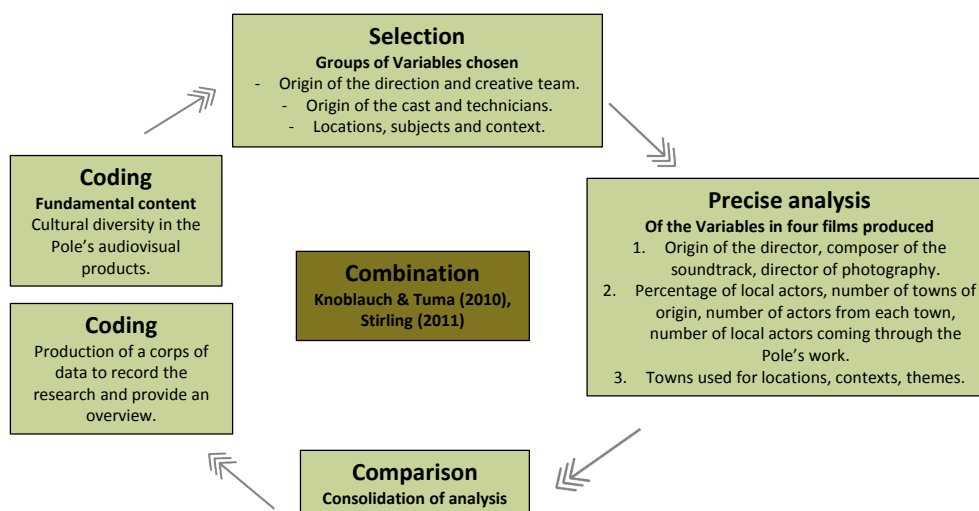
In general, the second table shows that the four films have 73 characters played by actors from twelve different towns and three countries, with 72% of the characters (53) played by artists from the region itself. Cataguases, the main town and where the Audiovisual Pole is based, accounted for 52% of the total.

Finally, the third table shows that five towns were used as locations, four of them from the region. One important point in the analysis of the four films is the discovery that, although most of the locations were towns from the Audiovisual Pole's region, the "setting" or ambience for the productions was not necessarily located in these towns. With the exception of *Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você*, whose main character is in Cataguases, the others could have represented any inland town.

Regarding the origin of the artists, the four films have workers from the towns Cataguases and Muriaé, in the Audiovisual Pole's region. The film *A família Dioni* has three artists from the region as its stars (Bernardo Lucindo, Anna Luiza Marques and Murilo Quirino), who trained on the drama courses of associated institutions. Talking about working with the artists, the director, Alan Minas, says that "the three teenagers playing the main roles came out of the drama courses here in the town [...]. They have a theatre-approach to acting, of course, but they gave me material to work with".

The only film using artists from Cataguases and from the region for all its main artistic roles is the short, *Dois*, by the director Rafael Aguiar. The film deemed the most "cosmopolitan" is *Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você*, based on the book written

Image 1. Definition of the categories



Source: Produced by the authors based on Knoblauch & Tuma (2011) and Stirling (2011).

Table 1. Origin of the direction team

Title	Origin of the director	Origin of the soundtrack composer	Origin of the photographer
A família Dioni	Rio de Janeiro	Pernambuco	Rio de Janeiro
Dois	Cataguases	Cataguases	Cataguases
Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você	Lisboa	Paraná	Rio de Janeiro
Introdução à música do sangue	Rio de Janeiro	Rio de Janeiro	Rio de Janeiro

Source: Produced by the authors, from Oliveira Júnior (2016).

Table 2. Origin of the cast and technicians

Title	Cast features	Percentage local actors	Number of towns of origin	Towns	Origin of actors (town)	Coming through the Fábrica do Futuro
A família Dioni	The film's characters are from the town of Cataguases.	82.35%	6	Cataguases	10	10
				Muriaé	2	2
				Leopoldina	1	1
				Ubá	1	1
				Belo Horizonte	1	1
				Rio de Janeiro	2	
Dois	The film included the actor Mauro Mendonça, very experienced in television and nationally famous.	94.40%	5	Cataguases	12	12
				Muriaé	2	2
				Itamaraty	1	1
				Leopoldina	2	2
				Rio de Janeiro	1	
Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você	Dozens of local actors and professionals, as well as promoting an important interchange with Portugal.	56.52%	10	Cataguases	10	10
				Muriaé	2	2
				Ubá	1	1
				Belo Horizonte	1	
				São Paulo	1	
				Rio de Janeiro	1	
				Recife	1	
				Fortaleza	1	
				Portugal	3	
Introdução à música do sangue	Ney Latorraca and Bete Mendes (actors with a lot of experience and famous throughout the country due to their TV work) are the main characters but most of the technical team and the cast is from Cataguases.	60.00%	5	Mozambique	2	
				Cataguases	6	6
				Muriaé	2	2
				Ubá	1	1
				São Paulo	2	
				Rio de Janeiro	4	

Source: Produced by the authors, from Oliveira Júnior (2016).

Table 3. Locations, themes and setting

Title	Location town	Context / Theme / Setting
A família Dioni	Cataguases, Leopoldina, Recreio and Muriaé	The film tells the story of a father and his two almost teenage children, Kelton and Serino, who live on a farm, inland, in Minas Gerais. The mother no longer lives with them as she “melted” from love and, during transpiration, evaporated. Kelton falls in love with a girl from a circus that comes to town, and tries hard to transpire, evaporate, turn into a cloud and rain on his love. It portrays the universal theme of discovering love and the regional characteristics of the interior of Brazil.
Dois	Cataguases and Leopoldina	The story is about the relationship between Gabriel and Mateus, twin brothers who are in love with the same woman, Nina, in a small inland town. One of the brothers and the woman plan a heist and incriminate each other. One brother changes places with the other in jail.
Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você	Cataguases and Lisbon	Based on the book by the writer Luiz Ruffato (from Cataguases), the story is about a middle to lower class man in his twenties who isn't happy with his family and decides to look for a better life by leaving Cataguases and going to Lisbon. As an immigrant in Lisbon he finds a very different world to what he'd imagined, with tensions due to the different societies and also the economic crisis.
Introdução à música do sangue	Leopoldina	A family is living inland in Minas Gerais, in a small house without electricity. All the characters have a different perception of time, which seems to pass more slowly inland, with a silent atmosphere of routine that's both exhausting and disturbing.

Source: Produced by the authors, from Oliveira Júnior (2016).

by the local Cataguases author Luiz Ruffato. The artists are from ten different towns, five different states and two countries.

In the Pole's productions we can see artists from Portugal and Mozambique (outside Brazil), Ceará, Sergipe, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, acting together with local artists and technicians. Mauro Mendonça, Ney Latorraca, Bete Mendes, Caco Ciocler, Simone Spoladore, Gero Camilo, Bia Bedran and Neila Tavares, among others, are all artists with well-established careers in the country, who act on television, in the theatre and on film, and who've been involved with the Pole's productions for the last ten years. This started out as an apprenticeship but now they're starting to act together with a regional cast of different origins and backgrounds.

In the four cases, the presence of artists from the region presents, for example, a specific way of speaking which could mean that not only do people from the local towns see themselves in these actors but people from other areas in Brazil may also become aware of how people speak in other areas. The importance of this observation is directly related to language as a key aspect in cultural diversity; understanding how someone speaks as a primordial aspect in our cognitive mediations and the relations we establish with the world.

Regarding the themes of the films, references to Brazil's interior are present in the productions *A família Dioni* and *Introdução à música do sangue*. The first is a story about inland Brazil, about

a teenager struggling with his first love and who tries hard to transpire, to evaporate, to turn into a cloud and rain on his love. The film manages to make the characters' fantasy believable and shows both the awakenings of love between teenagers, in an unusual way for Brazilian audiovisuals, and also the world of the children of circus performers who go from town to town.

In *Introdução à música do sangue* the type of people who live in Brazil's interior is represented naturally, conveying to viewers the notion of what the author proposes, as well as placing viewers within the reality of the interior, portrayed by the characters. *Estive em Lisboa e lembrei de você* is originally set in Cataguases and Lisbon and deals with various aspects that concern a young man in his twenties, such as the economic crisis, harmful relationships and the feeling of being out-of-place, among others. As a way out, the main character looks for new opportunities and a fresh start in Lisbon but he comes across the typical situation of immigrants in Europe. The theme is also used to improve ties between these two Portuguese-speaking countries, both participants in the Festival de Cinema de Países de Língua Portuguesa (CINEPORT).

Regarding the “setting”, all the films in the sample use towns from the region as their main location. Although the story they tell could have been filmed in other places (such as *Dois*, where twin brothers fall in love with the same woman and envy lies at the heart of the story, etc.), the towns and their streets are

shown. The film *Introdução à música do sangue* has a remote farm as its setting, with birdsong or at times a disconcerting silence as the backdrop. It's about the interior of Brazil, a place that electricity hasn't reached, and throughout the film we can see that the characters have a notably different perception of time, which seems to pass more slowly in towns in Brazil's interior.

In this respect, the district of Leopoldina, chosen for the locations, is perfect. Interactions take place within specific contexts and the setting also acts as context. As in the case of the behaviour of the Isabel character, licking a spoon, an act which her mother believes to be sensual, "Is that the proper way to eat? Don't they have manners?", or the couple embracing in bed and the mother saying "we're too old for that", both behaviours considered inappropriate in such a context.

Conclusion

We believe the analyses carried out here could be useful in defining categories and variables applicable to the analysis of cultural diversity and audiovisual production. On attempting to combine the methodological proposals of Stirling (UNESCO 2011) and Knoblauch and Tuma (2011) with the contribution by Ranaivoson, we have revealed a productive way to develop a distinct methodology with this focus.

As an example of the power of the methodological exercise proposed, we carried out an analysis of four films produced at the Audiovisual Pole of Zona da Mata, in Minas Gerais, Brazil, which premiered in 2015, taking as our reference three groups of variables regarding the perspective of diversity: origin of the direction team, origin of the cast and technicians, locations, themes and settings.

An analysis of the categories and variables reveals several important aspects from the point of view of promoting diversity but we should especially cite two here: the opportunity for local artists and technicians to act effectively in the Audiovisual Pole's productions but also to benefit from the creative contribution of people from various parts of the country and world. Artists from Cataguases appear in the four films, a relevant fact if we compare this with the first film made at the Audiovisual Pole, *Meu pé de Laranja Lima*, which had several local technicians but only as assistants, and the only local artists were children.

Another point revealed by the analysis is that choosing the setting and theme without taking commercial (or sellable) issues into account provides a way not only to show local settings but also local expressive forms which might not be portrayed in other products from the same audiovisual medium.

This methodological exercise may help to guide producers and directors interested in furthering the promotion of diversity. The choice of the cast, of the setting, the soundtrack's composer, costume designers, directors of photography, scriptwriters, of all the elements are, in themselves, guides which can be used to develop several aspects in the area where they are going to be produced.

In the medium and long term, what has been analysed can be perfected, establishing comparative historical series of the elements studied here, as well as developing videographic studies of audiovisual production from the perspective of cultural diversity.

Notes

1. "uma dimensão coletiva e dinâmica que pressupõe a troca de representações, de valores, de leituras da sociedade".
2. "a compreensão de sua natureza comunicativa. Isto é, seu caráter de processo produtor de significações e não de mera circulação de informações".
3. "A primeira relaciona cultura à soma das descrições disponíveis pelas quais as sociedades dão sentido e refletem suas experiências comuns [...] a segunda ênfase é mais deliberadamente antropológica e enfatiza o aspecto de "cultura" que se refere às práticas sociais [...] A Cultura é um modo de vida global [...] Algo que se entrelaça a todas as práticas sociais".
4. "Os seres humanos utilizam uma variedade de sistemas de representação para experimentar, interpretar e "dar sentido" às condições de sua existência".
5. "Comunicação, como fenômeno, seria isso que viabiliza, entre seres humanos em sociedade, negociar suas ideias ou percepções "singulares" (de indivíduos ou grupos e setores sociais), em princípio "diferenciadas", objetivando um padrão de aceitabilidade que permita ao espaço social funcionar, seja para acordar objetivos, seja para fazer valer uns sobre os outros, seja para decidir dos modos adequados de atingi-los".
6. "elemento central da experiência estética relacionada aos processos interacionais".
7. "Se um objeto se apresenta várias vezes aos nossos olhos com as mesmas determinações internas (qualidade e quantidade), nós usamos o recurso da comparação, para saber se se trata de uma única coisa e não de coisas diferentes [...] Mas por que dizemos que alguém é igual ou diferente de outro? Porque comparamos. Comparamos como se fosse o caso de identificar objetos. E comparamos para exercer poder, para dominar. Na verdade, os homens não são iguais, nem desiguais. Os homens, seres singulares, coexistem em sua diversidade".
8. "para avaliar a diversidade de qualquer sistema [...], primeiramente este sistema deve ser dividido em tipos ou categorias (por exemplo, títulos, origens geográficas etc.)".
9. "Para aumentar a variedade, podemos, por exemplo, aumentar o número de canções difundidas, de 100 para 150. Para aumentar o balanceamento, podemos reduzir o número de transmissões das músicas mais tocadas e aumentar as transmissões das outras. Para aumentar a disparidade, podemos optar por substituir algumas das canções pop francesas por músicas de outros estilos que antes não eram transmitidos, como por exemplo as canções brasileiras da

Bossa Nova ou do Qawwali paquistanês”.

10. “a variedade de produtos que podem se tornar lucrativamente disponíveis”.
11. “diversidade de atores em cada estágio do processo de produção”.

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Cultural diversity reporting in the Canadian audiovisual industry: making monitoring meaningful

EMILIA ZBORALSKA

Communication & Culture, Ryerson University

emilia.zboralska@ryerson.ca

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-2272-9073

CHARLES H. DAVIS

RTA School of Media, Ryerson University

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-1226-3441

JEREMY SHTERN

School of Creative Industries, Ryerson University

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-9445-0584

VANESSA CICCONE

Communication & Culture, Ryerson University

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-6767-876X

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Abstract

Responding to calls for greater diversity in media representation and in the workplace, in 2001 the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) instituted measures to monitor broadcasters' diversity management. This paper presents a critical qualitative examination of the diversity reports provided by Canadian broadcasters since then. Our analysis reveals that reports vary significantly in format, content, breadth, and depth of reporting style, permitting only nominal monitoring of compliance. We argue that a more meaningful monitoring regime is urgently required. The analysis demonstrates the need for standardization, measurability, and follow-up, and underscores the importance of addressing the realities of broadcasting in the digital age.

Keywords

Cultural diversity, media policy, broadcasting, Canada, diversity monitoring.

Resum

En resposta a la petició d'una major diversitat en la representació mediàtica i al lloc de treball, el 2001, la Comissió de Radiotelevisió i Telecomunicacions Canadenca (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, CRTC) va establir mesures per monitoritzar la gestió de la diversitat en els organismes de radiodifusió. Aquest estudi presenta un examen qualitatiu crític dels informes de diversitat proporcionats pels organismes de radiodifusió canadencs des d'aquell moment. La nostra anàlisi revela que els informes varien significativament pel que fa al format, el contingut, l'amplitud i la profunditat en l'estil de notificació, la qual cosa tan sols permet una monitorització nominal del compliment de les mesures. Sostenim que cal establir amb urgència un règim de monitorització més significatiu. L'anàlisi demostra la necessitat d'estandardització, mesurabilitat i seguiment, i accentua la importància d'atendre les realitats de la radiotelevisió durant l'era digital.

Paraules clau

Diversitat cultural, política mediàtica, radiodifusió, Canadà, monitorització de la diversitat.

Introduction

In 2015, BroadwayBlack.com managing editor April Reign instigated the “#OscarsSoWhite” campaign and mobilized significant industry and public opinion pressure behind an issue that had long been known among industry and advocacy groups: the alarming paucity of opportunity afforded to minorities in the screen media production industry. Even before the issue

burst into public awareness and occupied social media feeds around the world, government agencies, advocacy groups and industry organizations were emphasizing that individuals from disadvantaged groups (women, racialized minorities, Aboriginal persons, and persons with disabilities) are underrepresented in occupations throughout the audiovisual industry (CMG 2013; Creative Skillset 2012; Davis et al. 2014; Hill and Capriotti 2009; Murray 2002; Phillips 2011; Smith et al. 2011; WIV,

2013a; WIV 2013b; Zboralska 2017b), especially in top creative decision-making roles (WIFT 2012). Such studies suggest that minorities experience greater difficulty in both the 'getting in' and 'getting on' phases of their careers (Allen et al. 2012; Antcliff, Bielby 2009, Coles 2016; Coutanche, Davis and Zboralska 2015; Eikhof and Warhurst 2013; Grugalis and Stoyanova 2012; Holgate and McKay 2007; Lee 2011; Saundry and Stuart 2011; Zboralska 2017a, b) and earn less on average than their non-minority counterparts (CMG, 2013; WIFT, 2012). The discussion about screen diversity and systemic racism in media work has continued since the mobilization of #OscarsSoWhite in 2015, at industry events, in press coverage and on social media. Implicit in this discussion is a call to action, an appeal stating that "something must be done" about media diversity. This discussion is clearly more than a mere PR crisis for Hollywood, as it asks fundamental questions about the legitimacy, privilege and equality of the media industry and of the government agencies whose cultural policies underpin and oversee it. To identify what can be done about media diversity, it is necessary to examine previous and current approaches to the issue. We do so in this paper by evaluating the effectiveness of broadcaster diversity reporting, a Canadian media policy framework established in 2001 to monitor and contribute to media diversity in the domestic broadcasting industry.

Canada serves as a particularly illuminating case study of the challenges in attaining cultural diversity in media. Not only is Canada a bilingual country with two official languages, English and French, and thus two large and distinct cultural markets, but it also has high rates of immigration on which it relies for population growth, as well as a historically strained relationship with its Aboriginal peoples. Canada often presents itself as a multicultural mosaic (Bloemraad 2006; Byers and Tastsoglou 2008; Cameron 2004; Citizen and Immigration Canada 2010, 2012; Day 2000; Statistics Canada 2008), and the "constitutional and legal scaffolding" for diversity is stronger in Canada than in many other countries (Murray 2009). The commitment to diversity is expressed in the Canadian Broadcasting Act (the Act), which requires the broadcasting system to reflect Canada's cultural and demographic diversity through its programming and employment opportunities (s.3.1.d.iii). The main regulatory body, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), has since 2001 required broadcasters to report annually on their diversity management strategies (Decision CRTC 2001-457). Despite these measures, employment of marginalized groups in the broadcasting sector remains disproportionately low (WIFT 2012; WIV 2015).

In this paper we review Canadian diversity reporting in the broadcasting sector based on analysis of nearly 200 broadcaster reports submitted to the CRTC since 2001. Our analysis shows that these reports vary significantly in format, content, breadth, and depth of reporting style, and some are more effective than others at demonstrating progress toward cultural diversity in media. We diagnose the reasons behind these variations, note

a certain degree of progress in recent years, and assess the diversity monitoring framework's readiness for the future.

We argue that a more robust, evidence-based monitoring regime is required to make diversity policy effective. The lack of standardized, consistent, regularly produced indicators in pursuit of measurable goals is a barrier to genuine progress in the area of diversity policy. Our case study demonstrates the need for standardization, measurability, and follow-up in diversity monitoring regimes, and underscores the growing importance of designing initiatives that address the realities of media work in the digital age.

This paper is divided into three sections. In the first, we examine the contours of cultural diversity in media policy and its operationalization in the Canadian system; in the second, we present findings from our analysis of the submitted reports; and in the third section, we diagnose the deficiencies in the reports and offer recommendations to ameliorate the current policy framework.

The scope of "cultural diversity" in media policy and its operationalization in the Canadian system

The term "cultural diversity" does not have a consistent meaning in media policy and has been called a "dynamic concept" (Millwood Hargrave, 2007) that shifts depending on the broadcasting regulator, its location and particular preoccupation (Campion 2005; Horstti and Hulten 2011; McGonagle 2010; Millwood Hargrave 2007). Policy frameworks encompassing cultural diversity can be usefully theorized as targeting either 'international' or 'intranational' diversity –although nation-states typically embrace both concepts to varying degrees in separate frameworks and through separate governing bodies. The former concept encompasses nationalist policies that seek to define the way a country's own media products are regulated in relation to *foreign* products. Inter-national cultural diversity policy is of central concern in multi-state unions and partnerships. European Union media cultural diversity policy, for example, has largely focused on international cultural diversity, given the strong and distinct national identities of member states. Intranational cultural diversity media policies, on the other hand, govern the way different groups within a country's own borders have access to the media system. Policies aimed at intracultural media diversity are most common in countries with significant rates of immigration including Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom, and are becoming more common across the world due to increasing levels of globalization and transnational mobility.

Definitions of intra-national cultural diversity vary widely among regulators, however, and include references to linguistic differences, national communities, traditionally disadvantaged groups within society, and media ownership (e.g. ownership and cross-ownership rules), and there is often conflation of these concepts by regulating bodies (Millwood Hargrave 2007). In the

Canadian media regulatory context, “cultural diversity” largely has a single referent –the representation of certain groups in mainstream broadcasting (BPN CRTC 2008-4). Intracultural diversity has long been an area of concern for Canada’s media regulators. The 1980s represented a period of transformation in Canadian social policy. New legislation came into effect that aimed at officially recognizing Canada as a multicultural country and ameliorating the status of visible and cultural minorities in the nation. These legislations include the pivotal Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982, the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1985, and the Employment Equity Act (EEA) of 1986. These wide-reaching legislative frameworks cemented Canada’s commitment to establishing a flourishing multicultural country. The “designated groups,” namely women, visible minorities, individuals with disabilities and Aboriginal persons, were identified in the EEA as groups who faced undue barriers to equitable representation in employment.

The Canadian Broadcasting Act, long used as an instrument for promoting social cohesion and national unity, was amended in 1991, soon after these legislations came into force. Under the new Act, the CRTC was tasked with ensuring that the broadcasting system should:

“through its programming and the employment opportunities arising out of its operations, serve the needs and interests, and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society.” (3[1][d][iii]) [2]

In 1992, the Commission acknowledged the “need for a practical system of public accountability” and “more effective and affirmative action on the part of the broadcasting industry in the area of employment equity” (BPN CRTC 1992-59). The Commission’s monitoring of the status of minorities in the broadcasting system has undergone several iterations owing to changes in its supervisory jurisdiction. The current diversity reporting requirements, established in 2001 (Decision CRTC 2001-457), require broadcasters to submit reports annually on their initiatives to increase the representation of the designated groups on and off screen.

According to the CRTC, the annual reporting on cultural diversity by broadcasters is “the key mechanism the Commission has to *measure such progress* and, ultimately, to ensure that it occurs” (BPN CRTC 2005-24; emphasis added). These reports are required to address the following three areas, which are considered “important to furthering the cultural diversity initiative”:

1. Corporate accountability.
2. Reflection of diversity in programming.
3. Community involvement (BPN CRTC 2004-2).

In this article, we focus only on the first two areas. While broadcaster community involvement is important, the first two

areas (diversity off the screen, and diversity on the screen) are most relevant to this discussion.

Regarding corporate accountability, the Commission expects broadcasters to “set goals toward creating a corporate culture that supports a programming service reflective of Canada’s cultural diversity, including its Aboriginal reality” (BPN CRTC 2004-2). Through this expectation, the Commission assumes that a corporate culture that welcomes diversity will lead to the creation of programming that is representative of Canadian diversity.

To provide evidence of progress in this area, in their reports, broadcasters are expected to:

- Identify a senior executive within the corporation who “will be accountable for” cultural diversity and associated practices, and for ensuring that management also becomes more representative of Canadian cultural diversity.
- Set “clear goals” for managers regarding the reflection of diversity.
- Ensure that managers receive “appropriate training”.
- Ensure that staff are provided with “regular opportunities” to evaluate the progress made toward representation of cultural diversity, and to identify “future challenges”.
- Indicate their plans for the hiring and retention of the designated groups and how they plan to train staff in this area (BPN CRTC 2004-2).

To provide evidence that broadcasters are making progress toward the reflection of diversity in their programming, the Commission expects that each report include “specific initiatives” that aim to ensure that diversity is “reflected fairly and consistently” in both produced *and* acquired content (BPN 2004-2). According to the Commission, the reports should also address “*the way that Canada’s diversity is portrayed in programming*” (BPN 2004-2; emphasis added). This requirement makes clear that the Commission is interested in more than mere presence; it is also concerned with the manner in which the designated groups are portrayed on screen. However, the requirement that Canadian diversity be reflected in imported content is obviously problematic; as such programming is generally created for international audiences and lacks a Canadian context.

When detailing measures related to programming, reports should also address the way “the portrayal and presence of visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples” will be integrated into “all stages of the production and acquisition of such programming, including decisions about which programs will be broadcast” (BPN 2004-2). Here the Commission expects to see evidence that the portrayal of diversity is not an afterthought for broadcasters, and has been carefully implemented throughout the production process.

It is evident that the Commission’s monitoring regime is not a command-and-control model of regulation concerning cultural diversity. The regulator gives broadcasters the

flexibility to interpret how terms and expressions (including the interpretation of “clear goals”) should be operationalized and adapted for their unique circumstances. The Commission expects that broadcasters “develop strategies specific to their own operations” toward the attainment of the goal of fair and accurate representation (BPN CRTC 2005-24).

Notwithstanding this intentional flexibility regarding the way broadcasters choose to set and implement their strategies, the Commission is clear in its expectation for specificity and measurability. It stresses that submitted reports “should include *detailed, specific initiatives* relating to each of the...areas” and “must also specify *how* progress will be assessed with respect to the initiatives in each of these areas” (BPN 2004-2; emphasis added). Thus, as a minimum requirement, the regulator is clear in its request for broadcasters to set specific goals and provide details regarding how they plan to operationalize and measure their progress. An assessment of the submitted reports must therefore consider whether broadcasters met this minimum standard.

Evaluating broadcaster cultural diversity reporting in Canada

Methodology

From 2003 to 2016, over 200 reports were submitted by broadcasters for evaluation by the CRTC.[3] We examined most of these reports by way of an initial, high-level, exploratory analysis. The analysis included both English-language, and French-language broadcasters, but did not include Canada’s national public broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), since it does not follow the same reporting process, and does not submit annual cultural diversity reports to the CRTC. Following the initial exploratory analysis, we subsequently selected three reporting years (2011, 2012 and the most recent, 2015) for further intensive examination and evaluated all reports submitted during these years, totaling 43 individual reports. We coded the reports using the qualitative data analysis software program, QDA Miner. The CRTC’s expectations for reporting served as the basis of our coding scheme. We also coded for other factors that we know to be salient from our own research and from previous studies, including whether or not the reports address barriers to the advancement of the designated groups including the difficulty of breaking in, the challenges of moving into senior levels of creative management, and others.

To maintain focus on the core of the paper’s argument, namely on the insufficiency in reporting substance and style in submitted reports, in the discussion that follows we have replaced the names of broadcasters quoted with simple codes, ‘Broadcaster A’, ‘Broadcaster B’, ‘Broadcaster C’ and so forth. A table containing the referents and their codes is appended. In areas in which we observed marked changes between the earlier

reporting cycles and the most recent one, we cite examples only from the latter cycle.

Findings

Heterogeneity in formatting and reporting style

We found significant variation in reporting style among submitted reports. The reports vary widely in length, breadth, depth, and data presentation. Each report explicitly addresses the areas outlined by the CRTC, but the information included under each category varies. The reports are primarily qualitative in nature, although they present some quantitative data. Due to the significant range of variations in content, presentation and formatting of these reports, direct comparison between them is difficult.

Definitions of diversity

While all of the reports primarily define diversity in relation to the designated groups (i.e. women, visible minorities, individuals with disabilities and Aboriginal persons), several broadcasters expand the definition to include other categories including regional diversity, age, mental illness, caregiver status, religion, income, sexual preference, gender identity, as well as ethnic and cultural groups not recognized under the Employment Equity Act (e.g. the Polish).

Framing of diversity initiatives

The reports primarily present a business case for the incorporation of cultural diversity in their programming and larger corporate environments. To a lesser extent, these reports supplement the economic rationale with one that frames the incorporation of cultural diversity as a public good (for instance, as an issue of access to one’s cultural heritage, as an issue of fairness and equality, or as an issue related to the enrichment of society at large). Some of the reports also frame cultural diversity as a legal requirement and cite specific public policies that their companies comply with regarding human rights and discrimination, while also highlighting internal discrimination and harassment policies.

Indeterminate language

Broadcasters often employ indeterminate language, making it difficult to decipher their level of commitment to the diversity initiatives they cite, which contradicts the Commission’s emphasis on specificity in relation to diversity initiatives. One broadcaster’s goal is to “ensure that those responsible for acquiring foreign programming **take into account** the corporate policy on cultural diversity programming” (Broadcaster F, 2015). Another broadcaster “**encourages** producers from all cultural

backgrounds to submit proposals” (Broadcaster D, 2012). This type of indeterminate language is common across reports and, in signaling concern without specifying commitment, does not appear to comply with the Commission’s requirement for specificity.

Showcasing representation

Our examination of the submitted reports has revealed a variety of approaches taken to present evidence of diversity on-screen. To provide evidence of the incorporation of diversity practices in programming, broadcasters cite programs that provide representation of individuals from the designated groups. Often, however, the cited examples are not contextualized and simply state that a member of the designated groups appeared in the program. For instance, one broadcaster reported that:

Visible minorities are also well represented in both World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) and Total Nonstop Action Wrestling (TNA). Among them are TNA Television Champion Devon, TNA Tagteam Champions Hernandez and Chavo, women’s Knockout division stars Gail Kim, Rosita, and ODB, WWE Intercontinental Champion Kofi Kingston, WWE Superstar Booker T... (Broadcaster D, 2012).

Such descriptions do not clarify which minority groups are represented, and there is no analysis of the extent to which this programming contributes positively to cultural diversity. The professional wrestling programming mentioned here, for example, is notorious for resorting to ethnic and racial stereotypes. Similarly, another broadcaster reported the number of times members of designated groups appeared on a particular program over a period of time. The “color by numbers” approach is problematic, and without proper contextualization, elicits a misleading picture of progress (Campion 2005; 2006). The regulator is not simply interested in presence, but also *portrayal*. From many of the examples cited by broadcasters, however, it is not possible to get a sense of the meaningfulness of the appearances cited (i.e. are they playing a lead role? supporting role? instrumental to plot?), or the quality of the portrayals. Previous studies have pointed out the frequently shallow, unsubstantial or ‘rootless’ portrayal of individuals from the designated groups in Canadian television (Murray 2002; Solutions Research Group 2003a; Murray 2009; Fleras 2011). This is therefore a relevant and important issue that should be addressed in the reports, as requested by the Commission.

In the newest reporting cycle, many of the reports examined have moved primarily toward what we are calling the ‘highlight reel’ approach, whereby broadcasters emphasize and contextualize specific programs they believe provide evidence of progress in representation and portrayal on-screen.

Beauty and the Beast is an outstanding illustration of on-screen diversity, reflecting the mix of multicultural groups of a large metropolitan city. Star Kristin Kreuk leads the way as a Canadian actress born in Indonesia with both Dutch

and Chinese ancestry. Her fellow cast of series regulars include actors from African American, Filipino, and Sri Lankan backgrounds. Season 3 supporting cast and guest stars continue to include casting diversity throughout the series. **The series promotes women as role models in the workplace by featuring two strong independent female detectives. One of the lead female characters, portrayed by African American actress, Nina Lisandrello, is promoted to Police Captain.** (Broadcaster B, 2015)

This example above not only discusses presence, but also portrayal, and provides a rationale for its inclusion in the report. Although certain approaches to reporting on diversity in programming are more meaningful than others, all of the various approaches observed fail to put the representation of the designated groups into temporal perspective, making it impossible to determine if programming has become more inclusive over time, especially in the key categories (lead and supporting roles). The measurement of progress is a central goal of the Commission (BPN CRTC 2005-24). As Murray (2009) points out, authentic portrayal has three main features. It needs to be diverse (individuals from the designated groups should be just as likely to be cast in any role as their non-minority counterparts); balanced (not ‘whitewashed’ but complex); and born out of compelling narrative, which would likely be initiated with more diverse representation behind-the-screen (*ibid.*).

Corporate accountability, measurement and progress

Our examination of submitted reports reveals that reporting on the employment status of the designated groups was much improved in 2015 over prior reporting cycles. Though the improvement was marked, it was not universal, and important and urgent changes are still required.

When discussing their commitments to corporate accountability in the area of cultural diversity, broadcasters are expected to comment in their reports on the hiring and retention of people from the designated groups and “must also specify how progress will be assessed” (BPN 2004-2). In prior reporting cycles, reports demonstrated a greater degree of inconsistency regarding *how* they would report on their staff. Responses such as, “Our stations hired people from the Dominican Republic” (Broadcaster D, 2012) were more common. Such responses were highly problematic; they did not provide even basic information including the number of individuals hired and the roles they were hired to perform. In the 2015 reporting cycle, most reports, at minimum, provide an overall snapshot of their workforce. For instance, Broadcaster E (2015) states:

As of December 31, 2014, [Broadcaster E] employed 1,268 full-time employees, 122 part-time employees and during peak periods, and an additional 226 temporary employees. The full-time workforce representation by designated group included 573 Women (45.19%), 9 Aboriginal Persons (.71%), 18 Persons with Disabilities

(1.42%) and 139 members of Visible Minorities (10.96%). The part-time workforce representation by designated group included 48 Women (39.34%), 0 Aboriginal persons (0%), 3 Persons with Disabilities (2.46%) and 11 members of Visible Minorities (9.02%). Nationally, [Broadcaster E] continues to work on increasing its representation of all designated groups and remains committed to reducing access barriers.

The report then provides details on the distribution of designated groups across various broad employment categories (e.g. senior managers, technicians, clerical workers, etc.). Although this was the best approach identified across the reports, it still lacked key details and contextualization. The data is not discussed in relation to the labor market availability of the designated groups in the region in which the broadcaster is based. Broadcaster E is headquartered in Toronto, Ontario, Canada where visible minorities *make up nearly 50% of the population* (Toronto 2017). Additionally, as previous studies have shown, women and visible minorities are most underrepresented in top *creative* decision-making roles (Davis, Shtern, Coutanche and Godo 2014; WIFT 2012; WIV 2015). While it is useful to know how the designated groups fare in management roles and across general occupational categories, it is important to also know more granular information including what proportion work in creative roles *specifically*.

The most glaring lack of information under this category has to do with productions commissioned through independent producers. Some broadcasters have recognized the need to take more responsibility over staffing in the productions they commission. Broadcaster C (2015) now requires all producers it commissions to submit a 'diversity report' prior to, and after, production:

Based on conversations with the content team, in 2015 [Broadcaster C] updated its original programming agreement templates to include an obligation on third party independent producers to consider diversity during development and in production. The language we have put in place is as follows: In the development stage, the following is a deliverable: Diversity Plan (a written summary/plan outlining the ways in which cultural diversity will be encouraged and/or represented in all stages of production of the Program. In production, almost identical to above, and also as a deliverable under the Programming License Agreement: Diversity Report - A written report outlining steps taken to encourage and/or represent cultural diversity in all stages of production of the Program.

The same broadcaster has also begun, selectively, to supply some detail regarding behind-the-screen production teams:

Behind the scenes, *Beauty and the Beast* was created by two women, Jennifer Levin and Sherri Cooper. Both the writer's room and the roster of directors have included a number of women. The Season 3 director lineup includes 4 female directors Norma

Bailey, Jill Carter, Maizee Almas and Deborah Chow, as well as Sudz Sutherland who is of African-Canadian descent.

While Broadcaster E's current reporting on staffing in commissioned productions is a step in the right direction, a more comprehensive, consistent and wide-ranging approach is still urgently required. No other reports submitted in the 2015 cycle approached even the selective level of detail provided by Broadcaster E in the area of equity in staffing on commissioned productions.

Discussion

The diversity reports submitted by broadcasters lack overall consistency, specificity, comparability, and granularity to ascertain whether or not meaningful progress in the representation of diversity (both on and behind the screen) is taking place in Canadian television. Our findings show that there has been overall improvement in broadcasters' reporting of on-screen representation (from reporting that lacked contextualization to the more widespread adoption of the highlight reel approach), and of diversity in their *internal* workforces. These improvements are not universal, however, and crucial details are still lacking, including the distribution of the designated groups in lead roles, and how much this representation has changed over the years, if at all.

With respect to the employment of the designated groups behind the screen, the numerical data that is provided is not contextualized in relation to both national and regional labor market availability of these groups. Key indicators regarding the proportion of the designated groups that occupy top *creative* decision making roles are not provided, and there is no consistent reporting across broadcasters on diversity in the staffing of commissioned productions. This lack of reporting on commissioned, rather than in-house productions and staff is highly problematic given that 75% of all Canadian-produced content broadcast by the majors is produced by independent production companies (CRTC 2008-4).

Although broadcasters' diversity reports could better respond to the CRTC's request for specificity and measurability, in our view, clarification of the regulator's expectations is necessary. In 2005, the Commission expressed a desire to "streamline reporting requirements" to "ensure that annual reporting is as seamless and as efficient as possible" (BPN CRTC 2005-24), but to date, this standardization has not been instituted. The lack of standardization with respect to the format, style and content of submitted reports has undoubtedly contributed to some of the issues we found in our examination.

Broadcaster C (2015) explicitly asks the Commission to re-evaluate its reporting requirements:

As requested in previous reports, we again encourage the Commission to streamline the reporting process. Although no streamlining measures were initiated, we have continued to report according to current Commission guidelines and

our commitments. We believe it would be appropriate for the Commission to review the obligation to file this report on an annual basis going-forward. These reports are time-consuming to prepare, and many of our plans, activities, and anticipated results cover several years. The Commission currently has detailed records of diversity-related activities/efforts occurring throughout the broadcasting sector. In our view, it is clear that progress is being made and the detailed nature of the annual report requires significant resources that might be better deployed advancing our many projects and initiatives in this important area.

While we disagree with the view that “it is clear that progress is being made” (Broadcaster, 2015), it is apparent that a significant amount of work is generally put into the reports. This is concerning as it is unclear how these reports are evaluated by the Commission. Although the Commission states that it “closely” evaluates submitted diversity reports at the time of the renewal of a broadcaster’s license (BPN CRTC 2008-4), which typically occurs every five to seven years, we generally found no evidence of corrective action taken by the regulator in response to a broadcaster’s performance in the area of cultural diversity at the time of license renewal. Such an action would be difficult to imagine based on the lack of critical and consistent data in submitted reports. Even if the Commission wanted to take action, the enforcement tools available to it are limited. In a recent hearing, CRTC Chairman Jean Pierre Blais acknowledged that the Commission has very few tools of enforcement at its disposal, and almost has “to go nuclear right away” by revoking licenses (Blais, 2014). It has no capacity to set even financial penalties (Murray, 2009).

