It's about the public.
It's about the future.

Öffentlich-rechtliche
Qualität im Diskurs

Public Service
Media in Europe

Service Publique
en Europe

ORF

PUBLIC VALUE REPORT
2013/14 – TEXTE

ORF's First Multimedia Public-Value-Report

Information in TV, Radio, TELETEXT and Online

From April 23rd until May 4th ORF offers a glimpse behind the scenes of its media-production:

— How do TV, Radio and Online media achieve their quality standard of information?
— Why can you trust ORF-news?
— What is the value of educational media?
— What contribution do the regional studios make?

Various programs in ORF TV and radio will address these questions. ORF.at and TELETEXT will provide facts and background information.

Reports in all four TV-programs

Information in all three national radio stations

Data and facts on ORF.at

Background-information on the TELETEXT-pages 883, 887 and 888

A VOD-cluster in the TVthek

Reports in the regional programs

Public-Value-Report, Printed Issue

Report
An overview of the multimedia Public-Value-Report

16 pages

Menschen
Statements and views on public service quality

60 pages

Daten
Facts and figures document the fulfillment of the legal and public service remit

32 pages

Texte
Scientific analyses from all over Europe

124 pages

You can find all programs, information and documents on **zukunft.ORF.at**.

Public Value goes Europe

Public Service Media are based on European ground. Their history, their cultural heritage, their role for democratic societies. But there's more than a success-story: Some PSM broadcasters face tremendous challenges, due to commercial competition, cost cutting and internal structures, many PSM organisations in Europe struggle hard with their transition from state owned media to independent public service, some of them are at the brink of existence. Many suffer from restrictive funding, all are confronted with the challenge of the dynamic changes and convergence of media as well as new technologies, new devices changing the use and perception of media almost every day. There are many reasons to face current challenges and regional as well as worldwide demands. If PSM want to maintain a trustful source of reliable information and high quality entertainment, if they wants to maintain their relevance for society, if they want to be beneficial for individuals, who are not just consumers but citizens they have to open up for debate, for creativity, for new ideas and perspectives.

We are glad to present a broad spectrum of views of a truly European horizon. The collection of articles published here spans the whole European continent. They do not represent the inside perspective of the national Public Service Broadcasters. They deliver the views and insights of independent scientists and media experts from all over Europe. You will find information about the specific media environment in 29 European countries, you will find results from academic research, perspectives, suggestions, new ideas and sometimes harsh critique.

Some might say this is about to prepare for the perfect storm. Some might say it means to create a new horizon of media for the common good. We think: It's definitely about the future. There's no better way to approach Public Service Media in Europe than to start with questions and answers, with pro and cons, with an open mind and an open dialogue.

All of you are invited to participate. To read, to discuss, to react. Public Value in media has to go future. We start by going Europe.

Konrad Mitschka, Generaldirektion Public Value

CONTENTS/SOMMAIRE/INHALT

CONTENTS/SOMMAIRE/INHALT

AUSTRIA

Journalistische Kompetenz im digitalen Zeitalter

Josef Seethaler
Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Die Probe aufs Exempel lässt sich leicht machen: Niemand wird die Frage, ob man zur Ausübung beruflicher Tätigkeiten Kompetenz benötige, verneinen. »Kompetenz« steht weitgehend außer Streit – ebenso wie die Bedeutung eines kompetenten Journalismus, sei es für die Rendite, für die Gesellschaft, für Europa oder wofür auch immer. Alles dreht sich um Kompetenz.

Weniger Einigkeit besteht freilich darüber, wie sie erreicht werden kann. Dass »Kompetenz« mit »Qualifizierung« zusammenhängen könnte, wie die Überschrift des einschlägigen Kapitels im zweiten »Journalisten-Report« des Medienhauses Wien behauptet, wird angesichts des immer noch anzutreffenden Glaubens an »angeborene Begabungen« schon etwas geringere Zustimmung erfahren. Vollends umstritten ist schließlich die Art und Weise der Qualifizierung, vor allem dann, wenn es um die Bedeutung lebenslangen Lernens, die Definition journalistischer Ausbildungsstandards oder gar um die Kodifizierung von Ausbildungswegen geht (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2008). Gerade in Österreich hat die praktische Ausbildung im Sinne eines »Trainings on the Job« traditionell einen im europäischen Vergleich hohen Stellenwert – von einem Vergleich mit den USA ganz zu schweigen (Fröhlich / Holtz-Bacha 1997; Meier 2007); erst seit 2003 gibt es eine hochschulgebundene Ausbildung für Medienberufe; gar erst seit 2011 bietet das Forum Journalismus und Medien Wien (fjum) Weiterbildungsangebote in internationaler Vernetzung an. Staatliche Medienförderung als auf Verpflichtung zu Selbstkontrolle und Weiterbildung aufbauende Qualitätsförderung zu begreifen, gehört immer noch zu den Desiderata österreichischer Medienpolitik.

Damit ist gesagt, worum es in diesem Beitrag nicht gehen wird.

Vielmehr soll es darum gehen, was dieser so leicht zur Zustimmung verleitende Begriff der Kompetenz überhaupt meint, in welcher Hinsicht ihm entscheidende Bedeutung für die Zukunft des professionellen Journalismus zukommt und welche Rolle dabei öffentlich-rechtliche Medien spielen können.

Schlägt man das Stichwort »Kompetenz« in der einschlägigen deutschsprachigen Literatur nach, so stößt man zunächst auf das »klassische«, von Siegfried Weischenberg 1990 formulierte Modell, das nach Fach-, Vermittlungs- und Sachkompetenz unterscheidet. Klaus Meier (2007) fügte ihm angesichts der rasanten technologischen Entwicklung und der steigenden Bedeutung organisatorischer Abläufe Technik- und Gestaltungskompetenz sowie Organisations- und Konzeptionskompetenz hinzu, doch all diese Dimensionen beziehen sich auf jene Fähigkeiten der Selbstorganisation, die in der Kompetenzforschung unter aktivitäts- und umsetzungsorientierte, fachlich-methodische und sozial-kommunikative Kompetenzen (etwas anders) gruppiert sind. So wichtig diese zweifellos sind; die als »personale Kompetenz« bezeichnete Fähigkeit, Wertvorstellungen, Funktionsbewusstsein und Rollenbilder

zu entwickeln und zu reflektieren, kommt in beiden Modellen unter dem Label »soziale Orientierung« zwar als eine Art Zusatzqualifikation vor – doch tatsächlich schafft sie die Basis dafür, in allen anderen Kompetenzbereichen Motivationen, Leistungsvorsätze und Kreativität entfalten zu können (Heyse et al. 2010).

Die (auch von der UNESCO aufgegriffene) Tartu-Deklaration von 2006, die auf einer europaweiten Umfrage der European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) unter journalistischen Ausbildnerinnen und Ausbildnern basiert und 2013 überarbeitet worden ist, bringt das deutlich zum Ausdruck: Dort steht die Reflexion der gesellschaftlichen Rolle des Journalismus als Schlüsselkompetenz an erster Stelle und rahmt die anderen Kompetenzbereiche insofern ein, als sie am Ende der Deklaration erneut aufgegriffen und in die Zukunft gewendet wird, wenn es heißt: »to contribute to the renewal of the profession« und »to reflect on the future of journalism«. Die detaillierte Darstellung lässt keinen Zweifel: Hier geht es um die dem beruflichen Handeln zugrunde liegenden, nicht am »Publikum«, sondern an den »citizens« orientierten Werte und um vertrauenswürdige Methoden (sogar von »scholarly methods« ist die Rede), eingebettet in ein Bekenntnis zur Demokratie und in eine lokale, nationale und globale Räume vernetzende Verständigung.

Wie EJTA auf ihrer Homepage schreibt, entstand die revidierte Fassung der Deklaration im Lichte der dramatischen Veränderungen in der journalistischen Praxis. Es lohnt daher zu überlegen, worin sich die reflexive Kompetenz im digitalen Medienzeitalter zu bewähren hat. In der Tat ist heute Journalismus zum ersten Mal seit seiner Ausdifferenzierung als eigenes Berufsfeld grundsätzlich in Frage gestellt. Die technologisch bedingte Diversifizierung des Medienangebots, die Abwanderung von Teilen des Werbe- und Anzeigenmarkts auf andere Plattformen, die dadurch hervorgerufen, vor allem den redaktionellen Bereich betreffenden Spar- und Rationalisierungsmaßnahmen sowie last, but not least das sich ebenso rasch wie radikal verändernde Mediennutzungsverhalten immer breiterer Bevölkerungsschichten haben den Journalismus vor neue, in ihrer Brisanz bisher ungekannte Herausforderungen gestellt (Jarren et al. 2012).

Die Strategien zu ihrer Bewältigung sind zweifellos an ein ganzes Bündel von Voraussetzungen geknüpft. Eine klug abgesicherte ökonomische Grundlage steht da ganz oben. Doch welche Rolle können »engagierte Journalisten mit Kompetenz, Urteilsvermögen und kritischer Distanz« spielen, die Armin Wolf (2008) als

oberste Voraussetzung nennt, wenn es bei der journalistischen Leistung darum geht, das Publikum dabei zu unterstützen, qualifiziert am öffentlichen Diskurs teilzunehmen. Und er fügt ein Zitat von Robert Hochner an: »Menschen mit Sendungsbewusstsein gehören in die Sendetechnik, nicht in die Redaktion.«

Zweifellos hat die Beobachtung und Vermittlung komplexer Zusammenhänge, die das politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leben prägen, seit jeher einen fachlich und kommunikativ kompetenten Journalismus erfordert. Doch es ist nicht nur die exponentiell wachsende Informationsflut und ihre notwendig beschleunigte Verarbeitung, die die Anforderungen an die professionelle Kompetenz derjenigen, die sich an den Schaltstellen der Informationsflüsse befinden, verändert. Es ist das sich wandelnde Informations- und Kommunikationsverhalten der Menschen, das journalistische Erfahrung und Routine, wie sie beim »Training on the Job« erworben werden können, als Handlungsrichtlinien zumindest in den Hintergrund treten, wenn nicht (weil als »Erfahrung« und »Routine« nicht weiter hinterfragt) zur Quelle von Fehlentscheidungen werden lässt.

Die Ursache dafür liegt in den durch die sozialen Medien geschaffenen Erwartungen an eine deliberative Internetöffentlichkeit, die digitale Räume politischer Partizipation durch zivilgesellschaftliche Akteure – an massenmedialen Gatekeepern vorbei – erschließbar macht, zumal die Teilhabe an einem Austauschprozess von Gedanken, Meinungen und Ideen durch niedrige Zugangsbarrieren realistischer denn je erscheint (z. B. Debatin 2008; McLeod / Lee 2012). Professioneller
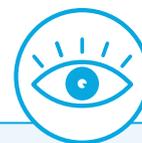
ÖSTERREICHISCHER RUNDFUNK (ORF)
www.ORF.at

Vollprogramm
ORF eins, ORF 2

Kultur / Information
ORF III

Sport
ORF SPORT +

35,4 % Marktanteil

Journalismus steht somit zunehmend vor Legitimationszwängen – und das heißt: vor der Reflexion des Selbstverständnisses seiner Rolle in der demokratischen Gesellschaft und in weiterer Folge vor einer Überprüfung seiner erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen, ethischen Standards und Handlungsmuster (Hanitzsch / Seethaler 2009).

Gerade öffentlich-rechtlicher Journalismus ist in diesem Selbstreflexionsprozess befähigt, eine aktive und prägende Rolle zu spielen. Einerseits repräsentiert sein Anspruch, soziale Wirklichkeit zu beobachten, die subjektive Beobachtung auf Faktizität zu prüfen und gesellschaftlich relevante Interpretationsangebote zur Diskussion zu stellen, gegen den (als Antwort auf die krisenhafte Entwicklung um sich greifenden) Trend zu einem subjektiven Meinungsjournalismus die demokratiepolitisch wünschenswertere Alternative. »Wenn jeden nur mehr jene Meinungen interessieren, die er ohnehin schon hat«, schreibt Armin Wolf, »wie soll da ein gesellschaftlicher Diskurs entstehen?« Andererseits korreliert dieser Anspruch in hohem Maße mit dem (zur wechselseitigen Stärkung nutzbaren) deliberativen Potenzial der Netzkommunikation – wenn der öffentlich-rechtliche Journalismus bereit ist, die Vorstellung von einem mehr oder minder passiven Publikum aufzugeben und den lange eingeübten Top-down-Prozess der »Vermittlung« zugunsten neuer Formen der Beteiligung von Bürgerinnen und Bürger am Informationstransfer und der Suche nach Orientierung aufzubrechen und damit letztlich Diskurs zu ermöglichen (Porto 2007).

Nicht nur angesichts dramatisch nachlassender Bindungen an traditionelle politische Organisationen wie an frühere Mainstream-Medien, sondern vor allem angesichts globaler demographischer Veränderungen scheint die tradierte Vorstellung, die Bürger/innen über gemeinsame Themen in ein gesellschaftliches Kollektiv mit allseits geteilten Verhaltensweisen und -normen zu »integrieren«, zunehmend obsolet – und damit auch die Vorstellung von politischer Partizipation, die sich letztlich nur über den Gebrauch des Wahlrechts durch gut informierte und an politische Organisationen gebundene BürgerInnen definiert. Im Gegensatz dazu zeigt sich in einer diversen und pluralen Gesellschaft die Inklusion möglichst vieler Menschen nur über die Teilhabe an sozialen Ressourcen und Beziehungen realisierbar. Demgemäß könnten idealiter – trotz unterschiedlicher Themenorientierungen – die in vertrauenswürdigen medienvermittelten Interaktionen entstehenden Verbindungen, sog. »public connections« (Couldry / Markham 2006), und nicht mehr allein die einseitige Rezeption von Informationen aus vertrauenswürdigen Medien zur

Ausbildung von gemeinsamen Zielvorstellungen und zur Bereitschaft beitragen, sich für sie zu engagieren. Dieses Engagement gründet freilich weniger in kollektiven ideologischen Mustern (von denen schon Robert Hochner Journalismus distanziert sehen wollte) als in individuellen Motivkonstellationen: »Taking public action or contributing to a common good becomes an act of personal expression« (Bennett / Segeberg 2012, 752).

Dieser gesellschaftliche Wandel ist nicht bloße Zukunftsmusik. Er findet statt. Europaweit verändern sich mit den Formen der Mediennutzung insbesondere unter den 14- bis 25-Jährigen, aber zunehmend auch in der Generation der 26- bis 40-Jährigen sowohl die Formen des politischen Engagements als auch die Bereitschaft sich zu engagieren (Beaufort / Seethaler 2014). Will Journalismus – und insbesondere öffentlich-rechtlicher Journalismus – auch in Zukunft seine Funktion in einer demokratischen, aber zusehends diversen Gesellschaft weiterhin erfüllen (und so seinen Anspruch auf besonderen rechtlichen Schutz argumentieren; vgl. Seethaler 2010), dann wird er die Formen seiner Kommunikationsleistung überdenken müssen, um weiterhin die Voraussetzungen zur qualifizierten Teilhabe möglichst vieler Bürger/innen an öffentlichen Diskursen, Willensbildungs- und Entscheidungsprozessen schaffen zu können. Genauso ist aber auch die (nationale wie europäische) Politik aufgerufen, jene Rahmenbedingungen zu gewährleisten, die diese Funktion institutionell abzusichern helfen. Und das heißt nicht zuletzt, die Weiterentwicklung von Public Service Broadcasting zu Public Service Media (Lowe / Bardoel 2008) ohne die derzeit geltenden Beschränkungen der im digitalen Zeitalter für alle Medienbetriebe notwendigen crossmedialen Aktivitäten zu ermöglichen.

ÖSTERREICHISCHER RUNDFUNK (ORF)

www.ORF.at

Ö1

ORF REGIONAL (9)

HITRADIO Ö3

FM4

74 % Marktanteil

P. S. Um doch noch den Bogen zum Inhalt des abge-
brochenen ersten Absatzes zu schlagen: War es bisher
schon so, dass das als zukunftsträchtig beschriebene
Selbstverständnis in hohem Maße bei Journalistinnen
und Journalisten mit akademischer Vorbildung anzu-
treffen war (Kaltenbrunner et al. 2008, 117), so wird
sich die in einer Zeit globaler Veränderungen mehr
denn je notwendige Fähigkeit zur Reflexion der sich in
der täglichen Arbeit widerspiegelnden institutionellen
Rollen, epistemologischen Prämissen und ethischen
Standards nur durch eine Intensivierung der Aus- und
Weiterbildung fördern lassen, um die (über)lebensnot-
wendige reflexive Kompetenz nicht kurzsichtig als erste
dem steigenden Zeit- und Arbeitsdruck zu opfern. •

Josef Seethaler

Dr. Josef Seethaler ist stellvertretender Direktor
des Instituts für vergleichende Medien- und
Kommunikationsforschung der Österreichischen
Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Alpen-
Adria-Universität Klagenfurt. Außerdem ist er
Lehrbeauftragter an der Universität Wien und
österreichischer Vertreter in einer Reihe von
internationalen Kooperationen, wie etwa dem
Projekt »Worlds of Journalism«.

LITERATUR

Beaufort, Maren / Josef Seethaler. 2014. Wandel der Mediennutzung –
Wandel im politischen Verhalten? Medien Journal 38 (1) [in Druck].

Bennett, W. Lance / Alexandra Segerberg. 2012. The logic of connective
action. Information, Communication & Society 15 (5), 739–768.

Couldry, Nick / Tim Markham. 2006. Public connection through media
consumption: Between oversocialization and de-socialization?
The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 608
(November), 251–269.

Debatin, Bernhard (2008). The internet as a new platform for expressing
opinions and as new public sphere. In: Wolfgang Donsbach / Michael W.
Traugott (Eds.), The SAGE handbook of public opinion research, 54–72.
Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

European Journalism Training Association (EJTA) (2013).
The Tartu Declaration. http://ejta.eu/the-tartu-declaration/

Fröhlich, Romy / Christina Holtz-Bacha. 1997. Journalistenausbildung
in Europa. In: Gerd K. Kopper (Hrsg.), Europäische Öffentlichkeit:
Entwicklung von Strukturen und Theorie, 149–182. Berlin: Vistas.

Hanitzsch, Thomas / Josef Seethaler. 2009. Journalismuswelten –
Ein Vergleich von Journalismuskulturen in 17 Ländern Medien &
Kommunikationswissenschaft 57 (4), 464–483.

Heyse, Volker / John Erpenbeck / Stefan Ortmann (Hrsg.). 2010. Grund-
strukturen menschlicher Kompetenzen. Münster, New York: Waxmann.

Jarren, Otfried / Matthias Künzler / Manuel Puppis (Hrsg.). 2012.
Medienwandel oder Medienkrise. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Kaltenbrunner, Andy / Matthias Karmasin / Daniela Kraus / Astrid
Zimmermann. 2008. Der Journalisten-Report II: Österreichs Medienmacher
und ihre Motive. Wien: facultas.wuv.

Lowe, Gregory Ferrell / Jo Bardoel (Eds.). 2008. From Public Service
Broadcasting to Public Service Media. Göteborg: Nordicom.

McLeod, Jack M. / Nam-Jin Lee. 2012. Social networks, public discussion
and civic engagement: A socialization perspective.
In: Holli A. Semetko / Margaret Scammell (Eds.), The SAGE handbook
of political communication, 197–208. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Porto, Mauro P. 2007. Frame diversity and citizen competence: Towards a
critical approach to news quality. Critical Studies in Media Communication
24 (4): 303–321.

Seethaler, Josef. 2010. Öffentliche Aufgabe und Wahrhaftigkeitspflicht in
der Berichterstattung. In: Helmut Koziol / Josef Seethaler / Thomas Thiede
(Hrsg.), Medienpolitik und Recht, 65–80. Wien: Sramek.

Weischenberg, Siegfried (Hrsg.). 1990. Journalismus & Kompetenz:
Qualifizierung und Rekrutierung für Medienberufe. Opladen:
Westdeutscher Verlag.

Wolf, Armin. 2008. Was öffentlich-rechtlicher Journalismus leisten
kann (und soll). In: Public Value Bericht 2007 / 2008. Wien: ORF, 2008.
http://zukunft.orf.at/modules/orfpublicvalue/upload/07i0010.pdf

BELGIUM

Public Service Media: A Means to an End

Caroline Pauwels, Karen Donders
Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Even though most European governments have by now expressed their firm beliefs in the value of Public Service Media for democratic societies (Council of Europe 2009), the new media environment raises some fundamental and practical questions on how far stretched the Public Service Media should be. In answering some fundamental questions on Public Service Media (What should it be? What does it stand for?), we set out from a pragmatic definition of Public media services being all media (radio, television, Internet, mobile) services that meet pre-set public interest objectives.

A rational approach to Public Service Media contains six answers to six core questions. First, can public broadcasters be active on all platforms? Second, what do public broadcasters have to do within a Public Service Media project? Third, what can be the cost of Public Service Media? Fourth, how to ensure accountability of public broadcasters? Fifth, how to control and evaluate public broadcasters? Sixth, how to balance Public Service Media with private sector development? First of all, answering to the question on which platform public broadcasters can be active, the public service remit should be defined in a technology neutral way. As Public Service Media is about »communication in the public interest«, public broadcasters ought to be active on all relevant platforms in so far their services meet pre-set public interest objectives.

Secondly, and most importantly, Public Service Media should be about achieving core values. New services should not be found admissible simply because they are linked with an existing radio or television programme.

All public broadcasters' services have to contribute to public value. By linking the legitimacy of new services to the, assumed, legitimacy of traditional radio and television programmes, new services will never be valued for their own remit. Consequently, it should be carefully balanced which objectives all services have to fulfill and how big public broadcasters' role should be in this regard. We put forward five core values, which can be specified further for different types of services.

1. Conversation: public broadcasters must respectfully engage with their audiences, treating them no longer as passive recipients of programmes, but active citizens that can interact, participate and create.
2. Citizen empowerment: public broadcasters have to stay rooted within an emancipatory approach, addres digital divides (at the level of access, skills, critical understanding, etc.) and offer an entry point into the abundance of content available (being a trusted guide).
3. Creativity and innovation: public broad casters should offer creative services, being a safe harbour for experiment and engaging in services and technological innovation.
4. Conservation: public broadcasters have a role to play on securing our common cultural heritage and national narratives. Consequently, public broadcasters have a key role to play in investiging in high-quality, local content and digitization thereof.
5. Credibility: public broadcasters have to be a point of reference, of which quality (vis-à-vis commercial offers) is a distinguishing feature with in a media landscape in which citizens have a lot of choice quantitatively, but not necessarily qualitatively.

An approach setting out from these values, will succeed in not a priori excluding public broadcasters from certain genres or services. Public broadcasters role within Public Service Media will also not be arranged according to core or peripherical categories of services. Rather, it defines core values and links services with these.

Thirdly, embedding public broadcasters within such a Public Service Media project is sensible only if supported by an adequate financial basis. A decline of public funding, in some member states accompanied with the pressure to raise more commercial revenues, would inevitably marginalize public broadcasters as money is a relevant factor when making services. Moreover, the strive after commercial revenues might risk undermining

public broadcasters' legitimacy. In this respect, commercial activities in new media markets should be restricted where possible in order to ensure that the possibilities of these new environments are explored with an eye on realising the public service remit better, not with an eye on generating more commercial revenues.

Fourthly, the transfer to a public broadcaster, entrusted with Public Service Media, should be facilitated by both financial and organisation clarity within public broad-

RADIO-TELEVISION BELGE DE LA COMMUNAUTE FRANCAISE (RTBF)
www.RTBF.be

LA PREMIÈRE

VIVACITÉ

CLASSIC21

PUREFM

MUSIQ3

33,8 % Market share

DE VLAAMSE RADIO- EN TELEVISIEOMROEPORGANISATIE (VRT)
www.vrt.be

RADIO 1

RADIO 2

KLARA

STUDIO BRUSSEL

MNM

NIEUWS+

MNM HITS

KLARA CONTINUO

KETNETRADIO

60,8 % Market share

RADIO-TELEVISION BELGE DE LA COMMUNAUTE FRANCAISE (RTBF) www.RTBF.be	DE VLAAMSE RADIO – EN TELEVISIEOMROEPORGANISATIE (VRT) www.vrt.be
Generalist LA UNE, LA DEUX	**Generalist** EEN, CANVAS
Cultural LA TROIS	**Children / Generalist** OP12 (KETNET)
20,9 % Market share	**42 % Market share**

casters. Without an advanced level of transparency, which should not end up in the obliged disclosure of strategic information, there is no point in establishing accountability mechanisms. Fifthly, control and evaluation become crucial aspects of Public Service Media. Historically, this raised questions concerning political influence. However, a Public Service Media project can only be succesful in so far it succeeds in reaching a balance between control, evaluation and editorial independence of public broadcasters (see Council of Europe, 2009). Both control and evaluation should aim at enabling and not constraining the fulfilment of public interest objectives.

Finally, an adequate controlling system is not only a prerequisite for the fulfilment of public interest objectives. It also ensures that media markets are not unneccessarily distorted by public broadcasters. Indeed, after the liberalisation of the broadcasting market in the 1980s, government authorities should strike a balance between necessary government intervention and private sector development. There is no public value justification in public broadcasters foreclosing markets or behaving in other anti-competitive ways. Market distortion is to some extent intrinsic to public broadcasting regimes. Policy makers accept this. Yet, market distortion without achieving some of the core values identified above is difficult to defend. A structural multistakeholder and consultation-based regime is therefore necessary in order to ensure that public broadcasters do their job while not preventing others from doing theirs. •

Caroline Pauwels

Prof. Dr. Caroline Pauwels is a full time professor in media policies and head of the Department of Communication Studies at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. She is part of different Boards in the media and cultural domain and has authored and co-edited articles and books on European media policy issues. She is director of the iMinds department Digital Society, an interdisciplinary research center with focus on the social, cultural, economic and policy impact of ICT's (information and communication technologies). She currently acts as government representative at VRT, the Flemish public broadcaster.

Karen Donders

Prof. Dr. Karen Donders lectures Policy Analysis and European Media Markets at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. She is a senior researcher with iMinds-SMIT. Karen is the author of »Public Service Media and Policy in Europe« (2012, Palgrave Macmillan) and co-editor of »The Palgrave Handbook of European Media Policy« (2014). She regularly acts as a consultant for media companies and regulators across Europe.

BULGARIA

The Challenges of Digitalization to the Bulgarian Public Service Media[*]

Lilia Raycheva
University of Sofia

The period of transformation to democracy and market economy, which started in 1989, has posed significant social challenges to the population in Bulgaria. The transition was slowed down by delayed legislation, aggressive political behavior and under-developed markets. These factors contributed to rapid impoverishment, high rate of unemployment and a loss of established social benefits like free healthcare and free education.

Since the turn of the century Bulgaria has begun to improve its legislative, economic and social situation. Bulgaria's population is 7,282,421, grouped into about 3,000,000 households. It consists of Bulgarians (84 %), Turks (9 %), Roma (5 %), and other ethnic groups (2 %). The large majority of the population (84 %) professes the Eastern Orthodox faith while 12 % are Moslems. The population has decreased by over one million since the last population census prior to the period of transition (1985), mainly due to aging and emigration.

Currently GDP per capita in Bulgaria equals 3,400 Euro. Average monthly salaries are the lowest among European Union member states at 768 BGN (Euro 393). The minimum monthly wage is ten times lower than that of some member states, amounting to 310 BGN (Euro 159).

Twenty-two per cent of the labor force are employed namely on a minimum wage.[1] Also, prices in Bulgaria amount to 49 per cent of the European Union average.[2]

Media System

To understand the profound transformation in the mass media system and its development trends in Bulgaria, one should go back to the roots of political upheaval after the falling of the Berlin wall. Following the profound changes throughout all Eastern European countries, the tendency to democracy became irreversible. Among the major political achievements during that transformation period of nearly 25 years were the stabilization of political life in the country, joining of NATO in 2004, and accession to EU in 2007.

Prior to the political changes in 1989, the Bulgarian mass media system was centralized, state-owned and subordinated to the priorities of the party-state system. The processes of decentralization, liberalization and privatization began spontaneously with no sharing of common perspectives. In a short time a completely new journalistic landscape was formed in which different patterns of media consumption and new advertising strategies were introduced. Along with the overall

economic and political crisis of the time, the transformation of the mass media system developed on practical, trial-and-error efforts, rather than on a legal basis. The mass media, among all the institutions in the country, helped the transformation to democracy the fastest and in the most profound way. However, journalists, just as politicians, were not ready to adequately undertake their new roles. Thus, the emerging principles and styles of journalism were created ad hoc. The media found themselves fulfilling the dual function of transmitters of protest and accelerators for political change.

While there is no law that regulates the print media in Bulgaria (slander and libel are enacted through the Penal Code), electronic media are regulated under the Radio and Television Act, adopted in 1998, and the Telecommunications Act, adopted the same year. Both of them have been amended frequently. Bulgaria joined the Television without Frontiers Directive (1989) and later ratified the European Union's Convention on Transfrontier Television (1997). Current media regulations have been closely aligned with EU legislation.

The Bulgarian Constitution guarantees freedom of expression for any citizens. Article 40 (1) specifically defends freedom of mass media: »The press and the other mass information media shall be free and shall not be subjected to censorship«.[3]

The transition to a civil society and market economy in Bulgaria involved a number of challenges to mass media development. These included the general insufficiency of financial and technological resources and lack of professional standards. Media competition stimulated the first dynamic open market in the country, which established well-developed media consumption patterns. Although the Bulgarian public was offered a highly varied media menu, expectations that the media would aid the processes of democratization in a purposeful and effective manner proved unrealistically high. Media were in need of transformation themselves. Change of property and single-party control was not sufficient for rendering them professional. Although the guild has adopted its ethical code [4], it failed to build the mechanisms for sustaining it and in many cases reacts in-adequately to important and publicly significant issues, as well as to a number of professional problems. Deprofessionalization and tabloidization trends accompanied the transformation period. A number of professional journalistic unions were established, but they failed to defend basic professional rights and responsibilities. Similarly to the politicians, former and newly hatched journalists were not ready to shoulder the new role and the subsequent responsibilities of a Fourth Estate in a society under transformation.

The activity of the civil-society structures and professional organizations proved insufficient too. Their activities though proved erratic, limited and ineffective in the long run. According to the Reporters without Borders third annual report in 2013 Bulgaria occupies 87th place (among 179 countries in the world) in the Freedom of expression Index.[5] So far freedom of speech and independent journalism provided convertible phraseology for many a non-governmental organization disbursing the funds of European and Transatlantic institutions.

Electronic Media

In contrast to the turbulent, wrenching transformations in the print media, the changes in the electronic media were slower, incomplete and lacked general consistency. The once rigorous regulations at the state level framed the initiatives for decentralization and privatization. However, for a long time the state-owned electronic media remained closely controlled since they were funded from the State budget. A restrictive legislature was another factor in their slow transformation. It aborted any early attempts at a substantial and relevant change. Until 1997 the executive boards of the state-owned electronic media were open to direct political pressure

Lilia Raycheva

Dr. Lilia Raycheva is an associate professor at the Radio and Television Department of the Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication of the St. Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia (since 1978). For seven years she has also served (elected by the National Assembly) as a member of the Council for Electronic Media—the regulatory authority for radio and television broadcasting in Bulgaria (2001–2008) and as such—for three years—as a member of the Standing Committee on Transfrontier Television at the Council of Europe (2005–2008). She has been lecturing home and abroad. She has been extensively published. Her professional authorship portfolio includes a number of TV programs (one of them aired 1980–2011). She has also successfully participated in a number of international projects and networks on various mass media issues. Her scientific interests relate to information and communication technologies' impacts and media developments.

causing overall personnel instability and lack of continuity in programming policy. Continuing turnover among executives caused by aggressive political pressures on the management of both public National Television and National Radio led to their general instability. Nevertheless, BNT is approved by 67,8 % of the population and BNR—by 58.1 %—far ahead of other institutions, such as The Bulgarian orthodox church—56.2 %, the President—53.7 %, the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency—51.5 %, the Police—41.7 %, the Army—40.5 %, the Government—31.6 %, the Parliament—25.7 %, the Court—18.5 %.[6]

For nearly 25 years a highly saturated radio and TV landscape has been formed in the country. Bulgarian radio and television stations now operate on two economic levels: state owned (public) and private. At present, a total of 522 program services—305 radio- and 30 TV-programs (all of them—digital) are broadcasted terrestrially and 32 radio- and 155 TV-programs state owned (public) and private are distributed via cable, satellite or Internet on the territory of the country.[7]

Although the advertising market is still not very big, the radio and TV environment is oversaturated. Lack of clarity about the media ownership obscures the fact how dependent the electronic media can be on the political and business interests and their impacts on the media policies. The weak market, which fails to maintain the numerous licensed radio stations, has left a loophole for companies with capitals of doubtful origin. A further obstacle for the development of radio and TV environment in the country has been the halting of the licensing process, owing to the formal requirement that the two regulating authorities would work out a Strategy for Development of Radio and Television Activities by Terrestrial Radio Broadcasting. The Strategy was developed on time in 2002, but the Parliament adopted it only four years later as a condition for the pre-accession process to the European Union. Similarly, the legal, technological, regulatory and social framework for the analogue switch off of terrestrial television has been rather contradictory, serving corporative interests.

Presently, the two national institutions that regulate the electronic media are the Council for Electronic Media (CEM) and the Communications Regulation Commission (CRC). They issue radio and TV licenses and register cable and satellite broadcasters. CEM (formerly The National Council for Radio and Television) is the regulatory body that elects the regulatory bodies of the national broadcasters, as well as monitors compliance with the Radio and Television Act, including issues such as

advertising, sponsorship, product placement, telemarket, copyright, protection of minors, etc. The Council also considers complaints by citizens and organizations. CRC (formerly The State Commission of Telecommunications) manages the radio spectrum. It also enforces the Electronic Communications Act, adopted in 2007, which has laid down the legal basis for the digital switchover.

The Radio

Radio broadcasting in Bulgaria was a State monopoly right from the very beginning of its existence in 1932. Until 1991 there was only one, Sofia-based, central broadcasting station (operating four channels) and five regional stations (later they amounted to eight). The liberalization of radio broadcasting was a much slower process than that of the print media. The terrestrial monopoly of the Bulgarian National Radio was disrupted only in 1992. The first licenses for private radio stations were issued to several foreign radio broadcasting companies: The Voice of America, BBC-World Service, Free Europe, France International, and Deutsche Welle. They were selected because of their sensitivity to the democratization process in Bulgaria. The first domestic private radio station, FM+, went on the air in October 1992. Currently two radio stations are broadcasting nationwide: BNR, the Public Service Broadcaster, and the commercial Darrik radio.

Private radio broadcasting developed explosively in Bulgaria. Making use of the legal vacuum, some of the first license-owners for radio stations applied and obtained such licenses for other towns too. Thus legally imprecise radio-chains and, subsequently, radio networks swarmed up, distributing similar program, musical and advertising content in various settlements. From the very dawn of its existence the commercial radio in Bulgaria has started developing along the lines of property concentration which led to rather unified broadcasts of the local radio stations.

The major shift in radio ownership was followed by the introduction of new radio formats. The listeners relied on domestic private radio stations as alternative sources to state-owned Bulgaria National Radio, while before 1989 they sought reliable information from foreign sources. Contrary to initial expectations, strong competition between the private Bulgarian and foreign FM stations did not materialize.

By the present moment, the Horizont Programme of the Bulgarian National Radio tops the ratings and since the

beginning of the transition is the unbeatable audience leader, holding 22 % of the audiences. Traditionally, the Bulgarian National Radio is among the firm leaders in terms of its credibility as an institution. The private radio stations still pose no real challenge to it.[8]

The Television

Telecasts in Bulgaria first began in 1959 with three hours of programming twice a week. It took about ten years before the whole country was covered by TV signal. Color telecasting was introduced in 1972 and in 1975 a second national channel was launched. For years Soviet Television was retranslated and run on Fridays in place of the program of the First National Channel.

Compared to the other media, changes in television came much more slowly. Some major reasons for the slow changes included the state monopoly over national

>»The interest of some foreign groups also spread out to the ownership of some TV broadcasters.«

telecasting, political pressure resulting in frequent replacements of TV executives (in seventeen years, fourteen Directors General had headed in succession the National Television), lack of research and development concepts and strategies, inefficient management, economic constraints and obsolete equipment. The last two General Directors were actually the first who completed in consequence their term of office and were re-elected for a second term.

By the end of 1994 there was virtually only one terrestrial television in Bulgaria: the Bulgarian National Television, with two programmes (Channel 1 and Efir 2) and four regional TV centres in Plovdiv, Varna, Ruse and Blagoevgrad. As a result of the numerous political purges from left and right, in a matter of several years the Bulgarian National Television was almost entirely stripped out of its most valuable resource—the mature and most productive generation of professionals—and marked a downslide in the professional standards of its TV performance. For a long time the Bulgarian National Television held the monopoly in the advertising market and managed to accumulate a considerable financial resource on its own on top of the subsidies from the National Budget. This gave rise to various schemes for draining out money from the medium.[9]

The first private television station, Nova Televizia (New Television), broadcasting locally, was launched in 1994, followed by the local TV station 7 Days. Almost simultaneously with the emergence of these two television stations in the second half of the 1990s, a dozen projects for local terrestrial television stations had started out in the country. The location and scale of the towns covered by them manifested lack of any concept in the frequency planning and a purely subjective approach to issuance of local licenses for terrestrial distribution.

The emergence of new channels encouraged the program diversification in the national TV landscape. The almost uncontrolled reception of satellite, trans-border and cable programs exerted additional pressure on the domestic channels. Infiltration of foreign audio-visual products had an equally strong impact on national broadcasting policies. In December 1999 Rupert Murdoch's Balkan News Corporation was the successful bidder to become the first private TV broadcaster functioning on a national scale, but it was launched only in 2002 due to legislative complications. From the very beginning this medium has earned a substantial market share and quickly imposed itself as a leader in the confrontation with the enfeebled BNT. The struggle for ratings and the utter commercialization, irrespective of the form of ownership, have led in principle to unification of BNT and bTV in terms of programming: too much TV time for licensed quizzes and lucky-winner-games, endless soap operas, action series, and Americanized film productions. The second national terrestrial television, Nova Television, which was licensed in the middle of 2003, also failed to offer any novelty in terms of programming. Consequently, although not on a very large scale, but certain redistribution of the advertising market set in.

The privately owned TV stations undoubtedly challenged the monopoly of the state-owned television. A varied TV market was gradually established in the country. Recently bTV has taken the lead in the audience share from BNT in a country where 98 % of the households have a television set. According to 2013 statistics, the national audience of bTV is 92.5 %; the corresponding numbers for Nova TV are 84.9 % and 67.7 % for BNT—Channel 1.[10] The same order is valid for the advertising revenues of the three broadcasters. The fact that the commercial TV broadcasters enjoy 12 min of advertising per hour, while the public service medium has only 15 min for advertising daily to bring funding into its budget voted by the National Assembly, has also contributed to that. The fees expected to be collected for the public radio and TV never materialized.

Concentration Trend

The concentration trend was felt the quickest in the field of radio. The leading Irish commercial radio broadcaster Communicorp Group operates one of the largest independent radio groups in Central and Eastern Europe. Being the fastest growing radio network in Europe, it is connected with 42 radio stations across eight countries. In Bulgaria Communicorp Group owns seven radio chains: Radio NRJ, Radio Nova, BG Radio, Radio Veronica, Radio 1, Radio 1 Rock, Radio City. The ProSiebenSat.1 Group as one of the largest and most successful TV groups in Europe has acquired the SBS Broadcasting Group (which originally stood for Scandinavian Broadcasting System). It offers 26 TV channels, 24 subscription TV channels and 22 radiostations across 13 countries in Europe. In Bulgaria The ProSiebenSat.1 Group owned four radio chains, that subsequently were sold to BBS Broadcasting group: Radio Vitosha, Radio Magic FM, Radio Veselina, Radio and TV The Voice. As a wholly owned subsidiary of Emmis Communications, the US Emmis International owned 3 radio chains, acquired by the Balkan Broadcasting Group: Radio FM+, Radio Fresh, Radio Star.

The interest of some foreign groups also spread out to the ownership of some TV broadcasters. Thus, being the world's largest media conglomerate by market capitalization, News Corporation (often abbreviated to News Corp) included various television broadcasters in Eastern Europe, as well as the first commercial TV station in Bulgaria, broadcasting on a national channel—bTV. Currently bTV is the major channel of the bTV Media Group, owned by the Bermuda-based Central European Media Enterprises (CME), managed by Ronald Lauder and specializing in broadcast operations in Central and Eastern Europe. CME is part of the Time Warner Media Group. The company owns in Bulgaria seven TV channels: bTV, bTV Comedy, bTV Cinema, bTV Action, bTV Lady, RING.BG, Novella, and the HD Channel TV-Voyo, as well as six radio chains: Radio NJoy, Radio Melody, Radio Z Rock, Radio Jazz FM, Radio Alma Mater-Classic FM and bTV Radio. The largest free-TV and pay-TV operator in Scandinavia and the Baltics Modern Times Group MTG AB as an international entertainment broadcasting group with its core business in television owns in Bulgaria Nova Broadcasting Group, including five TV stations: NOVA TV (the second largest private terrestrial TV, purchased from the Greek Antenna), Kino Nova, Diema, Diema Family), Nova sport, as well as the online Nova Play.[11]

The inflow of foreign capital and serious international broadcasters reflected positively on the radio and TV market along lines of optimizing its production cycle. Along with that, there was a negative side to the process: the purchase of telecommunication licenses by powerful foreign players from the local owners has impoverished the broadcasting polyphony. Only 10 % of all licensed radio and TV programs in the country are specialized. The rest are polythematic and aimed at an age-segmented but relatively mass audience. The specific interests and music preferences of the small audiences, though, were doomed to economic failure.

Public Service Media

Article 6 of the Radio and TV Act outlines the characteristics of the public service broadcasters. They are supposed to:

1. provide for broadcasting political, economic, cultural, scientific, educational and other socially relevant information;
2. provide access to national and world cultural values and promote scientific and technological achievements through the spread of Bulgarian and foreign educational and cultural programs and shows for all ages;
3. provide through the program policy,protection of national interests, universal cultural values, national science, education and culture of all Bulgarian citizens regardless of their ethnicity;
4. encourage the creation of works of Bulgarian authors;
5. promote Bulgarian performing arts.

»The inflow of foreign capital and serious international broadcasters reflected positively on the radio and TV market along lines of optimizing its production cycle. Along with that, there was a negative side to the process: the purchase of telecommunication licenses by powerful foreign players from the local owners has impoverished the broadcasting polyphony.«

Further on, the Act elucidates the role of the Bulgarian National Radio (BNR) and the Bulgarian National Television (BNT) as national public radio or audiovisual media services providers through:

1. providing broadcasting services for all citizens of the Republic of Bulgaria;
2. promoting the development and popularization of Bulgarian culture and Bulgarian language and the culture and language of the citizens in accordance with their ethnicity;
3. providing access to national and European cultural heritage;
4. including programs that inform, educate and entertain;
5. applying new information technologies;
6. reflecting the various ideas and beliefs in society through pluralism of views in each of the news and current affairs programs on political and economic subjects;
7. promoting mutual understanding and tolerance in human relations;
8. providing citizens with the opportunity to get acquainted with the official position of the state on important issues of public life.

The public service broadcasters as well as the commercial ones, conducting their business, are guided by the principles, outlined in Art. 10. They are obliged to:

1. guarantee the right to freedom of expression;
2. guarantee the right to information;
3. preserve the confidentiality of sources of information;
4. protect of citizens' privacy;
5. non broadcast programs inciting intolerance among citizens;
6. non broadcast shows, contrary to good morals, especially if they contain pornography, glorify or con done brutality, violence or incitement to hatred based on race, sex, religion or nationality
7. ensure the right of reply in the programs;
8. ensure copyright and related rights in broadcasts and programs;
9. preserve of the purity of the Bulgarian language.[12]

In 2005, at the dawn of emancipation of the TV market in Bulgaria, when the European parliament had voted for Bulgaria's joining the EU on 1st January 2007, the country joined a large-scale research project on the theme »Television in Europe: Legislative Framework, Practices and Independence« carried out by the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP) of the Open

Society Institute. The recommendations concerning Bulgaria were mainly related to harmonization of the legal framework with the European Community law, ensuring the independence of the regulatory bodies, creating a public register of ownership of the Bulgarian media as a self-regulating mechanism, and developing such program schemes, both by public and by commercial operators, which would better meet the requirements of the public interest.[13]

In line with the insetting changes in the radio and TV environment, nine of the countries monitored in 2005, including Bulgaria, were entered in 2008 in the research project »Television in Europe: Follow-up Reports 2008«, which updated and upgraded the monitoring reports of 2005 under »Television in Europe: Legislative Framework, Practices and Independence«. That monitoring was conditioned by the intensifying trends towards violating of media pluralism via commercialization of the program content in the public media and concentration, often politically bounded, in the commercial sector.

The major results of the research into the radio and TV environment in Bulgaria have led to the following generalizations:

- the role of business interests was dominating over legislative decisions;
- in spite of the Government control so as to stabilize its positions on the TV market, the Bulgarian National Television (BNT) was failing to make the expected advancement in becoming a public operator;
- owing to disagreement between the two regulating bodies—of the program content (Council for Electronic Media) and of distribution (Communications Regulation Commission)— issuing of licenses for analogue broadcasting was being frustrated;

BÂLGARSKA NACIONALNA TELEVIIZIJA (BNT)
www.bnt.bg

Generalist
BNT 1, BNT 2, BNT WORLD

8,5 % Market share

BNT broadcasts a nation-wide 24-hour program—BNT 1; a program for the Bulgarians abroad—BNT Svyat; it has also a channel—BNT 2, unifying the four regional centres of Blagoevgrad, Varna, Plovdiv and Ruse; and a HDTV channel—BNT HD. The institution of Public Board has been suspended for five years. The regional program in Sofia is still inoperative. After switching off of the analogue television, BNT has not offered yet any new channels with more diversified content. Often, the commercial television stations produce more and better public broadcasts than BNT, irrespective of the extended time of its satellite channel program until 24:00 hrs. The Government subsidy allocated to the public media and voted by the Parliament creates conditions for political pressure on the public service broadcasters. Failure to introduce license fees could be interpreted both as lack of will and as certain hidden intentions and interests.[15]

According to the Radio and Television Act, the total time assigned for advertising in any separate program should not exceed:

- for BNT—15 min per 24 hours and 4 min per hour; BNT is entitled to use only one-third of the total volume of advertising time per 24 hours in the time period from 19.00 to 22.00 hrs;
- for BNR—6 min per hour;
- within the regional centres' programs of BNR and BNT, the total duration of advertising should not exceed 6 min per hour.[16]

In 2014, the Parliament assigned a Government subsidy of BGN 65,147,000 (33,306,960 Euro) to BNT (at least 10 % were earmarked for Bulgarian TV film creation); and BGN 42 112 000 (21,529,511 Euro) were assigned to BNR (at least 5 % were earmarked for creation of Bulgarian music and radio drama works). The Bulgarian Telegraph Agency (BTA) was subsidized with BGN 4,085,000 (2,088,590 Euro).

On the one hand, the Government subsidy creates tension on the stagnating market. There are more media in Bulgaria than the market could legally sustain. In order to survive, they take advantage of the legislative cracks and regulatory inaction. This binds them politically and makes them corporate-dependent, which has a negative impact on pluralism and is quite demotivating for creation of more numerous and diverse programs of public interest. On the other hand, the subsidy and the limited incomes from advertising are extremely insufficient for the public media to create high-quality products. Funding by Government subsidy or by public and EU

BNR
www.bnr.bg

HORIZONT CHANNEL

HRISTO BOTEV CHANNEL

BNR REGIONAL (8)

24,3 % Market share

- functioning of the Radio and TV Fund aimed at ensuring independent funding of the public operators via collection of license fees was constantly postponed;
- harmonization of media legislation with the newly adopted Directive for Audio-Visual Media Services by developing a new Radio and Television Act was not completed;
- the ownership of commercial media was not sufficiently transparent;
- although the self-regulating system via the two commissions for professional ethics in the printed and electronic media was assessed as positive, deprofessionalization and auto-censorship was found among the sector's workers.[14]

The two public service media, Bulgarian National Radio and Bulgarian National Television, did not develop in a synchronous manner. Their great crises in the period 1997–2001, caused not in the last place with the help of the regulating authority, were overcome, thanks to liberalization of the market. In terms of structure of programs, the reforms in BNR were more effective as compared to BNT. By the present moment, BNR develops two 24 hrs. programs covering the entire country: Horizont and Hristo Botev; Radio Bulgaria broadcasts in eleven languages; eight regional stations in Blagoevgrad, Burgas, Varna, Vidin, Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Sofia,Shumen, as well as Radio Binar Multimedia Platform are established. BNR is Bulgaria's largest producer of music, dramaturgy and children's broadcasts. The Bulgarian National Radio owns the richest audio archive in the country—the Golden Fund, and maintains six music ensembles: Symphony Orchestra, Mixed Choir, Big Band, Folk Music Orchestra, Children's Choir, and Radiodetsa (Radio Children) Vocal Group. The Management Board is assisted in its work by a Public Board.

funds would hardly bend the market, provided it follows some clear mechanisms of monitoring, control and accountability.

The public BNR and BNT could stand out as the most balanced and high-quality media reflecting heterogeneous views. Much more is desirable in terms of content though. The various ethnic groups are not represented sufficiently well in the media structures. News briefs have been programmed in the Turkish language (chiefly for political reasons, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms Party has prevalent membership of Turkish-speaking population). The programs for people living on unequal footing are also insufficient. Some media use hate language against the Roma. The public character of BNT yields to a commercialization trend: production of serial films with unsuitable content for children aired in prime time.

The program content regulator—Council for Electronic Media is the authority which nominates the Directors General and the Management Boards of the public service media, but considering the fact that CEM members are elected by the Parliament and appointed by the President, there still linger certain doubts that the election of management bodies for the BNT and BNR is politically tied up. Generally, it is difficult to observe the legal norm for radio and TV operators to be politically and economically independent, especially at regional level. There exists a marked trend of transforming political dependence into economic. The media agenda usually follows the important events of the day, which determines the preponderance of the ruling political power.