Overall, greater accountability and leadership are required, as the Commission’s commitment to cultural diversity has lacked continuity. In 2001, the Commission established a ‘task force’ (the Task Force) to conduct research to “help define the issues” and “present practical solutions” about cultural diversity in broadcasting (BPN CRTC 2001-88). The Task Force was to be a partnership between broadcasters, community representatives and other interested parties, headed by the private sector industry association, the Canadian Association of Broadcasters (CAB) (*ibid.*). One of the most significant outcomes of the Task Force was a study that provided a snapshot of the presence and portrayal of the designated groups on Canadian television (Solutions Research Group, 2003a), which demonstrated many problems in relation to the portrayal of diversity. The Task Force recommended that a follow-up study be undertaken “in three to four years time” to ensure that progress is in fact being made (CAB, 2004: 50). The Task Force was dissolved in 2009, however, and a follow-up study was reportedly only recently contracted. The results of this study are still unknown.

In the most recent License renewal period, the topic of diversity—specifically the representation of women in key creative roles in the industry—only emerged during the hearings as an issue of importance after it was brought to the Commission’s

attention by a women’s industry advocacy group (WIFT 2016). In an unanticipated but welcome move, as part of its decision on broadcaster license renewals following this hearing, the Commission announced that it “intends to monitor broadcasters’ efforts” by requiring them “to provide information on a yearly basis regarding the employment of women in key leadership creative positions in the productions they broadcast” in order to “allow the Commission and the public to better identify women’s challenges in the television industry prior to the next renewal process” and to address the “lack of data” in the area (CRTC 2017-148). The Commission also committed to holding an event “on women in production, with particular emphasis on women in leadership positions” (CRTC 2017-148). No details were provided, however, on the form the new monitoring regime is to take, what ‘creative’ roles will be examined, and whether there will be any standardization across broadcaster groups with respect to the information reported. The scope of the Commission’s requirement for broadcasters to provide data on “the productions they broadcast” is also unclear (CRTC 2017-148). It is uncertain, for example, whether the new requirement extends to *all* content shown by broadcasters, including licensed content, or whether the requirement is for commissioned content only. The relationship between the current diversity reporting regime and the new monitoring initiative is also unclear. What is clear, however, is that the newly announced initiative is solely focused on gender, and does not extend to examining visible minority status and other categories of diversity (ex. age, sexual orientation, gender identity etc.) in key creative roles.

Two major challenges exist with respect to the Commission’s progress in matters of diversity in broadcasting.

Jurisdictional challenges

The CRTC has only limited jurisdiction over employment equity matters. National oversight of employment equality is governed by the Employment Equity Act (EEA), instituted in 1986. The EEA applies to all employers with more than one hundred employees in federally regulated industries, of which broadcasters are a part. Prior to 1996, both the federal government, through the EEA, and the CRTC (for broadcasters only) had jurisdiction over employment equity. In 1996, amendments to both the Broadcasting Act and the EEA limited the Commission’s jurisdiction in this area. According to the amended Broadcasting Act, the Commission’s powers no longer “extend to the regulation or supervision of matters concerning employment equity” for broadcasters subject to the EEA (i.e. those with greater than 100 employees) (2.5). This means that the Commission only has jurisdiction over on-screen representation, and could explain its reluctance to institute a more rigorous and robust monitoring regime requiring broadcasters to provide more granular measurements of their labor force. The Commission only asks broadcasters to report on their employment practices “as they relate to on-screen presence and portrayal of cultural diversity” (BPN 2001-457).

The improvements noted in the way broadcasters are reporting on internal workforce representation in the 2015 cycle, stem from data the broadcasters are appending from their EEA submissions. The problem is, the type of numerical data broadcasters must annually submit on account of their EEA reporting duties is the same across federally regulated industries, which include disparate fields such as banks, marine shipping, air transportation, railway and road transportation, Crown corporations, uranium mining and many others. There are no special requirements that pertain to *creative* or *cultural* firms despite their unique features. Only the Commission's recent decision on monitoring the employment of women "in key leadership *creative* positions" (CRTC 2017-148; emphasis added) signals an understanding of the uniqueness of the sector. However, as already mentioned, the new initiative does not extend to other key categories of diversity. Without this wider requirement to provide numerical data that goes beyond what broadcasters already submit to the federal government as part of their EEA obligations (for example, data on how the remaining designated groups are represented in creative roles both on and behind the screen), a lack of clarity regarding how progression of on-screen diversity should be measured and evaluated, and without the key measurement of diversity among workers in commissioned programming, important information will continue to be missed. Studies of intranational cultural diversity policies aimed at ameliorating the status of underrepresented groups reveal that the most successful initiatives incorporate monitoring, measurement and the *consistent tracking of outcomes* (European Commission 2009; McGonagle 2010; Millwood Hargrave 2007; Solutions Research Group 2003b). The European Commission (2009) stresses the importance of "clear and quantifiable goals" such as "minimum targets in diversity recruitment, minimum annual training hours for the workforce, and concrete targets for increasing audience share from diversity groups" (p.7).

New media and the unregulated sphere

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the Commission's ability to improve diversity in broadcasting is the rapidly shifting audiovisual landscape owing to advances in technology that threaten the Commission's oversight of cultural diversity, and the effective regulation of the audiovisual system. The current reporting requirements are already lacking in the sense that they only encompass *licensed broadcasters*, meaning the Canadian independent production sector is bypassed completely. Even if broadcasters were made more widely accountable for the diversity of staffing in productions commissioned from independent producers, the efficacy of these rules will be increasingly challenged as independent production companies look to newer, alternative partners and platforms for the distribution and commissioning of their content, including (unregulated) domestic and foreign over-the-top (OTT) services. Oversight of cultural diversity in this changing landscape

requires the implementation of measures that move beyond traditional tools. Several Canadian government agencies including those that provide funding for productions are moving toward initiatives aimed at gender parity including Telefilm and the Canadian Media Fund. These agencies, however, have not committed to requirements related to the participation of the other designated groups in programming. Recent research indicates that underrepresentation of diversity in key creative roles persists in the emerging Canadian web series sector (WIV, 2015; Zboralska, 2017b). More comprehensive industry indicators, which would cover the regulated media system as well as the unregulated independent production sector (including companies producing professional screen content for alternative, online platforms), are required. The production of accurate, industry-specific indicators has been inconsistent, and has been left to advocacy groups and academics, both of which are limited in resources. The Canadian government, through its various cultural agencies, must consider the adoption of wider, clear diversity targets for the media sector as recommended by past studies of broadcasting diversity best practices (European Commission 2010; McGonagle 2010; Solutions Research Group 2003b). Adequate financial support must be earmarked for the production of these indicators to ensure consistency.

A significant overhaul of monitoring of both on and behind the screen representation in the broadcasting industry is needed. Neither the EEA reporting policy, nor the current and newly announced CRTC reporting regimes comprehensively measure representation and progress along the parameters that are most germane to this sector. The issue will become even more pronounced with the growth of the digital sphere. The focus of both the EEA and the CRTC's reporting policies has been the domestic broadcasters, which are highly institutionalized entities with established rules and processes. But an exclusive focus on these institutional spaces obscures wider, persistent problems.

On the topic of gender parity, one executive at the CRTC's License renewal hearing observed,

[I]n broadcasting it may have been a bit easier [to increase the representation of women in management roles] because we're working within a corporation that will put programs and opportunities in place that will benefit...certain segments of the company. And it's for their development and advancement. In the production community they're all individual entrepreneurs so there's not that one cohesive program that people can participate in and benefit from. (Wheeler, 2016, para. 6775)

The entrepreneurial nature of screen work outside of these spaces, particularly in the OTT environment, and the increasing prevalence of non-standard screen work thus requires an expansion of the monitoring regime.

A recent approach to industry-wide monitoring of diversity in the United Kingdom could serve as a powerful potential model for Canada, and other countries that aim to track on-

and off-screen diversity comprehensively and consistently. The Diversity Analysis Monitoring Data (DIAMOND) system, launched by the United Kingdom's self-regulatory industry group the Creative Diversity Network, aims to track six key diversity metrics including age, gender, gender identity, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and disability in both on-screen programming and in production workforces (Creative Diversity Network, 2016). The DIAMOND system is an online system that is being adopted by the United Kingdom's major broadcasters including the BBC, ITV, Channel 4, Sky and others (Creative Diversity Network, 2017). Broadcaster members will track the diversity of their internal workforces and programming using the software, and production companies will be responsible for reporting on projects that are commissioned by the broadcaster members (Creative Diversity Network, 2016). With respect to on-screen diversity, DIAMOND is designed to capture not only 'actual diversity', or the identity characteristics of the *actors* appearing on screen, but also 'perceived diversity', or how an audience is likely to interpret the diversity of the *characters*. A key aim of the DIAMOND system is industry-wide standardization of the type of data collected and the method by which it is collected, permitting meaningful comparison and analysis (Creative Diversity Network, 2016). Unlike Canadian EEA reporting, which does not require the collection of data on occupational categories that are unique to, and of central importance in, the broadcasting sector, the DIAMOND guidelines require that information be collected on the diversity of individuals who occupy key *creative* roles including commissioning editor, director, writer, producer, director of photography and others (Creative Diversity Network 2016). After the DIAMOND data is collected from the various sources, the findings are to be released in a report on a consistent basis. The DIAMOND system resolves many of the inadequacies outlined in the Canadian system. Not only does the system provide standardization that permits meaningful comparison and tracking, but it also accounts for *commissioned* programming.

Concerns have emerged, however, over the overall transparency of the DIAMOND system. The planned reports will present only anonymized data, sparking trepidations from a United Kingdom broadcasting union (Sweeney 2016). In addition, broadcasters join the DIAMOND initiative on a *voluntary* basis. Productions made for streaming services that have not opted to join the DIAMOND system are therefore not required to submit data. Because of its central role in funding, Canada could consider requiring all productions (including those produced for new streaming services) that draw on public funds (including tax credit programs) to participate in such a program as a condition of funding. The CRTC could also require broadcasters to participate in the program as a condition of license for reporting on their internal staff and productions. Removing the voluntary nature of the program could improve its effectiveness. To ensure independence, a non-broadcaster affiliated third party could administer the system, and synthesize the findings. In addition, the system could be made to compare diversity representation

levels in companies and productions to regional representation levels for added contextualization. The section on 'perceived diversity' could be further expanded to include data on whether on-screen characters challenge or perpetuate stereotypes—a problematic area for Canadian programming (Murray, 2002; Solutions Research Group, 2003; Murray, 2009; Fleras, 2011). Indeed, as McGonagle (2010) points out, diversity indicators must be 'contextually embedded', and reflective of the issues in the jurisdiction of concern. Such a monitoring system could be expanded globally through multi-state regulatory agreements between countries in which intranational cultural diversity is a concern. To ensure comprehensiveness, transnational (online) broadcasters like Netflix could then be made to participate in the program through such multi-state regulatory intervention.

Conclusion

This paper presents a critical qualitative examination of the diversity reports provided by Canadian broadcasters to the CRTC since 2001. Our analysis reveals that reports vary significantly in format, content, breadth, and depth of reporting style, permitting only nominal monitoring of compliance with diversity policy.

Much work needs to be done if Canada's audiovisual industry is to be representative of the 'cultural mosaic' the country is often claimed to be. Although the current CRTC reporting regime in Canada is well-intentioned, its lack of consistency has hindered its effectiveness. Additionally, while the CRTC's newly announced monitoring initiative on the status of women in key creative leadership positions is a welcome one, it requires greater clarity, and even if it is designed according to best practices, it represents only a partial solution to a much larger monitoring problem that will only increase in urgency as the media industry continues its transformation. This case study demonstrates the need for effective monitoring in diversity reporting regimes. If reporting is truly meant to be a key contributor to gauging and implementing progress, it must be standardized, tracked, reflective of the disintermediated nature of 21st century screen work, and consistently evaluated. As public and industry pressure mounts globally to "do something" about the lack of diversity in screen media work and about the structural barriers that minorities experience in actualizing their creative careers, it is worth reflecting on the tools that are currently being deployed by policymakers to tackle related questions. As our research into the 15-year history of Canada's diversity reporting suggests, "doing something" to create more meaningful media diversity may require global conversations and innovative, multi-stakeholder solutions.

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Notes

1. Henceforth in this paper, references made to “cultural diversity policy” should be understood in the Canadian context (i.e. policies aimed at ameliorating the status of designated groups), unless otherwise stated.
2. Raboy (1990) stresses that the measures concerning cultural diversity were added only after significant pressure was placed on the federal government from minority identity groups, and that the diversity that exists within the Canadian broadcasting system is owed solely to “the struggles and persistence of the communicationally less powerful” (p.7-8).
3. This figure reflects the number of reports that were archived on the CRTC’s website at the time this paper was written.

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Appendix 1. Broadcaster Coding Table

Broadcaster A	Rogers
Broadcaster B	Bell
Broadcaster C	Shaw
Broadcaster D	Astral
Broadcaster E	Corus
Broadcaster F	Allarco

Note to the reader: Only the broadcasters *directly quoted* in the paper are reflected in this coding table.

Invitations to audience participation through television in Spain: analysis of general interest channel prime time in 2010 and 2014

IGNACIO BERGILLOS

Lecturer at the Centro de Enseñanza Superior Alberta Giménez
– Universidad Pontificia Comillas ICAI-ICADE

ibergillos@cesag.org

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-9333-8056

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Abstract

This article presents the results of comparative research into the participation invitations that the main general interest television channels in Spain made to their audiences in 2010 and in 2014 during prime time and at night. It is content analysis which approaches the subject matter of study based on recognition of the complexity of its conceptualisation and with the aim of describing the relationship between the ownership of the channel and the television genre of the programme and the nature of the participation broadcast.

Keywords

Participation, audience, television, convergence, public service.

Resum

Aquest article presenta els resultats d'una recerca comparativa sobre les invitacions a la participació que les principals televisions generalistes a Espanya van oferir a l'audiència el 2010 i el 2014 durant la seva franja de màxima audiència i nit. Es tracta d'una anàlisi de contingut que s'aproxima a l'objecte d'estudi des del reconeixement de la complexitat que comporta conceptualitzar-lo i amb la finalitat de descriure la relació que existeix entre la titularitat del canal o el gènere televisiu del programa i la naturalesa de la participació emesa.

Paraules clau

Participació, audiència, televisió, convergència, servei públic.

1. Introduction: audience participation as the core concept of contemporary television

In the digital and online ecosystem the media in general and television in particular are turning towards a still to be defined model in which participation processes play a relevant role (for example Jenkins 1992; Livingstone and Lunt 1994; Jenkins 2006; Andrejevic 2008; Enli 2008; Ross 2008; Debrett 2009; Bennett and Strange 2011; García Avilés 2012; Fish 2013; Livingstone 2013; Lotz 2014; Azurmendi *et al.* 2015; Vanhaeght, Lunt and Donders 2016). Enli (2008) argues that there are several reasons for this. Some are economic (looking for new sources of revenue), others are industrial (expanding content distribution and coverage and reaching new audiences) and most are strategic (responding to the challenges posed by convergence, the business model crisis, new consumer habits and the fragmentation of audiences in what Webster in 2014 called the *attention market*). Trine Syvertsen (2001, 319) does not seem to have been far wrong when she argued, more than fifteen years ago, that analysis of participation is “crucial in a

situation where the media increasingly is becoming ‘something to do’ rather than just something to watch”. The presence and prominence of ordinary people in television settings are manifested in many traditional and new formats through their direct or mediated participation. In her study the Norwegian researcher did not look at the interactive offerings made possible by the Internet but rather at the television formats that increasingly generated possibilities for the involvement of ordinary people (Livingstone and Lunt 1994). Her approach is shared by this paper: when discussing participation we need to look at the relationship established between producers and audiences and not only at the features of the technology which enables such communication.

Johnson (2007, 63) argues that this participatory shift might be a significant change in the media landscape bearing in mind that the audience “are not just cultivated as fans, but also invited in, asked to participate in both the world of the television text and the processes of its production”. Recent examples of this in Spanish television include how the producers of *Mar de Plástico* (Atresmedia 2015-2016) invited its fans to vote between two

endings for the second season of the series and how IB3, the regional TV station in the Balearic Islands, held an online vote in December 2016 so the audience could choose when a sitcom should be scheduled from three options. They are not in essence innovative proposals given that in 2009 Cuatro decided when to schedule repeats of *House* (David Shore 2004-2012) based on surveys it ran on its website and that *Kinoautomat - One Man and his House* (Radúz Činčera 1967) might well be the first broadcasting experiment in which a storyline was changed as a result of audience votes (Carpentier 2011, 271). However, we might wonder whether there has been an increase in these participatory methods (Herrera 2003b) and in the repertoire of invitations to take part in TV scheduling given that in the digital age, producers and TV channels can broaden their means of communication with “the people formerly known as the audience” (Rosen 2006).

It is no coincidence that participation, interactivity and engagement are again receiving attention:¹ new consumption and communication practices call for concepts to describe them. And although terms have emerged that are intended to define these forms of active reception and multitasking (second screens, social television), they are concepts adopted by the industry which are still seeking to become academically established (Quintas Froufe and González Neira 2015).

If we start from the hypothesis that audience participation is no longer incidental and given that commercial and academic research devoted to this subject has grown in recent years, a frame of reference should be put in place that recognises the complexity of defining what participation is and enables us to move towards contextualised examination of how it takes shape in contemporary television (Livingstone 2013). By doing this we firstly avoid Dahlgren's (2013) fear that we will take participation for granted. Secondly it advocates participation by its supporters by adopting an appropriately delimited and nuanced approach. Following Reifová and Svelch (2013, 264), “rather than celebrating or dismissing the concept of participation, we need to invest it with meaning – to identify, examine, question, and critique it in its specific contexts”.

Hence this paper has three main aims:

- To advocate an approach to the subject matter of study that recognises its complexity and seeks to integrate the critical perspective and the proposals developed within the framework of cultural studies.
- To demarcate the analysis of television and draw up an operational definition to identify the audience participation invitations made by networks in the digital and convergent context.
- To examine the participation invitations on Spanish general interest television in 2010 and 2014 using an analysis tool that includes the mediation of participation, its relevance in the broadcast, the participant's prominence and the features of the programmes in which it takes place.

2. Theoretical framework: a nuanced and contextualised conceptualisation of audience participation through television

In recent years the main academic forums concerning communication have reflected the interest of researchers around the world in exploring this issue in greater depth (Pasquali, Noguera Vivo and Bourdaa 2013).² And although research in this area has hardly been cumulative (except, perhaps, in the field of journalism), it all has in common an interest in finding out the importance and meaning of public participation in a digital and convergent media context. The copious scientific literature on media participation includes a vast array of interpretations that make it difficult to set the limits of a single framework for analysis. As Jenkins, Ford and Green (2013) warn, we are faced with:

“Conflicting and perhaps contradictory pulls – between a corporate conception of participation (which includes within it a promise of making companies more responsive to the needs and desires of their ‘consumers’) and a political conception of participation (which focuses on the desire for us all to exercise greater power over the decisions which impact the quality of our everyday lives as citizens). We will not be able to resolve these tensions here – the uneasy relationship between capitalism and expanded communication capacity remains a vexing one, which theorists of all stripes are confronting through their work” (Jenkins *et al.* 2013, 156).

Firstly, the roots of a critical and normative conception of participation can be placed in political science and specifically in democratic theory. An inescapable point of reference in this field is the work of Nico Carpentier (2011) who has written the most complete book on participation and media from this standpoint. With the concepts of power and control at the centre of his discussion, Carpentier produces a framework that distinguishes between minimalist and maximalist processes. In minimalist forms of participation, media professionals maintain strong control over the production process and its output. Participation is restricted and exploited in the interests of media corporations. By contrast, maximalist processes recognise the diversity and heterogeneity of the audience and the political nature of participation and foster a balanced relationship between professional control and popular participation. At the core of his book is the warning that participation has to do with imbalances of power and that in the media, where the analysis becomes more complex, the issue has to be treated with particular care. In his proposal he draws a distinction between participation *in* the media, i.e. the public's ability to make decisions about media content and its production or about the strategic and structural decisions of a media outlet, and participation *through* the media, where this means the sum of opportunities for mediated participation in public debate and self-representation in a variety of public spaces, including the

media sphere, where the public can contribute their opinion and interact with other voices.

In lockstep, proposals arising from research in areas such as communication, television studies, cultural studies and audience and reception studies add to the debate, propound conceptual solutions and encourage empirical studies which collate evidence on the ground. The work of Henry Jenkins (1992, 2006), firstly on fandom and subsequently on convergence culture, has underpinned one of these approaches to the subject matter. Jenkins focuses on the relationships between producers and audiences governed by affective economics through which a framework of respect and loyalty is created by fans who want to participate meaningfully in the profile of content to which they bring value through their engagement (Jenkins *et al.* 2013). Meanwhile, corporations endeavour to control such initiatives as they suspect that they might also include fan practices which could be illegal or harm the works, their brands or their franchises.

These perspectives have come up in the discussion in recent years with the aim of reviewing the theoretical foundations underlying the study of these complex phenomena at a time when the media ecosystem is changing.³ A constructive way of enriching the debate is, as Jenkins points out in his conversation with Couldry, finding “new forms of theorization to be able to describe what we are participating in, forms that stress advocacy as much as critique, forms that are sceptical without being cynical” (Couldry and Jenkins 2014, 1109). Jenkins and Carpentier (2013) also conclude that participation will always be surrounded by forces in tension that seek to maintain their status and that a more participatory culture is only achieved through constant struggle in a number of fields. In their view the discussion about the features of technology, which empower and constrain at the same time, should shun extreme positions because their participatory potential will remain dependent on the way in which they are used.

These two approaches to participation are in constant tension, but they do not cancel each other out. The subject matter of study is complex and changing and it is advisable to avoid absolute interpretations in order to grasp its nuances. Dahlgren (2013, 29) points out that “participation should not be understood in either-or terms, as present or absent, but rather as a question of degree, a continuum”. Kelty *et al.* (2014, 12) summarise it very similarly: “Participation is not a simple either/or parameter, (...) it is not its presence or absence that is important, but the configuration of dimensions which render it participatory”.

3. Towards an operational definition for analysing audience participation

Identifying specific areas of analysis will help with gaining a specific understanding of the actors involved in participatory processes and the power relations that enable and shape them (Carpentier 2016). By confining our analysis to general

interest television we assume that it is an industry with vertical structures in which participation *in* the medium is practically non-existent (Carpentier 2011). Hence this paper restricts its analysis to participation *through* television in Spain based on a wide-ranging and multidimensional view of participation (Hamilton 2003; Enli 2008; Ytreberg, Syvertsen, Karlsen and Sundet 2008; Karlsen, Sundet, Syvertsen and Ytreberg 2009; Ytreberg 2009).

In order to make participatory processes identifiable, Herrera (2003a) proposes in his paper on radio a formal approach to participatory formulas. Herrera, like Fish (2013), delimits the concept through the relationship between producers and audiences or between professionals and amateurs. This identifies the role of the professional as a mediator and facilitator of participation. The importance of the *invitational* nature of participatory processes (Carpentier 2011, 27; Johnson 2007) is therefore important. Other scholars have also argued that the invitation is a key factor when identifying participation or collaboration processes (Gulbrandsen and Just 2011). Hille and Bakker (2013, 4) assert that “the audience needs to be stimulated and invited by the media before they will provide (meaningful) contributions. This suggests that participation is not the mere result of offering opportunities but is also dependent on active ‘participation’ from the medium itself”. Gaventa (2007) sets three possible spatial categories of participation, one of which is invited spaces. Unlike closed spaces or created spaces, the guests are those in which there is an explicit invitation to different actors for decision making. In relation to television, Ross (2008) categorises three types of invitation: overt, organic or obscured.

Other authors have linked audience participation analysis to the technological possibilities of the medium (Enli 2008, Ross 2008, García Avilés 2012, Macek 2013) while also recognising the complexity of participatory practices. This complexity gives rise to hybrid social, political or commercial processes that result in imbalances which at the same time open up expanded opportunities for participation (Fish and Srinivasan 2012).

To identify and analyse participation components in Spanish general interest television we have looked for a consensus among all the perspectives seen so far. In our view participation components are ones in the broadcast, digital platforms or a combination of the two (López 2007, Entre 2008, Ytreberg 2009) which are made possible by media professionals (Herrera 2003b, Fish 2013) and invite the audience to conduct practices (Johnson 2007, Ross 2008, Carpentier 2011, Hille and Bakker 2013) that can potentially translate into an influence on the distribution or consumption of content or the production decision-making process (Domingo *et al.* 2008; Jenkins *et al.* 2013). The objective of these participation components will depend on the format in which they are framed (Ytreberg 2004), but in our view they seek to build closer relations between narrative, production and consumption spaces, i.e. between text, industry and audience (Jenkins 2006). Contemporary television invites and will continue to invite people to participate

in its programmes. What is still not known is what makes these invitations different from each other.

4. Methodological proposal for analysing audience participation through television

This paper provides concrete data about the Spanish case in an empirical and comparative study based on content analysis. It is an appropriate method for examining how particular contexts and production processes are reflected (Hartley 2002). Following Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2008, 25), content analysis helps to draw conclusions from evidence collated if it is supplemented by a robust theoretical framework and thorough application of the analysis method. The analysis tool used comes from the literature review we conducted. The definition of participation specified above has set the limits of our analysis unit.

In order to obtain data to support our research, we set parameters that defined our sample. Our analysis covers channels broadcasting throughout Spain: La 1, La 2, Antena 3 TV, Cuatro, Telecinco and la Sexta. We chose 2010 and 2014 as our timeframe and took samples of all the programmes broadcast by these channels from 8 pm to 1 am in May in these years as two standard weeks with a normal and well-established range of programmes for the time of year. The recording was made in the Research Group on Image, Sound and Synthesis (GRISS) laboratory at the Autonomous University of Barcelona using equipment to capture and store the original signal of the television networks. The tool was applied to the samples and their coding resulted in a database which was managed using Microsoft Excel.

The analysis sheet has two separate sections. The first looks at the general information about the programme: channel, public or private ownership, type of production, date, day and time of broadcast, length, timeslot and macro-genre. We used the EUROMONITOR classification to codify the macro-genre and the timeslot (Prado and Delgado 2010). The second part of the chart consists of the variables summarised in Table 1.

In addition to the references listed, the work in the journalistic field of Domingo *et al.* (2008), the user-generated content (UGC) classification drawn up by Wardle and Williams (2008) and the interactivity categories of Chung and Robinette (2008) have all been useful in drawing up this typology. In terms of Spanish scientific production, the participation dimensions proposed by García Avilés (2011) set out in Table 2 and the categorisation by Herrera (2002) in his doctoral thesis on audience participation on radio have been used.

Given that operators do not create or generate participation but rather design the conditions for participatory processes to take place, this methodological proposal is an attempt to describe these participation habitats. Below is some research data that help to provide this description in the Spanish case.

5. Results: audience participation invitations in prime time on the main general interest channels in Spain

5.1. General data about participation through television

Our results confirm that participation is a characteristic feature of contemporary television and that participatory processes *through* the medium have significantly increased in recent years. In total, there were 224 invitations to participate in the 2010 sample and more than double, 456, in 2014. Growth in the percentage of programmes that include participation is also evident. In 2010, 59.7% of broadcasts included some; four years later the percentage was up to 76.8% (on Telecinco, 93.8%, on la Sexta, 92.3%, on Cuatro, 87.9%, on Antena 3 TV, 78.4%, and on La 1, 65%; La 2 is the only channel which broadcast more programmes without participation than with). The distribution of the invitations in the various programmes indicates that there is a relationship between the macro-genre and the participation offered. As other research has concluded, the programmes broadcast in the timeslots observed are mainly current affairs, info-shows and fiction programmes (Prado and Delgado 2010, Delgado, Monclús and Guerrero 2016). The first two are the genres to offer most participation invitations. We found, however, that while participation in current affairs programmes and info-shows is largely in terms of invitations related to the broadcast, in fiction programmes where we identified many fewer invitations the strategy is extended beyond the broadcast and seeks more extensive collaboration through other platforms.

Table 3 presents a general description of the participation invitations identified in both samples. It shows how private channels had the greatest total number of invitations and also a higher rate of participatory processes per programme. In addition it indicates that in 2010 and 2014 the bulk of the invitations to participation did not lead to direct revenue for the channels. An exception is Telecinco, where 27% of its participation invitations provided direct revenue in 2010, falling to 23% in 2014.

As for broadcasts, there is a tendency to offer participation in live programmes. Most invitations generate asynchronous participation although there is a slight increase in synchronous participatory processes. At all events it seems that the channels' participation invitation strategy continues to view broadcasts and the other platforms as two separate arenas and in spite of the growth in participation offers in terms of total numbers there have been hardly any significant multiplatform or cross-media synergies in the broadcasts.

Two major changes stand out in the comparison between 2010 and 2014. Firstly, mediated participation, which accounted for 23.6% in 2010, had become the majority by 2014. Secondly, and in relation to this change, there is significant growth in participatory processes that do not have any prominence or significance in the television broadcast. One possible explanation for this change is one that has

Table 1. Summary of the analysis tool used

Classification criteria		Variables	References
Participation action	Purpose	34 different purposes (see Table 2).	García Avilés (2011)
Participation components	Presence or mediation	In-person: the participant is present in the broadcast or recording of the programme. Mediation by internet, mediation by phone, other.	Domingo et al. (2008), Franquet et al. (2008), Livingstone and Lunt (1994), López et al. (2005; 2009), Prado et al. (2006)
	Synchrony or asynchrony	Participation in synchrony with the broadcast or participation in asynchrony with the broadcast.	Cortés (1999), Gripsud (1998), Levine (2008), Ytreberg (2009)
	Live or pre-recorded	Programme broadcast live or as a recording.	
	Prominence of the process	Individual presentation of the participant, mass presentation of the participants (as an indeterminate group) or processes without any prominence or presentation of the participant.	Dahlgren (2011), Karlsen et al. (2009), Livingstone and Lunt (1994)
	Relevance in the broadcast	Central: the participation is the core of the programme. Marginal: the participation plays a secondary and dispensable role in the programme. None: the participation does not influence and is not visible in the broadcast.	
	Length of the participation	Total: the participation lasts the entire programme. Temporary: the participation is only fleeting (in a section or during a brief appearance of the participant) in the programme. None: the participation is not included in the programme or has no defined length during the broadcast.	Sánchez-González and Alonso (2012), Selva and Ramos (2005)
	Revenue	Yes: the channel receives a direct financial benefit from the payment made by the audience to participate. No: participatory processes that are not tied to direct payment by the audience.	Andrejevic (2004), Huang and Chitty (2009)

Source: compiled by author.

Table 2. Equivalence between García Avilés's participation dimensions and the purpose of the processes observed in the samples analysed

Dimensions of participation activities in public television (García Avilés 2011)	Purpose of the participatory processes identified in the sample (compiled by author)
	Advertise
	Join
Boycott	
Search for people	
	Hidden camera
	Cameo
	Casting
	Live chat
Collaboration	Collaboration
Commentary	Comment
Shopping	
Community	
Competition	Compete
	Win gift or prize
	Consult
	Contact
Co-production	
Studio debate	
Speaking to camera	Speaking to microphone
	Download ringtone
	Donate
Audience meeting	
Survey	Survey
Sending stories	Send content
Sending images/videos	
Sending messages	
Sending suggestions	
Sending questions	
Facilitation	
Financing	
	Website image (YouTube)
Narrative interaction	Situational interactivity
Game	Play
	Phone call
	Most viewed
Mobilisation	
	Offer work
	Present
Question on set	Ask the guest
Presence on set	Audience

Source: García Avilés (2011) and personal observation during the research.

Table 2. Equivalence between García Avilés's participation dimensions and the purpose of the processes observed in the samples analysed (Continuation)

Promotion	Promote
	Suggest
	Play leading role in section
Charity	
Draw	Draw
	Auction
Video on demand	
	Testimony
	Home video
Visit to facilities	
Voting	Vote

Source: García Avilés (2011) and personal observation during the research.

already been mentioned: the consolidation of social media as intermediary platforms for participation in television. In addition the penetration of mobile devices has accelerated the appearance of participation invitations based on what are called second screens. In this respect new participation platforms, such as specific applications for mobile devices and smart TV which were not available in 2010 but do seem to be a budding strategy for some channels and programmes, have gained greater prominence. Channels and producers have developed specific applications linked to content to enrich the experience in synchrony with the broadcast. However, these applications have little interest in participation and instead focus on offering complementary content or data related to the production and the conversation and debate about the content is conducted on social media.

5.2. Purpose of participation in television macro-genres

The adoption and consolidation of social media also influences the disaggregated data about the purposes of audience participation and its inclusion in the various television macro-genres (Table 4). The type of participation offered in these years remained practically the same, although it diversified to a certain extent. Whereas in 2010 speaking to microphones and attending programmes as part of the audience together accounted for 66% of the total participation offer in Spanish prime time, by 2014 this percentage had halved. The most common purpose is still speaking to microphones, an option mainly used in current affairs programmes about all kinds of subjects, largely soft news. It includes a number of types: comments, testimonies, eyewitness statements, assessments, opinions, complaints, signs of enthusiasm, demands, etc.

The growth in invitations to contact (from 4% to 20% of invitations) or comment (from 1% to 19%) diversified the offer

in 2014. The explanation again lies in social media which are used to handle the bulk of these invitations to get in touch (on channel or professional profiles) and comment (chats, hashtags or forums provided by social media). Social media are also key venues for obtaining user-generated content either because news events take place there (in the week of the sample there were at least two current issues connected with Twitter controversies) or because material is sent via their platforms.

Table 4 also shows the relationship between the invitations to participate and the macro-genre of which they form part. One characteristic of participation in television broadcasts is its close dependence on the genre in which it is included. The days and times when participation options decline or pick up are those when the genres that include less or more participation are broadcast. Some macro-genres broadcast a greater range of participation types and participation is mostly of central relevance in their programmes. Info-shows broadcast up to 14 different types of participation in 2014 while current affairs programmes used 12. Game shows only had five different types but they all lasted the full programme and/or had central relevance. In other cases the genre's features make broadcasting participation difficult. Fiction, one of the genres most scheduled in prime time, gave only three invitations to participate in its broadcasts in 2014. However, that does not mean that participation by audiences in this type of programmes in other environments (website, mobile apps, social media, etc.) is not of obvious importance, as has been demonstrated in recent years by fandom studies.

5.3. Snapshot of participation in Spanish TV channels

A brief description of the operators' strategy based on their ownership reveals a number of points. The basic premise in public channels is to treat participation as a process or a service,

Table 3. General description of invitations to participation through television in Spain in 2010 and 2014

	2010			2014		
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
Participation invitations	52	172	224	118	338	456
Invitations per programme	0.56	1.33	1.01	1.57	2.40	2.1
Technological mediation						
- In-person participation	76.4%			37.3%		
- Mediated participation	23.6%			62.7%		
- Participation in synchrony	33.9%			44.7%		
- Participation in asynchrony	66.1%			55.3%		
Broadcasting						
- In live programmes	61.0%			65.2%		
- In pre-recorded programmes	39.0%			34.8%		
Prominence						
- Individual				32.3%		
- Mass	50.0%			23.6%		
- None	37.4%			44.1%		
- None	12.6%					
Relevance						
- Marginal	31.4%			10.9%		
- Central	60.1%			46.5%		
- None	7.6%			42.6%		
Length						
- Total	31.7%			16.7%		
- Temporary	67.9%			63.1%		
- None	0.4%			20.2%		
Revenue						
- Yes	6.8%			7.7%		
- No	93.2%			92.3%		

Source: compiled by author.

Table 4. Distribution of the purpose of participation by macro-genres in 2010 and 2014

	Total		Current affairs		Info-show		Game show		Other	
	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014	2010	2014
Speaking to microphone	100 (100%)	111 (100%)	92 (92%)	102 (91.9%)	7 (7%)	9 (0.9%)			1 (1%)	
Contact	10 (100%)	91 (100%)	10 (100%)	60 (65.9%)		29 (31.9%)		2 (2.2%)		
Comment	3 (100%)	90 (100%)		44 (48.9%)	3 (100%)	32 (35.6%)				14 (15.5%)
Audience	49 (100%)	43 (100%)	1 (2.0%)	2 (4.6%)	22 (44.9%)	26 (60.5%)	12 (24.5%)	10 (23.3%)	14 (28.6%)	5 (11.6%)
Website/social media image	13 (100%)	31 (100%)	6 (46.2%)	25 (80.6%)	7 (53.8%)	6 (19.4%)				
Send content	7 (100%)	23 (100%)	4 (57.1%)	20 (87%)	3 (42.9%)	2 (8.7%)				1 (4.3%)
Compete	14 (100%)	17 (100%)				7 (41.2%)	12 (85.7%)	10 (58.8%)	2 (14.3%)	
Draw	4 (100%)	14 (100%)		8 (57.1%)	4 (100%)	6 (42.9%)				
Vote	4 (100%)	14 (100%)		4 (28.6%)	1 (25%)	9 (64.3%)			3 (75%)	1 (7.1%)
Survey	5 (100%)		3 (60%)		2 (40%)					
Play		5 (100%)						5 (100%)		
Other	15 (100%)	17 (100%)	1 (6.6%)	4 (23.5%)	10 (66.6%)	8 (47.1%)			4 (26.7%)	5 (29.4%)
TOTAL	224 (100%)	456 (100%)	117 (52.2%)	269 (59%)	59 (26.4%)	134 (29.4%)	24 (10.7%)	27 (5.9%)	24 (10.7%)	26 (5.7%)

Source: compiled by author using data collated in the sample.

not as a product. Neither La 1 nor La 2 had any participation process that involved any kind of direct financial compensation as a result of their audiences' participation. They are the only two channels in the sample in 2014 with this feature. Furthermore, Spain's public TV and radio corporation seeks to be present in the new platforms and drive technological innovation in communication. Central treatment of participation is a key value at La 1, which stands out from the other channels in terms of handling participation processes. Even though it does not have the most processes, it does broadcast the most with individual prominence and central relevance. The gap between this type of participation on La 1 and the other operators is even wider in current affairs programmes.

The private stations have been restructured following the conglomeration processes at Atresmedia and Mediaset. Telecinco is the channel with the most participation invitations per broadcast (2.8). The comparison between 2010 and 2014 shows a generalised increase in all participation invitations, especially for the purposes of commenting and contacting. The importance of speaking to microphones and attendance as a member of the audience has fallen. What is interesting in this case is the increasing presence of draws and voting, which helps to consolidate the perception that the Mediaset channel closely links participation to the commercialisation of audience activity. The change up to 2014 shows how Telecinco has broadcast more info-shows and has included 61.1% of its participation

invitations in these programmes. Meanwhile Cuatro has tilted its invitations towards current affairs which account for 54.8% of its participation invitations.

For its part Atresmedia has also not unified its scheduling or participation management strategies on its two general interest channels and has diversified its participation options. Like Cuatro, laSexta has more participation in its current affairs programmes while Antena 3 TV has expanded its strategy in game shows and info-shows. As for the purpose of participation, Antena 3 TV has gone from participation highly focussed on testimonies, speaking to microphone and attendance as a member of the audience (together they accounted for 69% of the total in 2010) to a more diversified range with some prominence for contact (25% of total invitations in 2014) but also including comments, games, sending content, attendance as a member of the audience and invitations to play with shares of between 7% and 13% of the total participation options. In 2010 two-thirds of laSexta's participation options consisted of speaking to microphones (49%) and contact (15%), while in 2014 approximately the same proportion was divided between speaking to microphones (31%), contact (18%) and comments (21%). There were also more invitations to send content (up from 2% in 2010 to 9% in 2014).

6. Conclusions

This paper sets out a theoretical and methodological proposal that can be continued and supplemented by others that also address the issues raised by Livingstone (2013). Here an attempt is made to answer his first question: "what modes of participation are afforded to people by the particular media and communication infrastructures which mediate social, cultural or political spheres of life?" (Livingstone 2013, 28). Further research is needed to answer the second: "How do people engage with, accede to, negotiate or contest this as they explore and invent new ways of connecting with each other through and around media?" (Livingstone 2013, 28). Bourdaa and Lozano Delmar (2016) in fandom and Heise *et al.* (2013) in journalism have recently presented some evidence along these lines.

The Spanish case shows that most of the programmes broadcast include some type of participation process and that there is a growing presence of mediated participation. Observation of these four years and analysis of general interest channels in Spain indicate some similarities and differences, but in general there has been little consistency in putting in place a corporate strategy for participation. Other authors have come to similar conclusions (Miguel de Bustos and Casado 2012; Hille and Bakker 2013; Barra and Scaglioni 2014; Franquet and Villa-Montoya 2014).

Invitation strategies in the Spanish market are halfway between audience participation and promoting the television channels. In many cases the range of participation options has advanced on the back of new technological possibilities, but it has been built

by trial and error. Television professionals have been forced to adapt to a new ecosystem while competing under traditional industrial systems and need to meet the needs of their audience who in lockstep have adopted new consumption habits. Meanwhile a battle has broken out between firms like Twitter and Facebook to be the key venue where the conversation takes place about everything that is broadcast, repeated, premiered or produced on television and in other media. The data collated in this research show how participation options linked to social media have grown. The social tag of a significant amount of prime time content is intended to generate a conversation in parallel to the broadcast. In recent years these digital intermediaries have become essential places for managing social conversations linked to television scheduling. Recent studies have also identified this trend (González Conde and Salgado Santamaría 2015). It thus seems evident that television networks have given in to the power of social media and have missed out on the opportunity to enhance their position as mediators of the conversation around the contents they broadcast.

Comments in sync with the broadcast are perhaps the parameter that best reflects this issue and the change between the samples in 2010 and 2014. While in 2010 it was a process conducted using text message technology, usually paid for and used mainly by private networks in entertainment programmes or info-shows, by 2014 it had become a free invitation largely mediated by the website or apps using hashtags and applied to all television genres from current affairs to info-shows and including game shows and fiction. In addition, comments in sync have sustained television liveness in the era of audience, device and distribution channel fragmentation. Similar evidence has also been found in other parts of the world (Kroon 2017).

The issue of participation is too important for the competitive pace of television to push producers to make hasty and improvised decisions. The many theories, proposals and research presented here are an example of the intense discussion and debate about this subject. Contextualisation and an interdisciplinary approach are crucial to question and conceptualise participatory processes in the media and through them. We are at an extremely apt time to learn more in academia but also in communication with the industry, professionals, independent producers, institutions and policymakers about how to set up an appropriate means of communication between the media and audiences. Other authors (Van Dijck and Poell 2015) also point in this direction with special reference to public media.

At all events it is a subject matter of study that is constantly changing and future research will need to continue looking at processes driven by channels or built by users which seek to find better communication between producers and viewers, between journalists and citizens, between television and its audience. It will be reasoned, informed, calm and well-intentioned communication based on mutual recognition and respect which does not ignore the complex emotional implications that come into play in our mediated life. The benefits are well known: a knowing audience that partners the creation of news and scripts, more reasons to expand the content reception process

and encourage fans to maintain more regular contact with the channel and, in short, an enhanced role for television in the social, cultural and political realms which it influences.

Notes

1. In the field of audience study *engagement* entails a number of nuances concerning motivation, enthusiasm and involvement. As a result *engagement* is one of the most used and discussed indicators when it comes to measuring the relationship between audiences and texts. In digital advertising and marketing, for example, this measure calculates the interactions of followers or fans and their intensity and recurrence so as to keep track of the most proactive users (Neira 2013). However, even though it has been linked to metrics or to the measurement of online activities, the term refers to the internalisation and emotion of the audience (Kozinets 2014).
2. For example, the European Cooperation in Science and Technology (COST) framework has funded an action on Transforming Audiences, Transforming Societies (COST Action ISO906). There is more information about the project [here](#) [last visited on 29 January 2017]. In addition the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), as part of Media, Communication, Participation & Community, has a section for research into Participatory Communication. The European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) section on audience and reception studies has supported a number of initiatives such as the Transforming Audiences conference at the University of Westminster which for years has focused on the close relationship between the media and audiences.
3. Two examples illustrating this approach are the eighth issue of the *International Journal of Communication* (2014) and the third issue of the nineteenth volume of *Convergence* (2013). In both of them researchers from a range of backgrounds discuss participation in the contemporary fields of culture, politics and communication.

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Music radio and public service: who cares? The CCMA does

LOLA COSTA GÁLVEZ

Independent researcher

doloresgalvez@gmail.com

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0001-5003-5269

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Abstract

Music radio is a fundamental part of many public media corporations in Spain. This article presents the case study of music radio stations at the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (CCMA). Specifically, it takes an in-depth look at the policies that defined them and how they have developed their public service mission through programming and digital strategies. The results show how the two stations' strategies have been based upon the public service idea. Both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat are solid and relevant proposals for citizens. However, in recent times they have faced several difficulties due to the economic crisis.

Keywords

Music radio, public service media, communication policies, digital strategy, Catalonia, CCMA, iCat.cat, Catalunya Música.

Resum

La ràdio musical és una part fonamental de moltes de les corporacions audiovisuals públiques a Espanya. Aquest article presenta l'estudi de cas de les emissores musicals de la corporació pública de Catalunya, la Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (CCMA). S'aprofundeix específicament en les polítiques que les van definir i en el desenvolupament que ha seguit la seva missió de servei públic fins a l'actualitat a través de les estratègies programàtiques i digitals. Els resultats mostren la construcció de dos models diferenciats i basats en el concepte de servei públic. Tant Catalunya Música com iCat.cat són propostes sòlides i rellevants per a la ciutadania, però que en els darrers anys han patit diverses vicissituds a causa de la crisi econòmica.

Paraules clau

Ràdio musical, servei públic, polítiques de comunicació, estratègia digital, Catalunya, CCMA, iCat.cat, Catalunya Música.

1. Introduction

From the beginning, the radio has been the main loudspeaker for the music scene and industry (Frith 1987). In this context, music radio began to form part of public service media and to become one of its main justifications, a role ignored by several players. On the one hand, we have the policymakers, who tend not to pay attention to it but at the same time praise its work without question. On the other hand, we have the corporations themselves, more concerned with information than culture, leaving music radio in the hands of the workers. Lastly, there's the academic world, which has tended to see it at best as a minor field of research to which it has dedicated very few exclusive studies and, when it has been mentioned, this has merely been as a footnote.¹

Culture, the great defining feature of public service, has gone from monopoly to exception and the main justification for public

service along the lines of "if not us, then who?" (Jakubowicz 2007). Music has a vital position within cultural manifestations. However, the ups and downs of radio (Gutiérrez and Huertas 2005) and also of television (Llorens and Aymerich 2007), for example with the closure of Canal Sur 2 in Andalusia (Hoyos 2015) or the merger of the cultural channel 33 with the children's channel 3XL in Catalonia, have ended up placing the radio, the most musical of all media, in a resilient position within the ecosystem of public media in Spain, a situation amplified with the changes brought by the internet to the distribution of music and also of radio (EBU 2014; Nylund Hagen 2015). It is therefore important to highlight the position of some public media corporations in Spain that have specialised music radio stations which fulfil their public service mission in a heterogeneous way (Costa Gálvez 2015).

This article refers exclusively to the area of public music radio in Catalonia and specifically addresses the case study of the

CCMA² music stations Catalunya Música and iCat.cat with the following research question: how is CCMA's music radio defined from the public service perspective?

The Catalan public corporation has two radio stations devoted to classical music and six to popular music, grouped under two umbrellas: Catalunya Música for classical music and iCat.cat for pop music. This study does not focus on the history and background of already important stations (30 years in operation in the case of Catalunya Música and 12 years in the case of iCat.cat) nor on the economic and employment ups and downs experienced by the CCMA. Rather it focuses on the Catalan corporation's music stations from a public service perspective, as survivors from better times and prime examples of innovation and culture, albeit ignored both by the corporation itself, by not examining their role, and by academia through lack of interest in their study.³ In particular, the article observes how their public service mission is defined and how these functions are translated into programming and digital strategies.

2. Methodology

For this article, data from a research project carried out by the author in 2015 was partially reused.⁴ Table 1 describes the study sample.

The methodology is quantitative and qualitative. In the quantitative area, two research techniques have been used: documentary analysis of legal and corporate texts relating to the CCMA since its creation until 2014 and a descriptive analysis of the stations' programming and digital profile from 2011 until 2014. On the other hand, qualitative methodology has been used to extract information from interviews conducted with the directors and programming managers of the stations that form part of the sample, specifically: from iCat.cat, Carles

Aledo (director) and Lucía Flores (music coordinator), and from Catalunya Música, Àlex Robles (director) and Marc Canals (programming and content manager).

3. Music radio and the CCMA: two proposals with the same purpose

Exclusive music radio burst onto the scene in the Catalan corporation in 1987. That year, Catalunya Cultura, the precursor to iCat.cat, and, most importantly, Catalunya Música were created.

Catalunya Música was created almost at the same time as the corporation and also embraced the shared goal of disseminating content in Catalan, with the added fact that they were the only ones dedicating their programming exclusively to classical music "from a Catalan perspective, which forms part of our culture" (Robles 2014). Over the years, the corporation's classical music station has developed a programming schedule based prominently on a classical aesthetic, hence its slogan: "Intensely classical" (*Intensament clàssics*). The offer is intended for an adult and enthusiastic listener with deep knowledge of the content, although it also makes an effort to popularise "with a desire to reach a wider public" (Robles 2014). In 2008, Catalunya Música became the first non-state member to form part of the EBU⁵, which provided the station with an extensive archive of live recordings that stands out as "a competitive feature of the corporation" (Conselleria de la Presidència, Conselleria d'Economia i Coneixement, CCMA 2014, 35). Indeed concerts, recorded in Catalonia and elsewhere, form a fundamental part of the station's programming, combined with specialised programmes focusing on genres such as jazz or sound art and morning programmes where the listener's participation is essential.

Table 1. Outline of CCMA music radio (2015)⁵

Type (programming)		Name	Year set up	Type of broadcasting	
				Analogue	Bitcaster
Specialised	Music radio format	CatClàssica	2008		X
		iCatJazz	2005		X
		iCatMón	2012		X
		iCatRumba	2012		X
		iCatrònica	2012		X
		TotCat	2005		X
	Music theme	Catalunya Música	1987	X	X
		iCat.cat	2005		X

Source: compiled by the author based on data from the CCMA website.

Catalunya Música's offer was completed in 2008 with the creation of CatClàssica, a bitcaster that broadcasts works exclusively by Catalan performers and creators (CCMA 2008, 202). At first, this online broadcasting was intended for a young audience, both local and residents living outside Catalonia, as part of the intention to popularise expressed by the coordinator: "It's not about what's offered but how it's offered" (Lobo 2014). In 2013, the economic crisis put an end to programming and CatClàssica hasn't broadcast any new music selection since and is living, in the words of its coordinator, Carles Lobo, in a "semi-closed" situation (ibid).

In 1987, Catalunya Cultura was set up to replace RAC105 after its sale; it was conceived as a cultural vessel that perished due to its extremely low audience (Catalan parliament 2008). Therefore, on Saint George's Day 2006 (Catalonia's saint's day), iCat FM was created. It was based on three pillars: "cultural consumption, new technologies, and non-commercial music media" (Catalan parliament 2009, 32) and was intended for a younger audience than the Catalunya Cultura listener. Over the course of the years, the station has distinguished itself for discovering new talent from the Catalan music scene and for making room for key cultural events in Catalonia, such as *Sónar* and *Primavera Sound*, following a process in which "there are minority artists that were only played on iCat, now they're in the media and they're the most mainstream" (Aledo 2014). iCat.cat's programming focuses largely on Catalan and non-commercial music but also on international indie music and, to a lesser extent, on culture, which is divided into "bulletins" throughout the music selection that occupies most of the programme schedule. From the beginning, iCat FM was conceived as a cross-media project, called "multimedia radio" (CCMA 2010b, 2011) and with a website considered "part and parcel of the radio station" (CCMA 2011). It was therefore the pioneer that led the rest of Catalunya Ràdio's

stations towards the so-called "icatization process" (CCMA 2010b, 298). Innovation was a constant for iCat FM, which could even be heard on the Wii console. In 2012, the project suffered a serious economic setback and, in addition to losing budget and staff (Catalan parliament 2013), it also lost its FM signal. Therefore, iCat FM came to be called iCat.cat, a shift the corporation referred to as "ending FM broadcasting and boosting the website" (CCMA 2013a, 204) although a return to FM broadcasting has been announced for September 2017⁷. Following the technological trail forged by "icatization", under the umbrella of iCat.cat we have a series of bitcasters called "themed channels" which handle very specific genres and styles to complement and specialise iCat.cat's offer. These channels respond to a demand that was already brought up in 2006, when the director of Catalunya Ràdio considered the need to create a specific channel dedicated to jazz and another to music by Catalan artists (Minobis 2006). These channels are exclusively dedicated to genres and styles that are related to the Catalan music scene (Costa Gálvez 2015), such as Catalan rumba or music in Catalan, but also other styles such as jazz or electronic music. The content has varied over the years but it has always remained active, as Table 2 shows.

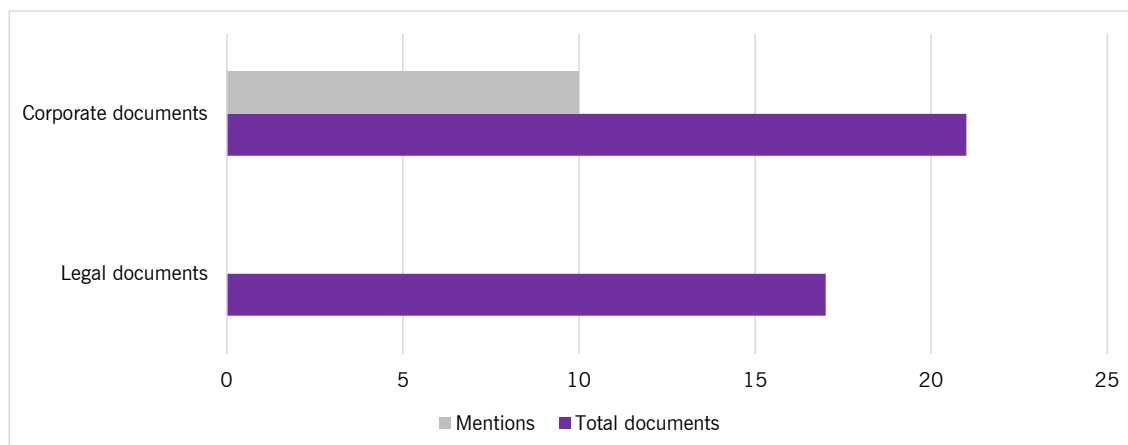
4. Definition of the public service mission: well-constructed but with holes

Radio has always been left out of policies at a European level and considered as an issue for each Member State (European Council 1991). Spain hasn't really specified the functions of public service radio broadcasting either. Moreover, with regard to music radio, a *laissez faire, laissez passer* strategy has been followed and, therefore, in general terms, there are few allusions to music radio in legal and corporate texts in Spain (Costa Gálvez

Table 2. Description and period of activity of iCat.cat's bitcasters (2011–2014)

Name	Description	Period of activity				
		2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
iCatJazz	"Dedicated to jazz"	X	X	X	X	X
MusiCatles	"A rich, varied, and truly heterogeneous selection of music from around the world"	X	X			
TotCat	"Dedicated exclusively to music in Catalan"	X	X	X	X	X
Mediterràdio	"Dedicated to Mediterranean music and culture"	X	X			
iCatrònica	"Specialised in electronic music"			X	X	X
Xahrazad	"Female artists station"	X	X			
iCatMón	"The channel for world music"			X	X	X
iCatRumba	"Focused on Catalan rumba"			X	X	X

Source: compiled by the author based on the iCat.cat website.

Figure 1. Number of mentions of music radio in the CCMA's legal and corporate texts (1980–2015)

Total: 38

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015) and the CCRTV (2004, 2006, 2007).

2016a). Nevertheless, of all the Spanish media corporations, the CCMA presents the greatest number of references to music radio, contained exclusively in its corporate texts, as Figure 1 shows.

The institutional discourse around Catalunya Música has been quite stable and repetitive when it comes to the terms used. Mentions of “classical music” are, evidently, constant (CCRTV 2004, 2007; CCMA 2010a, 2012, 2014), and especially in the CCMA 2013 report where the station is defined as “exclusively

dedicated to classical music” (CCMA 2014, 71), and dedicated to “the greatest hits of classical music” (ibid, 76) and “classical music favourites” (ibid, 71). In terms of programming, from 2011 the variety of “classical genres and styles from throughout history” (CCMA 2011, 20) began to be emphasised, as well as the promotion and dissemination of the Catalan scene, highlighting the station’s role in the “discovery of artists” (CCMA 2014b, 71). Moreover, coinciding with the closure of iCat.cat’s FM, Catalunya Música has gained importance in the CCMA’s activities plans, where its role in the “internationalisation of Catalan music culture” is highlighted (CCMA 2012b, 2). With regard to CatClàssica, the mentions are scarce. The few terms recorded refer almost exclusively to “identity”, since it’s programmed entirely with Catalan composers and musicians (CCMA 2010a, 2014). Moreover, in the beginning, its exclusive presence online was stressed as “the first step towards Catalunya Música’s online launch” (CCRTV 2007, 202). We can see all of this in the following tag cloud (see Figure 2), which combines the responses of the interviewees (in green) and the content of the corporate texts (in black).

The most noteworthy aspect of iCat.cat is its cultural function, with claims such as: “33, iCat FM, and Catalunya Música form part of the mainstay of culture in Catalonia” (CCMA 2010a, 44). In the 2009 report, it was defined as a “never-ending source of cultural offerings” (CCMA 2009, 70) and, in fact, before the closure of FM, the station was extensively present in the CCMA’s activity plans, guaranteeing the promotion and increase of cultural consumption (CCMA 2010a, 2011). Indie music programming and the promotion of the Catalan scene (CCMA 2011, 2013a, 2014) constitute the pillars of iCat.cat’s programming schedule, especially in contrast to commercial

Figure 2. Terms used in reference to Catalunya Música and CatClàssica in the CCMA's corporate texts and by the interviewees (1987–2015)

Total: 16

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015) and the CCRTV (2004, 2006, 2007).

stations: “iCat FM has a largely musical base but with the aim of discovering new music, new artists and new voices for the listener that are different to those programmed by conventional radio formats” (CCRTV 2006, 62). In 2011, two key aspects of its programming began to be stressed: independent music and the promotion of the local scene, defined as “non-commercial” (CCMA 2011, 2) or “emerging” (CCMA 2014, 14). We can see

this reflected in the following tag cloud (see Figure 3), which combines the responses of the interviewees (in red) and the content of the corporate texts (in black).

Figure 3. Terms used in reference to iCat.cat in the CCMA's corporate texts and by the interviewees (2006–2015)



Total: 16

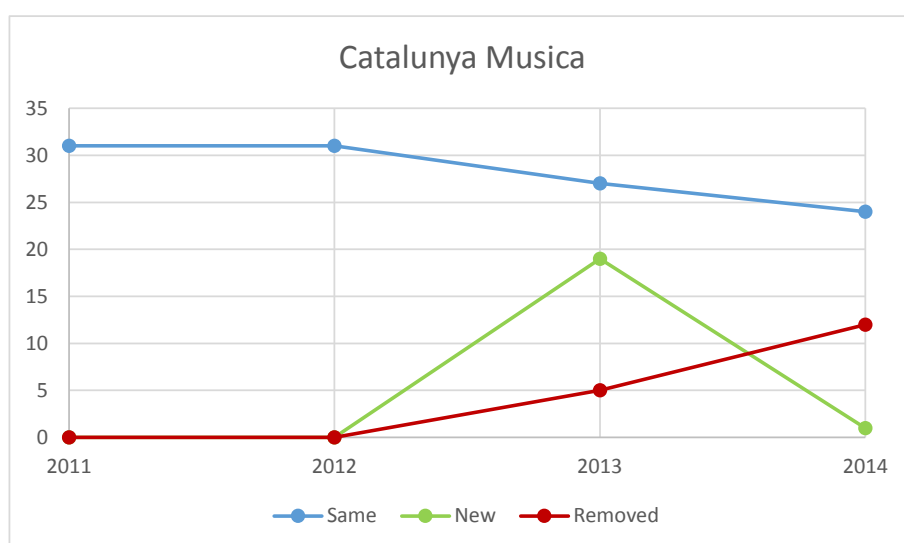
Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA (2008, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2012, 2013a, 2014, 2015) and the CCRTV (2004, 2006, 2007).

5. Programming strategies: “there are two types of music: good and bad”⁹

What should a public service music radio station look like? This is a question we can answer with another question: what should be programmed on a public music radio station? In a fully digital context, it's important to highlight the relevance of the content, especially when the media treatment of music is increasingly disparate.¹⁰

One way to determine radio content is by establishing quotas. In Catalonia, the CAC¹¹ is in charge of safeguarding compliance with the language quotas of the Language Policy Law (Llei de Política Lingüística) (CAC 2007, 2011), which obliges stations with at least 75% of programming dedicated to music to broadcast at least 25% of that music in Catalan, something which is not applied to classical music stations or online radio. Therefore, neither Catalunya Música nor iCat.cat is obliged to fulfil the quota, although the interviewees referred to in this article indicated that they, in fact, exceed it. Indeed, internal quotas are another way to determine programming. In the case of the CCMA, the only reference in this regard is contained in its programme contract proposal (Conselleria de la Presidència, Conselleria d'Economia i Coneixement, CCMA 2014), which establishes, following the CAC's recommendation (2013, 13), that at least 40% of programming on generalist cultural radio

Figure 4. Trend (number) in programming on Catalunya Música (2011–2014)



Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

should be dedicated to, among other things, music content, excluding classical music and emerging Catalan artists; areas covered by Catalunya Música and iCat.cat. Indeed, the main function of both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat is to support music “made in *casa nostra*, focusing on language, tradition, and the new culture we create here” (Canals 2014), combining the promotion of the music industry with support for the emerging scene. In general, programming on CCMA music stations moves between the concepts of quality, education, and culture: “we want to get away from the idea that public service should be somewhat above the established standards; rather, it should aim to lead the market” (Lobo 2014); versus the search for audiences and impact among citizens: “we want to reach the maximum amount of people possible; however, as a public service we have to do other things and there are programmes that a strictly commercial station would never do” (Aledo 2014).

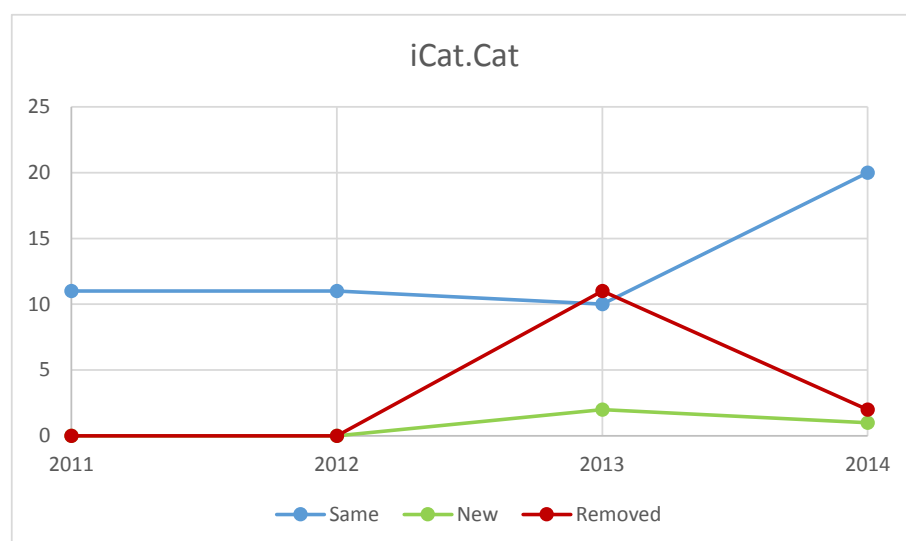
Good programming costs money and all the interviewees indicated how the cutbacks that have mainly affected employment have also indirectly affected content.¹² The present analysis of programming was undertaken in this context of economic crisis (2011–2014). During this period, programming on Catalunya Música has been stable, although 19 programmes were created in 2013, many of them live broadcasts, as we can see in Figure 4.

Programming on iCat.cat increased after the digital switchover in 2012. Thus, in 2013, 11 new programmes with diverse themes appeared. Some of them, such as jazz, electronic and techno, hadn’t been covered before and were broadcast, as well as online, on Catalunya Ràdio, Catalunya Música and the stations of the Xarxa de Comunicació Local, a change that iCat.cat’s director calls “opening new windows” (Aledo 2014). This evolution can be seen in the following figure (Figure 5).

Although with some exceptions, programming on Catalunya Música is based on a classical aesthetic. The choice of the so-called great repertoire (16th, 18th and 19th centuries) is directly related to the programmes of Catalan auditoriums and concert halls, to which a large part of the station’s schedule is dedicated with live broadcasts. This easy/difficult listening strategy is also directly related to the degree of acceptance of the listeners “who at times may accept new content but, be careful, because they don’t want many surprises, that’s the reality” (Robles 2014). Indeed, level of difficulty is a fundamental aspect when it comes to classifying music and there are categories ranging from the “greatest hits” to contemporary music and sound art and ‘new releases’, which reflect the desire to promote music by new artists (Canals 2014). These categories make up a type of programming that fulfils a notably informative and educational aim: “Classical music requires a phase of initiation, not to mention music created more recently, such as contemporary music, but our commitment and our mission is to fulfil this cultural and educational objective” (Robles 2014). Another of Catalunya Música’s main programming strategies is to include other genres and styles, which have found their place on the programming schedule, even if at the time they were used to justify the station’s loss of audience (Catalan parliament 2007). Indeed, when iCat.cat’s FM signal was switched off, Catalunya Música’s programming was somewhat modified, since access to the EBU archive allowed for the reincorporation of jazz and world music (Canals 2014). Such references to genre and style abound in the description of Catalunya Música’s programming (see Figure 6).

CatClàssica’s programming has been the most affected by the cutbacks. The channel is still active but its content has not been renewed since 2013 (Lobo 2014). During these years, the

Figure 5. Trend (number) in programming on iCat.cat (2011–2014)



Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Figure 6. Terms used to describe Catalunya Música's programming (2011–2014)

Género
Cultural/cultural
Juventud
Calidad
Estilo
Novedad

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

strategy has been based on exclusively programming performers and composers from “all periods of Catalan history” (Lobo 2014), although with less focus on the classical repertoire, which is the basis of programming on Catalunya Música. Like the latter, the balance between easy and difficult listening is complicated, especially for a channel that broadcasts exclusively online:

“I assumed the audience was mainly Catalan, so contemporary music was played more at night, but not too much because I wanted the channel to be listened to beyond our borders” (Lobo 2014).

Support for the music scene forms a fundamental part of iCat.cat's mission, which at times makes the balance difficult between the interests of the industry, the independence of the programmer, and the promotion of emerging artists, which forms part of the programming. The emerging scene is reflected especially on the short programme *Sona9*, which plays new talents on the Catalan scene (Costa Gálvez 2017) that are also included throughout the programming schedule: “we have artists that have self-released but the criterion is still the same: is it good quality? Then we'll play it” (Flores Muñoz 2014). Although it defines itself as cultural, in practice iCat.cat is primarily a music radio station, as its music coordinator indicates: “in information and programmes, 80% of what we play is music” (Flores Muñoz 2014). Music selections interspersed with cultural information take up most of iCat.cat's programming, avoiding anything too raucous during the working day: “for the rest of the day that demands your attention, you want music, but when you get home, you want influencers” (Flores Muñoz 2014). This music selection defines a programming schedule that, during the week, is supported by the morning show and evening shows and, during the weekend, opens up to an array of genres and styles. The music content falls under the umbrella of very contemporary pop music (the “modern oldies” are from the

Figure 7. Terms used to describe iCat.cat's programming (2011–2014)

Lengua/idioma
Industria musical
Identidad
Autenticidad/auténtico
Música contemporánea
Calidad
Cultural/cultural
Música tradicional/folk
Música popular/pop
Género
Estilo
Independiente/indie
Novedad
Escena(s)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

1990s (ibid)), although there's also room for other genres and styles such as jazz, blues and world music. Within this genre strategy we find iCat.cat's themed channels, which welcome specifically Catalan genres such as Catalan rumba but also others that form an important part of the Catalan independent music industry, such as electronic. These aspects can be observed in the terms used to describe iCat.cat's programming (see Figure 7).

6. Technological innovation: from enterprise to maintenance

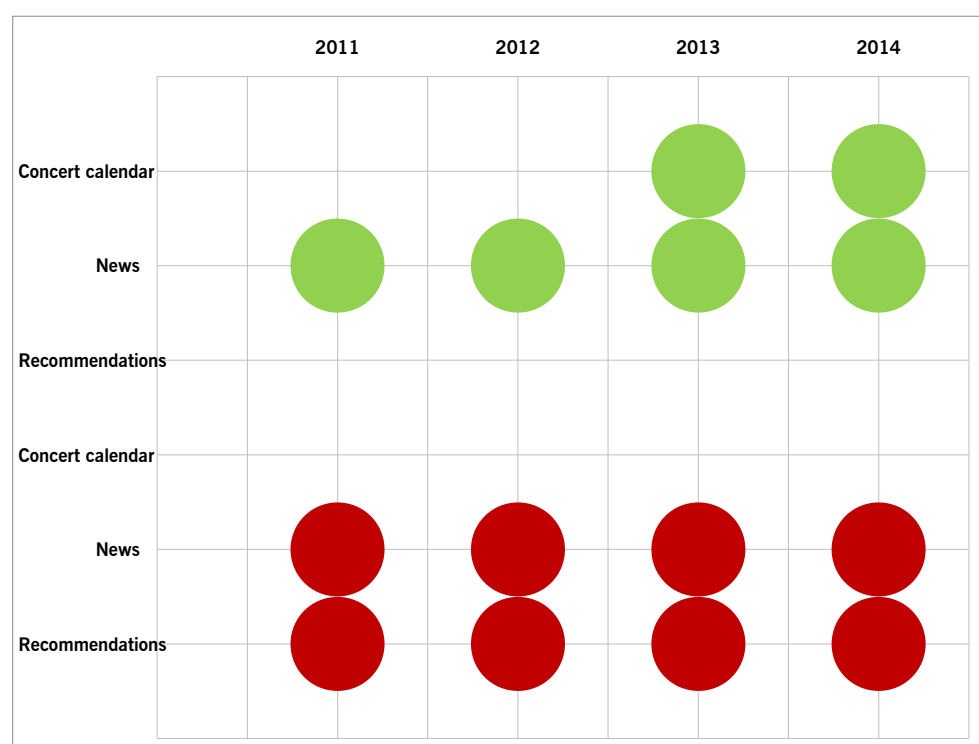
Technological innovation has been incorporated into public media, especially through strategies that pursue citizen engagement (Debrett 2014; Vangaeght and Donders 2017). Innovation in the technological field has been a constant both for Catalunya Música and iCat.cat (Bonet et al. 2011, 2013). Moreover, in the case of iCat.cat, it's a strategy that has been followed since it was first set up, as “iCat was born 100% digital and with the goal of being the group's spearhead” (Aledo 2014). In fact, its appearance motivated the so-called process of ‘icatisation’ (CCMA 2010b, 298), which in the case of Catalunya Música ended up with the creation of CatClàssica and the beginning of a fully digital era: “We shouldn't resist new technologies because we're a classical music station; on the contrary, we believe they open up many possibilities” (Robles 2014). Indeed, the digital profiles of both stations are quite similar (see Table 3).

The websites form the framework for the digital content. They have also served as a basis for developing the exclusive Catalunya Música and iCat.cat apps, available to download free for the main operating systems (Android and Apple) and developed by the corporation itself. A fundamental section both of the websites and of the apps is dedicated to podcasts, a very

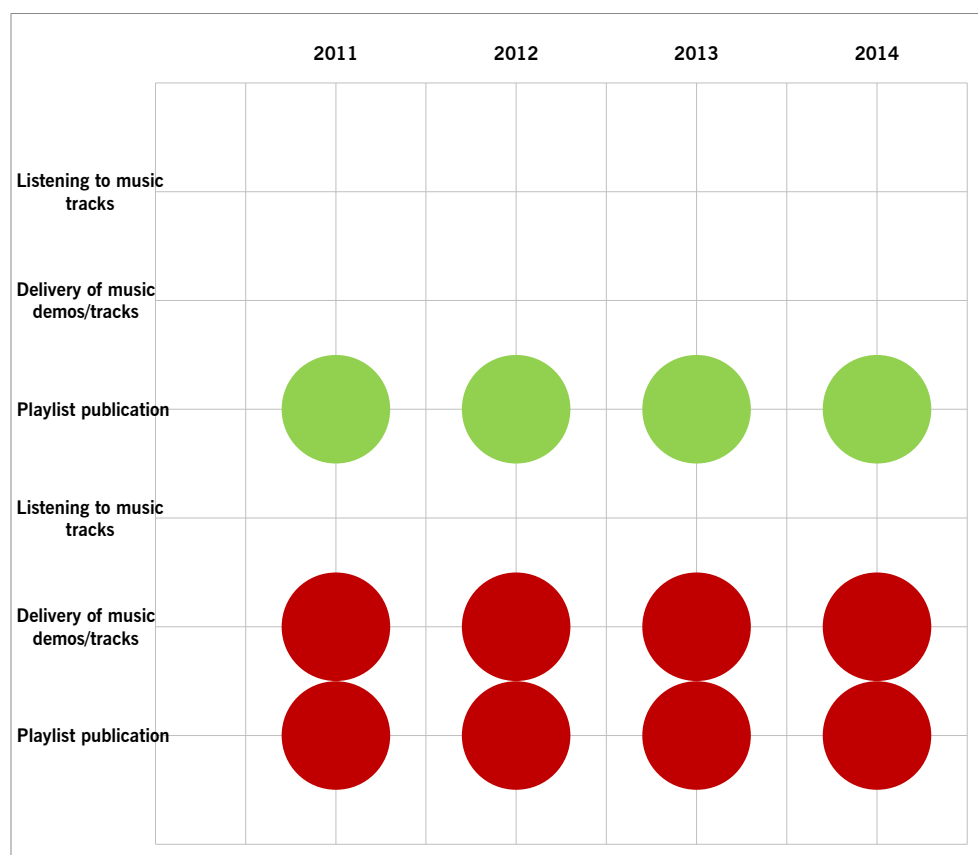
Table 3. Digital profiles of Catalunya Música and iCat.cat (2011–2014)

Name	Website	Social network profiles			Podcast			Music streaming service profiles		Blog	App
					Website	Podcast subscription services					
		Facebook	Twitter	YouTube			iVoox	iTunes	Spotify		
Catalunya Música	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
iCat.cat	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Figure 8. Informative content on the Catalunya Música (green) and iCat.cat (red) websites (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Figure 9. Music content on the Catalunya Música (green) and iCat.cat (red) websites (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

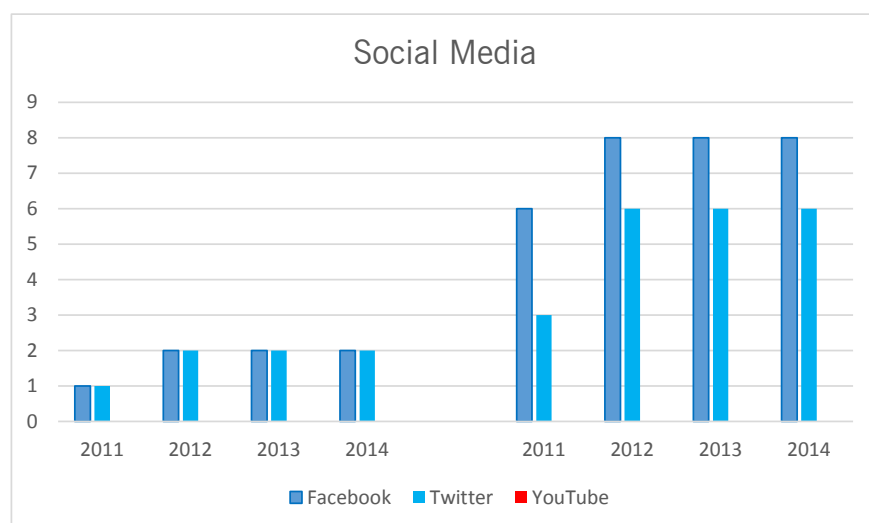
important type of content for maintaining radio's prescriptive function (Sellas 2012). The strategy followed by the corporation in relation to podcasts is to offer content on the websites and apps rather than use repositories such as iVoox, with a profile that is very irregularly updated. In addition, after iCat.cat's digital switchover, programmes were created exclusively in podcast format, such as *iCatTappes* and *PerVersions*.

Both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat offer three types of content on their websites: news, concert calendar and music recommendations (the latter are closely related to the prescriptive function of music radio), as we can see in Figure 8.

Regarding strictly musical content, it is not actually that common. One programme that has stood out for publishing a large amount of musical content is *MPClàssics* on Catalunya Música, where a playlist was published for evaluation by listeners and its inclusion in the programme. Indeed, the publication of playlists was an important part of iCat.cat's digital strategy (Costa Gálvez 2013) and this is something that Catalunya Música and CatClàssica have adopted and continued using. However, in the case of the pop music station, this aspect has been affected by the ups and downs it has experienced in recent years, resulting in the disappearance of playlists from the iCat.cat website, which at the time caused complaints from listeners to the Ombudsman for consumers (CCMA 2013b).¹³

Social media are a primary part of radio's digital strategy (Bonini 2015). However, there was a time when blogs were at the forefront of digital approaches. Both Catalunya Música and iCat.cat only keep two programme blogs active. In fact, even one of iCat.cat's most visited blogs, *iCat Convida*, where they raffle tickets to different cultural events, is now just a section of the website called *Experiències iCat*. The use of social media is very widespread both on Catalunya Música and iCat.cat. However, in the case of the classical music station, the strategy is focused on maintaining the station's profile and only two programmes have profiles (*Una tarda a l'òpera* and *Només hi faltes tu*). On the other hand, many of the iCat.cat programmes are on social media (and even two of the bitcasters, iCatJazz and iCatTrònica, have profiles on Facebook), as we can see in the following figure (see Figure 10).