Concluding Words

After the analogue switch off of TV broadcasting in Bulgaria the question of sustaining the political and financial independence and efficiency of the Public Service Media is of major social importance. This includes the measures to be undertaken for improving the national media legislation and regulation, as well as their implementation. A very important issue is whether and how Public Service Media can preserve and develop further their identity in the new converged information and communication environment. Effective mechanisms should be applied for helping the Public Service Media resist the political and economic challenges and ensure sustainable independence. •

REFERENCES

1 National Statistical Institute (2013) Short-term Statistics on Employment and Labour Costs. http://www.nsi.bg/otrasalen.php?otr=51&a1=2005&a2=2006&a3=2010&a4=2011#cont

2 Eurostat (2013) Comparative price levels. http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tec00120

3 Constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria. (1991). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://www.vks.bg/english/vksen_p04_01.htm

4 Ethical Code of Bulgarian Media (2004). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://btv.bg/news/?magic=et_code_en

5 Annual World Press Freedom Index (2013). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://en.rsf.org/press-freedom-index-2013,1054.html#

6 National Statistical Institute Survey (2013). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from https://www.nsi.bg

7 Council for Electronic Media. Public Register (2014). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://www.cem.bg

8 Alpha Research. Radio Audiences (2013) Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://alpharesearch.bg/bg/marketingovi_izsledvania/danni_i_publikacii/Radio_auditoria.html

9 Ginev R. (2006). The Modern Panopticum. Varna: The Chernorizec Hrabar Varna Free University Publishing House

10 Alpha Research. TV Audiences (2013) Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://alpharesearch.bg/bg/marketingovi_izsledvania/danni_i_publikacii/televizionna_auditoria.html

11 ABBRO. Members (2014). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://www.abbro-bg.org/members.php

12 Radio and TV Act (1998). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://lex.bg/laws/ldoc/2134447616 1

13 Open Society Institute. Television across Europe: Regulation, Policy and Independence. Monitoring Report. Bulgaria. (2005) New York, USA: OSI / EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program.

14 Open Society Institute. Television Across Europe: Follow-Up Reports. (2008) New York, USA: OSI/EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program.

15 European Commission (2009) Independent Study on Indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States—towards a Risk-based Approach. Country Reports. Bulgaria.

16 Radio and TV Act (1998). Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://lex.bg/laws/ldoc/2134447616

CROATIA

The Challenge of Maintaining Community in the Face of the Market

Zrinjka Peruško
University of Zagreb

It is almost 25 years from the first democratic changes in Croatia. In this time, the Public Service Broadcaster was the most frequently debated among media policy topics in the Croatian parliament, and the most frequently changed law among the media laws (11 times to date). This constant tinkering with the legal framework of the Public Service Broadcaster is a symptom of dissatisfaction on the part of the political powers, but it has not necessarily improved the functioning and position of the Croatian Radio and Television. To the contrary, recent legislative changes have made the Public Service Broadcaster more vulnerable to economic pressures and outside influences. In the following text I focus on legislative developments starting in 2010, preceding and following Croatia's accession to EU, and their consequences for the position of Public Service Media in the digital media space.

After the 1990s marked by war and political pressures of Tuđman's regime, the significant brightening in the following decade of the 2000s marked a positive trend for the increase of independence of the Croatian radio and television from the state and political powers. While in the 1990s the idea of Public Service Media, aimed to provide a service to the citizens and not the state-political field, was slow to be accepted even for the democratic parties of the then opposition (Peruško Čulek, 1999), the decade of 2000 started a positive trend of growing impartiality of political reporting (Stantić, 2003; Peruško, 2008).

While the challenges of the pressures of the political field on the Public Service Media were lessening, those of the market forces were increasing. Croatia was increasingly becoming influenced by the neo-liberal economic trends, and television broadcasting saw the entrance of foreign companies in 2004; first RTL TV was granted the licence to broadcast on the national level, then the CME bought NOVA TV, the first commercial TV with a national coverage licence in Croatia. This immediately created pressure for the HRT, and while it provided the much expected pluralism of news reporting the audience attention started to be attracted by the new television offer. In terms of political pluralism, the commercial televisions provided the important challenge for the Public Service Broadcaster and the (politically) independent media space, which could be counted upon to provide the most important political news. Here their contribu-

HRVATSKA RADIOTELEVIZIJA (HRT)
www.hrt.hr

Generalist
HTV1, HTV2

Culture / Education
HTV3

29,3 % Market share

datory licence fee was introduced also for television; advertising contributed some 10 % of the funds in the first years, and later amounted to some 30 % of the total income of the HRT. Advertising was a regular source of income for television from the start—the very first original program broadcasts were commercial programs transmitted from the Zagreb Fair in September 1956 (Peruško & Čuvalo, 2013). In the 2010 change to the law, the commercial media lobby succeed in reducing advertising minutes in prime time from 9 to 4, thus effectively kicking HRT out of the prime time advertising market, and making it even more vulnerable to possible reductions in its licence fee (which were threatened by then financial minister of HDZ Ivan Šuker). The 2010–11 was also marked by civil society and journalistic associations pressure to the management and oversight bodies of HRT to resign because of incompetence and scandals.

The government changed after the 2011 parliamentary election, and welcome changes started immediately after the new law was passed in July of 2012, which allowed the quick appointment of a temporary general manager and the start of the competitive procedure for the appointment of the general manager for the next five-year period. Under the brief temporary management great many positive changes were seen at the HRT, including the start of the third cultural television channel and preparations started for the fourth news television channel. The new general manager, with largest independent authority to date, for the five-year mandate was appointed at the end of October of the same year, with a program focused on convergence and multimedia development of the Public Service Broadcaster.

tion to diversity in relation to socially important programming ends; commercial televisions in Croatia produce little or no programs which contribute to political discussion, understanding of the world around us, the main issues of society and economy which need political decisions, or programs of educational or cultural nature (Peruško, 2009; Peruško & Čuvalo, 2013).

With the digital switchover in 2010, the pressure of commercial interests (in the media and outside) of commercial televisions and other media on the economic position of the public service HRT increased. The previously stable financial position of HRT was derogated with the new law on the HRT (adopted in 2010) as for the first time in its history an outside body was given the authority to evaluate the performance of the Public Service Broadcaster in the previous year, and on this basis decide the amount of the licence fee for the next year. The Council for Electronic Media, which was originally created to manage the commercial radio and television licensing, compliance and co-regulatory processes, was thus also entrusted with the faith of the Public Service Broadcaster. The necessity to change the previous law was explained by the EU requirements regarding state aid, and no amount of professional and academic protests were enough to sway the determination of the law-makers and convince the policy-makers that the explanation was bogus and the route dangerous (Peruško, 2012). The process of changing of the law provided an opportunity for the commercial media lobby to limit the possibility of market funding for the HRT. In Croatia, television broadcasting was self-financed from the beginning—the radio licence fee was used for the introduction of television until 1961 when the man-

HRT
www.hrt.hr

HR-1

HR-2

HR-3

HRT REGIONAL (8)

18 % Market share

Although digitalization of news production was introduced already in 2005, in 2014 HRT is still struggling with the multimedia approach to news production across platforms (Perišin, 2013). Reviews of the first year of its implementation show a failure to enthuse the editors and journalists for the project, resulting in a failure of accomplishment of the converged content production and distribution (Perišin, 2013). Public service broadcaster would do well to understand the changing audience practices that in Croatia also include the increasing use of mobile screens, and to implement the multi-platform news and audiovisual content offer that is lacking at the moment.

Technology is, though, only one aspect of the digital media ecology. While it is necessary for the public service to always remember the need to maintain universal access to its content, the real business of Public Service Media is content production. For Croatia, like other small European countries with small languages, the role of Public Service Media in creative production of audiovisual content is paramount. HRT should increase its policy to fund and produce original high quality drama and other fiction for all audiences, and to involve also independent producers. A significant contribution is already made to the Croatian film production (a part of the HRT licence fee is reserved for this and distributed by the HAVC).

While catching up with its audiences in terms of technology and cross-platform content is a necessity for its continued relevance in an increasingly commercialized, entertainment saturated, spreadable media space, its most important public raison is, in addition to fostering local cultural creativity, the traditional role of the public forum for debating and confronting different political issues and opinions. This public communication is the glue for maintaining political community in the future in which the business side of the media is intent on providing individualized content cum advertising. Do we need political community at all in the times of the social media? Most emphatically yes. The expected social and political role of the Public Service Media is intact, even if it will be fulfilled in a changing multi-platform digital media environment. •

Zrinjka Peruško

Zrinjka Peruško is professor of media studies at the Department of Journalism, and founder and Chair of the Centre for Media and Communication Research of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb. She holds a Ph.D. and BA. in sociology, and a MA in communication from the University of Zagreb. Her peer reviewed articles and books (in Croatian, English, French, Slovak, Slovenian, and Spanish) are on the topics of media systems change, media cultures, democratization and media pluralism, with a focus of Central and Eastern Europe in comparative perspective.

REFERENCES

Perišin, Tena (2013) Convergence Journalism and the Public Interest: The Case of Croatian Public Radio Television (HRT). Croatian Political Science Review, Vol. 50, No. 5, 2013, pp. 155–172.

Peruško Čulek, Z. (1999). Demokracija i mediji (Democracy and the media). Zagreb: Barbat.

Peruško, Z. (2008). (Ne)pristranost u predizbornoj kampanji na hrvatskim televizijama: ravnoteža i raznolikost. Medijska istraživanja (Media Research), 14 (2), 5–34.

Peruško, Z. (2009). Public interest and television performance in Croatia. Medijska istraživanja (Media Research), 15(1), 5–31.

Peruško, Z., Čuvalo, A. (2013). La Transición en la televisión de Croacia. In M. Palacio (Ed.), Las imágenes del cambio democrático: Los medios audiovisuales y la Transición. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.

Peruško, Zrinjka. (2012). Medijski sustav i medijska politika u Hrvatskoj 2010–2011. prema UNESCO-ovim indikatorima medijskog razvoja. Monitoring medija (Media monitoring), 1 / 2012. www.cim.fpzg.unizg.hr

Stantić, Geza i drugi (2003) Politika u programu HTV-a. Zagreb: Hrvatski Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava

Zakon o Hrvatskoj radioteleviziji, Official Gazette 137 / 10 (6 December 2010)

Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama zakona o Hrvatskoj radioteleviziji, Official Gazette 76 / 12 (9 July 2012)

CYPRUS

The Present and Future of PSM under Austerity: The Case of CYBC

Lia-Paschalia Spyridou, University of Cyprus
Dimitra L. Milioni, Cyprus University of Technology

Historically, the media sector in Europe has been based on a duopoly allowing for mutual competition between the public and the private media. Lately, major politico-economic shifts supporting the market logic and its doctrines have signalled a serious retreat from active public sector to privatizations. In that context, Public Service Media (PSM) is undergoing detailed scrutiny and criticism. Unsurprisingly, in countries more severely hit by the current financial crisis, the debate over the role, remit and funding of PSM has intensified. At the same time, rapid technological changes have been driving the transition of the traditional Public Service Broadcasters (PSBs) into Public Service Media (PSM), making public service content available in multiple platforms (Iosifidis, 2011).

This transition generates added pressure to public media organizations already struggling with increased criticism and in some cases negative stereotypes related to inefficiency, aloofness, and pretention (Soroka et al., 2012). Of course, not all PSM perform the same way. Disparities in reach (share), funding and most notably

editorial independence tend to influence their role and remit. Accordingly, disparities are evident in the way PSM deal with emerging challenges: the dilemma between the obligation to safeguard citizenship and support market principles; the legitimacy and performance of PSM under public funding; the need to curtail expenditure while forced to engage in cross-platform delivery and create new products amid growing competition and enhanced media choice. In view of the radical changes that have occurred since the introduction of PSB, a revision of the entire system is necessary, and this revision must take place in terms of localized and specific analyses.

In Cyprus, for example, the main challenge for the Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (CYBC) is to reduce the influence of political parties on its management and editorial processes and to develop an »authentic« public service profile. In practice though, the level of funding tends to monopolise the public discussion. Of course, the amount of money allocated to PSM is important, especially in light of extensive austerity policies

implemented in Cyprus by the Troika. However, the issue of the funding scheme is even more important. Funding is not only about economic value, but also of socio-political value. The mode of funding impacts what a media company prioritizes. Direct subsidy facilitates political involvement, while advertising calls for special treatment of customers. Evidence so far demonstrates that a dual mode of funding—comprising of the license fee and participation in the advertising market—is the preferable funding scheme. Public resistance to the fee is solvable through the perception of PSM as a social good (Lowe & Berg, 2013). So, it all comes down to the issue of PSM value. Value stems from media pluralism achieved by a media industry marked by a variety of outlets with diverse ownership and viewpoints, independence and transparency (Iosifidis, 2010). Considering that commercial media are driven by profit-making imperatives and sometimes also political manipulation, the question of whether PSM should be around is inappropriate. Value also stems from the effective distribution of important, useful and trustworthy information. The media that prioritize what is truly significant, while being alert of the »desires« and »preferences« of society, and refer to different political opinions and representations of culture can serve democracy and reflect diversity within society (Elliot & Ozar, 2010).

The CYBC Case: The PBS under Attack (but not without reason)

CYBC first launched in 1953; today it consists of four radio stations and three TV stations (two terrestrial and RIK satellite). In terms of media systems and, in particular, public broadcasting, Cyprus conforms to the basic tenets of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) »polarised pluralism« media model. Within a media environment of intense political parallelism and unholy alliances between media owners and political parties, the public broadcaster is strongly dependent on the government, often acting as the government's mouthpiece. Journalists working for CYBC claim limited autonomy in terms of agenda-setting and news framing. To a certain extent, this is a result of CYBC funding model. In the past, CYBC was partly funded by a tax added to electricity bills, a practice which ended on 2000. Since then it is funded directly by the state budget. CYBC is entitled to participate in the ad market, but all revenue gained from advertising is deducted from the fixed amount defined by the Parliament every year. Today it is faced with strong and increasing pressures to cut back resources. This climaxed as an effect of the financial crisis. The government's obligation to cut back on expenditure has launched a public discussion about the social role and
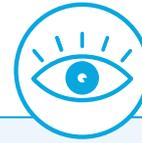
CYBC
www.cybc.com.cy

Generalist
PIK 1, PIK 2

17,4 % Market share

remit of CYBC. As a result of this, and coupled with the ERT story in Greece, CYBC journalists work in extreme uncertainty regarding their fate. In spring 2013, after the haircut of the bank deposits and Cyprus' official claim for economic aid, the newly elected government proposed that CYBC should be excluded from the advertising market and remain solely funded by the state budget. After intense objections from CYBC, the political opposition and other bodies, the government decided to postpone the voting for 2014. CYBC's budget is diminishing during the last three years (39 million in 2010, 37 in 2011, 30 in 2012 and 27 in 2013). For 2014 CYBC asked for 25 million, while the government has proposed 20 million. As this amount hardly covers the payroll costs, lay-offs and extra salary cuts will inevitably follow.

Apart from the issue of funding, a series of interviews with CYBC staff and audience members revealed several other dysfunctions related to an organization culture that accepts editorial control by the government and political parties, strengthening and perpetuating the nepotism already pervasive in the Cypriot society, instead of creating a public broadcaster that would be open to the needs and voices of social actors. As it stands, CYBC fails to honour any ideological linkage to the ideal of a deliberative public sphere and to promote active citizenship. Both CYBC journalists and citizens accuse CYBC for heavy parliamentary interventions and political manipulation expressed in multiple ways: biased news content, irrelevant entertainment content, employment choices not conforming to actual needs and qualifications, purely political managerial personnel choices. The example of sourcing in news making is especially telling: CYBC's main newscast is completely »taken over« by pseudo-events and statements issued by governmental bodies and political parties, making it a platform for a fruitless confrontation of party-political interests and leaving no room for genuine citizen voices

and social concerns. Not only is this ascertainment a main citizen complaint and source of audience discontent with CYBC; journalists also confirm that such practices are deeply embedded in the prevalent organizational culture and appear helpless in their attempts to overturn it.

Taking into account that CYBC has long been delegitimized in the public consciousness as a result of such governmental and political party actions, the statement of the newly appointed head of CYBC, Giorgos Tsalakos, that »CYBC will either reverse its course or will close« is rather controversial. As much as one hopes that this will be a sincere attempt to modernise the public broadcaster and disentangle it from its unduly dependence on political interests, and despite the assurance that CYBC will not have the fate of the Greek ERT, there is a veiled threat in such statements. After all, the similarities with the Greek case can hardly be ignored: in both cases we witness a devalued PBS which can easily be declared a »lost cause« and be subsequently shut down or severely curtailed.

Can New Technologies save PSM?

Traditionally, Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) has an ideological linkage to the ideal of a deliberative public sphere (Garnham, 1986) and has been expected to promote active citizenship. As Murdock writes, »the core rationale for public service broadcasting lies in its commitment to providing the cultural resources required for full citizenship« (2004: 2). In the monopoly era, the ideal was to inspire people to turn off the set and involve themselves actively in society. In contrast, newer forms of audience participation are media-centric (Enli, 2008): citizen participation in online media emerges as a great promise of the digital age, often framed as a tale of emancipation in a digitally enabled democracy.

CYBC
www.cybc.com.cy

TRITO PROGRAMMA

PROTO PROGRAMMA

21% Market share

A part of this narrative is »participatory« or »networked journalism«, understood as the initiatives undertaken by professional media to integrate user contributions in news making. Working within this framework and with the purpose of enhancing the Cypriot public broadcaster's participatory practices, an online platform under the name »We Report Cyprus« was recently developed, as part of a research project implemented by Cyprus University of Technology. Although this experiment is still ongoing as the platform currently runs in beta form, we can offer some preliminary thoughts regarding how new technologies and user cultures can be utilized to the benefit of the endangered public media sector and the barriers obstructing this process.

To begin with, a mostly positive disposition of CYBC staff towards the idea of participatory journalism should be noted. This is probably not irrelevant to the widespread public scepticism about the role PSM can (and should) play in the future voiced in the public discussion regarding CYBC's fate. Within this negative for CYBC conjuncture, initial objections coming from high rank executives regarding the potential loss of editorial control were bent; in fact, the project was strongly supported by medium level executives and journalists who perceived the platform as an innovative and dialogical service that would enhance the position of CYBC in society as well as be used to further justify CYBC's cost. These positive attitudes were moderated by some reservations: the issue of extra workload for journalists, the credibility of user-generated content and the newsworthiness of user-proposed topics were recurrent concerns that were put forth to doubt the significance of participatory journalism. Also, journalists' accounts were revealing of a tendency to set boundaries to the openness of participation for members of the audience. For example, journalists cited as the strong points of participatory journalism the fact that journalists »can listen to citizens' worries«, »get close to citizens«, »get ideas and original news footage«, even »correspondents for free«—that is, thinking mainly about how citizen participation can benefit professional journalism and not the other way around. In short, participatory journalism tends to be perceived as an addition to professional journalism, while the latter would stay intact, unchallenged in its basic premises.

Despite the positive attitudes towards the project, several problems soon came up that moderated the expectations of all parties involved. The first difficulty is a lack of strategic vision in regard to CYBC's online presence and the utilization of opportunities related to new media. Indicative of this is the fact that CYBC runs

a rudimentary website, which stopped functioning as a news portal in May 2013 and was limited to a website listing CYBC's radio and television programmes. Apparently, this stems from a lack of concern about the online presence of CYBC in its official policy; in fact, news flow on the website was sustained for a while by some journalists on a voluntary basis. This disregard for the value

> »The tighter the budget, the more vulnerable the public media to political intervention and manipulation.«

of new media for journalism was expanded to the new platform, as the task of working for the platform was initially not officially integrated into the regular work schedule of journalists. In general, the managerial team was reluctant to internally convey the platform as an integral part of CYBC's output.

A second difficulty is a tension between the open spirit of the participatory journalism platform and the firm organizational culture and structure of CYBC. Rigid structures and hierarchies, an intense inequality of employment rights for certain categories of CYBC journalistic staff and disregards for innovation through the use of new technologies were the main reasons for this tension. The discussions prompt by the launching of the platform and the interaction of journalists and citizens revealed a sense of powerlessness on the part of CYBC journalists to challenge established practices and notions of news doing in the public broadcaster, practices and notions based on political pressures and rigid ideas of news production. What is particularly interesting is the fact that journalists hoped that the involvement of citizens in news production could put pressure and channel attention and news coverage on stories and angles previously not covered by CYBC. At the same time, many journalists expressed quite pessimistic views, considering that unless this initiative was strongly backed by the users (via increased participation) and academics (via persistence and help) the project would inevitably »die«.

Epilogue

The well-known mantra of PSM to inform, educate and entertain has long sustained PSM as the necessary alternative to commercial media pursuing their own agenda. Since the ideological rationale for PSM—to safeguard the public interest—cannot be directly disputed, a

heated debate about PSM funding schemas has emerged. The argument goes like this: as most economies face serious economic issues, and many governments impose strict and extensive austerity measures, the PSM project is not sustainable, at least in its current form. However, the debate about funding public broadcasting is not only about funding; it is about wider issues only partly rooted in the current economic malaise. The shrinking of PSM is associated with two things: First, it is associated with growing complexity in media competition, as a consequence of greater instability and higher uncertainty (Lowe & Berg, 2013). A smaller public media sector permits for more space for commercial players. Besides, lobbying from interest groups towards shrinking PSM is not new (Van den Bulck & Donders, 2013). Second, it is associated with greater political control. The tighter the budget, the more vulnerable the public media to political intervention and manipulation. The recent sudden closure of the Greek Public Broadcaster (ERT) and the re-opening of it as NERIT is a vivid example of that. NERIT is staffed with fewer and more »loyal« media workers. The intention of the Cypriot government to exclude the public broadcaster from the advertising market will automatically limit CYBC's autonomy and therefore value.

It seems that in countries facing both economic and political crises, the all-time classic questions are indeed appropriate and useful in terms of »renovating« PSM to regain their civic role.

- How should PSM be organized and managed so as to meet »civil needs«, »desires« and »preferences«?
- What is the proper size of PSM (in terms of personnel and outlets)?
- How can PSM of small countries get restructured around new divisions and skills (convergence, cross-platform and cross media development)?
- Should (and to what extend and under which terms) PSM outsource?
- Who should be appointed for specific positions? (professional or other criteria?)
- How will the Board be constituted?
- How should PSM be funded?

New digital technologies are certainly no panacea, but in countries where public media lack independency and autonomy and are haunted by a broader political culture conditioned by nepotism, the use of new media can and should be used as a means so that PSM reclaim their true role and remit as a public social institution.

The preliminary findings from the CYBC experiment show that this potential exists but is toned down by some deep structural problems of the public broadcaster. Particularly striking is a sense of helplessness on the part of the professionals, which, coupled with reluctance on the part of the upper level to allow and encourage innovation, contribute to a vicious circle. CYBC is not performing well at a time most needed (the country is faced with an economic crisis, while the Cyprus dispute is on the spotlight). Evidently, there is an urgent need to empower CYBC to do its job independently and reconnect with society. CYBC needs to regain its lost value and because resources are scarce and developments are rapid, unless it moves forward fast its presence will ultimately be devalued, surrendering information, opinion formation and democratic public deliberation to commercial media. •

REFERENCES

Van den Bulck, H. & Donders, K. (2013). Of discourses, Stakeholders and Advocacy Coalitions in Media Policy: Tracing Negotiations towards the New Management Contract of Flemish Public Broadcaster VRT, European Journal of Communication

Elliott, D, & Ozar, D. (2010). An Explanation and a Method for the Ethics of Journalism, In Mayers, C. Media Ethics—A Philosophical Approach, pp. 9–24

Enli, G.S. (2008). Redefining Public Service Broadcasting—Multi-Platform Participation, Convergence, 14(1):105–120

Garnham, N. (1986). Media and the public sphere, In: Golding, P., Murdock, G. & Schlesinger, P. (eds.) Communicating Politics, Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 37–53

Hallin, D. & Mancini, P. (2004). Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics, Cambridge University Press

Iosifidis, P. (2010). Pluralism and Public Service Broadcasting in Europe, Paper presented at the RIPE@2010 Conference, http://ripeat.org/wp-content/uploads/tdomf/1384/Iosifidis.pdf

Iosifidis, P. (2011). Global Media and Communication Policy, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Lowe, G. & Berg, C. (2013). The Funding of Public Service Media: A Matter of Value and Values, International Journal on Media Management, 15(2):77–97

Murdock, G. (2004). Building the Digital Commons: Public Broadcasting in the Age of the Internet, The 2004 Spry Memorial Lecture, Vancouver, 18 November 2004 / Montreal, 22 November 2004, https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/type/www/116/Theory_OtherTexts/Theory/Murdock_BuildingDigitalCommons.pdf

Soroka, S., Andrews, B., Toril, A., Shanto, I., Curran, J., Coen, S., Hayashi, K. & Jones, P. (2012). Auntie knows best? Public Broadcasters and Current Affairs Knowledge, British Journal of Political Science, 43 (4):719–739

Lia-Paschalia Spyridou

is a visiting lecturer at the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Cyprus. She holds an MA in Communication from the University of Westminster and a Ph.D. in New Media and Journalism from the Aristotle University. For almost a decade she worked as a journalist in television and magazines. Her research work has been published in academic journals such as the International Communication Gazette, Journalism Practice and Journalism: Theory, Criticism and Practice. Her research interests lie in the fields of media and democracy, newswork, social media and activism, e-campaigning.

Dimitra L. Milioni

is an assistant professor in Media Studies at the Department of Communication and Internet Studies, Cyprus University of Technology. She holds a Ph.D. in Internet and Democracy from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She has published in academic journals such as Media, Culture & Society and Convergence. Her current research focuses on the impact of new media on democracy and the public sphere. Other research interests include alternative and participatory media, audience participation, e-deliberation, migration and the media, citizenship and new media.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Vielversprechende Aussichten oder große Illusionen?

Jan Jirák, Barbara Köpplová
Karlsuniversität Prag

Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien gehören in einzelnen europäischen Ländern zu deren kultureller, politischer und gesellschaftlicher Ausstattung und ihre Stellung ist Ergebnis einzigartiger gesellschaftlicher Prozesse, die sich in der gegebenen Gesellschaft bzw. im gegebenen Staat abspielten und abspielen.

Dabei haben Diskussionen über die Stellung und die Zukunft der Medien den Hang, sich auf allgemein modellhafter Ebene zu bewegen, universell gültige Lösungen zu suchen und über spezifische Bedingungen in einzelnen Ländern hinwegzusehen (der vermeintliche Universalismus des Internets und der Internet-Medien unterstützt diese generalisierende Tendenz nur). Auf Fachdiskussionsebene (z. B. auf dem Feld medialer Studien) drückt sich diese Spannung als Nichtübereinstimmung (oder letztlich sogar als Verfehlen) von idiografischem und nomothetischem Ansatz aus (typisch z. B. für das Verhältnis von Geschichte und Sozialwissenschaften, siehe Wallerstein et al 1996). In unserem Beitrag gehen wir von der Überzeugung aus, dass Rolle, Stellung und Zukunft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien keine universell gültigen und frei übertragbaren Lösungen haben, sondern fest durch die Entstehungsbedingungen und Entwicklung dieser Medien sowie den Kontext des gegenseitigen Verhältnisses zwischen ihnen und der Gesellschaft, der sie dienen bzw. dienen sollen,

eingegrenzt sind. Wir werden deshalb die Stellung der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien in der Tschechischen Republik nicht als Beispiel eines allgemeinen Trends oder Prozesses, sondern als einzigartigen gesellschaftlichen Prozess behandeln, der sich sicher als eine Art Inspiration oder Stimulus verallgemeinern lässt, aber nicht auf die Ebene eines anwendbaren Modells gehoben werden kann.

In der Tschechischen Republik (bzw. in der ehemaligen Tschechoslowakei) wurde durch politische Entscheidung Anfang der 90er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts ein sog. duales Sendesystem für Medien geschaffen und durch die entsprechende Gesetzgebung ermöglicht. Es wurde offenbar durch das seinerzeit in Deutschland und Großbritannien existierende Modell inspiriert. Wesen des dualen Systems ist die parallele Existenz »gesetzlicher« Sendeanstalten (also sog. öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien) und aus Lizenzvergabeverfahren hervorgegangener Sendeanstalten, also privaten, i. d. R. kommerziell ausgerichteten Subjekten. Unter den Bedingungen eines derart eingestellten dualen Systems operieren tschechische Sendeanstalten bis heute: Einerseits existieren Český rozhlas (Tschechischer Rundfunk) und Česká televize (Tschechisches Fernsehen) als Dienstleister für öffentlich-rechtliche Sendungen, andererseits gibt es private, hauptsächlich gewinnorien-

tierte Rundfunk- und Fernsehsender. Gegenwärtig sind Impuls und Frekvence 1 die größten und wirtschaftlich stärksten Privatsender im Rundfunkbereich und TV Nova (Gruppe CME) und Prima TV im Fernsehbereich.

Auch wenn die Existenz öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien und des sog. dualen Modells nachweislich aus dem Westen, vor allem aus Deutschland und Großbritannien, übernommen worden ist, basiert die Stellung der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien in der tschechischen Gesellschaft auf den spezifischen historischen Bedingungen, unter denen diese Medien zu einem Bestandteil des tschechischen Mediensystems wurden und unter denen sie in den öffentlichen Raum, in politische Entscheidungen und den Alltag Tschechiens eintraten. Bis Ende des Jahres 1989 wurden die Sendeanstalten in der ehemaligen Tschechoslowakei – das damalige Tschechoslowakische Fernsehen und der Tschechoslowakische Rundfunk – vom Staat (bzw. der Kommunistischen Partei der Tschechoslowakei als hegemonische politische Staatsmacht) gesteuert und kontrolliert. Die politischen Veränderungen des Jahres 1989 und des Folgejahres brachten einerseits den staatlichen und parteilichen Kontrollverlust über Print- und Sendemedien und andererseits die Entscheidung, auf den bestehenden Sendefrequenzen quasi gleichzeitig öffentlich-rechtliche und private Medien einzurichten. Die tschechische (tschechoslowakische) Öffentlichkeit wurde so vor eine schnelle und grundlegende strukturelle Änderung gestellt. Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien entstanden durch Entstaatlichung existierender Sendemedien in den Jahren 1990 – 1991, Privatsender begannen, sporadisch im Äther aufzutauchen, noch bevor entsprechende Gesetze verabschiedet worden waren, die ihre Existenz ermöglichten (bereits im Jahre 1990 begannen die ersten privaten Radiosender mit der Ausstrahlung), ihr Massenstart erfolgte erst nach Verabschiedung entsprechender Gesetze, also in den Jahren 1993 und 1994 (oben genannte private, kommerzielle Fernsehsender). Das bedeutet, dass zwischen der Schaffung öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien im Fernsehbereich und dem Aufkommen starker Privatsender kaum drei Jahre vergingen, in denen Česká (Československá) televize (das Tschechische bzw. Tschechoslowakische Fernsehen) faktisch eine Monopolstellung hatte.

Die beinahe gleichzeitige Entstehung öffentlich-rechtlicher Dienste und privater Sender beeinflusste wesentlich die Art und Weise, auf welche die tschechische Öffentlichkeit diese Medien annahm und auf welche die Seher/innen, Hörer/innen sie in ihren Alltag eingliederten. Česká (Československá) televize (das Tschechische Fernsehen) entzog sich bereits Ende November 1989 dem Rahmen staatlicher Kontrolle und war bis zum Ausstrahlungsbeginn des Privatsenders TV Nova im Februar 1994 der einzige, flächenübergreifende, Fernsehsender in tschechischer Sprache. Sein Programmangebot wurde angenommen, die mehr als dreijährige Monopolstellung zwang ihn jedoch nicht zu wesentlichen Änderungen von Stil, Ästhetik oder Selbstdarstellung, nichts bedrohte seine Stellung oder seine Existenz, sodass ihn ein großer Teil der tschechischen Bevölkerung mit dem ursprünglichen, nicht mehr existierenden »Staatsfernsehen« gleichsetzte, trug er doch den Status eines öffentlich-rechtlichen Senders. Mit dem Markteintritt eines starken Privatsenders wurde schnell klar, wie notwendig es war, den »öffentlich-rechtlichen Charakter« des Česká televize (Tschechischen Fernsehens) der Öffentlichkeit zu erklären und seine Bedeutung zu verteidigen. Private Sendesubjekte gründeten die Schaffung ihres Images auf eine neoliberale, die Existenz von Privatmedien als Ausdruck »wirklicher« Demokratie westlichen Stils interpretierende, Ideologie (übernommen

---

Barbara Köpplová

Studium der Literturgeschichte an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Karlsuniversität Prag. Nach dem Studium arbeitete sie im Museum des tschechischen Schrifttums, wo sie sich vor allem der deutschen Literatur auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Tschechischen Republik widmete. Mehr als vier Jahzehnte arbeitet sie auf dem Fachgebiet Mediengeschichte, Medienwissenschaften der Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaften der Karlsuniversität in Prag. Ihr Fachgebiet ist die Geschichte der tschechischen Presse im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert, die deutsche Presse auf dem Gebiet der Tschechoslowakei in den Jahren 1918 – 1945.

Jan Jirák

Studium der Bohemistik und Anglistik an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Karlsuniversität in Prag. Nach dem Studium war er an der Journalistischen Fakultät und ab 1990 an der Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaften der Karlsuniversität tätig. Professor für Medienwissenschaft am Lehrstuhl für Medienwissenschaft der Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaften der Karlsuniversität Prag. Zurzeit ist er auch Inhaber des Lehrstuhls für Medienwissenschaft an der Metropol-Universität Prag. Prof. Jan Jirák befasst sich vor allem mit der Rolle der Medien in der Gesellschaft, widmet sich auch dem Fachgebiet Medienpädagogik und den Sozialtheorien der Medien.
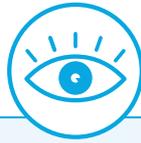
ČESKÁ TELEVIZE (CT)
www.ceskatelevize.cz

Vollprogramm
ČT1, ČT2

Neuigkeiten / Business
ČT24

Sport
ČT4

29,4 % Marktanteil

aus älteren, von der damaligen rechten Regierung und dem rechten Parlament unterstützten Debatten Margaret Thatchers über die Deregulierung von Sendemedien beispielsweise in Großbritannien). Aus dieser Position heraus – und in einer Situation, in der sich öffentlich-rechtliche Medien unzureichend mobilisierten – war es einfach, das öffentliche Bewusstsein für die Verbindung von öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien und Staat für deren Kontinuität mit dem vergangenen Regime, für deren Perspektivlosigkeit, Verschwendung und künstlerische Impotenz zu stärken. Im Rundfunkbereich spielte sich ein ähnlicher, wenn auch nicht allzu klar definierter Prozess ab (der in der Tschechoslowakei im Jahre 1923 aufgenommene Rundfunk hatte zudem eine etwas andere, durch die längere Geschichte und eine anders geformte Tradition gegebene Stellung).

Diskussionen um die Mission, den Sinn und die Zukunft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien hatten daher von Anfang an seitens der Privatsender und eines Teils der politischen Elite einen aggressiven, fast zerstörerischen Charakter und seitens der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien selbst einen stark defensiven und reaktiven Charakter, offenbar hervorgerufen durch eine tatsächliche oder vermutete Bedrohung seitens sich räuberisch durchsetzender Privatmedien, feindlich gesinnter Gesetzgeber (ein Teil der politischen Elite stellte sich aus ideologischen oder pragmatischen Gründen auf die Seite der Privatsender), Zuschauer und Zuhörer (TV Nova erzielte anfangs sowohl im Share als auch im Rating einen rekordreifen Marktanteil, und dies zu beliebigen Sendezeiten). Das öffentliche Ausmaß dieser Diskussionen war von verschwindender Erleuchtung und einer sich daraus ergebenden armseligen Vorstellung über die

Rolle öffentlicher Dienste im Allgemeinen und die Stellung öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien im Besonderen gekennzeichnet. Die öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien selbst hatten auch nach Antritt der Privatsender kein großes Interesse an der Förderung solcher Erleuchtung, weil sie dadurch nach eigener Überzeugung – und angesichts des Charakters ähnlicher Diskussionen in einer Reihe anderer europäischer Länder – nur unnötig den Argumenten der Gegenseite in die Hand spielen würden.

So gelangte, wenn auch nur sehr zögerlich, zumindest ein Echo der Diskussionen über die Stellung und Zukunft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien in den tschechischen Raum, zum Beispiel über ihre »Dreifachkrise«, also die Identitäts-, Organisations- und Finanzierungskrise vom Ende der neunziger Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts (siehe Raboy 2000), ganz zu schweigen von jüngeren Debatten über das mögliche künftige Aussehen öffentlicher Dienstleistungen, wie z. B. die Notwendigkeit der Abtrennung des Wesens der »öffentlichen Dienstleistung« von bestehenden, »öffentlich-rechtliche Medien« genannten Organisationseinheiten oder die Notwendigkeit, technologische Änderungen zu akzeptieren, das Konzept des »öffentlich-rechtlichen Sendens« (Public Service Broadcasting) aufzugeben und zu beginnen, beispielsweise über eine »öffentlich-rechtliche Kommunikation« nachzudenken (Public Service Communication, bzgl. einer Zusammenfassung dieser Diskussionen siehe Donders; Pauwells; Loisen 2012). Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien ergreifen zwar selbst organisatorische und inhaltliche Maßnahmen bezüglich der mit Digitalisierung und Internetisierung verbundenen technologischen Änderungen, einen öffentlichen Diskurs bezüglich der Folgen dieser Änderungen regen sie allerdings nicht an und unterstützen ihn auch nicht.

Trotz unklarer Ausgangsposition, offensichtlicher Nähe zu den ehemaligen Staatsmedien, Unsicherheit bezüglich ihrer Mission und trotz der Blendung durch kommerzielle Medien, die sich als Ausdruck einer »tatsächlichen« Demokratisierung als »echte« westliche Kultur präsentierten, wurden die öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien allmählich zu einem Teil des öffentlichen Raums. Zumindest ein Teil der Öffentlichkeit war in der Lage, sich mit ihnen als Wert besonderer Art, als potenzielle Quelle für relevante Nachrichten, als Kultur schaffender Faktor und als Dienst zu identifizieren, der Individuen und der Gesellschaft zugutekommen kann. Am anschaulichsten belegten dies die öffentlichen Demonstrationen zur Jahreswende 2000 – 2001, hervorgerufen durch den Versuch der in der Abgeordnetenkammer des Parlaments der Tschechischen Republik vertretenen

ČESKÝ ROZHLAS (CR)
www.rozhlas.cz

CRO RADIOZURNAL

CRO PRAHA / DVOJKA

HCRO VLTAVA

CRO PLUS

CRO REGIONAL (11)

CRO WAVE

CRO RADIO CESKO

CRO LEONARDO

CRO D-DUR

21,3 % Marktanteil

politischen Parteien, eine größere Kontrolle über Česká televíze (das Tschechische Fernsehen) zu erlangen. Die Proteste waren zu einem großen Teil vor allem Ausdruck der Unzufriedenheit mit der praktischen Parteipolitik des Staates, thematisierten aber auch die bedeutende gesellschaftliche Rolle der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien. Der Widerstand gegen den Versuch, sich das Tschechische Fernsehen zu unterwerfen, lief zwar teilweise ins Leere (legislative Änderungen unterstellten die öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien noch mehr der Macht der politischen Eliten), die dadurch hervorgerufene emotionale Spannung half in den Augen der Öffentlichkeit jedoch der bedeutenden Stellung der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien (bzgl. dieser sog. Weihnachtskrise siehe auch Jirák; Köpplová 2001). Zur Stärkung der Stellung der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien trug letztlich auch die mit den kommerziellen Sendern gesammelte Erfahrung bei, deren Programme bei Zuschauern und Hörern zwar wesentlich beliebter sind, deren soziales Prestige jedoch allmählich schwächer wird. Öffentlich-rechtlicher Rundfunk und Fernsehen streben im tschechischen Umfeld (in dem es nach 1989 nicht gelang, eine seriöse Tageszeitung zu gründen und in Gang zu halten) danach, die Stellung seriöser Medien einzunehmen, die zuverlässige und relevante Informationen, kulturell wertvolle Inhalte und qualitativ annehmbare, attraktive Unterhaltung anbieten. Inwieweit es gelingt, diese mit öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien verbundene Erwartung zu erfüllen, ist fraglich.

Wie jedoch die Zukunft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien aussieht, die durch Entstaatlichung und ohne den Willen der Öffentlichkeit entstanden, ist nicht einfach vorherzusagen. Der kulturelle und kommunikative Raum für die Existenz dieser Medien ist offen, er wird allerdings sehr stark mit eben diesen bereits existierenden Organisationen, also mit Česká televíze (dem Tschechischen Fernsehen) und Český rozhlas (dem Tschechischen Rundfunk), assoziiert. Beide Organisationen bemühen sich, in den technologischen Raum des Internets vorzudringen, halten aber sehr an der Identität eines »Produzenten und Senders« von Programmen fest, also traditionellen Produkten und traditionellen Vertriebsmöglichkeiten. Gleichzeitig folgen sie dem Trend einer allmählichen Publikumsfragmentierung (bei Česká televize zeigt sich dies beispielsweise in der Öffnung neuer Programmkanäle). Diese Herangehensweise an den Vertrieb von Inhalten eröffnet den öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien die Möglichkeit, zu einem deutlicheren kulturellen und sozialen Integrationsfaktor der Gesellschaft zu werden und somit als Zivilgesellschaft statt als Konsumgesellschaft wahrgenommen zu werden. Die Medien selbst tragen allerdings mit ihrer Ausrichtung auf eine Publikumsfragmentierung nicht zu dieser Aussicht bei. Die zur faktischen Demontage der Gesellschaft und zur Negation der Bedeutung der öffentlichen Sphäre führende Publikumsfragmentierung ist ihrem Wesen nach gegen den eigentlichen Existenzgrund der öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien gerichtet, weshalb einerseits offensichtlich ist, dass es für die Gesellschaft lebenswichtig ist, dass in ihr eine gesamtgesellschaftliche Kommunikationsform wie die öffentliche Dienstleistung existiert (dies ist, wie wir andeuteten, einer von wenigen, die Gesellschaft integrierenden Faktoren), es andererseits jedoch erkennbar ist, dass existierende, diese öffentlichen Dienste leistende Organisationen sich ihrer gesellschaftlichen Aufgabe kaum bewusst sind. •

LITERATUR

Donders, Karen; Pauwells, Caroline; Loisen, Jan: Introduction: All or nothing? From public service broadcasting to public service media, to public service »anything«? International Journal of Media & Politics. Vol. 8 / No.1, 2012, S.3–12

Jirák, Jan; Köpplová, Barbara: Der Prager TV-Streik und die Auseinandersetzung um das öffentlich-rechtliche Fernsehen in der Tschechischen Republik. In: Tele-visionen – Historiografien des Fernsehens. Wien: Turia + Kant 2001. S. 136–143

Raboy, M. (ed.): Public Broadcasting for the 21st Century. Luton: University of Luton Press (Academic Research Monograph 17) / John Libbey Media, 1999

Wallerstein et al.: Open the Social Sciences. Report of the Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of the Social Sciences. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1996

DENMARK

Three Challenges and a Fine Kept Balance

Anker Brink Lund, Christian S. Nissen
Copenhagen Business School

Public Service Media (PSM) have always been challenged by different stakeholders. The very »publicness« attributed to such services stresses the delivery of relevant and high quality merit goods, a balancing act depicted vividly by the first Director-General of the BBC, John Reith, way back in 1924: »He who prides himself on giving what he thinks the public wants is often creating a fictitious demand for lower standards which he himself will then satisfy.«

Today—ninety years later—PSM no longer manage a monopoly of mass mediated flow (in the narrow sense of broadcasting) but run a variety of multi mediated services on competitive platforms. This development has not made sir Johns warning less arresting: All media companies—including Public Service Media—are searching for the kind of (new) services able to meet the demand of the new online market. The balance between new qualitative features and broad reach must be struck every day around the clock. Aside from this sine qua non we see three major challenges facing contemporary PSM related to production, distribution and consumption:[1]

1. New production requirements when content moves from linear flow to on demand services.
2. Heated conflict with the private media industry over PSM catering to the Internet.
3. Adjustment of the definition of »publicness« when the former mass audiences develop into the individual consumers of tomorrow.

The Production Challenge

In electronic media the relationship between the development of technology and content has often put the »cart before the horse«. In the first years of television the programming closely resembled filmed radio. This difficulty of adapting to new media forms and narratives has also been a serious barrier for old broadcasters operating in the new online environment. Much of the content and services provided on the Internet have been old radio and television formats developed to channel distributed flow-media. Genuine new, interactive services have often been developed by a new generation of people freed from the burdens of experience from the old analogue media world.

DANMARKS RADIO (DR)
www.dr.dk

Generalist
DR 1, DR 2, DR HD

News / Business
DR UPDATE

Children
DR RAMASJANG

29,3 % Market share

Only gradually and involving a lot of trial and error experimentation have the public media companies been freed from the limitations of the traditional linear flow broadcast system making it possible to exploit the new advantages of the enlarged transmission capacity and non-linearity. New niche channels and the gradually expanding capacity of the IP online distribution have provided PSM institutions with new opportunities to meet the demand from small audience groups and individuals who could not be catered for by the mass oriented broadcast main channels.

Having played the role of mass media since they were founded, Public Service Media now find it difficult to adapt to their new role as »narrow-casters« facilitating interactive discussions. But that is precisely what will be expected of them by a new generation growing up with YouTube, Twitter and Facebook. In spite of these difficulties the PSM companies have entered this brave new world. All too well, if we listen to their commercial competitors trying to deny entry to PSM and arguing that this new territory belongs to them.

The Distribution Challenge

In the gradually increasing conflict over the terms and conditions under which public media are operating in the dual media system in Europe, we now see a new battleground related to the PSM presence on the Internet. The printed press in particular is experiencing drastic drops in circulation and is losing advertising revenues to huge international portals (such as Google and Facebook). Not surprisingly they follow in the footprints of other media businesses (music, book publishers, the film industry etc.) and see the Internet as the only realistic alternative distribution system and revenue provider.

In cyberspace, however, publishers are met by Internet users accustomed to free of charge services, including the very same services that media companies now plan to base their future on. Cautiously experimenting with a variety of pay models for access to their news and other services, newspaper publishers and other traditional off-line media regard the free of charge PSM Internet services as unfair competition causing market distortion. This applies in particular to content areas such as online news which are offered parallel to their own traditional print products.

Consequently newspaper associations and other market dependent media companies have—both nationally and in the EU—embarked upon an intensive lobbying aiming at legislative intervention as well as a more determined

application of the Public Value Test and Market Impact Assessment to get the PSM institutions to reduce their online presence. Not without effect, as they have led to heated debates in many European countries. The positions of the two parties to this conflict are easily understood. It is though difficult to find solutions that are acceptable to both. Free of charge news provided on highly ranked portals by PSM companies with strong news services is regarded as market-distorting competition in relation to commercial operators trying to get a foothold in a new—although yet undeveloped—market for user paid news on the Internet.

Public Media on the other hand have always been a market distorting institution distributing free of charge radio and television, including news, in direct competition with newspapers. Of this very reason some of them were initially prohibited from broadcasting their own news and based their radio news programs on news feeds from news agencies owned by the newspapers. Such awkward arrangements came to an end as there was a general consensus—if not by commercial

DR
www.dr.dk

P1

P2 KLASSISK

P3

DR REGIONAL (11)

P5

P6 BEAT

DR P7 MIX

DR P8 JAZZ

DR MAMA

DR RAMASJANG RADIO

DR NYHEDER

75,9 % Market share

media then amongst most politicians—that the whole raison d'être of public media was to provide a diversity, which could not be secured by commercial media alone.

The Consumption Challenge

The challenges to Public Media also relates to significant societal changes occurring in the PSM environment. We are not only witnessing a gradual shift from channels to content platforms, from collective, mass-oriented linear broadcast distribution towards personalised services provided in non-linear, interactive Internet environments.

This development in the media systems run parallel to a migration into a post-industrial society where mass production and the economies of scale are giving way to small-scale, customized production. In this new market value propositions relate increasingly to immaterial features such as uniqueness and brand-identity, design and built-in »intelligence«. Traits that are more linked to individual preferences than to collectively-oriented mass demand. This goes hand in hand with a growing individualism and a gradual shift in the cultural-political attitudes where former »citizens in a society« develop into becoming »individual consumers in a market«, also in their relation to politics and social institutions. The consequences of the shift to digital technology as described here with a very broad brush are much more than just an isolated technological phenomenon requiring marginal adjustments in PSM obligations, remit and services. Although cultural habits do not change overnight we are dealing with a profound evolution toward »Modernity and Self Identity«, as the British scholar Anthony Giddens puts it, which will also influence the media systems. It will cause a gradual fragmentation of the PSM mass audience, and also raise the question of what kind of future »publicness« PSM should serve and how it should be done. Is it conceivable that mass-oriented, collectively-financed broadcasters develop into institutions serving the individual without losing its societal relevance? Or is it more likely that Public Service so intimately linked to the collective mass society of the industrial era that it will lose its relevance and public as well as political support within a generation or two?

A Fine Kept Balance

The initiative to start a serious debate on these challenges lies with the PSM community. It is however quite obvious that solutions must be found within a much broader circle of stakeholders. This battle for legitimacy can be seen as just a new round of the ever-evolving battle on the role of PSM and »publicness« in society that has

Anker Brink Lund

is research coordinator and professor of media management at CBS Center for Civil Society Studies, Copenhagen Business School. He has a master degree in political science and a doctorate in communication studies. He has written a variety of books and peer reviewed articles on the premises and promises of Public Service Media, including »A Market Failure Perspective on Value Creation in PSM«, co-authored with Christian Edevold Berg and Gregory Ferrell Lowe, published in 2014 by RIPE / Nordicom.

Christian S. Nissen

With an academic background in International Politics and different managerial positions he served as Director General of DR, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (1994 – 2004). He is currently adjunct professor at the Copenhagen Business School and a member of the Editorial Commission for the Open Society / Sorros Foundation project: Mapping Digital Media. Has authored and edited articles and books about international politics, public administration and media.

followed PSM since it were established in the 1920s. The changes described in this chapter, however, adds on a number of new issues so fundamental that raises the existential question, why and how can PSM have relevance in tomorrow's society?

It is crucial for PSM to be able to answer this question in a convincing fashion. In the long run, the relevance of PSM institutions depends on adherence of the public, not strictly measured as maximisation of consumption, but also demonstrated in production and distribution of merit goods warranting non-commercial funding. In so doing, the necessary drive for reach must be carefully balanced with the maintenance of high standards and new features of content. This fine balance between quantity and quality involves relevant documentation of public value. Not only in the form of eyeball counts and bureaucratic test scores, but more importantly in ongoing dialogue with significant stakeholders. •

REFERENCES

1 We have addressed these challenges in greater detail (with references): Lund & Lowe: »Current Challenges to Public Broadcasting in the Nordic Countries«. In: Carlsson (ed.): Public Service Media from a Nordic Horizon.

Nordicom, 2013; Nissen: »Digitalisation and Public Service Media—what Service for which Public?«. In: Karen Arriaza Ibarra (ed.): Public Service Media in Europe: A Comparative Approach. Routledge, 2014.

ESTONIA

Public Media is the Pillar of Europeanism that Unifies all States and Nations

Maarja Lõhmus
University of Tartu

Due to its geopolitical position Estonia is situated on several borders—here, behind one of the biggest lakes of Europe is something like a line between east and west, here is the division line between more arctic Nordic countries and non-Nordic countries. Estonia is surrounded by a lot of free water—it is a peninsula like knob.

Such a position has determined the everyday activities of the population, their existential principles and shape of their disposition. We can see that here the ability to read-write is historically in general high, systemic net of peasantry school was started in 1678. From the second half of 19th Century an attribute of Estonian society has been journalism that is active in arranging the community life; journalism has in essence been the promoter of societal advancement, organiser and

manager of the common activities in the Estonian society, common values of the Estonian society, the result of which was formation of the Estonian state in the beginning of 20th Century.

Six Public Service Media principles for Estonia:

1. Contemporary Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) and Public Service Media (PSM) fulfils an integrating and debating function of Estonian society. The role of the PSM is to consolidate the »old« and »new« phenomena of the society. Public sphere helps to orient if it reflects the world and breeds reflectivity in people. Every human being possesses reflectivity, but also the existence of collective reflectivity is important to make possible critical consideration of the processes and phenomena. Public media makes the collective reflectivity possible, which in turn is a sign that every person as a thinker and pundit is valuable.

2. In Estonian society the political public sphere has been carried by and connected to the Public Service Media mentality. There are direct broadcasts from political debates in parliament (Riigikogu) and discussions of political information in the press conferences. In turn the political public sphere has to be under the control of public—public media. It is true that in this area there are constantly great clashes on the theme that politicians wish to decrease such control opportunity, politicise the board and council of PSM, but the steady pressure from public helps to rein in the politicians' wish of control.

EESTI RAHVUSRINGHÄÄLING (ERR)
www.err.ee

Generalist
ETV, ETV 2

19 % Market share

ERR
www.err.ee

VIKERRAADIO

RAADIO 4

RAADIO 2

KLASSIKARAADIO

RAADIO TALLINN

29,1% Market share

3. Public Service Media is an everyday environment brimming high-quality emotionality—music and discussions on the musical life, musical pieces. Music has a strong role in Estonian culture also institutionally, which is being expressed in the song festivals every five years. Such a cycle of musical life is deeply connected to the general musicality of the population, people being entrained to the musical life in different phases of life arch. There is more dancing and singing among youth and second ascent than can be found among middle-aged people. Emotional openness and emotional sensitivity are in general important achievements in mankind. The emotional intelligence of Europe is a great value both historically and currently in the mediatised world and is kept up and developed via media channels.

4. The public sphere is carried by the journalists and also by the persons with open mind set. The PSM mind set of journalists, defining the public sphere, is present in journalism; more generally it is sustained on the specification of the role of journalists. The professional role of journalism includes following the principle of publicity, of public responsibility. The development of the public sphere is based on personalities who carry such a mind set. In Estonia this is an academic discipline since 1954, when high education of media specialists, journalists and editors began in the University of Tartu. When observing the critical historic turns, we see the great defining role of journalists in the society. In Estonian society the role of journalists is more than just writing and editing a story and presenting in the web. Estonian society expects and demands from journalists to actually participate and act in societal life and in the public sphere. One fresh example from the new roles of journalists in the society: Since 2013 there was a debate

and opinion summer festival in the Central-Estonian town Paide, which is a meeting and discussion point for journalists, politicians, and other active people. The debates are led and carried by the popular journalists of PSB.

5. An important part of the publicness principle is dialogue and openness to other cultures, to the experiences of other states, nations and to the comparison of practices. The bon ton of journalism requires that statements and arguments cannot be limited to just describing a local situation, there is a demand for the journalistic dynamic and vision from different fields. And when the different fields are mediated in public journalism, such open mind set will spread on to a more general level. Or we can also say that the journalistic readiness to present, to perform in the public sphere and be in the forefront with one's message and descriptions of practices is not foreign to the society. The public journalism covers the whole country; with the internet included the whole world is covered.

6. The public media system is a great value in Europe and it is the base of European mind set. Openness and publicness are rooted in the Enlightenment era when there was created a space for shaping a society without economic gain. The journalism carried by the spirit of humanism is part of Europe. The pillar of Europe—openness and publicness—is the experiment and oasis of mankind that the world needs for future development and evolvement. Without it open communication and general debates of mankind are unthinkable.

Here, for us, for Europe it exists and it is of huge value. Faith and hope for a better world exist when the new generations have a channel where joint discussion on the developments of world and new human generations can take place. •

Maarja Lõhmus

Maaria Lõhmus, Ph.D.—University of Tartu, assoc. professor of journalism & media research, semiotics —is a sociologist and journalist. Her doctoral theses are about analyses of censorship in totalitarian closed system »Transformation of Public Text in Totalitarian System: Sociosemiotic analyses of Estonian Radio« (University of Turku, 2002). She worked in PSB of Estonia as a journalist and editor. She has written a lot of scientific articles about the role of journalism, publicness and public sphere.

FINLAND

The Four Horsemen of the Post-Broadcast Era

Marko Ala-Fossi
University of Tampere

There are several reasons to believe that broadcast journalism and also broadcasting in general are losing their privileged position in Europe and gradually entering into a spiral of decline after about 90 years of growth and prosperity. This is bad news for all broadcasters, but especially for most European PSM institutions, which usually are still highly dependent on broadcasting both in their financing and in fulfilling their public service remit. New online services are not necessarily going to help much, especially if the Internet is going lose net neutrality.

My hypothesis is that there are at least four interrelated factors driving the deterioration of broadcasting in Europe. The first one is external political and economic pressure for re-allocating even more broadcast spectrum for mobile broadband. The European broadcasters had already accepted the idea of reallocating the 800 MHz band for mobile broadband use by 2015. But higher than expected global demand for mobile broadband as well as pressure from Far East and Africa with less broadcasting services led the ITU World Radio Conference in 2012 to decide that after 2015 also the 700 MHz band should be included—against European opposition. Perhaps for the first time in the history, broadcasters lost their priority position in spectrum allocation and

ended up fighting for frequencies, which are currently used for digital TV all over Europe.

Because of the high number of existing DTT services in Europe, any reallocation of 700 MHz band is complicated. The EU Commission recently mandated a new High Level Group to find a solution for the future use of not only the 700 MHz band, but for the entire UHF band. However, the prospects of the European broadcasters to win this battle over spectrum are not too good. The economic importance of the Internet and the demand for mobile broadband are just growing, and the EU commission strongly supports the development of new telecom technologies (5G) for securing the competiveness of Europe in the future. In addition, the 700 MHz band has already been both allocated and auctioned for wireless broadband in largest mobile markets of the world in Asia Pacific area as well as in the US already— and the mobile industries seek for global solutions.

So arguments about the social, cultural and economic value of broadcasting in that particular band may not be too convincing, especially when some European countries like Finland, Sweden and France have already decided that they will auction 700 MHz band for mobile telecom use after 2015. According to the press, the

French government has made its decision in secret, but Finland and Sweden have been open about their strategy. Thanks to small size of its TV market, Finland has currently four empty DVB-T multiplexes (80 channels) on the UHF band. This is why the Finnish broadcasters, including Public Service YLE have not been too worried about the additional loss of frequencies. According to the Finnish Ministry of Transport and Communications, the 700 MHz band could be reallocated for mobile broadband use by starting a gradual switchover of digital TV from DVB-T to more spectrum effective DVB-T2 in 2017. However, a similar decision by the government of Sweden in February 2014 made the European Broadcasting Union to »express serious concern« over the future of terrestrial broadcast TV in Sweden.

OY YLEISRADIO AB (YLE)
www.yle.fi

Generalist
YLE 1, YLE 2, YLE FEM, YLE EXTRA

Documentary
YLE TEEMA

42 % Market share

Shifting Resources

The second factor is also related to digitalization, which intensified the market dependence of broadcasting, but also to the prolonged economic recession in the Euro-zone. As the broadcast revenues decline, costs rise and the European media organisations are forced to redefine their strategies, they have a strong tendency to shift resources and talent from broadcasting to online and mobile media development. There is an economic motive to cut spending on broadcast operations and invest on the Internet services instead, but also an internal cultural and social pressure to move the operational emphasis on »the future«.

In the UK, the level of BBC license fee income has been frozen since 2010, and it will remain that way until 2016, which means that in real terms the BBC has to make more cuts every year. Now in March 2014, it is planning to close down a broadcast TV channel for the first time in the company history. According to the BBC director general Tony Hall, there are »financial and strategic reasons« why youth-oriented service BBC3 will continue in 2015 only as an online service: it saves money desperately needed for example in drama production, while a quite large share of the BBC3 target audience (16- to 24-year-olds) are already consuming their TV content online. In Denmark, DR has made a very similar strategic move with children-oriented broadcast services. Both DR Ramasjang / Ultra and DR MAMA will be withdrawn from DAB digital radio and continued only as online services. Part of the reason for this was that both these services were able gain less than 1 per cent share of radio listening among children and young adults.

In Finland, the two leading commercial TV broadcasters both ended up in financial crisis—for slightly different reasons—and in October 2013, MTV3 and Nelonen announced major cuts in their broadcast TV news and current affairs production as part of larger savings plans. MTV3 discontinued its award-winning investigative journalism program, 45 Minutes and outsourced its breakfast TV program, Huomenta Suomi Good Morning Finland. 45 Minutes was then replaced with a web-page dedicated for investigative reporting, tutkiva45.fi. Sanoma shut down the contemporary version of Nelonen TV news, produced by newspaper Helsingin Sanomat and moved the emphasis to online news. The late night newscast was taken off air already in November and the remaining daily newscast was reduced from 30 minutes in to 15 minutes and finally in January 2014, in to two minutes with a new name, HS-uutiset, referring to the newspaper and its website HS.fi.
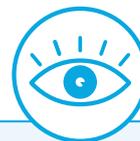
The reason for why both of these commercial channels ended up making cuts in broadcast journalism is basically the same. Production of credible and professional broadcast news and current affairs programming for TV is very labor-intensive and relatively expensive. So far, investments in journalistic production have been seen as important means of building a competitive edge for the channel. But in the new competition for declining advertising, broadcast TV journalism can at least partly be removed or replaced by much cheaper online production to cut the costs. The share of web advertising income for private broadcasters is still quite small, but it is growing—just like the size of web audiences, especially in younger demographics, which are most desirable for the advertisers. And here we come again to the third factor, the change in audience behavior—both actual and assumed—as well as perceptions of media, co-related with increasing demand for mobile broadband

»If the equality of Internet traffic is abandoned, broadcasters will end up paying extra for the Internet service providers in order to keep their audiovisual online services functional and accessible for the public. PSM will not have extra resources for this, no matter how important they are for functioning demo-cracy and cultural diversity in the European societies.«

Besides the idea of granting broadcast licenses without any »beauty contest« and content regulation, in 2015 the new Information Society Code will introduce also a concept of »public interest channels«, which have spe-cial obligations in the next TV switchover from DVB-T to DVB-T2. The Government wants YLE and the three lead-ing commercial TV channels—MTV3, Nelonen and Fox—now redefined as »public interest channels« to share two nationwide TV multiplex and keep on broadcasting also with standard definition DVB-T at least until 2026. These channels available for the largest possible TV audiences would also have to broadcast news and current affairs programs in domestic languages as well as domestic drama and documentaries. So it is more than likely that the two minute daily (radio) news on TV will be a big enough fig leaf also for »public interest channels«.

that require strategic responses in media markets and further amplify the two previous factors.

Shifting Policies

The fourth factor is the focus of communications policy in the whole EU which is clearly shifting from broad-casting to broadband both at national and EU levels. Although the WRC 2012 decision effectively ruined the first Radio Spectrum Policy Programme for Europe approved in February 2012, the comments from the EU Commission have been very restrained so far. The official EU media policy also emphasizes »synergies between traditional TV and Internet« although there is obviously also serious conflict of interests.

In the new Information Society Code, a proposal for legislation of all electronic communications, which was just recently submitted to the Parliament, the Finnish Government has argued that as there is no longer spectrum scarcity to justify the earlier regulatory practices, there is also no need for political considera-tion of licenses by the Council of State. In other words, from policy perspective broadcasting is becoming rather insignificant business. Two minute daily news on TV is not much either, but better than nothing—and that is the only reason for such news. The current licensing obligations would not allow Nelonen to totally abolish broadcast news, and also Fox—the newcomer in the market—offers daily a two minute radio newscast enhanced with still images for exactly the same reason. And although the whole current system of broadcast licensing in Finland may soon be history, the two minute news may remain on both these channels also in the years to come.

PSM—or PSB with Services on the Internet?

All this means that in the years to come, YLE will become even more relevant especially as the main provider of Finnish broadcast news and current affairs program-ming both in radio and TV. However, this is not neces-sarily the most important strategic position which the company itself is seeking. Few years ago, YLE had a severe financial crisis mostly because its sole income from the traditional TV license fee started to rapidly decline. The social acceptance of license fee and will-ingness to pay is deteriorating everywhere, also where it all started. In the UK, the collection of the TV license fee

YLE
www.yle.fi

YLE RADIO 1

YLEX

YLE RADIO SUOMI

YLE PUHE

SWEDISH-LANGUAGE YLE RADIOS

53,1% Market share

produces 10 percent of all court cases. It was not easy to find a new solution, but since January 2013, YLE funding has been based on a new income-linked, personal and earmarked tax. YLE is no longer financially dependent on broadcasting—or the legal control on the ownership of any receivers.

This fundamental shift was reflected immediately in the process of creating the new strategy for YLE in 2012. Some of its generalist broadcast channels were re-targeted for smaller, but younger adult audiences: the future. And for the first time in its history, YLE reduced spending on broadcasting and moved those resources into new media. As a consequence, also YLE as the only Public Service Broadcaster and the most important source of broadcast news in Finland is also spending now less money on broadcasting than before. To certain extent, it is possible to compensate this by improving cost-efficiency, but for example YLE News has probably reached the limit already. They have the same stories, same voices and same perspectives on all platforms.

While PSB used to be about broadcasting maintained by broadcasting-related income (license-fee, broadcast advertising), the shift to PSM has been about increasing broadcasting services together with a growing selection of new non-broadcast media services over the Internet— but still financed by income dependent on broadcasting. Because of this, further development of new services by shifting resources from broadcasting can turn out be fatal if the funding is not reformed. But as long as the PSB remit requires universal service to all citizens on similar terms, broadcasting remains the most cost-efficient way to serve the masses.

Any transformation into true and full-blooded PSM is not easy even in the case when you have a stable and »technology-neutral« funding system like YLE now has,

because the future of Public Service Media operations online is heavily dependent on whether net neutrality will continue. If the equality of Internet traffic is abandoned, broadcasters will end up paying extra for the Internet service providers in order to keep their audiovisual online services functional and accessible for the public. PSM will not have extra resources for this, no matter how important they are for functioning democracy and cultural diversity in the European societies. We have just seen how a European government has shut down a financially sound national PSM institution with a long tradition just in order to replace it with a significantly smaller one—not to even mention any axing of smaller PSM units and drastic income reductions elsewhere.

If you think this vision of the future of broadcasting and PSM is too gloomy, I would be happy to be mistaken. Thanks to the Academy of Finland, I will study these issues with my colleagues in Austria, Denmark, Norway, Ireland, the UK and Spain for next three years to find out if our concern was justified at all. •

Marko Ala-Fossi

University lecturer (Radio), adjunct professor, D.Soc.Sc., University of Tampere. Member of a pan-European research team on digital radio, (DRACE) (2004-). Former news journalist, producer and market analyst at the Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) (1989–2004). Research interests include media policy, political economy and social shaping of the new media delivery technologies.

FRANCE

Le face à face public-privé : la régulation, entre les règlements et la concurrence.

Francis Balle
Université Panthéon-Assas

À l'issue de la première décennie du XXIe siècle, plusieurs questions permettent, sinon d'établir une typologie des régimes applicables aux télédiffuseurs européens, au moins de déterminer les critères permettant de les caractériser en les distinguant les uns des autres. La première question concerne leur origine et, par conséquent, leur mode d'organisation : qui a le pouvoir de proposer des programmes de télévision et de créer l'entreprise permettant d'atteindre cet objectif ? La deuxième question vise le mode de fonctionnement des entreprises qui offrent des programmes aux téléspectateurs : qui, notamment, finance ces diffuseurs ? L'État ? Une redevance, versée par les téléspectateurs ? Les téléspectateurs, directement, sous forme d'abonnement, ou bien « à la séance » ? Des taxes spécifiques, pour redistribuer les recettes entre les différents acteurs de la chaîne de valeur, des producteurs aux distributeurs ? Une troisième question désigne le degré de liberté dont les diffuseurs jouissent pour établir leur grille de programmes, pour choisir l'heure de leur diffusion : à quelles obligations doivent-ils obéir ? Quelles limites s'imposent à eux pour le contenu des différents programmes ?

La fin, en France, des monopoles publics

À la lumière de ces trois questions, l'histoire des télévisions en Europe éclaire leur situation dans cette première décennie du XXIe siècle, la variété des règles qui s'imposent à elles. De cette histoire, elles sont aujourd'hui les héritières, à travers deux traits qui marquent leur originalité : d'un côté, la fin des monopoles publics; de l'autre, l'essor impérial des diffuseurs privés. Cette double évolution ne se serait assurément pas produite aussi progressivement si les pays européens n'avaient pas emprunté à l'Amérique du Nord, chacun à sa manière, la formule de la « régulation » , une sorte de troisième voie, entre les ajustements du marché et les réglementations publiques.

Dans ce contexte, seule l'analyse de l'histoire de la télévision dans les différents pays permet d'éviter le piège des comparaisons hâtives ou des rapprochements trompeurs. Pour ses homologues européens, la télévision américaine est apparue, dès ses débuts, à la fois comme un repoussoir et une source d'inspiration. À l'inverse

des Américains, les Européens ont considéré qu'il ne fallait pas « abandonner » la télévision à l'initiative ou aux intérêts privés. Ils ont donc confié aux États le soin de mettre en place les organismes concernés. Vis-à-vis des monopoles qu'ils instituaient – la BBC, la RFT ou la RAI (Radio Audizioni Italiana) – , les États agissaient, selon des formules variées, comme législateurs, « réglementeurs » , administrateurs, financiers ou gestionnaires. L'Europe a ainsi fait pour la télévision le choix inverse, non seulement de l'Amérique, mais également de celui qu'elle avait fait, elle-même, au XIXe siècle, pour la presse : les journaux y étaient fondés par des entre-preneurs privés, sans autorisation préalable. L'histoire comparée des télévisions européennes met en lumière, pour les années 1970 et 1980, la fin des monopoles publics et l'essor des diffuseurs privés. Ce sont les progrès de la technique qui ouvrent les premières brèches dans les monopoles : la création d'une deuxième chaîne en 1964 en France, en 1969 en Suède, en 1972 en Italie; l'entrée de la télévision dans son deuxième âge, grâce aux câbles et aux satellites, après 1975. Pourtant, ces coups de boutoir n'avaient pas suffi. Non seulement ils n'avaient jamais conquis leur crédibilité sur le terrain de l'information, mais de plus leur monopole était soudain remis en cause. Pourquoi, s'interroge-t-on, ne pas étendre à la télévision les règles qui font de la presse un instrument de liberté ?

L'Italie donne l'exemple à l'Europe : deux arrêts de 1974 et 1976 prononcés par la Cour constitutionnelle frappent d'inconstitutionnalité le monopole d'État de la RAI. À la faveur de ces jugements, Silvio Berlusconi s'engage dans l'aventure de la télévision par câble, autour de Milan, avant de jeter des ponts hertziens pour ses programmes nationaux. Partout en Europe, l'ascension des diffuseurs privés est irrésistible : avec Canal + en France fin 1984, suivi des premières versions de la 5 et de la 6 en 1985, Channel 4 en 1982 pour l'Angleterre et, pour l'Allemagne, Sat 1 et RTL-TV, en 1985.

Toujours spectaculaire, l'essor des télévisions privées n'a pas obéi partout au même scénario. C'est par la loi du 29 juillet 1982 que la France abroge, au moins formellement, le monopole public de programmation. En d'autres termes, elle garantit le droit à des diffuseurs privés de proposer des chaînes de télévision, sous réserve d'autorisation préalable. C'est également par la loi que l'Espagne et la Grèce mettent fin au monopole, respectivement en 1988 et en 1989. La Suède consent à l'arrivée d'une chaîne en suédois par le satellite luxembourgeois Astra, émise depuis Londres et financée par un milliardaire domicilié à New York. La Hollande donne son feu vert pour la réception de RTL4, via Astra,

FRANCE TELEVISIONS (GRF)
www.francetv.fr

Chaînes Généralistes
FRANCE 2, FRANCE 3, FRANCE 4
FRANCE 5, FRANCE O

30,2 % Part de marché

mais la loi en vigueur reste la même. Le Parlement helvétique, quant à lui, entrouvre la porte aux diffuseurs privés par une loi fédérale du 1er avril 1992.

Dans les principaux pays d'Europe, l'essor spectaculaire des diffuseurs privés de télévision s'est accompagné, tout au long de la décennie 1980 – 1990, d'une double évolution. D'un côté, les gouvernements se sont employés, par la force des choses ou par celle des idées, à limiter leur intervention dans le domaine de l'audio-visuel. D'un autre côté, plusieurs États ont été tentés de suivre la France, dans la voie inaugurée depuis long-temps par les États-Unis et par l'Angleterre, en éprouvant les mérites d'une régulation indépendante, entre les règlements édictés par la puissance publique et les ajustements opérés par le marché.

Le CSA : la régulation à la française

La création d'une telle autorité, en 1982, rebaptisée Conseil supérieur de l'audiovisuel en janvier 1989, marque la volonté de la puissance publique de mettre un écran entre, d'un côté, le pouvoir politique et, de l'autre côté, la radio et la télévision, instruments privilégiés de la liberté d'expression. Elle marque simultanément la volonté de l'État de ne pas renoncer à édicter des règles de droit, d'autant moins qu'il s'agit d'une

Francis Balle

Francis Balle, professeur à l'université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2), philosophe, ancien membre du CSA. Co-fondateur de La revue européenne des médias. Auteur, récemment de « Médias et sociétés » , 16ème édition, 2013, éd. Montchrétien-Lextenso, 876 pages.Les médias, 8ème édition, 2014, « Que sais-je ? » , PUF.

FRANCE RADIO
www.radiofrance.fr

FRANCE INTER

FRANCE BLEU REGIONAL(44)

FRANCE INFO

FRANCE MUSIQUE

FRANCE CULTURE

LE MOUV

23,5 % Part de marché

Particulièrement significative est cette conversion de la France à un mode de régulation si étranger à ses traditions juridiques. Mais ce n'est assurément pas une coïncidence si d'autres pays, en Europe, ont suivi son exemple : après l'Irlande et la Hollande, la Grèce a institué une autorité indépendante pour « réguler » autrement leurs activités audiovisuelles.

Près de vingt-cinq ans après sa création, le CSA est « entré dans les mœurs » , pour utiliser la formule de Raymond Aron à propos de la Constitution de la Ve République. Simple alignement de la régulation de la radio et de la télévision, en France, sur le modèle anglais ou américain ? Signe, parmi d'autres, de la « métamorphose » de la démocratie française ? L'impression que l'on écorne parfois la légitimité et la crédibilité du CSA résulte d'une illusion d'optique : ce qui est en cause, désormais, ce n'est plus la raison d'être du CSA, mais l'extension, par étapes, du champ d'intervention de l'autorité de régulation. Comme le souligne Michel Boyon, président du CSA depuis 2007, la création de la Haute Autorité, en 1982, voulait rompre le lien entre le politique et l'audiovisuel alors que celle de la CNCL, en 1986, mettait un terme au monopole de l'État sur la télévision : ainsi, une régulation « à finalité culturelle et sociale » s'ajoutait-elle au respect du pluralisme politique. Désormais, précisait-il, au seuil de 2009, une régulation à la fois technologique et économique s'ajoute aux deux précédentes, à la faveur de l'essor des nouveaux services audiovisuels, la TNT, la TVHD, la TMP, la radio numérique et les télévisions locales.

liberté « fondamentale » . Mais, pour cette raison, il convient de « faire » autrement un droit qui est également tout à fait autre, différent, et pas seulement de dire le droit, ce qui est la tâche ordinaire des juges : un droit le plus souvent contractuel, élaboré par des professionnels dont l'autorité – donc l'indépendance – ne repose ni sur l'élection ou l'affiliation partisane, ni sur la compétence administrative ou l'appartenance à l'État, mais sur la consécration de leurs pairs; un droit élaboré, en outre, selon des procédures qui sont étrangères à celles du pouvoir réglementaire.

Au lendemain de sa nomination, en janvier 2013, son successeur Olivier Schrameck a donné deux priorités à l'action du CSA : d'une part, l'autorégulation des vidéos sur Internet, dont il notait la prolifération d'images incontrôlées; d'autre part, la réorganisation de ce paysage des 56 télévisions locales qui ne correspond plus, selon lui, à la réalité d'une régionalisation qui a évolué au fil des années. •

GERMANY

Wie wichtig sind öffentlich-rechtliche Medien im digitalen Zeitalter?

Barbara Thomaß
Ruhr-Universität Bochum

Medien sind janusköpfig. Sie vereinen zwei Seiten in sich, die miteinander im Konflikt stehen: Zum einen treten sie als Güter auf, die auf eine Nachfrage stoßen, mit denen man also Gewinn erwirtschaften kann. Zum anderen erbringen sie Leistungen für die Gesellschaft, die mit Erwartungen verbunden sind: Medien sollen uns informieren, unterhalten, bilden, den Dialog in der Gesellschaft fördern, die Kontrolle der Mächtigen ermöglichen, der kulturellen Selbstverständigung dienen, Brücken in der Welt schlagen, Weltbilder vermitteln und und und. Medien, die am Markt gehandelt werden, können diese Erwartungen erfüllen, aber sie tun es nicht immer.

Dabei soll hier gar nicht die Rede davon sein, dass Medieninhalte manchmal genau das Gegenteil leisten: Sie »amüsieren uns zu Tode« (Postman), sie schüren Vorurteile, gar Hass, sie verzerren Wirklichkeiten, indem sie personalisieren, sensationalisieren usw.

Damit können aufgeklärte Gesellschaften leben, sofern die Fülle und Vielfalt des Medienangebotes Alternativen bieten. Aber diese Alternativen müssen eben gewährleistet sein und dürfen nicht von der jeweiligen Marktlage abhängig sein. Dies gilt für traditionelle Medien und mehr noch für die Medienangebote im digitalen Zeitalter. Die Doppelgesichtigkeit der Medien – also ihre ökonomische Seite und die der gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen an sie – ist unabhängig von ihrer technischen Gestalt. Ob die Druckerpresse, ein Sender, das Kabel oder das Internet die Inhalte liefert – immer stellt sich die Frage: Ist die Produktion von Medieninhalten ausschließlich an der Verwertung des Kapitaleinsatzes orientiert oder an den kulturellen, sozialen und demokratischen Bedürfnissen einer Gesellschaft? Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie diese Bedürfnisse in den Mittelpunkt ihres Wirkens stellen und dass öffentliche Finanzierung und öffentliche Kontrollstrukturen die Realisierung dieses Anliegens gewährleisten.

Die Frage nach der globalen Perspektive der Bedeutung öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien im digitalen Zeitalter ist also eine Frage nach den gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen in dieser Perspektive. Die Rede von den gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen alleine legt nahe, dass es dabei nicht nur um eine Summe der individuellen Bedürfnisse geht – da wäre man wieder bei der Nachfrage – , sondern um mehr. Dieses Mehr gilt es zu bestimmen, wenn geklärt werden soll, was öffentlich-rechtliche Medien in globaler Perspektive leisten können und leisten sollten.

> »Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien können Vielfalt in den und für die Migrationsgesellschaften leben und tragen damit zu einem kulturellen Fundament der Verständigung im Zuge der Globalisierung bei.«

Globalisierung als wachsende weltweite Vernetzung prägt erheblich Kommunikation und Medien und wird von Kommunikation und Medien geprägt. Produktion, Distribution und Rezeption von Medien erhalten zunehmend grenz- und kulturüberschreitende Dimensionen. Medienproduktion und -rezeption finden somit schon lange nicht mehr in dem geschützten Raum eines sprachlich, kulturell, religiös etc. homogenen Publikums statt, sondern unter den Bedingungen einer global vernetzten Mediengesellschaft, in der vielfältig segmentierte Publika sich einerseits ihre Medienangebote suchen, andererseits aber auch zufällig oder absichtsvoll auf vagabundierende Angebote stoßen. Und so wandern in einer globalisierten Welt nicht nur Kapitalströme, Arbeitsplätze und Umweltgifte über die Grenzen, sondern auch kulturelle Güter, Ideen und Inhalte. Die Verantwortung von Medien wird damit größer, weil globaler. Und in der Welt der globalen Content-Ströme hat schon längst der Kommerz obsiegt. Apple, Google, Microsoft und Amazon haben zwar große Innovationen in Hinblick auf Produkte, Preisgestaltung, Aufmachung und Vermarktungskonzepte hervorgebracht. Doch alle sind große US-amerikanische Konzerne, die die sozialen und kulturellen Interessen der jeweiligen Gesellschaften nachvollziehbarerweise kaum im Blick haben. Während kommerzielle Medien sich an Kunden wenden, sind die Adressaten von öffentlich-rechtlichen Medien

Bürger – im globalen Rahmen wäre es schön, von Weltbürgern sprechen zu können, doch das ist sicher noch Zukunftsmusik.

Aber die Inhalte des Public Value lassen sich auf sich globalisierende Gesellschaften übertragen. Hier geht es nicht nur um die Medienangebote und Leistungen, die Wert und Nutzen im Kontext internationaler Berichterstattung ergeben, dass öffentlich-rechtliche Medien also authentische, kompetente Informationen aus der Welt und auch über vielfältige Online-Angebote in die Welt liefern. Auch das eigenständige, umfangreiche Korrespondentennetz und die internationalen Kooperationen, die diese Leistungen ermöglichen, erschöpfen nicht den Public Value in globaler Perspektive.

Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien in einer globalen Perspektive zu denken, heißt, sich zu vergegenwärtigen, woher sie kommen und welche Anforderungen sich im Zuge von Globalisierungsprozessen stellen. Der öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk ist aufgrund seiner Tradition und seiner Definition seit je eine nationale, i. S. kultur- und staatsgebundene Veranstaltung gewesen. Jeder öffentliche Rundfunkveranstalter in Europa und in der Welt ist unter spezifischen sozialen, politischen und kulturellen Bedingungen entstanden. Diese haben die Unterschiede begründet, die wir in der Vielfalt der öffentlichen Sender und ihrer Ausprägungen weltweit finden.

Ihr Auftrag und die jeweilige Sprache sind die Bereiche, in denen die nationale Reichweite öffentlicher Medien immer noch fortdauernd sind – abgesehen von den

---

Barbara Thomaß

Barbara Thomaß, Professorin am Institut für Medienwissenschaft der Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Forschungsschwerpunkte: Internationaler Vergleich von Mediensystemen, internationale Kommunikation, Mediensysteme in West- und Osteuropa, europäische Medienpolitik, Medienethik und journalistische Ethik. Mitglied des ZDF-Verwaltungsrates, der European Media Research Group, Vorstandsvorsitzende der Akademie für Publizistik in Hamburg und Gründungsmitglied des Netzwerkes Medienethik. Langjährige Tätigkeit in der internationalen Journalistenfortbildung in Ost- und Südosteuropa, Westafrika und Südostasien. Studium der Publizistik, Politikwissenschaft und Volkswirtschaftslehre an der Freien Universität Berlin, Volontariat, mehrere Jahre Tätigkeit als Journalistin.

Kleinstaaten, in denen der Overspill größerer Nachbar-staaten empfangen wird wie in Österreich, der Schweiz oder Irland. Allerdings können wir in den Bereichen vom Recht – man bedenke den Einfluss der EU-Medien-politik – und der Kultur allenthalben Entgrenzungspro-zesse beobachten. So sind das nationale Verständnis und die Reichweite öffentlicher Medien immer noch prägend für ihre Leistungen. Aber Prozesse der Interna-tionalisierung, Transnationalisierung und Globalisie-rung erfordern, diesen begrenzten Auftrag in Frage zu stellen.

Ein Aspekt solcher Entgrenzungsphänomene ist, dass alle Gesellschaften mittlerweile mehr oder minder Migrationsgesellschaften sind. Migration, Einwanderung, kulturelle Vielfalt und die Erfahrung von Fremdheit im unmittelbaren Umfeld sind konstitutiv für moderne Gesellschaften. Dies gilt auch für Österreich, das als Einwanderungsland auf Migranten und Migrantinnen angewiesen ist, um die künftigen demographischen Herausforderungen zu bewältigen. Um das Potenzial, das Menschen mit Migrationsgeschichte für die Wirt-schaftskraft eine Landes und für dessen gesellschaftli-che Weiterentwicklung mitbringen, zu nutzen, ist eine Willkommenskultur notwendig, die Fremdheit und kulturelle Vielfalt nicht nur als Normalität akzeptiert, sondern auch dazu anregt, Pluralismus und Diversität bewusst zu leben. Zuwanderung zu gestalten und ihre Akzeptanz zu fördern, ist ein Zukunftsprojekt. Nach der medialen Aufbereitung dieser Themen und der interkulturellen Kompetenz, dies zu tun, besteht ein großer gesellschaftlicher Bedarf. Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien haben sich kulturelle Vielfalt als ein wichtiges Anliegen ihres Programmauftrages gesetzt; sie streben danach – einen breiten Kulturbegriff zugrunde legend –, Kulturbegegnungen in einer globalisierten Gesellschaft als Bestandteil des Alltäglichen darzustellen, Kultur als zentrales Verbindungselement von Individuen und Gruppen zu thematisieren und damit Programme sowie digitale Angebote gegen Stereotypisierungen und mo-noperspektivische Betrachtungsweisen zu liefern. Sie können das Bewusstsein über den Beitrag der kulturel-len Vielfalt zur Entwicklung der Gesellschaft erweitern sowie das Verständnis und die Akzeptanz der kulturel-len, sprachlichen, religiösen und ethnischen Vielfalt der Bürgerinnen und Bürger in ihrem jeweiligen Land fördern.

Medien können eine wichtige Rolle bei der Reduktion von Vorurteilen, Stereotypen und Diskriminierung spielen, weil sie in der Lage sind, individuelle Begeg-nungen mit Vertreterinnen und Vertretern anderer Kulturen bis zu einem gewissen Grad zu ersetzen und Themen der Migration sowie der kulturellen Vielfalt ihren Rezipienten/innen nahe zu bringen. Diesen Auftrag ha-ben öffentlich-rechtliche Medien und sie kommen ihm nach – wenn auch noch nicht in ausreichendem Maße. So tragen sie zu zivilgesellschaftlicher, sozialer und kul-tureller Integration bei.

ARD
www.ard.de

Vollprogramm
ARD – Das Erste, ARD3

24,9 % Marktanteil

ZWEITES DEUTSCHES FERNSEHEN (ZDF)
www.zdf.de

Vollprogramm
ZDF

TV Fiktion
ZDF NEO

Dokumentation
ZDFINFOKANAL

Kultur / Erziehung
ZDF KULTUR

13,7 % Marktanteil

ARD / ZDF
www.phoenix.de
www.3sat.de
www.kika.de
www.arte.tv

Kultur / Erziehung
PHOENIX, 3SAT

Kinder
KIKA (KINDERKANAL)

Kultur
ARTE

4,3 % Marktanteil

»Öffentlich-rechtliche Internet-Angebote zu stärken, heißt Leuchttürme zu schaffen, an denen sich die User im Meer der kommerziell ausgerichteten Inhalte orientieren können.«

Kulturelle Vielfalt ist in modernen Gesellschaften sowohl eine Realität und ihre Akzeptanz ist eine Notwendigkeit. In einer Zeit, in der Medien wie die politischen Institutionen – und in jüngerer Zeit auch wie die Finanzinstitutionen – eine Krise des Vertrauens und der Glaubwürdigkeit erfahren, sind Initiativen erforderlich, die den Zusammenhalt der sich fragmentierenden Gesellschaften stärken. Stellt man dies in Rechnung und berücksichtigt man, dass Integration ein wichtiger fundamentaler Auftrag öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien ist, so lässt sich argumentieren, dass dieser Auftrag in einer globalisierten Gesellschaft erneuert, neu interpretiert und implementiert werden muss. Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien können Vielfalt in den und für die Migrationsgesellschaften leben und tragen damit zu einem kulturellen Fundament der Verständigung im Zuge der Globalisierung bei.

Um diese Vielfalt als Normalität zu etablieren, sind interkulturelle Informationen, Unterhaltung und Bildung notwendig, die die Interessen von Minderheiten mit denen von Mehrheiten verschränken. Orientierung zu geben in einer unübersichtlichen Welt, interkulturelle Kompetenzen durch Wissen über andere Kulturen zu vermitteln, Horizonte zu eröffnen und Perspektiven zu verschränken – das können öffentlich-rechtliche

Medien, wenn sie den Integrationsauftrag ernst nehmen. Dass ein solcher Auftrag nicht mit den Technologien von einst zu leisten ist, sondern sich aller Plattformen bedienen muss, die im Rahmen der online-vermittelten Kommunikation zu Verfügung stehen, versteht sich von selbst. Öffentlich-rechtliche Internet-Angebote zu stärken heißt, Leuchttürme zu schaffen, an denen sich die User im Meer der kommerziell ausgerichteten Inhalte orientieren können. Dass sie das tun, zeigen Studien, die den Zulauf zu öffentlichen Nachrichtenangeboten im Netz in nachrichtenintensiven Zeiten belegen. Aber auch Studien, nach denen Länder mit starken öffentlichen Medien auch einen qualitätsvolleren kommerziellen Sektor haben als solche mit schwachen Sendern, zeigen das Potenzial öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien auch im Online-Sektor.

Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien müssen alle verfügbaren Plattformen und Technologien nutzen, damit ihre Rezipienten/innen und User/innen ihren Horizont jenseits der ihnen vertrauten Angebote erweitern können. Dass dies möglich ist, hängt natürlich stark vom regulativen Rahmen der Medienpolitik ab. Regeln für die Netzneutralität und die Sichtbarkeit öffentlich-rechtlicher Angebote sind hier das wegweisende Stichwort.

Die gegenwärtigen Gesellschaften werden zunehmend von der Globalisierung geprägt. Die damit einhergehende Schwächung sozialer und ökonomischer Solidarität wird sich fortsetzen, und die Bevölkerung wird noch pluraler und fragmentierter. In diesem Kontext wird der Bedarf nach den Leistungen öffentlich-rechtlicher Medien größer denn je, weil sie den Menschen Angebote machen können, wie diese Veränderungen und auf welchen gemeinsamen Grundlagen sie zu bewältigen sind. Öffentlich-rechtliche Medien müssen sich im digitalen globalen Zeitalter diesen Herausforderungen stellen. Und: Man muss es ihnen möglich machen. •

Die Zukunft des Public Service Broadcasting in den digitalen Gesellschaften Europas

Hardy Gundlach
Hochschule für Angewandte
Wissenschaften Hamburg

Das Internet verändert die traditionellen Medienstrukturen: Die Grenzen zwischen Presse und Rundfunk lösen sich auf, Facebook und Google schaffen neue Potenziale für die Beeinflussung der Meinungsbildung, professionelle Informationsvermittler wie journalistische Medien verlieren gegenüber den »Weisheiten« der Communities an Einfluss, der wirtschaftliche Wandel zwingt die betroffenen Berufsgruppen wie z. B. die Journalisten, ihr Berufsbild grundlegend zu überdenken.

Der Strukturwandel betrifft auch den öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk: Eine Neubewertung seiner gesellschaftlichen Funktion wird gefordert, mehr Qualität statt Quote, Unabhängigkeit von Politiker/innen, mehr Transparenz über seinen Beitrag zum Gemeinwohl und die öffentliche Finanzierung; insbesondere solle sichergestellt werden, dass die Finanzierung des öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunks die Privaten im Netz nicht benachteiligt.[1] Insoweit bedeutet die Medienkonvergenz für den öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk eine Situation, die von Spannungsfeldern, Ziel- und Interessenkonflikten sowie Legitimationsfragen gekennzeichnet ist, die der wissenschaftlichen Klärung bedürfen. Dabei ist dieser Wandel kein Phänomen, das nur für den Rundfunk eines bestimmten Landes zu beobachten ist. Um Transparenz beim Wandel des öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunks zu schaffen, d. h., um über die Veränderungen und Trends zu informieren, verbessert vielmehr eine länderübergreifende Perspektive die Erkenntnislage. Dies leistet insbesondere ein europäischer Institutionenvergleich.

Doch inwiefern könnte eine Institution wie der Österreichische Rundfunk (ORF) mit Medieninstitutionen anderer EU-Länder verglichen werden? Genauer gefragt: Anhand welcher Merkmale und Kriterien wäre ein Vergleich des ORF mit z.B. ARD, ZDF, FTV, RAI, BBC oder NPO überhaupt sinnvoll? Die Antwort des hier vertretenen wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Ansatzes ist: Der öffentlich-rechtliche Rundfunk (im Folgenden PSB für Public Service Broadcasting) ist vor allem dadurch charakterisiert, dass er einem öffentlichen Auftrag dient bzw. gesellschaftlichen Zielen verpflichtet ist. Diese Ziele werden von dem jeweiligen politischen System in den EU-Mitgliedstaaten unter Bezugnahme auf gesellschaftliche Normen definiert. In der Regel handelt es sich dabei zugleich um Normen der Verfassung. Für die Ökonomie des PSB folgt daraus das allgemeine Merkmal, dass sie nach gemeinwirtschaftlichen Prinzipien organisiert ist. Hinzu kommt der Demokratiebezug, der ein weiteres allgemeines Merkmal des PSB in den EU-Ländern ist. Bei aller Unterschiedlichkeit zwischen den Institutionen des PSB aufgrund nationaler Geschichte und Kulturen weist das PSB in Europa vermutlich Gemeinsamkeiten auf, die auf der Demokratiefunktion seines Public-Service-Auftrags gründen. Obwohl sich die Medienlandschaften in den EU-Ländern in vielerlei Hinsicht unterscheiden, gibt es auch infolge der Medienkonvergenz vergleichbare Problemlagen, die u. a. das PSB zu bewältigen hat. Um in Zukunft seine politische Rolle und Legitimation zu erhalten, muss das PSB in der Lage sein, Digital- und Internetstrategien zu entwickeln, die eine Transformation hin zu digitalen Public Service Medien ermöglichen. Die Frage ist, mit welchen

Strategien das PSB im Internet Public Value schaffen kann und welche neuen institutionellen Arrangements zwischen dem PSB und dem politischen System dafür notwendig sind. Der EU-Vergleich der Institutionen des PSB und ihres Wandels ist auch angebracht, weil die Vereinbarkeit des PSB mit dem europäischen Binnenmarkt ein weiteres Zukunftsthema ist. Als integraler Bestandteil des demokratischen Systems der Mitgliedstaaten hat das Public Service Broadcasting die Aufgabe, die Gesellschaft mit wichtigen Informationen zum aktuellen Zeitgeschehen, zu gesellschaftlichen Minderheiten und Mehrheiten und regionalen sowie kulturellen Entwicklungen zu versorgen. Dadurch können sich alle Mitglieder der Gesellschaft in ihren individuellen Meinungsbildungsprozessen hinreichende Urteile zu aktuellen Fragestellungen, insbesondere zu den öffentlichen Angelegenheiten bilden. Eine Konsequenz der Public-Service-Verpflichtung ist, dass das PSB keinen Markt- oder Gewinnzielen dient. Auch sind die Public-Service-Aufträge nicht individualistisch begründet, vielmehr beruhen sie auf gesellschaftlichen Werten, die i. d. R. einen direkten Bezug zu Verfassungsnormen haben. Im Unterschied zu den Marktzielen der EU gründen die Institutionen des PSB auf der Annahme, dass eine Unterversorgung mit den gesellschaftlich wünschenswerten Informationen und Informationsqualitäten entstehen würde, falls diese nur von privaten Medienunternehmen im Wettbewerb und über Marktprozesse bereitgestellt werden. Privatwirtschaftliche Medienunternehmen unterliegen aufgrund des vorrangigen Gewinnziels dem permanenten Zwang, nach Wettbewerbsvorteilen zu suchen. Sie werden deshalb den normativen Ansprüchen der Demokratie in diesem Fall nicht gerecht.

Betrachtet man weiter die Zukunft des PSB durch die Brille der Wirtschaftswissenschaften, stehen die Zielkonflikte im Mittelpunkt, die zwischen einem unabhängigen und dem Gemeinwohl verpflichteten PSB und anderen, insbesondere wirtschaftspolitischen Zielen entstehen. Wenn die Politik mehrere Ziele gleichzeitig verfolgt, sind auch Konkurrenzbeziehungen (Trade-offs) zwischen Zielen möglich. Dabei tritt häufig der Fall auf, dass gesellschafts- und wirtschaftspolitische Ziele miteinander in Konflikt geraten. Ein Zielkonflikt liegt dann vor, wenn ein Ziel nur auf Kosten eines anderen Ziels angestrebt werden kann, d. h., will man das eine Ziel besser verwirklichen, muss man dafür gleichzeitig eine Beeinträchtigung bei dem anderen Ziel in Kauf nehmen. Rein theoretisch betrachtet lässt sich die Zielharmonie dadurch herstellen, indem man eines der konfligierenden Ziele aufgibt. Will man aber eines der Ziele nicht aufgeben, sind institutionelle Arrangements zur Befriedung des Zielkonflikts und zur Regelung der

Trade-off-Beziehungen erforderlich. Angewendet auf das PSB führt diese Perspektive zu der Frage, ob und, falls ja, inwieweit solche Zielkonflikte beim PSB tatsächlich vorliegen und welche institutionellen Kompromisse oder Arrangements die Entscheidungsverfahren bei den Trade-offs regeln oder regeln könnten. Die institutionellen Arrangements schaffen die Rahmenbedingungen, die die Zukunfts- und Handlungsfähigkeit des PSB ermöglichen. Aktuell sind die Medienkonvergenz und der damit einhergehende soziale Wandel aus dieser Perspektive interessant, weil die Entwicklung ein Umfeld sowohl für institutionelle Anpassungen (z. B. Verfahren der Finanzbedarfsfeststellung) wie auch für neue Strategien (z. B. die Digital- und Internetstrategien) beim PSB schafft. Beim PSB betreffen die Zielkonflikte die folgenden Felder:

• Zielkonflikt der Programmpolitik, d. h., einfach ausgedrückt, der Zielkonflikt zwischen Quote und Qualität: Sichtbar wird dieser Zielkonflikt zum Beispiel anhand der kontroversen Bewertung attraktiver Sportsendungen oder Inhalte für jüngere Bevölkerungsgruppen, da solche Programmierungen des PSB auch den Wettbewerb mit privaten Medienfirmen intensivieren. Aber würde das PSB etwa nur kulturell und pädagogisch anspruchsvolle Inhalte verbreiten, ließen sich damit nur marginale Einschaltquoten erreichen. Deshalb hätten

Hardy Gundlach

Professor für Medien- und Informationsökonomie an der Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaften Hamburg, Fakultät Design, Information und Medien; bis 2006 wissenschaftlicher Referent der Kommission zur Ermittlung der Konzentration im Medienbereich (KEK); wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Gerhard-Mercator-Universität-Gesamthochschule – Duisburg, Fachgebiete Spezielle Wirtschaftspolitik, Forschungsgruppe Öffentliche Wirtschaft; Promotion über die öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten zwischen öffentlichem Auftrag und marktwirtschaftlichem Wettbewerb; Ausbildung zum Bankkaufmann. Arbeitsschwerpunkte: Medien- und Informationsökonomie, Industrieökonomik, Public Management, Internet- und Digitalökonomie, Wettbewerbspolitik, (De-)Regulierung, Infrastrukturtheorie. Im Rahmen des Kooperations- und Forschungsnetzwerks mit der FH Wien, Institut für Journalismus & Medienmanagement, und weiteren HochschulpartnerInnen aus Belgien, Deutschland, Finnland und Großbritannien untersucht Hardy Gundlach den öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunk bzw. Public Service Broadcasting in Europa.

solche Medieninhalte kaum Einfluss auf die demokratische Meinungsbildung. Ebenso sind massenattraktive Programmierungen Teil des Zielkonflikts, falls damit lediglich Quoten und Banalitäten erreicht werden und Qualität gemessen an den Public-Service-Zielen kaum sichtbar ist. Dieser Zielkonflikt betrifft zugleich die Institution des PSB, denn das PSB kann in der Demokratie keine Legitimität ohne Einschaltquote erreichen und muss die Legitimation mittels seiner inhaltlichen Strategien sowohl beim Publikum wie auch bei den Politikerinnen und Politikern anstreben. Angesichts der digitalen Transformation des PSB stellt sich aktuell die Forschungsfrage, wie sich dieser Zielkonflikt unter den kommunikativen Bedingungen des Internets und des sog. Long Tail darstellt und mit welchen Strategien das PSB Public Value schafft.