We cannot end this section without mentioning one of the changes with the greatest impact on the music industry: music streaming services and specifically the most popular one: Spotify. Music streaming poses a certain threat to music radio, which at times can be seen as an opportunity to "promote loyalty among the audience and liven up our model, spreading our message beyond conventional broadcasting" (Robles 2014), something which will never replace "the prescriptive function of a presenter" (Aledo 2014). It must certainly be

Figure 10. Catalunya Música's and iCat.cat's social media profiles (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube) (2011–2014)

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

noted that public music radio has yet to establish a presence on such sites (Costa Gálvez 2016b) but during the period of analysis a certain interest in experimenting in this field was observed. Thus, Catalunya Música had a station profile and one programme profile, *MP Clàssics*, and in the case of iCat.cat, three programmes had profiles on Spotify: *Cabaret Elèctric*, *Els Experts*, and *Delicatessen*.

7. Conclusions

In this article, we have provided an analysis of CCMA's music stations, Catalunya Música and iCat.cat, from a public service perspective. This is a very specific focus within public service media studies, a field widely researched in the academic world but which, however, has often ignored the combination "music, radio and public service".

Since the beginning, the CCMA has been committed to public service music radio. The first station to emerge was Catalunya Música, which has played a pioneering role in promoting classical music in Catalan and from Catalonia. Years later, the appearance of iCat.cat covered the pop music niche and has also played a key role in promoting the Catalan pop scene and the independent music industry, a sector which, despite language quotas, receives less attention on commercial stations. We find two very different approaches in their conception but a shared mission: public service. Delimiting this public service mission presents us with an important concern: the lack of legal and corporate definitions of public music radio. Although it's true that, in this area, CCMA music radio is better covered than its counterparts, frequent allusions to generalist ideas such as "everything is culture" or "everything should be good quality"

add nothing but uncertainty to its definition and, therefore, its future. Within a context of economic crisis, it is necessary to specify point by point (and in a document that exclusively addresses this issue) what the CCMA's music stations are and how they fulfil their public service mission.

Neither Catalunya Música nor iCat.cat has escaped the difficulties experienced by the CCMA, although these have not been a hindrance to the stability of their programming. Catalunya Música's strategy is based on the 'great repertoire' (reflected in its slogan, "Intensely classical"), but with space for other genres and styles to help achieve the dual goal of educating and attracting listeners. Providing information on events at Catalan auditoriums and concert halls is one of the pillars of Catalunya Música's programming. This has taken on even more importance through CatClàssica which reinforces, despite its "semi-closed" status, support for Catalan music with an exclusive focus on Catalan performers and composers. Supporting the Catalan scene, the independent music industry, and the main cultural manifestations in Catalonia are, in fact, the very foundations of iCat.cat. Moreover, this strategy has resulted in the creation of a particular sound, which is repeated in many of the adverts often heard during broadcasting, which ask the listener: "Sound familiar? It's iCat" (*Et sona? És iCat*). On another level, the union of music and culture together with specialisation in genres and styles, particularly via themed channels, make iCat.cat an original and innovative proposal that deserves to be in a better situation than it currently is.

In the area of technological innovation, CCMA music stations have gone from being entrepreneurs to forming a passive part of a process that, not surprisingly, was called "icatation" and which spearheaded public service media in Spain. In recent years, there have been proposals that reflect this innovative

spirit, such as the creation of apps for Catalunya Música and iCat.cat, which certainly constitute a way not only to reach audiences but to be in tune with citizens who demand more and more digital content. However, although this is a laudable effort in times of crisis, the duplication of web content on mobile devices should merely be one part of a digital strategy, which actually seems to leave out the listeners of the future: young people. The apparent absence of an action plan regarding their presence on new social media or music streaming services reveals an alarming gap in the relationship with digital natives who will not identify with a radio station that offers them mainly organised concerts and live broadcasts of festivals.

After sifting through the legal and corporate texts to determine the functions of public service and asking station managers about programming strategies and digital policies, it is precisely the latter that seem crucial for the future of public service music radio in Catalonia and in Spain. Essentially, the main future line of research made evident by this article, albeit unintentionally, is as follows: how can listeners be treated as citizens rather than audience members? Now that iCat.cat is returning to FM and Catalunya Música has had a successful run, how will the coexistence of analogue and digital formats be guaranteed? How will public music radio manage to reach all citizens? And, above all, what do citizens think about public music radio?

Notes

1. Other studies on public and private music radio include: Amoedo et al. (2008); Barnard (1989); Crisell (2006); Gallego (2015); Gutiérrez et al. (2011); Hennion and Meadel (1986); Moreno (1999); and Pedrero Esteban (2000). However, there are a few exceptions that have expressly addressed the combination radio, music, and public service (Bonet et al. (2011); Hendy (2000); Long (2006); or Wall and Dubber (2009)).
2. Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió (CCRTV) was created in 1983 (Catalan parliament 1983) as one of the first autonomous media corporations in Spain. The current name (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals: CCMA) was adopted in 2007 (Catalan parliament 2007a).
3. And we mustn't forget Bonet et al.'s 2011 article on iCat FM's technological innovation, which was, to a large extent, the inspiration for this research.
4. Specifically, a doctoral thesis carried out at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, supervised by doctors Montse Bonet Bagant and Xavier Ribes Guàrdia, titled: *¿A quién le importa? Radio especializada musical desde la perspectiva del servicio público* (Who cares? Specialised music radio from the public service perspective), which won second prize at the 28th CAC Awards for research on audiovisual communication.
5. Following Martí's (1990) and Ribes' (2003) programme classifications.
6. European Broadcasting Union.

7. <<http://www.ccma.cat/catrado/alcarta/popap/aixi-sha-anunciat-la-tornada-dicat-a-lfm/audio/957711/>> [Consulted on 5 April 2017]
8. Only CCMA documents mentioning music radio have been cited.
9. Robles 2014.
10. In this regard, we can highlight the recent controversy when citizens noted a lack of cultural content in Catalunya Ràdio's programming, exemplified on Twitter with #Onéslacultura (#Whereistheculture)
11. Catalan Audiovisual Council.
12. A full programme list can be consulted in Annex 1.
13. When the author interviewed the iCat.cat director about this issue, the response alluded to technical problems.

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Annex 1. Name, day of broadcast, time, and duration of programmes on iCat.cat's and Catalunya Música's programme schedules (2011–2014)

NAME	YEAR			PROGRAMME	DAY	TIME	DURATION
CatClàssica	2011	2012	2013	2014	Playlist	other	other
Catalunya Música	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Auditoris</i>	morning	1-3 hours
	2011	2012			<i>CatClàssica</i>	other	1-3 hours
			2013	2014	<i>Cat Música</i>	early morning	over 3 hours
	2011	2012			<i>Cicle Coral</i>	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Contrapunts</i>	morning	1 hour
			2013		<i>Dia de la Música de Setmana Santa</i>	other	other
	2011	2012			<i>El gran segle</i>	afternoon	1-3 hours
		2012	2013	2014	<i>Els concerts</i>	afternoon	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Els gustos reunits</i>	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>El violí vermell</i>	night	1 hour
	2011	2012			<i>Entrada lliure</i>	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Espais oberts</i>	night	1 hour
			2013		<i>Être dieu: Dalí en cinc escenes</i>	night	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Grans obres</i>	afternoon	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Grans orquestres del món</i>	morning	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Guia d'orquestra</i>	night	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>Històries de l'Òpera: bicentenari Verdi i Wagner</i>	other	other
	2011	2012	2013		<i>Impressions</i>	early morning	1 hour
	2011	2012			<i>Interludi</i>	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Interludi-Cap de setmana</i>	morning	1-3 hours
			2013	2014	<i>La ruta Bach</i>	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>La setmana de...</i>	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Música de cambra</i>	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Microtons</i>	other	other
			2013		<i>Mompou: l'etern combat del somni</i>	other	other
			2013		<i>Montsalvatge: músic d'un segle</i>	other	other

Total: 84

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Annex 1. Name, day of broadcast, time, and duration of programmes on iCat.cat's and Catalunya Música's programme schedules (2011–2014) (Continuation)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	MP Clàssics	work day	morning	1 hour
	2011		2013	2014	Nocturn	work day	early morning	other
			2013	2014	Només hi faltes tu	work day	afternoon	1-3 hours
			2014	2014	Músics a la carta	work day	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Notes de Clàssica	other	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Preludi	work day	morning	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Preludi Caps de Setmana	weekend	morning	1-3 hours
			2013	2014	Programació especial	other	other	other
			2013	2014	Qui té por del segle XX?	weekend	night	1 hour
			2013	2014	Selecció Catalunya Música	other	other	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Solistes	work day	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Temporada d'Òpera del Gran Teatre del Liceu	other	other	other
			2013	2014	Temporada de l'OBC des de L'Auditori	weekend	morning	1-3 hours
			2013		Toldrà a la carta	work day	night	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Tonalitats	work day	morning	1-3 hours
			2013		Transmissió des de l'Auditori de Barcelona	other	other	other
			2013		Transmissió des de la Universitat de Cervera	other	other	other
			2013	2014	Transmissió des del Palau de la Música Catalana	other	other	other
			2013		Transmissió des del Teatre-Auditori de Sant Cugat	other	other	other
			2013		Transmissió des del Teatre Tarragona de Tarragona	other	other	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Transmissió UER	other	other	other
	2011	2012	2013		Trobades en el temps	work day	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013		Una hora de concert	weekend	afternoon	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Una tarda a l'òpera	weekend	afternoon	1-3 hours
					Via Jazz	weekend	early morning	other
iCat cat	2011	2012	2013	2014	Cabaret Elèctric	work day	night	1 hour
			2013	2014	5 Songs	work day	morning	other
	2011	2012			5 Minuts +	work day	morning	1-3 hours

Total: 84

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Annex 1. Name, day of broadcast, time, and duration of programmes on iCat.cat's and Catalunya Música's programme schedules (2011–2014) (Continuation)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Delicatessen</i>	work day	afternoon	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>El's Experts</i>	work day	morning	1 hour
			2013		<i>Especials iCat.cat</i>	other	other	other
			2013	2014	<i>Generació Digital</i>	weekend	afternoon	1-3 hours
	2011	2012	2013		<i>Hidrògen</i>	work day	morning	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>iCat Folk</i>	work day	morning	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>iCat Recomana</i>	work day	other	other
			2013	2014	<i>iCat.Cat en Concert</i>	other	other	other
			2013	2014	<i>iCatTappes</i>	other	other	other
			2013	2014	<i>iJazz Club</i>	weekend	early morning	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Independents</i>	work day	morning	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>Lapsus</i>	work day	night	1 hour
	2011	2012			<i>Línia Folk</i>	weekend	night	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Músiques Urbanes</i>	weekend	morning	1 hour
				2014	<i>PerVersions</i>	other	other	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Selecció iCat</i>	other	other	other
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Sona 9</i>	work day	morning	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>Songhunter</i>	work day	morning	less than 1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>T'agrada el Blues?</i>	work day	morning	1 hour
	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Tarda Tardà</i>	weekend	afternoon	1 hour
			2013	2014	<i>Via Jazz</i>	other	night	1 hour
iCatJazz	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	over 3 hours
iCatMón			2013	2014	<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other
iCatRumba			2013	2014	<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other
iCatrònica			2013	2014	<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other
Mediterràdio	2011	2012			<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other
Musicatles	2011	2012			<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other
TotCat	2011	2012	2013	2014	<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other
Xahrazad	2011	2012			<i>Playlist</i>	other	other	other

Total: 84

Source: compiled by the author based on the CCMA website.

Why do young people consume TV reality shows? A case study of *Mujeres y Hombres y Viceversa* and the implications for Media Education

JOAN FERRÉS PRATS

Tenured professor at the Communication Department of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and member of the Medium Research Group

joan.ferres@upf.edu

ORCID code: orcid.org/0000-0001-8995-6735

MÒNICA FIGUERAS-MAZ

Tenured professor at the Communication Department of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and member of the CAS Research Group (Communication, Advertising and Society) and GRP (Journalism Research Group)

monica.figueras@upf.edu

ORCID code: orcid.org/0000-0003-4912-4509

MARIA-JOSE MASANET

Postdoctoral researcher at the Communication Department of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and member of the Medium Research Group

mjose.masanet@upf.edu

ORCID code: orcid.org/0000-0002-1217-9840

AMALIA HAFNER TÁBOAS

Doctorate student in Communication at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and member of the Medium Research Group

amaliaelisabeth.hafner01@estudiant.upf.edu

ORCID code: orcid.org/0000-0001-5425-0660

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Abstract

From two focus groups and comments on the social network Twitter, an examination of university students' fundamental impressions and attitudes when consuming reality television shows has led us to conclude that a reassessment is required of the parameters on which media education is based. The emergence of new technologies and new communication practices should continue to be emphasised but attention should also be paid to discoveries within neuroscience about how the brain functions when interacting with such technologies, particularly with regard to the complex interaction between reason and emotion.

Keywords

Media education, reality show, reception, emotions, attitude.

Resum

L'anàlisi dels sentiments i les actituds subjacents al consum de programes de telerealtà per part d'estudiants universitaris, detectats a partir de dos grups de discussió i dels comentaris a la xarxa social Twitter, ens porta a la conclusió que cal revisar els paràmetres en què es mou l'educació mediàtica, posant l'accent no només —com es fa ara— en l'aparició de noves tecnologies i noves pràctiques comunicatives, sinó també en els descobriments de la neurociència entorn del funcionament de la ment que interacciona amb aquestes tecnologies, sobretot pel que fa a la complexa interacció entre la raó i l'emoció.

Paraules clau

Educació mediàtica, telerealtà, recepció, emocions, actitud.

1. Introduction

In the academic sphere in general and Media Education in particular, more attention is usually paid to products deemed serious and high culture than those of popular culture and entertainment. On the other hand, more time tends to be devoted to analysing products than reception and, lastly, it's deemed more appropriate to attend to the needs of children rather than young people and adults.

This article arises from the belief that a study of a reality show such as *Mujeres y Hombres y Viceversa* (hereinafter *MYHYV*)

from the point of view of how it's received by young people could be useful in encouraging a review of some of the parameters on which Media Education is based.

When people make comments about or provide justification for the reasons leading them to consume a product, and especially when they criticise this, they're not only talking about the product. They're also giving information about themselves, albeit perhaps unintentionally and unwittingly. In other words, a critical person is criticising themselves, even if they don't realise it. A person who judges is judging themselves. We should take advantage of this critical interplay to allow ourselves to be

criticised also as professionals of Media Education, to question our professional customs and review the parameters we base ourselves on.

In this research we focus on an analysis of the reasons why some young people consume this programme and their opinion on both the programme in general and also its different characters. Our aim is to compare the findings of these analyses with some of the most firmly established parameters of the notion of Media Education, as supposed from various prior studies carried out by the authors (Ferrés, Masanet & Blanco 2014; Ferrés, Figueras-Maz, Masanet & Hafner 2017).

The main aim of this research is therefore to explore the feelings and attitudes underlying the experience of consuming a TV reality show and to draw conclusions regarding the approach that should be taken by Media Education. Our secondary aims focus on exploring the audience's reasons for consuming reality shows and their opinions regarding such products. It's essential to extract information related to these two lines of study to subsequently reflect on media education, as we will explain in more detail below. Different qualitative methodologies have been used to achieve these aims, such as focus groups and an analysis of the social medium, Twitter.

2. Theoretical framework

According to the theory of uses and gratifications (Katz, Blumler & Gurevitch 1973), the audience plays an active role in consuming media and selects audiovisual products in line with their desires and needs, which are related to their own particular social and psychological characteristics (Stacks & Salwen 2009). The reasons for consuming a specific audiovisual product vary from one viewer to another but some common elements can be found.

Following Rutten's systematised review of the literature (2015, unpublished), the reasons for consuming TV reality shows are as follows:

1. Habit (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Papacharissi & Mendelson 2007)
2. Entertainment (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Papacharissi & Mendelson 2007)
3. Identification (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Reiss & Wiltz 2004)
4. Schadenfreude (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Papacharissi & Mendelson 2007)
5. Voyeurism (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Nabi, Stitt, Halford & Finnerty, 2006; Papacharissi & Mendelson, 2007)
6. Loneliness (Papacharissi & Mendelson 2007)
7. Interaction (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Papacharissi & Mendelson 2007)
8. Socialisation (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Papacharissi & Mendelson 2007)

The reasons for consuming TV products related to interaction and socialisation have been influenced by the appearance and spread of online communication. Online forums discussing TV programmes create virtual communities of viewers who debate issues related to the TV product. These communities fulfil the function of relating various like-minded viewers (Hagel & Armstrong 1997), creating "affinity spaces" (Gee 2004), discussing plot developments (Baym 1999), sharing fantasies and hypothetical developments of the characters (Jenkins 2006) and even becoming a place for peer-to-peer discussion and learning (Masanet & Buckingham 2015).

In the last few years, discussion forums have given way to other online spaces of interaction. The use of social media such as Twitter have become more important in "live" debates between viewers of TV products (live tweeting), becoming a means of analysing the motivations and perceptions of viewers (Wohn & Na 2011; Ji & Raney 2014; Shirra, Sun & Bently 2014). Nevertheless, such live tweets and focus groups are complementary tools.

Comments about *MYHYV* published on the social medium Twitter reveal the reasons why it's consumed and also criticise several aspects of the programme. Some of these criticisms coincide with those given by academic studies on the genre of TV reality shows: stereotypes of gender (Cavender, Bond-Maupin & Jurik 1999), race (Bell-Jordan 2008) and class (McMurria 2008; Oliva 2014) and the effect on viewers' body image (Mazzeo, Trace, Mitchell & Walker Gow 2007), among others.

An analysis of these comments should directly impact the review that should be carried out of the parameters that form the basis of the new Media Education. Prior research carried out by those responsible for this study (Ferrés & Masanet 2015; Ferrés, Figueras-Maz, Masanet & Hafner 2017) highlights the fact that, in the last few decades, both internationally and in Spain, there have been substantial changes in how media education is approached (Buckingham 2006; Jenkins 2006; Frau-Meigs 2012; Grizzle, Torras-Calvo 2013). But these changes are almost always related to the emergence of new technologies and new communication practices, ignoring almost all the new knowledge produced by neuroscience with regard to how the brain works when interacting with such technologies.

3. Methodology

First of all, the main research questions concern an exploration of the comments made by followers of the TV reality show *MYHYV*. What dialogues take place based on the *MYHYV* programme? A series of secondary questions are developed based on this initial question. What are the reasons for consuming this kind of programme? How do *MYHYV* followers rate the programme? Are they critical of the content or stereotypes? What attitudes and feelings are aroused by *MYHYV*?

The second phase asks the following question: based on an

analysis of these comments, should the parameters underlying the new media education be reviewed?

To study how the programme is received, two focus groups were set up using university students who claimed to be assiduous followers of the TV programme *MYHYV* and an analysis was made of the comments related to this programme on the social medium *Twitter*.

The aim of the two focus groups was to detect and evaluate the features of *MYHYV* consumption by university students who closely follow the programme. University students were used because it was assumed they would provide a critical understanding of this kind of product.

Two focus groups were set up. The first with 5 people (3 male and 2 female) and the second with 8 people (4 male and 4 female). The participants were university students aged between 18 and 22 studying a range of subjects (law, economics, politics, nursing, child education, pharmacy, etc.) and from different universities (UAB, UB, UPF and URL). They were recruited using a specialist selection company. The condition for them to be selected was to be daily followers of the programme or at least watch it once a week.

The focus groups were held in September 2016 at the Campus Poblenou facilities of the UPF. The script's design combined open discussion among the participants using questions asked by the moderator with viewings of video extracts and then

guided discussion.

Comments published on the social medium *Twitter* and related to *MYHYV* were also collected. Using the abbreviation that identifies the programme (*MYHYV*), we obtained a sample of tweets published over two days in the months of March, April and May 2016 (30/03, 31/03, 27/04, 28/04, 25/05 and 26/05). We used "MYHYV" as a keyword in the search and not only as a label. On these 6 days a total of 4,361 tweets were extracted. After reading them, 371 tweets were selected. The rest were discounted since they provided no relevant information for the study; they didn't focus on the reasons for consuming the programme or on evaluating and/or commenting on the programme's content.

Tweets mentioning *MYHYV* were extracted from *Twitter* using an IT tool developed *ad hoc* for this project. This tool was used to extract the basic data for subsequent analysis: the person sending the tweet, date, the tweet and retweets. The tweets selected were analysed using the qualitative analysis software *NVivo* to identify analytical categories. The approach was interpretative and an inductive analysis was carried out, attempting to identify key trends in the data. To this end, a descriptive taxonomy was created that was gradually built up, reformulated and perfected via repeated readings and consequent recordings of the data. Finally, the following analytical categories were identified:

Table 1. Categories emerging from an analysis of *MYHYV* tweets

Analytical categories identified		
1. Object of criticism	1.1. Participants	1.1.1. Lack of culture 1.1.2. Ridicule 1.1.3. Falseness 1.1.4. Superficiality 1.1.5. Gender issues
	1.2. Audience	1.2.1. Lack of culture
	1.3. Programme	1.3.1. Falseness 1.3.2. New version - current 1.3.3. Genre of TV reality shows 1.3.4. Lack of culture 1.3.5. Lack of product quality
2. Reasons for watching	2.1. Humour	
	2.2. By chance	
	2.3. Coordinators and/or participants	
	3.4. Boredom	
	3.5. Watched with others	

Source: authors.

The aim of this analysis is not to draw any statistical conclusions regarding the frequency or number of tweets published about *MYHYV*. As has already been mentioned in this section, our approach, both in our analysis of Twitter and also with the focus groups, is qualitative and interpretative.

As can be seen in table 1, we identify two broad analytical categories regarding the sample of tweets and contributions from the focus groups on *MYHYV*. 1. The object of the criticism and 2. Reasons for watching the programme. In the analysis presented below we therefore focus on those contributions expressing criticism of the programme. Some also specify the reason why the person still consumes the programme in spite of criticising it.

4. Findings

4.1. The object of the criticism: the programme

First we have identified the criticism aimed at the programme in general. Some Twitter users and some focus group participants accuse the programme of being false, insofar as it doesn't respect the key feature of its genre, namely reality shows. In spite of such criticism, the people in question don't stop consuming the programme. They justify this by considering it to be a fictional product related to humour, as we will see below. They don't expect to find any realism in the situations created in the programme or emotions that arouse them (*empirical realism* and *emotional realism*, according to Ang 1985). According to these tweets and comments, some viewers enjoy the exaggeration and derision shown by *MYHYV*, without expecting to identify with the contestants:

- Script, script, script and more script #myhyv (user_0180)
- Is this programme for real? #myhyv (user_0166)
- When I see people giving a serious opinion about #myhyv and they believe what's happening on the programme is true. <https://t.co/hpR7XJ31BY> (user_0240)
- From the producers of #myhyv it doesn't have a script... it comes to us like teleporting yourself on a date in 1 second. <https://t.co/i8Msj8Ehg3> #TronoSofia15 (user_0210)
- Actually, you find it funny and get hooked but it's totally unreal. (FG2-W)
- They go from a point of a very *heavy* reality show and then you realise they're acting. And although you realise that, you get hooked (FG1-M)
- If someone's gone to a gig, that's not what's happened. They say, you have to do that, you have to have an argument with the other one (FG2-W)
- I think it's pure theatre but it entertains (FG1-M)

With regard to the debate between truth and falseness, some users of the social medium criticise the programme, complaining about the direction it has taken in the last few seasons. Some of these criticisms come from users who used to enjoy consuming

MYHYV as a TV reality show focusing on couples getting together. During the eight seasons of *MYHYV*, the selection of contestants has gradually changed: from anonymous contestants to participants *recycled* from other reality shows. This fuels the idea of (false) characters "posturing" in detriment of a presumed search for (real) love.

- We want the programme to be like it was before. Thrones with feelings and with people who don't just go on to pose. Away with tri-thrones #myhyv (user_0148)
- @myhyv we must make a noise! The programme's format should come back! Love should come back... We don't want this myhyv... We want the old one! (user_0254)
- Since when did the programme start giving more importance to challenges and dances than dates and finding love? How it's deteriorated. #myhyv (user_0298)
- #myhyv is losing its essence, it's not like it was before. They only look for actions and they don't look for the person who could end up falling in love... (user_0229)
- I think it's funny how they recycle people from other "love" shows, this programme is like an NGO. It's out of control now... #myhyv (user_0284)

In other cases, users express their disagreement with the direction the programme has taken without specifying their reasons.

- Sincerely, I believe this programme isn't what it used to be but at least it's entertaining. #myhyv (user_0046)

4.2. The object of the criticism: the participants

The most often repeated criticisms in the tweets and focus groups are aimed at the programme's participants. We're particularly interested in tweets criticising the contestants in general, in relation to repeated characteristics in the men and women as a social group or exponents of a social group.

In any case, a considerable number of tweets and comments seem to criticise one participant in particular. Whereas some contestants are attractive for certain viewers, others are criticised very explicitly.

- Not Ronaldinha or Chonifer. I'm pissing myself. HAHAAHAHAHAHAHAHAHA #myhyv (user_0082)
- #myhyv hahahaha and Maite the drunk came to talk about the values of her daughter hahahaha belching, rude, lazy, capricious little girl, #values (user_0176)
- @myhyv Even though she tries to hide it, you can see what she's really thinking and @anam194 is vulgar, *choni* and anti-erotic, dressed or half naked #myhyv (user_0067)
- In a way, even though I watch it, I admit because it's entertaining, but I believe it's like an insult to human integrity (FG2-W)

The critical comments aimed at participants that were repeated the most in the sample focus on the participants' lack

of refinement or culture. Comments are made regarding the few cultural assets of the contestants, which can be seen in how they act and express themselves.

- That thing of vocalising and talking like a human being in #myhyv are two incompatible things (user_0001)
- How they all express themselves in #myhyv, what vocabulary, what words, it drives you crazy listening to them (user_0009)
- In #myhyv if you can add 1+1 they give you a strange look (user_0260)
- I think it's entertaining but totally anti-cultural. You watch it and you say, my God, look what level of... I don't know, the social and cultural level. I mean, the profile of the participants tends to be very low (FG1-M)
- They also look for people who don't have any moral or ethical values. When you go on a programme like those you go... because they totally degrade the people (FG1-M)

This can be related to the way in which the working class tends to be portrayed in the media in general and in reality shows in particular. We find a large proportion of insults related to the social group represented by the contestants, as interpreted by the person criticising them. Various insults are used related to the social class to which they supposedly belong. Jones (2011), for example, describes the process by which the working class was delegitimised in the United Kingdom by constructing stereotypes which workers didn't identify with. Oliva (2014) analyses this process in Spanish reality shows, paying particular attention to the figure of the "chonis": working class women represented as uncultured and irresponsible.

- You can't half tell the unemployment rate is very high in Cadiz; the whole disease is there, in the programme. You get tired of so many idiots. @myh_tv #MYHYV (user_0098)
- If you tell your kid to study to become someone, they should never watch Tele5. They'll see you can earn more being an uncultured "choni"! #myhyv (user_0217)
- 5 min of #myhyv. Shameful. *Chonism* and *chavism*. By the way, the cycle with the most cosmetic surgery, and she looks like a Labrador... (user_0008)
- #myhyv and Mongols and gypsies and braggarts, and useless people and *NiNis*, and *chavs*, ... (user_0119)
- I think the women on #myhyv make me ashamed, what horrible *chonis* and little girls... (user_0099)
- They're so common the women on myhyv My God (user_0077)
- The definition of "Choni" is a girl with quite rude manners and from a low class neighbourhood that shouts a lot and wants to be the centre of attention, rude... and... well, I don't know how to describe how they dress but it's that. And all the women who go on it are *Chonis* (FG2-M)
- From a low class neighbourhood, common women... (FG1-M)
- It's the way they dress, how they behave, speak (FG2-W)

The *MYHYV* participants are criticised for being ridiculous and for acting in a ridiculous way. In some cases they're cringeworthy for Twitter users and participants in the focus groups who express their criticism. In other cases they find the ridicule amusing. As we will see below, humour is one of the reasons for watching the programme most repeated in the tweet sample.

- #myhyv it really gets me going, it makes me cringe, how embarrassing they are. What a way to look ridiculous in front of the whole of Spain (user_0049)
- Don't the people on #myhyv feel embarrassed...?? My God, they couldn't be more ridiculous @myh_tv (user_0073)
- Don't those on myhyv realise they're ridiculous? Hahahahaha (user_0036)
- One second was enough, it's cringeworthy, MYHYV (user_0052)
- Today has been the first time I've had to turn off the programme because it's cringeworthy #myhyv #TronoSofia24 (user_0287)
- I think they're disgusting #myhyv I don't know how the government doesn't ban these things (user_0019)
- Every day I find myhyv more bloody disgusting (ussuari_0268)
- Doing some zapping. Telecinco. Myhyv. Turn off the TV. Go to the wc and vomit (user_0029)
- I get hooked but I sometimes think its cringeworthy and everything (FG2-W)
- The thing is, sometimes it's cringeworthy. You watch it and you say, really? Are they really doing that in front of everyone? Because it's a programme a lot of people see... Because there's a lot of audience at the time they show it (FG2-W)
- Actually, I see it and think, very often I watch it and I say, if I don't like or don't agree with what they do... but I don't know... you get hooked, to see what happens. And you go on watching it! (FG2-W)
- I think they're really programmes that are highly criticisable (FG1)

Some criticisms of the contestants refer to their falseness, along the lines of what has been mentioned before about the programme. In these cases, the people tweeting criticism assume that *MYHYV* isn't showing reality (in the way you'd expect from the TV genre of reality shows, as noted before) but is a fiction in which the participants act, following a script. These criticisms refer to the fact that the presumed action of the contestants/actors is not believable.

- Aren't there any better actors than the *throne people*? There must be! They might be uglier but they'll be more believable. #myhyv (user_0041)
- That telephone woman is the falsest of all of them put together #myhyv (user_000)

We also find criticism regarding the superficiality of the participants, who prioritise physical appearance in detriment to other personal characteristics. Such types of criticism are general. At this point we find a link to the criticisms of participants due to a lack of culture: according to the stereotype, the “chonis” tend to dress in a particular way, flaunting jewellery and designer dresses and showing off their bodies.

- That's the youth of today, so subnormal, thinking their physique is everything #myhyv (user_0202)
- #TronoSofia15 I would rather be dim than ugly. Definition of myhyv (user_0223)
- It's a very definite prototype. I always think, if you're not like that, you wouldn't ever get on it. If you're not someone with a great body, you wouldn't ever get on it... The guys with their muscles, tall, strong... (FG2-W)
- All the girls have had operations... it's not at all natural (FG2-W)
- (They like you) to have a good physique. To have good boobies, good abdominals, a neatly trimmed beard and not much else (FG2-M)
- The guys are “big-headed” (FG2-M)
- And the girls a little submissive, a little dragged up... the word isn't very nice but... (FG2-W)

4.2.1 Gender differences

In the criticism, gender differences appear related to sexism, demonstrated by the male participants, although this accusation is not always aimed exclusively at the men. Most of the criticism was published during one day of the sample analysed, resulting from sexist and homophobic comments made by a contestant, although similar criticism also occurred in the focus groups.

- #MyHyV Ideal programme to see how women are humiliated and young men express dangerous sexism (user_0032)
- Labrador is sexist to an extent that girls can't go to the cinema with boys, what an embarrassment of a man #myhyv (user_0156)
- This debate is disgusting. We women are the first to demonstrate sexist attitudes. #myhyv #tronochicos (user_0164)
- I'm amazed at the incredible sexism in #Myhyv (user_0172)
- Every time I watch myhyv I think it's more possessive, stupid and sexist. Thanks @feminismo (uUsuari_0174)
- The behaviour is a bit sexist at times, especially the men. And the girls too, eh? There's the odd woman who seems to be the most sexist (FG2-M)
- The men's attitude with women, and a lot of music the programme plays as well... if you look at the words... (FG2-M)

Criticism related to issues of gender aimed at female participants is much more in evidence than that aimed at men. This criticism refers to the lack of dignity shown by the

contestants. In some cases they are accused of being/seeming to be prostitutes. At this point it should be remembered that some of the criticism attributing a lack of culture to the participants is aimed at women, especially when Twitter users and focus group participants used the insult “choní”.

- And then we complain about sexism: a woman kneeling down in front of a man and the man sitting with his legs crossed and shouting. #myhyv (user_0034)
- The female contestants on #MYHYV, why do they have so little dignity? I don't know (user_0204)
- Summary of the programme #myhyv: the men are all pimps and the women are the whores of the pimps. And that's it (user_0219)
- They play music and all the women move their breasts... yes, that's the level #myhyv (user_0061)
- #MYhyv girls about to be classified as a prostitute in their neighbourhood and “brave males” imitating their idol Mario Vaquerizo (user_0295)
- The MYHYV programme is a whorehouse in disguise (user_0311)
- I think the sexism is very clear, in most programmes. Normally, on the throne, it's always the men (...) with a sexist attitude of *I'm the little male and come to me* (FG1-M)
- I think the women are also quite permissive because they take it on board. No-one forces you to be there, I mean... if you go on *mujeres*, you know what you're getting yourself into (FG1-M)
- The man is like, with a lot of girls and is a success, but if it's the opposite, well... (FG1-M)
- I see it (sexism) in the woman shouting and he's like *I don't give a damn* what you say. They won't agree, each one their own version (FG1-W)
- It's a very dominant attitude, very possessive. I don't know... you'll do what I tell you and such, it's just, I don't know, things like that (FG2-M)
- The male or female contestants have to do what the person on the throne wants. If you do something they don't like, it's like very controlled... (FG2-W)

4.3. The object of the criticism: the audience

Unlike criticism aimed at the programme and its contestants, criticism of its audience is normally made “from the outside”, by those people who don't usually watch the programme. This criticism assumes a type of viewing related to identification with the contestants. It doesn't refer to the type of viewer who enjoys the show while laughing at it because they find it ridiculous.

This kind of criticism refers to the TV viewers of *MYHYV*, but, by projection, is often aimed at more general groups such as “Spain”, “young people” or “society”.

- The thing is, these people are performing in minor discos. These are the idols of young Spaniards. The end of the world is nigh, friend. #myhyv (user_0197)

- NOOOI AND THEY TAKE OFF MYHYV BECAUSE OF THE SHIT ATTACK IN BELGIUM the future of Spain, people (user_0130)
- A society that ignores the danger hidden by the initials #TTIP and understands perfectly #MYHYV_ vice versa deserve (and will have) disdain (user_0143)
- shitty #myhyv continuing on the channel, that programmes like this go on is understandable in a country full of ignorant and uncultured people (user_0193)
- There are times when I wonder why they still put on junk TV like #myhyv After I realise this is Spain (user_0192)
- It says a lot about a country's society... a programme with such a big audience, and it's this kind of programme... and I include myself. (...) I say, how can it be that such uncultured people, who haven't done anything in their lives, are earning 3000 euros a month and people... professors... are unemployed. We create that by watching it, right? But you say, my God, how can it be? " (FG1-M)
- I remember there was a moment when they were killing people in Nice and on Twitter they said, <come on, they should put on MHYV, they're stupid with this shit> ... And you say, wait a minute... people are dying and you're putting that on. So there are moments and moments. MHYV is 200 days a year and that is one specific day. But they have so much influence, kids of 15 or 16 are like obsessed with watching that (FG2-W)

4.4 Reasons for watching

Regarding the reasons given by Twitter users to justify consuming *MYHYV*, we find a range of responses. Although some of our categories could be covered by the reasons for consuming reality shows presented in previous studies, we have introduced some new categories.

Some TV viewers justify consuming the programme because they watch it together with other people (members of their family or friends, with whom they can comment about what they like from the programme). This shared viewing does not necessarily mean they're all in front of the same screen but includes experiences of live tweeting with other Twitter users. This category includes those of interaction and socialisation presented by Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt (2003) and Papacharissi & Mendelson (2007).

- Mumpare and me watching myhyv we're pissing ourselves laughing :D (user_0039)
- My vice is watching MyHyV while commenting on it with @MariPazSR. Ooooggggh (user_0037)
- Watching myhyv with my grandmother is the best there is (user_0283)
- I watch it alone or with my mother because my father says "I don't watch that kind of thing" but my mother and I are really hooked and it's like you're watching it with your girlfriends because we comment on everything (FG2-W)

- I believe it's very much for socialising as well. Because, a lot of times, I'm at university and I haven't seen it. And they start to talk <ay that, I don't know, and such and such> and I look at them and say <Oh, shut up, I haven't seen it>, because I haven't seen it that afternoon... it's a way of... afterwards you end up commenting on it (FG1-M)

Another reason stated by Twitter users and focus group participants is related to not having anything else to do. For these TV viewers, feeling bored justifies the consumption of the programme even when they don't enjoy it. In these cases they don't say that watching the programmes results in satisfaction: it's not necessarily entertaining or fun. This kind of consumption could be included under habit, as described by Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt (2003) and Papacharissi & Mendelson (2007), but we cannot be certain.

- With so many channels and nothing good on, only the pantomime of #myhyv the truth is, if they put on something better, that would collapse (user_0090)
- Imagine my level of boredom, that I'm watching #myhyv (user_0155)
- And I watch myhyv because I've got nothing better to do:_____ (user_0189)
- It's fun how they speak, what they do, how they act, in general (FG1-M)
- It passes the time. You watch it, you pass the two hours and then you forget about it (FG2-M)
- At that time it's the only thing on. There isn't much (FG2-M)
- As there's nothing else on, for young people, well, that's what they like best, at least in my case, it's that programme (FG2-M)

Some users feel bored when consuming the programme. This kind of criticism tends to come from TV viewers who enjoyed *MYHYV* in the past and who, although it bores them, continue to consume the programme out of habit, in spite of the complaints.

- How boring #myhyv and I liked it so much before (user_0205)
- They should put new people on the throne, it's boring now... #myhyv (user_0267)

We find a significant number of tweets and comments that point to humour as a major reason for watching the programme. Although they criticise it, mainly because they find it ridiculous or because they think it's cringeworthy, these TV viewers consume it for fun. These tweets could be related to "malicious pleasure" or "Schadenfreude" as a reason for consuming reality shows, from the categorisation offered by Rutten (2015), based on Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt (2003) and Papacharissi & Mendelson (2007). In these cases, viewers consume the programme to enjoy the suffering and humiliation of the contestants. This is related to the criticisms made of the

participants as an object, especially because of their alleged lack of culture and dignity (especially with regard to the women) and because they act in a ridiculous manner. This perception of reality show participants as inferior is the other extreme of the identification between viewers and contestants, which is one of the characteristics typically aimed at by reality show products (Nabi, Biely, Morgan & Stitt 2003; Reiss & Wiltz 2004).

- I'm bored so I think I'll watch #myhyv and see whether they're still doing the same thing and I can laugh at them a while (user_0259)
- #myhyv it makes me cringe and at the same time it livens me up. I can't laugh any more with this circus (user_0002)
- I watch it to laugh at the people on it, because they're normally a bit characters (FG2-M)
- For me it's entertainment but totally anti-cultural. You watch it and you say, my God, look what level of... I don't know, the social and cultural level. I mean, the profile of the participants tends to be very low (FG1-M)

The tweets included in this category tend to provide arguments with an ironic tone. In these cases we cannot determine whether the person making these comments is actually a viewer of *MYHYV* or is only mentioning it to make his/her followers on social media laugh.