• Zielkonflikt zwischen den wirtschaftspolitischen Zielen der Europäischen Union und den Public-Service-Zielen des PSB, der insbesondere zu Konflikten mit den Zielen der europäischen Wettbewerbspolitik führt: Die Europäische Union hat vor allem die wirtschaftspolitische Aufgabe, eine prinzipiell offene Marktwirtschaft mit freiem Wettbewerb zu gewährleisten (Art. 119 Abs. 1 Vertrag über die Arbeitsweise der Europäischen Union). Aufgrund der Public-Service-Aufträge des PSB und der veränderten Rahmenbedingungen durch die Medienkonvergenz schafft der europäische Binnenmarkt ein Spannungsfeld. In den Mitgliedstaaten forciert dieses Spannungsfeld einen Strukturwandel, der die Suche nach institutionellen Lösungen beinhaltet, die zu einer europa- und binnenmarktkonformen Ausgestaltung des PSB beitragen. Vermutlich wird im Ergebnis die Rolle der politischen Verfahren zur Bewertung der Public-Service-Funktionen gestärkt. Dabei gewinnt immer mehr die Frage an Bedeutung, inwiefern das PSB vereinbar mit der Wettbewerbsdynamik im europäischen Binnenmarkt ist.

• Zielkonflikt bei der öffentlichen Finanzierung des PSB, da das Finanzierungsverfahren, insbesondere die Bedarfsfeststellung, einen Spagat zwischen staatlicher Kontrolle der wirtschaftlichen Verwendung öffentlicher Gelder und der freien, vom Staat unabhängigen Programmentscheidung des PSB leisten muss: Die Finanzierung meritorischer und öffentlicher Güter kann kaum freiwillig erfolgen und setzt deshalb eine gesetzliche Finanzierungspflicht voraus. Dies schafft ein Spannungsfeld, insoweit der Finanzbedarf auf einer freien Programmentscheidung gründet, zugleich aber der Staat oder die Politiker die Pflicht haben, die Höhe der Finanzierung gegenüber den Bürgern zu legitimieren. Angesichts vieler Bedürftigkeiten entsteht immer Kon-

kurrenz um die Verwendung der knappen Finanzmittel und folglich Entscheidungsbedarf über die Höhe der Finanzen. Dabei berücksichtigt die Festsetzung des Finanzbedarfs nicht nur das Ziel des Schutzes der Gebührenzahler/innen vor Überkompensation. Vielmehr beinhaltet die Entscheidung auch, was mit öffentlichen Geldern finanziert werden soll, welche Projekte erforderlich sind und wie die Medieninhalte qualitativ beschaffen sein sollen. Angesichts der Medienkonvergenz ist tendenziell damit zu rechnen, dass das PSB mehr als in der Vergangenheit mit anderen Kulturinstitutionen wie Filmförderung, Museen, Oper oder Sinfonieorchester beim Wettbewerb um öffentliche Gelder verglichen wird. Strategisch bedeutet dies für das PSB, dass es auch mehr seinen besonderen kulturellen Beitrag gegenüber den Internetusern/innen betonen muss. Um eine Entpolitisierung bei den Verfahren zur Bestimmung des Umfangs der öffentlichen Gelder zu unterstützen, neigen Wirtschaftswissenschaftler dazu, die Einführung von Automatismen wie z. B. Indexierungsverfahren zu empfehlen.

• Zielkonflikt bei der politischen Unabhängigkeit: Die dadurch entstehenden Trade-off-Beziehungen erfordern eine deutliche Distanz des PSB von den strategischen und publizistischen Interessen der Parteien und Verbände der parlamentarischen Demokratie. Der Trade-off wird möglich, weil zugleich die Legitimität des PSB direkt davon abhängt, dass es die gesellschaftlichen Werte der Demokratie verkörpert und meinungsbildend verbreitet. Ähnlich wie bei der öffentlichen Finanzierung entsteht umso eher ein Zielkonflikt, je wichtiger das Ziel der Unabhängigkeit von staatlicher und einseitiger Einflussnahme ist. Der Zielkonflikt schafft eine politische Gemengelage, die Einfallstore für strategisch motivierte Verhaltensweisen eröffnet, die in der Lage sind, das öffentliche Ansehen und die Public-Service-Funktionen des PSB zu beschädigen. Je wichtiger es wird, dass das PSB Orientierungshilfen im Long Tail des Internets und der fragmentierten digitalen Gesellschaft leistet, desto wichtiger wird vermutlich auch, dass es als unabhängiger und eher objektiver Berichterstatter von den Nutzerinnen und Nutzern wahrgenommen wird.

Für einen Institutionenvergleich sind vorrangig die EU-Länder geeignet, weil für alle Institutionen des PSB und ihre Public-Service-Aufträge Europa mehr Markt und Wettbewerb bedeutet. Denn die EU-Mitgliedschaft eines Landes beinhaltet die Entscheidung zugunsten der wirtschaftspolitischen Ziele des Binnenmarktprojekts. Wie die historische Erfahrung lehrt, hat diese Entscheidung überwiegend Vorteile für ein Land. Im Vergleich zu anderen Wirtschaftssystemen verspricht ein funktionie-

ARD

www.ndr.de
www.radiobremen.de
www.wdr.de
www.wdr.de
www.sr-online.de
www.swr.de
www.br.de
www.rbb-online.de
www.mdr.de
www.deutschlandradiokultur.de
www.deutschlandfunk.de

ARD REGIONAL (9)

DEUTSCHLANDRADIO KULTUR

DEUTSCHLANDFUNK

53,8 % Marktanteil

rendes Marktsystem maximale Wohlfahrtszuwächse und deutlich mehr Innovationen und Flexibilität. Allerdings ist die Leistungsfähigkeit des Marktsystems begrenzt. Funktionierende Märkte setzen einen institutionellen und politischen Rahmen voraus, der wirtschaftliche Freiheiten, Rechtssicherheit, Privateigentum, freien Wettbewerb und Geldwertstabilität gewährleistet. Hinzu kommt, dass sich die historische Überlegenheit des Marktes nicht verstehen lässt, wenn man dabei die Rolle des Staates und insbesondere der öffentlichen Wirtschaft glaubt, vernachlässigen zu können. Denn die Höhe des wirtschaftlichen Niveaus ist davon abhängig, ob die Politiker und der Staat in der Lage sind, große öffentliche Investitionen in die wirtschaftsrelevante und soziale Infrastruktur des Landes zu mobilisieren. Erst die öffentliche Wirtschaftstätigkeit des Staats sichert die Grundversorgung mit Bildung, Humankapital, modernen Verkehrssystemen, sozialer Sicherheit, Gesundheitsversorgung, Telekommunikation, Energie, Wasser, Umweltschutz, Müllbeseitigung u. v. m. Doch nicht nur das wirtschaftliche Niveau, auch das soziale und kulturelle Niveau bestimmen den Wohlstand eines Landes. Auf die Geschichte und die Entwicklung der Kulturen in Europa ist zurückzuführen, dass heute die Institutionen der Demokratie, des sozialen Friedens und Rechtsstaats das hohe soziale Wohlstandsniveau ermöglichen. Diese Institutionen gewährleisten neben wirtschaftlichen ebenso politische und soziale Freiheitsrechte und schaffen damit eine für viele Menschen hochattraktive Region in der Welt. Demo-

kratie, Frieden und Rechtsstaat sind aber keinesfalls Selbstverständlichkeiten, sondern sie setzen informierte und aufgeklärte Bürger/innen voraus. Das heißt, sie setzen Bürger/innen voraus, die bereit und fähig sind, sich an den demokratischen Entscheidungsprozessen zu beteiligen, die das Zusammenleben mit Andersdenkenden sowie Meinungsfreiheit und Pluralismus als Kulturgewinne ansehen und diese Werte akzeptieren oder sie zumindest aushalten können. Wirtschaft und Demokratie können dabei nicht isoliert voneinander existieren. Vielmehr stehen Marktwirtschaft, Demokratie, öffentliche Wirtschaft und Rechtsstaat in einem wechselseitigen Beziehungsgeflecht zueinander, und dadurch sind reale Wirtschaftsordnungen gemischte Wirtschaftssysteme. Diese Erkenntnis ist in Deutschland eng verbunden mit dem wirtschaftspolitischen Konzept der sozialen Marktwirtschaft, wie es Alfred Müller-Armack (1901 – 1978) einst formuliert hatte.

Gemischte Wirtschaftssysteme sind aber permanent von Zielkonflikten geprägt, bei denen die Zielkonflikte nicht gelöst werden, indem ein konfligierendes Ziel fallen gelassen wird. Vielmehr sind gemischte Wirtschaftssysteme ständig mit der Frage konfrontiert, wie das Verhältnis von Staat und Markt bzw. von öffentlichen und privatwirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten geregelt werden soll. Seit der Deregulierung in den 1980er Jahren und umso mehr noch infolge der Medienkonvergenz tritt das PSB in dieses Spannungsfeld ein. In diesem Spannungsfeld können »ökonomische Begründungen« des PSB seine institutionelle Rolle nicht erklären. Zwar ist das ideale Marktmodell in der Lage, ein Wohlfahrtsoptimum zu erklären. Aber diese Erklärung gründet auf äußerst, zum Teil sogar extrem weltfremden Annahmen. Wendet man dieses Modell unkritisch auf reale Wirtschaftsverhältnisse an, würden damit Anwendungsbedingungen vorausgesetzt, die schlichtweg nicht vorhanden oder politisch und sozial nicht wünschenswert sind. Bei aller Kritik und trotz der Grenzen ist es aber das große Verdienst des Marktmodells, dass sich daran die Bedingungen für den Wohlstand heutiger Gesellschaften aufzeigen lassen: Märkte, die funktionieren, schaffen durch die Wettbewerbsdynamik starke Anreize, die permanent zu Innovationen und Investitionen anregen und dadurch den wirtschaftlichen und technischen Fortschritt vorantreiben. Mit diesem dynamischen Verständnis von Märkten und vom Wettbewerb sind auch die öffentlichen Unternehmen und das Public Service Broadcasting vereinbar, insofern sie mit ihren Strategien Public Value schaffen. •

1 Aktuell z. B.: Russ-Mohl, Stephan: Was gebührt dem gebührenfinanzierten Rundfunk? In: NZZ Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 31.12. 2013

GREECE

Pluralism and Public Service Media

Petros Iosifidis
University of London

Public Service Media (PSM) play an essential role in safeguarding a pluralist society and meeting its cultural and social needs. Through their mass reach and influence PSM have the capacity both to enrich people's lives as individuals and improve the quality of life in society. Although the organisation and functioning of PSM are not the same across Europe, for they vary in the way they are funded and structured, their political independence, and so on, in most parts of Europe PSM occupy an important part of the audiovisual sector. However, in the USA PSM's role and influence is minimal. In 2012, the overall impact of the American non-profit PBS on cultural, social and political life was negligible and claimed about 3 per cent of the average daily audience share, whereas in Europe public broadcasters such as the BBC enjoyed high shares at more than 26 per cent. It follows therefore that US public TV is consigned to a position of a »niche« broadcaster, out of reach for the vast majority of Americans, while public TV in Europe has an obligation of reach and being in touch with its audience. In Europe television is not considered merely an economic activity, as it is in the USA, but rather a social and political tool, accessible to all and contributing to pluralism, diversity and democratic expression. This article argues that PSM are better suited than commercial rivals to provide for media pluralism in Europe.

The Remit of PSM

There are large variations among PSM systems in Europe and these variations stem from the different traditions, political cultures as well as regulatory systems that exist across Europe. Thus it is difficult to identify a single PSM model and accurately define it. In general terms, however, there are some common obligations bestowed upon PSM by society which define the remit of their activities. These obligations can be summarised as follows:

- Universality of content and access
- Provision of programmes which contribute to social cohesion and democratic process
- Setting of high quality standards in the areas of entertainment, education and information
- Contribution to political pluralism and cultural diversity
- Enriching the lives of individuals through history, the arts and science
- Preservation and promotion of national culture and heritage
- Editorial independence and accountability
- Serving the needs of an increasingly multicultural society.

PSM in a Competitive Market

Since the mid-1980s the European audiovisual market has undergone significant upheaval. The rapid development of new communication technologies alongside the relaxation of strict ownership and content rules have allowed new players to enter the sector, changed the dynamics of the market and led to privatisation and commercialisation. The gradual convergence of different communication sectors, combined with the development of the Internet and online services, has led to the creation of new market structures, as well as new roles for the owners of communication companies. This has resulted in concentration of capital and control of information flow in an ever smaller number of multinational conglomerates. These factors—political, economic, technological, socio-cultural and regulatory—have all had a great influence on the development of PSM. The latter have largely proved to be resilient to challenges,

have adapted to the new media order and still show rude health, but it is not a secret that they lost significant market share and face increasing criticism from commercial rivals who want to see them shrink their activities. It is not the intention of this article to go into details regarding the above, but for those who are interested in an in-depth analysis of the socio-cultural, economic, technological and regulatory challenges facing PSM as well as strategies for addressing them please refer, among others, to Iosifidis (2007, 2012).

Involvement in New Technologies

Rapid developments in new communication technologies force PSM to re-think, not only their programming policies, but also the way they operate, their technical set-ups and their involvement in new digital media. As the delivery systems for electronic media evolved from a »limited channel flow« world to the »multi-channel flow« world and lately to the stage of »on-demand services«, PSM have the opportunity to fulfil their mission in new ways, by for example upgrading their production processes, making their programming available in additional platforms, and therefore adding more value to society. In fact, if universality is to be maintained as a fundamental principle of PSM in the digital age, then public service content must be available on all media and delivery networks at affordable prices (analogue or digital terrestrial, cable and satellite, the Internet, Digital Subscriber Lines, and so on). PSM should invest in web sites which can be used as methods to »expand« their services, and also experiment with interactive multimedia services. The introduction of Digital Video Broadcasting, along with the broadband internet, gave PSM the potential, but also the obligation, to develop new interactive, on-demand and »individualised« services to meet changing viewer preferences and audience fragmentation. Investment in these advanced technologies both enables PSM to regain a competitive advantage and play a leading role in the new era, and come closer to maintaining the universality objective.

However, critics argue that PSM should stick to traditional broadcasting and stay out of new media activities, including developing new thematic services or Internet sites. As the Internet becomes an increasingly important distribution channel for media content certain public channels have invested in Internet offerings. This activity, however, is seen with alarm by commercial rivals who argue that the well-known brand of the public sector helps it to attain market leading positions and therefore bolsters the position of their own Internet services. Similar arguments are put forward in the case of the launch of new channels of a »thematic« nature—narrowly focused in terms of subject area or target audience. The availability of services specialising in certain subject areas (cultural activities, sport or education) allow PSM to delve more deeply into specific subject areas and therefore contribute to knowledge and understanding. While commercial arms on behalf of the PSM have largely been established as separate entities, there has been criticism that there is still interaction between the »public« organisation and the commercial production of new services. Commercial activities must trade fairly in the markets in which they operate and be subject to the full requirements of competition law. Any cross-subsidisation between the public and commercial activities of public channels may lead to market distortion, endanger the balance of the public/private European media system, and as such should be avoided.

Conceptualizing Media Pluralism and Diversity

Media pluralism is considered essential to a democratic society. A pluralistic media industry—marked by a variety of outlets with diverse ownership and viewpoints, independence and transparency—can serve democracy and reflect diversity within society. Media pluralism can be defined as the presence of a number of different and independent voices in the media market and diversity in the media refers to different political opinions and representations of culture within the media. Therefore a pluralistic, competitive media system is a prerequisite for media diversity. Pluralism and diversity are used interchangeably in this article, which argues that the lack of these ideals is an issue of public concern. In the digital converged era the focus should not merely be »access to the media«, for »access to audiences« is

Petros Iosifidis

Petros Iosifidis is currently professor in Media and Communication Policy at City University London, UK. He gained his MA from City University London and his Ph.D. from University of Westminster, UK. He is author of five books, has published extensively in refereed journals, and presented papers in international conferences. He serves as an Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) reviewer and as a national expert for European Commission projects. He is Editor of the »International Journal of Digital Television« and Co-Editor of the »Palgrave Global Media Policy and Business« Book Series.

also a key area of concern. In other words, it is important to acknowledge the rights of individuals as speakers. The traditional component of the access principle in media has been the right of people to access various media technologies in order to gain access to various types of content. The concern should also be with citizens' rights as speakers, as disseminators of information, rather than with citizens' rights as consumers of information. Moving away from citizens' consumption of information and towards thinking about access in terms of citizens' dissemination of information clearly relates to user-generated or user-distributed output. Thanks to the Internet, a large part of the population has the ability to produce, rather than merely distribute, content. Technology has provided the potential to place the organization-based speaker and the individual on more equal footing. The right of access to audiences focuses attention on whether the producers and distributors of user generated content are able to operate on equal footing and on identifying impediments to equality in the opportunities to take advantage of the tremendous distribution capacity of the Internet. Therefore, a matter of concern in the Internet era is imbalances in speakers' access to audiences (Napoli, 2009).

In order to assess diversity in relation to media market structures one also needs to distinguish between external and internal diversity. The former refers to media structure because it is related to the idea of access. It relates to the degree of variation between separate media sources in a given sector, according to dimensions such as politics, religion, social class, and so on. In a given society, there are many separate and autonomous media channels, each having a high degree of homogeneity of content, expressing a particular point of view, and catering only for its own »followers«. The latter refers to the media content and connects with the idea of representation or reflection mentioned above. It relates to the condition where a wide range of social, political and cultural values, opinions, information and interests find expression within one media organization, which usually aims at reaching a large and heterogeneous audience. A particular channel might be assessed according to the degree of attention given to alternative positions on topics such as politics, ethnicity and language and so on (McQuail, 1992).

With regard to simplifying the complex issue of pluralism and diversity and putting the results of the research into operation, the Independent Study on Indicators for Media Pluralism in the Member States—Towards a Risk-Based Approach (2009) split the concept of pluralism into three normative dimensions—political, cultural,

and demographic pluralism—as well as three operational dimensions—pluralism of media ownership / control, pluralism of media types, and genres. It is clearly mentioned in the study that the main threat to pluralism of media ownership / control is represented by high concentration of ownership with media which can have a direct impact on editorial independence, create bottlenecks at distribution level, and further interoperable problems. This affects pluralism not only from a supply point of view, but also from a distribution and especially an accessibility point of view. The main threats to pluralism of media types include: lack of sufficient market resources to support the range of media, which causes a lack of / under-representation of / dominance of media types. Threats to media genres and functions include lack of / under-representation of / dominance of some functions, or genres are missing. Threats to political pluralism dimension are unilateral influence of media by one political grouping, insufficient representation of certain political / ideological groups or minorities with a political interest in society. Threats to the cultural pluralism dimension include insufficient representation of certain cultural, religious, linguistic and ethnic groups in society, and threat to national cultural identity. Lastly, threats to the geographical pluralism dimension are lack or underrepresentation of various national geographic areas and / or local communities.

Public Service Media and Plurality

Publicly funded and independently run Public Service Media can best deliver media plurality and diversity. This is the case with the BBC in the UK, but also in Nordic countries where PSM are financially and politically independent and are primarily funded by the licence fee. However, the intensified competition from commercial rivals forces PSM in many Southern and Central European countries to water down or give up their public service remit. This is certainly true in France where public service plurality is hard to keep going, particularly as provision increases generally across television and audiences fragment. The public service television sector is in poor shape and is reeling from former President Sarkozy's decision to take advertising away from public service channels. In Spain there are no public service obligations for commercial broadcasters. The main concern is to ensure that the main PSM provider RTVE really provides a public service output since for the last two decades has been commercialized. The Spanish public broadcaster is plagued by chronic debt which has resulted in a most serious financial problem. It does not receive a licence fee but instead it depends on commercial income and state grants. Funding through these

means rather than a licence fee is insufficient to cover its operational costs. In Italy, under a proposed policy shift, there might in the future be a diminishing of RAI's public service responsibilities (there is a suggestion that RAI's two main channels be privatized and the third to remain as the only publicly funded channel), without however expanding its public service obligations to other players, something that would certainly result in less pluralism and diversity. To have an idea of how Ital-

ians understand plurality one has to refer to the system of lottizzazione that operated in Italy between the early 1970s and early 1990s, according to which each channel, news and current affairs programme broadcast by the Italian PSB RAI had different layers of political affiliation, with the intention of maintaining some diversity of output from »an otherwise monolithic broadcaster«.
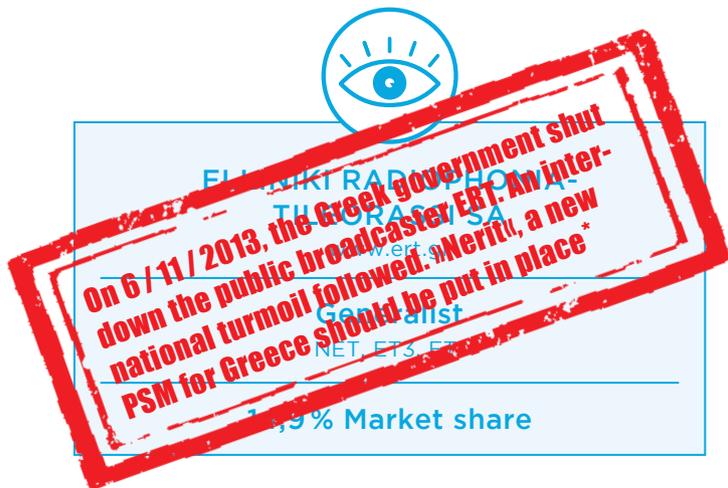
Conclusion

Publicly funded PSB retains its relevance in the digital universe in order for citizens to have access to indigenous, high quality, diverse and pluralistic output. The availability of public service content online is moderate and selective, for a study commissioned by Ofcom (2009) found that PSM categories such as arts, culture and heritage, children / teens, community and social action, learning and education are almost completely absent, whereas significant levels of PSM content are apparent in other areas like information, search and reference, news and comment, business and commerce, entertainment and lifestyle, health, science and technology, and politics and government. Technological change and digital uptake have brought a large amount of audiovisual content to people, but most of that content is commercially oriented. In the UK, public service channels account for more than 90 per cent of all spend-

ing on original UK TV programming. Aside from BSkyB (through Sky News and the Arts Channel), the Discovery Network and the social networking site Bebo (which has made a small investment in original content), the majority of commercial media players in the UK invest little if anything in original UK content (IPPR, 2009). Although the ways in which people access and consume PSB content may change, there is continued demand for PSM. Existing PSM institutions, especially from Northern Europe, the UK and Germany, will certainly matter in delivering public service content for the transition to digital. While the BBC is taken for granted in the UK as it is perceived as a cornerstone of PSM, the public service ethos is less well implemented and more susceptible to political attack in Italy, France or Spain, where little national discussion has taken place on public service purposes, especially plurality, citizenship, content and funding methods. There should be a revisiting of national approaches towards PSM so to allow them to develop and engage fully in digital and online technologies and eventually deliver public service content through various platforms. One thing is certain: the role of PSM remains important as the market alone will not provide plurality in the ownership, commissioning, editorial and production of public service content that remains essential. But PSM should be financially and politically independent in order to promote public service goals such as media plurality. •

REFERENCES

Iosifidis, P. (2007, 2012) Public Television in the Digital Era, London: Palgrave Macmillan.

IPPR (Institute for Public Policy Research) (2009) Mind the Funding Gap: The Potential of Industry Levies for Continued Funding of Public Service Broadcasting, An IPPR Report for BECTU and the NUJ, London: IPPR.

Kuhn, R. (2010) »France: Presidential Assault on the Public Service« in P. Iosifidis (ed.) Reinventing Public Service Communication: European Broadcasters and Beyond, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 158–70.

León, B. (2010) »Spanish Public Service Media on the Verge of a New Era« in P. Iosifidis (ed.) Reinventing Public Service Communication: European Broadcasters and Beyond, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 197–208.

McQuail, D. (1992) Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest, Sage, London.

Napoli, P. (2009) »Navigating Producer-Consumer Convergence: Media Policy Priorities in the Era of User Generated and Distributed Content« in Communications & Convergence Review 1(1): 32–43.

Ofcom (Office of Communications) (2009) Second Public Service Broadcasting Review, Phase Two: Putting Viewers First, London: Ofcom.

*See: »Why Greece matters«, a special edition of »TEXTE«: http://zukunft.orf.at/rte/upload/texte/2013/texte_9.pdf

HUNGARY

Public Service Broadcasting in Hungary: A Mission Impossible?

Péter Bajomi-Lázár
Budapest Business School

I will argue in this paper that the BBC modell of public service broadcasting has not been realised in Hungary because it could not be realised. The BBC in the United Kingdom is rooted in a specific political environment; efforts to »mymetically transport« it to a country with a different political landscape will necessarily fail.

Public service broadcasting as realised by the BBC in the United Kingdom has served as a modell to follow across Europe in at least three successive waves. First, after the demise of nazism and fascism in the mid-1940s in Germany and Italy; second, after the fall of long-standing dictatorships in the mid-1970s in Southern European countries such as Greece, Portugal and Spain; and third, after the end of state socialism in the early 1990s in Central and Eastern Europe. Despite repeated efforts, the BBC modell of public service broadcasing has rarely if ever been fully realised in these countries; its failure has been particularly manifest in third-wave democracies (see Mungiu-Pippidi 2003, Dragomir 2005, Dragomir & Thompson 2008; Bajomi-Lázár et al. 2012).

In post-communist Hungary, the subject of this paper, analysts have identified two key problem areas with public service broadcasting in general and with public service television in particular. These include recurring pro-government bias in the news, i. e. efforts to manipulate, rather than inform, the public in an attempt to affect voting behaviour (e. g. Tóka & Popescu 2002; Bajomi-Lázár & Tóth 2013) and party colonisation of the media, i. e. the exploitation of state media resources such as well-paid managerial positions and funds dedicated to programme production and advertising by political parties in order to honour clients for past and future services (Bajomi-Lázár 2013a). It has been argued that the »mymetic transplantation« of media models that are viable in established Western European democracies has been, more often than not, a failure in consolidating Central and Eastern European democracies (Jakubowicz & Sükösd 2008). This paper attempts to map which political conditions for the establishment of the BBC model have been lacking in Hungary. Other conditions that may also be necessary for the successful implementation

MAGYAR TELEVIZIO NONPROFIT ZARTKORUEN MUKODO RESZVENYTARSASAG (MTVA)

www.mediaklikk.hu

Generalist
M1, M2, DUNA TV

Cultural
DUNA WORLD

14 % Market share

The BBC is, without doubt, an instrument of dialogue and of rational-critical debate in the Habermasian sense of the term. Its voice not only confirms but also reflects upon a political and societal consensus that has long been established. It should be noted that students of media and political systems warn that, as a general rule, political systems determine media systems rather than the other way around (Seiebert et al. 1956 / 1963, Hallin & Mancini 2004). Media effects research and reception studies suggest that the impact of media on public opinion, and hence on political decisions, is at best limited (e. g. Lazarsfeld et al. 1944, Hall 1980, Morley 1980). Communication-as-ritual models also argue that the key role of the media lies in the confirmation of existing and commonly shared values rather than the establishment of new ones (Carey 1988 / 1992, Rothenbuhler 1998). It is highly likely that Public Service Media alone cannot establish meaningful dialogue, especially in an era of fragmented media landscapes when most audiences have a great choice of channels to watch and few of them actually follow public service broadcasts. Public Service Media are as much an outcome of shared societal values as an instrument delivering these.

of public service broadcasting in a new democracy, such as the professional, economic, and technological background of a country, will not be discussed here.

The BBC model of public service broadcasting is deeply rooted in the political culture and instituions of the United Kingdom. Its bases include, among other things, (1) a consensus-based political culture, (2) a consolidated party system, and (3) a de facto two-party system. None of these is present in contemporary Hungary.

1.   The BBC modell of public service broadcasting has been created against a background of consensus-based political culture. The political landscape in the United Kingdom is commonly characterised as one of moderate pluralism: there may be heated debates among key political actors on salient policy issues, but the fundamental political and societal values, including both written and unwritten norms, are shared by all mainstream political forces. No major political force in the UK would question the basic values of liberal democracy, market capitalism and human rights and liberties. By contrast, in most of the former communist countries, including in Hungary, a polarised pluralist political lansdcape prevails. Political and policy issues—such as the »crimes« of the communist past, the role of the churches, lustration, etc.—are, as a main rule, ideological in nature; differences among the major political parties are often unbridgeable, while there is little chance that consensus will rise on many of these issues in the foreseeable future. Some anti-system, or proto-hegemonic, parties (cf. Gunther & Diamond 2003) are key parliamentary actors, the obvious case in point being the Fidesz party, the major force of the current coalition.

2.   The BBC modell of public service broadcasting is rooted in a consolidated party system. Political parties in the United Kingdom are well established: they have a long history with many members, significant membership dues, strong ideologies and stable local party structures. These allow parties in Britain to rely on their own financial and human resources and to build and organise themselves in an effort to stabilise their positions. By contrast, most parties in Hungary are poorly established: they are young with few members and a limited income from mebership dues; they have diffuse ideologies and poor local structures (Ilonszki 2008). Most parties in Hungary are poorly embedded in society, which is indicated by a low level of public

Péter Bajomi-Lázár

Péter Bajomi-Lázár is professor of mass communication at the Social Communication and Media Department of the Budapest Business School and editor of the Hungarian media studies quarterly Médiakutató. He worked between October 2009 and September 2013 as a senior research fellow on Media and Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, a European Research Council project based at the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford. He was granted the (Hungarian) Pulitzer Memorial Award in 2002.

trust and a high level of electoral volatility, i. e. a large number of swing voters. Most, if not all, parties in Hungary act as cartel parties: they capture the state in an effort to compensate for the lack of financial and human resources needed for party building and organisation (on state capture in Central and Eastern Europe, see O'Dwyer 2004, Kopecký 2006, Kopecký & Scherlis 2008, Grzymała-Busse 2007). They use state resources—such as well-paid managerial positions and state commissions, among other things—to honour party clients for past and future services needed for party building and organisation. State capture also includes »media capture« (WAN IFRA 2013) or »party colonisation of the media«. Many parties are parasites of Public Service Broadcasters. This is not a specifically Hungarian phenomenon but one that can also be observed in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and Slovenia, among other countries. True, there are differences: under some governments, a one-party colonisation pattern prevails, while under other ones multi-party colonisation patterns are the rule. In the former case, all media resources are controlled and exploited by the ruling party or parties; in the latter, the opposition parties are also granted a slice of the »media pie«. In the former case, the freedom and pluralism of Public Service Media are severely limited; in the latter, a certain deal of freedom and pluralism are preserved, as parties may mutually limit each other's efforts to control Public Service Broadcasters (Bajomi-Lázár 2013b).

Party colonisation of the media necessarily implies bias in the Public Broadcasters' news programmes. Senior news editors are selected and appointed on the basis of political loyalties rather than professional criteria; programmes are produced by friends' companies rather than independent producers. As a result, the quality of public service programming in Hungary falls short of that in the United Kingdom. Because the reasons for media bias are structural, i. e. they lie in the specificities of an unconsolidated party system, media regulation alone cannot change this situation and improve the quality of public service broadcasting.

3. Finally, the BBC modell of public service broadcasting is rooted in a quasi two-party system. The British election system is based on the first-pass-the-post voting principle—in every electoral sector, the candidate with the highest number of votes is elected to parliament—, which leads directly to a two-party system (or a two-and-a-half party system in more recent times). In a two-party system, news editors on Public Service Broadcasters can ask representatives of both parties to comment on salient issues; as a general rule, only two alternatives

emerge in response to policy challenges. In most of the former communist countries, however, a proportional election system (or, in some countries such as Hungary and Lithuania, a mixed election system) has been established, leading to the rise of multi-party parliaments.

In multi-party systems, it is professionally and technically impossible for news editors to report on the position of all parties. If there are, say, five parties in parliament, their positions cannot be presented in detail and some of them will cry bias and criticise news reporting practices. A news bulletin presenting a long list of parties sharing their positions on the issues of the day is just unfriendly to viewers. In multi-party systems, there will always be endless debates about what the fair representation of the various political forces in the Public Service Media should be, while little would be said about editorial independence and autonomy.

In sum, both the politial cultural and the political institutional conditions needed for the establishment of a genuine Public Service Broadcaster are missing in contemporary Hungary. Most particularly, the BBC is

MAGYAR RÁDIÓ (MR)
www.radio.hu

KOSSUTH RÁDIÓ

PETŐFI RÁDIÓ

BARTÓK RÁDIÓ

27,1% Market share

based on a specific »gentlemen's agreement« that has at present no traces in this post-communist country where polarisation is high and private interests capture the public good. The taxpayer's money that has been spent on public service broadcasting in Hungary—amounting to some 80 billion forints or 26,7 million euros in 2014—is a tremendous waste. It does not serve the public good but partisan interests. The British model of public service broadcasting cannot be imported without the British political system also being imported. It is, at present, a mission impossible. •

REFERENCES

Bajomi-Lázár, P., V. Štětka, & M. Sükösd (2012): »Public Service Television in the European Union Countries: Old Issues, New Challenges,« in N. Just & M. Puppis (eds.): Trends in Communication Policy Research: New Theories, Methods and Subjects, pp. 355–380. Bristol: Intellect Books.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2013a): »The Party Colonisation of the Media. The Case of Hungary,« East European Politics & Societies, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 67–87.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2013b): »From One-Party to Multi-Party Media Control – and Back. Paradigm Shifts in Hungary's Media Politics,« Global Media Journal / Slovak Edition, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 26–41.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. & B. Tóth (2013): »Censorship and Manipulation within Hungarian Public Service Broadcasters' News Bulletins,« http://www.cij.hu/en/censorship-and-manipulation-within-hungarian-public-service-broadcasters%E2%80%99-news-bulletins/ (accessed 2 February 2013).

Carey, J. W. (1988/1992): Communication As Culture. Essays on Modernity and Society. New York & London: Routledge.

Dragomir, M. (2005): »Overview,« in M. Dragomir (ed.): Television across Europe: Regulation, Policy and Independence, vol. 1, pp. 13–184. Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Dragomir, M. & M. Thompson (2008): »Overview,« in M. Dragomir & M. Thompson (eds.): Television across Europe: More Channels, Less Independence. Follow-up Reports 2008, pp. 13–66. New York & Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Grzymała-Busse, A. (2007): Rebuilding Leviathan. Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies. Cambridge University Press.

Gunther, R. & L. Diamond (2003): »Species of Political Parties,« Party Politics, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 167–199.

Hallin D. C. & P. Mancini (2004): Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics. Cambridge University Press.

Ilonszki, G. (2008): »Hungary: Rules, Norms and Stability Undermined,« in S. D. Roper & J. Ikstens (eds.): Public Finance and Post-Communist Party Development, pp. 129–142. Aldershot, England & Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2003): »From State to Public Service: The Failed Reform of State Television in Central and Eastern Europe, in M. Sükösd & P.

Bajomi-Lázár (eds.): Reinventing Media. Media Policy Reform in East Central Europe, pp. 31–62. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Hall, S. (1980): »Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse,« in S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe & P. Willis (eds.): Culture, Media, Language, pp. 128–138. London: Hutchinson.

Jakubowicz, K. & M. Sükösd (2008): »Twelve concepts regarding media system evolution and democratization in post-communist countries,« in K. Jakubowicz & M. Sükösd (eds.): Finding the Right Place on the Map. Central and Eastern European Media in a Global Perspective, pp. 9–40. Bristol, UK & Chicago, US: Intellect Books.

Kopecký, P. (2006): »Political Parties and the State in Post-Communist Europe: The Nature of Symbiosis,« Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 251–273.

Kopecký, P. & G. Scherlis (2008): »Party Patronage in Contemporary Europe,« European Review, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 355–371.

Lazarsfeld, P., H. Gaudet & B. Berelson (1944): The People's Choice. How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Electoral Campaign. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

Morley, D. (1980): Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies. London: Routledge.

O'Dwyer, C. (2004): »Runaway State Building. How Political Parties Shape States in Postcommunist Eastern Europe,« World Politics, vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 520–553.

Rothenbuhler, E. W. (1998): Ritual Communication. From Everyday Conversation to Mediated Ceremony. Thousands Oaks, US & London, UK: Sage.

Siebert, F. S., T. Peterson & W. Schramm (1956 / 1963): Four Theories of the Press. Urbana & Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Tóka G. & M. Popescu (2002): »Campaign Effects and Media Monopoly: The 1994 and 1998 Parliamentary Elections in Hungary,« in D. M. Farrell & R. Schmitt-Beck (eds.): Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign Effects in Elections and Referendums, pp. 58–77. London & New York: Routledge.

WAN IFRA [World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers] (2013): »Capturing Them Softly. Soft Censorship and State Capture in Hungarian Media«, http://cima.ned.org/sites/default/files/CIMA-Hungary.pdf (accessed 2 Ferbuary 2013).
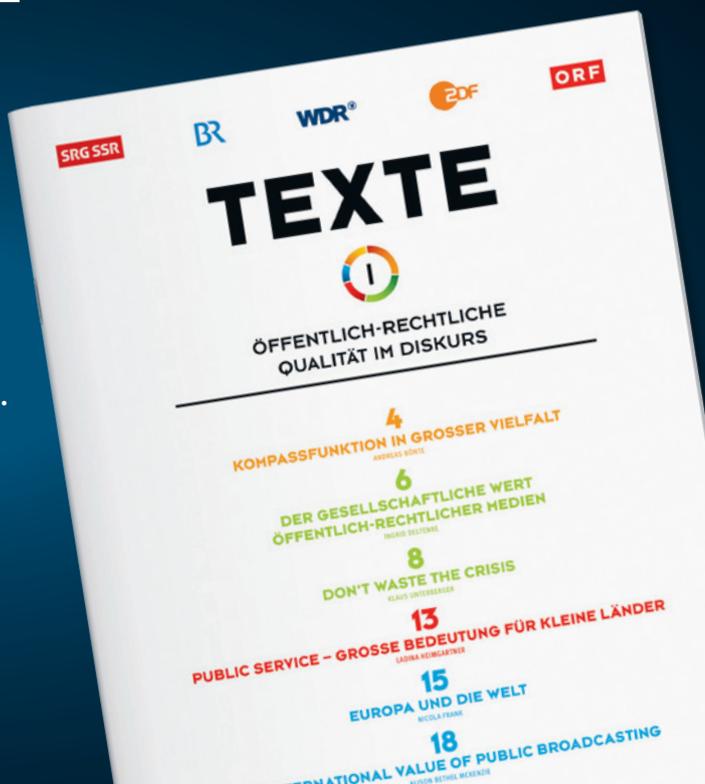
IRELAND

How Important shall Public Service Media be in the European Digital Media Age?

Roderick Flynn
Dublin City University

For this author the question of how important Public Service Media shall be in the European digital media age is a question about the role of the public provision of information and a communicative space at a time when the market continues to colonise both old and new media spaces. In that context the answer to the question must be unequivocal: Public Service Media are and will remain vital regardless of whatever technology constitutes the public information space. This not simply a normative stance on the part of this writer: it is also a tentative expression of confidence that the value of Public Service Media is agreed upon by a wide range of social actors.

Four decades ago, the question which this contribution addresses might well have provoked a puzzled response. The dominance of publicly-owned and public service-oriented broadcasters within Europe was so taken-for-granted that it would have been almost impossible to conceive of a communications environment in which these institutions did not play a central role. However, the political, economic and technological changes which are tacitly invoked by the use of the term »Public Service Media« (as opposed to »broadcasting«) have affected the position and role of public service broadcasting.

At a technological level, the arrival of cable and direct-to-home satellite distribution in the 1980s and the later appearance of digital broadcasting made possible a multitude of new private, commercial channels and new content. As late as 1980, of the approximately 50 televisions in existence across Western Europe only ITV in the UK, the Berlusconi-owned Canale 5 in Italy and Luxembourg's RTL were privately owned. However, by the end of the century there were over 1,000 channels available across Europe. This undermined the scarcity rationale (i. e. the limited number of radio broadcast frequencies in the early 20th century) as a legitimation for state monopoly control of broadcasting from the 1920s. These technological developments were accompanied by the development of the neo-liberal political project which found expression in broadcasting through the proposal that a multitude of market-driven, for-profit channels could provide not just adequate entertainment content but also a sufficient diversity of content to fulfill the social, political and economic role long considered the sole preserver of Public Service Broadcasters. In consequence, as Public Service Broadcasters became the exception rather than the norm, their public service editorial orientation and recourse to public funding would come to be regarded as a disturbance of »normal« market conditions.

In the intervening decades the emergence of the internet as an informational / communicative space has complicated this debate. On the one hand, some internet advocates identified it as imbued with the potential to extend the democratic potential of public service broadcasting by constituting a Habermasian public sphere, offering universal access not merely to information but also to a discursive space (as opposed to the one-way flow of broadcasting). On the other hand, the deregulation of the telecommunications sector in the US and Europe which followed the last round of GATT negotiations in 1993, placed the provision and control of the underlying infrastructure of the internet into private, corporate hands. Thus the extent to which the internet can create a utopian space remains unclear: one the one hand Facebook and Twitter provide free (and near universal) access to online discursive spaces. On the other hand those same institutions have commodified their audiences, exploiting user-provided personal data as a basis for constructing what are arguably the largest marketing databases on the planet, whilst claiming intellectual property rights over the user-generated content posted on these social networks. Much has been made of social media's contribution to political change (especially in the Middle East and, increasingly, in Eastern Europe) but, as Marcus Breen has pointed out in »Unintended Consequences« such narratives of liberation tend to downplay the less progressive aspects of social media (e. g. facilitating Jihadism and pornography).

Regardless, the role of broadcast industries in constituting the public sphere has been augmented by an online dimension. There can scarcely be a broadcaster left in Europe—whether public service-oriented or commercial—which does not make broadcast content available online either live or for delayed viewing to audiences with IP addresses associated with that nation state. The recognition that audiences (and especially younger age cohorts) are increasingly shifting their consumption of broadcast content online has, inter alia, raised questions about traditional PSB funding models and in particular whether it is appropriate to continue collecting licences for television and / or radio set ownership[1]. Regardless the reality is that the arrival of the online world has effectively forced Public Service Broadcasters to re-imagine themselves as Public Service Media ontent providers, producing content which may be consumed on any one of a range of old and new media.

In sum, the position of Public Service Broadcasters has been under attack for at least three decades and in considering the future of European Public Service Media there is little cause to think these pressures will dimin-

ish. In one sense, however, the duration of that assault is encouraging precisely because it points to endurance of such public service institutions. Defenders of PSB, especially from writers on media policy from the left, emerged immediately to challenge the zero sum pro-market / anti PSB arguments. In 1983, Nicholas Garnham challenged the assertion that the monopoly provision of broadcasting services by European nation states for much of the 20th century had ever been a primary justification for PSB. For him public service principles were inherently superior to the market as »a means of providing all citizens, whatever their wealth or geographical location, equal access to a wide range of high quality, information and education, and a means of ensuring that the aim of the programme producer is the satisfaction of a range of audience tastes rather than only those tastes that show the largest profit«.

Furthermore, despite a series of legal challenges, Public Service Broadcasters have generally retained their »privileged status« (Ward, 234), (i. e. their exclusive access to public funding). In the 1990s, the fact that the majority of European Public Service Broadcasters also raised revenues from advertising sales, led new commercial market entrants to argue that they were unfairly commercially disadvantaged. In France, Italy, Spain and Portugal respectively, TF1, Mediaset, Telecinco and SIC file legal complaints to the effect that public funding of public broadcasters constituted state aid that was incompatible with the terms of the Treaty of Rome relating to competition law. (In Ireland commercial broadcaster TV3 would bring a similar case before the European Commission with regard to public funding of RTE after it began broadcasting in 1998.) At roughly

---

Roderick Flynn

Roddy Flynn has been a lecturer on media policy at the School of Communications, Dublin City University since 1999. He holds a BA in History and Politics, an MA in Film and Television Studies and a doctorate on telecommunications history. He has published a number of books on cinema history and policy (including the forthcoming »Cinema and State: Irish Film Policy Since 1922« to be published by Irish Academic Press) and has written extensively on Irish broadcasting policy. He has also worked with the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland (BAI) on a number of research projects including work on evaluating the BAI's administration of a fund for supporting public service broadcasting content.

RAIDIÓ TEILEFÍS ÉIREANN (RTE)
www.rte.ie

Generalist
RTÉ ONE, RTÉ ONE +1, RTÉ TWO

29,8 % Market share

TG4
www.tg4.ie

Generalist
TG4

1,9 % Market share

the same time, commercial broadcasters in Germany and UK challenged the decision of existing Public Service Broadcasters to introduce new thematic (i. e. niche channels) on the grounds that public broadcasters were entering markets in which private channels were already active and were doing so with the added (unfair) competitive advantage of state funding. What all of these complaints had in common was the explicit or implicit assertion that public broadcasters were using the public funds to which they had exclusive access to subsidize their more commercial activities, activities which notionally relied only on commercial (advertising) revenues. However, in virtually all of these cases, the European Commission found in favour of the Public Service Broadcasters[2].

Furthermore even if the market share of European PSBs has inevitably fallen over the past two-three decades as the plethora of new commercial channels has fragmented audiences, as of 2010 they retain an average share of 25 – 30 % market share across Europe (Lewis, 2012, 3). Furthermore, in most European countries at the close of the 20th century, PSBs retained the largest single share (Picard, 1999, 234).

Nonetheless there have been changes and these may point to future developments relating to Public Service Media. The complaints from commercial broadcasters regarding Public Service Broadcasters' access to

public funding (referred to above) drew attention to the difficulty in distinguishing between the commercial and public service remits / output of those public broadcasters reliant on both public funding and advertising revenue. In 1998 attempt the EU's Competition Directorate stated that the more straightforward way to distinguish between a commercial sector reliant on advertising and Public Service Broadcasters »entrusted with an express set of obligations to fulfill in return for monies granted by the state« was adopt the pure licence fee funding system which characterized the BBC in the UK and SVT in Sweden. However the Directorate recognized that in practice the dual funding model »whereby Public Service Broadcasters would be entitled to collect commercial revenues as well as receive compensation from state aid, for costs incurred for fulfilling the remit of the public service obligation« (Ward, 242) was far more common. In this scenario, in order for the Commission to make future judgments as to the proportionality of revenues received from the state to finance public finances, it would require a clear definition and typology of public service obligations.

Thus while the European Commission supported the right of EU member states to support public service broadcasting (as opposed to Public Service Broadcasters) this support was conditional upon a clear statement of what public service broadcasting actually constituted. In Ireland this would be reflected in the pressure applied to RTE after 2002 to publish annual public service charters, specifying how they would fulfill their PSB remit in the following 12-month period.

However, in 1998 the Competition Directorate had also contemplated a third path for clarifying the position of state funding, proposing »a system of public tenders, whereby all undertakings could apply for funding of certain projects judged to be part of the provision of public service«. (Ward, 242) In other words, any broadcaster, public or private could seek funding for the production of public service content. Although this approach was not actively pursued by the Commission, it was appealing because it removed the imbalance between public and private broadcasters in accessing public funds for public service content.

And there is reason to think that this approach may yet be widely adopted in Europe with regard to the funding of Public Service Media content if only because a number of countries have already done so. In 1989 the Labour Government of New Zealand redirected 100 % of the licence fee away from the state-owned Public Service Broadcaster into an open fund for public service

content which could be accessed by any New Zealand broadcaster. Although no European state has pursued this to the same degree, several have adopted elements of this approach. In Ireland since 2002, between 5% and 7% of the licence fee has been directed away from RTE, the state-owned PSB and used to create a Sound and Vision fund available to all broadcasters on the island of Ireland (including those in Northern Ireland) for the production of public service content. In a similar vein in 2003 the Croatian Electronic Media Agency introduced the Fund for Promotion of Pluralism and Diversity of Electronic Media. Financed by top-slicing 3% of the broadcast licence fee the fund supports the production of public interest programmes at the local and regional levels and non-profit television and radio broadcasters.

Similar approaches have been contemplated in other European countries. In response to a concern that post-1989, the Polish Public Service Broadcaster TVP was becoming indistinguishable from its purely commercial competitors, in October 2004 a think-tank associated with the centre-right Platforma Obywatelska (roughly »the Citizens Platform«) promulgated a proposal to entirely abolish the general licence fees, privatize the TVP1 (the public channel with the largest market share (24,9%) and a establish a Public Mission Fund. This fund would then be used to finance public service programmes on both public and private channels. The proposal did not win widespread political support and was dropped.

Even in the UK, where the position of the BBC seems unassailable, OFCOM has contemplated a radical proposal to establish a Public Service Publisher (with an initial budget of £ UK 300 m) which would have relocated the primary locus of responsibility for producing public service content away from the BBC. The PSP with a »centre of gravity in digital media and [...] a remit [...] for new forms of content provision« (Ofcom, 2007, 6) was to be the vehicle for delivering public service content in this new context.

As a consequence of this focus on the potential of the digital arena, Ofcom assumed that the much of the PSP's output would »not resemble linear programing at all« but might borrow from practices and approaches associated with computer gaming. Thus at least some of the content supported would be participative in nature, with users (rather than »audiences«) actively contributing the content. This implied contemplating a radical shareware-style rights model which would allow PSP content to be re-used and modified by users and, further, implied that the PSP would operate a non-

RTE
www.rte.ie

RTÉ RADIO ONE

RTÉ 2FM

RTÉ LYRIC FM

RTÉ RADIO NA GAELTACHTA

30% Market share

commercial business model analogous with open source software development. In the event the proposal was dropped, largely because the funding envisaged seemed inadequate.