- I'm going to culturise myself by watching a bit of myhyv (user_0106)
- As I'm on my own, I think I'll watch all MYHYV in slow motion (user_0135)
- A little so as not to think, as well. Because you get back from the university, from talking about things like very dense subjects and you get back and you put it on and distract yourself (FG2-M)
- It's very easy. You sit down, watch it and that's that (FG2-W)

In some cases, they admit more or less explicitly the morbid reasons behind this kind of consumption.

- Like it or not, gossip attracts all of us, doesn't it? (FG1-M)
- I think what they watch are the arguments (FG1-M)
- But it also depends on who's having a fight (...). Some are characters who always have a fight. It's not <ay, look, she's quiet and today she's having a fight>. I want to see them fight (FG1-M)
- *Mujeres y Hombres* is about looking for love and all that, right?... I'm not interested in that, I'm interested when they have a fight or argument (FG1-M)
- That's it, snooping and getting information from the others. That's what I'm interested in (FG1-M)
- Everyone likes gossip (FG2-M)
- Before it was the patios, the neighbours, right? Well now it's Tele 5 (FG2-M)
- The most odious ones are the ones you follow the most, you know? (...) Rafa Mora, for example, is an idiot with

zero respect but you say, my God, what will happen next with that guy? The ones causing the most controversy are the ones you follow the most (FG1-M)

- Sometimes I also feel good because I think, I'm not like that, you know? Just as well. And sometimes I'm with my parents and my father's complaining <if you don't tidy your room> and I say <look, Dad, look what others do and look at me... so... if you had a daughter who did what they do... I don't know, myself... (FG2-W)

Whereas some justify the consumption of *MYHYV* positively (because they find it fun or because they share it with other people), other Twitter users attribute consumption to chance. In these cases irony tends to be used to describe the experience of watching, which is always presented as sporadic or brief.

- I've seen two minutes of #myhyv. After the embarrassment and humiliation, you can block all of them for me. It's been a pleasure (user_0120)
- After seeing 5 minutes of MYHYV I think that changing its name to *Objects and Men and Bicepsversa* would capture much better the essence of the programme (user_0306)
- I've seen 10 minutes of #myhyv and... Where do I have to sign to unsubscribe from the human race? How can people be so backward? (user_0178)
- You see? That's what happens when you watch Tele5 at night, darling. I turn on the TV in the morning and I stumble upon Myhyv without being ready (user_0147)

Some users who claim to have consumed *MYHYV* by chance blame other people for choosing the programme, although they don't watch it with them.

- I come home my mother's watching myhyv and after listening to them talk 10 seconds with their shit tone of voice I felt like dying (user_0026)
- @Blogserhumano they make me watch myhyv and I've had enough, life ebbs away from me (user_0209)
- I'm ashamed that my sister comes home and turns over from the morning programme on Cuatro and puts on myhyv... (user_0110)
- They put it on MyHyV at the gym and it's the first time I've seen it. I confess I'm not familiar with it at all (user_0275)
- My sister's turned on myhyv help (user_0284)
- I come home and my sister watching myhyv... I think I'll go back to school (user_0170)

Some tweets and focus group comments justifying their consumption of *MYHYV* by stating that the consumers themselves don't understand why they consume it. These viewers criticise, in their tweets, the participants and/or the programme but at the same time admit they watch *MYHYV* without knowing why. The fact that they watch the programme but have an attitude against it is contradictory.

- What am I doing watching myhyv being able to watch a thousand series I still have to watch, I don't understand

myself (user_0038)

- I have such a low opinion of all of them, I don't know why I watch it #MyHyV (user_0051)
- #MYHYV I don't know what I'm doing watching this crap (user_0047)
- I don't know what I'm doing watching Myhyv... I'm really cringing with the red envelope (user_0281)
- What dramas they create on myhyv. It makes me cringe but I still watch it, I haven't a clue why (user_0282)
- In truth, I watch it and I think, many times I watch it and I say, if I don't like it or if I don't agree with what they're doing... but, I don't know... you get hooked, to see what happens. And you go on watching it! (FG2-W)

5. Conclusions and applications of the analysis

We can identify three large groups among the Twitter users and focus group participants that criticise *MYHYV*:

1. Those who don't consume it.
2. Those who consume it out of habit, although they don't know why, due to boredom and/or because they feel disappointed with the current version of the programme.
3. Those who consume it for enjoyment, although they believe it's ridiculous, embarrassing or uncultured.

The first group criticises the programme for its low quality and believe it's symptomatic of the low cultural level of young people, society and/or the country. This group doesn't consume the programme, criticises those who consume it and believe there is a single way of consuming it.

The group of viewers who criticise *MYHYV* in its current version feel disappointed with its betrayal of the traditional characteristics of the reality show genre. In these they don't enjoy the characters looking ridiculous: it doesn't cause laughter but indignation. It could be said that these viewers would like to identify with the participants of the reality show instead of laughing at them.

The third group highlights a way of consuming the programme related to ironic, morbid viewing. There is no identification with the characters (they don't emotionally take on board their viewpoint) but a projection of their own feelings towards them. They consume the programme to relish the ridiculousness of the contestants. They laugh at the humiliation they're submitted to. They don't care if it's fictional or real.

This type of viewing is interesting for our research, and for its subsequent use as part of Media Education, since it reveals a contradiction between an attitude towards a TV product and the reasons for watching it. In other words, although these viewers believe the programme is bad, they decide to consume it and feel pleasure in doing so.

The fact that enjoyment of *MYHYV* co-exists with criticism of its contestants because they are "chonis" warrants particular attention. Viewers feel pleasure in seeing contestants made to

look ridiculous, shown as stereotypes from a social group that is strongly delegitimised in the media, as we have seen in other cases of reality shows.

As we suggested at the beginning, we can draw some conclusions from the analysis of the results that should lead to the revision of some of the parameters on which Media Education is based. These are organised around two broad aspects: a revision of the strictly cognitive approach of Media Education and the reductionism of critical sense. We shall develop each of these contributions.

Several studies carried out previously by the authors have highlighted an approach for Media Education focusing on strictly cognitive components (Ferrés, Masanet & Blanco 2014; Ferrés, Figueras-Maz, Masanet & Hafner 2017). The major institutional documents that have promoted Media Education over the past 50 years (from UNESCO, the European Parliament, European Commission, etc.) as well as the teaching plans for Media Education courses given in Spanish universities stress the cognitive dimension as a priority or exclusively.

One of the most significant examples is related to the critical sense. The words that accompany the adjective "critical" in the major institutional documents and university teaching plans are almost always cognitive and rational in nature: critical comprehension, critical thought, critical analysis, critical interpretation, critical assessment, critical judgement... They very rarely talk about a critical attitude or critical commitment.

Today we know, from neuroscience, that only emotions lead to action, whereas thoughts only lead us to produce conclusions (Donald Calne, quoted by Roberts 2005). It would therefore appear that, in Media Education, we don't want to transform people completely but are satisfied if they reach conclusions.

We've been able to confirm this in our research. The people who've taken part in Twitter talking about *MYHYV* and those forming part of the focus groups are often extremely critical of the programme. It could be said that they excel in critical thought, in critical comprehension, in critical interpretation. But, nevertheless, they are regular viewers of the programme; they contribute, as a regular audience, to the existence and continuation of this kind of programme.

Critical comprehension and thought are therefore vital but not enough on their own. "Reason without emotion is impotent" (Lehrer 2010: 26). Critical thought and comprehension can only be a step towards a critical attitude. Attitude and emotion are defined precisely by being a predisposition towards action, whereas our aim with Education in general and Media Education in particular is action, change, transformation.

Another reductionism lies in how critical sense is conceived. An analysis of the major institutional documents on Media Education and of the Media Education teaching plans at Spanish universities highlights another deficiency. Almost always when we talk of critical sense we are talking about an external criticism: criticising the media, the products, the messages... Almost never does the subject that criticises become the object of criticism.

Years ago Pau Casals complained that we teach children that two plus two is four and that Paris is the capital of France but we don't teach them what they are as well. We can apply this to Media Education. We teach what the media and programmes are like but don't take advantage of the opportunity to use media experiences so our students might also learn about themselves.

In our study of the reception of a "junk" TV programme like *MYHYV* we've found that, when talking about the programme, people talked indirectly about themselves, about their feelings, their tastes, their ideology, their aspirations, their contradictions... And we have also seen that all these comments were an opportunity to raise awareness of the unaware. Often they were not aware of the reasons and needs and tendencies underlying their statements: the feeling of superiority they might develop on comparing themselves with the characters in the reality show, the pleasure of *voyeurism* in being able to infiltrate situations of metaphorical striptease, the sadistic pleasure of seeing characters humiliated or simply the sensorial pleasure of seeing bodies that have been chosen to be enjoyed visually.

If getting to know yourself is one of the main aims of maturing as a teenager and young adult, media experiences offer a great opportunity to achieve this, so that hetero-critical Media Education should be accompanied by self-criticism.

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Legal forms of cooperation in managing municipal public service radio and television

RAMON GALINDO CALDÉS

Professor of Administrative Law at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

rgalindoca@uoc.edu

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-2684-1425

MARC VILALTA REIXACH

Lecturer in Administrative Law at the Universitat de Barcelona

marc.vilalta@ub.edu

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0002-2387-7900

AIDA MARTORI MUNTSANT

Professor in the Department of Media, Communication and Culture at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Aida.Martori@uab.cat

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0003-0363-1636

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Abstract

Over the past few years, the local Catalan audiovisual map has undergone a transformation due to the economic crisis and the lack of viability of some projects. The resulting panorama highlights the need for cooperation between municipalities when providing audiovisual media services, especially television and radio, generating economies of scale and providing good quality audiovisual media services, in addition to fulfilling the mission demanded by broadcasting laws. This paper analyses the different ways the Catalan regulatory framework allows municipalities to cooperate in providing audiovisual media services, especially through consortiums, mancomunitats (associations of municipalities) and communities of municipalities.

Keywords

Audiovisual, management, regulation, municipalities, cooperation, public service.

Resum

En els darrers anys, la crisi econòmica i la poca viabilitat d'alguns projectes han transformat el mapa audiovisual local català. El panorama resultant posa de manifest la necessitat de cooperació entre els municipis a l'hora de prestar serveis de comunicació audiovisual, especialment de televisió i ràdio, per tal de generar economies d'escala i prestar serveis audiovisuals de qualitat, a més de complir amb la missió que les lleis de l'audiovisual els han encomanat. Aquest article analitza les diferents fórmules que el marc normatiu català permet als municipis per cooperar en la prestació dels serveis de comunicació audiovisual, en especial el consorci, la mancomunitat i la comunitat de municipis.

Paraules clau

Audiovisual, gestió, regulació, municipis, cooperació, servei públic.

Introduction

The transformation of the local Catalan audiovisual map due to the economic context and the debatable viability of the projects launched before the crisis have reinforced the need for cooperation when it comes to providing audiovisual media services at the municipal level. At the same time, in recent years, we have witnessed not only a significant transformation in the local legal framework, which has affected the configuration of public services, but also in the regulation of the audiovisual sector. These transformations call for a reassessment of the

mechanisms for cooperation between municipalities providing audiovisual media services, analysing the models for providing those services and considering the changes required for the municipalities to be able to perform the functions entrusted to them.

In this regard, the point of departure for our paper is that in our legal system there is no single model for inter-municipal cooperation, rather (especially in legislation affecting local government) we find diverse options for providing audiovisual media services. The 2005 Catalan law on audiovisual media (*Llei 22/2005, de 29 de desembre, de la comunicació*

audiovisual de Catalunya, hereafter LCAC) establishes that local audiovisual media services must be provided directly by the municipality. Certainly, this legal provision imposes a significant limitation when it comes to choosing the different ways for providing the service. In any case, municipalities still have some room for choice between different management models.

This paper is based on the study of the regulatory framework affecting the audiovisual sector, public services and local government cooperation in managing municipal public service radio and television. The legal analysis, which includes a review of the literature on the subject (both in the field of law and other disciplines), is complemented by fieldwork based on face-to-face and telephone interviews with managers of radio and television service providers. Therefore, this paper explores the different instruments that basic Catalan legislation on local government provides for in the case of inter-municipal cooperation: *mancomunitats* (associations of municipalities), consortiums and communities of municipalities, to which we will also add inter-administrative enterprises.

1. Public service audiovisual media at the municipal level

1.1 Audiovisual media services as a public service

In our legal system, the definition of public service is not at all straightforward. In fact, the impossibility of identifying its content in an unequivocal way has cast doubt on its very existence. In any case, without entering into this discussion and from a general point of view, we can consider public services as service provision activities intended for the satisfaction of a public need, where provision is the duty and responsibility of the administration (Santamaría Pastor 2004, 304-305; Cosculluela Montaner 2012, 609; Martínez-Alonso Camps 2007, 55-56). Therefore, when we talk about a public service we are not referring to just any type of administrative action, rather, we are referring to the provision of services intended for citizens and considered indispensable for life in society (Fernández Rodríguez 1999, 59). It is precisely their social importance that justifies granting public services their own legal arrangements, which aim to ensure that the administration can guarantee their regular and consistent provision, whether directly or via third parties.

Initially, turning a certain activity into a public service meant reserving its provision exclusively to the administration (García de Enterría 1955, 116-119). Today, however, the notion of public service is no longer necessarily linked to the monopoly of the activity or to the total exclusion of the market from the provision of these services. As indicated earlier, this means that there is an assumption that this activity is guaranteed by the public powers, but the intensity and scope of administrative intervention will vary according to the needs for developing and organising the service (Sendín García, 115-121; Malaret and García 1998, 85-87). This idea of the public administration

as guarantor of public service provision has been reinforced in recent years, with private entities entering the sector (Esteve Pardo 2015) and shifting administrative intervention from directly providing the services to guaranteeing their provision.

Determining which specific administrative activities should be considered “public services” is an eminently political decision, conditioned by the context and the socio-economic reality at a given time. In our case, the recognition of audiovisual media services as a public service, and the possibility of assigning responsibility for their provision to the public sector, is established explicitly in Spanish legislation, as we can see in article 40 of the Spanish Audiovisual Media Act of 2010 (*Ley 7/2010, de 31 de marzo, General de la Comunicación Audiovisual*, hereafter LGCA), which expressly defines them as “essential general interest services” (art. 40.1 LGCA).

The justification for making this provision activity a public service is that its main purpose is to disseminate content that promotes constitutional values and principles – especially freedom of information and freedom of expression (art. 23.2 LCAC) – as well as shaping pluralist public opinion and respect for diversity. As already highlighted (Linde Paniagua 2013, 97), creating public media is not just a simple political option, but also involves the obligation to guarantee truthful and pluralist information. This obligation is fulfilled through the imposition of a series of specific obligations that are recognised as inherent to the provision of this service by different public administrations (Vidal Beltrán and Boix Palop 2013, 34-35).

1.2 Local audiovisual media services in Catalonia

In the case of Catalonia, these public service duties are expressly contained in article 25 LCAC, where it is stated that public providers of audiovisual services are obliged to fulfil, at least, a series of public service missions such as “providing the audiovisual media service using the assigned frequencies and the authorised power, consistently and with suitable quality”, providing the Catalan Audiovisual Council (Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya, hereafter CAC) with the necessary information to verify the fulfilment of these duties.

Catalan legislation defines the legal system of public service audiovisual media as “the supply, through a distribution system that does not require the use of conditional access technologies, of audiovisual content and, if applicable, according to the programme contract, of additional data transmission services geared towards satisfying the democratic, social, educational and cultural needs of the citizens that form the local community, as members of that community” (art. 32.1 LCAC).

Moreover, article 32.1 of the Catalan law also tells us that providers of this service not only have to fulfil the public service missions laid down in article 26.3 LCAC and adapted to the interests of the respective local communities, but must also transmit truthful, objective and balanced information, ensure diverse social and cultural expressions, and guarantee a high quality entertainment offer. The LCAC itself regulates three fundamental aspects, among others, of the public provision

of public audiovisual media services: audiovisual content, organisation and operation, and the form in which the services are provided.

1.3. Types of local public service audiovisual media in Catalonia: radio and television

Now that we have determined how we understand public service in our case, we must highlight the importance of the local dimension of audiovisual services in Catalonia, because since the beginning, radio and television broadcasters with municipal coverage have spread rapidly throughout the territory. We can identify three types of local media according to their nature and management: public, private and community media. Here, we will focus on public radio and television broadcasters in order to analyse the forms of collaboration between municipalities.

a) *The digital terrestrial television model in Catalonia*

After the launch of the first local television station with regular broadcasts in Catalonia in the 1980s (Radiotelevisió Cardedeu (Guimerà 2006)), different local television stations were set up in a deregulated legal framework and were therefore operating in a legal vacuum (Corominas 2009). In the analogue public television model, city councils launched solo projects and broadcast in areas mainly with local or county-level coverage.

The shift from analogue television to digital terrestrial television (DTT) was an essential step in planning at the European level. DTT involved developing a production and programming model where it was imperative to produce more and higher-quality programmes in the context of audience fragmentation. The public had to be seduced by new content that became a key strategic asset within the television market, and one of the fundamental drivers of the social impact of digital terrestrial television (Marzal; Murciano 2007). The move to DTT was undertaken to increase the number of programmes with a reduction in distribution costs, to improve the quality in reception and image, and to take better advantage of the radio spectrum and portable and mobile reception of television signals, as well as facilitating interactivity for users (CAC 2002).

The shift to DTT was not only technical, but also caused structural changes in the model with legal, economic and social implications. The Spanish local digital television plan (*Plan Técnico Nacional de la Televisión Digital Local*) reorganised the television sector and gave legal protection to local television stations, dividing the territory into 21 divisions – multiplex coverage areas (Coromina 2009) – seen as territorial units for structuring local digital television. In order to operate within one of these areas, city councils could set up consortiums to run public channels, which obliged them to reach agreements for their joint management. The management model inaugurated with digitalisation was completely new in local public television and not at all simple (Corominas 2009). The procedures for establishing consortiums were complex at the administrative level and many had economic difficulties when it came to

making the necessary investments to launch and maintain a channel (Guimerà 2006). The economic crisis and the lack of audiovisual culture in some municipalities worsened the situation and left many projects on stand-by.

Of all of the programmes, the government decided to reserve 37 for public management and 59 for private management (Guimerà 2007; Martori 2014). Despite the fact that most of the city councils had shown willingness to participate in local public television projects, at the time of the analogue switch-off, there were only 12 local public DTT channels operating. According to official CAC data, only eleven public channels continue to broadcast with a DTT licence, seven of them through consortiums and three through public municipal companies (Barcelona Televisió, Televisió de Badalona and Televisió L'Hospitalet). This leaves the rest of the channels (Canal 10 Empordà, Canal Blau, Canal Terrassa Vallès, Maresme Digital (m1tv), TAC12, Penedès TV, Vallès Oriental Televisió (VOTV) and Vallès Visió) with consortiums as the only model for managing the service.

Some television stations collaborate in developing special programmes or live broadcasts through specific agreements, which is the case of Vallès Visió and Vallès Oriental Televisió. But most of the cooperation between television providers is coordinated through La Xarxa (local media network), both for jointly producing programmes and exchanging content.

b) *Public service radio: problems and limitations*

Municipal radio is more important in the Catalan media ecosystem (32% of radio frequencies in Catalonia are local frequencies, and in the public sector, 74% of stations are local), and this is a very widespread phenomenon: 272 Catalan municipalities have a local radio station (CAC 2017).

They mainly offer music, news and sports content. Although they have been professionalised, the importance of volunteers is still crucial for the stations' operation, especially in small municipalities. Radio has not been digitalised and is still broadcast by FM. Therefore, the same change in the model's organisation and structure has not happened as it did in the case of television.

Most radio stations have municipal coverage and are managed by municipal enterprises or institutes, though there are also other options, such as the creation of special decentralised organisations. The structure of the model does not oblige city councils to group together to manage a station jointly as in the case of television stations. Nevertheless, there are several examples of collaboration, such as the agreement between Ràdio Arenys, Ràdio Canet, Ràdio Sant Vicenç de Montalt and Ràdio Llanvaneres to jointly develop programmes or the co-production agreement between Ràdio Arenys and La Xarxa.

Jointly developing content helps to share production costs and to boost participation in the different municipalities. Moreover, it feeds the programme schedule with original content. La Xarxa organises a lot of the collaboration between radio stations through programmes where several stations participate.

Although agreements are the most used option for inter-municipal collaboration in providing radio services, we also find other cases such as the Emun Terres de Ponent consortium, which was previously a community of municipalities. Associations can also be used to collaborate in providing radio services, as in the case of the Terres de l'Ebre Municipal Broadcasters Association (Associació Emissores Municipals de les Terres de l'Ebre, EMUTE), which also generates content jointly.

c) The role of the internet in providing radio and television services

In the context of digitalisation, new forms of internet-based media have emerged and have spread to the local level. In the case of Catalonia, these new forms of media tend to be managed directly by city councils or by municipal public enterprises. In some cases, they are online versions of existing media (television and radio stations) that offer audios and videos on demand, but in other cases they are platforms that only broadcast content on the internet.

The majority of these providers are online television stations that transmit videos asynchronously (especially when there are celebratory or cultural events in the municipality), as in the case of Amunt TV (Arenys de Munt) or Ràpita TV (Sant Carles de la Ràpita), or they are multiplatform media that combine videos, audios and texts with up-to-date news, as in the case of Cugat.cat (Sant Cugat del Vallès).

Online television emerged at a time of ill-health for local public television, as a phenomenon that could provide a solution to some of the problems of DTT, but which also raised new questions. This type of broadband television, designed to be consumed on computers, tablets, mobiles or connected televisions (or hybrid televisions), offers greater flexibility in terms of broadcasting times and content, since users consume the videos on demand.

These new forms of content dissemination present few barriers to entering the television market because it is not necessary to have a licence to operate, but we are still dealing with services included within the public sphere (Barata Mir 2012, 435), though much less regulated than traditional radio and television services. There are some twenty new local television channels that operate solely on the internet (promoted by city councils that have developed projects on their own for economic reasons), but there are also other municipal providers that offer audiovisual content on their own websites, alongside regular broadcasting.

Providers that broadcast on the internet tend to involve a single municipality and, therefore, forms of cooperation for providing audiovisual services are practically non-existent. However, online television stations that are members of La Xarxa and that exchange content or jointly produce programmes with other members are the exception.

2. Forms of cooperation in providing television and radio services

Now that we have provided a brief account of local public service audiovisual media in Catalonia, we can move on to analyse the different legal forms of cooperation that exist for providing local television and radio services. In this regard, as indicated earlier, we must first take into account a significant limitation: the obligation that the service be directly managed by the municipalities (art. 32.2 LCAC), notwithstanding the different forms of association for supplying audiovisual media services provided for in our local legal system.

2.1 Ways of managing public service audiovisual media: the direct management obligation

Although there are many types of management within our legal system, the LCAC established that the provision of this public service must be directly managed by the municipalities or through one of the local forms of association (art. 32.2 LCAC). In this regard, although local authorities have a certain degree of autonomy in choosing their management model, it is understood that the provision of these audiovisual services should primarily be the remit and responsibility of public entities, moving away from their provision by private actors (Barata Mir and Fita Caba 2012, 173).

When the LCAC speaks of "direct management" of the service at the local level, it refers us directly to article 85.2 of Law 7/1985 of 2 April regulating the local government system (*Llei 7/1985, de 2 d'abril, reguladora de les bases del règim local*, hereafter LBRL), which lays down the different forms of management of local public services. This article establishes that local public services must be managed in the most efficient and sustainable way possible and through one of the following management models: by the local authority itself or by creating a local autonomous body, a local public business entity or a local commercial enterprise (with public share capital). In any case, creating a local public business entity or a commercial enterprise would be a secondary option, since article 85.2 of the LBRL provides that this can only be done when it would be more sustainable and efficient than the other forms of management provided for in the article.

We also have to take into account that in regulating the management of local audiovisual services, the LCAC establishes an additional limitation on the admissible management forms. Thus, unlike that provided for in the LBRL, article 33.1 of the LCAC demands that the direct management of public service audiovisual media be undertaken by a body or organisation other than the local entity that owns the service. Indeed, article 33.1 of the LCAC states that "direct management of local public audiovisual services requires that the corresponding managing organisation or body define, develop and distribute the audiovisual content", or, in similar terms, article 33.4 of the LCAC establishes the need for the governing bodies of the

local entities that own the service to sign a programme contract with the managing organisation or body. In principle, we would find ourselves with the need to create a special-purpose entity, though it is also possible to create a special decentralised organisation, which would guarantee the existence of two separate entities (the service owner and the managing body) as established in the Catalan Audiovisual Council Agreement 160/2013 of 11 December, which provides recommendations for the organisation and operation of local public audiovisual services.

In any case, together with the forms of direct municipal management, the LCAC allows for the provision of public service audiovisual media in Catalonia through “legally-established forms of association between local entities and consortiums made up of local entities” (art. 32.2 LCAC). The reference to “forms of association” (*modalitats associatives*) in Catalan legislation seems to refer us exclusively to voluntary forms of collaboration created freely between the different local entities involved and excluding *vegueries*, counties and metropolitan areas¹.

From this perspective, if we want to study the forms of association provided for in our legal system, we have to look essentially at the Catalan law that regulates the different types of association that can be set up between local Catalan bodies (*Decret Legislatiu 2/2003, de 28 d'abril, pel que s'aprova el Text refós de la Llei municipal i de règim local de Catalunya*, hereafter TRLMRLC).

2.2 Forms of cooperation at the local level

As we have said, the TRLMRLC regulates the different forms of association between local Catalan bodies: *mancomunitats* and communities of municipalities. The LCAC also expressly allows for the management of audiovisual media services through consortiums, though it limits this form of management to ‘consortiums made up of local bodies’ (art. 32.2 LCAC). Lastly, we understand that within the forms of association allowed by the LCAC, we should also include inter-administrative commercial enterprises; that is, enterprises set up jointly via agreement between different public administrations, and in our case, between different local administrations.

a) The consortium as a failed model: the case of DTT

According to the current law on the public sector's legal system (*Ley 40/2015, de 1 de octubre, de Régimen Jurídico del Sector Público*, hereafter LRJSP), consortiums are public law entities of an associative and voluntary nature, created by several public administrations and, occasionally, private entities, whose aim is to undertake activities in the joint promotion, provision or management of public services. Their main characteristics are the following:

- They are legal entities, as recognised by local government legislation and regulations on public administrations. The agreement between the different members of the

consortium gives rise to a new legal entity, different to and independent from those that form the consortium. The consortium is not, therefore, a mere model for managing public services, but rather a public organisation granted legal personality independent from the entities that form it and, therefore, with its own capacity to be subject to rights and obligations, as well as to exercise them.

- Secondly, in relation to the legal nature of consortiums, we must take into account that local government legislation does not consider them as local authorities. Therefore, traditionally, consortiums are special-purpose entities, inasmuch as they are voluntarily established by several public administrations for the achievement of specific ends (Nieto Garrido 1997, 151-153; Toscano Gil 2016, 484-488).
- In terms of their make-up, as we already indicated, consortiums are institutions of a heterogeneous nature that arise from the union of public administrations in different territorial areas and even private entities. It should be taken into account, however, that the LCAC limits the creation of consortiums for the provision of audiovisual services to “consortiums made up of local bodies” (art 32.2 LCAC). Therefore, the law itself significantly limits the types of consortiums that can undertake direct management of public service audiovisual media at the local level, excluding those that are formed by public, or private, entities that are not considered local bodies.
- Lastly, in terms of their functions, the members of the consortium determine which goals and ends they wish to pursue through consortium charters. From a general point of view, consortiums are set up to manage activities and services that are of shared interest to the members. In this regard, as the LCAC expressly provides for, it is clear that local public audiovisual services are a type of service that could be included among the purposes of consortiums.

To end, and without being able to analyse the legal arrangements of consortiums in more detail, we must insist that the current basic regulation of this instrument can be found in the new LRJSP, which, as was the case with the LRSAL, requires the consortiums to form part of one of the public administrations within them. This subsequently determines the application of the budget, compatibility and management arrangements of the public administration of which they are part (art. 120 LRJSP).

b) An (almost) unprecedented possibility: *mancomunitats*

Together with consortiums, *mancomunitats* are one of the main instruments through which inter-municipal cooperation is coordinated in our legal system. In general, we can define *mancomunitats* as public administrations, of an institutional (or instrumental) nature, formed by two or more municipalities in order to jointly manage certain municipal works or services (Martín Mateo 1997, 41; Morillo-Velarde Pérez 2011, 1601;

Salanova Alcalde 1993, 55). Their main features are the following:

- *Mancomunitats* have their own legal personality and full capacity to work to achieve their purposes. Therefore, with the *mancomunitat*, a new public legal entity is created, separate to the municipalities that form it and subject to rights and obligations.
- Historically, *mancomunitats* arose to overcome the excessive fragmentation of our local map, promoting the joint undertaking or provision of certain municipal works, activities or services. *Mancomunitats* are institutions that are deeply rooted in our territory and that are assigned the provision of very diverse municipal services (Vilalta Reixach 2016, 80-85), among which, notwithstanding what we will say next, we could include local audiovisual media services.
- As we have already highlighted, *mancomunitats* are voluntary entities. Their existence is not imposed directly by the decision of legislators or by the legal system, but rather they are voluntarily set up and freely agreed by the parties involved.
- Lastly, it is also worth taking into account that membership of a *mancomunitat* is characterised by its limited scope, since our system only recognises the possibility for municipalities to form a *mancomunitat* (art. 44.1 LBRL and art. 115.1 TRLMRLC).

In terms of the relationship of *mancomunitats* with the provision of local public service audiovisual media, they are a seldom-used instrument. In fact, we can only find one example, from 2001 until 2012, when the city councils of Igualada, Santa Margarida de Montbui, Òdena, Vilanova del Camí, La Pobla de Claramunt, Jorba and Castellolí joined together in the *Mancomunitat Intermunicipal de la Conca d'Òdena* to provide the local television service (Conca TV) for the county of L'Anoia. Later, the service was passed on to a consortium and Conca TV stopped broadcasting in 2012.

c) Communities of municipalities in the provision of audiovisual media services

Communities of municipalities are a unique entity in the Catalan legal system, originally based on the French communities of municipalities (*communauté des comunes*).² They are the only option of the three offered by the TRLMRLC for cooperation in service provision that do not have their own legal personality. Their defining characteristics are the following:

- In terms of their make-up, as in the case of *mancomunitats*, only municipalities can form part of communities of municipalities (art. 123.1 TRLMRLC).
- Regarding their objectives, the purpose of the communities is defined in a very broad way and they can be formed to manage or execute tasks and functions shared by the municipal members (art. 123.1 TRLMRLC). On occasion, the question has arisen as to whether these shared

functions and tasks also include the provision of public services, such as audiovisual services. In this regard, it is considered that, indeed, the purpose of communities of municipalities can also include this service, since Catalan legislation defined their material scope of action in broad terms – even more so than in the case of *mancomunitats* (Torres Cobas 2003, 282).

- They have no legal personality of their own and therefore cannot be considered as local authorities, because, strictly speaking, a new legal entity independent from the community members is not created. In any case, as provided for in article 123.2 TRLMRLC, the agreements adopted in the community bind all of the municipalities involved and are effective before third parties, as though they were adopted by each and every one of the municipalities that form the community.

Despite the fact that communities of municipalities are a very flexible option, they have had limited prestige in Catalonia, where we find only ten cases. With regard to managing audiovisual media services at a local level, the involvement of communities of municipalities as a management model is equally token. The *Comunitat de Municipis Emun-Segrià* is the only case where the purpose is to provide audiovisual services; specifically, the joint management of resources related to broadcasting services and the production of radio products. This Community was created on 28 December 2005 with the corresponding agreement between the following municipalities of Lleida: Alfarràs, Alguair, Rosselló and Almenar, all in the county of Segrià. In any case, it was dissolved in 2009 and transformed into a consortium.

d) Inter-administrative enterprises

Creating enterprises owned by public administrations is a possibility that was already provided for in the law governing public administrations (*Ley 30/1992, de 26 de noviembre, de Régimen Jurídico de las Administraciones Públicas y del Procedimiento Administrativo Común*, hereafter LRJPAC), which states that, when, through an inter-administrative agreement, the need arises to set up a shared organisation, this can adopt the form of a commercial enterprise (art. 6.5 LRJPAC).

At the local level, this possibility was also expressly provided for. Since the reform of Law 57/2003 of 16 December, basic legislation on local government no longer demands that a commercial enterprise for the direct management of a public service *belong fully to the local authority*, rather, it is only necessary for the share capital to be “publicly owned” (art 85.2.d LBRL). Therefore, the LBRL allows for the establishment of commercial enterprises providing local public services and formed by different public bodies. These enterprises should adopt one of the forms provided for in the revised text of the Spanish Corporations Act (*Real Decreto Legislativo 1/2010, de 2 de julio, por el que se aprueba el texto refundido de la Ley de Sociedades de Capital*). Therefore, they are fully regulated

by private law, except in areas where rules regarding budgets, accounting, financial management, effectiveness measures and public procurement are still applicable.

Indeed, regarding the provision of audiovisual services by commercial enterprises, we must take into account some important aspects of their contractual arrangements. In order for these enterprises to be genuinely considered as a form of *direct* management of a public service (in accordance with article 32.2 LCAC), not only would the share capital have to be fully public, but, in addition, they would have to be able to be considered as an internal resource or technical service of the different local administrations involved, in accordance with the provisions of the 2011 royal decree on public sector contracts (*Real Decreto Legislativo 3/2011, de 14 de noviembre, por el que se aprueba el texto refundido de la Ley de Contratos del Sector Público*, hereafter TRLCSP).

Otherwise, management of that public service could not be directly assigned to a commercial enterprise and, consequently, this would require using the types of contracts and procurement procedures provided for in public sector contract legislation.

In this regard, in order for such an enterprise to be considered an internal resource or technical service of an administration, we have to take into account the demands resulting from Community case law and currently reflected in article 24.6 of TRLCSP. This article tells us that “public sector bodies, organisations and entities can be considered as internal resources and technical services of the contracting authorities for which they carry out an essential part of their activity when the authorities hold the same control over them as they do over their own services.”³

Lastly, it is worth taking into account that, as indicated earlier and in accordance with the reform introduced by the LRSAL, we can only turn to commercial enterprises to manage local public services when it is proven, through supporting documentation prepared for this purpose, that they are more sustainable and efficient than direct management by the local authority itself or by a local autonomous body (art. 85.2 LBRL).

Conclusions

Throughout this paper, we have seen that the provision of audiovisual media services, as defined by the LCAC, is restricted to direct management forms or, if the service is provided by two or more municipalities, to the forms of collaboration provided for in our regulations: consortiums, *mancomunitats* and communities of municipalities, as well as inter-administrative enterprises.

Therefore, having reached this point, we can now present some conclusions on the use of these management forms in providing municipal public service radio and television.

Firstly, we find a legal framework that is densely regulated, with different rules on audiovisual matters (LGCA, LCAC), local government (LBRL, LRSAL, TRLMRLC), and on the organisation and operation of public administrations (LRJSP, LPAC, LRJPCat). In the case of inter-municipal cooperation,

the regulations restrict the formulas that can be adopted for providing services. This restriction is especially intense with regard to the instrument that the LCAC prioritises in the case of local television (the consortium), and which local government regulations (especially the LRSAL) have also enormously restricted in recent years. This *clash* between audiovisual regulation and local government regulation can be seen in the restrictive policy regarding consortiums brought about by the LRSAL, which has meant that today there are DTT consortiums formed by a single municipality, a fact that should necessarily lead to their dissolution. The other instruments present different degrees of flexibility, from the moderate flexibility of the *mancomunitats* to more flexible formulas such as administrative enterprises and communities of municipalities. It would be advisable to eliminate the references to consortiums from the LCAC text, because a preference is indicated for a specific model and this has been problematic.

Other elements are determining when it comes to choosing one model or another, such as the difficulties in creating, modifying or dissolving the entities, the types of members that can form them or the legal form they should take, which should be optional but not an obligation. The expression used to define audiovisual media service providers –*ens* (entity) or *organisme* (organisation)– should be opened to any mode of inter-municipal cooperation, including the use of agreements, leaving room for municipalities to autonomously choose the most appropriate model according to their specific case.

After exploring the context of audiovisual media service provision, we think that, in general, it is advisable to make the forms of municipal cooperation in service management more flexible, but also to strengthen guarantees that the service is provided independently and with local content. In this regard, more emphasis should be placed on the service's transparency and on accountability than on limiting the possibilities for cooperation. The same goes for the participation of private parties, which should be defined in more detail in the LCAC, compensating for their involvement by strengthening transparency and accountability measures.

Notes

1. Strictly speaking, these entities are not associations of local bodies but compulsory groupings of municipalities.
2. On communities of municipalities in Catalonia and their precursors in comparative law, see, among others: FONT I LLOVET, T. (Dir): *Les tècniques de cooperació intermunicipal i la seva reforma*, Elements de debat territorial, no. 16, Diputació de Barcelona, 2002.
3. The literature on the legal system of administrations' internal resources and technical services is extensive. Among many others, the following serve as a reference: PASCUAL GARCÍA, J.: *Las encomiendas de gestión a la luz de la Ley de Contratos del Sector Público*, Madrid, Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2010; PERNAS GARCÍA, J.J.: *Las operaciones in house y el Derecho*

comunitario de los contratos públicos, Madrid, Ed. Iustel, 2008; or VILALTA REIXACH, M: "Los llamados contratos de auto-provisión (o contratos in house providing)", in YZQUIERDO TOLSADA, M (Dir.): *Contratos. Civiles, mercantiles, públicos, laborales e internacionales, con sus implicaciones tributarias*. Navarra, Thomson Reuters – Aranzadi, 2014.

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The digital switchover in Mexico: opportunities and risks for public service communication policies in the transition to digital terrestrial television

CÉSAR BÁRCENAS

Postdoctoral Researcher at the Social Sciences Doctoral Programme at Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco

cesarbarcenascurtis@gmail.com

ORCID Code: orcid.org/0000-0001-6724-6492

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Abstract

The Mexican Telecommunications Reform involves changes in public service media policies that include the process of digital switchover, which has an impact on socio-cultural issues and on the broadcasting sector. This paper proposes an intersection between new media and its agencies to explore how the digital switchover in Mexico involves new and different forms of public service policies that reconfigure cultural production and social practices. Finally, it identifies the characteristics of the digital switchover its potential impact on public service media policies in Mexico that include a framework of political, social and cultural agencies.

Palabras Clave

Reforma de Telecomunicaciones, Apagón Analógico, Servicio Público de Radiodifusión, Agencias, México.

Resum

La Reforma de Telecomunicaciones a Mèxic implica canvis en les polítiques de servei públic de comunicació que impacten en el sector de la radiodifusió. Aquest treball proposa una intersecció entre els nous mitjans i les seves agències, per tal d'explorar com la transició digital a Mèxic implica noves i diferents formes de servei públic que reconfiguren la producció cultural i les pràctiques socials. Finalment, aquesta proposta pretén identificar les característiques de l'apagada analògica i els possibles impactes en les polítiques de servei públic de mitjans de comunicació a Mèxic, la qual cosa inclou referències sobre les agències polítiques, socials i culturals.