Taken together, however, these examples point to an increasing focus on supporting the production of public service content rather than simply maintaining Public Service Media institutions. In an era of the marketization of broadcasting, the political appeal of this approach, permitting as it does state and privately-owned broadcasters to compete for public service content production funds seems likely to grow.

However, the shift to a focus on public service content as opposed to institutions may have implications beyond broadcasting. If, as noted above, broadcast content is increasingly consumed online, the same is true of print. As newspaper circulation has declined across Europe advertising revenues have also dropped. Newspapers have sought to compensate by increasing web traffic to their sites with a view to monetizing site visits. However, the internet itself constitutes dual site of competition: for readers who can access online content for »free« rather than paying for newspapers and for advertising revenues as market-specific (cars, property etc.) advertising sites draw advertisers away from print. This raises the difficulty for the old model of funding the fourth estate. The notion that press freedom (implicitly from state interference) depended on the economic stability of newspapers (in turn based on advertising revenue) has always been problematic since advertisers themselves (especially in an era of advanced / oligopoly capitalism) constitute a potentially powerful influence on editorial. However, even if

one accepts the logic free press model political / economic model at face value, the calamitous decline in advertising revenues raises questions about its sustainability. In Ireland, two national Sunday papers have closed in the past three years, the largest print media group in the country, Independent News and Media, faces a mounting debt crisis and in 2013, the second largest Irish print media group, Thomas Crosbie Holdings underwent radical restructuring to avoid total bankruptcy.

In Ireland, some print media groups have overtly described online media as the enemy, cannibalizing print content, undermining their revenue streams and threatening to »destroy civil society and cause unimaginable suffering«[3]. Even if the last assertion is clearly hyperbole it does draw attention to the implications for public discourse of the weakened position of some private media. The solution proposed by some aspects of the Irish print media has been to further extend the definition of public service content production to include the output of newspapers:

»Public service is not something RTE [the Irish PSB] owns ... It is a public service for any organization to devote professional people to finding out, fact checking and publishing information in the public good.«

This quote (from the former chairman of Thomas Crosbie Holdings) is clearly self-serving but it does point to the inherently cross-media nature of the contemporary public communications environment. If print and broadcast media are increasingly consumed online it becomes easier to argue that the differences between the role of »official« public service communications institutions and private institutions which also constitute an element of the public sphere are becoming less clear. If there is an increasing focus on the importance of the need to protect the space for the creation of public service content then, it seems reasonable to suggest that the future of European Public Service Media may include public financial support for a much wider range of institutions than has been the case hitherto. •

1 A number of European countries including Germany, Denmark and Greece have already replaced the licence fee with a broadcasting charge which is levied on all households (regardless of whether they possess a radio or television). Legislation is currently under consideration in Ireland to introduce a similar levy called the »Household Broadcasting Charge«.
2 Article 90 states that

Undertakings entrusted with the operation of services of general economic interest ... shall be subject to the rules contained in this treaty, in particular the rules on competition

However, Article 92 qualifies this by stating that

The suppliers of certain services of general interest (incl. broadcasters) may be exempted from the rules of the Treaty, where such rules would obstruct the performance of the general interest tasks for which they are responsible.

In all of the cases brought before it, the Commission found that the activities of public service broadcasters complained of by commercial entrants could be regarded as »services of general interest«.

3 Sinead O'Carroll (2012) »Crosbie: Newspapers should get a slice of any new broadcasting charge«. The Journal.ie 6 Feb 2012. Accessed March 2 2014 at http://www.thejournal.ie/crosbie-newspapers-should-get-a-slice-of-any-new-broadcasting-charge-347735-Feb2012/

REFERENCES

Marcus Breen (2011) »Uprising: The internet's unintended consequences«, Champaign, Illinois: Common Ground Publishing.

Nicholas Garnham (1983) »Public Service Versus the Market« Screen Vol. 5, No. 1, 6–28.

David Lewis (2012) »The Situation of Public Broadcasting in Europe«, Speech delivered in Vilnius 20 January 2012. David Lewis is the Head of Special Assistance at the European Broadcasting Union.

Ofcom (2007) »A New Approach to Public Service Content in the Digital Media Age«, London: Ofcom.

Robert G. Picard (2002) »Assessing Audience Performance of Public Service Broadcasters« European Journal of Communication, Vol 17, No. 2, 227–235.

David Ward (2003) »State Aid or Band Aid? An Evaluation of the European Commission's Approach to Public Service Broadcasting« Media, Culture and Society Vol. 25, No. 2, 233–250.

ITALY

Public Service Media in Europe at Times of Crisis: Some Reflections

Alessandro D'Arma
University of Westminster

It might be an untimely statement to make in light of the latest developments (more about which below), but it is all too easily forgotten in debates on the prospect of Public Service Broadcasters (PSB) in the digital age how remarkably resilient an institution PSB in Europe has so far proved to be. The only major privatisation of a PSB organisation in Western Europe was that of France's TF1 in 1987. Rather than becoming a relic of the past, as many observers had predicted in the 1980s in the context of the deregulation and commercialisation of national television systems, PSB continued to play a prominent role across the continent throughout the 1990s and the following decade, notwithstanding the proliferation of channels brought about by the transition to digital television during those years. In fact, the »population« of European Public Service Broadcasters (PSBs) expanded significantly in the 1990s, following the transformation in the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe of state broadcasters into PSBs enjoying legal guarantees of political independence.

Surely, life has been far from assured for PSBs around Europe during the past three decades. Their legitimacy in the face of changing market and technological conditions has constantly been challenged by free-marketers across the political spectrum. European PSBs have inevitably lost ground vis-à-vis the expanding private sector, and growing commercial competition has arguably had a profound impact on their public service ethos. In many parts of Europe, notably in Southern and Eastern European countries (though by no means only there), PSBs have continued to be widely perceived as overly politicised, biased and wasteful organisations, failing in important respects to fulfil their public service

remit. These are often justified and important criticisms of the actual performance of these organisations in those countries, which however have ultimately contributed to the weakening the very ideal of PSB, and the normative principles underpinning it. Finally, all European PSBs have to a greater or lesser extent faced budgetary constraints and ever-closer regulatory scrutiny in the name of political accountability and financial transparency.

But the very fact that they all have survived the »digital revolution« and three decades of hegemonic neo-liberal ideology, at a time when many other sectors of the economy were fully privatised, belies the notion propounded by their critics that the key rationale for PSB has always been technical, so that it follows from the end of »spectrum scarcity« and the advent of an age of digital abundance that PSB is no longer needed. Rather, the historical resilience of PSBs in Europe speaks volume about how deeply rooted in European political culture is the idea that PSB is an integral element of European democracies. Perhaps the most famous pronouncement of this vision can be found in the Protocol on Public Broadcasting to the EU Amsterdam Treaty of 1997, which states that »the system of public broadcasting in the Member States is directly related to the democratic, social and cultural needs of each society and to the need to preserve media pluralism«, and leaves accordingly to Member States the competence »to provide for the funding of public service broadcasting«.

These initial observations allow us to look from an historical perspective at current developments affecting PSB in Europe—which no doubt are highly worrisome for its defenders. These are arguably the hardest times

that PSBs in Europe has faced for a long time. The second half of 2013 saw the unprecedented closure of two Southern European Public Broadcasters, the Greek ERT (replaced by a new, scaled back organisation), and Ràdio Televisió Valenciana (RTVV), one of Spain's regional Public Broadcasters. Several other PSBs, including PSBs in continental and Northern Europe, have been inflicted severe funding cuts requiring drastic downsizing. In the best-case scenario, they have seen their public funding frozen in nominal terms. Even large PSBs like the BBC are under growing financial pressure. These initiatives are being undertaken by European governments as cost-cutting exercises in response to the economic crisis and they are justified in the name of austerity and the need to cut back on public spending. Up until the global financial crisis of 2008, the challenge against PSB has always essentially been an ideological one, based on a technologically-driven argument forcefully put forward by rival commercial interests and their political backers. In a nutshell, the argument has been that technological advances, most notably new delivery technologies such as digital broadcasting and the Internet, by eroding barriers to entry, remove the main market failures associated with television, and thus undermine the rationale for significant public intervention in the form of large stand-alone publicly funded organisations. Even more vociferously, commercial rivals have accused PSBs of »crowding out« private provision by entering new media sectors where there are no apparent market failures justifying their presence. However, the resilience of PSBs and their expansion into new areas of media provision bears testament to the successful case built by defenders of PSB who have: (1) delinked the rationale for PSB from the technological argument and anchored it to broader democratic concerns; and (2) argued that even from a narrower market failure perspective contemporary technical changes do not remove all market failures associated with television; so even against the strict criteria set by the standard framework of economic theory, there is still a rationale for significant public intervention in media markets.

But the challenge now confronting PSB seems of a different order. In times of economic crisis, the argument is arguably shifting to a pragmatic, almost fatalistic one, namely that European societies facing a prolonged economic crisis (possibly a structural decline in at least some parts of the continent) can simply no longer afford the luxury of funding PSB. The political pressure for smaller, scaled-down PSBs is mounting. The question is no longer framed as whether we as society need PSB. Instead the debate is now primarily couched in terms of whether we can afford it, in its current scale and scope.

In countries where in the context of the economic recession, anti-politics sentiments among the population are spreading, funding to PSBs has become one of the most favourite targets of populist leaders exploiting popular discontent, given the close association between PSB and the mistrusted world of politics in the public's perception. It is thus unsurprising that in national contexts where such is the prevailing political climate, governments tend to frame the issue of PSB within the discourse of austerity, and to call for greater financial transparency and managerial efficiency.

One response by advocates of PSB in Europe has been to scrutinize claims by governments about the necessity of drastic reductions in public funding, and thus to challenge the portrayal of downsizing initiatives by European governments as unavoidable, rather than the product of political decisions, often taken in response to populist demands. So, in this vein, the European Broadcasting Union representing the interests of PSBs has recently issued a statement condemning »excessive budget cuts to public service media« and stressing that they »cannot serve as a quick fix to a nation's economic woes«.

RADIOTELEVISIONE ITALIANA (RAI)
www.rai.it

Generalist
RAI 1, RAI 2, RAI 3, RAI 4, RAI 5, RAI PREMIUM

Children
RAI YOYO, RAI GULP

Movies
RAI MOVIE

Sports
RAI SPORT 1, RAI SPORT 2

News/Business
RAI NEWS

Documentary
RAI STORIA

Educational
RAI SCUOLA

39,9 % Market share

RAI
www.rai.it

RAI RADIO1

RAI RADIO2

RAI RADIO3

12 % Market share

Bringing the debate back to a normative dimension, a case also could be made, and indeed has been made, for arguing that it is precisely at time of economic crisis, and widespread political and social malaise, that PSB can make an especially valuable contribution to the »democratic, social and cultural needs« of European societies. So the need for a well-functioning (and thus, as a precondition, a well-funded) PSB is arguably more substantial now than at any time in the past. This case can be articulated along at least two lines of argument.

First, it can be maintained that a strong PSB practising responsible journalism free from commercial pressure is needed to counteract the polarising and disintegrating tendencies that can be observed in the political sphere in many parts of Europe. This phenomenon is a predictable consequence of the state of collective malaise produced by the economic crisis. It is sometime suggested that a fragmenting news media environment and the growing popularity of social media are contributing to these tendencies towards the polarisation and exacerbation of the political debate. PSBs can make a valuable contribution towards promoting social cohesion by practicing a kind of reflective journalism that tackles the most fundamental and divisive political issues facing European societies such as the challenges of economic globalisation and growing immigration, but in a way as to avoid exacerbating tones and heightening conflicts. The latter is a style of journalism to which mainstream commercial news organisations pursuing ratings and profits are inherently more inclined to, especially at times like these when they face financial challenges and thus growing commercial pressure.

This leads to the second main argument for PSB at times of crisis. The economic downturn of the past few years

has deteriorated the situation for established commercial media organisations, already facing a »structural« crisis whose roots lie in the advent of the Internet, especially in its Web 2.0 incarnation, and changing media consumption habits leading to ever greater audience fragmentation. The market economics of media content provision is challenging. The »winners« in the Web 2.0 environment are large, globally-operating and US-originating technology firms, attracting much of online advertising expenditure but making little or no contribution to the financing of media content within the territories where they operate. In this scenario, adequate provision of content that is widely deemed to be socially desirable but costly and not necessarily commercially-attractive, in particular news but also nationally-originated content in genres such as drama, documentary and children's programming, is likely to be increasingly dependent on publicly-funded media organisations operating on the basis of a public service remit that, among others, include the goal to promote informed political citizenship and national and European identities.

In opening this short essay, I noticed that the institution of PSB in Europe has shown remarkable resilience ever since the 1980s, its continuing raison d'être being compellingly justified by its defenders in terms of core democratic values. In current times of economic crisis the political pressure for smaller and scaled down Public Service Media is unsurprisingly mounting, but, as discussed, a case can be made that it is precisely at times likes these that the democratic rationale for an adequately-funded Public Service Media becomes all the stronger. Of course, a general defence of the need for a strong PSB like the one I have sketched out here should not detract from a much-needed critique of the actual practice of PSB (where this is justified), and from proposals for reform of its governance framework and funding regime. •

Alessandro D'Arma

Dr. Alessandro D'Arma (Ph.D. 2007 University of Westminster, UK) is a senior lecturer at the University of Westminster, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. His research revolve around media and broadcasting policy in Europe, and the political economy of media industries. His work has appeared in several books and academic journals, including: »Media Culture & Society«, »International Communications Gazette«, »Journal of Children and Media, and Convergence: Convergence: International Journal for Research into New Media«.

LATVIA

Creating Public Value in a Digital Media Landscape

Inta Brikše
University of Latvia

Changes of public media are always contextual—embedded both in the culture and political system of their state, as well as influenced by the common development tendencies of European public media.

The notion suggested by the founder of public broadcasting in the UK and the first general manager of the BBC John Reith that the functions of public media are to inform, educate and entertain (the so-called Reithian trinity) was the leitmotif of the understanding of these media although these functions can be related to all media, changing only the scope of their implementation. Therefore, this approach facilitated competition with commercial media in entertainment. Yet till the 1980s there was an opinion that »efficient and reliable delivery of electronic media and communication services to the public required state intervention« (Collins, 1998, 363). It promoted development of paternalism in the relations of media with the public which was facilitated also by the mass communication situation when audience is generally dissociated from media contents and can influence it only implicitly (Tracey, 1998). Competition with the commercial media was perceived as a self-evident counter-positioning of the public media values to commercial interests.

Competition in digital environment becomes multi-dimensional because the established patterns of communication have changed (Collins, 2011). Public media are no more an indisputable institute that has been delegated the reflection and communication of values, culture and social norms of the majority of public. Thus the meaning of public media has changed in general.

Collins offers two approaches to the meaning of public service—codification (what PSB »is«) and theoretical systematization (what PSB »ought« to be) (Collins, 2002). What PSB »is« meaning is formed on the basis of reflection of practice and analysis of experience in a historical and social context. This approach can be typically seen when there are aspirations to use BBC or the public media systems of the Scandinavian countries as an example for development of public media in Eastern Europe. What PSB »ought« to be is an open approach focused on values and criteria of their defining, one could also say—expectations that individuals, different communities and society at large have in regard to the public media in specific cultural and social situations. And correspondingly complex approaches are necessary because »contemporary social relations are just too complex to be managed by hierarchical ›command-and-control‹ systems« (Collins, 2008, 296).

This second type of approach includes also the concept of Public Value that was developed by Mark Moore in 1995 as a new concept for understanding of public administration practice and which has become a ubiquitous term not only in the politics and public administration literature (Williams, Shearer 2011), but also in media studies, particularly in public media practice (Kelly, Mulgon, & Muers, 2002; McQuail, 2003; BBC, 2004; Collins, 2007; Moe, & Donders, 2011). Public Value can be explained in general terms as anything what the public values, where public is perceived as a body of inhabitants and citizens and not as customers and consumers (Moore, 1995). But the public Value is not a simple sum total of individual or even

group interests. It must include the common perceptions of what is valuable in social life so they may differ from the vision and agenda of the political elite (Benington, & Moore 2011). Therefore a certain consensus must be reached as to what the overall social / national interests are and how they interact with understanding the interests of many and different groups and individuals. Thus the question is not only simply between majority and minority but many majorities and minorities that are changing into the bargain. But usually legislation stipulates for the public media certain provisions as to what values they must represent, as well as what groups of society must be allocated a special place in the public media because their opinions and interests are not adequately and sufficiently represented in other media. Certain discord can be forecast in these relations and interests that communication theorists propose to solve by focusing not only on outcomes but on evaluation of these outcomes in the context of social, political, economic, environmental, cultural, welfare and the development of other goals of society harmonizing two public media principles: »to support national cultural production and therefore assists in constructing national identity« and »to serve all populations equally« (Horsti, & Hultén, 2011, 211).

Benington and Moore (2011) Public Value »strategic triangle« that includes 1. the authorizing environment, 2. public value outcomes and 3. operational capacity, indicates that coherence between defining the public value and the support of the environment is essential (we could also say—between the respect of public media) and also the operational capacity of the organization itself. Which means that values that are even excellently defined but are not recognized by either the potential partners or society, will not be able to create Public Value outcomes. A public medium that is weak as a media organization will not be able to generate Public Values outcomes.

All in all this model is clear and comparatively easy to apply for the media governors and media organizations, and certainly also society would be able to develop a conceptual understanding what Public Value is, what is expected from media and what the preconditions and opportunities of achieving it are. Yet a critical issue are the many and diverse expectations in society concerning the Public Value that public media should provide. Benington (2009) links Public Value with the public sphere. Public Value is part of a deliberation process rooted in the democratic public sphere in which debates about competitive values and interests take place. Thus Public Value according to Benington creates added

value to the public sphere itself. This approach is essential in view of the fact that alternative public spheres are formed within it. Yet they can be contradictory but at the same time they provide an opportunity (1) to form interpretations of opposite / incompatible interpretations of identities, interests and needs, (2) to ensure existence of diverse debating publics and (3) to include into the public sphere »private« issues (Fraser, 1995). Thus public sphere provides for individuals a sense of belonging, meaning and continuity.

For understanding of these issues and for systematization in digital media environment a useful approach is Talbot's (2011) classification of interests and the link with Public Value—self-interest (individual goals, possibilities of achieving them, benefits), public or social interest (social outcomes that obviously provide value to society) and procedural interest (to create public opinion about something). This approach both emphasizes the individual's role, as well as underlines a need for a balance among interests of separate individuals and the interests of society at large in accordance with common interests of development of the process.

But these new and complex individual-media-society relations are difficult to explain fully with the traditional media theories because they either explain media systems and media relations with other institutional actors or relationship of the individuals of audience (and only partly) with media.

More prospective approaches for media studies in digital environment are offered by hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013) and multilevel, multi-theoretical and multi-dimensional network model (Ognyanova & Monge, 2013). Hybridization media system characterizes »simultaneous integration and fragmentation« (Chadwick, 2013, 15) and »is built upon interactions of

Inta Brikše

Inta Brikše is a professor in communications studies at the Department of Communication Studies University of Latvia. Research interests are focused on studies of media landscape, national identity and information environment in general. Editor and author of two books »Information Environment in Latvia: the Beginning of 21st Century« and »9th Saeima Election Campaign of the Republic of Latvia: the public space of preelections« (both in Latvian). Board member of Central European Journal of Communication.

older and newer media logics« (Chadwick, 2013, 4) etc. Network model includes media industry, media content and media audience networks, where each network has its own internal relations and inter-network relations. This understanding includes also a number of external sources of influence.

Research questions for this paper are two:
1. what aspects of Public Value appear in the processes of digitalization? and
2. how the digitalization could influence the general understanding of public media?

LATVIJAS TELEVIZIJA (LTV)
www.ltv.tv

Generalist
LTV1, LTV7

13,3 % Market share

The research is based on Open Society Foundations project »Mapping Digital Media«—www.opensocietyfoundations.org/projects/mapping-digital-media. This is the most significant research including such a large scope of countries and such an operative assessment of digitalization processes in the context of media development and media impact on society. First reports about countries were published in 2011 and publishing of reports continues but data gathered for reports are from even from a longer period of time. For the present analysis reports on EU member states, candidate countries and potential candidate countries were chosen (in total 24, reports on 12 countries not published in the project yet).

New Media Landscape. What happens to Media Relationship?

The project »Mapping Digital Media« re-confirms the high evaluation of public media in Finland, United Kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, France etc. Yet comparing those countries where public media have high reputation and respect from the power and the countries where quite oppositely large dependence on

political influence has been identified (Slovakia, Turkey, Hungary, Croatia, Romania etc.) one should mention, for example, Poland where public television has »relative popularity and financial strength«, but at the same time politicians, journalists and reporters have a »negative view« about it (Krajewski, & Diakite, 2012, 33). Which means that public distinguishes between criteria of evaluation of public and commercial media, and popularity and financial welfare alone are not the grounds of authorizing environment where public and shareholders grant to public media support and legitimacy. Many reporters explicitly associate public media vulnerability when compared with commercial broadcasters with funding, which certainly has a role to play in strengthening of media capacity but is it always as big as it is presented?

It is quite typical that in East and Central European countries which have insufficient funding for the digitalization processes at the same time there are differences between the planned activities of digitalization and the schedules of their implementation, and the allocated funding has been spent for other purposes or there is an overall lack of transparency in use of funding. Whatever the reasons of inadequate planning of digitalization processes their consequences are the same—public media lack clearly set and secure milestones of development, several scenarios for overcoming the possible problems and so on. For example, Albania's strategy for digital switch-over, drafted in 2004 was redrafted and amended several times; the plan for digital switch-over was developed with assistance of international institutions etc. But its implementation was not successful because of a lack of funds (Londo, 2012). Such situations both practically (public media reforms do not take place, in their development they lag behind the commercial media), as well as symbolically (lack of transparency diminishes public trust, unclear expenditure of funding in media reduces freedom of journalism) decreases public media power both within media system and society in general. Albanian news programmes receive regular criticism from the opposition, civil society and also from commercial media for the lack of editorial independence. Performance of public media still depends on the traditional media structures in Spain (Llorens, Luzón, & Grau, 2012).

Debates going on for years in Latvia about strategies of public media development and their functions have »indicated a lack of knowledge and understanding among the political elite of the public service concept, its mission, and obligations to society« (Juzefovičs, 2011, 32). Authors of Bosnia and Herzegovina report pointed out

RADIO LATVIA
www.latvijasradio.lv

LR1 – LATVIJAS RADIO 1

LR2 – LATVIJAS RADIO 2

LR3 – KLASIKA

LR4 – DOMSKAJA PLOSCADJ

LR5 – NABA

37,1% Market share

that »the biggest problem is that politicians […] and society as a whole still have not reached agreement over what kind of public service is needed« (Džihana, Ćendić, & Tahmaz 2012, 39) and they also identify consequences—poor coordination and management, low quality of programs. Macedonia public TV is perceived as »national TV« or even »state TV« (Belicanec, & Ricliev, 2012, 30).

Among factors decreasing significance of public media the reports of several countries mention their commercialization, and also politicization (mainly in regard of television). While public media politization can be clearly evaluated as a contrast to the fundamental purpose of PSB activities—to ensure diversity of opinions, objectivity and citizens' participation in public debates, commercialization is associated with one of the PSB fundamentals in Reithian trinity formula—entertainment. But when public media start competing with commercial media, entertainment function overruns information and education functions. And civil societies' citizens notice it, for instance, inhabitants of Finland criticize their Public Broadcaster YLE for spending public money on entertainment, although at the same time they evaluate it highly as a »significant news source for their personal use«, both society and politicians admit that YLE has a significant role in society (Saikkonen, & Häkämies, 2014, 31). Similar critical comments have been made also about German public broadcasters: »imitation of the strategies of commercial broadcasters, high production costs and rising license fees, relocation of programming with smaller audiences to special (digital) channels, a lack of transparency, and a loss of connection to younger people« (Schröder, Hasebrink, Dreyer, Loosen & Schröter, 2011, 29).

Estonian public media in their contents formation policy have conceptually moved far away from the commercial media and operate with a comparatively small (in comparison to other EU states) budget. Yet Estonian TV1 regained the highest daily share, media attract relatively high proportion of educated audiences and also an increasing share from non-Estonian language communities (Loit, & Siibak, 2013, 27). Public media in all the states confront tense competition but the role of digitalization in it is not seen in all the reports unlike the authors of the French report who admit that this is »the most drastic change since the introduction of colour TV« (Koc-Michalska, Vedel, Granchet, Leteinturier & Villeneuve, 2013, 29). The old division among types of media by channels has been already blurred and new competitions emerge not only with internet media but also with the traditionally print media whose editorial offices produce video and have their own TV studios (Kollar, & Czwitkowics, 2013, 42). Digitalization processes as shown by the country reports, are on different development levels in Europe. But there is a common trend—under digitalization impact media landscape has changed conceptually because the overall relations of audience with media have changed and digital television »is the catalyst of converged communications« (Iosidis, 2012, 10).

In those East European countries where some form of subscription fee for public media has not been introduced, people object to it, for example, in Poland the young generation of internet users have no understanding for the system of fee payment and consider it as old fashioned (Krajewski, & Diakite, 2012, 35). There are lots of examples of different understandings of public media in reports. For example, in the Netherlands a member of parliament suggested that »public broadcasters should stop publishing online news sites, as they are an unfair form of competition for newspapers« (de Waal, Leurdijk, Nordeman, & Poell, 2011, 30). Different understandings irrespective of their causes may pose essential future problems because public media need a strong mandate from the people and politicians elected by people. The more so—it is necessary to gain support of different stakeholders both individuals and organizations to create the authorizing environment to achieve the desired public value outcomes (Benington, & Moore, 2011, 6).

As shown by the reports, the citizens in those countries that have long and stable public media traditions (Finland, Germany) are critical of phenomena that in many countries would not be perceived as problems at all. In the states where politicians' influence on the

public media is critically big and inadmissible there exists a high risk that they can remain without a noteworthy public. These are especially high risks in the new democracies that once audiences of the public media decrease, the political and financial pressure on them can increase.

Interactivity. Do Public Media have Capacity to Strengthen the Public Sphere?

Concluding that public media, especially public television, audience is decreasing although some public television channels are still most watched, most of reports' authors have found that public media have strong and developed websites and multiple platforms.

Some public media started their online activities already in the mid-1990s when in Sweden SVT and SR established web pages whose contents was the same as the broadcast content (Nord, 2011, 25).

YLE's online activities are characterized as the »biggest change attributable to digitization« because YLE »followed and reacted to the spread of broadband by transferring a significant degree of resources to online and away from traditional broadcasting« (Saikkonen, & Häkämies, 2014, 28). In France Public Broadcasters

> »Public media that were able to position themselves as affiliated to the field of new media are characterized by real and active conversation with people.«

developed new strategies and invested in new formats and »public television has firmly established its place in the online community« (Koc-Michalska, Vedel, Granchet, Leteinturier, & Villeneuve, 2013, 33). In the Netherlands omreop.nl is one of the most visited websites (de Waal, Leurdijk, Nordeman, & Poell, 2011, 31) but in addition to that public media have a number of thematic portals about culture, health etc. The same strategy is used in Sweden—new »thematic areas« for children and youth, WebTV, YouTube channels, blogs etc. It all provides an opportunity for public media whose ratings decline due to digitalization to gain new leading positions in WebTV area (Nord, 2011, 27). During the last years also BBC has been rapidly developing BBC news services and the investment results are easy

to see—»it is by far the most visited news website« (Freedman, Schlosberg, 2011, 26).

Characterizing online activities reporter mention the whole range of them—well-organized platforms, written content, pictures, online short video or streams of programs, possibilities to participate in forums, leave comments, mobile portal, developed iPhone application, active building channels, programs and journalists' profiles on Facebook, Twitter and other social networks etc. Macedonian public media (mtv.com.mk), using web-based television services in cooperation with telecom operators has significantly increased internet presence. Certainly public media under the conditions of the new environment have lost a great deal of their stability and security. Public attention is rapidly changing and in digital environment individuals can easily and quickly change media. The largest Facebook and Twitter communities in France were the first who gathered by public media, but after some time the situation changed and the largest communities were gained by the commercial media (Koc-Michalska, Vedel, Granchet, Leteinturier & Villeneuve, 2013).

Country reports clearly show that a challenge for public media is their operational capacity because public media do not posses the possibility any more of »ought to be« without knowledgeable and high motivated management and personnel. There is a great need for a change in mind from a slow serving to the society to an active mediatisation in the society.

Reports indicate the increasing lagging behind of public media from the commercial media although in the majority of cases public media had comparative advantages during digitalization processes. Croatian Radio-Television, as it was mentioned in the country survey, had been poorly prepared because »its management lacks will, equipment and money to do so« and after years it became »bloated and inefficient organization, and the slow take-up of opportunities offered by digitization has made this glaringly obvious« (Car, Andrijašević, 2012, 32). Factor »hindering RTVE's leading role« as mentioned in Spain's report are RTVE in-house organizational and professional credibility problems but at the same time professionalization of management and social media strategies bring success and have borne fruit in terms of audience consumption and engagement. Spain's RTVE got second position (2011) among the online media audience because of transfer »management know-how through the appointment of experienced digital editors from the commercial media« (Llorens, Luzón, & Grau, 2012, 35).

Public media that were able to position themselves as affiliated to the field of new media are characterized by real and active conversation with people. Slovenia's multimedia portal (rtvslo.si), one of the most visited portals was the first to offer video and audio on demand, news at their e-mail address, opinion polls, commenting on articles, rating articles, chatting, discussion forums, blogs, sending letters to editors and journalists (Milosavljević, & Krševan Smokvina, 2012, 36). The delay of public media not only becoming part of but also operating proactively in the area of the new media is very risky because competition has acquired a new feature—very high speed. Latvian public media journalists have been enthusiastically engaged with their audiences via Twitter and other social media but media in general have been durably »sporadic, without any apparent strategy or editorial policy« (Juzefovičs, 2011, 31). That can be an irrevocable process although in 2013 a new public media concept was developed ensuring an approach both to television and radio content but it still maintains a distance with journalists because the majority of TV journalists are not capable of reaching it.

Digitalization. Has it Provided Public Value?

The authors of many country reports have avoided evaluation of digitalization results emphasizing that the digitalization processes have started recently and therefore it is too early to assess them. Yet reports distinctly show several aspects that might be useful for a wider analysis of Public Value.

Digitalization is a wide and complex process involving many different stakeholders often not only with different but competing interests. For example, public and commercial media are competing not only for audiences of their channels but also for the followers' communities in social networks. Therefore an essential precondition for digitalization to be able to facilitate Public Value is a clear understanding of the objectives of digitalization. In some countries digitalization was »perceived primarily in the context of switch-over (upgrade from analogue to digital transmission signals) or in digitizing audiovisual archives« (Milosavljević, & Krševan Smokvina, 2012, 27) and the possibility to increase the number of channels. Developing of new channels is one of the characteristics of digitalization results mentioned in reports, too. Yet the approaches are various in different countries. For Estonian TV it was an opportunity to launch news channels, Slovakia launched a new sports channel in 2008 but it was cancelled in 2011 for economic reasons. No new channels were opened in Finland but »the ex-

isting ones have gone through changes and renewals« focusing on explicit profiles for every channel (Saikkonen, & Häkämies, 2014, 28). New channels were not created in France either but they were looking for ways of making the existing ones »more attractive and concurrent with commercial channels« (Koc-Michalska, Vedel, Granchet, Leteinturier & Villeneuve, 2013, 33). The transmission of the so-called »parliamentary channel« in Slovenia became actually accessible to all the potential viewers (Milosavljević, & Krševan Smokvina, 2012).

It is characteristic that in the countries where public media have long and stable traditions and relations with civil society there are not too many attempts for quantitative expanding of public media. UK report highlights that BBC had new opportunities to expand and diversify news output and simulcast all five radio national analogue channels online (Freedman, & Schlosberg, 2011).

> »The concept of ›serving‹ is not sufficient and the understanding of processes through ›mediatization‹ could be more useful. Public media must accept people and individuals as equal partners.«

On-demand service »YLE Areena« was started in Finland. It provides access to radio and television programs for 7 to 30 days after broadcasting. YLE is also the first TV in Finland to provide streaming of all TV programmes on the internet simultaneously with their broadcasting (Saikkonen, & Häkämies, 2014). German broadcasters launched new experimental television channels for small niche audiences using content mostly from the archives and started »adapting audience-targeting strategies to suit the new digital landscape« (Schröder, Hasebrink, Dreyer, Loosen & Schröter, 2011, 27). In several countries loss of terrestrial coverage left impact on a considerably large number of households, in particular in rural areas (Slovakia, Latvia). In Latvia terrestrial free-of-charge broadcasting using digital television set-top boxes had initially all the national public and commercial channels but when Modern Times Group channels withdrew from it, the viewers were left only with two public TV channels. National Electronic Media Council hastily organized

a tender for the free places by offering to fill them as public remit. Participation in the tender was very small, three local TV companies won whose capacity in providing large-scale national level broadcasts was insignificant. Slovakian STV was also not capable of filling the public service multiplex with adequate content and commercial broadcasters launched new channels that quickly gained larger audiences than the second public channel (Kollar, & Czwitkowics, 2013).

The fact that digitalization has weakened the position of public media in market since the number of radio stations and television channels available for public has increased, is mentioned both by the countries with strong public broadcasting traditions (Sweden, France), as well as the ones where public media are fairly new (Slovenia).

Reports directly or implicitly reflect a change in relationship between media and audience. Public media are usually focused on covering general interests and small and more vulnerable communities and those groups of population that are less provided with social contacts and have less access to information circulation. Finnish YLE is planning to use the new opportunities of digitalization to »provide content and services for young adults and people under the age of 45«, because research shows that they are less provided with content and services of public media than older age groups (Saikkonen, & Häkämies, 2014).

Conclusions

The reports revealed that in assessing development of public media, the Public Value »triangle« can be used also if the development has not always been focused on value objectives. Digitalization as a complex and long term activity involving a lot of different stakeholders demands high authorizing environment and operational capacity both from public media and their governing bodies. If these aspects were not developed digitalization of public media in the best case provided only quantitative broadcasting benefits. Larger benefits were achieved by those countries that already before digitalization or during the time of implementing it, had to a larger or smaller extent introduced Public Value principles and therefore digitalization was perceived by public broadcasters in the context of public media sustainable development.

Media environment is changing and the analysis of public media digitalization processes shows that many previous theoretical concepts of media systems are not applicable any more because media nature becomes more hybrid. Public media (1) operate simultaneously in the traditional channels, internet and social networks, (2) are available in broadcasting and on-demand regimes, (3) use different modes of narrative coding, (4) parallel to overall media the role of significant communicators becomes to be played by their separate programmes and journalists with their social network profiles and accounts who create network communication. Network communication reduces impact of political power on content mediated in public sphere because of users created content.

Essential changes have taken place in understanding of public interests that must be served by public media. Firstly, the concept of »serving« is not sufficient and the understanding of processes through »mediatization« could be more useful. Public media must accept people and individuals as equal partners and creators of media content. Secondly, due to digitalization public media can become agora accessible to all if they are perceived in all their diversity and if the social network and other opportunities are used. Therefore it is important for them to focus not only on interests and needs of society in general but also on individual interests. Digitalization of public media practically ensures unlimited opportunities in realization of procedural interests.

Public media development in a digital media environment is so diversified that countries must be innovative and look for own ways of media development and creating of Public Value depending on different interests and needs of individuals and societies. •

REFERENCES

Alford, J., O'Flynn, J. (2009). Making Sense of Public Value: Concepts, Critiques and

Emergent Meanings. International Journal of Public Administration, 32, 171–191

Antonova, V., Georgiev, A. (2013, March 1). Mapping digital media: Bulgaria. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-bulgaria-en-20130805.pdf

Belicanec, R., Ricliev, Z. (2012, June 5). Mapping digital media: Macedonia. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-macedonia-20120625.pdf

Benington, J. (2009). Creating the Public In Order To Create Public Value? International Journal of Public Administration, vol. 32(3–4), 233–235

Benington, J., Moore, M. (Eds.). (2011). Public Value: Theory and Practice. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

BBC. (2004). Building Public Value. Renewing the BBC for Digital

World. London: BBC. Retrieved from
http://www.ptv-agc.org/BBC_BuildingPublicValue2.pdf

Car,V., Andrijašević, I. (2012, August 27). Mapping digital media:
Croatia. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-croatia-20120906.pdf

Chadwick, A. (2013). The hybrid media system: politics and power.
Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Collins, R. (1998). Public service and the media economy: European trends
in the late 1990s. International Communication Gazzete, 60(5), 263–376

Collins, R. (2002). Media and identity in contemporary Europe:
consequences of global convergence. Bristol, GBR: Intellect Books.

Collins, R. (2008). Hierarchy to homeostasis? Hierarchy, markets
and networks in UK media and communication governance.
Media, Culture & Society, 30(3), 295–317

Collins, R. (2011). Content online and the end of public media. The UK,
a canary in the coal mine? Media, Culture & Society, 22(8), 1202–1219

de Waal, M., Leurdijk, A., Nordeman, L., & Poell, T. (2011, October 12).
Mapping digital media: Netherlands. A report by the Open Society
Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/
default/files/mapping-digital-media-netherlands-20120118.pdf

Donders, K., & Moe, H. (Eds.). Exporting the Public Value Test.
Göteborg: Nordicom, Göteborgs Universitet.

Džihana, A., Ćendić, K., & Tahmaz, M. (2012, June 11). Mapping digital
media: Bosnia and Hercogovina. A report by the Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-bosnia-20120706.pdf

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the
Critique of Actually Existing Democracy, Social Text, 25/26, 56–80

Freedman, D., Schlosberg, J. (2011, December 9). Mapping digital media:
United Kingdom. A report by the Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-united-kingdom-20110701.pdf

Horsti, K., & Hultén, G. (2011).Directing diversity: Managing cultural
diversity media policies in Finnish and Swedish public service broadcas-
ting. International Journal of Cultural Studies, 14(2), 209–227

Iosidis, P. (2012, January). Digital television, the public interest, and the
European regulation. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.
org/reports/digital-television-public-interest-european-regulation

Juzefovičs, J. (2011, November 9). Mapping digital media: Latvia.
A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-latvia-20130607_0.pdf

Kelly, G., Mulgan, G., & Muers S. (2002). Creating Public Value.
An Analytical Framework for Public Service Reform. London: Minister's
Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office. Retrieved from http://webarchive.national
archives.gov.uk/20100416132449/ http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/media/
cabinetoffice/strategy/assets/public_value2.pdf

Kollar, M., Czwitkowics, T. (2013, May 5). Mapping digital media: Slovakia.
A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/mapping-digital-
media-slovakia

Koc-Michalska, K., Vedel, T., Granchet, A., Leteinturier, C., & Villeneuve,
G. (2013, February 17). Mapping digital media: France. A report by the Open
Society Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.
org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-france-20130419.pdf

Krajewski, A., Diakite, K. (2012, June 12). Mapping digital media: Poland.
A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-poland-20130722.pdf

Loit,U., Siibak, A. (2013, January 30). Mapping digital media:
Estonia. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-estonia-20130903.pdf

Llorens, C., Luzón, V. & Grau H.P. (2012, November 27). Mapping digital
media: Spain. A report by the Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-spain-20131023.pdf

Londo, I. (2012, January 20). Mapping digital media: Albania.
A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/
mapping-digital-media-albania

Mazzoleni, G., Vigevani, G., & Splendore S. (2011, August 10). Mapping
digital media: Italy. A report by the Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved fromhttp://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/
mapping-digital-media-hungary

McQuail, D. (2003). Public service broadcasting: both free and accountable.
The Public, vol. 10(3), 13–23

Milosavljević, M., Kerševan Smokvina, T. (2012, August 5). Mapping digital
media: Slovenia. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-slovenia-20130605.pdf

Moe, H. (2011). Defining public service beyond broadcasting: the legitimacy
of different approaches. International Journal of Cultural Policy, 17(1), 52–68

Moore, M. (1995). Creating Public Value – Strategic Management in
Government. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Nord, L. (2011, August 18). Mapping digital media: Sweden.
A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-
digital-media-sweden-20110920.pdf

Ognyanova, K., & Monge, P. (2013). A multitheoretical, multilevel,
multidimensional network model of the media system: production,
content, and audiences. Communication Yearbook, 37, 67–94

Preoteasa, M., Comanescu, J., Avădani, I., & and Vasilache, A.
(2011, April 1). Mapping digital media: Romania. A report by the Open
Society Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.
org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-romania-20130605.pdf

Račas, A Ulevičius, L., & Paršonis, D. (2011, August 15). Mapping digital
media: Lithuania. A report by the Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved fromhttp://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-lithuania-20110923.pdf

Rybková, E., Riháčková,V. (2013, June 20). Mapping digital media:
Czech Republik. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-czech-20130820.pdf

Saikkonen, S., Häkämies, P. (2014, January 5). Mapping digital media:
Finland. A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-
digital-media-finland-20140214.pdf

Schröder, H. D., Hasebrink, U., Dreyer, S., Loosen, W. & Schröter, F.
(2011, July 16). Mapping digital media: Germany. A report by the Open
Society Foundations. Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.
org/reports/mapping-digital-media-germany

Surčulija, J., Pavlović, B., & Jovanović Padejski, Đ. (2011, October 15).
Mapping digital media: Serbia. A report by the Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-serbia-20111215.pdf

Talbot, C. (2011). Paradoxes and Prospects of »Public Value«.
Public Money & Management, 3(1), 27–34

Tóth, B. (2012, January 5). Mapping digital media: Hungary. A report by the
Open Society Foundations.
Retrieved from http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/
mapping-digital-media-hungary-20120216.pdf

Tracey, M. (1998). The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting.
Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tunç, A., Görgülü, V. (2012, March 18). Mapping digital media: Turkey.
A report by the Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from
http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/mapping-digital-
media-turkey

Williams, I. & Shearer, H. (2011). Appraising public value:
past, present and futures. Public Administration. Retrieved from doi:
10.1111/j.1467-9299.2011.01942.x

LITHUANIA

Recharging Public Service Media Discourse: Diversity Focus

Kristina Juraitè
Vytautas Magnus University Kaunas

Dynamic changes in the late modern society, culture and media are questioning the normative approach of the role of media in deliberative and participatory democracy that is based on extensive exchange of opinions and perspectives. Today's world is moved by the media, which have become an integral part of our everyday lives and have drawn attention to many researchers, analysts, and experts. For instance, British sociologist Roger Silverstone in his illuminating work Media and Morality (2007) addresses the media world as mediapolis, meaning a mediated public space where media constitute and reshape the experiences of everyday life of its audiences (Deuze 2008). Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2005) has his own explanation for the rapid social changes. His proposed concept of liquid modernity or liquid modern society underlines a new type of social structure, »in which the conditions under which its members act change faster than it takes the ways of acting to consolidate into habits and routines«. A liquid modern society is in a permanent state of flux and transition with uncertainties, changes, conflicts, and revolutions being the permanent conditions of everyday life (Deuze 2008). In such a world, the media play an ambiguous role. On the one hand, they are an important guarantor of democracy and a source of public information. On the other hand, media coverage is often marked by popular content, including entertainment, scandals, superficial, and often one-sided reporting makes the public unsatisfied with the current situation and sceptic about the political world (Cardoso 2008).

Today's news media are often blamed for increasing public disillusion and scepticism about the mainstream politics, ignorance of public affairs and political processes in the democratic countries. Rather than informing and supplying citizens with quality information, constructive and thorough coverage of political and social issues and what is more important stimulating citizens' interest in public affairs, the news media have been more successful in entertaining the public and increasing its disengagement and cynicism. Taking into consideration social changes as a permanent condition of the modern society, as well as increasing role of media penetrating all the spheres of life, the normative discourse on media performance requires a special attention. In the paper, the notion of media diversity is proposed to re-discuss the role of the Public Service Media in relationship to the quality of democracy and public sphere.

Public Service Media meeting Differences

Following a normative understanding of the media, one of its fundamental values is to facilitate the development of an independent and open public opinion by providing citizens with well-balanced information on the issues of public concern (Asp 2007). In Habermasian terms, media is a public arena needed to debate the main approaches and facilitate communication process between the state and its citizens. The public sphere implies how and to what extent the mass media can facilitate the public in learning about the world, debating their opinions, reaching informed and consolidated

decisions on further actions (Dahlgren 1991). To be informed and participate in the public sphere, one should, first of all, be aware of the current issues, processes and contexts. The right to know is based on two key responsibilities of the media, i. e. free flow of information meaning a constructive and thorough reporting on political and social issues, as well as fair representation of public interest (Asp 2007). This can be assured by a wide range of different interests, ideas, beliefs and values that are represented by the media.

The principle of diversity together with quality, autonomy and social responsibility is a fundamental value in a deliberative and participatory democratic society. Closely related to the public interest standard, it can be approached from the conceptual, regulatory, legal and procedural perspectives and refer to different aspects of the media, including sources, outlets, workforce, programing, opinions, genres, representations and users (Karpinen 2006):

»Diversity is a precondition for promoting political or social pluralism for citizens to be well politicized and actively participate meaningfully in democracy. By creating diverse sources, and ideas (i. e., pluralism) through an open communication system (i. e., public sphere or marketplace), it attempts to facilitate genuine public debate by participation of well-informed citizens (democracy).« (McCann 2010: 7)

Conceptualization of diversity is based on the two different rationalities, including economic and social-political approaches. Rooted in the ideology of market liberalism, the economic approach emphasizes the values of freedom of choice and competition of ideas. From the neoliberal perspective, diversity of media content can be achieved with freedom of choice and competition of opinions in a free marketplace of ideas (ibid. p. 10). The economic analysis of freedom of choice based on quantitative empirical research has been criticized for being too limited in terms of measuring democratic values of the media and meeting public interest standard. Research on media market shares and ownership issues have succeeded to collect substantial empirical data on structural diversity of media systems (Karpinen 2006). However, quantitative measures, including rating analysis have not been suitable measures for assessing quality of Public Service Media performance. Despite its drawbacks, the economic argumentation has been influential enough to dominate in the field of media policy and regulation, including Public Service Media (ibid.).

Another way for understanding diversity is based on social and political rationality emphasizing cultural and political norms of cultural diversity, civic equality and universalism that are rooted in normative ideas of public sphere, citizenship, pluralism, creativity and national culture (Karpinen 2006). Though quantitative measures have been broadly applied in diversity assessment, it is clear that public service ideals require a qualitative approach to address social and cultural complexity represented in the media. Apparently, the difference between two approaches to media diversity is based on two different discourses, the neoliberal market and public service one:

»The free market and public service discourses rely on different political rationalities in interpreting diversity and pluralism as media policy goals, the former based on competition and freedom of choice and the latter on broader defence of ›principled pluralism‹, an attempt to serve the whole society with various political views and cultural values.« (ibid. p. 57)

The conceptual differences are important in identifying the role of Public Service Media in relationship to diversity, quality and democracy goals. Having done this, the idea of monitoring diversity comes into the fore, taking into account normative and empirical multidimensionality of the concept. As a special requirement and key objective for Public Service Media performance, diversity can be addressed in terms of media structure, media content and media audience (Hellman 2001, Napoli 2011). The dimension of media structure refers to source diversity meaning variety of media outlets and content providers inside the media system (Napoli 2011). To assess this dimension, different economic structures and organizational criteria (e. g. Public service, private,

Kristina Juraitè

Kristina Juraitè, Ph.D. is an associate professor at the Department of Public Communications, chair of the board of the Faculty of Political Science and Diplomacy, Vytautas Magnus University Kaunas, Lithuania. Research interests include risk communication and environmental discourses, critical media literacy and social responsibility, post-Soviet media and audience, cultural communication and mediatization of culture. At the moment, she is coordinating the national research project »Development of cultural institutions' communication competences in the context of knowledge and creativity society« (2012-2015).

non-profit, independent, etc.) as well as media ownership, management and workforce in terms of gender, ethnicity and race can be in focus.

In the traditional understanding of diversity, variety of choice among different sources and outlets leads to the second dimension, namely content diversity, which is usually explained through different programs, genres, subjects and opinions (ibid.). Finally, the third element of the analytical framework, audience diversity refers to existing availability and accessibility for users to choose from a variety of sources and content.

However, the relationship between three dimensions of diversity is not that simple. Audience diversity even though it has been appreciated and researched, its centrality to the modern media and communication diversity has been neglected by the researchers, policymakers and media professionals (ibid.). What are the individual and collective factors affecting users' choices and preferences? What are the methodological challenges in measuring different dimensions of diversity in the new communication and media environment? How can diversity research advance promoting diversity goals in media practice? These and other questions refer to persisting conceptual and empirical challenges in promoting diversity discourse in the future.

New Challenges and Outlook: Towards More Diversity?

Manuel Castells (2009) argues that the main changes that are currently taking place in today's societies are primarily of cultural nature, rather than technological, structural or organizational. As the proclaimer of a network society puts it, the most substantive are »those changes that are taking place in the minds of communicative subjects, who integrate various modes and channels of media in their everyday life and interaction with each other« (p. 135). Media have certainly become a very important agent in social and political life. However, their place and role in society and politics varies from country to country and is defined by the political, economic, social and cultural factors such as political structures, public participation in political life, relationship between the media and politics (Schudson 2003). Hence, to monitor media diversity it is important to address normative contradictions of media diversity, as well as to take into account broader contextual structures, namely changing social, political and economic conditions. In Lithuania, the development of Public Service Media has been in line with the democratic transition which started in late in 1980s.

On January 13, 1991 the National Radio and Television station in Vilnius became the target of the Soviet military forces, trying to threaten the newly reestablished independent state, as well as the national revival symbol for the citizens who came to defend the ideals of freedom and independence. Indeed the Public Service Broadcaster in Lithuania was the avant-garde of the national revival movement and received strong public support at that time. Right after historical restorations of the state independence in 1990 and its international recognition in the following years, the country went

LIETUVOS RADIJAS IR TELEVIZIJA (LRT)
www.lrt.lt

Generalist
LRT TELEVIZIJA, LRT KULTŪRA

10,6 % Market share

through different structural and policy changes. The mass media previously strongly censored by the Soviet authorities also experienced fundamental transformations. In the post-Soviet context, state-controlled and propaganda-driven media have been replaced by a neoliberal media system. To ensure media freedom and pluralism, a rather liberal legislative framework and professional standards have been adopted, following the Western democratic media systems, namely the Swedish media regulation framework (Juraitė 2008).

As a result of the liberalization policy of the media market in the beginning of the 1990s, privatization and diversification of the whole media market took place. To escape political pressures from the state, as well as to minimize economic pressures of a free market, a public service model has been adopted for the national broadcasting company. In 1996, a democratic legal framework for media regulation was adopted following the Swedish model, which emphasizes the ideals of democracy, openness, citizenship, independence, national culture and morality, as well as core media values including humanism, equality, tolerance, freedom of expression, diversity of opinion, and professional ethics. In the laws

LRT
www.lrt.lt

LRT RADIJAS

LRT KLASIKA

LRT OPUS

20,2 % Market share

on the Public Information and the National Radio and Television (public service broadcasting) of 1996, the role and mission of Public Service Media in terms of diversity is articulated in the following way:

»The National Radio and Television of Lithuania must collect and publish information concerning Lithuania and the world, acquaint the public with the variety of European and world culture, reinforce the independence of the Republic of Lithuania and democracy, create, nurture and protect the values of national culture, foster tolerance and humanism, culture of co-operation, thought and language, and strengthen public morality and civic awareness. In preparing and broadcasting its coverage the National Radio and Television of Lithuania must be guided by the principles of objectivity, democracy and impartiality, ensure freedom of speech and creative freedom, must reflect in its broadcasts diverse opinions and convictions, with individuals of various convictions having the right to take part and voice their views in them. Human rights and dignity must be respected in the broadcasts, and the principles of morality and ethics must not be violated.« (Law on the National Radio and Television, 1996: 2)

However, during the following years the processes of privatization and liberalization have led to an increase in commercialization, combined with the lack of professionalism and social responsibility. Popular media content has gained a strong presence, to the detriment of information focussed on the public interest, such as news programs, political talk shows, analytical programs and documentaries (Balčytienė and Juraitė 2009). Today's challenges and issues that post-Soviet media systems, as well as Western democratic media are facing, require looking for new concepts and ideas

to explain the ongoing transformations and to promote identity of Public Service Media as responsible to public interest and sensitive to the needs of citizens.

Hopefully, the normatively charged reflection on media diversity will stimulate the discourse and invite media experts and professionals into a discussion on the conceptualization and evaluation of media diversity practices. Indeed, there is a need for redefining media diversity in terms of political pluralism and cultural diversity, the former focusing on media regulation and competition policies, while the latter mostly concerned with the media content and its exposure (Karpinen 2006). Also, it is important to encourage a normative discussion on the Public Service Media standards, their implementation and evaluation. For this reason, transparent evaluation criteria and assessment mechanisms are of particular importance for monitoring public interest and media diversity (ibid.). A synergy of academic research, policy debates and self-reflection inside the media industry is a possibility for tackling the future challenges of Public Service Media. •

REFERENCES

Asp, K. (2007). Fairness, Informativeness and Scrutiny. The Role of News Media in Democracy. Nordicom Review, Vol. 28: 31–49.

Balčytienė, A. & Juraitė, K. (2009). Impact of Economic and Cultural Factors on Television Production in Small Nations. Medijska istraživanja / Media research, 15(2): 33–47.

Bauman, Z. (2005). Liquid Life. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cardoso, P. (2008). From Mass to Networked Communication: Communicational Models and the Informational Society. International Journal of Communication, Vol. 2: 587–630.

Castells, M. (2009). Communication Power. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dahlgren, P. (1991). Introduction. In: Dahlgren, P., C. Sparks (eds.). (1991). Communication and Citizenship: Journalism and the Public Sphere in the New Media Age. London: Routledge.

Deuze, M. (2008). The Changing Context of News Work: Liquid Journalism and Monitorial Citizenship. International Journal of Communication, Vol. 2: 848–865.

Juraitė, K. (2008). Media Power in the Lithuanian News Market Reconsidered. Informacijos mokslai [Information Sciences], 47: 121–132.

Karpinen, K. (2010). Media Diversity and the Politics of Criteria. Diversity Assessment and Technocratisation of European Media Policy. Nordicom Review 27 (2006) 2: 53–68.

McCann, K. (20100. A Diversity Policy Model and Assessment: Debates and Chllenges of [Mdia] Diversity. Woking paper, Donald McGannon Communiction Research Center, Fordham University.

Napoli, P. (2011). Exposure Diversity Reconsidered. Journal of Information Policy (2011): 246–259.

Republic of Lithuania. Law on the National Radio and Television, (1996): http://www.lrt.lt/apie-lrt/LRT/istatymas

Schudson, M. (2003). The Sociology of News. Norton & Company Inc.

Silverstone, R. (2007). Media and Morality: On the Rise of Mediapolis. Cambridge: Polity Press.

LUXEMBOURG
Identität und Public Value

Christof Barth
Universität Trier

Luxemburg ist für die europäische Medienlandschaft Zwerg und Riese zugleich. Zwerg, weil dieses Land mit ca. 537.000 Einwohnern[1] im Ganzen so groß ist wie in anderen Ländern einzelne Regionen (z. B. Salzburg) oder so bevölkerungsreich wie mittlere Großstädte (z. B. Bremen). Ein Riese ist es, weil es mit dem Satellitenbetreiber SES Astra und der Medienholding RTL Group zwei Unternehmen beherbergt, die für die europäische Medienentwicklung eine wichtige Rolle spielen. Die wenigsten Europäer kennen Luxemburg aus eigener Anschauung, weshalb es geboten erscheint, zunächst einige Besonderheiten der luxemburgischen Medienlandschaft herauszustellen.

Luxemburger brauchen in ihrem Alltag drei Sprachen. Das Französische wird traditionell für Gesetzestexte verwendet, die wichtigen Zeitungen erscheinen auf Deutsch. Erst mit dem Sprachgesetz von 1984 wird Lëtzebuergesch / Luxemburgisch offizielle Landessprache, die erste Regierungserklärung auf Lëtzebuergesch gab es 1999. Dabei ist der moselfränkische Dialekt keine neue Sprache. Sie wird in ähnlicher Form seit dem 19. Jhdt. gesprochen[2]. Gleichzeitig hat Luxemburg mit 44 Prozent Anteil[3] an der Bevölkerung den höchsten Ausländeranteil in Europa, darunter knapp 50.000 Portugiesen. Arbeitskräfte pendeln von Frankreich, Belgien und Deutschland nach Luxemburg zur Arbeit.

Luxemburg hat eine – gemessen an seiner Größe – vielfältige Medienlandschaft. Führende Tageszeitung ist das Luxemburger Wort. Als Zeitung im Kirchenbesitz vertritt sie eine eher konservative Ausrichtung, das Lëtzebuerger Tageblatt – im Besitz der Gewerkschaftsorganisation OBGL – steht dementsprechend eher links. Parteipolitische Zuordnungen von Medien, die in den meisten anderen europäischen Ländern längst Vergangenheit sind, spielen in Luxemburg noch eine Rolle. Neben drei deutschsprachigen Tageszeitungen gibt es noch zwei frz.

Tageszeitungen, darunter ein Gratisblatt. Fünf Wochenzeitungen sowie zwei Illustrierte mit Fernsehprogramm ergänzen das gedruckte Medienportfolio des Landes. Möglich wird diese Vielfalt auch durch Subventionen aus Steuermitteln. Der Staat zahlt pro Druckseite einen Zuschuss. Wie in anderen Ländern spüren auch die luxemburgischen Zeitungen die Krise gedruckter Medien.

Während die gedruckte Presse überwiegend auf Deutsch erscheint, werden Radio- und Fernsehsendungen in Luxemburg zum größten Teil auf Luxemburgisch ausgestrahlt. Auch hier gibt es eine nach Anzahl vielfältige Landschaft, nach Reichweite dominieren jedoch die Angebote von RTL. Nicht übersehen darf man dabei jedoch, dass mit über 85 Prozent der Großteil der Nutzung des Fernsehens auf ausländische Sender entfällt. Aufgrund ihrer Sprachkompetenzen sehen Luxemburger sowohl deutsch- als auch französischsprachige Angebote und können deshalb auf ein besonders großes Programmportfolio zurückgreifen. Deutsche Programme halten zusammen mehr als die Hälfte der Marktanteile, RTL Luxemburg kommt auf vergleichsweise geringe 13,5 Prozent.[4] Nur zur Sendezeit der luxemburgischen Fernsehnachrichten schalten viele Luxemburger auf das eigene Fernsehprogramm um: RTL erreicht dann fast die Hälfte des luxemburgischen Publikums.

100,7
www.100komma7.lu

100,7

4,8 % Marktanteil

»Am Beispiel Luxemburg lässt sich gut zeigen, dass insbesondere in kleinen Ländern Medien mit Public Value nicht nur hinsichtlich ihrer Informations- und Unterhaltungsleistung bewertet werden müssen, sondern auch an ihren Leistungen zur Erhaltung und Weiterentwicklung der eigenen Sprache als Teil nationaler Identität.«

Anders ist die Situation im Hörfunk. Die luxemburgischen Anbieter senden überwiegend auf Lëtzebuergesch und kommen auf einen Marktanteil von über 75 Prozent.[5] Wie in anderen Ländern auch kommt das luxemburgische öffentlich-rechtliche Kulturprogramm Radio 100,7 – aus Steuermitteln finanziert – nur auf einen kleinen Marktanteil (4,8 Prozent).

Im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen europäischen Ländern hatte Luxemburg von Beginn an eine liberale Medienregulierung. Während andere Länder, beispielsweise Deutschland, den Rundfunk eng an den Staat banden, gestattete der luxemburgische Staat bereits 1929/30 Unternehmen den Betrieb von Rundfunksendern und leitete eine Entwicklung ein, die in den 1950er und 1960er Jahren RTL die Expansion in die Nachbarländer ermöglichte. Hier kamen den Luxemburgern ihre Sprachkompetenzen zupass, weil sie mit ihren deutschen und französischen Programmen nicht nur die eigene Bevölkerung, sondern auch die Nachbarn erreichten. Aufgrund ihrer stärkeren Unterhaltungsorientierung konnten sie Marktanteile erobern und damit Luxemburg medienpolitisch bedeutsamer machen, als es alleine nach Bevölkerung wäre. Gleichzeitig fehlte Luxemburg ein öffentlich-rechtliches Fernsehangebot. Dieses Problem löste Luxemburg 1991, indem es die Konzession an RTL mit der Verpflichtung verband, bestimmte Programmangebote zu machen. So übernimmt RTL als Privatunternehmen seitdem Aufgaben eines service public, indem es etwa Fernsehnachrichten anbietet oder lokale Kulturproduktionen in seinen Programmen berücksichtigt.[6] So reizvoll diese Lösung in finanzieller

Hinsicht sein mag, so problematisch ist sie bezüglich Transparenz und Kontrolle. Die Programmvorgaben sind in privaten Verträgen formuliert, nicht in öffentlich debattierten Dokumenten. RTL ist weitgehend frei darin, auf Programmkritik der Aufsichtsorgane oder Öffentlichkeit zu reagieren oder es zu lassen.

Die Werte, die aus luxemburgischer Sicht für Public-Service-Medien besonders relevant sind, lassen sich am besten anhand der sehr spezifischen Auflagen im Pflichtenheft für das 1991 etablierte öffentlich-rechtliche Kulturprogramm 100,7 festmachen:

• Förderung des kulturellen und künstlerischen Lebens
• Sensibilisierung der Öffentlichkeit für kulturelle Belange
• die Stärkung der luxemburgischen kulturellen Identität
• Kenntnisse in nationaler Geschichte
• Förderung der luxemburgischen Sprache
• kulturelle Zusammenarbeit mit benachbarten Regionen

Die Aufstellung zeigt, dass die Debatte über Public Value in Ländern mit vergleichsweise kleinen kulturellen Gemeinschaften ganz anders geführt werden muss als für große Länder wie Deutschland, Großbritannien oder Frankreich, weil die nationale Identität und die Integration mit den Nachbarn einen anderen Stellenwert hat. Für die Medienanbieter kleiner Länder wie Luxemburg ergeben sich für die kulturellen Aufgaben und die Bereitstellung von Public-Value-Medien besondere Herausforderungen. Erstens ist es in Luxemburg als kleinem Medienmarkt schwierig, die Unabhängigkeit der Medien sicherzustellen.[7] Dies gilt einerseits für die Finanzierung dieses vergleichsweise aufwändigen Medienangebots. Immer wieder gibt es Verstöße gegen das Trennungsgebot von journalistischen Angeboten und Werbung.[8] Eine prekäre Ökonomie gefährdet so die journalistische Unabhängigkeit. Gleichfalls problematisch: die Nähe von Politik und Journalismus; Politiker und Journalisten arbeiten in dem kleinen Land eng zusammen.[9]

Eine Herausforderung für die Förderung der luxemburgischen Sprache sind die Spracheinflüsse von außen. Lëtzebuergesch greift viel auf die Nachbarsprachen Deutsch und Französisch zurück. Vielfach schleichen sich im Sprachgebrauch fremdsprachige Begriffe ein, für viele Begriffe kennen junge Luxemburger deutsche oder französische Wörter besser als luxemburgische. Je stärker die Orientierung zu den Nachbarn, desto gefährdeter die eigene Sprache, was in Luxemburg auch

beklagt wird.[10] Verstärkt werden diese Effekte durch den hohen Ausländeranteil in der Bevölkerung und die Geschäftssprache Englisch im Bankensektor und den EU-Behörden. Luxemburgische Medien müssen sich also darüber verständigen, ob sie ihre Sprache als etwas Lebendiges und permanenter Veränderung Unterliegendes verstehen oder sich an der Sprachnorm orientieren.

Luxemburg hat insofern auch das Problem der Verfügbarkeit von qualifizierten Muttersprachlern. Luxemburg verfügt über keine eigene akademische Ausbildungsstätte für Journalisten oder andere Medienberufe. Wer in Luxemburg Journalist ist, hat im Ausland studiert und damit automatisch einen sprachlich-kulturellen Bias. Luxemburger haben zwar ausgezeichnete Deutsch- und Französischkenntnisse, erreichen aber nicht immer das sprachliche Niveau von Muttersprachlern. Alle luxemburgischen Medien beklagen diese Schwierigkeit, die sich aus der luxemburgischen Sprachenvielfalt ergibt, egal ob Radios Sprecher für Lëtzebuergesch oder Zeitungen Autoren für Deutsch oder Französisch suchen.[11] Lëtzebuergesch war für Luxemburg die meiste Zeit vor allem als mündlich verwendete Sprache relevant, eine schriftsprachliche Standardisierung ist vergleichsweise jung. Mit dem Aufkommen des Internet werden die schriftsprachliche Verwendung und entsprechende Sprachkompetenzen immer wichtiger. Deshalb wird der geringe Stellenwert des Luxemburgischen im Schulunterricht auch immer wieder beklagt.[12]

Voraussetzung für die Umsetzung eines öffentlichen Auftrags zur Förderung der luxemburgischen Sprache und Kultur ist somit auch die Verfügbarkeit von entsprechendem Personal. Erschwerend kommt hinzu: Luxemburgische Medien konkurrieren ja nicht nur untereinander um luxemburgische Medienmacher, sondern auch mit großen Nachbarländern wie Deutschland und Frankreich, in denen Luxemburger ebenfalls willkommen sind.

Im digitalen Zeitalter nehmen die aufgeführten Probleme eher zu. Stärker fragmentierte Märkte und Publika, größerer Einfluss internationaler Akteure, die auf kulturelle Besonderheiten eher wenig Rücksicht nehmen, machen die integrativen Aufgaben von Public Service Media noch schwieriger. Am Beispiel Luxemburg lässt sich gut zeigen, dass insbesondere in kleinen Ländern Medien mit Public Value nicht nur hinsichtlich ihrer Informations- und Unterhaltungsleistung bewertet werden müssen, sondern auch an ihren Leistungen zur Erhaltung und Weiterentwicklung der eigenen Sprache als Teil nationaler Identität. •

Christof Barth

Dr. Christof Barth ist Akademischer Direktor im Fach Medienwissenschaft an der Universität Trier und hat sich verschiedentlich mit Medien in Luxemburg und Medienqualität beschäftigt. Er studierte Sprachwissenschaft, Rhetorik und Speech Communication an der Universität Tübingen und der San Diego State University. Er ist Gutachter für wiss. Fachzeitschriften und war von 2010 bis 2014 Sprecher der Fachgruppe Mediensprache / Mediendiskurse in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft.

1 Stand: Januar 2013, Quelle: http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/en/luxembourg-glance/facts-figures/index.html (Abruf am 27.2. 2014)

2 Gilles et al. 2010, S. 63.

3 Stand: Januar 2013, Quelle: http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/en/luxembourg-glance/facts-figures/index.html (Abruf am 27.2. 2014)

4 Marktanteile für unter Luxemburgern ab 12 Jahren, 7:00–01:00 Uhr. Quelle: Television Key Facts 2013. Vgl. auch Puppis 2009.

5 Presse- und Informationsamt der Luxemburger Regierung (2013): Apropos Medien. http://www.luxembourg.public.lu/catalogue/medias/ap-medias/AP-Medias-2013-DE.pdf (Abruf am 27.2. 2014)

6 Vgl. Cahiers des charges zu den RTL-Programmen, ein Auszug aus den Programmanforderungen: »promotion de la culture et de la créativité artistique, en ayant plus particulèrement égard aux productions et prestations littéraires, musicales et théâtrale du pays.«

7 Vgl. Barth / Hemmer 2008, S. 214ff.

8 Vgl. z. B. Bucher / Barth 2003a+b, 2005 sowie Thomas / Weber 2011.

9 Vgl. Barth / Hemmer 2008, S. 215.

10 Gilles et al. 2010, S. 82ff.

11 Barth / Bucher 2003a.

12 vgl. Gilles 2010, S. 64.

LITERATUR

Barth, Christof; Bucher, Hans-Jürgen (2003a). Forschungsbericht und Entwurf eines Verhaltenskodex für Funkmedien des Großherzogtums Luxemburg. Trier: öffentlicher Forschungsbericht.

Barth, Christof; Bucher, Hans-Jürgen (2003b). Bericht zur Programmanalyse von Funkmedien im Großherzogtum Luxemburg. Trier: Forschungsbericht.

Barth, Christof; Bucher, Hans-Jürgen (2005). Bericht zur Programmanalyse von Funkmedien im Großherzogtum Luxemburg – Berichtsjahr 2004. Trier: Forschungsbericht.

Barth, Christof; Hemmer, Martine (2008). Medien und Medienpolitik [in Luxemburg]. In: Lorig, Wolfgang H.; Hirsch, Mario (Hg.). Das politische System Luxemburgs: eine Einführung. (208–230). Wiesbaden: VS, Verl. für Sozialwiss.

Gilles, Peter; Seela, Sebastian; Sieburg, Heinz; Walter, Melanie (2010). Sprache und Identität. In: Doing identity in Luxemburg: Subjektive Aneignungen – institutionelle Zuschreibungen – sozio-kulturelle Milieus. (63–103). Bielefeld: transcript.

Puppis, Manuel (2009). Media Regulation in Small States. In: International Communication Gazette, 71, 7–17.

Thomas, Bernard / Patrick Weber (2011): Von Werbebeiträgen und anderen Gefälligkeiten. In: Forum für Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur in Luxemburg, Heft 312 S. 11.

Evolving PSB Core Values: The Maltese Experience

Joseph Borg
University of Malta

It has become something of a cliché during the last few years to say that public service broadcasting and the values that underpin it are in crisis. This, it has been maintained, was mainly brought about by the challenges presented by a rapidly evolving mediascape, increasingly dominated by a commercial ethos and digital technology that is continually spawning new communication technologies.

Some took a pessimistic attitude, emphasizing the threats rather than the opportunities posed by the situation. Most, on the other hand, saw challenges more than threats and have been trying to exploit them to further the concept of public service through the new media; the change in nomenclature from Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) to Public Service Media (PSM) is thus significant.

This is not the first time that PSBs have been in a state of transition and have had to adapt, willingly or not, the core values of the system to particular situations. Perhaps creative adaptability should be considered as one of the core organizational values of a PSB!

Through a cursory look at public service broadcasting in Malta this commentary follows this development, exploring the hypothesis that the value system that underpins particular PSBs changes over time mainly in line with the movement of the intersection point between the socio-politico-economic development of the country and the normative concept adopted by the shareholder. It will also suggest the most important

values that have to be nourished to face present day challenges in Malta, and probably in other countries as well.

The history of broadcasting in Malta is intrinsically tied to its political development (Borg, 2009). The first model of a PSB was introduced by the British colonial government in the mid-1930s. It took the form of a commercial British company based on the ethos of a PSB. The cabled sound system financed through subscriptions (and later also advertising) propagated the values that traditionally supported society, diffused knowledge and information, propagated socially relevant entertainment and favoured religious values and events. It also propagated the values and world view of the colonial government through the re-transmission of the BBC World Service.

The model was changed in the 1960s. A broadcasting regulator was set up to guarantee a new set of »political« values: broadcasting should be balanced and impartial on matters of political and industrial controversy and current public policy. These »political« values were meant to provide fairness in a monopolized environment during politically agitated times. These values were eventually enshrined in the Independence Constitution of 1964 and form part of current legislation. The cultural and educational values that a PSB was expected to propagate, were served through educational, cultural and »quality« entertaining programmes, broadcasted by the newly set up TV station but paid for by the regulator. This system was adopted since such programmes were not considered to be commercially viable.

The concept of broadcasting as a service was the value underpinning the structure, in line with the prevailing system in several European countries.

From the mid-1970s, this perspective was challenged by the value system propagated by the Thatcher / Reagan tandem which challenged the privileged position of the PSB ethos in Europe (Raboy, 1995; Tracey, 1998). Broadcasting was now considered to be an industry like any other, rather than a necessary public service. The new
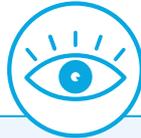
TVM
www.tvm.com.mt

Generalist
TVM

Cultural / Educational
TVM 2

29,2 % Market share

set of dominant consensual values placed in a privileged position commercial goals over normative ones and the market over the political system. The main target of industry inspired by the neo-liberal value system was the individual as a consumer and not as a citizen. Commercial broadcasting organisations successfully challenged the popularity of the PSB sector in many countries.

On the other hand, the Maltese Government opted for a paradigm shift of the system which was in a totally opposite direction to that prevailing in Europe. In 1975 it nationalized broadcasting stating that it has to create a socialist generation. Serving the national interest, generally understood as the interest of government, was now a fundamental value of the officially designated state broadcaster. This decision brought about a structural move away from the home-grown, though foreign owned, public service broadcasting system towards a state owned and controlled broadcasting organisation. This structural transformation was accompanied by the nourishing of a similarly minded journalistic culture that broadcasting is there for the service of the government. The core »political« values introduced in the 1960s were thus emarginated and unfortunately, on most occasions, the regulator proved to be ineffective to guarantee the observance of the core values of balance and due impartiality.

The change in Government in 1987 brought with it an unprecedented paradigm shift in broadcasting. The 1990s brought with them the political decision to change from monopolistic broadcasting to pluralism and from state broadcasting to public service broadcasting. The point of intersection between the socio-politico-economic development of the country and the normative concept of the shareholder changed radically and consequently the value system underpinning the Public Service Broadcaster had to adjust accordingly to meet the new challenges.

One particular challenge ensued from a basic difference between the mainstream European mediascape and the Maltese one. PSBs in the former are challenged by a strong presence of commercially owned stations, while in the latter they compete with a strong presence of other institutions, mainly political parties and the Catholic Church (Borg, 2009a).

The strong presence of stations run by institutions poses a challenge to the PSB since the value system animating their schedules is, in several aspects, similar to that of the PSBs. Like the PSB stations, they provide for generalist programming, cater for the individual value of service though self-help and consumer oriented programmes and provide sports broadcasting. Similarly, they provide (mainly informal) educational and children's programmes. The stations of the institutions, just like the PSB, cater for the social values through cultural reports, audience participation and programmes addressing some minorities. The national values are served by means of some slots that are relevant to Maltese history and language, as well as to current cultural and social issues. They also help the Maltese cultural industries by out-sourcing most of their programmes to independent production houses which produce drama and a variety of programmes. Programmes in the Maltese language turned out to be the crowd pullers that help the PSB and the other Maltese stations survive the competition from the large number of foreign stations that reach Malta through cable and satellite.

Joseph Borg

Joseph Borg Ph.D. lectures in media studies at the University of Malta and is the Managing Editor of Campus FM, the University radio station. He held several top posts with Maltese media organisations, was the Chairman of the Editorial Board of PBS Ltd and the Audio Visual Policy Advisor to Government. He published several journal articles and book chapters about the media in Malta.

RADJU MALTA
www.tvm.com.mt

RADJU MALTA 1

RADJU MALTA 2

RADJU PARLAMENT

MAGIC FM

18,7 % Market share

The schedule of the PSB, however, is more varied and produces programmes of a higher quality than the rest of the stations due to the Government's annual financial contribution for programmes of extended social obligation (National Broadcasting Policy, 2004). This enables it to qualitatively cater more than the other stations for the individual, social, national and international values. On its second TV channel, for example, the PSB is also providing high quality foreign educational, informational, entertainment and international sports programmes, something that the other stations find it financially difficult to do.

But perhaps, the most valid and unique contribution that the PSB can give in the Maltese scenario, is the safeguarding in its news and current affairs programs of the core values of accuracy, truthfulness, due impartiality and editorial integrity as well as high standards of normative journalism. This contribution is of great importance given the strong presence of broadcasting stations owned by political parties. In this scenario it is only the PSB that can potentially guarantee news and current affairs programmes presented in a balanced and impartial way solely based on news value criteria since the advocacy journalism of the stations of the institutions many times slips into crude propaganda.

This contribution, albeit for a different reason, applies for PSBs in other countries. While in Malta the ethos of normative journalism is under pressure from advocacy journalism of the political kind, in many countries it is under pressure from the ethos of market driven journalism. Consequently it could very well be that the safeguarding

of normative journalism may turn out to be the most valid contribution of PSBs in many countries.

Such a contribution is probably more needed in today's digitalized mediascape which has collapsed the traditional concepts of space and time. Instant pseudo-journalistic sources clog the information highway with loads of material which is easily available on mobile devices but difficult to check for credibility. Occult, and not so-occult commercial interests, sensationalize information which is now definitively reduced to a commodity. This new frontier makes the shift from being a PSB to becoming a PSM needed for any society that values informed citizenry. In this scenario it falls on PSM to balance the values of mobility and immediacy which are so much prized in the digitalized information vortex with the values of credibility, responsibility and reliability.

However, this can only be done if PSM are really editorially independent from government and perceived to be so. Several international (Council of Europe, 1994) and Maltese policy documents (Borg, 2006) stress the importance of this value. But unless these documents are translated into a system of governance of PSMs which makes them truly independent from government and unless a culture of editorial independence prevails in PSMs, audiences will find it difficult to give them the level of credibility needed for them to be, in fact and not in name, media for public service. •

REFERENCES

Borg, J. (2006). Countering the challenges of media liberalization. Discussing Malta's National Broadcasting Policy. In I. Banerjee & K. Seneviratne (Eds.), Public service broadcasting in the age of globalization (pp. 244–261). Singapore: AMIC and SCI.

Borg, J. (2009a). Moving beyond the »Paradise Lost« / »Paradise Regained« syndrome. In M. Schiavone & L. Callus (Eds.), Inservi. Ħidma politika 1969 – 2009. Ġabra ta »kitbiet f« gieħ Eddie Fenech Adami (pp. 657-672). Malta: PIN.Borg, J. (2009). Balancing the commercial and editorial aspects of PBS Ltd. In J. Borg, A. Hillman & M. A. Lauri (Eds.), Exploring the Maltese media landscape (pp. 63–82). Malta: Allied Publications.

Council of Europe, (1994). The media in a democratic society. Resolutions and political declaration. Prague. Retrieved from http://www.wbu.ch/CMSimages/en/leg_ref_coe_mcm_resolution_psb_07_081294_tcm6-4274.pdf. National Broadcasting Policy (2004) Malta: Ministry for Information Technology and Investment and Ministry for Tourism and Culture. Raboy, M. (Ed.) (1995) Public Broadcasting for the 21st Century. John Libbey Media, Luton.

Tracey, M. (1998). The Decline and Fall of Public Service Broadcasting. Oxford university Press, Oxford.

NETHERLANDS

A Search for Quality Journalism from the Vantage Point of the User[*]

Irene Costera Meijer
University Amsterdam

Although professional journalists are well aware of the increasing relevance of audience metrics, many in fact consider this trend as one of the signs and causes of the gradual loss of journalistic quality. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon among journalists to tap into the latest shares, hits, clicks and ratings at regular intervals. Journalists want to know whether their work has been noticed. The paradoxical effect is that by refusing to pay real attention to metrics conventions, which have news exposure as the key measurement (Balnaves and O'Regan, 2010), many journalists (and journalism scholars) are inclined to take these figures as a measure for their audience's news interests. As a result, they risk simplifying their concerns. My audience research suggests that audience metrics might work out well as an indication of news stories' popularity. Yet, it is doubtful whether they measure adequately what people really demand from good journalism (Costera Meijer, 2013).

Journalism faces the challenge of losing its audience if it does not take into account the public's changing habits of media consumption (Bird, 2010; Madianou, 2010). Yet, it is also true that excellent journalism might not survive if news makers merely follow the rules of popularity. Based on ten years of large scale qualitative news audience research in the Netherlands, often funded by Public Service Media, this chapter describes how and under which conditions pleasing the audience might be compatible with producing valuable journalism.

Our audience studies reveal how news should not only be important and useful; users also want to value and to enjoy journalism (Costera Meijer 2001, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2013a, 2013b). This enjoyment should not merely be associated with superficial entertainment or feel-good experiences; rather, it pertains to a concrete sense of delight. Despite differences in age, cultural background, gender and education, it is possible to identify some common user patterns and tendencies in connection with a quality experience of news. We developed the notion valuable journalism to serve as the foundation for a new normative concept of journalistic excellence, inspired by audiences' actual experiences of journalistic quality.

1. Participation: News users value journalism more when it makes better use of their individual and collective wisdom.

Today few journalists will dare to disqualify some audience to participate in making journalism, let alone the audience as a whole, yet few are able to take advantage of their divergent expertise. Journalists tend to take a reserved stance—often with reference to their autonomy—and they are either hesitant to trust such »lay« expertise (Domingo et al., 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; O'Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008) or unsure of how to give expert wisdom its rightful place beyond the position of source (Ryfe, 2009; Singer et al, 2011). Interviews with members of various expert audiences suggest journalism could benefit a lot from their expertise. Too often, they

claimed, crucial information was omitted or oversimplified. Few journalists realize that their reserved or sometimes even paternalistic attitude towards »expert citizens« may lead inadvertently to less trust in journalism. As one media user, Karel, a 64-year-old engineer, put it:

»If a story seems to have it wrong in the instances where in fact I am well-qualified to judge its merits, the journalist is likely to have it wrong in other instances as well.«

Making use of the expertise of the »ordinary« reader or viewer (as opposed to the expert one) has even been more of marginal significance in the everyday routines of journalists (Patterson & Domingo, 2008). This »wisdom of the crowd« still largely goes untapped. Today, Twitter appears to be one of the few platforms journalists use to check or share their data with their »followers«, or as a way to call on their knowledge (Kwak et al, 2010; Hermida, 2011).

2. Representation: News users value journalism
    more when it takes their concerns and views
    into account

A second reason for journalists to pay close attention to their audiences is linked to the dissatisfaction among groups of media users with how they do or do not end up in the news. Some people—the poor, women, youngsters, and ethnic, religious or sexual minorities—wonder why they would still follow the news if journalists systematically ignore or poorly reflect their concerns, views, experiences and perspectives (Couldry et al., 2007; Dreher, 2009). Truthful reporting is even more valued because people become increasingly aware of how their fellow citizens make sense of themselves, the world and each other in and through media (Coleman & Ross, 2010). By recognizing media as »environmental«, as »tightly and dialectically intertwined with the everyday«, we follow Silverstone (2007) in trying to understand the impact of systematic underrepresentation, overrepresentation or misrepresentation. For instance, we interviewed more than hundred residents living in urban, multi-ethnic, fast changing problem neighborhoods (Costera Meijer, 2013b). They claimed that the distorted media images of their neighborhood (also from PSM) made them lose touch with everyday reality by fuelling prejudice and exaggerating the neighborhood's problems. As a remedy, residents did not appreciate positive stories, as is often assumed, but reporting that covered and did justice to the complex reality they lived in. Quality journalism should help them make sense of their neighborhood again by cover-

ing and explaining everyday behavior, customs and habits (Costera Meijer, 2013b).

Yet, Ryfe (2009) is sceptical about the willingness of news media to become more representative in their news selection and news presentation. Democratization of journalism itself, Ryfe suggests, demands a profound cultural re-orientation of news organizations.

3. Presentation: Valuable journalism
    distinguishes itself by a captivating
    presentation, a gratifying narrative and
    layered information.

Valuable journalism can only live up to its democratic tasks, if people—preferably as many as possible—will use it. When asked to define good journalism, both makers and users employed expressions like informative, in-depth, reliable, factual, of some length, showing both sides, attention, completeness, transparency, distance, authoritative (Costera Meijer, 2006; 2010). Yet, when invited to describe not their opinions, but their experiences with truly gratifying journalism, users (and often journalists as well) gave preference to—sometimes contradictory—standards. It should be compact, offer parallel (layered) storylines, be exciting, recognizable and acknowledgeable; it should trigger a sense of aha-experience; cover multiple perspectives, be adventurous and provide good stories told from an insider's position. About television news, John (college student, age 20) suggested: »They can improve the news by adding more dialog, pitting one party against another.« Or, as was pointed out by Auk (teacher, age 59), narrative complexity is critical for captivating viewers:

»I do not want TV to be like a children's book, with a single line. I rather like an exciting novel with many storylines, flashbacks, flash-forwards, a first-person perspective. This will hook me.«
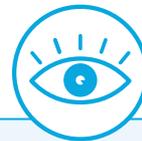
NEDERLANDSE PUBLIEKE OMROEP (NPO)
www.npo.nl

Generalist
NEDERLAND 1, NEDERLAND 2, NEDERLAND 3

34,6 % Market share

Our research participants' criticism of journalism was very much interwoven with allegations of simplistic storytelling, detached tone of voice and lack of engagement. As Arne, an IT expert aged 45, commented:

»Often distant concerns are involved. The topics treated do matter, of course. But on purpose, it seems, they tend to be removed from daily life [...] or, well, how to put it, have no direct relevancy to the audience.«

As suggested by Knobloch et al. (2004) and Machill et al. (2007), adopting a particular narrative form for news might improve people's reading enjoyment and viewing pleasure. Our studies confirm that news users value in particular a broader selection of news topics, multiple perspectives, personal engagement, compassion, an open mind and a cordial tone. Mobile or net news users might not look for these properties in one single journalistic text, platform or medium. The most active news users have started to compose their own multi-perspectival news experience from different sources and platforms.

News Habits, User Modes and Quality Enjoyment

Graphs from ratings organizations and webmetrics indicate in great detail people's news habits. But still very little is known about the enjoyment that comes with using journalism. All our audience research suggests that some form of pleasure is important as a prerequisite for developing a particular media habit, conceived by LaRose (2010: 217) as »a form of automaticity in media consumption that develops as people repeat media consumption behavior in stable circumstances«.

Almost fifteen years ago Theodore Glasser (2000) called for more study of »enjoyment of news use«. Our everyday news use, he argued, could not be explained merely by rational, utilitarian, extrinsic and other instrumental motivations, which is why it is important to understand the appeal of news based on the reading or viewing experience itself.

Some contradictions in audiences' narrative preferences can be explained by distinguishing news platforms or news environments. For instance, television news is generally appreciated because it wraps up the events of the day. By providing voyeuristic pleasures and the possibility of »bodysnatching« the viewer might immerse herself with its storytelling qualities (Costera Meijer, 2007; 2008). But people also enjoy the excitement of regularly checking the news, enabled by news apps and news sites, as being on top of the world and actively feel-

NPO
www.npo.nl
RADIO 1
RADIO 2
3FM
RADIO 4
RADIO 5
RADIO 6
32,3 % Market share

ing connected to society's on-going dynamic (Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2014). When asked how often she checks her news on her smart phone, a 27-year-old camerawoman laughs:

»Honestly, I couldn't say! Because when I have only a second to spare, I will grab for my phone. When I'm at work, I put it in a locker and I will check it during breaks. Otherwise, I might check it as many as twenty times in a single hour.«

Making news easy to navigate, to grasp the essentials and to rank its relevance and importance at a single glance is apparently a sine qua non for worthwhile news sites or news apps. Individuals have different quality expectations of different platforms. Reliability is for instance considered far more relevant for newspapers and TV news than for news sites. This could be explained by the different experience of news. On TV and in print most users experience news as a finished product that should be true; whereas on sites and apps news can be experienced as a process of finding the truth (Doeve & Costera Meijer, 2013).

Approaching journalism from a users' perspective rather than from an institutional perspective (»Public Value«) calls for a re-gauging of journalistic values and a need to re-envision public engagement. Our research confirms the importance of three extra registers to make sense of the audience's news assessment: participation, representation and presentation. Contemporary audiences aspire to participate in the journalistic process,

Irene Costera Meijer

Irene Costera Meijer is professor of Journalism Studies at the Department of Language and Communication, VU University of Amsterdam. She has a master degree in social science and a doctorate in the humanities. She has directed more than 40 research projects, mostly commissioned by Public Service Media and has written a variety of books and peer reviewed articles on the use and production of popular TV culture and journalism. She just started a large research project (funded by the Dutch Science Foundation) about changing news use in which several journalism scholars, public service journalism media and quality newspaper organisations work together. Currently she writes a book about the Value of Journalism from a user's perspective, working title: »Valuable Journalism.«

not for the sake of participation as such, but to enable a more valuable, more truthful, multi-vocal journalism. Also, media users—and in particular the groups that feel excluded or misrepresented and have therefore dropped out—demand a more optimal representation of their situation, experiences, concerns and issues. This task pertains to the immense significance of media, not only as window to the world, but especially as both vehicle for and touchstone of the realities represented. People want to understand the world, but they also want to be understood by the world! The third register to ensure journalism's continued democratic function points to its bearing on users' lives. Entertainment and information generally appear as mutually exclusive labels, as incompatible objectives, functions and motivations for media use. Yet, approached from the perspective of valuable journalism, media users tend to respond less in terms of media content (Public Value) or its intended function (informed citizenship) and more in terms of the everyday effect of media as common environment. If news media aspire to mean »more democratic« and »pleasurable« to their audience, additional research is necessary of the cultural transformation needed to make professional journalists and program makers more receptive towards the knowledge, needs, concerns, questions and sensitivities of their users, subscribers, readers and viewers and in particular of those who are now insufficiently or one dimensionally addressed. •

* A previous version of this chapter has been published in 2013 as Valuable Journalism.

PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA IN DISCOURSE

The ORF series »TEXTE« create a room for reflection and discussion about the quality of Public Service Media. The contributions of national and international scientists debate current questions of media policy.

DOWNLOAD: zukunft.ORF.at
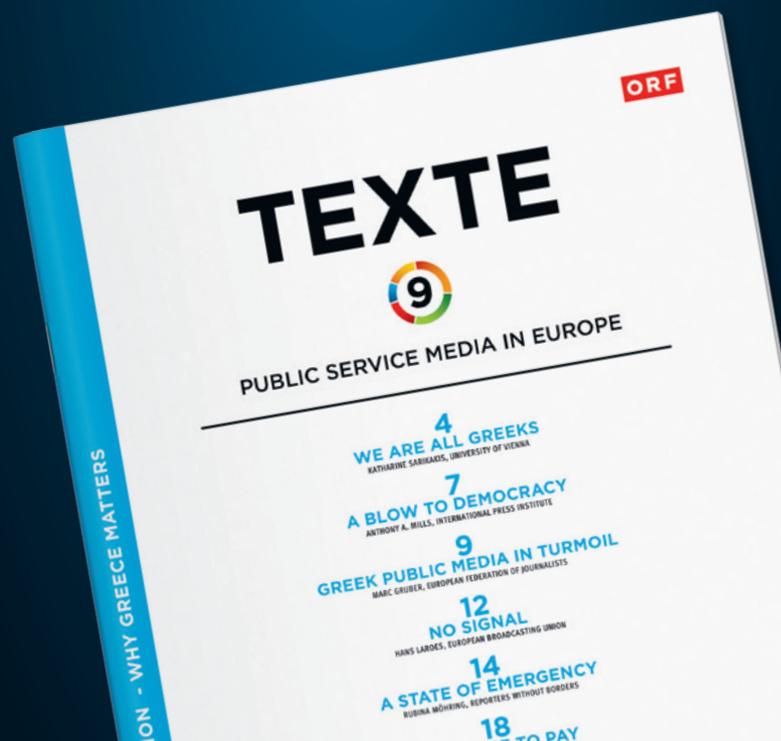
POLAND

Reflections on Culture and Public Media in the Digital Ecosystems

Michał Głowacki
University of Warsaw

In the long history of Public Service Media (PSM) there has never been better time to get involved in the debate about PSM and culture. The new ecosystem of media, which is characterized by the growing role of media activism, socially—engaged media making, distributed innovation, »blurring« boundaries between producers and media consumers as well as »platformed society«, call traditional media outlets (including broadcasting organizations) to introduce new modalities and practices based on openness, transparency, accountability and responsiveness. Several policy-making initiatives and studies have already identified a need for large-scale organizational restructuring and opening-up PSM for the publics.

One of the challenges in the age of convergence and new innovation regimes is to turn these organizations into forward-looking structures available at all the platforms, anytime, anywhere. In addition, competitive media markets as well as changes in the usage of media require the promotion of bottom-up approaches to governance and harvesting ideas from creative individuals. All of this when serving cultural needs of society and promoting innovation-friendly culture in public media enterprise. Since each ecosystem of media is always shaped by cultural practices, values, norms

and behaviors, the role of culture becomes crucial when developing scenarios for PSM going forward.

There are numerous ways in which one can get involved in the discussions on relations between public media and culture. However, one fit-to-all conceptualization of culture has not been or cannot be applied. This is simply due to the lack of an universal approach to culture, which might be supported and manifested through different means, namely as artifacts, norms, values, history, beliefs, processes, rituals, symbols, and so on. Although it could be worth exploring the meaning and usage of different approaches to culture, this is not the place to engage in such an inspiring exercise. The focus must remain on the relations between culture and public media which might be investigated in several different ways.

Two Ways to Look at Culture

Every media enterprise operates in specific national cultural contexts which both reflects and contributes to the architecture of a given society. Thus, from the macro-perspective one can look at public media in relation to its roles, obligations when building partnerships with cultural institutions and serving culture among communities, groups, individuals, on the national, regional,

local level. In addition, one might also have a look at the meso-and / or micro-level with a reference to organizational culture and PSM philosophy. Here, culture might be treated as a part of »organizational DNA«, and a system of social control which orchestrates and coordinates the performance of a given public media enterprise.

Given the complexity of all the approaches the questions one could pose here are: What culture shall be delivered by PSM to contemporary societies as a part of public service? How to identify and deal with examples of user-generated content which contribute to the creation of culture today? What are the challenges for PSM managers and leaders when developing and cultivating organizational culture today?

Filling Society with Culture

Public Service Media around the world empower citizens through universal content derived from its objectives and obligations with a reference to education, democratic processes, as well as national culture and cultural pluralism. In taking a closer look at PSM in Europe, there has been a general pan-European consensus when defining culture as an important value that needs to be delivered to society. The example of public media in Poland illustrates these types of activities and involvement; it highlights the importance of serving culture with particular focus on intellectual and artistic achievements and cultural needs of local communities. Filling society with culture in the Polish case is observed at all platforms of PSM operations—from radio and television broadcasting, online services to a thematic channel (TVP Kultura), which aims at promoting content on art, galleries, cinema, theater, museums, concert halls, and so on. Local branches of Polish Television (TVP) and Polish Radio (PR) contribute to the cultural pluralism of society broadcasting content in minority languages, including Lithuanian, German, Russian, Ukrainian, etc. In addition, as in many other countries, public media contribute in the production of cultural content and events and build relationships with numerous institutions of culture.

One of the biggest challenges when fulfilling cultural needs of society in many countries has always been connected to relations between culture and commerce. The discussion could be continued and explained by the role of distinctiveness which goes in line with the assumption that content offered by Public Service Media shall be different and shall fill these areas and needs that market cannot provide. Promoting cultural works of high quality and art is thus of high importance; on the

other hand the challenge is to stay relevant to the public by fulfilling their needs with more popular content that some of them want. The aim has always been to find the right balance, although it might be difficult to draw whether any limitations should be applied. An interesting question in this regards could be, for instance: what should be the PSM response to the internet phenomenon of music videos which have gathered millions of views on YouTube worldwide? These could also be treated as interesting examples when elaborating on interplay between national and supranational culture(s) as well as changing patterns to media consumption. Firstly then, finding the right balance shall be connected to spreading examples of »global« cultures when defending national and local cultures—all at the same time. This PSM task is relevant for many European cases, although one could also argue that smaller nations and countries might be interested to put more attention on a need for counterbalancing examples of internationalization. Finally, music videos uploaded, distributed and shared on Facebook and / or YouTube call PSM for special engagement with publics who have embraced the concept of multimedia usage through TV on their mobile phones, Web 2.0, etc.

Michał Głowacki

Michał Głowacki holds a Ph.D. in political science (2009, Wrocław University). He has been awarded scholarships by the Danish Agency for Science, Technology and Innovation (CIRIUS), the Swedish Institute (Svenska Institutet), and the Research Council of Norway (Norges Forsknings-råd). In 2010 he was a Programme Advisor to the Ad hoc Advisory Group on Public Service Media Governance (MC-S-PG) at the Council of Europe. Since 2008 he has been co-editor of »The Central European Journal of Communication.« Most recently, he has participated in the research projects: »Media Accountability and Transparency in Europe (MediaAcT)« funded by the 7th Framework Programme of the European Union, and »Journalism in Change: Professional Journalistic Cultures in Russia, Poland and Sweden« supported by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies. In 2013 he has been awarded scholarship by the Polish-American Fulbright Commission. His research interests are media policy, Public Service Media, accountability, creativity, innovation culture and media governance.

»Bearing in mind that PSM around the world operate in different social architectures and culture there is no doubt that culture shall be regarded as one of the key characteristics of each Public Service Media, either if we look at this from the perspective of PSM obligations or cultivating culture from the inside.«

Opportunities created by gaming environment and interactive multimedia might be treated as effective tools for spreading culture and education.

The fast-changing culture of the 21st century creates plethora of new ways and opportunities for getting involved in creation and distribution of culture. The new collaboration, »makers« and »prosumers« culture has already been acknowledged and some public media outlets opened-up their platforms for independent producers, companies and individuals. Just to mention interactive social network and community platform Public Radio Exchange (PRX) based in Boston that connects listeners, producers and radio stations by offering numerous opportunities for uploading, sharing and distributing content online. PRX is an open system, which means anyone can join, publish, license content, and earn royalties. The next possible step for new partnerships could be connected to special platforms, where people could not only upload their content, but possibly look for some new ways to get engaged and fund cultural content created by the publics. This shift of paradigms has already been observed when one thinks about the example of Kickstarter—a platform to fund creative projects, from films, games, and music to art and design. Since its launch in 2009, 5,6 million people have pledged 963 million USD, funding approx. 55,000 creative projects worldwide. By referring to this type of example it would be interesting to discuss whether this type of model could be applied by PSM and further serve as extension for »filling society with culture« activities?

A Shift in Organizational Culture?

The other type of culture based on internal side of Public Service Media might be a key to understand public media in the digital mediascape; in order to serve and spread culture it is important to cultivate it from an organizational point of view. European PSM outlets are well equipped with history, traditions, values, norms, assumptions, which might often be found in mission statements, codes of ethics, written policy, institutional arrangements, and so on. By referring to the example of Polish public media again, one could look for instance at professional standards adopted by Polish Television (TVP) which refer to freedom of speech, privacy protection, relations with the publics—to mention only a few. Self-regulatory mechanisms together with the principles of independence, autonomy and openness contribute to the holistic picture of organizational culture, which further influences decision-making, strategies and people's behavior. Overall, organizational culture has an impact on the ability of media enterprise to innovate—which is of high importance when sustaining growth and success in competitive media market.

There is no doubt that media company's growth and success depends on the daily work of the people / employees. Just to mention the example of private-owned Google, which—due to several innovations in human resources, customer relations, production and so on—has been claimed to be »a new enterprise archetype«. Much can be said about Google's key factors for cusses

TELEWIZJA POLSKA S.A TVP (PRT)
www.tvp.pl

Generalist
TVP1, TVP2, TVP KULTURA, TVPOLONIA

News/Business
TVP3 / TVP INFO

Sports
TVP SPORT

Documentary
TVP HISTORIA

TV Fiction
TVP SERIALE

Simulcast
TVP HD

34,1% Market share

PR
www.polskieradio.pl

JEDYNKA – PROGRAM 1 POLSKIEGO RADIA

DWÓJKA – PROGRAM 2 POLSKIEGO RADIA

TRÓJKA – PROGRAM 3 POLSKIEGO RADIA

CZWÓRKA – PROGRAM 4 POLSKIEGO RADIA

20,9 % Market share

and approaches for being an »innovation machine« starting from 20 per cent rule which allows employees to take one day a week to work on side projects for the development of infrastructure, business strategies, atmosphere at work and lifestyle. Flat structures and »group« culture cultivated in Mountain View-based Googleplex further support specific decision-making, where there are almost no individual decisions and leaders and managers are actively involved in the daily work on the projects. The question is, of course, how far the Silicon Valley model for innovation can travel and whether existing media companies could learn lessons from the experience of one of the most successful media organization today?