Paraules clau

Reforma de Telecomunicacions, Apagada Analògica, Servei Públic de Radiodifusió, Agències, Mèxic.

1. Background

On 2 July 2004 the decision adopting the technological standard for digital terrestrial television and setting out the policy for the transition to digital terrestrial television in Mexico was published in the Official Gazette of the Federation. It specified “that communication through radio and television is a public interest activity which has the social function of helping to enhance national integration and improve forms of human cohabitation and these services need to be provided in the best technological conditions for the benefit of the population [...]”.¹

The decision further specified that the experience of other countries in best use of the radio spectrum, better quality in digital transmissions and the improvements resulting from technological convergence make it appropriate to adopt the digital television broadcast standard and also promote the introduction of new technology. In general terms the aim was to achieve digital terrestrial television coverage in Mexico with the following specifications:²

1. Ability to achieve reliable HD transmissions.
2. Efficiency in the transmission of signals that would make it possible to maximise coverage of the population at a low cost.
3. Use of potential economies of scale in global production of receiving devices.
4. Availability of receiving devices with good quality, diversity and price.
5. Potential development of new mobile and portable applications and services.
6. Improvements in conditions for receiving signals originating in Mexico.

The primary intention was to kick off the process to put in place digital terrestrial television services to replace analogue signals, which for a long time in some countries had been administered by the national public broadcasting service. Prior to these changes satellite and cable companies in several parts of the world had begun to deliver their television services through

multichannel options which were consolidated with digital technologies. In the case of Mexico, since 1999 Televisa and Televisión Azteca had initiated a transition towards terrestrial digital signals, a measure that was adopted and outlined in the decision mentioned above.

Furthermore, factors such as technical rollout, interoperability between platforms, the features and size of the domestic market, intellectual property and considerations about mobile TV through mobile phones have influenced political and commercial decisions in the digital switchover. Likewise, another risk factor in terms of policy options for digital switchover adoption and development is pressure from external forces in the shape of transnational corporations. Indeed, digital switchover in several European countries has in most cases been led by pay television operators (García Leiva & Starks 2009).

In the United States the market is built on a complex structure consisting of telecommunications companies, cable and satellite programmers and television companies with ample room for manoeuvre such as the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). This corporate scenario might suggest that government involvement is limited, yet it was the authorities which chose the technological standard in conjunction with the industry and market forces (Segovia 2012: 132).

As Galperin (2004) notes in the case of the United States, the arguments for digital transition are based not only on technological issues but also on inherited communication policies and models. Hence a number of factors influenced this transition, including the need for growth in the electronics sector, the information society revolution and spectrum scarcity, which meant that the US government played an active role in remodelling the media market's structure.

In Latin America the transition in Brazil and Argentina can be taken as a reference point for examining these change processes, especially since as Cruz Brittos and Felkl Prevedello (2012: 174) point out, the introduction of DTT in Brazil was the outcome of a discussion about the possibilities of cultural and educational dissemination in a digital environment. A number of questions were also raised about the hegemonic maintenance of media oligopolies and the limited room for shifting towards an inclusive democratisation process in which public television channels had options and opportunities to get into digital production and transmission.

In Argentina, Krakowiak, Mastrini and Becerra (2012) set out a case study similar to Mexico and Brazil, especially given that the broadcasting sector's commercial structure is comparable and in particular due to business interests such as the Clarion group. The Argentine government had to rework its broadcasting policies to steer the transition around the obstacles presented by media corporations.

In Mexico digital terrestrial television was introduced in an environment lacking plural and democratic public discussion about the topic. As a result and as has historically been the

case in Mexico, DTT's premises and possibilities in terms of universal access as an integral part of the construction of a public broadcasting service were not attained. Companies such as Televisa and Televisión Azteca have continued to defy laws and regulations, as was seen in 2010 when a presidential decree brought the date of the digital switchover in Mexico forward to 2015 instead of 2021 as had been planned at first. Consequently in this scenario of digital transition there are still situations and actions in Mexico defined by media oligopolies with the tolerance of the authorities that constitute the historical and structural reproduction of communication policies and power relations over time (Crovi 2012).

2. Initial approaches

Part of public service broadcasting's mission is to play a role in the digital switchover process, for example by upholding universal service as an integral component of public television as a fundamental principle and also extending its contents across the various platforms at an affordable price. Accordingly public service broadcasting faces fresh challenges when addressing a digital environment in which it has to develop interactive content and deliver on-demand and individualised services, which at some point may impact its fundamental obligation to provide a universal service (Iosifidis 2007: 18).

Public service broadcasting is in a digital setting where it has to use new interactive technologies, broadcast across a range of platforms and address changes in new consumer and/or user habits. The digital switchover may also alter the original conditions of public service broadcasting while also increasing the business options of pay television companies. Some of the functions of public service broadcasting, such as maintaining social cohesion, reporting impartially, being a forum for public discussion and contributing to audiovisual creation now in a context of digital convergence,³ may restrict its ability to put across the general interest.

Digital convergence began when the telecommunications, computer and media industries developed concepts and technology that they could use and exchange for broadcasting content mainly to improve their technological and financial position. In general convergence is the outcome of several factors, but mainly it is a consequence of the political, economic and technological needs represented by re-regulation processes (Prado, 2002).

One of the features of the digital switchover is the progressive migration of television sets from analogue to digital reception. Here "switchover" refers to the ending of analogue transmissions that will be replaced by reception of digital signals through devices and sets that capture transmissions through terrestrial, cable and satellite networks (European Commission 2005: 4). A technological transition also takes place which alters viewers' practices and habits, and the latter in turn generate a series of debates about State policies for the digital switchover.

Hence this paper seeks to identify and analyse the features of the digital switchover process specifically in the Mexican case, and particularly with respect to the possible benefits or risks for public service broadcasting policies. This includes reviewing public interest factors, citizenship and the position of consumers, media and telecommunications companies and their implications for the national economy.

Following Iosifidis (2011: 4) there have been three key stages in the development of television, particularly in Europe:

1. The first stage was in the early 1980s, when some public service broadcasting monopolies were broken up and commercial television services developed that began terrestrial, cable and satellite broadcasts.
2. The second stage was in the early 1990s, when the first platforms for watching television contents by paying a subscription emerged, which also entailed new forms of financing through advertising.
3. And finally, the introduction of digital television in the late 1990s was the last major stage in the digital switchover process.

The purpose of this process was initially to benefit consumers and citizens as well as media companies, other partner companies and the government in general. However, it has also possibly changed the terms “citizen” and “consumer” which in essence also impacts the concept of “public interest”⁴ as the market is open to a multi-channel environment where supply is increasing but there is also a consumer perspective that differs from the public service tradition.

Hence commercialisation in general terms does not benefit political and social discussion as it is based on free market mechanisms, which also means minimal incentives for diversity of content and puts minority interests at the mercy of majority ones. Accordingly the foundations of the public interest, based on and represented by the diversity and quality of bold and innovative programming, discussion of national and cultural identity, support for the interests of minorities, the provision of news and current affairs and universal coverage, are faced with the quandary of whether or not they will be fostered by new technology and market competition. Hence in the end this marketisation⁵ may in turn also impact the principles of public service broadcasting (Iosifidis 2011: 5).

Here a joint approach has been taken to broadcasting, the spectrum and telecommunications which entails new convergence and diversification processes that in turn alter the conceptions of citizen-consumer and at the same time amend the regulatory conditions for telecommunications services (Livingstone, Lunt and Miller 2007: 614). Accordingly, the objective is to question and identify the alleged benefits of the digital switchover for public service broadcasting policies as well as for the citizen and/or the consumer in terms of choice and ways of distributing content and technology based on mobility and interactivity processes which are an integral part of the foundations of digital convergence.

The benefits for the consumer are not the same as for the citizen⁶ and media and telecommunications companies, since the digital switchover involves the development of multi-channel operator strategies which reduce investment costs through digitalisation. In this case it would appear that technology companies, cable television retailers and wholesalers and mobile phone companies gain the greatest advantages from the digital switchover. Hence it is possible to question whether Mexican society benefits from the increase in broadband and the possibilities of participating in the development of a digital television culture since these services may not be available to all.

Consequently not all consumers have purchasing power and there may also be economic and technical restrictions on access to universal service. In fact, in the Mexican case universal service is understood and geared more towards the allocation of services such as health, education, water, electricity and telephones. Accordingly the conditions of universal service have to be assessed with respect to the information and communication services it provides. Hence the status of the universal communication service in Mexico is a factor that may make it possible to identify the conditions of the “public interest” in a digital scenario which is highly competitive in the media market.

In view of the above, and given a marketisation scenario in the media with traces of privatisation and concentration, the freedoms and rights of Mexican citizens in terms of access to and use of new technologies have to be reviewed. Now more than ever conflicts related to universal access, options for use and opportunities for expression of diversity with respect to political plurality are in all likelihood building up. These conflicts are therefore related to the regulation of media services and in particular to the public interest on which access to technological innovations and digital television is based (Iosifidis 2011: 7).

The digital switchover might restrict the possibilities and options of universal access which in turn may increase social inequalities. Indeed, the digital switchover is not socially acceptable until all citizens and/or consumers have migrated to digital television services. Hence putting digital services in place also depends on technological infrastructure conditions and public knowledge about the transition process.

Thus administration of the spectrum and its implications for the circulation of goods and services in international markets have to be looked at along with competitive features, television services, television technologies and in general the legal framework as well as the new business and service models. It also has to be decided whether the digital switchover brings benefits for both viewers and media companies and additionally stimulates the innovation and growth of the public broadcasting service. Public policies for the digital switchover may be called into question if they are seen as coercive by limiting the possibilities of the viewer and/or user.

In general terms the intention is to assess whether a policy strategy such as the digital switchover in the Mexican case

contributes to the public interest and civil involvement in a democratic society, which based on a proposal from the Council of Europe (2008) includes:

1. Access to information (creation of an online environment in which reliable and credible information can be disseminated).
2. Decentralisation and interaction with citizens (contribution to developing a civil society in local, regional, national and international terms which encompasses the needs, interests and concerns of the audiences).
3. Mobilisation (this category is based on services provided to citizens with interests in social movements).
4. Accessibility (ease of delivery and access to the contents of public service broadcasting through various channels and platforms with the intention that companies should learn about the tastes and preferences of the viewer).

The challenges posed by policies such as the digital switchover in Mexico concern universal access to and availability of digital services for citizens. Hence it has to be questioned whether in this environment public service broadcasting will be able to remain a content provider, enable access, promote digital citizenship through expanding its activities across a greater number of platforms and introduce online services as a genuine public value for the whole population (Iosifidis 2011: 15).

3. Theoretical reference framework

Digital switchover can be viewed as a process that emerges from digital convergence, which in turn is a phenomenon that can be understood as a multidimensional process. Hence this process firstly impacts cultural practices and habits, in particular due to the introduction of new forms of production and distribution of content through innovative devices and platforms. It is also important to note that these innovations are produced and managed by media, telecommunications and software companies who form alliances to acquire greater competitive advantage in the market with the intention of increasing their economic benefits from the digital environment.

Murdock (2000: 36) argues that digital convergence can be defined at three levels:

1. Convergence of cultural forms.
2. Convergence of communication systems.
3. Convergence of corporate ownership.

Firstly, convergence of cultural forms becomes meaningful when users configure and reconfigure digital applications. Secondly, convergence of communication systems involves a series of transformations in the forms of media production, distribution and consumption. Finally, convergence of corporate ownership entails a series of business, technology and network integration processes and new services and markets which may affect public media services in Mexico.

Here convergence of corporate ownership not only involves the technological transformations conducted in the late 20th century but also deregulation, or rather re-regulation⁷ (Mastrini and Mestman, 1996: 82), of public communication systems particularly in Europe and Latin America which embarked on a stage of increasing numbers of channels and development of devices featuring flexible, interactive technology with high reception capacity (Prado 2002). This breaking down of the boundaries between the media, information technology and telecommunications brought with it new business scenarios that impacted media regulation policies and especially in the telecommunications industry (Van Cuilenberg and McQuail 2003: 197).

For example, in the specific case of a public broadcaster such as the BBC in the United Kingdom, the development of corporate media conglomerates forced it to put in place a new organisational structure to address emerging companies in terms of businesses, formats and content. This means that in one way or another public service broadcasting policies may have begun to be influenced by competition with large corporations, although it should be said that there might also be “a special relationship” between corporations and government (Murdock 2005: 116-117).

These processes have involved a series of contradictions for public service media policies which may be geared towards marketisation. Hence corporate convergence in the media is not only the result of technological change but also of the new political and economic scenarios that involved the creation and development of a greater number of businesses and markets (Murdock and Golding 1999: 118).

As the theoretical underpinning for our analysis of the consolidation of convergence of corporate ownership in Mexico, which restricts the principles of public service broadcasting based on the general interest, we will use the five basic dimensions proposed by Murdock and Golding (1999), which can also be used to identify whether there is a process of marketisation in public service media and telecommunications policies in Mexico and what its features are:

1. Privatisation
2. Liberalisation
3. Corporatisation
4. Moving from licensing to auctions
5. Reorienting the regulatory system

Hence a hypothesis for this transition is that communication and telecommunication policies have been geared toward a “marketisation” process which includes liberalisation, privatisation, corporatisation and reorienting the regulatory system to give corporations greater room for manoeuvre (Murdock 2002: 19-20). Media and telecommunications policies today can be divided into:

- a. The neoclassical liberal position which is based on four imperatives: free market, free competition, freedom in the circulation of ideas, a market for ideas.

- b. The logic of the public interest, protection of inheritance, public realm and national sovereignty.

Finally, the rules of the public service tradition have objectives and values articulated under socio-cultural, political and economic aspects related to the welfare state. They guarantee freedom of expression, cultural diversity, universal access, building the public realm and citizenship, quality information, news with quality information, content with social responsibility and civil society participation in communication systems with socio-cultural, educational and economic purposes (Curran and Seaton 1997; McQuail 1998; Pasquali 2007).

4. Digital Terrestrial Television in Mexico

One way of gaining an understanding of the structure of the television market in Mexico during the analogue era prior to the digital transition is to look at the case of the “Televisa Law”,⁸ which to some extent reflects how laws and regulations have historically been politically skewed in Mexico to benefit groups of media owners and concessionaires as a strategy to gain mutual benefits between government and businesspeople. Against a background of transformations and modifications, in Mexico in 1997 two bills were presented to the Chamber of Deputies, one concerning the Federal Social Communication Act and the other about reform and addition of several articles to the Federal Radio and Television Act in force since 1960.

In this period it was proposed to establish an “open and transparent” legal framework between the government and the concessionaires by setting up a National Social Communication Commission which would promote independence when awarding concessions and where cultural, experimental and community stations would be facilitated and stimulated with priority for the development of cultural and educational work in indigenous, rural and urban communities around the country through programmes supported by advertising. Likewise, it was intended to transfer the authority for radio and television concessions and licences to an independent body called the Radio and Television Concessions Committee consisting of representatives of the public, private and academic sectors to avoid government interference or control (Cepeda in Solís Lereé 2009: 39).

In response to this prospect a campaign was run in some media outlets, such as the newspaper *El Universal*, which argued that these reforms were intended to restrict freedom of speech. This campaign brought negotiations and discussions on the issue to a halt. Later on the Vicente Fox administration sought to revise the Federal Radio and Television Act in place since 1960 by setting up a National Radio and Television Council. However, the businesspeople in the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry rejected this possibility and instead set up their own Self-Regulation Council with the endorsement of the Executive (Solís Lereé 2009: 43).

Thus in 2002 the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry itself presented a new regulation for the Federal Radio and Television Act which was called “the diktat” and did not amend the award of concessions which remained with the Ministry of Communications and Transport. Against this background discussions continued to draw up a new proposal for the Radio and Television Act with a draft version produced in 2005 which sought to take into account issues such as technological convergence which in turn impacts the Federal Telecommunications Act.

Some of the most important issues to be addressed were the establishment of three distinct categories to provide broadcasting services:

- a. Concessions, for commercial use for profit.
- b. Licences, for social use and meeting the needs of communities and operated on a non-profit basis.
- c. State media, for the media operated by government agencies. During this process a counterproposal was presented that essentially represented the intentions of the “Televisa Law” and established bidding criteria for choosing radio and television concessions while also specifying 20 years as the term of the concessions.

In the case of digitalisation it was proposed that concessionaires who introduce technological innovations, such as releasing part of the radio spectrum of their signal, could recover this space without making it available to the State for better use in the interests of the country. Accordingly, it was proposed to amend paragraph 1 in Articles 2 and 28, section II of the Federal Radio and Television Act to provide concessionaires with the option of “providing telecommunications services in addition to broadcasting services through the frequency bands subject to concession”.

Broadcasting was required to be legally constituted as a telecommunications service so that the concessionaires increased their possibilities of business development without having to pay the State for the provision of these services. Hence concentration could be increased by mixing interests in broadcasting and telecommunications, as expressed in Article 28 where it was specified that “a concession will be awarded to use, exploit or operate a band of frequencies in national territory as well as to install, operate or exploit public telecommunications networks”.

Faced with this potential risk, in 2006 an appeal claiming this reform was unconstitutional was filed with the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation by a group of senators on the grounds that it favoured a few entrepreneurs to the “detriment of plurality and competition in public airwaves, which is a good of the nation...” (Carranza 2009: 130). What was at stake was the State’s ability to plan and manage the social and efficient use of public airwaves to benefit the “public interest”, which ultimately resulted in the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation ruling the “Televisa Law” to be unconstitutional.

Against this backdrop of polarisation, on 2 July 2004 the

Decision that adopts the technological standard of digital terrestrial television and establishes the policy for the transition to digital terrestrial television in Mexico was published in the Official Gazette of the Federation in Mexico, which basically proposed the following:

“That communication through radio and television is a public interest activity which has the social function of helping to enhance national integration and improve ways of human cohabitation, and these services have to be provided in the best technological conditions for the benefit of the population”.⁹

Later on in 2010 Felipe Calderón's administration set 2015 as the date for completion of the digital switchover. During the transition, government programmes coordinated by the Ministry of Communications and Transportation began to be implemented such as the National Programme for Integrated Management of Televisions Discarded due to the Transition to Digital Television, which swapped analogue TV sets for new digital-enabled ones in order to provide access to digital signals, and the Ministry of Social Development (Sedesol) put in place a strategy to subsidise digital TVs for social programme beneficiaries, especially ones living in poverty.

The leading private Mexican television consortiums represented by Televisa and Televisión Azteca said they were unhappy about bringing forward the date of the digital switchover, which had been originally scheduled for 2021, and lobbied the legislature in the hope of changing the decision. However, it was ratified in 2013 with the Constitutional Reform in Telecommunications, whose fifth transitional article specified “The digital terrestrial transition will be completed on 31 December 2015.”¹⁰

Televisa and Televisión Azteca's caginess about the date set for the digital switchover was related to the fact that before the end of the period Televisa still had 314 stations that were in no condition to transition to the digital system and Televisión Azteca had five. The companies had failed to carry out the investment and the adjustments required to make the change in all their stations. Furthermore, some television stations owned by state governments, public universities and civil associations were also not able to transition to the digital system. Here it should be noted that a state policy which would economically and politically support the digitalisation of public and social media was not put in place since most of these media had to make special savings and negotiate separately with their governments to acquire resources, although there were also cases where the governors had no interest in allocating resources for this process and chose to spend resources on propaganda and publicising their image.¹¹

In addition, the choice of the digital television standard was intended to promote the convergence of telecommunications from the start-up of digital television in Mexico. Consequently after reviewing the television standards available around the world, the ATSC's A/53 was selected for the digital terrestrial television broadcasts currently used by television

station concessionaires and licensees. This standard was apparently chosen due to its high definition, although there was no discussion about this aspect since only a Consultative Committee on Digital Technologies for Broadcasting was set up in 1999, which chose the ATSC as the standard system for digital terrestrial television in Mexico. The committee had six members appointed by the Ministry of Communications and Transportation (SCT) and the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry (CIRT).

The choice of this standard which is also used in the United States makes it possible to coordinate frequencies for commercial and technological interests. In fact, the SCT insisted on “taking advantage of potential economies of scale” and “the best conditions for the reception of signals originating in national territory and which due to their location may be picked up abroad” (Chávez 2017: 89). In all likelihood the coordination of frequencies on the border between the United States and Mexico influenced this choice.

5. DTT policies in Mexico

Firstly it is questionable whether the political initiatives for introducing digital terrestrial television in Mexico were aimed at achieving the best use of the radio spectrum, particularly to increase the number of television channels. Secondly, it is also possible to ask whether liberalisation of public service broadcasting furnishes the conditions for a new model of television that reduces the digital divide and brings the population closer to the Information Society. Thirdly, it is also necessary to review the conditions of operators during the introduction of digital terrestrial television in terms of the increase in the number of channels and the possibilities of pluralism and balance in competition in addition to technical improvements in picture and sound clarity as well as the opportunities for mobile and portable reception. Finally, in fourth place the options for digital convergence, particularly with reference to user and/or consumer practices and habits, need to be examined.

The intention is to lay the methodological foundation for identifying the features of the television model developed for DTT in Mexico, especially since the technological variable is not the only one to be transformed.¹² Examination of the political regulations of public media service in Mexico involves looking at the variables in the introduction of the DTT services provided by the operators together with their possibilities and scope in the television market during the “digital switchover” process, in which one of the initial ambitions is that all channels should compete on equal terms.

Hence the idea that digital terrestrial television services have been introduced to benefit and encourage public service media policies is likely to be called into question, especially when it is found that these policies give priority to expanding services for financial purposes instead of human needs which include better communication (Faraone 2011: 202). Some of

the potential hazards of including digital terrestrial television in public service broadcasting policy are that it is designed to open up new markets and create goods and services to generate new communication needs in order to maintain market dynamics.

In general terms the adoption of digital terrestrial television services in Mexico triggered a discussion about possible market scenarios in terms of competitiveness, with supply and demand, quality of reception, establishment of business models, incentives for the broadcasting sector and new services as situations that may become a “promise of universal service and access” (Bustamante, 2008a: 5). Thus the analogue-to-digital migration called the “digital switchover” was initially an opportunity for public service broadcasting policies but at the same time perhaps increased the differences between DTT, cable and satellite service operators.

At first it was assumed that digital terrestrial television options were a way of improving the use of the radio spectrum, developing and stimulating the broadcasting sector, providing more chances for the entry of a greater number of channels and bringing in interactive services. Furthermore, DTT meant lower costs for installing distribution and reception networks unlike the outlay that may be involved in receiving satellite television services.

However, open and free digital terrestrial television services do not necessarily restrict satellite pay television services since the introduction of DTT does not guarantee greater interactivity (Bustamante, 2008b: 40). Here it is useful to review the opportunities afforded by digital terrestrial television to provide universal service for all citizens as well as its efficiency in terms of coverage. Thus in the Mexican case the performance of DTT in terms of competition, penetration, screen share and revenue based on its free service model has to be examined.

The conditions of the additional services that can be provided by DTT in Mexico also need to be looked at, especially in terms of the features of television programming and including the possibilities of a large number of channels and transmission via the Internet. Accordingly the options for interaction through digital sets which can be adapted to various navigation options for services such as video-on-demand and teleshopping should be identified.

DTT's possibilities should be assessed based on its features as public service broadcasting designed, as Prado (2007: 281) notes, “to provide a quality universal service available to all citizens on equal terms and supplied through direct management by a State agency and/or through indirect management by private companies”. On this point it is important to identify the supposed global benefits of DTT for citizens and also the possible scenarios for policies implemented for the distribution of frequencies and telecommunications services, so in general it is about reviewing radio spectrum management.

The adoption of a digital system may enable better use of the spectrum as its signals take up less space; an analogue signal includes picture and sound while a digital signal is transmitted through bits. Thus a DTT signal is coded and compressed

without worsening the quality of the picture while at the same time making possible an increase in the number of channels and other services. Here the importance of the radio spectrum is fundamental for a public service broadcasting policy, so possibly one of the risks facing DTT geared towards universal access is adopting and serving the interests of the market on the grounds that it can deliver greater flexibility and provide a balance between supply and demand (Richeri, 1994: 223).¹³

Accordingly, radio spectrum management is critical when it comes to devising policies for awarding television service provider licences to media and telecommunications groups. One of the public service policy challenges in this scenario lies in developing and encouraging pluralism, especially in the broadcasting range. However, one of the risks may also be meeting the needs of media corporations close to the government of the day. Hence in some cases the implementation of digital terrestrial television services is not only intended to provide universal access to citizens based on a public service broadcasting policy; resolution of technical issues and improvements in spectrum management to enable an increase in the number of channels may also be driven by the political need to meet demands from media corporations which failed to win any concessions during the analogue period (Martín Pérez, 2010: 49).¹⁴

Therefore in this context of corporate pressures and interests, it is important to examine DTT's potential technical, political and commercial advantages and their relation to social values and the possibilities of exercising citizenship. In particular, this will call for more in-depth analysis that goes beyond the mere existence of an improvement in the quality of television signals, greater access to multichannel services, free signals and low installation costs. Hence it is important to evaluate the risks and opportunities of emerging digital terrestrial television services in Mexico.¹⁵

At first it might be thought that access to DTT services is simple and easy for the user, which would also mean that it does not lead to variations in consumption habits. However, this assumption has to be questioned while also pointing out that there may well be some variables in terms of installation costs, such as purchase in some cases of a receiver and/or decoder (a set-top box) to pick up the signal.¹⁶

Furthermore, DTT's interactivity potential is another point for review and discussion, especially in terms of navigation opportunities, access to programming guides in a multichannel environment, viewing options, choice of language and subtitles, etc. Finally, the choice and operation of interactive public services (electronic government, tele-education) and commercial services (teleshopping, TV shopping, pay-per-event, etc.) are other topics to be reviewed in the Mexican case.¹⁷

Evaluation of DTT's interactivity also needs to identify the options a user has to become a broadcaster through a television receiver when commenting, debating and at some point producing content.¹⁸ Likewise technical limitations may reduce digital terrestrial television's interactivity possibilities, although

it should also be noted that its advantages are primarily due to its low installation cost and the fact it is a free service unlike cable and satellite television.

In the case of DTT services it is also important to look at the availability of applications and services provided by digital television operators to users, including the development of e-commerce models based on services for information management, games and administrative procedures. Moreover, these possibilities open up new business opportunities that are also sources of revenue in addition to existing ones (Martín Pérez 2010: 50).

However, it may also be that these interactivity opportunities face obstacles connected with the migration from analogue to digital including the availability of the signal in the receiving device and users' navigation possibilities.¹⁹ Hence it is germane to identify the features of the digital terrestrial television viewer in Mexico where personalised services are developed and participation is feasible, especially in content creation.²⁰

Some of the characteristics of digitally transmitted television signals entail better sound and picture quality. In general technical terms, noise, interference and dual images are eliminated. Likewise this system enables portable and mobile reception in a specific coverage area on different devices and is thus a chance for television services to get closer to viewers and/or users.²¹ However, television ratings in Mexico today are very variable before the entrance of digital terrestrial television and online television services (PWC, 2015: 15).²²

Furthermore, the decision specifying that stations and supplementary devices should continue to conduct analogue transmissions of broadcast television published in the Official Gazette of the Federation on 31 December 2015 also states that the Mexican State has the Constitutional duty to "plan, conduct, coordinate and guide national economic activity and carry out the regulation and promotion of activities that is required by the general interest". As the transition to DTT is part of these obligations, the recommendations of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), a specialised United Nations agency for Telecommunications and Information Technology, are to be complied with.²³

Based on this, the decision argues that the transition to DTT brings a series of direct and indirect benefits and opportunities for audiences and the public in general while it is also a chance to implement a policy whereby DTT becomes a regulatory legal instrument for establishing guidelines to be followed by broadcast television concessionaires and licensees as shown below and no later than 31 December 2015:²⁴

- a. The possibility of obtaining pictures and sound of greater fidelity and/or resolution than those currently allowed by analogue transmissions.
- b. The possibility of accessing a greater variety of contents through multiprogramming.
- c. Promoting rational and planned use of the radio spectrum to make more efficient use of it.
- d. Better use of the radio spectrum, inter alia for the

deployment of International Mobile Telecommunications (IMT) systems, which could lead to greater competition in the mobile telephony sector and better prices for end users of such services.

Prado (2003) argues that DTT "has the right features to become the technological basis for achieving a high degree of convergence through the traditional television set." However, as Bustamante and Álvarez (1999: 23) also note, "the process of blurring the boundaries between these traditionally separated sectors is not necessarily driven by technological innovation but rather by state communication policies and the strategies of large global groups." This would suggest that DTT's opportunities lie in the facilities to provide a range of interactive services, yet at the same time these facilities in a corporate environment pose the risk of being managed by telecommunications and media companies based on media policies set out in laws and regulations.

In addition interactivity levels may also be variable, so the "digital divide" may not disappear instantaneously with the introduction of DTT. In fact in the Mexican case the intention is to discuss the following aggregated values of DTT listed by Bustamante (2008a: 10):

1. Increase in and improvement of television programming.
2. Improving picture and sound reception quality.
3. Enhancing public service and updating its role in the digital age.
4. Improving transparency in concessions or licences together with increased competition.
5. Universal access to multichannel television.
6. Widespread access to interactive services.

Some fundamental issues have to be addressed in addition to meeting the official deadlines in each country for the digital switchover. What is the point of digital terrestrial television? What are its key contributions in terms of democracy, pluralism and diversity, authentic enrichment of the range of symbolic creations, redistribution and access? According to García Leiva (2008: 33), the importance of DTT is that "migration to the digital system is the fastest and most economical way to universalise access to the goods and services derived from digitalisation", especially because it is the cheapest and fastest medium to install.

DTT is believed to have the potential to provide a universal service for all citizens by using the same network as analogue television which makes it possible to broaden the deployment of more effective and economic coverage. Therefore DTT apparently affords a series of options to deliver an efficient universal service to the entire population through a converging cut-off platform where a TV set provides access to multimedia possibilities such as video-on-demand, email, shopping and banking online.

Finally, Sierra (2009) argues it is also important to address visions of interactivity as a factor for cultural democracy. Here

the viewer and/or user's supposed power options in terms of cultural production, especially in view of the "promised democratic aurora of communication in the digital age", need to be examined. Given the increase in the number of channels resulting from overcoming the problem of frequency scarcity by digital compression, the predominance of commercial rationality will most likely turn the local communication space into an arena for multimedia conglomerates. Hence national, community or even transnational platforms need to work together for the proper fulfilment of its public service mission.

Notes

1. Official Gazette of the Federation (2004), 2 July, [Decision that adopts the technological standard for digital terrestrial television and establishes the policy for the transition to digital terrestrial television](#). [Accessed: April 2016].
2. Ibid.
3. "A process called the 'convergence of modes' is blurring the lines between media, even between point-to-point communications, such as the post, telephone and telegraph, and mass communications, such as the press, radio, and television. A single physical means – be it wires, cables or airwaves – may carry services that in the past were provided in separate ways. Conversely, a service that was provided in the past by any one medium – be it broadcasting, the press, or telephony – can now be provided in several different physical ways. So the one-to-one relationship that used to exist between a medium and its use is eroding" (Pool 1983: 23).
4. "The normative reasoning justifying the functions of PSB relies on its relation to the 'public interest' (PI), a presupposed 'common good' over and above the interests of particular individuals. The substance of the PI remains highly contested and subject to capture and reinterpretation, inasmuch as the values in question are inseparable from those involved in democracy and the good society." (Dahlgren in Chin 2012: 900). For McQuail (in Feintuck and Varney 2006: 75) the term 'public interest' in the media refers to "the complex of supposed informational, cultural and social benefits to the wider society which go beyond the immediate, particular and individual interests of those who communicate in public communication, whether as senders or receivers".
5. "By marketization we mean all those policy interventions designed to increase the freedom of action of private corporations and to institute corporate goals and organizational procedures as the yardstick against which the performances of all forms of cultural enterprise are judged" (Murdock and Golding 1999: 118).
6. Citizenship is "a form of political identity by which individuals are endowed with social rights and obligations within political communities. Needless to say, the meaning of citizenship changes according to the language-game and cultural contexts in which it is deployed. For example, the classical Liberal conception of citizenship focuses on the rights and duties of individuals and includes such issues as residency, freedom of movement, freedom of speech and voting rights. The social democratic usage of the term adds to this list those collective rights associated with the welfare state, including the rights to education, relief from poverty, medical services and so forth. Today one also hears of the cultural rights of identity groups that are said to flow from the claims of citizenship. Thus it is important to recognize that the scope of citizenship rights and the habits and routines that are attendant on it are progressively formed over time and are not universal givens. Indeed, the extension of the scope of citizenship to cover increasing numbers of persons and the enlargement of the rights with which it is concerned have commonly been the focus of social and political struggles". (Barker 2004: 23).
7. "Use of the concept of deregulation is an attempt to dress up the new direction in intervention faced by a large number of national governments. We argue that the use of the concept of deregulation constitutes a fallacy built on presenting States as retreating, whereas in fact these States are in the front line, generating a number of legal provisions, in many cases greater than previous ones, designed to set the rules of game in accordance with the interests of the oligopolistic groups. Thus while there is an alleged opening towards a hypothetical free market, they are actually laying the groundwork for regulating a new ownership structure increasingly dominated by concentrated capital" (Mastrini and Mestman 1996: 82).
8. "In short, the so-called *Televisa Law* was a regulatory measure that [...] opened the door for larger broadcasting consortia to the emerging convergence spaces by enabling their operation as public telecommunications networks." (Alva de la Selva 2015: 130).
9. "Decision that adopts the technological standard of digital terrestrial television and establishes the policy for the transition to digital terrestrial television, Official Gazette of the Federation, 2 July 2004 http://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=678631&fecha=02/07 [Accessed: 3 April 2016].
10. [Decree amending and adding various provisions of articles 6, 7, 27, 28, 73, 78, 94 and 105 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States in the area of Telecommunications](#). Official Gazette of the Federation, 11 June 2013. [Accessed: 5 June 2017].
11. A few weeks after the deadline there were several attempts to delay the digital switchover. Emilio Azcárraga, owner of Televisa, appeared in the media sympathising with families which would not be able to receive the open television signal because they did not have a digital television or a decoder. Both lawmakers and Emilio Azcárraga and his spokespersons also cited the public media which were not in a position to make the transition to the digital terrestrial system as a pretext to get the fateful date put back, or at least not to be penalised for the stations that were not able to make the

technological switch.

12. "[...] DTT emphasises trends that already existed by opening up a range of possibilities in the traditional broadcasting system that until now have been prohibited in the analogue world" (Caballero, 2007: 171).
13. "[...] the radio spectrum is considered a national resource which is public property, a limited or finite but reusable resource, which does not wear out due to use and with significant economic and political strategic value" (Fernández Paniagua in Martín Pérez 2010: 48).
14. "[...] everybody is aware that political interests have been a factor when awarding digital licences, which in some cases could affect the proper development of DTT as stations fall into the hands of companies that are inexperienced or have no interest in investing in technology and content" (Martín Pérez 2010: 50).
15. "[...] not subject in principle to the State and with basically economic operational approaches, it is one of the most visible effects of the digital habitat of television" and with respect to the user is no more than "an advanced kind of zapping that gives them the illusion of infinite freedom" (Arnanz in Martín Pérez 2010: 52).
16. "Digital television does not simply mean the mere digitalisation of television, but the final assumption of intelligence by the television set." [...] "television must adapt to the public's leisure needs and adjust to the multimedia world" [...] "successfully joining the process of media convergence and opening the door to interactivity" (Urretavizcaya in Martín Pérez 2010: 67).
17. "An interactive application consists of a program that runs on the receiver and allows the user to interact with the TV. The graphic capacity of the interactive receivers and the possibility of using a return channel (a simple telephone modem connected to the conventional line or a port that connects to an external modem) for the exchange of information with the broadcaster open up a range of practical applications with new content" (Martín Pérez 2010: 68).
18. "[...] all television is interactive to some extent" [...] "and if interactivity is viewed as the viewer's relative capacity for choice, we should evaluate the impact of domestic video, the increase in the number of channels and zapping in all its forms as factors that have significantly changed the viewer's uses and habits" (Bustamante and Álvarez 1999: 22-23).
19. [...] "the process of migration to digital television is still at too early a stage to get the maximum return on interactivity" (Arnanz in Martín Pérez 2010: 72).
20. Here it is advisable to question Henry Jenkins's position whereby audience activity is celebrated as they have access to digital tools to "annotate, appropriate and recirculate content", because at some point "they reproduce corporate ideology by presenting the public interest as synonymous with business interests and privileging consumer activity over citizen involvement" (Murdock 2011: 31).
21. "DTT channels offer PSBs a means of testing/trialing new

content on a platform where ratings are less important and greater risk can be taken" (Debrett 2010: 191).

22. Entertainment and Media Outlook Mexico 2015-2019.
23. "Decision by which the plenary of the Federal Institute of Telecommunications establishes the stations and complementary equipment that will continue to carry out analogue transmissions of television broadcast in accordance with the normative cases contained in the seventh and eighth paragraphs of the nineteenth transitional article of the Decree issuing the Federal Law of Telecommunications and Broadcasting and the Law of the Public System of Broadcasting of the Mexican State; and reforming, adding and repealing various provisions in the field of telecommunications and broadcasting", *Official Gazette of the Federation*, 31 December 2015. Available [here](#). [Accessed: 11 October 2016].
24. Ibid.

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Online radio and native projects in Catalonia. The risk and appeal of uncertainty

TONI SELLAS

Professor attached to the Communication Department of the
Universitat de Vic – Universitat Central de Catalunya (UVic-UCC)

toni.sellas@uvic.cat

ORCID code: orcid.org/0000-0003-2653-0547

MONTSE BONET

Tenured lecturer at the Audiovisual Communication and
Advertising Department of the Universitat Autònoma de
Barcelona (UAB)

montse.bonet@uab.cat

ORCID code: orcid.org/0000-0001-8165-4898

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Abstract

Digitalisation has transformed cultural industries in recent years. The radio industry is also being affected by these changes, although in Spain it's still largely based on an analogue transmission model. On the internet, radio broadcasters can diversify the range of content they deliver to the audience. At the same time, other audio projects are set up directly on the internet, being far removed from those of traditional broadcasters. This study of online radio and indigenous online projects allows us to examine and compare the strategies used to tackle the internet, a platform that challenges the traditional value chain of broadcasters. Based on a review of the literature and documents, a description of the sample and in-depth interviews, this paper explains how broadcasters see the dynamics of the internet and how this results in a certain kind of content and its impact on the value chain. Some trends in the radio market and related difficulties are also pointed out.

Keywords

Cultural industries, radio, internet, audio, value chain.

Resum

En els darrers anys, la digitalització ha anat transformant les indústries culturals. La radiofònica, malgrat que a Espanya continua sent de transmissió principalment analògica, no és aliena als canvis. A internet, la ràdio pot diversificar l'oferta més enllà dels continguts que difon a l'antena. Però, paral·lelament, s'hi desenvolupen altres propostes d'àudio nascudes a la xarxa al marge dels radiodifusors tradicionals. L'estudi de la ràdio en línia i els projectes nadius ens permet veure i comparar com afronten estratègicament internet, un espai que planteja nous reptes per a la cadena de valor tradicional de l'empresa radiofònica. A partir de la revisió bibliogràfica i documental, la descripció de la mostra i les entrevistes en profunditat, es posa de manifest el nivell de comprensió de les dinàmiques d'internet, com això es tradueix en una oferta de continguts determinada i com es flexibilitza la cadena de valor. Alhora, s'apunten tendències d'evolució del mercat radiofònic i les dificultats que hi influeixen.

Paraules clau

Indústries culturals, ràdio, internet, àudio, cadena de valor.

1. Introduction

Cultural industries have undergone a transformation in recent years due to the impact of digitalisation. The digital switchover has altered consumption habits but it has also led to changes in models of production, distribution and sales. Although this evolution is technological, it has a cultural and social dimension as well. As a cultural industry, radio is also going through this process although it has developed differently in Catalonia and

Spain, with radio becoming an “analogue island in the midst of a digital ocean” (Bonet 2012, p.176).

Spain's radio industry began its digitalisation years ago in the areas of production, administration and documentation but this has yet to be completed in terms of its distribution. The current paralysis of digital terrestrial radio means that most radio is still broadcast via the analogue system. However, other digital options have gradually developed and have become integrated within the routines of professionals and listener

habits. The internet allows radio to offer its content *a la carte* because listeners can consume radio via streaming, downloads or subscription to podcasts. As traditional broadcasters have gradually increased their exclusively online content, other unrelated agents have developed their own audio projects. Both are currently facing uncertain times.

2. Aims and methodology

This article is a comparative study of the different models of radio and/or audio projects on the internet carried out in Catalonia. It uses a basic typology that differentiates between:

- a. Online extensions of existing broadcasters, of two types:
 - Online radio stations.
 - Exclusive online programmes.
- b. Audio projects created online and not related to any traditional broadcaster.

The aim is to analyse and compare these projects, both those carried out by traditional broadcasters and those created separately from such organisations. The study focuses on the strategic approach; i.e. on how the presence and use of the internet is conceived. It also examines the online content offered as a physical manifestation of the strategy applied. The aims are therefore as follows:

- a. Identify the criteria and goals justifying online radio stations associated with traditional broadcasters.
- b. Identify the criteria and goals justifying exclusive programmes for the internet offered by traditional broadcasters.
- c. Reveal the value chain of indigenous online projects that have no link with any traditional broadcaster, as well as analyse whether they can serve as a benchmark for radio broadcasters.

To achieve these goals, the methodology used is based on a combination of various techniques to gather the data, using primary and secondary sources:

- a. Review of the bibliography and documents of studies available on the evolution of radio as a cultural industry.
- b. Description of the projects in question, in accordance with a brief basic analytical file that helps to reveal the main features of the sample and to produce the questionnaire for the interviews. This is a descriptive file containing the name of the broadcaster or project, the business or corporate group behind it (if there is one), its form of ownership (public or private), the type (according to the aforementioned typology: if it's indigenous or an online extension), the number of online broadcasters and the number of exclusively online programmes.
- c. Semi-structured in-depth interviews, previously selecting the people according to their position and experience.

- d. Extracting data from the interviews.
- e. Analysing the findings and conclusions.

Projects produced in Catalonia have been analysed, with a specific sample resulting from a preliminary investigation and also supported by other studies carried out by the same researchers. Firstly, the study includes the proposals of traditional broadcasters. In order for the study to cover both public and private radio, and also in accordance with the radio audiences found in Catalonia, the study focused on Catalunya Ràdio and RAC1. According to the basic typology established as our point of departure, online radio stations and programmes broadcast exclusively on the internet have been grouped together under the name of *broadcaster internet extensions*. The group of broadcasters within Catalunya Ràdio has both cases: online stations (iCat and its specialised channels; CatClàssica) and exclusively online programmes (*Els spin doctors*, *MeteoMauri*, *Delicatessen* and *El celobert*, among others). RAC1 was chosen partly because prior studies had highlighted its leadership on the internet and its strategic capacity to exploit this medium (Sellas 2012a, 2013). Secondly, we also studied those projects set up directly on the internet without any connection with established radio broadcasters. In this case, the preliminary research identified a wide range of examples that differ in terms of their content, approach and size. The study focused on proposals defined as radio and those using this term to identify themselves, with the aim of restricting the study to situations comparable with traditional radio. The projects analysed are El Extrarradio, scannerFM and Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona. These cases have also been because they are considered to be pioneers (scannerFM), because their content has been recognised at certain events as innovative (El Extrarradio) and because of their commitment to local radio (Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona).

Regarding this sample, the research was based on a series of semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviewees, related to the projects in question, were selected according to their position and experience (Table 1).

3. Cultural industries: theoretical approach or object of study

The approach known as the *political economics of cultural industries* (Millán Pereira 1993) is one of the theories included under the umbrella of the *information economy*. Some of its representatives have made contributions that have greatly helped to understand the changes occurring in this kind of industry over the past few decades. Of particular note are the contributions made by P. Flichy (1980) and his classification of the products of cultural industries; B. Miège and the Grenoble school (1986, 1992), for their early attempts at going beyond an analysis of the broadcaster; E. Bustamante (2003), R. Zallo (1992) and both together (1988) for the historical developments

Table 1. Interviews carried out

Broadcaster / project	Interviewee	Position / activity	Date
Catalunya Ràdio	Saül Gordillo	Director of Catalunya Ràdio and Digital Media CCMA	19/07/2016
Catalunya Ràdio	Ferran Auberni	Internet coordinator	19/07/2016
El Extrarradio	Olga Ruiz	Co-founder	30/08/2016
RAC1	Eduard Pujol	Director	14/07/2016
RAC1	Carles Miró	Internet coordinator	14/07/2016
Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona	Quim Espinosa	Founder and director	4/08/2016
scannerFM	Bruno Sokolowicz	Founding partner	14/07/2016

Source: authors.

and classification (especially the latter); the Canadians J-G. Lacroix and G. Tremblay and the idea of *club logic* (1997); and others such as the British authors N. Garnham (1985, 2005), G. Murdock and P. Golding (2005) and also D. Hesmondhalgh (2002, 2008), a little more recently. This article does not refer to creative industries since, to date and apart from the odd exception, there has been no equally solid theoretical approach and this is a political commitment that would not be appropriate for the critical aim (in the broadest sense) of this study (Bustamante 2011).

Flow and stock. The product explains a lot

Regarding the classic segmentation, we highlight two classifications. Firstly, P. Flichy (1980) divided the products of cultural industries into *marchandise culturelle* (cultural goods) and *culture du flot* (flow culture). The former is often known as *production of stock*. Albums, films or videos and books are examples of this: products in which the creative component is fundamental and which are sold on a market. Flow culture, however, concerned (concerns) products that move between culture and information, characterised, as their name suggests, by continuity, by flowing over time, such as the press, radio and television. This classification was continued by Zallo (1988, 1992) in his work. According to the author, there are various kinds of culture, one of these being industrialised culture, within which we find industries of discontinuous publication (Flichy's cultural goods), two representations of the flow culture, namely continuous publication or editing (press) and continuous distribution (radio and television), as well as advertising and video production.

These typologies are useful when analysing the transformation of cultural industries. For example, at the end of the 1980s and early 90s, authors such as Miège, Pajon and Salaün (1986) and Zallo (1992) suggested that flow-type characteristics were starting to be seen in industries traditionally of discontinuous

editing, although they had not lost their specific features. This adaptation, according to Fernández Quijada (2007), is present in all editing-based cultural industries from the time intangible media are developed (e-books, audio and video downloads, video-games...). Similarly, a certain degree of editing started to become evident in continuous distribution industries through the multiplication of TV programmes on offer and the possibility of consuming them on-demand (*op. cit.*). In other words, the beginnings of a clash could be seen between the flow model and the editing or stock model (Miège 1992).

In its most classic definition, radio as a cultural industry is related to continuous distribution, representative of the *culture du flot* or flow production, with ephemeral content it disseminates prototypes, controls the flow by structuring itself via a programming grid and functions via an indirect financing system (be it advertising or state subsidies). As in other cultural industries, it has high production overheads (the prototype), low or zero marginal costs of reproduction and distribution, and uncertain demand (Zallo 1988; Garnham 2005).

Flow and value chain in digital environments

We find more similarities than differences among the many definitions of *value chain*, related or not to audiovisuals in general and radio in particular (e.g. Porter, 1998; Communications Management Inc., 2012; ITU, 2013; OECD, 2013; Knowledge Center Mexico, 2015). This is largely due to the fact that almost all are based on Porter's early work, which defines the production phases of a product or service and the value it has, both in terms of production and also market. One of its virtues is that it helps to detect a company's competitive advantage but is also a useful tool since it subdivides production into phases or activities.

The concept of value chain has been developed since this original work, more or less quickly or deeply depending on the type of company. For example, the value chain in the ITU report

(2013) includes two additional phases (or actors): *multiplex operators* and *device creators* (the creators of different devices which can be used to consume and which, we add, are also often able to create at the same time). In this new scenario we cannot forget some actors that are producers but also suppliers, at least of networks to access content. Specifically, Apple with iPhone (and therefore iTunes) and Google with Android (and therefore Google Play Music).

According to the consultancy Knowledge Center Mexico, which works for PwC (PricewaterhouseCoopers), in a report produced in 2015 on the situation and future outlook of the Mexican radio industry (p. 27), "The conventional value chain for radio broadcasters consists of four broad components: content creation, content aggregation, content distribution and consumption". Applying their proposal, for each stage there are therefore changes can have a small or big impact:

1. Regarding content (*content creators*), technological universalisation has resulted in *user-generated content*; anyone with the minimum resources can create content and, even more importantly, can make it available to everyone via the internet. Consequently there are new actors, potential new intermediaries between content and audiences. In this phase, in general in cultural industries, creation, copyright, who is the creator of this content and how it's managed are key points not only because they help to achieve a competitive advantage but also because they can represent a source of expenditure.
2. Regarding aggregators, the authors of the report continue to include radio broadcasters in this group. This point is debatable although it's true that the report focuses on a very specific type of company in a specific country and previously defines what they understand as *radio broadcasting*. What has become evident in the last few years is that traditional radio broadcasters are no longer the only ones that package and aggregate audio content.
3. The issue of consumers is clearly very closely related to the emergence of new devices and also to the fact that, in addition to consuming, they can also produce (Ribes, Monclús and Gutiérrez 2015). There are increasingly more options open to listeners regarding when, how and where they consume the content they're interested in. The programming grid, traditionally the instrument used to order the flow of radio broadcasting, has become secondary to autonomy and the audience's capacity to establish their own personal menu of audios.
4. And, finally, the distributor. This is where we can see a battle between *broadcast* and *broadband*, between traditional and new companies, including those with the infrastructures. And they all want to use the radio bandwidth. Some of the people interviewed have voiced their concern about how strong certain social media are becoming (especially Facebook), at the cost of content generated by their companies (radio). They believe it's crucial to be present on social media but, at the same

time, this "need to be there" or "we can't not be there" means losing control over the content, to a small or large extent, and enhancing the social medium while it's impossible or very difficult for the broadcaster to monetise its own product. Nevertheless, this battle is more evident and tougher in the case of television than radio (Bonet 2016).

Another example is provided by the Canadian consultancy firm Communic@tions Management Inc. (2012), which uses two simple models to explain the changes occurring in the radio value chain since 1975. As in other cases, the differences are obvious and show a more complex value chain, not lineal as to date, highlighting a factor that is almost always present but not always represented: advertisers.

Some doubts have arisen regarding this cultural industry and its value chain due to digitalisation and the evolution of internet radio. With the digital switchover, radio has entered the business of content creation and distribution, not only broadcasting (Berry 2015), and is adopting characteristics of industries of discontinuous distribution (Bonet 2012). These changes call radio's business model into question and even its concept, to the extent that some authors propose new, more generic terms which include radio and other audio extensions (Taachi 2000). All in all, there has been a reduction in advertising investment (in spite of a certain recovery over the last two years, InfoAdex 2017) the audience is ageing (AIMC 2017) and radio no longer monopolises sound communication (Sellas 2012b). Given this situation, the various models of internet radio, whether connected to broadcasters or created from scratch on the internet, appear to be a future possibility for radio regarding its content, business model and response to audience demands. Internet radio is going through a period of trial and error, without any absolute certainties and with a lot of questions that have yet to be answered.

Flow and financing

The main source of income for a radio company in Spain is largely advertising as listener quotas have disappeared, along with the sale of magazines, charges for using a radio receiver, tax on the sale of radio material and other forms of income.

Consequently, at present:

- Private broadcasters survive almost exclusively on advertising revenue.
- Radio stations for the autonomous regions accept advertising and combine it with subsidies from their respective governments.
- Radio Nacional de España doesn't accept advertising, which it was denied in 1993 after signing its programme contract, to avoid duplicated funding.
- Municipal broadcasters accept advertising, also combined with council subsidies.

But some other forms of revenue have also been tried, with more or less success, such as the sale/exchange/joint production of programmes; shares held by a radio company in other companies; capital increases; member fees; lotteries and concerts in the case of free radio stations (related to associations, cultural stations, the terminology is not unique); in the case of Antena 3 for a period, being listed on the stock market; and also 906 telephone numbers... And, as we will see in this article and as a result of the interviews, other options have emerged on the internet, such as: donations, member fees, premium services, paying for content, sponsorship or micro-patronage. Some of these options have been effective for starting up radio projects but there are doubts as to whether they will last long (Fernández Sande and Gallego 2014). Many are still in the trial stage and the interviewees have expressed quite a few reservations and have not wished or been able to provide any firm figures.

4. Analysis

The strategic value of the internet

First of all, the internet is seen as a way to provide access to content, either live or on demand, so the audience can decide what they want to listen to, when and how. But the evolution of the internet, of audiences, uses and consumption is forcing those involved in online audio to go a step further. Saül Gordillo, director of Catalunya Ràdio, states that the internet helps them to reach a young audience and serves a lot of Catalans living outside the country, and it provides them with detailed information on the audience's habits. He also notes their responsibility as a public medium. The interviewees agree that the internet is key to both the present and future of radio but requires a change in mindset that's not easy for traditional broadcasters, which are often restricted by complex structures and a financially-focused management approach.

Indigenous internet projects have the advantage of beginning directly within the digital environment. This is also the case of RAC1, which started broadcasting in 2000. By 2016 it was the leader throughout Spain for internet consumption from 12:00 to 14:00 and from 16:00 to 21:00. According to its director, Eduard Pujol, this is an anomaly that can only be explained because "in Spain, at radio stations, in certain offices, they must still be thinking in analogue". Thinking in digital at companies and generating audio culture in a digital environment among listeners are basic challenges that we've observed in this research. The potential of the internet has been known for several years (Sellas 2012a) but the sector has taken a long time to make up its mind. Now most broadcasters offer exclusive content for the internet. "We have the limitation of a traditional programming grid which very often forces us to take refuge in the digital grid and we need to test things on the digital grid, like a test site for what, after a period of time, might move to the traditional grid", notes Gordillo.

Indigenous projects have no doubts regarding the internet's strategic value as a window of opportunity. "There's a hole in traditional radio in terms of the attention it pays to the city. More than a gap, I think there are orphan listeners. We also find another hole: the ease of placing audios", explains Quim Espinosa (Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona). That's why the project focuses on what's happening in the city and from the city's point of view. There's room on the internet for a wide range of projects. And it's not only a question of dissemination, content and experimentation. Olga Ruiz, from El Extrarradio, states that radio stations are starting to realise the situation: "I think radio is an artisan activity and very often we should shift our focus back onto the medium and believe in the potential and creativity of its people. Radio stations are now starting to realise that the paradigm needs to change and that almost all the "cake" has gone".

Indigenous projects provide this alternative viewpoint. This was, from the start, the approach of scannerFM. As explained by Bruno Sokolowicz, the idea was to "prove that an alternative music radio format was possible, unlike the commercial radio formulas, and that we could aspire to live off the market rather than subsidies". At scannerFM they were pioneers in a terrain where, today, finally, an extensive, diverse and complementary range of content and services is starting to be offered. In the digital environment, radio companies come up against new competition with an alternative supply. According to Olga Ruiz, because of this, "the industry must rethink how it can continue to make money by offering good quality content of interest to the people listening to them. Ultimately, this is a necessary combination". The question is whether there's enough room for everyone.

Production and the digital distribution of audio

The digital environment is a place where innovative, experimental things can be done, aimed at minorities, and it even provides the opportunity to carry out tests which would not be possible in the rigid flow-based production system of traditional radio. The mere fact of being able to broadcast on the internet without the need for a licence granted via a tender is a big advantage, especially for those who can't afford the cost of going in for what is known as a *beauty contest*, but also for those who realise that broadcasting is still available for those areas that broadband doesn't reach, and vice versa. "On the Internet, one of the first advantages we saw is that everyone can do it. Without a permit, without a licence, or big investment. This DIY spirit was great for us, not only because we didn't need capital or a very powerful group behind us but because of our alternative spirit" (Bruno Sokolowicz, scannerFM).

Digitalisation extends the range of distribution formats and also, and very importantly, the *points of sale*, i.e. the points of reception, which are now various devices that can receive and decode zeros and ones, wherever they come from. In the interviews, what is obvious to everyone is the fact that the

value chain has been enhanced, at the same time as becoming more complicated, because of this. In the traditional value chain, aerials and repeaters were required, as well as a certain broadcasting power, to reach a wide range of towns. An audience on the move could also be reached thanks to transistors and car radios. But now reception points can be thousands of kilometres from the production point and the product can be received in different ways. This complexity requires considerable know-how and investment in technology.

Radio stations tend to use various platforms (iVoox, Soundcloud, iTunes, Facebook, Twitter...) and here everyone recognises, to a greater or lesser degree, that at the same time as this benefits them it also creates dependence. When large private radio stations started to sell off the management of high frequency equipment and public networks were privatised, everyone started to depend on external private networks. This isn't new but now it's more complex and requires more dialogue in an attempt to reach agreements, while in the case of aerials this was in the hands of just a few companies. Carles Miró, from RAC1, describes it using this simile: "If the internet were a repeater, it would be the second most important one for this company. The first is still Collserola but, unlike a few years ago, now it's the second".

In spite of the doubts and headaches caused by these platforms, Ferran Auberni (Catalunya Ràdio) reminded us of "the need to be much more across the board and to talk a lot more about content and not so much about technology. We need to explain to people that content can be used in many different ways and they can make it their own". But although the internet is a provocative and more creative space regarding content, digitalisation also means that the production structure needs to be redesigned. In the radio industry, there are companies that are clearly committed to having a department or even a new company outside the group that's in charge of digital, while other companies try to handle this across different areas and departments. At Catalunya Ràdio there's a digital area but the management team aims to gradually get the whole team to think digitally. At RAC1 they are helped by the fact that they were set up in the 21st century and have a team that has, on the whole, not needed to switch over to digital (Sellas 2013). Structures have an effect but, as we have already found in previous research, innovation often depends on individual willingness and mindsets (Bonet, Fernández-Quijada, Suárez Candel, Arboledas 2013).

But the factor of structure changes considerably when we look at other radio stations that are not well-established traditional channels. In cases such as El Extrarradio and scannerFM, the structures vary over a short period of time, they're made up of very few people and without any supporting group behind them. They define themselves as *alternative projects* and their approach is based on a very different starting point. This is made clear by Olga Ruiz. "At the beginning, El Extrarradio was our way of remaining active while looking for something else but, in the end, it became our home, our way of approaching and

doing radio and sound". And Bruno Sokolowicz (scannerFM): "We've come from the Master in radio company management, at UAB-SER-Santillana, in 2002-2003. The first generation. The aim of the project was to prove that an alternative music radio format was possible, different from commercial radio formulas, and that we could aspire to live off the market rather than subsidies". There are a dozen journalists at El Extrarradio although, recently, they've lost part of the team to the Podium Podcast project by Prisa Radio. scannerFM had also reached a dozen but now there are maximum four.

On the other hand, the structure of Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona was altered by the agreement they reached with La Xarxa. There are two journalists working part-time, a collaborator to take part in the *La tarda* programme by La Xarxa and five people to cover [the football team] Nàstic. Espinosa explains that, like a traditional broadcaster "we were forced to have a studio, something we didn't have and I didn't want, but we had to do it because of this relationship, which we're interested in having".

Content production also involves the people that create it and their profile. Training and retraining is being carried out in some cases but the specific dynamics of the digital environment must be understood, as well as how to make the most of the content. Now, whenever possible, people with up-to-date digital training are recruited. It is noticeable when indigenous internet projects are led by someone who's worked in traditional radio for years. Apart from profiles, the interviewees all complain about one thing: they need more people, more resources and more training for the digital environment.

The content on offer: the what and the how

From the interviews with representatives from the radio industry we learn that the internet is a good resource to attend to specific audience segments using niche content that doesn't fit on the traditionally broadcast grid, especially in the case of generalist radio. This is a proposal for the present but, looking to the immediate future and the likely type of consumption: "We'll be relevant and healthy in the future if we're able to look after very specific, theme-based communities that are small (or small at first but then grow), provided it's all related to a brand" (Saül Gordillo, Catalunya Ràdio).

This idea is shared by both public and private radio, traditional broadcasters and indigenous internet projects: specific content for segmented audiences, with experts and with a community of like-minded people. In this way, radio is no longer forced to offer a single type of programming, increasing its potential to reach more people. The challenge is having a cohesive, global strategy that helps to find new audiences without neglecting the existing ones.

Some of the interviewees note that, on the internet, you also have to offer products with some kind of revolution in sound aesthetic. Olga Ruiz stresses the professional dynamics, attention to sound and time factor: "Above all, how sound is

worked on, the time devoted to it, for radio pieces, and the little depth we work with. [...] If we also add in the factor of creativity, of sound production, of fiction... we reach the conclusion that there's a gap which, possibly, no conventional broadcaster will buy from us and that we could perhaps try it out for ourselves". Production dynamics and the fact that radio is closely associated with news make it difficult for this *other radio* to find a foothold within today's radio industry.

The alternative is to try it on the internet. Radio is also based on a "star model", big names leading the main programmes. But radio has always been a prime example of teamwork. The internet is a possible channel for the potential and talent in each company: the "digital grid" as a new stimulus for professionals. And, at the same time, the radio industry could use the internet as a source of audio archives, which is an asset whose potential cannot be fully utilised via the conventional grid. The digital environment now allows greater experimentation with audio. Recently there have been several initiatives in internet video by broadcasters and their YouTube or Instagram channels. This allows them to offer complementary content but also to reveal the everyday work of the radio station, apart from its live programmes.

Also notable in the interviews carried out were the views regarding local content. Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona was clear about this from the start: "We drew up a map and said: the niche market, on radio, is local. [...] We started working on the radio concept. With three types of content:

1. News, for the prestige it gives the project.
2. Sports, because of the potential represented by Nàstic.
3. The social part; i.e. reaching all organisations and corners of the city" (Quim Espinosa). A window of opportunity that doesn't only exist in local radio but is also present in some large networks, which are now thinking of giving back more leeway to their regional broadcasters.

Digitalisation has helped to provide many options to people who want to listen to audio and, according to the conversations held with the interviewees, the audience has taken advantage of this. In other words, listeners/users know what they want. The key is content and, accordingly, it's crucial for whoever wants to listen to content to be able to find it and choose the most appropriate way to hear it.

Radio as a cultural industry: editing the flow

As we've seen, cultural industries have a clear theoretical definition based on different elements, one of these being the value chain. Digitalisation has introduced quite a few features of editing in radio programming, such as the possibility of consuming it "piecemeal", the need to catalogue audio correctly, split up and divide the flow (and skilfully), handle more rights or take more advantage of the archive. In practice, audio needs to be approached as more than just a programmatic flow: "I have the audio piece in just one place. So I don't care if they

get it from me via the internet, via a mobile phone or iTunes, it doesn't matter, they come and look for it, I count the times they've asked me for the audio and I've provided it" explains Carles Miró, from RAC1.

In practice, indigenous internet projects are a good example of this editing process. They also make it possible to consider certain audio proposals as forms of non-industrialised culture. Remember that, although he's better known for his definition of cultural industries, the definition provided by Ramón Zallo (1988, 1992) also covered non-industrialised industries. Such projects skip stages in the value chain and intermediaries to reach the end user directly, making them different within the industry. This fits totally with what Zallo (2016, p. 69) presents in his comparative table between analogue and digital culture. According to him, when talking about the value chain, in the digital era "stages become shorter and overlap and some collective generative forms are implemented via Networks". But perhaps the best point was made by Bruno Sokolowicz when asked whether they feel like an industry: "The truth is, as a feeling or identity, I don't. I don't know if we all have the same opinion. I think we should be part of the industry but that, to some extent, we're like a kind of peripheral anecdote to the industry more than part of the industry".

Whether projects are more or less artisan or industrialised, the fact is that they exist side by side with proposals by the traditional radio industry. A situation that is indicative of how the market might change. In this respect, Olga Rodríguez commented on the future of the El Extrarradio project and how they themselves might be defined: "One of the most viable options I've thought about is transforming El Extrarradio into a producer of sound documentaries. Very often conventional broadcasters don't have the time or the staff or the means to make documentaries like we do". Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona has reached agreements with some FM broadcasters to transmit some of the programmes they produce (Nàstic football matches). In fact, Quim Espinosa himself explains why, as a result of this interest by others, he set up the Ràdio City Group: "We're a 21st-century radio company that has a platform, has created automatic programs to easily access different podcasts and audios, has a mobile app that allows you to live stream from the broadcaster or any of the programmes recorded, and all this is a platform that has cost us a lot. So we think: what if we offer the same thing to others? Can it be adapted? Yes. So we explain to people what Ràdio Ciutat de Tarragona is and, whoever's interested, if they think it might work in their city, they can set up it".

Bruno Sokolowicz (scannerFM) expressed similar thoughts: "We aspired to and stated this in the business plan we had to produce for the Master: to live off advertising. But basically, advertising has never reached even 40% of our income or provided us with the budget we need to survive, not even close. We've almost always survived as a production house that has used its medium, scannerFM, as an example or business card to carry out projects mainly for brands with communication

needs, which are the main clients we've had and who've paid our expenses, essentially salaries". And he concludes: "So that's the dilemma, as they say, "what do you want to be, a medium or a producer?". And, ultimately, we wanted to be a medium but we earn our living as a producer. Our brand is stronger than our company".

5. Conclusions

As a cultural industry undergoing a transformation, thanks to digitalisation the sector combines radio as a discontinuously distributed flow with projects that edit their production. This is not new but some changes can now be seen regarding production and the content supplied, resulting from the fact that broadcasters now have a better understanding of the dynamics and opportunities provided by the internet and have realised that they need to experiment and try out new things. For several years now the internet has offered different options for consuming audio on demand, at the same time as giving broadcasters a way to diversify their supply, although not much advantage has been taken of this option. But now they're thinking of exclusive proposals with specialised content, designed for targets of segmented audiences, with a good sound design and long shelf life, as well as exploring other genres. A digital catalogue that's more in tune with the mosaic model than with the large blocks that still characterise the programming of generalist radio. Indigenous internet projects have obviously played a fundamental role in this evolution because they've taken risks, have carried out alternative proposals (regarding content and approach) and have revealed a path that is now also being explored by the radio industry.

The simplicity of the binary code has complicated the value chain but it has also made it more flexible. But this flexibility, this possibility of skipping some of the stages in the value chain, seems (according to some interviewees) to be more the case for indigenous internet projects than radio stations that form part of what has historically been called the *radio industry*; i.e. they could be considered as expressions of non-industrialised culture. Cases such as scannerFM, El Extrarradio or others reveal a market that's filling up with people from the radio acting as producers and displaying their products on the internet, in a kind of fair, so that large groups can, if they wish, hire them, their products or themselves, as has happened with part of the team from El Extrarradio which has joined Podium Podcast. In other words, an increase in production outsourcing. With more choice, the risk and uncertainty inherent in any cultural product are transferred since the initial effort of creativity does not fall on the shoulders of the large broadcaster.

Demanding a change in mindset while the analogue business is still up and running is no easy task and requires directors, managers and audio professionals in general not to be dazzled (or worried) by technology but to focus once again on content. Thinking digitally is not merely a technological skill; thinking

digitally means that strategy, decision, processes and content must be focused in line with this environment, even though radio in Catalonia and Spain is still broadcast via analogue radio waves. This research has shown that such a change in mindset is difficult in the traditional radio industry and that some are migrating to digital more successfully than others. But, in general, production processes, complex structures and a financial mindset among management look like factors that complicate this migration. On the other hand, indigenous internet projects are more agile, have started out within the digital environment and already have a digital mindset. In spite of the difficulties, however, the internet is a reality and radio realises it must be online, be it due to conviction or need. That's why some of the interviewees expressed their confidence that the digital environment will act as a stimulus and speed up the evolution of the radio industry.

The traditional value chain has become richer but more complicated, and intermediation between producer and receiver now has more agents, both technological (platforms) and cultural (content creators). That's why, in addition to positioning, the battle is also to become the benchmark; in short the gatekeeper. In this battle to become the benchmark, radio in Catalonia has a particular factor of competition between public and private radio. And public radio (as with almost all radio in Europe) has long debated whether it wishes to be a benchmark, to have a big audience, or both.

In just a few years radio has demonstrated its characteristic ability to adapt but, without being apocalyptic, the transformation it is undergoing is one of the most important in its history. Some of the interviewees have spoken of the need for a change in mindset resulting from a lack of vision and certain fear of committing to the future. But if it doesn't look to the future, if it doesn't have a plan or map to guide it, then the uncertainty that is so typical of a time of transition runs the risk of becoming chronic.

Endnote

This article results from the research entitled "L'àudio a Internet: de la ràdio en línia als projectes nadius" (Audio on the internet: from online radio to indigenous projects), which received aid from the Audiovisual Council of Catalonia in the 9th call for aid applications for research projects into audiovisual communication.

Notes

1. Do It Yourself.

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Critical Book Reviews

ARMBRUSTER, S. *Watching nostalgia: An analysis of nostalgic television fiction and its reception*

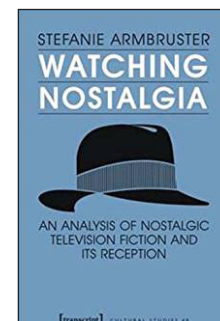
Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2016, 436 p.

ISBN: 978-3-8376-3509-6

BY CELINA NAVARRO

GRISS-UAB Researcher

navarrobosch01@gmail.com



Television fiction in recent years has been characterised by the large amount of products that look to the past, whether remakes of old series, reruns, or new productions that set the action in bygone days. Series like *Downton Abbey* (ITV, 2010), *Mad Men* (AMC, 2007), *Hawaii Five-O* (CBS, 2010) or *Borgia* (Sky Italia, 2011) are good examples, with considerable international audience success.

Stefanie Armbruster has published *Watching nostalgia: An analysis of nostalgic television fiction and its reception* with the aim of theorising about television nostalgia, an under-researched subject within academic studies on the audiovisual sector. The book is based on the results of her doctoral thesis, completed at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

The study's main approach, and its most important contribution, is to relate the two trends most widely used by academics when it comes to studying television nostalgia: on the one hand, textual analysis of the works and the identification of elements that may generate this feeling in viewers; on the other hand, the study of the audience's reception of these elements. The analysis focuses on the television contexts of Spain and Germany, two highly interesting markets in the study of nostalgia due to their social history and recent politics.

The book is divided into three parts that reflect each of the main goals set. In the first section, the author focuses on the concept of nostalgia from the theoretical perspective of the discourse of nostalgia, studies on memory, and theories on the aesthetics of emotions. While the term *nostalgia* is difficult to define, the author makes a clear distinction between fiction emotions, which are generated directly by the text, such as empathy with one of the characters, and artefact emotions, which arise from concerns related to the production as an artefact. This distinction serves as an idea that goes throughout the book both for the theoretical part and in the analysis of results, mitigating the complexity of the subject.

The second section addresses nostalgic texts, mainly reruns, remakes and period dramas, and analyses the textual characteristics of two productions per genre. The series

analysed are foreign productions with a high impact in the two countries and therefore well-known by the audience. This section on the textual analysis of the six works is interesting due to the exhaustive description of each genre and case study. The most noteworthy element is the analysis of the social context in each country at the time of the series' first broadcast and of the cultural impact both in Spain and Germany on the basis of political contextualisation and the evaluation of the production by specialised television critics. In this section, the most formal aspects of the work are also highlighted, such as the characters, the music, the set or editing, identifying the elements that could generate nostalgia.

Next, the third and final section of the book relates the nostalgia-generating elements highlighted in the previous section with how they are decoded by the audience through an analysis of focus group results. This section is stimulating since it constantly questions the definition of nostalgia and the theoretical concepts considered previously. Nevertheless, while in the results of the previous section the consideration of the three nostalgic genres generates a clear and detailed discourse on each production, the discussion of the reception of the three genres reduces the depth of the results for each of them. The order of discussion of each series also directly alters the discussion, influencing an effective comparison between genres.

The members of the four focus groups are classified according to two variables: nationality (Spanish or German) and age group (25 to 35 years and 55 to 65 years). This comparison between the audiences of the two countries and age groups allows for a deeper comparison, reaching the conclusion that the most relevant differences are found between age groups rather than countries. This result raises questions about the importance of cultural context in feelings of nostalgia and shows that the stage of life in which the person finds him/herself during the first viewing of a production is more relevant for the subsequent presence or absence of nostalgia. As Armbruster indicates, series enjoyed during childhood or adolescence are more prone

to having elements that activate nostalgia for the viewer. It's therefore easier for reruns to generate nostalgia since there is more time between the first viewing and the present.

Armbruster's study introduces a complex and exhaustive perspective on the subject that allows us to question the theoretical concepts previously considered and to identify which elements are the real generators of nostalgia in the audience. At the same time, the comparison between two of the most important European television markets arouses interest in the influence of social context as a conditioning factor in feelings of nostalgia. In short, the book *Watching Nostalgia: An analysis of nostalgic television fiction and its reception* is a preliminary exploratory study that, as the author emphasises, needs to be complemented with more empirical research that combines the study of nostalgic texts and their reception.

FERNÁNDEZ, E.P. *Big Data: Eje estratégico de la industria audiovisual*
Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 2016. 169 p.
ISBN: 978-8491163800

BY GEMMA GÓMEZ BERNAL

Research staff in training at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

gemma.gomez.bernal@uab.cat



The evolution of technologies and the beginning of the ubiquitous computing era in the context of the information society constantly generates enormous quantities of data of multiple and varied origins and formats that require storage and management. This phenomenon is known as Big Data, or mass data management, and its basic characteristics are volume, variety, veracity and velocity.

Big Data is being implemented through business intelligence methodologies and tools (which allow for better and more effective strategic decision-making in business) in an increasingly large and diverse number of sectors, including aeronautics, banking, medicine and the agricultural sector. Alongside them, albeit to a lesser extent, we find the audiovisual sector which, due to its participative nature, its need for and tradition of measurement and its social dimension, is also enriched by Big Data and is starting to advance towards its use.

Aware of this reality and of the emergence of new business approaches, Eva Patricia Fernández has edited *Big Data. Eje estratégico de la industria audiovisual*, which, together with contributions from various professionals, academics and specialists in digital projects, digital analytics and social media, contains and presents the opportunities afforded by applying mass data systems in the audiovisual sector. Fernández received her doctorate in Information Sciences at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and has a master's in Business Intelligence and Big Data, and in Business Management and Administration. Professionally, she teaches at different universities and at the same time runs Creta Producciones, a company specialised in the production of transmedia digital content.

The book addresses the issue from the general to the specific and is divided into two chapters. The first chapter provides an overall introduction to Big Data, presenting its definition, characteristics, phases of the data management process flow, and its impact on different companies and sectors, highlighting the conversion of data into valuable information through the application of business intelligence strategies and solutions.

Moreover, it also shows the transformations its use has meant for business models and for the agents that form a company's value chains, as well as for the creation of new professional profiles, including the data analyst, the data scientist and data strategist. The chapter closes by exploring its incipient use in the audiovisual field, whose greatest exponent is Netflix, which has become a model of success in the sector in management, explanation, and decision-making based on Big Data.

Big Data analysis is introduced in the media as a tool for getting to know the audience, allowing companies, among other things, to create personalised content, generate new strategies and actions for promotion and make predictions. Based on this outline, the second chapter delves into the possibilities of Big Data in the media, and especially in its relationship with Social Big Data; that is, the use of data extracted from the participation of users on social media, since this has become one of the key ways for getting to know audiences and user communities. The chapter presents different case studies and strategies that have been implemented in the sector and are linked with storytelling (Storytellers Ltd), the management and integration of data in real time on television (*Big Brother*, *The Big Picture* and *Utopia*), the impact of Twitter on different film premieres, and the use of digital analytics on a specific website (marca.com). It also presents some software tools linked to Big Data processes on social media.

The book concludes by presenting different Big Data trends and possible actions for integrating Big Data and media activity within social media, showing that the use of mass data in this sector is still being developed and implemented. Companies should reach an optimum level of technological maturity in order to consolidate and use Big Data as a resource for taking more competitive, efficient and profitable decisions that favour the company's growth. Lastly, some reflections are presented on privacy risks for users' and service providers' information.

Big Data. Eje estratégico de la industria audiovisual manages to establish a solid base for introducing Big Data and its application in the audiovisual field in a clear and functional way

that is suited to the area of business in question. It moves away from complex technicalities that hinder reading or limit it to a public with technical knowledge, as is the case with most publications available on the subject. As a side note, given its introductory nature, it would have been interesting to define and clarify each of the key concepts addressed from the beginning since, at times, readers that are unfamiliar with the topic could confuse some terms as synonyms, such as Big Data and web analytics. Nevertheless, this is a basic reference work that is relevant for all types of media professionals, academics and students that wish to learn about the Big Data phenomenon and acquire key knowledge which can be expanded and complemented at a later stage.

BONET, M. (coord.). *El imperio del aire. Espectro radioeléctrico y radiodifusión*.
Barcelona: Editorial UOC, 2016, 219 p.
ISBN: 978-84-9116-495-1

BY TONI SELLAS

Professor at the Universitat de Vic – Universitat Central de Catalunya

toni.sellas@uvic.cat



A stranger called spectrum

Our daily lives are full of everyday actions carried out almost unconsciously and without worrying about the circuits that make them possible. Watching TV, listening to the radio and browsing the internet are some of these activities that form part of our usual routines (naturally only in societies with access). At times, however, our eyes are opened by a random episode. In 2010, when the digital switchover forced them to shift to DTT, many citizens sat down to talk for the very first time about a stranger called *spectrum*.

The spectrum of radio frequencies is one of those realities that only reach the public as a result of something else, when there are consequences. The radio frequency spectrum is a little known but very important issue because it has a direct effect on the media in public service terms and, consequently, on a country's democratic health, insofar as it affects both content and information. Herein lies the relevance of this book. Coordinated by the professor and researcher from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) Montse Bonet, a group of experts tackle the radio frequency spectrum and its management in a book that raises public awareness of a complex but vital phenomenon.