There is no doubt that solutions at Googleplex might not be adopted everywhere and it might be even more harder to make them fully transmitted to the functioning of Public Service Media. PSM outlets differ a lot, starting from its history as well as specific governance and management structures that have developed for several decades. Although no universal model for structures can be applied there might be a need to reshape the existing structures into more agile, flexible, adaptable and »organic« ones. Promotion of equality and cultural diversity in the workplace should be followed by delegation in decision-making and offering a room for collaboration between different departments. At the level of staff development the aim could be to support tools for motivation and to offer a room for experimentation. The role of PSM leaders and managers shall be regarded as crucial, since they might actively contribute to the development of supportive culture. By demonstrating the vision of future and encouraging »can-do« climate they can also actively contribute to the development of customer-centric culture where creative activi-

ties both from staff and creative individuals from the outside of Public Service Media can flourish.

Public Media Culture

Bearing in mind that PSM around the world operate in different social architectures and culture there is no doubt that culture shall be regarded as one of the key characteristics of each Public Service Media, either if we look at this from the perspective of PSM obligations or cultivating culture from the inside. In the era of emergence and development of digital ecosystems, new market entrants and players, there is even a bigger need to fulfill society with culture and provide new opportunities for culture developments. Societal and technological developments might call PSM for rethinking and introducing some new competencies when orchestrating and cultivating new forms of culture generated by external contributors. Although no one is going to provide a clear solution on how public media should be managed and / or organized, some shift in organizational cultures might be necessary to stay relevant and to create networked and public-centered enterprise.

PSM outlets still play an important role in respect of culture. One can even look at them as cultural institutions, which shall behave as theatres, museums, cinemas and so on. Having successfully mixed traditional cultural obligations with new opportunities to deliver culture and cultivate the organizational one, public media are capable to act as counterparts to Google, Amazon, Facebook, etc. and sustain cultural obligations and cultural pluralism in media. What kind of culture is needed? One could call this culture of collaboration, culture of responsibility, user-centric culture and culture of experimentation. By successfully mixing all of this one can go further and create unique approaches that could further simply be called »Public Media Culture«—the culture that helps to sustain the ethos of PSM in the fast-changing digital mediascapes. •

REFERENCES

Anderson, Ch. (2012). Makers. The New Industrial Revolution. New York: Crown Business.

Council of Europe (2012b) Recommendation CM/Rec(2012)1 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on public service media governance. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 15 February 2012 at the 1.134th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. Available at https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=1908265 (Accessed January 29, 2014).

Girard, B. (2009). The Google Way. How One Company is Revolutionizing Management as We Know It. San Francisco: No Starch Press.

Głowacki, M., Jackson, L. (eds) (2013). Public Media Management for the Twenty-First Century: Creativity, Innovation, and Interaction. London and New York: Routledge.

Running to Win the »Indispensability« Race

Clara Almeida Santos, Sílvio Santos
University of Coimbra

This text reflects some of the ideas emerging from a rich undergoing debate on public service media that has been taking place in Portugal. Academia and government, as well as media professionals and opinion leaders have promoted several discussion fora, especially since the turning of the millennium. This text draws on some of those discussions. It focuses in particular on the Public Service Day, an event that took place in November 2013 aimed at promoting the participation of all stakeholders on an open consultation about the Public Service Charter (in course at the time), and on the International Conference Challenges to Public Service Media that took place at the University of Coimbra, in December 2013.

The Public Service Broadcaster (PSB) has been under growing pressure in Portugal, particularly since television was liberalized in the early 90's. This pressure results essentially from two major forces: on the one hand, the financial constraints (caused by the need to share the exiguous and decreasing revenue provided by the advertising market and the Public Television's economic deficit); and, on the other, the image PSB has in Portugal, culturally bound to the idea of government interference, which is considered idiosyncratic in this part of southern Europe. As a consequence, PSB has been under strong pressure both from the private sector and from the state.

The political and business model of public service has been under discussion over the last two decades. Since 2002, with Durão Barroso's government the public service has fiercely been on the spotlight with a strong focus on cost control. This debate has mostly been driven by the television.

Back in the late 90's, radio was a stable company. Although it was presented as part of the problem, it ended being part of the solution for it shared part of its fee incomes. The discussion reached the public sphere and has been transversal to several sectors of society. Radio and television broadcasters were later merged and internet and mobile services were developed. A new ecosystem of public service was designed as a result of the downsizing of the public company. RDP (Radiodifusão Portuguesa) and RTP (Radiotelevisão Portuguesa) gave way to the new RTP (Rádio e Televisão Portuguesa). The company is now much smaller, more agile, and became a place where multitasking and synergies are strongly encouraged.

Public Service Media Axiom

We intend to address the Portuguese situation by analyzing how the public media are so close and yet have to be so distant from the private sector. Then, we present the existence of public service in the media in Portugal as a true axiom.

In Portugal there has been a growing need to perform and especially publicize a cost efficient management of PSB. Several attempts were made, however the most drastic began in 2002. At that time, PSB was presented as overweight and outdated. Large PSM companies were simply not fashionable any more particularly in a country where public money is considered better spent when used in other services as health, education or security. Hence, private management practices, which had been adopted by PSB a few years earlier, were intensified in an effort to change the way the general public perceived

RÁDIO E TELEVISÃO DE PORTUGAL (RTP)
www.rtp.pt

Generalist
RTP 1, RTP2, RTP AFRICA

News / Business
RTPN (RTP INFORMACAO)

Entertainment
RTP MEMÓRIA

Sports
RTP OLIMPICOS HD

18,8 % Market share

Television has developed a special online interface—RTP Play—and has also implemented some cutting edge mobile services. Digitalization is absolutely crucial for the media that are generally undergoing a shift from linear distribution (push) to pull consumption. This is even more important for the Public Broadcaster. Let us consider RTP for example. It is the sole responsible for the national audiovisual archives from the fifties to the nineties, which corresponds to the television monopoly period in Portugal. Still, innovation in the public media is not to be pursued at all cost: it is definitely not desirable that in order to gain new audiences (or better said young audiences) one should run over an already conquered audience, faithful to PSM (in the relative proportion in which this faithfulness can be measured). People who use the media in traditional forms cannot be abandoned. There has to be a correlation between the investment and its social benefit. These are some of the reasons that explain the abandonment of the digital terrestrial radio (DAB). When faced with the growing need for accountability and effectiveness, how would it be possible to justify such a large investment in a system that had practically no listeners at all?

public management. During the process, there was an extra effort to use public resources in a more optimized way. »Do more with less« became the indoor slogan. As a consequence, the concepts of »downsizing« and »rationalization« have been in the agenda since the beginning of the millennium. The ideals of transparency and accountability encouraged by need to justify the existence of a Public Broadcaster have worked as a motto in PSM.[1]

Just like private media the public operator does not live regardless of its audience. While the private operator has to gain audience in order to maximize its revenues, PSM has to aim at other targets: developing social cohesion, promoting diversity and pluralism, engaging in education, aiming at universality. Therefore, despite having challenges in common with the private sector, public media have to fight for their singularity and identity. That is why the question of definition is also very significant to both private and public operators in a system where fragmentation, specialization and niche needs are shaping the trends. Innovation—in every sense possible—is of course another common ground: the main concern is to follow the audiences wherever and however they go. Internet and mobile platforms have been the preferred paths to expand private and public media services in Portugal. The public radio has chosen internet has the privileged means no enlarge its portfolio, mainly for three reasons: unavailable FM licenses, financial constraints, and as a way to reach segmented audiences that are already digitally attained.

As for the second axiom, the importance public service has played in the media though frequently questioned has always thrived. Despite being accused of governmental control of overspending, of lack of

Clara Almeida Santos

Clara Almeida Santos is currently vice-rector for communication and culture at the University of Coimbra. She is assistant professor at the Faculty of Letters of the same university, with a Ph.D. in Communication Sciences and MSc in Communication and Journalism. Since 2003, she has participated in applied research projects on diversity in the media, authoring or co-authoring several books on the subject. She worked as a journalist at the TV channel SIC, mainly as editor at the channel's website.

Sílvio Correia Santos

Sílvio Correia Santos is a lecturer at the University of Coimbra, where he teaches radio, multimedia and music criticism. He is also the production coordinator of UCV, the University web tv project. Ph.D. in Communication Studies, his most recent research concerns the public service radio, participative media and web tv. He worked as a producer and a presenter for the Portuguese public radio.

distinctiveness, PSM has resisted even to the repeated threat of privatization. The model and structure of the public operator have been thoroughly discussed and questioned but the intangible benefits that result from the existence of public service contents have prevailed in Portugal. Even considering that the public operator could disappear, as such, society as a whole has never questioned (and we believe that it will not question in the near future) the importance of media as a Public Value provider.

How to Remain Indispensable?

For the first time in Portugal, there will be a single Charter for both radio and television services. The document was made available during a much publicized open discussion and should be enforced in 2014. Some of the recently announced changes point to a new governance model that will desirably change the way PSM is seen, in its most negative aspects, by the Portuguese society. Amongst other dimensions, announced shifts will impact the institutional influence of the government on the PSM management, and on the funding model that will have to increasingly rely on the capacity to generate its own revenues as a way to complement the fee income. After all the attempts to reform PSB that have taken place over the last years, the success of these changes will surely influence the way the Portuguese nation looks at its public media. Will the public media finally be seen as a well-managed, independent entity that provides added value? Anyway, the work that has to be done to promote the indispensability of PSM in Portugal goes beyond its independence and efficiency. A trustworthy PSM is also built on the ground of content: with quality and attention to the audience needs, in a differentiated form, and creating added social and cultural value.

Whenever PSM is concerned there is an ongoing though frequently misplaced debate around quality. Furthermore, the degree of subjectivity of this definition, particularly when applied to the media sector, as well as the dispute between public interest and the interest of the public frequently occupy most of the time and space devoted to the quality issue. This text is not intended

RTP
www.rtp.pt

ANTENA 1

ANTENA 2

ANTENA 3

8,8 % Market share

to analyze ways to define and assess quality criteria. However, we wish to emphasize the dimension and that this issue has been increasingly taking in the Portuguese public media narrative. In line with the European tradition of the public service remit, the Portuguese public service operator has presented the values that will guide the intended development of the company in the 2013–2015 triennium. »Excellency« is one of the core values that hopefully will guarantee the capital of trust needed to justify the pertinence of keeping a public service media system that is, at least partially, sustained by taxpayers.

Probably the most distinctive factor for the Portuguese public media in the coming years is the emphasis on the strategic value of its international content, in a way that it can trigger not only cultural but also economic value. At the time of writing, the open consultation is over and the Parliament will begin to discuss the new Charter. Once again, PSM seem to have reached the podium that guarantees that it qualifies for the next race. •

1 Since 2003 RTP is financed through advertising revenues, a license fee (2,39 € net per month in 2013, paid with the electricity invoice) and by a transfer from the state general budget (due to end in a near future).

The Plea for History and the Return to Europe

Dana Mustata
University of Groningen

In the post-broadcast era, when Public Service Broadcasters everywhere are forced to redefine their content, their production practices and distribution services in the face of the challenges posed by the digital age and media critics look ahead in the attempt to anticipate shifting consumption patterns and devise new business strategies, we may feel tempted to dismiss history as a thing of the past and omit to factor it in in our attempts to make sense of current changes.

There is one long-standing challenge when it comes to public broadcasting in Eastern Europe. While the former socialist broadcasters shifted from state-controlled regimes to democratic regimes, these broadcasters have never regained new public identities. They remain defined through their absences and failures. Across the continent, they have formed a second-hand Europe defined by its failures to live up to the democratic norms and values of Western Europe, whereas in national discourses they are defined through their relations to the communist past and its political ties.

There are two main problems that derive from this lack of identity: at the European level, this has prevented former socialist broadcasters to properly integrate into the European media system. At a national level, these broadcasters lack competitive currency: while in Western Europe, the most fierce competitors for Public Broadcasters are shifting towards mobile and web technology providers and online content distributors, former socialist broadcasters in Eastern Europe lose their competitive value first and foremost due to their perpetuating associations to their political past. In the absence of a redefined »public service« identity after the fall of the Iron Curtain, Eastern Europe's Public Broadcasters are still defined through their socialist past, while paradoxically, it is this socialist past that is denied to them.

Past Legacies and the Challenge of (Re)defining Public Service Broadcasting in Romania

While the Audiovisual Law for public broadcasting in Romania echoes the »Reithian norms« of public service broadcasting, Televiziunea Romana (TVR) is dismissed by audiences and in public discourses as a ceausist institution, an institution that is deeply rooted within Ceausescu's regime. Coming out of a dictatorial regime at the end of the 1980s, TVR hasn't yet reclaimed its identity outside the sphere of political interferences and dependencies, an identity inherited from the past regime of political control and broadcast censorship.

An attempt to establish TVR's post-communist identity occurred in the aftermath of the 1989 Revolution as part of mediatized public debates. The broadcaster's TV guide at the time Panoramic Radio-TV became one such public platform for debating the democratic and independent status of a formerly politically controlled institution. Radio and television critics at the time— who had moved their chronicles from one magazine to another and published under pseudonyms throughout the 1980s for fear of Ceausescu's regime—were now given the spotlight to voice their assessment of the public broadcast institution:

»The only thing I can now truly hope for is for you to be able to ask for (can I say for the continuation) of a radio-television critique that will prioritize the highest professional standards and the respect for value. [A critique] that will analyze your profession competently, but subtly, generally, but also specifically in terms of programmes, critically but not unconstructively, attentively but not vindictively. Before many other rights which I am sure you deserve and you will ask for,

I humbly believe it is important and necessary for you to have a critical objective and pertinent assessment of what you are doing, so as to avoid the confusion of values and the anarchy of criteria.«

This wrote the television critic Cleopatra Lorintiu in a letter she sent to the Public Broadcaster and published in Panoramic Radio TV in February 1990. In the early 1990s, the Public Broadcaster initiated a strong campaign of redefining its identity in the new political era. It televised and published debates on TVR's envisioned norms and values and roadmap to democracy, it attempted to redefine broadcast professionalism by popularizing quality television programmes and valued television professionals from the 1970s, the golden era of Romanian public television.

Europe's Second-Hand Broadcasters

These early post-communist attempts to re-classify Romanian Public Television away from the ashes of a condemnable political regime and as part of a new democratic era, was soon shifted from a position of coming to terms with the past to a desire for Europe and for democratic change. This positioning towards the (re)definition of Romanian television's public service identity brought with it what television scholar John Ellis acknowledged in his 2000 book Television in the Age of Uncertainty as »the pseudo-triumph« of West versus East, which denied the return of »history and difference« to Europe. This (self-)denial of history as part of identifying the new public service role of Romanian television brought about unrealistic expectations of what the new democratizing role entailed for a media system in transition. This unfurled a tradition of policy making that assessed the integration of former socialist media systems in Europe through their deficit with Western norms and values, without addressing the different legacies of their broadcast histories. »Democracy« or »independence« became the buzzwords that drove funds and training programmes from Western Europe into Eastern Europe, while it remained unclear what »democracy«, or »independence« meant in the context of a formerly politically controlled broadcaster.

A Public Broadcaster such as TVR is still assessed by Europe and Romanians alike through its deficit with Western broadcasting standards and criticized for how it does not live up to Western-rooted expectations. At the same time, no proper understanding of the broadcaster's tradition in political relations and broadcast professionalism exists. Such an understanding would have informed a realistic assessment of the institution's assets and liabilities in the new era—both in terms of European integration and market competition—and helped to properly identify and (re)define its public service remit.

While the communist past of TVR is held responsible for the broadcaster's current shortcomings and failures, this past remains dismissed. The bulk of TVR professionals were removed from or obscured in their jobs after 1989 in an attempt to cleanse the institution from its condemnable past. With this, the institution shed itself from its historical past and denied itself of a self-assessment that would have helped redefine its own identity and public mission. Such an assessment of the Public Broadcaster did not come from other groups in society, either. Almost twenty-five years down the road, TVR is still veiled into a public condemnation of its political ties and seen as a communist remnant within the Romanian audiovisual landscape. In 2007–2009 as I studied the »Radio and Television Files« at the Securitate Archives—the most extensive written documentation on TVR that is publicly accessible, containing not only surveillance files, but most of TVR's internal documents —there were only one-two other people who had read these files, these being former TVR employees who had previously been accused of their collaboration with the Securitate.

Under circumstances in which, a broadcaster's history is being denied, on what grounds do we assess its public remit, on what basis do we draft its roadmap to democratic norms and values? If we condemn a broadcaster's past without understanding what this past entailed, how do we deploy differences and diversity within the European broadcasting scene? As media scholar Slavko
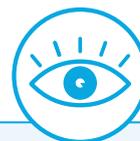
SOCIETATEA ROMÂŇA DE TELEVIZIUNE
www.tvr.ro

Generalist
TVR1, TVR2

News/Business
TVR INFO

6,2 % Market share

SRR
www.srr.ro

ANTENA SATELOR

RADIO ROMANIA ACTUALITATI

SRR REGIONAL (8)

RADIO ROMANIA CULTURAL

29,9 % Market share

Splichal already observed in 1994, with the fall of the Iron Curtain and the history of former socialist broadcasters being relegated to the past, all was left for these broadcasters to do was to embark on a process of »mimicking the West«. Do these broadcasters then stand any chance at proper European integration other than being placed on a position of deficit and inferiority? Is Europe making space for broadcast diversity in the sense of deploying different historical broadcast traditions, or rather attempting to westernize the former socialist broadcasters in Eastern Europe? How much and what do we know about television broadcasting in Eastern Europe?

While European Public Broadcasters need to redefine themselves in the digital era, former socialist broadcasters such as TVR still need to come to terms with redefine themselves through their histories.

The Return to Europe: Online Access to Socialist Television Histories

As Public Broadcasters are now shifting their services and content online and are faced with challenges such as finding the balance between broadcasting as prescribed by their public service remit and narrowcasting as an competitive business strategy in the post-broadcast era, there is one particular advantage that the web offers to former socialist Public Broadcasters: access to their archived past. Access is not a straightforward practice when it comes to archival broadcast material. Digitization still poses a major challenge for a broadcaster such as TVR whose archive department was only founded in 1991 and problems related to storage and preservation are more pressing than digitization needs.

When it comes to digitizing archival material, the most challenging questions remain: what to digitize first and on what grounds, how to re-distribute resources to carry out digitization projects? How to deal with copyrights when existing laws do not take into consideration online access and distribution? How to enable free online access—to adjust to actual consumption trends —with scarce resources? While these issues are still posing a challenge for TVR, the political economy of the web can come to the rescue. In the post-broadcast era, when competition is fierce, small scale, customized services based on niche content is in high demand. Archived history is one such type of online niche content, which Google has already been exploiting. In 2012, TVR signed a partnership with Google Cultural Institute to make archival material on the Romanian Revolution freely available online as part of the Google virtual exhibitions »Historic Moments«. Online platforms can thus offer an outlet for former socialist broadcasters to pitch their archived histories as niche content in partnership with technology and online service providers. Currently TVR makes it archival content available through other European partnerships, such as EUscreen (www.euscreen.eu), Europe's largest online database of archival content or Europeana (www.europeana.eu), Europe's digital library. These initiatives of online access to television archives help broadcast histories—such as TVR's socialist history—regain currency and momentum. This marks the return of »history and difference« back to Europe, necessary for a proper assessment of the public service remit of formerly state-controlled broadcasters and in turn, a pre-requisite for the integration of former socialist broadcasters within Europe's Public Service Media. •

Dana Mustata

Dana Mustata, Ph.D., is assistant professor in Television Studies at the Department of Media and Journalism Studies at the University of Groningen. She is currently working on the project »Everyday Matters. Material Historiographies of Television in Cold War Contexts« and leading the collaborative project »Television Histories in (Post)Socialist Europe«. From 2006 until 2012 she has worked on the EU funded projects Video Active and EUscreen. She is co-founder and coordinator of the European (Post) Socialist Television History Network, member of the Television Studies Commission of the International Federation of Television Archives and a member of the European Television History Network.

SLOVAKIA

Necessary for a Liberal Democracy

Andrej Školkay
School of Communication and Media Bratislava

Ethics and professionalism are valuable assets for every profession. The public service jobs in a modern liberal society rely on these values. This is especially true for the Public Service Media (PSM). As Zankova (2013: 685) writes, »free-minded professional journalism is a precious asset for any media but for PSM it is indispensable to the overall process of improvement and particularly to devising new strategies for strengthening its role in a democracy«. Furthermore, »Public service journalists have to be not only the most experienced but also dedicated professionals« (Zankova 2013: 687). The Council of Europe implies a professional performance and output as necessary prerequisites for good governance of PSM in its general framework conditions (see Zankova 2013: 644–648).

However, the importance of professional competency in public service has not always been taken seriously (not only) in Slovakia. Sometimes, political contacts seem to have more impact on the career than individual effort and professional skills. For example, an OECD survey in 2009 confirmed that less than a quarter of Slovak respondents believed that individual effort leads to promotion in the civil service in Slovakia (Meyer-Sahling 2009: 36–37). Slovakia ranked last in this dimension among all the new EU member states. By 59 % of the respondents political contacts were deemed more important for developing a career in the civil service.

Indeed, the local media reported a well-documented case study which showed that this happens in a rather brutal way. The director of a local Office of the Employment (sic!) gave to his responsible employees (members of the selection committee and the staff responsible for a »fair« selection process) CVs of (already pre-selected) candidates for a job. This list of pre-selected candidates was prepared in cooperation with a Member of the Parliament (local resident), representing the governing party. He gave »recommendations« and »instructions«.

ROZHLAS A TELEVIZIA SLOVENSKA (RTVS)
www.rtvs.sk

Generalist
JEDNOTKA (SVT1), DVOJKA (SVT2)

Sports
TROJKA (SVT3)

11,7 % Market share

It was clearly but secretly indicated which position should be given to a candidate and at which date a particular candidate should start working (Lacková 2013).

Similarly, a former prosecutor who used to work for many years at the General Prosecutor Office, Eva Mišíková, openly said that so called open and fair public selection for any top managerial positions at this office are, in fact, formal cover act for already made personal pre-selection (týždeň January 6, 2014: 18).

Nevertheless, the selection procedure for the candidates in public and state service has improved in the long-term perspective. A move towards de-politicization and professionalism is clearly visible in PSM, especially in the last years. Previously, PSM had been heavily politicized. Currently, some politicians, especially those who have European experience, publicly acknowledge limits of a propagandistic impact of the media. This is one factor which has caused a move towards de-politicization and higher professionalism in the Slovak PSM. Another contributing factor is the expansion of the local and international private TV and radio stations as well as the shift to online media. This availability of alternatives together with the sometimes moderate quality of PSM programming in general led to discussions about the usefulness and purpose of PSM in Slovakia at the turn of the century. A major third factor leading towards higher professionalism in Slovak PSM has a financial cause. Clearly, almost continuous financial crises and over-spending in PSM in the last two decades proved that something had to be done in terms of the management. In other words, there had been a growing pressure to hire professional managers instead of political nominees in PSM. Since the late 1990s, there have been many

attempts to get two in one: to appoint a political nominee with skills and experience in managing media. In the recent years, these attempts have become successful.

In the last years, PSM in Slovakia has not witnessed any major openly contested problems caused by incidental unethical and unprofessional behavior or decisions. However, there were some subtle changes and issues hidden from the public—for example, an editorial decision diverted the investigative TV journalism from politically controversial and sensitive topics towards citizens' and consumers' issues in the years 2008–2010. In other words, concerning democracy the investigative focus shifted from more important public service to less important public service.

The professionals in Slovakia have been discussing the elements of professional conduct in many areas since the fall of communism in 1989. A growing number of professions have been introducing their own code of ethics as well. The discussion which professions should adopt a code of ethics and enforce it is rather heated and shows signs of anxiety. Self-regulation has become a very popular buzz word and is formally driven by the pursuit for freedom and independency. Regarding journalism and journalists, one of the concerns is that without professionals we cannot have professionalism. Yet, theoretically speaking it is still unclear whether journalism is a profession in a sociological meaning or, as experts usually argue, whether it is rather somewhere in-between—a craft with a special mission on the borderline with a profession. The answer to this question is simple though: »mass communicators act like professionals when they focus on serving the public—and when they think about the question: ›Why not follow the rules?‹« (Black and Roberts 2014: 3).

Andrej Školkay

Andrej Školkay is the director of the School of Communication and Media, Bratislava, Slovakia. He has lectured at journalism and media schools across Slovakia and overseas and he has published widely on various aspects of the media (media and international relations, media and politics, media literacy, media law). He is the author of »Media and Globalisation« (School of Communication and Media, Bratislava 2009) and a book on Media Law in Slovakia (second edition, Kluwer Law International, The Netherlands, 2013).

I am not going to deal with subtle philosophical issues about whether behaving ethically may sometimes mean to break (official) professional norms (e. g. in war reporting).

Neither am I going to discuss grand issues such as the centuries-old problem of co-existence of capitalism (a necessary evil, if unregulated often unethical and for many morally problematic in principle, thus both a useful and dangerous phenomenon like a fire) and liberal democracy (a normative, very broad and attractive but also abstract and controversial ideal). It is enough to mention the occurring problem with the tabloid media in this context. Those driven by the capitalist competition tend, in the long term perspective, to cross not only

RTVS
www.rtvs.sk

RÁDIO SLOVENSKO

RÁDIO REGINA

RÁDIO PATRIA

RÁDIO_FM

RÁDIO DEVÍN

31% Market share

ethical-professional norms of a journalistic profession but also to break general legal norms almost inevitably (e. g. Murdoch News of the World phone hacking scandal).

Clearly, the issue of professionalism has many dimensions. The question which is of our interest here: Are professionally competent journalists, presenters and program-makers necessary for a liberal democracy? I assume, yes, they are. In order to achieve this, they need guaranteed and proper funding, professional and ethical training, and a high level of independence. However, it should be noted that professional autonomy can also work in opposition to the community and thus professionalization can work in opposition to a shared democratic sphere (see Keith 2009).

The Slovak experience also shows that in order to achieve the goal of having professionally competent journalists in the PSM, it is important to financially strengthen PSM so they can provide information, education and entertainment for the general public at qualitative standards private media usually do not offer. The finances have always been a challenge (not only) in Slovakia. Only a high level of professionalism with solid ethical background, supported by proper funding, can guarantee that a proper ratio between quality / viewership / costs in PSM will be achieved. It seems that the PSM in Slovakia are heading towards this direction. For example, the director general of PSM in Slovakia proudly claimed that New Year's program (jointly produced by a Czech TV) was the most popular TV program among Slovak viewers (Mika 2014).

It is possible that market driven media are by and large sufficient at larger markets such as USA which operate successfully without dominant PSM. It seems that larger linguistically homogenous markets can also sustain media for niche audiences without an urgent need for majority of population to have a national PSM. Although, perhaps paradoxically, BBC as—for many —an ideal-type of PSM, emerged in a country which offers one of the largest markets. Yet even in the USA the National Public Radio and Public Service Broadcasting play important roles for more intellectual part of a society. •

REFERENCES

Black, J. and Roberts, Ch. (2014). Doing Ethics in Media. http://cw.routledge.com/textbooks/black/summary3.asp (date accessed 8 December 2013)

Čikovský, K. (2013, December 26). Prečo sme zverejnili nepravdivú správu a ako sa tomu dá vyhnúť. http://komentare.sme.sk/c/7049903/preco-sme-zverejnili-nepravdivu-spravu-a-ako-sa-tomu-da-vyhnut.html#ixzz2ofSDsQMF

Lacková, Ľ. (2013, June 23). Na zvolenskom úrade práce vyhrávali výberové konania vyvolení http://www.pluska.sk/plus-7-dni/domov/na-zvolenskom-urade-prace-vyhravali-vyberove-konania-vyvoleni.html

Keith, R.A. R (2009). Constructing Professionalism: Reifying the Historical Inevitability of Commercialization in Mass Media Communication, http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/communication_diss/16/(date accessed 8 December 2013)

Meyer-Sahling, J. H. (2009), »Sustainability of civil service reforms in Central Eastern Europe five years after EU accession«, Sigma Paper, 44, available at:http://www.oecd.org/officialdocuments/displaydocumentpdf/?cote=gov/sigma%282009%291&doclanguage=en (date accessed 8 December 2013)

Mika, V. (2014, January 4). Mali sme najsledovanejší Silvester, ďakujeme za vašu priazeň, Sme, p. 26

Zankova, B. (2013, October). Public Service Media Journalism and Democracy in the Digital Age, Journalism and Mass Communication, ISSN 2160-6579, October 2013, Vol. 3, No. 10, 679–689, http://www.davidpublishing.com/journals_info.asp?jId=1769

SLOVENIA
Snatch the Public Service!

Sandra Bašić Hrvatin
University of Primorska

»The time, it is to be hoped, is gone by, when any defense would be necessary of the ›liberty of the press‹ as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical government. [...] it is not, in constitutional countries, to be apprehended, that the government, whether completely responsible to the people or not, will often attempt to control expression of opinion, except when in doing so it makes itself the organ of the general intolerance of the public.« This passage from J. S. Mill's On Liberty dates from 1859[1]. Has Mill's prognosis proven true? Has that time really gone by? In our opinion it has not. We live in a time when freedom of expression and freedom of the press need to be defended again. Moreover, it is a time when a clear vision of the future development does not suffice, but we also need to establish where we have found ourselves and why.

It may seem that we have reached the point in time when it is superfluous to explain what the public service is and what its role in public communication is, but in reality the understanding of its role and significance (on the part of the governments and public services themselves) is only apparent, so it needs to be expounded again. To borrow McLuhan's metaphor, to understand the present we should look into the reverse mirror, that is to say, look back while moving forward. In Slovenia, where the media landscape has been literally devastated, where the debate about the role of the media is still burdened by the language of the past and where we have been moving forward without a moment of reflection on the content and vision, it is also necessary to look back and establish how the Public Service Media have become the hostage of the day-to-day politics.

Karl W. Deutsch compared the shaping of policies (foreign policies in this case) to a pinball game, saying that every interest group and agency, every important official, legal expert or national opinion leader fulfills the role of a pin, while the emerging decision is similar to the ultimate destination of the steel ball which bounces off various pins on its way downwards.[2] The difficulty faced by Slovenia is that ever since 1991 the shaping of the media regulation has been a pinball game in which media policy was never clearly outlined, not even minimally. The absence of policy has come to light within a number of fundamental areas of media operation resulting in the unsuccessful transformation of the state-owned Radio Television Slovenia (RTV) into a public institution, the unsuccessful prevention of media concentration, the failure to ensure media and journalistic autonomy and a plural media space, the failure to meet the public interest, and finally, the unsuccessful legislation.

For several decades now, governing elites tried to use RTV Slovenia as a platform to realize their political interests. Some say it has literally been hijacked by each and every election winner. Although the politicians invariably assured the public that the autonomy, independence and professionalism of the public service was a must, it has never been clearly determined what these notions really meant. Are our politicians and interest groups really capable of contemplating a public service beyond their own interests? The past two decades saw an ongoing discussion about the significance and the role of the public service, but after each amendment of the legislation (ten of them so far) the same questions reappeared. However, instead of mustering the political and civil courage to find a suitable legal arrangement that would finally enable the public to gain access to its public service while reinforcing the latter's responsibility to the public, we have been repeatedly confronted with the invincible power of particular interests whose only common denominator is status quo (making changes without really changing anything!).

This media non-policy (as an extreme form of harmful regulation) has invariably had its consequences. In 2014—the year in which we face the global crisis of the media sector and journalism—the amendment of the media regulation has again returned to the agenda.

The ensuring of democratic public communication is one of the fundamental political issues. There is no democracy without democratic media (and the other way round). Although it seems that democracy (or whatever is understood by this term) has been defined once and for all, the reality is precisely the opposite. The ideological struggle is in fact the struggle to ascribe a new meaning to the notion of democracy; it is the struggle about what democracy »really means«.[3]

As Lawrence Lessing has established in his book »Republic, Lost«, the fundamental question of the present time is the efficiency of supervision over those in power and the fight against corruption.[4] In this sense, it is important to understand democracy as a form of the government, and representative democracy as a republic—res publica—i. e. as a manner of managing public affairs. In this manner of governance, the connective tissue is a public interest that implies not only a differentiation between private or particular interest and a public good, but also includes a »material« dimension. The fundamental role of a republic is to recognize this difference and observe it. The significance (or the content) of the public interest cannot be determined in advance; it becomes defined only through a public debate in which particular interests of all participants become confronted. The public interest is not a consensus within a society on a specific (public) issue but a guidance that determines the manner of governance. In this sense, the public interest is in fact a public benefit enjoyed by the society as a whole regardless of individual interests at that particular moment. If good governance takes into account this differentiation, then citizens should also be guided by a similar principle. Citizenship (rather than media operation) should primarily be understood as a civil service. A citizen, as a protagonist of civil service, is in the same way obliged to pursue a public benefit rather than his/her own private interests only. As Zephyr Teachout said, citizens, too, could be corrupt if they exploit their civil service to pursue a private rather than the public interest. They too are responsible for the integrity of their governments.[5]

O'Donnell holds a similar opinion. An important contribution to the strengthening of the principle of horizontal dependence is the assumption that political authority originates from every individual member of demos. Democracy requires, says O'Donell, that those who manage public affairs work to the benefit of all. If the power comes from the people (every individual) then the people are obliged to take part in the adoption of collective decisions and to ensure that the content of these decisions and the manner in which they are

adopted are public.[6] In short, democratic media are the media whose only interest is to operate in the interest of the people. Since that interest is not defined once and for all but is rather the subject of ongoing political negotiations (ideological struggles), the duty of a public service is to check repeatedly the content of the public interest and of its commitment to the public. A public service is not defined by its organizational form, the funding manner or the management method (these are the consequences, not the causes), but by its unconditional commitment to serve the public interest.

Instead of walking into the trap by predicting the future and exalting the technological advancement that increases access to the public space, it is necessary to go back to the roots. If a public service does not fulfill its fundamental role, it is irrelevant whether it is accessible on all platforms or only on some. In such a case, it is reduced to just one of the media outlets that compete to attract the attention of advertisers. However, if a public service is truly the media outlet of the public, then it is almost self-understandable that it will find the way to reach all citizens wherever they are and at any time. In political discourse, as well as in the legislation, the notion of the media is used interchangeably with that of service. Consequently, freedom of expression as a fundamental human right is equalized with the right of choice and something similar can be seen in the case of a public service. Serving the public is not exactly a »pleasant« notion or a pleasant job in the environment in which governance has been turned into management and communication into a struggle to catch attention. What does »serving the public« mean and who is the public that public service is supposed to serve? The public is neither a homogeneous group nor a statistically

RTV
www.rtvslo.si

SLOVENIJA 1

VAL 202

REGIONAL (4)

RADIO SLOVENIA

28,6 % Market share

definable category. The public denotes a process in which mechanisms for reaching a consensus should be developed. The public service is not supposed to determine what people need and the people are not supposed to determine what a public service should do—it is matter of negotiations. Even the most banal question of who represents the public cannot be reduced to the list of civil organizations that are eligible to appoint their delegates to the governing bodies. Instead, it requires incessant questioning of the manners in which a public service can communicate with the public. If this dialogue is established and maintained, and if the commitment taken is repeatedly supplemented and amended, the result is a media outlet that always knows with whom it communicates, and how and why it communicates. A public service should defy the arrangement in which its mission is defined by law or by politicians who arbitrarily determine what a public service or public interest is. Instead, its duty is to be able to justify its mission at any moment before the public.

In his works Where to Begin, What Should be Done and One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Lenin very clearly demonstrated the significance of national daily newspapers. It is not the matter of choosing the road (it has already been chosen), but of choosing the practical steps that should be taken on that road and of the manner in which it should be done. It is a matter of the system and the plan of practical activity, says Lenin in his introduction to Where to Begin. If we know the road (in our case it implies changes to the existing media system), the next step is choosing the right steps. It is necessary to cast off the yoke of the past and of the present and to find our own way here and now. At the moment, we are at a critical crossroad. We need to adopt the right decisions

RADIOTELEVIZIJA SLOVENIJA (RTVSLO)
www.rtvslo.si

Generalist
SLOVENIJA 1 (RTV SLO 1), SLOVENIJA 2 (RTV SLO 2), KOPER, MARIBOR

News/Business
SLOVENIJA 3 (RTV SLO 3)

27,7 % Market share

Sandra Bašić Hrvatin

Sandra Bašić Hrvatin Ph.D. is a professor at the University of Primorska. She is a member of editorial board of Media Watch monitoring the media in South-Eastern Europe. Prof. Bašić Hrvatin served, inter alia, as the chairperson of the Slovene Broadcasting Council, member of Independent Media Commission in Kosovo and member of Slovene Advertising Ethics Commission. Since 2000, Prof. Bašić Hrvatin works as independent expert for the Council of Europe, OSCE and the European Commission in the field of media regulation.

and persist in fulfilling them. RTV Slovenia should become a public media service not because its status is legally determined as such, but because it is what people need. Furthermore, RTV Slovenia is not and must not be simply a media outlet. It is also an educational and cultural institution. It is a political institution that establishes horizontal connections among people. This article opened with Mill and his defense of freedom of expression, so let me also conclude it with Mill and his warning to citizens:

»The worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it; and a State which postpones the interests of their mental expansion and elevation to a little more of administrative skill, or of that semblance of it which practice gives, in the details of business; a State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed everything will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish.«[8]

A public service of any country is worth as much as the public that supports it is worth. A stable funding system, independent management and civil courage to speak not on behalf of the public but like the public could turn it into the future model on which the changes in the media sphere would be based. The question »What should be done« therefore has a very short answer: Snatch the public service and let it serve us—the people! •

SPAIN

Crisis or Dismantlement?[*]

Isabel Fernández-Alonso, Marc Espín
University of Barcelona

The Spanish public broadcasting system is undoubtedly one of the broadest and most complex in Europe. It has one national (State), 13 regional (autonomous-community) and a significant yet unquantified number of local operators (terrestrial local public radio is broadcast in analogue format and provides coverage at municipal level, whereas local public television is broadcast in digital format and provides coverage at comarca or supra-municipal level).

However, in the context of recession, the focus of public debate is on regional broadcasting in general, and regional television in particular. It is often accused of wasting resources (above all of having an excessively large workforce) and of being subject to the dictates of the government in office at any given time. Under this pretext, there are calls from a variety of spheres for measures to be taken, which range from a reduction in offerings, to a radical reformulation of the model, and even to the permanent closure of operators. In this respect, the Associated Commercial Television Union (UTECA), a trade body that wants regional Public Television Broadcasters to abolish all advertising (as Televisión Española [TVE] has already done), has actually advocated that these broadcasters should stop operating independently and form a single channel with shared content and regional opt-outs.

The Spanish regional public broadcasting system has its origins in the period of Spain's transition towards democracy (1975–1982). The Spanish Constitution of 1978 articulates a State model that is decentralised into 17 autonomous communities with powers to develop basic State-level legislation on communication. Thus, in 1983, the Spanish Parliament passed the Third Channel Act, which gave the autonomous communities free rein to set up their own public broadcasting operators if they wanted to. Those who did tended to emulate the national public broadcasting model (Radiotelevisión Española [RTVE]). However, it should be noted that this Act was largely the result of unremitting demands from several

territories with a strong tradition of autonomy, basically Catalonia and the Basque Country, where public media (and communication policies in general) are conceived of as nation-building tools. As such, they have proved very effective in their 30 years of existence.

As a result, the Basque Country's public television operator (ETB) began broadcasting in 1982 (even before the Third Channel Act had been passed), followed by Catalonia's (TVC) in 1983 and Galicia's (TVG) in 1985. This was the first generation of regional public television operators, the first two of which had already launched their second channels before the end of the 1980s. All three operate in autonomous communities with their own languages (not Spanish).

In 1989, the second generation of public television operators began broadcasting in the autonomous communities of Valencia, Madrid and Andalusia, which are three territories with a very significant populational and economic weight. Then came the third generation, starting with the Canary Islands (1999) and followed by Castilla-La Mancha (2001), the Balearic Islands, Extremadura and Asturias (2005), and finally Murcia and Aragon (2006). A feature common to all of these television operators is their approach to the management of content and the marketing of advertising space, nearly all of which is outsourced. From 1999, this management model was gradually adopted by most of the operators, even though it did not enjoy any legal coverage until very recently: partial in 2010 (news cannot be outsourced), coinciding with social-democrat Rodríguez Zapatero's term of office (2004–2011), and full in 2012 (the disposal of public channels is even permitted), under the current conservative Partido Popular government.

The 13 regional Public Broadcasting Corporations created in Spain (only four autonomous communities have chosen not to do so) have been marked by considerable government interference in the appointment of the members of their governing bodies (director-general

RADIOTELEVISIÓN ESPAÑOLA (RTVE)

www.rtve.es

Generalist
LA 1, LA 2

News/Business
CANAL 24 HORAS

Children
CLAN TVE

Sports
TELEDEPORTE

18,9 % Market share

and board), which normally affects the appointment of key intermediate positions, such as news editors. At the same time, the funding model has always been mixed, where the weight of public subsidies and advertising revenue varies in each particular case. In addition, the levels of indebtedness differ from one corporation to another: for example, in 2012, while the Basque Country's corporation was debt free, Valencia's accumulated debt was € 1.2 billion, and Catalonia's was a mere € 11.5 million, but only after the Government of Catalonia had absorbed almost € 1.05 billion in 2007. Since 2012, indebtedness has been banned by law. However, the most striking thing of all is the differences in budgets, which in 2010 varied between over € 475 million for the Catalan broadcasting corporation and hardly € 30 million for the Asturian one.

Besides the functions of reinforcing national identity (often under the guise of language »normalisation«) invested in these corporations by Catalonia, the Basque Country and, to a lesser extent, Galicia, they all play an important role in the development of the regional broadcasting industry and, above all in territorial cohesion. And all but the Extramaduran corporation form part of the Federation of Autonomous-Community Broadcasting Corporations (FORTA), which was created in 1989 in order to articulate various collaborative mechanisms, such as the purchasing of broadcast rights, the joint marketing of advertising space, or content coproduction.

With the digitalisation of terrestrial broadcasts, the number of channels offered by regional public television broadcasters had risen to 28 by 2011, although the figure now varies considerably from one autonomous community to another. On this issue, worthy of note is that while two full DTT multiplexes were allocated to Catalonia, it currently only exploits four programmes. Significant differences can also be found in the audiences of these television broadcasters. The most successful (in November 2013) were Catalan television's first channel and Aragon television (with 13.7 % and 11.1 % of the share in their respective territories), and the least successful (again for generalist channels) were Castilla-La Mancha television and Madrid television, with 4.1 % and 3.9 %, respectively.

However, while very diverse, this model has clearly been in crisis since the financial bubble burst, which has actually made government interference in regional public broadcasting more visible, and has accelerated a further two worrying trends that have been observed for some time: funding problems and management outsourcing.

Thus, the severe cutbacks being made in Spain to basic welfare-state services have led to frequent questions being asked about the sense of maintaining expensive public broadcasting corporations whose credibility is compromised by constant efforts of influence of the current political majority. Even in Catalonia, where public media have traditionally benefitted from significant societal support and notable academic recognition, complaints are being voiced about the obvious pro-sovereignty cause (that the autonomous government has assumed as it own), while other sensitivities (pro-Spanish or non-nationalist) are being ignored, or other serious issues in that autonomous community are being relegated to the background.

Besides this factor of a political order (government interference), two trends of an economic order are, as already mentioned, apparent: the growing funding problems (a drastic reduction in public subsidies and advertising revenue as a consequence of the recession)

Isabel Fernández-Alonso

Isabel Fernández Alonso is a senior lecturer in Communication in the Department of Media, Communication and Culture at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain.

Marc Espín

Marc Espín is a research fellow in the Department of Media, Communication and Culture at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain.

and the rampant outsourcing of management, which runs parallel to what is happening in other areas, though particularly in that of healthcare (always with the unproven argument that private management is more efficient by definition).

While government interference is affecting these public operators' internal pluralism, budgetary cutbacks are not only having an undeniable impact on employees' working conditions and content quality, but also leading to the closure of second channels (as is the case of Castilla-La Mancha, the Canary Islands and Andalusia) or the merger of existing channels (as is the case of Catalonia). In the meantime, outsourcing is resulting in a very worrying concentration of regional public broadcasting corporations' management in just two private production companies (Secuoya and Vértice 360). Some managers of these companies occupied important positions in several governments ruled by the conservative Partido Popular. The fact that private companies are producing almost all the content for a considerable number of public television operators not only constitutes a contradiction in terms of political philosophy (private license-holders do not assume risks), but also implies the automatic disappearance of news councils that, although incipient, play an important role as guarantors of news quality and professional independence. In all of the above, it should not be forgotten that trade union organisations are finding it much harder to express themselves and act within private production companies than within traditional Public Broadcasting Corporations.

While completing this text in late November 2013, the shocking closure of the Valencian broadcasting corporation occurred. Like no other, this corporation was riddled with a series of very conspicuous problems, including political interference, financial asphyxia owing to the accumulated debt, and a readiness to outsource, the latter of which had already been stopped by the courts in 2003. A new judicial blow to the last attempt to outsource (on this occasion the courts rejected the downsizing plan that would have been necessary to do so) led the Valencian Government to decree the corporation's immediate closure, despite the fact that it was one of the biggest and longest-running regional public broadcasters. Moreover, everything suggests that the Madrid Public Broadcasting Corporation may soon experience the same fate because it is awaiting the courts' decisions (probably unfavourable to it) on the downsizing plan that it intends to apply as a step prior to the outsourcing of management that it so dearly wants to implement. Consequently, only four (out of 13) regional public

---

RTVE
www.rtve.es

RNE-RADIO1

RNE-RADIO CLÁSICA

RNE-RADIO3

RNE-RADIO4

RNE-RADIO5 TODO NOTICIAS

7,9 % Market share

---

broadcasters have a direct management model with any potential viability: those of the first generation (Basque, Catalan and Galician) and of Andalusia, although in the Galician and Catalan cases, the management of the marketing of advertising space has already been outsourced. In short, what is happening to Spanish regional public broadcasting is yet another example of the profound crisis that Public Service Media in southern Europe are experiencing, in a context of public services being dismantled in general, of which the Greek and Portuguese experiences are cases in point. Nevertheless, it should be underscored that the serious shortcomings in Spain's public media, as alluded to earlier, explain why citizens do not fully conceive of them as key institutions of the welfare state: the sensation of frequent news manipulation and clientelistic management is ultimately eclipsing their necessary role as cultural agents, of social cohesion, of fostering a regional broadcasting industry, and of contributing to pluralism via the media offerings in their respective territories. Changing this order of things appears to require a change of mentality, even though we might prefer to cling onto the experience of RTVE in the younger past, when there was public consensus on the appointment of the chairperson and the role given to the news councils. What people need, even in Europe's digital media age, are media in their environment, close to their needs, in short: Public Service Media that they can trust. •

SWEDEN

Channelling Diversity

Gunilla Hultén
Stockholm University

»Swedish Television's mandate is to be a part of the people, mirror the population and be the glue of the nation.« Eva Hamilton, CEO of Swedish Television (Sveriges Television—SVT) made this statement when representatives of European television companies met in Malmö, Sweden, in 2012 to discuss the relevance and responsibility of public service. Her speech echoed the guidelines that John Reith once established for BBC; Public Service Broadcasters (PSB) should serve the whole nation.

A year later researchers and practitioners teamed up in a conference in Stockholm, Sweden to debate the current challenges of public service. The buzzwords were multiplatform production, cultural renewal, competition and personalization. Johan Wahlberg, head of Distribution Strategy of SVT, declared: »Broadcast is a great way to reach many but not for individuals to consume when they want.«

The two quotes illustrate the tension between the core mission for public service broadcasting to include and address all and the increasing individualization of public service digital media consumption. In the face of processes of globalization, with large migratory movements, and commercialization, Swedish public service institutions have been criticized for failing to be a service for everyone. This has also been recognized by Eva Hamilton. In an interview published last year in Dagens Nyheter, Sweden's largest morning paper, she stressed the need for the company to better cover the metropolitan municipalities, many of which with high percentages of foreign-born inhabitants.

»Our broadcasting license states that we should reflect Sweden, but we do not do that anymore. We are becoming obsolete. Since the 70s a million and a half individuals from other countries have come to Sweden. […] When we today visit the metropolitan suburbs we are regarded as foreigners on a temporary visit, only there to portray the misery and conflict.«

When new strategic directions bump up against old cultural values at Swedish Public Service Media (PSM) the value of diversity is at risk. Initiatives designed to maximize consumer choice and market penetration are potentially threatening to a diversity of content, allowing for only that amount and those forms of diversity that are likely to attract enough audience interest to protect the companies' competitive reach.

In this article media diversity policy refers to the representation and participation of ethnic / cultural minorities in order to enhance diversity in media content and staffing. A driving force in this direction was provided by Public Service Broadcasters, since in many countries they were explicitly required to represent the diversity of the national societies. The promotion and protection of diversity has also been a justifying argument of PSB. Diversity is thus viewed as difference, which has inherent positive effects, such as pluralism of ideas and a variety of opinions and outlets.