This book is a success firstly due to its choice of authors, all with a notable academic and/or professional track record that endorses their expertise regarding the object of study and focus of the chapters. To plan and create a book of such characteristics you need to have clear ideas and a knowledge of the subject, as well as order and method. This project forms part of the research career of the volume's coordinator, particularly with international impact. After years of researching cultural industries, especially radio, Bonet has lately examined the keys to handling the radio frequency spectrum. Her studies have highlighted the existence of a financial battle in which public policies have taken a market-oriented approach to the radio spectrum (Bonet, Civil & Llinés 2008), Spain's radio

frequency spectrum has been used for political means, with preferential clients taking priority over criteria of efficiency (Bonet & Guimerà 2016) and telecommunications have become more important than audiovisuals as a consequence of social, economic and political factors, to the point that the very idea of the media as a public service is threatened (Ala-Fossi & Bonet 2016). To date, however, the findings of such studies had remained essentially within the circuits of academic research and specialist publications. And although valuable, their contribution nevertheless has a limited impact. This book is an opportunity to reach more people; it's knowledge transfer.

The book has a logical and coherent narrative thread and it should be read in order. The first part tackles the what, who and how of the radio frequency spectrum and its management, while the second part focuses on studying the relationship between the channel and the media of TV and radio and a final section is prospective in nature. The coordinator, Montse Bonet, starts the book with a first chapter "La respuesta está en el aire. El espectro como plataforma tecnológica y campo de batalla" that helps to understand where we've come from and how we've reached the current situation. Bonet shows how the dominant political discourse relates technology with productivity, growth and economic prosperity in such a way as to justify the need for broadband to receive a digital dividend (the part of the spectrum abandoned by the media) and to deny broadcasting the option to oppose this. As the author notes, essentially there is a dispute between a view of the spectrum as a public good (consequently the government determines how it can be managed and by whom) and a market orientation: "This creates a fight between two models of communication and business and the field of battle is no other than the radio frequency spectrum" (p. 26).

The second chapter "Espectro y frecuencias. Breve guía para no iniciados" is far longer, slightly unbalancing the overall structure. Its length is valid, however: from now on, if someone wants to understand what the radio frequency spectrum is (as

part of the electromagnetic spectrum), they will have to read this chapter. Jaume Pujol, a telecom engineer, manages to explain in detail, depth and excellent clarity, a phenomenon such as the spectrum, its components and all associated concepts (waves, propagation, cover, network design, bandwidth, capacity, interference, planning, digital dividend, etc.). And he does so with two notable pluses. On the one hand, he compares many everyday examples that help us to understand the concept s (for example, socks, shirts, coats, suitcase and airplane cabin to explain a multiplex or MUX). His charts, tables and figures are also very informative.

Once we've understood the what, the next chapters tackle the who and the how. In "Quién es quién. Principales actores europeos lidiando con el espectro", Montse Bonet and another UAB professor and researcher, Josep Àngel Guimerà, provide an exhaustive review of the two main players interested in the spectrum: a web of government and legislative bodies, regulatory organisations, institutions, advisory bodies and associations and companies which, in practice, act as a lobby and pressurise spectrum management. The chapter reveals a world that is far removed from citizens and unknown by them, but which decides things that affect them directly. The professor and researcher from Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, M^a Trinidad García Leiva, ("Cómo se reparten las frecuencias. Políticas y gestión del espectro radioeléctrico") then explains the management procedures and models in a chapter that points to a paradigmatic shift. Commodification and liberalisation have resulted in changes in the management and policies of the radio frequency spectrum and the notion of a *common good* is being replaced by criteria of financial returns focused on short-term profits.

In the second half of the book, Carmina Crusafon, professor and researcher at the UAB, and the journalist and doctorand Marta Albújar, analyse the process of implementing DTT ("La resintonización de la TDT en España. Quítate tú para ponerme yo") and highlight the contradictions, errors and mutual interests of the political powers and the media, while citizens are the most under-appreciated and affected party. Afterwards it's the turn of radio, with a chapter by David Fernández-Quijada, senior analyst from the *European Broadcasting Union (EBU)*. In "¡Estas ondas son más! Ineficiencias y obsolescencias de la radio digital" he explains how the current implementation of DAB (*digital audio broadcasting*) uses the radio frequency spectrum inefficiently and warns of the consequences this could have for the cultural industry, with a two-speed Europe regarding the implementation of digital terrestrial radio in the medium term. Finally, the volume is completed by the professor and researcher from the University of Tampere (Finland), Marko Ala-Fossi ("Radiodifusión terrestre en Europa después de la CMR-15: ¿el final de una era o un nuevo principio?"). Based on the results from the World Radiocommunication Conference of the UIT/ITU in November 2015, Ala-Fossi notes that "The new post-radio broadcasting era will be less stable and more unpredictable: we will never be able to take anything for granted

again. There will be more competition or even a political battle over scarce resources, such as the spectrum, both nationally and internationally" (p. 214).

In summary, this is an outstanding book given its content and the informative capacity of its authors, who throw light on an often opaque subject. We should celebrate the wisdom and boldness of Editorial UOC in publishing it. A volume which, from now on, should be on the must-read list of communication faculties. And we should also thank the authors for their hard work in making this area much easier to understand. Spectrum management affects citizens, who are suffering the consequences although they hardly know anything about it. This book provides them with some insight.

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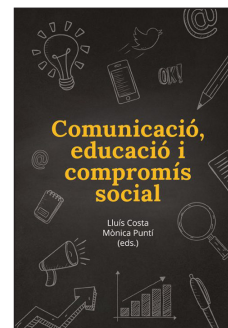
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**COSTA, LL.; PUNTÍ, M. (eds.). *Comunicació, educació i compromís social*.
Girona: Documenta Universitaria, 2017, 172 p. Comunicació i societat, no. 4.
ISBN: 978-84-9984-384-1**

BY NÚRIA GAROLERA BONAMUSA

Journalist

garoleranuria@gmail.com



Preserving education and communication as tools for development

The growing influence of technologies in the day-to-day life of social activities and the power they have in citizens' collective participation is the point of departure of the book *Comunicació, educació i compromís social*. It is a joint effort led by the Grup de Recerca en Comunicació Social i Institucional at the Universitat de Girona (UdG) and has been edited by Lluís Costa and Mònica Puntí, professors at the Department of Philology and Communication at the same university. *Comunicació, educació i compromís social* brings together eleven case studies undertaken by different authors and presented at the IV International Conference on Communication and Society (November 2015). The texts analyse the relationship between communication and education and their role as tools for promoting diversity, social engagement and citizens' active participation.

The title of the book leaves no room for doubt. Throughout the several chapters, it shows the research group's interest in defending the duo of communication and education, two activities understood in the text as exercises in social responsibility. "The prominence of technology in this new society is very important, but we must not forget that reasoning and reflection are still human qualities" (p.13): the publication is developed on the basis of this idea and it highlights the importance of communicating and educating in the context of society's diversity.

Following the order in which the studies are presented, the reader journeys through different projects, in most cases from the perspective of teaching (at a local, national, and international level), whose main focus is to promote communication and education in order to "provide answers to the current demands and needs of a society built on the basis of contexts of diversity" (p.13) and "to deepen democracy, development and social change" (p. 16), as presented by Costa and Puntí.

Educator Salomó Marquès's reflection on the importance of

going beyond strictly theoretical university learning serves as a preamble to the articles that follow: "Education is not just instructing, learning content and socialising; it is also [...] critical learning to assess and discern what we're told and [...] ethical living in accordance with certain values that are framed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (p. 19).

The studies presented next cover diverse topics that are developed within a shared framework. On the one hand, we find articles that address the communication-education duo in primary and secondary education. On the other hand, there are articles that analyse the issue on the basis of the university stage, as well as studies that look at diversity and technology, in some cases emphasising the use of social media. Despite this, the studies are not structured into thematic areas, but rather are presented independently.

Professors Guilherme Fráguas and Heloiza Matos see communication as a must-know subject for any citizen to be able to develop socially. This idea is expressed in the article entitled *Educación y extensión en "comunicación pública": habilidades cívicas para hablar y actuar en la polis*. The study concludes that only citizens capable of speaking and acting in the public sphere can engage in life in society.

It's also worth mentioning the article by Mònica Roca and Anna Flotats: *Els nous mitjans, una oportunitat per actuar com a EMIREC i un instrument per educar en la diversitat*. This study focuses on analysing the possibilities that communication technologies offer for playing the role of sender and receiver simultaneously.

The collection of educational proposals presented by the book considers issues such as how to research well-being through music and new technologies. This is the case of Diego Calderón, Josep Gustems, and Caterina Calderón's study, entitled *Los proyectos musicales: la búsqueda del bienestar en contextos de diversidad*. Educating and introducing communication through cinema is the basis of *Cine en curso*, the educational project presented by Núria Aidelman and Laia Colell in their article. A similar line is followed in *"Gent de barri": narratives audiovisuals*

per repensar Poblenou. Gemma Paricio's study presents the audiovisual project of a school in the Poblenou neighbourhood in Pineda de Mar that tries to improve the relationship between students and other citizens in their environment.

The book is completed with articles on different types of topics, including a project on the inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities in the university environment; an analysis of three European newspapers writing on the inter-Mediterranean area that shows how the media contribute to the promotion and protection of Human Rights; the influence of the media and ICTs in knowledge generation processes, focused on complex educational projects; the use of Twitter in electoral campaigns, based on the 2015 Catalan elections; as well as the information policies needed to achieve regional integration in the southeast of Mexico.

The article by Olga del Rio, professor and researcher at the Universitat de Girona, entitled *Comunicación para el desarrollo y el cambio social*, ends the book with an analysis of communication as a mechanism for transformation. The article introduces the role played by ICTs in this process and focuses on communication as a tool for progress. According to Rio, "communicators are any people who wish to communicate their perspective or message for social change". Guided by this objective, whoever wants to use communication as a medium for development and social change must search through all the communication tools available, including new information and communication technologies. This thorough study on the topic includes graphs and tables that show the processes, trends and applications of ICTs in using communication for social change, among other issues.

The approach to the current state of play is taken from different perspectives, focusing on diverse issues that allow readers to explore the subject according to their interests. Moreover, some possible future lines of research are also identified. Due to its cross-disciplinary nature, this book has a broad scope and is a valuable tool for teachers and academics, as well as being useful and interesting for students.

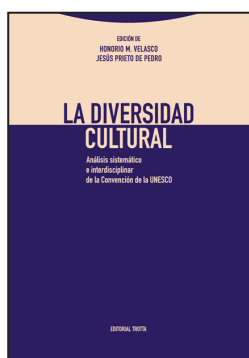
Books Review

VELASCO, H.M.; PRIETO DE PEDRO, J. (eds.)

La diversidad cultural: análisis sistemático e interdisciplinar de la Convención de la UNESCO

Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2016, 372 pages.

ISBN: 978-84-9879-657-5



This book is designed as an interdisciplinary study that aims to address different relevant scientific fields (law, communication, economics, politics, education, anthropology...) and especially the right to culture, covered by the UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, adopted in 2005.

In the book, we find two different sections. The first is an introduction that consists of several studies. One study situates the Convention within the collection of documents in which UNESCO has addressed cultural diversity. Another contextualises it within international law. Two of the studies analyse the Convention's relevance in terms of the relationship between states and indigenous peoples, presenting the perspective of representatives from such peoples and reviewing international law in relation to indigenous peoples and minorities. The last study in the introduction discusses the Convention's prevalence over other international treaties.

The second part contains a systematic analysis of the Convention and of each of its articles, following a common pattern: their content is presented and, using different sources, both the terminology used and the formulation of precepts or proposals for action and intervention are discussed. In particular, it examines the principles underlying the Convention's objectives and the field in which it is applied, the appropriateness of the terms and the definition of the concepts used, as well as the nature and expected effects of the promotion and protection measures.

SUÁREZ VILLEGAS, J.C.; CRUZ ÁLVAREZ, J. (eds.)

Desafíos éticos en el periodismo digital

Madrid: Dykinson, 2016, 205 pages.

ISBN: 9788490859780



This monograph was funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness and involved the participation of researchers from the Universidad de Sevilla, the Universidad de Málaga and the Université de Namur in Belgium. It is divided into nine chapters. The first provides an analysis of the digital revolution that has altered the dynamics of professional

journalism, exploring its pros and cons. The second chapter stresses the relationship between users and the media and how the former, thanks to social media, influence the production stages that shape news.

User-generated content results in ethical dilemmas and conflicts, as chapter three explains. The media consider it necessary to formulate new rules to address this new type of journalism.

Next, the policies adopted by the media in relation to readers' participation in digital media are analysed: they are no longer just readers but users that have taken on a fully active role.

After this analysis, the book presents a fifth, more reflective chapter that addresses the emotions of Spain's online press, the attitudes of professionals and ethical challenges.

Chapter six looks at the use made of the media by political powers and how this is reflected in digital journalism.

The seventh chapter provides information on the bibliographic content of leading academic media journals (2000-2015), based on the thesaurus of journalism ethics prepared by Salvador Alsius and his team.

Reflections on the relationships between journalism, violence against women and the digital environment are the focus of chapter eight.

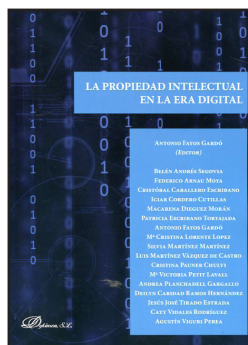
The final chapter reflects on the changes in the communication process caused by the digital ecosystem and how it affects deliberative democracy.

FAYOS GARDÓ, A. (eds.)

La propiedad intelectual en la era digital

Madrid: Dykinson, 2016, 431 pages.

ISBN: 9788490858448



La propiedad intelectual en la era digital is divided into 14 chapters addressing the main topic (intellectual property) from different perspectives such as cinema, collaborative journalism and the internet, among others. The book attempts to deal comprehensively with the subject and therefore involves the participation of experts from disciplines as diverse as

law and communication. The authors of the monograph are professors from the Universitat Jaume I in Castelló (including the book's editor: Professor Antonio Fayos), researchers and professors from the Universitat de València, the Universidad de Burgos and the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, as well as practising lawyers.

As a starting point, the authors present a study on Spain's 2014 intellectual copyright law (*Ley 21/2014 de Propiedad Intelectual*) and highlight some legal loopholes and challenges in the digital era that have arisen mainly through the role played by the internet and have yet to be resolved.

Other noteworthy contributions include a study that addresses the reform of article 270 of Spain's Criminal Code (*Código Penal*), which criminalises the activity of websites offering downloads; an analysis of the impact of the "Google tax" on Spain's digital media; as well as an article that addresses the issue from a more general point of view, exploring regulatory trends.

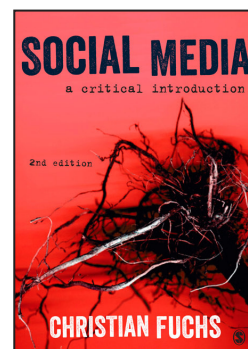
The book also looks at the different possible crimes against intellectual property after the 2015 reform of the Criminal Code, civil liability for copyright infringement on the internet, and creators' property rights and their limitations, among other issues. A look at the state of current legislation relating to intellectual copyright in the United States concludes the book.

FUCHS, CH.

Social media: a critical introduction

London: SAGE, 2017.

ISBN: 978-1-4739-6682-6



This book by Christian Fuchs, professor at the University of Westminster, aims to provide the foundations for critical knowledge on the controversies and contradictions that exist in the field of social media.

Through 12 chapters, the author develops this issue using different contexts and topics. The first part of the book lays the foundations, studying and presenting social media from three perspectives. On the one hand, it provides a conceptual analysis of the meaning of the term "social" and existing theories on the subject, as well as social media's relationship with big data; on the other hand, it presents social media as a participative culture. Lastly, it tackles the issue from the point of view of the power of communication.

In the second part, under the title "Applications", Fuchs analyses the power and political economy of social media and, next, he presents specific case studies. This section is devoted to an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of Google as a search engine, the study of Facebook as a surveillance tool in the era of Edward Snowden, of Twitter as a new public sphere, of Weibo as an example of social media in communist China, and of collaborative consumption and work platforms such as Airbnb, Uber and Wikipedia.

The current reality of social media, the possible alternatives and future expectations are the focus of the book's final section, entitled "Futures".

CAPPELLO, M. (ed.)

VOD, platforms and OTT: which promotion obligations for European works?

Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory, 2016.

IRIS Plus 2016-3



VOD, platforms and OTT: which promotion obligations for European works? is a publication by the European Audiovisual Observatory coordinated by Francisco Javier Cabrera Blázquez, Maja Cappello, Christian Grece and Sophie Valais, analysing changes in the audiovisual sector and the new regulations implemented.

The study is divided into six sections and the authors open by setting the scene in Europe. This first part addresses the structure of the European audiovisual market, defines and divides the different existing on-demand services by themes and presents the variations of the concept “media” in the regulations. The legal framework at a European and international level takes up the second part of the publication. Here the authors analyse, among other topics, the effects of the Audiovisual Media Services Directive (AVMSD) on the production and promotion of European works.

The third part of the study compares the current legal frameworks for new digital services in different European Union member states and provides a country-by-country analysis. “The role of self and co-regulation is the focus of the fourth chapter, which presents the Directive's definition of self-regulation (understood as “a type of voluntary initiative which enables economic operators, social partners, non-governmental organisations or associations to adopt common guidelines amongst themselves and for themselves”) and its definition of co-regulation (understood as the creation of a legal link between self-regulation and the legislator “in accordance with the legal traditions of the Member States”).

Current case law and the state of play occupy the last two parts of the study. The authors analyse the rules adopted by certain European countries to regulate operators offering VOD services and, to close, they look at the revision process of the Directive (AVMSD) and the proposed rules concerning European works.

Available at:

<<http://www.obs.coe.int/documents/205595/8351541/IRIS+plus+2016-3+VOD%2C%20platforms+and+OTT+which+promotion+obligations+for+European+works.pdf/417220bb-eed3-4d82-94ce-da818a447ae7>>

Journals Review

CIC. Cuadernos de información y Comunicación

Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Vol. 21, 2016

ISSN: 1135-7991 E-ISSN: 1988-4001



CIC, the journal published by the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, has devoted this 2016 issue to highlighting the importance of the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, as well as pointing out the gaps in and difficulties of national policies regarding globalising trends.

M^a Trinidad García Leiva starts the publication with an article presenting a methodological proposal to explain, in map format, the diversity of the digital audiovisual industry. Beatriz Barreiro, for her part, explains the different instruments provided by International Law which, together with the UNESCO Convention, may become tools to promote and protect cultural diversity in the area of the media.

Other articles in this publication tackle the issue by focusing on an analysis of different cases of a national and local scope. Of note among these is the article by the Audiovisual Study Group of the Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, written by Silvia Baamonde, Marta Pérez Pereiro and Ana Rodríguez Vázquez, considering the implementation of the European, state and regional measures developed regarding the visibility and accessibility of film produced in Galicia. There is also an article by Luis A. Albornoz and Azahara Cañeda describing the programme *Polos Audiovisuales Tecnológicos*, a failed initiative promoted as a public policy to promote the TV industry reflecting the Argentina's cultural diversity.

Researchers from the Centre for Research into Communication, Discourse and Power of the Universidad de la Frontera in Chile question the diversity and pluralism in the Chilean press (both traditional and online) in covering the student movement emerging in the country in 2011.

Available at:

<<https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CIYC/issue/current>>

International Journal on Media Management

Philadelphia [United States]: International Journal on Media Management

Vol. 19, Issue 2 (May 2017)

ISSN: 1424-1277 E-ISSN: 1424-1250

This issue of the *International Journal on Media Management* deals with funding and management in the media convergence era. This looks at the new hybrid media culture in relation to the traditional methods for funding the industry.

On this occasion, the publication presents three generic articles discussing the issue presented by the editorial by Matthew Freeman,

"Funding and Management in the Media Convergence Era", and two case studies from Greece and Japan. Anna Potter analyses the impact of the growing number of converging media on their funding, focusing on contemporary children's television; Tiziano Bonini and Ivana Pais look at public service media funding while Nicole Ladson and Angela M. Lee analyse crowdfunded journalism.

The issue ends with film production in Greece and Japanese animation. In the first case, Lydia Papadimitriou studies this area since the financial crisis and analyses Greece as a country in the periphery of Europe. The article by Antonio Loriguillo-López explains how the Japanese industry is incorporating collective financing as an adaptation to technological innovations and the industry becoming more open to the global market.

Available at:

<<http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/hijm20/current>>



TELOS. Revista de Pensamiento sobre Comunicación, Tecnología y Sociedad.

Madrid: Fundación Telefónica

Issue 106 (February-March 2017)

ISSN: 0213-084X



In issue 106, this journal by Fundación Telefónica devotes its main *Dossier* to the digital future of music, reviewing the transformation occurring in the field of digital music and its implications in social and economic terms. Notable in this section is the article by Israel Márquez, entitled “La

‘YouTubification’ de la música”, tackling the changes introduced by YouTube in how music is produced, distributed, consumed and experienced. Other articles in the *Dossier* analyse the crisis in the radio industry, developments in the commercial model and new consumption habits in Spain.

In the *Perspectivas* section, Victor Marí Sáez from the Universidad de Cádiz looks at the research into communication for development and social change in Spain, while Ángel San Martín Alonso and José Peirats Chacón (Universitat de València) review the trends in pedagogical support in schools.

Regarding the *Experiencias* section, Inés Bouvier, Gioia de Melo, Alina Machado and Magdalena Viera Varoli have published an article entitled “Las competencias en el uso de las Tecnologías de la Comunicación. El caso de Uruguay”. Here this research group from the Universidad de la República (Uruguay) presents an analysis of the application and results of the Ceibal Plan, a state initiative to promote the digital inclusion of young children and teenagers on the internet.

Also of note in this issue of Telos is the article by one of the guest writers, Giuseppe Richeri (Università della Svizzera Italiana, Lugano, Switzerland) which analyses the situation and transmissions of the global cinematographic market. His case study highlights global trends, the presence, a combination of conflicts and alliances, of Hollywood in China.

Available at:

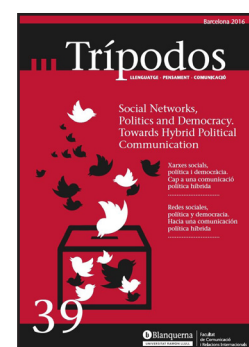
<<https://telos.fundaciontelefonica.com/>>

Trípodos. Llenguatge. Pensament. Comunicació.

Barcelona: Universitat Ramon Llull

Issue 39 (December 2016)

ISSN: 1138-3305 E-ISSN: 2340-5007



Issue 39 of this publication, entitled “Xarxes socials, política i democràcia. Cap a una comunicació política híbrida”, examines the scope and impact of social media on political communication and democratic systems today.

Célia Belim and Helena Garcia open the debate by focusing on the cyber-terrorism and communication strategies promoted by al-Qaeda the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria via social media, while Emiliano Treré deals with the limitations of digital platforms regarding democratic participation, analysing various factors of repression and resistance concerning citizen activism in Mexico.

This issue also contains an article by Javier Díaz Noci and Anna Tous Rovirosa, examining the participation of active users of digital communication media, focusing on issues of political relevance in Europe, such as the European election campaign in 2014, the Scottish independence referendum and the “Catalan question”.

Twitter as a political communication tool is the main focus of four studies in this monographic section. These articles discuss, among other things, the possibilities, prejudices and particular features offered by using social media in the context of political discourse.

The *Fonaments* sections ends the journal with an analysis by Fátima Gil Gascón of the news coverage by Televisión Española of the country's economic crisis prior to the bail-out by the European Union in June 2012, as well as an article by Sebastián Sánchez Castillo, Vicente Fenoll and Àlvar Peris presenting a study of whether the journalistic treatment of pro- and contra-European stances has changed since the outcome of the European elections in May 2014.

Available at:

<http://www.tripodos.com/index.php/Facultat_Comunicacio_Blanquerna/issue/view/12/showToc>

Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación

Alicante: Universidad de Alicante

Vol. 8, issue 1 (January 2017)

ISSN: 1989-872X



The monographic section of this issue of the *Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación* focuses on the new paradigms of digital journalism in the *internet society*, based on seven articles by various authors, coordinated by José-Alberto García-Avilés, which highlight the complicated situation faced by journalism today on the internet and the pathologies of news

communication. It also presents some ideas regarding trends and changes in the future.

The miscellaneous section is also made up of seven research articles. Carmen Caffarel Serra and Mario García de Castro analyse the proposals made by Spanish political parties regarding the future of television in the elections of 2015 and 2016. Also regarding television, Marta Pérez-Ruiz looks at the effect of the economic crisis on the funding of local TV projects in her article entitled “Radiotelevisión Española (RTVE) Castilla y León. Evolución de centro territorial a corresponsalía informativa”.

This section ends with three articles set in a context of university, educators and students. They examine media consumption by university students on the Journalism Degree (Marta Redondo, Eva Campos Domínguez and Miguel Vicente Mariño), the use of Kahoot in classrooms (Leticia Rodríguez-Fernández) and the new professional profiles for journalism analysed from the perspective of Spanish academia (Bernardo José Gómez Calderón, Sergio Roses and Manuel García Borrego).

Available at:

<<http://www.mediterranea-comunicacion.org/>>**Revista AE-IC. Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación**

Santiago de Compostela: Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación

Vol. 4, issue 7 (March 2017)

ISSN: 2341-2690

Issue 7 of the fourth volume of the journal by the Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación is devoted to the future of radio.

Miguel Ángel Ortiz Sobrino, from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, starts off the publication as a guest writer with his article “De la post-radio convergente a la radio híbrida”. Ortiz Sobrino analyses the technological impacts faced

by and affecting the radio industry. The article highlights the fragmentation of the media panorama encouraged by digital convergence, combining traditional media and *new media* associated with the internet and also mobile telephony in the same scenario, breaking down the boundaries of communication.

In the main part of the journal, Montse Bonet analyses the key events in the last few decades of Spain's radio industry to predict its future. There is also a notable article by Rafael Galán and Francisco Javier Herrero which focuses on the adaptation of Spanish radio stations to the new technological possibilities, in this case analysing various programmes on Onda Cero and Cadena SER created to be consumed entirely online.

María Julia González Conde ends the monographic section with a study of *cyber-radio*, examining the features that set it apart from conventional radio, in her article entitled “El sonido de la imagen. La clave para seguir despiertos en la radio multimedia”.

The miscellaneous section of this issue contains eight research articles, some of which continue to look at radio (also covered in the monographic section) as well as other areas, as diverse as corporate reputation, R&D&i in traditional online television in Spain and identifying talent, skills and abilities to develop a personal brand, among other subjects.



Available at:

<<http://www.revistaic.org/>>

Obra digital. Revista de comunicació

Vic, Universitat de Vic [Edited together with the Universidad del Azuay, Ecuador]

Issue 12 (September 2017)

ISSN: 2462-6384 E-ISSN: 2014-5039



The monograph, co-edited by the Universitat de Vic and the Universidad del Azuay, looks at participative and collaborative strategies in factual narrative. It also studies audiovisual, interactive and transmedia expression and how these forms of expression have affected the non-fiction area.

Jacob Sucari, author of the article entitled “El documental social participativo: el protagonista como sujeto de la historia”, and Roberto Arnau Roselló with “Re-construcciones visuales de la memoria: la interpretación crítica del imaginario colectivo a través del webdocumental” tackle the documentary genre. The former does so via the role of the protagonist as a subject of the story and the latter analyses interactive proposals that reveal the capacity of documentaries to articulate, regarding the reconstruction of lost memories. In their article Denis Renó and Luciana Renó talk about the power of image in long-format transmedia journalism.

Regarding museology, Borja Barinaga, Isidro Moreno and Andrés Adolfo Navarro describe the contribution of hypermedia narrative in transforming the physical museum space into virtual, accessible from mobile devices. The article also notes the keys for a necessary evolution, taking advantage of all the potential offered by this narrative.

Other articles in this issue discuss collaborative cinema and the new paradigms faced by film production, distribution and screening. Finally, the issue ends with an article by Pedro Ortuño and Virginia Villaplana, reviewing artistic practices carried out by activist groups and new proposals developed using mobile devices by means of GPS and online documentaries.

Available at:

<<http://www.obradigital.com/>>

Icono 14. Revista de comunicación y tecnologías emergentes

Madrid: XX

Vol. 15, issue 1 (2017)

E-ISSN: 1697-8293

Icono 14. Revista de comunicación y tecnologías emergentes devotes the content of this issue to showing the direct impact of technologies on the production, distribution and reception of signs. In this case, it analyses the mythical significations and narratives of the transmedia representations of technological progress.

Issue 1 of volume 15 of *Icono 14* also contains two research articles on different subjects to the monographic section. The first, by Jacob Bañuelos, analyses the results of a study examining the use of mobile devices by young Mexicans on the practices of consumption, socialisation and photographic production on social media, while Mariana Patricia Busso presents internet forums as platforms to analyse current migratory processes.

The *Innovación teórica* section contains three articles focusing on converging industries, communication and education, respectively. Of note is the analysis by Joan Francesc Fondevila, presenting the algorithms that reveal the impact of the media regarding social media. Fondevila highlights the fact that measuring readers' comments helps news companies to improve the audience experience. With the study entitled “Educación en medios y competencia mediática en la educación secundaria en España”, Fernando Medina, Antonio Briones and Elena Hernández conclude that media literacy policies have not sufficiently penetrated the education system at a state level.

Available at:

<<http://www.icono14.net/ojs/index.php/icono14>>



Websites Review

Diversidad Audiovisual

<<http://diversidadaudiovisual.org/>>

The *Diversidad Audiovisual* website devotes its content to the issue of diversity in cultural industries, focusing on the digital audiovisual sector. The initiative, promoted by the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid in collaboration with the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, emerged through the research project *Cultural and audiovisual diversity: good practices and indicators*, which was carried out between 2012 and 2014.

Currently, it forms part of the research project *Diversity of the audiovisual industry in the digital era (2015-2017)*. Its main purpose is to study the management and dissemination of knowledge in the area of cultural diversity, exploring and proposing the possibilities offered by the new digital environment, as well as the challenges that must be faced. The website publishes both its own content created by the research team, as well as content by others specialised in the field of study. It also presents initiatives at a global level that promote diversity in the audiovisual industry (selected on the basis of the [good practice criterion](#) defined on the website), as well as resources and concepts that are relevant for understanding the general debate around cultural diversity, among other topics.

ASEF culture360: Connecting Asia & Europe Through Arts & Culture

<<http://culture360.asef.org/>>

ASEF culture360 is an international digital platform managed by the [Asia-Europe Foundation](#) (an intergovernmental institution that promotes cultural and intellectual exchanges between both continents), whose main objective is to stimulate cultural engagement and enhance mutual understanding between Asia and Europe (including Australia and New Zealand). The website presents relevant information, opportunities and events in the sector, among other things. It is also worth highlighting the [magazine](#), which includes articles and interviews that take an in-depth look at culture and the arts in Asia and Europe.

In 2010, the website was acknowledged by UNESCO as a tool for information exchange in the area of cultural expressions in accordance with the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity in Cultural Expressions*.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): Diversity of Cultural Expressions Site

<<http://en.unesco.org/creativity/>>

The UNESCO website devoted to the 2005 Convention makes all the information related to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions available to users. The website includes the Convention text, precursors to the Convention, data relating to its implementation and information on the UNESCO International Fund for Cultural Diversity. Users can also access a list of experts and training material.

In 2015, coinciding with the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005), UNESCO published a global report that reviews and analyses the effects of its implementation. Under the title [Reshaping Cultural Policies: A Decade of Promoting the Diversity of Cultural Expressions for Development](#), the report proposes and defines four main goals derived from the Convention: to support sustainable systems of governance for culture; to achieve a balanced flow of cultural goods and services and increase the mobility of artists and cultural professionals; to integrate culture in sustainable development frameworks; and to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The same year, and together with the International Confederation of Societies of Authors and Composers (CISAC), UNESCO presented [Cultural times: The first global map of cultural and creative industries](#). The study analyses 11 sectors in those industries in five regions of the world (Asia-Pacific, Europe, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Africa and the Middle East) and quantifies their contribution in economic and social terms.

Cultural times: The first global map of cultural and creative industries shows, among other things, the leading role of the visual arts, literature and music in job creation, employing 6.73 million, 6.67 million and 3.98 million people, respectively. The report also highlights the importance of fair compensation for creators and the creative industries for the use of their works, as well as the importance of political decisions in the current digital environment.

International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity (IFCCD)

<<http://www.ficdc.org/?lang=en>>

With headquarters in Montreal and permanent representation in UNESCO, the International Federation of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity brings together 600 organisations formed by professionals from the cultural sector. The IFCCD was set up in 2007 to replace the International Liaison Committee of Coalitions for Cultural Diversity (ILC), the members of which participated as observers in the negotiation sessions to prepare the 2005 Convention.

The IFCCD was created with two goals in mind: to encourage civil society's participation in the implementation of the Convention and to put pressure on states to fight against the liberalisation of the cultural sector. Currently, there are 43 national coalitions for cultural diversity in the Federation.

On the website, the section 'Positions' offers documents and presentations produced by the IFCCD and openly licensed, as well as information brochures on the Convention, among other resources. Within this section, there is a subsection also called 'Positions', which includes IFCCD comments on the UNESCO Convention's operational guidelines, as well as comments on trade, the digital era and sustainable development.

In addition, the website provides a list of different national coalitions across the world, activities organised in relation to the Federation's central concern and the latest news.

Coalition for Cultural Diversity (CCD)

<<http://www.cdc-ccd.org/>>

The CCD is a coalition founded in 1998 by Quebec's leading cultural associations and which is currently formed by 27 members that represent the different sectors of the cultural industry at the national and international level. Together they defend cultural diversity as a fundamental right and the duty of states to ensure its protection and promotion.

The website provides the latest national and international news, information on conferences and annual reports, as well as access to the digital archive and information on the Federation's print archive, among other things. We can also highlight [Coalition Currents](#), the Coalition for Cultural Diversity's electronic newsletter.

Creative Diversity Network (CDN)

<<http://creativediversitynetwork.com/>>

The purpose of this network for creative diversity is to bring together organisations from the television industry in the United Kingdom that work to promote and share good practices in relation to cultural diversity. Currently, the members that form it and are in charge of its funding are BAFTA, the BBC, Channel 4, Creative Skillset, PACT, ITN, ITV, Media Trust, S4C, Sky and Turner.

The CDN works to guarantee that British television represents all sections of society. The website includes an information centre with information on the network members, their activity and their advice, and the industry in general. Website users can also consult news, events and information on the different organisations in the sector.

The project [Diamond \(Diversity Analysis Monitoring Data\)](#), promoted by the CDN, is a system for monitoring diversity in the television industry, currently formed by the BBC, ITV, Channel 4, and Channel 5/Viacom.

Diamond has a double purpose. On the one hand, it aims to measure real diversity among professionals working on the same programme (both those that appear on air and those that work behind the scenes). On the other hand, it evaluates the way in which the audience perceives the diversity of professionals that appear on air.

The industry gathers and shares information on diversity that is later used by Diamond to prepare reports. The results are used to supervise diversity and assess advances in relation to diversity goals.

U40 Cultural Diversity 2030

<<http://u40net.org/>>

The platform U40 Cultural Diversity 2030 was launched with the goal of showcasing the perspectives of young experts under 40 from around the world in relation to the implementation and promotion of the 2005 UNESCO Convention.

The network's activity is based on organising conferences and meetings, promoting working groups at the national and international level, preparing and disseminating publications and managing an electronic forum that deals with issues relating to the Convention.

Currently, the platform is inactive and its website has become an archive documenting the activity carried out by its members during its active years.

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: quadernsdeltac@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 TERMAT, which may be consulted at:

<<http://www.termat.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 claim due to the non-fulfilment of this warranty. Letters should be addressed at:
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Carrer dels Vergós, 36-42
08017 Barcelona

Contents

Introduction	3
Monographic: Diversity and cultural industries	5
MARÍA TRINIDAD GARCÍA LEIVA AND LUÍS A. ALBORNOZ. Cultural industries and diversity: old debates and new challenges	5
KATHARINA HOELCK AND HERITIANA RANAIVOSON. Threat or Opportunity? Cultural Diversity in the Era of Digital Platforms in the EU	17
JACQUES GUYOT. The 2005 UNESCO Convention or the Lack of Thought concerning Linguistic Diversity	29
ALEJANDRO PERALES. The promotion and protection of diversity in European communication legislation	37
ANTONIOS VLASSIS. Building a Digital Agenda for the Diversity of Cultural Expressions: UNESCO, new governance norms for culture and power dynamics	47
PILAR TORRE VILLAVARDE. Cultural operators on the internet and the practices that contribute to their diversity	55
JOSÉ MARCIO BARROS AND JOSÉ OLIVEIRA JUNIOR. Notes and methodological studies on diversity indicators in audiovisual production: the case of a regional “audiovisual pole”	63
EMILIA ZBORALSKA, CHARLES H. DAVIS, JEREMY SHTERN AND VANESSA CICCONE. Cultural diversity reporting in the Canadian audiovisual industry: Making monitoring meaningful	73
Articles	87
IGNACIO BERGILLOS. Invitations to Audience Participation through Television in Spain: analysis of general interest channel prime time in 2010 and 2014	87
LOLA COSTA GÁLVEZ. Music radio and public service: who cares? The CCMA does	101
JOAN FERRÉS PRATS, MÒNICA FIGUERAS-MAZ, MARIA-JOSÉ MASANET AND AMALIA HAFNER TÁBOAS. Why do young people consume TV reality shows? A case study of Mujeres y Hombres y Viceversa and the implications for Media Education	117
RAMON GALINDO CALDÉS, MARC VILALTA REIXACH AND AIDA MARTORI MUNSANT. Legal forms of cooperation in managing municipal public service radio and television	129
CÉSAR BÁRCENAS. The Digital Switchover in Mexico: opportunities and risks for public service communication policies in the transition to digital terrestrial television	139
TONI SELLAS AND MONTSE BONET. Online radio and native projects in Catalonia. The risk and appeal of uncertainty	151
Critical book reviews	161
CELINA NAVARRO. Armbruster, S. <i>Watching nostalgia: An analysis of nostalgic television fiction and its reception</i>	161
GEMMA GÓMEZ BERNAL. Fernández, E. P. <i>Big Data. Eje estratégico de la industria audiovisual</i>	163
TONI SELLAS. Bonet, M. (Coord.). <i>El imperio del aire. Espectro radioeléctrico y radiodifusión</i>	165
NÚRIA GAROLERA BONAMUSA. Costa, LL.; Puntí, M. (Eds.). <i>Comunicació, educació i compromís social</i>	167
Agenda	169



**Consell
de l'Audiovisual
de Catalunya**

c. dels Vergós, 36-42 - 08017 Barcelona
Tel. 93 557 50 00 - Fax 93 557 00 01
www.cac.cat - audiovisual@gencat.cat