Sweden has been an immigrant country since the late 1930s, and has a long history of political debate concerning media's role and responsibility in a multi-ethnic society. Given the changing demographics of Sweden, ethnic and cultural diversity is taken into account in the PSM's formulation of media strategies to attain new markets and audiences. There has been much variation in immigration to Sweden in recent decades. During the period of 2004 to 2013 there was a significant increase of immigrants due to the conflicts and unrest in Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and Syria. In Sweden, 15 per cent of the current population is foreign-born, whereas the percentage of persons with a migrant background is 20.[1] The five largest migrant groups by country of origin are Finland, Iraq, former Yugoslavia, Iran and Poland. Nearly one third of the doctors in Sweden is foreign-born, the share for university teachers in one forth, and the percentage among secondary school teachers is 11. Among journalists, foreign-born professionals are considerably more under-represented. Figures from Statistics Sweden suggest a slight increase of foreign-born journalists from 5.4 per cent in 2006 to 6.2 in 2011. However only 2.5 per cent were born in a non-European country. The Swedish public service companies show slightly higher shares but are nevertheless very homogenous workplaces. A survey study conducted in 2008 among all employees at the three Swedish public service companies, SR, SVT and Utbildningsradion.[2] showed that only 6 per cent of the employees was born in a non-Nordic country, and 3 per cent was born in a non-European country. The past years' media diversity initiatives have seemingly had marginal effects. About 80 per cent of the respondents were of the opinion that more diversity was required in the workplace. Most of the respondents were in favour of efforts to enhance diversity but foresaw major hindrances in achieving those goals, such as severe workload, homogenous workteams, older patterns of recruitment and stereotypical thinking. In comparison to other media companies PSM value diversity more. In 2008 I conducted a study among officials in charge of the diversity programs in 103 Swedish news organizations of various sizes, comprising newspapers, radio and TV. Most companies agreed that diversity programs are good for business, have an influence on the journalistic product and the good will of the company. However, newspapers lag behind in their diversity programs compared to public service radio and TV. Less than one third of the newspapers reported that they had a diversity plan in writing, whereas the share was 60 per cent in TV and nearly 90 percent in the radio broadcasting institutions. This had consequences for how the organizations viewed and valued diversity efforts. Organizations with diversity plans had significantly more positive assessments of the benefits of diversity. The newspapers rated the benefits of diversity less than television and radio newsrooms. They were much less convinced that diversity creates a better working climate in the workplace, better reflects the demands of the audience, improves the good will of the company, makes the company more attractive as an employer and more competitive, or improves the journalistic product.

Journalists in Sweden express very strong support for the idea that the composition of journalists should reflect the composition of the population. Nearly nine out of ten journalists think it is important that representation of immigrant groups should correspond to that of the population as a whole. This can be viewed as a type of descriptive representation, with the idea that journalists should be descriptive of, or mirror, the people at large. In this context, it refers to the assumption that migrant groups may be represented by descriptive representatives, that is, individuals whose backgrounds reflect some of the experiences and outward features of belonging to the group. The functions of these representatives would be to add trustworthiness and to bring innovative thinking to the organizations. This standpoint is manifest in the official rhetoric of Swedish Radio (Sveriges Radio—SR) and SVT. In a document outlining SR's strategy for the coming years it is stated that:

»[...] the local channels have been given additional resources enabling them to recruit staff from other ethnic backgrounds, to better cover areas that Swedish Radio traditionally has not reached. The editorial mission, and efforts to reach out to everyone in the Swedish society, requires diversity and breadth in both the social and ethnic backgrounds of the people.«

However, the mirror view provides few guidelines for selecting which characteristics merit representation. It says nothing about which groups should be represented or on what grounds.

Gunilla Hultén

Gunilla Hultén is assistant professor in Journalism, Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden. Her current research involves diversity and newsroom cultures and diversity media policy making in Swedish Public Service Media. She is the co-editor of »National Conversations: Public Service Media and Cultural Diversity in Europe«, that will be published by Intellect in June 2014.

Around the turn of this century, Swedish public service companies commenced the move from multicultural to more vague cultural diversity policies. This shift must be seen in the light of the increasing pressure on PSM to successfully adapt to market forces while still maintaining a large enough audience to guarantee its legitimacy and survival. The first policies were a direct result of the post-world war II immigration to Sweden and the multicultural goals expressed by the parliament. From a principled pluralism closely linked to minority communities and group membership, the policies evolved towards a pragmatic pluralism that emphasized mainstream content and audience choice.

The Good Home

Traditionally cohesion has been within the core remit of public television and radio, as a service to the entire population. In the Reithian sense, public service broadcasting and its values entailed plurality and diversity, thus involving the provision for minorities, a concern for national identity and community, and the addressing of audiences as citizens, not as consumers. Thus, PSB have been seen as having a nationally unifying and integrating effect, and of providing common values. This nationally homogenizing tendency, built on territorial logic, is disputed by the diverse composition of the »public« in terms of divisions into different ethnic or cultural groups.

In Sweden, these ideals harmonized with the core principles of Folkhemmet (The People's Home). The concept is closely linked to the Swedish Social Democratic Party and the building of the Swedish welfare state. Sweden should become a good home, as it were, marked by equality and consensus. In the post-World War II decades the import of foreign labour to support Swedish industry was considered necessary to secure the welfare state project. Swedish journalism has been closely associated with the construction and diffusion of the welfare state, and with promoting a welfare nationalism. The Swedish public service companies were given an important role in an inclusive national conversation, bringing audiences together. In the mid-1960s immigration to Sweden declined as a result of the implementation of entry regulations. The public debate and media rhetoric also shifted, from viewing immigration as an indispensable resource, towards regarding it as an economic burden to the welfare state.

Concurrent with this discursive shift, intensified commercial interests have changed the functioning of the public service companies, and they have reorganized their address of immigrants and minorities. Both SVT and SR have cancelled their specific multicultural programmes, including the radio programme Brytpunkten (Breaking Point) and the television programmes Mosaik (Mosaic), Språka (Let's Talk) and Aktuellt för invandrare (News for Immigrants). [3] Mainstreaming is one key concept in the companies' current policies, which state that diversity should permeate the content, programming and staffing. Another key notion is difference. The subtitle of SR's diversity policy is »Differences in interaction« and in the opening clause of SVT's diversity policy the company states: »SVT welcomes and respects differences regarding gender, age, ethnicity, religion or faith, sexual orientation and disability.« In brief, SVT's and SR's shifts in diversity policies can be characterized by a move from ethnically-marked forms of cultural difference and the support for ethnic minorities, towards broader approaches of cultural diversity.

The cohesive remit remains strong in the rhetoric of Swedish PSM. In a strategic document outlining vital future issues, Swedish Radio stresses the company's role as an integrating factor in society:

»SR contributes [...] more than other media companies to create a common basis for the whole of Swedish society. The need to reach the entire population is of particular importance to the Swedish Radio.«

In the document »Om alla. För alla.« (About Everyone. For Everyone.) published in 2011, SVT firmly stresses the »serve all principle« of public service broadcasting and emphasizes the company's democratic mission and the responsibility to reflect all of society.

»SVT allows programming about everyone, for everyone. And we really mean everybody, not only audiences that are commercially viable. By broadly reflecting the entire country, SVT can build bridges between people with different backgrounds. SVT has a special mission regarding some groups, such as children and the young, linguistic and national minorities and persons with disabilities.«

With programming that is »permeated by the fact that Sweden consists of people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and with different beliefs and experiences« the company signals its integrative ambition to evoke a national conversation.

Looking for Diversity

The underlying principles of the Swedish broadcasting license are formulated in the Radio and Television

**SVERIGES TELEVISION AB
SVT (STR)**
www.svt.se
www.kunskapskanalen.se

Generalist
SVT1, SVT2, SVT24

Children
SVTB

Documentary
KUNSKAPSKANALEN

36,6 % Market share

grounds who can provide identification with a potential audience. This type of recruitment is not unproblematic. Journalists with foreign backgrounds experience and oppose the burden of representation in the newsrooms.

The analyses of the policy documents and statements by managers raise questions as to what diverse really is and what difference is meant to accomplish. The effectiveness of the implementation of cultural diversity policies is often hard to assess, difficult to measure, and also easy to dodge. The dynamics of diversity are connected with—or even propelled by—market mechanisms. In a transforming media climate where PSM are under increased market pressure, cultural diversity is identified as a vulnerable value at stake in the Swedish public service companies Sveriges Television and Sveriges Radio.

One conclusion that may be drawn is that diversity as formulated and interpreted by the Swedish PSM has its limits. Only to a restricted extent do policy documents touch upon the companies' hierarchic organizations, organizational structure and power relations all of which have impact on diversity in the workplace. It is not sufficient to consider the presence / absence of people with migrant backgrounds in content and in the staff. Nor is it viable to rely on the market logic in order to ensure ethnic / cultural diversity in programming and workforce.

Act, which stipulates the assertion of democratic values and the principle of all people's equal value. Moreover, SVT's and SR's broadcasting licenses require the companies to provide a diverse array of programming that reflects the various cultures present in Sweden. Despite a variety of efforts in recent years Swedish PSM still have difficulties in living up to the diversity policies. Diversity in media content and in staffing is perceived as a good thing, however complex to operationalize and achieve. Efforts to reach specific target groups, such as migrant groups, have an underlying business purpose. SVT and SR initiatives on bringing diversity into the editorial offices have mainly been through recruiting journalists with migrant backgrounds, with an intention of securing market shares. Market considerations are strong in getting to seek journalists with migrant back-

This article illustrates the clash between old ideals and new strategies in SVT's and SR's diversity policies, the tension between inclusion and marketization and the difficulties in building diversity in the organization. Taking diversity seriously would call for more nuanced strategies of representation and a broader view on diversity. This would include increasing the range of views, values, interests and opinions expressed. The envisioned changes of bringing a diversity of voices into PSM will not be facilitated by primarily focusing on who represents them. Attempts to appeal to new audiences may however be less attractive to the present core and mainstream audiences. That is to say the core groups that Swedish public service companies need to rely on in order to survive on the market and legitimate the public in PSM. •

SR
www.sverigesradio.se

P1

P2

P3

SR REGIONAL (25)

69 % Market share

1 The definition of migrant background used by Statistics Sweden implies a person born abroad, or whose parents were both born abroad.

2 The Swedish Educational Broadcasting.

3 Mosaik was broadcast from 1987 to 2003, Språka from 1976 to 1998 and Aktuellt för invandrare from 1976 to 1995. Brytpunkten was broadcast from 1998 to 2007.

SWITZERLAND

Den öffentlichen Rundfunk entfesseln

Vinzenz Wyss
Züricher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaft

Dem digitalen Journalismus gehört die Zukunft. Die Medienwelt von morgen wird von einem veränderten Nutzungsverhalten des Publikums im Internet sowie von darauf ausgerichteten digitalen Angeboten geprägt sein. Das hört sich an wie eine Binse. Und trotzdem sind zu Beginn des digitalen Zeitalters auch in der Schweiz die Online-Aktivitäten des öffentlichen Rundfunkanbieters umstritten. Dabei ist doch fraglos, dass auch der öffentliche Rundfunk nur eine Zukunft hat, wenn sich dieser erfolgreich dem »digital shift« als maßgebliche Herausforderung stellt.

Die Befürchtungen der Kleinkrämer

Die Online-Strategien der Schweizerischen Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft (SRG) werden von den privaten Medienorganisationen mit Argusaugen beobachtet. Die Online-Angebote des öffentlichen Rundfunks stehen in direktem Wettbewerb mit denjenigen der privaten Anbieter. Da kommt in der verlegerischen Perspektive reflexartig die Befürchtung auf, dass der öffentliche Rundfunk mit seinem Gebührenaufkommen die publizistischen und unternehmerischen Entwicklungs-

chancen für privatwirtschaftliche Medienunternehmen abklemme, wenn dieser im Internet tun und lassen könne, was er will. Dieser Kausalzusammenhang mag zwar plausibel sein, empirisch belegt ist er jedoch nicht. Die Befürchtungen manifestieren sich in einer auch hierzulande seit Jahren kontrovers geführten Diskussion. Es geht um die Frage, ob die SRG ihrem öffentlichen, gebührenfinanzierten Auftrag ausschließlich mittels Broadcasting – also Radio und Fernsehen – und dazu begleitenden, vertiefenden Online-Aktivitäten nach-kommen dürfe, die in direkter Verbindung zum Rund-funkprogramm stehen, oder ob die Onlinepublikationen auch ein eigenständiges Angebot darstellen können. Die kontroversen Diskussionen führten 2008 vorerst zu regulatorischen Reformen, mit denen das publizis-tische Online-Angebot der SRG als ein das traditionelle Rundfunkprogramm begleitendes Angebot spezifiziert wurde (Latzer et al. 2012). Dass eine solche Fesselung der Onlinestrategie dem öffentlichen Rundfunkanbieter nur schaden kann, schleckt keine Geiß weg und musste auch von den Verlegern zähneknirschend als Problem akzeptiert werden.

So blieb das 2008 eingeführte Regulierungsmodell weiterhin umstritten und es mussten neue Reformen her. In dieser Diskussion pokerte der SRG-Generaldirektor Roger De Weck hoch. Er forderte provokativ und kaum mit Aussicht auf Durchsetzung vor allem eine Lockerung der Werbebeschränkungen im Online-Angebot. Die zum Dialog aufgeforderten Verleger und die SRG konnten sich denn auch nicht einigen, was die Schweizer Landesregierung zu einem Machtwort veranlasste. Sie hat sich für eine Beibehaltung des Verbots der Online-Werbung entschieden; gleichzeitig aber in Aussicht gestellt, die regulatorischen Beschränkungen, welche die Online-Auftritte der SRG auf eine Ergänzungs- und Vertiefungsfunktion limitierten, zu beseitigen.

Damit entbrannte eine kleinkrämerische Debatte zwischen der SRG und den Zeitungsverlegern. Die Medienunternehmer entpuppten sich in diesem grotesken Streit zu regelrechten »Regulierungsfreaks«. Sie wollten dem öffentlichen Radio- und Fernsehanbieter auf dessen Websites keine Berichterstattung erlauben, die länger als 600 Zeichen ist. Achtzig Prozent der 600 Zeichen sollten zudem einen Bezug zu einer SRG-Sendung haben, fantasierte es in den Köpfen der von Angst getriebenen Verleger. Sie hatten es offenbar auch im digitalen Zeitalter nicht geschafft, über die Maßeinheit von Schreibmaschine-Anschlägen hinaus zu denken. Übrigens umfasst dieser Textabschnitt hier bereits 800 Zeichen (exkl. Leerzeichen). Ginge es nach der Wunschvorstellung der Verleger, hätten also in einem SRG Online-Bericht beispielsweise über die Folgen der Schweizer »Masseneinwanderungsinitiative« bereits 200 Zeichen wieder gestrichen werden müssen.

Der Schweizer Medienbeobachter und Kolumnist Kurt W. Zimmermann kommentierte in der Weltwoche vom 6. Februar 2013 unter dem Titel »Anschläge gegen das Publikum« das Anliegen der Verleger bissig: »Es ist klar, warum die Verleger diese Absurdität wollen. Sie wollen ein Konkurrenzverbot für die SRG. Ein Konkurrenzverbot will man immer dann, wenn man im Wettbewerb verliert.« (Zimmermann 2013)

Der gut eidgenössische Kompromiss

Der gut eidgenössische Kompromiss fiel denn auch etwas anders aus. 2013 wurden Änderungen der SRG-Konzessionsbestimmungen verabschiedet, die u. a. eine Lockerung des Kriteriums Sendungsbezug vorsehen. So steht nun unter Art. 13 der angepassten und vom Bundespräsidenten unterzeichneten Konzession u. a. Folgendes:

Der Schwerpunkt der Online-Angebote bilden Audioinhalte und audiovisuelle Inhalte (1). Die Online-Inhalte mit Sendungsbezug müssen einen zeitlich und thematisch direkten Bezug zu redaktionell aufbereiteten Sendungen oder Sendeteilen aufweisen und die Textbeiträge müssen die Information beinhalten, auf welche Sendung sie sich beziehen (2). Bei den Online-Inhalten ohne Sendungsbezug sollen Textbeiträge in den Sparten News, Sport und Regionales / Lokales auf höchstens 1.000 Zeichen beschränkt bleiben (3) und 75 Prozent der Textbeiträge, die nicht älter sind als 30 Tage sind, müssen mit Audioinhalten oder audiovisuellen Inhalten verknüpft sein (4). Spiele und Publikumsforen dürfen nur angeboten werden, wenn sie einen zeitlich und thematisch direkten Bezug zu einer Sendung haben.
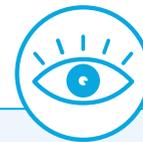
SRG-SSR
www.srgssr.ch

FRENCH SRG-SSR RTS
www.rts.ch

Vollprogramm
RTS1, RTS2

27,7 % Marktanteil

GERMAN SRG-SSR SRF
www.srf.ch

Vollprogramm
SRF 1, SRF ZWEI

Neuigkeiten
SRF INFO

29,3 % Marktanteil

ITALIAN SRG-SSR RSI
www.rsi.ch

Vollprogramm
RSI LA 1, RSI LA 2

31,7 % Marktanteil

Marktplätze dürfen nicht angeboten werden (5). Links zu Online-Angeboten Dritter müssen ausschließlich nach redaktionellen Kriterien vorgenommen und dürfen nicht kommerzialisiert werden (6).

Die Raison d'être der SRG bleibt also auch im digitalen Zeitalter das Audiovisuelle. Ihre Kernkompetenz besteht gemäß ihrem Leistungsauftrag darin, in erster Linie Audios und Videos zu produzieren, die im Hinblick auf die Rezeption auch der internationalen audiovisuellen Konkurrenz standhalten. Gleichzeitig steht die Konzes-sionsänderung aber auch für ein klares Bekenntnis für eine Entfesselung von verlegerischen Machtansprüchen. Die Auflagen erlauben es der SRG durchaus, auf ihren Plattformen in sinnvoller Weise journalistisch motiviert Bild, Ton und Text multimedial zu verbinden. Vom Service-Public-Anbieter ist ohnehin zu erwarten, dass er in seinen audiovisuellen Sendungen und Beiträgen bereits das Relevante thematisiert. Die Veröffentlichung von Recherchematerialien, Bilderstrecken, Blogs oder Diskussionsforen sind genauso erlaubt wie etwa Storify, Kuratieren oder innovative Formen des Datenjournalis-mus, mit denen der öffentliche Rundfunk in qualitativer Hinsicht Maßstäbe setzen sollte.

Da sein, wo das Publikum ist

Erstaunlicherweise ist in dem erbitterten Streit um Zeichenanzahl und Sendungsbezug völlig auf der Strecke geblieben, worin der Nutzen für das Publikum liegt. Dies ist jedoch die entscheidende Frage, wenn es mit Bezug auf die demokratische Gesellschaft und deren Entwicklung darum geht, die Zukunft des öffentlichen Rundfunks zu gestalten. Das Publikum wird hier nicht bloß verstanden als Konsument, sondern als sozialer Akteur, der sich im medial organisierten öffentlichen Gespräch mit Bezug auf gesellschaftlich relevante Sachverhalte besser orientieren können soll. Auch der öffentliche Rundfunk muss da sein, wo das Publikum ist.

Heute wählt das Publikum für den Zugang zu den SRG-Sendungen nach wie vor das Haupttor der Radio- und Fernsehkanäle. Daneben werden aber die Seitentore immer breiter, die sich im Internet öffnen. Die Nutzer werden künftig die maßgeblichen Treiber der Entwick-lung sein. Sie gestalten ihre Nutzung in Zukunft wohl immer individualisierter, aktiver und vernetzter nicht zuletzt mittels begleitender Online-Kommunikation (vgl. Buschow et al. 2013).

Bereits heute nutzen Kinder, Jugendliche und junge Erwachsene am intensivsten multimediale Angebote im Internet. Wer sie im Auge behält, erkennt die Bedeutung von »on demand« und begegnet Menschen, die jederzeit und überall von digitalen Trägern audiovisuelle Inhalte abrufen wollen. Neue technologische Entwicklungen, mobile Endgeräte, HybridTV und hohe Bandbreite machen die Nutzung und Kombination verschiedener Geräte möglich und unterstützen Trends zu mehr Inter-aktivität und Partizipation. Will der öffentliche Rund-funk diesem Trend nicht hinten nachhinken, so muss er diese Entwicklung proaktiv aufgreifen, um am Puls der Gesellschaft zu bleiben.

SRG-SSR
www.srgssr.ch

FRENCH SRG-SSR RTS
LA PREMIÈRE
ESPACE 2
COULEUR 3
OPTION MUSIQUE

57,6 % Marktanteil

GERMAN SRG-SSR SRF
RADIO SRF 1
RADIO SRF 2 KULTUR
RADIO SRF 3
RADIO SRF 4 NEWS
RADIO SRF MUSIKWELLE
RADIO SRF VIRUS

60,3 % Marktanteil

ITALIAN SRG-SSR RSI
RETE UNO
RETE DUE
RETE TRE

70,2 % Marktanteil

Vertrauen und Glaubwürdigkeit

Alle Publikumsnähe nützt aber nichts, wenn nicht das Publikum dem Anbieter Vertrauen schenkt und Glaubwürdigkeit zuschreibt. Im Fall der SRG kann hier auf Bestehendem aufgebaut werden. In der Schweiz ist der öffentliche Rundfunk – einzigartig – als ein privatrechtlicher Verein staatsfern institutionalisiert – mit Gliederungen in allen vier sprachregionalen Landesteilen. An seinen Leistungsauftrag gekoppelt sind nicht nur Rechte, wie etwa dasjenige zum Eintreiben von Gebühren, sondern auch Pflichten der »Media Governance«, die sich beispielsweise in der Etablierung von Formen der Qualitätssicherung und der Selbstkontrolle niederschlagen. Tatsächlich zeigen Studien, dass in den Redaktionen des öffentlichen Rundfunks Verfahren des Qualitätsmanagements stärker etabliert sind als bei anderen Institutionalisierungstypen (vgl. Wyss 2012).

Eine repräsentative Telefonbefragung der Schweizer Bevölkerung zur Qualitätsbeurteilung der Schweizer Radio- und TV-Programme zeigt zudem, dass 64 % des Publikums mit dem öffentlichen Fernsehen zufrieden ist, wohingegen nur 44 % des Fernsehpublikums mit den Programmen des privaten Regionalfernsehens zufrieden sind. Mit den SRG-Radioprogrammen sind sogar drei Viertel der befragten Hörer sehr oder ziemlich zufrieden. Bei den Stärken der SRG-Programme sind Dimensionen wie Professionalität der Medienschaffenden und ihrer Beiträge, Glaubwürdigkeit sowie Verantwortungsbewusstsein der Programmmacher besonders stark ausgeprägt (vgl. Bonfadelli / Fretwurst 2011). Auf diese Glaubwürdigkeitszuschreibung lässt sich auch in Zukunft bauen. Es kann sogar angenommen werden, dass Dimensionen wie Verlässlichkeit und Glaubwürdigkeit im digitalen Zeitalter noch wichtiger werden, zumal im Web potenziell jeder publizieren kann. Da scheinen öffentlich kontrollierte Leuchttürme mit ausgeprägter Verantwortungskultur wichtiger denn je zu werden.

»Coopetition«: Kooperation bei gleichzeitigem Wettbewerb

Schließlich spricht vieles dafür, dass der öffentliche Rundfunk gemeinsam mit den privaten Medienorganisationen Kooperationen ins Auge fasst. »Es lohnt sich, in der Internet-Welt nach vorne zu denken und mögliche Synergien auszuloten, wenn hohe Journalismusqualität und ›Swissness‹ bewahrt werden sollen,« meint der Journalistik-Professor Stephan Russ-Mohl in der Neuen Zürcher Zeitung vom 31. Dezember 2013. »Coopetition« heißt hier das Stichwort. Begrenzte Kooperation bei gleichzeitigem Wettbewerb ist gemeint und gilt als einer

Vinzenz Wyss

Dr. Vinzenz Wyss ist Professor für Journalistik an der Zürcher Hochschule für Angewandte Wissenschaft sowie Präsident der SGKM – Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Kommunikations- und Medienwissenschaft.

der Schlüsselfaktoren auf dem Weg in die digitale Zukunft aller beteiligten Medienanbieter. Das Publikum kann nur gewinnen, wenn beispielsweise die SRG auch für die Plattformen der Verlage Videos und Podcasts zur Verfügung stellt – die ja bereits mit Gebührengeldern finanziert wurden. Auch Beiträge zu stiefmütterlich bearbeiteten Auslands-, Wissenschafts- oder Medienthemen könnten verfügbar gemacht werden. Was spricht dagegen, dass gemeinsame technische Infrastrukturen wie beispielsweise Archive errichtet werden?

Wer ja sagt zum öffentlichen Rundfunk, muss ihn auch für seine digitale Zukunft rüsten. Bei all diesen Überlegungen sollte von der Frage ausgegangen werden, welche Leistungen der öffentliche Rundfunk erbringen kann, die der Markt nicht erbringt, und inwiefern die Gesellschaft und das Publikum als gesellschaftlicher Akteur einen Nutzen haben. •

LITERATUR

Bonfadelli, Heinz / Fretwurst, Benjamin (2011): Radio-/TV-Programme der SRG und der privaten Anbieter aus der Perspektive der Mediennutzung: Akzeptanz, Erwartungen und Bewertung. Abschlussbericht des BAKOM-Projekts. Universität Zürich.

Buschow, C. / Schneider, B. / Carstensen, L. / Heuer, M. / Schoft, A. (2013): Social TV in Deutschland – Rettet soziale Interaktion das lineare Fernsehen? In: MedienWirtschaft, 1, S. 24–32.

Latzer, Michael / Just, Natascha / Metreveli, Sulkhan / Saurwein, Florian / Wallace, Julian (2013): SRG Online Beobachtung 2012. Konzessions-konformität von Webseiten und elektronischen Verbindungen. Forschungs-bericht im Auftrag des BAKOM. Universität Zürich.

Russ-Mohl, Stephan (2014): Drei Szenarien für den öffentlichen Rundfunk. In: European Journalism Observatory. 2. Januar; http://de.ejo-online.eu. Erstveröffentlichung: Neue Zürcher Zeitung vom 31.12. 2013

Wyss, Vinzenz (2012): Die Krise des professionellen Journalismus aus der Sicht des Qualitätsmanagements. In: Meier, Werner / Bonfadelli, Heinz / Trappel, Josef (Hg.): Gehen in den Leuchttürmen die Lichter aus? Was aus den Schweizer Leitmedien wird. Zürich / Münster: LIT Verlag, S. 255–276.

Zimmermann, Kurt W. (2013): Anschläge gegen das Publikum. In: European Journalism Observatory. 12. Februar; http://de.ejo-online.eu. (Erstveröffentlichung: Weltwoche vom 6. Februar 2013)

UNITED KINGDOM

Whither Public Service Entertainment—or How it Helped to Save the Future of Public Service Media

Mikko Sihvonen
Manchester Metropolitan University

Few viewers realised the significance of the moment when the distinctive sound of the 1980s-style electronic drums first rang out on BBC1 on February 19th, 1985, at 19:00. The nervous BBC executives, however, knew that the programme in question, »EastEnders«, was actually more than just the Corporation's attempt to introduce a new soap to challenge ITV's popular »Coronation Street«. It was a key element in a major identity change that featured a new, more entertainment-focused agenda for BBC1, intended to widen its popular appeal amongst viewers.

At the time of the launch of »EastEnders«, the Corporation was undergoing undoubtedly the most turbulent period of its entire history. The 1983 landslide victory of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party had seen the political climate turning increasingly critical to the consensus in the British public service idea that had traditionally placed social and cultural values ahead of commercial and consumerist considerations in broadcasting policy solutions. In December 1984, the Corporation's poorly-timed proposal to increase the licence fee by a staggering 41 % finally gave the Corporation's ideological and commercial rivals the casus belli to launch a full-blown attack against the broadcaster, which they accused for being elitist, outdated and paternalist. A series of highly critical editorials were published in the influential The Times newspaper under the collective title »Whither the BBC« arguing that increasing choice had rendered public funding in broadcasting unnecessary.

Just one month later, the Thatcher government initiated a committee of inquiry, headed by a distinguished liberal economist Professor Alan Peacock, to consider alternative funding methods for the BBC, hoping that it would propose for the discontinuation of the television licence fee. In the absence of protection from the dethroned parliamentary Left and cross-party consensus over the role and significance of public broadcasting in promoting national culture that commonly exists in smaller European countries, there was a real risk that the BBC would not survive to the new decade—let alone to the new millennium.

The timing of the launch of EastEnders was crucial, as it had few prior popular long-running entertainment brands with potential to build up popular support from the mass audiences. Had the BBC failed to introduce a number of such ratings-topping entertainment series that featured mass fan following of diverse audience groups in the late 1980s, the BBC, as we know it, may not have survived such an organised and sustained offensive from the neo-liberal Right and powerful commercial media conglomerates, and, in the 2000s, the digital media revolution. The series has been a huge popular success in the UK: one poll found that its theme tune is the most recognisable piece of music in the UK, with more people recognising it than the national anthem God Save the Queen. As the case of the BBC demonstrates, popular entertainment has been a vital instrument for the survival of European Public Service

Broadcasters (PSBs) in an era of the commercial deluge. This brings us to the key question of the role of Public Service Media in the provision of entertainment in the digital media age. I argue that the matter is more aptly addressed by asking what the role of entertainment is in the provision of Public Service Media. Since the emergence of the digital broadcasting environment and the resulting abundance in available viewing options essentially necessitate that both public and commercial broadcasters must now compete harder for the attention of viewers, entertainment is a vital tool for PSBs to maintain their share of viewing and cater for audience groups that have traditionally been the most problematic to reach for them, e. g. the working classes and the youth. Increasing the proportion of entertainment in their schedules has been the only way to protecting their public legitimacy through sustaining a satisfactory share of viewing. Simultaneously, the boundary between the cultural forms of public service and commercial entertainment has diminished, and will undoubtedly continue to do so. Much of the entertainment content of Public Service Media borrows liberally from styles and formats commonly associated with »commercial entertainment«.

The offerings of commercial broadcasters also need to be taken into consideration. While commercial channels have continued to increase their share of entertainment in their schedules, changes in the media economy; i. e. increased competition for advertising income between channels, the maturing, possibly declining television advertising market, together with the emerging changes in the media consumption habits of younger audiences in particular, have eroded the ability of commercial media companies to invest in original content. Thus, they have resorted to programming that has already been aired in the same or other markets (imports, acquisitions and repeats), and which has been already proven successful in other markets and that can be replicated at low cost (format replication). This has led to an increasing uniformity in the programming, with popular reality television formats like The Big Brother, The Farm and The X-Factor dominating the schedules worldwide. This has naturally served to decrease overall diversity in entertainment programming, at the expense of unique programme concepts and domestic programming in particular. The smaller European media markets are at a greater risk, as these small markets feature higher production costs and lower commercial revenue prospects per capita, which encourage commercial media companies to minimise production costs and commercial risks through commercially safe types of programming.

So, what is the role of Public Service Media in the provision of entertainment? While I argued earlier that the traditional boundary between the cultural forms of public service and commercial television is diminishing and public broadcasters have adopted elements traditionally associated with the commercial standard of television in their entertainment programming strategies, there are at least four unique functions that justify the input of Public Service Media in the provision of entertainment. Hence, they must be considered the yardsticks against which the success of Public Service Media needs to be measured in this respect.

Above all, Public Service Media organisations need to acknowledge that they have an important role in developing new and experimental forms of entertainment programming that break conventions, and reform and rejuvenate the genre. As commercial media is increasingly reluctant to take risks in the current economic climate, its programming will generally avoid anything unexpected and experimental, but rely on conventional genres and formats. However, several programmes that later became mainstream television hits would have never been developed without sufficient risk-taking. Public Service Media will have an important function in providing a popular arena for such programmes to reach wider audiences. In so doing, it also contributes to the evolution of the genre.

Second, Public Service Media have an important mission in representing and reproducing national culture and identity in its programming. This also concerns entertainment, and is important both in cultural and economic terms. As commercial media organisations in the smaller European countries in particular are less willing or able to invest in domestic content, but fill their schedules with imports, Public Service Media needs to secure that national and regional cultures are sufficiently portrayed in programmes, be they kitchen sink dramas with local accents or comedy sketch shows with gags on national stereotypes.

Mikko Sihvonen

Mikko Sihvonen is a doctoral researcher at Manchester Metropolitan University. His doctoral thesis examines the impact of neo-liberal marketisation on the provision of minority interest programming on public service channels in the UK and Finland between 1986 and 2009. His research interests include media policy research, Public Service Media and »Public Value« in Public Service Media.

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION (BBC)
www.bbc.co.uk

Generalist
BBC1 (SD+HD), BBC2, BBC3, BBC HD

Documentary
BBC4

News / Business
BBC NEWS

Parliamentary
BBC PARLIAMENT

Children
CBBC, CBEEBIES

33,2 % Market share

CHANNEL 4 TELEVISION CH4 (UKIB)
www.channel4.com

Generalist
CHANNEL 4 + S4C, CHANNEL 4 +1
E4, E4 HD, E4+1, MORE4, MORE4 +1

Movies
FILM4, FILM4 +1

Music
4MUSIC

11,5 % Market share

SIANEL PEDWAR CYMRU S4C (UKIB)
www.s4c.co.uk

Generalist
S4C

0,1 % Market share

Third, it needs to be acknowledged that just as with all other forms of programming, there is no single »mainstream« form of entertainment. The genre covers a wide range of formats and styles, targeted at a diverse range of audiences. Consequently, it cannot be expected that viewers' needs would be satisfied by offering them just talent shows or reality television programmes, in spite of the fact that they have a potential to attract large audiences. There are several niches in the entertainment genre that are not produced by commercial broadcasters because of the small sizes of their audiences or their limited commercial exploitability. Thus, Public Service Media need to maintain diversity within the genre by catering for minority interests, tastes and groups.

Finally, while Reithian values have been gradually fading into the background in the public service idea, the idea that entertainment can act as a vehicle to promote social and cultural goals should not be considered outdated. Quite the opposite: the evolution of the culture of television has seen programming crossing the once-rigid genre boundaries more regularly than ever before. Information, education and entertainment are no longer disconnected from each other, but programmes can no longer be positioned into a single domain. In terms of public service objectives, this should be considered an opportunity, as the popularity of entertainment provides a great potential to reach mass audiences. Political satire, for instance, has potential to maintain the health of democracy by performing several functions of the fourth estate and increase citizens' interest in political matters. Factual programming provides an interesting case to consider with this respect too: the emergence of the factual entertainment genre—while commonly sneered upon by critical scholars—can be used for the purposes of information and education.

The future of Public Service Media is dependent on two key factors: its political legitimacy and popular support. Political justification derives from its ability to perform the four aforementioned functions in its programming, while popular support can be gained through making the content appealing to the audiences. Public Service Media need to balance between these two elements in their entertainment programming in order to maintain their legitimacy in the digital media age. •

UNITED KINGDOM

»MyBBC«, in the Digital Media Age

Lizzie Jackson
Ravensbourne

At the annual October, 2013 Media Conference in Salford, in the north of the UK, Victoria Jaye, the BBC's Head of iPlayer, noted that the biggest challenge facing the BBC (and other public service media) in the future is likely to be »findability«. What Jaye meant by that was solving the issue of how to maintain the corpus of public service content as it is increasingly delivered in many different ways, at different times, via different devices and platforms. This article explores how the BBC, and other Public Service Media, might address the issue of how to remain at the forefront of the public's media choices, in the age of Internet Protocol-delivered content and services.

In the 1990's the BBC experimented with providing personal webpages for the public titled »MyBBC« on the BBC's website (www.bbc.co.uk). This was a personal portal through which audiences could access BBC content they regularly enjoyed; a kind of online book-marking tool. »MyBBC« failed as the internet was not fast enough to provide anything more than a personal list of favourites, it was not much more than an online version of the BBC's highly popular printed listings magazine »The Radio Times«.

At a recent visit to a BBC Research and Development department in December, 2013 (interestingly shared with researchers from University College, London) I noted a list of priorities for the BBC's research

department, displayed in all rooms and on all public noticeboards. Priority number one is the continued expansion of the BBC's iPlayer. Second on the list is the development of a new service provisionally titled »MyBBC«. The idea from the 1990's has—it seems—re-emerged. Providing a personalised BBC is likely to now be more engaging in the era of social media where commenting, »liking«, forwarding, and even creating additional content in connection with television programming is easy for audiences.

The iPlayer has been a huge success for the BBC, so much so that internet service providers in the UK complained, on its re-launch in 2008, to the BBC that the public's demand for content via the iPlayer was taking up most of the British internet bandwidth. Plus-Net, an internet service provider in Sheffield said the iPlayer was responsible for »more than 5 % of the traffic on its systems« (The Guardian, 2008). Ofcom, the UK's media watchdog, also suggested that internet service providers may need to invest more than £800m from 2008 onwards merely to keep up with such developments.

Encouraging as the growing popularly of the BBC's iPlayer may be for Public Service Broadcasters globally, it is still largely the equivalent of television, in a box, but online. By that I mean that it is a »traditional« form of television, which uses the internet merely as a delivery mechanism. The length of the programmes remains the

same as if they were in a time-based television schedule. The BBC iPlayer retains the same content form as the television you view on the television in your living room. The essential difference is that you can now time-shift programming in order to download and view when you wish. There is no continuity announcer welcoming you to the channel, but the programme begins, continues, and ends, as it has done since television began in the 1930s.

The BBC's iPlayer does not take advantage of the additional functions the internet offers, such as the ability to comment for forward content, or to re-mix or add content around the television programmes the iPlayer offers. The iPlayer is therefore not totally embedded within the complex networked structures the internet and the World Wide Web provide. It is a stand-alone object that is merely delivered by internet protocols. As such the iPlayer is less »findable« by the public. As long as its popularity continues, then that is not an issue. But for European Public Service Broadcasters who do not have the ability to offer streamed or downloadable content via an equivalent of the BBC's iPlayer, remaining »findable« as more people access content via the Internet, remaining visible may become more of a problem.

If we look at how young people consume televisual media these days, they are watching television, but often not on television sets. Because they are watching television on mobile phones, tablets, and computers they are also able to communicate as they watch. This may be in connection with the television programme or not. The ability to watch a popular television programme and chat to your friends, who may be watching in their own homes at the same time, is very attractive to young people. This amplifies the feeling of connectivity (audience) around television, and it is exciting. Texting and commenting on broadcasts, and Face-booking to indicate crowd-engagement with popular programmes is highly compelling.

There are also emerging audience behaviours connected with the use of a second screen (a mobile phone or a tablet computer). Young people are watching television on a television set, but also gaming, chatting, »liking« and recommending, and purchasing goods which may be connected to television programming via their second device. It is not surprising then, to find marketing departments are exploring the use of the second screen. Shazam (www.shazam.com) offers viewers access to additional content online to support television programming. Audiences are prompted to launch the Shazam application on their mobile phone or tablet computer

when they see the Shazam icon on the television screen. The Shazam app analyses the audio accompanying the television programme or advert and finds its match within the Shazam database. The Shazam app then triggers the loading of a webpage on the second screen that offers additional content such as additional information, a game, or an opportunity to purchase.

Many Public Service Broadcasters still view websites, the Internet, and the »interactive« behaviours of the public online such as gaming, uploading, tagging etc. to be largely unrelated to broadcasting. Websites may be considered secondary to the »real business« of making television and radio programmes. But the evolution of the second screen, and of the growing delivery of television programmes by the internet indicate broadcasters would be wise to explore how to creatively extend television by integrating second screens and the additional activities offered by the internet (chat, share, forward, »like«, download, and time-shift) with quality television.

Having listened to the future plans for the BBC iPlayer as described by Victoria Jaye at the Salford conference in October, 2013, the BBC appears to be seeking ways to engage audiences around internet-delivered television, such as providing audiences with the opportunity to »like« or recommend iPlayer-delivered content to others. This would offer some sense of audience, community, and sense of »liveness«. The BBC iPlayer is well known, it is easy to promote, to find, and it acts as a central hub for viewers; it is a channel in itself. However, the BBC iPlayer is, I argue, rather old-fashioned because is simply delivering conventional television via the internet. There has been less exploration of how the audience could engage with the television programmes offered via the player.

Lizzie Jackson

Professor Dr. Lizzie Jackson is the Academic Development Manager for the broadcast-related courses at Ravensbourne, a college renowned for training the UK's broadcast production staff and engineers, but also for specialising in new technology. Lizzie has published widely on emerging forms of Public Service Media. She worked for the BBC for over 20 years, and was the BBC's first Online Communities Editor. Lizzie was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and Manufacturing for supporting the early growth of the social media industry in the UK.

»For the Public Service Media, of any nation, to survive and prosper they need to be online; exploring emerging delivery methods, platforms, and audience consumption behaviours.«

The BBC's content is, however, now not just television and radio programmes and the BBC-iPlayer. Their vast website www.bbc.co.uk is undeniably a holistic part of the overall public service offer. In addition there are also the BBC's extensive radio, television and photographic archives, which are not—as yet—available to the public. The internet provides a potential means to access this body of work, but how? Might a future personalised »MyBBC« service be able to offer a solution to the issue identified by the BBC iPlayer's Victoria Jaye of the »findability« of public service content?

The ability to aggregate your own BBC would certainly be useful. It might also be possible to configure »MyBBC« as a personal gateway to a vast array of public service material; the BBC's television, radio, online content, and archives. Add to this the potential ability to forward, »like«, comment, and upload additional content to BBC content and »MyBBC« begins to look like a very attractive prospect. But would such a thing be technically possible?

When I was an editor, working for the BBC in their »Future Media« department, I saw the first iteration of »MyBBC« test-launch, and subsequently fail. There appeared to be little adoption of the pilot service, due to a lack of need. Lists of favourite channels or content, once aggregated, failed to keep the public returning. For any second iteration of »MyBBC« to succeed it will need to be as compelling as Google or as a personal Twitter or Facebook website. Google, Twitter, and Facebook as—in many senses—are competitors for the attention of the public gaze.

Public Service Media have always been a key to how we make sense of our world, particularly at times of national crisis. Public service journalism both breaks the news and subsequently assists us to understand the implication of the news through discussion by experts in current affairs programmes. This temporal duality ensures the public are both kept abreast of developments and

encouraged to subsequently form opinions. Overall, through this making of meaning European citizens are likely to be more able to take part in democratic and other responsive processes. This active mediation or provocation function is missing from Google, Twitter, and Facebook. There is nothing to actively assist us to interpret the news within these commercial services, and they are, of course, affected by market forces.

Google claims to »organise the world's information and make it universally accessible and useful« (Google.co.uk, 2014). The issue has increasingly been that Google offers the public content that is influenced by advertisers, who pay to be higher up the listings. The order of what you see is organised by commercial pressures. In addition, what is returned from any search term you enter will be different from someone else as the list is also affected by your previous search requests. There is no impartiality within Google, Twitter, or Facebook.

In order to provide a non-commercial alternative to Google, Twitter, and Facebook, could »MyBBC« act as a trusted, impartial, aggregator of news and current affairs, as well as merely listing »my favourite BBC content«? Furthermore could the template of such a service be developed and shared amongst Public Service Media within Europe? Alternately, could all Public Service Media, worldwide, share such a search or aggregator platform? Being historically tied to individual nation states is—sooner or later—going to become an issue for Public Service Media in the age of internet-delivered content. Why should the English language content from National Public Radio not be situated alongside that of the BBC, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, or the Australian Broadcasting Corporation? Why could the French language public service content from across the globe not be aggregated and made available to all?

The BBC recently announced it is going to propose the »wider commercialisation« of their globally-oriented BBC World Service (Independent On Sunday, 5th January, 2014). Rather than follow the path of commercialisation, I argue for the amplification of the public service mission through collaborative research and development and strategic alliances between Public Service Media. The BBC World Service has provided impartial, quality, news and current affairs for over 80 years, from the start of the BBC Empire Service in 1932 onwards. It is well placed to contribute, with other Public Service Media, to an international impartial public service located online. Without this will Public Service Media remain findable as the mediascape fragments across time, the increasing range of reception devices, and the growth of networked

BBC TOTAL
www.bbc.co.uk

RADIO 1

RADIO 2

RADIO 3

RADIO 4

RADIO 5 LIVE

RADIO 5 LIVE SPORTS EXTRA

1XTRA

RADIO 6 MUSIC

RADIO 4 EXTRA

ASIAN NETWORK

54,7 % Market share

is beginning to bring two previously separate consumption orientations together. Furthermore, the portability of the second screen is encouraging audiences to consume what they like, when they like, where they like; a »my media« paradigm.

There is no room for complacency and no time to delay. The idea and ethos of Public Service Media is too important to our national and international democracies to wither and die, it must continue. In order to continue, there is likely to be a need for collaboration and networking between Public Service Media at regulatory, leader, manager, and producer levels. A recent two-year consultation on the governance of Public Service Media organized by the Council of Europe, which I contributed to, concluded there was a need for a change to existing European law to allow (and encourage) Public Service Media to expand and operate online.

In February 2012 a declaration was passed which stated that public service media will be able to offer content to the public on any platform, or in any way they so choose. A set of accompanying Recommendations offered guidance on good governance, including transparency, innovation, creativity, and the inclusion of the public in the public media enterprise. Placing the public centrally in the public media enterprise (MyBBC) is obviously something currently pre-occupying the attention of the BBC, it is a key future imperative, alongside the development of the highly successful BBC iPlayer. The first era of Public Service Media was, essentially, an institutionally-focused entity, it may be that this is the beginning of a second flowering of Public Service Media, but if the public are not considered central to the endeavour, Public Service Media may find themselves increasingly marginalized, and »unfindable«. •

media and second screen use? For the Public Service Media, of any nation, to survive and prosper they need to be online; exploring emerging delivery methods, platforms, and audience consumption behaviours. Commercial outlets, and particularly marketing companies, are beginning to exploit second screens (tablet computers and mobile phones), having observed that people like to view on the TV and chat on their tablet or mobile, or game or purchase. The »lean back« mode of television and »lean forward« orientation of the computer screen

Don't Waste the Crisis. Use it!

Obviously there are challenges to face. Beside serious transitions there is an ultimate need for change and reform. If you look at today's reality of Public Service Media in Europe, you won't get bored: While some are still at the leading edge of quality media, others find themselves financially at the brink of existence. What they have in common is that all of them have to fight hard: to defend independence, to keep pace with the dynamics of media technology, to cope with commercial competitors, restrictive regulation and most importantly: to develop innovation and creativity as much as possible in order to be competitive in the global digital media markets.

Following the insights and perspectives of the 35 media experts of this European survey, the overwhelming challenges of Public Service Media become visible. It might be a decisive moment in its history: Will PSM survive as a cornerstone of European quality media production? Will commercial media take over our entire media environment? Is there media beyond the bottom line, beyond business plans and profits? How can Public Service Media stay relevant and beneficial for societies, for democracy and useful to understand the complexity of our lives? Whatever future might bring, PSM will have to accept one given fact: There is no comfort zone left.

So, if it's time to move on, to adapt, to change, to develop and to watch out for new solutions PSM should pose the right questions and use external advice as well as expertise. This is why we (the publishers of this collection) did not refer to the insight perspective of Public Service Media, but let independent scientific thinkers participate. It was not about diplomatic representation. We were simply raising questions and this is what came back to us: While some experts focused on the heritage of PSM as a powerful source for media production, others connected her future directly with the future development of European democracies. Some are in favor of PSM, some are keeping distance, some are sceptical, but all of them agree with one core perspective: The relevance of Public Service Media for Europe and its citizens.

You certainly will make up your mind about the needs of future media on your own. In order to do so, you wouldn't need propaganda, but facts. You might use arguments, not slogans. In search of quality it's still the content, not the wrapping, which counts. For us, living on the inside of European Public Service Media it is

substantial to connect. With those who think fast and forward, who try to find new ways for media who deserve to be called »media for the common good«, media in favor of democracy, serving the audience not just as consumers but as citizens.

For Public Service Media, it always was and still is about distinctive media quality. This means media that is capable of producing Public Value for individual media users and societies. Obviously this is more than a tradition. It needs to be enacted, empowered, some might even suggest re-invented. This is a request very close to reality: If you take a look at Europe and the inside of our societies you will see alarming situations: Unemployment, social unrest, the world of policy and business confronted with a tremendous lack of trust, populist movements, insecurity and fear. Even if Europe has a very different and much more optimistic face, the downward spiral we are experiencing these days might let us think twice: Shouldn't we claim more responsibility within and for our communities and societies? Should we rely exclusively on the invisible hand of the markets? What about the common good, what about social life, what about culture, diversity, solidarity? If we think of Europe, what kind of TV, radio, online services do we expect? If we look at today's reality, wouldn't we need media, serving societies? Media with trustful, truly independent information? With entertainment beyond »panem et circenses«?

As a matter of fact: If there's no other chance than to face crisis, we could as well use it, not waste it. For PSM this crisis could become a momentum, a scenario turning from changes to chances—if there's enough courage to face reality, to connect with the world of science and those, who approach future with a young and wild heart, with an open and—why not—provocative mind.

This collection of articles is meant to contribute to a future dialogue. It could lead to workshops like we are organizing in Vienna, when presenting our current Public Value Report; it could even stimulate the idea of a European think tank which might focus on distinctive media quality.

Convergence means media joining forces to gain a new quality of communication. Why shouldn't we, as experts, journalists, citizens do the same?

After all it's about our future. About the public. About us.

Klaus Unterberger, ORF Generaldirektion Public Value

Public Value

The ORF categorizes »Public Value« in terms of qualitative criteria:
Five quality dimensions and a total of 18 performance categories are
derived from the ORF Act, the ORF program policies, the ORF guidelines
and ongoing changes in society and media.

FIVE QUALITY DIMENSIONS

CORPORATE VALUE
INNOVATION
TRANSPARENCY
COMPETENCE

INTERNATIONAL VALUE
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

NATIONAL VALUE
IDENTITY
ADDED VALUE
FEDERALISM

INDIVIDUAL VALUE
TRUST
SERVICE
ENTERTAINMENT
SCIENCE / EDUCATION
RESPONSIBILITY

SOCIAL VALUE
DIVERSITY
ORIENTATION
INTEGRATION
RESPONSIVENESS
CULTURE AND ART

Find out more: **zukunft.ORF.at**

WHY Public Service Media? HOW important will they be in Europe's digital media age?

35 media experts from all over Europe answer these questions and share their views, insights and expectations. Academic voices from each EU member state reflect on the current challenges and develop perspectives for the future of Public Service Media in Europe.

WARUM öffentlich-rechtliche Medien? WIE wichtig sind sie im digitalen Medienzeitalter Europas?

35 Wissenschaftler/innen aus ganz Europa, aus jedem EU-Staat, beantworten diese Fragen aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln, reflektieren aktuelle Herausforderungen und entwickeln Zukunfts-szenarien für öffentlich-rechtliche Medien in Europa.

POURQUOI service public? QUELLE est l'importance de service public à l'ère de médias digitales en Europe?

35 scientifiques de toute l'Europe, de chaque état membre de l'UE, repondent cettes questions, reflechissent les enjeux et perspectives de developpement de service public en Europe.